WILLIAM E. METCALF[1]

A LATE SECOND-CENTURY HOARD
OF POSTHUMOUS ALEXANDERS

Plates 1–3

In August, 1991, a lot of 299 tetradrachms was brought to the American Numismatic Society for examination. The coins were said to have been part of a larger lot, of unspecified provenance, a portion of which had already been scheduled for sale later that autumn in Germany. Though the coins had been cleaned, everything about their appearance suggested that they had been associated in antiquity; this impression was confirmed after the coins had been sorted by the consistency of their wear and indeed the homogeneity of the whole lot.

The following abbreviations are used:

Heipp	C. Heipp, Untersuchungen zu den hellenistischen Münzen der lykischen Stadt Phaselis (Diss. Saarbrücken 1987)
Mattingly, Ma'Aret	H. B. Mattingly, The Ma'Aret en-Nu'man Hoard, 1980, in: M. Price, A. Burnett, and R. Bland, eds., Essays in Honour of Robert Carson and Kenneth Jenkins (London 1993), pp. 69–86.
Price	M. J. Price, The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus. A British Museum Catalogue (Zurich/London 1991).
Seyrig, Trésors	H. Seyrig, Trésors du Levant anciens et nouveaux (Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 94 = Trésors monétaires séleucides 2) (Paris 1973).

In addition the following hoards are frequently referred to by name only:

'Ain Tab:	Seyrig, Trésors, no. 13, pp. 58–61. IGCH 1542. The author is preparing an amended and more detailed listing of the hoard.
Aleppo:	Seyrig, Trésors, no. 12, pp. 56–58. IGCH 1546.
Khan Cheikhoun:	Seyrig, Trésors, no. 14, pp. 61–65. IGCH 1537.
Latakia:	Seyrig, Trésors, no. 11, pp. 49–56. IGCH 1544.
Propontis:	N. M. Waggoner, The Propontis Hoard (IGCH 888), RN 1979, pp. 7–29.
Tell Kotchek:	Seyrig, Trésors, no. 15, pp. 65–71. IGCH 1773.
Urfa:	IGCH 1772; Price, p. 64.

Photographs of all coins, and casts of some of them, were made immediately with the assistance of staff photographer Frank Deak and curatorial assistant Johanna Bergmann. The coins were weighed and their die axes recorded, and die comparisons were made. Virtually all the die links reported in the catalogue were identified from the coins themselves, with the exception of those between coins from the lot and those which were later sold by Numismatik Lanz in the firm's auction 58, 21 November 1991.[2]

A summary of the contents of the two lots confirms the impression of their homogeneity, and strengthens the likelihood that the two together compose a single find:

	New York	Munich	Total
Parium		1	1
Assos		1	1
Kyme	13	10	23
Myrina	8	4	12
Temnos	31	8	39
Methymna		1	1
Mytilene	2	5	7
Chios	1		1
Alabanda	27	7	34
Halicarnassus		1	1
Nisyros		1	1
Phaselis	63	5	68
Aspendus	97	21	118
Magydus	3	1	4
Perge	31	13	44
Uncertain Alexanders	11		11
Side	12	1	13
Total	299	80	379

The coins are now dispersed. Apart from the coins sold by Lanz, the coins seen in New York were returned to the vendor, and the author has subsequently seen isolated examples from this latter group both in the trade and in private collections in Europe and America.

It is a matter for great regret that the provenance of the hoard is unrecorded and presumably irrecoverable. As will emerge from the discussion, the hoard almost undoubtedly comes from eastern Anatolia, but this has to be inferred from its contents, so there is an inevitable element of circularity involved in using its

[2] A concordance between lot numbers and hoard catalogue numbers is provided below. Thanks are due to Dr. Hubert Lanz for permission to use the catalogue photographs here.

evidence to add to the picture of second-century circulation there. There is no way of knowing whether the lot as described here is complete. This lot joins the company of others of the period, almost all of which are of unknown provenance and completeness; as the Table on p. 49 shows, hoards containing Alexanders of the period often include other components, mainly of Side but also Seleucid. The best that can be said, at this writing, is that there is no information to suggest that Seleucid or other issues were originally present, and none likely to be associated with the material reported here has recently appeared in trade.

In spite of these uncertainties, the record is worth making, for the hoard is among the largest of its period to be recorded in detail; and, as we shall see, analysis of it and related hoards may alter our view of the currency of the period.

II. CATALOGUE

The catalogue follows the order of presentation in Price («P.»). «Lanz» followed by lot number refers to the catalogue of Numismatik Lanz 58, 21 Nov. 1991, to which a concordance is provided. Axis is given only if not 12. Coins marked with an asterisk (*) are illustrated on plates 1–3.

Posthumous issues of Alexander the Great

Obv.   Head of Herakles in lion-skin r.

Rev.   Zeus seated l. on throne holding eagle in outstretched r. and sceptre in l. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ downward behind.

PARIUM (1)

No.	Weight Axis	Remarks	Countermark	Reference
1.*	15.97	Altar and monogram in l., mask of comedy below throne. Same obv. die as Seyrig, ANSCent 39.		P. 1469v. Lanz 184.

ASSOS (1)

No.	Weight Axis	Remarks	Countermark	Reference
2.*	16.28	Griffin and monogram in l., wreath in ex.		P. -, cf. 1605– 1608; Lanz 186.

KYME (23)

No.	Weight Axis	Remarks	Countermark	Reference
3.	14.83	Monogram and jug.		P. 1632. Lanz 187.
4.	15.95 11	Monogram and jug.		P. 1633. Lanz 189.

5.	15.87	Similar. Obv. die of 6.	P. 1633.
6.	15.56	Similar. Obv. die of 5.	P. 1633.
7.*	15.41	Monogram and jug.	P. -; Lanz 188.
8.	15.82	AΘENIKΩN and jug.	P. 1635. Lanz 193.
9.	15.43	Similar.	P. 1635.
10.*	16.03	AΘENKΩN [sic] and jug.	P. 1635v. Lanz 192.
11.	15.97	ΘEOΔOTOΣ and jug.	P. 1637v. Lanz 191.
12.	16.08	ΔIOΓENHΣ and jug. Obv. die of 13–15.	P. 1638.
13.	16.17	Similar. Obv. die of 12, 14–15.	P. 1638.
14.	16.01	Similar. Obv. die of 12, 13; dies of 15.	P. 1638. Lanz 190.
15.	13.25 broken	Similar; Obv. die of 12, 13; dies of 14.	P. 1638.
16.	16.03	Jug and horse protome, ΔIONYΣIOΣ. Obv. die of 17–19.	P. 1640. Lanz 194.
17.	16.03	Similar. Obv. die of 16, 18–19.	P. 1640.
18.	15.95	Similar. Obv. die of 16–17, 19.	P. 1640.
19.	15.75	Similar. Obv. die of 16–18.	P. 1640.
20.	15.71	Jug in wreath, YBPIΣTAΣ. Obv. die of 21.	P. 1643.
21.	15.62	Similar. Obv. die of 20.	P. 1643.
22.	15.30	Similar.	P. 1643. Lanz 196.
23.	15.99	Jug in wreath, EPMΩN.	P. 1644. Lanz 195.
24.	15.66	Similar.	P. 1644.
25.	15.49	Similar.	P. 1644.

MYRINA (12)

26.	16.03	Monogram and amphora in l. Dies of 27–28.	P. 1659.
27.	16.00	Dies of 26, 28.	P. 1659.
28.	15.88	Dies of 26–27.	P. 1659.
29.	15.89	Similar. Obv. die of 30; obv. die of 26–28 recut?	P. 1659. Lanz 200.

30.	15.55	Similar. Obv. die of 29; obv. die of 26–28 recut?	P. 1659.
31.	15.74	Similar.	P. 1659.
32.	15.56	Similar.	P. 1659.
33.	15.33	Similar.	P. 1659.
34.	15.81	Amphora and palm branch.	P. 1662. Lanz 197.
35.	15.04	Similar. Obv. die of 34 recut?	P. 1662.
36.	15.52	MΥPI, amphora in l.	P. 1663. Lanz 199.
37.	16.06	MΥPI, amphora in l.; omphalos below throne.	P. 1664. Lanz 198.

TEMNOS (39)

38.	15.99	Monogram, E; oinochoe r. beneath vine-tendril.	P. 1676.
39.	15.89	Similar.	P. 1676.
40.	15.82	Similar.	P. 1676. Lanz 203.
41.	15.75	Similar. Obv. die of 42.	P. 1676.
42.	15.52	Similar. Obv. die of 41.	P. 1676.
43.	15.45	Similar.	P. 1676.
44.	15.33	Similar.	P. 1676.
45.*	16.27	Monogram, C. Oinochoe r. beneath vine-tendril.	P. 1676v. Lanz 202.
46.	15.97	2 monograms. Oinochoe r. beneath vine-tendril.	P. 1678.
47.	15.78	Similar. Obv. die of 48.	P. 1678.
48.	15.38	Similar. Obv. die of 47. Double struck.	P. 1678.
49.	15.72	Similar.	P. 1678. Lanz 204.
50.	16.14	2 monograms. Oinochoe r. beneath vine-tendril.	P. 1679.
51.	16.08	Similar. Obv. die of 52.	P. 1679.
52.	15.11	Similar (monograms effaced). Obv. die of 51.	P. 1679.
53.	15.91	Similar.	P. 1679.
54.	15.88	Similar.	P. 1679.
55.	15.69	Similar.	P. 1679.

56.	15.66	Similar.		P. 1679.
57.	15.55	Similar.		P. 1679.
58.	15.53	Similar.		P. 1679.
59.	15.40	Similar.		P. 1679.
60.	14.90	Similar.		P. 1679.
61.	15.83	2 monograms. Oinochoe r. beneath vine-tendril.		P. 1680. Lanz 207.
62.	15.62	2 monograms. Oinochoe r. beneath vine-tendril.		P. 1686. Lanz 205.
63.	15.44	Similar.		P. 1686.
64.	15.46	2 monograms. Oinochoe r. beneath vine-tendril.		P. 1687v. Lanz 208.
65.	16.14	2 monograms. Oinochoe r. beneath vine-tendril.		P. 1689.
66.	16.02	Similar.		P. 1689. Lanz 206.
67.	15.88	Similar.		P. 1689.
68.	15.75	Similar.		P. 1689.
69.	15.99	ΕΧΕΝΙΚΟΣ in l., ΓΕΙΤΑΣ below throne. Oinochoe r. beneath vine-tendril.		P. 1690. Lanz 201.
70.	15.79	Similar.		P. 1690.
71.	15.93	Monograms effaced. Oinochoe r. beneath vine-tendril.		
72.	15.75	Similar.		
73.	15.63	Similar.		
74.	15.61	Similar.		
75.	15.07	Similar.		
76.	14.07	Similar.		

METHYMNA (1)

77.*	15.35	2 monograms, Arion on dolphin r. in l.		P. -. Lanz 209.

MYTILENE (7)

78.	15.94	1	Monogram and chelys l.	P. 1707v. Lanz 220.
79.	15.92		Monogram and chelys l., exergual line ends in club r.	P. -. Lanz 222.

80.	15.66		Monogram and chelys l., Δ below throne		P. -.
81.	15.62	11	Monogram and chelys l., Δ below throne.		P. -. Lanz 219.
82.	16.13		Monogram and chelys l., I in ex.		P. -.
83.	15.86		Monogram and chelys l., I in ex.		P. -. Lanz 221.
84.	16.33		Monogram and chelys l., ivy leaf below throne.		P. 1736. Lanz 218.

CHIOS (1)

| 85. | 15.12 | | AP, sphinx on amphora in l., ΛΑΣΩΝ in ex.; dies of Price 2435 = Bauslaugh, ANSMN 24, series 81, dies 91-235. | | P. 2435. |

ALABANDA (34)

86.*	16.32	11	Pegasus in l., monogram below throne	Tyche head r. on obv.	P. 2455. Lanz 250.
87.	16.01		Similar.		P. 2455.
88.	15.94		Similar.	Tyche head r. on obv.	P. 2455.
89.	16.01		Pegasus in l., monogram and caduceus below throne	Tyche head r. on obv.	P. 2456.
90.	15.92		Similar.		P. 2456.
91.	15.91		Similar.		P. 2456.
92.	16.15		Pegasus and A in l., A below throne		P. 2458.
93.	16.12	11	Similar.		P. 2458. Lanz 255.
94.	16.31	11	Star and Pegasus in l., A below throne		P. 2459. Lanz 256.
95.	16.21	11	Similar.	Tyche head r. on obv.	P. 2459.
96.	16.41		Pegasus in l., A below throne. Obv. die of 97.	Tyche head r. on obv.	P. 2460.
97.	15.36		Similar. Obv. die of 96.		P. 2460.
98.	16.30		Similar.	Tyche head r. on obv.	P. 2460.
99.*	16.11		Similar.	Grapes and tendril on obv.	P. 2460.

100.	15.96	11 Similar.		P. 2460. Lanz 251.
101.	15.73	Similar.		P. 2460.
102.	15.44	Similar. Obv. die of 103.	Tyche head r. on obv.	P. 2460.
103.	14.76	11 Similar. Obv. die of 102.		P. 2460.
104.	15.39	Similar.		P. 2460.
105.	15.24	Pegasus in l., B below throne.	Anchor in oval incuse on obv.	P. 2461.
106.	15.96	Pegasus in l., Δ below throne.		P. 2463. Lanz 252.
107.	15.85	Similar.	Tyche head r. on obv.	P. 2463.
108.	15.87	Pegasus in l., E below throne.		P. 2464. Lanz 253.
109.	15.78	Similar.		P. 2464.
110.	15.61	Similar.		P. 2464.
111.	15.46	Similar.		P. 2464.
112.	16.40	Pegasus in l., C below throne.	Tyche head r. on obv.	P. 2466. Lanz 254.
113.	16.17	Similar. Dies of 114, obv. die of 115–117.	Tyche head r. on obv.	P. 2466.
114.	15.83	Similar. Dies of 113, obv. die of 115–117.		P. 2466.
115.	15.86	Similar. Obv. die of 113–114, 116–117.	Tyche head r. on obv.	P. 2466.
116.	15.68	Similar. Obv. die of 113–115, 117.		P. 2466.
117.	15.48	Similar. Obv. die of 113–116.		P. 2466.
118.	15.95	Similar.		P. 2466.
119.	15.23	Similar.		P. 2466.

HALICARNASSUS (1)

120.*	15.80	ΑΛΙ, tripod in l.	Circular punch on rev. Exergue obscure.	P. 2475. Lanz 257.

121.	15.05		N in l.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2507. Lanz 261.

PHASELIS (68)

122.	15.86		A, Φ in l. Heipp V3/R?	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2832.
123.*	14.97	1	Φ, B (reversed) in l.; o below throne. Heipp V5/R-.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2833v. Lanz 281.
124.	16.23	11	B, Φ in l.; o below throne. Heipp V-/R-. Dies of 125.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2834.
125.	15.97		Similar. Dies of 124.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2834.
126.	15.83		B, Φ in l.; no o below throne. Heipp V4/R-.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2834 text. Lanz 280.
127.	15.93		Δ in l., Φ below throne. Heipp V-/R-. Dies of 128.	Anchor on rev.	P. 2837.
128.	15.51		Similar. Dies of 127.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2837.
129.	14.68		Similar. Heipp V-/R-.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on rev.	P. 2837.
130.	15.91		E in l., Φ below throne. Heipp V11/R31.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2838.
131.	15.64		E, Φ in l.; o below throne. Heipp V-/R-.		P. 2839.
132.	15.85		C, Φ in l. Heipp V14/R-.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2840.
133.	16.23		C, Φ in l.; o below throne. Heipp V13/R35. Dies of 134.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2841.
134.	15.93		Similar. Dies of 133.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2841.
135.	15.75		Z, Φ in l. Heipp V-/R-.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2842.
136.*	15.67		Z, Φ in l.; o below throne. Heipp V12 (?)/R-.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2842v. Lanz 282.
137.	16.05		Φ, H in l. Heipp V16/R-. Obv. die of 138, 139.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2843.
138.	15.18		Similar. Heipp V16/R42. Obv. die of 137, 139.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2843.
139.	14.51		Marks obscure. Heipp V16/R-. Obv. die of 137, 138.	Bow case and uncertain legend on obv.	P. 2843.

140.	16.17	Θ, Φ in l.; o below throne. Heipp V18/R50. Obv. die of 146, 149, 150.	Anchor in oblong incuse on rev.	P. 2845.
141.	15.93	Similar. Heipp V17/R48. Obv. die of 142.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2845.
142.	15.53	Similar. Heipp V17/R-. Obv. die of 141.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2845.
143.	15.53	Θ, Φ in l. no o below throne. Heipp V15/R47.	Anchor on obv.	P. 2846.
144.	15.79	I, Φ in l. Heipp V21/R-. Rev. die of 145.		P. 2847.
145.	15.27	Similar. Heipp V-/R-. Rev. die of 144.		P. 2847.
146.	15.84	I, Φ in l.; o below throne. Heipp V18/R51. Obv. die of 140, 149, 150.	Anchor in rectangular incuse (?) on obv.	P. 2848.
147.	16.00	IA, Φ in l.; o below throne. Heipp V22/R-.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2850.
148.	15.73	Similar. Heipp V-/R-.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2850.
149.	16.00	IB, Φ in l.; o below throne. Heipp V18/R-. Obv. die of 140, 146, 150.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2852.
150.	15.43	Similar. Heipp V18/R-. Obv. die of 140, 146, 149.	Uncertain on obv.	P. 2852.
151.	15.98	Similar. Heipp V25/R-.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on obv.	P. 2852.
152.	15.06	Similar. Heipp V24/R-.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2852.
153.	15.36	IΓ, Φ in l. Heipp V26/R-.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on obv.	P. 2853.
154.	15.47	IΔ, Φ in l.; o below throne. Heipp V-/R79. Rev. die of 155, 156.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2854.
155.	16.08	Similar. Heipp V-/R79. Obv. die of 156, 157. Rev. die of 154, 156.	Anchor on rev.	P. 2854.
156.	15.75	Similar. Heipp V-/R79. Obv. die of 155, 157. Rev. die of 154, 155.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2854.
157.	15.81	Similar. Heipp V-R-. Obv. die of 155, 156.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2854.
158.	16.03	Φ, IΔ in l. No o below throne. throne. Heipp V26/R-. Obv. die of 159.	Bow case and ΠΕΡ on obv.	P. 2855.

159.	14.39 broken	Similar. Heipp V26/R-. Obv. die of 158.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2855.
160.	16.05	Φ, IϹ in l. Heipp V28/R-. Obv. die of 161–163.	Helios head on rev.	P. 2856A.
161.	15.41	Similar. Heipp V28/R84. Obv. die of 160, 163; dies of 162.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2856A.
162.	15.10	Similar. Dies of 161.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2856A.
163.	14.33	Similar. Obv. die of 160–162.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2856A.
164.	15.85	Marks obscure. Heipp V31/R- (year IH or IΘ). Obv. die of 165.	Anchor with rings on rev.	
165.	15.78	IΘ, Φ in l. Heipp V31/R-. Obv. die of 164.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2861. Lanz 283.
166.	15.10	Similar. Heipp V32/R-. [V32 otherwise first known in year K]. Obv. die of 167.		P. 2861.
167.	15.94	KA, Φ in l. Heipp V32/R96. Obv. die of 166.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2863. Lanz 284.
168.	15.53	Similar. Heipp V-/R-.	Helios head on rev.	P. 2863.
169.	16.36	KB in l., Φ below throne. Heipp V33/R-. Obv. die of 170.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on rev.	P. 2864.
170.	15.85	Similar. Heipp V33/R-. Obv. die of 169.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on obv.	P. 2864.
171.	15.82	Similar. Heipp V-/R-.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2864.
172.	15.45	Φ, KΓ in l. Heipp V-/R-.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2865.
173.	14.62	KΓ in l., Φ below throne. Heipp V-/R-.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on obv.	P. 2866.
174.	16.08	KΔ in l., Φ below throne. Heipp V37/R-. Obv. die of 175, 176.		P. 2867.
175.	15.34	Similar. Obv. die of 174, 176. Heipp V37/R-.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2867.
176.	15.33	Similar. Heipp V37/R-. Obv. die of 174, 175.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on obv.	P. 2867.
177.	15.91	Φ, KE in l. Heipp V39/R-. Obv. die of 178, 179, 181, 182.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2868.
178.	15.68	Similar. Heipp V39/R?. Obv. die of 177, 179, 181, 182.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2868.

179.	14.28	Similar. Heipp V39/R116. Obv. die of 177, 178, 181, 182.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2868.
180.	15.76	Φ, KC in l. Heipp V41/R120.	Anchor on obv.	P. 2869.
181.	15.39	Similar. Heipp V39/R120. Obv. die of 177–179 (year 25) and 182.	Anchor on obv.	P. 2869.
182.	14.96	Similar. Heipp V39/R?. Obv. die of 177–179 (year 25) and 181.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2869.
183.	15.31	Φ, KH in l. Heipp V42/R?. Obv. die of 184 (year 30).	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2871.
184.	15.86	Φ, Λ in l. Heipp V42/R-. Obv. die of 183 (year 28).	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2872.
185.	15.46	Φ, ΛA in l. Heipp V43/R131. Dies of 186, obv. die of 188 (year 32) and possibly 187.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2873.
186.	15.01	Similar. Dies of 185.	Anchor on obv.	P. 2873.
187.	15.94	Φ, ΛB in l. Heipp V43?/R?.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2874.
188.	15.65	Similar. Heipp V43/R-. Obv. die of 185, 186 (year 31).	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2874.
189.	15.50	L. field obscure, Φ below throne.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	

ASPENDUS (118)

190.*	15.82	AΣ in l., Γ below throne.	Bow-case and ΣAP on obv.	P. 2880. Lanz 297.
191.	16.73	AΣ, Δ in l.		P. 2882. Lanz 298.
192.	15.56	AΣ in l., E below throne.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2885.
193.	15.37	Similar.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2885. Lanz 299.
194.	15.76	AΣ, H in l.		P. 2888.
195.	15.51	Similar.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on obv.	P. 2888. Lanz 300.
196.*	15.73	AΣ, Θ in l. Obv. die of 197.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2889. Lanz 301.
197.	15.61	Similar. Obv. die of 196.	Helios head on rev.	P. 2889.
198.	15.72	Similar. Obv. die of 199–201.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2889.

199.	14.97	Similar. Obv. die of 198, 200–201.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on obv.	P. 2889.
200.	14.78	Similar. Obv. die of 198–199, 201		P. 2889.
201.	14.01	Similar. Obv. die of 198–200.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2889.
202.	15.55	Similar. Obv. die of 203.	Helios head on obv.	P. 2889.
203.	15.39	Similar. Obv. die of 202.		P. 2889.
204.	14.84	Similar.	Anchor (with rings?) on rev.	P. 2889.
205.*	16.06	AΣ, I in l.	Helios head on rev.	P. 2890. Lanz 302.
206.	15.89	Similar. Obv. die of 207.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2890.
207.	15.74	Similar. Obv. die of 206.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2890.
208.	16.03	AΣ, IA in l. Obv. die of 209.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on obv.	P. 2891.
209.	14.52	Similar. Double-struck. Obv. die of 208.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2891.
210.	15.85	Similar.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2891. Lanz 303.
211.	15.78	Similar. (Date effaced, but same dies as coin in Mossop coll., Cambridge).	Anchor in rectangular incuse on obv.	P. 2891.
212.	16.09	AΣ, IB in l.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2892. Lanz 304.
213.	14.48	Marks obscure, but obv. die of Mektepini 564 (year 12).	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2892?
214.	15.86	AΣ, IΔ in l.		P. 2893. Lanz 305.
215.	15.62	Similar.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2893.
216.	15.82	AΣ, IC in l.	Anchor on obv.	P. 2895.
217.	15.76	Similar	Anchor in rectangular incuse on rev.	P. 2895. Lanz 306.
218.	15.27	Similar.		P. 2895.
219.	16.06	AΣ, IZ in l. Obv. die of 220–221.	Helios head on rev.	P. 2896.
220.	15.68	Similar. Obv. die of 219, 221.	Anchor in oblong incuse on rev.	P. 2896.

221.	15.14	Similar. Obv. die of 219–220.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on obv.	P. 2896.
222.	15.98	Similar.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on obv.	P. 2896. Lanz 307.
223.	16.27	ΑΣ, ΙΘ in l.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2898. Lanz 308.
224.	16.00	Similar.	Bow-case and ΣΥΝ on obv.	P. 2898.
225.	15.98	Similar. Obv. die of 226–227.		P. 2898.
226.	15.66	Similar. Obv. die of 225, 227.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on obv.	P. 2898.
227.	15.65	Similar. Obv. die of 225–226.	Anchor with rings on obv.	P. 2898.
228.	15.89	Similar.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2898.
229.	15.94	ΑΣ, Κ in l.		P. 2899. Lanz 309.
230.	14.41	ΑΣ, ΚΑ in l.		P. 2900.
231.	16.02	Similar. Obv. die of 232.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2900. Lanz 311.
232.	15.73	ΑΣ, ΑΚ in l. Obv. die of 231.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2900v. Lanz 310.
233.	16.13	ΑΣ, ΚΒ in l. Obv. die of 234–236.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on rev.	P. 2901.
234.	15.95	Similar. Dies of 235. Obv. die of 233, 236.	Anchor in square incuse on obv.	P. 2901.
235.	15.88	Similar. Dies of 234.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2901.
236.	15.58	Similar. Obv. die of 233–235.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2901.
237.	16.09	Similar.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2901.
238.	16.05	Similar. Dies of 239; obv. die of 240–246.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2901.
239.	15.87	Similar. Dies of 238; obv. die of 240–246.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2901.
240.	16.02	Similar. Obv. die of 238–239, 241–246.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2901.
241.	15.87	Similar. Obv. die of 238–240, 242–246.	Anchor in round incuse on obv.	P. 2901.
242.	15.83	Similar. Obv. die of 238–241, 243–246.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2901.

243.	15.72		Similar. Obv. die of 238–242, 244–246.	Helios head on rev.	P. 2901.
244.	15.65		Similar. Obv. die of 238–243, 245–246.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2901.
245.	15.63		Similar. Obv. die of 238–244, 246.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2901.
246.	15.40		Similar. Obv. die of 238–245.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2901.
247.	15.71		Similar.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2901. Lanz 312.
248.	16.18		ΑΣ, ΚΓ in l. Obv. die of 249–252.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2902.
249.	16.02		Similar. Obv. die of 248, 250–252.		P. 2902.
250.	16.01		Similar. Obv. die of 248–249, 251–252.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on rev.	P. 2902.
251.	15.97		Similar. Obv. die of 248–250, 252.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2902.
252.	15.30		Similar. Obv. die of 248–251.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2902.
253.	16.16		Similar. Obv. die of 254.	Bunch of grapes in rectangular incuse on rev.	P. 2902.
254.	15.59		Similar. Obv. die of 253.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2902.
255.	16.10		Similar. Obv. die of 256–259.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2902.
256.	16.05	1	Similar. Obv. die of 255, 257–259.		P. 2902.
257.	15.92		Similar. Obv. die of 255–256, 258–259.	Anchor in round incuse on obv.	P. 2902.
258.	15.85		Similar. Obv. die of 255–257, 259.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on rev.	P. 2902.
259.	15.65		Similar. Obv. die of 255–258.	Anchor in oval incuse on obv.	P. 2902.
260.	16.10	1	Similar. Obv. die of 261.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on rev.	P. 2902.
261.	15.82		Similar. Obv. die of 260.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on obv.	P. 2902.
262.	16.04		Similar.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on obv.	P. 2902. Lanz 313.
263.	15.98		Similar.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on obv.	P. 2902.

264.	15.81	1	Similar. Obv. die of 265.	Bow-case and ΣAP on obv.	P. 2902.
265.	15.58		Similar. Obv. die of 264.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2902.
266.	15.68		Similar.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2902.
267.	15.63		Similar.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on obv.	P. 2902.
268.	15.60		Similar.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2902.
269.	15.53		Similar.	Anchor on obv.	P. 2902.
270.*	15.80		AΣ, KΔ in l. Dies of 271. Obv. die of 272–274.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2903v. (no eagle below throne).
271.	15.78		Similar. Dies of 270.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2903v.
272.	16.13		AΣ, KΔ in l., eagle l. below throne. Dies of 273. Obv. die of 270–271, 274.	Anchor in oval incuse on obv.	P. 2903.
273.	16.11		Similar. Dies of 272.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2903.
274.	15.80		Similar. Obv. die of 270–274.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2903.
275.	16.36		Similar. Dies of 276. Obv. die of 277–279.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2903.
276.	16.12		Similar. Dies of 275. Obv. die of 277–279.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2903.
277.	15.86		Similar. Obv. die of 275–276, 278–279.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2903.
278.	15.85		Similar. Obv. die of 275–277, 279.	Helios head on rev.	P. 2903.
279.	15.75		Similar. Obv. die of 275–278.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2903.
280.	15.93		Similar.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2903. Lanz 314.
281.	15.50		Similar.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2903.
282.	16.11		Wreath, AΣ, KE in l. Dies of 283. Obv. die of 284–288.	Anchor in oblong incuse on rev.	P. 2905.
283.	15.96		Similar. Dies of 282.	Uncertain on rev.	P. 2905.
284.	16.01		Similar. Obv. die of 282–283, 285–288.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2905.

285.	16.00	Similar. Obv. die of 282–284, 286–288.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2905.
286.	15.94	Similar. Obv. die of 282–285, 287–288.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2905. Lanz 315.
287.	15.74	Similar. Obv. die of 282–286, 288.	Helios head on rev.	P. 2905.
288.	15.65	Similar. Obv. die of 282–287.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2905.
289.	16.13	AΣ, KC in l., spearhead in ex. Dies of 290. Obv. die of 291.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2907.
290.	16.10	Similar. Dies of 289.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on rev.	P. 2907.
291.	15.94	Similar. Obv. die of 289–290.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2907. Lanz 316.
292.	16.06	Similar. Obv. die of 293–295.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2907.
293.	15.93	Similar. Obv. die of 292, 294–295.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2907.
294.	15.67	Similar. Obv. die of 292–293, 295.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2907.
295.	15.51	Similar. Obv. die of 292–294.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on obv.	P. 2907.
296.	16.06	Similar. Obv. die of 297–298.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2907.
297.	15.85	Similar. Obv. die of 296, 298.	Anchor on obv.	P. 2907.
298.	14.90	Similar. Obv. die of 296–297.	Anchor on obv.	P. 2907.
299.	16.34	AΣ, KZ flanking cornucopiae in l. Dies of 300.	Uncertain on obv.	P. 2909.
300.	16.28	Similar. Dies of 299.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2909.
301.	16.00	Similar. Dies of 302. Obv. die of 303–304.	Anchor in oval incuse on obv.	P. 2909.
302.	15.50	Similar. Dies of 301. Obv. die of 303–304.	Helios head on rev.	P. 2909.
303.	15.98	Similar. Obv. die of 301–302, 304.	Anchor with rings on obv.	P. 2909.
304.	15.63	Similar. Obv. die of 301–303.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2909.
305.	15.87	Similar. Obv. die of 306.	Helios head on rev.	P. 2909.
306.	15.63 1	Similar. Obv. die of 305.	Anchor in oval incuse on obv.	P. 2909. Lanz 317.
307.	15.73	Similar.	Anchor on obv.	P. 2909.

MAGYDUS (4)

308.	15.68	IΔ in l., M below throne. Dies of 310. Obv. die of 309, 311.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2914. Lanz 318.
309.	15.49	Similar. Obv. die of 308, 310, 311.	Anchor on obv. (very faint, on cheek of Herakles).	P. 2914.
310.	15.31	Similar. Dies of 308. Obv. die of 309, 311.		P. 2914.
311.	15.14	Similar. Obv. die of 308, 309, 310.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	

PERGE (44)

312.	15.18		Δ in l.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on obv.	P. 2918.
313.	14.83		IΓ in l.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2925.
314.	15.69	1	IC in l.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2928. Lanz 319.
315.	15.78		Date effaced. Obv. die of P. 2930c.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2930.
316.*	15.07		Sphinx and K to l. Rev. die of 317.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2933. Lanz 320.
317.	15.02		Similar. Rev. die of 316.	Anchor in oval incuse on obv.	P. 2933.
318.	15.26		Similar.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2933.
319.	15.61		KA in l. Obv. die of 320.		P. 2935. Lanz 321.
320.	15.43		Similar. Obv. die of 319.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2935.
321.	14.85		Similar. Date effaced. Obv. die of coin of yr. 21 in Mossop coll., Cambridge.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2935.
322.	16.06		KB in l. Obv. die of 323.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2936.
323.	15.47		Similar. Obv. die of 322.	Helios head on rev.	P. 2936.
324.	15.33		Similar.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2936. Lanz 322.
325.	16.15		KΓ in l. Obv. die of 326.	Anchor in oval incuse on obv.	P. 2937.

326.	16.14		Similar. Obv. die of 325.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2937.
327.	15.81		Similar.	Helios head on rev.	P. 2937. Lanz 323.
328.	16.01		KΔ in l. Obv. die of 329–330.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on rev.	P. 2938.
329.	15.60		Similar. Obv. die of 328, 330.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on rev.	P. 2938. Lanz 324.
330.	15.48		Similar. Obv. die of 328–329.	Anchor in oval incuse on obv.	P. 2938.
331.	15.71		Similar.	Helios head on rev.	P. 2938.
332.	15.24		Similar.		P. 2938.
333.	16.61	11	KE in l.		P. 2939. Lanz 325.
334.	16.14		Similar.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2939.
335.	15.64		Similar.	Helios head on rev.	P. 2939.
336.	15.60		Similar.	Anchor in oblong incuse on rev.	P. 2939.
337.	15.81		Similar.	Anchor on obv.	P. 2939.
338.	16.26		KC in l.		P. 2940. Lanz 326.
339.	15.71		Similar.	Anchor in rectangular incuse on rev.	P. 2940.
340.	15.69		Similar.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2940.
341.	15.68		KZ in l.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2941. Lanz 327.
342.	16.08		KH in l.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2942. Lanz 328.
343.	15.37		Similar.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2942.
344.	15.28		KΘ in l.	Anchor in oval incuse on obv.	P. 2943. Lanz 329.
345.	16.41		ΛB in l.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2946. Lanz 330.
346.	15.74	11	Similar.		P. 2946.
347.	15.54		Similar.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2946.
348.*	16.09		ΛΓ in l. Dies of 349. Obv. die of 350–355.	Anchor in oval incuse on obv.	P. 2947. Lanz 331.

349.	15.70	Similar. Dies of 348. Obv. die of 350–355.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2947.
350.	16.07	Similar. Obv. die of 348–349, 351–355.		P. 2947.
351.	15.87	Similar. Obv. die of 348–350, 352–355.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2947.
352.	15.67	Similar. Obv. die of 348–351, 353–355.	Anchor with rings on rev.	P. 2947.
353.	15.66	Similar. Obv. die of 348–352, 354–355.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2947.
354.	15.59	Similar. Obv. die of 348–353, 355.	Anchor in oval incuse on obv.	P. 2947.
355.	15.42	Similar. Obv. die of 348–354.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.	P. 2947.

UNCERTAIN (13)

All of Alexander types

(A) Mint uncertain, probably Pamphylian

356.	14.87	Traces of mint mark or date in l.	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.
357.	14.83		Anchor in rectangular incuse on obv.
358.	13.99		Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.
359.	15.13	Traces of wreath (?) in l.	Anchor with rings on rev.
360.	14.90		Anchor with rings on rev.
361.	15.24		Helios head on rev.
362.	14.36		Uncertain (anchor?) on obv.
363.	15.88		Bow-case and ΑΠΑ on obv.

(B) Mint uncertain

364.	16.04	]IK[(?) below throne.
365.	16.04	
366.	14.53	Uncertain markings below throne.

SIDE (13)

Obv. Athena head helmeted r.

Rev. Nike advancing l., holding wreath in r.; to l., pomegranate,
In field, magistrate's initials.

367.	15.40	AP in l.	Turreted head r. on obv. (?)
368.	16.27	ΔIO in l.	
369.	16.18	[ΔH]- M in l. and r.	Anchor in oval incuse on rev.
370.	15.79	Δ]H - M in l. and r.	
371.	16.05	KΛ - EΥ in l. and r.	Anchor in oval incuse on obv.
372.	15.97	KΛ - EΥ in l. and r.	Anchor in oval incuse on obv.
373.	15.95	KΛ - E[ ] in l. and r.	Helios head on rev.
374.	15.90	KΛE - ΥX in l. and r.	Anchor in oval incuse on obv.
375.	15.78	K]Λ - E[Υ in l. and r.	Anchor in oval incuse on obv.
376.	16.01	Σ - T in l. and r.	Lanz 332.
377.	15.51	obscure	Anchor in oblong incuse on obv.
378.	15.31	CT in l.	
379.	15.94	[ ]	

CONCORDANCE TO LANZ CATALOGUE

Lanz	Catalogue		Lanz	Catalogue
184	1		199	36
186	2		200	29
187	3		201	69
188	7		202	45
189	4		203	40
190	14		204	49
191	11		205	62
192	10		206	66
193	8		207	61
194	16		208	64
195	23		209	77
196	22		218	84
197	34		219	81
198	37		220	78

Lanz	Catalogue		Lanz	Catalogue
221	83		308	223
250	86		309	229
251	100		310	232
252	106		311	231
253	108		312	247
254	112		313	262
255	93		314	280
256	94		315	286
257	120		316	292
261	121		317	306
280	126		318	308
281	123		319	314
282	136		320	316
283	165		321	319
284	167		322	324
297	190		323	327
298	191		324	329
299	193		325	333
300	195		326	338
301	196		327	341
302	205		328	342
303	210		329	344
304	212		330	345
305	214		331	348
306	217		332	376
307	222			

III. COMMENTARY ON MINTS

In general the dates given here are those of Price, though it must be recognized that 170 B.C. as an *ante quem* derives largely from the contents of hoards whose date is determined by the presence or absence of the anchor countermark.

Parium: The broad-flan Alexanders of Parium were unpublished until 1958.[3] Seyrig connected the coins – known to him in three specimens from two obverse dies – through their symbols to the latest issues of Antiochus Hierax and suggested that they belonged toward the end of his reign, 228 B.C. The coin is thus the earliest element in the hoard.

Assos: The lone coin of Assos (no. 2) is clearly to be associated with a group (P. 1605–1608) that includes the griffin and monogram in l. field and a marking in exergue; the wreath is otherwise unrecorded.

Kyme: The Kyme group includes one piece (no. 3) which belongs to the period before 200 B.C., but the remainder are post-188. The varieties represented span the entire period of Kyme's late Alexander coinage, the end of which Price places before ca. 170.

[3] H. Seyrig, Parion au 3ᵉ siècle avant notre ère, Centennial Publication of the American Numismatic Society (New York 1958) pp. 603–625.

Myrina: All 12 coins of Myrina date from the period 188–170.

Temnos: The 39 coins of Temnos, too, date from the period 188–170; they include the entire range of issues identified by Price.

Methymna: The single coin of Methymna represents a previously unremarked pair of monograms. The date of the issue is uncertain; the known issues have monogram(s) variously arrayed and there is no clear line of distinction between those struck before and those struck after the Treaty of Apamea.

Mytilene: The seven coins of Mytilene are all post-188, but do not run down to the issues with magistrate's name in full (Price 1737–1739) that conclude the mint's production of Alexanders. Taken alone, the coins of Mytilene would suggest a date slightly earlier than Tell Kotchek, which included one piece of ΕΡΜΟΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ.[4]

The mint seems to have produced a great variety of rather small issues, and the new varieties noted here represent no more than variant forms of the monogram or placement of subsidiary letters.

Chios: The single coin of Chios belongs toward the end of Bauslaugh's series 4, which has broad termini of 190–160 B.C.[5] The placement of the end of the series depends in part on the chronology of the Tell Kotchek hoard, which may need to be brought down slightly in view of the present hoard; but ca. 160 for the coin of Chios cannot be far wrong if the chronology of the autonomous wreathed issues is correct.

Alabanda: The coinage of Alabanda is significant for the date of the hoard, since the era by which the coins are dated seems to begin ca. 173 and to continue through ca. 167.[6]

More important are the countermarks. That on no. 99, Grapes and tendril, has already been documented on Alabandene coins of exactly this date.[7] The occurrence of the countermark Tyche head r. (nos. 86, 88–89, 95–96, 98, 102, 107, 112, 115) on coins of Alabanda can also be observed in the Tell Kotchek hoard, where it appears on no less than 69 examples.[8]

Both countermarks are known as well on what is regarded as the first autonomous tetradrachm issue of Kyme.[9] Oakley noted how attractive it is to connect

---

[4] Tell Kotchek 212 = Price 1739, with corrected reading.

[5] R. Bauslaugh, The Posthumous Alexander Coinage of Chios, ANSMN 24, 1979, pp. 1–45; for the chronology of this issue see pp. 35–36.

[6] Price, pp. 308–309 with earlier bibliography.

[7] S. P. Noe, Countermarked and Overstruck Greek Coins at the American Numismatic Society, ANSMN 6, 1954, p. 86 and pl. 14.10; Tell Kotchek no. 348.

[8] Seyrig, Trésors, p. 68 mentions 73 examples, but only 69 are enumerated in the catalogue. The significance of the countermark is unknown. Seyrig thought it might belong to Smyrna, and speculated (ibid. p. 70), «Peut-être Smyrne se trouva-t-elle posséder un contingent de numéraire étranger, notamment d'Alabanda et de Cymé, et décida-t-elle, au moment où elle lançait ses premiers tétradrachmes au type de Tyché, de valider ces espèces en attendant que la nouvelle émission eût été frappée en quantité suffisante». He would not rule out the possibility of a Syrian Tyche, and Mørkholm (below, n. 35, p. 165) took the countermark to be Seleucid.

[9] Grapes and tendril: Naville 1, 1921 (Pozzi), 2300, now in Oxford; Tyche head: SNGCop 104. Both coins bear the name of Metrophanes. J.H. Oakley, The Autonomous Wreathed Tetradrachms of Kyme, Aeolis, ANSMN 27, 1982, pp. 1–37 places Metrophanes first among the magistrates for the autonomous coinage.

the initiation of Kyme's coinage with the indemnity of 100 talents due from Prusias under the treaty imposed by Rome in 154, but on the basis of the Urfa (IGCH 1772) and Asia Minor (IGCH 1432) hoards, he preferred to date the inauguration of the Kyme series to ca. 165–160 B.C. Price seems to consider that the issues of Kyme belong in the 150s, and therefore places both countermarks after ca. 155 B.C.[10] The countermarks on these coins are the latest securely dateable elements in the hoard.

Note should also be taken of no. 105, which along with no. 121 of Nisyros is the only occurrence in our hoard of an anchor countermark on Alexanders other than those of the «Pamphylian» mints.

Halicarnassus: No. 120 is a die duplicate of Price 2475 (= ANS 1985.96.1), a previously unique coin attributed to Alinda at its initial publication.[11] Price acknowledges that the style is broadly Carian, and suggests that the tripod is to be linked with that which appears on contemporary bronzes from Halicarnassus.[12] The four-character abbreviation of the magistrate's name is also a feature of this mint. The date of the coin is uncertain; Price, perhaps influenced by a possible association with the Pamphylia hoard,[13] places it ca. 190 B.C.

Nisyros: The coin of Nisyros is another relatively early element in the hoard; the small issue is dated by Price to ca. 201 B.C. In this hoard the anchor appears as a countermark on Alexanders other than those of Lycia and Pamphylia only here and on no. 105 of Alabanda.

Phaselis: The coinage of Phaselis extends over 33 years, with only year 29 so far undocumented. Perge, too, has a dated series that extends over 33 years (see below), and it is tempting to associate the two coinages. Heipp follows Seyrig in taking the end of the era at Phaselis to coincide with the Treaty of Apamea, and therefore places the beginning of the series ca. 221/0. But as Price has noted, the hoard evidence so far available seems to suggest that the era at Phaselis lagged three or four years behind that at Perge; since he takes Perge's coinage to close at the Treaty, he places the beginning of the era at Phaselis in 218/7.

Our hoard, which closes well after the end of the eras at all three «Pamphylian» mints, cannot resolve the chronological question. But it does add substantially to

[10] Price, p. 69: «[Grapes and tendril] appears on an autonomous tetradrachm of Kyme, so that a date of *c.* 155 BC or later follows for its application»; p. 70: «[Tyche head r.] was applied to an autonomous tetradrachm of Cyme issues no earlier than the 150s BC, so that a date after *c.* 155 BC follows.» The supposed presence of an autonomous issue of Kyme in the Urfa hoard would, in his view, lower its burial date to «the middle of the century». As Philip Kinns has put it, «The general thrust of the hoard evidence tends to contradict» Oakley's dating of the coinage of Kyme: Asia Minor, in A. M. Burnett and M. H. Crawford, eds., The Coinage of the Roman World in the Late Republic. Proceedings of a Colloquium held at the British Museum in September 1985 (BAR International Series 326, Oxford 1987) pp. 105–119 at p. 114 n. 13.

[11] N. M. Waggoner, Annual Report of the American Numismatic Society 1985, pp. 11–12 with fig. 2.

[12] e. g. BMCCaria p. 103, nos. 14–17.

[13] Price, p. 312; the hoard has been described only in CH 5 (1979) no. 43 and 6 (1981) no. 34. At pp. 62–63 it is argued that the hoard belongs ca. 180–175 B.C.

the record of dies, against the time when a comprehensive die study can put the three coinages in proper perspective. So far the dissertation of Heipp provides the only thorough study of a south Anatolian mint of posthumous Alexanders. The 191 examples she collected provided evidence for 44 obverse and 135 reverse dies.[14] The 68 new specimens display 13 new obverse dies and at least 41 new reverse dies.

Obviously Heipp's study was not comprehensive,[15] and the new hoard only confirms the likelihood that many new dies remain to be recorded. Nonetheless the picture is gradually emerging. The evidence of obverse dies transferred from year to year suggests a mint which operated, if not continuously, at least regularly; and while production may have slowed toward the end of the series, it seems to have held steady up to ca. year 26.[16]

Of the 68 coins of Phaselis in the hoard, 63 (92,6%) are countermarked: 58 *anchor*, 2 *radiate head*, 2 cistophoric, and one uncertain.

Aspendus: The coins of Aspendus resemble those of Phaselis in bearing the initials of the mint and a numeric date; the sequence runs certainly from 1–29, lacking only year 13; there is a coin, probably barbarous, from the Propontis hoard that bears a date possibly to be interepreted as 31.[17]

Of the 118 coins of Aspendus in the hoard, 107 (90,7%) are countermarked: 92 *anchor*, 9 *radiate head*, 1 *bunch of grapes*, 3 cistophoric, and 2 uncertain.

Magydus: Price's attribution, which seems to be original in his catalogue, is tentatively followed here.[18] The coins involved (nos. 308–311) all come from the same obverse die, which is shared with Propontis 107, SNGvonAulock 6658 (= P. 2914) and several examples with M below throne in the ANS. This obverse die was also used – earlier – to strike a coin of Aspendus year 10, and this was taken

---

[14] Heipp's summary on p. 86 undercounts the total number of specimens and the total number of obverse dies by one each.

[15] In 1963 Seyrig had already recorded 205 dated Alexanders of Phaselis: see RN 1963 pp. 38–51, at p. 48 = Scripta Numismatica (Paris 1986) pp. 42–55 at p. 52.

[16] Year-to-year transfers of obverse dies are recorded by Heipp as follows:

Die 1   Years 1, 3
Die 7   Years 3, 4
Die 12   Years 5, 7
Die 15   Years 7, 9
Die 16   Years 8, 9
Die 18   Years 10, 11, 12
Die 21   Years 10, 11
Die 25   Years 12, 13
Die 26   Years 13, 14, 15
Die 29   Years 17, 18
Die 31   Years 18, 19
Die 32   Years 20, 21; now add year 19 (no. 165)
Die 35   Years 23, 24
Die 39   Years 25, 26
Die 42   Years 28, 30
Die 43   Years 31, 32.

[17] Propontis 100 = Price 2913; for another with date «31?» see now Mattingly, Ma'Aret no. 440.

[18] Price, p. 358.

by Mørkholm to show that the eras of Aspendus and Perge (to which he attributed this group of coins) were based on the same year.[19] As Price notes, however, initial letters in the «Pamphylian» series seem always to identify mints, and the attribution of the group to Perge is open to question.

Perge: The coins of Perge lack any mint initial, but Seyrig's attribution has been universally followed.[20] The sequence of dates runs from 1–33, missing only 5 and 6.[21] The range of the series, as determined largely from a group of hoards deposited ca. 190 B.C., suggests that the beginning of the group is to be associated with the end of Ptolemaic rule after the death of Ptolemy III in 221, and the end with the surrender of the city to C. Manlius Vulso in 188.

Side: The coins of Side often accompany posthumous Alexanders and/or Seleucid royal coinage in hoards from greater Syria. The arrangement of issues adopted here is strictly provisional, awaiting a full study in preparation by Dr. Wolfgang Leschhorn of Saarbrücken.[22]

IV. THE COUNTERMARKS

The hoard is notable for the number of coins in it that bear countermarks; this was the factor that had brought it to the attention of the original vendor. In fact countermarks preponderate only on the coins of Phaselis, Aspendus and Perge, and none of them is new; nonetheless their association here permits some general remarks. *Tyche head* and *Grapes and tendril* are discussed above.

Helios head. The Helios head countermark is generally taken to be approximately contemporary with the anchors; it appears on the same range of coins, but considerably less often than the anchor itself (17 times in our hoard, all but once on the reverse). Generally speaking, coins of this period do not bear more than one countermark, but Seyrig has noted the appearance of this countermark once overstruck on an anchor.[23] This is, to my knowledge, the only occurrence of the anchor and the Helios head in combination on the same coin.

The Helios head occurs with somewhat greater frequency on coins of Aspendus and Perge than on those of Phaselis, as follows:

[19] O. Mørkholm, The Era of the Pamphylian Alexanders, ANSMN 23, 1978, pp. 69–75.

[20] H. Seyrig, Monnaies hellénistiques VIII. Pergé, RN 1963, pp. 38–51.

[21] Price (p. 347) notes that years 3 and 4 have survived only in single specimens. His no. 2918 of year 4, cited from Seyrig, Pergé p. 48, must be 'Ain Tab 23 (= ANS 1944.100.34843 ex Newell). Our no. 308 is apparently the second known piece.

[22] See W. Leschhorn, Ein Schatzfund sidetischer Münzen, in: P. R. Franke, W. Leschhorn, B. Müller, and J. Nollé, Side. Münzprägung, Inschriften, und Geschichte einer antiken Stadt in der Türkei (Saarbrücken 1989), pp. 26–43.

[23] Cited by Seyrig, Trésors, p. 58 n. 1 from M.J. Price, Greek Coin Hoards in the British Museum, NC 1969, p. 11 n. 7 (now = Price 2903e) where it appears over an *Anchor with rings*. Seyrig attributed the occurrence of the two on the same coin to «évidente inadvertance»; Price (p. 70) thinks that this may suggest that the function of the Helios countermark was «rather different».

	E. Anatolia		'Ain Tab		Ma'Aret en-Nu'man	
	Coins	Ctmkd.	Coins	Ctmkd.	Coins	Ctmkd.
Phaselis	68	2 (2,94%)	18	1 (5,55%)	57	4 (7,01%)
Aspendus	118	9 (7,63%)	48	8 (16.67%)	71	9 (12,68%)
Perge	44	4 (9,09%)	33	4 (12.12%)	63	7 (11,11%)

Anchor. The anchor as a symbol has long been associated with the Seleucids, and it occurs most frequently as a countermark on the «Pamphylian» Alexanders. In the first extensive discussion of the countermark, Seyrig listed twelve mints on which the countermark appeared:[24]

Heraclea Bithyniae	Phaselis
Parium	Aspendus
Alexandria Troas	Perge
Myrina	Side
Alabanda	Uncertain (3)

He could not have included Magydus (then identified as Perge), which may now be added to the list; Nisyros was one of his three «ateliers incertains». The Ma'Aret en-Nu'man hoard includes examples of the countermark on coins of Kyme, Pergamum, and Chios.[25] In our hoard, apart from no. 105 of Alabanda, the countermark is restricted to the Magydus, Nisyros and the «Pamphylian» mints: Phaselis, Aspendus, and Perge.

The approximate contemporaneity of the *Anchor* and the *Helios Head* countermarks has already been noted. Their absolute date is less easy to establish, but an *ad quem* for the *Anchor* is provided by the dated series of Alabanda. If the chronology adopted by Price (above, p. 5 and n. 6) is correct, this is 172/1 B.C.

In fact there are clearly several anchors to be contended with,[26] and probably therefore several places at which the countermark was applied. It would be possible,

[24] H. Seyrig, Antiquités syriennes 67. Monnaies contremarquées en Syrie, Syria 35, 1958, pp. 187–197, esp. 193–196, with pl. 17.

[25] Mattingly, Ma'Aret p. 75 nos. 201, 219, and 222 respectively.

[26] Among them are some accompanied by indecipherable characters (Tell Kotchek nos. 308 and 516, on Alabanda), not discussed here since they do not seem to occur in the present hoard. See Seyrig, Trésors p. 69 with n. 5.

though tedious, to make a study of the punches themselves to establish the common origin of various versions of the countermarks; such a study is beyond the scope of the present paper. Still, some general observations may be offered. It goes without saying that in defining the shapes of the countermarks there is a certain element of subjectivity, and the shapes as defined here may shade into one another; moreover some distinctions (e.g. square/rectangular) may prove to have more utility for description than numismatic significance.[27]

A. Anchor in round incuse: This shape is quite distinct, and is rare enough that it occasioned remark by Seyrig.[28] It occurs only twice in the hoard, both times on the obverse (nos. 241 and 257, of Aspendus years 22 and 23).

B. Anchor in oblong incuse: The term «oblong» is used here to define a shape with parallel long sides and rounded ends (e.g. nos. 122, 134, etc.) This is the commonest version, and occurs almost exclusively on the obverse: 77 occurrences against only 3 on the reverse. It occurs on just over a third of all «Pamphylian» Alexanders, as follows:

	Obv.	Rev.	Pct.
Phaselis (68)	23	1	35,3%
Aspendus (118)	38	1	33,1%
Magydus (4)	1	0	25,0%
Perge (44)	15	1	36,4%

C. Anchor in rectangular incuse: The term «rectangular» defines a shape with parallel long sides and flattened ends. The corners may be sharp or softened; the overall effect, however, is that of a long rectangle. This version occurs 31 times, 20 times on the obverse. It is considerably more frequent on the coins of Aspendus (18 times, 15,3%) and Phaselis (8, 11,7%) than on those of Perge (4, 9,1%).

D. Anchor in oval incuse: The term «oval» is used to refer to a countermark that has no straight side, and that is slightly longer than wide. There are ten occurrences in the hoard: none at all on coins of Phaselis, four on Aspendus (nos. 259, 272, 301, and 306), and six on coins of Perge (nos. 317, 325, 330, 344, 348, and 354). All appearances are on the obverse.

E. Anchor in square incuse. Only one occurrence in the hoard, on the obverse of no. 234.

F. Anchor with rings: Invariably in a rectangular incuse, this shape is characterized by rings added to one or both ends of the anchor; the form is very easily

[27] In his description of the Ma'Aret en-Nu'man hoard, H. B. Mattingly has observed several different shapes of incuse, but does not make the distinction between plain anchor and anchor with rings. Our systems of description are not easily miscible and as a consequence I have been able to make comparisons only with the 'Ain Tab material, which has been accessible at the ANS.

[28] See Trésors, p. 68, on Tell Kotchek no. 598.

distinguished from that of the other anchors. There are 49 occurrences in the hoard, 47 on the reverse, as follows:

	Obv.	Rev.	Pct.
Phaselis (68)	0	19	27,9%
Aspendus (118)	2	20	18,6%
Magydus (4)	0	1	25,0%
Perge (44)	0	7	15,9%

Forms B and C, when they occur on the reverse, may occur anywhere; in the application of this countermark, however, care is usually taken to avoid obscuring the figure of Zeus, even down to placing the countermark neatly between the legs of the throne.

The other anchors are very similar to one another in form, and it is conceivable that the varying shapes of their incuses are adventitious; but the different style of this anchor, its almost invariable occurrence on the reverse, and its careful placement argue strongly for a different locus of application. This countermark occurs with greatest frequency on the coins of Phaselis (19 times, 27,9%) followed by Aspendus (22, 18,6%) and Perge (6, 13,6%).

The cistophoric countermarks: These countermarks consist of a bow-case accompanied by an abbreviation of the countermarking authority. Up to the appearance of a thorough study in 1990, only 14 occurrences were documented for «Pamphylian» Alexanders.[29] The present hoard adds six more, as follows:

Countermark	*Undertype*
139. uncertain	Phaselis yr. 8
158. Pergamum	Phaselis yr. 14
190. Sardis	Aspendus yr. 3
224. Synnada	Aspendus yr. 19
264. Sardis	Aspendus yr. 23
365. Apamea	uncertain

No. 264 parallels a coin of Aspendus yr. 23 in the ANS[30] which bears a cistophoric countermark of Apamea; the first coin was taken as providing a *terminus post quem* for the application of the whole series of cistophoric countermarks.

[29] R. Bauslaugh, Cistophoric Countermarks and the Monetary System of Eumenes II, NC 150, 1990, pp. 39–65.
[30] 1983.38.8, cited by Bauslaugh (above, n. 29) p. 44, cf. p. 53.

V. THE DATE OF THE HOARD

The hoard is of roughly similar composition, and arguably of approximately the same date, as the hoards from Aleppo, 'Ain Tab, Khan Cheikhoun, and Tell Kotchek.

The salient characteristics of all hoards are substantial representations of the «Pamphylian» mints and, in the case of the Ma'Aret en-Nu'man, Latakia and Tell Kotchek hoards, considerable numbers of coins from the mints of western Asia Minor. These three hoards and Khan Cheikhoun, like our own, also contain significant numbers of tetradrachms of Side.

All the older hoards have usually been regarded as more or less contemporary, falling in the decade or so after 170, but the recent analysis of the Ma'Aret en-Nu'man hoard has made it possible to refine the chronology considerably. Mattingly has argued, on the basis of the presence of the last varieties of Antoichus V from Antioch and his only issue from Ptolemais, combined with the absence of strikings in the name of Demetrius I, that that hoard must have been buried and lost in the latter part of 162. He has further argued that the Latakia 1759 hoard, traditionally placed ca. 170, makes better sense if brought down to ca. 160.[31]

The countermarks establish the relative chronology of the later hoards. The *anchor* appears in all the hoards, and *Helios head* in all but Latakia 1759. The *Grapes and tendril* and *Tyche head*, neither of which was observed in Ma'Aret en-Nu'man, are found in our hoard as well as in the Tell Kotchek hoard (see above, p. 6); The Grapes and Tendril and Tyche head countermarks demand that both be brought down into the mid- or late 150s.

In fact the evidence of our hoard suggests that the countermarks, applied ca. 170–155, provide no more than a *terminus post quem* for hoards including them; and the absence of either later Seleucid issues or autonomous tetradrachms of the cities of western Asia minor does not provide a *terminus ante quem*.

The evidence is in the weights. The standard of the coins of Phaselis, Aspendus and Perge is Attic, as examination of any unbiased sample of coins will show. The weights of uncountermarked coins in the ANS, together with the peak of a frequency curve, are as follows:

	Mean	*Peak*	*Hoard mean*
Phaselis	16.63 (34)	16.80-899	15.53 (7)
Aspendus	16.57 (57)	16.70-799	15.65 (11)
Perge	16.51 (70)	16.80-899	15.92 (6)

The weights of the uncountermarked hoard coins are, obviously, significantly lighter than those of the museum specimens, attesting to their longer period in circulation–or, rather, to the fact that many of the uncountermarked specimens come from hoards deposited before the period of countermarking.

[31] Mattingly, Ma'Aret, pp. 82–83, 85–86.

	Aleppo 1931 IGCH 1546 Trésors 12 ca. 170?	Ain Tab 1921 IGCH 1542 Trésors 13 see below	Khan Cheikhoun 1940 IGCH 1537 Trésors 14 ca. 165?	Ma'Aret en-Nu'man 1980 CH 6,37; CH 7,98 162 (Mattingly)	Latakia 1759 IGCH 1544 Trésors 11 160 (Mattingly)	Tell Kotchek 1952 IGCH 1773 Trésors 15 ca. 150 (Price)	E. Anatolia 1991 150 or later
Amphipolis					3		
Unc. Greece (Euboea?)					1		
Corinth					1		
Argos				1	1		
Heraclea Bithyniae			1	1			
Lampsacus					1		
Parium							1
Pergamum				2	1		
Alexandria Troas				3		1	
Assos				3	1	3	1
Kyme			1	4	1	5	23
Myrina	1		1	6	2	5	12
Temnos		1	2	10		197	39
Methymna				1	1		1
Mytilene		1	1	6	1	4	7
Clazomenae					1		
Colophon		1			1		
Erythrae					2		
Magnesia					3		
Miletus		1		10	1		
Chios				10	9	2	1
Alabanda		1	3	1?		342	34
Antiochia Cariae					1		
Halicarnassus							1
Mylasa				2	1		
Nisyros							1
Rhodes				2	6		
Phaselis	2	18	18	57		15	68
Aspendus	10	48	25	71	1	20	118
Magydus							4
Perge	5	33	28	63	1	7	44
Unc. Pamphylia				1			8
Tarsus					1		
Damascus					1		
Myriandros					1		
Aradus				1	1		
uncertain		1	1	2	3		3
Other:				6			
Total Alexanders:	18	105	81	263	48	601	366
Side	2	0	22	38	2	3	13
Other:	7	0	0	235	45	0	0
Total	**27**	**105**	**103**	**536**	**95**	**604**	**379**

a) The figures for the 'Ain Tab hoard are based on fresh examination of ANS records;the figures for Ma'Aret en-Nu'man 1980 are given as published H.B. Mattingly, Ma'Aret.

Now the coins from our hoard were not very skillfully cleaned, and their lightness might be accounted for in this way. Here comparison with the 'Ain Tab hoard is instructive. All the «Pamphylian» coins in 'Ain Tab were countermarked; the weights of these coins, not published by Seyrig, are listed here from the coins preserved in the ANS:[32]

| | Uncountermarked | | Countermarked | | |
	Hoard	ANS	Hoard	ANS	'Ain Tab
Phaselis	15.53	16.63	15.60	15.85	15.52 (12)
Aspendus	15.65	16.57	15.77	15.97	15.93 (42)
Perge	15.92	16.51	15.61	15.92	15.76 (30)

Both the coins from our hoard and those from 'Ain Tab are significantly lighter than the countermarked ANS specimens without hoard contexts. But what is most interesting about the figures presented here is that there is no significant difference in weight between countermarked and uncountermarked Alexanders, at least in these two hoards.

Nor is the lightness of the coins confined to the Pamphylian mints, as can be seen from the following summary:

	Examples	Mean	S.D.	Mean^2	S.D.	Peak	Ma'Aret mean
Parium	1	15.97	–	15.97	–	–	–
Assos	1	16.28	–	16.28	–	–	16.79 (1)
Kyme	23	15.65	.600	15.80 (21)	.248	15.80-99	–
Myrina	12	15.70	.297	15.76 (11)	.230	15.80-99	–
Temnos	39	15.66	.394	15.76 (35)	.236	15.60-79	16.45 (2)
Methymna	1	15.35	–	15.35	–	–	–
Mytilene	7	15.92	.231	15.92	.231	15.80-99	16.40 (3)
Chios	1	15.12	–	–	–	–	17.11 (2)
Alabanda	34	15.85	.375	15.92 (31)	.234	15.80-99	16.52 (1)
Halicarnassus	1	15.80	–	15.80	–	–	–
Nisyros	1	15.05	–	–	–	–	–
Phaselis	68	15.58	.474	15.78 (54)	.257	15.80-99	16.54 (8)
Aspendus	118	15.76	.400	15.86 (105)	.236	15.80-99	16.49 (17)
Perge	44	15.67	.389	15.80 (36)	.298	15.60-79	16.60 (17)
Side	13	15.85	.278	15.85	.278	15.80-99	16.57 (7)

Mean^2 = mean of all coins above 15.3 gm (i.e. 90% of nominal attic tetradrachm).

[32] The figures used here, which derive from Newell's record of the hoard and from current ANS holdings, differ slightly from those presented by Seyrig in Trésors.

The weights are very low and the standard deviations are very large.[33] The comparison with the coins from Ma'Aret en-Nu'man is intended to show just how low.

Two questions have to be asked at once. First, what, if anything, can be said about the purpose and extent of the anchor countermarks, in view of the evidently indiscriminate hoarding of countermarked and uncountermarked coins; and second, what is to be made of the very low weights of coins in the present hoard and in 'Ain Tab?

To the first there seem two possible solutions. Boehringer's suggestion, that as an emergency measure («Notmassnahme») tetradrachms from the royal treasury were countermarked and put into circulation (there being no time to melt and recoin them),[34] would explain the coexistence of countermarked and uncountermarked coins. The «emergency» remains unspecified.

Alternatively it can be supposed that the countermarking was universal, an attempt ca. 170 to validate non-Seleucid currency for circulation alongside new, lighter-weight tetradrachms. Then the uncountermarked coins (and coins from non-«Pamphylian» mints bearing countermarks other than anchors) can be seen as having come into Seleucid territory after ca. 170, when the countermarking had rendered the Alexanders acceptable.

Either event can be seen in the context of the lightening of standard of Seleucid silver between 173/2 and 169/8. As has been shown, the first tetradrachms of Antiochus IV compare favorably with those of Seleucus IV, with an apparent nominal weight of 17.00 gm; in Antiochus' second period of issue, however, there is a drop of about 2%, to a standard of ca. 16.70, which remains in use at least through Alexander I (150–145).[35] This standard is comfortably close to that suggested by the *uncountermarked* coins preserved in collections, though still far above that noted for our hoard coins.

Mørkholm saw the connection between the lightening of Seleucid coins and the countermarks, but interpreted it rather differently: he adduced the sudden emergence of large bronze denominations, and suggested that the production of tetradrachms was «severely limited, or perhaps even completely stopped for a time».[36] Then, he supposed, «the deliberate shortage of Seleucid tetradrachms

---

[33] See G. Davesne and G. Le Rider, Gülnar II. Le trésor de Meydancikkale (Cilicie trachée, 1980) I (Paris 1989) at p. 317, where the highest standard deviation for any single year of Tyre is .128, the lowest .059.

[34] C. Boehringer, Zur Chronologie mittelhellenistischer Münzserien 220–160 v. Chr., AMuGS 5 (Berlin 1972) p. 21.

[35] E. Schlösser, Das Gewicht der Tetradrachmen des Antiochus IV. von Syrien, SM 34/104, 1984, pp. 29–33; for a larger collection of weights leading to the same conclusion, O. Mørkholm, Some Reflections on the Production and Use of Coinage in Ancient Greece, Historia 31, 1982, pp. 290–305, at 301–305. Cf. The Monetary System in the Seleucid Empire after 187 B.C., in W. Heckel and R. Sullivan, eds., Ancient Coins of the Graeco-Roman World. The Nickle Numismatic Papers (Waterloo, Ont. 1984) pp. 93–113, at p. 107. None of these studies cites any of the others, though Schlösser mentions Mørkholm's presentation at the Nickle Conference in 1981. Mørkholm's 1984 publication, though in parts identical to that published in 1982, is somewhat more ambitious.

[36] Mørkholm, Monetary System (above, n. 35), p. 108.

appears to have brought a great quantity of foreign silver onto the market, but in order to get that validated as legal tender ... the owners had to have it marked with an official countermark». All this is, as he acknowledged, hypothetical; but he was no doubt correct to suppose that the three events − lightening of standard, introduction of bronze, and countermarking − must be related.

A variant of these proposals was suggested more recently by Le Rider: «l'autorité, ayant proclamé qu'elle n'acceptait plus que la monnaie d'argent royale et ayant ainsi défavorisé les autres pièces, aurait acquis ces dernières à une valeur légèrement moindre, puis les aurait aussitôt remises en circulation en les assimilant par la contremarque à la monnaie royale».[37]

Whatever scenario we accept, the consequence must have been the admission to widespread acceptance of the later Alexanders: the countermarked ones at first officially, then others once the types had become familiar. This analysis is supported, broadly speaking, by the hoards themselves: with the exception of the 'Ain Tab hoard, the further away one moves from the date of countermarking, the greater the number of uncountermarked coins: the percentages for countermarked pieces from Pamphylian mints are Tell Kotchek 98,63%, Ma'Aret en-Nu'man 98,57%, Tell Kotchek 97,62%, E. Anatolia 90,43%.

To the second question a plausible answer is that the two hoards are of considerably later date than their contents alone would suggest. The conventional view has it that the striking, and soon thereafter the circulation, of the posthumous Alexanders ended during the second quarter of the second century B.C.;[38] but there is already tantalizing evidence for their prominence in Seleucid currency much later. The Tartous 1987 hoard is said to have comprised 94 Alexanders, including one of Temnos, and Seleucid issues down to 125 B.C.;[39] and the Bassit hoard, which was certainly complete, combined nine Alexanders (six Temnos, three Alabanda) with a single coin of Antiochus VIII (119/8 B.C.).[40] Regrettably no weights are recorded for either hoard.

More compelling is the evidence of the Susiana (6) hoard.[41] This hoard, found in a pot and therefore certainly complete, consisted of 16 Seleucid drachms, one tetradrachm of Tiraeus I of Characene dated 91/90 B.C., and 50 tetradrachms of Temnos. The hoard can hardly be regarded as a currency deposit, in view of the absence of Alexanders from mints other than Temnos and the close die linkage among the coins in the hoard; on the other hand the weights of the pieces show

[37] G. Le Rider, Les alexandres d'argent en Asie mineure et dans l'orient séleucide au IIIe siècle av. J.-C. (c. 275–c. 225). Remarques sur le système monétaire des Séleucides et des Ptolémées, Journal des Savants Jan.–Sept. 1986, pp. 3–51 at p. 34.

[38] So Kinns (above, n. 10) p. 105, even as he discusses the difficulties with views expressed in the wake of Giovannini's controversial theory regarding the *stephanephoroi*: see A. Giovannini, Rome et la circulation monétaire en Grèce au IIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ, Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 15 (Basel 1978), esp. pp. 75–102.

[39] Price, p. 64.

[40] G. Le Rider, Un trésor de Bassit (1978), BCH 107, 1983, pp. 451–456.

[41] IGCH 1812 = G. Le Rider, Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes. Les trouvailles monétaires et l'histoire de la ville (Mémoires de la mission archéologique en Iran 39) (Paris 1965) pp. 248–249.

what one might expect of coins in circulation so long. The fifty pieces average 15.94 gm., somewhat heavier than the coins of 'Ain Tab or E. Anatolia but substantially below the attic standard.

Thus a date in the 130s or 120s, or even later, cannot be ruled out for the E. Anatolia hoard; and where it goes 'Ain Tab may plausibly follow. The fact is that no hoard including only late Alexanders, or late Alexanders and other undated material, has anything more than a *terminus post quem* provided by the Alexanders themselves or the countermarks they bear, and that *post quem* must be modified in light of the preservation of the material. Until more controlled hoard evidence comes to light, a clear picture of late second-century circulation will remain elusive.[42]

William E. Metcalf
c/o The American Numismatic Society
Brodway at 155th Street
New York N.Y. 10032

[42] The apparently abundant hoard evidence proves on close examination to be flawed. To deal with only the hoards discussed here: the Aleppo 1931 find, as currently known, consists of 26 coins seen by Seyrig in Aleppo and 11 others purchased by Newell; there were many more (Seyrig, Trésors, p. 56). I hope to publish elsewhere a more detailed report of the 'Ain Tab hoard than that given by Seyrig, but even the revised record will account for little more than half the 200 coins originally reported (ibid. p. 58). The Khan Cheikhoun hoard was seen in trade in 1940, and Seyrig noted that the patina and condition was similar to that of the 'Ain Tab coins; he would not rule out the possibility that the 103 coins he recorded constituted the missing portion of that hoard (ibid. p. 62). The Latakia 1759 hoard as seen by Pellerin was only «une partie d'un très grand nombre» (ibid. p. 49), and the number of mints represented by single specimens suggests selection. Despite heroic efforts at reconstructing the Ma'Aret en-Nu'man hoard, Mattingly admitted that the original total must have been considerably larger (Ma'Aret, p. 69).

PLATE 1

1

2

7

10

45

77

William E. Metcalf, A Hoard of Posthumous Alexanders

PLATE 2

86   99   120

123   136   190

William E. Metcalf, A Hoard of Posthumous Alexanders

PLATE 3

196

205

232

270

316

329

348

William E. Metcalf, A Hoard of Posthumous Alexanders