

The Regional Coinage of Pamphylia during the early 3rd century AD
(c.AD 193–218) and their Reflection on the Local Economy and Civic Life
of Greek Cities



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Abbreviations

ANS = American Numismatic Society.

BMC = British Museum Catalogue.

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

CNG MBS = Virtual Catalogue by the Classical Numismatic Group.

GRMK = Imhoof-Blumer, F. (1908). *Zur griechischen und römischen Münzkunde*. Genf: Numismatische Gesellschaft.

OCRE = Online Coins of the Roman Empire; URL <https://numismatics.org/ocre/>.

OGIS = Dittenberger, W. (1903). *Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae: Supplementum sylloges inscriptionum graecarum*. Leipzig: S. Hirzel.

P = Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Monnaies, médailles et antiques, Fonds général.

RIC = Roman Imperial Coinage (Mattingly, H. et al. (1923–67) *Roman Imperial Coinage*; rev. edn. of vol. 1 only: Sutherland, C. H. V. and Carson, R. A. G. (1984) *Roman Imperial Coinage*).

RPC = Roman Provincial Coinage Project.

SNG = Sylloge Numorum [sic] Graecorum.

SNG Righetti = Kaposy, B., & Righetti, J. P. (1993). *Sylloge nummorum Graecorum. Schweiz, 2. Münzen der Antike. Katalog der Sammlung Jean-Pierre Righetti im Bernischen Historischen Museum*. Bern.

SNG vA = Aulock, H. (1957). *Sammlung v. Aulock* (Sylloge nummorum Graecorum. Deutschland). Berlin: Mann.

All other abbreviations follow the standard abbreviations of the Oxford Classical Dictionary (see Hornblower, S., Spawforth, A., & Eidinow, E. (2012). *The Oxford classical dictionary* (4th edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to consider the social and economic implications of the the numismatic evidence of Pamphylia for the period AD 193–218. This timeframe covers the year of the five emperors for which no coins have been produced in Pamphylia, as well as the reign of Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta, the sole reign of Caracalla and the reign of Macrinus. For this analysis, I was able to use the vast resources and database of the Roman Provincial Coinage Project. I am immensely grateful to the project and the help of my supervisor J. Mairat, which allowed me to create this thesis and a catalogue for Pamphylia that will be published in the Roman Provincial Coinage Project Volume V.3 that is attached to this document.

During the course of this thesis in order to further evaluate the social and economic implications of the civic coinages produced in Pamphylia, I will consider several key questions: What can civic coins tell about their contemporary society and civic life in the cities of Pamphylia? How did the cities relate to each other on their coinage? Where can we see economic developments through civic coins? This process will start by emphasising the difficulties of methodology and more specific problems of Pamphylia and the period for the numismatic evidence. Afterwards, each of the six cities minting coins in Pamphylia in AD 193–218 will be considered in detail following

their geographical location from west to east. These sections will discuss previous numismatic scholarship and iconographic developments and how the catalogued coin types might relate to civic life in both an economic and cultural sense. For this, it is important to keep in mind that these cities did not exist by themselves but were influenced by imperial coinage, neighbouring cities, contemporary and preceding art styles, historical events, local demand and identity, economic developments and relations and many more factors. Hence, it is important to consider the full implications of denominations and iconographic types also in relation to the other Pamphylian cities. In addition coin types and dies might also indicate minting capabilities for specific reigns and years, although new types will inevitably emerge after the publication of RPC V.3. After this detailed analysis of each city, I will summarise the wider results of this evidence and also consider further economic implications through the small number of hoard finds and circulation evidence that exist for Pamphylia in this period. All of these steps will lead to a well balanced view on how numismatic evidence might be taken to indicate civic life and economy which will be summarised together in a final conclusion.

Provincial coinage of Pamphylia: methodology and difficulties

For Roman provincial coins one of the most visible difficulties is the lack of dates on the coins, compared to the imperial coinage, where titles and honours bestowed upon the emperor make it possible to precisely date issues to the exact year. In fact, the imperial coins show a detailed chronology of seven reigns for the period of AD 193–218: the reign of Septimius Severus, the reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, followed by the reign of Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta, the reign of Geta and Caracalla, the sole reign of Caracalla, the reign of Macrinus and the combined reign of Macrinus and Diadumenian. Thus, in the years before and after Septimius Severus' death from AD 209-212 there were officially four different reigns. While this is reflected on imperial coinage, it is not the case for provincial coinage whose coins were minted infrequently and with less detailed imperial titles. Hence, I will use the larger chronological timeframes of three reigns (the reign of Septimius Severus up to his death in AD 211, followed by the reign of Caracalla, then succeeded by Macrinus)¹ to create clarity and avoid erroneous attributions. This together with the poor general state of preservation for bronze coins makes it hard to define the coins exact historical circumstances.

¹ The same chronology will likely also be used for the later publication of RPC Volume V.3.

Still, the obverse portrait of members of the imperial family makes it possible to attribute coins to the lifetime of individuals which can generally function as *terminus postquem* and *antequem*. Nevertheless, some rare coins do not depict the imperial family on the obverse but a more generic bust instead. In Pamphylia, such types are recorded for Attalea making dating them very difficult. In addition, the portrait of the same individual could have been minted over several reigns. This is most problematic with the portrait of Caracalla which was first produced under his father Septimius Severus, then continued during his reign with Geta and then during his sole reign afterwards. Assigning his coins to one of these three reigns with certainty is impossible. Indeed, the identification of Caracalla is the main problem for coins of this period. Due to the lack of other substantial evidence, his coins can only be attributed to reigns based on the appearance and style of his portraits. At the same time, provincial coins do not closely follow the portraits of contemporary imperial coins but use their own style and interpretation. Hence, more general features and developments need to be taken into account when evaluating and dating provincial coin portraits. A younger Caracalla bust can thus be assigned to the reign of Septimius Severus while the older bearded portraits of him, often only a laureate head, belong to Caracalla's own reign. The same problem of identification also occurs for Julia

Domna and Geta. In addition to this, Caracalla's titles and name correspond exactly to those used by Elagabalus so that the only way to differentiate their coins is through their style of portrait.² Still, the portraits share many similarities even though Elagabalus' coins tend to have larger ears and no beard, portraits of Caracalla can look very similar depending on the local style and age of his portrait (Figure 1).

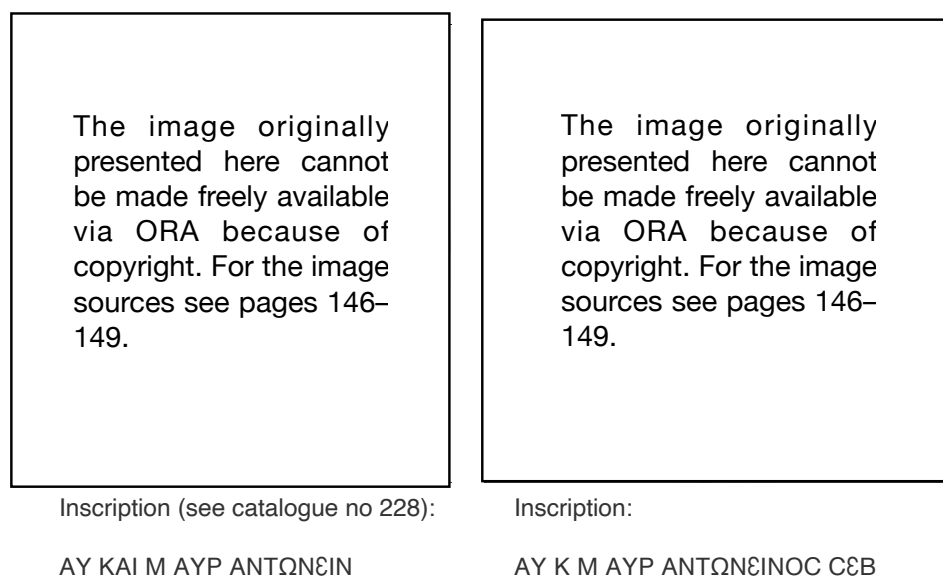


Figure 1:
Coins of Side depicting young Caracalla (left) and Elagabalus (right)

Many of the provincial coins recorded in the RPC database are corroded and illegible, and often only have one example upon which we depend for analysis. Hence, there remains much uncertainty in reigns assigned to the portraits and dating

² see Johnston 1982.

of the coins which needs to be kept in mind when considering further interpretation of data, as for example in the subsequent sections of this theses. After the publication of RPC V.3 online new coins and additional types will inevitably be discovered and shed new light on the current findings below. Even for well documented coins reign dates, especially for Caracalla and Geta where only stylistic comparisons can be used, remain the main issue for their interpretation.

Concerning the individual portraits in this period and region of study, the following types of Roman portraits have been found for Pamphylia: Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Geta, Macrinus and Diadumenian, as well as the female portraits of Julia Domna and Plautilla.

A short introduction to the region of Pamphylia³

The region of Pamphylia is located in southern Asia Minor and consists of a wide fertile plain on the Mediterranean Sea (Figure 2). A natural geographical border of mountains separates the Pamphylian plain from the neighbouring regions of Lycia, Pisidia and Cilicia. In the Roman administrative structure it was part of the province Lycia-Pamphylia, created in AD 43.⁴ On two occasions the provinces were re-organised and Pamphylia was temporary joined to the province of Galatia under Galba before being reunited with Lycia under Vespasian in AD 70.⁵

³ for more general information on the cities of Pamphylia see

- Arena, G. (2005). *Città di Panfilia e Pisidia sotto il dominio romano : Continuità strutturali e cambiamenti funzionali* (2. ed. rivista ed aggiornata. ed., Testi e studi di storia antica (Edizioni del Prisma); 16). Catania: Edizioni del Prisma.
- Grainger, J. (2009). *The cities of Pamphylia*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Brandt, H., & Kolb, F. (2005). *Lycia et Pamphylia : Eine römische Provinz im Südwesten Kleinasiens* (Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie). Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern.

For a discussion on Lycia-Pamphylia's Roman provincial structures and administration see Rémy 1986 and Wilson 2018.

⁴ Suet. *Claud.* 25.3.

⁵ Wilson 2018, 343.

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Figure 2:

Map showing the roads connected to Lycia-Pamphylia and Cilicia

The coastal plain of Pamphylia was an important region for maritime trade in the Mediterranean. The fact that half of the cities of Pamphylia minting coins were harbour cities illustrates their importance for the region and the Roman Empire as a whole. The region of Pamphylia with its fertile plain and extensive road and maritime network was an important economic centre in Asia Minor, exporting agricultural products, timber and limestone all over the Mediterranean Sea. In the 2nd and 3rd

century the region also came to be of increasingly military importance due to the new conflicts with the east.⁶

Contrary to the neighbouring regions of Asia Minor, Pamphylian cities never united in a League or alliance.⁷ Thus, the cities were all very unique and had individual features and characteristics that are reflected on their civic Roman coinage. One of the most famous and popular cults in Pamphylia was the *Artemis Pergaia* cult in Perge. Inscriptions to the goddess occur in other cities of Lycia-Pamphylia⁸ as well and attest the importance of the cult for the region and its inhabitants. Similarly, inscriptions and coin evidence have revealed the existence of the *Aphroditai Kastnietides* cult in Aspendus. Besides religion, provincial coins also contain references to contemporary events and due to their nature as civic issues reveal more about each city's society.

⁶ Nollé 1987, 258–260.

⁷ Nollé 1993B, 298.

⁸ Nollé and Schindler 1991, 42: T30.

Provincial Coinage in Pamphylia and its connection to civic life

Attalea

The city of Attalea, modern Antalya in Pamphylia was a coastal harbour founded by king Attalos II (160–138 BC) of Pergamon.⁹ The ancient polis was situated on a rocky plateau made of travertine whose high cliffs were overlooking the sea. Fortifications and gates, built for the occasion of Hadrian's visit in AD 130, can still be seen in the modern metropole. The landscape also includes an impressive Roman tomb for a man of consular status in the early imperial period, attesting the wealth of its citizens.¹⁰ Nevertheless, much of the civic architecture remains under the modern city. Here, coinage can help to understand civic life, traditions and the city's role in the region which mostly remain obscure. Previously, the coins of Attalea have been catalogued and analysed by Baydur.¹¹ His work compiled information from Turkish museums (including the Istanbul Archaeological Museum) whose data is not publicly available. Nevertheless, many of these coins are not identifiable in the pictures and others were wrongly attributed, especially coins of Elagabalus were attributed to

⁹ Strabo XIV, 4.667.

¹⁰ Martini and Kaletsch 2022.

¹¹ see Baydur 1975 and 1976.

Caracalla, a common and central problem of coins for this period. Other coins of Attalea, of the previous and later reigns were catalogued by the Roman Provincial Coinage project.

Numismatic history

Attalea's early Roman coinage is not well understood since its imperial portraits had no inscriptions until the time of Trajan. The first stylistically identifiable portraits belong to the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, maybe Caligula, Claudius and Nero (Table 1).¹² In the period from AD 80–96 there was a single denomination of bronze with 19 mm and a weight of around 4.89 g. In addition, there was also a smaller denomination of 11–13 mm and c. 2.09 g but without an imperial portrait so that its date is uncertain.¹³ The minting of coinage was then resumed under Trajan, producing 18–19 mm coins depicting a bust of Athena on the reverse.¹⁴ This bust of Athena still continues to be a reverse type in the reign of Caracalla. During the reign of Hadrian a larger denomination was introduced, for the first time depicting Athena in a tetrastyle temple on the reverse. This might indicate a more important role of

¹² Baydur 1975, 40–41.

¹³ Burnett, Amandry and Carradine 1999, 224.

¹⁴ Amandry and Burnett 2015, 339.

Attalea in the region which required a higher bronze denomination for larger payments or better exchange with precious coinage and related to a general trend of minting larger denominations in the 2nd century AD.¹⁵

Table 1:
Coin types recorded for Attalea according to reign up to AD 238

Reign	Number of coin types
Uncertain (Julio-Claudian)	6
Domitian	2
Trajan	1
Hadrian	2
Antoninus Pius	24
Marcus Aurelius	12
Commodus	6
Uncertain (Antonine)	13
Septimius Severus	19
Caracalla	1
Macrinus	2
Elagabalus	1
Severus Alexander	7
Maximinus	2

Attalea also produced coin types without imperial portraits. These coins appear more characteristic of Classical and Hellenistic Greek coin types, with the head of Poseidon on the obverse and Nike or a seated nude Hermes on the reverse (Figure

¹⁵ Amandry and Burnett 2015, 819; Burnett, Amandry and Carradine 1999, 22–28.

3). The obverse also showed a small trident with a dolphin winding around it, a motive already visible on the reverse of Attalea's hellenistic coins.¹⁶ Baydur dates some of these coins to the 1st century AD and others to the Antonine period while also assigning similar types to the Severan period.¹⁷

The Nike reverse type has an unusually large amount of coins preserved and is by far the type with the most recorded specimens minted with an Poseidon obverse.¹⁸ A comparable reverse type on datable coins of Attalea only occurs on coins assigned to Faustina II (under Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius)¹⁹ and on one coin assigned to Septimius Severus with a worn obverse type [Cat. no 18]. Nike reverse types also occurs in neighbouring Perge [Cat. no 76, 87, 95, 114, 125, 126, 138], Side [Cat. no 258, 268] and Magydus [Cat. no 39, 40] in the same denomination size but with Macrinus on the obverse. The letter form of the obverse legend can somewhat be used for the dating of these coins. The legend $\text{ATT}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\text{N}$ was changed from the Flavian period onwards to $\text{ATT}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\text{N}$, using a different shape for the epsilon and omega while still reading the same.

¹⁶ Baydur 1975, 36.

¹⁷ Baydur 1975, 38–39.

¹⁸ Currently 11 specimens have been recorded by me in the RPC database (unpublished).

¹⁹ Private collection (CGT) whose coins are available for the RPC data but not published.

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Figure 3

Attalean coins of uncertain date depicting Poseidon on the obverse with dolphin curled around trident

Reverse depicting Nike standing left, holding wreath and palm-branch (above) and nude Hermes seated left, holding purse, caduceus and chlamys (below)

The types recorded for ΑΤΤΑΛΕΩΝ only occurred on four different coin types two with imperial portraits under Claudius (?) and Trajan, and on two Poseidon issues.

Hence, these Poseidon issues with the ΑΤΤΑΛΕΩΝ legend are unlikely to belong to

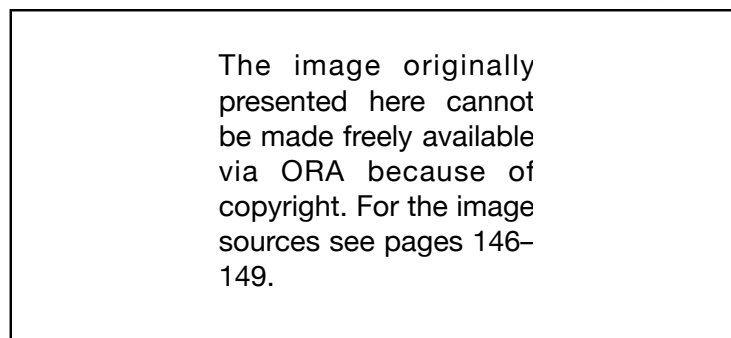
the Severan period. Still, they would have continued to be used in civic life and transactions during our period. Through their distinctive and different appearance these small denominations appear more independent from Roman influence and show an interesting perspective on Attalaea's civic identity.

Most of the ΑΤΤΑΛΕΩΝ coins have been tentatively assigned to the Antonine period or remain uncertain. Based on their stylistic similarities and a variety of styles in the depictions of the Attalean type and a change in reverse legend on the obverse, it seems that this coinage was minted over longer time period, continuous and possibly alongside the Attalean coins with imperial portraits. Due to their uncertainty these coins have not been included in the current catalogue but nevertheless do attest the continuing importance of Greek heritage in Attalea's society.

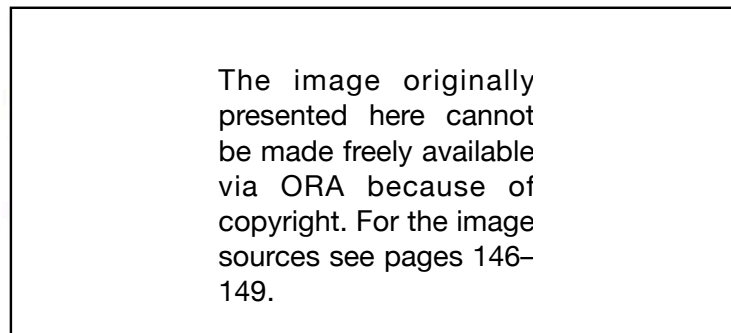
Coin types and iconography

Previous research of these coins has very much focused on establishing a chronology of portraits and connecting changes in them to historical events. However, it remains unlikely that every historical event immediately resulted in a new series of coins. Baydur sorts the coins minted under Septimius Severus into two

groups based on a comparison of the style of the obverse portrait with marble portraiture (Figure 4).²⁰ His first group is associated with AD 199, when the emperor is said to have visited Attalea for his campaigns against Parthia.²¹ However, his second group starts only four years later in AD 203. While we do have an increasing importance of Asia Minor and Pamphylia in this period due to the increase in military focus and campaigns in the east, production of coins might not be connected to such



Septimius Severus Group 1



Septimius Severus Group 2

Figure 4:

Stylistic groups of Attalea's Septimius Severus coins
assigned by Baydur

²⁰ Baydur 1976, 37.

²¹ Baydur 1976, 37.

events. Even if we assume this is the case, absolute dates can only serve as a *terminus postquem* and coins of the first group could have still been produced after the year AD 203. The worn bronze coins are also not well enough preserved to really determine stylistic differences, so that Baydur's analysis is more tentative than factual. In addition, bronze civic coins were only important on the local level. Bronze was not normally used to pay Roman soldiers, especially when those were only passing through. Although their presence can stimulate the local economy and create a demand for additional exchange money which could lead to coin production, civic coins are only ever produced when there is a need for them in the community. However, considering the data available in RPC, there appears to be a rise of minting from the time of Antoninus Pius (Table 1). The reign of Septimius Severus shows the second highest number of coin types. This way, Attalea seems to follow a general Pamphylian pattern of an increase in minting activity during the Severan dynasty. This development can simply be seen as a need for more small change. However, the reasons behind it can be more complex. An increase in demand could show an increase of commercial transactions in the city or indicate more independence from the Roman precious metal system which experienced an increasing debasement of silver starting from the second half of the 2nd century AD.²² Since no demonetisation

²² Howgego 1995, 136.

of earlier bronze coins is visible, the increase in minting would also translate to more civic coins in local circulation.

Concerning the coins of the period of AD 193–218, Baydur associates Caracalla's coins with Bosch's 3rd stylistic class of AD 205–208,²³ his 4th class with AD 212 when provincials were given Roman citizenship and connects a fourth portrait type with Caracalla's travels in AD 215.²⁴ Geta's coinage has also been associated with his travels through

Asia Minor in AD 202 after his involvement in the Parthian wars AD 197–202.²⁵ However, it is hard to

rely on Baydurs stylistic classifications since he clearly misidentified a coin of Elagabalus as that of Caracalla (Figure 5).²⁶ In addition, the association of these dates with specific coin emissions has no substantial basis. Indeed, since the dates relate to nearly all cities of Asia Minor, one would have to assume that all cities

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Figure 5:

Coin of Elagabalus minted at Attalea (Baydur 1986 no 35)

²³ Baydur 1976, 38. cf. Bosch 1933, 47f.

²⁴ Baydur 1976, 38.

²⁵ Baydur 1976, 38.

²⁶ Baydur 1986, 447.

minted coins on these dates. Such a view would disregard the economic function and usage of civic coinage in the provincial cities where the bronze coins were minted based on individual local demand and supply and not on imperial directives.²⁷

Numismatic evidence and civic life

Due to the absence of proper excavations, or literary evidence and a modern city on top of the ancient site, not much is known about ancient Attalea. The few inscriptions that have been found were almost exclusively tomb stones. Most of them seem to commemorate the lives of Roman military officers, possibly veterans settled in the area.²⁸ There are few inscriptions preserved and currently only one of them can be tentatively dated to our period. Thus, we also need to rely on inscriptions from other periods to understand public life in the city to a larger extent. At the same time, the dating of inscriptions is problematic and based on the individuals named in the inscription. With provincials who are not well documented this can offer a wide chronological range. In addition, the inscription also have a biased towards the provincial, wealthy elite and do not show the normal civic life of Attalea. The only

²⁷ see Weiss 2005.

²⁸ Grainger 2009, 161–165.

inscription associated with the Severan period, offers an interesting insight into the *cursus honorum* of a local elite citizen who gained senatorial status.²⁹

Another inscription refers to the *alimenta* scheme of Hadrian that was also applied in Attalea for the financial support of young elite men.³⁰ There is also good evidence for a Jewish community in Attalea attested by a Menorah incised on a colonette. Based on the style of Menorah it has been dated to the 3rd to 4th century AD and shows the existence of contemporary Jewish believers.³¹ This part of society is not reflected on coinage which only shows Roman and Greek motives and heritage. Coins need to look like typical coins to be taken as a reliable means of payment. Thus, it is important to also consider other evidence since coins can only reflect civic life to a limited extend.

We also do not know enough about the city to connect coin types to local cults or the gods worshiped and festivals celebrated in the city. For this coinage might provide some insight by considering the gods depicted on the reverses: Nemesis, Aphrodite, Dionysus, Harpocrates, Mên, Athena and Tyche (Table 3) [Plates 1 and 2]. These

²⁹ see Bennett 2009 cf. IGRom. 3.777.

³⁰ Jones 1989, 189.

³¹ Wilson Jones 2020, 350.

gods seem to have been important to local identity in Pamphylia and also appear in the wider region of Asia Minor. For the civic coinage of Attalea, the winged Nemesis seems to have been the characteristic deity of the city since she appears on the largest coins and as representative of the city in the later minted *homonoia* coinage.³² Due to the lack of excavation in the city, we are not able to say for certain that this goddess had a temple in Attalea, however, the same representation of Nemesis was a popular statuary type in the neighbouring Pamphylian cities where Attalean citizens had family ties or owned properties.³³ Two statues of Nemesis have been found in Perge alone, the closest city to Attalea, making it clear that the goddess was an important religious figure in the region. Other gods that appear on Attalea's coinage and possibly relate to cult activities in the city are Aphrodite, Dionysus, Athena or Mên. Attalaea is the only city in Pamphylia besides Sillyum to mint coins with Mên [Cat. no 6, 11]. The distance between the cities is surprising and might indicate cultural and social links between the two poleis. With the powerful city of Perge between them, their cooperation could have provided a more evenly split power balance in the area.

³² Hostein and Mairat, 2016, 929–930.

³³ eg. the Crepereii (Bennett 2009, 3); M.Plancus Varus (Mitchell 1974, 28).

Table 2:

Obverse coin types of Attalea minted between AD 193–218

Individual	Portrait	Denomination	Reign	Other notable features	Number of types
Septimius Severus	laureate, draped and cuirassed bust r., seen from front	Æ (35 mm)	Septimius Severus		I
Septimius Severus	laureate, draped and cuirassed bust r., seen from rear	Æ (25 mm) Æ (12 mm?)	Septimius Severus		IIII (+I)
Septimius Severus	laureate head	Æ (25 mm)	Septimius Severus		III
Caracalla	draped and cuirassed bust r., seen from rear	Æ (25 mm)	Septimius Severus	Bare-headed	I
Caracalla	draped and cuirassed bust r., seen from rear	Æ (25 mm)	Septimius Severus		IIII
Caracalla	laureate head	Æ (20 mm)	Caracalla		I
Plautilla	draped bust	Æ (25 mm)	Septimius Severus		II
Geta	draped and cuirassed bust r., seen from rear	Æ (25 mm)	Septimius Severus		I
Julia Domna	draped bust	Æ (19 mm)	Septimius Severus		I
Diadumenian	draped and cuirassed bust r., seen from front	Æ (19 mm)	Macrinus	Bare-headed	I

Table 3:

Civic reverse coin types of Attalea minted between AD 193–218

Reverse coin design of Attalea	Number of types	Reigns	Diameter
Nemesis standing l., holding wheel and cubit; at feet, l., griffin	I I	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Geta)	Æ (35 mm) Æ (25 mm)
Aphrodite standing facing, head r., lifting arm and holding mirror	I	Septimius Severus	Æ (25 mm)
Dionysus standing l., holding cantharus over panther and thyrsus	I I	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Caracalla)	Æ (25 mm)
Harpocrates standing l., hand to lips and holding cornucopia	I I	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Caracalla)	Æ (25 mm) Æ (25 mm)
Mên standing l., holding pine cone and sceptre; foot on bucranium	I I	Septimius Severus (Caracalla)	Æ (25 mm)
temple with four columns enclosing cult statue of Athena standing l., holding Nike and spear; at feet, owl on cippus and shield	I I	Septimius Severus Macrinus	Æ (25 mm) Æ (25 mm)
temple with four columns enclosing cult statue of Athena standing r., holding spear and Nike (?); at feet, owl on cippus and shield	I	Septimius Severus (Caracalla)	Æ (25 mm)
Homonoia standing facing head l. holding patera in r. over lighted altar and cornucopia in l.	II	Septimius Severus (Caracalla)	Æ (25 mm)
Hera seated l., holding pomegranate and scepter	I	Septimius Severus (Plautilla)	Æ (25 mm)
Athena standing l., holding Nike and spear; at feet, shield	I	Septimius Severus (Julia Domna)	Æ (19 mm)

Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia	I	Septimius Severus (Plautilla)	Æ (19 mm)
Nike advancing r., holding wreath and palm	I	Septimius Severus	Æ (12 mm)
Asclepius standing facing, head l., holding serpent staff	I	Septimius Severus	Æ (19 mm)
bust of Athena with Corinthian helmet and aegis, l.	I	Caracalla	Æ (20 mm)
bust of Athena with Corinthian helmet and aegis, r.	I	Macrinus (Diadumenian)	Æ (19 mm)

Magydus

Introduction

The city of Magydus was an ancient harbour located at the modern city of Lara in Pamphylia close to the river Kataraktes. The date of the settlement's foundation is unclear, it first appears in literary evidence of the 4th century BC and some have suggested that the small polis might have previously belonged to the territory of Perge.³⁴ The city became prosperous only in Roman imperial times, this seems indicated by the remaining architecture, epigraphic evidence³⁵ and large scale coin output in the period. The city is attested until the late medieval period (12th century AD) and was afterwards exploited for its building materials by other local cities like Antalya.³⁶ Since the 1970s the site of Magydus has been used for military building complexes and tourism which has demolished much of the ancient architecture.³⁷ The western harbour mole is still visible today but the stoa, basilica, agora and therms all seen by travelers in the 19th and 20th centuries have disappeared.³⁸

³⁴ Adak and Atvur 1999, 60.

³⁵ see Adak and Atvur 1999.

³⁶ Adak and Atvur 1999, 53.

³⁷ Adak and Atvur 1999, 53–54.

³⁸ Adak and Atvur 1999, 54–55.

Numismatic history and scholarship

The coinage of Magydus has been recorded in the Roman Provincial Coinage project and was more recently analysed by Ünal. His work encompasses “two Hellenistic (9 coins), one quasi-autonomous(?) (1 coin), and eighty-seven Roman provincial types (225 coins)”,³⁹ making it a very useful tool for this thesis. Still, due to the coins state of preservation⁴⁰ some of his conclusions need to be taken with caution. During the Julio Claudian period coins were minted at Magydus during the reigns of Tiberius, Nero and Galba (Table 4).⁴¹ Under Tiberius two reverse types existed: two jugate and helmeted busts facing right and Athena standing left, holding Nike on her extended right hand, while her left hand is resting on a spear.⁴² After his reign, the Athena reverse type is used exclusively. This only changes from the reign of Antoninus Pius when besides Athena other figures like Demeter, the local river god, Zeus and Tyche

³⁹ Ünal 2018, 277.

⁴⁰ for example No 15 Ünal 2018, 285.

⁴¹ Ünal 2018, 282. and for Galba: RPC online, I 3368A <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/type/77985>.

⁴² RPC online, I 3367B (<https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/type/77594>); RPC online, I 3367A (<https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/type/67813>).

start appearing on the coins.⁴³ A coin depicting Dionysus on the obverse and Hermes on the reverse cannot be associated with any emperor and has been tentatively assigned to the late Antonine period.⁴⁴

Table 4:
Coin types recorded for Magydus according to reign up to AD 238

Reign	Number of coin types
Tiberius	2
Nero	1
Galba	1
Domitian	2
Trajan	3
Hadrian	2
Antoninus Pius	4
Marcus Aurelius	12
Commodus	2
Uncertain (Antonine)	4
Septimius Severus	13
Caracalla	0
Macrinus	6
Elagabalus	9
Severus Alexander	6
Maximinus	5

⁴³ Demeter (SNG 306), River god (*GRMK* 175, no. 3), Zeus (SNG vA8509), Tyche (SNG Righetti 1266).

⁴⁴ Robinson 1914, 43, no 93.

Magydus' denominational system seems to have been based on *assaria* as was the case for most cities in Asia Minor.⁴⁵ However, in contrast to most other Pamphylian cities scholarship has associated the 20 mm denomination and not the 25 mm denomination with the value of one *assaria*.⁴⁶ From Antoninus Pius, the smallest denomination was around 15 mm and 2 g, described by Ünal as a half *assaria* and Watson defines the 24–6 mm coins as two *assaria* and the 35 mm as four *assaria*.⁴⁷

Already the earliest imperial issues show the unique features of Magydus' coinage, a numeral system on the reverse of the civic coins. These numerals continue throughout the city's coinage up to the reign of Gallienus.⁴⁸ The sequence of numerals started at the number four and running up to 41 under Gallienus (Table 5). There has been much debate about their significance and meaning. Waddington was the first to suggest that these numbers occur in chronological order but at irregular pauses might be related to the celebration of a civic festival occurring irregularly.⁴⁹ Watson agrees with him⁵⁰ but Ünal comments that *agonistic* types never appear on

⁴⁵ Johnston 2007, 4.

⁴⁶ Ünal 2018, 278.

⁴⁷ Ünal 2018, 278; Watson 2019, 39.

⁴⁸ Ünal 2018, 280–81.

⁴⁹ Waddington 1853, 91.

⁵⁰ Watson 2019, 39.

Table 5:
Numerals on the coins of Magydus up to AD 218

Number	Greek Numerals	Reign	Portrait
4	Δ	Tiberius	Tiberius
8	H	Tiberius	Tiberius
8	H	Nero	Nero
9	Θ	Galba	Galba
12	ΙΒ	Domitian	Domitian
14	ΙΔ	Trajan	Trajan
15	ΙΕ	Trajan	Trajan
16	ΙΖ	Trajan	Trajan
17	ΙΖ	Hadrian	Hadrian
18	ΙΗ	Hadrian	Hadrian
19	ΙΘ	Antoninus Pius	Antoninus Pius
19	ΙΘ (?)	Marcus Aurelius	Marcus Aurelius
20	K	Marcus Aurelius	Marcus Aurelius, Commodus
21	KA	Marcus Aurelius	Commodus
21	KA	Commodus	Commodus
21	KA	Uncertain	Crispina
22	KB	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus
22	KB	Septimius Severus	Julia Domna
23	KΓ	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus
23	KΓ	Septimius Severus	Julia Domna
23	KΓ	Septimius Severus	Caracalla
23	KΓ	Septimius Severus	Geta
24	KΔ	Septimius Severus	Plautilla
26	KΖ	Macrinus	Macrinus

Magydus' coinage, making a connection of the numerals to festivals unlikely. He proposes that Magydus might have numbered their coin emissions.⁵¹ Other numerals on Roman coins referred to games, local eras, honours given by the emperor, the city's standing in the province or gave information on the mint.⁵² Still, the sequence of numbers on Magydus' coinage is close to complete and occurs in highly irregular intervals supporting Ünal's argument of the city counting its coin emission.

Coin types and iconography

As typical of Magydus, the coinage of the period AD 193–218 always contained numerals on the civic reverse type. The coins catalogued by me show the sequence of numerals from 22 to 26, missing only 25 (Table 6). The coins produced under the Severans belong solely to the reign of Septimius Severus. The initial consideration was based mostly on stylistic choices and has been confirmed later by the numbers on the coins. Interestingly, the latest coin produced under Septimius Severus was marked KΔ on coins depicting Plautilla,⁵³ allowing for a more precise date between AD 202 and AD 205. No coins can currently be assigned to the reign of Caracalla,

⁵¹ Ünal 2018, 281.

⁵² Howgego 2005, 7–10; see Webb 1921; Evans 2015, 488–489.

⁵³ Catalogue no 33 and 34.

but the numeral sequence implies that the number 25 might have described his reign in Magydus. As already discussed in the preceding section, the purpose of the numbering of Magydus coinage is not clear. However, this way, Magydus is able to create its own chronological framework helping it define its own identity through the creation of a new way of documenting time.

Table 6:
Numerals on the coins of Magydus for the period AD 193–218

Numerals	Reign	Portrait	Number of types
KB	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	II
KB	Septimius Severus	Julia Domna	III
KΓ	Septimius Severus	Septimius Severus	III
KΓ	Septimius Severus	Julia Domna	II
KΓ	Septimius Severus	Caracalla	I
KΓ	Septimius Severus	Geta	II
KΔ	Septimius Severus	Plautilla	II
Kζ	Macrinus	Macrinus	

Overall, only three denominations were minted during the period of this thesis in Magydus. Their diameters were 33 mm, 25 mm and 19 mm. This is different from Watson's and Ünal's findings but the differences are small enough to conclude that

the 19 mm denomination probably corresponds to their 20 mm denomination to which they assign a value of one *assaria*.⁵⁴

Magydus is one of three harbours to mint coins in Pamphylia. Three out of the overall seven coin designs refer to maritime or riverine subjects and express their identity as a harbour city (Table 7). This harbour status might have brought it in competition with Attalea or Side, the two other Pamphylian

harbours. However, surprisingly Attalea and Magydus seem to be actively linked and cooperated with each other. The scarcity of evidence from both cities makes these links even more remarkable.

A Iulia Sancta from Attalea dedicated a statue of the empress Sabina under Hadrian in Magydus (Figure 6) and both cities seem to have family connections to each other.⁵⁵ For our time period there also exists an obverse die link between a

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Figure 6:
Statue base from Attalea for Sabina
dedicated by Iulia Sancta

⁵⁴ Ünal 2018, 278; Watson 2019, 39.

⁵⁵ Adak and Atvur 1999, 62–63.

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The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. For the image sources see pages 146–149.	The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright. For the image sources see pages 146–149.

Figure 7:

Provincial coin of Attalea (left) and Magydus
(right)

Below an overlay of both types with the coin of
Attalea (left) and Magydus (right) in front of the
other

coin of Attalea and one coin of
Magydus depicting the emperor
Macrinus (Figure 7).⁵⁶ Die links
between different cities are a rare
phenomenon that starts occurring in
the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD and
exclusively in Asia Minor. Thus, it
seems like the two neighbouring
harbour cities had good relations and
ties with each other. This might have
been due to the different orientations
of the maritime harbours, while
Attalea's smaller natural harbour
was ideal for local maritime traffic,
the deeper more protected harbour
of Magydus was optimised for long-

distance-trade.⁵⁷ A cooperation of the two neighbours could have guaranteed them
both prosperous conditions for growth under the Roman Empire.

⁵⁶ SNG Pfälzer Privatsammlungen IV, No 175 (Attalea) und 198 (Magydos), Ünal

⁵⁷ Adak and Atvur 1999, 61.

Other reverse coin designs and types of Magydus show a very clear and logical picture (Table 7). Designs are generally confined to one denomination and many of the older types continue, like the standing Athena, the main design of coins until Antoninus Pius. The largest denomination has only two designs under Septimius Severus and one under Macrinus. The Aphrodite and the Tyche seated on rocks with a nymph below design are both new designs that appear under Septimius Severus and only continue into the reign of Macrinus. Similarly Macrinus introduces the new design of Nike for the smallest denomination which replaces the traditional Athena type for his period [Cat. no 39 and 40]. Hence, the smallest denomination is also only issued with one design which changes from Septimius Severus to Macrinus. Such iconographic changes are quite drastic changes in the traditional types of Magydus and only seem to have held for a short time period, disappearing from the coin iconography after Macrinus' death. Again it is important to note that the city chose its coin designs. Hence, this might indicate that significant changes happened in the civic world of Magydus or that contemporary events were of relevance for a specific reign which might be reflected on the coins. The Nike on Macrinus coins might refer to his victory over Parthia, shown in a similar way on the imperial silver coinage.⁵⁸

The Demeter type might indicate the presence of a local cult in the city or could have

⁵⁸ RIC online IV Macrinus 49 (<http://numismatics.org/ocre/id/ric.4.mcs.49>).

functioned as the personification of grain and agricultural goods that were shipped through Magydus.

Overall, Magydus coinage portrays unique civic characteristics in the form of numerals in a chronological sequence on the obverse of the coins. Sadly, due to the lack of documentation of archaeological or literary nature up to now no further conclusions can be made about these numbers. The same way, this makes it hard to associate the coin designs with civic topics. The presence of local cults to the gods depicted remains a possibility but the presence of maritime themes and narratives seems to demonstrate the city's identity as an important harbour city in Pamphylia. The coin types of Magydus are very structured, attesting a sophisticated and deliberate portrayal of themes on their coinage. On the other hand, the designs make it easier to recognise the denominations in everyday transactions in the city. Such practicality might be another factor influencing civic iconographic design.

Table 7:

Civic reverse coin types of Magydus minted between AD 193–218

Reverse coin design of Magydus	Number of types	Reigns	Diameter
Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia	I I	Septimius Severus (Julia Domna) Septimius Severus (Plautilla)	Æ (33 mm)
Tyche seated l., on rocks holding corn ears in extended r., nymph below	I I I	Septimius Severus (Geta) Macrinus Macrinus (Diadumenian)	Æ (33 mm)
river-god reclining, l., holding long reed and cornucopia, resting on water-urn	II I I I	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Caracalla) Septimius Severus (Geta) Macrinus (Diadumenian)	Æ (25 mm)
turreted and veiled Demeter seated, l., holding two ears of corn over kalathos and torch (or sceptre?)	I	Septimius Severus (Julia Domna)	Æ (25 mm)
Aphrodite standing facing, head r., raising right hand; Eros on ground below r.	I I I	Septimius Severus (Julia Domna) Septimius Severus Macrinus	Æ (25 mm)
Athena standing l., holding Nike and spear; leaning against spear, shield	I I I	Septimius Severus (Julia Domna) Septimius Severus (Plautilla) Septimius Severus	Æ (19 mm)
Nike advancing l., holding wreath and palm	I I	Macrinus Macrinus (Diadumenian)	Æ (19 mm)

Perge

Introduction

The ancient city of Perge is located in the centre of the fertile agricultural plain of Pamphylia, close to the river Cestrus (modern Aksu) where Perge had its own harbour.⁵⁹ A settlement in Perge is attested since the 13th century BC.⁶⁰ The well excavated city was inhabited only until about AD 1000, preserving the overall layout of the city and its monuments (Figure 8). Perge, located some 20 km east of Attalea was also connected to the main road network of Pamphylia

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Figure 8:

Plan of Perge in the 2nd century AD

⁵⁹ Grainger 2009, xii and 192.

⁶⁰ Otten 1988, 37f.

and wider Asia Minor, putting it in a favourable economic and strategic position. Overall, it was connected to three important roads (Figure 2) which directly connected it to Magydos in the southeast and the cities of Sillyum, Aspendus, and Side to the east.

Perge was an important religious center, famous for its aniconic cult statue of *Artemis Pergaia* and the cult associated with it. Besides literary evidence, this is also clear from multiple sources of archaeological evidence referencing and depicting the Pergaian Artemis.⁶¹ This cult was also of special historical importance to the city, probably existing even before the Greek colonisation since ancient Pamphylian inscriptions in Perge described the later Artemis as the "Mistress of Perge".⁶² Coins also prominently depicted the cult statue and its temple. The Greek personification of *Artemis Pergaia* as a huntress in Greek dress with bow or torch is another popular iconographic type on Perge's coinage.⁶³ This cult seems to have been an important part of not only Perge's identity but also for the whole region of Pamphylia and wider province of Lycia-Pamphylia where inscriptions and coins refer to the goddess in

⁶¹ see Filges 2008; Mackay 2016.

⁶² Mackay 2016, 2049.

⁶³ Filges 2008, 480.

Perge.⁶⁴ Since the reign of Vespasian the imperial cult was also attested in the city.⁶⁵

The city reached its height of prosperity in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD as attested by many building projects and sculpture, most notably the Septimius Severus square, Severan *nymphaeum* and statues of the Severan family.⁶⁶ As of now, Perge's rich numismatic history in the Roman period has not been subject to proper study but appears in several published catalogues and collections, most notably RPC and Watson's analysis of southern Asia Minor in the later part of the 3rd century AD⁶⁷ and some articles with a thematic approach.

Numismatic history and scholarship

The numismatic heritage of Perge in the Roman period has not yet been the subject of proper study and research. The best overview of its history can be gained through the Roman Provincial coinage volumes as well as the articles by Nollé about Side, Perge and wider Pamphylia. Perge already minted its own Greek coinage in the Hellenistic period and continued to do so until the late 1st century BC. Afterwards, minting restarted in the Julio-Claudian period (Table 8), now with proper Roman coins

⁶⁴ see Filges 2008; Mackay 2016.

⁶⁵ Merkelbach, Şahin and Stauber 1997, 70: [αὔξε Πέργη, ἢ] ἀπὸ Οὔεσ[πασιανοῦ ν]εωκόρος.

⁶⁶ Şahin 1999, 230–236.

⁶⁷ Watson 2019, 43–5.

that depicted the emperor on the obverse in bronze under Tiberius and Nero.⁶⁸ An uninscribed issue was associated by Imhoof-Blumer with the reign of Claudius.⁶⁹ The main two reverse types, the side used for civic themes were the running figure of

Table 8:
Coin types recorded for Perge according to reign up to AD 238

Reign	Number of coin types
Tiberius	3
Claudius	1
Nero	3
Uncertain (Julio-Claudian)	1
Vespasian	3
Titus	1
Domitian	5
Trajan	4
Hadrian	21
Antoninus Pius	8
Marcus Aurelius	33
Commodus	6
Uncertain (Antonine)	3
Septimius Severus	61
Caracalla	32
Macrinus	19
Elagabalus	40
Severus Alexander	17
Maximinus	38

⁶⁸ Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès Alegre, 1992, 531.

⁶⁹ Imhoof-Blumer 1901, 326, no. 2.

Artemis of Perga or the *Artemis Pergaia* cult statue in a temple. The Flavian emperors are all attested in Pergan coinage which continued to depict Artemis on the reverse. For the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, a deviation from previous coin designs on the reverse occurs. The smallest denomination instead of referring to Artemis now shows a prow with a lighthouse, referring to Perge's harbour on the river Kestros.⁷⁰ Again, we are lacking information on the development of Perge's coinage in the not yet researched Antonine period immediately preceding this thesis.

Perge's denominational system

Under Hadrian, Perge minted a total of seven denomination, three of which were added during his reign.⁷¹ Watson argues that four denominations were used in Perge until AD 244.⁷² This assumption seems to be disproven by the coins of Perge analysed for this thesis. The distribution of coins in Perge for the period of AD 193–218 shows about six different denominations (Table 9). However, the three highest denominations share designs and the 36 mm and 40 mm coins often have a large space between the die and the edge of the flan and probably used the same sized

⁷⁰ Amandry and Burnett 2015, 340.

⁷¹ Amandry and Burnett 2015, 340.

⁷² Watson 2019, 44.

dies [Cat. no 41, 101]. Nevertheless, the weight of them differs significantly, justifying the decision to take them as separate denominations. Another possibility would be seeing them as medals or medaillions but the die links between the denominations contradict this interpretation.⁷³ Thus, there existed most likely six different denominations in Perge during this period.

The denominational system seems to have been based on *assaria*, which has been a suggested model for most cities of Asia Minor.⁷⁴ Interestingly, the weight of the denominations increases linear to the denomination, indicating that the coinage's worth also related to its metal. For the smaller denominations this ratio between the denominations was one to two, meaning that the 19 mm denomination had double the weight of the lowest 13 mm denomination and the 25 mm twice the weight of the 19 mm denomination. Above the 25 mm denomination the weight increase indicates that the 33 mm were three times as valuable, so three *assaria* and the 36 mm denomination four times, so four *assaria*. A denominational system based on the same *assaria* system as most other Asia Minor cities allowed Perge to coordinate its own, wider denominational system with other local and imperial Roman coinage system. This does not mean that they accepted each others currencies, but the

⁷³ Draft to the introduction of Perge in RPC VI written by A Burnett (unpublished).

⁷⁴ Johnston 2007, 4.

presence of multiple coins from Perge in Side at least shows that they were in regular contact with each other.

Table 9:

Denominations in Perge catalogued for the period between AD 193–218

Reign	Denominations					
Septimius Severus		36 mm	33 mm	25 mm	19 mm	13 mm
Caracalla	40 mm		33 mm	25 mm	19 mm	13 mm
Macrinus		36 mm		25 mm	19 mm	13 mm

Coin types and iconography

For the period of AD 193–218, I recorded about 111 coin types for Perge in my catalogue. The majority of them date to the reign of Septimius Severus with 61 types (Table 8), the highest number recorded for an emperor in Perge up to this point in time. Again, the coin types depict not only Septimius Severus but the entire imperial family. However, there appears to be one exception, no coins of Plautilla have been recorded for Perge. This is especially puzzling since it is the only city in the whole Pamphylian region to not do so. This might indicate that in the period from AD 202–205 no coins were minted in Perge or that these issues were subsequently withdrawn. Still, it would be unusual not to find at least one such coin if they existed.

Concerning other obverse designs Geta, even when given the title Caesar in AD 198, is always portrayed bare headed instead of laureate. This gave him a visibly lesser position in comparison to Caracalla's laureate portraits under Septimius Severus and seems to be a unique feature of Perge. On the other hand, one of the reverse types depicts Geta galloping over a foe with spear, an unusual type and the only one of such a depiction on Perge's coinage for this period [Cat. no 48]. This explicit show of fighting prowess could refer directly to Parthian wars from AD 197–202 in the east. A similar coin design of this scene which was a popular depiction of military prowess already in the Greek period in sculpture,⁷⁵ and the scene also occurred on the coinage of Side for Caracalla during his reign [Cat. no 243]. The prominence of Geta on the reverse stands in contrast to his lower importance indicated by his non-laureate appearance on the obverse of other coins. The reverse coin design might be influenced by contemporary images, possibly a statue that could have been commissioned for Geta's journey through Pamphylia in AD 202⁷⁶ while the obverse continues to be minted bare headed.

⁷⁵ eg. the Dexileos stele.

⁷⁶ Baydur 1976, 38.

Another change of the obverse types occurred with the start of Caracalla's reign. All of his portraits are heads and no longer draped busts. An exception to this is an obverse type showing a radiate bust of Caracalla [Cat. no 114, 118]. This radiate design might relate to Caracalla's introduction of the *antoninianus*, the so-called radiate in AD 215.⁷⁷ Thus, this change towards the radiate head, used for the *antoninianus* might be a reflection of the currency reform on the civic level and its iconography. The new radiate civic types might have also helped to make the *antoninianus* more acceptable to the local population who might have been skeptical of the coin. The new silver coin also had important implications for the denomination system which became even more based on larger denominations. After Caracalla's reign the draped bust again becomes the sole design for the obverse although the radiate crown remains and occurs infrequently.

The most popular motive for the reverse design of Perge's coinage was the goddess *Artemis Pergaia*. She frequently appears on the reverse and seems to have been chosen as the representation for the city as a whole.⁷⁸ 24 out of the overall 41 coin designs depict the city's goddess in several different versions (Table 10). The most distinct example of the goddess is the depiction of the traditional Greek aniconic cult

⁷⁷ Howgego 1995, 11.

⁷⁸ see later homonoia coinage: RPC online, VII 2501 (<https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/type/21035>).

statue. This statue appears in a distyle temple [Cat. no 43, 44, 53, 54, 60, 61, 71, 96, 99, 104, 117, 133, 139, 144] and was already depicted on Perge's coins of the Greek period. The analysis of this temple coin type by Filges has shown several changes in this iconographic type: in the Trajanic period friezes are added to the body of the cult statue,⁷⁹ under Hadrian sphinxes on columns were added next to the statue and during the reign of Septimius Severus a star and crescent were added next to the cult statue.⁸⁰ The crescent and star motive is interesting since it occurred earlier on coins of Andeda with the temple and cult statue of *Artemis Pergaia*.⁸¹ Thus, the change of iconography seems to have been inspired by coinage of another city or by its die engravers who might have travelled to Perge. The appearance of *Artemis Pergaia* on other civic coinage seems to show influence of Perge's main civic cult whose influence increased in the 2nd and 3rd century AD.⁸² There have been suggestions that this might demonstrate the adoption of the cult by several other cities but epigraphic evidence seems to suggest that the population of Attalea and other cities travelled to Perge and dedicated offerings there.⁸³ Hence, it is uncertain whether

⁷⁹ Filges 2008, 483.

⁸⁰ Filges 2008, 488.

⁸¹ Filges 2008, 486.

⁸² Filges 2008, 484–487:

2nd century AD: Olbasa und Pogla, Andeda und Pednelissos, Selge.

3rd century: Adada and Ariassos and Attalea.

⁸³ Filges 2008, 488–492.

such cults existed outside of Perge in Lycia-Pamphylia, an area where Perge could be reached within a single day of travel.

For this period, many of the coin designs depicting Artemis were based on older traditional Pergaean coin designs. Artemis the Huntress appeared on coins from the 3rd century BC, the 2nd century BC introduces a type showing her carrying torches.⁸⁴ Another type, the distyle temple of Artemis holding wreath and scepter, belongs to this traditional group as well which continued until the reign of Gallienus,⁸⁵ but is not currently recorded as a type for this period. This way Perge retained their original Greek civic identity on their coins and also creates history and traditions visible on its coinage. New types under Macrinus however, show significant changes. The Artemis coin type showing her standing right with quiver at shoulder, holding arrow and bow has an additional crescent attached to her head, identifying her as Selene-Hecate instead of Artemis [Cat. no 143]. Selene previously only appeared in a coin of Julia Domna where she is shown in a big drawn by stags. After the crescent was added under Macrinus to the Artemis coin type, the same iconographic type continues to spontaneously appear in later reigns.⁸⁶ Overall, the depiction still seems to be an

⁸⁴ Mackay 2016, 2049.

⁸⁵ Filges 2008, 490; Mackay 2016, 2049.

⁸⁶ cf. RPC online, VI 6184 (temporary) (<https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/type/55077>) = P: Perge 394.

exception, however, it was first introduced in this period, making her an important entity of the city with possible religious or cultural connections with Perge.

In addition the South *Nymphaeum* of Perge, a monumental fountain demonstrates how interwoven civic architecture, religion, elite and imperial ideology were in Perge. The building was dedicated to *Artemis Pergaia*, as well as to the emperor Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla and Geta, who was later removed from the inscription.⁸⁷ Another inscription attests that the fountain and maybe the whole *nymphaeum*⁸⁸ was donated to the city by Aurelia Paulina (198–212 AD) who was a former head priestess of the imperial cult and a contemporary priestess of Artemis. The monument was decorated with statues of the Severan Dynasty, *Artemis Pergaia*, Selene, Helios, Dionysus, the Three Graces and statues of elite Pergan citizens,⁸⁹ combining civic, religious and imperial elements. The new *nymphaeum* made the far away river part of the city landscape, it is thus not surprising that just like at Side, which also erected a *nymphaeum* under Septimius Severus, the local river god appeared on the coins of this period [Cat. no 51, 52, 59, 115, 116, 127]. For Perge this was the first time that the local river god was depicted on its coinage. Perge and

⁸⁷ Şahin 1999, 230 no 196.

⁸⁸ Şahin 1999, 229 no 195.

⁸⁹ Aristodimou 2011, 2.

Side also depicted Roman military galleys on their coinage [Cat. no 42 and 248], probably to show their importance for the supply of the military campaigns in the east. This could be due to shared die cutters or shared cultural understandings of coin iconography. However, such similarities in coin design and building projects might also be taken as the predecessor for the cities' rivalry in the later part of the 3rd century AD.

Agons and festivals are well attested in epigraphic and archaeological evidence of Perge. Strabo describes a yearly festival of *Artemis Pergaia* later combined with the worship of the imperial family.⁹⁰ Priests of the Imperial cult organised the *Sebasteia* and *Caesareia*. The *Asylia Pythia*, *Olympia* and *Augusteia* games are documented from the period of Valerian and Gallienus. In addition, in the 3rd century games were introduced for the city's founders Tertullus and Demetrios, named the *Agon Tertulleios* and *Agon Demetrios* respectively. An *agon* devoted to emperor Vespasian, the *Artemiseia Vespasianeia*, is already attested since the reign of Vespasian.⁹¹

None of these games are depicted in the coinage of this period even though they were a regular and prestigious event in the city. From the reign of Commodus

⁹⁰ Strabo XIV, 4.2.

⁹¹ Şahin 1999, 86–87 no 60.

onwards coins depicting civic games and festivals become more common,⁹² but there is only one coin type that can be associated with such events for the period of this thesis. The coin type depicts Themis seated left, wearing diadem, holding palm branch and an inscribed wreath [Cat. no 131, 132]. This might be a reference to an *agon* of Themis held in the city. The wreath is inscribed with a Greek numeral TO, which probably counts the year of the festival since it was established in Perge. The numeral can be read in two different ways: either taking both letters as numbers which would mean a numeral of 370 or taking the T to be indicate that the following letter is the number of times the games have been held, which would mean they were 'held for the 70th time'. This theory was seemingly disproven by Watson's analysis of a later coin of Maximinus Thrax depicting the same Themis type on the reverse inscribed with a Greek numeral T OB, which would mean 'for the 72th time'.⁹³ He was aware of another coin of Julia Domna showing the numerals T OΔ. Thus, he argued that the numerals were not arranged chronological and dismisses them as related to a festival of Themis.⁹⁴ However, going back to the original publication of the coin in Svoronos,⁹⁵ it is clear that the Julia Domna coin also reads TO, 'for the 70th time'. The delta separated from the inscription by an em dash was part of the Greek

⁹² Kremydi-Sicilianou 2005, 102; Klose 2005, 128 f.

⁹³ Watson 2019, 478.

⁹⁴ Watson 2019, 43.

⁹⁵ Svoronos 1903, 207 no 307.

description of the coin and stood for the module of the coin (medium sized bronze) and was not part of the inscription. Through solving this misreading it has now become clear that this coin indeed referred to games held in the name of Themis in the city of Perge. Two such festivals existed in Perge in the 3rd century AD.

M. Plancius Varus founded Pergaian games called the *Themis Vareios* around AD 73, which were repeated every nine years and held until the 3rd century.⁹⁶ An inscription attests that his grandson C. Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus was given honours in the *Themis Vareios* when it was held for the 6th time probably around the 120s AD.⁹⁷ However, the dating of this inscription is based on the building complexes surrounding it and the name of M. Plancius Varus is given as Marcus Plancius Rutilius Varus, who might possibly be a different family member later or earlier than him. Hence, there would be enough uncertainty to argue against the dating of the epigraphic evidence. The chronology established by the inscriptions seems to work very well but is in conflict with the numbers given by the coinage. The timeframe of having held the festival every nine years and a total of 70 times from AD 73 to AD 215 does not work out. On the other hand, this interval of nine years fits perfectly within the reigns of Caracalla (ruling from AD 198–217 = TO) and Maximinus Thrax

⁹⁶ Şahin 1999, 165–167 no 130 and Mackay 2016, 2057–2058.

⁹⁷ Şahin 1999, 165–167 no 130.

(AD 235–238 = T OB). The span of AD 217–235 would be exactly 18 years, the span of two festivals which have been added to the count on the coins of Maximinus Thrax. Hence, the number of times the festival was held and the timespan between it emerges clearly and logical in the 3rd century AD but might have been changed earlier and would thus not be connected to the establishment of the new *Themis Vareios* games.

Another *agon* connected with Themis was named *Themis Labeia* and was held concurrently with the the *Themis Vareios* in Roman times but was established much earlier.⁹⁸ The *Themis Labeia* is attested in later inscriptions and seems to relate to a (mythical?) founder called *Labos* from Delphi who according to an inscription from the 2nd century AD organised the first *Labeian* games, the later *Themis Labeia*.⁹⁹ The inscription was part of a statue base belonging to a group of founders and elite citizens in the interior of the Hellenistic gate. *Labos* base was the largest indicating his importance to the citizen body. The very clear dates of the coins do allow for the calculation of when the games were supposedly held for the first time in 413 BC. Nevertheless, by the year 413 BC Perge had already existed for centuries and was

⁹⁸ Şahin 1999, 167.

⁹⁹ Şahin 1999, 136–137 no 102.

minting its own silver coinage.¹⁰⁰ The numeral of 370 would date the first games back to 3113 BC, which would be much earlier than even the Olympic games and is unlikely to be the correct date. Hence, it seems possible that the frequency and interval of the games were reformed at some point. The most likely date for such a reform would be the occasion of M. Plancius Varus's *Themis Vareios* games that might have lead to a reform of the *Themis Labeia* that changed the interval between the games to nine years. Due to the connection to a founder of Perge, the lettering of TO as 370 games seems to become a possibility again. If before the reform of the festival around AD 73, the *Themis Labeia* was a biennial festival that would place its year of establishment in 635 BC, the 7th century where most important mythical founders and reformers of the Greek world were active. Whatever the exact circumstances concerning the numbering of festivals, the minting of such coins in Perge shows the continuous importance of founders and civic games to contemporary Pergaian society. This way, coins can give insight into history and tradition not attested in epigraphic evidence or provide new interpretations of them and insight into society. The counting of games and festivals is also a way of forming a cohesive identity and own civic definition of time. The seated figure of Themis on the coins is similar in appearance to the seated Tyche [Cat. no 45, 47, 105, 134] and does not radically break with iconographic designs of Perge but presents a slow

¹⁰⁰ see Otten 1988, 37f.

transitional stage to the popular agnostic coin types of Perge in the later 3rd century AD.

Another coin type that first occurs under Caracalla is the reverse depiction of three purses on a three legged chest [Cat. no 55, 118]. This has been associated with festivals and price money by Erol-Ozdizbay¹⁰¹ but Nollé proposes a different explanation.¹⁰² For him the coin design refers to Perge's role as the city of the imperial *fiscus* of the province. Being the financial centre of a province was a great honor and brought taxes to the city from multiple different cities. For this the city would have required frequent contact and relations with other cities and the imperial administration, making to an important and well connected city.

Overall, Perge's civic coinage reflects a special importance of female deities for the city, especially Artemis with no reference to contemporary events apart from civic games. Many of the coin types were adapted from earlier Greek iconography and reflect its numismatic heritage. Still, this period shows much iconographic innovation away from mythical themes towards a more contemporary character, for example by depicting Geta fighting in the Parthian campaigns or Perge's position as the imperial

¹⁰¹ Erol-Özdizbay 2012, 208–209.

¹⁰² Nollé 1987, 251–254.

fiscus. Similar to Side an increasing importance of imperial family for the civic messages is visible, that was probably accompanied by the reconstruction of the urban centre with more Roman images and buildings.

Table 10:
Civic reverse coin types of Perge minted between AD 193–218

Reverse coin design of Perge	Number of types	Reigns	Diameter
Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia	I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Caracalla) Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Julia Domna) Septimius Severus (Caracalla) Septimius Severus (Geta) Septimius Severus (Geta) Caracalla Caracalla Caracalla Macrinus Macrinus (Diadumenian) Macrinus Macrinus (Diadumenian)	Æ (36 mm) Æ (33 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (40 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (40 mm) Æ (25 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (25 mm) Æ (25 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (19 mm)
Galley with nine oarsmen left; hortator at stern, Tritoness at prow; below, dolphin left, octopus and crayfish right.	I	Septimius Severus	Æ (33 mm)
ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΙΟΣ ΠΕΡΓΑΙΑC; temple with two columns enclosing cult statue of Artemis Pergaia between star and crescent and flanked by two short columns surmounted by sphinxes; eagle in pediment	I I I I I	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Julia Domna) Septimius Severus (Caracalla) Septimius Severus (Geta) Caracalla	Æ (33 mm) Æ (25 mm) Æ (25 mm) Æ (25 mm) Æ (33 mm)
ΠΕΡΓΑΙΑC; temple with two columns enclosing cult statue of Artemis Pergaia between star and crescent and flanked by two short columns surmounted by sphinxes; eagle in pediment	I I	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus	Æ (33 mm) Æ (13 mm)
ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; temple with two columns enclosing cult statue of Artemis Pergaia between star and crescent and flanked by two short columns surmounted by sphinxes; eagle in pediment	I I	Macrinus Macrinus	Æ (36 mm) Æ (25 mm)
ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ, temple with two columns enclosing cult statue of Artemis Pergaia between star and crescent; eagle in pediment	I I	Macrinus (Diadumenian) Macrinus (Diadumenian)	Æ (25 mm) Æ (19 mm)
Tyche of Perge seated l., holding small cult statue of Artemis Pergaia and cornucopia	I I I	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Caracalla) Caracalla	Æ (33 mm) Æ (33 mm) Æ (33 mm)
ΠΕΡΓΗ; Tyche of Perge seated l., holding small cult statue of Artemis Pergaia and cornucopia	I	Macrinus	Æ (36 mm)
Geta galloping over foe, r., brandishing spear	I	Septimius Severus (Geta)	Æ (33 mm)
Apollo standing nude facing, looking l., holding laurel branch and resting on tripod	I I I	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Caracalla) Septimius Severus (Geta)	Æ (25 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (19 mm)
Asclepius standing facing, head l., holding serpent-staff	I I I I I I I	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Caracalla) Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Geta) Septimius Severus (Geta) Caracalla Macrinus (Diadumenian)	Æ (25 mm) Æ (25 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (25 mm) Æ (25 mm)
river-god reclining, l., holding cornucopia and reed(?), resting on vase from which water flows	I I I I II	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Caracalla) Caracalla	Æ (25 mm) Æ (25 mm) Æ (25 mm) Æ (25 mm)
ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; temple with two columns enclosing cult statue of Artemis Pergaia between star and crescent; eagle in pediment	I I I	Septimius Severus Caracalla Caracalla	Æ (25 mm) Æ (25 mm) Æ (19 mm)

Dionysus standing l., holding cantharus and thyrsus; at his feet, panther	I I I I I	Septimius Severus (Caracalla) Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Caracalla) Septimius Severus (Geta) Macrinus (Diadumenian)	Æ (25 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (13 mm)
Hygieia standing r., feeding serpent from patera, facing Asclepius standing l., holding serpent-staff	I	Septimius Severus (Caracalla)	Æ (25 mm)
Artemis adv. l., r. raised holding torch, bow in l.	I I	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Geta)	Æ (19 mm) Æ (19 mm)
Artemis standing l., holding long torch and bow	I I I	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Caracalla) Septimius Severus (Geta)	Æ (19 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (19 mm)
Artemis standing l., holding bow and long torch	I I	Septimius Severus (Caracalla) Septimius Severus (Geta)	Æ (19 mm) Æ (19 mm)
Artemis standing r., sometimes quiver at shoulder, holding bow and arrow	II I I I I I I II	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Julia Domna) Septimius Severus (Caracalla) Septimius Severus (Geta) Caracalla Caracalla Macrinus Macrinus	Æ (19 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (25 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (25 mm) Æ (19 mm)
Artemis standing l., sometimes quiver at shoulder, holding bow and arrow	I	Septimius Severus	Æ (19 mm)
Artemis advancing r., drawing arrow from quiver at shoulder and holding bow	I II I I	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Julia Domna) Septimius Severus (Caracalla) Caracalla	Æ (19 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (19 mm)
Artemis advancing r., drawing arrow from quiver at shoulder and holding bow; at feet, deer	I	Caracalla	Æ (19 mm)
temple with two columns enclosing cult statue of Artemis Pergaia between star and crescent; globe in pediment	I I	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Geta)	Æ (19 mm) Æ (19 mm)
Nike advancing l., holding wreath and palm	I I I I I I I	Septimius Severus (Julia Domna) Septimius Severus (Caracalla) Septimius Severus (Geta) Caracalla Caracalla Macrinus Macrinus (Diadumenian)	Æ (19 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (25 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (25 mm) Æ (19 mm)
three purses on three-legged chest	I I	Septimius Severus (Julia Domna) Caracalla	Æ (19 mm)
Artemis advancing r., shooting arrow with bow	I	Septimius Severus (Geta)	Æ (19 mm)
Artemis-Selene, crescent at shoulders, riding in biga of galloping stags, r., holding torch in each hand	I	Caracalla (Julia Domna)	Æ (33 mm)
the three Charites standing facing with arms around each other, two looking l., one looking r., each holding flower	I	Caracalla (Julia Domna)	Æ (33 mm)
Themis seated, l., wearing diadem, holding palm branch and inscribed wreath	I I	Caracalla Caracalla (Julia Domna)	Æ (25 mm)
Artemis holding two torches driving quadriga of stags r.	I	Caracalla	Æ (25 mm)
Artemis standing r., crescent at shoulders, holding long flaming torch	I	Caracalla	Æ (25 mm)
Artemis standing r., quiver at shoulder, holding arrow and bow, crowned by Nike advancing r., holding palm	I	Caracalla	Æ (25 mm)
Artemis standing r., wearing radiate crown, holding long torch and bow	II I I	Caracalla Caracalla Macrinus (Diadumenian)	Æ (25 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (25 mm)
Emperor in military dress standing l., lifting r. arm, l. resting on spear, crowned by Nike st. to l. behind him, holding palm	I	Caracalla	Æ (25 mm)
Artemis standing l., wearing radiate crown, holding bow and long torch	I	Caracalla	Æ (19 mm)
Artemis standing r., quiver at shoulders, holding torches in both hands	I	Caracalla	Æ (19 mm)
Nike advancing r., holding wreath and palm	I I	Caracalla Macrinus (Diadumenian)	Æ (19 mm) Æ (19 mm)
river-god reclining, r., holding cornucopia and reed(?), resting on vase from which water flows	I	Caracalla	Æ (19 mm)

Artemis standing facing in short chiton, looking l., holding bow and long torch; at her feet, stag, l.	l	Macrinus	Æ (25 mm)
Hermes naked standing facing, head l., holding purse and caduceus	l l	Macrinus Macrinus (Diadumenian)	Æ (25 mm) Æ (13 mm)
Selene-Hecate standing r., quiver at shoulder, holding arrow and bow	l	Macrinus (Diadumenian)	Æ (25 mm)

Monetary circulation and economy

Coins found during excavations can give an impression of what coinage circulated in Perge in ancient times. The first excavations of Perge began in 1946,¹⁰³ but for the first ten years coins were not systematically recorded. Coin finds have been published only from the campaigns between 1956 and 1983.¹⁰⁴ Overall, some 1,500 coins have been found and could be identified as belonging to the Greek (25 coins), Roman (669 coins), Byzantine (76 coins) and Islamic (9 coins) periods.¹⁰⁵ However, since most of these coins were bronze they easily corroded and were illegible. Hence, a proper analysis of these coins by Tekin could only be done for 331 coins.¹⁰⁶ For our period only one coin of Geta was found and apart from two coins assigned to Augustus all other coins were minted after AD 193–218.¹⁰⁷ Most of the finds were minted between AD 320–395. Out of those coins, the highest number of coins

¹⁰³ Tekin 1991, 217.

¹⁰⁴ Tekin 1991, 217.

¹⁰⁵ Tekin 1991, 217.

¹⁰⁶ Tekin 1991, 217.

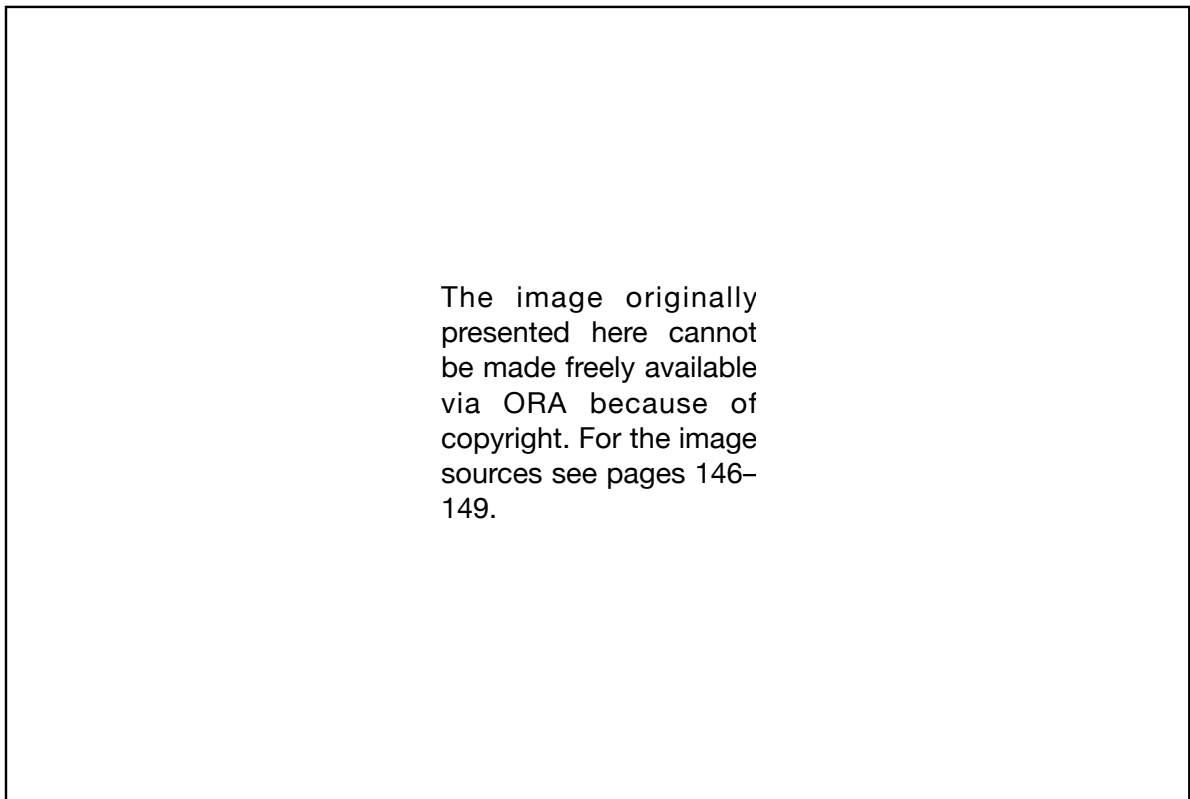
¹⁰⁷ Tekin 1991, 220.

originated from eastern mints of the empire, most notably Constantinople, Cyzicus, Nicomedia, Antioch and Alexandria.¹⁰⁸

Nevertheless, Perge's coinage seems to have been an important part of Pamphylia's circulation. They appear in multiple coin hoards dated to the 3rd century AD in Pamphylia and Pisidia (see 'Economic connections in Pamphylia') and were present in other excavated Pamphylian cities, most notably Side which attests economic ties to other regions.

¹⁰⁸ Tekin 1991, 218.

Sillyum



Figur 9:

View on the ancient city of Sillyum

Introduction

The ancient city of Sillyum was situated on a mountainous plateau rising 230 m above the Pamphylian plain (Figure 9), between the Kestros and the Eurymedon rivers.¹⁰⁹ Its prosperity in Roman times is visible in several large public buildings like the Roman baths built in the 2nd century AD with additions in the 3rd and 4th century

¹⁰⁹ Martini 2006.

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Figur 10:
City plan of Sillyum

AD¹¹⁰ and a *dromos*-structure on the south slope, locally known as *paşa deliği* (Figure 10).¹¹¹ Such building innovations attest a wealthy elite that participated in the Roman idea of *eurgetism*.

The earliest mention of the city occurred in the 4th century BC.¹¹² Archaeological evidence has attested a bronze age settlement on the site of the later Roman city,

¹¹⁰ see Taşkıran 2021.

¹¹¹ Taşkıran 2019, 205.

¹¹² Ps.-Scyl. 101; Arr. Anab. 1,26,5

suggesting a similar date of foundation as that in Perge of the 13th century BC.¹¹³ A Byzantine basilica in Sillyum also contained an inscription in an ancient Pamphylian dialect, demonstrating that the language survived through the Roman period into the Byzantine period.¹¹⁴

Sillyum is rarely mentioned in ancient literary evidence and was mostly used as a geographical landmark, creating a lack of understanding of the city's Roman history. As a result, we are very much dependent on the archaeological evidence for understanding its history, civic life and cultural background. Much of this has been carried out by Turkish scholars who have started the excavation of the site in the 1990s. Recently, the research on Sillyum has intensified with several new surveys and studies of the city and its surroundings.¹¹⁵

Numismatic history and scholarship

Sillyum's coinage appears in several museum catalogues, commercial auctions and has been catalogued for specific periods by the Roman Provincial Coinage Project.

¹¹³ Taşkıran 2019, 208.

¹¹⁴ Bezzenberger 1884, 367 no 1267.

¹¹⁵ see Taşkıran 2020.

In addition, the recent resurgence of interest in Sillyum resulted in multiple articles analysing its archaeological evidence, including coinage.¹¹⁶ The early Roman coinage of Sillyum depicts Julio-Claudian portraits without inscriptions.¹¹⁷ Coins without an obverse inscription continue into the reign of Trajan. The reverse design was decorated with the god Apollo, indicating his importance to — and possibly cult in — the city. The two different reverse designs depicted either the head of Apollo or Apollo standing holding a lyre. Under Hadrian the first non-Apollo reverse designs were introduced which showed a reclining river god and Selene riding a dolphin.

Under Antoninus Pius, the period not yet properly catalogued and documented by the Roman Provincial Coinage Project, the god Mên is introduced to Sillyum's reverse types. Watson describes this iconographical shift as “replacing the predominance of Apollo” on Sillyum's coinage.¹¹⁸ However, preliminary data for the late Antonine period suggests that Mên and Apollo appeared about an equal number of times on the reverse designs. The shift towards a predominantly Mên reverse design seems to occur only in the early Severan period when minting itself seems to have experienced a significant increase in Sillyum (Table 11).

¹¹⁶ see Özdemir and Ş. ve Taşkıran 2021; Özdemir 2020.

¹¹⁷ Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès Alegre 1992, 531.

¹¹⁸ Watson 2019, 56–8.

Table 11:

Coin types recorded for Sillyum according to reign up to AD 238

Reign	Number of coin types
Uncertain (Julio-Claudian)	7 (portrait of Augustus (3?) and Tiberius (2?))
Vespasian	1
Trajan	3
Hadrian	4
Antoninus Pius	3
Marcus Aurelius	9
Commodus	7
Uncertain (Antonine)	5
Septimius Severus	33
Caracalla	1
Macrinus	7
Elagabalus	12
Severus Alexander	6
Maximinus	5

Coin types and iconography

For the period of this thesis a significant increase in coin types can be seen under Septimius Severus (Table 11). Previously not even ten types for any emperor were recorded until suddenly at least 33 types were produced solely in the reign of Septimius Severus. This significant increase emphasises the importance of this period and illustrates the wealth and prosperity of Pamphylia in the early 3rd century AD.

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Figure 11:
Coin of Septimius Severus with
aegis minted by Sillyum

Civic coinage was minted irregularly and its production depended on the city itself and thus on local demand. Several explanations can be made for the reasons behind this increase under the Severans which remain unclear, but increasing trade activity and an economic upturn of the region might have created the necessary demand for additional coinage. A shortage of small change might be the most practical explanation for the city's minting output which was not producing huge quantities of coinage beforehand. Hence, the economic conditions and implications of an increase

of minting activity cannot be easily reconstruction. Nevertheless, this can help for considerations of other archaeological evidence. It also shows the city's prosperity to be able to afford the large-scale minting of its own coinage in this period.

Concerning Sillyum's coin designs, some interesting stylistic choices and cultural implications are visible on the coins (Table 12). Firstly, the obverse portraits of the emperors show significant variations and a high level of detail. While all coins are facing right, the emperor's portrait is shown as a simple head, or draped depicted from the rear or the front. Interestingly some types of the large 35 mm denomination show Septimius Severus wearing an aegis in intrinsic detail, demonstrating the high level of sophistication of Sillyum's engravers (Figure 11) [Cat. no 154, 156, 159]. The emperor wearing an aegis, was a rare type and only Sillyum minted it in Pamphylia during the whole Roman period. Antioch and Ariassus in Pisidia were the only other cities in all of Lycia-Pamphylia to use an aegis in the imperial portrait and do so only once, under Septimius Severus to depict Caracalla.¹¹⁹ The aegis iconography was thus not invented in Sillyum but is still a remarkable feature of the local coinage. Commodus and Septimius Severus were the only two emperors depicted this way,

¹¹⁹ For Ariassus: CNG MBS 79, 17 Sept. 2008, lot 622 (<https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=227041l328l622l7e171b157707b6e309e03e74f80089ad>). For Antioch: SNG vA 4945.

which might indicate that their depiction was influenced by a local statue. Another possibility might be that this was a way of specially honoring emperors for favors bestowed upon the city.

Sillyum's coinage consisted of three denominations of about 35 mm, 24 mm and 19 mm. There is also a 41 mm denomination but the die is smaller than the flan, indicating that it was produced for a coin of smaller diameter, probably the 35 mm denomination or solely as a medallion [Cat. no 152, 153]. The female figure depicted on the coin is one of two coins that show a female figure, possibly Demeter next to a column in a narrative style but whose exact purpose and meaning remains elusive. The 35 mm denomination depicts Mên on horseback, Tyche and Mên facing [Plates 8–10]. Under Macrinus this denomination was only produced with Mên on horseback on the reverse. In contrast the 24 mm denomination has a diverse representation of multiple gods and cults frequently changing reverse types, which might represent deities important to its contemporary society. Aphrodite, Ares, Dionysus, Mên, Apollo, Hermes, Tyche as well as Hygeia with Asclepius all appear on Sillyum's coins [Plates 9–10]. These gods seem to have been an important part of Sillyum's identity and probably also had cults in the city although this should not be taken for certain. The

worship of Tyche is epigraphically attested in Sillyum¹²⁰ as is the cult of Ares.¹²¹ The scene of Hygieia with Asclepius also appears on Perge's coinage and attests iconographic links between the cities [Cat. no 188]. This is further confirmed by the coin type of Sillyum showing 'Dionysus standing facing in long chiton, looking l., holding long thyrsus and cantharus over panther, l., looking back' [Cat. no 164, 170, 172] which is minted several times by Perge [Cat. no 57, 94] and once also in Attalea [Cat. no 9]. This illustrates connections between the cities and their numismatic traditions. This might also relate to shared social ideals, economic exchange and connectivity. Under Macrinus a new type of a 'female figure (Themis?) seated left dropping pebble into urn at her feet and holding palm branch' [Cat. no 190] is introduced and might be a reference to democratic political or *agonistic* voting procedures taking place in Sillyum, similar to Side.

The 19 mm denomination had four main iconographic types: Apollo standing with lyre; Ares standing, left or right holding spear, resting arm on shield; Mên standing facing, looking left or right, wearing crescent on shoulders, holding pine cone and sceptre; and the bust of Mên (Table 12). The Apollo type was used since early Julio-

¹²⁰ Lanckoronski and Niemann 1890, 175 no 58.

¹²¹ Robert 1966, 91–100.

Claudian period, while Ares appears on the coins in the late Antonine period.¹²² This way, Sillyum's coinage is similar to the systematic approach of Magydus where coin designs were associated with a specific denomination. More iconographic types were moved from the 24 mm to the 19 mm types under Macrinus (laureate and draped bust of Apollo, r.; Themis (?) seated l., dropping pebble into urn and holding branch; Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia), largely replacing the traditional designs. Apollo completely disappears from the coinage of Sillyum at the end of this period. This seems to show the development of a new religious identity of the city, also visible in the new importance of Mên to the city.

The god Mên on the coinage of Sillyum is especially characteristic for the city and seems to have been of central importance to it, so much so that it is likely that Mên had his own cult and temple in Sillyum.¹²³ Overall in Pamphylia only 17 coin types with this god are recorded in the catalogue, nearly exclusively from Sillyum [Plates 8–10] and two from Attalaea [Cat. no 6, 11]. The region of Pisidia, neighbouring Pamphylia was the place of origin for the cult of Mên in the Hellenistic period. Numismatic and epigraphic evidence have shown evidence for the cult of Mên in

¹²² see London: 1901–6–1–91 (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1901-0601-91).

¹²³ Özdemir 2020, 123.

most Pisidian cities.¹²⁴ Hence, Özdemir argues that the emergence of Mên in Sillyum shows a religious interaction between the regions.¹²⁵ He also emphasises that Mên is a god that is universal, embodying multiple facets and could be interpreted in a way suitable for any individual.¹²⁶ Mên is also closely associated with water sources which archaeological investigation has shown was a unique characteristic of the the geological terrain of Sillyum. The limestone rock on which the city was built had cracks and fissures, where rain gathered, creating multiple water sources in the city and allowing water to flow underneath the plateau.¹²⁷ This offered a valuable resource of freshwater to the citizens but could also led to erosion and landslides. Özdemir proposes that this importance of water and the close proximity to Pisidia has influenced Sillyum to take up the worship of the god Mên, the main subject of Sillyum's coinage.¹²⁸ Mên's close relationship with water sources is visible on coins of Caria and Lydia where he appears together with river gods.¹²⁹ A possible cult building has been identified with a *dromos* building that was connected with water,¹³⁰ but

¹²⁴ Özdemir 2020, 124.

¹²⁵ Özdemir 2020, 124.

¹²⁶ Özdemir 2020, 119.

¹²⁷ Özdemir 2020, 125.

¹²⁸ Özdemir 2020, 124.

¹²⁹ Özdemir 2020, 125.

¹³⁰ see Bilgin and Taşkıran 2019.

apart from the coinage and geographical proximity to Pisidia there has been no other evidence in Sillyum for the cult of Mên.

Table 12:

Civic reverse coin types of Sillyum minted between AD 193–218

Reverse coin design	Number of types	Reigns	Diameter
Demeter holding torch, to l. serpent out of cista on column, and altar on the right	I	Septimius Severus (Caracalla)	Æ (41 mm)
Demeter (?) standing facing veiled, head l., holding long torch and hem of dress, to l. column with ear of corns in urn	I	Septimius Severus	Æ (35 mm)
Mên on horseback, l., wearing Phrygian cap; behind his shoulders, crescent	II I I	Septimius Severus Macrinus Macrinus (Diadumenian)	Æ (35 mm)
Mên on horseback, r., wearing Phrygian cap; behind his shoulders, crescent	II	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Geta)	Æ (35 mm)
Mên standing facing, looking r., wearing crescent on shoulders, holding pine	I	Septimius Severus	Æ (35 mm)
Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia	II I I	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Geta) Macrinus	Æ (35 mm) Æ (24 mm) Æ (19 mm)
Aphrodite standing l., head r., raising head; at feet, dolphin	I	Septimius Severus	Æ (24 mm)
Ares (?) standing facing, head l., holding sceptre and transverse spear	I	Septimius Severus	Æ (24 mm)
Dionysus standing facing in long chiton, looking l., holding long thyrsus and cantharus over panther, l., looking back	I I I	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Plautilla) Septimius Severus (Geta)	Æ (24 mm)
Mên standing facing, looking r., wearing crescent on shoulders, holding pine cone and sceptre	II	Septimius Severus	Æ (24 mm)
nude Apollo standing, facing, holding laurel-branch, resting arm on tripod entwined by serpent	I	Septimius Severus	Æ (24 mm)
Ares standing r., with spear and shield	I	Septimius Severus (Caracalla)	Æ (24 mm)
nude Hermes seated on rock, l., holding purse and caduceus	I I	Septimius Severus (Caracalla) Macrinus	Æ (24 mm)
female figure (Themis?) seated, l., dropping pebble into urn at her feet and holding palm branch	I I	Septimius Severus (Plautilla) Macrinus	Æ (24 mm) Æ (19 mm)
Apollo standing, r., with lyre	I	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Caracalla)	Æ (19 mm)
Ares standing l., holding shield resting on ground and spear	I	Septimius Severus	Æ (19 mm)
Ares standing r., holding spear and shield resting on ground	I	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Geta)	Æ (19 mm)
Mên standing r., crescent at shoulders, holding sceptre and pine cone, l. foot on bucranium	I	Septimius Severus Caracalla	Æ (19 mm)
Mên standing l., crescent at shoulders, holding pine cone and sceptre, r. foot on bucranium	I	Septimius Severus	Æ (19 mm)
bust of Mên draped r., on crescent		Septimius Severus (Caracalla) Septimius Severus (Geta)	Æ (19 mm)
Hygieia standing r., feeding serpent from patera, facing Asclepius standing l., holding serpent staff	I	Macrinus (Diadumenian)	Æ (24 mm)
laureate and draped bust of Apollo, r.	I	Macrinus	Æ (19 mm)

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Figure 12:

Map of Aspendus and its most important architecture

1 Aquaeduct, 2 Door to the north, 3 Stadium, 4
Bouleuterion, 5 Door to the east, 6 Markethall, 7
Nymphaeum, 8 Agora, 9 Basilica, 10 Exedra, 11
Theater, 12 Door to the south, 13 Bath, 14 Gymnasion

Introduction

The city of Aspendus was centered on a group of mountainous plateaus (Figure 12) close to the river Eurymedon where it also had its own separate harbour.¹³¹ In addition, the city was connected to the main road of Pamphylia, a republican road, called the 'Asian road' by Mitchell, joined to the *Via Sebaste* at Perge.¹³² This way, the city was well connected to the Mediterranean Sea and to the fertile plain. According to Strabo the city was originally founded by Argive settlers in the archaic period.¹³³

Aspendus is famous for its theatre that is almost perfectly preserved and was built in the 2nd century AD by a local architect.¹³⁴ The theatre was separated from the main city which was built upon a hill to the west of it. Modern excavations have unearthed a large number of buildings of civic, religious and private nature. Aspendus had a central agora as well as a *bouleuterion* housing the city council. A *nymphaeum* and *basilica* were built in the city between the 2nd and 3rd century AD, attesting a period

¹³¹ Grainger 2009, 49.

¹³² Mitchell, Williams and Wagner, R. 2021, 70.

¹³³ Strabo XIV, 4.667.

¹³⁴ CIL III, 231.

of prosperity.¹³⁵ Similar contemporary building projects also occurred in Perge and Side, which together with Perge were the largest Pamphylian cities in Roman times.

The coinage of Aspendus began to be produced around the 5th century BC.¹³⁶ In the Roman period, the city produced coinage from the time of Augustus (Table 13) to the reign of Gallienus. The Greek coinage is well recorded and famous for its *agonistic* types which depicted wrestling athletes fighting each other already in the 4th century BC, which also influenced its later Roman designs.¹³⁷ For Aspendus' Roman coinage a catalogue was created by the currently published volumes of the Roman Provincial Coinage Project, while the 3rd century coinage from Elagabalus onwards was recently discussed in an overview by Watson in 2019.

¹³⁵ Perkins 1955, 155.

¹³⁶ SNG von Aulock 4482–3.

¹³⁷ see De Luca 2019.

Table 13:

Coin types recorded for Aspendus according to reign up to AD 238

Reign	Number of coin types
Augustus	6
Nero	2
Uncertain (Julio-Claudian)	2
Vespasian	3
Domitian	3
Trajan	3
Hadrian	4
Antoninus Pius	7
Marcus Aurelius	4
Commodus	6
Uncertain (Antonine)	1
Septimius Severus	9
Caracalla	2
Macrinus	8
Elagabalus	27
Severus Alexander	38
Maximinus	29

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Figure 13:

Coin of Caracalla under Septimius Severus showing the
Aphroditai Kastnietides in a shrine with double pediment

Numismatic history and scholarship

The coinage of Aspendus in the Julio Claudian was produced exclusively with one reverse design showing the *Aphroditai Kastnietides* (Figure 13).¹³⁸ These twin statues in a double pediment shrine, seem to have been an important part of Aspendus' identity and continue to appear on the coinage until the reign of Gallienus.¹³⁹ They will be discussed in greater detail in the following section. The portrait of a bare head has been identified as Augustus and other designs can be associated with depictions of with Tiberius, Claudius and Nero (Table 13).¹⁴⁰ Only

¹³⁸ Robert 1960, 180–181.

¹³⁹ see SNG 215 and SNG 213.

¹⁴⁰ Imhoof-Blumer 1901, 319–20.

under Nero, does an obverse inscription occur that identifies the emperor.¹⁴¹ In addition, it is interesting to note that the lettering of Aspendus switches from AΣ under Augustus to AΠEN under Nero.¹⁴² The full reverse inscription of AΠENΔIWN was introduced under the Flavians. Due to the low number of available coins and their greatly differing weights, identification of the denominations is difficult. Under Trajan, there were probably only two denominations.¹⁴³ During the same period the reverse design changed and became more diverse, depicting two wrestlers or Themis. New reverse types continued to be added in the following decades up to AD 193 while some of the smaller coin types retained the design of *Aphroditai Kastnietides* which continued to be depicted on the coins of the Severans and Macrinus.

Coin types and iconography

¹⁴¹ see *RPC online*, I 3390 and *RPC online*, I 3389.

¹⁴² see *RPC online*, I 3381 and *RPC online*, I 3390.

¹⁴³ Although Amandry and Burnett 2015, 343. suggest two more denominations were added under Hadrian, these were probably the same denominations. The only slightly different diameter with these 'new denominations' might just be due to the state of preservation of the coins.

Coins of Aspendus have been minted during all reigns of our period (Table 13). Nearly all of them have obverse types that show a draped bust, with one exception under Caracalla [Cat. no 202] and are facing right, except one coin of Diadumenian [Cat. no 207]. Based on their diameter and weights, three denominations have been determined from the RPC data corresponding to diameters of about 35 mm, 25 mm and 19 mm. The same denominations continued to be used during the 3rd century AD.¹⁴⁴ The city had a diverse iconography on its reverse depictions consisting of agnostic types and religious scenes, but avoided reverse types that referred directly to the imperial power as was seen on coins of Side or Perge.

The *Aphroditai Kastnietides* continued to appear on Aspendus' coinage and are by far the most important witnesses for this civic cult. It depicts two cult statues of anaconic shape (Figure 13) are shown in a shrine or temple with a double pediment. The *Aphroditai Kastnietides* cult is not well understood¹⁴⁵ but several literary references associate it with the city's founder Mopsos.¹⁴⁶ However, preceding the early Roman period there is no evidence for the existence of this cult, contradicting

¹⁴⁴ Watson 2019, 22. His 33mm denomination corresponds to the 35 mm denomination. The difference might relate to changes in weight standards but is more likely to be due to a difference in preservation and number of coins available.

¹⁴⁵ see Şahin 2018.

¹⁴⁶ Strabo IX, 5.438 citing Callimachus.

this theory. It is only under Augustus that the cult first appears in any capacity, on the city's coinage. At the same time altars were dedicated to the '*Aphroditai Kastnietides*'¹⁴⁷ attesting that this cult really existed within Aspendus. While there existed several cults that worshipped twin gods and goddesses in the Greek and Roman world, none of them are associated with the worship of a twin Aphrodite cult.¹⁴⁸ Its sudden appearance in archaeological evidence, might indicate that it originated through rebranding of an existing cult or local belief. Due to their similar portrayal on coinage, a connection to Artemis of Ephesus has also been suggested.¹⁴⁹ Overall, there is no conclusive evidence about the cult other than the fact that the *Aphroditai Kastnietides* were certainly a part and unique feature of Aspendus' civic identity.

Other cults in Aspendus have been researched by Brandt¹⁵⁰ but most of his conclusions were based on the civic coinage produced by Aspendus, which he admits cannot be taken as secure evidence for a local cult.¹⁵¹ The few inscriptions

¹⁴⁷ SEG 17, No. 641.

¹⁴⁸ Versnel 2011, 80–81.

¹⁴⁹ Şahin 2018, 83.

¹⁵⁰ Brandt 1988.

¹⁵¹ Brandt 1988, 238.

show that a cult of Ares,¹⁵² Helios¹⁵³ and one for Zeus and Hera¹⁵⁴ existed in the city. The imperial cult in Aspendus is attested since the reign of Tiberius.¹⁵⁵ Nevertheless, most of these cults do not appear on coins minted under the Severans or Macrinus. Instead, in the period of this thesis, divinities of the north-eastern part of the empire start to appear on the coinage and are especially emphasised. The Alexandrian triad of Sarapis, Isis and Harpocrates each appear on Aspendus' coinage [Plates 11–12].¹⁵⁶ The connection between Aspendus and Egypt, is well attested already from the Ptolemaic period when Aspendian mercenaries were fighting for Egyptians.¹⁵⁷ A city quarter in Alexandria was named *Aspendia* probably after the people of Aspendus.¹⁵⁸ There are indications that a Sarapis cult existed in Aspendus from the Hellenistic period onwards.¹⁵⁹ However, the choice of these gods for the civic coinage might have also been influenced by official imperial iconography. On Roman imperial coins Sarapis appears from the reign of Commodus which might have set a precedent for Aspendus' civic coinage. The specific emergence of multiple important

¹⁵² SEG XVII 650.

¹⁵³ SEG XVII 649.

¹⁵⁴ SEG XVII 641.

¹⁵⁵ Baz 2013, 71.

¹⁵⁶ see Bricault 2017.

¹⁵⁷ SEG XVII 639.

¹⁵⁸ Ath. Book IV 174.

¹⁵⁹ Brandt 1988, 245.

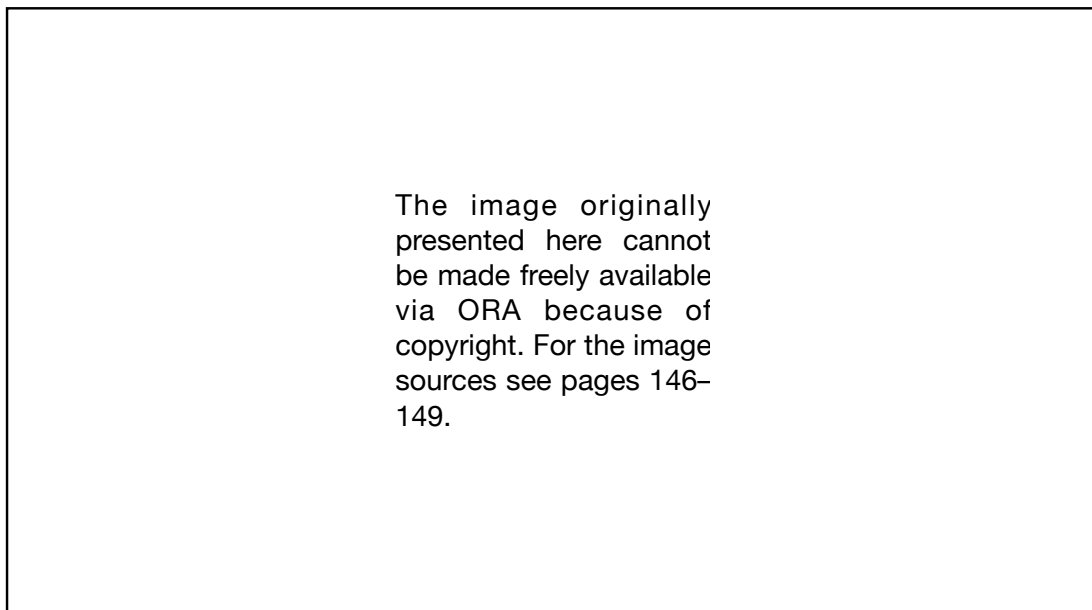


Figure 14:

Roman Imperial Antoninianus of Caracalla (198–217)

Reverse showing Serapis seated left on throne (RIC 291c)

Egyptian gods under the sole reign of Caracalla might be connected to Caracalla's travel to Egypt when he passed through Asia Minor between AD 214–216.¹⁶⁰ The close connection between Serapis and Caracalla is well attested in archaeological (Figure 14) and literary evidence. The emperor visited the temple of Serapis in Alexandria¹⁶¹ and his worship of Sarapis was subject of many inscriptions¹⁶² and coin issues.¹⁶³ However, during his travels Caracalla did not visit Aspendus nor travelled

¹⁶⁰ Calomino 2020, 153.

¹⁶¹ Herodian 4.8.8.

¹⁶² CIL 6.570; IGR 1.5.1063; Calomino 2020, 162–163.

¹⁶³ OCRE records 33 different coin types of Serapis under Caracalla (<https://numismatics.org/ocre/results?q=caracalla+serapis>).

through Pamphylia.¹⁶⁴ Hence, the Aspendian coins should be seen as part of a wider commemoration and honouration of the emperor's travels and religious beliefs on the coinage of Asia Minor. The depiction of the Alexandrian triad might be a direct reference to the destination of Caracalla's travels but also emphasised Aspendus' own connection to the city and the gods. This ambiguity in coin design, open to multiple interpretations depending on the view of the audience, made it suitable for multiple interpretations of all types of audiences, appealing to imperial loyalists and Greek traditionalist alike. Another coin type of Aspendus depicts Isis holding the infant Harpocrates [Cat. no 204], a coin type predominantly found in Egypt was minted in Aspendus during the reign of Macrinus. Hence, the Egyptian types continued even after the reign of Caracalla and became an established part of Aspendian coinage and identity.

Another interesting aspect of Aspendian coinage demonstrating Aspendus' civic life is the reference to *agonistic* festivals. Out of the 14 recorded coin types, three types explicitly refer to such games (Table 14). Two of them show Greek numerals in a wreath, minted under Geta [Cat. no 194] and Julia Domna [Cat. No 199] in the reign of Septimius Severus. Preceding the numerals, an inscription states ΘΕΜΙΔΟC, which could relate to a festival of Themis or more likely have to be taken literally to

¹⁶⁴ Calomino 2020, 157.

mean the *themides* (prize-games), a special kind of civic games that awarded price money instead of agnostic crowns.¹⁶⁵ The numerals on these coins are T Ξ Θ (369) and T Ξ H (368). Again, as was the case with Perge, the reading of these numerals can be debated. Indeed, the similarities with Perge's coinage in this period are striking. They both mint coinage associated with Themis or *themides* as well as depicting the numbers 368 and 369 in Aspendus and 370 in Perge. This has led Grainger to suggest that Perge and Aspendus commemorated and counted the same festival on their coinages.¹⁶⁶ He proposes the existence an inter-pamphylian festival organised through the cooperation of these two cities, making it very prestigious. Based purely on the coins from this period this might be a possible explanation. However, the numerals continue on the coins of both cities and show that the cities are counting independently. For Aspendus the following numerals have been found: for Geta: T Ξ H [Cat. no 194], Julia Domna: T Ξ Θ [Cat. No 199], Gordian III: T O B,¹⁶⁷ Gallus: T O Γ ,¹⁶⁸ Valerian II and Gallienus: T O Δ ,¹⁶⁹ Gallienus: T O Ξ .¹⁷⁰ This gives us some reign dates to determine the intervals between the games. The games

¹⁶⁵ Farrington 2008, 241–9.

¹⁶⁶ Grainger 2009, 176.

¹⁶⁷ *RPC online*, VII.2, 2524 (<https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/type/20979>).

¹⁶⁸ *RPC online*, IX, 1060 (<https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/type/5967>).

¹⁶⁹ SNG vA 4610.

¹⁷⁰ SNG vA 4602.

under Gordian III (TOB) whose reign lasted from AD 238–244 were followed by the next festival under Gallus and Volusian (TOΓ) between AD 251 and 253. This could indicate a period of about 9–10 years. On the other hand, the games directly preceding those of Gordian III were held under Septimius Severus with the portrait of Julia Domna on the obverse whose reign ended AD 211. Even if we assume the coin was minted at the latest possible date, under Caracalla in AD 217 the year of her death, the next games should have been held around AD 326. The next numeral TOB however only occurs in the reign of Gordian III (AD 238–244). This indicates that the festival occurred in irregular intervals, a contrast to Perge's games where the Themis festival seems to have occurred regularly every nine years in AD 217 (numeral 370), AD 226, AD 235 (numeral 372), 244, 253 and so forth. However, such irregularities in Aspendus might also suggest that Perge's games were held more irregularly since the dates have often been concluded from circumstantial evidence. Hence, the evidence from both cities conclusively shows that there were two different festivals in each of the cities. The close correspondence between the numerals on their coins, however, is unlikely to be a purely coincidental. They might be a reflection of the competition/rivalry between the two cities, both trying to portray themselves as the foremost and most ancient organiser of games in Pamphylia. If this was the case then one can assume that Aspendus' coins with the numerals 368 (and possibly 369)

were minted first and then out done by the Pergan coinage depicting the numeral 370. The adoption of designs from Aspendus coinage also seems to occur in other instances which demonstrates the influence of the city situated in the Pamphylian plain. The type of turreted Tyche seated on rocks, the main type of Magydus for this period [Cat. no 25, 35, 36] was previously used in Pamphylia solely by Aspendus in the late Antonine period.¹⁷¹ Thus, these instances might show that Aspendian coinage influenced the choices of coin depictions in neighbouring cities. One other *agonistic* type also occurred during the period covered in this thesis, although multiple other types are recorded in the reigns preceding and following the period of AD 193–218.¹⁷² This *agonistic* type depicts the personification of the *agon* dropping a pebble in a voting urn under Macrinus. The coin not only refers to a characteristic Greek civic *agon* but also illustrates proper Greek voting tradition, as well as showing the prosperity and fairness of the competition. Thus, Aspendus' coinage is especially significant for understanding the religious, social and agnostic landscape of the city between AD 193–218.

¹⁷¹ vA 4587.

¹⁷² Two wrestlers (*RPC online*, III, 2713) and possibly Apollo holding a wreath (*RPC online*, VII.2, 2525).

Table 14:

Civic reverse coin types of Aspendus minted between AD 193–218

Reverse coin design of Aspendus	Number of types	Reigns	Diameter
inscription in wreath ΘΕΜΙΔΙΟC T ≡ Θ	I	Septimius Severus (Julia Domna)	Æ (32 mm)
inscription in wreath ΘΕΜΙΔΙΟC T ≡ Η	I	Septimius Severus (Geta)	Æ (25 mm)
female figure standing facing, head l., holding patera and cornucopia; to l., altar	I	Septimius Severus (Caracalla)	Æ (32 mm)
Apollo standing facing, looking l., holding laurel branch and resting lyre on tripod, around which serpent is coiled	I	Septimius Severus (Geta)	Æ (32 mm)
Tyche standing r., holding a cornucopia in each hand, l. foot resting on water urn	I	Septimius Severus (Plautilla)	Æ (25 mm)
shrine with double pediment enclosing cult statues of the Aphroditai Kastnietides	I I II I	Septimius Servus (Caracalla) Septimius Severus (Plautilla) Septimius Severus (Geta) Macrinus	Æ (19 mm)
Sarapis standing l., wearing calathos, right hand raised above a flaming altar, holding sceptre with l. hand. All within a laurel wreath	I	Caracalla	Æ (35 mm)
Isis standing l., holding sistrum and situla	I	Caracalla	Æ (19 mm)
Isis enthroned l., head r. crowned with horns and disk, suckling the infant Harpocrates	I	Macrinus (Diadumenian)	Æ (35 mm)
Agon, radiate, standing l., holding palm and casting vote in vase	I	Macrinus (Diadumenian)	Æ (35 mm)
Tyche standing facing, looking l., wearing kalathos, holding rudder and cornucopia	I	Macrinus (Diadumenian)	Æ (35 mm)
Isis Pharia advancing, r., looking back, wearing lotus, holding sail and sistrum	I I	Macrinus Macrinus (Diadumenian)	Æ (25 mm)
Harpocrates standing nude facing, looking l., placing hand on his mouth and holding cornucopia	I	Macrinus	Æ (19 mm)
Sarapis enthroned on the left in a hexastyle temple, wearing a calathos, his right hand stretched out above Cerberus, a sceptre in his left hand.	I	Macrinus (?)	?

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Figure 15:

Map of ancient Side showing the most important structures in the city centre

- 1 Hellenistic city wall
- 2 Main gate
- 3 Nymphaeum
- 4 Aqueduct
- 5 Southern colonnade street
- 6 Easter part of the Southern colonnade street
- 10 Agora with Tyche temple
- 11 Theater
- 15 Western part of the Southern colonnade street
- 18 Temple of Apollo
- 20 Temple of Athena

Introduction

The harbour city of Side, located in the eastern Pamphylia, is the best preserved of the three Pamphylian port cities which produced coinage in this period. Side's coinage was minted almost consistently throughout the Greek and Roman period.¹⁷³

During the Greek period, Side was part of an area that was less 'hellenised'.¹⁷⁴ This is visible in the lack of Greek foundation myths, instead the city was said to have been founded by the daughter of the local god Taurus¹⁷⁵ and the existence of the native Sidetic language in inscriptions until at least the 2nd century BC.¹⁷⁶

Excavations of Side have revealed much of the ancient city, allowing for extensive scholarship, most notably Nollé's compilation of its history and inscription,¹⁷⁷ and the integration of ancient sites into the modern city. The local museum stores and preserves archaeological evidence including inscriptions and coins. As a result, the ancient city and its society, including religion, games, layout and historical events are well documented, contrasting other Pamphylian cities like Attalea or Magydus where

¹⁷³ Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès Alegre 1992, 533; Harl 2019, 241.

¹⁷⁴ Nollé 1993B, 298.

¹⁷⁵ Steph. Byz. *Ethika*, 143 Side.

¹⁷⁶ see Woudhuizen 2020.

¹⁷⁷ see Nollé 1993A and 2001.

no proper excavation occurred. This offers an interesting perspective on the connectivity between Side's numismatic evidence and civic life. Still, due to the highly individualised civic character and coinage of each city, this would not be representative for other cities. In addition, Side shared few reverse coin designs with other Pamphylian cities of the period and mostly focused on its own civic goddess, Athena. The numismatic research of the city has included both the study of coin types by Nollé in articles¹⁷⁸ and the publication of coins found during excavations in the city. Even though Nollé's full research has not been published, articles, excavation reports and data of RPC provide a very good basis for an analysis.

Numismatic history and scholarship

Side produced large issues of Greek silver and bronze coinages during the Hellenistic period and continued minting silver tetradrachms up into the Late Republican period.¹⁷⁹ The city next started minting coin designs with the Roman emperor on the obverse under Tiberius (Table 15). The coins were minted to two denominations of around 22–23 mm and 16–17 mm with designs of Athena on the

¹⁷⁸ see Nollé 1987, 1990, 1993A, 1993B, 1995, 2001.

¹⁷⁹ Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès Alegre 1992, 533.

reverse and continued to be produced under Tiberius, Nero, Caligula and Claudius.¹⁸⁰ During the Flavian dynasty minting stopped until after AD 83 when a single issue was minted in three different denominations.¹⁸¹ The next time coins were minted, was under Trajan and later Hadrian, as well as under Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.

Table 15:

Coin types recorded for Side according to reign up to AD 238

Reign	Number of coin types
Tiberius	5
Caligula	1
Claudius	2
Nero	7
Domitian	9
Trajan	12
Hadrian	11
Antoninus Pius	13
Marcus Aurelius	23
Commodus	2
Uncertain (Antonine)	3
Septimius Severus	32
Caracalla	16
Macrinus	10
Elagabalus	39
Severus Alexander	38
Maximinus	23

¹⁸⁰ Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès Alegre 1992, 533.

¹⁸¹ Burnett, Amandry and Carradine 1999, 1523–8.

Most of the denominations of Side have diameter sizes which differ between different publications but do overlap in the general ranges covered. Due to corrosion of the coins and inconsistent weight and diameter data, the individual coin can widely deviate from the original standard. My catalogue recorded four main denominations of about 19 mm, 24 mm, 33 mm and 36 mm seem to have been minted in Side. A similar denominational system has been suggested by Nollé, although his system has slight deviations naming them as 18 mm and 30 mm.¹⁸² Like other coin systems of Asia Minor these denominations seem to have corresponded to the *assaria* system, making Side's denominations one *assaria* (19 mm), two *assaria* (24 mm) and four *assaria* (33 mm).

The four *assaria* pieces have the same value as Roman *sesterces* and 16 *assaria* were the equivalent to one Roman silver *denarius*. With the introduction of *antoniniani* under Caracalla which were worth 32 *assaria*, larger denominations became more important in the provinces. This could explain the shift in production percentage, from Caracalla onwards towards a preference for minting the 32 mm denomination. While the types recorded for Septimius Severus are evenly distributed among the denominations, 10 out of 14 produced types recorded for Macrinus were of the highest 32 mm denomination (Table 16), a significant change of minting

¹⁸² Nollé 1990, 245.

practice probably due to the central Roman monetary reform and its economic consequences of requiring larger denominations to be minted.

Coin types and iconography

For the period of AD 193–218 fifty-eight coin types have been recorded in the RPC database for Side with 33 different types of reverse designs (Table 16). This time period is well documented since most of the inscriptions and archaeological material of Side date from this time.¹⁸³ The Sidetan coins had an obverse portrait facing right for both male and female portraits. Not a single coin type has the radiate head type that was common on Roman imperial coinage, unlike the coins of Caracalla in Perge [Cat. no 114, 118]. In addition, the obverse types mostly portrayed draped busts. Laureate heads only occur under the Severans in 14 types out of the 47 and were especially popular for depictions of Geta [Cat. no 214, 230-233, 236–242, 246–247, 255–256]. Currently no laureate head types are known for the reign of Macrinus.

The deliberate preference of draped bust types might have been influenced by depictions available in the city of the imperial family. For this period, the coins of Side

¹⁸³ Nollé 1993A, 80–94.

show the remarkable scene of an imperial bust of Caracalla. This bust seems to have arrived at Side by ships, judging from the galley underneath the city goddess holding the bust [Cat. no 244–245]. Such a galley also appear on two other coins as the main reverse decoration, both in a military and non-military (possibly merchant) design [Cat. no 248, 254] and might also relate to this contemporary event. Its arrival in the city would have been accompanied by celebrations, games, literary competitions and a festive procession to its place of worship.¹⁸⁴ The same bust appears on multiple coin type of Side which were probably especially issued for this occasion.

The most detailed view of the bust is given in two coin types showing the bust facing Tyche [Cat. no 249] or in the second example Athena [Cat. no 250]. The bust appears to be huge, several times the size of the goddesses and is placed on top of a base with possibly stairs leading up to it in Cat. no 250. The bust depicted is draped and the facial features are identifiable as those of Caracalla. Indeed, the obverse portrait of Caracalla on these coin types corresponds closely to the depicted bust and might be a copy of the bust itself. This is a clear reflection of how contemporary statuary influenced the style and themes depicted on civic coinages. Archaeologists have discovered such an imperial bust gold bust of Septimius Severus in

¹⁸⁴ Nollé 1990, 255.

Didymoteicho in Thrace¹⁸⁵ and the bust sent to Side might have been of similar high value and sophistication. This way, Side seems to have adopted the Roman method of showing important contemporary events on coins.

For Side, the normally civic reverse was also used for events concerning the imperial family. Besides the arrival of the imperial bust sent by Caracalla, the city also commemorated the marriage of Plautilla and Caracalla on their coinage. The type shows Caracalla, standing left, and Plautilla, standing right, clasping hands over an altar. This iconographic type also occurs on Roman imperial coinage and was probably copied from there by Sidetan artists. There is only a very narrow time frame for the production of this coin type: the marriage occurred in AD 202 but by the year AD 205 Plautilla was banished.

Interesting about Side's coin types is also that there are no *agonostic* types for this period, even though games and festivals are well attested and extremely popular in the city. Solely based on the numismatic evidence, the city thus appears more religious than materialistic, contrasting with coin types of Perge and Aspendus where agnostic types are clearly identifiable. This stands in complete opposite to their depiction in textual evidence and general assumptions of scholars. Perge is often

¹⁸⁵ see de Pury-Gysel 2019.

seen as the religious centre of Pamphylia and Side as the commercial harbour and trade centre of the region.¹⁸⁶ Coins reveal another side of the city and the way Side wanted to portray itself to others and its own citizens as not just a trade city but also as an important centre of Roman and Greek religion.

For the Greek *agon*, there is no clear evidence on any of Side's coins even though they were especially popular under the Severans and Elagabalus. Many new games and competitions were organised in 2nd and 3rd century AD. Epigraphically attested are the *agon* of L. Avidius Maximus, of Aurelius Paioninus Tuesianus (probably only after AD 212) and of Dionysios, a priest of Apollo.¹⁸⁷ Side even celebrated a higher status *agon* given imperial status by Hadrian, the *Agon Mystikos* honoring Demeter, Dionysos and the emperor.¹⁸⁸ None of this is visible in coinage and can only be concluded from the epigraphic evidence. The *Epibaterion* festival is another festival in Side, celebrating the opening of the harbour by transporting statues of Athena and probably also Apollo on ships through the harbour. Nollé is aware of a coin type depicting Athena standing on the bow of a ship which probably depict this yearly event.¹⁸⁹ However, he does provide neither an illustration nor a reign for this type.

¹⁸⁶ see Nollé 1990, 312.

¹⁸⁷ Nollé 2001, 424.

¹⁸⁸ Nollé 2001, no 130 (dated between AD 205–212).

¹⁸⁹ Nollé 2001, 424–425.

Thus, it is unclear whether one of the two distinctively different ship types depicted under Caracalla might depict this religious festival.

The Side of the 2nd and 3rd centuries was a flourishing city with many new building projects and civic festivals.¹⁹⁰ Amongst them were the two temples of the city's main gods Apollo and Athena overlooking the harbour. The temples were monumentalised in marble in the early Severan period.¹⁹¹ Athena and Apollo Sidetes were the most important deities of Side and also appear prominently on its coinage. Apollo was also called the founder of the city in Imperial inscriptions, even though such a connection was unknown in the Greek period.¹⁹² The coins of Apollo show him facing, turning his head towards the left and holding patera and long scepter, or clasping hands with Athena. In contrast, the coins of Athena show much larger variety. Out of the overall 32 reverse coin types of this period, 12 coin types show different depictions of Athena (Table 16). Gods were important part of identity and religiosity and Athena has been depicted to appeal to locals and as the personification of virtues and strengths of the city. Thus, she appears holding the figure of the victory goddess Nike, crowning a trophy, holding a lance or thunderbolt to demonstrate military prowess, courage,

¹⁹⁰ Nollé 1993A, 80–95.

¹⁹¹ Nollé 1993A, 82.

¹⁹² Nollé 2001, 434–435 no 129 and 442 no 134. cf. Nollé 1993B, 298–299.

success and victory of the city. Other types depict Athena in a temple, probably her temple in Side and her seated pose might emulate the corresponding cult statue in the temple [Cat. no 211, 214, 265]. She also acts as the personification of Side, as seen in the coin types depicting her and Caracalla's bust and in later homonoia coins.¹⁹³ This way she is the representation of proper democratic voting in Side, as was typical for the administration of a proper greek city, when shown with an urn and dropping a pebble in it [Cat. no 221, 223, 226, 246]. On smaller coins Athena appears, holding a spear and a pomegranate, the canting type of Side and badge of the city. About half of the coins minted in Side under the Roman Empire depict Athena, emphasising her importance for the city and its civic life.

Another important civic deity was the personification of the local river Melas, today's Manavgat river. No issues of this reverse type are known before the reign of Septimius Severus, so that this type is probably a completely new design of the Severan period [Cat. no 220, 228, 235]. The local river was the basis for the agricultural wealth of Side and also provided water for the city, making it an important part of Side's identity. Thus, Athena and Melas depicted on the coins show both the city itself and its surrounding territory to the users of their coinage. The choice of Melas might not only help in fortifying local identity but the depicting of an additional

¹⁹³ Nollé 1993, 310.

figure next to Melas, probably a nymph could also potentially show sidetan myths. However, the question remains whoever the appearance of Melas on coins purely reflected a religious and metaphorical sphere or can also be taken as an indication of practical changes in Side's perspective on or the importance of the Melas? The new coin type might be connected to new building projects that would have been visible to contemporaries involving the local river. In the citizen's daily life, the Melas provided drinking water to the city via aqueducts and was a way of transporting wood and other material from the taurus mountains, which was a very important part of Side's economy. A monumental *nymphaeum* was started to be built under Septimius Severus directly in front of the main gate of Side.¹⁹⁴ This brought the river into the city centre, making it a visible part of the daily life of Side's population. In addition, as the largest and most elaborate nymphaea in all of Asia Minor it was a symbol of civic pride making the river a fitting choice for a coin type.

Another new building erected under Septimius Severus was an arch, built for the empire's victory over the Parthians. The quadriga on top of this arch might be represented or referenced to by a coin depicting Nike driving a quadriga [Cat. no 218]. Nollé points out that this issue only occurs under Septimius Severus and can

¹⁹⁴ Nollé 1993A, 82.

thus be related to this statue.¹⁹⁵ However, he was unaware of the coin of Julia Maesa which also depicts a quadriga [Cat. no 215]. There is only one worn coin example so it is not clear whether the driver of the quadriga is the emperor or a Nike as on the coins under Septimius Severus. Nevertheless, it would not be wrong to assume that a quadriga like this would have been placed on one of the public buildings in Side.

Under Macrinus another new type was introduced showing the three graces, associated with Aphrodite [Cat. no 267]. This depiction was probably based on a real statue group in Side, a copy of which was set up and discovered in Side's theatre.¹⁹⁶

Since the type only starts under Macrinus and then continues consistently in Side's coin iconography, it is likely that the statue was set up during his reign. However, this is one of the only coin types of Side that shared its design with other Pamphylian cities, namely Perge [Cat. no 103].

Other gods on Side's coinage also included more eastern gods like Kybele or Sarapis. Kybele is shown riding on a lion and probably had a sanctuary in the city which would attest the goddesses' worship in Side [Cat. no 239]. The religious worship of Sarapis, is much better attested. Aspendus and Side had close ties to

¹⁹⁵ Nollé 1990, 256.

¹⁹⁶ Nollé 1990, 253–254.

Egypt well attested in ancient literature and archaeological evidence.¹⁹⁷ A Sarapis altar already belonging to Hadrianic period has been found in Side,¹⁹⁸ fitting well with the depiction of Sarapis on Sidetan coinage in this period [Cat. no 236, 253, 264]. In contrast to Aspendus these types were not connected to Caracalla's travels to Egypt since they occur before and after his reign as well as during it, in about the same frequency. Archaeological evidence and ancient texts also attest a Jewish community in Side but again just like in Attalea and Perge this part of society was not represented on coinage.

Overall, for the period of AD 193–218 there is much innovation in coin iconographic types, design and coin output also seems to have increased significantly (Table 15). Civic pride and local identity is deliberately conveyed through the subject choices of Side. It also presents an interesting counterpart to the literary evidence which emphasises the games and not the religious activities happening in the city. The way buildings and sculptures are reflected in their coinage and through the personification of the city and its territories, the coinage of Side forms its own unique civic identity among the cities of Pamphylia.

¹⁹⁷ Nollé 1990, 254.

¹⁹⁸ Nollé 1993A, 272–274: no 16.

Table 16:

Civic reverse coin types of Side minted between AD 193–218

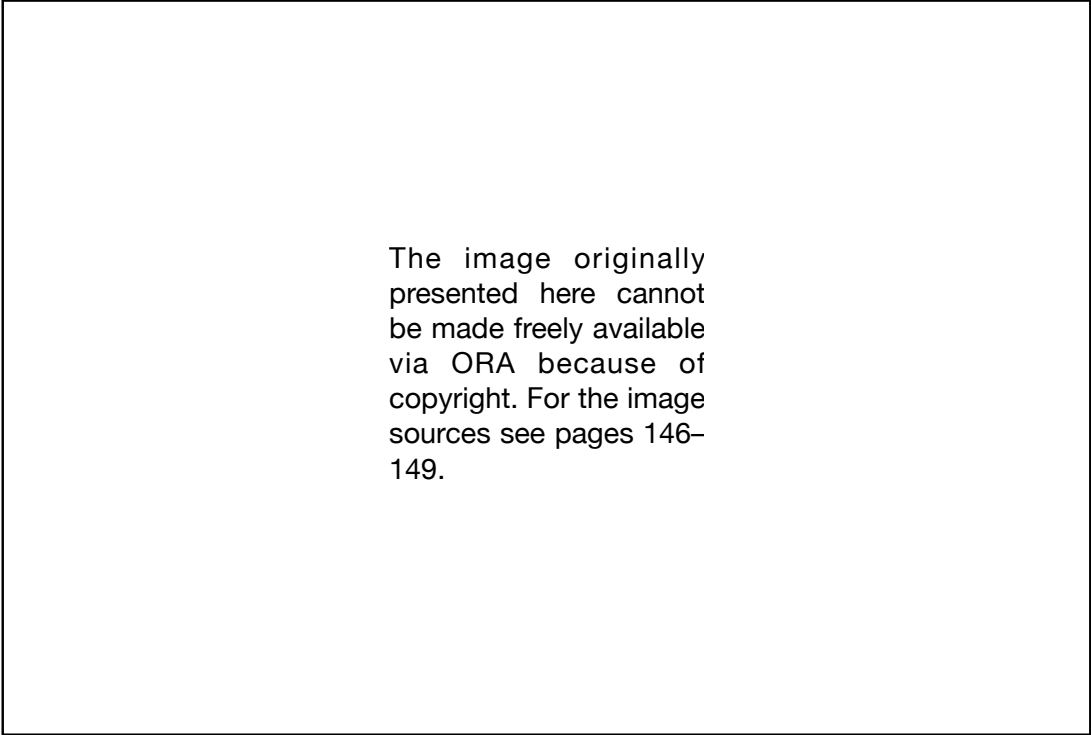
Reverse coin design of Side	Number of types	Reigns	Diameter
temple with two columns enclosing Athena seated l., holding Nike and spear; pomegranate in pediment	I I	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus	Æ (36 mm) Æ (33 mm)
temple with two columns enclosing Athena seated l., holding Nike and spear; eagle in pediment	I	Macrinus	Æ (33 mm)
Athena standing facing, looking r., holding spear and clasping hands with Apollo Sidetes standing facing, looking l., holding long sceptre	I II	Septimius Severus Macrinus	Æ (33 mm) Æ (33 mm)
Athena standing, facing, head, r., holding patera and transverse spear	I I I I I I I I	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Caracalla) Septimius Severus (Caracalla) Septimius Severus (Geta) Septimius Severus (Julia Domna) Caracalla Caracalla Macrinus	Æ (33 mm) Æ (33 mm) Æ (24 mm) Æ (24 mm) Æ (24 mm) Æ (24 mm) Æ (19 mm) Æ (24 mm)
Athena standing l., crowning trophy, holding thunderbolt	I I	Septimius Severus Caracalla	Æ (33 mm) Æ (33 mm)
Nike riding in quadriga of horses, r., drawing wreath, palm, and reins	II	Septimius Severus (Caracalla) Septimius Severus (Julia Domna)	Æ (33 mm)
Caracalla, standing left, and Plautilla, standing right, clasping hands over altar	I	Septimius Severus (Plautilla)	Æ (33 mm)
River-god Melas reclining, l., holding cornucopia and reed and resting on vase from which water flows; to l. above, Nymph reclining, r., holding veil and leaning on stone or vase	I	Septimius Severus (Plautilla)	Æ (33 mm)
river-god Melas reclining, l., holding reed and resting on vase from which water flows in which fish swim	I I	Septimius Severus (Geta) Septimius Severus (Caracalla)	Æ (33 mm) Æ (24 mm)
river-god Melas reclining, l., holding reed and resting on vase from which water flows	I	Caracalla	Æ (33 mm)
Sarapis advancing l., raising r. hand and holding sceptre	I	Septimius Severus (Geta)	Æ (33 mm)
Sarapis standing, l., wearing kalathos, raising hand and holding sceptre; to l., altar	I I	Caracalla Macrinus	Æ (24 mm) Æ (33 mm)
Athena standing l., dropping pebble into ballot urn and holding palm	I I I I	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Julia Domna) Septimius Severus (Caracalla) Caracalla	Æ (24 mm) Æ (33 mm)
laureate Apollo Sidetes standing, facing, head, l., holding patera and and long sceptre	I I	Septimius Severus (Caracalla) Septimius Severus (Geta)	Æ (24 mm)
laureate Apollo Sidetes standing, facing, head, l., holding patera and and long sceptre; to right lyre; left altar	I	Macrinus	Æ (33 mm)
Tyche standing facing, head l., holding rudder and cornucopia	I	Septimius Severus (Caracalla)	Æ (24 mm)
Cybele seated on lion, r.	I	Septimius Severus (Geta)	Æ (24 mm)
Athena advancing, l., holding pomegranate and shield; standing on serpent	II I I	Septimius Severus Septimius Severus (Geta) Caracalla	Æ (19 mm)
Athena standing, r., holding spear and shield	I I	Septimius Severus Caracalla	Æ (19 mm)
Nike advancing l. holding wreath and trophy	I I I	Septimius Severus Caracalla Macrinus	Æ (19 mm)
Selene standing, l., on prow, holding torch and cornucopia	I	Septimius Severus (Geta)	Æ (19 mm)
Tyche advancing r., holding cornucopia, l. foot on prow	I	Septimius Severus (Geta)	Æ (19 mm)
Athena seated l., holding bust of Caracalla, leaning against shield; below, galley	I I	Caracalla Caracalla (Julia Domna)	Æ (33 mm)

Athena standing l., holding Nike and spear with shield	l	Caracalla	/Æ (33 mm)
Galley l. with rowers	l	Caracalla	/Æ (33 mm)
ship with sail and oars, r.; underneath waves	l	Caracalla	/Æ (24 mm)
temple with two columns enclosing shield	l	Caracalla	/Æ (24 mm)
Nike advancing l., holding wreath and palm; in front, altar or stele (?)	l	Caracalla	/Æ (19 mm)
Athena advancing l., head r., holding thunderbolt and aegis	l	Macrinus	/Æ (33 mm)
Athena standing r., holding thunderbolt and sceptre against which rests shield with branches; in front, pomegranate	l	Macrinus	/Æ (33 mm)
the three Charites	l	Macrinus	/Æ (24 mm)
Nike advancing l., with wreath and palm	l	Macrinus	/Æ (19 mm)

Side's monetary circulation and economy

The coin types circulating in ancient Side can be partially reconstructed from the coin finds in modern excavations. At the same time, this evidence needs to be taken with caution since these coins only present a percentage of coins lost in the city. Thus, the largest amount of coins will be made up of low value coins while precious metal coinage would have been retrieved whenever possible. The excavation campaigns of Side from 1947–2015 have recorded about 281 provincial coins, all of them in brass or bronze minted from Augustus to Aurelian.¹⁹⁹ The majority of the coins found were minted at Side (about 54%). The graph (Figure 16) shows a notable peak of coins found under Septimius Severus even though the number of coin types recorded in the RPC database for his reign is lower than under Elagabalus or Severus Alexander. However, die links would be secure indications of true number of coins minted but have not been studied yet. In addition, such patterns could also be due to excavations in the city of only specific periodic layers. In excavations, the coin evidence is very much connected to buildings and thus to building activity. Hence, such a peak could be connected to an increase in civic building activity under the Severans. Sometimes coins were also specifically selected to be buried in the city, as was the case for hoards, ritualistic depositions or offerings of coins. Hence, the

¹⁹⁹ Tolga Tek 2016, 236.



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Figure 16:

Distribution of 339 Roman coins found in Side according to reigns

evidence is inconclusive and includes a significant factor of chance in the form of loss, deliberate selection for some coins (eg. in hoards, dedications or the deliberate loss of foreign and worthless currencies), choice of areas of excavation and the underrepresentation of precious coinage.

The excavators also recorded Greek coins found in Side. It is possible that they still circulated in the Roman Empire even if only due to their metal value cannot be excluded but this would have been more an exception to the rule. Still, the discovery

and distribution of Greek coins during the excavations offers a direct contrast to the Roman coinage. The cities minting the coins found in Side under the Roman Empire differ from their Greek counterparts (Figure 17). Two significant changes have been described by Tolga Tek.²⁰⁰ Firstly, there are more coins from neighbouring cities in the Roman period, following the coast of Asia Minor towards the East and towards the north into the inland of Asia Minor. Many of these cities only started minting in the Roman Empire and their connection to Side is thus invisible in the Greek period. On the other hand, the increase of mints in Asia Minor also leads to a more accurate way of determining the cities that were economically connected to Side. Trade is rarely visible in coinage and the low number of coins from some cities would not be enough

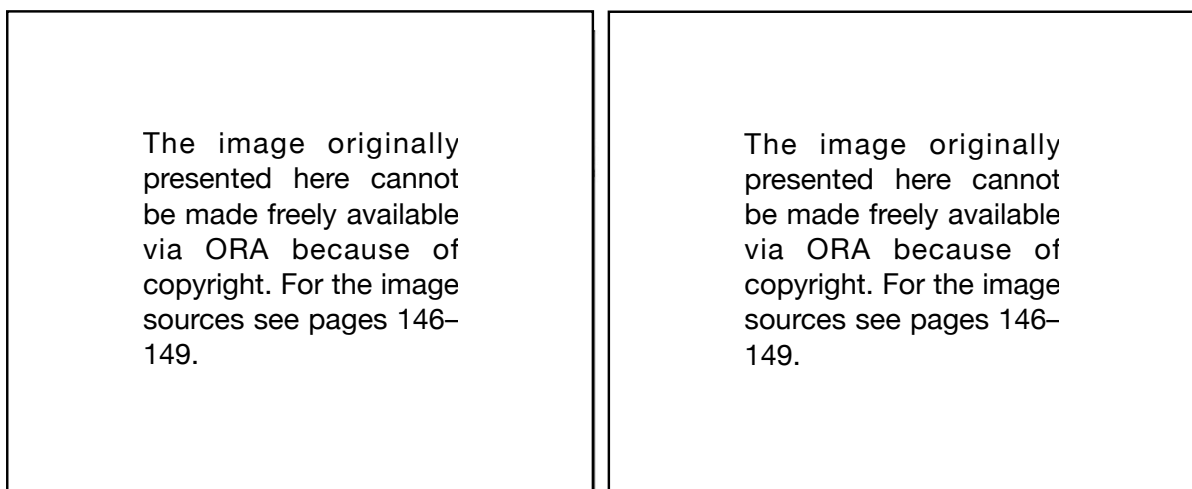


Figure 17:

Maps showing the distribution of mints among the coins found in Side during the Greek period (left) and in the Roman period (right)

²⁰⁰ Tolga Tek 2016, 237.

to attest systematic trade connections, however, merchants might have brought coins back from their journeys or foreign merchants might have lost coins from their hometown in Side. The cities shown on the map which are furthest away and outside Asia Minor are all coastal cities, confirming the importance of maritime connections for the important harbour city.

The cities whose coins were found at Side include many settlements in the interior of Asia Minor, connected to Side along the road and river system. Tolga Tek argues that this is not indicative of a change “in the economic life of Side with it now turning more into a land based one instead of naval. [...] Side is a major port city”.²⁰¹ However, this can also be interpreted the other way round, with cities inside Asia Minor becoming increasingly connected to the wider Roman world and dependent on port cities like Side for trade. This could explain or at least contribute to Side’s flourishing economy and wealth of the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, and that of Pamphylia as a whole.

The finds also show Side’s connection to other Pamphylian cities. All of the six cities minting coinage in the period of AD 193–218 have their coins attested during the excavations. Only Magydus has one coin find attested like the majority of cities outside Pamphylia. Tolga Tek also argues for using a 100 km distance system

²⁰¹ Tolga Tek 2016, 239.

“instead of confining the finds to their ancient geographical areas of Pamphylia, Pisidia, etc.”²⁰²

and compares the importance of Pisidian sites to that of Perge and Aspendus. However, his table clearly shows that Aspendus and Perge were by far the most represented among the coin finds and that they have early three times the amount of coins represented in Side as all of Pisidia (Table 17). To me this seems especially influenced by geography,

especially since the largest amount of Pisidian coins originated from Selge which was located at the edge of the Pamphylian plain and more easily accessible. Hence, economic ties seem to me to be better attested within the Pamphylian plain and region.

Table 17:

List of mints represented among Roman Provincial coin finds in Side

<i>City</i>	<i>Region</i>	<i>Coins Represented at Side</i>
Panticapeum (?, Kingdom of Cimmerian Bosphorus)	Tauric Chersonesus	1
Heracleia Pontica	Bithynia	2
Cyzicus	Mysia	1
Germe	Mysia	1
Pergamon	Mysia	1
Ephesos	Ionian	1
Magnesia	Ionian	1
Germe	Lydia	1
Philadelphia	Lydia	1
Ankyra	Phrygia	1
Peltai	Phrygia	1
Synnada	Phrygia	1
Traianopolis	Phrygia	1
Rhodes	Caria	1
Myra	Lycia	1
Aspendos	Pamphylia	22
Attaleia	Pamphylia	3
Magydos	Pamphylia	1
Perge	Pamphylia	32
SIDE	Pamphylia	151
Silyon	Pamphylia	8
Antioch	Pisidia	2
Etenna	Pisidia	2
Kolbasa	Pisidia	1
Komama	Pisidia	1
Konana	Pisidia	1
Kremna	Pisidia	1
Pednelissos	Pisidia	1
Prostanna	Pisidia	1
Sagalassos	Pisidia	1
Selge	Pisidia	6
Termessos Major	Pisidia	1
Verbe	Pisidia	1
Ikonium	Lykaonia	2
Anemurium	Cilicia	1
Iotape	Cilicia	1
Karallia	Cilicia	1
Kasai	Cilicia	1
Kolybrassos	Cilicia	8
Korakesion	Cilicia	1
Laertes	Cilicia	2
Lyrbe	Cilicia	3
Syedra	Cilicia	3
Tarsus	Cilicia	3
Berytus	Phoenicia	1

²⁰² Tolga Tek 2016, 240.

Side's importance as an economic and cultural centre is also suggested by evidence of coins from mints like Carallia and Colybrassos in Cilicia Tracheia.²⁰³ Their stylistic similarities to Side indicates a cooperation on an artistic level with Side and might have used the same workshop.²⁰⁴ This is best attested for the reign of Gallienus when the cities even used the same value marks on their coins but some traces might also be visible in the stylistic similarities of the coins in this period. The Athena carrying a transverse spear type in Colybrassos is nearly identical in style and arrangement to those depicted on the coins of Side (Figure 18). The artistic influence of Side's civic coinage far beyond the limits of the city also illuminates the reasons why

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Figure 18:

Coins of Colybrassos (top) under Caracalla, Side under Geta (middle) and Caracalla (below) all showing Athena carrying a transverse spear on their reverse in very similar artistic styles

²⁰³ Tolga Tek 2016, 237.

²⁰⁴ Tolga Tek 2016, 237.

coinage was such an important medium to civic identity and for the portrayal of important monuments and other characteristics of Side.

Concerning Roman imperial coins, few examples have been recorded in Side, most of them silver denarii and then bronze *antoniniani* from the middle of the 3rd century onwards. Since silver was more valuable and less likely to remain lost in the suburban parts of ancient Side, only 58 coins were found.²⁰⁵ Nevertheless, in comparison to other sites, like the Rhine camps, the silver does have a significant enough percentage of coins that they would have regularly been used by citizens in transactions. One bronze Roman sestertius has also been found in Side. Hence, it seems that the local mint of Side provided the small change issues needed for civic life and the precious metal denarii were minted by Rome. However, in some cities of Lycia the majority of bronze finds were imperial bronze coinages minted in Rome and were probably deliberately supplied to the region. The lack of appearance of this imperial coin type seems to indicate a separation of Lycia and Pamphylia, possibly due to geographic borders which might also relate to other economic activities and exchange between the regions. Concerning Side, its constant minting activity certainly attests a working monetary economy. Still, such continuous minting for

²⁰⁵ Tolga Tek 2016, 240.

nearly all reigns is very unusual and might show importance of coinage not only as representation of civic identity within the Roman world.

Economic connections in Pamphylia

In the preceding section, the coin types and denominations used in Pamphylia have revealed the unique civic identity of the Roman provincial cities. Connectivity and differences between them can be seen in denominations, art styles, iconographic themes, religion, imperial games, geography and history. In contrast, economic connections are hard to trace, often implied but not certain. Trade, the most obvious process of a functional economy remains nearly invisible in ancient coin evidence.²⁰⁶ Instead, coins seem to have circled only locally. This was not only due to their low value as a bronze currency but part of a more general pattern of provincial coinage.

The CHRE project records only five coin hoards for the whole Roman period in Pamphylia. These hoards contain most of the Pamphylian coins found outside of excavations. Wider scale circulation of Pamphylian coins has only been recorded for two single coins: for a Greek coin of Side in a Roman hoard in Israel²⁰⁷ and one coin of Septimius Severus from Attalea found in a 5th century hoard in Romania.²⁰⁸ This is not surprising for bronze coins which were less valuable, rarely hoarded and as token

²⁰⁶ Howgego 1995, 90, 92, 94.

²⁰⁷ Farhi and Melamed 2014, 113–129.

²⁰⁸ Poenaru Bordea 1988, 295–328.

coins not usable outside their local region. Hence, Pamphylian provincial coinage is found mostly in hoards of Pamphylia and Pisidia (Figure 19). Most often finds show multiple Pamphylian cities in one hoard, attesting their close connections, although this could also be due the limitations of the evidence and similar area of circulation. At the same time, the hoards show clearly that Pamphylian coins were collected together with other provincial coins but occurred in larger quantities only in the local areas of Pamphylia and Pisidia.

A hoard found in the border region of Side and Aspendus, contained only one coin of Perge and 200 coins minted by Side but none of Aspendus.²⁰⁹ Even though it was probably deposited in Flavian period, the coin distribution implies that provincial coinage that was mostly confined to a city's own territory. Still, the coins could have been deliberately selected and possibly do not reflect proper circulation. However, if they do Tolga Tek rightly remarks that "If the hoard was a gradual compilation, then it indicates once again a high success in siphoning foreign coins out of the circulation system".²¹⁰ This could show that the monetary economy structures worked similar to

²⁰⁹ Tolga Tek 2016, 240.

²¹⁰ Tolga Tek 2016, 243.

the Greek period where laws regulated the exclusive use and exchange rates of civic coinage.²¹¹

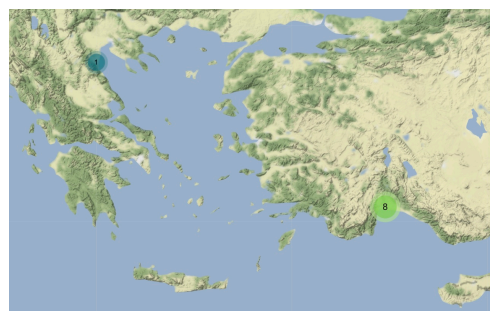
The predominance of locally minted coinage is also visible in another hoard found somewhere in Pamphylia. It contained coins from Caracalla to AD 270, today preserved in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.²¹² Out of the 72 bronze coins, 64 were minted by Perge. It is an interesting example of how coins minted in the period of this thesis were deposited much later, attesting their continuous circulation. While no coins of Septimius Severus, Caracalla or Macrinus minted by Perge appear in the hoard, they are the only types in the hoard for Magydus. This might indicate a faster disappearance of coins from the circulation of larger cities, making the minting of coinage an economic necessity for larger cities to counter the higher rate of loss and wear. A hoard of collected and deliberately chosen coins is not an accurate representation of circulation, but is the only way available to try and reconstruct such patterns.

²¹¹ eg. Decree enforcing use of Athenian coins, weights and measures (OR 155); Nikophon's "Law on Silver Coinage" of 375/4 (*SEG* 26.72); Sestus inscription (*OGIS* 339).

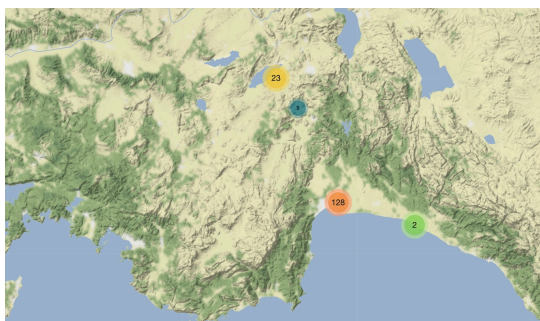
²¹² Watson 2014, 307–16.



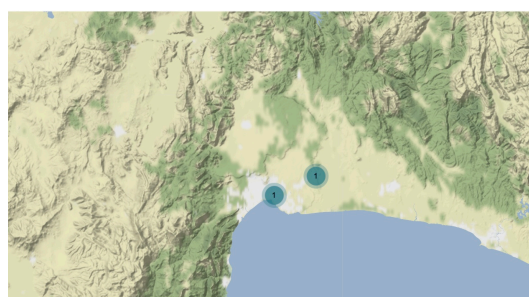
Distribution of coins from Attaleia under the Roman Empire
Not shown: one Septimius Severus coin found in hoard at Pantelimon (Romania)



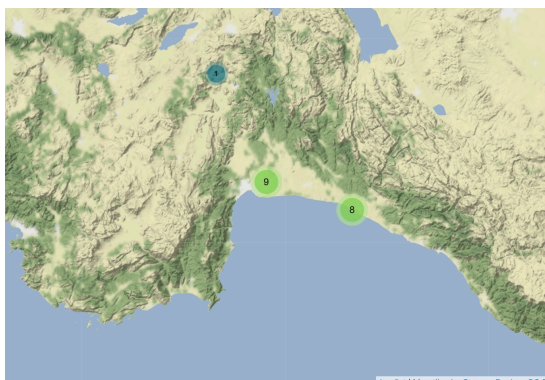
Distribution of coins from Magydus under the Roman Empire



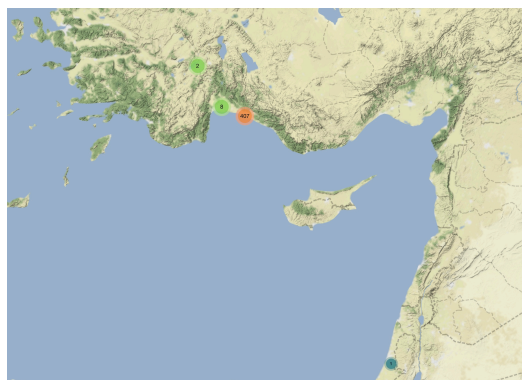
Distribution of coins from Perge under the Roman Empire



Distribution of coins from Sillyum under the Roman Empire



Distribution of coins from Aspendus under the Roman Empire



Distribution of coins from Side in hoards under the Roman Empire

Figure 19:

Provincial coins from the cities of Pamphylia found in hoards throughout the Roman Empire

Another example, is a hoard found in Side with imperial coinage. The 402 denarii and three *cistophori* were found inside a terracotta money box. Out of the five identified coins, the earliest belonging to Claudius and the latest to Elagabalus.²¹³ It demonstrates that imperial coins also occurred in Pamphylia in large quantities, allowing large scale monetary transactions across regional borders. The hoards also show a pattern of focusing on larger cities, particularly Side indicating active monetary spheres in these regions. The diffusion of Pamphylian coins further north but not east or west also suggests intensive relations with Pisidia, probably following the *Via Sebaste*.

Another important aspect which can attest connectivity between cities and possibly interactions of their economic spheres is the circulation of coins in the cities themselves. These can be reconstructed from coin finds discovered during excavations, although this method can only show general trends and does not allow a perspective on specific timeframes. Coin finds have been published until now only for Perge and Side. Similar data is probably also available for Aspendus, as Roman coin finds in recent excavations were reported in the media²¹⁴ but have not published

²¹³ Tolga Tek 2016, 241.

²¹⁴ eg. HurriyetDailyNews (<https://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/excavations-at-aspendos-continue-to-uncover-ancient-riches--117267>).

in any substantial format yet.²¹⁵ The recent surveys of Sillyum have also discovered Roman coins but their number remains too low to make reasonable conclusions.²¹⁶ Such is also the case for the publication from Perge which discovered only one coin from Rome and two from Asia Minor, the bulk of coins dating later to when Perge had already stopped minting. The only clear city seems to be Side where 54 percent of Roman coins found were from the local Sidetan mint.²¹⁷ Similar results have been reported from other cities in Asia Minor and are visible in hoards found in a specific city's territory.²¹⁸ Hence, the monetary economy and circulation was dependent on the output of the local mint.

Still, as in the case of Side and the recorded coin finds, further connections and exchange with other parts of Pamphylia seem to have occurred frequently. This is also indicated by the denominations used by the Pamphylian cities. Looking at the diameters of their denominational systems (Table 18), all of them minted 19 mm coins and another denomination of about 25 mm. The denominations were also around similar weights, for the 25 mm denomination between 9–10 g and the 19 mm denomination at around 4.8 g in all cities. Thus, their coinage denominations were

²¹⁵ see Bachmann 2016.

²¹⁶ see Köker 2020.

²¹⁷ Tolga Tek 2016, 236.

²¹⁸ Metcalf 2007, 147–159.

compatible, making them easier to exchange between the cities and possibly usable by some of them. Since the 19 mm used by every city with same weight and diameter makes it the most likely denomination that corresponded to one *assaria*. However, its exact value unclear and remains open to interpretation. All of the cities have coins in at least three sizes, small, medium and large making them easy to differentiate. The 41 mm coins of Perge and Sillyum seem to have been exceptional and only record one coin for each type. In addition, Perge had the largest range of denominations out of the Pamphylian cities. It was also by far the city with the most coin types catalogued with 111 different coin types. This might be explained by its geographical position along the largest merchant routes into central Asia Minor and towards the main Pamphylian harbours and its general position in the centre of Pamphylia. This might have required a greater range of denominations and minting activity for exchange and trade as an important economic and commercial centre in the heart of Pamphylia.

Table 18:

Denominations recorded in each of the six Pamphylian cities minting coinage between

AD 193–218

Pamphylian City	Denominations					
Attalea		35 mm		25 mm	19 mm	12 mm
Magydus			33 mm	25 mm	19 mm	
Perge	40 mm (1)	36 mm	33 mm	25 mm	19 mm	13 mm
Sillyum	41 mm (1)	35 mm		24 mm	19 mm	
Aspendus		35 mm	32 mm	25 mm	19 mm	
Side		36 mm	33 mm	24 mm	19 mm	

Table 19:

Hoards finds of Pamphylian coins in the Roman period

Pamphylian City	Number of coins found in hoards	Hoards
Magydus	1= 2 coins 2= 6 coins	1. Watson 2014. 2. Coin Hoards: volume V, No 64.
Side	1= 2 coins 2= 8 coins 3= 407 4= 1 coin	1. Coin Hoards: volume I, No 109. 2. Coin Hoards: volume V, No 64. 3. Coin Hoards: volume I, No 108. 4. Farhi and Melamed 2014, 113–129.
Perge	1= 64 coins 2= 64 coins 3= 2 coins 4= 1 coin 5= 23 coins	1. Watson 2014. 2. Coin Hoards: volume V, No 64. 3. Coin Hoards: volume I, No 108. 4. Köker and Köyağasioğlu 2006, No 378. 5. Coin Hoards: volume I, No 109.
Sillyum	1= 1 coin 2= 1 coin	1. Coin Hoards: volume V, No 64. 2. Watson 2014.
Aspendus	1= 1 coin 2= 6 coins 3= 3 coins 4= 8 coins	1. Köker and Köyağasioğlu 2006, No 378. 2. Coin Hoards: volume V, No 64 3. Watson 2014. 4. Coin Hoards: volume I, No 108.
Attalea	1 = 1 coin 2 = 5 coins 3 = 1 coin 4 = 3 coins 5= 3 coins	1. Poenaru Bordea 1988, 295–328. 2. Coin Hoards: volume I, No 109. 3. Watson 2014. 4. Coin Hoards: volume V, No 64 5. Coin Hoards: volume I, No 108.

Conclusion

Pamphylia in the early 3rd century AD was a region of economic and military importance. Through analysing each city's individual coinage, much about their contemporary society, civic life and economy has become visible. Overall, the increase in coin output for all cities except Magydus during this period and new architectural projects attest the increasing economic prosperity in the region. In addition, larger denominations play a more central role in minting activity and probably also in transactions. In fact, since no demonetisation of earlier bronze coins is visible, the increase in minting would also translate to more civic coins in local circulation. This would have been encouraged by the development of the Roman precious metal system which experienced an increasing debasement of silver starting from the second half of the 2nd century AD,²¹⁹ culminating in the introduction of a new larger denomination, the so-called '*antoninianus*' in AD 215.

The provincial coins of Pamphylia seem to illustrate their society through five key concepts: by showing gods and local cults; games and festivals; numeral systems/ local eras; contemporary events and depicting other local characteristics. The depiction of gods and local cults helps to reconstruct each cities civic identity and

²¹⁹ Howgego 1995, 136.

religious worship. Thus, the goddess Nemesis appears on coins of Attalea, the god Mén in Sillyum and Apollo and Athena in Side. A personification of the city often occurred in the form of Tyche or through the main civic goddess, as visible on coins of Side. The local temples and cult statues on the coins, also allow for better reconstruct of the civic landscape and the artistic traditions behind the cult statues. Aspendian coins, for example, provide the only depiction we have for the *Aphroditai Kastnietides* cult statues. Similarly, *Artemis Pergaia* is depicted on the coinage of Perge. These religious images also show cultural links between areas like in the case of Mén who only appears on the coins of Sillyum and Attalea; or *Artemis Pergaia* who appears also on coins of Andeda, Pednelissos, Selge, Ariassos, Olbasa and Pogle.²²⁰ The appearance of the Alexandrian Triad in Aspendus and Cybele and Sarapis in Side further show their ties to Egypt and probably also relate to Caracalla's travels to Egypt in AD 214–216 and his close connection to Sarapis.²²¹ This way, iconographic details also relate to contemporary events. Contemporary events can be connected to the imperial family and Roman administration but are most likely to relate to the local city. This is most visible in a remarkable coin series of Side celebrating the arrival of an imperial bust of Caracalla in the city. The same bust was also depicted on the obverse and shows how local busts and statues influenced the

²²⁰ Filges 2008, 484–487.

²²¹ Calomino 2020, 157.

iconography and style of portraits on civic coinages. A unique aegis was also added to the portrait of Septimius Severus on coins of Sillyum and other figures appear on the reverse types like the three graces and chariots that might represent contemporary sculptures visible in the ancient city. Another example of contemporary events on Pamphylia's coinage is the appearance and disappearance of Plautilla on the coins between AD 202–205, as well as the introduction of a radiate type in Perge, probably related to the introduction of a new coin type in the imperial coinage, the radiate or later *antoninianus* by Caracalla in AD 215.

Another important part of civic life under the Roman Empire was the participation and organisation of civic games. While they frequently appear in literary and epigraphic evidence, their presence on Roman provincial coins seems to have occurred more rarely, becoming more frequent only from the 3rd century onwards.²²² References to games are relatively rare in Pamphylia between AD 193–218 and were probably issued for only the most prestigious games of a city. Perge and Aspendus are the only two cities whose coins show *agonostic* types. The games for Themis in Perge and the *themides* popular in Aspendus were both portrayed through a series of numbers and first appeared under Septimius Severus even though epigraphy attests their existence well before this period. Thus, the numerals on the coins together with

²²² Kremydi-Sicilianou 2005, 102; Klose 2005, 128 f.

epigraphic evidence allow for several conclusions about the date, period, interval and foundation of the festivals, giving a detailed insight into the civic life of the cities.

The counting of festivals is also part of another phenomenon visible on provincial coinages, the appearances of local numeral systems and civic eras that continue to be depicted under the Roman Empire. In Pamphylia, besides the numbering associated with games and festivals, Magydus had a peculiar numeral system, minted on every single one of its coins. This helped to create a unique civic identity through the establishment of a new timeframe and chronology. The numbers make it possible to understand the relation of numerals with specific reigns and can help date other archaeological evidence for the city.

Other coin types depict local characteristics that illustrate the local environment in the cities which can be as specific as the portrayal of landscapes as in the depiction of river gods and temples. In a more abstract way, the depiction of three purses on Perge's coinage probably referred to the city's status as the imperial fiscus, the centre of the region's tax administration already in the period of this thesis. Further connectivity between different cities is also visible in the coin types, for example in the die links between Magydus and Attalaea or the usage of the same reverse types.

Nevertheless, there are limitations to the extent that coins can portray their contemporary civic society. Coins were minted by a small elite group in charge of the poleis so that for example minorities like the Jewish communities, well attested in Pamphylian cities for this period, are not visible on the coins. Indeed, the depictions on the coins are mostly of an elite or idealised perspective that do not reflect everyday concerns of the common people. In addition, the purpose of coins remained that of a means of payment making it necessary for coins to look like typical civic coins to be acceptable in transactions.

Besides these social and economic conclusions based on the iconographic evidence and output of coins minted from AD 193–218, economic implications are also visible in hoard and circulation evidence. Hoards together with excavation evidence offer valuable insight into how cities of Pamphylia predominantly used coins of their local mint. This does not show a centralised model of coin production as with imperial coinage but small scale monetised economies with local circulation. The few imperial coins recorded are nearly exclusively precious metal, showing that larger scale transactions could be done easily and across regional borders. With the minting of civic coinage, the Pamphylian cities might have stipulated a need for an exchange of currency to the local coinage, generating income for the civic community. In addition,

excavations in Side have shown that coins of the neighbouring cities of Pamphylia occurred in the city the most often after its own coinage. Thus, even though Side was a central harbour city with economic ties across the Mediterranean and directly next to the border with Cilicia, ties with Pamphylia seem to have been the most intense.

Overall, Pamphylian coins have been surprisingly specific in showing new parts of civic life and society in this period. Old cults retained a prominent status on the coins, while new ones like the cult of Mên or the Alexandrian Triad began to be shown more frequently indicating an increasing importance. Contemporary events, including those concerning the imperial family became more common and important to civic identity, a trend that continued in subsequent periods. Finally, the general increase in minting and higher denominations seems to show a prospering landscape that not only minted highly detailed and artistic coinage but also required coinage for substantial monetary transactions during an especially prosperous time period for Pamphylia.

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Illustrations

Title Page: Map data from OpenStreetMap (openstreetmap.org/copyright) based on Leaflet ©

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Figure 1: Coins of Side depicting young Caracalla (left) and Elagabalus (right)

Source: Coin left: Catalogue No. 228.

Coin right: URL: <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=1502364l3130l561ld8fce23994c1991409f9d68c55607a6f> (Nomos obolos 13, 2 July 2019, lot 561; Watson 107).

Figure 2: Map showing the roads connected to Lycia-Pamphylia and Cilicia

Source: Watson 2019, 4.

Figure 3: Attalean coins of uncertain date depicting Poseidon on the obverse with
dolphin curled around trident

Source: Nike standing left, holding wreath and palm-branch (above): [https://
rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/type/39846](https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/type/39846)

nude Hermes seated left, holding purse, caduceus and chlamys (below): [https://
rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/type/39865](https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/type/39865)

Figure 4: Stylistic groups of Attalea's Septimius Severus coins assigned by Baydur

Source: Baydur 1976, Plate 3.

Figure 5: Coin of Elagabalus minted at Attalea (Baydur 1986 no 35)

Source: Baydur 1986 Plate 3, no 35.

Figure 6: Statue base from Attalea for Sabina dedicated by Iulia Sancta

Source: Adak and Atvur 1999, Plate 21 no 10.

Figure 7: Provincial coin of Attalea (left) and Magydus (right)

Source: Adak and Atvur 1999, 60.

Figure 8: Plan of Perge in the 2nd century AD

Source: Martini 2013, 5157.

Figure 9: View on the ancient city of Sillyum

Source: URL: <https://www.thingstodoantalya.com/en/sillyon-ancient-city>

Figure 10: Plan of Sillyum

Source: Özdemir and Taşkiran 2021, 112.

Figure 11: Coin of Septimius Severus with aegis minted by Sillyum

Source: Leu WA 8, 29 June 2019, lot 695 = Leu WA 15, 27 Feb. 2021, lot 1299 URL: <https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=7853979>; same type as Cat. no 159.

Figure 12: Map of Aspendus and its most important architecture

Source: URL: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Aspendos_plan_of_the_ancient_city.jpg)

[File:Aspendos plan of the ancient city.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Aspendos_plan_of_the_ancient_city.jpg)

Figure 13: Coin of Caracalla under Septimius Severus showing the Aphroditai Kastnietides in a shrine with double pediment

Source: CGT coll. = Naumann 53, 7 May 2017, lot 556 URL: <https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=3828172> = Cat. no 195.

Figure 14: Roman Imperial Antoninianus of Caracalla (198–217)

Source: URL: <https://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=2011226&AuclD=4774&Lot=1268&Val=b733fead683ca4162f3900c646b9ac48>

Figure 15: Map of ancient Side showing the most important structures in the city centre

Source: Nollé 1990, 245.

Figure 16: Distribution of 339 Roman coins found in Side according to reigns

Source: Tolga Tek 2016, 242.

Figure 17: Maps showing the distribution of mints among the coins found in Side during the Greek period (left) and in the Roman period (right)

Source: Tolga Tek 2016, 235 and 239.

Figure 18: Coins of Colybrassos (top) under Caracalla, Side under Geta (middle) and Caracalla (below) all showing Athena carrying a transverse spear on their reverse in very similar artistic styles

Source: coin of Colybrassus: Leu 4, 25 May 2019, lot 481 URL: [https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?](https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=1464807l3014l481ld02afeda121664305e0708087d3b0a3b)

[l=1464807l3014l481ld02afeda121664305e0708087d3b0a3b](https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=1464807l3014l481ld02afeda121664305e0708087d3b0a3b)

Coin of Side under Geta: Cat. no 238.

Coin of Side under Caracalla: Cat. no 217.

Figure 19: Provincial coins from the cities of Pamphylia found in hoards throughout the Roman Empire

Source: CHRE database URL: <https://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk> with Map data from OpenStreetMap (openstreetmap.org/copyright) based on Leaflet © 2010–2026 Volodymyr Agafonkin.

Tables

Table 1: Coin types recorded for Attalea according to reign up to AD 238

Source: author

Table 2: Obverse coin types of Attalea minted between AD 193–218

Source: author

Table 3: Civic reverse coin types of Attalea minted between AD 193–218

Source: author

Table 4: Coin types recorded for Magydus according to reign up to AD 238

Source: author

Table 5: Numerals on the coins of Magydus up to AD 218

Source: author

Table 6: Numerals on the coins of Magydus for the period AD 193–218

Source: author

Table 7: Civic reverse coin types of Magydus minted between AD 193–218

Source: author

Table 8: Coin types recorded for Perge according to reign up to AD 238

Source: author

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Source: author

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Table 11: Coin types recorded for Sillyum according to reign up to AD 238

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Source: author

Table 13: Coin types recorded for Aspendus according to reign up to AD 238

Source: author

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Source: author

Table 15: Coin types recorded for Side according to reign up to AD 238

Source: author

Table 16: Civic reverse coin types of Side minted between AD 193–218

Source: author

Table 17: List of mints represented among Roman Provincial coin finds in Side

Source: Tolga Tek 2016, 238.

Table 18: Denominations recorded in each of the six Pamphylian cities minting coinage
between AD 193–218

Source: author

Table 19: Hoards finds of Pamphylian coins in the Roman period

Source: author and CHRE project

Descriptive Catalogue: Catalogue entries

The catalogue takes a standard format of the Roman Provincial Coinage Project with a layout optimised for printing. For each city, there is a listing of the coins in, as far as possible, chronological order. Every catalogue entry follows a standard pattern.

The first line gives the *catalogue number*, running in a single sequence for the whole catalogue of Pamphylia, covering each of the cities from west to east. The number is followed by *metrological information*: the metal (see the abbreviations on pp. <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/abbreviations> ff.), the diameter (in millimetres) and the mean weight in grammes (with the number of specimens whose weights are included in brackets). The number at the furthest right of the line gives the ‘frequency’ of the coin, as defined by the number of coins in the main collections (for the list of these ‘core’ collections, see p. <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/preface>; for a discussion of the value of the ‘frequency’ figure, see *RPC I*, pp. 55–7).

The second line or part gives *standard reference(s)*. For the abbreviations used, see pp. <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/abbreviations> ff. This line is not intended to be exhaustive, and other specialised works can sometimes be found in the apparatus.

The third part (the third and fourth lines) gives the description of the coins, their *inscriptions* and *designs*. The inscriptions have been listed using the following conventions:

- () round brackets indicate minor variants; e.g. C&B(ACTOC) means that some coins have C&B and others C&BACTOC. Only where these differences seem

significant have they been separated out into different catalogue entries. This convention reflects the fact that the legends on provincial coins were not as standardised as those from the mint of Rome. Variations of spelling are quite frequent, and in some cases, virtually every die may have a slightly variant version. Round brackets () are also used in the description of the designs to denote a minor aspect of the design that may not be present on all coins;

- [] square brackets indicate restorations of parts of the legends that cannot yet be read due to the poor preservation of surviving specimens;
- ____ an underline is used to denote ligatures in the legends.

For the sake of conciseness, the designs have been described using the following conventions:

- as in most numismatics works, r. and l. are used for right and left;
- when a figure is holding two attributes, one with each hand, the description first lists the attribute held with the right hand, followed by the attribute held with the left hand. For example, 'Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia' means that Tyche is holding the rudder with her right hand and the cornucopia with her left hand.

The fourth part of each entry is the *apparatus*. This is mainly a list of specimens, usually in highly abbreviated form (see pp. <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/abbreviations> ff. for these abbreviations), giving the collection, reference number of that collection (where relevant), publication details (if any) and weight. One specimen (or occasionally more) will be in bold type; this indicates the specimen (or specimens) illustrated in the plate section.

P A M P H Y L I A

Attalea

	35 mm	25 mm	20 mm	19 mm	12 mm
Septimius Severus	23.02 g (3)	8.44 g (33)		4.12 g (4)	1.97 g (1)
Caracalla			8.15 g (1)		
Macrinus		9.96 g (1)		5.27 g (1)	

Septimius Severus

- 1** Æ. 35 mm, 24.27 g (2). [o]
 ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Α ΚΕΠΙ ΚΕΟΥΗΡΟC ΠΕΡΤΙΝΑΞ ΚΕ; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from front
 ΑΤΤΑΛΕΩΝ; Nemesis standing l., holding wheel and cubit; at feet, l., griffin
1. Savoca 28 Blue, 25 Jan. 2020, lot 835, 31.50; 2. SNG vA 4623 = Baydur 277, 17.04.
- 2** Æ. 34 mm, 20.51 g (1). [o]
 ΑΥΤΟ ΚΑΙ C Κ ΜΑΡ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 ΑΤΤΑΛΕΩΝ; Homonoia standing l., holding patera over altar and cornucopia
1. SNG vA 2625 = Baydur 280, 20.51.
- 3** Æ. 26 mm, 8.92 g (1). [o]
 [] Α ΚΕΠΙ ΚΕΟΥΗΡΟC ΠΕ ΚΕΒ; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 ΑΤΤΑΛΕΩΝ; Aphrodite standing facing, head r., lifting arm and holding mirror
1. Naumann 107, 5 Sept. 2021, lot 1149, 8.92.
- 4** Æ. 24 mm, 7.15 g (4). [1]
 ΑΥ Κ Α ΚΕΠΙ ΚΕΟΥΗΡΟC []; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 ΑΤΤΑΛΕΩΝ; Dionysus standing l., holding cantharus over panther and thrysus
1. P 200 (= SNG 267 = Baydur 271), 7.11; 2. Istanbul 14916, 7.58; 3. Istanbul 14852, 7.30; 4. Istanbul 7735 (= Baydur 272), 6.59.

- 5** Æ. 25 mm, 10.75 g (1). [o]
 ΑΥ Κ Α ΚΕΠΙ ΚΕΟΥΗΡΟC ΠΕΡ; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 ΑΤΤΑΛΕΩΝ; Harpocrates standing l., hand to lips and holding cornucopia
1. SNG vA 4624 = Baydur 276, 10.75.
- 6** Æ. 25 mm, 8.16 g (1). [o]
 [] Α ΚΕ ΚΕΟΥΗΡΟC Π; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 [ΑΤΤΑΛΕΩΝ]; Mên standing l., holding pine cone and sceptre; foot on bucranium
1. N. Baydur, 'Yayımlanmamış Bazı Attaleia Sikkeleri', Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung 10 (1986), p. 448, no. 32, 8.16.
 Attribution to Attalea based only on Baydur's reading.
- 7** Æ. 23–4 mm, 9.05 g (2). Axis: 6 (1). [1]
 ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Α ΚΕΠΙ ΚΕΟΥΗΡΟC ΠΕΡΤ ΚΕ; laureate head of Septimius Severus, r.
 ΑΤΤΑΛΕΩΝ; temple with four columns enclosing cult statue of Athena standing l., holding Nike and spear; at feet, owl on cippus and shield
1. V GR 34097, 7.48; **2. Savoca 27th Silver Auction, 25 Nov. 2018, lot 421**, 10.62.
- 8** Æ. 24–5 mm, 11.68 g (2). Axis: 6 (2). [2]
 ΜΑΡ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC ΚΑΙC; bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 ΑΤΤΑΛΕΩΝ; temple with four columns enclosing cult statue of Athena standing r., holding spear and Nike (?); at feet, owl on cippus and shield
1. L BNK.683 (= BMC 22), 11.97; 2. O, 11.39.

- 9** Æ. 25 mm, 7.89 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [0]
 AY KAI M AY ANTΩNIN[OC]; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 ATTAΛEΩN; Dionysus standing l., holding cantharus over panther and thyrsus
1. Nomos Obolos WA 20, 3 Oct. 2021, lot 395, 7.89.
- 10** Æ. 8–25 mm, 7.28 g (7). Axis: 6 (1), 12 (1). [4]
 AY K M AY ANTΩNINOC; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 ATTAΛEΩN; Harpocrates standing l., hand to lips and holding cornucopia
1. P 204 (= SNG 269, Baydur 284), 8.31; **2. B I-B** (= Baydur 285/1); **3. B Löbb.** (= Baydur 285/2); **4. V GR 37202** (= Baydur 283), 6.72; **5. CGT coll.**, 5.84; **6. CNG EA 169**, 25 July 2007, lot 96, 5.83; **7. Savoca 118th Silver Auction**, 21 Nov. 2021, lot 301, 10.02; **8. Savoca 7th Blue Auction**, 26 May 2018, lot 730, 7.89; **9. Solidus 80**, 1 June 2021, lot 1156 = Solidus 86, 12 Oct. 2021, lot 1301, 6.35.
- 11** Æ. 21–6 mm, 8.34 g (7). Axis: 6 (2). [1]
 AY K M AY ANTΩNINOC; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 ATTAΛEΩN; Mên standing l., holding pine cone and sceptre; foot on bucranium
1. L 1934.0312.46, 8.95; **2. Baydur 287**; **3. Baydur 288**; **4. Baydur 289**; **5. Baydur 290**; **6. CGT coll.**, 7.91; **7. Kölner Münzkabinett 107**, 7 Oct. 2017, lot 275, 8.76; **8. Savoca 112th Blue Auction**, 11 Sept. 2021, lot 1234, 5.40; **9. Savoca 18th Blue Auction**, 30 Mar. 2019, lot 978, 10.37; **10. Savoca 27th Blue Auction**, 28 Dec. 2019, lot 940, 10.21; **11. Themis 1**, 19 May 2019, lot 209, 6.80.
- 12** Æ. 26–7 mm, 10.43 g (4). Axis: 6 (2). [1]
 ΦΟΥΑΒΙΑ ΠΛΑΥΤΙΑΛΑ CEBAC; draped bust of Plautilla, r.
 ATTAΛEΩN; Hera seated l., holding pomegranate and sceptre
1. L 1930.1201.4 (under 'Adalia'), 8.81; **2. Istanbul 6691** (= Baydur 296), 10.47; **3. Kölner Münzkabinett 107**, 7 Oct. 2017, lot 276 = Kölner Münzkabinett EA 4, 1 Jan. 2018, lot 234, 9.04; **4. T. Mullally collection** = Agora Auction 105, 19 April 2022, lot 111, 13.41.
- 13** Æ. 19–24 mm, 7.24 g (3). Axis: 12 (1). [1]
 Π CΕΠ ΓΕΤΑ ΚΑΙΚΑ[P]; bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Geta r., seen from rear
 ATTAΛEΩN; Nemesis standing l., holding wheel and cubit; at feet, l., griffin
1. V GR 19369, 3.24; **2. A** (= Baydur 297), 8.55; **3. Savoca 27th Blue Auction**, 28 Dec. 2019, lot 939, 9.93.
- 14** Æ. 19 mm, 3.35 g (1). [1]
 AY KAI A CΕΠ [CΕY]HPOC ΠEPTINAE; laureate head of Septimius Severus, r.
 ATTAΛEΩN; Asclepius standing facing, head l., holding serpent staff
1. B Knobelsdorf (= Baydur 275), 3.35.
- 15** Æ. 19 mm, 3.11 g (1). [0]
 AYT K CΕ[Π CΕYHPOC]; laureate head of Septimius Severus, r.
 ATTAΛEΩN; Homonoia standing l., holding patera over altar and cornucopia
1. Istanbul 7736 (= Baydur 274), 3.11.
- 16** Æ. 4.44 g (1). [1]
 [IOYAI A ΔO]MNA CEBAC; draped bust of Julia Domna r.
 ATTAΛEΩN; Athena standing l., holding Nike and spear; at feet, shield
1. Cop (= SNG 291 = Baydur 279), 4.44.
- 17** Æ. 19 mm, 5.60 g (1). [1]
 CEBACTHN ΠΛΑΥΤΙΑΛΑΝ; draped bust of Plautilla r.
 ATTAΛEΩN; Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia
1. P 202 (= SNG 270 = Baydur 295), 5.60.
- 18** Æ. 13 mm, 1.97 g (1). Axis: 5 (1). [1]
 Laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus (?) r., seen from rear
 ATTAΛEΩN; Nike advancing r., holding wreath and palm
1. Mu 6a. Acc.26788, 1.97.
 There seems to be no obverse inscription so the attribution to Septimius Severus is based only on the portrait.

Caracalla

- 19** Æ. 20 mm, 8.15 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [0]
 AY K M AYP ANTONINOC; laureate head of Caracalla, r.
 ATTAΛEΩN; bust of Athena with, l., wearing aegis
1. CGT coll., 8.15.

Macrinus

- 20** Æ. 22 mm, 9.96 g (1). [0]
 AYT KAI M OΠEΛ CΕY MAKPEINOC CEB; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from front
 ATTAΛEΩN; temple with four columns enclosing cult statue of Athena standing l., holding Nike and spear; at feet, owl on cippus and shield
1. SNG Pfälz 175, 9.96.
- 21** Æ. 19 mm, 5.27 g (1). [1]
 M OΠ ANT ΔΙΑΔOYMEΝΙΑΝOC K; bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Diadumenian, r., seen from front
 ATTAΛEΩN; bust of Athena, r., wearing aegis
1. P 203 (= SNG 271 = Baydur 301), 5.27.

Magydus

	33 mm	25 mm	19 mm
<i>Septimius Severus</i>			
Numerals KB = 22		11.18 g (4)	6.68 g (1)
Numerals KI = 23	20.95 g (1)	10.53 g (9)	5.27 g (3)
Numerals KA = 24	23.71 g (2)		4.29 g (3)
<i>Macrinus</i>			
Numerals KQ = 26	19.00 g (2)	10.53 g (3)	4.50 g (2)

*Septimius Severus**Numerals KB = 22*

- 22** Æ. 25 mm, 10.59 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [0]
 [] CΕΠ[]; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 ΜΑΓΥΔΕΩΝ, KB; river god reclining, l., holding long reed and cornucopia, resting on water urn
1. Bern (= SNG Righetti 1267), 10.59.
- 23** Æ. 25–7 mm, 11.37 g (3). Axis: 6 (1). [1]
 ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ [ΑΥΤΟΥ]CΤΑ; draped bust of Julia Domna, r.
 ΜΑΓΥΔΕΩΝ, KB; Demeter seated l., holding two ears of corn over calathus and torch
1. L 1874.0716.62 (= BMC 4), 12.62; **2. Boston 63.835**, 9.86; **3. Naumann 61, 7 Jan. 2018, lot 456**, 11.63.
- 24** Æ. 19 mm, 6.68 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [0]
 [ΑΥ Κ Α] CΕΠ CΕΟΥΗΡΟC Π; laureate head of Septimius Severus, r.
 ΜΑΓΥΔΕΩΝ, KB; Athena standing l., holding Nike and spear; at feet, shield
1. CGT coll., 6.68.

Numerals KI = 23

- 25** Æ. 35 mm, 20.95 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [1]
 [Α] CΕΠ ΓΕΤΑΝ ΚΑΙCΑΡΑΝ; bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Geta, r., seen from rear
 ΜΑΓΥΔΕΩΝ Κ[Γ]; Tyche seated l., on rocks holding corn ears in extended r., nymph below
1. L 1900.0705.63, 20.95.
- 26** Æ. 24 mm, 9.17 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [0]
 ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Α CΕΠ CΕΟΥΗΡΟC ΠΕΡΤΙΝ; laureate head of Septimius Severus, r., with drapery on l. shoulder

ΜΑΓΥΔΕΩΝ, ΚΓ; Aphrodite standing facing, head r., raising right hand; Eros on ground below l.

1. CGT coll. ex G. Rohde coll., 9.17.

- 27** Æ. 27 mm, 12.34 g (1). [0]
 ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Α CΕΠ CΕΟΥΗΡΟC ΠΕΡΤΙΝ; laureate head of Septimius Severus, r., with drapery on l. shoulder
 ΚΓ ΜΑΓΥΔΕΩΝ; river god reclining, l., holding long reed and cornucopia, resting on water urn
1. Solidus 80, 1 June 2021, lot 1157, 12.34.
- 28** Æ. 24–6 mm, 10.91 g (3). Axis: 6 (3). [2]
 ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ CΕΒΑCΤ; draped bust of Julia Domna, r.
 ΜΑΓΥΔΕΩΝ, ΚΓ; Aphrodite standing facing, head r., raising right hand; Eros on ground below r.
1. B 18222828, B-I, 9.20; **2. V GR 31930**, 11.93; **3. CGT coll.**, 11.60.
- 29** Æ. 25 mm, 9.95 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [1]
 ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡΗ Μ ΑΝΤΟΝΕΙΝ; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 ΚΓ ΜΑΓΥΔΕΩΝ; river god reclining, l., holding long reed and cornucopia, resting on water urn
1. L 1979.0101.2378 (= SNG vA 8510), 9.95.
- 30** Æ. 25–6 mm, 10.21 g (3). Axis: 6 (2). [1]
 Α CΕΠ ΓΕΤΑΝ Κ[ΑΙCΑΡΑΝ]; bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Geta, r., seen from rear
 ΜΑΓΥΔΕΩΝ, ΚΓ; river god reclining, l., holding long reed and cornucopia, resting on water urn
1. L 1966.1102.2, 9.29; **2. CGT coll.** = Zeus Budget Auction 13, 31 Oct. 2020, lot 461, 12.39; **3. Helios 3**, 29 Apr. 2009, lot 585 = Lindgren I, 643, 8.94.
- 31** Æ. 20–1 mm, 5.27 g (3). Axis: 6 (1). [0]
 ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ CΕΒΑCΤ; draped bust of Julia Domna, r.
 ΜΑΓΥΔΕΩΝ, ΚΓ; Athena standing l., holding Nike and spear; leaning against spear, shield
1. CGT coll. = Savoca 30th Blue Auction, 21 Mar. 2020, lot 1385, 7.06; **2. Savoca 25th Blue Auction**, 26 Oct. 2019, lot 1392, 3.77; **3. SNG Pfalz. IV**, 196, 4.98.

Numerals KA = 24

- 32

Æ. 34 mm, 19.70 g (1).
[o]
ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ ΑΥΓΟΥ[]; draped bust of Julia Domna, r.
ΜΑΓΥΔΕΩΝ, ΚΔ; Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia

1. Boston 66.847 (= E. Ünal, 'Bronze coinage of Magydos', in O. Tekin (ed.), *Second International Congress on the History and Numismatics in the Mediterranean World, 5–8 January 2017 Antalya: Proceedings* (Istanbul, 2018), no. 33), 19.70.
- 33

Æ. 33 mm, 27.72 g (1).
[o]
ΦΟΥΛΟΥΙΑΝ ΠΛΑΥΤΙΛΛΑΝ ΣΕΒΑΧΘΗΝ; draped bust of Plautilla, r.
ΜΑΓΥΔΕΩΝ, ΚΔ; Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia

1. SNG vA 4639, 27.72.
- 34

Æ. 19–20 mm, 4.29 g (3).
[o]
ΣΕΒΑΧΤ[ΗΝ ΠΛΑΥΤ]ΙΛΛΑΝ; draped bust of Plautilla, r.
ΜΑΓΥΔΕΩΝ, Κ[Δ]; Athena standing l., holding Nike and spear; leaning against spear, shield

1. Burdur 1998, 3.84; **2. CNG EA 137, 12 Apr. 2006, lot 56** = Alex Malloy 21, 24 May 1985, lot 139, 3.72; 3. SNG Pfalz 197, 5.32.

Macrinus

Numerals KΣ = 26

- 35

Æ. 32 mm, 17.79 g (1).
[1]
[]; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from rear
ΜΑΓΥΔΕΩΝ, ΚΣ; Tyche seated l., on rocks holding corn ears in extended r., nymph below

1. C (= Watson 2014, 308 no. 6), 17.79.
- 36

Æ. 32 mm, 20.21 g (1). Axis: 12 (1).
[1]

[Μ ΟΠΕΛ ΑΝΤΩ] ΔΙΑΔΟΥΜΕΝΙΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ; bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Diadumenian, r., seen from rear
ΜΑΓΥΔΕΩΝ, ΚΣ; Tyche seated l., on rocks, holding corn ears; at feet, river god swimming

1. L 1970, 9909.141, 20.21.

- 37

Æ. 22 mm, 11.87 g (1).
[1]
ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Μ ΟΠΕΛ ΣΕΟΥ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC ΣΕ; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from rear
ΜΑΓΥΔΕΩΝ, ΚΣ; Aphrodite standing facing, head r., raising right hand; Eros on ground below r.

1. P 242 (= SNG 311), 11.87.

- 38

Æ. 22–4 mm, 9.87 g (2).
[o]
Μ ΟΠΕΛ ΑΝΤ ΔΙΑΔΟΥΜΕΝΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙC; bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Diadumenian, r., seen from rear
ΜΑΓΥΔΕΩΝ ΚΣ; River-god (Katarrhaktes) reclining, l., holding long reed and cornucopia, resting on water urn

1. SNG Pfälzer Privatsammlungen IV, Nr. 198 (possible die link between SNG Pfälzer Privatsammlungen IV, Nr. 175 (Attaleia) und 198 (Magydos)), 8.77; **2. SNG Righetti 1268**, 10.96.

- 39

Æ. 18 mm, 3.69 g (1).
[1]
ΑΥ Κ Μ ΟΠ[] ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC ΣΕ; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from rear
[ΜΑΓΥ]ΔΕΩΝ, ΚΣ; Nike advancing l., holding wreath and palm

1. P 243 (= SNG 312), 3.69.
- 40

Æ. 17 mm, 5.31 g (1).
[o]
[]ΜΕΝΙΑΝ[]; bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Diadumenian, r., seen from rear
ΜΑΓΥΔΕΩΝ ΚΣ; Nike advancing l., holding wreath and palm

1. Burdur 23843 (= Ünal 45), 5.31.

Perge

	40 mm	36 mm	33 mm	25 mm	19 mm	13 mm
<i>Septimius Severus</i>						
		35.63 g (1)	26.91 g (11)	9.09 g (21)	4.73 g (116)	2.65 g (3)
<i>Caracalla</i>						
	40.70 g (1)		26.00 g (7)	9.87 g (36)	4.90 g (26)	1.78 g (4)
Numerals O = 70				12.37 g (1)		
<i>Macrinus</i>						
		31.82 g (2)		8.87 g (20)	4.76 g (20)	1.84 g (2)

Septimius Severus

- 41** Æ. 36 mm, 35.63 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [o]
 A K M A ANTΩNEINOC C; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia
1. CNG EA 343, 28 Jan. 2015, lot 337 = CNG Mail Bid Sale 81, 20 May 2009, lot 795 (Diameter 37 according to CNG EA 343, 28 Jan. 2015, lot 337), 35.63.
- 42** Æ. 35 mm, 26.61 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [o]
 ΑΥΤ Κ Λ CΕ CΕΟΥΗΡΟC Π C; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Galley with nine oarsmen left; hortator at stern, Tritoness at prow; below, dolphin left, octopus and crayfish right.
1. CNG MBS 73, 13 Sept. 2006, lot 638 = CNG EA 103, 8 Dec. 2004, lot 117, 26.61.
- 43** Æ. 32–4 mm, 22.76 g (3). Axis: 6 (1). [2]
 ΑΥΤ Κ Λ CΕ CΕΟΥΗΡΟC Π C; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΙΟC ΠΕΡΓΑΙΑC; temple with two columns enclosing cult statue of Artemis Pergaia between star and crescent and flanked by two short columns surmounted by sphinxes; eagle in pediment
1. P 333 (= SNG 422), 20.03; **2. B 18222829, 1910/364, 22.24; 3. Gorny & Mosch 276, 19 Apr. 2021, lot 394**, 26.02.
- 44** Æ. 34–5 mm, 37.27 g (2). Axis: 12 (1). [o]
 ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Λ CΕΠ CΕΟΥΗΡΟC Π CΕΒ; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΑC; temple with two columns enclosing cult statue of Artemis Pergaia between star and crescent and flanked by two short columns surmounted by sphinxes; eagle in pediment
1. CNG 85, 15 Sept. 2010, lot 592, 35.22; 2. R. Hoppensteadt coll., 39.31.
- 45** Æ. 33 mm, 23.77 g (1). [1]
 ΑΥΤ Κ Λ CΕ CΕΟΥΗΡΟC Π C; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Tyche seated l., holding cult statue of Artemis Pergaia and cornucopia
1. P 337 (= SNG 423), 23.77.
- 46** Æ. 34 mm, 28.55 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [1]
 ΑΥΤ Κ Λ CΕ CΕΟΥΗΡΟC Π C; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia
1. L (= BMC 32), 28.55.
- 47** Æ. 33–4 mm, 24.11 g (2). Axis: 1 (1), 12 (1). [2]
 ΑΥ Κ ΜΑΡ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC CΕΒ; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Tyche seated l., holding cult statue of Artemis Pergaia and cornucopia
1. L 1979, 0101.2385 (= vA 4675), 23.31; **2. B 18222840, B-I, 24.91.**
 Countermark: A•K in rectangular punch (*GIC* 513; on obv. of 2).
- 48** Æ. 26.00 g (1). [o]
 Π CΕ ΓΕΤΑC Κ CΕΒ; bare-headed, draped bust of Geta, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Geta galloping over ennemy, r., brandishing spear
1. SNG vA 4681, 26.00.
- 49** Æ. 25 mm, 9.57 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [1]
 ΑΥΤ Κ Λ CΕ CΕΟΥΗΡΟC Π C; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Apollo standing nude facing, looking l., holding laurel branch and resting on tripod
1. L 1870, 1003.46 (= BMC 33), 9.57.
 Countermark: eagle facing, wings open (*GIC* 334; on obv. of 1).
- 50** Æ. 23 mm, 8.48 g (1). [o]
 ΑΥΤ Κ Λ CΕ CΕΟΥΗΡΟC Π C; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Asclepius standing facing, head l., holding serpent-staff
1. CNG EA 153, 29 Nov. 2006, lot 141, 8.48.
 Countermark: eagle facing, wings open (*GIC* 334; on obv. of 1); A•K in rectangular punch (*GIC* 513; on obv. of 1).
- 51** Æ. 25 mm, 9.81 g (1). [o]
 ΑΥ Κ Λ C CΕΟΥΗΡΟC Π CΕΒ; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; river god reclining, l., holding cornucopia and reed(?), resting on vase from which water flows
1. Peus 366, 29 Oct. 2000, lot 830, 9.81.
- 52** Æ. 24–6 mm, 10.01 g (2). Axis: 12 (1). [2]
 ΑΥΤ Κ Λ CΕ CΕΟΥΗΡΟC CΕ; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; river god reclining, l., holding cornucopia and reed(?), resting on vase from which water flows
1. L 1830, 1904.97 (= BMC 34), 10.81; **2. P 335** (= SNG 424), 9.21.
- 53** Æ. 25 mm, 10.27 g (2). Axis: 6 (1). [2]
 ΑΥΤ Κ Λ CΕ CΕΟΥΗΡΟC Π C; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear

- ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; temple with two columns enclosing cult statue of Artemis Pergaia between star and crescent; eagle in pediment
1. B 18222830, I-B, 9.22; 2. Cop (= SNG 322), 11.32.
 Countermark: eagle facing, wings open (*GIC* 334: on obv. of 1); **Α•Κ** in rectangular punch (*GIC* 513: on obv. of 1).
- 54** *Æ*. 24 mm, 9.05 g (1). Axis: 5 (1). [1]
 ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ *CEB*; draped bust of Julia Domna, r.
 ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΙΟC ΠΕΡΓΑΙΑC; temple with two columns enclosing cult statue of Artemis Pergaia between star and crescent and flanked by two short columns surmounted by sphinxes; eagle in pediment
1. Mu 10, 9.05.
 Countermark: **Α•Κ** in rectangular punch (*GIC* 513: on obv. of 1).
- 55** *Æ*. 25 mm, 9.24 g (1). [0]
 ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ *CEB*; draped bust of Julia Domna, r.
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; three purses on three-legged chest
1. Künker EA 38, 2 Dec. 2015, lot 142 = Grün 64, 20 Nov. 2014, lot 2086 = Künker 193, 26 Sept. 2011, lot 846, 9.24.
- 56** *Æ*. 6.78 g (2). [1]
 [AY K M A] ANTΩNEINOC C; laureate head of Caracalla, r.
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Asclepius standing facing, head l., holding serpent-staff
1. Cop (= SNG 324), 8.34; **2. SNG vA 4679**, 5.21.
- 57** *Æ*. 25–7 mm, 8.98 g (2). Axis: 12 (2). [1]
 A K M AY ANTΩNEINOC C; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Dionysus standing l., holding cantharus and thyrsus; at his feet, panther
1. V GR 30249, 9.68; 2. CGT coll., 8.27.
 Countermark: **Α•Κ** in rectangular punch (*GIC* 513: on obv. of 1).
- 58** *Æ*. 24–5 mm, 7.87 g (2). Axis: 12 (1). [2]
 AY [K M A ANT]ΩNEINOC C; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Hygieia standing r., feeding serpent from patera, facing Asclepius standing l., holding serpent-staff
1. P 345 (= SNG 440), 8.32; 2. B 18222848, I-B, 7.42.
 Countermark: **Α•Κ** in rectangular punch (*GIC* 513: on obv. of 2).
- 59** *Æ*. 9.32 g (1). [0]
 A K M AYP ANTΩNEINOC *CEB*; laureate, draped, and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; river god reclining l., holding reed and cornucopia, resting on vase from which water flows
1. SNG vA 4676, 9.32.
 Countermark: **Α•Κ** in rectangular punch (*GIC* 513: on obv. of 1).
- 60** *Æ*. 21–5 mm, 9.38 g (4). Axis: 7 (1), 12 (2). [0]
 A K M AY ANTΩNEINOC *CEB*; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΙΟC ΠΕΡΓΑΙΑC; temple with two columns enclosing cult statue of Artemis Pergaia between star and crescent and flanked by two short columns surmounted by sphinxes; eagle in pediment
1. CGT coll., 14.45; 2. CGT coll., 10.94; **3. CNG EA 181, 6 Feb. 2008, lot 158**, 6.72; 4. SNG vA 4677, 5.40.
 Countermark: eagle facing, wings open (*GIC* 334: on obv. of 2, 3); **Α•Κ** in rectangular punch (*GIC* 513: on obv. of 2).
- 61** *Æ*. 25 mm, 10.03 g (1). [1]
 Π *CE* ΓΕΤΑC K *CEB*; bare headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Geta, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΑC ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΙΟC; temple with two columns enclosing cult statue of Artemis Pergaia between star and crescent and flanked by two short columns surmounted by sphinxes; eagle in pediment
1. P 362 (= SNG 453), 10.03.
- 62** *Æ*. 18–20 mm, 5.53 g (3). Axis: 12 (1). [1]
 AY K A C *CE* OYHPOC ΠΕΡΤ(IN); laureate head of Septimius Severus, r.
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis adv. l., r. raised holding torch, bow in l.
1. P 338 (= SNG 428), 4.62; **2. CGT coll.**, 6.19; 3. Savoca 92nd Blue Auction, 19 Dec. 2020, lot 1363, 5.77.
- 63** *Æ*. 17 mm, 4.65 g (1). [1]
 AY K A C *CE* OYHPOC ΠΕΡΤIN; laureate head of Septimius Severus, r.
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis advancing r., drawing arrow from quiver at shoulder and holding bow
1. P 339A (= SNG 429), 4.65.
- 64** *Æ*. 18–20 mm, 4.48 g (4). Axis: 12 (3). [0]
 AYT K A *CE* *CE* OYHPOC Π C; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis advancing r., drawing arrow from quiver at shoulder and holding bow
1. CGT coll., 4.43; 2. CGT coll. ex G. Rohde coll., 4.30; **3. Naumann 34, 9 Aug. 2015, lot 767** = Rauch E-13, 28 June 2013, lot 435, 4.05; 4. Triskeles Sale 17, 16 Sept. 2016, lot 352, 5.15.
 Countermark: eagle facing, wings open (*GIC* 334: on obv. of 1).
- 65** *Æ*. 20 mm, 5.17 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [1]
 AY K A C *CE* OYHPOC Π *CEB*; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis standing l., holding long torch and bow
1. B 18222833, 1899/928, 5.17.

- 66** Æ. 20 mm, 7.81 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [0]
 AY K A C CEΘYH ΠEPTI; laureate head of Septimius Severus, r.
 ΠEPTAIΩN; Artemis standing l., sometimes quiver at shoulder, holding bow and arrow
1. CNG EA 338, 5 Nov. 2014, lot 180, 7.81.
- 67** Æ. 17–20 mm, 4.39 g (6). Axis: 6 (2), 12 (1). [1]
 AY(T) K A C(Ε) CEΘYHPOC Π C(EB); laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 ΠEPTAIΩN; Artemis standing r., quiver at shoulder, holding arrow and bow
1. L 1934, 9312.47, 3.87; 2. CGT coll., 6.26; 3. CGT Coll., 2.68; 4. Savoca 107th Blue Auction, 10 July 2021, lot 649, 5.12; 5. Savoca 107th Blue Auction, 10 July 2021, lot 650, 4.10; 6. Savoca London 3rd Blue Auction, 8 June 2019, lot 565, 4.28.
- 68** Æ. 18–20 mm, 5.33 g (6). Axis: 6 (4). [4]
 AY K A C CEΘYHPOC ΠEPT(IN); laureate head of Septimius Severus, r.
 ΠEPTAIΩN; Artemis standing r., sometimes quiver at shoulder, holding arrow and bow
1. P 336 (= SNG 426), 4.63; 2. B 18222832, 1880/377, 7.04; 3. B 18222831, 1-B, 5.95; 4. C CM.407–1948, 5.51; 5. CGT coll., 5.56; 6. CGT coll., 3.31; 7. Themis 9, 11 Apr. 2021, lot 448.
- 69** Æ. 17–19 mm, 4.75 g (2). [1]
 AY K A C CEΘYHPOC Π CEB; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 ΠEPTAIΩN; Asclepius standing facing, head l., holding serpent-staff
1. P 339 (= SNG 427), 5.70; 2. Savoca 116th Blue Auction, 23 Oct. 2021, lot 597, 3.79.
- 70** Æ. 19 mm, 4.85 g (1). [1]
 AYT K A CE CEΘYHPOC Π C; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 ΠEPTAIΩN; Dionysus standing l., holding cantharus and thyrsus; at his feet, panther
1. P 339 (= SNG 425), 4.85.
- 71** Æ. 19 mm, 4.62 g (2). [0]
 AY K A CE CEΘYHPOC Π C; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 ΠEPTAIΩN; temple with two columns enclosing cult statue of Artemis Pergaia between star and crescent; globe in pediment
1. Savoca 102nd Blue Auction, 8 May 2021, lot 625, 4.23; 2. Savoca 97th Silver Auction, 14 Mar. 2021, lot 318 = Savoca 99th Blue Auction, 10 Apr. 2021, lot 1152, 5.00.
- 72** Æ. 20 mm, 6.12 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [0]
 AY K A C CEΘYHPOC Π CEB; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
- ΠEPTAIΩN; Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia
1. CGT coll., 6.12.
- 73** Æ. 18–19 mm, 4.52 g (5). Axis: 6 (1), 12 (2). [2]
 IOYΛIA ΔOMN CEB; draped bust of Julia Domna, r.
 ΠEPTAIΩN; Artemis advancing r., drawing arrow from quiver at shoulder and holding bow
1. P 341 (= SNG 432), 4.08; 2. B 18222837, Löbb., 4.39; 3. CGT coll., 4.51; 4. CGT coll. = Savoca 125th Blue, 29 Jan. 2022, lot 554, 4.63; 5. Naumann 97, 6 Dec. 2020, lot 357, 5.00.
- 74** Æ. 19 mm, 3.28 g (1). [1]
 IOYΛIA ΔOMNA CE; draped bust of Julia Domna, r.
 ΠEPTAIΩN; Artemis advancing r., drawing arrow from quiver at shoulder and holding bow
1. P 340 (= SNG 431), 3.28.
- 75** Æ. 18–19 mm, 4.97 g (11). Axis: 1 (1), 12 (5). [5]
 IOYΛIA ΔOMNA CEB; draped bust of Julia Domna, r.
 ΠEPTAIΩN; Artemis standing r., sometimes quiver at shoulder, holding arrow and bow
**1. L 1979, 0101.2384 (= vA 4674), 4.59; 2. B 18222836, Löbb., 6.05; 3. B 18222835, 1-B, 4.99; 4. Cop (= SNG 323), 5.64; 5. V GR 27439, 5.03; 6. SNG vA 4674, 4.58; 7. CGT coll., 3.95; 8. CGT coll. ex G. Rohde coll. (unclear if Domna or Domn on obverse), 5.45; 9. Savoca 27th Blue Auction, 28 Dec. 2019, lot 956, 4.75; 10. Savoca 27th Silver Auction, 25 Nov. 2018, lot 423, 4.73; 11. Savoca 86th Silver Auction, 27 Sept. 2020, lot 200, 4.92.
 Countermark: eagle facing, wings open (*GIC* 334: on obv. of 8).**
- 76** Æ. 19 mm, 4.22 g (2). Axis: 12 (1). [1]
 IOYΛIA ΔOMNA CE; draped bust of Julia Domna, r.
 ΠEPTAIΩN; Nike advancing l., holding wreath and palm
1. P 342 (= SNG 433), 3.46; 2. CGT coll., 4.98.
- 77** Æ. 17–19 mm, 4.56 g (6). Axis: 12 (3). [3]
 IOYΛIA ΔOMNA CE(B); draped bust of Julia Domna, r.
 ΠEPTAIΩN; Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia
1. L (= BMC 35), 3.89; 2. P 343 (= SNG 434), 3.92; 3. B 18222838, Löbb., 3.60; 4. CGT coll., 6.80; 5. Naumann 71, 4 Nov. 2018, lot 357, 4.23; 6. Peus 403, 27 Apr. 2011, lot 716, 4.93.
- 78** Æ. 19 mm, 4.46 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [1]
 [M] ANTΩNEI KAI; bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 ΠEPTAIΩN; Artemis standing r., holding arrow and bow
1. B 18222858, 1905/1558, 4.46.
- 79** Æ. 18–19 mm, 4.85 g (2). Axis: 12 (1). [0]
 A K M AY ANTΩNEINOC C; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear

- ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Apollo standing nude facing, looking l., holding laurel branch and resting on tripod
1. CGT coll., 4.53; 2. Savoca 27th Blue Auction, 28 Dec. 2019, lot 961, 5.16.
- 80** Æ. 17–19 mm, 4.30 g (5). Axis: 6 (2), 12 (2). [1]
 A K M A ANTΩ[NEINOC C]; laureate, draped, and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis advancing r., drawing arrow from quiver at shoulder and holding bow
1. B 18222857, Löbb., 3.52; 2. CGT coll., 4.51; 3. CGT coll., 4.29; 4. CNG EA 428, 5 Sept. 2018, lot 285, 4.82; 5. Savoca 110th Blue Auction, 14 Aug. 2021, lot 736, 4.34.
 Countermark: eagle facing, wings open (*GIC* 334: on obv. of 2).
- 81** Æ. 20 mm, 4.74 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [0]
 A K M AY ANTΩNEINOC C; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis advancing r., shooting arrow with bow
1. Nomos Obolos WA 11, 8 Dec. 2018, lot 440, 4.74.
- 82** Æ. 21 mm, 4.09 g (1). [0]
 A K M AY ANTΩNEINOC CEB; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis standing l., holding bow and long torch
1. Savoca 27th Blue Auction, 28 Dec. 2019, lot 960, 4.09.
- 83** Æ. 19 mm, 5.53 g (2). Axis: 12 (1). [1]
 ...[ANTO]...; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis standing l., holding long torch and bow
1. CGT coll., 5.03; 2. Cop (= SNG 326), 6.03.
- 84** Æ. 17–19 mm, 5.14 g (5). Axis: 6 (1), 12 (1). [2]
 A K M A ANTΩNEINOC [C]; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from front
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis standing r., holding arrow and bow
1. Cop (= SNG 325), 4.61; 2. O; 3. CGT coll., 4.44; 4. Savoca 107 Blue, 10 July 2021, lot 651, 6.28; **5. Savoca 113 Silver, 19 Sept. 2021, lot 300**, 5.19; 6. SNG vA 4678, 5.17.
 could also be RPC6 if bust identified as Elagabal, but bust lacks typical characteristics for Elagabal (large ears, radiate head)
- 85** Æ. 16–20 mm, 4.29 g (5). Axis: 1 (1), 12 (3). [3]
 A K M A ANTΩNEINOC C; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis standing r., holding arrow and bow
1. B 18222859, Fox., 5.44; 2. B 18222860, I-B, 4.85; 3. V GR 18799, 4.56; 4. CGT coll. = SNG Copenhagen 325 = SNG von Aulock 4678 = Saint Paul Antiques 14, 17 Dec. 2017, lot 407, 2.95; 5. Savoca 18th Blue Auction, 30 Mar. 2019, lot 981, 3.63.
- 86** Æ. 18 mm, 4.31 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [0]
 A K M A ANTΩNEINOC C; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Dionysus standing l., holding cantharus and thyrsus; at his feet, panther
1. CGT coll., 4.31.
- 87** Æ. 18 mm, 4.02 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [1]
 A K M A ANTΩNEINOC C; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Nike advancing l., holding wreath and palm
1. V GR 36726, 4.02.
- 88** Æ. 18–20 mm, 4.16 g (5). Axis: 6 (1), 12 (2). [2]
 A K M A ANTΩNEINOC C; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia
1. C CM.LK.2162-R, 3.85; 2. Cop (= SNG 327), 3.65; 3. CGT coll., 5.14; 4. CGT coll., 4.16; 5. CGT coll. (not sure if really Caracalla), 4.01.
- 89** Æ. 18 mm, 4.76 g (2). Axis: 12 (1). [1]
 [Π CΕ] ΓΕΤΑC [K CΕB]; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Geta, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Apollo standing nude facing, looking l., holding laurel branch and resting on tripod
1. V GR 18800, 4.78; **2. Savoca 22nd Blue Auction, 27 July 2019, lot 1064**, 4.73.
- 90** Æ. 17–18 mm, 3.79 g (2). Axis: 6 (2). [2]
 Π CΕ ΓΕΤΑC K C; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Geta, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis adv. l., r. raised holding torch, bow in l.
1. B 18222870, Löbb., 4.18; **2. V GR 28501**, 3.40.
- 91** Æ. 18–20 mm, 3.76 g (2). Axis: 12 (2). [2]
 [Π CΕ ΓΕΤΑ] C K CΕB; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Geta, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis standing l., holding bow and torch
1. B 18222867, 1915/704, 3.88; 2. Mu 11, 3.63.
- 92** Æ. 18–20 mm, 5.10 g (7). Axis: 6 (1), 12 (3). [4]
 Π CΕ ΓΕΤΑC [K] CΕB; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Geta, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis standing l., holding long torch and bow
1. P 364 (= SNG 454), 3.96; 2. P 363 (= SNG 455), 3.78; 3. B 18222866, 1864 Sperling, 5.19; **4. V GR 32164**, 5.77; 5. CGT coll., 5.21; 6. CGT coll. = CNG EA 220, 14 Oct. 2009, lot 267, 5.60; 7. Savoca 96th Blue Auction, 27 Feb. 2021, lot 794, 6.17.
 Countermark: eagle facing, wings open (*GIC* 334: on obv. of 5, 7).

- 93** Æ. 18–20 mm, 4.85 g (8). Axis: 12 (4). [4]

Π CE ΓΕΤΑC [K] CEB; bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Geta, r., seen from rear

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis standing r., sometimes quiver at shoulder, holding arrow and bow

1. L (= BMC 38), 5.73; 2. P 365 (= SNG 456), 4.63; 3. Cop (= SNG 333), 4.86; 4. Cop (= SNG 334), 4.77; 5. CGT coll., 4.61; 6. CGT coll., 4.59; 7. CGT coll., 3.96; **8. Savoca 90 Blue, 28 Nov. 2020, lot 925**, 5.66.

- 94** Æ. 18–19 mm, 4.85 g (3). Axis: 12 (2). [2]

[Π CE] ΓΕΤΑ C K CEB; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Geta, r., seen from rear

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Dionysus standing l., holding cantharus and thyrsus; at his feet, panther

1. B 18222868, I-B, 4.53; 2. B 18222869, 1857/18528, 4.51; 3. Savoca 19th Blue Auction, 20 Apr. 2019, lot 914, 5.51.

Countermark: eagle facing, wings open (*GIC* 334: on obv. of 1, 3).

- 95** Æ. 18 mm, 5.68 g (1). Axis: 7 (1). [0]

Π CE ΓΕΤΑC [K] CEB; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Geta, r., seen from rear

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Nike advancing l., holding wreath and palm

1. CNG EA 198, 5 Nov. 2008, lot 193, 5.68.

- 96** Æ. 18–19 mm, 4.76 g (5). Axis: 12 (1). [1]

Π CE ΓΕΤΑC [K] CEB; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Geta, r., seen from rear

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; temple with two columns enclosing cult statue of Artemis Pergaia between star and crescent; globe in pediment

1. Mu 12, 5.10; 2. Savoca 111th Blue Auction, 28 Aug. 2021, lot 1189, 5.38; 3. Savoca 27th Blue Auction, 28 Dec. 2019, lot 957, 4.46; **4. Themis 9, 11 Apr. 2021, lot 465**, 4.90; 5. SNG vA 4682, 3.97.

- 97** Æ. 18–19 mm, 4.13 g (2). Axis: 12 (1). [1]

Π CE ΓΕΤΑC K C; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Geta, r., seen from rear

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia

1. P 366 (= SNG 457), 4.20; 2. CGT coll., 4.05.

- 98** Æ. 19–20 mm, 4.40 g (2). Axis: 12 (2). [0]

Π CE ΓΕΤΑC K CEB; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Geta, r., seen from rear

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Asclepius standing facing, head l., holding serpent-staff

1. CGT coll., 4.60; **2. CGT coll.**, 4.20.

- 99** Æ. 14–16 mm, 3.03 g (2). Axis: 12 (1). [2]

A(Y) K Λ C CE OYHPOC []; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; temple with two columns enclosing cult statue of Artemis Pergaia between star and crescent and flanked by two short columns surmounted by sphinxes; eagle in pediment

1. P 334 (= SNG 430), 2.82; **2. B 18222834, I-B**, 3.23.

- 100** Æ. 12 mm, 1.90 g (1). [0]

A K M A ANTΩNINOC C; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; temple with two columns enclosing cult statue of Artemis Pergaia between star and crescent and flanked by two short columns surmounted by sphinxes; eagle in pediment

1. Savoca 13 Blue, 30 Nov. 2018, lot 1079, 1.90.

Caracalla

- 101** Æ. 40 mm, 40.70 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [1]

AY K M AYP ANTΩNINOC CEB; laureate head of Caracalla, r.

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia

1. L 1979,0101.2386 (= SNG vA 4680) (Weight given as 39.81 in vA), 40.70.

- 102** Æ. 33 mm, 27.48 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [0]

IOYΛIA ΔOMN CEB; draped bust of Julia Domna, r.

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis-Selene, crescent at shoulders, riding in biga of galloping stags, r., holding torch in each hand

1. Nomos 22, 22 June 2021, lot 318, 27.48.

- 103** Æ. 34 mm, 23.14 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [1]

IOYΛIA ΔOMN CEB; draped bust of Julia Domna, r.

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; the three Charites standing facing with arms around each other, two looking l., one looking r., each holding flower

1. V GR 18976, 23.14.

- 104** Æ. 34–5 mm, 25.23 g (3). Axis: 11 (1). [2]

AY K M AYP ANTΩNINOC CEB; laureate head of Caracalla, r.

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; temple with two columns enclosing cult statue of Artemis Pergaia between star and crescent and flanked by two short columns surmounted by sphinxes; eagle in pediment

1. P 348 (= SNG 439), 25.51; **2. V GR 33149**, 25.93; 3. Savoca 93rd Silver Auction, 17 Jan. 2021, lot 338 = Naumann 94, 4 Oct. 2020, lot 409 (weight is 24.82 according to Naumann 94), 24.26.

- 105** Æ. 33 mm, 27.85 g (2). Axis: 12 (1). [2]

AY K M AYP ANTΩNINOC CEB; laureate head of Caracalla, r.

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Tyche of Perge seated l., holding small cult statue of Artemis Ephesia and cornucopia

1. B 18222839, 1845/5413. 32.13; 2. Cop (= SNG 332), 23.56.

106 Æ. 25–6 mm, 10.43 g (2). Axis: 1 (1). [1]

AY K M AY ANTΩNINOC CEB; laureate head of Caracalla, r.

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis holding two torches driving quadriga of stags r.

1. P 358 (= SNG 443), 9.29; **2. Roma 7, 22 Mar. 2014, lot 873.** 11.56.

Countermark: eagle facing, wings open (*GIC* 334; on obv. of 1).

107 Æ. 25 mm, 9.86 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [1]

AY K M AY ANTΩNINOC CEB; laureate head of Caracalla, r.

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis standing r., crescent at shoulders, holding long flaming torch

1. L 1854.0530.174 (= BMC 36), 9.86.

108 Æ. 25–8 mm, 9.23 g (9). Axis: 11 (1), 12 (4). [3]

AY K M AY ANTΩNINOC CEB; laureate head of Caracalla, r.

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis standing r., quiver at shoulder, holding arrow and bow

1. P 356 (= SNG 443), 11.67; **2. B 18222845**, 1917/108, 9.81; **3. V GR 32748**, 10.91; **4. CGT coll.**, 10.21; **5. CGT coll.**, 6.83; **6. M&M GmbH** 16, 19 May 2005, lot 649, 9.31; **7. Saint Paul Antiques** 7, 11 June 2017, lot 242, 10.24; **8. Savoca 27th Blue Auction**, 28 Dec. 2019, lot 958, 6.41; **9. Savoca 27th Blue Auction**, 28 Dec. 2019, lot 959, 7.71.

Countermark: eagle facing, wings open (*GIC* 334; on obv. of 4, 7); A•K in rectangular punch (*GIC* 513; on obv. of 2, 7).

109 Æ. 25 mm, 8.36 g (3). Axis: 12 (1). [1]

AY K M AY ANTΩNINOC CEB; laureate head of Caracalla, r.

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis standing r., wearing radiate crown, holding long torch and bow

1. P 357 (= SNG 442), 6.44; **2. CGT coll.**, 8.79; **3. Savoca 83rd Blue Auction**, 22 Aug. 2020, lot 859, 9.85.

Countermark: eagle facing, wings open (*GIC* 334; on obv. of 3); A•K in rectangular punch (*GIC* 513; on obv. of 1).

110 Æ. 26 mm, 8.87 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [1]

AY K M AY ANTΩNINOC CEB; radiate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from front

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis standing r., wearing radiate crown, holding long torch and bow

1. B 18222844, B-I, 8.87.

111 Æ. 24 mm, 10.32 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [1]

AY K M AY ANTΩNINOC CEB; laureate head of Caracalla, r.

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis-Selene standing r., quiver at shoulder, holding arrow and bow, crowned by Nike advancing r., holding palm

1. L 1974.0102.46, 10.32.

Countermark: A•K in rectangular punch (*GIC* 513; on obv. of 1).

112 Æ. 25–7 mm, 11.56 g (4). Axis: 11 (2), 12 (1). [2]

AY K M AY ANTΩNINOC CEB; laureate head of Caracalla, r.

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Asclepius standing facing, head l., holding serpent-staff

1. B 18222849, I-B, 13.29; **2. Mu 14a. ICC.13007**, 11.92; **3. CGT coll.**, 11.40; **4. Peus 398, 28 Apr. 2009, lot 706**, 9.61.

Countermark: eagle facing, wings open (*GIC* 334; on obv. of 4).

113 Æ. 25 mm, 10.49 g (1). [1]

[AY K] M AY ANTΩNINOC CEB; laureate head of Caracalla, r.

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Emperor in military dress standing l., lifting r. arm, l. resting on spear, crowned by Nike st. to l. behind him, holding palm

1. P 360 (= SNG 444), 10.49.

114 Æ. 27 mm, 10.27 g (1). [1]

AY K M AY ANTΩNINOC CEB; radiate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from front

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Nike advancing l., with wreath and palm

1. P 359 (= SNG 446), 10.27.

115 Æ. 25 mm, 10.66 g (1). Axis: 11 (1). [1]

AY K M AY ANTΩNINOC CEB; laureate head of Caracalla, r.

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; river god reclining l., holding reed and cornucopia, resting on vase from which water flows

1. B 18222850, Fox, 10.66.

Similar description (but later portrait) than 116.

116 Æ. 25 mm, 10.82 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [0]

AY K M AY ANTΩNINOC CEB; laureate head of Caracalla, r.

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; river god reclining l., holding reed and cornucopia, resting on vase from which water flows

1. CNG 93, 22 May 2013, lot 840, 10.82.

Similar description (but earlier portrait) than 115.

117 Æ. 24–6 mm, 9.67 g (5). Axis: 11 (1), 12 (2). [3]

AY K M AY ANTΩNINOC CEB; laureate head of Caracalla, r.

- ΠΕΡΤΑΙΩΝ; temple with two columns enclosing cult statue of Artemis Pergaia between star and crescent; eagle in pediment
 1. P 348A (= SNG 441), 7.20; **2. V GR 33531**, 10.33; 3. V GR 33150, 9.00; 4. CGT coll., 11.79; 5. Savoca 94th Blue Auction, 30 Jan. 2021, lot 1029, 10.02.
 Countermark: eagle facing, wings open (*GIC* 334; on obv. of 3, 5).
- 118** Æ. 24–5 mm, 10.78 g (3). [2]
 AY K M AY ANTONINOC CEB; radiate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from front
 ΠΕΡΤΑΙΩΝ; three purses on three-legged chest
 1. P 362 (= SNG 467), 10.92; **2. Lanz 106, 27 Nov. 2001, lot 564**, 11.71; 3. Cop (= SNG 331), 9.70.
 Countermark: eagle facing, wings open (*GIC* 334; on obv. of 3, 5).
- 119** Æ. 24–5 mm, 9.41 g (3). Axis: 12 (2). [2]
 AY K M AY ANTONINOC CEB; laureate head of Caracalla, r.
 ΠΕΡΤΑΙΩΝ; Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia
 1. B 18222853, Rauch, 8.39; **2. V GR 31532**, 9.92; 3. Gorny & Mosch Online 278, 21 Apr. 2021, lot 3555, 9.91.
 Countermark: A•K in rectangular punch (*GIC* 513; on obv. of 2).
- 120** Æ. 18 mm, 5.23 g (1). [1]
 AYK K M AY ANTONINOC CEB; laureate head of Caracalla, r.
 ΠΕΡΤΑΙΩΝ; Artemis advancing r., drawing arrow from quiver at shoulder and holding bow
1. P 352 (= SNG 452), 5.23.
- 121** Æ. 18 mm, 3.39 g (1). [0]
 AYK K M AY ANTONINOC CEB; laureate head of Caracalla, r.
 ΠΕΡΤΑΙΩΝ; Artemis advancing r., drawing arrow from quiver at shoulder and holding bow; at feet, deer
1. Savoca 19th Blue Auction, 20 Apr. 2019, lot 913, 3.39.
- 122** Æ. 18–20 mm, 4.61 g (2). Axis: 12 (2). [1]
 AY K M AY ANTONINOC C[EB]; laureate head of Caracalla, r.
 ΠΕΡΤΑΙΩΝ; Artemis standing l., wearing radiate crown, holding bow and long torch
1. V GR 28317, 5.11; 2. CGT coll., 4.10.
- 123** Æ. 17–19 mm, 5.07 g (8). Axis: 12 (4). [4]
 AY K M AY ANTONINOC CEB; laureate head of Caracalla, r.
 ΠΕΡΤΑΙΩΝ; Artemis standing r., holding arrow and bow
 1. L (= BMC 37), 5.01; 2. P 353 (= SNG 451), 4.69; 3. C, 6.67; 4. V GR 36718, 4.98; **5. Leu WA 3, 25 Feb. 2018, lot 596** = Savoca 89th Blue Auction, 7 Nov. 2020, lot 1107, 5.03; 6. Saint Paul Antiques 15, 27 Jan. 2018, lot 371 = Savoca London 4th Blue Auction, 13 July 2019, lot 508, 5.71; 7. Savoca 27th Blue Auction, 28 Dec. 2019, lot 962, 4.36; 8. Savoca 90th Blue Auction, 28 Nov. 2020, lot 924, 4.10.
 Countermark: eagle facing, wings open (*GIC* 334; on obv. of 3, 7, 8).
- 124** Æ. 19 mm, 5.28 g (1). [0]
 AY K M AY ANTONINOC CEB; laureate head of Caracalla, r.
 ΠΕΡΤΑΙΩΝ; Artemis standing r., quiver at shoulders, holding torches in both hands
1. Savoca 18th Blue Auction, 30 Mar. 2019, lot 980, 5.28.
- 125** Æ. 19–20 mm, 4.85 g (4). Axis: 12 (2). [2]
 AY K M AY ANTONINOC CEB; laureate head of Caracalla, r.
 ΠΕΡΤΑΙΩΝ; Nike advancing l., holding wreath and palm
 1. P 371 (= SNG 469), 6.50; 2. B 18222862, 1914/677, 4.95; **3. CGT coll.** = Saint Paul Antiques 10, 2 Sept. 2017, lot 249, 5.07; 4. DEMOS 4, 26 Sept. 2021, lot 376, 2.87.
 Countermark: eagle facing, wings open (*GIC* 334; on obv. of 1).
- 126** Æ. 18 mm, 4.51 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [1]
 A K M AY ANTONINOC C; laureate head of Caracalla, r.
 ΠΕΡΤΑΙΩΝ; Nike advancing r., holding wreath and palm
1. B 18222863, 1880/378, 4.51.
- 127** Æ. 18 mm, 5.63 g (1). Axis: 9 (1). [1]
 AY K M [AYP ANTONIN]NOC CEB; laureate head of Caracalla, r.
 ΠΕΡΤΑΙΩΝ; river god reclining, r., holding cornucopia and reed(?), resting on vase from which water flows
1. L 1931, 0501.2, 5.63.
- 128** Æ. 17–20 mm, 4.88 g (7). Axis: 6 (1), 12 (4). [3]
 AY K M AY ANTONINOC CEB; laureate head of Caracalla, r.
 ΠΕΡΤΑΙΩΝ; Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia
 1. P 344 (= SNG 436), 5.31; 2. B 18222865, Löbb., 4.42; **3. V GR 36719**, 4.15; 4. CGT coll., 4.85; 5. CGT coll., 4.74; 6. CGT coll. = Saint Paul Antiques 14, 17 Dec. 2017, lot 406, 5.34; 7. Savoca 13th Blue Auction, 30 Nov. 2018, lot 1080, 5.38.
- 129** Æ. 11–12 mm, 1.90 g (3). Axis: 6 (1). [0]
 AY ANTONINOC; laureate head of Caracalla, r.
 ΠΕΡΤΑΙΩΝ; Artemis standing r., wearing radiate crown, holding long torch and bow
 1. CGT coll., 1.55; **2. Gorny & Mosch 196, 7 Mar. 2011, lot 2157**, 2.47; 3. Themis 5, 4 Jan. 2020, lot 419, 1.68.
- 130** Æ. 13 mm, 1.42 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [0]
 AY ANTONINOC; laureate head of Caracalla, r.

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; temple with two columns enclosing cult statue of Artemis Pergaia between star and crescent

1. CGT coll., 1.42.

Numerals O = 70

131 Æ. [o]

ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ CEB; draped bust of Julia Domna, r. ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ ΘΕΜΙC, TO; Themis seated, l., wearing diadem, holding palm branch and inscribed wreath

1. Svoronos 1903, p. 207 no. 307 (not illustrated).

132 Æ. 25 mm, 12.37 g (1). Axis: 11 (1). [1]

ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC [CEB]; laureate head of Caracalla, r.

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ ΘΕΜΙC, TO; Themis seated, l., wearing diadem, holding palm branch and inscribed wreath

1. L 1900,0705.64, 12.37.

Macrinus

133 Æ. 35 mm, 31.68 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [1]

ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΟΠΕΛ CΕΥ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC CEB; laureate and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from front

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; temple with two columns enclosing cult statue of Artemis Pergaia between star and crescent and flanked by two short columns surmounted by sphinxes; eagle in pediment

1. L 1979,0101.2387 (= vA 8514), 31.68.

134 Æ. 36 mm, 31.96 g (1). Axis: 11 (1). [o]

ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Μ ΟΠΕΛ CΕΥ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC CEB; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from rear

ΠΕΡ ΗΙ; Tyche of Perge seated l., holding small cult statue of Artemis Pergaia and cornucopia

1. Roma EA 17, 25 Apr. 2015, lot 452, 31.96.

135 Æ. 23–4 mm, 7.29 g (2). [o]

ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Μ ΟΠΕΛ CΕΥ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC CEB; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from rear

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis standing facing in short chiton, looking l., holding bow and long torch; at her feet, stag, l.

1. Savoca 27th Blue Auction, 28 Dec. 2019, lot 963, 7.57; 2. Savoca 90th Blue Auction, 28 Nov. 2020, lot 926, 7.00.

136 Æ. 24 mm, 10.06 g (1). Axis: 11 (1). [1]

ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Μ ΟΠΕΛ CΕΥ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC CEB; laureate and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from front

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis standing r., quiver at shoulder, holding arrow and bow

1. B 18222873, 1864 Sperling, 10.06.

Countermark: Α•Κ in rectangular punch (GIC 513; on rev. of 1).

137 Æ. 8.14 g (1). [o]

ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Μ ΟΠΕΛ CΕΥ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC CEB; laureate and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from front

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Hermes naked standing facing, head l., holding purse and caduceus

1. SNG vA 4684, 8.14.

138 Æ. 23–4 mm, 9.43 g (3). Axis: 11 (2). [3]

ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Μ ΟΠΕΛ CΕΥ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC CEB; laureate and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from front

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Nike advancing l., holding wreath and palm

1. L 1979,0101.2388 (= SNG vA 4683), 10.83; 2. P 367 (= SNG 458), 8.57; 3. B 18222871, 1-B, 8.89.

139 Æ. 23–4 mm, 9.15 g (3). Axis: 11 (1), 12 (1). [2]

ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Μ ΟΠΕΛ CΕΥ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC CEB; laureate and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from front

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; temple with two columns enclosing cult statue of Artemis Pergaia between star and crescent and flanked by two short columns surmounted by sphinxes; eagle in pediment

1. B 18222872, 1-B, 8.46; 2. Cop (= SNG 335), 11.91; 3. Saint Paul Antiques 8, 9 July 2017, lot 312, 7.07.

Countermark: eagle facing, wings open (GIC 334; on obv. of 1, 2, 3); Α•Κ in rectangular punch (GIC 513; on rev. of 1, 2).

140 Æ. 23 mm, 8.50 g (1). [o]

ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Μ ΟΠΕΛ CΕΥ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC CEB; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from rear

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia

1. Savoca 112th Blue Auction, 11 Sept. 2021, lot 1236, 8.50.

Countermark: eagle facing, wings open (GIC 334; on obv. of 1); Α•Κ in rectangular punch (GIC 513; on rev. of 1).

141 Æ. 25 mm, 9.93 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [1]

ΟΠΕΛ ΑΝΤΩ ΔΙΑΔΟΥΜΙΝΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙC; bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Diadumenian, seen from rear

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis standing r., wearing radiate crown, holding long torch and bow

1. B 18222876, Löbb., 9.93.

142 Æ. 26–7 mm, 8.37 g (2). [o]

Μ ΟΠΕΛ ΑΝΤΩ ΔΙΑΔΟΥΜΙΝΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙC; bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Diadumenian, seen from rear

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Asclepius standing facing, head l., holding serpent-staff

1. Künker eLive 62, 20 Oct. 2020, lot 4331, 8.72; 2. Savoca 27th Blue Auction, 28 Dec. 2019, lot 964, 8.02.

Countermark: eagle facing, wings open (GIC 334; on obv. of 1, 2); Α•Κ in rectangular punch (GIC 513; on obv. of 1).

- 143** Æ. 26–7 mm, 8.65 g (3). Axis: 12 (1). [1]
 ΟΠΕΛ ΑΝΤΩ ΔΙΑΔΟΥΜΙΝΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙC; bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Diadumenian, seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Selene-Hecate standing r., quiver at shoulder, holding arrow and bow
 1. P 368 (= SNG 460), 12.30; 2. CGT coll., 6.84; **3. Naumann 33, 5 July 2015, lot 380**, 6.80.
 Countermark: A•K in rectangular punch (*GIC* 513; on rev. of 3).
- 144** Æ. 25 mm, 8.23 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [0]
 ΟΠΕΛ ΑΝΤΩ ΔΙΑΔΟΥΜΙΝΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙC; bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Diadumenian, seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; temple with two columns enclosing cult statue of Artemis Pergaia between star and crescent; eagle in pediment
 1. **CGT coll.**, 8.23.
 Countermark: eagle facing, wings open (*GIC* 334; on obv. of 1).
- 145** Æ. 26 mm, 9.79 g (2). Axis: 12 (2). [2]
 ΟΠΕΛ ΑΝΤΩ ΔΙΑΔΟΥΜΙΝΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙC; bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Diadumenian, seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia
 1. **B 18222875, 1864 Sperling**, 8.37; 2. V GR 34499, 11.20.
 Countermark: eagle facing, wings open (*GIC* 334; on obv. of 2).
- 146** Æ. 18–20 mm, 4.83 g (7). Axis: 12 (5). [3]
 ΑΥ Κ Μ ΟΠ CΕΟΥ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC C; laureate and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from front
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis standing r., quiver at shoulder, holding arrow and bow
 1. B 18222874, **I-B**, 4.32; 2. C (= SNG 5686), 4.19; 3. V GR 18803, 5.58; 4. CGT coll., 5.03; 5. CGT coll., 3.51; **6. CNG EA 217, 26 Aug. 2009, lot 282**, 5.49; 7. Savoca 17th Blue Auction, 1 Mar. 2019, lot 1176, 5.72.
 Countermark: eagle facing, wings open (*GIC* 334; on obv. of 2).
- 147** Æ. 19 mm, 5.00 g (1). Axis: 1 (1). [0]
 ΑΥ Κ Μ ΟΠ CΕΟΥ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC C; laureate and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Artemis standing r., quiver at shoulder, holding arrow and bow
 1. **Roma E-Sale 86, 8 July 2021, lot 736**, 5.00.
- 148** Æ. 18–20 mm, 4.77 g (9). Axis: 12 (5). [1]
 ΑΥ Κ Μ ΟΠ CΕΟΥ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC C; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia
 1. **L 1838, 0419.95** (= BMC 39), 4.51; 2. CGT coll., 5.41; 3. CGT coll., 5.11; 4. CGT Coll., 4.49; 5. CGT coll., 3.37; 6. DEMOS 2, 5 June 2021, lot 492, 4.21; 7. Savoca 116th Blue Auction, 23 Oct. 2021, lot 600, 5.94; 8. Savoca 31 Blue, 25 Apr. 2020, lot 824, 3.95; 9. Savoca 31st Blue Auction, 25 Apr. 2020, lot 823, 5.98.
 Countermark: eagle facing, wings open (*GIC* 334; on obv. of 6, 8).
- 149** Æ. 19 mm, 4.47 g (3). Axis: 12 (1). [3]
 ΟΠΕΛ ΑΝΤΩ ΔΙΑΔΟΥΜΕΝΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙC; bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Diadumenian, seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia
 1. B 18222878, **I-B**, 4.23; **2. C CM.2–2015**, 5.18; 3. Cop (= SNG 336), 4.01.
- 150** Æ. 13 mm, 2.42 g (1). [0]
 Μ ΟΠ ΑΝ ΔΙΑΔΟΥΜΕ Κ; bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Diadumenian, seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Hermes standing l., holding purse and caduceus
 1. **Savoca 105 Blue, 12 June 2021, lot 1362**, 2.42.
- 151** Æ. 12 mm, 1.25 g (1). Axis: 11 (1). [1]
 ΟΠ ΑΝ ΔΙΑΔΟΥ; bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Diadumenian, seen from rear
 ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ; Nike advancing, r., holding palm branch and wreath
 1. **L** (= BMC 40), 1.25.

Sillyum

	41 mm	35 mm	24 mm	19 mm
Septimius Severus	38.80 g (1)	25.56 g (23)	9.77 g (30)	4.82 g (36)
Caracalla			10.61 g (2)	
Macrinus		22.98 g (3)	9.52 g (4)	4.71 g (5)

Septimius Severus

- 152** Æ. 41 mm, 38.80 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [1]
 [] ANTONΕΙΝOC; bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 CIAAYEΩN; Demeter holding torch, to l. serpent out of cista on column, and altar on the right
1. L 1970,0909-173 (= ex Hecht coll.), 38.80.
- 153** Æ. 35 mm. [1]
 AY KAI A CEITTOY CEOYHPOC ΠE; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 CIAAYEΩN; Demeter (?) standing facing veiled, head l., holding long torch and hem of dress, to l. column with ear of corns in urn
1. P 747 (= SNG 979).
- 154** Æ. 33–5 mm, 22.45 g (4). Axis: 6 (1), 11 (1). [1]
 AY KAI A CEITTOY CEOYHPOC ΠE; laureate bust of Septimius Severus, wearing aegis, r., seen from rear
 CIAAYEΩN; Mên on horseback, l., wearing Phrygian cap; behind his shoulders, crescent
1. O, 19.10; 2. Berk Buy or Bid Sale 216, 27 July 2021, lot 476, 24.39; 3. Leu WA 16, 22 May 2021, lot 2885 = Themis 3, 31 Aug. 2019, lot 227, 22.45; 4. SNG vA 4876, 23.86.
- 155** Æ. 35–7 mm, 26.42 g (5). Axis: 1 (1). [3]
 AYT KAI A CEITTOY CEOYHPOC ΠE; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 CIAAYEΩN; Mên on horseback, l., wearing Phrygian cap; behind his shoulders, crescent
1. L 1872,0709-219 (= BMC 3), 29.75; 2. P 751 (= SNG 977), 26.11; 3. Cop (= SNG 444), 24.69; 4. Gorny & Mosch 212, 5 Mar. 2013, lot 2470, 26.33; 5. Pegasi 38, 22 May 2018, lot 327, 25.22.
- 156** Æ. 34–5 mm, 27.11 g (2). Axis: 11 (1), 12 (1). [1]
 AY KAI A CEITTOY CEOYHPOC ΠE; laureate bust of Septimius Severus, wearing aegis, r., seen from front
 CIAAYEΩN; Mên on horseback, r., wearing Phrygian cap; behind his shoulders, crescent
1. V GR 18863, 27.89; 2. CNG Triton XV, 3 Jan. 2012, lot 1410, 26.32.
- 157** Æ. 34–6 mm, 25.38 g (4). Axis: 1 (2). [2]
 AY KAI A CEITTOY CEOYHPOC ΠE; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 CIAAYEΩN; Mên on horseback, r., wearing Phrygian cap; behind his shoulders, crescent
1. L 1979,0101-2416 (= SNG vA 8554), 25.17; 2. P 745 (= SNG 978), 23.16; 3. ; 4. CNG EA 348, 8 Apr. 2015, lot 495 = VAuctions 236, 5 Nov. 2009, lot 19 = VAuctions 223, 5 Mar. 2009, lot 48 (Weight in 2009 given as 26.48 g), 26.43; 5. Naumann 92, 2 Aug. 2020, lot 557, 26.77.
- 158** Æ. 35 mm, 23.36 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [1]
 AY KAI A CEITTOY CEOYHPOC ΠE; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 CIAAYEΩN; Mên standing facing, looking r., wearing crescent on shoulders, holding pine cone and sceptre
1. L 1884,0609-18 (= BMC 4), 23.36.
- 159** Æ. 34–6 mm, 26.13 g (4). Axis: 6 (2), 12 (2). [2]
 AYT KAI A CEITTOY CEOYHPOC ΠE; laureate bust of Septimius Severus, wearing aegis, r., seen from front
 CIAAYEΩN; Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia
1. L 1891,0704-43 (= BMC 10), 24.52; **2. L 1979,0101-2415** (= SNG vA 4875), 27.16; 3. CNG EA 388, 14 Dec. 2016, lot 269, 25.53; 4. Leu WA 8, 29 June 2019, lot 695 = Leu WA 15, 27 Feb. 2021, lot 1299, 27.30.
- 160** Æ. 33–5 mm, 27.08 g (2). Axis: 12 (1). [1]
 AY KAI A CEITTOY CEOYHPOC ΠE; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 CIAAYEΩN; Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia
1. P 746 (= SNG 980), 26.91; 2. CGT coll. ex G. Rohde coll., 27.24; **3. Peus 366, 29 Oct. 2000, lot 860.**
- 161** Æ. 34 mm, 28.11 g (1). Axis: 7 (1). [1]
 A CEI ΓETAC KAI; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Geta, r., seen from front
 CIAAYEΩN; Mên riding r., wearing Phrygian cap; behind his shoulders, crescent
1. B 18222970, Löbb., 28.11.
- 162** Æ. 25 mm, 9.94 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [0]
 [AY K A CEI CEOYHPOC]; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
 CIAAYEΩN; Aphrodite standing l., head r., raising heand; at feet, dolphin
1. CGT coll., 9.94.
- 163** Æ. 23–5 mm, 10.44 g (2). Axis: 12 (1). [1]
 AY K A CEI CE[YHPOC]; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from front
 CIAAYEΩN; Ares (?) standing facing, head l., holding sceptre and transverse spear
1. L 1979,0101-2417 (= SNG vA 4877), 9.98; 2. Gorny & Mosch Online 271, 29 May 2020, lot 675, 10.90.
- 164** Æ. 24–6 mm, 9.09 g (8). Axis: 6 (2), 12 (2). [4]
 AY K A CEI CEOYHPOC [II]; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from front
 CIAAYEΩN; Dionysus standing facing in long chiton, looking l., holding long thyrsus and cantharus over panther, l., looking back
1. L 1872,0709-220 (= BMC 9), 7.72; 2. P 749 (= SNG 981), 7.53; 3. P 744 (= SNG 982), 10.21; 4. V GR 31990, 9.18; 5. CGT coll., 7.13; 6. CGT coll.

- = Naville Numismatics 17, 20 Sep. 2015, lot 313, 11.34; **7. Naumann 76, 7 Apr. 2019, lot 292**, 10.33; 8. SNG vA 4878, 9.30.
Countermark: denominational mark B (*GIC* 767; on obv. of 6).
- 165** Æ. 25 mm, 9.75 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [1]
AY K Λ CΕΠ CΕ[OYHPOC]; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from front
CIAAYΕΩΝ; Mên standing facing, looking r., wearing crescent on shoulders, holding pine cone and sceptre
1. L 1970, 0909.172 (= R. E. Hecht coll.), 9.75.
- 166** Æ. 26 mm, 10.49 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [1]
[AY K Λ CΕΠ CΕOYHPOC]; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
CIAAYΕΩΝ; Mên standing facing, looking r., wearing crescent on shoulders, holding pine cone and sceptre
1. B 18222963, 1901/975, 10.49.
- 167** Æ. 23–4 mm, 11.27 g (3). Axis: 7 (1), 12 (1). [1]
AY K Λ CΕΠ CΕOYHPOC [II]; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from front
CIAAYΕΩΝ; nude Apollo standing, facing, holding laurel-branch, resting arm on tripod entwined by serpent
1. O, 10.79; **2. CGT coll.**, 12.27; **3. Helios 5, 25 June 2010, lot 1033**, 10.75.
Countermark: denominational mark B (*GIC* 767; on obv. of 3).
- 168** Æ. 24 mm, 8.79 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [1]
AY K M AY ANTΩNINOC CEB; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
CIAAYΕΩΝ; Ares standing r., with spear and shield
1. L (= BMC 11), 8.79.
- 169** Æ. 24–6 mm, 9.24 g (3). Axis: 6 (1), 12 (1). [1]
Watson 145 (Elagabalus)
AY K M AY ANTΩNINOC CEB; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
CIAAYΕΩΝ; nude Hermes seated on rock, l., holding purse and caduceus
1. L 1979, 0610.13, 9.36; **2. Bern** (= SNG 1316), 7.88; **3. VA 4882**, 10.48.
2–3: same pair of dies.
- 170** Æ. 25 mm, 12.85 g (2). Axis: 6 (1). [0]
ΦΟΥΛ ΠΑΛΑΥΤΙΑΛΑ CEB; draped bust of Plautilla r.
CIAAYΕΩΝ; Dionysus standing facing in long chiton, looking l., holding long thyrsus and cantharus over panther, l., looking back
1. CGT coll., 13.87; **2. M&M GmbH 16, 19 May 2005, lot 708**, 11.83.
- 171** Æ. 18–19 mm, 5.19 g (3). Axis: 6 (3). [2]
ΦΟΥΛ ΠΑΛΑΥΤΙΑΛΑ CΕ; draped bust of Plautilla, r.
CIAAYΕΩΝ; female figure (Themis?) seated, l., dropping pebble into urn at her feet and holding palm branch
1. B 18222969, 1929/1073, 6.41; **2. B 18222968, B-I**, 3.83; **3. CGT coll.**, 5.34.
- 172** Æ. 24–5 mm, 12.44 g (3). Axis: 12 (1). [1]
AY K ΠO CΕ ΓΕΤΑC; laureate head of Geta, r.
CIAAYΕΩΝ; Dionysus standing l., holding cantharus over panther and thyrsus
1. P 755 (= SNG 988), 13.24; **2. CGT coll.**, 12.73; **3. Kölner Münzkabinett 107**, 7 Oct. 2017, lot 289, 11.35.
- 173** Æ. 24 mm, 10.14 g (2). [0]
AY K ΠO CΕ ΓΕΤΑC; laureate head of Geta, r.
CIAAYΕΩΝ; Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia
1. Berk Buy or Bid Sale 217, 30 Nov. 2021, lot 415, 9.62; **2. Naville Numismatics 69**, 14 Nov. 2021, lot 144, 10.65.
- 174** Æ. 18–22 mm, 4.88 g (2). Axis: 6 (2), 7 (1). [3]
AY K Λ C CΕOYHPOC ΠΕP; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
CIAAYΕΩΝ; Apollo standing, r., with lyre
1. P 750 (= SNG 985); **2. B 18222964**, 1883/29, 5.40; **3. O**; **4. CGT coll.**, 4.36.
- 175** Æ. 19–20 mm, 5.28 g (3). Axis: 6 (2). [2]
AY K Λ C CΕOYHPOC ΠΕP; laureate head of Septimius Severus, r.
CIAAYΕΩΝ; Ares standing l., holding shield resting on ground and spear
1. L 1894, 0505.71 (= BMC 7), 5.63; **2. V GR 32332**, 4.41; **3. Themis 9**, 11 Apr. 2021, lot 469, 5.80.
- 176** Æ. 18–19 mm, 4.92 g (7). Axis: 6 (4). [4]
AY K Λ C CΕOYHPOC ΠΕP; laureate head of Septimius Severus, r.
CIAAYΕΩΝ; Ares standing r., holding spear and shield resting on ground
1. L HPB, p126.n4 (= BMC 8), 4.48; **2. P 748** (= SNG 983), 5.03; **3. P 753** (= SNG 984), 4.42; **4. B 18222965, I-B**, 4.19; **5. CGT coll.**, 4.31; **6. Savoca 116th Blue Auction**, 23 Oct. 2021, lot 624, 5.96; **7. Triskeles Sale 30**, 6 Dec. 2019, lot 143, 6.08.
- 177** Æ. 18–20 mm, 4.97 g (6). Axis: 6 (2). [3]
AY K Λ [C CΕOYH]POC ΠΕP; head of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
CIAAYΕΩΝ; Mên standing l., crescent at shoulders, holding pine cone and sceptre, r. foot on bucranium
1. L (= BMC 6), 4.95; **2. P 752** (= SNG 987), 4.90; **3. O** (= SNG vA 4879), 4.40; **4. Kölner Münzkabinett 107**, 7 Oct. 2017, lot 288 = Kölner Münzkabinett c-4, 1 Jan. 2018, lot 238, 6.69; **5. Savoca 107th Blue Auction**, 10 July 2021, lot 667, 4.29; **6. Savoca 27th Blue Auction**, 28 Dec. 2019, lot 1002, 4.60.

- 178** Æ. 17–20 mm, 4.57 g (10). Axis: 6 (6). [6]
 AY K A [C CEΘYH]POC ΠEP; head of Septimius Severus, r.
 CIAAYEΩN; Mên standing r., crescent at shoulders,
 holding sceptre and pine cone, l. foot on bucranium
1. **L 1870, 1003.67** (= BMC 5), 3.97; **2.** **P 752A** (= SNG 986), 5.06; **3.** **B 18222962, 1-B, 3.45**; **4.** **Cop** (= SNG 445), 4.11; **5.** **Mu 4, 5.24**; **6.** **V GR 30331, 3.78**; **7.** **CGT coll.** = Roma Numismatics, 30 Sep. 2012, Auction IV, lot 2242, 5.66; **8.** **CGT coll.** = Savoca 1st Blue Auction, 23 Sept. 2017, lot 851, 4.46; **9.** **Naumann 107, 5 Sept. 2021, lot 1156** = Naumann 112, 2 Jan. 2022, lot 1303, 5.00; **10.** **Naumann 78, 2 June 2019, lot 646, 4.93.**
- 179** Æ. 19 mm, 4.46 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [1]
 AY [] M AY AN[]; laureate head of Caracalla, r.
 CIAAYEΩN; bust of Mên draped r., on crescent
1. **B 18222966, 1914/561, 4.46.**
- 180** Æ. 18 mm, 4.98 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [1]
 AY K Π C ΓETAC; laureate head of Geta, r.
 CIAAYEΩN; Apollo standing, r., holding lyre
1. **B 18222972, 1-B, 4.98.**
1: same obv. die as 183/1.
- 181** Æ. 18 mm, 4.53 g (4). Axis: 6 (1), 12 (1). [1]
 CEΠ ΓETAC KAI; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of
 Geta r., seen from rear
 CIAAYEΩN; Apollo standing, r., with lyre
1. **Cop** (= SNG 446), 4.43; **2.** **CGT coll.** = Saint Paul Antiques 14, 17 Dec. 2017, lot 413, 4.32; **3.** **CGT coll.** = Savoca 3rd Blue London Auction, 9 June 2019, lot 568, 4.65; **4.** **Savoca 1st Silver Auction, 13 Dec. 2020, lot 469, 4.71.**
- 182** Æ. 19 mm, 4.32 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [1]
 CEΠ ΓETAC KAI; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of
 Geta r., seen from rear
 CIAAYEΩN; Ares standing r., holding spear and shield
 resting on ground
1. **L 1839, 1224.375** (= BMC 12), 4.32.
- 183** Æ. 19 mm, 6.19 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [1]
 AY K Π C ΓETAC; laureate head of Geta, r.
 CIAAYEΩN; bust of Mên draped r., on crescent
1. **B 18222971, 1-B, 6.19.**
1: same obv. die as 180/1.

Caracalla

- 184** Æ. 25–6 mm, 10.61 g (2). Axis: 6 (1), 7 (1). [1]
 AYT M AY ANTΩNEINOC; laureate head of Caracalla, r.
 CIAAYEΩN; Mên standing r., crescent at shoulders,
 holding sceptre and pine cone, l. foot on bucranium

1. **Mu 4c. Acc. 97716**, 11.81; **2.** **CNG EA 409, 8 Nov. 2017, lot 424** = Saint Paul Antiques 3, 8 Apr. 2017, lot 218, 9.41.

Macrinus

- 185** Æ. 33 mm. [1]
 AYT KAI M OΠEΛ CEY MAKPEINOC CEB; laureate,
 draped and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from rear
 CIAAYEΩN; Mên on horseback, l., wearing Phrygian cap;
 behind his shoulders, crescent
1. **P 756** (= SNG 990).
- 186** Æ. 32–4 mm, 22.98 g (3). Axis: 6 (1), 12 (1). [2]
 OΠEΛ ANTΩ ΔIAΔOYMINIANOC KAIC; bare head of
 Diadumenian, r.
 CIAAYEΩN; Mên on horseback, l., wearing Phrygian cap;
 behind his shoulders, crescent
1. **B 18222973, B-I, 26.47**; **2.** **Cop** (= SNG 447), 19.20; **3.** **CNG 93, 22 May 2013, lot 851, 23.28.**
- 187** Æ. 23–5 mm, 9.56 g (3). Axis: 6 (1). [2]
 AYT KAI M OΠEΛ CEY MAKPEINOC CEB; laureate,
 draped and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from rear
 CIAAYEΩN; nude Hermes seated on rock, l., holding
 purse and caduceus
1. **P 757** (= SNG 991), 9.33; **2.** **V GR 18864, 10.65**; **3.** **Naumann 61, 7 Jan. 2018, lot 461, 8.71.**
- 188** Æ. 24 mm, 9.41 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [1]
 OΠEΛ ANTΩ ΔIAΔOYMENIANOC KAIC; bare-headed,
 draped and cuirassed bust of Diadumenian, r., seen from
 rear
 CIAAYEΩN; Hygieia standing r., feeding serpent from
 patera, facing Asclepius standing l., holding serpent staff
1. **B 18222974, Löbb., 9.41.**
- 189** Æ. 18 mm, 3.38 g (1). [0]
 AYT KAI M OΠEΛ CEY MAKPEINOC CE; laureate and
 cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r.
 CIAAYEΩN; laureate and draped bust of Apollo, r.
1. **Naumann 61, 7 Jan. 2018, lot 462, 3.38.**
- 190** Æ. 19 mm, 4.60 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [0]
 AYT KAI M OΠEΛ CEY MAKPEINOC CE; laureate, draped
 and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r.
 CIAAYEΩN; Themis (?) seated l., dropping pebble into urn
 and holding branch
1. **Winterthur G 7616, 4.60.**
- 191** Æ. 20 mm, 5.20 g (3). Axis: 5 (1), 6 (1). [1]
 AYT KAI M OΠEΛ CEY MAKPEINOC CE; laureate and
 cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from front

CIΛΛΥΕΩΝ; Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia

1. V GR 18865, 5.39; 2. CGT coll. = Saint Paul Antiques 15, 27 Jan. 2018, lot 378 = Saint Paul Antiques 3, 8 Apr. 2017, lot 225, 5.01; 3. SNG vA 4881, 5.19.

Aspendus

	35 mm	32 mm	25 mm	19 mm	Æ
<i>Septimius Severus</i>					
Numeral ΤΞΗ = 368 (and stylistically linked coins), between AD 202 and 205		17.92 g (1)	8.68 g (6)	3.96 g (6)	
Numeral ΤΞΘ = 369 (and stylistically linked coins)		23.69 g (2)			
<i>Caracalla</i>					
	22.17 g (1)			4.78 g (2)	
<i>Macrinus</i>					
	24.35 g (3)		12.36 g (3)	4.80 g (9)	g (0)

Septimius Severus

Numeral ΤΞΗ = 368 (and stylistically linked coins), between AD 202 and 205

192 Æ. 31 mm, 17.92 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [1]

ΑΥΤ Κ Π ΣΕΠΤ Γ[ΕΤΑC]; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Geta, r., seen from rear

ΑCΠΕΝΔΙΩΝ; Apollo standing l., holding branch and resting lyre on tripod, around which serpent is coiled

1. V GR 31337, 17.92.

193 Æ. 23–6 mm, 11.15 g (2). Axis: 6 (2). [1]

ΦΟΥΛ ΠΑΛΑΥΤΙΑΛΑ CΕΒΑCΤΗ; draped bust of Plautilla, r.

ΑCΠΕΝΔΙΩΝ; Tyche standing r., holding a cornucopia in each hand, l. foot resting on water urn

1. L 1884, 0609.11 (= BMC 84), 12.72; 2. CGT coll., 9.57.

194 Æ. 24–5 mm, 7.45 g (4). [2]

ΑΥΤ Κ Π ΣΕΠΤ ΓΕΤΑC; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Geta, r., seen from rear

ΑCΠΕΝΔΙΩΝ, ΘΕΜΙΔΟC Τ Ξ Η; inscription in wreath

1. P 117 (= SNG 166), 7.15; 2. P 1973.238 (= SNG 167), 7.37; 3. Chaponnière & Firmenich 13, 16 May 2021, lot 416, 7.69; 4. Naumann 47, 9 Oct. 2016, lot 349, 7.57.

1–2: same pair of dies.

195 Æ. 20 mm, 4.37 g (2). Axis: 6 (1). [0]

ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear

ΑCΠΕΝΔΙΩΝ; shrine with double pediment enclosing cult statues of the Aphroditai Kastnietides

1. CGT coll. = Naumann 53, 7 May 2017, lot 556, 3.60; 2. Savoca 19 Blue, 20 Apr. 2019, lot 907, 5.14.

196 Æ. 19 mm, 4.68 g (2). [2]

ΦΟΥΛ ΠΑΛΑΥΤΙΑΛΑ CΕΒΑC; draped bust of Plautilla, r.
ΑCΠΕΝΔΙΩΝ; double-pedimented temple containing statues of Aphroditai Kastnietides

1. P Ricci 512 (= SNG 164), 4.20; 2. P 118 (= SNG 165 = W3238a), 5.15.
1–2: same pair of dies.

197 Æ. 18 mm, 3.02 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [0]

ΑΥΤ Κ Π ΣΕΠΤ ΓΕΤΑC; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Geta, r., seen from rear

ΑCΠΕΝΔΙΩΝ; shrine with double pediment enclosing cult statues of the Aphroditai Kastnietides

1. CGT coll., 3.02.

198 Æ. 17 mm, 2.66 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [0]

ΑΥΤ Κ Π ΣΕΠΤ ΓΕΤΑC; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Geta, r., seen from rear

ΑCΠΕΝΔΙΩΝ; temple with two columns enclosing cult statues of the Aphroditai Kastnietides

1. CNG EA 268, 16 Nov. 2011, lot 236, 2.66.

Numeral ΤΞΘ = 369 (and stylistically linked coins)

199 Æ. 33 mm, 29.93 g (1). Axis: 1 (1). [1]

ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ; draped bust of Julia Domna, r.

ΑCΠΕΝΔΙΩΝ, ΘΕΜΙΔΟC Τ Ξ Θ; inscription in wreath

1. L 1896, 1007.24 (= BMC 82), 29.93.

- 200** Æ. 33 mm, 17.45 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [1]
 AY K MAP AY ANTΩNEINOC; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 AΠENΔIΩN; Homonoia standing l., holding patera over altera and cornucopia
1. L BNK, G.682 (= BMC 83), 17-45.
 The reverse legend is retrograde.

Caracalla

- 201** Æ. 35 mm, 22.17 g (1). [0]
 AY KA M AY CE ANTΩNEINOC; laureate, draped and bust of Caracalla, r., seen from front; on top, star
 AΠENΔIΩN; Sarapis standing l., raising hand above altar and holding sceptre; all within wreath
1. A Σ.Μ. 1904/05 IΣ' 174 (= J. Svoronos JIAN 6 (1903), p. 196.174 pl. XII, 9 [22,17/35/8] = Mavromichalis coll.), 22.17.
202 Æ. 19–20 mm, 4.79 g (2). Axis: 6 (2). [1]
 AY K M AY CEO ANTΩNEINOC; laureate head of Caracalla, r.
 AΠENΔIΩN; Isis standing l., holding sistrum and situla
1. L 1925, 0105.86, 5.04; 2. CGT coll., 4-53.

Macrinus

- 203** Æ. 38 mm, 23.68 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [1]
 [M] OΠEA ANTΩ ΔIAΔOYMEIANOC; bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Diadumenian, r., seen from rear
 AΠENΔIΩN; Agon, radiate, standing l., holding palm and casting vote in vase
1. L 1975, 0411.365, 23.68.
204 Æ. 34 mm, 21.74 g (1). Axis: 7 (1). [1]
 M ANTΩ ΔIAΔOYMEIANOC; bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Diadumenian, r., seen from rear
 AΠENΔIΩN; Isis enthroned l., head r. crowned with horns and disk, suckling the infant Harpocrates
1. B 18222815, 1914/674, 21.74.
205 Æ. 33 mm, 27.64 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [1]
 M ANTΩ ΔIAΔOYMEIANOC; bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Diadumenian, r., seen from rear

AΠENΔIΩN; Tyche standing facing, looking l., wearing kalathos, holding rudder and cornucopia
1. L 1885, 0606.246 (= BMC 87), 27.64.

- 206** Æ. 26 mm, 13.02 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [1]
 [] MAKPEINOC []; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from rear
 AΠENΔIΩN; Isis Pharia advancing r., looking back, wearing lotus, holding sail and sistrum
1. L 1874, 0716.58 (= BMC 85), 13.02.
207 Æ. 25 mm, 12.03 g (2). Axis: 12 (1). [1]
 M OΠEA ANT ΔIAΔOYMEIANOC KAI; bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Diadumenian, l., seen from rear
 AΠENΔIΩN; Isis Pharia advancing r., looking back, wearing lotus, holding sail and sistrum
1. B 18222816, B-I, 9.16; 2. SNG vA 4589, 14-90.
208 Æ. 18–21 mm, 4.90 g (6). Axis: 6 (4). [2]
 [] CEY MAKPEINOC CEΒ; radiate, laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from rear
 AΠENΔIΩN; Harpocrates standing nude facing, looking l., placing hand on his mouth and holding cornucopia
1. L 1890, 0110.13 (= BMC 86), 5-31; 2. P 119 (= SNG 168), 5-07; 3. CGT coll. = Naumann 36, 4 Oct. 2015, lot 474 = Naumann 36, 4 Oct. 2015, lot 474, 5-35; 4. CGT coll. = Saint Paul Antiques 13, 19 Nov. 2017, lot 452, 4-95; **5. Saint Paul Antiques 10, 2 Sept. 2017, lot 256** = Naumann 94, 4 Oct. 2020, lot 406, 4-10; 6. Savoca Blue 130, 9 Apr. 2022, lot 727 (Maximinus), 4-60.
209 Æ. 19–21 mm, 4.60 g (3). Axis: 6 (1), 12 (1). [0]
 [] CEY MAKPEINOC CEΒ; radiate, laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from rear
 AΠENΔIΩN; shrine with double pediment enclosing cult statues of the Aphroditai Kastnietides
1. CGT coll., 4-51; **2. CGT coll.**, 4-22; 3. Naumann 82, 6 Oct. 2019, lot 337, 5-07.
210 Æ. [0]
 —
 AΠENΔIΩN; Sarapis enthroned on the left in a hexastyle temple, wearing a kalathos, his right hand stretched out above Cerberus, a sceptre in his left hand.
1. Price & Trell 1977, 198, fig. 381 = Trell coll.
 The obverse is not illustrated but it is said to be a coin of Macrinus.

Side

	36 mm	33 mm	24 mm	19 mm
<i>Septimius Severus</i>				
	24.74 g (1)	16.87 g (17)	8.62 g (17)	4.13 g (15)
AD 209–12		16.93 g (3)	7.48 g (3)	4.61 g (6)
<i>Caracalla</i>				
	25.75 g (1)	18.38 g (9)	8.25 g (5)	4.62 g (5)
<i>Macrinus</i>				
		21.11 g (10)	8.65 g (3)	4.29 g (1)

Septimius Severus

- 211** Æ. 36 mm, 24.74 g (1). [1]

ΑΥ Κ Α ΣΕΠ ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟC ΠΕΡΤΙ; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
CΙΑΗΤΩΝ; temple with two columns enclosing Athena seated l., holding Nike and spear; pomegranate in pediment

1. **P 604** (= SNG 810), 24.74.

- 212** Æ. 28 mm, 15.20 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [0]

ΑΥ Κ Α ΣΕΠ ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟC ΠΕΡΤΙ; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
CΙΑΗΤΩΝ; Athena standing l., head r., holding patera and transverse spear

1. **CGT coll.**, 15.20.

- 213** Æ. 29–33 mm, 17.52 g (4). Axis: 6 (1), 7 (1). [1]

ΑΥ Κ Α ΣΕΠ ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟC ΠΕΡΤΙ; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
CΙΑΗΤΩΝ; Athena standing r., holding spear and clasping hands with Apollo Sidetes standing l., holding long sceptre

1. V GR 18339, 15.42; 2. CGT coll., 14.87; **3. Leu WA 1, 25 June 2017, lot 776**, 17.66; 4. SNG vA 4816, 22.13.

- 214** Æ. 29–31 mm, 15.32 g (5). Axis: 6 (4). [3]

ΑΥ Κ Α ΣΕΠ ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟC ΠΕΡΤΙΝ; laureate head of Septimius Severus, r., with side of drapery on l. shoulder
CΙΑΗΤΩΝ; temple with two columns enclosing Athena seated l., holding Nike and spear; pomegranate in pediment

1. L (= BMC 81), 15.40; 2. B 18225395, Löbb., 18.53; 3. B 18222939, I-B, 12.33; 4. CGT coll., 14.13; **5. Themis 9, 11 Apr. 2021, lot 382**, 16.20.

- 215** Æ. [0]

ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΚΤΗ; draped bust of Julia Domna r.
CΙΑΗΤΩΝ; Nike riding in quadriga of horses, r., holding wreath, palm, and reins

1. .

- 216** Æ. 34 mm, 17.34 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [1]

ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡΗΛ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC ΣΕ; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
CΙΑΗΤΩΝ; Athena standing l., crowning trophy, holding thunderbolt

1. **V GR 18840**, 17.34.

- 217** Æ. 30 mm, 19.14 g (1). [1]

ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝ; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
CΙΑΗΤΩΝ; Athena standing, facing l., head r., holding patera and transverse spear

1. **P 611** (= SNG 815), 19.14.

- 218** Æ. 32–3 mm, 16.19 g (2). Axis: 6 (1). [1]

[] ΑΥΡΗΛ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC []; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
CΙΑΗΤΩΝ; Nike riding in quadriga of horses, r., holding wreath, palm, and reins

1. **P 610** (= SNG 814), 18.31; 2. CGT coll., 14.06.

- 219** Æ. 32–4 mm, 18.63 g (2). [1]

ΣΕΒΑΚΤΗ ΠΛΑΥΤΙΛΛΑ; draped bust of Plautilla, r.
CΙΑΗΤΩΝ; Plautilla standing r., clasping hands over altar with Caracalla, togate, standing l.

1. P 618 (= SNG 819), 17.88; **2. CNG Mail Bid Sale 67, 22 Sept. 2004, lot 1113**, 19.38.

- 220** Æ. 34 mm, 18.89 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [1]

ΣΕΒΑΚΤΗ ΠΛΑΥΤΙΛΛΑ; draped bust of Plautilla, r.

CIΔHTΩN; river god Melas reclining l., holding cornucopia and reed and resting on vase from which water flows; to l. above, Nymph reclining r., holding veil and leaning on stone or vase

1. **B 18222953, I-B** (= *AM* II, p. 338, no. 19), 18.89.

- 221** Æ. 22–4 mm, 7.83 g (2). Axis: 5 (1). [2]

[AY] K Λ CEΠCEOYHPOC ΠE[]; laureate head of Septimius Severus, r., with side of drapery on l. shoulder
CIΔHTΩN; Athena standing l., dropping pebble into ballot urn and holding palm

1. **P 605** (= SNG 811), 9.50; 2. V GR 32184, 6.15.

- 222** Æ. 24–5 mm, 9.08 g (2). Axis: 6 (1). [2]

IOYΛIA AYTOYCTA; draped bust of Julia Domna, r.
CIΔHTΩN; Athena standing l., crowning trophy, holding thunderbolt

1. P 606 (= SNG 812), 9.77; 2. **B 18222944, 1853/12605**, 8.39.

- 223** Æ. 22 mm, 8.63 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [0]

IOYΛIA AYTOYCTA; draped bust of Julia Domna, r.
CIΔHTΩN; Athena standing l., dropping pebble into ballot urn and holding trophy

1. **CGT coll.**, 8.63.

- 224** Æ. 25 mm, 7.41 g (1). [0]

IOYΛIA ΔOMNA C; draped bust of Julia Domna, r.
CIΔHTΩN; Athena standing l., head, r., holding patera and transverse spear

1. **SNG vA 4818**, 7.41.

- 225** Æ. 23 mm, 8.70 g (2). Axis: 6 (1). [1]

AYT K M AYP ANTΩNEIN; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
CIΔHTΩN; Apollo Sidetes standing l., holding patera and long sceptre

1. P 624 (= SNG 820), 7.27; 2. **CNG EA 368, 10 Feb. 2016, lot 246 (Elagabalus)**, 10.13.

- 226** Æ. 23–4 mm, 7.46 g (3). Axis: 6 (2). [2]

AY KAI M AYP ANTΩNEIN; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
CIΔHTΩN; Athena standing l., dropping pebble into ballot urn and holding palm

1. **P** (= Wa 3465 = SNG 827 (Elagabalus)), 6.39; 2. B 18222949, I-B, 7.56; 3. **CGT coll.**, 8.42.

1: same obv. die as 228/2.

- 227** Æ. 24–5 mm, 8.72 g (3). Axis: 5 (1), 6 (1). [1]

AY K M AYP ANTΩNEIN; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear

CIΔHTΩN; Athena standing l., head, r., holding patera and transverse spear

1. L 1948,0607.21, 7.03; 2. **CGT coll.**, 9.04; 3. **Naumann 52, 2 Apr. 2017, lot 349 (Elagabalus)**, 10.10.

- 228** Æ. 24–7 mm, 9.70 g (2). Axis: 6 (1). [1]

AY KAI M AYP ANTΩNEIN; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear

CIΔHTΩN; river god Melas reclining l., holding reed and cornucopia, resting on vase from which water flows in which fish swim

1. **B 18222950, B-I**, 9.70; 2. Gorny & Mosch EA 271, 29 May 2020, lot 673 (Elagabalus), 9.70.

2: same obv. die as 226/1.

- 229** Æ. 25–6 mm, 11.33 g (1). [1]

AY KAI M AYP ANTΩNEIN; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear

CIΔHTΩN; Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopia

1. P 612 (= SNG 828); 2. **Helios 5, 25 June 2010, lot 1008**, 11.33.

- 230** Æ. 18–20 mm, 3.97 g (6). Axis: 6 (5). [3]

AYT K Λ C CEOYHPOC ΠEPTI; laureate bust of Septimius Severus, r.

CIΔHT; Athena advancing l., holding pomegranate and shield; standing on serpent

1. L (= BMC 83), 3.75; 2. B 18222940, Löbb., 4.21; 3. V GR 34502, 4.70; 4. **CGT coll.**, 4.23; 5. **CGT coll.**, 3.01; 6. **Helios 5, 25 June 2010, lot 1007**, 3.90.

- 231** Æ. 17–21 mm, 4.95 g (3). Axis: 6 (3). [1]

AYT K Λ C CEOYHPOC ΠEPTI; laureate bust of Septimius Severus, r.

CIΔHTΩN; Athena advancing, l., holding pomegranate and shield, on serpent

1. L 1839,0919.405 (= BMC 82), 4.39; 2. **CGT coll.**, 4.43; 3. **CNG EA 244, 10 Nov. 2010, lot 323**, 6.03.

- 232** Æ. 18 mm, 4.37 g (1). [0]

AYT K Λ C CEOYHPOC ΠEPTI; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r., seen from rear
CIΔHTΩN; Athena standing r., holding spear and shield

1. **Savoca 110th Blue Auction, 14 Aug. 2021, lot 738**, 4.37.

- 233** Æ. 18–20 mm, 3.59 g (4). Axis: 6 (2). [2]

AY K Λ C CEOYHPOC ΠEPTI; laureate bust of Septimius Severus, r.

CIΔHTΩN; Nike advancing l., holding wreath and trophy

1. **B 18222942, 1925/371**, 4.13; 2. B 18222941, I-B, 3.68; 3. **Savoca 115th Blue Auction**, 9 Oct. 2021, lot 709, 3.84; 4. **Savoca 31st Blue Auction**, 25 Apr. 2020, lot 828, 2.71.

- 234** Æ. 4.52 g (1). [o]
 AY KAI M AY ANTΩNΕIN[OC C]; laureate, draped and
 cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 CIAHTΩN; Athena standing facing, head l., holding patera
 and transverse spear
1. SNG vA 4819, 4-52.

AD 209–12

- 235** Æ. 33 mm, 18.44 g (1). [1]
 AY K ΠO CEΠ ΓETAC; laureate head of Geta, r., with side
 of drapery on l. shoulder
 CIAHTΩN; river god Melas reclining, l., holding reed and
 resting on vase from which water flows in which fish swim
1. P 619 (= SNG 822), 18.44.

- 236** Æ. 32 mm, 16.18 g (2). Axis: 6 (1). [2]
 AY K ΠO CEΠ ΓETAC; laureate head of Geta, r., with side
 of drapery on l. shoulder
 CIAHTΩN; Sarapis standing l., raising r. hand and holding
 sceptre
1. L 1975,0411.236, 14-55; **2. P 616** (= SNG 823), 17.80; **3. Auction
 Athena 2, 1988, 395. PSammlungen Pfalz 2598.**
 According to J. Nollé, 'Side: Zur Geschichte Einer Kleinasiatichen Stadt
 in Der Römischen Kaiserzeit Im Spiegel Ihrer Münzen', *Antike Welt* 21.4
 (1990), pp. 244–65, this coin type should be dated to the joint reign of
 Caracalla and Geta in AD 211/12.

- 237** Æ. 25 mm, 8.46 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [1]
 AY K ΠO CE ΓETAC; laureate head of Geta, r., with side of
 drapery on l. shoulder
 CIAHTΩN; Apollo Sidetes standing l., holding patera and
 long sceptre
1. L 1975,0411.235, 8.46.

- 238** Æ. 25 mm, 8.19 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [2]
 AY K ΠO CE ΓETAC; laureate head of Geta, r., with side of
 drapery on l. shoulder
 CIAHTΩN; Athena standing l., head, r., holding patera
 and transverse spear
1. L 1901,0601.131, 8.19; **2. P 620** (= SNG 824).

- 239** Æ. 25 mm, 5.80 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [o]
 AY K ΠO CE ΓETAC; laureate head of Geta, r., with side of
 drapery on l. shoulder
 CIAHTΩN; Cybele seated on on lion, r.
1. CGT coll. ex G. Rohde coll., 5.80.

- 240** Æ. 4.40 g (1). [1]
 AYK K CE ΓETA; laureate head of Geta, r.
 CIAHTΩN; Athena advancing l., holding pomegranate
 and shield; at l., serpent

1. Cop (= SNG 420), 4-40.

- 241** Æ. 19 mm, 4.66 g (2). [2]
 AY K ΠO CE ΓETAC; laureate head of Geta, r., with side of
 drapery on l. shoulder
 CIAHTΩN; Selene standing l., holding torch and
 cornucopia, l. font on prow
1. P 615 (= SNG 820), 4-80; **2. P 621** (= SNG 821), 4-51.

- 242** Æ. 19 mm, 4.66 g (3). Axis: 1 (1), 12 (1). [1]
 AY K Π CE ΓETAC; laureate head of Geta, r., with side of
 drapery on l. shoulder
 CIAHTΩN; Tyche advancing r., holding cornucopia, l. foot
 on prow
1. L 1894,0706.96 (= BMC 85), 3.81; **2. CGT coll.**, 4-72; **3. SNG vA
 4820**, 5-45.

Caracalla

- 243** Æ. 37 mm, 25.75 g (1). [o]
 IOYΛIA ΔOMNA C; draped bust of Julia Domna, r.
 CIAHTΩN; emperor (Caracalla?) galloping (over foe?), r.,
 brandishing spear
1. SNG vA 4817, 25-75.

- 244** Æ. 32 mm, 20.27 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [1]
 IOYΛIA ΔOMNA C; draped bust of Julia Domna, r.
 CIAHTΩN; Athena seated l., holding bust of Caracalla,
 leaning against shield; below, galley
1. B 18222943, I-B, 20.27; **2. PSammlung Mossop 77.**
 Countermark: denominational mark Ε (*GIC* 803; on obv. of 1).

- 245** Æ. 31–2 mm, 22.61 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [2]
 AY K M AY CEOY ANTΩNΕINOC; laureate, draped and
 cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear
 CIAHTΩN; Athena seated l., holding bust of Caracalla,
 leaning against shield; below, galley
1. L 1975,0411.234, 22.61; **2. P 613** (= SNG 816).
 Countermark: denominational mark Ε (*GIC* 803; on obv. of 1, 2).

- 246** Æ. 31 mm, 14.89 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [1]
 AY K M AY CEOY ANTΩNΕINOC; laureate head of
 Caracalla, r.
 CIAHTΩN; Athena standing l., dropping pebble into ballot
 urn and holding palm
1. B 18222947, 1929/1435, 14.89.

- 247** Æ. 29 mm, 20.02 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [1]
 AY K M AY CEOY ANTΩNΕINOC; laureate head of
 Caracalla, r.

CIΔHTΩN; Athena standing, facing, head, r., crowning trophy, holding thunderbolt

1. **O**, 20.02.

- 248** Æ. 35 mm, 15.95 g (1). [1]

AY K E M AY ANT[]; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear

CIΔHTΩN; galley l. with rowers

1. **C CM.1463–1950** (= SNG 5108), 15.95.

Countermark: denominational mark E and two pellets (*GIC* 804; on obv. of 1).

- 249** Æ. 34 mm, 22.54 g (1). [0]

AY K E M AY CEOYHPOC ANTΩNEINOC; laureate and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear

CIΔHTΩN; on the l., laureate and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., on low column; at the centre, legionary standard; on the r., Tyche standing l., raising hand and holding cornucopia

1. **Nomos AG 15, 22 Oct 2017, Lot 269**, 22.54.

- 250** Æ. 15.79 g (1). [0]

AY K E M AY CEOYHPOC ANTΩNEINOC; laureate and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear

CIΔHTΩN; on the l., laureate and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., on low column; on the r., Athena (?) standing l., holding spear

1. **Boston 68.778**, 15.79.

- 251** Æ. 30–1 mm, 16.68 g (2). Axis: 6 (2). [2]

AY K M AY CEOY ANTΩNEINOC; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear; on top, star

CIΔHTΩN; river god Melas reclining, l., holding reed and resting on vase from which water flows

1. B 18222946, 1896/1155, 15.61; **2.** **V GR 18841**, 17.74.

- 252** Æ. 22–4 mm, 8.46 g (2). Axis: 6 (1), 12 (1). [0]

A(Y) K M AY CE(OY) ANTΩN(E)IN(OC); laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear

CIΔHTΩN; Athena standing, facing, head, r., holding patera and transverse spear

1. CGT coll., 8.86; **2.** **CGT coll.**, 8.06.

- 253** Æ. 24 mm, 8.64 g (1). [0]

A K M A CEOYH ANTONINOC; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear

CIΔHTΩN; Sarapis standing l., wearing kalathos, raising hand and holding sceptre; to l., altar

1. **Münz Zentrum 194, 15 Sept. 2021, lot 186**, 8.64.

- 254** Æ. 23 mm, 7.32 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [1]

AY K M AY CEOY ANTΩNEIN; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear

CIΔHTΩN; ship with sail and oars, r.; underneath waves

1. **O**, 7.32.

- 255** Æ. 23 mm, 8.35 g (1). Axis: 5 (1). [1]

AY K M AY CEOY ANTΩNEIN; laureate head of Caracalla, r.

CIΔHTΩN; temple with two columns enclosing shield

1. **L 1974.0102.43** (under Side), 8.35.

The reverse is otherwise known only for Synnada in Phrygia.

- 256** Æ. 18–19 mm, 4.88 g (3). Axis: 7 (1), 12 (2). [2]

AY K M AY CE ANTONNEINOC; laureate head of Caracalla, r.

CIΔHTΩN; Athena advancing, l., holding pomegranate and shield; below serpent

1. B 18222952, Löbb., 5.02; **2.** **B 18222951, 1866/28764**, 4.66; **3.** CGT coll., 4.97.

- 257** Æ. 17 mm, 4.43 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [0]

AY K M AY CEOY ANTΩNEINOC; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear

CIΔHTΩN; Athena standing, r., holding spear and shield

1. **CGT coll.** = Pecunem 37, 1 Nov. 2015, lot 553, 4.43.

- 258** Æ. 18 mm, 4.02 g (1). [1]

AY K M AY CEOY ANTΩNEINOC; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r., seen from rear

CIΔHTΩN; Nike advancing l., holding wreath and palm; in front, altar or stele

1. **P 614** (= SNG 817), 4.02.

Macrinus

- 259** Æ. 21.90 g (1). [0]

AY K M OΠ CEOYH MAKPEINOC CEB; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from front

CIΔHTΩN; Apollo Sidetes standing l., holding patera and and long sceptre, to l. tripod, to r. lyre

1. **Münz Zentrum 168, 27 Dec. 2013, lot 292**, 21.90.

Countermark: denominational mark E (*GIC* 803; on obv. of 1).

- 260** Æ. 33 mm, 21.08 g (2). Axis: 1 (1). [0]

AY K M OΠ CEOYH MAKPEINOC CE; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from front

CIΔHTΩN; Athena advancing l., head r., holding thunderbolt and aegis

1. **Leu WA 7, 23 Feb. 2019, lot 757**, 23.20; **2.** SNG vA 4821, 18.95.

Countermark: denominational mark E (*GIC* 803; on obv. of 2).

- 261** Æ. 34 mm, 22.45 g (2). [0]
 AY K M OΠ CΕΟΥΗ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC CEB; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from front
 CIAHTΩN; Athena standing facing, looking r., holding spear; at feet shield, and clasping hands with Apollo Sidetes standing facing, looking l., holding long sceptre
1. Gorny & Mosch 160, 9 Oct. 2007, lot 1950, 26.05; 2. M&M GmbH 12, 10 Apr. 2003, lot 228, 18.85.
- 262** Æ. 34 mm, 19.43 g (1). [0]
 A K M OΠ CΕΟΥΗΡ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC CΕ; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from rear
 CIAHTΩN; Athena standing facing, looking r., holding spear; at feet shield, and clasping hands with Apollo Sidetes standing facing, looking l., holding long sceptre
1. Gorny & Mosch Online 278, 21 Apr. 2021, lot 3557, 19.43.
 Countermark: denominational mark Ε (*GIC* 803; on obv. of 1).
- 263** Æ. 32 mm, 20.02 g (1). Axis: 12 (1). [1]
 AY K M OΠ CΕΟΥΗ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC CEB; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from front
 CIAHTΩN; Athena standing r., holding thunderbolt and sceptre against which rests shield with branches; in front, pomegranate
1. O, 20.02.
- 264** Æ. 32–3 mm, 24.25 g (1). [1]
 AY K M OΠ CΕΟΥΗ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC CEB; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from front
 CIAHTΩN; Sarapis standing l., raising hand and holding sceptre; to l., altar
- 265** Æ. 34 mm, 19.21 g (2). Axis: 6 (1), 11 (1). [2]
 AY K M OΠ CΕΟΥΗ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC CEB; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from front
 CIAHTΩN; temple with two columns enclosing Athena seated l., holding Nike and spear; eagle in pediment
1. B 18222953, Löbb., 18.11; **2. O**, 20.30.
 Countermark: denominational mark Ε (*GIC* 803; on obv. of 1, 2).
- 266** Æ. 27 mm, 8.67 g (1). [1]
 A K M OΠ CΕΥΗ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC CΕ; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from rear
 CIAHTΩN; Athena standing l., head, r., holding patera and transverse spear
1. P 622 (= SNG 823), 8.67.
- 267** Æ. 24 mm, 8.64 g (2). Axis: 12 (1). [1]
 A K M OΠ CΕΥΗ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC CΕ; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from rear
 CIAHTΩN; the three Charites
1. B 18222956, I-B, 7.75; 2. Album 33, 17 Jan. 2019, lot 52 (tooled), 9.53.
- 268** Æ. 20 mm, 4.29 g (1). Axis: 6 (1). [1]
 A K M []; laureate and cuirassed bust of Macrinus, r., seen from front, with gorgoneion on cuirass
 CIAHTΩN; Nike advancing l., holding wreath and palm
1. L (= BMC 86), 4.29.
 The attribution to Macrinus is not certain and based only on the portrait.



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Plate 1

ATTALEA

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Plate 2

ATTALEA (cont.)

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MAGYDUS

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Plate 3

MAGYDUS (cont.)

PERGE

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Plate 4

PERGE (cont.)

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Plate 5

PERGE (cont.)

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Plate 6

PERGE (cont.)

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Plate 7

PERGE (cont.)

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Plate 8

PERGE (cont.)

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SILLYUM

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Plate 9

SILLYUM (cont.)

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Plate 10

SILLYUM (cont.)

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Plate 11

ASPENDUS

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Plate 12

ASPENDUS (cont.)

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SIDE

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Plate 13

SIDE (cont.)

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Plate 14

SIDE (cont.)

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Plate 15

SIDE (cont.)

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Plate 16

SIDE (cont.)

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