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Civic Coinage of Keramos in Caria

İnci TÜRKOĞLU*

Abstract

The ancient city of Keramos (modern Ören) is located on the north shore of the Gulf of Gökova, formerly the Gulf of Kerameikos and named after the city during antiquity. It was part of ancient Caria. Keramos has not been the scope of intensive surveys and systematic excavations yet; however, attempts have been made to assess the available evidence (epigraphic and literary sources) and archaeological remains. The coinage of the ancient city was only partially studied by Spanu. The recent projects of Historia Numorum Online has compiled its pre-Roman coins and Roman Provincial Coinage (Online) its Roman Imperial period coins much more comprehensively. The present study endeavours to compile civic coinage of the city from online and printed publications in addition to local museums of the region. Some private collections were also accessed. From these, conclusions have been derived that try to cast light onto the coinage of the ancient city. The types on the coins reveal information on the cults of the city; yet, there arise new questions regarding them. In particular, the archaising deity figures attested on the coins need to be further investigated.

Keywords: Keramos / Ceramus, Caria, Zeus, Apollo, civic coinage

Öz

Gökova Körfezi'nin kuzey kıyısında Ören'de konumlanan Keramos, Karia Bölgesi'nde bir antik kenttir ve bulunduğu körfeze de adını vermiştir. Bu yerleşimde henüz yoğun yüzey araştırması ve sistematik arkeolojik kazılar gerçekleştirilmemiştir, ancak mevcut bilgilerin (epigrafik ve edebi kaynaklar) ve arkeolojik kalıntıların değerlendirildiği çalışmalar yapılmıştır. Ne var ki, antik kentin sikkeleri Spanu tarafından yalnızca kısmi olarak incelenebilmiştir. Historia Numorum Online projesi Roma Dönemi öncesine ait sikkeleri, Roman Provincial Coinage Online ise Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'ne ait şehir sikkelerini daha kapsamlı şekilde bir araya getirmektedir. Bu çalışmada kentin sikkeleri, bölge müzeleri ve kimi özel koleksiyonların yanı sıra internet ve basılı kaynaklardan derlenerek kentin sikkelerine ışık tutmaya çalışılmaktadır. Sikkelerde saptanan tipler kentteki kültler hakkında veri sağlamakta fakat bu konuda yeni soru işaretleri de ortaya koymaktadır. Özellikle, sikkelerde tespit edilen arkaizan tanrı figürlerinin daha detaylı incelenmesi gerekmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Keramos / Ceramus, Karia, Zeus, Apollon, şehir sikkeleri

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Introduction

The modern Gulf of Gökova was called the Gulf of Kerameikos (Κεραμεικὸς κόλπος) in antiquity and named after the city of Keramos located in the Ören district of Muğla province.¹ The word κέραμος was used for potter's clay/earth and anything made of it²; however, ancient authors do not mention anything about the origin of the name for the city. Ancient authors are also almost silent about Keramos and usually only mention that the gulf was named after the town.³ Therefore, it is not easy to build a comprehensive picture of the ancient town in antiquity from the literary sources. Collected inscriptions were first published by E.L. Hicks in 1890; almost a century later E. Varinlioğlu published a collection of known inscriptions in 1986. The work by M. Spanu published in 1997 is the basic source for the city's history and monuments.⁴ This was followed by a study on early coins with Carian letters by K. Konuk (2000), which cast light onto the Carian name of the city starting as *Kbo-*. Although the full Carian name is still not known, it can be confidently stated that Keramos was originally a Carian foundation. This is further supported with the Carian names attested in the 4th-century BC inscription at the Milas Museum.⁵ The *Historia Numorum Online* project for pre-Roman period coins is developing and includes more types day by day; it is complemented by the Roman Provincial Coinage project, both in print and online.

Information retrieved from the coins of Keramos which have been published and are accessible in print and online as well as in regional museums, namely Muğla, Milas, Marmaris, Bodrum, Fethiye and Aydın, and some private collections (Mr. Y. Tatiş), may be summarized as follows:

TPOLOGY

Coins marked with an asterisk (*) are illustrated.

GROUP A (Bull / Dolphin Series in Bronze)

This group features on the obverse, a full figure or protome of a bull; on the reverse is a dolphin, swimming, r., with legend underneath. All struck in bronze; this group has four subgroups:

A.1A

Obv: Bull, standing, r., on a line of exergue.

Rev: ∇ΛΘ. Dolphin, r., dotted border.

Attributed to 410–390 BC on HNO no. 10 (with three specimens). Chalkous.

¹ Pliny *NHV*.29; Herodotus I.174; Mela I.16; Xenophon *Hell.* II.1.15; Strabo XIV.2.15; Skylax Kar. 98;

² Liddell and Scott 1996, “κέραμος” on p. 940.

³ For quotations from ancient authors mentioning Keramos, see T9 – T25 in Spanu 1997, 58–9; and T9 – T24 in Varinlioğlu 1986, 78–81.

⁴ The work by Spanu (1997) covers the history and monuments of Keramos. The author covered the coins only as a subchapter of his monographic study and only partially based on the collections of BNF and Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum. And it was published before the attribution of the bull / dolphin series with Carian and Greek legends as belonging to Keramos. In addition, some coins of Caracalla were misattributed to Elagabalus.

⁵ Blümel 1990, 32, ll. 13–4: Κεράμιοι Υλιατος Νωτρασσιος, Σενυριγος Τρυσσεω, Κοτβελημος Κήρυξ

1. Milas Museum Inv. no. 2060. 1.23g, 9mm, 3h. / **2.** Solidus Num. MAuc. 23 (13.01.2018) Lot 174. 1.18g, 9mm. = HNO 10.3 / **3.** Muğla Museum Inv. no. Em89. 1.14g, 9mm, 1h. / **4.** Muğla Museum Inv. no. Em87. 1.09g, 9mm, 1h. / **5.** ANS 2007.15.15. 1.069g, 9.5mm, 6h. = Lanz Auc. 131 Lot 202 (1.08g, 10mm) = HNO 10.2 / **6.** Konuk 2000 no. 2. 1.05g, 4h. Private collection. / **7.** Muğla Museum Inv. no. Em86. 0.96g, 9mm, 1h. / **8.** Gorny Auc. 212 Lot 2056. 0.86g, 9 mm. = Lanz Auc. 131 Lot 203 (0.86g, 10mm) = Konuk 2000 no. 3 = HNO 10.1 / **9.** Fethiye Museum Inv. no. 16086. 0.84g, 8–9mm, 12h. / **10.** Fethiye Museum Inv. no. 16085. 0.76g, 8mm, 6h. / **11.** Konuk 2000 no. 4. 0.66g. Private collection.

A.1B

Obv: ΞE . Bull, standing, r., on a line of exergue.

Rev: $\nabla Y O$. Dolphin, r., dotted border.

Attributed to 410–390 BC on HNO no. 2107. Chalkous.

***1.** SNG Kayhan 804. 0.90g, 9mm, 9h. Obv. ΞE . = Konuk 2000 no.5 = HNO 2107.1

A.2A

Obv: Bull protome, l.

Rev: $\nabla \Lambda O$. Dolphin, r.

Attributed to 410–390 BC on HNO 2174 (with a single specimen). Chalkous.

***1.** Savoca Auc. 12 (2017) Lot 211. 1.06g, 7mm = HNO2174.1

A.2B

Obv: Bull protome, r.

Rev: $\nabla \Lambda O$. Dolphin, r.

Attributed to 410–390 BC based on A.2A. Not on HNO. Chalkous.

***1.** Konuk 2000 no. 1. 1.35g, 6h. Private collection. / **2.** Ashton 2006 no. 14. 0.84g, 9mm, 12h. Private collection. / **3.** Savoca BA 18 (30.03.2019) Lot 356. 1.05g, 9mm.

A.3

Obv: Bull, standing, r., on a line of exergue.

Rev: KE. Dolphin, r.

Attributed to 380–350 BC on HNO no. 1628 (with seven specimens). Diameters 10–12 mm, weights 1.01 – 2.26 g. Chalkous. Two specimens (Ashton et al. 1998 nos. 3 and 6) have a countermark of a labrys on the obverse, below the bull figure. Only Ashton et al. 1998 no. 1 has a dotted border on the reverse.

1. BNF AA.GR.10355. 2.26g. / **2.** HDRauch EA 13 (2013) Lot 73. 1.50g. = HNO 1628.3. / **3.** Marmaris Museum Inv. no. 1353. 1.5g, 11mm. / **4.** Fethiye Museum = Ashton et al. 1998.5. 1.4g, 6h (non vidi) / **5.** BM 1991,0130.37. 1.36g, 12h. ex-Veres = Ashton et al. 1998.2 / **6.** CNG Triton V (2002) Lot 488. 1.36g, 11mm. = HNO 1628.2 / **7.** Ashton et al. 1998.6. 1.34g, 1h. cmk – labrys in rectangle, below bull. / ***8.** Marmaris Museum Inv. no. 1351. 1.3g, 11mm. / **9.** Milas Museum Inv. no. 2061. 1.26g, 10–11mm, 12h. / **10.** BPeus Auc. 407 (2012) Lot 622. 1.25g. = HNO 1628.4. / **11.** BM 1991,0130.39. 1.25g, 1h. ex-Veres = Ashton et al. 1998.3; cmk – labrys in cartouche, below bull. / **12.** BM 1991,0130.38. 1.23g, 1h. ex-Veres = Ashton et al. 1998.4 / **13.** HDRauch Auc. 87 (2010) Lot 156. 1.22g. = HNO 1628.1. / **14.** Marmaris Museum Inv. no. 2005/337. 1.2g, 11mm. / **15.** Savoca BA 25 (2018) Lot 316. 1.20g, 10mm. = HNO 1628.7. / **16.** Fethiye Museum Inv. no. 9270. 1.11g, 11–12mm, 12h. / **17.** SNG Kayhan 805. 1.11g, 11mm = HNO 1628.5. / **18.** Savoca BA 25 (2018) Lot 317. 1.01g, 9mm. = HNO 1628.6. / **19.** Ashton et al. 1998.1. 0.95g, 3h. Dotted circle on reverse.

A.4

Obv: Bull, standing, r., on a line of exergue; labrys above.

Rev: KE. Dolphin, r.

Attributed to 380–350 BC on HNO no. 1629 (with five specimens). Chalkous.

1. Naumann Auc. 36 (2015) Lot 199. 1.48g, 11mm = Savoca Auc. 1 (2015) Lot 216 = Roma Auc. 4 (2012) Lot 1731 = HNO 1629.2. / **2.** Ashton et al. 1998.7. 1.42g, 12h. / **3.** Savoca BA 12 (2018) Lot 560. 1.35g, 11mm. / **4.** Savoca BA 12 (2018) Lot 561. 1.37g, 10mm. / **5.** Jacquier Auc. 38 Lot 110. 1.36g. = Jacquier Auc. 37 Lot 138 = HNO 1629.1 / **6.** BM 1979,0101.1061. 1.25g, 12h. ex-von Aulock = Ashton et al 1998.8. / **7.** BPeus Auc. 407 (2012) Lot 623. 1.20g. = HNO 1629.3 / **8.** ANS 2007.15.16. 1.114g, 11.2mm, 12h. = Lanz Auc. 131 (2006) Lot 204 = Hirsch Auc. 231 (2003) Lot 337 = HNO 1629.4 / **9.** SNG Muğla 84. 1.05g, 10mm, 3h. Inv. no. 2149. / **10.** Ashton et al. 1998.9. 1.05g, 12h. / ***11.** SNG Kayhan 806. 1.03g, 11mm = HNO 1629.5.

Konuk's study (2000) on the Carian legends, i.e. the first two subgroups A.1 and A.2, was based on five specimens with five different obverse and five different reverse dies. Since then more examples have surfaced on the market, and our visits to the local museums in Muğla province have documented more unpublished examples. Also, it was learned that many more have recently been uncovered in the course of rescue excavations by the Milas Museum, and these are currently under study by their teams. So it is highly likely that even new types may emerge.

The earliest subgroup of these series is the one with the Carian legend on the reverse that gives the abbreviation for the city's Carian name (A.1 and A.2). In addition, the dotted border on the reverse and irregular die axes indicate an early date.⁶ The second subgroup depicts a bull protome on the obverse. The third subgroup is the first one with the legend KE in Greek, and the latest in the group should be that with the labrys over the bull. These four groups are attributed to 410–390 BC (A.1 and A.2 with Carian legend) and 380–350 BC (A.3 and A.4 with legend KE).⁷

A.1 specimens in our catalogue have a diameter of *ca.* 9 mm and a weight ranging from 0.66 to 1.23 g. Only one coin (SNG Kayhan 804) has a legend of ΞE on its obverse, which may indicate a magistrate name, either in Greek as $\chi\epsilon$ or in Carian as $\acute{\iota}\text{-}\acute{\upsilon}$.⁸ Carian letters on the reverses are consistent for the most part (Group A.1A). Only one coin (Group A.1B: SNG Kayhan 804) displays an oddity, suggesting an engraver did not cut in negative the Carian letters correctly.⁹

A.2 has only three examples, and two of them have on their obverses the forepart of a bull r. (Group A.2A) while only one has it leftward (Group A.2B). The bull protome type on the obverses may suggest a half-unit. The two specimens of A.2A have a diameter of 7 and 9 mm, but they are comparable to those of A.1. In this case, the half-figure of a bull may not suggest a half-unit. Indeed, more specimens are needed to reach a safer conclusion.

A.3 and A.4 subgroups feature the same obverse and reverse types, but the legend is only KE in Greek, indicating Keramos as shown by Ashton et al.¹⁰ The difference between the two subgroups is the presence of a labrys over the bull on the obverse of A.4. That two specimens

⁶ Ashton 2006, 3–4.

⁷ Ashton 2006, 4; Konuk 2000, 161; HNO nos. 10, 2107, 2174, 1628 and 1629.

⁸ Konuk 2000, 163.

⁹ Konuk 2000, 161–162.

¹⁰ Ashton et al. 1998.

in Ashton's personal collection bear countermarks of labrys within a rectangle or cartouche led to the conclusion that the A.4 group should be later than A.3 because the countermarks should have been punched to validate the earlier emissions without.¹¹ Only one specimen (Ashton et al. 1998 no. 1) in A.3 has a dotted border on its reverse, which may even suggest perhaps the first emissions of this series.

GROUP B (Archaising Youthful Male Head / Boukephalion Series in Silver and Bronze)

Following a gap in minting activity for about two centuries, Keramos started to strike its own coinage following its liberation from Rhodian hegemony. The archaising youthful head, with long hairlocks falling down on the shoulders, right, within/out a dotted border, is usually identified as Apollo in publications. On the reverse is a boukephalion (i.e. bull's head)¹² flanked with the legend KEPA(MIH) and the magistrate's name (sometimes in abbreviation).

B.1 AR hemidrachms

Obv: Archaising youthful male head, r.

Rev: KEPA(MIH) / magistrate name, flanking the boukephalion, all within square incuse, OR, around the boukephalion without an incuse.

Xeno-: Attributed to 188–160 BC by HNO no. 2176. Reverse legend around the boukephalion without an incuse.

*1. CNG EA 115 (2005) Lot 115. 0.92g, 11mm = HNO 2176.1.

Phass- or **Jargi (?)**¹³: May be attributed to 188–160 BC based on the absence of the incuse. Reverse legend around the boukephalion without an incuse.

*1. ANS 2007.15.17. 0.939g, 10.5mm = Lanz Auc. 131 Lot 205 (0.95g, 11mm). ANS: Silver obol.

Hermeas: Attributed to 188–160 BC by HNO no. 2294 and 2296. Reverse legend around the boukephalion without an incuse. Both specimens are from the British Museum. Inv. no. 1988,1014.1 features a sigma in the form of a C (HNO 2296). Inv. no. 1988,1014.3 has a standard sigma Σ (HNO 2294).

1. BM 1988.1014.3. 1.1g, 10h. Rev: KEPA EPMEΑΣ = Ashton et al. 1998.10 = HNO 2294.1 / 2. BM 1988,1014.1. 0.83g, 11h. Rev: [KE]PAMI [E]PMEAC. = Ashton et al. 1998.11 = HNO 2296.1

Poli- (Polites) (fig. 5a): Attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO 295 (one specimen). Reverse incuse.

*1. Taş Coll. 471. 1.24g, 11mm, 12h. / 2. BPeus Auc. 395 Lot 166. 1.20g, 11mm. Rev: KEPA ΠΟΛΙ. ex-von Aulock 2579 = BPeus 392 (2007) Lot 4352 = Lanz Auc. 125 (2005) Lot 384 = Jameson 2298 = Lanz 121 (2004) Lot 207 = BPeus Auc. 386 (2006) Lot 230 = BPeus Auc. 308 (1983) Lot 163 = Spanu no. 1. = HNO 295.1 / 3. BPeus Auc. 369 Lot 201. 1.02g, 11mm. = BPeus Auc. 366 Lot 196. / 4. CNG EA 257 Lot 133. 1.07g, 13mm, 12h. / 5. CNG EA 201 Lot 99. 0.84g, 13mm, 12h.

Leont- (Leonteus): Attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO 2299. Reverse incuse.

*1. Naumann Auc. 29 (1.3.2015) Lot 286. 1.11g, 11 mm = HNO 2299.1.

Iason: Attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO 2297. Sigma in the form of a C. Reverse incuse.

1. BM 1988.1014.2. 0.88g, 12h. = Ashton et al. 1998.12 = HNO 2297.1

¹¹ Ashton et al. 1998, 48.

¹² In this study, the term boukephalion means "bull's head" and bucranium means "skull of a bull". Howgego used bucranium in his monumental study on Greek Imperial countermarks, so when referring to his terminology the term bucranium is retained. However, Howgego nos. 292–5 are termed bucranium, but the images for nos. 292, 294 and 295 are clearly a bull's head with neck, l. For no. 293 it is a head only and difficult to say a skull.

¹³ The magistrate's name is given as [Jargi- on the ANS website. This coin was purchased from Lanz Auc. 131 (2006) Lot 205 with the name given as Farge- (?). The author's reading from the image online is Phass- (?).

Magistrate unknown: There are two specimens. One (Tatış Coll. 2609) has the magistrate's name within incuse but off the flan. The other (GHN Auc. 343 [2018] Lot 2225) has the name around the boukephalion, illegible, seemingly due to wear.

*1. Tatış Coll. 2609. 1.07g, 11mm, 12h. / 2. GHN Auc. 343 (2018) Lot 2225. 0.96g = Sammlung E. Karl 205 = Ex Sammlung R.P. Ex Hirsch 203, 1999, Lot no. 327.

B.2 AR hemidrachm

Obv: Archaising youthful male head, r.

Rev: KEP[. Bull protome, r., head facing.

Attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO no. 2109. No incuse.

*1. SNG Kayhan 808. 1.10g, 11mm, 12h = HNO 2109.1

B.3 AE

Obv: Archaising youthful male head, r. Dotted border

Rev: KEPAMIH / magistrate name, flanking the boukephalion.

Leon: The magistrate's name flanks the boukephalion. Attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO no. 296 (with nine specimens). Two specimens (SNG von Aulock 2580 and SNG Tübingen 3414) obviously have a misreading of the magistrate's name as Deon, which is easily understandable due to the closeness of the shapes of *lambda* and *delta* in upper case.

1. SNG Kayhan 809. 6.32g, 19mm = HNO 296.9 / 2. Kölner MK Auc. 106 Lot 98. 5.84g, 19mm. / 3. Lanz Auc. 131 (2006, Sammlung Karl) Lot 206. 5.79g, 19mm = Hirsch Auc. 191 (1996) Lot 478 = HNO 296.3 / 4. CNG EA 273 (2012) Lot 35. 5.64g, 18mm, 12h = HNO 296.4 / 5. SNG Fitzwilliam 4694. 4.43g, 19–20mm. / 6. SNG München 270. 6.34g, 18mm, 2h. / 7. Jacquier Auc. 38 (2013) Lot 111. 4.58g, 17mm. = Jacquier Auc. 37 (2012) Lot 139 = HNO 296.5. / 8. SNG Belgium 754. 5.17g, 17mm, 1h. / 9. Hauck Auc. 18 (2004) Lot 256. 5.23g. 18mm. = HNO 296.2 / 10. SNG von Aulock 2580. 5.30g, 19mm. Keramiedon (misread) = HNO 296.1 / 11. SNG Tübingen 3414. 5.08g, 19–18mm, 6h. Ho. Rev: Keramie- Deon. (misread) / 12. BM 1991,0130.56. 5.6g, 11h. / 13. SNG Ashmolean 49. 4.19g, 18mm, 12h. Acq. Weller 08/01/1980 = HNO 296.6. / *14. BNF FG 418. 4.78g = HNO 296.7. / 15. GHN Auc. 343 (26.9.2018) Lot 2226. 19mm. = Ex Sammlung R.P. Ex J. Elsen 59, 1999, Lot Nr. 134. / 16. VA Auc. 329 (6.4.2018) Lot 164. 5.16g, 19mm, 1h = HNO 296.8 / 17. Mionnet Supp. VI no. 206. AE6, R8.

Magistrate unknown: Two specimens with no images provided. 1. ANS 1944.100.47757. 5.1g, 18mm, 12h. / 2. Mionnet Supp. VI no. 207. AE3, R8. Keramieion (misread?).

B.4 AE

B.4A (Large unit):

Obv: Archaising youthful male head, r. Dotted border.

Rev: KEPAMIH. ΕΡΜΟΦΑΝΤΟC around the boukephalion.

Attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO no. 1626 (four specimens).

1. ANS 2007.15.18. 5.391g, 17.8mm, 12h. = Lanz Auc. 131 (2006, Sammlung Karl) Lot 207 = HA Auc. 9 (1992) Lot 162 = HNO 1626.2. / *2. CNG EA 311 (2013) Lot 778. 5.56g, 19mm, 12h. = ex-Robert M. Harlick coll. = HNO 1626.1. / 3. Gorny Auc. 196 (2011) Lot 1748. 5.11g, 18mm. = HNO 1626.3. / 4. SNG Ashmolean 48. 5.38g, 17–16mm, 12h. = Acq. Milne 1924 (Nicolaidis, Smyrna 07/1913) = HNO 1626.4.

B.4B (Small unit):

Obv: KEPAMIHTΩN. Archaising youthful male head, r.

Rev: ΕΡΜΟΦΑΝΤΟC around the boukephalion.

*1. Tatış Coll. 2741. 2.23g, 12mm, 2h.

Group B may be further categorised into four subgroups as above. The first two are of silver while the other two are of bronze. Six magistrate names come up from B.1; however, Poli-

Leont-, Iason, Hermeas and one unknown magistrate have the reverses in a square incuse after the Rhodian plinthophoric issues. Xeno- and Phass- (or [largi] (?)) had their issues with the ethnic and their names around the boukephalion. The specimens are about 11–13 mm in diameter, and their weights range from 0.83 to 1.24 g. The plinthophoric coins have been attributed slightly later than or the same period as those with the legend around the type by the editors of HNO. The silver issues seem to have been struck as hemidrachms.

B.2 stands with a single specimen for the time being. Now in a private collection in Turkey, this example does not seem to have had a magistrate's name on it. Again the bull protome might suggest a half-unit, but its weight and diameter are comparable to those of B.1.

In the bronze issues of B.3 the obverse type is placed within a dotted border, and only one magistrate name comes up: Leon. Leon's issues have the ethnic and his name flanking the boukephalion on either side. They are all 17–20 mm in diameter and weigh about 4.19–6.34 g. On the other hand, B.4 features issues of Hermophantos with the legend around the boukephalion, a diameter of 18–19 mm, and a weight of 5.11–5.56 g. However, the single specimen of B.4B by Hermophantos is a smaller unit (diameter of 12 mm and weight of 2.23 g), and the obverse type is not within a dotted border. Furthermore, the ethnic is given in full and on the obverse of B.4B, which recalls the issues of D.02 and D.03 from the reign probably of Tiberius (see below).

GROUP C (Zeus / Eagle Series in Silver and Bronze)

During the period of independence from 167 BC to 129 BC, seemingly in parallel with the archaizing youthful male head / boukephalion series, Keramos also struck Zeus / eagle series both in silver and bronze. Zeus, right, on the obverse is depicted as a typical bearded mature male wearing a laurel wreath. The eagle on the reverse features some variations; most examples have a figure advancing left with the head turned back and wings open. In some examples the eagle is in profile with wings closed. In some other examples, the eagle advances right with the head turned back and its wings open. All these three types of eagles are found on the reverses of the silver emissions.

C.1 AR hemidrachms

Obv: Laureate head of Zeus, r.

Rev: KEPAMI(HTΩN) / magistrate name. Eagle, facing three-quarters, l. or r., wings open, head l. or r. all within square incuse, OR, legend around the eagle.

Dio-: Attributed to 250–180 BC by HNO no. 2108. Ethnic is given in full around the eagle, which is in full profile, wings closed, r.

*1. SNG Kayhan 807. 1.52 g, 12 mm = HNO 2108.1.

Askle-: Attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO no. 1047 (with four specimens). Eagle r., head l. Spanu no. 2.

*1. Naumann Auc. 30 (2015) Lot 227. 1.42 g, 13 mm = HNO 1047.2. / 2. SNG Cop 188. 1.01 g, 14mm, 12h = HNO 1047.1 / 3. Winterthur 3380. 1.82 g, 15 mm. 1h. / 4. GHN Auc. 343 (2018) Lot 2227. 1.60g. = Ex Sammlung R.P. Ex Hirsch 214, 2001, Los Nr. 1424 = HNO 1047.3 / 5. GHN Auc. 343 (2018) Lot 2227. 1.58g. = Ex Sammlung R.P. Ex Hirsch 214, 2001, Los Nr. 1424 = HNO 1047.4

Leonteus (fig. 6.a): Attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO no. 1586. Eagle l., head r. C-form sigma. Spanu no. 4.

*1. BNF FG 415 (inv. M 3199). 2.28g = HNO 1586.1.

Hermogen-: Attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO no. 1587. Eagle r., head l. Spanu no. 5.

*1. BNF FG 416. 1.75g, 14mm = Waddington 2293 = HNO 1587.1.

Polites: Magistrate name is written with a C-shaped sigma. Eagle l., head r. Not listed on HNO.

1. BMC 1. 2.5g, 13.5 mm, 11h.

Politon: Mionnet III. Vol. 2, no. 200 (unillustrated) cites “Keramiepoliton”. This may refer to a magistrate with the name of Politon (Cf. D.14 below).

Magistrate unknown: Magistrate names are not known from three coins – two from ANS without images and the last one (BNF) illegible.

1. ANS 1944.100.47756. 2.51g. / 2. ANS 1983.51.547. 2.37g, 13mm, 12h. / *3. BNF E429. 1.68g.

C.2 AE

Obv: Laureate head of Zeus, r. Dotted border

Rev: KEPAMI / magistrate name. Eagle, facing three-quarters, l., wings open, head r.

Leon: Attributed to 250–180 BC by HNO no. 1585. (Spanu nos. 16 and 17)

*1. BNF 1966.453.6164. 5.61g, 22mm = HNO 1585.1 (Spanu 17) / 2. BNF FG 417. 8.19g, 21mm = HNO 1585.2 (Spanu 16)

Hermophantos (fig. 6b): Attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO no. 592 (with four specimens) and no. 2175 (with one specimen: ANS 2007.15.19, ethnic in full on the obverse and magistrate name full on the reverse within a circle). Spanu no. 18.

1. ANS 2007.15.19. 7.36g, 22mm = Lanz Auc. 131 Lot 208 = HNO 2175.1. / 2. BMC 3. 1.95g, 23mm. = Inv. no. BM 1885,0606.214. / 3. Winterthur 3381. 6.97g, 22.7mm, 12h. / 4. SNG Kayhan II 1644. 8.77g, 21mm, 12h. = CNG EA 206 Lot 151 = ex-Alighieri coll. = HNO 592.2. / 5. Lindgren and Kovacs 1985, 629. 8.15g, 21 mm. / 6. Bodrum Museum Inv. no. 3806. 7.62g, 21mm, 12h. / 7. CNG EA 206 (2009) Lot 150. 6.34g, 20mm, 12h = HNO 592.3. / 8. SNG Finland I 92. 8.40g, 20mm, 1h. acq. 1973 = HNO 592.1. / 9. MMD Auc. 13 (2003) Lot 432. 8.16g, 20mm = ex Righetti coll. = HNO 592.4. / *10. Tatiş Coll. 2167. 6.95g, 20mm, 1h. / 11. Mionnet III. Vol. 2, 201. AE4, R8. / *12. Aydın Museum Inv. no. 36576. 7.86g, 21.1mm, 12h.

Hierogenes: Attributed to 129–31 BC by HNO no. 1588. Eagle full facing, l., head r. within a circle. Ethnic in full on the obverse; magistrate name on the reverse. Spanu no. 15.

*1. BNF FG 419. 7.06g, 18mm = Waddington 2295 = HNO 1588.1

Magistrate unknown: One specimen at the Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology (inv. no. 921) is quite worn making it impossible to determine the name of the magistrate. However, the style of the eagle advancing left recalls that of Hermophantos’ single issue with ethnic in full on the obverse and magistrate’s name on the reverse (ANS 2007.15.19).

1. Bodrum Museum Inv. no. 921. 5.77g, 20mm, 12h.

Variation?

This single coin at the Munich collection (SNG München 271: 20 mm, 6.20 g) stands out with its reverse type: eagle in profile, r., wings closed, with a *kerykeion* on its back. The editors noted that the ethnic is given horizontally as K–EPAM with the last three letters in ligature. However, the absence of *kerykeion* and ligatures (or, monograms) as well as the legend to be given horizontally elsewhere on the coins compiled for this study suggests that this may be a misattribution to Keramos.¹⁴

¹⁴ A similar misattribution is noted for BMC nos. 4, 5, 6 and Naumann Auc. 56 Lot 249 (obv. turreted head of Tyche; rev. K-E. *kerykeion*) which should be reattributed to Keraitai in Pisidia. I would like to thank Dr. K. Konuk for the correction.

C.3 AE

Obv: Laureate head of Zeus, r.

Rev: KEPAMI / magistrate name. Eagle, three-quarters facing, r., head r. wings closed, all within square incuse, OR, legend around the reverse type without incuse.

Melant--? / Melas: Attributed to 250–180 BC by HNO no. 2281. Legend around the eagle. Magistrate name is listed as Melas- on the auction's website and as Melant- on HNO.¹⁵

*1. Naumann 74 (3.2.2019) Lot 147. 1.97g, 12mm = HNO 2281.1

Diony(s)-: Attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO no. 1048 (with three specimens). Reverse incuse. Spanu 10.

*1. SNG Kayhan II 1643. 2.10g, 15mm, 12h. = MMD Auc. 17 (2005) Lot 882 = HNO 1048.2. / 2. MMD Auc. 30 (2009) Lot 567. 1.89g = ex R. Müller coll. = HNO 1048.3. / 3. SNG Muğla 85. 1.80g, 12 mm, 11h. Inv. no. 794. / 4. SNG Muğla 86. 1.68g, 11 mm, 12h. Inv. no. 69. / 5. SNG Cop 189. 1.65g, 14mm, 12h = HNO 1048.1 (Spanu 10)

Apol-: Attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO no. 591 (with four specimens). One exception of 6.58 g for BMC no. 2 = BM inv. no. 1872.0709.188. Reverse incuse. Spanu 8.

1. BPeus Auc. 384 (2005) Lot 302. 1.83g = BPeus Auc. 376 (2003) Lot 439 = HNO 591.2. / 2. BMC 2. 6.58g, 13mm, 11h. Env. no. 1872.0709.188. (PLXII.9). / 3. SNG Finland I 91. 1.70g, 13mm, 12h = HNO 591.1. / 4. BNF FG 420. 1.80g = HNO 591.3. / *5. BNF FG 421. 1.51g, 12mm = Waddington 2294 = HNO 591.4. / *6. Tatuş Coll. 2169. 1.54g, 12mm, 11h. / 7. Savoca OA 25 (2018) Lot 318. 1.58g, 11mm HNO 591.5

Phanth-: Not listed on HNO. Reverse incuse.

*1. SNG Greece 5 1466. 1.6g, 14 mm.

Ker-: Not listed on HNO. Reverse incuse.

1. SNG Tübingen 3413. 1.39g, 12mm, 12h. / 2. Weber 6457. 1.68g, 10–11mm.

Py-: Not listed on HNO. 1. BM 1979,0101.1059. 1.53g, 12h. ex-von Aulock (no number given)

Magistrate unknown: Ten coins: one at BM – no image and no magistrate name given on website. Two coins at Milas Museum collection not legible; however, the style of eagle for Milas inv. no. 2059 recalls that of SNG Tübingen 3413. The legend of Milas inv. no. 1125 runs around the eagle. Seven coins at Aydın Museum collection are not fully legible but inv. nos. 40651 and 40653 (and perhaps 40657?) seem to be of the same magistrate, and inv. nos. 40654 and 40655 seem to belong to another magistrate.

1. BM 1921,0412.53. 1.65g, 11h. / *2. Milas Museum Inv. no. 2059. 1.72g, 11mm, 12h. / *3. Milas Museum Inv. no. 1125. 1.73g, 12.5mm, 12h. / *4. Aydın Museum Inv. no. 40651. 1.95g, 13mm, 2h. / *5. Aydın Museum. Inv. no. 40652. 1.40g, 12mm, 12h. / *6. Aydın Museum Inv. no. 40653. 2.05g, 12mm, 4h. / *7. Aydın Museum. Inv. no. 40654. 1.18g, 13.2mm, 11h. / *8. Aydın Museum Inv. no. 40655. 1.77g, 12.1mm, 10h. / *9. Aydın Museum. Inv. no. 40656. 1.83g, 12mm, 2h. / *10. Aydın Museum Inv. no. 40657. 2.18g, 11.9mm, 3h.

C.4 AE

Obv: Laureate head of Zeus, r.

Rev: KEPAMIH / ΘY. Eagle, standing r., on uncertain object. Legend around.

Attributed to 250–180 BC by HNO no. 2190.

*1. HNO 2190.1. 11mm, 12h. Private collection.

¹⁵ The author's reading from the photograph online is Melas. Checking on the LGPN website, it is seen that Melas was quite a popular name in Keramos and neighbouring towns in Caria. One Melas (IK Keramos 4 l. 33, attributed to the 3rd–2nd century BC) was the father of a Leonteus. This is a name we know as a magistrate who minted a silver emission of C.1 (attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO no. 1586). However, it is not known if this Leonteus, son of Melas, is the magistrate on the C.1 silver coin. There is also a certain Melas in the Ashton Collection (unpublished) (LGPN Vb no. 9397 attributed to the 1st century BC).

In Group C, four major subgroups step forth. The first one (C.1) is of silver hemidrachms. Diameters range from 12 to 15 mm and the weights from 1.01 to 2.5 g. Five magistrate names come up as Polites, Dio-, Askle-, Leonteus, Hermogen- and names on three specimens are not known or legible. Although the Zeus type on the obverse is quite uniform, the eagle figures on the reverses are quite varied. The coin by Dio- depicts an eagle in profile, r. and legend around it, and are accordingly attributed to 250–180 BC by HNO. All other specimens of C.1 depict the eagle within a square incuse, facing, advancing r. or l., with head turned opposite direction; ethnic and magistrate name flank this eagle figure.

Subgroup C.2 comprise large unit bronze issues with the obverse Zeus type within a dotted border. On the reverse, the eagle is facing three-quarters, advancing l., with head turned opposite direction. The legend runs around the eagle figure. The magistrates attested are Hierogen-, Leon and Hermophantos. Hermophantos' emissions have two types. One specimen at ANS (inv. no. 2007.15.19) has the ethnic on the obverse and the magistrate's name on the reverse. The other type by Hermophantos has both the ethnic and his name around the eagle figure on the reverse within a circle. Hierogen-'s issue also features a circle on the reverse. The subgroup has a diameter of 18–23 mm, mostly slight variance with each magistrate.

Subgroup C.3 is small units. The reverse type is within a square incuse, and there is no dotted border on the obverse, similar to the silver emissions of C.1. As with the other coins with square incuse, the legend comprising the ethnic and magistrate name flank the eagle figure on either side. Magistrate names attested from this group include Dionys-, Apol-, Phanth-, Ker-, Py- and Melas (or Melant-).

Subgroup C.4 is attested on a single specimen in a private collection. The Zeus figure on the obverse is accompanied with an eagle standing on an unidentified object on the reverse. The magistrate name is Thy-.

GROUP D (Roman Provincial Issues)

A total of twenty-one series with imperial portraits and five without imperial portraits have been attested from publications. Surprisingly none are from the local museums' inventory books. These start with the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius and continue with interruptions until the reign of Caracalla. Among these, Antoninus Pius and Caracalla step forth with five different types each, followed by Hadrian and Commodus with three types. Nero and Trajan authorized two emissions. On the other hand, Trajan, Septimius Severus, Julia Domna and Geta each have a single coin type whereas one is attributed to Livia and two without imperial portraits likely date to the reign of Tiberius.

The reverse types of Keramos coins with imperial portraits are dominated by the archaising head and various depictions of Zeus. Other reverse types include Nemeses (type D.14), Athena (D.19), Dionysus (D.17), bull's head (D.06), Artemis (D.20) and legend within a wreath (D.13, D.25). Those without imperial portraits are dominated by the archaising youthful male head (D.03, D.07, D.10, D.15); other types include laureate youthful male head (D.02, D.03), legend within wreath (D.07, D.10), eagle (D.02) and bull (D.15).

AUGUSTUS / TIBERIUS (27 BC – 37 AD)

LIVIA

D.01

Obv: ΣΕΒΑ. Bust of Livia, draped, r. dotted border.

Rev: ΙΕΡΟΓΕΝΗ ΚΕΡΑ. Archaising youthful head, r.

Magistrate: Hierogene(s)

*1. Lanz Auc. 146 Lot 356. 6.16g, 20mm.

D.02

Obv: ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ. Laureate, unbearded head, r.

Rev: ΕΡΜΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ. Eagle, wings open.

Magistrate: Hermophantos.

1. RPC I supp. 2773A. 3.15g, 19(12–13)mm, 12h = BM 1990.0717.1. / 2. MMD Auc. 13 Lot 434. 3.37g, 16 mm.

Variation:

Obv: [...] Laureate, unbearded head, r; dotted border.

Rev: Eagle, facing, wings open, head r.

*3. Tatiş Coll. 2171. 3.60g, 15.5mm, 12h.

D.03

Obv: ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ. Laureate, unbearded head, r.

Rev: ΕΡΜΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ. Archaising youthful head, r.

Magistrate: Hermophantos.

*1. MMD Auc. 13 Lot 433. 5.58g, 18mm. / 2. RPC I Suppl. 2773B. 4.07g, 16–17mm, 12h = JSW

NERO (AD 54–68)

D.04

Obv: ΝΕΡΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ. Laureate head of Nero, r.

Rev: ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ ΑΡΞΑΣ ΕΥΑΝΔΡΟΣ. Archaising youthful head, r.

Magistrate: Euandros (arxas)

1. Naumann Auc. 15 Lot 431. 7.40g, 23mm. = RPC I Supp. 2774A.1. / *2. Naville Auc. 22 (1.5.2016) Lot 251. 7.36g, 23 mm = RPC I Supp. 2774A.2 (CGT)

D.05

Obv: ΝΕΡΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ. Laureate head of Nero, r.

Rev: ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ ΑΡΞΑΣ ΕΥΑΝΔΡΟΣ. Head of Zeus, bearded, r.

Magistrate: Euandros (arxas)

1. RPC I 2774.1. 7.54g. = Berlin I-B (GRMK 1). / *2. BNF FG 422. 11.00g. = RPC I 2774.2

TRAJAN (98–117)

D.06

Obv: []ΑΙ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟ (?). Laureate head (of Trajan?), r.

Rev: ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ. Head of bull, three-quarters facing.

*1. RPC III 2192 [=CNG BMS 54, 14 June 2000 Lot 1111]. 1.10g, 13mm.

D.07 ca. AD 100

Obv: ΚΕΡΑΜΙ / ΝΤΟΝ. Archaising youthful head, r.

Rev: []ΕΒΑ[] / ΤΟ[] within wreath

*1. ANS 2007.15.20. 7.399 g, 23.5 mm, 2h = Lanz Auc. 131 Lot 209. Rev: cmk. bucranium within square incuse.

HADRIAN (117–138)

D.08

Obv: ΑΥΤΟ ΚΑΙ []ΑΔΡΙΝΟC (sic). Laureate bust of Hadrian, r.

Rev: ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ ΑΡΞΑC Κ[]ΜΟΥ. Laureate head of Zeus, r.; eagle before, r.

Magistrate: Κ(udi)mos (arxas)

*1. RPC III 2193. 14.03g, 27mm. 1V GR 36017 = ex-Brüder Egger, Th. Prowe coll., 11 May 1914, lot 1199.

D.09

Obv: []ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟC. Laureate head of Hadrian, r.

Rev: []ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ. Archaising youthful head, r.

*1. GHN Auc. 343 (2018) 2596 = BPeus Auc. 366 Lot 675 = RPC III 2194. 6.00g, 22mm. (M. Burstein coll., 29 Oct. 2000).

D.10

Obv: ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ ΘΕΟΙ CΕΒΑCΤΟΙ. Archaising youthful head, r.

Rev: ΑΡΞΑC / ΚΥΔΙΜΟC / ΙΕΡΩΝΥ/ΜΟΥ within laurel wreath.

Magistrate: Kudimos Hieronimou (arxas)

*1. RPC III 2195.1. 7.18 g, 22mm. O. Weller 1970 = Ashmolean. / 2. RPC III 2195.2. 7.31 g, 23mm. = Vienna GR 36449 = Spanu no.39 / 3. RPC III 2195.3. 8.90 g, 23mm. Maiuri, A. 1921–2. “Viaggio di esplorazione in Caria II, Inscrizioni, nuove iscrizioni della Caria.” *ASAtene* IV–V: 475. Spanu 39.

ANTONINUS PIUS (138–161)

D.11

Obv: ΑΥΤΟΚ ΚΑΙC ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΝ CΕΒ ΕΥ. Laureate and draped bust of A. Pius, l.

Rev: ΑΙΑΙ ΘΕΜΙCΤΟΚΛΗC ΠΡΩΤΟΛΕ ΑΡΞ ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ. Zeus Chrysaoreus, standing, r., head l., holding patera and sceptre; eagle by his feet.

Magistrate: Ailios Themistokles Protol(e)ontos (arxas).

*1. Stack's CG April 2010 Lot 254. 21.29g, 32mm. / 2. RPC IV.2 868(temp).3. 21.53g, 33mm, 6h. = [priv. coll. H.I.J.] / 3. BMC 7 = RPC IV.2 868.1. 18.85g, 33mm, 6h. Inv. no. 1888.0403.87. Magistrate's name read as Proton. Rev: eagle perched on sceptre. Pl. XII.12. / 4. RPC IV.2 868.2 (Vienna). 19.35g, 33mm, 6h. / 5. Mionnet Supp. VI no. 209. AE9 R magendavid.

D.12

Obv: ΑΥΤΟΚ ΚΑΙC ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΝ CΕΒ ΕΥ (facing outward). Laureate and draped bust of A. Pius, l.

Rev: Π ΑΙΑΙ ΘΕΜΙCΤΟΚΛΗC ΠΡΩΤΟ[ΛΕΟΝ ΑΡΞ?] [ΚΕΡ]ΑΜΙ. Archaising deity, standing, r., holding labrys and spear, lion sitting by his feet.

Magistrate: P. Aili(os) Themistokles Protol(e)ontos (arxas).

*1. GHN Auc. 343 (2018) Lot 2613. 23.89g, 31mm. = Ex Sammlung R.P. = Gorny 134, 2004, Los Nr. 1967. / 2. RPC IV.2 3337(temp).1 (Berlin I-B). 24.30g, 33mm, 6h. / 3. RPC IV.2 3337(temp).2. Trieste, Civic Museum (= Friedländer, J. 1875. ZfN 2: 109–10 (drawing of rev.).

D.13

Obv: ΑΥΤΟΚ ΚΑΙC ΑΝ[ΤΩΝΙΝΟΝ?] CΕΒ ΕΥCΕΒ. Laureate and draped bust of A. Pius, r.

Rev: ΑΙΑΙ ΘΕΜΙCΤΟΚΛΗC ΠΡΩΤΟΛΕ ΑΡΞ ΚΕΡΑΜΙ within laurel wreath.

Magistrate: Aili(os) Themistokles Protol(e)ontos (arxas).

1. RPC IV.2 869 (temp).1. 25mm. Trade GRMK no. 2. / 2. RPC IV.2 869 (temp).2. 25mm. GRMK no. 3 (ex-Weber) / 3. RPC IV.2 869 (temp).3. 25mm. L. Robert, Monnaies Grecques (1967), p. 41, pl. I.2 (rev.) / 4. RPC IV.2 869 (temp).4. 8.49g, 25mm, 12h. = Berlin 1926/692. / 5. RPC IV.2 869 (temp).5. 8.06g, 25mm, 6h. = Oxford Ashmolean / *6. Winterthur 3382. 7.85g, 25.2mm, 7h. / 7. SNG Tire 311. 9.54g, 26mm, 6h. Inv. no. 2777.

D.14

Obv: AV K T AIAIOC ANTΩNIN[O]C. Laureate and draped bust of A. Pius, r.

Rev: KEPAMHΠOΛITΩN(sic). Two Nemeses holding their chitons; the one on the right holding bridle?.

Magistrate: Politon.

*1. BNF FG 423. 7.03g, 25mm. Waddington 2298 authenticity doubtful = RPC IV.2 2718 (temp).

D.15

Obv: ΘEMICTOKΛHΣ. Archaising youthful head, r.

Rev: KEPAM (?). Bull, standing, r.

Magistrate: Themistokles.

*1. SNG Tübingen 3415. 2.68g, 16.5–17mm, 6h.

COMMODUS (177–192)

D.16

Obv: [] AV KOMOΔOC. Youthful bust of Commodus, short bearded, r.

Rev: EΠI ΔIOΔO APΞ KEPA[MIH]TΩN. Archaising deity, r., holding labrys and spear; lion reclining by his feet, r.

Magistrate: Diodo(tos) (arxas).

*1. BMC 8. 19.14g, 36mm, 6h. = BM Inv. no. 1865.1205.1 = Spanu 31= RPC IV.2 870 (temp).

D.17

Obv: AY KAI Λ AYP[H?]. Bust of Commodus, r.

Rev: [M KΛ EPMOΦAN]TOC APΞAC KEPAMIHTΩN. Dionysus standing, l., holding thyrsus in l. and cantharus in r.; a panther by his feet, l.

Magistrate: M. Kl. Hermophantos (arxas).

*1. SNG Tübingen 3416. 10.89g, 29mm, 6h.= RPC IV.2 11530 (temp)

D.18

Obv: AY KAI Λ AYP KOMMOΔOC AYΓ. Laureate bust with cuirass, r.

Rev: M KΛ EPMOΦANTOC APΞAC KEPAMIHTΩN. On left, archaising deity, standing, r., holding labrys; on right, Zeus Chrysaoreus standing, l., holding sceptre; both hold a trident in between; lion and eagle by his feet respectively.

Magistrate: M. Kl. Hermophantos (arxas).

1. RPC IV.2 871 (temp).1 = B 28222. 33.26g, 38mm, 6h. / 2. RPC IV.2 871 (temp).2 = B I-B. 24.48g, 35mm, 6h. / *3. RPC IV.2 871 (temp).3 = ANS 1971.230.43. 28.23g, 38mm, 6h. Rev: Zeus handshakes with Egyptian deity.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (193–211)

D.19

Obv: AY[T] KAI [C]Λ CEΠ CE[YHP]OC ΠEPT. Laureate head of S. Severus, r.

Rev: / ΘCOM[...] MC A Π APXH KCPAMI (sic). Athena, standing, facing, head to l., holding aegis and spear; shield by her feet.

Magistrate: Theom[-] Me[-] A. P. (arche)

*1. CNG MBS 78 Lot 1323. 14.08g, 30mm, 6h.

JULIA DOMNA

D.20

Obv: IOYΛIA ΔOMNA CEBAK. Bust of Julia Domna, r.

Rev:]AHC AΠOΛΛONIDOCY APΞ KEPA... Artemis the huntress, advancing r.

Magistrate: Themistok]les Apollonidou (arxas).

*1. BNF FG 424. 10.84g, 30mm = Spanu 33.

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|---|--|---|
| Augustus / Tiberius / Livia | D.01 Archaising head 20 mm (6.16 g) Hierogene- (1 ea.) | D.02 Obv. laureate head / rev. eagle 16-19 mm (3.15-3.60 g) Hermophantos RPC I Supp. 2773A (2 variations; 3 ea.) | D.03 Obv. laureate head / rev. archaising head 16-18 mm (4.07-5.58 g) Hermophantos RPC I Supp. 2773 B (2 ea.) | | |
| Nero | D.04 Archaising head 23 mm (7.36-7.40 g) arxas Euandros RPC I Supp. 2774A (2 ea.) | D.05 Head of Zeus Diameter unknown (7.54-11.0 g) arxas Euandros RPC I 2774 (2 ea.) | | | |
| Trajan | D.06 Bull's head 13 mm (1.10 g) RPC III 2192 (1 ea.) | D.07 Obv. archaising head / rev. legend within wreath 23.5 mm (7.4 g) (1 ea.) | | | |
| Hadrian | D.08 Head of Zeus 27 mm (14.03 g) arxas Kudimou RPC III 2193 (1 ea.) | D.09 Archaising head 22 mm (6.00 g) RPC III 2194 (1 ea.) | D.10 Obv. archaising head / rev. legend within wreath 22-23 mm (7.18-8.90 g) arxas Kudimos Hieronimou RPC III 2195 (3 ea.) | | |
| Antoninus Pius | D.11 Zeus Chrys. 32-33 mm (18.85-21.53 g) Alii. Themistokles Protole- arx. RPC IV.2 868 (temp) (5 ea.) | D.12 Archaising deity 33 mm (23.89-24.30 g) P. Alii. Themistokles Protol- arx. RPC IV.2 3337 (temp) (3 ea.) | D.13 Legend within wreath 25 mm (7.85-8.49 g) Alii. Themistokles Protol- arx. RPC IV.2 869 (temp) (7 ea.) | D.14 Nemeses 25 mm (7.03 g) Politon RPC IV.2 2718 (temp) "Doubtful" (1 ea.) | D.15 Obv. archaising head / rev. bull 17 mm (2.68 g) Themistokles (1 ea.) |

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|--|--|--|---|--|
| Commodus | D.16 Archaising deity 36 mm (19.14 g) Diodo- arx. RPC IV.2 870 (temp) (1 ea.) | D.17 Dionysus 29 mm (10.89 g) M. Kl. Hermophantos arxas RPC IV.2 11530 (temp) (1 ea.) | D.18 Archaising deity and Zeus Chrys. 35–38 mm (24.48–33.26 g) M. Kl. Hermophantos arxas RPC IV.2 871 (temp) (3 ea.) | | |
| Septimius Severus | D.19 Athena 30 mm (14.08 g) Theom- Me- A. P. arche. (1 ea.) | | | | |
| Julia Domna | D.20 Artemis 30 mm (10.84 g) [Themistokles Apollonidou arx. (1 ea.)] | | | | |
| Geta | D.21 Zeus Chrys. 34 mm (21.02 g) Themistokles Apollonidou arx. (1 ea.) | | | | |
| Caracalla | D.22 Zeus Chrys. 34 mm (19.39 g) Themistokles Apollon. arx. (1 ea.) | D.23 Temple with archaising deity 31–35 mm (21.79 g) M. Au. Euandros archiatro. arx. A (2 ea.) | D.24 Temple with Zeus Chrys. 35 mm (33.39 g) M. Au. Euandros o archiatro. arx. (1 ea.) | D.25 Legend within wreath Diameter unknown (12.03 g) M. Au. Euandros B archiatr. arxas (1 ea.) | D.26 Archaising deity and Zeus Chrys. 30–34 mm (14.73–22.30 g) Kallistratos Apollonid. arch. (4 ea.) |

Fig. 1 Overview of coins of the Roman imperial period. Those with imperial portrait on the obverse are represented here with only the reverse type; those without imperial portraits are listed with obv. / rev. types (D.02, D.03, D.07, D.10, D.15). If existing, magistrate names are listed as they are given in the legend. The corresponding numbers of the types on RPC are also given where applicable. The number of specimens attested are given in parentheses.

GETA (Augustus: 209–212)

D.21

Obv: ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Α ΣΕΠ ΓΕΤΑΣ. Laureate bust of Geta, r.

Rev: ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΟΥ ΑΡΞΕ ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗ. Zeus Chrysaoreus, standing, r., holding sceptre and patera, eagle by his feet.

Magistrate: Themistokles Apollonidou (arxas)

*1. SNG von Aulock 2582. 21.02g, 34mm. = BM 1979,0101.1871. 20.96g

CARACALLA (197–217)

D.22

Obv: [...]ΑΥΡ – [...]. Laureate bust, r.

Rev: ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΑΡΞΕ ΚΗΡΑ. Zeus Chrysaoreus, standing, r., holding sceptre and patera, eagle by his feet.

Magistrate: Themistokles Apollon(idou) (arxas)

*1. MMD Auc. 13 Lot 435. 19.39g, 34mm. = NAC Auc. 100 Lot 1251. ex-Righetti.

D.23

Obv: ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ. Laureate bust, r.

Rev: Μ ΑΥ ΕΥΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΑΤΡΟ ΑΡΞΕ Α ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ. Archaising deity, standing within tetrastyle temple, r., flanked with a lion on either side.

Magistrate: M. Au. Euandros Archiatro[-] (arxas)

*1. SNG vonAulock 2581. 21.79g, 31mm = BM 1979.0101.1869 = Spanu 37.1. / 2. I-B no. 5. 35mm = Spanu 37.2

D.24

Obv: ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ. Laureate bust, r.

Rev: Μ ΑΥ ΕΥΑΝΔΡΟΣ Ο ΑΡΧΙΑΤΡΟ ΑΡΞΕ ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ. Zeus Chrysaoreus, standing within tetrastyle temple, holding sceptre and patera, eagle by his feet.

Magistrate: M. Au. Euandros Archiatro[-] (arxas)

*1. Vienna KHM 35.425. 33.39g, 35mm = Spanu 38.

D.25

Obv: ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥ – ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ. Laureate bust with cuirass, r.

Rev: Μ ΑΥ / ΕΥΑΝΔΡΟΣ Β ΑΡΧΙΑΤΡ ΑΡΞΕΑΚ ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ within wreath.

Magistrate: M. Au. Euandros Β Archiatr[-] (arxas)

*1. Lanz Auc. 109 Lot 633. 12.03g.

D.26

Obv: ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ ΣΕΒΕΥ. Laureate bust with cuirass, r.

Rev: ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑ ΑΡΧ ΚΕΡΑΜΙΗΤΩΝ. On left archaising deity, standing, r., holding labrys, panther by his feet; on right Zeus Chrysaoreus, facing, head l., holding sceptre, eagle by his feet; both deities hold on another sceptre in between.

Magistrate: Kallistratos Apollonid(ou), arch.

1. SNG Schweiz II 959. 22.30g, 34.1mm, 6h. / 2. SNG München 272. 20.14g, 30–31mm, 4h. / 3. BM 1979,0101.1870. 14.73g, 33mm. = SNG von Aulock N 8104. / *4. BNF FG 425. 20.62g, ex-Waddington.

COMMENTARY

Metals and Denominations

The vast majority of the coins are of bronze. The earliest issues with a bull on the obverse and a dolphin on the reverse are of bronze (46 ea.). During the Hellenistic period, two series were minted both in silver (27 ea.) and bronze (68 ea.). During the Roman Imperial period, all emissions were of bronze (51 ea.). To date, no gold coins have been ascribed to Keramos.

Silver emissions:

Extant silver coins (13 ea.) of the archaising youthful male head / boukephalion (B.1) series have an average approximate weight of over 1.00 g (varying between 1.24 to 0.83 g). Their diameter is given as 11 mm for seven specimens and 13 mm for two, while the remaining four are not given. Considering the fact that Keramos lay within the sphere of Rhodian influence, it may be presumed that they used the Rhodian plinthophoric system in which one silver drachm weighed ca. 3.0 g. Normally one would be inclined to think of a hemidrachm about 1.5 g, a diobol ca. 1.0 g. However, considering that not only weights but also the diameters conform and that silver loses mass easily, then it may be plausible to consider them as hemidrachms just as the editors of HNO do (nos. 295, 2176, 2294, 2296, 2297, 2299). The single specimen of B.2 also conforms to these limits (fig. 2).

Extant silver coins (13 ea.) of the Zeus / eagle (C.1) series feature a wider range of masses. Nine examples varying from 2.51 to 1.52 g may indicate drachm; two specimens of 1.42 and 1.01 g may suggest hemidrachm. Indeed, the Group 2 hemidrachm Group A of Stratonikeia varies between 1.79 and 0.97 g¹⁶ and based on this it may be proposed that only four specimens over 2 g are drachms and remaining seven coins weighing from 1.82 to 1.01 g may be hemidrachms (fig. 2).

As the extant examples do not include any stater or tetradrachms, it may be proposed that Keramos probably used Rhodian or Stratonikeian currency for bigger expenses but preferred minting its own coinage for minor interactions. Indeed, it is necessary to have a bigger collection for better and safer conclusions; however, it seems that we have to wait until excavations bring to light more specimens and hopefully some hoards.

Bronze emissions:

The earliest bull / dolphin emissions with the Carian legend (A.1 and A.2) have survived in one unit of 9–10 mm (0.66–1.18 g). The three examples of the bull protome / dolphin series seem to be somewhat smaller: ca. 7–9 mm (0.84–1.35 g). The two series with Greek legend KE (A.3 and A.4) seem to have been struck in one unit of ca. 10–11 mm with an average weight of 1.03–1.50 g. However, one coin in the BNF Collection (Inv. no. AA.GR.10355) is published with a weight of 2.26 g – and no diameter given – which is double the weight of other specimens, and thus may suggest a bigger unit.

The archaising youthful head / boukephalion series in bronze (B.3 and B.4) can be attributed to the period of independence, i.e. 167–129 BC, like the silver emissions of the same group. The B.3 bronze series seems to have been minted only in one unit of 16–20 mm (4.19–6.34 g). However, B.4 seems to comprise two units by the same magistrate, Hermophantos.

¹⁶ Meadows 2002, 81–91. Indeed, very few examples are over 1.5 g and the lowest values are noted as “corroded” or “broken”, i.e. missing mass.

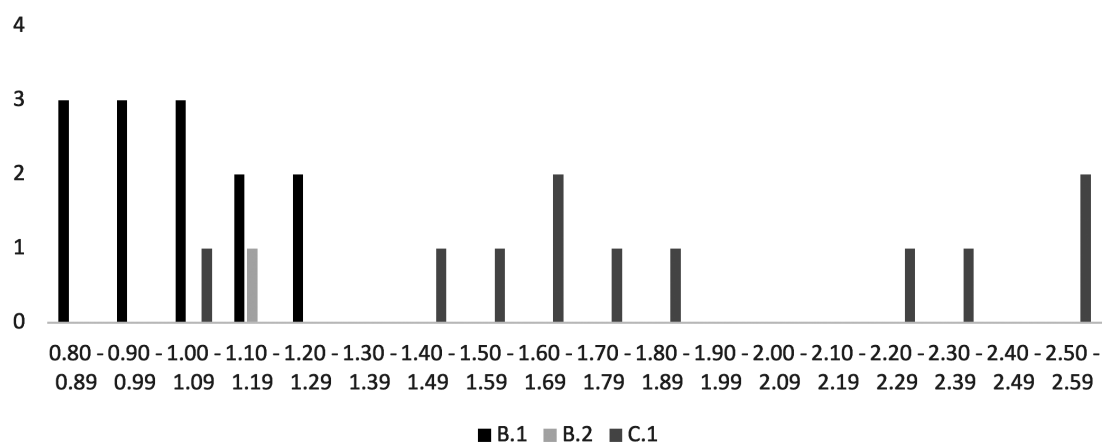


Fig. 2 Weight Distribution of Silver Emissions

The big unit (HNO 1626) has a mass of 5.11–5.56 g and a diameter varying from 16 to 19 mm. The small unit, attested as a single specimen in a private collection in Turkey, weighs 2.23 g and is 12 mm in diameter. Both units of B.4 feature the legend around the boukephalion and no square incuse.

The head of Zeus / eagle series in bronze (C.2 and C.3) was struck in two units: The big unit (C.2) of 18–23 mm (5.77–8.79 g) and the small unit (C.3) of 10–15 mm (1.39–2.10 g). In both units, BMC 3 (1.95 g, 23 mm) and BMC 2 (6.58 g, 13 mm) seem to be out of context, suggesting a possible mistake either in earlier BMC publication or online values.¹⁷ Three examples at the BNF with magistrates Hierogenes (18 mm) and Leon (21–22 mm) are attributed to 129–31 BC and 250–180 BC respectively by the editors of HNO. The examples of the small unit step forth with their reverse-type eagles and legend placed within a square incuse. The new type of C.4 is a small unit (11 mm).

Roman provincial coins of Keramos (Group D) can be categorised as small, medium and large units (fig. 1). The smallest issue is D.06 (Trajan) with 13 mm. It is followed by D.02 and D.03 with 16–19 mm range and D.01 with 20 mm; D.15 (Antoninus Pius) has a diameter of 17 mm. The medium group would include D.04, D.07, D.09, D.10 with a range of 22–23 mm; D.13 and D.14 with 25 mm and D.08 with 27 mm and D.17 with 29 mm. All the rest have a diameter of 30 mm and over with D.18 reaching up to 38 mm. Basically, big units with 30+ mm start with Antoninus Pius. Diameters for D.05 and D.25 are not known.

Bull Figures

The earliest coins of Keramos are those with a bull on the obverse and a dolphin on the reverse (Group A). These symbols should be related with the main areas of income / livelihood of the city as agriculture and sea. In the 2nd century BC, the archaising youthful head / bull head (boukephalion) series in silver and bronze (Group B) also continue the same bull

¹⁷ Cf. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1258773&partId=1&searchText=1885,0606.214&page=1 and http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1258686&partId=1&searchText=1872,0709.188&page=1

symbol. But with the Roman rule over the city, the bull disappears from the coins and is attested only on single extant specimens from the reign of Trajan (D.06) and Antoninus Pius (D.15).

The bulls on the coins of Group A are full figures standing, r. (A.1, A.3, A.4) and bull protome r. or l. (A.2); also on D.15. The bull heads, i.e. boukephalion – not the bull skulls (bucranium) seen on Group A and B – are facing images. Only the specimens A.2 and B.2 are a bull head, r., or l., with the face turned to the viewer; a similar version is also seen on the single specimen D.06.

In the inscriptions published by Varinlioğlu, nos. 7 and 9 mention the “bull sacrifice festival” (*taurothusia*), which originated before the Greek period and was the greatest festival in the city.¹⁸ However, no details are known regarding this festival, which is also attested at Magnesia on the Maeander.¹⁹ Şahin cites a *taurophonia* festival celebrated for Zeus Osogollis.²⁰ Similar bull sacrifice is also noted in Mylasa.²¹

Dolphin Figures

The earliest coins depict the dolphin on the reverse; yet surprisingly it is not seen again. Coins of neighbouring Halikarnassos feature the dolphin only between the prongs of a trident on the reverses. Further west, Iasos minted coins with a youth swimming together with a dolphin arising from a local story. In the absence of stories from Keramos, it is difficult to link the dolphin figure to anything but the marine way of life at Keramos.

Archaising Figures and Zeus

The archaising youthful male head with long hair falling on the shoulders on the Roman-period coins of Group D is similar to that seen on the autonomous coins of the period of independence in the 2nd century BC (Group B). He is not accompanied by any attributes, and the absence of a beard leads to his identification as Apollo in many publications. This head is also attested on the reverses of D.01 and D.03 (Livia and Tiberius), D.04 (Nero), D.07 (Trajan), D.09 (Hadrian), and on the obverses of D.10 (Hadrian) and D.15 (Antoninus Pius).

The full figure of an archaising deity with long hair, short-skirted tight dress holds a spear and double-axe and is accompanied by a lion/panther. He seems to be unbearded. This figure is generally identified in publications as Zeus Labraundos (D.12 Antoninus Pius, D.16 Commodus). The same, full figure of the archaising deity, flanked with a lion on either side and holding a sceptre and double-axe, is also attested within a tetrastyle temple (D.23) from the reign of Caracalla.

The typical bearded head of Zeus, accompanied either with an eagle or not, is seen on the reverses of types D.05 (Nero) and D.08 (Hadrian). It is similar to that seen on the obverses of the Zeus / eagle series from the Hellenistic period (Group C).

The full figure of a typical Zeus is clad in a long himation, holding a sceptre and a patera, and accompanied by an eagle at his feet (D.11 Antoninus Pius, D.21 Geta and D.22 Caracalla). He is identified in publications as Zeus Chrysaoreus. The same full figure of a typical Zeus is also attested within a tetrastyle temple (D.24) from the reign of Caracalla.

¹⁸ CGRN 168 (<http://cgrn.philo.ulg.ac.be/file/168/>), dated to ca. 200–100 BC.

¹⁹ Varinlioğlu 1986, 6; CGRN 194 (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/194/>).

²⁰ Şahin 2001, 138.

²¹ CGRN 150 (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/file/150/>).

The full figures of archaising deity and Zeus are also seen together: on the left, archaising deity, three-quarters facing with his head in profile, advancing right, holding a sceptre and a double-axe, accompanied with a panther; on the right, Zeus Chrysaoreus, or Osogollis, clad in long himation, depicted facing with his head turned left, holding his own sceptre in his left hand and archaising deity's sceptre with his right hand. This type was minted by Commodus (D.18) and Caracalla (D.26).

Calling for attention is the identification of the archaising figure as Apollo when depicted as a head in profile without any attributes, and as "Zeus Labraundos" when depicted as a full figure holding a double-axe and a sceptre / spear and accompanied by a panther. The full figure of "Zeus Labraundos" seems to be unbearded as well. There are two series with a temple type (D.23 and D.24 Caracalla). The same archaising "Zeus" figure is depicted standing in a tetrastyle temple with a triangular pediment (D.23). He is flanked with a panther, or lion, on either side and holds a double-axe and a spear in his hands. The other series with a temple type (D.24) depicts the typical bearded and draped Zeus (Chrysaoreus) accompanied by an eagle.

On the coins of neighbouring Mylasa, the image of Zeus Labraundos features a bearded figure, draped, holding a double-axe and a spear²² (fig. 4a). Zeus Osogollis is depicted draped, holding an eagle and a trident²³ (fig. 4a). Zeus Karios is depicted standing facing, draped, holding a spear and a shield in profile on the ground between his leg, and the shield is an eagle perched on a curving rock²⁴ (fig. 4b). Zeus Stratios is depicted also holding a double-axe and a spear²⁵ (fig. 4c). Indeed, it is known that the cult image of Zeus Labraundos (*xoanon*) had a bearded head, multiple breasts, wearing tight long skirt, and sticks stretching to the ground from his outstretched wrists²⁶ (fig. 4d), almost reminiscent of Artemis Ephesia. Zeus Labraundos was sometimes accompanied by a panther/lion.²⁷ However, none of these Zeus figures have a similar iconography as the archaising "Zeus" figure of Keramos.

The common Carian image of a laureate head with long wavy hair, but no beard, on the obverses of numerous coins from the region is identified as Apollo or Helios (fig. 4c). An archaic *kouros* head found at Keramos in the first half of the 20th century recalls the archaising head seen on the coins²⁸ (fig. 5). Furthermore, the rock relief at Günneçik Pass near Gökbel village, holding a double-axe, also recalls the Keramian "Zeus Labraundos" on coins²⁹ (fig. 6). It is possible that the archaising head of earlier and Roman times and the archaising full figure holding a double-axe and spear from the Roman times on the coins of Keramos were the same local deity, whose identity is shrouded in mist due to a scarcity of evidence arising from absence of systematic excavations and surveys. The labrys seen on the bronze bull / dolphin series should also be related to this local deity of Keramos. It is clear that the archaising deity was a local one of Carian Keramos because the image of this deity / these deities persists until the very end. Most likely he was / they were assimilated to Apollo and/or Zeus [Labraundos]

²² See e.g. SNG Kayhan II 1663 AR 26mm, 12.77g, 12h (3rd century BC).

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ See, e.g. Mylasa, Gemini Auc. III (2007) Lot 373, AR 10.50g (reign of Hadrian).

²⁵ See, e.g. Mylasa, OGN PC (Oct. 2007) Lot 226, AR 14.93g (reign of Hadrian). Note the head of Apollo on the obverse of this coin.

²⁶ See, e.g. Mylasa, CNG EA 212 (2009) Lot 192, AE 41mm, 26.22g, 7h (Caracalla and Geta).

²⁷ Şahin 2001, 89.

²⁸ Robert and Devambez 1935.

²⁹ Varinlioğlu 1986, 6, pl. IV, fig. 2.

over time. However, in the absence of systematic excavations and a scarcity of materials, all of these suggest that further comprehensive study necessary for the final identification of the archaizing figures attested on the coins of Keramos awaits new finds.

Laureate Youthful Male Head

There is one more figure shrouded in mystery. This laureate head belongs to a young male and is attested in the Roman Imperial period only: D.02 and D.03. The specimens given in the RPC Supplement volume are complemented by another example from a private auction company, and the laureate head on them is quite similar: unbearded and short hair. However, one example attested in the Tatiş Collection has a typology similar to that of D.02. However, the laureate head has a nose more like an eagle's beak and a thicker neck, recalling similar Demos figures seen on the coins of many cities.

Magistrates

Among the coins of the bull / dolphin series (Group A) attributed to the Classical period, only one specimen has ΞE on the obverse,³⁰ which may be considered the initials of a magistrate. But this is far from certain. It is not even clear whether these two letters are in Greek (*ksi-epsi-lon*) or in ancient Carian language transliterated as *i-ù*.³¹

For the archaizing youthful male head / boukephalion series (Group B): The names attested on the silver specimens are Xeno-, Poli-, Leont-, Iason, Phass- (or [largi-] (?)) and Hermeas. On the bronze coins, Leon and Hermophantos are found.

For the head of Zeus / eagle series (Group C): On its silver coins are the names Dio-, Askle-, Leonteus, Hermogen-, Polites and Politon. More names are known from the bronze coins. On the big unit (18–23 mm) are Hermophantos, Hierogenes and Leon seen. On the small unit (10–14 mm) are Dionys-, Apol-, Phanth-, Ker-, Py- and Melant- (or Melas). The size of the coins by Hierogenes is not known. The seven coins from the collection of Aydın Museum seem to have new magistrate names but they are not fully legible. The small unit coin of C.4 gives a new magistrate name as Thy-.

For Group D emissions, Hierogene- minted D.01 (Livia), Hermophantos minted two series D.02 and D.03 (attributed to the reign of Tiberius). In the reign of Nero, Euandros (*arxas*) minted two series, which have the archaizing youthful male head (D.04) and head of Zeus (D.05) on their reverses. In the reign of Hadrian, Kudimos (*arxas*) was responsible for one series (D.08) and Kudimos Hierônymou (*arxas*) one series (D.10). However, considering the two series by Euandros in the reign of Nero reproducing the same two deities, D.09 may have been minted by Kudimos as well.

P. Aili. Themistokles Protole- (*arxas*) was responsible for four series (D.11, D.12, D.13 and D.15) in the reign of Antoninus Pius. The coin with the name Politon and two Nemeses on the reverse (D.14) is recorded as “authenticity doubtful” by the editors of RPC IV. In the reign of Commodus, Diodotos (*arxas*) struck one series: D.16 with archaizing deity. However, M. Kl. Hermophantos (*arxas*) struck two series, D.17 with Dionysus and D.18 depicting the two important deities of Keramos together.

³⁰ SNG Kayhan no. 804.

³¹ Konuk 2000, 163.

Just like in the rest of the empire, the Severan period was quite active for minting. A magistrate with the name Theom- Me- A. P. (*archê*) minted one series for Septimius Severus (D.19). A magistrate with the name of Themistokles Apollonidou (*arx.*) minted one series each for Julia Domna (D.20), Geta (D.21) and for Caracalla (D.22). But there were two other magistrates during the reign of Caracalla, one was Kallistratos Apollonid(ou) (*arch*) (D.26) and the other was M. Au. Euandros Archiatro(s) (B) (*arxas*) (D.23, 24, 25). Based on inscriptions nos. 26 and 29, Varinlioğlu gives the stemma for Euandros and Kallistratos as follows:³²

Hieron Hermodoros → unnamed daughter ∞ Apollonides → sons Kallistratos and Themistokles 1 (Severan period)

Themistokles 1 → sons Themistokles 2 (∞ Aur. Elpis) and Euandros (r. of Caracalla, before and after 212)

Euandros → son M. Aur. Euandros *Archiatros* (r. of Caracalla, after 212)

The most common “term” attested is *arxas*, which is the participle of the verb *archô* and thus refers to the magistracy in charge of minting. According to the editors of RPC III, this verb and participle are very rarely attested on coinage, indeed only at Keramos and Hydisos.³³ The “title” *archiatros* should be referring to the chief physician.

Another name is Protolē-, completed as Protoleonotos. It was used with the name of Ailios Themistokles (D.11, D.12 and D.13). Literally meaning “first lion”, figuratively “the most courageous”, this name is also attested with Po. Ailios Protoleonotos, the son of Ail. Themistokles *Asiarchou kai Chiliarchou* (IK Keramos 31, ll.13–15). Varinlioğlu gives the stemma for the family of Protoleonotos and Themistokles as follows:³⁴

Protoleonotos (r. of Antoninus Pius) → P. Ailios Themistokles (*Asiarch*) (r. of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius) → (P.) Ailios Protoleonotos (r. of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus).

Thus, the magistrate list of Münsterberg for Keramos³⁵ can be extended with Leont-, Iason, Xenō-, Phass- (or [largi-]), Hermeas, Ker-, Dio-, Phanth-, Py-, Melant- (or Melas), and Thy- for the pre-Roman period; Hierogene- and Hermophantos for the reign of Tiberius; Kudimos in the reign of Hadrian; Themistokles, P. Aili. Themistokles Proto- in the reign of Antoninus Pius; Diodotos (*arxas*) in the reign of Commodus; and Theom- Me- A. P. (*archê*) in the reign of Septimius Severus. Perhaps the third name Politon should be cautiously added for the reign of Antoninus Pius. And the name given as -des Apollonidou *arch-* for Julia Domna by Münsterberg needs to be corrected to (Themistok)les Apollonidou *arch-*.

Magistrate Hermophantos:

The name Hermophantos comes up several times, yet is chronologically disparate. The first attestation is on the bronze series of a youthful male head / boukephalion (B.4 big and small units) and the big unit B.4A is attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO no. 1626.

³² Varinlioğlu 1986, 40–1.

³³ RPC III Part I, 271.

³⁴ Varinlioğlu 1986, 43.

³⁵ Münsterberg 1973, 115.

Hermophantos also struck bronze series of the head of Zeus / eagle (Group C.2) attributed to 167–129 BC by HNO nos. 592 and 2175.

Two series without imperial portraits, namely D.02 (RPC Supp. I 2773A) and D.03 (RPC Supp. I 2773B) bearing the name Hermophantos, are attributed to the reign of Tiberius (AD 14–37) by the editors of RPC.

M. Kl. Hermophantos (*arxas*) struck one series for Antoninus Pius (138–161) (RPC IV.2 869 temp.) and two series for Commodus (177–192) (RPC IV.2 871 and 11530 temp.).

Varinlioğlu gives the stemma for a Hermophantos based on inscriptions nos. 17, 18, 19 and 20 as follows:³⁶

Apollokles → Lykiskos (r. of Trajan) → Hermophantos (r. of Trajan) → Hierokles (r. of Trajan)

Aristokrates (r. Trajan) → Aristoneike (r. of Trajan)

Hierokles ∞ Aristoneike → Aristokrates (r. of Hadrian)

Hierokles and Aristoneike commissioned and dedicated many structures at Keramos. However, it seems that this Hermophantos was active in the reign of Trajan and could not be any of our coin-minting magistrates. M. Kl. Hermophantos (*arxas*), who minted coins during the reign of Commodus, could be a son or grandson of Hierokles and Aristoneike.

There is also a [Herm]ophantos for whom an honouring decree was issued: IK Keramos no. 14 l.3. Hermophantos, son of Dio-, is mentioned in a name list (IK Keramos no. 12 l.2 – 2nd–1st century BC). An inscription published on SEG (LIII 1205)³⁷ names a Hermophantos, father of Hermias, and ?son of Hermias, Pythias (2nd–1st century BC). In the name list for contributors to the Sarapis Temple (IK Keramos 4 – 3rd–2nd century BC) are: l.10 father of Apollodoros, l.19: son of Euphanes, l.27: son of Hermon, l.35: father of Apollonios, l.37: father of Polygnotos. IK Keramos 32 l.8 mentions Hermophantou (3rd century AD). IK Keramos no. 53 (b) mentions a Hermophantos, father of Abroneike (Roman Imperial period).³⁸

Furthermore, the two series attributed to the reign of Tiberius feature the full ethnic on the obverse and the magistrate's name on the reverse. The same is true for the small unit bronze B.4B from 167–129 BC. In case the author's stylistic attribution of this single coin B.4B to the 2nd century BC is mistaken, then it could be attributed to the reign of Tiberius based on the organisation of the legends.

Consequently, Keramian people had many citizens with the name of Hermophantos through their history. As new inscriptions and coins appear, we will be able to identify them safer.

³⁶ Varinlioğlu 1986 = IK Keramos, 32.

³⁷ SEG LIII 1205: A. Chaniotis, T. Corsten, R.S. Stroud, R.A. Tybout, "SEG 53–1205. Keramos. List of names (?), Hellenistic period." in: *SEG*, eds. A. Chaniotis, T. Corsten, N. Papazarkadas, R.A. Tybout. Consulted online 14 March 2019 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_a53_1205 First published online: 2003

³⁸ Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (LGNP) online provides an up-to-date index of names. For Hermophantos see, http://clas-lgpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/lgpn_search.cgi?namenoaccents=%CE%95%CE%A1%CE%9C%CE%9F%CE%A6%CE%91%CE%9D%CE%A4%CE%9F%CE%A3#lgpn_tabs_content_table (these correspond to hardcopy LGPN vol. Vb nos. 6209–6224).

Cults of Ancient Keramos

In addition to the archaising deities discussed above, Zeus (D.05, 08, 11, 21, 22, 24), Athena (D.19), Dionysus (D.17), Nemesis (D.14), and Artemis (D.20) are attested on the coinage of Keramos. Sarapis is attested in an inscription³⁹ but not on coins. The terms *theoi Sebastoi*⁴⁰ (“divine emperors”) and *theoi megaloi*⁴¹ (“great gods”) call for further investigation. Varinlioğlu states that in the Roman period buildings were dedicated to the emperors and the “great gods of Keramos”. Were these “great gods” the archaising deities (one or more?) attested on the coins? As the published inscriptions do not reveal any other information on other cults and the identity of the archaising deities, it is not easy to attain further conclusions under the current circumstances.

Incertii

Two coins in the BNF collection are attributed to Keramos in Caria on the online database: inv. nrs. 425.1 and 425.2. However, no parallel examples have been noted in Keramos or environs. These should belong elsewhere, possibly in northwest Anatolia.⁴²

Two coins listed by Mionnet in the Supplement volume VI, nos. 205 and 208, need also be cited as *incertii*, for they are not illustrated and no parallels have been noted.

Countermarks

In Classical-period coins (Group A.3), a countermark of labrys is attested below the bull figure on the obverse of two specimens (Ashton et al. 1998 nos. 3 and 6). One is with a rectangular frame and the other in a cartouche. These were interpreted as validating marks for A.3 coins when A.4 coins came into the circulation.

One other countermark is the bucranium within a square incuse (Howgego 294) from the reign of Trajan attested on the single specimen D.07 with the archaising youthful male head on the obverse, and inscription within wreath on the reverse. The other one is noted for Mionnet Supp VI 208, listed as *incerti* above, as a pair of branches crossed within a round incuse. However, as with other coins cited by Mionnet, the absence of an image makes it difficult to comment on it.

The use of labrys and bucranium for countermarks at Keramos is entirely plausible because the importance of these figures is well attested in the coin examples known from the city.

³⁹ Varinlioğlu 1986, no. 4.

⁴⁰ These are found on the D.10 coins minted by Kudimos in the reign of Hadrian.

⁴¹ Varinlioğlu 1986, nos. 17 ll.4–5, 18 l.1, 22, 23, 28.

⁴² I would like to thank Prof. Tekin for his comments on these coins.

Chronology

| Time slice | Group / Series (Magistrate) (AE unless otherwise stated) |
|---|---|
| 410–390 BC | A.1 (Xe-?); A.2 |
| 380–350 BC | A.3; A.4 |
| 250–180 BC | C.1 (Dio-) (AR); C.2 (Leon); C.3 (Melant- / Melas); C.4 (Thy-) |
| 188–160 BC | B.1 (Xeno- and Hermeas) (AR) |
| 167–129 BC | B.1 (Poli-, Leont-, Iason, Phass- / -argi-) (AR); B.2 (AR); B.3 (Leon); B.4 (Hermophantos); C.1 (Askle-, Leonteus, Hermogen-, Polites) (AR); C.2 (Hermophantos); C.3 (Dionys-, Apol-, Phanth-, Ker-, Py-) |
| 129–31 BC | C.2 (Hierogenes) |
| Livia (Augustus/Tiberius) (27 BC – AD 37) | D.01 |
| Tiberius (AD 14–37) | D.02, D.03 |
| Nero (54–68) | D.04, D.05 |
| Trajan (98–117) | D.06, D.07 |
| Hadrian (117–138) | D.08, D.09, D.10 |
| Antoninus Pius (138–161) | D.11, D.12, D.13, D.14, D.15 |
| Commodus (177–192) | D.16, D.17, D.18 |
| Septimius Severus (193–211) | D.19 |
| Julia Domna (193–217) | D.20 |
| Geta (209–212) | D.21 |
| Caracalla (197–217) | D.22, D.23, D.24, D.25, D.26 |

Fig. 3 Overview of groups and issues over time

Figure 3 above gives an overview. Thus:

Group A (AE) with four subgroups was minted from ca. 410–350 BC and constitutes the earliest emissions of Keramos. Then there is a gap until ca. 250 BC. In the period of 250–180 BC, proposed by the editors of HNO, the four subgroups of Group C (AR and AE) started to be minted. Towards the end of this period, B.1 (AR) came into the market with two magistrate names. The period of independence (167–129 BC) witnessed a rich variety of magistrate names and two groups (B and C). Until the end of the Hellenistic period, only C.2 was minted. Then Keramos minted coins with and without imperial portraits until into the reign of Caracalla. This is the overall picture for the present time.

Conclusion

Keramos, originally a Carian foundation, was a small city in the 5th century BC as attested from its relatively small tribute to Athens – about one and a half talents – placing it to the same capacity as, for instance, Klazomenai, Erythrai, Astakos, Polychoini and Kolophon.⁴³ The first coins of Keramos were bronze with small denominations minted about 400 BC and the half century following. Recent research by the editors of HNO indeed place some of the bronze

⁴³ ATL 1: passim; 2:123.

emissions of Groups B and C to 250–180 BC and some others to 188–160 BC. In the period 167–129 BC Keramos minted two series both in silver and bronze: an archaising youthful male head / boukephalion (Group B) and a head of Zeus / eagle (Group C). In addition, some bronze emissions of a head of Zeus / eagle series are attributed to the late Hellenistic period, i.e. the first century of Roman rule in western Asia Minor. Keramos minted bronze coins during the reigns of ten members of the imperial family, namely Livia, Nero, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Commodus, Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Geta, and Caracalla. Reverse types are dominated by archaising deity/deities and Zeus.

Shifts in iconography and their corresponding dates still remain to be scrutinised. When was the bearded Zeus head introduced exactly? Why does it seem to predate the archaising head / boukephalion series? Who is the archaising deity? When did Hellenisation actually start in Caria? Is its impact Ptolemaic or Seleucid, Pergamene or Rhodian? How did the relations among Rhodes, Keramos and Stratonikeia develop through history? And so on.

In the absence of systematic excavations and hoards, our study is limited to examples (in total about 190 ea.) published in print and online, as well as those acquired by museums in the region and various private collectors. More questions seem to have arisen. It is necessary to explore the coinage of Rhodes and Stratonikeia as well to cast more light onto Keramos. As more collections go online or are published, we are of the opinion that not only variety of types will increase but also the monetary history of Keramos will become clearer.

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Online Sale Catalogues and Collections

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| ANS | American Numismatic Society http://numismatics.org/ (last accessed March 2019). |
| Aydın Museum | Aydın Archaeological Museum Collection. |
| BM | The British Museum http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx (last accessed in March 2019). |
| BNF | Bibliothèque Nationale de France, http://gallica.bnf.fr (last accessed in March 2019). |
| BPeus | Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger Auction House, Frankfurt am Main, Germany. |
| CGRN | Collection of Greek Ritual Norms: http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/ (last accessed in March 2019). |
| CNG | Classical Numismatic Group, Inc. Lancaster and London. E.A.: Electronic Auction; MBS: Mail Bid Sale; Triton: printed auction. |
| Fethiye Museum | Fethiye Arhaeological Museum collection. |
| Gemini | Gemini LLC Auction house. |
| GHN | Gerhard Hirsch Nachfolger, Munich, Germany. |
| Gorny | Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung GmbH, Munich, Germany. |
| Hauck | Hauck & Aufhäuser Numismatics, Munich, Germany; taken over by Künker, Osnabrück. |
| HDRauch | Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch GmbH, Vienna, Austria. |
| HDRauch EA | Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch Electronic Auction, Vienna, Austria. |
| Hirsch | Gerhard Hirsch, Munich, Germany. |
| HNO | Historia Numorum Online, http://hno.huma-num.fr/ (last accessed 15 March 2019). |
| Jacquier | Paul-Francis Jacquier Auction House, Kehl am Rhein, Germany. |
| Kölner MK | Kölner Münzkabinett, Cologne, Germany. |
| Lanz | Numismatik Lanz, Munich, Germany. |
| Marmaris Museum | Marmaris Archaeological Museum Collection. |
| Milas Museum | Milas Archaeological Museum Collection. |
| MMD | Münzen und Medaillen Deutschland, GmbH, Auction House. |
| Muğla Museum | Muğla Archaeological Museum Collection. |
| Naumann | Pecunem / Numismatik Naumann (formerly Gitbud & Naumann) Auction House. |
| Naville | Naville Numismatics Ltd. – Numismatica Ars Classica Ltd., London, UK. |
| OGN PC | OGN Numismatique Pierre Crinon Auction House. |
| Roma | Roma Numismatics Ltd. London, UK. |
| Savoca | Savoca Numismatik GmbH & Co. Auction House, Munich, Germany. OA: online auction; BA: blue auction; SA: silver auction. |
| Solidus Num. MAuc. | Solidus Numismatik Monthly Auction, Munich, Germany. |
| Stack's CG | Stack's Coin Galleries, New York, USA. |
| Tatış Coll. | Yavuz Tatış Collection, Izmir. |
| VA | VAuctions, service brand of VHobbies LLC. |
| Vienna KHM | Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum. |

Makale Geliş / Received : 30.11.2018

Makale Kabul / Accepted : 27.03.2019

GROUP A (AE)



A.1A
Fethiye M.
16086



A.1B
Kayhan 804



A.2A
Savoca 211



A.2B
Konuk 2000.1



A.3
Marmaris M.
1351



A.4
Kayhan 806

GROUP B



B.1 AR / Xenocng 115



B.1 AR / Phassans 2007.15.17



B.1 AR / Politas 471



B.1 AR / Leontnaumann 286



B.1 AR / unknown Tatis 2609



B.2 AR
Kayhan 808



B.3 AE / Leon BNF FG 418



B.4A AE / Hermophantos CNG 778



B.4B AE / Hermophantos Tatis 2741

GROUP C



C.1 AR / Diokayhan 807



C.1 AR / AskleNaumann 227



C.1 AR / Leonteus BNF FG 415



C.1 AR / Hermogenes BNF FG 416



C.1 AR / Unknown BNF E429



C.2 AE / Leon BNF 1966.453.6164



C.2 AE / Hermophantos Tatis 2167



C.2 AE / Hermophantos Aydın M. 36576



C.2 AE / Hierogenes BNF FG 419



C.3 AE / Melas Naumann 147



C.3 AE / Dionys-
Kayhan II 1643



C.3 AE / Apol-
BNF FG 421



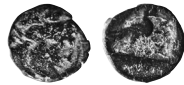
C.3 AE / Phanth-
Greece 5 1466



C.3 AE / Apol-
Tatış 2169



C.3 AE / unknown
Milas M. 1125



C.3 AE / unknown
Milas M. 2059



C.3 AE / unknown
Aydın M. 40651



C.3 AE / unknown
Aydın M. 40653



C.3 AE / unknown
Aydın M. 40652



C.3 AE / unknown
Aydın M. 40654



C.3 AE / unknown
Aydın M. 40655



C.3 AE / unknown
Aydın M. 40656



C.3 AE / unknown
Aydın M. 40657



C.4 AE / Thy-
HNO 2190.1

GROUP D (AE)



D.01 / Lanz 356



D.02 / Tatış 2171



D.03 / MMD 433



D.04 / Naville 251



D.05 / BNF FG 422



D.06 / RPC III 2192



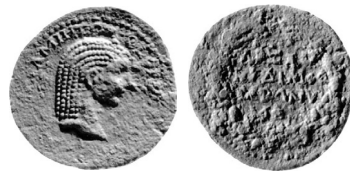
D.07 / ANS 2007.15.20



D.08 / RPC III 2193



D.09 / GHN 2596



D.10 / RPC III 2195.1



D.11 / Stack's 254



D.12 / GHN 2613



D.13 / Winterthur 3382



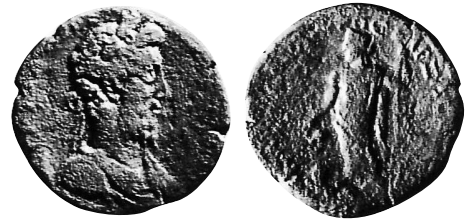
D.14 / BNF FG 423



D.15 / Tübingen 3415



D.16 / RPC IV.2 870 = BMC 8



D.17 / Tübingen 3416



D.18 / RPC IV.2 871.3



D.19 / CNG MBS 78 1323



D.20 / BNF FG 424



D.21 / von Aulock 2582



D.22 / MMD 435



D.23 / von Aulock 2581



D.24 / Spanu 38



D.25 / Lanz 633



D.26 / BNF FG 425

Fig. 4 ZEUS FIGURES



a / SNG Kayhan II 1663 AR 12.77g,
26mm, 12h; Zeus Osogollis and Zeus
Labraundos (Mylasa)

b / Gemini Auc. III (2007) Lot 373,
AR 10.50g (reign of Hadrian).



c / SNG Kayhan II 1689
AR 3.61g, 15mm, 12h,
Zeus Labraundos (Idrieus)

d / CNG EA 212 (2009) Lot 192, AE 41mm, 26.22g,
7h. Zeus Osogollis (left) and Zeus Labraundos (right)
(Caracalla and Geta).



Fig. 5 Archaic head found at Keramos
(from Robert and Devambeiz 1935,
Pl. 41, fig. A)



Fig. 6 Rock relief of a youth at Günneçik Pass of
Karabel village (from Varinlioğlu 1986, Pl. IV, no. 2)