



Coins from the Kırıkhan Hoard in Hatay Archaeological Museum

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[PLATES 00-00]

Abstract – This article publishes 83 coins from the Hatay Archaeological Museum in Antakya which derive from *CH X 310* (Kırıkhan, Turkey, 1972). The existence of this packet has been known since the first notice of the hoard in *CHI 87A*, but the listing there and in subsequent publications has turned out to be inaccurate in several respects. The packet in Antakya includes a number of Seleucid and civic issues not previously listed for Kırıkhan and new dies and die links for the wreathed coinages of Cyme, Myrina, Heraclea, and Magnesia. The posthumous Lysimachus of Ilium and some of the wreathed tetradrachms of Cyme in the packet are of particular interest and provide an opportunity to revisit the dating and interpretation of these series.

1. Introduction

The Kırıkhan hoard (*CH X 310*) was discovered near Kırıkhan in Hatay province, south-east Turkey, in 1972.² It was apparently buried in 142 BC, as can be deduced firstly from the mint-state tetradrachms of Antiochus VI which date to SE 170 = 143/2, and secondly from the fact that the rest of the precisely dateable material attributed to the hoard pre-dates this. The hoard was reported to have originally consisted of *c.*5,000 silver tetradrachms, of which a more or less accurate listing exists for a fifth of the coins.³ If this is a reliable guide to the composition of the hoard as a whole, then it would seem that over 95% of the coins in the hoard came

¹ Respectively Oriel College, Oxford, and Istanbul University. All dates are BC unless otherwise specified. We are very grateful to Nalan Yastı, director of the Hatay Archaeological Museum, for permission to study and publish the material from the Kırıkhan Hoard and to Mahmut Aydın and Aslı Tuncer for their help in accessing the material. Oliver Hoover provided valuable guidance to the Seleucid material and Andrew Meadows, Frédérique Duyrat, Philip Kinns, and Richard Ashton commented on various drafts and replied to numerous specific queries. Abbreviations: *SC* = Houghton and Lorber 2002-2006; *Seyrig*, *Trésors* = Seyrig 1973

² The inventory book in Hatay Archaeological Museum gives the find spot for its portion of the hoard as Bektaşlı, a small village to the north of Kırıkhan. Probably more reliable, however, is the account which Edoardo Levante gave to Arthur Houghton (reproduced in Duyrat 2016, p. 481), according to which a shepherd came across the hoard embedded in the bank of a rivulet in the vicinity of ‘Baghras village’, actually Ötençay village which lies just below the ruins of Bakras castle a short distance south of Kırıkhan.

³ An email from Edoardo Levante to Arthur Houghton (3/3/2003) reproduced in Duyrat 2016, p. 481, claims that people who saw the hoard immediately after its discovery said it consisted of ‘about 3000+ big and small coins (4AR and drachms)’. Duyrat 2016, p. 139, accepts this statement about the presence of drachms, although so far none has been attributed to the hoard.

from civic mints in western Asia Minor. Naturally enough, the appearance of such a large number of these coins transformed our understanding of these series and soon led to die studies being produced which clarified matters yet further.⁴ However, despite the major importance of the Kırıkhan hoard, which, as Boehringer wrote at the time, ‘electrified’ the world of Hellenistic numismatics upon its discovery, it has been difficult to study in detail because the material in public collections has been difficult to access and the material in commerce difficult to identify as certainly coming from the hoard.⁵

In this article we publish a packet of 88 coins (83 from the hoard and 5 cast forgeries) which currently reside in Hatay Archaeological Museum in Antakya and have not previously been studied.⁶ The coins were seized from the house of an antiquities dealer in Harbiye, a short distance south of Antakya, in 1973 and the authentic coins put on display in Hatay Archaeological Museum. While the existence of this packet was mentioned in *Coin Hoards* I.87A, it has become apparent from studying the Antakya coins themselves that the editors of *Coin Hoards* did not have access to a reliable listing of the material. Although the material in Antakya represents only a very small proportion of the hoard as a whole, it includes a number of issues which have not previously been listed for Kırıkhan. In terms of Seleucid issues, these include coins of Seleucus I (*SC* 117.1c), Demetrius I (*SC* 1641.3c), Posthumous Antiochus V (*SC* 1885.5d), and Demetrius II (*SC* 1892.3, 1902b). Among the civic issues, the most significant addition is the posthumous Lysimachus of Ilion, since Lysimachi have not previously been listed for the hoard. In addition to this, there are also issues of Temnos Alexanders (Price 1686, 1689) and a wreathed tetradrachm of Cyme signed by Diogenes which were not previously listed for Kırıkhan.

Table 1. Coins from the Kırıkhan Hoard in Hatay Archaeological Museum (Antakya).

Authority	Date	Antakya	Reference
Seleucids (9)			
Seleucus I	c.300-296/5	1	<i>SC</i> 117.1c
Antiochus V	164-162	1	<i>SC</i> 1575.2
Demetrius I	166-155/4	1	<i>SC</i> 1638.2 (unrecorded exergue control)
	155/4	1	<i>SC</i> 1641.3c

⁴ Magnesia on the Maeander: Jones 1979; Cyme: Oakley 1982; Myrina: Sacks 1985; Lebedos: Amandry 1991; ‘Syros’ (= Kabeiroi): Nicolet-Pierre and Amandry 1989, and Meadows 2013, pp. 184-6, for possible attribution to Pergamon; Heraclea: Lavva 1993. Smyrna and Kolophon had been studied before and were not updated: Milne 1914, Milne 1923 (Smyrna), Milne 1941, p. 76 (Kolophon). Meadows (forthcoming) has produced a die study of Aigai. However, the results of Philip Kinns’ unpublished study (n = 36, d = 4) have circulated for some time in the scholarship.

⁵ C. Boehringer, *SNR* 53, 1974, p. 11: ‘Von besonderer Bedeutung für dieses Buch [i.e. Seyrig, *Trésors*] wäre der Schatz aus Kilikien geworden, der bei seinem Auftauchen die numismatische Welt elektrisierte’.

⁶ A complete study of the hoard is obviously a desideratum but goes beyond the scope of a journal article. Ellis-Evans has begun work on this project.

Authority	Date	Antakya	Reference
Posthumous Antiochus IV	146/5	2	SC 1885.5d
Demetrius II	146-144	1	SC 1892.3
	144/3	1	SC 1902b
Antiochus VI	143/2	1	SC 2000.3b
Cities (74) (C = civic, A = Alexanders, L = Lysimachi)			
Alabanda (A)	c.172-162	1	Meadows Group 2 (Price 2456)
Temnos (A)	Pre-162	2	Price 1686, 1689
Ilion (L)	c.155-145	1	- (see Section 2.2 below)
Myrina (C)	c.155-143	8	Sacks 18, 23, 25, 26 (2), 27 (2), 37
Cyme (C)	c.151/0-143/2	26	Diogenes (2); Amphiktyon (1); Euktemon (2); Olympios (1); Straton (2); Metrophanes (8); Kallias (10 up to O24)
Aigai (C)	c.151-143	2	-
Magnesia (C)	c.150-143/2	26	Pausanias Euphemou (3); Apollodoros Kallikratou (3); Euphemos Pausaniou (6); Pausanias Pausaniou (8); Herognetos Zopyrionos (2); Erasippos Aristeou (4)
Alabanda (C)	c.150-145	1	Meadows Series 4, A
Heraclea (C)	c.143/2	7	Lavva I (1), IIB (6)
Total (83)			

2. Commentary

2.1 Seleucid Kingdom (nos. 1-9)

The coins of Seleucus I (SC 117.1c), Demetrius I (SC 1641.3c), Posthumous Antiochus IV (SC 1885.5d), and Demetrius II (SC 1892.3, 1902b) in Antakya have not been listed for Kırıkhan before but make no difference to the deposit date, which is instead fixed by the coins of Antiochus VI (SC 2000.3b) which have been known since the first notice of the hoard's discovery in *Coin Hoards* I 87.

The coin of Demetrius II minted at Soli (**no. 7**) provides a *terminus ante quem* of 142 for this coinage and thus confirms Houghton's hypothesis that Demetrius' Solian coinage came to an end with his campaign against Tryphon in 144. This allows us to narrow the date range of this coinage from the entire reign of Demetrius 146-138 to the years 146-144.⁷ In his article on the Solian mint, Houghton listed two examples of this issue, one of which was from his own collection and said to be from Kırıkhan.⁸ However, this coin was omitted from the listing of the Kırıkhan Hoard in *Seleucid Coins* and the 144 end date deemed 'conceivable ... [but] may be a bit too early'.⁹ The example in Antakya now removes any doubt as to whether the issue was included in the hoard.

⁷ Houghton 1989, pp. 29-30.

⁸ Houghton 1989, p. 29, no. 73 and Houghton 1983, p. 42, no. 528.

⁹ SC 2.1, p. 274 (entry for issue), 2.2, p. 82 (hoard listing).

The inclusion of a coin of Demetrius II minted by Uncertain Mint 93 (no. 8) strengthens the argument for placing this unlocated mint in Cilicia Pedias. It was noted in *Seleucid Coins* firstly that at the beginning of Demetrius' second reign the obverse portrait from this issue was re-used in error at Tarsus (suggesting that the die had come from a nearby mint), and secondly that an example of SC 1902b appeared in the Northern Syria or Cilicia Pedias 1994 hoard which contained only Seleucid issues from Cilicia Pedias and Antioch (SC 2.1, p. 274). The Kırıkhan hoard's find spot gives further support to a location for this mint in Cilicia Pedias.

2.2 Ilion Lysimachi (no. 10)

While posthumous Alexanders have always been listed for the Kırıkhan hoard, this is the first posthumous Lysimachus to be associated with it. Seyrig and Bellinger argued that the late posthumous Lysimachi featuring an owl in exergue should be attributed to Ilion, and Ellis-Evans has recently taken up this identification and developed it further.¹⁰ However, whereas Seyrig and Bellinger dated these coins to the period of Ilion's autonomy immediately following the end of Antiochus Hierax's rule of the Troad in 229, Ellis-Evans has argued for a date c.175-150. This lowering of the date by half a century is based on the appearance of an example in the 'Demetrius I', 2003 hoard buried in 151/0 (CH X 301.118) and on the many similarities with the late posthumous Lysimachi of Abydos and Lampsakos. These latter two series are firmly dated c.175-150 by several hoards and by Marinescu's demonstration that the engravers who produced the dies for these coinages were active at the so-called 'Bosporus Workshop' in the 170s-150s.¹¹ The appearance of an Ilion Lysimachus in the Kırıkhan hoard adds further support to a low date. Further chronological precision is possible when we combine the hoard data with a die study of the series.¹²

<i>Obv.</i> Head of Alexander r. diademed and with Ammon's horn.			
<i>Rev.</i> Athena seated l. on throne, holding Nike in r. and spear in l.; behind, shield; <RF and LF> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ.			
Dies	mm	g	Reference
<i>Rev.</i> Plain shield, <EX> ⚔ (left), owl l. (right). <i>Ref.</i> Bellinger T 32; Müller 457.			
O1/R1 (1)	33	16.76	BnF R 2051 (H. Seyrig).
O1/R1 (2)	29	14.91	SNG Ashmolean 3772 (Rev. C. Godwyn, 1770).
O2/R2	34	16.67	CH X 301.118 ('Demetrius I', 2003; 151/0).
<i>Rev.</i> Gorgon head on shield with dotted edge, <ILF> ⚔ (above), ⚔ (below), <EX> owl r. <i>Ref.</i> –			
O3/R3	34	16.18	Gitta Kastner 10 (18/5/1976) 17.

¹⁰ Seyrig 1958, pp. 622-4, Bellinger 1961, p. 22, Ellis-Evans 2019, pp. 42-3.

¹¹ Evidence summarized in Ellis-Evans 2019, pp. 42-6, esp. Table 1.3. on p. 46. See Marinescu 1996, pp. 364-5 for his arguments for dating the die engravers responsible for the Abydene and Lampsakene Lysimachi to the 170s-150s.

¹² This die study is based on material found in major public collections and auction catalogues and is supplemented by material kindly provided by Constantin Marinescu.

Rev. Gorgon head on shield with radiating lines, <ILF> owl l., <TH> Δ . Ref. Bellinger T 33.			
O3/R4	32	17.08	BnF R 2052 (H. Seyrig).
Rev. Same, <EX> Φ (left), owl l. (centre), Σ (right). Ref. Bellinger T 34.			
O4/R5	33	16.91	BM 1896,0703.103.
Rev. Same, <EX> Owl r. (left), ΛB (right). Ref. Bellinger T 35; Bunbury (1869) 1-4, no. 1.			
O4/R6	32	16.92	BM 1896,0703.102 = Sotheby's (7/12/1896) 639 (E. Bunbury; acq. Istanbul, 1863).
Rev. Gorgon head on shield with faint radiating lines, <EX> $\overline{\Lambda}$ (left), owl l. (right). Ref. –			
O5/R7	37	16.9	CH X 310 (Kırıkhan, 1972; 142) . Antakya 6523.
Rev. Same, <ILF> owl r., <EX> ΑΠΕΛΛΕΙΟΥΣ. Ref. –			
O5/R8	34	16.86	Roma Numismatics Live 2 (30/8/2018) 226.

We are still far from having a representative sample of this series ($n = 9$, $d = 5$, $n/d = 1.8$, D [Esty] = 11.3 ± 11.9). Nevertheless, it is striking that, as our (admittedly imperfect) understanding of the series currently stands, the coin in the ‘Demetrius I’ hoard (buried 151/0) comes at the beginning of the series and the coin from the Kırıkhan hoard (buried 142) at the end. Taking into account the fresh condition of these two hoard coins, it may be that a *c.* 155-145 date range is more accurate than the *c.* 175-150 range previously suggested by Marinescu and Ellis-Evans. Given that the late posthumous Lysimachi of Abydos and Lampsakos likewise turn up in hoards buried 151/0-143 and have many similarities with the Ilian series, it may be that all three series need to be down-dated either in part (Abydos) or entirely (Lampsakos) to the 150s/140s.¹³

It is also interesting to note that the Kırıkhan example is obverse die-linked to the first coin in this series to be signed. The disappearance of the monogram in the exergue on this signed issue suggests that the role of this monogram had been to convey this individual's identity. In this case, we know of several prominent individuals from Ilios in the 2nd and early 1st century named Apelles who could be identical with or related to this individual.¹⁴ Ellis-Evans has argued that we see a similar switch from monograms to full names on the Apollo Smintheus coins of neighbouring Alexandria Troas which made this change in the mid-150s and so at around the same time as this series of Ilian Lysimachi was produced.¹⁵ Indeed, as more work is being done on the posthumous coinages and many are being down-dated from the 180s/170s to the 160s/150s, it becomes increasingly clear that the phenomenon of signing issues in this way became particularly widespread in western Asia Minor in the mid-2nd century.¹⁶

¹³ An Abydos coin is attested in *CH VIII* 433.461 (Ma'aret En-Nu'man, 1980; buried 162), so at least part of the Abydene series belongs to the 160s.

¹⁴ *I. Alex. Troas* 6.2 (2nd century BC, son of Hermias); *I. Ilios* 55.20 (2nd century BC, son of Antiphanes); *I. Ilios* 15.4 (1st century BC, son of Lysanias and father of Meliteia); *I. Ilios* 10.7 (77 BC, father of Poseidonios). It should be noted that this is a perfectly common name: there are 193 individuals named Apelles in *LGP N*.

¹⁵ Ellis-Evans 2016, pp. 129-30.

¹⁶ This has become the case with the new dating of the posthumous Alexanders of Cyme and Temnos: Lorber 2010, pp. 154-5, Meadows and Houghton 2010, pp. 195-9. Work in progress by Ellis-Evans on the posthumous Alexanders of Methymna and Mytilene and the posthumous Lysimachi of Lampsakos suggest that these mints also fit this pattern.

2.3 Cyme Wreathed Tetradrachms (nos 13-38)

Following the publication of Oakley's die study of the wreathed tetradrachms of Cyme, it soon became apparent that his sequence of signers was incorrect and that his start date of *c.* 165-160 was too early.¹⁷ Oakley had primarily based his sequence of signers on perceived stylistic development, but, as Kinns was the first to point out, the hoard evidence instead suggests that a number of his 'late' signers in fact belong at the beginning of his sequence.¹⁸ Subsequent reconsiderations of the hoard evidence by Mattingly and Lorber have confirmed Kinns' view and concluded that the series probably began *c.* 155-151/0.¹⁹

Ellis-Evans has begun work on a revised die study of the series. This has yielded a number of new obverse die links at the start of the sequence which allow us to propose a new sequence of signers as set out in Table 2 below. Firstly, the example of the issue signed by Amphiktyon in Antakya (**no. 15**) uses O73, a die previously only known for Alexandros. Secondly, subsequent to Oakley's study being published, a number of examples of O63 and O64 have appeared for Amphiktyon.²⁰ Previously, these dies were only attested for Demetrios and Herakleides respectively. Finally, a new die has appeared for Amphiktyon which is stylistically very close to O64 and O65 which were used by Herakleides (thus designated 'X64-65' in the table below).²¹

Table 2. Oakley's arrangement of signers for Cyme compared to the new arrangement.

Oakley	New
1. Metrophanes (O1-12)	1. Diogenes (O74-75)
2. Kallias (O12-37)	2. Amphiktyon (O75-79, 73, 64-65, X64-65)
3. Straton (O38-48)	3. Alexandros (O73)
4. Olympios (O49-54)	4. Demetrios (O63)
5. Euktemon (O55-57)	5. Herakleides (O64-65)
6. Seuthes (O58-62)	6. Euktemon (O55-57)
7. Demetrios (O63)	7. Philodoxos (O66-72)
8. Herakleides (O64-65)	8. Seuthes (O58-62)
9. Philodoxos (O66-72)	9. Olympios (O49-54)
10. Alexandros (O73)	10. Straton (O38-48)
11. Diogenes (O74-75)	11. Metrophanes (O1-12)
12. Amphiktyon (O75-79)	12. Kallias (O12-37)

The order of signers 1-5 and 11-12 in the new sequence is guaranteed by obverse die links. The position of Euktemon sixth in the sequence is all but certain considering the very similar style of the obverse and reverse of O55 to O64-65 and the unlisted

¹⁷ Oakley 1982, pp. 4-15.

¹⁸ Kinns 1986, pp. 168-9.

¹⁹ Mattingly 1990, p. 69 n. 7, Mattingly 1993, pp. 84-5, Lorber 2010, pp. 157-8.

²⁰ Amphiktyon O63: Heritage Auctions 3038 (13/1/2015) 33105. Amphiktyon O64: Gorny & Mosch 176 (10/3/2009) 1269.

²¹ Amphiktyon 'X64-65': CNG EA 388 (14/12/2016) 113.

die X64-65.²² The position of signers 7-10 is the least certain part of the sequence. Lorber has suggested a stylistic arrangement based on the transition from ‘severe’ to ‘opulent’ style which produces the sequence Olympios, Straton, Philodoxos, Seuthes.²³ However, possibly more significant is van Bremen’s observation that the reverse types of Straton, Metrophanes, and Kallias all have the right-handed jug (symbol of Cyme) to the right of the horse, whereas earlier signers have it beneath the horse. Since Olympios has a 50/50 split of both types, he would appear to mark the transition between the two.²⁴

Scholars have been inclined to view the Cyme tetradrachms as having been largely minted at the behest of Attalus II so as to fund Attalid-backed pretenders to the Seleucid throne in the 150s/140s.²⁵ When combined with the hoard record, the new sequence set out above both supports and nuances this view of the series. Usually, the argument focuses on Attalid support for Alexander Balas (152-145) since this is explicitly attested in the literary sources and also fits with the previously accepted higher chronology for these coinages.²⁶ However, Psoma has raised the possibility that, after a hiatus of several years, the Attalids once again sent monetary support to Syria when Diodotus Tryphon brought the very young son of Alexander Balas, Antiochus VI (144-142), to the throne.²⁷ As we shall see, the picture is more complex still.

The ‘Demetrius I’ hoard (buried 151/0) contained one example of the signer Diogenes from the very beginning of the Cyme wreathed tetradrachms.²⁸ As Meadows and Houghton have argued, since Cyme’s Alexanders came to an end *c.*155-151, and indeed included a late issue signed by a Diogenes, it seems likely that Cyme’s wreathed tetradrachms began not long before 151, possibly with the same Diogenes being involved in both series.²⁹ The pattern of obverse die-linkage between the first five signers and the stylistic similarity of the later dies in the group with those of Euktemon suggests that all six signers were operating within a relatively brief period of time *c.*151/0 and shortly after.

Unfortunately, the hoards which help us date the remaining six signers are much less straightforward to interpret. At first glance, the earliest relevant hoard would appear to be Ghonslé whose burial date of 148/7 is provided by the drachms of Alexander Balas it contained.³⁰ Since Ghonslé included examples of Seuthes, Olympios, Metrophanes, and Kallias from the very end of the series, the implication is that the entire coinage had been produced by this point.³¹ However, Seyrig strongly

²² See already Mattingly 1993, p. 84 n. 20 (although focusing on O57 instead of O55).

²³ Lorber 2010, p. 156.

²⁴ Van Bremen 2008, p. 368.

²⁵ See Duyrat 2016, pp. 375-9, for a judicious overview of this and other explanations for the phenomenon.

²⁶ See Kinns 1987, p. 107, Hoover and MacDonald 1999-2000, pp. 114-16, Lorber and Hoover 2003, pp. 62-3, Callataÿ 2013, pp. 235-6, Psoma 2013, pp. 276-7.

²⁷ Psoma 2013, pp. 292-3.

²⁸ CH X 301.150 (‘Demetrius I’).

²⁹ Meadows and Houghton 2010, pp. 180-1 discussing CH X 301.145-9 (‘Demetrius I’).

³⁰ Seyrig, *Trésors* 19.4-5 with Lorber 2010, p. 157, n. 22 for the date.

³¹ Seyrig, *Trésors* 19.13-16.

suspected that Ghonslé was in fact a packet detached from the Akkar hoard.³² The two hoards appeared at the same time (1955, 1956), they were attributed to find spots in the same region of coastal Syria, the profile of the coins in the two hoards is very similar, and the wear of parallel issues is the same. If the Akkar and Ghonslé hoards are combined, then a burial date in the early 140s becomes impossible to maintain. Akkar contained two wreathed tetradrachms of Heraclea under Latmus with the types Lavva I and one wreathed tetradrachm with Kabeiroi types, with Seyrig reporting that the condition of all three coins was ‘très bien’.³³ As Meadows and Houghton have noted, the absence of both series from the Gaziantep hoard (buried autumn 143) but presence in Kırıkhan (142) strongly suggests that they did not start until late 143 or early 142.³⁴

The next firmly dated hoards are the Gaziantep (autumn 143) and Kırıkhan hoards (142).³⁵ The latest Cyme coins in Gaziantep are examples of O19 and O21 of Kallias, the final signer in the sequence.³⁶ Curiously, we lack examples of the penultimate magistrate, Metrophanes, who by contrast is very well-attested in Kırıkhan. The explanation would appear to be the incomplete recording of Gaziantep: of the 287 Cyme wreathed tetradrachms known to have been in the hoard, the 18 from the London packet were recorded whereas the 269 from the Beirut packet were not.³⁷ Kırıkhan, however, is potentially more revealing. If we combine the examples identified as Kırıkhan in Oakley’s catalogue with those Oakley overlooked in the ANS photo file and those in Antakya, then we have 58 coins of Kallias from the hoard whose obverse dies have been identified. These go up to O24 (attested in Kırıkhan for the first time by **no. 38** in Antakya), with a clear peak at O21-O23 (37 coins). By contrast, we have no examples of O25-O37, suggesting the hypothesis that the second half of this signer’s output was absent from Kırıkhan.

It is quite possible that we are being misled here by the small sample of Kırıkhan currently available for study, and so when it becomes possible to consult the portions of the hoard recorded at Paris and Sofia this absence may prove illusory. However, if that is not the case and this apparent absence is real, then the Cyme tetradrachms signed by Kallias were still in production when Kırıkhan was buried in 142 and we thus have an important fixed point in the chronology of the series. A closer look at the output of Kallias may provide some support for this. Oakley recorded 169 examples of Kallias, with 130 (77%) assigned to O12-O24 and 39 (23%) to O25-O37. The body of material has now tripled to 511 coins and the disparity in how well-represented the first and second halves of Kallias’ output are has become even greater, with 423 (83%) now assigned to O12-O24 and 88 (17%) to O25-O37.

³² Seyrig, *Trésors*, p. 76. See further Meadows and Houghton 2010, p. 184 n. 38 and Duyrat 2016, pp. 128-9.

³³ Seyrig, *Trésors* 18.61-62 (Heraclea), 70 (Kabeiroi).

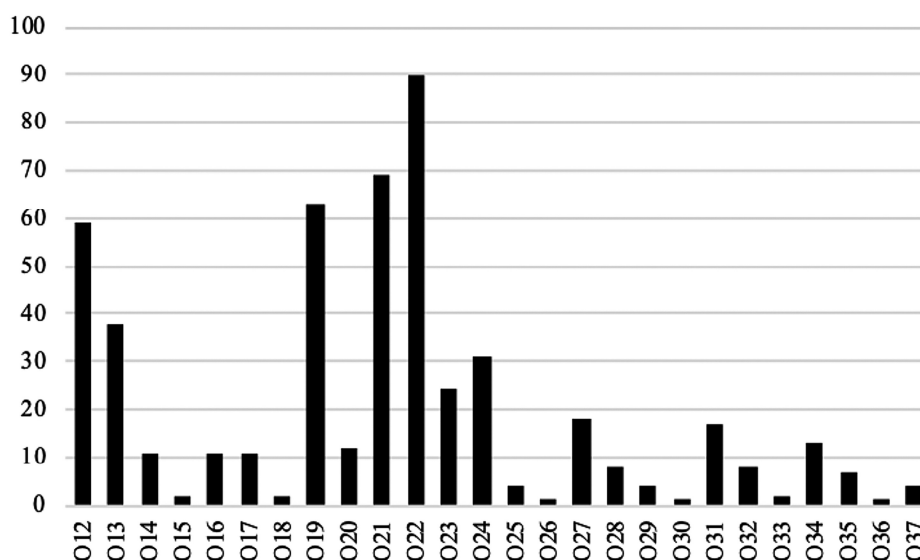
³⁴ Meadows and Houghton 2010, pp. 182-5.

³⁵ The ‘Caiffa’ (*Trésors* 20) and Teffaha (*Trésors* 21) hoards have dateable Seleucid material from the mid-140s, but also Temnos Alexanders with Price 1690 types which could be as late as 143 and the last three signers of the Cyme wreathed tetradrachms (Straton, Kallias, Metrophanes), so could very easily be contemporary with Gaziantep and Kırıkhan. For further comment see Duyrat 2016, p. 132 no. 217 (‘Caiffa’) and 136 no. 225 (Teffaha).

³⁶ *CH X* 308.C292-293.

³⁷ Meadows and Houghton 2010, p. 181.

Table 3. Specimens per die for Kallias (n = 511).



The most likely explanation for this disparity is that material from the enormous Gaziantep and Kırıkhan hoards has skewed the sample. If this is the case, then the over-representation of O12-O24 in our sample reflects the fact that O25-O37 were absent from these hoards and thus did not likewise become over-represented in the material which subsequently reached the market. While the revised die study therefore lends weight to the idea that O25-O37 were absent from Kırıkhan, this hypothesis will of course need to be tested against the material in Paris and Sofia.³⁸ However, if it is accepted that Kallias was in mid-production in late 143/early 142, this is important dating information for several hoards. In the case of Akkar and Aleppo (*Trésors* 18 and 25) it independently supports the view of Meadows and Houghton that the wreathed tetradrachms with Kabeiroi types and those of Heraclea under Latmus and Lebedos present in these hoards date them to *c.*143/2. In the case of Ghonslé, ‘Caiffa’, and El-Aweiniye (*Trésors* 19, 20, and 22) it suggests that these hoards, whose dates have floated *c.*150-143, specifically belong *c.*143/2 or soon after.

If we accept the above conclusions, then we are left with the following provisional reconstruction of the series.

³⁸ It should also be noted that the revised die study of Kallias has raised as many questions as it has answered. Two areas of uncertainty are particularly significant here. Firstly, whereas almost all the dies O12-O24 are reverse die-linked in a linear sequence, such links remain sparse for O25-O37. As a result, the latter’s sequence is uncertain, and indeed stylistic similarities suggest that some dies could belong with O12-O24. Secondly, while no examples of O25-O37 are certainly attributed to Kırıkhan, a number first appear at the right time in the 1970s or in later auctions known to have contained Kırıkhan material. Taking these two points together, it may therefore be that some O25-O37 dies need to be re-assigned to the first half of Kallias’ output.

Table 4. Proposed sequence of signers for Cyme's wreathed tetradrachms.

	Signers	Obverse Dies	Dates
Phase I	1. Diogenes 2. Amphiktyon 3. Alexandros 4. Demetrios 5. Herakleides 6. Euktemon	14	<i>c.</i> 151/0 and soon after
Phase II	7. Philodoxos 8. Seuthes 9. Olympios 10. Straton	28	<i>c.</i> 150/49-144/3
Phase III	11. Metrophanes 12. Kallias	37	<i>c.</i> 143 and soon after

Further work on revising the die study will no doubt clarify matters significantly. In the meantime, this new picture of the sequence of production for the Cyme wreathed tetradrachms makes it clear that a more complex picture of how this and the other wreathed coinages relate to Attalid support for Seleucid pretenders is required.

The picture we now have is of a coinage which was minted intensively and in large quantities in three distinct and relatively short-lived phases. It is hard to imagine what reason a medium-sized polis such as Cyme would have had for spending on the order of 520-620 T of silver in less than a decade. Consequently, a large part of this production must reflect Attalid rather than civic expenditure.³⁹ This still leaves the separate and as yet unexplored question of whose silver this was – Cyme's or the Attalid state's? In the parallel context of Rome's relationship with Greek mints in the late 2nd and 1st century BC, Picard and de Callatay have argued that the silver was the cities' and that these 'Roman' coinages therefore represent financial exactions by Rome.⁴⁰ It remains to be seen whether a similar explanation will work for coinages produced at the behest of the Attalid state.

As Cathy Lorber has noted, the new lower dates for the wreathed coinages do not straightforwardly fit the traditional interpretation of these coins.⁴¹ This interpretation

³⁹ These estimates are based on the conservative assumption of 10,000 coins per obverse die and the observed and estimated number of obverse dies used: $n = 537$, $d = 79$, $n/d = 6.8$, D (Esty) = 92.6 ± 4.7 . The more typical estimate of 20,000 coins per obverse die would of course double these figures and make the point all the more forcefully.

⁴⁰ Picard 2010, p. 190, Callatay 2016, pp. 332-3, Ellis-Evans 2020, Section 4.

⁴¹ Lorber 2010, p. 156: 'These hypotheses [about the start dates of Cyme and Myrina] are a bit difficult to reconcile with one of the principal interpretations of the wreathed tetradrachms, namely that they were minted and transferred to Syria specifically to finance the dynastic claims of the Attalid-backed pretender Alexander Balas. Either the bulk of the wreathed tetradrachm coinage reached Syria only after Alexander had defeated Demetrius, so that they subsidized his actual rule rather than his campaign to win the Seleucid throne; or the "Demetrius I" hoard simply failed to capture many wreathed tetradrachms because it was formed by a supporter of the legitimate king at a time when the wreathed tetradrachms were being used to pay Alexander's partisans'.

has assumed that the coins were minted at the behest of Attalus II to support the return of Alexander Balas in 152 following the *senatus consultum* of 153 which endorsed his claim to the throne. The coins of Myrina start slightly too early *c.*155, while those of Cyme start slightly too late, *c.* 151/0. We can partly accommodate Lorber's objection by arguing that the Cyme coinage (but of course not the Myrina coinage) was meant to support Alexander when he was still campaigning against Demetrius and establishing his power base in Syria. If we follow this reasoning, this would account for Cyme Phase I. In turn, it suggests that the Phase II production *could* be interpreted as Attalus II attempting to shore up Alexander's rule *c.*148-145 when he was facing massive territorial losses in the east, an insurgent campaign by Demetrius II in Cilicia, and an invasion from the south by Ptolemy VI.⁴² The Phase III coinage is then inevitably interpreted as Attalid support for Alexander's son, Antiochus VI, in the brief period *c.*144-142 before Diodotus Tryphon deposed his young charge.⁴³

It therefore seems that Attalus II repeatedly used Cyme to produce coinage with which to support Alexander Balas and subsequently Antiochus VI, and this accounts for the overall rhythm of production. However, within this overall pattern we should be sensitive to the other uses to which Cyme may have been putting this coinage.⁴⁴ In particular, it is noteworthy that, despite the fact that the available material has almost tripled since Oakley's study, the number of obverse dies has remained largely the same. As such, the significant degree of variation in how many obverse dies each signer used is a robust fact about the series. It would therefore seem that, alongside periods of high-intensity minting for the Attalid state, there were also periods of much lower production which may instead reflect civic expenditure.

3. CATALOGUE

All the coins in the catalogue are silver tetradrachms and have die axes adjusted to 12h unless otherwise stated. The condition of the coins is almost uniformly close to mint state. The coins in Antakya have, to a greater or lesser extent, been aggressively cleaned, and this sometimes affects the weight.

SELEUCID KINGDOM

Seleucus I Nicator

Seleuceia on the Tigris (*c.*300-296/5)

Obv. Head of beardless Heracles r. wearing lion skin headdress, dotted border.

Rev. Zeus seated on stool-throne l., eagle on outstretched r. hand, sceptre in l. hand, <LF>

☒, <TH> △, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in ex., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ to r., dotted border.

Ref. SC 117.1c.

	Reference	Dimensions
1	Antakya 6520	16.6g, 32mm

⁴² SC 2.1, pp. 209-10.

⁴³ SC 2.1, p. 315.

⁴⁴ In addition to the doubts of Lorber 2010, p. 156, see the remarks of Duyrat 2016, pp. 378-9.

Antiochus V Eupator**Antioch on the Orontes (c.164-162)**

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus V r., fillet border.

Rev. Zeus enthroned l., resting on sceptre and holding Nike who crowns royal name, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l., ΕΥΠΙΑΤΟΡΟΣ in ex., <OLF> [Γ].

Ref. SC 1575.2, Le Rider 1999, pp. 237-42, nos 74-197.

	Reference	Dimensions	Dies
2	Antakya 6496	16.9g, 31mm	A7/P-

Demetrius I Soter**Antioch on the Orontes (c.166-155/4)**

Obv. Diademed head of Demetrius r., laurel wreath border.

Rev. Tyche, fully clothed, seated l., on backless throne with winged tritoness support, holding short sceptre and cornucopia, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ [ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ] in two lines on l., <EX> Α (? – mostly off flan).

Ref. SC 1638.2.

	Reference	Dimensions	Notes
3	Antakya 6511	16.4g, 31mm	Unrecorded exergue control for this issue.

Antioch on the Orontes (SE 158 = 155/4)

Rev. <OLF above> Α, <OLF below> Α, <EX> HNP (SE 158).

Ref. SC 1641.3c.

	Reference	Dimensions	Notes
4	Antakya 6516	16.8g, 31mm	The control in <OLF below> appears to have been engraved over an erased control. ⁴⁵

Posthumous Issues of Antiochus IV Epiphanes**Antioch on the Orontes (SE 167 = 146/5)**

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus IV r., diadem ends falling straight behind, fillet border.

Rev. Zeus enthroned l., resting on sceptre and holding Nike facing r., offering wreath, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ in two lines on l., <EX> ΖΕΡ (SE 167), Α.

Ref. SC 1885.5d, Mørkholm 1960.

	Reference	Dimensions	Dies
5	Antakya 6514	16.8g, 31mm	A1/P-
6	Antakya 6526	16.9g, 29mm	A1/P-

⁴⁵We owe this observation to Oliver Hoover

Demetrius II Nicator**Soli (146-144)**

Obv. Diademed head of Demetrius Nicator r., laurel wreath border.

Rev. Tyche Nikephoros seated l., resting left elbow on shield, <OLF> owl on grapes and unidentifiable monogram (above), owl (below), ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ r. on two lines, ΘΕΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ l. on three lines.

Ref. SC 1892.3.

	Reference	Dimensions	Notes
7	Antakya 6502	16.8g, 32mm	For the likely combination of controls in <OLF> see CSE II 491.

Uncertain Mint 93, probably in Cilicia Pedias (SE 169 = 144/3)

Obv. Diademed head of Demetrius Nicator r., laurel wreath border.

Rev. Apollo Delphios, testing arrow and resting hand on bow, seated l. on omphalos on ground line, <TH> Ἀ, <EX> ΘΞΡ (SE 169), ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ r. on two lines, ΘΕΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ l. on three lines.

Ref. SC 1902b.

	Reference	Dimensions
8	Antakya 6504	16.3g, 28mm

Antiochus VI Dionysus**Antioch on the Orontes (SE 170 = 143/2)**

Obv. Radiate and diademed head of Antiochus VI r., fillet border.

Rev. The Dioskouroi riding l., holding couched lances, OP (SE 170) below forelegs of horses, <RF> ΤΡΥ (top), Ἀ (middle), ΣΤΑ (bottom), ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY above on two lines, ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ below on two lines, wreath of laurel, ivy, and grain ears border.

Ref. SC 2000.3b.

	Reference	Dimensions
9	Antakya 6490	16.1g, 31mm

TROAS**Ilion – Lysimachi (c.155-145)**

Obv. Diademed head of the deified Alexander r. with horn of Ammon.


Rev. Athena Nikephoros seated l. on ground line, left arm resting on shield, right hand holding Nike crowning king's name, transverse spear in background, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΔΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ on l., <EX> Ἄ (left) and owl (right).

Ref. and Dating: Section 2.2 above.

	Reference	Dimensions	Dies
10	Antakya 6523	16.9g, 37mm	O5/R7

**AEOLIS****Aigai (c.151-143)**

Obv. Wreathed head of Apollo r., bow and quiver over shoulder.

Rev. Zeus standing l., holding eagle and sceptre, <LF> , oak wreath border.

Ref. and Dating: Meadows (forthcoming).

	Reference	Dimensions	Meadows
11	Antakya 6507	16.7g, 34mm	O3/R7(b)
12	Antakya 6530	16.6g, 32mm	O3/R9(e)

Cyme (c.151/0-143/2)

Obv. Head of the Amazon Cyme r., wearing taenia.

Rev. Horse prancing r. on ground line, <RF> one-handed cup below or in front of raised foreleg, <EX> name of signer, laurel wreath border.

Ref. Oakley 1982. *Dating:* Meadows and Houghton 2010, p. 180-1.

ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ				
	Reference	Dimensions	Oakley	Notes
13	Antakya 6492	16.9g, 34mm	O75/R-	Same reverse die as Journ. Num. Fine Arts 3.2-4 (Autumn 1974) H193 (probably Kırıkhan).
14	Antakya 6559	17.0g, 35mm	O75/R-	Same reverse die as CNG EA 451 (4/9/2019) 111.
ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΩΝ				
15	Antakya 6474	17.0g, 36mm	O73/R-	New obverse die link with Alexandros; new reverse die.
ΕΥΚΤΗΜΩΝ				
16	Antakya 6547	16.7g, 34mm	O55/R-	New reverse die.
17	Antakya 6479	16.7g, 34mm	O55/R-	Same reverse die as Freeman & Sear 13 (25/8/2006) 726.
ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΣ				
18	Antakya 6486	17.0g, 31mm	O51/R-	Same reverse die as Künker 52 (29/9/1999) 3141 = Münz Zentrum 77 (13/4/1994) 156.
ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝ				
19	Antakya 6545	16.4g, 32mm	O39/R-	New reverse die.
20	Antakya 6546	16.7g, 33mm	O39/R-	Same reverse die as Parsy (19/11/2003) 31 = CGB.fr 11 (21/2/2002) 116.
ΜΗΤΡΟΦΑΝΗΣ				
21	Antakya 6477	16.7g, 33mm	O1/Rf	
22	Antakya 6533	16.7g, 35mm	O1/Rs	
23	Antakya 6493	16.7g, 34mm	O1/Rt	
24	Antakya 6472	16.8g, 31mm	O2/Ri	
25	Antakya 6534	16.8g, 30mm	O6/Rh	
26	Antakya 6532	16.7g, 31mm	O9/Ra	



27	Antakya 6531	16.9g, 31mm	O11/R-	Same reverse die as Heritage Auctions 3032 (10/4/2014) 23218.
28	Antakya 6480	16.6g, 34mm	O11/R-	Same reverse die as iNumis 23 (22/10/2013) 20 = (24/5/2012) 14.
ΚΑΛΛΙΑΣ				
29	Antakya 6483	16.8g, 33mm	O12/R-	Same reverse die as Parsy (6/6/2001) 83.
30	Antakya 6476	16.8g, 33mm	O17/Rb	
31	Antakya 6549	17.2g, 32mm	O19/Rb	
32	Antakya 6550	16.7g, 32mm	O19/Rg	
33	Antakya 6475	16.6g, 31mm	O22/Rd	
34	Antakya 6485	17.0g, 31mm	O22/Rj	
35	Antakya 6551	16.9g, 31mm	O23/Ra	
36	Antakya 6548	16.9g, 30mm	O23/Rb	
37	Antakya 6478	16.8g, 32mm	O23/Rb	
38	Antakya 6473	16.9g, 32mm	O24/Rc	O23 was previously the latest Kallias die attested in Kirikhan.

Myrina (c.155-143)

Obv. Laureate head of Apollo r.

Rev. Apollo Grynios standing r. on short ground line, holding branch and phiale, <LF> monogram, <RF> omphalos and amphora at feet, laurel wreath border.

Ref. Sacks 1985. *Dating:* Meadows and Houghton 2010, p. 181.

	Reference	Dimensions	Sacks	Notes
39	Antakya 6554	16.5g, 33mm	18.O11	
40	Antakya 6491	16.4g, 32mm	23.O25	
41	Antakya 6503	16.8g, 34mm	25.O41	This obverse die not attested for this issue in Sacks.
42	Antakya 6517	16.8g, 33mm	26.O42	
43	Antakya 6529	16.5g, 32mm	26.O43	No central bar on monogram.
44	Antakya 6555	16.7g, 33mm	27.O38	
45	Antakya 6521	16.5g, 33mm	27.O44	
46	Antakya 6495	16.9g, 36mm	37.O68	This obverse die not attested for this issue in Sacks.

Temnos – Alexanders (before 162)

Obv. Head of beardless Heracles r. wearing lion skin headdress.

Rev. Zeus seated on stool-throne l., eagle on outstretched r. hand, sceptre in l. hand, <LF above> monogram, <LF below> oenochoe r. beneath vine-tendrils, <RF> ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Ref. Price 1686, 1689. *Dating:* Lorber 2010, pp. 154-5.

	Reference	Dimensions	Price	Notes
47	Antakya 6524	16.7g, 34mm	1686	Same obverse die as ANS 1984.5.108.
48	Antakya 6527	16.5g, 36mm	1689	Same obverse die as BnF R 4230 (H. Seyrig).

IONIA

Heraclea under Latmus (c.143/2)

Obv. Head of Athena Parthenos r., wearing pendent earring and triple-crested Attic helmet with protomes of five galloping horses above the visor, a flying Pegasus above the raised earpiece, and curvilinear decoration on the shell.

Rev. Club; <above> ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΩΝ, <below> image flanked by two monograms, oak wreath border.

Ref. Lavva 1993.⁴⁶ *Dating:* Meadows and Houghton 2010, pp. 182-5.

	Reference	Dimensions	Lavva	Notes
49	Antakya 6557	17.0g, 36mm, 9h	I.O1	
50	Antakya 6518	16.7g, 33mm	IIB.O6	
51	Antakya 6542	16.2g, 32mm	IIB.O6	
52	Antakya 6541	17.0g, 30mm	IIB.O6	
53	Antakya 6519	16.4g, 34mm	IIB.O6	Reverse double struck.
54	Antakya 6544	16.8g, 34mm	IIB.O-	New obverse die (same as Künker 304 [19/3/2018] 489).
55	Antakya 6543	16.4g, 33mm	IIB.O7	

Magnesia on the Maeander (c.150-143/2)

Obv. Diademed and draped bust of Artemis r., bow and quiver over shoulder.

Rev. Apollo Delphios standing l., elbow resting on tall tripod behind, holding branch tied with fillet, <LF or RF> name and patronymic of signer on two lines, <below> meander pattern, laurel wreath border.

Ref. Jones 1979. *Dating:* Meadows and Houghton 2010, pp. 181-2.

ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ ΕΥΦΗΜΟΥ				
	Reference	Dimensions	Jones	Notes
56	Antakya 6498	16.9g, 31mm	O2/Ra	
57	Antakya 6497	16.6g, 34mm	O3/Ra	
58	Antakya 6522	16.7g, 33mm	O4/R-	Same reverse die as Istanbul 1616/12 = Öztopbaş 2009, no. 8 (Kırıkhan).
ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΟΥ				
59	Antakya 6488	16.8g, 34mm	O1/Ra	
60	Antakya 6494	16.6g, 33mm	O2/R-	Same reverse die as CGB.fr 43 (29/4/2010) 188 (probably Kırıkhan).
61	Antakya 6489	16.6g, 37mm	O4/Rb	
ΕΥΦΗΜΟΣ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ				
62	Antakya 6552	16.6g, 34mm	O10/Ra	
63	Antakya 6506	16.8g, 35mm	O10/Ra	
64	Antakya 6553	16.6g, 34mm	O10/Re	

⁴⁶Lavva's accuracy in establishing die identities leaves much to be desired: Kinns 1998, p. 182, n. 42; W. Fischer-Bossert, *NC* 163, 2003, pp. 403-5. In the catalogue our die identifications therefore refer to the following reference examples: O1 = BnF 1973.1.154; O4 = Berlin 18200183; O6 = Lanz 58 (21/11/1991) 236; O7 = BnF 1973.1.153.



65	Antakya 6500	16.8g, 32mm	O13/R-	New reverse die link to O16/R- (e.g. GM 236 [7/3/2016] 248).
66	Antakya 6508	16.9g, 33mm	O-/R-	New obverse die (same as 72 below) and new reverse die link to O18/R- (e.g. Triton 10 [9/1/2007] 299).
67	Antakya 6510	17.1g, 35mm	O20/Rc	
ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ				
68	Antakya 6515	16.7g, 32mm	O10/R-	New reverse die link to Jones O8/Rd.
69	Antakya 6509	16.9g, 31mm	O10/Ra	
70	Antakya 6537	16.8g, 32mm	O14/Ra	
71	Antakya 6525	16.9g, 32mm	O17/Rb	
72	Antakya 6499	16.7g, 32mm	O-/R-	New obverse die (same as 66 above) and new reverse die link to O10/R- (e.g. Künker 182 [14/3/2011] 291).
73	Antakya 6538	16.7g, 35mm	O19/R-	
74	Antakya 6540	17.0g, 33mm	O20/Rc	
75	Antakya 6539	16.8g, 33mm	O-/R-	New obverse die (same as Kricheldorf 43 [11/3/1992] 249 for Euphemos Pausaniou) and new reverse die link to Jones O11/Ra and O12/Ra.
ΗΡΟΓΝΗΤΟΣ ΖΩΠΥΡΙΩΝΟΣ				
76	Antakya 6535	16.5g, 29mm	O27/Rb	
77	Antakya 6536	16.8g, 31mm	O28/R-	Same reverse die as Elsen 117 (15/6/2013) 37.
ΕΡΑΣΙΠΠΙΟΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΟΥ				
78	Antakya 6556	16.7g, 30mm	O27/Re	
79	Antakya 6512	16.7g, 31mm	O27/Re	
80	Antakya 6501	16.5g, 36mm	O28/R-	New reverse die link to O26/R- (e.g. Künker 174 [27/9/2010] 344).
81	Antakya 6513	16.9g, 30mm	O28/Ra	

CARIA**Alabanda – Alexanders (c.172-162)**

Obv. Head of beardless Heracles r. wearing lion skin headdress.

Rev. Zeus seated on stool-throne l., eagle on outstretched r. hand, sceptre in l. hand, <LF> Pegasus prancing l., rear feet resting on short ground-line, <TH> $\overline{\text{P}}\text{B}$, <RF> ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Ref. and Dating: Meadows 2008, Ch. 3.

	Reference	Dimensions	Meadows	Notes
82	Antakya 6528	16.9g, 37mm, 11h	Group 2 O6/Rm46	Price 2456.

Alabanda (c.150-145)

Obv. Head of Apollo Isotimos laureate r.

Rev. Pegasus prancing r., rear feet resting on short ground-line, <below> A, <above>
ΑΛΑΒΑΝΔΕΩΝ.

Ref. and Dating: Meadows 2008, Ch. 4.

	Reference	Dimensions	Meadows	Sales / Notes
83	Antakya 6484	16.6g, 33mm	A2/P6	Same dies as <i>SNG</i> Keckman I, 5.

FORGERIES

These cast forgeries were identified as such in the museum and kept separately in the depot. It was not possible for Erol-Özdizbay to study them during her visit, but the photos in the museum's inventory catalogue and the low weights were sufficient to identify them as cast forgeries.

	Reference	Dimensions	Mint
84	Antakya 6505/14069	13.67g	Cyme
85	Antakya 6481/14046	13.06g	Cyme
86	Antakya 6482/14047	14.16g	Cyme
87	Antakya 6487/14052	12.79g	Cyme
88	Antakya 6558/14123	15.03g	Heraclea under Latmus

Illustrations*Antakya*

1-83 as in catalogue (no. 10 included with Ilion Lysimachi)

Ilion Lysimachi

84 – O1/R1 = BnF R 2051.

85 – O2/R2 = *CH* X 301.118.

86 – O3/R3 = Gitta Kastner 10 (18/5/1976) 17.

87 – O3/R4 = BnF R 2052.

88 – O4/R5 = BM 1896,0703.103.

89 – O4/R6 = BM 1896,0703.102.

10 – O5/R7 = Antakya 6523.

90 – O5/R8 = Roma Numismatics Live 2 (30/8/2018) 226.

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