

Amyntas, Side, and the Pamphylian Plain

PLATES 00

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It is a pleasure to be able to honor one who has done so much over the years to remind us that numismatics is but one aspect of the broader pursuit of historical research.¹ It has its own methods, of which he is an undisputed master, but its goals should be those of any historian of the ancient world. The present I offer will, I hope, be fitting for a number of reasons. At one level, it deals with a problem with which Jack has had to wrestle in the field of Athenian coinage: that of imitation, the borrowing of the types of one mint by a different issuing authority (in the case of Athenian imitations at some geographical remove). On the other hand, my subject is one of the rare but wonderful cases where the understanding of a decade or more of the history of an entire region may depend upon the correct understanding of a single die link. It is also a case where, for us to be able to appreciate its historical importance, we must move beyond basic numismatic method and begin to question what coinage meant to the individuals who made and used it.

I. AMYNTAS

We begin in the area of southern Asia Minor, during the period of Mark Antony's imperium in the East.² In 40 BC, a Parthian army penetrated deep into Asia Minor under the command of Quintus Labienus, a former lieutenant of the tyrannicides Brutus and Cassius. In

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1. I am very grateful to Wolfgang Leschhorn for his comments on a draft of this paper, and for sharing the results of his own work on the mint of Side. I am also indebted to Oliver Hoover for comments and for the use of unpublished work on Seleucid countermarks.

2. Another numismatic consequence of this, at Aigion in Achaia, has been suggested by Jack himself: Kroll (1993: 233, *ad no.* 733). Note also the comments on Athenian coinage of Antonian date (1993: 104–105, *ad nos.* 144–145).

the following year, the Antonian forces went on the counterattack under the leadership of Publius Ventidius Bassus and recovered Asia Minor. Antony appears to have taken the opportunity in 39 BC to rearrange certain aspects of the administration of the area. Deiotarus, the king of Galatia, had recently died, and Antony now made some strategic alterations to the former Galatian dominions. A kingdom of Pontus was created to the north, including some of Galatia's northern territories, and bestowed upon Darius son of Pharnaces. The central part of the Galatian kingdom, along with parts of Paphlagonia, was given to Deiotarus's grandson Castor. To Polemo son of Zeno of Laodikeia was given the governorship of an area described by Appian as "parts of Cilicia" (BC 5.75), which seems to have included Iconium in Lycaonia (Strabo 12. 6. 1 C 568). Control of an area described by Appian (BC 5.75) as Pisidia was handed to Amyntas son of Dyitalos, a former commander in the army of Deiotarus.³ However, this state of affairs did not survive for long. Most probably during the winter of 37/6 BC further change was precipitated by the end of Castor's rule in Galatia.⁴ The northeastern part of his kingdom passed to his son Deiotarus, but the bulk of Galatia now passed to Amyntas together, it appears, with some of the areas that had previously belonged to Polemo. This last was more than compensated for by the award of the Kingdom of Pontus in the place of the territory ceded to Amyntas.

The literary sources for this latter settlement of 37/6 BC are fragmentary, and the precise territory covered by Amyntas's new kingdom has been the matter for some debate in the past. Of particular interest is the fate of the large and fertile plain of Pamphylia and the wealthy cities that occupied it. In such circumstances, the evidence of coinage has often although not always been invoked.

In an article now largely forgotten, Ronald Syme (1934) gathered together the evidence for the areas of Galatia and Pamphylia under Augustus.⁵ His starting point was Strabo's account of the kingdom granted to Amyntas by Mark Antony in 37/6. Strabo informs us that Amyntas's kingdom consisted of Galatia proper (the territory of the three tribes), as well as regions to the southwest: Lycaonia (including Isauria), Cilicia Tracheia, Pisidia, and Phrygian Pisidia. As Syme noted, the southernmost and westernmost cities described by Strabo as belonging to this kingdom are, respectively, Selge, and Sagalassos. He added:

This is unimpeachable testimony. It is further to be noted that Strabo nowhere says anything about the status of the cities of the Pamphylian coast either before or after the death of Amyntas; indeed, he implies a contrast between Selge (which was Pisidian, and therefore had belonged to Amyntas), and both Side and Aspendos, which he calls

3. For Amyntas's earlier career and his recently discovered patronymic, see Mitchell (1994: 101). On the extent of this early award and the evidence of Strabo 12.6.4 C. 569, see Mitchell (1993: 2.152 n. 17).

4. On the chronology see Mitchell (1993: 1.39).

5. Although Syme would later single out the piece as the beginning of his interest in Asia Minor and the province of Galatia (in the preface to the Italian edition of *Colonial Elites* [= 1978-91: VI.xi]), it was not included in the *Roman Papers*.

Παμφυλικαὶ πόλεις [Pamphylian cities]. The argument from silence is dangerous, but is here perhaps to be admitted. If the Pamphylian cities were not in the kingdom of Amyntas, Strabo was not bound to state the fact; if they were, such a remarkable fact was worth recording in view of the abundant detail he provides about the extent of Amyntas's kingdom. Seleuceia, on the coast of Cilicia Tracheia, so we are informed by Strabo, did not belong to Amyntas. It would be strange if Pamphylian cities like At-taleia, Side and Aspendos did. (Syme 1934: 123)

Syme goes on to add that Dio (49.32.3), in his account of Antony's settlement, states that the Roman gave Galatia to Amyntas and added to this Lykaonia and *parts* of Pamphylia (Παμφυλίας τέ τινα αὐτῷ προσθεῖς). As Syme says, "There must therefore have been other parts which did not belong to him. We know from Strabo that he held Pisidia and Cilicia Tracheia [which could fall under the heading of Pamphylia at this period]. Therefore the only 'part of Pamphylia' left, the only part which did not belong to him was the Pamphylian coast" (1934: 124).

Syme's application of logic was as usual impeccable, and the solution he proposed made sense of all the evidence, or so it momentarily seemed. But Syme had committed an uncharacteristic gaffe. He had overlooked one crucial piece of evidence that appeared to prove incontrovertibly that his reconstruction was wrong, and that the Pamphylian plain must have belonged to Amyntas. And this piece of evidence is numismatic.

Syme was soon made to realise his mistake. A. H. M. Jones would point out in his *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (1937: 412 n. 20) that there existed a silver coinage of Amyntas, minted with the designs of the city of Side, and firmly attributed by such authorities as Barclay Head and the *British Museum Catalogue* to a mint in the city operating for Amyntas. The similarity is indeed undeniable. On the obverse appears a head of Athena in crested Corinthian helmet facing to the right, her hair falling from underneath the back of the helmet. On the reverse stands a figure of Nike facing to the left. On the issues of Side she holds a wreath, on the issues of Amyntas a scepter or sheathed sword. To the left on the Sidetan issues is a pomegranate, the symbol of the city, and a magistrate's name or monogram, the latter sometimes extending into the right field. On the issues of Amyntas there is no symbol or magistrate's identifier, just the clear statement ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ (See Plate 000, no. [Side], and 000, no. [Amyntas]). Ever since the coins of Amyntas first appeared in 1845, the attribution of Amyntas's coinage to Side had been obvious, and an obvious conclusion had been drawn: Side, and with it the rest of Pamphylia, must have belonged to the Galatian kingdom.⁶

Syme was clearly aghast at his omission: he returned to the matter and pointed out his mistake on at least three occasions in print.⁷ Subsequent writers have tended to regard the

6. The first coins of Amyntas to be published were two acquired in London and three that appeared in Paris. On the publication of these coins and the circumstances of their discovery, see below.

7. Syme notes that "In a matter irrelevant to the main purpose of than paper, but arising from Dio's account of the dominions of King Amyntas (49.32.3) and of their disposal after his death in 25 BC (53.26.3) the writer, in

argument from coinage as decisive and have accepted that the Pamphylian plain, or at least the city of Side, must have been within Amyntas's kingdom.⁸

But I now wonder whether Syme was correct to give in so easily. Amyntas's coinage is extraordinary, indeed I think unique in the world of the Hellenistic rulers. For while it was a relatively common phenomenon for cities to copy the designs of kings to produce acceptable specie, such as in the cases of the many posthumous Alexander coinages (Price 1991), the first-century silver of Antioch in the name of the Seleucid king Philip I (*RPC I* 4124–4149), and the silver of Aradus in the name of the Ptolemaic king, in the silver of Amyntas we find the reverse of this phenomenon occurring. A king copies the designs of a city. This singularity requires closer examination than it has received, not least because the evidence has undergone such a transformation since Syme wrote. There have been major advances, both in the evidence available for the coinage of Side and in our understanding of its relationship to the coinage of Amyntas. Fully to understand the impact of these advances, a detailed look at these coinages will be necessary.

II. SIDE AND ITS COINAGE

The Hellenistic silver coinage of Side began in the very late third century. Unlike their neighbours at Aspendos, Perge, Sillyum, and Phaselis, who all began at around this time to produce coinage with types of Alexander the Great,⁹ the Sidetans introduced a coinage with its own distinctive types: a helmeted head of Athena on the obverse and a figure of Nike on the reverse. In place of an ethnic, the city's badge, a pomegranate, also featured prominently on the reverse. Unlike the other Pamphylian cities, which marked their coinage with a sequence of letters that are generally taken to be dates according to one or more civic eras, the citizens of Side controlled their coinage with abbreviated forms of the names of the men responsible for them. In recent years, the hoard evidence for the beginning of this coinage has become remarkably clear (see Table 1). A first group of hoards (H_{1–3}), buried within the decade c. 205–195, allows us to pin down the earliest three issues. Thereafter, another horizon is provided by a group of nine hoards (H_{4–12}), all apparently buried around the time of the war between Rome and Antiochus III in the late 190s, providing another clear chronological point before which almost all of the remainder of the magistrates' issues must be placed. Just one magistrate seems to postdate this horizon, whose name is abbreviated as KAE, KAEY, or KAEYX (*Kle*, *Kleu*, or *Kleuch*) and usually taken to have been "Kleuchares"

order to give meaning to Dio's words, felt compelled to assume that the Pamphylian Coast had not been a part of the Galatian kingdom of Amyntas. This appears to be false—Amyntas coined at Side in Pamphylia" (1937: 227 = 1978–91: I.42); in Syme (1939: 330 = 1978–91: I.145): "a mistake"; and Syme (1995: 179): "this argument was adduced . . . wrongly".

8. A. H. M. Jones had suggested that Amyntas ruled all of Pamphylia. Others have been more cautious, confining the assumption to Side. See, e.g., Magie (1950: 434, 1284 n. 21); Bowersock (1965: 51–52); Levick (1967: 26 n. 6).

9. On the Pamphylian Alexanders and their date(s), see most recently Price (1991: 346–348) and Boeringer (1999). They seem to have begun slightly earlier than the issues of Side.

Table 1.

H	Date	Hoard ^a	Side	Magistrates	Cmk ^b
1	c. 205	Diyarbakir (1735)	1	AΘ	
2	c. 201	Pergamum, Asklepieion (1303)	2	AP, ΔI	
3	c. 200–195	Oylum Höyüğü	1	ΔI	
4	c. 190	Mektepini (1410)	4	AP (2); A; ΔI	
5	c. 190	Kosseir (1537)	9	AK (2); AP + helmet; Δi(mon.)* E; ΔH; ΔIOΔ; ST(mon) H (3)	
6	c. 190	Latakia (1536)	6	AP + helmet (2); AP + wreath (2); XPY	
7	c. 190	Sardes pot (1318)	13	ΔEI; ΔEIN; ΔEINO; ΔI (2); ΔIN; ΔIO (2); Δi(mon.); ST (mon)** (2); ST (mon) H; CT.	
8	c. 190	Pisidia? (1411)	3+2	(A) ΔI; Δi (mon.) E; ST mon (B) ΔI; ΔIOΔ	
9	c. 190	Ayaz İn (1413)	34	AP; AP + wreath (2); ΔEI; Δi (mon.) E (3); ΔEIN; ΔEINO (2); Δi (mon.) I; Δi (mon.) I + fulmen; ΔIO (6); ΔIOΔ (5); ST (mon) (4); ST (mon) H (5); CT (2).	
10	c. 190?	Karacalar (9.505)	2	Δi (mon.) E; ST (mon); H	–
11	c. 190	Aleppo (1539)	?	Unknown	?
12	c. 190	Syria (2.81)	22	Unknown	?
13	c. 180	Alicante (8.411)	1	CT	–
14	c. 180	Çeltek ^c	33	ΔIO (2); ΔIOΔ (4); ST (mon) H (2); ΔE; ΔEI (4); ΔEINO (4); ΔH (5); ΔHM (5); AK; XPY (4); uncert.	C
15	c. 170–150	Unknown ^d	198	Unknown (no KΛEYX I)	Yes
16	c. 175–160	Konya (7.105)	1	KΛEY	A, R
17	c. 175–160	Beqa ^e	1	KΛEY	A
18	c. 175–160	Unknown ^f	1	KΛEY	A
19	c. 170–160	Khan Cheikhoun (1547)	22	Δi (mon.) E; ΔH; ΣT (3); CT; ST (mon) H (2); KΛE (3); KΛEY (5); KΛEYX I (6)	A, R
20	c. 169	Latakia (1544)	1+1	AP + wreath	A
21	c. 165	Aleppo (1546)	12	ΔE; ΔIOΔ; CT (2); ΣT; KΛEY (7)	A
22	c. 170–55	Tell Kotchek	3	ΣT; KΛEY; KΛEYX I	A, R
23	c. 162	Ma'aret en-Nu'man (8.433)	38	AP; fulmen (2); helmet; ΔEI (4); ΔEIN (2); CT (2); ΣT (3); ΔH; ΔHM; XPY; KΛE (2); KΛEY (14); KΛEYX I (4?)	A, R
24	c. 155–150	Babylon (1774)	6	AP (mon); ST (mon); ΔHM; KΛEY; KΛEYX I (2)	A
25	c. 150	S. Anatolia (1432)	2	ΔEINO; CT.	A
26	c. 150–140	E. Anatolia (9.517)	13	AP; ΔIO; ΔHM (2); KΛEY (3); KΛEYX I; KΛE[–]; CT; uncert. (2).	A, R, T
27	c. 144/3	Gaziantep (9.527) ^g	20+3	ΔI; ΔH (2); ΔEINO; CT; ΣT; ST (mon) H (2); KΛE (3+1); KΛEY (6+2); KΛEYX I (3)	A
28	c. 200–150	Asia Minor (1457)	25	Unknown (no KΛEYX II)	Yes
29	c. 150–140	Asia Minor (1453)	5	XPY; KΛEYX II	–
30	c. 138	Susiana (1806)	1	ΔH	A, R
31	c. 150–100	Unknown (9.521) ^h	560 + 127	All magistrates up to and including KΛEYX II	A, R, C, O
32	c. 150–100	Çiğlık ⁱ	53	AΘ, PR (mon)*** (2); AR; AR helmet; AR wreath (2); ΔI (2); ΔIOΔ; ST (mon) H (2); ΣH (?3); ΔEI (2); ΔEINO; ΔHM; AK; XPY; KΛE (13); KΛEY (6); KΛEYX I (3); KΛEYX II (8)	A, C

33	c. 150–100	Karakuyu (9.518)	269	KΛEYX II	–
34	c. 125–100	Unknown Findspotj	111	ΔIO; ΔIOΔ (5); AP; ΣT (4); CT (5); E; Δi (mon.) E; ΔH; AK; XPY (2); KΛEY (4); KΛEYX (82); uncert. (3)	–
35	1st cent.?	Egypt (1721)	43	ΔH; ΔIO (2); ΔEI; ΔEINO (2); ΣT (2); KΛEY and KΛEYX (26) uncert. (9)	A, C.
36	1st cent.	Unknown (9.551)	15	KΛEYX II and III	–
37	1st cent.	Side environs (3.80; 8.532; 9.569)	85	KΛEYX III	–
38	1st cent.	Asia Minor (1463)	11+	KΛEYX II, III, and IV?	–

* ΔI monogram: Δ

** ST monogram: Σ

*** PR monogram: Π

a. Numbers in brackets are references (where available) to *IGCH* or volumes of *CH*.

b. C = cistophoric; A = anchor; R = radiate head; T = tyche head; O = other.

c. Arslan (1998, 2001).

d. Leschhorn (1988: 24).

e. Elayi (1999).

f. Davesne and Lemaire (1996: 65–67). It is here assumed that the group of ten coins published by Davesne and Lemaire form, as they suggest, two distinct groups. The contents of the earlier of these (including the coin of Side) suggest a burial date of c. 180–160.

g. This remarkably interesting hoard remains to be fully published. Part was listed as *CH* 9.527, part was published by Augé et al. (1997), and a further portion was dispersed in commerce. The relatively precise date for its burial emerges from both the dated Seleucid issues and the Athenian New Style tetradrachms that it contained. A full publication is being prepared by the author and A. Houghton.

h. Professor Leschhorn informs me that the 560 coins of the Saarbrücken hoard were most probably from the same hoard as those recorded in Frankfurt by H. Schubert. For the latter group see Leschhorn (1998: 23); Schubert (1998) “Münzschatz A”. The number of coins given for this hoard by both authors is 127; the table provided by Schubert (592) lists only 126 coins, however.

i. Büyükyörük (2001).

j. Schubert (1998) “Münzschatz D”. This hoard contained far fewer of the early issues of Side than Schubert’s “Münzschatz A” and a greater proportion of Kleuchares II issues. It seems reasonable to suppose that D was buried later than A.

(Seyrig 1962: 59 with n. 1). However, the issues in the name of this man are far from easy to interpret, and some detailed analysis of these is necessary if we are to begin to understand the relationship between the coinage of Side and that of Amyntas. There appear to be four distinct groups in the name of this magistrate.

Kleuchares I

The first group of issues in the name of Kleuchares has generally been the best understood. The hoard evidence makes it clear that it was not among the earliest issues of the mint, since it is absent both from the group of hoards (H1–3) that closed around 205–195 BC and also from the larger group (H4–12) that seem to have closed by c. 190 BC. The issues of Kleuchares I do not begin to appear in the hoard record until the 170s and 160s (H16–23). When the group begins, the coins are signed simply KΛE (Subgroup 1: plate 1 no. 1). These issues were followed by coins with the fuller abbreviation KΛEY (Subgroup 2: plate 1 no. 2), and

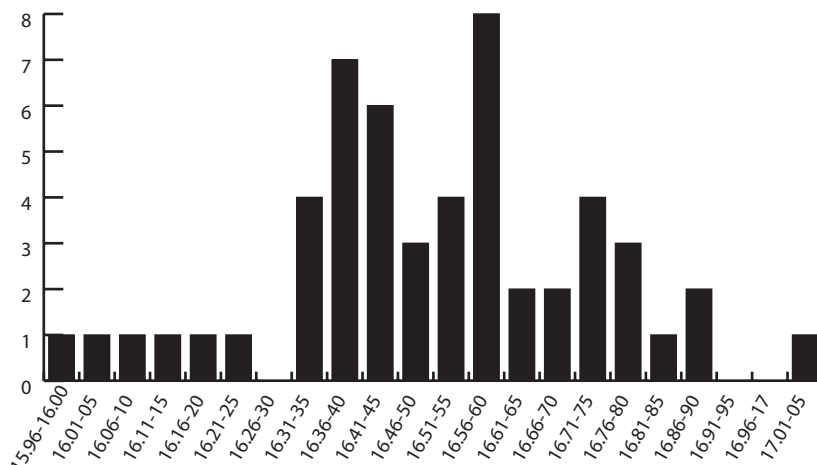


Figure 1. Kleuchares I

although no obverse die link between these subgroups has yet been published, hoard evidence and style suggest that they belong together. The third subgroup was signed with the letters KAEYX in the form that would remain in use until the late first century BC (Subgroup 3: plate 1 no. 3). An obverse die link between issues of Subgroup 2 (KAEY) and 3 (KAEYX) is known, confirming that these issues belong together.¹⁰ Issues of all three subgroups regularly bear the anchor countermarks that seem to have been applied to coins by the Seleucid authorities c. 175–170 BC.¹¹ By contrast, they never bear the cistophoric countermarks applied by the Attalid authorities, probably in the period c. 188–183 BC (Bauslaugh 1990). These facts suggest a relatively precise period of production between c. 183 and 175 BC for the Kleuchares I group as a whole. This range is confirmed by the evidence of the Gaziantep hoard (H27), which can be dated with some precision to the year 144/3 BC and contained issues of Kleuchares I exhibiting a noticeable degree of wear. This was apparently not a large coinage. Professor Leschhorn informs me that up until 1990 he had recorded 26 obverse dies. This suggests a strike rate of around 2 to 3 obverse dies per annum.

The weight table for Kleuchares I (Figure 1), based on 80 specimens recorded in the British Museum photo-file, allowing for the fact that many surviving specimens of this group exhibit some wear and consequent weight loss, suggests that the target weight standard was in the range 16.8–17.0 g, comparable to the Attic standard that was in the use by neighbouring Pamphylian cities for their Alexander coinages and that of the Seleucid kingdom in the late third to early second centuries BC (Mørkholm 1982a; Colin 1996: 28–29).

10. Compare Lanz 62 (1992) no. 98 (KAEY) and Berlin (Babylon Hoard), *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 38 (1928): 125 no. 83 (KAEYX).

11. On the date of these countermarks, see, e.g., Mørkholm (1982b: 303–304), Price (1990: 7–9), and Metcalf (1994: 45–47). A full survey of the Seleucid countermarks by O. Hoover will appear in vol. II of A. Houghton et al. (eds.), *Seleucid Coins* (forthcoming).

Kleuchares II

While the Kleuchares I issues clearly belong both stylistically and chronologically with the earlier issues of Side in the names of other magistrates, it has long been recognized that there are later phases of Kleuchares coinage that are stylistically distinct from the earlier Sidetan issues.

The stylistic distinction between Kleuchares I and II is unmistakable, particularly in the latter part of group II. This is clearest in the treatment of the hair of Athena. In group II this changes from a relatively naturalistic layering effect of curls in alternate directions to become more stylized and regular later in the group (compare plate 1. nos. 4 and 5). The facial features of the goddess likewise move from a more naturalistic delicacy to a bulbous-eyed, large-nosed ugliness (plate 1 no. 6). On the reverse, the detail of the wing of Nike is reduced to a series of dots, while the folds of her dress at the rear lose any semblance of natural flow.

Two hoards, Gaziantep (H27) and Asia Minor (H29), provide us with a fairly narrow chronological bracket for the beginning of group II. They are absent from the Gaziantep hoard, which contained a significant quantity of group I coins and can be dated fairly accurately to c. 144/3 BC. They are present, however, in the Asia Minor hoard, the deposit of which came most probably in the decade c. 150–140. A date in the latter half of the 140s seems most likely for the beginning of Kleuchares group II.

Otherwise, the best published evidence for the group II coinage comes from the Karakuyu hoard (H33), which contained 268 coins of the Kleuchares II group but no other types of coinage (Table 2). These coins were struck from 53 obverse dies, which are tabulated below according to an order based on stylistic criteria.¹² The opportunity has been taken to add to the table details of dies of the few specimens of this group recorded in the British Museum photo file, which add a further five obverse dies, bringing the total recorded for the group to 58.

Even so, we do not yet have clear picture of the totality of this coinage. For this we must await the publication of the substantial hoard *CH* 9.521 (H31) by Wolfgang Leschhorn. Professor Leschhorn informs me that in 1990 (excluding the specimens from the Karakuyu hoard) he had recorded 75 obverse dies from 836 specimens. The Carter estimate from these figures for the total number of obverse dies is 89–96. This was a large issue, and probably not complete by the time of deposit of the Karakuyu hoard.

As we have already noted, the evidence of the Asia Minor 1962 (H29) and Gaziantep hoards (H27) suggests that these issues were in circulation shortly after 145 BC. At first sight, the stylistic development of the Kleuchares II group that is evinced by the Karakuyu

12. The die numbers used are those assigned by Arslan and Lightfoot (1999) in their publication of the hoard. Their ordering of the coins was based on the treatment of the pomegranate symbol on the reverse and has here been revised. Moreover, a number of die identities seem to have been missed by the original editors, who recorded 84 obverse dies. Numbers given in quotation marks are die-numbers wrongly assigned in the original publication (the dies listed as OD 74, 76, 77, and 78, on plates 28–29 are not the same as those similarly designated on plates 36–37).

Table 2.

Obverse Die	Other Specimens	Karakuyu Total	Overall Total
OD28; OD84	Hirsch 191, 617	2	3
OD16		1	1
OD13		1	1
OD“78”	Hirsch 34, 1303 (<i>IGCH</i> 1453); Schlessinger 4.ii.35, 1380	1	3
OD45		7	7
OD12		1	1
OD25		1	1
OD7		1	1
OD5	Hirsch 34, 1302 (<i>IGCH</i> 1453); Hirsch 35, 443 (<i>IGCH</i> 1453)	1	3
OD6	Hirsch 35, 444 (<i>IGCH</i> 1453)	4	5
OD1		2	2
OD11	Knobloch FPL 34, 1240?; SNG Newcastle 520	1	3
OD79		1	1
OD2		2	2
OD54; OD57		2	2
OD20; OD52		4	4
OD10		1	1
OD21; OD22;		4	4
OD53			
OD60		1	1
OD62	BM 1955-11-10-24; Freeman & Sear MB 11, 135; Paris 697?	10	13
OD19	GM 115, 1198	2	3
OD8		1	1
OD4; OD59		2	2
OD14; OD58		2	2
OD15		1	1
OD55		1	1
OD51		3	3
OD56		1	1
OD9		1	1
OD61	Leschhorn Pl. I. 3 (<i>CH</i> 9.521)	3	4
OD75		4	4
OD74		2	2
OD68		7	7
OD38	Lanz 102, 280; F&S MB 11, 138	14	16
OD71		2	2
OD65	Oxford (Milne 1924)	6	7
OD33; OD35;	GM 52, 339; Peus 366, 214	9	11
OD42; OD“77”			
OD37		4	4
OD29		2	2
OD17; OD23		15	15
OD66		3	3
OD36; OD44;	“1994 Hoard” (<i>CH</i> 9.551) no. 335	18	19
OD70			
OD64	Rauch 37, 167	5	6
OD24; OD39;	Leschhorn Pl. I. 4 (<i>CH</i> 9.521)	15	16
OD40; OD“76”			

OD26; OD30;		6	6
OD32; OD80;			
OD83			
OD41; OD43	“1994 Hoard” (<i>CH</i> 9.551) no. 334	4	5
OD46; OD72;	Oxford, Ashmolean (1971)	25	26
OD73; OD“74”			
OD18; OD31		3	3
OD34		1	1
OD76		6	6
OD67	GM 133, 248; Cederlind 135, 76	9	11
OD27; OD63;	Glendining 31.i.51 (Cunningham), 241; GM 113, 5266;	38	42
OD69; OD77;	D. Markov 11, 78; Künker 104, 289		
OD78; OD81			
OD3	Freeman & Sear MB 11, 136	5	6
New (early style)	Ars Antiqua 4, 279		1
New (early style)	Ars Antiqua 4, 280		1
New (early style)	GM 15, 1979		1
New (early style)	Hirsch 97, 167		1
New (early style)	Hirsch 152 (1986) 215; <i>SNG Turkey</i> I 1056.	2	
Totals		268	304

hoard, together with the substantial number of dies, might seem to suggest that the period of production for this group was fairly long. However, the relatively uniform freshness of the Karakuyu hoard coins speaks against such a conclusion.¹³ Closer inspection of the dies within this group suggests that the disparate styles are the result not of a gradual change but of the employment of die cutters of substantially different abilities. This looks more like a large group of coins struck over a relatively short space of time. Moreover, the relatively heavy use of some of the dies in this group also suggests haste in their production.¹⁴

Another characteristic of the Kleuchares II group deserves comment, and may not be unrelated to the circumstances of the production of this coinage. Whereas the Kleuchares I issues turn up in relatively large numbers, and relatively consistently in mixed hoards from Asia Minor and the Levant, the coins of Kleuchares II do not. Our only hoard provenances are the Asia Minor 1962, Çıglık, Karakuyu, unknown findspot 1994, and Asia Minor 1845 hoards (H29, 32, 33, 36, and 38). In the first case, only what appear to be the earliest coins of the group are represented; in the last three, the coins do not appear with coins of other mints. Interestingly, three of the hoard provenances are local to the point of production: Çıglık and Karakuyu are both on the Pamphylian and Pisidian borders (the former about 10 kilometers northeast of Termessos, the latter a little less to the northwest of Ariassos), while the 1994 hoard seems to have been acquired from within the Antalya administrative region.

The weight table for the issues of Kleuchares II (Figure 2) suggests that these issues were aiming at a “reduced Attic” standard of 16.4–16.5 g, akin to that in use in the Seleucid

13. On this point see Arslan and Lightfoot (1999: 36).

14. Compare e.g., Arslan and Lightfoot (1999) nos. 389 and 612 (same obv. die) and 458–464 (same obv. die).

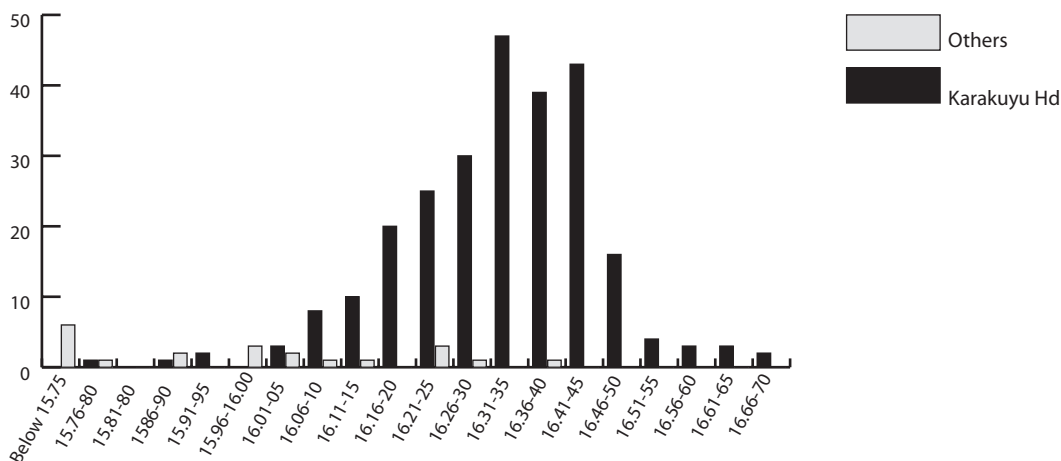


Figure 2. Kleuchares II

kingdom in the latter half of the second century (Mørkholm 1982a: 143–147). The generally higher weight of the Karakuyu hoard coins also confirms the impression gained from their appearance that this hoard consists of fresh coin.

Kleuchares III

A third, radically different style of coinage with the Sidetan types and in the name of KAEYX has long been identified as a later issue of the mint of Side, although the chronology and precise identification has remained unclear. In his publication of the Babylon hoard in 1928, Regling noted the existence of what he took to be two different styles of Kleuchares issues, which he described as I and II. The first of these was exemplified by the coins found in the Babylon hoard, as well as other coins in the Berlin collection that exhibited countermarks. This style equates here to Kleuchares I (above). In the identification of his second style, however, Regling conflated the two groups that are here identified as Kleuchares III and IV. As an example of his group II, he illustrated a coin in Berlin of Kleuchares group III. The style is markedly different to either of the two previous styles (I and II). The hair of Athena on the obverse falls in long, lank strands, often with a dominant central lock curling downwards as if hanging from a globular feature apparently representing the ear (see pl. 1, no. 7). The crest of the helmet is generally represented with a series of transverse lines. The rim of the helmet above the face curves inwards from front and back to meet in a point just above and in front of the ear. Nike on the reverse is crudely realised, with a “hairy” edge to her wing. The upper portion of the wing is decorated with large dots, in contrast to the more delicate dots or lines of groups II and I (see plate 1, nos. 1–6).

The best evidence for group III is now provided by the publication of the Near Side 1963 hoard (H37) and the unknown findspot 1994 hoard (H36). Between them these two hoards provide evidence for 17 obverse dies. The two hoards overlap closely in their content of

Table 3.

Obverse die	Other specimens	1963+1994 Hd total	Overall total
O1	Hirsch 179, 553	5	6
O2; OD12	Grabow 14, 504; CNG 51, 485	1+1	4
O3; O29	Künker 71, 397; Aufhäuser 16, 174; Hirsch 223, 1825 = 227, 220 = 237, 389; S. Gibbons FPL 9, 61	2	6
O4; O27	Münz Zentrum 56, 303; ANA Conv. Auction 1952, 1210	5	7
O5; O6	Oxford (Milne 1924)	11	12
OD6	Ars Antiqua 4 (2003), 281	1	2
O7; O22; O23; O24; O25; O26; OD9; OD10; OD11	Hirsch 182, 344; Egger 46 (Prowe), 1978 = NFA MB 12.x.88, 349; Cambridge, SNG 5101; Hirsch 197, 330 = 218, 391; SKB FPL21, 68 = 25, 88; Vecchi FPL 7, 26; SNG Blackburn 1018 (double struck, die uncertain)	222+5	33
O8; O28	CNG online no. 197807837; Hirsch 159, 381 = Rauch 42, 3079	3	5
O15; OD2	Hirsch 177, 391; Paris, SNG 700; Münz Zentrum 50, 139	2+1	6
O10; O13; O21; OD8	SBV 23, 123; Freeman & Sear MB 11, 137; Kress 138, 419; NFA/Leu 1/18.x.84, 277; Kurpfälzische MH 49, 228 = 54, 59; Numifrance 2.vi.82, 81; Hirsch 180, 341	9+1	17
O11; O18	SBV 45 (1998) 274; Naville 4.vi.21 (Pozzi), 2802 = SNG Lockett 3026; ANS 1905-57-447; Ciani FPL x.1929, 142; BM 1979-1-1-927 = SNG vA 4797; Bourgey 7/8/xi/83, 85 = 26/8.vi.89, 47; Florange & Ciani 17/21.ii.25 (Allotte de la Füye 597 = Ciani 14.vi.34, 72 = NAC "O", 1663; KMK 73, 67	4	12
O12; O14; OD1	SNG Manchester 1297; Kurpfälzische MH 35, 85; BMC 43;	7+1	11
O9	Naville 7 (Bement), 1602; Platt 27.iii.22, 696; Hirsch 178, 435; Kricheldorf FPL 61, 384 = 11, 194;	7	
11 OD7	GM 79, 257; Athena 2, 203; Auctiones 12, 125; R. Ball 6, 360; SBV 27.x.77, 359 = Hirsch 162, 301; UBS 59, 5836	1	7
O16; O17	Naville 4.vi.21 (Pozzi), 2801; NFA MB 14.xii.89, 615; ANS 1944-100-50925; Auctiones 13, 323; Paris, SNG 695; Rauch 13, 44 = Kurpfälzische MH 10, 23	5	11
O19		1	1
O20; OD3	SBV 33, 344; Glendining 1.ix.76, 181	1+2	5
-	Burgan MB 18.vi.91, 405	-	1
-	Oxford (Evan beq.)	-	1

A1	Lanz 52, 248; ACNAC Davis 241 = NFA 9, 202 = Berk 115, 295; NAC 'D', 1515; KMK 22, 79 = 24, 124; Monnaies de Collection, 13/5.x.80, 419; Myers 1, 239.	–	6
A2	Sotheby (Zurich) 27/8.x.93, 754 = GM 67, 315 = Leu 83, 358; Asta Ceresio 26.ix.87; Tradart 12.xii.91, 175; Sternberg 16, 159; Lanz, 40, 353; <i>BMC</i> 44.	–	6
A3	SBV 43, 176; Hirsch 148, 103; Rauch 20/2.x.86, 166	–	3
A4	SBV 6, 74; Hirsch 148, 104	–	2
A5	Ciani 20/2.ii.35 (Grandprey), 182; Lanz 70, 21; Hirsch 151, 146; <i>BMC</i> 46.	–	4
A6	Lanz 38, 296; Sternberg 16, 158; <i>BMC</i> 41.	–	3

Kleuchares III dies. In the Table 3 that follows, as with group II, I list all of the dies known to me from the hoards and from the photo-file of the British Museum.¹⁵

As can be seen, the two hoards do not contain all of the coinage to be attributed to this phase of production. The dies represented in these hoards are relatively close stylistically. The British Museum photo file adds a further two dies¹⁶ that seem to belong with this core of dies, bringing the total to 19 observed dies from 158 specimens. The Carter estimate for the total number of obverse dies for this group is 19 or 20. However, a distinct subgroup of Kleuchares III is formed by a further six obverse dies (above A1–A6) recorded from 24 specimens, including three in the British Museum collection (see plate 1 no. 8 and plate 5, *BMC* 44, 41, and 46).¹⁷ Although certain features such as the rendering of the crest and rim of Athena's helmet and to a degree the treatment of the hair link these dies to the main group, the rendition of the facial features of the goddess are sufficiently different to make them an identifiably separate phase of production. None of these dies appear to have been present in the 1963 and 1994 finds, and these may perhaps be regarded as the final issues of Kleuchares group III. The evidence of the Asia Minor 1845 hoard (H38) may confirm this (see below).

The weight distribution of Kleuchares group III (Figure 3) suggests that the standard aimed at by these issues is around 16.10–16.20 g. This is lower than group II, and close to the “reduced” Attic standard in use in the Seleucid kingdom in the first half of the first

15. The die numbers used are those assigned by Arslan and Lightfoot (1999) in their publication of the 1963 and 1994 hoards. The die numbers assigned to coins in the 1963 hoard I have abbreviated to “Oxx”; for those in the 1994 hoard I have retained the format “ODxx”. Their ordering of the coins has been revised here. Again, a number of die identities seem to have been missed by the original editors, who recorded 38 obverse dies in the two hoards (excluding the two coins of Kleuchares group II in the 1994 hoard).

16. Burgan MB 18.vi.91, 405 and Oxford, Evans beq.

17. The estimated number of obverse dies is 6–7.

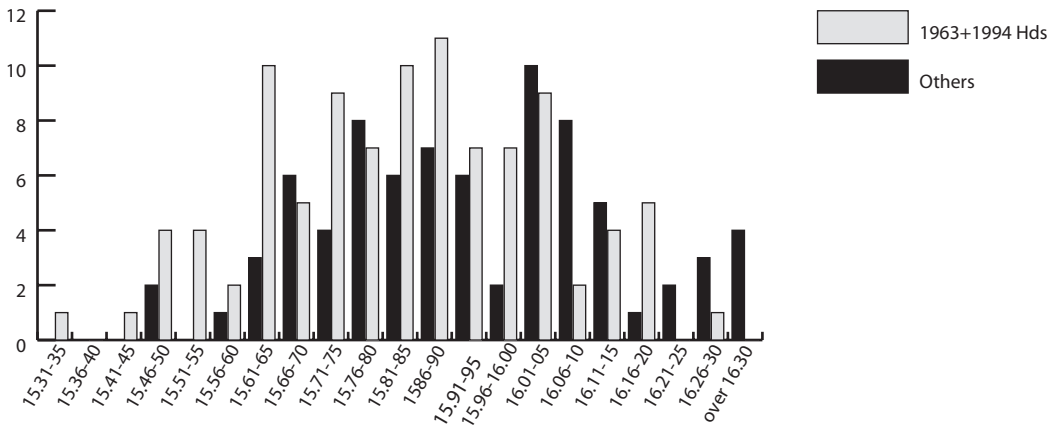


Figure 3. Kleuchares III

century BC (Mørkholm 1982a: 148, Table IV).¹⁸ However, it remains to be seen whether the Kleuchares III coins belong to this period. There is clear evidence, as we shall see, in the case of Kleuchares IV for a substantial gap opening up between the “Attic standard” of Sidetan issues and that used at Antioch.

Kleuchares IV

The issues of group IV are the least well attested of all the Kleuchares groups. Stylistically, it is markedly different from the two preceding groups. The obverse style bears in the depiction of Athena’s head a superficial resemblance to Kleuchares group I. The treatment of the helmet and hair all mark a step away from the stylization of group III back toward the more naturalistic treatment of group I. The facial features are less flattering, however. The reverse style is markedly different from group I, showing a similar clumsiness to that achieved by the cutters of the dies of group III (see plate 1 no. 9).

The following die study of group IV is based predominantly on published specimens and the photo file of the British Museum. It thus makes no pretensions to completeness, but offers an overview to set alongside the contemporary coinage of Amyntas. All die combinations are illustrated on plates 2–4).¹⁹

As can be seen, with a ratio of ten observed obverse dies from 42 specimens, it is likely that we now have most of the obverse dies (Table 4). The nature and chronology of this group, together with its significance for the broader history of Side and the Pamphylian plain, depend upon its relationship with the coinage of Amyntas.

18. The Seleucid tetradrachms of c. 105–92 BC seem to be aiming at a slightly higher weight of c. 16.20–16.30 g, while those of 89–69 BC probably aim closer to 15.90–16.00 g.

19. I am grateful to Peter van Alfen for providing information on the unpublished specimens in the ANS, and to Richard Ashton for his help with the Oxford collection.

Table 4.

A1/P1				
	a.	15.60	0	Cambridge, McClean pl. 317, 2
A1/P2				
	a.			Frankfurt. Atlan "I"
A1/P3				
	a.	15.54		Künker 77 (2002) 209
A1/P4				
	a.	16.00		Rauch 43 (1989) 417; 46 (1991) 257. Hirsch 160 (1988) 241
A1/P5				
	a.	16.00	0	<i>BMC</i> 38
A1/P6				
	a.	15.87		CNG 46 (1998) 459
A1/P7				
	a.*	15.94	0	Cambridge, Leake, <i>SNG</i> 5100
	b.	15.90		Rosenberg 72 (1932, Lejeune) 683
A1/P8				
	a.	15.87	0	<i>BMC</i> 39; Atlan "M"
A1/P9				
	a.	16.20		Coin Galleries 14.xii.04, 174
A1/P10				
	a.	15.98		Sotheby 15.v.74, 53
A1/P11				
	a.*	15.95	0	<i>BMC</i> 40A
	b.	15.71		Aucliones 20 (1990) 450
A2/P12				
	a.	15.62		Kölner MK 46 (1988) 2111
	b.*	15.84	0	Lanz 97 (2000) 332
A2/P13				
	a.	15.67	0	<i>BMC</i> 42
A2/P14				
	a.	16.05	0	<i>BMC</i> 45
A2/P15				
	a.	15.70	0	<i>SNG Lewis</i> 1034
A2/P16				
	a.	15.88		Paris, <i>SNG</i> 699
A2/P17				
	a.	15.72	0	Oxford (Keble), Spink 7.i.1889
A3/P18				
	a.	15.27		Paris, <i>SNG</i> 696. Atlan "N"
A4/P19				
	a.	15.97		Rauch 41 (1988) 287
A4/P20				
	a.	15.79	0	Lanz 120 (2004) 170
A4/P21				
	a.	15.70	0	Brussels, de Hirsch 1589
A4/P22				
	a.	15.87	0	ANS 1944.100.50928. Newell
A5/P22				
	a.	15.87	0	Brussels, du Chastel 271. Atlan "K"
	b.*	15.40		Künker 94 (2004) 1300
A6/P23				
	a.	15.67	0	ACNAC Dewing 2473
A6/P24				
	a.	15.27		Hess 1.xii.31 (Otto), 609; Münzhandlung Basel 10 (1938) 354; Kricheldorf 15.x.55, 488; Kurpfälzische MH 31 (1986) 101; Peus 369 (2001) 222.

A7/P25	a.			Berlin. Atlan "L"
A8/P26	a.	15.80	0	BMC 40
A9/P27	a.			Kölner MK 54 (1991) 97
A9/P28	a.	15.55		Maison Platt FPL iii.98, 261
	b.*	15.66		Künker 89 (2004) 1434
A9/P29	a.	15.39		Naville 4.iv.21 (Pozzi) 2800
A9/P30	a.			St. Petersburg. Atlan "H"
A9/P31	a.			Knobloch FPL 34 (1968) 1239
	b.*			Cederlind 98 (1993) 128
A9/P32	a.	16.07	0	SNG Lewis 1035
A10/P33	a.	15.65		GM 46 (1989) 325
A10/P34	a.	15.84		Hirsch 175 (1992) 448
A10/P35	a.	15.64	0	Berlin (Fox); Atlan "O"
Specimens	Obverse dies	Reverse dies	Combinations	Carter est.
42	10	35	36	11.52 ± 0.95

Amyntas

The coinage of Amyntas was the subject of a die study by S. Atlan (1965), who identified six obverse and 33 reverse dies for the issue. Regling had already noted a stylistic similarity between some of the coins he classified amongst his later group of Kleuchares issues (1928: 127).²⁰ Atlan was able to discover the obverse die link between Amyntas's coinage and a coin of Kleuchares IV (her O1 and above A10). To the corpus assembled by Atlan fifteen more specimens may be added, providing evidence for a further two reverse dies not recorded in her work.²¹ The dies of the Amyntas coinage and their use are summarised in Table 5.

A weight table (Figure 4) for the issues of Amyntas, combined with those of the die-linked Kleuchares IV coins, suggests that the standard aimed at for these coins was around

20. It was undoubtedly the confusion in Regling's discussion between Kleuchares III and IV, and his illustration of a Kleuchares III coin that led Seyrig to question this similarity (1962: 61).

21. Credit Suisse 3.xii.85, 147 = 42 (1987) 301: O2/Rnew; Ciani 27.vi.34, 14: O2/Rnew. The other 13 coins to be added are: Sotheby 16.xi.1880, 163 = SNG Lewis 1050: O1/R1; Münz Zentrum 56 (1985) 385 = Künker 94 (2004), 1377: O1/R4; SNG Newcastle 546: O1/R5; Künker 83 (2003) 396: O1/R7; Schulman 30/1.iii.36, 175: O2/R8; Hess/Leu 25.iv.72, 271 = Kurpfälzische MH 29 (1985) 46: O2/R9; SBV 57 (2003) 286 = CNG 69 (2005) 503 286: O2/R10; Sternberg 34 (1998) 49: O4a/R18; Auctiones 22 (1992) 342 = Triton 6 (2003) 442: O5/R25; MMAG 54 (1978) 350: O6/R22; SNG Delepierre 2927 = SNG Paris 2351: O6/R22; Kress 102 (1956) 62: O6/R27; SNG Paris 2350: O6/R33. For specimens recorded by Atlan, the following references may also be added: Atlan 8.5 = Ars Antiqua 4 (2003) 289; Atlan 9.6 = Vedrines MB 30.xii.94, 43; Atlan 12.7 = Peus 371 (2002) 210 and 374 (2003) 115; Atlan 17.1 = NAC "L" (2001) 1393; Atlan 26.1 = Kress 109 (1958) 762; Atlan 30.2 = NFA 16 (1985) 236; Atlan 30.4 = Burgan MB 22.xii.90, 52; Atlan 39.1 = Bourgey 21/2.ii.72, 64.

Table 5.

Issue	Specimens	Obverse dies	Reverse dies	Combinations	Carter est.				
Amyntas	112	6	35	45	5.86 ± 0.13				
01	r2 r3 r4 r5 r6 r7 r8 r1	03	r4 r8 r11 r14 r15	04a	r8a ^a r17a r18 r20 r19	05	r19 r21 r23 r24 r25 r26 r22	06	r22 r27 r28 r29 r30 r31 r32 r33

a. This die is designated no. 8 by Atlan, but is in fact a re-cut state of 8, with the numerals IB added, just as reverse die 17a is a re-cut version of reverse 17 (see the note ad *BMC* 2). It is the die on which Nike is portrayed with an elephant scalp headdress.

16.00–16.10 g, although in fact fairly fresh-looking specimens regularly fall short of this mark. This standard looks to be fractionally lighter than that adopted for Kleuchares group III. It is, nonetheless, significantly higher than the “reduced” Attic weight standard in use at the end of the Seleucid kingdom and for the Roman production of posthumous Philip at Antioch, which must be broadly contemporary with Amyntas’s tetradrachms: the Attic standard at the mint of Antioch dropped from c. 15.61–65 g under Philip and 15.66–70 g Tigranes to c. 14.80 g in the 30s BC.²²

22. For the figures for Philip and Tigranes, a refinement over those presented by Mørkholm (1982a: 148, table IV), I am grateful to Oliver Hoover; for the later period see *RPC* I 609.

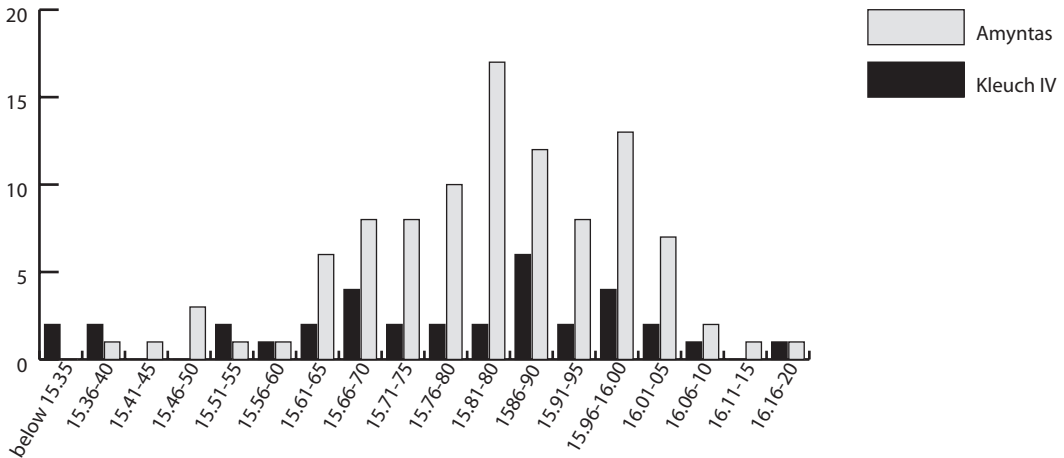


Figure 4.

The chronology of Kleuchares III and IV

The date of Kleuchares group IV is relatively clear, thanks to the discovery of the die link with the issues of Amyntas. The precise dates for Amyntas's coinage remain to be resolved, but must belong within the period of his rule (c. 39–25 BC). Kleuchares IV will belong at around the same time. The chronology of Kleuchares III is less clear, however, and appears to hinge on the testimony of two poorly recorded hoards of the first century BC.

The first of these hoards has a somewhat murky history. During the year 1845, Henry Borrell sent to the English collector and curator Thomas Burgon two of the hitherto unknown tetradrachms in the name of King Amyntas. Burgon immediately announced this new find in a lengthy communication to the editor of the *Numismatic Chronicle* (Burgon 1845–6).²³ At the same time, apparently, two similar coins were received in Paris, and simultaneously announced as new by the Duc de Luynes to the readership of the *Revue Numismatique* (Luynes 1845).²⁴

Neither of these collectors and authors seem to have been informed by their source or sources either of the other's coins or—initially at least—of the context of the find. During the course of the work on the publication of the coins in London, Burgon became aware that the coins of Amyntas had been found with coins of Side (Burgon 1845–6: 82 n. 39). Two such coins of Sidetan type came into his possession and can now perhaps be identified in the collection of the British Museum (*BMC* 44 and 39).²⁵ But this was still not the whole story. As E. H. Bunbury was later to put it: “A much larger number of specimens of

23. The coin engraved at the head of the first page is *BMC* 3.

24. The two coins described are de Luynes 2789 and 2790 (*SNG Paris* 2353 and 2345). Interestingly, by the time that Burgon's article went to press a third piece had been received in Paris (Luynes 1845: 69 [editor's note]), and it is clear that a third piece did enter the de Luynes collection (de Luynes 2791; *SNG Paris* 2348), presumably after the latter's article had gone to press.

25. These two coins were acquired by the Museum together and have weights that seem to correspond to the two pieces described by Burgon.

both coins [sc. Amyntas and KLEYX issues of Side] subsequently emerged from the ‘find’ in question than were known to that distinguished numismatist at the time he wrote his paper. See the Sale Catalogue of Borrell’s Coins (1852), pp. 30, 41” (Bunbury 1883: 199 n.21).²⁶ In the 1860s, the find from which these coins derived was said to have numbered close to 500 coins, and it is clear from the sale of Henry Borrell’s own collection after his death that numerous pieces from the hoard were still in his possession (Hoffmann 1862–64: no. 2534 with note).²⁷ In the meantime, between Burgon’s publication in 1845/6 and Borrell’s death in 1852, the British Museum had acquired four specimens of Amyntas’s coinage (three from Henry Borrell’s brother Maximilian) and eight specimens of Kleuchares III and IV, all from the same source. In addition, a coin of Amyntas was acquired from the dealer Whelan in October 1852, which may have been among those sold at the Borrell sale in July that year. Two other coins of Amyntas in the British Museum collection were acquired from a Mr. Langdon in 1855 (*BMC* 5) and from the Woodhouse collection in 1866 (*BMC* 4), and are highly likely to have come from the same find as the others. The coins acquired by the Museum in this period, and likely to derive from the Borrell “find” may be listed thus (all coins are illustrated on plate 5).

Side			Amyntas			
1	1845-12-17-205	(<i>BMC</i> 44)	Kleuch III	1	1846-3-13-1	(<i>BMC</i> 7)
2	1845-12-17-206	(<i>BMC</i> 39)	Kleuch IV	2	1846-3-13-2	(<i>BMC</i> 6)
3	1846-4-15-1	(<i>BMC</i> 45)	Kleuch IV	3	1846-4-15-7	(<i>BMC</i> 3)
4	1846-4-15-2	(<i>BMC</i> 41)	Kleuch III	4	1847-2-2-1	(<i>BMC</i> 1)
5	1846-4-15-3	(<i>BMC</i> 46)	Kleuch III	5	1852-10-25-1	(<i>BMC</i> 2)
6	1846-4-15-4	(<i>BMC</i> 42)	Kleuch IV	6	1855-3-20-3	(<i>BMC</i> 5)
7	1846-4-15-5	(<i>BMC</i> 40)	Kleuch IV	7	1866-12-1-3811	(<i>BMC</i> 4)
8	1846-4-15-6	(<i>BMC</i> 38)	Kleuch IV			

If, as seems likely, the attribution of all of these coins to the Asia Minor 1845 hoard is correct, then this find provides us with important evidence for the dating of Kleuchares III and IV. That issues of Kleuchares IV were present alongside the coins of Amyntas causes no surprise, since the die link discovered by Atlan between the two issues indicates approximate contemporaneity. Interestingly, the issues of Kleuchares III in the hoard look similarly fresh and this may suggest that they are not far removed in time from the Kleuchares IV coins, despite the considerable stylistic difference. It should be noted, however, that the three coins of group III listed above (*BMC* 41, 44, and 46) were struck from dies not

26. The note appended to the coins of Side in the Borrell catalogue reads: “All these tetradrachms of Side are in fine condition, being a selection from an extensive ‘trouvaille’, which fell into the hands of the late proprietor in 1845” (30).

27. Sotheby 12.vii.1852 (H.P. Borrell), 30, lots 257–261 (Side), 41, lots 359–366 (Amyntas).

included in the Side 1963 and 1994 hoards (H37 and 36). As has been noted above, the likelihood is that these dies, which show some stylistic difference to the dies included in those hoards, may represent the last issues of group III and have been used after the closure of the two hoards in question. It also possible, however, that we have in these “late Kleuchares III” dies a distinct later group (IIIb), which was struck after the main body of group III present in the two Side hoards. This later subgroup would be closer in date to the Kleuchares IV group. Nonetheless, if the late Kleuchares III issues (IIIb) do belong with the main group, then the conclusion to be drawn is probably that the whole of group III and group IV are either consecutive or at least partially contemporary.

The considerable stylistic difference between the two groups, if not the result of radically different dates of production, as seems to be the case whichever of the above two hypotheses is accepted, is surely more likely to be indicative of two separate mints. This conclusion, as we shall see, must have profound implications for our interpretation of these late “Sidetan” coinages.

The other hoard apparently of first-century date is that recorded by E. Dutihl (1898), as having appeared on the market in Alexandria in 1897 (H35). Dutihl recorded 43 tetradrachms of Side and eight examples of what he took to be tetradrachms of Ptolemy Auletes. The Sidetan element is familiar from numerous earlier hoards. It contained eight coins of magistrates preceding the Kleuchares I coinage, at least one coin of Kleuchares group I, subgroup 2 (KLEY), and perhaps as many as 25 coins with the signature KLEYX. Amongst these, Dutihl noted “deux types différents de tête de Pallas”. Without illustration of these pieces, we can only speculate what these two different types of Pallas head might have been. Within Kleuchares group I there is arguably sufficient difference in style to give rise to such a notice. On the other hand, and perhaps more likely, is the suggestion that the hoard contained some coins of Kleuchares I and a later Kleuchares group. It is impossible to say which on the basis of Dutihl’s account, but it seems unlikely that a hoard would contain issues of group I and, say group III or IV, without also including a specimen of the substantial group II. Moreover, if it did include issues of the early second century (group I) alongside issues of the late first century (groups III or IV), then it would be unique in the hoard record for Sidetan coinage. Similarly unique would be the appearance of late issues (group III and IV) away from their immediate area of issue. The mention of the Ptolemaic coins is more tantalising still. Dutihl recorded coins with the regnal years 4, 16, and 22. He assumed these to be coins of Ptolemy Auletes, and thus arrived at a date around or after 59 BC for the deposit of the hoard. But the attribution of these coins to Auletes must be open to question.²⁸ The issues of Auletes and Cleopatra VII have in the past been extremely difficult to tell apart, and it was not until 1975 that Mørkholm established definitively the means to distinguish certain issues of the two rulers from each other (Mørkholm 1975). Since the three years in question are all recorded on coins for Cleopatra, the hoard could have been buried as late as 30 BC. But the date could move the other way too. Coins of the Alexandrian

28. So already for Regling (1928: 127).

mint with regnal years 4, 16, and 22 would have been circulating together also during the reign of Ptolemy X Alexander, whose twenty-second year ran from 93/92 BC.²⁹ A date of c. 90 BC would certainly suit the Sidetan material if only issues down to Kleuchares II were included. But certainty is impossible, and Dutihl's hoard is perhaps best set aside as too poorly recorded to be used.

III. AMYNTAS, SIDE, AND THE PAMPHYLIAN PLAIN

On the basis of the above discussion of the four groups of Kleuchares coinage and that of Amyntas, the following broad summary of production may be offered:

Kleuchares I	c. 183–175 BC	c. 26 obverse dies
Kleuchares II	c. 145–125 BC	c. 89–96 obverse dies
Kleuchares III	c. mid-first century BC?	c. 25–27 obverse dies
Kleuchares IV	c. mid-first century BC?	c. 10–12 obverse dies
Amyntas	c. 39–25 BC	c. 6 obverse dies

Plainly, the same Kleuchares cannot have been responsible for all phases of Sidetan coinage. It is possible that groups I and II were the product of the same man over a span of forty-odd years, or even that these two groups were the product of a father and son of similar civic position. But it surely stretches credulity to breaking point to suggest that a homonym over a century later should again have been responsible for two distinct phases of coinage (groups III and IV) and, moreover, should have been the only citizen of Side to sign coins in this way. Yet, if we cannot accept the unlikely scenario that the city of Side confined itself to homonymous monetary magistrates over a period of a century and a half, what is the alternative?

The answer is at once obvious and surprising. The last two groups of Sidetan issues produced in the middle part of the first century must be imitations of the plentiful issues of Kleuchares that were produced around the middle of the second century. The phenomenon of imitation is familiar, as we have already noted, from the world of Athenian coinage of the fourth century BC. It continued, of course, throughout the Hellenistic period, most obviously in the form of posthumous coinage in the name of Alexander the Great. Pamphylia saw a huge burst of such imitation at the end of the third century BC. At the period that interests us, the mid-first century BC, the Roman administration in Syria was busy turning out imitation issues of the Seleucid king Philip, while in Asia, the cistophorus of the Attalid kingdom was produced for the Roman proconsular governors. The second-century coins of Side, we must presume, still dominated in a local circulation area and thus were still desirable and practical coins for the issuing authority of the first century. But who might this issuing authority have been?

29. Year 4 coinage is known from the earlier reign of Ptolemy IX (114/3 BC), year 16 from the reign of Ptolemy X (99/8 BC). See Mørkholm (1975).

An obvious answer might be that it was the city of Side itself. But a simple point tells against such a solution: the repetition of the magistrate's name. This feature must be a deliberate element of the imitation of the earlier types by the later. When the engravers came to produce the dies for the first-century issues, they slavishly copied the most common of the issues of the earlier period, down to the detail of reproducing the magistrate's name. This small detail of design is of profound significance, for the magistrate's name on a Hellenistic city's coinage is one of those signs, like the erection of statues, the choosing of ambassadors, and the voting of honorific decrees, that stands as an expression of the role of the individual in civic activity. It is one of the signs of a healthy citizen body.

The fact that the "posthumous" issues of Side groups III and IV could not muster a new magistrate's name but rather imitated an earlier one strongly suggests that the first-century Kleuchares issues are not issues of Side at all. Paradoxical though this suggestion might appear, if it is correct to view these issues as "imitations," then there is no good reason to insist that they must have been produced at Side. Just as anybody could issue posthumous Alexanders, so, potentially, anyone could issue "posthumous" coinage of Side. We might add the proviso here that, whoever they were, they probably existed within the circulation area of this coinage, that is, in Asia Minor or Syria.

If not the city of Side, then who might have been responsible? Again there is an obvious answer. Kleuchares group IV is die linked to the coinage of Amyntas. The most natural conclusions to draw from this are that both the Kleuchares IV and Amyntas' coinages were produced by the same mint, and that this was the royal mint of Amyntas. But we have no independent basis for saying where this mint was. Whether it was at the city of Side or not is debatable, and will depend in part on whether we believe Side to have been within Amyntas's kingdom, not vice versa.

Upon receiving his new kingdom from Antony in 39 BC, Amyntas presumably needed a silver coinage with which to pay his troops. It is highly plausible that he adopted as his model a coinage that would have been recognizable and desirable to them, such as that of Side. As we have already noted, the Roman governors of Asia, Cilicia, and Syria had found themselves similarly bound by conservative monetary convention. But by itself this imitation does not prove that Side was the mint, any more than the posthumous Philips of Antioch prove that the Romans had reinstalled a dead king to the throne of Syria.

Logically, we must also question the location of the production of the Kleuchares group III and the agency behind it. Might these also have been issues of Amyntas, and if so, does their stylistic variation from group IV indicate a separate mint? And what relation might these silver coinages have to the bronze coinage in the name of Amyntas (*RPC I*: 536–7), which certainly does appear to be the product of two mints? Detailed consideration of these questions I must reserve for elsewhere.

To conclude, we should return to the sources for the history of first-century Pamphylia as they appeared to Syme in 1934. The literary evidence, as Syme saw, strongly suggested

that the Pamphylian plain was not ceded to Amyntas by Antony. The coinage, which was once taken as evidence for Amyntas's occupation of Side, cannot now with certainty be attributed to that city. The new evidence for Amyntas's activities that has emerged since then, in the form of the honorific decree for Trokondas son of Obrimoas, has served merely to reinforce the impression of a kingdom anchored firmly in the uplands. All the evidence suggests that Amyntas was preoccupied for much of his reign with the subjection of the querulous natives of the mountainous spaces of Lykaonia and Pisidia.³⁰ That he was required in doing so to pay his troops in coin masquerading as that of the peaceful, wealthy city of Side was an irony perhaps not lost on this remarkable king. If imitate coins he must, he would at least have his name on them.

Key to plate 1

1. NFA 14, 174
2. Lanz 62, 398
3. NFA MB 1980, 822
4. Karakuyu Hoard 613
5. Freeman and Sear MB 11, 135
6. Freeman and Sear MB 11, 136
7. Freeman and Sear MB 11, 137
8. Lanz 40, 353
9. Hirsch 175, 448
10. BMC Amyntas 7

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30. On the new inscription and its place in the record for Amyntas's activities see Mitchell (1994: 104–105).

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