

## The Alexanders of Attalus I

**Summary** – Previously unpublished evidence from the ‘Seleucus III’ hoard (CH X 272) demonstrates that the Alexanders of Attalus I split into two chronologically distinct series: one c. 235-225 (Kleiner I-VII), the other c. 205-195 (Kleiner VIII-XVIII). The die cutter at Pergamon responsible for this earlier series (Kleiner’s ‘Hand A’) also cut dies for contemporaneous series of Alexanders minted at Mytilene and Chios. The likely historical context for this co-ordinated production is Attalus I’s campaigns against Antiochus Hierax in the late 230s and early 220s.

**Keywords** – Attalus I, Pergamon, Posthumous Alexanders, Philetaeri, Mytilene, Chios.

**Résumé** – Des éléments inédits sur le trésor « de Séleucus III » (CH X 272) montrent que les Alexandre d’Attale I<sup>er</sup> sont divisés en deux séries chronologiquement distinctes: l’une c. 235-225 (Kleiner I-VII), l’autre c. 205-195 (Kleiner VIII-XVIII). Le graveur de coins de Pergame responsable de la série la plus ancienne (la « main A » de Kleiner) a également gravé des coins pour des séries contemporaines d’Alexandres frappés à Mytilène et à Chios. Le contexte historique probable de cette production coordonnée est celui des campagnes d’Attale I<sup>er</sup> contre Antiochus Hiérox à la fin des années 230 et au début des années 220.

**Mots clés** – Attale I<sup>er</sup>, Pergame, alexandres posthumes, philéaires, Mytilène, Chios.

### 1. The Date of Attalus I’s Alexanders

The tetradrachm coinage of Attalus I consisted of two types: Philetaeri, which bore an obverse portrait of the dynasty’s founder Philetaerus and a reverse depiction of a seated Athena beside the legend ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ; and Alexanders, which bore the types of the Macedonian conqueror’s lifetime coinage.<sup>1</sup> Philetaeri had first appeared under Philetaerus himself c. 270-263 (11 obverse dies) and thereafter became the mainstay of Attalid coinage under Eumenes I c. 263-241 (93 dies) and Attalus I c. 241-197 (50 dies). By contrast, Alexanders with the Seleucid royal name were briefly issued under Philetaerus on behalf of the Seleucids c. 282-280 (at least 10 dies) and thereafter not again until the reign of Attalus I.

The date of Attalus I’s Philetaeri is fairly secure. Based on the evidence of the Meydancikkale hoard (CH VIII 308, buried c. 240-235), Georges Le Rider established that the earliest Philetaeri minted by Attalus I belonged to Westermark’s Group VIA and dated to the very beginning of his reign c. 240-235 (26 dies).<sup>2</sup> Hélène Nicolet-Pierre subsequently showed that Westermark’s Group VIB (24 dies) in fact represented two chronologically separate episodes of minting: one in the 210s and a second c. 205-195 which Nicolet-Pierre designated as VIB(1) and VIB(2) respectively.<sup>3</sup>

By contrast, Attalus I’s Alexander are less straightforward to date. In his die study, Fred Kleiner dated these Alexanders c. 202-188 and divided them into 18 groups (i.e. issues). Within this, he argued that Kleiner Groups I-VII were the work of a single die engraver (Hand A) while Kleiner VIII-XVIII were the work of several different die engravers (Hands

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Die studies: Westermark 1961 (Philetaeri), Kleiner 1971 (Alexanders). The description of these series which follows is based on the recent reappraisal of them in Meadows 2013, pp. 154-69.

<sup>2</sup> Davesne and Le Rider 1989, pp. 334-6.

<sup>3</sup> Nicolet-Pierre 1989.

B-E).<sup>4</sup> Although Kleiner's date range of c. 202-188 has turned out to be too low, his division of the Alexanders into these two groups has proved valuable.

The products of Hand A (Kleiner I-VII) must pre-date 210, since examples of Groups I, III, and VII (Kleiner's obverse dies A, D, and H) appear in IGCH 1370 (buried c. 210) and an example of Group II (die C) appears in IGCH 1406 (buried c. 210-205).<sup>5</sup> By contrast, the products of Hands B-E (Kleiner VIII-XVIII) must date c. 205-195 based on the hoards in which they appear and the precise way in which their control marks correspond to the Westermark VIB(2) Philetaeri.<sup>6</sup> It is therefore clear that Kleiner I-XVIII do not constitute a single series as Kleiner assumed, but rather two chronologically distinct series which were separated by a gap of several years between the production of I-VII pre-210 and that of VIII-XVIII c. 205-195. The key question is therefore how much earlier than c. 210 were the Kleiner I-VII Alexanders minted.<sup>7</sup>

The so-called 'Seleucus III' hoard, which was recorded in commerce in 2002 (provisional listing in CH X 272), provides new evidence for this question. On consulting Catherine Lorber's photo record of the hoard I discovered that it contained examples of Kleiner II and IV (dies C and G respectively) which are not mentioned in the CH listing.<sup>8</sup> Since the hoard was buried in 225/4, it is clear that the Kleiner I-VII Alexanders of Pergamon must therefore have been produced before this point and thus at least two decades prior to Kleiner VIII-XVIII.<sup>9</sup> The fresh condition of both coins suggests that they had not circulated for long before they were buried with the 'Seleucus III' hoard.

Support for the view that these Alexanders post-date the Westermark VIA Philetaeri of c. 240-235 is provided by the lack of overlap in control marks between the two series. In the case of the Kleiner VIII-XVIII Alexanders and the Westermark VIB(2) Philetaeri, which we know on the independent evidence of the hoards were produced in parallel c. 205-195, the controls of the two series mirror one another exactly. We may thus infer that, if the Kleiner I-VII Alexanders had overlapped with the Westermark VIA Philetaeri c. 240-235, we would likewise expect to see parallel controls. Instead, while some of the controls are the same (e.g. bee, cornucopia), others are not (e.g. for the Alexanders owl, loutrophoros, wreath, star; for the VIA Philetaeri palm branch, monograms), and none appear in the same combinations.

In sum, the Kleiner I-VII Alexanders must date to some point c. 235-225 for the following reasons. First, their presence in the 'Seleucus III' hoard provides a *terminus ante quem* of c. 225. Second, the lack of overlap in controls with the Westermark VIA Philetaeri suggests a *terminus post quem* of c. 235. Finally, the fresh condition of the examples in the 'Seleucus III' hoard independently suggests a date within a few years of the hoard's burial. The chronology of Attalus I's tetradrachm series is therefore as follows:

c. 240-235	Philetaeri: Westermark VIA
c. 235-225	Alexanders: Kleiner I-VII
c. 220-210	Philetaeri: Westermark VIB(1)
c. 205-195	Philetaeri: Westermark VIB(2) Alexanders: Kleiner VIII-XVIII

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<sup>4</sup> Kleiner 1971, pp. 101-4.

<sup>5</sup> These are nos. 1, 16, 18, 51 (IGCH 1370) and 11 (IGCH 1406) in the catalogue. See already Boehringer 1972, p. 41-3 and Price 1991, vol. 1, p. 222.

<sup>6</sup> Meadows 2013, pp. 160-1 with Table 5.4.

<sup>7</sup> See already Meadows 2013, p. 162: "It is possible that these earlier Alexanders, and/or perhaps the Philetaeroi of Westermark Group VI B1 are to be connected with expenditure during the conflict with Seleukos III and then Achaïos in the late 220s".

<sup>8</sup> I am extremely grateful to Catherine Lorber for sharing this material with me. The coins are nos. 32 and 42 in the catalogue (both illustrated).

<sup>9</sup> Burial date: Ashton 2004, pp. 95-6.

## 2. Attalus I and the Cities of Western Asia Minor

Pergamon presumably minted the Kleiner I-VII Alexanders to pay troops, since this was the usual purpose for which Alexander tetradrachms were minted. Given the date of the series c. 235-225, the obvious historical context for this series is the war between Attalus I and Antiochus Hierax. The chronology of this conflict is obscure, but it seems that Hierax was driven out of the Troad in 229, suffered defeats in Lydia and Caria in 228 or 227, and met his end in the Hellespont while on his way to Thrace in 226 or 225.<sup>10</sup> Attalus was thus involved in sustained campaigning in the late 230s and early 220s for which he would have needed to hire mercenaries to support the relatively small Attalid royal army.<sup>11</sup> The decision to mint these coins as Alexanders rather than Philetaeri may indicate that the troops in question came from beyond the Attalid kingdom and so preferred to be paid in the internationally recognised Alexander-type coinage.

The new date for the Kleiner I-VII Alexanders also allows us to place this series in a hitherto undetected regional context.<sup>12</sup> Boehringer long ago observed that the same die engraver appears to have been responsible for cutting Alexander dies at both Pergamon and Mytilene.<sup>13</sup> The Mytilene Alexanders to which Boehringer refers are specimens of Price 1699 and 1706. Price dated these types c. 215-200, but examples have now turned up in the 'Seleucus III' (c. 225/4) and 'Black Sea' Tetradrachm (c. 225-223) hoards, and so it is clear that these coins are in fact contemporary with Kleiner I-VII and belong to the late 230s/early 220s.<sup>14</sup>

Boehringer does not specify which Pergamene Alexanders he has in mind, but the clear stylistic parallels with the products of Hand A mean that he was surely thinking of Kleiner I-VII. These dies share the following characteristics: **1)** the knot under the chin is rolled not tied and the claws are never visible; **2)** the rendering of the mane is compact and consists of a single tier; **3)** the hair on the brow curves from right to left and consists of a single tier.<sup>15</sup> Based on a die study of Mytilene's Alexanders which I have completed, at least 4 of the 12 dies Mytilene used c. 235-225 appear to have strikingly strong affinities with the dies of Kleiner I-VII and are therefore likely to be the work of Hand A.<sup>16</sup> In addition, Philip Kinns has pointed out to me that Hand A also appears to be responsible for O46/47 in Bauslaugh's Series 2 (c. 270-220) at Chios.<sup>17</sup> It is notable that the style of this die is quite unlike what we otherwise see in this series at Chios, thus supporting the suggestion that it was cut by a die engraver other than the one typically employed at Chios.

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<sup>10</sup> Chrubasik 2016, pp. 79-81 provides a careful discussion of the sources.

<sup>11</sup> Ma 2013, pp. 60-1.

<sup>12</sup> Briefly discussed in Ellis-Evans 2021a, p. 70.

<sup>13</sup> Boehringer 1972, p. 158: "diese V und die von Mektepinini 241-242 sind von Pergamener Künftlern geschnitten". The hoard coin under discussion is Ashmolean HCR23361 (Price 1699) in IGCH 1535 (Syria, 1959; buried c. 210). Mektepinini 241 (Price 1699) has the same obverse die as this coin, while Mektepinini 242 (Price 1706) is from a different die in a similar style.

<sup>14</sup> Cathy Lorber's photo file for CH X 272 shows that it contained 7 of Price 1699 and 2 of 1706. The 'Black Sea' Tetradrachm hoard contained 3 of Price 1699: Marinescu and Lorber 2012, p. 215, nos. 338-340.

<sup>15</sup> Kleiner 1971, p. 101

<sup>16</sup> Reference examples for these dies: ANS 1944.100.31446-31448, BM EH,p269.22.AleIII.

<sup>17</sup> Bauslaugh 1979, p. 16. His O46 (Amsterdam GR-02879) and O47 (Amsterdam GR-02880) are in fact the same die.



**Figure 1** – Dies of Pergamon, Mytilene, and Chios cut by Kleiner’s Hand A. **a:** Pergamon, Price 1474 (Roma Numismatics E-Sale 44 (3/3/2018) 221 = no. 14, O3). **b:** Mytilene, Price 1698 (ANS 1944.100.31446). **c:** Chios, Price 2372 (Amsterdam GR-02879 = Bauslaugh Series 39, O46/47).

Given that Hand A is responsible for all of the dies at Pergamon but only a minority of the dies at Mytilene and Chios, it is reasonable to infer that this die engraver was based at Pergamon. Thus, while Mytilene and Chios mostly produced their own dies (as we would expect from two very experienced mints), they also received dies from Pergamon to help them produce these Alexanders. Mytilene and Chios therefore produced these Alexanders in collaboration with Attalus I and thus, presumably, with the shared purpose of paying the mercenary forces he had hired to fight Antiochus Hierax.

In addition to this, there are Alexanders of Methymna, Kyme, Temnos, and an unidentified Aeolian or Ionian mint which can now also be dated to the late 230s/early 220s thanks to the ‘Seleucus III’ and ‘Black Sea’ Tetradrachm hoards.<sup>18</sup> While these series cannot be directly connected to Pergamon via Hand A, it is likely too great a coincidence that mints on Lesbos and Chios and four mints in the recently liberated territory of Aeolis should all choose to produce Alexanders for the first time at precisely the same moment. We therefore have six mints in a quite tightly circumscribed region supporting Pergamon in these years: three on the offshore islands (Mytilene, Methymna, Chios) and three on the mainland opposite (Kyme, Temnos, the unidentified Aeolian or Ionian mint).

For Pergamon, the attraction of this arrangement was likely related to the kingdom’s limited resources prior to the Peace of Apameia.<sup>19</sup> John Ma has emphasized that between the 220s and 190s there were multiple points at which the high tempo of the kingdom’s campaigning outstripped the financial resources available to it.<sup>20</sup> In these circumstances, we can readily imagine Attalus I turning to friendly cities in western Asia Minor for support. While the cities could have provided this support in a variety of forms, Alexander tetradrachms would have been particularly welcome given that they could be used to pay off the mercenary forces which constituted a significant part of the Attalid field army and whose loyalty if not paid promptly would be in question.

A more interesting question is why this arrangement also seemed attractive to the cities. Attalus I had liberated Temnos, Kyme, and the unidentified Aeolian or Ionian mint from Antiochus Hierax, and so it is possible that these cities were under a more or less formal obligation to provide support to Attalus should he request it.<sup>21</sup> By contrast, Mytilene,

<sup>18</sup> CH X 272: 1 Methymna (Price 1696), 4 Kyme (Price 1617). ‘Black Sea’ Tetradrachm hoard (Marinescu and Lorber 2012, p. 215, nos. 335-337): 1 Kyme (Price 1617), 1 Temnos (Price 1665), 1 unidentified Aeolian or Ionian (not Myrina, Price 1652, as suggested in the catalogue).

<sup>19</sup> Briefly discussed in Ellis-Evans 2021a, p. 75.

<sup>20</sup> Ma 2013, p. 76.

<sup>21</sup> Polyb. 4.48.10-11 and 5.77.2-6 with Ma 2002, p. 46, n. 70.

Methymna, and Chios were independent cities which at no point ever belonged to the Attalid kingdom: their support for Attalus I was thus given on an entirely voluntary basis.<sup>22</sup>

There may be two different kinds of consideration at play here. In general, it is probably the case that, given the choice, the cities of Lesbos and Chios preferred the dominant power on the mainland to be the small and relatively weak Attalid kingdom rather than a superpower such as the Seleucids. The limited military and financial means of the Attalids meant that they did not threaten the freedom of these cities and would be eager to reward them for their support.

More specifically, Mytilene and Chios may have been motivated by their *peraiiai* on the mainland. From the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC through to the Imperial period, Mytilene possessed extensive territory on the mainland opposite stretching from the villages of Herakleia and Koryphantis north of Nesos Pordosilene down to Atarneus on the edge of the lower Kaikos valley.<sup>23</sup> Historically, Chios had also owned territory in the vicinity of Atarneus, and it is possible that a Chian document which may date to the reign of Attalus I attests the continued existence of a *peraiia* here in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>24</sup>

This stretch of territory between Adramytteion and Atarneus was of vital strategic importance to the Attalids because it was the primary overland route by which the kingdom could march north into the Hellespontine region or, conversely, by which invaders could come south to threaten Pergamon. The interests of the Attalids and of Mytilene and Chios were therefore aligned: the Attalid garrisons at Philetaereia under Ida and at Antandros which kept Pergamon safe from invaders also protected the *peraiiai* of Mytilene and Chios.<sup>25</sup> The way in which the fates of the Attalids and of these *peraiiai* were tied together is illustrated by Antiochus III's campaign in the region in 190: after breaking off the siege of Adramytteion to head south to Sardis via the Kaikos valley, he passed through the Mytilenaian *peraiia* and ravaged it along the way.<sup>26</sup> The *peraiiai* of Mytilene and Chios thus made both cities natural allies of the Attalids.

### 3. Conclusions

The new date for Attalus I's Kleiner I-VII Alexanders c. 235-225 places the production of this series in the context of Attalus campaigning against Antiochus Hierax and liberating the cities of Troas, Aeolis, and Ionia from Seleucid rule. The redating of several

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<sup>22</sup> Mytilene and Methymna have traditionally been thought to have been under Ptolemaic rule for much of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. However, the redating of some of the Alexanders of these cities to the late 230s/early 220s and the evidence for Mytilene's co-operation with Pergamon discussed in this paper clearly challenge this traditional narrative. This is not the place to discuss these issues in full, but suffice to say I agree with Brun 1991, pp. 109-11 that Mytilene was never under Ptolemaic rule in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and I note that the only firm evidence for Methymna being Ptolemaic comes from the reign of Ptolemy IV (r. 221-204). A minimalist approach to Ptolemaic control of Lesbos in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century may therefore be the correct one. I will discuss this question in full in a forthcoming article on the Alexanders of Lesbos.

<sup>23</sup> See Ellis-Evans 2019, pp. 249-84, esp. 253-4 with 249, Map 6.1. Prior to the end of the Mytilenaian revolt in 427, the city's *peraiia* had primarily been located further north in the coastal Troad.

<sup>24</sup> The document is Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, vol. 1, pp. 255-9, no. 231. It records a gift of money from a King Attalos to Chios to rebuild its fortifications and provide heating for the gymnasium's baths. The Chians have then loaned this amount out to property owners at interest. The document records the people who took loans, the properties in question, and the payments they owe. Two of these individuals have property 'in the *Peraiia*' (I.25-6: ἀγρὸς [ὁ | ἐπὶ] Περαιῶν *vac* PIE; I.30-1: ἄγροι | καὶ ἄγροι τὰ ἐπὶ Περαιῶν *vac* M). Both the date of the document and the location of the *Peraiia* are debated: Carusi 2003, pp. 119-124.

<sup>25</sup> Philetaereia under Ida: OGIS 266. Antandros: unpublished inscription from Antandros found in 2018: <https://vici.org/vici/57574/> (accessed 31/8/2020). The text will be published by Prof. Dr. Gürcan Polat of Ege Üniversitesi. For the strategic importance of Antandros for overland campaigning in the Troad see Ellis-Evans 2019, pp. 87-92.

<sup>26</sup> Liv. 37.21.4-6.

civic Alexander series to this same period based on new hoard evidence and the identification of the handiwork of a Pergamene die cutter at Mytilene and Chios shows that Attalus was supported in this endeavour by a number of cities in the region. What appears to have happened here is that these cities provided ‘surge’ minting capacity to Attalus at a time when he was in immediate need of coinage to pay his troops. In return, we can see that he offered technical assistance in the form of die cutting and we may assume that he also promised future goodwill to these cities.

This case study once more underlines the broader point that we cannot understand how the Attalids financed their wars by looking at Attalid coinage alone. We will not really have a clear picture of how the Attalids paid their troops between the reigns of Attalus I and Attalus II until we can establish how much of the civic coinage of western Asia Minor c. 230-140 in reality relates to Attalid military expenditure. It is now generally accepted that the Attalids were behind the production of many of the wreathed coinages of western Asia Minor in the 140s which were shipped to Syria to support their preferred Seleucid pretenders (first Alexander Balas, later Antiochus VI).<sup>27</sup> If that episode marks the end of this story of minting collaboration between the cities of western Asia Minor and the Attalid kings, then the episode which has been the subject of this article marks its start. In between, much remains uncertain.<sup>28</sup>

#### **Appendix: The Alexanders of Pergamon, c. 235-225 (Price 1473-1479)**

The following catalogue primarily updates Kleiner with examples from online auctions gathered from CoinArchives. I have not yet made a systematic search of physical auction catalogues 1970-2000 for these coins, but this would in any case be unlikely to change the picture substantively now that we have reached an  $n/d = 6.1$ .

Previously unattested dies and die combinations are marked with an asterisk in the catalogue and illustrated in the plates. Where the diameter of an illustrated coin is not known, the average for the series is used (30.5mm).

#	Dies	Kleiner	mm	g	Reference / Notes
<b>Price 1473/Kleiner I: No control mark.</b>					
1	O1/R1 (1)	A-1	33	16.94	<b>IGCH 1370 (Northwestern Asia Minor, 1929; c. 210).</b> ANS 1944.100.31383 (E. T. Newell; <i>Edward T. Newell Hoard Notebook circa 1939</i> , p. 59, no. 5). <sup>29</sup>
2	O1/R1 (2)	A-1	30	16.91	<b>IGCH 1413.12 (Ayaz-In, 1953; c. 190).</b> BnF R 4129 = Seyrig, <i>Trésors</i> 8.12 [16.87g] (condition “t[rés] b[on]”).
3	O1/R2 (1)	A-2	30.5	16.83	ANS 1944.100.31384 (E. T. Newell).
4	O1/R2 (2)	A-2	29	16.93	Amsterdam GR-03028.
5	O1/R3 (1)	A-3	31	17.03	<b>IGCH 1302 (Edremit, 1954; c. 205-195).</b> BnF R 4134 (H. Seyrig; condition “t[rés] b[on]”). <sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> For recent overviews of this debate see Psoma 2013, esp. 265-6, and Ellis-Evans 2021b, pp. 252-3.

<sup>28</sup> For a conspectus (and also a sense of the work still to be done) see Callataÿ 2013.

<sup>29</sup> <https://donum.numismatics.org/bib/187715> (accessed 24/8/2021).

<sup>30</sup> Seyrig’s burial date of c. 210 (Seyrig 1963, p. 26, n. 1) has been accepted in recent publications (e.g. Marcellési 2012, p. 196, Panagopoulou 2020, p. 267, no. 24) but needs to be lowered. Seyrig’s list of varieties on file at the ANS shows that the hoard contained an example of Price 1481/Kleiner IX (BnF R 4133) which

6	O1/R3 (2)	A-3	33	16.82	Bertolami Fine Art EA 113 (13/3/2022) 321.
7	O2/R4	B-4	29	16.99	Amsterdam GR-03026.
8	O2/R5 (1)	B-?	30	16.75	<b>CH I 74.31 (Asia Minor or North Syria, 1970; c. 200).</b> BnF 1971.939 = Seyrig, <i>Trésors</i> 1.31.
<b>9*</b>	O2/R5 (2)	B-?	29	16.93	CNG 112 (11/9/2019) 246.
<b>10*</b>	O2/R6	B-?		16.90	Stack's Bowers & Ponterio (14/1/2022) 4329 (Mark and Lottie Salton).
<b>Price 1474/Kleiner II: Owl l./r.</b> <sup>31</sup>					
11	O3/R7 (1)	C-5	31	15.59	<b>IGCH 1406.13 (Gordium, 1951; c. 210-205).</b> Istanbul.
12	O3/R7 (2)	C-5	35x31	16.87	Elsen 78 (20/3/2004) 50.
<b>13*</b>	O3/R8 (1)	C-?	30	16.77	<b>CH X 272, Lot C ('Seleucus III' Hoard, 2002; c. 225/4).</b> CNG EA 418 (11/4/2018) 246 (Colin E. Pitchfork, acq. from Freeman & Sear 17/1/2004).
14	O3/R8 (2)	C-?	33	16.87	Roma Numismatics E-Sale 44 (3/3/2018) 221.
<b>15*</b>	O4/R9	?-?		16.92	<b>Unknown Findspot, 2013 (c. 192/1).</b> <sup>32</sup>
<b>Price 1475/Kleiner III: Loutrophoros.</b> <sup>33</sup>					
16	O5/R10 (1)	D-6		16.96	<b>IGCH 1370 (Northwestern Asia Minor, 1929; c. 210).</b> ANS 1967.152.293 (Adra Newell; <i>Edward T. Newell Hoard Notebook circa 1939</i> , p. 59, no. 1 or 2).
17	O5/R10 (2)	D-6		16.67	ANS 1944.100.31385 (E. T. Newell).
18	O5/R10 (3)	D-6	32	16.95	<b>IGCH 1370 (Northwestern Asia Minor, 1929; c. 210).</b> Boston MFA 30.61 (acq. from C. T. Seltman, 6/2/1930; <i>Edward T. Newell Hoard Notebook circa 1939</i> , p. 59, no. 1 or 2).
19	O5/R10 (4)	D-6	29	17.21	Amsterdam GR-02824.
20	O5/R10 (5)	D-6	32	17.26	<b>Unknown Findspot, 2013 (c. 192/1).</b> Roma Numismatics E-Sale 2 (2/11/2013) 152 (attrib. Price 863).
20a	O5/R10 (6)	D-6	32	17.55 (sic)	Bertolami Fine Art EA 113 (13/3/2022) 364 (attrib. Price 1648; weight likely error for 16.55g).
21	O5/R11 (1)	D-7		-	M. Chiha Coll. (ANS Seyrig Photo File).
22	O5/R11 (2)	D-7	31	16.93	<b>IGCH 1410.273 (Mektepini, 1956; c. 195).</b> Istanbul.

dates c. 205-195. See Ellis-Evans 2024 for further discussion.

<sup>31</sup> Owl left: R7-8. Owl right: R9.

<sup>32</sup> This is the only reverse die among Attalus I's Alexanders where Zeus has a foot stool.

<sup>33</sup> The similarity of the loutrophos to the amphora symbol of Myrina results in examples of this issue often being misidentified as Price 1648. The key difference is the high volute handles of Myrina's amphora.

23	O5/R11 (3)	D-7	31	16.52	Berlin 18252265 (A. Prokesch-Osten, 1875).
24	O5/R11 (4)	D-7	30	17.00	Bucephalus Numismatic 15 (10/2/2023) 74 (attrib. Price 863).
<b>Price 1476/Kleiner IV: Bee.</b> <sup>34</sup>					
25	O6/R12	E-8	31	16.85	ANS 1944.100.31386 (E. T. Newell).
26	O6/R13	E-9		16.96	Naville 1 (4/4/1921) 931 (S. Pozzi; attrib. Ephesos).
27	O6/R14 (1)	E-10	28	16.30	Berlin 18231681 (F. Imhoof-Blumer, 1900; ex A. Prokesch-Osten).
28	O6/R14 (2)	E-10	31	16.99	Amsterdam GR-02855.
29	O6/R14 (3)	E-10	32	16.98	CNG EA 224 (16/12/2009) 183 = CNG 78 (14/5/2008) 372 (C.P.A. Collection) = GM 133 (11/10/2004) 146.
30	O6/R14 (4)	E-10	29	16.38	CNG EA 548 (18/10/2023) 109 = Heritage Auctions 232305 (1/2/2023) 61050.
30a	O6/R14 (5)	E-10	-	-	ANS Seyrig Photo File.
31	O6/R15	E-11	32	16.95	Berlin 18231684 (inv. 1852/10659; acq. from P. J. Lambros).
32	O7/R16 (1)	F-12	29	16.87	ANS 1948.19.907 (Gautier).
33	O7/R16 (2)	F-12	26	16.52	BM 1896,0703.161 (purchased via Rollin & Feuarent) = Sotheby's (7/12/1896) 774.4 (E. H. Bunbury; attrib. Ephesus, Müller 1018).
34	O7/R16 (3)	F-12		-	American University, Beirut (ANS Seyrig Photo File).
35	O7/R16 (4)	F-12		17.05	<b>Unknown Findspot, 2013 (c. 192/1).</b> Gemini 11 (12/1/2014) 50.
36	O8/R17 (1)	G-13	30.5	16.92	<b>IGCH 886 (Romania, 1936; c. 200-190).</b> ANS 1944.100.31387 (E. T. Newell).
37	O8/R17 (2)	G-13	29	16.60	SNG Greece 4.373 (P. Saroglos; attrib. Price 859).
38	O8/R17 (3)	G-13	30	16.64	Princeton University Museum 2843 – Pierced at 1h. <sup>35</sup>
39*	O8/R18 (1)	G-?		16.90	<b>Unknown Findspot, 2013 (c. 192/1).</b>
40	O8/R18 (2)	G-?	30	17.00	Amsterdam GR-02856.
41*	O8/R19	G-?	30	16.90	Obolos 12 (31/3/2019) 218. <sup>36</sup>
42*	O8/R20	G-16		-	<b>CH X 272, Lot B ('Seleucus III' Hoard, 2002; c. 225/4).</b>
43	O8/R?	G-14		-	Sofia ( <i>non vidi</i> ).

<sup>34</sup> The bee control mark on Pergamene Alexanders only ever faces vertically upwards and is usually located close to Zeus' knee.

<sup>35</sup> This must be the coin Kleiner lists as "Princeton (pierced)" as the dies, piercing, and collection all match. If that is so, then the provenance information provided in Princeton's online catalogue that it was bought in Greece in 1986 must be wrong since it was clearly known to Kleiner as being in the Princeton collection two decades earlier (<https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/coin-2843> – accessed 3/7/2023).

<sup>36</sup> There is a second example with these dies in the ANS Seyrig Photo File (no provenance given) which could be the Sofia coin listed below.

44	O9/R20 (1)	H-16	29	16.88	Berlin 18231685 (A. Prokesch-Osten, 1875).
45	O9/R20 (2)	H-16		16.92	Degussa Goldhandel (MA-ID 573600282 – seen 21/1/2022).
46	O9/R21	H-15		17.00	The Hague.
<b>Price 1477/Kleiner V: Bee (l.), Cornucopia (r.).</b>					
47	O9/R22	H-17	30	16.91	Berlin 18231686 (A. Prokesch-Osten, 1875).
<b>Price 1478/Kleiner VI: Wreath (above), Eight-Pointed Star (below).</b>					
48	O9/R23 (1)	H-18	31.5	16.93	<b>IGCH 886 (Romania, 1936; c. 200-190).</b> ANS 1944.100.31388 (E. T. Newell).
59	O9/R23 (2)	H-18	31	17.00	BM G3,GIS.9 (acq. 1825).
<b>50*</b>	O9/R24	H-?		17.10	Stack's Coin Galleries (28/4/2010) 88 (estate of Cornelius C. Vermeule) = Coin Galleries (Feb. 2003) 41.
<b>Price 1479/Kleiner VII: Bee (above), E (below).</b>					
51	O9/R25	H-19	29.5	17.07	<b>IGCH 1370 (Northwestern Asia Minor, 1929; c. 210).</b> ANS 1944.100.31389 (E. T. Newell; <i>Edward T. Newell Hoard Notebook circa 1939</i> , p. 59, no. 9).
<b>52*</b>	O9/R26 (1)	H-?		16.92	ANS 1952.45.7 – Wrongly H-19 in Kleiner.
53	O9/R26 (2)	H-?	33	16.94	Lanz 146 (25/5/2009) 168.

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