

# KOINON

The International Journal of Classical Numismatic Studies



ONLINE SAMPLER

Volume V • 2022

Produced by the  
*Societas De Tauro Cum Facie Humana*

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Editorial: Celebrating our Fifth Year with Cheiron, the Son of Kronos and Philyra

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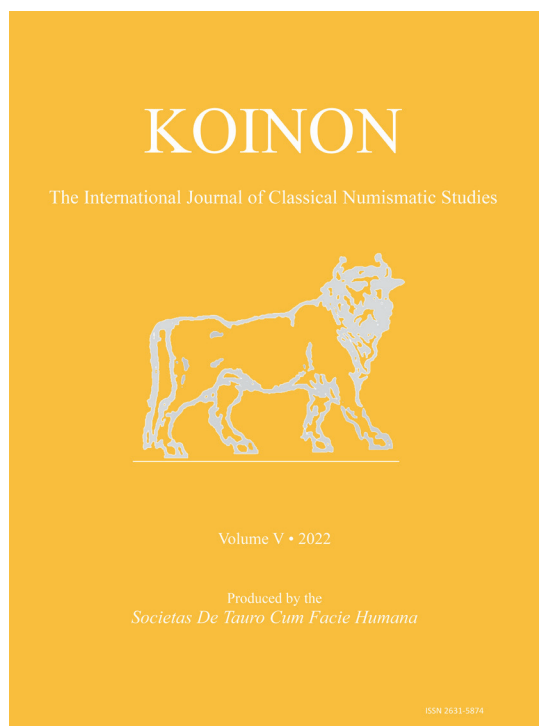
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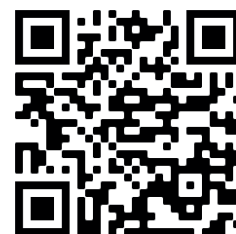
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Nicholas J. Molinari, General Editor  
Shawn Caza, Associate Editor  
Lloyd W.H. Taylor, Associate Editor

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ARCHAEOPRESS PUBLISHING  
Oxford 2022

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<https://koinonjournal.wordpress.com/>

ISSN 2631-5874

ISSN 2631-5882 (e-pdf)

ISBN 978-1-80327-401-0

Published by Archaeopress Publishing Ltd, Oxford, UK

© Archaeopress Publishing Ltd

Subscriptions to KOINON should be sent to

Archaeopress Publishing Ltd, Summertown Pavilion, 18-24 Middle Way,  
Oxford OX2 7LG, UK

Tel +44-(0)1865-311914 Fax +44(0)1865-512231

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Ἦθελον Χείρωνά κε Φιλλυρίδαν,  
εἰ χρεῶν τοῦθ' ἀμετέρας ἀπὸ γλώσσας  
κοινὸν εὖξασθαι ἔπος  
ζῶειν τὸν ἀποιχόμενον...

Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 3.1-4



## Celebrating our Fifth Year with Cheiron, the Son of Kronos and Philyra



**Electrum hekte, Mysia, Kyzikos, c. 550 to 450 BC.  
Image Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group, Auction 105, lot 169.**

*‘The only substitute for an experience we ourselves have never lived through is art and literature. They possess wonderful ability: beyond distinctions in language, custom, social structure, they can convey the life experience of one whole nation to another.’*

*-Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Nobel Lecture, 1970*

Five years. That is how long *KOINON* has existed, and this is a special time for the journal because we’ve made it past our third barrier. The first was getting an editorial board and I’m still surprised and humbled that so many notable numismatists agreed to help out. The second was formulating the first journal which, I’m happy to report, can be found in hundreds of academic libraries all over the world, along with all subsequent issues. Now we’ve made it to five years and we have passed our third barrier in the sense that we’ve managed to reach a genuine milestone, and this seems like the perfect opportunity to pause and reflect on the significance of our new contribution to the world of numismatics.

When Pindar was writing his Ode to Hieron of Syracuse (the beginning of which appears on the previous page) he began with a brief prayer, though it was somewhat of a lamentation and quite different from his other odes—he begins by recognizing the centaur Cheiron is dead and wishes he were alive again. Cheiron is one of those really interesting figures in Greek religion and myth precisely because he was so wise, just, and benevolent in his interactions with mankind. It was Cheiron who gave us medicine and botany. It was Cheiron who is said to have taught the likes of Asclepius, Achilles, and Jason. Unlike other centaurs he was no drunk—he was instead a virtuous and honorable teacher. There weren’t many deities like that in the Greek world, and sadly there aren’t many now. As the ancient tale goes (accounts vary slightly), he was accidentally shot by Herakles with a poisoned arrow, and, since Cheiron was immortal at the time, the result would have been an eternity of excruciating pain. However, he was able to give his immortality to Prometheus,

the infamous trouble-maker who gave mankind fire and technology, and subsequently he died. Zeus felt some pity for his half-brother and placed him among the constellations, which today we still recognize as Centaurus.

But what would it mean for Cheiron to be alive again? In a certain sense numismatics, rather surprisingly, helps bring back these ancient gods and fulfill Pindar's wish. Coins don't just inform the historian of religion that there were ancient cults operative in such-and-such a place engaging in various activities. Nor do they simply provide a convenient form of dating for archaeologists or fill in the gaps in the timeline for historians. As Solzhenitsyn indicated, coins, as pieces of art, offer a genuine connection to Greek religion as much as they allow insight into ancient economies. Putting a god on a coin wasn't merely some token gesture to a deity or simple indication of a social group—it was a deeply meaningful incorporation of the gods into the powerful new phenomenon of coined money. Even today we still maintain here in the United States that 'In God We Trust,' and that, too, is no mere relic of a bygone age. In an important sense, then, *KOINON* is significant not simply for contributing to the body of knowledge about antiquity, but by providing a vehicle for it to be alive again—alive in all of our thoughts as it interacts with our imagination. By engaging with ancient coins we are able to experience, at least to some degree, the very same thing our ancestors did when they gazed upon a handful of beautiful coins, with all those fantastic images and intricate details. And it is precisely because of *KOINON*'s dedication to keeping antiquity alive that it embodies Pindar's wish through the common prayer (κοινὸν εὐξασθαι) of its pages.

In this volume we are blessed with so many wonderful contributions that resuscitate ancient history so we can enjoy it. In the section on Greek coinage we have five essays. The first is an essay I wrote with Curtis Clay and it exhibits one of the earliest known illustrations of an overstrike, from Nicola Ignarra's 1770 work on the Gymnasium at Neapolis. While Ignarra didn't quite seem to recognize what an overstrike was, he nonetheless depicted and preserved that bit of history for future generations, and for that I am grateful. The second and third essays are my own contributions. One concerns a new Acheloios type—a truly rare occasion these days—that features Acheloios Hermotos of Parion, who hasn't been recognized in over 2300 years, and yet here he is again as though awoken from a false death. The next is an essay about the winged figures crowning Acheloios Sebethos on Neapolitan coinage, and in this case I argue that the figure is a syncretism of Pathenope and Nike, crowning Acheloios as the 'victor over death,' which seems particularly apt given the theme of this editorial. Next up we have two essays by our own Lloyd Taylor. Once again Lloyd has set a really high standard for numismatic scholarship. The first essay identifies a new mint control for the coinage of Andragoras and Sophytes, and the second essay dispels the idea of an 'Indian' weight standard on the coinage of Sophytes. It is important to recognize that, despite my romantic ramblings, the detailed works of scholars like Lloyd are absolutely essential in keeping history alive, particularly because such studies offer fixed waypoints for navigating the more esoteric realms of the numismatic sea.

The next section on Roman coinage has three great contributions. The first is essentially a transitional essay by our own David MacDonald insofar as it discusses Roman types overstruck on Greek coins from Apollonia and Dyrrhachium—is there a more concrete example of living history than overstrikes? It is both thorough and important, and a brief glimpse into David's continuing work on the coinage of this region. The second essay isn't about coins at all, but about magical



lead amulets, and it is utterly fascinating. It was written by Gert Boersema, a first-time contributor but longtime numismatic friend, and provides a comprehensive overview of these magical amulets along with a large corpus of examples. Essays like Gert's are particularly important because they remind us to transcend the economic dimension of numismatics to get a broader view of the past. The third and final essay is by Dirk Faltin, who has written one previous essay for *KOINON*. In his newest work he examines a tremissis in the name of Honorius, and convincingly argues it belongs to the Suevic coin series of the Iberian Peninsula. Here again we are able to behold an object in a new light, and this new interpretation offers, in an important sense, a rebirth for the coin as it was.

In the Early Modern section we have two essays. The first is by long-time contributor Andrei Bontas and it discusses some interesting symbols on deniers tournois of Naupaktos. I'm always delighted to receive contributions from Andrei because I know they'll reveal something interesting that has been hidden for too long. The second essay in this section is another contribution from David MacDonald and it presents a new countermark for the Knights of Malta, and here again we are reminded that new discoveries are all around us just waiting for the keen observer.

Rounding out the essay section we have our first-ever book reviews, and I really hope this initiates a trend for future volumes. The first is Alberto Campana's review of *Coins of the Roman Revolution, 49 BC-AD 14. Evidence without Hindsight* (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2020), edited by Anton Powell and Andrew Burnett. The second is by Virgil Huston, who reviews our Associate Editor Shawn Caza's new book *A Handbook of Late Roman Bronze Coin Types, 324 - 395* (London: Spink, 2021). Finally, the journal concludes with a fairly extensive catalog of new varieties (our largest yet!), all of them discoveries that haven't been formally recorded before now.

As a way of concluding, I want to thank all of our readers for the support over the past five years—I really hope you all enjoy this volume. I certainly enjoyed editing it, and it has been a true honor serving as the General Editor. My hope is that this journal will eventually outlast me, and in doing so help keep the ancients alive well into the future. In that respect, I also hope that you'll consider making your own contribution. Without the enthusiastic contributions of readers like you, not only would *KOINON* quickly die out, but so might the gods.

Vivat Achelous!

Dr. Nicholas J. Molinari, General Editor  
Societas De Tauro Cum Facie Humana



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**SAMPLE PAPER**

# A Newly Identified Mint Control Link in the Coinage of Andragoras and Sophytes

LLOYD W. H. TAYLOR

An extensive array of the once rare silver coinage of Andragoras and Sophytes has appeared recently in numismatic trade. This has more than tripled the corpus of known specimens compared to that documented in the typology of the coinage struck by these two rulers in Parthia in the period c. 250s-238 BC.<sup>1</sup> For the most part, new types identified among the coins in commerce served to extend previously identified suites of mint controls to different denominations in each series, or more rarely and significantly to other series in the coinage.<sup>2</sup> A notable example of the latter is a newly identified anepigraphic Andragoras Series 4 (laureate head of Zeus r./eagle standing l., head reverted) diobol on the reverse of which is found the *kerykeion* symbol above a grape vine branch (Figure 1B).<sup>3</sup> Previously, the latter was the only known symbol on Series 4 (Figure 1A). The addition of the *kerykeion* symbol to the repertoire of Series 4 mint controls characterizes this new type as an example of the previously unknown Series 4.3.

The *kerykeion* was the heraldic staff carried by the god Hermes, a son of Zeus and the herald of the gods. Its appearance on this and subsequent issues in the name of Andragoras (Series 6) and



A. Series 4.2

Roma Numismatics E-Live 4, 444.  
10mm, 1.17g, 6h.



B. Series 4.3

Roma Numismatics XIV, 339.  
11mm, 1.49g, 6h.



Detail

**Figure 1. Obverse die linked Series 4-2 and 4-3 diobols. (Enlarged images)**

<sup>1</sup> Taylor (2019): 49-51, table 1a, based on a corpus of the coinage compiled in 2017.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor (2020). Refer also the accompanying Catalogue of New Varieties.

<sup>3</sup> Unworn, in an excellent state of preservation, the weight of the coin suggests that this is a heavy diobol, rather than a hemidrachm (1.80 grams). Taylor (2022) for the metrology of the coinage system.

A NEWLY IDENTIFIED MINT CONTROL LINK IN THE COINAGE OF ANDRAGORAS AND SOPHYTES

Sophytes (Series 7 and 8) appears to have served both as a mint control and perhaps as a symbolic message, a portent of the arrival of news in the conflict with the invading Parni under Arsaces.<sup>4</sup> Its presence serves to unify the emissions of the Athena/owl (Series 2), Athena/eagle (Series 3), Zeus/eagle (Series 4), Andragoras (Series 6) and those of Sophytes (Series 7 and 8) in a chronological progression of mint control links (Figure 2 and Table 1).



**Figure 2. Kerykeion control linked issues.<sup>5</sup> (Not to scale)**

<sup>4</sup> Taylor (2021a) and Taylor (2019) for the symbolic narrative carried in the iconography of the coinage.

<sup>5</sup> Images reproduced courtesy of Roma Numismatics ([www.romanumismatics.com](http://www.romanumismatics.com)):

Series 2: Didrachm - Roma Numismatics XIV, 363.

Series 3: Drachm - Roma Numismatics XX, 328.

Series 4: Diobol - Roma Numismatics XIV, 339.

Series 6: Tetradrachm - Roma Numismatics XIV, 327.




Series 7: Tetradrachm - Roma Numismatics XIV, 364.

Series 7: Diobol - Noble Numismatics 127, 4336.

Series 8: Tetradrachm - Roma Numismatics XV, 348.

The newly identified Series 4.3 is obverse die linked to the example of Series 4.2 illustrated in Figure 1A. At the time it was struck the obverse die was in a later state of wear. In addition to worn detail on the primary devices of the die, it exhibits the effects of surface corrosion of the die, particularly evident in the ear, hair, and beard of Zeus. The relative chronology of the striking of these two coins carried in this die link validates the inference that the *kerykeion* symbol was introduced on the coinage after the grape vine branch. Following the introduction of the *kerykeion* symbol, the two symbols were used in combination for a brief sequence of issues (Series 2.18,<sup>6</sup> Series 3.6-3.7<sup>7</sup> and Series 4.3) after which the vine branch was dropped from the repertoire of mint controls so that the *kerykeion* alone is present on the later Series 6.6 (Andragoras)<sup>8</sup> and Series 7 and 8 (Sophytes)<sup>9</sup> issues (Figure 2 and Table 1).

Table 1. Mint control links.<sup>10</sup>

Mint Control	Series							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
No mint control	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Grape bunch	x	x	x					
MNA	x	x						x
		x	x					
Vine branch		x	x	x	x			
		x	x			x		
			x			x		
<i>Kerykeion</i>		x	x	x		x	x	x

The Series 4.3 diobol joins the Series 2.18 didrachm and Series 6.6 tetradrachm among the recently identified issues bearing the *kerykeion* mint control,<sup>11</sup> all of which derive from the Andragoras-Sophytes Group of coins in commerce.<sup>12</sup> These newly identified types extend the *kerykeion* mint control linkage across all but two of the primary series in the coinage of Andragoras and Sophytes (Table 1). They serve to confirm the relative chronology of the issues (Table 2) during the period immediately preceding the conquest of Parthia by Arsaces in 238 BC.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Taylor (2020): 54-55 and 62-63 for a summary of the development and progression in the application of mint controls to the coinage. In this progression we see a trend to increasing complexity, followed by a reversal. The former culminates in the recently identified Series 2.18 bearing three symbols on the reverse; the galley prow, the grape vine branch and the *kerykeion* mint controls. This corresponds closely to the peak of output from the mint, after which the control process was simplified resulting in a reduction of the number of reverse mint marks. The galley prow was the first to be dropped, followed by the grape vine branch, leaving the *kerykeion* as the sole mint mark on the reverse of the coinage of later series.

<sup>7</sup> Taylor (2019): 50, 54.

<sup>8</sup> Taylor (2020): 56.

<sup>9</sup> Taylor (2019): 62-63.

<sup>10</sup> Updated from Taylor (2019): table 2 to include newly identified control links between series.

<sup>11</sup> Taylor (2020) for the details of newly identified Series 2.18 and 6.6 coins.

<sup>12</sup> Termed the Andragoras-Sophytes Group in the *Roma Numismatics XIV 21 (September 2017) Catalogue*: 106 (lot 325) for an outline of this group of coins and its significance.

<sup>13</sup> Lerner (1999): 13-32.



**Table 2. Chronology of the primary series (Mint A).<sup>14</sup>**

Date	Mint A							
	4Drachm	2Drachm	Drachm	½ Drachm	2Obol	1.5Obol	Obol	
250s	Series 1							
	Series 2				Series 3			
c. 240	Series 6	Series 7		Series 4		Series 5		
239/8	Series 8				Series 7		Series 8	

The presence die corrosion in the devices defining the ear, hair, and beard of Zeus on the newly identified coin is indirectly of chronological significance. Evidence for the use of ferrous metal dies is undocumented on coinage struck east of the Tigris before the middle of the 3rd century BC.<sup>15</sup> This provides further support for a downdated chronology applicable to the *kerykeion* control linked issues relative to the late 4<sup>th</sup> to earliest 3<sup>rd</sup> century origin postulated in prior scholarship.



**Prototype Andragoras Series 4.2 diobol**

1.17g, 10mm, 6h



**Imitative drachm** (Persic standard)

2.55g, 14mm, 7h

Roma Numismatics E-Sale 63 (7 Nov. 2019), lot 364.



**Imitative diobol** (Persic standard)

0.97g, 11mm, 7h

Roma Numismatics E-Sale 78 (17 Dec. 2020), lot 679.

**Figure 3. Series 4 prototype and imitations. (Enlarged images)**

<sup>14</sup> Updated from Taylor (2019): table 3 to reflect newly identified control links between series, in particular the extension of the grape bunch mint control to the Series 3 drachms (Roma Numismatics e-Sale 95, lots 439-440), which establishes an earlier start to the mintage of Series 3 drachms than previously inferred.

<sup>15</sup> Taylor (2021b) for the details and chronology of the transition from bronze to ferrous metal dies in the imitative victory coinage struck by the Ariaspi in the Sistan Basin (Drangiana) from the mid third century BC.



Figure 4. The Seleukid realm c. 300 BC.<sup>16</sup>

Another important aspect of the Series 4 diobol emission is revealed by some other coins in recent numismatic trade. It was the prototype for an imitative emission, examples of which are illustrated on Figure 3.<sup>17</sup> Indisputably, the crude iconography of the imitative emission attempts to replicate that of the prototype. However, the imitative type was issued in two denominations, a drachm (2.55 g) and a diobol (0.97 g), apparently struck on the Persic weight standard based on a siglos of c. 5.6 grams.<sup>18</sup> The Persic weight standard was used in Sogdiana from the reign of Euthydemos I of Baktria,<sup>19</sup> and possibly earlier for an imitative coinage based on an Antiochos I prototype (male head / bridled horned horse head) struck in the name of Euthydemos(?), possibly when the latter governed the province in the period of Diodotos I and II of Baktria.<sup>20</sup> The Persic standard was also the standard of local civic coinage in western Asia Minor in the first half of the 3rd century BC<sup>21</sup> from which some of the Greek settlers in Baktria and

<sup>16</sup> Including the regions of Arachosia and Gedrosia that were subject to an administrative treaty with Chandragupta Maurya. Open Sourced from Forum Ancient Coins - Maps of the Ancient World [www.forumancientcoins.com/ancient-maps/](http://www.forumancientcoins.com/ancient-maps/)

<sup>17</sup> Taylor (2021c): 223-224, catalogue nos. 3-4.

<sup>18</sup> Thonemann (2016): 55; Hoover (2013): 11-12.

<sup>19</sup> Hoover (2013): 11.

<sup>20</sup> Lerner (1996) for this interpretation. Newell (1938): 269, pl. LVI, 6, 10-12 for examples of the coinage.

<sup>21</sup> Ellis-Evans (2019): 235-236; Thonemann (2015): 55 ... 'It is especially telling that many of the cities [of Asia Minor] took to minting two separate silver coinages alongside one another: local civic coins on the Persic weight-standard and international Attic-weight coinages with Macedonian royal types (Alexanders and Lysimachi). So the third-century silver issues of the small city of Magnesia on the Menander consisted of an attractive Persic-weight civic coinage ... alongside much larger issues of Attic-weight civic Alexanders... Apparently we are dealing with a pattern of twin-track minting, with Persic-weight civic coinages for 'horizontal' transactions within and between Greek cities of western Asia Minor, and Attic-weight Alexanders and Lysimachi being used for 'vertical' transactions with the great Hellenistic royal states (such as the payment of tribute).'

Sogdiana, notably Euthydemos,<sup>22</sup> originated. This may explain the source for the introduction of this weight standard into formerly unmonetized regions along the north-eastern frontier of the Seleukid realm, regions without an official Seleukid mint. It provides a pointer to the chronology and origin of these imitative coins. They are attributed to an uncertain eastern mint, possibly in Sogdiana in the second half of the 3rd century BC. Plausibly, this imitative, anepigraphic, Zeus/eagle coinage had its origins with those who fled eastward from Parthia (Figure 4) to escape the invading Parni, eventually to settle in Margiana and/or Sogdiana, regions beyond the reach of an official Seleukid mint.

It is unusual to find a relatively minor epichoric issue providing the prototype for an imitative coinage. The latter provides an indirect pointer to the geographic origin of the Series 4 prototype (and the associated mint control linked coinage) in the region to north and west of the Hindu Kush. This must have occurred at a time when monetization of the economies of the region was spreading along the north-eastern frontier of the Seleukid empire, associated with changing demographics and an increasing Greek influence in the regional economies during the 3rd century BC. It joins a long list of circumstantial evidence<sup>23</sup> (Appendix) that points to a downdated mid-3rd century chronology for the *kerykeion* symbol linked issues of Andragoras and Sophytes.

## APPENDIX

### Factors bearing on chronology

#### 1. Mint Controls

A progression of mint controls links the coinage to that bearing the legend ANΔΡΑΓΟΡΟΥ (of Andragoras), a firm chronological peg, for Andragoras was the satrap who led Parthia to secession in the mid-3rd century BC.<sup>24</sup> By 238 BC Parthia fell to the invading Parni<sup>25</sup> under Arsaces I providing a *terminus ante quem* for Series 1-8.

#### 2. Metrology

The coinage was based on a reduced Attic weight standard tetradrachm 17.00 grams which came into being in the east under Seleukid rule during the early 3rd century BC.<sup>26</sup> The system of weight adjustment involved increasing seigniorage reaching 15 percent in the small fractions, unknown in the Alexandrine or Seleukid coinage systems. It points to an epichoric coinage system of mid 3rd century origin.<sup>27</sup> A similar system of weight adjustment involving increasing seigniorage based on a tetradrachm of 16.6 grams was also used by Euthydemos of Baktria in the last quarter of the 3rd century BC.<sup>28</sup>

#### 3. Currency System

The prominence of the didrachm in a uniquely comprehensive range of silver denominations, and the complete absence of a token bronze component, is unique in the east. It represents an epichoric coinage system in a newly monetized economy, apparently unaccepting of token bronze denominations. This was atypical of the coinage of the Macedonian and subsequent Seleukid empires, while the didrachm was not a major component of Alexander's coinage and is absent in the Seleukid coinage system. Such a coinage system can only have come into being well after the collapse of the Macedonian empire<sup>29</sup> and is consistent with the 3rd century phenomenon outlined by Thonemann<sup>30</sup> whereby many cities and states implemented dual currency systems; one component based on the international Attic standard for <vertical> transactions with other Hellenistic royal states, and another, the epichoric component on a lighter weight standard for <horizontal> transactions within and between cities in an epichoric currency union.

<sup>22</sup> Hoover (2013): 11; Holt (1999): 129, footnote 12. Reputedly, Euthydemos was a native of Magnesia in Asia Minor from where he migrated to Baktria.

<sup>23</sup> Taylor (2021a).

<sup>24</sup> Taylor (2019): 62-63; Taylor (2020); Taylor (2021a).

<sup>25</sup> Lerner (1999): 13-32.

<sup>26</sup> Taylor (2022); Taylor (2019): 66-75.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid* based on data in Glenn (2020).

<sup>29</sup> Taylor (2019):74-75; Taylor (2022): 54-75.

<sup>30</sup> Thonemann (2015):55 and 121-127.

#### 4. Iconography

The development of the volute termination on the helmet visor depicted on Series 2 imitative Athenian owl parallels an identical development in the Athenian prototype that occurred early in the 2nd quarter of the 3rd century BC; Athenian Heterogeneous Groups B and C.<sup>31</sup> This iconographic development occurred contemporaneously with the adoption of inverted adjustment of the die axes, identical to the same change in fabric that is observed on Athenian Heterogeneous Groups B and C, strengthening the argument for the association of the iconographic development on Series 2 with that of the Athenian prototype.

#### 5. Sophytes' Helmet

Six fundamental differences of detail invalidate the previously proposed chronological nexus with the Susa victory coinage of the early 3rd century BC.<sup>32</sup> The portrayal of Sophytes helmet is that of a fully developed Attic military helmet of the 3rd century BC, identical in form to that depicted on a piece of statuary found in the Arsacid royal palace at Nisa.<sup>33</sup> The latter is thought to portray a Greek soldier vanquished by Arsaces.<sup>34</sup> The appearance of the laurel wreath on the helmet of Sophytes signifies his apotheosis. Apotheosis in numismatic iconography was only developed as an acceptable practice in the course of the 3rd century BC.<sup>35</sup>

#### 6. Ferrous dies

The effects of die corrosion (rust) are observed on some examples of Series 2, 3 and 4 suggesting a date no earlier than around the mid-3rd century BC when ferrous dies were introduced in a number of mints in the east.<sup>36</sup> Corrosion effects, indicative of ferrous metal dies, commenced on the coins of Series 2 associated with the change in coin fabric and iconography noted under point 4 above. Evidence of die rust is also found on some of the gold stater of Andragoras.<sup>37</sup>

#### 7. Hoard Evidence

Four documented hoards, all reconstructed from material in commerce, contain components of the coinage (Series 1-3 and 6).<sup>38</sup> None derive from secure, controlled contexts. The earliest datable of these hoards were the Oxus Treasure<sup>39</sup> and the 1973/4 Ai Khanoum Hoard<sup>40</sup> that closed in the early and mid-second century BC respectively. These provide a vague *terminus ante quem*, for the coinage of Andragoras and Sophytes, but there is nothing in the formally documented hoard record to conclusively establish the attribution, or date of the coinage. However, from late 2017 the Andragoras-Sophytes Group entered the numismatic market, clearly a hoard in commerce.<sup>41</sup> The composition of this hoard included all components of Series 1-8, in numbers previously unseen, with the later series in lightly worn, or unworn state. The hoard content suggests a close chronologic and geographic association between Series 1-8. It also included a worn example of a Seleukos I elephant chariot type tetradrachm from Susa (SC 177.5),<sup>42</sup> the latest datable coin in the hoard, one that indicates a *terminus post quem* of 295-280 BC for the burial of hoard.<sup>43</sup> The worn example of SC 177.5 contrasts with the relatively large number of unworn components of the Andragoras and Sophytes coinage that suggest that the latter coins post-date SC 177.5.

#### 8. Imitations

The Zeus / Eagle iconography of Series 4 served as the prototype for an imitative emission of drachms and diobols struck on the Persic weight standard, used in Sogdiana from the second half of the 3rd century BC.

<sup>31</sup> Taylor (2019): 53; Taylor (2021a): 4-9.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*: 9-11.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*: 11-13.

<sup>34</sup> Olbrycht (2017): 9.

<sup>35</sup> Taylor (2021a).

<sup>36</sup> Taylor (2021b).

<sup>37</sup> c.f. BM 1879,0401.2, and Roma Numismatics XXI, 307.

<sup>38</sup> Taylor (2019): 75-76, table 7.

<sup>39</sup> Bellinger (1962): 66, nos. I(26)-2(27), respectively a gold stater of Andragoras and a Series 6.1 tetradrachm.

<sup>40</sup> Holt (1981): 13, no 17 an Athena/eagle Series 3.3 drachm.

<sup>41</sup> Roma Numismatics Auction XIV 21 September 2017 Catalogue, p. 106-122 ... 'The following 43 lots (325-367) represent a highly important group of coins which apparently came to light in the Oxus region in the 1960s, taken to Germany in 1975 when the owners emigrated there, and subsequently exported to the US. ...Consigned now after half a century of having remained in the possession of the same family, these coins have significant implications for the chronology and sequence of the coinage of Baktria and the surrounding satrapies.'

<sup>42</sup> Roma Numismatics e-Sale 40, 262

<sup>43</sup> Roma e-Sale 40 (28 Oct. 2017), lot 262 ... 'This is a key coin in the exceptionally important group presented for the first time in Roma Numismatics XIV (lots 325-367) which helped to redate the coins of both Andragoras and Sophytes to the mid-third century BC.'

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## **Review of Caza, Shawn M. 2021. *A Handbook of Late Roman Bronze Coin Types, 324 – 395***

London: Spink and Son Ltd. Pp. 345, ills. ISBN 978-1-912667-61-1

VIRGIL H. HUSTON JR.

This book is a welcome addition to the literature of late Roman bronze coins. It is not a catalog, per se, yet can be used for coin identification quite easily. Many references focus on identifying coins based on the emperor involved. This is fine if one can read the legends or recognize the portraits, but becomes much more difficult when portraits become less specific and legends are barely readable. The focus here is on reverse types and I find that useful.

Specifically, if one is unsure about the emperor, you can identify the potential reverse types the coin represents. With one or more reverse types to examine, this book identifies the emperors who issued such reverses, as well as mints and legend variations. This helps one narrow down potential specific coins and, combined with the examination of the obverses, aides significantly in identifying them and speeds up the process.

In addition, this book will be of use and appreciated by novices and specialists alike as it covers the basics as well as specialized details that are backed up by in-line footnotes at the bottom of each relevant page. I always find this more useful than the 'Notes' collections in an appendix many books have. Footnotes are plentiful and on each page. This is particularly helpful when the author disagrees with previous scholarship.

The book consists of a very short Introduction followed by a detailed introductory chapter. Then, there are eight chapters based on logical time divisions. At the end, there is an extensive bibliography and index of reverse legends that is indispensable. What is missing is a general index. An emperor index would have been useful, as well.

On a physical basis, the book is hardback with a glossy color cover, no dust jacket. It is attractive and comes in at 345 pages and the reverse types are illustrated with quality photographs. The short initial Introduction covers suggestions for using the book, a description of the format used for each reverse type, and a short glossary of terms that is useful, but more terms could have been included.

The extensive 'An Introduction to Late Roman Bronze Coinage' Chapter One is a treasure trove of information about the coins in general. For example, the life cycle of Roman coins and how they were minted is covered, from various flan production methods to striking. Mints (and years each was active) and mint organization and structure, mint and other marks, as well as series, issues and emissions are outlined.

One thing not always seen in coin references are discussions of how the coins were originally distributed and circulated. That is covered here, as is how coins were 'lost' and came down to us over the centuries. The author's summary of the effects of losses to circulation, such as burial, on the coins as we see them today is informative. There is a useful section on weights and sizes and on fineness standards and metallic content. I find these sections suitable for collectors at all levels that reinforces my notion that this book is for everyone.

This first chapter is finished out by a short look at imitations and “barbaric” coins, followed by an examination of coin purchasing power when minted. Both sections discuss third century coinage in order to provide the background necessary for understanding the bronze types covered by this book. The coin values refer to the intrinsic and nominal values of the coins at the time they were in use, and the difficulty of us knowing what these coins were actually worth back then (buying power) is proven out in the discussion.

Specifically, the section on nominal values of the coins section is organized by the periods that correspond to the reverse type chapters, but starts earlier with 215 – 274 and the rise and fall of the Antoninianus; then 274 – 294, the Aurelianus; 294 – 301, Diocletian’s first reform; 301 – 318, Diocletian’s second reform and the subsequent decline; 318 – 330, the Centenionalis and here (324) is where this book starts. Then follows sections that cover up to 395, Theodosius’ reforms and the final year covered. There is a brief one page look at coinage after 395, interesting if not very detailed.

The bulk of the book consists of eight reverse type chapters, with three of them broken into two or three sections. Here is how the author divides the years 324 – 395:

- Constantine Victorious (18 September 324 to 11 May 330)
- Plus ça change (11 May 330 to mid 341)
- Slowly but Steadily (mid 341 to April 348)
- Happy Birthday (April 348 to mid 362) and The Reign of Vetranio (1 March to 25 December 350)
- Interruptions (18 January 350 to August 353), The Reign of Nepotian (10 May to 7 June 351), and “Poemonius” or the “Treveri Revolt Issue”
- Paganism’s Last Gasp (Mid 362 to 17 February 364)
- House Valentinian (26 February 364 to August 378) and The Reign of Procopius (28 September 365 to 27 May 366)
- House Theodosius vs. House Valentinian (January 379 to January 395)

Each chapter has extensive front matter that provides an historical summary. In the case of Chapter Two, the period begins with Constantine’s final victory over Licinius at the Battle of Chrysopolis. The period of this chapter ends with Constantine’s dedication of Constantinopolis as an Imperial capital on 11 May 330. Following the historical summary is a coinage summary that includes metrology, obverse busts and standard types at the various mints. Volume of coins produced is discussed and I find, of note, extremely useful tables of mint and field marks produced by year that will make it possible to narrow down date ranges of coins to quite specific years.

We then move into the meat of each chapter, the Catalogue of Reverse types for the years covered. Each reverse type throughout the book reflects the same format, as follows in an example of a camp gate Centenionalis:

**Legend:** PROVIDENTIAE / PROVIDENTIAE CAESS

**Translation:** To the Foresight of the Emperors / Caesars

**Design:** Camp gate with two towers

**Denomination:** Centenionalis (1/96 L)

**Dates:** Late 324 to May 330

**Mints:** All: Londinium, Treveri, Lugdunum, Arelate, Ticinum (only CAESS), Rome, Siscia, Sirmium (only CAESS), Thessalonica, Heraclea, Constantinopolis, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Antioch, Alexandria

**Personalities:** Constantine I, Crispus, Constantine II and Constantius II

There is at least one photo and often more for each reverse. In many cases, including this example, obverses are shown, including here a series of three coins of Antioch camp gates with different bust sizes. A discussion of each reverse is included, as well as variants. Where the author disagrees with previous research, such differences are explained and footnoted.

I found this a book I could read through, unlike many coin catalog type books where only front matter is worth reading fully until you have a specific interest in certain coins within the catalog. Reading gave me a wonderful overview of the coins and historical summary of this period. One minor annoyance is there is a lot of repeating as each type is discussed, but there is no way around this I can see, as each are dealt with individually.

The photos, and there are many, are generally high quality, although one minor nitpick is that it looks like some have been enlarged and the text as part of images look enlarged from JPGs. All are completely readable and some of the photos could perhaps have been a bit lighter in tone. All these are minor quibbles.

The Bibliography is extensive (11 pages) and the Index of Reverse Legends is indispensable for identifying potential coins, particularly for those coins with hard to read obverse legends. This adds another element to the identification toolkit.

In conclusion, this is a comprehensive, well researched, most readable and worthwhile addition to the body of scholarship on Late Roman Bronze Coinage. It deserves its place on the bookshelf of anyone seriously interested in this coinage.