From the reorganisation of Pompey up to the reign of Augustus:

What can coinage contribute to our understanding of client kingdoms in central Asia Minor during the Late Hellenistic period?

DPhil in Classical Archaeology

Wordcount: 79,997 words

Candidate Number: [redacted]

Table of Content

Abbreviations **5**

List of Figures **13**

List of Tables **20**

Preface **22**

Abstract **23**

Chapter 1: Introduction **25**

1.1 Thesis structure 25

1.2 The selection of kingdoms and temporal boundaries 27

1.3 The client kingdoms of central Anatolia - An introduction 30

1.3.1 Introduction to the historical background of Asia Minor 38

1.4 The Numismatic background of the Late Hellenistic period 40

1.4.1 Production of coins 41

1.4.2 Denominations 42

1.4.3 The role of the king 44

1.4.4 The use of epithets 45

1.5 Methodology and Terminology 47

1.5.1 General terminology of the thesis and catalogue 48

1.5.2 The catalogue 50

1.5.3 Die studies 52

1.5.4 Coin finds and hoards 53

1.5.5 Interpreting iconography: monograms and dates 55

Chapter 2: Quantification **62**

2.1 Quantifying coin production 62

2.2 Quantifying the size of the silver coinage 66

2.3 Bronze coinage quantification 72

Chapter 3: The Kingdom of Galatia 78

3.1 The historic background of the Galatian kingdom 78

3.2 The coinage under the tetrarchy 83

3.2.1 King Brogitaros Philorhomaios 85

3.2.2 Deiotaros Philorhomaios (Galatian King c. 63–40/39 BC) 96

3.3 The Kingdom of Amyntas 126

3.3.1 The coins of Amyntas - modern forgeries and misattributed coins 129

3.3.2 Amyntas' silver tetradrachms 130

3.3.3 Side's silver tetradrachms of the ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV and their association with King Amyntas 150

3.3.4 The coinage of Amyntas - Bronze coinage 154

Chapter 4: The Kingdom of Paphlagonia 187

4.1 Historic background 187

4.2 Paphlagonian coinage before Deiotaros Philadelphos 189

4.3 The coinage of Deiotaros Philadelphos (c. 30s BC–6 BC) 191

Chapter 5: The Ariobarzanid kingdom in Cappadocia 204

5.1 The Kingdom of Cappadocia 204

5.2 Previous numismatic research 208

5.2.1 The coinage of the Ariobarzanid dynasty 210

5.3 The coinage of the Cappadocian Kingdom in the 1st century BC until the death of Ariobarzanes I 213

5.4 The coins of Ariobarzanes II Philopator 216

5.5 The coinage of Ariobarzanes III 227

5.6 The coinage of Ariarathes X Eusebes Philadelphos (42–36 BC) 237

5.7 Metallurgy 242

5.8. Hoard evidence 246

5.9 Possible Ariobarzanid mints 249

Chapter 6: The Tarkondimotid kingdom of Cilicia 253

6.1 The Tarkondimotid Kingdom 253

6.2 The coinage of the Tarkondimotids during the 1st century BC 258

6.3 The 'later' Tarkondimotid bronze coins 267

6.3.1 The BACIΛΕΩC ΦIΛOΠATOPOC series 271

6.3.2 The BACIΛΕΩC ΦIΛ monogram coins 277

6.4 Numerals and their implications for Tarkondimotid chronology 280

6.5 The Tarkondimotid dynasty and civic monograms 283

6.6 Tarkondimotid minting at Anazarbos 293

Chapter 7: Comparison 296

7.1 Denominations and mints 296

7.2 Coin designs and portraiture 301

7.2.1 Royal Portraiture 301

7.2.2 General iconographic trends across the kingdoms of central Asia Minor 306

7.3 Coin quantification in relation to other cities and kingdoms of the Hellenistic period 313

7.4 Approaches and attitudes to Roman influence in Asia Minor 320

7.5 Expenditures of the client kingdoms in the 1st century BC 328

Chapter 8: Conclusion 333

Abbreviations

ANS = American Numismatic Society.

APR = Coşkun, A. (ed) et ali (2023) *Amici Populi Romani - Prosopographical of the Foreign Friends of Rome*. *12th edition (31 / 12 / 2022, corr. 17 / 4 / 2023)*. Department of Classical Studies, University of Waterloo, Ontario. URL: http://www.altaycoskun.com/apr. Retrieved July 28, 2023.

Aşvan hoard = McNicholl, A. (1973) The Aşvan Hoard: Coins of Two Cappadocian Monarchs. *Anatolian Studies* 23: 181–186.

BMC = British Museum Catalogue.

BMC Galatia = Wroth, W. W. (1899) *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria*. London, printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum.

B = Münzkabinett - Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

CHANGE = *CHANGE: The Development of the Monetary Economy of Ancient Anatolia c.630–30 BC*. University of Oxford, British Museum and Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. URL https://change.web.ox.ac.uk/home.

CHRE = Coin Hoards of the Roman Empire Project. URL: https://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/.

CIIP = Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae.

CNG = Classical Numismatic Group, LLC.

CIG = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.

CPE = Lorber, C. C. (2018) *Coins of the Ptolemaic Empire. Part 1. Ptolemy 1 through Ptolemy IV.* New York, American Numismatic Society. Catalogued online under Ptolemaic Coins Online. URL: http://numismatics.org/pco/.

Didyma = McCabe, D. F. and Plunkett, M. A. (1985) *Didyma Inscriptions: Texts and List*. Princeton, Institute for Advanced Study.

EA = Electronic Auction.

ECR = Tudor, D. (1982) *Enciclopedia civilizaţiei romane*. Bucureşti, Editura Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică.

GOD = Greek Overstrikes Database. URL: https://silver.kbr.be/Greek_Overstrikes_Database.

HGC = Hoover, O. *The Handbook of Greek Coinage* (Series). Lancaster, London, Classical Numismatic Group.

Hochard = Hochard, P. O. (2021) *Lydie, terre d'empire(s) étude de numismatique et d'histoire (228 a.C.-268 p.C.)*. Bordeaux, Ausonius.

IC = Guarducci, M., Halbherr, F. (1935) *Inscriptiones Creticae.* Roma, Libreria dello Stato.

IDelos = Inscriptions de Délos.

IE = Clinton, K. (2005) *Eleusis, the inscriptions on stone : documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and public documents of the Deme*. Athens, Archaeological Society at Athens.

IG = Inscriptiones Graecae (series).

IGCH = Thompson, M., Mørkholm, O. and Kraay, C. (1973) *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*. New York, American Numismatic Society.

IGR = Cagnat, R. (1975) *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*. Chicago, Ares.

IK Kyme = Engelmann, H. (1976) *Die Inschriften von Kyme*. Bonn, Habelt.

IOSPE = Latyshev, B. (1885-1890). *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae*. Petropoli, Societas Archaeologica Imperii Russici.

Kaibel = Kaibel, G. (1878). *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta.* G. Reimer.

Kaman hoard 1997 = Arslan, M. (2001) Kapadokya Krallığı Kaman Drahmi Deinesi 1997. In C. Özgünel, O. Bingöl, V. İdil, S. Doruk, K. Görkay and M. Kadıoğlu (eds) *Günışığında Anadolu. Cevdet Bayburtluoğlu İçin Yazılar*: 2–18. Istanbul.

L = London. Coin Collection of the British Museum with inventory number. URL: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection.

Mardin II hoard = Simonetta, A. (1966) Some remarks on the Arsacid coinage. *Numismatic Chronicle 6*: 29 no. 6.

MDAI(A) = Mitteilungen des (Kaiserlich-)Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung.

1 Mac. = The first Book of the Maccabees

O = Obverse die. Usually paired with die number from the catalogue.

P = Coin Collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de france with inventory number. URL: https://gallica.bnf.fr/accueil/de/content/accueil-de?mode=desktop.

RACOM = ‘Rome and the Coinages of the Mediterranean 200 BCE - 64 CE’ European Research Council funded project. URL: https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/classics/research/dept_projects/racom/explore/

RECAM = Mitchell, S., French, D.H. and Greenhaigh, J. (1982) *Regional epigraphic catalogues of Asia Minor II : the Ankara district, the inscriptions of North Galatia.* Oxford, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.

RIC I = Sutherland, C. H. V. and Carson, R. A. G. (eds) (2018) *The Roman imperial coinage. Volume 1, From 31 BC to AD 69*. Revised edition. London, Spink & Son.

RIC II = Mattingly, H. and Sydenham, E. A. (1926) *The Roman Imperial Coinage. Vol. 2, Vespasian to Hadrian.* London, Spink & Son.

RIC III = Mattingly, H. and Sydenham, E. A. (1930) *The Roman Imperial coinage. Vol. 3, Antoninus Pius to Commodus.* London, Spink & Son.

R = Reverse die. Usually paired with die number from the catalogue.

RMR = Fink, R. O. (1971). *Roman military records on papyrus*. Yale, Published for the American Philological Association by the Press of Case Western Reserve University.

RPC = Roman Provincial Coinage.

RPC I = Burnett, A., Amandry, M. and Ripolles Alégre, P.P. (2006) *Roman provincial coinage I: From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)*. London, British Museum Press.

RPC II = Burnett, A., Amandry, M. and Carradice, I. (1999) *Roman Provincial Coinage. Volume II: From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69–96).* British Museum Press, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

RPC IV.2 = Heuchert, V. (ed) (2006–) *Roman Provincial Coinage Online. Volume IV.2: From Antoninus Pius to Commodus (AD 138–192): Asia*. The Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. URL: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/volume/4/part/2. Retrieved 4 December, 2025.

RPC V.3 = Burnett, A., Amandry, M., Mairat, J., et al. (eds) (2024–). *Roman Provincial Coinage Online. Volume V.3: From Pertinax to Macrinus (AD 193–218): Lycia-Pamphylia to Egypt*. The Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. URL: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/volume/5/part/3. Retrieved 4 December, 2025.

RPC IX = Hostein, A. and Mairat, J. (2016). *Roman Provincial Coinage. Volume IX: From Trajan Decius to Uranius Antoninus (AD 249–254).* British Museum Press, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

SC = Seleucid Coins. Houghton, A., Lorber, C. C., Hoover, O., & Kritt, B. (2002). *Seleucid coins : a comprehensive catalogue*. New York, American Numismatic Society. See also Seleucid Coins Online under https://numismatics.org/sco/.

SEG = Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.

Sellwood = Sellwood, D. (1980) *An introduction to the coinage of Parthia*. 2nd ed. London: Spink.

SNG = Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum (series).

SNG Alpha Bank = Kremydē-Sisilianou, S. (2000) S*ylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Greece 2. The Alpha Bank Collection. Macedonia I: Alexander I - Perseus*. Athens, Alpha Bank.

SNG Cop = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Copenhagen* (1942–1979). Copenhagen, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum.

SNG von Aulock = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Deutschland*. Sammlung von Aulock.

SilCoinCy = The Silver Coinage of the Kings of Cyprus: Numismatics and History in the Archaic and Classical Periods (6th to 4th centuries BC). URL: https://kyprioscharacter.eie.gr/en/.

Simonetta = Simonetta, B. (1977) *The coins of the Cappadocian Kings*. Fribourg, Switzerland: Office du Livre.

Svoronos = Svorōnos, I. N. (1904) *Ta nomismata tou kratous tōn Ptolemaiōn*. Athens, Sakellarios.

TERME = Museo Nazionale Romano - Palazzo Massimo alle Terme.

Von Aulock = Aulock, H. von (1977) *Münzen und Städte Pisidiens*. Tübingen, E. Wasmuth.

All other Abbreviations follow the standard conventions of the Oxford Classical Dictionary 4th edition (Hornblower, S. et al. (2012) *The Oxford classical dictionary*. 4th ed. / general editors, Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth assistant editor, Esther Eidinow. Oxford, Oxford University Press).

Auction catalogues will be referenced in this thesis in the following arrangement: auction house, auction number and date, lot.

All Figures and Tables should be considered not to scale unless otherwise specified.

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: The approximate territories of the Kingdoms of Paphlagonia, Galatia, Cappadocia and Cilicia 340

Figure 1.2: An overview of the regnal dates of the client kings of Paphlagonia, Galatia, Cappadocia and Cilicia 341

Figure 1.3: The method of coin production in Ancient Greece 342

Figure 1.4: Idealised die link scheme 343

Figure 2.1: The different proposed models of die failure distributions 344

Figure 2.2: The quantification formulae of Esty for an estimation of the original number of dies (e) 345

Figure 2.3: The formulae of Carter for the estimation of the original number of obverse dies 346

Figure 2.4: The formula for calculating the coverage of the coin sample according to Esty 346

Figure 3.1: Galatia's tribal organisation in the Hellenistic period 347

Figure 3.2: The extend of the territories controlled by Deiotaros Philorhomaios 348

Figure 3.3: The two coins associated with the reign of Brogitaros Philorhomaios 349

Figure 3.4: Monograms connected with the Tetrarchy in Galatia 350

Figure 3.5: The four coin types with the 'Deiotaros monogram' 351

Figure 3.6: Coin with laureate head of Zeus on the obverse and 'Deiotaros monogram' with Galatian shield on the reverse 352

Figure 3.7: Terracotta figures showing elephant fighting Galatian warrior (left) and a Galatian warrior (right) from Myrina 352

Figure 3.8: Distribution of cities in Asia Minor minting the Zeus/ eagle on thunderbolt design 353

Figure 3.9: Coins with monograms similar to 'Deiotaros monogram' 354

Figure 3.10: Transitional stages of the 'Deiotaros monogram' between Groups 2 and 3 355

Figure 3.11: 'Deiotaros monogram' coin type with eagle on winged thunderbolt 355

Figure 3.12: The Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt type minted at Pergamon 356

Figure 3.13: An overstrike on the reverse of the Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt type 357

Figure 3.14: The overstrike on the reverse of the Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt type and the possible undertype 357

Figure 3.15: Coin depicting Tyche/Kybele on the obverse and owl standing on ‘Deiotaros monogram’ in wreath on reverse 358

Figure 3.16: Tyche countermarks on the coins of ‘King Deiotaros’ (left) and on the Tyche/Kybele from the Paris collection (right) 358

Figure 3.17: ‘Deiotaros monogram’ coin type depicting depicting Mên/ Attis on the obverse and monogram between crossed cornucopia on the reverse 359

Figure 3.18: Coin of ‘King Deiotaros’ 359

Figure 3.19: Coin of King Deiotaros (left) and Tavion under King Brogitaros (right) 360

Figure 3.20: The two monograms on Pessinos’ bronze coinage of the 1st century BC 360

Figure 3.21: Possible forgeries or misattributed gold and silver coins associated with King Amyntas of Galatia 361

Figure 3.22: Silver tetradrachm of King Amyntas 362

Figure 3.23: Obverse dies O72 (left), O71 (right) and O74 (below) 363

Figure 3.24: Obverse dies O76 (left) and O75 (right) 363

Figure 3.25: Coin of Amyntas (right) closely copying the hairstyle of an older silver tetradrachm of Side (left) 364

Figure 3.26: Obverse die O75 in its original (left) and recut (right) variants 364

Figure 3.27: The four diadem forms used on Amyntas’ reverse dies 365

Figure 3.28: The pomegranate stem variants on Side’s ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV 366

Figure 3.29: Bronze coin of Amyntas (left) and silver tetradrachm of Amyntas (right) 367

Figure 3.30: The ‘elephant’ reverse die of King Amyntas with no IB (left) and the addition of IB (right) 368

Figure 3.31: Elephant headdress on coins of the 1st century BC and 1st century AD 369

Figure 3.32: Athenian tetradrachms depicting Nike with different headdress designs 370

Figure 3.33: The ‘elephant’ dies of Amyntas’ tetradrachms and hecte staters 371

Figure 3.34: Die breaks on the obverse dies of Amyntas’ tetradrachms 372

Figure 3.35: Recut dies of Amyntas 373–374

Figure 3.36: Amyntas’ three obverse dies with monogram I and different possible letters in the monogram below 375

Figure 3.37: ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV with wreath (above) and diadem (below) 376

Figure 3.38: The Lion (1.), Stag (2.) and Hermes (3.) series of King Amyntas 377

Figure 3.39: Box plot comparing the weights of the Lion, Stag and Hermes series of Amyntas 377

Figure 3.40: The bronze coin types of Amyntas’ coinage separated into Group 1 and Group 2 378

Figure 3.41: The coin types of Amyntas’ Lion series 379

Figure 3.42: Coin of King Amyntas depicting a tooled obverse with a diademed male head 380

Figure 3.43: Reverse dies of King Amyntas’ lion series depicting a lion in two different styles 380

Figure 3.44: Overlayed coins of the Lion series with exact overlap of the reverse legends but different designs of the tail-end 381

Figure 3.45: ‘Monogram series’ of the Lion series (left) with a wrongly engraved retrograde monogram (right) 382

Figure 3.46: The coin types of Amyntas’ Stag series 383

Figure 3.47: The reverse stag designs and styles of Amyntas' Stag series 384

Figure 3.48: The coin types of Amyntas' Hermes series 385

Figure 3.49: Reverse dies of Amyntas' Hermes series spelling AMYN-TOY (left) and AMY-NTOY, (right) 386

Figure 3.50: Comparison between the die wear of monogram IV of catalogue type 11 (above) and 15 (below) 386

Figure 3.51: The mints of the coins in hoards with Amyntas' bronze coins 387

Figure 3.52: The mints represented in at least three of the coin hoards with Amyntas' bronze coins (based on Table 3.12) 388

Figure 4.1: Map of the Kingdom of Paphlagonia within Asia Minor 389

Figure 4.2: Coins of the Paphlagonian Kingdom issued under Pylaemenes II/III Euergetes (c. 133–103 BC) 390

Figure 4.3: Drachm possibly issued by King Attalus of Paphlagonia (64–40 BC) 391

Figure 4.4: Silver drachm of Deiotaros Philadelphos 391

Figure 4.5: Details of the letter sequence on the drachms of King Deiotaros Philadelphos 392

Figure 4.6: Bronze coin of Rhoemetalkes misattributed to Deiotaros Philadelphos 393

Figure 4.7: Bronze coin of Deiotaros Philadelphos and Deiotaros […]ator 394

Figure 4.8: Bronze coin of Deiotaros Philadelphos with laureated head of Zeus on the obverse and winged thunderbolt with king's titulature on reverse 394

Figure 5.1: The Geographical limits of the Cappadocian Kingdom according to Strabo 395

Figure 5.2: The three bronze types originally assigned by Reinach to Ariarathes X (Reinach 1887, 70–71) 396

Figure 5.3: Bronze coins of King Ariaramnes of Cappadocia and King Amyntas of Galatia 397

Figure 5.4: The titles and epithets on the drachms of the Ariobarzanid dynasty 398

Figure 5.5: Seleucid Tetradrachm of Antiochos V Eupator (164-162 BC) 399

Figure 5.6: Silver drachm of Ariobarzanes I and silver tetradrachm of Ariarathes IX 399

Figure 5.7: The coins of Ariobarzanes II with Year Z (=7) and Year H (=8) 400

Figure 5.8: Coins of Ariobarzanes II, possibly without reverse numeral 401

Figure 5.9: Depictions of Nike on the coins of Ariobarzanes II, Year 7 (left), Year 8 (right) 402

Figure 5.10: The two styles of obverse dies used by coins of Ariobarzanes II 402

Figure 5.11: Coins of Year 7 and Year 8 of the ‘youthful’ portrait obverse dies with shared characteristics in the reverse design 403

Figure 5.12: Coin of Ariobarzanes II showing omicron as a dots and mirrored zeta 404

Figure 5.13: Coin of Ariobarzanes II showing the ‘boyish’ obverse portrait and a more abstract reverse design 404

Figure 5.14: Coin of Ariobarzanes II showing with a ‘boyish’ obverse portrait and a reverse that depicts a possible shield with gorgoneion 405

Figure 5.15: Coin types of Ariobarzanes III dated Year Θ (= 9) 406

Figure 5.16: Coin types of Ariobarzanes III with Year IA (=11) in exergue 407

Figure 5.17: Coin types of Ariobarzanes III with Year IA (=11) in field 408

Figure 5.18: Coin portraits of Ariobarzanes II (left), Ariobarzanes II Year Θ (= 9) (middle) and Ariobarzanes III portrait of Year IA (=11) (right) in field 408

Figure 5.19: Overstrike of a coin of Ariobarzanes III on top of an eastern imitation of an Athenian drachm 409

Figure 5.20: Coin types of Ariarathes X 410

Figure 5.21: Metal composition of Ariobarzanes I's coinage in the State Historical Museum Moscow based on surface analysis 411

Figure 5.22: The distribution of Ariobarzanid hoard finds 412

Figure 5.23: The geographical location of suggested mints of the Kingdom of Cappadocia 413

Figure 6.1: The territory of Greek Cilicia 414

Figure 6.2: Tarkondimotid Stemna as drawn by Wright 2012 based on the reconstructions of (a) Stein 1932; (b) Jones 1937; (c) Lange 1988 and (d) Wright 2009 415

Figure 6.3: The Tarkondimotid royal bronze coinage 416

Figure 6.4: Municipal and royal mints in Cilicia under the Seleucids 417

Figure 6.5: Bronze coin of Tarkondimotos I with anchor countermark on obverse 417

Figure 6.6: Bronze coin of Tarkondimotos I with anchor countermark on obverse and horizontal cut on reverse 418

Figure 6.7: Bronze coin of Tarkondimotos I with unique monogram in the possession of W. Sayles 419

Figure 6.8: Reverse die R737 420

Figure 6.9: Bronze coin with laureate head of Zeus r. on the obverse and eagle with wings spread, holding a diadem on the reverse. The reverse legend reads Βασιλέως 420

Figure 6.10: Obverse die shared between coins of type 52 (left) and type 53 (right) 421

Figure 6.11: Comparison between the original coin (left) and possible reconstruction of the reverse legend (right) 421

Figure 6.12: Coin types of King Philopator 422

Figure 6.13: Obverse dies of King Philopator with X in crown (left) and A in veil above shoulder (right) 423

Figure 6.14: Contemporary Bronze coin types of (1) Apameia in Syria, (2) Seleukeia ad Kalykadnon with the same iconographic design as (3) King Philopator's coins 424

Figure 6.15: The location of Tozlu in relation to Anazarbos, Hierapolis-Castabala and the territory of Cilicia Tracheia 425

Figure 6.16: Bronze coin types with the reverse inscription "BACIΛƐΩC ☩" 426

Figure 6.17: Obverses of coin type 55 depicting a butting bull with the numerals EΛ below 426

Figure 6.18: Obverses with head of Apollo and worn M monogram to the right 427

Figure 6.19: Coins of Alexandreia in Cilicia showing a clear monogram of the letters TAPK 427

Figure 6.20: Coins of Adana (no. 1) and Korykos showing the letters TAP 428

Figure 6.21: A comparison between the (1.) coins of Tarkondimotos, (2.) coins of Anazarbos with ☩ monogram and (3.) AN below chair 429

Figure 7.1: The royal portraits of coins of Cilicia, Paphlagonia and Cappadocia 430

Figure 7.2: A selection of the Royal Iconography on coins produced by the Kingdoms of Galatia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia and Cilicia 431

Figure 7.3: An overview of the number of obverse dies of bronze die studies most commonly recorded in SILVER 432

List of Tables

Table 1.1: Greek Numerals 434

Table 2.1: Overall coin output for the silver coinages 435

Table 2.2: Overview of the silver coin output 436

Table 2.3: Amyntas' tetradrachm output 437

Table 2.4: Ariobarzanes II's drachm production 438

Table 2.5: Ariobarzanes III's drachm production 439

Table 2.6: Ariarathes X's drachm production 440

Table 2.7: Deiotaros Philorhomaios' bronze coin output 441

Table 2.8: The bronze coin output of King Amyntas 442

Table 2.9: Tarkondimotid bronze output 443

Table 3.1: Proposed regnal years for King Brogitaros 444

Table 3.2: A comparison between the obverse dies of stylistic Group 1 and the Zeus/Shield obverse dies 444

Table 3.3: The main four stylistic groups of 'Deiotaros monogram' coins 445

Table 3.4: The recorded coins for the 1845 hoard according to Meadows 2006 445

Table 3.5: Die correspondence table of Amyntas' tetradrachms (after Atlan 1975 and Meadows 2006, with three new reverse dies) 446–447

Table 3.6: Monograms on the coins of Amyntas 448

Table 3.7: The classification and types of King Amyntas' bronze coinage 448

Table 3.8: The Lion series 449

Table 3.9: The Stag series 450

Table 3.10: The Hermes series 451

Table 3.11: Amyntas' bronze coins found in excavations 452

Table 3.12: Amyntas' bronze coins in hoards 453–455

Table 3.13: Mints and number of coins in the four coin hoards associated with bronze coins of Amyntas 456

Table 4.1: Literary attested kings of Paphlagonia 457

Table 4.2: The coin denominations of Deiotaros Philadelphos 457

Table 4.3: Overview of the reigns and overlaps of the era used on the coins of Attalos Epiphanes and Deiotaros Philadelphos 458

Table 5.1: The kings and reign dates of the kings of Cappadocia 459

Table 5.2: Possible regnal eras of the kings of Cappadocia 460–461

Table 5.3: The monograms and their dates on the coins of the late Ariobarzanid dynasty 462

Table 5.4: Hoard evidence for the Ariobarzanid dynasty after Ariobarzanes I 463–466

Table 6.1: Possible reign dates of the Tarkondimotid dynasty 467

Table 6.2: Numerals on Tarkondimotid coins and their respective dating according to possible local eras 468

Table 7.1: An overview of the silver coinages 469

Table 7.2: Bronze denominations produced by the kingdoms 470

Table 7.3: The royal coin iconography used in the Kingdoms of central Asia Minor 471–472

Table 7.4: The kings and their portraits 473

Table 7.5: The obverse die production of drachms in the Hellenistic period 474

Table 7.6: The obverse die production of tetradrachms in the Hellenistic period given in drachms 475

Table 7.7: Bronze die studies of the 1st century BC with the title “ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ“ recorded in SILVER 476

Table 7.8: Estimated military expenses of Deiotaros Philorhomaios 477

Preface

This thesis would not have been possible without the support of my supervisors Dr Volker Heuchert, Dr Ine Jacobs and Dr Jeromé Mairat. Furthermore, I want to thank the Roman Provincial Coinage Project team, whose database allowed me to create the included numismatic catalogue. I am also very grateful to the coin cabinets of the British Museum and Dr. Bernhard Weisser for guiding me through the Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. My thanks also go to the Redemptoristenkloster Bonn and Dr Jürgen Haffke and Mr Sven Martzinek who made it possible for me to view their collection that contains a unique Tarkondimotid coin of the Zeus/eagle holding a diadem type. Similarly, I want to thank Mr Wayne G Sayles for providing me with images of a rare Tarkondimotos I coin from his collection. Finally, I would like to thank Mr Lars Rutten and his team at Leu numismatic for their help in viewing the Cappadocian group lots which came up for auction in 2025.

Thanks to my parents, my brother and AXu for always motivating me to keep working and also to take a break when needed.

Abstract

This thesis examines the numismatic evidence of the ‘Roman client kingdoms’ of Galatia, Paphlagonia, Cilicia and Cappadocia during the Late Hellenistic period in central Asia Minor. The coins were catalogued by type to allow for an iconographic study and subsequent die analysis. The latter forms the basis for the quantification of coin production for each kingdom based on the formulae of Esty 2011 and Carter 1983. The numismatic evidence is also analysed through a multi-perspective approach, focusing on local/cultural characteristics, geography, history, economic aspects and contemporary politics and supplemented by archaeological and literary evidence.

The results show that the coin output of many kings under consideration is comparable to that of contemporary kingdoms and civic mints in Asia Minor. The Cappadocian coins, however, show an unprecedented peak in their level of drachm production. The dates of the Cappadocian coins correspond closely to Roman military activity and were likely minted by the client kings to meet Roman expenses. The kingdoms also developed more diverse and individualised portraits of their rulers. In the case of Galatia, ruler portraiture was avoided altogether. This individuality is also reflected in local and cultural symbols on a kingdom’s iconography, as well as the use of local eras in each of the kingdoms. All of these factors

help to define a kingdom's own identity through its coinage. Roman influence becomes visible in subtle changes to the coin designs, adjustments to the denominational standards and in the choice of the epithets *Philorhomaios* (= friend of the Romans) and *Philantonios* (= friend of Antonius).

This thesis contributed to the current scholarship by developing the first die studies and detailed analysis of the coinage of of Galatia, Paphlagonia, Cilicia and Cappadocia. It helped clarify the chronology of coin issues and reign dates and provided an estimate of their individual coin output. The coins continue Greek Hellenistic designs with Roman influence becoming visible in portraiture, epithets and scale of production.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Thesis structure

This thesis takes a multi-perspective approach focussed on the coinage of the Kingdoms of Galatia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia and Cilicia, supplemented by epigraphic and literary evidence. The analysis concentrates on local characteristics (iconographic tradition, coin output, cultural significance), geographical spread (mints, extent of kingdoms, movement of coins), historical considerations (wars, epigraphy, literary sources), economic aspects (natural resources, trade connections, loans and debts) and political aspects (alliances and friendships). The consideration of these socio-cultural and political aspects allows for the analysis and evaluation of questions central to the understanding of client kingdoms from a numismatic perspective: (1) To what extent is the contemporary historic background of the client kingdoms reflected in their coin production? (2) What kind and how much coinage was minted by Roman client kingdoms? (3) Do the different kingdoms make similar choices of design/style or minting activity? (4) What kind of local and/or cultural identity is reflected through the coins and their design? Is there a connection in the iconography, production or circulation of coins between different kingdoms? (5) Where are possible mints located and does this fit within our current understanding of the kingdoms? (6) What can

coinage tell us about local territories, spheres of control and Roman influence?

The methodologies used to answer these questions are iconographic comparisons, die studies, the analysis of coin finds/coin hoards to determine circulation and, in some cases, metal analysis and die quantification. Ideally, this would give a chronology for the coins, provide them with a historical context, an area of circulation, insight into local factors that influenced the kingdom and an estimate of coin output. Depending on the individual evidence of the kingdoms, the use of these methodologies varies depending on their applicability.

The following chapters will consider each of the four kingdoms covered in this thesis in detail. Chapter 1 introduces the research topic and its limitations. It discusses the terminology used and provides the historical and methodological background for the thesis. Chapter 2 outlines the quantification data compiled on the basis of the die study. It aims to estimate the production of coins for the four client kingdoms of Galatia, Paphlagonia, Cilicia and Cappadocia. Chapter 3 begins the individual discussion of each of the kingdoms and their coinage with the Kingdom of Galatia. Chapter 4 is concerned with the coinage of Attalos Epiphanes and King Deiotaros Philadelphos, who had ties to the Galatian royal

dynasty and ruled over neighbouring Paphlagonia. Chapter 5 discusses the Kingdom of Cappadocia, which produced silver drachms under a new dynasty, the Ariobarzanids. Chapter 6 considers the Tarkondimotid Kingdom of Cilicia. Gaining his kingdom and royal title through Roman support, Tarkondimotos I issued bronze coins with the epithet *Philantonios* (= friend of Antonius). The coinage of his successor(s) remains confusing due to the uncertainty surrounding the overall number of Tarkondimotid kings. Chapter 7 will start a wider discussion and conduct a comparison between the kingdoms. Amongst the aspects discussed are the ways of starting and adopting new coinages by the kingdoms, their iconography and coin denominations. It further discusses aspects of quantification and Roman influences on the kingdoms. This is then followed by the conclusion in Chapter 8.

1.2 The selection of kingdoms and temporal boundaries

The four Kingdoms of Galatia, Paphlagonia, Cilicia and Cappadocia (Figure 1.1) were specifically chosen due to their neighbouring location, overlapping territories and shared history. The kingdoms are at very different ends of the scale in terms of territorial size and importance. The Cappadocian and Paphlagonian kingdoms have a long history of previous dynasties, while Galatia and Tarkondimotid Cilicia were kingdoms founded for the first time in the 1st century BC. Since all four

kingdoms produced coinage, this offers a variety of aspects for comparison.

The timeframe of this thesis begins with the assumption of the eastern command by Pompey in 64/63 BC[1] and continues until the start of Augustus' reign in 27 BC. All four kingdoms were founded or (re-)founded by Roman support in this period (for an overview of the kings and their reigns see Figure 1.2). In the aftermath of the third Mithridatic war, Pompey restructured Asia Minor's kingdoms and territories. The demise of the Pontic kingdom was used by Roman commanders like Pompey, Caesar and Marcus Antonius to set themselves up as the new rulers of Asia Minor. Many kings were seeking favour with the Romans and became indebted to them. By the end of this period, only the Kingdoms of Cappadocia and Cilicia remained. However, with the deaths of their kings (Archelaos ruled from 36 BC to AD 17 and Philopator died in AD 17), both territories were also integrated into the Roman Empire. When a king's regnal dates remain uncertain or overlap with the start of Augustus' reign in 27 BC, he will be excluded from this catalogue if it is clear that the coin production starts after 27 BC.[2] As a

[1] Strabo 12.3.13.

[2] An example of this is the coinage of Archelaos of Cappadocia who ruled from 36 BC – 17 AD. The regnal years on his coins attest that he started minting his royal coinage only from 15/14 BC (RPC I, 3602). The earliest civic coinage is dated to regnal year 12 = 25/24 BC (RPC I, 3609). In contrast, a King Philopator Tarkondimotos in Cilicia is attested from 31 BC. Although his identity and regnal dates are disputed or uncertain, it remains possible that he produced coins before 27 BC. Thus, he is included in this thesis.

result, the kingdoms and their coinage covered in this thesis present the transitional period from relatively independent kingdoms to Roman allies who proclaimed their support openly on coinage. This culminated in the absorption of the kingdoms into the Roman provincial government at the start of the 1st century AD.

The discussion in this thesis will be limited to the royal coinage of ‘client kings’, produced after the reorganisation of Pompey (c. 64 BC) and before the start of Augustus’ reign in 27 BC. This means that the coins discussed are royal coins minted in a king’s own name or with his monogram. The coins discussed here do not include civic coins minted during the same period, even if a city is securely attested as part of a king’s territory. This distinction, while natural, is one not often made by modern scholars, resulting in multiple problematic instances where the analysis of data became problematic. A good example can be found among the coins of King Amyntas. There are multiple instances where published catalogues or hoards attested the existence of a coin belonging to King Amyntas, but upon further consideration, the coin turned out to be a civic coin type only dated approximately to the time of Amyntas’ rule.[3] If there is a securely attested connection between royal coinage and civic coinage, they will be included in the discussion. Such a

[3] In auctions, e.g. Bay Numismatic Online Auction 13, 10 May 2025, lot 387; as well as in academic publications Köker and Köyağasıoğlu 2006, 377–378 hoard no.51.

connection could be through die links, the use of the same unique monogram, or other unusual distinctive features of the coins (e.g. weight standards, iconography). Some royal coinages were certainly produced in civic mints alongside civic coins but probably had different aims in terms of ideological or economic purposes.

1.3 The client kingdoms of central Anatolia - An introduction

> *"the Romans thought that it was better for the region to be ruled by kings than to be under the Roman prefects sent to administer justice, who were not likely always to be present or to have armed forces with them"*
>
> (Strabo Geographica 14.5.6, Loeb 1929)

For ease of understanding, this thesis uses the traditional term 'client kings', but it is important to emphasise that this is not necessarily the most appropriate term to describe the kingdoms nor their relationship with Rome. The term 'client kingdoms' is instead a modern invention. In ancient literature, allied kings were officially recognised by the Roman Senate as *rex socius et amicus*[4] and included in the *formula sociorum et amicorum Populi Romani*.[5] While there is circumstantial evidence for the

[4] Livy 30.15.11–14; Livy 30.17.6–14.

[5] Cass. Dio 53.25. For a discussion see Bowman 1990 and Zack 2013.

term clientele in connection with kings in literary sources,[6] Badian was the first to propose the use of the Roman patron-client relationship model also for their external relations with allied kings.[7] He emphasised that the relationship of Rome and allied kings was based on personal ties and connections through the principles of patronage and clientelism.[8] This is visible in how important personal relationships between Roman senators and kings were for their recognition and support by Rome.[9] Sands goes a step further and sees the allied kings as subservient to Rome.[10] The 'client kings' were given territories[11] or 'officially crowned'[12] as kings by Rome. This view of submission to Roman power is then confirmed by the final annexation of territories by the Roman state after the king's death.[13] The application of a Roman relationship model on international and diplomatic relations has encouraged much discussion and criticism.[14]

---

[6] Suet. *Aug*. 60.

[7] Badian 1958.

[8] Badian 1958, 10–13. This is also implied by the use of patron-client vocabulary in Cic. Fam. 9.9.2; Flor. 1.36.2; Livy 37.54.1, Suet. *Aug*. 60. For criticism of this model see Gruen 1984, 158–162; Burton 2003; Snowden 2015.

[9] Balleros Pastor 2008, 49–54 and 58. See Chapter 3.2.

[10] Sands 1908, 8; 139–140 with Cass. Dio 37.15.1; Joseph. *AJ.* 14.77; Plut. *Ant.* 61; Strabo 6.4.2.

[11] For the best documented examples see Pompey's reorganisation of Asia Minor (Strabo 12.3.13) and Marcus Antonius' reorganisation of Asia Minor (App. *B Civ.* 5.75).

[12] Livy 30.15.11–14; for the most famous of such examples see the coronation of Tiridates I of Armenia under Nero in AD 66 (Cass. Dio 63.1.2–8.1; Suet. *Ner*. 13; Tac. *Ann*. 16.23.2–24.1).

[13] For example, Judaea and the Ptolemaic kingdom under Augustus or the Cappadocian and Galatian kingdom under Tiberius.

[14] Badian 1958; Gruen 1984; Sullivan 1990; Coşkun 2005; Kaizer and Facella 2010. Baltrusch and Wilker 2015.

The strongest argument against this interpretation is given by the ancient literary and epigraphic sources, which use the word 'friendship' *(amicitia/ philia)* to describe the relationship between the king and the Romans. Amicitia is the most prominent description in ancient literary and epigraphic sources for the relationship between the king and the Roman Republic. It is used by both 'client kings'[15] and Roman sources.[16] The title *Philorhomaios* (= friend of the Romans), developed in the 1st century BC, was used on the coins of several kings under discussion in this thesis.[17] In literary and epigraphic sources, the terms 'friendship' and 'alliance' are often used interchangeably.[18] Hence, Braund concluded that the relationship with Rome was instead based on a "predominant system of diplomacy and alliances in the form of friendship".[19]

Both the principles of friendship and clientage (patron-client) were central to ancient social dynamics and politics and were also applied to the allied kings.[20] Wendt remarks that "clientela und amicitia do not exclude each

---

[15] For example, through the use of epithets like ΦΙΛΟΡΟΜΑΙΟΥ, ΦΙΛΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ on client kingdom coins and in inscriptions. The alliance between Pharmacies I of Pontos and Chersonessos recorded in *IOSPE* I.402, ll.2–4 stipulates a friendship with Rome for both sides.

[16] Cass. Dio 51.7.3; Cic. *Div.* 1.26; Cic. *Fam*.15.1–2; Plut. *Cic*. 36.1.

[17] Callataÿ and Lorber 2011, 425; Catalogue types 1 and 35–43.

[18] Facella 2010, 184; App. *Mith*. 83 and Plut. *Luc*. 24.1.

[19] Braund 1984, 5.

[20] For the role of friendship in Roman society see Verboven 2011.
For the principle of euergetism as a social phenomenon see Zuiderhoek 2021.

other“ and coexist in Roman society.[21] The modern terms ‘client kingdom’ or ‘client king’, however, pose the danger of seeing ‘client kings’ as dependent subjects of Rome in an unequal, transactional relationship. Similarly, terms like *amicitia* might convey implications of loyalty, equality or an emotional connection,[22] that are not historically accurate. Kings were allied with Rome as *amici et soci* for their own interests and benefit.[23] Thus, the term ‘friendly king’ favoured by Braund is in danger of portraying a too positive relationship.[24] The relation between kings and Romans also appears much more complex than a simple client-patron connection. The term *amici et socii* formed a legal basis that defined the kings’ status and privileges in relation to Rome. However, besides kings, *amici et socii* also included individuals,[25] groups of people,[26] local rulers (e.g. tetrarchs)[27] and cities.[28] These ‘friends’ of Rome were given accommodation and allowance in Rome by the Senate and had the right of embassy (*ius legationis*). Hence, the ‘client kings’ existed in the same

[21] Wendt 2015, 19.

[22] Rich 1989, 124; Konstan 1997 123 ff.; Wendt 2015, 21.

[23] Baltrusch and Wilker 2015, 9 ff..

[24] Braund 1984; Wendt 2015, 21.

[25] For example, the Senatus consultum de Asclepiade (*SEG* 51.1427). Raggi 2001.

[26] For example, Caes. *BCiv*. 3.3; Plut. *Sulla* 4.

[27] See Chapter 3.

[28] App. *B Civ.* 1.102; Baltrusch and Wilker 2015, 7–10. For a discussion on the legal terminology see Zack 2013.

framework as other *amici* of Rome but had a significantly different role to play by securing the frontiers of the Empire with their armies.[29]

Strabo describes a more practical view of the relationship, which instrumentalised ‘client kings’ for regions that were not suited for Roman control and required a single local ruler.[30] Other passages show that Roman sources considered allied ‘client kingdoms’ as a part of the Empire, under the control of the emperor.[31] Kings of the Hellenistic period were often subordinate to a stronger power. For example, Antiochus of Commagene and Alchaudonius, an Arabian chieftain, were subjects of Tigranes of Armenia, but changed their alliance to the Romans in 69 BC after Tigranes’ defeat by Lucullus.[32] The idea of vassals[33] or kings subordinate to another monarch was thus already a common, established system that was reused in a new Roman guise of ‘client king‘.

The Romano-centric perspective of literary sources and chronological uncertainties create further difficulties for modern scholars in

---

[29] Bell. *Alex*. 65.5. With an increase in Roman influence and interest in Anatolia this also included support for Rome’s expansive military campaigns.

[30] Strabo 14.5.6.

[31] Strabo 17.3.25; Suet. *Vit. Aug*. 48; Tac. *Ann*. 4.5.1–4.

[32] Cass. Dio 36.1–3.

[33] For the Parthian vassal kings see Wiesehöfer 1994, 187–200; Fowler 2010; Jacobs 2010, 94–100; Sommer 2013, 38–44. For the contrast between Roman and Parthian client/vassal kings see Hartman 2015, 304.

understanding the ‘client kingdoms’. Here, research into the kingdoms themselves can present a different perspective on their relationship with Rome, apart from political or terminological discussions. In this regard, numismatic evidence is especially helpful since it delivers a non-Roman, local and contemporary perspective of the individual kingdoms. The proclamation of ‘friendship’ with Rome is also visible in art. Mithridates VI Eupator, the later adversary of Rome, financed a heroon on Delos where he is shown in Roman dress. The building was dedicated on behalf of the Athenian and Roman peoples and presents the Pontic king in Roman fashion to an international audience.[34]

Preceding the Mithridatic Wars, the Roman province of Asia lacked a significant military force. Instead, the Romans cooperated and depended on allied kings and often avoided direct involvement in Anatolian affairs and power struggles. While the Roman Senate was influential, it often lacked the means to enforce its decisions but played an active role in the dynastic and territorial disputes.[35] The concept of ‘client kings’ and their relationship with Rome underwent significant changes in the 1st century BC due to the Roman civil wars and Rome’s transformation into a monarchy. With powerful Roman commanders in the east, the focus of

[34] IDelos 1562–1563. Kreuz 2009.

[35] For example, the conflict between Ariarathes IV and Orophernes for the Cappadocian throne (Diod. 31.32b; Just. 35.1; Polyb. 3.5 and 32.12.; Strabo 12.2.; Just. *Epit*. 37.1.).

alliance and friendship with the city of Rome moved to alliances and friendships with individuals, most notably Lucullus, Sulla, Caesar, Pompey, Marcus Antonius and finally Octavian.[36] While personal contacts with individual Romans and influential Roman families are attested previously for many of the Hellenistic kings,[37] decisions were still subject to the Senate's approval. This was no longer a requirement in the 1st century BC. Roman power was now concentrated in one person for the eastern kings, creating a quasi-monarchical system.

The system of indirect Roman rule through 'client kings', creates a "two-level monarchy" in their territories.[38] Under the empire, Coşkun also sees the development of a hierarchy in the titles of foreign rulers.[39] In his analysis, he concludes that tetrarchs were less powerful and had a lower social standing than kings.[40] Thus, local rulers could be rewarded with different titles and benefits by the emperor for their loyalty. Similarly, Raggi sees the status of *amici et soci* as a predecessor to the systematic grant of Roman citizenship under the empire.[41] Judging from the names of their descendants, it was only in the Late Republican period that the

---

[36] For examples of these 'friendships' see Chapters 3–6.

[37] For example, Mithridates V and Scipio Aemilius (App. *Mith*. 10).

[38] Millar 1996, 159.

[39] Coşkun 2015, 162 ff..

[40] Coşkun 2015, 188–191.

[41] Raggi 2010, 82.

first kings were given Roman citizenship.[42] This innovation breaks with the ancient view that individuals could only be citizens of a single community where they reside.[43] This way, the new empire was able to utilise its monarchical structure to create new forms of indirect power, rewards and favours to incentivise the cooperation of the allied kings.

These varying perspectives portray a contradicting view on 'client kingdoms' in the practical use and historical reality of the kings and a theoretical and terminological approach to 'client kings'. The relationship between Rome and foreign kings was a flexible system that allowed for an individual approach to each case. In practice, the relationship often seemed to be of a bilateral nature, with kings contributing to the resources of the Roman state through manpower, hosting guests,[44] sending intelligence, governing an area or putting down local opposition.[45] In return, they gained personal connections and political support, were made Roman citizens and protected by the Roman state.[46] This secured their dynastic succession through Roman support. Hence, many kings sent their children to be educated in Rome to gain friendly

[42] For a discussion of the literary and epigraphic evidence see Raggi 2010, 83 ff..

[43] Raggi 2010, 84; Cic. *Caec*. 100; Cic. *Balb*. 28–29.

[44] For example, Caesar's visit to Galatia where he was hosted by King Deiotaros Philorhomaios (Cic. *Deiot*. 15–19).

[45] B*Alex*. 65.5.

[46] Braund 1984, 44. For a detailed discussion see Raggi 2010.

relations with important Roman children. Many of the kings discussed in this thesis aimed to present themselves internationally as powerful Hellenistic kings in their own right, visible in their choice of Greek titles. This contrasts with their use of *Philorhomaios* (= friend of the Romans) or *Philantonios* (= friend of Antonius), which proclaims their status as 'client kings' and places them under the protection of Rome.

1.3.1 Introduction to the historical background of Asia Minor

Asia Minor is situated in modern-day Türkiye and was part of the Greek-speaking East. In the Late Hellenistic period, it formed the eastern boundary of the Roman Republic, with most of the territory being controlled by Rome and its allied kings and monarchs. Asia Minor has a long tradition of Greek and Hellenistic influence but retained many regional cultural differences. This resulted in a rich material culture with a long-standing epigraphic and numismatic tradition. Asia Minor has an extraordinary density of finds, though modern scholarship focused on the populated coastal areas, which are better understood than central Anatolia. Central Anatolia is characterised by a rough, mountainous landscape which forms geographical boundaries (Figure 1.1). Central Anatolia was dominated by two large kingdoms during the Late Hellenistic period: the Galatian Kingdom and the Cappadocian Kingdom. Due to the frequently changing boundaries, the Kingdom of Galatia at

some point also controlled Paphlagonia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Lykaonia and parts of Cilicia,[47] while Cappadocia possessed northern Cilicia and bordering parts of Galatia.[48] In this period, smaller kingdoms were formed in central Asia Minor with Roman support, leading to the creation of the Kingdom of Tarkondimotid Cilicia and Deiotaros Philadelphos' Kingdom of Paphlagonia. The kingdoms varied significantly in their history, social background and culture, but also in their languages, surviving material culture, degree of monetisation, economic situation, trade contacts, dependencies and religion. In addition, there is the rising importance of the Roman Republic, that needs to be considered for each of the kingdoms.

By the Late Hellenistic period, the Roman Republic controlled a significant amount of territory in Asia Minor. The first province added to the Roman Republic was the province of Asia in 133 BC. This territory was posthumously bequeathed to the Romans by Attalos III, the King of Pergamon.[49] It was under Pompey's command in 63 BC that two new provinces were next established. The territory of Bithynia and Pontus was bequeathed to Rome in 74 BC by Nicomedes IV, the King of

[47] App. *B Civ*. 5.75; Cass. Dio 49.32; Strabo 12.3.41.

[48] Strabo 12.1.1 cf. Plin. *HN*. 5.42.

[49] App. *B Civ.* 5.4; Florus 1.35; Just. 36.4.5.

Bithynia[50] and was only properly integrated into the Roman Republic after the third Mithridatic war. The second (re-)established province in 63 BC was Cilicia. Parts of Cilicia (Cilicia Pedias) were controlled by the Roman Republic from 103 BC and under the control of governors.[51] Rome was able to unite the territories of Cilicia by 63 BC, with the exception of the territory of Tarkondimotos I, who founded his own kingdom with Roman support.[52] Ancient sources mention regular conflicts in the kingdoms with local populations and rival kingdoms.[53] All of this seems to emphasise the importance of client kings for Roman rule, as part of a strategic, peaceful takeover of control in Asia Minor.

1.4 The Numismatic background of the Late Hellenistic period

In Hellenistic times, the largest expenditure for cities and kingdoms was military conflict, which—together with other state expenditure—often motivated the minting of coins.[54] The production of coinage appears to have been mostly irregular.[55] Dates on their coins attest production only

[50] App. *B Civ*. 1.111; Eutr. 6.6.

[51] For the *Lex de provinciis praetoriis* see Crawford, Reynolds, Ferrary and Moreau 1996. More generally on Cilicia and its governors see Kreiler, 2007; Oktan 2011; Pilhofer 2020.

[52] See Chapter 6.

[53] App. *Mith*. 67; Plin. *HN* 6.142; Strabo 14.3.2.

[54] For the importance of military and state expenditure for coin production see Callataÿ 2014A, 59. The military importance for ancient coin production was first emphasised by Crawford 1970 and clarified as a multifaceted approach by Howgego 1990.

[55] Hackens 1975.

in specific years rather than a constant production.[56] An uptake in minting activity is visible for many cities of central Asia Minor during the 1st century BC.[57] With cities and kingdoms starting to mint coinage for the first time, this seems to show an increasing degree of monetisation and acceptance of coins as the main means of payment.

1.4.1 Production of coins

The production of coinage in the Greek world started around the third quarter of the 7th century BC,[58] with bronze coinage appearing from the mid-fifth century BC.[59] Greek coins were usually struck by placing a metal flan between an anvil and a punch and striking the flan with the punch to impress a design (Figure 1.3). This was done through dies placed in the anvil and the punch. The anvil die, facing upwards, is called the obverse die, while the downwards-facing die in the punch is the reverse die. Reverse dies tended to break more easily than the obverse dies, leading to an approximate ratio of about one obverse die to three

[56] Chapters 5.4–5.9.

[57] Carbone 2021A, 418. For specific examples e.g. in Phrygia see Carbone 2021A, 368 f. or for Mysia Carbone 2021A, 391 f..

[58] Kerschner and Konuk 2020; van Alfen, Wartenberg and Fischer-Bossert 2020.

[59] For the start of bronze coinage in general see Grandjean and Moustaka 2013. For Greece see Gatzolis 2013. For Italy and Sicily see Burnett 2012 and Price 1968. For the introduction of bronze to Asia Minor around 400 BC see Ashton 2006 and Meadows 2011A.

reverse dies in a complete sample.[60] There is also a high “infant mortality“ for reverse dies[61] as a result of which the ratio could vary significantly in individual cases.

Generally, ancient dies were made of bronze,[62] however, some iron dies also survive in the archaeological record.[63] The metal used for the coin flan also affects the striking process. Experimental archaeology showed that during the striking of bronze flans, dies tend to break easier and at a faster rate than for silver flans.[64] Hence, there are many different factors that could affect the production of ancient coinage. This understanding of the production of coins forms the basis for the use of die studies and quantification models, that can help clarify coin output and chronology.[65]

1.4.2 Denominations

In the Greek and Roman world, coin denominations varied between cities and regions. Epigraphic and literary evidence show that cities could

[60] Esty 1990, 218.

[61] Albarède, Callataÿ, Debernardi and Blichert-Toft 2021, 2–3.

[62] Meadows 2011B, 108–110; Vermeule 1954, 10.

[63] Vermeule 1954, 12.

[64] Faucher, Brousseau and Olivier 2013.

[65] Chapter 1.4–5 and Chapter 2.

refuse to accept external coinage[66] or precious metal coinage might be treated as bullion.[67] In contrast, common weight standards, like the Attic weight standard, were used by multiple cities for easier monetary exchange. Coins like the Athenian tetradrachms and silver Alexanders became universal means of payment. The coin denominations of Asia Minor and their changes related to the Roman presence and conquest of Asia Minor were recently studied by Meadows for silver denominations[68] and for bronze coins by Carbone.[69] This has shown changes in weight of the silver coinage to fit with the denarius system.[70] An increasing standardisation of bronze denominations in the Roman province of Asia Minor was also observed from the 80s to 40s BC.[71] Overall, during this period, an increasing monetisation can be observed, as well as the adaptation of coin standards to be more easily exchangeable[72] and the introduction of brass coinage.[73] Research into the coinage of the Roman province of Asia shows that bronze coinage tended to weigh between 4–

---

[66] The most famous example being the Athenian coinage degree c. 413 BC (or 450 BC) found in Aphytis, Smyrna, Cos, Syme, Siphnos and Olbia and Hamaxitos (RO 155). Another example is the decree of Olbia of the 4th century BC concerning local and foreign coinage (SEG 26:848 = Syll.³ (SIG) 218 = Testimonia Numoria no. 349). For the closed currency system of Ptolemaic Egypt see P. Cairo Zeno 59.021; Callataÿ 2005, 119 f.; Lorber 2018A, 1–59. For the Attalid closed currency system see Meadows 2013.

[67] Xen. *Poroi* III.2.

[68] Meadows 2022.

[69] Carbone 2021A.

[70] Meadows 2021.

[71] Carbone 2021A, 366.

[72] Carbone 2020, 59–63.

[73] Smekalova 2009.

6 g, indicating that the most common denomination at the start of the 1st century BC was the hemiobol/tetrachalkon.[74] However, the numismatic research focused on the coins produced in the western territories of Asia Minor, making research on the client kingdoms of central Asia Minor an important aspect to further our understanding of the development of coinage in this period and the wider region of Asia Minor.

1.4.3 The role of the king

There is little available evidence on who was in control of the mint and/or the design of the coins. Concerning the production of royal coinage, it is likely that the king controlled the minting operation and the coin's design at least to a certain extent. This is attested in literary sources like pseudo-Aristotle[75] and in Ptolemaic papyri.[76] In both of these cases, the minting of royal coins by the kingdom appears as a royal prerogative. However, the sources are concerned with larger Hellenistic royal dynasties like the Ptolemies.[77] The same principle might not apply to smaller client kingdoms in the Late Hellenistic period, but it seems

[74] Carbone 2021A, 367.

[75] Arist. [*Oec.*] 2.1.

[76] P. Cairo Zeno 1.59021.

[77] Arist. [*Oec.*] 2.1.

unlikely that kings were unaware and uninvolved in coinage produced in their name.[78]

1.4.4 The use of epithets

Royal Greek epithets are often mentioned by ancient sources and while not mandatory, they were an important aspect of Hellenistic royal self-representation from the 4th century BC onwards. According to Muccioli, epithets can be separated into different groups.[79] Firstly, as belonging to the political sphere, like E*uergetes* (= benefactor) or S*oter* (= saviour). Secondly, family epithets, *Philadelphos* (= sibling-loving) or *Philopator* (= father-loving). Then epithets emphasising personal relationships, *Philantonios* (= friend of Antonius), *Philhellen* (= friend of the Greeks), or *Philorhomaios* (= friend of the Romans). Furthermore, epithets that create divine associations, like *Eusebes* (= benefactor), *Theos* (= god) and military epithets, for example, *Aniketos* (= the unconquered) and *Nikator* (= the victorious). However, these broad categories tend to overlap. Personal relationships, divine or family epithets are also of a political nature. Other epithets, like Soter (= saviour) or Nikator (= the victorious), were also divine attributes. Hence, the epithets of a king were

[78] Poll. *Onom*. 3.87.

[79] Muccioli 2013, 15–16.

carefully chosen to portray a specific view of the king to his subjects, allies and enemies.

These epithets are best known to modern scholars through their use in the historical accounts of the Hellenistic period. However, as a literary device for differentiation between kings with the same name, epithets function differently than in their original, contemporary context. Some of the names associated with kings in literary texts are nicknames[80] and do not represent the contemporary epithets used by the kings themselves. Van Nuffelen observed a change in the use of epithets towards the Late Hellenistic period with the practice of "substituting an epithet for a name"[81] becoming a popular way for authors to denote a specific king. Thus, an independent perspective on royal epithets can only be given through contemporary evidence, most importantly epigraphic and numismatic sources. It is also important to note that epithets could change or be added to throughout a king's reign.[82]

[80] For example Antiochus VII Euergetes who was nicknamed Sidetes. For more see Callataÿ and Lorber 2011, 417.

[81] Van Nuffelen 2009, 97.

[82] An example of this is also visible in numismatic evidence. The coins of Antiochus IV refer to him as ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (SC 1396) and later from 168 BC–164 BC as ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (SC 1401). Compare van Nuffelen 2009, 94.

The first systematic use of epithets was initiated by Ptolemy II, who used them to illustrate divine qualities and attributes.[83] Under the Ptolemies, epithets played an important part in the royal dynastic cults.[84] For numismatists, the epithets on coins are often the clearest distinction between individuals in a dynasty. This also applies to the Cappadocian kings discussed in this thesis. Indeed, most of the kings considered in this thesis use an epithet on their coins. Even though the kingdoms have different cultural backgrounds and local language dialects, coins were minted with a Greek legend and preferably depict either an epithet or a monogram or both. This shows how royal coinage followed an already established design during the Late Hellenistic period, even in the newly created Kingdoms of central Asia Minor.

1.5 Methodology and Terminology

This thesis will use several different methodologies to interpret the numismatic evidence of the four client kingdoms under discussion. Their use and reliability depend on the quantity and quality of the available coin evidence. This section explains the basic principles behind the methodologies used and creates an awareness of their limitations.

[83] Grabowski 2014, 24

[84] Grabowski 2014, 30.

1.5.1 General terminology of the thesis and catalogue

This thesis and the catalogue use the Greek versions of names, royal titles and cities. The periods mentioned in this work follow the traditional period dates for the Hellenistic period (starting with the death of Alexander from 323 to 31 BC) and the Roman period (starting with the victory of Octavian at Actium in 31 BC). Due to the nature of numismatic evidence, it is often not possible to date coins precisely. Instead, they are often categorised as Greek or Roman based on appearance. Hence, the term Greek period in this thesis denotes the period from the 6th century BC to the start of the Roman period in 31 BC and thus includes the Hellenistic period.

In numismatic catalogues, there are various terms used to group and distinguish coins.[85] All of them are artificial creations by modern scholars, functioning as a structural framework for research. These are needed for modern research to show chronological orders, changes in iconography, work stations, denominations, artists, or monograms. The catalogue of this thesis makes use of the principle of coin types to order the coin data. However, there is no universal definition for coin types and their use cases. As such, this requires an awareness and clarification of how the term is used here.

[85] For an overview of publications and terms used see Callataÿ 2013A.

The term ‘coin type’ is one of the most used methods for a typology in numismatic catalogues.[86] A coin type is a group of single coins under the heading of common characteristics. A coin type is the accumulation of coins with the same specific iconographic design. This also includes coins from different dies and with stylistic variations (single letters or inscriptions might be placed differently or vary in their design). Larger differences between coins and their designs result in their assignment to a different coin type. The use of the term coin types in this thesis follows this basic understanding.

Scholars often differ in their interpretation of whether coins with variations, like different monograms or a head facing the other direction, should be considered a single type or multiple.[87] In addition, there is also a chronological factor to consider. Some coins belong closer together than others. Scholars have used different terms[88] to characterise this within and between coin types. One of the most popular terms, according to a study by Callataÿ, is a ‘group’ of coin types[89] while RPC prefers the term coin issues.[90] Since there is no universal terminology, there is “a

[86] Callataÿ 2013A, 3.

[87] For example, catalogue types 5 and 6; 10 and 11; or 9, 13, 14 and 17.

[88] For a comprehensive listing of terms and analysis of their frequencies see Callataÿ 2013A, 1–7.

[89] Callataÿ 2013A, 3.

[90] RPC IX, 230.

constant adaptation [of the terms] to the material examined".[91] Therefore, this thesis uses the term 'g*roup*'[92] to denote coins with similar chronological periods but different designs. In contrast, the term '*series*' accounts for the opposite, denoting shared stylistic characteristics of coin designs but giving no information on the chronological placement. In specific cases, multiple ways of classification are needed to describe differences between the coins, like changes in iconography or monograms in different *groups* of coins in the same *series*. This case occurs for the bronze coins of Amyntas.[93] Within the limits of a written catalogue, it is impossible to list both in a satisfying way. Since the coin types themselves are chronologically sorted for the reader, the catalogue prioritises the chronological classification and uses the terms Group 1 and Group 2.

1.5.2 The catalogue

The catalogue represents a systematic study of the coins produced by each kingdom. This allows for the analysis of the numismatic evidence through a type and die study. The catalogue contributes to this thesis as a work of reference, enabling comparisons between coins, different coin

---

[91] Callataÿ 2013A, 7.

[92] The term 'group' also includes a chronological aspect. However, this thesis uses the term 'group' over the chronological term 'period' since "the exact relative chronology […] cannot be established with absolute certainty" (Bauslaugh 2001, 31).

[93] Chapter 3.3.4.

types and different rulers. It includes coins from published collections, museums and auction listings. The catalogue organises the coins of the kingdoms by type to help structure and guide the coin analysis.[94] The listing is sorted by kingdom, following the chronological order whenever possible. The coins are ordered by dies (O for obverse dies and R for reverse dies) with references to their museum, collection or auction numbers.

Due to the time required for analysis, the catalogue only contains coins published before August 2025. Starting from July 2025, a large number of new Cappadocian drachms appeared in auction catalogues. Notable are the large lots sold by Leu Numismatic in Web Auction 34[95] and Web Auction 36.[96] Overall, these two auctions added 450 coins to the catalogue, almost exclusively of Ariobarzanes II and Ariobarzanes III. Most coins were not published previously and provided many new dies and die combinations that were only published in the last months of this thesis.

[94] The catalogue was created in cooperation with the Roman Provincial Coinage Project and follows many of its conventions but utilises a different layout and clearer classifications.

[95] Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lots 4334–4338.

[96] Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lots 1492–1499.

1.5.3 Die studies

Die studies identify the dies used to strike ancient coins (Figure 1.3). By studying the individual coins and their dies, it is possible to observe chronological developments and estimate coin production. Die studies have several limiting factors. Firstly, the human factor. A scholar, even the best-trained one, might misidentify a die. Many coins are only recorded by pictures or plaster casts and lighting can easily result in misattributions. Secondly, the sample of available coins to modern researchers is significantly less than the coins that were actually minted. While the surviving die coverage for silver is estimated at 85 percent,[97] some die combinations or complete coin dies are likely to remain lost.

A die study not only identifies the individual dies but also die links between the coins. Links can occur for both obverse and reverse dies. One reverse die might connect two obverse dies and one obverse die can be used with multiple reverse dies (Figure 1.4). In an idealised minting scheme, a single obverse die is used with multiple reverse dies until it breaks and then replaced with a new obverse die.[98] The reverse die experiences more wear and needs to be replaced more frequently and thus tends to connect multiple obverse dies. This is what one would

[97] Faucher 2011, 123.

[98] For a discussion and problems of the die link scheme see Watson 2022.

expect in an idealised, linear minting sequence. This can provide a chronological perspective on which coins were minted first and how many workstations were used for coin production. Die studies can also help to determine the mint of dies,[99] or show dies used at multiple mints.[100] However, not all coins fit into this die link scheme. Singletons exist and are hard to place into the minting sequence, often requiring additional comparisons based on iconographic elements like style or iconographic designs. Die studies also allow us to estimate the original scale of coin production through the use of quantification, for this see Chapter 2.

1.5.4 Coin finds and hoards

Coin hoards and single finds help determine coin circulation in both a geographical and chronological context. Single coin finds can occur as stray finds or during excavation. Stray finds, often surface finds or searched for with metal detectors, do not have an archaeological context that could give a chronological context or further information on the use of the coin. Excavated coins, in contrast, have the potential to give a specific date and more information for the excavated structures and spatial analysis. This can range from tracing and explaining structures

[99] Atlan 1975, 607.

[100] Lannin 2017; Watson 2021.

and coin use[101] in a city, up to the reconstruction of seating arrangements in a stadium.[102]

The coin hoards and their findspots are especially useful, since they show where coins were used and with which currency they circulated. They also provide a specific chronological context with a cut-off point, the date of deposition. Coin hoards were usually intended to be recovered later. Their loss can indicate an unforeseen event that prevented the owner(s) from reclaiming their property. This event might be known from literary or archaeological sources, providing further context to the coins and their owner(s). For numismatic research, it is important to consider that a hoard was a collection of coins chosen for a specific purpose and deliberately collected. Hence, it might not necessarily accurately reflect its contemporary coin circulation. To rectify this, it is necessary to compare the data to other hoards or single coin finds to better understand the coin circulation. Higher value denominations and metals are more likely to occur in hoards than lower value bronze coins. This creates additional bias and limits the available data for bronze coins. On the other hand, bronze hoards represent a more accurate picture of circulation than higher value coins since bronze was used mostly on a

[101] Stroobants 2013, 73 and 86 f..

[102] Knapp and Mac Isaac 2005, 27–30.

local level.[103] In this thesis, less than ten coins can be ascribed to a hoard[104] and only two to one with a known find context.[105] Due to these limitations, hoard evidence is only available for a select few cases but will be discussed whenever possible.

1.5.5 Interpreting iconography: monograms and dates

Many of the coins minted during the Late Hellenistic period also contain additional letters or designs besides the coin legend. The meaning of these symbols is not always clear. Some of them can be identified as monograms, while single letters could indicate control marks, letters or numerals.[106] Finding an explanation is not always possible and often scholars are left with no clear solution to their meaning.

Monograms

Monograms were a popular design choice of civic and royal coins in the Late Hellenistic period. A monogram, as defined in Brill's New Pauly, is "the merging of the individual letters of a word to 'one' (móno(n)) 'character' (grámma)", often also "involving a change of their original

[103] Carrier and Stefanaki 2017, 473; Thompson 1982, 170.

[104] It is also possible to reconstruct hoards from museum collections and auction records. However, this data is likely to remain incomplete since neither the find spot nor the full content of the hoard can be determined.

[105] IGCH 1579 and CHANGE 0058.

[106] Meadows 2012; Wartenberg Kagan 2012.

order“.[107] However, the meaning of these symbols is not always clear and they often remain “ambiguous or indecipherable“.[108] Callataÿ also emphasised a difference between Greek and Roman style monograms, with Greeks preferring a single combined design of letter, while Roman monograms might stretch across multiple letters.[109]

Monograms seem to have had two main purposes. Firstly, the monograms often stood for personal names.[110] These could include magistrates of the city, officials/individuals connected to the mint, important individuals, or engravers, as well as the mint itself. The use of monograms was a popular way to depict and abbreviate personal names more easily. However, these kinds of monograms are also the easiest to decipher. This perception could influence the opinion and interpretation of modern researchers to see monograms predominantly as standing for ancient names.

The second interpretation of monograms is treating them as non-personal monograms for the workings of the mint. A monogram might show specific workshops, metal sources, quality control, or a specific

[107] Eleuteri and Hallof 2006.

[108] Eleuteri and Hallof 2006.

[109] Callataÿ 2024.

[110] Callataÿ 2012, 40.

purpose for which the coins were minted. This complex way of interpretation has no direct evidence. Martin Price argued that monograms could be used to indicate metal provenance.[111] However, without clear examples Callataÿ is right to classify this explanation as unlikely.[112] Coins with monograms/letters indicating a specific purpose were often minted for festivals. For example, Argos minted coins depicting a krater inscribed with ΝΕ for the Nemean games.[113]

The possibility of imitation and copying of monograms poses the question of whether there always was a purpose behind monograms or if they were just part of the design of Late Hellenistic coins. Especially the large Hellenistic kingdoms produced coins with a large number of monograms.[114] Some monograms were applied on a large geographical scale and timeframe, which obscures their meaning. This could indicate an imitative approach to, or reuse of monograms.[115] Callataÿ also observes that "many monograms seem to feature the letter M, whereas names beginning with a Mu are comparatively scarce in the published volumes of the Lexicon for Greek Personal Names".[116] This could be due

[111] Price 1991, 34.

[112] Callataÿ 2012, 46.

[113] BMC Peloponnesus 1887, 146.

[114] Price's work on Alexander the Great and Philip III Arrhidaeus compiled about 1.500 monograms (Price 1991, 571–632).

[115] For a more thorough discussion see Chapter 6.5.

[116] Callataÿ 2012, 51.

to the imitation and variation of already existing monograms on coins of other cities. In general, monograms are a complex phenomenon of Late Hellenistic coinage. The best understood monograms seem to indicate personal names for individuals, magistrates or mints. Other interpretations of monograms are harder to trace and depend on circumstantial evidence and logical inference. It is clear that there was no single purpose behind monograms, making them a complex iconographic element that needs to be considered carefully.

Dates and eras on coins

In the ancient Greek period, there was no systematic or universal method of dating. Instead, many of the Greek *poleis* used their own eras. These could be based on magistrates,[117] like the famous archon lists at Athens[118] or dating from the (re-)foundation of the city, for example, the refoundation of Anazarbos as Caesarea in Cilicia in 19 BC.[119] Some kingdoms used royal eras based on regnal years. Even when the regnal dates of the kings are clear, difficulties may arise because regnal years might be counted differently. An example is the royal era of Cleopatra VII of Egypt:

[117] For an overview see Sherk 1990A and 1990B.

[118] For example IG II³ 1031; IG II² 1714, IG II² 1729–1731, IG II² 1734.

[119] Suet. *Aug*. 60 and Chapters 6.5–6.

“After Ptolemy's death, Cleopatra's younger brother, who was also called Ptolemy, became joint ruler with his sister, according to Caesar's wishes. The next year was called the fifth year of Cleopatra and the first year of Ptolemy, and so it continued for the following two years, until he died. He died in his 4th year, which was Cleopatra's 8th year, due to Cleopatra's treachery. Thereafter Cleopatra ruled on her own, untill her 15th year. However, her 16th year was also called the first year, because after the death of Lysimachus the King of Chalcis in Syria, the Roman general Marcus Antonius gave Chalcis and the surrounding regions to Cleopatra. And thenceforth for the remaining years until the 22nd year, which was the last of Cleopatra's reign, the years were counted in the same way, so that the 22nd year was also called the 7th year.“

(Eusebius *Chronicle* 1.60, translated by R. Bedrosian[120])

In addition to civic or royal eras, regional eras also existed.[121] The increasing Roman influence in the Late Hellenistic period led to the use of eras marking important achievements of later Republican leaders, like the Sullan era, the Pompeian era, the Caesarean era or the Actian era in Asia Minor.[122] Consequently, a civic era could be individually adapted to political requirements. This complicates modern efforts to understand local eras and convert them into the common one. The numeral system in the Greek period was also based on the Greek alphabet used for both

[120] Bedrosian 2008.

[121] Leschorn 1993, 13–21.

[122] Leschorn 2006, C.3.

letters and numbers (Table 1.1). This makes it difficult to distinguish between letters, monograms and numbers on ancient coins.

Another important factor to consider is that the number 0 had not yet been 'invented'. The start date of an ancient era is automatically Year 1 and the first anniversary, which would start Year 1 in modern counting, would be the start of Year 2 in ancient times. A problem in converting dates to the common era is also the year 0 BC/AD, which does not exist. Hence, to account for the non-existing Year 0, it is necessary to subtract 1 year during calculations from BC to AD.[123] Both of these complications can be well illustrated by an era starting in 60 BC. Here, Year 1 of the era would be 60 BC and the date of 50 BC would be Year 11. The date AD 10 would fall into Year 70.

Finally, there is the problem of the beginning of the ancient calendar year. In Asia Minor, a new year usually began in autumn.[124] This remained the same even if a new era was adopted.[125] When the event/ occasion for the initiation of a new era fell into the summer, this allowed for two possible start dates for local eras. Firstly, the era could begin from the initial start date of the year in which the event fell. Secondly, the new

[123] Compare with Leschorn 1993, 7.

[124] Leschorn 1993, 6.

[125] Leschorn 1993, 6.

era could start counting from the first day of the next year after the event. Which option was chosen remains unclear, so that we have to account for a two-year uncertainty even when a precise date is attested.[126]

On coins, dating formulae occur in the form of single letters. These are sometimes preceded by the Greek word for year (ἔτους) or the Greek letter epsilon for ἔ(τους). However, there is no systematic use of eras or numerals on ancient Greek coins. Their inclusion seems to have been decided by the mint. Some kingdoms, like the Cappadocian Kingdom, developed a systematic approach to include dates on their coinage.[127] However, single letters on coins might not always indicate a local era, but might represent mint marks, value marks or signatures.[128] Even in a case where letters occur in a chronological sequence, like on Arsinoe's coins, they might be completely unrelated to local eras.[129] Hence, Greek numerals, monograms and regnal dates need to be considered carefully. Conclusions will be based on traceable and transparent data and then placed into their historical context.

[126] Leschorn 1993, 7.

[127] Chapters 6.2–6.

[128] Callataÿ 2012, 40 and 44.

[129] Troxell 1983, 37 f..

Chapter 2: Quantification

2.1 Quantifying coin production

Modern estimates of ancient coin production are based on the assumption that dies were able to produce only a limited number of coins until a die break occurred and they were retired. For an absolute comparison, the original number of obverse dies is multiplied by the estimated number of coins produced per die. During the striking process, the obverse die was placed in an anvil and somewhat protected from damage. Thus, the number of obverse dies more accurately reflects the coin production than the number of reverse dies. The reverse dies have a higher tendency to break, which is apparent from their significantly higher number compared to obverse dies per type.[130]

Hence, for an estimate of the coin output, it is necessary to understand the number of coins that were produced per obverse die. In 1963, Brunetti argued for a number of 1,000 coins produced per obverse die, based on the calculated hardness and characteristics of the silver and metal alloys.[131] However, the epigraphic evidence from a 4th century BC inscription concerning the Amphictyonic coinage of Delphi showed a

[130] See catalogue types 5–51.

[131] Brunetti 1963, 16.

different picture. Interpretations of this evidence by Kinns[132] and later Marchetti[133] gave a wide range from 23,333 to 47,250[134] or 23,333 to 14,350 coins.[135] Another approach to estimate the number of coins minted from a single die was developed by Sellwood through experimental archaeology.[136] His experiments concluded a production rate of 10,000 to 16,000 coins per obverse die for hot struck coins, with production halved when struck cold.[137] More recently, Faucher and his team managed to produce 10,638 silver coins during cold striking.[138] From this range of production estimates, an average of 20,000 coins per die became the standard number used in calculations. Experiments by Faucher have further shown that the production rate of bronze coins per obverse die is significantly lower than for silver.[139]

The die-study of this thesis allows for the first time an estimate of the coin production in the four client kingdoms under consideration. For this, it is necessary to calculate an estimate of the original number of dies that were used for a particular type or issue. Different scholars have

---

[132] Kinns 1983, 18–19 following the interpretation of the epigraphic evidences by Raven 1950.

[133] Marchetti 1999.

[134] Kinns 1983, 18.

[135] Marchetti 1999, 109.

[136] Sellwood 1963.

[137] Sellwood 1963, 229–230.

[138] Faucher 2011, 115 based on Faucher, Téreygeol, Brousseau and Arles 2009.

[139] Faucher *et al*. 2013.

suggested several mathematical formulae to estimate the original number of dies.[140] Of those, the calculations by Carter[141] and Esty[142] are currently the most commonly used in numismatic die studies. The formulae of Esty and Carter are based on the mathematical portrayal of coin production curves and die distribution.[143] Esty and Carter prefer the model of a negative binomial or Poisson distribution (Figure 2.1 (Curve B))[144] while Callataÿ suggests a mixture of distributions (Figure 2.1 (Curve C)).[145] Since Esty's current formula was developed in 2011, many older works[146] rely on Carter's 1983 formula. Similarly, Esty's 2011 formula also has notable difficulties discussed by Albarède *et al.*.[147] The inclusion of both formulae allows closer comparisons with other die studies. However, the calculated results can only give estimates on the number of coins produced and have to be treated with caution.[148] The calculations are based on idealised models which cannot account for the complex individual behaviours of dies and mints.

---

[140] Carter 1981, 204–213; Esty 1986 185–215; Albarède et al. 2021.

[141] Carter 1983, 195–206.

[142] Esty 2011, 43–58.

[143] Esty and Carter 1992; Albarède et al. 2021; Callataÿ 1987, 89–94.

[144] Esty and Carter 1992.

[145] Callataÿ 1987.

[146] Glenn 2020, 186.

[147] Albarède et al. 2021.

[148] See Esty 2011, 44–57 for the models application to real coin data. For problems with the current quantification models see Albarède et al. 2021; Buttrey 1993 and 1994; Callataÿ 1995.

To calculate the estimated original number of original coin dies (D(e)), the number of observed obverse dies (d) and the number of recorded coins (n) are required. The mean number of coins per observed die can be calculated as R = n/d. To ensure the reliability of the results, the sample of coins should be at least 30 (n ≥ 30) with the mean number of coins per observed die being not too high (R ≥ 10) unless the number of singletons (dies occurring only on a single coin) is at least one (d_1 ≥ 1.0)[149] and not too low (R ≤ 3 [150]).[151] Depicted in Figure 2.2 and 2.3 are the commonly used Esty Formula 1 (2011) and Carter's Formula. These are the usual quantification formulae used in publications.

Another method that calculates a numerical range of original obverse dies is Esty's Formula 4 (2006).[152] This formula gives an upper and lower limit of the estimated original dies. An estimate of the coverage of the sample (C_{est}) (Figure 2.4) can also be calculated with the number of singletons.[153] This coverage can then be used in another formula to estimate the original number of dies in Esty's Formula 4 (2011).[154] All three formulae thus calculate an estimate of the original number of dies

[149] Esty 2011, 52–54.

[150] Albarède et al. 2021, 1 and Callataÿ 1995, 295.

[151] Although Callataÿ 1995, 295 comments that the difficulties by this n/d ration should be minor in most cases.

[152] Esty 2006, 360.

[153] For this formula see Esty 1984.

[154] Esty 2011, 50.

(D(e)). In contrast to Esty, Carter's three formulae only consider the number of coins in the sample (n) and the number of dies (d). Depending on the relation between the sample (n) and number of dies (d), the corresponding formula needs to be chosen for calculation.

Another matter that cannot be accounted for in the calculations are individual decisions that influence the number of coins produced. This includes the coin production (cold or hot striking, metal composition, skill of the craftsman, metal, size, details and depth of engraving, care taken during striking) as well as quality control. A mint might decide to take out a die immediately after the first damage to the die or continue striking with the same die for as long as possible. Buttrey rightly questioned if a calculated average is representative enough for the estimate of coin output.[155] Even so, case studies of ancient coins have shown a close correspondence to the mathematical results.[156]

2.2 Quantifying the size of the silver coinage

The four kingdoms discussed in this thesis produced three different silver denominations: drachms, tridrachms and tetradrachms (Table 2.1). The two prevailing quantification models were optimised for the estimate of

[155] Buttrey 1976, 1993 and 1994.

[156] Callataÿ 1995, 289–311.

original dies of silver coins. Factors like different denominations, silver content, flan size, thickness, purity, hot or cold striking and more are all elements influencing the minting process that are not taken into account.

Silver drachms were produced by the Kingdom of Paphlagonia and the kings of Cappadocia (Table 2.2) in very different quantities. While the Cappadocian kings produced a large number of coins, only four drachms of the Paphlagonian King Deiotaros Philadelphos have survived. The four coins were struck from two obverse dies. Due to the scarcity of coin specimens and the relatively small size of the kingdom, a low number of produced coins seems possible. However, with such a small sample size, it is impossible to draw meaningful conclusions. It is possible that the majority of Deiotaros Philadelphos' coins did not survive or were melted down or other factors prevented the survival of the coins. A similar case is the tridrachm of King Brogitaros, of which only a single specimen survives (Table 2.2).

For the tetradrachms of King Amyntas, a die study was first published by Atlan in 1975, who discovered a die link with tetradrachms of Side.[157] Meadows further analysed Side's coinage, describing the coins which were die-linked to Amyntas' tetradrachms as a specific group, ΚΛΕΥΧ

[157] Atlan 1975, 597–611.

Group IV.[158] This study reaffirmed the numbers of Amyntas' obverse dies and added more data for Kleuchares Group IV.[159] At least 13 obverse dies were used with Side's iconography in ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV (Table 2.3). The two ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV types are directly connected to each other with a shared obverse die. The diadem type associated with King Amyntas used five different obverse dies but shared dies with both the ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV with wreath and Amyntas' royal tetradrachms. For the purpose of mathematical calculations, each shared obverse die between two types is given a value of 0.5 obverse dies. The number of coins minted by one die remains the same but is split across two different coin types. Hence, the diadem type of ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV used four obverse dies, plus one obverse die linked to ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV (calculated as 0.5) and one die linked to Amyntas' royal tetradrachms (also calculated as 0.5). Overall, there were 11 obverse dies for catalogue types 20–23 and 25. These types have a royal diadem on their reverses that connects them to Amyntas. For the calculation, the value of 10.5 obverse dies (5 for the ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV with diadem[160] and 5.5 for Amyntas tetradrachms[161]) is used since one obverse die occurred already in ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV with wreath, lowering the dies' production capabilities for the diadem series.

[158] Meadows 2006.

[159] For a discussion of Amyntas' tetradrachms see Chapter 3.3.2 and 3.3.3 and catalogue types 20–23 and 24–25.

[160] Catalogue type 25: 4 obverse dies (+ 1 shared with wreath reverse, + 1 shared with Amyntas).

[161] Catalogue types 20–23: 5 obverse dies (+1 shared with Side Group 4 diadem).

Estimating the original coin output with Esty's formula gives a slightly higher number of 11 obverse dies, while Carter's calculation gives a range of 10.34 ±0.2. This corresponds to the available coin data of 10 obverse dies and 1 die linked obverse die. At a rate of 20,000 coins per obverse die, the estimated production of 11 dies would amount to 190,000 produced coins. However, this estimate by Esty and Carter's formulae should be considered speculative due to a selective and less reliable sample. For the tetradrachms of Amyntas, the mean number of coins per die appears to be too high and the number of singletons at zero too low (Table 2.3). Calculating the coverage of the sample gives an overestimate[162] of 100 percent. This indicates that the coin sample is likely biased. This bias would be expected if Amyntas' tetradrachms originate from a single hoard.[163] Hoards contain too many similar dies and die links, which is visible in the coin data. Thus, these coins give a minimum of produced dies but are unsuitable for a total estimate of Amyntas' tetradrachm production. In addition, the observed re-cutting of obverse dies increased (but not doubled[164]) their lifetime. For Side's ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV, the calculations of the mean number of coins per die and number of singletons allow the use of Esty's and Carter's formulae (Table 2.3). However, the chronological relation of ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV and

[162] Esty 2011, 57.

[163] See IGCH 1465; Burgon 1845 and Chapter 3.3.2.

[164] Faucher 2011, 115.

King Amyntas' coinage remains unclear. The diadem and shared obverse die make it likely that at least the diadem type was minted during or shortly before Amyntas' reign.

The Cappadocian kings produced silver drachms with the reign date of the ruling king. Ariobarzanes II's coinage was issued in Year 7 and Year 8.[165] This allows for an estimate of the coin output for these two years. There is a significant, near four-fold increase in obverse dies from Year 7 to 8 (Table 2.4) – about 10.5 obverse dies for Year 7 (Z) and 39.5 for Year 8 (H).[166] The obverse dies for Year 8 are harder to differentiate due to a change in style, making it possible that the number of obverse dies was even higher.[167] In addition, there are 14 obverse dies which could not be assigned to a specific year. The production of 40 obverse dies[168] during Year 8 is already significantly larger than the annual output of Ariobarzanes II's predecessor, Ariobarzanes I, whose coin production spiked around 83 BC during the Mithridatic wars with 25 obverse dies.[169] The motivation behind this increase in Year 8 remains open to discussion due to the imprecise dating and a lack of information on the internal and

[165] For the possible dating of these years see Table 5.2.

[166] The 0.5 obverse dies added to each year indicate a shared die between the years.

[167] Discussed in Chapter 5.4.

[168] Or 39.5 obverse dies to account for the obverse die link with Year Z if used in the calculation formulae of Esty and Carter.

[169] Callataÿ 1997A, 210–211. For an obverse die number of 34 for Ariobarzanes I in this year see the revised die study on SILVER (SILVER ID 30487).

economic situation of Cappadocia at this time.[170] The overall 87 obverse dies estimated by Esty's 2011 formula would correlate to an approximate production of 1,740,000 drachms for Ariobarzanes II.

Ariobarzanes III minted a significant number of drachms in his regnal years 9 and 11 (Table 2.5).[171] In his first year, Year 9, he produced 54 obverse dies. This is higher than the coin output for Year 8 of Ariobarzanes II. Ariobarzanes III's coinage also experienced a significant increase from Year 9 to Year 11, with 92 attested obverse dies in a single year. This large number of drachms produced under Ariobarzanes III is particularly interesting since Cicero had written in September 51 BC that Cappadocia (under Ariobarzanes III) had nothing to give to the Roman forces to defend Asia Minor against the Parthians.[172] The massive production of drachms just six years later thus comes as a surprise. The dating of these coins and the historical implications of the unusually high coin output will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.5.

Ariarathes X has the lowest number of coins out of the three Ariobarzanid kings. The sample sizes for Year 4 and Year 6 are too low and biased to reliably apply the quantification formulae (Table 2.6). For

[170] For the interpretation and discussion of these dates see Chapter 5.4.

[171] Chapter 5.5.

[172] Cic. *Fam*. 15.1.

Year 6, the catalogue records two obverse dies. Year 4 also has two obverse dies and one shared obverse die with Year 5. Thus, estimates of coin output can only be made for Year 5 which has a sample size of 160 coins. The available sample shows 30 obverse dies for Year 5. Esty's formula estimates the original number of dies as between 36 to 37 for Year 5. The mean number of dies per obverse die for Year 5 is lower than 10 (R=n/d R=160/29.5= 5.4) and the coinage shows a singleton number of 3. This suggests that the sample for Year 5 is reliable and not based on a single hoard find. The latter seems to be the case for Year 6, which has only two obverse dies for Year 6 and a large number of coins with the same dies. Thus, Ariarathes X's coinage shows a significant increase in Year 5, compared to Year 4 and 6 where the sample size is significantly smaller and not reliable.

2.3 Bronze coinage quantification

The quantification formulae of Carter and Esty are mainly based on the data obtained from silver die studies.[173] In addition, different sizes and thicknesses of the flans, metals, choice of design, skills and tolerance of the mint, as well as hot or cold striking, all influence the number of coins

[173] Altogether there are only 92 Bronze die studies in Callataÿ 1997B and 2003 out of 608 die studies. Ariel argues that only 22 % of Hellenistic die studies focus on bronze coinage and that of these only 13 % are quantitative useable (Ariel 2009, 46). This attests a bias in the data used towards silver. However, this does not mean that the formulae are unusable, just not as reliable as for silver. Esty also uses a bronze die study of Hellenistic type 171 (Dichalkon of Hermione, Peloponnesos) (Esty 2011, 48).

produced. Faucher also emphasises the lower survival rate for bronze coinage in the archaeological evidence, with only about 70% of bronze dies surviving compared to 85% of silver coinage.[174] Consequently, it is not possible to use these models to estimate the size of bronze coinage production with the same accuracy as for the silver coinage. The bronze die study will mainly record the sample size and the observed number of obverse dies. If the sample size is significant enough, the die estimates with the formulae of Carter and Esty will be given as well. This allows the data to be compared to other bronze coinages of similar sizes and dates for relative comparisons.

The coinage of Deiotaros Philadelphos of Paphlagonia presents too small a sample for any meaningful conclusions. The first coin type has only a single known coin in the collection of the British Museum and depicts the head of a man (likely King Deiotaros Philadelphos) on the obverse and caps of Dioscuri with a monogram between on the reverse.[175] Of the second coin type with Zeus on the obverse and a thunderbolt on the reverse, three coins are recorded who share a single obverse die.[176] Due to the small number of coins and dies, the sample is

[174] Faucher 2011, 123.

[175] Catalogue type 29.

[176] Catalogue type 30.

not representative but might indicate that the kingdom only produced bronze coinage on a small scale.

For King Deiotaros Philorhomaios of Galatia a larger number of coins and coin types are catalogued (Table 2.7). However, the copying of dies, wear and corrosion, make it difficult to identify the dies with certainty.[177] This is especially complicated for the Nike and Galatian shield types.[178] For them, only a handful of dies could be identified, so that the die study can therefore only be considered a preliminary result. Furthermore, the sample size for the Kybele and Attis coin types[179] is small. Only the Zeus/eagle on winged thunderbolt and Zeus/Galatian shield types have enough recorded coins to allow for quantification.[180] The rarity of some coin types could indicate smaller production or just a lack of available evidence. The Zeus/eagle on winged thunderbolt type is the largest coin type with 23 obverse dies among 114 coins. This seems to suggest that this coin type was produced with a different economic purpose and wider circulation in mind.[181]

[177] Catalogue types 5–6 of 18 mm, catalogue types 3–4 of 20 mm and catalogue type 7 which has a larger diameter of 27 mm.

[178] Catalogue types 7 and 6.

[179] Catalogue types 3 and 4.

[180] Catalogue types 5 and 6.

[181] For this discussion see Chapter 3.2.2.

King Amyntas' bronze coins can be separated into three coin series: the Stag, Lion and Hermes series.[182] Even though there is a high number of recorded coins, they were struck from a small number of obverse dies (Table 2.8). The overall number of obverse dies is lower than for the earlier Galatian King Deiotaros Philorhomaios, even though the coins of Amyntas in the catalogue are three times as many as those of Deiotaros Philorhomaios. This indicates a higher survival rate for his coinage, possibly due to the circulation of his coins in better excavated areas of Pisidia and Pamphylia.[183] Amyntas' Group 1 has a low number of dies,[184] possibly identifying it as the earliest coin type produced by Amyntas. The coins were minted from a single obverse die for the stag and from two dies for the Lion and Hermes series. The number of coins and dies increases in Group 2 for all three series.[185] However, the Lion series records a higher number of coins recorded per die than the Stag or Hermes series. A possible explanation could be hoard finds or the extensive use of metal detecting leading to a better survival rate of the largest denomination. Some dies show close copying of previous letter forms and designs, and there is also evidence of tooling/recutting for the

[182] For a discussion of his coinage see Chapter 3.3.

[183] Chapter 3.3.4.

[184] The types of Group 1 only have 1–2 obverse dies, see catalogue types 9–12.

[185] Group 2 encompasses catalogue types 13–19. For the chronological sequence from Group 1 to Group 2 see Chapter 3.3.4.

lion series.[186] The stag series overall uses only 5 obverse dies, making it by far the smallest coin series. This is followed by the Heracles series and then the Hermes series, which was the smallest denomination but had the largest number of 13 obverse dies. An explanation of the larger number of obverse dies could be due to faster die breaks of the dies used to strike the smaller denomination. However, the small size also gives the coins a lower survival rate in the archaeological context. This makes it likely that small change was indeed deliberately produced in larger numbers than the other types of Amyntas.

The Tarkondimotid Kingdom of Cilicia produced royal coinage in the name of Tarkondimotos I and King Philopator. The die study of Tarkondimotos I shows that the number of coins per obverse die is unusually high with an average of 26 coins per die (Table 2.9). This either indicates a complete sample or, more likely, a very biased one. Due to the large number of surviving coins, a bias in the existing coin sample should be suggested. The coins of King Philopator are the second identifiable series of royal coins from Tarkondimotid Cilicia. Amongst the 58 coins, 7 obverse dies were determined. The ratio between obverse dies and sample size (8.29) is lower than that of Tarkondimotos I and allows for a reliable estimate of the original dies. The results make it

[186] For the lion series see catalogue types 9, 13 and 14. Coin 81 of type 13 and obverse die O48 show signs of tooling.

likely that there is another obverse die, for a total of 8 dies. The butting bull/aplustre, Zeus/eagle holding a diadem and the Apollo/tripod coin types[187] can be assigned to the Tarkondimotid dynasty through circumstantial evidence. However, these types have a smaller number of recorded coins and fewer obverse dies than the coins of Tarkondimotos I or Philopator. These coin types and their connection to the Tarkondimotid dynasty are not well understood and are mostly based on iconographic/ stylistic similarities.[188] The die study helped in attesting a die link between type 52 and 53[189] but it is difficult to draw further conclusions.[190]

[187] Catalogue types 55, 52–53 and 54.

[188] For their attribution see Chapter 6.3.2.

[189] O354.

[190] For the discussion on the Tarkondimotid Kingdom see Chapter 6.

Chapter 3: The Kingdom of Galatia

3.1 The historic background of the Galatian kingdom

For the history of the Galatian kingdom, we are, due to the scarcity of epigraphic and archaeological evidence, mainly dependent on Roman literary sources, namely Cassius Dio and Strabo. This creates a Roman bias in the narrative, making objective and contemporary evidence such as the coins produced by the kingdoms all the more valuable.

The Kingdom of Galatia developed out of a number of originally Celtic tribes that settled in Asia Minor from the 3rd century BC onwards.[191] In the early 3rd century, multiple Celtic tribes with their families moved eastwards from Gaul to Thrace, to the Hellespont and some crossed into Asia Minor in 278 BC.[192] As successful mercenaries in the services of Greek kings like Nicomedes of Bithynia, these Gauls were allowed to settle in central Anatolia.[193] They soon became influential in the region, which subsequently became known as Galatia and started developing their own tribes and kingdoms. The organisation of Galatia as a kingdom and the start of unification between the different tribes seem to have

[191] See Coşkun 2012 and Strobel 2009.

[192] Livy 38.16.

[193] Livy 38.16; Strabo 12.5.

been initiated through/or in response to Roman interference in Galatia during the Late Hellenistic period. After the end of the Third Mithridatic War (74–63 BC), many of the kingdoms of Asia Minor and Galatia in particular were created through Pompey's reorganisation.[194] At this time, there were three main Gallic tribes that controlled Galatia: the Tectosages, Tolistobrogii and Trókmoi (Figure 3.1). Smaller groups or tribes also continued to exist as seen in the case of the Toutobodiaci and Tosiopi.[195] Strabo described the internal organisation of the three main tribes as following:

> *"The three tribes spoke the same language and differed from each other in no respect; and each was divided into four portions which were called tetrarchies, each tetrarchy having its own tetrarch, and also one judge and one military commander, both subject to the tetrarch, and two subordinate commanders. The Council of the twelve tetrarchs consisted of three hundred men, who assembled at Drynemetum, as it was called. Now the Council passed judgment upon murder cases, but the tetrarchs and the judges upon all others. Such, then, was the organisation of Galatia long ago, but in my time the power has passed to three rulers, then to two, and then to*

[194] Strabo 12.3.13.

[195] Coşkun 2012, 52 with Plin. *HN*. 5.146 and Plut. *Mor. De mul. vir.* 23.

one, Deïotarus, and then to Amyntas, who succeeded him." (Strabo 12.5.1)[196]

During his reorganisation in 63 BC,[197] Pompey rewarded the Galatian tetrarch Deiotaros who had been allied with the Romans during the Mithridatic Wars, with large gifts of territories. Amongst them were regions formerly belonging to Pontus and Armenia Minor.[198] He was also bestowed the title of king and continued to rule as a tetrarch over parts of Galatia and later assumed the title Philorhomaios, friend of Rome.[199] Pompey also approved the rule of other tetrarchs over the tribes of Galatia. Thus, the Tectosages, who were living around Ancyra and the neighbourhood of Pessinos and Orcaorci[200] were controlled by Castor

[196] For a discussion on the paragraph and possible bias of the Augustan era by the Roman authors see Coşkun 2012, 52.

[197] Strabo 12.3.13.

[198] Strabo 12.3.13.
The exact date of the addition of Armenia Minor to Deiotaros' kingdom is uncertain. Based on the literary sources emphasising the Roman senate (Cic. *Div*. 2.79; *BAlex*. 67) it seems likely that this territory was only a later grant to Deiotaros. Magie 1950, 373–374 and recently Eilers 2005, 90 argue that the territory was given to Galatia already by Pompey and merely ratified by the Roman Senate in 59 BC. Hoben 1969, 69–70 instead proposes that the recognition by the Senate in 59 BC was a new addition to Deiotaros kingdom. Others, like Adcock 1937, 14–17 and Syme (Syme and Birley 1995, 140–141) suggest that Armenia Minor was added to the territory of a different client king under Pompey's reorganisation and only given to Deiotaros after that king's death. They are arguing respectively for this king being the Galatian King Brogitaros or the Cappadocian King Ariobarzanes. Stählin 1907 concludes that Armenia Minor became part of Galatia through Deiotaros' military campaigns and whose conquest was officially recognised as part of his kingdom by the Senate in 59 BC.

[199] Although the exact date of this title is not clear, it was used by Cicero in 45 BC (Cic. *Phil*. 11.34, Cic. *Deiot*. 8). He ascribes to Pompey the expression that Deiotaros was "the only really loyal man to the Roman people in the whole world" (Cic. *Phil*. 11.34) and the title 'king' is directly attested in RECAM II 188.

[200] Strabo 12.5.2.

Tarkondarios.[201] The Trókmoi continued to be ruled by Brogitaros, occupying the Alaca basin and parts of Cappadocia including the cities of Tavion, Mithridatium and Danala.[202] Lastly, the Tolistobogioi, bordering on Bithynia and Phrygia, were ruled by the aforementioned King Deiotaros Philorhomaios with the cities of Bloukion (Blucium) and Peion (Peïum) serving as his royal residence and treasury respectively.[203] Mitchell identified two such Galatian forts at Karalar and Tabanlioglu Kale with Bloukion and Peion.[204] For Karalar, an association with the Galatian Deiotaros was confirmed by the discovery of a funerary inscription at one of the three tumuli of the site.[205] The inscription refers to Deiotaros' son (together with his Queen Berenice), who was named King Deiotaros Philopator and probably died before his father around 44 BC.[206] It also names both Deiotaroi as tetrarchs and kings of the Galatian Tolistobogioi and Trókmoi. Deiotaros took control over the Trókmoi in the middle of the 50s BC,[207] deposing his son-in-law King Brogitaros who had been favoured by Rome. Brogitaros had been given the title of king and control

---

[201] Caes. *BCiv*. 3.4.5. Although the tetrarch appointed by Pompey is not directly attested it is likely to have been Castor who supported Pompey with 300 horsemen during the battle of Pharsalus.

[202] Strabo 12.5.2.

[203] Strabo 12.5.2.

[204] Mitchell 1974, 72.

[205] RECAM II 188.

[206] Mitchell 1974, 61 argues for a date of 43–40 BC since this is the period when Deiotaros likely took control of the Tectosages (Cic. *Phil*. 2.37; Strabo 12.5) which are not mentioned in this inscription.

[207] Cic. *Dom*. 129; Cic. *Sest*. 56; Brogitaros was still king in February 55 BC according to Cic. *QFr. 2.7* but Pessinos was already conquered by Deiotaros in 56 BC (Cic. *Har. resp.* 28–29).

over Pessinos[208] – possibly through the initiative of Clodius as Tribune, which would place the recognition of Brogitaros as king in 58 BC,[209] but certainly before 56 BC.[210] Thus, Brogitaros' official recognition as king can be narrowed down to between 58 and 56 BC, while Deiotaros only became ruler of the Trókmoi, after conquering Brogitaros' territory.

The conquest of additional territory and him working actively against a friend of Rome shows that King Deiotaros was acting on his own initiative, independent from Roman control. His method of conquering neighbouring regions continued to such an extent that Deiotaros gained full control over all three tribes, including the Tectosages, by killing his son in law, Castor, at some point after Caesar's death in 44 BC.[211] In this way, he was the first Galatian king to unite all three tribes under himself, creating one large kingdom which covered an area far larger than the traditional tribal territories (Figure 3.2). At that point, Deiotaros' kingdom was one of the largest territories of a king in Asia Minor. During this period, the borders of his kingdom were not static but changed frequently due to ongoing military conflicts and Roman interference. Hence, while

[208] Cic. *Har. resp.* 28–29; Cic. *Sest*. 26.56.

[209] Cic. *QFr. 2.7*. Although this has been generally accepted in scholarship, there is no explicit evidence that Pessinos was given to Brogitaros when Clodius was Tribune.

[210] Cic. *Har. resp.* 28–29 dated 56 BC names Brogitaros as king.

[211] Strabo 12.5.3.

Deiotaros was given additional territory as gifts by Pompey,[212] he had others later taken away by Caesar who saw Deiotaros' expansive policy and support of Pompey as a threat.[213]

3.2 The coinage under the tetrarchy

The earliest royal coinage in Galatia was produced under the Galatian tetrarchs and later kings Brogitaros and Deiotaros. The reign dates for both remain uncertain, but since Brogitaros was deposed/killed earlier, his coins will be discussed first. The only coins minted in Galatia before or during the tetrarchy were a small number of civic bronze coins.[214] Most of the Greek civic bronzes of Galatia are dated to the 1st century BC.[215] Hence, it remains unclear whether the tetrarchs or the cities were the first to mint coinage in Galatia. This poses an important question regarding the monetisation of Galatia during the Late Hellenistic period.

The degree of monetisation in an area is hard to establish.[216] It is clear that Galatian mercenaries were paid in coin[217] but the monetisation of

---

[212] *BAlex.* 67; Cic. *Div*. 2.79; Strabo 12.3.13.

[213] *BAlex.* 78.3.

[214] Arslan 2006, 128–130. Tavium: Berlin 18305379, SNG von Aulock 6237; Pessinos: SNG Paris 2563–4; SNG Paris 2565–8; SNG Paris 2569–70; SNG Paris 2571; SNG Paris 2572–3.

[215] Arslan 1990, 150.

[216] For the introduction of coinage see Howgego 1995, 12–18 and van Alfen and Wartenberg 2020. For the topic of monetisation see Schaps 2004 and for monetisation in connection with warfare Trundle 2010.

[217] Psoma 2013, 290–294.

Galatia itself needs to be discussed with regards to evidence of coin circulation and output. As of now, the coinage of Galatia has not been part of a detailed die study that would allow for a general estimate of its coin output and production. As for coins circulating in the area, two silver coin hoards are attested that date to the Hellenistic period.[218] The first hoard consisted of 179+ silver tetradrachms of Alexander the Great, Philipp III Arrhidaios and Seleukos I, while the second one contained 14 silver drachms of Alexander the Great. However, the hoards recorded by CHRE for Galatia all have a date later than the 1st century AD.[219] Interestingly, none of the coins recorded in these hoards were minted in Galatia. This demonstrates the inherent bias in the reported hoards but also in the practice of hoarding itself which was a deliberate selection of coins accumulated for a specific purpose by its owner. There remains an absence of hoard evidence for Galatia during the 1st century BC. This is the same for the early Roman period for which the minting of coins is well attested.[220] Hence, the 'absence of evidence is not evidence of absence' for coins in Galatia. This is further supported by Greek coin finds during excavations at Pessinos and Ancyra.[221] Studies of the civic

[218] IGCH 1399 discovered in 1913 found at Ancyra in Galatia http://coinhoards.org/id/igch1399; IGCH 1407 discovered in 1954 at Nanekköy, near ancient Eccobrigia (Ankara inventory number 1394) http://coinhoards.org/id/igch1407.

[219] CHRE 6298 (ANKARA 1962); CHRE 9615 (TURKEY 1977); CHRE 10199 (ANKARA ROMA HAMAMI); CHRE 8170 (KAPULUKAYA); CHRE 3120 (SULAKYURT); CHRE 6226 (GORDION).

[220] RPC I, 3546–3570.

[221] Pessinos: Devreker 1984, 173 f.; Ancyra: Arslan 1996.

coinages of Ancyra,[222] Pessinos and Tavion[223] have catalogued and analysed the types minted in Galatia during the Late Hellenistic period. This allows their use for comparisons with the royal coins of this thesis. From the scarcity of coins of Galatia in the 1st century BC it appears likely that their output was small.

3.2.1 King Brogitaros Philorhomaios

The Galatian king Brogitaros minted silver tridrachms of which only a single specimen survives. Today, this coin is held by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris.[224] It is of exceptional importance, particularly in its coin legend and design. The obverse depicts the laureate head of Zeus, facing right, all within a laurel wreath. The reverse shows an eagle facing right, standing on a thunderbolt, holding a sceptre with a diadem tied on top. On the reverse, the coin legend reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΡΟΓΙΤΑΡΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΡΩΜΑΙΟΥ Ⅾ (Figure 3.3 no.1). Brogitaros' titulature is particularly interesting as his title is given as king (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ) which is not attested in any of the surviving inscriptions which solely refer to Brogitaros as tetrarch of the Trókmoi.[225] This epigraphic evidence originates from different regions of Asia Minor,

[222] Arslan 2004.

[223] Arslan 2006, 128–130.

[224] P: 1 = SNG France 2336; Catalogue type 1.

[225] Didyma 78/I.Did.475; IK Kyme 15; IGR 4.1683= MDAI(A) 37 1912, 294 no.20.

attesting the rich exchange between the kingdoms/communities in Asia Minor. The title of tetrarch is the traditional Galatian title, probably developed during the 2nd century BC.[226] The title king is only used on his own coinage and by Cicero. Cicero attests the use of the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ for Brogitaros,[227] even though he was not on friendly terms with him and supported his rival tetrarch Deiotaros. In another letter he refers to the future King Tarkondimotus I of Cilicia as friend but not as king.[228] Cicero, who as a senator based in Rome had access to official senatorial documents, was most likely aware of the official Roman titles for Eastern dynasts. This is also supported by his personal interest in the eastern client kingdoms and his own involvement as governor. Cicero was friends with King Deiotaros Philorhomaios and was stationed in the area of Cilicia from 51 BC.[229] He uses the title of King for Brogitaros in both in personal letters and official speeches in a specific period that can be dated 58–55 BC.[230] The coins also seem to date from around the same date, while most of the inscriptions are dated to the early 1st century BC.[231] The titlelature used by Brogitaros in inscriptions (Βρογίταρον

[226] Mitchell 1993, 27.

[227] Cic. *Har. resp.* 29.

[228] Cic. *Fam*. 15.1.

[229] He arrived in his province as Laodicea on the 31st July 51 BC (Cic. *Att*. 5.15 and and *Fam.* 3.6.6) and met his army at Iconium on the 24th of August (Cic. *Fam.* 15.4.3). For the journey of Cicero see Hunter 1913, 79 or Cicero and Treggiari 1972. For his close relationship with Deiotaros during this time see Cic. *Att*. 5.17–5.18 and 6.1.

[230] Coşkun 2018, 122.

[231] Didyma 78/I.Did.475; Coşkun et al. “Brogitaros Philorhomaios” and “Adobogiōna (I)” *Amici Populi Romani* APR 03 (2010) 32–33; IK Kyme 15; IGR 4.1683= MDAI(A) 37 1912, 294 no.20.

Δηϊοτάρου Γαλατῶν Τρόκμων τετράρχην) further indicates that the title of king was a later change. There are two practical consequences of the new title. The title is significantly shorter to fit on the coins and avoids the title of tetrarch which is associated with his rival Deiotaros. The rectangular coin legend with a regnal year below is unusual in the area of Galatia and Paphlagonia. It seems likely that it was inspired by other contemporary royal coins, the most likely case being the Kingdom of Cappadocia. This is also indicated by the addition of ΦΙΛοΡΩΜΑΙοΥ on the coins. The title of *Philorhomaios* (= friend of the Romans) first appeared on drachms of the Cappadocian King Ariobarzanes I (95–63 BC).[232] The title translates as “friend of Rome” and appears to proclaim Brogitaros’ friendship and alliance with the Roman Republic. This epithet together with the title king, instead of tetrarch, could imply the official recognition (*appellatio*) of Brogitaros as king by the Roman Senate. The *appellatio* included the extension of friendship and alliance by the Roman Senate, making him a “*rex sociusque et amicus“*.[233] This recognition and coronation by the Roman senate[234] seems to have become an important part of a king’s own identity and legitimacy in the Late Hellenistic period.[235] On other occasions, an official Roman embassy went to the

[232] Reinach 1887, 58–61.

[233] Livy 31.11.

[234] Joseph. *AJ* 14.379–389; Cic. *In Verr*. 2.4.67–68; Braund 1984, 23–29.

[235] Badian 1958, 106.

kingdom to proclaim the individual in question as king.[236] This proclamation was part of international relations of Rome with its client kings/allies, forming a new kind of diplomacy, which was practised from at least 256 BC.[237] Brogitaros secured Rome's and Pompey's favour already in 63 BC when he was given the tetrarchy over the Trókmoi and the territory of Mithridation which had earlier belonged to the Kingdom of Pontus.[238] If Roman politics and interests can be applied to such a far away region as Galatia, around the middle of the 1st century BC, Deiotaros seems close to Cicero's circle of influence while Brogitaros was an ally to Clodius.[239] The increasing adversity of multiple factions in Rome might have encouraged Deiotaros to depose and replace Brogitaros as the ruler of the Trókmoi. By placing the titles *Philorhomaios* (= friend of Rome) and king on his official coinage, Brogitaros presented himself as a king in his own right, recognised and allied with Rome. Whether this was an accurate portrayal and if a formally recognised alliance with Rome existed is impossible to determine. Brogitaros could have used the title of king and *Philorhomaios* (= friend of the Romans) out of his own initiative. However, since he managed to obtain favour

---

[236] Tac. *Ann*. 4.26.4.

[237] The first securely attested case being Hieron II of Syracuse (Plut. *Vit*. Marc. 8.6). For the historical background see Chapter 1.3.

[238] Strabo 12.5.2. Brogitaros' name was probably misspelled in the manuscript and is given in current translations as Bogodiatarus.

[239] Cic. *pro Sest.* 56; Cic. *Har. resp.* 29.

with Rome and his kingdom neighboured Roman provinces it seems unlikely that he would have chosen this title without Roman approval.

Another possibility explaining the use of king (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ) is that the high value silver coins had a different target audience than the local inscriptions. The portrayal as a Roman approved king and the title *Philorhomaios* (= friend of Rome) seem directed at a more Roman audience than the local inscriptions that named him as tetrarch. The coins were of higher value and depicted him in the fashion of a proper Late Hellenistic ruler who emphasised his friendship with the Romans. This is contrary to his portrayal in literary sources, particularly Cicero, who make him out to be an impious usurper.[240] If the title of *Philorhomaios* (= friend of Rome) refers to the official title of '*rex sociusque et amicus'*[241] bestowed upon him by the Roman Senate, it seeks to portray Brogitaros as a valuable ally and proper client king of Rome.

The coin of Brogitaros shows parallels to the kistophoric coinage. It uses the same iconography of a wreath on the obverse and has a weight of 12.09 g which is close to the standard of c. 12.3 g that was used for the

[240] Cic. *Har. resp.* 28.

[241] Caes. *BGall*. 1.35 and 1.43; Cic. *Verr*. 2.4.30; Livy 31.11.14–16.

proconsular kistophoros.[242] This kistophoros was issued at Pergamon, Ephesos, Apameia, Tralles and Laodiceia and likely minted directly for and by the Romans.[243] The use of kistophoric coinage by the Romans is well attested in literary sources[244] and predates the visible addition of Roman proconsul names to the coins from 58 BC onwards.[245] The weight standard of the kistophoros is compatible with the Roman monetary system and equivalent to three denarii. Roman forces appear to have used Greek coinage for the payment of their soldiers in Asia Minor.[246] The imitation of the kistophoric design and weight standard by Brogitaros could be due to geographic proximity, but it is likely that the standard was chosen for its Denarius compatibility. This coin also presents the first time a silver coin was minted in Galatia. Choosing an established design and popular weight standard made it more acceptable as a means of payment. The kistophoros was also fixed to the reduced Attic tetradrachm at a 3 to 4 ratio. Thus, the kistophoros was ideal for transactions in the Greek sphere of influence and acceptable to the Romans. This fact, combined with the higher value of a tridrachm, unusual for client kingdoms in the late Hellenistic period, makes it likely

[242] Meadows 2022, 153–157. Meadows 2022, 153 notes that the Tralles/ATRA issues seem to have been minted to an earlier heavier weight standard.

[243] Metcalf 2018.

[244] Cic. Att. 2.6.4.

[245] Callataÿ 2011A, 61 f..

[246] Callataÿ 2011A.

that it was minted for a specific purpose. One might speculate that they were minted to pay the debts incurred by Brogitaros who had to pay/ bribe Roman senators for the royal title, a common practice at the time[247] and well attested by Cicero.[248] While the truthfulness of Cicero's statement needs to be questioned since it concerns a friend of his personal enemy Clodius.

A connection to Brogitaros' assumption of kingship in 58 BC would fit well with the introduction of new titles to Brogitaros' titulature and the intended messages behind the coin design. Magie made the suggestion that the numeral six (Ⅎ) on the coins denotes the Year 6 of Brogitaros' reign.[249] However, there are different ways to determine this year. A possible era based on his regnal years starting with his recognition as king by the Roman Senate possibly in/around 58 BC would place Year 6 around 54/53 BC (Table 3.1).[250] This date fits with the conquest of the Trókmoi by Deiotaros from the mid 50s BC onwards.[251] Hence, the coin's message could have been intended for the local elites of Brogitaros' kingdom and the neighbouring areas. These were the territories most

[247] Braund 1984, 25–26 and for a discussion of the sources see Braund 1984, 32–33.

[248] Cic. *Har. resp.* 28–29.

[249] Magie 1950, 1236 no. 40; see also Hoben 1969, 77 and Leschhorn 1993, 396.

[250] With 50 BC being the latest possible date since Brogitaros is attested as king in 56 BC (Cic. *Har. resp.* 28–29).

[251] Deiotaros' "recovery of Pessinos" (Cic. *Har. resp.* 28–29) had occurred before 56 BC and probably initiated his conquest of the Trókmoi.

important for Brogitaros and would have made other kings hesitant to interfere with/attack the Trókmoi. A proclamation of alliance with Rome on the coins would have been less effectual if the silver coins were indeed issued after the attack on Pessinos by Deiotaros in 56 BC. This event had effectively proven that this alliance with Rome offered no protection to Brogitaros. Hence, the coin would not fit well into the historical context. However, the same situation could also justify the coin's production. Through its strong message of Roman support and emphasis of Brogitaros' royal prerogative, the coin creates a new narrative and reality removed from historical events. This way, the coin becomes a piece of royal self representation produced before Brogitaros' final defeat. The destruction and conquest of the Trókmoi and Brogitaros shortly after the time of production could well explain the low survival rate of the coinage. A siege or a similar military event could have prevented the circulation of the coins. Alternatively, the silver coins of Brogitaros could have been produced in anticipation of the military conflicts with Deiotaros.[252]

Another possibility for the meaning of Year 6 on Brogitaros' coin is the use of a Pompeian era. This era is based on a starting date of 63 BC or

[252] For example the production of coinage by Mithridates VI in years 89 BC and 75-74 BC (Callataÿ 1997A 4–52). Kraay suggests that mint B under Caesar minting in 44 BC could be a travelling mint issuing coins for the upcoming war against Parthia (Kraay 1954, 30–31). Another example is the sharp increase of production in coinage by Marcus Antonius before the Battle of Actium (RRC no. 544 and Crawford 1974, 102; Grueber 1910, 508).

in relation to the Pompeian reorganisation of 64 BC. This would place Year 6 in 58/57 BC around the time of his official recognition as king. In this context, the drachms issued by King Brogitaros would be a celebratory or commemorative issue for his new title and official recognition as king by Rome. A date of 58/57 BC for the production of the silver coinage would also fit well for the historical situation as the granting/confirmation of Pessinos to the control of Brogitaros[253] through Rome would fit well with the message of the coin. Looking at the geographical situation, Pessinos is completely separate and indefensible from the territory of Brogitaros. Its only protection against other Galatian tetrarchs was through the Roman province of Asia in the west and Bithynia in the north. Thus, Brogitaros had an essential need for Roman support in the protection of his territory. The silver tridrachms proclaiming him *Philorhomaios* (= friend of the Romans) in local circulation could have thus functioned both as a reminder to the Roman administration in neighbouring provinces and as a deterrent to rival client kings. As a result, both interpretations of the numeral and the coin's date fit well within the chronological framework and the iconographic messages displayed on Brogitaros' coin. The interpretation of the numeral six as Brogitaros' own regnal year seems favourable, due to the iconographic parallels to the Cappadocian kings who used their start of reign for the

[253] Cic. *QFr. 2.7*.

eras shown on their coins.[254] Indeed, for most of the kings discussed in this thesis, the interpretation of numerals for their own regnal years appears to be the most fitting interpretation.[255] Another supporting argument for a later date is the lack of references to Pessinos and strong iconographic links to Tavion.

Brogitaros' coin shows several iconographic parallels to the bronze coins of Tavion. A shared monogram ⋀Ⲣ directly connects the silver coin of Brogitaros with a bronze coin of Tavion (Figure 3.3).[256] The obverse die of the bronze coin is also used for the production of other coins at Tavion.[257] The obverse depicts the laureate head of Zeus. The reverse shows an eagle standing right on a thunderbolt, with its wings spread between the caps of Dioscuri surmounted by stars. A diadem is visible above and a monogram placed in the field. The shared monogram is placed in the exact position as on the coin of Brogitaros. The design of the reverse eagle is very similar. Both coins depict three diagonal lines that indicate the tail and show the same body shape of the eagle with one vertical leg and one extended to the left, similar to the *contrapposto* stance of Greek sculpture. The clearest iconographic connection,

[254] Chapter 5.

[255] Chapter 7.

[256] Catalogue type 2.

[257] Leu WA 28, 9 Dec. 2023, lot 1546.
This second example of the obverse die also showed that the possible numeral Ⲅ on the obverse die can be identified as angular shaped locks of hair.

however, is visible on the obverses: the head of Zeus depicts exactly the same number of locks in the same s-shaped style. Tavion produced a number of coins from different dies but no other known coin depicts the same monogram as Brogitaros' silver tridrachm. The shared monogram ⋀Ⲣ on the silver coin and bronze coin was interpreted by de Luynes as standing for Tavion (Figure 3.4).[258] Thus, the most likely mint for Brogitaros' silver coin(s) is Tavion. This would mean that civic bronze coinage was minted in Tavion alongside royal silver tridrachms during the reign of Brogitaros. The existence of a royal precious metal mint in Tavion is interesting and could indicate that the city might have functioned as the royal capital or residence. The silver coin depicts Zeus on the obverse which also fits well for the city of Tavion, famous for its colossal bronze statue of Zeus and the sanctuary dedicated to him.[259]

In summary, Brogitaros' royal coinage is attested only through a single silver drachm. This type likely postdates his recognition of kingship by the Roman Senate in 58 BC.[260] If the era on his coinage is correctly identified as his own regnal years, as was typical for Hellenistic kings in

[258] De Luynes identified the two monograms on the coins of Brogitaros as standing for the city of Tavion and the Galatian tribe Trókmoi (Figure 3.3). However, this identification remains uncertain due to the ambiguity and plurality in reading the multi-lettered monograms. Hence, the exact reading should be treated with caution (de Luynes 1845, 264).

[259] Strabo 12.5.2.

[260] Cic. *QFr. 2.7*.

central Anatolia,[261] it dates to around 54/53 BC. This places it in connection to Deiotaros' campaigns against the Trókmoi and after the conquest of Pessinos by 56 BC. It is also the only attestation of his royal title in an archaeological context, making it probable that Deiotaros conquered Brogitaros' territory not long afterwards. The adoption of these new titles would have been intended to enhance Brogitaros' authority, proclaim Roman support and act as a deterrent to his enemies. In light of the subsequent conquest of his territory, it seems that his coinage had little effect on the eventual outcome. A bronze coin of Tavion with the same monogram and identical style as the silver coin strongly suggests that Brogitaros' coinage was minted in Tavion, the capital city of the Trókmoi.

3.2.2 Deiotaros Philorhomaios (Galatian King c. 63–40/39 BC)

Deiotaros Philorhomaios is the best-known Galatian king, most notably through the speech in his defence by his friend and lawyer Cicero[262] and his interactions with Caesar and Pompey.[263] Due to his importance, most coins minted by individuals named Deiotaros in the Late Hellenistic period were assigned to him. However, within and between the Hellenistic kingdoms, intermarriage of dynasts was common, leading to

[261] The dynastic era of Paphlagonia appears to be the exception, see Chapters 4.3 and 7.

[262] Cic. *Deiot.*.

[263] *BAlex.* 78.3. and Strabo 12.3.13.

the frequent repetition of given names.[264] Thus, the name Deiotaros is certainly attested for four kings within this period: Deiotaros Philorhomaios (Galatian King 63–40 BC), his son King Deiotaros (Galatian King (joint rule with his father) c. 52 to 42 BC) and Deiotaros Philadelphos (king of Paphlagonia 31 BC – AD 6) as well as another Paphlagonian King Deiotaros [Philop-]ator. This makes it hard to assign coin types to the Galatian King Deiotaros Philorhomaios, especially when the coins in question were minted in bronze and do not appear in hoard evidence. The uncertainty resulted in catalogues like the Handbook of Coins of Asia Minor depicting the same coin for multiple King Deiotaroi and confusing their types.[265] The only coins of a Deiotaros that can be certainly attributed to a king of this period are those belonging to Deiotaros Philadelphos, King of Paphlagonia.[266] Another coin of Deiotaros Philadelphos also attests the existence of a previously unknown Paphlagonian King Deiotaros [Philop-]ator, co-regent with Deiotaros Philadelphos.[267] In contrast, the coins associated with Deiotaros Philorhomaios were assigned to his name based on the

---

[264] See the Ptolemaic kingdom and the name Ptolemy, the name Antiochos for the Seleucids, Ariarathes and Ariobarzanes for kings of the Cappadocian Kingdom. The same pattern is also visible in female names. For example, the name Cleopatra was often used for Ptolemaic, Seleucid or Pontic queens, the name Adobogiona appears in the Galatian and Paphlagonian kingdoms, Berenice occurs in the Ptolemaic kingdom and in Galatia (RECAM II 188), Laodice in the Seleucid, Pontic and Cappadocian Kingdoms. For the reuse of names in Galatia in particular see Coşkun 2013.

[265] Hoover 2012, 149.

[266] Catalogue types 28–30.

[267] Catalogue type 29 (L:1858,1124.78).

reading of a monogram on the reverse.[268] This identification was based on the reading of the monogram as Deiotaros, first by Blanchet and followed by Newell.[269] Since monograms were also a popular part of civic coinages in Late Hellenistic Asia Minor and liable to ambiguity, imitation and multiple possible readings, this identification—while plausible—cannot be regarded as certain. It remains possible that these coins were not minted by a kingdom at all.

Besides the monogram series, there is another coin type with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΙΟΤΑΡΟΥ, commonly associated with Deiotaros Philorhomaios.[270] This coin type differs significantly from the bronze coins with the 'Deiotaros monogram' and could be associated with any King Deiotaros of this period. Yet, its design is very similar to the reverse of Tavion's coinage associated with Brogitaros (Figure 3.3).[271] This makes it likely that they belong to the reign of this Deiotaros Philorhomaios, before he gained the title *Philorhomaios* (= friend of the Romans) which will be discussed below. All of these factors make identification the main difficulty for the coinage of the Galatian tetrarch Deiotaros Philorhomaios.

---

[268] Catalogue types 3–6.

[269] Blanchet 1933, 11–16 and Newell 1934, 5–10.

[270] Catalogue type 7.

[271] Chapter 3.2.1.

The monogram bronze coins of Deiotaros Philorhomaios

This series of bronze coinage was assigned to the reign of Deiotaros Philorhomaios based on a shared monogram on the reverse of the coins. The identification of this monogram with the name of Deiotaros was first suggested by Blanchet[272] and later followed by Newell.[273] Their identification was based on the reading of the monogram as Deiotaros with Δ; H; I; O; T; A; P; Y.[274] Newell's 1934 article appears to be the most recent analysis of Deiotaros Philorhomaios' coinage and monogram. Since the monogram in question allows for multiple readings and interpretations, Blanchet's and Newell's interpretation of the monogram might not necessarily be correct. However, there are several iconographic elements that indicate that the coins were indeed produced in Galatia around the time of Deiotaros Philorhomaios.

The 'Deiotaros monogram' was used on four different coin types (Figure 3.5).

1. The first discussed type shows the head of Zeus on the obverse. The reverse depicts the 'Deiotaros monogram' and an oval Galatian shield on the right.[275]

[272] Blanchet 1933, 11–16.

[273] Newell 1934, 5–10.

[274] Blanchet 1933, 12.

[275] Catalogue type 6.

2. The second type depicts the head of Zeus on the obverse with the reverse depicting a facing eagle, looking right, standing on a winged thunderbolt with monogram to the left.[276]
3. The third coin type depicts the head of Tyche or Kybele[277] on the obverse and an owl standing on the 'Deiotaros monogram' within a wreath on the reverse. This type became known only through a coin appearing in the auction market in 2023.[278]
4. The fourth type shows Mên/Attis on the obverse and two crossed cornucopiae with a monogram in the middle on the reverse.[279]

The four types can be further separated into two groups. The first two types share the Zeus obverse design and a flansize of 18 mm. They will be discussed first, followed by the two remaining types of the 'Deiotaros monogram' series.

The first type depicts Zeus on the obverse and on the reverse a shield with the large 'Deiotaros monogram' to the left (Figure 3.6).[280] The shield design is oval, a type which was associated with Celtic or Galatian

[276] Catalogue type 5.

[277] There seems to have been no clear differentiation between the portraits of Tyche and Kybele on bronze coins, making their exact identification difficult.

[278] Solidus 128, 23 Jan. 2024, lot 1057 = Solidus Numismatik 123, 25 July 2023, lot 98; Catalogue type 3.

[279] Catalogue type 4.

[280] Catalogue type 6.

shields.[281] Recent studies of Pessinos have discovered a Deiotaros Galatian shield coin in the excavation of the so-called Acropolis of Pessinos.[282] The choice of an oval shield presents a distinctive symbol of Galatian cultural heritage. The elongated oval shield is rare in Greek art, but clearly associated with Galatian warriors in the Hellenistic period (Figure 3.7). Other oval Galatian shields appear on the coins of Ptolemy II Philadelphos.[283] Golden Galatian shields also decorated a garment found among the grave goods of the royal Galatian tombs at Karalar (Bloukeion).[284] Oval shields as symbols of Gauls/Celts/Barbarians start appearing on Roman coins in the Imperial period.[285] The depiction of a single, large, oval shield was an unusual design choice for coins of the area. Hence, it is most likely connected to the local and cultural identity of Galatia. All the coins of the Galatian shield type also use the same style as group one of the 'Deiotaros monogram' Zeus eagle on thunderbolt type. The three Galatian shield obverse dies closely mirror the dies in the Zeus/eagle group with the differences only becoming clear under close scrutiny and by analysing the busts' placement within the dotted border (Table 3.2). However, the Galatian shield is the complete

[281] Blanchet 1933, 15; Couissin 1926, 395; Müller-Karpe and Haffner 2023, 32.

[282] Devreker, Thoen and Vermeulen 2003, 391.

[283] Compare CPE 438; Svoronos 538; CPE B289.

[284] Müller-Karpe and Haffner 2023, 28. For more depictions of Galatian shields see Müller-Karpe and Haffner 2023, 33.

[285] Compare Augustus: RIC I, 265a; Claudius: RIC I, 73; Trajan: RIC II, 586; Domitian: RIC II, 1 513; Marc Aurel: RIC III, 363.

opposite compared to the eagle on thunderbolt design, unusual, distinctive and indicative of its cultural background.

The second type[286] depicts Zeus on the obverse and an eagle on a thunderbolt on the reverse. The eagle functions as a symbol of Zeus' authority and imperial power. This iconography occurs on the coins of many Hellenistic kings. It was already used on coins of neighbouring kings like Brogitaros[287] and Attalos Epiphanes.[288] The Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt coins was a very common design for the Mithridatic period in Northern Asia Minor. It regularly appears on coins of Amaseia,[289] Amisos,[290] Gaziura,[291] Laodikeia,[292] Comana,[293] Kabeira,[294] Pharnakeia,[295] Taulara[296] and Pimolisa (Figure 3.8).[297] Another city producing these coin types is Dias[298] which is geographically removed from Galatia and Asia Minor. Hence, it is unlikely that there was a

[286] Catalogue type 5.

[287] Chapter 3.2.1 with Catalogue type 1.

[288] Chapter 4.2 with Catalogue type 27.

[289] HGC 7, 224; SNG von Aulock 6694.

[290] SNG Copenhagen 134; SNG von Aulock 56.

[291] SNG Copenhagen 213; Waddington, Babelon and Reinach 1925, Gaziura no. 5.

[292] Waddington et al. 1925, Laodikeia no. 4.

[293] SNG France 1818.

[294] HGC 7, 268; Waddington et al. 1925, Kabeira no. 1.

[295] SNG BM 1276; Waddington et al. 1925, Pharnakeia no. 4.

[296] SNG BM 1288; Waddington et al. 1925, Taulara no. 1–2.

[297] SNG von Aulock 191; SNG BM 1351; Waddington et al. 1925, Pimolisa no. 1.

[298] Compare SNG von Aulock 345; SNG BM 1560.

political motive behind the adoption of this coin design in Dias. Instead, it seems more likely that they copied the popular coin design of Asia Minor's northern cities. All of these cities use different monograms on the reverses of their coins. Cities with a larger output of these coins, like Amisos or Pharnakeia, have changing or multiple monograms on one coin. The monograms of different cities are very similar in design and shape and sometimes identical on the coinages of multiple cities.[299] Tekin suggests that these shared monograms could denote a specific period and authority.[300] This is supported by the fact that most of the cities using the Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt design were situated in a close geographical area (Figure 3.8) and used coins with a diameter size between 18–21 mm and similar weights. Thus, the coins might have been able to circulate between different cities with control letters and monograms shared between cities. For example, the letter Phi on coins of Amisos might refer to Pharnakeia.[301] Concerning the monograms, I would agree with Tekin's statement on the coins from the Black Sea coast that as of today 'any attempt to expound on the meanings of the monograms would be speculation'[302] and the same might be true for the 'Deiotaros monogram'. Of the cities in Asia Minor, Pharnakeia's

[299] Tekin 1999, 27.

[300] Tekin 1999, 93–94.

[301] For example, SNG von Aulock 56.

[302] Tekin 1999, 93.

monogram and arrangement is similar to the monogram associated with Deiotaros. This led Newell to believe that the coins of Deiotaros were minted at Pharnakeia.[303] However, the coins with 'Deiotaros monogram' fall outside the two denominational sizes normally associated with the Zeus/eagle types of 15 and 25 mm.[304] In addition, there are other cities using monograms that look close, if not identical, to that of Deiotaros (Figure 3.9). The 'Deiotaros monogram' might have served a similar purpose as the Mithridatic monograms and is likely to have been influenced by these Black Sea coins in their design choice.

The Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt with monogram was a widely used design that was accepted as a reliable means of payment. This might explain the rarity of countermarks on coins with the Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt and 'Deiotaros monogram' design. It is also particularly interesting that the cities minting the Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt types are some of the cities annexed to Deiotaros' territory in 64 BC by Pompey.[305] The similarities in design might thus be due to the 'Deiotaros monogram' coinage trying to imitate an already established design of bronze coins in the area. There are several stylistic differences that distinguish the 'Deiotaros monogram' series from those of the other northern cities of

[303] Newell 1934, 9–10.

[304] Tekin 1999, 89.

[305] For example, Comana, Gaziura, Kabeira, Pharnakeia and Taulara.

Asia Minor. The ‘Deiotaros monogram’ coins have a dotted border on obverse and reverse, not normally present on the Black Sea city’s Zeus/ eagle on thunderbolt types. At the same time, the monogram coins associated with Deiotaros differ significantly in style and monogram design even amongst themselves. The most visible of them is the monogram which shows changes in the placement of the O (or possible P) on the right. It always appears on the right side of the monogram but can be seen on top, in the middle (most common) or at the bottom of the monogram. Similarly, the A is sometimes a clear alpha (Group 2), or solely a delta or sometimes a delta with a Y in the middle (Group 1) and in Group 4 the A is closer to a Λ (Table 3.3). This variation in monograms only occurs with the Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt type. The other monogram series coins have a consistent monogram design across multiple dies. This might indicate that the monogram design was not fully fixed or established at the time these coins were minted.

The iconographic analysis of the coins in this catalogue showed different stylistic groups in the ‘Deiotaros monogram’ coinage (Table 3.3). Each of these groups also shows a different form/version of the monogram on the reverse, so that overall four groups exist, based on the monogram and the obverse portrait style. This separation into different groups is also confirmed by die links which seem to occur only within the specific

groups. Group 2 and 3 share the same obverse portrait style with a large, prominent *anastole*. The monograms are also very close to each other, the main differences being related to minor but significant changes in the A and P forms. Some coins also show transitional stages from A to Ⱥ (Figure 3.10), making it unclear whether they belong to Group 2 or 3. This could indicate that they were possibly made by the same workshop at about the same time. Hence, this also poses the question of whether they should be seen as two groups or summarised into one.

Some dies even within the same stylistic group can look distinctly different which is most notable in the obverse portraiture. For example, the thunderbolt is sometimes shown with wings (Figure 3.11). This was initially classified as its own type. Upon closer consideration, however, it became clear that most coins show a pair of diagonal lines coming from the centre of the thunderbolt between the legs of the eagle, a stylised depiction of wings on the thunderbolt. The dies are not clearly identifiable for any of the stylistic groups and the monogram has the O of P exactly placed in the middle, the same as Group 1.

The stylistic groups and style of the ‘Deiotaros monogram’ coins do not correspond to those of other cities minting the Zeus/eagle type. Deiotaros’ bronze coins of group one show Zeus with one or more long,

twisted locks of hair and a prominent *anastole*. Twisted locks are an unusual hairstyle for the Galatian region and period, they were more popular in the eastern provinces and on Seleucid coins.[306] However, they do occur on coins of Pergamon where the obverse dies of coins, dated to the 1st century BC, are really close to those of Deiotaros. Those coins have the same style as 'Deiotaros monogram' coins of Group 1 and also contain their dotted border (Figure 3.12). This could indicate that some of the coins were influenced by Pergamon's designs or cut by Pergamon's die cutters. It would also fit well with the historical connection between Pergamon and Galatia. The daughter of Deiotaros, wife of Brogitaros, dedicated a statue in the temple of Hera in Pergamon[307] and the wife of Deiotaros Philorhomaios might have been a princess of Pergamon.[308] Mithridates, the short-lived later Galatian King, grew up in Pergamon and claimed to be a descendant of Mithridates the Great.[309] The close resemblance between the coins in the form of bust, hair style and the dotted border surrounding the bust makes it the closest parallel to the Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt type of 'Deiotaros monogram' coins.

[306] For example under Alexander I Balas (Gemini VII, 9 January 2011, lot 575).

[307] IGR IV 1683.

[308] Coşkun 2012, 55.

[309] *BAlex*. 78.2f.; Strabo 13.4.3; IGR IV 1682.

The close similarities to coins of Pergamon also pose the question of whether the coins were misidentified and could instead belong to the city of Pergamon. However, the monogram shows parallels to those depicted on coins of Aigeai and Pantikapaion (Figure 3.9). The close similarity and parallels to the coin designs of Greek city states led to the suggestion by some auction houses that the monogram was that of another city in northern Asia Minor, the most popular suggestion being Trapezos, based on the monogram and literary evidence.[310] However, this city has no attested coins with the Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt type and seems to have minted only rarely before the Roman period. The coins with the 'Deiotaros monogram' are also different in their area of circulation.[311] The northern region of Asia Minor has well-documented hoard evidence for the bronze Zeus/eagle types. Multiple hoards of the region contained only bronze types with the largest number of coins minted at Amisos.[312] According to Tekin, the hoard evidence shows two denominations of the Mithridatic Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt type, one earlier 25 mm and one later 15 mm denomination.[313] Both denominations occur in hoards with civic types minted under Mithridates VI Eupator but none of the hoards

[310] For example, Demos 4, 26 Sept. 2021, lot 105; Roma EA 53, 7 Feb. 2019, lot 378 = M&M GmbH 43, 26 Feb. 2016, lot 75 = Rauch 96, 10 Dec. 2014, lot 101; Agora Sale 71, 26 Dec. 2017, lot 51; with Strabo 12.3.17.

[311] See Devreker 1984, 200.

[312] Tekin 1999, 98–99.

[313] Tekin 1999, 89.

contained any coins with the ‘Deiotaros monogram’.[314] The weights of the coin types also differ. This makes it likely that this monogram had a different area of circulation and/or different date of production and was not struck in the northern Asia Minor, Black Sea area. All of this would fit well with the assignment to Deiotaros’ reign and a Galatian mint.

The variability of monograms design and the choice of a popular and common design would suggest that these coins were among the first minted and probably over a longer period of time. If correctly identified as denoting Deiotaros, they could be one of the first bronze coins of Deiotaros.[315] The coins also do not state his title as king or give any other royal insignia, indicating that the production period might indeed fall within a pre-Roman/Mithridatic context when the later Kingdom of Galatia was part of Mithridates’ Pontic kingdom or starting to act as an independent player on the side of Rome. The start date of Deiotaros’ reign is unknown. He first appears in the third Mithridatic war in about 73 BC[316] and is known to have been of old age in 45 BC.[317]

---

[314] Compare with Tekin 1999, 98–104.

[315] This was already suggested by Blanchet 1933, 14.

[316] App. *Mith*. 75; Livy *Per*. 94.

[317] Cic. *Deiot*. 2 and 38.

Regarding the date of his coins, a particular overstrike on a Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt coin of catalogue type 5 needs to be discussed in detail. This coin (Figure 3.13)[318] shows an overstrike on the reverse to the left of the eagle. The design underneath appears to be a shield and a long line. This recalls the Zeus/monogram next to Galatian shield coin type of Deiotaros. However, the line is on the wrong side of the shield to be identified as the monogram. The line starts at the bottom of the shield so when turned, it is placed on the right of the shield and not the left as was the case on coins of the 'Deiotaros monogram'. This undertype then seems to belong to a unique type with the laureate head of Zeus on the obverse and a Galatian shield next to Celtic carnyx with monogram to the right on the reverse (Figure 3.14). The type was first published by Awianowicz in 2023 and more specimens are listed here under catalogue type 8.[319] Awianowicz identified the monogram as reading ΚΑΣΤΟΡΟΣ and assigned it to Deiotaros' successor Castor Tarkondarios.[320] This overstrike, however, implies the opposite. The coin type underneath is earlier than the eagle on thunderbolt coins of Deiotaros' monogram series. Hence, if the monogram is correctly identified as that of Deiotaros, the undertype must precede him or be contemporary. Consequently, Awianowicz's reading of the monogram has to be

[318] Forum Ancient coins GB116264.

[319] Awianowicz 2023.

[320] Awianowicz 2023, 52.

rejected. The choice of a Celtic carnyx is a unique iconographic design and is attested in Galatian coinage only in one other example on a coin minted by the Trókmoi at their capital city Tavion.[321] RPC dates the particular type to the reign of Vespasian,[322] but this makes it likely that the earlier Greek coin type with the Galatian shield and Celtic carnyx was minted at Tavion as well. The monogram on the undertype can also be read as Tavion which is an obvious reading of the letters TA.[323] This appears to have been a small coin issue, as all three recorded coins have the same obverse and reverse dies. As such, they circulated locally, making it likely that the Deiotaros' coins were also minted at Tavion. Tavion is situated further east in the Galatian kingdom, with easier access to Armenia Minor and Black Sea territories, where coins of the Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt design were common.

The coin type depicting a Galatian shield and the characteristics of the eagle on thunderbolt type seem to support the assignment of these coins to Galatia. The design of the eagle on thunderbolt mirrors Mithridatic design of the 60s and early 50s BC. A date this early is possible, but the

---

321 P: 272 and P: 272A which give the mint as Tavion.

322 RPC II, 1626A (post publication). There are other coins minted by the Trókmoi (ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝΩΝ ΤΡΟΚΜΩΝ) that were added to RPC I but with an uncertain date (RPC I, 3569–3570). The same reverse design is used with obverse portraits of Vespasian, Titus and Domitian (RPC II, 1624–162). Ancyra also produced coins with the similar coin legend of ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝΩΝ ΤΕΚΤΟΣΑΓΩΝ in the reign of Vespasian (RPC II, 1620–1622).

323 This example again shows the ambiguity and uncertainty surrounding the reading of monograms. The same monogram can be read as ΚΑΣΤΟΡΟS and ΤΑΥΙΩΝ.

combination with an undertype of Tavion makes it more likely to be closer to the date of the conquest of the Trókmoi by Deiotaros. Concerning the exact chronology, it thus seems most plausible to me that Deiotaros at first continued minting the Galatian shield design from the Tavion civic coins before starting the production of the Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt coins. The weight data seems to confirm this interpretation.[324] Deiotaros' Galatian shield type[325] has an interquartile range of 4.50–5.49 g, which is exactly the weight of Tavion's Galatian shield type,[326] possibly indicating a closer chronological relation. The Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt type,[327] in contrast, has a significantly higher median at 6 g and an overall higher weight. Hence, this type appears to be a different denomination. Due to the connection with the coin of Tavion, Deiotaros' Galatian shield coins likely date past the conquest of the Trókmoi in the late 50s BC and the overstrike of the Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt type even later. This would place the coin production of Deiotaros rather late and within the last decade of his reign.

The third coin type of the monogram series depicts Tyche or Kybele on the obverse and an owl standing on the 'Deiotaros monogram' within a

[324] Page 683.

[325] Catalogue type 6.

[326] Catalogue type 8.

[327] Catalogue type 5.

wreath (Figure 3.15).[328] It is difficult to assign to Deiotaros Philorhomaios for two reasons. Firstly, there are many other cities that use monograms close or identical to that of Deiotaros (discussed above). Secondly, the obverse of Tyche is mainly used in the Cilician kingdom and would be unusual for Galatia with the exception of the city of Pessinos where Kybele appears on its coinage.[329] At first, the most likely attribution of this coin seemed to be Aigeai, based on the similar monogram and iconographic design (Figure 3.9). However, a shared countermark with the 'King Deiotaros' type (Figure 3.16)[330] and the existence of another 'Deiotaros monogram' type with Mên/Attis and crossed cornucopia,[331] makes this coin another likely example of the 'Deiotaros monogram'. The consequences of identifying the Tyche type as a coin of Deiotaros are far-reaching. The historical conflict surrounding Pessinos, the city conquered by Deiotaros by 56 BC,[332] suggests that the turreted female head on the countermark and obverse design presents Kybele and not Tyche. Kybele was the principal Phrygian deity and her most famous sanctuary was situated in the Galatian city of Pessinos.[333] She was the

[328] Catalogue type 3.

[329] There remains much ambiguity and difficulties in differentiating between Kybele and Tyche.

[330] Catalogue type 7.

[331] Catalogue type 4.

[332] Cic. *Har. resp.* 28–29.

[333] Cicero *Har. resp.* 28–29; Strabo 12.5.3; For inscriptions see MDAI(A) 22 (1897) 39–40.

obverse design of many of Pessinos' coins[334] and the city's characteristic deity together with her consort Attis.[335] Attis, who often used the same iconography as Mên, appears to be the choice of design for the final coin type with the 'Deiotaros monogram'.[336] This emphasises the importance of these deities for the Galatian kingdom and Deiotaros in particular. Placing the gods on coins together with his monogram on his coinage likely alluded to his successful military campaign and conquest of Pessinos by 56 BC.

The Attis coins depict the bust of Attis with a crescent behind on the obverse and two crossed cornucopiae on the reverse (Figure 3.17).[337] The obverse portrait, wearing a Phrygian cap and a crescent behind the shoulders, is very close if not identical to the depiction of Mên on coins of other cities in Asia Minor.[338] Pessinos was a traditional Phrygian city,[339] so the depiction of a Phrygian cap is not only characteristic of a Phrygian god but also of the cultural background of the capital of the Galatian Tolistobógioi. The bust on the obverse also seems to have unusual long bands falling down at the side of his head. Such long bands are also

---

[334] Compare Kumandaş Yanmaz 2019, 346f..

[335] Arn. *Adv. nat*. 5.6–7; Ovid, *Fasti* 4.221–230; Paus. 7.17.10–12.

[336] Catalogue type 4.

[337] Catalogue type 4.

[338] For example see Antioch (SNG France 1052–6; SNG Copenhagen 8–11); Eumeneia (Künker 133 11th Oct. 2007), 7670); Philomelion (SNG von Aulock 3915).

[339] Diod. Sic. 36.13.

visible on some of the smaller 17 mm coins of Pessinos[340] and seem to be a characteristic design feature of their coins. This might be due to the portrait depicting Attis, as coin types of Asia Minor from the classical period depict Attis with long falling bands and wearing a Phrygian cap.[341] This is another indication that the Mên portrait on the obverse should be interpreted as that of Attis, whose life and cult is intricately woven into the identity and history of Pessinos and closely associated with the famous cult of Kybele/Mater Magna in Pessinos,[342] called Agdistis in the local language.[343]

The crossed cornucopias on the reverse of bronze coins are an unusual design choice for the region and time of Deiotaros. They became popular only in the late 1st century BC/early 1st century AD. They appear on Nabatean coins of the late 1st century BC or from Judaea, under the Herodian Kingdom and are also used for later Roman Provincial coins of Tiberius. Perinthos in Thrace[344] and the Kingdom of Kommagene under Antiochos IV Epiphanes also minted crossed cornucopias as the reverse design.[345] But Newell explains the crossed cornucopia as part of a

[340] SNG France 2569–70.

[341] See the hecte gold stater of Cyzicus in Mysia (SNG vA 1207; SNG France 5).

[342] Strabo 10.12; Strabo 12.5.3.

[343] Strabo 12.5.3.

[344] Roma Numismatics Limited E-sale 90, 18th November 2021, lot 382 (https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=8789146).

[345] BMC 107, 16; RPC I, 3536 and 3859; SNG France 2250.

Phrygian heritage[346] which would fit well for Attis and Kybele, traditional Phrygian gods.

This interpretation attributes both a Kybele and an Attis coin type, the main deities of Pessinos, to Deiotaros Philorhomaios. The coins proclaim the importance of religion and piety of the city. Values that could possibly relate to the conquest of Pessinos by Deiotaros which was portrayed as a sacred/religious intervention to preserve the customs of the ancient sanctuary as described by Cicero.[347] The coins have the appearance of civic coins and only the monogram indicates an association with Deiotaros. As such, the coins portray a functioning and independent priestly state of Pessinos, possibly in deliberate contrast to the rule of Brogitaros who obtained the priesthood from the Roman Senate.[348] The production of these coins might have been intended to function as official messages for the local population by the new sovereign. It certainly represents the local identity and city's main deity on a civic coin and directly correlates them to Deiotaros Philorhomaios.

[346] Newell 1934, 8.

[347] Cic. *Har. resp.* 28–29.

[348] Cic. *Har. resp*. 29–30; Cic. *Sest*. 56.

The bronze coin types of ‘King Deiotaros’

The bronze coins of ‘King Deiotaros’ (Figure 3.18)[349] are often ascribed to Deiotaros Philorhomaios.[350] However, the coins only state that they were made in the reign of ‘King Deiotaros’. Thus, they could belong to any of the four kings of this name attested in the Late Hellenistic period. An earlier date, however, is unlikely since the individuals in charge of the Galatian tribes used the title tetrarch and not king.[351] While it is unclear which Deiotaros issued these bronze coins, the occurrence of these names centred on the neighbouring regions of Galatia and Paphlagonia in central Anatolia. This makes it likely that the coins were minted in one of those kingdoms during this period. The bronze coins of ‘King Deiotaros’ are of a large 27 mm denomination with an average weight of 12 g, giving them about the same dimensions as the Roman as, but a slightly higher interquartile range of 10.55 to 12.7 g.[352] The coins were made with at least five different obverse dies for a known sample of 25 coins, a rather large output of the bronze types. To narrow down their area/place of production we are reliant on iconographic similarities since no findspots for these coins exist.

[349] Catalogue type 7.

[350] Compare Hoover et al. 2012, 287.

[351] App. *Mith*. 46.178; Plut. M*or*. *De mul. vir.* 259.

[352] Weight tables page 683.

The coins themselves depict a winged bust of Nike with her hair tied in a bun on the obverse. The reverse shows an eagle standing on a sceptre between the caps of Dioscuri. The Roman Provincial Coinage project described this iconography as very Phrygian and inspired by coins of "Acmonea, Apamea, Laodicea or Philomelium".[353] The design of an eagle facing right is the same as on the issue of King Attalos of Paphlagonia and of Brogitaros. The eagle on the 'Deiotaros monogram' bronzes is depicted facing right but has its head turned left. The reverse design shows close parallels to the bronze coins of Tavion in the placement of the caps of Dioscuri to the left and right of the eagle (Figure 3.19). Tavion likely functioned as the mint for Brogitaros and possibly also for the Zeus/agle or Galatian shield coin types of Deiotaros' monogram series.

The similarity to Brogitaros' Tavion issue is likely to indicate a date for the coins in the middle of the 1st century BC, within the reign of Deiotaros Philorhomaios and likely past the conquest of the Trókmoi in the late 50s BC. This argument is also supported by how Deiotaros Philorhomaios solely uses the title King Deiotaros[354] or tetrarch[355] in literary and epigraphic sources. Only with the death of his son around 43 BC does

[353] Burnett, Amandry and Ripolles Alégre 2006, 536.

[354] IG II² 3429; IGR 3.173; Cic. *Deiot.*.

[355] App. *Mith*.11.75; Strabo 12.3.13.

the title *Philorhomaios* (= friend of the Romans) emerge in his titulature.[356] Thus, for most of his reign Deiotaros Philorhomaios' title was King Deiotaros. All other Deiotari in this period are attested with an extra epithet in literary and numismatic evidence.[357] This does not exclude them from the list of possibilities but makes Deiotaros Philorhomaios the most likely candidate for minting these coins in the 1st century BC. Due to the lack of archaeological evidence or hoard data it is not possible to securely date the coins. Hence, there remains the remote possibility that a slightly earlier or later unknown King Deiotaros might have issued the coins. For example, King Brogitaros' father's name is also given as Deiotaros[358] although he had no attested royal title.

The coins of 'King Deiotaros' also contain countermarks on the obverse of the coins. Out of the 38 coins, 11 coins bear countermarks. The most common countermark is the turreted head of Tyche or Kybele facing right in an oval incuse. Another countermark applied depicts the letters BA. As of now, these countermarks have no clear parallels on other coins.[359]

---

[356] RECAM II 188.

[357] Deiotaros Philadelphos: Strabo 12.3.41; P: 1988/202 = *RPC* I, 3508; Papillon Numismatic 4, 19 Dec. 2020, lot 627; L: 1858,1124.78 = *RPC* I, 3509.
Deiotaros Philopator: RECAM II 188.
Deiotaros […]ator: L: 1858,1124.78 = *RPC* I, 3509.

[358] IGR IV 1683; IK Kyme 15.

[359] Although a similar BA countermark appears in a recent Solidus auction (Solidus Numismatik 123, 25 July 2023, lot 316.) The coin and countermark were not described/recorded properly making the coin attribution and countermark uncertain. See Howgego 1985 for publication on Greek imperial countermarks.

However, there is one coin in the Paris collection, with a nearly identical Tyche countermark (Figure 3.16).[360] The shape of the punch mark has very slightly more space on the right side, which could be due to the coin having a worn surface or being countermarked twice. Apart from this, the countermark looks strikingly like those on the coins of 'King Deiotaros'. The Paris coin itself is also interesting. The coin depicts Tyche or Kybele on the obverse, with a wreath surrounding an owl on the reverse and an illegible monogram. However, two new coins of the same coin type were recently presented for auction and showed a clear presentation of the monogram.[361] The monogram on the coins looks identical to the 'Deiotaros monogram'.[362] This would connect the 'King Deiotaros' coins with the 'Deiotaros monogram' coins based on a shared countermark. The coins apparently circulated at about the same time in a similar geographical area.

Possible mints and dates for the coins of Deiotaros Philorhomaios

The coins of Deiotaros are often interpreted as having been minted at Pessinos based on their iconography and the city's historical importance. Catalogues of Pessinos' coinage contain frequent references to

[360] P: 1968.169 = Coin 1 of catalogue type 3.

[361] Numisfitz Auction 7, 14 Dec. 2025, lot 289; Solidus 128, 23 Jan. 2024, lot 1057 = Solidus Numismatik 123, 25 July 2023, lot 98.

[362] Specifically the monogram form of Group 4 discussed in the following section.

Deiotaros and his reign.[363] The monograms of Pessinos' civic coinage have also been read as the name Deiotaros (Figure 3.20). The Roman Provincial Coinage Project states that "civic coins of Pessinos (BMC 2) have a monogram which is generally interpreted as a monogram of Deiotaros".[364] However, this seems to be a general misunderstanding. The coin in BMC 2 for Pessinos does not have a monogram and there is no BMC 2 catalogued for Deiotaros in the Kingdom of Galatia section.[365] The referenced listing of Devreker also does not read any of the city monograms as those of Deiotaros.[366] Recent scholars have mostly copied but not questioned these conclusions. Arslan, in his work on the coinage of Pessinos stated in 2006 that the first monogram in Figure 3.18 reads as Deiotaros without denoting a source or providing a proper resolution of the monogram.[367] Kumandaş Yanmaz compiled a list of Pessinos' coinage under the Tollistobrogi[368] and analysed them with regard to the Kybele cult.[369] In it, she assigns the reading of the monogram of Pessinos as Deiotaros to Blanchet's article of 1933, even

[363] Arslan 2006, 132.

[364] Burnett, Amandry and Ripolles Alégre 2006, 536.

[365] BMC Galatia. The most likely referenced coin is BMC 1 but this coin has two monograms which are depicted in Figure 3.18.

[366] Devreker 1984, 173–174.

[367] Arslan 2006, 132.

[368] Kumandaş Yanmaz 2016.

[369] Kumandaş Yanmaz 2019.

though that was not the case.[370] She also omits discussing ‘Deiotaros monogram’ types and describes Pessinos’ coins with the supposed monogram as Deiotaros taking Attis’s place at Kybele’s side.[371] Kumandaş Yanmaz’s work is the only work that interprets Pessinos’ monogram as denoting Deiotaros by giving a direct source. It is thus not possible or satisfactory to assign this monogram on the coins of Pessinos to King Deiotaros Philorhomaios or read the monogram as standing for his name.

The excavations at Pessinos have discovered a coin of the Zeus/ Galatian shield type in a grave context[372] and a Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt as a surface find.[373] While a single example of a coin is not necessarily significant, two coins of the monogram series show that the coins existed and circulated in Pessinos. This does not have to mean that the coins were minted there. Excavation finds also include Hellenistic/Early Imperial coins from other areas such as from Pergamon in Mysia or from Prusias II in Bithynia.[374] Concerning the coins themselves, as discussed in the previous section, the ‘Deiotaros monogram’ types depicting Attis/Men and Kybele/Tyche could have been

[370] Kumandaş Yanmaz 2019, 340.

[371] Kumandaş Yanmaz 2019, 341.

[372] Devreker 1994, 106; Devreker, Thoen and Vermeulen 2003, 391; Vermeulen 2003, 200–218.

[373] Devreker 1984, 200.

[374] Devreker 1984, 192–193.

minted at Pessinos, where the worship of Attis/Kybele is well attested.[375] However, Mên was a Phrygian god that was popular on the coinages of many cities in central Asia Minor.[376] The same is true for the Kybele/ Tyche design which was used on many civic types.[377] Hence, the design itself does not need to be indicative of Pessinos.

By contrast, the Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt or Zeus/shield issues with Deiotaros' monogram present themselves in a more Mithridatic fashion. These coins seem to fit within a wider framework of Mithridatic/post-Mithridatic iconography and are experimenting with stylistic parallels to the types issued in Pergamon. Their iconography precedes the conquest of Pessinos by Deiotaros and might be earlier than the ‘King Deiotaros’/ Tyche and Attis types. The current argument in scholarship is that the ‘Deiotaros monogram’ coins were some of the earlier coins of Deiotaros’ reign,[378] which is why he used only a monogram and not his title of king. This is a plausible explanation, however, the overstrike on a coin type with a Galatian shield and Celtic carnyx likely belonging to Tavion (as discussed above) makes a date in the late 50s more likely. It remains

[375] Newell 1934, 8–9.

[376] Antioch in Pisidia (P. 1973.132), Apollonia in Pisidia (von Aulock 1979 8), Eumeneia in Phrygia (BM: 1991,0130.47), Philomelion (BMC Philomelium 1-2).

[377] For example Apamea in Phrygia (BM 1951-12-8-31), Acmoneia (SNG Cop. Acmoneia 16), Prymnessos (von Aulock 1987 852-4), Pessinos (SNG P. 2565-8), Aezanis (BMC Aezanis 2), Konana (von Aulock 1979 766), Appia (von Aulock 1980 160), Tyana (BMC Tyana 1).

[378] Blanchet 1933, 14; Newell 1934, 10.

possible that the undertype is not a coin of Tavion or that even if it belongs to Tavion, the coin was minted earlier or circulated into Deiotaros' territory before his conflict with Brogitaros. Due to the lack of excavation of the city of Tavion none of this can be determined with certainty. Hence, it is only possible to observe that the existing archaeological evidence favours Pessinos as the mint for the Zeus obverse monogram series coins, while the coins themselves through iconography and overstrikes seem closest to Tavion. The stylistic variety of the Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt design, the large number of obverse and reverse dies also make it possible that the coins were produced by multiple mints and/or over a longer period.

Concerning the general chronology of these coins, I would thus propose that the monogram coin types are likely to date from the middle to late 50s BC (after the conquest of Pessinos), followed by the 'King Deiotaros' coins possibly minted around 47 BC. The Kybele and Attis types appear to combine iconography associated with Pessinos with the 'Deiotaros monogram' which gives them a *terminus post quem* of 58–56 BC. A possible occasion for their minting could be his conquest of Pessinos by 56 BC[379] or the conquest of the Trókmoi around the middle of the 50s BC.[380] If the Zeus/eagle or Galatian shield types can be associated with

[379] Cic. *Har. resp.* 28–29.

[380] RECAM II 188.

the city of Tavion, a similar date should be considered. However, only based on stylistic characteristics, the Galatian shield coin looks particularly close to earlier Mithridatic coins of the 60s and early 50s BC. The eagle coins then continue with the same stylistic obverse dies and start evolving into a different style (Table 3.2–3.3). The 'King Deiotaros' coinage could be connected to the reaffirmation of Deiotaros' status as king by Caesar in 47 BC.[381] However, this dating is far more uncertain since Deiotaros was first given the title of king in 63 BC by Pompey.[382] Thus, any date after 63 BC would be possible for the 'King Deiotaros' coins.

Deiotaros' coins thus illustrate important stages of development in the 1st century BC. Their design reflects the Mithridatic influence, the conquest of Pessinos/the Trókmoi and finally the establishment of himself as King of Galatia. This chronological development, if interpreted correctly, shows an increasing independence and establishment of cultural identity on the coins, starting from monograms and developing into a fully written royal titulature.

---

[381] *BAlex.* 67–68. It is interesting to note that this report states that Deiotaros was only referred to as king in his function as King of Armenia Minor but still tetrarch in Galatia. This could indicate that the King Deiotaros coins were minted in Armenia Minor.

[382] Strabo 12.5.2.

3.3 The Kingdom of Amyntas

Amyntas' kingdom in central Asia Minor consisted of multiple territories across different regions, which were added to his kingdom throughout the duration of Amyntas' reign. Thus, Amyntas' kingdom, traditionally described as the Kingdom of Galatia, also included all or parts of Pisidia,[383] Pamphylia, Lykaonia and Cilicia Tracheia.[384] Galatia itself was only added to the kingdom around 37/36 BC.[385] Amyntas' kingdom was a widespread territory with changing borders, the exact dimensions of which remain uncertain. It is also questionable whether contemporaries would have described his kingdom as 'the Galatian Kingdom', since the first territory Amyntas' controlled was that of Pisidia. The tendency to characterise Amyntas' territory as the Kingdom of Galatia in modern scholarship originates from Strabo's description of Amyntas as the secretary and successor of King Deiotaros Philorhomaios.[386] However, after Deiotaros' death, Kastor Tarkondarios became tetrarch of Galatia and his successor.[387] He ruled for several years after Deiotaros' death until Amyntas was given Galatia in 36/35 BC.[388]

---

[383] App. *B Civ.* 5.75 compare with Strabo 12.6.5.

[384] App. *B Civ.* 5.75; Cass. Dio 49.32.3; Cass. Dio 53.26; Strabo 12.5.4.

[385] Cass. Dio 49.32.

[386] Strabo 12.5.1 compare Mitchell 1974, 73.

[387] Cass. Dio 48.33.5.

[388] Cass. Dio 49.32.

Amyntas, son of Dyitalos[389] is first attested in literary sources just before the Second Battle of Philippi (around 42 BC), where he acted as Deiotaros' representative in charge of the Galatian forces.[390] There, he made the decision to defect to the triumvirs rather than supporting Brutus' forces. Probably already around 41 BC, at the time of Deiotaros' death and Castor's succession to the Galatian kingdom, Amyntas came to rule over (northern?[391]) Pisidia. He was confirmed in his possessions by Marcus Antonius as part of a larger reorganisation of the client kingdoms (39–37 BC).[392] As king of Pisidia and a Roman client king, he was mainly concerned with extending his territory, conquering hostile cities and suppressing any opposition within the regions under his control.[393] In this way, he conquered the city of Cremna[394] and was

[389] SEG 44.1113.

[390] Cass. Dio 47.48.2.

[391] Robinson 2002, 102.

[392] App. *B Civ.* 5.75.

[393] The literary sources (Strabo 12.5; 12.6.3–5; Cass. Dio 53.26) portray Amyntas positively as an ideal client king acting in Roman interest. This view is also reflected by modern scholars. Syme stated: "It was the duty of Amyntas to control, conquer and pacify the southern mountain zone, regions that no empire yet had subjugated" (Syme, 1939, 144–48) and similarly Mitchell: "By 31 BC Amyntas was an acknowledged expert in this type of warfare" (Mitchell 1994, 102–104).

[394] Strabo 12.6.4. There is no clear chronology of the date for the conquest of Cremna. However, Cremna's coinage of the 1st century BC depicts bronze coins with numerals B to Z. This led von Aulock (von Aulock 1979, 39.) to propose that the numerals were related to this conquest and Amyntas' reign. This idea was further developed by Mitchell who placed the start of this era and thus Amyntas' victory over Cremna around 33/32 BC (Mitchell 1995). But as Leschhorn (1993, 397–398.) rightly points out, there is no evidence that the numerals relate in any way to Amyntas. They might denote an independent local era or local festivals or the yearly magistrates.
Civic eras were common in Pisidian cities of this period. Many new eras were introduced by the Romans, most notably under Pompey, Caesar and Augustus, and used widely throughout Asia Minor (for example, the use of the Actian era at Antioch or a provincial era in the Roman province of Galatia). Hence, there is not enough evidence to support a connection between Cremna's coinage and the reign of Amyntas.

rewarded by Marcus Antonius in 36/35 BC with the addition of Galatia, Lykaonia and Pamphylia to his kingdom.[395]

As was customary for client kingdoms and Galatia in particular, the kingdom provided manpower for Roman campaigns.[396] Around 35 BC, Amyntas and his men were involved in the capture of Sextus Pompey.[397] The king himself participated in the Roman civil war as a supporter of Marcus Antonius but then changed sides to support Octavian before the Battle of Actium.[398] Beyond the acquisition of new territories and participation in military conflicts, Amyntas and his kingdom rarely feature in literary sources. In a surviving honorary inscription from Typalliotai[399] ("a small settlement near and subordinate to Termessos"),[400] Amyntas is referred to as "king Amyntas, son of Dyitalos and tetrarch of the Galatians" (βασιλέα Ἀμύνταν Δυιτάλου υἱὸν καὶ Γαλατῶν τετράρχην).[401] Amyntas' reign and his kingdom ended in 25 BC, when he was killed or

---

395 Cass. Dio 49.32.

396 The Kingdom of Galatia already under Deiotaros is mentioned in Cicero's letters to have been trained in Roman military style and as one of the few allied kingdoms with a sizeable military force acting as auxiliary to the Roman army. (Cic. *Fam*. 15.2.; Cic. *Fam*. 15.1; Cic. *Att*. 5.18; Cic. *Att*. 6.1.).

397 App. *B Civ* 5.142.

398 Cass. Dio 50.13; Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 63.

399 SEG 44.1113.

400 Robinson 2002, 103.

401 The naming of him as tetrarch of Galatia is interesting since earlier inscriptions of Deiotaros and Brogitaros state the specific tribe they are tetrarch of. This change might indicate an increasing degree of unification within Galatia. Another possibility could be that the wording was chosen in this way due to the provenance of the inscription which originated from Typalliotai in Pisidia and not from Galatia itself. However, this would show that the territory of Galatia was still an important part of Amyntas' identity as king, probably due to its military importance and personal connection to him.

captured in an ambush while fighting against the Isaurian Homonadenses in Cilicia.[402]

3.3.1 The coins of Amyntas - modern forgeries and misattributed coins

The most valuable coins of king Amyntas, a group of gold hecte staters with the reverse inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ are most likely modern forgeries (Figure 3.21). These coins share their iconography of a helmeted head of Athena on the obverse and a Nike holding sceptre on the reverse with Amyntas' silver tetradrachms.[403] The gold coins appeared for sale only after the academic publication of the silver tetradrachms.[404] They are less detailed, sometimes appearing cast instead of struck[405] and copy the style and dies of the tetradrachms.[406] Their identity as modern forgeries was first pointed out by Mayer who was able to trace their production to a goldsmith and coin seller in Smyrna.[407] Despite this, some institutions and collectors remain convinced that their specimens are authentic examples of gold hecte

[402] Cass. Dio 53.26; Strabo 12.6.3.

[403] Catalogue types 20–23; The tetradrachms are discussed in Chapter 3.3.2.

[404] Mayer 1871, 437.

[405] BMC Galatia XIX.

[406] Most notably R185.

[407] Mayer 1871, 435–444.

staters.[408] Since there is clear proof that a number of these gold coins are forgeries and the coins were struck from the same two dies, the gold coins will be omitted from the analysis in this thesis. Similarly, there are two silver tetradrachms (Figure 3.21), depicting Heracles on the obverse and a lion on the reverse.[409] Both their authenticity and assignment to Amyntas of Galatia are questionable. The coins use a different style compared to Amyntas' other silver and bronze coins and might have been an attempt to copy the bronze types of Amyntas in silver.[410] The reverse legend spells ΒΑΣΗΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ, which is not used on any other coins of King Amyntas. The name and title 'King Amyntas' are also attested for contemporary rulers in India, for example, Amyntas Nicator. Hence, even if these coins were authentic, they do not necessarily belong to Amyntas of Galatia. Consequently, the two silver coins under discussion were also omitted from this thesis.

3.3.2 Amyntas' silver tetradrachms

Numismatic research into the coinage of King Amyntas has largely focused on the analysis of his silver tetradrachms. The coin design depicts a helmeted head of Athena, facing right on the obverse and a

[408] For a more detailed discussion on these gold hecte staters and the possible authenticity of single specimens see BMC Galatia XVIII–XX. The Bibliothèque numérique de Paris website still lists six hecte staters as belonging to King Amyntas.

[409] Malter 16, 1966, lot G80 and Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia, MOA 2189/284.

[410] Catalogue types 9 and 13–14.

Nike advancing left, holding a long sceptre with a diadem tied around it, on the reverse (Figure 3.22).[411] This iconography closely copies the civic tetradrachms of Side, which depict a head of Athena on the obverse and a Nike advancing left holding a wreath on the reverse. A direct connection between Side and Amyntas' tetradrachms is proven by an obverse die link between the coinages,[412] which will be discussed in detail below. The tetradrachms have the reverse legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ.[413] A second coin type with the same reverse legend has, additionally, the letters IB on the reverse and a monogram on the obverse.[414] The reverse legend with the king's name in the genitive and the use of monograms recall the other royal coinages discussed in this thesis.[415]

Amyntas' tetradrachms had been unknown to numismatic scholarship until their discovery around 1840–1845.[416] Since not a single specimen of Amyntas' tetradrachms was known before then and new coins rarely occur in modern auctions, it is possible that Amyntas' tetradrachms all

[411] Catalogue types 20–23.

[412] Atlan 1975, 607; O72.

[413] Catalogue types 20–23.

[414] Catalogue type 23.

[415] e.g the coins of the Cappadocian kings (Catalogue types 35–48), of King Tarkondimotos I (Catalogue type 49), of King Brogitaros (Catalogue type 1), of King Deiotaros Philorhomaios (Catalogue types 3–6) and of King Deiotaros Philadelphos (Catalogue type 29).

[416] IGCH 1465. Amyntas' tetradrachms were first published by Burgon 1845 and de Luynes 1845.

originate from a single hoard.[417] This hoard was likely discovered in Türkiye and then quickly dissolved to be sold separately on the market. A number of coins originate from the collection of Borell, which was sold by Sotheby's in 1852.[418] For an attempt to reconstruct the content of this hoard by Meadows (Table 3.4).[419] Currently, there are no other known hoards, single finds or site finds, which severely limits our understanding of Amyntas' tetradrachms.

The dies of Amyntas' tetradrachms were analysed by Atlan in 1975[420] and by Meadows in 2006.[421] Atlan recorded six obverse dies combined with 33 reverse dies for a total of 98 coins.[422] He was able to compare plaster casts of the tetradrachms from multiple museums. However, this resulted in his article depicting these plaster casts but not referencing them properly. This made it necessary to compare these images to museum and auction catalogues to reconstruct their origin. In addition, my own study on the die links has shown that four of the reverse dies (A13, A18, A28 and A32) are in fact duplicates (Table 3.5). Thus, the number of reverse dies identified by Atlan is only 29. Meadows' article

---

[417] IGCH 1465. Burgon 1845, 82 footnote 39.

[418] Sotheby, July 12, 1852 no. 254–61 (and likely no. 359–66).

[419] Meadows 2006, 169.

[420] Atlan 1975, 575–611.

[421] Meadows 2006, 166.

[422] Atlan 1975, 605.

added two new dies,[423] creating an overall of 31 reverse dies known previously to this study. This thesis found three new reverse dies, bringing the overall total to 34 reverse dies. The lack of recorded hoard evidence for Amyntas' tetradrachms means that the only evidence to establish the chronology are iconographic changes (although some variations might be due to different die cutters), die links and also die breaks.

The obverse dies O71, O72 and O74 are all stylistically similar. The main difference between them is the fall of locks down the neck (Figure 3.23). Especially dies O71 and O74 are near identical, with only small differences in the locks at the end of the neck and the bands of the helmet. Thus, if the left side and hair endings are cut off the flan or worn, it is nearly impossible to differentiate between the two. The close similarities between O71, O72 and O74 make it likely that they were cut by the same artist and are contemporary with each other.

Obverse die O72 is paired with sixteen different reverse dies, which is the highest number in this die study.[424] The obverse die O72 was minted with reverse dies of the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Amyntas tetradrachms[425] and the

[423] Meadows 2006, 166 (footnote 21).

[424] R182–185; R188–189; R196–198; R253; R257; R263–268.

[425] Catalogue types 20–21.

Side diadem type of KΛEYX Group IV.[426] No known coins of O72 are paired with reverse dies of the Year IB.[427] The obverse die is reverse die linked to O71, O74 and O73. A die break on O72 is paired with a reverse die connecting it to O74, while reverse dies connecting O72 to O73 were recut to add IB.[428] This seems to suggest that O74 and O73 were employed later, towards the end of O72's use. However, due to the reduced quality of some published pictures, the small die break at the top of the helmet's comb is not always visible and might have occurred earlier.

O76 and O75 (Figure 3.24) also have different characteristics that separate them stylistically from the other obverse dies: the elongated rectangular clamp connecting the comb to the helmet. The bands of the helmet, are always curled upwards on O72 to O73, in contrast to the downwards curl on O76 and O75. Indeed, the designs of O76 and O75 are closer to some of the obverse dies used for Sidetan coins with the reverse inscription ΔEINO. These ΔEINO coins were mostly produced in the 2nd century BC.[429] The O76 obverse die in particular has a different style compared to both the five Amyntas obverse dies and the Side

[426] Catalogue type 25. For a complete discussion of KΛEYX Group IV see Chapter 3.3.3 and Meadows 2006.

[427] Plate 82.

[428] O74/R196 and O73/R197.

[429] Meadows 2006, 156–7.

diadem coins, changing to shorter locks extending in multiple different directions with thin s-shaped endings attached to the locks. While it is known that the Athena/Nike coinage of Side changed style drastically between different production groups and throughout their over two centuries of production,[430] it is puzzling that O76 is the sole example of this style amongst the tetradrachms of Amyntas. However, the style of both O76 and O75 seems to mimic earlier coins before Amyntas' reign (Figure 3.25). Meadows emphasised the copying of older Sidetan coin types as a characteristic of Side's 1st century BC coinage.[431] Since Amyntas' coinage is die linked to Side's, O76 and O75 might also be deliberately copying or imitating an earlier art style.

Obverse die O75 shows several breaks across the die, starting from the head of Athena, which indicates intensive use. The two bands of the Corinthian helmet crossed each other at first but were reworked after wear to run parallel to each other (Figure 3.26). The analysis of die breaks is made difficult due to low-resolution pictures and damage to the coins. The coins with obverse dies O76 and O75 contain multiple die breaks, re-strikes, overstrikes, graffiti or other damages, making it difficult to determine the reason for specific marks left on the coins. Similarly, the

[430] For the different groups of the ΚΛΕΥΧ coins see Meadows 2006.

[431] Meadows 2006, 175.

dies of O72 and O71 have multiple reverses with additional lines/die breaks, especially the elephant die and column-like sceptre dies.[432]

On the reverse dies, Amyntas' coinage shows four different variants in how the diadem is tied around the sceptre: 1) the diadem is tied ending left, 2) or ending right, 3) ending in a bow 4) or intertwined with the sceptre (Figure 3.27). Obverse dies O72, O71, O74, O73 and O76 use all four variants, while O75, which is seemingly the last of Amyntas' obverse dies,[433] only has three out of the four designs. These design changes raise the question of whether they were deliberate and, if so, whether they served a specific purpose. These patterns could have had a practical function, such as indicating the mint/workshop producing the coin, or denoting the specific purpose of the coins concerned (e.g. army pay, civic official pay or other state payments). It is possible but unlikely that they indicated different die cutters/workshops, as the same individuals cut dies paired with varying diadem forms.[434] Another possibility is that they were the result of stylistic development or served a similar objective as the pomegranate stem variations on Side's ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV (Figure 3.28).

[432] R185; Catalogue type 20.

[433] Page 679 (Plate 82).

[434] For example see dies with a very distinct wing shape (R185 and R196) and sash (R189 and R196).

Nike has one wing extended in varying angles and on eight dies a second wing is added to the left of her head.[435] Closer consideration of the dies reveals that a second wing only appears on dies where the diadem is tied in a bow. Out of eight reverse dies with the diadem in a bow, only one (R183) lacks the second wing. The reverse dies with the second wing are paired with all obverse dies and thus seem to have been minted throughout the whole of Amyntas' production. Earlier coins of Side also attest die cutters experimenting with the positioning of the second wing.[436]

A shared reverse die connects the obverse dies O76 and O73.[437] This die is one of two dies that spell ΒΛΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ instead of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ.[438] These two reverse dies only occur with IB (Year 12) and monogram. The same spelling mistake occurs on the bronze coinage of Amyntas, more specifically on Group 2 coins of the stag[439] series, which could indicate a similar date of the two types.[440] Since multiple coins were minted by two dies with the same spelling, this might represent a variation rather than an error.

---

[435] R182, R187, R191, R203, R206, R207, R194, R214 all of which have the ribbon ending in a bow.

[436] P: R 2114. A second wing is visible on most coins of catalogue type 24 and on some dies of type 25.

[437] R203.

[438] R203 and R205.

[439] R159, R156, R152.

[440] Catalogue types 18 and 23.

On some reverse dies, Nike is holding a column-shaped object rather than the sceptre. The object was subject to different scholarly interpretations. It does not seem to be a misstrike or worn part of the coin but an iconographic feature repeated across three different dies.[441] De Luynes, the first to discuss the tetradrachms in 1845, argues that the column-object held by Nike is a quiver, the same object as Amyntas' Artemis bronze coins (Figure 3.29).[442] A similar iconography is also used for Artemis on Hellenistic coins of Ephesos and Perge.[443] A trophy seems plausible since there are many precedents for Nike carrying a trophy on coins.[444] Atlan regarded the object as a sword in its sheath,[445] an interpretation followed by Meadows.[446] In my opinion, it seems more likely to see the column-shaped object as a slightly uncoordinated depiction of the same sceptre as on the other tetradrachms of Amyntas. The engravers might have been unfamiliar with how to cut the sceptre into the die. In this regard, it is important to note that the dies were paired with obverse die O72 and were very likely among the first of Amyntas'

---

[441] R182, R183 and R184.

[442] de Luynes 1845, 263.

[443] Ephesos: SNG Copenhagen 257; SNG Fitzwilliam 4423; Numismatica Ars Classica Autumn Sale 2024, lot 426.
Perge: SNG Copenhagen 299; SNG Paris 331; SNG Paris 373-8; SNG von Aulock 4661.

[444] See the Kingdom of Epeiros under Pyrrhos who struck coins in Syracuse (Roma Numismatics Limited Auction 5, 23 Mar. 2013, lot 162) or Prusias II of Bithynia (SNG Copenhagen 642. SNG von Aulock 6884).

[445] Atlan 1975, 608.

[446] Meadows 2006, 153.

tetradrachms.[447] Thus, the design was probably intended to be the same Nike and sceptre type as on Amyntas' other tetradrachms. In either interpretation, the tetradrachm reverses combine royal (diadem, sceptre) and military (Nike) elements.[448] This contrasts with the obverse head of Artemis, which deliberately avoids the royal portrait and follows the traditional Greek coin design. Only the diadem and sceptre allude to royal authority. Overall, Amyntas seems reluctant to use his portrait, which is also the case on his own bronze coins and on coins of other Galatian tetrarchs like Deiotaros Philorhomaios or Brogitaros Philorhomaios.

A reverse die of Amyntas' tetradrachms that was of particular interest to past scholars is depicting Nike with an elephant skin headdress (Figure 3.30), an identification suggested by Atlan[449] and followed by Meadows.[450] Even though the 'elephant' die is visibly distinct, it does not constitute a new coin type since it shares the same characteristics and fits within the die sequence of Amyntas' tetradrachms. The reverse die is attested with and without IB and presents an example of the transitional stage[451] connecting catalogue types 21 and 23. However, the use of the

[447] See catalogue type 20 and Plate 82.

[448] de Luynes 1845, 263.

[449] Atlan 1975, 611; R185. Burgon 1845 and de Luynes 1845 seem unaware of this die.

[450] Meadows 2006, 168.

[451] This transition is also visible in catalogue type 22.

elephant skin headdress for Nike remains puzzling. The kings of Bactria and Mauretania also depicted an elephant headdress on their coins in the 1st century BC and had a geographical connection to the animal (Figure 3.31). While elephant headdresses were a popular design on the coins of some Hellenistic rulers, it was normally associated with Alexander the Great,[452] Ptolemaic coinage and Egypt in particular,[453] India and Africa[454] or, more generally, for victories over eastern enemies. No such case can be made for the Galatian kingdom or Amyntas himself. Atlan suggests that the coins were minted when Amyntas won a victory against elephants or was using them himself.[455] However, there is no evidence for this or a connection of Amyntas to elephants beyond this single reverse die. Therefore, it is worth taking another look at the so-called 'elephant headdress'.

In contrast to the depiction of other elephant headdresses on coins of the 1st century BC and 1st century AD (Figure 3.31), Amyntas' coins lack the characteristic elephant tusks. Furthermore, on the other coins, the trunk is a minor detail and usually smaller than the headdress. In Amyntas' case, the trunk is about the same size as the head covering. When

[452] For example the Porus Medallion (BM 1926,0402.1).

[453] Zagloul, 2020.

[454] Atlan 1975, 610.

[455] Atlan 1975, 611.

comparing the ‘elephant die’ to other reverse dies of Amyntas, it becomes clear that the former is of similar shape as the other Nike’s headdresses but with a trunk. Furthermore, on specimens struck from two reverse dies, a ‘miniature trunk’ appears to be protruding from Nike’s head (Figure 3.27 no. 1 and 2). Coins from one of the dies sometimes do not show a trunk but only a dot to the left of Nike’s head (Figure 3.27 no. 2).[456] The ‘miniature trunk’ appears to be this dot connected to the headdress either by a die break or due to the lighting of the photo. We can propose a similar solution for the ‘elephant’ die. The ‘elephant die’ shows lines and breaks on the die, making it likely that the ‘elephant’ headdress is the result of a die break and continued to be used throughout the transitional period of Amyntas’ coinage. It also shows that there was a need to keep the die in service despite its breaks.

The ‘elephant’ die is a unique example in Amyntas’ silver coinage, but at the mint of Side, where these tetradrachms were produced, we also find earlier examples of varying and unique Nike headdresses (Figure 3.32). The main argument against the ‘elephant’ die being the result of a die break is the fact that all of the surviving specimens struck from this die have the ‘elephant’ feature. The Sidetan die cutters produced an extraordinary number of dies in the 1st century BC, pairing some of the

[456] R186.

obverse dies with more than ten reverse dies.[457] Hence, many reverse dies were probably produced rather quickly. The engraver of the 'elephant' die might have simply made a mistake while creating the die. This interpretation of the 'elephant' die as a unique mistake and not a deliberate choice would further confirm the gold coins of Amyntas, minted with an elephant headdress die, as modern forgeries (Figure 3.33).

Overstrikes could, in principle, help date and associate the coins of Amyntas with other coinages. However, the few overstrikes reveal very little. The reverse of coin 33 of catalogue type 23 seems to show traces of another sceptre underneath, the top and a line of dots are visible between the sceptre and the letter B on the coin. None of Amyntas' known reverse dies fit with this sceptre. However, the sample of Amyntas' coins is likely biased and the result of a single hoard find.[458] The undertype is not well enough preserved to identify, but it is notable that in the vicinity of Side, Aspendos and Perge were also minting silver tetradrachms with sceptres.[459]

---

[457] For example, O72 and O82.

[458] See the beginning of Chapter 3.3.2.

[459] Aspendos: Price 2895.
Perge: Price-2938; SNG von Aulock 4659.

The die links seem to show a roughly chronological minting sequence, which clarifies the order of production.[460] The die O72 connects Side's and Amyntas' silver coinage. Obverse die breaks, which occur later in the lifespan of a dies, are solely visible on the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ AMYNTOY coins (see Figure 3.34), indicating that they were the latest to be minted with O72. Hence, O72 seems to have first been used to mint coins of Side before those of Amyntas. The die break on O72 occurs after being paired with the 'elephant die' and reverse dies R196 and R198. These seem to be the latest coins minted by O72. The 'elephant die' similarly shows a die break in the T of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ AMYNTOY for coins marked with IB.[461] Hence, the IB coins appear to be later than the coins without IB. For the IB type, the recut die O75, paired with reverse R208, likely presents the last minted coins of Amyntas. Hence, the die links seem to present a chronological minting process starting with the ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV diadem types,[462] followed by the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ AMYNTOY silver coins[463] and ending with the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ AMYNTOY IB and monogram coins.[464]

Besides the two main groups of Amyntas' tetradrachms (no monogram/ no IB and monogram with IB), there are some coins which seem to

[460] Catalogue Plate 82.

[461] Catalogue type 23.

[462] Catalogue type 25.

[463] Catalogue types 20–21.

[464] Catalogue types 22–23.

represent a transitional stage. Many of them were recut to add the IB or the monogram (Table 3.5 and Figure 3.35). A coin of the O74 obverse die might show possible traces of a monogram on the obverse with no IB on the reverse.[465] However, this coin is worn and the possible delta of the monogram might be scratches or graffiti. Another O73 obverse ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ coin shows clear traces of an IB added on the reverse but has no monogram on the obverse.[466] While this coin is unique, it seems to present a trial/experimental stage before the addition of monogram on the obverse and IB on the reverse. All of the recut coins with IB are paired with obverse die O73, while the same dies before the recut were paired with O72, O71 and O74. Thus, the addition of the IB might have been tried first with O73 but the systematic addition of monogram and IB on the dies soon followed. The monogram on O73 has fewer straight cut lines than O76 and O75, is rather elongated and is often cut off at the end of the flan. Of the 14 coins recorded for O73, only one of them shows the monogram fully visible.[467] With the monogram off the flan in nearly all instances, it seems unclear why it was added to the die in the first place. This might be an indication that the addition of IB and monogram was spontaneous and not planned at the time these dies were created.

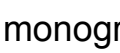
---

[465] Coin 52 of catalogue type 21.

[466] Coin 1 of catalogue type 22.

[467] Coin 2 of catalogue type 23.

For the silver coins, the high number of reverse dies connected to a single obverse is noteworthy. The best example, O72 is connected to 18 known reverse dies. This is remarkably higher than the normal reverse to obverse die ratio of three to one.[468] With Amyntas' other tetradrachms the reverse to obverse ratio is 5–8 reverses per obverse die. The die sequence in Plate 82 shows obverse dies that are connected through their reverse dies to multiple obverse dies. This implies the existence of two workstations around O71, O72 and O74 that were minting coins in parallel.

The obverse monogram , that is added to the coins together with the letters IB on the reverse on catalogue type 23, has been interpreted as standing for Amyntas.[469] The letters of the monogram remain ambiguous and can be read in multiple ways (Figure 3.36, Monogram I). The only attempt of deciphering the monogram was made by de Luynes in 1845, who read it as ΜΑΓΝΔ for Magydos.[470] This seems an unlikely explanation if not "outright wrong".[471] Instead, scholars have simply referred to the monograms as possibly denoting Amyntas without further

[468] Howgego 1995, 32.

[469] Atlan 1975, 606; Burgon 1845, 70 footnote 6.

[470] de Luynes 1845, 263.

[471] Atlan 1975, 606.

analysis.[472] The occurrence of Amyntas' name and title in full on the reverse makes this unlikely.[473] In addition, the letter delta in monogram I on Figure 3.36 is prominent and clearly identifiable. The Δ in context of Galatia is reminiscent of the famous King Deiotaros Philorhomaios. However, such an explanation appears to be unlikely here, given the different timeframe of Amyntas' reign. Another explanation is to interpret the monogram as a magistrate or the name of a city. So far, no suitable magistrates are known. Similarly, a reading of the monogram as ΣΙΔΕ is possible but the spelling of the city, especially on coins was ΣΙΔΗΤΩΝ,[474] which contradicts this suggestion.

Instead, it might be best to explore whether the monogram might be referring to King Amyntas himself. His full names and titles are set out in the inscription SEG 44:1113. The letter Δ also occurs in this inscription, naming him **Α**μύνταν **Δ**υιτάλου **υ**ἱὸν (Amyntas, son of Dyitalos).[475] This could offer an explanation for the two clearly identifiable letters of the monogram and for the smaller letter ⊂ as a rotated **υ**. This way, the monogram could be read as abbreviating Amyntas's name and his patronymic. An awareness of his heritage is visible through his

[472] Burgon 1845, 70 footnote 6; Atlan 1975, 606.

[473] Commented by Atlan 1975, 606. However, the existence of a monogram on the obverse and the royal titulature on the reverse mirrors Amyntas' bronze coinage would not be unusual for his coinage or could indicate different audiences.

[474] SNG Copenhagen 408, SNG von Aulock 4806.

[475] SEG 44:1113.

patronymic but also in the title Γαλατῶν τετράρχην (tetrarch of the Galatians). In accordance with the inscription it would be possible to read the monogram as ΓΑΔ, meaning Γαλατῶν **Α**μύνταν **Δ**υιτάλου. If any such interpretation is correct it would show a clear emphasis on Amyntas' heritage, making it visually nearly as important as the rest of his kingdom. In any case, the interpretation offered here remains speculative. Monogram I exclusively appears on Amyntas' silver coins, in contrast to his bronze coinage which uses three monograms across different types.

The IB on the reverse of the silver tetradrachm is generally regarded as the Greek numeral, referring to Year 12 of an era.[476] This had already been suggested by de Luynes when discussing the coins in 1845. He argued that it represented the Year 12 in the era of Antioch in Pisidia, which started in September of 49 BC.[477] In his view, the Year 12 of the Antioch era is the year that Amyntas became king. However, the die links and breaks discussed in the previous section show that the IB type was likely minted only after the tetradrachms without IB on the reverse. Hence, in his interpretation, Amyntas must have minted almost all of his silver coins immediately before becoming king in 37/36 BC or shortly after. This would place the coin output way before his many attested

[476] "without doubt" Atlan 1975, 606.

[477] de Luynes 1845, 263.

battles and dates the bronze coins with the numeral 6[478] even earlier to 43/42 BC. As Deiotaros was still alive during the Battle of Philippi in 42 BC, this dating of the coins and use of the era seem unlikely.

Meadows recently proposed an alternative, relating the numeral 12 not to Amyntas' reign but to a possible era used on 1st century BC 'imitation' issues of Pamphylia.[479] However, this suggestion is problematic as it is unsure where these 'imitations' of coins of Side, Perge and Aspendus had been minted, nor whether or not the coins are connected and whether or not they were even using the same era. As was the case in Pisidia, many poleis introduced numerals to their civic coinages. Meadows' interpretation of a shared era between the cities bases its start date on 48 BC, dating Amyntas' IB coins to the first year of Amyntas' reign in 36 BC. However, this interpretation poses the same chronological problems as de Luynes' suggestion.

Therefore, the IB on the reverse of the coins likely indicates the 12th year of Amyntas' reign, as already suggested by Burgon's original publication of the coins in 1845.[480] Reading the IB as the 12th year of

[478] Catalogue types 9–12.

[479] Meadows 2015, 418.

[480] Burgon 1845, 75 followed by Atlan 1975, 606.

Amyntas' reign would work, as he was made King of Galatia in 36 BC[481] and died in 26/25 BC,[482] placing Year 12 around 25/24 BC. As this would likely be after his death in 26/25 BC,[483] we should consider a start of his reign before the autumn of 36 BC to be included in the calendar year 37/36 BC. This is supported by Cassius Dio's comment that Octavian was at this time still losing in the campaigns against Sextus Pompey.[484] Thus, these events predate the Battle of Mylae in August 36 BC and the start of the new year in autumn 36 BC. Appian also places the recognition of kingship in 37 BC.[485] The date then falls into the previous year 37/36 BC. This makes it possible for the coins to be minted in Year 12 (IB) which is 26/25 BC. These calculations would still put their production date close to Amyntas' death, but the minting of coinage in the name of a king could continue after his death.[486]

Another possible interpretation of Amyntas' regnal years is placing the start of his reign around 39 BC, when he first gained control over Pisidia. This would then date the coins with IB to 27 BC, two years before

---

[481] Cass. Dio 49.32 dates the events to the consulship of Gellius and Nerva of 36 BC.

[482] Cass. Dio 53.26; Strabo 12.6.3.

[483] Atlan 1975, 606.

[484] Cass. Dio 49.32.

[485] App. *B Civ.* 5.75.

[486] The Romans, for example, continued minting posthumous tetradrachms of Philip Philadelphos and marked them with monograms denoting the Roman magistrates in charge of Syria (*RPC* I, 4124; *RPC* I, 4125a; *RPC* I, 4125b; *RPC* I, 4126).

Amyntas' death. However, there is no indication that he used the title of king before 36 BC.[487]

3.3.3 Side's silver tetradrachms of the KΛEYX Group IV and their association with King Amyntas

Atlan was also the first to discover an important obverse die link between the coins of Amyntas and silver coins of Side through O72.[488] This way, a specific group of the KΛEYX tetradrachms classified by Meadows as the 4th stylistic group of KΛEYX issues (KΛEYX Group IV) can be associated with Amyntas' tetradrachms.[489] The KΛEYX Group was part of a series of coin types minted in Side since the 3rd century BC and changed only minimally throughout the centuries.[490] Their dating is based on hoard evidence, weight standards and stylistic changes.[491] Both Side's and Amyntas' tetradrachms occurred in the 1845 hoard (see Table 3.4), which was reconstructed by Meadows from auction and sales catalogues.[492] The KΛEYX Group IV consists of two types which only differ in their reverse design. While they share the reverse legend

---

[487] App. *B Civ.* 5.75.

[488] Atlan 1975, 607.

[489] Meadows 2006, 172.

[490] Meadows 2006, 165. Meadows questions the attribution of Amyntas' coins to the mint of Side. However, due to the lack of conclusive evidence for an alternative mint and the similarities between KΛEYX Group IV and Sidetan bronze coins of the 1st century BC (e.g. SNG vA 4806), an attribution to Side seems the most plausible to me.

[491] Meadows 2006, 169 f..

[492] IGCH 1465 with Meadows 2006, 169.

ΚΛΕΥΧ, one type shows Nike holding a wreath and the other Nike holding a diadem (Figure 3.37).[493] The latter type is die linked to both Amyntas' tetradrachms[494] and the wreath type.[495] The die links suggest that these types were produced at the same mint but for different authorities and continued to circulate in the same area as seen in the surviving hoard evidence.

The innovative replacement of the wreath with a diadem makes it easy to identify coins of this group. Thus, even when some specimens are not directly die linked to other diadem coins, they are likely to have been produced around the same time. Atlan suggested that Side changed its coin design from the wreath to the diadem to possibly gain favour with the new ruler.[496] The ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV wreath coinage, by contrast, is more difficult to date. Coins are assigned to this type based on the way they copy older Sidetan coins and have a slightly higher weight.[497] Another identifying feature is the pomegranate stem that occurs in five different variants (Figure 3.28), which makes them distinct from earlier issues. This simplifies their identification among the large number of Sidetan tetradrachms.

---

[493] Catalogue types 24–25.

[494] Catalogue types 20–21; O72.

[495] Catalogue type 24; O82.

[496] Atlan 1975, 607.

[497] Atlan 1975, 604; Meadows 2006, 165.

The weight standard for Amyntas' silver coinage centres around an average of 15.82 g. This matches those of the ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV. As the averages in the catalogue include worn coins, the mint probably aimed, according to Meadows, at a weight standard of about 15.90–16.00 g.[498] Meadows compares this weight to the 'reduced' Attic standard, which had been used by the Seleucid kingdom in the 1st century BC.[499] The Seleucid tetradrachms "of 89–69 BC probably aim closer to 15.90–16.00 g",[500] which is similar to his ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV. This could suggest a possible start date for this group within or shortly after the latter timeframe. Consequently, Meadows proposed a date around the middle of the 1st century BC for ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV.[501] The use of the Seleucid standard might indicate an ongoing connection to the Seleucid kingdom and Side, or at least that Side was part of the Seleucid monetary economy. Side itself was under Seleucid control in the 2nd century BC, but from 188 BC the city belonged to the Kingdom of Pergamon.[502] In addition, the Seleucid territories in nearby Cilicia were close, with a direct maritime connection along the coast. Side's importance as a maritime

---

[498] Meadows 2006, 167.

[499] Meadows 2006, 161 f..

[500] Meadows 2006, 164 note 18.

[501] Meadows 2006, 171.

[502] Appian *Syr.* 22; Livy 37.22–24, 45.22; For Side under the control of Pergamon see: Polyb. 21.24 and Polyb. 21.45.

trade centre is also attested in the widespread and unusual distribution of Side's bronze coinage in the southern Levant.[503]

Meadows recently proposed that the Amyntas coinage and possibly ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV were imitative coinage minted not at Side but in another part of Asia Minor.[504] However, the existence of additional die links and similarities in style that were discussed in the previous sections makes this an unlikely scenario. There are also possible die links between ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV and ΚΛΕΥΧ Group III.[505] This makes it clear that all three, Amyntas silver coinage, ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV and ΚΛΕΥΧ Group III were minted at the same place over a period of time and possibly all date to the 1st century BC. In addition, Side's bronze coinage, which clearly states ΣΙΔΗΤΟΝ, uses the same pomegranate designs as ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV. As these designs seem to mirror those of ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV, they originate from the same place, Side. The use of different pomegranate designs started developing already in ΚΛΕΥΧ Group III and continued in the different diadem forms of Amyntas' silver tetradrachms. Thus, there is no real reason to question the assignment of the ΚΛΕΥΧ Groups III, IV and Amyntas' coinage to the city of Side.

---

[503] See Johananoff 2017.

[504] Meadows 2006, 171–175; Meadows 2015, 412.

[505] R237 linking O81 of ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV to the obverse of a ΚΛΕΥΧ Group 3 coin sold in Heritage 3042, 17 Sept. 2015, lot 32112.

Instead, the copying of earlier coins might have been initiated by Side itself and could be indicative of a wider trend in Pamphylia.[506]

3.3.4 The coinage of Amyntas - Bronze coinage

Amyntas' bronze coinage, like the silver tetradrachms, is easily identified by the reverse legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ which also appears in the form of a monogram (monogram II) on his 'monogram series' (Table 3.6). However, until now there has been no die study of his bronze coins, as is often the case for lower value coinages. Instead, the best up to date information can be found in short introductory remarks on the coins in numismatic catalogues[507] or comments in connection with Amyntas' silver coinage[508] or in scholarship concerned with the Galatian King Deiotaros.[509] Hence, there is still much to be discovered about these coins, particularly their place of origin, chronology and the interpretation of the monograms on the coins. This catalogue discovered several new types and monogram combinations, which adds to the understanding of Amyntas' kingdom through its coinage.

---

[506] See Meadows 2015.

[507] BMC Galatia; Burnett, Amandry and Ripolles Alégre 2006, 536–537.

[508] Meadows 2006, 172.

[509] Blanchet 1933, 14; Burnett, Amandry and Ripolles Alégre 2006, 536–537.

Overall, the bronze coinage of Amyntas consists of three main series: the Lion series, the Stag series and the Hermes series (Figure 3.38 and Table 3.7).[510] Earlier scholars have suggested various attributions for the bronze coins of Amyntas based on the different design choices and on supposed stylistic similarities with other cities in the region.[511] This way, the three different designs of lion, stag and Hermes were attributed to three different mints. Thus, for example, the Hermes types are assigned to Cremna by the British Museum catalogue and Mitchell.[512] However, the designs chosen for Amyntas coinage were popular iconographic motifs visible in many contemporary coin issues and on earlier coins still in circulation in the Late Hellenistic period. A Kerykeion design was also used for bronze coins of Keraeitai,[513] Claudia Leucas[514] and Chalkis ad Libanon[515] in Syria. It is also the traditional design of Ainos in Thrace[516] and popular in late 2nd century to early 1st century BC Sicily.[517] Likewise, the Artemis with stag design was associated with coins of important cult centres of the goddess like Perge or Ephesos[518] but is one

[510] This was established in previous scholarship for example de Luynes 1845, 260–261.

[511] De Luynes 1845; Mitchell 1995, 44; Burnett, Amandry and Ripolles Alégre 2006, 536–537.

[512] BMC Galatia XVIII; Mitchell 1995, 44.

[513] Köker 2011.

[514] RPC I, 4459.

[515] HGC 9, 1446.

[516] HGC 3.2, 1294; HGC 3.2, 1284; RPC IV.1 Online 4410.

[517] For example Kalakte (HGC 2, 517); Kephaloidion (HGC 2, 652); Menainon (HGC 2, 764).

[518] For Artemis in Ephesos see Rogers, 2013. For Perge see Filges, 2008.

of the most popular designs in Asia Minor. The same image was minted by an Ariarathid Cappadocian king[519] and by other contemporaries of Amyntas' reign, like the Lycian league,[520] the city of Ephesos,[521] Crete[522] and Bubon.[523] The Lion series has been associated with the city of Pessinos.[524] Pessinos' Late Hellenistic coins depict a sitting lion holding a shield upon which a monogram is visible and another monogram can be seen on the right.[525] This bronze coinage has a thick and heavy flan[526] which is a characteristic shared with Amyntas' Group 1 Lion series. However, their diameter and weights are often different[527] making it unlikely that the coins of Amyntas were minted at Pessinos.[528] The lion design is a prominent element of royal coinage and had already featured on the obverses of some of the earliest coins.[529] Similarly, the head of Heracles is most famously known from the influential coinage of Alexander the Great. The combined design of a head of Heracles on the

[519] Simonetta 4; HGC 7, 856; For a discussion of this type see Chapter 5.1.

[520] Leu WA 28, 9 Dec. 2023, lot 1471; RPC I, 3319e; RPC I, 3314a; SNG Copenhagen 149.

[521] SNG von Aulock 1870–1; RPC I, 2597.

[522] RPC I, 909.

[523] Von Aulock 4286; Waddington 3032.

[524] Burnett, Amandry and Ripolles Alégre 2006, 536–537.

[525] HGC 7, 766.

[526] Burnett, Amandry and Ripolles Alégre 2006, 537.

[527] See Berlin collection inventory numbers: 18305235, 18305236, 18305237, 18305288, 18305292, 18305295, 18305297, 18305299, 18305302, 18305303, 18305304, 18305305.

[528] Unlike the smaller bronze coins of Deiotaros for which see Chapter 3.2.2.

[529] SNG von Aulock 2868.

obverse and lion on the reverse is used, for example, on coins of Sardis in Lydia[530] or Kassander, King of Macedon.[531] During the same period as Amyntas' reign, the coins of Antiochos I Theos, King of Commagene (c. 69–34 BC), were also minted with a lion reverse design.[532] In this case, both the obverse and reverse types appear to be close imitations of other royal coinages and Persian images.[533] The coin design of Amyntas' Lion series has, furthermore, previously been used on coins of King Perdikkas III of Macedon.[534] Therefore, based on their iconographic design the bronze coins of Amyntas do not stand out among the masses of coinage produced in 1st century BC Asia Minor and seem to copy already established designs. Amyntas thus follows the same pattern as the Galatian King Deiotaros, Amyntas' predecessor, who for his first coins appears to have copied the common Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt type and later introduced a distinctive and unique Galatian shield design on his coins. An already established iconographic design has the advantage that it provides the coins with greater reliability and trust, which is essential for a coin's acceptance as payment. The use of the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ and monograms on the coins are characteristic of Hellenistic coinage and continues to be used by Roman client kingdoms. It can thus

---

[530] Sardis: Hochard 2020 4.9.1858–9; Bucephalus Numismatic 15 February, 2023, lot 428.

[531] SNG Alpha Bank 881; SNG Copenhagen 1140.

[532] RPC I, 3845.

[533] See Hauser 2021.

[534] SNG Alpha Bank 240.

be suggested that the royal motives and Greek legend attempt to place King Amyntas among the many late Hellenistic kings in Asia Minor as a person of authority and influence, while making his coinage appear as a legitimate and reliable means of payment.

The bronze coinage of King Amyntas of Galatia was struck in three denominations. The smallest and lightest denomination is the Hermes series with a diameter of about 16 mm. The Lion and Stag series both have an average diameter close to 20 mm. However, there is a weight difference of about 2 g[535] between the Stag and Lion series. Similarly, a 2 g weight difference exists between the Stag and Hermes series. Stag and Lion series thus have the same diameter but different weights (Figure 3.39). At the same time, weight differences for bronze coinage are often due to wear and only an approximation, with many coins falling below or above the average. Especially, the weights of the Group 1 Lion series coins differ significantly between each other, at times becoming as heavy as 16 g or as light as 5 g.[536] This could be due to the nature of bronze coinage which is functioning as a token coinage with its value guaranteed by an external authority. This also seems to indicate a

[535] Compare Tables 3.8–3.10 and see weight tables pages 684–689.
Even after the weight increase of the monogram II in the exergue type, the average weight difference continues to be about 2 g which could support the notion of them being different denominations.

[536] For example L: 1955,0410.15 and L: 1979,0101.1028.

specific type of minting *al marco*[537] which is more typical of Roman coinage but not for Greek coinage which traditionally uses *al pezzo.* The practice of *al marco* minting in Asia Minor only emerges during the 1st century BC.[538] Hence, the average and median weights are not necessarily reliable and the diameters of the coins should also be considered as a measure of denomination. The Hermes series is significantly smaller with a diameter of about 16 mm, while Lion and Stag series both have an average diameter close to 20 mm. Closer consideration of the Stag and Lion series shows that there is an overlap between them but also that the Stag series is in general lighter and smaller than the Lion series. Thus, both weight and size of the bronze coins seem to indicate that the coins were minted in three denominations.[539]

All three of Amyntas' coin designs can be separated into two different groups (Figure 3.40). The Group 1 types all belong to the 'monogram series', meaning that their reverse designs depict the letter B in field paired with monogram II () in the exergue. Group 2 types include coins of the full legend *Basileus* series with the reverse legend

[537] See Stannard 2011A.

[538] For the example at Apameia, see Ashton 2006.

[539] The circulation evidence is limited to two bronze hoards which contained coins in multiple denominations (see Table 3.12).

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ.[540] During Group 2 coins are marked on the obverse either with no monogram, monogram IV (ⱮⱮ) or monogram III (Ⱞ) (Table 3.6). Monogram IV (ⱮⱮ) only occurs on the Stag series but is close in its appearance to monogram III (Ⱞ) and might date to a similar period. All three of Amyntas' bronze obverse monograms are based on an M shape. Monograms similar to monogram III (Ⱞ) and monogram IV (ⱮⱮ) also occur on coins of Asia Minor and other kingdoms.[541] The similarities between Amyntas' three different bronze series makes it likely that the coins were part of the same coordinated minting effort. Their production is also more likely to have occurred in the same place than at multiple mints. This is also confirmed by the available hoard and circulation evidence discussed in a later section of this chapter. Due to the large number of coins, coin types, monogram combinations and die links, it is useful for their understanding to have a closer look at each of the three coin series.

The Lion series

The Lion series is the best attested series of Amyntas. It has a large number of single coins, consisting of five different coin types with three

[540] These two series were first defined by RPC.

[541] For example, compare with the coins of the Cappadocian Kingdom (Simonetta 1977 Ariarames no.5 p. 17; Ariarathes VII no. 3 p. 35; Ariobarzanes I 40b, p. 42). See also CNG electronic Auction 548, 18th Oct. 2023, lot 68 (Macedon Antigonos I Monophthalmos – Lysimachos); Nomos Obolos Web Auction 30, 17th Dec. 2023, lot 313 (Achaian League, Patrai.); Seleucid Coins 344 (Antiochos I Soter of Syria); SNG BM Black Sea 332 (king Adaios of Thrace); Roma Numismatics Ltd., E-Sale 101, 13 October 2022, lot 272 (Demetrios I Poliorketes of Macedon).

different monograms (Figure 3.41). A variation of monogram III written as ⋀⍜⋀ for example, is attested on a single die and was recut later into ⍀. The Lion series is the only one of the three series to change its obverse design from the head of Heracles to the head of Zeus. The Zeus coins certainly belong to the same Lion series since their reverse dies die linked (R91) to the Heracles type and have the same size and weight. The die links seem to indicate that this change of obverse design might have corresponded to the addition of a second workstation in the mint. A second workstation could show an increased demand for Amyntas' bronze coinage, which had become a trusted currency. This stage shows a well established coinage that allows for some experimenting in their coin designs by replacing Heracles with Zeus. One coin also depicts a diademed head on the obverse which might have been recut or tooled to show the head of Heracles as that of a ruler, possibly depicting Amyntas (Figure 3.42).

Overall, there are 10 obverse dies of Amyntas' coinage of the lion series recorded in the catalogue. This is a rather small issue in comparison to the large amount of civic coinage produced in Pisidian cities such as Cremna or Isinda.[542] The die study showed the Group 2 'no monogram'

[542] See SNG Turkey 6 and for Cremna: von Aulock Pisidia nos. 892–904. Isinda: von Aulock Pisidia nos. 591–653.

coins are reverse die linked to monogram III (Ⓜ) coins.[543] The Lion series also has a die with monogram ⍲, a variant of monogram III (Ⓜ) on the obverse. This monogram variant looks like an M separated into two lamdas and an omicron in between, seemingly depicting ΛΟΛ on the obverse. At first, it was unclear whether this monogram presented its own type, as it is distinctly different from the usual monogram III (Ⓜ). However, new coins have shown that this monogram was later recut into a proper representation of monogram III (Ⓜ)[544] and is likely to have always been intended to be read this way.

The lion coin types fit well into a die link scheme with a new obverse type connected to older obverse dies through reverse die links.[545] It also argues for a parallel minting of multiple obverse dies as three different obverse dies are connected to each other through a single reverse die.[546] This indicates the existence of two workstations with set obverse dies but interchangeable reverse dies. The lion designs on the reverse also show stylistic changes in Group 2. The lions of type 17 are larger and more stylised in their design. Coins of type 13 instead show a smaller, more realistic central design, which places more emphasis on

[543] R100.

[544] O48.

[545] See page 171 (Chronological sequences) and page 680 (Plate 83).

[546] R91.

fitting the whole lettering onto the coin flan (Figure 3.43). As discussed in Chapter 2, the Lion series also has a higher mean number of coins observed per obverse die than the other series and the largest number of preserved specimens, indicating a biased sample.

The die study further revealed a pattern of repeated characteristics across multiple reverse dies. The comparison of these dies shows the same spacing and near exact overlap of inscriptions on different coins (Figure 3.44). Some dies are only possible to differentiate through small details like the positioning of the lion's tail or distance between animal and inscription. Overall, there is an unusually close copying of the reverse dies and designs throughout the Lion series of Amyntas' coinage. It poses the question of whether this was due to the die cutters themselves or if there was a more mechanical means of reproduction. The lack of evidence and understanding of mechanical reproduction in ancient numismatics makes such processes difficult to understand.[547] Instead, a pattern of frequent recutting for worn dies to restore the worn designs seems to be the most plausible explanation for this phenomenon. This similarly leaves no clear traces and is indiscernible for modern scholars. Hence, for now, one has to ascribe the close copying of older designs to the skills and detailed attention of the die cutter(s).

[547] See Stannard 20011B.

Like the other three coin series, the Lion series has coins of Group 1 with monogram II (𐌊𐌉) on the reverse. The coins of Group 1 have a thicker flan and vary significantly in weight. This means that the weight of some coins is 5 g[548] while others weigh three times as much at around 15–16 g.[549] This weight difference is unrelated to their state of preservation. On average, the coins weigh 10–11 g. This is higher than the full legend lion types with the same diameter whose weight seems to be centred around 6–7 g. This weight difference from 'monogram series' to the 'full legend Basileus series' appears to be consistent across the Lion, Stag and Hermes series. The Group 2 type without monogram appears to have the lightest coins.[550] On some dies, the die cutter seems to have made a mistake in creating a retrograde monogram II (𐌊𐌉) in the exergue, leading to the design being impressed correctly on the flan but with the monogram the wrong way round (Figure 3.45).[551] This mistake only occurred on a single reverse die, but a similar mistake can be observed in the lettering on a die of the Hermes series.[552] This might point towards the die cutters being less experienced or unfamiliar with the incision of

[548] For example, coins 30 and 58 of catalogue type 9.

[549] For example, coins 35 and 49 of catalogue type 9.

[550] Compare Tables 3.8–3.10.
Regardless of whether or not the monogram II in the exergue coins were minted first or last, it clearly shows that a weight change occurred over the production period of Amyntas' coinage.

[551] R51.

[552] R163.

letter shapes on coin dies. Another possible explanation is a lack of quality control at the mint or a haste in coin production.

The Stag series

The Stag series of King Amyntas consists of four different coin types (Figure 3.46). It includes a coin type with Artemis and Ɛ Ϛ on the obverse and the stag with B above and monogram II (𐤀𐤉) in the exergue. A second type of Group 1 depicts the monogram II (𐤀𐤉) in the exergue on the reverse but also uses an obverse die with monogram IV (𐤌). This monogram IV (𐤌) obverse (O45) is die linked to a full reverse legend of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ of Group 2. The last type of the Stag series is the basic type of Artemis on the obverse with a stag and the full legend of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ on the reverse. Thus, the Stag series is the only series with two different types of Group 1.

The Stag series is very important for the general understanding of Amyntas' bronze coinage. The use of the same monogram IV (𐤌) obverse die for both the full legend and the monogram II (𐤀𐤉) in the exergue reverses presents the best connection and proof for the transition between the coins of Amyntas' Group 1 and Group 2. It also creates the only coin type with two monograms, one coin with monogram II (𐤀𐤉) on the reverse and monogram IV (𐤌) on the obverse. This shows

that the two monograms were used in the same, short interval at a single mint. It could also suggest that the monograms on each side of the coin had different purposes and meanings. However, since this transitional period was rather short, the combination of two different monograms was most likely due to the reuse of an older die and of a more practical nature. This scarcity of dies in Group 1 further indicates limited production. Coins with monogram IV (ᛞ) are rare and only a few examples have been recorded.[553] The monogram II (ᛉᚹᛚ) in the exergue type also only has one obverse die (two if one counts the monogram IV (ᛞ) obverse die from catalogue type 11 as well) with about three reverse dies, indicating a rather small production of these coins. The die study showed the use of one single shared obverse die between a monogram II (ᛉᚹᛚ) in the exergue and two *Basileus* reverse dies.[554] This indicates a small-scale output of the monogram IV (ᛞ) coinage which was itself probably only a transitional stage and was replaced by the Group 2 coin types. In contrast, the coin type of Group 2 without monograms has about four different obverse dies and a large number of reverse dies.[555]

Besides the monogram IV (ᛞ) obverse die link, there are currently no other die links between the coin types of the Stag series. The reverse

---

[553] Considering the placement of the hairline and bun of obverse die O45 with monogram IV (ᛞ) on the obverse, the obverse portrait could have possibly been recut into O57 without the monogram.

[554] O45.

[555] Catalogue type 18.

dies of the Group 2 series without monogram are stylistically different. The monogram IV (ᛗ) and monogram II (ᚷᚹ) in the exergue stags have a downwards turned tail while the ‘no monogram types’ show a tail that is turned upwards or sometimes horizontal (Figure 3.47).[556] Thus, the ‘no monogram type’ is visibly different from the monogram IV (ᛗ) and monogram II (ᚷᚹ) types which could indicate that some time passed between the minting of the monogram IV (ᛗ) types and the no monogram coins of the full legend *Basileus* series.

The Hermes series

The Hermes series is the smallest of the three series, both in size and weight as well as in the number of coins recorded. However, the die study showed that the supposedly small Hermes series has a surprisingly large number of obverse dies for the Group 2 ‘no monogram type’, larger than those of the Lion and Stag series.[557] The smaller size of the Hermes coins could explain the larger number of obverse dies since a smaller die would show wear and break earlier in the minting process, requiring the production of more dies. Thus, the scarcity of these coins and large number of dies relate more to their small size and lower recovery rates than to their volume of production. Their size of about 13 mm also makes corrosion a big problem. This is best demonstrated in

[556] Catalogue types 10–11 and 15 in contrast with 18.

[557] Catalogue type 19; Tables 3.8–3.10.

the case of the Group 1 coin type.[558] Due to the state of the coins, there seemed to be no Ɛ Ϛ markings on the obverse of the Hermes coins, in contrast to the coins of Group 1 belonging to the Stag and Lion series. However, a new, less damaged coin demonstrates that the Hermes coins did indeed have these letters, but their placement was to the right of the head and not the left as on the larger denominations (Figure 3.48 no. 3).

The Hermes Group 2 type without monogram is die linked to another Hermes coin of Group 2 with monogram III (Ⓜ) on the obverse.[559] This is reminiscent of the Lion series where the type without monogram is also connected with monogram III (Ⓜ). The die links between the 'no monogram' type and monogram III (Ⓜ) type in two different series imply that monogram III (Ⓜ) can be placed chronologically between the monogram IV (Ⓜ) and the type without monogram.[560] However, monogram III (Ⓜ) and monogram IV (Ⓜ) are very similar in design. The depiction of monogram IV (Ⓜ) by a less experienced die cutter could be identical to that of monogram III (Ⓜ) so that possibly both monograms could be the same symbol. This would place them around the same time (Table 3.7).

[558] Catalogue type 12.

[559] Catalogue types 16 and 19.

[560] For a discussion of the monograms and their meanings see the discussion later in this chapter.

Another observable change on the Hermes coins is the reverse legend. The type without monogram shows the reverse legend as AMYN - TOY, split by the caduceus in the middle. However, the reverse legend of monogram III (Ⓜ) shows AMY - NTOY instead, placing the N to the left of the caduceus instead of the right (Figure 3.49). This implies a degree of separation between the creation of the monogram III (Ⓜ) reverse dies and the 'no monogram' coins. The monogram III type also records a single coin with an AMYN - TOY reverse die which seems to present a transitional specimen between the two coin types. A similar change also occurs in the design. The monogram III (Ⓜ) obverse dies depict a winged Hermes which also occurs on the Hermes 'monogram series' of Group 1 but not on the 'no monogram' type. Stylistically[561] the Group 1 and the Group 2 'no monogram' types are closer while the monogram III (Ⓜ) type is more similar to Roman portraiture.

Chronological sequences

All three bronze coin series of Amyntas appear to use the same monograms and show similar production sequences. The Lion series is the most extensive and complete series with the most specimens recorded. The types of 'no monogram', monogram III (Ⓜ) and monogram II (Ⓜ) in the exergue are all visible in the Lion series. Even so, the low

[561] Similarities include the more angular nose design, folds of the dress and hairstyles.

number of dies and worn condition make the existence of some of these types debatable.[562] Hence, the occurrence of the same sequence of monograms on each of the three series was essential to independently verify their existence. The Stag series shows a continuous sequence from Group 1 to Group 2 through a shared monogram IV (Ⅿ) obverse die (O45). There are also clear iconographic changes that occur in the coin types of each series. This is least visible in the Lion series, where the lion appears to become slightly smaller. However, the Hermes series has the reverse legend change from AMYN - TOY to AMY - NTOY and in the Stag series, the tail of the stag changes from upwards to horizontal or downwards position when combined with monogram IV (Ⅿ).

The die link of 'no monogram' and monogram III (Ⅿ) in two different series (Lion and Hermes series) and the close iconographic similarities between monogram III (Ⅿ) and monogram IV (Ⅿ) seem to imply that monogram III (Ⅿ) preceded the type without monogram.[563] This is also suggested by the steady decrease in weight (Tables 3.8–3.10). The general coin sequence as based on the die links was: monogram II (Ⅹ) in the exergue, monogram IV (Ⅿ), monogram III (Ⅿ) and finally 'no

[562] For example in differentiating between the monogram III and IV types can be difficult. This is the case for the Hermes series with a monogram which likely depicts monogram III although some coins with the same reverse die appear to be closer to monogram IV. The same problem also occurs on the reverses of the Zeus coins in the Lion series.

[563] This is dependent on the interpretation of the chronological sequence. Monogram III would be the last monogram if we assume that the monogram coins were minted first in Group 2.

monogram’. This order should still be taken with caution since coins might be minted at the same time.

From the die links, it could still be debated whether Group 1 with monogram II (𐤉𐤐) in the exergue or Group 2 without monogram was the initial outset of the minting sequence. It is possible but difficult to judge the chronological development of the iconographic design since the choice of style was solely up to the artist and contemporary taste. A change from stylised to realistic on the Lion series and thus from ‘no monogram’ to monograms would seem the most logical. However, another way to determine the minting order would be to judge the die wear of the four dies directly linking the different series. There are four dies which connect multiple coin types of the bronze coins of Amyntas. Obverse die O45 and reverse dies R91 and R113. Due to the poor preservation and small number of recorded coins for each die, it is only possible to determine a possible chronological development in the case of O45. The die wear on the monogram IV (𐤌) depiction seems to imply that the coins with monogram II (𐤉𐤐) in the exergue were minted first as the depiction of monogram IV (𐤌) on coins with the full reverse legend appears slightly more worn (Figure 3.50). Hence, this is the chronological sequence currently adopted by this thesis. However, this is based on a limited number of coins and could be revised by further numismatic

discoveries. Thus, the currently visible chronological development in the die links indicates that Group 1 with monogram II (Ⅱ) in the exergue was the first coin type to be minted, followed by the addition of monogram IV (Ⅳ) on the obverse and the switch to the full reverse legend of Group 2. This was then likely followed by the monogram III (Ⅲ) type and the 'no monogram' type. The monogram III (Ⅲ) type also includes the change from Heracles to Zeus obverse dies. Hence, there might possibly be a larger gap in the sequence between the monogram III (Ⅲ) and the 'no monogram' types.

With this suggested chronology, the weight data of Amyntas' bronze coins shows a consistent weight decrease across all three series following the sequence of die links (Tables 3.8–3.10). Due to the small number of specimens surviving and the fluctuating weight data for bronze coins, one might argue that this has limited reliability. However, the decrease in weight occurs across all three series in the same pattern of about 2 g and is unlikely to be a coincidence. Thicker, heavier coins might be needed to assure reliability and stability for the first of Amyntas' coins. Another point to consider is that in the second half of the 1st century BC, bronze coinages in Asia Minor began to be issued in new metals, changing from bronze to copper and then to brass.[564] This might

[564] See Smekalova 2009.

be another explanation for the weight change of Amyntas' bronze coins. However, the coins' thickness does decrease with the weight, making a change in metal a less likely explanation. The weight decrease also correlates with a decrease in diameter and consequently a better clarification of the denominations, possibly even indicating a denominational reform. Hence, there are several possible explanations, but more information, especially metallurgical data, is needed to explain the weight decrease observed in the specimens of this catalogue.

Monograms

Monogram II (𐤊) occurs only on bronze reverses in Group 1 and is the monogram most discussed in scholarship. The monogram always occurs in combination with the letter B in the field. As mentioned in the previous section, the monogram is a reflection of the reverse legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ as first suggested by Imhoof Blumer.[565] His interpretation is further supported by the chronological framework of the coin types, placing the monogram II (𐤊) coins as the earliest emission. The monogram probably presents Amyntas' first attempts to establish himself as king through the use of coinage. Alternatively, it could have functioned similarly to the coins of Bitorix, where the B could stand for his own royal authority or denoted a separate king supervising him.[566] Thus, the use of

[565] Imhoof-Blumer 1874, 333.

[566] B: 18216691, 1906 Löbbecke.

B on the coins remains ambiguous, probably deliberately so. However, it is unlikely to indicate a numeral or reign date as the same coin type of monogram II (𐤀𐤉) in the exergue also contains a letter combination on the obverse of the coins. On the coins of the Stag and Hermes series the letters read Ɛ Ϛ and on the Lion series Ɛ Ⅽ. The letters Ϛ and Ⅽ probably denote the same Greek numeral for 6 in different ways. Hence, the reading of the letters could be 5 (Ɛ) and 6 (Ϛ).[567] Vitale recently suggested that the epsilon could be interpreted as standing for ετούς 6, Year 6 of an era.[568] This abbreviation is used on other coins and in inscriptions[569] and seems to me the best explanation for the letter epsilon.

The reading of epsilon stigma as Year 6, while plausible, seems odd due to the two different forms of Ϛ and Ⅽ. The different forms could be due to making the Ⅽ more lunate and might be simply a stylistic difference between the coins. Alternatively, it might be possible to read the subsequent change of the design as a change of the letter itself. Ϛ or ϛ could also denote the letter/numeral Zeta (7). This way, according to the Milesian numeral system, the Lion series monogram II (𐤀𐤉) in the

[567] Burnett, Amandry and Ripolles Alégre 2006, 537.

[568] Vitale 2012, 97.

[569] For example, Tiridates I of Armenia RPC I 3843A; Kaibel 1878, 157 no. 400; see also the use of the letter L as an abbreviation for ε in ετούς (RPC III 4146; CIIP 6640).

exergue type would read as Year 6 (ετούς Ε) and the Hermes/Stag series coins as Year 7 (ετούς Ϛ). However, Greek numerals on coins were written in upper case and not lower case.[570] This makes a reading of both versions ετούς Ϛ and ετούς Ε as Year 6 the most likely solution. Single letters on the obverse could also be marks of value, but such cases are rare and exceptions rather than the norm.[571] Hence, the interpretation of ετούς 6 appears the better explanation and fits well into the historical context.

The existence of a Year 6 on bronze coins and the numeral 12 on silver coins of Amyntas' coinage seem to imply a shared purpose. If both letter combinations can be identified as numerals of an era, they are likely to use the same era during the period of 36–25 BC. The Year 6 coin with monogram II in the exergue on bronze coin must date to or postdate the year 36 BC, since the title Basileus used in monogram II is given to Amyntas by Marcus Antonius only in 36 BC.[572] The era on the coins could be one of the many civic eras used during this period, or as is more often the case for royal coinage, the start of the era could be based on the start of Amyntas' reign. This would place Year 1 in 36 BC, when his kingship was officially recognised by Marcus Antonius. Hence, Year 6

[570] Thompson 1912, 231–235.

[571] For example, BMC Peloponnesus XVII–XX; For examples of the 1st century BC see Carbone 2020, 55 ff..

[572] App. *B Civ.* 5.75; Dio 49.32.3.

would fall into 31 BC and Year 12 into 25 BC. An emission in the year 25 BC would make the silver tetradrachms either a posthumous issue minted after the death of Amyntas in 25 BC or a silver issue minted in preparation for his military campaign.[573] The die links also show that the minting of the IB tetradrachms was organised and well structured around a single workstation (Plate 82). Obverse die O75 was carefully recut to fix a minor design flaw. All of this creates a picture of a mint with less hectic minting than the earlier silver tetradrachms and with better quality control. As such, the silver coins were likely produced in advance to pay the soldiers of Amyntas' final campaign.

Another possibility is that the era used on the coins is based on a different start date. The literary sources emphasise Amytas as King of Galatia and successor to Deiotaros.[574] This is factually incorrect but might present a contemporary claim of Amyntas styling himself as successor to Deiotaros and Castor as usurper. Taking Deiotaros's death, around 42/41 BC as the starting point, Amyntas' regnal Year 6 would fall into 36 BC. The silver tetrarchs with the numeral 12 would fall into the year 30 BC after the Battle of Actium in which Amyntas' troops were involved. As such, regardless of which era is used for Amyntas' reign, the output of IB tetradrachms can be related to military campaigns.

[573] Cass. Dio 53.26; Strabo 12.6.3.

[574] Strabo 12.5.1.

The recognition of monogram II (𐌱𐌰) in the exergue as the first type has several implications. It confirms the reading of the reverse monogram of B 𐌱𐌰 as standing for ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ first proposed by Imhoof Blumer.[575] The monogram occurred first and was later redeveloped into the full reverse legend. Such a redesign after a period of time might imply that Amyntas' coinage was by then a trusted means of payment and the kingdom had accumulated enough trust to enforce the use of its coinage. The use of a monogram instead of the full title on the reverse is also reminiscent of King Deiotaros' bronze coinage. This could suggest that using monograms on early coin types was very common and possibly part of a wider royal policy for Galatian client kings to first use monograms to establish a coinage instead of explicitly employing their royal titles.[576] The monogram II (𐌱𐌰) in the exergue might also precede the official recognition of Amyntas as king by the Romans in 36 BC, as the monogram implies but does not directly state Amyntas' kingship. The coinage could fit in well within the period of c. 41–36 BC when Amyntas was 'King' of Pisidia[577] and starting to expand his territory and friendship with Rome.

---

[575] Imhoof-Blumer 1874, 333.

[576] See Deiotaros' monogram series in Chapter 3.2.2 but also consider the coin of Brogitaros in 3.2.1 for the opposite approach.

[577] App. *B Civ.* 5.75.

One of the main problems of Amyntas' bronze coinage remains the interpretation of the smaller obverse monograms. As of now, there was no proper analysis of these monograms. To some degree, they have all been taken to be standing for Amyntas[578] or for specific cities or individuals. A reading of the bronze 'monogram series' was suggested by early catalogues of the Paris collection[579] as standing for the tyrant Moagetes of the city of Kibyra.[580] This reading and assignment of the bronze coins was based on different readings of the same monograms until it was convincingly disproven by Imhoof-Blumer in 1874.[581] Most recently, Vitale, an ancient historian specialising in Asia Minor, argued that the monogram on Amyntas' coinage can "clearly" be read as KM for Cremna.[582] However, his reading of KM for monogram II () has to be dismissed since he was unaware of better preserved specimens from the same dies with this monogram. In addition, the coin depicted in the plates has a countermark on top of the monogram.[583] Instead, this might be similar to the monograms of Deiotaros and other civic monograms where a correct reading and understanding is impossible.[584] This section

[578] Atlan 1975, 606.

[579] Paris catalogues of Pellerin 1762, 192–193; Mionnet 1809, 264–265; Sestini 1796, 460. This interpretation was still followed by de Luynes 1845, 261.

[580] Strabo 13.4.17.

[581] Imhoof-Blumer 1874, 330 f..

[582] Vitale 2012, 97.

[583] Vitale 2012, Tafel 1.

[584] See Chapters 3.2.2 and 6.5; Tekin, Taşkın and Bragner 1999, 93.

will give a summary of thoughts and ideas concerning the monograms on Amyntas' coins.

Mints and find spots

Previous scholarship argued that "monogram [II (𐤉𐤉) in the exergue] and the full legend series have the same types, yet their very different style and fabric suggest two different sources".[585] However, the stylistic difference is rather small and on the Stag series, the monogram II (𐤉𐤉) in the exergue is directly connected to the full legend reverse. The different fabric and feeling of the coins might be due to a gap between their minting or a change in production technique. This thesis established that all three coin series of Amyntas use the same monograms, were minted in roughly the same order, collectively show the same weight decrease and were minted on the same denominational system. All of these similarities should not be disregarded and clearly suggest that the coins were indeed minted in the same place by the same authority. Thus, the majority of data points towards one common mint/authority for Amyntas' bronze coins. The Lion and Hermes series are particularly close, even though they use different denominations. Their die cutter(s) show the same issues with incising the letters correctly on the die, resulting in retrograde letters on the coins.[586]

[585] Burnett, Amandry and Ripolles Alégre 2006, 536.

[586] R51 and R163.

The mint for Amyntas' bronze coins remains obscure. Since there is no literary source, scholars have argued for the existence of different mints, one for each of the three coin types, based on their choice of iconography. This way, the Hermes type was ascribed to Cremna[587] or Hermopolis in Isauria[588] based on their shared use of the Hermes/ caduceus design. The Lion series type was assigned to Midaeum[589] and the Stag series coins were described as being minted by Perge.[590] Other than a shared, popular coin iconography, there is no evidence for their attribution to these mints. Hence, I will proceed to analyse them and consider the evidence of coin finds, hoards and general distribution of Amyntas' bronze coins in order to determine possible areas of minting.

Finds of Amyntas' bronze coins are rare and usually not clarified beyond the mention that a bronze coin of King Amyntas of Galatia was found. This often also included coins from civic mints assigned to the period of 42–25 BC, for which a connection to Amyntas and his kingdom are questionable.[591] Hence, publications without pictures or descriptions of the coins should be used with caution. Currently known findspots include

[587] BMC Galatia XVIII.

[588] de Luynes 1845, 261.

[589] de Luynes 1845, 261.

[590] de Luynes 1845, 261.

[591] For example, von Aulock 1977, 28ff.; Köker 2006 no. 51 (Table 3.12 no. 2).

one or two bronze coins of Amyntas found in excavations at Side,[592] as well as at Zeugma (Commagene, Syria)[593] and Tarsos (Cilicia) (Table 3.11).[594] Another coin in the Oxford collection is from Antiphellos (Lycia).[595] Single coin finds are not indicative enough of a possible mint of Amyntas. The many find spots of single coins also illustrate the fact that coins could travel far from their place of origin. A coin of Amyntas found in Syria is unlikely to have been produced there.

A city, frequently cited as the find spot and mint of Amyntas bronze coins, is Cremna in Pisidia.[596] Mitchell describes the find of six coins, among them coins of king Amyntas, in Cremna by Waddington which is recorded in his travel publication.[597] However, this line of argument is questionable. The primary source, Waddington's travel description *Voyage en Asie-Mineure au point de vue numismatique* of 1853, does record some coins found by him at Cremna. Waddington does indeed describe six coins, but none of them were coins of Amyntas.[598] In the subsequent discussion, Waddington proposes that four of the coins

[592] Atlan 1976, 55 no. 181.

[593] Toumpan 2015 no. 6.

[594] Devreker 1984, 193 no. 7.

[595] Coin 42 of Catalogue type 18.

[596] BMC Galatia XVIII and Mitchell 1995, 12 and 44; For other suggestions see Burnett, Amandry and Ripolles Alégre 2006, 537.

[597] Mitchell 1995, 12 and 44.

[598] Waddington 1853, 98–99.

marked with the inscription KPH are likely to belong to Amyntas' reign,[599] but that is the only place the book mentions Amyntas. Hence, to my knowledge, there are no coins of Amyntas that were found in Cremna.

Recent publications have revealed the existence of four hoards that contained bronze coins of Amyntas (Table 3.11). None of these were found in situ but bought by Museums[600] or reconstructed from the patina of coins.[601] In all four of these hoards, the coins of Amyntas are represented by a single specimen only. The likely reason for this is Amyntas' lower coin output over a short period in comparison to the long term civic minting in the local area. Since the bronze coinage does not appear in hoards of other territories, the four hoards still seem to show the restricted circulation of Amyntas' bronze coins. The findspots of the hoards are all exclusively in Pisidia and Pamphylia (Table 3.12). In addition, there is significant overlap between the coins represented in the hoards (Figure 3.51–3.52 and Table 3.11). Thus, the four hoards seem to reflect the same kind of coin circulation in the local area and can be used to narrow down the region in which Amyntas' coins were circulated and used.

[599] Waddington 1853, 101.

[600] Köker and Köyağasıoğlu 2006, 375.

[601] Olçay 1969, 292 and von Aulock 1977, 27.

Of the coins preserved in the hoards, the vast majority were minted in Pamphylia and Pisidia, the likely findspots for these hoards. Besides this, only four cities[602] from outside Pisidia and Pamphylia are represented. Among them are Pergamon and Apameia, whose coinages were produced in larger quantities and circulated supra-regionally.[603] Interestingly, Pergamon, Apameia and Termessos Minor are easily accessible through the major road network of Asia Minor in this period,[604] while Phaselis sits opposite Pamphylia in the same maritime gulf. All four cities are easily accessible along the major trade routes of the period with regular contacts to Pamphylia and Pisidia. The hoards show frequent exchange, as well as economic and monetary interconnectivity between Pisidia and Pamphylia, but less so with other parts of Amyntas' kingdom like Galatia, Phrygia in the south or Lykaonia in the east. This also seems to be confirmed by single coin finds and excavations (Table 3.11–3.13). The bronze coin hoard with only Pisidian coins[605] also includes a coin of Amyntas which again indicates that the coins were very likely minted in the region of Pisidia.

[602] Pergamon in Mysia, Apameia in Phrygia and from Lycia coins of Phaselis and Termessos Minor with altogether 12 coins.

[603] For Apameia see Ashton 2016, 385–387; for Pergamon see Chameroy 2012, 138 and 179.

[604] French 1998, 180.

[605] Köker and Köyağasıoğlu 2006, 377–378 no. 51; see Table 3.11 Coin hoard no. 2.

It is surprising that there are more hoards for bronze coins of Amyntas than for his silver tetradrachms. Bronze coins were small change, which was generally not hoarded for value. The four hoards might show the stash of a regional merchant or civic officials or just an accumulation of a local citizen. The low value bronze coins might even give a more accurate representation of circulation than silver coins which were hoarded over time for their value. At the same time, it is important to note that, of these four hoards, I was only able to confirm the attribution of two coins as types of Amyntas. The 1972 hoard has no description or further information on the coin[606] and the Burdur hoard acquired in 1987 gives a description for the coin which is not correct for a coin of Amyntas.[607] Thus, only the Çeltikçi and Ariassos hoards certainly contained coins of Amyntas. Interestingly, the Çeltikçi hoard has a full legend Artemis Stag series coin,[608] while the Ariassos hoard contains a full legend Heracles/ Lion type for which the original publication records an image.[609] With the limited evidence available it seems that only the full legend series of the coins was in wider circulation as attested by excavation finds and hoards. An explanation could be that the monogram II () in the

606 Price 1975, no.108.

607 Köker and Köyağasıoğlu 2006, 378 give the description as “Head of Hermes, r. in petasos/Winged thunderbolt” which is not the correct description for any of Amyntas’ coin types. Hence, this might either be a misattribution or the wrong description of the coin. A misattribution is more likely since the published museum collection of Burdur contains a coin of the same type listed under King Amyntas but depicts a coin of Cremna with the same description as the coin from the Burdur hoard.

608 Köker and Köyağasıoğlu 2006, 378.

609 Olçay 1969, plates no. 204.

exergue series was earlier and had a smaller coin output judging from their low number of coin dies. This is also implied by the use of countermarks which were predominantly placed on full legend types.[610] These countermarks occur across multiple of Amyntas coin series, like the 'ΠXVF?' countermark which occurs on Stag, Lion and Hermes coins or the 'head of Athena' countermark which was placed on coins of the Lion and Stag series. Interestingly the head of Mên countermark as of now has only occurred on coins with monogram III (Ⲙ) and monogram IV (Ⲙ), further confirming a contemporary circulation of these coins. It certainly confirms that the three coin series circulated in the same area and were used by the same local authorities. Overall, the hoard evidence and countermarks seem to further confirm that the three series of Amyntas were minted in the same place somewhere in Pisidia and circulated together. It also illustrates the interconnected monetary economy of Pisidia and Pamphylia and the importance of trade routes for local exchange.

Another way of approaching possible coin distribution is consulting the records of museum collections. These local museums often contain many of the excavation coins and local finds, many of them unpublished. While this presents an alternative opportunity to trace Amyntas' coins,

[610] The exception to this are three Lion series Monogram II in the exergue coins. However, the countermarks are not clearly identifiable and could also be explained as damage to the coins.

not many of these collections have been published, severely limiting the research ability of this thesis. The only museum with an extant and published collection of Amyntas' coinage is the Burdur museum in Pisidia. The documentation of Amyntas' bronze coins there was recently published by Aliye Erol.[611] The find spots of the coins are unclear, but the museum contains local finds and items discovered in the excavations of Termessos, Sagalassos and Cremna.[612] The in total 48 coins only contain a single coin of monogram II (𐌀𐌉) in the exergue with stag design. The vast majority of coins belong to Group 2 and are without monograms.[613] This would fit well into the proposed chronology of monogram II (𐌀𐌉) in the exergue coins being the earliest and rarest coins of Amyntas. The Burdur museum collection houses currently the largest collection of Amyntas' bronze coins with coins that appear to be mostly local finds. Hence, it is likely that the coins of Amyntas circulated extensively in the area of Pisidia and were probably also minted there. If the coins of Group 1 do predate or indicate his recognition as King by the Romans in 36 BC as suggested earlier, this seems to further suggest a mint in Pisidia as this was the main part of Amyntas' territory before he was awarded Galatia and Lykaonia by Marcus Antonius.

---

[611] See Erol 2009.

[612] Erol 2009, 147.

[613] Erol 2009:
Monogram II: 1 coin.
Monogram III: 3 coins (Erol 12, 14, 16).
Monogram IV: 3 coins (one with monogram II).
No monogram: c. 42 coins.

Chapter 4: The Kingdom of Paphlagonia

4.1 Historic background

The region of Paphlagonia received its name from the Paphlagónes[614] who settled in the area. Ancient sources attest several more cultural groups present and competing in the area throughout the Greek period. Amongst them were the Kaskaeans and Hittites,[615] Cimmerii,[616] Lydians,[617] Mariandyni,[618] [H]eneti,[619] Persians,[620] Greeks[621] and probably many more unknown tribes and people. The territory of Paphlagonia extended from the Black Sea coast in the north to the Gangra river delta in inland Asia Minor, bordering Bithynia to the west and Pontus to the east (Figure 4.1). The landscape is shaped by mountain chains with a fertile coastal strip. In the region surrounding Gangra, the Celtic/Galatian tribe of Tosiopoi is attested from around 100 BC.[622] This seems to have been the main area of settlement in inland

---

[614] Marek 2006 with Hom. Il. 5. 575.

[615] Ünal 2003, 48–63.

[616] Strabo 1.3.21.

[617] Hdt. 1.28.

[618] Strabo 12.4.

[619] Ap. Rhod. *Argon*. 2.381; Strabo 12.3.8.

[620] Diod. Sic. 14.11.3 and Xen. *An*. 5.6.3.

[621] Diod. Sic. 14.31.2; Plut. *Vit. Eum*. 2.2.

[622] App. *Mith*. 46.178; Plut. *Mor. De mul. vir.* 259.

Paphlagonia and became the later royal capital.[623] Geographical and cultural links attest close ties between the regions of Galatia and Paphlagonia.

'Kings and dynasts' in the territory of Paphlagonia are first mentioned by Plutarch in his description of Pericles' Black Sea expedition,[624] indicating that a kingdom existed in Paphlagonia already in the 5th century BC. From the 3rd century BC onwards, Paphlagonia came under Pontic influence but was only fully conquered by the capture of Sinope around 180 BC.[625] Even during the period of Pontic control, there is a continuous attestation of monarchs/princes in the literary evidence (Pylaemenes,[626] Corylas,[627] Thys,[628] Morzios[629]).

After the Mithridatic Wars, Paphlagonia, like many other kingdoms in Asia Minor, was affected by the large reorganisation of Pompey. Pompey made the Paphlagonian coast part of the Roman province of Bithynia and Pontus, creating a single, cohesive Roman province along the Black

---

[623] Strabo 12.3.

[624] Plut. *Vit. Per.* 20.1.

[625] Polyb. 23.9; Strabo 12.3.11.

[626] Hom. *Il.* 5.575; Justin *Epit.* 37.4.8.; Nep. *Vit. Datamenes* 2; Strabo 12.3.

[627] Xen. *An*. 6.1.1.

[628] Ath. *Deipnosophists* 4.25 and 10.8.

[629] Livy 38.26.4; Polyb. 25.2.

Sea. Meanwhile, the interior of the Paphlagonian territory was given to Attalos, creating the Roman client kingdom of Paphlagonia.[630] Important civic mints, such as Sinope and Amastris were now no longer part of the Paphlagonian Kingdom.

After Attalos' death in 41/40 BC, the kingdom might have been controlled by Castor (Table 4.1), son of a daughter of Deiotaros Philorhomaios.[631] However, there is no literary attestation of the state of Paphlagonia until Deiotaros Philadelphos was mentioned as King of Paphlagonia while fighting on the side of Marcus Antonius shortly before Actium in 31 BC.[632] Concerning the territory of the kingdom, the later provincial capital city Gangra-Germanopolis is said by Strabo to be in possession of Deiotaros Philadelphos[633] which is the only territory of his kingdom attested with certainty.

4.2 Paphlagonian coinage before Deiotaros Philadelphos

Before the Roman conquest of Asia Minor, Paphlagonia's kings rarely issued coinage. This might be connected to cultural factors, as

[630] App. *Mith*. 17.114.

[631] Tarkondarios Castor (Caes. *BCiv.* 3.4.5) or Castor son of Saocondarus (Strabo 12.5.3). According to Coşkun's interpretation there were two kings Castor I and his son Castor II (Coşkun APR Castor (I.)). However, there is not enough evidence to support his assertion.

[632] Cass. Dio 50.13.5; Plut. *Vit. Ant*. 61.

[633] Strabo 12.3.41.

neighbouring Galatia also did not produce coinage. Enough coinage might have been provided from outside the kingdom or through civic issues for local purposes. Paphlagonia was dominated by a few powerful poleis with their own civic mints and the Pontic kingdom which was producing its own coinage abroad and controlling the Paphlagonian royal family.[634] Before Pompey's reorganisation of 64 BC, only King Pylaemenes II/III Euergetes, who ruled at the end of the 2nd century BC until around 133–103 BC, had minted coins. He issued two coin types in two denominations (Figure 4.2). A larger coin type of about 5–6 g and a diameter of 22 mm, which depicts a bust of Heracles with a club over his shoulder on the obverse. The reverse shows Nike standing left, holding a wreath and palm between the king's titulature. The second type depicts a *bucranium* on the obverse and a winged caduceus with the royal legend on the reverse. Its size was around 17 mm, weighing about 4 g. It is interesting to note that the winged caduceus and head of Heracles with club are also motifs of Amyntas' coinage in Galatia. This again shows the close connection between the two regions which were both home to Celtic tribes originally from Gaul.

Apart from Pylaemenes II/III Euergetes, a case was made by Reinach for one coin in the British Museum[635] to belong to the reign of King Attalos of

[634] Strabo 12.3.41.

[635] Coin 1 of catalogue type 27.

Paphlagonia.[636] The coin in question is a unique silver drachm with the reverse inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥ / ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (Figure 4.3). The obverse shows a diademed male head, facing right which could possibly be a portrait of the king. The reverse depicts an eagle facing right with spread wings, holding a diadem. To the right of the eagle, the letters IY are written which could be a numeral (410) or an abbreviation/ monogram as suggested by Reinach.[637] The coin gives the full title of the king as Attalos Epiphanes. The coin could belong to a different Hellenistic kingdom or an earlier Paphlagonian king. However, while Attalos was a common name, the epithet Epiphanes makes his name more distinctive. Since there is no other king Attalos Epiphanes known during the 1st century BC and the numeral 410 fits with the era used on coins of Deiotaros Philadelphos, this seems to identify Attalos Epiphanes as the king of Paphlagonia.

4.3 The coinage of Deiotaros Philadelphos (c. 30s BC–6 BC)

The coinage of Deiotaros Philadelphos is attested through a small number of coins. This catalogue records only five specimens issued in his name.[638] The coins were produced as silver drachms and two bronze denominations (Table 4.2). Three out of the five known coins were silver

[636] Reinach in Waddington, Babelon and Reinach 1925, 163.

[637] Waddington, Babelon and Reinach 1925, 163.

[638] Catalogue types 28–30.

drachms, with one obverse die and two different reverse dies, indicating limited drachm production. The obverse legend spells ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΙΟΤΑΡΟΥ ΦΙΛΛΔΕΛΦΟΥ instead of ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ, which was likely a mistake on the die and not intentional since ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ was spelled with a clearly visible A.

The silver drachms show the bust of King Deiotaros on the obverse, wearing a laurel wreath and diadem (Figure 4.4).[639] The portrait is clean shaven with large eyes and a hairstyle with s-shaped locks falling across the forehead. The distinctive features of a youthful, laureate and diademed head with large eyes and locks across the forehead recall earlier Hellenistic ruler portraits. In contrast to this stands the overall presentation of a smaller portrait head in the centre of the coin, with a round legend surrounding the coin, which is more inspired by Roman designs.[640]

The reverse depicts a draped and diademed female bust, whom the reverse legend ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΠΡΟΥΣΙΑΔΟΣ ΑΔΟΒΟΓΙΩΝΑΣ identifies as depicting Adobogiona. However, the identity of this Adobogiona is unclear. The name is attested in the Galatian royal house for multiple female members, among them the wife of Brogitaros, daughter of

[639] Catalogue type 28.

[640] See Chapters 7.2 and 7.4.

Deiotaros[641] and the sister of Brogitaros.[642] Since the name is only attested for female members of the Galatian royal family, it seems likely that this Adobogiona was related to the Galatian tetrarchs. The repetition of a handful of royal Galatian names within the royal family became a common phenomenon in the 1st century BC.[643] Most female members and daughters of Hellenistic royal families are attested only through their relation to male members of the family. Thus, we only know that Deiotaros Philorhomaios had an otherwise unknown daughter through the existence of Castor, grandson of Deiotaros Philorhomaios.[644] The fact that Deiotaros Philorhomaios had multiple wives and children[645] but only one son, named Deiotaros, is attested, makes it likely that there were many more unknown female members, one of them possibly the Adobogiona on the coins of Deiotaros Philadelphos.

Another aspect that should be discussed is the relation of this Adobogiona to Deiotaros Philadelphos. Discussion in scholarship is centred on whether this Adobogiona was the king's sister, wife or mother. Coşkun argued that she was Deiotaros Philadelphos' sister-wife,[646] a

---

641 IGR IV 1683.

642 Didyma 78.

643 Coşkun 2013, 79–106.

644 Cic. *Deiot.* 1.

645 Plut. *Mor. Comm. not.* 32.

646 Coşkun APR 12, 2023: see Adobogiona (III.), Königin von Prusias and Deiotaros (III.) Philadelphos, König von Paphlagonien.

view also proposed by Stähelin.[647] However, the wording on the coins is ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ, the same term and grammar case as inscription RECAM II 188 for Queen Berenice, the wife of Deiotaros Philorhomaios. Hahland argues for Queen Adobogiona being the wife but not the sister of Deiotaros Philadelphos,[648] while Muccioli proposes[649] that she was the mother of Deiotaros Philadelphos and Deiotaros [Philop]ator.[650] The debate is inconclusive and it appears only certain attestation that the female head is Queen Adobogiona, presented on the coins in an equal way to Deiotaros Philadelphos.

The silver drachms also contain an additional word immediately following ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ, ΠΡΟΥΣΙΑΔΟΣ. The reading by Burnett was “daughter of a Prusias“.[651] This would eliminate the possibility of her being the sister of Deiotaros Philadelphos, son of Castor. However, Coşkun argues that the positioning before Adobogiona makes it a genitive attribute to Basileus, reading Adobogiona the Queen of Prusias.[652] There are two plausible candidates for Prusias: Prusias ad mare or Prusias ad Hypios.[653] Coşkun

---

[647] Stähelin 1907, 109.

[648] Hahland 1953, 155–157.

[649] Muccioli 2013, 218f..

[650] For Deiotaros [Philop]ator see the discussion on Deiotaros’ bronze coins below.

[651] RPC I, page 537 no. 3508.

[652] Coşkun *et al.* APR 12, 2023: see Adobogiona (III.), Königin von Prusias. However, in this case one would usually expect a genitive plural on coins.

[653] Coşkun *et al.* APR 12, 2023: see Adobogiona (III.), Königin von Prusias.

remarks that this Queendom was a hereditary claim.[654] However, this contradicts his assumption of her being Deiotaros Philadelphos' sister as such a royal claim would have fallen to him first. Thus, either reading of Adobogiona's titulature seems to indicate that she was not the sister of Deiotaros Philadelphos, but most likely just another member of the Galatian royal house who became his wife.

Another much-discussed subject of Deiotaros' silver coinage is the sequence of three letters on the obverse (Figure 4.5). These were placed next to the head below the titulature where Seleucid coins displayed their date.[655] Reinach originally proposed to read them as 427 (ZKV), based on a local era starting from the 5th century BC. He suggested it could mark Paphlagonia's independence after Xerxes' death in 465.[656] However, in his subsequently published articles, he himself casts doubt on this interpretation, proposing instead that it might either be a local era of Gangra[657] or not the Year 427.[658] Similarly, Kahrstedt suggested that the ZK stands for the Year 27, with V being an upside-down lambda.[659] Kahrstedt's interpretation calculates the Year 27 from Pompey's

---

[654] Coşkun *et al.* APR 12, 2023: see Adobogiona (III.), Königin von Prusias.

[655] Reinach 1891, 399 f..

[656] Reinach 1891, 400.

[657] Reinach 1902, 164.

[658] Reinach 1891, 399–401.

[659] Kahrstedt 1910, 284.

reorganisation in 62 BC, dating the coin to 36/7 BC. This dating was followed by most scholars, including by RPC.[660] However, as Leschhorn points out, Pompey's reorganisation already took place in 64 BC, two years earlier, which would put the year 27 before the reign of Deiotaros Philadelphos.[661] Reinach later agreed with this reading, but interpreted the numeral as Deiotaros' 27th regnal year.[662] However, it is still not certain when Deiotaros Philadelphos' reign began. After careful examination of the specimen in Berlin and another coin coming up for auction, it is now clear that the letters indeed read as ZKV.

Numerals can be read and understood no matter what directions written, thus ZKV = 427 and VKZ = 427 read as the same numeral. The Paris picture of Deiotaros Philadelphos' coin seems to suggests the reading of Σ instead of Z which would make it ΣΚΛ = 200, 20, 30 written in retrograde which is an inconclusive numeral. Hence, the reading of ZKV (= 427) seems the most logical. 427 is an unusual high number[663] and no similar numerals appear in Leschhorn's work on the eras used in Asia Minor during the 1st century BC.[664] However, when comparing the coins of Deiotaros Philadelphos with earlier coins of Paphlagonia some

[660] Burnett, Amandry and Ripolles Alégre 2006, 537.

[661] Leschhorn 1993, 177.

[662] Waddington, Babelon and Reinach 1925, 164.

[663] Reinach 1891, 400f.

[664] Leschhorn 1993, 436–541.

surprising parallels emerged. The coins of Attalos Epiphanes, dated to the 1st century BC based on style by Waddington[665] and probably belonging to the Paphlagonian King Attalos (c. 64 BC – 41/40 BC), contain a similar sequence of letters on their reverse. The letters IY to the right of the eagle were originally interpreted as a monogram by Waddington.[666] However, reading the symbols as letters for numerals instead of as a monogram, the letters IY would be standing for Year 410. Thus, the numerals of this drachm issued by Attalos Epiphanes, support the reading of Year 427 for Deiotaros Philadelphos. Since such high numerals are unusual for dates in 1st century BC Asia Minor, if both IY and ZKV are correctly interpreted as numerals then they are likely to belong to the same era. Although additional epigraphic evidence would be beneficial to confirm this hypothesis, the dates on the coins 410 for Attalos and 427 for Deiotaros fit well with their respective periods of rule (Table 4.3).

The years given by the coins for the reigns of Attalos and Deiotaros would indicate the start of an era between 460s–450 BC. This fits with Reinach's original proposal of the era beginning from the death of Xerxes in 465 BC.[667] A connection to the death of Xerxes and the subsequent

[665] Waddington et al. 1925, 163.

[666] Waddington et al. 1925, 163.

[667] Reinach 1891, 400.

start date of the Paphlagonian dynasty would date the start of Deiotaros Philadelphos' reign to 38 BC. This is perfectly possible and gives enough time for Castor, Attalos' successor, to have been the Paphlagonian ruler before Deiotaros Philadelphos.[668] Another event in close proximity to the death of Xerxes is the start of the Paphlagonian dynasty, the Pylaimenes who reconstruct their ancestry back to the Trojan War. They are attested as ruling Paphlagonia under Artaxerxes II[669] and are likely to have been in charge of Paphlagonia already under Cyrus I while other parts of Asia Minor were given to the control of Persian satraps.[670] King Attalos was according to Roman literary sources a member of this royal family,[671] which shows that the dynasty continued to survive and rule into the 1st century BC. This connection to a dynasty which was 400 years old and traced its ancestors to Pylaemenes ruler of the Paphlagonian Eneti,[672] was still relevant in the 1st century BC. For the justification of Deiotaros' rule and other dynastic purposes, it would have been well within his interest to use an era based on his ancestors on his coinage. The Pylaimenai were only replaced by Roman interference who placed Castor, a member of the Galatian royal family, on the Paphlagonian throne. Contact and intermarriage between the neighbouring royal

668 Cass. Dio 48.33 names Castor as successor to Attalos.

669 Nep. *Vit. Datamenes* 2 and Ath. *Deipnosophists* 4.25.

670 Xen. *Cyr*. 8.6.8.

671 Strabo 12.3.1.

672 Hom. *Il.* 5.575.

families, including those in Galatia, make it possible that these new ‘Galatian’ Paphlagonian kings were related to the Pylaimenai.

A dating formula only appears on the silver drachms of Attalos and Deiotaros. No other Paphlagonian king seems to have issued silver drachms or used a similar era on their coins. This might make the date part of a local, dynastic justification for the king’s rule over Paphlagonia in light of Rome’s influence on the region. The kings were chosen by Rome and were foreign agents in charge of Paphlagonia. Thus, using the local era and attaching themselves to Paphlagonia’s original ruling dynasty might have helped to support their claim to rule, while endearing them to the local population.

A bronze coin sold in auction was attributed to Deiotaros Philadelphos and described as a bronze version of this silver coin,[673] an interpretation which has to be strongly rejected (Figure 4.6). On first glance, the heads appear much larger than on the silver drachms and a male head is depicted on the reverse, not the obverse. No numerals are visible on the coin and its size of 18 mm is smaller than the other two bronze types of Deiotaros Philadelphos discussed below. A strong argument against an assignment to Deiotaros presents itself in the barely legible obverse and

[673] Numismad Auction 23 4th Apr. 2025, lot 684 = Numismad Auction 17 6th Sept. 2024, lot 314.

reverse legends. If one were to accept the reading of the obverse legend as the same as Deiotaros Philadelphos' coin, the use of a lunate sigma is not attested on any other recorded type or example. The reverse legend depicts a clearly visible sigma read from right to left, while it is shown orientated left to right on the Paphlagonian drachms. The identifiable letters on the reverse read [...]APOΣ ΣEB[..], likely spelling ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Similarly, when the obverse is read from left to right as well, the co becomes ɔo and likely po. This makes it possible to reconstruct the legend [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ] ΡΟ[ΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ]. Rhoemetalkes I, the Thracian king minted coins of 18 mm (c. 4.5 g) with his portrait on the obverse and Augustus on the reverse which fit this coin exactly.[674]

The two bronze coins of Deiotaros Philadelphos are represented by single specimens only. The first type depicts a bust with an elongated neck and short hair, bare faced and with a youthful appearance on the obverse (Figure 4.7).[675] The surrounding legend reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΙΟΤΑΡ[ΟΥ ΦΙΛΑ]ΔΕΛΦΟΥ identifies the king and gives his royal titulature as "King Deiotaros Philadelphos". This makes it probable that the bust depicts the king himself. The reverse shows the caps of the

[674] RPC I, 1714–1721B.

[675] Catalogue type 29.

Dioscuri with stars above[676] and something between them, possibly a monogram. The reverse of the coin is worn, but the inscription clearly reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΙΟ[… ..]ΑΤΟΡΟΣ. The common reconstruction of the legend is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΙΟ[ΤΑΡΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠ]ΑΤΟΡΟΣ, referencing another previously unknown King Deiotaros Philopator. However, while Deiotaros is almost certainly the correct reading, reconstructing […]ΑΤΟΡΟΣ as [ΦΙΛΟΠ]ΑΤΟΡΟΣ is less certain. In light of the epithets of Epiphanes and Philadelphos for the previous kings of Paphlagonia, these letters could also denote other epithets, like ΘΕΟΠ**ΑΤΟΡΟΣ,** ΝΙΚ**ΑΤΟΡΟΣ**, ΦΙΛΟΠ**ΑΤΟΡΟΣ** or ΑΥΤΟΚΡ**ΑΤΟΡΟΣ.** The son of Deiotaros Philorhomaios was named Deiotaros Philopator in his funerary inscription, which gives a close chronological precedent for the name.[677] In addition, the Galatian tendency of the 1st century BC to repeat names[678] makes Philopator the most likely suggestion. However, taking this reconstruction as certain in scholarship risks creating a circular argument. The name Philopator was chosen based on the assumption that the king on the reverse is Deiotaros Philadelphos' son. And in turn, since he was named Philopator, the assumption was made that he must have been Deiotaros Philadelphos' son. Burnett suggested that this

[676] The Dioscuri caps are similar to the design of a number of large bronze coins issued in the name of a King Deiotaros. These could also belong to the reign of Deiotaros Philadelphos due to similar stylistic and design choices.

[677] RECAM II 188.

[678] Coşkun 2013.

Deiotaros [ΦΙΛΟΠ]ΑΤΟΡΟΣ was Philadelphos' brother which is just as likely an explanation as him being his son. There is no literary or epigraphic evidence attesting his existence. Even if he was named Philopator, this Deiotaros could have been the brother of Philadelphos, son of Castor. This would fit well with the iconographic elements of the caps of the Dioscuri on the bronze coin.

The second bronze type consists of a single coin which was not previously catalogued in RPC and added through this thesis (Figure 4.8 and catalogue type 30). It is a bronze coin of the same denomination with a similar size and weight as the first known bronze coin of Deiotaros Philadelphos. The obverse depicts the head of Zeus facing right and a winged thunderbolt with the full titulature ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΙΟΤΑΡΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟ[Υ] on the reverse. Interestingly, this type is the only coin of Deiotaros Philadelphos to write the legend in horizontal lines, with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above the thunderbolt and ΔΗΙΟΤΑΡΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟ[Υ] below. This was an arrangement used also on the contemporary bronze coins of the Galatian King Amyntas.[679] The Paphlagonian coin design and style are also closer to those used in Galatia, in particular Zeus' *anastole* and the winged thunderbolt are similar to those of the coins associated with Deiotaros Philorhomaios. This coin of Deiotaros

[679] Catalogue types 9–23.

Philadelphos does not display his family as all other of his coin types do. Thus, the new coin might have been minted at a different time or within a different context.

Chapter 5: The Ariobarzanid kingdom in Cappadocia

5.1 The Kingdom of Cappadocia

The Cappadocian Kingdom was founded in the 330s BC and had a long tradition of coin production.[680] During the period covered in this thesis (c. 64 BC to 31 BC), a single dynasty, the Ariobarzanids, ruled the kingdom. The dynasty was established around 95/94 BC through Roman support under Ariobarzanes I.[681] Ariobarzanes I's reign was unstable. He was expelled from Cappadocia six times by the armies of Mithridates VI and Tigranes of Armenia.[682] It was only through Roman support that he regained control over his kingdom.[683] King Ariobarzanes I abdicated the throne in favour of his son Ariobarzanes II in the presence of Pompey, during Pompey's reorganisation of the territories of Asia Minor.[684] The date of Pompey's presence in Cappadocia is uncertain but can be placed after the Armenian and Caucasian campaigns at some point between 64 and 62 BC.[685] The end of the Ariobarzanid dynasty occurred in 36 BC

---

[680] For a full analysis on the coins of the kings of Cappadocia see Simonetta 1977 with additional notes and revision in Simonetta 2007.

[681] App. *Mith*. 13; Justin 38.2.8; Strabo 12.2.11; Reinach 1887, 60; Simonetta 1977, 39. For a revised dating of the numismatic evidence see Simonetta 2007, 86–87. For the die study see Callataÿ 1997A, 209f..

[682] App. *Mith*. 10; Cic. *Leg. Man.* 12; Livy *Ep*. 70; Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 5.3.

[683] App. *Mith.* 16, 58; Just. 38.2.8; Liv. *Perioch.* 74; Plut. *Vit*. *Sull.* 5.3; Strabo 12.2.11.

[684] App. *Mith*. 105; Val. Max. 5.7e.2.

[685] Cass. Dio. 36.54.1–37.5.2; Plut. *Pomp*. 34-35; Sherwin-White 1977, 180.

when Ariarathes X, son of Ariobarzanes II and brother to his predecessor Ariobarzanes III, was replaced as King of Cappadocia with Archelaos by Marcus Antonius.[686] Since both Ariobarzanes I and Archelaos[687] produced coins only outside the period under discussion they will be discussed only when relevant.

The Cappadocian Kingdom (Figure 5.1) extended from Lake Tatta in the west to the Euphrates in the east[688], River Halys[689] in the north down to the Taurus mountains and Cilicia in the south.[690] However, this territory kept changing through Roman interference. For example, the fort of Tomisa was given by Lucullus to Ariobarzanes I (between 88–63 BC)[691] and Armenia Minor was gifted to Ariobarzanes III's brother Ariarathes by Caesar (47 BC).[692] During Archelaos' reign, most of Cilicia was added to the Cappadocian Kingdom[693] as well as the territory of Colchis as far as Trapezos and Pharnakeia.[694] Cappadocia's natural resources besides

[686] Cass. Dio. 49.32; Strabo 12.3.29.

[687] RPC I, 3601. For a list of Archelaos' coin types and analysis see Simonetta 2007, 106–108.

[688] Sall. *Hist*. 4.53.

[689] Strabo 12.1.3.

[690] Strabo 12.1.

[691] Strabo 12.2.

[692] Cass. Dio 41.63 and 42.48.

[693] Cass. Dio 54.9; Strabo 12.2.

[694] Strabo 12.3.29.

agriculture and livestock,[695] also included mining areas of stone,[696] ochre[697] and silver at Bulgar Maden.[698] In addition, the territory was of strategic military importance, controlling access into wider Asia Minor through its road network.[699]

The Cappadocian King Ariarathes IV Eusebes (220–163 BC) introduced the standard design for Cappadocian coins, depicting the diademed head of the ruler on the obverse and a standing Athena on the reverse.[700] This combination remained in use for the next 150 years and is the only design used by the Ariobarzanid dynasty. The coins of each king are distinguishable by the royal titulature, the placement of monograms and additions/omissions made to the coin design. The Ariobarzanid dynasty exclusively minted silver drachms. Reinach suggested that Ariarathes X issued three types of bronze coins with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΑΡΑΘΟΥ (Figure 5.2).[701] The main argument for the assignment to Ariarathes X is the bearded portrait of the obverse of two of them (Figure 5.2 no. 2 and 3). However, clearer examples show

[695] Ath. 3.112c–113b.

[696] Strabo 12.8.

[697] Theophrastus *De Lapidibus* 52.

[698] Teja 1980, 1099.

[699] Berges and Nollé 2000, 14–18.

[700] Simonetta 1977, 23.

[701] Reinach 1887, 70–71 followed by BMC Cappadocia, 48.

that this appears to be the chin guard of the helmet.[702] The name Ariarathes was used continuously by kings from Ariarathes I (331 BC to 322 BC) to Ariarathes IX (c. 100 to 85 BC) and by the Ariobarzanid King Ariarathes X (42 to 36 BC). Thus, any of these kings could have produced these two bronze types with a bearded ruler portrait. An indication of their date is provided by a similar coin produced by Ariaramnes, King of Cappadocia (c. 280–230 BC) (Figure 5.3). The similar iconography shows that the coins assigned by Reinach to Ariarathes X are more likely to date to the 3rd century BC.

The third coin type, depicting Artemis on the obverse and a stag on the reverse, was dated by Reinach to the same time as the coins of Amyntas of Galatia (Figure 5.3) owing to their shared iconography.[703] Amyntas became king in 36 BC, the same year as Ariarathes X's death. It is thus unlikely that the coins of Amyntas produced from 36 BC can be used to infer a dating of the coins of King Ariarathes to Ariarathes X. A comparison also shows that the reverse inscription appears stylistically similar to bronze coins of earlier Ariarathids (compare Figure 5.2 no. 1 and no. 3), especially the choice of an elongated omega in ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Hence, an assignment of these coins to Ariarathes X lacks evidence and is only speculative. They are more likely to date to a previous King

[702] Simonetta 1977, 48.

[703] Reinach 1887, 70–71.

Ariarathes. Consequently, these three bronze types will not be discussed in this thesis.

5.2 Previous numismatic research

The first to classify the coins of the Cappadocian Kingdom was Reinach in his *Essai sur la numismatique des rois de Cappadoce*.[704] Bono Simonetta followed many of Reinach's conclusions with his own publication in 1977 but also gained new insights based on the publication of his own collection.[705] Simonetta's book remains the standard reference catalogue of Cappadocian coins. Mørkholm questioned many of the assignments of drachms to particular Ariarathid kings by Simonetta,[706] leading to a number of articles by Simonetta and Mørkholm debating different interpretations of the evidence.[707] Mørkholm also questioned the conventional interpretation of the letters in the exergue on Cappadocian coins that are usually regarded as numerals, indicating the regnal years of the ruling king. He discovered an obverse die link between coins of Ariarathes IV connecting coins of his Year 5 and Year 33. Due to the large timespan between the dates, the obverse die would have to have been preserved for 28 years before it was again used for

[704] Reinach 1887.

[705] Simonetta 1977.

[706] Mørkholm 1962 and Mørkholm 1964.

[707] Simonetta 1970; Simonetta 1973; Simonetta 1974; Simonetta 1975; Mørkholm 1975; Simonetta 1977; Mørkholm 1978.

coin production. As this seemed unlikely, Mørkholm concluded that not all letters in the exergue should be regarded as regnal years.[708] However, his arguments are based on a singular case for which explanations were proposed by more recent scholarship.[709] As Simonetta points out in response to Mørkholm's article, all other iconographic (the depiction of ageing in the royal portraits) and historical (with the numbers corresponding to lengths of reign) evidence points towards the interpretation of the letters as regnal years.[710] As a result, it appears that the letters in the exergue can be interpreted as regnal years with relative certainty. There is no difficulty with this explanation for the Ariobarzanid dynasty. Overall, there are few disagreements about the assignments of coins of the Late Hellenistic period covered by this thesis. These mainly focus on chronological difficulties and the reading of regnal years. This allows for certainty in the attribution and chronological sequences of coins of the Ariobarzanid dynasty.

[708] Mørkholm 1962, 407–408.

[709] Lorber 2018B, 274–275.

[710] Simonetta 1964, 84–86.

5.2.1 The coinage of the Ariobarzanid dynasty

Ariobarzanid coin inscriptions show an extensive and sophisticated royal titulature consisting of names, titles and epithets (see Figure 5.4). They give the names of the kings as:

- ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΡΩΜΑΙΟΥ
- ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ
- ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΡΩΜΑΙΟΥ
- and ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΑΡΑΘΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ

This convention of using the name Ariobarzanes for most rulers can be problematic for their understanding and dating (as it is for other client kingdoms). However, individual rulers can be differentiated by their epithets. Based on epigraphic evidence, Reinach was the first to establish a proper classification of the coins, based on the epithets of the kings in inscriptions.[711] Literary evidence attests that Ariobarzanes II funded the restoration of the Odeon of Pericles and an inscription found at Athens names the king as Ariobarzanes Philopator.[712] The same king had set up statues at Eleusis[713] and Samos[714] of which the bases survived. Another inscription at Kos likely honours Ariobarzanes III

[711] Reinach 1887, 56–58.

[712] IG II² 3427 found in Athens.

[713] IE 272.

[714] IG XII 6, 349.

Philorhomaios and his brother Ariarathes X.[715] As a result, the inscriptions already known in 1887 allowed Reinach to show that the three Ariobarzanes were called: Ariobarzanes (I) Philorhomaios, Ariobarzanes (II) Philopator, Ariobarzanes (III) Eusebes Philorhomaios and Ariarathes (X) Eusebes Philadelphos.[716] The only remaining difficulty is the precise dating of their reigns and regnal years.[717] These problems will be discussed throughout this chapter, as the dating of the Cappadocian coins has several implications for their chronology and historical context.

The quantification of Cappadocian silver drachm production in Chapter 2 showed that the kingdom produced the most obverse dies under Ariobarzanes III, followed by Ariobarzanes II and Ariarathes X. While the overall production of Ariobarzanes II seems slightly below that of his predecessors Ariobarzanes I and Ariarathes IX, his output in Year 8 with at least 39 obverse dies is higher than any of their annual production. For Ariobarzanes I, the highest number of obverse dies is recorded for year ΙΓ (c. 83/82 BC).[718] The updated die data in the SILVER database

[715] Habicht 2017, 151–152.

[716] IG II² 3427 naming Ariobarzanes Philopator, son of Ariobarzanes Philorhomaios; CIG I, 357 and CIG I, 358.

[717] Reinach 1887, 2.

[718] Callataÿ 1997A, 209–211.

records 34 obverse dies for this single year.[719] Ariobarzanes III produced coinage in years 9 and 11. Similarly to Ariobarzanes II, his production increased significantly during the second year, which can be dated to 43/42 BC, to an unprecedented 92 observed obverse dies in a single year. In contrast, Ariarathes X's coin production is much lower at first. However, production increased to 30 obverse dies in Ariarathes X's Year 5 and fell again in Year 6 to two obverse dies.

The average weight of Cappadocian drachms in the catalogue of this thesis is around 3.7–3.8 g, while well preserved coins weigh up to 4.20–4.40 g.[720] These differences can result from low standards of quality control at the mint, allowing for coins above and below the weight standard and might indicate a quick striking during coin production. However, weight changes could also occur due to the silver-copper alloy, which lost weight during the minting process and corroded more easily.[721] In addition, the reuse and recycling of coins can influence the weight of coins.[722] The intended weight standard for the Cappadocian drachms was probably the 'reduced' Attic silver standard, with drachms

[719] See https://silver.kbr.be/Eusebeia_(Ariobarzanes_I),_silver,_drachms_(Ariobarzanes/Athena_nicephorus)_(83/2_BCE_-_year_IΓ). The original publication by Callataÿ (Callataÿ 1997A, 210) lists only 25 dies for Year IΓ.

[720] See weight tables for catalogue types 31–48 on pages 696–708.

[721] Butcher et al. 2015, 90–91.

[722] CNG EA 401, 12 July 2017, lot 198.

weighing about 3.91 g in the late 1st century BC.[723] This also corresponds to the Roman denarius weight.[724] The drachms of Cappadocia maintained a weight standard of around 3.90 g from Ariobarzanes II to Ariarathes X. I will now start the discussion of the Cappadocia kingdom with a short introduction to the coinage preceding the period of this thesis before considering the coins of 64 to 27 BC in detail.

5.3 The coinage of the Cappadocian Kingdom in the 1st century BC until the death of Ariobarzanes I

Ariarathes IX (c. 101 BC to 87 BC), the son of Mithridates VI was the last king to produce silver tetradrachms. All subsequent rulers of Cappadocia issued silver drachms including all of the Ariobarzanid dynasty and King Archelaos (Table 5.1). Their introduction in the early 2nd century BC follows the popularity of Ephesian and Aradian Attic drachms.[725] For the silver drachms issued by Ariobarzanes I, a die study was conducted by Callataÿ.[726] This die study covered the first sixteen years of his reign and recorded 67 different obverse dies. Overall, the chronology for the coins of Ariobarzanes I is clear through the use of regnal years on the coins,

[723] Butcher, Ponting, Evans, Pashley and Somerfield 2015, 667.

[724] Butcher and Ponting 2015, 158–159.

[725] Saraç and Davesne 1994, 63.

[726] Callataÿ 1997A, 209–211; Callataÿ 2014A, 68.

ranging from Year 1 (A)[727] up to Year 32 (BΛ). The most recent publication by Alberto Simonetta from 2007 places Ariobarzanes I's first regnal year in 95/94 BC and his abdication in 64/63 BC.[728]

The production of silver drachms by Ariobarzanes I follows a long Cappadocian monetary tradition. The coin design remained the same as under the Ariarathids and depicts the royal portrait on the obverse and the figure of Athena, standing left holding spear and shield on the reverse. Her right hand presents a Nike holding wreath and crowning Athena (Figure 5.4). The reverse legend is arranged in a rectangle around the coin, with a numeral below the inscription. A monogram is often located in the right field between the inscription and Athena. Such rectangular inscriptions are reminiscent of Parthian coins.[729] However, the historical development of the early Cappadocian coins makes such an association unlikely. The earliest coins of the Kingdom of Cappadocia only have an inscription on the left and right, which is similar to Seleucid tetradrachms.[730] Indeed, Lorber recently argued for a strong Seleucid influence in the early coin designs of Ariarathes V.[731] There are also

[727] However, the letter A is often written as Λ which can cause confusion with the numeral lambda also written as Λ.

[728] Simonetta 2007, 86–87.

[729] Sellwood 31.5; Sellwood 33.4; Sellwood 34.3.

[730] Lorber 2018B, 258; Lorber, Houghton and Veselý 2006, 60.

[731] Lorber 2018B, 277.

three shared control marks between the Cappadocian tetradrachms and the coinage of Antiochus IV issued at Soloi.[732] Hence, the rectangular inscription design could have been inspired by the coins of Antiochos V Eupator (164–162 BC) (Figure 5.5). By the continuity of the Ariarathid design, the new Ariobarzanid dynasty emphasised monetary continuity. This contrasts with the tetradrachms of Ariarathes IX, the rival king of Ariobarzanes I who also adopted designs of the Pontic ruler Mithridates VI (Figure 5.6).[733]

The coins of Ariobarzanes I present the first systematic use of the title *Philorhomaios* (= friend of the Romans) on coins of a Hellenistic king. The epithet was very influential as several other kings also used it on their coins thereafter.[734] Due to Mithridates VI's and Tiridates of Armenia's military campaigns in Cappadocia, Ariobarzanes I had to flee to Rome on several occasions.[735] Callataÿ's die study demonstrated a close correspondence between the dates of Ariobarzanes' coin production and Roman military events, demonstrating Roman influence on Cappadocian coin production.[736] Under the Ariobarzanid dynasty,

[732] Lorber 2018B, 256.

[733] SNG von Aulock 6299. For the argument of a specific target audience of these rare tetradrachms see Callataÿ 1990.

[734] Van Wijlick 2020, 135.

[735] Ariobarzanes I was first restored by Sulla in 92 BC, then by Aquarius in 89 BC, then by Sulla in 84 BC and by Pompey in 66 BC.

[736] Callataÿ 2011A, 70–71.

Cappadocian drachms were minted to a weight standard around 3.90 g.[737] Previous and contemporary Cappadocian rulers of Ariobarzanes I minted coins to a slightly higher weight standard.[738] Due to the growing influence and Roman importance to Ariobarzanes I and his successors, this weight of 3.90 g is likely deliberately chosen to be interchangeable with Roman denarii.

5.4 The coins of Ariobarzanes II Philopator

Ariobarzanes II succeeded his father Ariobarzanes I after his voluntary abdication. This event took place between 64 and 62 BC in the presence of Pompey.[739] Like his father, Ariobarzanes II's reign depended on Roman support and the king required the help of the Roman governor Gabinius in 57 BC to defeat his enemies.[740] His reign ended c. 53/52 BC and from the wording of Cicero's letters, it appears that Ariobarzanes II was killed by a conspiracy.[741] As the governor of Cilicia in 51 BC, Cicero was meeting with King Ariobarzanes III and his brother, the future King

[737] Butcher and Ponting 2015, 158–159.

[738] Callataÿ 1997A, 207–208.

[739] App. *Mith*. 15.105; Val. Max. 5.7; Sherwin-White 1977, 180. For a date of spring 64 BC see Mattingly 1979, 166–67 and for 62 BC see Hoben 1969, 158.

[740] Cic. *Prov*. *Con*. 9.

[741] Cic. *Fam*. 15.2.

Ariarathes X.[742] Hence, Ariobarzanes II's reign falls within the period of c. 64/63 BC to 52 BC.

The coins of Ariobarzanes II depict the numerals Z (= 7) and H (= 8), indicating his regnal years (Figure 5.7).[743] However, as discussed in the introduction, there are several ways of counting regnal years (for different ways to date the era of Ariobarzanes II see Table 5.2). Therefore, I shall use regnal years when discussing Ariobarzanes II's coinage instead of absolute dates. Although his coin output in the two years is significant,[744] his drachms appear to be among the rarest of the Ariobarzanid dynasty.[745] This contrasts with his predecessor Ariobarzanes I, whose coins occur in many hoards[746] and collections.[747] The large production and ubiquity of drachms in the last years of Ariobarzanes I's reign might be an explanation as to why Ariobarzanes II only started striking coins in his 7th and 8th regnal years.

---

[742] Cic. *Fam*. 15.2.

[743] Catalogue types 31–32.

[744] Chapter 2.2 and Table 2.4.

[745] Simonetta 1977, 50.

[746] CHANGE 0027; CHANGE 0448; IGCH 1419; IGCH 1746; IGCH 1744; Mardin II hoard; IGCH 1741; IGCH 1383; IGCH 1579.

[747] Callataÿ 2014A, 68.

The publication of Simonetta lists Ariobarzanes II's coins with a dot for the letter omicron as a separate variant.[748] Since this letter form occurs with both numerals Z and H, the classification was simplified by Alberto Simonetta into only three types, with either numerals Z, H or with the date off flan.[749] The classification in this catalogue follows a similar typology with possibly an additional type without dates in the exergue (Figure 5.8). Due to the lack of specimens, it is currently unclear whether the date on these coins is worn or if they are indeed produced without a date. They have been tentatively classified as their own type in the catalogue (catalogue type 33), but the obverse dies of this type appear to belong to Year H, making it likely that the coins originally had a numeral.[750] Other coins without an identifiable date on their reverse dies are listed under type 34. The analysis of Ariobarzanes II's coins shows the existence of at least 65 obverse dies (Table 2.4). Even though a large number of obverse dies exist, reverse dies linked by obverse dies are rare. One such attested case of die links occurs for an obverse die with a 'youthful' portrait style,[751] connecting reverse dies of Year 7 and Year 8.[752] This shows a connected minting sequence between the two years and makes it likely that the die was used at one mint during both years. It

[748] Simonetta 1977, 43.

[749] Simonetta 2007, 101–102.

[750] O120 and O145.

[751] For a discussion of this style see below.

[752] O98.

is also possible that the mint produced coins continuously around the time of the regnal year change in autumn. The catalogued 254 coins with 65 obverse dies seem to present only a small number of the overall die links and combinations. However, the ratio of n/d is close to 4 (Table 2.4), which makes it likely that we have observed most of the original obverse dies and are mostly missing reverse dies.

Another point to consider is the scarcity of coin finds in Cappadocia and the possibility of re-minting or melting down of coins. Ariobarzanes II likely died as a result of a court intrigue or uprising.[753] Either event could have resulted in the looting of the royal treasury. Metallurgical analysis implies an increasing amount of copper in the coins of Ariobarzanes III and Ariarathes X.[754] Earlier coins with a higher silver content, like those of Ariobarzanes II, were often melted down for profit and restruck by subsequent rulers. This way, the financial difficulties of his successors[755] might have resulted in a re-minting of older coins, like those of Ariobarzanes II, as new ones with a lower silver content. Ariobarzanes II is also attested as a financial benefactor and dedicator in several inscriptions across Greece.[756] Among the projects he financed was the

[753] Cic. *Fam*. 15.2.

[754] For this discussion see Chapter 5.7.

[755] Cic. *Att*. 6.1.

[756] OGIS 356 = IG II² 3428; IE 272.

reconstruction of the Odeion of Pericles in Athens,[757] making it possible that many of his coins were spent abroad and subsequently melted down. Finally, literary sources attest that after the death of Ariobarzanes III in 42 BC the treasury was seized by Cassius' cavalry.[758] This happened about nine years after Ariobarzanes II's death and the monetary reserves that were taken might have still contained coins of Ariobarzanes II.

Ariobarzanes II's coins show two distinctly different obverse portraits (Figure 5.10). The first portrait style of a 'youthful' portrait shows the image of a young man. The characteristics of this style include the depiction of muscles and facial structure, as well as an eye with iris and pupil. The second portrait style uses a more abstract image and this way seems to depict a younger 'boyish' royal portrait. For Year 7, the 'youthful' portrait is the only obverse type and is die linked to Year 8.[759] The 'youthful' portrait continues to be used during Year 8. Even the reverse dies with the 'youthful' obverse dies of Year 7 and 8 are stylistically connected. Three characteristics from Year 7 continue to be used in Year 8: the depiction of Nike as a stick figure, the large O in the

[757] IG II² 3427 was found in Athens.

[758] Cass. Dio 47.33 attests that Cassius took control of the treasury after executing Ariobarzanes III for not supporting his military revolt against Rome. A similar case might have happened during the unrests surrounding the death of Ariobarzanes II.

[759] O98.

reverse inscription and the decoration of the shield with a gorgoneion (Figure 5.11). These coins appear to have had the same engraver and were likely produced at the same mint. At least two engravers existed, one using stick figure Nikes and the other depicting a gorgoneion on the shield of Athena. In addition, the spelling of legends on coins is variable and not fully legible. Small changes like the mirrored zeta on some coins and the depiction of omicron as a dot (Figure 5.12) also exist and are phenomena that already occurred on coins of Ariobarzanes I.[760]

The coins of the ‘boyish’ portrait style appear to have been stylistically and chronologically separate from the ‘youthful’ portrait coins. The ‘boyish’ obverse portrait only occurs during Year H. The dies are very similar to each other and the details on the coins can vary, based on the condition of the die (Figure 5.13). The abstract style of the ‘boyish’ portrait obverse die was also used on the reverses. These show a simplified and more abstract Athena holding Nike. This gives the impression that coins with ‘boyish’ portrait were created with more haste and less care was taken with the images. This contrasts with the detailed design of the ‘youthful’ portrait style. However, a few of the reverse dies do show shared characteristics with reverse dies of the ‘youthful’ type. Two dies show the shield with the head of a gorgoneion.[761] The reverse

[760] Simonetta 1977, 41–42.

[761] R418 and R409.

legend is also similar in its depiction of omicrons and some coins show the same rectangular sigma.[762] These characteristics do not occur in connection with the stick figure Nikes die linked to Year 7[763] and thus seem to be later in the die sequence. As all the coins fall in the same Year H and could have been minted in parallel, this sequence is not necessarily significant but could indicate that these coins were produced slightly later within the year. The use of the 'boyish' portrait also seems to correspond to a worsening in spelling for the reverse legend. This makes the legend harder to decipher but still legible. APIOBAPZANOY is written correctly with one exception (R330 APIOBAZANOY). The reverse spells the omega in BAΣIΛEΩΣ as an omicron or with a dot (BAΣIΛE.Σ) (see Figure 5.13). The variants BAΣIΛEoZ and BAΣIΛEVΣ also exist. This change in style and quality on the coins, might be related to a faster production, possibly indicating a date during the difficulties of Ariobarzanes II's last regnal year(s) that resulted in his death (Table 5.2).

Similarly, there are stylistic differences in the reverse depiction of Nike in Year 7 and 8. Double winged Nikes with an upturned head are only used during Year 7 and large Nikes only occur during Year 8 (Figure 5.9). This makes it possible, even without numerals present, to catalogue coins

[762] Reverse dies with omicron: R343; R344; R352; R353; R361. Dies with rectangular sigmas: R335; R336; R340; R357; R329.

[763] O98.

based on the Nike design and assign them to the corresponding regnal year. Other variants in the design include changes to the platform beneath Athena or the spear which can be elongated into either direction[764] or missing.[765] The coins of Year H also use new letter forms which became clear through the die links. Thus, the angular version of a lunate sigma occurs in the reverse legend and the letter E might be written as sigma Σ during Year H.

The different styles of the ‘youthful’ and ‘boyish’ portraits could indicate a second mint for the coins of Ariobarzanes II. The theory of a second mint in Cappadocia has historic precedents in the production of coins at multiple mints by previous rulers of Cappadocia.[766] However, the shared features on the reverse dies make it more likely that the ‘boyish’ portrait was instead produced later in Year H. The depiction of a gorgoneion on Athena’s shield with the ‘boyish’ portrait (Figure 5.14) occurs on reverses paired with both the ‘youthful’ portraits in Year 7 and Year 8 and also for ‘boyish’ portraits in Year 8. A parallel minting of both the ‘youthful’ and ‘boyish’ portrait styles during Year H is possible. The production of coins with different aged portraits, die linked and all minted during

[764] R305 (curved Plattform), R308 (Plattform continuing to the right).

[765] R287 (spear missing) and R370, R337, R373 and R384 (no plattform).

[766] Simonetta 1977, 11–12.

Ariobarzanes I's year 13 was recently discovered by Callataÿ.[767] Hence, the lower artistic quality of the boyish portrait appears to be due not to an artistic decline but seems deliberate and possibly due to external factors influencing the engraving. The 'boyish' portrait style coins cannot be modern forgeries since they are found in hoards with 'youthful' portrait coins of Ariobarzanes II.[768]

The possible mint(s) for the coins of Ariobarzanes II remain unclear, mostly due to the lack of documented coin finds. While silver coins are more likely to appear in hoards, there are only a handful of cases for the coins of Ariobarzanes II. Drachms of Ariobarzanes II are found in hoards with coins of Ariobarzanes I and older Ariarathid coins, attesting the continued circulation and use of older drachms during this period (Table 5.3).[769] The only well documented hoard find was discovered during the excavation at Tepebaglari in Niğde in 1973[770] (closest to the mint at Eusebeia Tyana). The hoard contained coins of Ariobarzanes II, Ariobarzanes III and Ariarathes X and thus covers all three kings of this period, which shows that Ariobarzanes II's coins continued to be in

[767] Callataÿ (to appear) with SILVER ID: 30487.

[768] Table 5.4 no. 1 (Tire Museum hoard) and no. 3 (CHANGE 0458/CH 9.579).

[769] Tire Museum hoard, IGCH 1579, CHANGE 0458.

[770] CHANGE 0058/CH 2.124 with Taner 1972.

circulation during the reigns of his sons Ariobarzanes III and Ariarathes X.

The current catalogue records at least 11 obverse dies of Year 7 and 40 obverse dies for Year 8. A production of 40 obverse dies in a single year is very high and comparable to the annual production of all Pergamene kings or that of the Seleucid kingdom under Antiochus III and Seleucus IV.[771] The sudden fourfold increase of obverse dies from Year 7 to 8 seems to show a need for additional monetary resources in the second year of production. The haste taken in producing a large number of coins seems to have led to the introduction of the new 'boyish' portrait on the coins of Ariobarzanes II.

The exact dates of Year 7 and 8 of Ariobarzanes II's reign remain unclear due to the absence of known start or end dates for his reign. The literary evidence attests Pompey's presence during the abdication of Ariobarzanes I, dating the start of his reign between 64 and 62 BC. The death of Ariobarzanes II happened before Cicero's arrival in Cilicia in 51 BC. Thus, the coins of Years 7 and 8 were produced at some point between 57/58 BC and 53/52 BC (Table 5.2). They could have been

[771] Callataÿ 2013B, 210. It is important to note that the yearly production here is averaged out over a king's whole reign due to the lack of regnal years on most coins. If the same methodology is applied to the Cappadocian kings their production levels are much more comparable (Table 7.5). However, since we do have the exact years of production for Cappadocian kings, their output in a specific, single year is certain.

minted in the build up to the (internal?) conflict that killed Ariobarzanes II.[772] However, the stark increase in coin output would be better explained by a larger conflict, as demonstrated by Callataÿ for the production of Cappadocian coins under Ariobarzanes I that appear to relate to Roman military activity.[773]. Indeed, there is one notable military campaign during this period, Crassus' invasion of Parthian Mesopotamia. Preparation for this campaign started c. 56 BC with Crassus arriving in Syria in late 55 BC/early 54 BC.[774] In relation to Crassus' campaign, Ariobarzanes' Year 7 would date to 56/55 BC and Year 8 to 55/54, placing the beginning of Ariobarzanes II's reign in 63/62 BC. Crassus accumulated an army of about 40,000 soldiers to fight the Parthians.[775] The Battle of Carrhae took place in spring 53 BC, resulting in a devastating loss for the Romans.[776] The Romans relied on Cappadocian information and mediation with Parthia under Ariobarzanes I.[777] Furthermore, the territory of Cappadocia was the most likely route for a Parthian invasion,[778] making it very likely that Ariobarzanes II was involved in the campaign or at least contributed monetarily to the Roman

[772] Cic. *Fam*. 15.2.

[773] Callataÿ 1997A, 211–214.

[774] Plut. *Vit. Crass.* 16; Regling 1907, 364.

[775] Plut. *Vit. Crass*. 20.

[776] Cass. Dio 40.21–24; Plut. *Vit. Crass*. 25.

[777] Plut. *Sull*. 5.

[778] Cic. *Fam*. 15.2.

war effort. With an estimated 50 obverse dies for year H (8) (Table 2.4), producing 1,000,000 drachms or an overall production of 80(+) obverse dies, producing 1,600,000 drachms, this would be enough to pay 5,000 to 8,000 soldiers in fresh coins. With this money, Ariobarzanes II's contribution to the Roman war efforts would have been substantial. The suggestion by Callataÿ of the payment of Roman wages through Cappadocian drachms[779] could also explain the more eastern spread of hoard finds. One coin hoard found in Syria was deposited c. 50 BC with a coin of Ariobarzanes II. This hoard could be associated with Crassus' campaign or later Roman campaigns against Parthia.

5.5 The coinage of Ariobarzanes III

Ariobarzanes III Eusebes kai Philorhomaios (= Ariobarzanes (III) the pious and friend of the Romans) was the son and successor of Ariobarzanes II. He became king shortly before Cicero's governorship of 51 BC.[780] As many client kings in this period, Ariobarzanes III was involved in the Roman civil wars of the Late Republican period and is thus attested in literary sources. The king originally supported Pompey[781] but after the Battle of Pharsalus in 48 BC, he changed sides to join

[779] Callataÿ 2011A, 71.

[780] Cic. *Att*. 5.15.

[781] App. *Mith*. 15.105.

Caesar's faction.[782] Caesar rewarded the loyalty of the Cappadocian king and his brother Ariarathes, the later Ariarathes X, with the territorial addition of Armenia Minor, which was given to Ariarathes around 47 BC.[783] Ariarathes remained as a vassal under the control of the Cappadocian Kingdom of his brother Ariobarzanes III.[784]

The reverse design of the drachms depicts the characteristic Cappadocian image of Athena standing left, holding the figure of Nike with a decorated shield at her side. The field to the right of Athena is marked with changing monograms, a return to the conventions used by Ariobarzanes I and the Ariarathid dynasty and different from the coins of Ariobarzanes II who avoided using monograms on his coins. Some coins of Ariobarzanes III also depict the regnal year in the field next to Athena. In the Year Θ, the numeral is placed to the left of Athena, just underneath the star.[785] For the Year IA, the numeral appears in the empty field to the right of Athena (Figure 5.12),[786] replacing the monogram in the field. This placement of numerals in the field became standard practice under Ariarathes X and continued under Archelaos.[787]

---

[782] Cass. Dio 41.63.

[783] Cic. *Att.* 12.2a.

[784] *BAlex.* 66.

[785] Catalogue types 35–36.

[786] Catalogue types 37–41.

[787] RPC I, 3601–3606.

The inscription on coins of Ariobarzanes III gives his royal nomenclature as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΡΟΜΑΙΟΥ. This same title is provided by Cicero[788] and places emphasis on his friendship with Rome and the official recognition of kingship given to him by the Roman senate.[789] The title *Philorhomaios* (= friend of the Romans) was previously only used in Cappadocia by Ariobarzanes I, while *Eusebes* is translated as pious, a traditional Cappadocian royal epithet of the 2nd century BC.[790] The inscription presents the characteristics of an ideal king to its contemporary society. For Cappadocia, these ideals included not only piety to the gods but also loyalty and friendship to Rome which guaranteed the stability of the kingdom. The use of the word *kai* (= and) in the royal epithet of ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΡΟΜΑΙΟΥ is unusual for Greek kings.[791] The separation of the titles by *kai* (= and) suggests a different understanding of epithets from other cases where the titles became an integral part of a king's name. This phenomenon can be seen in both Greek[792] and Roman titulatures.[793] However, the use of *kai* (= and) in royal epithets is well attested in the lengthy coin inscriptions of

[788] Cic. *Fam.* 15.2.

[789] Cic. *Fam*. 15.2 and Cic. *Fam*. 2.17.

[790] First used by Ariarathes V (see Callataÿ and Lorber 2011, 425).

[791] I am very thankful to van Wijick for pointing this out to me in conversations.

[792] For example, FGrHist 87 F4 = Athenaeus 6.252e and Polyb. 5.35.1. For a full listing of sources and the argument see Van Nuffelen 2009, 95f..

[793] See the example of Imperator as a praenomen under Octavian discussed by Syme 1958.

the Parthian kings.[794] Thus, the royal titulature seems inspired by eastern influences which stands in contrast to the term *Philorhomaios* (= friend of the Romans). This way, Cappadocia's political and geographical situation, that places it between the influence of Roman, Greek and Parthian cultures, is reflected in the coins and their inscriptions.

The coinage issued under Ariobarzanes III continued the established design of Cappadocian royal drachms but is notably different from his predecessors through the addition of a star and half-moon in the field to the left of the Athena on the reverse (Figure 5.15–5.17). The star and crescent symbol is often associated with the royal coins of Mithridates VI. Reinach proposed that the symbol alludes to a blood connection of Ariobarzanes III with Mithridates through his mother.[795] However, the design is not used on coins of his brother Ariarathes X who is likely to have had the same family background. Recent epigraphic finds have questioned whether the marriage between a daughter of Mithridates VI and the Ariobarzanid dynasts ever took place.[796] The star and crescent design is also a fitting symbol for the shared family ties of the Ariobarzanid dynasty with the Mithridatic royal family and their Arsacid heritage in general. Ariobarzanes III was in conflict with Pharnaces II, the

[794] Sellwood 41.12, 46.17 or 40.3.

[795] Reinach 1887, 63–64.

[796] App. *Mith*. 66.280; Clinton 2005, 291.

son of Mithridates VI, who conquered parts of Cappadocia[797] until his defeat at the Battle of Zela in 47 BC.[798] Since the coins with regnal years were likely minted in or after 47 BC (Table 5.2), they could present an attempt to present the Ariobarzanid dynasty as a royal line of long and famous ancestry, justifying their rule over Cappadocia. Other purposes for the appearance of the star and crescent on Greek coins include their use as religious symbols for Aphrodite, Diana, Selene or Hecate. The symbol is also used on Greek coinage in relation to historical events, most notably the appearance of bright stars or comets. One such comet was the *Sidus Iulium* which appeared in 44 BC and was visible throughout the Mediterranean.[799] This event was depicted on several contemporary coins[800] and could be seen as a sign of divine favour.[801]

The numerals on the coins of Ariobarzanes III show that his coins were minted in two regnal years: Year IA (Year 11) and Year Θ (Year 9). In contrast to his predecessors, the dating of Ariobarzanes III's coins is relatively secure. Two external dates are given by the literary evidence and frame a specific period of reign. Firstly, the evidence of Cicero indicates that Ariobarzanes III recently became king before he arrived as

[797] *BAlex.* 34.

[798] *BAlex.* 72.

[799] Hor. *Carm*. 1.12.46–8. For a complete list of ancient sources see Ramsey and Licht 1997, 155–77.

[800] For example, RIC 37a; RIC 338; RIC 340; RRC 540/2; RPC 621.

[801] Plin. *HN* 2.93; Suet. *Iul*. 88.

governor in Cilicia in July 51 BC.[802] Secondly, Ariobarzanes III was killed by Cassius in 42 BC,[803] certainly before Cassius's death in October 42 BC.[804] Finally, his coins provide the Years 9 and 11 for his reign. For Ariobarzanes III to be at least in his 11th regnal year and mint around 100 obverse dies before October 42 BC, the start of his reign would be 53/52 BC. The first dated coins of Ariobarzanes III of Year 9 then fall into the year 45/44 BC.[805] Thus, the period of 53/52 BC to 42 BC is the most likely period of reign for Ariobarzanes III. It also places his accession relatively close to the posting of Cicero as Governor to Cilicia in 51 BC,[806] whose letters emphasise the difficulties of Ariobarzanes III as a new king even with Roman support.[807]

The portraits of Ariobarzanes III appear to be inspired by those of Ariobarzanes II but have an additional beard (Figure 5.18). Besides the beard, there are two main differences between the two portraits. Firstly, the ear is entirely visible for Ariobarzanes II but partly hidden by hair for the portrait of Ariobarzanes III. Secondly, the hair of Ariobarzanes III

---

802 Cic. *Fam.* 15.4.

803 Cass. Dio 47.33.

804 Plut. *Vit. Brut.* 43.5–6.

805 The Sidus Iulium first appears in May 44 BC (Pliny *HN* 2.93–4).

806 Since the Greek calendar year usually ended in autumn, it might very well possible for Year 1 to have started in August 52 BC. In this case Year 2 would have already started later the same year in autumn 52 BC.

807 Cic. *Att*. 5.20.

forms visible curls above the diadem at his forehead. The depiction of a beard is contrary to the traditional youthful Hellenistic royal portrait[808] and to contemporary Roman Republican denarii where portraits are bare faced unless they depict a deity or hero.[809] The bearded royal portraits were more popular during the 2nd century BC and were used on coins of Philip V of Macedon (221–179 BC),[810] Perseus of Macedon (178–168 BC),[811] the Seleucid King Antiochos IV Epiphanes (175–164 BC),[812] Demetrios II Nikator (129–126/5 BC)[813] or Pharnaces I of Pontus.[814] Overall, beards in numismatic royal portraiture were rather unusual for the time of Ariobarzanes III. A possible explanation for this choice of iconography could be the intention of trying to convey a more local Cappadocian identity. This would fit with the traditional titles of *Eusebes* (= pious) and *Philorhomaios* (= friend of the Romans) which were both Cappadocian royal titles. Lorber and Iossif proposed to interpret a temporary beard, based on the interpretation of Seleucid coins, as a

---

808 Wace 1905.

809 Roman coins with bearded portraits include gods and mythical heroes like Jupiter (RRC 445/3), Numa (RRC 446/1), Pan (RRC 449/1). Unbearded portraits are used for Sulla and Pompeius Rufus (RRC 434/1), Coelius Caldus (RRC 437/1), Caesar (RRC 480/6), Pompey the Great (RRC 483/1), or Ancus Marcius (RRC 425/1). An exception with a bearded portrait of Roman politicians appears to be a coin of Marcus Brutus and C. Servilius Ahala of 54 BC (RRC 433/2).

810 SNG Alpha Bank 1049–50.

811 Künker 333, 16 Mar. 2020, lot 742.

812 SC 1398.

813 SC 2181.2b.

814 Ira & Larry Goldberg sale 96, 2017, 1686.

campaign beard.[815] No Cappadocian campaigns are known for this period and Ariobarzanes III is attested in Cappadocia at his death in 42 BC, which was likely year 11 (see Table 5.2). The iconography of a bearded portrait is also not a temporary change but continues under Ariarathes X. Thus, the beard appears to be a personal preference or even an indication of eastern influence rather than a campaign beard.

Coins of Year 11 show that Ariobarzanes III's beard and hairstyle developed further to become a more prominent part of the portrait, creating two distinct stylistic groups of his portraits (Figure 5.18). A possibility is that the style changed after Ariobarzanes III's possible death in regnal year 11, but there is no evidence that any of the coins were minted posthumously. Indeed, a change in style is also visible for the coins of Ariobarzanes II and was a natural stylistic development. The possibility of coins of this different style being modern forgeries or contemporary imitations is less likely since they are die linked to other coins of Ariobarzanes III.[816]

This thesis documented 54 obverse dies during Year 9 (Θ) and 94 dies in Year 11 (IA). With a production rate of 2,000 to 3,000 coins per day per

[815] An argument first suggested by Queyrel 1990, 206 and developed further by Lorber and Iossif 2009. The same phenomenon also appears on Roman coins Lorber and Iossif 2009, 94.

[816] Catalogue types 40–41.

workstation, the maximum number of production allows about 55 dies to be used per year with one workstation.[817] This makes it likely that Ariobarzanes III operated at least two, if not more, workstations for the production of his coinage. One remarkable specimen of Ariobarzanes III's coinage is a visible overstrike on an eastern imitation of an Athenian owl drachm (Figure 5.19).[818] The lack of preparation of the flan indicates haste in the production of coins in Year 11 (IA). Cicero documented Ariobarzanes III's political instability[819] as well as the high financial debts of the king with Brutus and Pompey.[820] According to Cicero's letters, Ariobarzanes was sending monthly payments of 33 Attic talents to Pompey which covered only the rate of interest of the huge loans of Ariobarzanes III.[821] One Attic talent was about 26 kg in silver or 6,000 drachms. Hence, the monthly payments by Ariobarzanes would have been worth 858 kg silver or 198,000 drachms. To account for an external outflow of 198,000 drachms per month, at the medium rate of an estimated 20,000 coins per die,[822] the mint would need to produce 9–10 obverse dies per month and 119 obverse dies per year. This number fits well with the calculated coin production of Year 11 of 106–120 obverse

[817] Meadows 2024. 3,000 coins x 365 days/20,000 = 54.75 dies.

[818] GOD ID 2466.

[819] Cic. *Att*. 5.20; Cic. *Fam*. 15.4.

[820] Cic. *Att*. 6.1.

[821] Cic. *Att*. 6.1.

[822] Callataÿ 1995, 296–302.

dies (Table 2.5). However, it is important to emphasise that these coins were not minted to pay debt, as this repayment is already attested by Cicero in 51 BC, while Ariobarzanes III's coins were minted only from his 9th regnal year onwards, which date after Pompey's death in 47 BC.[823] Similar to modern times, these sums of money did not necessarily need to be paid in coins. Instead, the increase in production from around 45/44 to 43/42 BC, discussed in Chapter 2, is very likely to represent a part of Brutus' war effort.[824] This is especially true for Year 11, when the flight of Caesar's assassins to Asia Minor brought the conflict home to that region and Cappadocia.[825] The sharp rise in production in Year 11 which reuses older coins and decreases the silver content of the coins (Chapter 5.7), indicates a need for coinage. The coins of Ariobarzanes III thus appear to show a direct correlation between Cappadocian minting and Roman military expenditure. In view of the financial ties between Ariobarzanes III and Brutus, Ariobarzanes III's death at the hands of Brutus' forces might have been the result of a monetary dispute rather than disloyalty as is alleged in the literary sources.[826] Indeed, Appian attests that the cavalry "brought back large quantities of his [Ariobarzanes'] money".[827]

---

[823] Caes. *BCiv.* 3.104; Vell. Pat. 2.53.

[824] Cic. *Att.* 6.1.

[825] Cass. Dio 47.33.

[826] App. *B Civ.* 4.63.

[827] App. *B Civ.* 4.63.

5.6 The coinage of Ariarathes X Eusebes Philadelphos (42–36 BC)

Ariarathes X was first appointed as ruler of a part of Armenia by Caesar[828] and became a vassal of his brother Ariobarzanes III. After the death of Ariobarzanes III in 42 BC, he succeeded his brother as King Ariarathes X. His own reign ended in 36 BC when Marcus Antonius decided to replace him with Archelaos as King of Cappadocia.[829] The Tiberian writer Valerius Maximus reports that Ariarathes was killed by Marcus Antonius,[830] ending Ariobarzanid rule of Cappadocia.

In contrast to the other kings of the Ariobarzanid dynasty, Ariarathes X started his coin production very quickly after his accession, in his fourth regnal year, and from then on produced coinage every year until 36 BC. The regnal year on the coins is placed to the right of Athena with a monogram above. The monogram has three different forms (Table 5.3). Coin types with the same monogram are die linked between Year 4 and 5.[831] This could fit Mørkholm's interpretation that monograms on the coins of Cappadocia were each indicative of specific mints.[832] However, looking at the distribution of monograms and regnal years, it appears that

[828] Cass. Dio 42.48.

[829] Cass. Dio. 49.32.

[830] Val. Max. 9.15e.2.

[831] O309.

[832] Mørkholm 1978, 145–146.

the monograms were not used at the same time but succeeded each other, within a short period of time. The three different monograms were used over three years. The dies also show no significant differences in style (Figure 5.20) which seems to contradict the argument of multiple mints based on the monogram designs. Alberto Simonetta suggests that changes and adaptation of the same monograms resulted in different-looking monograms with the same meaning within a king's reign and between different kings.[833] In this case, however, the monograms between Year 4 and Year 5 are drastically different and do not seem to develop into one another.[834] The monograms of Year 5 and Year 6 are more similar and contain the letters A P Θ which could indicate the mint of Ariaratheia.[835]

The placement of the numerals in the field to the right of Athena makes them always visible, in contrast to those on the coins of Ariarathes' predecessors which often minted numerals off flan. This and the use of die links made it possible to assign all coins of Ariarathes to specific types. For the type of Year 6 with monogram ⊂ , two out of three known coins appeared at the same time in the same auction house.[836] It is likely

[833] Simonetta 2007, 12–14.

[834] Catalogue types 44–46.

[835] Catalogue types 45–48.

[836] Catalogue type 47 nos. 2–3.

that these two coins come from the same context and might have been found together. Since Simonetta bought his exemplar in 1957 in Paris, the coins of this rare type are unlikely to all originate from the same find.

The most distinctive identifier of Ariarathes' coinage, besides the numeral and monogram in the field, is the depiction of a tropaion. This tropaion replaces the star and crescent symbol of Ariobarzanes III to the left of Athena. Reinach proposes that the tropaion is a memorial to Ariarathes X's victory over Sisines.[837] Sisines is attested by Strabo as a powerful individual controlling the region of Garsauritida[838] and attempting to usurp the Cappadocian throne. According to Appian, Sisines was made king by Marcus Antonius in 41 BC instead of Ariarathes X.[839] However, no King Sisines of Cappadocia is attested in any epigraphic or numismatic source. Sisines was the son of Glaphyra, who was favoured by Marcus Antonius for her beauty. Glaphyra was also the name of the mother of King Archelaos, who was given the Kingdom of Cappadocia by Marcus Antonius in 37/36 BC.[840] This led to much discussion whether Archelaos and Sisines are the same individual,[841] brothers[842] or

[837] Reinach 1887, 66.

[838] Strabo 12.2.6 attests Sisines' control over Cadena, Argos, Nora (Neroassos) and possibly Garsauira.

[839] App. *B Civ.* 5.7; Strabo 12.2.6.

[840] Cass. Dio. 49.32.

[841] Reinach 1887, 66; Sullivan 1980, 1147–1153.

[842] Syme and Birley 1995, 150.

completely unrelated to each other.[843] The conflict with Sisines might explain why Ariarathes started minting coinage much earlier than his Ariobarzanid predecessors (except Ariobarzanes I), already in the fourth year of his reign. Ariobarzanes III had produced an unprecedented number of coins until his death in 42 BC, demonstrating an increasing need for new coinage (Chapter 2.2 Table 2.5). This is also visible in the production under Ariarathes X, starting in Year 4 and continuing until his death in Year 6 or 36 BC. In addition to these internal difficulties, there is also the lack of Roman approval for Ariarathes X as king, as seen by the support of Marcus Antonius for Sisines. This could also be implied by the missing title of *Philorhomaios* (= friend of the Romans) on the coins of Ariarathes X. Instead, Ariarathes uses the epithet *Philadelphos* (= sibling-loving), emphasising the love and loyalty to his deceased brother Ariobarzanes III. Ariobarzanes III had been executed by Cassius Longinus' men, who had also taken the Cappadocian treasury.[844] The choice of the epithet of *Philadelphos* (= sibling-loving) instead of *Philorhomaios* (= friend of the Romans) might thus portray not only his Ariobarzanid lineage but convey a similar ideology shared with his deceased brother, if not demonstrate opposition to Rome. Gabelko and Krivolapov[845] have suggested ties to the Parthian kingdom for Ariarathes

[843] Gabelko and Krivolapov, 2023, 136–137; Michels 2013, 629–630.

[844] Cass. Dio 47.33.

[845] Gabelko and Krivolapov, 2023, 132.

X, but the ancient sources only give vague circumstantial evidence for this interpretation.[846] Like his brother, Ariarathes X uses a coin legend with the connecting word *kai* (= and), mirroring eastern kings like the Parthians. This change might portray a different situation in Cappadocia after Ariobarzanes III's death and the new reality of Ariarathes X who had to secure his claim to the Cappadocian territory without and later even opposing Roman influence.

Coinage functions as a message to the population and a way to physically embody Ariarathes X's claim to Cappadocia. The production of coins by Ariarathes X is thus not only economical but also politically motivated. This is visible in his choice of portraiture which recalls that of Ariobarzanes III's Year 9 style with a bearded portrait (Figures 5.15; 5.18 and 5.20). Some obverse dies also imitate the hair meeting in a circle over the diadem of Ariobarzanes III's portraits. In contrast to Ariobarzanes III, Ariarathes X seems to have produced fewer obverse dies, creating a lower but constant output of coinage from Year 4 to Year 6. Production increased significantly to 30 obverse dies in his Year 5. This might be an indication of new internal military conflicts posed by the conquests of Sisines in Cappadocia. However, more likely to explain this increase is the Parthian invasion starting from 40 BC. Multiple battles

[846] Cic. *Fam*. 15.2.6.

took place in Asia Minor until their defeat in 38 BC.[847] The Parthian forces reached Cilicia and were defeated by the Roman general Publius Ventidius.[848] The Cappadocian King likely contributed military or monetary resources to the defence of his territories against the Parthians. Ariarathes X's coins also show double strikes on the reverse. Another example has a reverse overstruck on a coin with IA underneath, likely a coin of Ariobarzanes III.[849] The re-striking and visibility of undertypes show that the flans of these coins were not properly reworked, with the previous design erased, before being struck by the mint. The tropaion on the coins also conveys a firm message of military victory over his enemy, while his title of *Philadelphos* (= sibling-loving) further emphasises his family connection to Ariobarzanes III, portraying him as the only rightful and legal King of Cappadocia.

5.7 Metallurgy

The drachms of the Ariobarzanid dynasty were made out of a silver metal composite, as was common for ancient coins. The purity of these coins varies significantly[850] and could be deliberately adjusted by the minting

[847] This included the Battle of the Amanus Pass and the Battle of the Cilician Gates in 39 BC and the Battle of Mount Gindarus in 38 BC.

[848] Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 34.

[849] Coin 17 of catalogue type 48.

[850] For a discussion on the silver purity, trace elements and the process of extracting silver in antiquity see Butcher et al. 2015, 100–104.

authority.[851] Low value metal could be added to the composite, decreasing the silver content to save cost or to produce more coins from the same amount of silver. While metal analysis is becoming increasingly common, there have only been two published studies for Cappadocian drachms of the 1st century BC by Butcher and Ponting for coins in the British Museum, as well as by Smirnov and Zakharov for Cappadocian coins in Moscow.

The results of the metal analyses show a decreasing silver content of the coins throughout the 1st century BC. Ariobarzanes I's early coins were relatively pure, with a silver content of over 95 percent.[852] Smirnov and Zakharov documented a significant increase in the amount of copper added to the coins from regnal year 28 onwards (Figure 5.21).[853] The silver content varies significantly between the coins. For example, the Year 30 drachms had one coin with a low silver purity of 71 percent and another drachm of the same year with 94 percent silver. The method used was XRF surface analysis, which only samples the surface of the coin.[854] Ancient mints were advanced enough to not only influence the metal composite but could also enrich the surface of the coin to consist

[851] For the manipulation of metals see Butcher et al. 2015, 105–110 and 130–132.

[852] Smirnov and Zakharov 2022, 258–259.

[853] Smirnov and Zakharov 2022, 259.

[854] Smirnov and Zakharov 2022, 259.

of pure silver.[855] Hence, even if a coin was made out of copper, the surface could be of high quality silver. The XRF data still shows an overall trend of decreasing purity in the coins of Ariobarzanes I (Figure 5.21) but should be considered with caution.[856] These results correspond to the analysis of Butcher/Ponting which used a more invasive technique to analyse the metal composition. Here, a metal sample was collected from a drilled hole into the coins and material from the surface (up to 2 mm) was discarded.[857] The analysis was done through inductively coupled plasma atomic emission spectroscopy (ICP-AES). The sampled coins of Ariobarzanes I show a composition of 75 percent silver for two coins of Year 30 and a 68 percent silver content for the Year 31.[858] Through further study, the RACOM research project will apparently date the start of debasement under Ariobarzanes I to 70/69 BC.[859] ICP-AES analysis was also used by Butcher/Ponting on two coins of Ariarathes X, revealing a silver content of 49 percent.[860] The evidence of Walker seems to suggest a correspondence between the silver content of the coins of the later King Archelaos and Julio-Claudian emperors[861] for

[855] Butcher et al. 2015, 105–110.

[856] Smirnov and Zakharov 2022, 259.

[857] Butcher et al. 2015, 110–111.

[858] Butcher et al. 2015, 507.

[859] Callataÿ (personal communication).

[860] Butcher et al. 2015, 507.

[861] Walker 1976, 43 ff..

which Butcher/Ponting suggest a silver purity of about 71 percent.[862] A recent study by Albarède on the metal composition of Ariobarzanes I's coinage has also apparently shown that earlier drachmas of the Cappadocian kings were remelted and reused for drachms of Ariobarzanes I.[863]

These metallurgical studies imply a continuous decline in silver content of coins under the Ariobarzanids and a subsequent monetary reform under Archelaos to increase the silver content of the Cappadocian drachms. The extent of silver purity for Ariobarzanes II and Ariobarzanes III remains unclear. However, financial difficulties and large expenditures are visible for all Cappadocian kings during this period. Ariobarzanes I was fighting against Ariarathes IX and had extreme difficulties controlling any territories of his kingdom. Ariobarzanes II supported Pompey and Caesar during their military campaigns[864] and financed building projects and was internationally known as a benefactor.[865] Literary sources also show that Ariobarzanes III and likely also Ariarathes X had financial difficulties and large debts accumulated that they were unable to repay,[866] in addition to dealing with internal and external conflicts. All of

[862] Butcher et al. 2015, 508.

[863] Callataÿ (personal communication).

[864] App. *B Civ.* 2.71; Caes. *BCiv*. 3.4.

[865] IG II² 3428; IE 272.

[866] Cic. *Att*. 6.1.

this likely resulted in a steady decline in silver content and the reminting of older coins.

5.8. Hoard evidence

This section discusses the hoard evidence dated to the period 64 to 31 BC and the attested hoards with coins of Ariobarzanes II to Ariarathes X (Figure 5.22 and Table 5.4). As a result, this thesis also has to consider other coins, like that of Ariobarzanes I that continued to circulate during this period[867] and hoards lost after our period with drachms of Ariobarzanes II to Ariarathes X[868] in order to create an accurate picture. The surviving hoards seem to show a circulation based on chronological and geographical factors, but not political. Thus, drachms of Ariobarzanes I are present in hoards together with drachms of Ariarathes IX[869] but also circulate in Armenia with Parthian, Seleucid and Athenian silver coins.[870] Most of the hoards contain only drachms, some a small number of tetradrachms, but no bronze coins were recorded.

---

[867] Coin hoards with coins of Ariobarzanes I include CHANGE 0027, CHANGE 0448, IGCH 1383, IGCH 1419, IGCH 1741 (Aşvan hoard), IGCH 1744, IGCH 1746, CH VII 138, Kaman hoard 1997 and were paired with later Ariobarzanid coins in the Tire Museum hoard, IGCH 1579 and CHANGE 0458/ CH 9.579. The coins of Ariobarzanes I are mentioned here, since they continued to circulated and were the most recently minted coins until Ariobarzanes II started minting coins in his seventh regnal year.

[868] Tire Museum hoard, IGCH 1579, CHANGE 0458, CHANGE 0058 and 2009 Burdur hoard.

[869] Aşvan Hoard, IGCH 1383, IGCH 1419, IGCH 1579, IGCH 1744, IGCH 1746, CH VII 138.

[870] CHANGE 0448.

For Ariobarzanes I, drachms of later years seem to occur more often and in larger quantities in the hoards. The ‘Tire museum hoard’ contains identifiable coins from the last ten years of Ariobarzanes I’s reign from ΚΓ (Year 23) to Λ (Year 30).[871] The predominant presence of drachms from later years might be indicative of a larger coin production in the years leading up to the succession of Ariobarzanes II. The distribution of coins of Ariobarzanes I is more eastern than the territory of Cappadocia, with coins occurring in hoards in Armenia, southeast Türkiye and Syria (see Figure 5.22). This could be related to the nature of silver drachms which are often associated with the daily wage for military services.[872] Hence, they might be connected to military campaigns, like the Roman-Parthian battles or Armenian soldiers returning from battles in Asia Minor.[873] There is also Marcus Antonius’ Armenian campaign, indicating that other military forces were also moving through Armenia.[874] Ariarathes X was given control over parts of Armenia by Caesar in 47 BC,[875] further placing Cappadocian troops into the region. In this context, hoards containing a large variety of coins and even Republican denarii, like IGCH 1746, remain rare but probably attest their use by Roman soldiers or mercenaries. In coin hoards with several drachms of Ariobarzanes I,

[871] Tekin 2008, 1138.

[872] Thuc. 7.27.

[873] Cass. Dio. 36.54.1–37.5.2; Flor. 2.20.10; Just. *Epit*. 42.5. Plut. *Pomp*. 34-35.

[874] Dio 49.40.3; Plut. Ant. 56.1.

[875] Cass. Dio 42.48.

his drachms appear to be either paired with that of later Ariobarzanid kings or with coins of earlier Cappadocian kings.

The coins of Ariobarzanes II, Ariobarzanes III and Ariarathes X exclusively occur in drachm hoards and seem to have circulated more locally. However, this is not fully conclusive since drachms of Ariobarzanes III have only been recorded in a single find spot during the excavations at Tepebaglari,[876] consisting solely of coins of the Ariobarzanid dynasty. This is surprising since the coins of Ariobarzanes III make up the largest number of coins in the catalogue for the Ariobarzanid kingdom and are considered the most common of the Cappadocian kings in this period.[877] Hence, the lack of available evidence does not allow for a full understanding of the circulation and use of drachms in late Hellenistic Cappadocia. It is very likely that some of the large coin collections of Cappadocian coins that have come up for auction in recent years originate from coin hoards sold to collectors. Having this data would likely reveal more hoards with coins of Ariobarzanes III, but unfortunately, these hoards can only be reconstructed with uncertainties. Interestingly, no drachms of Archelaos were found together with coins of the Ariobarzanid dynasty. Instead, his

[876] CHANGE 0058/CH 2.124; Taner 1972.

[877] Simonetta 1977, 50.

coins seem to circulate with Roman denarii.[878] As such, this might reflect the transition of a Hellenistic kingdom to a Roman province on a monetary level that started under Archelaos and separated him from the Ariobarzanid dynasty.

5.9 Possible Ariobarzanid mints

Mørkholm, in his analysis of Cappadocian royal coins, first suggested that some of the monograms on the coins could be identified as distinct mintmarks.[879] During the 1st century BC, there were two major cities in the Kingdom of Cappadocia, Eusebeia-Mazaka at Mt. Argaeus and Eusebeia-Tyana at the Taurus mountain range.[880] The mint of Tyana is also attested on some of the royal bronze coinage.[881] Hence, Mørkholm concluded that the two most common monograms were likely to relate to Eusebeia-Mazaka and Eusebeia-Tyana as their mints and were named mint A and mint B respectively.[882] In his opinion, these two mints could not account for all the variations of the mint marks on the coins, leading to the conclusion that there are a number of Cappadocian mints which operated under the Cappadocian kings to mint their royal

[878] CHRE 9357 (Caesarea-Mazaka) published by Baldwin 1927.

[879] Mørkholm 1978, 145–146.

[880] Strabo 12.2.7.

[881] Mørkholm 1969, 22 and Simonetta 1977, 19 no. 2a–5.

[882] Mørkholm 1978, 157–158.

coinage. Mørkholm suggested the cities of Comana as mint C and Ariaratheia as mint D.[883] This interpretation is opposed by Simonetta who ascribes the silver coins to a single mint at Mazaka.[884] This proves difficult for periods of civil strife and conflict as Mazaka cannot be controlled by two Cappadocian kings minting coinage at the same time. Ariobarzanes I, for example, was expelled several times from Cappadocia and continued minting coinage.[885] Hence, there had to be multiple mints in Cappadocia for royal drachms to be produced for two kings at the same time. However, the role of monograms as indicating mints remains uncertain. Mørkholm's system of four Cappadocian mints was questioned by recent studies. Lorber and Houghton in their work on coins of Ariarathes VII, VIII and IX could not apply Mørkholm's system to the tetradrachms under discussion.[886] Krengel and Lorber identified four mints in a study of coins of Ariarathes V and VI and early Cappadocia tetradrachms. These four mints appear to show overlaps with Mørkholm's mint model: "Mint II can be identified with Morkholm's Mint A and Mint III with his Mint B, while other features of the coinage suggested the identity of the ephemeral Mint IV with Morkholm's Mint

[883] Mørkholm 1978, 157–158.

[884] Simonetta 2007, 16 although Bono Simonetta 1977, 14 seems to accept the possibility of multiple mints changing between different kings.

[885] Lorber, Houghton and Veselý 2006, 60–61.

[886] Lorber, Houghton and Veselý 2006, 60 ff..

C“.[887] Lorber suggests that “Eusebeia-Tyana (Mint C) has a control mark A that reappears under Ariobarzanes I and under Ariarathes X“[888] which would indicate that Eusebeia-Tyana was used as a royal mint during this period.

The existence of multiple mints in the Late Hellenistic period after Ariobarzanes I remains uncertain. Due to the rarity of site finds[889] and lack of circulation evidence for the Cappadocian drachms, the number and location of mints during this period remain uncertain. Hence, the only way to determine the mint(s) is based on the coins themselves through an analysis of their metal composition, weight, fabric, iconography and die links. Both different monograms and style changes can also occur in the normal production of a single large mint with several engravers. The coins of Ariobarzanes II had two distinct obverse designs in Year H (Figure 5.10) that are most likely explained by multiple engravers since they share other key characteristics in their designs (Figure 5.14).[890] Ariobarzanes III’s coins also show two different stylistic obverse dies paired in the same year (Figure 5.16). Many of the reverse dies of Ariobarzanes III show a similar style to the coins of Ariobarzanes II and

[887] Lorber 2018B, 258.

[888] Lorber 2018B, 273.

[889] For the discovery of Ariobarzanes I’s coins at Vani (western Georgia) see Dundua and Lordkipanidze 1979.

[890] Chapter 5.4.

contain characteristics similar to those on the coins of Ariobarzanes II, indicating that the same die cutters created the coins and that they were likely minted at the same mint.[891] These characteristics do not appear on coins of Ariarathes X. Solely the depiction of Nike seems stylistically similar to his predecessors. Under Ariarathes X, the monograms change three times within three years, but retain their portraiture style which makes it unlikely that the production site of royal coinage changed with such frequency (Table 5.3). As a result, the identification of a mint just based on coin iconography is not possible. Possible mints that could have minted the royal silver coinage of the Ariobarzanids include the mints of civic coinages during the Late Hellenistic period in Cappadocia at Mazaka (which was the mint of the later Cappadocian King Archelaos),[892] Comana and Tyana (Figure 5.23).[893]

[891] Without plattform (Ariobarzanes II: R337, R370, R373 and R384; Ariobarzanes III: R451, R449); gorgoneion (Ariobarzanes II: R360 and Ariobarzanes III: R430, R431, R477).

[892] RPC I, 3607–8 and Simonetta 1977, 46.

[893] Simonetta 1977, 13–14.

Chapter 6: The Tarkondimotid kingdom of Cilicia

6.1 The Tarkondimotid Kingdom

Located in the northern region of Cilicia Pedias, the Tarkondimotid Kingdom was centred around the cities of Anazarbos and Hierapolis Castabala (Figure 6.1). Tarkondimotos I established his territorial control around the 70s BC and was recognised as king by the Romans.[894] The kingdom continued to be ruled by his descendants until the death of King Philopator in AD 17 during the reign of Tiberius.[895]

The kingdom and its dynasty are attested in literary and epigraphic sources. However, the use of the same royal nomenclature has resulted in uncertainty regarding the number of Tarkondimotid rulers and their chronology. Suggestions of scholars regarding the number of kings range from two to four (Figure 6.2). The most recent study by Wright makes the case for the existence of four kings but stops short of resolving the question.[896] In Wright's interpretation all four kings would have borne identical names. The epigraphic evidence refers to three kings of Cilicia:

[894] Strabo 14.5.18. Tarkondimotos was first acknowledged and confirmed in his territory by Pompey in 66 BC (Cass. Dio 41.63; Florus 2.13.5).

[895] Tac. *Ann*. 2.42.

[896] Wright 2012, 72–80 with some support from the epigraphic evidence.

Tarkondimotos Philantonios, son of Strato,[897] Tarkondimotos, son of Tarkondimotos[898] and Tarkondimotos Philopator.[899] Cassius Dio remarks that after Tarkondimotos I, son of Strato, his sons ruled the territory[900] and Tacitus mentions Philopator as the last Cilician ruler.[901] This led Wright to suggest the existence of two sons of Tarkondimotos: King Philopator I and King Tarkondimotos II[902] whose son became the last Tarkondimotid King [Tarkondimotos III] Philopator II,[903] bringing the total of kings up to four. By contrast, Dagron and Feissel argue based on the epigraphic evidence for only one successor: Tarkondimotos II Philopator.[904] In this interpretation, Tarkondimotos, son of Tarkondimotos; Tarkondimotos Philopator and Philopator are one and the same individual (Table 6.1).[905]

Due to the confusion surrounding the chronology and rulers after Tarkondimotos I, this chapter considers the coinage of Tarkondimotos I Philantonios separately from those of later Tarkondimotid rulers. The last

---

[897] IGR 3: 901.63.

[898] Cass. Dio 54.9.1.

[899] Tac. *Ann*. 2.4.

[900] Cass. Dio 51.7.

[901] Tac. *Ann*. 2.42.

[902] Wright 2012, 77–78.

[903] Wright 2012, 79.

[904] Dagron and Feissel 1987, 70–71.

[905] Sayar 2001, 376 which seems to be confirmed by an inscription from Anazarbos see Sayar 2001, 377.

Tarkondimotid king ruled under Tiberius[906] and should fall outside the scope of this thesis. However, Sayles recently proposed that all Tarkondimotid coins could have been minted by one king, Tarkondimotos I.[907] This is an unlikely explanation due to the extant literary sources which securely place the death of Tarkondimotos I Philantonios in 31 BC. However, it illustrates the need for a detailed discussion of the coins within the remit of this thesis to establish their chronology.

Cilicia had no established royal dynasty prior to the Tarkondimotids; rather, power in the Late Hellenistic period was concentrated in local communities and in the practice of piracy.[908] This is also visible in the many cities minting their own civic coinages during this period. In contrast to Galatia and Paphlagonia, the Tarkondimotid Kingdom's original name survived in the epigraphic records as Castabalis.[909] Recent epigraphic and numismatic evidence has been able to provide further insight into the political organisation and geographical extent of the Tarkondimotid Kingdom. The epigraphic evidence shows that the earliest

---

[906] Tac. *Ann*. 2.42.

[907] Sayles 2021, 10.

[908] For Pompey's campaign against Cilician pirates in 66–67 BC see Cass. Dio 36.21 and Cic. Man. 12. Florus mentions the presence of pirates in Tarkondimotos' forces (Florus 2.13) as does Lucan (Civil war 9.215–252). The accounts of both of these Roman authors closely mirror each other, indicating a shared source. In addition, an association of Cilican sailors with piracy could very well be regarded as a stereotype for Cilicians and does not necessarily relate to Tarkondimotos or his kingdoms. These comments thus need to be treated with caution. Even so, Syme suggested that Tarkondimotos I's power base was established through piracy (Syme and Birley 1995, 163) and is followed in this by Sayar 2001, 373.

[909] Tobin 2001, 382 with Heberdey and Wilhelm, 1896 no. 66.

official title of Tarkondimotos was *toparch*.[910] Vitale points out that as *toparchs,* the Tarkondimotids were likely official subordinates of the Cappadocian kings rather than Rome.[911] This has interesting implications for Rome's role and behaviour towards its allied kingdoms. It appears that an allied kingdom's territorial integrity was not as important as the overall stability of the region, an aim also alleged by literary Roman sources.[912] However, the recognition of Tarkondimotos I as king also had the added benefit of weakening the larger Hellenistic kingdoms and creating new smaller territories entirely dependent on Rome.

In terms of coinage, the Tarkondimotid Kingdom and dynasty have been the subject of much discussion in recent numismatic scholarship. Ziegler was the first in 1993 to publish an extensive study on the coinage of Anazarbos[913] which included some of the Tarkondimotid coins likely minted at the city.[914] For the Tarkondimotid dynasty in particular, Tobin compiled a comprehensive interpretation of the historical and geographical background of the client kingdom in 2001.[915] Since 2008, Wright has published several articles reconsidering the royal chronology

---

[910] IGR 3: 901.63 found in Hieropolis Kastabala.

[911] Vitale 2012, 235–238.

[912] Strabo 14.5.6; Strabo 17.3.25.

[913] Ziegler 1993.

[914] Ziegler 1993, 217.

[915] Tobin 2001, 381–386.

and analysing the monograms on Tarkondimotid coins.[916] Wright's arguments were mostly followed by Sayles in the most recent numismatic study of the kingdom.[917] Ziegler also identified two new small bronze coin types of the Tarkondimotids which will be discussed in detail below.[918] Hence, the modern scholarship has already successfully classified the coin types of the Tarkondimotids and initiated a discussion of them in connection with royal monograms and civic mint activity in Cilicia. However, the research on the Tarkondimotid coinage is still lacking a detailed analysis, full die study and quantification. This will be the focus of this thesis. This chapter will provide alternative perspectives on the coin types and arguments that were developed previously. It will first focus on the coin types of the two kings explicitly named on the coins, King Tarkondimotos and King Philopator. Thereafter, the other Cilician royal coinage without clear identifiers will be discussed. The many municipal issues and monograms produced in the Tarkondimotid territory, the focus of much scholarly discussion,[919] will be considered only when they can be securely linked to the Tarkondimotid coinage. This way, the main focus of this chapter will remain on the royal coins, with

[916] Wright 2008, 2010, 2012.

[917] Sayles 2021.

[918] Ziegler 2015.

[919] Wright 2012, 77–78 and Sayles 2021, 5–14.

some consideration of the quasi-municipal or civic issues that are marked with possible royal/Tarkondimotid monograms.

6.2 The coinage of the Tarkondimotids during the 1st century BC

The Tarkondimotid dynasty exclusively issued bronze coins, which were produced in denominations of 23 mm (c. 9.5 g) and 20 mm (c. 5 g) with varying designs (Figure 6.3). The territory of the kingdom included the civic mint of Hierapolis Castabala (Figure 6.4), a city which previously minted Seleucid silver coins under Antiochus IV (175–164 BC).[920] The local civic coinage tradition makes the production of coins in this area by the Tarkondimotids neither surprising nor unprecedented. A distinctive feature of Cilician civic coinage was the wide variety of monograms, often featuring more than one on a single coin. Similar monograms also occur on the Tarkondimotid coins. The main focus of this discussion are the coins of the Tarkondimotids that explicitly refer to a king (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ).

The earliest type of the Tarkondimotids appears to be a 23 mm bronze coin minted in the name of Tarkondimotos (I) Philantonios, son of Strato. Tarkondimotos (I) Philantonios was the first king of the dynasty and managed to establish himself as a local ruler before becoming a Roman

[920] Meyer 2001, 506.

ally.[921] The coins give his full title as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΑΡΚΟΝΔΙΜΟΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ (Figure 6.3 no. 1). This titulature poses a problem since Tarkondimotos I is referred to by Cicero solely as a friend of Rome but not as king.[922] At the same time, Cicero explicitly refers to other rulers, such as King Deiotaros[923] and King Brogitaros[924] with their royal title. Hence, the royal title bestowed upon Tarkondimotos I likely postdates Cicero's letters of 51 BC.[925] This is also supported by the reference to Marcus Antonius on the coins of Tarkondimotos I who uses the epithet of ΦΙΛΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ (friend of Antonius). The coins thus postdate Pompey's activities in the area and are instead contemporary with Marcus Antonius' reorganisation of Asia Minor from 39 BC to 36 BC.[926] This is also likely the occasion when Tarkondimotos was officially recognised as king by the Roman Senate. Tarkondimotos I remained friends with Marcus Antonius and died shortly before the Battle of Actium in 31 BC.[927] Thus, the bronze coins of Tarkondimotos I Philantonios were probably minted between 39/36 and 31 BC.

---

[921] Cass. Dio 41.63, see also Cicero *Fam.* 15.1.2. and Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896 no. 63.

[922] Cic. *Fam*. 15.1 dated c. 51/50 BC.

[923] Cic. *Fam*. 15.1.

[924] Cic. *Har. resp.* 29; Cic. *Sest*. 56.

[925] Cic. *Fam*. 15.1.

[926] App. *B Civ.* 5.75.

[927] Cass. Dio 50.14.

The epithet *Philantonios* (= friend of Antonius) is unique in the way it refers to an individual Roman, instead of *Philorhomaios* (= friend of the Romans) used on coins of other kings.[928] After Actium, Herod the Great used the epithet *Philokaisar* (= friend of Caesar).[929] He was followed by Archelaos of Cappadocia who is named *Philokaisar* (= friend of Caesar) in an inscription.[930] However, none of these epithets occurred on their coinage. A later parallel is the epithet ΦΙΛΟΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ (= friend of Claudius) used under the emperor Claudius on the coins of Herod, King of Chalcis[931] The epithet *Philantonios* (= friend of Antonius) ultimately proved detrimental to the Tarkondimotid dynasty following Marcus Antonius' defeat by Octavian. The successor of Tarkondimotos I, Philopator, was repudiated by Octavian and forced to step down as king. The Tarkondimotids had to wait several decades to regain favour with the emperor and have their kingship of Cilicia restored.[932]

For Tarkondimotos I, the message of friendly relations with an individual Roman was important enough to the state to become part of the king's titulature. This shows the immense personal power and influence Marcus

---

[928] Callataÿ and Lorber 2011, 425–426. For more example in this thesis see King Brogitaros of Galatia, King Deiotaros of Galatia (although only attested in epigraphic evidence) and the Ariobarzanid dynasty of the Cappadocian Kingdom.

[929] IG II² 3440–3441 and Kushnir-Stein 1995.

[930] IDelos 1634.

[931] RPC I, 4778.

[932] Cass. Dio 54.9.2.

Antonius had in Asia Minor during this period. Roman power was no longer associated with the city but personified in the powerful military commander Marcus Antonius.[933] A possible defeat or fall from grace for Antonius seemed impossible at this time. It also emphasises the importance of Roman support and the necessity of personal connections and alliances for a new local king like Tarkondimotos I, the founder of his dynasty. The power vacuum left by the end of the Seleucid and Mithridatic empires came to be occupied by the Roman military commanders in Asia Minor. They became responsible for handing out territories,[934] solving ruling disputes and ordering/reorganising the eastern territories. With near-complete control over Rome's eastern territories and military might at their disposal, figures like Pompey, Caesar and Marcus Antonius were the most powerful people in Asia Minor. While this new power structure still allowed individual kings to expand their territories in local conflicts,[935] they needed to be on friendly terms with the Romans or else risked military intervention or the loss of their kingdoms.[936] The deliberate choice of *Philantonios* (= friend of Antonius) instead of *Philorhomaios* (= friend of the Romans) on the coins might have also functioned as a deliberate political statement of support

[933] Suspène 2009, 47.

[934] App. *B Civ.* 5.75.

[935] For example, the conflict between Deiotaros and Brogitaros (Cic. *Dom*. 129; Cic. *Har*. *resp*. 28–29; Cic. *Sest*. 56) Amyntas conquering Cremna and fighting the Homonadeis (Strabo 12.6).

[936] For example, the campaign of Marcus Antonius against the Kingdom of Armenia (Plut. *Cras*. 21.5; Plut. *Ant*. 50.1; Strabo 11.14.15; Tac. *Ann*. 2.3) or Augustus actions after Actium (Cass. Dio. 51.2.1).

for Marcus Antonius against Octavian. Tarkondimotos I's coinage is thus one of the clearest examples of his allegiance to Rome through its commander Marcus Antonius.

An alignment with Roman culture is also reflected in Tarkondimotos I's coin iconography. His coins mirror Roman portraiture through the use of an aged portrait of the king on the obverse (Figure 6.3 no. 1). This depiction conveys the impression of an experienced statesman, a Roman ideal, rather than that of an idealised and youthful Hellenistic ruler portrait, modelled on the depictions of Alexander the Great. Tarkondimotos' portrait shows a realistic approach with individual features and a characteristic hairstyle. It contrasts with the young portraiture of Octavian[937] and shows close parallels to the veristic style of late Republican portraiture.[938] The portrait is clean shaven, which is in line with typical Hellenistic and Roman portraits but differs from the contemporary portraits of the neighbouring Cappadocian kings.[939] His coins also retain other Hellenistic design elements like the diadem, large eyes and the royal portrait on the obverse.[940] The reverse depicts Zeus seated left, holding up a Nike with his right hand and holding a sceptre

[937] RIC 269a. See also Zanker 2009, 61–64.

[938] Kleiner 1992, 31–38 with Plin. *HN* 35.6–7 and *Polyb*. 6.53.

[939] The coins of Ariobarzanes III and Ariarathes X are discussed in Chapters 5.5–6.

[940] Smith 1988, 46–48.

with his left. Coins with a seated Zeus on the reverse were already used under Alexander the Great.[941] The exact same iconography of Zeus seated facing left holding a Nike and sceptre type was previously used by the Seleucids, for example, by Alexander I Balas[942] and also occurs on Cilician civic coinage.[943]

Another iconographic link to the Seleucids is the anchor countermark applied on roughly a third of the catalogued coins of Tarkondimotos I (Figure 6.5). This anchor countermark was placed on the obverse portrait, obscuring the neck and sometimes the shoulder. The lack of archaeological contexts and dates makes it impossible to reconstruct its purpose or date of application. However, the available evidence allows for a number of potential explanations. The most widely accepted explanation is that put forth by Wright. He proposes that the coins of Tarkondimotos I were struck with the countermark on the obverse with enough force to make the reverse inscription Philantonios illegible.[944] In this interpretation, the countermarking happened after the reign of Tarkondimotos I Philantonios who supported Marcus Antonius up to his

[941] ANS 1947.98.38.

[942] SC 1784.

[943] Aegeae: Bloesch 1982, 56–65; For other Cilician cities see SNG Switzerland Levante.

[944] Tarkondimotos I's coins all use the 12 o'clock die axis so that the title Philantonios and the portrait's neck are always aligned. See Wright 2012, 77.

death at Actium in 31 BC.[945] It would have been “his son(s)”[946] who used the anchor symbol to countermark their father’s coins and maybe even placed the anchor on their own coins.[947] However, while this explanation appears reasonable, the countermark was still placed on the obverse and not on the reverse. The place of the countermark on the neck of the obverse portrait is also the most unobtrusive and best suited place for the application of a countermark without obscuring any part of the coin design. If its sole purpose was to obscure the reverse, it would have made more sense to place it there. The reverse title often remains visible after the application of the countermark and some coins have a second cut hammered into the reverse of the coin to make the inscription illegible (Figure 6.6). This seems to attest a deliberate effort to erase the *Philantonios* (= friend of Antonius) epithet, but the countermarking might be unrelated to it. Hence, it is worth considering the countermark as a design by itself.

The anchor was a symbol of naval power, wealth and safety,[948] and functioned as a symbol of kingship (as it was first introduced by the Seleucids[949]). The naval forces of Tarkondimotos feature prominently in

[945] Wright 2012, 77.

[946] Cass. Dio 51.7.

[947] Catalogue types 49 and 52.

[948] Ascribed to a saying of Ptolemy I according to App. *Syr*. 56.

[949] For a recent discussion see Anagnostou-Laoutides 2023.

Roman accounts[950] and the Cilician sailors were famous for their skills. Thus, the Tarkondimotids probably also controlled a harbour to provide a base for its famous navy, although its location is uncertain.[951] The anchor symbol is a carefully chosen image that conveys Tarkondimotos' kingship and naval power. Furthermore, coins could also be countermarked for a specific practical purpose. For example, the anchor could denote the coins as the means of payment for Tarkondimotid naval forces or campaigns.

The bronze coins of Tarkondimotos I Philantonios do not carry monograms. This stands in contrast not only to the other Tarkondimotid coin types which all depict monograms but also to the civic coinages of the Cilician cities. However, there is a single specimen of Tarkondimotos I's coin type that might show a monogram, currently in the private collection of W. Sayles.[952] The coin is said to show a monogram 𐤓𐤀 that is placed at the top left of the reverse on a rather worn surface (Figure 6.7)[953] and was first published by Wright.[954] In the interpretation of Ziegler, the 𐤓𐤀 monogram, also found on coins of Anazarbos, can be read

[950] Cass. Dio 41.63.1 and 50.14; Luc. 9.215–252.

[951] For this discussion see Jones 1971, 203–204.

[952] Wright 2008, 118.

[953] Sayles 2021, 7.

[954] Wright 2008, 119.

as standing for TAP[955] and thus for Tarkondimotos. Close examination of the coin reveals many shared characteristics with other coins of Tarkondimotos I. Indeed, the reverse die appears to be the same as that used for other coins of Tarkondimotos I (Figure 6.8).[956] The other better preserved coins from the same reverse do not show a monogram. It is possible that the ⲣ monogram was added only later to the die. However, the coin in question is worn and the supposed monogram is placed on the damaged edge of the flan. If one were to accept the worn letters as forming monogram ⲣ, this would require the recutting of the original die after a period of coin production. In this case, a date towards the end of Tarkondimotos I's reign, probably already under his son and successor Philopator seems the most likely. The available pictures do not allow for a clear conclusion for the existence of the supposed monogram. Instead, the 'monogram' on the example in Sayles' collection is more likely to be damage to the coin, either due to a die break, its state of preservation or possibly a result of conservation/cleaning. Looking at the supposed ⲣ monogram in detail, several problems arise. First, there appears to be no straight downwards line from the P in the monogram and no horizontal line to alpha in the ⲣ monogram. Secondly, none of the letters were moved from their position on the die which could have indicated a recut. Thirdly, there is also a small vertical line which could be part of the first A

[955] Ziegler 2015, 9.

[956] R737.

of TARKONDIMOTOS and is just about visible on the edge of the Sayles' coin. This would show that reverse legend continued upwards (Figure 6.8), spelling the full reverse legend TARKONDIMOTOS and not 𐤊𐤓 ONDIMOTOS. Finally, overlaying the images of the coins shows that all parts of the supposed monogram overlap and correspond to the exact letter position of the TARKONDIMOTOS legend of the other coins from the same die. The coins' damaged surface could easily result in a misidentification of the damaged letters. Since other coins of the same die showing the normal reverse legend, it is most likely that there was no 𐤓 monogram on the coins of Tarkondimotos I.

6.3 The 'later' Tarkondimotid bronze coins

The coins of the Tarkondimotid dynasty that postdate the reign of Tarkondimotos I are comprised of three different coin series. Two of them, the Zeus/eagle holding a diadem and the BACIΛƐΩC ΦIΛOΠATOPOC series share the same 𐤓 monogram. The Zeus/eagle holding a diadem type has previously been assigned to the reign of Tarkondimotos I. However, closer analysis of the coins of Tarkondimotos I, discussed in the previous section, made it unlikely that the 𐤓 monogram occurs on coins of this ruler. Therefore, this section will discuss these coins in more detail and propose alternative assignments to particular kings.

The Zeus/eagle holding a diadem coin type

The absence of the ☧ monogram from the coins of Tarkondimotus I Philantonius has several implications for our understanding of the Tarkondimotid dynasty. First, it questions the attribution of another bronze coin type (Figure 6.9) to his reign. This bronze coin depicts the ☧ monogram and was thus assigned to the reign of Tarkondimotos I by both Etterich and Ziegler.[957] I propose that these small bronze coins belong to his successor Philopator whose coins depict the ☧ monogram with the reverse legend stating ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. This is also supported by the use of an anchor symbol on some of these bronze coins. The anchor was also used to countermark coins of Tarkondimotos I. These are the only two instances where the anchor is used in connection with the Tarkondimotid dynasty. Due to the shared anchor symbol, it is likely that these two issues date to the same time. If Wright is correct in his interpretation that the anchor countermark was applied only after Tarkondimotos I's death, then these bronze coins with anchor symbol should date to the reign of Tarkondimotos' successor. A date shortly after Tarkondimotos I's death[958] would fit well within the historical narrative provided by ancient authors. The successor of Tarkondimotos I in 31 BC

[957] Etterich 2010, 414 f.; Ziegler 2015, 5.

[958] Cass. Dio 50.14.

was Tarkondimotos Philopator.[959] Just shortly after the start of his reign as king, he was removed by Octavian in 30 BC.[960]

On the coin reverse, the anchor is placed to the left of the eagle, but is not visible on all coins. Thus, with the discovery of more specimens it might be necessary to catalogue them as a new variation of catalogue type 52. Similarly, the ⁋ monogram on the right, following the reverse inscription is not fully visible on any of the coins. However, the bronze coins are also obverse die linked to another bronze type with the same reverse design of an eagle holding a diadem and a clearly visible ⁋ monogram (Figure 6.10).[961] Therefore, the depicted ⁋ monogram is likely the same as on catalogue type 52. While the type 53 coin is slightly heavier than 75 percent of the catalogue type 52,[962] they are about the same size and share a die and the 12 o'clock die axis. At the same time, this second coin type has some small but significant differences. It lacks the anchor on the reverse and more importantly, the coin type does not use the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Instead, the letter Β is depicted on the top right of the coin.[963] This could be explained either as an abbreviation of the

[959] Cass. Dio 51.2.

[960] Cass. Dio 51.2; *Res Gestae divi Augusti* 27.3.

[961] Catalogue type 53.

[962] Weight tables page 711.

[963] Coin 1 of catalogue type 53.

title Basileus or the numeral B for Year 2 (30 BC) of Philopator's reign.[964] In both cases the coin is likely to date to or shortly after 30 BC. However, to the right of the letter B there appear to be traces of another letter with an upwards diagonal line. This could be a Greek numeral BΛ (?) or the start of another inscription with BA (?), likely Βασιλέως.[965] In my view the letters seem to read BA, possibly continuing to the right around the coin to spell BACIΛƐΩC, with C being visible below the eagle (Figure 6.11). This would be the same writing of BACIΛƐΩC as on the coins of King Philopator discussed in the next section.[966] If this spelling is interpreted correctly, the two Zeus/eagle holding a diadem types would present the direct transition from using normal sigmas to lunate ones. However, since there is only one known coin of this variant, the correct interpretation remains uncertain. The anchor design and the use of the monogram, features that on Tarkondimotid coinage appear only under King Philopator, make a date after the reign of Tarkondimotus I, perhaps contemporary with the coins of King Philopator, the most likely explanation.[967]

---

[964] Following the assumption that there were only two kings Tarkondimotos and Tarkondimotos Philopator.

[965] In this case, the coin type would be the same as catalogue type 52.

[966] Catalogue types 50 and 51.

[967] Apart from the royal Tarkondimotid coins there is only a single other coin type of Anazarbos which also depicts the $\overset{P}{A}$ monogram.

6.3.1 The BACIΛΕΩC ΦIΛOΠATOPOC series

The BACIΛΕΩC ΦIΛOΠATOPOC coins consist of two different types with the same iconographic design in a 23 mm denomination (Figure 6.12).[968] The coins show a veiled head of Tyche facing right on the obverse and on the reverse a standing Athena, facing left holding Nike and shield. The ☧ monogram is placed on the right between Athena and the BACIΛΕΩC inscription. The two coin types only differ in the presence or absence of the letters ΔΛ on the left of the coin. Wright also defines another BACIΛΕΩC ΦIΛOΠATOPOC type without monogram or date.[969] However, as Wright's type is represented by a single reverse die only, its lack of monogram could be due to coin wear and has thus been excluded from the catalogue.

Another feature of the coins are the letters A[970] or X[971] (Figure 6.13) that are hidden within the image of Tyche on three obverse dies. These letters are unlikely to represent numerals since A would denote 1 and X 600. The X only occurs on the obverse die of coins with the letters ΔΛ (= Year 34) on the reverse.[972] The letters A and X seem deliberately placed

[968] Catalogue types 50–51.

[969] Wright 2008, 118.

[970] O347 and O351.

[971] O353.

[972] Catalogue type 51.

on the obverse to be mostly obscured by the design. Thus, they likely relate to each other and share the same purpose. They might have functioned as mint marks or abbreviations for names/engravers. Their placement in the coin design is reminiscent of the letters on other Hellenistic coins that are associated with engraver signatures.[973] However, for all these coins the identification of the single letters as artist/engraver signatures remains speculative. The only identifiable signatures on coins give the name of the artist often paired with verbs like EPOIE (made) or EGLYPSEN (engraved).[974] Since this is not the case here, the exact meaning of the single letters on the coins of King Philopator remains uncertain.

The ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟC coins use the same ⍲ monogram as the bronze coins of the Zeus/eagle types discussed in the previous section that can possibly be assigned to King Tarkondimotos I's successor. The ⍲ monogram on Cilician coins is only attested in these two cases on royal coins and on another civic type of Anazarbos.[975] Due to the small number of types with this monogram, dated to the 1st century BC, it is likely that the coins were all minted by the same mint under the same ruler. The ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟC coins were

[973] Callataÿ 2012, 44; Lorber 2005, 56.

[974] Hurwit 2015, 40.

[975] Ziegler 2015, 9.

issued in the name of a King Philopator (Figure 6.11). For his identity the literary evidence provides only unsatisfactory explanations.[976] What can be said with certainty is that the son and successor of Tarkondimotos I was a Tarkondimotos Philopator.[977] The circumstances of his reign are, however, unclear. Tarkondimotos Philopator was deposed by Octavian in 30 BC,[978] but either he himself was reinstated or another ruler of the same name was installed in 20 BC; he then remained in power until AD 14 (Table 6.1).[979] This interpretation has been disputed and, as already mentioned at the start of this chapter, the recent study by Wright proposed the existence of four different kings.[980] Thus, we have to turn to the epigraphic evidence for contemporary references to the Tarkondimotid kings in public contexts. Most of the attested inscriptions for King Philopator use the full royal title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Tarkondimotos Philopator.[981] In the inscriptions, there is only a single attested instance of the shorter 'king Philopator'.[982] This is a Tiberian inscription seen in

[976] The last Tarkondimotid King is attested by Tacitus as Tarkondimotos Philopator (Tac. *Ann*. 2.4.). However, much confusion is created by the account of Cassius Dio who wrote that Philopator, son of Tarkondimotos was deposed as king by Octavian (Cass. Dio 51.2.1), individuals called the sons of Tarkondimotos were fighting against Marcus Antonius' Gladiatorial forces (Cass. Dio 51.7.) and a Tarkondimotos, son of Tarkondimotos was restored as king by Augustus (Cass. Dio 54.9.1.).

[977] Tobin 2001, 384. For the possible full title of Tarkondimotos II Philopator see Dagron and Feissel 1987, 67ff. For a reading of his full name as [Tarkondimotos III] Philopator II see Wright 2012, 79.

[978] Plin. *HN* 5.93.

[979] See Cass. Dio. 51.2.1 and Tac. *Ann*. 2.42.

[980] Wright 2012, 79.

[981] For a compilation of Tarkondimotid inscriptions see Wright 2012, 85–86.

[982] IGR III 895.

1882 by Sir C. Wilson[983] and in 1888 by Bent but published by Hicks.[984] The inscription mentions Drusus Caesar, the son of Tiberius who assumed this name after AD 4.[985] The inscription is likely to date after his consulship of AD 15 and could date even later up to AD 23 and thus after the death of the last Tarkondimotid king.[986] As it was set up by a private individual (a freedman), it is less likely to give the full royal titulature, unlike public inscriptions paid for by the state. Another inscription cited for the existence of a King Philopator is a list naming the children of King Tarkondimotos I. In this case, the name Philopator does not exist and was reconstructed in a completely erased line of the inscription. The original authors believed that only King Philopator, who was deposed by Octavian, could have been subject to a *damnatio memoriae* and his name had thus to be placed in the line.[987] Hence, the name King Tarkondimotos Philopator appears to be the only king who is frequently attested in contemporary epigraphic sources. This is true even for the coinage. The reading of the monogram as Tarkondimotos would also give the full title of the king issuing these coins as King Tarkondimotos Philopator. The only inscription referring to a Philopator is a possible posthumous private dedication. In all other cases, the title of the ruling

[983] Ramsay 2012, 158 no. 19.

[984] Hicks 1890, 242.

[985] Kienast, Eck and Heil 2017, 75.

[986] Ramsay 2012, 159.

[987] Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896, 28–29.

king is given as Tarkondimotos Philopator. In my opinion, there is no reason or need to assume that there were multiple kings named Tarkondimotos Philopator after Tarkondimotos I, based on the epigraphic evidence. While the coins do not rule out the existence of other Tarkondimotid kings who might not have issued coins, the coin evidence only certainly proves the existence of two rulers, King Tarkondimotos I Philantonios and King Philopator.

When comparing the coins of King Philopator to those of Tarkondimotos I, they show a visible difference in their use of lunate sigmas and epsilons in the reverse legend ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟC.[988] Similarly, the Zeus/eagle holding a diadem type with the shared ⁋ monogram also depicts the normal sigma and then possibly a lunate sigma (Figure 6.11).[989] This could present the transition from normal sigmas to lunate sigmas under Philopator. In this case, the lunate sigmas seem to be later

[988] RPC I, 3871. Also mentioned by Ziegler 2015, 9.

[989] Catalogue types 52–53.

as most instances of BACIΛƐΩC occur in the Roman period.[990] However, this does not have to be the case. For example, the coinage of tetrarch Herod Antipas' in Judea uses a lunate sigma from AD 20 but changes to angular sigmas in AD 33/34.[991] His coins also use regular sigmas.[992] Legend changes can occur relatively quickly and a longer period between the coins is not always necessary. These letter changes on the coins of Philopator could indicate a slightly later date around the end of Tarkondimotid rule about AD 17.[993] This would also fit with the high regnal year of 32 on the coins of King Philopator. The interpretation of a split reign of the second King Tarkondimotos Philopator could explain why the Zeus/eagle holding a diadem type uses BAΣIΛEΩΣ and the later coins of Philopator BACIΛƐΩC.

---

[990] The spelling of BAΣIΛEΩΣ is used in Cilicia under the Seleucid kings Seleukos IV Philopator (187–175 BC) (SC 1311; SNG Spaer 916) and Antiochos IX Eusebes Philopator (114/3–95 BC) (SC 2360.3). The same spelling is still on coins of Nicomedes IV Philopator of Bithynia (ca. 94–74 BC) (HGC 7, 646) and on coins of the Cappadocian kings (Chapter 5).

The spelling of BACIΛƐΩC on coins seems to mainly occur in Roman client Kingdoms of Asia Minor. The lunate sigma is used on coins of Judaea under King Herod (c. 37/38–4 or 1 BC) (RPC I, 4905–4908; RPC I, 4910–4911) and King Agrippa I (AD 38 – 44)(RPC I, 4981).It also occurs in the Kingdom of the Bosporus under Mithridates (AD 39–45) (RPC I, 1910–1911), under Antiochus IV of Commagene (AD 38–72) (RPC I, 3701, RPC I, 3712, RPC I, 3718, RPC I, 3718A, RPC I, 3856), Polemon II of Pontus (AD 38–64) (RPC I, 3823–3824, RPC I, 3827–3828, RPC I, 3837–3838).

It is also used in the Kingdom of Armenia under Tigranes III(? or V?) (c. 10/5 BC or c.AD 6) (RPC I, 3841–3842), on the drachms of Artavasdes II (Kovacs 2016 no. 163) and Tiridates I of Armenia (c. AD 51–59 and AD 63–c.88) (RPC I, 3843A–3843B). Thus, it appears that the use of lunate sigmas on coins of kingdoms is mostly a development of the early 1st century AD.

[991] Kogon and Fontanille 2018, 37; RPC I, 4930–4937.

[992] See CNG 118, 13 Sept. 2021, lot 518 = RPC I, 4930 no. 3.

[993] Tac. *Ann*. 2.42.

The location of the mint for the bronze coins is unknown, although the most likely candidate for a Tarkondimotid mint is Anazarbos. However, the closest parallel in Cilicia regarding reverse style and writing of the reverse legend are the coins of Seleucia ad Calycadnum.[994] Even so, the dies of Seleucia ad Calycadnum look different and depict a fully veiled head, in contrast to Philopator's coins which show ears, locks and earrings (Figure 6.14). Another coin similar to Philopator's coin in the depiction of Tyche on the obverse and especially in the writing of the reverse legend, was minted by Apameia in Syria.[995] The circulation of these earlier coins might have influenced the choice of design for Philopator's coinage. As with many coins, the findspots of King Philopator's coins remain unknown. As of now, the only evidence of circulation appears to be a coin of Philopator, found supposedly 5 km away from Anazarbos at Tozlu (Figure 6.15) which was seen by Gough.[996]

6.3.2 The BACIΛΕΩC ΦIΛ monogram coins

RPC assigns two other coin types with the inscription "BACIΛΕΩC ⚸" and "BACIΛΕΩC ⚸" (Figure 6.16) to the Tarkondimotid King Philopator.[997] The

[994] SNG France 930, SNG Levante 701.

[995] RPC 4363; HGC 9, 1435.

[996] Gough 1952, 93.

[997] RPC I, 3872A and RPC I, 3872B (Catalogue types 54 and 55).

two coin types were ascribed to him based on the reading of the monograms as ΦΙΛΟ(ΠΑΤΟΡΟC). The first coin type depicts a humped bull, butting towards the right on the obverse and an aplustre on the reverse. In the exergue there are two letters ΕΛ (Figure 6.17).[998] In the region of Cilicia, the aplustre is characteristic for coins of Corycus where they occur on the city's autonomous and magistrate coinage.[999] The aplustre was also used in royal contexts on the coins of Antiochus VII[1000] and those of King Herod[1001] and is generally taken as a sign of naval victory or naval superiority. However, the recorded naval battles of the Tarkondimotids reportedly all resulted in loses .[1002] In addition, there is the problem with the reading of monograms  and . Similar monograms occur on coins unaffiliated with and preceding the Tarkondimotids in Cilicia. Moreover, variants of the monogram also exist.[1003] As a result, it remains unclear if these coin types are connected to the Tarkondimotids in any way. However, the monogram taken in combination with the numeral in the exergue on the humped bull type have a possible connection to Philopator. The numeral depicted on this coin type reads ΕΛ, the Greek numeral for 35. This is similar to the dating convention of

---

[998] The reading was recently clarified by a new coin of Sayles: Coin 21 of catalogue type 55.

[999] SNG Levante 804; RPC V.3, 2533–2537.

[1000] SNG Spaer 2100.

[1001] RPC I, 4904.

[1002] Cass. Dio 50.14; Luc. 9.215–252.

[1003] See Chapter 6.5 for a discussion of these monogram varieties and chronological issues.

the BACIΛΕΩC ΦIΛOΠATOPOC coins whose era is given as ΔΛ (=34). While the attribution to Philopator cannot be confirmed, the regnal year on the coin and the monogram fit well with his coinage.

The second type of the BACIΛΕΩC ΦIΛ coins depicts the head of Apollo facing right with bow and quiver behind on the obverse. A possible monogram or numeral is visible to the right (Figure 6.16 no. 1 and Figure 6.18). The reverse shows a tripod with the legend BACIΛΕΩC ⚸. While this type is recorded in RPC I,[1004] there are only two known specimen and the ΦIΛ monogram is different from the bull/aplustre type (⚸ and ⚸ Figure 6.16). The monogram or numeral on the left side of the obverse is only visible on one of the two coins.[1005] The worn details reveal an M shape or the letters AΛ but the overall design is unclear. This seems to resemble the M or MA monogram on coins of Mallos. Mallos also appears to be the only Cilician city to use lunate sigmas under Augustus.[1006] This makes it a possible candidate for a mint under Philopator who was reinstalled as king by Augustus. The city previously issued coins under Antiochus VI Epiphanes[1007] and Antiochus VII Euergetes (Sidetes).[1008] Most of its rare coins have no obverse legend,

[1004] RPC I, 3872A is not mentioned in Sayles 2021 or Wright 2012.

[1005] Coin 1 of catalogue type 54.

[1006] RPC I, 4016A and B.

[1007] SC II,1383.

[1008] SC 2059.1b.

just like the BACIΛƐΩC ♁ coin type. According to the original publication of BMC, the era used by Mallos' coinage was Pompeian (starting from 68/67 BC), but is only attested in the combinations of ME and EP.[1009] However, this interpretation becomes problematic since ME and EP both appear on the same coin and were dated to the time of Caligula.[1010] Hence, the online publication of RPC now reads the letters ME and EP as magistrates and not dates.[1011] Thus, a reading of the monogram on the BACIΛƐΩC ♁ coin type as indicating Mallos remains possible. While both mint and ruler of these coins remain uncertain, circumstantial evidence of monograms and numerals make it possible that these two types could very well be of Tarkondimotid origin.

6.4 Numerals and their implications for Tarkondimotid chronology

Many of the bronze coins discussed in association with King Philopator bear letters which likely stand for a specific era or regnal years. The clearest example are the BACIΛƐΩC ΦIΛOΠATOPOC coins which depict the letters ΔΛ (Figure 6.12), the Greek numeral for 34. The Zeus/eagle bronze coins could possibly show the letter 'B' (= 2) or 'BΛ' (= 32) although a reading of these letters as BACIΛƐΩC seems more logical

[1009] BMC, ccxxiv.

[1010] RPC I, 4019.

[1011] RPC I, 4019 and RPC I Introduction: Mallus.

(Figure 6.11).[1012] Finally, the Bull and aplustre coins appear to be marked with 'ΕΛ' (= 35) in the exergue (Figure 6.17). Most of these coins seem to contain numerals in the early 30s which makes it more likely that they indeed belong to the same ruler and period.

The interpretation of the letters on coins as numerals is not secure, but this is likely the best explanation, since the letters always contain both a single digit and one decimal letter. The decimal letter Lambda occurs on at least two types, possibly three, associated with Philopator. Wright argues that the numeral system used on Philopator's coins is based on the era of Tarkondimotos I's reign and started c. 70 BC.[1013] However, this would be too early for the coinage of Philopator (Table 6.2). The most suitable era for coins of Philopator would be the start of his own reign in 31/30 BC. This follows the convention of displaying regnal years on coins, a practice employed by the neighbouring Cappadocian kings, who had also originally held authority over the Tarkondimotid Kingdom.[1014] The uncertain political situation after Marcus Antonius' defeat and subsequent demotion of Philopator by Augustus in 30 BC could have resulted in the choice of a different era, like that of Actium. Alternatively, most of the inscriptions referring to Philopator are attested at Anazarbos.

[1012] More examples of the small Zeus/eagle monogram type are needed to clarify the reading of the possible numeral.

[1013] Wright 2009 and Sayles 2021, 13.

[1014] See Vitale 2012, 235–238 with IGR 3 901.63 found in Hieropolis Kastabala.

Considering this, the numerals from coins of Philopator would also align very well with the local era of Anazarbos. It dates from the autumn of 19 BC, the occasion being the refoundation of the city with the name Caesareia (Καισάρεια).[1015] Jones proposed that it was Philopator II who refounded the city[1016] in gratitude for his restoration as king by Augustus on the occasion of the emperor's visit to Anazarbos in 19 BC.[1017] However, Sayar correctly points out that Augustus' visit was enough of an occasion for Anazarbos to be renamed.[1018] The date 19 BC and the visit of Augustus to Cilicia were important historical events for Anazarbos, Cilicia and also the newly crowned King Philopator. Thus, an era based on this date might be a suitable explanation for the Greek numerals on Philopator's coins. In short, there are two possible interpretations for the eras on the coins associated with Philopator: The numbers could indicate Philopator's regnal year following the tradition of Hellenistic kings or refer to the refoundation of Anazarbos as Caesarea, emphasising the influence of Rome on the kingdom.

[1015] Suet. *Aug*. 60.

[1016] Jones 1971, 205 followed by Wright 2012, 78; Jurkowski 2024, 148.

[1017] Plin. *HN* 5.93.

[1018] Plin. *HN* 5.93 with Sayar 2001, 375–376 for Augustus' visit in 19 BC.

6.5 The Tarkondimotid dynasty and civic monograms

The use of civic mints for the production of royal coins and civic bronzes was a well-established tradition in Cilicia.[1019] Throughout its history, several cities in Cilicia minted both municipal and royal coinage.[1020] The region's challenging terrain and natural boundaries resulted in varying political control across Cilicia. Throughout the Hellenistic period, the Cilician cities were much contested and some became part of the Ptolemaic kingdom,[1021] the Seleucid kingdom,[1022] while others were under Mithridatic influence[1023] or Cappadocian rule[1024] or controlled by Roman governors.[1025] The coastal territory of Cilicia Trachea was later given to Cleopatra as a gift by Marcus Antonius.[1026] Cities in the 1st century BC also claimed to be independent and autonomous.[1027] The existence of mountainous tribes,[1028] piracy[1029] and local resistance,[1030]

[1019] See Meyer 2001.

[1020] Meyer 2001, 506.
Under Antiochos IV in 168/9 BC five cities in Cilicia started minting municipal coinage: Alexandria, Hierapolis-Castabala, Aegeae, Mopsus and Adana. Tarsos also produced municipal coins. Royal coinage was also minted at Tarsos, Soloi, Seleucia on the Calycadnus.

[1021] Diod. 20.19.

[1022] Livy *Epit*. 33.20. See also Schiavo 2021.

[1023] App. *Mith*. 12.16.

[1024] Strabo 12.1.

[1025] Cic. *Fam*. 13.12; Livy *Per*. 68; Plut. *Cic*. 36.

[1026] Strabo 14.5.3.

[1027] For example Aigeai (Bloesch 1982 Period 4B.103–7) or Mopsos (von Aulock 1963 5, 7).

[1028] Cic. *Fam*. 15.2.1; Cic. *Att*. 5.; Strabo 12.6.3.

[1029] Cass. Dio 36.21; Cic. Le.g. *Man*. 12.

[1030] Cass. Dio 55.28.3; Vell. Pat. 2.32.4; SEG vol. 6 n. 646.

all attested in ancient literary sources, also reveal a turbulent internal situation.

Despite this fragmentation, there was a surprising unity of coin images, with Tyche becoming a common obverse design and cities sharing monograms. Out of the twenty-six cities minting coins in Cilicia in the Greek period, fourteen produced obverse types with the bust of Tyche.[1031] Thus, the Tyche design on the obverse as well as the seated figure of Zeus on the reverse were common designs in Hellenistic Cilicia. Many civic mints started production only in the 1st century BC, making it unclear whether the Tarkondimotids used an already well-established design in the obverse type of Tyche under King Philopator or if they themselves were responsible for its regional popularity.

Concerning the location of the mint of the Tarkondimotids, archaeological and literary evidence only attest two cities, Anazarbos and Hierapolis-Castabala under the control of the Tarkondimotid kingdom.[1032] Indeed, it is likely that one of the two cities, or both, were used to mint the royal bronze coin of the Tarkondimotids. The city of Hierapolis was originally suggested by Dupont-Sommer and Robert as the mint of the

[1031] This list includes the cities of Adana, Aegeae, Alexandreia ad Issum, Antiocheia ad Cydnum, Celenderis, Corycus, Epiphaneia, Hieropolis Castabala, Mallus, Mopsus, Seleuceia ad Calycadnum, Soli (Pompeiopolis), Tarsos and Zephyrium.

[1032] Apparently Tarkondimotos I also controlled some coastal territories (see Cass. Dio 54.9) but it is unclear where, how and when these territories came to be ruled by the Tarkondimotids.

Tarkondimotid coins.[1033] However, the publication of Ziegler in 1993 gave evidence for a connection between the coin production of Anazarbos and the Tarkondimotids, making Anazarbos the favoured choice for the Tarkondimotid mint in more recent scholarship.[1034] The city of Anazarbos appears to have started minting coinage only in the time of the Tarkondimotids.[1035] However, it is very interesting that the epigraphic evidence related to Tarkondimotos I originates from Hierapolis, like the inscription naming Tarkondimotos I as *toparch,*[1036] while epigraphic documents dated after his reign were mainly found at Anazarbos.[1037] The production of Tarkondimotos I's coins at Anazarbos seems to date from after 36 BC since they name him with his royal title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, given to him by Marcus Antonius during his reorganisation of the east.[1038] This might indicate a shift in the capital of the Tarkondimotid Kingdom from Hierapolis to Anazarbos at some point before 36 BC.

The current scholarship on the Tarkondimotid coinage by Wright and Sayles[1039] interpret several monograms on civic Cilician coins as

---

[1033] Dupont-Sommer and Robert 1964, 45–6.

[1034] Etterich 2010, 414–415; Ziegler 1993, 28.

[1035] Ziegler 1993, 217 ff..

[1036] IGR 3 901.63.

[1037] Also commented upon by Wright 2012, 83.

[1038] App. *B Civ.* 5.75. and Strabo 14.5.18.

[1039] Wright 2012 and Sayles 2021.

standing for the names of individuals of the Tarkondimotid dynasty.[1040] Cilician coin types make frequent use of monograms, with dies often featuring two or three monograms. A recent article compiled by Sayles summarises the monograms he would associate with a reading as Tarkodimotus from several cities.[1041] He cites the  monograms appearing on coins of Hierapolis-Castabala, Aegeai, Corycus, Elaiussa-Sebaste[1042] and places its use early in the reign of Tarkondimotos.[1043] However, this monogram could be read as ΠΑΡ rather than ΤΑΡ and the proposed chronology is also contradicted by the dating of the civic coins involved. Aigeai's coinage, for example, is well dated through excavation coins, the use of the Caesarian era, the portrait of Antiochus IV (175–164 BC) and extensive die links.[1044] This enables the dating of the TAP monogram to before 120 BC[1045] with only one later coin type placed around 29/28 BC.[1046] Hence, these monograms were in use long before the reign of Tarkondimotos I and unconnected with the king.

[1040] Wright 2012, 77–79.

[1041] Sayles 2021, 8–14.

[1042] Sayles 2021, 3–4.

[1043] Sayles 2021, 3.

[1044] Bloesch 1982, 76–77.

[1045] Bloesch 1982, 58–67.

[1046] Bloesch 1982, 72.

In addition, a study of Hierapolis coinage by Dupont-Sommer and Robert argues that the city's types with the  monograms were issued by Antiochus IV, 175–164 BC.[1047] The monogram is also very similar to the  and monograms on coins of Aigai, Tarsos, Soloi, Seleukeia on the Kalykadno River, Mopsos and Adana. Especially the monogram can look like a monogram and both are difficult to differentiate on coins. However, the most convincing argument against Sally's interpretation of the monogram is its presence on silver tetradrachms of Alexander the Great already in the 4th century BC[1048] and on silver tetradrachms of Demetrius I Poliorcetes.[1049] Some TAR monograms also continued to be used on Tarsos' coinage in the 1st century AD and have been interpreted as abbreviations of ΤΑΡCΕΩΝ.[1050] A possible exception may be coins from Anazarbos where Tarkondimotos and his dynasty are attested through literary and epigraphic sources. In this case, Ziegler read several monograms (, , and) as referring to Tarkondimotus.[1051] While this identification is plausible from a chronological and historical perspective, the use of multiple monograms on contemporary coins for the same name would be unusual.

[1047] Dupont-Sommer and Robert 1964, no. 12.

[1048] ANS 1947.98.249; ANS 1944.100.33664; Price 3036.

[1049] ANS 1944.100.13663.

[1050] RPC I, 4005.

[1051] Ziegler 1993, 217–220.

The previous paragraph discussed more abstract monograms with different possible readings. In addition, there are also clearer examples of letters directly spelling TAP or TAPK. There is a unique monogram in Alexandreia (Cilicia)[1052] whose reading as TAPK is unusually clear (Figure 6.19), while the letters TAP are depicted on coins of Adana and Korykos (Figure 6.20). For a correct understanding of these coins, they need to be interpreted within their respective civic contexts. This poses a problem since many cities and their local contexts are not well understood nor published. Hence, an explanation for these letters is only possible if enough archaeological/literary evidence can be collected. This is only the case for Korykos; where there are many epigraphic documents dating to the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. The TAP letters on the coins of Korykos occur on two coin types depicting the head of Tyche/ Hermes with Phiale and Kerykeion and the head of Tyche/Apollo holding arrows leaning on column (Figure 6.20). Both of these coin types are also used with multiple other letter combinations like EY or ΔI.[1053] These frequent changes of the reverse legend imply that the letters are unlikely to be connected with the Tarkondimotid family. The city of Korykos is a well-documented case, with many epigraphic documents dating to the

[1052] Alexandreia ad Issum: SNG Levante 34–40.

[1053] SNG BN 1075–1097; SNG Levante 791–794.

2nd and 1st centuries BC. The names Ταρκυαρις[1054] and Ταρκυμβιας[1055] were used by attested individuals in Korykos of the 3rd/2nd century BC and 2nd/1st century respectively. The letters on the coins are thus more likely to relate to citizens of Korykos than to the Tarkondimotid kings.

The close similarities and occurrence of monograms shared between different cities spread across Cilicia therefore contradicts the association of many monograms with the Tarkondimotids. This argument is strengthened by the epigraphic attestation of several individuals in Cilicia whose name begin with Ταρκ- or Ταρ-[1056] and could have placed these letters on the civic coins.

Another monogram variant that needs to be discussed in connection with Tarkondimotid coinage is . It was used on royal coinage attributed to Philopator (II), which otherwise only stated “ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC”. Versions of the  monogram on civic coins of the late 1st century BC/early 1st century AD have been connected to King Philopator.[1057] The interpretation of the monograms as standing for King Philopator is just as ambiguous and uncertain as for the other monograms already discussed. The 

[1054] Heberdey and Wilhelm no. 155 A II, 23.

[1055] Heberdey and Wilhelm no. 155 A V, 93.

[1056] LGPN V5b-34507, V5b-34506, V5c-48023, V5c-48027.

[1057] Sayles 2021, 11.

monograms on coins of Anazarbos[1058] were associated with the Tarkondimotid dynasty by Sayles.[1059] However, even if 𐤐 is interpreted as standing for Philo-, there were several kings in the 1st century BC and AD with influence on or controlling parts of Cilicia that used a title starting with Philo-.[1060] Moreover, monograms were also used to designate magistrates, officials in charge of minting, which is already visible in the 4th century BC in Cilicia.[1061] In particular, the city of Tarsos used a 𐤐 monogram on its silver drachms[1062] and a later 𐤐 monogram occurs on coins of Queen Iotape.[1063] Soloi also used a 𐤐 monogram.[1064] This monogram must precede the destruction of the city by Tigranes II in c. 83 BC[1065] and likely also its refoundation as Pompeiopolis under Pompey in 66 BC.[1066] Hence, an attribution of the 𐤐 monogram on coins of Soloi cannot belong to a Tarkondimotid Philopator. A 𐤐 monogram also appears on the coins of Seleucid King Antiochos II Theos,[1067] minted at Antioch

[1058] Ziegler 1993, 217.

[1059] Sayles 2021, 13,

[1060] Kings with an epithet or name that started with Phil- or Philo- and controlled territory in the region of Cilicia included Seleukos IV Philopator (187–175 BC), Antiochos IX Eusebes Philopator (Kyzikenos) (114/3–95 BC), Nicomedes IV Philopator of Bithynia (94–75/74 BC), as well as the kings of Cappadocian kings: Ariarathes IX Eusebes Philopator, Ariobarzanes II Philopator and Archelaos Philopatris Ktistes.

[1061] An uncertain mint in Cilicia struck tetradrachms of the Alexander type for the Macedonian kings under Philotas or Philoxenos from 323 to 317 BC (see Price 2955).

[1062] SNG France 1295; SNG Levante 925.

[1063] RPC I, 3713 = Kovacs 273.

[1064] SNG France 1191–92; SNG Levante 873–74.

[1065] Cass. Dio 36.37.

[1066] Plut. *Pomp*. 28. For the coins see Boyce 1965.

[1067] HGC 9 2009, 253.

on the Orontes in 261–246 BC. Here, the 𐤊 monogram is unrelated to the royal authority. Aigeai also uses a 𐤊 monogram on several coin types that predate 120 BC.[1068]

In summary, there are many monograms that theoretically could be resolved as the names of Tarkondimotos or Philopator. However, most of these predate the Tarkondimotid dynasty or were used by other kings. The widespread geographical distribution of these monograms across all of Cilicia also makes it unlikely that they were connected to the Tarkondimotids. To solve this problem, Sayles argues that after the dissolving of the Tarkondimotid Kingdom, the "sons of Tarkondimotos were still significant individuals in local politics",[1069] and local elites referred to them on their coins across the whole of Cilicia.[1070] However, the widespread distribution of some of these monogram variants points, in my opinion, towards a civic nature and local preference for specific monograms. Monograms indeed have a variety of uses, including referencing local officials, city names, numerals, mint marks, titles, marks of trust/reliability or convention.[1071] A civic character of them is suggested by the continuous presence of these monograms on Cilician coins before

[1068] Bloesch 1982, 57 and 59.

[1069] Cass. Dio 51.7; Plut. *Ant*. 71.1.

[1070] Sayles 2021, 4.

[1071] See Chapter 1.5.5.

and after the Tarkondimotids. Cities like Castabalum, Soloi, Pompeiopolis, Adana, Zephyrion, Aigeai have mints issuing local coins with shared monograms but are situated far outside the territory of the Kingdom of Tarkondimotos. To reconcile assigning monograms to the Tarkondimotids across Cilicia, Sayles argued that Tarkondimotos' kingdom was far more extensive and important than suggested by ancient literature.[1072] However, Wright rightly remarks that some of the proposed cities with TAP civic monograms like Soli-Pompeiopolis were "too far removed from Upper Kilikia under Philopator I to be seriously considered as an integrated component of the Tarkondimotid state".[1073] Since Tarkondimotid inscriptions are only known from Hierapolis-Castabala (Tarkondimotos I) and Anazarbos (after 31 BC), interpreting all these monograms on civic coins as references to Tarkondimotos and his dynasty is unconvincing. It is important not to overestimate the importance and reading of civic monograms and recognise the limits of their interpretations. Instead, it is better to focus the analysis on cities that are clearly attested in connection with the Tarkondimotids, like Anazarbos which shared the unique  monogram with coins of Philopator.

[1072] Sayles 2021, 2–4.

[1073] Wright 2009, 77.

6.6 Tarkondimotid minting at Anazarbos

A connection of Anazarbos with the Tarkondimotids is well attested in the epigraphic evidence. A similar connection can be observed in the numismatic evidence. This is most visible in the shared iconography of a seated Zeus Nikephoros on coins of Tarkondimotos I and Anazarbos (Figure 6.21). Most recently, Wright emphasised Anazarbos' connection with the Tarkondimotids through a newly discovered coin type. It has Zeus on the obverse and the seated Zeus Nikephoros on the reverse,[1074] and has the letters AN on the reverse (=51).[1075] Wright argued that these letters represent regnal years of Tarkondimotos I.[1076] However, usually the coins of Anazarbos use an era based on the refoundation of Anazarbos in 20/19 BC. This era is used exclusively on Anazarbos coinage for the next 200 years.[1077] With this era, the AN coin would date to AD 31/32. This would fit well with the chronology, placing it as a transitional type after the reign of Philopator c. AD 17[1078] and around the same time as the next attested coins of Anazarbos, minted during the reign of Tiberius.[1079] The numeral cannot relate to Philopator's reign,

---

[1074] Compare Wright 2009 and Ziegler 1993, 217–220.

[1075] Wright 2009, 73.

[1076] Wright 2009, 73. For the full discussion see Wright 2008, 121.

[1077] RPC V.3, 3026–3028.

[1078] Tac. *Ann*. 2.42.

[1079] Ziegler 1993, 221.

starting in 31 BC, since the Year 51 would date after the king's death in AD 17.

Another connection of the Tarkondimotids to Anazarbos are the shared monograms. In his analysis of the coins of Anazarbos in 1993, Ziegler identified three monograms that he regarded as possibly standing for Tarkondimotos (; and). The monograms are die linked to another monogram (). These four monograms (, , and) were used with the same obverse die and described by Ziegler as "tetrachalkoi(?)".[1080] The monograms and can be associated with the reign of Philopator.[1081] While the monograms usually are not a reliable means of determining a possible association with the Tarkondimotids, the monogram only appears on Tarkondimotid royal coinage[1082] and on the coins of Anazarbos.[1083] All of this shows a closely intertwined system of royal and civic coin production beginning in the 1st century BC. Anazarbos appears to have not minted any coinage before the Tarkondimotid dynasty.[1084] The similar iconography and contemporary start of minting could suggest that the Tarkondimotids initiated the coin

[1080] Ziegler 1993, 28–29 and 217.

[1081] Chapter 6.3.2 and Ziegler 1993, 217.

[1082] Catalogue types 50–53.

[1083] Ziegler 1993, 219.

[1084] Ziegler 1993, 217.

production in Anazarbos and thus contributed to the city's prosperity during the 1st century BC.

Chapter 7: Comparison

In the Late Hellenistic period new dynasties in the Kingdoms of Galatia, Paphlagonia, Cilicia and Cappadocia were established with the help of Roman military forces and financial support. Thus, the four kingdoms discussed in this thesis all share a similar beginning and were approved as ‘client kingdoms‘ by the Roman Senate. While their cultural backgrounds differ, the kingdoms were situated in neighbouring regions of central Asia Minor and all minted coinage. These reflect their own identities, illustrate shared elements and demonstrate an increasing Roman influence during this period.

7.1 Denominations and mints

The Kingdoms of Cappadocia, Paphlagonia and Galatia all issued silver coins during this period (Table 7.1). Paphlagonia and Cappadocia minted drachms on the ‘reduced’ Attic weight standard.[1085] The ‘reduced’ Attic weight standard had the advantage of being equivalent to the weight system of the denarius.[1086] The drachms were thus acceptable for both Greeks and Romans, demonstrating a new Roman influence on Asia

[1085] Catalogue types 27–28, 31–48.

[1086] Meadows 2021, 127–131.

Minor's denominational standards in the Late Hellenistic period.[1087] While the Paphlagonian silver drachms are rare, all three Cappadocian kings of this period produced a large amount of drachms. The drachms were marked with regnal years and show that the denomination remained stable from Ariobarzanes II to Ariarathes X.[1088] Similarly, the interquartile range remained stable at about 0.3 g, indicating a controlled Greek minting environment.

The Kingdom of Galatia, by contrast, favoured larger denominations, producing tridrachms (*kistophoroi*)[1089] under King Brogitaros and tetradrachms of King Amyntas. This is unusual in comparison to the other Kingdoms of Asia Minor which had mostly stopped issuing tetradrachms by the 1st century BC.[1090] Thus, cultural preferences might have played a part in the preference for larger denominations. The Celts in the lower Danube region also issued contemporary tetradrachms,[1091] indicating a preference for larger denominations. Galatia itself had an important mercenary and Celtic heritage that might have led to soldiers preferring payment in tetradrachms.[1092] The use of tetradrachms also simplified the

[1087] For further examples see Meadows 2021.

[1088] Weight tables pages 696–708.

[1089] For this discussion see Chapter 3.2.1.

[1090] Kingdoms further east like Parthia and Armenia also produced royal tetradrachms in the late 1st century BC.

[1091] Kostial 1997.

[1092] Psoma 2013, 290–294.

payment of large sums for state expenditure. Another factor to consider is consumer demand. Amyntas' territory included important cities in Pisidia producing drachms[1093] and in Pamphylia which were issuing tetradrachms in the 1st century BC.[1094] For his coinage to be accepted, every king needed to conform to local demands and norms. Furthermore, if the IB on his coinage is correctly interpreted as Year 12, this constitutes a monetary production to finance Amyntas' own campaign against the local Isaurian Homonadenses in Cilicia.[1095] His tetradrachms of about 16.00 g are heavy and do not equate well to the denarius system.[1096] With his own soldiers not necessarily paid in coin,[1097] these coins were likely minted to meet larger expenses and in a denomination accepted in his kingdom. This would explain the choice of the Sidetan tetradrachm weight standard, instead of a standard more compatible with the Roman system that was preferred by other kings.

Paphlagonia, Galatia and Cilicia also minted bronze coinage in the name of their kings. In contrast to the silver coins, bronze coins show more variety in their denominations and types. Without much intrinsic value,

---

[1093] Selge: von Aulock 5283; Sagalassos: von Aulock 5154.

[1094] Meadows 2006. Side ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV and III. The discovered die link between Side ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV and Group III implies a date closer to or in the 1st century BC for Group III.

[1095] Cass. Dio 53.26; Strabo 12.6.3.

[1096] Meadows 2006, 166. Weight tables pages 689–691.

[1097] For this discussion see Chapter 7.5.

they were token coins that were not individually weighted and mainly functioned as local small change. Consequently, individual bronze coins vary significantly in weight and size. Table 7.2 can only give approximate data for the coins, with individual coins being significantly larger or smaller, lighter or heavier.[1098] In Tarkondimotid Cilicia, royal coinage was issued in a 23 mm (c. 9.5 g) denomination under Tarkondimotos I[1099] and under Philopator.[1100] Deiotaros Philorhomaios also issued an unusually large 27 mm (c. 12.5 g) denomination next to his 18 and 20 mm denominations.[1101] Amyntas' bronze coinage was minted in three different denominations and shares the 21 and 18 mm denomination with Deiotaros Philorhomaios.[1102] Amyntas is the only king where a weight change in the bronze coinage can be observed during this period.[1103]

In general, the kingdoms under discussion preferred to continue producing the same denominations as their predecessors, demonstrating that the choice of denomination was based on local demand and intended area of circulation. This is consistent with the need for a stable

[1098] For example, coins 187 (4.5 g) and 132 (14.45 g) of catalogue type 49; coins 30 (5.9 g) and 35 (16.01 g) of catalogue type 9.

[1099] Catalogue type 49.

[1100] Catalogue types 50–51.

[1101] Catalogue types 7 and 3–6.

[1102] Catalogue types 10–12 and 3–6.

[1103] Chapter 3.3.4.

currency system. Since many cities in Asia Minor were autonomous[1104] and other territories controlled by tribes,[1105] it was important for coins to be acceptable for as many groups as possible.

The use of civic mints for royal coins is attested in multiple instances during the Hellenistic period.[1106] It is seen here in the specific case of Side for King Amyntas[1107] and a number of more possible examples (the mint of Anazarbos for the Tarkondimotids,[1108] Tavion for Brogitaros[1109] and Deiotaros Philorhomaios at Pessinos[1110]). This demonstrates a closer connection between royal and civic coins and questions whether a separate discussion of the two is useful, especially for coins produced by smaller kingdoms. However, the royal coins were minted for a different authority and purpose. There is usually a visible difference in their choice of iconography and sometimes also in denomination. Thus, while the coins often appear similar and should be analysed together with their

[1104] For example, Cass. Dio 47.26.1.

[1105] Cass. Dio 53.26; Strabo 12.3.12; Strabo 12.5.1; Strabo 12.6.3.

[1106] For Alexander's coinage see Lorber 2015; see also the silver and bronze coins of the Illyrian King Monounios struck at Dyrrhachium and at Apollonia (Meta 2015, 168).

[1107] Chapters 3.3.2–3.3.3.

[1108] Chapters 6.2 and 6.6.

[1109] Chapter 3.2.1.

[1110] Chapter 3.2.2.

civic comparison whenever possible,[1111] royal coins are still distinct from civic coins and should be treated as such.

7.2 Coin designs and portraiture

The coin iconography of the client kingdoms in this thesis combines aspects of royal images and portraiture with established coin iconography. In other cases, the chosen design could be more political[1112] or propagandistic.[1113] For modern scholars royal portraits are of special interest since they allow the identification of local rulers and their families in other artistic media. Ruler portraits appear on coins of six[1114] of the eleven kings in this thesis and thus deserve a closer consideration and analysis.

7.2.1 Royal Portraiture

All kings discussed in this thesis ruled in the Late Hellenistic period and while they controlled different parts of central Asia Minor, their coins contain a shared understanding of kingship that is conveyed through their portraiture. The royal portraits all show a head (rather than a bust)

[1111] Chapter 3.3.3 and Chapters 6.5–6.6.

[1112] For example, Tarkondimotos I's choice of the epithet Philantonios (= friend of Antonius).

[1113] For example, the dynastic messages on coins of Deiotaros Philadelphos.

[1114] Deiotaros Philadelphos, Tarkondimotos I, Ariobarzanes II, Ariobarzanes III and Ariarathes X. Another possible portrait is visible on the coin of Attalos Epiphanes.

facing right with large eyes, wearing the diadem tied behind the head (Figure 7.1). One end of the diadem falls over the shoulder, with the other hanging loosely to the left. These features reveal how a legitimate and powerful late Hellenistic king should look and were inspired by the portrait of Alexander the Great. His portrait in sculpture is characterised by a youthful, barefaced charismatic ruler wearing a diadem and flowing, upwards curled hair across the forehead (*anastole*).[1115]

The coins of Cappadocia, Cilicia and Paphlagonia all depict portraits of their respective kings on the obverse (Figure 7.1). With no surviving sculptural portraits that can be identified, the coins provide the only securely attested depictions of these rulers. The hairstyles and facial features visible on the coins could allow future identification of their portraits in other media.[1116] The drachms of Deiotaros Philadelphos also depict a portrait of Queen Adobogiona on the reverse.[1117] This is the only depiction of a queen on any of the coins under discussion. The Paphlagonian bronze coins also mention another King Deiotaros, a possible son or brother to Deiotaros Philadelphos.[1118] In this way, the coins place an emphasis on the whole royal family as a way to portray

[1115] Smith1991, 21-32.

[1116] For the difficulties posed by this for a Tarkondimotid royal portrait see Özgan 1988.

[1117] Catalogue type 28.

[1118] Catalogue type 29.

stability and dynastic continuity for Paphlagonia. While this is not as visible on coins of the other rulers, epithets like *Philopator* (= father-loving) or *Philadelphos* (= sibling-loving) convey a similar importance of dynastic links. This is also visible in the epigraphic evidence which often attests kings together with their families. Epigraphic inscriptions on statue bases attest group sculptures of the Cappadocian royal Ariobarzanid family set up in at least two locations,[1119] as well as dedications by Brogitaros and his wife.[1120] It is likely that the other kings would have erected or been honoured with similar monuments and portraits which do not survive.

The coins with royal portraits also provide the full titulature of the sovereign, making them clearly identifiable and placing a strong emphasis on the ruling king. For most of the coins, the title is depicted on the reverse while the sole focus on the obverse is the royal portrait. Only the Paphlagonian drachms of Deiotaros Philadelphos have one portrait on each side. The legend is arranged circular around the portrait. This allowed the use of the reverse for the portrait of Queen Adobogiona, again shown with a surrounding legend. Because of the space needed for the surrounding legends, the portraits are smaller and less recognisable than on coins of other Hellenistic kingdoms. On the

[1119] Eleusis: IE 272; Kos: Habicht 2007, 151; Samos: IG XII 6, 349.

[1120] IGR IV 1683 at Pergamon.

Paphlagonian drachms, visually both sides of the coin appear to be of equal importance. Indeed, the portrait of Adobogiona is even slightly larger than that of Deiotaros Philadelphos.

The royal portraits show individuality in the facial features and hairstyles. The best example for this is Tarkondimotos I's coinage. His portrait portrays him with wrinkles that convey an aged appearance.[1121] This is consistent across all his obverse dies. The portrait remains the same, even down to the position of his hair locks. There are only small visible differences in the space between the locks. This indicates a deliberate effort to create a single identifiable portrait across his coinage. This is unusual since a changing depiction of hair locks and styles is common for the other kingdoms. Deiotaros Philadelphos' drachms with only two obverse dies differ in the fall of his hair at the neck. Ariobarzanes II and Ariobarzanes III both use two different portrait types on their coins (Figure 7.1 no. 3–4 and 5–6).[1122] The portrait of Ariarathes X (Figure 7.1 no. 7, Figure 5.4) also shows changes to the locks between different dies. Overall, the hairstyle and fall of locks are not characteristic of a specific ruler as they were in the Roman Imperial period.

[1121] Catalogue type 49.

[1122] For a discussion of the changes in portrait see Chapters 5.4 for Ariobarzanes II and 5.5 for Ariobarzanes III.

Deiotaros Philadelphos and Ariobarzanes II Philopator are both depicted as young and bare faced, contrasting with the aged portrait of Tarkondimotos I. The age of both kings is unknown. However, Ariobarzanes II was old enough to be accepted as his father's successor by Pompey, which is likely to make him at least 25 years old at the start of his reign.[1123] The depiction of a Hellenistic king as bare faced is a traditional Hellenistic fashion, introduced by Alexander the Great, that shows the idealised version of a young, charismatic leader.[1124] Tarkondimotos I's portrait is also bare faced but includes wrinkles to indicate his advanced age. This might be a more realistic portrait, possibly influenced by Roman republican depictions of mature statesmen in a realistic/veristic style.[1125] Ariobarzanes III and Ariarathes X both use a bearded portrait. This is a significant change from their predecessors of the Ariobarzanid and Ariarathid dynasties who all used bare faced portraits. This new bearded portrait could be influenced by Parthian coinage, as was likely the case for the inclusion of *kai* (= and) in the royal nomenclature.[1126] The Roman Republican practice of depicting mythical Roman kings with beards should also be noted.[1127]

[1123] For twenty-five as the age of majority in Roman law see Kaser 1971, 275 f. and Eyben 1981, 29 f..

[1124] Smith 1991, 21ff..

[1125] Kleiner 1992, 31–38. See also Plin. *HN* 35.6–7 and *Polyb*. 6.53.

[1126] Sellwood 1980. Chapters 5.5–6.

[1127] Numa Pompilius RIC I, Augustus 390–396; Quirinus RRC 427/2.

It is noteworthy that the rulers of the Galatian territories, Brogitaros, Deiotaros and Amyntas did not place their portraits on coins. The silver tridrachm of King Brogitaros depicts his full royal titulature and with the epithet *Philorhomaios* (= friend of the Romans). King Deiotaros' and King Amyntas' coinage stand out, with the absence of both epithets and portraits. The lack of royal portraiture might be due to cultural factors in the Galatian territories. The ruling men were traditionally called tetrarchs and part of Celtic tribes. The Hellenistic idea of kingship might have been a more foreign, Greek concept that was only slowly adopted by the Galatian rulers.

7.2.2 General iconographic trends across the kingdoms of central Asia Minor

Archaeological evidence indicates that the production of coins first started in the 3rd quarter of the 7th century BC (650–625 BC).[1128] By the 5th century BC, coinage had become an established means of payment in many Greek cities.[1129] Alexander the Great's coinage developed the standard iconographic format of the Hellenistic period: a right-facing (male) head on the obverse paired with a full-length (seated) deity and a (vertical) coin legend on the reverse.[1130] By the Late Hellenistic period,

[1128] For the most recent scholarship on this see van Alfen and Wartenberg 2020; Meadows 2021.

[1129] Schaps 2004, 144 f..

[1130] Thonemann 2015, 18.

Greek coins still preferred to depict the head of a deity on the obverse. Reverse designs became more variable, but usually showed full-size figures with a legend or monogram. The coins of the kings of Galatia closely adhere to this pattern. All of their coins depict the head of a god/ goddess on the obverse facing right and a full-sized image on the reverse. The other kingdoms embrace a more typical royal Hellenistic iconography by depicting the king's portrait on the obverse (Figure 7.2).

All the kingdoms use symbols of kingship in their iconography, which were often based on attributes of Zeus. The coins tend to depict eagles, thunderbolts and/or sceptres. Another important element is the figure of Nike, the goddess of victory. She appears on the obverse of coins of Deiotaros Philorhomaios and on the reverse of Amyntas' tetra-drachms.[1131] The coins of Cappadocia and Cilicia show Nike crowning Athena, or Zeus on the coins of Tarkondimotos I Philantonios.[1132] The figure of victory is a central part of the self-representation of kings. It proclaims their military prowess and power as well as emphasising divine support.

The kingdoms of this thesis emphasise dynastic continuity and stability through the reuse of iconography of their predecessors. The Ariobarzanid

[1131] Catalogue types 7 and 20–23.

[1132] Cilicia: catalogue types 49 and 50–51. Cappadocia: catalogue types 31–48.

kings of Cappadocia continued the same design and denomination as the Ariarathids with only small changes to the established iconography. This contrasts with Paphlagonia, where neither the iconography of Attalos Epiphanes nor that of Pylaimenes II/III Euergetes is repeated by Deiotaros Philadelphos. He also produced a coin type with the caps of the Dioscuri[1133] and a type depicting a winged thunderbolt[1134] which earlier occurred on coins of his relative Deiotaros Philorhomaios.[1135]

The Kingdoms of Cilicia and Galatia, however, issued no previous royal coins. The production of new coinage by these kingdoms instead shows a pattern of initiating the production with commonly used designs to increase their acceptability. The reverse design on the coins of Tarkondimotos I Philantonios depicts a seated Zeus holding a Nike and leaning on a sceptre[1136] was a typical Hellenistic design, already used by Alexander. The Zeus on Alexander's tetradrachms was holding an eagle and likely inspired by the Baal of Tarsos.[1137] The seated Zeus holding a Nike was one of the designs minted in Cilicia under the Seleucids.[1138]

[1133] Catalogue type 28.

[1134] Catalogue type 29.

[1135] Catalogue types 7 and 5.

[1136] Catalogue type 49.

[1137] Although the Zeus on Alexander's tetradrachms was holding an eagle and likely inspired by the Baal of Tarsos. Troxell 1997, 87–90.

[1138] SC I, 10 under Seleucus I Nicator (dated 294 BC–281 BC); SC 2461 under Philippus I Philadelphos (dated 88–75 BC and posthumously by the Romans).

The same reverse motive is used on coins of Anazarbos during the time of the Tarkondimotid dynasty.[1139] However, it is unclear which if the royal or civic type was first. Thus, the Tarkondimotid coin iconography is mirroring contemporary civic and earlier royal coins.

The coins of the Cilician King Philopator show the head of Tyche on the obverse paired with Athena standing left, holding Nike and shield.[1140] The Tyche head was used on previous Cilician coin types,[1141] and the reverse type of a standing Athena was depicted on Seleucid royal coins produced at Cilician mints.[1142] This reverse type of Athena standing left, holding Nike and shield is also the usual iconography used by the Cappadocian Kingdom.[1143] Thus, both Tarkondimotid kings reused established royal designs on their coins. Ideologically, this iconography was associated with the Seleucid rulers and placed the Tarkondimotids and their claim to the title of king, power and prestige in the tradition of the Seleucids. However, these were also more widely established coin designs. Cilicia made widespread use of the same iconography during the 1st century BC and especially the choice of Tyche under Philopator resembles civic coin types.

[1139] Ziegler 1993, 217.

[1140] Catalogue types 50 and 51.

[1141] Tarsos SNG Levante 913–914.

[1142] SC II, 2091.

[1143] Catalogue types 31–48.

Similarly, Deiotaros Philorhomaios produced a Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt type that imitated an already established coin design of the popular coins of Pergamon under Mithridates VI.[1144] A similar iconographic connection can also be found for his other coin types. Two types show Attis and Kybele on their obverses and Deiotaros' monogram on the reverse.[1145] These two figures are associated with the important religious cult of Kybele at Pessinos, where they also appear on civic coins.[1146] Another, Galatian shield type alludes to the cultural identity of Galatia as famous Galatian warriors and mercenaries.[1147] A similar reverse was seemingly used on coins of Tavion previously.[1148] Deiotaros' iconographic choices are coherent with previous coinage traditions and further emphasise characteristic parts of Galatia and its heritage. Even the tetradrachms of Amyntas show an adjusted version of Side's original tetradrachm design.[1149]

The kingdoms under discussion appear to favour the production of coin types that resemble established coinages in their area. In Galatia and

---

[1144] Chapter 3.2.2; Catalogue type 5.

[1145] Catalogue types 3–4.

[1146] Strabo 10.12; Strabo 12.5.3.

[1147] Catalogue type 6.

[1148] Catalogue type 8.

[1149] Catalogue types 20–25.

Cilicia they seem to favour a local, civic representation. This contrasts with the royal coin iconography of the Kingdoms of Cappadocia, Cilicia and Paphlagonia. This illustrates that the minting process was based initially on a practical need for money. Further considerations, like the portrayal of prestige and royal authority or local identity, were of secondary concern.

All kings discussed in this thesis, apart from Ariobarzanes II, make use of monograms on at least one of their coin types. The use of monograms can be explained by a multitude of possibilities. Most often they seem to be mintmarks or abbreviations of names.[1150] Some coin types seem to deliberately avoid the (full) name of the king and instead use a monogram. The successor of Tarkondimotos I Philantonios is named on his coins as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ⍔ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟC.[1151] Two other possibly Tarkondimotid coin depict the reverse legend ΒΑCΙΛƐΩC ⍦.[1152] However, the preference for monograms over the royal title on common bronze coins is most obvious in the Kingdom of Galatia. King Deiotaros Philorhomaios produced coin types with no reverse legend but with a monogram.[1153] Since they do not proclaim him as king, they were

[1150] Chapter 1.5.5; Chapters 3–6.

[1151] Catalogue types 50–51.

[1152] Catalogue types 54–55.

[1153] Catalogue types 3–6.

probably his earliest coins.[1154] King Amyntas also produced a coin type with only a monogram on the reverse. This monogram () is paired with the letter B and can likely be read as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ.[1155] The monogram occurs on three different iconographic design series: the Stag, Lion and Hermes series. This iconography was especially popular in the territory of Pisidia of which he was king. In addition, the designs also convey local/cultural values of fighting (Heracles/Lion), hunting (Artemis/Stag) and travelling/trade (Heracles/caduceus). The caduceus design was also favoured by Roman coinage produced in Asia[1156] and might have influenced Amyntas' design choice. It appears that after a period of time, the monograms on these three coin series were replaced by the full reverse legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ[1157] which could be due to the acceptance of the coins as a reliable means of payment. The Cappadocian kings and Deiotaros Philadelphos placed their monogram(s) in the inner fields of their coins to ensure their visibility. All of this shows that the use of monograms was widespread. The various ways of reading monograms allow for flexibility in their interpretation for contemporary users. The reoccurrence of this phenomenon across

[1154] Chapter 3.2.2.

[1155] Chapter 3.3.4; Catalogue types 9–12.

[1156] Fimbria in Asia (Callataÿ 2011A, 63–64); Atinius at Ephesus (Callataÿ 1997A, 323–324); Asinius/Atinius at Atarneus (Stumpf 1991, 80–83; Eilers 2024).

[1157] Chapter 3.3.4 and catalogue types 13–19.

different territories and decades shows that the use of monograms was a deliberate strategy used by client kings of the 1st century BC.

Another shared element is the use of regnal eras on the coins of client kings.[1158] The kings producing coins with numerals include Brogitaros and Amyntas of Galatia, Philopator of Cilicia, Deiotaros Philadelphos of Paphlagonia and all the Cappadocian kings. The kings of Paphlagonia, Attalos Epiphanes and Deiotaros Philadelphos appear to be the only kings using a dynastic era on their coins.[1159] The other kings favoured the use of regnal years based on their own individual reign dates. Dating was a way of defining time for communities and essential for administration. The inclusion of the king into both monetary and administrative spheres of everyday life allowed an easier identification of the subjects with their respective ruler.

7.3 Coin quantification in relation to other cities and kingdoms of the Hellenistic period

The estimates of coin production were set out in Chapter 2 and discussed within their individual kingdoms. However, to understand the results of Esty's and Carter's estimate of coin production in relation to

[1158] Chapter 1.5.5.

[1159] Catalogue types 27–28.

other Greek cities and kingdoms, the results also need to be compared and contrasted with other die studies. A compilation of the available Greek die studies was first created by Callataÿ in 1997 for the Hellenistic period[1160] and in 2003 for the archaic and classical periods.[1161] This data is now available online through the SILVER project.[1162] Due to the lack of a unified denominational system, the use of relative comparisons is often more suited for a comparative analysis. The quantitative results will be adjusted for the comparison according to differences in metal, weight standards and denominations and converted to the equivalent production in Attic drachms. This chapter will first discuss a comparison between the four kingdoms and similar contemporary examples before considering the output of other comparative coinages.

The silver coinage of the Cappadocian kings continued the trend of large drachm output, already started by their predecessors (Table 7.5). Outside of Cappadocia, royal drachm production during the 1st century BC mainly occurred in Parthia and Armenia. Ariobarzanes II's and especially Ariobarzanes III's drachm production is high even in comparison to the output of other kingdoms and cities. Outside of Cappadocia, Phraates IV and the coinage of Rhodes are the only

[1160] Callataÿ 1997B.

[1161] Callataÿ 2003.

[1162] https://silver.kbr.be/SILVER.

comparable coinages in terms of obverse drachm output. However, Rhodes and Phraates IV struck coins over a longer period of 40 years. The Ariobarzanid kings of this period ruled only ten years on average. Based on the dates on the coins, it is possible to determine that all their coinage was produced in two[1163] or three[1164] years. The 37 obverse dies produced under Ariarathes X fit well with the overall estimates for the Parthian kings or the civic coinages of Athens or Aphrodisias-Plarasa in the 1st century BC. However, his average output per year far surpasses their production. His rate of production is close to that of his predecessor, Ariobarzanes II. Thus, a high output of coins, minted within a short period of time, appears characteristic of Cappadocian minting activity but is unusual in other kingdoms and cities.

The output of tetradrachms in drachms (Table 7.6) shows that in comparison to other Hellenistic kingdoms, an average production of 50 or 100 obverse dies was substantial but lower than the contemporary coin production by Tigranes II or Aesillas. However, the coin output for Cappadocia can be assigned to specific years. While Ariobarzanes II overall minted 6.9 obverse dies per year on average during his reign and Ariobarzanes III 15.73 dies, in reality Ariobarzanes II minted about 46

[1163] Ariobarzanes II (Year 7: catalogue type 31; Year 8: catalogue type 32) and Ariobarzanes III (Year 9: catalogue types 35–36; Year 11: catalogue types 37–41).

[1164] Ariarathes X (Year 4: catalogue type 44; Year 5: catalogue types 45–46; Year 6: catalogue types 47–48).

obverse dies in Year 8 and Ariobarzanes III about 106 in his Year 11 (Tables 2.4 and 2.5). Even their average annual output of 38.5 and 87 obverse dies surpasses that of all listed Hellenistic kingdoms. Thus, while the overall number of obverse dies is lower, the massive output in a single year of the Cappadocian kings presents a significant mass of coinage produced in a very short period of time that stands on equal footing to that of larger kingdoms.

The low production of the two obverse dies attested for Deiotaros Philadelphos is also not unprecedented as seen in the cases of Artaxias II and at the civic mint of Teos. Artavasdes II and the drachms of Mithridates VI at Sinope(?) also present coin production on a smaller scale.

The tetradrachms of Amyntas record six obverse dies (24 drachms) which is significantly lower than the coinage of the Cappadocian kings. However, Amyntas also might have issued earlier coins with a diadem design at Side, which is die linked to his coinage.[1165] With the inclusion of Side's diadem type, the number of obverse dies rises to 11 tetradrachms (44 drachms) and an annual output of 4 drachms. This is comparable to the contemporary production of around 37 dies for Ariarathes X.

[1165] Chapter 3.3.3.

Contemporary parallels to Amyntas' tetradrachms can be found in the coinage of the Celts by the Danube[1166] and royal Armenian,[1167] Elymaean[1168] or Parthian coinage.[1169] For the Parthian and Armenian coinages, die studies were developed by Boillet[1170] and Nercessian.[1171] Amyntas' tetradrachm production appears to be higher than that of Tigranes the Younger of Sophene and Artavasdes II and possibly around the same scale as the drachms of Darius I, Phraates III or Orodes II. Even with the inclusion of Side's diadem type, Amyntas' coinage is not comparable to the large productions of tetradrachms of Tigranes II or drachms of Phraates IV. Hence, while Amyntas' production is significantly lower than that of previous Hellenistic kings (Table 7.5–7.6), it is still substantial and fits well with contemporary coin production of other kingdoms. Since the surviving sample of coins of Amyntas appears mainly based on a single hoard find, the original number of dies could have been even higher.

[1166] Kostial 1997.

[1167] For Armenian coins of this period see Kovaks, 2016. During the 1st century BC, tetradrachms were produced by Tigranes II the Great (96–56 BC), Tigranes the Younger (77/6–66 BC) and Artavasdes II (56–34 BC).

[1168] Haaff 2007 e.g. for Van't Haaff Type 10.4.1–1a.

[1169] Sellwood 1980.

[1170] Boillet 2009.

[1171] Nercessian 2006.

For the bronze coinages, the sample size for most die studies is low. The majority of the 900 bronze die studies in the SILVER database record less than 10 obverse dies and 483 studies have less than the acceptable sample size for quantification of 30 coins (Figure 7.3). If we consider only the coins with a sample of at least 30 coins, minted in the 1st century BC, the number of available die studies decreases significantly. For a direct comparison, there are only nine royal bronze die studies involving 1st century BC coinages (Table 7.7). Only three types included here (nos. 2–4) can be considered royal coin types as they include the title 'king'. However, the size of coin production does not significantly differ from the other six die studies, so that all nine examples will be used to compare the data from coins of this thesis.

Most types in this thesis show an overall lower number of observed obverse dies than the data from the nine coin types of the SILVER database (Tables 2.7–2.9 and 7.7). The Kingdoms of Paphlagonia and Tarkondimotid Cilicia have less than ten obverse dies for their respective kings. However, the five and seven observed dies are about the same size as the coins produced at Dia under Mithridates Eupator. This lower production could be explained by the smaller size of the Kingdoms of Tarkondimotid Cilicia and Paphlagonia that required fewer coins for local circulation. Furthermore, many civic mints operated in these two

kingdoms, making their royal coinage only an addition to an already functioning monetary system.

In contrast, the kings of Galatia have a higher number of obverse dies than any of the other bronze coinages, with 38 under Deiotaros Philorhomaios and 29 under Amyntas. However, the mean number of coins per die for Amyntas is significantly larger than that of the other nine die studies. In contrast, the data for Deiotaros Philorhomaios' Zeus/eagle coinage fits well with the observed dies of Cleopatra at Chalcis sub Libano[1172] or the coins of Pharnaceia under Mithridates Eupator.[1173] The low number of one or two obverse dies given for some of the types of Amyntas[1174] and the Tarkondimotids[1175] seems to be closer to the rates of civic production, for example, for Perge[1176] or Aphrodisias-Plarasa.[1177] A similar high number of coins, with over 20 coins per obverse die, are preserved in the die study for type 1 of Herod the Great.[1178] Larger sample sizes led the authors to conclude that the die study had near-complete coverage. The low sample sizes for the

[1172] Olivier and Aumaître 2017, no. 82–249.

[1173] Callataÿ online: SILVER ID: 30516.

[1174] Catalogue types 9–19.

[1175] Catalogue types 49–55.

[1176] Colin 1996, 74.

[1177] MacDonald 1992, coin type 28.

[1178] Ariel 2011, 42.

majority of bronze types analysed in this thesis make an incomplete or biased sample the more likely explanation. At the other end of the scale is the bronze coinage of Apameia, which had a much larger coin output. There are 103 observed obverse dies for the Athena/eagle series alone, the Zeus/Artemis Anaitis series was struck from 173 obverse dies and the Zeus/helmet series from 22 obverse dies.[1179] This level of production is not reached by any of the royal bronze coinages discussed in this thesis and appears to represent an exception rather than the norm.[1180] Overall, the data shows that the number of bronze obverse dies recorded in this catalogue is in line with other contemporary coinage. While there is a slight bias towards a larger number of recorder coins per obverse die compared to other die studies for royal coinage, this is not unusual for civic coins or other coinages of this period.

7.4 Approaches and attitudes to Roman influence in Asia Minor

The literary evidence and history of the four client kingdoms under discussion show an increasing importance of Rome and its military commanders. Pompey and Marcus Antonius in particular were directly involved in the creation of kingdoms, the (re-)assignment of territories and the appointment of monarchs. During the Roman civil wars of the

[1179] Ashton 2016, 381.

[1180] Ashton 2016, 381 and 386–387.

Late Hellenistic period, many of the kingdoms under discussion were allied with prominent Roman military commanders. Literary evidence attests to contact between the client kings and Romans through letter exchanges, financial commitments and personal friendships.[1181] Roman soldiers were also fighting together with the forces of client kings[1182] and governors/commanders visited the kingdoms while travelling through Asia Minor.[1183] This shows regular exchange and contact between Rome and her client kingdoms.

The language used on the coins of these kingdoms is exclusively Greek. However, it is clear that other local languages and customs also survived into the Late Hellenistic period. The Celtic language in Galatia remains visible in the choice of native nomenclatures, e.g. the name Deiotaros originates from the Celtic words for sky and bull.[1184] Furthermore, the Galatians had a distinctive funerary tradition, using large funerary mounts to bury members of the royal family and the elite.[1185] The same

---

[1181] Cicero and Caesar with Deiotaros Philorhomaios: Cic. *Deiot*. 15–19; Cic. *Div*. 2.20.
Tarkondimotos I with Marcus Antonius: RPC I, 3871. Livy 30.15.11–14.
Marcus Antonius with Archelaos of Cappadocia: Cass. Dio. 49.32.
Clodius and Brogitaros: Cic. *QFr*. 2.7.
Ariobarzanes II and Pompey: Val. Max. 5.7.
Ariobarzanes III with Cicero, Brutus and Pompey: Cic. *Att*. 6.1; Cic. *Fam*.15.2.

[1182] Cass. Dio 47.48.2; Cass. Dio 50.13–14; Luc. 9.215–252; Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 63.

[1183] *BAlex*. 78.3; Cic. *Deiot*. 15–19; Cic. *Fam*.15.2; Plut. *Cat. Min.*12.2; Strabo 12.3.13; Val. Max. 5.7.

[1184] Birkhan 1997, 590.

[1185] Müller-Karpe 2023.

tradition is also found in the Kingdom of Paphlagonia.[1186] In the Tarkondimotid Kingdom, the name Tarkondimotos appears to be a name based on the Luwian language with ties to Aramaic.[1187] Further east in Cappadocia, there was a strong Persian influence visible through the naming conventions[1188] as well as the possible existence of sibling marriages during this period.[1189] The allied kings retained their indigenous names, even though some kings were possibly given Roman citizenship[1190] and paired them with traditional epithets of Hellenistic kings.

Roman influence is visible in these territories through the renaming of cities with Latin names: Soloi in Cilicia became Pompeiopolis in 67 BC[1191] and Anazarbos changed its name into Caesarea in 19 BC.[1192] This corresponds with the adoption of the Pompeian or Actian eras by Greek cities.[1193] This demonstrates an increasing Roman influence in the kingdoms, but there appears to be no systematic Roman strategy behind

[1186] Yıldırım and Demirci Bal 2016.

[1187] Wright 2012, 72.

[1188] Ballesteros Pastor 2020, 62–64.

[1189] Stähelin 1907, 109 for Deiotaros Philadelphos and Adobogiona; IE 272 for Ariobarzanes III and Athenais.

[1190] Raggi 2010, 91–92.

[1191] Strabo 14.5.

[1192] Suet. *Aug*. 60.

[1193] Leschorn 1993; Leschorn 2006, C.3.

these developments. Cities had already been renamed during the earlier Hellenistic periods to please powerful kings.[1194] In this way, cities in Asia Minor appear to have adapted an already familiar approach to the Roman expansion into the region.

Roman influence in central Asia Minor is also visible in royal coinage. The 1st century BC sees the introduction of the epithet *Philorhomaios* (= friend of the Romans). The earliest attestation of this title is on coins of Ariobarzanes I of Cappadocia (96 BC to c. 42 BC).[1195] This epithet is similar to the title *Philhellenos* (= friend of the Greeks) that was especially popular in Parthia during the 1st century BC.[1196] The use of *Philhellenos* (= friend of the Greeks) in the Parthian kingdom could have inspired the use of *Philorhomaios* (= friend of the Romans) on Cappadocian coins. The use of the epithet *Philorhomaios* (= friend of the Romans) differs from earlier royal epithets that mainly related to values and achievements of the king and not to an outside power.[1197] It is also interesting to note that the use of the title does, in theory, not require a formal alliance between Rome and the kingdom, solely a friendly relationship. This made it easy for client kings to use the title on their

[1194] See the many cities named Alexandria, Antiochos, Ptolemais or Thessaloniki. For a specific case see the refoundation of Antigoneia as Nicaea by Lysimachos after the battle of Ipsos 301 BC.

[1195] For example, on the coins of the Parthian King Mithradates I (164–132 BC) (BMC 50); see also the coins of Mazakes/Asakes (Assar 2023) and the kings of Elymais (Haaff 2007).

[1196] Sellwood 1980.

[1197] Callataÿ and Lorber 2011, 425–426.

coinage. *Philorhomaios* (= friend of the Romans) is attested on the coins of King Brogitaros of Galatia[1198] and King Ariobarzanes III of Cappadocia.[1199] King Tarkondimotos I, a contemporary of these three kings, went a step further and proclaimed himself *Philantonios* (= friend of Antonius).[1200] This is a specific proclamation of friendship to a single individual Roman military commander and politician rather than to the Romans in general. This friendship appears to have been a necessary condition for the kingdoms to secure Roman support in this period. In addition, kings also took out loans[1201] or gave bribes/gifts[1202] to Roman officials, making the relationship mutually beneficial. The rulers of all four client kingdoms discussed in this thesis relied on the favour of the Roman commanders to secure their kingdoms. The two reorganisations of Asia Minor under Pompey c. 64 BC and Marcus Antonius c. 42–36 BC redrew the boundaries of the kingdoms and put in place new kings. Pompey recognised Ariobarzanes II of Cappadocia and Deiotaros of Galatia as kings. Marcus Antonius gave the kingship to Tarkondimotos I of Cilicia, Amyntas of Galatia and Archelaos of Cappadocia.

[1198] Catalogue type 1.

[1199] Catalogue types 35–43.

[1200] Catalogue type 49.

[1201] Cic. *Att*. 6.1.

[1202] Cic. *Har*. *resp*. 28–29. Plut. *Vit*. *Cic*. 36; Braund 1984, 25–26

While traditional Greek coins tend to place the legend on the reverse, the round obverse inscriptions on coins of the Paphlagonian kingdom are more reminiscent of Roman Provincial than Greek inscriptions. Greek reverse inscriptions are usually placed in a vertical straight line, while Roman inscriptions are more likely to be placed in a circle around the coin.[1203] Most of the coins discussed in this thesis adhere to the traditional Greek style of inscription, with the already mentioned exception of the coins of the Paphlagonian King Deiotaros Philadelphos. With his reign only being attested as late as 31 BC, it is possible his coins were closest in time to the Roman period. Further Roman influence is visible through coin portraiture discussed in Chapter 7.2.1. The portraits of allied kings show a less idealised style than those of earlier Hellenistic kings. This and signs of an individual's age are similar to the veristic style on Roman coins.[1204] However, scholars have suggested Greek influence on verism, questioning how distinct and different Roman art really was from Greek art in this period.[1205]

Another observable change is the adjustment of weight standards to be compatible with the Roman monetary system. Brogitaros, for example, minted his tridrachm to the same weight standard as the kistophoros. It is

[1203] Thonemann 2015, 17.

[1204] Gruen 1993, 158–159; Rose 2008, 102–111; Smith 1981, 28 ff.; Smith 1991, 255 ff.; Tuck 2015, 108–111.

[1205] Richter 1955; Wallace-Hadrill 1998, 80; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 18.

well attested that Roman officials were paid in the east with kistophoroi.[1206] Thus, his coinage was equivalent to three drachms and three denarii, and could be used to pay both Greeks and Romans. Similarly, Paphlagonia and Cappadocia chose to mint coinages to a ‘reduced Attic weight’ standard. These drachms centre around the weight of 3.9 g, the weight of Late Republican denarii.[1207] The production and dating of Cappadocian coins also closely correspond to Roman military activity.[1208] This strongly indicates that the coins were minted to meet Roman expenses. The evidence from coin circulation makes it likely that these drachms were used to pay for Rome’s campaigns in the east. The finds in the kingdoms and indeed for all of Asia Minor show a lack of denarii or any Roman coins during the 1st century BC. This was first observed by Crawford, who documented Republican coin hoards from Turkey and found only a single Republican denarius in a hoard from Nisibis.[1209] However, recent hoards and excavations have shown the existence of some Republican denarii in the 1st century BC. One hoard, buried during the reign of Augustus at Aizanoi, contained 651 silver coins of Republican/early Augustan denarii and kistophoroi found during excavations in 2019.[1210] A second hoard of coins with a slightly later date

[1206] Cic. *Att*. 2.6.2–4.

[1207] Meadows 2021, 127–131.

[1208] Chapters 5.4–6.

[1209] Crawford 1969. IGCH 1788 = RRCH 292.

[1210] Köker 2024. Listed on CHRE as PENKALAS 2019A and PENKALAS 2019B.

in the 1st century AD was also discovered.[1211] Overall, however, Roman denarii in Asia Minor remain the exception and are notably absent from most hoards dated to the 1st century BC.

Interestingly, denarii do appear together in hoards with coins of the client kings but only outside of Asia Minor.[1212] This shows that the coins had the same users, most likely Roman or Greek soldiers moving east for campaigns against Armenia or Parthia.[1213] The influence of Roman officials and individuals is also visible on the coins of several cities. The lack of Roman coins in Asia Minor during the 1st century BC and the appearance of Roman names on civic and other coin types led to the suggestion that Roman soldiers could have been paid in local and client kingdom coinages.[1214] There have been many scholarly discussions regarding Roman influence on coin production and coin circulation, as well as possible changes to weight standards to align with Roman denominations in Asia Minor during the 1st century BC.[1215]

[1211] Köker 2024 for PENKALAS 2019B.

[1212] IGCH 1746.

[1213] Cass. Dio 49.40.3; Flor. 2.20.10; Just. *Epit*. 42.5; Plut. *Ant*. 56.1.

[1214] Callataÿ 2011A.

[1215] Callataÿ 2011A; Carbone 2020, 2021A and 2021B; Meadows 2022.

7.5 Expenditures of the client kingdoms in the 1st century BC

Regarding coinage, military expenses account for the majority of state expenditure in the ancient world.[1216] The conflicts and wars of the Late Hellenistic period attest the involvement of all four ‘client kingdoms’ with their armies and fleets.[1217] Local conflicts also continued to persist[1218] and could result in the death of the king.[1219] Hence, it is likely that all the kingdoms produced coinage at least partially to finance their military and to pay their soldiers. The main means of payment for soldiers on campaign were silver drachms, with bronze possibly used to pay garrisons.[1220] Since garrisons and forts are attested for Galatia,[1221] this could explain the predominance of bronze types minted by the kingdom under Deiotaros Philorhomaios and Amyntas. The Kingdoms of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia both minted drachms. Greek soldiers were paid monthly[1222] but the exact rate of pay varied depending on period,

---

[1216] Crawford 1970, 46; Callataÿ 2011B, 18.

[1217] For Deiotaros of Galatia: Cic. *Att*. 5.18; For Amyntas: Cass. Dio 47.48.2; For Tarkondimotos I: Cass. Dio 41.63.1 and 50.14; Luc. 9.215–252; For the lack of Cappadocian military forces see Cic. *Fam*.15.1.

[1218] *BAlex*. 72; Cass. Dio 53.26; Cic. *Har. resp.* 28–29; Strabo 12.4; Strabo 12.6.3.

[1219] This was the case for King Brogitaros, King Amyntas and King Ariobarzanes II.

[1220] Coin finds at forts with stationed garrisons are primarily bronzes and drachms. See the evidence from Mt. Nif (Lenger 2016), Iasos (Ellis-Evans, Wartenberg and Kagan 2022, 270. For the original publications see Delrieux 2016, 2017, 2019); Tepecik near Patara in Lycia (Lenger and Dündar 2020) or Tatarlı Höyük in Rough Cilicia (Erhan 2020).

[1221] See Strabo 12.5.2 for Peion and Bloukion.

[1222] Xen. *Anab*. 7.5.5 and 7.6.1.

region, the provision of supplies and economic situation. Soldiers were paid one drachm per day in 413 BC[1223] and four obols in the mid-4th century BC.[1224] For the 2nd century BC, inscriptions at Hierapytna and Crete suggest a daily rate of two (Rhodian?) drachms for commanders and nine Rhodian obols for the common soldier,[1225] while Polybios attests a payment rate of two obols per day for Roman soldiers in the Late Hellenistic period.[1226] Higher ranking offficers and cavalry were paid more. Payments for soldiers could also be given in old coins or through other goods and provisions.[1227]

The case of Deiotaros Philorhomaios provides a well attested case study to understand the size of a client king's army.[1228] The military force of the client Kingdom of Galatia under Deiotaros Philorhomaios was 30 cohorts. These came to an overall 1,200 men that he offered Cicero in 51 BC, together with a cavalry force of 2,000 men.[1229] In October to November 48 BC, Deiotaros is again attested with two legions of 1,200 men and at least 500 cavalry.[1230] The author of *De Bello Alexandrinum*

[1223] Thuc. 7.27.2; Miller 1984, 155.

[1224] Diod. Sic. 19.27.2, 19.68 and 20.73.3; see Miller 1984, 155.

[1225] IC. III. iii.3.

[1226] Polyb. 6.39.

[1227] For a discussion see Miller 1984, 155ff. And Van Regenmortel 2024, 101–142 and 167–186.

[1228] Saddington 2009, 305–306.

[1229] Cic. *Att*. 6.1.

[1230] *BAlex* 34.4.

(on the Alexandrine War) further remarks that this force was kept and trained for several years, a considerable financial expense. Deiotaros' forces are attested in 42 BC under Amyntas[1231] and were later integrated into the Roman army.[1232] This military force was thus maintained for around ten years under Deiotaros, creating an expense of 11,680,000 drachms or 44,384 kg of silver. This is clearly outside the scope of the estimated coin production suggested in Chapter 2. Furthermore, this sum attests just the payment of soldiers on military campaign. The true cost of running a kingdom would have been significantly higher, but also generated some income in return.[1233] None of this is visible to modern scholars in the numismatic or archaeological evidence.

The existence of a military force without the minting of new coins is also demonstrated in the case of Cappadocia. For the fight against Pharnaces II in 48 BC, Calvinus took 500 cavalry from the forces of Ariobarzanes III.[1234] This passage makes it likely that there was an even larger force of cavalry and common soldiers under Ariobarzanes III's command. These men were paid and managed by the Cappadocian Kingdom even before the attested start of Ariobarzanes III's coin

[1231] Cass. Dio 47.48.2.

[1232] Legio XXII Deiotariana.

[1233] Cic. *Att*. 6.1.

[1234] *BAlex* 34.4.

production in his Year 9 which would be 45 BC in the earliest possible dating (Table 5.2). This makes clear that, when possible, expenses were carefully planned and usually paid for in other ways than newly minted coinage.[1235]

There was a significant military presence in Asia Minor. During the Mithridatic Wars 8–11 legions were stationed in the provinces of Asia and Cilicia, after which the number shrunk down to two legions stationed in Cilicia.[1236] In 36 BC, 16 legions were involved in the Parthian campaigns of Marcus Antonius,[1237] and later he accumulated a total of 23 legions leading up to the Battle of Actium in 31 BC.[1238] A complete Roman legion consisted of 6,200 to 5,000 men[1239] although a lower number was also common and varied between the centuries and battles.[1240] The payment for Roman soldiers was handed out three times a year in instalments of 75 denarii,[1241] the common legionary rate of pay from about 49 BC to AD

[1235] For possible ways of payment see Van Regenmortel 2024, 101–142.

[1236] Brunt 1971, 449 and 458–460.

[1237] Flor. 2.20.10; Just. *Epit*. 42.5. For the problems with the lower number of legions given by Plut. *Ant*. 39 see Kromayer 1898, 23 footnote 2. For the 18 legions given by Livy *Per*. 130.1 see Brunt 1971, 503–504.

[1238] Brunt 1971, 504–505. There were 19 legions participating in the battle of Actium (Plut. *Ant*. 68) and four stationed in Cyrenaica (Oros. 6.19).

[1239] App. *Hann*. 7.33; Livy 29.24 and 35.2; Polyb. 1.16 and 3.107.

[1240] Brunt 1971, 671–676 considers Livy's number of 5,200 men after 184 BC (Livy 40.36 and 41.9) which was raised to 6,000 or higher in emergencies (Livy 43.12).

[1241] Suet. *Iul*. 26.3; Suet. *Dom*. 7.3; Tac. *Ann*. 1.17.

83.[1242] If the soldiers were paid in denarii, we would expect some of these coins to be visible in Asia Minor's coin finds or hoard evidence. However, this is not the case until the 1st century AD.[1243] Therefore, the monetary needs for the many Roman soldiers in Asia Minor had to be met in different ways. Precedents for this are visible in literary and epigraphic sources, which describe the payment of soldiers in non-Roman currencies.[1244] The production of local Greek style coins for Roman individuals[1245] and officials is well attested.[1246] These coins often retain their appearance and local denominations. This evidence seems to point towards the conclusion that client kings and civic mints supplemented Roman coin production in Asia Minor. Peaks of production under Ariobarzanes I correlate with Roman activity.[1247] Callataÿ argued that it was likely that Roman soldiers were paid in Cappadocian royal drachms.[1248] This corresponds well to the results of Cappadocian coin production in this period which seem to increase in years of Roman military activity.[1249]

[1242] Alston 1994, 114.

[1243] Crawford 1985, 152–160; Kinns 1987, 112; Callataÿ 2011A, 59 f.; for epigraphic evidence and site finds see Carbone 2021B, 234 f..

[1244] Polyb. VI.39.12 and RMR 70 both mention oboloi during the 2nd century BC and in AD 192 respectively; RMR 68 attests soldiers were paid in Alexandrine drachms around AD 81.

[1245] See Cic. *Att*. 2.6.2–4 for his problems with Pompeian kistophoroi.

[1246] Callataÿ 2011A, 61 and 63; Witschonke and Amandry 2004.

[1247] Callataÿ 1997A, 209–211.

[1248] Callataÿ 2011A, 71.

[1249] For this discussion see Chapters 5.4–5.6.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This thesis catalogued, analysed and interpreted the royal coin types of Galatia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia and Tarkondimotid Cilicia to gain a better understanding of the coinages and their kingdoms. Besides a complete list of types, some of them catalogued here for the first time,[1250] the die studies and resulting quantification give a new understanding of the coinages produced during the period of 64 BC to 27 BC. The coinage under consideration is of a significant size and with the exception of Paphlagonia, all the kingdoms minted coinage with more than ten obverse dies. This constitutes a significant amount of at least 200,000 coins produced in each of these three kingdoms that circulated in Asia Minor.

Throughout this thesis, royal coins and civic coins showed significant overlap in their designs, denominations and mints. While the iconography differs in the use of royal titles and symbols (diadem, eagle), the use of shared monograms and common or locally significant designs emphasises that cities played a central part in the production of royal coinage. Similarly, there was a deliberate strategy of imitating already established iconography for the introduction of new coinage by the

[1250] Catalogue types 3, 8, 11, 16 and 30.

kingdoms. This way, the kingdoms ensured the acceptability of their coins by consumers but also emphasised their cultural background and identity. The importance of this outweighed the use of coins for dynastic messages or propagandistic purposes, showing that as a means of payment, monetary concerns were prioritised over ideological expressions even on royal coins.

The use of dates formed a central part of the iconographic strategies of all four kingdoms. Most of the dates under consideration are regnal years. Interestingly, the drachms of Paphlagonia appear to use a continuous dynastic era from Attalos Epiphanes to Deiotaros Philadelphos. As this kingdom was relatively small and not well known, its dynastic history became an important part of its royal self-representation, emphasising the kingdom's importance, stability and longevity. In combination with a die study, regnal years can provide insight into the annual coin output. Furthermore, they give a historical background for specific coin issues. The coins of Brogitaros Philorhomaios, for example, can be connected to the campaigns by Deiotaros against the Trókmoi in the 50s BC, with regnal year 6 dating around 54/53 BC. Similarly, the year 12 coins of Amyntas indicate that they were minted around the time of his death in 25 BC. Cappadocian coin dates seem to closely correspond to Roman military campaigns.

Indeed, Roman influence becomes more visible in this period. The ‘reduced Attic weight’ drachms of Paphlagoonian and Cappadocia were likely deliberately chosen for their compatible with the Roman monetary system and the same might be true for Brogitaros’ tridrachm which is likely a kistophoros. The weights of the silver coins is carefully controlled, indicating the continued use of the Greek *al pezzo* production method.

Coin production further demonstrates the importance of client kings during this period. The annual silver production of Ariobarzanes II and Ariobarzanes III was significant and even surpassed that of Ariobarzanes I, who minted coinage during the Mithridatic Wars. An extraordinary number of over 100 obverse dies were minted in Ariobarzanes III’s Year 11, which is larger than the annual output of most Hellenistic kings.[1251] The dates of the coins also show a clear link with Roman military expenditure, consistent throughout the Ariobarzanid dynasty. Coins of Ariobarzanes I are associated with the campaigns of Murena and Pompey, those of Ariobarzanes II with Crassus’ invasion of Parthian Mesopotamia from 56 to 53/54 BC, the coins of Ariobarzanes III with Brutus’ Civil War from 45/44–43/2 BC and those of Ariarathes X with 38–36 BC. The large-scale output in just a handful of years, combined with their equality to denarii, makes it likely that these coins were used to pay

[1251] Callataÿ 2013B.

Roman expenses. The correlation between an increase in coin output during specific years and known Roman military conflicts makes a strong case for Roman influence on the coin production of Cappadocia. It also reflects the impact of the Roman wars and campaigns on the client kings of Asia Minor who participated in these battles or supported the Romans financially. To this, the tetradrachms produced by Amyntas, which are comparable in size to the relative production of Ariarathes X, form an interesting contrast. These tetradrachms were likely produced to finance a local war and reflect the demand of his own kingdom and not that of the Romans.

Roman influence is also visible in the innovative use of new Greek epithets. *Philorhomaios* (= friend of the Romans) first appears on coins of Ariobarzanes I and was then used on coins of Brogitaros, Ariobarzanes III and is attested in an inscription for Deiotaros Philorhomaios. Tarkondimotos I adopted the title of *Philantonios* (= friend of Antonius), which shows the powerful influence individual Roman commanders had and the important role they played for client kingdoms in Asia Minor. The new epithets were used alongside traditional Hellenistic royal epithets within a Greek royal titulature. Proclamation of support for Rome was thus set within established Greek contexts and iconographies.

Changes in this period can also be observed in royal portraiture. Instead of the characteristic idealised youthful Hellenistic ruler, diversity and individuality are visible in the depiction and style of royal portraiture. Kings are depicted aged (Tarkondimotos), youthful (Ariobarzanes II, Deiotaros Philadelphos) or bearded (Arionbarzanes III and Ariarathes X). The occurrence of a female portrait of Queen Adobogiona on coins of Deiotaros Philadelphos of Paphlagonia reflects an emphasis on dynastic rule and stability in Paphlagonia. The Kingdom of Galatia, by contrast, completely avoids the use of royal coin portraits, but makes extensive use of monograms. On the coins themselves, the influence of Roman art is visible in the veristic style of Tarkondimotos I's portrait and the arrangement of round legends on coins of Deiotaros Philadelphos.

Coinage was an important part of the self-representation of kings and kingdoms. While all four kingdoms under discussion were established with the support of Rome, the 'client kings' presented themselves on their coins in a Greek numismatic tradition. Roman influence on coin iconography is limited. Instead, the kings used the coins as a canvas to proclaim a personal relationship with Roman commanders (*Philantonios* = friend of Antonius) and alliances with the Roman people (*Philorhomaios* = friend of the Romans) through their epithets. Other connections are visible in the denarius-friendly weight standards,

circulation evidence and coin output which in the case of Cappadocia directly correlates to Roman military activity. This study provided insight into the unprecedented scale of support that some of these kingdoms offered to Rome and how they retained their local identity while adjusting to an increasing Roman influence in central Asia Minor during the 1st century BC.

Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

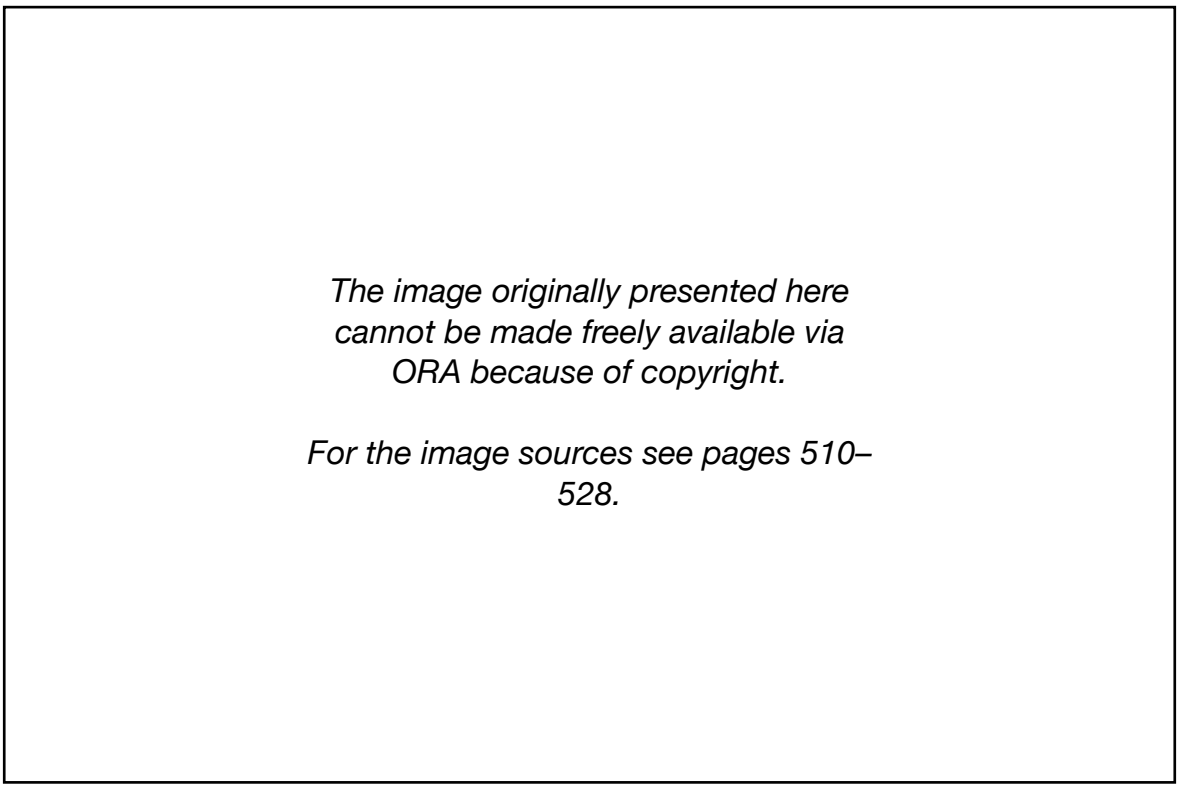


Figure 1.1:

The approximate territories of the Kingdoms of Paphlagonia, Galatia,

Cappadocia and Cilicia

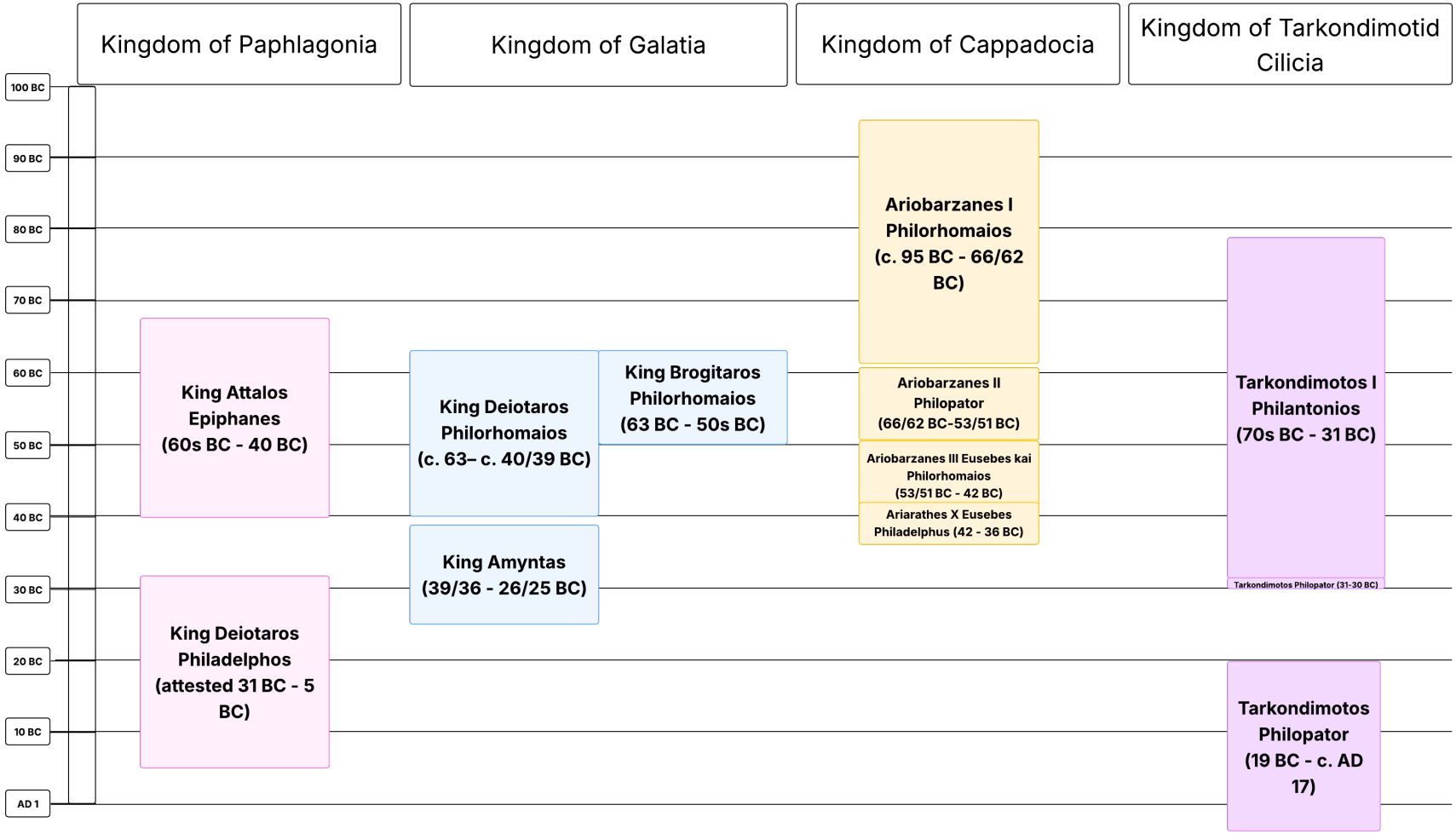


Figure 1.2:

An overview of the regnal dates of the client kings of Paphlagonia, Galatia, Cappadocia and Cilicia

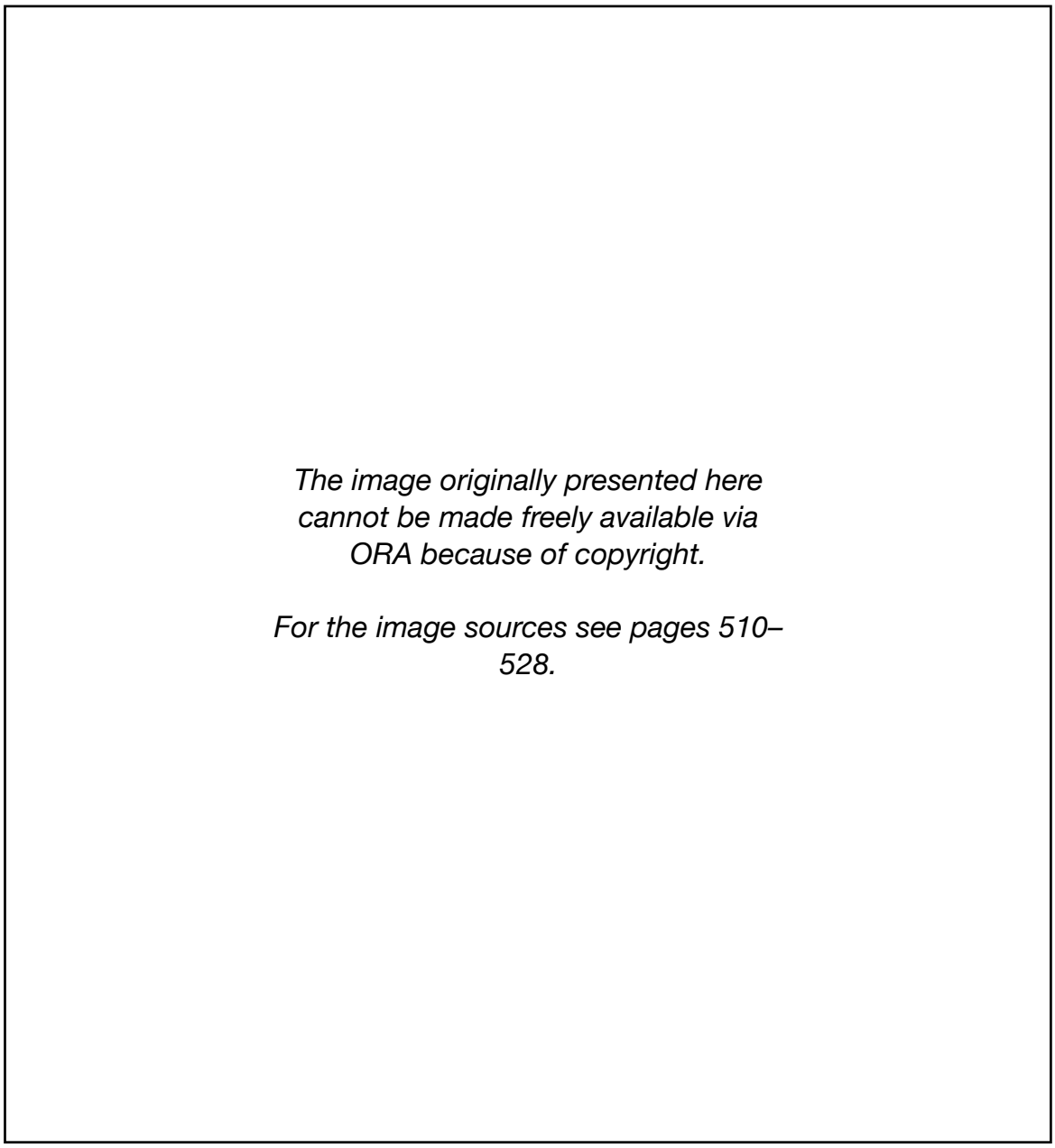


Figure 1.3:

The method of coin production in Ancient Greece

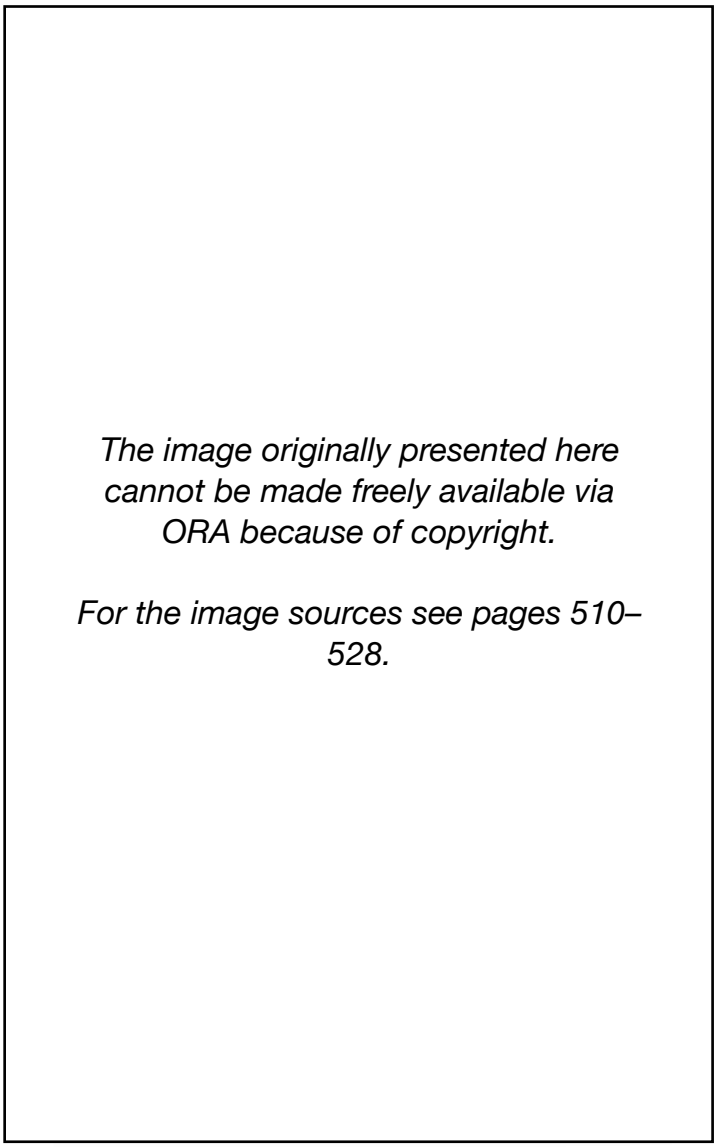


Figure 1.4:

Idealised die link scheme

Chapter 2: Quantification



Figure 2.1:

The different proposed models of

die failure distributions

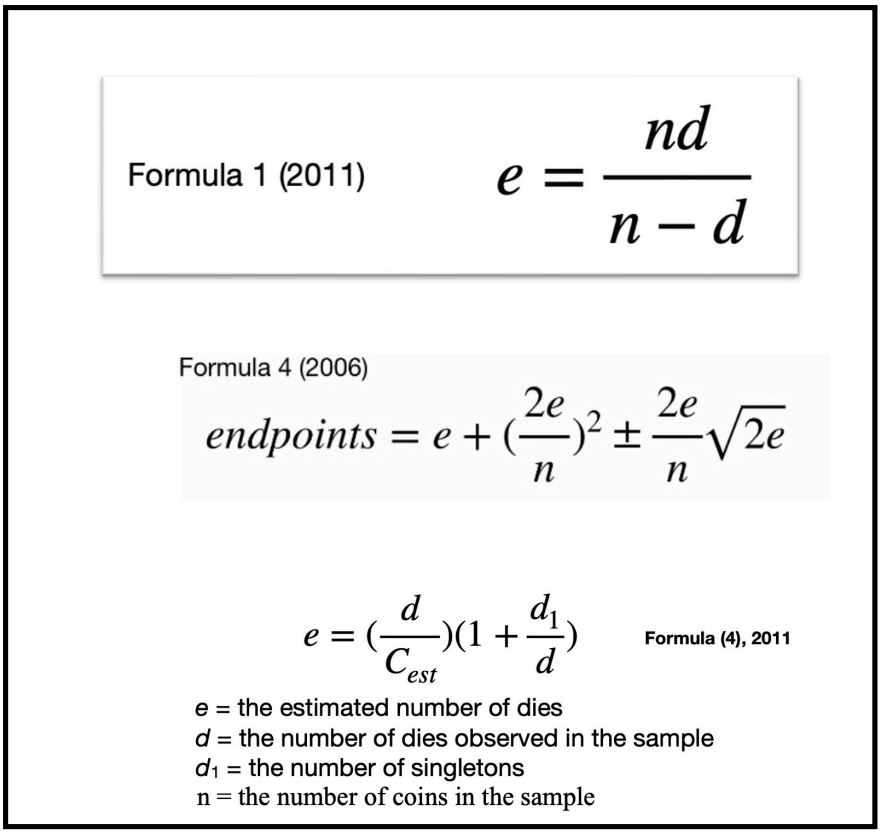


Figure 2.2:

The quantification formulae of Esty for an estimation of the original number of dies (e)

$$(1)\quad D \qquad \frac{n \cdot d}{1.214n - 1.197d} \qquad \text{used in the range } n < 2d;$$

$$(2)\quad D = \frac{n \cdot d}{1.124n - 1.016d} \qquad \text{used in the range } n = 2 \text{ to } 3d;$$

$$(3)\quad D = \frac{n \cdot d}{1.069n - 0.843d} \qquad \text{used in the range } n > 3d;$$

Figure 2.3:

The formulae of Carter for the estimation of the

original number of obverse dies

$$C_{est} = 1 - \frac{d_1}{n}$$

Figure 2.4:

The formula for calculating the coverage of

the coin sample according to Esty

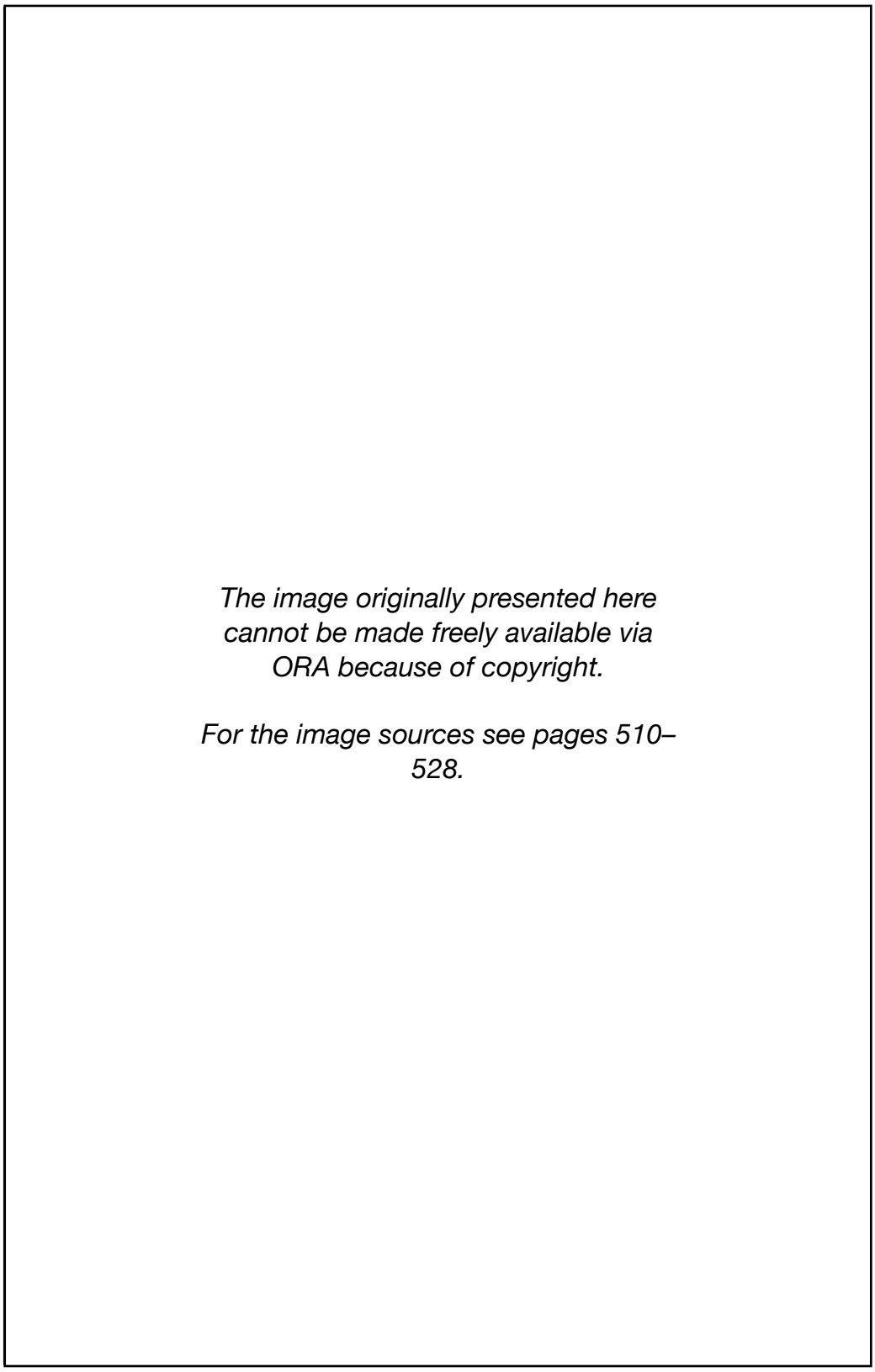


Figure 3.1: Galatia's tribal organisation in the Hellenistic period

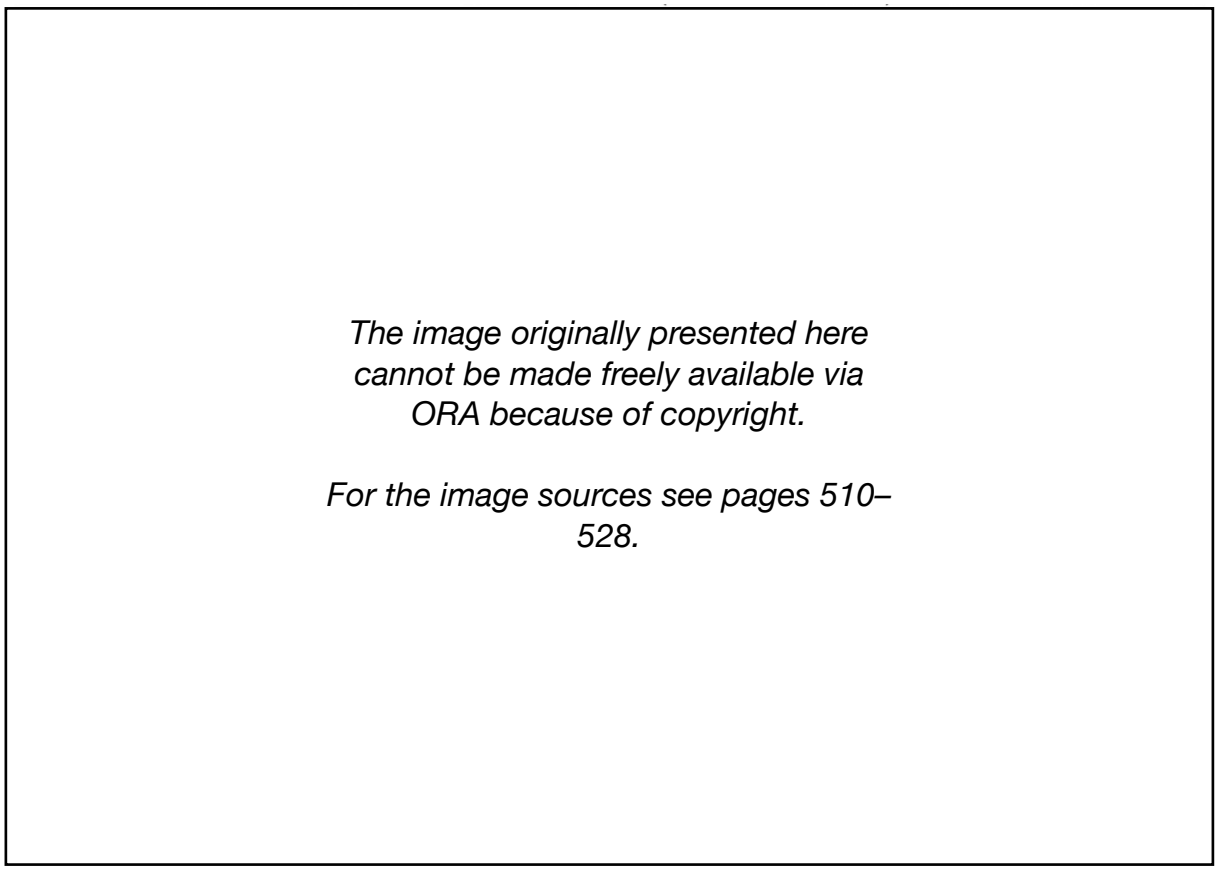


Figure 3.2:

The extend of the territories controlled by Deiotaros Philorhomaios

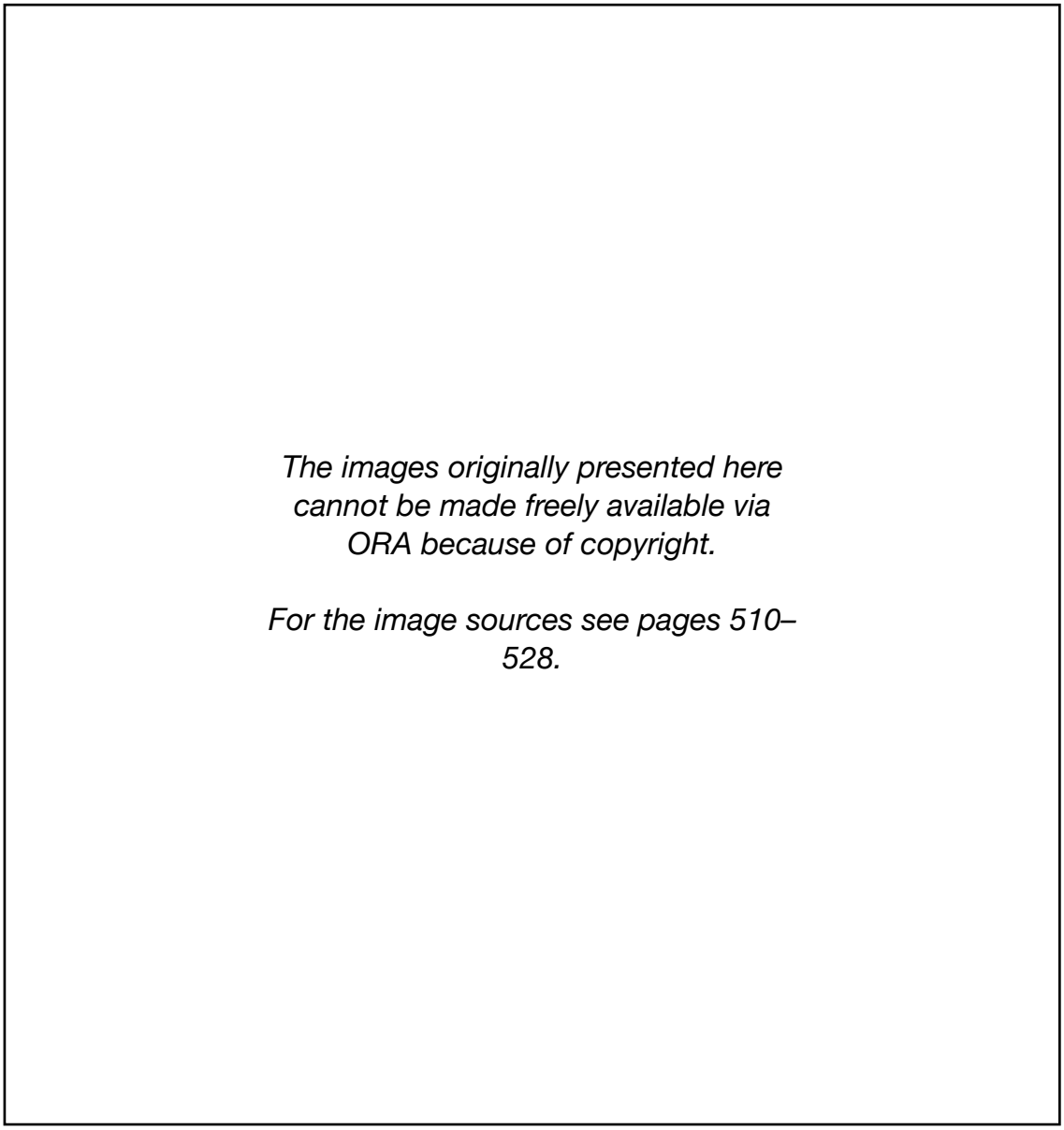


Figure 3.3:

The two coins associated with the reign of Brogitaros Philorhomaios

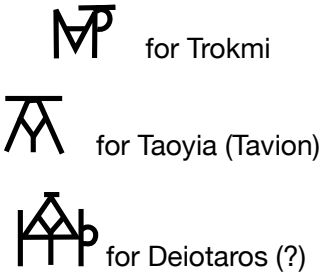


Figure 3.4:

Monograms connected with the Tetrarchy in Galatia

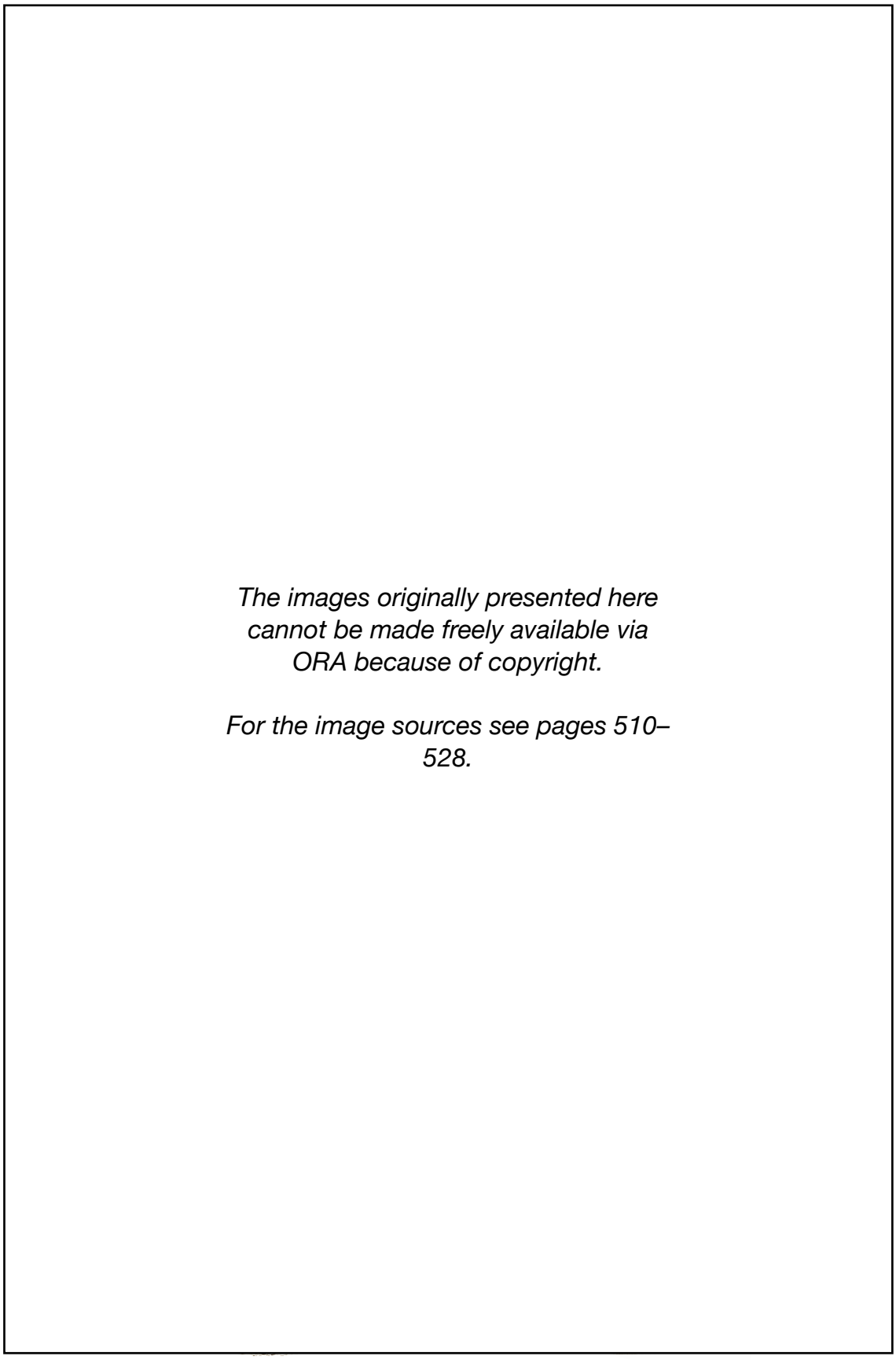


Figure 3.5:

The four coin types with the ‘Deiotaros monogram’

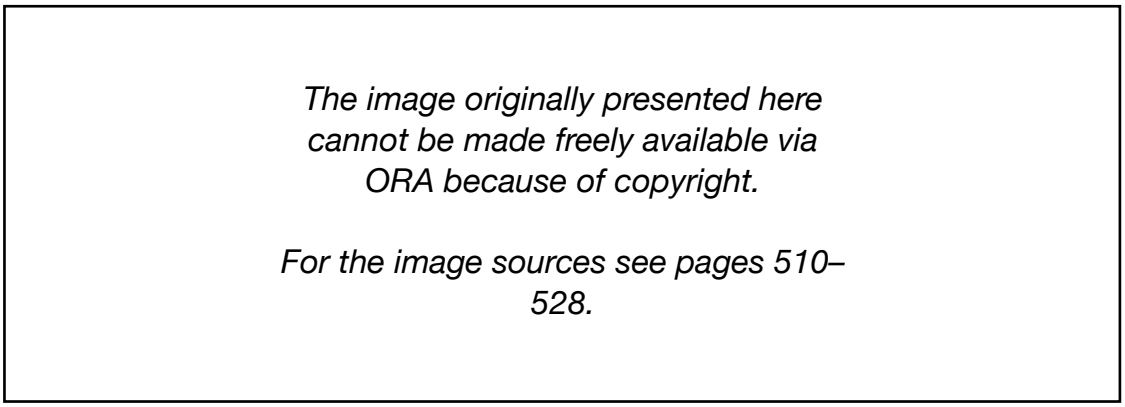


Figure 3.6:

Coin with laureate head of Zeus on the obverse and ‘Deiotaros monogram’ with Galatian shield on the reverse

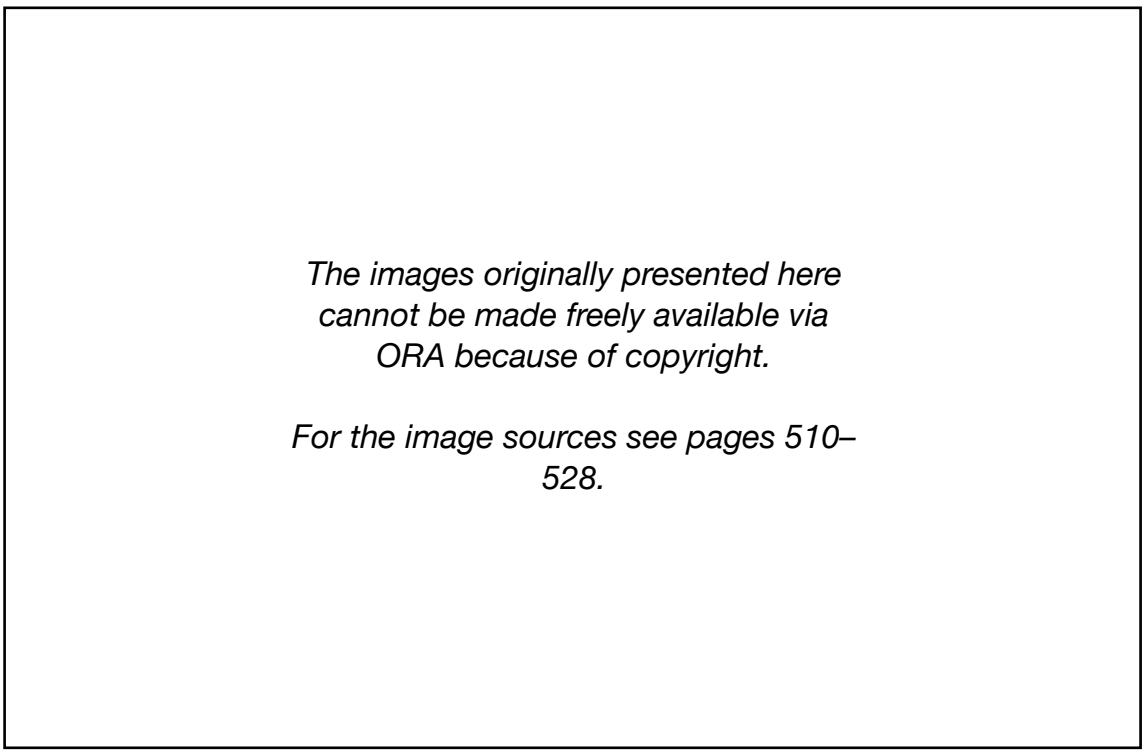


Figure 3.7:

Terracotta figures showing elephant fighting Galatian warrior (left) and a Galatian warrior (right) from Myrina

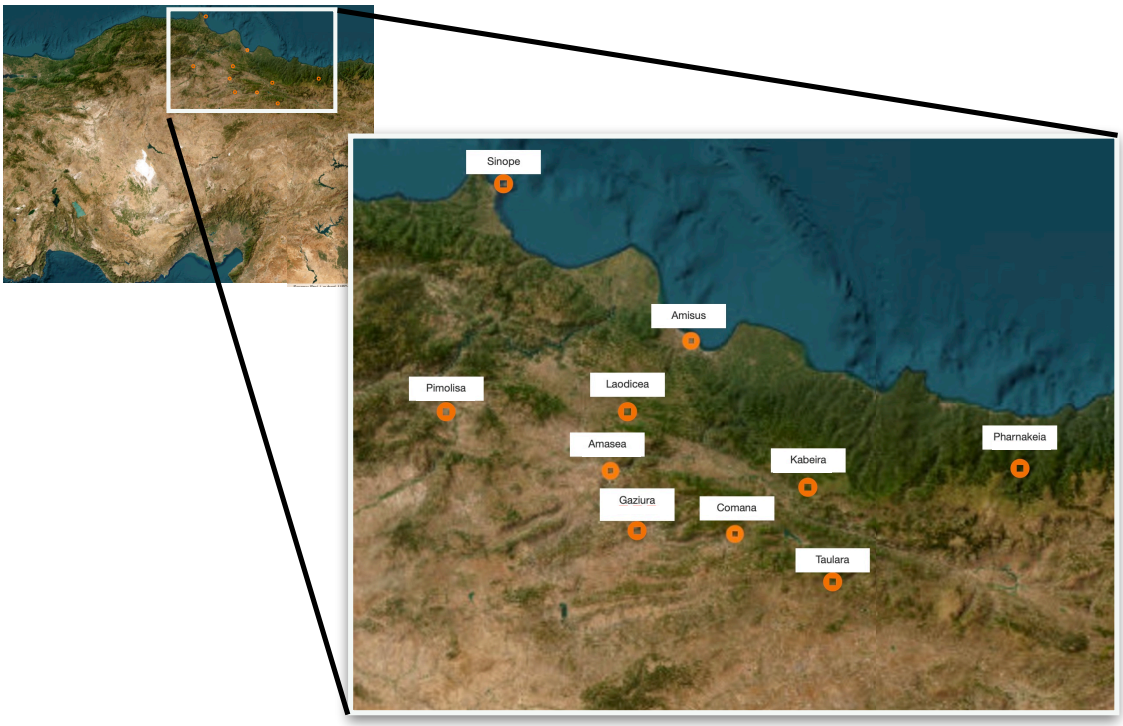


Figure 3.8:

Distribution of cities in Asia Minor minting the Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt design

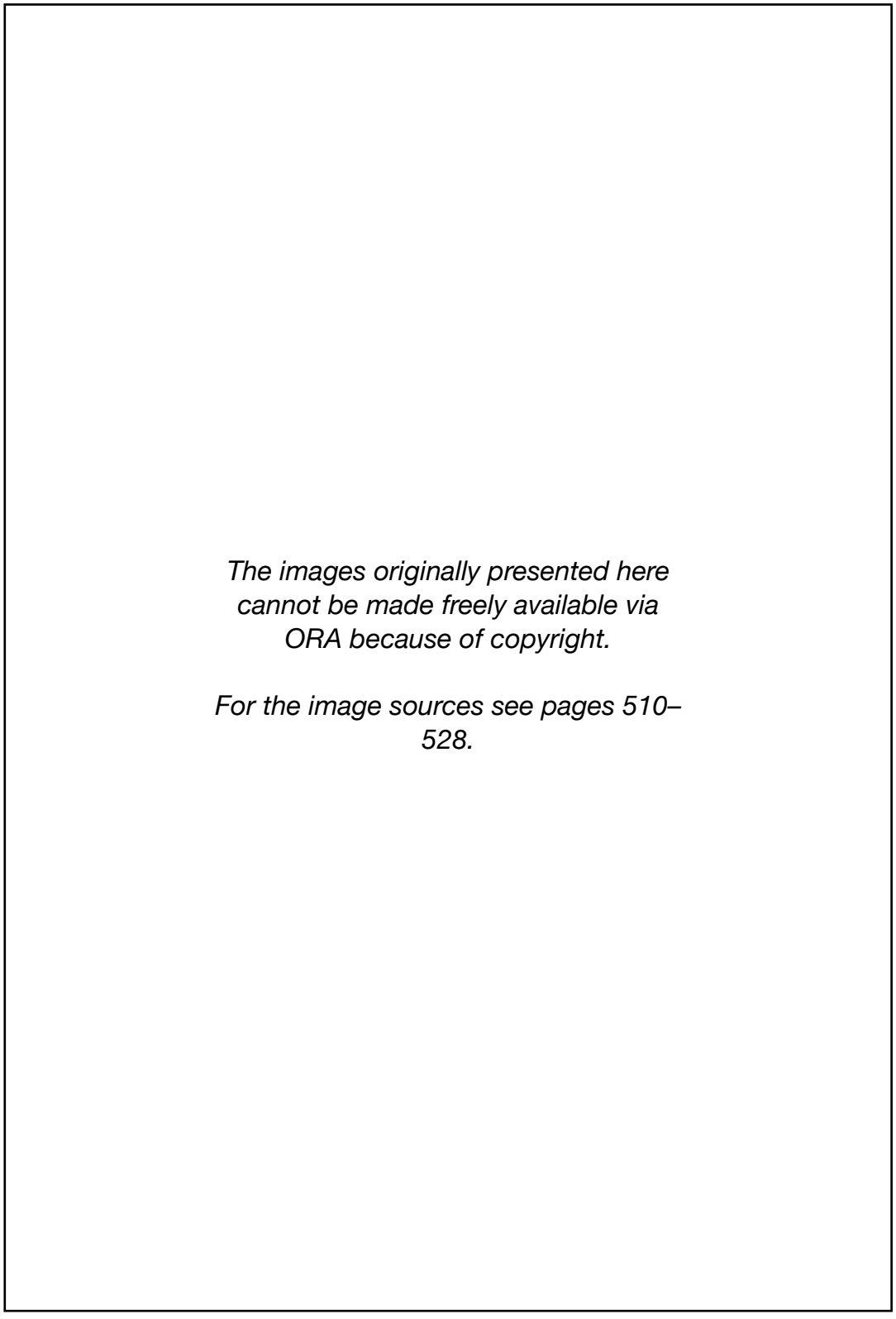


Figure 3.9:

Coins with monograms similar to the ‘Deiotaros monogram’

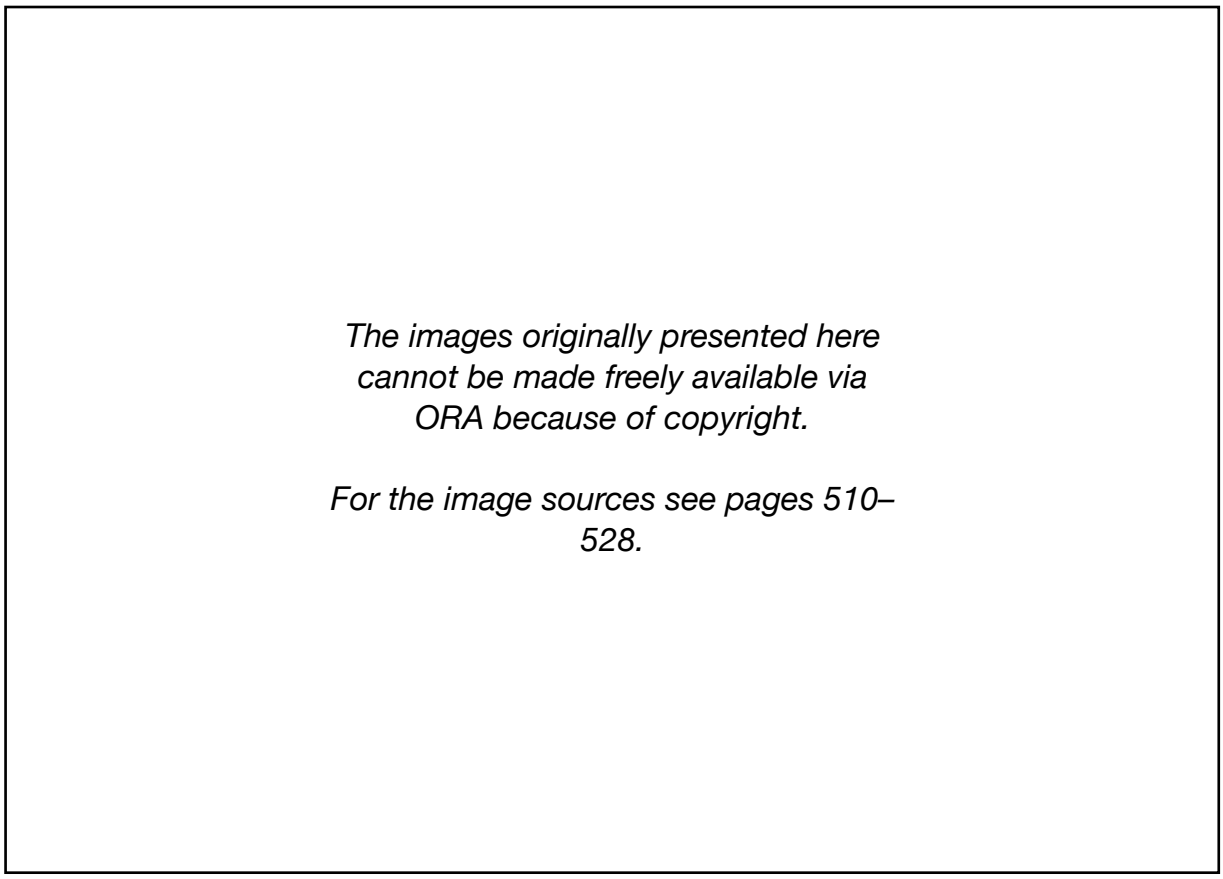


Figure 3.10:

Transitional stages of the ‘Deiotaros monogram’ between groups 2 and 3

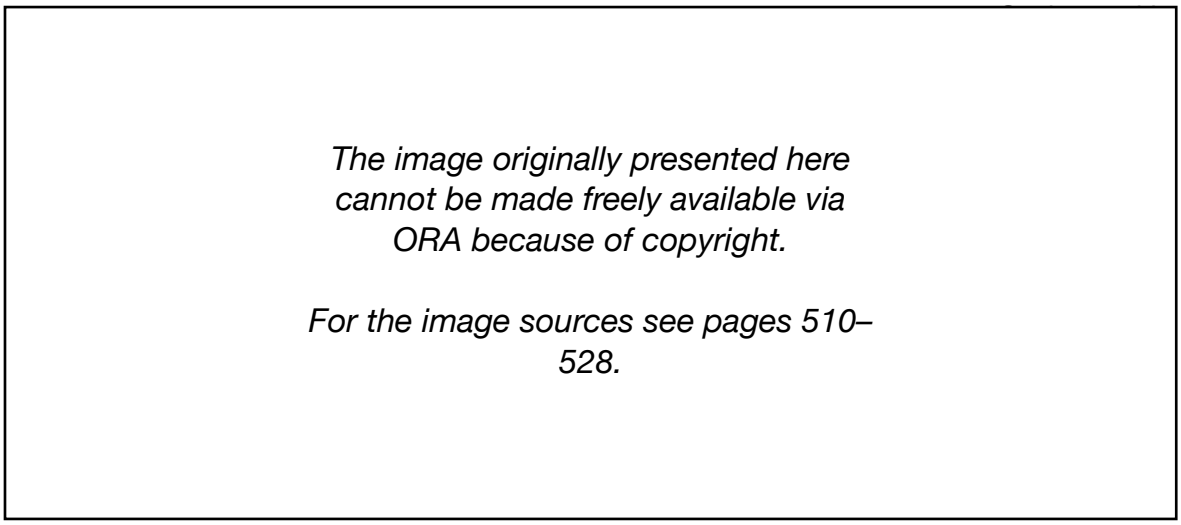


Figure 3.11:

‘Deiotaros monogram’ coin type with eagle on winged thunderbolt

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 510–528.

Figure 3.12:

The Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt type minted at Pergamon

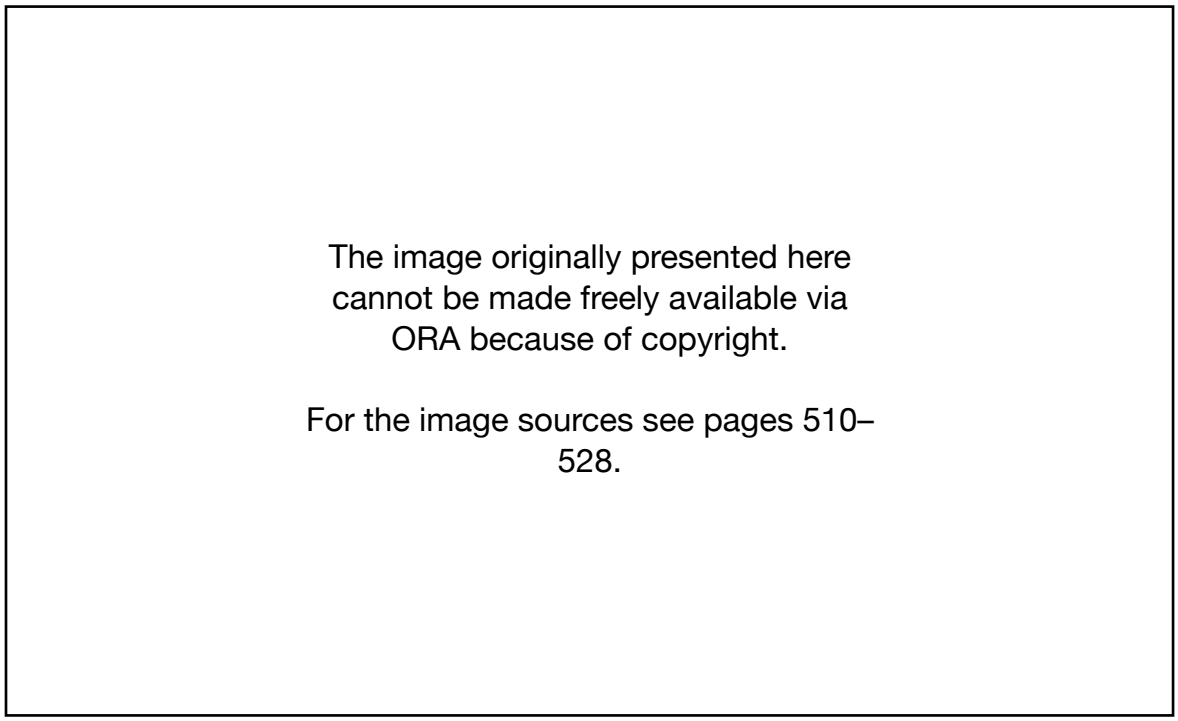


Figure 3.13:

An overstrike on the reverse of the Zeus/eagle
on thunderbolt type

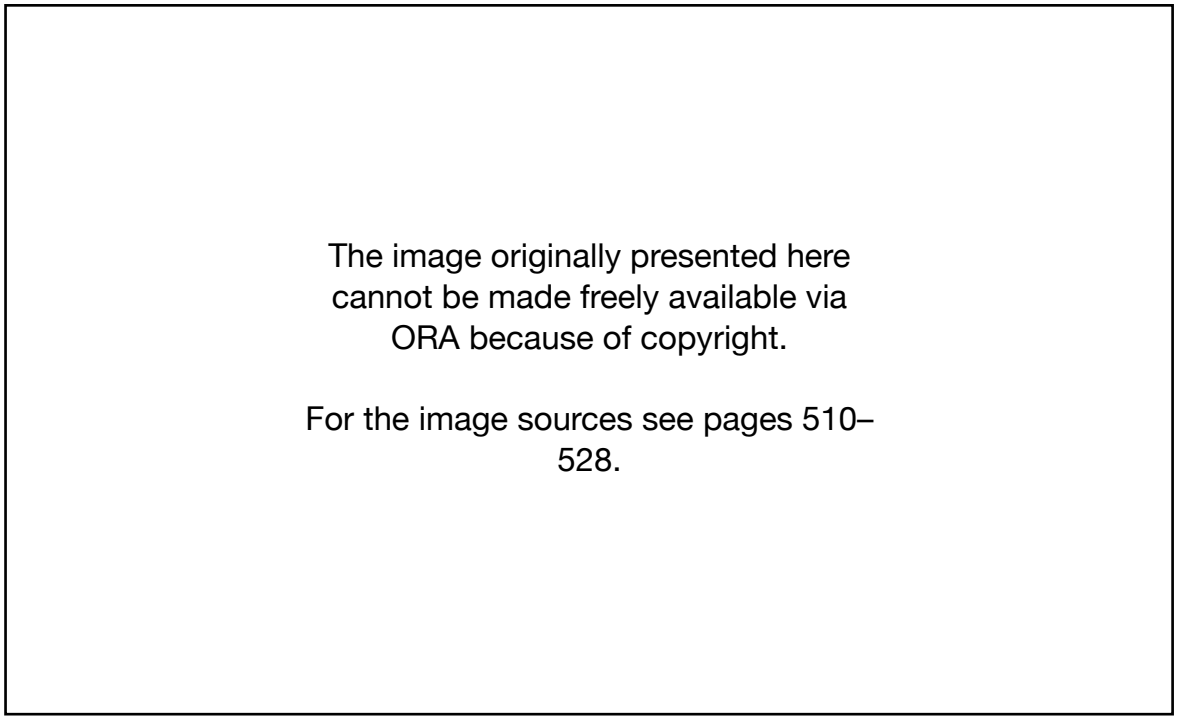


Figure 3.14:

The overstrike on the reverse of the Zeus/eagle
on thunderbolt type and the possible undertype

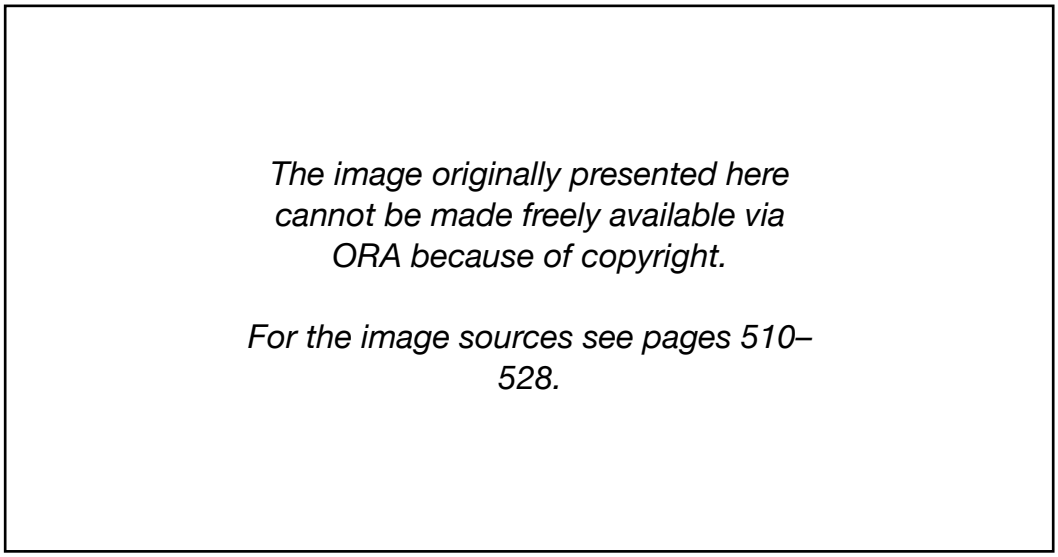


Figure 3.15:

Coin depicting Tyche/Kybele on the obverse and owl

standing on ‘Deiotaros monogram’ in wreath on reverse

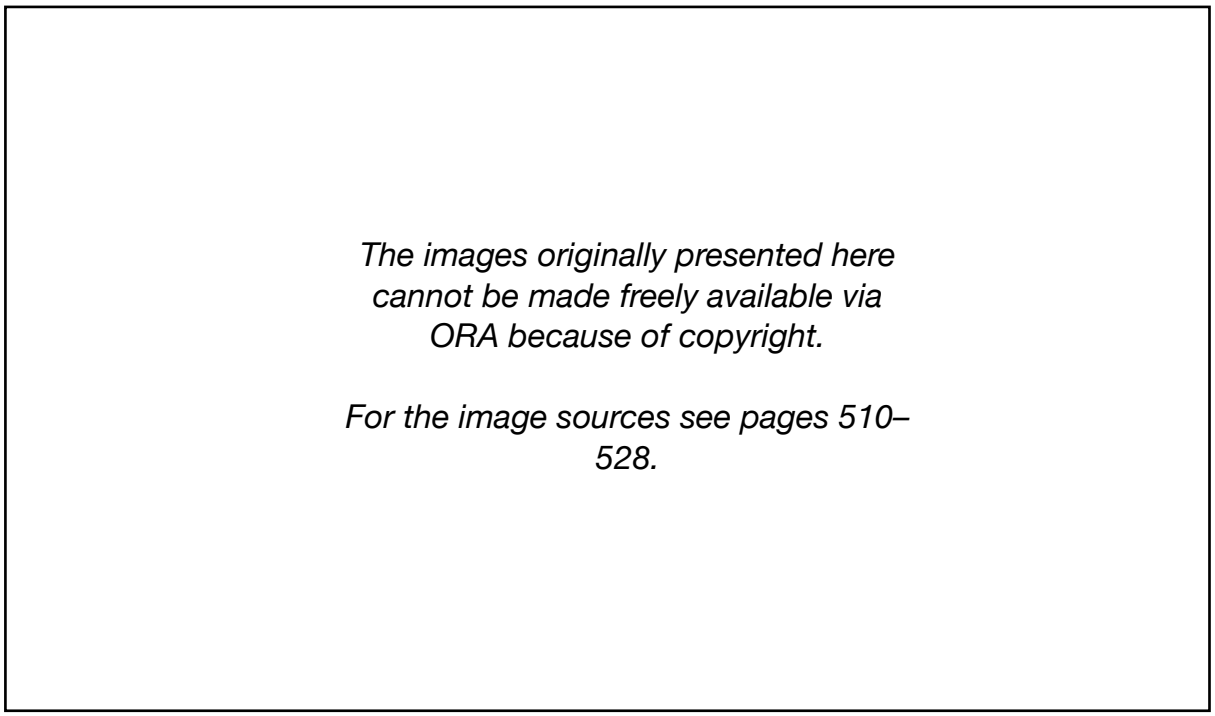


Figure 3.16:

Tyche countermarks on the coins of ‘King Deiotaros’ (left)

and on the Tyche/Kybele from the Paris collection (right)

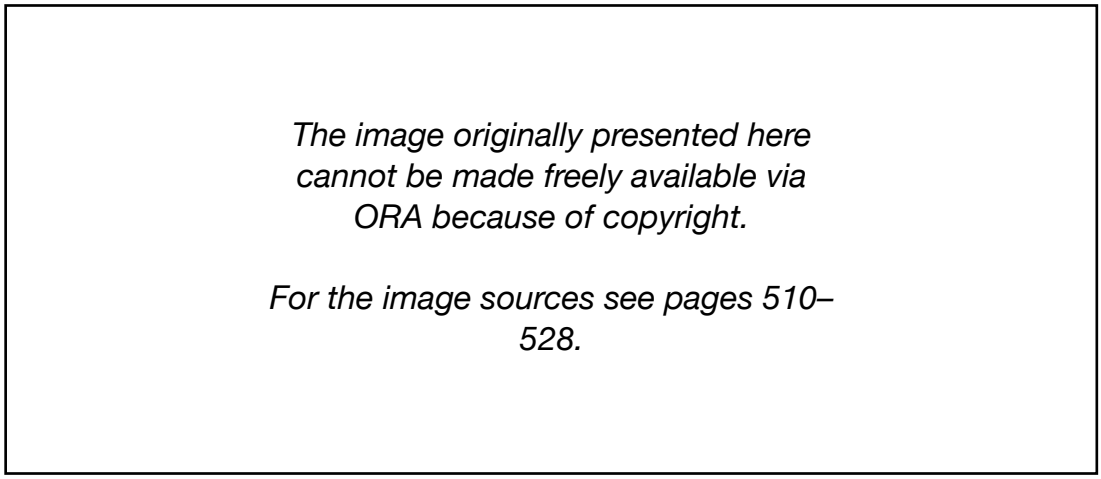


Figure 3.17:

‘Deiotaros monogram’ coin type depicting depicting Mên/Attis on the obverse and monogram between crossed cornucopia on the reverse

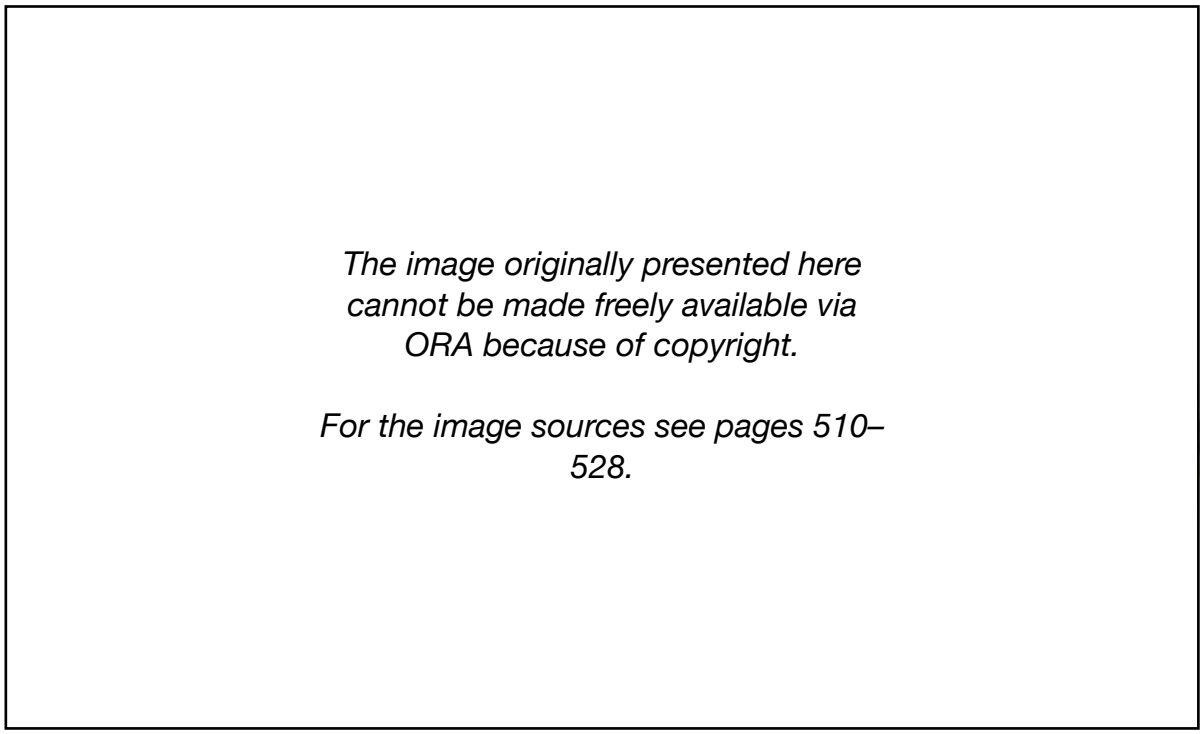


Figure 3.18:

Coin of ‘King Deiotaros’

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 510–528.

Figure 3.19:

Coin of King Deiotaros (left) and Tavion under King Brogitaros (right)

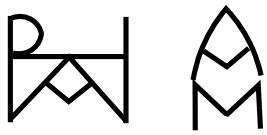


Figure 3.20:

The two monograms on Pessinos' bronze coinage of the 1st century BC

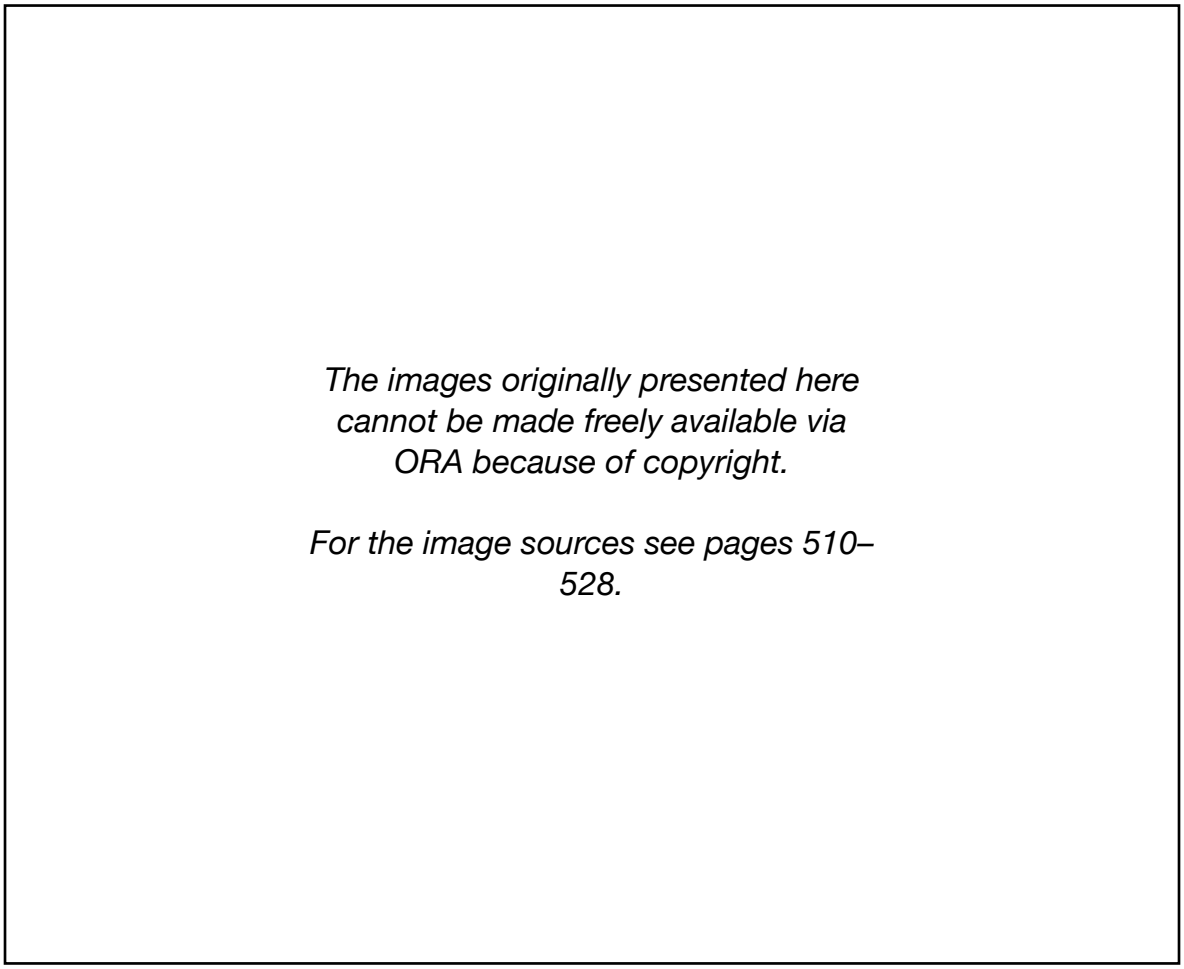


Figure 3.21:

Possible forgeries or misattributed gold and silver coins associated with King Amyntas of Galatia

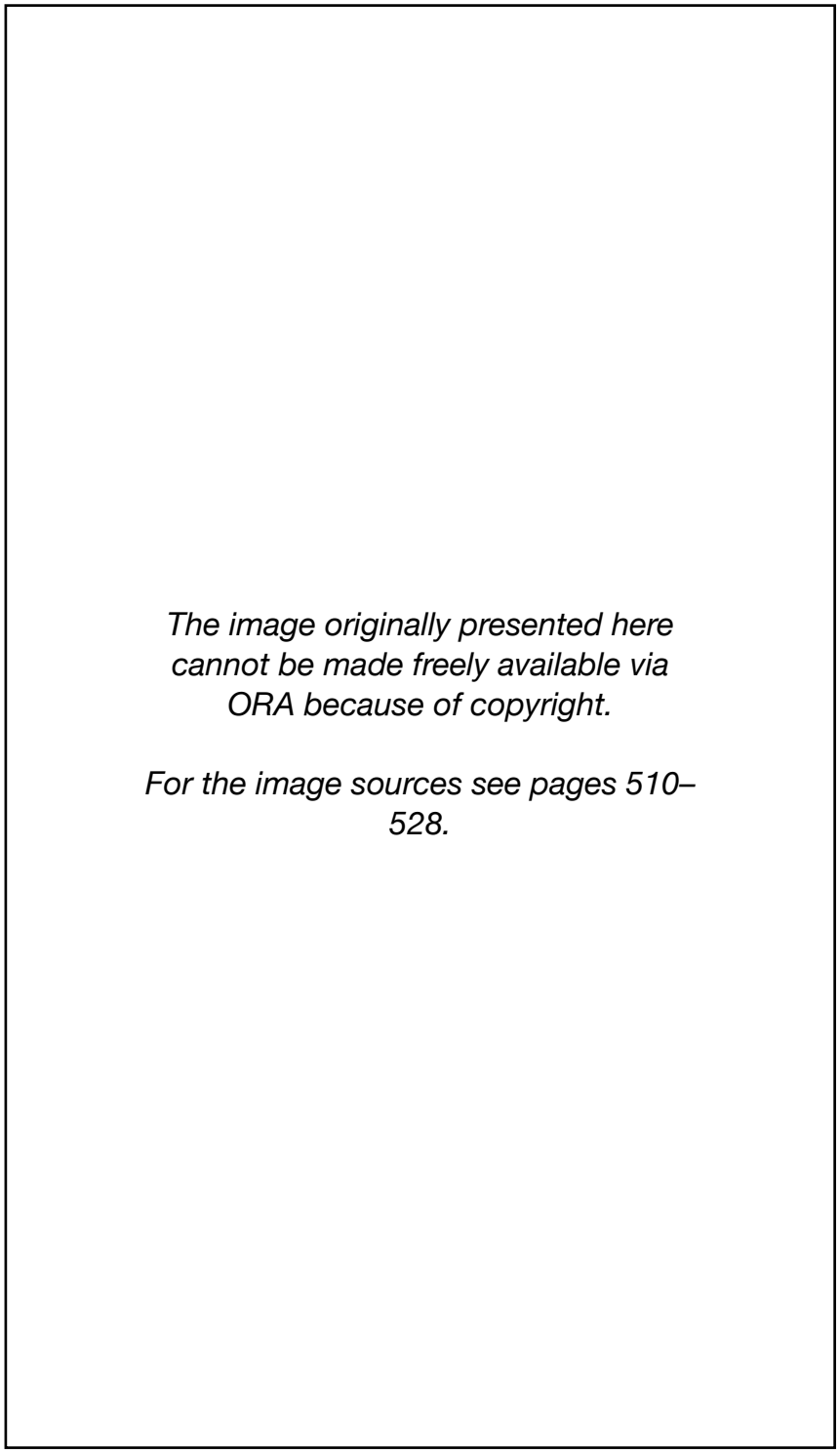


Figure 3.22:
Silver tetradrachm of King Amyntas

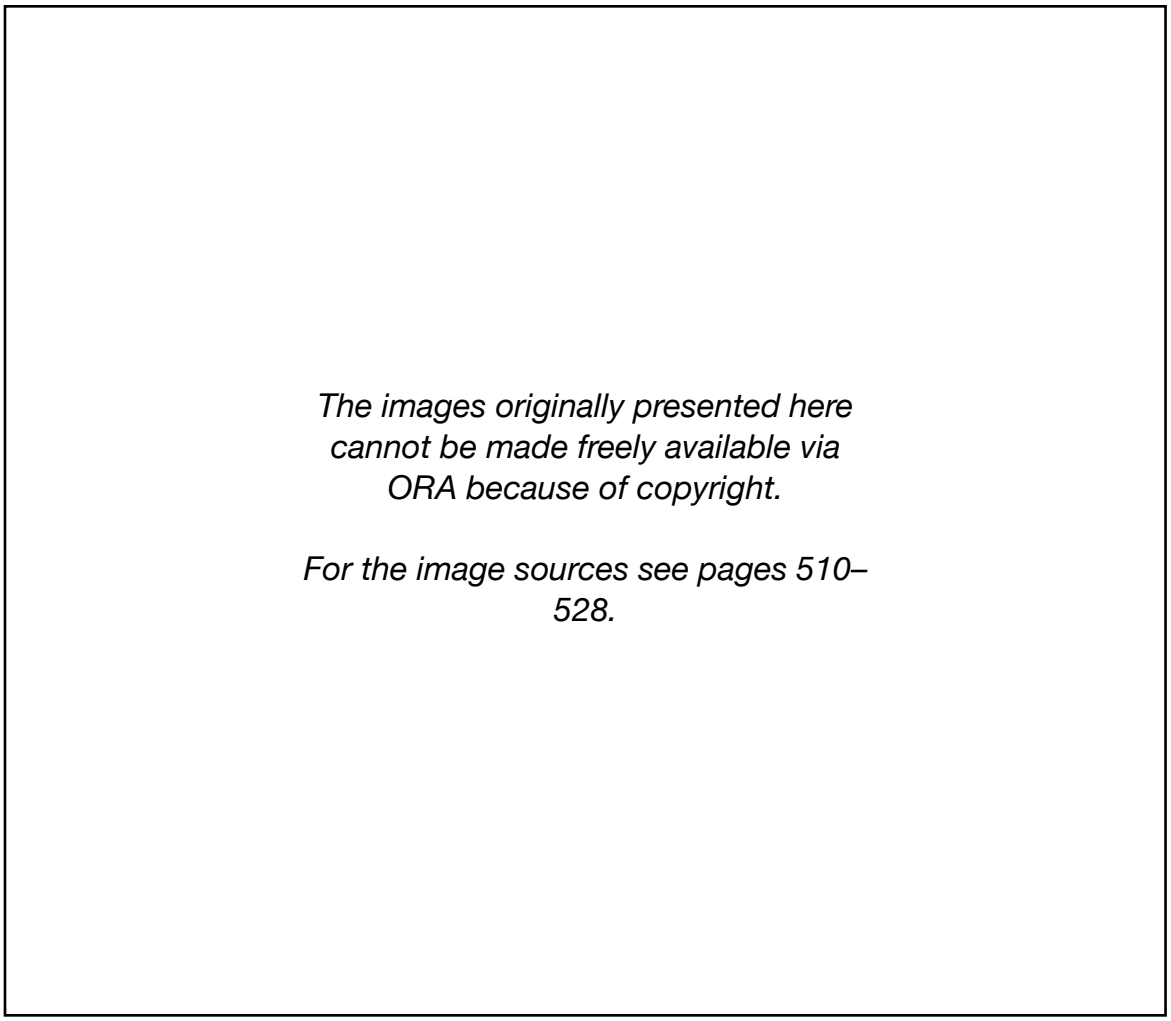


Figure 3.23:

Obverse dies O72 (left), O71 (right) and O74 (below)

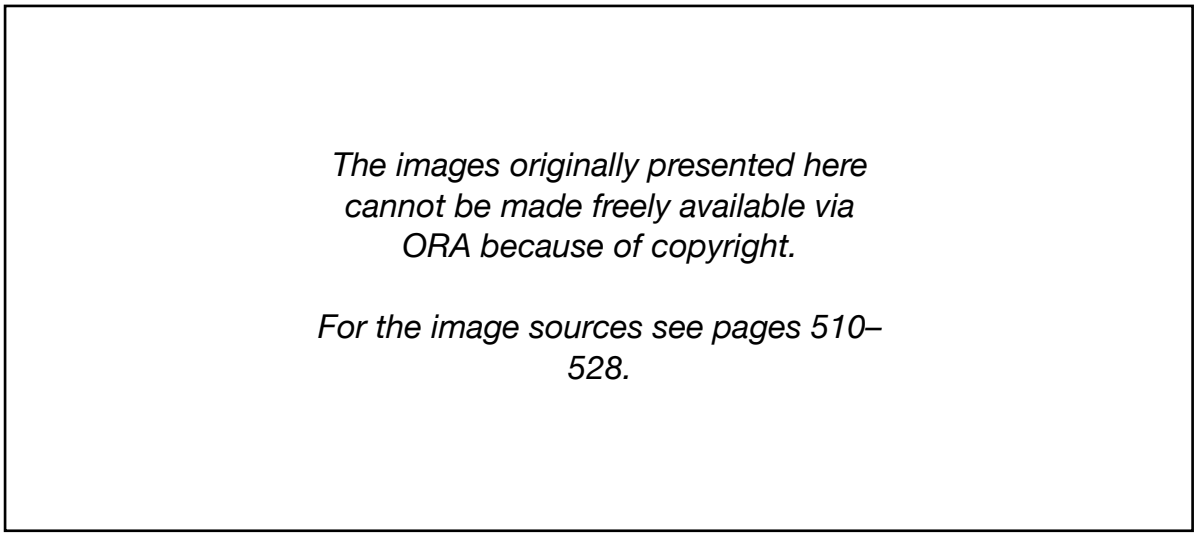


Figure 3.24:

Obverse dies O76 (left) and O75 (right)

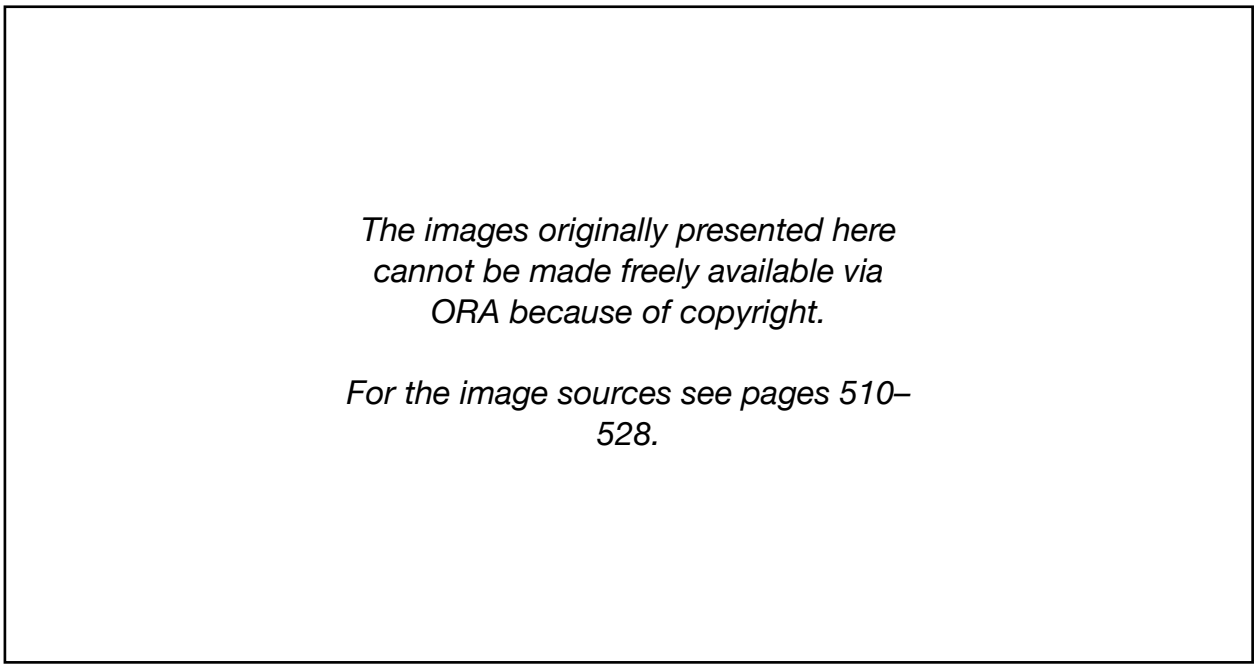


Figure 3.25:

Coin of Amyntas (right) closely copying the hairstyle of an

older silver tetradrachm of Side (left)

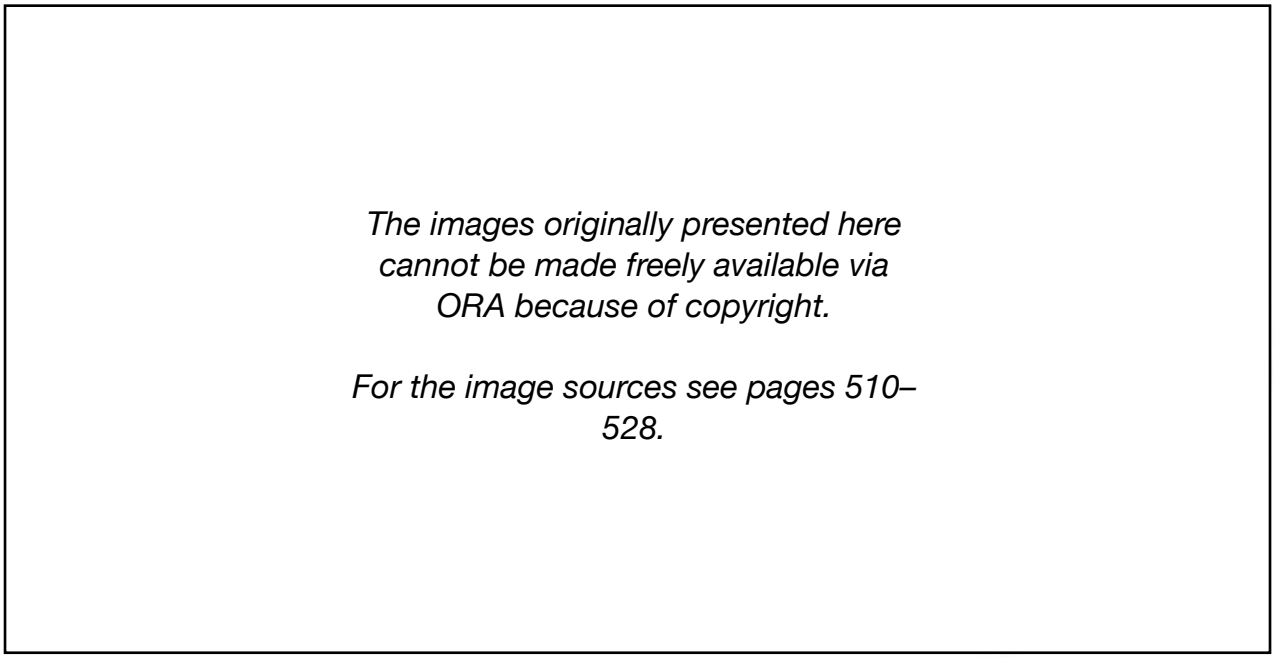


Figure 3.26:

Obverse die O75 in its original (left) and recut (right) variants

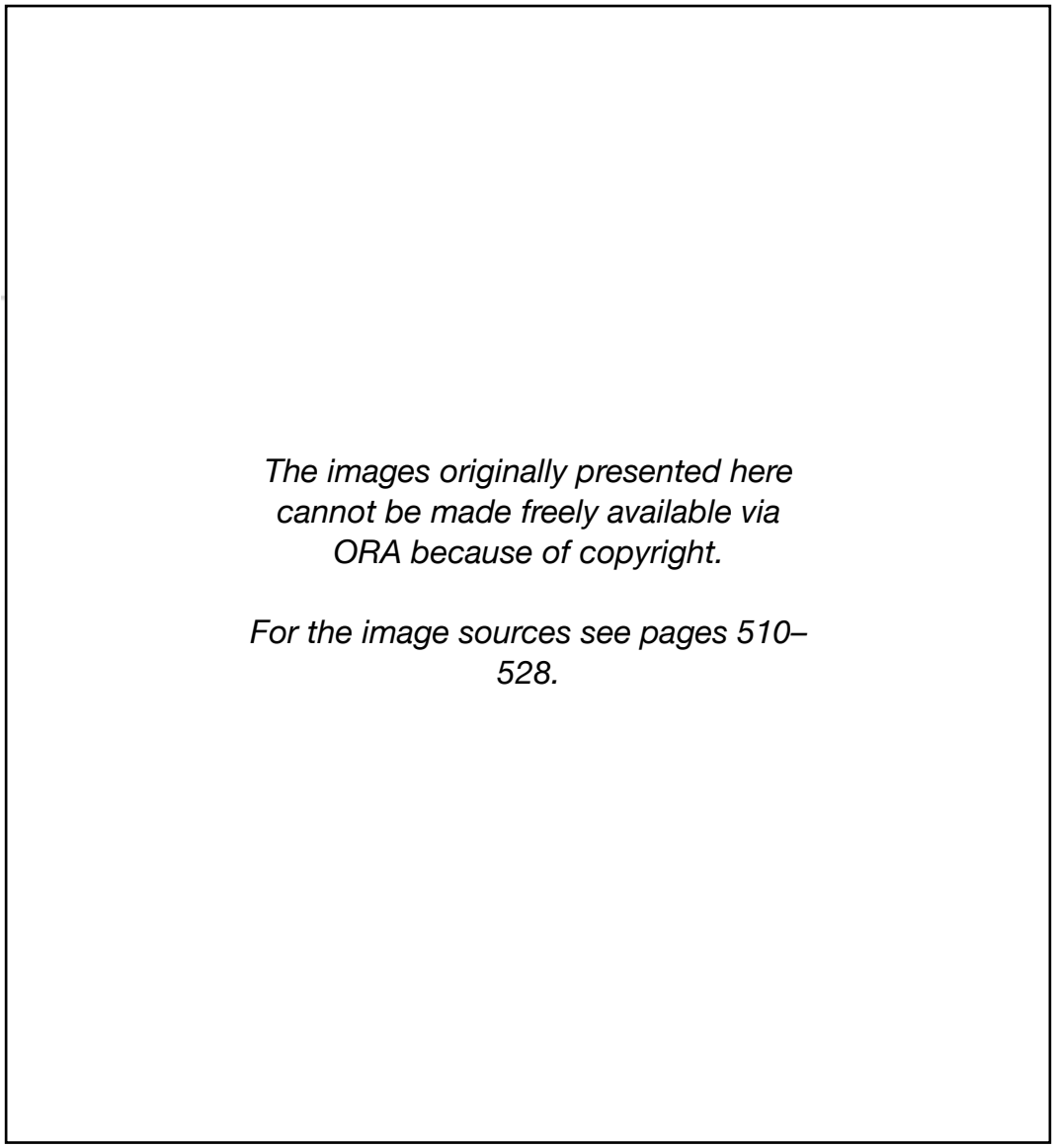


Figure 3.27:

The four diadem forms used on Amyntas' reverse dies

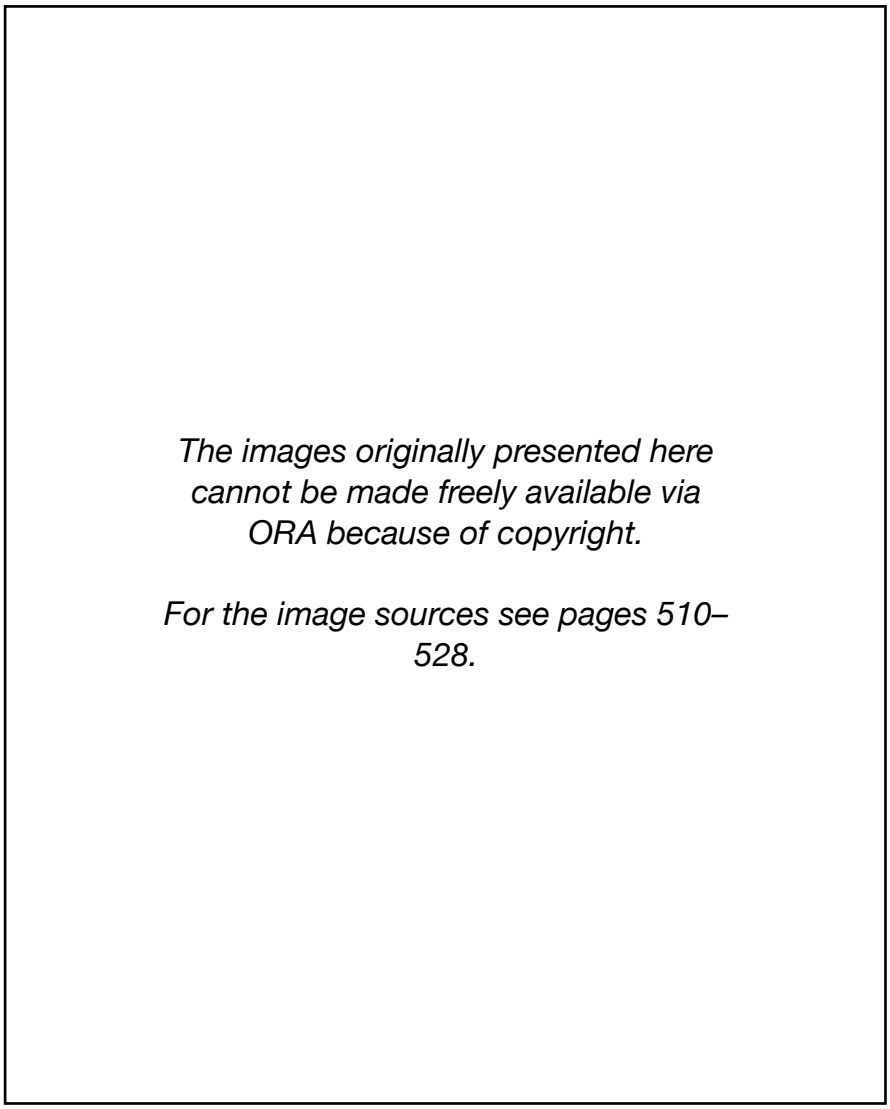


Figure 3.28:

The pomegranate stem variants on Side's ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV

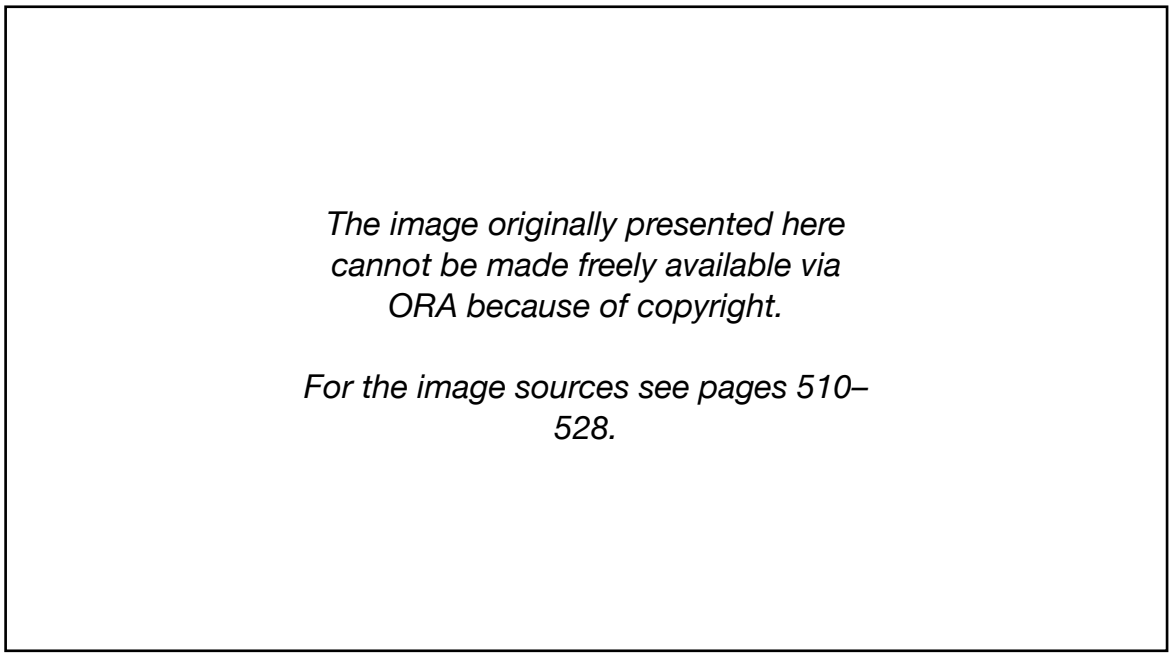


Figure 3.29:

Bronze coin of Amyntas (left) and silver tetradrachm of Amyntas (right)

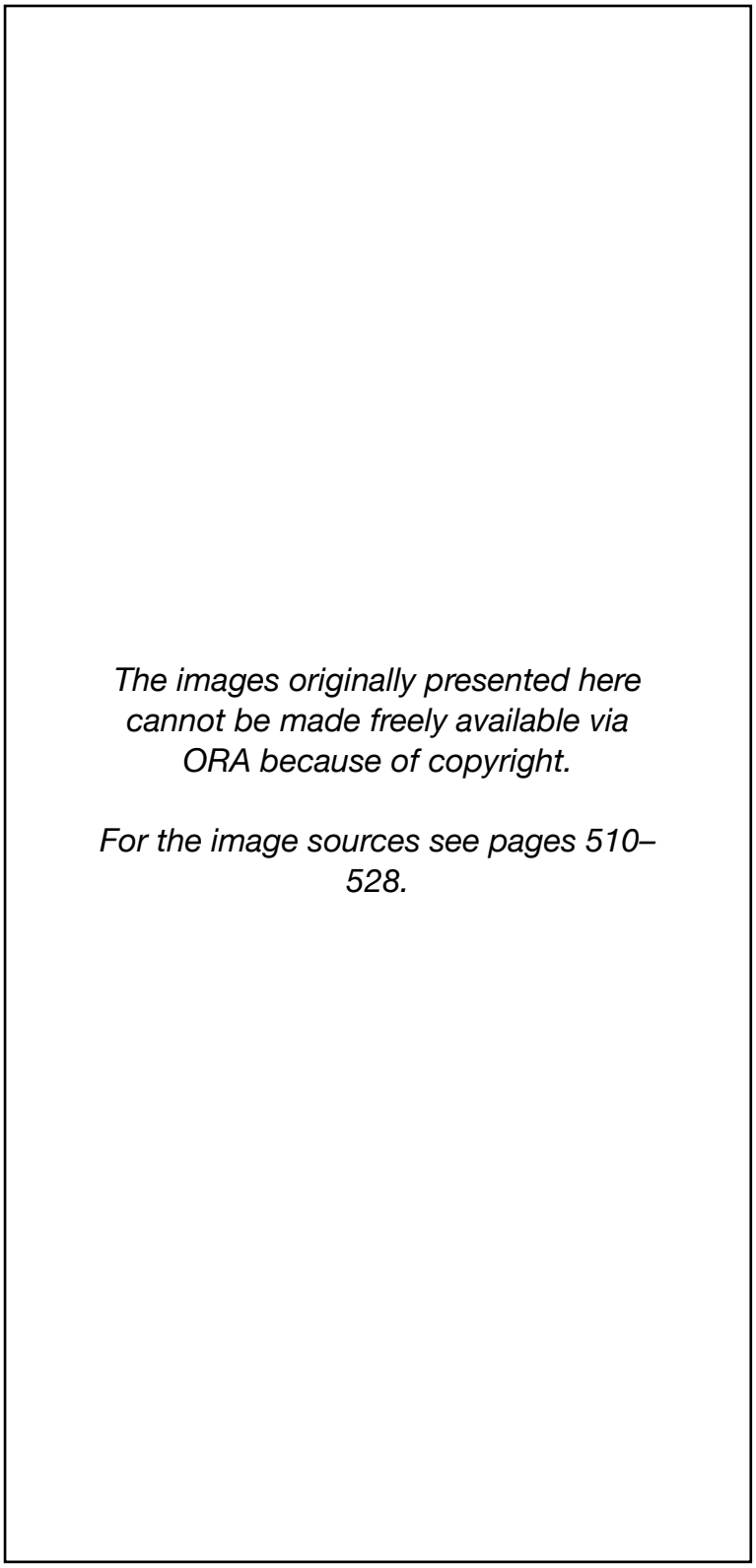


Figure 3.30:
The ‘elephant’ reverse die of King Amyntas with no IB (left) and the addition of IB (right)

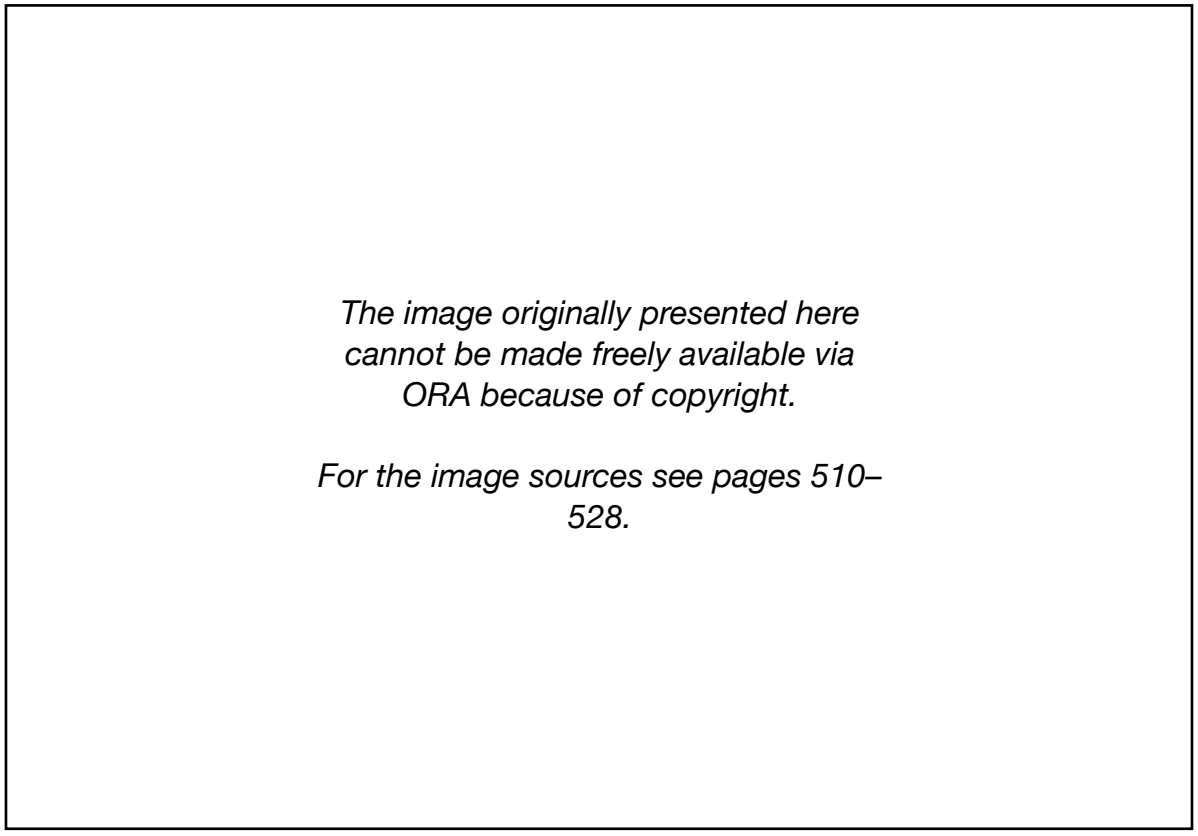


Figure 3.31:

Elephant headdress on coins of the 1st century BC and 1st century AD

1 = reverse of Iol in Africa, Augustan
2 = reverse of Alexandria in Egypt, AD 65/66
3 = reverse of Alexandria in Egypt, AD 129
4 = coin of King Lysias Aniketos of Bactria, c.130–125 BC
5 = coin of King Juba II of Mauretania, AD 18/19

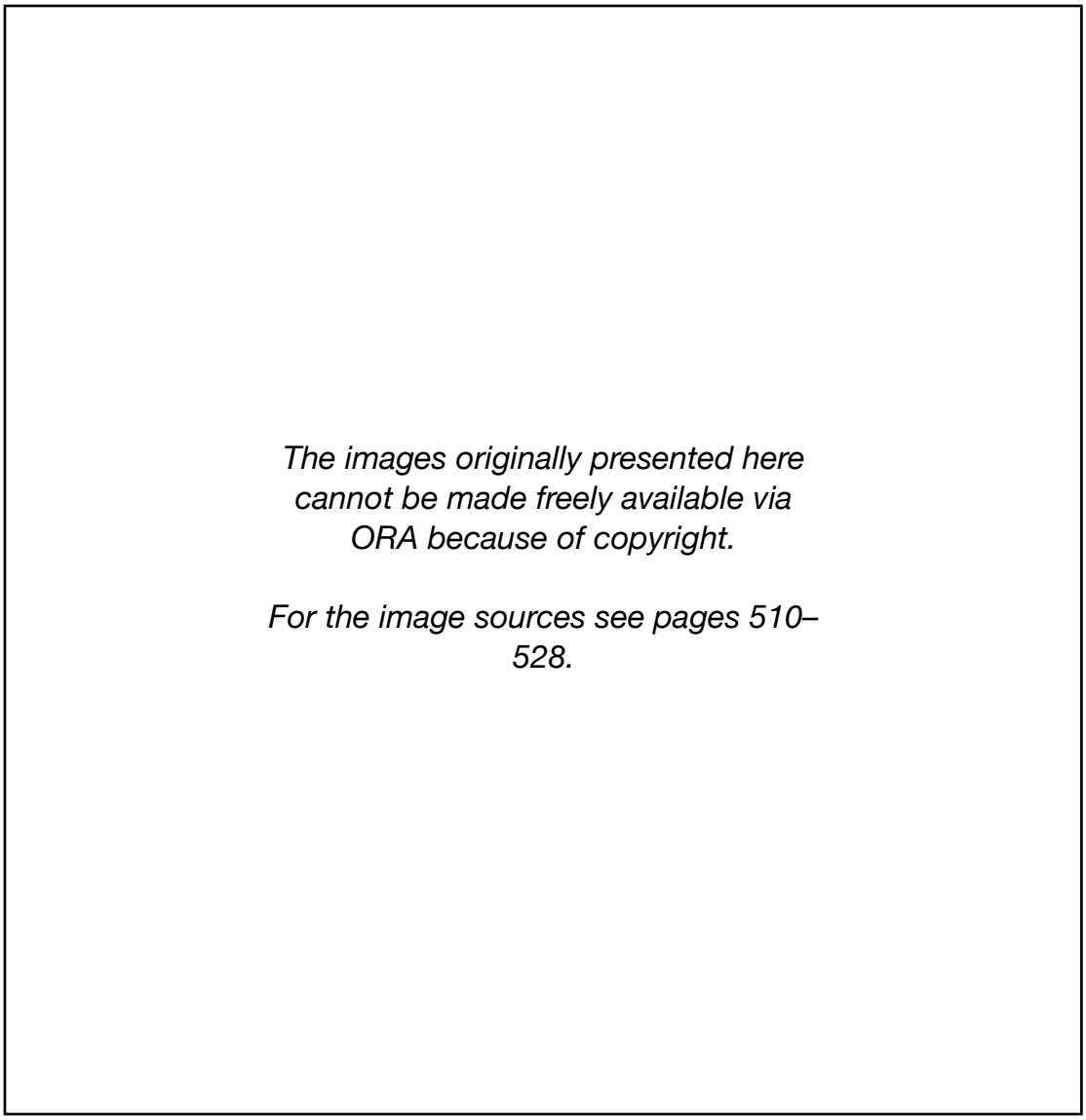


Figure 3.32:

Athenian tetradrachms depicting Nike with different headdress designs

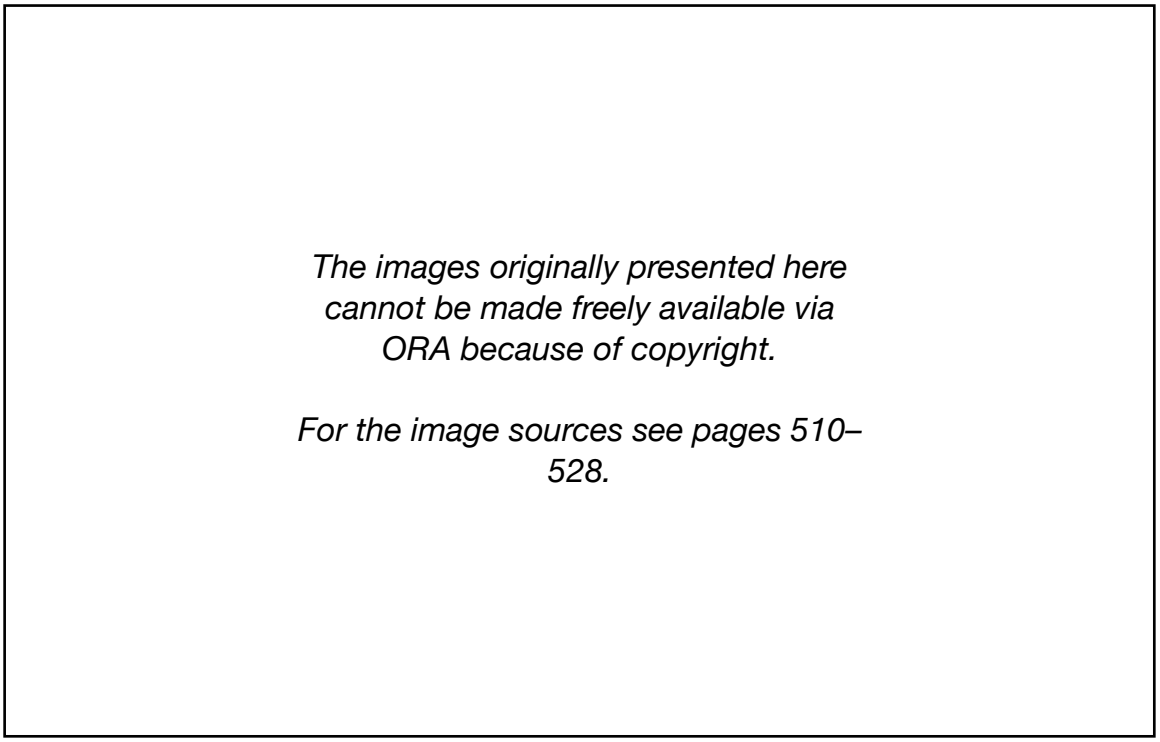


Figure 3.33:

The ‘elephant dies’ of Amyntas’ tetradrachms and hecte staters

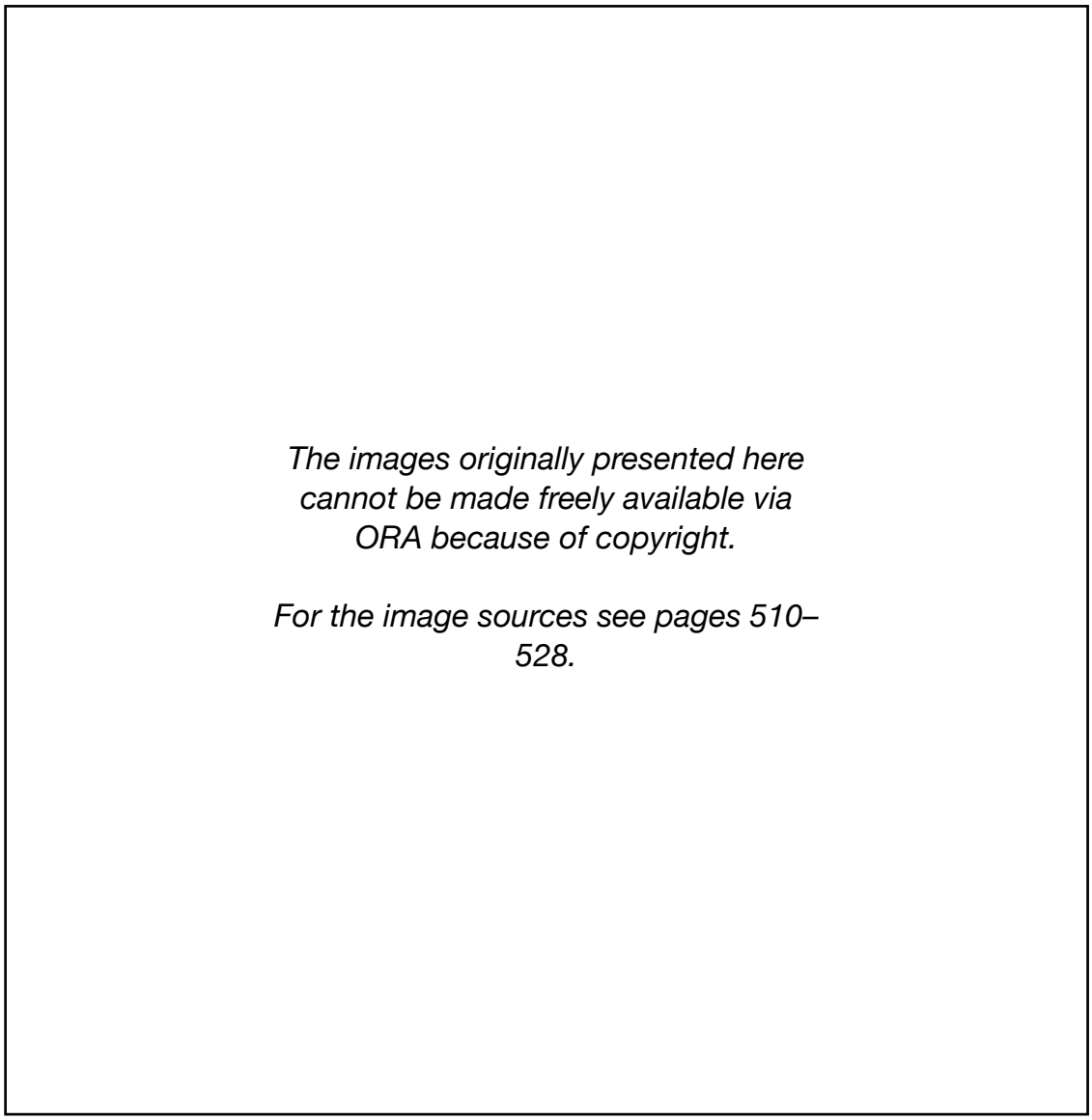


Figure 3.34:

Die breaks on the obverse dies of Amyntas' tetradrachms

Obverse Die

O73

Reverse Die

R185

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 510–528.

Reverse Die

R194

Reverse Die

R197

Reverse Die

R195

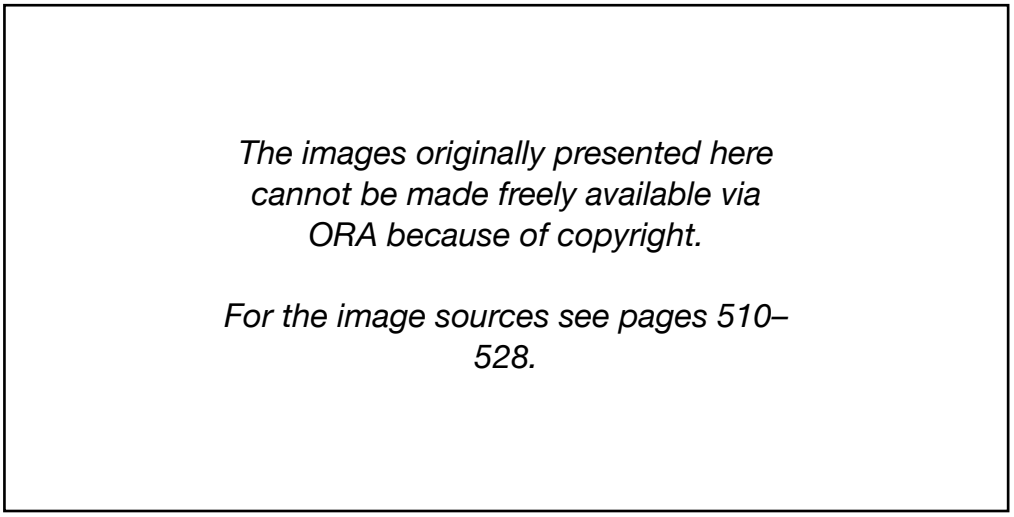


Figure 3.35:

Recut dies of Amyntas

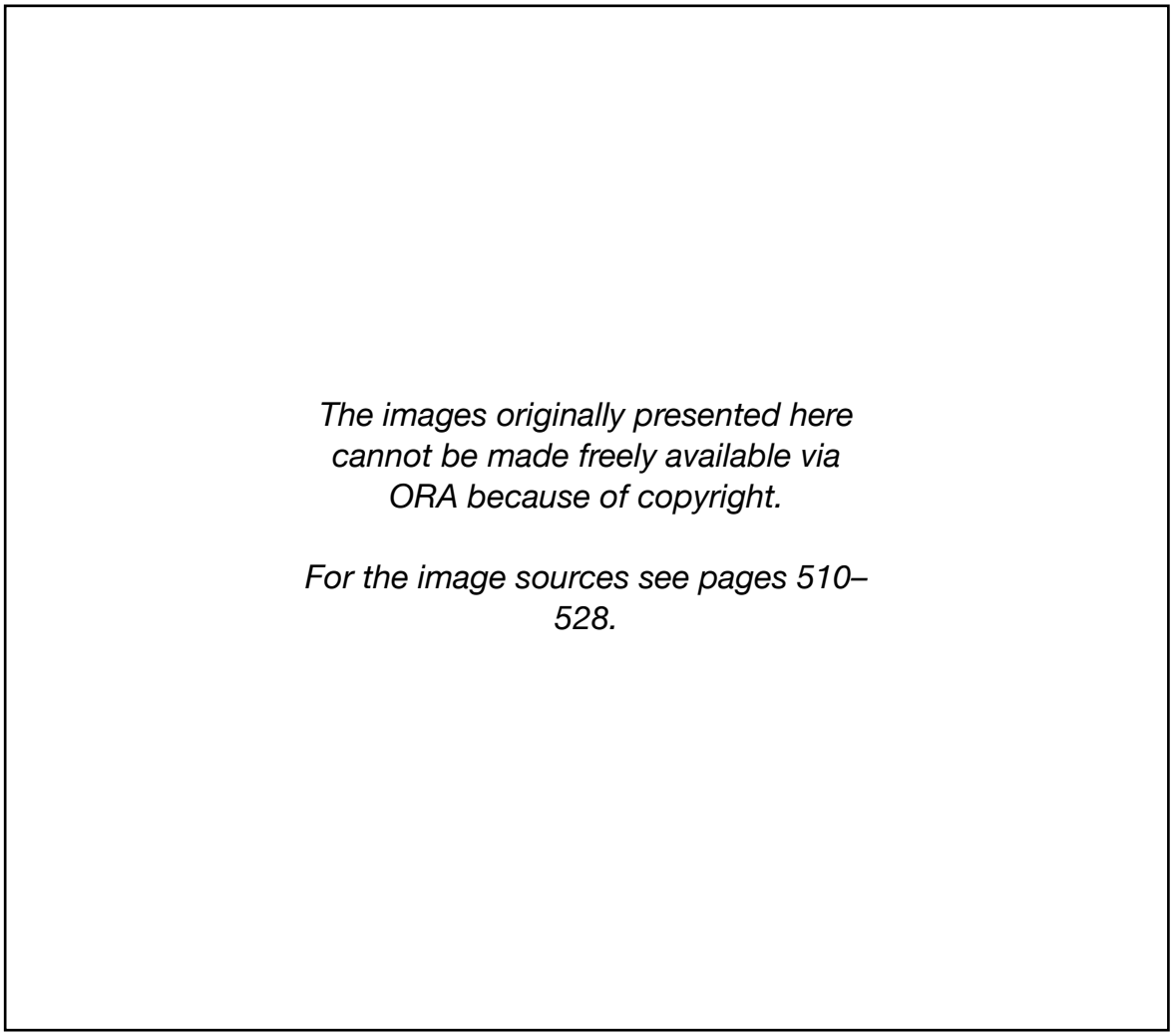


Figure 3.36:

Amyntas' three obverse dies with monogram I and different possible letters in the monogram below

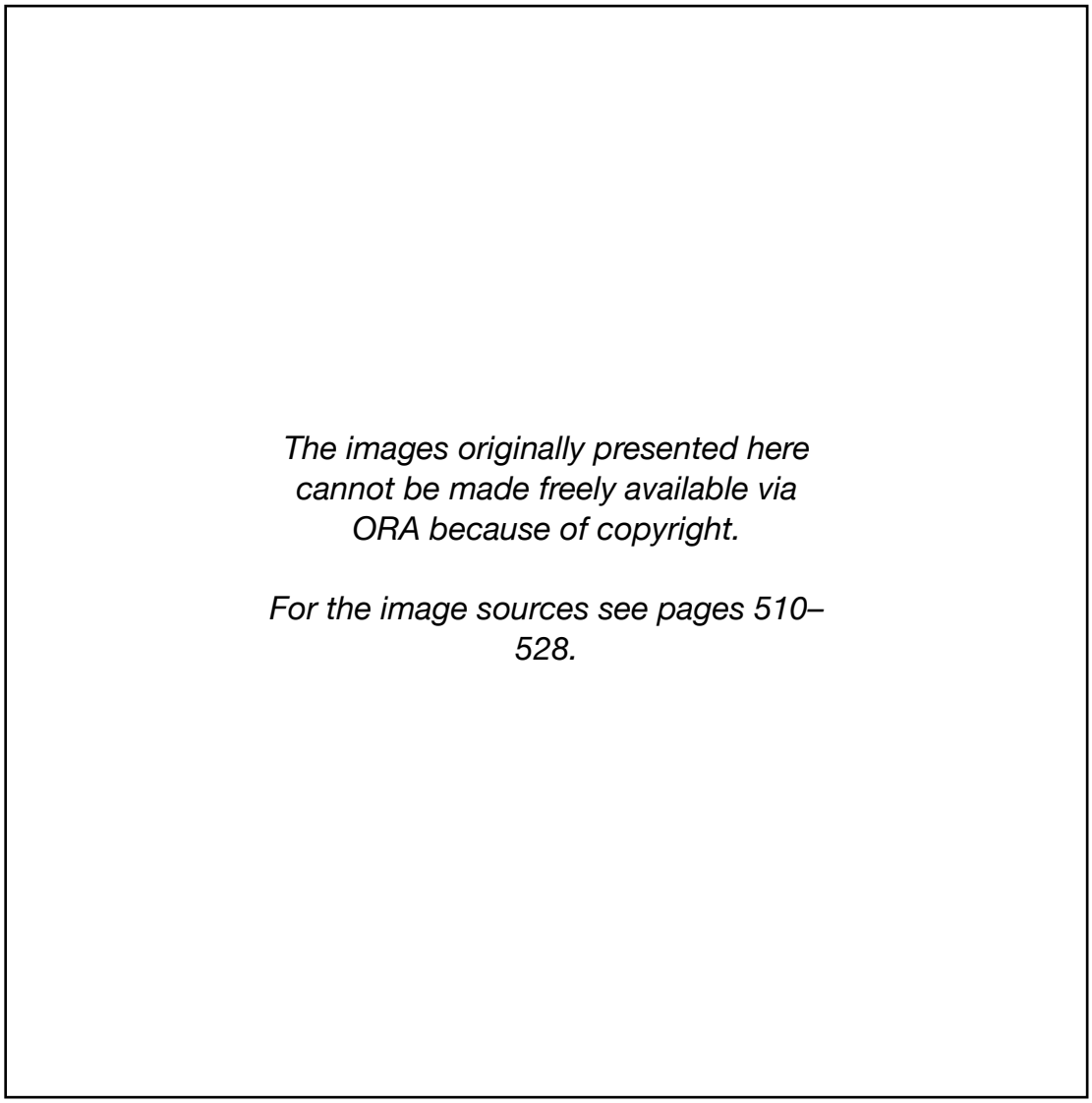


Figure 3.37:

ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV with wreath (above) and diadem (below)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 510–528.

Figure 3.38:

The Lion (1.), Stag (2.) and Hermes (3.) series of King Amyntas

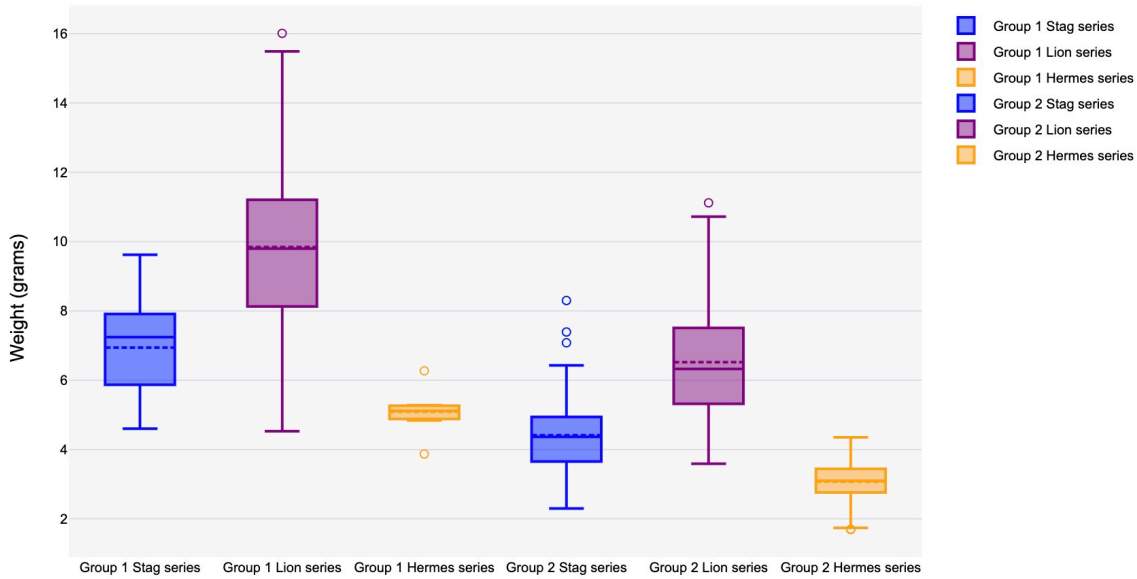
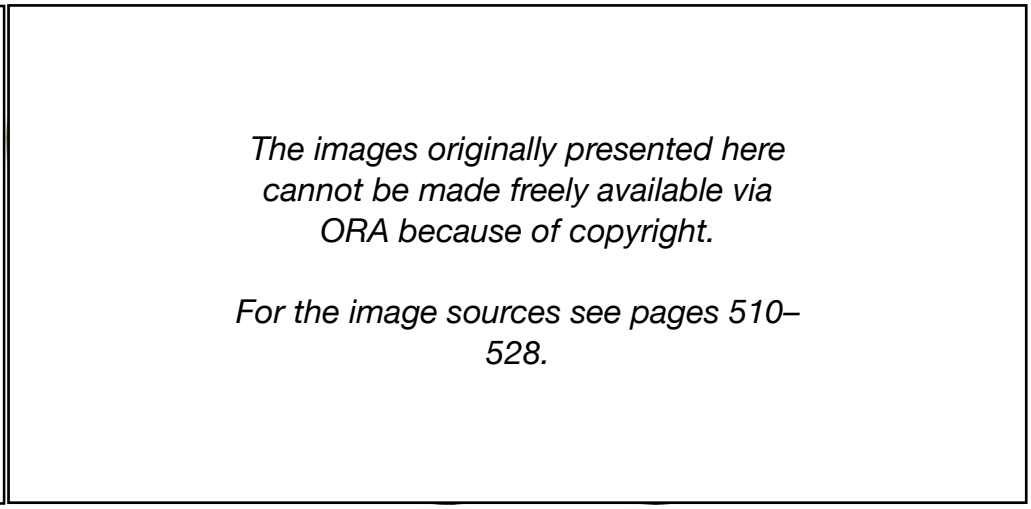


Figure 3.39:

Box plot comparing the weights of the Lion, Stag and Hermes series of Amyntas

Coins of "Group 1“



Coins of "Group 2“

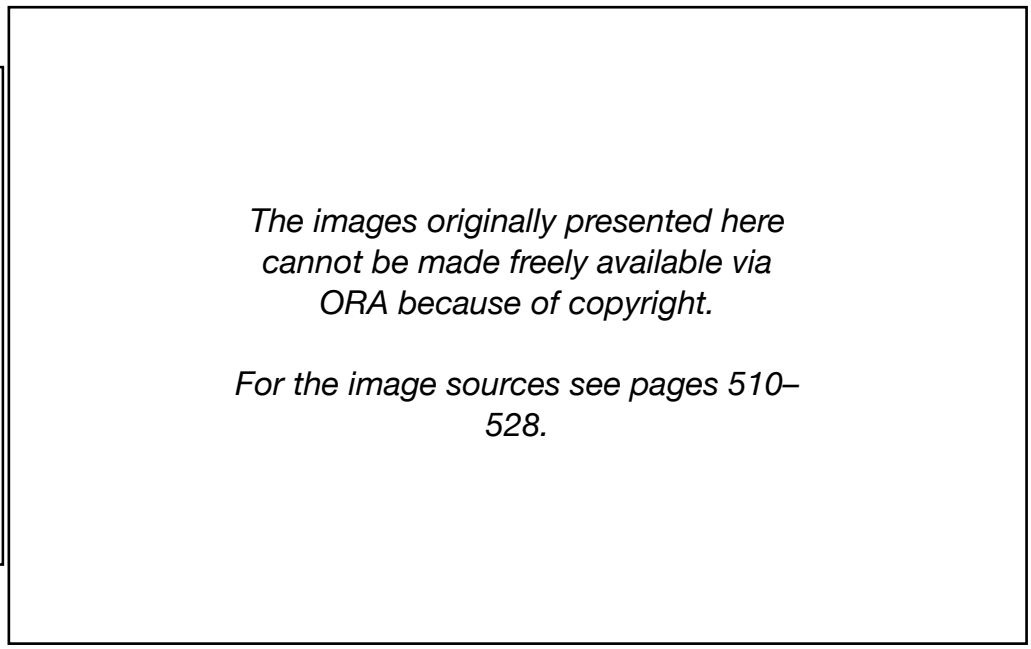


Figure 3.40:

The bronze coin types of Amyntas’ coinage separated into Group 1 and Group 2

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 510–528.

Coin types of the Monogram series with monogram II in exergue with correct monogram (1.) and retrograde monogram (2.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 510–528.

Coin types with the full title with no monogram (3.); monogram III (4.) and (5.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 510–528.

Coin type with Zeus obverse and full title on the reverse depicting monogram III (6.)

Figure 3.41:
The coin types of Amyntas' Lion series

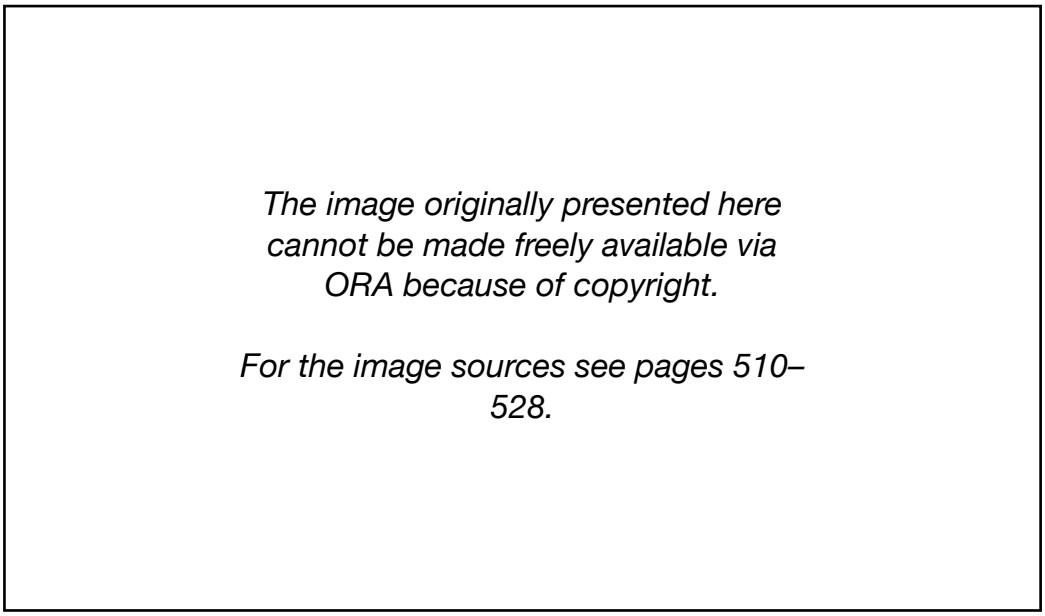


Figure 3.42:

Coin of King Amyntas depicting a tooled obverse with a diademed male head

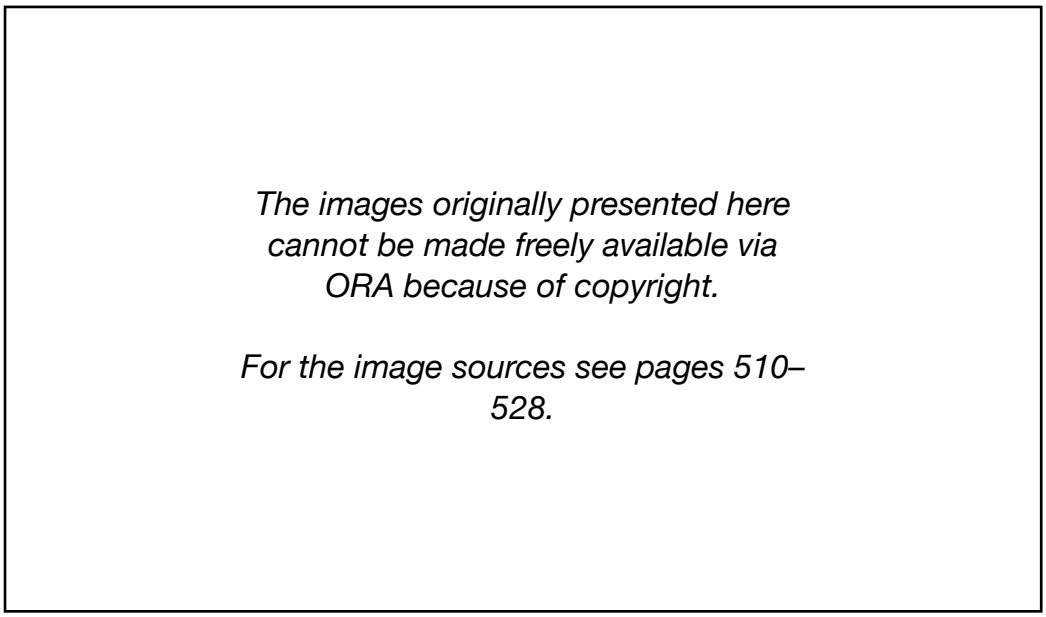


Figure 3.43:

Reverse dies of King Amyntas' Lion series depicting a lion in two different styles

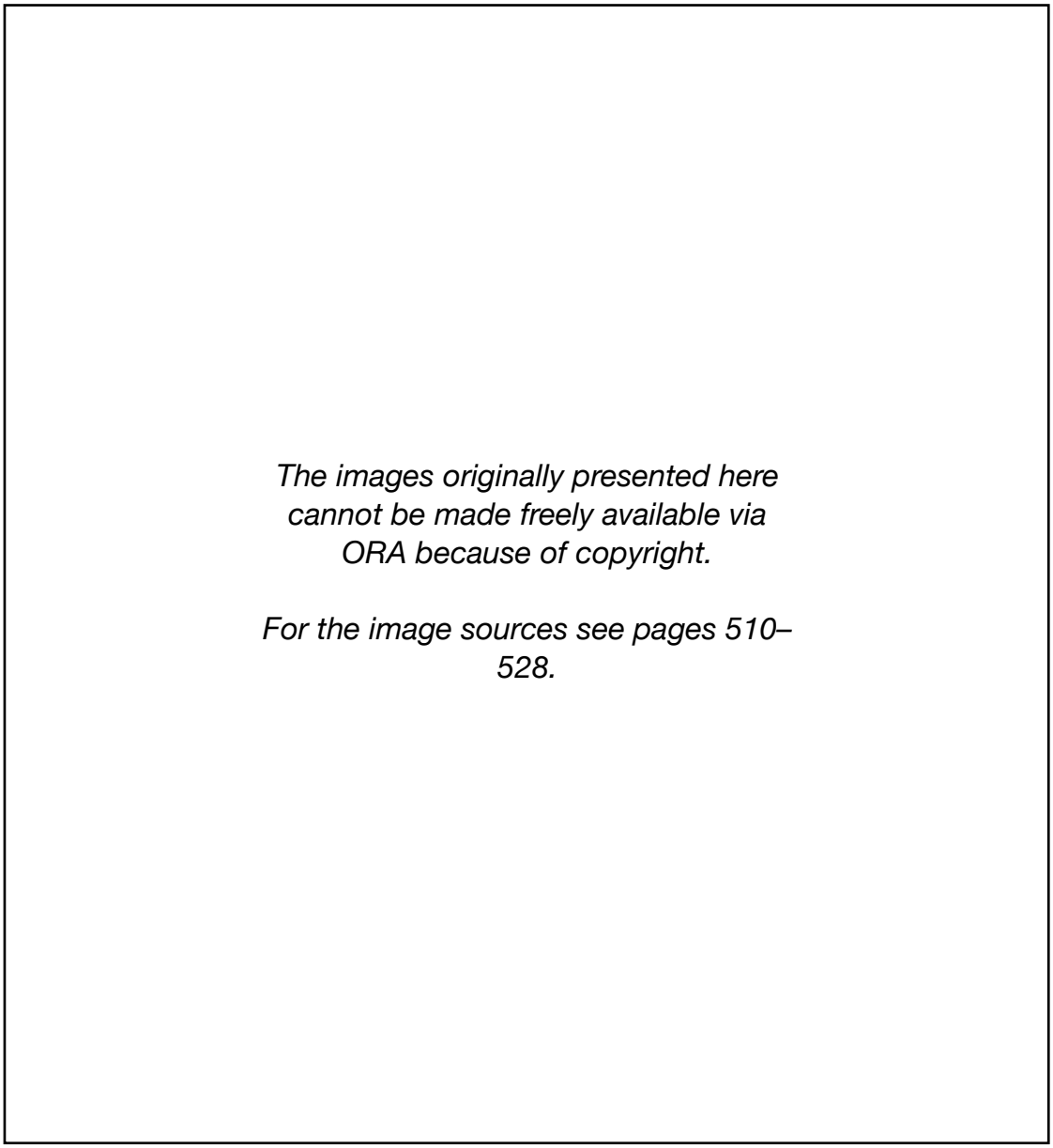


Figure 3.44:

Overlayed coins of the Lion series with exact overlap of the reverse legends but different designs of the tail-end

Above: two Lion series reverse dies of Amyntas

Below: overlay of the two images

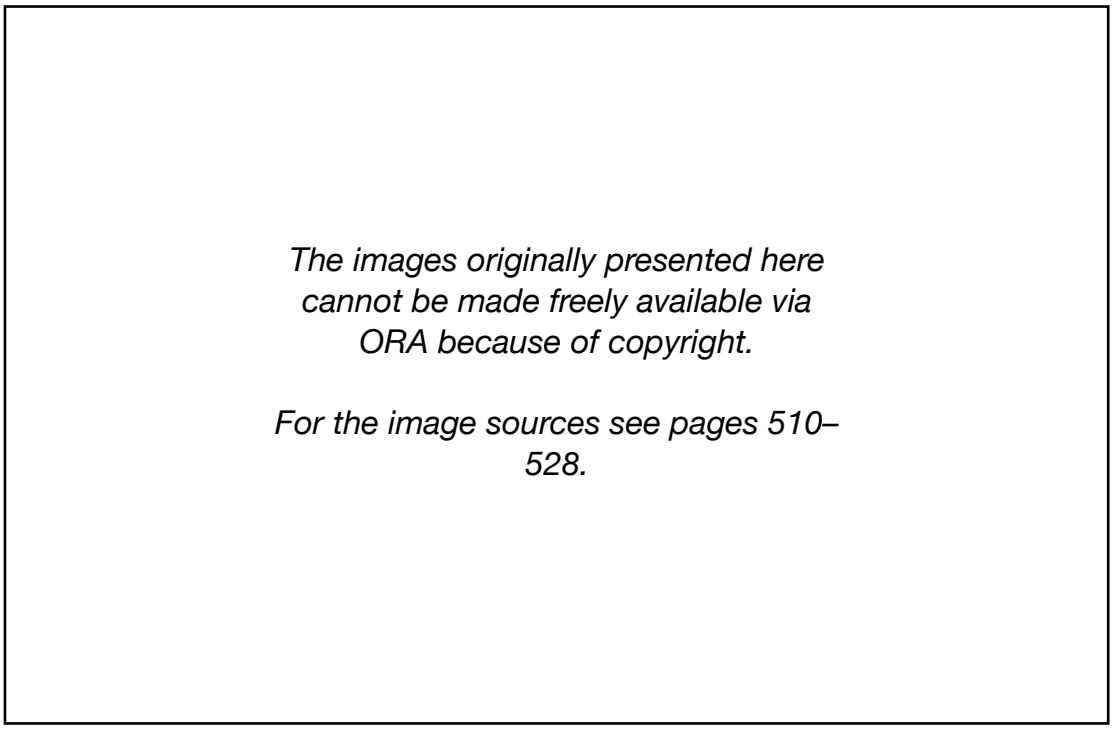


Figure 3.45:

‘Monogram series’ of the Lion series (left) with a wrongly engraved retrograde monogram (right)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 510–528.

Coin type of the full title with no monogram (1.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 510–528.

Transitional coin types airing obverse dies depicting on the reverse the full title with no monogram (2.) and the monogram II in exergue monogram type (3.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 510–528.

Coin types of the Monogram series with monogram II in exergue (4.)

Figure 3.46:

The coin types of Amyntas' Stag series

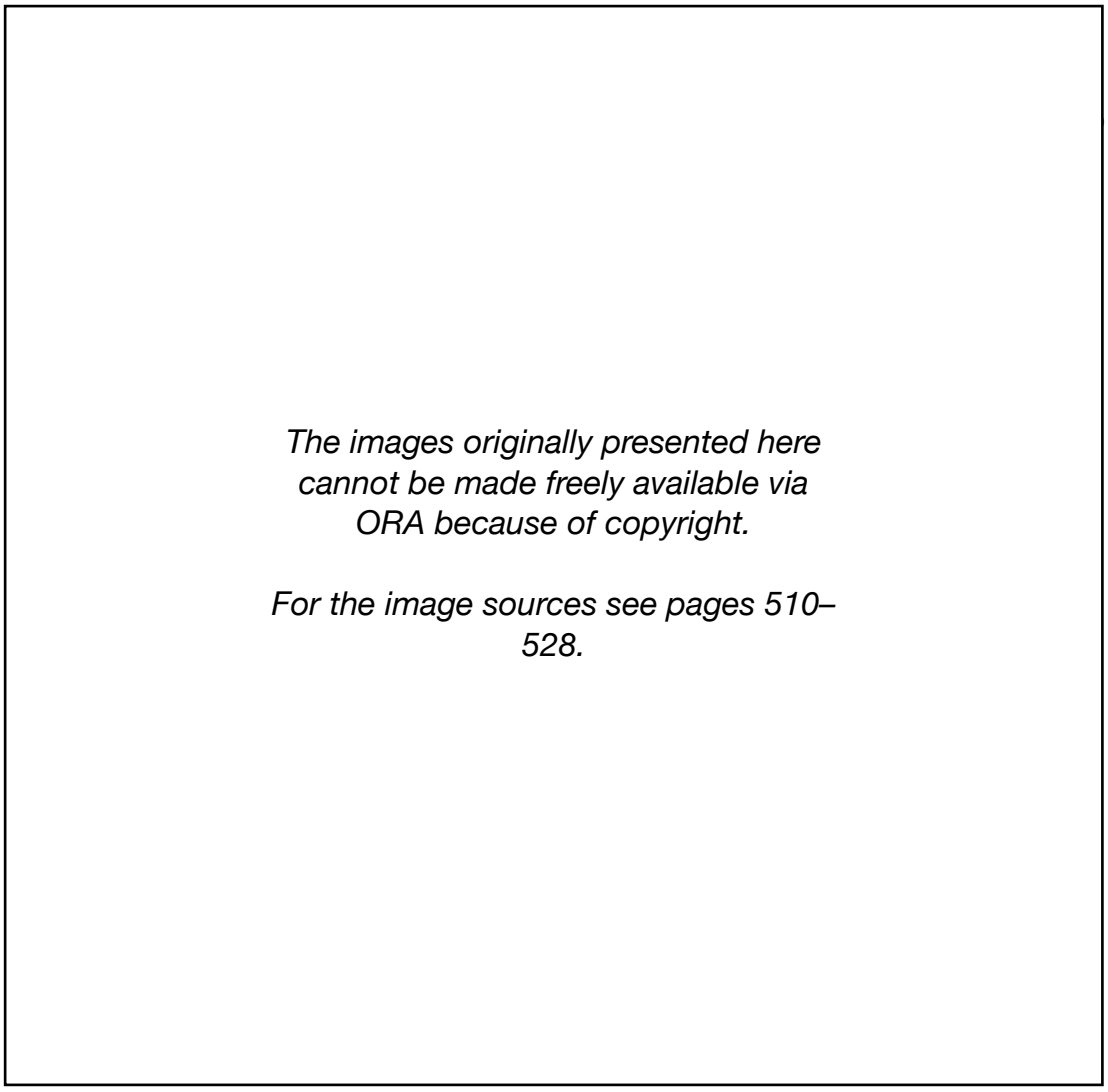


Figure 3.47:

The reverse stag designs and styles of Amyntas' Stag series

The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 510–528.

Coin type of the full title with no monogram

The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 510–528.

Coin type of the full title with monogram III

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 510–528.

Coin type of the Monogram series with monogram II in exergue

Figure 3.48:

The coin types of Amyntas' Hermes series

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 510–528.

Figure 3.49:

Reverse dies of Amyntas' Hermes series spelling AMYN-TOY (left) and AMY-NTOY, (right)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 510–528.

Figure 3.50:

Comparison between the die wear of monogram IV of catalogue type 11 (above) and 15 (below)

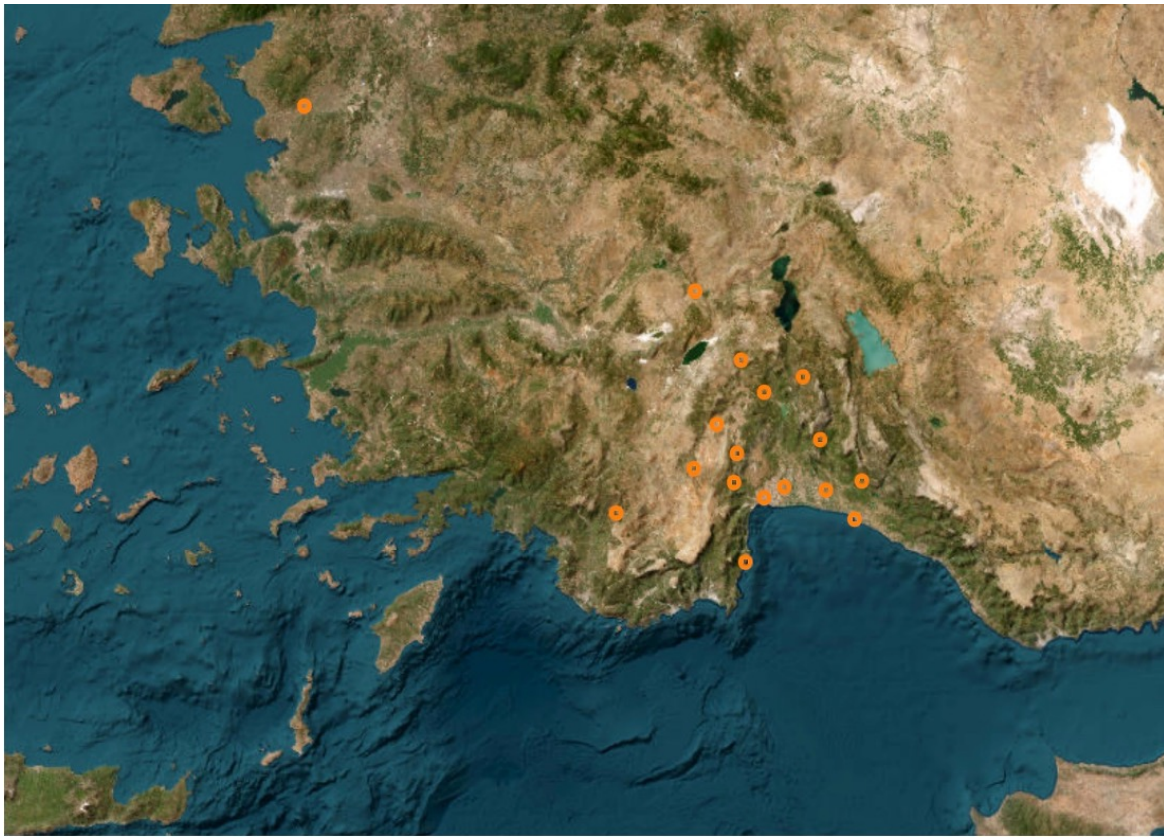
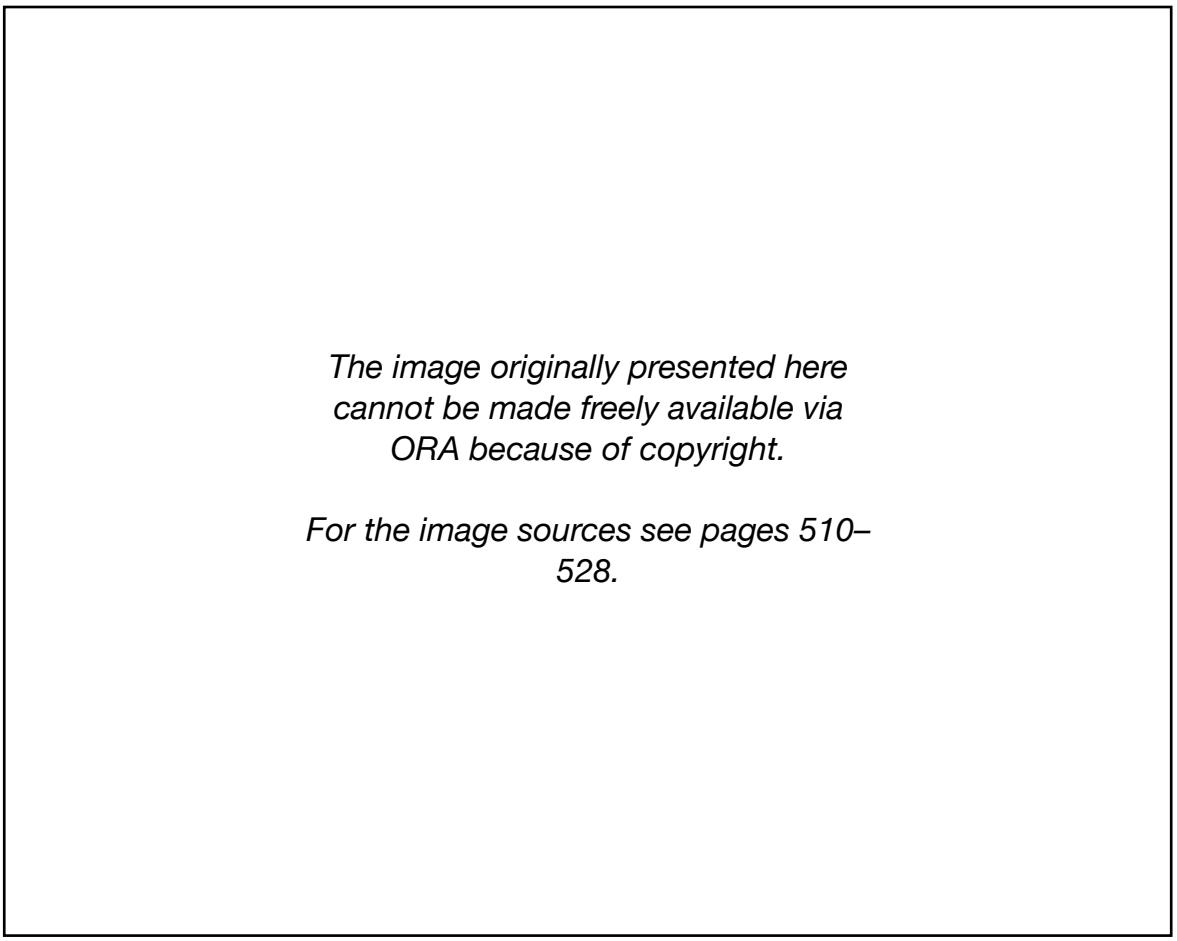


Figure 3.51:
The mints of the coins in hoards with Amyntas' bronze coins
(for the hoard data see Table 3.12)



Figure 3.52:
The mints represented in at least three of the coin hoards with Amyntas' bronze coins (based on Table 3.12)

Chapter 4: The Kingdom of Paphlagonia


The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 510–528.

Figure 4.1:
Map of the Kingdom of Paphlagonia within Asia Minor
(red lines= approximate boundaries, dark blue lines = main roads of the 1st century BC)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 510–528.

Figure 4.2:

Coins of the Paphlagonian Kingdom issued under Pylaemenes II/ III Euergetes (c. 133–103 BC)

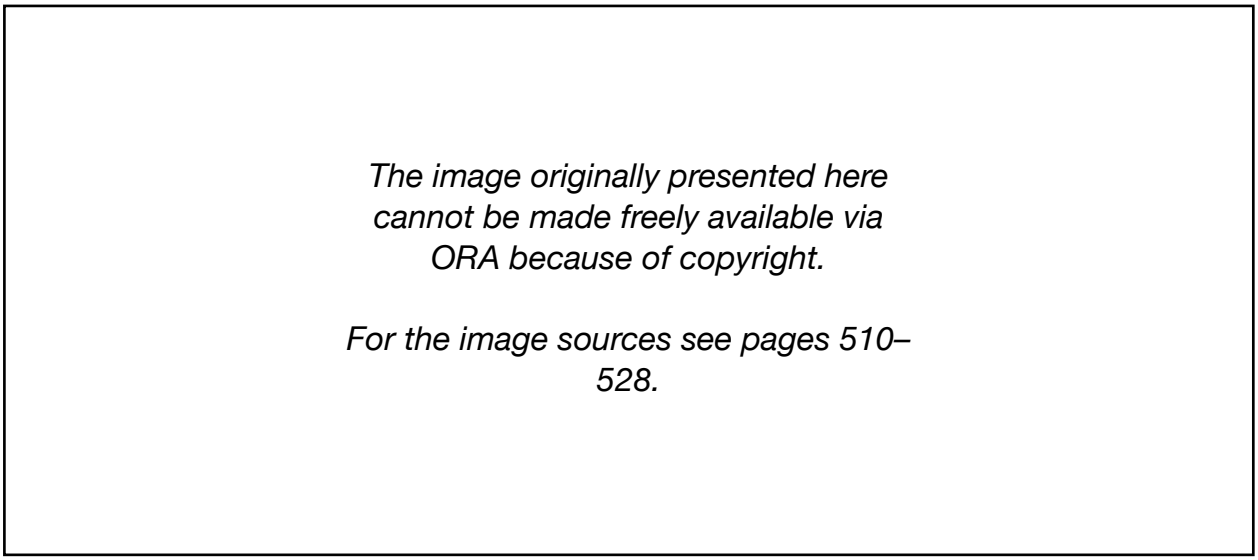


Figure 4.3:

Drachm possibly issued by King Attalos of Paphlagonia (64–40 BC)

Reverse inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥ / ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ

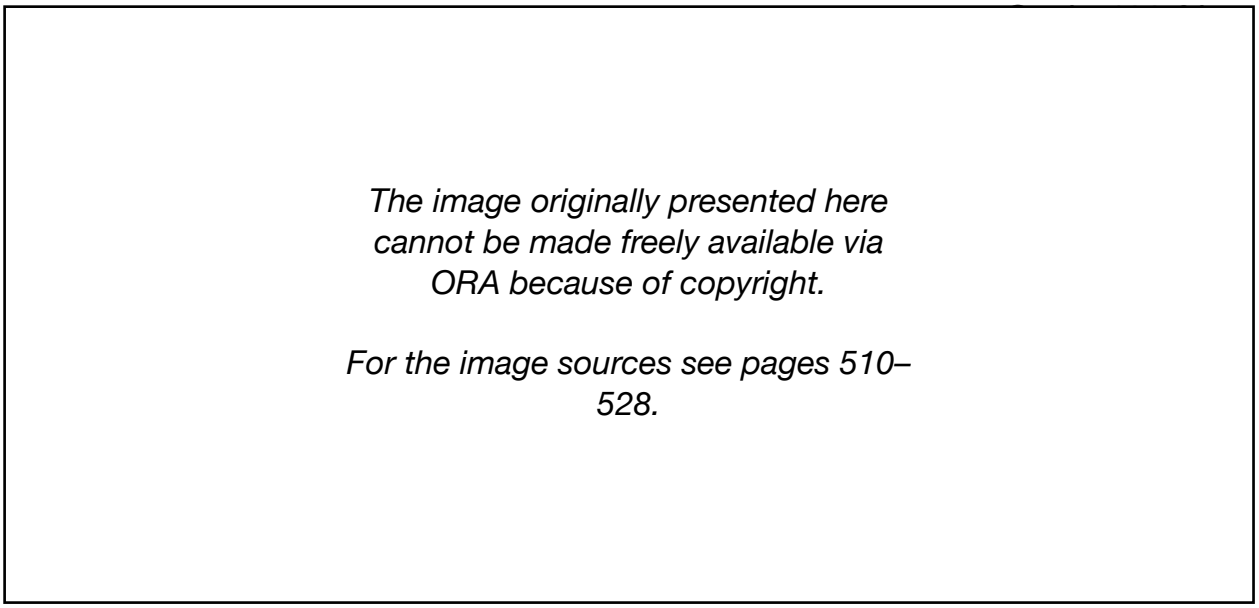


Figure 4.4:

Silver drachm of Deiotaros Philadelphus

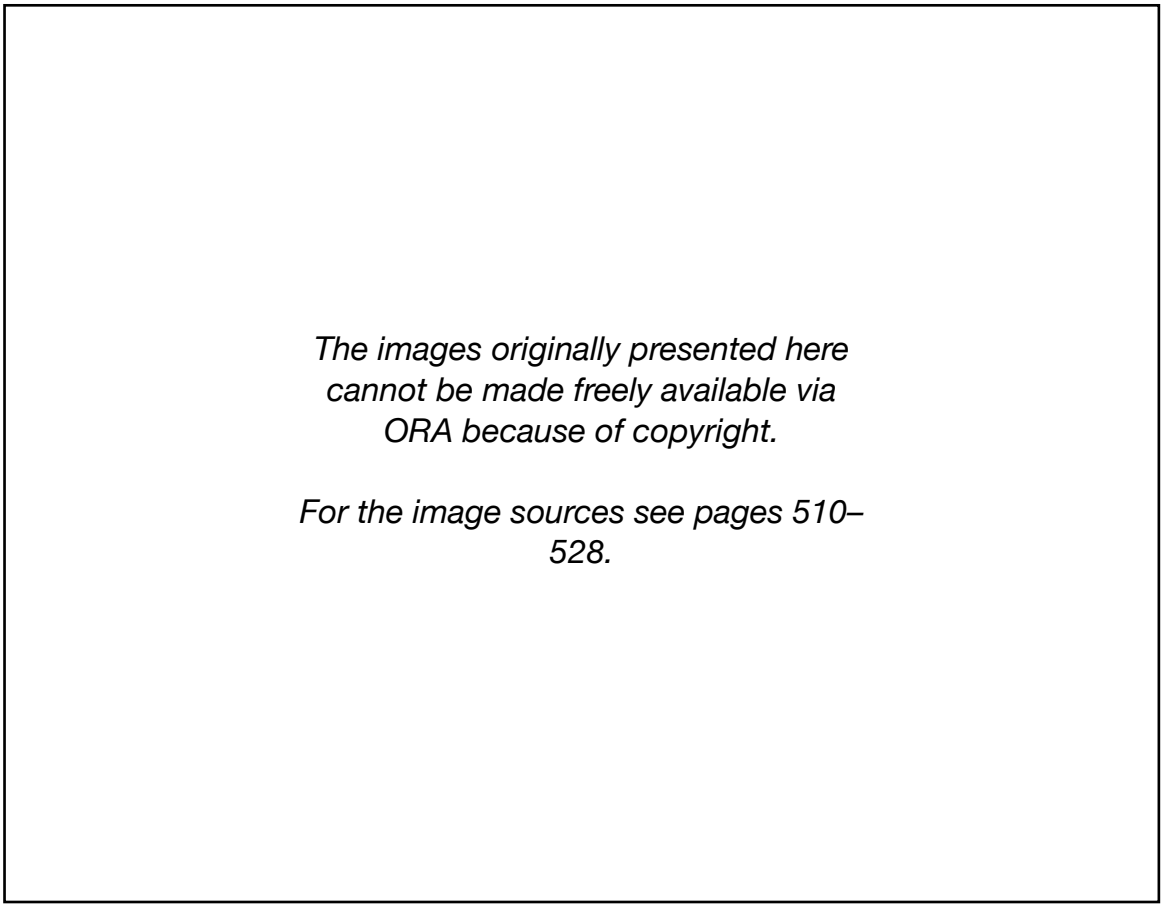


Figure 4.5:

Details of the letter sequence on the drachms of King Deiotaros Philadelphos

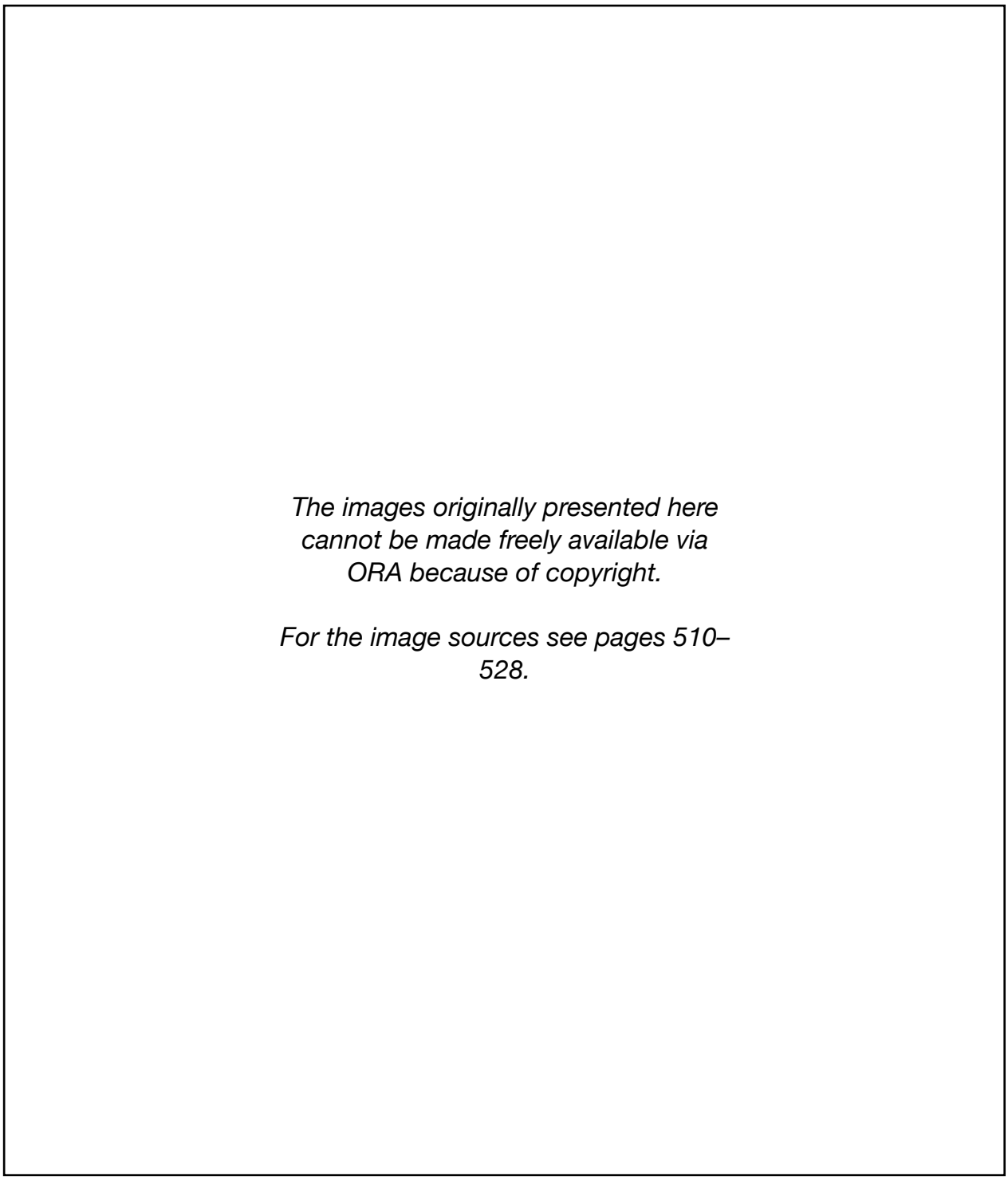


Figure 4.6:
Bronze coin of Rhoemetalkes misattributed to
Deiotaros Philadelphos

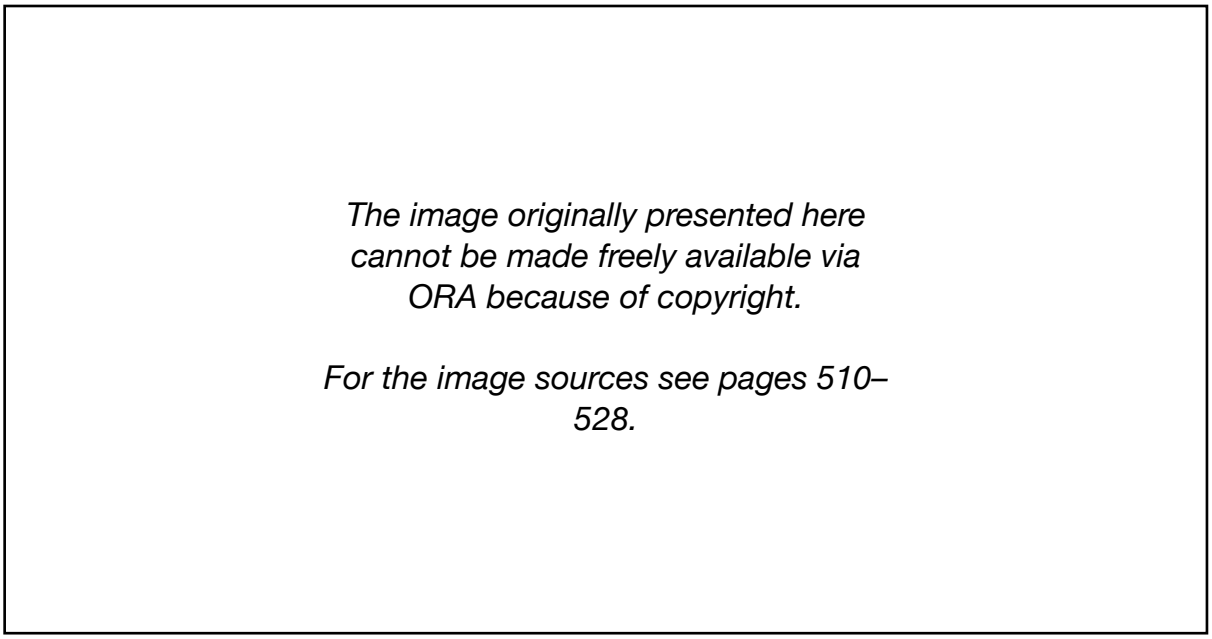


Figure 4.7:

Bronze coin of Deiotaros Philadelphos and Deiotaros […]ator

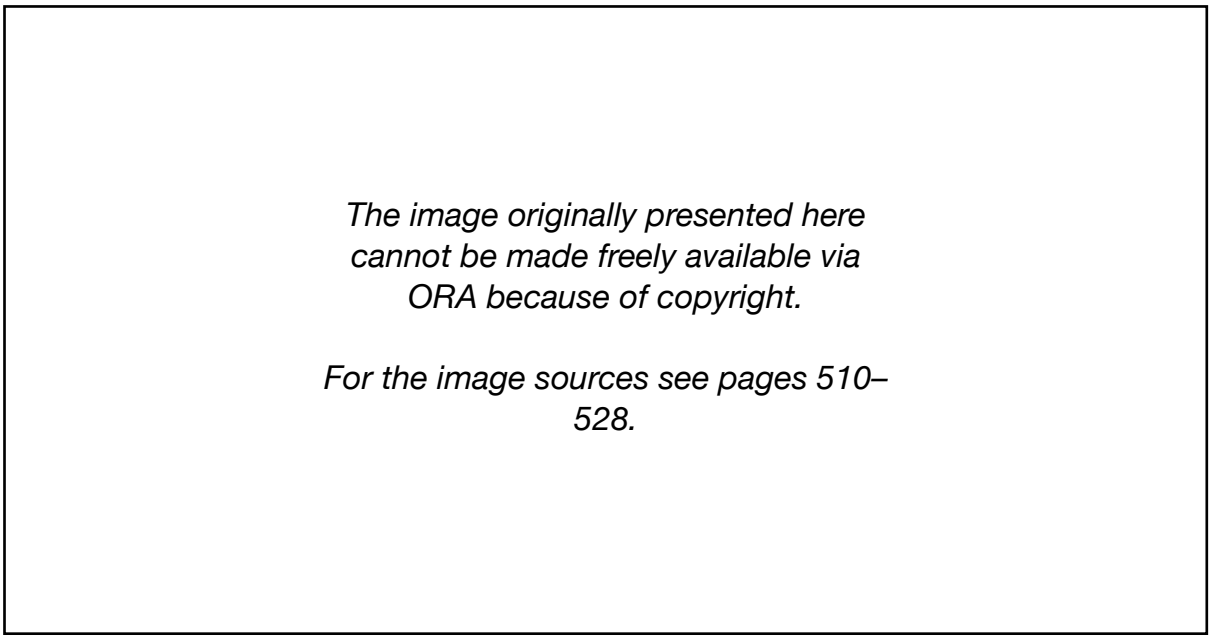


Figure 4.8:

Bronze coin of Deiotaros Philadelphos with laureated head of Zeus on the obverse and winged thunderbolt with king's titulature on reverse

Chapter 5: The Ariobarzanid kingdom in Cappadocia

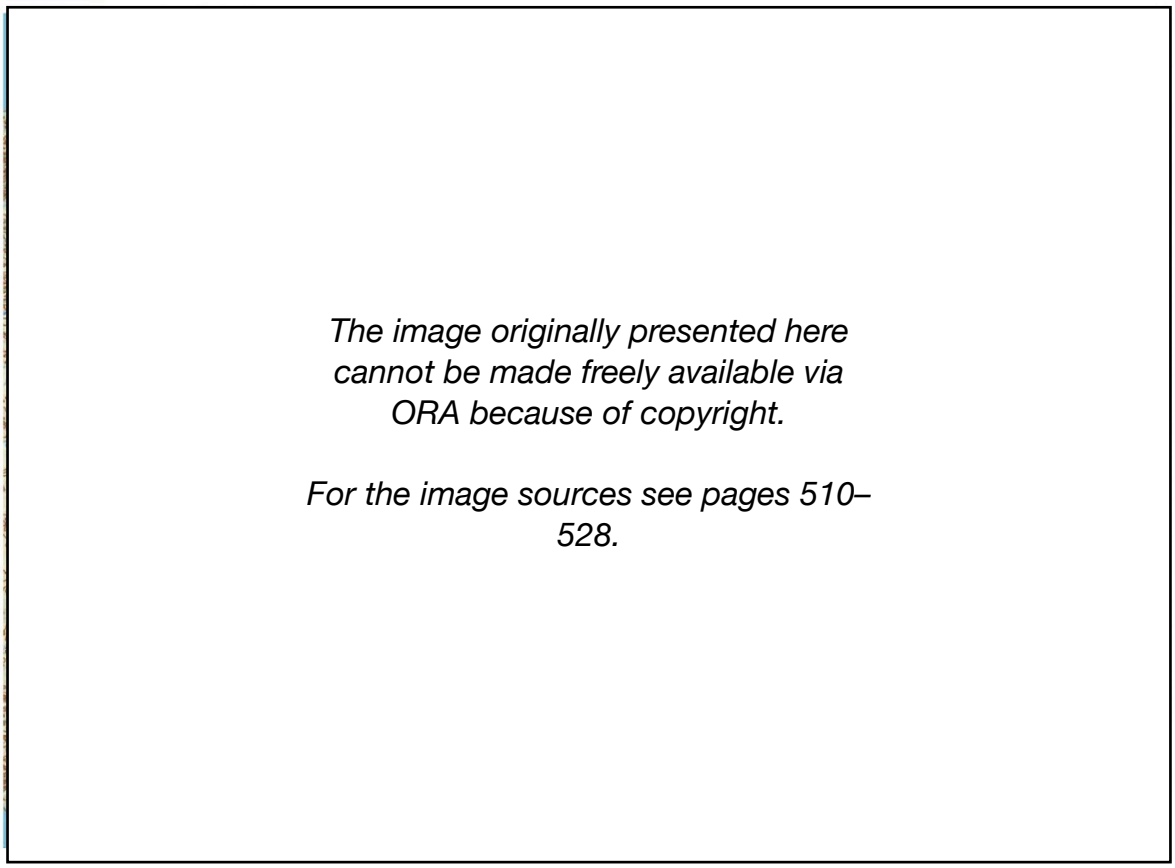


Figure 5.1:
The Geographical limits of the Cappadocian Kingdom according to Strabo

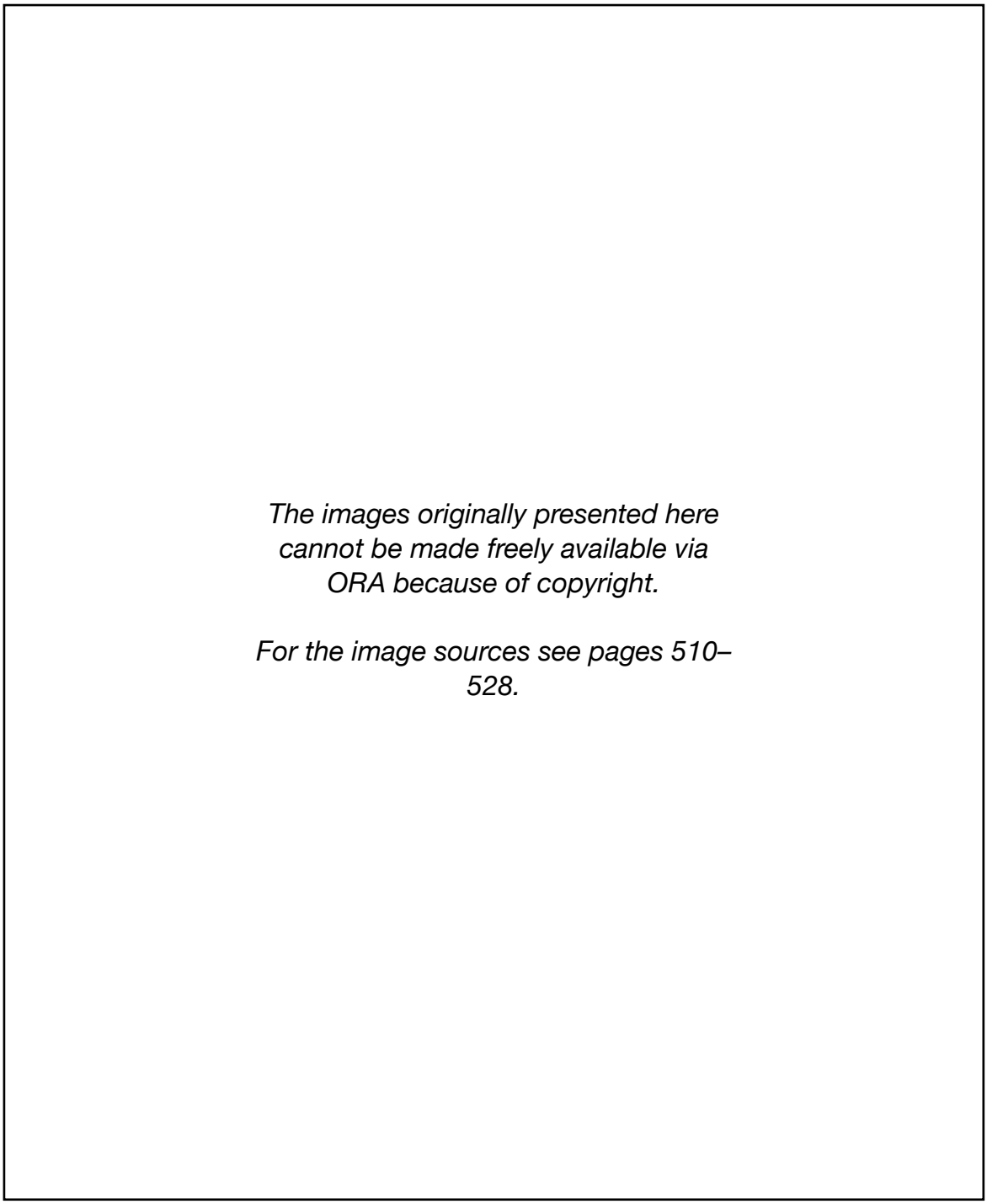


Figure 5.2:

The three bronze types originally assigned by Reinach to Ariarathes X (Reinach 1887, 70–71)

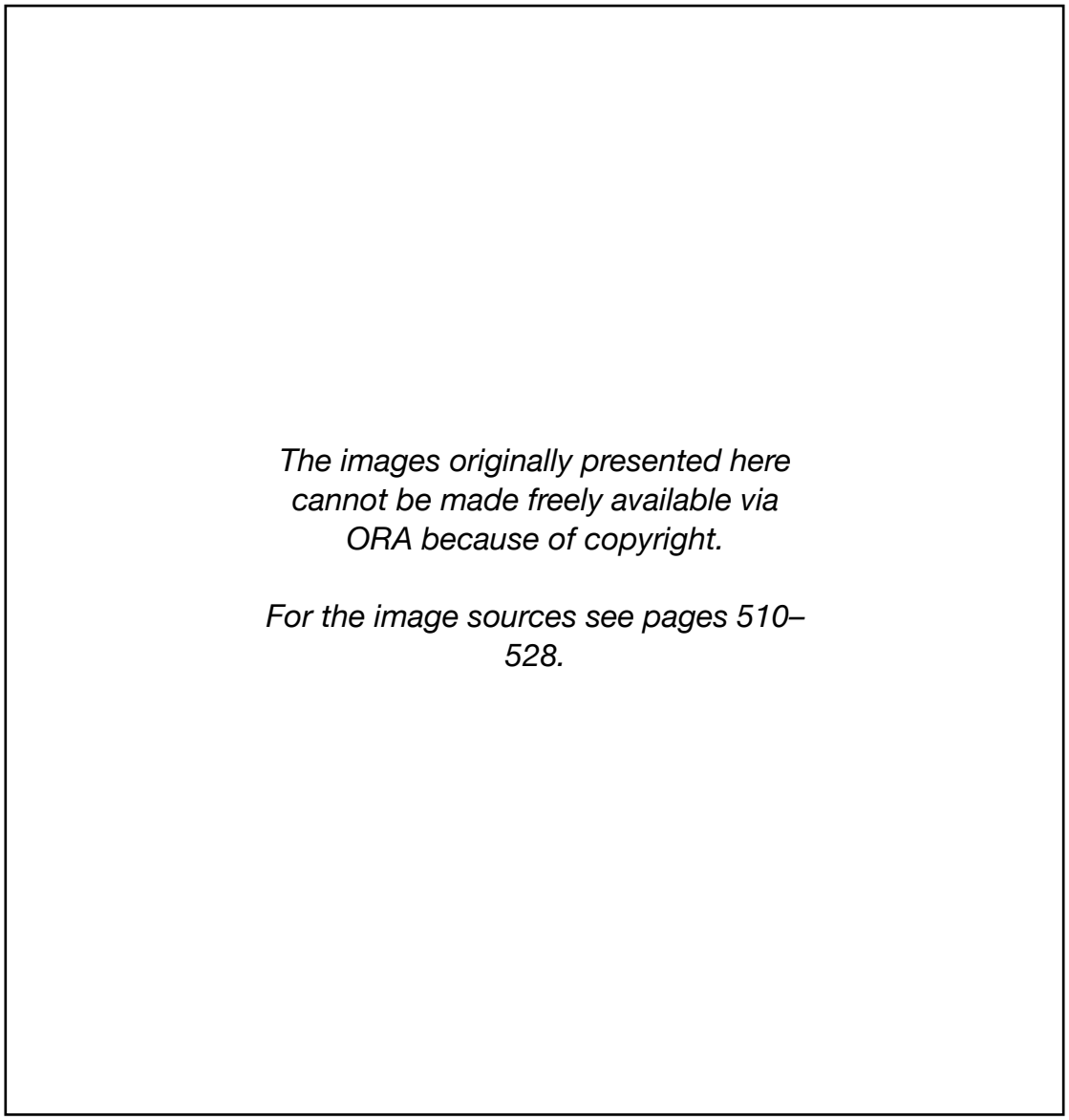
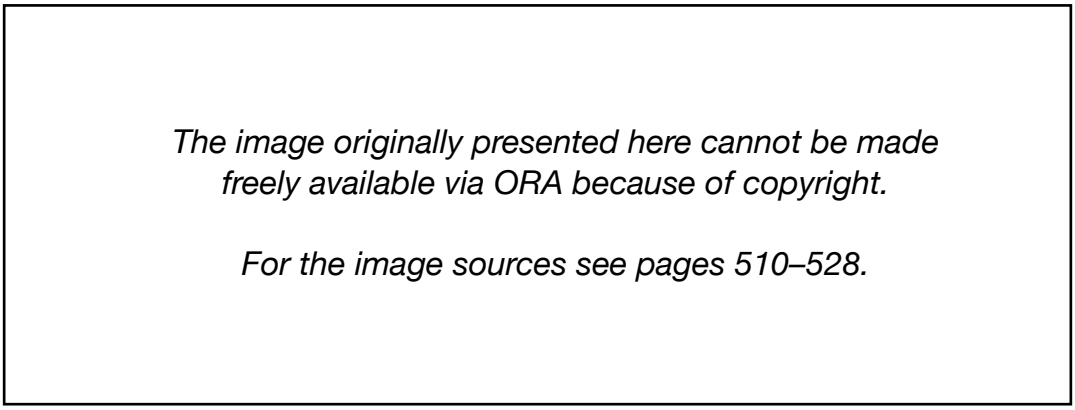
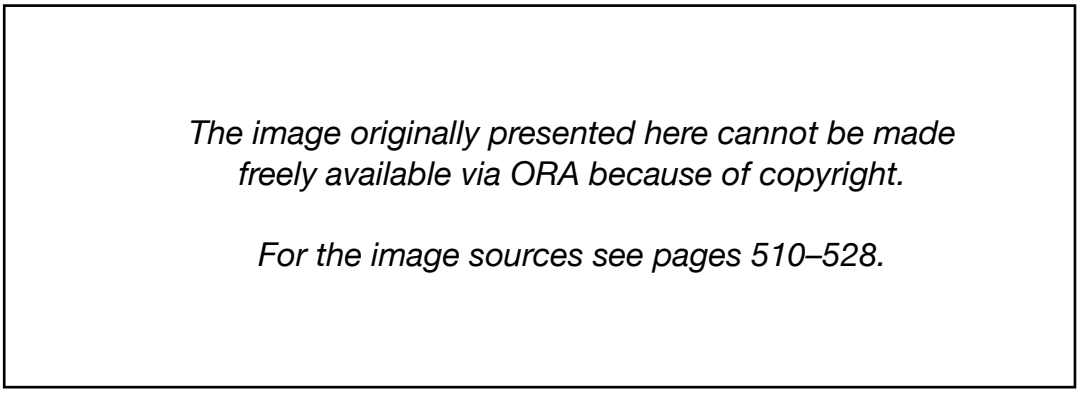


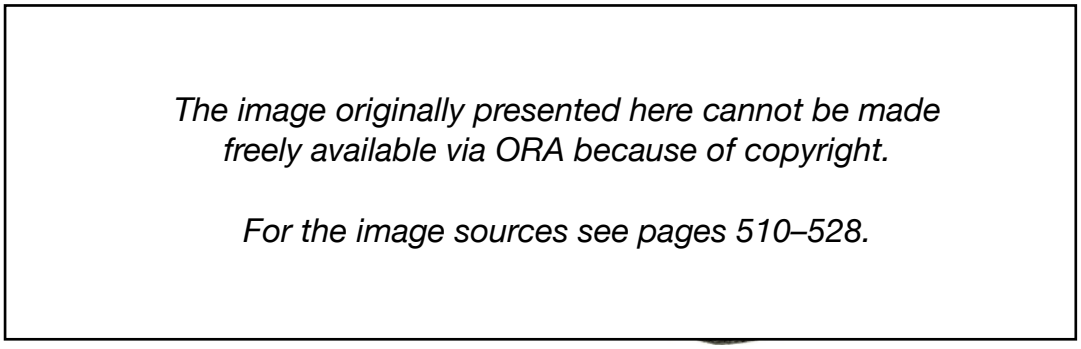
Figure 5.3:
Bronze coins of King Ariaramnes of Cappadocia
and King Amyntas of Galatia



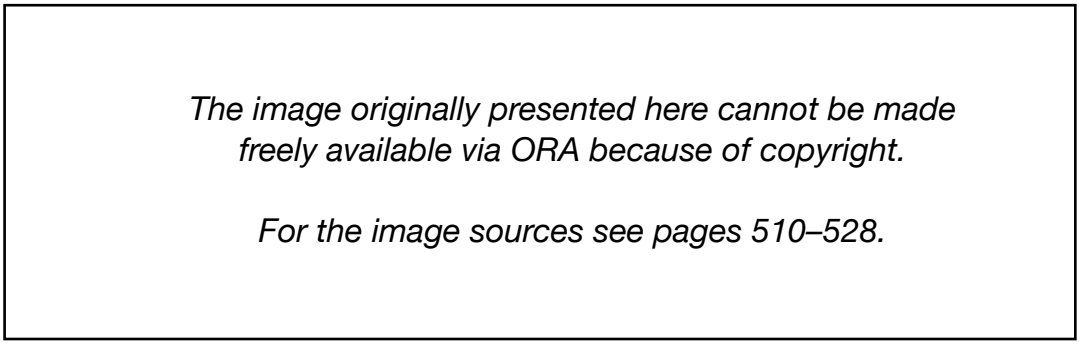
1. Ariobarzanes I: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΡΩΜΑΙΟΥ



2. Ariobarzanes II: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ



3. Ariobarzanes III: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΡΟΜΑΙΟΥ



4. Ariarathes X: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΑΡΑΘΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΝ

Figure 5.4:

The titles and epithets on the drachms of the Ariobarzanid dynasty

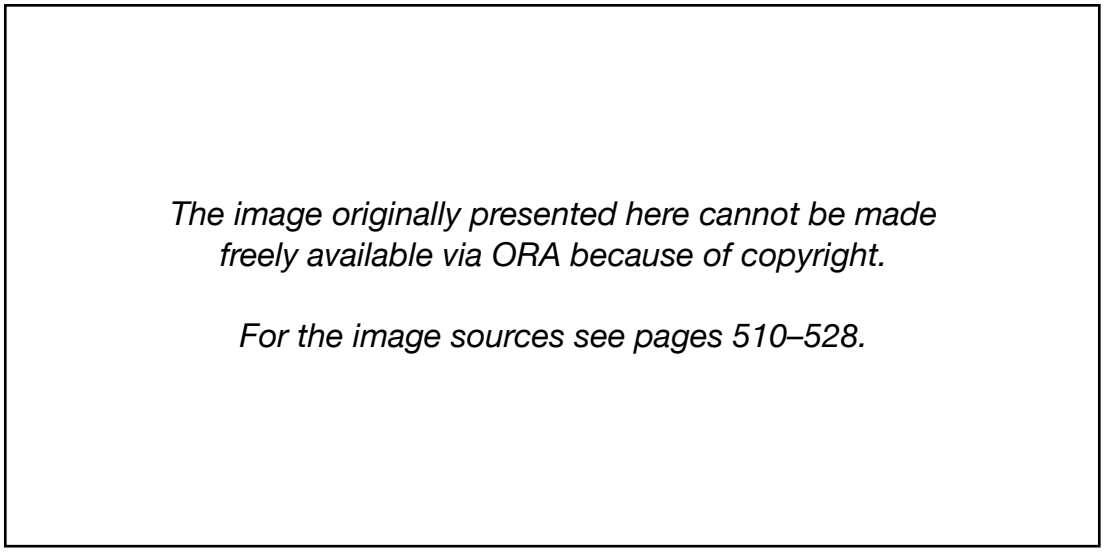


Figure 5.5:

Seleucid Tetradrachm of Antiochos V Eupator (164-162 BC)

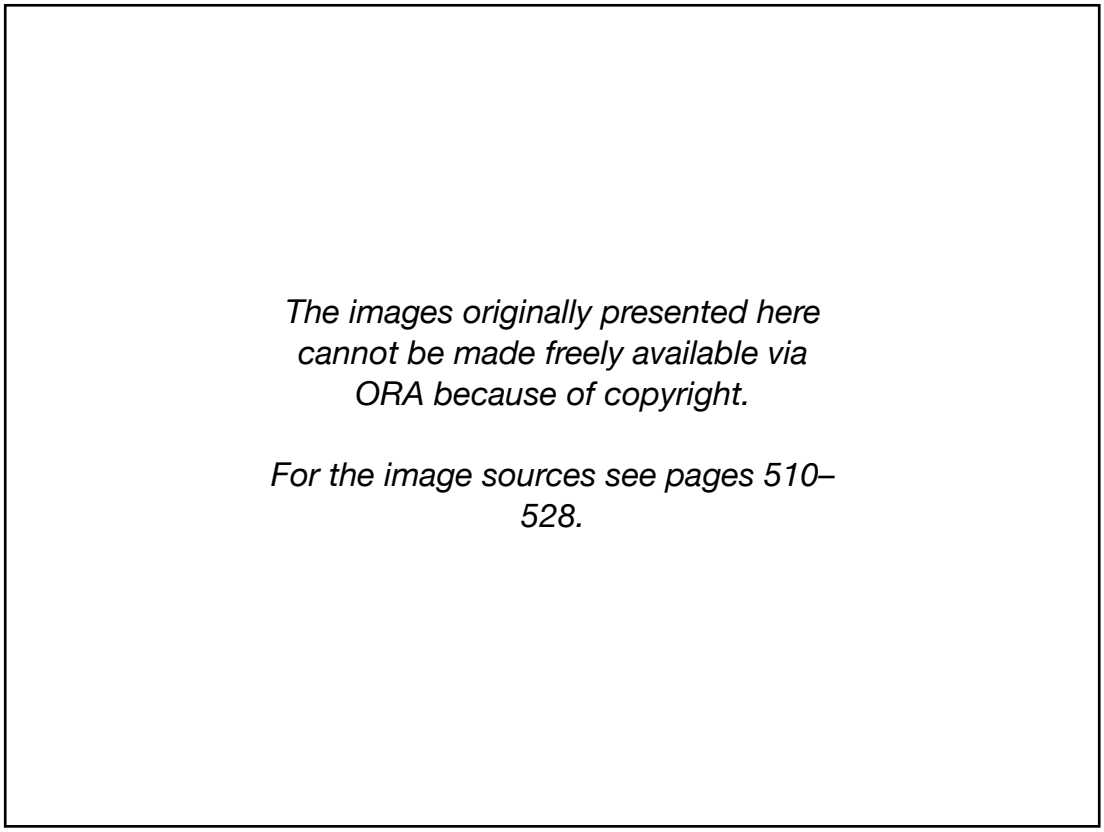


Figure 5.6:

Silver drachm of Ariobarzanes I and silver tetradrachm of Ariarathes IX

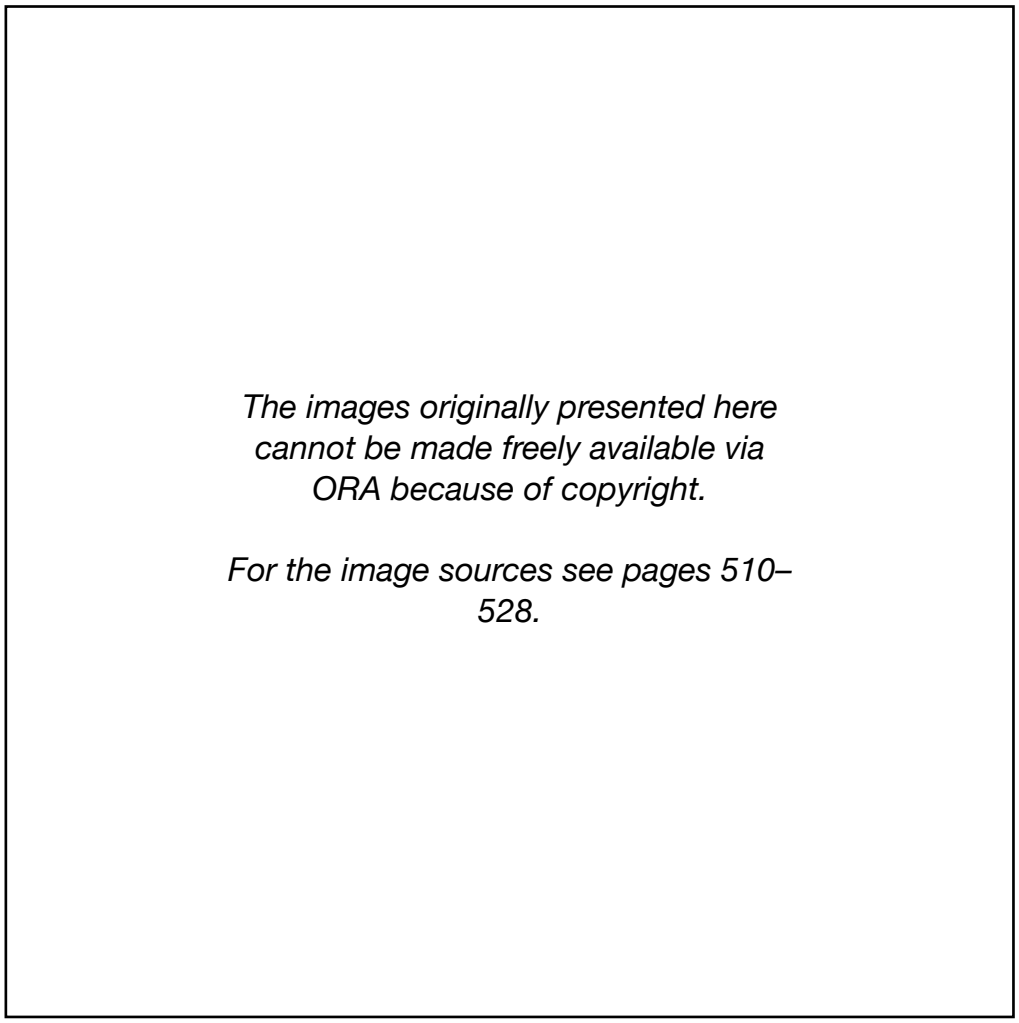


Figure 5.7:

The coins of Ariobarzanes II with Year Z (=7) and Year H (=8)

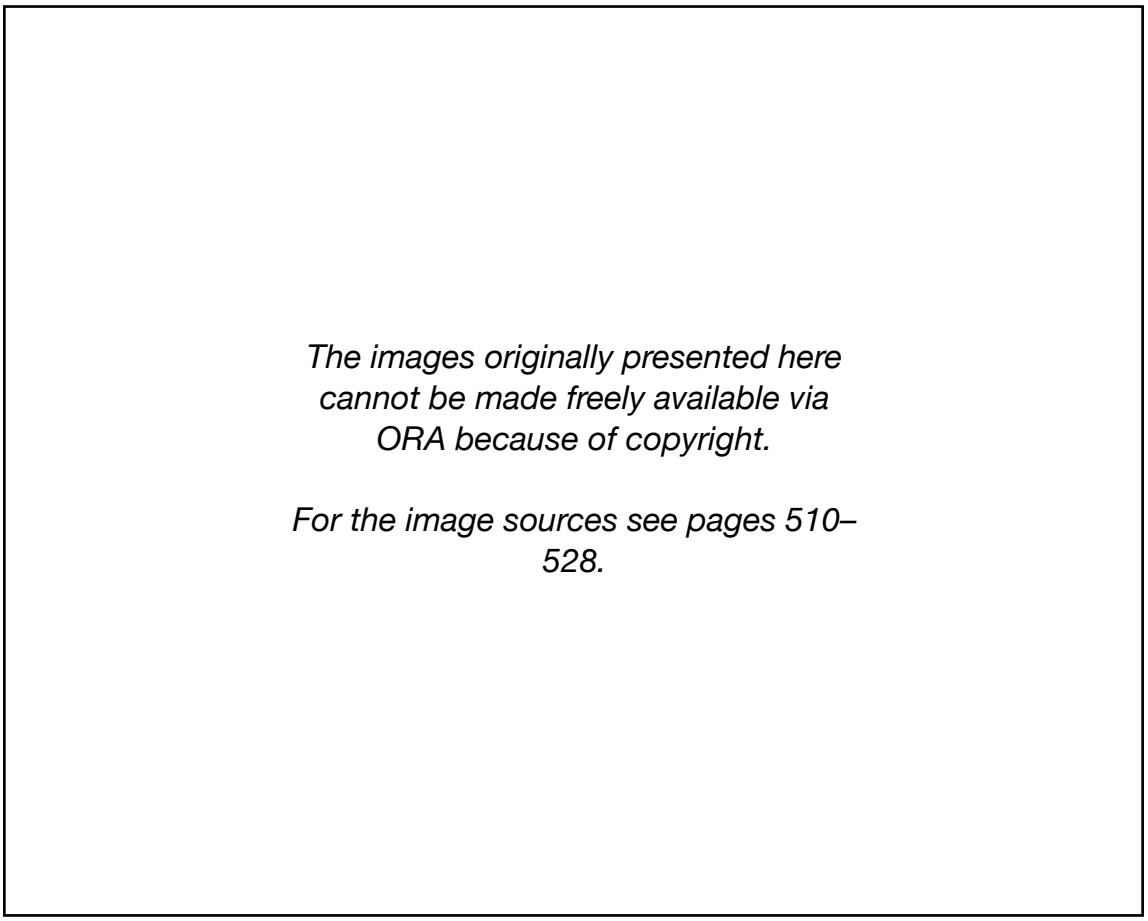


Figure 5.8:

Coins of Ariobarzanes II, possibly without reverse numeral

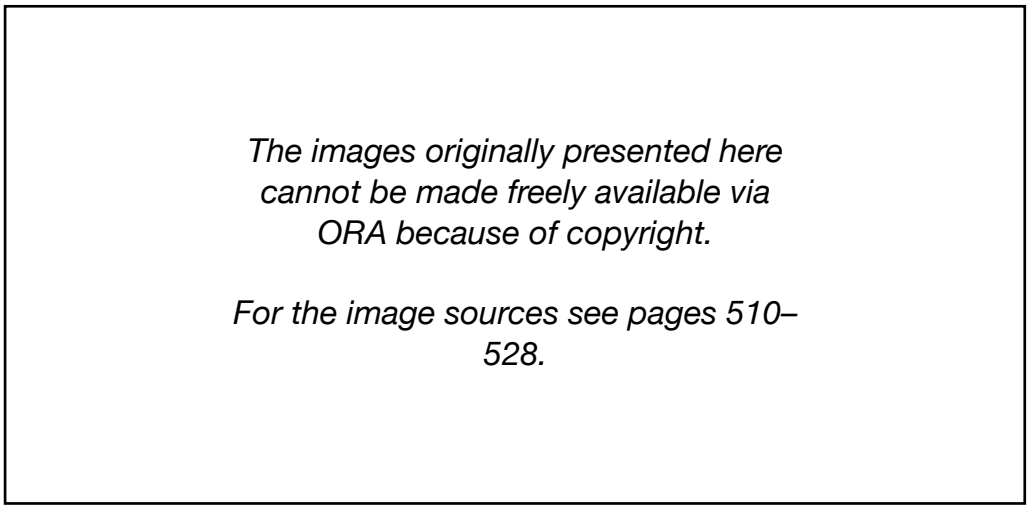


Figure 5.9:

Depictions of Nike on the coins of Ariobarzanes II,

Year 7 (left), Year 8 (right)

Scale 400 %

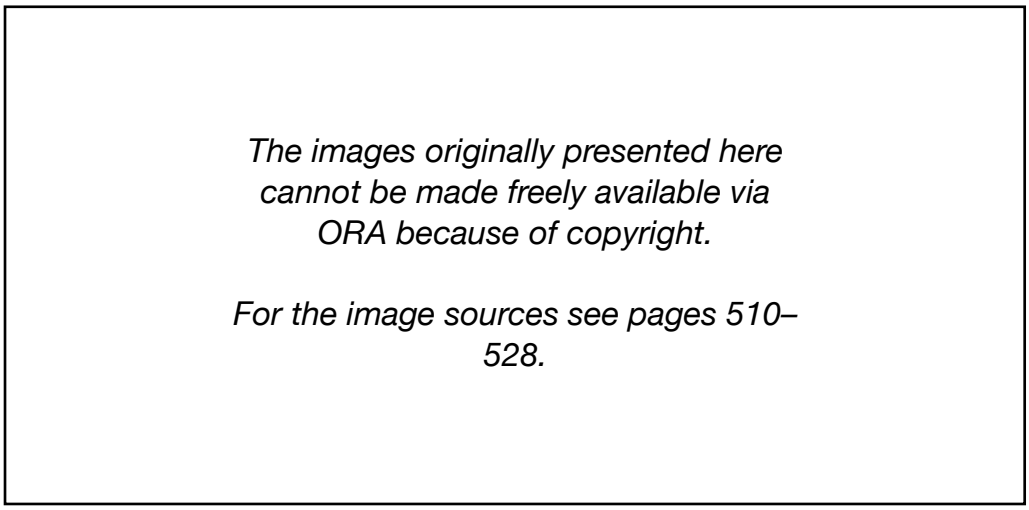


Figure 5.10:

The two styles of obverse dies used by coins of Ariobarzanes II

The ‘youthful’ portrait on the left was used on both Year 7 and Year 8 coins while the ‘boyish’ portrait on the right only appears in Year 8

Scale 300 %



Nike as stick figure



Shield with gorgoneion



Legend using two dots for Omicron



Legend using rectangular sigma

Figure 5.11:

Coins of Year 7 and Year 8 of the ‘youthful’ portrait obverse dies with shared characteristics in the reverse design

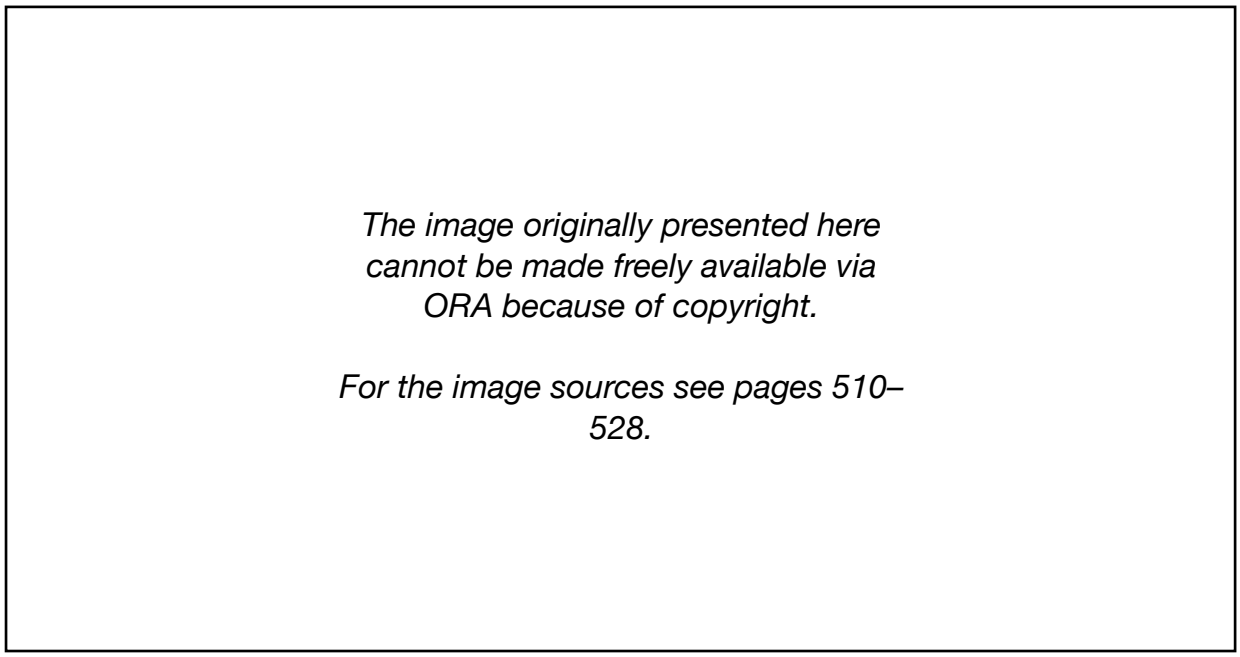


Figure 5.12:

Coin of Ariobarzanes II showing omicron as a dots and mirrored zeta

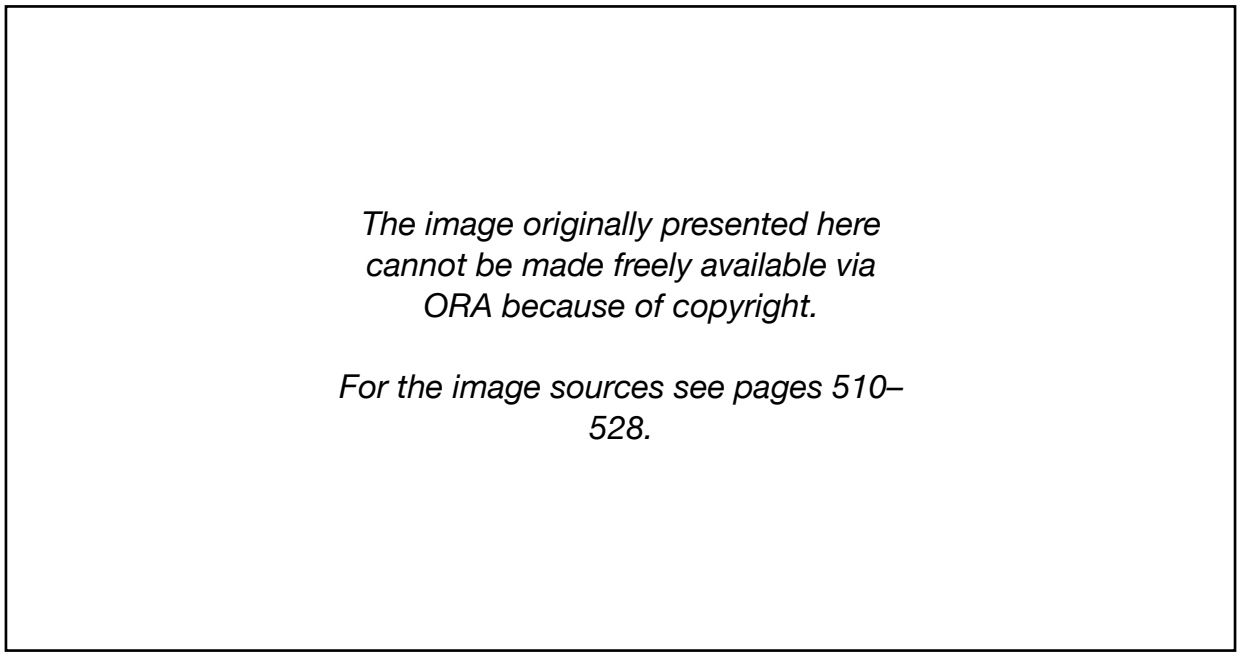


Figure 5.13:

Coin of Ariobarzanes II showing the ‘boyish’ obverse portrait and a more abstract reverse design

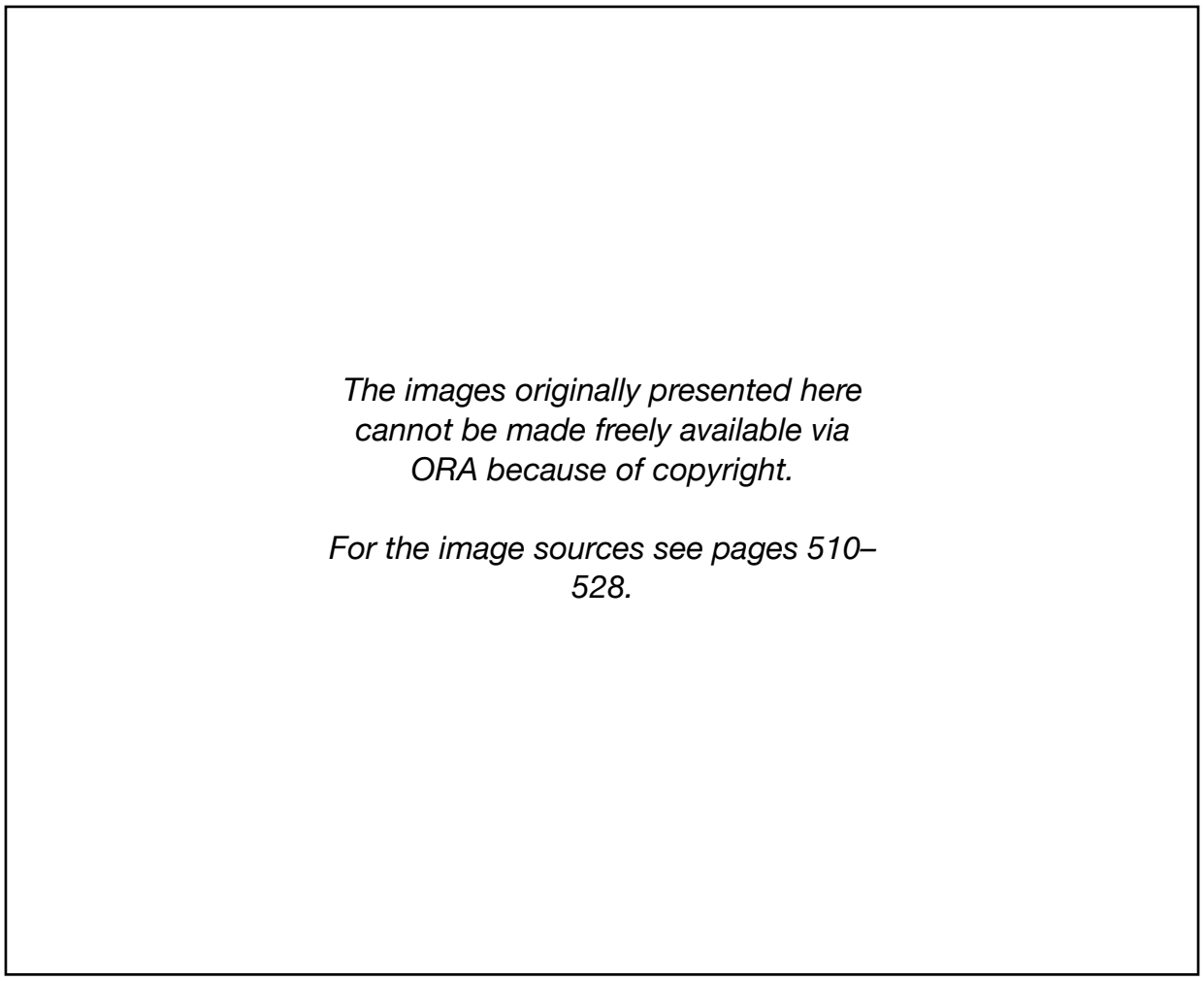


Figure 5.14:

Coin of Ariobarzanes II showing with a ‘boyish’ obverse portrait and a reverse that depicts a possible shield with gorgoneion

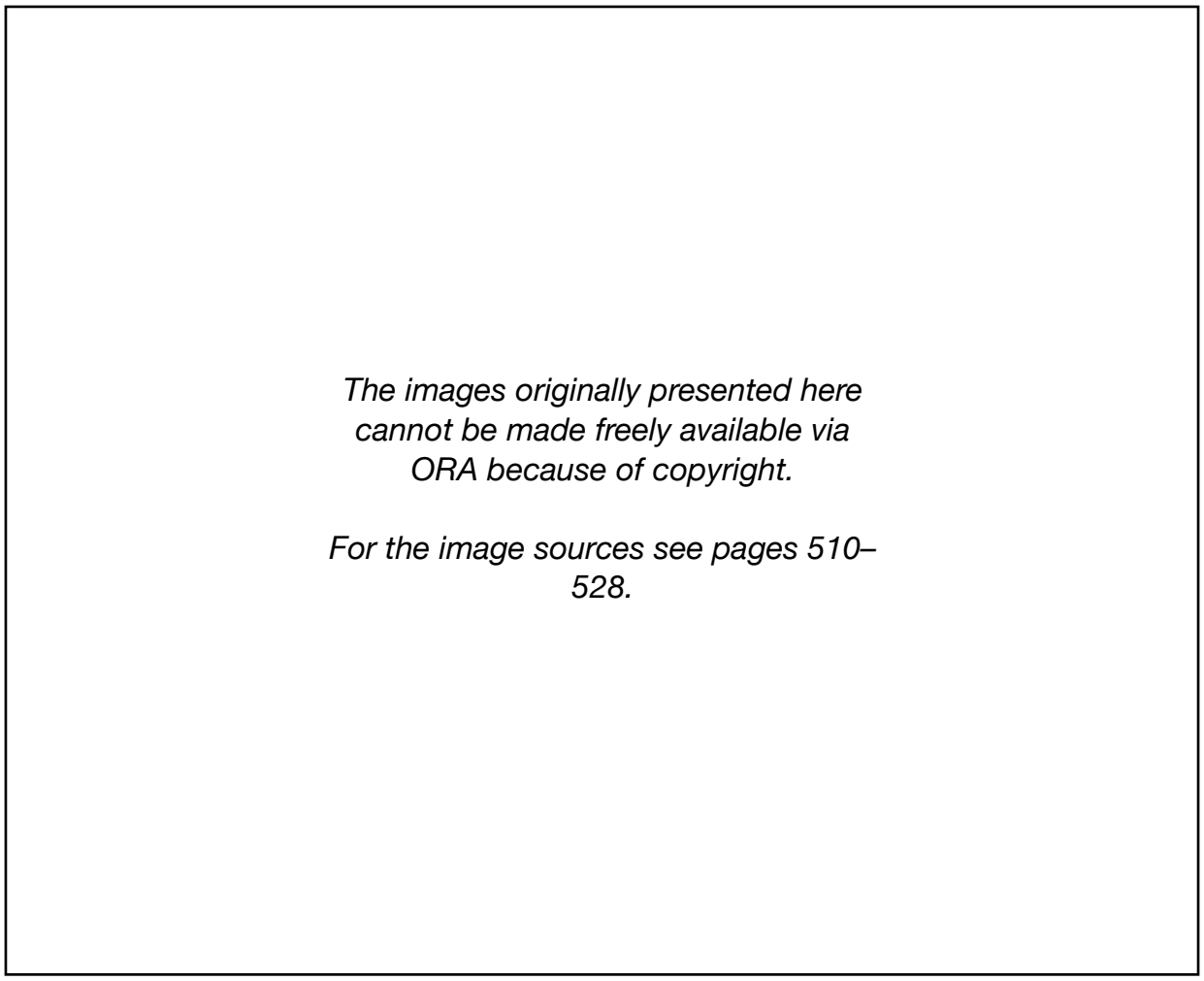


Figure 5.15:

Coin types of Ariobarzanes III dated Year Θ (= 9)

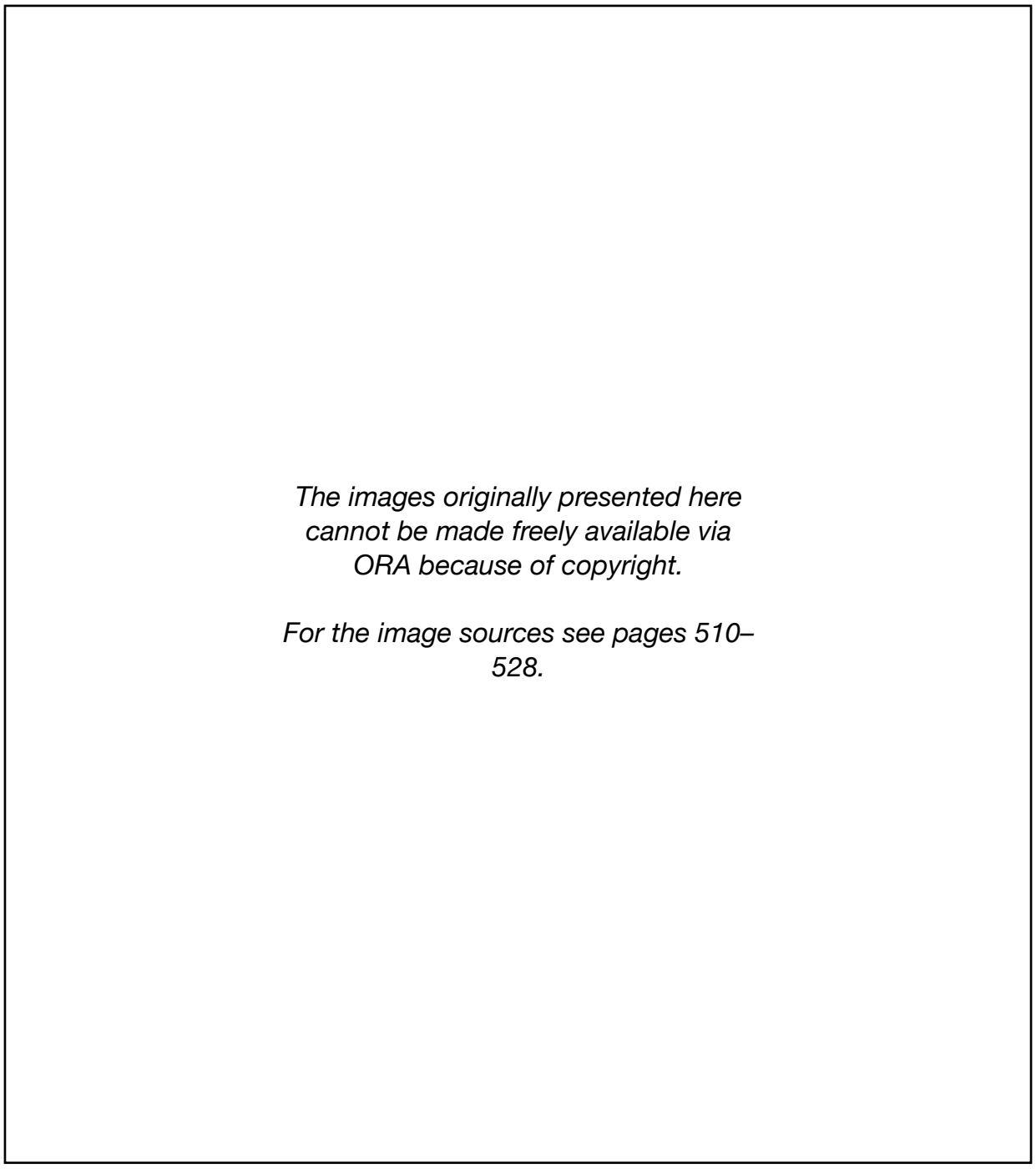


Figure 5.16:
Coin types of Ariobarzanes III with Year IA (=11) in exergue

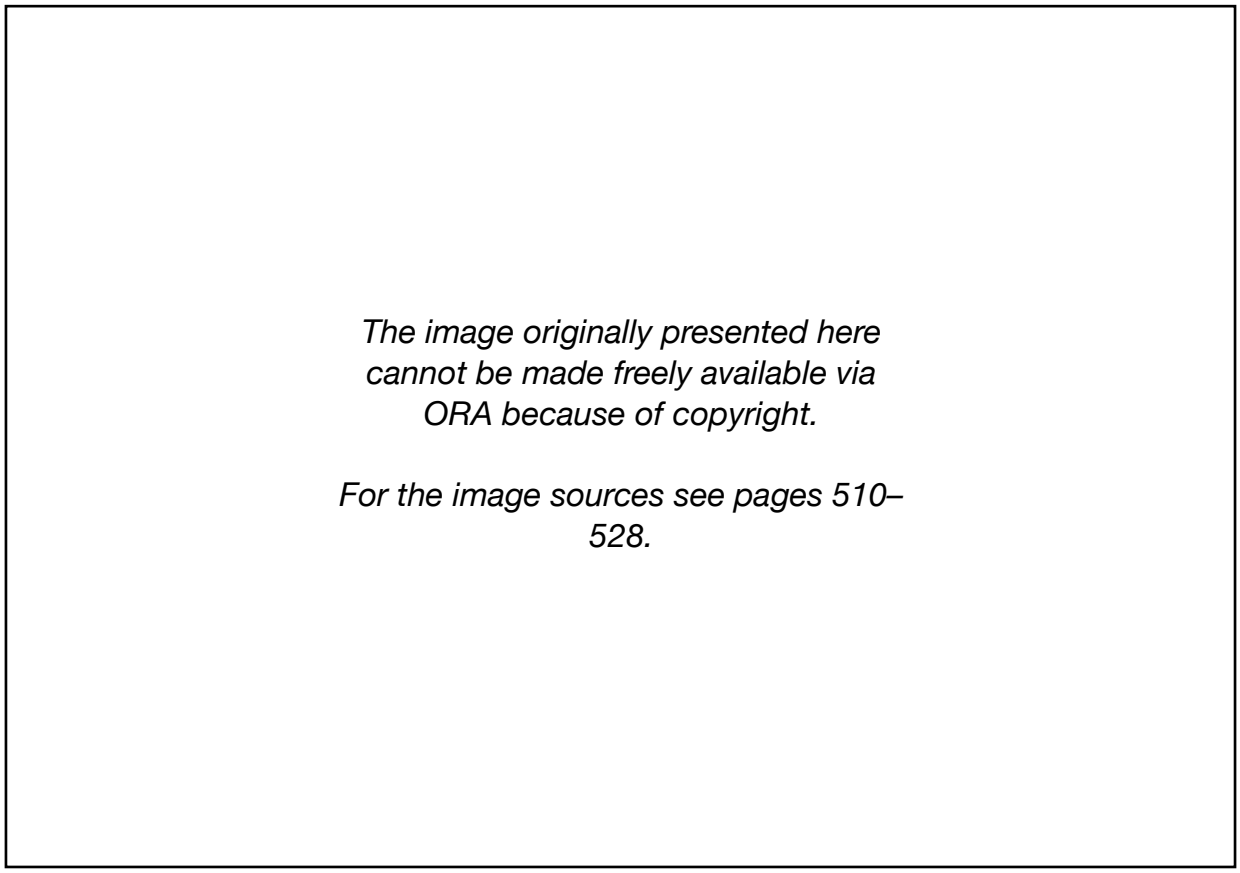


Figure 5.17:

Coin types of Ariobarzanes III with Year IA (=11) in field

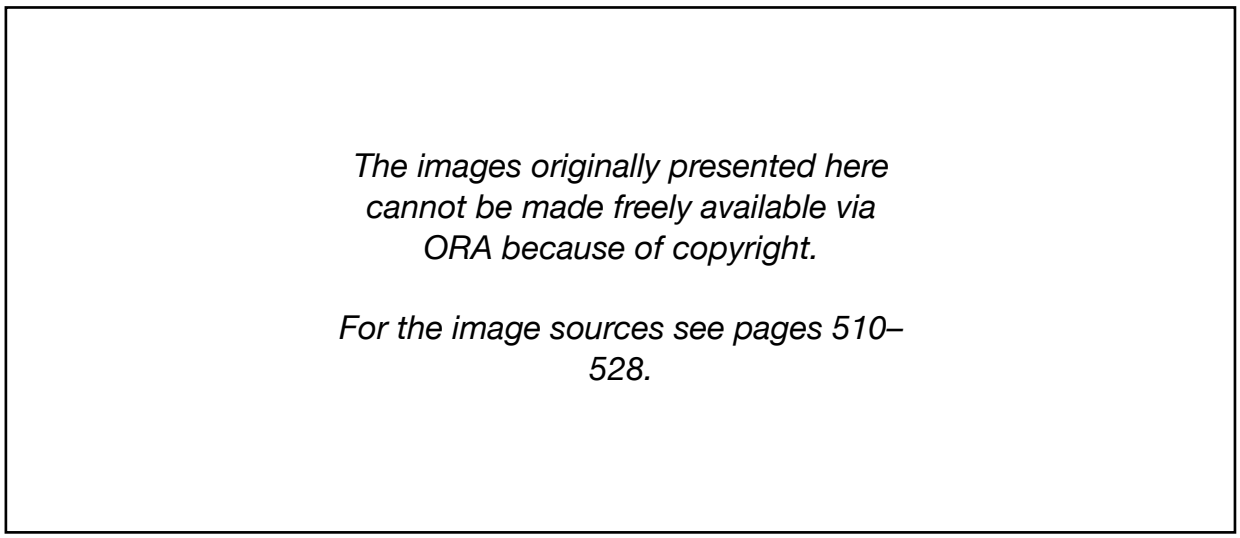


Figure 5.18:

Coin portraits of Ariobarzanes II (left), Ariobarzanes II Year Θ (= 9) (middle) and Ariobarzanes III portrait of Year IA (=11) (right) in field

The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 510–528.

Figure 5.19:

Overstrike of a coin of Ariobarzanes III on top of an eastern imitation of an Athenian drachm

Scale 250 %

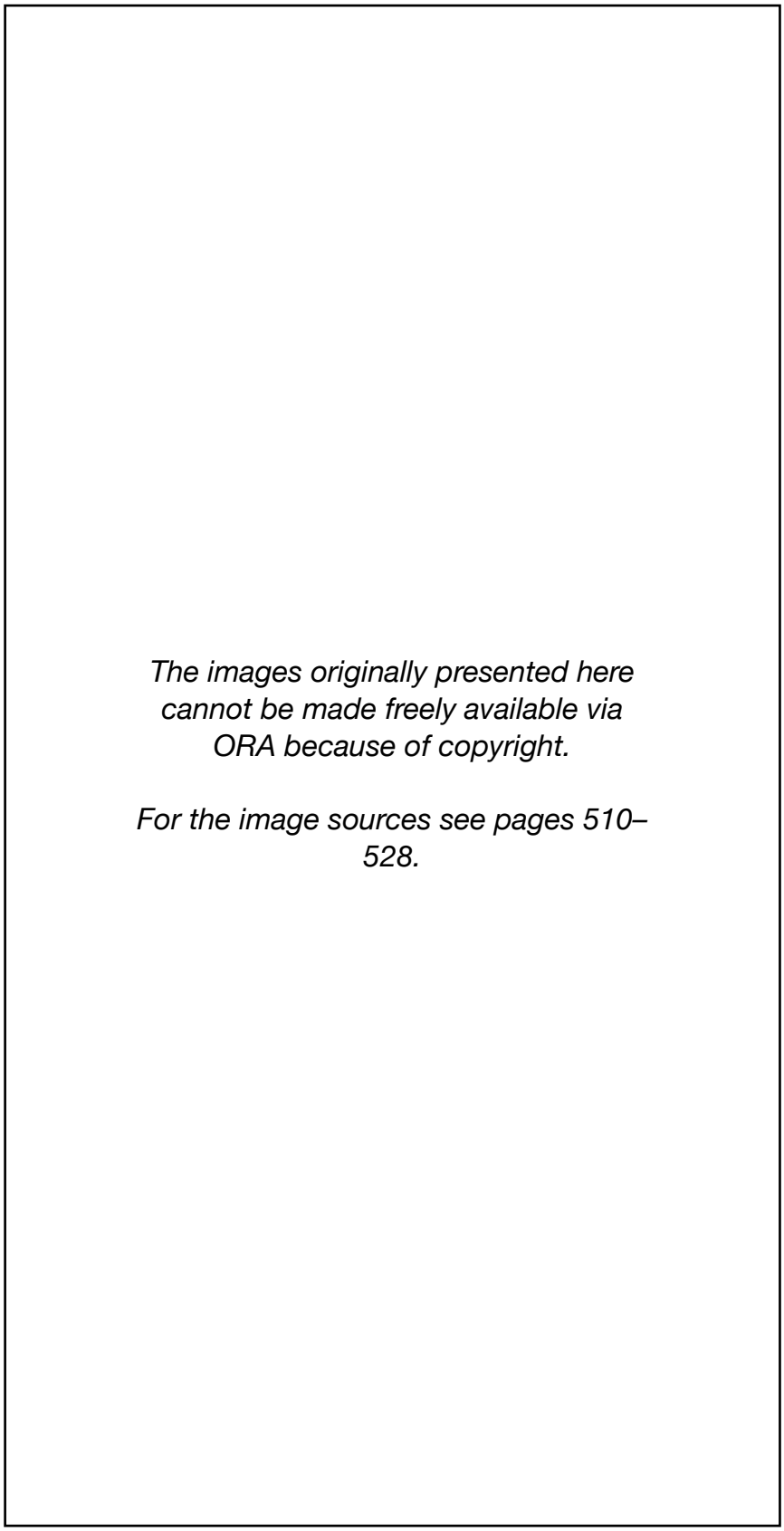


Figure 5.20:

Coin types of Ariarathes X

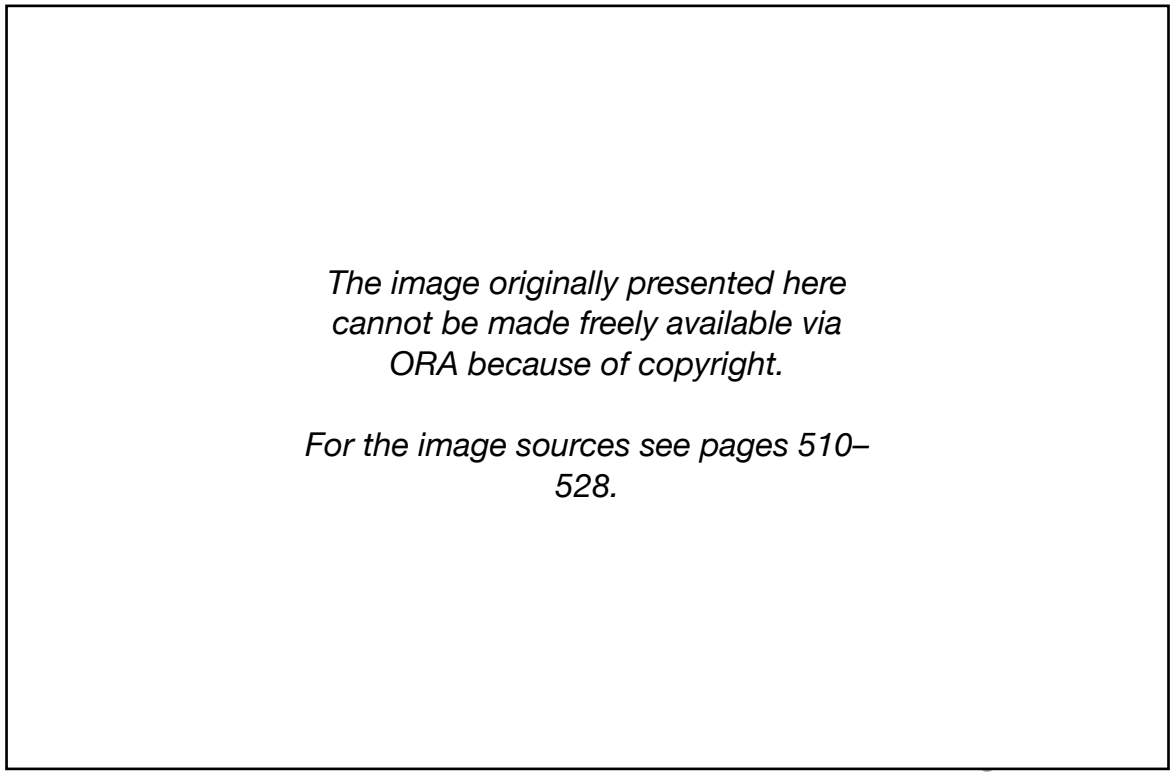


Figure 5.21:

Metal composition of Ariobarzanes I's coinage in the State Historical Museum Moscow based on surface analysis

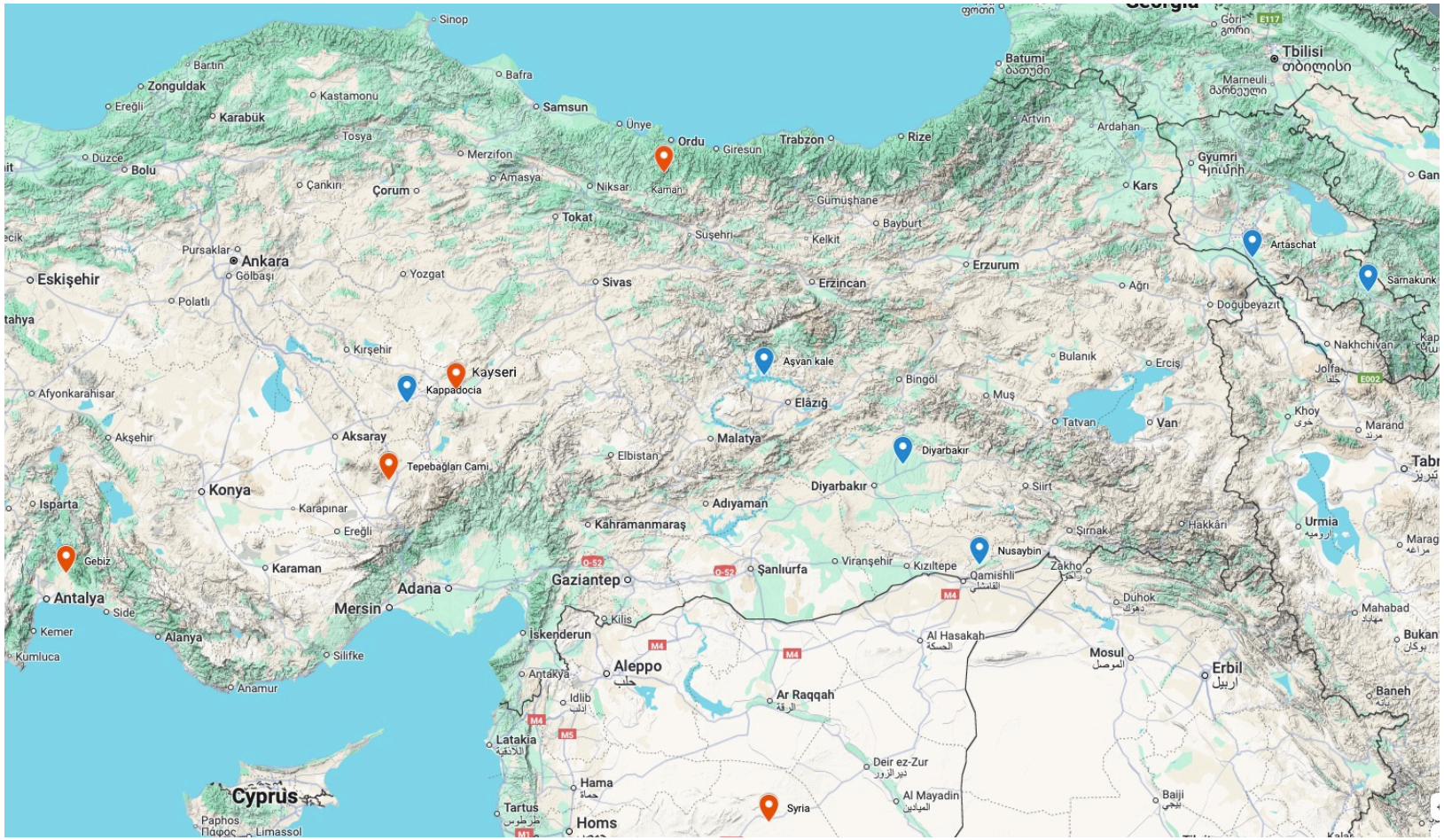


Figure 5.22:

The distribution of Ariobarzanid hoard finds

(Hoards with only coins of Ariobarzanes I are marked in blue)

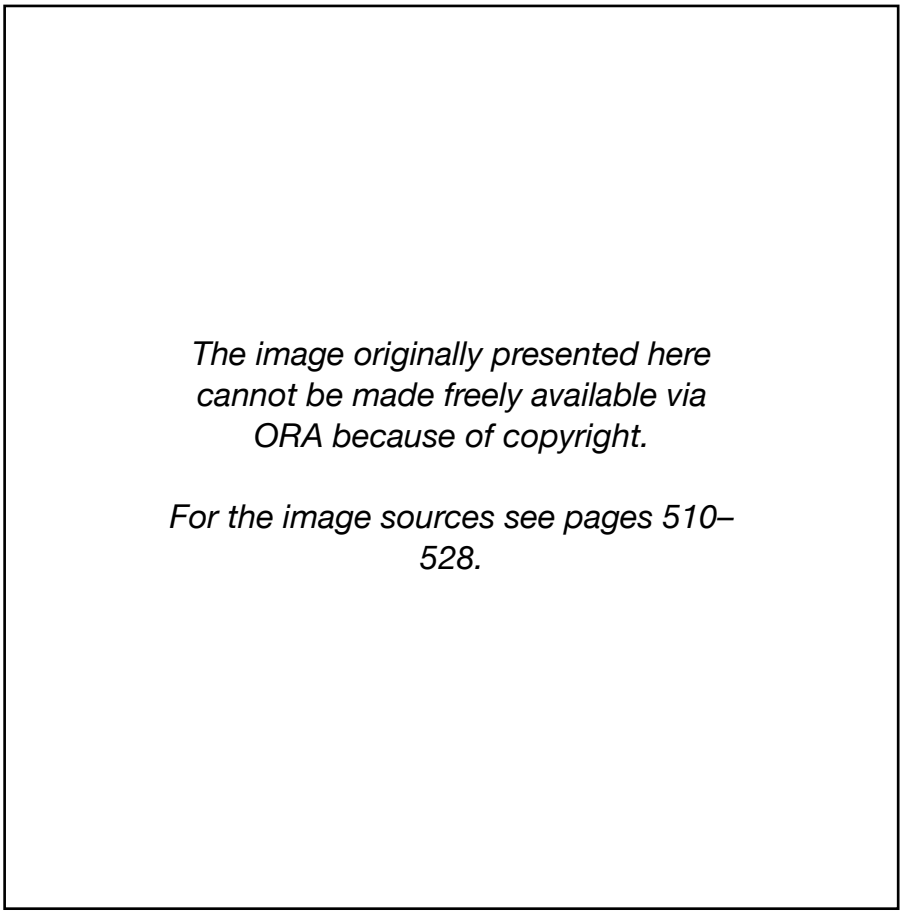


Figure 5.23:
The geographical location of suggested mints of the Kingdom of Cappadocia

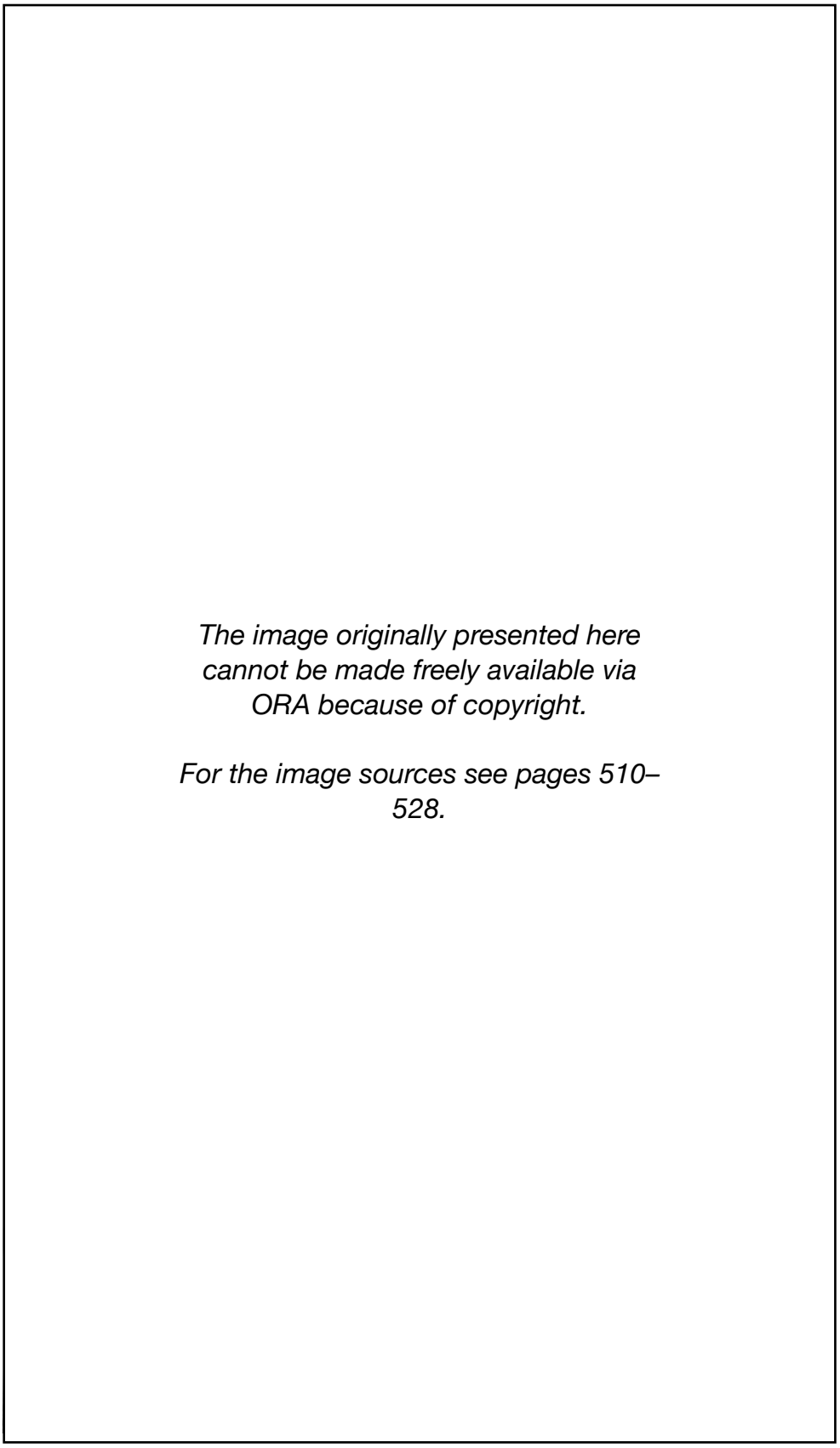


Figure 6.1:
The territory of Greek Cilicia

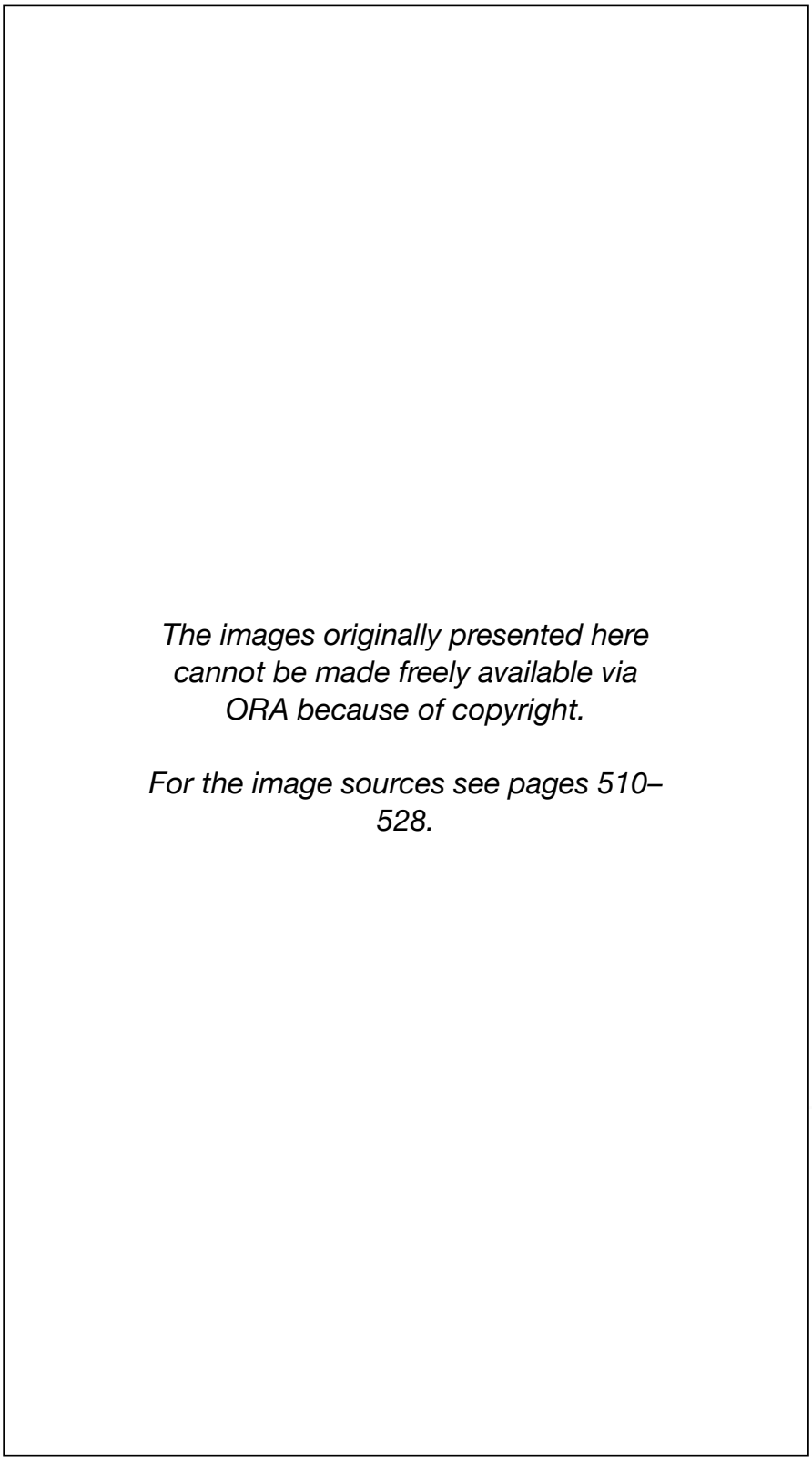


Figure 6.2:

Tarkondimotid Stemna as drawn by Wright 2012 based on the reconstructions of (a) Stein 1932; (b) Jones 1937; (c) Lange 1988 and (d) Wright 2009

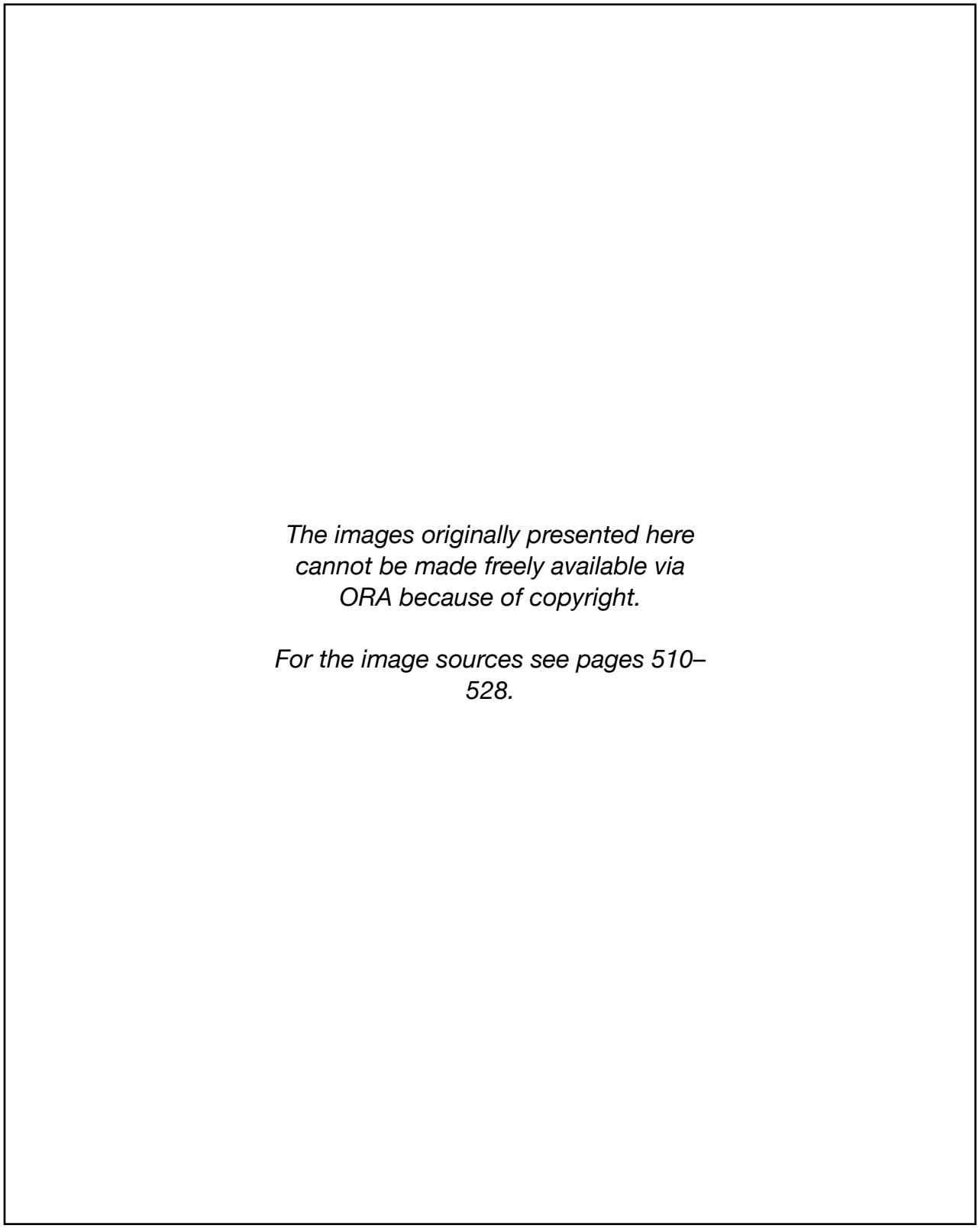


Figure 6.3:

The Tarkondimotid royal bronze coinage

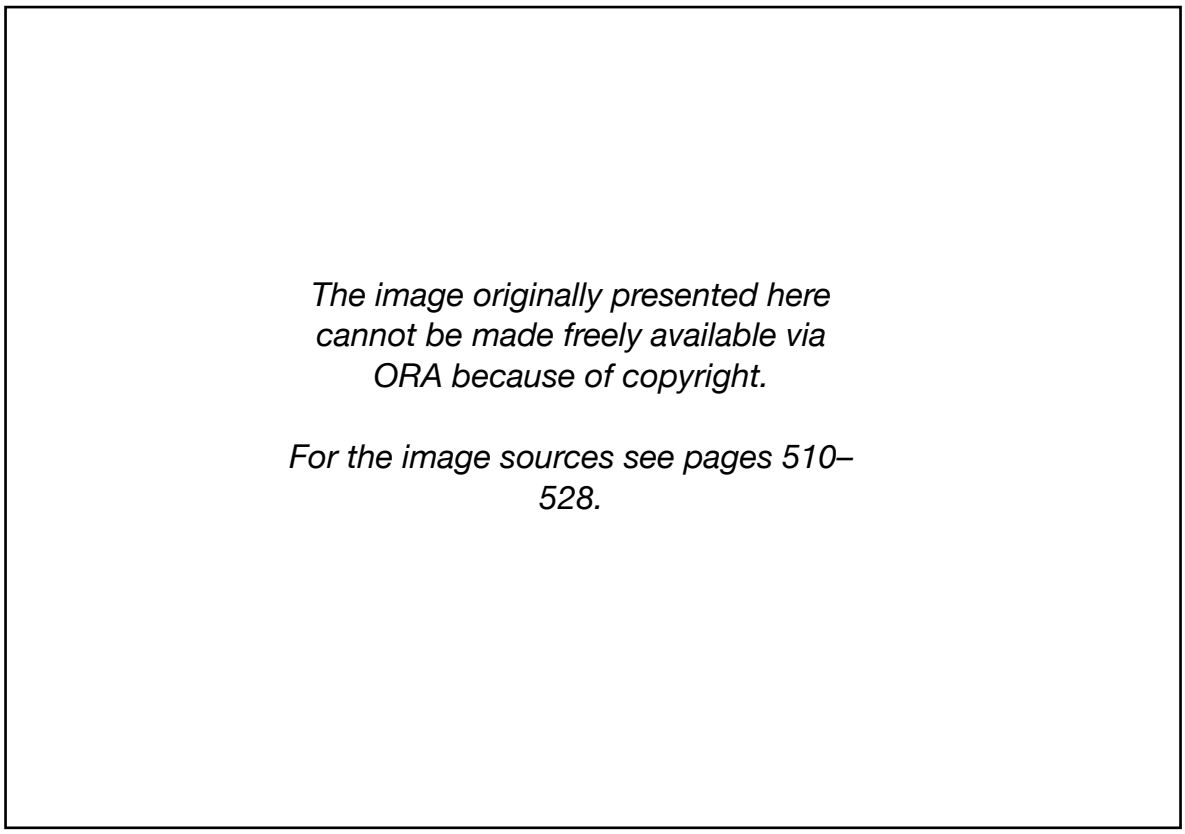


Figure 6.4:

Municipal and royal mints in Cilicia

under the Seleucids

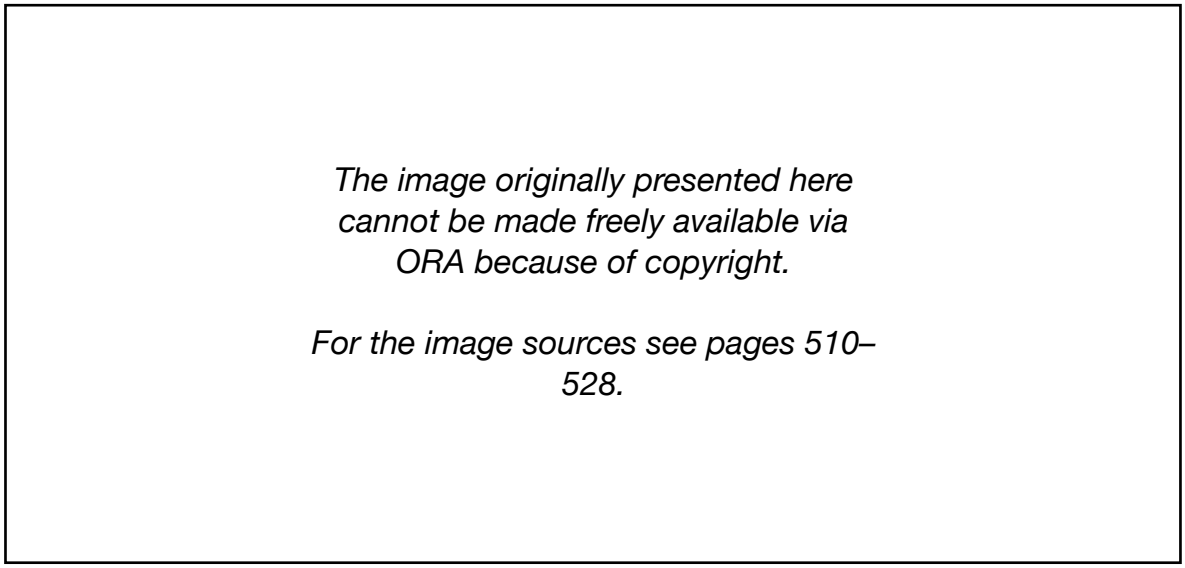


Figure 6.5:

Bronze coin of Tarkondimotos I with anchor

countermark on obverse

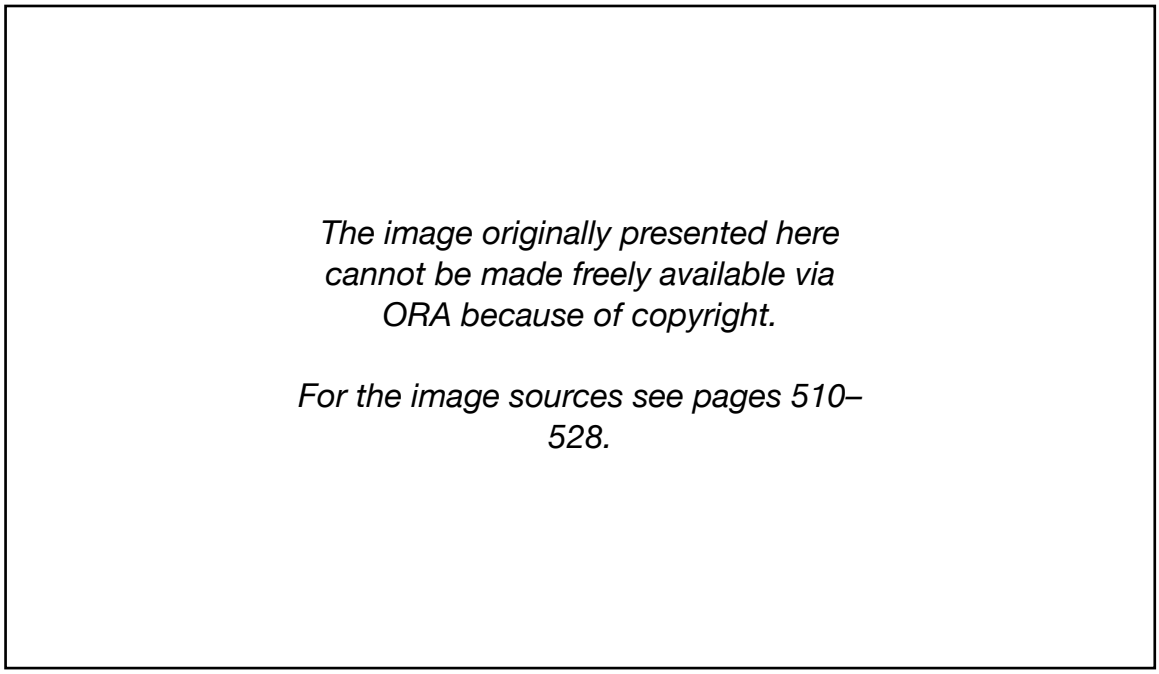


Figure 6.6:
Bronze coin of Tarkondimotos I with anchor countermark on obverse and horizontal cut on reverse

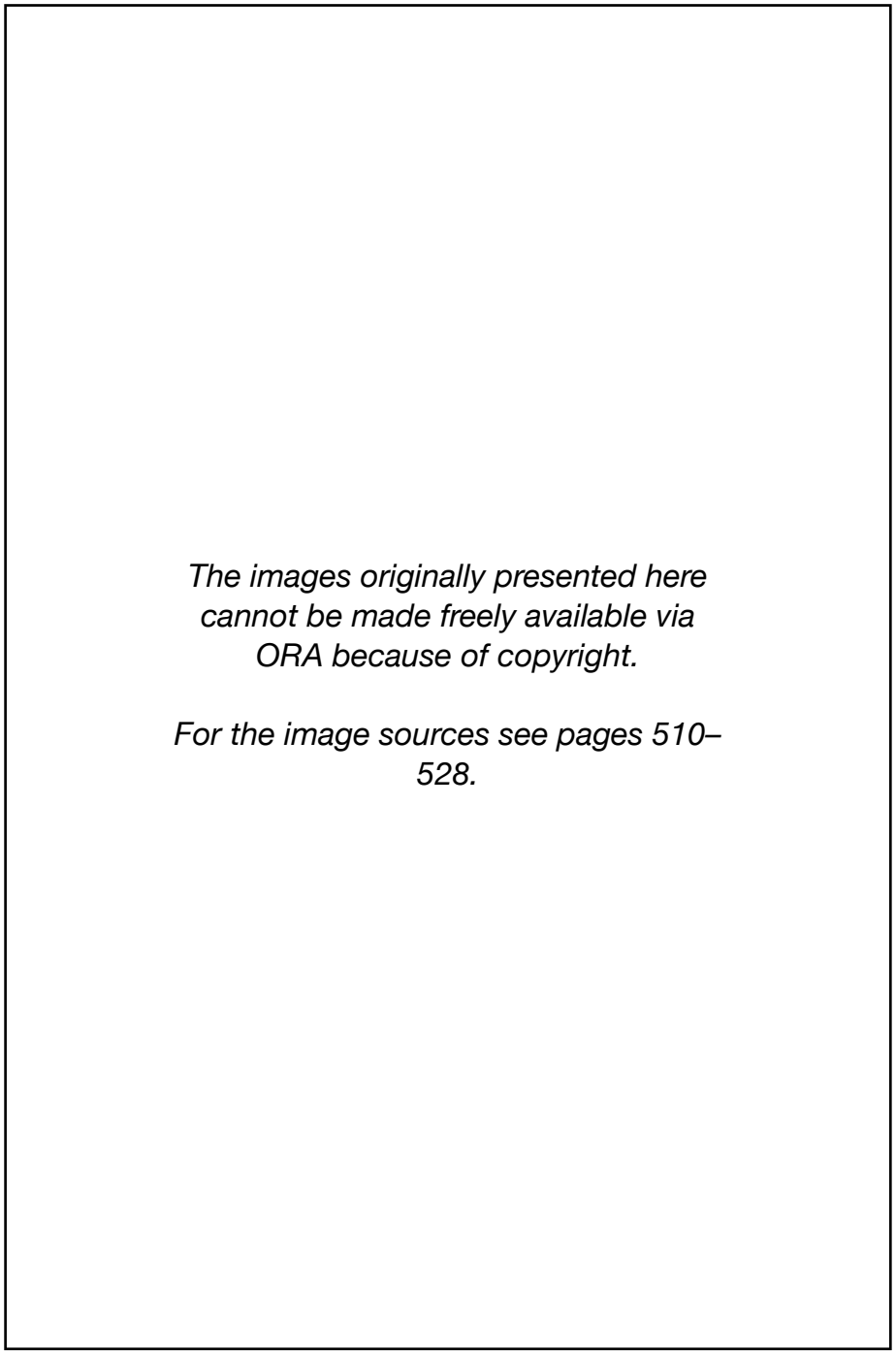


Figure 6.7:
Bronze coin of Tarkondimotos I with unique monogram in the possession of W. Sayles

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 510–528.

Figure 6.8:

Reverse die R737

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 510–528.

Figure 6.9:

Bronze coin with laureate head of Zeus r. on the obverse and eagle with wings spread, holding a diadem on the reverse. The reverse legend reads Βασιλέως 𐤀

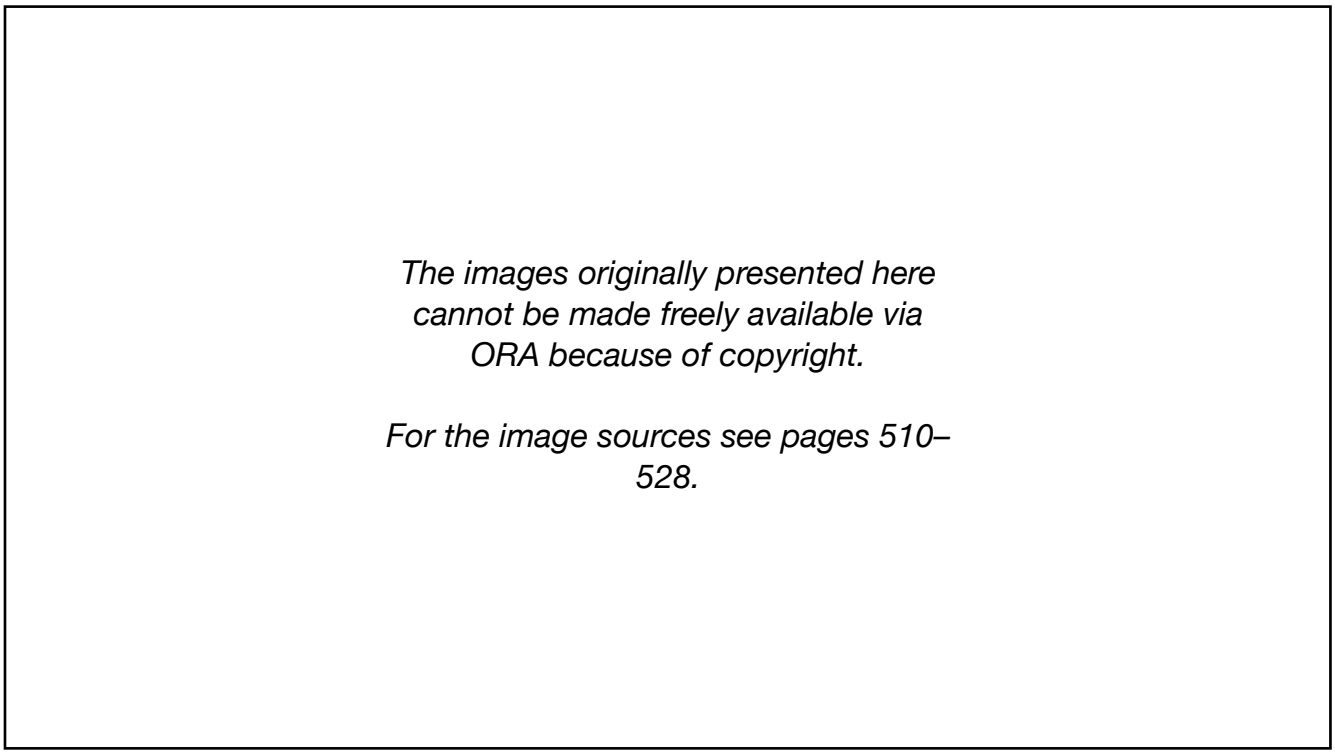


Figure 6.10:

Obverse die shared between coins of type 52

(left) and type 53 (right)

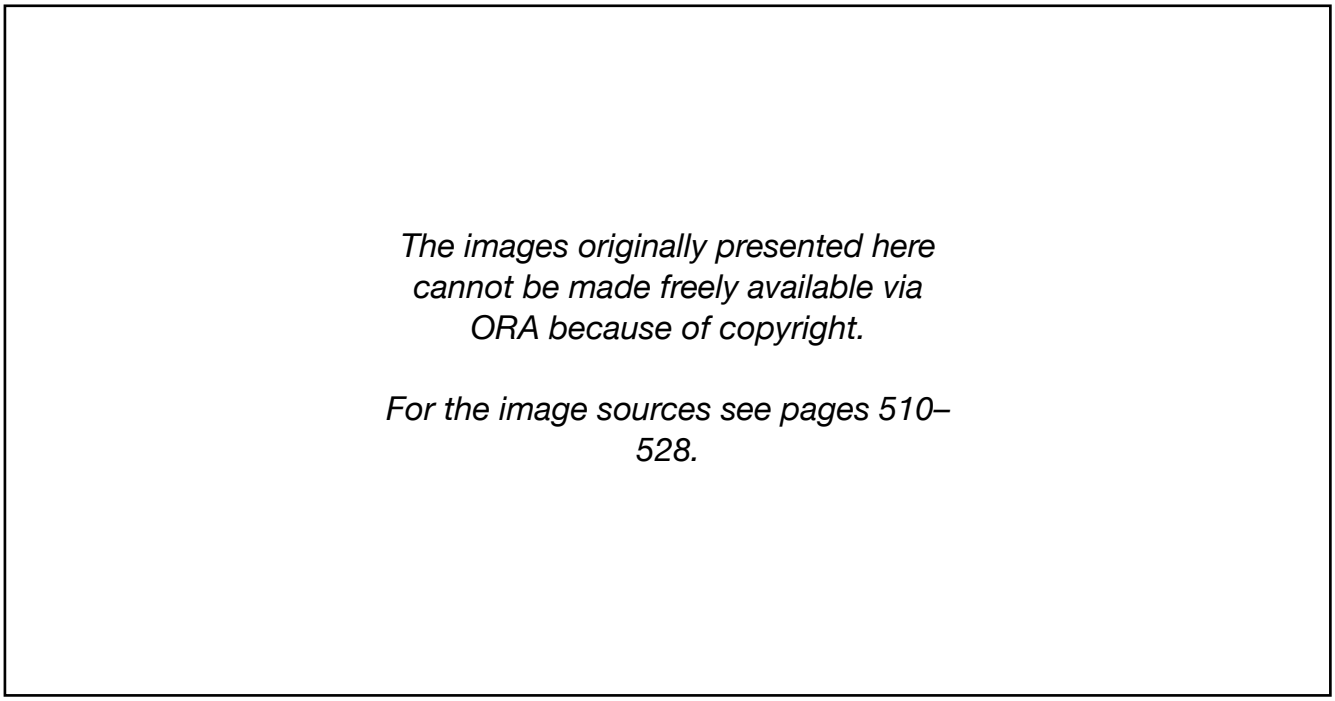


Figure 6.11:

Comparison between the original coin (left) and

possible reconstruction of the reverse legend (right)

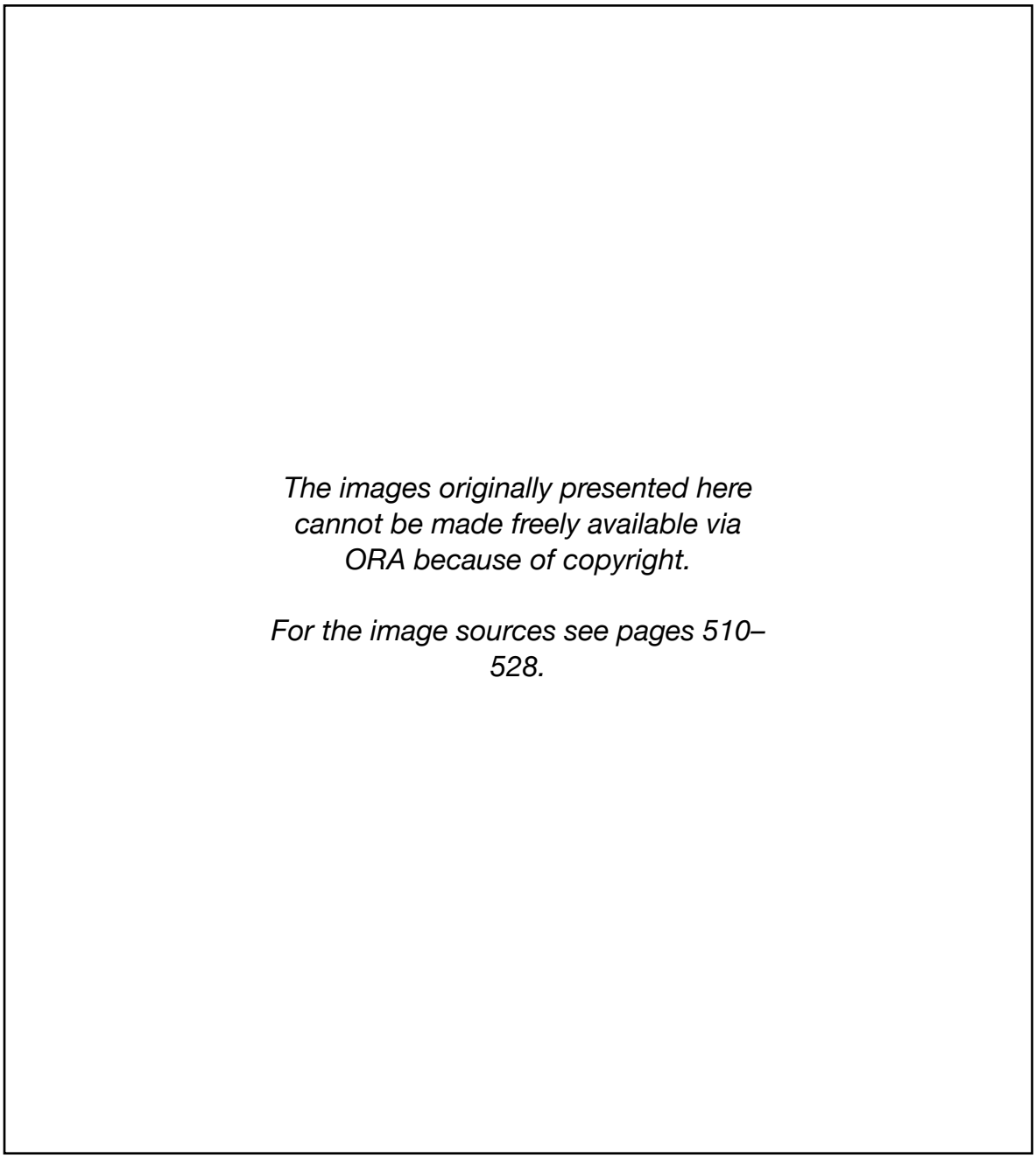


Figure 6.12:

Coin types of King Philopator

Obverse: turreted and veiled head of Tyche, r.

Reverse: Athena standing, l., with Nike and shield; to r., monogram

No. 2 with additional ΔΛ

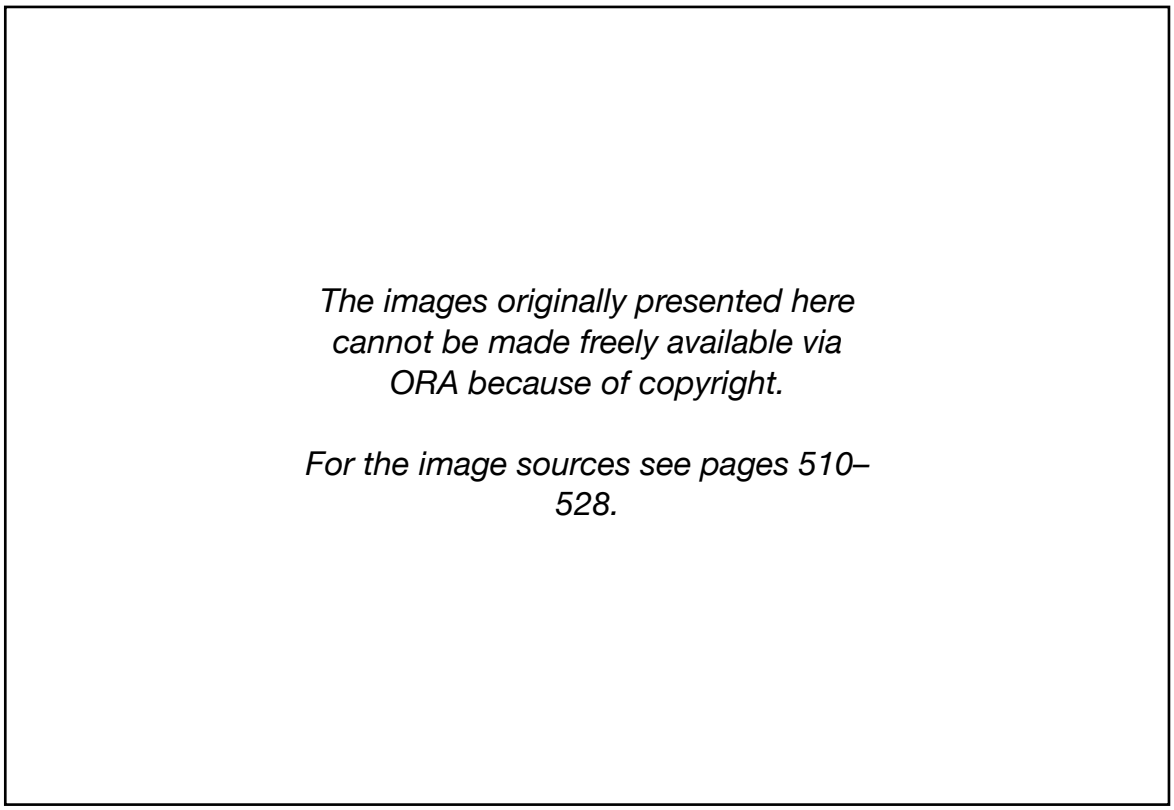


Figure 6.13:

Obverse dies of King Philopator with X in crown (left)

and A in veil above shoulder (right)

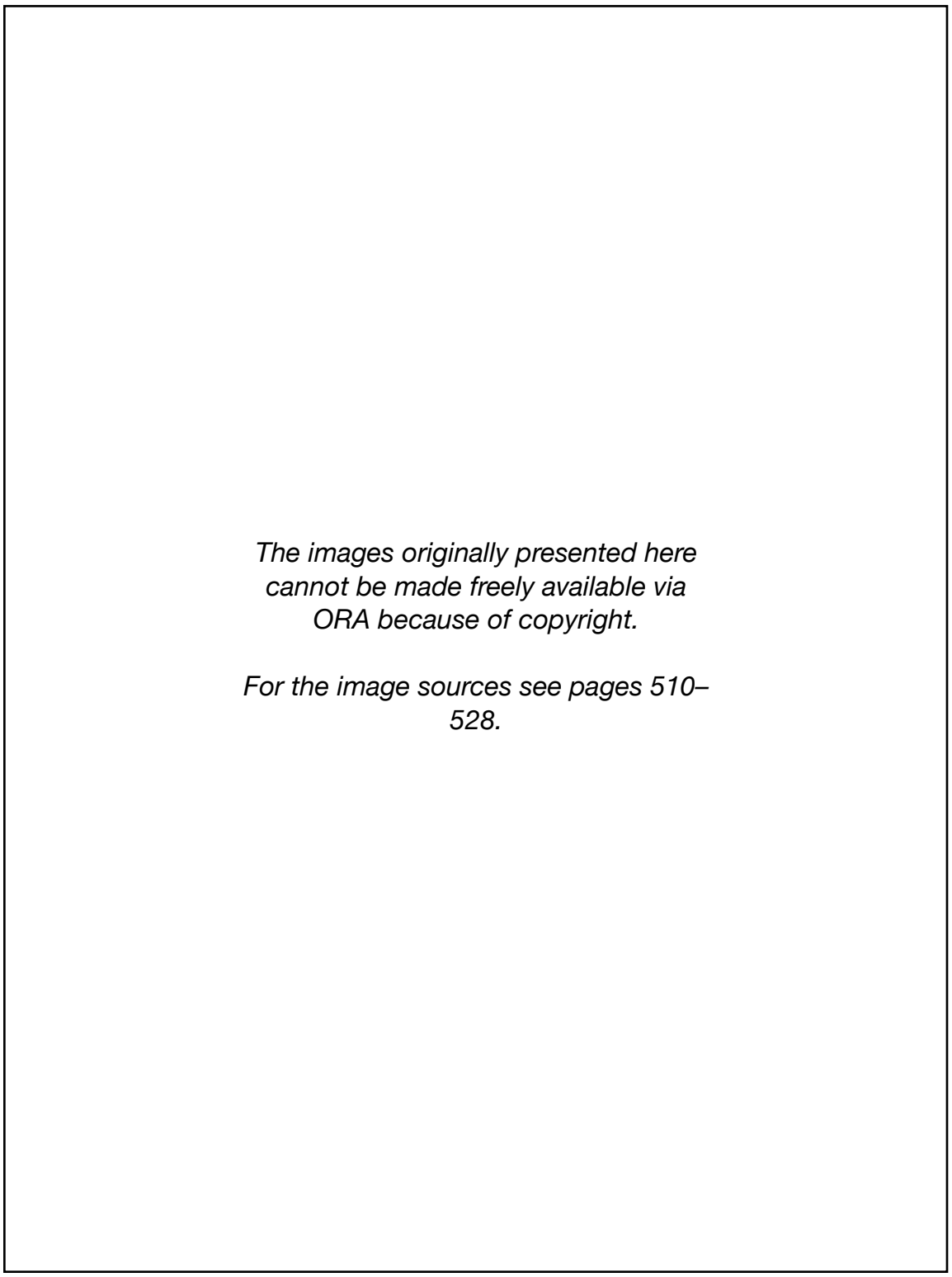


Figure 6.14:
Contemporary Bronze coin types of (1) Apameia in Syria, (2) Seleukeia ad Kalykadnon with the same iconographic design as (3) King Philopator's coins

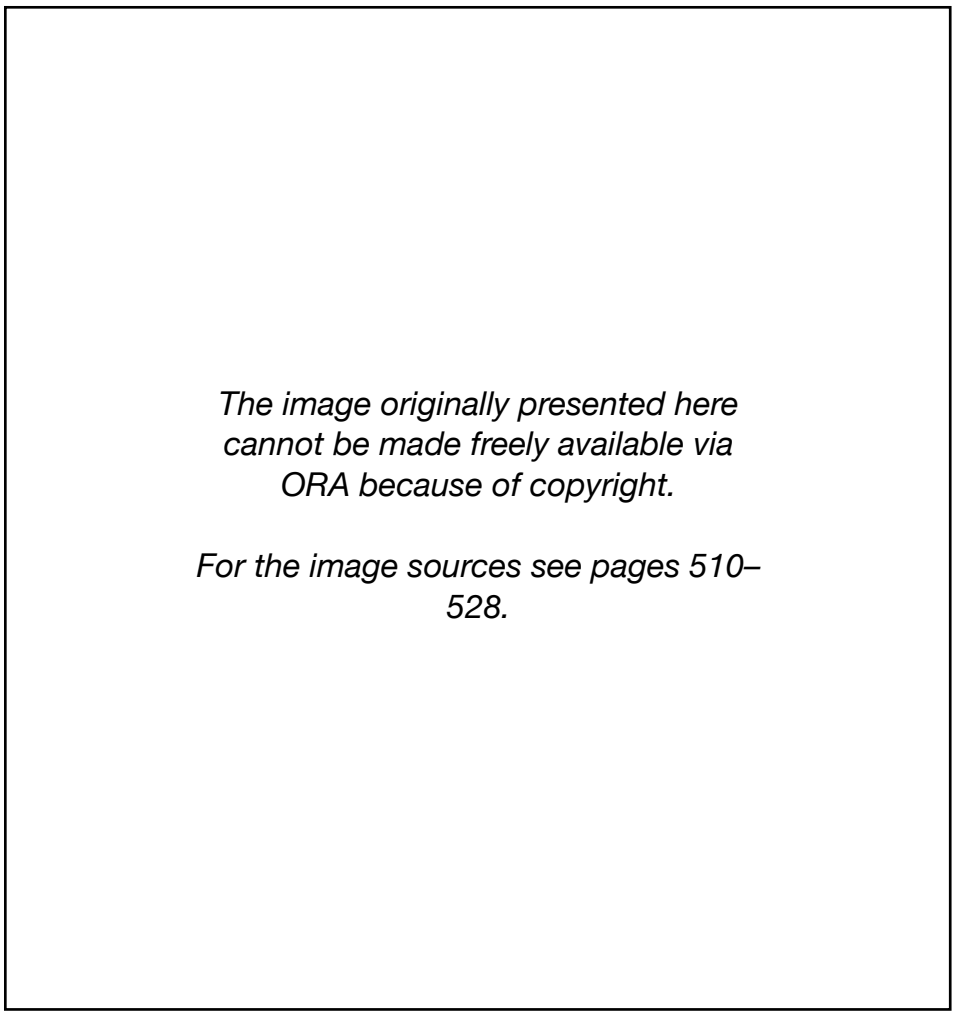


Figure 6.15:
The location of Tozlu in relation to Anazarbos,
Hierapolis-Castabala and the territory of Cilicia
Tracheia

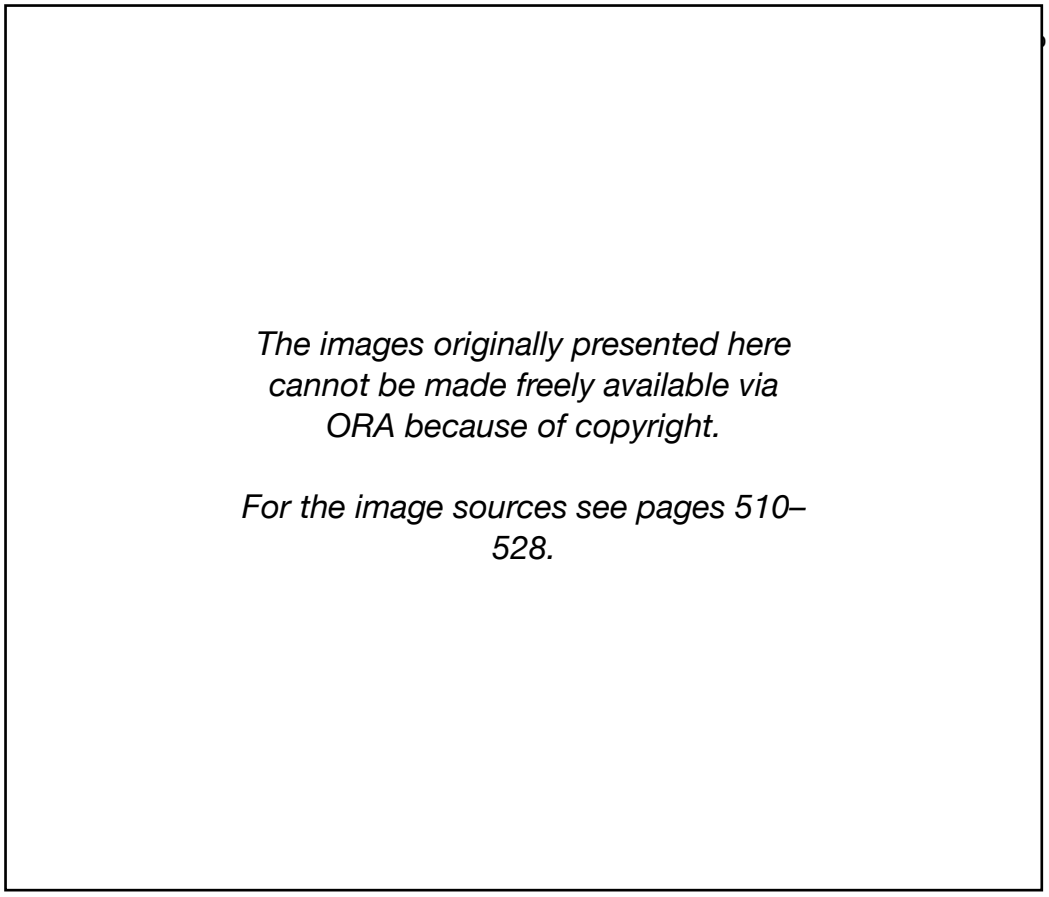


Figure 6.16:

Bronze coin types with the reverse inscription

"BACIΛƐΩC ☧"

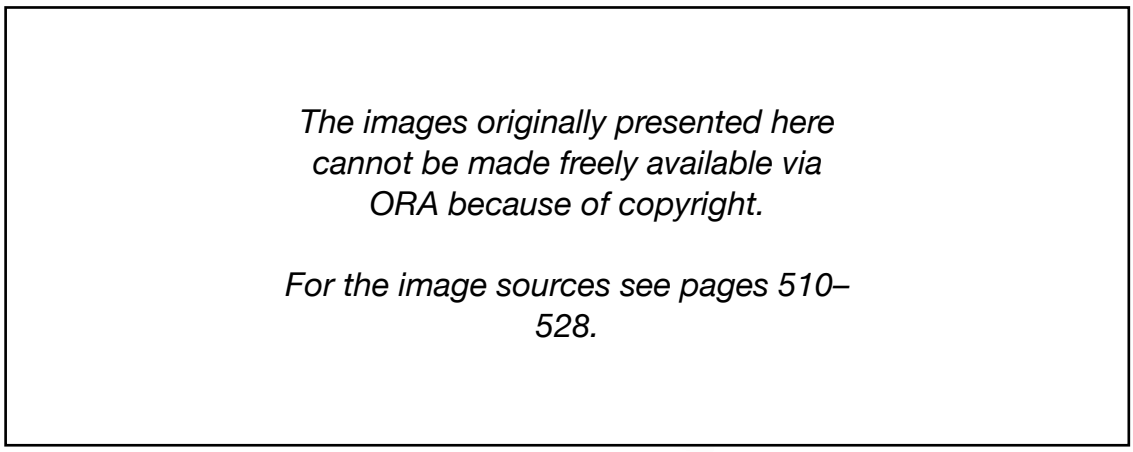


Figure 6.17:
Obverses of coin type 55 depicting a butting bull
with the numerals EΛ below

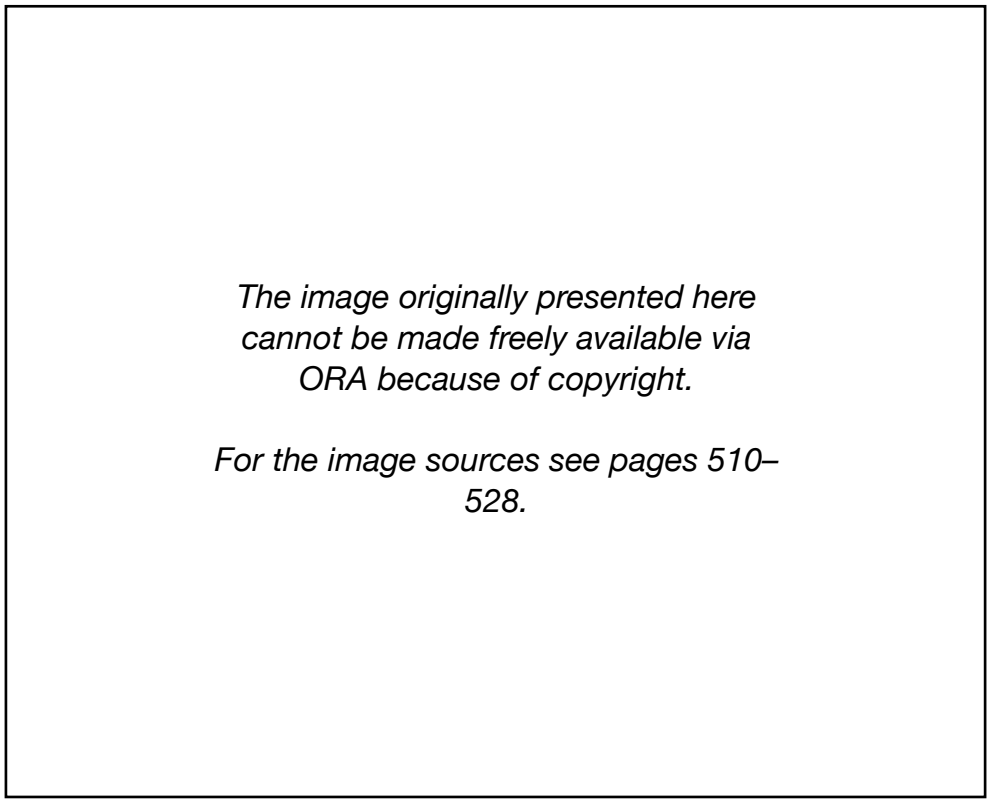


Figure 6.18:
Obverses with head of Apollo and worn M
monogram to the right

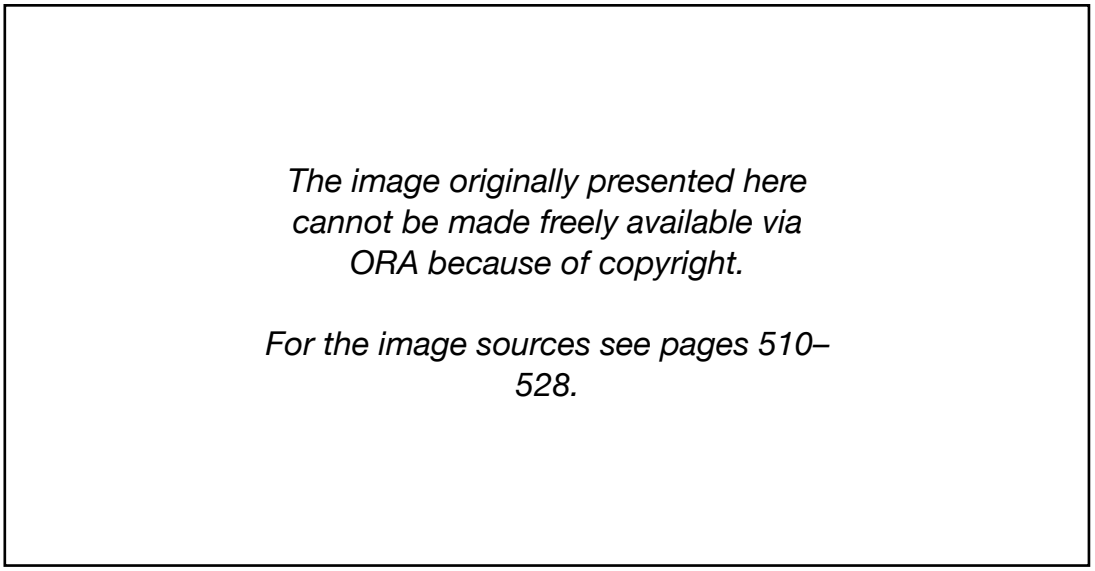


Figure 6.19:
Coins of Alexandreia in Cilicia showing a
clear monogram of the letters TAPK

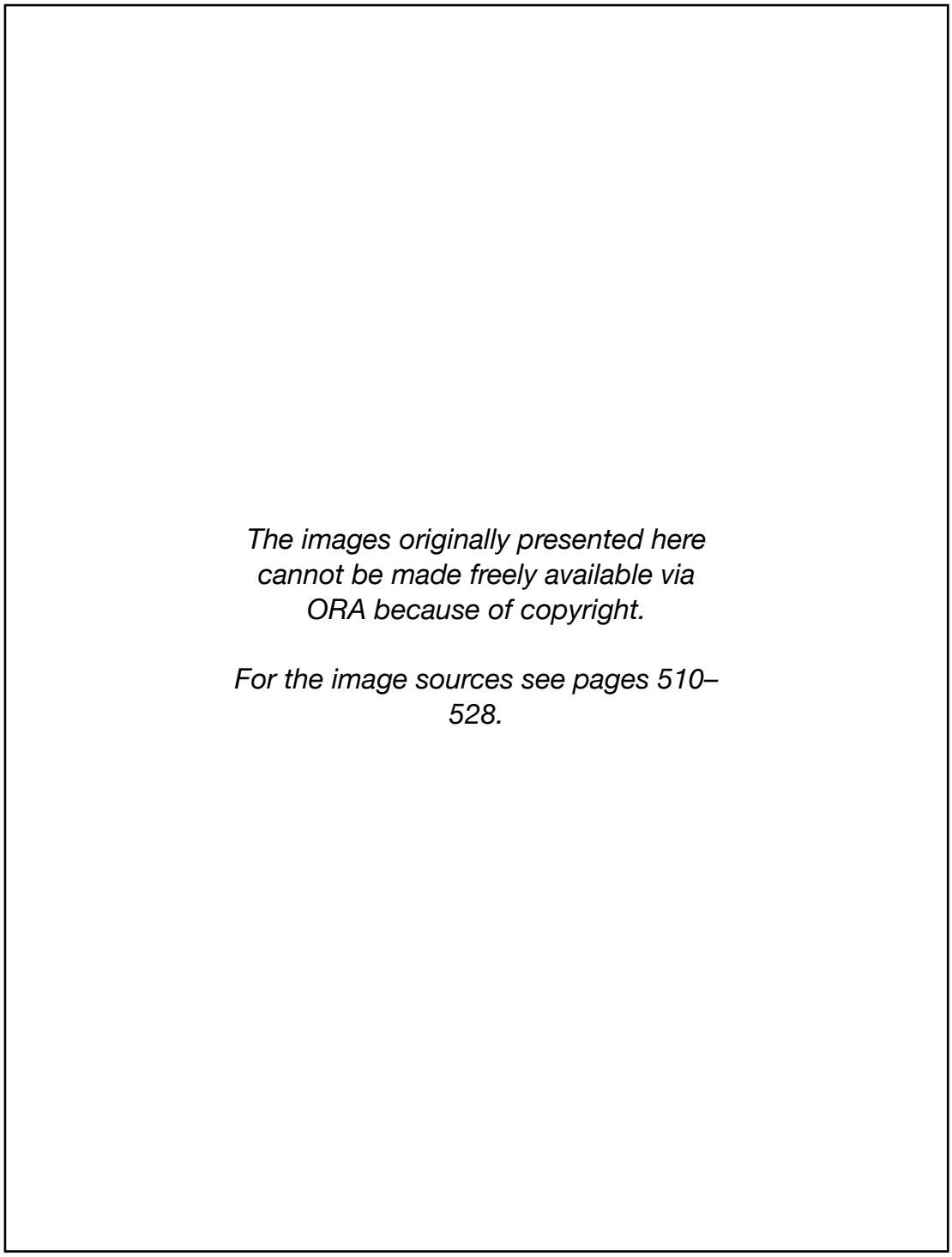


Figure 6.20:
Coins of Adana (no. 1) and Korykos
showing the letters TAP

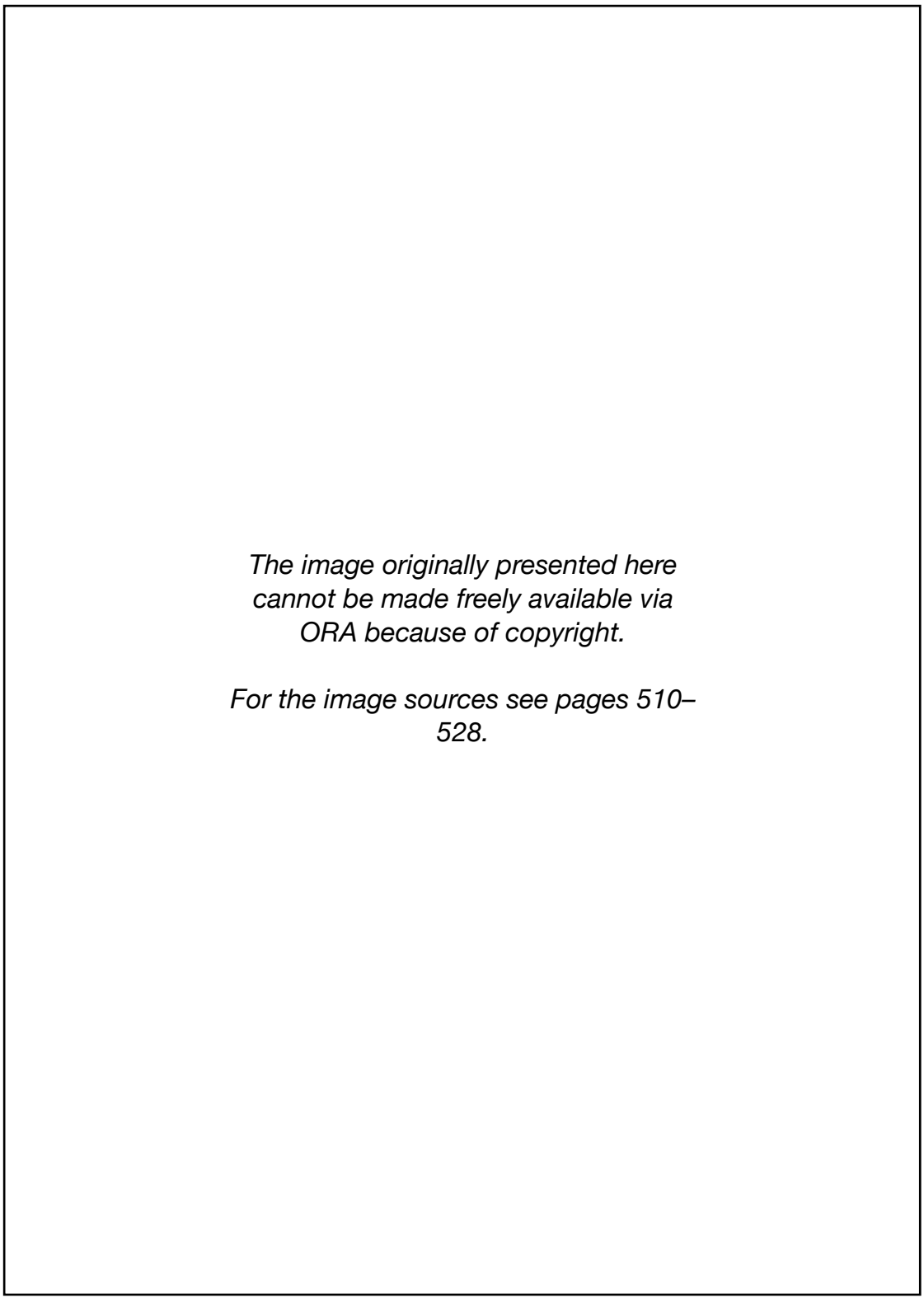
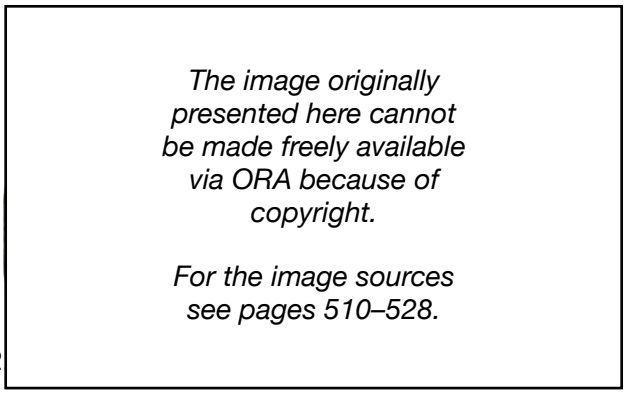


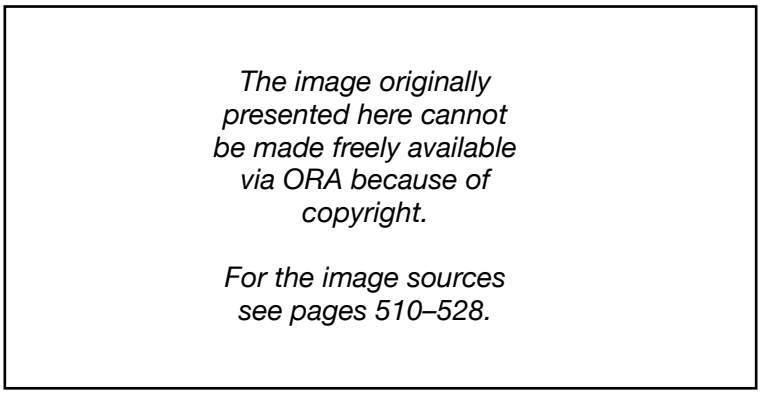
Figure 6.21:
A comparison between the (1.) coins of
Tarkondimotos, (2.) coins of Anazarbos with
monogram and (3.) AN below chair



1. Tarkondimotos (I) Philantonios (Cilicia)



2 Deiotaros Philadelphos (Paphalgonia) with Queen Adobogina



3. The two portraits of Ariobarzanes (II) Philopator (Cappadocia)



5. The two portraits of Ariobarzanes (III) Eusebes Philoromaius (Cappadocia)



6.



7. Ariarathes (X) Eusebes Philadelphos (Cappadocia)

Figure 7.1:

The royal portraits of coins of Cilicia, Paphlagonia and Cappadocia

Scale 100%

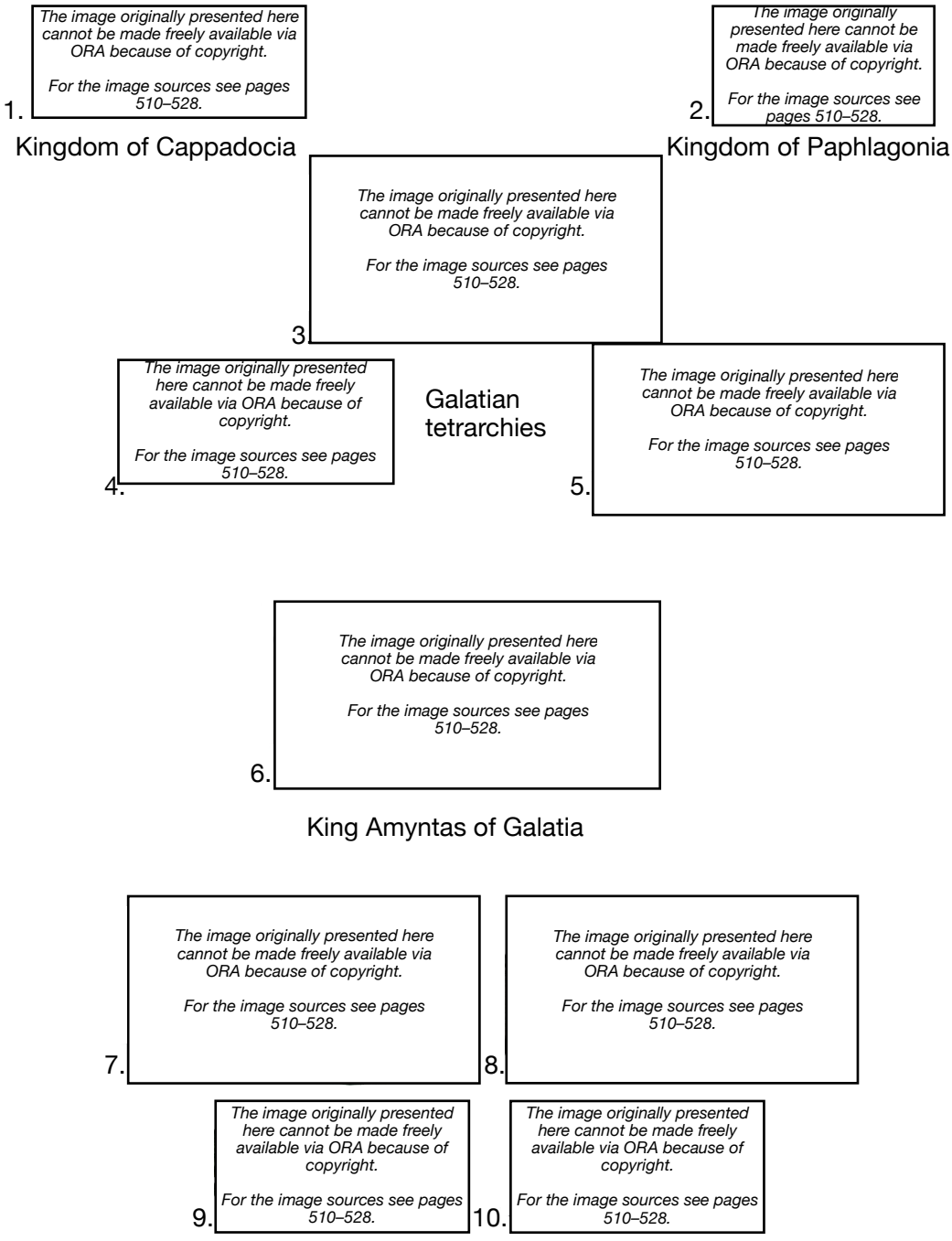


Figure 7.2:

A selection of the Royal Iconography on coins produced by the Kingdoms of Galatia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia and Cilicia

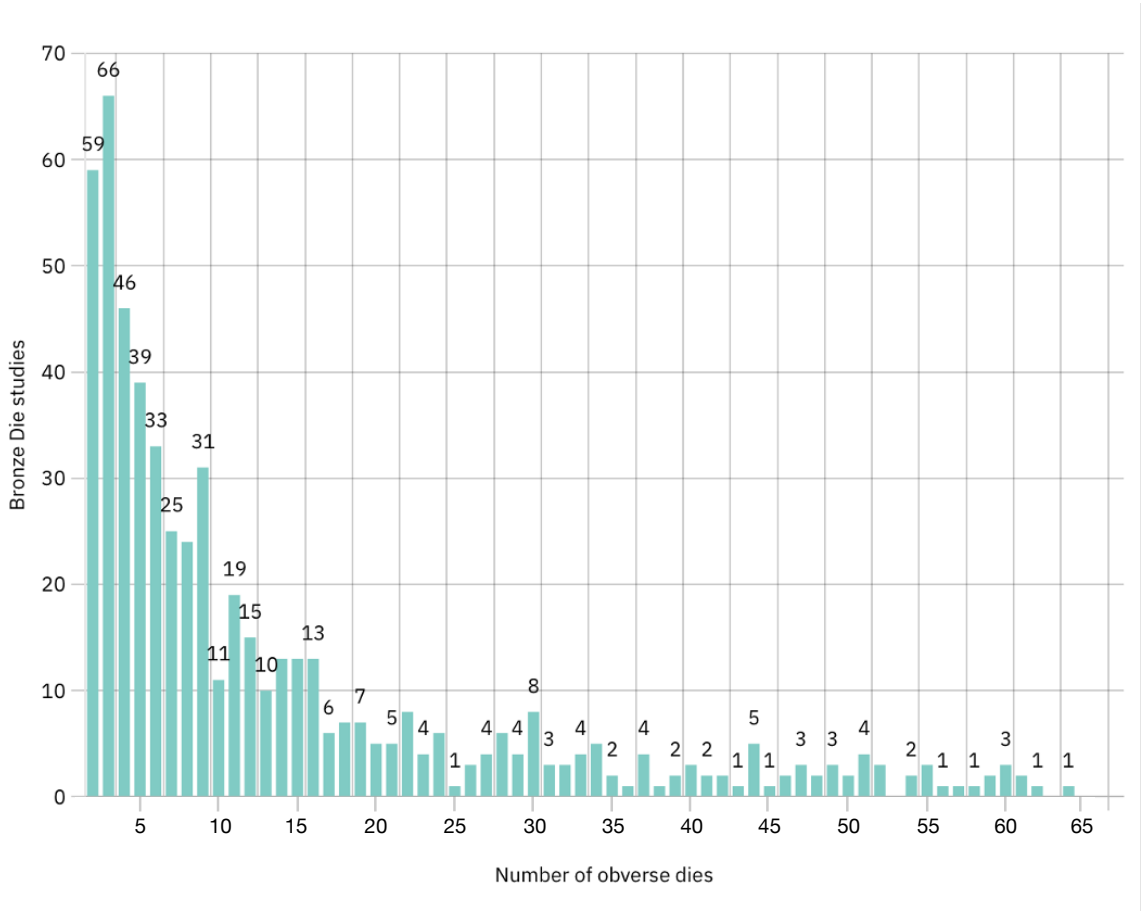


Figure 7.3:

An overview of the number of obverse dies of bronze die studies most commonly recorded in SILVER

Tables

Chapter 1: Introduction

Table 1.1: Greek Numerals

Modern Number	Greek Numeral	Modern Number	Greek Numeral
1	Α	15	ΙΕ
2	Β	16	ΙϚ
3	Γ	17	ΙΖ
4	Δ	18	ΙΗ
5	Ε	19	ΙΘ
6	Ϛ or Ͱ or F	20	Κ
7	Ζ	30	Λ
8	Η	40	Μ
9	Θ	50	Ν
10	Ι	60	Ξ
11	ΙΑ	70	Ο
12	ΙΒ	80	Π
13	ΙΓ	90	ϟ or Ϙ
14	ΙΔ	100	Ρ

Chapter 2: Quantification

Table 2.1: Overall coin output for the silver coinages

Ruler	Catalogue type	Denomination	Obverse Dies	Reverse Dies
Attalos Epiphanes (?)	27	Drachm	1	1
Deiotaros Philadelphos	28	Drachm	2	2
Brogitaros	1	Tridrachm	1	1
Amyntas	20–23	Tetradrachm	5.5	34
Ariobarzanes II				
Year 7	31	Drachm	10.5	30
Year 8	32	Drachm	39.5	94
Ariobarzanes III				
Year 9	35–36	Drachm	54	61
Year 11	37–41	Drachm	94	122
Ariarathes X				
Year 4	44	Drachm	2.5	8
Year 5	45–46	Drachm	29.5	85
Year 6	47–48	Drachm	2	9

Table 2.2: Overview of the silver coin output

Catalogue type	Denomi-nation	Obverse dies	Number of coins	D (Esty 2011)	D (Carter)	Estimated coin production with Esty (20,000/die)
Deiotaros Philadelphos						
28	Drachm	2	4	/	/	40,000
Ariobarzanes II						
31–34	Drachm	65	254	87.4	76.18 ± 2.63	1,760,000
Ariobarzanes III						
35–43	Drachm	148	579	198.9	173.4 ± 3.95	3,978,000
Ariarathes X						
44–48	Drachm	34	195	41.18	36.88 ± 1.5	823,600
Brogitaros						
1	Tridrachm	1	1	/	/	20,000
Amyntas						
20–23 24–25	Tetra-drachm	5.5 Amyntas 12.5 ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV	118 97	5.77 14.3	5,34 ±0.1 13.01 ±0.5	120,000 286,000

Table 2.3: Amyntas' tetradrachm output

Cat. type		Obverse dies and die links between the coin types	Obverse dies for calculation	Coins	Mean number of coins per die R = n/d	$d_1 \geq 1.0$	D (Esty 2011)	D (Carter)
24	Side Tetradrachm KΛEYX Group IV with wreath	7 (+1 shared with diadem reverse)	7.5	51	6.8	/	8.8	7.94 ±0.45
25	Side Tetradrachm KΛEYX Group IV with diadem	4 (+ 1 shared with wreath reverse, + 1 shared with Amyntas)	5	46	9	1.0	5.6	5.13 ±0.26
		12 (+ 1 shared with Amyntas)	12.5	97	7.76	1.0	14.35	13.01 ±0.5
20–21	Amyntas' Tetradrachm	2 (+ 1 shared with Side Tetradrachm KΛEYX Group 4 with diadem; + 1 shared with Amyntas tetradrachms with monogram/IB)	3	65	21.67	0	3.1	2.91 ±0.08
22–23	Amyntas' Tetradrachm with IB	2 (+ 1 shared with Amyntas' tetradrachms)	2.5	54	21.2	0	2.6	2.43 ±0.07
		5 (+1 shared with Side Group 4 diadem)	5.5	118	21.45	0	5.7	5.34 ±0.1
	Overall	15 (+ 3 shared)	18	215	11.94	1.0	19.65	18.02 ±0.36
	With diadem	8 (+ 2.5 shared)	10.5	164	15.62	1.0	11.22	10.34 ±0.2

Table 2.4: Ariobarzanes II's drachm production

Catalogue type		Obverse dies and die links	Ob-verse dies	Number of coins	R = n/d	$d_1 \geq 1.0$	D (Esty)	D (Carter)
31	Year Z	10 (+ 1 shared with Year H)	10.5	53	5.05	/	13	11.64 ± 0.77
32	Year H	39 (+ 1 shared with Year Z)	39.5	160	4.05	/	52.45	45.88 ±1.95
	unknown (dies of Year Z)		(2)	2				
	unknown (dies of Year H)		(6)	15				
33–34	Year unknown	14	15	24	/	/	/	/
Overall			65	254	3.9		87.35	76.18 ±2.63

Table 2.5: Ariobarzanes III's drachm production

	Cata-logue type	Obverse dies and die links	Obverse dies	Number of coins	R = n/d	$d_1 \geq 1.0$	D (Esty 2011)	D (Carter)
Year 9								
	35	50	50	159	3.18		72.94	62.2 ± 3.1
star and Θ	36	4	4	21	5.25	/	5	4.4 ± 0.46
Overall Year 9	35–36		54	179	3.31		77.3	66.3 ± 3
Year 11								
AI in field	37	7 (+2 shared with type 38; + 1 shared with type 43)	8.5	40	4.7	/	10.8	9.55 ± 0.76
IA in field	38	9 (+2 shared with type 37)	10	37	3.7	/	13.7	11.89 ±1.14
	39	1 (+2 shared with type 41)	2	4	2	/	/	/
	40	41 (+2 shared with type 42)	42	175	4.17	/	55.26	4866 ± 1.98
	41	28 (+2 shared with type 39; +1 shared with type 42)	29.5	138	4.68	/	37.52	33.19 ±1.4
Overall Year 11	37–41		92	394	4.26	/	120.88	106.2 ± 2.78
	42	(+2 with type 40; +1 with type 41)	1.5	3	/	/	/	/
	43	(+ 1 shared with type 37)	0.5	3	/	/	/	/
Overall			148	579	3.9		198.9	173.4 ± 3.95

Table 2.6: Ariarathes X's drachm production

Catalogue type	Year	Obverse dies and die links	Obverse dies	Number of coins	R = n/d	$d_1 \geq 1.0$	D (Esty 2011)	D (Carter)
44	RYΔ (=4)	2 (+1 shared with RYƐ (=5))	2.5	13	5.2	/	/	/
45	RYƐ (=5)	11 (+1 shared with RYΔ (=4))	11.5	60	5.22	0	14.23	12.67 ±0.76
46	RYƐ (=5)	/	18	100	5.55	3	21.95	19.62 ±0.88
	Year 5 Overall	/	29.5	160	5.4	3	36.17	32.3 ±1.15
47	RYϚ (=6)	/	1	3	3	/	/	/
48	RYϚ (=6)	/	1	19	19	0	/	/
	Year 6 overall	/	2	22	11	/	/	/
Overall			34	195	5.74	/	41.18	36.88 ± 1.5

Table 2.7: Deiotaros Philorhomaios' bronze coin output

Catalogue type		Obverse dies	Number of coins	R = n/d	D (Esty 2011)	D (Carter)
3	Cybele	3	3	1	/	/
4	Mên/Attis	3	10	3.33	4.5	3.67 ±0.8
5	Zeus/Eagle	23	114	6.26	28.81	25.6 ±1.15
6	Zeus/ Galatian shield	3	48	16	3.2	2.95 ±0.1
7	Nike	(6+)	(14+)	/	/	/
	Overall	38	189	4.97	47.56	42.25 ±1.46

Table 2.8: The bronze coin output of King Amyntas

Cata-logue type	Series	Obverse dies and die links	Obverse dies	Number of coins	R = n/d	D (Esty 2011)	D (Carter)
	Lion series						
9	Group 1		2	113	56.5	2.04	1.9 ± 0.02
13	Group 2: monogram III		5	109	21.8	5.24	4.85 ± 0.09
14	Group 2: Zeus/Lion		1	21	21	1.05	0.97 ± 0.04
17	Group 2: no monogram		2	112	56	2.04	1.9 ± 0.02
	Stag series						
10	Group 1		1	18	18	1.06	/
11	Group 1: monogram IV	1 shared with Group 2: monogram IV	0.5	6	/	0.55	/
15	Group 2: monogram IV	1 shared with Group 1: monogram IV	0.5	22	/	0.51	/
18	Group 2: no monogram		4	87	21.75	4.2	3.88 ± 0.08
	Hermes series						
12	Group 1		2	7	3.5	2.8	2.41
16	Group 2: monogram III		1	9	9	1.13	/
19	Group 2: no monogram		10	63	6.3	11.89	10.69 ± 0.56
	Overall		29	567	19.55	30.56	28.27 ± 0.26

Table 2.9: Tarkondimotid bronze output

Catalogue type	Ruler	Number of obverse dies	Number of coins	R = n/d	D (Esty 2011)	D (Carter)
49	Tarkondimotos I	5	130	26	5.2	4.82 ± 0.08
50–51	King Philopator	7	58	8.29	7.96	7.24 ± 0.34
	Tarkondimotid dynasty:					
52–53	Zeus/Eagle holding diadem	1	15	15	1.07	/
54	Apollo/tripod	2	2	1	/	/
55	butting bull/ aplustre	3	21	7	3.5	3.16 ± 0.28

Chapter 3: The Galatian Kingdom

Table 3.1: Proposed regnal years for King Brogitaros

Year 1	Year 6
59/58 BC	54/53 BC
58/57 BC	53/52 BC

Table 3.2: A comparison between the obverse dies of stylistic Group 1 and the Zeus/Shield obverse dies

Catalogue type 5 obverse dies	The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. For the image sources see pages 529–535.
Catalogue type 6 obverse dies	The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. For the image sources see pages 529–535.

Table 3.3: The main four stylistic groups of ‘Deiotaros monogram’ coins

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4
Monogram	The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. For the image sources see pages 529–535.			
Obverse style				
Reverse style				

Table 3.4: The recorded coins for the 1845 hoard according to Meadows 2006

	Side			Amyntas	
1	1845-12-17-205	(*BMC* 44)	Kleuch III	1 1846-3-13-1	(*BMC* 7)
2	1845-12-17-206	(*BMC* 39)	Kleuch IV	2 1846-3-13-2	(*BMC* 6)
3	1846-4-15-1	(*BMC* 45)	Kleuch IV	3 1846-4-15-7	(*BMC* 3)
4	1846-4-15-2	(*BMC* 41)	Kleuch III	4 1847-2-2-1	(*BMC* 1)
5	1846-4-15-3	(*BMC* 46)	Kleuch III	5 1852-10-25-1	(*BMC* 2)
6	1846-4-15-4	(*BMC* 42)	Kleuch IV	6 1855-3-20-3	(*BMC* 5)
7	1846-4-15-5	(*BMC* 40)	Kleuch IV	7 1866-12-1-3811	(*BMC* 4)
8	1846-4-15-6	(*BMC* 38)	Kleuch IV		

Table 3.5: Die correspondence table of Amyntas' tetradrachms

(after Atlan 1975 and Meadows 2006, with three new reverse dies)

Atlan obverse die	Catalogue obverse die		Atlan Reverse die	Catalogue Reverse die
Atlan Ö1	O72		A1	R182
Atlan Ö2	O71		A2	R183
Atlan Ö3	O74		A3	R184
Atlan Ö4	O73		A4	R196
Atlan Ö4a	O73		A5	R198
Atlan Ö5	O76		A6	R189
Atlan Ö6	O75		A7	R188
		Recut	A8 ('elephant')	R185
			A9	R187
			A10	R186
			A11	R201
			A12	R190
			A13	Same as A7
			A14	R199
			A15	R200
		Recut	A16	R194
		Recut	A17 and A17a	R195
			A18	Same as A16
			A19	R203
			A20	R204
			A21	R214
			A22	R207
			A23	R202
			A24	R215
			A25	R205
			A26	R210

			A27	R206
			A28	Same as A25
			A29	R212
			A30	R211
			A31	R209
			A32	Same as A26
			A33	R208
			Meadows Rnew no. 1	R192
			Meadows Rnew no. 2	R193
			Miebach Rnew no. 1	R191
			Miebach Rnew no. 2	R197
			Miebach Rnew no. 3	R213

Table 3.6: Monograms on the coins of Amyntas

Monogram	Picture	Stylised	Catalogue types
Monogram I	The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. For the image sources see pages 529–535.		22–23 Tetradrachms
Monogram II			9–12 Lion series, Hermes series, Stag series
Monogram III			13–14; 16 Lion series, Hermes series
Monogram IV			11; 15 Stag series

Table 3.7: The classification and types of King Amyntas bronze coinage

	Lion series	Stag series	Hermes series
Group 1: monogram in the exergue	Monogram II in the exergue		
		Monogram II in the exergue with Monogram IV on the obverse	
Group 2: Full legend with monogram	Monogram III	Monogram IV	Monogram III
Group 2: Full legend, no monogram	No monogram		

Table 3.8: The Lion series

	Heracles Group 1	Heracles Group 2: monogram III	Zeus Group 2: monogram III	Heracles Group 2: no monogram
Catalogue type	8	13	14	17
Denomination	22 mm	22 mm	21 mm	21 mm
Weight	⌀ 9.92 g	⌀ 7.17 g	⌀ 7.57 g	⌀ 5.74 g
Axis	1, 11, 12	2, 12	12	1, 11, 12
Thickness (calculated)	2.9 mm	2.2 mm	2.3 mm	2.05 mm
Number of coins	114	119	22	122
Obverse dies	2	5	1	2
Reverse dies	30	18	4	25

Table 3.9: The Stag series

	Stag series Group 1	Stag series Group 1: monogram IV	Stag series Group 2: monogram IV	Stag series Group 2: no monogram
Catalogue type	10	11	15	18
Denomination	21 mm	21 mm	20 mm	18 mm
Weight	⌀ 7.71 g	⌀ 5.66 g	⌀ 5.35 g	⌀ 4.19 g
Axis	11, 12	6, 12	12	1, 11, 12
Thickness (calculated)	2.71 mm	1.93 mm	2.2 mm	1.9 mm
Number of coins	18	7	24	113
Obverse dies	1	2	1	4
Reverse dies	4	2	4	24

Table 3.10: The Hermes series

	Hermes Group 1	Hermes series Group 2: monogram III	Hermes series Group 2: no monogram
Catalogue type	12	16	19
Denomination	18 mm	15 mm	15 mm
Weight	⌀ 5.09 g	⌀ 3.31 g	⌀ 3.06 g
Axis	6, 12	11, 12	1, 6, 12
Thickness (calculated)	2.4 mm	2.05 mm	1.7 mm
Number of coins	7	9	87
Obverse dies	2	1	10
Reverse dies	2	2	22

Table 3.11: Amyntas' bronze coins found in excavations

					Number of Coins			Stratigraphy
Site	reference	overall number of coins		Coin type	Stag series	Lion series	Hermes series	
Zeugma (Commagene, Syria)	Toumpan 2015	1	Catalogue Type 18 no. 100	(1) Stag series no monogram	1	/	/	surface find
Tarsos (Cilicia)	Goldman and Cox 1950, 78 no. 278.	1	25 mm no picture	(1) Lion series full legend	/	1	/	found in 5.20m complex with 1 Hadrianic coin and 1 coin dated AD 30-117
Side (Pamphylia)	Atlan 1976, 55 no. 181.	1		(1) Lion series, full legend, monogram (?) series	/	1	/	

Table 3.12: Amyntas' bronze coins in hoards[1]

Coin hoard no. 1					
	Findspot	Date	City	Coins	Comments
1972 hoard	S. Asia Minor	Late 1st century BC			
		Lycia	Phaselis	2	
		Pamphylia	Side	407	155 countermarked (thunderbolt, pomegranate, capricorn, head of Athena)
			Aspendos	8	1 countermarked
			Attaleia	3	
			Perge	2	
		Pisidia	Selge	10	
			Isinda	2	
			Etenna	88	
		Amyntas	Amyntas	1*	

*type unknown

[1] Sources for Amyntas bronze coin hoards:
1. Price 1975, no. 108.
2. Köker 2006 no. 51.
3. Köker and Köyağasıoğlu 2006 no. 52.
4. von Aulock 1977, 27–29 with Olcay 1969.

Coin hoard no. 2				
	Findspot	Date	City	Coins
accession 1987	province of Burdur, Pisidia	Mid-Late 1st century BC		
		Pisidia	Keraitae	14
			Komana	1
			Kremna	29
			Sagalassos	4
			Selge	25
			Termessos	12
		Amyntas	Amyntas	1*

*Hermes/winged thunderbolt (likely caduceus if correctly attributed)

Coin hoard no. 3:				
	Findspot	Date	City	Coins
1979 Burdur	Çeltikçi, Burdur, Pisidia	Mid-Late 1st century BC		
		Phrygia	Apameia	1
		Pamphylia	Aspendos	1
			Perge	1
		Pisidia	Kremna	7
			Sagalassos	1
			Selge	16
		Amyntas	Amyntas	1*
			uncertain	2

*Group 2: Stag series

Coin hoard no. 4				
	Findspot	Date	City	Coins
Ariassos hoard	Ariassos (?)	Mid-Late 1st century BC		
		Mysia	Pergamum	6
		Lycia	Termessos Minor	1
		Phrygia	Apamea	2
		Pamphylia	Attalia	5
			Perge	24
			Side	2
		Pisidia	Adada	1
			Ariassos	131
			Etenna	1
			Isinda	1
			Keraita	2
			Komama	2
			Kremna	1
			Sagalassos	1
			Selge	3
			Termessos Major	20
		Amyntas	Amyntas	1*

*Group 2: Heracles/Lion

Table 3.13: Mints and number of coins in the four coin hoards associated with bronze coins of Amyntas

Region	City	No. of hoards out of 4	coins overall	number of coins in each hoard (left to right: coin hoards 1, 2, 3, 4 based on Table 3.11)
Mysia	Pergamon	1	6	(0 + 0 + 0 + 6)
Phrygia	Apameia	2	3	(0 + 0 + 1 + 2)
Lycia	Phaselis	1	2	(1 + 0 + 0 + 0)
	Termessos Minor	1	1	(0 + 0 + 0 + 1)
Pamphylia	Side	2	409	(407 + 0 + 0 + 2)
	Aspendos	2	9	(8 + 0 + 1 + 0)
	Attaleia	2	8	(3 + 0 + 0 + 5)
	Perge	**3**	27	(2 + 0 + 1 + 24)
Pisidia	Selge	**4**	54	(10 + 25 + 16 + 3)
	Isinda	2	3	(2 + 0 + 0 + 1)
	Etenna	2	89	(88 + 0 +0 + 1)
	Keraitae	2	16	(0 + 14 + 0 + 2)
	Komana	2	3	(1 + 0 + 0 + 2)
	Kremna	**3**	37	(0 + 29 + 7 +1)
	Sagalassos	**3**	6	(0 + 4 + 1 +1)
	Termessos	2	32	(0 + 12 + 0 + 20)
	Adada	1	1	(0 +0 + 0 +1)
	Ariassos	1	131	(0 + 0 + 0 + 131)

Chapter 4: The Kingdom of Paphlagonia

Table 4.1: Literary attested kings of Paphlagonia

King of Paphlagonia	Ruling from	Ruling to
Attalos	64 BC	41 BC
Castor	41 BC	?
Deiotaros Philadelphos	? attested 31 BC	? (6 BC start of Roman era in Paphlagonia)

Table 4.2: The coin denominations of Deiotaros Philadelphos

	Denomination	Weight	Diameter	Catalogue type
Silver	Drachm	3.7 g	17 mm	27
Bronze		7.21 g	22 mm	28
		6.88 g	22 mm	29

Table 4.3:

Overview of the reigns and overlaps of the era used on the coins of Attalos Epiphanes and Deiotaros Philadelphos

Numeral		Reign from (BC)	Reign to (BC)	min start date for era	max start date for era
410	Attalos (Epiphanes ?)	64	41	474	451
427	Deiotaros Philadelphos	between 41 – 31 (?)	6	468 – 458 (?)	433
				Overlap of start date: 468 to 451 BC	

Chapter 5: The Ariobarzanid kingdom in Cappadocia

Table 5.1: The kings and reign dates of the kings of Cappadocia

Approximate reign dates	King	Denominations (according to Simonetta 1977)
350–322 BC	Ariarathes I	drachms
300–280 BC	Ariarathes II	bronze?
280–230 BC	Ariaramnes	bronze
230–220 BC	Ariarathes III	tetradrachms bronze
220–163 BC	Ariarathes IV Eusebes	tetradrachms drachms
163–130 BC	Ariarathes V Eusebes Philopator	tetradrachms drachms
130–112 BC	Ariarathes VI Epiphanes Philopator	drachms
112–100 BC	Ariarathes VII Philometor	drachms
100–98 BC	Ariarathes VIII Epiphanes	?
100–85 BC	Ariarathes IX Eusebes Philopator (son of Mithridates VI of Pontus)	tetradrachms drachms
95–63 BC	Ariobarzanes I Philorhomaios	drachms
63–52 BC	Ariobarzanes II Philopator	drachms
52–42 BC	Ariobarzanes III Eusebes Philorhomaios	drachms
42–36 BC	Ariarathes X Eusebes Philadelphus	drachms
36 BC–AD 17	Archelaos I Philopatris	drachms hemidrachms bronze?

Table 5.2: Possible regnal eras of the kings of Cappadocia

King	Regnal years				
	Start of reign = Year 1		Year 32		
Ariobarzanes I	95/94 BC		64/63 BC		
	94/93 BC		63/62 BC		

King	Regnal years			End of reign	
	Start of reign = Year 1	Year 7	Year 8	Death in 53/52 BC	Death in 51 BC (Cicero attests Ariobarzanes III)
Ariobarzanes II	64/63 BC	58/57 BC	57/56 BC	Year 12	Year 14 or 13
	63/62 BC	57/56 BC	56/55 BC	Year 11	Year 13 or 12
	62/61 BC	56/55 BC	55/54 BC	Year 10	Year 12 or 11
	61/60 BC	55/54 BC	54/53 BC	Year 9	Year 11 or 10
	60/59 BC	54/53 BC	53/52 BC	Year 8	Year 10 or 9

King	Regnal years			End of reign
	Start of reign = Year 1	Year 9	Year 11	Killed before Oct. 42 BC
Ariobarzanes III	**53/52 BC**	**45/44 BC**	**43/42 BC**	**Year 11**
	52/51 BC	44/43 BC	42/41 BC	Year 11 or ~~Year 10~~

King	Regnal years				End of reign
	Start of reign = Year 1	Year 4	Year 5	Year 6	Killed/replaced in 36 BC
Ariarathes X	43/42 BC	40/39 BC	39/38 BC	38/37 BC	Year 7 or 8
	42/41 BC	**39/38 BC**	**38/37 BC**	**37/36 BC**	**Year 6 or 7**
	41/40 BC	38/37 BC	37/36 BC	36/35 BC	Year 6

King	Regnal years							End of reign	
	Start of reign = Year 1	Year 20	Year 22	Year 39	Year 40	Year 41	Year 42	Death in Year 50 (Archelaos “ruled for 50 years“ Tac. *Ann*. 2. 42)	Death in AD 17 (Tac. *Ann*. 2. 42 and in Cass. Dio 57. 17)
Archelaos	37/36 BC	18/17 BC	16/15 BC	AD 2/3	AD 3/4	AD 4/5	AD 5/6	AD 13/14	Year 53 or 54
	36/35 BC	**17/16 BC**	**15/14 BC**	**AD 3/4**	**AD 4/5**	**AD 5/6**	**AD 6/7**	**AD 14/15**	**Year 52 or 53**

Table 5.3: The monograms and their dates on the coins of the late Ariobarzanid dynasty

Catalogue type	King	Monogram	Regnal year
35	Ariobarzanes III		Θ (= 9)
39			IA (= 11)
40			IA (= 11)
41			IA (= 11)
44–45	Ariarathes X		Δ (=4) and Ɛ (=5)
46; 48			Ɛ (=5) and Ϛ (=6)
47			Ϛ (=6)

Table 5.4 no. 1–5: Hoard evidence for the Ariobarzanid dynasty after Ariobarzanes I

1. Tire Museum hoard	
Findspot: unknown, bought in 2003 Deposited: c. 55 BC	Publication: Tekin 2008, 1138.
Overall number of coins	24 drachms
Earlier coins	/
Ariobarzanes I	22 drachms: 1 year 23 (ΚΓ) 3 year 28 (ΚΗ) 5 year 29 (ΚΘ) 4 year 30 (Λ) 9 unknown
Ariobarzanes II	2 drachms: 1 year 7 (Z) 1 unknown
Ariobarzanes III	/
Later coins	/

2. IGCH 1579	
Hoard no.: IGCH 1579 Findspot: Syria, 1951 Deposited: c. 50 BC	Publication: IGCH
Overall number of coins	179 drachms
Earlier coins	163 drachms of Ariarathes V. Eusebes Philopator 6 drachms of Ariarathes VI. Epiphanes Philopator, 6 drachms of Ariarathes VII Philometor 2 drachms of Ariarathes IX
Ariobarzanes I	1 drachm
Ariobarzanes II	1 drachm
Ariobarzanes III	/
Later coins	/

3. CHANGE 0458/CH 9.579	
Findspot: unknown, before 1994 Deposited: 38 BC–37 BC	Publication: Saraç and Davesne 1994.
Overall number of coins	31 drachms
Earlier coins	4 drachms of Ariarathes IV. Eusebes (1 forgery) 1 drachm of Alexander I. Balas 1 drachm of Ariarathes VI. Epiphanes Philopator (forgery?)
Ariobarzanes I	22 drachms: 1 year 3 (Γ) 1 year 13 (ΙΓ) (forgery?) 2 year 28 (ΚΗ) 4 year 29 (ΚΘ) 5 year 30 (Λ) 4 year 31 (ΑΛ) 1 year 32 (ΒΛ) 1 possibly year 33 (ΓΛ) 3 coins unknown
Ariobarzanes II	2 drachms: 1 year 7 (Ζ) 1 year 8 (Η)
Ariobarzanes III	/
Ariarathes X	1 year 5 (Ε)
Later coins	/

4. CHANGE 0058/CH 2.124	
Findspot: Tepebaglari, Nigde Deposited: 67–33 BC	Publication: Taner 1972.
Overall number of coins	26 drachms
Earlier coins	/
Ariobarzanes I	/
Ariobarzanes II	4 drachms: 1 year 8 (H) 3 possibly year 8 (H)
Ariobarzanes III	19 drachms: 5 year 9 (Θ) 14 year 11 (IA)
Ariarathes X	3 drachms: 1 year 4 (Δ) 1 year (E) 1 year (Ϛ)
Later coins	/

5. 2009 Burdur hoard	
Findspot: Gebiz district, Antalya (allegedly) Deposited: ?	Publication: Köker 2016.
Overall number of coins	5 drachms
Earlier coins	/
Ariobarzanes I	/
Ariobarzanes II	/
Ariobarzanes III	5 drachms: 2 year 9 (Θ) 2 year 11 (IA) 1 unknown
Ariarathes X	/
Later coins	/

Chapter 6: The Tarkondimotid kingdom of Cilicia

Table 6.1: Possible reign dates of the Tarkondimotid dynasty

Reign dates (two Tarkondimotid kings)			
		Start of reign	End of reign
Tarkondimotos I Philantonios		unknown (recognised by Pompey as ruler in 66 BC)	31 BC Actium
Tarkondimotos Philopator	1st reign	31 BC	30 BC
	2nd reign	20 BC	AD 17
Reign dates (as proposed by Wright 2012 for four Tarkondimotid kings)			
		Start of reign	End of reign
Tarkondimotos I Philantonios	toparch	70 BC	39 BC
	king	39 BC	31 BC
Philopator I	king	31 BC	30 BC
	toparch	30 BC	28/27 BC
Tarkondimotos II	toparch	28/27 BC	20 BC
	king	20 BC	before AD 14
Tarkondimotos III Philopator II	king	19 BC	AD 17

Table 6.2:
Numerals on Tarkondimotid coins and their respective dating according to possible local eras

Greek Numeral	Catalogue type	Ruler	Year	Tarkondimotid dynasty c. 70 BC	Philopator's reign 31/30 BC	Refoundation Autumn 19 BC
Β (?)	53	Philopator	2	~~68/67 BC~~	30/29 BC	18 BC
ΑΛ (?)	54	Philopator	31	~~37/36 BC~~	AD 1/2	AD 12
ΒΛ (?)	53	Philopator	32	~~38/37 BC~~	AD 2/3	AD 13
ΔΛ	51	Philopator	34	~~36/35 BC~~	AD 4/5	AD 15
ΕΛ	55	Philopator	35	~~35/34 BC~~	AD 5/6	AD 16
ΑΝ	Wright 2009, 73.	Civic Anazarbos	51	19/18 BC	AD 21/22	AD 32
Imperial period until the reign of Trajan (for a complete list see RPC IV-V)						
ϚΞ	RPC I, 4059	Claudius	67			AD 48
ϚΠ	RPC I, 4063	Nero	86			AD 67
ΙΒΡ	RPC II, 1746	Domitian	112			AD 93
ΙΓΡ	RPC II, 1752	Domitian	113			AD 94
ϚΚΡ	RPC III, 3363;	Trajan	126			AD 107
ΒΛΡ	RPC III, 3373;		132			AD 113/14
ΓΛΡ	RPC III, 3375		133			AD 114/15

Chapter 7: Comparison

Table 7.1: An overview of the silver coinages

Kingdom	Ruler	Denomination	Catalogue type
Paphlagonia	Attalos Epiphanes	drachm (3.87 g 15 mm)	30
	Deiotaros Philadelphos	drachm (3.66 g 17 mm)	27
Galatia	Brogitaros	tridrachm (12.09 g 25 mm)	1
	Amyntas	tetradrachm (15.8 g 29 mm)	20–23
Cappadocia	Ariobarzanes II	drachm (3.8 g 17 mm)	31–34
	Ariobarzanes III	drachm (3.8 g 17 mm)	35–41, 47–48
	Ariarathes X	drachm (3.7 g 17 mm)	42–46

Table 7.2: Bronze denominations produced by the kingdoms

Kingdom	Ruler	Diameter	Obverse dies	Number of coins	Annual obverse die output
Paphlagonia	Deiotaros Philadelphos (31–5 BC)	22/23 mm (5–7 g)	2	4	/
Galatia	Deiotaros Philorhomaios (63–c.40/39 BC)	18 mm (⌀ 5–6 g) 21 mm (⌀ 4–7 g) 21 mm (⌀ 8–13 g) 27 mm (⌀ 8–13 g)	35	178	1.52
	Amyntas (36–25 BC)	Group 1: 22 mm (⌀ 9.92 g) 21 mm (⌀ 7.71 g) 18 mm (⌀ 5.09 g) Group 2: 21mm (⌀ 5.75 g) 18 mm (⌀ 4.2 g) 15 mm (⌀ 3.06 g)	27	567	2.45
Cilicia	Tarkondimotos I (70s–31 BC)	23 mm (⌀ 8.26 g)	4	123	/
	Philopator	23 mm (⌀ 8.36 g)	7	58	/
	Tarkondimotid?	20 mm (⌀ 4.4 g) 18 mm (⌀ 2.31 g) 15 mm (⌀ 1.62 g)	6	23	/

Table 7.3: The royal coin iconography used in the kingdoms of central Asia Minor

Kingdom	Ruler	Metal	Obverse Head of	Reverse design	Cat. type
Paphlagonia	Deiotaros Philadelphos	AR	king	Queen Adobogiana	27
		AR	king	two caps of the Dioscuri with star above	28
		AE	Zeus	winged thunderbolt	29
Galatia	Brogitaros	AR	Zeus	Eagle on thunderbolt	1
	Deiotaros	AE	Cybele	owl standing in wreath	3
		AE	Attis/ Měn	splayed double cornucopias	4
		AE	Zeus	Eagle on thunderbolt	5
		AE	Zeus	shield	6
		AE	Nike	eagle r., looking back, standing on a sword between caps of Dioscuri surmounted by two stars	7
	Amyntas	AR	Athena	Nike advancing, l., holding sceptre with diadem	20–23
		AE	Artemis	Stag	10–11, 15, 18
		AE	Heracles	Lion	9, 13, 17
		AE	Zeus	Lion	14
		AE	Hermes	winged caduceus	12, 16, 19
Cilicia	Tarkondimotos	AE	King	Zeus seated, l., holding Nike and sceptre	49

	Philopator	AE	Tyche	Athena standing, l., with Nike and shield	50–51
		AE	Zeus	eagle with wings spread, turning right holding diadem	52–53
		AE	Apollo	tripod	54
		AE	humped bull butting r.	aplustre	55
Cappadocia	Ariobarzanes II Ariobarzanes III Ariarathes X	AR	king	facing Athena turning l.; extended r. hand holding figure of Nike, holding wreath; l. hand holding spear and shield on the right	31–34 35–41 +47–48 42–46

Table 7.4: The kings and their portraits

Kingdom	Ruler	Denomination	Reign	Coindates
Paphlagonia	Deiotaros Philadelphos	Drachm	30s–6 BC	30s–6 BC
Cilicia	Tarkondimotos I Philantonios	AE 23mm	70s–31 BC	39–31 BC
Cappadocia	Ariobarzanes II	Drachm	c. 64 BC/60 BC to 53/52 BC or 51 BC	Year 7 Year 8
	Ariobarzanes III	Drachm	53/52–42 BC	Year 9 = 45/44 BC Year 11= 43/42 BC
	Ariarathes X	Drachm	43/40–36 BC	Year 4 Year 5 Year 6

Table 7.5: The obverse die production of drachms in the Hellenistic period

	Approximate dates	Observed obverse dies	Estimated obverse die output (Carter)	Annual obverse die output
drachms of Alexander	c. 332–290 BC	/	3,300	78.6
drachms of Mithridates VI (Mint: Sinope?)	96–94 BC	3	/	1.5
Armenia				
Artavasdes II	56–34 BC	6	/	0.27
Artaxias II	34–20 BC	2	/	0.14
Parthia				
Darius I (Mint: Ecbatana)	75–65 BC	19	32.63	3.3
Phraates III (Mint: Ecbatana)	70–57 BC	19	26.32	2.07
Orodes II (Mint: Ecbatana)	57–38 BC	19	32.63	1.7
Phraates IV (Mint: Ecbatana)	38–2 BC	104	124.34	2.88
Cappadocia				
Ariarathes VI	c. 130–116 BC	58	59	4.2
Ariarathes VII (Eusebeia)	107–100 BC	203	c. 291	29
Ariarathes VIII	c. 100–97 BC	36	46	15.3
Ariarathes IX	c. 101–85 BC	67	83.4	5.21
Ariobarzanes I	c. 96–80 BC	76	c. 150	9.34
Ariobarzanes II	c. 56–54 BC	65	77	38.5
Ariobarzanes III	45/44 and 43/42 BC	148	174	87
Ariarathes X	c. 39/38–37/36 BC	34	37	12.34
Aphrodisias-Plarasa	100–30 BC	25	30.91	0.44
Stratonicea	c. 89–80 BC	30	48	5
Athens	100–45 BC	22	35.71	0.65
Rhodes	84–43 BC	120	144.31	3.5
Teos	100–30 BC	3	/	0.04

Table 7.6: The obverse die production of tetradrachms in the Hellenistic period given in drachms

	Coinages	Dates	Observed obverse dies in drachms	estimated obverse die output (Carter)	Annual obverse die output in drachms
1	Alexander the Great	c. 332–290	/	12,000	286
2	Ptolemaic Alexandria	127–97 BC	/	2,280	76
3	Demetrius Poliorcetes	c. 306–287 BC	672	1,144	60
4	Antiochus III (Antioch)	223–211 BC	44	44	3.67
5	Seleucus VI (Seleuceia ad Calycadnum)	98–94 BC	176	229	57.25
6	Seleucus IV (Antioch)	187–175 BC	96	99	8.25
7	Mithridates VI	c. 97–64 BC	1088	1,436	43.5
8	Tigranes II (Mint: Tigranocerta)	80–68 BC	268	270	225
9	Tetradrachms of Thessalonica? (Aesillas)	100–65 BC	408	415	11.86
10	Tetradrachms of Demetrios III	97–87 BC	100	116	11.6
11	Tetradrachms of Amyntas (1 tetradrachm obverse shared with Side)	36–25 BC	24	24	2.2
12	Side ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV diadem series (1 tetradrachm obverse shared with Side)	? (36–25 BC)	20	20	/
13	Tetradrachms of Tigranes the Younger of Sophene (Damascus)	71–68 BC	16	/	5.33
14	Tetradrachms of Artavasdes II	56–34 BC	12	/	0.55

Table 7.7: Bronze die studies of the 1st century BC with the title "ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ" recorded in SILVER

		Obverse dies	Number of coins	Obverse die output (Carter)	Annual obverse die output
1	Dia (Mithridates Eupator), bronze (8.2 g) (Dionysus/cista) (73–72 BC)	5	30	5.39	5
2	S 1368 – Ecbatana (Orodes II), bronze (57–38 BC)	19	36	32.63	1
3	Damascus (Cleopatra VII), bronze, ca 9 g (Cleopatra/seated Tyche) (37–32 BC)	6	45	6.27	1.2
4	S 1362 - Ecbatana (Phraates III), bronze (70–57 BC)	14	68	26.32	1.08
5	Smyrna (Mithridates Eupator), bronzes (c. 15 g) (Mithridates Eupator/Nike) (89–85 BC)	14	74	15.39	3.5
6	Amisos (Mithridates Eupator), bronze (7.50 g) (Amazon/Nike) (105–90 BC)	10	79	10.39	0.67
7	Chalcis sub Libano (Cleopatra VII and Antony), bronze, c. 9 g (Cleopatra/Antony) (32–31 BC)	17	125	17.81	17
8	Pharnaceia (Mithridates Eupator), bronze (8 g) (Zeus/eagle) (72–69 BC)	22	142	23.44	7.33
9	Dia (Mithridates Eupator), bronze (8.2 g) (Zeus/eagle on thunderbolt) (73–72 BC)	18	270	17.77	18

Table 7.8: Estimated military expenses of Deiotaros Philorhomaios

Date	51 BC	48 BC
Reference	Cic. *Att*. 6.1.	*BAlex* 34.4.
Soldiers	1,200	1,200
Cavalry	2,000	500
payment per month (1 drachm per day)	105,400	52,700
payment per year (1 drachm per day)	1,168,00	620,500
payment over ten years (1 drachm per day)	11,680,000	6,205,000

Bibliography

Adcock, F. E. (1937) Lesser Armenia and Galatia after Pompey's Settlement of the East. *The Journal of Roman Studies*, *27:* 12–17. https://doi.org/10.2307/297181. Retrieved December 12, 2025.

Albarède, F., Callataÿ, F. de, Debernardi, P., and Blichert-Toft, J. (2021) Model for ancient Greek and Roman coinage production. *Journal of Archaeological Science 131*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jas.2021.105406. Retrieved December 20, 2025.

Alston, R. (1994) Roman Military Pay from Caesar to Diocletian. *Journal of Roman Studies 84*: 113–123.

Anagnostou-Laoutides, E. (2023) The Kingship of the Seleucids: an alternative paradigm for the anchor symbol. In Coşkun, A. and Wenghofer, R. (eds.) *Seleukid ideology: creation, reception and response.* Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH: 61–92.

Ariel, D. (2011) Lessons from a (Bronze) Die Study. In N. Holmes (ed) Proceedings of the XIV International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow 2009, I. Glasgow: International Numismatic Council: 42–47.

Arslan, M. (1990) Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesinde Bulunan Phrygia ve Galatia Bölgesi Şehir Sikkeleri. *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi 1989 Yıllığı*: 144–175. Ankara.

Arslan, M. (1996) Greek and Greek Imperial Coins Found During the Çankırıkapı Excavations at Ankara. In R. Ashton (ed) *Studies in Ancient Coinage from Turkey.* British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, Monograph 17: 107–114.

Arslan, M. (2004) *Galatya Krallığı ve Roma dụnemi Ankyra şehir sikkeleri = The coins of Galatian Kingdom and the Roman coinage of Ancyra in Galatia.* Ankara, Ankara Ticaret Odası.

Arslan, M. (2006) Pessinus ve Tavium sikkeleri. *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi 2005 Yıllığı:* 125–181.

Ashton, R. H. J. (2006) The Beginning of Bronze Coinage in Karia and Lykia, *Numismatic Chronicle* 166, 1–14.

Ashton, R. (2016) The Late Hellenistic Brass and Bronze Coinage of Apameia. A Sketch. In A. Ivantchik, L. Summerer and A, von Kienlin (eds) *Kelainai–Apameia Kibotos: eine achämenidische, hellenistische und römische Metropole.* Kelainai II: 379–433. Bordeaux, Ausonius éditions.

Ashton, R. and Weiss, A.P. (1997) The Post-Plinthophoric Silver Drachms of Rhodes. *Numismatic Chronicle 157:* 1–39.

Assar, G.R.F. (2023) Who was this Great king?. Online: https://www.academia.edu/107073386/Who_Was_This_Great_King. Retrieved November 10, 2025.

Atlan, S. (1975) Side'de basılan Amyntas sikkeleri. Die Münzprägung des Amyntas in Side. *Belleten 39:* 575–611.

Atlan, S. (1976) *1947-1967 yılları Side kazıları sırasında elde edilen sikkeler.* Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları.

Awianowicz, B. (2023) An Unknown Coin of Castor of Galatia and a Possible New Dating of Deiotarus' Coins with a Monogram of His Name. *Notae Numismaticae 18*: 49–55.

Badian, E. (1958) *Foreign clientelae : 264-70 B.C.*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Baldwin, A. (1927) Un trésor monétaire découvert à Césarée en Cappadoce. *Aréthuse* 4: 145–172.

Ballesteros Pastor, L. (2008) Cappadocia and Pontus, Client Kingdoms of the Roman Republic from the Peace of Apamea to the Beginning of the Mithridatic Wars (188-89 BC). In A. Coşkun (ed) *Freundschaft und Gefolgschaft in den auswärtigen Beziehungen der Römer (2 Jh. v. Chr.-1 Jh. n. Chr.)*: 45–63. Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang.

Ballesteros Pastor, L. (2020) The Origins of the Ariobarzanid Dynasty. *Gephyra 20*: 61–78.

Baltrusch, E. and Wilker, J. (2015) Amici – socii – clientes? Abhängige Herrschaft im Imperium Romanum. In E. Baltrusch and J. Wilker (eds) *Amici - socii - clientes? : abhängige Herrschaft im Imperium Romanum*: 7–17. Berlin, Edition Topoi.

Bauslaugh, R.A. (2001) *Silver coinage with the types of Aesillas the Quaestor.* New York, The American numismatic society.

Bedrosian, R. (2008) *Early Church fathers: Eusebius' Chronicle.* Online : https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/eusebius_chronicon_02_text.htm. Retrieved November 28, 2025.

Berges, D. and Nollé, J. (2000) *Tyana: archäologisch-historische Untersuchungen zum südwestlichen Kappadokien*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Bonn, R. Habelt

Birkhan, H. (1997) *Kelten : Versuch einer Gesamtdarstellung ihrer Kultur.* 2. korrigierte und erweiterte Auflage. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Blanchet, A. (1933) Une monnaie présumée du tétrarque Deiotarus. *Revue Belge de Numismatique et de Sigillographie 85*: 11–16.

Bloesch, H. (1982) Hellenistic Coins of Aegeae (Cilicia). *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes 27*: 53–96.

Boillet, P. Y. (2009) *Ecbatane et la Médie d'Alexandre aux Arsacides (c. 331 a.C. - c. 224 p.C.) Histoire monétaire et économique*. Bordeaux University, doctoral dissertation.

Bowman, D. A. (1990). The Formula Sociorum in the Second and First Centuries B.C. *The Classical Journal 85*(4): 330–336.

Boyce, A. (1965) The dated coins of Pompeiopolis. In A. Boyce (ed) *Festal and Dated Coins of the Roman Empire: Four Papers* (Numismatic notes & monographs 153): 12–21. New York, American Numismatic Society

Braund, D. (1984) *Rome and the friendly king : the character of the client kingship*. London, Croom Helm.

Brunetti, L. (1963) *Aspetti statistici della metanumismatica*. Roma, P & P Santamaria.

Brunt, P. A. (1971) *Italian manpower, 225 B.C.-A.D. 14.* Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Burgon, T. (1845) On Two Newly Discovered Silver Tetradrachms of Amyntas, King of Galatia: With Some Remarks on the Diminution in Weight of the Attic Drachma. *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society 8*: 69–96.

Burnett, A. (2012) Early Roman Coinage and Its Italian Context. In W. E. Metcalf (ed) *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*: 297–314. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Burnett, A., Amandry, M. and Ripolles Alégre, P.P. (2006) *Roman provincial coinage I: From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)* London, British Museum Press. (Original work published 1992)

Burton, P. (2003) Clientela or Amicitia? Modeling Roman International Behavior in the Middle Republic (264-146 B.C.). *Klio 85*: 333–369.

Butcher, K., Ponting, M., Evans. J., Pashley, V. and Somerfield, C. (2015) *The Metallurgy of Roman Silver Coinage: From the Reform of Nero to the Reform of Trajan.* Cambrighe, Cambridge University Press.

Buttrey, T. V. (1976) The denarii of P.Crespusius and Roman Republican mint organization. *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes 21:* 67–108.

Buttrey, T. V. (1993) The President's address: Calculating Ancient Coin Production: Facts and Fantasies. *The Numismatic Chronicle 153:* 335–351.

Buttrey, T. V. (1994) Calculating ancient coin production II: why it cannot be done. *Numismatic Chronicle 154:* 341–352.

Callataÿ, F. de (1987) Statistique et Numismatique: les limites d'un apport. *Revue des archéologues et historiens d'art de Louvain 20:* 76–95.

Callataÿ, F. d. (1990). Les tétradrachmes des rois de Cappadoce. *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique 45 (9)*: 891–895.

Callataÿ, F. de (1995) Calculating ancient coin production: seeking a balance. *The Numismatic Chronicle 155*: 289–311.

Callataÿ, F. de (1997A) *L'histoire des guerres mithridatiques vue par les monnaies*. Louvain-la-Neuve, Département d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art, séminaire de numismatique Marcel Hoc.

Callataÿ, F. de (1997B) *Recueil quantitatif des émissions monétaires hellénistiques.* Wetteren, Belgique, Editions Numismatique romaine.

Callataÿ, F. de (2003) *Recueil quantitatif des émissions monétaires archaïques et classiques.* Wetteren, Belgique, Editions Numismatique romaine.

Callataÿ, F. de (2005) L'instauration par Ptolémée Ier Sôter d'une économie monétaire fermée. L'exception égyptienne ?. *Production et échanges monétaires en Égypte hellénistique et romaine: Actes du colloque d'Alexandrie 13-15 avril 2002:* 117–134.

Callataÿ, F. de (2011A) More Than It Would Seem: The Use of Coinage by the Romans in Late Hellenistic Asia Minor (133-63 BC). *American Journal of Numismatics 23*: 55–86.

Callataÿ, F. de (2011B) Quantifying monetary production in Greco-Roman times: a general frame. In F. de Callataÿ (ed) *Quantifying monetary supplies in Greco-Roman times* (Pragmateiai 19): 7–29. Bari, Edipuglia.

Callataÿ, F. de (2012) Control marks on Hellenistic royal coinages: use, and evolution towards simplification?. *Revue Belge de Numismatique 158:* 39–62.

Callataÿ, F. de (2013A) Problèmes de terminologie en numismatique grecque: la classification des monnaies en périodes, séries, groupes, émissions, etc.. *Revue Belge de Numismatique 159:* 1–31.

Callataÿ, F. de (2013B) 6 The Coinages of the Attalids and their Neighbours: A Quantified Overview. In P. Thonemann (ed) *Attalid Asia Minor: Money, International Relations, and the State*: 207–244. Oxford, Oxford Academic.

Callataÿ, F. de (2014A) For whom were Royal Hellenistic coins struck? The choice of metals and denominations. In A. Lichtenberger, K. Martin, H. H. Nieswandt and D. Salzmann (eds) *Bildwert. Nominalspezifische Kommunicationsstrategien in der Münzprägung hellenistischer*

Herrscher. Kolloquium vom 17.-18. Juni 2010 in Münster: 59–77. Bonn, Rudolf Habelt.

Callataÿ, F. de (2014B) Revisiting a numismatic corpus: the case of Eupator, last king of Pontus. In K. Dörtlük, O. Tekin and R. Boyraz Seyhan (eds) *Proceedings of the First International Congress of the Anatolian Monetary History and Numismatics, 25-28 February 2013 Antalya*: 117–137. Antalya, Suna & İnan Kıraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations.

Callataÿ, F. de (2024) Un étrange monnayage d'argent émis à Amisos à l'époque de Mithridate Eupator par … Lucullus autocrator?. In P. Cattelain, C. Lauwers and E. Warmenbol (eds) *Money. It's a hit. Mélanges sonnants et trébuchants offerts à Jean-Marc Doyen*: 153–158. Treignes.

Callataÿ, F. de and Lorber, C.C. (2011) The Pattern of Royal Epithets on Hellenistic Coinages. In P. P. Iossif, A. S. Chankowski and C. C. Lorber (eds) *More than men, less than gods : studies on royal cult and imperial worship. Proceedings of the international colloquium organized by the Belgian school at Athens (November 1-2, 2007)* (Studia Hellenistica Vol. 51): 417–455. Leuven, Peeters.

Callataÿ, F. de and DeMarco, R. (2024) A die study of the bronze Mithridatic coins "Amazon/Nike" struck at Amisos. *Kairos Anatolian Numismatic Studies 2*: 1–22.

Carbone, L. (2020) Mark Antony and the bronze revolution in the East. In A. Powell and A. Burnett, A. (eds) *Coins of the Roman Revolution (49BC-AD 14): Evidence without Hindsight*: 44–77. Swansea, The Classical Press of Wales.

Carbone, L. F. (2021A) The Standardization of Asian Bronze Denominations in the First Century BC. In A. Meadows and U. Wartenberg (eds) *Studies in Ancient Coinage Presented to Richard Ashton*: 365–432. New York, American Numismatic Society.

Carbone, L. F. (2021B) The Introduction of Roman Coinages in Asia (133 BC – 1st Century AD) In R. Ashton and N. Badoud (eds) *Graecia capta? : Rome et les monnayages du monde égéen (IIe-Ier s. av. J.-C)*: 233–293. Basel, Schwabe Verlag.

Carradice, I. and Price, M. J. (2010) *Coinage in the Greek world*. First published in 1988 and reprinted in 2010. Bloomsbury, Spink & Son.

Carrier, C. and Stefanaki, V. E. (2017) Le système des monnaies de bronze crétoises de l'époque hellénistique. In C. Caltabiano, M. M. Puglisi and G. Salamone (eds) *XV International Numismatic Congress, Taormina 2015: Proceedings*: 470–474. Rome–Messina, Arbor Sapientiae.

Carter, G.F. (1981) Comparison of methods for calculating the total number of dies from die-link statistics. *Statistics and Numismatics, PACT 5 Journal of the European Study Group on Physical, Chemical and Mathematical Techniques Applied to Archaeology*: 204–213. Strasbourg, Council of Europe.

Carter, G.F. (1983) A Simplified Method for Calculating the Original Number of Dies from Die Link statistics. *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes 28*, 195–206.

Ceylan, M. (2021) Coins of the Cappadocian Kingdom in the Erzurum Archaeology Museum. *Cedrus IX*: 263–272.

Chameroy, J. (2012) Chronologie und Verbreitung der hellenistischen Bronzeprägungen von Pergamon: der Beitrag der Fundmünzen. *Chiron 41:* 131–181.

Cicero, M. T. and Treggiari, S. (1972) *Cicero's Cilician letters*. London, London Association of Classical Teachers.

Clinton, K. (2005) *Eleusis, the inscriptions on stone : documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and public documents of the Deme*. Athens, Archaeological Society at Athens.

Colin, H.J. (1996) *Die Münzen von Perge in Pamphylien aus hellenistischer Zeit*. Köln, Kölner Münzkabinett Tyll Kroha.

Cornet, C., Aumaître, H., Besançon, R., Olivier, J., Faucher, T., and Le Borgne, H. (2024) Automatic Die Studies for Ancient Numismatics. In A. Del Bue, T. Tommasi, C. Canton and J. Pont-Tuset (eds) *Computer Vision - ECCV 2024 Workshops* (Lecture Notes in Computer Science 15628): 246–262. Cham, Springer Nature Switzerland.

Coşkun, A. (2005) Freundschaft und Klientelbildung in Roms auswärtigen Beziehungen. Wege und Pespektiven der Forschung. In A. Coşkun (ed) *Roms auswärtige Freunde in später Republik und im frühem Prinzipat*: 1–30. Göttingen, Duehrkohp & Radicke.

Coşkun, A. (2012) Intercultural Anthroponomy in Hellenistic and Roman Galatia. *Gephyra* 9: 51–69.

Coşkun, A. (2013) Histoire par les noms in Ancient Galatia. In R. Parker (ed) *Personal Names in Ancient Anatolia*: 79–106. Oxford, Published for The British Academy by Oxford University Press.

Coşkun, A. (2015) Die Tetrarchie als hellenistisch-römisches Herrschaftsinstrument. Mit einer Untersuchung der Titulatur der Dynasten von Ituräa. In E. Baltrusch and J. Wilker (eds) *Amici - socii - clientes? : abhängige Herrschaft im Imperium Romanum*: 161–97. Berlin, Edition Topoi.

Coşkun, A. (2018) Brogitaros and the Pessinus-Affair Some Considerations on the Galatian Background of Cicero's Lampoon against Clodius in 56 BC (Harusp. Resp. 27–29). *Gephyra 15*: 119–133.

Coşkun, A. (ed.) et al. (2023) *Amici Populi Romani - Prosopographical of the Foreign Friends of Rome*. *12th edition (31 / 12 / 2022, corr. 17 / 4 / 2023).* University of Waterloo, Ontario, Department of Classical Studies. DOI: http://www.altaycoskun.com/apr. Retrieved July 14, 2023.

Couissin, P. (1926) *Les armes romaines : essai sur les origines et l'évolution des armes individuelles du legionnaire romain.* Paris, H. Champion.

Crawford, M. H. (1969). *Roman Republican coin hoards.* London, Royal Numismatic Society.

Crawford, M. H. (1970) Money and Exchange in the Roman World. *The Journal of Roman Studies 60:* 40–48.

Crawford, M. H. (1974) *Roman Republican coinage.* London, Cambridge University Press.

Crawford, M. H. (1985) *Coinage and money under the Roman Republic : Italy and the Mediterranean economy.* London, Methuen.

Crawford, M. H., Reynolds, J.M., Ferrary, J.-L. and Moreau, P. (1996) Lex de provinciis praetoriis. In M. Crawford (ed.) *The Roman Statutes Vol. I*: 231–270. London, Institute of Classical Studies, University of London.

Dagron, G. and Feissel, D. (1987) *Inscriptions de Cilicie* (Travaux et Memoires du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance) Paris, De Boccard.

Delrieux, F. (2016) Les monnaies de Rhodes trouvées dans le temps distyle d'Iasos. In N. Masturzo (ed) *Iasos. L'area a sud dell'agorà, I. Il tempio distilo d'età ecatomnide e l'architettura ionica*: 141–143. Roma, Giorgio Bretschneider editore.

Delrieux, F. (2017) La circulation monétaire à Iasos dans l'Antiquité d'après les monnaies grecques et provinciales romaines trouvées dans la cité depuis 1960. *Commentaire numismatique et historique. Bolletino dell'Associazione Iasos di Caria 23*: 14–23.

Delrieux, F. (2019) Les monnaies de fouilles d'Iasos en Carie. Les exemplaires au nom des Iasiens. *Annali dell'Istituto italiano di Numismatica 65*: 67–116.

de Luynes, D. (1845) Médailles inédites D'Amyntas, Roi de Galatie. *Revue Numismatique 10*: 253–265.

Devreker, J. (1984) Les Monnaies de Pessinonte. In J. Devreker and M. Waelkens (eds) *Les fouilles de la Rijksuniversiteit te Gent a Pessinonte 1967-1973: 1. Hommage à Pieter Lambrechts*: 173–215. Brugge, Tempel.

Devreker, J.(1994) The new excavations at Pessinus. In E. Schwertheim (ed) *Forschungen in Galatien (Asia Minor Studien 12)*: 105–130. Bonn, Rudolf Habelt.

Devreker, J., Thoen, H. and Vermeulen, F. (2003) *Excavations in Pessinus : the so-called Acropolis : from Hellenistic and Roman cemetery to Byzantine castle.* Gent, Academia Press.

Dundua, G. F. and Lordkipanidze, G. A. (1979) Hellenistic Coins from the Site of Vani, in Colchis (Western Georgia). *Numismatic Chronicle 19*: 1–5.

Dupont-Sommer, A. and Robert, L. (1964) *La déesse de Hierapolis-Castabala, Cilicia.* Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie d'Istanbul. Paris, A. Maisonneuve.

Eilers, C. (2005) A Roman East: Pompey's Settlement to the Death of Augustus. In A. Erskine (ed) *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*: 90–102. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470996584.ch6. Retrieved December 20, 2025.

Eilers, C. (2024) A proconsul bronze and the end of Atarneus : Atinius, not Asinius. *Revue Belge de numismatique et de sigillographie 170*: 354–363.

Eleuteri, P. and Hallof, K. (2006) Monogram. In *Brill's New Pauly Online, Brill.* https://doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e809100. Retrieved November 18, 2025.

Ellis Evans, A., Wartenberg, U. and Kagan, J. (2022) Asia Minor: Archaic to Hellenistic. In M. Alram, J. Bodzek, and A. Bursche (eds) *Survey of Numismatic Research (2014-2020) 1*: 253–92. Warsaw, International Numismatic Council (INC).

Erhan, F. (2020) Hierapolis-Kastabala Sikkeleri / The coinage of Hierapolis-Kastabala. *Osmaniye Araştırmaları 1*: 35–103.

Erol, A. (2009) Burdur Arkeoloji Müzesi'ndeki Bronz Amyntas Sikkeleri [Bronze Coins of Amyntas from Burdur Archaeology Museum]. In O. Tekin and A. Erol (eds) *Ancient History, Numismatics and Epigraphy in the Mediterranean World. Studies in memory of Clemens E. Bosch and Sabahat Atlan and in honour of Nezahat Baydur*: 147–155. İstanbul, Ege Publications.

Esty, W. W. (1984) Estimating the size of a coinage. *The Numismatic Chronicle 144:* 180–183. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42667387. Retrieved October 04, 2025.

Esty, W. W. (1986) Estimation of the Size of a Coinage: a Survey and Comparison of Methods. *The Numismatic Chronicle 146*: 185–215. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42667463. Retrieved October 10, 2025.

Esty, W. W. (1990) The Theory of Linkage. *The Numismatic Chronicle 150:* 205–221. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42667639. Retrieved March 27, 2025.

Esty, W. W. (2006) How to estimate the original number of dies and the coverage of a sample. *The Numismatic Chronicle 166*: 359–364. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42666420. Retrieved March 27, 2025.

Esty, W.W. (2011) The geometric model for estimating the number of dies. In F. de Callataÿ (ed) *Quantifying Monetary Supplies in Greco-Roman Times* (Pragmateiai 19): 43–58. Bari, Edipuglia.

Esty, W. W. and Carter, G. F. (1992) The distribution of the numbers of coins struck by dies. *American Journal of Numismatics 3/4*: 165–186.

Etterich, W. (2010) Eine Krönungsmünze für Tarkondimotos I. *Numatisches Nachrichtenblatt 2010/11*: 414–415.

Eyben, E. (1981) Was the Roman 'youth' an 'adult' socially?. *L'Antiquité classique 50 (1/2)*: 328–350.

Facella, M. (2010) Advantages and Disadvantages of an Allied Kingdom: The Case of Commagene. In T. Kaizer and M. Facella (eds) *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East:* 181–197. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag.

Faucher, T. (2011) Productivité des coins et taux de survie du monnayage grec. In F. de Callataÿ (ed) *Quantifying Monetary Supplies in Greco-Roman Times* (Pragmateiai 19)*:* 113–126. Bari, Edipuglia.

Faucher, T., Téreygeol, F., Brousseau, L. and Arles, A. (2009) À la recherche des ateliers monétaires grecs: l'apport de l'expérimentation. *Revue numismatique* 165: 43–80.

Faucher, T., Brousseau, L. and Olivier, J. (2013) Expérimentations sur la technique de fabrication des monnaies grecques: approches, réalisation, perspectives. In F. Tereygeol (ed) *Comprendre les savoir-faire métallurgiques antiques et médiévaux l'expérimentation archéologique et archéométrique sur la plate-forme expérimentale de Melle:* 71–99. Errance, Actes Sud.

Filges, A. (2008) *Die Münzbilder der Artemis Pergaia. Bemerkungen zu Tradierung und Wandel von Motiven*. Antalya, Suna-İnan Kiraç Akdeniz

Medeniyetleri Araştirma Enstitüsü, Suna & İnan Kıraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations.

Fowler, R. (2010) King, Bigger King, King of Kings: Structuring Power in the Parthian World. In T. Kaizer and M. Facella (eds) *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East*: 57–77. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner.

French, D. (1998) Pre- and Early- Roman Roads of Asia Minor: The Earliest Roman, Paved Roads in Asia Minor. *Arkeoloji Dergisi 5,* Izmir: 179–187.

Gabelko, O. L. and Krivolapov G. L. (2023) Archelaus and/or Sisines? Strokes to the political biography of the last king of Hellenistic Cappadocia. *New Historical Herald 4 (78)*: 131–145.

Gatzolis, C. (2013) New evidence on the beginning of bronze coinage in northern Greece. In C. Grandjean and A. Moustaka (eds) *Aux Origines de La Monnaie Fiduciaire. Traditions Métallurgiques et Innovations Numismatiques. Actes de l'Atelier International Des 16 et 17 Novembre 2012 à Tours*: 117–128. Bordeaux, Éditions Ausonius (Université Bordeaux Montaigne).

Glenn, S. (2014) Heliocles and Laodice of Bactria: a Reconsideration. *The Numismatic Chronicle 174:* 45–59. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44710182. Retrieved October 4, 2025.

Glenn, S. (2020) *Money and power in Hellenistic Bactria.* New York, The American Numismatic Society.

Goldman, H. and Cox, D. H. (1950) *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus.* Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Gough, M. (1952) Anazarbus. *Anatolian Studies Vol. 2*: 85–150.

Grabowski, T. (2014) The Cult of the Ptolemies in the Aegean in the 3rd Century BC. *Electrum (Uniwersytet Jagielloński. Instytut Historii) 21*: 21–41.

Grandjean, C. and Moustaka, A. (eds.) (2013) *Aux origines de la monnaie fiduciaire. Traditions métallurgiques et innovations* numismatiques: *actes de l'atelier international des 16 et 17 novembre 2012 à Tours*. Bordeaux, Ausonius Éditions.

Gruen, E. S. (1984) *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, 2 vols., Los Angeles, Berkeley.

Gruen, E. S. (1992) *Culture and national identity in Republican Rome*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press.

Haaff, P. A. van't (2007) *Catalogue of Elymaean coinage : ca. 147 B.C.-A.D. 228.* Lancaster, PA, Classical Numismatic Group.

Habicht, C. (2007) Neues zur hellenistischen Geschichte von Kos. *Chiron 37*: 123–152.

Hackens T. (1975) Rythmes de la production monétaire dans l'Antiquité. In J. M. Dentzer, P. Gauthier and T. Hackens (eds) *Numismatique antique. Problèmes et méthodes*: 186–196. Indiana University.

Hartmann, U. (2015) Herrscher mit geteilten Loyalitäten. Vasallen-herrscher und Klientelkönige zwischen Rom und Parthien. In E. Baltrusch and J. Wilker (eds) *Amici - socii - clientes? Abhängige Herrschaft im Imperium Romanum:* 301–362. Berlin, Edition Topoi.

Hauser, S. R. (2021) 'Hellenized Iranians?' : Antiochos I and the Power of Image. In M. Blömer, S. Riedel, M. J. Versluys and E. Winter (eds) *Common Dwelling Place of all the Gods : Commagene in its Local, Regional and Global Hellenistic Context*. (Oriens et occidens 34): 45–69. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag.

Head, B.V. (1887) *Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Heberdey, R. and Wilhelm, A. (1896) *Reisen in Kilikien, ausgeführt 1891 und 1892 im Auftrage der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften : (Widmung seiner Durchlaucht des regierenden Fürsten Johann von und zu Liechtenstein)*. Wien, In Commission bei C. Gerold's Sohn.

Hicks, E. L. (1890) Inscriptions from Eastern Cilicia. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies 11*: 236–254.

Hoben, W. (1969) *Untersuchungen zur Stellung kleinasiatischer Dynastien in den Machtkämpfen der ausgehenden Römischen Republik*. Mainz, Hagelt.

Hochard, P.-O. (2020) *Lydie, terre d'empire(s) : étude de numismatique et d'histoire (228 a.C.-268 p.C.).* Bordeaux, Ausonius.

Hoover, O. D. (2012) *Handbook of coins of Northern and Central Anatolia: Pontos, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Phrygia, Galatia, Lykaonia, and Kappadokia (with Kolchis and the Kimmerian Bosporos): fifth to first centuries BC.* (Handbook of Greek coinage series 7). London, Lancaster.

Hoover, O.D.; Houghton, A. and Veselý, P. (2008) The Silver Mint of Damascus under Demetrius and Antiochus XII (97/6 BC-83/2 BC), *American Journal of Numismatics 20*: 305–336.

Houghton, A. (1989) The Royal Seleucid Mint of Soli, *The Numismatic Chronicle 149*: 15–32.

Howgego, C. J. (1985). *Greek Imperial countermarks : studies in the provincial coinage of the Roman Empire*. London, Royal Numismatic Society.

Howgego, C. J. (1990) Why did Ancient States strike Coins? *Numismatic Chronicle 150*: 1–25.

Howgego, C.J. (1995) *Ancient history from coins*. London, Routledge.

Hunter, L. W. (1913) Cicero's Journey to his Province of Cilicia in 51 B.C. *Journal of Roman Studies 3*: 73–97.

Hurwit, J. M. (2015) Coins. In J. M. Hurwit (author) *Artists and Signatures in Ancient Greece*: 39–45. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Imhoof-Blumer, F. (1874) Numismatische Berichtigungen (Hunter'sche Sammlung, etc.). In A. von Sallet (ed.) *Zeitschrift für Numismatik Vol. 1*: 321–334. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.

Jacobs, B. (2010) Verwaltung. In U. Hackl, B. Jacobs and D. Weber (eds) Q*uellen zur Geschichte des Partherreiches. Textsammlung mit Übersetzungen und Kommentaren Bd. 1*: 84–100. Göttingen, Vanden-hoeck & Ruprecht.

Johananoff, M. (2017) Small Change for the Seleucid Army: Bronze Coins of Side in the Southern Levant. *The Numismatic Chronicle 177*: 29–65. http://www.jstor.org/stable/26637370. Retrieved October 27, 2025.

Jones, A. H. M. (1971). *The cities of the Eastern Roman provinces*. (2nd revised edition). Clarendon Press.

Jurkowski, M. (2024). On the Dynastic Toponymy of Cilicia Pedias in the Roman Empire (until ca. AD 260) with Particular Reference to the Numismatic Evidence. *Notae Numismaticae 18*: 145–164.

Kahrstedt, U. (1910) Frauen auf antiken Münzen. *Klio 10*: 261–314.

Kaizer, T and Facella, M. (2010). Introduction. In T. Kaizer and M. Facella (eds) *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East:* 15–42. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag.

Kaser, M. (1971) *Das römische Privatrecht*. 2nd edition. München, Beck.

Kerschner, M. and Konuk, K. (2020) Electrum Coins and Their Archaeological Context: the Case of the Artemision of Ephesus. In P. G. van Alfen and U. Wartenberg (eds) *White Gold: Studies in Early Electrum Coinage*: 83–190. New York–Jerusalem, American Numismatic Society–The Israel Museum.

Kienast, D., Eck, W. and Heil, M. (2017) *Römische Kaisertabelle : Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie.* 6. vollständig überarbeitete und aktualisierte Auflage. Darmstadt, WBG Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Kinns, P. (1980) *Studies in the coinage of Ionia: Erythrae, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon, c. 400–30 B.C.*. Cambridge University thesis.

Kinns, P. (1983) The Amphictionic Coinage Reconsidered. *Numismatic Chronicle 143*: 1–22.

Kinns, P. (1987) Asia Minor. In A. Burnett and M. H. Crawford (eds) *The Coinage of the Roman world in the late Republic: proceedings of a colloquium held at the British Museum in September 1985*: 105–121. Oxford, B.A.R..

Kleiner, D.E.E. (1992) *Roman sculpture.* New Haven, Yale University Press.

Knapp, R. C. and Isaac, J. D. M. (2005) *Excavations at Nemea III: The Coins.* Berkeley, Calif.–London, University of California Press.

Kogon, A.J. and Fontanille, J.-P. (2018) *The coinage of Herod Antipas : a study and die classification of the earliest coins of Galilee.* Leiden, The Netherlands, Brill.

Köker, H. (2006) Coin Hoards in Burdur Archaeological Museum. *The Numismatic Chronicle. The Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society 166*: 375–378.

Köker, H. (2011) Küçük Bir Keraeitai Definesi / A Small Keraeitai Hoard. In H. Şahin, E. Konyar and G. Ergin (eds) *Özsait Armağanı Mehmet ve Nesrin Özsait Onuruna Sunulan Makaleler*: 287–291. İstanbul, Suna-İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü.

Köker, H. (2016) Küçük bir III. Ariobarzanes Eusebios Philoromaios Drahmi Definesi / A Drachms Hoard of Ariobarzanes III Eusebios Philoromaios. In Z. Çizmeli Öğün (ed) Kaunos/Kbid Toplantıları 3 Anadolu Nümismatik Araştırmaları Çalıştayı: 39–43. Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi.

Köker, H. (2024) Penkalas Hoards from Aizanoi. *Olba, 32*: 217–237.

Köker, H. and Köyağasıoğlu, O. (2006) Coin Hoards in Burdur Archaeological Museum. *The Numismatic Chronicle 166*: 375–378.

Konstan, D. (1997) *Friendship in the Classical World*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Kostial, M. (1997) *Kelten im Osten : Gold und Silber der Kelten in Mittel- und Osteuropa : Sammlung Lanz.* München, Verlag der Staatlichen Münzsammlung München.

Kovacs, F. L. (2016) *Armenian coinage in the Classical period.* Lancaster, Classical Numismatic Group.

Kraay, C. M. (1954) Caesar's Quattuorviri of 44 BC: the arrangement of their issues. *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society 14* (44): 18–31.

Kreiler B. (2007) Zur Verwaltung Kilikiens von 102 bis 78 v. Chr.. *Gephyra 4*: 117–126.

Krengel, E. and Lorber, C. (2009) Early Cappadocian tetradrachms in the name of Antiochus VII. *Numismatic Chronicle 168*: 51–104.

Kreuz, P. A. (2009) Monuments for the King: Royal Presence in the Late Hellenistic World of Mithridates VI. In J.M. Højte (ed) *Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom*: 131–144. Aarhus, Aarhus University Press.

Kromayer, J. (1898) Kleine Forschungen zur Geschichte des Zweiten Triumvirats. *Hermes 33*(1): 1–70. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4472622. Retrieved February 17, 2025.

Kumandaş Yanmaz, H. (2016) Galatlar ve Galatia Bölgesi Pessinus darpla Sikkelerinde Galatlarin izleri. *Journal of International Social Research* 9(44): 716–737. https://doi.org/10.17719/JISR.20164420144. Retrieved April 16, 2025.

Kumandaş Yanmaz, H. (2019) Pessinus Kenti ve Pessinus Sikkelerinde Kybele Yansıması. In V. Keleş, H. Kasapoğlu, H. E. Ergürer, E. Çelikbaş and A. Yilmaz (eds) *Cevat Başaran'a 60. Yaş Armağani*: 329–372. Ankara, Bilgin Kültür Sanat.

Kushnir-Stein, A. (1995) An Inscribed Lead Weight from Ashdod: A Reconsideration. *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik 105*: 81–84.

Lange, O. (1988) Tarkondimotos, König von Kilikien, und seine Dynastie. *Berichte der Münzen- und Medaillensammler 159*: 336–343.

Lannin, M.N. (2017) A Window into Seleucid Regional Mints: Reuse of Obverse Dies in the 3rd -2nd Century BC. In M. C. Caltabiano (ed) *Proceedings - XV. International Numismatic Congress Taormina 2015*: 493–496. Roma, Arbor Sapientiae editore S.r.l..

Lenger, D. S. (2016) Monete provenienti dal Monte Nif (Olympos) in Ionia. In B. Takmer, E. N. A. Arca and N. G. Özdil (eds) *Vir Doctus Anatolicus: Studies in Memory of Sencer Şahin*, Philia Supplements 1: 598–610. Istanbul, Ege Yayinlari.

Lenger, D. S. and Dündar, E. (2020) Attestation of a Ptolemaic Garrison in the Light of Coins: Tepecik Hill at Patara, Lycia. *Annali dell' Istituto italiano di Numismatica 66*: 37–66.

Le Rider, G. (1999). *Antioche de Syrie sous les Séleucides : corpus des monnaies d'or et d'argent.* Paris, Académie des Inscriptions et belles-lettres.

Leschhorn, W. (1993) *Antike Ären: Zeitrechnung, Politik und Geschichte im Schwarzmeerraum und in Kleinasien nordlich des Tauros.* Stuttgart, Franz Steiner.

Leschhorn, W. (2006) Eras. In *Brill's New Pauly Online*. Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e105930. Retrieved April 6, 2025.

Levante, E. (1971) *SNG Switzerland I. Levante.* Berne, Credit Suisse.

Levante, E. (1993) *SNG Switzerland I. Levante. Cilicia Supplement 1.* Zurich, Numismatica Ars Classica.

Lorber, C. (2005) A revised chronology for the coinage of Ptolemy I. *Numismatic Chronicle 165*: 45–64.

Lorber, C. (2015). Royal Coinage in Hellenistic Phoenicia: Expressions of Continuity, Agents of Change. In J. Aliquot and C. Bonnet (eds) *Topoi. Orient-Occident. Supplément 13: La Phénicie hellénistique. Actes du colloque international de Toulouse (18-20 février 2013)*: 55–88. PERSÉE - ENS de Lyon, Université de Lyon & CNRS.

Lorber, C. (2018A) *Coins of the Ptolemaic Empire. Part 1, Ptolemy 1 through Ptolemy IV*. New York, American Numismatic Society.

Lorber, C. (2018B) The silver mints of Ariarathes V Eusebes of Cappadocia. *Revue Belge de Numismatique 164*: 255–284.

Lorber, C.; Houghton, A. and Veselý, P. (2006). Cappadocian Tetradrachms in the Name of Antiochus VII. *The Numismatic Chronicle 166*: 49–97.

Lorber, C. C. and Iossif, P. P. (2009) Seleucid Campaign Beards. *L'Antiquité classique 78:* 87–115.

MacDonald, D. J. (1992) *The coinage of Aphrodisias.* London, Royal Numismatic Society.

Magie, D. (1950) *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century After Christ*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Marchetti, P (1999) Autour de la Frappe du Nouvel Amphictionique. *Revue Belge de* Numismatique *145*: 99–13.

Marek, C. (2006) Paphlagonia. In H. Cancik and H. Schneider (eds); English Edition by: C. F. Salazar (ed.); Classical Tradition volumes edited by M. Landfester and English Edition by F. G. Gentry. *Brill's New Pauly.* DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e906690. Retrieved July 28, 2023.

Mattingly, H.B. (1979) L. Julius Caesar, Governor of Macedonia. *Chiron 9*: 147–168.

Mayer, L. (1871) Mittheilungen über falsche in der Levante angefertigte antike Münzen. *Numismatische Zeitschrift 3*: 435–444.

Meadows, A. (2002) Stratonikeia in Caria: the Hellenistic city and its coinage. *Numismatic Chronicle 162*: 79–134.

Meadows, A. (2006) Amyntas, Side, and the Pamphylian Plain. In J. H. Kroll and P. G. Van Alfen (eds) *Agoranomia : studies in money and exchange presented to John H. Kroll*: 151–175. New York, American Numismatic Society.

Meadows, A. (2011A) The Chian Revolution. Changing Patterns of Hoarding in 4th-Century BC Western Asia Minor. In T. Faucher, M. C. Marcellesi and O. Picard (eds) *Nomisma. La circulation monétaire dans le monde grec antique. Actes du colloque international, Athènes, 14–17 avril 2010*: 273–295. Athens, Ecole francaise d'Athenes.

Meadows, A. (2011B) Athenian coin dies from Egypt: the new discovery at Herakleion. *Revue Belge de Numismatique et de Sigillographie 157*: 97–117.

Meadows, A. (2012) Coinage and the writing of ancient Greek history. In V. Penna (ed) *Words and Coins: From Ancient Greece to Byzantium*: 91–102. Gent, MER Paper Kunsthalle

Meadows, A. (2013) 5: The Closed Currency System of the Attalid Kingdom. In P. Thonemann (ed) *Attalid Asia Minor: Money, International Relations, and the State*: 149–205. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Meadows, A. (2015) Imitative Coinage in First-century Pamphylia. In K. Dörtlük, O. Tekin and R. Boyraz Syhan (eds) *Proceeding of the First International Congress of Anatolian Monetary History and Numismatics, Antalya, February 26–28th, 2013:* 409–421. İstanbul, una & İnan Kıraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations.

Meadows, A. (2021) “Tout ce qui brille”... electrum and the origins of Western coinage. *Revue Numismatique 178*: 443–470.

Meadows, A. (2022) The Penetration of the Denarius and Quinarius Standards into Asia Minor in the 1st Century BC. In R. Ashton and N. Badoud (eds) Graecia capta? Rome et les monnayages du monde égéen (IIe-Ier s. av. J.-C.) = *Graecia Capta? Roman Influence on Coinage and Circulation in the Aegean Region in the Second and First Centuries BC Proceedings of a Colloquium held at the University of Freiburg, 14–15 April 2016*: 127–85. Basel, Schwabe Verlag.

Meadows, A. (2024). *Review of Les cistophores de Marc Antoine: un monnayage hellénistique en contexte romain*, by Hiltman, B. (2023). Bryn Mawr Classical Review. URL: https://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2024/2024.11.47/.

Meta, A. (2015). *Le monnayage en argent de Dyrrachion, 375-60, 55 av. J.-C.*. Athens, École française d’Athènes.

Meyer, M. (2001) Cilicia as part of the Seleucid empire. The beginning of municipal coinage. In E. Jean, A. M. Dinçol and S. Durugönül (eds) *La Cilicie : espaces et pouvoirs locaux (2e millénaire av. J.-C.-4e siècle ap. J.-C.) : actes de la table ronde internationale d'Istanbul, 2–5 novembre 1999 = Kilikia : mekânlar ve yerel güçler (M.Ö. 2. binyıl-M.S. 4. yüzyıl) : uluslararası yuvarlak masa toplantısı bildirileri, Istanbul, 2–5 Kasım 1999*: 505–518. Istanbul, Institut français d’études anatoliennes Georges Dumézil

Michels, C. (2013) Archelaos of Cappadocia. In R. S. Bagnall, K. Brodersen, C. B. Champion, A. Erskine and S. R. Huebner (eds) T*he Encyclopedia of Ancient History*: 629–630. Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell.

Miller, H. F. (1984) The Practical and Economic Background to the Greek Mercenary Explosion. *Greece & Rome 31.2:* 153–60.

Millar, F. (1996) Emperors, Kings and Subjects: The Politics of Two-Level Sovereignty. *Scripta Classica Israelica 15 (Studies in Memory of Abraham Wasserstein I)*: 159–73.

Mionnet, T. E. (1809) *Description de médailles antiques, grecques et romaines, avec leur degré de rareté et leur estimation: Ouvrage servant de catalogue à une suite de plus de vingt mille empreintes en soufre, prises sur les pièces originales. Tome Quatrieme*. Paris, Impr. de Testu.

Mitchell, S. (1974) Blucium and Peium: The Galatian Forts of King Deiotarus. *Anatolian Studies 24*: 61–75.

Mitchell, S. (1993) *Anatolia : land, men, and Gods in Asia Minor.* Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Mitchell, S. (1994) Termessos, King Amyntas and the War with the Sandaliôtai. A New Inscription from Pisidia. In D. French (ed) *Studies in the History and Topography of Lycia and Pisidia: In Memoriam A. S. Hall*: 93–105. London, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.

Mitchell, S. (1995) *Cremna in Pisidia : an ancient city in peace and in war*. London, Duckworth in association with The Classical Press of Wales.

Mommsen, T. (1887) *Römisches Staatsrecht. Dritter Band. 1. Abteilung. Leipzig, von Hirzel.*

Mørkholm, O. (1962) Some Cappadocian problems. *Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society 2*: 407–411.

Mørkholm, O. (1964) Some Cappadocian die-links. *Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society* 4: 21–25.

Mørkholm, O. (1968) The coinages of Ariarathes VIII and Ariarathes IX of Cappadocia. In C. M. Kray and G. K. Jenkins (eds.) *Essays in Greek coinage presented to Stanley Robinson*: 241–258. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Mørkholm, O. (1969) The Classification of Cappadocian Coins. *The Numismatic Chronicle* 9: 21–31.

Mørkholm, O. (1975). A Further Comment on the Coinages of Ariarathes VIII and Ariarathes IX. *Quaderni Ticinesi di Numismatica e Antichità Classiche 4*: 109–138.

Mørkholm, O. (1978). The coinages of Ariarathes VI and Ariarathes VII of Cappadocia. *Revue suisse de numismatique 57*: 144–163.

Müller-Karpe, A. and Haffner, A. (2023) *Beiträge zur Archäologie der Galater : Kultur der Kelten in Anatolien.* Marburg, Philipps-Universität Marburg.

Muccioli, F. (2013) *Gli epiteti ufficiali dei re ellenistici.* Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag.

Nercessian, Y.T. (2006) *Silver Coinage of the Artaxiad Dynasty of Armenia.* Los Angeles, Armenian numismatic society.

Newell, E.T. (1934) Un monnayage de bronze de Déjotarus. *Revue Belge de Numismatique et de Sigillographie*: 5–10.

Oktan, M. (2011) The Route Taken by Cilicia to Provincial Status: When and Why? *Olba 19*: 267–286.

Olcay, N. (1969) The Ariassus Hoard. In *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri yıllığı = Annual of the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul Vol 15–16*: 292–307. İstanbul, Pulhan Matbaasi.

Olivier, J. and Aumaître, H. (2017) Antoine, Cléopâtre et le Levant. Le témoignage des monnaies. In L. Bricault, A. Burnett, V. Drost and A. Suspène (eds) *Rome et les provinces. Monnayage et histoire. Mélanges offerts à Michel Amandry*: 105–122. Bordeaux, Ausonius Éditions

Özgan, R. (1988) Ein Herrscherbildnis aus Kilikien. *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts 103*: 367–80.

Pellerin, J. (1762) *Recueil De Médailles De Rois: Qui N'ont Point Encore Été Publiées Ou Qui Sont Peu Connues*. Paris, Guerin & Delatour.

Pilhofer, P. (2020) Die Geschichte des ‚Rauhen Kilikien' unter den Römern. *Klio 102(1)*: 71–120.

Price, M. J. (1975) *Coin Hoards Vol 1*. London, Royal Numismatic Society.

Price, M. J. (1968) Early Greek Bronze Coinage. In C.M. Kraay and G.K. Jenkins (eds) *Essays in Greek Coinage Presented to Stanley Robinson:* 90–104. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Price, M. J. (1991) *The coinage in the name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus: A British Museum catalogue (Vols. 1–2).* Zürich—London, Swiss Numismatic Society in association with British Museum Press.

Psoma, S. (2013) War or trade? Attic-Weight Tetradrachms from Second-Century BC Attalid Asia Minor in Seleukid Syria after the peace of Apameia and their historical context. In P. Thonemann (ed), Attalid Asia Minor: Money, International Relations, and the State: 265–300. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Queyrel, F. (1990) Portraits princiers Hellénistiques: chronique bibliographique. *Revue archéologique 1990 Vol. 1*: 97–172.

Raggi, A. (2001) Senatus consultum de Asclepiade Clazomenio sociisque. *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik 135*: 73–116.

Raggi, A. (2010) The first Roman citizens among eastern dynasts and kings. In T. Kaizer and M. Facella (eds) *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East:* 81–97. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag.

Ramsay, W.M. (2012) Inscriptions of Cilicia, Cappadocia, and Pontus. In W. A. Wright, I. Bywater and H. Jackson (eds) *The Journal of Philology*: 142–160. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press (Cambridge Library Collection - Classics).

Ramsey, W. M. and Licht, A.L. (1997) *The Comet of 44 B.C. and Caesar's Funeral Games* (American Classical Studies 39). Atlanta, Scholars Press.

Raven, E. J. P. (1950) The Amphhictionic coinage of Delphi, 336–334 B.C. *Numismatic chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society.* Vol. 10 (37/38): 1–22.

Regling, K. (1907) Crassus' Partherkrieg. *Klio: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte VII*: 357–394.

Reinach, T. (1887). *Essai sur la numismatique des rois de Cappadoce*. Paris, C. Rollin et Feuardent.

Reinach, T. (1891) Monnaies inédites d'Asie Mineure [Unpublished coins of Asia Minor]. *Revue Belge de Numismatique et de Sigillographie*: 362–401.

Reinach, T. (1902) *L'histoire par les monnaies: essais de numismatique ancienne*. Paris, E. Leroux.

Rich, J. W. (1989) Patronage and International Relations in the Roman Republic. In A. Wallace-Hadrill (ed) *Patronage in Ancient Society*: 117–135. London and New York, Routledge.

Richter, G.M.A. (1955) The Origin of Verism in Roman Portraits. *The Journal of Roman Studies 45:* 39–46.

Robinson, T. H. (2002) *City and country in Pisidia from classical antiquity to the middle ages : Ariassos, Sia and their territories*. University of Oxford Thesis.

Rogers, G. M. (2012). *The mysteries of Artemis of Ephesos : cult, polis, and change in the Graeco-Roman world*. London, Yale University Press.

Rose, C. B. (2008) Forging Identity in the Roman Republic: Trojan Ancestry and Veristic Portraiture. *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes 7:* 97–131.

Saddington, D. B. (2009) Client Kings' Armies Under Augustus: The Case Of Herod. In D. Jacobson and N. Kokkinos (eds) *Herod and Augustus*: 303–323. Leiden, The Netherlands, Brill.

Sands, P. C. (1908) *The client princes of the Roman Empire under the Republic.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Saraç, L. and Davesne, A. (1994) Un lot de drachmes cappadociens à Kirikhan (Hatay) In M. Amandry and G. Le Rider (eds.) *Trésors et circulation monétaire en Anatolie antique*: 61–64. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Sayar, M. M. (2001) Tarkondimotos, seine Dynastie, seine Politik und sein Reich. In E. Jean, A. M. Dinçol and S. Durugönül (eds) *La Cilicie : espaces et pouvoirs locaux (IIe millénaire av. J.-C. – IVe siècle ap. J.-C.). Actes de la Table Ronde d'Istanbul, 2-5 novembre 1999*: 373–380. Istanbul, Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes-Georges Dumézil.

Sayles, W. G. (2021) Dated coins of the Tarkondimotid dynasty. In F. F. Gülşen (ed) *Anazarbos & Anavarza CİLT III*: 1–16. Ankara, Akademisyen Kitapevi.

Schaps, D. M. (2004) *The invention of coinage and the monetization of ancient Greece.* Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.

Schiavo, R. (2021) Cilicia in the in the Third Century BC: a Frontier Region in the Conflicts between Ptolemies and Seleucids. *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne S 22*: 97–123.

Sellwood, D. G. (1963) Some experiments in Greek minting technique. *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society 3:* 217–231. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42662500. Retrieved November 12, 2025.

Sellwood, D. (1980) *An introduction to the coinage of Parthia*. 2nd ed. London, Spink.

Sestini, D. (1796) *Descriptio numorum veterum ex museis Ainslie, Bellini, Bondacca, Borgia, Casali, Cousinery, Gradenigo, San Clemente, de Schellersheim, verità etc.: Cum multis iconibus nec non animadversiones in opus Eckhelianum cui titulus doctrina numorum veterum*. Lipsiae, In officina Io. Fried. Gleditschii.

Sherk, R. K. (1990A) The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities: I. *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik 83:* 249–288.

Sherk, R. K. (1990B) The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities: Mainland Greece and the Adjacent Islands. *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik 84:* 231–295.

Sherwin-White, A. N. (1977) Ariobarzanes, Mithridates, and Sulla. *The Classical Quarterly 27*(1): 173–183.

Simonetta, A. (2007) The coinage of the Cappadocian kings: a revision and a catalogue of the Simonetta Collection. *Parthica 9*: 9–152.

Simonetta, B. (1964) Remarks on some Cappadocian problems. *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society 4*: 83–92.

Simonetta, B. (1970) A proposito di alcune attribuzioni di monete dei re di Cappadocia proposte dal Dr. Mørkholm. *Revista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienza Affini 72*: 45–61.

Simonetta, B. (1973) Ariarathes IV o Ariarathes VI: Osservazioni su alcune rare monete di Cappadocia. *Quaderni Ticinesi di Numismatica e Antichità Classiche 2*: 37–42.

Simonetta, B. (1974). Osservazioni su talune emissioni barbariche dei re di Cappadocia. *Revista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienza Affini 76*: 95–105.

Simonetta, B. (1975) Sulla prima monetazione di Ariarathes VI di Cappadocia. *Schweizer Münzblätter = Gazette numismatique suisse Heft 97*: 4–7.

Simonetta, B. (1977) *The coins of the Cappadocian Kings*. Freiburg, Office du Livre.

Smekalova, T. N. (2009) The earliest application of brass and "pure" copper in the Hellenistic coinages of Asia Minor and the Northern Black Sea Coast. In J. M. Højte (ed.) *Mithridates VI and the Pontic kingdom*: 233–248. Aarhus, Aarhus University Press.

Smirnov S.V., Zakharov E.V. (2022) Coins of the Cappadocian Kingdom from the Collection of the State Historical Museum. *Vostok (Oriens), no. 6*: 254–263. DOI: 10.31857/S086919080020988-3. Retrieved September 7, 2025.

Smith, R. R. R. (1981) Greeks, Foreigners, and Roman Republican Portraits. *The Journal of Roman Studies 71:* 24–38.

Smith, R. R. R. (1988) *Hellenistic royal portraits.* Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Smith, R. R. R. (1991) *Hellenistic sculpture: a handbook*. London, Thames and Hudson.

Snowden, M. (2015) Beyond *clientela*: The instrumentality of Amicitia in the Greek East. In M. Jehne and F. Pina Polo (eds) *Foreign 'clientelae' in the Roman Empire : a reconsideration*: 209–224. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag.

Sommer, M. (2013) In the Twilight. Hatra between Rome and Iran. In L. Dirven (ed) *Hatra. Politics, Culture and Religion between Parthia and Rome*: 33–44. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner.

Stähelin, F. (1907) *Geschichte der kleinasiatischen Galater*. Leipzig, Teubner.

Stannard, C. (2011) Evaluating the monetary supply: Were dies reproduced mechanically in Antiquity?. In F. De Callataÿ (ed) *Quantifying Monetary Supplies in Greco-Roman Times* (Pragmateiai 19): 59–79. Bari, Edipuglia.

Stannard, C. (2011) Weight adjustment 'al marco' in Antiquity, and the Athenian decadrachm. In N. Holmes (ed), *Proceedings of the XIVth International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow 2009*: 427–434. Glasgow, International Numismatic Council.

Strobants, F. (2013) Coins and coin use at the late Roman village of Neerharen-Rekem. *Relicta 10*: 71–128.

Strobel, K. (2009) The Galatians in the Roman Empire: historical tradition and ethnic identity in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor. In T. Derks and N. Roymans (eds) *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity*: 117–145. The Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.

Stumpf, G. R. (1991) *Numismatische Studien zur Chronologie der römischen Statthalter in Kleinasien (122 v. Chr.-163 n. Chr.)*. Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag.

Sullivan, R. D. (1980) The dynasty of Cappadocia. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II.7.2*: 1125–1168.

Sullivan, R. D. (1990) *Near Eastern Royalty and Rome 100–30 B.C*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press.

Suspène, A. (2009) Les rois amis et alliés face au principat: rapports personnels, représentations du pouvoir et nouvelles stratégies diplomatiques dans l'orient Méditerranéen. In M. Christol and D. Darde (eds) *L'Expression Du Pouvoir Au Début de l'Empire. Autour de La Maison Carrée à Nîmes. Actes Du Colloque Organisé à l'initiative de La Ville de Nîmes et Du Musée Archéologique (Nîmes, Carré d'Art, 20-22 Octobre 2005)*: 45–51. Paris: Errance.

Syme, R. (1939) Observations on the Roman Province of Cilicia. In W. H. Buckler, W. M. Calder and J. Keil (eds) *Anatolian Studies Presented to W H. Buckler*: 299–332. Manchester, Manchester University Press.

Syme, R. (1958) Imperator Caesar: A Study in Nomenclature. *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte 7*(2): 172–188.

Syme, R. and Birley, A. (1995) *Anatolica : studies in Strabo*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Taner, S. (1972) A hoard found at the excavation of Tepebağlari. *Anadolu 16*: 85–95.

Teja, R. (1980) Die römische Provinz Kappadokien in der Prinzipatszeit. In H. Temporini (ed.) *Band 7/2. Halbband Politische Geschichte (Provinzen und Randvölker: Griechischer Balkanraum*; Kleinasien [Forts.]): 1083–1124. Berlin, Boston, De Gruyter.

Tekin, O. (2008) A Small Hoard of Drachms of Ariobarzanes I and II from Tire Museum. In Y. Hazırlayanlar, İ. Delemen, S. Çokay–Kepçe, A. Özdizbay and Ö. Turak (eds) *Euergetes. Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu'na 65. Yaş Armağanı / Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu zum 65. Geburstag, II. Cilt, Antalya*: 1137–1141. İstanbul, AKMED: Suna-Inan Kiraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Arastirma Enstitüsü.

Tekin, O., Taşkın, S. and Bragner, R. (1999) *Sivas definesi : VI. Mithradates dụnemi Pontos ve Paphlagonia kentlerinin bronz sikkeleri = The Sivas hoard : bronze coins of Pontos and Paphlagonia from the reign of Mithradates VI.* İstanbul, Vehbi Koç Vakfı.

Thonemann, P. (2015) *The Hellenistic world : using coins as sources.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Thompson, E. M. (1912). *An introduction to Greek and Latin palaeography*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Thompson, M. (1961) *The new style silver coinage of Athens* (Numismatic Studies 10). New York, American Numismatic Society.

Thompson, M. (1982) Reflections on the Athenian Imperial Coinage. *Hesperia Supplements 20:* 163–220. https://doi.org/10.2307/1353957. Retrieved August 12, 2025.

Tobin, J. (2001) The Tarcondimotid Dynasty in Smooth Cilicia. In E. Jean, A. M. Dinçol and S. Durugönül (eds) *La Cilicie : espaces et pouvoirs locaux (IIe millénaire av. J.-C. – IVe siècle ap. J.-C.). Actes de la Table Ronde d'Istanbul, 2-5 novembre 1999*: 381–387. Istanbul, Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes-Georges Dumézil.

Toumpan (2015) *Zeugma kazı sikkeleri: 2005 – 2012*. http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12575/83199. Retrieved July 20, 2023.

Troxell, H. A. (1983) Arsinoe's non-era. *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes 28*: 35–70.

Troxell, H. A. (1997) *Studies in the Macedonian coinage of Alexander the Great.* New York, American Numismatic Society.

Trundle, M. (2010) 7. Coinage And The Transformation Of Greek Warfare. In G. Fagan and M. Trundle (eds) *New Perspectives on Ancient Warfare*: 227–252. Leiden, The Netherlands, Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004185982.i-391.43. Retrieved December 12, 2025.

Tuck, S. L. (2015) *A history of Roman art.* Chichester, West Sussex, John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Ünal, A. (2003). Hititler, Akdeniz ve Liman Kenti Ura. *Olba 7*: 8–40.

Van Alfen, P. G.; Wartenberg, U. and Fischer-Bossert, W. (eds) (2020) White gold : studies in early electrum coinage. American Numismatic Society.

Van Nuffelen, P. (2009) The Name Game: Hellenistic Historians and Royal Epithets. In P. van Nuffelen (ed) F*aces of Hellenism: Studies in the History of the Eastern Mediterranean (4th c. B.C. – 5th c. A.D.)* (Studia Hellenistica 48): 93–111. Leuven, Peeters Press

Van Regenmortel, C. (2024) *Soldiers, Wages, and the Hellenistic Economies.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

van Wijlick, H. (2020) The value of φιλορώμαιος on the royal coinage of king Ariobarzanes I of Cappadocia. *Marburger Beiträge zur antiken Handels-, Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte 38*: 133–153.

Verboven, K. (2011) Friendship among the Romans. In M. Peachin (ed) *The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World*: 404–421. New York—Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Vermeule, C. C. (1954) *Some notes on ancient dies and coining methods*. London, Spink & Son.

Vermeulen, F. (2003) The Cemetery. In J. Devreker, H. Thoen and F. Vermeulen (eds) *Excavations in Pessinus: the so-called Acropolis. From Hellenistic and Roman cemetery to Byzantine castle*: 29–346. Ghent, Academia Press.

Vitale, M. (2012) *Eparchie und Koinon in Kleinasien von der ausgehenden Republik bis ins 3. Jh. n. Chr.* Bonn, Rudolf Habelt.

Von Aulock, H. (1977) *Münzen und Städte Pisidiens Part I*. Tübingen, E. Wasmuth.

Von Aulock, H. (1979) *Münzen und Städte Pisidiens Part II*. Tübingen, E. Wasmuth.

Wace, A. J. B. (1905) Hellenistic Royal Portraits. *Journal of Hellenic Studies 25*: 86–104.

Waddington, W. H. (1853). *Voyage en Asie-Mineure au point de vue numismatique*. Paris, Rollin.

Waddington, W.H., Babelon, E. and Reinach, T. (1925) *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*. Paris, E. Leroux.

Walker, D. R. (1976) *The metrology of the Roman silver coinage*. Oxford, British Archaeological Reports.

Wallace-Hadrill, A. (1998) To be Roman, Go Greek. Thoughts on Hellenization at Rome. *Bulletin - Institute of Classical Studies 42 (S71)*: 79–91.

Wallace-Hadrill, A. (2008) *Rome's cultural revolution*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Wartenberg Kagan, U. (2012) The perception of ancient myths: Narratives and representations. In V. Penna (ed) *Words and Coins: From Ancient Greece to Byzantium*: 65–80. Gent, MER Paper Kunsthalle.

Watson, G. C. (2021) The Development and Spread of Die Sharing in the Roman Provincial Coinage of Asia Minor. *American Journal of Archaeology 125(1)*: 123–142.

Watson, G. (2022) Die boxes, workstations, graph theory and die charts. *The Numismatic Chronicle 182*: 1–16.

Wendt, C. (2015) More *clientium*. Roms Perspektive auf befreundete Fürsten. In E. Baltrusch and J. Wilker (eds) *Amici – socii – clientes? Abhängige Herrschat im Imperium Romanum*: 19–35. Berlin, Edition Topoi.

Wiesehöfer, J. (1994) *Das antike Persien*. Zürich, Artemis & Winkler.

Witschonke, R. B. and Amandry, M. (2004) Another Fimbria Cistophorus. *American Journal of Numismatics 16/17:* 87–92.

Wright, N. L. (2008) Anazarbos and the Tarkondimotid Kings of Kilikia. *Anatolian Studies 58*: 115–125.

Wright, N. L. (2009) A new dated coin of Tarkondimotos II from Anazarbos. *Anatolian Studies 59*: 73–75.

Wright, N. L. (2010) Tarkondimotid responses to Roman domestic politics: from Antony to Actium. *Journal of the Numismatic Association of Australia 20*: 73–81.

Wright, N. L. (2012) The house of Tarkondimotos: a late Hellenistic dynasty between Rome and the East. *Anatolian Studies 62*: 69–88.

Yıldırım, Ş. and Demirci Bal, N. (2016). The Rescue Excavation of the Hacılarobası Tumulus. In M. Manoledakis (ed) *The Black Sea in the Light of New Archaeological Data and Theoretical Approaches: Proceedings of the 2nd International Workshop on the Black Sea in Antiquity*: 225–238. Oxford, Archaeopress.

Zack, A. (2013) Forschungen über die rechtlichen Grundlagen der römischen Außenbeziehungen während der Republik bis zum Beginn des Prinzipats. III. Teil: Der personenrechtliche Status der amici, socii und amici et socii und die formula amicorum und formula sociorum. *Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft 16*: 63–113.

Zagloul, S. (2020) The Iconography of Elephants on Egyptian Coins during the Græco-Roman Period. *International Journal of Heritage, Tourism and Hospitality 14*: 296–307.

Zanker, P. (2009) *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder.* München, C.H. Beck. (5th edition, 1st edition published in 1987).

Ziegler, R. (1993) *Kaiser, Heer und städtisches Geld: Untersuchungen zur Münzprägung von Anazarbos und anderer ostkilikischer Städte.* Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Ziegler, R. (2015) Ein neuer Münztyp des kilikischen Königs Tarkondimotos. *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte 64*: 1–13.

Zuiderhoek, A. (2021) Benefactors and the Poleis in the Roman Empire: Civic Munificence in the Roman East in the Context of the Longue Durée. In M. D. Gygax and A. Zuiderhoek (eds) *Benefactors and the Polis: The Public Gift in the Greek Cities from the Homeric World to Late Antiquity*: 222–242. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Illustration references

Chapter 1: Introduction

Figure 1.1:
Coşkun, A. (2012) Intercultural Anthroponomy in Hellenistic and Roman Galatia. *Gephyra* 9: Map 1 p. 66. Open access: https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/gephyra/issue/18377 and http://www.altaycoskun.com/map-galatia-01#

Figure 1.2:
Graphic created by author.

Figure 1.3:
Metcalf, W. E. (2012) Introduction. In W.E. Metcalf (ed) *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage,* Oxford Handbooks (online edition, Oxford Academic, 21 Nov. 2012): 6 Fig. 0.1. https://doi-org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195305746.013.0001. Retrieved November 14, 2025.

Figure 1.4:
Watson, G. (2022) Die boxes, workstations, graph theory and die charts. *The Numismatic Chronicle 182*: 1.

Chapter 2: Quantification

Figure 2.1:
Albarède, F., Callataÿ, F. de, Debernardi, P., and Blichert-Toft, J. (2021) Model for ancient Greek and Roman coinage production. *Journal of Archaeological Science 131*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jas.2021.105406. Retrieved December 20, 2025.

Figure 2.2:
1. Esty, W.W. (2011) The geometric model for estimating the number of dies. In F. de Callataÿ (ed) *Quantifying Monetary Supplies in Greco-Roman times*: 46. Bari, Edipuglia.
2. Esty, W. W. (2006) How to estimate the original number of dies and the coverage of a sample. *The Numismatic Chronicle 166*: 360.
3. Esty, W.W. (2011) The geometric model for estimating the number of dies. In F. de Callataÿ (ed) *Quantifying Monetary Supplies in Greco-Roman times*: 50. Bari, Edipuglia.

Figure 2.3:
Carter, G.F. (1983) A Simplified Method for Calculating the Original Number of Dies from Die Link statistics. *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes 28*, 195–206.

Figure 2.4:
Esty, W.W. (2011) The geometric model for estimating the number of dies. In de Callataÿ, F. (ed.) *Quantifying Monetary Supplies in Greco-Roman Times*: 49.

Chapter 3: The Kingdom of Galatia

Figure 3.1:
Lafond, Y., Strobel, K. and Euskirchen, M. (2006) Celts. In *Brill's New Pauly Online*, Brill. Available From: referenceworks https://doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e611870 [Retrieved November 26, 2025]

Figure 3.2:
Coşkun, A. (2012) Intercultural Anthroponomy in Hellenistic and Roman Galatia. *Gephyra* 9, Map 1 p. 66. Open access: https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/gephyra/issue/18377 and http://www.altaycoskun.com/map-galatia-01# [Retrieved November 26, 2025].

Figure 3.3:
1. P: 1 = SNG Paris 2336.
2. TimeLine Auctions, 2016. http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/galatia/tavion/SNGvA_6237var.txt.

Figure 3.4:
Author, following de Luynes, D. (1845) Médailles inédites D'Amyntas, Roi de Galatie. *Revue Numismatique 10*: 264.

Figure 3.5:
1. P: 1966.453.
2. Aquila Numismatics 5, 25 Sept. 2022, lot 242: https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=9925213
3. Solidus Numismatic, 123, 25th July 2023, lot 95: https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=11270250.
4. L: 1979,0101.1021 = SNG London 8719.

Figure 3.6:
CNG 85, 15 Sept. 2010, lot 473.

Figure 3.7:
1. Myr 284 / Myrina 131, © 1993 GrandPalaisRmn (musée du Louvre) / Gérard Blot.

2. Myr 283 / Myrina 447, © 2012 GrandPalaisRmn (musée du Louvre) / Stéphane Maréchalle

Figure 3.8:
Map data from OpenStreetMap (openstreetmap.org/copyright) based on Leaflet © 2010–2026 Volodymyr Agafonkin. Leaflet | Tiles © Esri — Source: Esri, i-cubed, USDA, USGS, AEX, GeoEye, Getmapping, Aerogrid, IGN, IGP, UPR-EGP, and the GIS User Community.

Figure 3.9:
1. Classical Numismatic Group, inc., Electronic Auction 318, 15th January 2014, lot 168.
2. Roma Numismatics, Limited E-Sale 82, 15th April 2021, lot 415.
3. Savoca Numismatic, 42nd Silver Auction, 29th March 2020, lot 93.

Figure 3.10:
1. Nomos Obolos EA 11, 8 Dec. 2018, lot 341.
2. Roma EA 53, 7 Feb. 2019, lot 378 = M&M GmbH 43, 26 Feb. 2016, lot 75 = Rauch 96, 10 Dec. 2014, lot 101.

Figure 3.11:
Leu EA 20, 16 July 2022, lot 1006.

Figure 3.12:
Pergamon coins
1. Saint Paul Antiques 7, 11th June 2017, lot 60: https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=6008110.
2. Emporium Hamburg 85, 8th May 2019, lot 149: https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=5896424.
3. DEMOS 2, 5th May 2021, lot 167: https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=8184794.
4. Numismatik Naumann (formerly Gitbud & Naumann) 103, 6th May 2021, lot 228: https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=8186168.

Figure 3.13:
Forum Ancient Coins GB116264: https://www.forumancientcoins.com/catalog/roman-and-greek-coins.asp?zpg=122078.

Figure 3.14:
Below: Forum Ancient Coins GB116264: https://www.forumancientcoins.com/catalog/roman-and-greek-coins.asp?zpg=122078.
Above: SPQR Collection 9, 16–17 June 2025, lot 189.

Figure 3.15:
Solidus 128, 23 Jan. 2024, lot 1057 = Solidus Numismatik 123, 25 July 2023, lot 98.

Figure 3.16:
1. Peus EA 8, 19 Jan. 2019, lot 122.
2. P: 1968.169 (published only online https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8561457f/f2.item)

Figure 3.17:
Naumann 58, 1 Oct. 2017, lot 178.

Figure 3.18:
Lanz 151, 30 June 2011, lot 518.

Figure 3.19:
1. Lanz 151, 30 June 2011, lot 518.
2. TimeLine Auctions, 2016. http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/galatia/tavion/SNGvA_6237var.txt.

Figure 3.20:
Author, see BMC Galatia/Pessinos 1.

Figure 3.21:
1. P: de Luynes.2794 (43-42-11)
2. Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia, MOA 2189/284.

Figure 3.22:
Monnaies d’Antan 23, 19 May 2018, lot 615.

Figure 3.23:
1. Leu 6, 23 Oct. 2020, lot 240.
2. CNG MBS 69, 8 June 2005, lot 503 = UBS 57, 15 Sept. 2003, lot 286.
3. Naumann 85, 5 Jan. 2020, lot 144.

Figure 3.24:
1. Heritage 3072, 15 Jan. 2019, lot 35265.
2. Nomos 11, 9 Oct. 2015, lot 127 = G. Hirsch 326, 16 Feb. 2017, lot 1795.

Figure 3.25:
1. Berlin 1900 Imhoof-Blumer, objectnumber 18288095.
2. Nomos Obolos EA 8, 2 Dec. 2017, lot 321 = Braunschweig 3 1927 no. 411.

Figure 3.26:
1. B: 18305231, 1873 Fox.
2. P: R 2122.

Figure 3.27:
1. Monnaies d’Antan 23, 19 May 2018, lot 615.
2. CNG MBS 69, 8 June 2005, lot 503 = UBS 57, 15 Sept. 2003, lot 286
3. Naumann 85, 5 Jan. 2020, lot 144.
4. B: 18305222, 1906 Löbbecke.

Figure 3.28:
1. P: 644.
2. Stack's Coin Galleries December 2004, 14 Dec. 2004, lot 174
3. Nomos obolos 21, 2 Jan. 2022, lot 504.
4. CNG EA 532, 8 Feb. 2023, lot 212 = Dix Noonan Webb 177, 3 June 2020, lot 388 = Fischer 142, 6 Mar. 2015, lot 24.
5. CNG EA 455, 30 Oct. 2019, lot 163.

Figure 3.29:
1. Nomos Obolos EA 13, 2 July 2019, lot 420.
2. Paris 5.

Figure 3.30:
1. Peus 374, 23 Apr. 2003, lot 115 = Peus 371, 24 Apr. 2002, lot 210.
2. Winterthur G 4750.

Figure 3.31:
1. RPC I, 878.
2. RPC I, 5289.
3. Cologne Geissen 1647; Köln 1009–1010.
4. coin of the Bactrian kingdom, Lysias Aniketos. Circa 130-125 BC. CNG EA 529, 14 Dec. 2022, lot 408.
5. coin of King Juba II of Mauretania c. 25 BC-AD 24, dated AD 18/19. CNG 121, 6 Oct. 2022, lot 631.

Figure 3.32:
1. Roma Numismatics Ltd, 23 March 2013, lot 405.
2. Roma Numismatics Ltd, 21 May 2013, lot 483.

Figure 3.33:
1. Peus 374, 23 Apr. 2003, lot 115 = Peus 371, 24 Apr. 2002, lot 210.
2. P: Waddington 6711.

Figure 3.34:
1. Atlan 38 = Helbing 1928 no. 4053 = Horsky 1917 no. 1649.
2. B: 18305233, 1873 Fox.
3. Leu 6, 23 Oct. 2020, lot 240.
4. Monnaies d'Antan 23, 19 May 2018, lot 615.

Figure 3.35:
Obverse die O73
Left:
CNG MBS 73, 13 Sept. 2006, lot 415 = Lanz 125, 28 Nov. 2005, lot 436.
Right:
BM 1852,1025.1 = BMC Amyntas 2.

Reverse die R185
Left:
Peus 374, 23 Apr. 2003, lot 115 = Peus 371, 24 Apr. 2002, lot 210.
Right:
L 1852,1025.1 = BMC Amyntas 2.

Reverse die R194
Left:
Atlan 22.
Right:
Künker 333, 16 Mar. 2020, lot 600 = Grün 59, 15 May 2012, lot 104 = Kreß 99, 1955 no. 218 = Grab 1930 n0. 540.

Reverse Die R197
Left:
CNG Web Shop, -, lot 157293 = Stack's Coin Galleries February 2007, 21 Feb. 2007, lot 112.
Right:
CNG MBS 73, 13 Sept. 2006, lot 415 = Lanz 125, 28 Nov. 2005, lot 436.

Reverse die R195
Left:
Atlan 23.
Right:
L 1866,1201.3816 = BMC Amyntas 4; Atlan 24.

Figure 3.36:
1. Nomos 11, 9 Oct. 2015, lot 127 = G. Hirsch 326, 16 Feb. 2017, lot 1795.
2. Vico Subasta 159, 20 July 2021, lot 439.
3. BMC Amyntas 3; Atlan 32.

Figure 3.37:
1. Nomos obolos 25, 23 Oct. 2022, lot 350.
2. CNG EA 330, 9 July 2014, lot 104.

Figure 3.38:
1. Künker eLive 41, 12 July 2016, lot 105.
2. CNG MBS 75, 23 May 2007, lot 449.
3. L: 1979,0101.1027.

Figure 3.39:
Author, based on catalogue.

Figure 3.40:
1. Grün 64, 20 Nov. 2014, lot 1309 = Peus 378, 28 Apr. 2004, lot 287.
2. P: 29.
3. Biga Numismatics EA 6, 31 Oct. 2021, lot 299.
4. L: 1979,0101.1026 = vA 6110.
5. P: 1971.359.
6. Rauch 98, 21 Sept. 2015, lot 139.
7. Künker 243, 21 Nov. 2013, lot 4644.
8. L: 1878,1201.3.
9. B: 18305284, 1906 Löbbecke.

Figure 3.41:
1. Grün 64, 20 Nov. 2014, lot 1309 = Peus 378, 28 Apr. 2004, lot 287.
2. Numisfitz GmbH 2, 4 June 2023, lot 357.
3. Rauch 98, 21 Sept. 2015, lot 139.
4. Künker 243, 21 Nov. 2013, lot 4644.
5. Roma EA 99, 7 July 2022, lot 463.
6. N&N London EA 17, 28 May 2023, lot 108.

Figure 3.42:
P: 18

Figure 3.43:
1. Peus 431, 27 Apr. 2022, lot 3296.
2. Martin von Wagner Museum, Julius Maximilian Universität Würzburg (Germany) Ka 1285 = H 6652.

Figure 3.44:
1. N&N London EA 16, 1 May 2023, lot 75.
2. Künker 94, 27 Sept. 2004, lot 1378.

Figure 3.45:
1. Grün 64, 20 Nov. 2014, lot 1309 = Peus 378, 28 Apr. 2004, lot 287.
2. Numisfitz GmbH 2, 4 June 2023, lot 357.

Figure 3.46:
1. London: 1979,0101.1026/vA 6110.
2. Paris: 1971.359
3. Naumann 41, 6 Mar. 2016, lot 342.
4. P: 29.

Figure 3.47:
1. L: 1979,0101.1026 = vA 6110.
2. P: 1971.359.
3. Naumann 41, 6 Mar. 2016, lot 342.
4. P: 29.

Figure 3.48:
1. L: 1878,1201.3.
2. B: 18305284, 1906 Löbbecke.
3. Biga Numismatics EA 6, 31 Oct. 2021, lot 299.

Figure 3.49:
1. Bucephalus Numismatic 15, 10 Feb. 2023, lot 532.
2. B: 18305284, 1906 Löbbecke.

Figure 3.50:
First row:
1. online auction: https://www.sixbid.com/en/bucephalus/10355/greek/8937337/kings-of-galatia-amyntas-39-25.
2. Aukcja 6, 28 Jan 2023.
3. B: 18305271, 1900 Imhoof-Blumer.

Second row
1. L: 1979,0101.1025.
2. Roma EA 39, 26 Aug. 2017, lot 323.
3. Savoca 27th Silver, 25 Nov. 2018, lot 234.
4. Demos 8, 19 Mar. 2022, lot 224.

Figure 3.51:
Map data from OpenStreetMap (openstreetmap.org/copyright) based on Leaflet ©2010–2026 Volodymyr Agafonkin. Leaflet | Tiles © Esri —

Source: Esri, i-cubed, USDA, USGS, AEX, GeoEye, Getmapping, Aerogrid, IGN, IGP, UPR-EGP, and the GIS User Community.

Figure 3.52:
Map data from OpenStreetMap (openstreetmap.org/copyright) based on Leaflet ©2010–2026 Volodymyr Agafonkin. Leaflet | Tiles © Esri — Source: Esri, i-cubed, USDA, USGS, AEX, GeoEye, Getmapping, Aerogrid, IGN, IGP, UPR-EGP, and the GIS User Community.

Chapter 4: The Kingdom of Paphlagonia

Figure 4.1:
Arslan 2004, 20.

Figure 4.2:
1. Nomos Auction 15, 22 Oct. 2017, lot 128.
2. CNG Triton XII, 6 Jan 2009, lot 268.

Figure 4.3:
L: 1914,0806.1.

Figure 4.4:
P: 1988/202.

Figure 4.5:
Left
B: 18305213, 1891/565

Middle
P: 1988/202

Right
Sternberg 14, 1984, lot 103 = SNG vA 151 = Sternberg 27, 7 Nov. 1994, lot 7 = Leu 77, 11 May 2000, lot 236

Figure 4.6:
Numismad Auction 23 4th Apr. 2025, lot 684 = Numismad Auction 17 6th Sept. 2024, lot 314.

Figure 4.7:
L: 1858,1124.78

Figure 4.8:
Leu EA 17, 14 Aug. 2021, lot 1229 = Papillon Numismatic 4, 19 Dec. 2020, lot 627

Chapter 5: The Ariobarzanid kingdom of Cappadocia

Figure 5.1:
Lamesa, A. (2021) Les différents sens du terme Καππαδοκία dans la Géographie de Strabon. In: *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne. Supplément n°22*. L'Anatolie de l'époque archaïque à Byzance: 212.

Figure 5.2:
1. Nomos Obolos Web Auction 13, 2 July 2019, lot 433.
2. Solidus Numismatik Auktion 9, 8 Oct. 2016, lot 272.
3. Nomos Obolos Web Auction 13, 2 July 2019, lot 425.

Figure 5.3:
1. Numismatica Ars Classica Auction 84, 20 May 2015, lot 683.
2. BM: 1979,0101.1026 = vA 6110.

Figure 5.4:
1. Roma Numismatics Limited Auction 4, 30 Sept. 2012, lot 1864.
2. Naumann 60, 3 Dec. 2017, lot 236.
3. Leu Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 657.
4. Numisfitz 6, 22 June 2025, lot 536.

Figure 5.5:
Savoca Numismatik 264th Weekly Blue Auction, 19 Apr. 2025, lot 148.

Figure 5.6:
1. Leu Numismatik Web Auction, 25 Feb. 2018, lot 397.
2. Roma Numismatics Limited Auction 28, 5 July, lot 339.

Figure 5.7:
1. Gorny & Mosch EA 270, 12 Mar. 2020, lot 2107.
2. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 33, 15 Mar. 2025, lot 1256.

Figure 5.8:
1. CNG EA 523, 7 Sept. 2022, lot 226 = Via GmbH E-Live 6, 15 Oct. 2021, lot 44.
2. Leu Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 638.

Figure 5.9:
1. Demos 12, 4 Aug. 2022, lot 508.
2. Naumann 60, 3 Dec. 2017, lot 236.

Figure 5.10:
1. CNG EA 175, 24 Oct. 2007, lot 101
2. Numismatik Naumann (formerly Gitbud & Naumann) Auction 143, 4 Aug. 2024, lot 223.

Figure 5.11:
1. Nomos Obolos WA 6, 20 Nov. 2016, lot 590.
2. Ancient Numismatics Auctions Auction 8, 14 January 2023, lot 221.
3. Naumann 101, 4 Apr. 2021, lot 302.
4. Leu Numismatik 7 December 2024 Web Auction 32, lot 636.

Figure 5.12:
Rönesans Salzgitter 5, 13 Oct. 2023, lot 309.

Figure 5.13:
ibercoin EA 65, 23 Mar. 2022, lot 42.

Figure 5.14:
1. Demos 13, 21 Oct. 2022, lot 269.
2. CNG EA 523, 7 Sept. 2022, lot 226 = Via GmbH E-Live 6, 15 Oct. 2021, lot 44.

Figure 5.15:
1. CNG EA 122, 7 Sept. 2005, lot 54.
2. Leu WA 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 644.

Figure 5.16:
1. Naumann 85, 5 Jan. 2020, lot 170.
2. Leu WA 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 654.
3. CNG EA 396, 26 Apr. 2017, lot 238.

Figure 5.17:
1. cgb.fr online June 2025 = Savoca EA 32 Silver, 14 Apr. 2019, lot 149.
2. Savoca EA 30 Silver, 27 Jan. 2019, lot 180.

Figure 5.18:
1. Nomos Obolos Webauction 38, 20 July 2025, lot 300.
2. Leu WA 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 651.
3. Leu WA 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 654.

Figure 5.19:
GOD ID 2466 = CNG EA 401, 12 July 2017, lot 198.

Figure 5.20:
1. CNG EA 575, 20 Nov. 2024, lot 171.
2. CNG EA 218, 9 Sept. 2009, lot 281.
3. Astarte WA 4, 7 Apr. 2024, lot 127.
4. Naumann 46, 11 Sept. 2016, lot 264.
5. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 9, 24 Apr. 2022, lot 226.

Figure 5.21:
Author, based on the data of Smirnov S.V., Zakharov E.V. (2022) Coins of the Cappadocian Kingdom from the Collection of the State Historical Museum. *Vostok (Oriens), no. 6*: 259.

Figure 5.22:
Google. (n.d.). *Google Maps* **[Map]**. Retrieved Nov 20, 2025, from https://maps.google.com/. Map data @2025 Google, Mapa GISrael.

Figure 5.23:
Lorber, C. (2018B) The silver mints of Ariarathes V Eusebes of Cappadocia. *Revue Belge de Numismatique 164*: 279.

Chapter 6: The Tarkondimotid kingdom of Cilicia

Figure 6.1:
Levante, E. 1993, 13.

Figure 6.2:
Wright 2012. Based on the reconstructions of (a) Stein, A. (1932) Tarcondimotus. In G. Wissowa et al. (eds), Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Stuttgart: 2297-2298; (b) Jones, A. H. M. (1937) The cities of the Eastern Roman provinces. Clarendon Press; (c) Lange, O. (1988) Tarkondimotos, König von Kilikien, und seine Dynastie, *Der Münzen- und Medaillensammler 28*: 336–43 and (d) Wright, N.L. (2009b) Tarkondimotid Responses to Roman Domestic Politics: from Antony to Actium, *Journal of the Numismatic Association of Australia* 20: 73–81.

Figure 6.3:
1. Leu EA 24, 3 Dec. 2022, lot 1493 = Gorny & Mosch 257, 15 Oct. 2018, lot 623 = Hirsch 326, 16 Feb. 2017, lot 1794 = Solidus Auktion 9, 8 Oct. 2016, lot 269.
2. CNG MBS 61, 25 Sept. 2002, lot 307
3. Naumann 110, 7 Nov. 2021, lot 512
4. Nomos Obolos WA 16, 11 Oct. 2020, lot 940 = Solidus 31, 30 June 2018, lot 53
5. Joseph College Bonn no. Greek Gods (GG)-8

Figure 6.4:
Map based on Wright 2012, 17 and Meyer 2001, 515.

Figure 6.5:
Roma EA 31, 26 Nov. 2016, lot 177

Figure 6.6:
Agora Sale 103, 28 Dec. 2021, lot 88

Figure 6.7:
Sayles 2021, 7.
Fotos of W. Sayles

Figure 6.8:
1. Fotos of W. Sayles
2. Roma EA 102, 3 Nov. 2022, lot 481

Figure 6.9:
Nomos Obolos WA 16, 11 Oct. 2020, lot 940 = Solidus 31, 30 June 2018, lot 53

Figure 6.10:
1. Nomos Obolos WA 16, 11 Oct. 2020, lot 940 = Solidus 31, 30 June 2018, lot 53
2. Joseph College Bonn no. Greek Gods (GG)-8.

Figure 6.11:
Joseph College Bonn no. Greek Gods (GG)-8.

Figure 6.12:
1. CNG MBS 61, 25 Sept. 2002, lot 307
2. Naumann 110, 7 Nov. 2021, lot 512

Figure 6.13:
1. Naumann 110, 7 Nov. 2021, lot 512.
2. CNG MBS 61, 25 Sept. 2002, lot 307.

Figure 6.14:
1. Triskeles Auctions Sale 19, 17 Mar. 2017, lot 189: https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=3709877.
2. Numismad Auction 20, 27 Dec. 2024, lot 445: https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=13903242.
3. CNG MBS 61, 25 Sept. 2002, lot 307

Figure 6.15:
Göçmen, İlkay. (2024) Augustus Period Bridges of Cilicia Pedias (Plain Cilicia) International Journal of Ancient History. 10.33469/oannes.1474873, p. 484.

Figure 6.16:
1.Fritz Rudolf Künker eLive 65, 23 Feb. 2021, lot 7041.

2. Szaleniec collection.

Figure 6.17:
1. Ancient Numismatics Auctions (formerly Aquila Numismatics), Auction 17, 25 Nov. 2024, lot 161.
2. Wayne G. Sayles online shop: https://www.vcoins.com/de/stores/wayne_g_sayles_antiquarian/212/product/cilicia_philopator_i_client_king/2211673/Default.aspx.
3. Nomos obolos 12, 31 Mar. 2019, lot 412 = CNG EA 458, 18 Dec. 2019, lot 152.

Figure 6.18:
Kovacs collection, recorded by RPC.

Figure 6.19:
CNG Electronic Auction 197, 15 Oct. 2008, lot 27: https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=526253.

Figure 6.20:
1. Savoca Numismatics London 2nd Blue Auction, 3 May 2019, lot 349: https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=5871261.
2. Numismad Auction 16, 28 Jul. 2024, lot 104: https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=13116314.
3. Rex Numismatics Auction12, 20 Jul. 2024, lot 88: https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=13104555.

Figure 6.21:
1. Biga Numismatics EA 37, 13 June 2025, lot 147.
2. Rönesans Salzgitter Auction 6, 18 Nov. 2023, lot 322 (https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=11830328).
3. Numismad Auction 1, 30 Apr. 2022, lot 522 (https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=9384177).

Chapter 7: Comparison

Figure 7.1:
1. Astarte Web Auction 3, 22 Feb. 2024, lot 123.
2. B: 18305213, 1891/565.
3. Naumann 60, 3 Dec. 2017, lot 236.
4. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337.
5. Roma Numismatics EA 40, 28 Oct. 2017, lot 241.
6. Nomos obolos 23, 12 June 2022, lot 511 = Bucephalus Numismatic Auction 2, 22 Jan. 2022, lot 371.
7. CNG 85, 15 Sept. 2010, lot 476.

Figure 7.2:
1. CNG EA 175, 24 Oct. 2007, lot 101.
2. B: 18305213, 1891/565.
3. P: 1.
4. Leu EA 20, 16 July 2022, lot 1006.
5. Naumann 92, 2 Aug. 2020, lot 283.
6. Monnaies d'Antan 23, 19 May 2018, lot 615.
7. CNG MBS 61, 25 Sept. 2002, lot 307.
8. Leu EA 24, 3 Dec. 2022, lot 1493 = Gorny & Mosch 257, 15 Oct. 2018, lot 623 = Hirsch 326, 16 Feb. 2017, lot 1794 = Solidus Auktion 9, 8 Oct. 2016, lot 269.
9. Nomos Obolos Web Auction 16, 11 Oct. 2020, lot 940 = Solidus 31, 30 June 2018, lot 53.
10. Joseph College Bonn no. Greek Gods (GG)-8.

Figure 7.3:
Author based on the die study database of SILVER (https://silver.kbr.be/SILVER). Data retrieved 10 October, 2025.

Table References

Chapter 1: Introduction

Table 1.1:
Author.

Chapter 2: Quantification

Table 2.1:
Author, based on catalogue.

Table 2.2:
Author, based on catalogue.

Table 2.3:
Author, based on catalogue.

Table 2.4:
Author, based on catalogue.

Table 2.5:
Author, based on catalogue.

Table 2.6:
Author, based on catalogue.

Table 2.7:
Author, based on catalogue.

Table 2.8:
Author, based on catalogue.

Table 2.9:
Author, based on catalogue.

Chapter 3: The Kingdom of Galatia

Table 3.1:
Author.

Table 3.2:
Eagle type obverse dies
Left: SPQR Auction 10, 3 Sept. 2025, lot 372.
Middle: Demos 14, 9 Dec. 2022, lot 389 = Demos 13, 21 Oct. 2022, lot 181.
Right: Numisfitz GmbH 2, 4 June 2023, lot 355.

Shield type obverse dies
Left: CNG 85, 15 Sept. 2010, lot 473.
Middle: Rauch 95, 30 Sept. 2014, lot 145.
Right: Demos 8, 19 Mar. 2022, lot 223.

Table 3.3:
Group 1
Row 1: Künker 318, 11 Mar. 2019, lot 168 = CNG 88, 14 Sept. 2011, lot 430.
Row 2: Demos 14, 9 Dec. 2022, lot 389 = Demos 13, 21 Oct. 2022, lot 181.
Row 3: Künker 318, 11 Mar. 2019, lot 168 = CNG 88, 14 Sept. 2011, lot 430.

Group 2
Row 1: Savoca London 2nd Blue, 3 May 2019, lot 373.
Row 2: Naumann 82, 6 Oct. 2019, lot 151.
Row 3: Savoca London 2nd Blue, 3 May 2019, lot 373.

Group 3
Row 1: Aquila Numismatics 5, 25 Sept. 2022, lot 242.
Row 2: Naumann 82, 6 Oct. 2019, lot 151.
Row 3: Naumann 82, 6 Oct. 2019, lot 151.

Group 4
Row 1: Nomos Obolos EA 17, 20 Dec. 2020, lot 343.
Row 2: Savoca 13th Blue, 30 Nov. 2018, lot 608.
Row 3: Nomos Obolos EA 17, 20 Dec. 2020, lot 343.

Table 3.4:
Meadows 2006, 169.

Table 3.5:
Author with dies of Meadows 2006 and Atlan 1975.

Table 3.6:
Detailed photographs of
Monogram I: Gorny & Mosch 215, 14 Oct. 2013, lot 900.
Monogram II: Grün 64, 20 Nov. 2014, lot 1309 = Peus 378, 28 Apr. 2004, lot 287.
Monogram III: CNG EA 480, 11 Nov. 2020, lot 267.
Monogram IV: G. Hirsch 23, 4 April 1960, lot 155.

Table 3.7:
Author.

Table 3.8:
Author, based on catalogue.

Table 3.9:
Author, based on catalogue.

Table 3.10:
Author, based on catalogue.

Table 3.11:
Author, based on Toumpan 2015; Goldman and Cox 1950, 78 no. 278; Atlan 1976, 55 no. 181.

Table 3.12:
No. 1: Price 1975, no.108.
No. 2: Köker 2006 no. 51.
No. 3: Köker and Köyağasıoğlu 2006 no. 52.
No. 4: von Aulock 1977, 27–29 with Olcay 1969.

Table 3.13:
Author with Price 1975, no.108; Köker 2006 no. 51–52; von Aulock 1977, 27–29 with Olcay 1969.

Chapter 4: The Kingdom of Paphlagonia

Table 4.1:
Author.

Table 4.2:
Author, based on catalogue.

Table 4.2:
Author.

Chapter 5: The Kingdom of Cappadocia

Table 5.1:
Author with data from Simonetta 1977.

Table 5.2:
Author.

Table 5.3:
Author.

Table 5.4:
No. 1: Tekin 2008, 1138.
No. 2: IGCH 1579.

No. 3: Saraç and Davesne 1994.
No. 4: Taner 1972.
No. 5: Köker 2016.

Chapter 6: The kingdom of Cilicia

Table X.1:
Author with Wright 2012.

Table X.2:
Author.

Chapter 7: Comparison

Table 7.1:
Author, based on catalogue.

Table 7.2:
Author, based on catalogue.

Table 7.3:
Author, based on catalogue.

Table 7.4:
Author, based on catalogue.

Table 7.5:
1. Drachms of Alexander: Glenn 2020, 188 with Callataÿ 2013.
2. Drachms of Mithridates VI (Mint: Sinope?): Callataÿ 1997A; HGC 7, no. 343; SILVER ID: 5090.
3. Artavasdes II: Nercessian 2006, 109–111; SILVER ID: 9342.
4. Artaxias II: Nercessian 2006, 112–113; SILVER ID: 8324.
5. Darius I (Mint: Ecbatana): Boillet 2009, 288–293; SILVER ID: 8750.
6. Phraates III (Mint: Ecbatana): Boillet 2009, 296–302; SILVER ID: 8558.

7. Orodes II (Mint: Ecbatana): Boillet 2009, 357–412; SILVER ID: 8509.
8. Phraates IV (Mint: Ecbatana): Boillet 2009, 417–460; SILVER ID: 9297.
9. Ariarathes VI: Krengel and Lorber 2009, 102.
10. Ariarathes VII: Lorber, Houghton and Veselý 2006, 86–97.
11. Ariarathes VIII: Mørkholm 1968, 241–258.
12. Ariarathes IX: Mørkholm 1968 and Callataÿ 1997A, 180–184.
13. Ariobarzanes I: c. 67 (Callataÿ 1997A); with updated data for 34 obverse dies for year IΓ (Callataÿ (to appear) = SILVER ID: 30487) added to the other 42 obverse dies
14–16. Ariobarzanes II, Ariobarzanes III and Ariarathes X: Author.
17. Aphrodisias-Plarasa: MacDonald 1992, types n° 2-26; SILVER ID: 7979.
18. Stratoniceia: Meadows 2002, 91–94; SILVER ID: 9635.
19. Athens: Thompson 1961 SILVER ID: 8067.
20. Rhodes: Ashton and Weiss 1997. SILVER ID: 14301.
21. Teos: Kinns 1980, 525; SILVER ID: 8278.

Table 7.6:
1–2. Alexander the Great and Ptolemaic Alexandria: Glenn 2020, 188 with Callataÿ 2013.
3. Demetrius Poliorcetes: Newell, E. (1927) *The Coinage Of Demetrius Poliorcetes*. Oxford University Press. (168 observed dies on 321 coins).
4. Antiochus III (Antioch): Le Rider 1999, 110–118; SILVER ID: 29325.
5. Seleucus VI (Seleuceia ad Calycadnum): Houghton 1989, 91–95; SILVER ID: 8108.
6. Seleucus IV (Antioch): Le Rider 1999, 166–176; SILVER ID: 29372.
7. Mithridates VI: combined die studies of Sinope (Callataÿ 2014B; SILVER ID: 5054 and SILVER ID: 4767) and Byzantium (Callataÿ 1997A; SILVER ID: 30779).
8. Tigranes II (Mint: Tigranocerta): Nercessian 2006, 26–80. SILVER ID: 9213.
9. Tetradrachms of Thessalonica? (Aesillas): see Bauslaught 2000; SILVER ID: 8510.
10. Tetradrachms of Demetrios III: Hoover, Houghton and Veselý 2008, 328–333; SILVER ID: 8245.
11–12. Tetradrachms of Amyntas and Side ΚΛΕΥΧ Group IV diadem series: author.
13. Tigranes the Younger of Sophene (Damascus): Nercessian 2006, 80–82; SILVER ID: 9595.
14. Tetradrachms of Artavasdes II: Nercessian 2006, 108–109; SILVER ID: 9218.

Table 7.7:
1. Callataÿ (to appear); SILVER ID: 30512.
2. Boillet 2009, 357–412. SILVER ID: 8509.
3. Olivier and Aumaître 2017, 118–119. SILVER ID: 8657.
4. Boillet 2009, 296–302. SILVER ID: 8558.
5. Callataÿ 1997A, 293. SILVER ID: 29137.
6. Callataÿ and DeMarco 2024. SILVER ID: 30327.
7. Olivier and Aumaître 2017, no. 82–249. SILVER ID: 9492.
8. Callataÿ (to appear), only available online through SILVER ID: 30516.
9. To appear, available online on SILVER ID: 30449.

Table 7.8:
Author.

CATALOGUE

Kingdom of Galatia

Brogitaros Philorhomaios

No Issue

Type 1

Obverse: Laureate head of Zeus, r. in laurel wreath

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΡΟΓΙΤΑΡΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΡΩΜΑΙΟΥ Ɛ; eagle facing right, standing on thunderbolt; holding sceptre with diadem tied in a bow on top, monograms 𐊠 and 𐊬 in right field

Denomination: AR Tridrachm
Diameter: 25 mm; average: 25 mm.
Weight: 12.09 g; average: 12.09 g.
Axis:
Average thickness: 2.35 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 1 obverse dies and 1 reverse dies
Number of coins: 1

O1/R1
1. P 1 (= SNG 2336) (25 mm; 12.09 g)

Civic coinage of Tavion

Type 2

Obverse: F; laureate head of Zeus, r.

Reverse: TAYIΩN; eagle standing r. on thunderbolt, wings spread between caps of Dioscuri surmounted by stars; diadem above; monogram 𐊬 in right field

Denomination: Æ 21 mm
Diameter: 21 mm; average: 21 mm.
Weight: 8.58 g; average: 8.58 g.
Axis:
Average thickness: 2.80 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 1 obverse dies and 1 reverse dies
Number of coins: 1

O2/R2
1. Trade (TimeLine Auctions, Oct. 2016) (21 mm; 8.58 g)

Deiotaros Philorhomaios

Deiotaros' Monogram series

Type 3

Obverse: Turreted head of Cybele, r.

Reverse: $\overline{\text{ΔEIOTAPIOY}}$; owl standing on monogram 𐊠 within wreath

Denomination: Æ 21 mm
Diameter: 18–22 mm; average: 21 mm.
Weight: 4.11–7.76 g; average: 5.84 g.
Axis: 11 (1), 12 (1)
Average thickness: 2.20 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 3 obverse dies and 3 reverse dies
Number of coins: 3

O3/R3
1. P 1968.169 (22 mm; 5.64 g; 11 h). Obv. cmk: 1: turreted head of Tyche, r.

O4/R4
2. Solidus 128, 23 Jan. 2024, lot 1057 = Solidus Numismatik 123, 25 July 2023, lot 98 (19 mm; 7.76 g; 12 h)

O5/R5

3. Numisfitz Auction 7, 14 Dec. 2025, lot 289 (18 mm; 4.11 g). Obverse overstrike.

Type 4

Obverse: Draped bust of Attis wearing Phrygian cap, r., crescent at shoulders

Reverse: ΔΕΙΟΤΑΡΙΟΥ; splayed double cornucopiae, monogram ⛢ between

Denomination: Æ 21 mm
Diameter: 19–22 mm; average: 20 mm.
Weight: 7.79–13.44 g; average: 9.87 g.
Axis: 1 (2), 12 (2)
Average thickness: 3.40 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 3 obverse dies and 4 reverse dies
Number of coins: 15

O6/R6
1. Naumann 58, 1 Oct. 2017, lot 178 (19.6 mm; 8.97 g; 1 h)
2. Savoca 143th Silver, 18 Sept. 2022, lot 129 (20.3 mm; 10 g)

O6/R7
3. Nomos Obolos EA 13, 2 July 2019, lot 418 (19.7 mm; 12 h)

O6/R—
4. Nimrod Numismatik 12, 12 July 2025, lot 110 (19.5 mm; 10.19 g). Obverse overstrike A visible.

O7/R8
5. L 1979,0101.1021 (= SNG 8719) (21 mm; 10.02 g; 1 h)
6. Mintage World Online Museum and Collectorspedia, online Jan. 2026 (20 mm; 10.71 g)

O8/R9
7. Olympus Numismatik 10, 29–30 Dec. 2023, lot 1007 (19.4 mm; 11.17 g)
8. Savoca 15th Blue, 19 Jan. 2019, lot 708 (21.3 mm; 10.52 g)
9. SPQR Collection Auction 10, 3 Sept. 2025, lot 374 (21 mm; 11.53 g)

O8/R6
10. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 20, 25 May 2023, lot 557 (21.3 mm; 8.4 g)

O—/R6
11. Roma EA 74, 20 Aug. 2020, lot 652 (21 mm; 13.44 g; 12 h)

O—/R7
12. Olympus Numismatik 11, 30 Mar. 2024, lot 94 (20.5 mm; 7.79 g). Obv. cmk: 2: uncertain (monogram with crossed cornucopia?).

O—/R—
13. Savoca 4th Blue, 29 Dec. 2017, lot 522 (22 mm; 8.06 g)
14. SPQR Collection 8, 2–3 June 2025, lot 155 (20 mm; 9.07 g)
15. SPQR Collection Auction 10, 3 Sept. 2025, lot 373 (20 mm; 8.37 g)

Type 5

Obverse: Laureate head of Zeus, r.

Reverse: ΔΕΙΟΤΑΡΙΟΥ; eagle facing, looking r., standing on winged thunderbolt, to l. monogram ⛢

Denomination: Æ 18 mm
Diameter: 14–21 mm; average: 18 mm.
Weight: 3.42–8.48 g; average: 6.08 g.
Axis: 1 (7), 2 (2), 6 (1), 8 (1), 9 (1), 11 (10), 12 (60)
Average thickness: 2.64 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 23 obverse dies and 25 reverse dies
Number of coins: 129

O9/R10
1. L 1929,1013.529 (15 mm; 5.25 g; 1 h)
2. Aquila Numismatics 5, 25 Sept. 2022, lot 242 (17.9 mm; 5.6 g; 1 h)

O9/R11
3. L 1979,0101.1019 (= SNG 6099) (18.8 mm; 5.55 g; 1 h)

O9/R—
4. Aquila Numismatics 12, 1–2 Dec. 2023, lot 152 (17.7 mm; 6.64 g; 12 h)
5. Naumann 75, 3 Mar. 2019, lot 248 (20.3 mm; 6.07 g; 12 h)
6. Numismad 11, 25–26 Nov. 2023, lot 278 (18 mm; 4.97 g)
7. Papillon Numismatic 3, 29 Nov. 2020, lot 139 (17 mm; 6.36 g; 8 h)
8. Solidus 115, 28 Feb. 2023, lot 1924. Obv. cmk: 2: uncertain (monogram with crossed cornucopia?). The attribution to Deiotarus is only based on the obverse die and thus not fully certain.
9. Themis 9, 11 Apr. 2021, lot 324 (18.5 mm; 6.1 g)

O10/R12
10. Auctiones GmbH e #50, 11 Sept. 2016, lot 81 (18.7 mm; 12 h)
11. Rauch 98, 21 Sept. 2015, lot 138 (18.6 mm; 6.37 g; 12 h)

O10/R13
12. Bucephalus Numismatic 3, 12 Feb. 2022, lot 97 (18.2 mm; 5.2 g; 12 h)

O10/R—
13. Bay Numismatics EA 15, 5 July 2025, lot 134 (19.4 mm; 6.3 g)
14. Bucephalus Numismatic 3, 12 Feb. 2022, lot 99 (19 mm; 5.87 g; 12 h)
15. N&N London EA 13, 26 Feb. 2023, lot 81 (19.2 mm; 5.65 g)
16. Naumann 75, 3 Mar. 2019, lot 249 (20.1 mm; 6.8 g; 12 h)
17. SPQR Collection 8, 2–3 June 2025, lot 160 (19 mm; 6.86 g)

O11/R14
18. Nomos Obolos EA 11, 8 Dec. 2018, lot 341 (17 mm; 6.42 g; 12 h)
19. Peus EA 5, 8 July 2017, lot 120 (18.4 mm; 5.36 g; 6 h)

O11/R15
20. Savoca 7th Blue, 26 May 2018, lot 495 (17 mm; 4.85 g; 1 h)
21. Savoca 90th Blue, 28 Nov. 2020, lot 589 (19 mm; 6.82 g; 12 h)

O12/R16
22. P 1968.168 (18.8 mm; 7.9 g; 12 h)
23. O (= SNG XI) (18.6 mm; 5.76 g; 11 h)

24. Tübingen (= SNG 4586) (20 mm; 6.93 g)
25. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 16, 24 Feb. 2023, lot 323 (18 mm; 6.9 g)
26. Nomos Obolos EA 21, 2 Jan. 2022, lot 549 (20.4 mm; 8.36 g; 12 h)
27. Papillon Numismatic 5, 6 Mar. 2021, lot 977 = Papillon Numismatic 1, 20 Sept. 2020, lot 185 (18 mm; 7.55 g; 11 h)

O12/R17

28. L 1928,0410.3 (15.9 mm; 5.97 g; 12 h)
29. N&N London Green IV, 16 Dec. 2022, lot 99 (18 mm; 6.5 g; 11 h)
30. Roma EA 98, 16 June 2022, lot 711 = Roma EA 98, 16 June 2022, lot 447 = Roma EA 81, 25 Feb. 2021, lot 606 (20 mm; 6.28 g; 12 h)
31. Savoca 8th Blue, 14 July 2018, lot 481 (20 mm; 7.09 g; 11 h)
32. Savoca 8th Blue, 14 July 2018, lot 483 (18 mm; 6.61 g; 12 h)

O12/R18

33. L (= Bank Collection 393) (18 mm; 5.52 g; 12 h)
34. Bucephalus Numismatic 4, 11 Mar. 2022, lot 997 (18 mm; 7.24 g; 12 h)

O12/R19

35. Savoca 127th Blue, 12 Mar. 2022, lot 539 (20 mm; 7.11 g; 11 h)

O12/R—

36. (18 mm; 6.2 g)
37. Aphrodite Art Coins G9, 8 Mar. 2025, lot 178 (20.2 mm; 6.27 g; 11 h)
38. SPQR Auction 10, 3 Sept. 2025, lot 372 (19 mm; 8.39 g)

O13/R20

39. Bucephalus Numismatic 5, 29 Apr. 2022, lot 546 (18.1 mm; 5.93 g; 12 h)

O13/R21

40. Rauch EA 16, 13 Dec. 2014, lot 5106 (18.8 mm; 6.24 g)
41. TimeLine December 2016 Antiquities & Coins, 6 Dec. 2016, lot 2846 (18.8 mm; 5.52 g)

O13/R—

42. Bay Numismatics EA 11, 9 Mar. 2025, lot 98 (7.1 g). Diameter given as 7.7 mm by auction house but based on the shared dies with other coins of this type, this coin has to be larger.

O14/R22

43. Nomos Obolos EA 17, 20 Dec. 2020, lot 343 (18.2 mm; 4.21 g; 12 h)
44. Savoca 24th Blue, 21 Sept. 2019, lot 436 (19 mm; 6.01 g; 1 h)

O14/R23

45. M&M GmbH 30, 28 May 2009, lot 692 (18.7 mm; 4.39 g; 2 h)
46. Savoca 13th Blue, 30 Nov. 2018, lot 608 (16 mm; 5.22 g; 12 h)

O14/R—

47. (17.7 mm; 5.92 g)
48. Aegean Numismatics (16 mm; 4.83 g)
49. Biga Numismatics EA 25, 9 Dec. 2023, lot 79 (18.1 mm; 6.12 g)
50. Savoca London 4th Blue, 13 July 2019, lot 213 (14 mm; 5.46 g)

O15/R20

51. Aquila Numismatics 12, 1–2 Dec. 2023, lot 151 (18.1 mm; 5.83 g; 12 h)
52. Bucephalus Numismatic 1, 17 Dec. 2021, lot 192 (19 mm; 5.52 g; 12 h)
53. Leu EA 20, 16 July 2022, lot 1006 (19.1 mm; 5.49 g; 12 h)

O16/R—

54. N&N London Green 5, 6 Feb. 2023, lot 227 (18.4 mm; 6.1 g)
55. Naumann 87, 1 Mar. 2020, lot 166 (18 mm; 5.27 g; 12 h)
56. Savoca 80th Blue, 27 June 2020, lot 462 (17 mm; 5.71 g; 12 h)
57. Savoca Live EA 12, 22 Jan. 2017, lot 271 (16.2 mm; 5.62 g; 12 h)
58. SNG vA 6100 (18 mm; 4.54 g)

O17/R—

59. Bay Numismatics EA 15, 5 July 2025, lot 133 (16.9 mm; 6.5 g)
60. N&N London EA 41, 2 Dec. 2023, lot 288 (17 mm; 4.59 g)
61. Naumann 34, 9 Aug. 2015, lot 475 (17.1 mm; 6.18 g; 12 h)
62. Nomos Obolos EA 13, 2 July 2019, lot 419 (18 mm; 5.54 g; 12 h)
63. Roma EA 10, 26 July 2014, lot 412 (19.1 mm; 6.1 g; 12 h)
64. Savoca 7th Blue, 26 May 2018, lot 494 (16 mm; 5.58 g; 12 h)

O18/R24

65. N&N London EA 14, 3 Mar. 2023, lot 41 = Roma Numismatics EA 111, 24 Aug. 2023, lot 457 (19 mm; 7 g; 12 h)
66. Naumann 82, 6 Oct. 2019, lot 151 (18.1 mm; 5.01 g; 12 h)

O18/R—

67. Aquila Numismatics 12, 1–2 Dec. 2023, lot 150 (17.8 mm; 5.65 g; 12 h)
68. Eid Mar Auctions GmbH 2, 10 Feb. 2024, lot 228 (18.1 mm; 6.72 g)

O19/R25

69. Nomos Obolos EA 7, 9 July 2017, lot 618 (12 h)
70. Rauch EA 16, 13 Dec. 2014, lot 5105 (18.8 mm; 5.59 g; 12 h)

O19/R—

71. CNG EA 447, 3 July 2019, lot 145 (18 mm; 5.7 g; 12 h)
72. Naumann 101, 4 Apr. 2021, lot 277 (17 mm; 5.73 g; 11 h)

O20/R26

73. Künker 318, 11 Mar. 2019, lot 168 = CNG 88, 14 Sept. 2011, lot 430 (19 mm; 7.2 g; 12 h)
74. Naville Numismatics 68, 3 Oct. 2021, lot 97 (16 mm; 7.4 g)

O20/R19

75. Savoca 147th Blue, 12 Nov. 2022, lot 365 (20 mm; 6.13 g; 11 h)

O20/R—

76. Bucephalus Numismatic 4, 11 Mar. 2022, lot 322 (19 mm; 7.39 g; 12 h)
77. Demos 14, 9 Dec. 2022, lot 389 = Demos 13, 21 Oct. 2022, lot 181 (20 mm; 7.58 g; 12 h)
78. Savoca 124th Silver, 23 Jan. 2022, lot 175 (18 mm; 7.49 g; 12 h)
79. SPQR Collection 8, 2–3 June 2025, lot 158 (18.2 mm; 8.14 g)
80. Vcoins online (London Ancient coins) (19 mm; 6.87 g)
81. VCoins online Tom Vossen March 2025 (21 mm; 7.13 g)

O21/R27

82. Bucephalus Numismatic 4, 11 Mar. 2022, lot 978 (17.6 mm; 3.64 g; 12 h)
83. Savoca 19th Blue, 20 Apr. 2019, lot 494 = Savoca 13th Blue, 30 Nov. 2018, lot 606 (18 mm; 3.81 g; 12 h)

O21/R—

84. Forum Ancient coins GB116264 (19.3 mm; 6.74 g; 12 h). Overstrike on reverse.
85. Numisfitz GmbH 2, 4 June 2023, lot 355 (19 mm; 7.41 g)
86. Savoca 107th Blue, 10 July 2021, lot 293 (18 mm; 7.46 g; 12 h)
87. Savoca 15th Blue, 19 Jan. 2019, lot 709 (20.1 mm; 6.23 g; 12 h)

O22/R—
88. Künker 333, 16 Mar. 2020, lot 597 = Naumann 38, 6 Dec. 2015, lot 321 (18 mm; 4.72 g; 12 h)
89. Savoca 1st Blue, 23 Sept. 2017, lot 620 (17 mm; 5.58 g; 12 h)

O23/R—
90. Bay Numismatics EA 14, 13 June 2025, lot 345 (18 mm; 4.8 g)
91. M&M GmbH 13, 9 Oct. 2003, lot 503 (18.3 mm; 6.94 g; 12 h)
92. Rauch 95, 30 Sept. 2014, lot 144 (18.7 mm; 5.81 g; 12 h)
93. Savoca 11th Blue, 27 Oct. 2018, lot 836 = Savoca 1st Blue, 23 Sept. 2017, lot 379 (15 mm; 5.66 g; 12 h)
94. Savoca 13th Blue, 30 Nov. 2018, lot 607 (17 mm; 6.84 g; 12 h)

O24/R—
95. Roma EA 53, 7 Feb. 2019, lot 378 = M&M GmbH 43, 26 Feb. 2016, lot 75 = Rauch 96, 10 Dec. 2014, lot 101 (18.7 mm; 5.51 g; 2 h)
96. Vcoins (Aegean Numismatics) online (16 mm; 6 g)

O25/R23
97. Bucephalus Numismatic 15, 10 Feb. 2023, lot 529 (19.3 mm; 5.72 g)

O25/R—
98. London Ancient Coins P, 7 Jan. 2015, lot 64 (17.2 mm; 5.6 g; 12 h)

O26/R28
99. Agora Sale 71, 26 Dec. 2017, lot 51 (18.9 mm; 5.71 g; 12 h)
100. Savoca 144th Blue, 24 Sept. 2022, lot 422 (21 mm; 8.48 g; 1 h)

O27/R29
101. TimeLine February 2020 Antiquities & Coins, 25 Feb. 2020, lot 3725 (18.1 mm; 6.67 g)

O27/R—
102. Bay Numismatics EA 16, 26 Aug. 2025, lot 366 (17.9 mm; 4.7 g)
103. Savoca 14th Blue, 28 Dec. 2018, lot 386 (19 mm; 4.83 g; 11 h)
104. Savoca London 2nd Blue, 3 May 2019, lot 373 (20 mm; 7.43 g)

O28/R—
105. Papillon Numismatic 2, 25 Oct. 2020, lot 152 (21 mm; 6 g; 11 h)

O29/R30
106. Biga Numismatics EA 25, 9 Dec. 2023, lot 81 (18.1 mm; 5.69 g)
107. Myers 3 1972, lot 104 (6.04 g)

O29/R31
108. N&N London EA 35, 30 Sept. 2023, lot 276 (18 mm; 5 g)
109. SPQR Collection 8, 2–3 June 2025, lot 159 (19 mm; 6.1 g)

O30/R—
110. London Ancient Coins 42, 1 Apr. 2015, lot 95 (17 mm; 6.34 g; 12 h)
111. N&N London EA 13, 26 Feb. 2023, lot 84 (18.1 mm; 6.98 g)

O31/R32
112. VCoins Online Jaz Numismatics March 2025 (21 mm; 7.8 g)

O31/R—
113. Rauch EA 15, 16 June 2014, lot 85 (18.6 mm; 6.2 g; 9 h)
114. Savoca 147th Blue, 12 Nov. 2022, lot 364 (17 mm; 7.05 g; 1 h)

O—/R33
115. CNG EA 446, 19 June 2019, lot 123 (18.5 mm; 6.42 g; 12 h)
116. Savoca 13th Blue, 30 Nov. 2018, lot 605 (17 mm; 5.44 g; 12 h)

O—/R34
117. CGB Online March 2025 = Savoca 90th Blue, 28 Nov. 2020, lot 588 (18.2 mm; 5.67 g; 12 h)

O—/R23
118. Demos 4, 26 Sept. 2021, lot 105 (20.3 mm; 6.23 g)

O—/R—
119. Harvard 1980.86.223 (15 mm; 5.63 g)
120. Tübingen (= SNG 4587) (17 mm; 5.77 g)
121. Bay Numismatics EA 16, 26 Aug. 2025, lot 367 (19.4 mm; 5.5 g). Obverse double struck.
122. Biga Numismatics EA 25, 9 Dec. 2023, lot 80 (19 mm; 6.99 g)
123. Bucephalus Numismatic 4, 11 Mar. 2022, lot 985 (17 mm; 4.59 g; 12 h)
124. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 16, 24 Feb. 2023, lot 324 (18 mm; 4.84 g)
125. CGB coins online March 2025 (18.5 mm; 6 g; 12 h)
126. Cgb.fr online March 2025 (18 mm; 6.77 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: 3: spear-head or leaf.
127. Rauch EA 19, 26 Feb. 2016, lot 95 (18.6 mm; 5.95 g; 12 h)
128. Rönesans Salzgitter 5, 13 Oct. 2023, lot 343 (19.5 mm; 3.42 g)
129. SPQR Auction 10, 3 Sept. 2025, lot 371 (17 mm; 4.9 g)

Type 6

Obverse: Laureate bust of Zeus, r.

Reverse: $\overline{\text{ΔΕΙΟΤΑΡΙΟΥ}}$; monogram 𐤀𐤌, to r. Galatian shield

Denomination: Æ 18 mm
Diameter: 13–21 mm; average: 16 mm.
Weight: 3.92–6.41 g; average: 5.02 g.
Axis: 1 (1), 12 (9)
Average thickness: 2.71 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 3 obverse dies and 12 reverse dies
Number of coins: 63

O32/R35
1. Elsen 152, 9 Sept. 2022, lot 251 (17.4 mm; 5.78 g)
2. Papillon Numismatic 3, 29 Nov. 2020, lot 138 (17 mm; 5 g)

O32/R36
3. Demos 8, 19 Mar. 2022, lot 223 (19 mm; 5.12 g)

O32/R37

4. L 1945,1217.237 (17.3 mm; 4.99 g)
5. Roma EA 4, 28 Dec. 2013, lot 307 = Roma 4, 30 Sept. 2012, lot 1863 (17 mm; 5.53 g; 12 h)

O32/R—

6. Demos 10, 14 May 2022, lot 325 (18.4 mm; 4 g)
7. N&N London EA 41, 2 Dec. 2023, lot 285 (16.1 mm; 4.87 g)
8. Naumann 57, 3 Sept. 2017, lot 277 = Savoca 2nd Blue, 28 Oct. 2017, lot 456 (18 mm; 4.47 g)
9. Savoca 1st Blue, 23 Sept. 2017, lot 619 (16.1 mm; 3.92 g)

O33/R38

10. L 1986,0723.1 (13 mm; 5.74 g)

O33/R39

11. O (= SNG XI 1943) (18 mm; 4.96 g; 12 h)
12. Savoca Live EA 10, 16 Oct. 2016, lot 338 (15.1 mm; 5.27 g)

O33/R40

13. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 20, 25 May 2023, lot 532 (18.8 mm; 5 g)
14. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 25, 15 Sept. 2023, lot 355 (16.7 mm; 5.64 g)

O33/R—

15. Bay Numismatics EA 5, 23–24 Aug. 2024, lot 322 (16.1 mm; 4.9 g)
16. Rauch 95, 30 Sept. 2014, lot 145 (20.2 mm; 5.15 g)

O34/R41

17. L B.2.6.234 (17.1 mm; 4.55 g)
18. Concordia Numismatic Daphne 8, 23 Sept. 2023, lot 194 (18.3 mm; 4.1 g)
19. Roma EA 39, 26 Aug. 2017, lot 977
20. SPQR Collection 8, 2–3 June 2025, lot 156 (15.1 mm; 6.06 g)

O34/R42

21. P 1966.453 (5.47 g)
22. P (5.27 g)

O34/R43

23. Savoca 157th Blue, 25 Feb. 2023, lot 236 (16 mm; 5.53 g)

O34/R44

24. CNG EA 297, 27 Feb. 2013, lot 71 (17 mm; 4.97 g; 12 h)

O34/R45

25. M&M GmbH 13, 9 Oct. 2003, lot 502 (15 mm; 4.33 g)
26. Nomos Obolos EA 15, 24 May 2020, lot 457 (18 mm; 4.61 g; 1 h)

O34/R46

27. CNG 85, 15 Sept. 2010, lot 473 (16 mm; 6.2 g; 12 h). Obverse overstrike.

O34/R—

28. P (6.09 g)
29. Astarte YC 3, 20 Apr. 2024, lot 140 (15.6 mm; 4.17 g)
30. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 16, 24 Feb. 2023, lot 322 (18 mm; 4.63 g)
31. CGB Online March 2025 (16.5 mm; 4.56 g; 12 h)
32. Demos 10, 14 May 2022, lot 326 (15 mm; 4.89 g)
33. N&N London EA 41, 2 Dec. 2023, lot 287 (16 mm; 5.52 g)
34. Naumann 49, 8 Jan. 2017, lot 291 (16.1 mm; 5.55 g)
35. Naumann 72, 2 Dec. 2018, lot 162 (16 mm; 4.17 g)
36. Nomos Obolos EA 11, 8 Dec. 2018, lot 342 (16 mm; 4.83 g; 12 h)
37. Numismad 24, 30–31 May 2025, lot 240 (16.2 mm; 5.32 g)
38. Roma EA 39, 26 Aug. 2017, lot 977
39. Saint Paul Antiques 2, 18 Mar. 2017, lot 129 = Saint Paul Antiques 6, 20 May 2017, lot 153 (15 mm; 4.26 g; 12 h)
40. Savoca 147th Blue, 12 Nov. 2022, lot 366 (17 mm; 4.29 g)
41. Savoca 93rd Silver, 17 Jan. 2021, lot 245 (16 mm; 5 g)
42. Savoca Live EA 5, 8 Nov. 2015, lot 237 (16.3 mm; 4.02 g)
43. Solidus 105, 13 Sept. 2022, lot 214 (16 mm; 5.53 g)
44. Solidus Numismatik 118, 2 May 2023, lot 131 (17 mm; 4.97 g)
45. SPQR Collection 8, 2–3 June 2025, lot 157 (15 mm; 4.58 g)
46. SPQR Collection 8, 2–3 June 2025, lot 162 (15 mm; 5.93 g)
47. Tiber Numismatics and Auctions 10, 14 Sept. 2025, lot 20 (16 mm; 4.51 g)
48. Triskeles Sale 19, 17 Mar. 2017, lot 186 (14 mm; 4.51 g; 12 h)

O—/R42

49. CNG EA 168, 11 July 2007, lot 62 (16 mm; 5.08 g)
50. Savoca 111th Blue, 28 Aug. 2021, lot 674 (17.3 mm; 4.66 g)

O—/R45

51. Savoca 119th Blue, 27 Nov. 2021, lot 206 (15 mm; 5.51 g)

O—/R—

52. Bay Numismatics EA 11, 9 Mar. 2025, lot 99 (4.1 g). Bay Numismatics gives the diameter as 4.9 mm .
53. Demos 14, 9 Dec. 2022, lot 384 (16 mm; 5.22 g)
54. Elsen 118, 14 Sept. 2013, lot 42 (21 mm; 6.41 g)
55. M&M GmbH 46, 15 Feb. 2018, lot 407 (4.91 g)
56. Saint Paul Antiques 14, 17 Dec. 2017, lot 245 (15.1 mm; 4.98 g; 12 h)
57. Savoca 135th Blue, 11 June 2022, lot 491 (17 mm; 4.86 g)
58. Savoca 157th Blue, 25 Feb. 2023, lot 237 (16.1 mm; 4.99 g)
59. Savoca 28th Blue, 25 Jan. 2020, lot 542 (16 mm; 4.81 g)
60. Savoca 8th Blue, 14 July 2018, lot 480 (16 mm; 5.42 g)
61. Savoca 8th Blue, 14 July 2018, lot 482 (16 mm; 5.63 g)
62. SNG vA 6101 (15 mm; 5.45 g)
63. Solidus 3, 21 Sept. 2014, lot 101 (17.2 mm; 5.15 g)

King Deiotaros series

Type 7

Obverse: Draped bust of Nike, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΙΟΤΑΡΟΥ; eagle r., looking back, standing on a sword between caps of Dioscuri surmounted by two stars

Denomination: Æ 27 mm
Diameter: 21–7 mm; average: 25 mm.

Weight: 8.24–13.28 g; average: 11.39 g.
Axis: 5 (1), 6 (3), 10 (1), 11 (8), 12 (11)
Average thickness: 2.64 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 6 obverse dies and 2 reverse dies
Number of coins: 38

O35/R—

1. Bay Numismatics EA 10, 26 Jan. 2025, lot 343 (25.5 mm; 10.6 g). Obv. cmk: 4: BA.
2. Numisfitz GmbH 1, 26 Mar. 2023, lot 379 (24 mm; 11.44 g; 11 h). Obv. cmk: 4: BA.

O36/R—

3. Bucephalus Numismatic 1, 17 Dec. 2021, lot 59 (27 mm; 11.4 g; 12 h)
4. Peus EA 8, 19 Jan. 2019, lot 122 (10.19 g; 11 h). Obv. cmk: 1: turreted head of Tyche, r.
5. Savoca 13th Blue, 30 Nov. 2018, lot 604 (25 mm; 12.76 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: 1: turreted head of Tyche, r.
6. Savoca 142nd Blue, 10 Sept. 2022, lot 375 (25.1 mm; 11.79 g; 12 h)

O37/R47

7. . Https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=13255878.
8. Münzhandlung Dr. Dominik Elkowicz 22, 13 Dec. 2023, lot 416 (26.5 mm; 12.7 g)
9. Papillon Numismatic 1, 20 Sept. 2020, lot 312 (25 mm; 11.88 g; 11 h)

O37/R—

10. L RPK.p161.1.Dei (25 mm; 10.99 g; 6 h)

O38/R—

11. Lanz 151, 30 June 2011, lot 518 (10.89 g; 6 h)

O39/R—

12. Olympus Numismatik 13, 14–15 June 2024, lot 213 (25.8 mm; 10.8 g)
13. Savoca 141st Blue, 27 Aug. 2022, lot 456 (27 mm; 11.75 g; 6 h)

O40/R—

14. Herakles Numismatics (Vcoins online, Oct. 2024) (26 mm; 12.9 g)

O—/R48

15. P 4 (12.99 g; 11 h)
16. Bucephalus Numismatic 7, 30 Sept. 2022, lot 501 (25.4 mm; 12.21 g; 11 h). Obv. cmk: 1: turreted head of Tyche, r.

O—/R—

17. L 1979,0101.1020 (= SNG vA 6102) (27 mm; 10.06 g; 12 h)
18. P 3 (11.44 g; 11 h)
19. P F 1912 (11.4 g; 11 h)
20. B 18305209, 1884/174 (25 mm; 11.17 g; 12 h)
21. B 18305212, 1906 Löbbecke (25 mm; 10.43 g; 10 h)
22. B 18305210, 1900 Imhoof-Blumer (24 mm; 10.13 g; 12 h)
23. Bay Numismatics EA 5, 23–24 Aug. 2024, lot 229 (24.8 mm; 12.3 g)
24. Biga Numismatics EA 25, 9 Dec. 2023, lot 78 (24 mm; 9.84 g). Obv. cmk: 1: turreted head of Tyche, r.
25. Biga Numismatics EA 27, 3 Feb. 2024, lot 140 (26.4 mm; 12.95 g)
26. Bucephalus Numismatic 4, 11 Mar. 2022, lot 325 (25 mm; 13.18 g; 12 h)
27. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 39, 15–16 June 2024, lot 349 (24.8 mm; 11.55 g)
28. Demos 14, 9 Dec. 2022, lot 380 (25.2 mm; 12 g; 12 h)
29. Leu EA 11, 22 Feb. 2020, lot 1026 (27.3 mm; 13.28 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: 1: turreted head of Tyche, r.
30. N&N London EA 41, 2 Dec. 2023, lot 317 (23.3 mm; 10.7 g)
31. Naumann 92, 2 Aug. 2020, lot 283 (25 mm; 12.7 g; 12 h)
32. Naumann 96, 1 Nov. 2020, lot 179 (27 mm; 13.04 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: 1: turreted head of Tyche, r.
33. Savoca 13th Blue, 30 Nov. 2018, lot 609 (23 mm; 10.55 g; 11 h)
34. Savoca Coins Blue 201st Weekly Blue, 16 Mar. 2024, lot 182 (23 mm; 8.24 g)
35. SNG vA 6102 (22 mm; 10.09 g; 5 h). Obv. cmk: uncertain.
36. SNG vA 6103 (22 mm; 10.2 g). Obv. cmk: 1: turreted head of Tyche, r.
37. SPQR Collection 8, 2–3 June 2025, lot 164 (21 mm; 8.34 g). Obv. cmk: 4: BA.
38. Trade (Zurüch, Vcoins, 2023) (26 mm; 12.7 g)

uncertain (Kastor tetrarch of the Tektosages or city of Tavion)

No Issue

Type 8

Obverse: Laureate bust of Zeus, r.

Reverse: $\overline{\text{TAYION?}}$; Galatian shield next to Celtic carnyx, to the right monogram $\overline{\text{R}}$

Denomination: Æ 18 mm
Diameter: 17–18 mm; average: 18 mm
Weight: 4–4.51 g; average: 4.34 g.
Axis: 11 (1)
Average thickness: 2.03 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 1 obverse dies and 1 reverse dies
Number of coins: 3

O41/R49

1. Rex Numismatics Budget 1, 19 Aug. 2025, lot 252 (17.08 mm; 4.5 g)
2. SPQR Collection 9, 16–17 June 2025, lot 189 (17.6 mm; 4.51 g)
3. Ulrich Felzmann GmbH & Co. KG, November 15, 2022, lot 84 (18 mm; 4 g; 11 h)

Bronze coinage of Amyntas: Group 1

Type 9 (RPC I 3505)

Obverse: Ɛ Ϛ; head of Heracles with club, r.

Reverse: B $\overline{\text{AMYNTOY}}$; lion walking, r.; monogram II (𐌉𐌉) in the exergue

Denomination: Æ 22 mm
Diameter: 20–6 mm; average: 22 mm.
Weight: 5.26–16.01 g; average: 9.92 g.
Axis: 1 (1), 11 (8), 12 (31)
Average thickness: 2.88 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 2 obverse dies and 30 reverse dies
Number of coins: 114

O42/R50
1. L 1994,0915.109 (23 mm; 10.03 g; 12 h)
2. Winterthur G 4751 (24 mm; 9.13 g; 12 h)
3. Bucephalus Numismatic, Black Auction 23, lot 245 (20.8 mm; 8.83 g)
4. Rex Numismatics 1, 15 July 2023, lot 44 (23.8 mm; 9.9 g)
5. Trade (Zürich, Vcoins, 2023) (22 mm; 7.51 g)

O42/R51
6. L RPK,p161B.2.Amy (= BMC 13) (22 mm; 9.07 g; 12 h). Monogram mirrored.
7. Biga Numismatics EA 26, 6 Jan. 2024, lot 98 (22.5 mm; 9.96 g). M mirrored.
8. Davissons EA 31, 28 Aug. 2019, lot 40 = Nomos Obolos EA 12, 31 Mar. 2019, lot 417 (23 mm; 8.52 g; 11 h). Monogram mirrored.
9. N&N London Green 10, 5 June 2023, lot 87 (23 mm). Monogram mirrored.
10. Numisfitz GmbH 2, 4 June 2023, lot 357 (20.2 mm; 7.35 g). Monogram mirrored.
11. Savoca London 2nd Blue, 3 May 2019, lot 372 (21 mm; 8.22 g; 12 h). Monogram mirrored.

O42/R52
12. Rex Numismatics Rex Budget 1, 19 Aug. 2023, lot 299 (23 mm; 9.1 g)

O42/R53
13. N&N London EA 12, 21 Jan. 2023, lot 273 (22.4 mm; 11.23 g)
14. N&N London EA 60, 24 Jan. 2025, lot 172 (22.3 mm; 7.8 g)
15. Naumann 89, 3 May 2020, lot 145 (22.1 mm; 11.54 g)
16. SPQR Collection 2, 12–13 Sept. 2024, lot 81 (21 mm; 8.8 g)
17. VCoins (CGB coins online Jan 2025) = N&N London EA 13, 26 Feb. 2023, lot 121 (21.5 mm; 5.77 g)

O42/R54
18. Demos 14, 9 Dec. 2022, lot 381 (23.6 mm; 11.89 g)

O42/R55
19. P 23 (22 mm; 11.37 g; 12 h)
20. Bucephalus Numismatic 4, 11 Mar. 2022, lot 323 (23 mm; 8.91 g)
21. Naville Numismatics 79, 12 Feb. 2023, lot 222 (23 mm; 7.11 g)
22. Savoca 186th Weekly Blue, 16 Dec. 2023, lot 232 = Solidus 114, 7 Feb. 2023, lot 147 (23 mm; 6.66 g)

O42/R56
23. L 1895,1002.73 (= BMC 12) (22 mm; 8.94 g; 12 h)
24. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 16, 24 Feb. 2023, lot 327 (22.8 mm; 10.71 g)

O42/R57
25. Aquila Numismatics 4, 19 Aug. 2022, lot 534 (21 mm; 7.6 g)
26. Demos 6, 5 Dec. 2021, lot 387 = Demos 4, 26 Sept. 2021, lot 270 (24 mm; 9.58 g)
27. Leu EA 9, 7 Sept. 2019, lot 456 (23.7 mm; 7.58 g; 1 h)

O42/R58
28. O (24 mm; 9.06 g; 12 h)

O42/R—
29. Rex Numismatics Rex Budget 2, 14 Oct. 2023, lot 286 (21.7 mm; 9.94 g)

O43/R59
30. L 1955,0410.15 (20 mm; 5.9 g; 12 h)
31. Düsseldorf Ls20040084l6 (23 mm; 8.35 g; 11 h)
32. Lanz 72 1992 no. 288 (10.29 g; 11 h)
33. N&N London Green 1, 3 Sept. 2022, lot 37 (21.1 mm; 11.3 g)
34. Pegasi 24, 5 Apr. 2011, lot 187 = Lanz 125, 28 Nov. 2005, lot 437 (23 mm; 10.76 g)

O43/R60
35. L 1979,0101.1028 (= SNG vA 6108) (20 mm; 16.01 g; 12 h)
36. P 26 (22 mm; 10.43 g; 12 h)
37. Leeds-UL 988 (25.3 mm; 13.31 g; 12 h)
38. Berk Buy or Bid Sale 216, 27 July 2021, lot 134 = Papillon Numismatic 1, 20 Sept. 2020, lot 186 (22 mm; 13.68 g)
39. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 1, 15 Apr. 2022, lot 183 (22.1 mm; 11.06 g)
40. Vcoins online (Biga Numismatics) (21 mm; 10.27 g)

O43/R61
41. Nomos Obolos EA 11, 8 Dec. 2018, lot 343 (21.2 mm; 9.88 g; 11 h)
42. Savoca 21st Silver, 11 Mar. 2018, lot 198 (21 mm; 13.02 g)

O43/R62
43. P 1966.453 (10.72 g)
44. Saint Paul Antiques 7, 11 June 2017, lot 164 (22.2 mm; 11.2 g; 12 h)

O43/R63
45. Leu EA 24, 3 Dec. 2022, lot 1494 (21 mm; 10.35 g; 12 h)
46. N&N London EA 12, 21 Jan. 2023, lot 124 (22.1 mm; 10.46 g)
47. Savoca 84th Silver, 30 Aug. 2020, lot 140 (24 mm; 9.55 g)

O43/R50
48. Cop (= SNG 99) (22 mm; 8.48 g; 12 h)

O43/R52

49. Aufhäuser 5, 7 Oct. 1987, no. 178; Leu EA 16, 22 May 2021, lot 1169 (23 mm; 15.49 g; 12 h)
50. CGT coll. (22 mm; 13.18 g; 12 h)
51. Demos 27th De. 2024, Auction 43 lot 436 (21 mm; 12.64 g)
52. Lanz 60 1992 no. 246 (9.97 g; 11 h)
53. Leu EA 1, 25 June 2017, lot 639 (22.2 mm; 12.21 g; 12 h)
54. Naumann 39, 3 Jan. 2016, lot 425 (21 mm; 7.57 g)
55. Nomos Obolos EA 20, 3 Oct. 2021, lot 844 (23.7 mm; 12.44 g; 11 h)
56. Roma EA 39, 26 Aug. 2017, lot 977
57. Trade (Zürich, Vcoins, 2023) = Jacquier 50, 16 Sept. 2022, lot 1264 (22.3 mm; 11.15 g)

O43/R64

58. P 27 (22 mm; 5.26 g; 12 h)
59. O (22 mm; 9.85 g; 12 h)
60. Leu EA 19, 26 Feb. 2022, lot 1541 (22 mm; 7.38 g; 12 h)
61. Naumann 117, 5 June 2022, lot 447 (23 mm; 9.77 g)
62. SNG Greece Kikpe no. 1016 (25 mm; 13.35 g; 12 h)
63. VAuctions 211, 17 Aug. 2008, lot 38 (26.2 mm; 12.03 g)
64. VCoins (London Ancient coins Ltd. online Jan 2025) (23 mm; 9.75 g; 11 h)

O43/R65

65. Fischer 185, 10th Mar. 2022, lot 101 = Fischer 5, 24 Nov. 2021, lot 163 (22 mm; 8.03 g)
66. London Ancient Coins 39, 18 Nov. 2014, lot 70 (22 mm; 8.82 g; 11 h)
67. Naumann 79, 7 July 2019, lot 182 (23.1 mm; 11.58 g)
68. Rauch EA 23, 24 June 2017, lot 1631
69. VCoins (CGB coins online Jan 2025) (22.5 mm; 10.75 g; 12 h)

O43/R66

70. N&N London, Online Auction 39, lot 279 (23 mm; 8.51 g)
71. Savoca 18th Blue, 30 Mar. 2019, lot 402 = Bertolami Fine Arts EA 49, 12 Nov. 2017, lot 491 = Saint Paul Antiques 3, 8 Apr. 2017, lot 142 (22 mm; 11.02 g; 12 h)

O43/R54

72. B 18305235, 1900 Imhoof-Blumer (22 mm; 12.98 g; 12 h)
73. B 18305237, 1875 Prokesch-Osten (21 mm; 7.62 g; 12 h)
74. Ebay Authentic Ancient Greek Roman Coins no. i90850 (22 mm; 10.85 g)
75. Gorny & Mosch EA 267, 17 Oct. 2019, lot 3261 (22.1 mm; 12.34 g)
76. Savoca 10th Blue, 29 Sept. 2018, lot 756 (21 mm; 7.45 g)
77. SPQR Collection 2, 12–13 Sept. 2024, lot 80 (20.2 mm; 10.17 g)

O43/R67

78. Demos 27th Sept. 2024 Auction 38, lot 1110. (21 mm; 8.13 g).
79. Bucephalus Numismatic 38, 27 Apr. 2024, lot 91 (23.8 mm; 9.47 g)
80. Bucephalus Numismatic 31, 19 Jan. 2024, lot 98 (22.2 mm; 7.82 g)
81. Bucephalus Numismatic, Black Auction 22, lot 653 (22.2 mm; 9.04 g)
82. Künker 243, 21 Nov. 2013, lot 4646 (22 mm; 11.76 g)
83. Münzzentrum Rheinland 204, 17 Sept. 2025, lot 53 = Münzzentrum Rheinland 201, 15 May 2024, lot 105 (23 mm; 11.4 g)
84. Numismad 9, 8 Sept. 2023, lot 456 (23 mm; 8.49 g)
85. Numismad 9, 8 Sept. 2023, lot 457 (22 mm; 7.24 g)
86. Rönesans Salzgitter 1st Dec. 2024, Auction 16 lot 236 (23.4 mm; 9.8 g)

O43/R68

87. P 25 (22 mm; 7.73 g; 12 h)

O43/R55

88. N&N London EA 46, 20 Apr. 2024, lot 344 (22 mm; 9.24 g)

O43/R69

89. P 24 (22 mm; 15.11 g; 12 h)

O43/R70

90. B 18305236, 1906 Löbbecke (21 mm; 6.32 g; 12 h)
91. Savoca 98th Blue, 27 Mar. 2021, lot 465 = Savoca 103rd Blue, 22 May 2021, lot 382 (21 mm; 6.17 g)

O43/R56

92. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 2, 4 July 2022, lot 506 (24.6 mm; 10.67 g)
93. Grün 64, 20 Nov. 2014, lot 1309 = Peus 378, 28 Apr. 2004, lot 287 (22.3 mm; 7.16 g)

O43/R71

94. Biga Numismatics EA 31, 11 May 2024, lot 243 (21.2 mm; 8.12 g)
95. Bucephalus Numismatic, Black Auction 25, lot 353 (23 mm; 8.87 g)
96. CNG EA 161, 28 Mar. 2007, lot 94 (22 mm; 10.95 g)

O43/R72

97. Biga Numismatics EA 28, 2 Mar. 2024, lot 135 (22.2 mm; 14.2 g)
98. CNG EA 229, 10 Mar. 2010, lot 198 (23.1 mm; 9.59 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: uncertain.

O43/R73

99. Kölner Münzkabinett EA 3, 25 June 2017, lot 495
100. Lindgren Collection (Lindgren & Kovacs) no. 1667 (24 mm; 9.6 g)
101. Savoca 162nd Blue, 29 Apr. 2023, lot 583 (23.4 mm; 7.47 g)

O43/R74

102. Vcoins online (Biga Numismatics) (21 mm; 9.64 g)
103. Weber collection no. 7765 (21 mm; 11.01 g)

O43/R75

104. Naumann 127, 2 Apr. 2023, lot 466 (22.2 mm; 10.78 g)
105. Savoca 120th Blue, 11 Dec. 2021, lot 428 (21 mm; 7.91 g)
106. Solidus 27, 17 Mar. 2018, lot 284 (23 mm; 7.41 g)

O43/R76

107. N&N London Green 1, 3 Sept. 2022, lot 34 (21.4 mm; 10.3 g)
108. Roma EA 84, 16 June 2021, lot 938 (22.3 mm; 11.89 g; 12 h)

O43/R77

109. Demos 13th Oct. 2024, Auction 39 lot 109 (21 mm; 12.01 g)

O43/R78

110. M&M GmbH 30, 28 May 2009, lot 693 (22 mm; 13.6 g)

O43/R79

111. L 1939,0719.3 (22 mm; 7.89 g; 12 h)

O43/R—

112. Ebay Aristos Ancients (22 mm; 12.45 g)

113. SPQR Collection Auction 10, 3 Sept. 2025, lot 375 (24 mm; 12.92 g)

O—/R61

114. Leu Numismatic 6, 09 Dec. 2018, lot 1415 (4.53 g)

Type 10 (RPC I 3506)

Obverse: Ɛ Ϛ; bust of Artemis with bow and quiver, r.

Reverse: B $\overline{\text{AMYNTOY}}$; stag, r.; monogram II (𐌀𐌌𐌕) in the exergue

Denomination: Æ 21 mm
Diameter: 18–23 mm; average: 20 mm.
Weight: 5.89–9.62 g; average: 7.71 g.
Axis: 11 (1), 12 (7)
Average thickness: 2.71 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 1 obverse dies and 4 reverse dies
Number of coins: 18

O44/R80

1. Aquila Numismatics 9, 5 Mar. 2023, lot 69 (19.9 mm; 4.6 g; 12 h). Worn.
2. Nomos Obolos EA 13, 2 July 2019, lot 420 (19 mm; 5.89 g; 11 h)
3. Rex Numismatics Rex Budget 6, 1 Mar. 2024, lot 42 (20.3 mm; 7.91 g)

O44/R81

4. Bucephalus Numismatic 4, 11 Mar. 2022, lot 902 (19 mm; 5.97 g)
5. CNG EA 203, 28 Jan. 2009, lot 178 (20 mm; 7.47 g; 12 h)
6. Demos 2, 5 June 2021, lot 259 (19 mm; 7.48 g)

O44/R82

7. L 1979,0101.1024 (= ex vA) (21 mm; 9.62 g; 12 h)
8. P 29 (19 mm; 8.09 g; 12 h)
9. Naumann 77, 5 May 2019, lot 261 (22.5 mm; 7.09 g; 12 h)
10. Rex Numismatics 7th Dec. 2024, Auction 15 lot 158 (20.7 mm; 9 g)
11. Savoca 94th Blue, 30 Jan. 2021, lot 628 = Savoca 26th Blue, 23 Nov. 2019, lot 472 (20 mm; 8.55 g; 12 h)
12. Savoca Coins Blue 217th Weekly Blue, 15 June 2024, lot 136 (22 mm; 6.01 g)
13. SPQR Collection 6, 25–26 Feb. 2025, lot 311 (21.2 mm; 8.87 g)

O44/R83

14. P 28 (19 mm; 7.4 g; 12 h)
15. Agora Numismatic Sale #115, 26 Aug. 2025, lot 116 (18 mm; 7.97 g)
16. Naumann 72, 2 Dec. 2018, lot 161 (20 mm; 7.91 g)
17. Rex Numismatics Rex Budget 6, 1 Mar. 2024, lot 41 (19.8 mm; 8.33 g)
18. Savoca Numismatik 165th Blue Auction, 27th May 2023, lot 476 (21 mm; 7.44 g)

Type 11

Obverse: Bust of Artemis with bow and quiver, r.; to r., monogram IV (𐌌𐌌)

Reverse: B $\overline{\text{AMYNTOY}}$; stag, r.; monogram II (𐌀𐌌𐌕) in the exergue

Denomination: Æ 21 mm
Diameter: 19–22 mm; average: 21 mm.
Weight: 4.87–6.35 g; average: 5.66 g.
Axis: 6 (1), 12 (2)
Average thickness: 1.93 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 1 obverse dies and 1 reverse dies
Number of coins: 6

O45/R84

1. B 18305271, 1900 Imhoof-Blumer (21 mm; 5.72 g; 12 h)
2. Burdur 31787 (= Erol 48) (19 mm; 5.3 g; 6 h)
3. Winterthur G 4752 (= G. Hirsch 23, 4 April 1960, lot 155) (21 mm; 5.87 g; 12 h)
4. Aukcja 6, 28 Jan 2023 (21 mm; 4.87 g)
5. Bucephalus Numismatics online (21.7 mm; 5.85 g)
6. Naumann 41, 6 Mar. 2016, lot 342 (20 mm; 6.35 g)

Type 12 (RPC I 3507)

Obverse: Ɛ Ϛ; bust of Hermes wearing winged petasus, with caduceus, r.

Reverse: B $\overline{\text{AMYNTOY}}$; winged caduceus; monogram II (𐌀𐌌𐌕) in the exergue

Denomination: Æ 18 mm
Diameter: 15–19 mm; average: 18 mm.
Weight: 3.87–6.27 g; average: 5.09 g.
Axis: 6 (1), 12 (2)
Average thickness: 2.35 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 2 obverse dies and 2 reverse dies
Number of coins: 7

O46/R85

1. P 31 (15 mm; 4.84 g; 12 h)
2. CNG EA 232, 28 Apr. 2010, lot 119 (17 mm; 5.28 g; 12 h)
3. Rex Numismatics 2, 30 Sept. 2023, lot 48 (19.1 mm; 5.23 g)

O46/R86

4. Biga Numismatics EA 6, 31 Oct. 2021, lot 299 (19 mm; 5 g)

O47/R85

5. Biga Numismatics EA 25, 9 Dec. 2023, lot 82 (18.2 mm; 5.12 g)

O47/R86

6. Bucephalus Numismatic 15, 10 Feb. 2023, lot 530 (18.3 mm; 3.87 g)
7. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 30, 13 July 2024, lot 902 (18 mm; 6.27 g; 6 h)

Type 13

Obverse: Head of Heracles with club, r.; to l. monogram III (Ⓜ)

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ; lion walking, r.

Denomination: Æ 22 mm
Diameter: 12–26 mm; average: 22 mm.
Weight: 4.01–11.12 g; average: 7.17 g.
Axis: 2 (1), 12 (31)
Average thickness: 2.21 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 5 obverse dies and 18 reverse dies
Number of coins: 119

O48/R87

1. Burdur 14101 (= Erol 12) (21 mm; 5.6 g)
2. Winterthur G 7084 (23 mm; 6.63 g; 12 h)
3. Leu EA 18, 18 Dec. 2021, lot 1384 (20 mm; 6.43 g; 12 h)
4. N&N London EA 19, 1 July 2023, lot 184 (20 mm; 5.26 g)
5. N&N London EA 46, 20 Apr. 2024, lot 75 (21.1 mm; 8.28 g)
6. Naumann 61, 7 Jan. 2018, lot 256 (23 mm; 7.12 g). Obv. cmk: 5: head of Mên.
7. Roma EA 99, 7 July 2022, lot 463 (20.2 mm; 6.41 g; 12 h)

O48/R88

8. Bucephalus Numismatic 5, 29 Apr. 2022, lot 548 (23 mm; 7.23 g). The diameter is given as 30 mm by the auction house .
9. Demos 51, 6 June 2025, lot 260 (18.2 mm; 5.26 g)
10. Gorny & Mosch 273, 19 Nov. 2020, lot 241 (20 mm; 6.4 g)

O48/R89

11. P 16 (8.52 g; 12 h)
12. P 22 (6.97 g; 12 h)
13. B 18305257, 1900 Imhoof-Blumer (23 mm; 7.79 g; 12 h)
14. Biga Numismatics EA 27, 3 Feb. 2024, lot 143 (22 mm; 6.32 g)
15. Künker 94, 27 Sept. 2004, lot 1378 (21.1 mm; 8.72 g)
16. Naumann 121, 2 Oct. 2022, lot 277 (23 mm; 8.6 g)
17. Naumann 32, 7 June 2015, lot 213 (20 mm; 6.34 g)
18. Pandora Numismatics 15, 7 Mar. 2025, lot 107 (19.9 mm; 4.92 g)
19. Rollin & Feuardent, Walcher de Moltheim coll., 1895, lot 2834
20. Weber collection no. 7763 (23 mm; 8.61 g)

O48/R90

21. P 19 (4.91 g; 12 h)
22. B 18305260, 1873 Fox (21 mm; 4.18 g; 12 h)
23. Ancient and Medieval Coins Canada 2, 9 Nov. 2019, lot 35 (20 mm; 4.38 g)
24. Bucephalus Numismatic 5, 29 Apr. 2022, lot 547 (21.1 mm; 8.36 g)
25. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 16, 24 Feb. 2023, lot 326 (21.2 mm; 7.54 g). Obv. cmk: uncertain.
26. N&N London 2nd Nov. 2024, Online Auction 56 lot 42 (19 mm; 6.6 g)
27. Saint Paul Antiques 9, 5 Aug. 2017, lot 237 (21 mm; 4.52 g; 12 h)

O48/R91

28. B 18305259, 1906 Löbbecke (22 mm; 8.09 g; 12 h)
29. N&N London EA 62, 14 Mar. 2025, lot 169 (21.1 mm; 8.9 g)
30. Vcoins online (CGB coins) (21 mm; 7.24 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: 5: head of Mên.

O48/R92

31. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 38, 27 June 2025, lot 158 (21 mm; 7.23 g; 12 h)

O48/R93

32. B 18305265, 1906 Löbbecke (23 mm; 7.57 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: 5: head of Mên.
33. G M.2,567,2 (= SNG G 2092) (6.98 g). Obv. cmk: 5: head of Mên.
34. Biga Numismatics EA 20, 10 June 2023, lot 166 (19 mm; 4.6 g). Obv. cmk: 7: V or Λ.
35. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 38, 27 June 2025, lot 157 (21 mm; 5.41 g). Obv. cmk: 5: head of Mên.
36. Excavation of Side No. 181 in Atlan, S. (1976) *1947-1967 yılları Side kazıları sırasında elde edilen sikkeler.* Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
37. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 5 July 2025, lot 757 (20 mm; 5.35 g; 2 h)
38. N&N London EA 62, 14 Mar. 2025, lot 168 (20.5 mm; 4.4 g)
39. Savoca 17th Blue, 1 Mar. 2019, lot 724 (20 mm; 6.15 g)
40. Solidus 19, 23 Sept. 2017, lot 319 = Solidus 14, 22 Apr. 2017, lot 182 = Solidus Auktion 11, 14 Jan. 2017, lot 125 = Savoca Live EA 10, 16 Oct. 2016, lot 339 (12 mm; 4.01 g)

O48/R94

41. Savoca Coins Blue 258th Weekly Blue, 8 Mar. 2025, lot 162 (19.3 mm; 7.44 g)

O48/R95

42. SPQR Collection 7, 31 Mar.–1 Apr. 2025, lot 362 (20.8 mm; 8.94 g). Obv. cmk: 5: head of Mên.

O49/R88

43. G M.2,567,1 (= SNG G 2091) (7.35 g)
44. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 20, 25 May 2023, lot 533 (21.2 mm; 6.12 g)
45. N&N London EA 43, 14 Jan. 2024, lot 401 (18.7 mm; 5.66 g)

O49/R96

46. Burdur 49 (= Erol 14) (21 mm; 6.7 g). Broken.
47. Harvard 1980.86.225 (20 mm; 8.53 g)
48. Biga Numismatics EA 28, 2 Mar. 2024, lot 136 (21.1 mm; 6.18 g)
49. Demos 17, 17 Mar. 2023, lot 1242 (21 mm; 7.67 g)
50. Leu EA 20, 16 July 2022, lot 1372 (24.1 mm; 9.38 g; 12 h)
51. M&M GmbH 13, 9 Oct. 2003, lot 504 (23.3 mm; 8.17 g)
52. N&N London EA 45, 16 Mar. 2024, lot 458 (22.2 mm; 6.94 g)
53. Rauch MBS 9, 23 Sept. 2005, lot 239 (21 mm; 8.09 g). Obv. cmk: 5: head of Mên.
54. Rex Numismatics E-Rex 16, 22 Jan. 2025, lot 109 (22 mm; 5.8 g)
55. SNG Eric von Post no. 475 (10.72 g)

O49/R97

56. P 15 (5.08 g; 12 h)
57. B 18305262, 1906 Löbbecke (23 mm; 5.6 g; 12 h)
58. O (23 mm; 9.26 g). Obv. cmk: 5: head of Mên.
59. Biga Numismatics EA 26, 6 Jan. 2024, lot 97 (22.2 mm; 8.3 g). Obv. cmk: 5: head of Mên.
60. CNG Triton V, 15 Jan. 2002, lot 525 (24.2 mm; 8.72 g)
61. Heritage 311, 10 Jan. 2003, lot 14269 (21 mm)
62. Künker 94, 27 Sept. 2004, lot 1379 (21.1 mm; 5.07 g)
63. Künker 243, 21 Nov. 2013, lot 4644 (21.5 mm; 7.33 g)
64. Numismatica Ars Classica Summer Sale 2025, 30 July 2025, lot 695 = NGSA 6, 2010, 109 = Tkalec-Rauch, Apr. 1989 no. 160 (23 mm; 8.76 g)

O49/R98

65. Bucephalus Numismatic 4, 11 Mar. 2022, lot 324 (23 mm; 9.44 g)

O50/R97

66. Burdur 15552 (= Erol 16) (22 mm; 6.3 g). Obverse with monogram.

O50/R91

67. CNG EA 480, 11 Nov. 2020, lot 267 (21.5 mm; 8.52 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: 6: ΠΧVF? monogram.

O50/R92

68. Leu Numismatik AG 7th Dec. 2024, Web Auction 32 lot 629 (21 mm; 7.88 g)
69. London Ancient Coins 39, 18 Nov. 2014, lot 69 (20.2 mm; 6.17 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: 5: head of Mên. Monogram uncertain.
70. Savoca 32nd Blue, 23 May 2020, lot 615 = Saint Paul Antiques 7, 11 June 2017, lot 163 (22 mm; 6.59 g; 12 h)

O50/R99

71. B 18305254, 1846/5629 (22 mm; 6.88 g; 12 h)
72. N&N London EA 46, 20 Apr. 2024, lot 343 (21 mm; 8.7 g)
73. Peus 431, 27 Apr. 2022, lot 3296 (22.6 mm; 7.38 g; 12 h)

O50/R100

74. Papillon Numismatic 8, 19 Sept. 2021, lot 746 (21.2 mm)

O50/R—

75. P AA.GR.1196 (8.44 g). Obv. cmk: 6: ΠΧVF? monogram.

O51/R101

76. G M.2,567,3 (= SNG G 2093) (7.27 g)
77. Numismad 10, 6 Oct. 2023, lot 368 = Numismad 6, 28 Jan. 2023, lot 704 (24 mm; 8.85 g)
78. Savoca 216th Weekly Blue, 8 June 2024, lot 66 (22 mm; 7.35 g)

O51/R102

79. B 18305256, 1875 Prokesch-Osten (24 mm; 5.21 g; 12 h)
80. Papillon Numismatic 7, 10 July 2021, lot 395 (21.1 mm; 6.9 g). Obv. cmk: 7: forepart of hoofed animal (horse/goat ?).

O51/R103

81. P 18 (8.26 g; 12 h). Tooled obverse.
82. G. Hirsch 255, 14 Feb. 2008, lot 1591 = G. Hirsch 250-251, 8 May 2007, lot 742 (23 mm)
83. Naumann 78, 2 June 2019, lot 345 (23.2 mm; 9.47 g)
84. Naumann 88, 5 Apr. 2020, lot 228 (24.3 mm; 10.42 g)
85. Numismad 14 February 2025, Auction 21, lot 369 (22 mm; 10.06 g)

O51/R98

86. L TC,p197.1.Amy (= BMC 8) (22 mm; 6.77 g; 12 h)
87. L 1895,0508.108 (= BMC 9) (21 mm; 7.06 g; 12 h)
88. O (5.91 g)
89. Bucephalus Numismatic 6, 12 June 2022, lot 432 (23.6 mm; 9.76 g)
90. Lindgren Collection (Lindgren & Kovacs) no. 1666 (21 mm; 6.38 g)
91. VA 6107 (24 mm; 12 h)
92. Vcoins online (London Ancient Coins) (20 mm; 5.05 g)

O51/R104

93. N&N London 22nd Nov. 2024, Online Auction 57 lot 89 (24 mm; 7.7 g)
94. Naumann 76, 7 Apr. 2019, lot 146 (22.2 mm; 8.05 g)
95. Roma Numismatics EA 104, 15 Dec. 2022, lot 411 (22 mm; 9.01 g; 12 h)

O52/R91

96. Cop (= SNG 97) (22 mm; 7.51 g; 12 h)

O52/R101

97. B 18305251, 1928 Bernhard-Imhoof (26 mm; 11.12 g; 12 h)
98. B 18305253, 1900 Imhoof-Blumer (24 mm; 9.69 g; 12 h)
99. G M.2,567,4 (= SNG G 2094) (7.24 g)
100. Aphrodite Art Coins 16, 26–27 Nov. 2023, lot 138 (22.2 mm; 6.8 g)
101. Herakles Numismatics online (Jan 2025) = Bucephalus Numismatic 6, 12 June 2022, lot 431 (23.2 mm; 7.75 g)
102. Leu EA 16, 22 May 2021, lot 1168 (24 mm; 9.58 g; 12 h)
103. N&N London EA 43, 14 Jan. 2024, lot 400 (22 mm; 7.4 g)
104. Naumann 128, 7 May 2023, lot 351 (24 mm; 8.37 g)
105. Rex Numismatics E-Rex Auktion 27, 27 Sept. 2025, lot 36 (6.26 g)
106. Savoca 109th Blue, 24 July 2021, lot 271 = Savoca 95th Silver, 14 Feb. 2021, lot 206 = Savoca 84th Silver, 30 Aug. 2020, lot 141 (23 mm; 6.27 g)
107. VCoins online (Zurqieh) (24 mm; 6.92 g)
108. Victoria Numismatics 4, 20 - 21 Dec. 2022, lot 228 = Naumann 128, 7 May 2023, lot 351 (24 mm; 8.37 g)

O52/R—

109. Demos 45, 21–22 Feb. 2025, lot 455 (23.3 mm; 6.55 g)

O—/R—

110. Burdur 13691 (= Erol 10) (21 mm; 5.1 g). Obv. cmk: uncertain. Not illustrated.
111. Burdur 13688 (= Erol 15) (22 mm; 5.8 g). Obv. cmk: uncertain. Not illustrated.
112. Burdur 13693 (= Erol 17) (22 mm; 6.8 g). Obv. cmk: uncertain. Not illustrated.

113. Burdur 8934 (= Erol 18) (22 mm; 7.8 g). Not illustrated.
114. Burdur 11552 (= Erol 19) (23 mm; 7.1 g). Obv. cmk: uncertain. Rev. cmk: uncertain. Not illustrated.
115. Burdur 9706 (= Erol 4) (19 mm; 5.4 g). Not illustrated.
116. Burdur 11622 (= Erol 7) (20 mm; 6.6 g). Rev. cmk: uncertain. Not illustrated.
117. Burdur 13692 (= Erol 8) (21 mm; 4.1 g). Obv. cmk: uncertain. Not illustrated.
118. Hera Numismatics Auction 10, 2 Sept. 2025, lot 51 (18.16 mm; 9.13 g)
119. SPQR Collection Auction 10, 3 Sept. 2025, lot 376 (20 mm; 5.37 g)

Type 14 (RPC I 3502A)

Obverse: Laureate head of Zeus, r.; to l., monogram III (Ⲙ)

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ AMYNTOY; lion walking, r.

Denomination: Æ 21 mm
Diameter: 20–4 mm; average: 21 mm.
Weight: 5.03–9.32 g; average: 7.57 g.
Axis: 12 (3)
Average thickness: 2.35 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 1 obverse dies and 4 reverse dies
Number of coins: 22

O53/R105
1. P 14 (8.13 g; 12 h)
2. B 18305268, 1875 Prokesch-Osten (21 mm; 5.03 g; 12 h)
3. Burdur 15599 (= Erol 20) (22 mm; 7.4 g)
4. Ancient Numismatics Auctions 17, 25 Jan. 2025, lot 159 (21.6 mm; 8.5 g)
5. Auctiones GmbH e #85, 15 Sept. 2024, lot 122 (21.1 mm; 6.98 g)
6. K. Stockhammer coll. (21 mm; 8.65 g)
7. N&N London EA 17, 28 May 2023, lot 108 (20.6 mm; 7.3 g)
8. Rex Numismatics 2, 30 Sept. 2023, lot 144 (23.3 mm; 7.11 g)
9. SPQR Collection 2, 12–13 Sept. 2024, lot 79 (21.2 mm; 7.25 g)

O53/R91
10. Cop (= SNG 96) (21 mm; 6.69 g; 12 h). Monogram uncertain.
11. Biga Numismatics EA 31, 11 May 2024, lot 242 (21.2 mm; 8.73 g)
12. Olympus Numismatik 4, 7 July 2023, lot 81 (22 mm; 8.4 g)
13. Savoca 139th Blue, 31 July 2022, lot 297 (24 mm; 9.32 g)

O53/R106
14. Solidus 24, 14 Jan. 2018, lot 2117 = Solidus 19, 23 Sept. 2017, lot 239 = Solidus 15, 20 May 2017, lot 84 (21.2 mm; 5.9 g)

O53/R107
15. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 20, 25 May 2023, lot 534 (21.4 mm; 8.39 g)
16. Demos 51, 6 June 2025, lot 448 (20.1 mm; 7.34 g)
17. Rex Numismatics E-Rex Budget 17, 5 Feb. 2025, lot 87 (21.2 mm; 5.91 g)
18. SNG vA 6106 (21 mm; 9.23 g)
19. V coins (Aegean Numismatics, Nov. 2023) (22 mm; 8.88 g)

O53/R—
20. L 1947,0606,1268 (20 mm; 6.76 g)
21. Pandora Numismatics Budget Auktion 22, 13 Sept. 2025, lot 118 (21.4 mm; 5.89 g)

O—/R—
22. Ancient Numismatics Auctions Auction 26, 29 Nov. 2025, lot 81 (21.3 mm; 7.1 g)

Type 15

Obverse: Bust of Artemis with bow and quiver, r.; to r., monogram IV (ⲘⲚ)

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ AMYNTOY; stag, r.

Denomination: Æ 21 mm
Diameter: 17–22 mm; average: 19 mm.
Weight: 3.67–8.3 g; average: 5.35 g.
Axis: 12 (7)
Average thickness: 2.20 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 1 obverse dies and 4 reverse dies
Number of coins: 24

O45/R108
1. L 1897,0104.413 (18 mm; 5.23 g; 12 h)
2. L 1844,0425.1059 (= BMC 15) (16.5 mm; 4.52 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: uncertain. Reverse tooled.
3. L 1979,0101.1025 (= ex vA 6109) (18 mm; 6.19 g)
4. P 1971.359 (4.78 g; 12 h)
5. Aarhus (= SNG 817) (3.67 g)
6. Burdur 12894 (= Erol 32) (22 mm; 8.3 g; 12 h)
7. CNG EA 206, 11 Mar. 2009, lot 186 (19.2 mm; 5.5 g)
8. E-Rex Auction 30, 12 Dec. 2025, lot 48 (3.79 g)
9. N&N London EA 11, 14 Jan. 2023, lot 120 (19 mm; 5.45 g)
10. Numisfitz GmbH 2, 4 June 2023, lot 356 (20 mm; 7.39 g)
11. Online pictures available on Alamy.com provided by Penta Springs Limited
12. Private coll. (19 mm; 6 g). Obv. cmk: 5: head of Mên.
13. Roma EA 39, 26 Aug. 2017, lot 323 (21.2 mm; 5.79 g)
14. Savoca 27th Silver, 25 Nov. 2018, lot 234 (19 mm; 3.72 g)
15. SPQR Collection 6, 25–26 Feb. 2025, lot 312 (20.2 mm; 4.24 g)

O45/R109
16. Amasya 76.33.21 (= S. Ireland no. 1757) (17 mm; 4.21 g; 12 h)
17. CNG EA 261, 3 Aug. 2011, lot 130 (19 mm; 4.25 g)
18. Demos 8, 19 Mar. 2022, lot 224 (20 mm; 7.08 g)

O45/R110
19. B 18305275, 1900 Imhoof-Blumer (20 mm; 4.61 g; 12 h)
20. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 39, 15–16 June 2024, lot 351 (19.4 mm; 5.24 g)

21. Lindgren Collection (Lindgren & Kovacs) no. 1668 (16.5 mm; 5.41 g)
22. Savoca Numismatik 165th Blue Auction, 27th May 2023, lot 477 (19 mm; 5.96 g)

O45/R111
23. B 18305277, 1873 Fox (20 mm; 6.43 g; 12 h)
24. Time Auktion 1, 1 Dec. 2025, lot 155 (18.6 mm; 5.34 g)

Type 16

Obverse: Bust of Hermes wearing winged petasus, with caduceus, r.; to l., monogram III (Ⅲ)

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ; winged caduceus

Denomination: Æ 15 mm
Diameter: 13–17 mm; average: 15 mm.
Weight: 1.69–4.35 g; average: 3.31 g.
Axis: 11 (1), 12 (3)
Average thickness: 2.05 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 1 obverse dies and 2 reverse dies
Number of coins: 9

O54/R112
1. P 37 (2.33 g; 12 h)
2. B 18305284, 1906 Löbbecke (17 mm; 3.25 g; 12 h)
3. O (15 mm; 4.35 g; 11 h)
4. Hess Divo 338, 3 Dec. 2019, lot 1050 = M&M GmbH 30, 28 May 2009, lot 1075 (15 mm; 4.29 g)
5. Solidus Numismatik 131, 23 Apr. 2024, lot 63 = Solidus 128, 23 Jan. 2024, lot 1058 (16 mm; 3.71 g)

O54/R113
6. L 1930,0301.6 (13.3 mm; 2.37 g; 12 h)
7. Bucephalus Numismatic 15, 10 Feb. 2023, lot 532 (16.1 mm; 3.51 g). Heavily worn obverse die.
8. Demos 31, 12 Apr. 2024, lot 624 (13 mm; 1.69 g)

O54/R—
9. SPQR Collection 8, 2–3 June 2025, lot 152 (16.1 mm; 3.3 g)

Bronze coinage of Amyntas: Group 2 without monogram

Type 17 (RPC I 3502)

Obverse: Head of Heracles with club, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ; lion walking, r.

Denomination: Æ 21 mm
Diameter: 17–24 mm; average: 20 mm.
Weight: 3.59–10.25 g; average: 5.74 g.
Axis: 1 (3), 2 (2), 12 (23)
Average thickness: 2.05 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 2 obverse dies and 25 reverse dies
Number of coins: 122

O55/R114
1. L RPK,p161B.1.Amy (= BMC 11) (17 mm; 5.55 g; 12 h)
2. P 21 (6.02 g; 12 h)
3. Pegasi Buy or Bid 154, 21 Aug. 2018, lot 138 (21 mm; 7.13 g)
4. Savoca 126th Blue, 12 Feb. 2022, lot 690 (21 mm; 7.75 g)

O55/R115
5. Elsen 121, 14 June 2014, lot 101 = Elsen 118, 14 Sept. 2013, lot 43 (21.2 mm; 6.96 g)
6. Peus 424, 15 May 2019, lot 165 (21 mm; 5.32 g)
7. SNG Greece Kikpe no. 1017 (19 mm; 5.19 g; 12 h)

O55/R116
8. L 1895,0508.109 (= BMC 10) (16.7 mm; 4.74 g; 12 h)
9. P AA.GR.1195 (4.47 g)
10. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 14, 9 - 10 Jan. 2023, lot 124 (21.4 mm; 6.2 g)
11. CNG MBS 57, 4 Apr. 2001, lot 556 (19.1 mm; 4.44 g)
12. N&N London EA 10, 26 Nov. 2022, lot 196 (19.3 mm; 4.9 g)
13. Rauch 98, 21 Sept. 2015, lot 139 (21 mm; 6.74 g)
14. Roma EA 86, 8 July 2021, lot 601 (20.2 mm; 4.6 g; 12 h)
15. Savoca 14th Blue, 28 Dec. 2018, lot 387 (20 mm; 4.74 g)
16. Themis 9, 11 Apr. 2021, lot 351 (19.4 mm; 5.8 g)

O55/R117
17. Berk Buy or Bid Sale 221, 17 Nov. 2022, lot 154 (21 mm)
18. Grün 64, 20 Nov. 2014, lot 1310 (21 mm; 6.38 g)

O55/R118
19. Aufhäuser 4 (7.10.1987) no. 177 (1 h)
20. CNG EA 326, 7 May 2014, lot 169 = CNG EA 68, 9 July 2003, lot 101 (19 mm; 5.16 g; 12 h)
21. Demos 10, 14 May 2022, lot 327 (19 mm; 3.83 g)
22. N&N London EA 16, 1 May 2023, lot 75 (19.1 mm; 4.1 g)
23. N&N London EA 43, 14 Jan. 2024, lot 399 (19.4 mm)
24. N&N London EA 7, 14 Aug. 2022, lot 84 (21 mm; 6.5 g)
25. N&N LONDON Online Auction 63, 4 Apr. 2025, lot 323 (19 mm; 5.43 g)
26. Naville Numismatics 81, 7 May 2023, lot 301 (19.3 mm; 4.86 g)
27. Rex Numismatics E-Rex Duo 13, 31 Aug.–1 Sept. 2024, lot 945 (21.1 mm; 4.94 g)
28. Solidus 32, 28 July 2018, lot 2016 (22.6 mm)
29. Themis 4, 2 Nov. 2019, lot 4 (19.1 mm; 6.71 g)

O55/R119
30. Hess Divo 338, 3 Dec. 2019, lot 1049 = M&M GmbH 17, 4 Oct. 2005, lot 972 (21 mm; 5.39 g)
31. Künker 376, 18 Oct. 2022, lot 4785 (21.2 mm; 5.39 g)

O55/R120
32. Gorny & Mosch EA 278, 21 Apr. 2021, lot 3063 (21.2 mm; 9.35 g)
33. Künker eLive 41, 12 July 2016, lot 105 (21 mm; 4.57 g)
34. Numisfitz GmbH 2, 4 June 2023, lot 358 (19 mm; 4.96 g)
35. VCoins (CGB coins online Jan 2024) = Themis 8, 18 Oct. 2020, lot 117 (21 mm; 5.63 g)

O55/R121

36. P 20 (7.8 g; 12 h)
37. P 17 (6.18 g; 12 h)
38. Bucephalus Numismatic 21, 23 June 2023, lot 236 (21.5 mm; 6.83 g)
39. Naumann 8, 6 Oct. 2013, lot 173 (19.1 mm; 5.6 g)

O55/R122

40. Tübingen (= SNG 4591) (21 mm; 4.55 g; 2 h)
41. Elsen 152, 9 Sept. 2022, lot 252 (21.4 mm; 5.17 g)
42. Nomos Obolos EA 21, 2 Jan. 2022, lot 550 (21 mm; 6.33 g; 1 h)
43. Numismad 25th Oct. 2024, Auction 19 lot 566 (21 mm; 6.04 g)
44. Pegasi 23, 23 Nov. 2010, lot 179 (21.3 mm; 6.37 g)
45. Rex Numismatics Auction 24, 3 July 2025, lot 83 = Rex Numismatics Auction 18, 20 Febr. 2025, lot 190 (4.8 g)
46. Savoca 145th Blue, 15 Oct. 2022, lot 469 (20 mm; 4.88 g)
47. Savoca 152nd Blue, 7 Jan. 2023, lot 922 (21 mm; 4.22 g)
48. Weber collection no. 7764 (22 mm; 7.38 g)

O55/R100

49. CNG 88, 14 Sept. 2011, lot 431 (20.2 mm; 5.66 g; 12 h)
50. Marc Bar collection no. 857 (22 mm; 7.71 g)
51. N&N London EA 16, 1 May 2023, lot 116 (21.2 mm; 4.7 g)
52. Naumann 79, 7 July 2019, lot 181 (20 mm; 5.62 g)

O55/R123

53. O (20.5 mm; 5.68 g; 12 h)

O55/R124

54. Cop (= SNG 98) (21 mm; 4.81 g; 12 h)
55. N&N London EA 13, 26 Feb. 2023, lot 98 (20 mm; 6.37 g)
56. The Coin Cabinet Ancients 26, 11 Sept. 2025, lot 52 (19 mm; 6.11 g; 12 h)

O55/R125

57. SPQR Collection 8, 2–3 June 2025, lot 154 (20 mm; 5.19 g)

O55/R126

58. B 18305264, 1906 Löbbecke (20 mm; 6.69 g; 12 h)
59. Frank S. Robinson 124, 24 Apr. 2024, lot 34 (21.6 mm)
60. N&N London EA 41, 2 Dec. 2023, lot 283 (19 mm; 5.1 g)
61. Numisfitz 3, 3 Dec. 2023, lot 315 (20.2 mm; 4.89 g)
62. Rex Numismatics 3, 17 Nov. 2023, lot 63 (21.8 mm; 7.4 g)
63. Rex Numismatics E-Rex Auktion 27, 27 Sept. 2025, lot 27 (5.92 g)
64. Savoca 168th Blue, 15 July 2023, lot 777 (20 mm; 4.97 g)
65. Savoca Special 79, 21 June 2020, lot 347 (20 mm; 5.87 g)

O55/R127

66. R. Effler coll. (20 mm; 3.59 g; 2 h). Obv. cmk: 8: helmeted head of Athena, r.. AMVNTOY.
67. Rex Numismatics Rex Budget 2, 14 Oct. 2023, lot 285 (19.7 mm; 5.34 g)

O55/R128

68. Naumann 92, 2 Aug. 2020, lot 282 (20.1 mm; 5.22 g)
69. Savoca Coins Silver 203rd Monthly Silver, 24 Mar. 2024, lot 191 (22 mm; 6.38 g)

O55/R129

70. Rex Numismatics 2, 30 Sept. 2023, lot 145 (18.9 mm; 6.08 g). O to left of the lion's tail.
71. Savoca 6th Blue, 7 Apr. 2018, lot 474 (21.1 mm; 7.65 g)

O55/R130

72. Concordia Numismatic 19th Oct. 2024, Auction 21 lot 376 (19.45 mm; 5.54 g)

O55/R131

73. Savoca 122nd Blue, 25 Dec. 2021, lot 445 (20 mm; 5.36 g)

O55/R132

74. Mc Clean Collection no. 9192 (20 mm; 5.87 g)
75. Numismad 6, 28 Jan. 2023, lot 703 (20.1 mm; 6.06 g)
76. Roma Numismatics EA 103, 24 Nov. 2022, lot 552 (20.2 mm; 5.29 g; 12 h)
77. Vcoins online (London Ancient coins) (21 mm; 5.8 g; 12 h)

O55/R—

78. C (= SNG 5382) (20 mm; 5.83 g; 12 h). Rev. cmk: uncertain.
79. Burdur 13689 (= Erol 11) (21 mm; 5.5 g). Obv. cmk: uncertain. Reverse die not certain due to picture quality.
80. Burdur 13687 (= Erol 6) (20 mm; 5.2 g)
81. Hanm 9857 (= Tekin no. 364) (22 mm; 6.9 g; 12 h)
82. Demos 14, 9 Dec. 2022, lot 388 (21 mm; 7.09 g)
83. Demos 43, 27 Dec. 2024, lot 459 (17 mm; 6.22 g)
84. Elsen 123, 6 Dec. 2014, lot 50 (21.1 mm; 5.5 g). Obv. cmk: 6: ΠXVF? monogram. Rev. cmk: 7: V or Λ. New reverse die.
85. Niemczyk 36, 18 Sept. 2022, lot 5269 = CNG EA 495, 7 July 2021, lot 216 (18.2 mm; 5.44 g; 1 h)
86. Roma EA 73, 23 July 2020, lot 475 (20 mm; 6.24 g; 12 h). Obverse die close to Die no 27629.
87. Saint Paul Antiques 3, 8 Apr. 2017, lot 139 (18.1 mm; 5.48 g; 12 h)
88. Spink Auction 24125, 26 Mar. 2025, lot 1275 (5.6 g)

O56/R114

89. L 1928,0902.4 (18 mm; 9.04 g; 12 h)
90. Würzburg Ka 1285 = H 6652 (20 mm; 7.52 g)

O56/R133

91. CNG EA 343, 28 Jan. 2015, lot 200 = CNG EA 409, 8 Nov. 2017, lot 286 (18 mm; 5.49 g; 12 h)
92. Elsen 127, 5 Dec. 2015, lot 166 (21.1 mm; 3.77 g)

O56/R115

93. Elsen 136, 24 Mar. 2018, lot 230

O56/R117

94. Tübingen (= SNG 4590) (20 mm; 6.22 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: uncertain.

O56/R134

95. Burdur 13690 (= Erol 5) (19 mm; 6.4 g)
96. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 1, 15 Apr. 2022, lot 182 (21.2 mm; 5.69 g)

97. Künker eLive 67, 19 July 2021, lot 162 = Künker 304, 19 Mar. 2018, lot 624 (21 mm; 5.18 g)

O56/R135

98. Gärtner 52, 15 Feb. 2022, lot 1534 (21 mm; 4.58 g)
99. Münzzentrum Rheinland 201, 15 May 2024, lot 106 (20 mm; 6.29 g)
100. N&N London 2nd Nov. 2024, Online Auction 56 lot 41 (18 mm; 4.4 g)
101. Rex Numismatics E-Rex Duo 13, 31 Aug.–1 Sept. 2024, lot 944 (21.3 mm; 5.21 g)
102. Savoca Special 79, 21 June 2020, lot 348 (20 mm; 5.96 g)

O56/R123

103. Aquila Numismatics 8, 14 Jan. 2023, lot 109 (21.1 mm; 5.8 g)
104. Biga Numismatics EA 29, 24 Mar. 2024, lot 189 (21.6 mm; 8.33 g)
105. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 16, 24 Feb. 2023, lot 325 (21 mm; 5.22 g)
106. Naumann 108, 3 Oct. 2021, lot 280 = CNG EA 258, 22 June 2011, lot 204 (22 mm; 10.25 g; 12 h)

O56/R125

107. M&M GmbH 42, 3 June 2015, lot 87 = Künker eLive 28, 7 May 2014, lot 129 (21 mm; 5.31 g)

O56/R136

108. Biga Numismatics EA 27, 3 Feb. 2024, lot 141 (18 mm; 6.23 g)
109. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 17, 24 Mar. 2023, lot 228 (21.1 mm; 4.66 g)
110. Cayón Subastas 20th Nov. 2024, Subasta Extraordinaria 422 lot 5648 (24 mm; 7 g)

O56/R137

111. Olympus Numismatik 17 January 2025, Auction 19, lot 118 (19.7 mm; 4.9 g). Obv. cmk: 6: ΠXVF? monogram.

O56/R—

112. Burdur 31085 (= Erol 3) (19 mm; 5 g)

O—/R—

113. Aarhus (= SNG 816) (5.37 g)
114. Burdur 15380 (= Erol 1) (18 mm; 4.2 g)
115. Burdur 20305 (= Erol 13) (21 mm; 6.7 g). Obv. cmk: uncertain.
116. Burdur 14081 (= Erol 2) (19 mm; 3.9 g). Rev. cmk: 7: V or Λ.
117. Burdur 12625 (= Erol 9) (21 mm; 4.3 g)
118. Demos 51, 6 June 2025, lot 222 (18.2 mm; 5.84 g)
119. Demos 54, 6 Sept. 2025, lot 140 (18 mm; 4.54 g)
120. Demos Auction 46, 22 Mar. 2025, lot 424 (20 mm; 7.27 g)
121. Kimpel 43 1974 lot. 86
122. N&N London EA 60, 24 Jan. 2025, lot 173 (18 mm; 3.9 g). Obv. cmk: 8: helmeted head of Athena, r.

Type 18 (RPC I 3503)

Obverse: Draped bust of Artemis with bow and quiver, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ; stag, r.

Denomination: Æ 18 mm
Diameter: 14–21 mm; average: 18 mm.
Weight: 2.3–6.52 g; average: 4.19 g.
Axis: 1 (2), 11 (5), 12 (53)
Average thickness: 1.92 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 4 obverse dies and 24 reverse dies
Number of coins: 113

O57/R138

1. P 1966.453 (4.61 g; 1 h)

O57/R139

2. Leu EA 10, 7 Dec. 2019, lot 531 (17 mm; 4.9 g; 1 h)
3. Savoca 133rd Silver, 15 May 2022, lot 113 (20 mm; 3.87 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: uncertain. Reverse double struck.

O57/R140

4. Numismad 12, 5 Jan. 2024, lot 283 (17 mm; 5.07 g)

O57/R141

5. CNG Triton V, 15 Jan. 2002, lot 526 (18.1 mm; 4.09 g; 12 h)

O57/R142

6. Astarte Young Collectors 1, 11 Jan. 2024, lot 334 (18.7 mm; 5.81 g)
7. Trade (Zurüch, Vcoins, 2023) (17.5 mm; 3.96 g)

O57/R143

8. P 34 (4.38 g; 12 h)
9. Cop (= SNG 100) (17 mm; 3.91 g; 12 h)
10. CNG EA 199, 19 Nov. 2008, lot 298 (17 mm; 4.84 g; 12 h)
11. Papillon Numismatic 5, 6 Mar. 2021, lot 271 (16.8 mm; 4.07 g)

O57/R144

12. Tübingen (= SNG 4592) (18 mm; 4.36 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: uncertain.
13. Gorny & Mosch 208, 16 Oct. 2012, lot 1614 (18.1 mm; 5.05 g; 12 h)

O57/R145

14. UBS 77, 9 Sept. 2008, lot 668 (18.1 mm; 4.96 g; 12 h)

O57/R146

15. CNG EA 162, 11 Apr. 2007, lot 98 (17.1 mm; 5.68 g; 12 h)

O57/R147

16. Grün 64, 20 Nov. 2014, lot 1311 (18 mm; 4.84 g; 12 h)
17. Saint Paul Antiques 4, 22 Apr. 2017, lot 122 (17 mm; 4.74 g; 12 h)
18. Solidus 85, 21 Sept. 2021, lot 468 (16.2 mm; 3.07 g; 12 h)

O57/R148

19. P 33 (5.57 g; 12 h). Close to reverse die 30076.
20. Aufhäuser 13, 7. Oct 1997 no. 232 (5.4 g)

O57/R—

21. G. Hirsch 352, 25 Sept. 2019, lot 3327. Might be reverse die 30059.
22. N&N London Green 2, 3 Oct. 2022, lot 32 (18.2 mm; 4.6 g). Possible traces of monogram on obverse.

23. Naumann 47, 9 Oct. 2016, lot 189 (17 mm; 2.84 g)
24. Solidus 100, 17 May 2022, lot 228 = Solidus 85, 21 Sept. 2021, lot 466 = Grün 64, 20 Nov. 2014, lot 1312 = G. Hirsch 264, 25 Nov. 2009, lot 336 (17 mm; 4.84 g)
25. Themis 7, 27 June 2020, lot 138 (18 mm; 5.4 g)

O58/R138

26. L 1928,0514.13 (15.2 mm; 2.83 g; 12 h)
27. L 1979,0101.1026 (= vA 6110) (16 mm; 4.61 g)
28. P 32 (4.31 g; 12 h)
29. (17.9 mm; 3.6 g). Obv. cmk: 8: helmeted head of Athena, r.
30. Aquila Numismatics 8, 14 Jan. 2023, lot 110 (17.1 mm; 3.4 g; 12 h)
31. Aufhäuser 3 (7.10.1986) no. 96; Leu EA 16, 22 May 2021, lot 1170 (18 mm; 5.11 g; 12 h)
32. CGT coll. (16 mm; 4.5 g; 12 h)
33. Demos 6, 5 Dec. 2021, lot 386 (20.4 mm; 4.18 g; 12 h)
34. Leu EA 4, 24 June 2018, lot 361 (16 mm; 4.89 g; 12 h)
35. Numismad 6, 28 Jan. 2023, lot 706 (17.4 mm; 3.5 g)
36. Rauch EA 26, 15 Mar. 2018, lot 582
37. Saint Paul Antiques 19, 30 Nov. 2019, lot 323 (17 mm; 4.11 g; 12 h)
38. Savoca 98th Blue, 27 Mar. 2021, lot 466 (18 mm; 3.25 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: uncertain.
39. Savoca Live EA 11, 18 Dec. 2016, lot 382 (18 mm; 4.92 g)

O58/R142

40. L G.4216.CGR59736 (15 mm; 4.68 g; 12 h)
41. Berk Buy or Bid Sale 227, 14 May 2024, lot 379 = CNG EA 214, 15 July 2009, lot 204 = M&M GmbH 13, 9 Oct. 2003, lot 505 (18.3 mm; 3.73 g; 12 h)

O58/R144

42. O (= Given by Robinson 26 May, 1960. From Antiphellos.) (20 mm; 4.41 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: uncertain. Countermarks described as B and eagle head on Ashmolean ticket.

O58/R145

43. G. Hirsch 352, 25 Sept. 2019, lot 3327

O58/R149

44. Burdur 13696 (= Erol 21) (16 mm; 4.2 g; 12 h)
45. Erol 28 (18 mm; 4.7 g)

O59/R141

46. Eid Mar Auctions 1, 16 Dec. 2023, lot 117 (17.2 mm; 3.45 g)
47. Roma EA 45, 5 May 2018, lot 307 (18 mm; 3.39 g; 12 h). The diameter is given as 28 mm by the auction house.
48. Saint Paul Antiques 13, 19 Nov. 2017, lot 259 (17.3 mm; 4.02 g; 12 h)
49. Savoca 141st Blue, 27 Aug. 2022, lot 457 (19 mm; 3.64 g)
50. Trade (Zurich, Vcoins, 2023) = Numisfitz GmbH 1, 26 Mar. 2023, lot 380 (19.1 mm; 4.91 g)

O59/R150

51. N&N London EA 45, 16 Mar. 2024, lot 446 (18 mm; 4.36 g)

O59/R151

52. B 18305279, 1862 Sperling (18 mm; 4.37 g; 12 h)
53. Cop (= SNG 101) (19 mm; 3.77 g; 12 h)
54. Saint Paul Antiques 3, 8 Apr. 2017, lot 140 (19 mm; 4.82 g; 12 h)

O59/R152

55. B 18305278, 1875 Prokesch-Osten (20 mm; 3.47 g; 12 h)
56. Biga Numismatics EA 17, 19 Mar. 2023, lot 59 (18.2 mm; 5.4 g)
57. CNG MBS 75, 23 May 2007, lot 449 (19.3 mm; 3.77 g; 12 h)
58. Noble Numismatics 114, 28 Mar. 2017, lot 4148 (18.1 mm; 3.47 g; 12 h)

O59/R145

59. B 18305280, 1906 Löbbecke (19 mm; 2.79 g; 12 h)
60. O (2.74 g; 12 h)
61. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 39, 15–16 June 2024, lot 352 (17.5 mm; 3.36 g)
62. Emporium Hamburg 85, 8 May 2019, lot 186 = Kölner Münzkabinett EA 4, 1 Jan. 2018, lot 458 = Kölner Münzkabinett EA 3, 25 June 2017, lot 154 = Kölner Münzkabinett 106, 11 Mar. 2017, lot 173 (18.1 mm; 4.12 g)

O59/R153

63. Agora Sale 75, 10 July 2018, lot 100 (15.9 mm; 4.46 g; 12 h)
64. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 29, 24–25 Nov. 2023, lot 329 (19.1 mm; 4.11 g)
65. CNG EA 199, 19 Nov. 2008, lot 297 (18.1 mm; 4.08 g; 12 h)

O59/R154

66. Agora Sale 102, 5 Oct. 2021, lot 147 (19.2 mm; 4.79 g; 11 h)
67. CNG EA 358, 26 Aug. 2015, lot 152 = Agora Sale 30, 14 Apr. 2015, lot 100 (19.5 mm; 5.33 g; 11 h)
68. Marc Bar collection no. 858 (18 mm; 5.38 g)

O59/R155

69. CNG EA 522, 24 Aug. 2022, lot 147 (18.5 mm; 3.18 g; 11 h)

O59/R156

70. Demos 8, 19 Mar. 2022, lot 225 = Demos 6, 5 Dec. 2021, lot 623 (18 mm; 2.88 g)
71. Dorney 4, 2 Mar. 2018, lot 33 (18.4 mm; 3.86 g; 12 h)
72. Naumann 115, 3 Apr. 2022, lot 612 (19 mm; 3.04 g; 12 h). Rev. cmk: uncertain.

O59/R157

73. Künker 333, 16 Mar. 2020, lot 599 = CNG EA 281, 20 June 2012, lot 126 (18 mm; 4.77 g; 12 h)

O59/R158

74. Brisbane 3194 (= N&N London EA 39, 4 Nov. 2023, lot 278) (18 mm; 4.9 g)
75. Roma Numismatics EA 104, 15 Dec. 2022, lot 412 (19 mm; 4.74 g; 12 h)

O59/R159

76. Freiburg 12617 (18 mm; 3.49 g; 11 h)

O59/R160

77. P 35 (4.33 g; 12 h)
78. Burdur 5402 (= Erol 31) (19 mm; 4 g). Obv. cmk: 6: ΠΧVF? monogram.
79. Naumann 88, 5 Apr. 2020, lot 229 (19 mm; 4.12 g; 12 h)

O59/R161

80. N&N London EA 41, 2 Dec. 2023, lot 284 (16.1 mm)

O59/R—

81. Burdur 15888 (= Erol 23) (17 mm; 3 g)
82. Savoca 186th Weekly Blue, 16 Dec. 2023, lot 233 (18 mm; 4.49 g)
83. Solidus 133, 18 June 2024, lot 109 (17 mm; 3 g)

O60/R150

84. Bucephalus Numismatic 4, 11 Mar. 2022, lot 321 (17.2 mm; 5.9 g)
85. Naumann 98, 3 Jan. 2021, lot 360 (18.2 mm; 4.92 g; 12 h)

O60/R145

86. Künker 243, 21 Nov. 2013, lot 4645 (18 mm; 4.83 g; 12 h)

O60/R156

87. O (19.5 mm; 3.19 g; 12 h)

O—/R—

88. P AA.GR.1197 (3.01 g; 12 h)
89. Cop (= SNG 102) (14 mm; 5.07 g; 12 h)
90. G M.2,567,5 (= SNG G 2095) (4.32 g)
91. G 1924 (C 3194) (= SNG G 2096) (3.63 g)
92. Burdur 31198 (= Erol 22) (17 mm; 2.3 g)
93. Burdur 31898 (= Erol 24) (17 mm; 3.6 g). Not illustrated.
94. Burdur 13697 (= Erol 25) (18 mm; 3.2 g). Not illustrated.
95. Burdur 9038 (= Erol 26) (18 mm; 3.4 g)
96. Burdur 9756 (= Erol 27) (18 mm; 3.9 g)
97. Burdur 4119 (= Erol 29) (18 mm; 5.4 g)
98. Burdur 5704 (= Erol 30) (19 mm; 3.7 g)
99. Freiburg (18 mm; 3.49 g; 12 h)
100. Gaziantep 050100203 (= TOUMPAN (2015) Zeugma kazı sikkeleri: 2005 - 2012. http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12575/83199. No 6.) (17 mm; 6 g). Zeugma excavation surface find at the plateau of At Meydanı.
101. CNG EA 589, 18 June 2025, lot 247 (17.5 mm; 3.66 g; 12 h)
102. CNG EA 591, 16 July 2025, lot 216 = Demos Auction 46, 22 Mar. 2025, lot 490 (18 mm; 3.26 g; 12 h)
103. Davissons Auction 44, 12 Mar. 2025, lot 58 (17.5 mm; 4.74 g)
104. Demos Auction 46, 22 Mar. 2025, lot 491 (16 mm; 3.71 g)
105. Demos Auction 47, 5 Apr. 2025, lot 115 (17 mm; 3.6 g)
106. N&N LONDON 14 Feb. 2025, Online Auction 61, lot 136. (17 mm; 4 g)
107. NumisCorner (20.5 mm; 4.61 g; 12 h)
108. Numismad 25th Oct. 2024, Auction 19 lot 569 (17 mm; 5.07 g)
109. Olympus Numismatik 8th Dec. 2024, Auction 18 lot 83 (19.2 mm; 3 g)
110. Olympus Numismatik Auction 19, 17 Jan. 2025, lot 117 (17.7 mm; 3.6 g)
111. Rex Numismatics Auction 16, 22 Jan. 2025, lot 110 (18.38 mm; 6.52 g)
112. Rex Numismatics E-Rex Auktion 27, 27 Sept. 2025, lot 406 (3.94 g)
113. Vcoins online (CGB) (18 mm; 3.83 g; 11 h)

Type 19 (RPC I 3504)

Obverse: Bust of Hermes wearing petasus, with caduceus, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ; winged caduceus

Denomination: Æ 16 mm
Diameter: 13–19 mm; average: 16 mm.
Weight: 1.7–4.18 g; average: 3.06 g.
Axis: 1 (3), 6 (1), 12 (33)
Average thickness: 1.72 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 10 obverse dies and 21 reverse dies
Number of coins: 84

O61/R113

1. P AA.GR.12626 (3.49 g; 1 h)
2. Cop (= SNG 103) (15 mm; 3.4 g; 12 h)

O61/R162

3. Nomos Obolos EA 13, 2 July 2019, lot 421 (15 mm; 3.1 g; 12 h)
4. Roma EA 39, 26 Aug. 2017, lot 977
5. Solidus 85, 21 Sept. 2021, lot 465 = Grün 64, 20 Nov. 2014, lot 1313 (16 mm; 3.36 g)

O62/R163

6. Kastner 12 1976 no.137; Lanz 106, 27 Nov. 2001, lot 168 (15.1 mm; 3.02 g; 12 h)

O62/R164

7. Naumann 116, 1 May 2022, lot 630 (16 mm; 2.62 g; 12 h)
8. Savoca 105th Blue, 12 June 2021, lot 869 (15 mm; 2.62 g)

O62/R165

9. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 27, 9 Sept. 2023, lot 747 (14.1 mm; 3.58 g; 12 h)

O62/R166

10. Naumann 115, 3 Apr. 2022, lot 613 (17.1 mm; 2.86 g; 12 h)
11. VA 6111 (16 mm; 3.31 g; 12 h)

O62/R167

12. Saint Paul Antiques 3, 8 Apr. 2017, lot 141 (15 mm; 3.24 g; 12 h)
13. Savoca 116th Blue, 23 Oct. 2021, lot 328 (16 mm; 3.38 g)

O62/R—

14. O (16.4 mm; 2.94 g)

O63/R168

15. L 1979,0101.1027 (= vA 6112) (13.2 mm; 12 h)
16. Emporium Hamburg Alpha 9, 10 July 2022, lot 149 (15 mm; 2.71 g; 12 h)

O63/R169

17. Solidus 85, 21 Sept. 2021, lot 467 = Grün 64, 20 Nov. 2014, lot 1314 (15 mm; 3.03 g; 12 h)

O63/R170

18. CGT coll. ex Zeus Prime 3, 12 Jan. 2020, lot 329 (15 mm; 3.37 g; 6 h)

O63/R171

19. Savoca 29th Blue, 22 Feb. 2020, lot 521= Savoca 24th Blue, 21 Sept. 2019, lot 435 = Savoca 11th Blue, 27 Oct. 2018, lot 834 = Savoca 3rd Blue, 25 Nov. 2017, lot 327 (18 mm; 3 g)

O63/R172

20. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 39, 15–16 June 2024, lot 350 (16 mm; 3.75 g)
21. Leu EA 20, 16 July 2022, lot 1373 (16.2 mm; 2.13 g; 12 h)
22. London Ancient Coins 42, 1 Apr. 2015, lot 187 (15 mm; 3.44 g; 12 h)

O63/R173

23. Demos 27th Sept. 2024 Auction 38, lot 1716 (14 mm; 2.77 g)
24. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 26, 8 July 2023, lot 1385 (15 mm; 3.78 g; 12 h)
25. N&N London Green 5, 6 Feb. 2023, lot 119 (15 mm; 1.9 g; 12 h)

O63/R—

26. Burdur 22427 (= Erol 43) (17 mm; 2.9 g)
27. Biga Numismatics EA 1, 8 Nov. 2020, lot 121 (16.1 mm; 3.5 g)
28. Roma EA 102, 3 Nov. 2022, lot 503 = Leu EA 25, 11 Mar. 2023, lot 919 (17 mm; 3.47 g; 1 h)

O64/R174

29. Savoca 30th Blue, 21 Mar. 2020, lot 957 (17.1 mm; 2.94 g)

O64/R175

30. Bucephalus Numismatic 4, 11 Mar. 2022, lot 903 = Bucephalus Numismatic Black 3, 27 July 2022, lot 303 (16 mm; 3.06 g; 12 h)
31. Ebay Jan 2024 (17 mm; 2.9 g)
32. N&N London EA 35, 30 Sept. 2023, lot 275 (17.3 mm; 2.87 g)
33. R. Effler coll. (ex Bucephalus Black Auction 3, 27-28 July 2022, lot 303) (16 mm; 3.06 g; 12 h)

O64/R—

34. Münzzentrum Rheinland 201, 15 May 2024, lot 104 (16 mm; 3.49 g)
35. N&N London EA 19, 1 July 2023, lot 302 (15.1 mm; 3.2 g)

O65/R176

36. P 38 (3.74 g; 12 h)
37. Bucephalus Numismatic 1, 17 Dec. 2021, lot 60 (16.4 mm; 2.93 g; 12 h)

O66/R175

38. Biga Numismatics EA 27, 3 Feb. 2024, lot 142 (15 mm; 3.54 g)
39. CNG EA 199, 19 Nov. 2008, lot 299 (17 mm; 3.13 g; 1 h)

O66/R—

40. Burdur 13663 (= Erol 34) (15 mm; 2.9 g)

O67/R174

41. L 1878,1201.3 (= BMC 16) (13 mm; 12 h)
42. Leu EA 1, 25 June 2017, lot 640 = Rauch 95, 30 Sept. 2014, lot 146 (17 mm; 3.57 g)
43. Papillon Numismatic 8, 19 Sept. 2021, lot 749 (15.1 mm; 3 g; 12 h)
44. Peus 428, 28 Apr. 2021, lot 353 = Peus 378, 28 Apr. 2004, lot 288 (15 mm; 2.28 g; 12 h)
45. SNG Greece Kikpe no. 1018 (15 mm; 3.45 g; 12 h)

O67/R—

46. Burdur 352 (= Erol 36) (15 mm; 3.2 g)

O68/R171

47. Harvard 1980.86.224 (16 mm; 3.37 g)
48. Biga Numismatics EA 22, 2 Sept. 2023, lot 101 (17.2 mm; 2.95 g)
49. Rönesans Salzgitter Auktion 21, 1 Sep. 2025, lot 21 (17.3 mm; 3.25 g)

O68/R177

50. M&M GmbH 13, 9 Oct. 2003, lot 506 (18 mm; 2.7 g; 12 h)
51. SPQR Collection 8, 2–3 June 2025, lot 153 (16.1 mm; 2.5 g)

O68/R178

52. Biga Numismatics EA 1, 8 Nov. 2020, lot 122 (16.2 mm; 3.8 g)
53. N&N London EA 47, 18 May 2024, lot 235 (15 mm; 2.1 g)

O68/R—

54. Demos 53, 15–16 Aug. 2025, lot 484 (17.5 mm; 3.1 g). Rev. cmk: uncertain.

O69/R175

55. Burdur 11648 (= Erol 38) (16 mm; 2.3 g)
56. Manchester (= Sotheby 20.1.1903.; Manchester no. 1312) (3.41 g)
57. N&N London EA 17, 28 May 2023, lot 143 (16.4 mm; 3.4 g)
58. N&N London EA 44, 11 Feb. 2024, lot 302 (15.1 mm; 2.96 g)
59. N&N London EA 45, 16 Mar. 2024, lot 426 (17.1 mm; 1.96 g)
60. N&N London EA 63, 4 Apr. 2025, lot 324 (15.1 mm; 2.74 g). Rev. cmk: helmeted head of Athena, r.
61. N&N London Green 13, 14 Aug. 2023, lot 395 (15 mm; 1.7 g)

O70/R164

62. Naumann 71, 4 Nov. 2018, lot 200 (16.1 mm; 3.78 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: 6: ΠXVF? monogram.

O70/R179

63. B 18305281, 1873 Fox (19 mm; 3.54 g; 12 h)

O—/R176

64. Rex Numismatics 10th Nov. 2024, Auction 14 lot 478 (16.24 mm; 4.02 g)

O—/R113

65. SPQR Collection 6, 25–26 Feb. 2025, lot 313 (15.2 mm; 3.96 g)

O—/R180

66. P 36 (4.18 g; 12 h)
67. N&N London EA 12, 21 Jan. 2023, lot 393 (16.2 mm; 3.37 g; 12 h)
68. N&N London EA 46, 20 Apr. 2024, lot 342 (15.5 mm; 3.2 g)

O—/R170

69. Tübingen (= SNG 4593) (16 mm; 1.74 g; 12 h)

O—/R181

70. P 1966.453 (2.59 g; 12 h)

O—/R179

71. P Luynes.2792 (43-42-9) (2.95 g; 12 h)

O—/R—

72. B 18305282, 1900 Imhoof-Blumer (16 mm; 2.73 g; 12 h)
73. B 18305283, 1900 Imhoof-Blumer (16 mm; 2.54 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: 6: ΠXVF? monogram.
74. Burdur 2187 (= Erol 35) (15 mm; 3.1 g)
75. Burdur 20762 (= Erol 37) (16 mm; 2 g). Not illustrated.
76. Burdur 2155 (= Erol 39) (16 mm; 2.7 g)
77. Burdur 2189 (= Erol 40) (16 mm; 2.9 g). Not illustrated.
78. Burdur 8885 (= Erol 41) (16 mm; 3.4 g). Not illustrated.
79. Burdur 295 (= Erol 42) (16 mm; 3.5 g). Not illustrated.
80. Burdur 2104 (= Erol 44) (17 mm; 3 g). Not illustrated.
81. Burdur 3308 (= Erol 45) (17 mm; 3.3 g). Not illustrated.
82. Burdur 18859 (= Erol 46) (17 mm; 3.3 g). Not illustrated.
83. Burdur 11742 (= Erol 47) (18 mm; 3 g). Not illustrated.
84. David Connor Ancient Coins and Artefacts online (15 mm; 2.73 g)

Tetradrachms of Amyntas

Type 20

Obverse: Helmeted head of Athena, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ; Nike advancing, l., holding sceptre or trophy with diadem tied around it

Denomination: AR Tetradrachm
Diameter: 27–9 mm; average: 28 mm.
Weight: 15.62–16.16 g; average: 15.82 g.
Axis: 12 (6)
Average thickness: 2.41 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 2 obverse dies and 3 reverse dies
Number of coins: 12

O71/R182

1. L 1979,0101.1022 (= SNG vA 6104) (27 mm; 15.73 g)
2. P Luynes 2790 (= de Luynes, *RN* 1845 no. 2; IGCH 1465; Atlan 9) (15.7 g)
3. B 18305221, 1900 Imhoof-Blumer (28 mm; 15.74 g; 12 h)
4. C (= SNG Leake 5380) (15.86 g)
5. Hirsch 20 1907 no. 435

O72/R182

6. L 1846,0313.1 (= BMC Amyntas 7) (28 mm; 15.62 g; 12 h)
7. B 18305214, 1863 Dannenberg (= Atlan 1) (29 mm; 15.8 g; 12 h)
8. C (= Sotheby 16 Nov. 1880, lot 163 = SNG Lewis 1050) (28 mm; 16.16 g)

O72/R183

9. P 5 (15.98 g). Graffito COΔI.
10. B 18305217, 1861 Friedländer (29 mm; 15.67 g; 12 h)
11. B 18305216, 1873 Fox (= Atlan 2) (29 mm; 15.89 g; 12 h)

O72/R184

12. B 18305218, 1900 Imhoof-blumer (= Atlan 3) (28 mm; 15.9 g; 12 h)

Type 21 (RPC I 3501)

Obverse: Helmeted head of Athena, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ; Nike advancing, l., holding sceptre with diadem

Denomination: AR Tetradrachm
Diameter: 27–30 mm; average: 28 mm.
Weight: 14.82–16.14 g; average: 15.81 g.
Axis: 11 (2), 12 (16)
Average thickness: 2.38 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 4 obverse dies and 17 reverse dies
Number of coins: 53

O71/R185

1. P C 1920 (15.98 g)
2. P 8 (15.52 g)
3. C Y. 1001; Bunbury 411 (= Atlan 12) (28 mm; 15.84 g)
4. Cop (= SNG 94; Atlan 16) (27 mm; 15.81 g; 12 h)
5. Peus 374, 23 Apr. 2003, lot 115 = Peus 371, 24 Apr. 2002, lot 210 (28.1 mm; 15.93 g)
6. Schulman March 1936 no. 175 = Schulman Jan. 1913 no. 10 (15.7 g)
7. Solidus 86, 12 Oct. 2021, lot 1223 (28.2 mm; 16.06 g)
8. Weber collection no. 7762 (28 mm; 15.86 g)

O71/R186

9. L 1855,0320.3 (= BMC Amyntas 5) (29 mm; 16.05 g; 12 h)
10. Tübingen (= SNG Tübingen 4588; Atlan 11) (28 mm; 15.97 g)
11. CNG MBS 69, 8 June 2005, lot 503 = UBS 57, 15 Sept. 2003, lot 286 (27.9 mm; 15.62 g; 12 h)
12. Künker 236, 7 Oct. 2013, lot 110 (28.1 mm; 15.58 g)

O71/R187

13. C Y. 1003 (= Atlan 10) (28 mm; 15.61 g)
14. Gorny & Mosch 276, 19 Apr. 2021, lot 211= Peus L 33 1973 no. 106 (28.3 mm; 15.9 g)
15. Hess 45 no. 331 (15.86 g)

O71/R188

16. B 18305222, 1906 Löbbecke (= Atlan 15) (29 mm; 15.63 g; 12 h)

O71/R189

17. Nomos 24, 22 May 2022, lot 237 (28.1 mm; 16.02 g; 12 h)

O71/R190

18. Brussels du Chastel 272 (= Atlan 14) (30 mm; 15.85 g; 12 h)

O71/R191

19. Aberdeen 49343 (= SNG Aberdeen 344) (15.54 g)

O71/R192

20. Lanz-München 43 1987 no. 301 (15.6 g)

O71/R193

21. Harvard 1976.79.1208 (27 mm; 14.82 g)
22. Ciani 27 June 1934, lot 14 (29 mm)

O73/R194

23. Atlan 22

O73/R195

24. Atlan 23

O72/R185

25. L 1847,0202.1 (= BMC Amyntas 1) (29 mm; 15.9 g; 11 h)
26. P Luynes 2791 (16 g)
27. B 18305220, 1875 Prokesch-Osten (29 mm; 15.87 g; 12 h)
28. Hess 1907 no. 1101

O72/R196

29. L 1846,0313.2 (= BMC Amyntas 6) (29 mm; 16.06 g; 11 h)
30. B 18305219, 1873 Fox (= Atlan 4) (29 mm; 15.79 g; 12 h)
31. Künker 94, 27 Sept. 2004, lot 1377 (28.4 mm; 15.81 g)
32. Monnaies d'Antan 23, 19 May 2018, lot 615 (29.3 mm; 15.65 g)
33. Schulman June 1924 no. 531 (15.6 g)
34. Stack's Bowers Galleries August 2021 ANA, 16 Aug. 2021, lot 43066 (27.6 mm; 15.65 g)

O72/R197

35. CNG Web Shop, -, lot 157293 = Stack's Coin Galleries February 2007, 21 Feb. 2007, lot 112 (28.5 mm; 15.87 g; 12 h)

O72/R198

36. P 9 (15.98 g)
37. Newcastle (= SNG Newcastle 546) (15.68 g)
38. Atlan 5
39. Leu 6, 23 Oct. 2020, lot 240 (29 mm; 16 g; 12 h)

O72/R188

40. Atlan 7; Kricheldorf (no further information given)
41. Hamburger 1909 no. 1181
42. Ira & Larry Goldberg Coins & Collectibles Inc. 137, 29–31 Jan. 2024, lot 1285
43. Naville Numismatics Auction 98, 12 Oct. 2025, lot 816 = Peus 403, 27 Apr. 2011, lot 137 = Peus 399, 4 Nov. 2009, lot 187 = Peus 395, 7 May 2008, lot 187 = Künker 83, 17 June 2003, lot 396 (29 mm; 15.64 g)

O72/R189

44. O (= Atlan 6) (29 mm; 15.71 g; 12 h)

O74/R185

45. B 18305223, 1873 Fox (= Atlan 18) (29 mm; 15.9 g; 12 h)

O74/R196

46. B 18305227, 1906 Löbbecke (= Atlan 21) (15.82 g; 12 h)

O74/R199

47. Lodz MAEŁ - N - A 7999 (= SNG Pol 1 (ex Jochman collection)) (29 mm; 16.02 g)
48. Atlan 17 = Hirsch 19 1907 no. 587
49. Naumann 85, 5 Jan. 2020, lot 144 (27.1 mm; 15.97 g)

O74/R200

50. B 18305226, 1852/11353 (15.82 g; 12 h)
51. O (= Atlan 20) (30 mm; 16.14 g; 12 h)
52. Naville Numismatics 76, 2 Oct. 2022, lot 112 (28 mm; 15.85 g)

O74/R201

53. B 18305224, 1848/8648 (= Atlan 13) (28 mm; 16.01 g; 12 h)

Tetradrachms of Amyntas Year 12 (=IB)

Type 22

Obverse: Helmeted head of Athena, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ AMYNTOY, IB; Nike advancing, l., holding sceptre with diadem

Denomination: AR Tetradrachm
Diameter: 26 mm; average: 26 mm.
Weight: 15.66 g; average: 15.66 g.
Axis: 12 (1)
Average thickness: 2.79 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 1 obverse dies and 1 reverse dies
Number of coins: 1

O73/R197

1. CNG MBS 73, 13 Sept. 2006, lot 415 = Lanz 125, 28 Nov. 2005, lot 436 (26.1 mm; 15.66 g; 12 h)

Type 23

Obverse: Helmeted head of Athena, r.; to l., monogram I (ϟ△)

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ AMYNTOY, IB (in field); Nike advancing, l., holding sceptre with diadem

Denomination: AR Tetradrachm
Diameter: 27–31 mm; average: 29 mm.
Weight: 15–16.94 g; average: 15.87 g.
Axis: 11 (3), 12 (12)
Average thickness: 2.33 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 3 obverse dies and 17 reverse dies
Number of coins: 53

O73/R185

1. L 1852,1025.1 (= BMC Amyntas 2) (31 mm; 15.96 g; 11 h). Reverse die with IB addition.
2. Winterthur G 4750 (29 mm; 15.82 g; 12 h). Reverse die with IB addition.

3. Atlan 25

O73/R202

4. Dorotheum 253 1962 no. 633

O73/R203

5. Atlan 27
6. Rollin Feuardent Walcher de Moltheim 1895 no. 2832 (15.66 g)
7. Vico Subasta 159, 20 July 2021, lot 439 (28.6 mm; 15.95 g)

O73/R194

8. C Y. 1002; Bunbury 414 no. 5378 (= Atlan 26) (28 mm; 15.98 g)
9. Künker 333, 16 Mar. 2020, lot 600 = Grün 59, 15 May 2012, lot 104 = Kreß 99, 1955 no. 218 = Grab 1930 no. 540 (28.2 mm; 15.96 g)

O73/R195

10. L 1866,1201.3816 (= BMC Amyntas 4; Atlan 24) (29 mm; 15.84 g; 12 h)

O73/R204

11. Harvard 1.1965.2535 (= Arthur S. Dewing collection no.2535 = Atlan 28 = Drouot May 20-22 1959 no. 578) (15.51 g; 12 h)

O75/R205

12. Atlan 38 = Helbing 1928 no. 4053 = Horsky 1917 no. 1649

O75/R206

13. P 11 (15.82 g)
14. Cop (= SNG 95) (30 mm; 16.01 g)
15. Atlan 37 = Droud 1924 Barrachim no. 244 (15 g)
16. Vienna auction database unknown, lot no. 45 (16 g)

O75/R207

17. P 1966,453.2927 (15.71 g)
18. B 18305231, 1873 Fox (27 mm; 16 g; 12 h)
19. Basel, March 1938 no. 364 (16.04 g)
20. Godfrey Locker Lampson Collection no. 262 = S.W.H. 12, vii; 1920, lot 56 = Hess 12 1913 no. 262 (29 mm; 15.98 g)
21. Münzen und Medaillen AG 292 Sept 1968 no. 26 (15.67 g)
22. SNG Vol: III 3079 Lockett Collection; Atlan 36; NAC 138, 18 May 2023, lot 264 = Sotheby 13/06/1911 lot 208. (28.9 mm; 15.96 g)

O75/R208

23. P R 2122 (15.94 g)
24. Atlan 43

O75/R209

25. B 18305233, 1873 Fox (= Atlan 41) (31 mm; 16.03 g; 12 h)

O75/R210

26. Atlan 42

O75/R211

27. B 18305232, 1906 Löbbecke (29 mm; 15.8 g; 12 h)
28. Atlan 40 = Hirsch XIII 1905 no. 4403 (15.74 g)
29. Elsen 116, 16 Mar. 2013, lot 137 (28 mm; 16.94 g)
30. John Max Wulfing Collection in Washington University 1979, no. 351 = Schulman June 1924 no. 532 (29 mm; 15.74 g)

O75/R212

31. Toulouse (= Musee Saint-Raymond de Toulouse 1939, no 128) (30 mm)
32. Atlan 39; Drouot-Bourgey March 1972 no. 64 = Kirsch 34 1914 no. 499 = Frankfurter Münzhandlung Nachf. GmbH 157, 3 Nov. 2023, lot 179 (29.8 mm; 15.75 g)

O75/R213

33. Nomos 11, 9 Oct. 2015, lot 127 = G. Hirsch 326, 16 Feb. 2017, lot 1795 (27.3 mm; 16.09 g). Overstrike on reverse.

O76/R205

34. P Luynes 2789 (= de Luynes, RN 1845 no. 2; IGCH 1465) (15.92 g)
35. Atlan 34
36. CNG Triton VI, 14 Jan. 2003, lot 442 (27.6 mm; 15.77 g)
37. Gorny & Mosch 215, 14 Oct. 2013, lot 900 (27.9 mm; 15.93 g)
38. Heritage 3072, 15 Jan. 2019, lot 35265 (30 mm; 15.7 g; 12 h)

O76/R214

39. Atlan 30
40. Brüder Egger XLVI 11th May 1914, no. 2335; NFA Winter 1989 no. 625 (15.96 g)
41. Nomos Obolos EA 8, 2 Dec. 2017, lot 321 = Braunschweig 3 1927 no. 411 (29.1 mm; 15.76 g; 11 h)
42. SNG vA 6105 (28.5 mm; 15.79 g)

O76/R202

43. L 1846,0415.7 (= BMC Amyntas 3; Atlan 32) (30 mm; 15.99 g; 11 h)
44. P 12 (15.85 g)

O76/R207

45. Atlan 31

O76/R203

46. B 18305228, 1849/8883 (= Atlan 29) (30 mm; 15.83 g; 12 h)

O76/R215

47. B 18305229, 1863 Dannenberg (= Atlan 33) (30 mm; 16.12 g; 12 h)
48. C (= SNG Fitzwilliam 7 5379) (15.84 g). Reverse die not completely certain due top the bad quality of the picture.
49. Tübingen (= SNG 4589) (15.66 g; 12 h). Double struck.
50. (27.5 mm; 15.75 g; 12 h)

O76/R210

51. B 18305230, 1900 Imhoof-Blumer (= Atlan 35) (27 mm; 16.09 g; 12 h)
52. Hirsch 25 1909 Philipsen no. 2829
53. Hirsch XXXIII 1913 no. 877

Tetradrachms of Side ΚΛΕΥΧ Group 4

Type 24

Obverse: Helmeted head of Athena, r.

Reverse: ΚΛΕΥΧ; Nike advancing l, r. hand outstretched, holding laurel wreath; in field pomegranate

Denomination: AR Tetradrachm
Diameter: 27–32 mm; average: 29 mm.
Weight: 14.69–16.29 g; average: 15.77 g.
Axis: 1 (1), 11 (1), 12 (19)
Average thickness: 2.26 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 8 obverse dies and 33 reverse dies
Number of coins: 51

O77/R216

1. L HPB.p126.2.B (= BMC 43 = Meadows, *Amyntas* A2/P13) (28.5 mm; 15.67 g)
2. Nomos Obolos EA 8, 2 Dec. 2017, lot 306 (30.4 mm; 15.91 g; 12 h)

O77/R217

3. Meadows, *Amyntas* A2/P12a; Kölner MK 46 (1988) 2111
4. Meadows, *Amyntas* A2/P12b (15.84 g). Lanz 97 (2000) 332.

O77/R218

5. Meadows, *Amyntas* A2/P14; BMC Side 45 (30 mm; 15.67 g). Maybe https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1846-0415-1.

O77/R219

6. Meadows, *Amyntas* A2/P15; SNG Lewis 1034 (15.7 g)

O77/R220

7. P Armand Valton 455 (= Meadows, *Amyntas* A2/P16) (15.88 g)

O77/R221

8. Heritage ANA Signature Sale 3101, 25 Aug. 2022, lot 35132 (28 mm; 15.97 g; 12 h)

O77/R222

9. B 18288490, 1873 Fox (15.6 g; 1 h)

O78/R223

10. Brussels Hirsch 1589 (= Meadows, *Amyntas* A4/P21) (15.7 g)

O78/R224

11. NY 1944.100.50928 (= Meadows, *Amyntas* A4/P22) (28 mm; 15.87 g; 12 h)

O78/R225

12. Meadows, *Amyntas* A4/P19 = Rauch EA 28, 13 Sept. 2018, lot 101 (29.4 mm; 15.97 g)

O78/R226

13. Meadows, *Amyntas* A4/P20 (15.79 g)

O78/R227

14. Berk Buy or Bid Sale 220, 4 Aug. 2022, lot 98 = Nomos obolos 22, 6 Mar. 2022, lot 433 (30.5 mm; 15.91 g; 12 h)

O78/R228

15. Art Institute of Chicago (29 mm)
16. Nomos obolos 21, 2 Jan. 2022, lot 500 (27 mm; 15.97 g; 11 h)

O78/R229

17. B 18288488, 1900 Imhoof-Blumer (16.19 g; 12 h)

O79/R224

18. Brussels du Chastel 271 (= Meadows, *Amyntas* A5/P22a; Atlan K) (28 mm; 15.87 g; 12 h)
19. Meadows, *Amyntas* A5/P22b; Künker 94 (2004) 1300 (15.4 g)
20. Nomos obolos 19, 8 May 2021, lot 398 (30.2 mm; 15.95 g; 12 h)

O79/R225

21. B 18288487, 1906 Löbbecke (15.56 g; 12 h)
22. CGB MONNAIES 23, 27 Nov. 2004, lot 130 = CGB MONNAIES 18, 19 June 2003, lot 119 = CGB MONNAIES 18 , 19 June 2003, lot 119 (28.5 mm; 15.9 g; 12 h). Obverse die is Atlan K.

O80/R230

23. Meadows, *Amyntas* A6/P23; ACNAC Dewing 2473 (15.67 g)

O80/R231

24. Meadows, *Amyntas* A6/P24 = Peus 369, 31 Oct. 2001, lot 222 (29.3 mm; 15.27 g). Münzhandlung Basel 10, 1938, 354; Kricheldorf 15.x.55, 488; Kurpfälzische MH 31 (1986) 101.

O80/R232

25. Noble Numismatics 114, 28 Mar. 2017, lot 4144 (29.3 mm; 15.91 g). Ex Terry Naughton Collection, previously from Noble Numismatics Sale 73 (lot 3332), coming from the Patrick Cooper Collection with his ticket; he acquired it from Spink June 1953 Numismatic Circular (No.18544).

O81/R233

26. Berk Buy or Bid Sale 213, 19 Nov. 2020, lot 116 (29.3 mm; 15.85 g)
27. Meadows, *Amyntas* A9/P27; Kölner MK 54, 1991, lot 97

O81/R234

28. Meadows, *Amyntas* A9/P28a; Maison Platt FPL iii.98, 26; van drr Dussen 23 (6.4.1995) n. 466 (15.55 g)
29. Meadows, *Amyntas* A9/P28b (15.66 g). Künker 89 (2004) 1434.

O81/R235

30. C (= Meadows, *Amyntas* A9/P32 = SNG Lewis 1035) (16.07 g)
31. CNG EA 323, 26 Mar. 2014, lot 118 (30.1 mm; 16.29 g; 12 h)
32. Heritage Long Beach Signature Sale 3049, 8 Sept. 2016, lot 32159 (29.3 mm; 16.22 g)

O81/R236

33. Meadows, *Amyntas* A9/P31b. Cederlind 98 (1993) 128.

O81/R237

34. Meadows, *Amyntas* A9/P29; Naville 4.iv.21 (Pozzi) 2800 (15.39 g)

O81/R238

35. Nomos obolos 19, 8 May 2021, lot 399 (28.4 mm; 15.67 g; 12 h)

O81/R239

36. Nomos obolos 21, 2 Jan. 2022, lot 501 (30.3 mm; 15.88 g; 12 h)

O81/R240

37. Nomos obolos 21, 2 Jan. 2022, lot 505 (32.4 mm; 16.15 g; 12 h)

O81/R241

38. Solidus 88, 23 Nov. 2021, lot 2177 (29 mm; 15.78 g)

O81/R242

39. St Petersburg (= Meadows, *Amyntas* A9/P30)
40. Heritage 232229, 20 July 2022, lot 63135 (28 mm; 15.48 g; 12 h)
41. VCoins (online Dec 2023, Palmyra Heritage) (28 mm; 15.48 g; 12 h). Sold to Shipwreck Treasures of the Keys where placed in gold pendant with details on the coin edges cut off to fit https://shipwrecktreasuresofthekeys.com/products/athena-nike-ar-tetradrachm-cir-150-bce.

O81/R—

42. Meadows, *Amyntas* A9/P31a; Knobloch FPL 34 (1968) 1239

O82/R243

43. Frankfurt (= Meadows, *Amyntas* A1/P2). Atlan "I".

O82/R244

44. Helbing 1928 no. 4040
45. Nomos obolos 25, 23 Oct. 2022, lot 350 (29.5 mm; 15.76 g)

O82/R245

46. Naumann 38, 6 Dec. 2015, lot 303 (29.3 mm; 15.67 g)

O82/R246

47. Vienna record cards, uncertain auction in French, lot 30 (11.09 g)

O83/R230

48. B 18288486, 1906 Löbbecke (30 mm; 14.69 g; 12 h)

O84/R247

49. O (29.1 mm; 15.72 g; 12 h)

O84/R248

50. CGB MONNAIES 51, 17 Nov. 2011, lot 241 (29.1 mm; 15.83 g; 12 h)

O84/R244

51. Nomos obolos 21, 2 Jan. 2022, lot 504 (29 mm; 16.05 g; 12 h)

Type 25

Obverse: Helmeted head of Athena, r.

Reverse: ΚΛΕΥΧ; Nike advancing l, r. hand outstretched, holding diadem; in field pomegranate

Denomination: AR Tetradrachm
Diameter: 26–30 mm; average: 28 mm.
Weight: 15.12–16.34 g; average: 15.86 g.
Axis: 1 (1), 11 (3), 12 (19)
Average thickness: 2.39 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 6 obverse dies and 28 reverse dies
Number of coins: 46

O85/R249

1. Rauch Auction 43 (1989), lot 417 = Rauch Auction 46 (1991), lot 257 = Hirsch Auction 160 (1988), lot 241 = Meadows, *Amyntas* A1/P4 (16 g)

O85/R250

2. L 1846,0415.6 (= BMC 38 = Meadows, *Amyntas* A1/P5) (29 mm; 16 g)
3. Coins.ee OY 57, 11 Dec. 2022, lot 42 (28.2 mm). Double struck.
4. Nomos obolos 21, 2 Jan. 2022, lot 503 (28.4 mm; 15.9 g; 11 h)

O85/R251

5. Ball State University Museum of Art no. 56 = Meadows, *Amyntas* A1/P6 = CNG 46 (1998) 459 (28 mm; 15.87 g)

O85/R252

6. C (= Meadows, *Amyntas* A1/P7a = SNG Leake 5100) (15.94 g)
7. Meadows, *Amyntas* A1/P7b = Rosenberg 72 (1932, Lejeune), 683 (15.9 g)

O85/R253

8. B 18288485, 1875 Prokesch-Osten (15.66 g; 12 h)
9. Stack's (pre-Feb 2011) Coin Galleries December 2004, 14 Dec. 2004, lot 174 (28 mm; 16.2 g). Meadows, *Amyntas* A1/P9.

O85/R254

10. Nomos 23, 30 Nov. 2021, lot 152 (30 mm; 15.97 g; 12 h)

O85/R255

11. Nomos 22, 22 June 2021, lot 202 (29.5 mm; 16.34 g; 11 h)

O85/R256

12. CNG EA 532, 8 Feb. 2023, lot 212 = Dix Noonan Webb 177, 3 June 2020, lot 388 = Fischer 142, 6 Mar. 2015, lot 24 (28.3 mm; 16.09 g; 12 h)

O85/R257

13. Cgb.fr Live June 2019, 4 June 2019, lot 61 = CGB MONNAIES 18 , 19 June 2003, lot 120 (26 mm; 16.22 g; 12 h)

O85/R258

14. Vienna record of auction coins, reference illegible.

O86/R259

15. B 18288482, 1873 Fox (= Meadows, *Amyntas* A7/P25; Atlan Z) (29 mm; 15.59 g; 12 h)

O87/R260

16. L 1846,0415.5 (= Meadows, *Amyntas* A8/P26; BMC Side 40) (30 mm; 15.8 g; 12 h)
17. Toulouse (= Musee Saint-Raymond de Toulouse 1939, no 125) (29 mm)

O87/R261

18. CNG EA 455, 30 Oct. 2019, lot 163 (28.2 mm; 16.06 g; 12 h)

O88/R255

19. P 644 (= Meadows, *Amyntas* A3/P18) (15.27 g)
20. Solidus Numismatik 76, 6 Apr. 2021, lot 1156 (29.5 mm; 15.88 g)

O88/R257

21. Künker eLive 59, 25 Mar. 2020, lot 8106 (28.4 mm; 15.84 g)

O88/R262

22. Heritage 232230, 27 July 2022, lot 64111 (30.2 mm; 15.83 g; 11 h)

O72/R253

23. Heritage 232236, 7 Sept. 2022, lot 62144 (28 mm; 16.1 g; 12 h)

O72/R263

24. CNG EA 224, 16 Dec. 2009, lot 237 (27.1 mm; 15.89 g; 12 h)
25. Hirsch 175; Meadows, *Amyntas* A10/P34 (15.84 g)

O72/R264

26. Meadows, *Amyntas* A10/P33; GM 46 (1989) 325 (15.65 g)

O72/R265

27. B 18288483, 1873 Fox (30 mm; 15.65 g; 12 h)
28. B Fox (= Meadows, *Amyntas* A10/P35; Atlan "O") (15.64 g)
29. Nomos 24, 22 May 2022, lot 218 (28.2 mm; 15.88 g; 12 h)

O72/R266

30. CNG EA 330, 9 July 2014, lot 104 (28.4 mm; 15.74 g; 1 h)
31. CNG EA 336, 8 Oct. 2014, lot 108 (26.5 mm; 16.09 g; 12 h)

O72/R267

32. Elsen 144, 14 Mar. 2020, lot 67 = Elsen 143, 7 Dec. 2019, lot 144 (28.8 mm; 15.12 g)

O72/R257

33. Künker 288, 13 Mar. 2017, lot 199 (28.3 mm; 15.71 g)

O72/R268

34. Heritage 232233, 17 Aug. 2022, lot 63123 (28 mm; 15.8 g; 12 h)

O82/R269

35. C (= McClean pl. 317, 2 = Meadows, *Amyntas* A1/P1) (15.6 g). Meadows, *Amyntas* A1 obverse die; P1 reverse die.

O82/R270

36. L 1845,1217.206 (= Meadows, *Amyntas* A1/P8 = BMC 39) (29.5 mm; 15.87 g; 12 h). Atlan "M".

O82/R271

37. Meadows, *Amyntas* A1/P10; Sotheby 15.v.74, 53 = Antykwariat Numizmatyczny - Michal Niemczyk EA 35, 17 Sept. 2022, lot 2 (27 mm; 15.98 g)

O82/R254

38. L 1897,0104.328 (= BMC 40A = Meadows, *Amyntas* A1/P11a) (29 mm; 15.95 g; 12 h). Obverse die recut.
39. Meadows, *Amyntas* A1/P11b = Auctiones 20 (1990) 450 (15.71 g). Obverse die recut.
40. Meadows, *Amyntas* A1/P3 = Künker 77, 30 Sept. 2002, lot 209 (28.5 mm; 15.54 g). Obverse die recut.

O82/R272

41. Heritage NYINC Signature Sale 3106, 17 Jan. 2023, lot 33116 (28 mm; 16.02 g; 12 h)

O82/R273

42. CNG 124, 19 Sept. 2023, lot 235 (28 mm; 16.04 g; 12 h)
43. Grün 76, 14 May 2019, lot 80 = Helios 2, 25 Nov. 2008, lot 168 (28.6 mm; 16 g)

O82/R274

44. Heritage 232228, 13 July 2022, lot 62137 (26 mm; 12 h)

O82/R275

45. Nomos Obolos EA 22, 6 Mar. 2022, lot 432 (28.5 mm; 16.14 g; 12 h)

O82/R276

46. Solidus 86, 12 Oct. 2021, lot 1218 (28 mm; 15.96 g). Obverse die recut.

Uncertain

No Issue

Type 26

Obverse: Head of Heracles, r., with lion skin knotted around neck

Reverse: $\overline{\text{BA}}$ ΒΙΤΟΡΙΞ ΑΡΓΥΡΟΤΑΜΙΑΣ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΙΕ; club; monogram ℙ above

Denomination: Æ 25 mm
Diameter: 23–5 mm; average: 24 mm.
Weight: 14.39–18.78 g; average: 16.04 g.
Axis: 6 (2), 12 (1)
Average thickness: 3.89 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 1 obverse dies and 2 reverse dies
Number of coins: 3

O89/R277

1. L 1883,0402.32 (= BMC Pontus 27 (under Prusias ad Mare)) (25 mm; 18.78 g; 6 h)
2. B 18216691, 1906 Löbbecke (23 mm; 14.94 g; 12 h)

O89/R278

3. Leu EA 26, 8 July 2023, lot 1421 (25.1 mm; 14.39 g; 6 h)

Kingdom of Paphlagonia

Attalos Epiphanes

Type 27

Obverse: Diademed head of a man (Attalos Epiphanes?), r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ, ΙΥ; Eagle flying, right, clutching snake and holding diadem in beak

Denomination: AR Drachm
Diameter: 15 mm; average: 15 mm.
Weight: 3.87 g; average: 3.87 g.
Axis:
Average thickness: 2.09 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 1 obverse dies and 1 reverse dies
Number of coins: 1

O90/R279
1. L 1914,0806.1 (15 mm; 3.87 g)

Deiotaros Philadelphos

Type 28 (RPC I 3508)

Obverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΙΟΤΑΡΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ, ΛΚΖ; diademed head of Deiotaros Philadelphos, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΠΡΟΥΣΙΑΔΟΣ ΑΔΟΒΟΓΙΩΝΑΣ; diademed and draped bust of Adobogiona, r.

Denomination: AR Drachm
Diameter: 16–18 mm; average: 17 mm.
Weight: 3.33–3.97 g; average: 3.66 g.
Axis: 12 (3)
Average thickness: 1.54 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 2 obverse dies and 2 reverse dies
Number of coins: 4

O91/R280
1. P 1988/202 (= ex Jacquier 9, 1988, lot 59) (17 mm; 3.33 g; 12 h)
2. Rex Numismatics E-Rex Duo 10, 6–7 Apr. 2024, lot 69 = Rex Numismatics Rex Budget 4, 15 Dec. 2023, lot 111 = Rex Numismatics E-Rex 3, 17 Nov. 2023, lot 84 (16 mm; 3.54 g)

O91/R281
3. B 18305213, 1891/565 (17 mm; 3.81 g; 12 h)

O92/R281
4. Demos 46, 22 Mar. 2025, lot 172 = Sternberg 14, 1984, lot 103 = SNG vA 151 = Sternberg 27, 7 Nov. 1994, lot 7 = Leu 77, 11 May 2000, lot 236 (18 mm; 3.97 g; 12 h)

Type 29 (RPC I 3509)

Obverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΙΟΤΑΡ[ΟΥ ΦΙΛΑ]ΔΕΛΦΟΥ; head of Deiotarus Philadelphos, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΙΟ[ΤΑΡΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠ]ΑΤΟΡΟΣ; two caps of the Dioscuri with star above; between them, indistinct monogram

Denomination: Æ 23 mm
Diameter: 23 mm; average: 23 mm.
Weight: 7.21 g; average: 7.21 g.
Axis: 9 (1)
Average thickness: 1.96 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 1 obverse dies and 1 reverse dies
Number of coins: 1

O93/R282
1. L 1858,1124.78 (23 mm; 7.21 g; 9 h)

Type 30

Obverse: Laureate head of Zeus, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΙΟΤΑΡΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟ[Υ]; winged thunderbolt

Denomination: Æ
Diameter: 19–26 mm; average: 22 mm.
Weight: 4.5–5.66 g; average: 5.14 g.
Axis: 7 (1)
Average thickness: 1.61 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 1 obverse dies and 2 reverse dies
Number of coins: 3

O94/R283
1. N&N London EA 41, 2 Dec. 2023, lot 286 (19.4 mm; 4.5 g)
2. Trade (Archaios Numismatics, eBay, 2023) (26 mm; 5.25 g)

O94/R284
3. Leu EA 17, 14 Aug. 2021, lot 1229 = Papillon Numismatic 4, 19 Dec. 2020, lot 627 (20.2 mm; 5.66 g; 7 h)

Kingdom of Cappadocia

Ariobarzanes II Philopator

Ariobarzanes II Philopator Year 07 (= Z)

Type 31

Obverse: Diademed head of Ariobarzanes II, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ, Z; facing Athena turning l.; extended r. hand holding figure of Nike, holding wreath; l. hand holding spear and shield on the right

Denomination: AR Drachm
Diameter: 14–20 mm; average: 17 mm.
Weight: 2.72–4.28 g; average: 3.74 g.
Axis: 1 (3), 12 (8)
Average thickness: 1.60 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 11 obverse dies and 30 reverse dies
Number of coins: 55

O95/R285
1. P Armand Valton 472 (3.53 g)
2. Demos 12, 4 Aug. 2022, lot 505 (17.7 mm; 3.95 g)
3. Demos 13, 21 Oct. 2022, lot 268 (17.1 mm; 4.01 g)

O95/R286
4. Nomos Obolos Web Auction 7, 9 July 2017, lot 221 (16.1 mm; 4.25 g; 1 h)

O95/R287
5. Savoca 22nd Blue, 27 July 2019, lot 751 = Kairos 3, 24 Feb. 2018, lot 75 (17 mm; 3.94 g). For the Kairos lot, the coin details were given as 16 mm and 4.01 g.

O95/R—
6. Tire 2003-645 (= Tekin 2008, no. 23) (18 mm; 3.6 g; 12 h)
7. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497

O96/R288
8. Gorny & Mosch EA 286, 29 Mar. 2022, lot 4265 (16 mm; 3.91 g)
9. Savoca 120th Blue, 11 Dec. 2021, lot 437 (16.6 mm; 3.94 g)

O96/R289
10. Savoca 26th Blue, 23 Nov. 2019, lot 485 (17 mm; 4 g)

O96/R290
11. Gorny & Mosch EA 270, 12 Mar. 2020, lot 2107 (17.6 mm; 4.21 g)

O96/R291
12. CNG EA 505, 1 Dec. 2021, lot 233 = Agora Sale 52, 22 Mar. 2016, lot 30 (16.5 mm; 3.89 g; 12 h)
13. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492
14. Savoca 6th Blue, 7 Apr. 2018, lot 478 (14 mm; 3.77 g)

O96/R292
15. Bertolami Fine Arts EA 105, 21 Oct. 2021, lot 241 (17.2 mm; 3.92 g; 12 h)

O96/R293
16. L 1841,B.3456 (3.72 g; 12 h)
17. CGB MONNAIES 43, 29 Apr. 2010, lot 238 (18 mm; 3.84 g; 12 h). Reverse double struck.

O97/R294
18. P 177 (3.89 g)
19. Demos 12, 4 Aug. 2022, lot 508 (18.4 mm; 4 g)
20. Nomos Obolos Web Auction 9, 25 Mar. 2018, lot 656 (17.1 mm; 4.17 g; 12 h)
21. Olympus Numismatik 5, 30 July 2023, lot 79 (20.3 mm; 3.18 g)
22. Saraç and Davesne 1994, Un lot de drachmes cappadociennes à Kirikhan, no. 28 (17 mm; 3.7 g; 12 h). Probably belongs to a hoard.

O97/R295
23. Gorny & Mosch 276, 19 Apr. 2021, lot 213 = Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch 102, 7 Nov. 2016, lot 269 (17.4 mm; 4.14 g)

O97/R296
24. Demos 51, 6 June 2025, lot 183 (15 mm; 2.72 g)

O98/R297
25. Savoca 28th Blue, 25 Jan. 2020, lot 556 (16 mm; 3.73 g)

O98/R298
26. Via GmbH E-Live 7, 25 Feb. 2022, lot 93 (18.1 mm; 3.9 g)

O98/R299
27. Olympus Numismatik Auction13, 14 June 2024, lot 214 (16 mm; 3.15 g)

O99/R300
28. P 178 (3.66 g)
29. CNG EA 584, 2 Apr. 2025, lot 319 (16 mm; 3.67 g)

O99/R301
30. Bay Numismatics EA 16, 26 Aug. 2025, lot 101 (15.4 mm; 2.9 g)

O100/R302
31. Demos 10, 14 May 2022, lot 353 (17 mm; 3.92 g)
32. Savoca 120th Blue, 11 Dec. 2021, lot 438 (17 mm; 3.88 g)

O100/R303
33. Emporium Hamburg Alpha 5, 3 Jan. 2021, lot 88 (17.7 mm; 3.78 g)
34. N&N London Green 13, 14 Aug. 2023, lot 168 (15.1 mm; 3.75 g)

O101/R304

35. Artemide Kunstauktionen e-Live Auktion 39, 4 Oct. 2025, lot 206 (16 mm; 3.88 g)
36. Rönesans Salzgitter Auction 9, 2 March 2024, lot 116 (16.5 mm; 4 g)
37. Savoca 122nd Blue, 25 Dec. 2021, lot 456 (17 mm; 3.81 g)

O101/R305
38. Via GmbH E-Live 6, 15 Oct. 2021, lot 45

O101/R306
39. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 19, 26 Feb. 2022, lot 1568 (16.3 mm; 3.64 g; 1 h)
40. Numismad Auction 20, 27 Dec. 2024, lot 525 (17 mm; 3.24 g)

O102/R307
41. Rönesans Salzgitter 5, 13 Oct. 2023, lot 309 (17.7 mm; 3.5 g)

O102/R308
42. Aquila Numismatics 4, 19 Aug. 2022, lot 96 (16.9 mm; 3.4 g)
43. Jean Elsen & ses Fils s.a. Auction 163, 6 Nov. 2025, lot 199 = Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch EA 24, 29 Sept. 2017, lot 73 (17.2 mm; 4.12 g)

O102/R309
44. Rex Numismatics Auction 2, 30 Sept. 2023, lot 200 (16.7 mm; 3.38 g)

O103/R310
45. Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch EA 20, 27 June 2016, lot 95 (17 mm; 3.85 g)

O103/R—
46. Heritage Auctions 231805, 1 Feb. 2018, lot 61062 (17.5 mm)

O104/R311
47. Aquila Numismatics 4, 19 Aug. 2022, lot 94 (16.8 mm; 3.3 g)

O104/R312
48. Demos Auction 13, 21 Oct. 2022, lot 241 (18 mm; 4.01 g)
49. Nomos Obolos Web Auction 12, 31 Mar. 2019, lot 429 (17.3 mm; 3.95 g; 1 h)
50. Numismad Auction 7, 14 April 2023, lot 376 (16 mm; 4.28 g)

O105/R313
51. Bertolami Fine Arts 109, 4 May 2022, lot 269 (16 mm; 3.93 g)
52. Jean Elsen & ses Fils 155, 16 June 2023, lot 258 (17.9 mm; 3.61 g)
53. Timeline Auctions Auction 167, 10 June 2025, lot 2730 (19 mm; 3.61 g). Overstruck: Another die with the inscription B[ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ] ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝ[ΟΥ] is visible underneath. This can only be a coin of Ariobarzanes I or Ariobarzanes II.

O—/R314
54. Dom Aukcyjny Numimarket.pl E-Auction 3, 24 Sept. 2023, lot 32 (19 mm; 3.83 g)

O—/R—
55. L TC,p198.1.Aril (2.83 g; 12 h)

Type 32

Obverse: Diademed head of Ariobarzanes II, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ, H; facing Athena standing l.; extended r. hand holding figure of Nike, holding wreath; l. hand holding spear and shield on the right

Denomination: AR Drachm
Diameter: 13–22 mm; average: 17 mm.
Weight: 2.25–4.42 g; average: 3.76 g.
Axis: 1 (12), 11 (2), 12 (20)
Average thickness: 1.66 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 40 obverse dies and 94 reverse dies
Number of coins: 173

O106/R315
1. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 36, 5 Apr. 2024, lot 471 (16.2 mm; 3.62 g)

O106/R316
2. Savoca 105th Blue, 12 June 2021, lot 875 (17 mm; 3.26 g)

O106/R—
3. Tire 2003-657 (= Tekin 2008, no. 24) (18 mm; 3.7 g; 12 h). The publication by Tekin describes the letter Z below but this is not visible from the pictures. Contradicting this description are the rectangular sigmas which seem to occur only in combination with numeral H. The obverse die also only occurs with the letter H.
4. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335
5. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498
6. Naumann 104, 4 July 2021, lot 337 (17 mm; 3.9 g)

O107/R317
7. P 179 (3.72 g)

O107/R318
8. Demos 12, 4 Aug. 2022, lot 502 (17.1 mm; 3.79 g)

O107/R319
9. P 180 (3.82 g)
10. CNG EA 175, 24 Oct. 2007, lot 101 (16 mm; 3.8 g; 12 h)
11. Demos 15, 13 Jan. 2023, lot 244 (18 mm; 3.66 g)
12. Olympus Numismatik Auction 20, 28 Feb. 2025, lot 107 (17.5 mm; 3.34 g)
13. Peus 429, 3 Nov. 2021, lot 183 (17.1 mm; 3.75 g)
14. Savoca Numismatik 242nd Weekly Blue Auction, 23 Nov. 2024, lot 135 (16 mm; 3.82 g)

O107/R320
15. Demos 6, 5 Dec. 2021, lot 412 (17.7 mm; 3.78 g)
16. Kairos 2, 6 Jan. 2018, lot 68 (15.1 mm; 3.83 g)

17. Roma EA 9, 28 June 2014, lot 228 (17.1 mm; 3.99 g; 12 h)

O107/R321

18. Jean Elsen & ses Fils 155, 16 June 2023, lot 259 (16.6 mm; 3.86 g)

O107/R322

19. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 13, 13 Nov. 2022, lot 133 (16 mm; 3.7 g)
20. Savoca 23rd Blue, 24 Aug. 2019, lot 470 (17 mm; 3.76 g)

O108/R323

21. CNG EA 559, 3 Apr. 2024, lot 133 (17.7 mm; 3.77 g; 1 h)

O109/R324

22. Naumann 102, 2 May 2021, lot 332 (17 mm; 3.75 g)

O110/R—

23. London Ancient Coins 48, 16 Dec. 2015, lot 102 (17 mm; 3.8 g; 1 h)

O111/R325

24. Savoca Blue 293rd Weekly Blue Auction, 8 Nov. 2025, lot 91 (17 mm; 3.88 g)
25. The Coin Cabinet Ancients 24, 10 July 2025, lot 37 (17.5 mm; 3.86 g)

O112/R326

26. Naumann 60, 3 Dec. 2017, lot 236 (17 mm; 3.86 g)
27. Nomos Obolos Web Auction 38, 20 July 2025, lot 301 (17.1 mm; 3.57 g; 12 h)
28. Savoca Coins Blue | 292nd Weekly Blue Auction, 1 Nov. 2025, lot 99 (18 mm; 3.88 g)

O112/R327

29. CNG EA 591, 16 July 2025, lot 219 (18 mm; 3.69 g; 12 h). Reverse die damaged on letters ΕΩΣ of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ .
30. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492. Reverse die damaged on letters ΕΩΣ of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ .

O112/R328

31. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498

O112/R—

32. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498

O113/R329

33. London Ancient Coins 51, 25 Apr. 2016, lot 128 (16.1 mm; 3.97 g; 1 h)

O114/R330

34. Demos 12, 4 Aug. 2022, lot 513 (18.3 mm; 3.91 g)

O115/R331

35. Naumann 106, 1 Aug. 2021, lot 252 (16 mm; 4.13 g)

O115/R332

36. Naumann 128, 7 May 2023, lot 372 = Naumann 123, 4 Dec. 2022, lot 300 = Naumann 120, 4 Sept. 2022, lot 348 (18 mm; 3.98 g)
37. Soler y Llach (formerly Hervera & Soler y Llach) Subasta 1100, 19 Dec. 2017, lot 2079 (17.5 mm; 3.72 g)

O115/R333

38. Pavlos S. Pavlou Numismatist VCoins online Juli 2025 (15.6 mm; 3.57 g; 12 h)

O116/R334

39. Savoca 126th Blue, 12 Feb. 2022, lot 721 (17 mm; 2.99 g)

O117/R335

40. Aquila Numismatics 2, 7 May 2022, lot 111 (16.1 mm; 3.7 g)
41. Demos 51, 6 June 2025, lot 186 (15.4 mm; 3.46 g)
42. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7 Dec. 2024, lot 636 (17 mm; 3.92 g; 11 h)
43. Nomos obolos Web Auction 39, 28 Sept. 2024, lot 1055

O117/R336

44. Ancient Numismatics Auctions (formerly Aquila Numismatics) Auction 18, 22 Feb. 2025, lot 108 (16.9 mm; 3.5 g)
45. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334
46. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1493
47. Rönesans Salzgitter Auction 9, 2 Mar. 2024, lot 117 (16.2 mm; 3.4 g)
48. Tauler & Fau 141, 22 Apr. 2024, lot 101 = Roma EA 79, 14 Jan. 2021, lot 369 = Roma EA 57, 30 May 2019, lot 506 (17 mm; 4.02 g; 12 h)

O117/R337

49. Savoca 16th Blue, 9 Feb. 2019, lot 442 (16 mm; 3.99 g)
50. Savoca 30th Blue, 21 Mar. 2020, lot 966 (16 mm; 3.96 g)

O117/R338

51. Savoca 30th Silver, 27 Jan. 2019, lot 181 (16 mm; 4.28 g)

O117/R339

52. N&N LONDON Online Auction 56, 2 Nov. 2024, lot 185 (17 mm; 3.4 g)
53. Olympus Numismatik 18, 8 Dec. 2024, lot 66 = Olympus Numismatik 7, 22 Sept. 2023, lot 66 (18.3 mm; 3.4 g). Wrongly described as a coin of Ariobarzanes III by the auction house, in 2023 diameter given as 18.8 mm and weight as 3.44.
54. Savoca 92nd Blue, 19 Dec. 2020, lot 896 (17 mm; 3.81 g)

O117/R340

55. Savoca 22nd Blue, 27 July 2019, lot 752 (13.2 mm; 2.25 g)

O117/R341

56. Biga Numismatics EA 17, 19 Mar. 2023, lot 78 (18.1 mm; 3.7 g)

O117/R342

57. Savoca 28th Blue, 25 Jan. 2020, lot 557 (17 mm; 3.63 g)

O118/R343

58. Themis 1, 19 May 2019, lot 77 (17 mm; 3.8 g)

O118/R344

59. Savoca Live EA 17, 30 July 2017, lot 314 (15.1 mm; 3.77 g)

O118/R—

60. Saraç and Davesne 1994, Un lot de drachmes cappadociennes à Kirikhan, no. 29 (17 mm; 3.8 g; 12 h). Probably belongs to a hoard.

O119/R345

61. Naumann 101, 4 Apr. 2021, lot 302 (17 mm; 4.15 g)

O119/R346

62. Bertolami Fine Arts 109, 4 May 2022, lot 270 (17.7 mm; 3.51 g)

O119/R347

63. Demos 2, 5 June 2021, lot 91 (18 mm; 3.83 g)

O98/R348

64. L 1841,B.3459 (4.42 g; 1 h)
65. Bertolami Fine Arts EA 105, 21 Oct. 2021, lot 243 (17.4 mm; 3.92 g; 12 h)
66. Gorny & Mosch 251, 15 Oct. 2017, lot 4503 = Naumann 53, 7 May 2017, lot 352 (17.5 mm; 3.93 g)
67. Nomos Obolos Web Auction 12, 31 Mar. 2019, lot 430 (16.5 mm; 3.81 g; 1 h)

O98/R349

68. Fritz Rudolf Künker 341, 1 Oct. 2020, lot 5022 = Naumann 45, 3 July 2016, lot 282 (17.2 mm; 3.95 g)

O98/R350

69. L 1979,0101.1050 (3.74 g; 1 h)

O98/R351

70. London Ancient Coins A1, 3 July 2017, lot 33 (15 mm; 3.89 g; 1 h)

O120/R352

71. CNG EA 575, 20 Nov. 2024, lot 169 (17 mm; 3.29 g; 12 h)
72. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 641 (18.3 mm; 3.4 g; 11 h)
73. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492

O120/R353

74. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7 Dec. 2024, lot 637 (18 mm; 3.9 g; 12 h)
75. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 5–8 July 2025, lot 761 (17.3 mm; 4.18 g; 12 h)
76. Numismad 11, 25 Nov. 2023, lot 306 (17 mm; 3.86 g)

O120/R354

77. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 33, 15 Mar. 2025, lot 1255 (17 mm; 4.19 g; 1 h)
78. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 33, 15 Mar. 2025, lot 1256 (16 mm; 3.84 g)

O120/R355

79. P 1976.178 (3.6 g). Listed on Paris website as uncertain, double struck.

O120/R356

80. Savoca Numismatik 131st Blue Auction, 23 Apr. 2022, lot 222 (17 mm; 3.34 g)

O120/R357

81. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498

O120/R—

82. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492

O121/R358

83. Savoca 13th Blue, 30 Nov. 2018, lot 625 (14 mm; 3.8 g)

O121/R359

84. Savoca 25th Blue, 26 Oct. 2019, lot 1080 (17 mm; 4.06 g)

O121/R360

85. Ancient Numismatics Auctions (formerly Aquila Numismatics) Auction 8, 14 January 2023, lot 221 (15.6 mm; 3.7 g)
86. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492
87. Savoca 17th Blue, 1 Mar. 2019, lot 741 (16 mm; 4.3 g)
88. The Coin Cabinet Ancients 24, 10 July 2025, lot 36 (16 mm; 3.67 g)
89. Themis Numismatics Auction 4, 2 Nov. 2019, lot 130 (17 mm; 3.22 g). Obverse tooled?.

O121/R361

90. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338

O121/R362

91. Demos 25, 17 Nov. 2023, lot 253 (18.2 mm; 3.35 g)
92. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338

O121/R363

93. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334

O121/R364

94. Demos 54, 6 Sept. 2025, lot 19 (15 mm; 3.53 g)
95. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492

O121/R365

96. Pandora Numismatics Auction 24, 14 Nov. 2025, lot 384 (16 mm; 3.76 g)

O122/R366

97. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496

O123/R367

98. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 17, 14 Aug. 2021, lot 1234 (16.3 mm; 3.86 g; 1 h)
99. Olympus Numismatik Auction 13, 14 June 2024, lot 216 (17.1 mm; 3.26 g)
100. Via GmbH E-Live Auction 10, 16 Dec. 2022, lot 56 (3.96 g)

O123/R368

101. Nomos Obolos Web Auction 12, 31 Mar. 2019, lot 431 (16.6 mm; 4.06 g; 12 h)

O123/R369

102. Agora Sale 17, 30 Sept. 2014, lot 96 (17.7 mm; 3.49 g)
103. Heidelberger Münzhandlung Herbert Grün 64, 20 Nov. 2014, lot 1342 (16.9 mm; 3.19 g)
104. Savoca Coins Blue | 292nd Weekly Blue Auction, 1 Nov. 2025, lot 101 (16 mm; 3.84 g)

O124/R370

105. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 640 (16.1 mm; 4.34 g; 12 h)
106. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338
107. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492

O124/R371
108. Olympus Numismatik Auction 14, 9 August 2024, lot 78 (16.2 mm; 3.14 g). E as M.

O125/R372
109. Biga Numismatics EA 9, 24 Apr. 2022, lot 211 (16.8 mm; 4.1 g)

O125/R373
110. Demos 2, 5 June 2021, lot 92 (17 mm; 3.8 g)
111. Nomos Obolos Web Auction 38, 20 July 2025, lot 300 (17.1 mm; 3.71 g; 12 h)

O125/R374
112. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 639 (17.2 mm; 4.1 g; 12 h)

O125/R375
113. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498

O125/R376
114. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492
115. Savoca Coins Blue | 292nd Weekly Blue Auction, 1 Nov. 2025, lot 98 (18 mm; 3.95 g)

O126/R377
116. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496
117. Numismad 7, 14 Apr. 2023, lot 375 (16 mm; 3.64 g)

O126/R378
118. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495
119. Savoca 17th Blue, 1 Mar. 2019, lot 740 (15 mm; 3.92 g)

O127/R379
120. Kölner Münzkabinett Tyll Kroha Nachfolger EA 3, 25 June 2017, lot 158 = Kölner Münzkabinett Tyll Kroha Nachfolger EA 2, 1 Jan. 2017, lot 109 = Kölner Münzkabinett Tyll Kroha Nachfolger 105, 16 Sept. 2016, lot 199 (16.9 mm; 3.91 g)

O128/R329
121. Numismad 5, 12 Nov. 2022, lot 355 (17 mm; 3.78 g)

O128/R—
122. Savoca London 5th Blue, 10 Aug. 2019, lot 161 (17.1 mm; 3.23 g)

O129/R—
123. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337
124. London Ancient Coins 48, 16 Dec. 2015, lot 325 (17.7 mm)

O130/R380
125. Biga Numismatics EA 23, 24 Sept. 2023, lot 209 (16 mm; 3.93 g)

O130/R381
126. Bruun Rasmusen Online Auction 2509, 2 Mar. 2025, lot 5008

O131/R382
127. Demos 12, 4 Aug. 2022, lot 512 (18 mm; 3.59 g)

O131/R—
128. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498

O132/R383
129. London Ancient Coins 48, 16 Dec. 2015, lot 101 (16.3 mm; 3.82 g; 1 h)

O133/R384
130. Ancient Numismatics Auctions (formerly Aquila Numismatics) Auction 18, 22 Feb. 2025, lot 109 (15.9 mm; 3.9 g)
131. Savoca 22nd Blue, 27 July 2019, lot 753 (18 mm; 3.8 g)
132. Savoca 23rd Blue, 24 Aug. 2019, lot 471 (15 mm; 3.65 g)

O133/R385
133. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337
134. Savoca Coins Blue | 292nd Weekly Blue Auction, 1 Nov. 2025, lot 97 (15 mm; 4 g)

O134/R386
135. Demos 12, 4 Aug. 2022, lot 510 (17.4 mm; 3.81 g)
136. Savoca 33rd Silver, 12 May 2019, lot 190 (16 mm; 4.18 g)

O134/R387
137. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492
138. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496

O134/R388
139. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492

O135/R389
140. Bertolami Fine Arts EA 105, 21 Oct. 2021, lot 242 (17.8 mm; 3.92 g; 12 h)
141. Heritage Auctions 231804, 25 Jan. 2018, lot 64080 (21.5 mm)

O135/R390
142. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336

O135/R391
143. London Ancient Coins Auction V, 21 Dec. 2016, lot 95 (16 mm; 3.81 g; 12 h)
144. Rönesans Salzgitter 20, 20 July 2025, lot 231 (16.6 mm; 3.91 g)

O135/R392
145. Savoca 131st Blue, 23 Apr. 2022, lot 216 (17 mm; 3.87 g)

O136/R393
146. Nomos obolos Web Auction 39, 28 Sept. 2024, lot 1055
147. Savoca 17th Blue, 1 Mar. 2019, lot 742 (17 mm; 4.21 g)
148. Vcoins online (NB-Numismatics), April 2025 (16 mm; 3.8 g)

O136/R394
149. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 4, 2 Sept. 2022, lot 155 (17.8 mm; 3.66 g). Reverse double struck, smaller Nike visible on coin below.
150. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335

151. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492

O136/R395

152. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337

O137/R396

153. London Ancient Coins 60, 14 Feb. 2017, lot 74 (16 mm; 3.97 g; 1 h)

O138/R397

154. Naumann 112, 2 Jan. 2022, lot 274 (17.3 mm; 3.88 g)

O139/R398

155. Rönesans Salzgitter Auction 15, 5 Oct. 2024, lot 152 = Aquila Numismatics 10, 5 Mar. 2023, lot 57 (16.5 mm; 3.82 g)

O140/R399

156. Heritage Auctions 231751, 21 Dec. 2017, lot 63069 (16.9 mm; 4.22 g)

O141/R—

157. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335

O142/R400

158. Numisfitz Auction 6, 22 June 2025, lot 533 (16 mm; 4.38 g)

O143/R329

159. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 12, 18 Nov. 2022, lot 149 = Bucephalus Numismatic Black 2, 4 July 2022, lot 160 = Bucephalus Numismatic 4, 11 Mar. 2022, lot 104 (17 mm; 3.61 g)

O144/R401

160. Olympus Numismatik 24 Oct. 2025, lot 136 (16.5 mm; 3.8 g)

O—/R402

161. Roma EA 112, 7 Sept. 2023, lot 441 (16.1 mm; 3.85 g; 12 h)

O—/R359

162. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499

O—/R403

163. Ancient Numismatics Auctions (formerly Aquila Numismatics) Auction 16, 24 Nov. 2024, lot 115 (16.2 mm; 3.9 g)

O—/R404

164. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 30, 14 Apr. 2024, lot 227 (17 mm; 3.85 g)

O—/R405

165. Demos Auction 17, 17 Mar. 2023, lot 1195 (16 mm; 3.75 g)

O—/R406

166. Ira & Larry Goldberg Coins & Collectibles Inc. 146, 28–30 July 2025, lot 699 (16.9 mm; 3.62 g)

O—/R407

167. Heritage Auctions 232127, 7 July 2021, lot 62173 (16 mm; 12 h)

O—/R408

168. Nomos Obolos Web Auction 10, 30 June 2018, lot 218 = Nomos Obolos Web Auction 8, 2 Dec. 2017, lot 572 (16 mm; 3.93 g; 1 h). Possible overstrike with star underneath BA.

O—/R—

169. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 15, 4 Feb. 2023, lot 319 (15 mm; 3.2 g)

170. Demos 51, 6 June 2025, lot 113 (14.3 mm; 3.52 g)

171. Demos 52, 26 July 2025, lot 14 (14.1 mm; 3.14 g)

172. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492

173. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495

Ariobarzanes (II) Philopator Year unknown (possibly without Regnal Year)

Type 33

Obverse: Diademed head of Ariobarzanes II, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ; facing Athena turning l.; extended r. hand holding figure of Nike, holding wreath; l. hand holding spear and shield on the right

Denomination: AR Drachm
Diameter: 18 mm; average: 18 mm.
Weight: 3.95–3.99 g; average: 3.97 g.
Axis: 12 (2)
Average thickness: 1.49 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 2 obverse dies and 2 reverse dies
Number of coins: 2

O120/R355

1. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 638 (18 mm; 3.95 g; 12 h)

O145/R409

2. CNG EA 523, 7 Sept. 2022, lot 226 = Via GmbH E-Live 6, 15 Oct. 2021, lot 44 (18 mm; 3.99 g; 12 h)

Ariobarzanes (II) Philopator Year unknown

Type 34

Obverse: Diademed head of Ariobarzanes II, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ, ?; facing Athena turning l.; extended r. hand holding figure of Nike, holding wreath; l. hand holding spear and shield on the right

Denomination: AR Drachm
Diameter: 13–18 mm; average: 16 mm.
Weight: 2.77–4.29 g; average: 3.76 g.
Axis: 1 (2), 11 (1), 12 (1)
Average thickness: 1.73 mm (calculated)

Number of dies: 26 obverse dies and 14 reverse dies
Number of coins: 45

O107/R—

1. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 30, 14 Apr. 2024, lot 225 (15 mm; 3.81 g)
2. Nomos Obolos Web Auction 6, 20 Nov. 2016, lot 590 (16.1 mm; 3.96 g)
3. Solidus 92, 25 Jan. 2022, lot 180 (15 mm; 3.97 g)

O95/R—

4. Heritage Auctions 232006, 6 Feb. 2020, lot 61130 (17 mm; 3.86 g; 1 h)

O146/R—

5. Aquila Numismatics 4, 19 Aug. 2022, lot 77 (16.2 mm; 4 g)

O110/R—

6. Aquila Numismatics 4, 19 Aug. 2022, lot 95 (18.2 mm; 2.8 g)

O111/R410

7. Ancient Numismatics Auctions (formerly Aquila Numismatics) 7, 4 Dec. 2022, lot 345 (16.6 mm; 3.3 g)
8. Savoca 23rd Blue, 24 Aug. 2019, lot 472 (17 mm; 3.93 g)

O111/R—

9. Demos 15, 13 Jan. 2023, lot 261 (16.1 mm; 3.88 g). Likely year H based on the Nike design.

O147/R411

10. CNG EA 222, 11 Nov. 2009, lot 197 (17 mm; 3.98 g; 1 h)

O147/R—

11. Heritage Auctions 231752, 28 Dec. 2017, lot 64077 (17.4 mm; 4.05 g)

O148/R—

12. Naumann 101, 4 Apr. 2021, lot 301 (16 mm; 4.02 g)

O98/R—

13. Heritage Auctions 231750, 14 Dec. 2017, lot 62061 (17.5 mm; 4.14 g)

O120/R355

14. Baldwin's Auctions Auction C24015, 17 Dec. 2024, lot 43 (3.52 g)

O121/R412

15. Savoca 24th Blue, 21 Sept. 2019, lot 448 (17 mm; 3.6 g)
16. Savoca 8th Blue, 14 July 2018, lot 499 = Savoca Live EA 17, 30 July 2017, lot 313 = Savoca Live EA 14, 23 Apr. 2017, lot 248 (15 mm; 2.77 g)

O121/R413

17. Savoca 25th Blue, 26 Oct. 2019, lot 1079 (16 mm; 4.03 g)

O122/R414

18. Olympus Numismatik 11, 30 Mar. 2024, lot 93 (17.3 mm; 3.33 g)

O149/R—

19. Via GmbH E-Live 6, 15 Oct. 2021, lot 45

O127/R415

20. Henseler 39

O128/R416

21. Numismatik Naumann (formerly Gitbud & Naumann) Auction 143, 4 Aug. 2024, lot 223 (16 mm; 3.99 g)

O150/R417

22. Münster M 3629 (16 mm; 3.8 g; 11 h)
23. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 17, 24 Mar. 2023, lot 235 (15.9 mm; 3.7 g)
24. Demos 15, 13 Jan. 2023, lot 247 (17 mm; 3.26 g)

O129/R—

25. Rönesans Salzgitter Auction 4, 17 Sept. 2023, lot 87 = Aquila Numismatics 9, 5 Feb. 2023, lot 125 (17.6 mm; 3.9 g)

O145/R418

26. Demos 13, 21 Oct. 2022, lot 269 (18 mm; 3.99 g)

O151/R419

27. Heritage Auctions 231748, 30 Nov. 2017, lot 65045 (17.4 mm; 4.02 g)

O151/R—

28. Münzen & Medaillen GmbH 51, 4 Dec. 2024, lot 663 (16 mm; 4.04 g)

O152/R—

29. Savoca 14th Blue, 28 Dec. 2018, lot 411 (17 mm; 3.5 g). Maybe not a coin of Ariobarzanes II.

O153/R—

30. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 25, 9 Dec. 2023, lot 107 (16 mm; 3.55 g)
31. Olympus Numismatic Auction 25, 19 Sept. 2025, lot 52 (13.2 mm; 3.6 g)

O154/R—

32. Numisart Auction 5, 16 June 2024, lot 89 (16 mm; 3.84 g)
33. Numismad 11, 25 Nov. 2023, lot 310 (17.4 mm; 3.73 g)

O155/R—

34. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336

O156/R—

35. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494

O157/R—

36. Olympus Numismatic Auction 25, 19 Sept. 2025, lot 53 (12.7 mm; 3.8 g)

O158/R—

37. Themis 2, 20 July 2019, lot 37 (18 mm)
38. Themis Auction 5, 4 Jan. 2020, lot 128 (18 mm; 3.48 g)

O159/R420

39. Ibercoin EA 65, 23 Mar. 2022, lot 42 (16.2 mm; 4.27 g)

O—/R421

40. Savoca 131st Blue, 23 Apr. 2022, lot 217 (16 mm; 4.29 g)

O—/R422

41. Naumann 112, 2 Jan. 2022, lot 273 (16 mm; 3.67 g)

O—/R—

42. P 181 (3.57 g)
43. Münster M 1350 (18 mm; 3.88 g; 12 h)
44. Robert College Istanbul (16 mm). Listed as lost/stolen.
45. Via GmbH E-Live 6, 15 Oct. 2021, lot 45 (17.5 mm)

Ariobarzanes III Eusebes kai Philorhomaios

Ariobarzanes III Eusebes kai Philorhomaios Year 09 (= Θ)

Type 35

Obverse: Diademed head of Ariobarzanes III, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΡΟΜΑΙΟΥ Θ; facing Athena turning l.; extended r. hand holding figure of Nike, holding wreath; l. hand holding spear and shield on the right; star and crescent in left field; monogram ⋈ in right field; Θ below

Denomination: AR Drachm
Diameter: 13–20 mm; average: 16 mm.
Weight: 2.8–4.5 g; average: 3.71 g.
Axis: 1 (6), 11 (1), 12 (34)
Average thickness: 1.68 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 50 obverse dies and 46 reverse dies
Number of coins: 363

O160/R—

1. Gemini XII, 11 Jan. 2015, lot 176 (16.6 mm; 3.57 g; 12 h)
2. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334
3. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334
4. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338
5. Schulman b.v. EA 2, 20 Oct. 2020, lot 2036 (16.7 mm; 4.11 g)

O161/R423

6. CNG EA 122, 7 Sept. 2005, lot 54 (17.5 mm; 3.8 g)

O161/R—

7. L 1979,0101.1052 (3.96 g; 11 h)
8. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 649 (17.2 mm; 3.95 g; 12 h)
9. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336
10. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338
11. Olympus Numismatik Auction 13, 14 Jun. 2024, lot 226 (16.1 mm; 3.55 g)

O162/R424

12. P 182 (3.81 g)

O162/R425

13. Savoca Numismatik 245th Weekly Blue Auction, 7 Dec. 2024, lot 135 (17 mm; 4.09 g)

O162/R—

14. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 29, 24 Feb. 2024, lot 914 (16.2 mm; 3.87 g; 12 h)
15. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 646 (17.3 mm; 4.17 g; 12 h)
16. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 651 (17 mm; 3.81 g; 12 h)
17. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 652 (17.3 mm; 3.84 g; 12 h)
18. Savoca Numismatik 232nd Weekly Blue Auction, 21 Sept. 2024, lot 165 (17 mm; 3.15 g)
19. Solidus Numismatik 100, 17 May 2022, lot 238 (15.1 mm; 3.65 g). Possibly AI underneath.

O163/R—

20. Demos 51, 6 June 2025, lot 190 (15.3 mm; 3.65 g)
21. Demos Auction 41, 15 Nov. 2024, lot 65 (15 mm; 3.2 g)
22. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 648 (15.2 mm; 4.09 g; 12 h)
23. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337

O164/R—

24. Künker 341, 1 Oct. 2020, lot 5023 (16.8 mm; 4.25 g)
25. Künker eLive 82, 21 May 2024, lot 4074 (16.2 mm; 3.7 g)
26. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 653 (18.2 mm; 4.26 g; 12 h). Reverse double struck/overstrike.
27. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336
28. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338
29. Naumann 45, 3 July 2016, lot 284 (17.1 mm; 4.23 g)
30. Peus 428, 28 Apr. 2021, lot 355 (16.9 mm; 3.7 g)
31. SPQR Collection 9, 16–17 June 2025, lot 338 (16.7 mm; 3.94 g)
32. The Coin Cabinet Ancients 24, 10 July 2025, lot 39 (17 mm; 3.66 g)

O165/R426

33. CNG EA 151, 1 Nov. 2006, lot 77 (16.6 mm)
34. Savoca Blue 2, 28 Oct. 2017, lot 465 (15.1 mm; 3.89 g)

O165/R—

35. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338
36. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338
37. Olympus Numismatik Auction 16, 12 Oct. 2024, lot 122 (16.7 mm; 3.9 g)
38. Savoca 14, 23 Apr. 2017, lot 251 (15.4 mm; 3.71 g)

O166/R427

39. Demos Auction 46, 22 Mar. 2025, lot 33 (15 mm; 3.44 g)

O166/R428

40. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334
41. VIA GmbH EA 8, 6 May 2022, lot 63 (16.7 mm)

O166/R429

42. Burdur 31997 (= Köker 2016 no. 1) (18 mm; 3.66 g; 12 h)
43. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334
44. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338

O166/R—

45. Aquila Numismatics 4, 19 Aug. 2022, lot 100 (17.6 mm; 3.8 g)
46. Aquila Numismatics 4, 19 Aug. 2022, lot 98 (17.4 mm; 3.6 g)
47. Aquila Numismatics 9, 5 Feb. 2023, lot 150 (16.8 mm; 3.8 g)
48. Kölner Münzkabinett Tyll Kroha Nachfolger Auction 123, 5 Oct. 2024, lot 2047
49. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 19, 26 Feb. 2022, lot 1569 (16.4 mm; 3.65 g; 12 h)
50. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 33, 15 Mar. 2025, lot 1257 (17 mm; 3.98 g)
51. Olympus Numismatik 21, 19 Apr. 2025, lot 132 (17.4 mm; 3.2 g)
52. Savoca 212th Weekly Blue, 18 May 2024, lot 143 (17 mm; 3.75 g)

O167/R430

53. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496
54. Tauler & Fau 130, 4 July 2023, lot 2043 (16.5 mm; 3.53 g)

O167/R431

55. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338. Gorgoneion on shield.

O167/R—

56. P 192 (3.47 g)

O168/R—

57. VIA GmbH EA 10, 16 Dec 2022, lot 64
58. VIA GmbH EA 8, 6 May 2022, lot 64
59. VIA GmbH EA 8, 6 May 2022, lot 66

O169/R432

60. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 17, 19 Mar. 2023, lot 80 (16 mm; 3.2 g)

O169/R433

61. Agora Auctions Numismatic 24, 13 Jan. 2015, lot 90 (16.6 mm; 3.83 g)

O169/R—

62. Erzurum 2017/24 (= Ceylan 2021, no. 13) (18 mm; 4 g; 12 h)
63. Aquila Numismatics 3, 2 July 2022, lot 120 (17.9 mm; 2.9 g)
64. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 30, 14 Apr. 2024, lot 228 (17 mm; 3.39 g)
65. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336
66. Naumann 74, 3 Feb. 2019, lot 162 (16 mm; 3.66 g)
67. Numismad Auction 20, 27 Dec. 2024, lot 520 (17 mm; 3.28 g)
68. Roma Numismatics EA 39, 26 Aug. 2017, lot 331 (16.4 mm; 3.42 g; 1 h)
69. Savoca Numismatik 228th Weekly Blue Auction, 24 Aug. 2024, lot 100 (17 mm; 3.51 g)
70. Tauler & Fau 72, 14 Dec. 2020, lot 2029 (16.9 mm; 3.85 g)
71. The Coin Cabinet Ancients 24, 10 July 2025, lot 40 (17.2 mm; 3.59 g)

O170/R434

72. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 20, 10 June 2023, lot 109 (16 mm; 3.6 g)

O170/R—

73. P AA.GR.16714 (4.03 g). Under Ariobarzanes I on Paris website.
74. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 33, 15 Mar. 2025, lot 1258 (18 mm; 3.78 g)
75. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337

O171/R—

76. Aquila Numismatics 9, 5 Feb. 2023, lot 151 (16.7 mm; 3.5 g)
77. Eid Mar Auctions 15, 31 May 2025, lot 141 (16.7 mm; 3.6 g)
78. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335

O172/R435

79. CNG EA 523, 7 Sept. 2022, lot 227 = CNG EA 510, 23 Feb. 2022, lot 186 (17.5 mm; 4.21 g; 12 h)

O172/R436

80. Agora Auctions Numismatic 17, 30 Sept. 2014, lot 97 (16.9 mm; 3.7 g)
81. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7 Dec. 2024, lot 650 (19 mm; 4 g; 12 h)

O173/R—

82. CGB.fr Live Auction May 2025, 13. May 2025, lot 1021157 = Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 645 (17.3 mm; 3.63 g; 12 h)
83. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334
84. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337

O174/R—

85. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336
86. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337
87. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337

O175/R—

88. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336
89. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338
90. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1493

O176/R—

91. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337

O177/R—

92. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337

O178/R—

93. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337
94. Savoca Blue 5, 24 Feb. 2018, lot 610 (14.1 mm; 3.73 g)

O179/R437

95. Demos 51, 6 June 2025, lot 191 (15.1 mm; 3.73 g)

O179/R—

96. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338. Overstrike ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ underneath visible .
97. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1493

98. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1493
99. Numismatica Ibercoin EA 93, 21 Mar. 2024, lot 2014 (15.2 mm; 3.78 g)

O180/R—

100. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7 Dec. 2024, lot 642 (17 mm; 4 g; 12 h)
101. Naville Numismatics 85, 19 Nov. 2023, lot 107 (16.5 mm; 3.7 g)

O181/R—

102. Leu WA 5, 23 Sept. 2018, lot 335 = Leu WA 2, 3 Dec. 2017, lot 299 (16.1 mm; 4 g; 1 h)

O182/R—

103. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334
104. Morton & Eden 124, 26 Sept. 2023, lot 511 (16.4 mm; 3.71 g)

O183/R—

105. Nomos Obolos Web Auction 38, 20 July 2025, lot 303 (18.5 mm; 3.69 g; 12 h)

O184/R—

106. Olympus Numismatik 12, 26 Apr. 2024, lot 99 (20 mm; 3.55 g)

O185/R438

107. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496

O185/R—

108. Auktionshaus Felzmann 150, 4 Nov. 2014, lot 113 (16.6 mm; 3.97 g)
109. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335
110. Olympus Numismatik 21, 19 Apr. 2025, lot 130 (16 mm; 3.2 g)
111. Rönesans Salzgitter Auction 15, 5 Oct. 2024, lot 143 (16.1 mm; 3.51 g)

O186/R—

112. Kölner Münzkabinett 108, 7 Apr. 2018, lot 342 (16.7 mm; 3.6 g)
113. Roma Numismatics EA 72, 25 June 2020, lot 585 (17.1 mm; 3.85 g)

O187/R439

114. Bay Numismatics EA 16, 26 Aug. 2025, lot 104 (16.5 mm; 3.9 g)

O187/R—

115. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337
116. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
117. Savoca 212th Weekly Blue, 18 May 2024, lot 144 (15 mm; 4.11 g)

O188/R440

118. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496

O188/R—

119. Solidus Numismatik 92, 25 Jan. 2022, lot 181 (16 mm; 3.7 g)
120. VAuctions NBJ 10, 6 Dec. 2023, lot 8 (18.8 mm; 3.96 g)

O189/R—

121. Burdur 32008 (= Köker 2016 no. 2) (15 mm; 3.7 g; 12 h)

O190/R441

122. Biga Numismatics EA 37, 13 June 2025, lot 138 (17 mm; 4.19 g; 12 h)

O190/R—

123. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334
124. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338. Overstrike ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ underneath visible .

O191/R—

125. Astarte Web Auction 6, 9 June 2024, lot 101 (16.8 mm; 4.16 g)
126. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495

O192/R—

127. Demos Auction 52, 26 July 2025, lot 37 (15 mm; 3.92 g)

O193/R—

128. Künker 216, 8 Oct. 2012, lot 484 (16.5 mm; 3.86 g)

O194/R—

129. Emporium Hamburg 91, 11 Nov. 2020, lot 162 (16.7 mm; 3.32 g)

O195/R434

130. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 33, 14 Sept. 2024, lot 384 (17 mm; 3.79 g)

O195/R—

131. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335

O196/R—

132. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336

O197/R—

133. Aquila Numismatics 2, 7 May 2022, lot 110 (16.8 mm; 3.9 g)

O198/R440

134. Demos Auction 38, 27 Sep. 2024, lot 5 (15 mm; 3.87 g)

O198/R—

135. Demos Auction 45, 21 Feb. 2025, lot 59 (14 mm; 3.63 g)
136. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335
137. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495

O199/R—

138. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1493
139. VIA GmbH EA 10, 16 Dec. 2022, lot 57 = VIA GmbH EA 9, 8 July 2022, lot 77 = VIA GmbH EA 7, 25 Feb. 2022, lot 95 (16.3 mm; 4.05 g)

O200/R—

140. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336

O201/R442

141. Tauler & Fau 94, 19 Oct. 2021, lot 3044 = Noonans (formerly Dix Noonan Webb) 130, 13 May 2015, lot 1003 (17.1 mm; 4.07 g)

O202/R—

142. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334

O203/R—

143. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334

O204/R—

144. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334

O205/R443

145. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 13, 13 Nov. 2022, lot 128 (17 mm; 3.8 g)
146. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335

O205/R444

147. Aquila Numismatics 4, 19 Aug. 2022, lot 97 (17.1 mm; 3.5 g)

O206/R433

148. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496

O206/R—

149. Ancient Numismatics Auctions (formerly Aquila Numismatics) Auction 16, 24 Nov. 2024, lot 116 (16.5 mm; 3.1 g)

O207/R445

150. VIA GmbH EA 8, 6 May 2022, lot 59 (16.7 mm)

O208/R446

151. VIA GmbH EA 10, 16 Dec. 2022, lot 65 = VIA GmbH EA 8, 6 May 2022, lot 65

O208/R442

152. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1493
153. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497
154. M&M GmbH 30, 28 May 2009, lot 694 (16.6 mm; 3.67 g)

O209/R447

155. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 31, 11 May 2024, lot 329 (16 mm; 4.07 g)
156. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336
157. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338
158. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496
159. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497. Obverse overstruck with a club/spearhead/fish? underneath.

O—/R448

160. Demos 31, 12 Apr. 2024, lot 140 (16 mm; 3.42 g)

O—/R449

161. P 191bis (3.92 g)

O—/R450

162. P 183 (3.88 g)

O—/R451

163. Bertolami EA 105, 21 Oct. 2021, lot 244 (16 mm; 3.62 g; 12 h)

O—/R452

164. Bertolami EA 105, 21 Oct. 2021, lot 246 (17.6 mm; 3.3 g; 12 h)

O—/R453

165. Bertolami EA 105, 21 Oct. 2021, lot 247 (16 mm; 3.77 g; 12 h)

O—/R443

166. Aquila Numismatics 4, 19 Aug. 2022, lot 99 (16.9 mm; 3.6 g)
167. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499

O—/R454

168. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 13, 13 Nov. 2022, lot 129 (18 mm; 4.5 g)

O—/R455

169. Cgb.fr e-Monnaies January 2017, 31 Jan. 2017, lot 35 (16 mm; 3.75 g; 12 h)

O—/R456

170. Demos 31, 12 Apr. 2024, lot 141 (15 mm; 3.7 g)

O—/R457

171. Demos 51, 6 June 2025, lot 188 (15.1 mm; 3.18 g)

O—/R458

172. Demos 54, 6 Sept. 2025, lot 11 (15.2 mm; 4.08 g)

O—/R459

173. Demos Auction 46, 22 Mar. 2025, lot 35 (13 mm; 3.67 g)
174. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495. Obverse overstrike.

O—/R460

175. Demos Auction 52, 26 July 2025, lot 34 (16 mm; 3.45 g)

O—/R446

176. Bay Numismatics EA 16, 26 Aug. 2025, lot 102 (16.9 mm; 4.1 g)
177. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334

O—/R461

178. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338

O—/R462

179. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338

O—/R463

180. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1493

O—/R464

181. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497. No crescent and star.

O—/R465

182. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495

O—/R466

183. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334

O—/R467

184. VIA GmbH EA 9, 8 July 2022, lot 78 = VIA GmbH EA 10, 16 Dec. 2022, lot 58 (16.5 mm; 4.16 g)

O—/R468

185. Savoca Blue 5, 24 Feb. 2018, lot 608 = Savoca 12, 22 Jan. 2017, lot 274 (14 mm; 3.62 g)

O—/R—

186. L 1895,0508.129 (3.8 g; 12 h)
187. L 1841,B.3454 (3.42 g; 12 h)
188. L 1947,0606.1038 (3.13 g)
189. L 1996,1032.3 (= Previous owner/ex-collection: Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence) (3.74 g; 1 h). Reverse overstrike.
190. P AA.GR.16715 (3.97 g)
191. Erzurum 2017/15 (= Ceylan 2021, no. 10) (16 mm; 3.3 g; 12 h)
192. Erzurum 2017/16 (= Ceylan 2021, no. 11) (18 mm; 4.45 g; 12 h)
193. Erzurum 2017/17 (= Ceylan 2021, no. 12) (17 mm; 4 g; 12 h)
194. Erzurum 2017/25 (= Ceylan 2021, no. 14) (17 mm; 3.9 g; 12 h)
195. Harvard 1.1965.2552 (16 mm; 3.37 g; 12 h)
196. Moscow СУС 2394 (16.5 mm; 3.87 g; 12 h)
197. Moscow КР ОН 454140 (16 mm; 3.61 g; 12 h)
198. Via GmBH Auctions
199. Agora Auctions Numismatic 12, 24 June 2014, lot 11 (17.8 mm; 3.97 g; 1 h)
200. Agora Auctions Numismatic 5, 18 Feb. 2014, lot 35 (16.4 mm; 3.99 g; 1 h)
201. Ancient Numismatics Auctions (formerly Aquila Numismatics) Auction 17, 25 Jan. 2025, lot 110 (15.9 mm; 3.3 g)
202. Ancient Numismatics Auctions (formerly Aquila Numismatics) Auction 17, 25 Jan. 2025, lot 156 (16.3 mm; 3.6 g)
203. Aquila Numismatics 4, 19 Aug. 2022, lot 101 (17 mm)
204. Aquila Numismatics 6, 31 Oct. 2022, lot 18 (16.4 mm; 3.6 g)
205. Aquila Numismatics 6, 31 Oct. 2022, lot 44 (16.3 mm; 3.6 g)
206. Bay Numismatics EA 16, 26 Aug. 2025, lot 103 (16.7 mm; 3.7 g)
207. Bay Numismatics EA 16, 26 Aug. 2025, lot 105 (16.4 mm; 3.3 g)
208. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 13, 13 Nov. 2022, lot 132 (16 mm; 3.5 g)
209. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 13, 13 Nov. 2022, lot 136 (16 mm; 3.2 g)
210. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 32, 15 June 2024, lot 73 (15 mm; 3.31 g)
211. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 33, 14 Sept. 2024, lot 383 (15 mm; 3.2 g)
212. Bucephalus Numismatic Black Auction 14, 9 Jan. 2023, lot 118 (15.5 mm; 3.8 g)
213. Demos Auction 41, 15 Nov. 2024, lot 70 (15 mm; 3.64 g)
214. Demos Auction 43, 27 Dec. 2024, lot 125 (14 mm; 3.58 g)
215. Demos Auction 43, 27 Dec. 2024, lot 249 (16 mm; 3.08 g)
216. Demos Auction 43, 27 Dec. 2024, lot 59 (15 mm; 3.85 g)
217. Demos Auction 46, 22 Mar. 2025, lot 36 (14 mm; 3.5 g)
218. Emporium Hamburg Alpha 8, 27 Mar. 2022, lot 58 (3.46 g). Both sides double struck.
219. Henseler 40
220. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 643 (16.2 mm; 4.13 g; 12 h)
221. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 647 (16.3 mm; 4 g; 12 h)
222. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4333
223. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4333
224. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334
225. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334
226. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334
227. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334
228. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334
229. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334
230. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335
231. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335
232. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335
233. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335
234. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335
235. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335
236. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335
237. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335
238. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336
239. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336
240. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336
241. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336
242. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336
243. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336
244. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336
245. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336
246. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337
247. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337
248. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337
249. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337
250. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337
251. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338. Double struck.
252. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338
253. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338
254. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338
255. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338
256. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338
257. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492
258. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492
259. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492
260. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492
261. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492
262. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492
263. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492
264. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492
265. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1493
266. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1493
267. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1493
268. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1493
269. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1493
270. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
271. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
272. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
273. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
274. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
275. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
276. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
277. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494

278. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
279. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
280. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
281. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
282. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495
283. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495
284. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495
285. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495
286. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495
287. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495
288. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495
289. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495
290. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495
291. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496
292. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496
293. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496
294. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496
295. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496
296. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496
297. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496
298. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496
299. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496
300. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496
301. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496
302. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496
303. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496
304. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497
305. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497
306. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497
307. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497
308. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497
309. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497
310. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497
311. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497
312. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497
313. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497
314. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497
315. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497
316. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497
317. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498
318. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498
319. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498
320. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498
321. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498
322. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498
323. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498
324. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498
325. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498
326. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498
327. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498
328. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498
329. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498
330. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498
331. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498
332. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498
333. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498
334. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499
335. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499
336. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499
337. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499
338. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499
339. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499
340. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499
341. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499
342. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499
343. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499
344. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499
345. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499
346. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499
347. M&M GmbH 16, 19 May 2005, lot 939 (19 mm; 4 g)
348. Marti Hervera and Soler & Llach 1077, 2 July 2013, lot 2065 (16.5 mm; 3.4 g)
349. Nomos Obolos Web Auction 38, 20 July 2025, lot 302 (18.5 mm; 3.87 g; 12 h). Double struck.
350. Nomos Obolos Web Auction 39, 28 Sept. 2024, lot 1055
351. Nomos Obolos Web Auction 39, 28 Sept. 2024, lot 1055
352. Nomos Obolos Web Auction 39, 28 Sept. 2024, lot 1055
353. Nomos Obolos Web Auction 39, 28 Sept. 2024, lot 1055
354. Numimarket.pl EA 2, 16 Apr. 2023, lot 30 (16 mm; 3.51 g)
355. Numismad Auction 20, 27 Dec. 2024, lot 519 (17 mm; 3.51 g)
356. Olympus Numismatik Auction 19, 17 Jan. 2025, lot 114 (17.5 mm; 3.3 g)
357. Robert College Istanbul (16 mm). Listed as lost/stolen.
358. Roma Numismatics EA 40, 28 Oct. 2017, lot 241 (17.4 mm; 3.57 g; 1 h)
359. Rönesans Salzgitter 16, 1 Dec. 2024, lot 131 (16.3 mm; 2.8 g)
360. Tauler & Fau 12, 19 June 2018, lot 9 (16.6 mm; 3.68 g)
361. VAuctions Kenneth W. Dorney EA 14, 31 Jan. 2023, lot 18 (16.7 mm; 4.08 g)
362. VIA GmbH EA 7, 25 Feb. 2022, lot 96 (17 mm; 4.16 g)
363. VIA GmbH EA 7, 25 Feb. 2022, lot 99 (16.6 mm)

Type 36

Obverse: Diademed head of Ariobarzanes III, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΡΟΜΑΙΟΥ; facing Athena turning l.; extended r. hand holding figure of Nike, holding wreath; l. hand holding spear and shield on the right; star and Θ in left field

Denomination: AR Drachm
Diameter: 17–20 mm; average: 17 mm.
Weight: 3.11–4 g; average: 3.52 g.
Axis: 1 (1), 11 (1), 12 (3)
Average thickness: 1.40 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 4 obverse dies and 15 reverse dies

Number of coins: 22

O210/R469
1. Leu Numismatic Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 644 (19.5 mm; 3.55 g; 12 h)
2. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336
3. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337

O211/R470
4. L 1895,0508.127 (3.74 g; 12 h)

O211/R471
5. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338

O211/R472
6. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337

O211/R473
7. Cgb.fr online shop, June 2025 (17.5 mm; 3.51 g; 1 h)

O212/R474
8. Hirsch 260, 12 Feb. 2009, lot 1810 = Grün 64, 20 Nov. 2014, lot 1344 (17 mm; 3.14 g)
9. Savoca EA 30 Silver, 27 Jan. 2019, lot 179 (17 mm; 3.11 g)

O212/R475
10. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492. Shield with Gorgoneion.

O213/R476
11. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336
12. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336

O213/R477
13. Astarte Web Auction 9, 30 Mar. 2025, lot 229 = Bertolami EA 105, 21 Oct. 2021, lot 249 (17.21 mm; 3.57 g; 11 h)

O213/R478
14. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335. Shield with Gorgoneion on reverse.

O213/R479
15. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337
16. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498

O213/R472
17. Roma Numismatics EA 100, 28 July 2022, lot 738 = Roma Numismatics EA 37, 24 June 2017, lot 220 (17 mm; 3.5 g; 12 h)

O213/R480
18. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492

O213/R481
19. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492

O213/R482
20. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1493

O213/R483
21. Pandora Numismatics Auction 24, 14 Nov. 2025, lot 383 (18 mm; 3.57 g)

O—/R—
22. Olympus Numismatic Auction 27, 5 Dec. 2025, lot 74 (16.7 mm; 4 g)

Ariobarzanes III Eusebes kai Philorhomaios Year 11 (= IA)

Type 37

Obverse: Diademed head of Ariobarzanes III, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΡΟΜΑΙΟΥ; facing Athena turning l.; extended r. hand holding figure of Nike, holding wreath; l. hand holding spear and shield on the right; star and crescent in left field; AI in right field

Denomination: AR Drachm
Diameter: 14–18 mm; average: 16 mm.
Weight: 2.64–4.22 g; average: 3.81 g.
Axis: 1 (1), 11 (1), 12 (2)
Average thickness: 1.77 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 10 obverse dies and 27 reverse dies
Number of coins: 41

O214/R484
1. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335

O215/R485
2. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 33, 15 Mar. 2025, lot 1259 (16 mm; 3.89 g)
3. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498
4. Savoca EA 124 Silver, 23 Jan. 2022, lot 177 (16 mm; 3.98 g)

O215/R486
5. Bertolami EA 105, 21 Oct. 2021, lot 254 (15.5 mm; 2.64 g; 11 h)
6. Savoca EA 30 Silver, 27 Jan. 2019, lot 180 (16 mm; 4.22 g)

O215/R487
7. CNG EA 355, 15 July 2015, lot 168 (17.2 mm; 4.02 g; 12 h)

O215/R488
8. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4333
9. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4333

O215/R489
10. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496

O215/R490
11. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494

O215/R491
12. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495

O216/R492

13. Elsen 116, 16 Mar. 2013, lot 162 (17.1 mm; 4.04 g)
14. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337

O217/R493

15. P 191 (3.6 g)

O217/R494

16. P 190 (4.02 g)
17. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336

O217/R495

18. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1493
19. Myntauktioner i Sverige AB 42, 29 Apr. 2023, lot 686 (3.95 g)

O217/R496

20. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334

O217/R497

21. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497

O217/R498

22. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497

O217/R499

23. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496

O217/R500

24. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499

O218/R501

25. L HPB,p148.1.C (3.91 g; 12 h)
26. Savoca EA 28 Silver, 16 Dec. 2018, lot 146 (17 mm; 4.06 g)
27. Savoca EA 33 Silver, 12 May 2019, lot 189 (17 mm; 4.04 g)

O219/R502

28. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495

O220/R503

29. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 13, 13 Nov. 2022, lot 137 (14 mm; 3.7 g)
30. David Connor Ancient Coins and Artifacts, June 2025 (15.5 mm; 3.65 g)
31. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498

O220/R504

32. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338

O221/R503

33. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499

O221/R505

34. Savoca Numismatik 238th Weekly Blue Auction, 26 Oct. 2024, lot 108 = VIA GmbH EA 10, 16 Dec. 2022, lot 59 = VIA GmbH EA 8, 6 May 2022, lot 61 (16 mm; 4 g)

O221/R502

35. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496
36. Tiber Numismatics and Auctions 9, 15 June 2025, lot 15 (17.3 mm; 3.79 g). Beard on obverse tooled .

O221/R506

37. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1493

O222/R507

38. Aquila Numismatics 4, 19 Aug. 2022, lot 103 (16.1 mm; 3.3 g)

O222/R508

39. Agora Auctions Numismatic 6, 11 Mar. 2014, lot 30 (18 mm; 3.97 g; 1 h)

O223/R509

40. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492

O—/R510

41. Demos Auction 45, 21 Feb. 2025, lot 352 (14 mm; 3.59 g). Dies significantly different in style and appear to have wrong spellings, possibly a forgery .

Type 38

Obverse: Diademed head of Ariobarzanes III, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΡΟΜΑΙΟΥ; facing Athena turning l.; extended r. hand holding figure of Nike, holding wreath; l. hand holding spear and shield on the right; star and crescent in left field; IA in right field

Denomination: AR Drachm
Diameter: 14–18 mm; average: 16 mm.
Weight: 3.1–4.28 g; average: 3.80 g.
Axis: 1 (1), 12 (2)
Average thickness: 1.76 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 11 obverse dies and 26 reverse dies
Number of coins: 38

O214/R511

1. Cgb.fr online shop June 2025 = Savoca EA 32 Silver, 14 Apr. 2019, lot 149 (16.5 mm; 4.17 g; 12 h)

O214/R512

2. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497
3. Rönesans Salzgitter Auction 15, 5 Oct. 2024, lot 206 (16.9 mm; 3.5 g)

O214/R513

4. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336. Overstrike on reverse .

O214/R514

5. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492
6. Olympus Numismatik 18, 8 Dec. 2024, lot 72 (16.5 mm; 3.6 g)

O214/R515
7. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497

O224/R516
8. CNG EA 150, 18 Oct. 2006, lot 149 (16.2 mm; 4.28 g)

O225/R517
9. Bruun Rasmussen EA 1909, 3 Mar. 2019, lot 5016
10. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497

O225/R518
11. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 663 (17.5 mm; 4.05 g; 1 h)

O225/R519
12. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335

O226/R520
13. Ancient Numismatics Auctions (formerly Aquila Numismatics) Auction 17, 25 Jan. 2025, lot 155 (16.8 mm; 3.1 g)
14. Cgb. fr online shop (16.5 mm; 3.76 g; 12 h)
15. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496

O226/R521
16. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335

O227/R522
17. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337
18. Numisfitz 6, 22 June 2025, lot 535 (16 mm; 4 g)
19. Savoca EA 34 Silver, 16 June 2019, lot 181 (14 mm; 3.9 g)

O227/R523
20. Elsen 155, 16 June 2023, lot 260 (4.27 g)

O227/R524
21. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 21, 1 July 2023, lot106 (16 mm; 3.6 g)
22. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1493

O227/R525
23. Demos Auction 41, 15 Nov. 2024, lot 66 (14 mm; 4 g)
24. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334

O227/R526
25. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499
26. N&N London EA 47, 18 May 2024, lot 238 (16.5 mm; 4.1 g)

O227/R527
27. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4333
28. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499

O227/R528
29. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338

O228/R529
30. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337

O223/R530
31. VIA GmbH EA 10, 16 Dec. 2022, lot 64

O229/R530
32. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499

O229/R531
33. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495

O230/R532
34. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496

O231/R533
35. Ancient Numismatics Auctions (formerly Aquila Numismatics) Auction 10, 5 Mar. 2023, lot 52 (17.4 mm; 3.3 g)

O231/R534
36. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 31, 11 May 2024, lot 330 (16 mm; 3.77 g)

O232/R535
37. Elsen 109, 18 June 2011, lot 222 (4.02 g)

O—/R536
38. Olympus Numismatik 18, 8 Dec. 2024, lot 75 (16.7 mm; 3.1 g)

Type 39

Obverse: Diademed head of Ariobarzanes III, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΡΟΜΑΙΟΥ, ΙΑ; facing Athena turning l.; extended r. hand holding figure of Nike, holding wreath; l. hand holding spear and shield on the right; star and crescent in left field; monogram 𐡀 in right field

Denomination: AR Drachm
Diameter: 15–17 mm; average: 16 mm.
Weight: 3.1–4.36 g; average: 3.62 g.
Axis: 11 (1)
Average thickness: 1.74 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 3 obverse dies and 1 reverse dies
Number of coins: 13

O233/R537
1. Marti Hervera and Soler & Llach 1134, 8 May 2024, lot 3088 (3.49 g)
2. Naumann 85, 5 Jan. 2020, lot 170 (17.2 mm; 3.74 g)

O234/R—
3. Münster M 3623 (15 mm; 4.36 g; 11 h)

O235/R—
4. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 20, 10 June 2023, lot 104 (15 mm; 3.7 g)

O—/R—

5. P 185 (3.98 g)
6. Aquila Numismatics 9, 5 Feb. 2023, lot 161 (16.1 mm; 3.24 g)
7. Bucephalus Numismatic Black Auction 20, 25 May 2023, lot 543 (15.4 mm; 3.34 g)
8. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335
9. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338
10. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
11. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495
12. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499
13. Olympus Numismatic Auction 18, 8 Dec. 2024, lot 71 (16.8 mm; 3.1 g)

Type 40

Obverse: Diademed head of Ariobarzanes III, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΡΟΜΑΙΟΥ, ΙΑ; facing Athena turning l.; extended r. hand holding figure of Nike, holding wreath; l. hand holding spear and shield on the right; star and crescent in left field; monogram in right field; IA below

Denomination: AR Drachm
Diameter: 13–18 mm; average: 16 mm.
Weight: 2.21–4.4 g; average: 3.69 g.
Axis: 1 (4), 2 (1), 12 (20)
Average thickness: 1.78 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 43 obverse dies and 31 reverse dies
Number of coins: 213

O236/R538
1. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334
2. Tauler & Fau 141, 22 Apr. 2024, lot 102 (3.81 g)

O236/R539
3. Erzurum 2017/22 (= Ceylan 2021, no. 15) (18 mm; 3.6 g; 12 h)
4. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 33, 15 Mar. 2025, lot 1261 (17 mm; 4 g; 12 h)

O236/R—
5. Bertolami 109, 4 May 2022, lot 271 (16.4 mm; 3 g)
6. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337
7. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338
8. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1493
9. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
10. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
11. N&N LONDON Online Auction 52, 20 Jul. 2024, lot 261 (16 mm; 3.6 g)

O237/R—
12. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4333

O238/R540
13. Augsburg 0519 (16 mm; 4.05 g; 12 h)
14. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495
15. Roma Numismatics EA 18, 27 June 2015, lot 472 (15 mm; 4.03 g; 1 h)

O238/R541
16. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4333
17. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334

O238/R—
18. Bucephalus Numismatic Black Auction 16, 24 Feb. 2023, lot 418 (16.3 mm; 3.35 g)
19. Demose Auction 15, 13 January 2023, lot 225 (17 mm; 3.93 g)
20. Kölner Münzkabinett EA 8, 25 June 2023, lot 90 (4.07 g)
21. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4333
22. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497. Obverse double struck.
23. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499. Club visible on reverse.
24. Numismad Auction 20, 27 Dec. 2024, lot 521 (17 mm; 3.59 g)

O239/R542
25. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 29, 24 Mar. 2024, lot 260 (16 mm; 3.83 g)
26. Savoca 212th Weekly Blue, 18 May 2024, lot 149 (16 mm; 4.4 g)

O239/R—
27. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334
28. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497

O240/R543
29. CNG 55, 13 Sept. 2000, lot 645 (3.55 g)
30. CNG EA 200, 3 Dec. 2008, lot 68 (16 mm; 3.55 g; 12 h)

O240/R544
31. CNG EA 90, 26 May 2004, lot 7 (15.7 mm; 2.21 g)
32. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337. Mirrored Z.

O240/R—
33. Harvard 1976.79.1212 (16 mm; 3.7 g)
34. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 654 (17 mm; 3.85 g; 12 h)
35. Numisfitz 6, 22 June 2025, lot 534 (16.1 mm; 3.76 g)
36. Savoca EA 31 Silver, 10 Mar. 2019, lot 217 (16.3 mm; 4.25 g)

O241/R—
37. P 184 (3.78 g)
38. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336
39. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338

O242/R545
40. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335
41. N&N LONDON Online Auction 57, 22 Nov. 2024, lot 86 (15 mm; 3.4 g)

O242/R546
42. Demos 53, 15–16 Aug. 2025, lot 92 (13.1 mm; 3.59 g)
43. VAuctions NBJ 11, 7 Apr. 2024, lot 15 = VAuctions NBJ 10, 6 Dec. 2023, lot 9 (16 mm; 3.8 g)

O242/R—

44. Rönesans Salzgitter Auction 15, 5 Oct. 2024, lot 198 = Rönesans Salzgitter 11, 5 May 2024, lot 196 (16 mm; 3.5 g)

O243/R—

45. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337

O244/R—

46. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1493

O245/R—

47. Aquila Numismatics 4, 19 Aug. 2022, lot 104 (18.1 mm; 3.3 g)

O246/R547

48. Aurea Numismatika EA 49, 3 Mar. 2024, lot 99 = Aurea Numismatika EA 46, 1 Oct. 2023, lot 353. Auction house gives a too high weight of 9.91 g for this coin.
49. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335

O246/R—

50. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334
51. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
52. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495
53. VAuctions Pars Coins Bargain EA 4, 16 June 2023, lot 11 (15 mm; 3.33 g)

O247/R548

54. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335
55. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337

O247/R—

56. Bertolami EA 119, 10 July 2022, lot 29 (14.9 mm; 3 g)
57. Demos Auction 46, 22 Mar. 2025, lot 309 (13 mm; 3.75 g)
58. Savoca Coins 285th Weekly Blue Auction, 20 Sept. 2025, lot 186 (15 mm; 3.57 g)

O248/R549

59. Gorny & Mosch 122, 10 Mar. 2003, lot 1501 (4.18 g)
60. Künker 341, 1 Oct. 2020, lot 5025 (4.38 g)

O248/R550

61. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 20, 10 June 2023, lot 100 (16 mm; 3.8 g)
62. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334

O248/R—

63. Bertolami Fine Arts EA 6, 23 July 2012, lot 101 (17 mm; 3.52 g)
64. Bruun Rasmussen EA 2351, 24 Dec. 2023, lot 5012 = Bruun Rasmussen EA 1925, 23 June 2019, lot 5005 (3.63 g)
65. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
66. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495
67. Solidus Numismatik 49, 17 Nov. 2019, lot 349 (16.1 mm; 3.59 g)

O249/R—

68. P 1965.328 (3.92 g). In Paris misattributed to Ariobarzanes II .
69. Bucephalus Numismatic Black Auction 20, 25 May 2023, lot 542 (15.3 mm; 3.79 g)
70. CNG EA 521, 3 Aug. 2022, lot 176 = CNG EA 493, 9 June 2021, lot 329 (16.3 mm; 4.1 g; 12 h)
71. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492
72. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496

O250/R551

73. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 13, 13 Nov. 2022, lot 131 (15 mm; 4.1 g)
74. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
75. Via GmbH E-auction 10, 16 Dec. 2022, lot 62

O251/R552

76. Bertolami 109, 4 May 2022, lot 273 (16.4 mm; 4 g)

O251/R553

77. P 185bis (3.9 g)
78. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 33, 15 Mar. 2025, lot 1260 (16 mm; 3.76 g)
79. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
80. Olympus Numismatik Auction 14, 9 Aug. 2024, lot 81 (16.8 mm; 3.6 g)

O251/R—

81. Erzurum 2017/20 (= Ceylan 2021, no. 16) (17 mm; 3.7 g; 12 h)
82. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499

O252/R554

83. Nomos Obolos Web Auction 39, 28 Sept. 2024, lot 1055
84. Stephen Album Rare Coins 33, 17 Jan. 2019, lot 9 (3.96 g)

O252/R—

85. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336
86. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338
87. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492
88. Savoca 212th Weekly Blue, 18 May 2024, lot 146 (17 mm; 4.06 g)
89. Savoca 212th Weekly Blue, 18 May 2024, lot 148 (18 mm; 4.07 g)

O253/R555

90. Savoca 212th Weekly Blue, 18 May 2024, lot 147 (17.2 mm; 4.21 g)
91. Savoca Coins 285th Weekly Blue Auction, 20 Sept. 2025, lot 185 (16 mm; 3.51 g)

O253/R—

92. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492
93. Roma Numismatics EA 72, 25 June 2020, lot 586 = Roma Numismatics EA 66, 9 Jan. 2020, lot 558 (16 mm; 3.49 g; 12 h)

O254/R—

94. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4333

O255/R556

95. Olympus Numismatik Auction 18, 8 Dec. 2024, lot 76 (16.6 mm; 3.5 g)
96. The Coin Cabinet Ancients 24, 10 July 2025, lot 41 (16.3 mm; 3.62 g)

O255/R—

97. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334

O256/R557

98. Hirsch 303, 25 Sept. 2014, lot 2828 (3.55 g)
99. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
100. Savoca EA 124 Silver, 23 Jan. 2022, lot 178 (17.2 mm; 3.5 g)

O256/R—

101. P Y 4864.2798/357 (3.98 g)
102. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499
103. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499

O257/R558

104. Bertolami EA 105, 21 Oct. 2021, lot 252 (15.8 mm; 3.75 g; 12 h)
105. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495

O257/R—

106. Biga Numismatics EA 37, 13 June 2025, lot 137 (15 mm; 4.14 g; 12 h)
107. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
108. Naumann 74, 3 Feb. 2019, lot 161 (14 mm; 3.93 g)

O258/R—

109. Burdur 32009 (= Köker 2016 no. 5) (15 mm; 3.72 g; 12 h)

O259/R559

110. Burdur 32007 (= Köker 2016 no. 4) (15 mm; 3.84 g; 12 h)
111. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496

O259/R—

112. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496
113. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499

O260/R—

114. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337
115. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337

O261/R560

116. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494

O261/R—

117. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 660 (16 mm; 4 g; 12 h)
118. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334
119. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498
120. Rauch EA 18, 6 Nov. 2015, lot 106 (2.37 g)

O262/R—

121. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337

O263/R—

122. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338

O264/R561

123. Ibercoin Online Auktion 118, 22 July 2025, lot 21 = Demos Auction 45, 21 Feb. 2025, lot 44 (15 mm; 3.53 g)
124. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492
125. Olympus Numismatic Auction 25, 19 Sept. 2025, lot 56 (16.8 mm; 3.5 g)

O264/R—

126. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 21, 1 July 2023, lot 103 (15 mm; 3.19 g)
127. Heritage Auctions Europe / MPO Auctions 78, 22 May 2023, lot 4929 (3.81 g)
128. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494

O265/R—

129. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495
130. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496

O266/R—

131. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 664 (15.2 mm; 4.16 g; 1 h)
132. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
133. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495
134. Numismatica Ibercoin EA 28, 5 June 2019, lot 33 (3.92 g). Overstrike on obverse with trident visible.
135. Peus 434, 27 Apr. 2023, lot 236 (16.5 mm; 3.87 g; 1 h)

O267/R—

136. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495

O268/R562

137. Savoca EA 28 Silver, 16 Dec. 2018, lot 145 (16 mm; 3.38 g)
138. Themis Numismatics Auction 8, 18 Oct. 2020, lot 63 (15 mm; 4.29 g)

O268/R—

139. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495
140. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499
141. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499
142. Pecunem Gitbud & Naumann 27, 4 Jan. 2015, lot 335 (15.2 mm; 4.05 g)
143. VAuctions 313, 20 Nov. 2014, lot 79 (15.4 mm; 3.33 g; 12 h)

O269/R563

144. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496
145. Rönesans Salzgitter 21, 30 Aug. 2025, lot 193 (16.8 mm; 3.74 g)

O270/R—

146. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495
147. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499
148. Nomos Obolos Web Auction 39, 28 Sept. 2024, lot 1055

O271/R564

149. The Coin Cabinet Ancients 24, 10 July 2025, lot 38 (17.3 mm; 4.28 g)

O271/R—

150. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 659 (17.1 mm; 3.81 g; 12 h)

O272/R565

151. Savoca EA 32 Silver, 14 Apr. 2019, lot 148 (16 mm; 3.97 g)
152. SPQR Collection 8, 2–3 June 2025, lot 80 (17.7 mm; 3.67 g)

O273/R—

153. Agora Auctions Numismatic 108, 27 Dec. 2022, lot 84 = Agora Auctions Numismatic 99, 23 Mar. 2021, lot 65 (15.6 mm; 3.84 g; 12 h)
154. VIA GmbH EA 7, 25 Feb. 2022, lot 98 (16.6 mm)

O274/R—

155. Via GmbH E-auction 10, 16 Dec. 2022, lot 61

O275/R—

156. INumis MBS 14, 25 Mar. 2011, lot 95 (16 mm; 3.68 g; 1 h)
157. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337

O276/R566

158. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496

O276/R—

159. Ancient Numismatics Auctions (formerly Aquila Numismatics) Auction 18, 22 Feb. 2025, lot 113 (15.4 mm; 3.4 g)
160. Demos 53, 15–16 Aug. 2025, lot 109 (13 mm; 3.55 g)
161. Demos Auction 41, 15 Nov. 2024, lot 63 (15 mm; 3.43 g)
162. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334
163. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
164. Nomos obolos 11, 8 Dec. 2018, lot 353 (14.2 mm; 3.71 g; 2 h)
165. Savoca 212th Weekly Blue, 18 May 2024, lot 145 (16 mm; 3.81 g)
166. Tauler & Fau 80, 6 Apr. 2021, lot 51 (3.35 g)

O277/R567

167. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
168. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499

O277/R—

169. Harvard 1.1965.2554 (16 mm; 3.34 g; 12 h)
170. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
171. Numismad Auction 15, 6 July 2024, lot 470 (16 mm; 3.28 g)
172. Solidus Numismatik 106, 11 Oct. 2022, lot 1272 (16.1 mm; 3.59 g)

O278/R—

173. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
174. Via GmbH E-auction 10, 16 Dec. 2022, lot 62
175. VIA GmbH EA 8, 6 May 2022, lot 60

O—/R568

176. CNG EA 401, 12 July 2017, lot 198 (16.6 mm; 3.54 g; 12 h). Overstrike on "eastern imitation of an Athenian drachm".
177. Tauler & Fau 122, 28 Feb. 2023, lot 2091 = Tauler & Fau 115, 20 Sept. 2022, lot 41 = Aquila Numismatics 2, 7 May 2022, lot 109 (16.2 mm; 3.58 g)

O—/R—

178. L 1895,0508.130 (3.79 g; 12 h)
179. Burdur 32010 (= Köker 2016 no. 3) (16 mm; 3.8 g)
180. Agora Auctions Numismatic 99, 23 Mar. 2021, lot 64 (15.1 mm; 3.78 g; 12 h)
181. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 13, 13 Nov. 2022, lot 130 (14 mm; 3.2 g)
182. Bruun Rasmussen EA 1847, 25 Nov. 2018, lot 5016 (3.54 g)
183. Demos 54, 6 Sept. 2025, lot 14 (15.1 mm; 3.69 g)
184. Demos Auction 41, 15 Nov. 2024, lot 68 (14 mm; 3.58 g)
185. Henseler 41
186. Heritage Auctions Europe / MPO Auctions 78, 22 May 2023, lot 4930 (3.88 g)
187. Künker 54, 7 Mar. 2000, lot 2151 (3.97 g)
188. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335
189. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335
190. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336
191. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337
192. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337
193. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338
194. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338
195. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494
196. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495
197. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496
198. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497
199. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498
200. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498
201. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499
202. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499
203. N&N LONDON Online Auction 1, 2 Apr. 2022, lot 102
204. Numismad Auction 13, 8 Mar. 2024, lot 237 (17 mm; 3.46 g)
205. Numismad Auction 16, 28 Jul. 2024, lot 8 (16 mm; 3.55 g)
206. Numismad Auction 4, 24 Sept. 2022, lot 451 (16 mm; 3.66 g)
207. Olympus Numismatik 18, 8 Dec. 2024, lot 73 (15.4 mm; 2.9 g)
208. Olympus Numismatik 21, 19 Apr. 2025, lot 131 (16.4 mm; 3.6 g)
209. Olympus Numismatik Auction 18, 8 Dec. 2024, lot 73 (15.3 mm; 2.9 g)
210. Rönesans Salzgitter 16, 1 Dec. 2024, lot 101 (16.5 mm; 3.47 g)
211. Savoca Numismatik 268th Weekly Blue Auction, 17 May 2025, lot 148 (16 mm; 3.74 g)
212. VAuctions 306, 21 May 2014, lot 193 (3.92 g)
213. VIA GmbH EA 7, 25 Feb. 2022, lot 97

Type 41

Obverse: Diademed head of Ariobarzanes III, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΡΟΜΑΙΟΥ, ΙΑ; facing Athena turning l.; extended r. hand holding figure of Nike, holding wreath; l. hand holding spear and shield on the right; star and crescent in left field; monogram 𐡀 in right field; IA below

Denomination: AR Drachm
Diameter: 14–21 mm; average: 16 mm.
Weight: 2.48–4.45 g; average: 3.73 g.
Axis: 1 (11), 2 (3), 11 (2), 12 (7)
Average thickness: 1.71 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 31 obverse dies and 37 reverse dies
Number of coins: 156

O279/R569

1. Antykwariat Numizmatyczny - Michal Niemczyk 36, 18 Sept. 2022, lot 5274 (3.39 g)
2. Hauck & Aufhäuser 20, 16 Oct. 2007, lot 185 (4.08 g)
3. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335
4. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497

O279/R570

5. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499

O279/R—

6. P 188 (4.45 g)
7. Harvard 1.1965.2553 (15 mm; 3.87 g; 2 h)
8. Bucephalus Numismatic Black Auction 16, 24 Feb. 2023, lot 416 (15.6 mm; 3.7 g)
9. Bucephalus Numismatic Black Auction 20, 25 May 2023, lot 541 (15.3 mm; 4.31 g)
10. CNG EA 396, 26 Apr. 2017, lot 238 (17.2 mm; 3.71 g; 12 h)
11. Grün 64, 20 Nov. 2014, lot 1343 (18.1 mm; 3.77 g)
12. Henseler 42
13. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 657 (15 mm; 4.26 g; 2 h)
14. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492
15. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495
16. Olympus Numismatik 12, 26 Apr. 2024, lot 100 (15.9 mm; 3.64 g)
17. Savoca Coins Blue 244th Weekly Blue, 30 Nov. 2024, lot 111 (17.1 mm; 3.71 g)
18. VIA GmbH EA 8, 6 May 2022, lot 59

O280/R571

19. VAuctions 312, 28 Oct. 2014, lot 201 (18 mm; 2.98 g)

O280/R572

20. Heritage Long Beach Signature Sale 410, 2 June 2006, lot 12127 (18.3 mm)
21. Naville Numismatics 85, 19 Nov. 2023, lot 108 (16 mm; 3.92 g)
22. Nomos obolos 26, 18 Dec. 2022, lot 288 = Nomos obolos 11, 8 Dec. 2018, lot 352 (16 mm; 3.81 g; 1 h)

O280/R—

23. Aquila Numismatics 6, 31 Oct. 2022, lot 45 (18.2 mm; 3.9 g)
24. CoinsNB E-Auction 28 (3.56 g)
25. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338
26. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497
27. Stack's (pre-Feb 2011) Coin Galleries July 2007, 18 July 2007, lot 536 (18.3 mm; 3.49 g)

O281/R573

28. P 194 (4.18 g)
29. P 195 (3.87 g). In P wrongly classified as Ariobarzanes II.
30. Rönesans Salzgitter Auction 15, 5 Oct. 2024, lot 140 (15.9 mm; 3.78 g)

O281/R574

31. Emporium Hamburg Alpha 8, 27 Mar. 2022, lot 57 (20.3 mm; 3.99 g)
32. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4333
33. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1493
34. Savoca EA 31 Silver, 10 Mar. 2019, lot 216 (15 mm; 3.61 g)

O281/R575

35. Bertolami EA 105, 21 Oct. 2021, lot 251 (16.7 mm; 3.48 g; 12 h). Reverse double struck.

O281/R—

36. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4333
37. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495
38. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497
39. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497
40. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498

O282/R576

41. CNG 53, 15 Mar. 2000, lot 578 (3.81 g)
42. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498

O282/R—

43. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336
44. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495
45. Nomos Obolos Web Auction 38, 20 July 2025, lot 304 (18.1 mm; 3.69 g; 1 h)
46. Savoca EA 27 Silver, 25 Nov. 2018, lot 241 (16 mm; 4.01 g)

O283/R577

47. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494

O283/R—

48. Savoca EA 28 Silver, 16 Dec. 2018, lot 147 (16 mm; 3.99 g)

O284/R578

49. Künker 341, 1 Oct. 2020, lot 5024 (3.64 g)
50. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 662 (16.3 mm; 3.73 g; 1 h)
51. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335
52. Naumann 45, 3 July 2016, lot 283 (16 mm; 3.64 g)

O284/R579

53. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337
54. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498

O284/R580

55. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498
56. Nomos Obolos Web Auction 38, 20 July 2025, lot 305 (16.5 mm; 3.89 g; 1 h)

O284/R—

57. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 655 (15 mm; 3.62 g; 1 h)
58. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497
59. Savoca EA 34 Silver, 16 June 2019, lot 180 (16 mm; 3.68 g)

O285/R—

60. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334

O234/R581

61. Bertolami 109, 4 May 2022, lot 272 (16.2 mm; 3 g)

O234/R582
62. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499

O234/R583
63. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1493

O234/R—
64. Münster M 1348 (16 mm; 4.39 g; 11 h)
65. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335
66. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336

O286/R—
67. Aquila Numismatics 9, 5 Feb. 2023, lot 126 (17 mm; 3.6 g)
68. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 656 (18.4 mm; 3.49 g; 1 h)
69. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335
70. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495

O287/R584
71. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 658 (16.2 mm; 3.68 g; 12 h)
72. N&N LONDON Online Auction 58, 20 Dec. 2024, lot 286 (15 mm; 3.6 g)

O288/R585
73. Nomos obolos 10, 30 June 2018, lot 219 (16.2 mm; 3.86 g; 1 h)
74. Numisart 11, 29 June 2025, lot 185 (15 mm; 3.99 g)

O288/R—
75. Nomos obolos 23, 12 June 2022, lot 511 = Bucephalus Numismatic Auction 2, 22 Jan. 2022, lot 371 (15 mm; 4.01 g; 12 h)

O289/R—
76. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 32, 7–10 Dec. 2024, lot 661 (16.1 mm; 3.74 g; 1 h)
77. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334
78. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336
79. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492
80. Savoca EA 29 Silver, 30 Dec. 2018, lot 164 (16.1 mm; 4.02 g)

O290/R586
81. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1493
82. Noble 113, 22 Nov. 2016, lot 4725 (18 mm; 3.75 g)

O290/R587
83. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495
84. VAuctions Pars Coins Sale 10, 16 Nov. 2020, lot 50 (17.4 mm; 3.64 g)

O290/R588
85. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4337

O290/R589
86. Bertolami EA 105, 21 Oct. 2021, lot 250 (20.5 mm; 3.72 g; 12 h)

O290/R—
87. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4333
88. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338
89. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492
90. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1499

O291/R590
91. Hauck & Aufhäuser 18, 5 Oct. 2004, lot 351 (18.2 mm; 4.12 g)
92. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335

O292/R—
93. Gorny & Mosch EA 263, 7 Mar. 2019, lot 3236 (16.9 mm; 3.83 g)
94. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1493

O293/R591
95. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336

O293/R582
96. Savoca EA 28 Silver, 16 Dec. 2018, lot 144 (17 mm; 4.35 g)

O235/R592
97. Savoca EA 34 Silver, 16 June 2019, lot 182 (16 mm; 3.76 g)

O235/R—
98. Marti Hervera and Soler & Llach 1109, 10 July 2019, lot 47 = Marti Hervera and Soler & Llach 1107, 28 Feb. 2019, lot 2015 = Marti Hervera and Soler & Llach 1105, 25 Oct. 2018, lot 3055 = Marti Hervera and Soler & Llach 1102, 3 May 2018, lot 2106 = Marti Hervera and Soler & Llach 1100, 19 Dec. 2017, lot 2080 (3.68 g)
99. Olympus Numismatik Auction 20, 28 Feb. 2025, lot 109 (17.4 mm; 3.6 g)

O294/R593
100. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498
101. Savoca Numismatik 231st Weekly Blue Auction, 14 Sept. 2024, lot 152 = VIA GmbH EA 10, 16 Dec. 2022, lot 60 = VIA GmbH EA 8, 6 May 2022, lot 62 (15 mm; 3.55 g)

O294/R—
102. Moscow KP OH 454156 (16 mm; 3.97 g; 2 h)

O295/R—
103. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492
104. Nomos obolos 21, 2 Jan. 2022, lot 558 (16.1 mm; 3.73 g; 1 h)

O296/R594
105. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4333
106. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4333
107. Rauch 98, 21 Sept. 2015, lot 160 (18.1 mm; 2.98 g)
108. Savoca EA 28 Silver, 16 Dec. 2018, lot 148 (16 mm; 3.57 g)

O296/R595
109. L 1979,0101.1051 (3.98 g; 12 h)

O296/R—
110. Demos 51, 6 June 2025, lot 187 (14.3 mm; 3.77 g)
111. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497
112. Numismatica Ibercoin EA 41, 28 Oct. 2020, lot 2012 (14 mm; 2.48 g)
113. Peus 378, 28 Apr. 2004, lot 291 (18.9 mm; 3.95 g)
114. Savoca Numismatik 262nd Weekly Blue Auction, 5 Apr. 2025, lot 289 = Solidus Numismatik 103, 19 July 2022, lot 1211 (16 mm;

4.02 g)

O297/R596

115. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 20, 10 June 2023, lot 108 (15 mm; 3.8 g)
116. Salon Numizmatyczny Mateusz Wójcicki 11, 4 Mar. 2023, lot 7404 (16.2 mm; 3.87 g)

O297/R597

117. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334

O297/R—

118. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4333

O298/R—

119. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1493

O299/R—

120. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335

O300/R—

121. P 1966.453.2931 (15 mm; 3.85 g)
122. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335

O301/R598

123. Agora Auctions Numismatic 101, 20 July 2021, lot 190 (16.8 mm; 3.94 g; 11 h)

O301/R—

124. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 33, 14 Sept. 2024, lot 374 (15 mm; 3.88 g)

O302/R—

125. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1498

O303/R—

126. CNG EA 575, 20 Nov. 2024, lot 170 (17 mm; 3.49 g; 1 h). Obverse overstrike.
127. Rauch Numismata 2011, 15 Apr. 2011, lot 192 (18.4 mm; 3.88 g)

O304/R599

128. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336
129. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497

O304/R—

130. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492

O305/R—

131. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494

O306/R600

132. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336

O306/R577

133. Demos Auction 50, 21 May 2025, lot 77 (15 mm; 3.84 g)

O306/R—

134. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4333
135. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335
136. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1493
137. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496

O307/R601

138. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1494

O—/R602

139. P 193 (3.59 g)

O—/R603

140. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 20, 10 June 2023, lot 111 (15 mm; 3.8 g)

O—/R604

141. Via GmbH E-auction 10, 16 Dec. 2022, lot 62

O—/R597

142. L RPK,p160.1.ArioII (3.12 g; 1 h)

O—/R605

143. Demos Auction 4, 26 Sept. 2021, lot 280 (18 mm; 3.56 g)

O—/R—

144. L 1895,0508.128 (3.6 g; 12 h)
145. Auktionshaus Felzmann 175, 28 June 2022, lot 14 (3.94 g)
146. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4334
147. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336
148. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4338
149. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1496
150. Marti Hervera and Soler & Llach 1087, 2 July 2015, lot 2140 (18.1 mm; 3.62 g)
151. Olympus Numismatik 18, 8 Dec. 2024, lot 69 (16.8 mm; 3.6 g)
152. Olympus Numismatik Auction 18, 8 Dec. 2024, lot 74 (15.7 mm; 3.3 g)
153. Peus EA 8, 19 Jan. 2019, lot 145 (3.39 g)
154. Savoca Blue 5, 24 Feb. 2018, lot 609 (14 mm; 3.76 g)
155. Solidus Numismatik Auction 135, 17 Sept 2024, lot 188 (15 mm; 3.7 g)
156. SPQR Collection 8, 2–3 June 2025, lot 87 (15 mm; 2.66 g)

Ariobarzanes (III) Eusebes kai Philorhomaios Year unknown

Type 42

Obverse: Diademed head of Ariobarzanes III, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΡΟΜΑΙΟΥ, ?; facing Athena turning l.; extended r. hand holding figure of Nike, holding wreath; l. hand holding spear and shield on the right; star and crescent in left field; monogram unclear

Denomination: AR Drachm
Diameter: 13–20 mm; average: 16 mm.
Weight: 2.5–3.9 g; average: 3.37 g.
Axis: 11 (2), 12 (1)

Number of dies: 3 obverse dies and 0 reverse dies
Number of coins: 38

O240/R—

1. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497

O244/R—

2. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1497

O307/R—

3. Aquila Numismatics 2, 7 May 2022, lot 108 (15.6 mm; 3.9 g)

O—/R—

4. P 187 (3.74 g)
5. P 189 (3.22 g)
6. Ancient Numismatics Auctions (formerly Aquila Numismatics) Auction 18, 22 Feb. 2025, lot 114 (14.3 mm; 3.4 g)
7. Ancient Numismatics Auctions (formerly Aquila Numismatics) Auction 19, 22 Mar. 2025, lot 181 (16.1 mm; 3 g)
8. Bertolami EA 105, 21 Oct. 2021, lot 245 (16.6 mm; 3.37 g; 11 h)
9. Bertolami EA 105, 21 Oct. 2021, lot 248 (15.5 mm; 3.57 g; 12 h)
10. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 13, 13 Nov. 2022, lot 134 (15 mm; 3.5 g)
11. CNG EA 261, 3 Aug. 2011, lot 131 (15 mm; 3.73 g; 11 h)
12. Demos 51, 6 June 2025, lot 192 (14.1 mm; 2.87 g)
13. Demos Auction 38, 27 Sept. 2024, lot 86 (16 mm; 3.41 g)
14. Demos Auction 39, 13 Oct. 2024, lot 20 (13 mm; 3.25 g)
15. Demos Auction 46, 22 Mar. 2025, lot 178 (14 mm; 2.67 g)
16. Demos Auction 46, 22 Mar. 2025, lot 34 (14 mm; 2.61 g)
17. Demos Auction 46, 22 Mar. 2025, lot 37 (13 mm; 3.52 g)
18. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4335
19. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336
20. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1495
21. Numismad Auction 20, 27 Dec. 2024, lot 522 (16 mm; 3.76 g)
22. Olympus Numismatic Auction 18, 8 Dec. 2024, lot 70 (19.4 mm; 3.7 g)
23. Olympus Numismatik 12, 26 Apr. 2024, lot 101 (16.2 mm; 3.66 g)
24. Olympus Numismatik 18, 8 Dec. 2024, lot 68 (18.7 mm; 2.5 g)
25. Olympus Numismatik Auction 18, 8 Dec. 2024, lot 67 (16.6 mm; 2.7 g)
26. Olympus Numismatik Auction 18, 8 Dec. 2024, lot 69 (16.7 mm; 3.6 g)
27. Olympus Numismatik Auction 18, 8 Dec. 2024, lot 72 (16.5 mm; 3.6 g)
28. Robert College Istanbul (16 mm). Listed as lost/stolen.
29. Robert College Istanbul (16 mm). Listed as lost/stolen.
30. Robert College Istanbul (15 mm). Listed as lost/stolen. Listed as coin of Ariobarzanes II.
31. Rönesans Salzgitter Auction 6, 18 Nov. 2023, lot 256 (15.3 mm; 3.68 g)
32. Savoca 208th Weekly Blue, 27 Apr. 2024, lot 94 (18 mm; 3.38 g)
33. SPQR Collection 9, 16–17 June 2025, lot 340 (14.9 mm; 3.36 g)
34. Tauler & Fau 80, 6 Apr. 2021, lot 50 (19.6 mm; 3.79 g)
35. VIA GmbH EA 8, 6 May 2022, lot 60
36. VIA GmbH EA 8, 6 May 2022, lot 65
37. VIA GmbH EA 8, 6 May 2022, lot 67
38. Áureo & Calicó 297, 18 Oct. 2017, lot 3021 (19 mm)

Type 43

Obverse: Diademed head of Ariobarzanes III, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΡΟΜΑΙΟΥ, Θ OR ΙΑ; facing Athena turning l.; extended r. hand holding figure of Nike, holding wreath; l. hand holding spear and shield on the right; star and crescent in left field

Denomination: AR Drachm
Diameter: unknown
Weight: unknown
Axis: unknown
Average thickness: 0.00 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 1 obverse dies and 2 reverse dies
Number of coins: 3

O216/R606

1. Henseler 43
2. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 34, 8 July 2025, lot 4336

O216/R607

3. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 36, 7 Sept. 2025, lot 1492

Ariarathes X

Ariarathes X Eusebes Philadelphos Year 04 (=Δ)

Type 44

Obverse: Diademed head of Ariarathes X, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΑΡΑΘΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ; facing Athena turning l.; extended r. hand holding figure of Nike, holding wreath; l. hand holding spear and shield on the right; tropeion in left field; monogram 𐡀 with Δ below in right field

Denomination: AR Drachm
Diameter: 16–18 mm; average: 17 mm.
Weight: 2.99–3.95 g; average: 3.55 g.
Axis: 1 (1), 12 (3)
Average thickness: 1.49 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 3 obverse dies and 8 reverse dies
Number of coins: 13

O308/R608

1. CNG EA 559, 3 Apr. 2024, lot 134 (17.5 mm; 3.95 g; 12 h). Overstrike on reverse.
2. Ebay online l_art_des_gents, June 2025 (17 mm; 3.36 g)

O308/R609

3. Bertolami Fine Arts Auction 109, 4 May 2022, lot 274 (17 mm; 3.81 g; 12 h). Reverse double struck.
4. Spink 13012, 26 Mar. 2013, lot 4 (17.6 mm; 3.69 g)

O309/R610

5. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 9, 24 Apr. 2022, lot 228 (17 mm; 3.8 g)

O309/R608

6. Savoca Numismatik 127th Blue Auction, 12 Mar. 2022, lot 561 (18 mm; 3.93 g)

O310/R611

7. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 33, 14 Sept. 2024, lot 373 (17 mm; 3.7 g)

O310/R612

8. Olympus Numismatik Auction 21, 19 Apr. 2025, lot 134 (16 mm; 3.4 g)
9. Roma Numismatics EA 97, 26 May 2022, lot 397 (18 mm; 2.99 g; 12 h)

O310/R613

10. CNG EA 575, 20 Nov. 2024, lot 171 (16.5 mm; 3.51 g; 1 h)

O310/R614

11. Ancient Numismatics Auctions (formerly Aquila Numismatics) Auction 17, 25 Jan. 2025, lot 157 (17.5 mm; 3.3 g)
12. Tom Vossen Online shop, June 2025 (16 mm; 3.62 g)

O310/R615

13. Demos Auction 54, 6 Sept. 2025, lot 17 (16 mm; 3.09 g). Worn obverse die.

Ariarathes (X) Eusebes Philadelphus Year 05 (= Ɛ)

Type 45

Obverse: Diademed head of Ariarathes X, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΑΡΑΘΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ; facing Athena turning l.; extended r. hand holding figure of Nike, holding wreath; l. hand holding spear and shield on the right; tropeion in left field; monogram 𐊗 with Ɛ below in right field

Denomination: AR Drachm
Diameter: 14–19 mm; average: 17 mm.
Weight: 2.46–4.26 g; average: 3.77 g.
Axis: 1 (2), 10 (1), 11 (2), 12 (9)
Average thickness: 1.68 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 12 obverse dies and 34 reverse dies
Number of coins: 61

O311/R616

1. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 30, 13 July 2024, lot 906 = Heritage Auctions Europe / MPO Auctions 78, 22 May 2023, lot 4931 = Rauch 72, 20 Sept. 2003, lot 352 (17 mm; 3.79 g; 12 h)
2. Numismatik Naumann (formerly Gitbud & Naumann) Auction 150, 2 Mar. 2025, lot 307 = Numismatik Naumann (formerly Gitbud & Naumann) Auction 147, 1 Dec. 2024, lot 376 (16 mm; 3.96 g)

O311/R617

3. CNG 85, 15 Sept. 2010, lot 476 (17 mm; 3.85 g; 12 h)
4. Olympus Numismatik Auction 18, 8 Dec. 2024, lot 77 = Ancient Numismatics Auctions (formerly Aquila Numismatics) Auction 11, 23 Jul. 2023, lot 313 (15.8 mm; 3.61 g). Diameter given by Ancient Numismatics Auctions (formerly Aquila Numismatics) as 16.81 mm.

O311/R618

5. Freeman & Sear MBS 13, 25 Aug. 2006, lot 755 (19.3 mm; 4.05 g)
6. Nomos 18, 5 May 2019, lot 210 (17.5 mm; 3.96 g; 12 h)

O311/R619

7. Savoca Numismatik 251st Weekly Blue Auction, 25 Jan. 2025, lot 119 (17 mm; 3.55 g)

O311/R620

8. CNG EA 489, 7 Apr. 2021, lot 191 = Oslo Myntgalleri AS 21, 27 Nov. 2020, lot 248 = CNG EA 266, 19 Oct. 2011, lot 179 (17 mm; 2.46 g; 12 h). Weight in 2011 given as 3.85 g.
9. Savoca EA 34 Silver, 16 June 2019, lot 179 (16 mm; 3.92 g)

O311/R621

10. Marti Hervera and Soler & Llach 1087, 2 July 2015, lot 72 (3.63 g)

O311/R622

11. Nimrod Numismatik 11, 27 Apr. 2025, lot 213 (16 mm; 3.66 g)
12. Savoca Numismatik 9th Blue Auction, 25 Aug. 2018, lot 601 (17 mm; 3.94 g)

O312/R623

13. Roma Numismatics EA 100, 28 July 2022, lot 498 (16.1 mm; 3.86 g; 12 h)

O312/R624

14. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 9, 24 Apr. 2022, lot 232 (16 mm; 3.8 g)
15. Peus 368, 25 Apr. 2001, lot 270 (19 mm; 4.2 g)

O312/R625

16. CNG EA 107, 2 Feb. 2005, lot 78 (17.5 mm; 3.92 g; 12 h)

O312/R626

17. Classical Numismatic Group Web shop (16 mm; 4.07 g)

O312/R627

18. P 198 (3.89 g)
19. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 16, 22 May 2021, lot 1178 (16.2 mm; 4 g; 11 h)
20. Savoca EA 32 Silver, 14 Apr. 2019, lot 146 (17 mm; 3.85 g)

O312/R628

21. P 197 (3.79 g)
22. N&N LONDON Green Auction 9, 14 May 2023, lot 39 (17 mm; 3.3 g)

O312/R629

23. Nomos obolos 12, 31 Mar. 2019, lot 432 (16 mm; 3.83 g; 11 h)

O312/R—

24. Harvard 1.1965.2555 (16 mm; 4.26 g; 10 h)
25. Olympus Numismatik Auction 18, 8 Dec. 2024, lot 78 (16.7 mm; 3.6 g)
26. Savoca Numismatik 110th Blue Auction, 14 Aug. 2021, lot 283 (17 mm; 3.6 g)

O313/R630

27. CNG EA 218, 9 Sept. 2009, lot 281 (17 mm; 3.73 g; 1 h)

O313/R631

28. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 9, 24 Apr. 2022, lot 235 (16 mm; 3.8 g)

O314/R632

29. Künker 133, 11 Oct. 2007, lot 8227 (4.03 g)

O314/R633

30. Roma Numismatics EA 82, 15 Apr. 2021, lot 684 = Roma Numismatics EA 68, 27 Feb. 2020, lot 583 (17 mm; 3.75 g; 12 h)

O314/R634

31. Savoca Numismatik 17th Blue Auction, 1 Mar. 2019, lot 734 (16 mm; 3.76 g)

O314/R—

32. Olympus Numismatik Auction 15, 8 Sept. 2024, lot 145 = Olympus Numismatik Auction 10, 29 Dec. 2023, lot 194 (16.5 mm; 4.22 g)

O309/R619

33. CNG EA 590, 2 Jul. 2025, lot 268 (17 mm; 3.85 g)
34. Savoca Numismatik 21st Blue Auction, 22 June 2019, lot 501 (16 mm; 3.84 g)

O315/R635

35. Numismad Auction 13, 8 Mar. 2024, lot 236 (17 mm; 4.1 g)
36. Savoca EA 29 Silver, 30 Dec. 2018, lot 163 (17 mm; 4.16 g)

O315/R636

37. N&N LONDON Online Auction 64, 25 Apr. 2025, lot 178 (16 mm; 2.84 g)

O315/R637

38. Tauler & Fau 85, 25 May 2021, lot 7052 (3.8 g)

O315/R—

39. Savoca Numismatik 126th Blue Auction, 12 Feb. 2022, lot 738 (16 mm; 3.64 g)

O316/R638

40. Savoca Numismatic 24th Blue Auction, 21 Sept. 2019, lot 444 (15 mm; 3.52 g). Possible forgery.
41. Savoca Numismatic 90th Blue Auction, 28 Nov. 2020, lot 592 (17 mm; 2.62 g)

O317/R631

42. Savoca Numismatik 126th Blue Auction, 12 Feb. 2022, lot 737 (17 mm; 3.75 g)

O317/R639

43. Agora Auctions Numismatic 102, 5 Oct. 2021, lot 57 (16.4 mm; 3.83 g; 1 h)
44. Olympus Numismatik 23, 4 July 2025, lot 111 (17.5 mm; 3.5 g)
45. Savoca Numismatik 18th Blue Auction, 30 Mar. 2019, lot 410 (18 mm; 3.58 g)
46. Savoca Numismatik 90th Blue Auction, 28 Nov. 2020, lot 606 (16 mm; 4.17 g)

O318/R640

47. Savoca Numismatik 80th Blue Auction, 27 June 2020, lot 480 (18 mm; 3.94 g)

O318/R641

48. Coins online Aegean coins June 2025 = Apolph E Cahn Auction 68, 26 Nov. 1930, lot 1510 (16 mm; 3.55 g)
49. Savoca Numismatik 80th Blue Auction, 27 June 2020, lot 481 (15 mm; 4.04 g)

O318/R639

50. Bucephalus Numismatic Black Auction 16, 24 Feb. 2023, lot 417 (15.5 mm; 3.63 g)

O318/R642

51. Salon Numizmatyczny Mateusz Wójcicki 11, 4 Mar. 2023, lot 7416 = Biga Numismatics Online Auction 9, 24 Apr. 2022, lot 231 (17.1 mm; 4.02 g). No Θ in monogram on reverse.

O319/R643

52. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 9, 24 Apr. 2022, lot 233 (14 mm; 4.04 g)

O319/R634

53. Bertolami Fine Arts E-Auction 105, 21 Oct. 2021, lot 255 (19 mm; 3.61 g; 12 h)

O319/R644

54. Savoca Numismatik 212th Weekly Blue Auction, 18 May 2024, lot 150 (16 mm; 3.94 g)

O320/R645

55. N&N LONDON Green Auction 9, 14 May 2023, lot 25 (16 mm; 3.9 g)
56. Numismad Auction 6, 28 Jan. 2023, lot 787 (17 mm; 3.82 g)

O321/R646

57. L 1841,B.3460 (3.89 g; 12 h)

O321/R647

58. P 196 (3.96 g)

O321/R648

59. Demos Auction 54, 6 Sept. 2025, lot 15 (15 mm; 3.65 g)

O321/R649

60. Numismad Auction 6, 28 Jan. 2023, lot 781 (17 mm; 3.77 g)

O—/R—

61. Demos Auction 51, 6 Jun. 2025, lot 181 (14 mm; 3.41 g)

Type 46

Obverse: Diademed head of Ariarathes X, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΑΡΑΘΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ; facing Athena turning l.; extended r. hand holding figure of Nike, holding wreath; l. hand holding spear and shield on the right; tropeion in left field; monogram 𐡀 with Ɛ below in right field

Denomination: AR Drachm
Diameter: 13–19 mm; average: 16 mm.
Weight: 2.49–4.26 g; average: 3.68 g.
Axis: 1 (5), 12 (14)
Average thickness: 1.80 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 18 obverse dies and 51 reverse dies
Number of coins: 106

O322/R650

1. Agora Auctions Numismatic 17, 30 Sept. 2014, lot 98 (3.41 g)

O322/R651

2. Elsen 116, 16 Mar. 2013, lot 163 (3.46 g)
3. Peus 431, 27 Apr. 2022, lot 3298 (16.3 mm; 3.77 g; 12 h)

O322/R652

4. Savoca EA 32 Silver, 14 Apr. 2019, lot 147 (17 mm; 4.07 g)

O322/R653

5. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 9, 24 Apr. 2022, lot 234 (16 mm; 3.8 g)

O323/R654

6. Aquila Numismatics 2, 7 May 2022, lot 107 (16.5 mm; 3.63 g)

O323/R655

7. Olympus Numismatik Auction 18, 8 Dec. 2024, lot 81 (15.8 mm; 3.7 g)

O323/R656

8. Demos Auction 41, 15 Nov. 2024, lot 69 (14 mm; 3.35 g)
9. Savoca Numismatik 21st Blue Auction, 22 June 2019, lot 505 (17 mm; 3.89 g)

O323/R—

10. Olympus Numismatik Auction 18, 8 Dec. 2024, lot 80 (16.3 mm; 3.2 g)

O324/R657

11. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 9, 24 Apr. 2022, lot 236 (16 mm; 4.05 g)

O324/R658

12. Agora Auctions Numismatic 112, 23 July 2024, lot 67 = Agora Auctions Numismatic 102, 5 Oct. 2021, lot 56 (16 mm; 3.82 g; 1 h)
13. Aquila Numismatics 4, 19 Aug. 2022, lot 102 (16.3 mm; 3.7 g)
14. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 20, 10 June 2023, lot 113 (16 mm; 3.3 g)
15. Bucephalus Numismatic Black Auction 4, 2 Sept. 2022, lot 158 (16.4 mm; 3.5 g)
16. Savoca Numismatik 31st Blue Auction, 25 Apr. 2020, lot 428 (16 mm; 3.7 g)

O324/R659

17. Olympus Numismatik Auction 21, 19 Apr. 2025, lot 135 (18 mm; 3 g)

O324/R660

18. Savoca Numismatik 126th Blue Auction, 12 Feb. 2022, lot 736 (16 mm; 3.59 g)

O325/R661

19. Numismad Auction 7, 14 Apr. 2023, lot 379 (15 mm; 3.8 g)

O325/R662

20. Savoca EA 31 Silver, 10 Mar. 2019, lot 215 (16 mm; 3.77 g)

O325/R663

21. Astarte Web Auction 4, 7 Apr. 2024, lot 127 (16.1 mm; 3.7 g)
22. Numismatica Ibercoin EA 88, 4 Dec. 2023, lot 12 (16.5 mm; 3.36 g)
23. Rönesans Salzgitter Blue Auction 1, 27 Aug. 2023, lot 53 (15.7 mm; 3.3 g)
24. Tom Vossen Online shop, June 2025 (16 mm; 3.58 g)

O325/R664

25. Savoca Numismatik 126th Blue Auction, 12 Feb. 2022, lot 733 (16 mm; 3.94 g)

O326/R665

26. CNG MBS 73, 13 Sept. 2006, lot 417 (3.76 g; 1 h)

O326/R666

27. CNG EA 499, 1 Sept. 2021, lot 269 (16 mm; 3.51 g; 1 h)

O327/R667

28. CNG EA 547, 4 Oct. 2023, lot 309 (16.4 mm; 3.66 g; 12 h)

O327/R655

29. Savoca Numismatik 87th Blue Auction, 17 Oct. 2020, lot 636 (17 mm; 4 g)

O327/R656

30. Naumann 78, 2 June 2019, lot 399 (17.1 mm; 4.02 g)
31. Savoca EA 29 Silver, 30 Dec. 2018, lot 162 (15 mm; 4.26 g)

O327/R668

32. Savoca Numismatik 81st Blue Auction, 18 July 2020, lot 473 (15 mm; 3.6 g)

O327/R669

33. Emporium Hamburg 100, 15 Nov. 2022, lot 197 (15.8 mm; 3.6 g)
34. Savoca EA 124 Silver, 23 Jan. 2022, lot 179 (16 mm; 4.17 g)

O327/R670

35. Davissons, EA 7, 15 Oct. 2014, lot 14 (18.6 mm; 4.06 g)

O327/R—

36. Ebay online miletos-numismatics, June 2025 (16 mm; 3.66 g)

O328/R665

37. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 23, 24 Sept. 2023, lot 210 (16 mm; 3.5 g)

O328/R671

38. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 31, 11 May 2024, lot 328 (17 mm; 3.34 g)

O328/R672

39. Dr. Reinhard Fischer Auktionen Auction 143, 22 May 2015, lot 203 (3.42 g)

O328/R673

40. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 26, 8 July 2023, lot 1401 (18 mm; 3.39 g; 12 h). Maybe no Θ on reverse.

O329/R674

41. VAuctions Triskeles Sale 30, 6 Dec. 2019, lot 80 (16 mm; 3.58 g; 12 h)

O329/R675

42. Aquila Numismatics 7, 4 Dec. 2022, lot 217 (3.8 g). Size given by auction house as 11mm.

O329/R676

43. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 29, 24 Feb. 2024, lot 915 (15.7 mm; 3.81 g; 12 h)

O329/R677

44. Naumann 78, 2 June 2019, lot 397 (16.3 mm; 4.07 g)

O329/R—

45. Numismad Auction 7, 14 Apr. 2023, lot 382 (16 mm; 3.45 g)

O330/R678

46. Aquila Numismatics 4, 19 Aug. 2022, lot 93 (15.6 mm; 3.6 g)
47. Demos Auction 2, 5 June 2021, lot 80 (17 mm; 3.82 g). Reverse double struck.
48. N&N LONDON Online Auction 45, 16 Mar. 2024, lot 183 (15 mm; 3.95 g)

O330/R679

49. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 20, 10 June 2023, lot 106 (15 mm; 3.3 g)
50. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 20, 10 June 2023, lot 114 (16 mm; 3.5 g)
51. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 20, 10 June 2023, lot 92 (15 mm; 3.8 g)
52. N&N LONDON Online Auction 44, 11 Feb. 2024, lot 37 (15 mm; 3.5 g)
53. Naumann 78, 2 June 2019, lot 398 (16.6 mm; 3.82 g)

O330/R680

54. Nomos obolos 27, 19 Mar. 2023, lot 358 = Nomos Obolos Web Auction 10, 30 June 2018, lot 220 (15 mm; 2.49 g; 12 h)
55. Savoca Numismatik 21st Blue Auction, 22 June 2019, lot 502 (13 mm; 4.02 g)

O330/R681

56. L 1846,0911.3 (3.81 g; 12 h)
57. Numismatica Ibercoin EA 88, 4 Dec. 2023, lot 11 = N&N LONDON Online Auction 35, 30 Sept. 2023, lot 264 (16 mm; 4.12 g)

O330/R682

58. Bertolami EA 105, 21 Oct. 2021, lot 257 (16.5 mm; 3.33 g; 12 h)
59. Bucephalus Numismatic Black Auction 36, 5 Apr. 2024, lot 472 (14.7 mm; 3.6 g)
60. Savoca Numismatik 15th Blue Auction, 19 Jan. 2019, lot 721 (15 mm; 4.17 g)

O330/R683

61. Savoca Numismatik 13th Blue Auction, 30 Nov. 2018, lot 613 (14 mm; 3.75 g)

O330/R684

62. Rönesans Salzgitter Auction 16, 1 Dec. 2024, lot 116 (15.2 mm; 3.74 g)

O330/R—

63. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 9, 24 Apr. 2022, lot 227 (15 mm; 3.8 g)

O331/R685

64. Elsen 108, 12 Mar. 2011, lot 191 (3.89 g)

O331/R686

65. CNG EA 567, 31 July 2024, lot 124 = Heritage Long Beach Signature Sale 3026, 25 Sept. 2013, lot 26094 (16.5 mm; 3.54 g; 12 h). Double struck by same reverse die.

O332/R687

66. Cgb.fr E-auction 32, 25 Nov. 2013, lot 11024 (16 mm; 4 g; 12 h)
67. Savoca Numismatik 21st Blue Auction, 22 June 2019, lot 503 (16 mm; 3.91 g)

O332/R688

68. Aurea Numismatika EA 40, 4 Dec. 2022, lot 3406 = Aurea Numismatika EA 7, 22 May 2016, lot 6071 (15.7 mm)

O332/R—

69. Demose Auction 46, 22 Mar. 2025, lot 179 (14 mm; 3.66 g). Wrongly listed on auction site as a coin of Ariobarzanes I .
70. Savoca Numismatic 80th Blue Auction, 27 June 2020, lot 479 (16 mm; 4.08 g). Reverse double struck, reverse die unclear.

71. Savoca Numismatik 126th Blue Auction 12 Feb. 2022, lot 735 (16 mm; 3.02 g)

O333/R657

72. Numismad Auction 9, 8 Sept. 2023, lot 537 (17 mm; 3.62 g)

O333/R655

73. Künker 59, 26 Sept. 2000, lot 271 (3.77 g)
74. Solidus Numismatik Auction 139, 21 Jan. 2025, lot 131 (16 mm; 3.46 g)

O333/R670

75. Bucephalus Numismatic Black Auction 2, 4 July 2022, lot 158 (15.5 mm; 3.61 g)

O333/R—

76. P 199 (3.9 g)

O334/R670

77. N&N LONDON Online Auction 41, 2 Dec. 2023, lot 221 (17 mm; 3.83 g)

O334/R689

78. Demos Auction 45, 21 Feb. 2025, lot 53 (15 mm; 3.8 g)

O334/R—

79. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 26, 6 Jan. 2024, lot 134 (15 mm; 3.43 g)

O335/R685

80. Savoca Numismatik 21st Blue Auction, 22 June 2019, lot 504 (16 mm; 3.73 g)

O336/R690

81. Aquila Numismatics 4, 19 Aug. 2022, lot 106 (16.1 mm; 3.9 g)
82. Demos Auction 2, 5 June 2021, lot 79 (17 mm; 3.64 g)
83. Numisfitz 6, 22 June 2025, lot 536 (15.3 mm; 3.77 g)

O336/R691

84. Savoca Numismatic 81st Blue Auction, 18 July 2020, lot 474 (14 mm; 4.21 g)
85. Savoca Numismatik 126th Blue Auction, 12 Feb. 2022, lot 734 (16 mm; 3.51 g)

O336/R692

86. Heritage Auctions Auction 61509, 19 May 2025, lot 23104 (15 mm; 3.78 g; 1 h)

O336/R693

87. Savoca EA 27 Silver, 25 Nov. 2018, lot 239 (14 mm; 4.18 g)

O336/R694

88. Stephen Album Rare Coins 33, 17 Jan. 2019, lot 10 (3.81 g)

O336/R695

89. Themis Numismatics Auction 1, 19 May 2019, lot 79 (17 mm; 3.5 g)

O336/R—

90. Macho & Chlapovič 18, 3 May 2019, lot 2047 (16 mm; 3.91 g)

O337/R—

91. Savoca Numismatik 98th Blue Auction, 27 Mar. 2021, lot 470 (16 mm; 3.52 g)

O338/R696

92. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 9, 24 Apr. 2022, lot 225 (15 mm; 4.04 g)
93. Cgb.fr MBS 19, 29 Jan. 2004, lot 113 (16.6 mm; 3.38 g; 12 h)
94. Olympus Numismatik Auction 15, 8 Sept. 2024, lot 144 = Olympus Numismatik Auction 10, 29 Dec. 2023, lot 193 (14.5 mm; 2.98 g)

O338/R697

95. Savoca EA 33 Silver, 12 May 2019, lot 188 (15 mm; 4.05 g)

O338/R693

96. M&M GmbH 46, 15 Feb. 2018, lot 240 = CNG EA 407, 11 Oct. 2017, lot 197 (16 mm; 4 g; 1 h)
97. Savoca EA 27 Silver, 25 Nov. 2018, lot 240 (15 mm; 4.01 g)

O338/R698

98. Bertolami EA 105, 21 Oct. 2021, lot 256 (17.1 mm; 3.82 g; 12 h)

O338/R699

99. Olympus Numismatic Auction 21, 19 Apr. 2025, lot 133 (16.2 mm; 3.8 g)

O339/R700

100. Savoca Numismatik 19th Blue Auction, 20 Apr. 2019, lot 504 (16 mm; 3.97 g)

O—/R657

101. Numismad Auction 7, 14 Apr. 2023, lot 381 (17 mm; 2.99 g)

O—/R675

102. Moscow KP OH 454129 (15.5 mm; 3.93 g; 12 h)

O—/R659

103. Numismatics Auction 20, 27 Dec. 2024, lot 527 (17 mm; 3.34 g)

O—/R—

104. Moscow KP OH 454130 (15.5 mm; 3.33 g; 12 h)
105. Demos Auction 41, 15 Nov. 2024, lot 64 (14 mm; 3.29 g)
106. Olympus Numismatik Auction 18, 8 Dec. 2024, lot 79 (15.1 mm; 3.3 g)

Ariarathes X Eusebes Philadelphos Year 06 (=Ϛ)

Type 47

Obverse: Diademed head of Ariarathes X, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΑΡΑΘΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ; facing Athena turning l.; extended r. hand holding figure of Nike, holding wreath; l. hand holding spear and shield on the right; tropeion in left field; monogram 𐡀 with ⊂ below in right field

Denomination: AR Drachm

Diameter: 16–17 mm; average: 17 mm.
Weight: 3–4.02 g; average: 3.54 g.
Axis:
Average thickness: 1.58 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 1 obverse dies and 2 reverse dies
Number of coins: 3

O340/R701
1. Bertolami 109, 4 May 2022, lot 275 = Parthica 2007, Ar. X 6/1 = Simonetta, pl. VI no. 14. bought 1957 in Paris (16.6 mm; 3 g)
2. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 9, 24 Apr. 2022, lot 237 (17 mm; 3.6 g)

O340/R702
3. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 9, 24 Apr. 2022, lot 226 (16 mm; 4.02 g)

Type 48

Obverse: Diademed head of Ariarathes X, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΑΡΑΘΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ; facing Athena turning l.; extended r. hand holding figure of Nike, holding wreath; l. hand holding spear and shield on the right; tropeion in left field; monogram 𐡀 with Ⲥ below in right field

Denomination: AR Drachm
Diameter: 15–19 mm; average: 16 mm.
Weight: 3.31–4.28 g; average: 3.76 g.
Axis: 11 (1), 12 (4)
Average thickness: 1.81 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 1 obverse dies and 7 reverse dies
Number of coins: 19

O341/R703
1. Aurea Numismatika EA 16, 7 Oct. 2018, lot 122 (16.6 mm)
2. Naumann 45, 3 July 2016, lot 272 (17.4 mm; 3.6 g)
3. Naumann 46, 11 Sept. 2016, lot 264 (16 mm; 3.82 g)
4. Tepebağlari Excavation (Taner 1972) no. 26 (17 mm; 3.5 g)

O341/R704
5. P 200 (3.84 g)
6. Agora Auctions Numismatic 5, 18 Feb. 2014, lot 36 (15.6 mm; 4.13 g; 12 h)
7. Bertolami EA 105, 21 Oct. 2021, lot 258 (18.5 mm; 3.34 g; 12 h)
8. Bertolami EA 105, 21 Oct. 2021, lot 259 (15 mm; 3.74 g; 12 h)
9. Bertolami Fine Arts E-Auction 119, 10 July 2022, lot 30 (16 mm; 3.66 g; 12 h)
10. Numismatica Ibercoin EA 93, 21 Mar. 2024, lot 2015 = N&N LONDON Online Auction 41, 2 Dec. 2023, lot 225 (16.1 mm; 3.69 g). N&N LONDON gives coin data as 17mm, 3.73 g.

O341/R705
11. CNG EA 122, 7 Sept. 2005, lot 55 (15.2 mm; 4.28 g)

O341/R706
12. L 1979,0101.1053 (3.59 g; 11 h)
13. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 9, 24 Apr. 2022, lot 230 (15 mm; 4.09 g)
14. Grün 64, 20 Nov. 2014, lot 1345 (16.6 mm; 3.68 g)

O341/R707
15. P 201 (3.51 g). Reverse double struck obscuring monogram .
16. Biga Numismatics Online Auction 9, 24 Apr. 2022, lot 229 (16 mm; 3.9 g)

O341/R708
17. Elsen 155, 16 June 2023, lot 261 (16.6 mm; 3.79 g). Reverse overstrike on a coin marked IA (Ariobarzanes III?).
18. Stack's Bowers Galleries September 2024 Collectors Choice (World) Online Auction, 11 Sept. 2024, lot 74053 (3.31 g)

O341/R709
19. Savoca Numismatik 32nd Blue Auction, 23 May 2020, lot 629 (15 mm; 4.19 g)

Kingdom of Cilicia

Tarkondimotos (I) Philantonios

No Issue

Type 49 (RPC I 3871)

Obverse: Diademed head of Tarcondimotos (I) Philantonios, r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΑΡΚΟΝΔΙΜΟΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ; Zeus seated, l., holding Nike and sceptre

Denomination: Æ 23 mm
Diameter: 11–24 mm; average: 21 mm.
Weight: 4.5–14.45 g; average: 8.26 g.
Axis: 1 (28), 2 (3), 3 (2), 9 (1), 11 (2), 12 (28)
Average thickness: 2.66 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 5 obverse dies and 38 reverse dies
Number of coins: 199

O342/R710
1. Astarte Web Auction 4, 7 Apr. 2024, lot 122 (22.7 mm; 9.94 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
2. Themis 1, 19 May 2019, lot 86 (22 mm; 6.6 g)

O342/R711
3. CNG EA 231, 14 Apr. 2010, lot 114 (22 mm; 6.05 g; 12 h)

O342/R712

4. CNG EA 321, 26 Feb. 2014, lot 163 (22.5 mm; 8.77 g; 1 h). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.

O342/R713

5. CNG EA 503, 3 Nov. 2021, lot 229 (22 mm; 6.47 g; 1 h). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
6. Gorny & Mosch 134, 11 Oct. 2004, lot 2026 (20 mm; 8.38 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
7. Gorny & Mosch 200, 10 Oct. 2011, lot 2220 = Lanz 135, 21 May 2007, lot 359 = CNG EA 59, 26 Feb. 2003, lot 40 (24 mm; 9.28 g)
8. Künker 333, 16 Mar. 2020, lot 586 = CNG Triton V, 15 Jan. 2002, lot 522 (20 mm; 7.23 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
9. M&M GmbH 46, 15 Feb. 2018, lot 237 = Jacquier 41, 16 Sept. 2016, lot 99 = Jacquier 40, 16 Oct. 2015, lot 160 = Roma EA 1, 31 Aug. 2013, lot 249 = M&M GmbH 30, 28 May 2009, lot 691 (20.3 mm; 7.68 g; 1 h). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch. In Roma Numismatics EA 1, 31 Aug. 2013, lot 249 data given as 21.4 mm and 7.62 g.
10. Naville Numismatics 54, 15 Dec. 2019, lot 234 (22.6 mm; 6.64 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch. Clear obverse die with no die break in ear.
11. Savoca 10th Blue, 29 Sept. 2018, lot 753 (21 mm; 10.17 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
12. Savoca 113th Silver, 19 Sept. 2021, lot 180 (23 mm; 7.83 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.

O342/R714

13. Savoca 165th Blue, 27 May 2023, lot 5 (21 mm; 7.4 g)

O342/R715

14. Savoca 90th Blue, 28 Nov. 2020, lot 550 (22 mm; 6.43 g)

O342/R716

15. Elsen 149, 10 Dec. 2021, lot 77 (20.2 mm; 8.77 g)

O342/R717

16. Roma EA 31, 26 Nov. 2016, lot 177 (20.5 mm; 6.34 g; 1 h). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.

O342/R—

17. Coins (online April 2024, CGB) = Demos 6, 5 Dec. 2021, lot 337 (22 mm; 8.61 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch. 8.61 g and 21.5 mm given in 2024 lot.
18. Roma EA 5, 8 Feb. 2014, lot 391 = Gorny & Mosch 200, 10 Oct. 2011, lot 2220 (23 mm; 9.27 g; 2 h)

O343/R711

19. Savoca Live EA 17, 30 July 2017, lot 309 = Savoca Live EA 14, 23 Apr. 2017, lot 241 (21 mm; 6.27 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.

O343/R718

20. Hauck & Aufhäuser 20, 16 Oct. 2007, lot 183 (20.1 mm; 10.81 g)
21. London Ancient Coins 27, 25 July 2013, lot 96 (23 mm; 6.7 g; 12 h)
22. Rauch EA 16, 13 Dec. 2014, lot 5110 (20 mm; 5.67 g)
23. Roma EA 103, 24 Nov. 2022, lot 540 (22.5 mm; 8.87 g; 1 h)
24. Vcoins (April 2024, online by London Ancient Coins) (23 mm; 9.56 g; 12 h)

O343/R719

25. Agora Sale 55, 10 May 2016, lot 119 (23.4 mm; 6.55 g; 1 h)
26. Agora Sale 74, 5 June 2018, lot 39 = Triskeles Sale 23, 6 Apr. 2018, lot 171 (20 mm; 5.78 g; 1 h)
27. CNG EA 532, 8 Feb. 2023, lot 213 (22.5 mm; 7.92 g; 2 h). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
28. Demos 6, 5 Dec. 2021, lot 338 (21.4 mm; 7.98 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.

O343/R720

29. Heritage 232121, 26 May 2021, lot 64141 (23 mm; 1 h)
30. Naumann 63, 4 Mar. 2018, lot 13 (22 mm; 8.17 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.

O343/R721

31. Emporium Hamburg 100, 15 Nov. 2022, lot 195 (20.2 mm; 13.39 g)
32. Naville Numismatics 59, 26 July 2020, lot 182 (23 mm; 8.44 g)

O343/R722

33. Roma EA 43, 3 Feb. 2018, lot 169 (23.1 mm; 7.24 g; 12 h)

O343/R723

34. Solidus 36, 25 Nov. 2018, lot 101 (21.1 mm; 8.04 g)
35. The New York Sale 9, 13 Jan. 2005, lot 110 (24 mm; 7.63 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.

O343/R724

36. Elsen 127, 5 Dec. 2015, lot 164 (20.4 mm; 7.41 g)

O343/R725

37. CNG EA 407, 11 Oct. 2017, lot 186 (22.7 mm; 10.39 g; 1 h)
38. Demos 12, 4 Aug. 2022, lot 294 (22.2 mm; 7.31 g)
39. Fischer 155, 17 Mar. 2017, lot 76 (20 mm; 9.51 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
40. Hauck & Aufhäuser 19, 21 Mar. 2006, lot 197 (20 mm; 8.09 g)
41. Rauch EA 20, 27 June 2016, lot 82 (20 mm; 8.28 g)
42. Roma E-Live 4, 29 Nov. 2018, lot 339 = Roma EA 22, 28 Nov. 2015, lot 303 (22 mm; 7.24 g; 12 h)

O343/R—

43. Savoca 1st Blue, 23 Sept. 2017, lot 617 (21.1 mm; 6.95 g)
44. VCoins (April 2024, online by CGB) = Savoca 133rd Silver, 15 May 2022, lot 112 (22 mm; 8.06 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.

O344/R726

45. P 1966.453 (= SNG Paris Cilicie 1916) (22 mm; 6.88 g)
46. Künker 402, 14 Mar. 2024, lot 508 (20.2 mm; 7.03 g)
47. WAG Online oHG 119, 16 May 2021, lot 35 (20.4 mm; 5.75 g)

O344/R727

48. Astarte Web Auction 3, 22 Feb. 2024, lot 123 (21 mm; 9.14 g)
49. CNG EA 239, 25 Aug. 2010, lot 190 (21.2 mm; 7.45 g; 12 h)

O344/R718

50. CNG EA 480, 11 Nov. 2020, lot 257 (23.3 mm; 9.23 g; 1 h). Reverse legend uses wrong spelling ΒΑΣΙΑΣΩ [Σ].

O344/R713

51. Coins (online April 2024, NumisCorner) = Roma EA 108, 13 Apr. 2023, lot 453 (22 mm; 9.94 g; 11 h)
52. Gemini IX, 8 Jan. 2012, lot 150 (21.2 mm; 11.34 g)

O344/R728

53. Naumann 14, 2 Mar. 2014, lot 372 (21 mm; 7.2 g)
54. Rauch EA 15, 16 June 2014, lot 91 (20 mm; 9.04 g)
55. Savoca 85th Blue, 19 Sept. 2020, lot 886 (24 mm; 8.2 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.

O344/R729

56. CNG EA 421, 30 May 2018, lot 191 = London Coin Galleries 3, 10 Nov. 2016, lot 217 (21 mm; 7.14 g; 1 h). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
57. Leu EA 9, 7 Sept. 2019, lot 455 (22 mm; 7.09 g; 12 h)

O344/R730

58. CGT coll. = Naville Numismatics 35, 29 Oct. 2017, lot 135 (21 mm; 11.94 g; 12 h)
59. Elsen 116, 16 Mar. 2013, lot 135 (20.1 mm; 10.41 g)
60. Numisfitz GmbH 2, 4 June 2023, lot 331 (20.2 mm; 9.35 g)
61. Numismad 12, 5 Jan. 2024, lot 267 (21 mm; 7.59 g)
62. Savoca 159th Blue, 25 Mar. 2023, lot 501 (21 mm; 8.19 g)

O344/R731

63. Biga Numismatics EA 30, 14 Apr. 2024, lot 236 (19.3 mm; 7.16 g)
64. CNG EA 147, 6 Sept. 2006, lot 56 (22.2 mm; 8.87 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
65. Savoca Live EA 17, 30 July 2017, lot 308 = Savoca Live EA 14, 23 Apr. 2017, lot 240 (21 mm; 7.96 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
66. Solidus 19, 23 Sept. 2017, lot 262 = Savoca Live EA 13, 12 Mar. 2017, lot 297 (23 mm; 10.03 g)

O344/R732

67. CGB MONNAIES 49, 30 June 2011, lot 279 (21.1 mm; 10.58 g; 12 h)

O344/R733

68. O (= given by Ferrell in 2000) (21.5 mm; 7.21 g)
69. Noble Numismatics 114, 28 Mar. 2017, lot 4146 (20.1 mm; 5.57 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
70. Savoca 92nd Blue, 19 Dec. 2020, lot 879 (20 mm; 4.87 g)
71. Savoca Live EA 5, 8 Nov. 2015, lot 236 (21.6 mm; 7.02 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.

O344/R734

72. CNG EA 203, 28 Jan. 2009, lot 177 (21.4 mm; 9.4 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.

O344/R724

73. Bay Numismatics EA 2, 11 Apr. 2024, lot 286 (21.7 mm; 6.9 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.

O344/R735

74. Gorny & Mosch 181, 13 Oct. 2009, lot 1833 (20 mm; 7.65 g)
75. Naumann 12, 2 Feb. 2014, lot 290 (21 mm; 7.7 g)

O344/R736

76. Freiburg 12086 (22 mm; 9.94 g; 9 h)
77. Savoca 87th Blue, 17 Oct. 2020, lot 612 (21 mm; 8.83 g)

O344/R737

78. Peus 403, 27 Apr. 2011, lot 739 (20 mm; 9.82 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
79. Private collection of Wayne G. Sayles. See Wright, N. L. (2008). Anazarbos and the Tarkondimotid Kings of Kilikia. *Anatolian Studies*, *58*, 115–125. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20455415.

O344/R738

80. Biga Numismatics EA 37, 13 June 2025, lot 147 (20 mm; 9.46 g; 3 h)

O344/R739

81. Lanz 138, 26 Nov. 2007, lot 448 (23 mm; 9.72 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.

O344/R740

82. Leu EA 24, 3 Dec. 2022, lot 1493 = Gorny & Mosch 257, 15 Oct. 2018, lot 623 = Hirsch 326, 16 Feb. 2017, lot 1794 = Solidus Auktion 9, 8 Oct. 2016, lot 269 (22 mm; 10 g; 12 h)

O344/R741

83. Rauch EA 18, 6 Nov. 2015, lot 104 (20 mm; 8.74 g)
84. Vcoins (online April 2024, Savoca GmbH & Co. Kg) (22 mm; 8.26 g)

O344/R—

85. Biga Numismatics EA 37, 13 June 2025, lot 148 (20 mm; 8.66 g; 3 h). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
86. CNG EA 478, 7 Oct. 2020, lot 187 (21.7 mm; 7.58 g; 1 h). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
87. Demos 17, 17 Mar. 2023, lot 173 (20 mm; 10.12 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
88. Heritage Auctions Weekly 232522, 29–30 May 2025, lot 65030 = Heritage 232209, 2 Mar. 2022, lot 61160 (22 mm; 12 h)
89. Künker 396, 13 Nov. 2023, lot 1059 = Künker 94, 27 Sept. 2004, lot 1367 (21 mm; 9.57 g)
90. M&M GmbH 44, 25 Nov. 2016, lot 212 = Auctiones GmbH e 23, 23 Feb. 2014, lot 32 (20 mm; 7.3 g)
91. Naumann 112, 2 Jan. 2022, lot 1327 = Naumann 107, 5 Sept. 2021, lot 1203 (22 mm; 9.09 g)
92. Noble Numismatics 114, 28 Mar. 2017, lot 4145 (20.1 mm; 7.15 g)
93. Numismad 14, 19–20 Apr. 2024, lot 740 (22 mm; 10.51 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
94. Peus 409, 25 Apr. 2013, lot 156 (20 mm; 10.94 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.

95. Roma EA 1, 31 Aug. 2013, lot 248 (21.5 mm; 10.62 g; 1 h)
96. Roma EA 104, 15 Dec. 2022, lot 393 (22 mm; 11.11 g; 1 h)
97. Roma EA 106, 16 Feb. 2023, lot 338 (22.2 mm; 12.93 g; 12 h)
98. Saint Paul Antiques 16, 31 Mar. 2018, lot 225 (22.1 mm; 7.41 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
99. Saint Paul Antiques 18, 13 Oct. 2018, lot 143 (22.2 mm; 6.94 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
100. Savoca 123rd Blue, 15 Jan. 2022, lot 373 (22 mm; 9.7 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
101. Savoca 134th Blue, 21 May 2022, lot 392 (22.4 mm; 8.9 g)
102. Savoca 159th Blue, 25 Mar. 2023, lot 502 (21 mm; 7.8 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
103. Savoca 160th Blue, 8 Apr. 2023, lot 805 (23 mm; 7.72 g)
104. Savoca 3rd Blue, 25 Nov. 2017, lot 326 (20 mm; 8.9 g)
105. Savoca Live EA 14, 23 Apr. 2017, lot 242 (21 mm; 7.04 g)
106. Savoca London 1st Blue, 23 Mar. 2019, lot 431 (21 mm; 9.2 g)
107. Savoca London 2nd Blue, 3 May 2019, lot 347 (22 mm; 5.76 g)
108. Savoca online, March 2024 = Aquila Numismatics 8, 14 Jan. 2023, lot 165 (23 mm; 9.1 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch. Rev. cmk: uncertain.
109. Sol Numismatik 11, 4 Mar. 2023, lot 130 = Sol Numismatik 11, 4 Mar. 2023, lot 130 (22 mm; 11.41 g)
110. Tauler & Fau 68, 3 Nov. 2020, lot 1004 (20 mm; 9.03 g)
111. TimeLine May 2022 Antiquities & Coins, 24 May 2022, lot 8313 (22.4 mm; 5.6 g)
112. Vcoins (online April 2024, London Ancient coins) (21 mm; 10.61 g; 12 h)
113. VCoins (online April 2024, Marc Breitsprecher, Classical Numismatist) (21.41 mm; 8.12 g)

O345/R718

114. Bertolami Fine Arts EA 49, 12 Nov. 2017, lot 492 = Bertolami Fine Arts 16, 17 June 2015, lot 271 (11.08 mm; 11.08 g; 1 h)

O345/R742

115. Naumann 87, 1 Mar. 2020, lot 200 (21.1 mm; 5.85 g)
116. Peus 437, 24 Apr. 2024, lot 242 = Peus 428, 28 Apr. 2021, lot 332 = Lanz 138, 26 Nov. 2007, lot 447 (21 mm; 8.93 g)
117. Rauch 94, 9 Apr. 2014, lot 435 (20.1 mm; 7.54 g)
118. Savoca 30th Silver, 27 Jan. 2019, lot 167 (22 mm; 10.32 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.

O345/R—

119. Vcoins (online April 2024, Pavlos S. Pavlou) (21.1 mm; 4.75 g; 12 h)

O346/R718

120. Kybele Numismatics 3, 24 Apr. 2024, lot 97 (20.8 mm; 8.12 g)
121. Leu EA 5, 23 Sept. 2018, lot 331 (20.1 mm; 7.4 g; 1 h)
122. Naumann 86, 2 Feb. 2020, lot 238 (21 mm; 9.92 g)
123. Saint Paul Antiques 17, 30 June 2018, lot 221 (21.1 mm; 8.23 g; 1 h)
124. Themis 6, 29 Feb. 2020, lot 212 (23.4 mm; 11.17 g)

O346/R720

125. CNG EA 123, 28 Sept. 2005, lot 62 (22 mm; 8.05 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
126. CNG EA 310, 4 Sept. 2013, lot 126 (20 mm; 7.32 g; 1 h)
127. Dorotheum November 2017 Coin, 15 Nov. 2017, lot 1149 (20 mm; 8.31 g; 12 h)
128. Roma EA 105, 19 Jan. 2023, lot 299 (22.3 mm; 8.87 g; 1 h)
129. Solidus 85, 21 Sept. 2021, lot 497 = Grün 64, 20 Nov. 2014, lot 1243 (20 mm; 10.93 g)

O346/R—

130. Roma EA 101, 13 Oct. 2022, lot 498 (23.3 mm; 9.87 g; 1 h)

O—/R710

131. Biga Numismatics EA 20, 10 June 2023, lot 477 (21 mm; 9.02 g)

O—/R743

132. Bucephalus Numismatic Black 14, 9 Jan. 2023, lot 429 (24.1 mm; 14.45 g). Double struck on reverse.

O—/R711

133. Dorney 6, 10 June 2018, lot 40 (20 mm; 6.28 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
134. Private coll. (21 mm; 4.78 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.

O—/R712

135. CNG EA 365, 16 Dec. 2015, lot 185 (20.4 mm; 8.22 g; 1 h)

O—/R718

136. Savoca 90th Blue, 28 Nov. 2020, lot 551 (22 mm; 7.9 g)

O—/R719

137. TMC Collection (ex: Biga Numismatics 25, 9 Dec. 2023, lot 122) (22 mm; 8.13 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.

O—/R744

138. Noble Numismatics 114, 28 Mar. 2017, lot 4147 (20 mm; 6.97 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.

O—/R713

139. Pegasi 39, 13 Nov. 2018, lot 189 (20.4 mm; 7.84 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
140. Roma EA 75, 15 Oct. 2020, lot 317 (22.2 mm; 9.01 g; 1 h). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.

O—/R714

141. Leu EA 8, 29 June 2019, lot 479 (21 mm; 5.02 g; 1 h)

O—/R728

142. Pegasi 41, 12 Nov. 2019, lot 184 (20 mm; 7.47 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
143. Solidus 85, 21 Sept. 2021, lot 498 = Grün 64, 20 Nov. 2014, lot 1242 (20 mm; 7.74 g)

O—/R720

144. Leu EA 18, 18 Dec. 2021, lot 1383 = M&M GmbH 17, 4 Oct. 2005, lot 970 (23 mm; 10 g; 1 h)

O—/R729

145. London Ancient Coins U, 5 Nov. 2016, lot 90 = London Ancient Coins T, 23 Aug. 2016, lot 46 (21 mm; 7.15 g; 1 h)

O—/R730

146. Saint Paul Antiques 8, 9 July 2017, lot 187 (21.1 mm; 8.24 g; 12 h)

O—/R731

147. P 1582 (= SNG Paris Cilicie 1914) (20 mm; 6.12 g)
148. P 1583 (= Wa 4714 = SNG Paris Cilicie 1913) (20 mm; 9.57 g)
149. Kybele Numismatics 3, 24 Apr. 2024, lot 95 (21.2 mm; 5.87 g)
150. Kybele Numismatics 3, 24 Apr. 2024, lot 96 (22.5 mm; 6.39 g)

O—/R721

151. P 1581 (= SNG Paris Cilicie 1915) (20 mm; 11.03 g)
152. Savoca 24th Blue, 21 Sept. 2019, lot 434 (22 mm; 9.77 g)
153. Vcoins (online April 2024, Marc Breitsprecher, Classical Numismatist) (21.24 mm; 6.51 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.

O—/R745

154. Künker 94, 27 Sept. 2004, lot 1368 (20.7 mm; 5.5 g)

O—/R722

155. Savoca Coins Silver 209th Monthly Silver, 28 Apr. 2024, lot 153 (23.4 mm; 9.18 g)

O—/R746

156. Leeds-UL 938 (23.2 mm; 8 g; 12 h)
157. Agora Sale 103, 28 Dec. 2021, lot 88 (21.9 mm; 9.66 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
158. Saint Paul Antiques 18, 13 Oct. 2018, lot 142 (22.5 mm; 7 g; 1 h). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.

O—/R723

159. Savoca 163rd Blue, 13 May 2023, lot 415 (20.1 mm; 6.39 g)
160. Vcoins (online April 2024, Aegean Numismatics) = Agora Aegean Sale 2, 23 Feb. 2017, lot 137 (20.3 mm; 10.53 g)

O—/R735

161. Numismad 14, 19–20 Apr. 2024, lot 401 (22 mm; 8.25 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
162. Vcoins (online April 2024, Aegean Numismatics) (22 mm; 9.47 g)

O—/R716

163. Vcoins (online April 2024, London Ancient Coins) (22 mm; 7.97 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.

O—/R747

164. CNG EA 248, 26 Jan. 2011, lot 183 (22 mm; 8.65 g; 1 h). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.

O—/R737

165. Roma EA 102, 3 Nov. 2022, lot 481 (22 mm; 10 g; 12 h)

O—/R—

166. Cop (= SNG Supp. 538) (7.11 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
167. Cop (= SNG Supp. 539) (7.68 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
168. NY 2015.20.2812 (22.5 mm; 8.21 g; 1 h)
169. Harvard 1980.86.132 (22 mm; 8.24 g)
170. Harvard 1980.86.131 (= Gift of H. Bartlett Wells) (20 mm; 8.53 g)
171. Leeds-UL 939 (23.7 mm; 11.57 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
172. Agora Sale 62, 1 Nov. 2016, lot 113 (21 mm; 7.35 g; 11 h). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
173. Biga Numismatics EA 31, 11–12 May 2024, lot 334 (20.9 mm; 5.78 g)
174. CNG EA 509, 9 Feb. 2022, lot 169 (20.5 mm; 8.32 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
175. Demos 17, 17 Mar. 2023, lot 1291 (21 mm; 8 g)
176. Demos 17, 17 Mar. 2023, lot 167 (22 mm; 5.39 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
177. Demos 4, 26 Sept. 2021, lot 248 (23 mm; 6.78 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
178. Münzzentrum Rheinland 201, 15–16 May 2024, lot 98 (21 mm; 6.72 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
179. Numismad 14, 19–20 Apr. 2024, lot 399 (22 mm; 9.97 g)
180. Pegasi Buy or Bid Sale 151, 21 Feb. 2017, lot 136 (20 mm; 7.74 g)
181. Rauch Summer 2007, 11 Sept. 2007, lot 207 (20 mm; 7.23 g)
182. Roma EA 32, 7 Jan. 2017, lot 453 = Roma EA 21, 31 Oct. 2015, lot 390 (22 mm; 6.63 g; 12 h). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
183. Savoca 107th Blue, 10 July 2021, lot 277 (23 mm; 9.9 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
184. Savoca 157th Blue, 25 Feb. 2023, lot 213 (22 mm; 7.82 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
185. Savoca 162nd Blue, 29 Apr. 2023, lot 559 (22.1 mm; 4.69 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
186. Savoca Live EA 11, 18 Dec. 2016, lot 381 (21 mm; 8.21 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
187. Savoca London 2nd Blue, 3 May 2019, lot 354 (21.1 mm; 4.5 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
188. Vcoins (David Connors, online June 2024) (21 mm; 8.08 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
189. Vcoins (online April 2024, C J Martin Coins) (19 mm)
190. Vcoins (online April 2024, Ephesus Numismatics) (22 mm; 6.52 g)
191. Vcoins (online April 2024, Marc Breitsprecher Classical Numismatist) (22.18 mm; 8.24 g)
192. Vcoins (online April 2024, Marc Breitsprecher, Classical Numismatist) (20.62 mm; 8.45 g)
193. Vcoins (Online April 2024, Marc Breitsprecher, Classical Numismatist) (21.05 mm; 6.22 g). Obv. cmk: 9: anchor in oval 9.5 x 5 mm punch.
194. Vcoins (online April 2024, NumisCorner) (22 mm; 12.53 g)
195. Vcoins (online April 2024, NumisCorner) (22.5 mm; 9.4 g)
196. Vcoins (online April 2024, NumisCorner) (22 mm; 8.62 g)
197. Vcoins (online April 2024, NumisCorner) (20 mm; 5.93 g)
198. Vcoins (online April 2024, Pavlos S. Pavlou, Numismatist) (20 mm; 8.65 g; 2 h)
199. Vcoins (online April 2024, Savoca GmbH & Co. KG) (22 mm; 10 g; 12 h)

Monogram $\overline{TAPK}$ ()

Type 50 (RPC I 3872)

Obverse: Turreted and veiled head of Tyche, r.

Reverse: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC $\overline{TAPK}$ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟC; Athena standing, l., with Nike and shield; to r., monogram 

Denomination: Æ 23 mm
Diameter: 20–8 mm; average: 23 mm.
Weight: 5.53–11.53 g; average: 8.36 g.
Axis: 12 (10)
Average thickness: 2.32 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 6 obverse dies and 17 reverse dies
Number of coins: 56

O347/R748
1. Cop (= SNG Supp. 540) (7.95 g; 12 h)
2. CGBFR.COM numismatists e-shop March 2025 online = Savoca London 2nd Blue, 3 May 2019, lot 371 (24 mm; 7.63 g; 12 h)
3. Münzzentrum Rheinland 201, 15–16 May 2024, lot 99 (23 mm; 8.67 g)

O347/R749
4. L 1979,0101.957 (= ex vA 5414) (20 mm; 8.9 g; 12 h)

O347/R750
5. N&N London EA 44, 11 Feb. 2024, lot 286 (24.3 mm; 9.6 g)
6. Savoca 24th Blue, 21 Sept. 2019, lot 433 (23 mm; 8.03 g)

O347/R751
7. CNG MBS 61, 25 Sept. 2002, lot 307 (24 mm; 8.45 g)
8. Fritz Rudolf Künker 402, 14 Mar. 2024, lot 509 (20.1 mm; 8.48 g)
9. Numismad Auction 20, 27 Dec. 2024, lot 456 = Kybele Numismatics 3, 24 Apr. 2024, lot 106 (23.7 mm; 8.48 g)
10. Solidus 92, 25 Jan. 2022, lot 174 (25.2 mm; 9.12 g). Obv. cmk: uncertain.

O347/R752
11. N&N London EA 44, 11 Feb. 2024, lot 270 (23.1 mm; 7.83 g)
12. Themis 4, 2 Nov. 2019, lot 142 (25.4 mm; 9.54 g)
13. Zeus Numismatics Prime 1, 17 Nov. 2019, lot 68 (21.1 mm; 10.13 g)

O347/R753
14. Olympus Numismatik 15, 8 Sept. 2024, lot 146 = Olympus Numismatik 10, 29 Dec. 2023, lot 195 (20.1 mm)

O347/R—
15. L 1977,0703.1 (20 mm; 6.65 g; 12 h)
16. CGT coll. (22 mm; 8.69 g; 12 h)
17. Demos 17, 17 Mar. 2023, lot 183 (23.1 mm; 7.53 g)
18. Numismad 24, 30–31 May 2025, lot 226 = Numismad Auction 21, 14 February 2025, lot 758 (25 mm; 6.66 g)
19. Rönesans Salzgitter Blue 1, 27 Aug. 2023, lot 393 (22.6 mm; 7.4 g)
20. Savoca 162nd Blue, 29 Apr. 2023, lot 557 (24 mm; 7.57 g)

O348/R754
21. Aquila Numismatics 3, 2 July 2022, lot 503 (22.1 mm; 7.8 g)

O348/R755
22. Numismad 16, 28 July 2024, lot 136 (23.4 mm; 8.39 g)

O348/R—
23. Coins Legacy, FZC. Online March 2025 (24 mm; 8.58 g)
24. Rhesaena Numismatics Ebay March 2025 (23 mm; 7.89 g)
25. Tom Vossen Vcoins numismatics online (22 mm; 7.82 g)

O349/R748
26. P 1585 (= SNG Paris Cilicie 1917) (23 mm; 7.73 g; 12 h)

O349/R756
27. P 1584
28. Harvard 1980.86.133 (23 mm; 9.39 g)
29. Astarte Web Auction 4, 7 Apr. 2024, lot 123 (24.6 mm; 9.52 g)
30. Savoca 218th Weekly Blue, 22 June 2024, lot 3 = Savoca Coins Silver 209th Monthly Silver, 28 Apr. 2024, lot 145 (23 mm; 9.67 g)
31. Vcoins (online April 2024, Wayne G. Sayles, Antiquarian) = Ziegler Kilikia 883 (21 mm; 7.63 g)

O349/R757
32. Ancient Numismatics Auctions 21, 11 July 2025, lot 185 (23.8 mm)
33. Biga Numismatics EA 21, 1 July 2023, lot 151 (25 mm; 7.8 g)

O350/R—
34. Savoca 87th Blue, 17 Oct. 2020, lot 613 (22 mm; 5.73 g)

O351/R749
35. Demos 17, 17 Mar. 2023, lot 131 (22 mm; 9.79 g)

O351/R758
36. Ancient Numismatics Auctions (formerly Aquila Numismatics), Auction 16, 24 Nov. 2024, lot 121 (24.6 mm; 8.8 g)
37. Künker 333, 16 Mar. 2020, lot 588 (20 mm; 9.88 g)
38. Solidus 134, 16 July 2024, lot 1120 (25.6 mm; 9.12 g)

O351/R759
39. Savoca 6th Blue, 7 Apr. 2018, lot 472 (22 mm; 8.38 g)
40. Savoca 9th Blue, 25 Aug. 2018, lot 596 (22.1 mm; 8.42 g)

O351/R760
41. CGT coll. (23 mm; 8.8 g; 12 h)
42. Demos 17, 17 Mar. 2023, lot 142 (23.1 mm; 9.41 g)

O351/R761
43. Numismad 14, 19 Apr. 2024, lot 421 (28.1 mm; 8.7 g)

O351/R—

44. Ancient Numismatics Auctions 21, 11 July 2025, lot 184 (23.3 mm)
45. CGBFR.COM numismatists e-shop Mar. 2025 online (23 mm; 8.37 g; 12 h)
46. Rönesans Salzgitter 11, 5 May 2024, lot 221 (23 mm; 8.6 g)

O352/R762
47. Rhesaena Numismatics Ebay March 2025 (22 mm; 5.83 g)
48. Savoca Numismatik 246th Weekly Blue Auction, 13 Dec. 2024, lot 1777 (23 mm; 5.53 g)

O—/R763
49. N&N London EA 19, 1 July 2023, lot 176 (23 mm; 8.7 g)
50. Sol Numismatik XXVI, 23 Mar. 2024, lot 154 (23.6 mm; 8.09 g)

O—/R758
51. Kybele Numismatics 3, 24 Apr. 2024, lot 98 (24 mm; 7.06 g)

O—/R764
52. Demos 17, 17 Mar. 2023, lot 180 (23.3 mm; 9.49 g)
53. Münzzentrum Rheinland 201, 15–16 May 2024, lot 100 (23 mm; 11.53 g)

O—/R—
54. Levante 1259 (20 mm; 8.8 g; 12 h)
55. Levante 1260 (20 mm; 7.59 g; 12 h)
56. Vcoins (online April 2024, Copper Penny Galleries) (23 mm)

Type 51 (RPC I 3871A)

Obverse: Veiled head of Tyche, r.

Reverse: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC $\overline{\text{ΤΑΡΚ}}$ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟC, ΔΛ; Athena standing, l., with Nike and shield; to r., monogram

Denomination: Æ 23 mm
Diameter: 21–5 mm; average: 23 mm.
Weight: 5.49–8.99 g; average: 7.19 g.
Axis: 1 (1), 12 (2)
Average thickness: 1.93 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 1 obverse dies and 4 reverse dies
Number of coins: 10

O353/R765
1. Eid Mar Auctions 1, 16 Dec. 2023, lot 136 (23.1 mm; 6.99 g)
2. Naumann 110, 7 Nov. 2021, lot 512 (24 mm; 8.99 g; 12 h)
3. Naumann 63, 4 Mar. 2018, lot 11 (21.3 mm; 7.29 g)

O353/R766
4. Kybele Numismatics 3, 24 Apr. 2024, lot 108 (24.7 mm; 6.49 g)

O353/R767
5. Roma EA 103, 24 Nov. 2022, lot 541 = Roma EA 84, 16 June 2021, lot 912 = Roma Numismatics EA 70, 7 May 2020, lot 721 = Roma Numismatics EA 52, 10 Jan. 2019, lot 322 (22 mm; 7.2 g; 1 h)

O353/R768
6. Rönesans Salzgitter 4, 17 Sept. 2023, lot 333 (22.9 mm; 7.2 g)

O353/R—
7. B 18306060, 1873 Fox (= C.R. Fox 1873) (24 mm; 5.49 g; 12 h)
8. Aquila Numismatics 15, 6 July 2024, lot 117 (23.2 mm; 8.16 g)
9. Olympus Numismatik 15, 8 Sept. 2024, lot 147 = Olympus Numismatik 12, 26 Apr. 2024, lot 102 (23.8 mm; 7.95 g)
10. Savoca 162nd Blue, 29 Apr. 2023, lot 5 (23 mm; 6.16 g)

Type 52

Obverse: Laureate head of Zeus r.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ $\overline{\text{ΤΑΡΚ}}$; eagle with wings spread, turning right holding diadem; anchor on the left; monogram **on the right**

Denomination: Æ 20 mm
Diameter: 16–22 mm; average: 19 mm.
Weight: 2.48–7.26 g; average: 4.44 g.
Axis: 1 (1), 12 (4)
Average thickness: 1.80 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 1 obverse dies and 4 reverse dies
Number of coins: 15

O354/R769
1. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 9, 7 Sept. 2019, lot 532 (20.3 mm; 4.05 g; 12 h)
2. Nomos Obolos Web Auction 16, 11 Oct. 2020, lot 940 = Solidus 31, 30 June 2018, lot 53 (19 mm; 4.04 g; 12 h)
3. Private Collection = Gorny and Mosch Auktion 142, lot 1626 (19.6 mm; 6.13 g)
4. Private Collection = Ziegler, JNG 64, p. 10, #14 = ex y-e-s-ancient-coins" (on eBay), 2-16-2014. (22.34 mm; 4.56 g; 12 h)
5. Savoca 24th Silver, 29 July 2018, lot 141 (17 mm; 4.3 g)
6. Sol Numismatik 8, 29 Oct. 2022, lot 90 (19.3 mm; 3.85 g)

O354/R770
7. Nomos Obolos EA 24, 21 Aug. 2022, lot 233 (16 mm; 2.48 g; 1 h)
8. Nomos Obolos Web Auction 34, 10 Nov. 2024, lot 445 = Biga Numismatics EA 27, 3 Feb. 2024, lot 249 (17 mm; 4.21 g; 12 h)
9. Numismad 25, 4–5 July 2025, lot 425 (17.5 mm; 4.74 g)
10. Private Collection
11. Rönesans Salzgitter 1, 3 June 2023, lot 37 (16.4 mm; 3.6 g)

O354/R771
12. N&N London EA 44, 11 Feb. 2024, lot 378 (19.3 mm; 4.71 g)
13. Naumann 27, 4 Jan. 2015, lot 339 = Private Collection (21 mm; 7.26 g)

O354/R772
14. Gorny & Mosch 142, 10 Oct. 2005, lot 1636 (20.1 mm; 3.78 g)

O—/R—
15. Private Collection

Type 53

Obverse: Laureate head of Zeus r.

Reverse: B[…]; facing eagle with wings spread, turning right holding diadem; monogram ⌇ to the left, above

Denomination: Æ
Diameter: 18 mm; average: 18 mm.
Weight: 6 g; average: 6.00 g.
Axis: 12 (1)
Average thickness: 2.67 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 1 obverse dies and 0 reverse dies
Number of coins: 1

O354/R—
1. Joseph College Bonn no. Greek Gods (GG)-8 (18 mm; 6 g; 12 h)

Monogram $\overline{ΦIΛO}$ (⌇)

Type 54 (RPC I 3872A)

Obverse: Head of Apollo, with bow and quiver, r.; uncertain monogram to the right

Reverse: BACIΛEΩC $\overline{ΦIΛO}$; tripod, to r. monogram ⌇

Denomination: Æ 18 mm
Diameter: 16–18 mm; average: 17 mm.
Weight: 2.16–2.46 g; average: 2.31 g.
Axis: 11 (1)
Average thickness: 1.15 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 2 obverse dies and 2 reverse dies
Number of coins: 2

O355/R773
1. Kovacs coll. (18 mm; 2.46 g; 11 h)

O356/R774
2. Szaleniec coll. (16 mm; 2.16 g)

Type 55 (RPC I 3872B)

Obverse: EΛ; humped bull butting r.

Reverse: BACIΛEΩC $\overline{ΦIΛO}$; aplustre, to r. monogram ⌇

Denomination: Æ 15 mm
Diameter: 14–16 mm; average: 15 mm.
Weight: 0.93–2.17 g; average: 1.62 g.
Axis: 1 (3), 7 (1), 9 (1), 12 (6)
Average thickness: 1.08 mm (calculated)
Number of dies: 3 obverse dies and 7 reverse dies
Number of coins: 21

O357/R775
1. CNG EA 339, 19 Nov. 2014, lot 126 (14.2 mm; 1.85 g; 12 h)
2. Numismad 14, 19–20 Apr. 2024, lot 419 (14 mm; 1.08 g)

O357/R776
3. CNG EA 534, 15 Mar. 2023, lot 118 (14.8 mm; 1.79 g; 12 h)
4. Nomos obolos 12, 31 Mar. 2019, lot 412 = CNG EA 458, 18 Dec. 2019, lot 152 (14 mm; 1.67 g; 12 h)

O357/R777
5. Numismad 9, 8 Sept. 2023, lot 399 (14.1 mm; 1.71 g)
6. Roma Numismatics EA 79, 14 Jan. 2021, lot 354 (15.2 mm; 1.69 g; 12 h)

O357/R—
7. Agora Sale 103, 28 Dec. 2021, lot 230 (14.4 mm; 1.51 g; 7 h)
8. Ancient Numismatics Auctions (formerly Aquila Numismatics), Auction 17, 25 Nov. 2024, lot 161 (14.2 mm; 1.5 g)

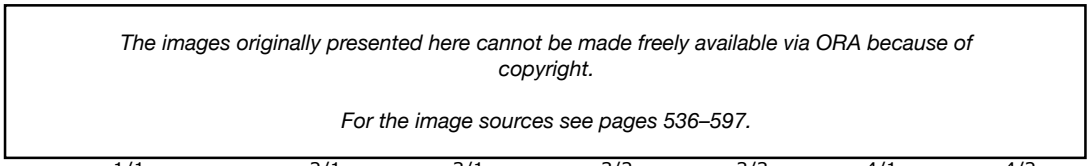
O358/R778
9. CNG EA 373, 20 Apr. 2016, lot 156 (14.1 mm; 1.11 g; 12 h)
10. CNG EA 526, 2 Nov. 2022, lot 130 (15 mm; 1.81 g; 12 h)
11. Fritz Rudolf Künker eLive 65, 23 Feb. 2021, lot 7041 (15 mm; 1.92 g)
12. Kovacs coll. (1.8 g)
13. Künker eLive 65, 23 Feb. 2021, lot 7041 = Künker 333, 16 Mar. 2020, lot 587 = Leu 2, 11 May 2018, lot 126 (15 mm; 1.92 g; 1 h)

O358/R779
14. Album 33, 17 Jan. 2019, lot 11 (15 mm; 1.82 g)
15. Leu Numismatik Web Auction 5, 23 Sept. 2018, lot 332 (15 mm; 1.52 g; 1 h)
16. Sol Numismatik Auktion XLV, 20 Sept. 2025, lot 111 (14 mm; 2.17 g)

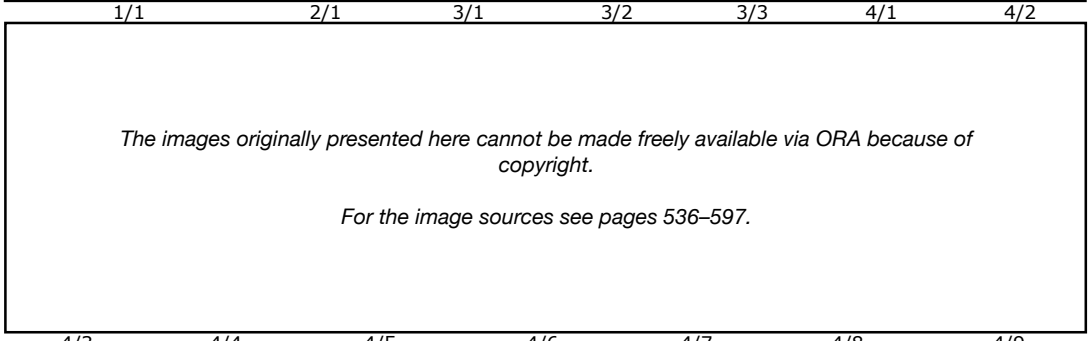
O359/R780
17. CNG EA 537, 26 Apr. 2023, lot 134 = Sol Numismatik 5, 16 July 2022, lot 28 (14 mm; 1.22 g; 1 h)
18. Sol Numismatik 4, 4 June 2022, lot 55 (16.4 mm; 0.93 g)

O359/R781
19. Naumann 80, 4 Aug. 2019, lot 250 (14.1 mm; 1.34 g)
20. Roma Numismatics EA 110, 3 Aug. 2023, lot 514 (15 mm; 1.75 g; 9 h)
21. Wayne G. Sayles online shop (16 mm; 1.95 g)

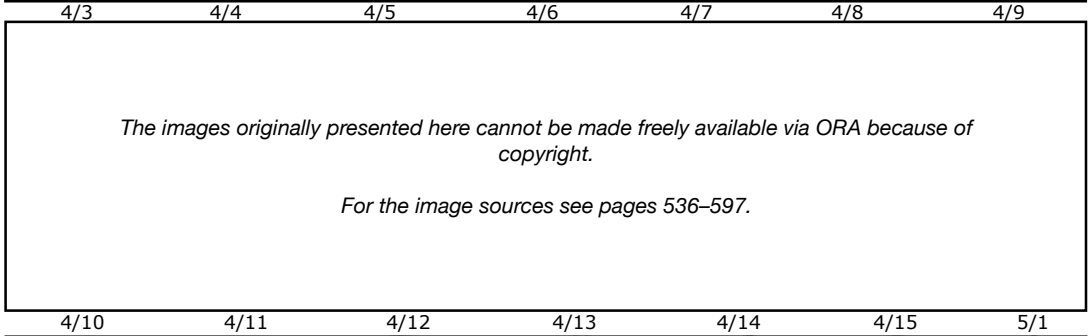
KINGDOM OF GALATIA



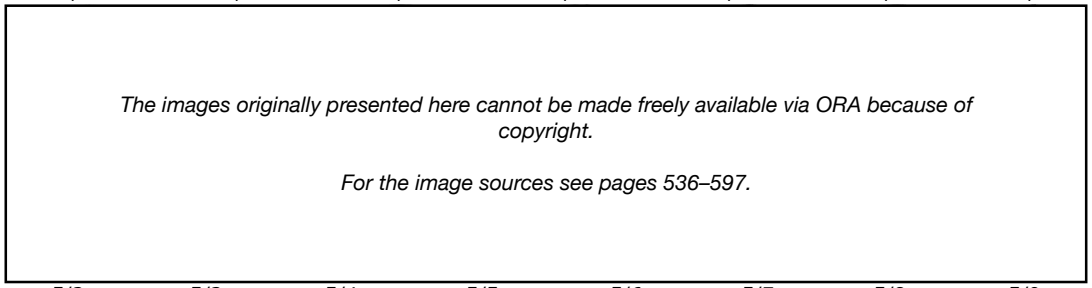
1/1 2/1 3/1 3/2 3/3 4/1 4/2



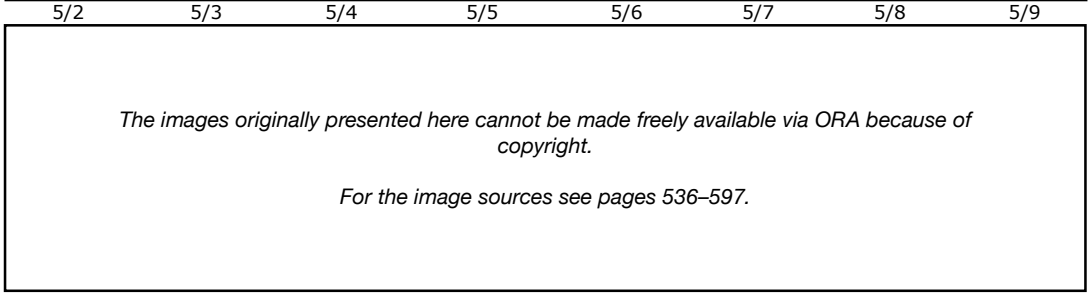
4/3 4/4 4/5 4/6 4/7 4/8 4/9



4/10 4/11 4/12 4/13 4/14 4/15 5/1

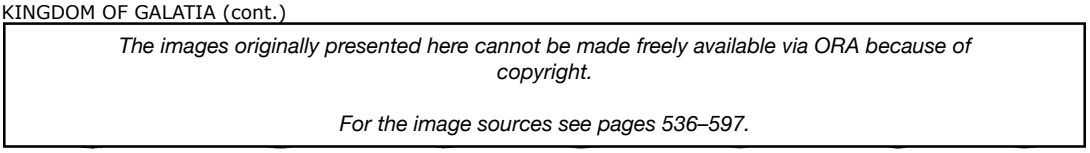


5/2 5/3 5/4 5/5 5/6 5/7 5/8 5/9

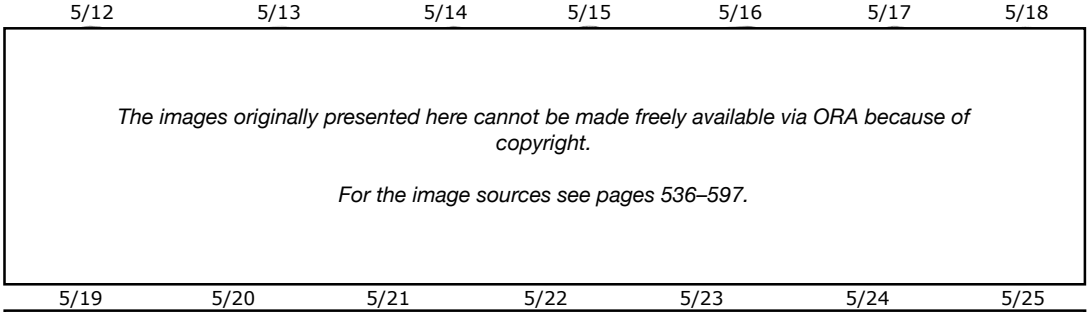


5/10 5/11

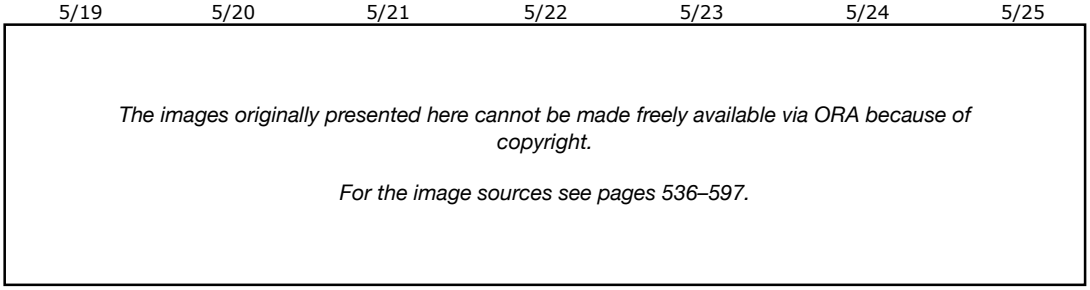
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



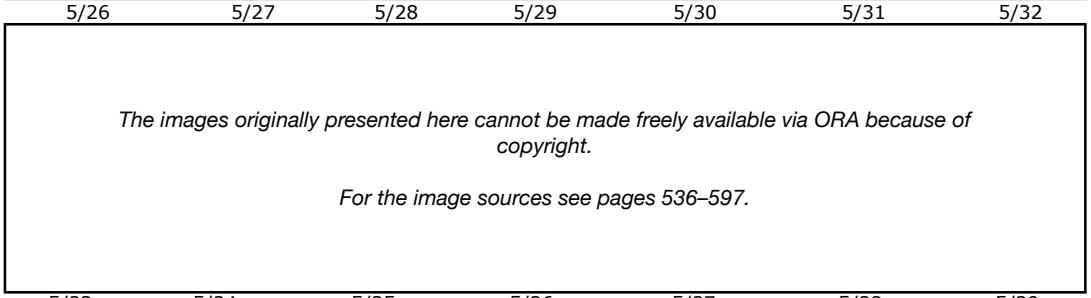
5/12 5/13 5/14 5/15 5/16 5/17 5/18



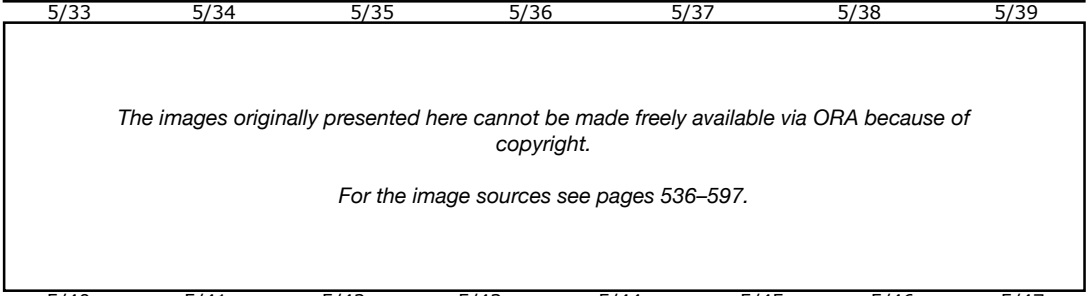
5/19 5/20 5/21 5/22 5/23 5/24 5/25



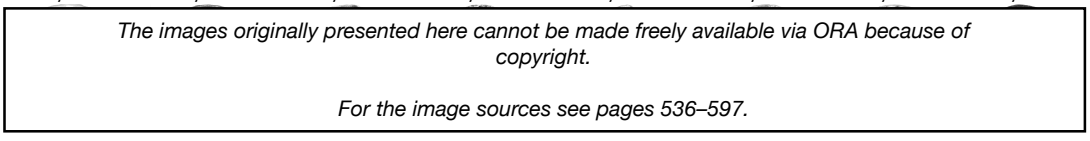
5/26 5/27 5/28 5/29 5/30 5/31 5/32



5/33 5/34 5/35 5/36 5/37 5/38 5/39



5/40 5/41 5/42 5/43 5/44 5/45 5/46 5/47



KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

5/48 5/49 5/50 5/51 5/52 5/53 5/54 5/55

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

5/56 5/57 5/58 5/59 5/60 5/61 5/62 5/63

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

5/64 5/65 5/66 5/67 5/68 5/69 5/70 5/71

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

5/72 5/73 5/74 5/75 5/76 5/77 5/78

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

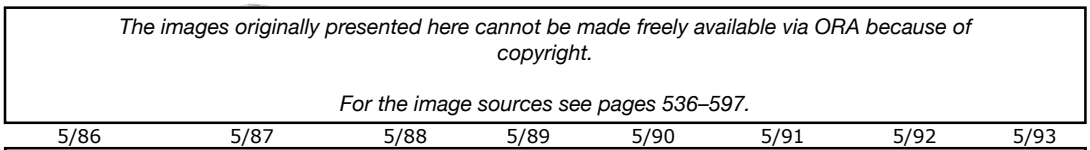
For the image sources see pages 536–597.

5/79 5/80 5/81 5/82 5/83 5/84 5/85

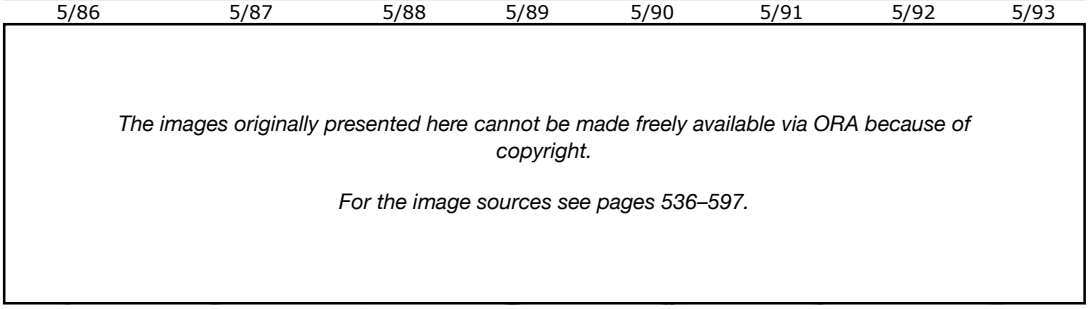
The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



5/86 5/87 5/88 5/89 5/90 5/91 5/92 5/93



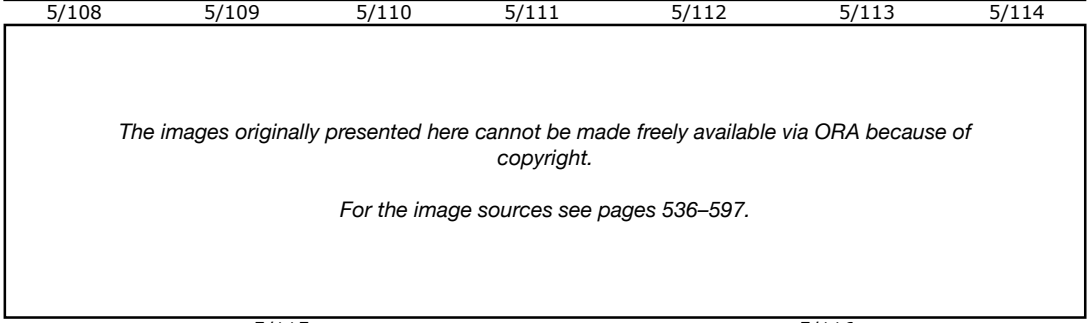
5/94 5/95 5/96 5/97 5/98 5/99 5/100



5/101 5/102 5/103 5/104 5/105 5/106 5/107



5/108 5/109 5/110 5/111 5/112 5/113 5/114



5/115 5/116

KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

5/117 5/118 5/119 5/120 5/121 5/122 5/123 5/124

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

5/125 5/126 5/127 5/128 5/129 6/1 6/2 6/3

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

6/4 6/5 6/6 6/7 6/8 6/9 6/10 6/11

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

6/12 6/13 6/14 6/15 6/16 6/17 6/18 6/19

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

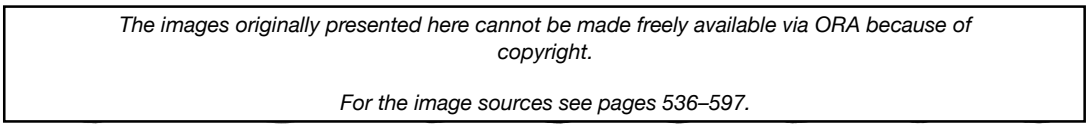
For the image sources see pages 536–597.

6/20 6/21 6/22 6/23 6/24 6/25 6/26 6/27

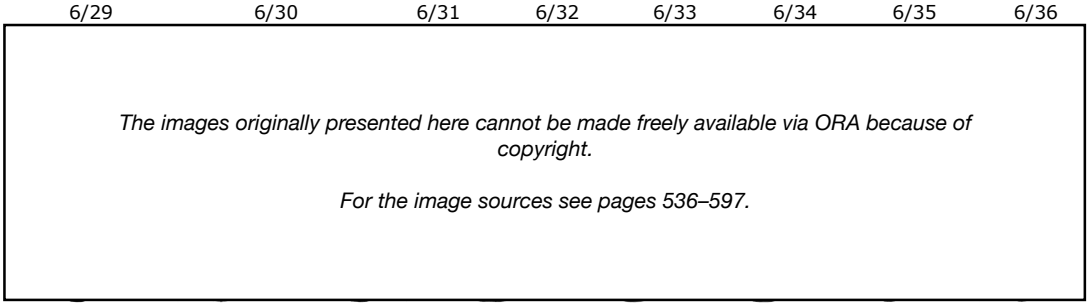
The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

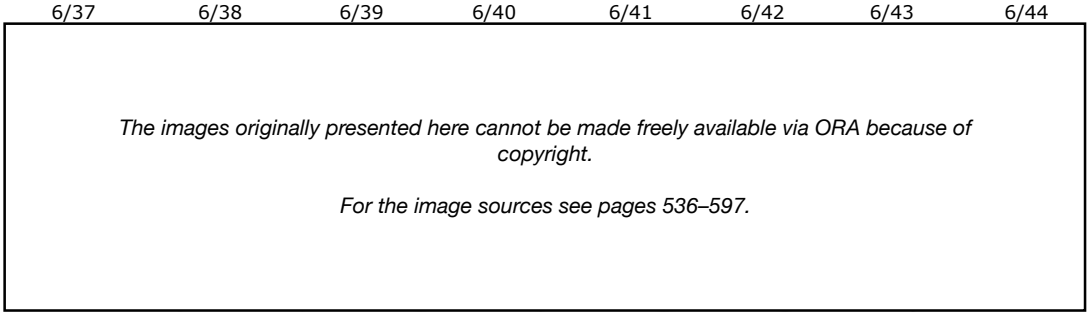
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



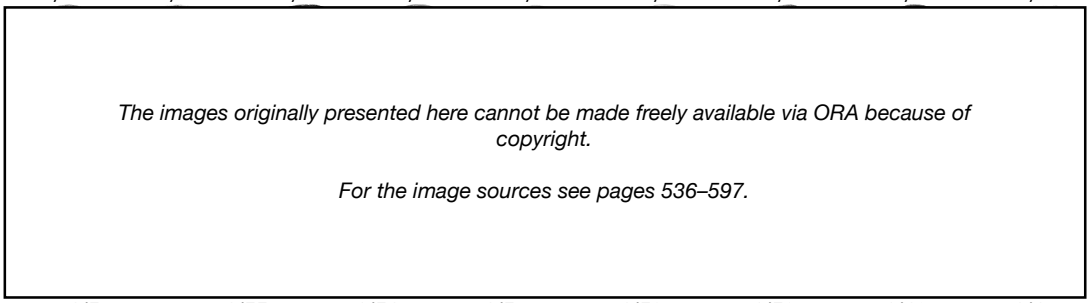
6/29 6/30 6/31 6/32 6/33 6/34 6/35 6/36



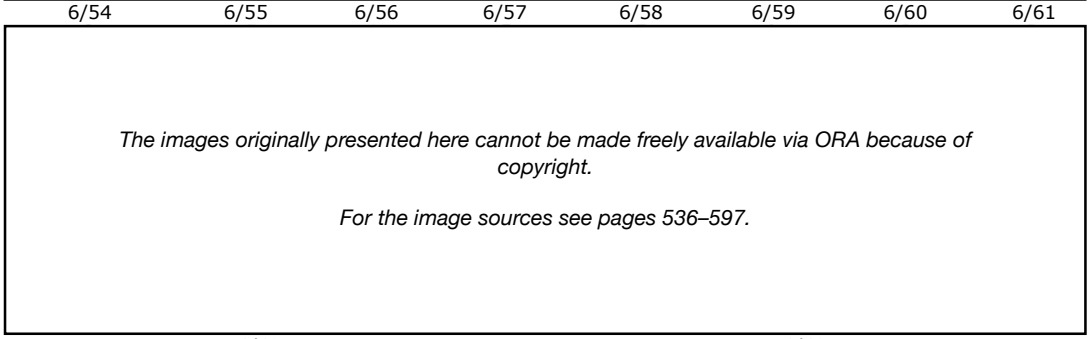
6/37 6/38 6/39 6/40 6/41 6/42 6/43 6/44



6/45 6/46 6/47 6/48 6/49 6/50 6/51 6/52 6/53

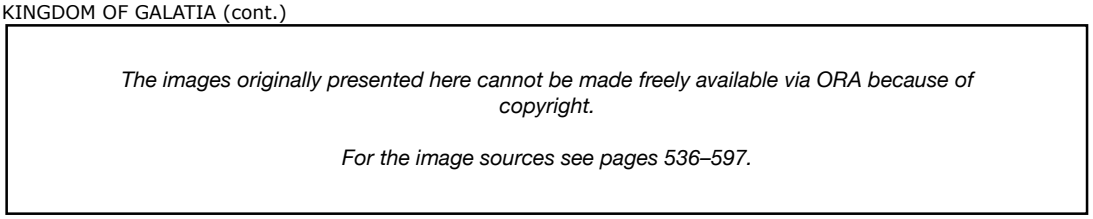


6/54 6/55 6/56 6/57 6/58 6/59 6/60 6/61

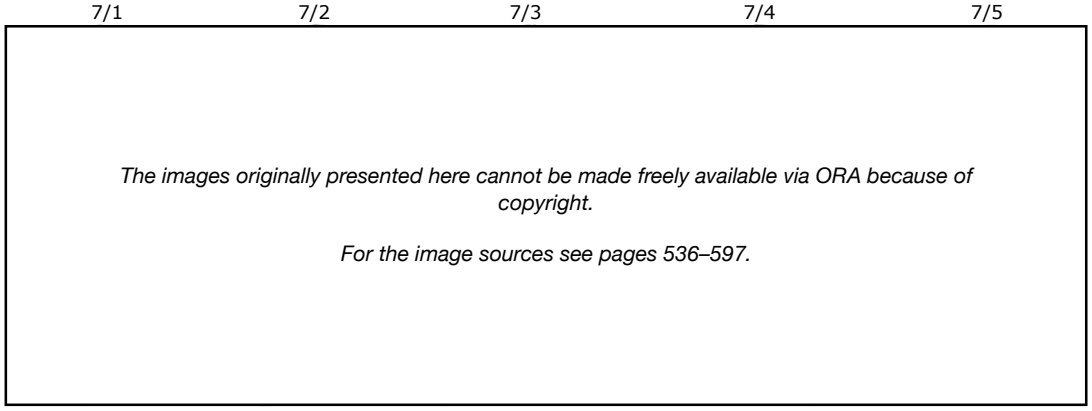


6/62 6/63

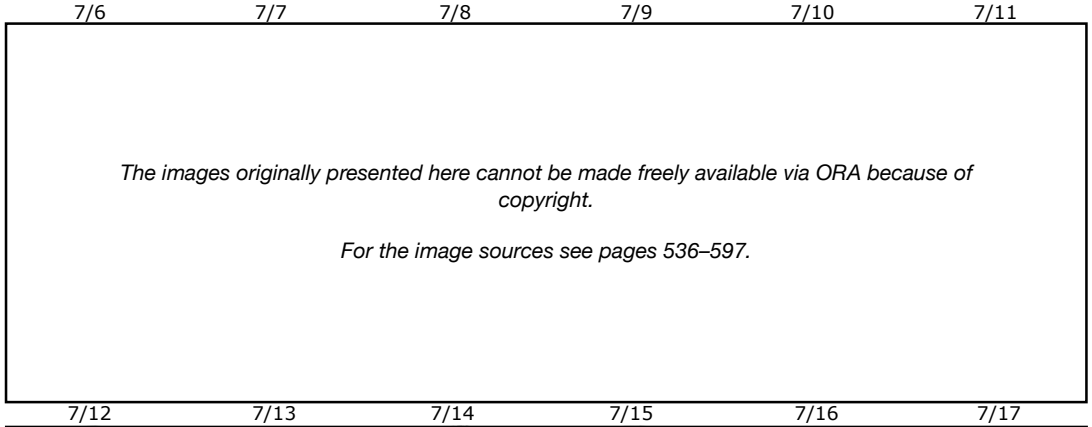
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



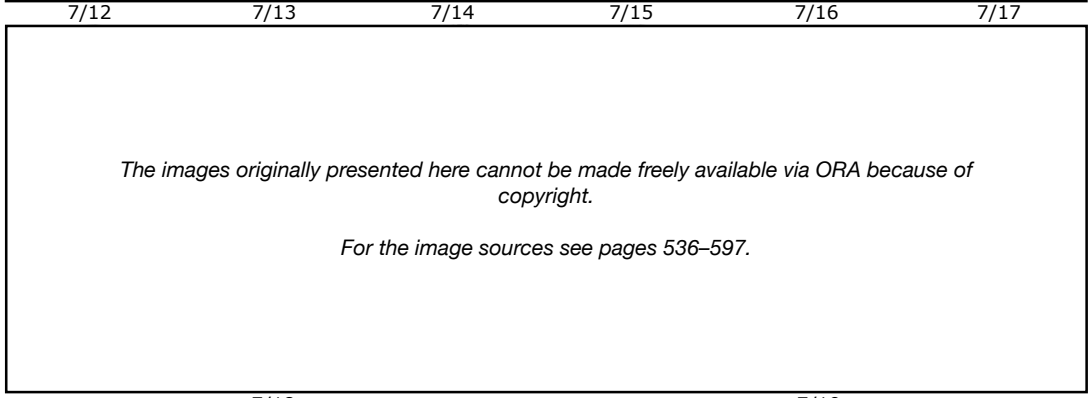
7/1 7/2 7/3 7/4 7/5



7/6 7/7 7/8 7/9 7/10 7/11

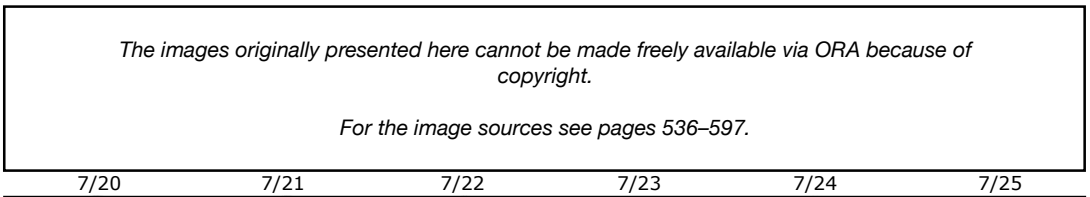


7/12 7/13 7/14 7/15 7/16 7/17

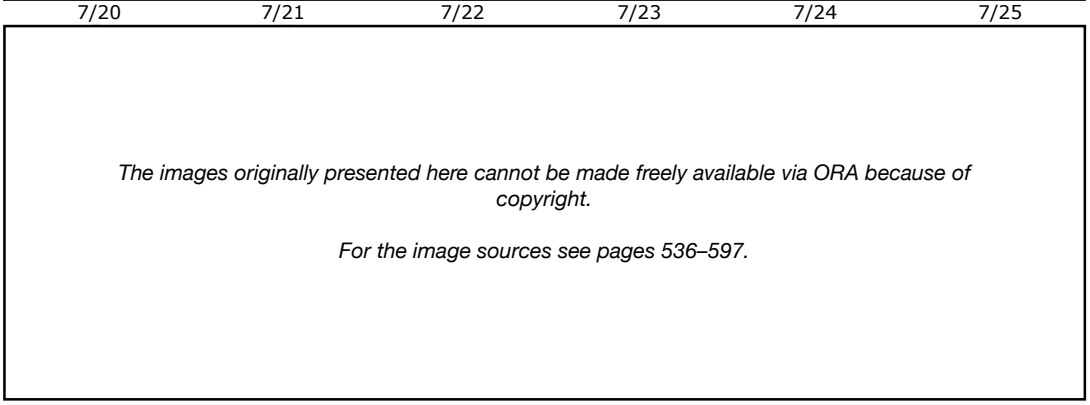


7/18 7/19

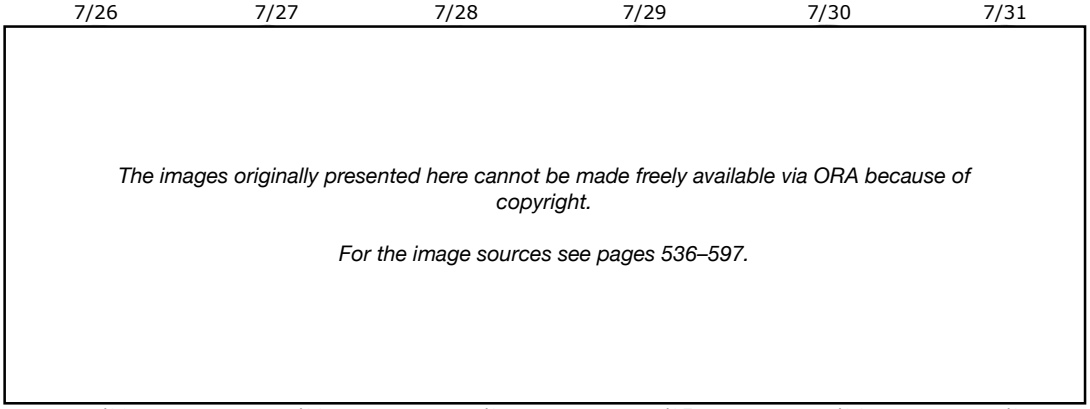
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



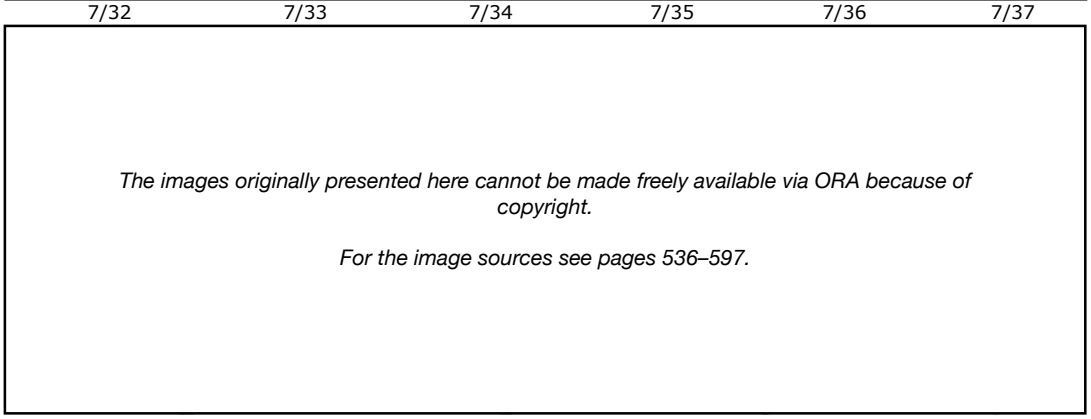
7/20 7/21 7/22 7/23 7/24 7/25



7/26 7/27 7/28 7/29 7/30 7/31

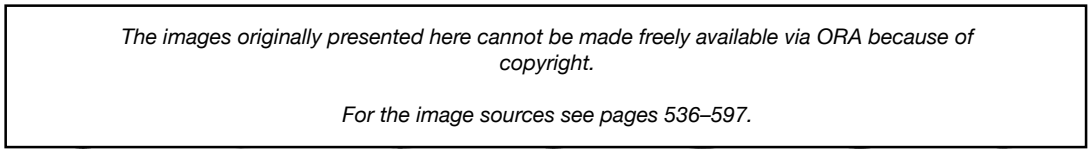


7/32 7/33 7/34 7/35 7/36 7/37

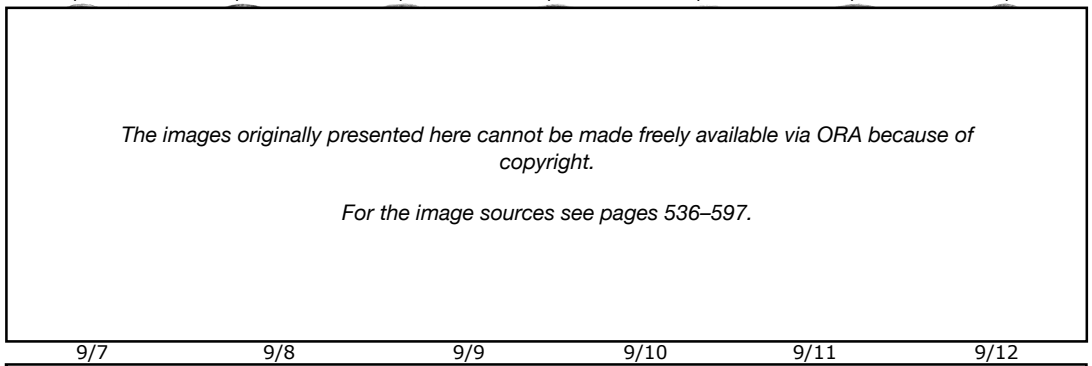


7/38 8/1

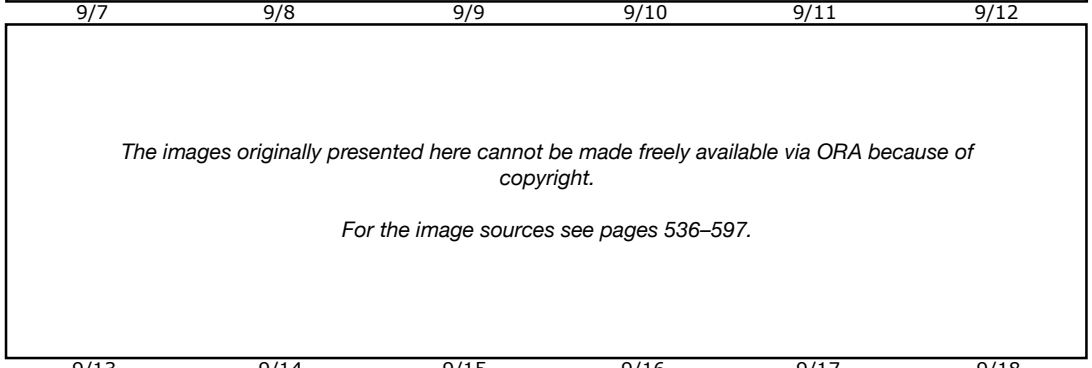
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



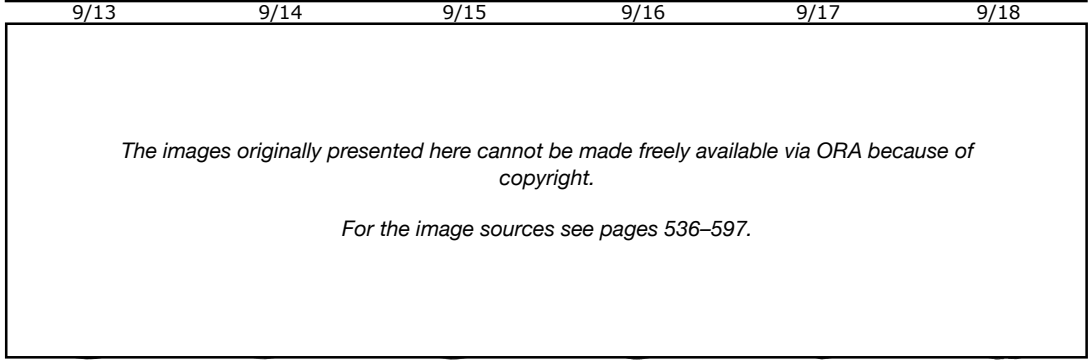
8/2 8/3 9/1 9/3 9/4 9/5 9/6



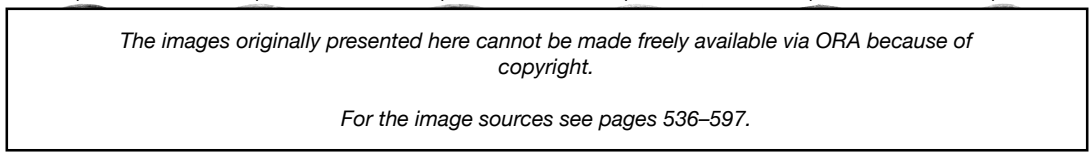
9/7 9/8 9/9 9/10 9/11 9/12



9/13 9/14 9/15 9/16 9/17 9/18



9/19 9/20 9/21 9/22 9/23 9/24



KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

9/25 9/26 9/27 9/28 9/29 9/30

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

9/31 9/32 9/33 9/34 9/35 9/37

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

9/38 9/39 9/40 9/41 9/42 9/44

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

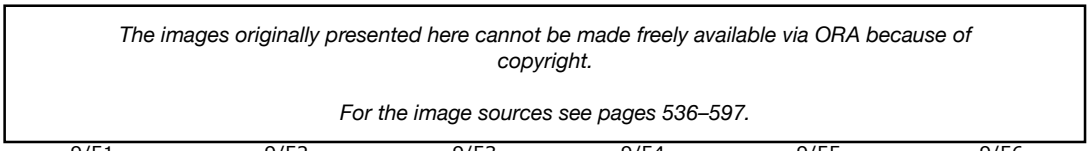
For the image sources see pages 536–597.

9/45 9/46 9/47 9/48 9/49 9/50

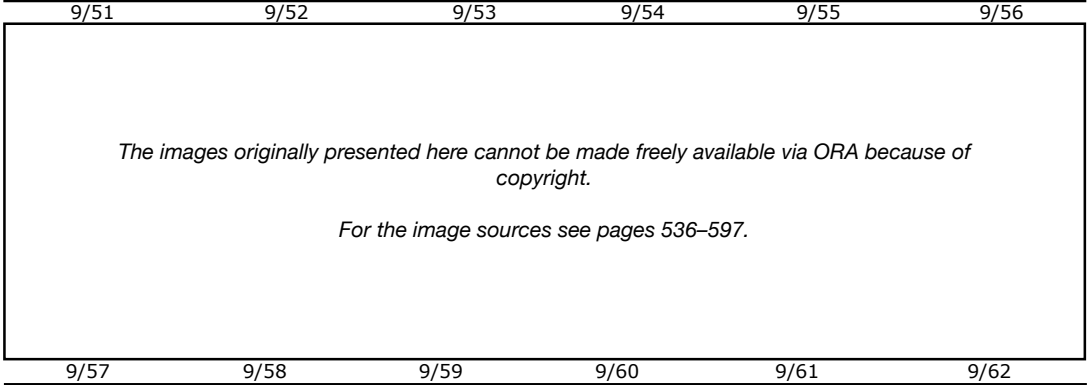
The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

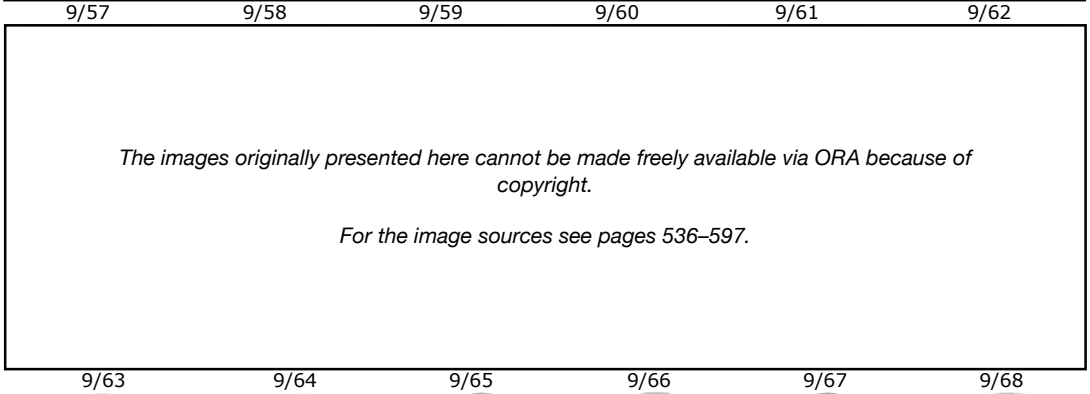
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



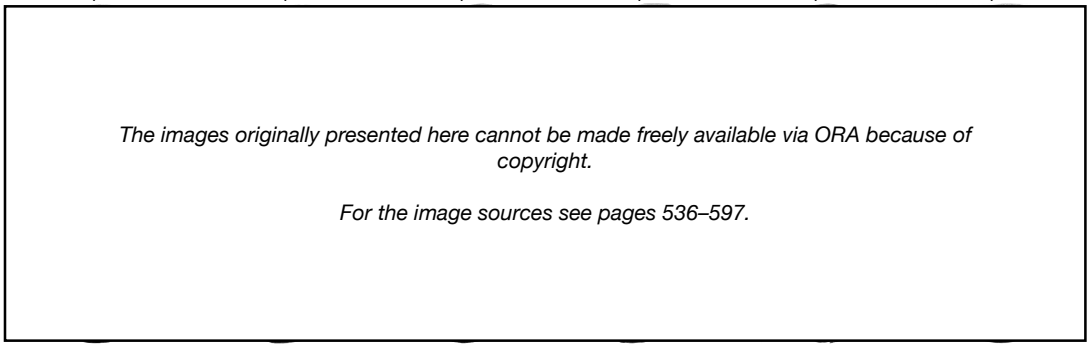
9/51 9/52 9/53 9/54 9/55 9/56



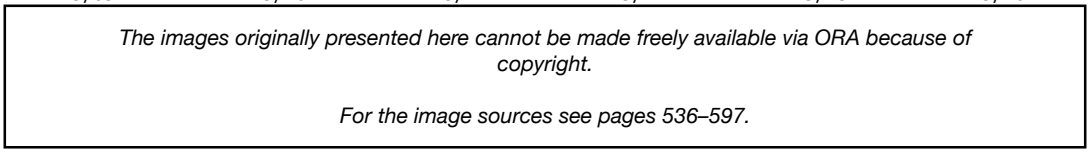
9/57 9/58 9/59 9/60 9/61 9/62



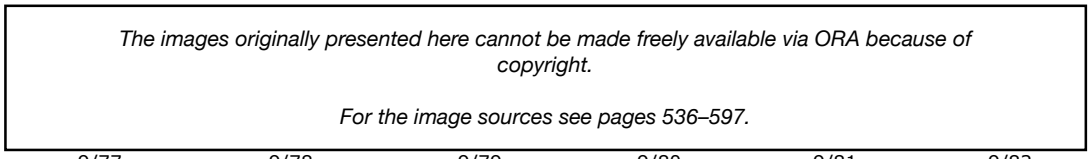
9/63 9/64 9/65 9/66 9/67 9/68



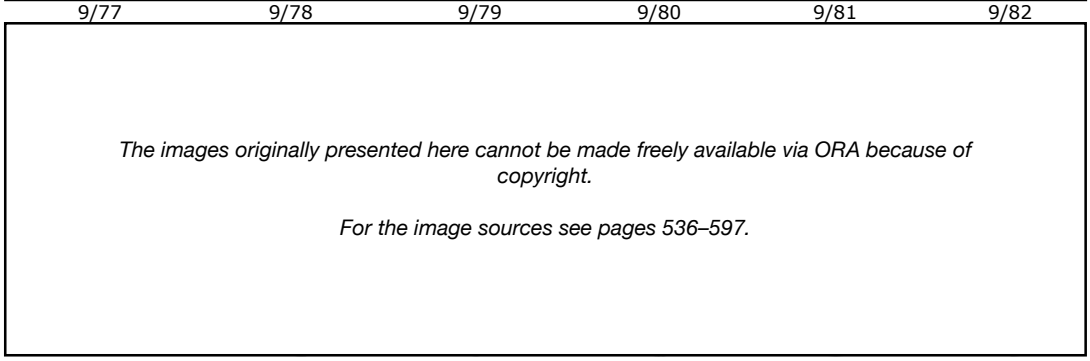
9/69 9/70 9/71 9/74 9/75 9/76



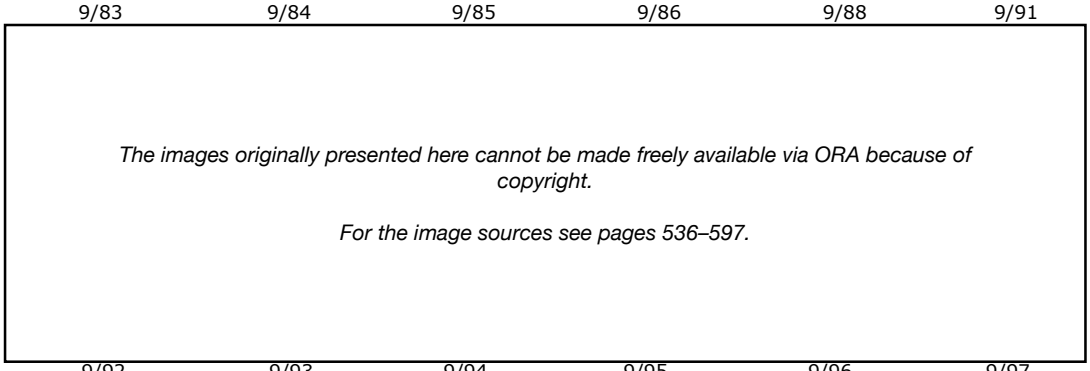
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



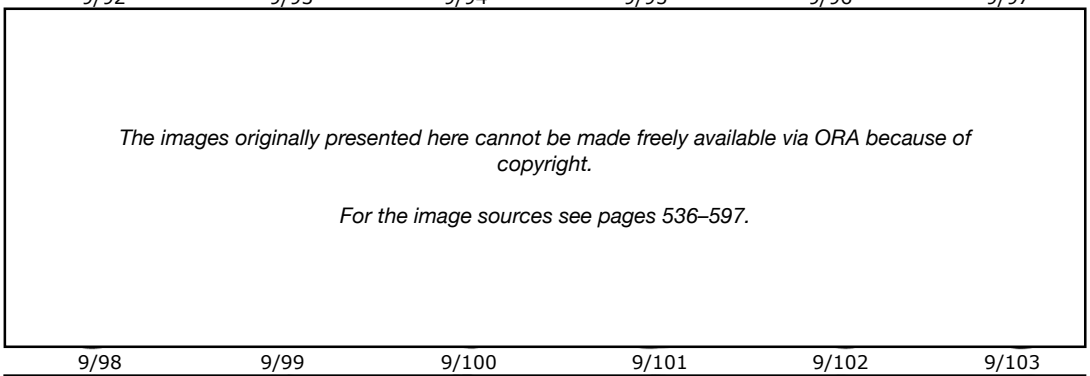
9/77 9/78 9/79 9/80 9/81 9/82



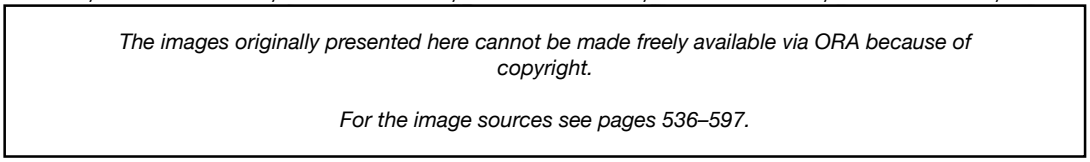
9/83 9/84 9/85 9/86 9/88 9/91



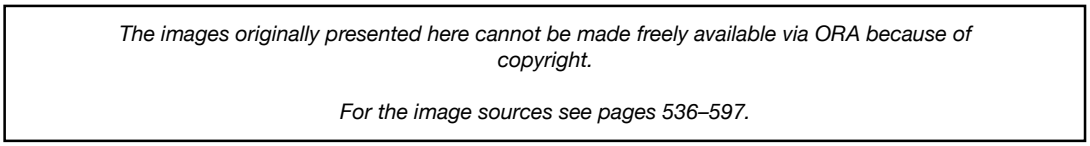
9/92 9/93 9/94 9/95 9/96 9/97



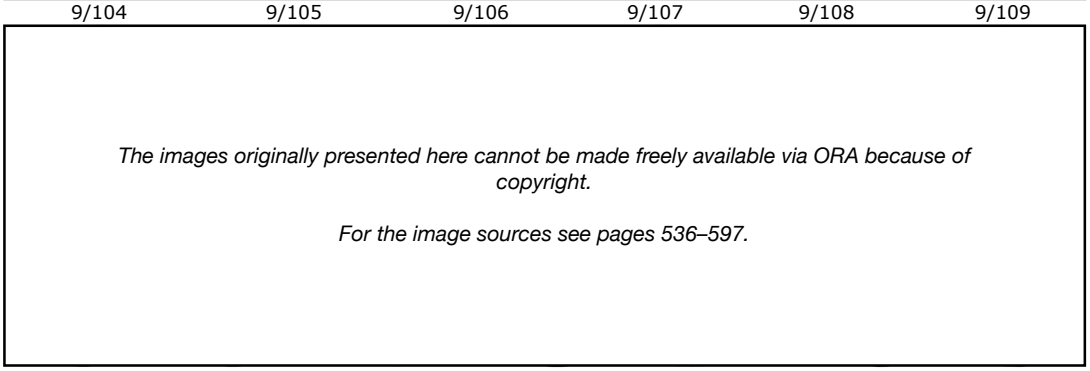
9/98 9/99 9/100 9/101 9/102 9/103



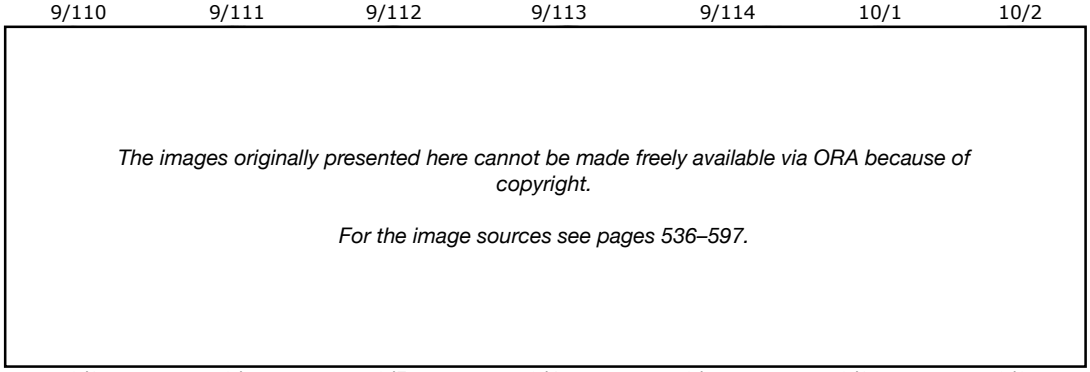
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



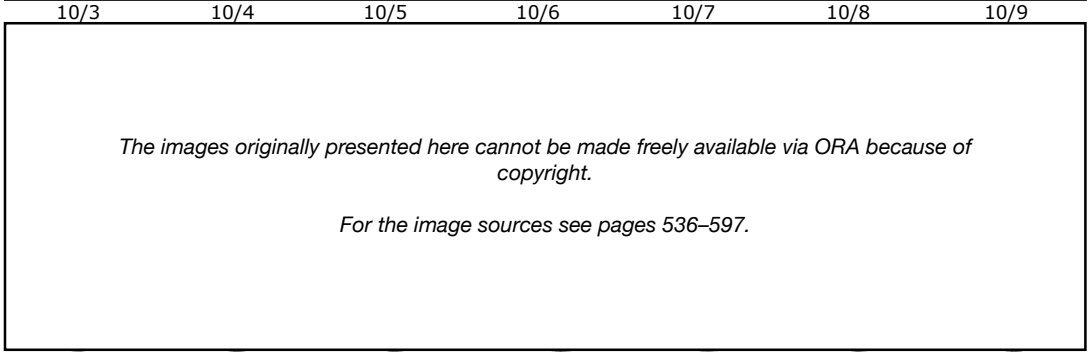
9/104 9/105 9/106 9/107 9/108 9/109



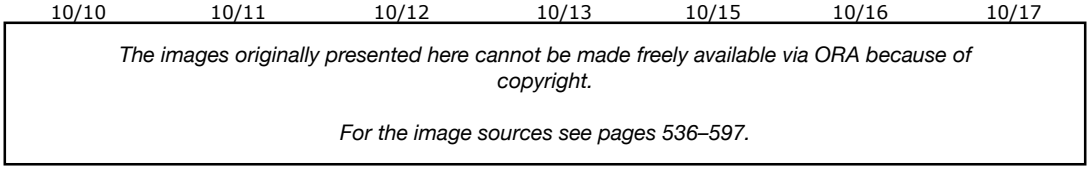
9/110 9/111 9/112 9/113 9/114 10/1 10/2



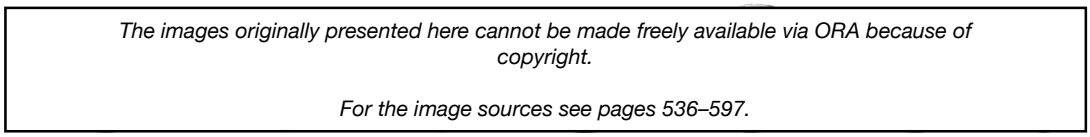
10/3 10/4 10/5 10/6 10/7 10/8 10/9



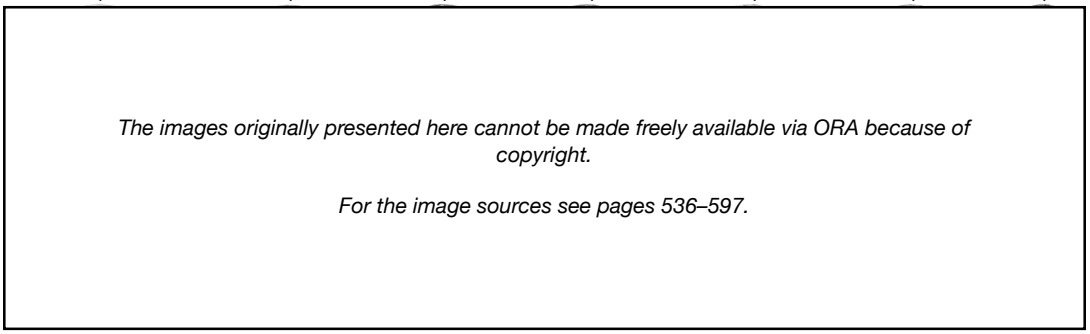
10/10 10/11 10/12 10/13 10/15 10/16 10/17



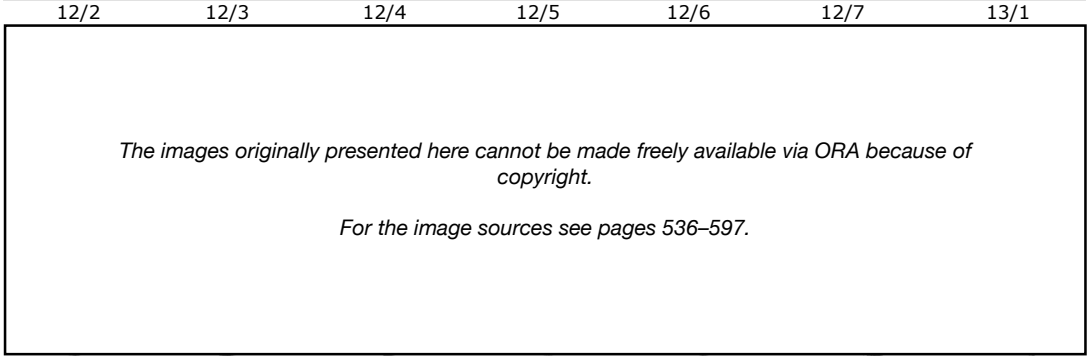
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



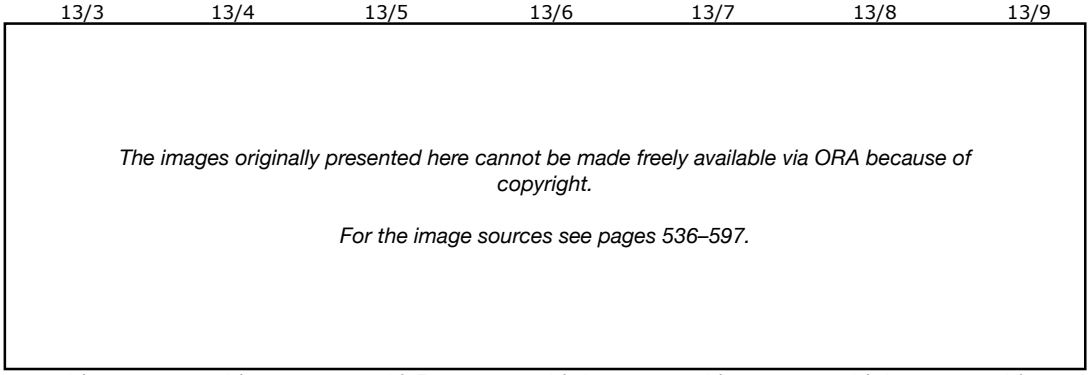
10/18 11/2 11/3 11/4 11/5 11/6 12/1



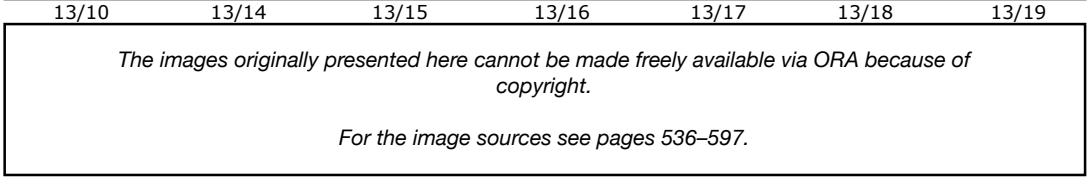
12/2 12/3 12/4 12/5 12/6 12/7 13/1



13/3 13/4 13/5 13/6 13/7 13/8 13/9



13/10 13/14 13/15 13/16 13/17 13/18 13/19



KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

13/20 13/23 13/24 13/25 13/26 13/27 13/28

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

13/29 13/30 13/31 13/33 13/34 13/35 13/36

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

13/37 13/38 13/39 13/40 13/41 13/42 13/43

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

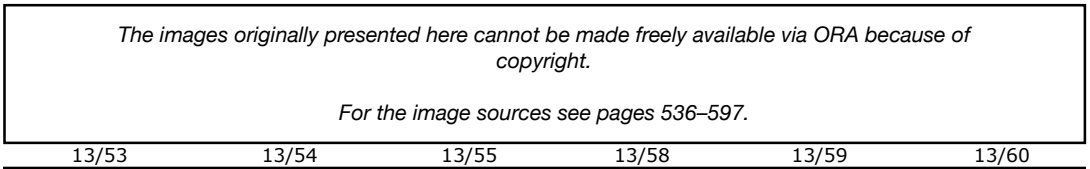
13/44 13/45 13/46 13/47 13/48 13/49 13/50

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

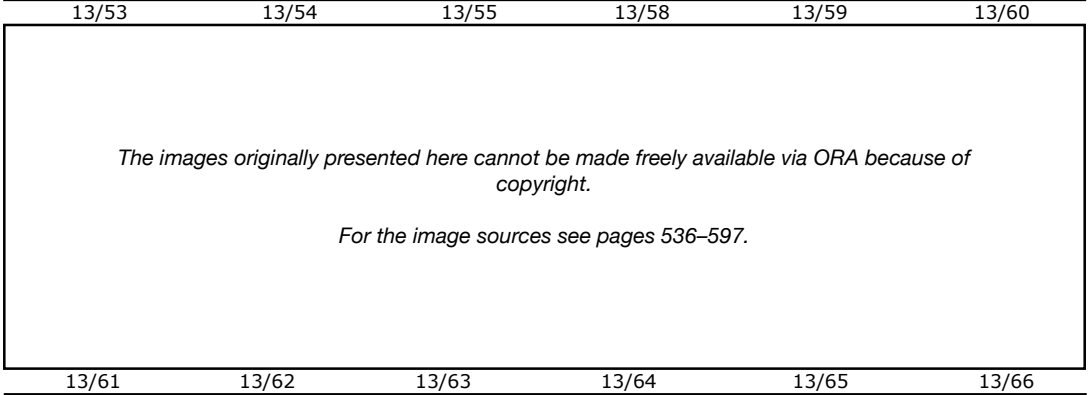
For the image sources see pages 536–597.

13/51 13/52

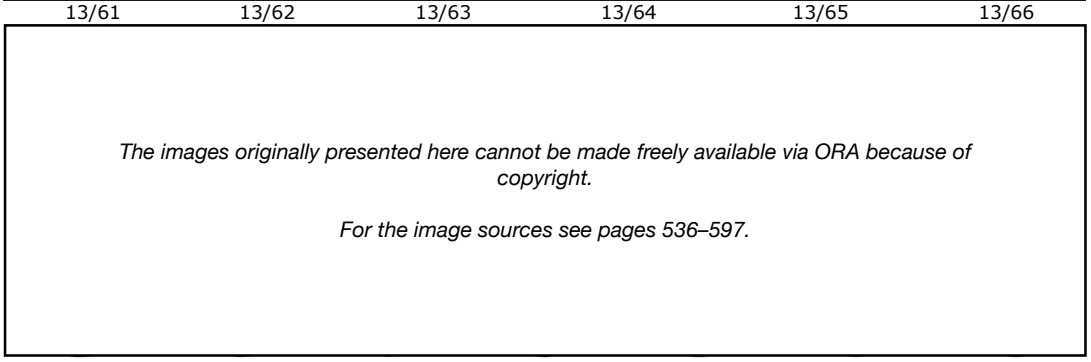
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



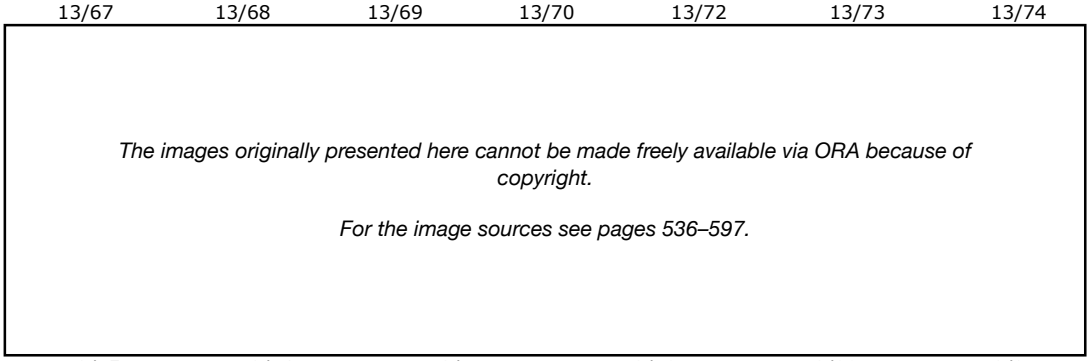
13/53 13/54 13/55 13/58 13/59 13/60



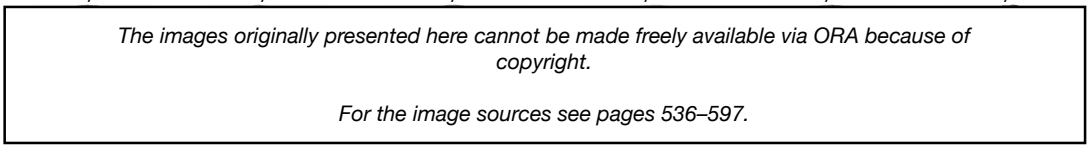
13/61 13/62 13/63 13/64 13/65 13/66



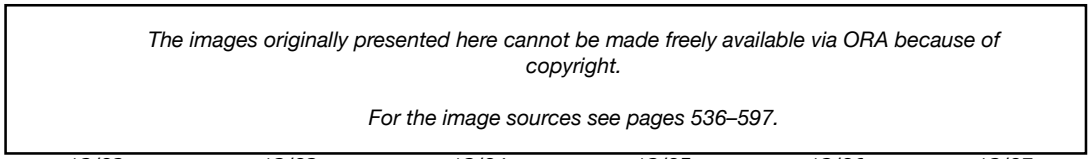
13/67 13/68 13/69 13/70 13/72 13/73 13/74



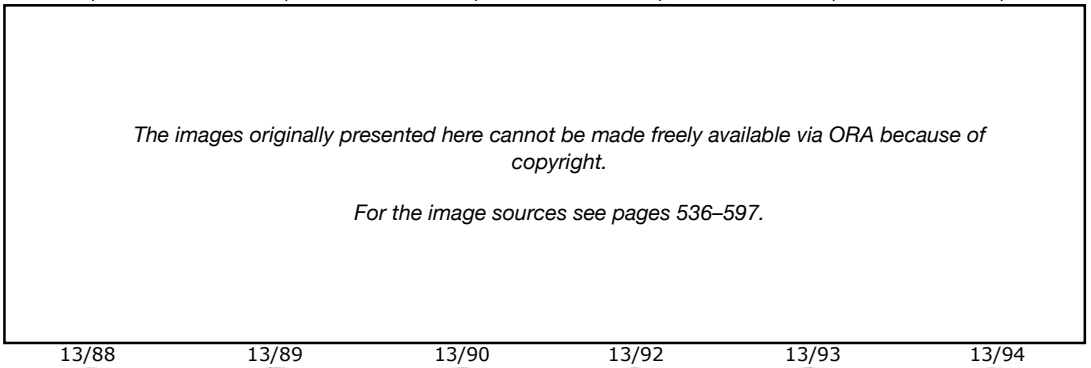
13/75 13/76 13/77 13/78 13/80 13/81



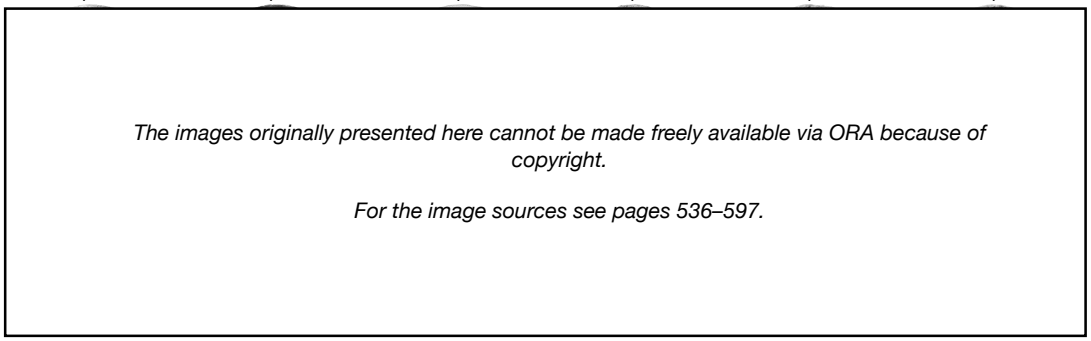
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



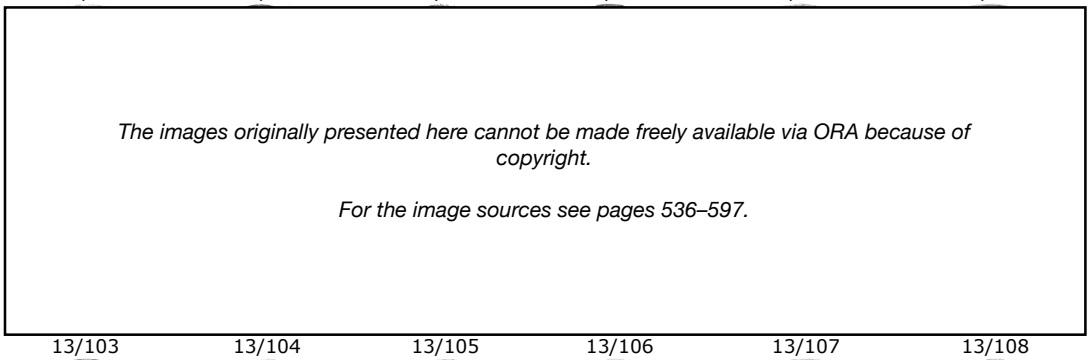
13/82 13/83 13/84 13/85 13/86 13/87



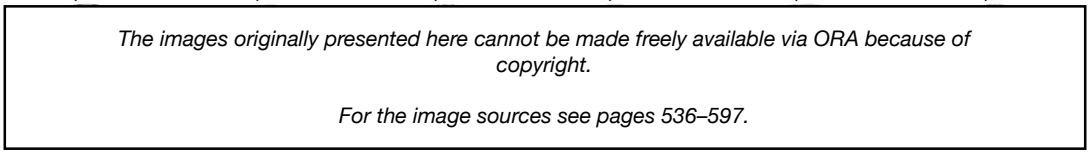
13/88 13/89 13/90 13/92 13/93 13/94



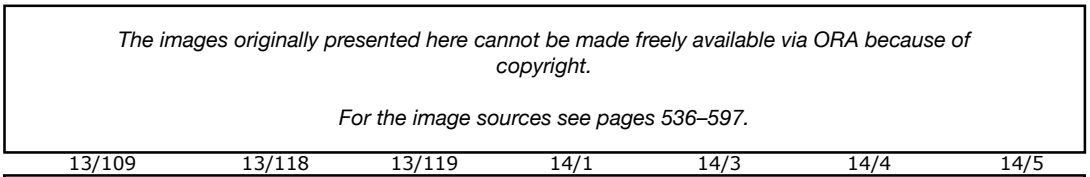
13/95 13/96 13/99 13/100 13/101 13/102



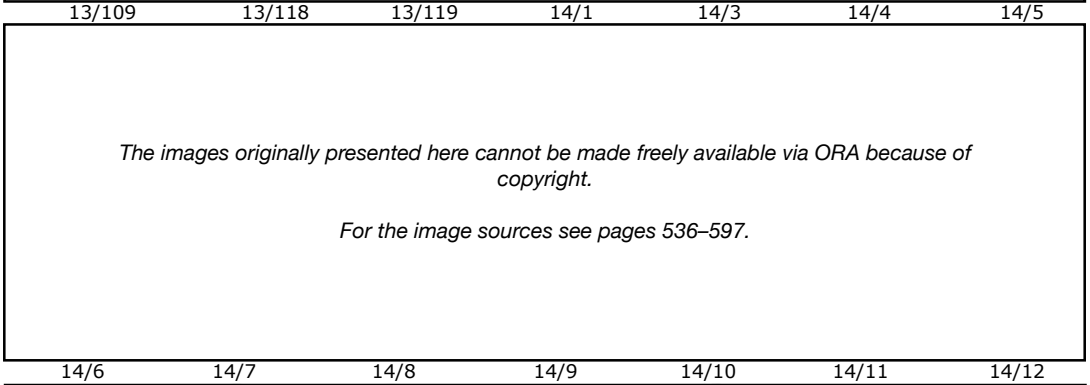
13/103 13/104 13/105 13/106 13/107 13/108



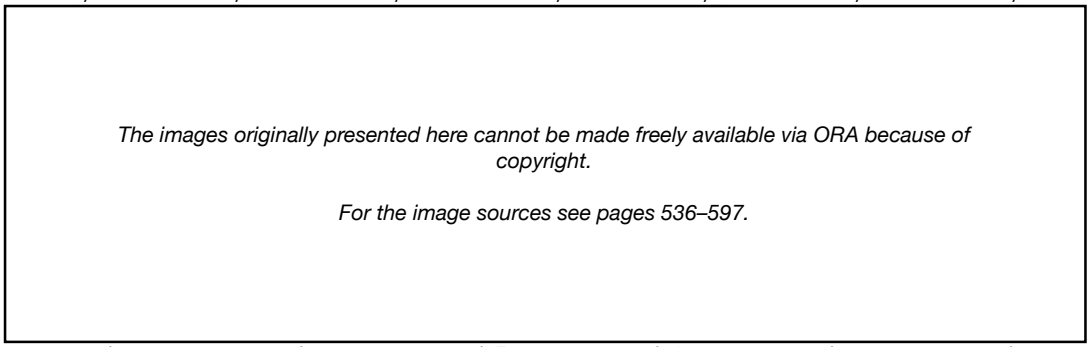
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



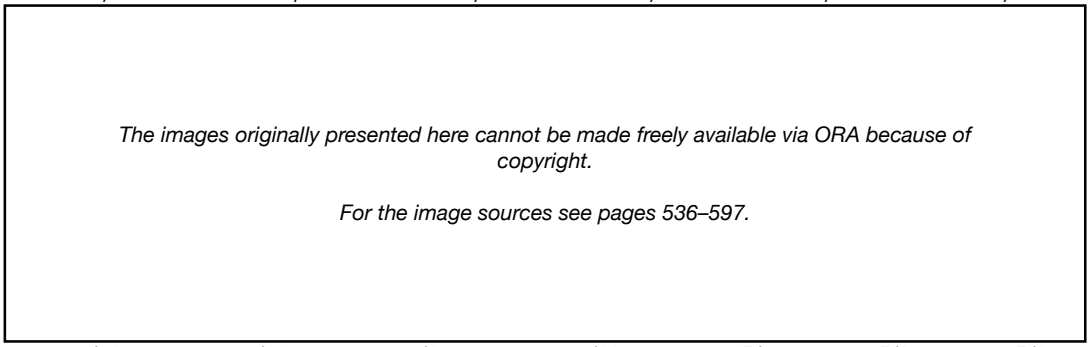
13/109 13/118 13/119 14/1 14/3 14/4 14/5



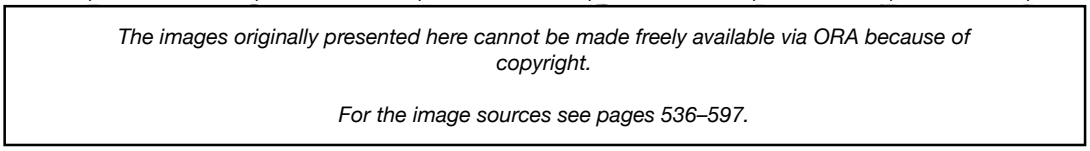
14/6 14/7 14/8 14/9 14/10 14/11 14/12



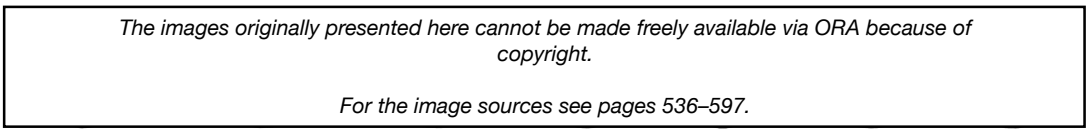
14/13 14/14 14/15 14/16 14/17 14/18



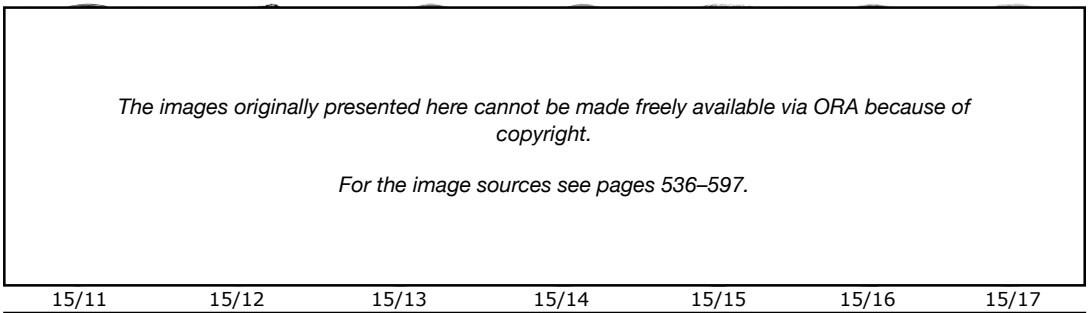
14/19 14/20 14/21 14/22 15/1 15/2 15/3



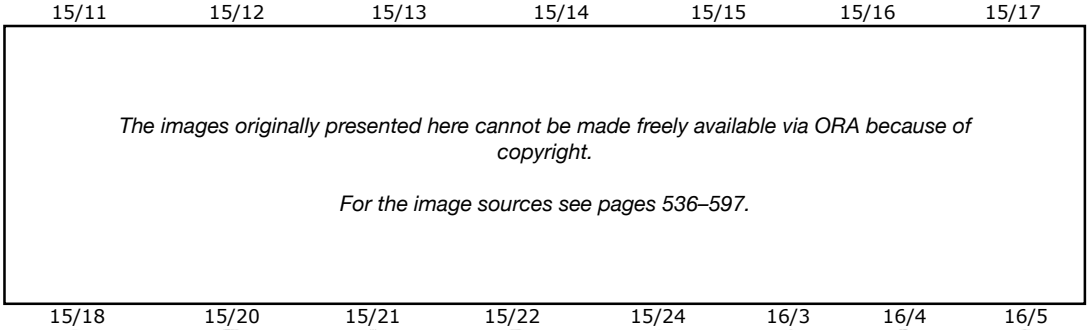
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



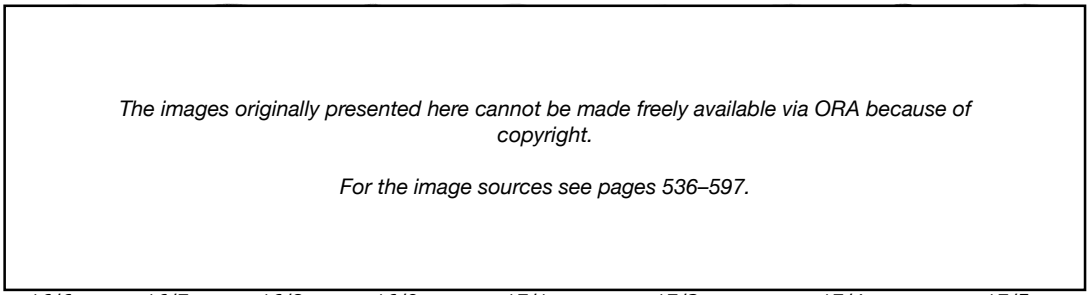
15/4 15/5 15/6 15/7 15/8 15/9 15/10



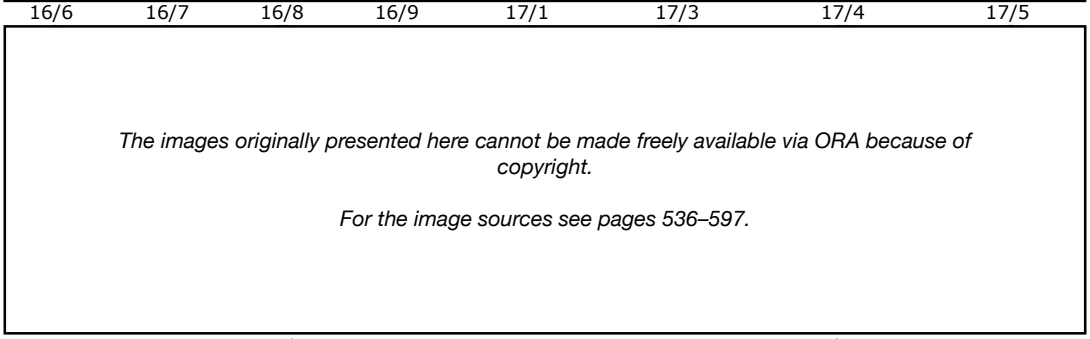
15/11 15/12 15/13 15/14 15/15 15/16 15/17



15/18 15/20 15/21 15/22 15/24 16/3 16/4 16/5

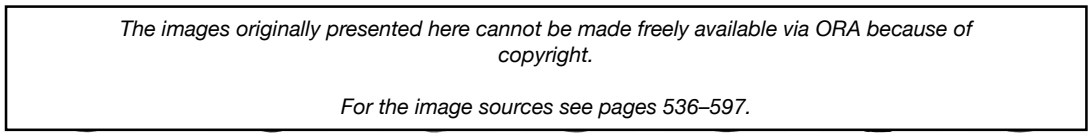


16/6 16/7 16/8 16/9 17/1 17/3 17/4 17/5

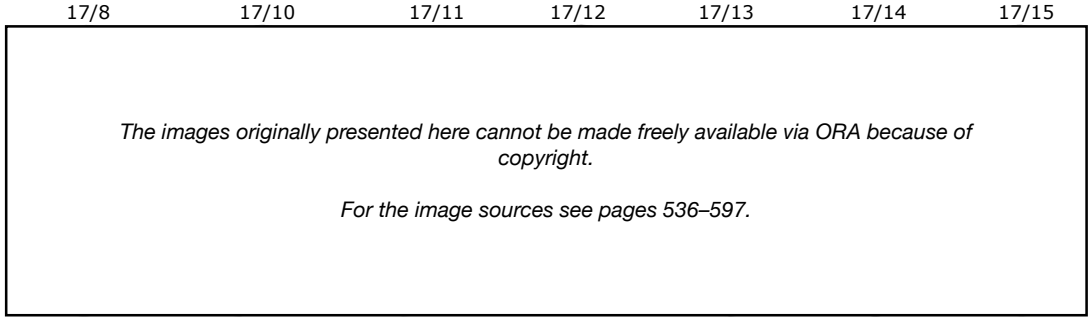


17/6 17/7

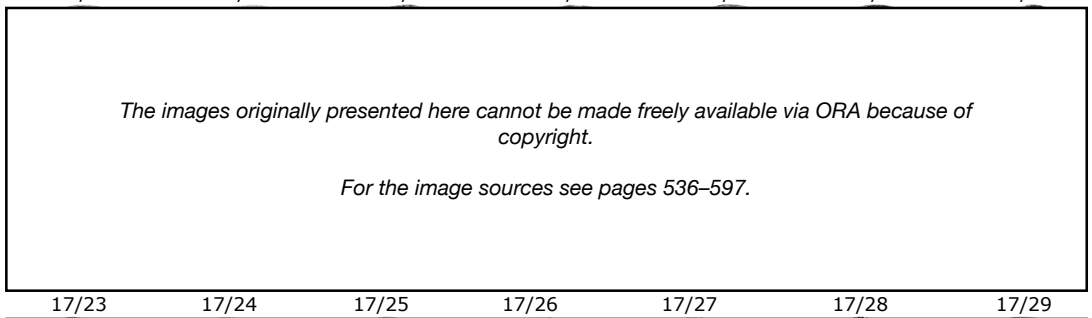
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



17/8 17/10 17/11 17/12 17/13 17/14 17/15



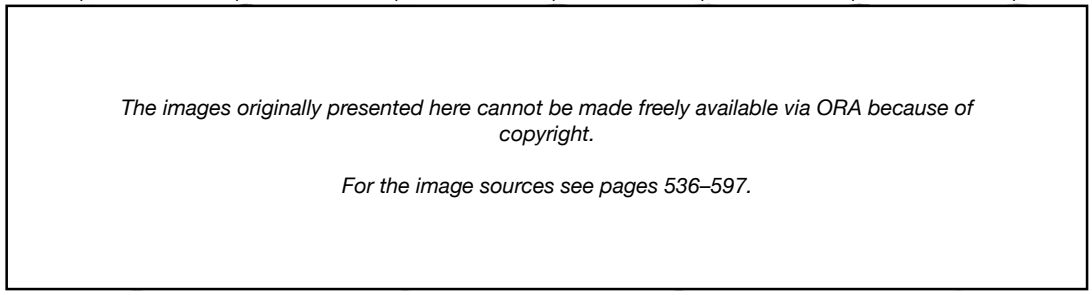
17/16 17/17 17/18 17/19 17/20 17/21 17/22



17/23 17/24 17/25 17/26 17/27 17/28 17/29

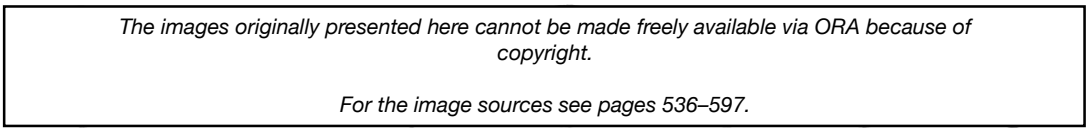


17/30 17/31 17/32 17/33 17/34 17/35 17/38

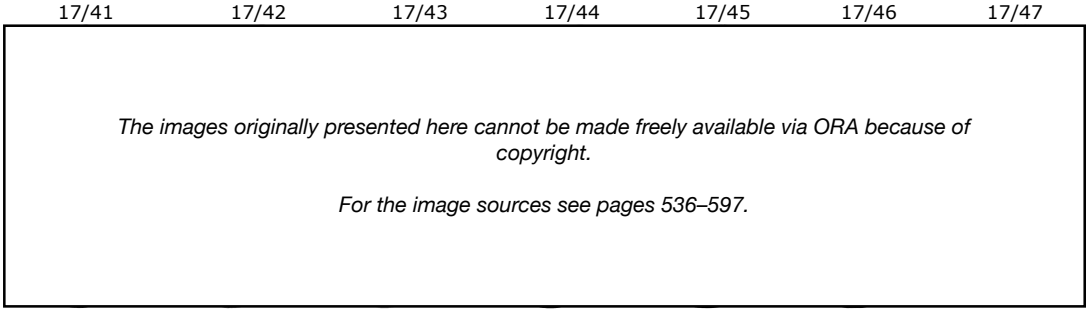


17/39 17/40

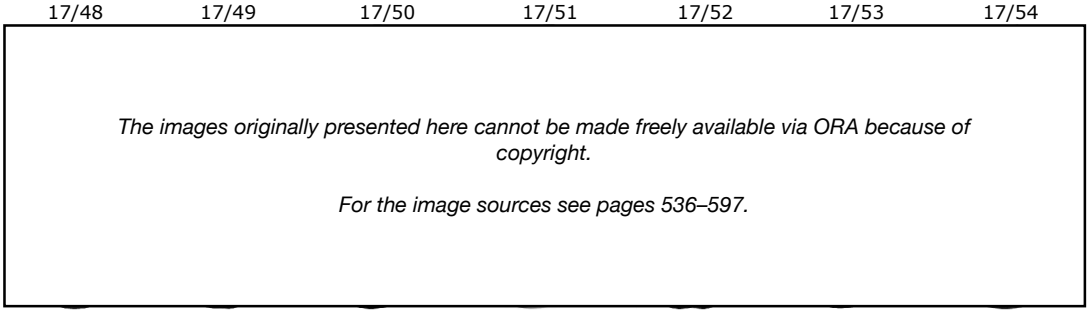
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



17/41 17/42 17/43 17/44 17/45 17/46 17/47



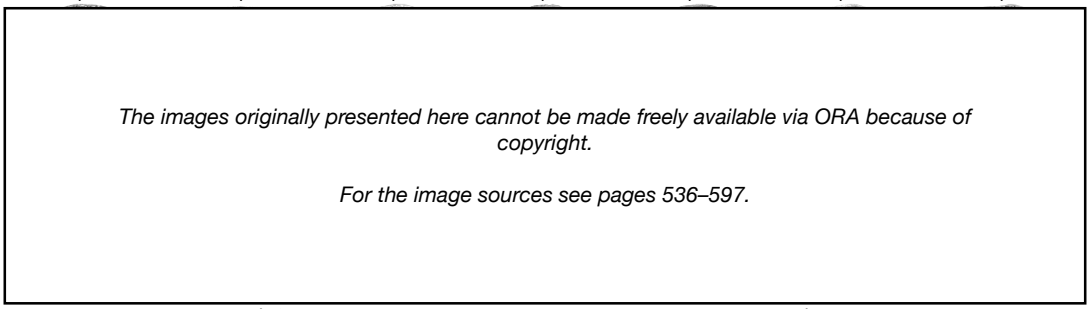
17/48 17/49 17/50 17/51 17/52 17/53 17/54



17/55 17/56 17/57 17/59 17/60 17/61 17/62

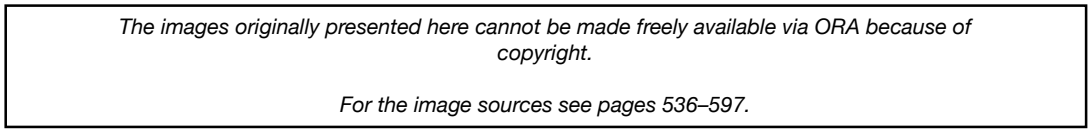


17/63 17/64 17/65 17/66 17/67 17/68 17/69

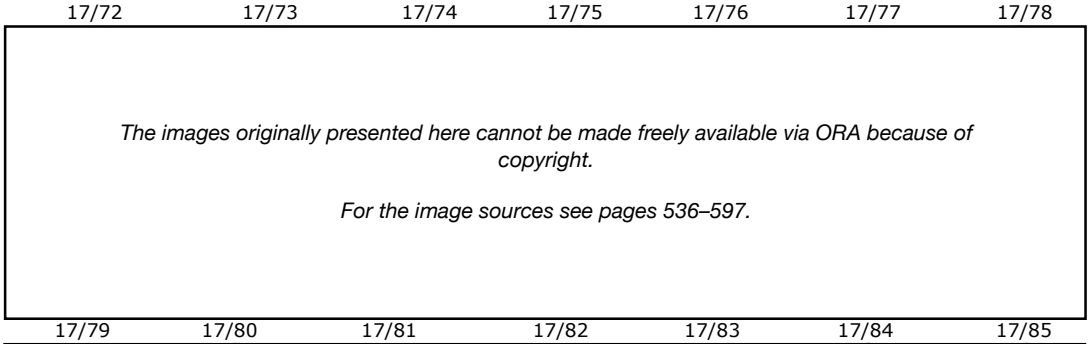


17/70 17/71

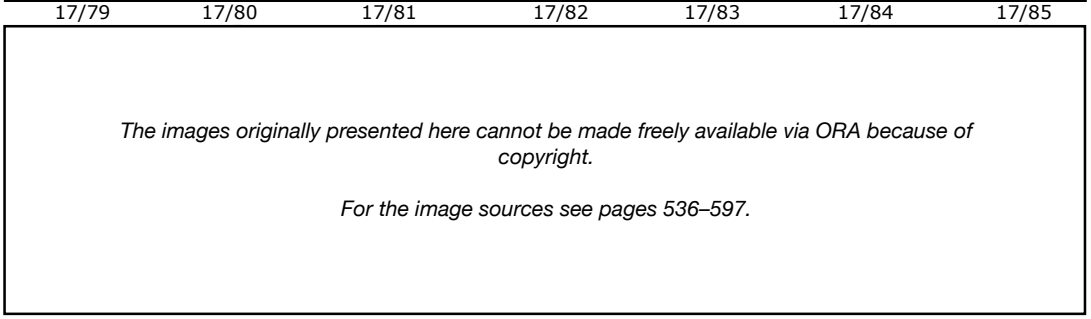
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



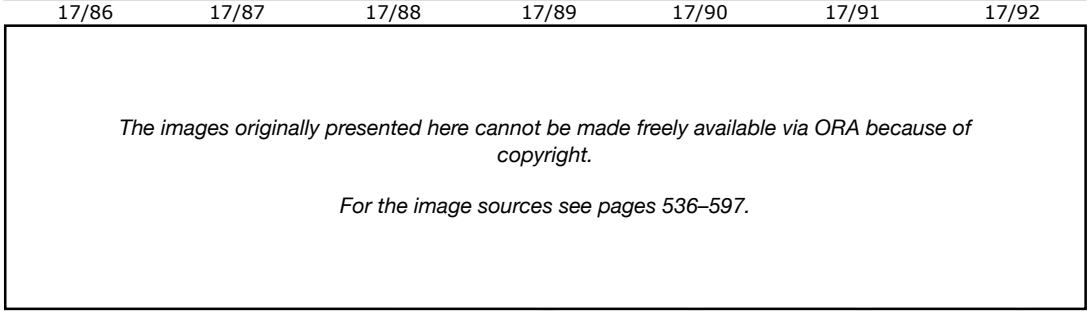
17/72 17/73 17/74 17/75 17/76 17/77 17/78



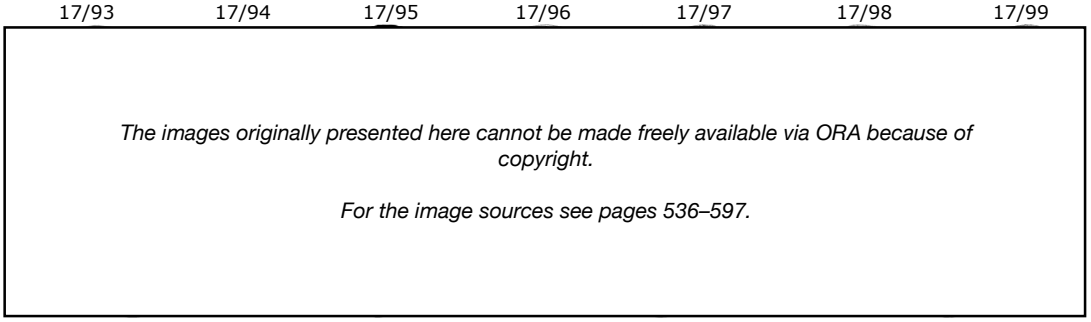
17/79 17/80 17/81 17/82 17/83 17/84 17/85



17/86 17/87 17/88 17/89 17/90 17/91 17/92

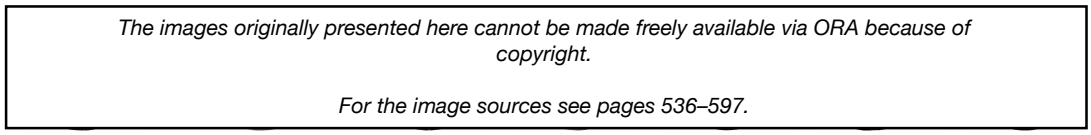


17/93 17/94 17/95 17/96 17/97 17/98 17/99

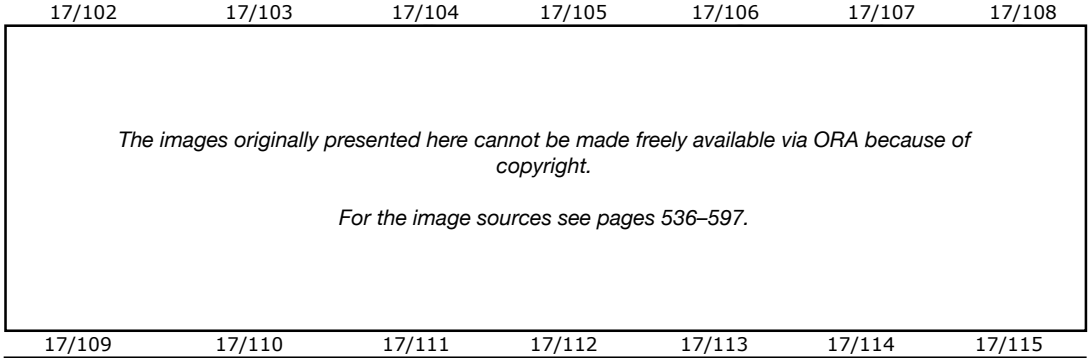


17/100 17/101

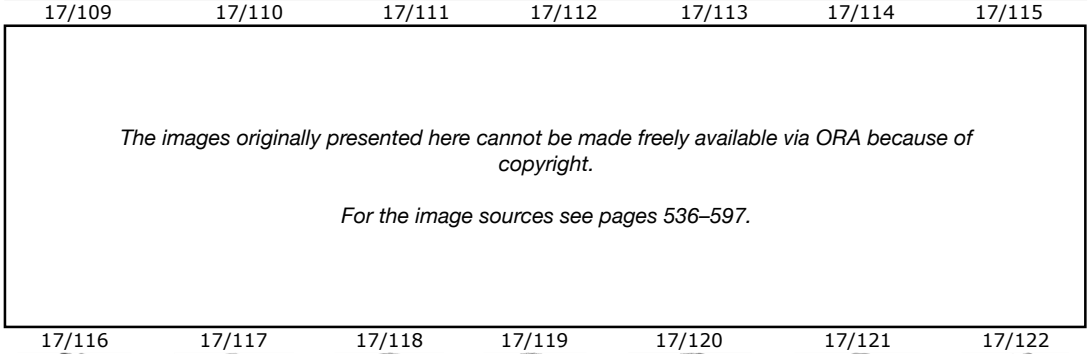
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



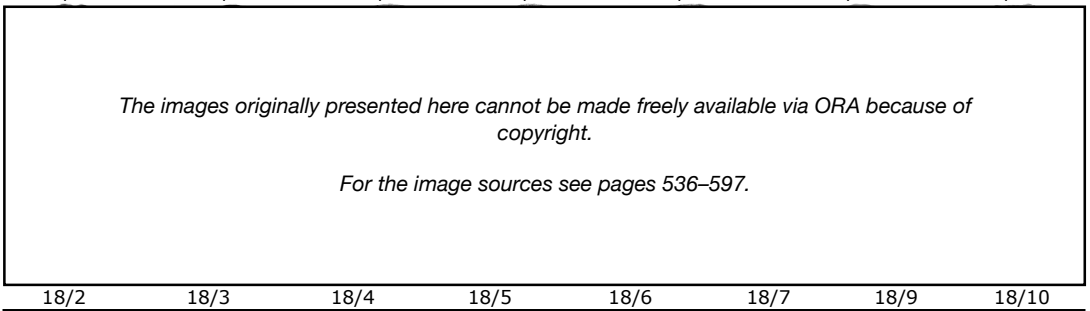
17/102 17/103 17/104 17/105 17/106 17/107 17/108



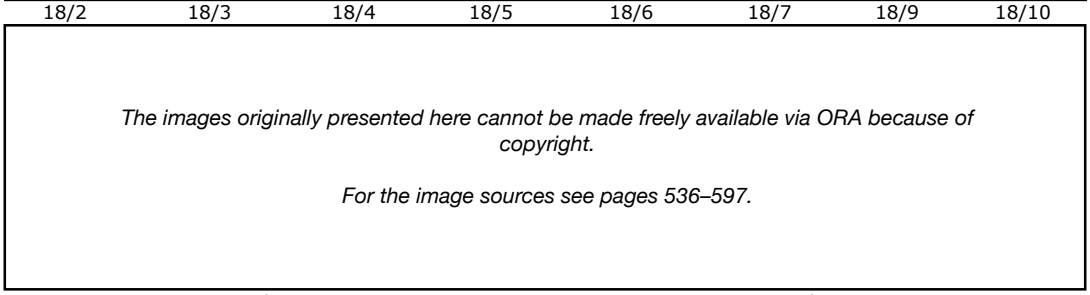
17/109 17/110 17/111 17/112 17/113 17/114 17/115



17/116 17/117 17/118 17/119 17/120 17/121 17/122

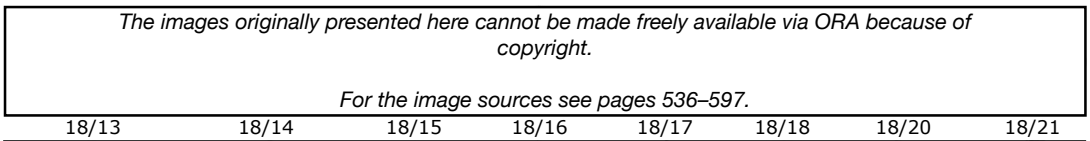


18/2 18/3 18/4 18/5 18/6 18/7 18/9 18/10

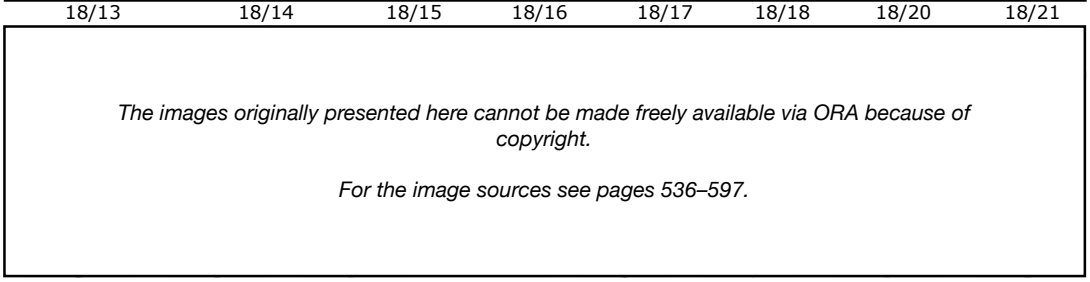


18/11 18/12

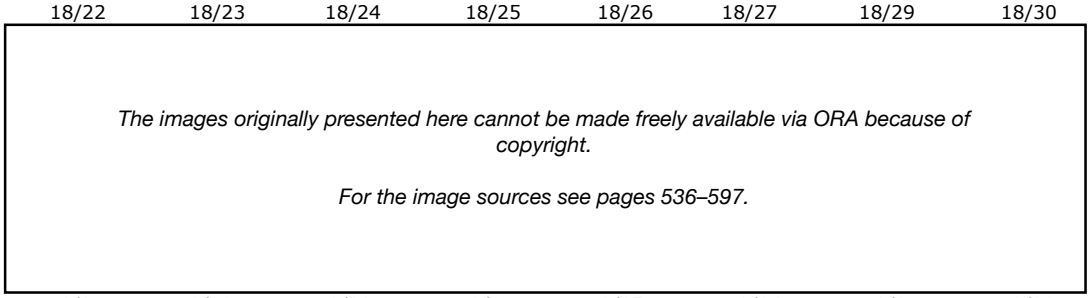
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



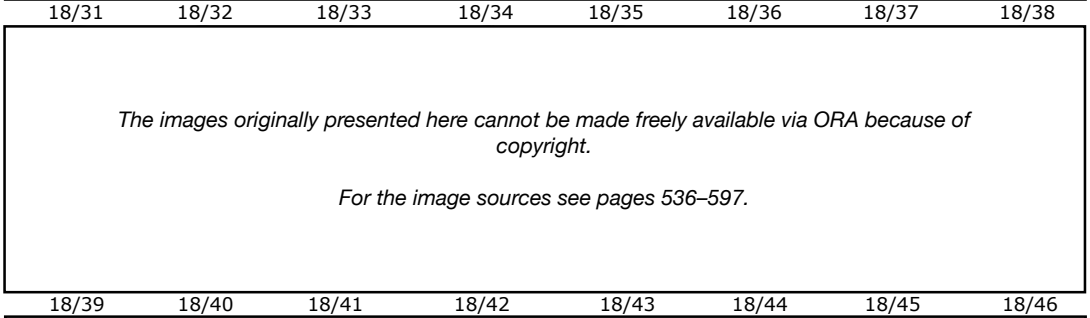
18/13 18/14 18/15 18/16 18/17 18/18 18/20 18/21



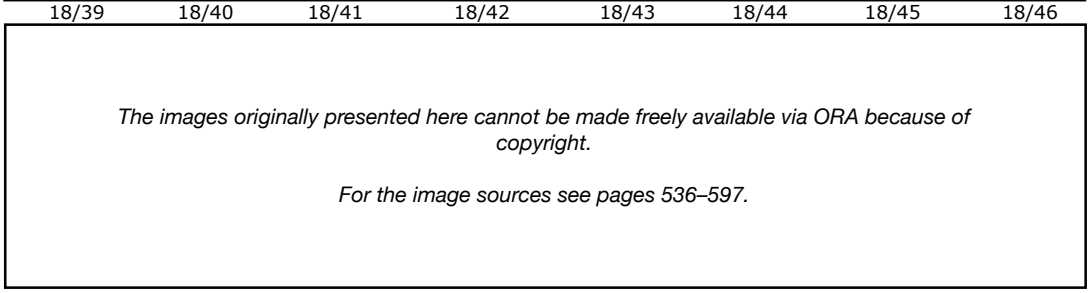
18/22 18/23 18/24 18/25 18/26 18/27 18/29 18/30



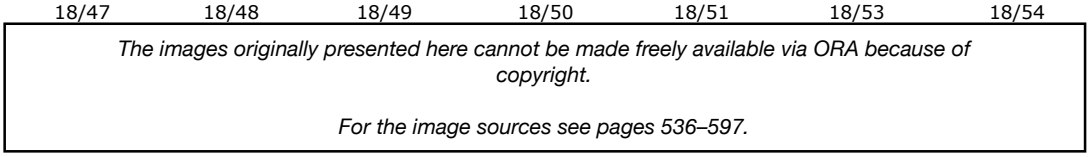
18/31 18/32 18/33 18/34 18/35 18/36 18/37 18/38



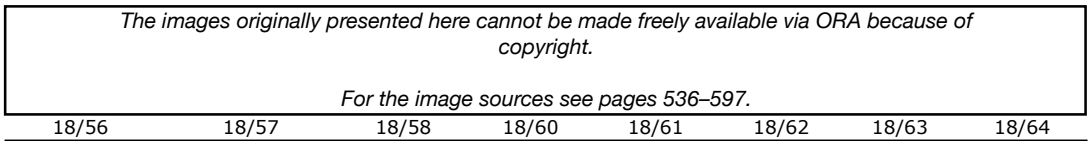
18/39 18/40 18/41 18/42 18/43 18/44 18/45 18/46



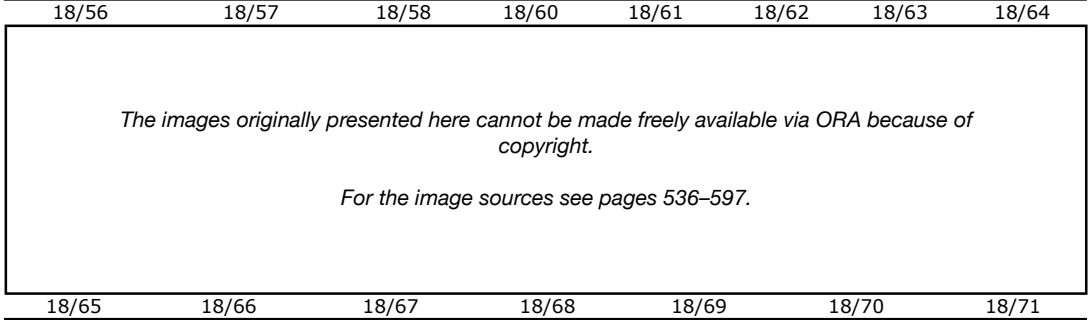
18/47 18/48 18/49 18/50 18/51 18/53 18/54



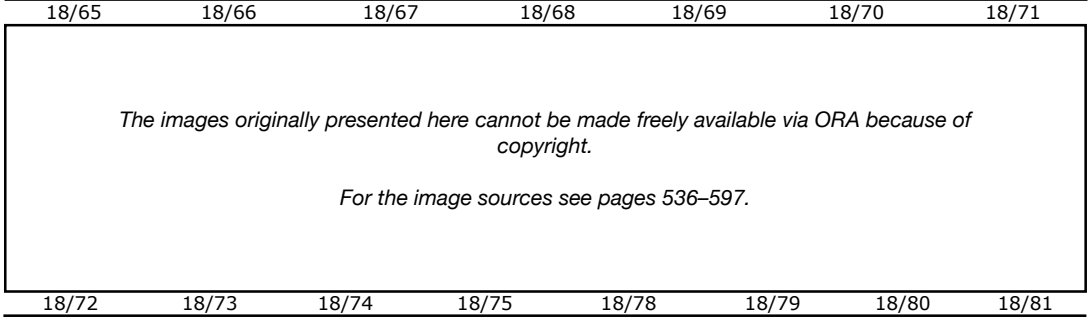
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



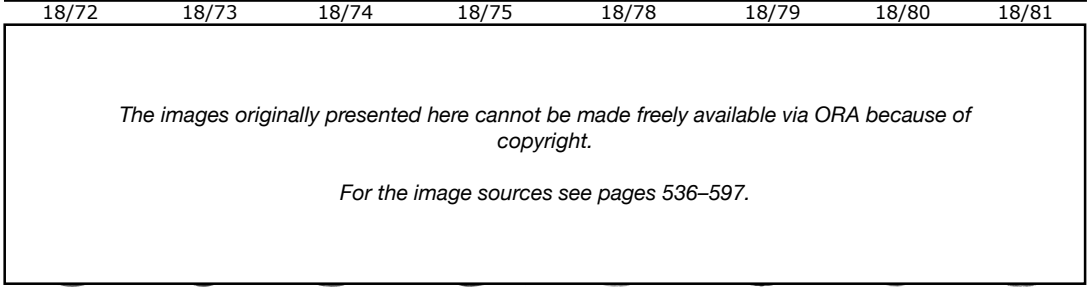
18/56 18/57 18/58 18/60 18/61 18/62 18/63 18/64



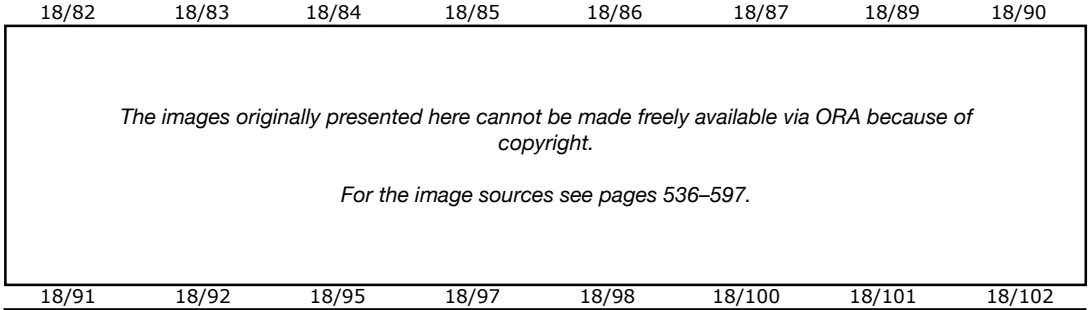
18/65 18/66 18/67 18/68 18/69 18/70 18/71



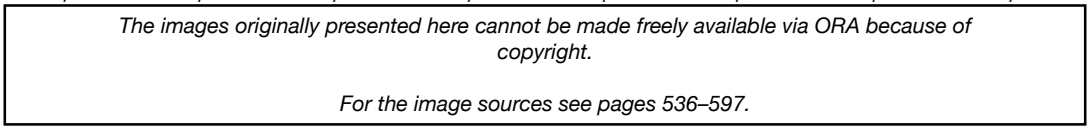
18/72 18/73 18/74 18/75 18/78 18/79 18/80 18/81



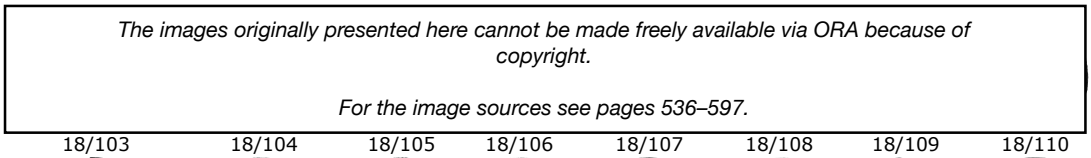
18/82 18/83 18/84 18/85 18/86 18/87 18/89 18/90



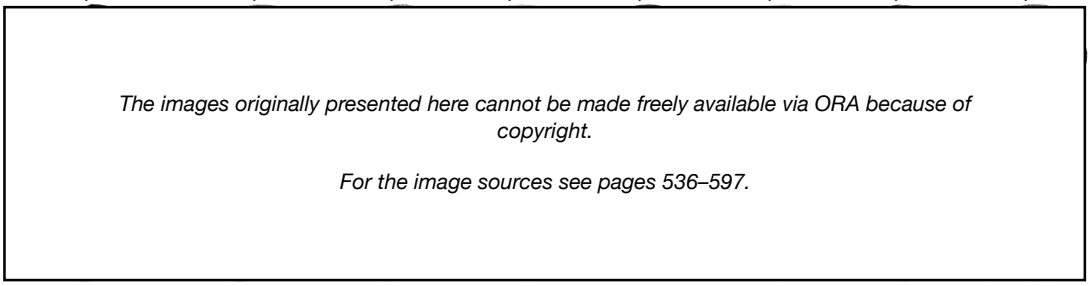
18/91 18/92 18/95 18/97 18/98 18/100 18/101 18/102



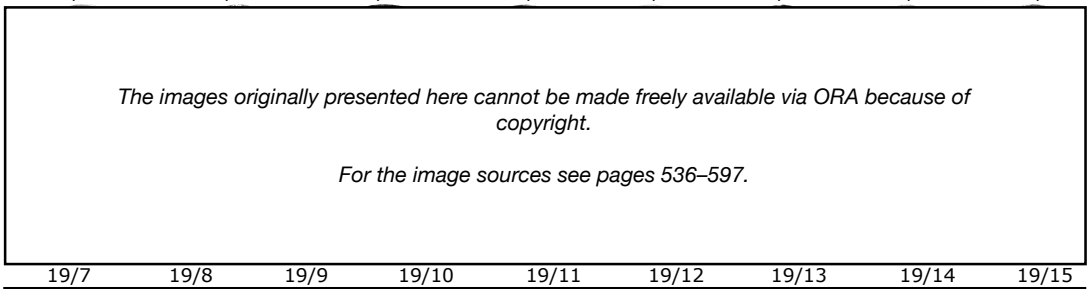
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



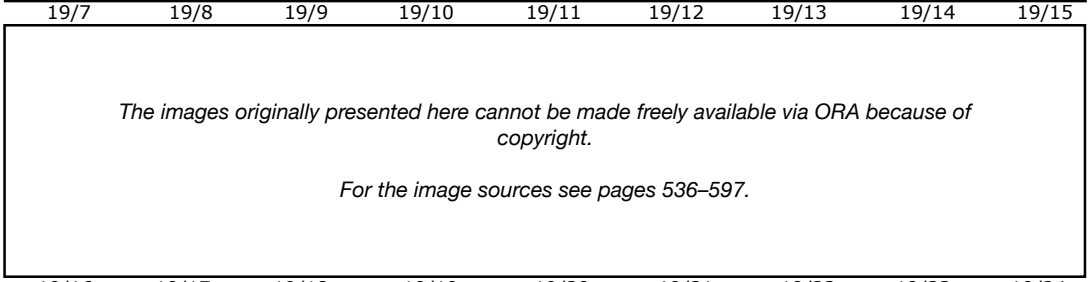
18/103 18/104 18/105 18/106 18/107 18/108 18/109 18/110



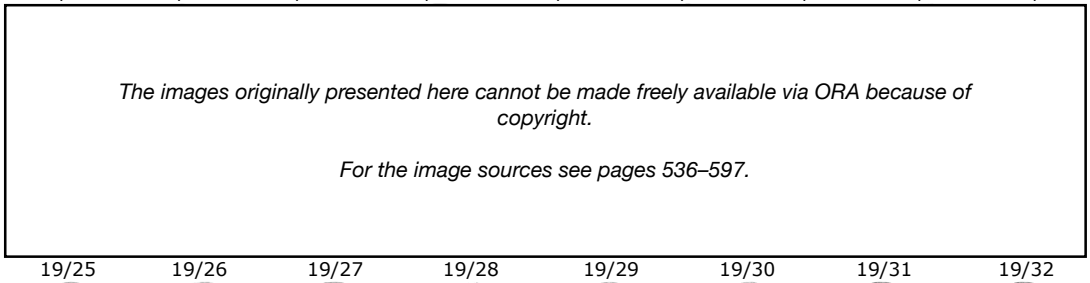
18/111 18/112 18/113 19/2 19/3 19/4 19/5 19/6



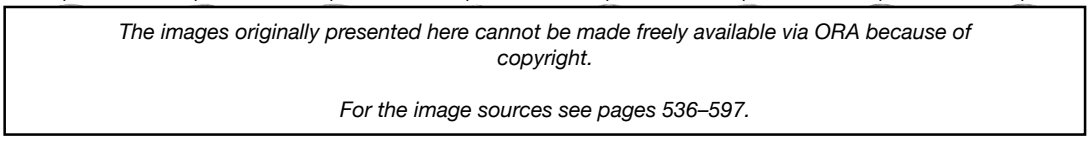
19/7 19/8 19/9 19/10 19/11 19/12 19/13 19/14 19/15



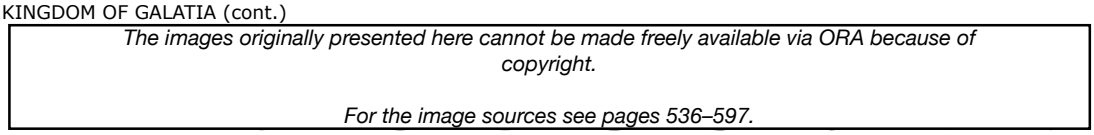
19/16 19/17 19/18 19/19 19/20 19/21 19/22 19/23 19/24



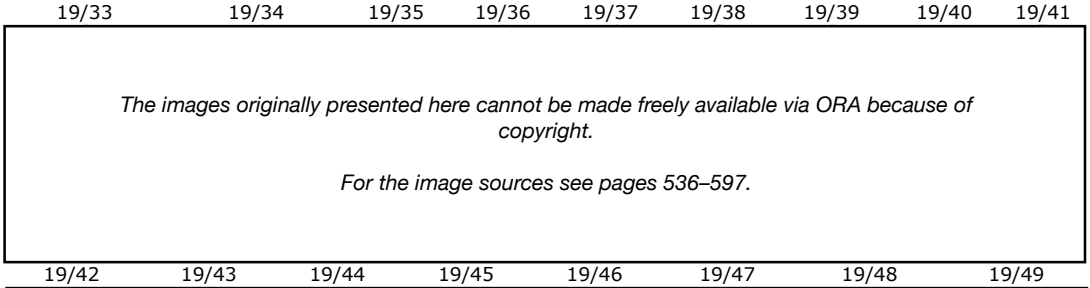
19/25 19/26 19/27 19/28 19/29 19/30 19/31 19/32



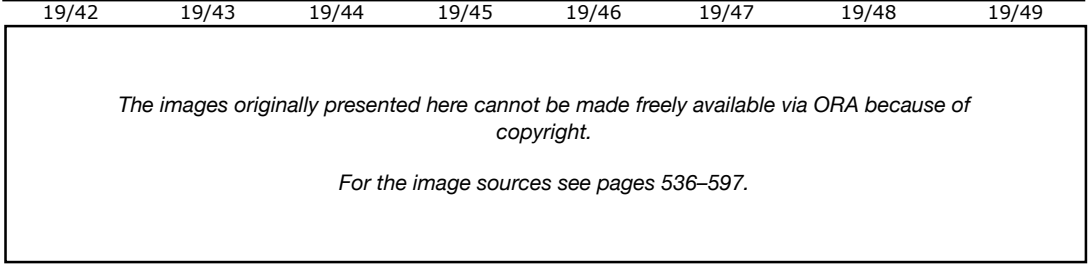
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



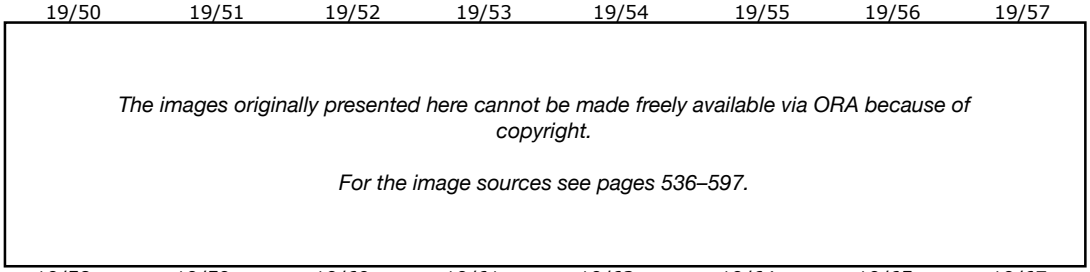
19/33 19/34 19/35 19/36 19/37 19/38 19/39 19/40 19/41



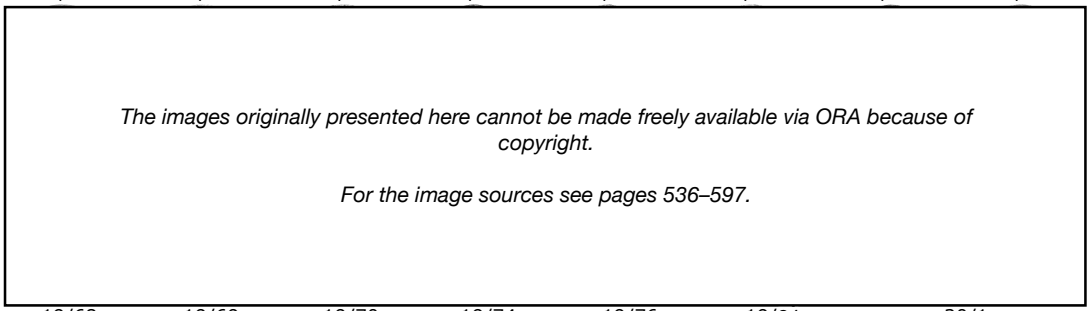
19/42 19/43 19/44 19/45 19/46 19/47 19/48 19/49



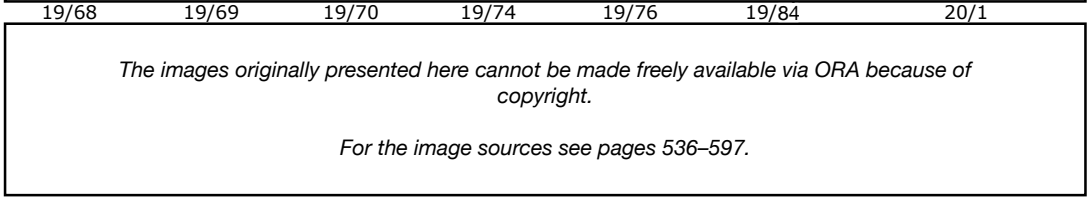
19/50 19/51 19/52 19/53 19/54 19/55 19/56 19/57



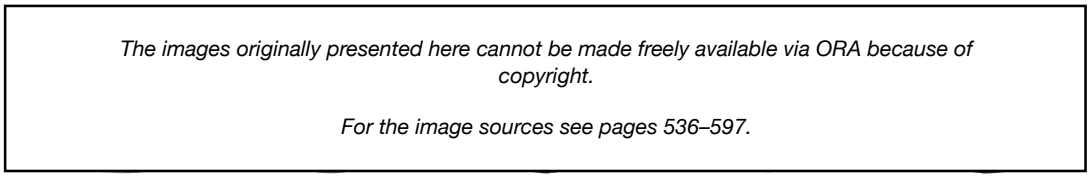
19/58 19/59 19/60 19/61 19/62 19/64 19/65 19/67



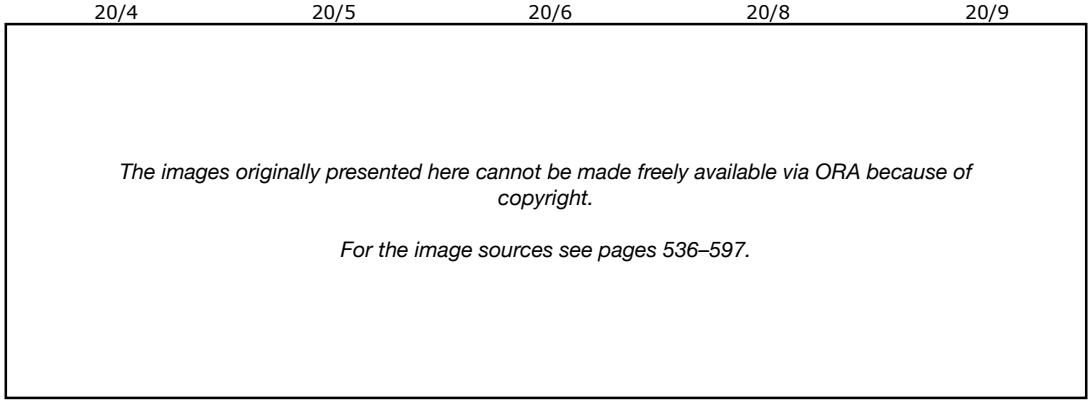
19/68 19/69 19/70 19/74 19/76 19/84 20/1



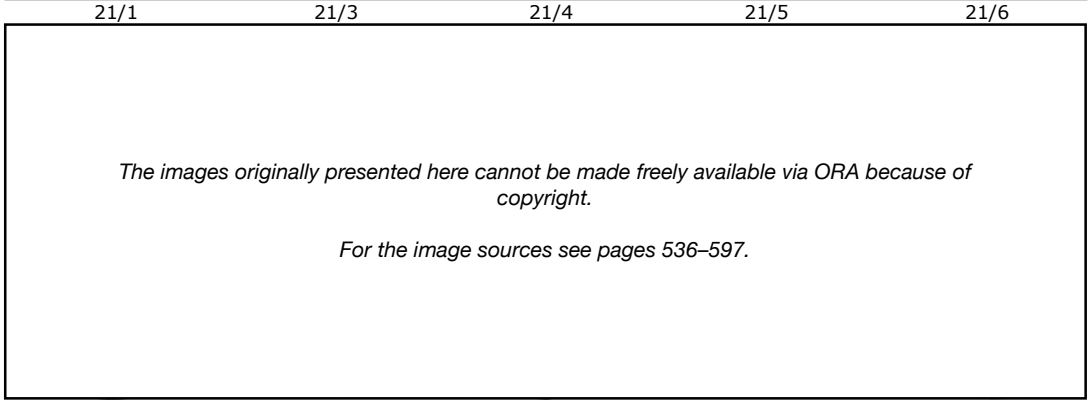
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



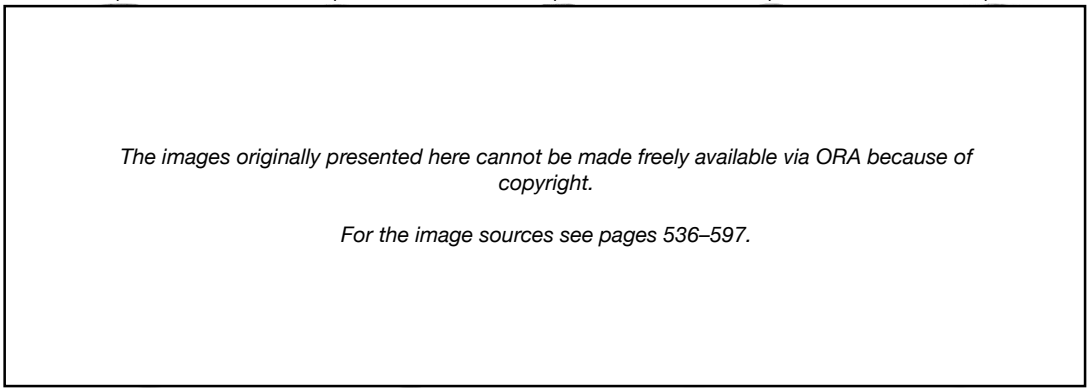
20/4 20/5 20/6 20/8 20/9



21/1 21/3 21/4 21/5 21/6



21/7 21/8 21/9 21/10 21/11



21/12 21/13

KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

21/14 21/15 21/17 21/18 21/19

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

21/20 21/21 21/22 21/23 21/24

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

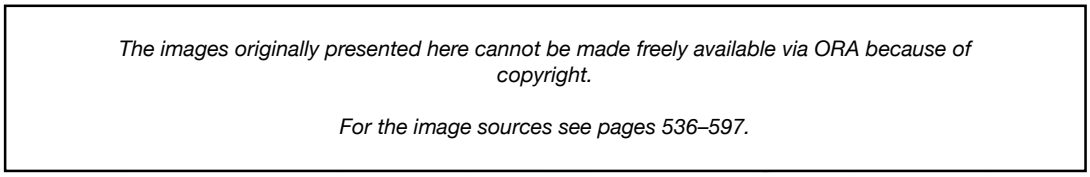
21/25 21/28 21/29 21/31 21/32

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

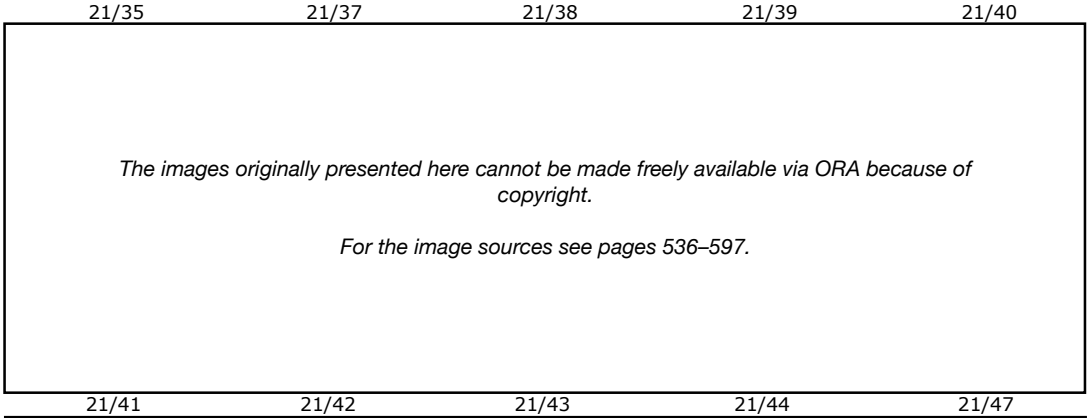
For the image sources see pages 536–597.

21/33 21/34

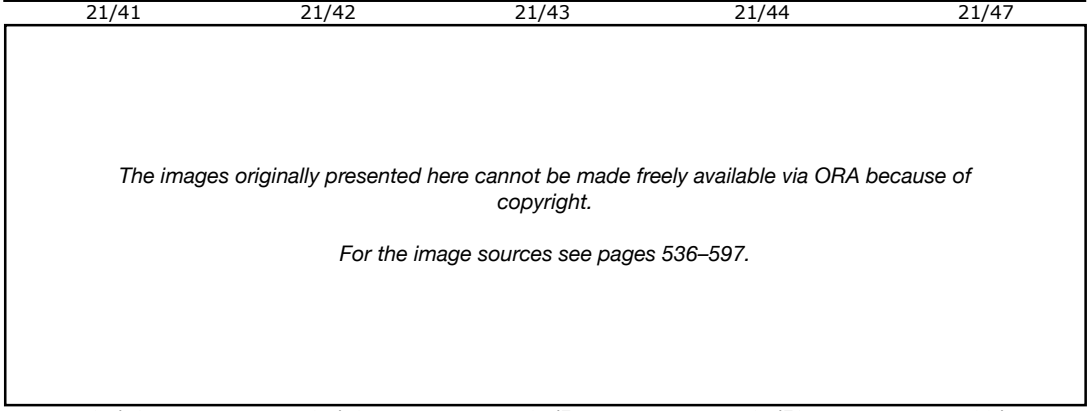
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



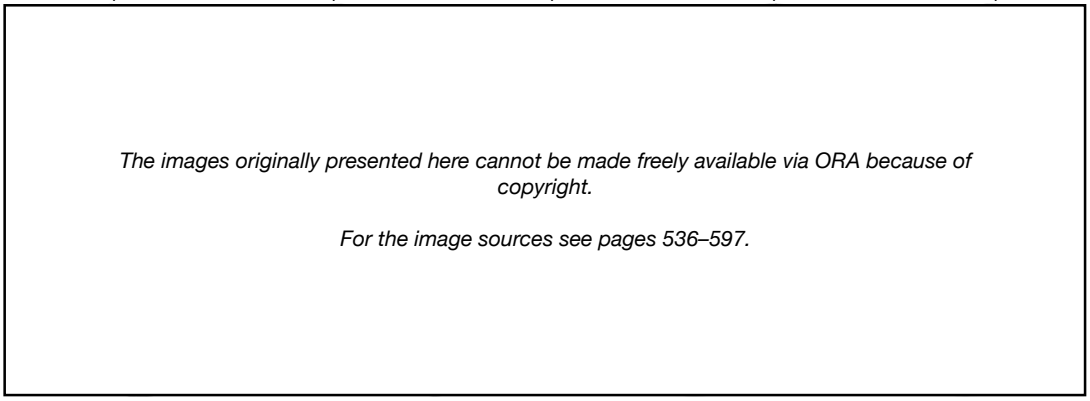
21/35 21/37 21/38 21/39 21/40



21/41 21/42 21/43 21/44 21/47



21/48 21/49 21/51 21/52 22/1



23/1 23/3

KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

23/4 23/5 23/6 23/7 23/8

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

23/9 23/10 23/11 23/12 23/14

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

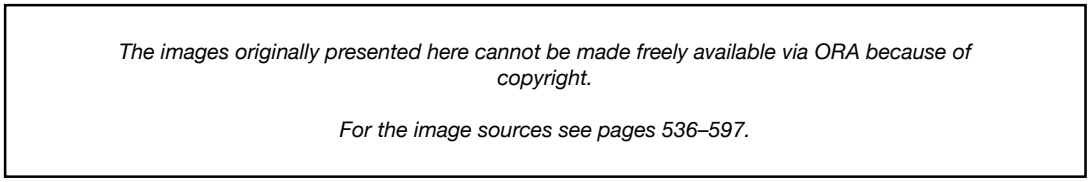
23/15 23/16 23/19 23/20 23/21

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

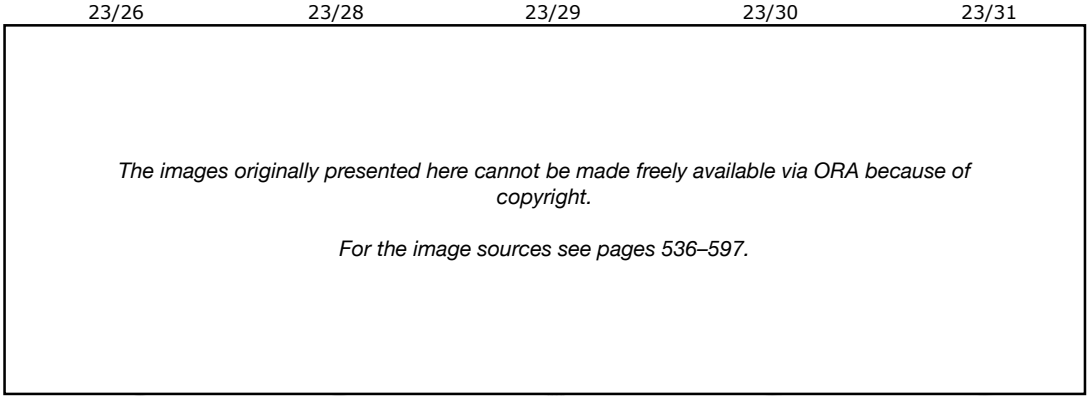
For the image sources see pages 536–597.

23/22 23/24

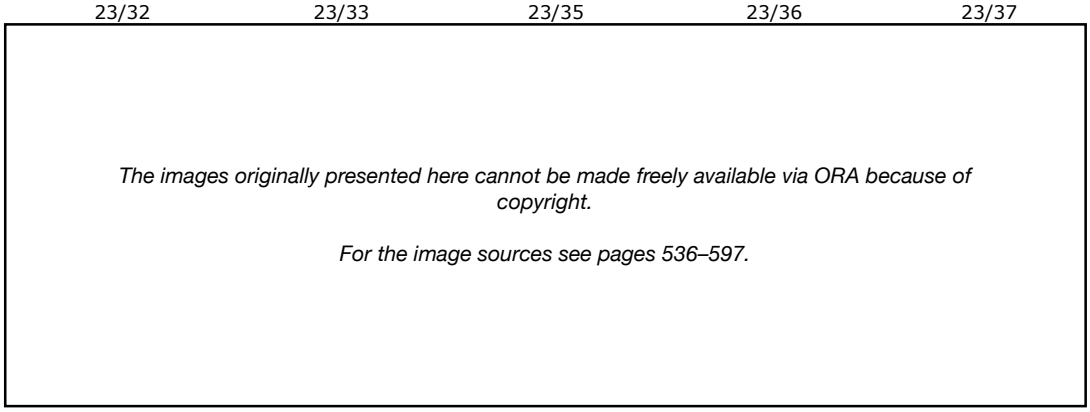
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



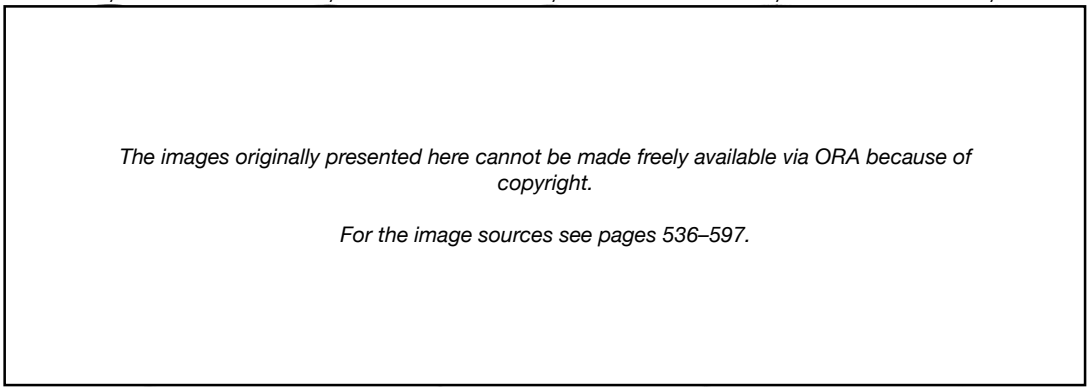
23/26 23/28 23/29 23/30 23/31



23/32 23/33 23/35 23/36 23/37



23/38 23/39 23/40 23/41 23/42



23/43 23/45

KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

23/48 23/49 23/50 23/52 23/53

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

24/1 24/2 24/3 24/4 24/5

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

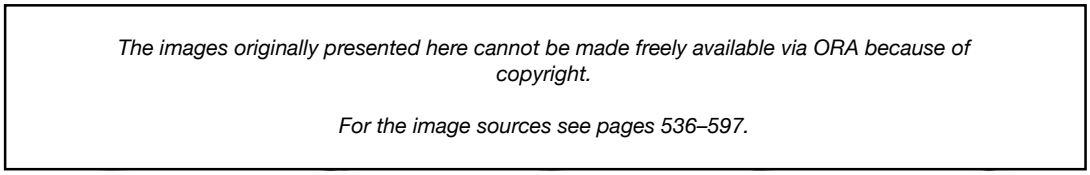
24/6 24/8 24/10 24/11 24/12

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

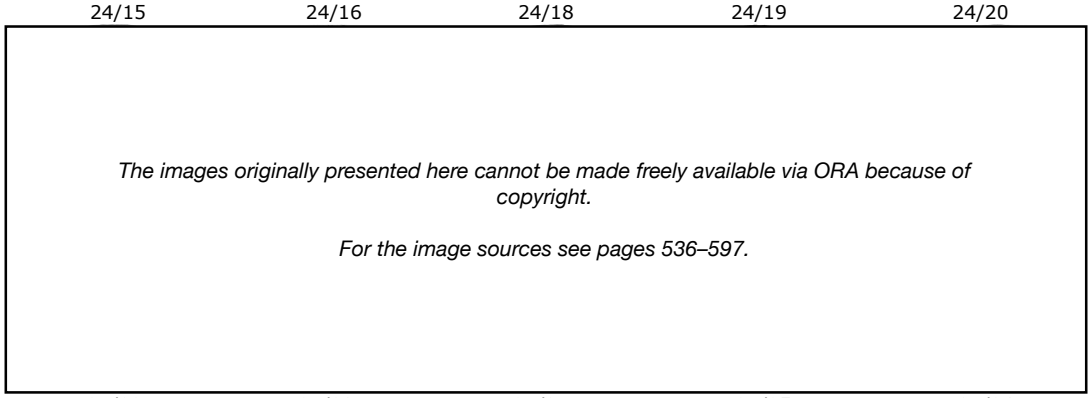
For the image sources see pages 536–597.

24/13 24/14

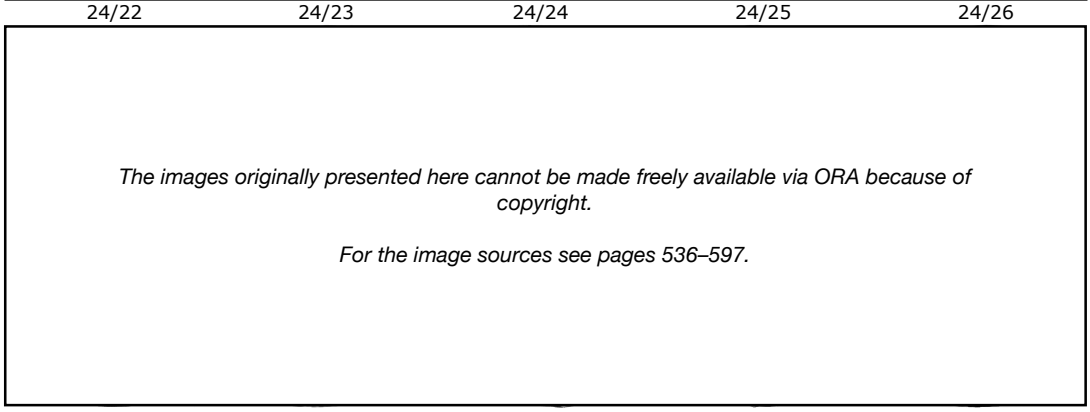
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



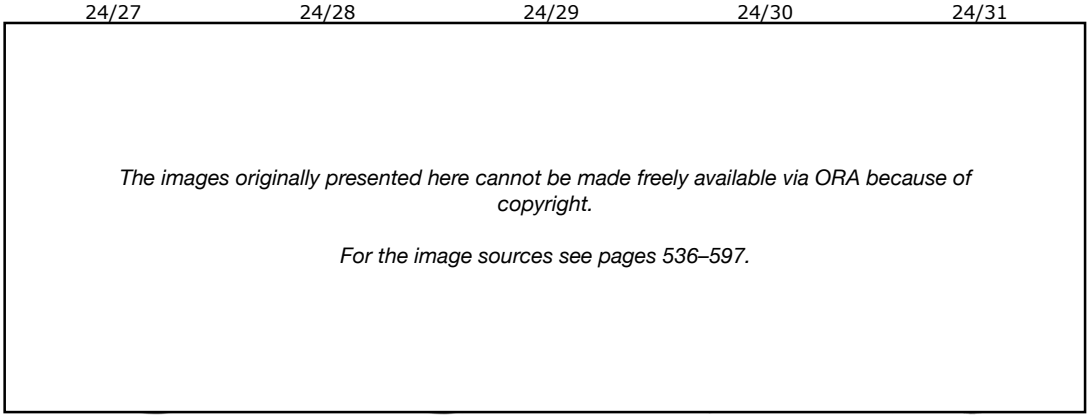
24/15 24/16 24/18 24/19 24/20



24/22 24/23 24/24 24/25 24/26



24/27 24/28 24/29 24/30 24/31



24/32 24/33

KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

24/34 24/35 24/36 24/37 24/38

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

24/39 24/40 24/41 24/43 24/44

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

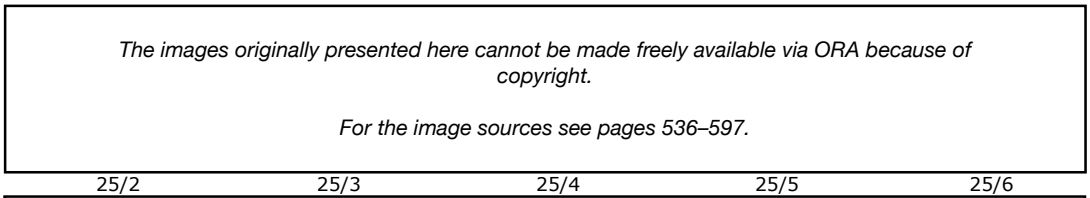
24/45 24/46 24/47 24/49 24/50

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

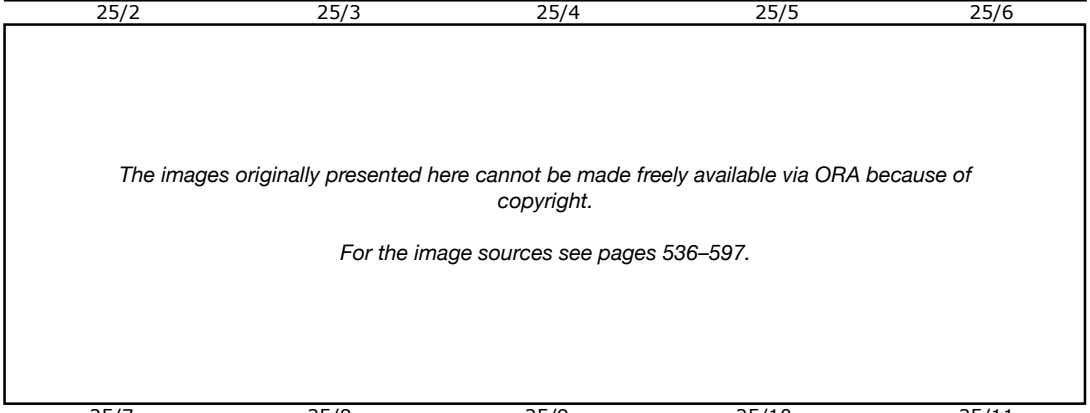
For the image sources see pages 536–597.

24/51 25/1

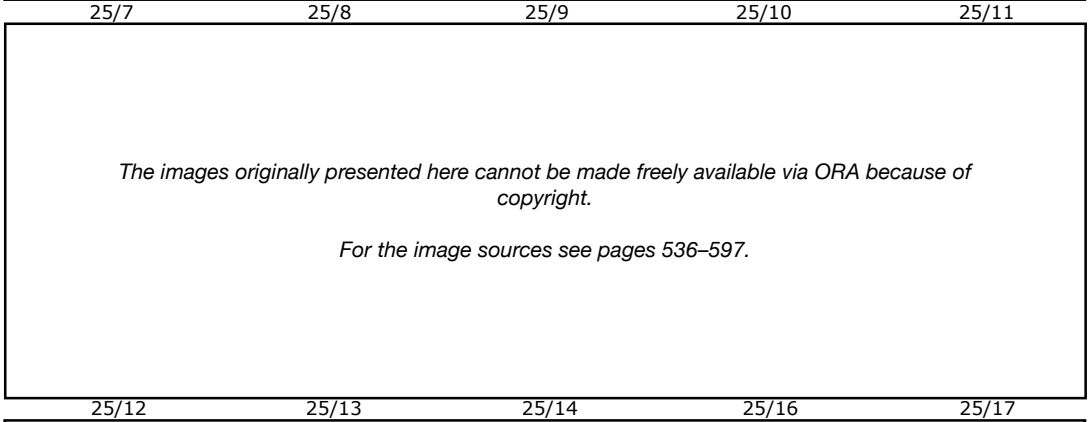
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



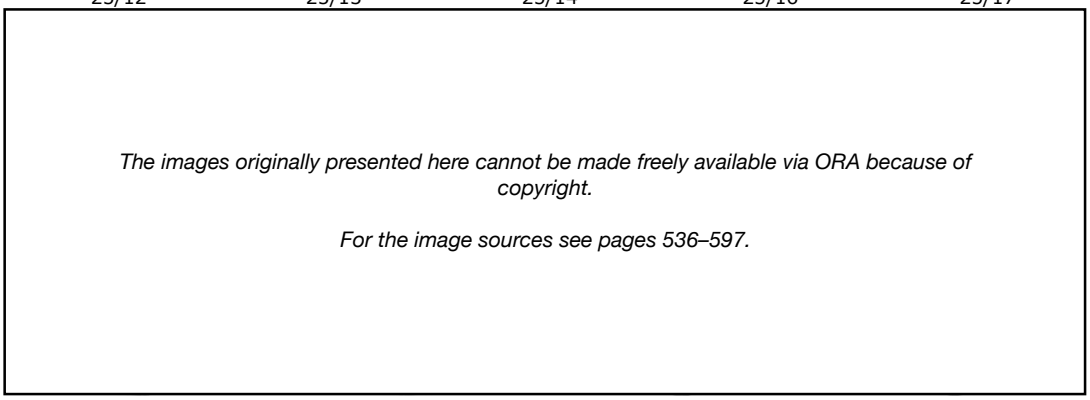
25/2 25/3 25/4 25/5 25/6



25/7 25/8 25/9 25/10 25/11

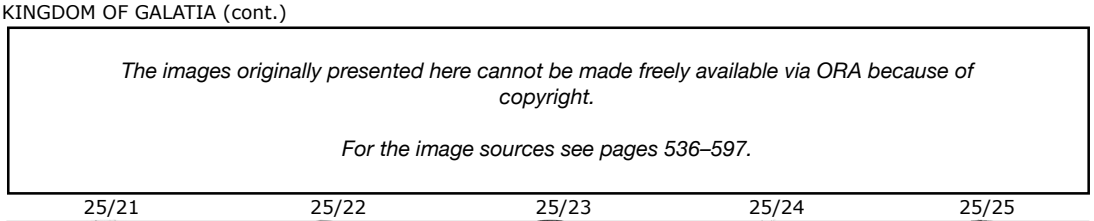


25/12 25/13 25/14 25/16 25/17

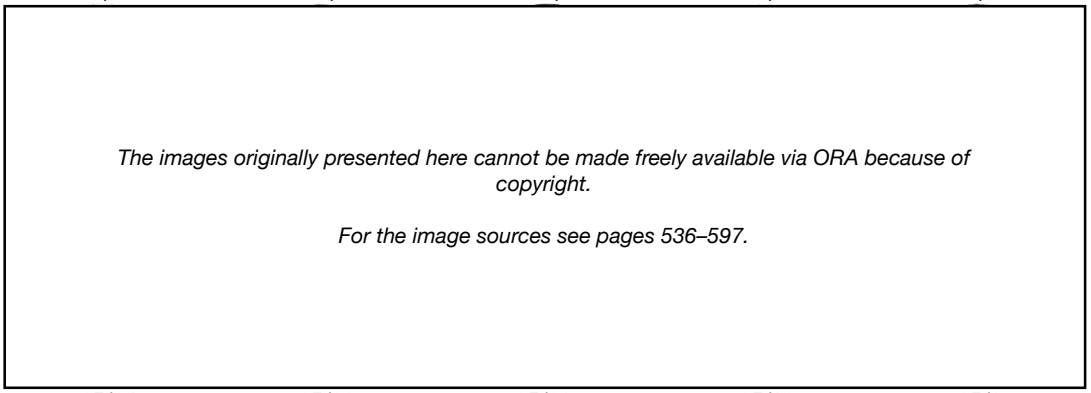


25/18 25/20

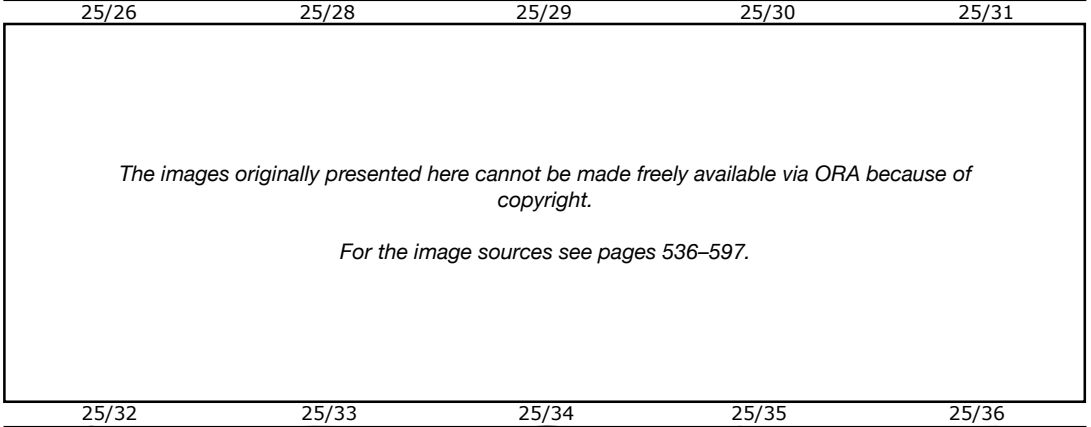
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



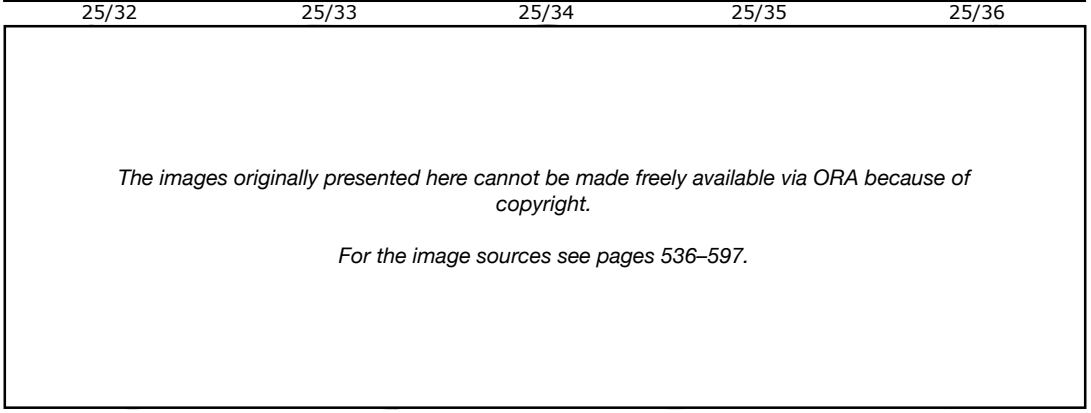
25/21 25/22 25/23 25/24 25/25



25/26 25/28 25/29 25/30 25/31

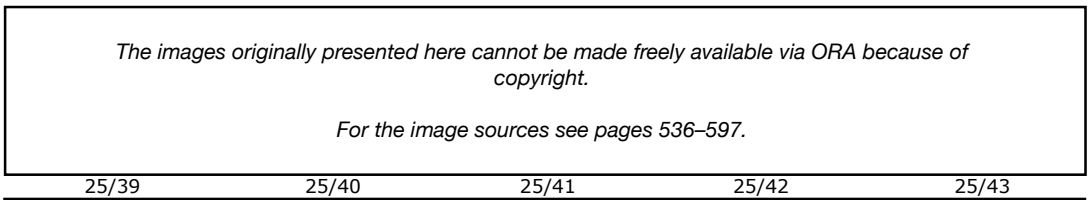


25/32 25/33 25/34 25/35 25/36

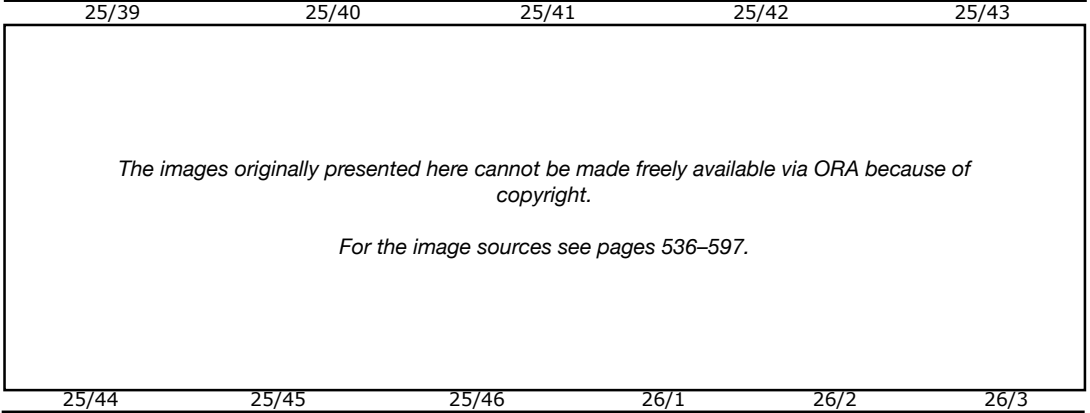


25/37 25/38

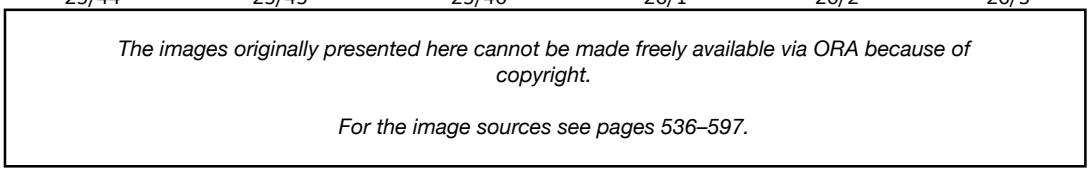
KINGDOM OF GALATIA (cont.)



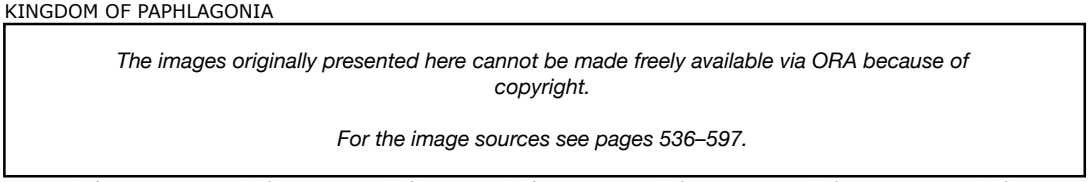
25/39 25/40 25/41 25/42 25/43



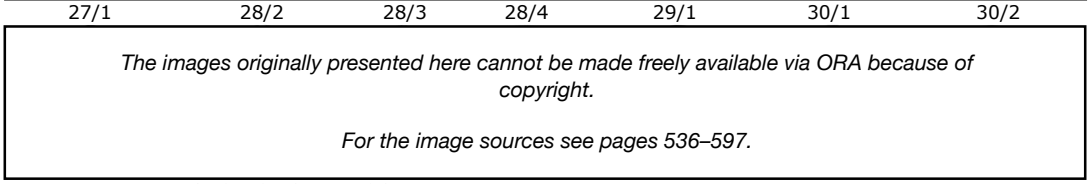
25/44 25/45 25/46 26/1 26/2 26/3



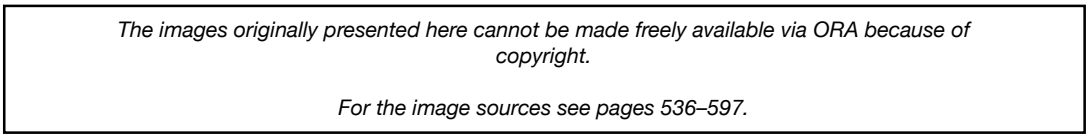
KINGDOM OF PAPHLAGONIA



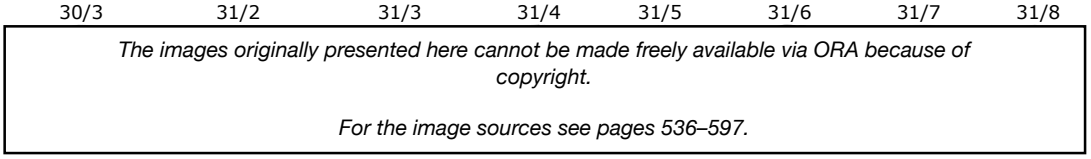
27/1 28/2 28/3 28/4 29/1 30/1 30/2



KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA



30/3 31/2 31/3 31/4 31/5 31/6 31/7 31/8



KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

31/9 31/10 31/11 31/12 31/13 31/14 31/15 31/16

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

31/17 31/19 31/20 31/21 31/22 31/23 31/24 31/25

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

31/26 31/27 31/29 31/30 31/31 31/32 31/33 31/34

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

31/35 31/36 31/37 31/38 31/39 31/40 31/41 31/42

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

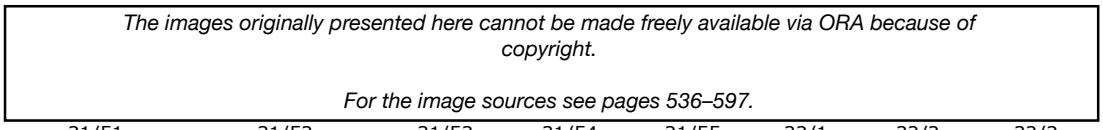
For the image sources see pages 536–597.

31/43 31/44 31/45 31/46 31/47 31/48 31/49 31/50

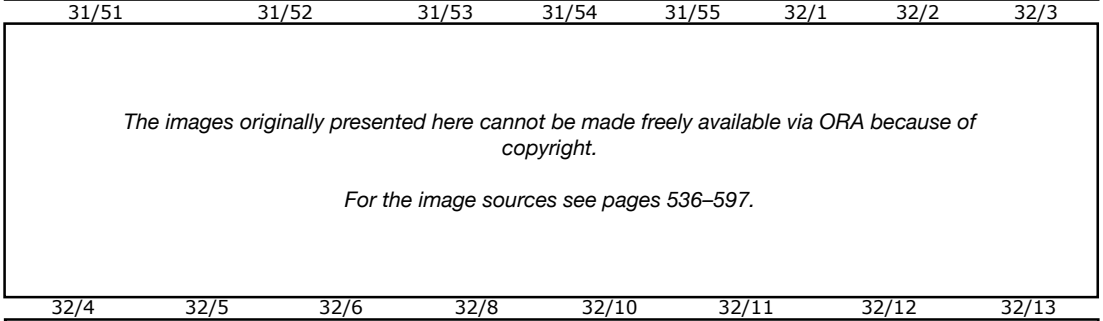
The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

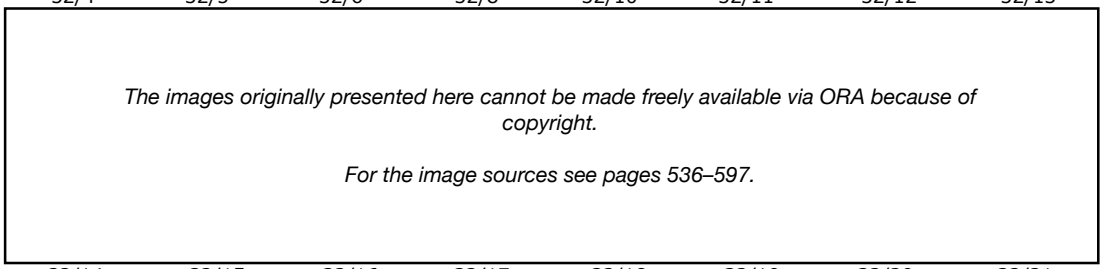
KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)



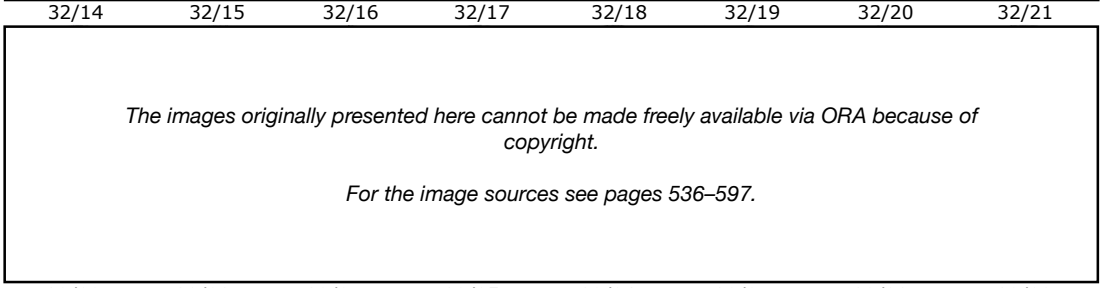
31/51 31/52 31/53 31/54 31/55 32/1 32/2 32/3



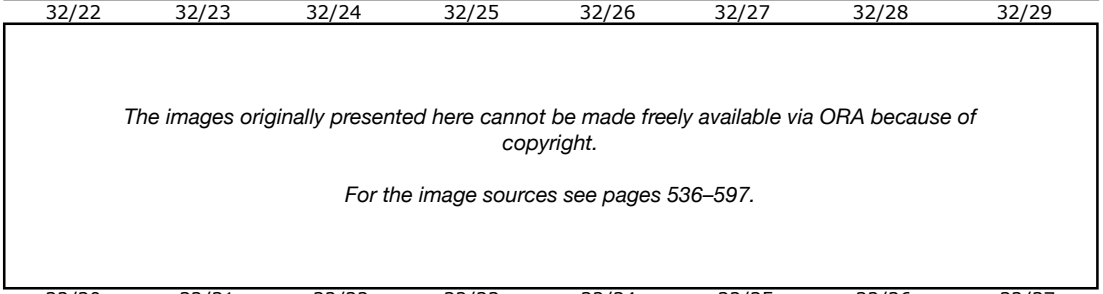
32/4 32/5 32/6 32/8 32/10 32/11 32/12 32/13



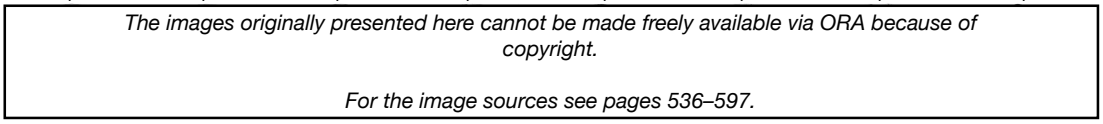
32/14 32/15 32/16 32/17 32/18 32/19 32/20 32/21



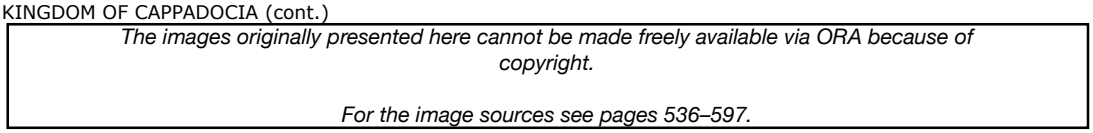
32/22 32/23 32/24 32/25 32/26 32/27 32/28 32/29



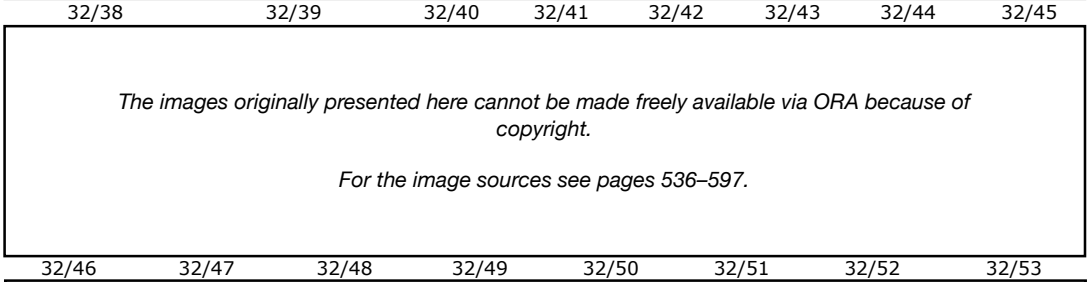
32/30 32/31 32/32 32/33 32/34 32/35 32/36 32/37



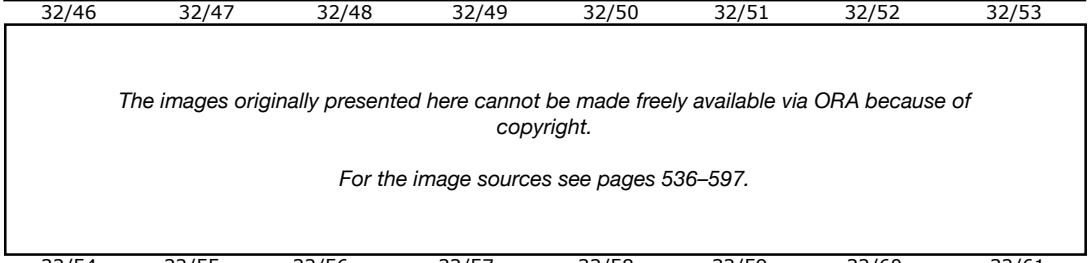
KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)



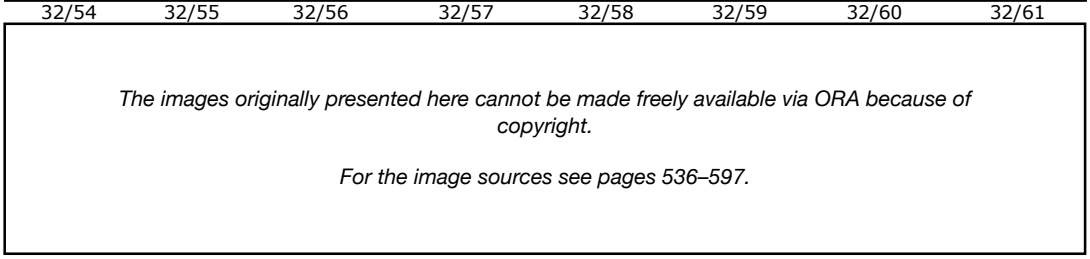
32/38 32/39 32/40 32/41 32/42 32/43 32/44 32/45



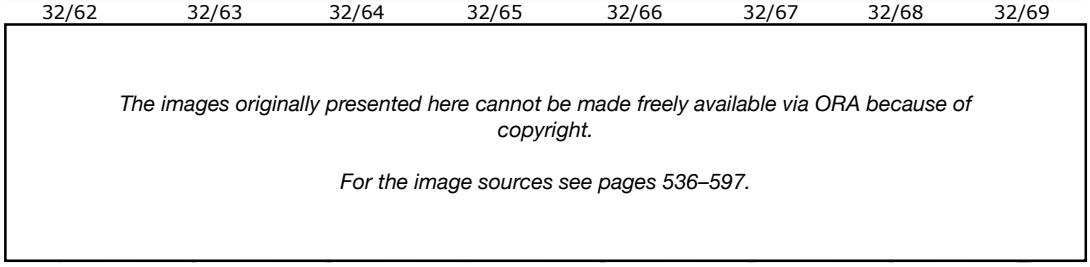
32/46 32/47 32/48 32/49 32/50 32/51 32/52 32/53



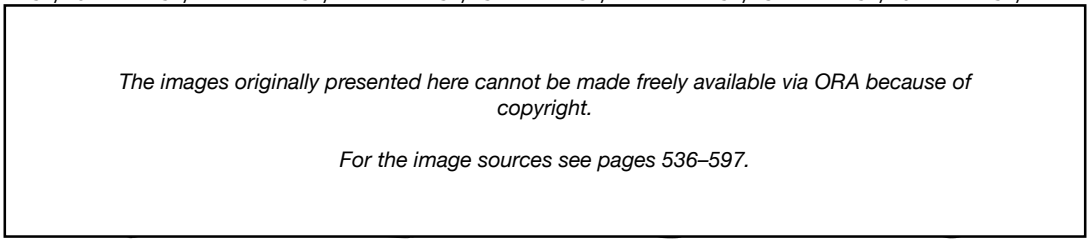
32/54 32/55 32/56 32/57 32/58 32/59 32/60 32/61



32/62 32/63 32/64 32/65 32/66 32/67 32/68 32/69

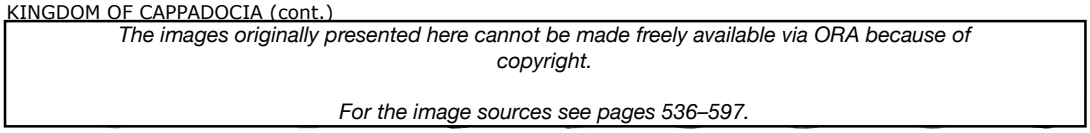


32/70 32/71 32/72 32/73 32/74 32/75 32/76 32/77

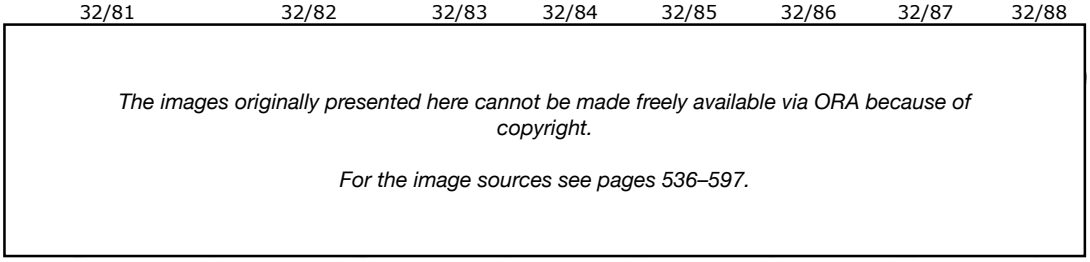


32/78 32/80

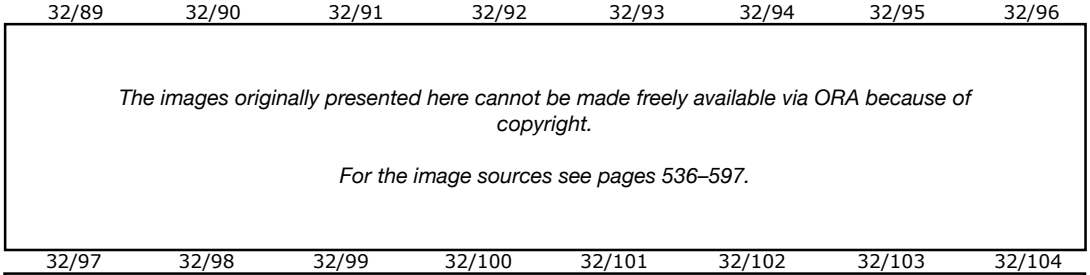
KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)



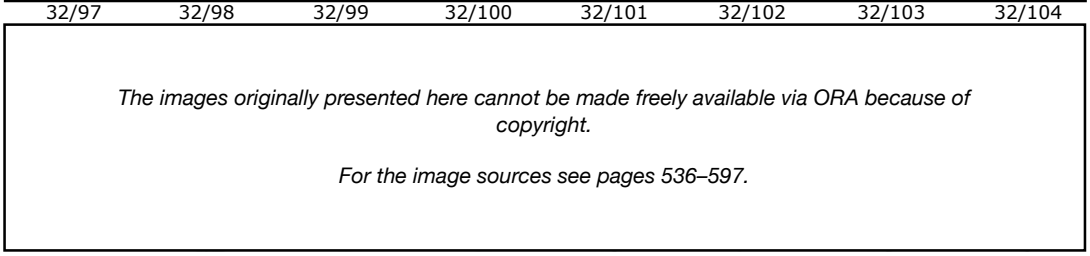
32/81 32/82 32/83 32/84 32/85 32/86 32/87 32/88



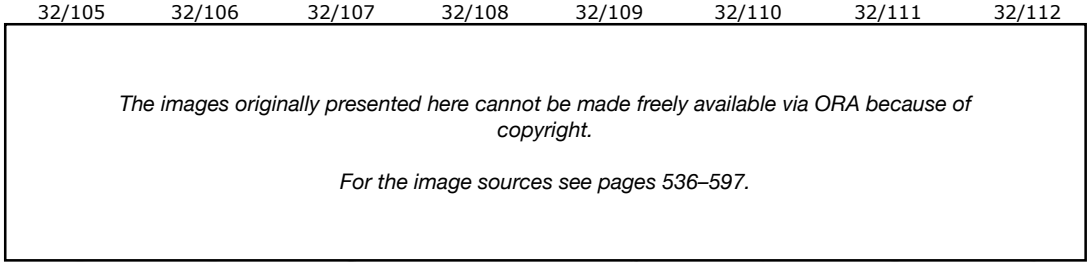
32/89 32/90 32/91 32/92 32/93 32/94 32/95 32/96



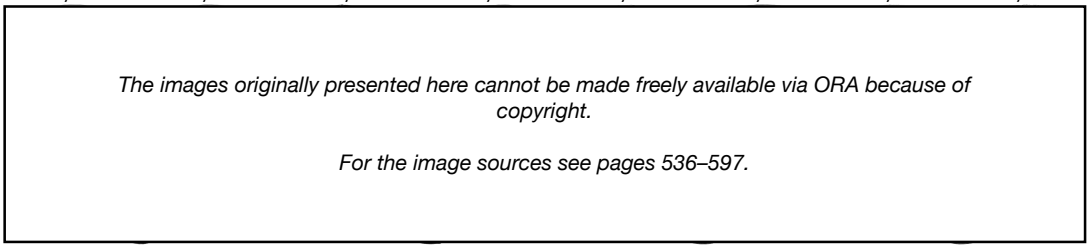
32/97 32/98 32/99 32/100 32/101 32/102 32/103 32/104



32/105 32/106 32/107 32/108 32/109 32/110 32/111 32/112



32/113 32/114 32/115 32/116 32/117 32/118 32/119 32/120



32/121 32/122

KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

32/123 32/124 32/125 32/126 32/127 32/128 32/129 32/130

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

32/131 32/132 32/133 32/134 32/135 32/136 32/137 32/138

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

32/139 32/140 32/141 32/142 32/143 32/144 32/145 32/146

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

32/147 32/148 32/149 32/150 32/151 32/152 32/153 32/154

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

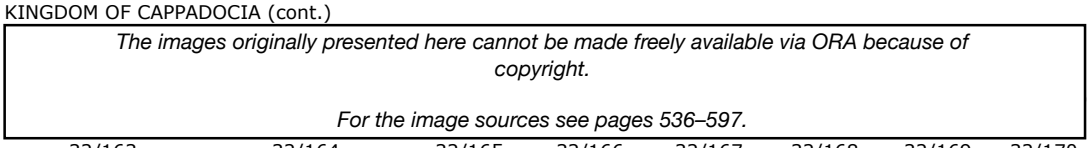
For the image sources see pages 536–597.

32/155 32/156 32/157 32/158 32/159 32/160 32/161 32/162

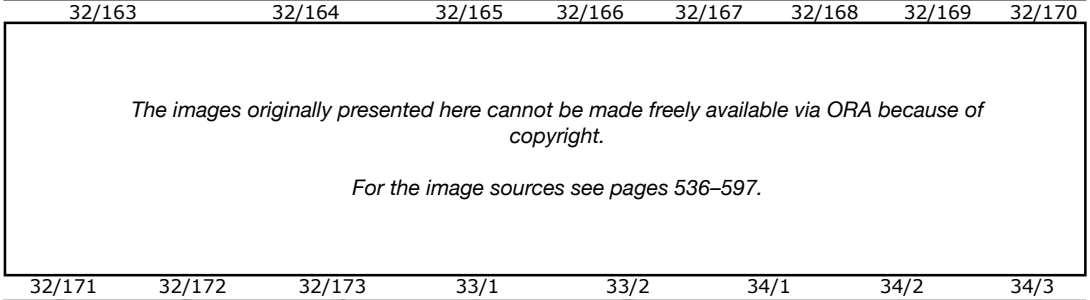
The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

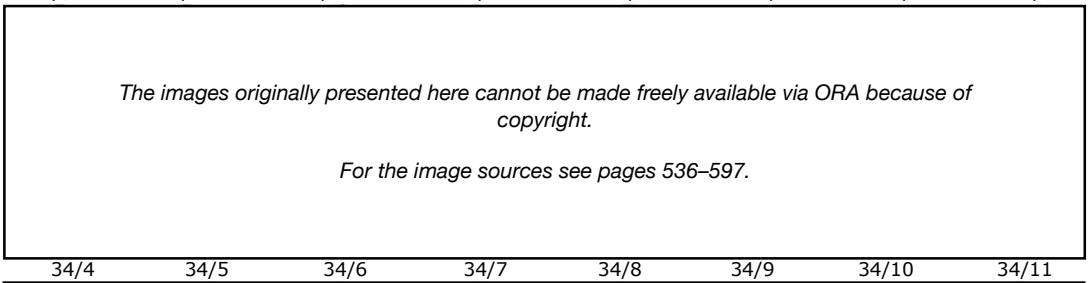
KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)



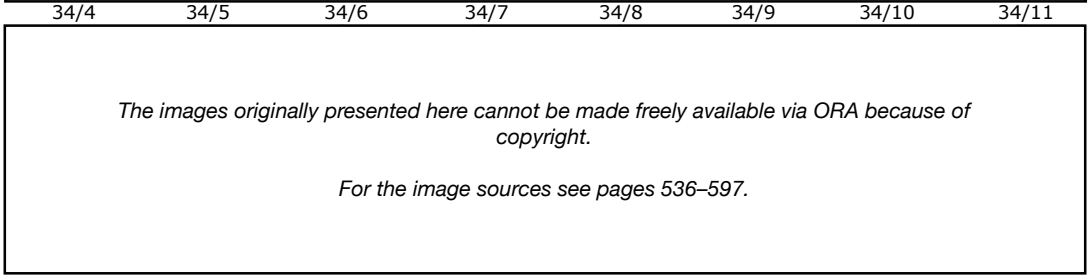
32/163 32/164 32/165 32/166 32/167 32/168 32/169 32/170



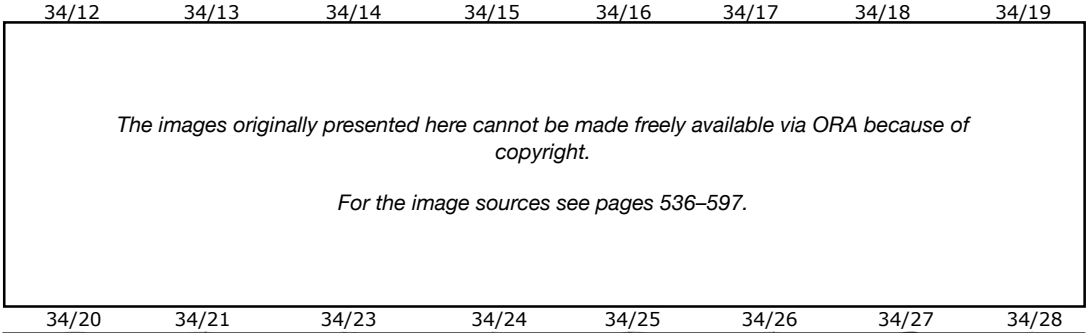
32/171 32/172 32/173 33/1 33/2 34/1 34/2 34/3



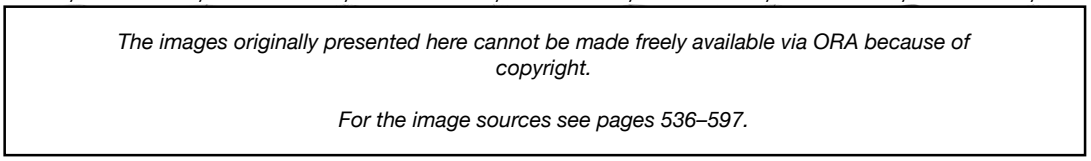
34/4 34/5 34/6 34/7 34/8 34/9 34/10 34/11



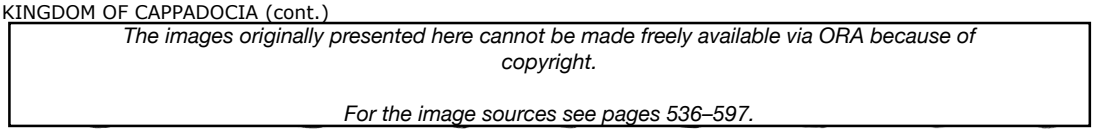
34/12 34/13 34/14 34/15 34/16 34/17 34/18 34/19



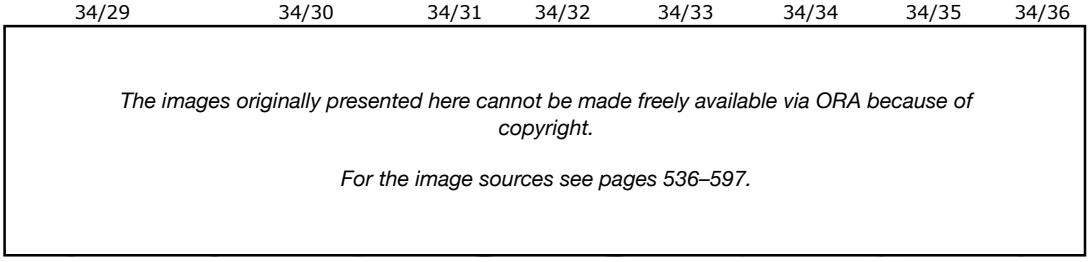
34/20 34/21 34/23 34/24 34/25 34/26 34/27 34/28



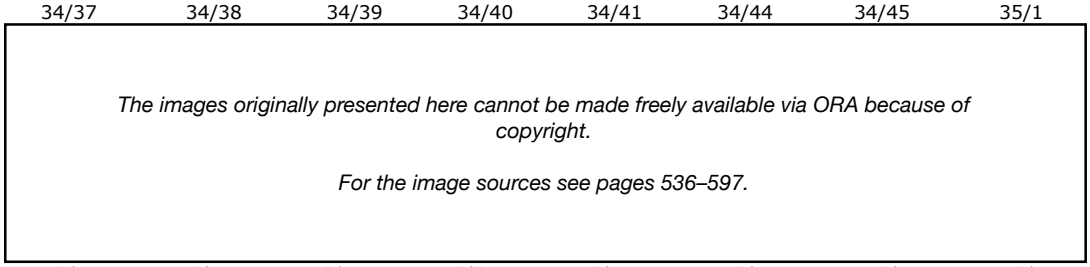
KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)



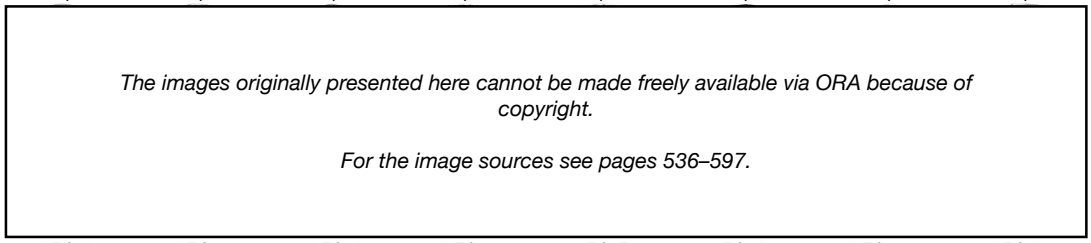
34/29 34/30 34/31 34/32 34/33 34/34 34/35 34/36



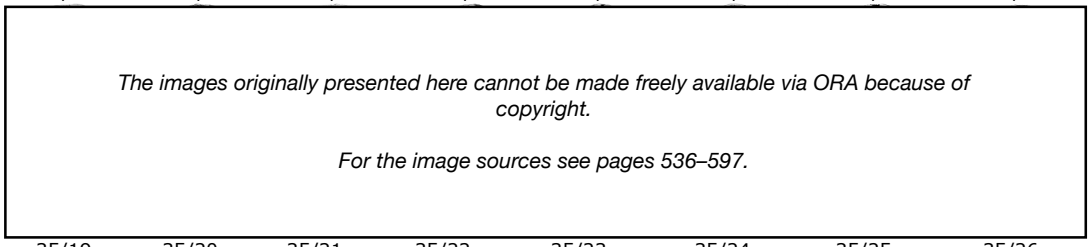
34/37 34/38 34/39 34/40 34/41 34/44 34/45 35/1



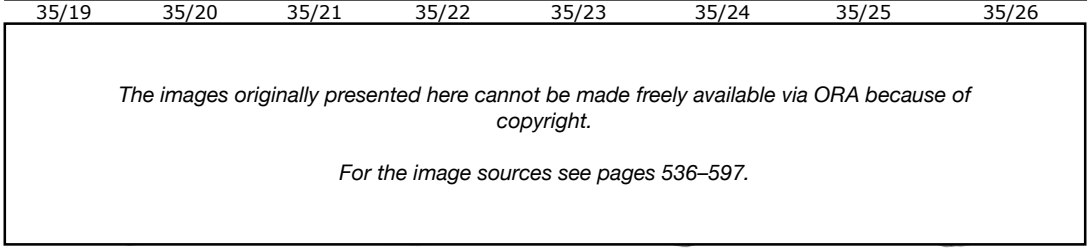
35/2 35/3 35/4 35/5 35/6 35/7 35/8 35/9



35/10 35/11 35/13 35/14 35/15 35/16 35/17 35/18

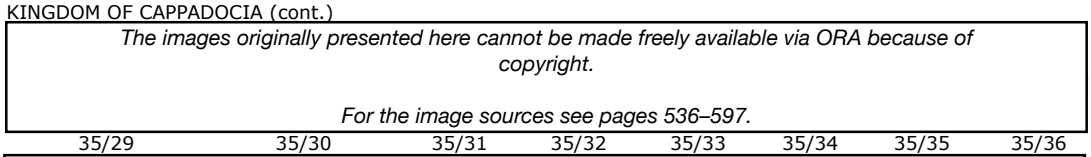


35/19 35/20 35/21 35/22 35/23 35/24 35/25 35/26

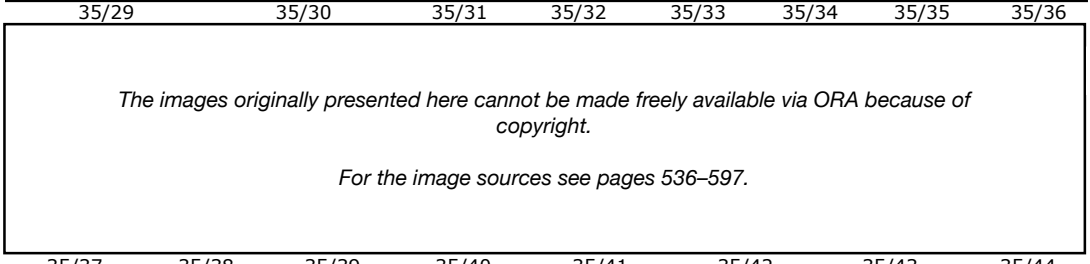


35/27 35/28

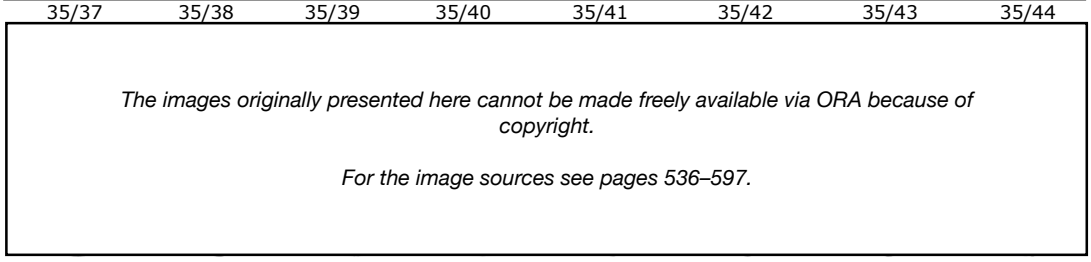
KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)



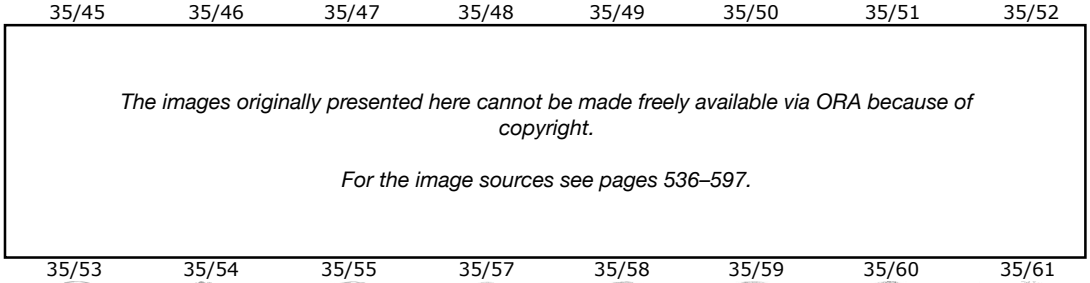
35/29 35/30 35/31 35/32 35/33 35/34 35/35 35/36



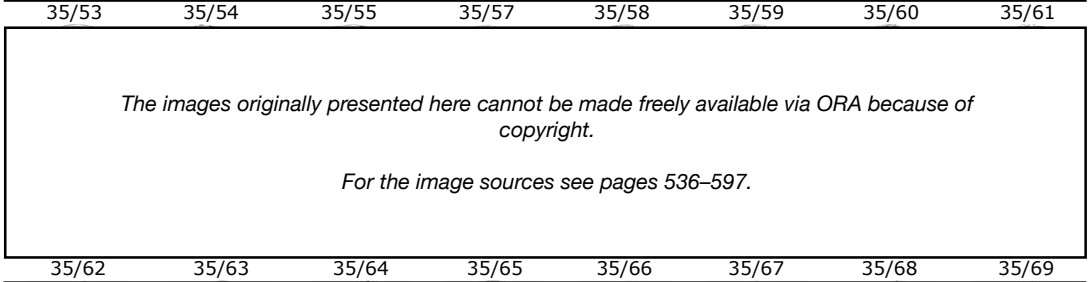
35/37 35/38 35/39 35/40 35/41 35/42 35/43 35/44



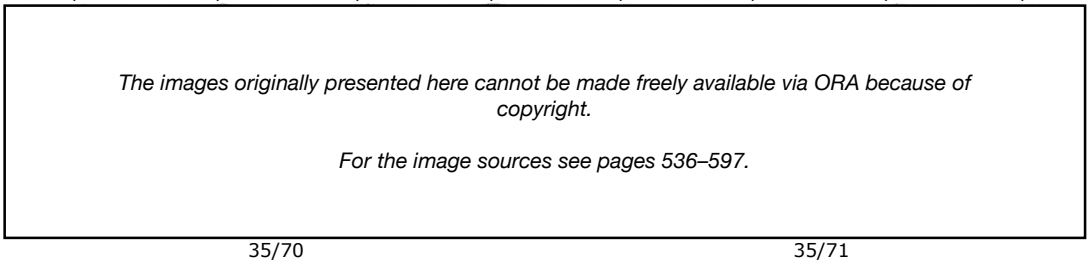
35/45 35/46 35/47 35/48 35/49 35/50 35/51 35/52



35/53 35/54 35/55 35/57 35/58 35/59 35/60 35/61



35/62 35/63 35/64 35/65 35/66 35/67 35/68 35/69



35/70 35/71

KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/72 35/74 35/75 35/76 35/77 35/78 35/79 35/80

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/81 35/82 35/83 35/84 35/85 35/86 35/87 35/88

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/89 35/90 35/91 35/92 35/93 35/94 35/95 35/96

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/97 35/98 35/99 35/100 35/101 35/102 35/103 35/104

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

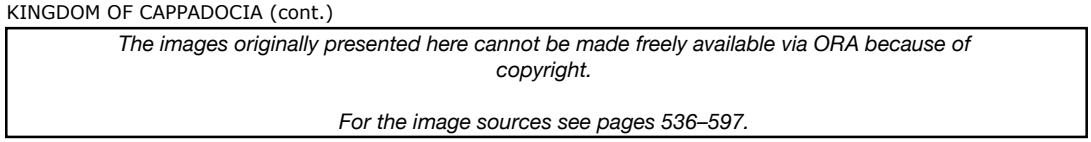
35/105 35/106 35/107 35/108 35/109 35/110 35/111 35/112

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

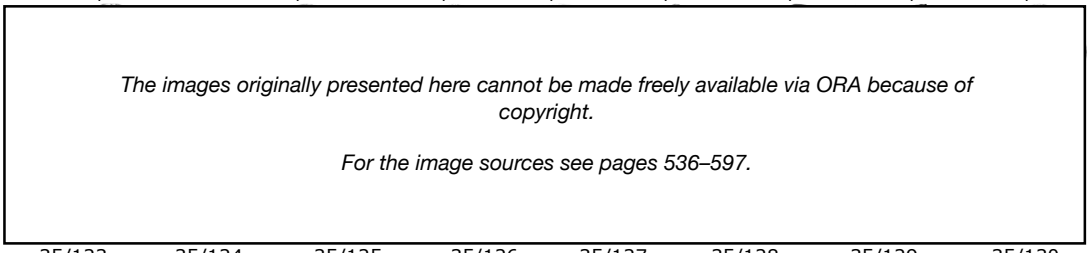
35/113 35/114

KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)


The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

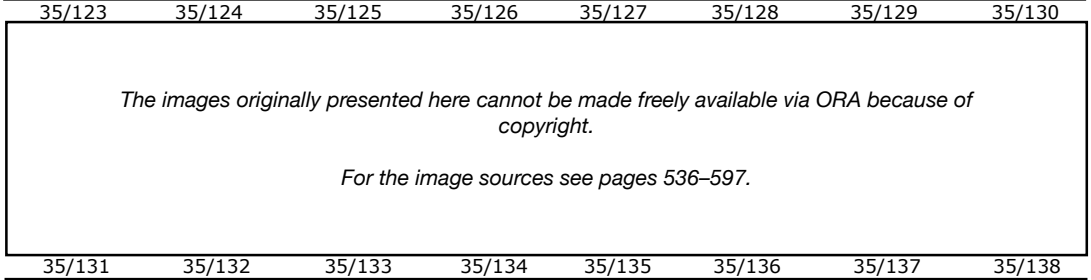
For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/115 35/116 35/117 35/118 35/119 35/120 35/121 35/122


The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

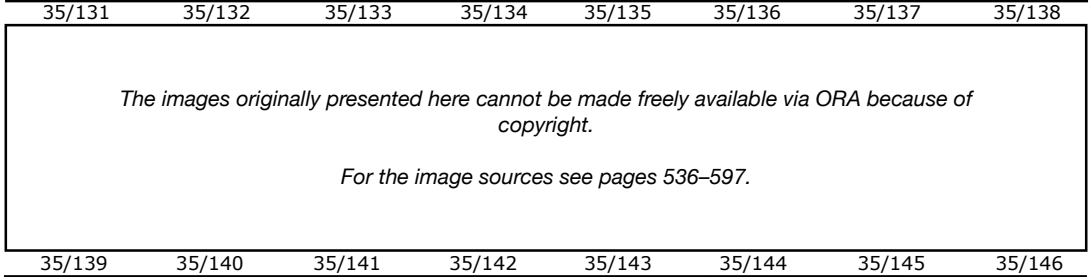
For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/123 35/124 35/125 35/126 35/127 35/128 35/129 35/130


The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

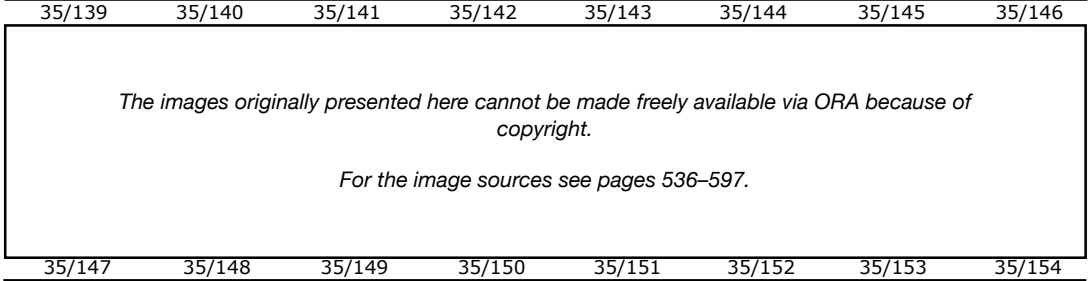
For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/131 35/132 35/133 35/134 35/135 35/136 35/137 35/138


The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

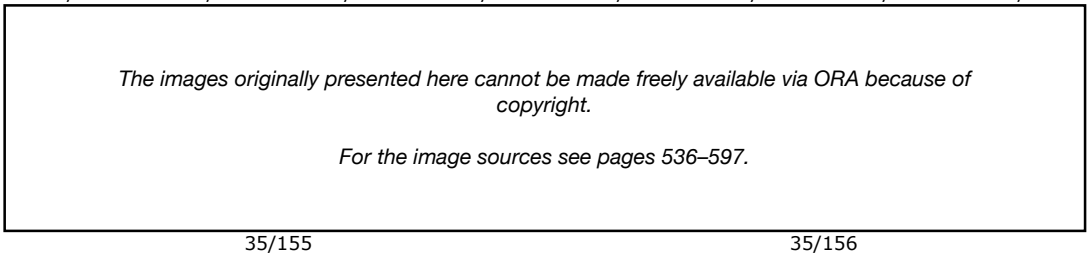
For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/139 35/140 35/141 35/142 35/143 35/144 35/145 35/146


The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/147 35/148 35/149 35/150 35/151 35/152 35/153 35/154


The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/155 35/156

KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/157 35/158 35/159 35/160 35/163 35/164 35/165 35/166

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/167 35/168 35/169 35/170 35/171 35/172 35/173 35/174

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/175 35/176 35/177 35/178 35/179 35/180 35/181 35/182

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/183 35/184 35/185 35/186 35/187 35/188 35/189 35/191

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

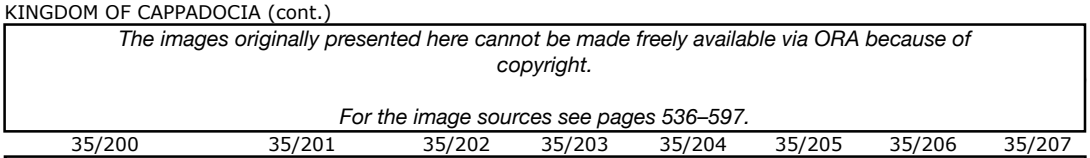
For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/192 35/193 35/194 35/195 35/196 35/197 35/198 35/199

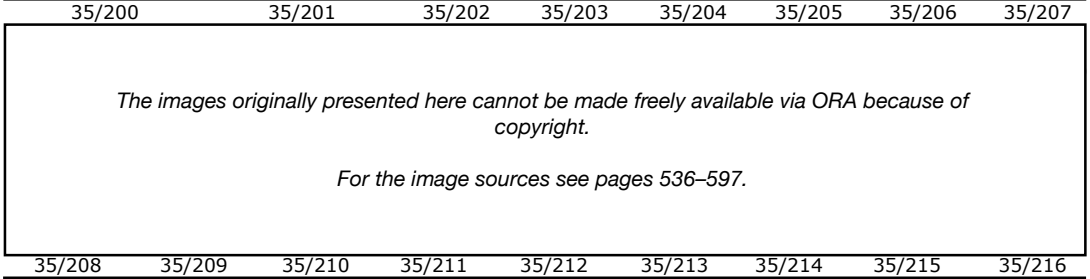
The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

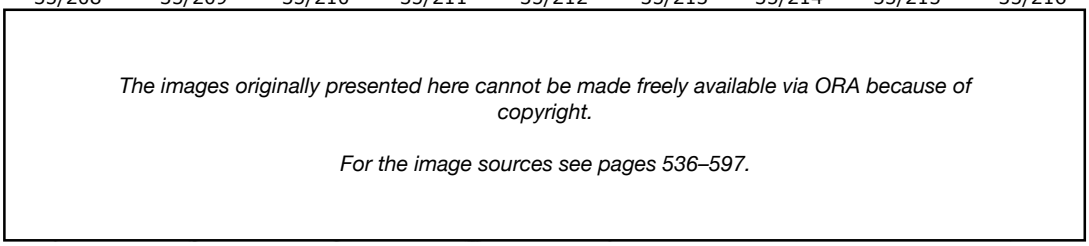
KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)



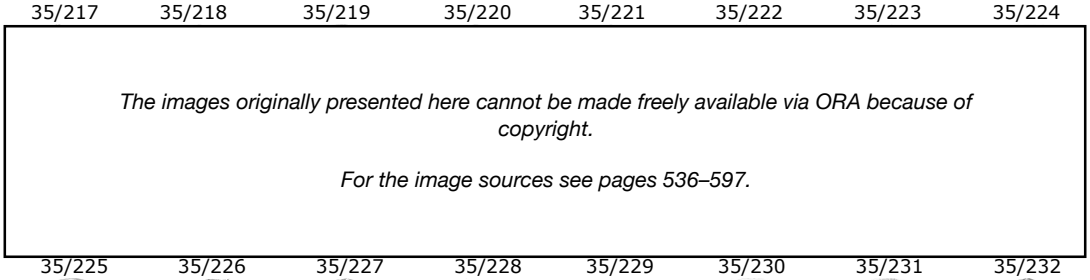
35/200 35/201 35/202 35/203 35/204 35/205 35/206 35/207



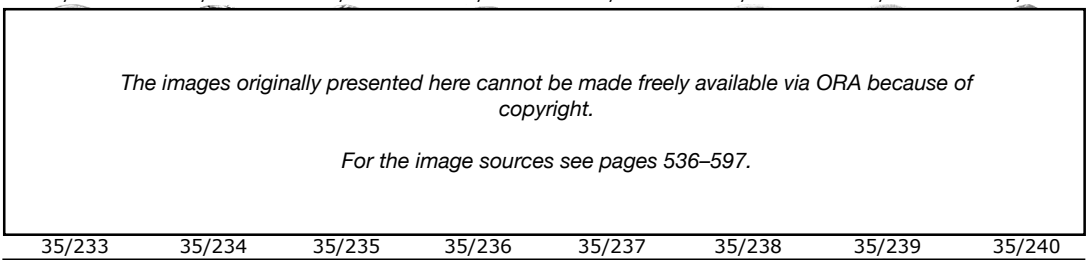
35/208 35/209 35/210 35/211 35/212 35/213 35/214 35/215 35/216



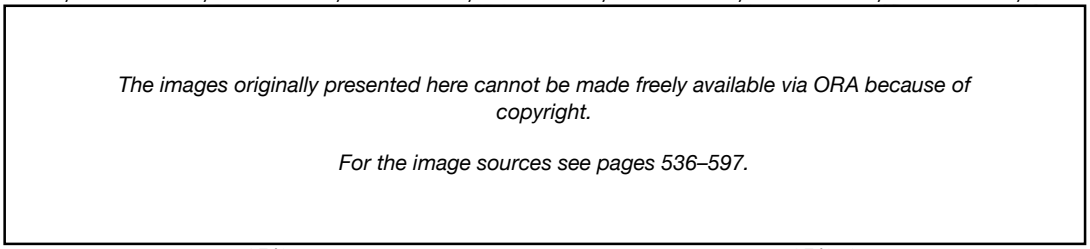
35/217 35/218 35/219 35/220 35/221 35/222 35/223 35/224



35/225 35/226 35/227 35/228 35/229 35/230 35/231 35/232



35/233 35/234 35/235 35/236 35/237 35/238 35/239 35/240



35/241 35/242

KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/243 35/244 35/245 35/246 35/247 35/248 35/249 35/250

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/251 35/252 35/253 35/254 35/255 35/256 35/257 35/258

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/259 35/260 35/261 35/262 35/263 35/264 35/265 35/266

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/267 35/268 35/269 35/270 35/271 35/272 35/273 35/274

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

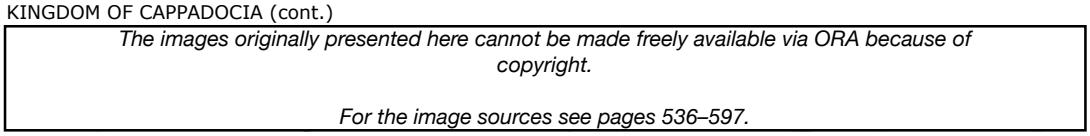
35/275 35/276 35/277 35/278 35/279 35/280 35/281 35/282

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

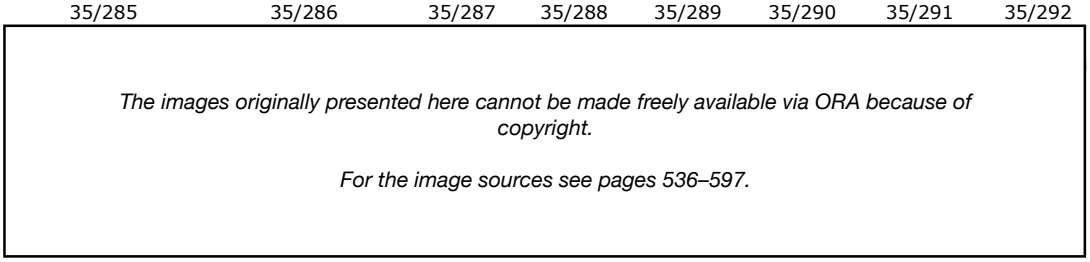
For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/283 35/284

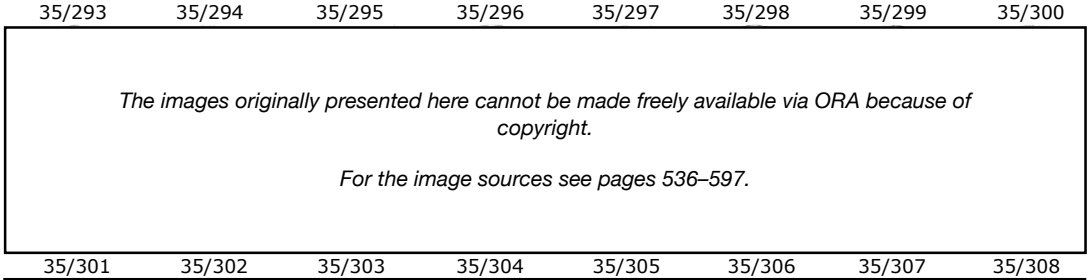
KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)



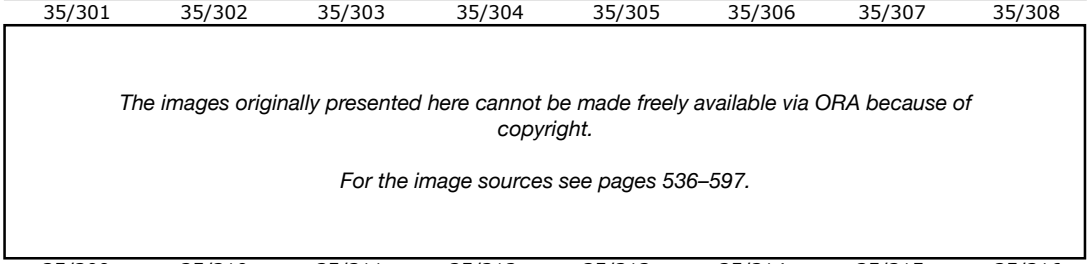
35/285 35/286 35/287 35/288 35/289 35/290 35/291 35/292



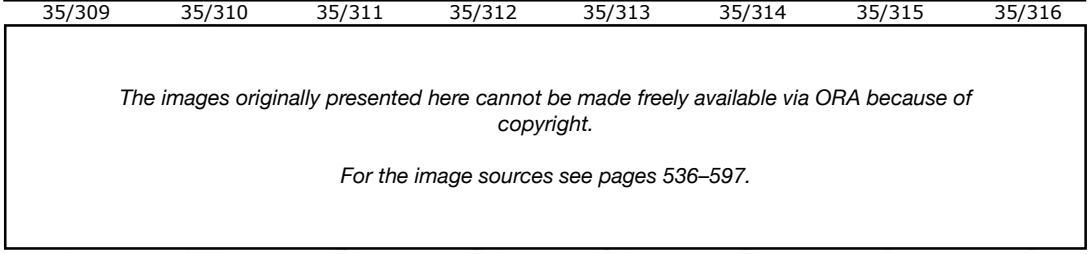
35/293 35/294 35/295 35/296 35/297 35/298 35/299 35/300



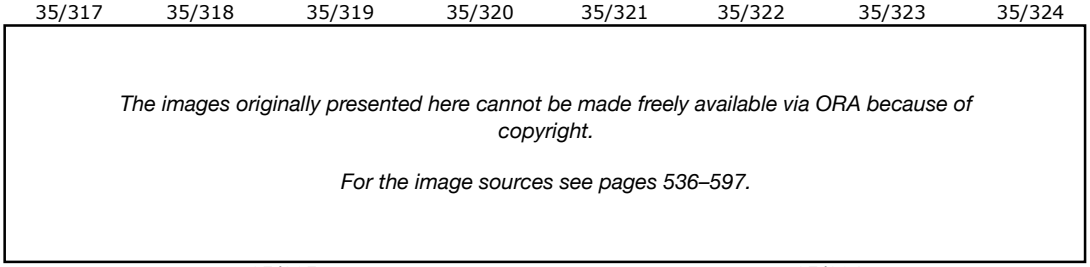
35/301 35/302 35/303 35/304 35/305 35/306 35/307 35/308



35/309 35/310 35/311 35/312 35/313 35/314 35/315 35/316



35/317 35/318 35/319 35/320 35/321 35/322 35/323 35/324



35/325 35/326

KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/327 35/328 35/329 35/330 35/331 35/332 35/333 35/334

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/335 35/336 35/337 35/338 35/339 35/340 35/341 35/342

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/343 35/344 35/345 35/346 35/347 35/348 35/349 35/350

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/351 35/352 35/353 35/354 35/355 35/356 35/357 35/358

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

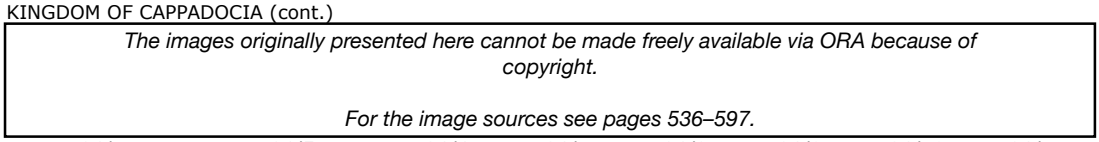
For the image sources see pages 536–597.

35/359 35/360 35/361 35/362 35/363 36/1 36/2 36/3

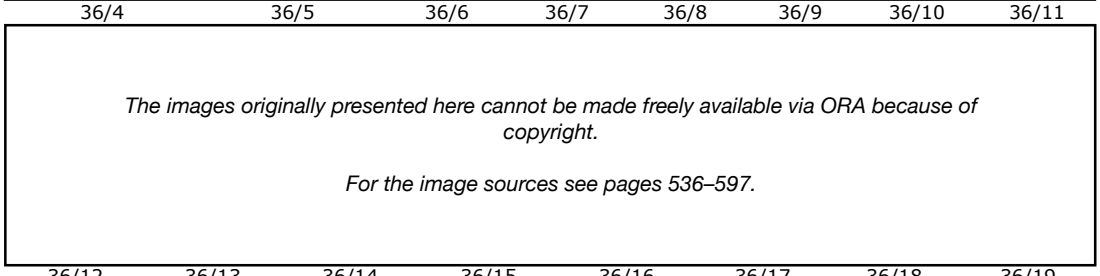
The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

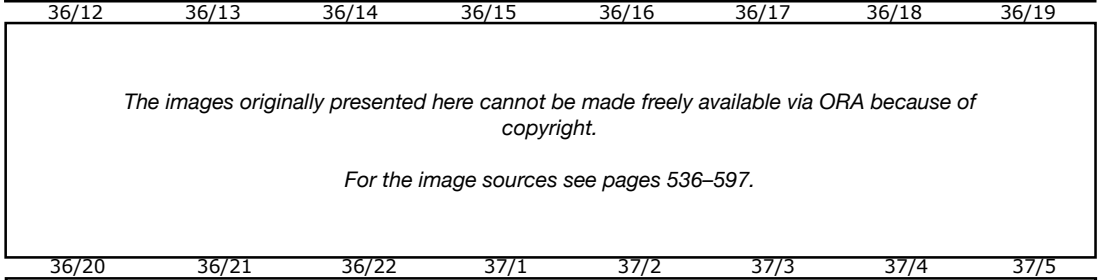
KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)



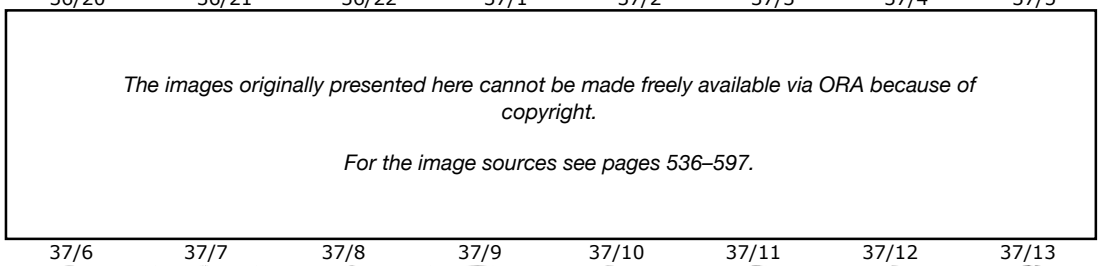
36/4 36/5 36/6 36/7 36/8 36/9 36/10 36/11



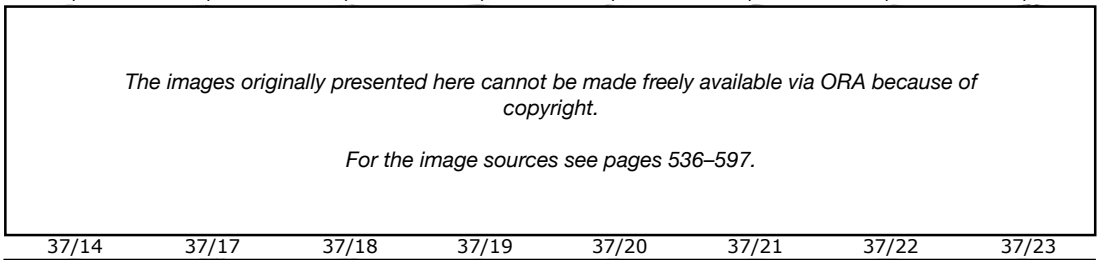
36/12 36/13 36/14 36/15 36/16 36/17 36/18 36/19



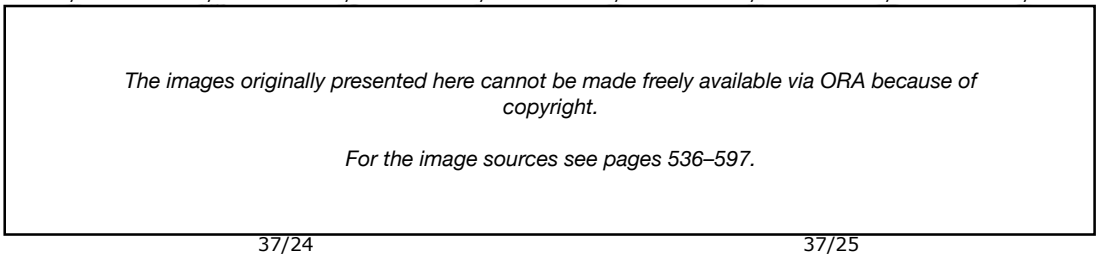
36/20 36/21 36/22 37/1 37/2 37/3 37/4 37/5



37/6 37/7 37/8 37/9 37/10 37/11 37/12 37/13

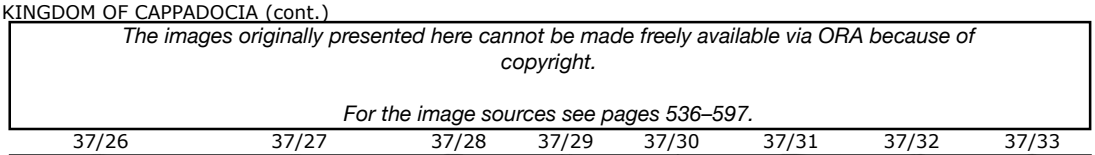


37/14 37/17 37/18 37/19 37/20 37/21 37/22 37/23

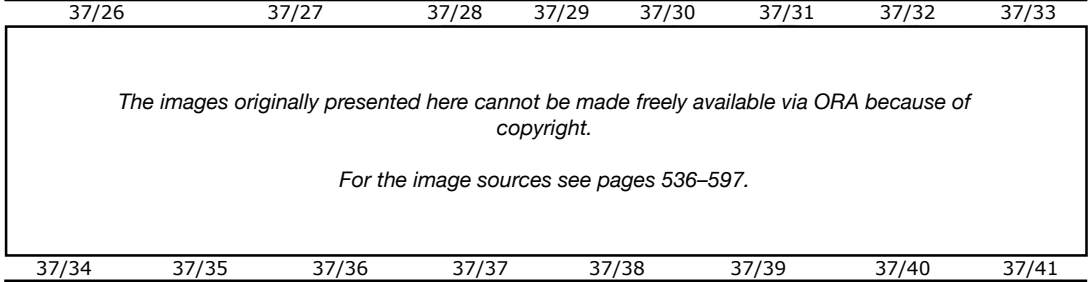


37/24 37/25

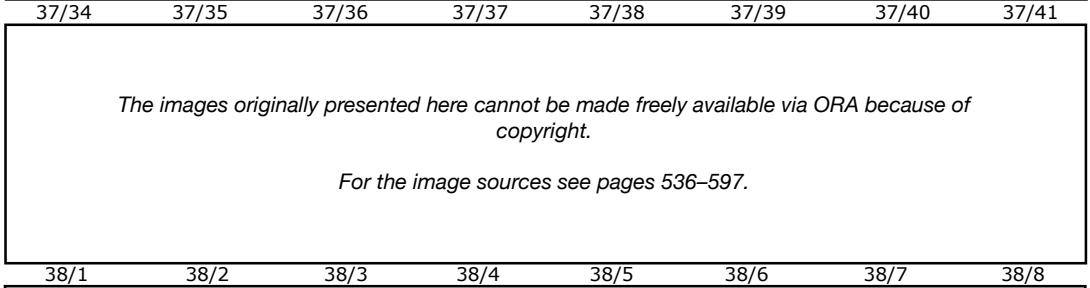
KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)



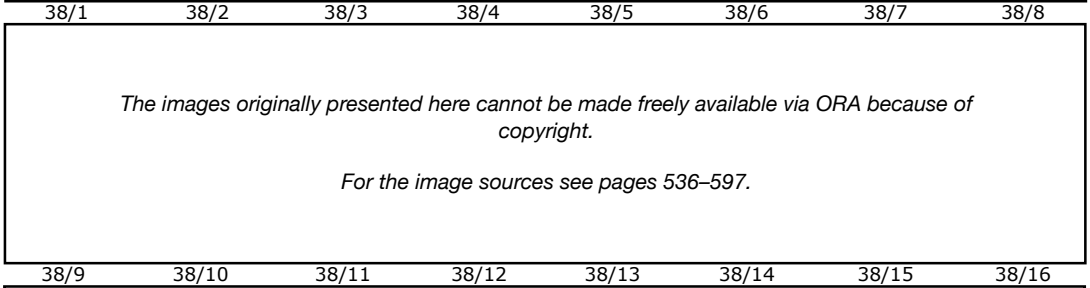
37/26 37/27 37/28 37/29 37/30 37/31 37/32 37/33



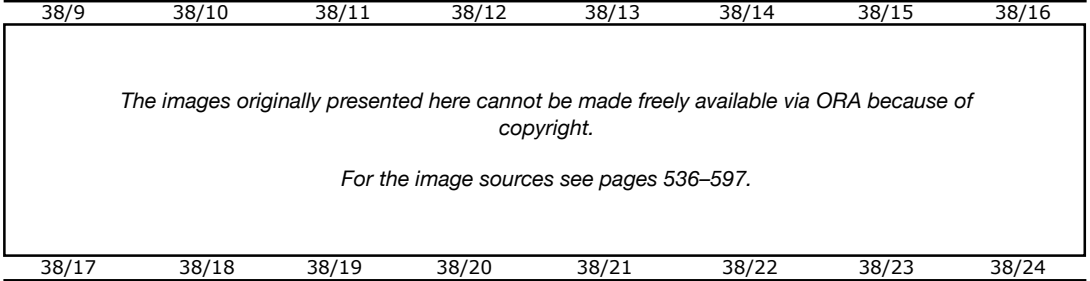
37/34 37/35 37/36 37/37 37/38 37/39 37/40 37/41



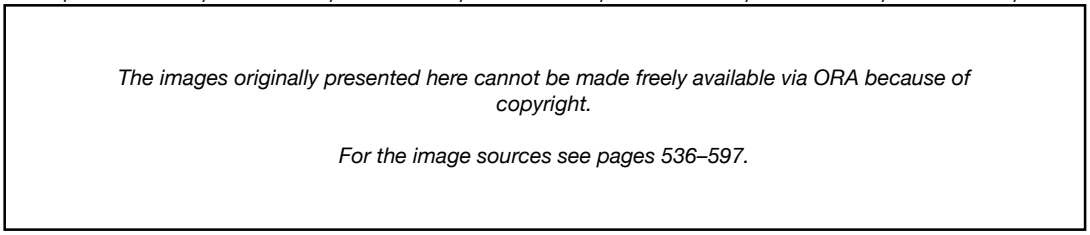
38/1 38/2 38/3 38/4 38/5 38/6 38/7 38/8



38/9 38/10 38/11 38/12 38/13 38/14 38/15 38/16

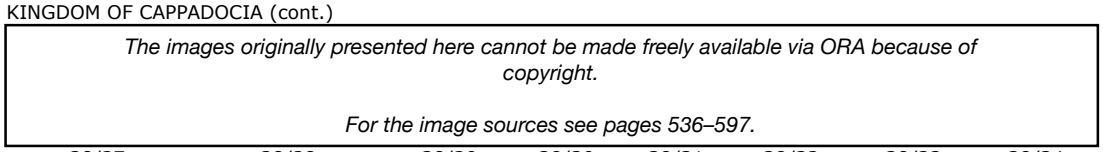


38/17 38/18 38/19 38/20 38/21 38/22 38/23 38/24

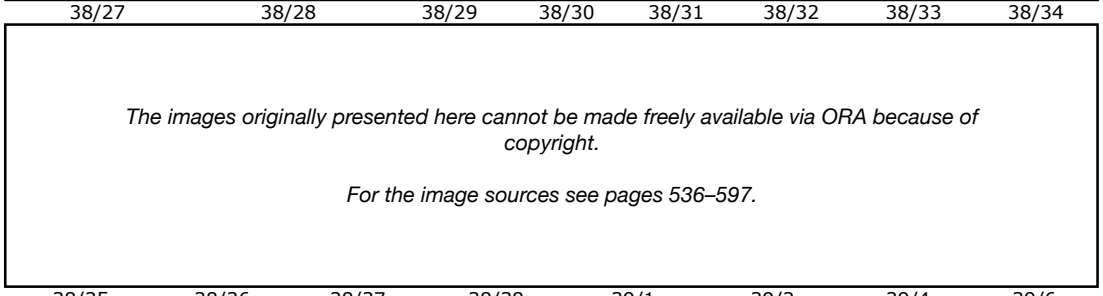


38/25 38/26

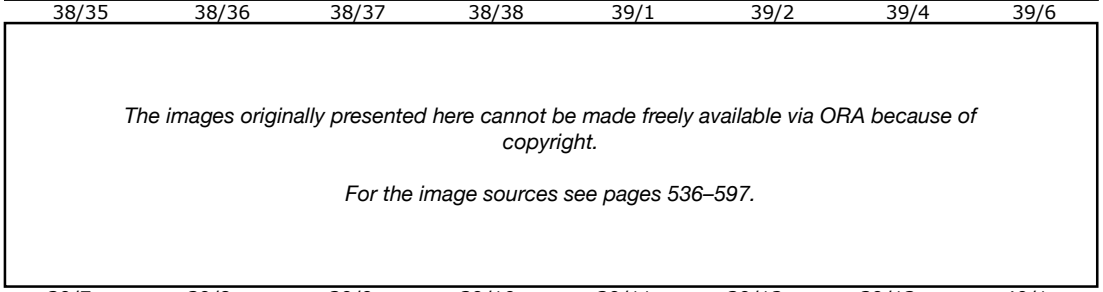
KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)



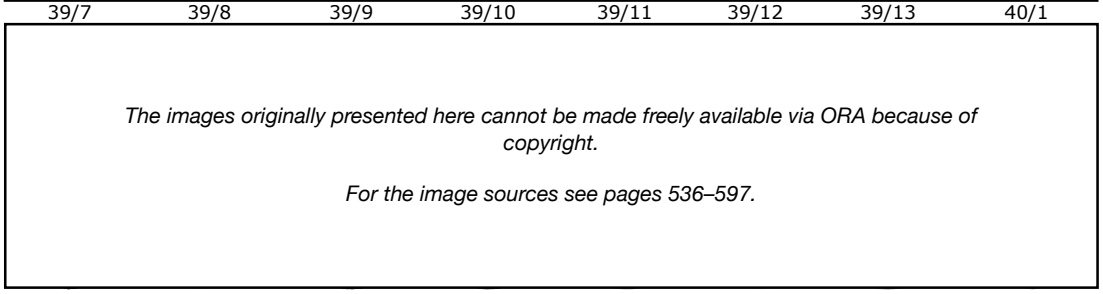
38/27 38/28 38/29 38/30 38/31 38/32 38/33 38/34



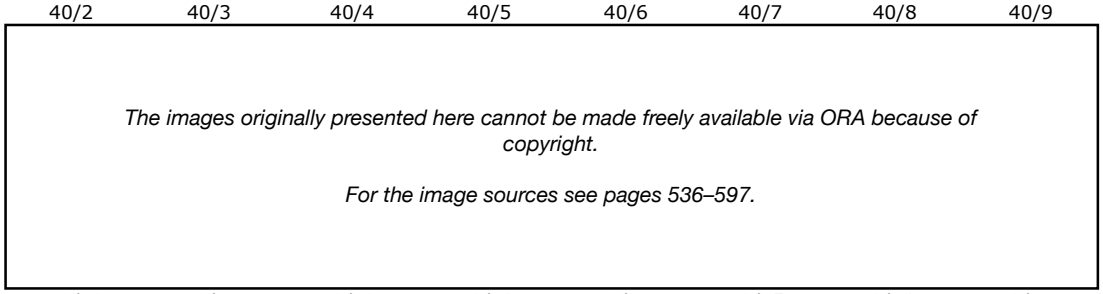
38/35 38/36 38/37 38/38 39/1 39/2 39/4 39/6



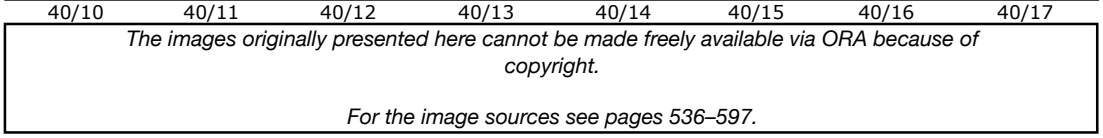
39/7 39/8 39/9 39/10 39/11 39/12 39/13 40/1



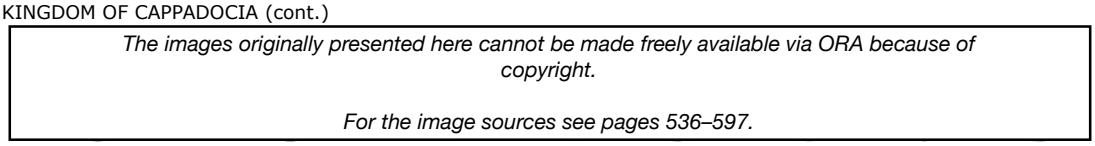
40/2 40/3 40/4 40/5 40/6 40/7 40/8 40/9



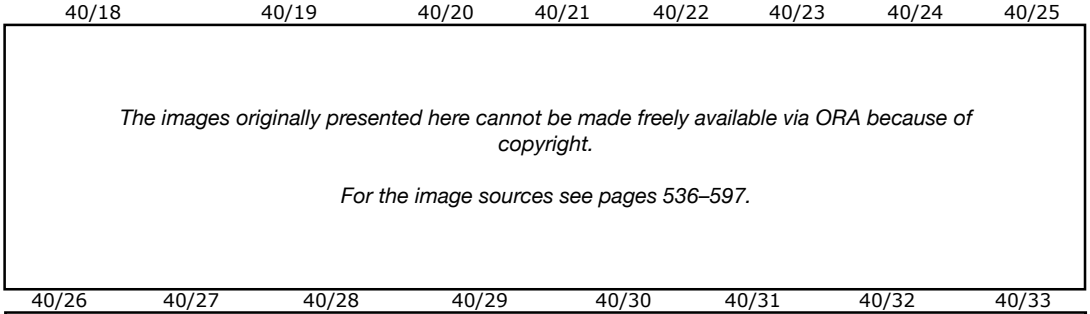
40/10 40/11 40/12 40/13 40/14 40/15 40/16 40/17



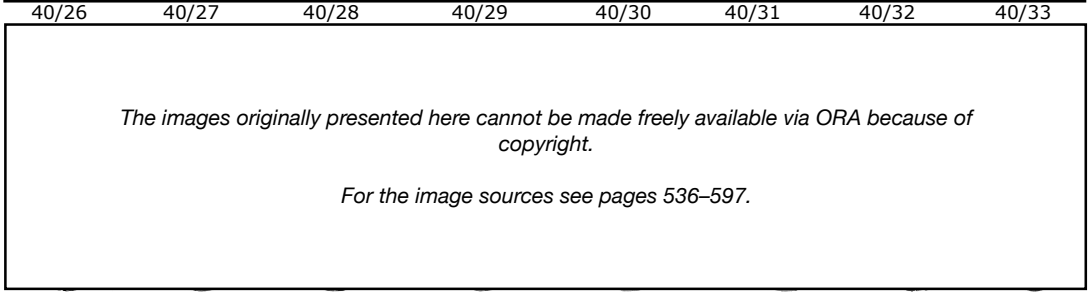
KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)



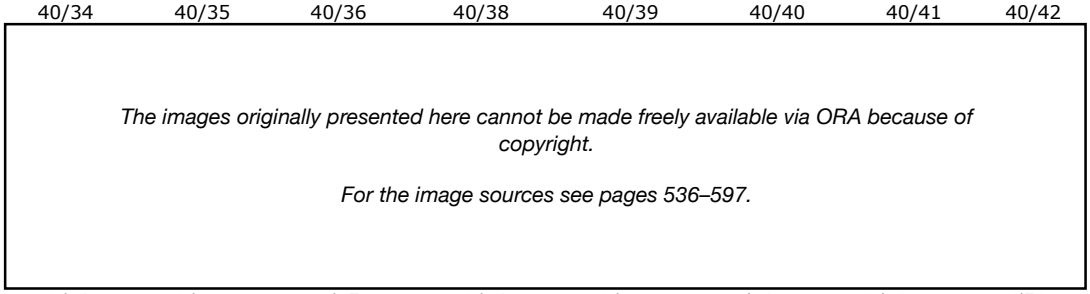
40/18 40/19 40/20 40/21 40/22 40/23 40/24 40/25



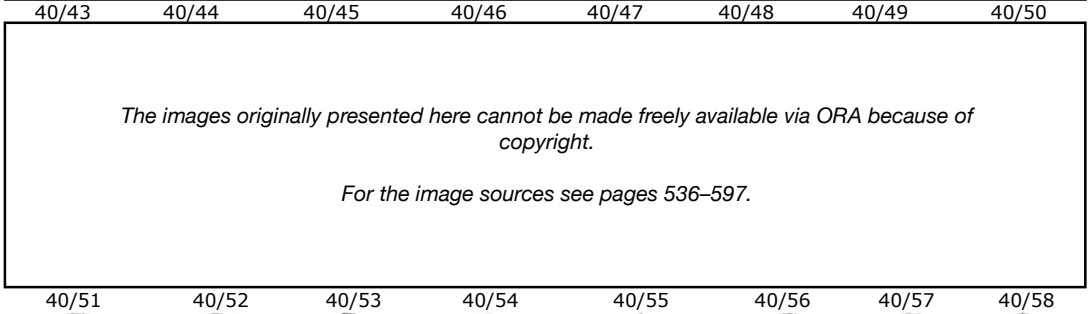
40/26 40/27 40/28 40/29 40/30 40/31 40/32 40/33



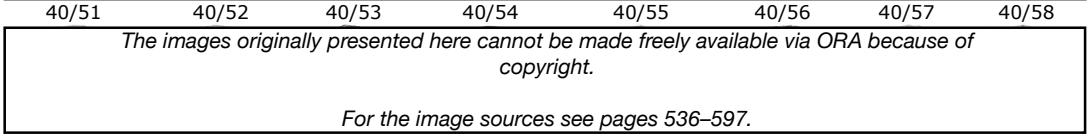
40/34 40/35 40/36 40/38 40/39 40/40 40/41 40/42



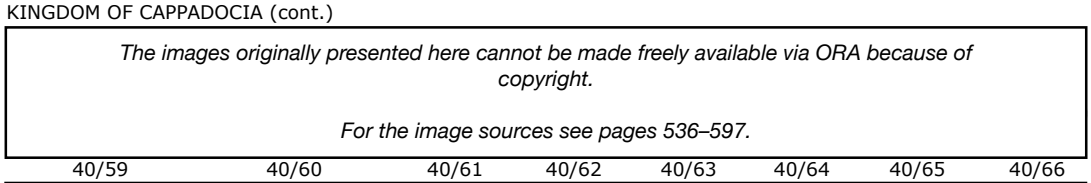
40/43 40/44 40/45 40/46 40/47 40/48 40/49 40/50



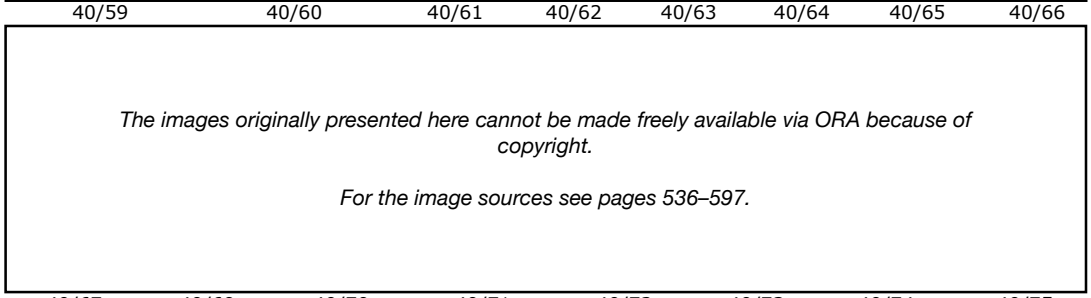
40/51 40/52 40/53 40/54 40/55 40/56 40/57 40/58



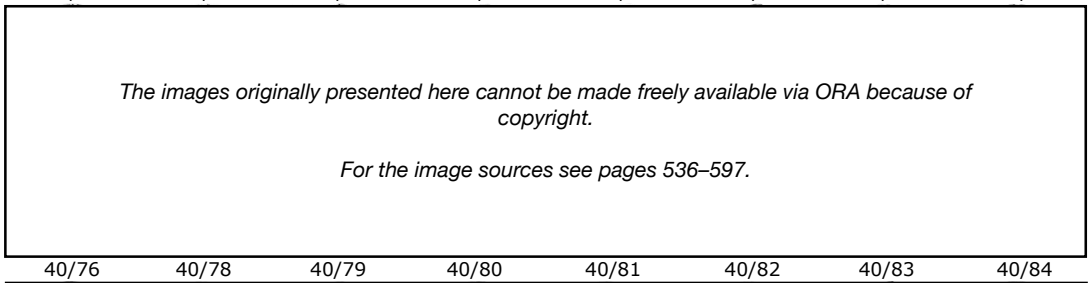
KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)



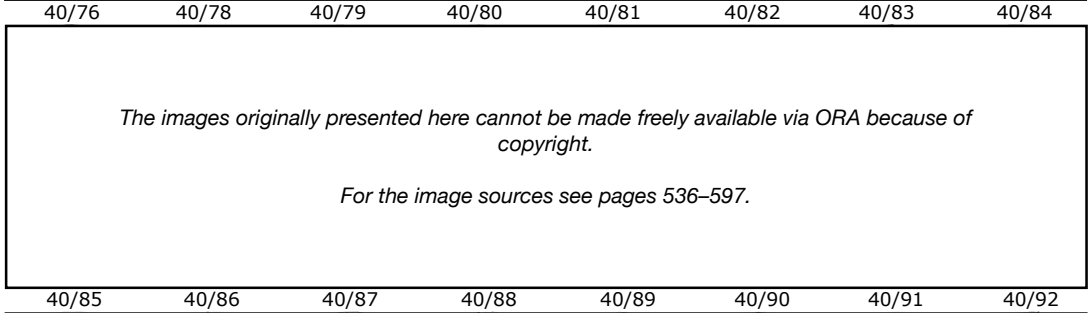
40/59 40/60 40/61 40/62 40/63 40/64 40/65 40/66



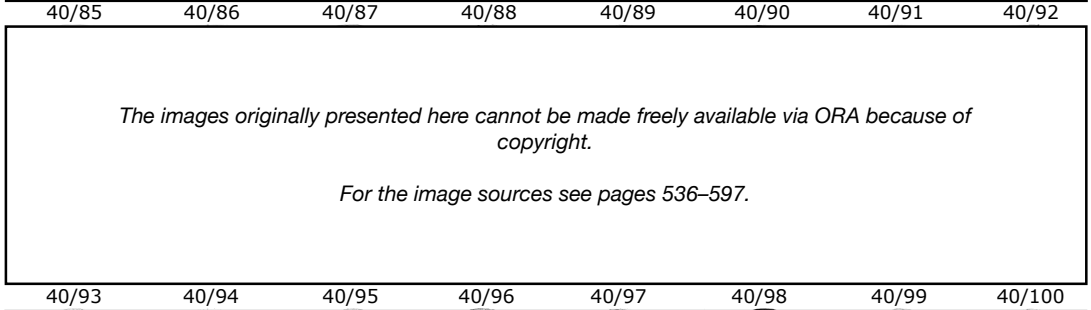
40/67 40/69 40/70 40/71 40/72 40/73 40/74 40/75



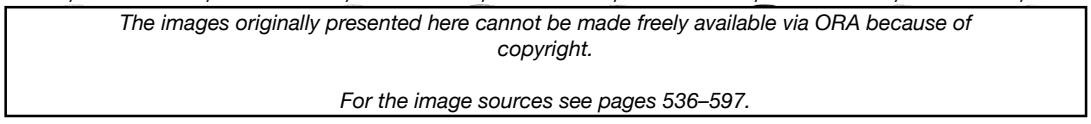
40/76 40/78 40/79 40/80 40/81 40/82 40/83 40/84



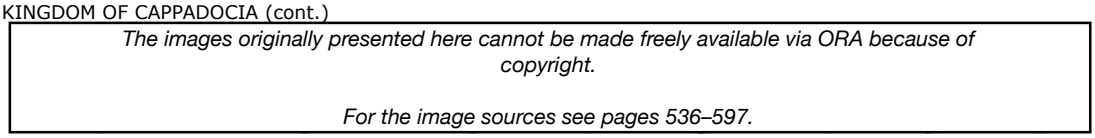
40/85 40/86 40/87 40/88 40/89 40/90 40/91 40/92



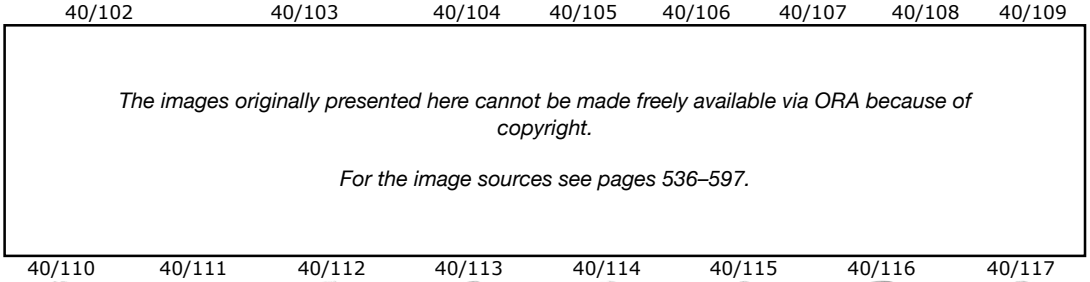
40/93 40/94 40/95 40/96 40/97 40/98 40/99 40/100



KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)



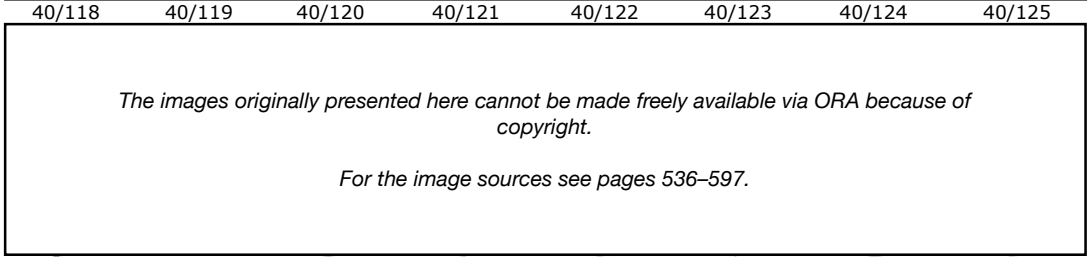
40/102 40/103 40/104 40/105 40/106 40/107 40/108 40/109



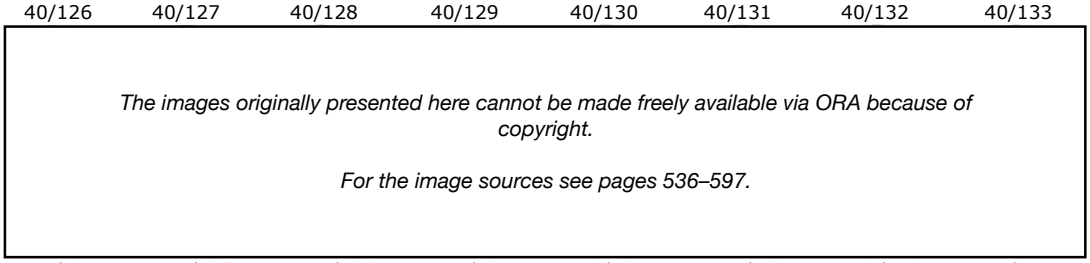
40/110 40/111 40/112 40/113 40/114 40/115 40/116 40/117



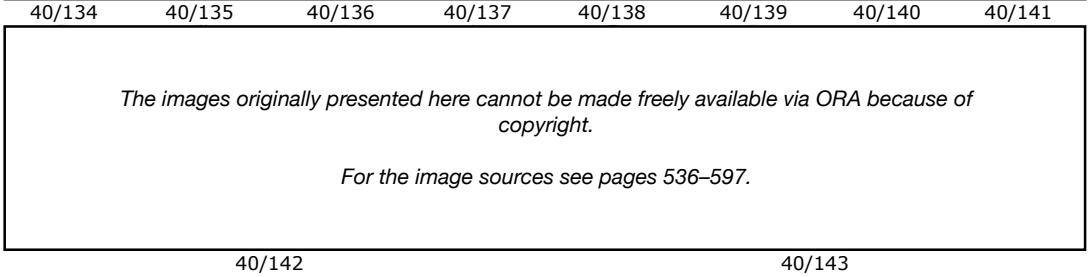
40/118 40/119 40/120 40/121 40/122 40/123 40/124 40/125



40/126 40/127 40/128 40/129 40/130 40/131 40/132 40/133

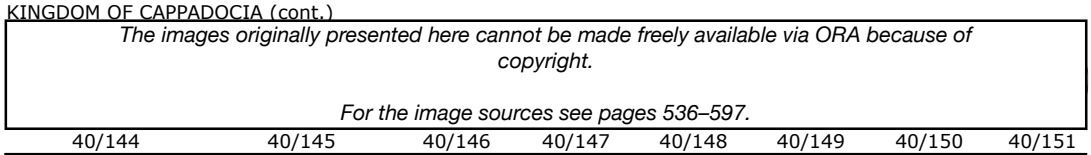


40/134 40/135 40/136 40/137 40/138 40/139 40/140 40/141

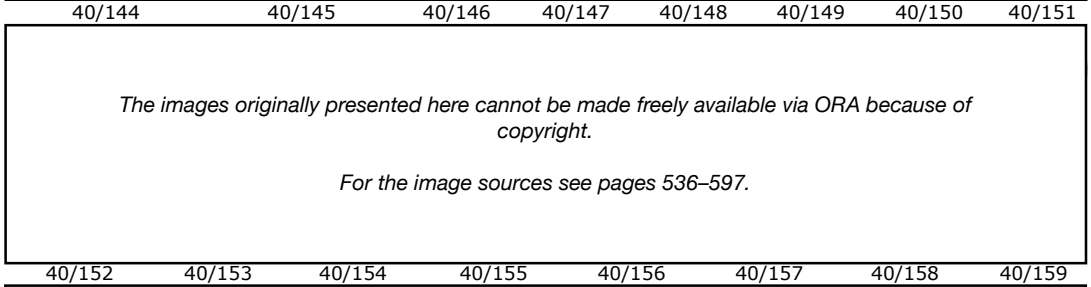


40/142 40/143

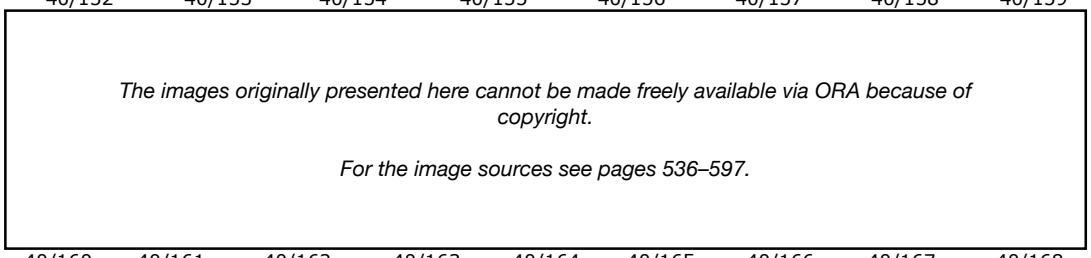
KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)



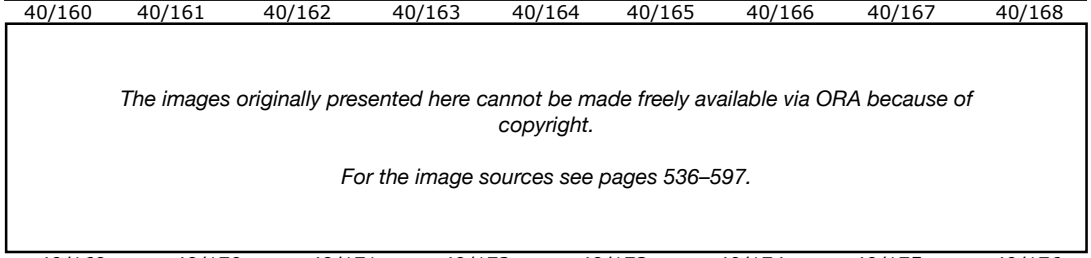
40/144 40/145 40/146 40/147 40/148 40/149 40/150 40/151



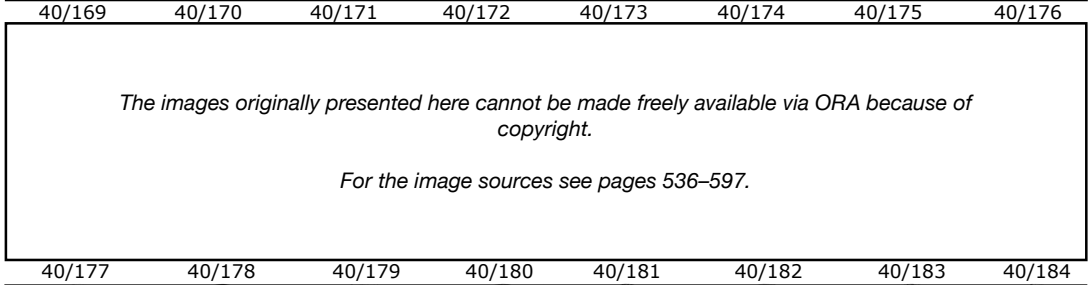
40/152 40/153 40/154 40/155 40/156 40/157 40/158 40/159



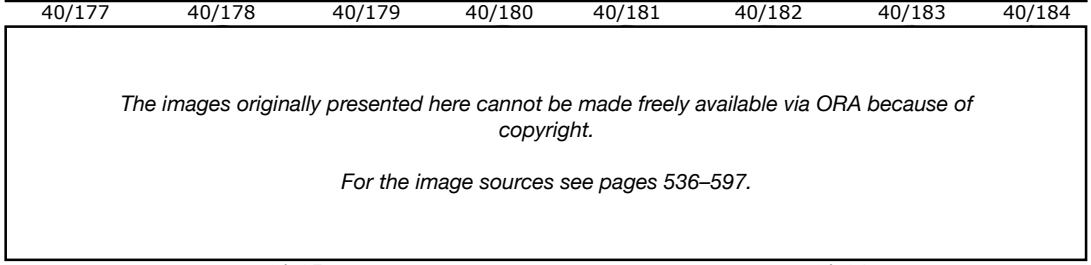
40/160 40/161 40/162 40/163 40/164 40/165 40/166 40/167 40/168



40/169 40/170 40/171 40/172 40/173 40/174 40/175 40/176



40/177 40/178 40/179 40/180 40/181 40/182 40/183 40/184



40/185 40/186

KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

40/187 40/188 40/189 40/190 40/191 40/192 40/193 40/194

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

40/195 40/196 40/197 40/198 40/199 40/200 40/201 40/202

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

40/203 40/204 40/205 40/206 40/207 40/208 40/209 40/210

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

40/211 40/212 40/213 41/1 41/2 41/3 41/4 41/5

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

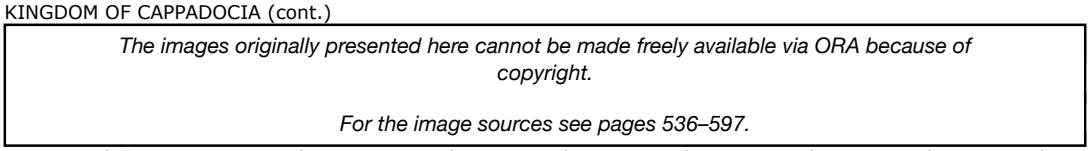
For the image sources see pages 536–597.

41/7 41/8 41/9 41/10 41/11 41/12 41/13 41/14

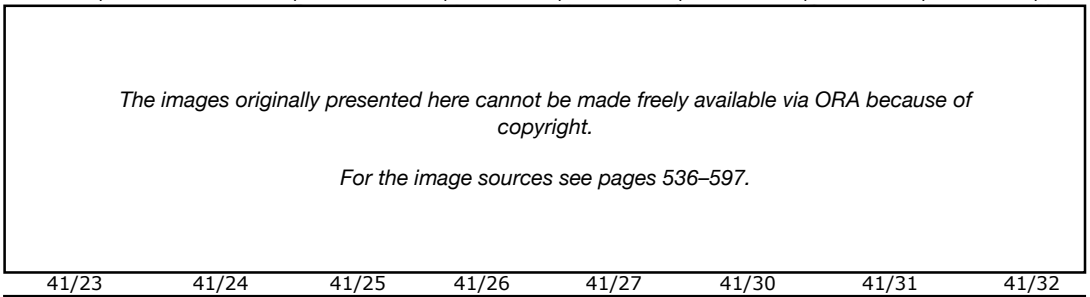
The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

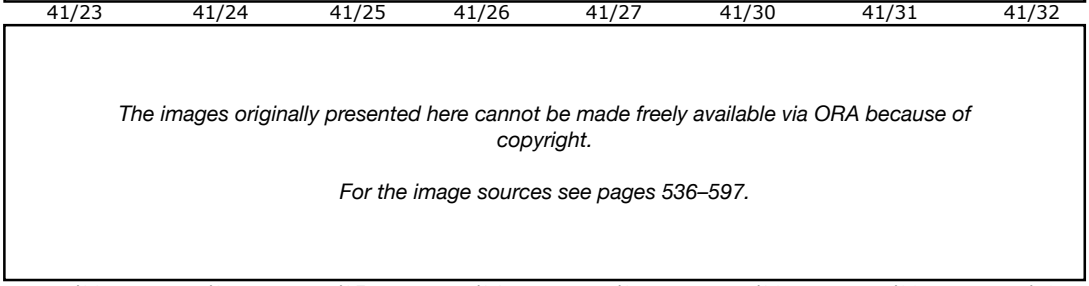
KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)



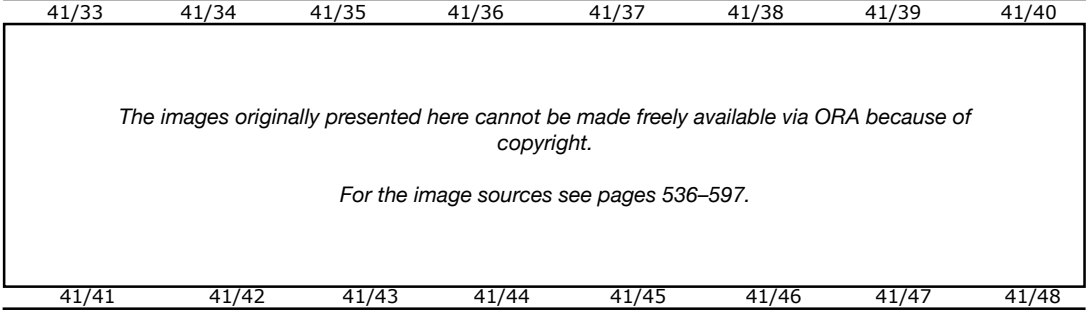
41/15 41/16 41/17 41/18 41/19 41/20 41/21 41/22



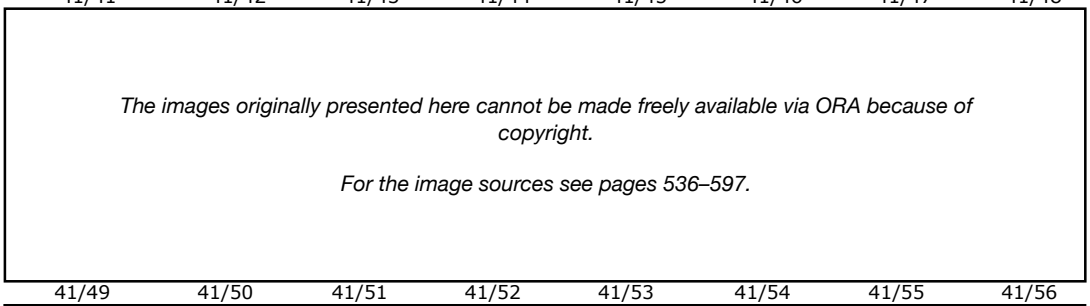
41/23 41/24 41/25 41/26 41/27 41/30 41/31 41/32



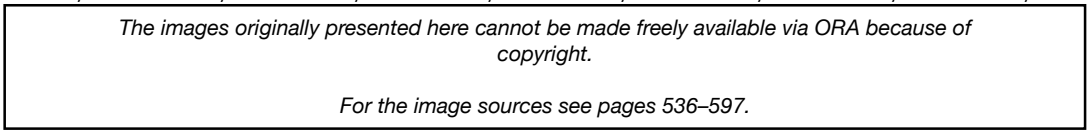
41/33 41/34 41/35 41/36 41/37 41/38 41/39 41/40



41/41 41/42 41/43 41/44 41/45 41/46 41/47 41/48



41/49 41/50 41/51 41/52 41/53 41/54 41/55 41/56



KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

41/57 41/58 41/59 41/60 41/61 41/62 41/63 41/65

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

41/66 41/67 41/68 41/69 41/70 41/71 41/72 41/73

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

41/74 41/75 41/76 41/77 41/78 41/79 41/80 41/81

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

41/82 41/83 41/84 41/85 41/86 41/87 41/88 41/89

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

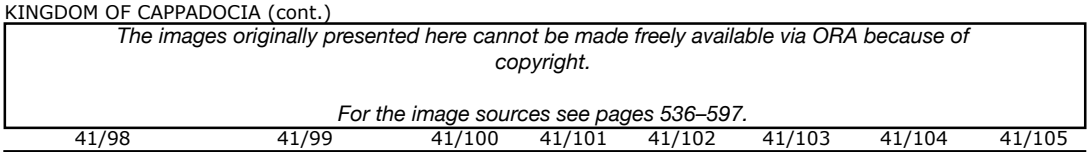
For the image sources see pages 536–597.

41/90 41/91 41/92 41/93 41/94 41/95 41/96 41/97

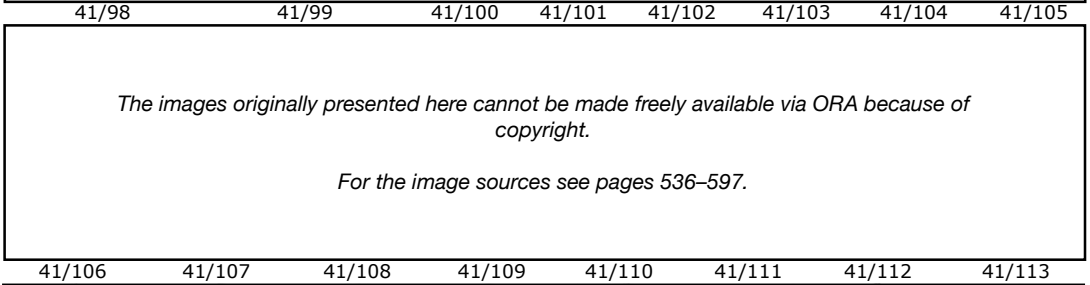
The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

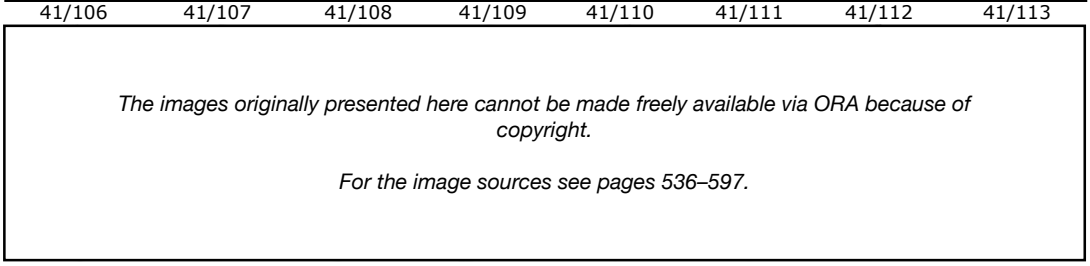
KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)



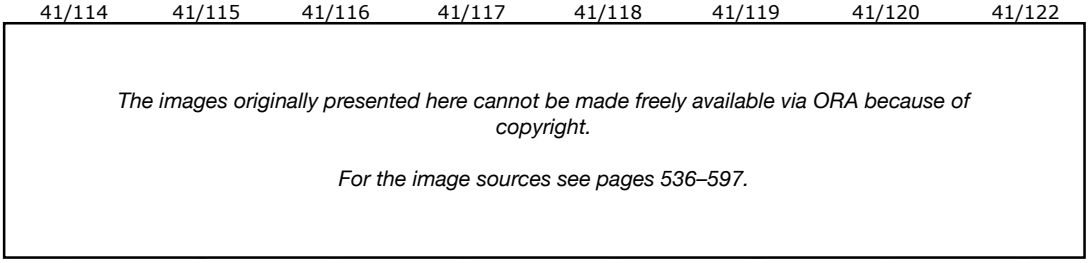
41/98 41/99 41/100 41/101 41/102 41/103 41/104 41/105



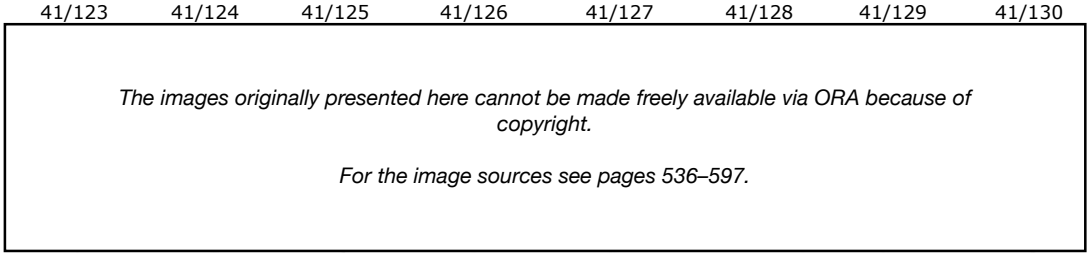
41/106 41/107 41/108 41/109 41/110 41/111 41/112 41/113



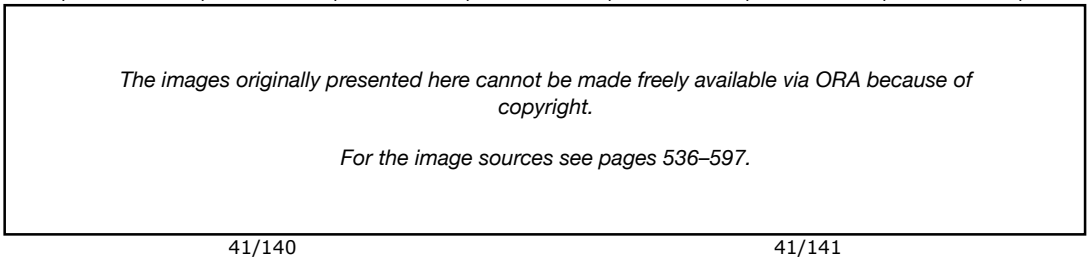
41/114 41/115 41/116 41/117 41/118 41/119 41/120 41/122



41/123 41/124 41/125 41/126 41/127 41/128 41/129 41/130



41/131 41/132 41/133 41/134 41/135 41/136 41/137 41/138



41/140 41/141

KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

41/142 41/143 41/144 41/145 41/146 41/147 41/148 41/149

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

41/150 41/151 41/152 41/153 41/154 41/155 41/156 42/1

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

42/2 42/3 42/6 42/7 42/8 42/9 42/10 42/11 42/12

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

42/13 42/14 42/15 42/16 42/17 42/18 42/19 42/20 42/21

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

42/22 42/23 42/24 42/25 42/26 42/27 42/28 42/29

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

42/30 42/31

KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

42/32 42/33 42/34 42/35 42/36 42/37 42/38 43/1

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

43/2 43/3 44/1 44/2 44/3 44/4 44/5 44/6

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

44/7 44/8 44/9 44/10 44/11 44/12 44/13 45/1

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

45/2 45/3 45/4 45/5 45/6 45/7 45/8 45/9

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

45/10 45/11 45/12 45/13 45/14 45/15 45/16 45/17

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

45/19 45/20 45/22 45/23 45/24 45/25 45/26 45/27

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

45/28 45/29 45/30 45/31 45/32 45/33 45/34 45/35

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

45/36 45/37 45/38 45/39 45/40 45/41 45/42 45/43

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

45/44 45/45 45/46 45/47 45/48 45/49 45/50 45/51

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

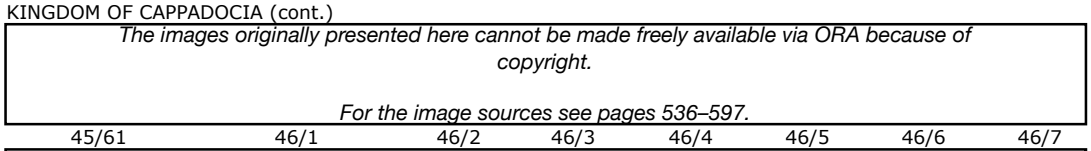
For the image sources see pages 536–597.

45/52 45/53 45/54 45/55 45/56 45/57 45/59 45/60

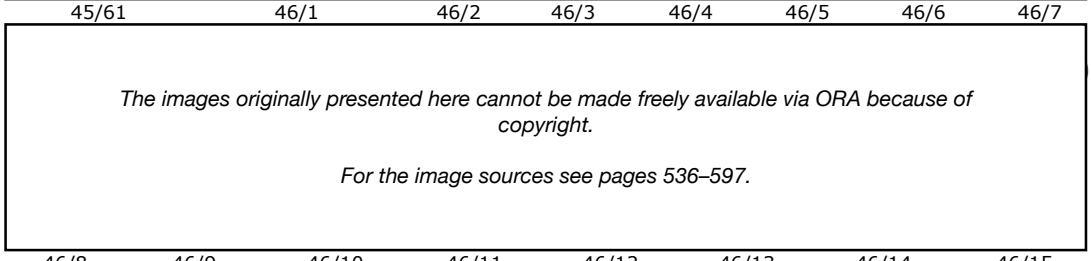
The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

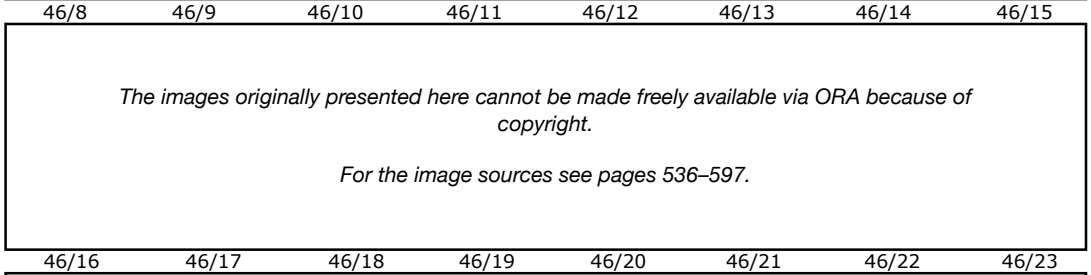
KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)



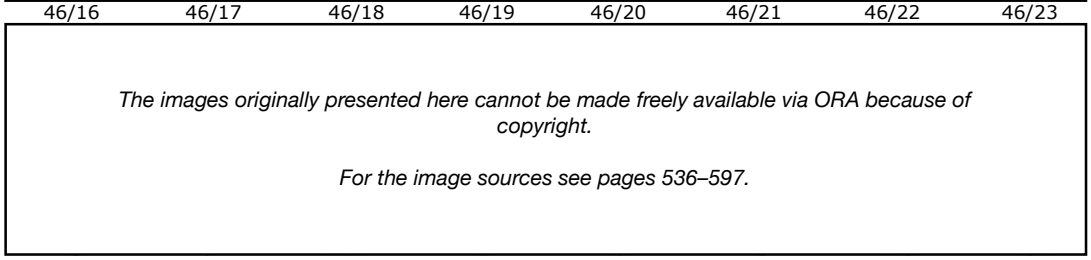
45/61 46/1 46/2 46/3 46/4 46/5 46/6 46/7



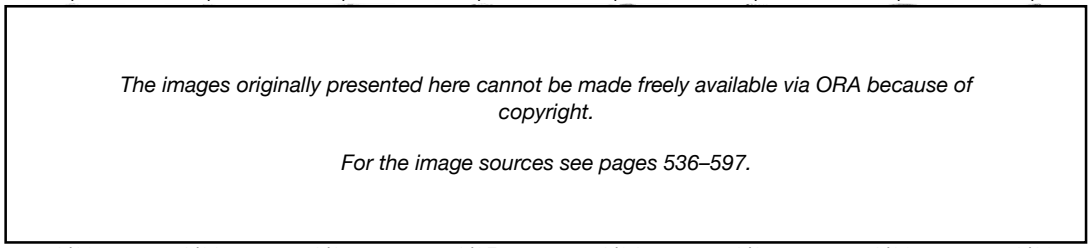
46/8 46/9 46/10 46/11 46/12 46/13 46/14 46/15



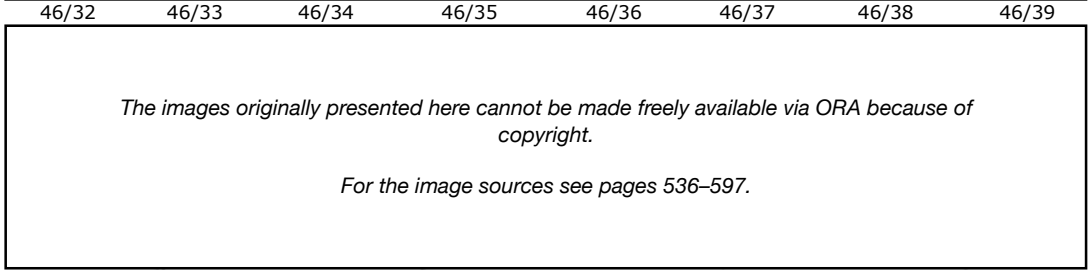
46/16 46/17 46/18 46/19 46/20 46/21 46/22 46/23



46/24 46/25 46/26 46/27 46/28 46/29 46/30 46/31

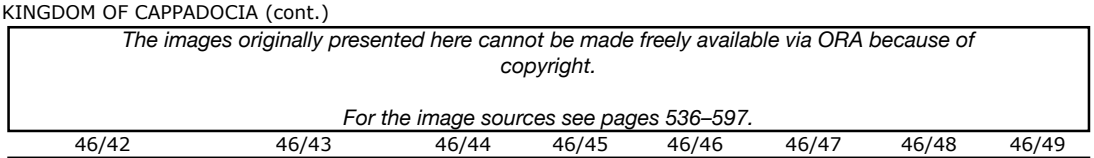


46/32 46/33 46/34 46/35 46/36 46/37 46/38 46/39

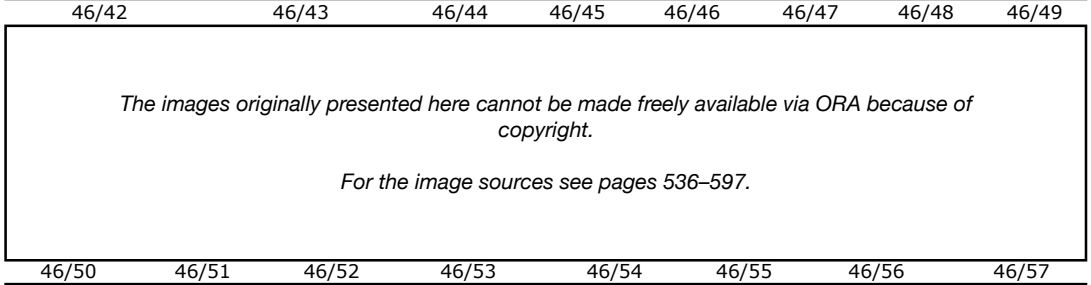


46/40 46/41

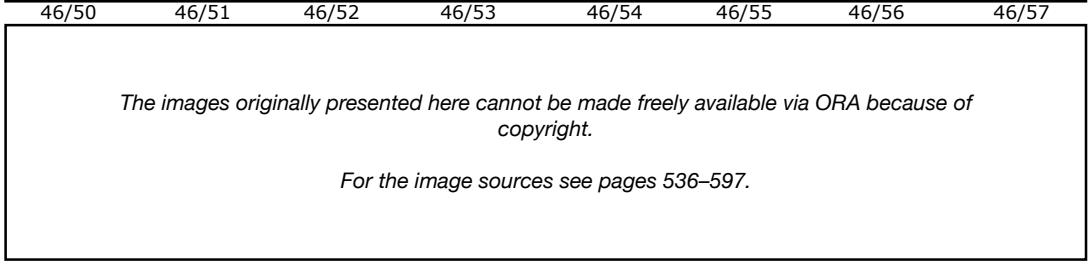
KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)



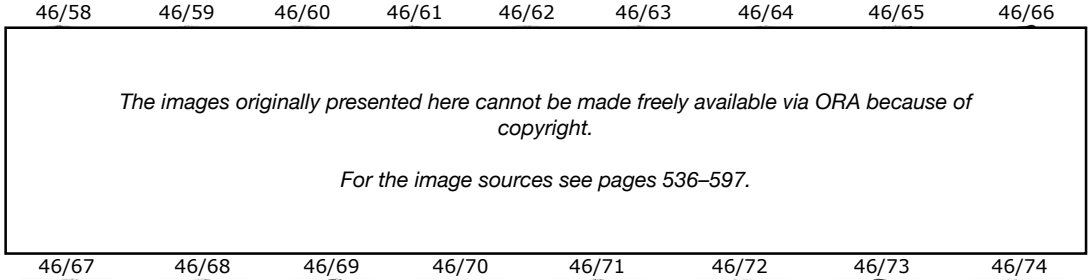
46/42 46/43 46/44 46/45 46/46 46/47 46/48 46/49



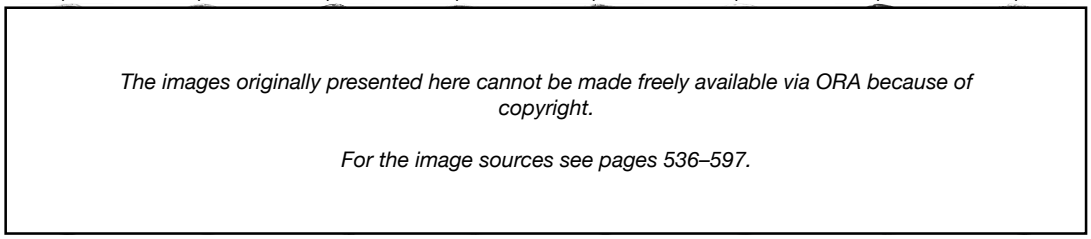
46/50 46/51 46/52 46/53 46/54 46/55 46/56 46/57



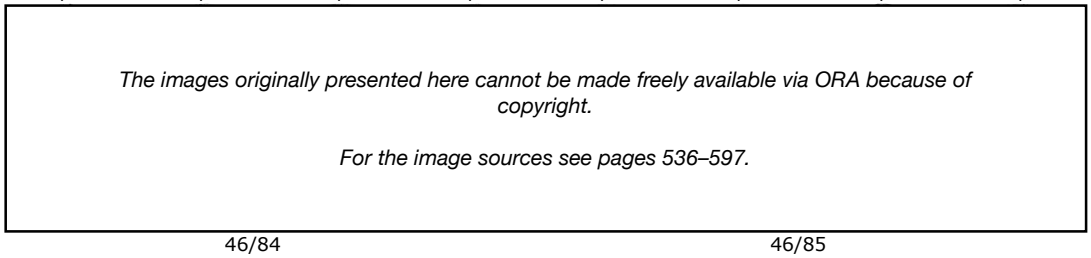
46/58 46/59 46/60 46/61 46/62 46/63 46/64 46/65 46/66



46/67 46/68 46/69 46/70 46/71 46/72 46/73 46/74

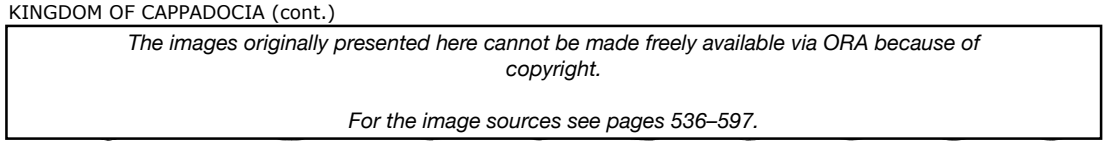


46/75 46/77 46/78 46/79 46/80 46/81 46/82 46/83

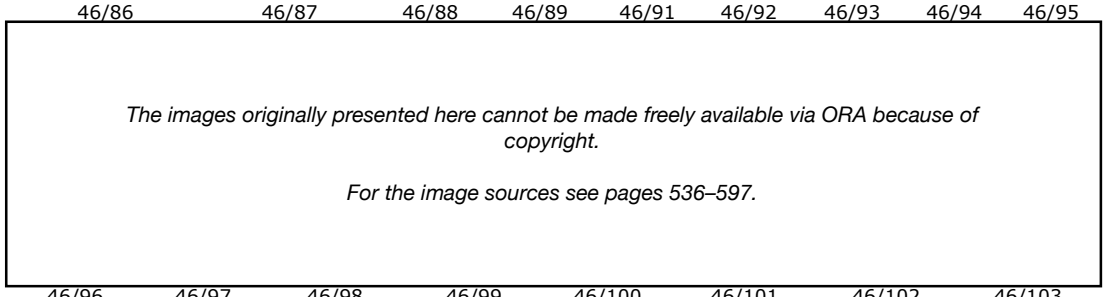


46/84 46/85

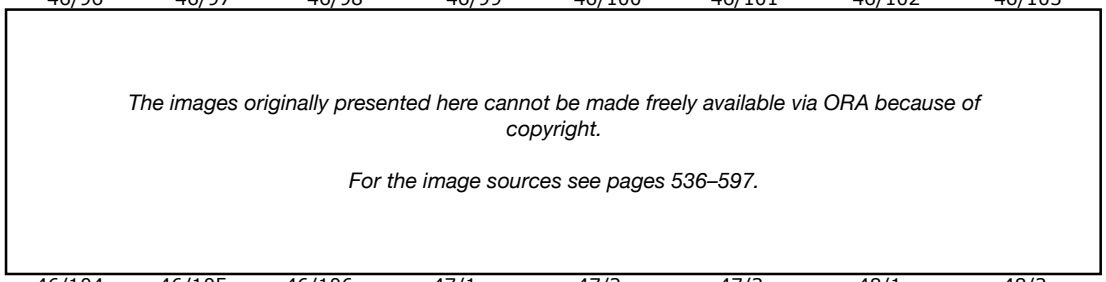
KINGDOM OF CAPPADOCIA (cont.)



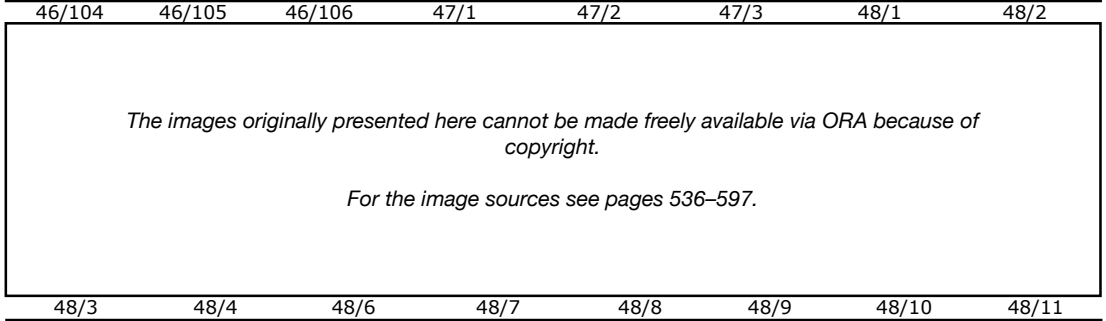
46/86 46/87 46/88 46/89 46/91 46/92 46/93 46/94 46/95



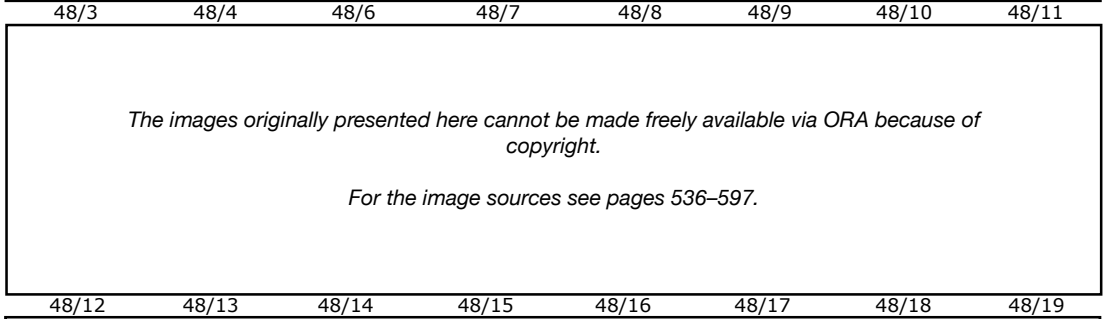
46/96 46/97 46/98 46/99 46/100 46/101 46/102 46/103



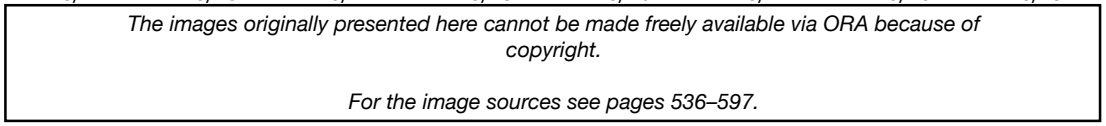
46/104 46/105 46/106 47/1 47/2 47/3 48/1 48/2



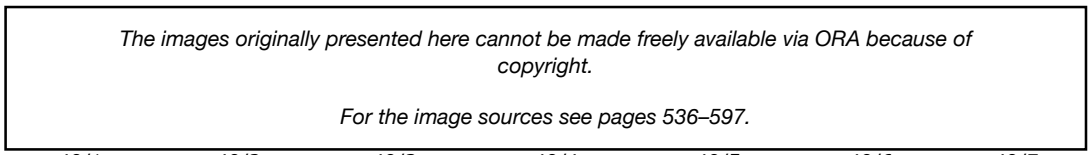
48/3 48/4 48/6 48/7 48/8 48/9 48/10 48/11



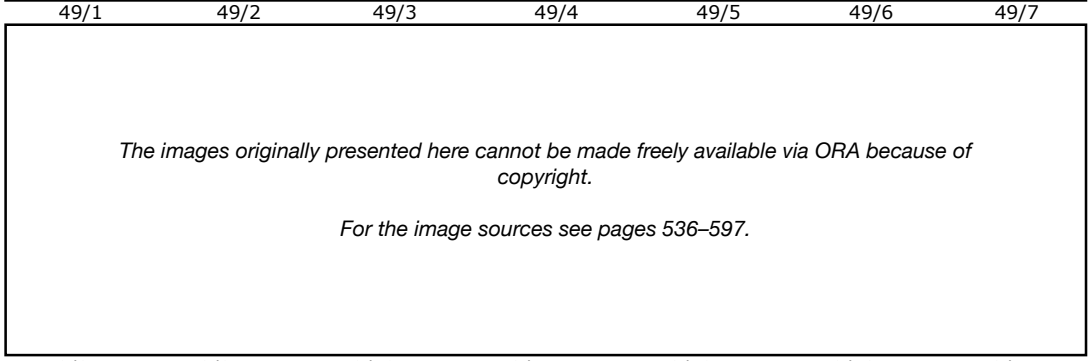
48/12 48/13 48/14 48/15 48/16 48/17 48/18 48/19



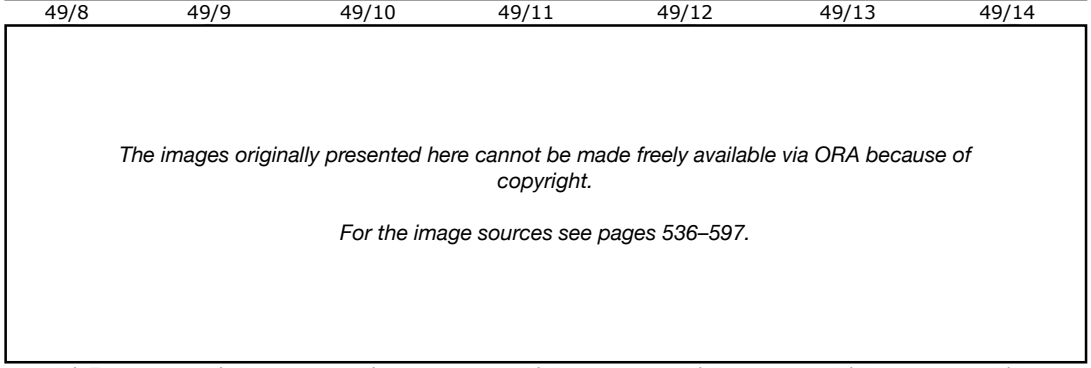
KINGDOM OF CILICIA



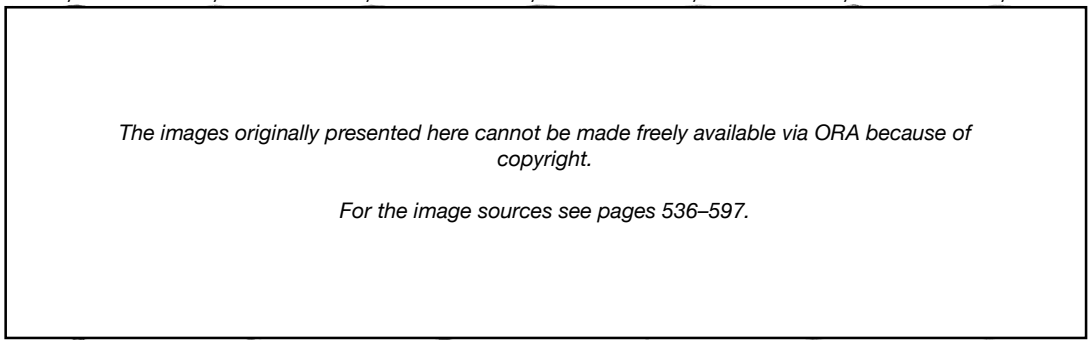
49/1 49/2 49/3 49/4 49/5 49/6 49/7



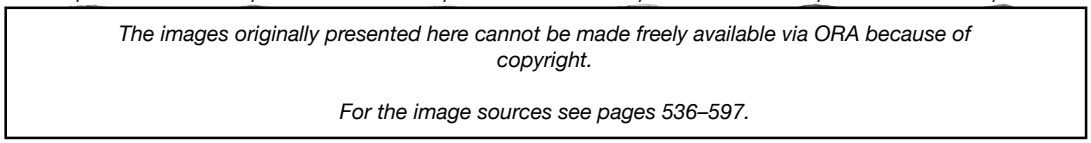
49/8 49/9 49/10 49/11 49/12 49/13 49/14



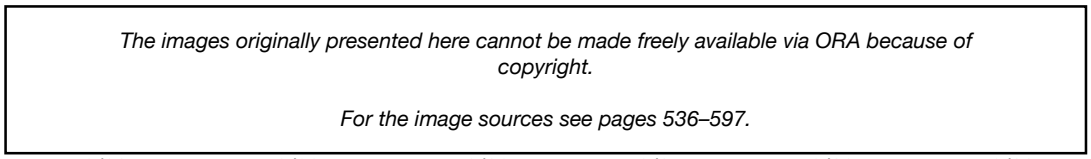
49/15 49/16 49/17 49/18 49/19 49/20 49/21



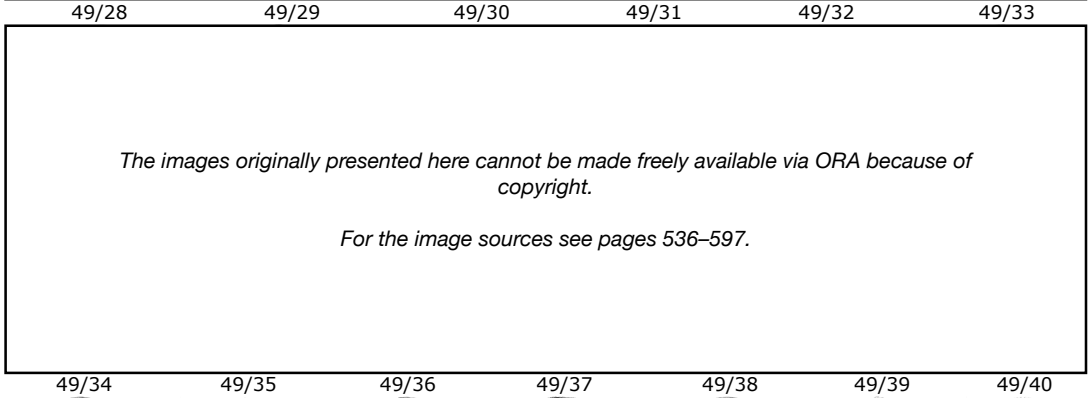
49/22 49/23 49/24 49/25 49/26 49/27



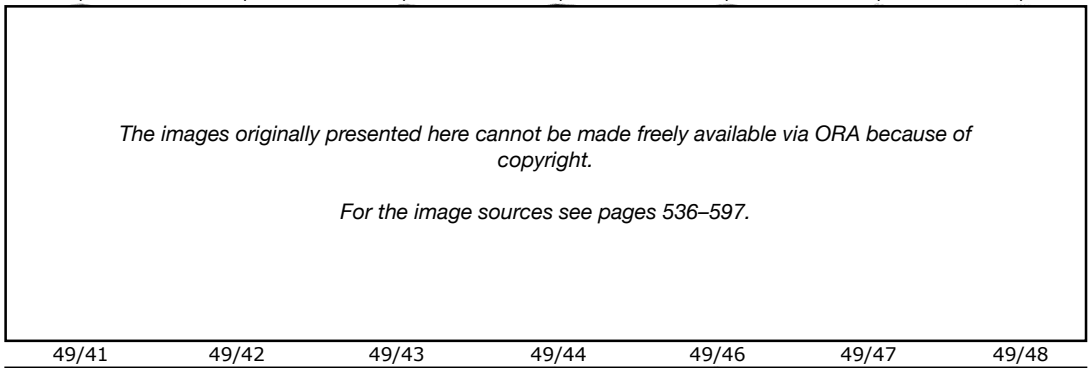
KINGDOM OF CILICIA (cont.)



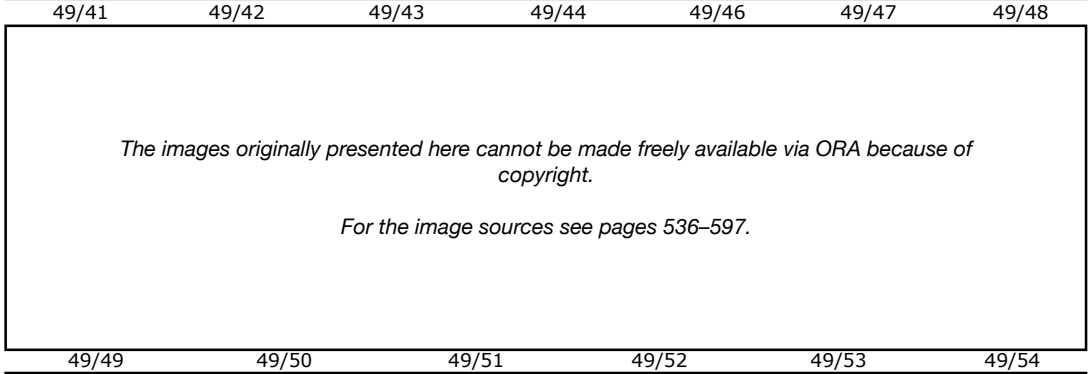
49/28 49/29 49/30 49/31 49/32 49/33



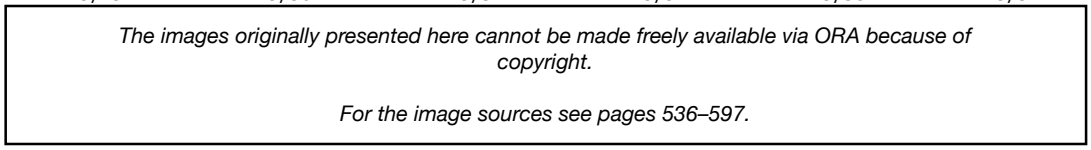
49/34 49/35 49/36 49/37 49/38 49/39 49/40



49/41 49/42 49/43 49/44 49/46 49/47 49/48



49/49 49/50 49/51 49/52 49/53 49/54



KINGDOM OF CILICIA (cont.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

49/55 49/56 49/57 49/58 49/59 49/60 49/61

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

49/62 49/63 49/64 49/65 49/66 49/67 49/68

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

49/69 49/70 49/71 49/72 49/73 49/74 49/75

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

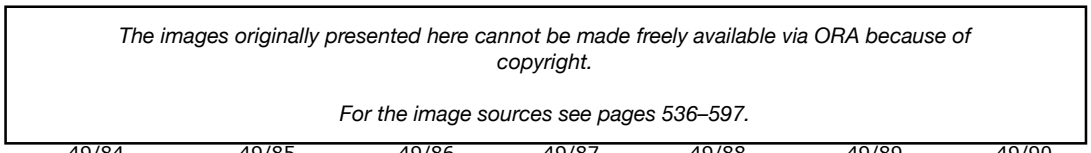
For the image sources see pages 536–597.

49/77 49/78 49/79 49/80 49/81 49/82 49/83

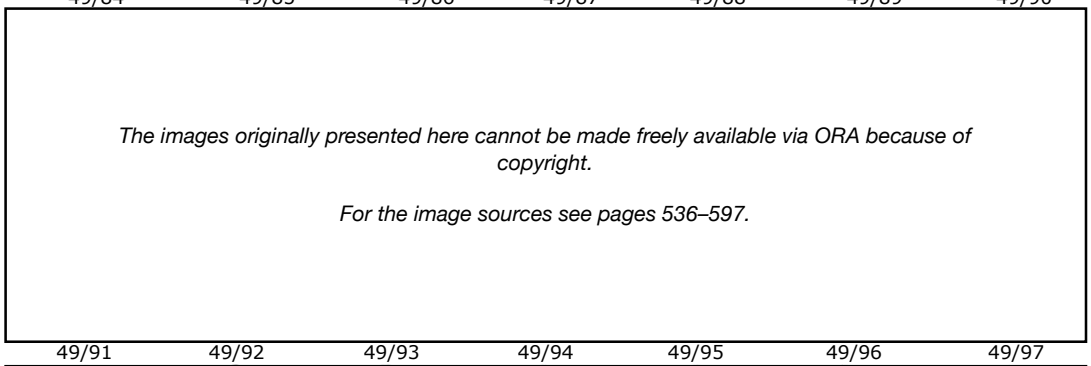
The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

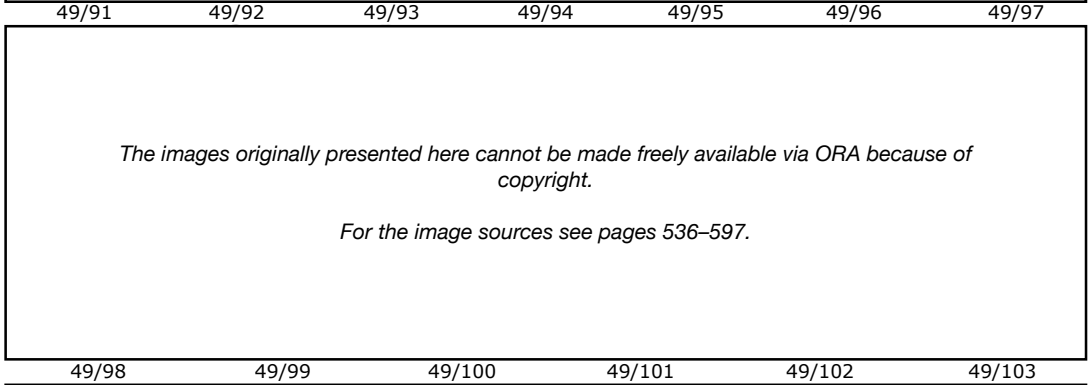
KINGDOM OF CILICIA (cont.)



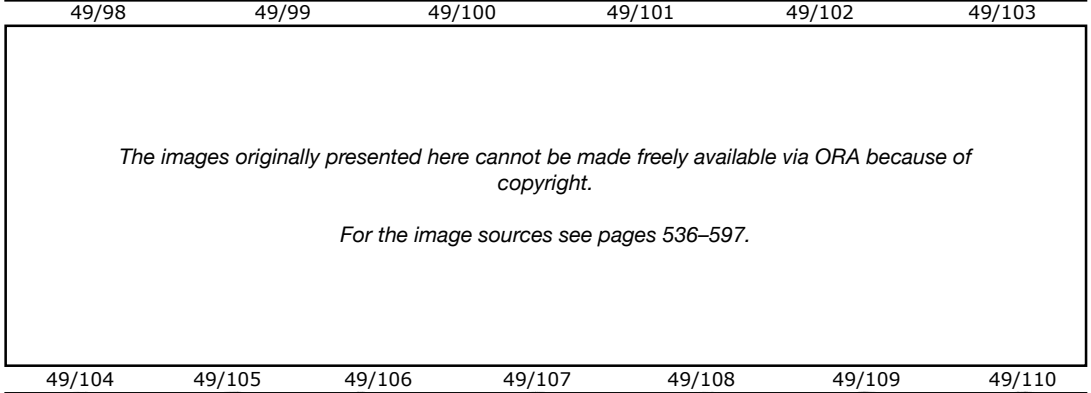
49/84 49/85 49/86 49/87 49/88 49/89 49/90



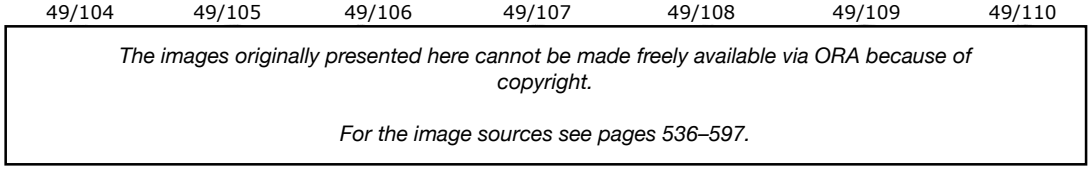
49/91 49/92 49/93 49/94 49/95 49/96 49/97



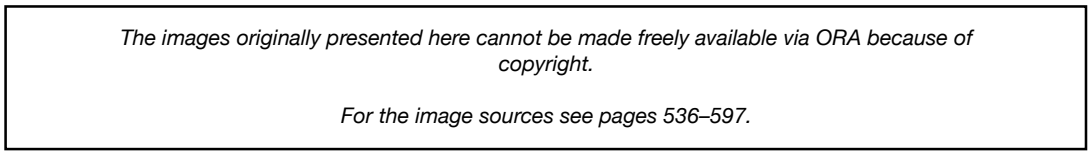
49/98 49/99 49/100 49/101 49/102 49/103



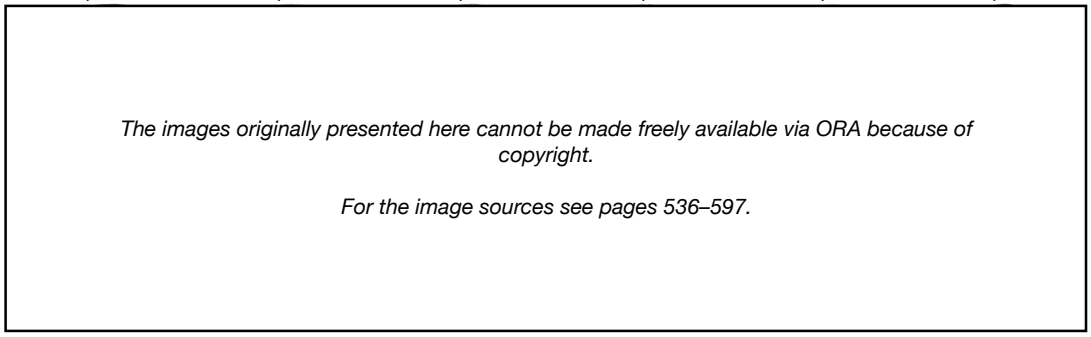
49/104 49/105 49/106 49/107 49/108 49/109 49/110



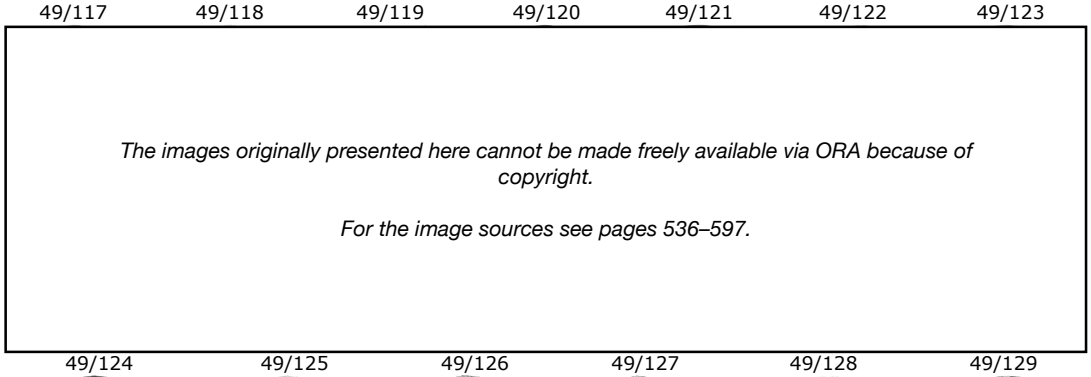
KINGDOM OF CILICIA (cont.)



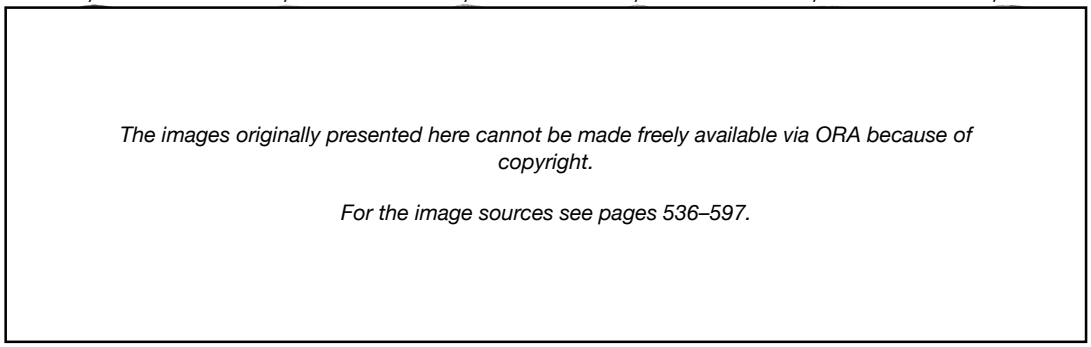
49/111 49/112 49/113 49/114 49/115 49/116



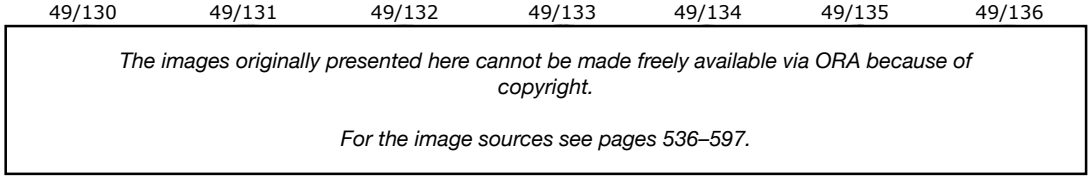
49/117 49/118 49/119 49/120 49/121 49/122 49/123



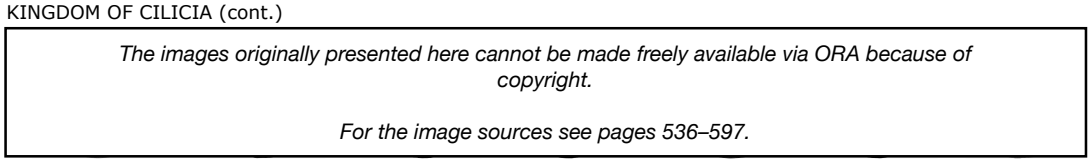
49/124 49/125 49/126 49/127 49/128 49/129



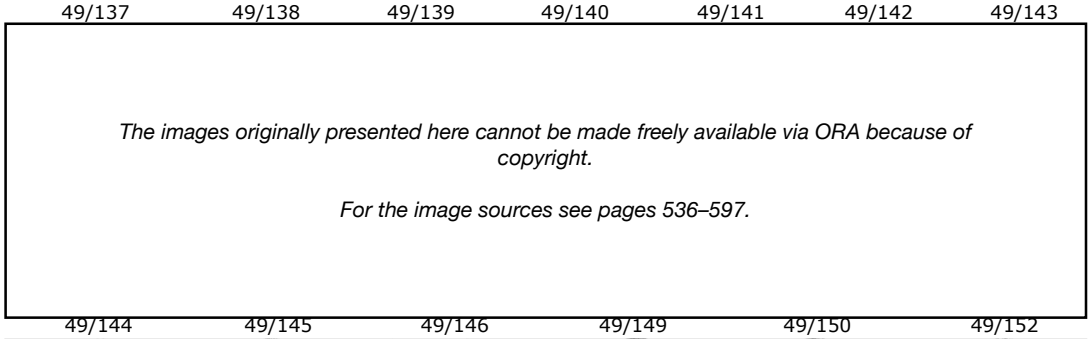
49/130 49/131 49/132 49/133 49/134 49/135 49/136



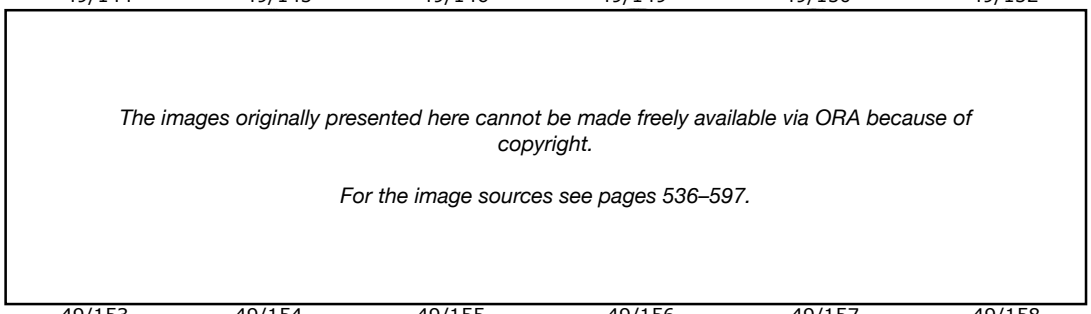
KINGDOM OF CILICIA (cont.)



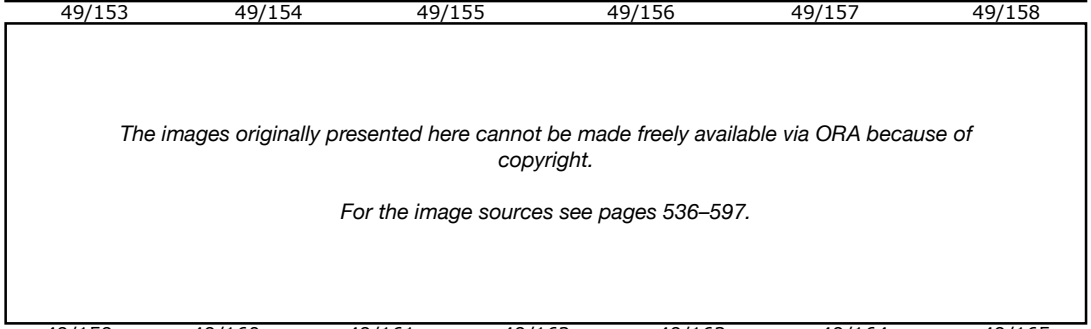
49/137 49/138 49/139 49/140 49/141 49/142 49/143



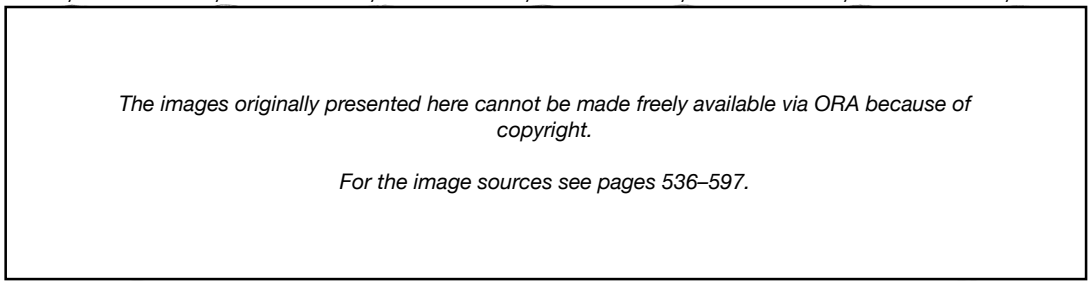
49/144 49/145 49/146 49/149 49/150 49/152



49/153 49/154 49/155 49/156 49/157 49/158

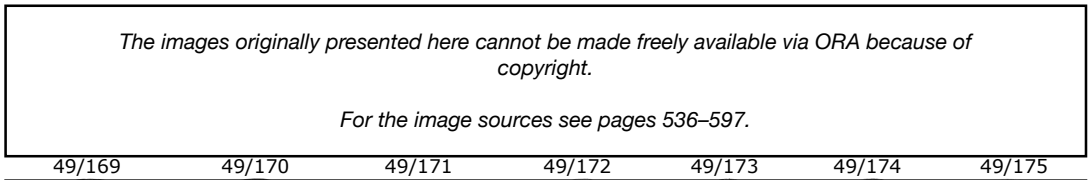


49/159 49/160 49/161 49/162 49/163 49/164 49/165

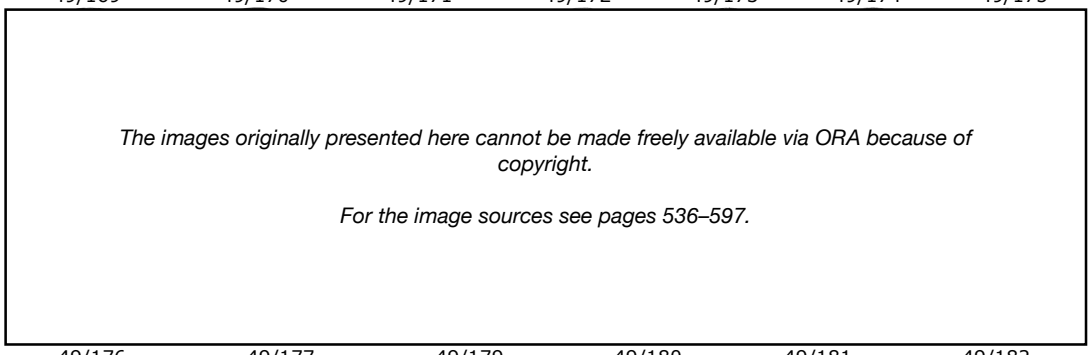


49/166 49/167

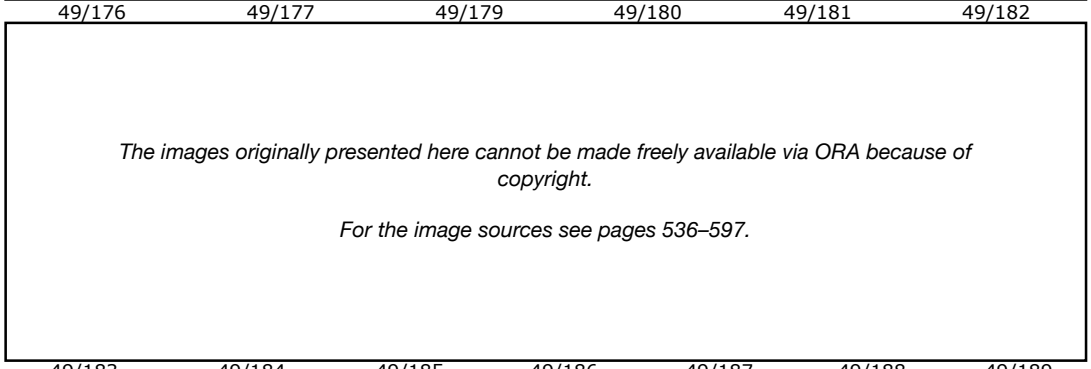
KINGDOM OF CILICIA (cont.)



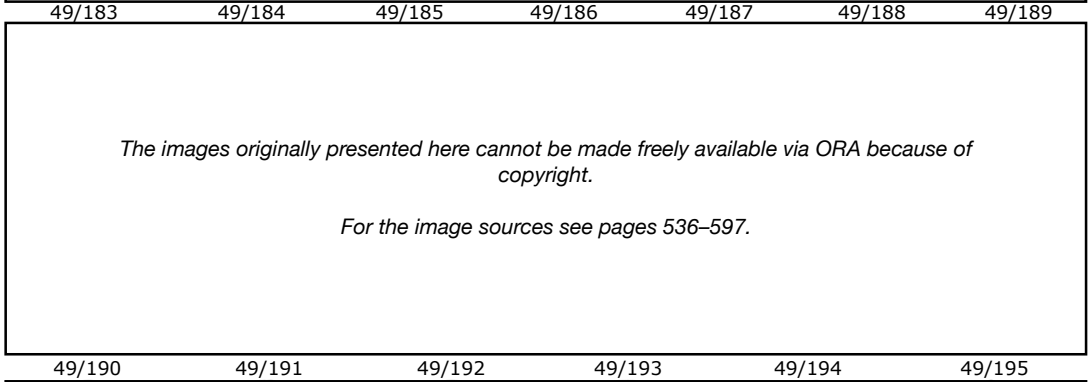
49/169 49/170 49/171 49/172 49/173 49/174 49/175



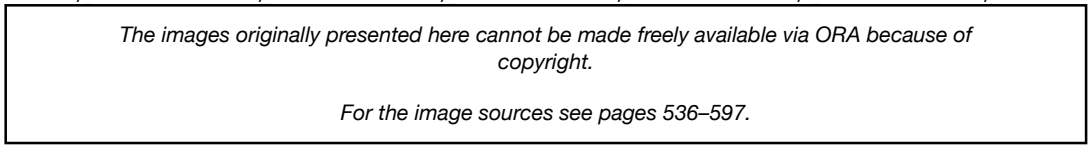
49/176 49/177 49/179 49/180 49/181 49/182



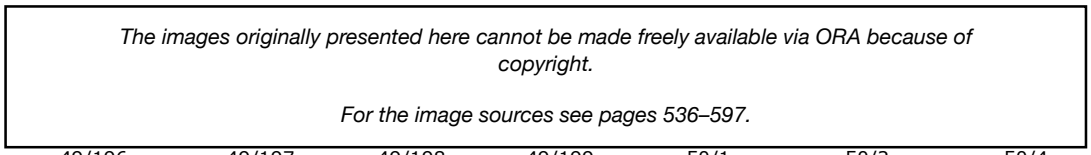
49/183 49/184 49/185 49/186 49/187 49/188 49/189



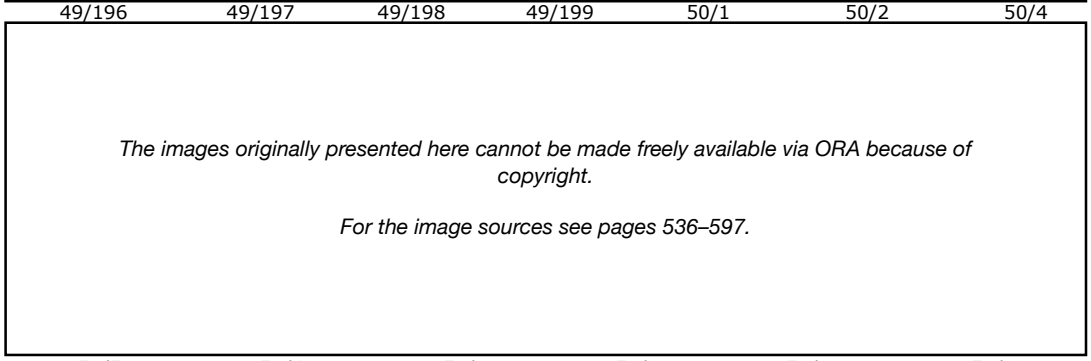
49/190 49/191 49/192 49/193 49/194 49/195



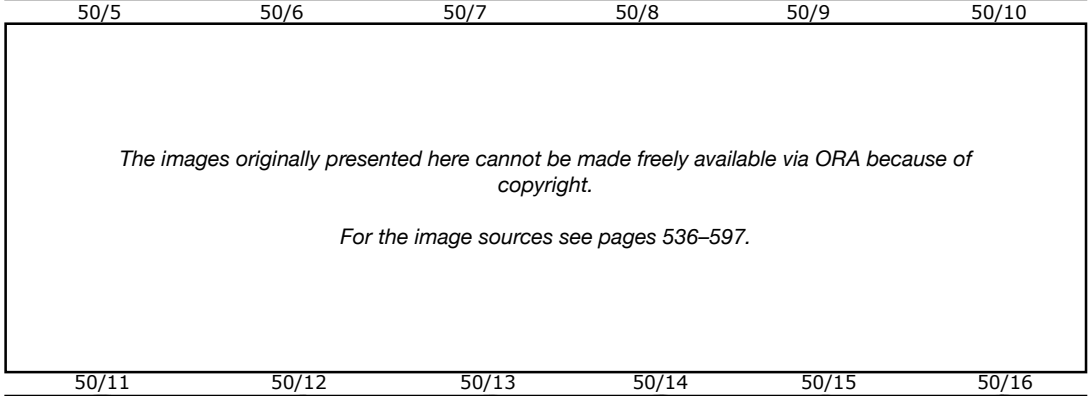
KINGDOM OF CILICIA (cont.)



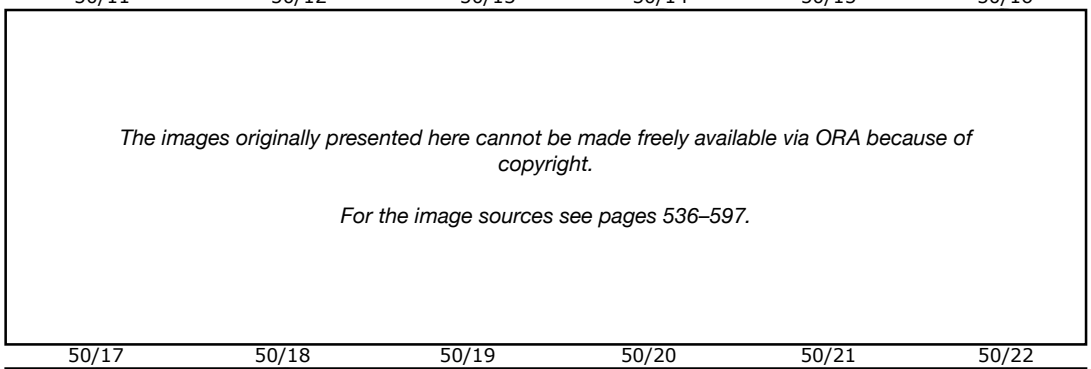
49/196 49/197 49/198 49/199 50/1 50/2 50/4



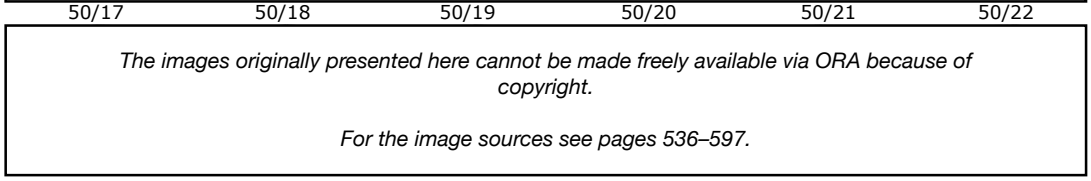
50/5 50/6 50/7 50/8 50/9 50/10



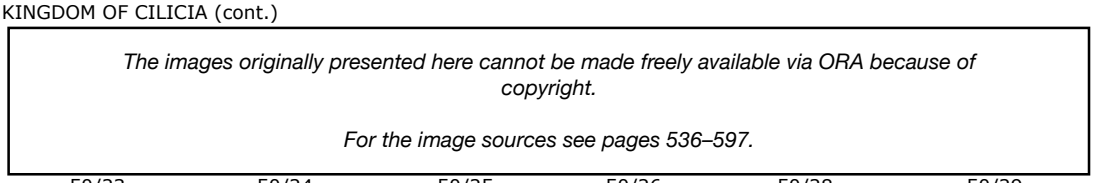
50/11 50/12 50/13 50/14 50/15 50/16



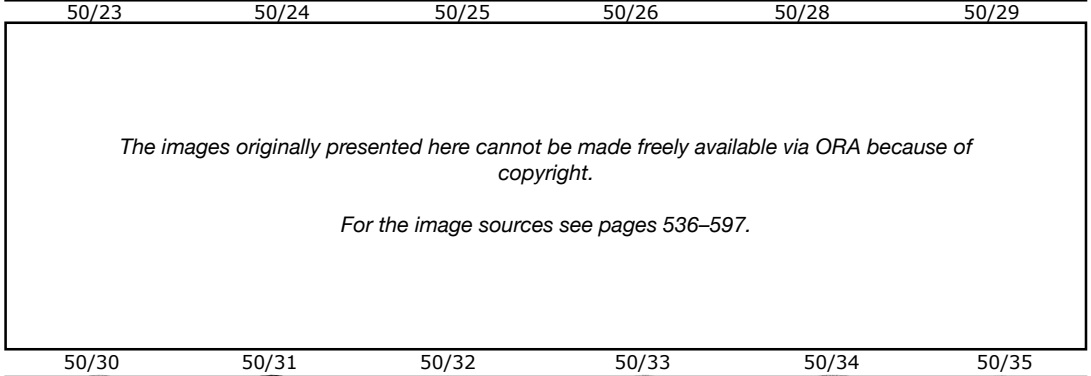
50/17 50/18 50/19 50/20 50/21 50/22



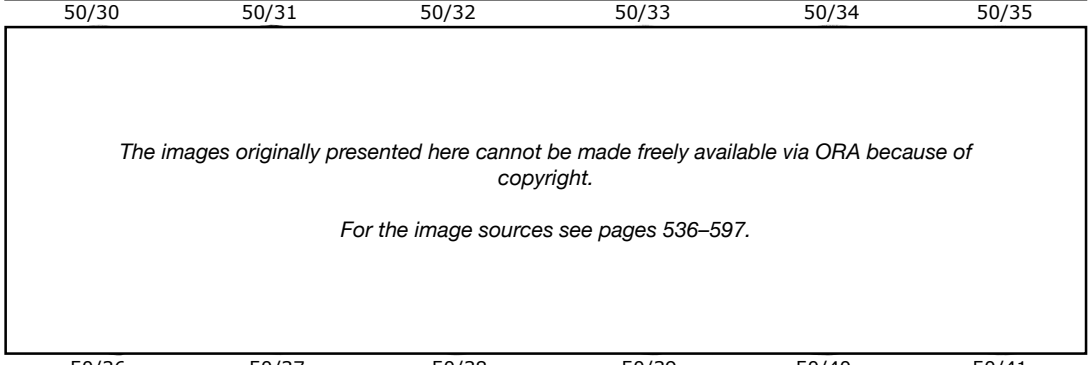
KINGDOM OF CILICIA (cont.)



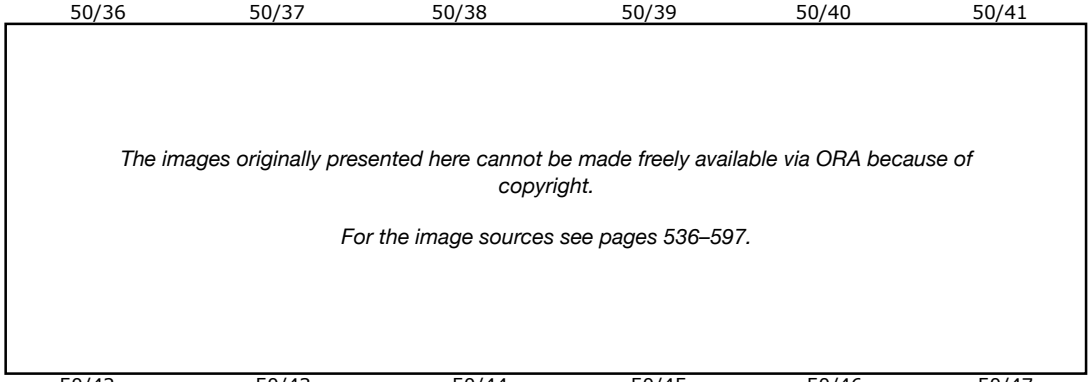
50/23 50/24 50/25 50/26 50/28 50/29



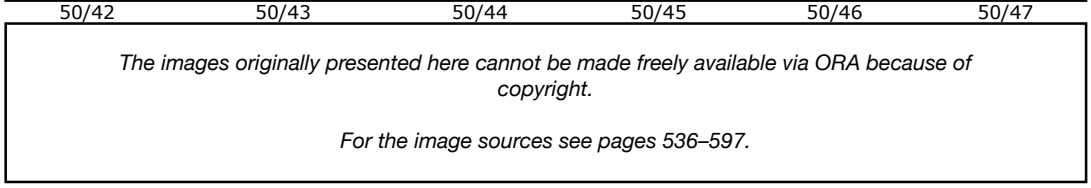
50/30 50/31 50/32 50/33 50/34 50/35



50/36 50/37 50/38 50/39 50/40 50/41



50/42 50/43 50/44 50/45 50/46 50/47



KINGDOM OF CILICIA (cont.)

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

50/48 50/49 50/50 50/51 50/52 50/56

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

51/1 51/2 51/3 51/4 51/5 51/6

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

51/8 51/9 51/10 52/1 52/2 52/3

The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

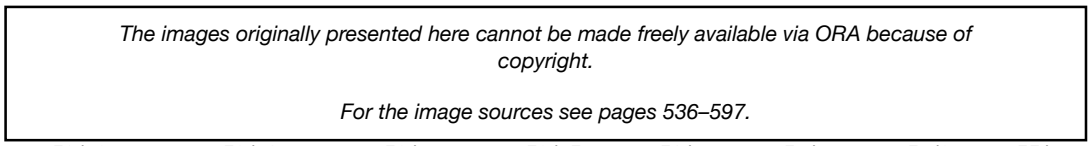
For the image sources see pages 536–597.

52/4 52/5 52/6 52/7 52/8 52/9 52/10 52/11

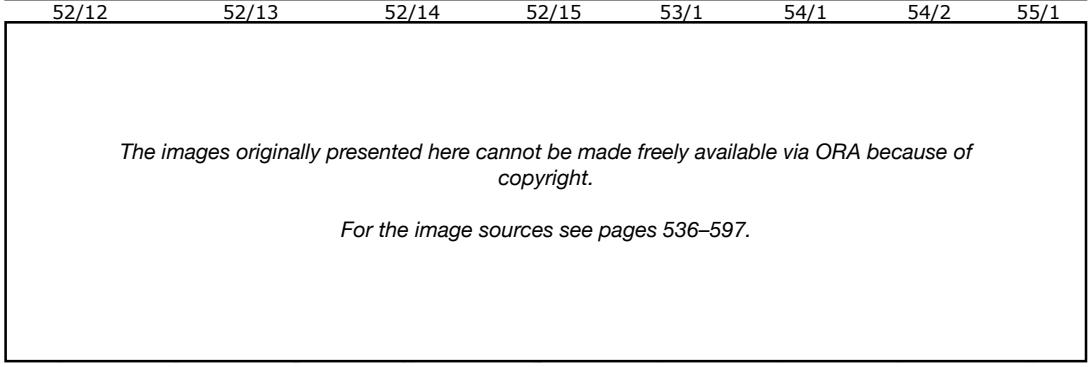
The images originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

For the image sources see pages 536–597.

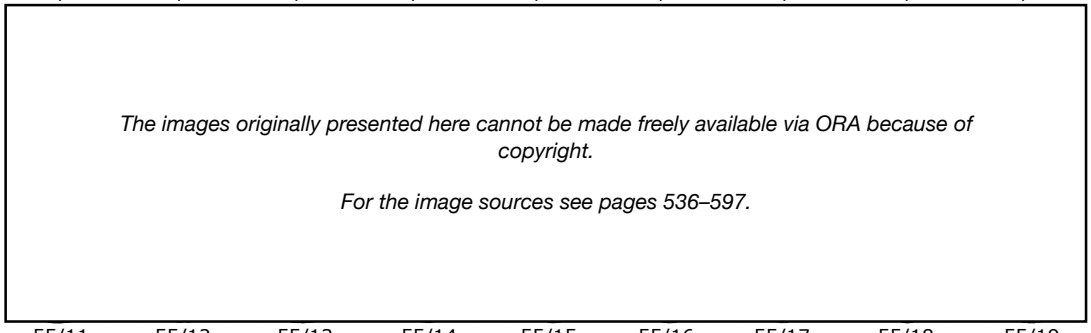
KINGDOM OF CILICIA (cont.)



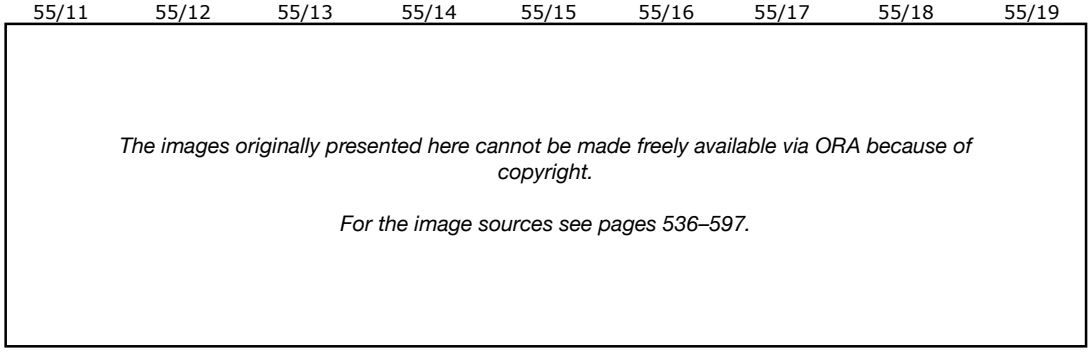
52/12 52/13 52/14 52/15 53/1 54/1 54/2 55/1



55/2 55/3 55/4 55/5 55/6 55/7 55/8 55/9 55/10



55/11 55/12 55/13 55/14 55/15 55/16 55/17 55/18 55/19



55/20 55/21

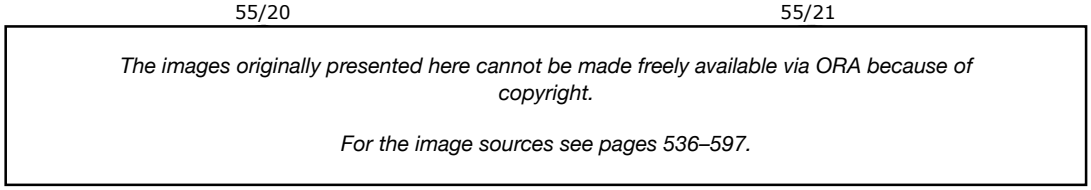


Plate 82: Die Link scheme of Amyntas' Tetradrachms

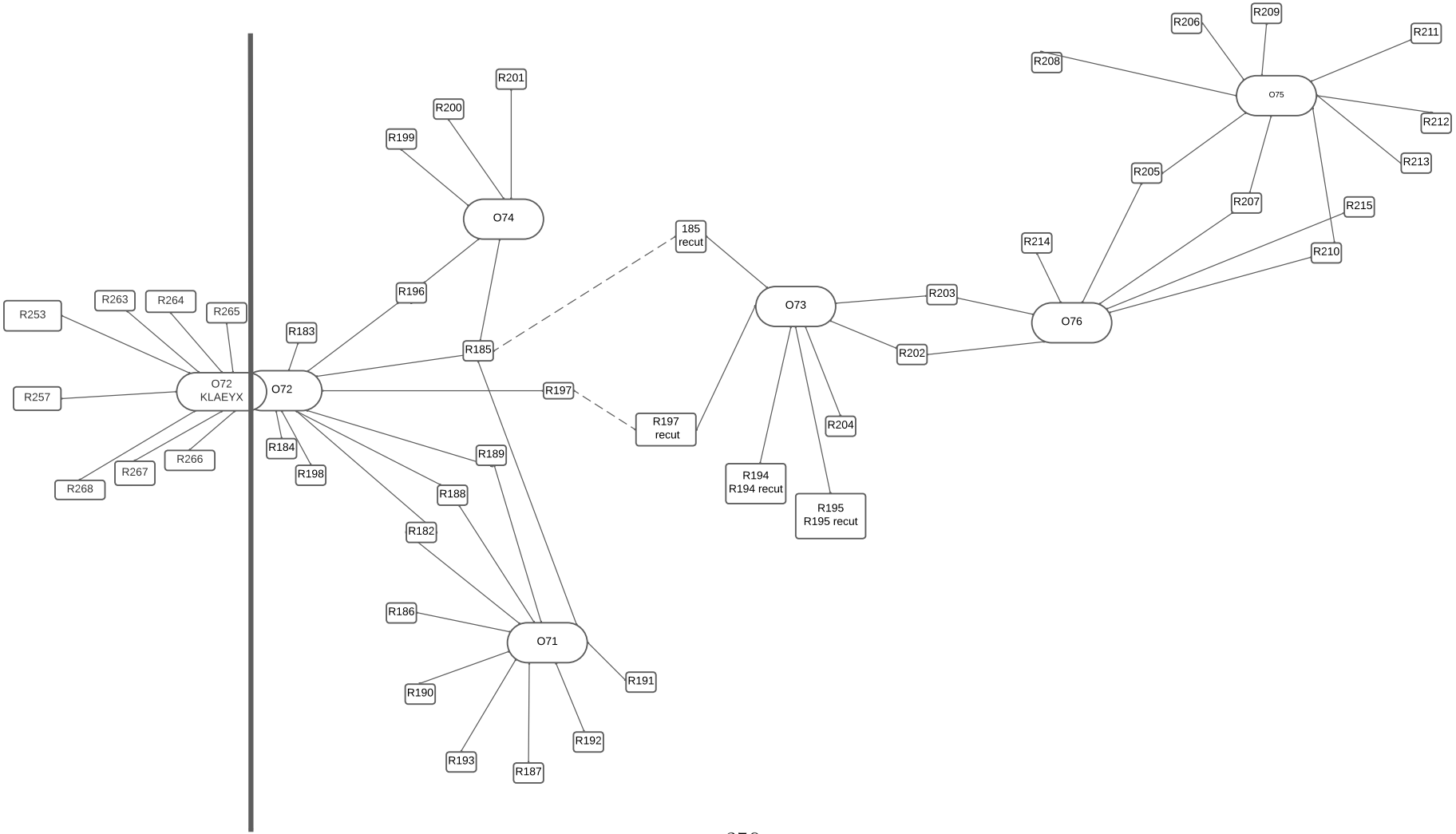
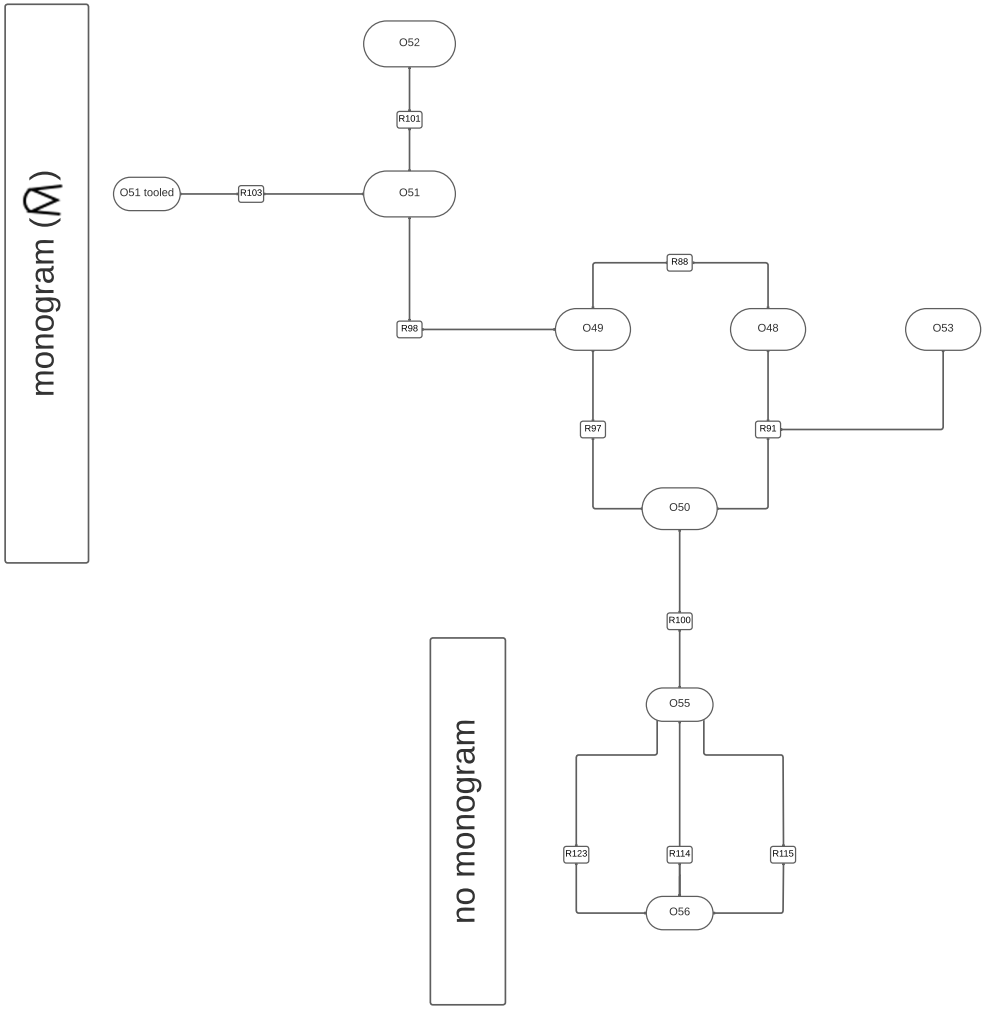


Plate 83: Die Link scheme of Amyntas' Lion series



CATALOGUE: WEIGHT TABLES[1]

Kingdom of Galatia

Brogitaros Philorhomaios

Type 1: Weight distribution		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
12.09	1	100.00

Civic coinage of Tavion

Type 2: Weight distribution		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
8.58	1	100.00

Deiotaros Philorhomaios

Deiotaros' Monogram series

Type 3: Weight distribution		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
4.11	1	33.33
5.64	1	33.33
7.76	1	33.33

[1] The interquartile range (IQR), marked in light gray and the median are calculated from the weight data and may show discrepancies to the rounded percentages given in the tables.

Type 4: Weight distribution Median = 10.01 g; IQR range = 8.40–10.71 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
7.49–7.99	1	7.14
8.00–8.49	3	21.43
8.49–8.99	1	7.14
9.00–9.49	1	7.14
9.50–9.99	/	/
10.00–10.49	3	21.43
10.49–10.99	2	14.29
11.00–11.49	1	7.14
11.49–11.99	1	7.14
12.00–12.49	/	/
12.49–12.99	/	/
13.00–13.49	1	7.14

Type 5: Weight distribution Median = 6.005 g; IQR range = 5.53–6.79 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
3.00–3.49	1	0.8
3.50–3.99	2	1.6
4.00–4.49	2	1.6
4.50–4.99	12	9.6
5.00–5.49	10	8.0
5.50–5.99	33	26.4
6.00–6.49	25	20.0
6.50–6.99	18	14.4
7.00–7.49	14	11.2
7.50–7.99	4	3.2
8.00–8.49	4	3.2

Type 6: Weight distribution Median = 4.99 g; IQR range = 4.58–5.47 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
3.50–3.99	1	1.64
4.00–4.49	10	16.39
4.50–4.99	21	34.43
5.00–5.49	14	22.95
5.50–5.99	11	18.03
6.00–6.49	4	6.56

King Deiotaros series

Type 7: Weight distribution Median = 11.44 g; IQR range = 10.55–12.70 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
<10	3	8.11
10.00–10.49	6	16.22
10.50–10.99	6	16.22
11.00–11.49	5	13.51
11.49–11.99	4	10.81
12.00–12.49	3	8.11
12.49–12.99	7	18.92
13.00–13.49	3	8.11

uncertain (Kastor tetrarch of the Tektosages or city of Tavion)

Type 8: Weight distribution		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
4.00–4.49	1	33.33
4.50–4.99	2	66.66

Bronze coinage of Amyntas: Group 1

Type 9: Weight distribution Median = 9.824 g; IQR range = 8.15–11.22 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
4.50–4.99	1	0.91
5.00–5.49	1	0.91
5.50–5.99	2	1.82
6.00–6.49	2	1.82
6.50–6.99	1	0.91
7.00–7.49	8	7.27
7.49–7.99	10	9.10
8.00–8.49	7	6.36
8.49–8.99	8	7.27
9.00–9.49	7	6.36
9.50–9.99	14	12.73
10.00–10.49	8	7.27
10.49–10.99	8	7.27
11.00–11.49	9	8.18
11.49–11.99	5	4.55
12.00–12.49	6	5.45
12.49–12.99	3	2.73
13.00–13.49	4	3.64
13.50–13.99	2	1.82
>14	4	3.64

Type 10: Weight distribution Median = 7.695 g; IQR range = 7.17–8.27 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
<5.49	1	5.56
5.50–5.99	2	11.11
6.00–6.49	1	5.56
6.50–6.99	/	/
7.00–7.49	5	27.78
7.50–7.99	3	16.67
8.00–8.49	2	11.11
8.50–8.99	2	11.11
9.00–9.49	1	5.56
9.50–9.99	1	5.56

Type 11: Weight distribution Median = 5.785 g; IQR range = 5.40–5.86 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
4.50–4.99	1	16.67
5.00–5.49	1	16.67
5.50–5.99	3	50.00
6.00–6.49	1	16.67

Type 12: Weight distribution Median = 5.12 g; IQR range = 4.92–5.25 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
3.50–3.99	1	14.29
4.00–4.49	/	/
4.50–4.99	1	14.29
5.00–5.49	4	57.14
5.50–5.99	/	/
6.00–6.49	1	14.29

Type 13: Weight distribution Median = 7.12 g; IQR range = 6.17–8.36 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
4.00–4.49	5	4.42
4.50–4.99	4	3.54
5.00–5.49	11	9.73
5.50–5.99	6	5.31
6.00–6.49	13	11.50
6.50–6.99	15	13.27
7.00–7.49	14	12.39
7.49–7.99	9	7.96
8.00–8.49	11	9.73
8.49–8.99	12	10.62
9.00–9.49	6	5.31
9.50–9.99	3	2.65
10.00–10.49	2	1.77
10.49–10.99	1	0.88
11.00–11.49	1	0.88

Type 14: Weight distribution Median = 7.32 g; IQR range = 6.81–8.47 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
5.00–5.49	1	4.55
5.50–5.99	3	13.64
6.00–6.49	/	/
6.50–6.99	3	13.64
7.00–7.49	6	27.27
7.49–7.99	/	/
8.00–8.49	3	13.64

8.49–8.99	4	18.18
9.00–9.49	2	9.09

Type 15: Weight distribution Median = 5.34 g; IQR range = 4.38–5.98 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
3.50–3.99	3	13.04
4.00–4.49	3	13.04
4.50–4.99	3	13.04
5.00–5.49	5	21.74
5.50–5.99	3	13.04
6.00–6.49	3	13.04
6.50–6.99	/	/
7.00–7.49	2	8.70
7.50–7.99	/	/
8.00–8.49	1	4.35

Type 16: Weight distribution Median = 3.3 g; IQR range = 2.37–3.71 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
1.50–1.99	1	11.11
2.00–2.49	2	22.22
2.50–2.99	/	/
3.00–3.49	2	22.22
3.50–3.99	2	22.22
4.00–4.49	2	22.22

Type 17: Weight distribution Median = 5.55 g; IQR range = 4.95–6.31 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
3.50–3.99	5	4.35
4.00–4.49	7	6.09
4.50–4.99	19	16.52
5.00–5.49	23	20.00
5.50–5.99	20	17.39
6.00–6.49	18	15.65
6.50–6.99	8	6.96
7.00–7.49	6	5.22
7.49–7.99	5	4.35
8.00–8.49	1	0.87
8.49–8.99	/	/
9.00–9.49	2	1.74
>10	1	0.87

Type 18: Weight distribution Median = 4.12 g; IQR range = 3.60–4.83 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
2.00–2.49	1	0.92
2.50–2.99	5	4.59
3.00–3.49	20	18.35
3.50–3.99	20	18.35
4.00–4.49	22	20.18
4.50–4.99	24	22.02
5.00–5.49	11	10.09
5.50–5.99	4	3.67
6.00–6.49	1	0.92

6.50–6.99	1	0.92

Type 19: Weight distribution Median = 3.06 g; IQR range = 2.77–3.4 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
1.50–1.99	4	4.94
2.00–2.49	5	6.17
2.50–2.99	24	29.63
3.00–3.49	34	41.98
3.50–3.99	12	14.81
4.00–4.49	2	2.47

Tetradrachms of Amyntas

Type 20: Weight distribution Median = 15.8 g; IQR range = 15.71–15.89 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
15.60–15.64	1	9.09
15.65–15.69	1	9.09
15.70–15.74	3	27.27
15.75–15.79	/	/
15.80–15.84	1	9,09
15.85–15.89	2	18.18
15.90–15.94	1	9.09
15.95–15.99	1	9.09
16.00–16.04	/	/
16.05–16.09	/	/
16.10–16.14	/	/
16.15–16.19	1	9.09

Type 21: Weight distribution Median = 15.85 g; IQR range = 15.65–15.97 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
<15	1	2.27
15.50–15.54	2	4.55
15.55–15.59	1	2.27
15.60–15.64	6	13.64
15.65–15.69	3	6.82
15.70–15.74	2	4.55
15.75–15.79	1	2.27
15.80–15.84	5	11.36
15.85–15.89	6	13.64
15.90–15.94	4	9.09
15.95–15.99	4	9.09
16.00–16.04	8	18.18
16.05–16.09	/	/
16.10–16.14	1	2.27

Type 22: Weight distribution		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
15.50–15.99	1	100.00

Type 23: Weight distribution Median = 15.85 g; IQR range = 15.75–15.98 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
≤15	1	2.44
15.50–15.54	1	2.44
15.55–15.59	/	/
15.60–15.64	/	/
15.65–15.69	3	7.32
15.70–15.74	4	9.76
15.75–15.79	5	12.20
15.80–15.84	6	14.63
15.85–15.89	1	2.44
15.90–15.94	3	7.32
15.95–15.99	8	19.51
16.00–16.04	5	12.20
16.05–16.09	2	4.88
16.10–16.14	1	2.44
16.15–16.93	/	/
16.94	1	2.44

Type 24: Weight distribution Median = 15.79 g; IQR range = 15.66–15.91 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
<15	2	4.66
15.25–15.29	1	2.33
15.30–15.34	/	/
15.35–15.39	1	2.33
15.40–15.44	1	2.33
15.45–15.49	2	4.66
15.50–15.54	/	/
15.55–15.59	2	4.66
15.60–15.64	1	2.33
15.65–15.69	6	13.95
15.70–15.74	3	6.98
15.75–15.79	3	6.98
15.80–15.84	2	4.66
15.85–15.89	5	11.63
15.90–15.94	4	9.30
15.95–15.99	4	9.30
16.00–16.04	/	/
16.05–16.09	2	4.66
16.10–16.14	/	/
16.15–16.19	2	4.66
16.20–16.24	1	2.33
16.25–16.29	1	2.33

Type 25: Weight distribution Median = 15.885 g; IQR range = 15.72–16.00 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
<15.5	2	4.76
15.50–15.54	1	2.38
15.55–15.59	1	2.38
15.60–15.64	2	4.76
15.65–15.69	3	7.14
15.70–15.74	3	7.14
15.75–15.79	/	/
15.80–15.84	5	11.90
15.85–15.89	5	11.90
15.90–15.94	3	7.14
15.95–15.99	4	9.52
16.00–16.04	5	11.90
16.05–16.09	3	7.14
16.10–16.14	2	4.76
16.15–16.19	/	/
16.20–16.24	2	4.76
16.25–16.29	/	/
16.30–16.34	1	2.38

Uncertain

Type 26: Weight distribution		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
14.00–14.49	1	33.33
14.50–14.99	1	33.33
15.00–18.49	/	/
18.50–18.99	1	33.33

Kingdom of Paphlagonia

Attalos Epiphanes

Type 27: Weight distribution		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
3.87	1	100.00

Deiotaros Philadelphos

Type 28: Weight distribution		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
3.00–3.49	1	25.00
3.50–3.99	3	75.00

Type 29: Weight distribution		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
7.21	1	100.00

Type 30: Weight distribution		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
4.50–4.99	1	33.33
5.00–5.49	1	33.33
5.50–5.99	1	33.33

Kingdom of Cappadocia

Ariobarzanes II Philopator

Ariobarzanes II Philopator Year 07 (= Z)

Type 31: Weight distribution Median = 3.84 g; IQR range = 3.61–3.94 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
<3	3	5.88
3.00–3.09	/	/
3.10–3.19	2	3.92
3.20–3.29	1	1.96
3.30–3.39	2	3.92
3.40–3.49	1	1.96
3.50–3.59	2	3.92
3.60–3.69	6	11.76
3.70–3.79	6	11.76
3.80–3.89	8	15.69
3.90–3.99	9	17.65
4.00–4.09	5	9.80
4.10–4.19	3	5.88
4.20–4.29	3	5.88

Ariobarzanes II Philopator Year 08 (=H)

Type 32: Weight distribution Median = 3.8 g; IQR range = 3.64–3.92 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
<3	2	1.53
3.00–3.09	/	/
3.10–3.19	3	2.29
3.20–3.29	6	4.58
3.30–3.39	3	2.29
3.40–3.49	6	4.58
3.50–3.59	7	5.34
3.60–3.69	11	8.40
3.70–3.79	19	14.50
3.80–3.89	33	25.19
3.90–3.99	23	17.56
4.00–4.09	6	4.58
4.10–4.19	5	3.82
4.20–4.29	3	2.29
4.30–4.39	3	2.29
4.40–4.49	1	0.76

Ariobarzanes (II) Philopator Year unknown (possibly without Regnal Year)

Type 33: Weight distribution		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
3.90–3.99	2	100.00

Type 34: Weight distribution		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
<3	2	5.26
3.00–3.09	/	/
3.10–3.19	/	/
3.20–3.29	1	2.63
3.30–3.39	2	5.26
3.40–3.49	1	2.63
3.50–3.59	4	10.53
3.60–3.69	3	7.89
3.70–3.79	2	5.26
3.80–3.89	7	18.42
3.90–3.99	7	18.42
4.00–4.09	6	15.79
4.10–4.19	1	2.63
4.20–4.29	2	5.26

Ariobarzanes III Eusebes kai Philorhomaios Year 09 (= Θ)

Type 35: Weight distribution Median = 3.7 g; IQR range = 3.51–3.93 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
<3	2	1.30
3.00–3.09	1	0.65
3.10–3.19	4	2.60
3.20–3.29	7	4.55
3.30–3.39	9	5.84
3.40–3.49	8	5.19
3.50–3.59	15	9.74
3.60–3.69	24	15.58
3.70–3.79	19	12.34
3.80–3.89	20	12.99
3.90–3.99	15	9.74
4.00–4.09	15	9.74
4.10–4.19	9	5.84
4.20–4.29	4	2.60
4.30–4.39	/	/
4.40–4.49	1	0.65
4.50–4.59	1	0.65

Type 36: Weight distribution Median = 3.55 g; IQR range = 3.50–3.57 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
3.10–3.19	2	22.22
3.20–3.29	/	/
3.30–3.39	/	/
3.40–3.49	/	/
3.50–3.59	5	55.55
3.60–3.69	/	/
3.70–3.79	1	11.11
>4	1	11.11

Ariobarzanes III Eusebes kai Philorhomaios Year 11 (= IA)

Type 37: Weight distribution Median = 3.95 g; IQR range = 3.67–4.02 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
<3	1	5.26
3.00–3.09	/	/
3.10–3.19	/	/
3.20–3.29	/	/
3.30–3.39	1	5.26
3.40–3.49	/	/
3.50–3.59	1	5.26
3.60–3.69	2	10.53
3.70–3.79	2	10.53
3.80–3.89	1	5.26
3.90–3.99	4	21.05
4.00–4.09	6	31.58
4.10–4.19	/	/
4.20–4.29	1	5.26

Type 38: Weight distribution Median = 3.9 g; IQR range = 3.60–4.05 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
3.10–3.19	2	11.76
3.20–3.29	/	/
3.30–3.39	1	5.88
3.40–3.49	/	/
3.50–3.59	1	5.88
3.60–3.69	2	11.76
3.70–3.79	2	11.76
3.80–3.89	/	/
3.90–3.99	1	5.88
4.00–4.09	4	23.53
4.10–4.19	2	11.76
4.20–4.29	2	11.76

Type 39: Weight distribution Median = 3.595 g; IQR range = 3.31–3.80 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
3.10–3.19	1	12.50
3.20–3.29	1	12.50
3.30–3.39	1	12.50
3.40–3.49	1	12.50
3.50–3.59	/	/
3.60–3.69	/	/
3.70–3.79	2	25.00
3.80–3.89	/	/
3.90–3.99	1	12.50
4.00–4.09	/	/
4.10–4.19	/	/
4.20–4.29	/	/
4.30–4.39	1	12.50

Type 40: Weight distribution Median = 3.92 g; IQR range = 3.52–3.92 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
<3	4	3.64
3.00–3.09	2	1.82
3.10–3.19	1	0.91
3.20–3.29	2	1.82
3.30–3.39	7	6.36
3.40–3.49	6	5.45
3.50–3.59	21	19.09
3.60–3.69	10	9.09
3.70–3.79	14	12.73
3.80–3.89	13	11.82
3.90–3.99	10	9.09
4.00–4.09	9	8.18
4.10–4.19	5	4.55
4.20–4.29	4	3.64
4.30–4.39	1	0.91
4.40–4.49	1	0.91

Type 41: Weight distribution Median = 3.745 g; IQR range = 3.60–3.90 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
<3	4	4.76
3.00–3.09	1	1.19
3.10–3.19	1	1.19
3.20–3.29	/	/
3.30–3.39	3	3.57
3.40–3.49	4	4.76
3.50–3.59	5	5.95
3.60–3.69	16	19.05
3.70–3.79	14	16.67
3.80–3.89	14	16.67
3.90–3.99	10	11.90
4.00–4.09	5	5.95
4.10–4.19	2	2.38
4.20–4.29	1	1.19
4.30–4.39	3	3.57
4.40–4.49	1	1.19

Ariobarzanes (III) Eusebes kai Philorhomaios Year unknown

Type 42: Weight distribution Median = 3.455 g; IQR range = 3.23–3.67 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
<3	5	19.23
3.00–3.09	1	3.85
3.10–3.19	/	/
3.20–3.29	2	7.69
3.30–3.39	3	11.54
3.40–3.49	2	7.69
3.50–3.59	3	11.54
3.60–3.69	4	15.38
3.70–3.79	5	19.23
3.80–3.89	/	/
3.90–3.99	1	3.85

Type 43: Weight distribution		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
?	3	100.00

Ariarathes X

Ariarathes X Eusebes Philadelphos Year 04 (=Δ)

Type 44: Weight distribution Median = 3.62 g; IQR range = 3.36–3.80 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
<3	1	7.69
3.00–3.09	1	7.69
3.10–3.19	/	/
3.20–3.29	/	/
3.30–3.39	2	15.38
3.40–3.49	1	7.69
3.50–3.59	1	7.69
3.60–3.69	2	15.38
3.70–3.79	1	7.69
3.80–3.89	2	15.38
3.90–3.99	2	15.38

Type 45: Weight distribution Median = 3.83 g; IQR range = 3.63–3.96 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
<3	3	4.92
3.00–3.09	/	/
3.10–3.19	/	/
3.20–3.29	/	/
3.30–3.39	1	1.64
3.40–3.49	1	1.64
3.50–3.59	5	8.20
3.60–3.69	9	14.75
3.70–3.79	7	11.48
3.80–3.89	13	21.31
3.90–3.99	9	14.75
4.00–4.09	7	11.48
4.10–4.19	3	4.92
4.20–4.29	3	4.92

Type 46: Weight distribution Median = 3.73 g; IQR range = 3.50–3.90 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
<3	3	2.86
3.00–3.09	2	1.90
3.10–3.19	/	/
3.20–3.29	2	1.90
3.30–3.39	12	11.43
3.40–3.49	6	5.71
3.50–3.59	12	11.43
3.60–3.69	11	10.48
3.70–3.79	13	12.38
3.80–3.89	17	16.19
3.90–3.99	8	7.62
4.00–4.09	13	12.38
4.10–4.19	4	3.81
4.20–4.29	2	1.90

Type 47: Weight distribution		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
3.00–3.09	1	33.33
3.10–3.19	/	/
3.20–3.29	/	/
3.30–3.39	/	/
3.40–3.49	/	/
3.50–3.59	/	/
3.60–3.69	1	33.33
3.70–3.79	/	/
3.80–3.89	/	/
3.90–3.99	/	/
4.00–4.09	1	33.33

Type 48: Weight distribution Median = 3.715 g; IQR range = 3.59–3.88 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
3.30–3.39	2	11.11
3.40–3.49	/	/
3.50–3.59	3	16.67
3.60–3.69	4	22.22
3.70–3.79	2	11.11
3.80–3.89	2	11.11
3.90–3.99	1	5.56
4.00–4.09	1	5.56
4.10–4.19	2	11.11
4.20–4.29	1	5.56

Kingdom of Cilicia

Tarkondimotos (I) Philantonios

Type 49: Weight distribution Median = 8.13 g; IQR range = 7.14–9.40 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
4.50–4.99	5	2.56
5.00–5.49	2	1.03
5.50–5.99	11	5.64
6.00–6.49	10	5.13
6.50–6.99	14	7.18
7.00–7.49	26	13.33
7.49–7.99	20	10.26
8.00–8.49	28	14.36
8.49–8.99	16	8.21
9.00–9.49	17	8.72
9.50–9.99	16	8.21
10.00–10.49	10	5.13
10.50–10.99	8	4.10
11.00–11.49	6	3.08
11.50–11.99	2	1.03
12.00–12.49	/	/
12.50–12.99	2	1.03
13.00–13.49	1	0.51
13.50–13.99	/	/
14.00–14.49	1	0.51

Philopator

Monogram $\overline{\textbf{\textit{TAPK}}}$ ()

Type 50: Weight distribution Median = 8.45 g; IQR range = 7.76–9.01 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
5.50–5.99	3	5.88
6.00–6.49	/	/
6.50–6.99	2	3.92
7.00–7.49	2	3.92
7.49–7.99	12	23.53
8.00–8.49	9	17.65
8.49–8.99	10	19.61
9.00–9.49	5	9.80
9.50–9.99	6	11.76
10.00–10.49	1	1.96
10.50–10.99	/	/
11.00–11.49	/	/
11.50–11.99	1	1.96

Type 51: Weight distribution Median = 7.2 g; IQR range = 6.61–7.78 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
5.00–5.49	1	10.00
5.50–5.99	/	/
6.00–6.49	2	20.00
6.50–6.99	1	10.00
7.00–7.49	3	30.00
7.49–7.99	1	10.00
8.00–8.49	1	10.00
8.49–8.99	1	10.00

Type 52: Weight distribution Median = 4.21 g; IQR range = 3.85–4.71 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
2.00–2.49	1	7.69
2.50–2.99	/	/
3.00–3.49	/	/
3.50–3.99	3	23.08
4.00–4.49	4	30.77
4.50–4.99	3	23.08
5.00–5.49	/	/
5.50–5.99	/	/
6.00–6.49	1	7.69
6.50–6.99	/	/
7.00–7.49	1	7.69

Type 53: Weight distribution		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
6.00	1	100.00

Monogram $\overline{\boldsymbol{\Phi I \Lambda O}}$ ()

Type 54: Weight distribution		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
2.00–2.49	2	100.00

Type 55: Weight distribution Median = 4.21 g; IQR range = 1.50–1.82 g		
Weight (g)	Number of coins	Percentage (rounded)
0.50–0.99	1	4.76
1.00–1.49	4	19.05
1.50–1.99	15	71.43
2.00–2.49	1	4.76