

# The Silver Coinage of Antioch on the Maeander

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## [PLATES 00-00]

Our knowledge of the small Hellenistic silver coinage of Antioch on the Maeander in Karia has grown markedly over the past few years. As of the beginning of 2018, a mere thirteen tetradrachms of Antioch were known. In the course of 2018 and 2019, a further forty-one tetradrachms appeared on the market (Leu Numismatik [36], Classical Numismatic Group [4], Roma [1]). It is hard not to believe that all these coins derive from a single new hoard (which I shall call the 'Antioch 2018 hoard').<sup>1</sup> The corpus of the drachms of Antioch has also grown in recent years, though not as dramatically: of twenty-six known drachms, eleven have appeared on the market since 2014 (six in 2018 and early 2019: Numismatik Naumann [5], Leu Numismatik [1]). This therefore seems an appropriate moment to reassess this fascinating and somewhat mysterious coinage.

### Historical Background

The city of Antioch on the Maeander is securely located on a low hill between the modern villages of Başaran and Azizabat, on the right bank of the Dandalas Çayı (the ancient river Morsynos), very close to its confluence with the river Maeander. The site has not been excavated. The western end of the hill is today occupied by the ruins of a small Byzantine walled town (60–70 ha) and fortress, and the remains of a Roman stadium c. 200m in length are visible on the north-east flank of the hill.<sup>2</sup> Ancient remains are otherwise very scanty, and it is possible that much of the ancient site lay in the plain to the north of the hill, now deep below the Maeander alluvium. The most extensive description of the site is that of Strabo (13.4.15), who describes Antioch as a city of moderate size (*metriapolis*), lying right beside the Maeander river and controlling substantial territory on both sides of the river, 'all of it fertile'.<sup>3</sup> The city stood at a major crossroads on the main west–east highway running inland up the Maeander valley, at the head of the road running south up the Morsynos valley to Aphrodisias and the Tabai plateau; at Antioch, the Maeander highway crossed the river from north to south on a famous bridge, already mentioned by Strabo, and illustrated on Antiochene bronze coinage of the third century AD.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I have been unable to identify any suggestive 'clusters' of coins from other mints appearing in trade in 2018/2019 which could plausibly have formed part of this hoard.

<sup>2</sup> Smith and Ratté 1996, p. 21-4; Barnes and Whittow 1998. See also Robert 1973, p. 446-8.

<sup>3</sup> The figs of Antioch were famous: Robert 1937, p. 416 n. 7.

<sup>4</sup> For the bridge, see e.g. *RPC* IX.1 765 and 766 (Decius; also on coins of Valerian and Gallienus); Nollé 2009, p. 29-47. Both the Maeander and Morsynos rivers were depicted on the imperial bronze coinage of Antioch: see e.g. *RPC* III 2241 and 2243 (Trajan).

Little is known of the history of Antioch in the Hellenistic period.<sup>5</sup> (Four Hellenistic decrees of ‘Antioch’ passed in honour of foreign judges from Magnesia, Erythrai, and Ilion, long considered as decrees of Antioch on the Maeander, are in fact decrees of Antioch–Alabanda, as is shown by an unpublished decree of Alabanda from Priene with identical formulae.)<sup>6</sup> We are told by Stephanos of Byzantion that Antioch was founded by ‘Antiochos son of Seleukos’, usually identified as Antiochos I (reigned 281–261 BC), who was responsible for founding a large number of cities in Karia, including the nearby cities of Nysa and Seleukeia–Tralleis.<sup>7</sup> The city’s first appearance in historical sources comes in the course of Livy’s account of the expedition of Manlius Vulso against the Galatians in 189 BC; Manlius paused at Antioch to receive a consignment of grain from Seleukos, the son of Antiochos III, whose headquarters were situated further up the Maeander valley at Apameia–Kelainai.<sup>8</sup>

The most important Hellenistic text relating to Antioch on the Maeander is a Samian decree, dating shortly after 167 BC, concerning the publication in the Samian Heraion of a treaty between Antioch and an unnamed community (the last few lines of which survive).<sup>9</sup> The treaty seems to have involved a substantial augmentation of Antiochene territory at the expense of the other community (perhaps in the form of a synoecism), probably in the aftermath of the liberation of Antioch and the rest of Karia from Rhodian rule in 167 BC. The treaty concludes with a ‘penalty clause’ (lines 6–8), stipulating that anyone who breaks the treaty is to owe 20,000 drachms, which will be sacred to the goddess Roma; it is likely enough that the cult of Roma at Antioch was newly introduced in 167 BC in gratitude for Rome’s liberation of Karia from Rhodes.<sup>10</sup> Antioch’s loyalty to Rome is also emphasized in the Samian decree: the Samians describe the Antiochenes as being ‘gratefully disposed towards the Romans, the common benefactors of all’ (lines 21–2), and the Samians resolve to ‘rejoice along with the Antiochenes over the expansion of their territory (*proshorismos*) and the fact that by an increase in their revenues they are better able to serve Roman interests with distinction’ (lines 23–5). As we will see, the long-standing loyalty of Antioch towards Rome is highly relevant to the dating and significance of the silver coinage of Antioch.

In this decree, the Samians describe the Antiochenes as ‘kinsmen and friends and well-wishers and equal-citizens and allies’ (συνγενεῖς καὶ φίλους καὶ εὐ[ν]οῦς καὶ ἰσοπολίτας καὶ συμ[μάχους], line 20); it is presumably the ‘kinship’

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<sup>5</sup> The scanty literary testimonia and epigraphic sources are now collected by W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Tralleis und Nysa, Teil II: Die Inschriften von Nysa* (Bonn, 2019), p. 179–207.

<sup>6</sup> *I. Magnesia* 90; *I. Erythrai* 116 and 117; *SEG* 52, 1180 (Ilion). The Priene inscription will be published shortly by Charles Crowther. I do not know on what grounds J. and L. Robert wished to assign *Milet* I.3 144B to Antioch on the Maeander (*BE* 1970, 502).

<sup>7</sup> Cohen 1995, p. 250–3; the founder ‘Antiochos’ is depicted on Antiochene bronze coins of the third century AD (Imhoof-Blumer 1901–2, p. 109, no. 8; Hirsch 253 (22/09/07) Lot 2268 = LHS *Numismatik* 102 (29/04/08), Lot 285).

<sup>8</sup> Livy 38.15; see Grainger 1995, although his inference that Antioch was still garrisoned by the Seleukids at this point (34) seems very fragile. On Manlius’ march up the Maeander valley, see now Boulay 2017.

<sup>9</sup> Habicht 1957, p. 242–52, no. 65; *IG* XII 6.1, 6 (Blümel 2019, no. 639).

<sup>10</sup> Habicht 1957, p. 247, 250; Mellor 1975, p. 45–6; Errington 1987, p. 103–5.

between the two cities that accounts for the otherwise surprising decision of the Antiochenes to have a copy of this treaty inscribed at Samos.<sup>11</sup> As I have argued elsewhere, this kinship is very likely to reflect the participation of the Samian colony of Nagidos in Kilikia in the original Seleukid foundation of Antioch. An inscription from Nagidos refers to the involvement of Nagidos, Mallos, and 'other Greek cities' in the foundation of a city called 'Antioch on the [- -]'. It is highly likely that this city was none other than Antioch on the Maeander, whose date of foundation can thus be placed with reasonable confidence between 281 BC (accession of Antiochos I) and around 270 BC (Seleukid loss of Kilikia to the Ptolemies).<sup>12</sup>

Both the original third-century Seleukid foundation of Antioch and the second-century expansion of Antiochene territory (probably in 167 BC) must certainly have involved the incorporation of more than one pre-existing community around the confluence of the Morsynos and Maeander rivers. Pliny in fact states that Antioch was located 'where previously were situated the towns of Symmaethos and Cranaos' (*ubi fuere Symmaethos et Cranaos oppida*, *HN* 5.108). A figure identified as ΚΡΑΝΑΟΣ appears on the imperial bronze coinage of Antioch, no doubt the eponym of one of these earlier settlements, who may perhaps have been identified by the later Antiochenes with the mythical king of Athens.<sup>13</sup> The town of 'Symmaethos' has thus far resisted all attempts at identification, but it is surely possible that this settlement should be identified with the small community of \*Syneta or \*Synetos, located some 10km east of Antioch at modern Bucakköy. The small site at Bucakköy has produced a handful of inscriptions, including a dedication set up to 'Zeus Synetenos' by a priest and a further 121 named individuals (late third or early second century BC).<sup>14</sup> Given the close proximity of the town of \*Syneta or \*Synetos to Antioch, it is at least possible that this was the very community whose territory was incorporated into that of Antioch by the synoecism of c. 167 BC.

We know almost nothing of the history of Antioch in the later second and first centuries BC. As Christian Marek has argued, Karia south of the Maeander seems to have preserved its freedom after 133 BC, and was probably not incorporated into the Roman province of Asia until after the First Mithradatic War.<sup>15</sup> An honorific inscription from Antioch (discussed further below), dating to the late 80s or 70s BC, indicates that Antioch continued to have a cult of Roma in the first century BC; the inscription records a successful embassy by the honorand to the Roman authorities, perhaps in the context of the aftermath of the Mithradatic War. The only other relevant first-century evidence is a difficult passage in the famous *senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus* (39/38 BC), in which the Aphrodisians are apparently exempted from the joint payment (*syneisphora*) which they had previously been paying with (or perhaps 'through')

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<sup>11</sup> Curty 1995, p. 61-3.

<sup>12</sup> Thonemann 2011, p. 25 n.64; for the Nagidos inscription, see Jones and Russell 1993, p. 297-304 (*SEG* 43, 998).

<sup>13</sup> Kranaos on imperial bronze coins of Antioch: *SNG Von Aulock* 2421, with L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta* I, p. 359-61; Nollé 2009, p. 38-41. Another Kranaos in Karia, probably on the Ceramic gulf, struck bronze coins in the fourth century BC: Ashton 2006, p. 6-7.

<sup>14</sup> Chaniotis 1998; Chaniotis 1997/1998 (*SEG* 48, 1346; *BE* 1999, 479); for the site at Bucakköy, see also Robert and Robert 1954, p. 351-5, republishing a late Hellenistic honorific inscription from the site (on which see further below).

<sup>15</sup> Marek 1988.

the neighbouring city of Antioch.<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately, the passage is too fragmentary for us to be certain exactly what the status of Antioch vis-à-vis Aphrodisias was at this point.

One final point about Antioch in the early years of the Roman province of Asia deserves emphasis. The main west–east Roman road running inland from the west coast of Asia Minor, the ‘Southern Highway’, marked with milestones erected by Manius Aquillius between 129 and 126 BC, ran through the territory of Antioch.<sup>17</sup> As the chief settlement on the highway between Nysa and Laodikeia, controlling the main north–south bridge across the Maeander, Antioch must always have been a place of some strategic importance for the administration of the Roman province of Asia, even if it did not formally belong to the province until (we assume) the aftermath of the First Mithradatic War. As we will see, this may well be a point of some significance for the historical contextualisation of the silver coinage of Antioch.

### The Silver Coinage of Antioch

There is no sign that Antioch struck silver coins in the third or early second century BC. A small group of Alexander tetradrachms of the early second century BC has been attributed to Antioch on the Maeander, on extremely fragile grounds (the presence of a humped bull as symbol on the reverse); as Martin Price noted, there are equally strong reasons to attribute these coins to Tabai, or indeed a number of other cities in the lower Maeander region.<sup>18</sup>

The Hellenistic silver coinage of Antioch consists of a relatively short but exceptionally diverse series of tetradrachms and drachms. I have been able to locate 54 tetradrachms, struck off 19 obverse dies and 37 reverse dies,<sup>19</sup> and 26 drachms, struck off 12 obverse dies and 12 reverse dies. The calculations of Carter and Esty allow us to estimate the original number of obverse dies (=D) for the tetradrachm series as  $29.3 \pm 8.31$  (Esty) or  $24.8 \pm 2.33$  (Carter); for the drachm series, the original number of obverse dies can be estimated as  $22.3 \pm 11.44$  (Esty) or  $18.3 \pm 3.14$  (Carter).<sup>20</sup>

Antioch also struck a large and varied bronze coinage in the pre-imperial period, which I have not studied in detail. I am aware of around a dozen magistrates’ names on the bronze coinage, at least three of which (ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ, ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ) also appear on silver issues, suggesting that at least some of the bronze may have been contemporary with the drachms and tetradrachms.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Reynolds 1982: doc. 8, lines 42-43: in line 43, we surely have to restore [μετὰ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων τῶ]ν πρὸς τῷ Μαιάνδρῳ *vel sim.*

<sup>17</sup> Mitchell 1999, p. 17-21; Thonemann 2011: Index s.v. roads (Southern Highway); French 2012.

<sup>18</sup> Price 1991, 2469–2470; Seyrig 1973, p. 56; Delrieux 2014, p. 200-2.

<sup>19</sup> One obverse die (O7) and one reverse die (R33) were recut part-way through their use, and I suspect that the same is true of two further reverse dies (R13 and R14): see notes in the catalogue below.

<sup>20</sup> Carter 1983; Esty 2011. The n/d ratio for the Antioch tetradrachms is 2.84, for the drachms 2.17.

<sup>21</sup> ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ: Imhoof-Blumer 1901-2, p. 108, no. 4; Paris, FG 110 (Coll. Wadd. 2148). ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ: Imhoof-Blumer 1890, p. 249, 409b. ΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ: *GM Winterthur* 3305; Savoca Blue Auction 13 (30/11/18), Lot 512; Numismatik Naumann Auction 73 (06/01/19), Lot 174; Leu Numismatik Webauktion 7 (23/02/19), Lot 380; also Peus Auction 418 (12/11/16), Lot 968

All the drachms and tetradrachms of Antioch carry magistrates' names (discussed in more detail below). A total of eighteen names are attested (plus one illegible name), of which ten appear on both tetradrachms and drachms, as follows:

ΑΔΡΑΣΤΟΣ ΠΥΘΕΟΥ (tetradrachms)  
ΑΙΝΕΑΣ (tetradrachms)  
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ (tetradrachms and drachms)  
ΑΡΙ(ΣΤΟΣ) (drachms and bronze)  
ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ (tetradrachms)  
ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ (tetradrachms and drachms)  
ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ ΤΟ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ (tetradrachms and drachms)  
ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ ΤΟ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ (tetradrachms and drachms)  
ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ (tetradrachms, drachms and bronze)  
ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ (tetradrachms and drachms)<sup>22</sup>  
ΚΑΛΑΣ (tetradrachms and drachms)  
ΚΑΡΝΕΑΔΗΣ ΚΑΡΝΑ (tetradrachms and drachms)  
ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ (tetradrachms and drachms)  
ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ (tetradrachms and bronze)  
ΜΕΝΕΦΡΩΝ (tetradrachms and drachms)  
ΜΟΣΧΑΣ ΞΑΝΘΟΥ (tetradrachms)  
ΣΟΛ(ΩΝ) (tetradrachms)  
ΤΡΥΦΩΝ ΚΑΡΝΑ (tetradrachms)  
[illegible] (drachms)

Almost all of the drachms of Antioch carry the same basic types, with a laureate bust of Apollo on the obverse (sometimes with a bow and quiver behind the shoulder), and on the reverse a humped bull reclining on a maeander line, within an encircling laurel wreath. The drachms of ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ I (Group C, **15**) are the only exception, with (apparently) a laureate bust of Artemis on the obverse, and an ivy wreath instead of laurel wreath encircling the reverse type.

The tetradrachm issues are considerably more diverse, and can be broadly divided into three groups: Group A ('Apollo/bull': six magistrates), Group B ('Zeus/eagle': eight magistrates), and Group C ('eclectic'/wreathed: four magistrates, on the assumption that the issues of ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ are to be distributed between two homonymous magistrates, ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ I and ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ II). Of these eighteen discrete tetradrachm issues, no fewer than sixteen are represented in the putative 'Antioch 2018 hoard' (tetradrachm issues known *only* from the 'Antioch 2018 hoard' are marked with an asterisk):

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(magistrate ΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΥ); perhaps also Lanz 131 (27/11/06), Lot 80 (magistrate [.]ΠΙΣΤ[.]). Other magistrates' names on the late Hellenistic bronze coinage of Antioch include ΑΛΚΑΙΟΣ, ΘΕΑΡΙΑ(ΗΣ), ΜΟ(- -), ΣΩΣΙΠΟ(ΛΙΣ) (Imhoof-Blumer 1901-2, p. 108-9, nos 3, 5-7); [?]ΛΥΚΩΝ, ΘΕΟΞΕ(- -), ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ (Imhoof-Blumer 1883, p. 304, nos 5-7); ΔΡΑΚΟ(- -) (Imhoof-Blumer 1890, p. 249, 409a; Gorny & Mosch Auction 165 (17/03/08), Lot 1330); ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ (Numismatik Naumann Auction 48 (20/11/16) Lot 364; Löbbecke 1885, p. 322, no. 2). The bronzes with magistrates' names ΕΥΔΗ, ΜΕΝΑΝ and [.]ΠΙΛΟΧ[.] in *BMC Caria*, p. 15 nos 5-8, should be attributed to Pisidian Antioch.

<sup>22</sup> I will argue below for the existence of two homonymous magistrates, ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ I (tetradrachms and drachms) and ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ II (tetradrachms only).

ΑΙΝΕΑΣ (1)  
 \*ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ (1)  
 ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ (2)  
 ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ (7)  
 ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ ΤΟ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ (5)  
 \*ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ ΤΟ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ (1)  
 ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ (3)  
 \*ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ Ι (1)  
 \*ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ ΙΙ (8)  
 ΚΑΛΑΣ (1)  
 \*ΚΑΡΝΕΑΔΗΣ ΚΑΡΝΑ (1)  
 ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ (3)  
 \*ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ (1)  
 ΜΕΝΕΦΡΩΝ (1)  
 ΜΟΣΧΑΣ ΞΑΝΘΟΥ (2)  
 \*ΤΡΥΦΩΝ ΚΑΡΝΑ (3)

As we shall see, of the two known tetradrachm magistrates not represented in the 'Antioch 2018 hoard' (ΑΔΡΑΣΤΟΣ ΠΥΘΕΟΥ, ΣΟΛ(ΩΝ)), only one (ΑΔΡΑΣΤΟΣ ΠΥΘΕΟΥ) could conceivably be placed *after* all the tetradrachm issues represented in the 'Antioch 2018 hoard'; the other (ΣΟΛ(ΩΝ)) definitely falls early in or midway through the Antioch series. We can therefore be fairly certain that the 'Antioch 2018 hoard' was deposited at or around the end of the period of production of silver coinage at Antioch. Most of the coins in the putative hoard show moderate wear, consistent with having been in circulation for 10–20 years or more, with three notable exceptions. The two tetradrachms of ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ (struck off the same dies) are both in near-mint condition, as is the single tetradrachm of ΚΑΡΝΕΑΔΗΣ ΚΑΡΝΑ and all eight of the tetradrachms of ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ ΙΙ (all struck off the same obverse die). I therefore tentatively assume that ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ, ΚΑΡΝΕΑΔΗΣ ΚΑΡΝΑ and ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ ΙΙ should be placed towards the end of the Antioch series.

The Group A tetradrachms ('Apollo/bull', 1–6 below) were struck by six magistrates (ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ, ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ ΤΟ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ, ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ ΤΟ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ, ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ, ΑΙΝΕΑΣ, ΜΟΣΧΑΣ ΞΑΝΘΟΥ). These tetradrachms carry types similar to the drachm issues: a laureate Apollo with bow and quiver on the obverse, and a standing humped bull on the reverse.<sup>23</sup> The issues of ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ ΤΟ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ, ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ, and ΑΙΝΕΑΣ are obverse die-linked, apparently in that sequence. The issues of ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ and ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ ΤΟ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ must of course precede ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ ΤΟ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ, and we can presumably infer the existence of an issue (currently unattested) in the name of ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ ΤΟ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ. That the first ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ issue ought to be the earliest of the Group A sequence is also suggested by the idiosyncratic reverse type, which depicts the humped bull standing on a meander line, while on the issues of the other five Group A magistrates, the bull is encircled by a meander ring. The issues of ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ, ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ ΤΟ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ, ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ ΤΟ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ and

<sup>23</sup> Standing bull on tetradrachms, reclining bull on smaller denominations also at Hellenistic Eretria: Robert 1951, p. 158-9.

MENANΔΡΟΣ do not carry symbols on the reverse; a symbol (of a kind) first appears on the issue of ΑΙΝΕΑΣ (a pair of pilei at the top of the maeander ring). The issue of ΜΟΣΧΑΣ ΞΑΝΘΟΥ also carries a symbol (palm-branch with taenia), and so is probably the latest of the group; it is also the only issue of the six which features a border of dots around the portrait of Apollo on the obverse. This gives us a fairly secure sequence for the Group A tetradrachms and associated drachms: the ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ issues (including the missing ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ ΤΟ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ), followed by ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ, ΑΙΝΕΑΣ, and ΜΟΣΧΑΣ ΞΑΝΘΟΥ.

The Group B tetradrachms ('Zeus/eagle', 7–14 below) were struck by eight magistrates (ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ, ΣΟΛ(ΩΝ), ΜΕΝΕΦΡΩΝ, ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ, ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ, ΚΑΛΑΣ, ΤΡΥΦΩΝ ΚΑΡΝΑ, ΚΑΡΝΕΑΔΗΣ ΚΑΡΝΑ). These tetradrachms feature a heavily bearded laureate Zeus on the obverse and a left-facing eagle within an encircling maeander ring on the reverse. The issues of the two magistrates ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ and ΣΟΛ(ΩΝ) probably come first in the Group B series; neither issue carries a symbol on the reverse (compare the earlier issues of Group A), and the legend on the reverse is laid out horizontally with 2–4 letters to each line. ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ is perhaps the earlier of the two magistrates, due to the absence of a dotted border on his first surviving tetradrachm specimen (the only Group B tetradrachm to lack the dotted border); the die (07) was later retooled to add a dotted border. The remaining six Group B issues (ΜΕΝΕΦΡΩΝ, ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ, ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ, ΚΑΛΑΣ, ΤΡΥΦΩΝ ΚΑΡΝΑ, and ΚΑΡΝΕΑΔΗΣ ΚΑΡΝΑ) all carry symbols on the reverse (not quite certain in the case of ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ), with the legend running in a single line clockwise within the encircling maeander ring (sometimes with the letters following the curve of the ring, sometimes oriented horizontally and/or vertically). The issues of ΜΕΝΕΦΡΩΝ and ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ are obverse die-linked; more surprisingly, the first tetradrachm of ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ shares not only its obverse die but also its reverse symbol with the issues of ΜΕΝΕΦΡΩΝ (cornucopia), although the later tetradrachms of ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ carry his own distinctive symbol (Nike crowning eagle). The Zeus bust on the tetradrachm issue of ΚΑΡΝΕΑΔΗΣ ΚΑΡΝΑ is stylistically rather different from that on the other four issues, and it seems likely that his issue is the latest in the sequence (as the good condition of the specimen from the 'Antioch 2018 hoard' would also suggest). On the issues of ΚΑΛΑΣ, ΤΡΥΦΩΝ ΚΑΡΝΑ and ΚΑΡΝΕΑΔΗΣ ΚΑΡΝΑ (were the last two men brothers?), the eagle stands on a plain ground-line rather than a thunderbolt, and hence I have tentatively placed these issues next to each other at the end of the Group B sequence. The placement of ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ is uncertain: I have tentatively placed him after ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ, on the basis of similarities in the layout of the legend on the reverse. It is worth noting that if the proposed sequences of Group A and Group B are correct, the three magistrates whose patronym is given all come at the end of their respective groups (ΜΟΣΧΑΣ ΞΑΝΘΟΥ, ΤΡΥΦΩΝ ΚΑΡΝΑ and ΚΑΡΝΕΑΔΗΣ ΚΑΡΝΑ).

This leaves a small Group C of 'eclectic' tetradrachm issues (15–18 below), all with an encircling wreath on the reverse (as on the drachms of Antioch). We have two distinct tetradrachm issues in the name of ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ. The first of these ('ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ Ι') carries a bust of Artemis with dotted border on the obverse, with a standing humped bull on maeander line within an encircling ivy wreath on the reverse (no symbol). The iconography of the tetradrachm issue of ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ Ι is very similar to that of the idiosyncratic ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ drachm issue, which similarly

carries – uniquely among the drachms of Antioch – a portrait of Artemis on the obverse and an encircling ivy wreath on the reverse. It is worth noting that the sole tetradrachm of EYNIKOΣ I (from the ‘Antioch 2018 hoard’) shows considerable wear.

The iconography of the remaining EYNIKOΣ tetradrachms is completely different, and I suspect they should be attributed to a different, homonymous magistrate (‘EYNIKOΣ II’). As we have seen, there are eight specimens of EYNIKOΣ II tetradrachms in the ‘Antioch 2018 hoard’, in very fresh condition, and all struck off the same obverse die. These coins carry a bust of Zeus with dotted border on the obverse (stylistically very similar to the Zeus bust that appears on the Group B tetradrachm series), and a humped bull within an encircling laurel wreath on the reverse (with symbol). This is the only issue in the whole series to lack a maeander pattern; not coincidentally, it is also the only issue to carry the full ethnic ANTIOXEΩN TΩN ΠPOC TΩ MAIANΔPΩ (all other drachm and tetradrachm issues have only ANTIOXEΩN).<sup>24</sup>

A third Group C magistrate, AΔPACCTOC ΠYΘEOY, struck tetradrachms carrying a bust of Dionysos with ivy wreath on the obverse (no dotted border), and on the reverse, a standing humped bull on maeander line (as on the EYNIKOΣ I tetradrachms) within an encircling ivy wreath (with Tyche symbol). Finally, the issue of ΔAMOKPATHC has some superficial similarities to the Group B ‘Zeus/eagle’ issues; however, in contrast to all Group B issues except the earliest tetradrachm of MEΛEAGPOC, the obverse Zeus type does not have a dotted border. On the reverse, the eagle stands not on a thunderbolt or ground-line, but on a small maeander key-pattern, and is encircled by an oak wreath (found nowhere else in the Antioch series), with a club and lion-skin symbol at bottom left.

It is difficult to determine the sequence of the four Group C magistrates. The composition of the putative ‘Antioch 2018 hoard’ suggests that EYNIKOΣ I ought to precede both EYNIKOΣ II and ΔAMOKPATHC by a considerable distance; that EYNIKOΣ I should be placed relatively early in the Antioch silver series is also suggested by the absence of a symbol on the reverse of his tetradrachms and drachms. The reverse type of the AΔPACCTOC ΠYΘEOY issue is closely comparable to that of EYNIKOΣ I (humped bull on maeander line with encircling ivy wreath), although with a symbol present.

There is no clear progression in the weight-standards of either the tetradrachm or drachm issues, and the relative homogeneity of the drachm issues (the anomalous drachm issue of EYNIKOΣ I excepted) strongly suggests that the entire silver series was struck as a single ‘run’. But the iconography of the tetradrachm issues of Antioch is quite startlingly varied and eclectic; indeed, it is difficult to think of another Hellenistic civic silver coinage that sees quite so much variety and innovation in its tetradrachm types.

Most of the discrete iconographic elements of the Antioch series can be paralleled on the coinages of neighbouring cities in the second and first centuries BC. The maeander ring or maeander ground-line is a standard feature on the coinages of Priene and Magnesia on the Maeander from the fourth century BC

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<sup>24</sup> Some late Hellenistic bronzes also carry the full ethnic ANTIOXEΩN TΩN ΠPOC TΩ MAIANΔPΩ: e.g. *BMC Caria* p.15, no.9; Imhoof-Blumer 1901–2, p. 108, no. 1; Paris, BnF FG 106 (ex Wadd.); Numismatik Naumann Auction 80 (04/08/19), Lot 198 (obv. Apollo l.; rev. eagle on maeander line).

onwards; it also appears as a symbol on the second- and first-century cistophoroi of Tralleis, and is employed on the late Hellenistic bronze coinages of Apollonia–Tripolis and Apameia–Kelainai.<sup>25</sup> The humped bull (either standing, reclining or butting) is an extremely common motif on the Hellenistic coinages of the region (found e.g. at Magnesia, Tralleis, Alabanda, Tabai), as is the eagle on thunderbolt (found e.g. on the Group 2 hemidrachms of Stratonikeia, on bronze coinages of Myndos, Hydisos, and Euromos, and on the late first-century drachms of Plarasa–Aphrodisias).<sup>26</sup> The two deities most commonly depicted on the obverse types of the Antioch issues (Zeus and Apollo) are very widespread on the Hellenistic coinages of Karia and neighbouring regions, as is Artemis; Dionysos is less often found, but a rather similar bust of Dionysos appears on the first-century silver coinage of Tabai.<sup>27</sup> Perhaps the closest iconographic parallel for (parts of) the Antioch tetradrachm series is provided by the rare Attic-weight gold staters of Tralleis, apparently struck on two occasions in the mid-second century BC (perhaps the 160s and 140s): these staters carry a heavily bearded Zeus on the obverse, and on the reverse a humped bull standing r. on a maeander line.<sup>28</sup>

Formally speaking, the silver coinage of Antioch has some connections with the ‘wreathed’ coinages struck by many cities in western Asia Minor in the mid-second century BC (and sporadically thereafter).<sup>29</sup> The reverse types of all of the drachm issues of Antioch carry an encircling wreath (usually a laurel wreath; an ivy wreath on the drachms of ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ Ι), as do the reverse types of the four Group C tetradrachm issues, struck by ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ Ι (ivy wreath), ΑΔΡΑΣΤΟΣ ΠΥΘΕΟΥ (ivy wreath), ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ ΙΙ (laurel wreath), and ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ (oak wreath). It is, moreover, surely legitimate to see the encircling maeander pattern on all but one (ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ) of the Group A and Group B tetradrachm issues as a local variant on the ‘wreathed’ type, with the maeander standing in for the wreath (although it should be remembered that the encircling maeander had also had a long earlier history on the coinages of Priene and Magnesia).

I have been unable to determine a firm internal chronology for the series. Obverse die-links between the different magistrates are strikingly few: the Group A ‘Apollo/bull’ tetradrachms of ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ ΤΟ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ, ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ and ΑΙΝΕΑΣ are die-linked, as are the Group B ‘Zeus/eagle’ tetradrachms of ΜΕΝΕΦΡΩΝ and ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ (also featuring, as we have seen, a very curious link in the symbols on the reverse), as well as the drachms of ΑΡΙ(ΣΤΟΣ) and ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ. As argued above, the relative chronology of the six magistrates who struck Group A tetradrachms is fairly secure (ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ, ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ ΤΟ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ, ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ ΤΟ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ, ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ, ΑΙΝΕΑΣ, ΜΟΣΧΑΣ ΞΑΝΘΟΥ).

<sup>25</sup> Thonemann 2011, p. 35-47.

<sup>26</sup> For the wide distribution of the zebu-type in Asia Minor, cf. Robert and Robert 1954, p. 135; for its use at Tralleis, Killen 2017, p. 256. It may be Seleukid in origin: for the significance of the bull in Seleukid royal ideology, Appian, *Syriaca* 57, and Ogden 2017, p. 58-63.

<sup>27</sup> Robert and Robert 1954, p. 124-6, Types A, L, M. The Dionysos-portrait on the Antioch tetradrachms (ΑΔΡΑΣΤΟΣ ΠΥΘΕΟΥ, Group C, 16) may well be modelled on the obverse type of the late Hellenistic tetradrachms of Thasos and Maroneia (Thonemann 2011, p. 42 n.107). Dionysos reappears on the imperial-period coinage of Antioch (Nollé 2009, p. 34).

<sup>28</sup> Meadows 2013, p. 189. The reverse type of the Tralleis gold staters is particularly close to the reverse of the tetradrachm issue of ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ, which I believe to be the earliest of the Antioch silver series.

<sup>29</sup> Le Rider 2001 (overview); Meadows and Houghton 2010, p. 179-86 (chronology); Psoma 2013 (purpose; also Kinns 1987, p. 107); Duyrat 2016, p. 374-9 (hoards).

The relative chronology of the Group B series is somewhat less certain: I strongly suspect that ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ and ΣΟΛ(ΩΝ) are the earliest in the series (absence of symbols on the reverse; no dotted border on the earliest tetradrachm of ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ); the ΜΕΝΕΦΡΩΝ and ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ tetradrachms are die-linked; ΚΑΡΝΕΑΔΗΣ ΚΑΡΝΑ looks stylistically to be the latest of the Group B tetradrachm issues, and this receives some confirmation from the composition of the 'Antioch 2018 hoard'. It is very unclear where the Group C issues of ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ Ι, ΑΔΡΑΣΤΟΣ ΠΥΘΕΟΥ, ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ ΙΙ and ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ fall within the overall series: the absence of a symbol on the issues of ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ Ι suggests that he should be placed relatively early in the series; as we have seen, the composition of the 'Antioch 2018 hoard' suggests that the highly idiosyncratic tetradrachm issue of ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ ΙΙ ('Zeus/bull'; no maeander pattern, and extended ethnic) falls late in the series, and the same may well also be true of the issue of ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ.

In the catalogue, the issues are presented in the following sequence:

Group A ('Apollo/bull' tetradrachms)

1. ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ
2. ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ ΤΟ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ
3. ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ ΤΟ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ
4. ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ
5. ΑΙΝΕΑΣ
6. ΜΟΣΧΑΣ ΞΑΝΘΟΥ

Group B ('Zeus/eagle' tetradrachms)

7. ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ
8. ΣΟΛ(ΩΝ)
9. ΜΕΝΕΦΡΩΝ
10. ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ
11. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ
12. ΚΑΛΑΣ
13. ΤΡΥΦΩΝ ΚΑΡΝΑ
14. ΚΑΡΝΕΑΔΗΣ ΚΑΡΝΑ

Group C ('eclectic'/wreathed tetradrachms)

15. ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ Ι
16. ΑΔΡΑΣΤΟΣ ΠΥΘΕΟΥ
17. ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ ΙΙ
18. ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ

Group D (drachms only)

19. ΑΡΙ(ΣΤΟΣ)
20. [illegible]

The reader should bear in mind the following caveats: (i) the sequencing of issues within Group A is fairly certain, Group B somewhat less so; but (ii) there is no way of telling whether the Group A and Group B tetradrachm series succeeded one another (in which order?) or were minted concurrently,

depending on the preference of the individual magistrate; (iii) the sequencing of the four Group C magistrates is highly uncertain, and their chronological relationship to the Group A and Group B series is unknown; (iv) the Group D magistrate ΑΠΙ(ΣΤΟΣ) (drachms only) is closely contemporary with ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ (obverse die-link); (v) issue **20** may fall at any point within the series.

## Catalogue

### *Group A ('Apollo/bull' tetradrachms)*

#### **1. ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ** (tetradrachms and drachms)

##### *Tetradrachms*

*Obv.* Laureate bust of Apollo r., with short curls hanging half-way down neck; bow and quiver behind shoulder; no border. *Rev.* Humped bull standing l. on maeander line; no border. No symbol. Above bull, ANTIOXEΩN; below bull, ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ.

<b>1.a</b>	O1, R1	16.28g.	28mm.	Paris, BnF FG 95 (inv. M 6746).
<b>1.b</b>	O1, R1	15.59g.	27mm, 12h.	CNG 108 (16/05/18), Lot 231 = CNG Triton XII (07/01/19), Lot 269.
<b>1.c</b>	O1, R1	14.98g.	26mm, 12h.	ANS 1992.139.1 (ex Bank Leu 54 (28/04/92), Lot 140; Fortuna Fine Arts, 28/07/92)
<b>1.d</b>	O1, R1	16.25g.	26mm, 12h.	Leu Numismatik Auction 5, forthcoming.
<b>1.e</b>	O1, R2	15.93g	29mm, 12h.	Leu Numismatik Webauktion 9 (07/09/19), Lot 372
<b>1.f</b>	O2, R3	16.39g.	26mm, 12h.	Leu Numismatik Auction 3 (27/10/18), Lot 102.
<b>1.g</b>	O2, R3	16.09g.	28mm, 12h.	Leu Numismatik Webauktion 8 (29/06/19), Lot 409.
<b>1.h</b>	O2, R4	16.13g.	26mm, 12h.	Leu Numismatik Auction 4 (25/05/19), Lot 281.
<b>1.i</b>	O2, R5	16.16g.	26mm, 1h.	Leu Numismatik Webauktion 7 (23/02/19), Lot 377.

##### *Drachms*

*Obv.* Laureate bust of Apollo r., with long curls hanging down neck; no border. *Rev.* Humped bull reclining l. on ground-line, maeander line below, laurel wreath around. Above bull, ANTIOXEΩN; below, ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ.

<b>1.j</b>	o1, r1	3.78g.	16mm.	Numismatik Naumann, Auktion 73 (06/01/19), Lot 175.
<b>1.k</b>	o1, r1	3.58g.	16mm, 12h.	Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 18267113 (Löbbecke 1906; <i>ZfN</i> 12 (1885), p. 322).

#### **2. ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ ΤΟ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ** (tetradrachms and drachms)

##### *Tetradrachms*

*Obv.* Laureate bust of Apollo r., with long curls hanging down neck; bow and quiver behind shoulder; no border. *Rev.* Humped bull standing l. on ground line, maeander ring around. No symbol. Above bull, ANTIOXEΩN; below bull, ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ ΤΟ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ.

<b>2.a</b>	O3, R6	16.18g.	29mm, 11h.	Leu Numismatik Auction 5, forthcoming.
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- 2.b** 03, R7 16.37g. 28mm, 11h. NAC Autumn Sale 95 (26/10/95), Lot 223 = Lanz Auction 125 (28/11/05), Lot 382 ['15.72g'] = Gorny & Mosch, Auction 151 (09.10.06), Lot 190 ['16.37g'].
- 2.c** 03, R7 16.20g. 26mm, 12h. Leu Numismatik Webauktion 8 (29/06/19), Lot 410.
- 2.d** 03, R8 16.12g. 29mm, 11h. Leu Numismatik Webauktion 9 (07/09/19), Lot 373.
- 2.e** 04, R9 15.54g. 29mm,<sup>30</sup> 1h. CNG 108 (16/05/18), Lot 232.
- 2.f** 04, R10 16.15g. 26mm, 12h. Leu Numismatik Webauktion 6 (09/12/18), Lot 276.

#### *Drachms*

*Obv.* Laureate bust of Apollo r., with long curls hanging down neck; bow and quiver behind shoulder; no border. *Rev.* Humped bull reclining l. on ground-line, maeander line below, laurel wreath around. Above bull, ANTIOXEΩN; below, ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ | ΤΟ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ.

- 2.g** o2, r2 3.90g. 16mm. Numismatik Naumann, Auktion 65 (06/05/18), Lot 203.

### **3. ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ ΤΟ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ (tetradrachms and drachms)**

#### *Tetradrachms*

*Obv.* Laureate bust of Apollo r., with long curls hanging down neck; bow and quiver behind shoulder; no border. *Rev.* Humped bull standing l. on ground line, maeander ring around. No symbol. Above bull, ANTIOXEΩN; below bull, ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ | ΤΟ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ.

- 3.a** 05, R11 16.10g. 26mm, 12h. Leu Numismatik Auction 4 (25/05/19), Lot 282.

#### *Drachms*

*Obv.* Laureate bust of Apollo r., with long curls hanging down neck; bow and quiver behind shoulder; no border. *Rev.* Humped bull reclining l. on ground-line, maeander line below, laurel wreath around. Above bull, ANTIOXEΩN; below, ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ | ΤΟ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ.

- 3.b** o3, r3 3.80g. 15mm, 1h. CNG 100 (07/10/15), Lot 1497.
- 3.c** o3, r3 3.98g. 17mm, 12h. BMFA Suppl. 189: purchased from Robert E. Hecht Jr., 13.02.63 (acc. no. 63.94).
- 3.d** o3, r3 4.00g. 16mm. Numismatik Naumann, Auktion 65 (06/05/18), Lot 204.

### **4. ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ (tetradrachms and bronze)<sup>31</sup>**

#### *Tetradrachms*

*Obv.* Laureate bust of Apollo r., with long curls hanging down neck; bow and quiver behind shoulder; no border. *Rev.* Humped bull standing l. on ground line, maeander ring around. No symbol. Above bull, ANTIOXEΩN; below bull, ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ.

- 4.a** 05, R12 16.04g. 26mm, 11h. CNG 108 (16/05/18), Lot 233.

### **5. ΑΙΝΕΑΣ (tetradrachms)**

<sup>30</sup> The CNG catalogue gives '19mm', but comparison with **2.f** (same obverse die) shows that this must be a typo.

<sup>31</sup> Bronzes of ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ: Imhoof-Blumer 1890, p. 249, 409b.

### *Tetradrachms*

*Obv.* Laureate bust of Apollo r., with long curls hanging down neck; bow and quiver behind shoulder; no border. *Rev.* Humped bull standing l., no ground-line, maeander ring around, terminating at top with pilei of Dioskouroi. Above bull, ANTIOXEΩN; below bull, AINEAΣ.<sup>32</sup>

- 5.a** 05, R13 15.95g. 27mm, 12h. Leu Numismatik Auction 5, forthcoming.  
**5.b** 05, R14 15.33g. 26mm, 12h. *BMC Caria* 14, no.1 (1887,1003.8; ex J.P. Lambros).

## **6. ΜΟΣΧΑΣ ΞΑΝΘΟΥ** (tetradrachms)

### *Tetradrachms*

*Obv.* Laureate bust of Apollo r., with long curls hanging down neck; bow and quiver behind shoulder; dotted border. *Rev.* Humped bull standing l. on plain ground-line, maeander ring around. Symbol at l.: palm-branch with taenia bound around top. Above bull, ANTIOXEΩN; below ground-line, ΜΟΣΧΑΣ | ΞΑΝΘΟΥ.

- 6.a** 06, R15 15.54g. 28mm, 12h. Münzkabinett Winterthur G 3296.  
**6.b** 06, R15 16.05g. 26mm, 12h. Leu Numismatik Auction 3 (27/10/18), Lot 101.  
**6.c** 06, R15 15.97g. 28mm, 1h. Leu Numismatik Webauktion 6 (09/12/18), Lot 277.

### **Group B ('Zeus/eagle' tetradrachms)**

## **7. ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ** (tetradrachms and drachms)

### *Tetradrachms*

*Obv.* Bearded laureate bust of Zeus r.; no border. *Rev.* Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt, maeander ring around. No symbol. At l., AN|TIO|XE|ΩN; at r., ME|ΛEA|ΓP|OΣ.

- 7.a** 07, R16 16.01g. 28mm, 1h. Leu Numismatik Webauktion 9 (07/09/19), Lot 374.  
As above, but with dotted border on *Obv.*  
**7.b** 07 (recut),<sup>33</sup> R17 15.82g. 26mm, 12h. Gorny & Mosch, Auction 207 (15/10/12), Lot 358 = Nomos 17 (26/10/18), Lot 184.  
As above, but with different disposition of magistrate's name, ME|ΛE|AΓP|OΣ.  
**7.c** 07 (recut), R18 15.31g. 28mm, 1h. Leu Numismatik Webauktion 3 (25/02/18), Lot 341.  
**7.d** 08, R18 15.85g. 31mm, 1h. Leu Numismatik Webauktion 6 (09/12/18), Lot 275.

### *Drachms*

*Obv.* Laureate bust of Apollo r., with long curls hanging down neck; dotted border. *Rev.* Humped bull reclining l. on ground-line, maeander line below, laurel wreath around. Above bull, ANTIOXE; below, MEΛE.

<sup>32</sup> Both of the reverse dies of AINEAΣ (R13 and R14) show signs of retooling. In both cases, the magistrate's name is much larger and less evenly cut than the ethnic ANTIOXEΩN, and on the die R13, there are traces of another magistrate's name below AINEAΣ. It is likely that AINEAΣ had old reverse dies (probably of ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ ΤΟ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ or ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ) recut for his own use.

<sup>33</sup> The obverse die has been retooled, with some thickening and enlarging of the beard-curls, and the addition of a dotted border.

- 7.e** o4, r4 3.95g. 16mm, 12h. *BMC Caria* 14, no.3 (HPB, p. 114.1.F; from Henry Perigal Borrell).
- 7.f** o4, r4 3.82g. 17mm, 12h. Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 18267117 (C.R. Fox 1873, ex Borrell sale 1852, lot 217).
- 7.g** o4, r4 3.94g. 18mm, 12h. Münzkabinett Winterthur G 3297 (ex Jameson III 2297 = Naville 1 (1921, Pozzi) Lot 2564 = Sammlung Walter Niggeler I (1965) Lot 398).
- 7.h** o5, r4 3.89g. 16mm, 12h. TimeLine Auctions (23/05/17), Lot 1066 = Roma E-Sale 39 (26/08/17), Lot 267.

## 8. ΣΟΛ(ΩΝ) (tetradrachms)

### *Tetradrachms*

*Obv.* Bearded laureate bust of Zeus r.; dotted border. *Rev.* Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt, maeander ring around. No symbol. At l., ΣΟΛ; at r., ANTI|OXE|ΩΝ.

- 8.a** O9, R19 16.30g. 29mm. Paris, FG 98 (inv. L 2294, acq. Lambros)
- 8.b** O9, R20 15.97g. 27mm, 12h. Hess Auktion 251 (07-08/05/81), Lot 85 = BM 1987-6-8-1 (ex William Veres).

## 9. ΜΕΝΕΦΡΩΝ (tetradrachms and drachms)

### *Tetradrachms*

*Obv.* Bearded laureate bust of Zeus r.; dotted border. *Rev.* Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt, maeander ring around. Symbol at r.: cornucopia with fillet. Inside the maeander ring, reading clockwise, ANTIOXEΩΝ ΜΕΝΕΦΡΩΝ.

- 9.a** O10, R21 15.09g. 27mm, 12h. *SNG von Aulock* 2417 = Bank Leu 15 (4-5/05/76), 305 = BM 1976-9-22-2.
- 9.b** O10, R22 16.11g. 28mm, 12h. Leu Numismatik Webauktion 8 (29/06/19), Lot 411.

### *Drachms*

*Obv.* Laureate bust of Apollo r., with long curls hanging down neck; faint dotted border. *Rev.* Humped bull reclining l. on ground-line, maeander line below, laurel wreath around. Symbol at l.: cornucopia with fillet. Above bull, ANTIOXEΩΝ; below, ΜΕΝΕΦΡΩΝ.

- 9.c** o6, r5 3.94g. 17mm. Paris, BnF FG 97 (Coll. Wadd. 2140).
- 9.d** o6, r5 4.02g. 18mm, 12h. *BMC Caria* 14, no.2 (1840,1226.113).
- 9.e** o6, r5 3.66g. 17mm, 1h. Ebay, Joseph Sinski (07/04/2017), ex Roma e-sale 34 (18/02/17), group lot 526.

## 10. ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ (tetradrachms, drachms and bronze)<sup>34</sup>

### *Tetradrachms Type 1*

*Obv.* Bearded laureate bust of Zeus r.; dotted border. *Rev.* Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt, maeander ring around. Symbol at l.: cornucopia with fillet. At top, horizontally, ANTIOXEΩΝ; at r., vertically downwards, ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ.

- 10.a** O10, R23 16.16g. 27mm, 12h. Leu Numismatik Auction 5, forthcoming.

### *Tetradrachms Type 2*

<sup>34</sup> Bronze coins struck by ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ: Imhoof-Blumer 1901-2, p. 108, no. 4; Paris, FG 110 (Coll. Wadd. 2148).

*Obv.* Bearded laureate bust of Zeus r.; dotted border. *Rev.* Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt, maeander ring around. Nike flying in from r., placing wreath on head of eagle. At l., vertically upwards, ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ; inside maeander ring, reading clockwise from top, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ.

**10.b** O11, R24 15.78g, 26mm, 1h. Leu Numismatik Auction 2 (11/05/18), Lot 108.

**10.c** O11, R25 14.85g, 28mm. Paris, BnF R 1408.

**10.d** O11, R25 16.16g, 27mm, 1h. Leu Numismatik Webauktion 8 (29/06/19), Lot 412.

#### *Drachms*

*Obv.* Laureate bust of Apollo r., with long curls hanging down neck; no border. *Rev.* Humped bull reclining l. on ground-line, maeander line below, laurel wreath around. Above bull, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ; below, ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ.

**10.e** o7, r6 3.84g, 17mm, 12h. ANS 1944.100.47650.

**10.f** o7, r6 3.88g, 14mm. Numismatik Naumann Auction 80 (04/08/19), Lot 197.

### **11. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ** (tetradrachms and drachms)

#### *Tetradrachms*

*Obv.* Bearded laureate bust of Zeus r.; dotted border. *Rev.* Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt, maeander ring around. Possible symbols above and below the centre of the thunderbolt: above, rose (?); below, serpent-head (?).<sup>35</sup> Above, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ; at right, reading downwards, [Α]ΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ.

**11.a** O12, R26 16.00g, 28mm, 1h. Leu Numismatik Webauktion 10, forthcoming.

#### *Drachms*

*Obv.* Laureate bust of Apollo r., with long curls hanging down neck; dotted border. *Rev.* Humped bull reclining l. on ground-line, maeander line below, laurel wreath around. Above bull, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ; below, ΑΠΟΛ.

**11.b** o8, r7 3.63g, 16mm, 12h. Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 18267112 (Löbbecke 1906).

### **12. ΚΑΛΑΣ** (tetradrachms and drachms)

#### *Tetradrachms*

*Obv.* Bearded laureate bust of Zeus r.; dotted border. *Rev.* Eagle standing l., maeander ring around. Symbol at l.: winged caduceus. Above, [ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ] (?); at right, reading downwards, [Κ]ΑΛΑΣ.

**12.a** O13, R27 16.00g, 27mm, 1h. Leu Numismatik Webauktion 10 (forthcoming).

As above, but with the eagle standing on plain ground-line.

**12.b** O13, R28 15.14g, 27mm. Paris, BnF FG 99 (Coll. Wadd 2141).

#### *Drachms*

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<sup>35</sup> It is, however, possible that these are simply decorative elements of the thunderbolt; no symbols appear on the drachms of ΑΠΟΛ(ΛΩΝΙΟΣ).

*Obv.* Laureate bust of Apollo r., with long curls hanging down neck; dotted border. *Rev.* Humped bull reclining l. on ground-line, maeander line below; dotted border. Symbol at l.: winged caduceus. Above bull, [ANTIOXE]ΩN; below, ΚΑΛΑ[Σ].

**12.c** o9, r8 3.74g. 18mm, 11h. Numismatik Naumann, Auktion 65 (06/05/18), Lot 202.

### 13. ΤΡΥΦΩΝ ΚΑΡΝΑ (tetradrachms)

#### *Tetradrachms*

*Obv.* Bearded laureate bust of Zeus r.; dotted border. *Rev.* Eagle standing l. on plain ground-line, maeander ring around; sceptre behind eagle, with fillet hanging at r. from upper part.<sup>36</sup> Inside the maeander ring, reading clockwise, ANTIOXEΩN ΤΡΥΦΩΝ ΚΑΡΝΑ.

**13.a** O14, R29 16.12g. 26mm, 12h. Leu Numismatik Webauktion 7 (23/02/19), Lot 376.

**13.b** O14, R29 15.66g. 29mm, 1h. Leu Numismatik Auction 2 (11/05/18), Lot 109.

**13.c** O14, R29 16.02g. 27mm, 12h. Leu Numismatik Webauktion 9 (07/09/19), Lot 375.

### 14. ΚΑΡΝΕΑΔΗΣ ΚΑΡΝΑ (tetradrachms and drachms)

#### *Tetradrachms*

*Obv.* Bearded laureate bust of Zeus r.; dotted border. *Rev.* Eagle standing l. on plain ground-line, maeander ring around. Symbol at l.: Artemis Ephesia. Inside maeander ring, reading clockwise from l., ANTIOXEΩN ΚΑΡΝΕΑΔΗΣ ΚΑΡΝΑ.

**14.a** O15, R30 15.97g. 28mm, 12h. Leu Numismatik Auction 4 (25/05/19), Lot 284.

#### *Drachms*

*Obv.* Laureate bust of Apollo r., with long curls hanging down neck; dotted border. *Rev.* Humped bull reclining l. on maeander line, laurel wreath around. Symbol at l.: Artemis Ephesia. Above bull, ANTIOXEΩN; below, ΚΑΡΝΕΑΔΗΣ | ΚΑΡΝΑ.

**14.b** o10, r9 3.84g. 17mm, 12h. ANS 1983.51.544.

### *Group C ('eclectic'/wreathed tetradrachms)*

### 15. ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ Ι (tetradrachms and drachms)

#### *Tetradrachms*

*Obv.* Laureate bust of Artemis r., with long curls hanging down neck; dotted border. *Rev.* Humped bull standing l. on ground-line, maeander line below, ivy wreath around. No symbol. Above bull, ANTIOXEΩN; below bull, ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ.

**15.a** O16, R31 15.98g. 29mm, 12h. Leu Numismatik Webauktion 7 (23/02/19), Lot 378.

#### *Drachms*

*Obv.* Laureate bust of Artemis r., with long curls hanging down neck; dotted border. *Rev.* Humped bull reclining l. on ground-line, maeander line below, ivy wreath around. Above bull, ANTIOXEΩN; below, ΕΥΝΙ.

<sup>36</sup> The sceptre behind the eagle also appears on bronze issues of ΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΥ: see below, n. 00.

- 15.b** o11, r10 3.76g. 16mm, 11h. Vienna Gr 35428.  
**15.c** o11, r10 3.33g. 17mm, 11h. Kölner Münzkabinett Tyll Kroha Auction 102 (05.12.14), Lot 63.  
**15.d** o11, r10 3.73g. 17mm, 12h. Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 18267114 (1928/94).  
**15.e** o11, r10 3.78g. 16mm, 12h. Gorny & Mosch, Auction 229 (10/03/15), Lot 1357 = H. D. Rauch, 17<sup>th</sup> Live e-Auction (10/07/15), Lot 96 = Gitbud & Naumann 38 (06/12/15), Lot 273.  
**15.f** o11, r10 3.65g. 17mm, 12h. Leu Numismatik Webauktion 7 (23/02/19), Lot 379.  
**15.g** o11, r10 3.88g. 17mm, 12h. Münzkabinett Winterthur G 3298 (ex Ratto XVI (26/04/09, W. Froehner), Lot 4031; Hirsch XXIX (1910, Lambros), Lot 749)

## 16. ΑΔΡΑΣΤΟΣ ΠΥΘΕΟΥ (tetradrachms)

### *Tetradrachms*

*Obv.* Bust of Dionysos wearing ivy wreath r., with long curls hanging down neck; no border. *Rev.* Humped bull standing l. on maeander line, ivy wreath around. Symbol at l.: turreted bust of Tyche facing l. Above bull, ANTIOXEΩN; below bull, ΑΔΡΑΣΤΟΣ | ΠΥΘΕΟΥ.

- 16.a** O17, R32 15.21g. 28mm, 12h. BMFA Suppl. 188. Ex Robert E. Hecht Jr, 12.12.62 (acc. no. 62.1138).

## 17. ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ ΙΙ (tetradrachms)

### *Tetradrachms Type 1*

*Obv.* Bearded laureate bust of Zeus r.; dotted border. *Rev.* Humped bull standing l. on plain ground-line, laurel wreath around. Symbol at l.: small female figure facing r., with r. hand to chin. Above, in two lines, ANTIOXEΩN | ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩ; below ground-line, ΜΑΙΑΝΔΡΩ; at r., ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ.

- 17.a** O18, R33 15.92g. 27mm, 12h. Leu Numismatik Auction 3 (27/10/18), Lot 99.  
**17.b** O18, R33 16.05g. 27mm, 12h. Leu Numismatik Webauktion 7 (23/02/19), Lot 375.  
**17.c** O18, R33 15.99g. 25mm, 12h. Leu Numismatik Auction 5, forthcoming.  
**17.d** O18, R33 (recut)<sup>37</sup> 16.29g. 25mm, 12h. Leu Numismatik Auction 4 (25/05/19), Lot 280.

As above, but with the positions of ΜΑΙΑΝΔΡΩ and ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ reversed.

- 17.c** O18, R34 16.00g. 27mm, 12h. Roma Numismatics Auction XVI (26/09/18), Lot 296.  
**17.f** O18, R34 15.99g. 27mm, 12h. Leu Numismatik Auction 2 (11/05/18), Lot 107.  
**17.g** O18, R35 16.23g. 25mm, 12h. Leu Numismatik Webauktion 6 (09/12/18), Lot 274.  
**17.h** O18, R35 13.33g. 25mm, 12h. CNG 108 (16/05/18), Lot 230 = CNG Triton XII (07/01/19), Lot 268 = Gerhard Hirsch Auktion 348 (08/05/19), Lot 400.

<sup>37</sup> For this coin, the reverse die R33 has been recut; the name ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ has been deleted at r., and awkwardly inserted below ΜΑΙΑΝΔΡΩ at the bottom. I have no explanation for this; note that on the next two reverse dies used by this magistrate (R34 and R35), the name ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ appears at the bottom, below the maeander line.

## 18. ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ (tetradrachms)

### *Tetradrachms*

*Obv.* Bearded laureate bust of Zeus r.; no border. *Rev.* Eagle standing l. on maeander pattern, oak wreath around. Symbol at l.: club and lion-skin. Inside the oak wreath, reading clockwise, ANTIOXEΩN ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ.

**18.a** O19, R36 16.15g. 30mm, 12h. Leu Numismatik Auction 3 (27/10/18), Lot 100.

**18.b** O19, R36 16.01g. 28mm, 12h. Leu Numismatik Auction 4 (25/05/19), Lot 283.

**18.c** O19, R37 15.30g. 27mm, 12h. Lanz Auktion 20 (13/04/81), Lot 245.

### *Group D (drachms only)*

## 19. ΑΠΙ(ΣΤΟΣ) (drachms and bronze)<sup>38</sup>

### *Drachms*

*Obv.* Laureate bust of Apollo r., with long curls hanging down neck; dotted border. *Rev.* Humped bull reclining l. on maeander line, laurel wreath around. Above bull, ANTIOXEΩN; below, ΑΠΙ.

**19.a** o8, r11 3.84g. 18mm, 12h. *SNG Cop.* (Caria) 28.

## 20. [illegible] (drachms)

### *Drachms*

*Obv.* Laureate bust of Apollo r.; apparently no border. *Rev.* Humped bull reclining l. on maeander line, laurel wreath (?) around. Above bull, ANTI[OXEΩN]; below, magistrate's name (illegible).

**20.a** o12, r12 3.68g. 16mm. Paris, BnF FG 96 (inv. K 3044).

## Metrology and Dating

It has generally been assumed that the silver coinage of Antioch on the Maeander dates to the mid-second century BC, and more specifically to the immediate aftermath of the liberation of Karia from Rhodian control in 167 BC. This was the view of Ernest Babelon, Louis Robert, Henri Seyrig, Christopher Jones, Martin Price, and Georges Le Rider.<sup>39</sup> As we shall see, there are very strong reasons to doubt this conventional dating.

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<sup>38</sup> The expansion of the abbreviation is confirmed by small bronzes of Antioch struck by ΑΠΙΣΤΟΣ (obv. radiate bust of Helios; rev. lyre over maeander line within laurel wreath): *GM Winterthur* 3305; Savoca Blue Auction 13 (30/11/18), Lot 512; Numismatik Naumann Auction 73 (06/01/19), Lot 174; Leu Numismatik Webauktion 7 (23/02/19), Lot 380. This man is presumably identical to the magistrate ΑΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΥ, who struck large bronzes with types closer to the drachm and tetradrachm series (obv. Apollo with bow-case and quiver; rev. eagle on thunderbolt with sceptre behind, on maeander line): Peus Auction 418 (12/11/16), Lot 968 (12.47g); another example of the same issue in Vienna (inv. Gr 27458). The sceptre behind the eagle also appears on the tetradrachm issue of ΤΡΥΦΩΝ ΚΑΡΝΑ (13).

<sup>39</sup> Babelon 1892, p. 16-18; Robert 1973, p. 447-8; Seyrig 1973, p. 56; Jones 1983, p. 378-9; Price 1991, p. 311; Le Rider 2001, p. 43. I followed this 'high' dating in Thonemann 2011, p. 41-6; the lower dating proposed here was floated in Thonemann 2015a, p. 180-1.

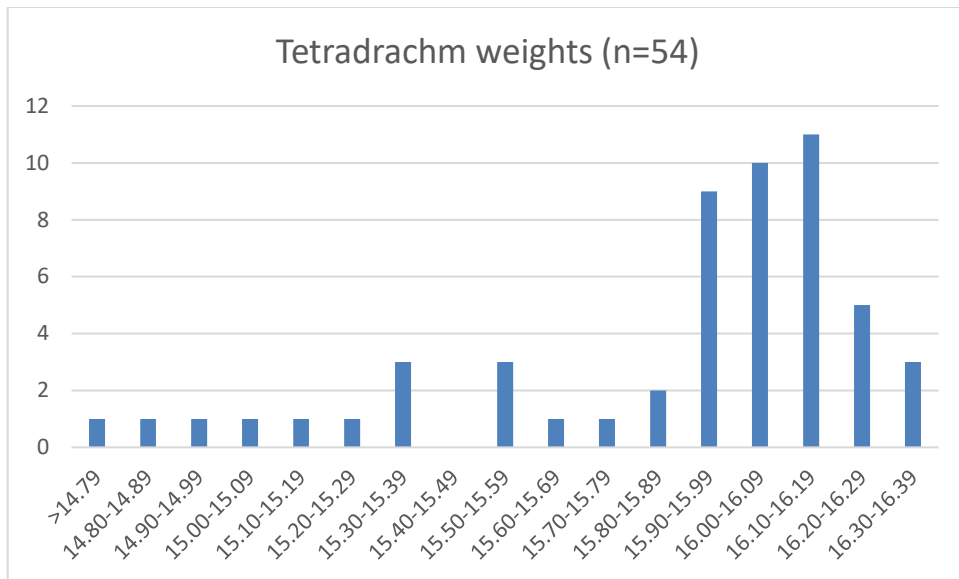


Fig.1: Tetradrachm weights (n=54)

Fig.1 shows the spread of weights of the Antioch tetradrachm series (54 specimens). The mean weight of the specimens is 15.85g, and the median weight is 16.00g; the interquartile spread (the spread of weights across the middle 50% of observed weights) is 0.37g (15.78g–16.15g).<sup>40</sup> Even allowing for the relatively small size of the sample, it seems clear that the mint was aiming at a weight-standard of somewhere around 16.10–16.20g, with a rather long ‘tail’ of underweight coins; the 80<sup>th</sup> percentile of the population (to take one possible indicator of the target weight) falls at 16.16g.

This weight-standard is clearly incompatible with a date in the mid-second century BC for the Antioch silver series. The large wreathed coinages of western Asia Minor in the mid-second century BC were all struck to a significantly heavier weight-standard: the wreathed tetradrachm series of Herakleia, Smyrna, Kyme, Lebedos, Aigai and Myrina, as well as the tetradrachms of Athena Ilias, Apollo Smintheus, Tenedos and Abydos, all have a median weight between 16.37g and 16.70g (compare 16.00g for the Antioch series).<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Around the time of the First Mithradatic War, typical interquartile spreads for Greek tetradrachm coinages rise from c. 0.30g to c. 0.60g: de Callataÿ 1997, p. 335; de Callataÿ 2015, p. 260-1; Meadows forthcoming. As Meadows has argued, this ‘relaxing’ of exactitude may well reflect the influence of Roman coin-production techniques (a shift from production of blanks *al pezzo*, with the weight of individual coins tightly controlled, to Roman-style production *al marco*, with a fixed number of coins produced from a fixed weight of metal, with less concern for the weight of individual coins). On this measure, the weight-standard of the Antioch series seems to have been relatively tightly controlled: the interquartile spread at Antioch (0.37g) is comparable to that of the tetradrachms of Mithradates Eupator (0.39g).

<sup>41</sup> de Callataÿ 1998, p. 112; Ellis-Evans 2016, p. 122.

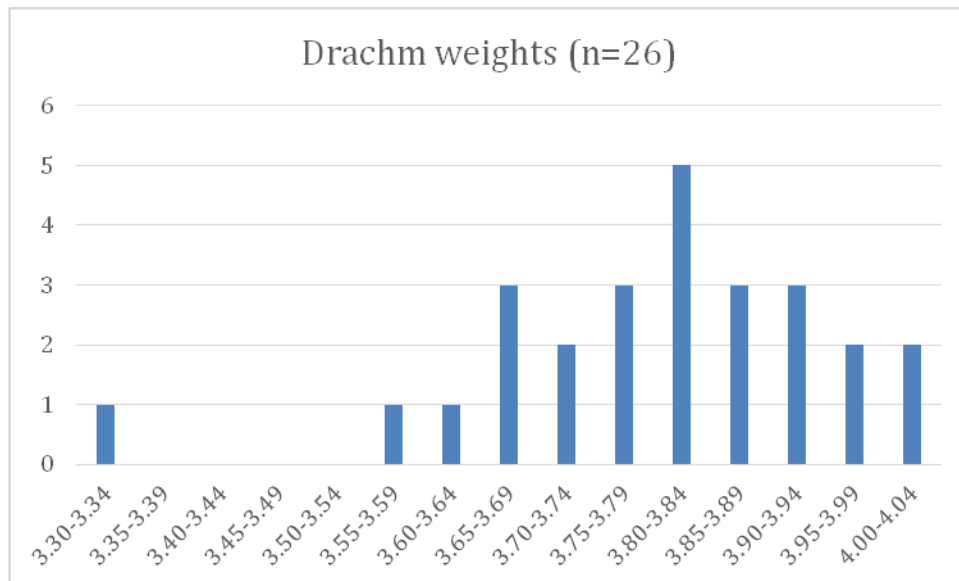


Fig.2: Drachm weights (n=26)

The Antioch drachm weights are shown in Fig. 2. The sample is distinctly smaller (26 specimens): the interquartile spread is 0.16g (between 3.74g and 3.90g), with a mean weight of 3.80g and a median weight of 3.82g; the 80<sup>th</sup> percentile of the population falls at 3.94g. It seems reasonable to assume that the drachms were aiming at a weight of around 3.90–3.95g, which would convert to a theoretical tetradrachm weight of 15.60–15.80g (contrast the mean and median weights of the Antioch tetradrachms, 15.85g and 16.00g); but it is quite normal in the Hellenistic world for fractions to be struck at proportionately lower weights than larger denominations, because of the relatively higher cost of minting them. Nonetheless, it is obviously tempting to wonder whether the Antioch silver series was struck to a weight-standard chosen for the sake of compatibility with the Roman denarius (c. 3.90g); I will return to this point in the conclusion.<sup>42</sup>

A second indication that the Antioch series may date somewhat later than has previously been thought is the physical size of the Antioch tetradrachms. Of the fifty-four tetradrachms recorded here, the minimum diameter is 25mm, the maximum 31mm, and forty-one out of fifty-four tetradrachms fall in the range 26–28mm. This is considerably smaller than any of the second-century wreathed tetradrachm series of western Asia Minor, whose average diameter consistently falls in the range 31–33mm. (It is also worth noting that none of the extant Antiochene tetradrachms have the hammered flan edges characteristic of the second-century wreathed tetradrachms.) The Seleukid royal coinage is an illuminating parallel: an average tetradrachm diameter of 35mm under Antiochos IV (175–164 BC) drops to 32–33mm in the third quarter of the second century BC, then to 30mm in the 110s, 28mm in 96/5 BC, 27mm between 95 and 93 BC, and finally to 26mm between 89 and 66 BC.<sup>43</sup> Once again, there seems good reason to place the coinage in the early first rather than the mid-second century BC.

<sup>42</sup> Meadows forthcoming.

<sup>43</sup> de Callatay 2006, p. 149-52.

A third, less decisive indication of a first-century date is the presence of a substantial drachm issue alongside the tetradrachms. The main second-century wreathed series from western Asia Minor generally consisted of tetradrachms only: Kyme, Myrina and Magnesia all struck only minuscule issues of drachms alongside their wreathed tetradrachms (at Myrina, Sacks recorded 5 drachms for 416 tetradrachms).<sup>44</sup> Smyrna did strike a substantial drachm issue alongside her wreathed tetradrachms, but only in the late second and early first centuries BC (c. 125–95 BC and c. 80–70 BC).<sup>45</sup> At Tenedos, Group 3 of the wreathed tetradrachms, considered by de Callatay and Meadows to date to the 80s BC or later, has a substantial associated drachm series (45 tetradrachms, struck off 11 obverse dies; 31 drachms, struck off 10 obverse dies). No drachms are known for the earlier, second-century issues of the Tenedos series; it seems that here, as at Smyrna, the extensive striking of drachms alongside tetradrachms only began after the creation of the Roman province of Asia.<sup>46</sup>

Finally – although this can hardly be decisive – it is worth noting the total absence of Antioch tetradrachms from Syrian hoards of the mid- to late second century BC, in which most of the larger civic ‘wreathed’ series of western Asia Minor are heavily represented.<sup>47</sup>

As we have seen, the metrology of the Antioch series strongly suggests that the entire series should be placed in the early first century BC. For a closer dating of the Antioch silver series, we need to turn to the magistrates who appear on the coinage.

### The Magistrates

Nineteen personal names appear on the Antioch silver issues (including patronyms). On the whole, the onomastic repertoire brings few surprises; most of the names attested are either common Greek names, or names that are otherwise well-attested in eastern Karia. I here discuss the names in alphabetical order.

**Ἄδραστος** is an epicchoric name, highly frequent at both Aphrodisias and neighbouring Herakleia under Salbake (63 and 32 instances respectively); the name was also common in the Lykos valley, at Attouda (4), Hierapolis (7) and Laodikeia (12), and it appears either five or six times in the Hellenistic list of names from Bucakköy, 10km east of Antioch.<sup>48</sup> The name was carried by three members of a single family at Antioch on the Maeander in the second century AD.<sup>49</sup> As Riet van Bremen has shown, the name was probably of indigenous

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<sup>44</sup> Sacks 1985, p. 8, 43.

<sup>45</sup> I am grateful to Philip Kinns for sharing with me his ongoing work on the late Hellenistic silver coinage of Smyrna. Between c. 125–85 BC, Smyrna struck wreathed tetradrachms off 24 obverse dies (Milne Periods XI–XV), with associated drachms (Milne Periods XI–XIII, c. 125–95 BC) struck off 10 obverse dies. For the post-Mithradatic period (Milne Period XVII, c. 80–70 BC), Smyrna struck wreathed tetradrachms off 7 obverse dies, and associated drachms off 2 obverse dies.

<sup>46</sup> de Callatay 1998, updated by Meadows forthcoming.

<sup>47</sup> Meadows and Houghton 2010, p. 179–86; Duyrat 2016, p. 374–9.

<sup>48</sup> Figures from *LGPN* V.B and V.C. The *LGPN* lists 5 bearers of the name at Bucakköy/\*Syneta; in his original report on the inscription (Chaniotis 1998, p. 249), Chaniotis gives 6.

<sup>49</sup> *MDAI(A)* 10 (1885), p. 278 (Blümel 2019, no. 622), with L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta* II, p. 1099–1100.

(Lydian?) origin.<sup>50</sup> His patronym **Πυθέας** is a widespread Greek name, also current at Aphrodisias (8 examples) and Herakleia (4 examples).

**Αίνέας**/**Αινείας** is another very widespread Greek name, particularly popular in Karia: of 104 attestations in Asia Minor, 65 come from Karia (9 instances at Aphrodisias). **Ἀπολλώνιος** is one of the commonest of all Greek names (658 examples in Karia alone). **Ἄρι(στος)** is a common and widespread name; an **Ἄρισταγόρας Ἄριστο[-]** is attested in a Hellenistic list of magistrates from Antioch.<sup>51</sup> The name **Δαμοκράτης** has a Doric flavour, slightly surprising in inland Karia; but the name is attested in this region in the mid-first century BC, as the patronym of two magistrates who signed proconsular cistophoroi at Laodikeia on the Lykos between 56–53 BC, and a **Δαμοκράτεια** is known at imperial Aphrodisias.<sup>52</sup> (I postpone discussion of the name **Διοτρέφης** to the end.)

**Ἑρμογένης** is an extremely widespread Greek name, attested once at Antioch in the second century AD; the name was also carried by a member of the civic elite in first-century BC Aphrodisias, who received a long posthumous honorific inscription recording his many embassies and other benefactions.<sup>53</sup> **Εὔνικος** is another very common Greek name (123 examples in *LGPN*), attested at Aphrodisias (twice) and at Herakleia under Salbake (four times). **Κάλας**, by contrast, is distinctly rare, and seems to be otherwise unattested in inland Asia Minor; the *LGPN* records only fourteen examples, seven from Macedonia, two from Hellenistic Pergamon, two from Amisos, and single examples from Elis, Ephesos, and Nikomedeia.

Perhaps the most surprising names in the whole series are **Καρνεάδης** and the associated patronym **Καρνᾶς** (also the patronym of the mint-magistrate **Τρύφων**: were **Καρνεάδης** and **Τρύφων** brothers?). Names in **Καρνv-** have a wide but thin distribution across the Greek world, with a particular concentration at Kyrene: 23 of the 33 instances of **Καρνεάδης** in the *LGPN* derive from Kyrene or its vicinity.<sup>54</sup> In Asia Minor, **Καρνεάδης** is otherwise attested only at Ankara and (perhaps) at Phrygian Eumeneia; the Doric form **Καρνεάδας** appears a handful of times at Knidos and Myndos.<sup>55</sup> The hypocoristic **Καρνᾶς** is even less common: aside from a single late antique example from Kyrene, it seems otherwise only to be found on a funerary stele of uncertain provenance in the archaeological museum of Denizli–Hierapolis.<sup>56</sup> Since other unprovenanced inscriptions in this museum demonstrably come from Antioch on the Maeander (see below, on **Διοτρέφης**), it is possible that this epitaph should also be attributed to Antioch.

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<sup>50</sup> van Bremen 2010.

<sup>51</sup> *BCH* 14 (1890), p. 234-5, no. 7 (Blümel 2019, no. 624), line 5.

<sup>52</sup> Laodikeian cistophoroi: Metcalf 2017, p. 50-2. *Damokrateia*: *I Aph2007* 13.3, and for Doric names at Aphrodisias, see Chaniotis 2010, p. 465.

<sup>53</sup> *I Ankara* 236 (patronym); *SEG* 52, 1020 (Aphrodisias).

<sup>54</sup> For **Καρνv-** names at Kyrene, see L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta* VI, p. 71-9.

<sup>55</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 7919 (Ankara); *SEG* 31, 1111 (Eumeneia); *LGPN* V.B, s.v. (Knidos and Myndos).

<sup>56</sup> Kyrene: *LGPN* I, s.v. Funerary stele: Ritti *et al.* 2008: no. 64.

The names **Μελέαγρος** and **Μένανδρος** are both extremely common throughout the Greek world, and no particular significance should be attributed to the fact that both happen to be independently attested at Antioch.<sup>57</sup>

**Μενέφρων** is an ordinary Greek name, albeit not in fact terribly common (34 examples in *LGPV*); this seems to be the only example from Karia. **Μοσχᾶς** and the associated patronym **Ξάνθος** are both fairly widespread Greek names (68 and 87 examples respectively in *LGPV*); Μοσχᾶς was notably popular in eastern Karia and south-west Phrygia, with examples at Aphrodisias (2), Herakleia under Salbake (4), Hierapolis (5) and Laodikeia (3).<sup>58</sup> **Σόλων** is common throughout the Greek world, though it does seem to have had something of a vogue in eastern Karia: another example is known from Antioch, as well as two in the Hellenistic list of names from Bucakköy, and a further ten from Aphrodisias and the cities of the Tabai plateau.<sup>59</sup> Finally, **Τρύφων** is also widespread throughout Asia Minor and elsewhere in the Greek world, albeit with notable concentrations at Aphrodisias (7) and Herakleia under Salbake (10).

Most interesting and important for our purposes is the name **Διοτρέφης**. This magistrate seems to have struck no fewer than four issues of tetradrachms and drachms, not necessarily in immediate succession (they may have been interspersed with issues by other magistrates). His different issues are distinguished from one another with adverbial phrases in the form Διοτρέφης τὸ τρίτον, ‘Diotrephes, for the third time’. This way of distinguishing issues by the same magistrate is virtually unattested elsewhere on Hellenistic coinage, although it is common enough on inscriptions as a means of describing repeated tenures of a civic magistracy by the same individual.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Meleagros also in *SEG* 42, 746, A20 (Rhodes, c. 100 BC); Menandros also in the Hellenistic list of magistrates from Antioch, *BCH* 14 (1890), p. 234-5, no. 7 (Blümel 2019, no. 624), line 21, and in *BCH* 7 (1883), p. 270-1, no. 14 (Nysa: Blümel 2019, no. 460, third century AD). Both names also appear in the Hellenistic list of names from Bucakköy/\*Syneta, Meleagros once, Menandros either 11 or 13 times (see above, n.00).

<sup>58</sup> A Μόσχος from Antioch is attested in an inscription from Phrygia Paroreios: *I.Sultan Dağ* 29 (third century AD).

<sup>59</sup> *LGPV* V.B, s.v.

<sup>60</sup> At Smyrna, the magistrates ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΣΗΠΙΑ (Milne 285–6) ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΑΓΡΙΟΣ (Milne 291–292), and ΣΗΜΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΙΚΕΣΙΟΥ (Milne 249 and 315–7), each struck two separate issues of bronze coinage in the years around 100 BC, the second issue distinguished in each case with the addition of τὸ β’ after the magistrate’s name (I owe this analogy, and the dating of the relevant issues, to Philip Kinns). In the very early imperial period, at Laodikeia on the Lykos, the magistrates Pythes and Dioskourides each struck two bronze issues, the second distinguished with the addition of τὸ δεύτερον after the magistrate’s name (*RPC* I, 2901–2911). One might also invoke, more cautiously, the curious case of the ΠΤΟΛ cistophoroi of Tralleis. The magistrate ΠΤΟΛ struck nine series of cistophoroi, the second to ninth of which are distinguished with numerals (Β to Θ). These are traditionally regarded as Sullan era-dates (thus Leschhorn 1993: 208-12; Carbone forthcoming), but it is striking (a) that there is no example of a ‘Year One’, (b) that all the ‘dates’ are associated with the same magistrate, and (c) that later Trallian cistophoroi do not use era-dates. We might therefore take these numerals as indications of repeated tenure of office by the magistrate ΠΤΟΛ. The nine ΠΤΟΛ issues are traditionally dated to the years 85/4 BC to 77/6 BC (Sullan era); the Karacabey hoard (*IGCH* 1358) shows that this dating is broadly correct, but the numerals may nonetheless indicate repeated tenure of office rather than the Sullan era.

The name Διοτρέφης is in fact rare. The *LGN* gives 27 instances outside of Antioch, almost half of them (13) from Phrygia and Lykaonia.<sup>61</sup> By far the most prominent holder of the name is a citizen of Antioch on the Maeander, whose career can be confidently dated to the first half of the first century BC. According to Strabo, the best-known citizen of Antioch was a certain Diotrophes, a ‘famous sophist’ (σοφιστής... ἔνδοξος) who taught Hybreas of Mylasa, described by Strabo as the greatest Greek orator of his day (13.4.15; 14.2.24). Hybreas was a well-known pro-Roman politician, whose career extends from around 50 BC down to (perhaps) the 20s BC; a recent study of Hybreas’ career suggests a date of birth in the 80s BC, and hence his studies under the sophist Diotrophes of Antioch should presumably be dated some time in the second quarter of the first century BC.<sup>62</sup>

Strabo’s sophist Diotrophes of Antioch is almost certainly the subject of a posthumous honorific inscription of uncertain provenance, now in the archaeological museum of Denizli–Hierapolis, first published in 1981 by A.R.R. Sheppard. This inscription, apparently a plaque from a tomb or heroon, was the subject of an important 1983 article by C.P. Jones, in which he argued convincingly that the stone is almost certain to derive from Antioch on the Maeander, and that the honorand is none other than the sophist Diotrophes mentioned by Strabo.<sup>63</sup> The inscription was republished with a good photo by Elena Miranda in the 2008 catalogue of non-Hierapolitan inscriptions in the Denizli–Hierapolis museum; Miranda was unfortunately unaware of Jones’ article. I republish the inscription here with a few minor changes to the readings and restorations.

White marble plaque, H. 0.58, W. 0.44, Th. 0.07, letters 0.025. Unknown provenance; probably from Antioch on the Maeander. Sheppard 1981, p. 20-2 no.2; (Jones 1983; *SEG* 31, 899); Ritti *et al.* 2008, no. 57 [E. Miranda]; (Blümel 2019, no. 621).

[ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν ταῖς μεγίσταις τει[μαῖς κ]αὶ ἔθα-  
 [ψεν Διοτρέφη Διοτρέφου]ς, ῥήτορα, ἱερέα θεο[ῦ Μ]ηνῶς  
 [καὶ θεᾶς Ῥώμης ἀπο π]ρογόνων καὶ πολλὰς καὶ ἐ-  
 [πιφανεῖς (?) ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρ]ίδος τελέσαντα π[ρε]σβεΐας  
 5 [πρὸς τοὺς ἡγουμένους] καὶ κατορθώσαν[τ]α καὶ ἐ[.]  
 [-----] τῶι δήμῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέ-  
 [μοις ὑπακούσαντα με]γαλοψύχως τῇ πόλει πᾶν τὸ  
 [ἀξιούμενον, καὶ πίστει] καὶ δικαιοσύνη διενηνο[χ]ότ[α],  
 [φιλοτίμως καὶ μεγαλοπρ]επῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως καὶ εὐσε-  
 10 [βῶς ἱερατεύσαντα, καὶ] ἐν πολέμοις καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ  
 [γεγονότα ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρ]α καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην  
 [τῆς πόλεως καὶ φιλόπατρ]ιν. *vac.*  
*vac.*  
 [ἡ γερουσία ἐτείμησε]ν καὶ ἐστεφάνωσεν χρυσῶ  
 [στεφάνῳ Διοτρέφῃ Διο]τρέφους τοῦ Διοτρέφους  
 15 [ῥήτορα, ἱερατεύσαντ]α τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ γυμνασιαρ-  
 [χήσαντα καὶ εὐεργετῆ]ν γεγονότα τοῦ δήμου.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Jones 1983, p. 377; Jones was able to locate 14 instances outside Antioch.

<sup>62</sup> For the career of Hybreas, see Delrieux and Ferriès 2004; for the dates, p. 508-13.

<sup>63</sup> Sheppard 1981, p. 20-2; Jones 1983 (*SEG* 31, 899).

All restorations Jones, except the following: **5.** κατορθώσα[ντ]α π[- -] Sh(eppard), J(ones); κ[- -] M(iranda); καὶ ἐ[.] Th(onemann). **6.** [- -] ἐν τῷ δήμῳ Sh., J.; [- -] τῷ δήμῳ *lapis*. **8.** διεν[ενκ]ό[ν]τα Sh., J.; διενηνο[χ]ότ[α] Th. **9.** [κάλως καὶ] J.; [φιλοτίμως καὶ] Th. **10.** [γυμνασιαρχήσαντα] J.; [ιερατεύσαντα, καὶ] Th. **12.** [- -]IN M.; [τῆς πόλεως καὶ φιλόπατρ]ιν Th.

‘(I) The people honoured with the greatest honours and buried Diotrephes son of Diotrephes, orator, priest of the god Men and the goddess Roma in succession to his ancestors, who performed many glorious (?) embassies on behalf of his homeland to the authorities [i.e. Rome], and was successful, and... for the people, and during the wars in greatness of spirit complied with everything requested of him by the city, and was outstanding in both trustworthiness and justice, and served as priest in an emulous and magnificent and glorious and pious manner, and in both war and peace has been a good man and saviour and benefactor of the city and a lover of his homeland. (II) The gerousia honoured and crowned with a golden crown Diotrephes son of Diotrephes, grandson of Diotrephes, having been priest of Roma and gymnasiarch and a benefactor of the people.’

**Lines 5–6:** Examples of phraseology for successful embassies (often with the verb κατορθοῦν) are collected by W. Blümel, *I.Nordkarien*, p.147. We may have here a clause summarising what the honorand achieved for the people, e.g. καὶ ἐ[ύ]μερίαν περιποιήσαντα τῷ δήμῳ; alternatively, we might have a clause indicating that the honorand undertook the embassies without charging travel expenses to the city: for the sense, cf. e.g. *I.Priene*<sup>2</sup> 64, lines 161-3, [ο]ὐδ’ [ε]ἰς ταύτας τὰς ἀποδημ[ί]ας ἔλ[α]βεν τὰ τετ[α]γμέ[ν]α [ἐ]φόδια... [δωρέαν δὲ] τὰς ἀποδημ[ί]ας ἐ[πε]τ[έ]λλ[ε]σεν; *I.Perge* 193, lines 6-7, ἐν μηδεμιᾷ πρ[ε]σβείᾳ τὸ δαπάνημα λογισάμενον τῇ πόλει (see Thonemann 2015b, p. 161-3).

**Line 8:** Sheppard (followed by Jones) restored here the aorist participle διεν[ενκ]ό[ν]τα, but the photograph published by Miranda shows that the true reading is the perfect participle διενηνο[χ]ότ[α], found in a similar context in an honorific inscription from the village of Bucakköy, 10km to the east of Antioch, which probably lay within the territory of Antioch by the late Hellenistic period: see Robert and Robert 1954, p. 351-5, διὰ γένους πάση ἀρετῇ [διε]νηνοχότα.<sup>64</sup> As a result, Jones’ restoration [κάλως καὶ μεγαλοπρ]επῶς at the start of line 9 is a little too short; we can easily restore e.g. [φιλοτίμως καὶ μεγαλοπρ]επῶς.

**Line 10:** Jones restores [γυμνασιαρχήσαντα] on the analogy of lines 15–16, but the adverb εὐσεβῶς would fit better with a reference to Diotrephes’ tenure of the priesthoods of Men and Roma.

**Line 12:** omitted by Sheppard and Jones.

Given that Diotrephes’ *floruit* can be firmly dated to the first decades of the first century BC, the ‘wars’ referred to in lines 6–7 and 10 can only be the first Mithradatic war (89–85 BC). In 88 BC, when Mithradates VI was advancing west

<sup>64</sup> A. Chaniotis suggests (*SEG* 57, 1017) that the Bucakköy inscription is a  *Pierre errante* from Aphrodisias, on the basis that the name of the honorand (Apollonios Papias) also appears at Aphrodisias (followed by *LGPV* V.B); but there is no reason why the same man should not also have been honoured at Antioch. He may be identical to the mint-magistrate ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ (11); but the name is very common.

from Phrygia into the Roman province of Asia *via* the Maeander valley, many of the Karian communities south of the Maeander river put up a fierce resistance to him. As Christian Marek argued thirty years ago, the Karian civic resistance to Mithradates is best explained on the assumption that Karia south of the Maeander was not yet part of the Roman province of Asia, but still enjoyed the freedom bestowed on them by Rome in 167 BC: from their perspective, Mithradates was no liberator.<sup>65</sup> Plarasa/Aphrodisias, the immediate neighbour of Antioch to the south, sent a force under the *stephanēphoros* Artemidoros to support the Roman general Q. Oppius, then under siege by Mithradates at Laodikeia on the Lykos; Stratonikeia, in western Karia, was later described as the ‘first of those in Asia to oppose Mithradates’; Alabanda (assuming that the relevant inscription is correctly dated to the late 80s BC) provided help of some kind to the Roman army; and the city of Tabai supported the Roman cause in an unspecified manner.<sup>66</sup> All of these communities were rewarded by Sulla with various privileges after the final Roman victory in 85 BC: Aphrodisias and Alabanda retained the status of free cities (*civitates liberae*); the Stratonikeians were confirmed in their possession of a vast stretch of territory down to the Keramic gulf (including Keramos itself), and the sanctuary of Hekate at Lagina was declared inviolate; and Tabai was granted possession of a group of villages in its vicinity.

The honorific inscription for Diotrophes is considerably less specific about the attitude adopted by the Antiochenes during the First Mithradatic War, and about possible rewards or punishments imposed on the city by Rome after 85 BC. But the reference to successful embassies to Rome may imply that Diotrophes, like other members of the civic elite in the middle Maeander valley region (Artemidoros at Aphrodisias, Chairemon at Nysa), took a pro-Roman line, and it is likely enough that Antioch reaped the rewards after 85 BC.<sup>67</sup>

In his study of the Antioch inscription, Jones assumed that the honorand was the homonymous grandson of the mint-magistrate Diotrophes.<sup>68</sup> But this assumption was based on the old dating of the silver coinage of Antioch to the mid-second century BC. Now that the silver coinage of Antioch can be confidently placed in the early to mid-first century BC, we are free to identify the unusually prolific mint-magistrate Diotrophes (minimum four issues) with the orator and great civic benefactor known from Strabo and the Antioch inscription. This connection between the Antioch silver series and the career of the orator Diotrophes provides some pleasing support for the chronology suggested by the weight-standard of the coinage, namely that the mint of Antioch started producing silver coins only in the first half of the first century BC, most probably around the time of the First Mithradatic War.

## **A Context for the Silver Coinage of Antioch**

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<sup>65</sup> Marek 1988; for attitudes in western Asia Minor generally, see Niebergall 2011.

<sup>66</sup> Plarasa/Aphrodisias: Reynolds 1982, p. 11-20, docs 2 and 3. Stratonikeia: App. *Mithr.* 21; Sherk 1969, p. 105-11, doc. 18; Meadows 2002, p. 121-4. Alabanda: *I.Nordkarien* 211, with Marek 1988, p. 294-302 (dating not certain). Tabai: Sherk 1969, p. 100-4, doc. 17.

<sup>67</sup> Artemidoros: Reynolds 1982, p. 11-20, docs 2 and 3. Chairemon: see further below.

<sup>68</sup> Jones 1983, p. 378-9.

This is, I think, pretty much all that can be said with certainty about the silver coinage of Antioch. What follows is a first attempt to identify a possible historical context for this remarkable coinage. I am painfully aware of the speculative character of what follows; others may well be able to do better.

To find a city in western Asia Minor striking a tetradrachm coinage for the first time in the early to mid-first century BC is of course startling and unexpected. It is hardly surprising that most earlier scholars unhesitatingly dated the Antioch silver coinage to the second century BC – a dating which, as we have seen, is effectively ruled out by the weight-standard of the Antioch tetradrachm issues (apparently *c.* 16.10–16.20g).

In the light of the new chronology proposed here for the Antioch series, we may reasonably call into doubt whether this coinage is in reality a genuine ‘civic’ coinage, struck from local funds for local purposes. As François de Callataÿ has shown, very many of the apparently ‘civic’ silver coinages of Asia Minor in the late second and first centuries BC should in fact be seen as surrogate ‘Roman’ coinages, connected with Roman interests and Roman expenditure (primarily military), and struck with Roman bullion. In de Callataÿ’s words: ‘A most fascinating line of enquiry is to consider large coinages struck suddenly by cities which apparently had little political or economic power. The most reasonable explanation, I believe, must be that, despite their civic appearance, these coinages were struck for the benefit of a more powerful issuer.’<sup>69</sup> The deeply anomalous silver coinage of Antioch – which, as we have seen, may have been struck on a weight-standard selected for the sake of compatibility with the Roman denarius (a ‘drachm’ of *c.* 3.90–3.95g) – looks very much like a case in point.

The first thing to note here is that Antioch was not, in fact, the only mint in south-western Asia Minor to start producing an ‘unexpected’ large-denomination silver coinage for the first time around the time of the Mithradatic wars. Something broadly comparable seems to have happened at Nysa, the immediate neighbour of Antioch, some 30km to the west down the Maeander valley. The cistophoric coinage of Nysa (tetradrachms, didrachms and drachms) seems to have been produced on a substantially larger scale than the silver coinage of Antioch: using the Esty methodology, the original number of obverse dies used for the Nysa tetradrachms was  $122.9 \pm 70.10$ , compared to  $29.3 \pm 8.31$  for the Antioch tetradrachm series.<sup>70</sup> The magistrates named on the Nysa cistophoroi include two members of a prominent pro-Roman family at Nysa, Chai(remon) and Pythion son of Chaire(mon).<sup>71</sup> This family is well known to us, thanks to a famous epigraphic dossier from Nysa which shows that Pythion’s father Chairemon had in 88 BC sent a huge consignment of 60,000 modii of wheat flour to the proconsul C. Cassius at Apameia, and was subsequently proscribed by Mithradates for his pro-Roman actions.<sup>72</sup> (One of course recalls the pro-Roman leanings of Diotrophes of Antioch, active in the same years.)

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<sup>69</sup> de Callataÿ 2011 (quote from 74).

<sup>70</sup> Metcalf 2015: 55 tetradrachms, struck from 38 obverse dies; 5 didrachms, from 3 obverse dies; 10 drachms.

<sup>71</sup> Pythion appears on tetradrachms of Year 16, Chairemon on drachms of uncertain date: Metcalf 2015, p. 316-7.

<sup>72</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 741 (Blümel 2019, nos 410-13); Jones 2011; Thonemann 2011, p. 206-8; Campanile 2014.

Thanks to the presence of era-dates, we know that the cistophoric coinage of Nysa was struck over a 24-year period, with a particular bulge in production during the last two years (13 of 38 tetradrachm obverse dies for Year 23 and Year 24). Only 13 of the 24 years are directly attested; coins may well not have been struck in every year. But which era was in use? In 1993, Leschhorn argued that the era of the Nysaeen cistophoroi was the Sullan era, and hence that the series ran from 85/4 BC (Year 1) to 62/1 BC (Year 24).<sup>73</sup> However, this is almost certainly incorrect. The sole known specimen of a Nysa Year 1 cistophoros is all but certain to derive from the 2002 cistophoric hoard, buried in the last months of 89 BC. The coin is in uncirculated condition, and Lucia Carbone has thus been able to show that the era of Nysa in fact began in 90/89 BC.<sup>74</sup> The Nysa cistophoric series would thus run from 90/89 BC (Year 1) to 67/6 BC (Year 24), with a large bulge in production in 68/7 and 67/6 BC.

This new chronology for the Nysa cistophoroi is highly satisfying, for three reasons. First, it brings the beginning of the Nysa cistophoric series into line with a huge upswing in cistophoric production in the southern and eastern parts of the province of Asia around 90 BC. Ephesian cistophoric production rose from 4 tetradrachm obverse dies in 91/90 BC to 13 obverse dies in 90/89 BC; Tralleis rose from an annual average of 2.4 tetradrachm obverse dies in the period 95–90 BC to 11 obverse dies in 90/89 BC; in Phrygia, Apameia and Laodikeia (and perhaps Synnada) also resumed the striking of cistophoroi at some point in the late 90s BC.<sup>75</sup> Second, it places the end of the Nysa cistophoric series in 67/6 BC, at the same time as the end of the dated cistophoroi of Ephesos (67/6) and the dated tetradrachms of Alexandria Troas (66/5).<sup>76</sup> Third, although we have Nysaeen issues for Year 1 and Year 2 (90/89 and 89/8 BC on the new chronology), and also for each of Years 6–9 (85/4 BC to 82/1 BC), we currently have no specimens for Years 3–5 (88/7 BC to 86/5 BC). This may be an accident of survival; but it is surely suggestive that these are precisely the three years of Mithradates' occupation of western Asia Minor. It makes perfect sense to imagine that the cistophoric series of Nysa was initiated in the context of large-scale Roman cistophoric minting in western Asia Minor in the run-up to the First Mithradatic War (90/89 BC), ceased in 88 BC during the Mithradatic occupation, restarted after the Roman reconquest in 85 BC, and terminated in 67/6 BC at the point when several other silver series (including the Ephesian cistophoroi) also came to an end.

It is obviously tempting to wonder whether the silver coinage of Antioch might fall in the same period as the cistophoric coinage of her close neighbour Nysa, roughly 90/89 BC to the mid-60s BC. Unfortunately, we have no clear way of telling over how long a period the silver coinage of Antioch might have been produced. Nineteen or twenty magistrates are directly attested on the extant silver coinage of Antioch (the magistrate's name on drachm **20.a** is illegible), and we can infer the existence of one more (Diotrephes for the second time). We currently have eighteen magistrates attested on the tetradrachms, striking off

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<sup>73</sup> Leschhorn 1993: 208-14; followed by Thonemann 2011, p. 206 and Metcalf 2015, p. 316.

<sup>74</sup> *CNG Triton VI* (14/01/03) Lot 396; Carbone forthcoming.

<sup>75</sup> Carbone forthcoming.

<sup>76</sup> Ephesos and Alexandria Troas: de Callatay 1997, p. 155-79; de Callatay 2011, p. 75. Note that at Ephesos, as at Nysa, there is a large bulge in production in the early 60s BC, just before the closure of the mint.

nineteen obverse dies. As we have seen, on the Esty methodology, the original number of obverse dies used for the Antioch tetradrachm series was  $29.3 \pm 8.31$ . It therefore seems a reasonable guess that there may originally have been around 25 silver mint-magistrates, but certainty is impossible, not least given that three named magistrates are known from only a single drachm or tetradrachm specimen. These could be annual magistrates, giving us a series extending over *c.*25 years; but it is equally possible that more than one magistrate was striking within a single year, or that coins were not struck in every year.<sup>77</sup> Still, the twenty-odd attested magistrates of the Antioch series are suggestively close to the 24-year sequence of cistophoroi at her neighbour Nysa: it is quite possible that the two coinages are to all intents and purposes precise contemporaries.

That the Antioch silver series must have been complete by the late 60s BC is, I think, all but certain. The mid- to late 60s BC mark a very clear watershed in the production of large-denomination silver coinages in western Asia Minor: as we have seen, the dated cistophoroi of Ephesos and Nysa terminate in 67/6 BC, the dated Attic-weight tetradrachms of Alexandria Troas in 66/5 BC; the last tetradrachms of the *koinon* of Athena Ilias seem to date to the 60s or 50s BC.<sup>78</sup> After 59 BC, the number of cistophoric mints was reduced to five, and all subsequent cistophoroi carried the names of Roman magistrates.<sup>79</sup> Although we have several examples of Karian cities striking silver drachms and smaller denominations in the later first century BC (Tabai, Plarasa–Aphrodisias, Attouda, Stratonikeia, Mylasa, Halikarnassos, Iasos, Bargylia), either on the plinthophoric or a denarius/quinarius standard, we have no other clear examples of civic tetradrachms being struck anywhere in western Asia Minor after the 60s BC.<sup>80</sup>

I therefore tentatively propose – pending more plausible suggestions – that the beginning of the silver coinage of Antioch should be placed in or around 90 BC, probably with the first issue of ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗΣ. The initiation of the coinage could perhaps be associated with the huge boom in the striking of large-denomination silver throughout the southern part of the Roman province of Asia in 90/89 BC, during the run-up to the First Mithradatic War. The dramatic upswing in cistophoric production at Tralleis and Ephesos in 90/89 BC, the opening of a completely new cistophoric mint at Nysa in the same year, and perhaps the reopening of the old Attalid cistophoric mints at Apameia and Laodikeia in the late 90s BC, can all plausibly be seen as reflecting Roman preparation for military activities against Mithradates. The Romans may well have wished to be able to make military payments with both cistophoric and reduced-Attic or denarius-weight silver, and Antioch would have made perfect sense as a location for a ‘Roman’ reduced-Attic or denarius-weight silver mint. As we have seen, although Antioch did not belong to the Roman province of Asia, it was strategically located on Manius Aquillius’ Southern Highway, the main

<sup>77</sup> The Julio-Claudian bronze coinage of Antioch was struck by a board known as a *συναρχία*, which may have consisted of three magistrates: *RPC I*, 2829–2836 (note especially *RPC I*, 2833, with three magistrates’ names); a board of three mint-magistrates is also attested at nearby Attouda in the first century BC (e.g. *BMC Caria* p.62, no.1; same type, Paris, FG 369.1 [inv. M 7483]).

<sup>78</sup> Ellis-Evans 2016, p. 131-2.

<sup>79</sup> Metcalf 2017 (Ephesos, Pergamon, Tralleis, Apameia, Laodikeia); the cistophoric mints of Sardeis, Smyrna, Synnada, Nysa, and Adramytteion seem all to have closed by the 60s BC.

<sup>80</sup> Carbone 2013.

military road leading inland from Ephesos to Phrygia – the road that Mithradates in fact followed on his march into the western part of the peninsula in 88 BC. In the context of large-scale silver minting in other cities along the Southern Highway in 90/89 BC (Ephesos, Tralleis, Nysa, Laodikeia, Apameia), the impeccably pro-Roman city of Antioch would have been an obvious choice for a Roman governor seeking a non-cistophoric mint in the region.

On this chronology, the silver coinage of Antioch – in origin a ‘surrogate’ Roman coinage, struck for Roman military purposes, albeit with impeccably civic types – would presumably have continued down to the mid-60s BC. We have no way of knowing whether Antioch received some favourable status within the ‘new deal’ for Karia imposed by Rome in the immediate wake of the First Mithradatic War; as we have seen, the honorific inscription for the orator Diotrophes suggests that he may have won some privileged status for Antioch in the aftermath of the war. New civic silver coinages (in smaller denominations) do appear in several inland Karian cities in the mid-first century BC (Plarasa-Aphrodisias, Attouda, Tabai), and in two other cases (Aphrodisias, Tabai) the cities concerned are known to have shown loyalty to Rome in the First Mithradatic War. One wonders whether Antioch, like its neighbour Aphrodisias, might have been assigned the status of a *civitas libera* by Sulla in recognition of services performed for Rome in the early 80s BC. But in the current state of our evidence, this can be nothing more than speculation.

Whether or not the tentative reconstruction proposed above is correct, the silver coinage of Antioch remains a startling outlier in the numismatic landscape of late Hellenistic Asia Minor. Its profusion of types and idiosyncratic metrology have few parallels in the precious-metal coinages of the late Hellenistic world. It is profoundly unfortunate that the putative ‘Antioch 2018 hoard’, from which so much of our knowledge of the coinage derives, was dispersed in trade before its contents were recorded. A full record of the hoard’s find-spot and content might well have solved many of the unanswered questions about this fascinating and elusive mint.

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