



## Civic Coinage of Attouda in Caria

### Karia'daki Attouda'nın Şehir Sikkeleri

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#### ABSTRACT

The ancient city of Attouda is localised at Hisarköy of Sarayköy district in Denizli province and no systematic surveys or excavations have been carried out. As the site was registered as first degree archaeological site the contemporary village moved out and the existing architectural heritage started to deteriorate. The present study endeavours to build a corpus of coins minted by Attouda from publications, online catalogues and museum collections as well as some private collections. Based on more than 300 coins compiled a typology was prepared and these coins were evaluated to gain information on ancient Attouda was retrieved. Thus, it is noted that Attouda started minting coins in the Late Hellenistic period and continued minting until mid-third century AD. The Carminii Family is dominantly attested with many titles. In addition to the magistrate names, some light was cast onto the administrative bodies and cults of the city.

**Keywords:** Attouda / Attuda, Hisarköy, Civic Coinage, Men Karou, Meter Adrastou, the Carminii

#### Öz

Denizli ili Sarayköy ilçesine bađlı Hisarköy'e lokalize edilen antik Attouda kentinde herhangi bir sistematik kazı veya yüzey arařtırması gerçekleştirilmemiştir. Birinci derece arkeolojik sit alanı olan yerleşme yeni bir alana taşınmış ve mevcut mimari miras da yok olmaya yüz tutmuştur. Bu çalışmada yayınlanmış ve online kataloglar ve çevre müze ve kimi özel koleksiyonlardaki Attouda sikkeleri saptanarak derlenmiş ve bir korpus oluşturulmaya çalışılmıştır. Ulaşılan 300'den fazla sikkeye dayanarak bir tipoloji oluşturulmuş ve hem bu sikkeler değerlendirilmiş hem de Attouda hakkında bilgi edinilmeye çalışılmıştır. Böylece Attouda'nın Hellenistik Dönemin sonlarında sikke basmaya başladığı ve aralıklarla MS 3. yüzyılın ortalarına deđin basmaya devam ettiği anlaşılmıştır. Carminii Ailesinin baskınlığı da net şekilde görülmektedir. Magistrat isimlerinin yanı sıra kentin idari kurumları ve kültürleri hakkında da bilgi edinilmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Attouda / Attuda, Hisarköy, şehir sikkeleri, Men Karou, Meter Adrastou, Carminii Ailesi

## Introduction

The ancient city of Attouda, or Attuda, located at the boundary of Caria with Lydia and Phrygia is localised at Hisar village of Sarayköy district in Denizli province. As the site is registered as a first-degree archaeological site, new constructions are not allowed and this paved the way for the living village to move eastward and the process of abandonment started. In the absence of systematic excavations only spoliated materials provide information on the architectural structures of antiquity (Şimşek 2002; Söğüt 2007; Söğüt 2017; Şimşek 2017) and scarcity of references in ancient sources restrict our present knowledge on the settlement. However, inscriptions recorded in the Lykos Valley and Aphrodisias and those acquired by the Denizli and Aydın Museums cast light onto the life and people of ancient Attouda<sup>1</sup>. Pera's article (1996) focuses on the coins minted by the prominent family the Carminii. Martin's colossal work covers the civic issues with Boule and Demos (2013, vol. I: pp. 233-34, vol. II: pp. 65-70). Online projects *Historia Numorum Online* (HNO) and *Roman Provincial Coinages* (RPC) also cover Attouda's coinage. The present study endeavours to build a corpus of published coins and those accessed in the regional museums and some private collections, and to cast some light onto ancient Attouda. In addition to published examples, coins of Attouda were attested in the collections of Manisa, Denizli, Uşak and Aphrodisias Museums as well as some private collections<sup>2</sup>. The study comprises two parts as Typology followed by Commentary.

## Typology

Accessed coins of Attouda are categorised into two groups as A and B. Group A has the Hellenistic examples. Group B has Roman Imperial period coins with and without imperial portraits in chronological order.

### GROUP A (Hellenistic Period)

#### TYPE A1 (100-30 BC, AR, drachm)

Obv: Turreted head of Tyche, r.

Rev: Apollo, naked, standing, l., resting his left elbow on Corinthian column, holding an object in his outstretched left hand.

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- 1 For inscriptions at Denizli Hierapolis Museum see Ritti, 2008, nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 48, 55, 60, 61, 150, 173, 200. For two inscriptions acquired through purchase by the Aydın Museum see, Thonemann & Ertuğrul, 2005. For one inscription regarding the cult of Meter Adrastou see Chaniotis, 2012, 353-354, no. 24 and Figure 17. For other inscriptions see MAMA VI, 24-32, nos. 64-86.
  - 2 Mr. Y. Tatış of Izmir and Mr. R. Lisi of Italy kindly allowed me to use the Attouda coins from their private collections. Thanks are due to Assoc. Prof. Dr. A. T. Tek and Prof. Dr. B. Duman, head of excavations at Tripolis in Lydia, for allowing me to use the two coins unearthed at Tripolis. Thanks are also due to the directors and staff of the abovementioned museums. Further thanks are due to the anonymous referees, whose comments greatly improved the study.

Two magistrate names: So(si?)polis Charmides (K/)Le(on)- (HNO no.1564); Sopolis Andreas Nepos.

1. BMC 1. 3.44g, 18mm. (Pl. X.9) Rev: Σ-[I/OΠ]O-ΛΙΣ-ΧΑΡ-ΜΙ-ΔΗΣ ΛΕ-[Ω] N - ΑΤΤΟΥΔΔΕΩΝ. Inv. no. 1840.1226.189. / 2. BNF M7483 (369.1) (85221729). 3.58g. Rev: ΣΟΣΙ-ΠΟ-ΛΙΣ-ΧΑΡ-ΜΙ-ΔΗΣ-ΛΕ - ΑΤΤΟΥΔΔΕΩΝ = HNO 1564 no.1. / 3. Imhoof-Blumer 123,2. 3.30g, 19mm. ΣΩ-ΠΟ-ΛΙΣ-ΧΑΡ-ΜΙ-ΔΗΣ-ΛΕ ΑΤΤΟΥΔΔΕΩΝ Taf. 4.27 (Munich) / 4. Winterthur 3336. 3.68g, 19.8mm, 1h. Rev: ΣΩΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΝΕΠΙΟΣ. [ΑΤΤΟ]ΥΔΔΕ. Imhoof-Blumer 123,1 Taf. 4.26.

**TYPE A2** (200-100 BC, AE)

Obv: Laureate and bearded head of Zeus, r.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥ-ΔΔΕΩΝ. Lyra.

Big unit?: 1. BNF 369.13 (8522184h). 2.07g, 12mm. = ex Waddington 2253 = HNO 1565 no.1. / 2. Imhoof-Blumer 124,5. 2.10g, 13mm

Small unit?: 3. VCoins / Numismatic Naumann. 10mm, 1.5g = HNO 1565 no.2.

**TYPE A3** (200-100 BC, AE)

Obv: Turreted head of Tyche, r.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥΔ-ΔΕΩΝ. Bow and quiver.

1. Winterthur 3337. 0.92g, 11.7mm, 12h.

**TYPE A4** (200-100 BC, AE)

Obv: Bearded and laureate head of Zeus, r.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥΔ-ΔΕΩΝ. Apollo, naked, standing, l., holding a bow in his left hand, r. hand outstretched.

1. Lisi Coll. AE, 3.38g, 18mm. / 2. Imhoof-Blumer 123.3. 2.60g, 20mm.

## **GROUP B (Roman Imperial Period) (All specimens are AE)**

### **FIRST CENTURY AD**

#### **TYPE B01**

Obv: Head of Apollo, r.; lyra in the r. field.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥΥ-ΔΕΩΝ. Flamed altar.

1. Denizli M. Inv. no. 20256. 2.34g, 15mm, 12h / 2. Lisi Coll. 2.78g, 15mm = Naumann Auc. 83 (3.11.2019) Lot 502.

#### **TYPE B02**

Obv: Laureate and bearded head of Zeus, r.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥΥΔΕ... ΠΙΠΟΤΕΑ[С] ΠΑΠΠΙΙΙ...?. Apollo, naked, standing, l., resting his left elbow on Corinthian column, holding an object in his outstretched left hand.

Magistrate: Protea(s) Pappi...?

1. Imhoof-Blumer 124,4. 3.95g, 16mm. Unillustrated.

**AUGUSTUS (27 BC - AD 14)?**

#### **TYPE B03**

Obv: ΣΕΒΑ-ΣΤΟ(Σ/Υ). Bust, r.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥΥ-ΔΕΩΝ. Kybele, standing, facing, flanked with two lions.

1. SNG Leypold 819. 3.73g, 17mm, 12h = RPC I 2846.3. ΣΕΒΑ-ΣΤΟΣ / 2. Savoca Auc. 16 (25.06.2017) Lot 362. 5.22g, 18mm = RPC I 2846.4. ΣΕΒΑ-ΣΤΟΥΥ / 3. BNF 369.25 (85221974). 3.52g, 17mm = RPC I 2846.2 / 4. RPC I 2846.1 = BM 1971.1005.1 5,02g, 19mm. ΣΕΒΑ-ΣΤΟΣ / 5. Naumann Auc. 84 (1.12.2019) Lot 254. 4.40g, 19mm = RPC I 2846.5.

### **FLAVIAN PERIOD**

#### **TYPE B04**

Obv: ΑΤΤΟΥΥΔΕ-ΩΝ ΔΗΜΟС. Head of young Demos, r.

Rev: ΔΙΑ ΜΕΝΙΠΠΙΟΥΥ. Rider god, r., holding a labrys over his shoulder.

Fourteen specimens (4.27–6.62g, 19-22mm, 12h) = RPC II 1229 (seven specimens).  
Magistrate: Menippos. Martin Attouda 3.

1. SNG Cop 161. 5.55g, 21mm, 12h = RPC II 1229.4. / 2. BMC 6. 6.09g, 21.6mm, 12h (Inv. no. 1883.0514.16) (Pl. X.12) = RPC II 1229.1 / 3. SNG von Aulock 2495. 5.94g, 21.5mm = RPC II 1229.5 / 4. SNG Greece 5 1462. 6.21g, 19-19.5mm, 12h / 5. Lanz Auc. 131 (27.11.2006) Lot 100. 6.55g, 21mm, 12h / 6. BNF AA.GR.4928 (85221907). 4.27g, 21mm = RPC II 1229.3 = P S de R. / 7. BNF 369.18 (8522189k). 6.31g, 21mm, 12h. = Waddington 2258 = RPC II 1229.2 / 8. BNF 369.5 (8522176z). 4.31g / 9. Leu Auc. 3 (27.10.2018) Lot 167. 6.61g, 21mm, 12h / 10. Leu Web Auc. 6 (9 Dec. 2018) Lot 561. 6.08g, 21mm, 12h / 11. Roma E-Sale 54 (28.2.2019) Lot 227. 6.62g, 22mm, 12h / 12. Fonds L. Robert 445. 7.06g, 20.5mm / 13. Naumann Auc. 81 (1.9.2019) Lot 334. 6.45g, 22mm / 14. Mionnet IV 287. AE5 (21.2mm). R5.

### TYPE B05

Obv: ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕ-ΩΝ. Turreted head of Tyche, r.

Rev: ΔΙΑ ΜΕ-ΝΙΠΠΟΥ. Nemesis dressed with long chiton, standing, l., r. arm bent, holding collar of chiton; l. hand holding bridle; dotted border.

Magistrate: Menippos.

1. BMC 8. 2.62g, 16mm, 12h (Inv. no. 1874.0716.130) = RPC II 1233.1 / 2. BNF 369.17 (85221885). 2.89g, 16mm, 12h = ex Waddington 2257 = RPC II 1233.2 / 3. Agora Auc. 74 (5.6.2018) Lot 111. 3.20g, 16mm = Pecunem Auc. 40 (07.02.2016) Lot 421 = ex Tom Bugey Coll. = RPC II 1233.3 / 4. RPC II 1233.4. 2.58g, 15mm, 12h = CGT Coll. / 5. RPC II.1233.5. 3.28g, 17.5mm, 12h = A. Tricarico Coll. / 6. Denizli M. Inv. no. 3657. 2.75g, 16.5mm, 12h.

### TYPE B06

Obv: ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕ-ΩΝ. Turreted head of Tyche, r.

Rev: ΔΙΑ ΜΕΝΙΠΠΟΥ. Three ears of wheat.

Magistrate: Menippos.

1. BMC 9. 3.50g, 16.5mm, 12h. Inv. no. 1844.0425.144 = RPC II 1232.1 / 2. BNF 369.7 (8522178s). 3.04g, 17mm, 12h. = RPC II 1232.3 (overstruck) / 3. BNF 369.16 (8522187r). 3.33g, 17mm, 12h. = ex Waddington 2256 = RPC II 1232.2 / 4. RPC II 1232.4. 2.71g, 17mm, 12h = CGT Coll.

### TYPE B07

Obv: ATTOY-ΔEΩN. Head of Asklepios, r.; kerykeion in front.

Rev: ΔI-A ME-NIΠΠIOY. Hygieia, standing, feeding a serpent from patera.

Magistrate: Menippos.

1. SNG Cop 160. 3.76g, 18mm, 12h = RPC II 1231.2 / 2. BMC 3. 4.48g, 18mm (Inv. no. 1891.0704.37 Lambros) (Pl. X.10) = RPC II 1231.1 / 3. RPC II 1231.3. 5.32 g, 18 mm, 12h = Oxford Ashmolean / 4. RPC II 1231.4. 4.77g, 20mm, 12h = CGT Coll. / 5. BNF 369.9 (8522180v). 4.76g.

### DOMITIA (Augusta)

### TYPE B08

Obv: ΔOMITIA-CEBACTH. Bust of Domitia, r.

Rev: ΔIA MENIΠΠIOY-ΑΠΟΛΩΝOY (sic), ATTOYΔE-ΩN. Dionysos, standing, facing, head l.; resting on sceptre with his l. hand, pouring from cantharus in r. hand, panther by the feet.

Magistrate: Menippos, son of Apollonios.

1. BNF 369.27 (8522198j). 7.87g, 20-21mm, 12h = ex Waddington 2265 = RPC II 1227.1 / 2. RPC II 1227.2. 6.35g, 20-21mm, 12h = SNG Fitzwilliam (Leake) 4687 / 3. RPC II 1227.3. 5.70g, 20-21mm, 12h = Plankenhorn / 4. RPC II 1227.4. 5.54g, 22mm, 12h = CGT Coll. Savoca 26 Blue Auc. (23.11.2019) Lot 797.

### REIGN OF DOMITIANUS (AD 81-96)

### TYPE B09

Obv: ΔHMOC ATTOYΔEΩN. Bearded head of Demos, r.

Rev: ΔIA MENIΠΠIOY-ΑΠΟΛΩΝOY (sic). Apollo, naked, standing, facing, holding branch and bow; dotted border.

Magistrate: Menippos, son of Apollonios. Martin Attouda 2.

1. BMC 4. 6.04g, 19mm, 12h. Inv. no. 1849.0119.46 (Pl. X.11) = RPC II 1230.1 / 2. BMC 5. 4.25g, 19mm, 12h. Inv. no. HPB,p142.1.B = RPC II 1230.2 / 3. Winterthur 3338. 4.52g, 19.1mm, 2h / 4. Berlin 18216516. 5.41g, 20mm.

**TYPE B10**

Obv: IEPA CYN-ΚΑΗΤΟC. Youthful head of Senate, l., laureate.

Rev: ΔΙΑ ΜΕΝΙΠΠΙΟΥ-ΤΟΥ-ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ-ΟΥ, ΑΤ-ΤΟΥ-ΔΕΩΝ. Zeus, standing, naked, r., throwing thunderbolt with r. hand, holding eagle with outstretched l. hand.

Magistrate: Menippos, son of Apollonios.

1. BNF 369.23 (85221959r). 11.92g, 25mm, 6h = ex Waddington 2263 = RPC II 1226.

**TYPE B11**

Obv: ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ ΒΟΥΛΗ. Veiled head of Boule, r.

Rev: ΔΙΑ ΜΕΝΙΠΠΙΟΥ-Υ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ-ΟΥ. Dionysos, standing, l., holding cantharus and thyrsus, panther by his foot.

Magistrate: Menippos, son of Apollonios. Martin Attouda 1.

1. Imhoof-Blumer 124,6. 7.27g, 24 mm.= RPC II 1228.1 / 2. BNF 369.12 (85221833). 5.98g / 3. Naumann Auc. 84 (1.12.2019) Lot 255. 7.93g, 25mm.

**TRAIANUS (98-117)****TYPE B12**

Obv: ΑΥ ΚΑΙC ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC – CΕ ΓΕΡ ΔΑΚΙΚΟC. Laureate bust with cuirass and paludamentum, r.

Rev: ΔΙΑ ΜΕΝΙΠΠΙΟΥ-ΥΙΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΟC-ΑΤΤΟΥ-ΔΕΩΝ. Kybele dressed with long chiton and modius, standing, facing, flanked with a lion, on whose heads she placed her hands.

Magistrate: Menippos, ‘son of the city’.

1. BMC 27. 15.94g, 29.2mm (Inv. no. 182.1203.20) = RPC III 2256.1 / 2. BNF 369.28 (8522199z). 15.21g, 30,7 mm. = ex Waddington 2266 = RPC III 2256.2.

**REIGN OF TRAIANUS****TYPE B13**

Obv: IEPA C[ . Youthful head of Senate, r., laureate.

Rev: ΔΙΑ Μ ΑΙΛΙΟC ΜΕΝΙ[ΠΠΙΟΥ]-ΑΤΤΟΥ-ΔΕΩΝ. Hygieia standing, facing, head l., feeding a serpent from patera.

Not on RPC. Magistrate: M. Ailios Meni(ppos).

1. SNG Leypold 818. 6.8g, 22mm, 6h.

#### **TYPE B14**

Obv: ΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ. Turreted head of Tyche, r.; dotted border.

Rev: ΔΙΑ Μ ΑΙΛΙ- [ΜΕΝΙΠΠΟΥ]. Dionysos, standing, l., holding cantharus and resting on thyrsus; panther by his feet; dotted border.

Magistrate: M. Aili(os) [Menippos].

1. BMC 7. 8.45g, 24.7mm, 6h (Inv. no. 1858.1124.69) = RPC III 2260.

#### **HADRIANUS (117-138)**

##### **TYPE B15**

Obv: ΑΥ Κ ΑΙ ΤΡΑΙ-ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC CE. Laureate bust, with cuirass.

Rev: ΔΙΑ Μ ΑΙΛΙΟΥ-ΜΕΝΙΠΠΟΥ-ΑΤΤΟΥ-ΔΕΩΝ. Kybele, dressed with long chiton and modius, standing, facing, flanked with lions on whose heads she placed her hands.

Magistrate: M. Ailios Menippos.

1. RPC III 2257. 16.88g, 32mm, 6h = BM Inv. No. 1902-10-2-7.

#### **HADRIANUS and SABINA**

##### **TYPE B16**

Obv: ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC-ΚΑΙCΑΡ-CEΒΑCΤΗ-CΑΒΕΙΝΑ. Busts of Hadrian and Sabina, facing each other.

Rev: ΔΙΑ [Μ ΑΙΛΙΟΥ] -ΜΕΝΙΠΠΟΥ / ΑΤ- [ΤΟΥ] -ΔΕ-ΩΝ. Zeus, naked, standing, holding patera in outstretched r. hand, l. arm resting on sceptre; eagle with head turned back by his feet.

Magistrate: [M. Ailios] Menippos.

1. BNF 369.29 (85222005). 11.51g, 27,4mm, 6h = RPC III 2258.



**SABINA****TYPE B17**

Obv: [CABEINA]-CEBACTH. Bust, r.

Rev: ΔΙΑ Μ ΑΙΛΙΟΥ–ΜΕΝΙΠΠΙΟΥ–ΑΤΤΟΥ–ΔΕΩΝ. Asklepios, standing, facing, resting on serpent sceptre with r. hand.

Magistrate: M. Ailios Menippos.

1. BNF 369.30 (8522201k). 9.74g, 27mm. = RPC III 2259 = ex Waddington 2267.

**FIRST HALF OF SECOND CENTURY AD****TYPE B18**

Obv: Head of Athena wearing Corinthian helmet, r.; spear in front.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟ–Υ–ΔΕΩΝ. Tyche, standing, holding rudder and cornucopia, dressed with modius.

1. SNG Cop 159. 3.65g, 19-20mm, 6h = RPC III 2261.3 / 2. BMC 2. 3.98g, 19mm (Inv. no. 1853.0512.119) = RPC III 2261.1 / 3. BNF 369.8 (85221796). 4.22g, 19mm. = RPC III 2261.2 / 4. Nomos Obolos 16 (11.10.2020) Lot 992. 18.5mm, 3,60g, 7h = RPC III 2261.4.

**ANTONINUS PIUS (138-161)****TYPE B19**

Obv: ΤΙΤΟC ΑΙΛΙΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ–ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC. Laureate bust, l.

Rev: Μ ΟΥΑ ΚΑΡΜΙΝΙΟC ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝΟC – ΥΙΟC ΠΟΛΕΩC ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ–ΑΝΕ–ΘΗΚ(Ε). Kybele with kalathos, facing, standing, between two lions.

Magistrate: M. (Oul.) Kar(minios) Klaudio(s), ‘son of the city’.

1. SNG von Aulock 2500. 37.48g, 38mm = RPC IV.2 853.4 (temp) / 2. RPC IV.2 853.3 (temp). 29.43g, 37.5mm, 6h = Vienna KHM GR 35801 / 3. Boston MFA 1973.608. 27.75g, 37.5mm, 12h / 4. BNF 369.32 (8554977k). 32.75g, 37mm = ex Waddington = RPC IV.2 853.2 (temp) / 5. RPC IV.2 853.5 (temp). 27.77g, 38mm = MMAG 41 (18.07.1970) 400 Pl. 22 / 6. RPC IV.2 853.1 (temp) (B Fox). 24.75g (missing mass), 36mm, 12h.

**TYPE B20A**

Obv: KAI T[I AI?] AΔPI EY CE-ANTΩNEINOC. Laureate bust, r.

Rev: ΔΙΑ Μ ΟΥΛ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΜΟΥ ΑΤΤΟΥΔΑ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΠ-  
ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ (Z reversed). Kybele with kalathos in the middle, standing, facing, her hands on  
the heads of lions flanking her; she is flanked by Tyche of Attouda (l.) and Trapezopolis (r.).

Magistrate: M. Oul. Klaudianos, ‘son of the Demos’.

1. BNF 369.31 (85222020). 27.43g, 36mm, 5h = RPC IV.2 854 (temp) = Imhoof-Blumer  
126,14 / 2. FR Künker eLA 32 (03.12.2014) Lot 63. 29.94g.

**TYPE B20B**

Obv: AVT K T AΙΑ AΔPIA ANTΩNEINOC. Laureate bust, r.

Rev: ΕΠΙ Μ ΙΟΥΛ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΩΣ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ-ΕΦΕΚΙΩΝ. In the centre,  
Kybele standing, facing, wearing kalathos, resting hands on two lions seated beside her;  
between the turreted Tychai of Attouda (on l.) and Trapezopolis (on r.), standing, facing each  
other, each raising arm and holding long sceptre.

Magistrate: M. Ioul. Grammatis/tikos.

1. Vatican Library. 21.70g, 33mm, 12h = RPC IV.2 854.2 (temp). Information from card  
index of Vienna University.

**REIGN OF ANTONINUS PIUS OR MARCUS AURELIUS****TYPE B21**

Obv: ΑΤΤΟΥ-ΔΕΩΝ. Head of Athena wearing Corinthian helmet, r.; spear in front.

Rev: ΔΙΑ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝΟΥ. Dioscuroi, standing, naked, holding spear and sword.

Magistrate: Klaudianos.

1. BM 1921.4.12.49. 3.92g, 19mm, 6h = Weber 6433 Pl. 227. = RPC IV.2 862.1 (temp) =  
Imhoof-Blumer 125,10 pl. IV.28 / 2. RPC IV.2 862.2 (temp). 3.67g, 19mm, 11h.

**TYPE B22**

Obv: ΔΗΜΟC ΑΤΤΟΥ-ΔΕΩΝ. Youthful head of Demos, laureate, r.; dotted border.

Rev: ΔΙΑ ΚΑ-ΑΥΔΙΑΝΟΥ. Bust of Men Karou wearing a Phrygian cap, crescent behind  
his shoulders, r.

Magistrate: Klaudianos. Martin Attouda 6. Lane Attouda 2.

1. RPC IV.2 861.1 (temp). 4.03 g, 20 mm, 12h. = Imhoof-Blumer 125,9 = Lane 2/1 / 2.  
RPC IV.2 861.2 (temp). 5.13 g, 21 mm, 6h. = Vienna KHM GR 19777 / 3. Athens (Lane 2/2).  
5.49g, 20mm.

### TYPE B23

Obv: [BOYΛH ATTOYΔEΩN?]. Veiled head of Boule, r.

Rev: ] KAP[MINIOY?] KΛAYΔIANOY. Cult statue of veiled goddess, standing, facing, wearing kalathos, hands outstretched.

Magistrate: M. Oul. Karminios Klaudianos. Martin Attouda 7.

1. RPC IV.2 6833 (temp). 9.84g, 23mm, 6h. = Afyon M Inv. no. 1679.

### TYPE B24

Obv: [B]OYΛH ΔEMOC. Below ATTOYΔE. On the left, veiled head of Boule, r.; opposite, youthful head of Demos, l.

Rev: ΔΙΑ ΚΛAYΔIANOY–YIOY ΠOΛEΩC. Enthroned Kybele, r., wearing a kalathos, resting her r. arm on tympanum; flanked with a lion on either side.

Magistrate: Klaudianos, ‘son of the city’. Martin Attouda 4.

1. SNG München 182. 14.93g, 33mm, 6h (Imhoof-Blumer 124,7) = RPC IV.2 859.1 (temp) / 2. RPC IV.2 859.2 (temp). 34 mm = (P) / 3. Mionnet IV 289. AE10 (35.2mm). R5.

### TYPE B25

Obv: [B]OYΛH ΔEMOC. Below ATTOYΔE. On the left, veiled head of Boule, r.; opposite, youthful head of Demos, l.

Rev: ΔΙΑ ΚΛAYΔIANOY–YIOY ΠOΛEΩC. Cult statue of veiled goddess wearing a kalathos (Artemis Anaitis?), standing, facing, arms outstretched.

Magistrate: Klaudianos, ‘son of the city’. Martin Attouda 5.

1. SNG München 183. 15.23g, 32 mm, 6h. (Imhoof-Blumer 124,8) = RPC IV.2 860.1 (temp).

**TYPE B26**

Obv: ΑΤ-ΤΟΥΔΑ. Turreted head of Tyche, l.

Rev: ΔΙΑ ΚΛΑΥ-ΔΙΑΝΟΥ. Nemesis dressed with long chiton, standing, l., r. arm bent, holding her chiton; l. hand holding harness; dotted border.

Magistrate: Klaudianos.

1. RPC IV.2 863.1 (temp). 1.69g, 15mm, 12h = Imhoof-Blumer 125,11 / 2. RPC IV.2 863.2 (temp) 2.79g, 15mm, 12h / 3. RPC IV.2 863.3 (temp). 2.60g, 16mm, 12h = C Leake 1321, Asiatic Greece p.31.1 / 4. Agora Auc. 71 (26.12.2017) Lot 152. 2.96g, 16mm, 1h.

**TYPE B27**

Obv: ΔΙΑ ΚΛΑΥ-ΔΙΑΝΟΥ. Bust of Sarapis, r.; dotted border.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ. Bust of Men wearing Phrygian headgear, r.; dotted border.

Magistrate: Klaudianos.

1. B. Peus Auc. 366 (29.10.2000) Lot 674. 6.85g, 23mm = Lindgren I, 624 = Hirsch Auc. 343 (23.09.2018) Lot 2211 = Ex Sammlung M. Burstein = Ex Sammlung R.P. = RPC IV.2 598.1 (temp).

**MARCUS AURELIUS and LUCIUS VERUS (161-169)****TYPE B28**

Obv: ΜΑ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC Κ ΟΥΗΡΟC ΑΥ ΚΑ ΑΡ ΠΑ ΜΗ. M. Aurelius and L. Verus, standing, hand-shaking.

Rev: ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΘΕΝΤΟC ΚΑΡΜ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝΟΥ- ΑΤ-ΤΟΥ-ΔΕ-ΩΝ. Kybele, standing, between lions.

Magistrate: Karm(inios) Klaudianos.

1. BNF 369.33 (85549780). 22.11g, 36mm, 6h = ex-Waddington = RPC IV.2 855.2 (temp) / 2. RPC IV.2 855.3 (temp) (B Löbb). 23.89g, 36mm, 12h / 3. RPC IV.2 855.1 (temp). 35mm. Coll. M. Lawson (=A. Engel, RN 1884, 29, no. 27).

**TYPE B29**

Obv: Μ Α ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC Κ ΟΥΗΡΟC ΑΥ(ΤΟ) ΚΑ(Ι) ΑΡ ΠΑ ΜΗ. M. Aurelius and L. Verus, standing, hand-shaking.

Rev: ΔΙΑ ΚΑΡΜΙΝΙΟΥ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ-ΟΥ-ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ. Kybele, standing, between lions.

Magistrate: Karminios Klaudianos, Asiarchos.

1. ANS 1971.230.38. 33.7g, 37mm, 6h = RPC IV.2 856.3 (temp) / 2. BNF 369.34 (8522203d). 22.86g, 36mm, 6h = ex Waddington = RPC IV.2 856.1 (temp) / 3. RPC IV.2 856.2 (temp). 23.32g, 37mm, 12h (= Bern Righetti 955) / 4. Leu Web Auc. 5 (23.09.2018) Lot 496. 29.22g, 35mm, 1h.

### **MARCUS AURELIUS (161-180)**

#### **TYPE B30**

Obv: .... Laureate bust, r.

Rev: ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧ [ΑΙΛΙ?] ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ-ΟΥ-ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ. Kybele with kalathos, standing, facing, her hands on the heads of lions.

1. BNF Y23435 (85222057). 27.42g.

### **COMMODUS (177-192)**

#### **TYPE B31**

Obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡΟ-ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΥ. Laureate bust with cuirass and paludamentum.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ. Kybele with kalathos, enthroned between two lions, holding patera in r. hand outstretched, l. hand resting on tympanum.

1. BMC 28. 12.43g, 28mm, 7h. Inv. no. 1858.0324.43 = RPC IV.2 858.1 (temp) / 2. BNF 369.35 (8522204t). 12.45g, 28mm, 6h = RPC IV.2 858 (temp) no. 2 = ex Waddington 2269.

### **REIGN OF COMMODUS OR SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS**

#### **TYPE B32**

Obv: ΙΕΡΑ-ΒΟΥΛΗ. Veiled head of Boule, r.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ. Dionysos, standing, l., holding thyrsus in left hand raised, holding kantharos in right hand outstretched.

Martin Attouda 8.

1. RPC IV.2 2082.1 (temp). 2.47g, 20 mm, 6h = BM 1899.7.3.74. bibl. A. Johnston,

*Aphrodisias*, 89 no. 17, pl. 18 / 2. RPC IV.2 2082.2 (temp). 3.13g, 18 mm, 6h = I-B / 3. RPC IV.2 2082.3 (temp). 4.18g, 20mm, 6h = V 33966 bibl. J. Hirsch 21 (16/11/1908), coll. Consul Weber, 3112.

## SECOND CENTURY – BEGINNING OF THIRD CENTURY AD

### TYPE B33A

Obv: ΔHMOC. Youthful head of Demos, laureate, r.; dotted border.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ–ΔΙΑ ΦΛΑΒΙΑ–C ΙΕΠΙΑC. Apollo, naked, standing, head l., holding a branch, resting left elbow on column; dotted border.

Magistrate: Flavius Iereus. Martin Attouda 9.

1. BMC 12. 7.1g, 24,1mm. Inv. no. 1839.1224.218. Obv: 2 countermarks (cmk) with head (Howgego 82a) / 2. Boston MFA 63.3028. 7.05g, 26mm, 6h. Obv: 3 cmks – two are a male head (Howgego 82a); the other an eagle (Howgego 325a).

### TYPE B33B

Obv: ΔHMOC. Youthful head of Demos, laureate, r.; dotted border.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟ–ΥΔΕΩΝ. Apollo, naked, standing, head l., holding a branch, resting left elbow on column; altar(?) by his feet; dotted border.

1. Uşak M Inv. no. 12717. 5.08g, 21.5mm, 6h. Obv. cmk – head (Howgego 82a).

### TYPE B34

Obv: ΔHMOC. Youthful head of Demos, laureate, r.; dotted border.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥ–ΔΕΩΝ. Dionysos, naked other than a himation, standing, facing, head l., holding a cantharus, resting on a thyrsus, panther by his feet; dotted border.

Martin Attouda 13 (a and b).

1. BMC 13. 7.12g, 25.4mm. Inv. no. 1844.0425.294 (Pl. X.14) / 2. BNF 369.19 (8522191n). 6.21g, 21mm. ex Waddington 2259. cmk Howgego 82a / 3. Harlan BBS 185 (09.07.2013) Lot 340. 8.01g, 23mm / 4. SNG Cop 164. 4.83g, 21-22mm, 6h. Obv: unclear cmk 82a? / 5. SNG von Aulock 2496. 6.82g, 23-24mm / 6. Pecunem Auc. 31 (03.05.2015) Lot 359. 5.61g, 22mm. Obv: cmk - Howgego 82a = Gitbud & Naumann 1392 / 7. SNG Anamur 15. 5.3g, 22mm, 12h. Inv. no. 6.61.2004. cmk - Howgego 82a. 2 ea. / 8. Berlin 18216518. 6.83g, 24mm / 9. Tripolis Excavation Inv. no. TR.13.MB.S.36. (221). 8.28g, 24mm, 6h. Obv. cmk - Howgego 82a.

**TYPE B35A**

Obv: ΔHM–OC. Youthful head of Demos, laureate, r.; dotted border.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ. Large altar of Men, topped with three pine cones flanking two column-shaped altars in between; dotted border.

Martin Attouda 12b.

1. BMC 17. 4.63g, 16,5mm. Inv. no. 1844.0425.145 / 2. BNF 1966.453 (10312683d). 3.71g. ex Delepierre / 3. SNG München 186. 4.52g, 18-19mm, 8h / 4. SNG München 187. 3.81g, 17mm, 8h / 5. Weber 6434. 2.46g, 18mm. (Martin 12c!) / 6. SNG Ödemiş 445 (Inv. no. 8630). 4.85g, 20mm / 7. Berlin 18216517 (I-B). 4.28g, 17mm.

**TYPE B35B**

Obv: ΔHMOC. Youthful head of Demos, laureate, r.; dotted border.

Rev: Α–ΤΤΟ–Υ–ΔΕΩΝ. Large garlanded altar of Men, topped with three pine cones flanking two small altars ablaze in between; dotted border.

Martin Attouda 12a.

1. SNG Cop 163. 4.57g, 21mm, 6h / 2. BMC 16. 4.85g, 21,6mm. Inv. no. 1851.0503.266 / 3. SNG von Aulock 2498. 3.32g, 20.5-19mm / 4. Weber 6435. 4.86g, 18mm / 5. ANS 1953.171.803. 3.86g, 6h. cmk - Howgego 82a / 6. ANS 1944.100.47736. 5.36g, 6h. cmk - Howgego 82a / 7. BNF 369.3 (85221744). 6.86g, cmk - Howgego 82a / 8. BNF 369.2 (8522173q). 5.61g. cmk - Howgego 82a / 9. Denizli M. Inv. no. 22753. 5.17g, 21mm, 6h. cmk - Howgego 82a / 10. MacDonald, 1976. 350. 3.50g, 18mm / 11. Mionnet IV 283. AE5 (21.2mm). R4 / 12. Mionnet IV 284. AE5 (21.2mm). R4. unknown cmk.

**TYPE B36**

Obv: ΔHMOC. Youthful head of Demos, laureate, r.; dotted border.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥ–ΔΕΩΝ. Leto, dressed with a long chiton and flying peplos, carrying her children and running left.

Martin Attouda 14.

1. BMC 14. 7.36g, 24.1mm. Inv. no. 1858.1124.70. Obv: two cmk: 1- Howgego 82a, 2-CAP B. Howgego 559 / 2. ANS 1971.230.37. 8.85g, 12h. cmk - Howgego 82a / 3. BNF 369.4 (8522175j). 7.49g. cmk - Howgego 82a / 4. Harlan BBS 192 (09.10.2014) Lot 310. 8.89g, 23mm / 5. Denizli M. Inv. no. 20152. 7.60g, 24mm, 6h. cmk - Howgego 82a / 6. Mionnet IV 285. AE6 (23.7mm). R4.

### TYPE B37

Obv: Radiate bust (Helios?), r.

Rev: ATTO–YΔEΩN. Dionysos, standing, l.

1. Aphrodisias M. 5100. 3.19g, 17.5mm, 7h / 2. Imhoof-Blumer 125,12. 3.95g, 20mm.

### TYPE B38

Obv: BOY–ΛH. Laureate head of Boule, r.

Rev: ATTOY–ΔEΩN. Men, standing, l., holding patera(?) and staff.

Martin Attouda 11. Lane Attouda 3.

1. BNF 369.6 (85222177c). 6.87g / 2. SNG Fitzwilliam 4686. 5.99g, 21mm, 6h / 3. Berlin (Lane 3). 7.00g / 4. Mionnet IV 288. AE5.5 (22.5mm). R4.

### TYPE B39A

Obv: IEPA–BOYΛH. Veiled head of Boule, r.

Rev: ATTOY–ΔEΩN. Tree, flamed altar to the right.

Martin Attouda 16a.

1. SNG Cop 165. 7.16g, 20.5mm, 12h / 2. BMC 24. 4.87g, 20.3mm. Inv. no. 1885.0606.287 / 3. BMC 25. 7.13g, 21.6mm. Inv. no. 1844.0425.574 (Pl. X.17) / 4. BMC 26. 5.48g, 21.6mm. Inv. no. 1889.0604.30. Obv: cmk. B (Howgego 765d type ii within circular incuse) / 5. SNG Tübingen 3367. 4.68g, 20mm, 6h / 6. Weber 6437. 5.25g, 19mm / 7. Boston MFA 63.2994. 4.91g, 24mm, 12h / 8. MMD Auc. 13 (09.10.2003) Lot 409. 8.71g, 25mm / 9. BNF 369.10 (85221818). 6.93g / 10. BNF 369.11 (8522182p). 7.56g / 11. BNF 369.20 (85221922). 4.32g / 12. Naumann Auc. 61 (7 Jan. 2018) Lot 453. 9.24g, 23mm / 13. Coll. Mika Merviö. 5.02g, 20.9mm. ex Rohde (Martin 2013) / 14. Egger Auc. 46 (1914). 20mm. ex Th. Prowe 56 no. 1184 Taf. 19 (Martin).

### TYPE B39B

Obv: BOY–ΛH IEPA. Veiled head of Boule, r.

Rev: ATTOY–ΔEΩN. Tree, flamed altar to the right.

Martin Attouda 16b.



1. Winterthur 3343. 5.43g, 21.7mm, 12h / 2. CNG E. Auc. 227 (10.02.2010) Lot 320. 4.96g, 20mm, 12h. Obv: cmk – B within oval incuse = Howgego 765d / 3. ANS 1944.100.47737. 5.03g, 12h / 4. Naumann Auc. 61 (7 Jan. 2018) Lot 339. 5.02g, 19mm / 5. Tatiş Coll. 2444. 5.03g, 20-21mm, 12h / 6. Denizli M. Inv. no. 13515. 21mm, 6.70g, 12h.

#### TYPE B40

Obv: IEPA BOYΛH. Veiled head of Boule, r.

Rev: ATTOYΔEΩN. Nemesis, dressed with a long chiton, standing, l., r. arm bent holding the collar of her chiton, l. arm holding bridle?

Martin Attouda 10.

1. BMC 23. 3.52g, 19mm. Inv. no. BNK,G.764 / 2. Aphrodisias M. Inv. no. 83/33/2910. 3.39g, 18mm, 6h.

#### TYPE B41

Obv: ΘEON CYN–KAHTON. Draped head of Senate, r.

Rev: EΠI ΣTEΦ TPYΦ–[...]ON ATTOYΔE–ΩN. Apollo, facing, standing, naked, holding arrow and bow.

Magistrate: Steph. Tryph[ ]on.

1. SNG München 184. 10.20g, 25mm, 6h / 2. RPC IV.2 11833.1 (temp.). 7.65g, 24.6mm, 12h. = Oxford Ashmolean.

### SECOND/THIRD CENTURY AD

#### TYPE B42

Obv: MHN–KAPOY. Bust of Men wearing Phrygian headgear, r.; crescent behind his shoulders.

Rev: ATTOYΔEΩN. Great garlanded altar of Men with three pine cones and two small flamed altars in between on its top.

Lane Attouda 1.

1. SNG von Aulock 2499. 5.44g, 21mm / 2. SNG Cop 162. 5.19g, 22mm, 6h / 3. SNG München 185. 4.07g, 21-22mm, 6h / 4. BMC 18. 4.56g, 23mm. Inv. no. 1840.1226.191. Obv: cmk. head – Howgego 82a. (Pl. X.15) / 5. BMC 19. 5.91g, 21.6mm. Inv. no. 1839.1224.219 / 6. Naumann Auc. 49 (08.01.2017) Lot 464. 5.87g, 22mm / 7. UBS Auc. 59 (27.01.2004) Lot

5696. 5.30g, 22mm / 8. BNF 369.14 (8522185x). 5.83g. ex Waddington / 9. SNG Ödemiş 446 (Inv. no. 1547). 7.12g, 22mm, 6h. Obv: cmk. head – Howgego 82a / 10. Hirsch Auc. 343 (23.09.2018) Lot 2210. 22mm. = Ex Sammlung R.P. = Ex GM 97, 1999, Los Nr. 772 / 11. Denizli M. Inv. no. 15159. 23mm, 6.28g, 6h / 12. Naumann Auc. 75 (3.3.2019) Lot 519. 6.11g, 22mm / 13. Aphrodisias M. Inv. no. 82/8/2273. 5.29g, 20.5mm, 6h / 14. Aphrodisias M. Inv. no. 5366. 5.81g, 22mm, 6h / 15. Aphrodisias M. Inv. no. 5399. 6.01g, 22.5mm, 6h / 16. Aphrodisias M. Inv. no. 5427. 5.52g, 21mm, 6h / 17. Uşak M. Inv. no. 12373. 5.60g, 22.5mm, 6h / 18. Laumonier 1958 Pl. no. 15 (Lane) / 19. Istanbul (Lane). 6.52g / 20. Drexler (Lane) / 21. Roscher (Lane). Pl. 5a no.4 / 22. Mionnet IV 282. AE6 (23.7mm). R5.

### TYPE B43

Obv: ΔHMOC. Youthful head of Demos, r.; dotted border.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ. Rider god, r., holding a labrys over his shoulder.

Martin Attouda 15.

1. BMC 15. 7.61g, 23mm. Inv. no. 1844.0425.576. Obv: cmk: Γ = Howgego 774i. unillustrated

### TYPE B44

Obv: Bust, r. (Demos? Asklepios?)

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ. Dionysos, standing, facing, head l.; leaning on thyrsus, holding kantharos in r. hand; panther by his feet.

1. BNF 1966.453 (10312682z). 4.26g. ex Delepierre. Obv: cmk - Howgego82a / 2. Mionnet IV 286. AE5 (21.2mm). R5.

### TYPE B45

Obv: Bust of Sarapis with kalathos and taenia, r.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ. Eagle, standing l., wings closed, holding wreath in claws.

1. Imhoof-Blumer 126,13. 2.36g, 17mm. unillustrated

### SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (193-211)

#### TYPE B46

Obv: ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Α ΚΕΠΙ-ΚΕΥΗΡΟC. Laureate bust with cuirass and paludamentum.

Rev: [...] ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕ–ΩΝ. Kybele standing between two lions within a tetrastyle temple façade.

Magistrate unknown.

1. B. Peus Auc. 366 (29.10.2000) Lot 673. 17.53g = Ex Sammlung M. Burstein = Ex Sammlung R.P. = G. Hirsch N. Auc. 343 (26.09.2018) Lot 2675.

#### **TYPE B47**

Obv: ΑΥ ΚΑΙ ΛΟ–Υ CEΠ CEYHPOC. Laureate bust with cuirass and paludamentum.

Rev: [see legend below]. Kybele, standing, between lions.

Magistrate: Kl. Flavius Arri. Iereus

1. BMC 30. 24.86g, 35,6mm. Inv.no. 1883.0514.17 (Pl. XI.2). Rev: ΔΙΑ ΚΛ ΦΛΑΒΙ–ΑC APPI IEPEIAC. ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ.

Magistrate: Arch. S. Ps. Thik. Oul.

2. Hess-Divo Auc. 307 (07.06.2007) Lot 1394. 26.05g, 37mm. Rev: ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧ CΥ ΘΙΚ Ο–ΥΛ ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ

Magistrate: Gram. Glykonos Philo-.

3. ANS 1971.230.39. 24.16g, 35mm, 12h. Rev: ΕΠΙ ΓΡΑΜ ΓΛΥΚΟ–ΝΟC ΦΙΛΟ... ΑΤ–ΤΟΥ–ΔΕ–ΩΝ/ 4. BNF 369.37 (8522206n). 25.61g, 35mm. Rev: ΕΠΙ ΓΡΑΜ ΓΛΥΚΟ–ΝΟC ΦΙΛΟ... ΑΤ–ΤΟΥ–ΔΕ–ΩΝ.

#### **REIGN OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS**

#### **TYPE B48**

Obv: ΑΤΤΟΥ–ΔΑ. Turreted head of Tyche, r.; dotted border.

Rev: ΔΙΑ ΦΛΑΒΙ–ΑC ΙΕΡΙΑC. Cult statue of veiled goddess, dressed with long chiton, ribbons hanging down from arms.

Magistrate: Flavius Hierius

1. BMC 10. 6.24g, 21.6mm. Inv.no. TC,p195.1.Att (Pl. X.13) / 2. BMC 11. 4.76g, 19mm / 3. SNG von Aulock 2497. 5.23g, 22-21mm / 4. Winterthur 3339. 5.25g, 22.2mm / 5. ANS 1944.100.47738. 5.16g, 12h / 6. BNF 369.15 (8522186b). 4.69g. ex Waddington.

### TYPE B49

Obv: IEPA-CYNKAHTOC. Youthful head of Senate, r., laureate.

Rev: ATTO-Y-ΔEΩN. Zeus, standing, naked, r., throwing thunderbolt with r. hand, holding eagle with outstretched l. hand.

1. SNG Cop 167. 5.85g, 24 mm, 6h / 2. BMC 20. 5.59g, 24.1mm. Inv. no. 1892.0611.52. (Pl. X.16) / 3. BMC 21. 7.89g, 24.1mm. Inv. no. 1839.0919.488 / 4. CNG E. Auc. 195 (10.09.2008) Lot 150. 5.88 g, 23mm, 6h. Obv: cmk – Howgego 82a / 5. Manisa M. Inv. no. 18047. 5.24g, 23mm, 6h. cmk – Howgego 82a / 6. Aphrodisias M. Inv. no. 4889. 6.27g, 22.5mm, 6h. cmk – Howgego 82a. Obv: IEPA CY-NKAHTOC / 7. Mionnet IV 291. AE6 (23.7mm). R4.

### TYPE B50

Obv: IEPA-CYNKAHTOC. Youthful head of Senate, r. laureate.

Rev: ATTO-YΔEΩN. Hygieia and Asklepios standing opposite each other; Hygieia feeding serpent from patera; Asklepios holding his serpent sceptre; dotted border.

1. BMC 22. 5.86g, 24.1mm. Inv. no. 1840.1226.190 / 2. SNG Cop 166. 8.41g, 24-25mm, 6h / 3. BNF 369.22 (8522194w). 9.78g, ex Waddington / 4. Fitzwilliam CM.LS.1648-R. 9.79g, 25mm, 6h / 5. Weber 6436. 7.16g, 24mm / 6. Winterthur 3342. 9.41g, 25.5mm, 5h / 7. ANS 1944.100.47735. 8.74g, 26 mm, 12h. cmk B - Howgego 767 and cmk – Howgego 82a / 8. SNG Leypold 817. 6.75g, 23mm, 12h. Obv: cmk – Howgego 82a. Rev: Telesphoros between the two figures / 9. Denizli M. Inv. no. 18831. 9.85g, 25mm, 6h / 10. Mionnet IV 290. AE5 (21.2mm). R5.

## EARLY THIRD CENTURY AD

### TYPE B51

Obv: IEPA-CYNKAHTOC. Youthful head of Senate, r., with taenia.

Rev: OY K KAAΥΔΙΑ-NH ANEΘH-ATTOY-ΔEΩN. Aphrodite, standing, dressed with chiton and himation, holding an apple in raised r. hand.

Magistrate: Ou. K. Klaudiane.

1. Winterthur 3341. 8.04g, 24.4mm, 7h. cmk – Howgego 82a.

**TYPE B52**

Obv: EPA-CYNKΛHTOC. Youthful head of Senate with taenia, r.

Rev: [OY K] ΚΛΑΥΔΙ-ΑΝΗ ΑΝΕΘΗ-ΑΤΤΟ-ΥΔΕΩΝ. Apollo, naked, standing, facing, head l.; resting on a column, holding a cantharus in l. hand.

Magistrate: (Ou. K.) Klaudiane.

1. BNF 369.21 (8522193g). 7.68g. ex Waddington. Obv: cmk - Howgego 82a.

**TYPE B53**

Obv: ΘΕΟΝ CYN-ΚΛΗΤΟΝ. Draped, youthful head of Senate, r.

Rev: ΕΠΙ CΤΕΦ ΟΥΛΠΙ-[Α]C ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝΗC-ΑΤΤΟΥ-ΔΕΩΝ. Aphrodite, turned l., holding an apple in r. hand, dressed with chiton and himation.

Magistrate: Steph. Oulpia Klaudiane

1. Winterthur 3340. 9.41g, 25.7mm, 7h.

**SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS and CARACALLA (198-211?)****TYPE B54**

Obv: ΑΥ ΚΑΙ ΛΟ-Υ CΕΠ CΕΥΗΡΟC ΠΕΡ. Laureate bust with cuirass and paludamentum.

Rev: ΑΥΤΟΚ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤ.... -ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕ[ΩΝ]. Caracalla riding a running horse, r.; under the horse two enemies kneeling.

1. BMC 31. 28.01g, 36.8mm. Inv.no. HPB,p142.3.B unillustrated

**SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS – CARACALLA – GETA (209-211?)****TYPE B55**

Obv: ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Λ CΕΥΗΡΟC ΠΕ(P) ΑΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΟΝΕΙΝΟC Λ CΕΠ ΓΕΤΑC ΚΑΙ. Laureate bust of Septimius Severus in the middle, wearing cuirass and paludamentum; Caracalla on the l., Geta, on the r., – crown princes are dressed with cuirass and paludamentum but are not laureate.

Rev: ΕΠΙΜΕ ΡΟΥΦΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΔ ΑΝΤΩΝΙ ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ. Kybele standing, flanked with a lion, within a tetrastyle temple; her hands on the heads of the lions.

Magistrate: Rufus Polyd. Antoni(us)

1. BMC 29. 36.07g, 42mm. Inv. no. 1892.0605.1. epime = ?epimelethentes. (Pl. XI.1)

**SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS and JULIA DOMNA**

**TYPE B56**

Obv: ΑΥΤ Κ Λ ΣΕΠΤ ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΠΕΡ ΙΟΥΛ ΔΟΜΝΑ ΣΕΒΑC. Laureate bust of S. Severus with cuirass and paludamentum facing the bust of Julia Domna.

Rev: Μ ΟΥ ΚΑΡ ΚΛΑΥΔ-ΙΑΝΟC ΑCΙΑ[Ρ]Χ ΑΝ (sic)-ΑΤ-ΤΟΥ-ΔΕ-ΩΝ. Kybele standing, flanked with a lion.

Magistrate: (M. Ou.) Kar. Klaudianos, Asiarchos.

1. BM 1979.0101.1862. 24.75g, 35mm = SNG von Aulock 2501 / 2. GMGM Auc. 244 (06.03.2017) Lot 411. 27.39g / 3. GMGM Auc. 233 (06.10.2015) Lot 1957. 25.95g.

**JULIA DOMNA (193-217)**

**TYPE B57**

Obv: ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟ-ΜΝΑ ΣΕΒ. Bust of Julia Domna, r.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥ-ΔΕΩΝ. Asklepios, standing, facing, head l., holding serpent scepter; Telesphoros by him.

1. BMC 32. 10.09g, 29.2mm. Inv. no. 1869.0703.36. unillustrated.

**TYPE B58**

Obv: ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟ-ΜΝΑ ΣΕΒ. Bust of Julia Domna, r.

Rev: ΟΥΚ ΠΡΟΚΛΑ-[...]ΑΤ-ΤΟΥ-ΔΕΩΝ. Dionysos, standing, facing, head l.; chlamys falling down from his raised left arm, resting on sceptre; holding cantharus in outstretched r. hand.

Magistrate: Ou. K. Prokla ...

1. BNF 369.39 (8522208g). 15.45g, 25mm.

**TYPE B59**

Obv: ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟ-ΜΝΑ ΣΕΒ. Bust of Julia Domna, r.

Rev: [...ΤΩΔ]ΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ. Demeter, standing, facing, head l.; chlamys falling down from her raised l. arm; holding an object in outstretched r. hand.

Two magistrate names: 1: ...t/kodianos. 2. Kl. Flavius Arri. Hiereus

1. BNF 369.38 (85222072). 10.23g, 25mm. [...ΤΩΔ]Ι-Α-ΝΟΥ ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ / 2. Mionnet IV 292. AE9 (31.8mm). R5. [...ΤΩΚ]ΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ / 3. Mionnet IV 293. AE9 (31.8mm). R5. ΔΙΑ ΚΛ ΦΛΑΒΙΑC ΑΠΠΙ ΙΕΡΕΙΑC.

#### **TYPE B60**

Obv: ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟ-ΜΝΑ CEBACT. Bust of Julia Domna, r.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥ-ΔΕΩΝ. Heracles, standing, facing, holding club and lion skin.

1. BM Inv. no. 1979.0101.1863. 14.92g, 28-29mm = SNG von Aulock 2502.

#### **TYPE B61**

Obv: ΙΟΥΛΙΑ [CEBACT]. Bust of Julia Domna, r.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥ-ΔΕΩΝ. Tyche, standing, facing, holding rudder and cornucopia.

1. SNG von AulockN 8073. 4.06g. 19-17mm / 2. BNF 369.40 (8522209w). 3.95g / 3. Tripolis Excavations Inv. no. TR.13.KA.S.1503 (1118). 3.90g, 19mm, 12h.

#### **TYPE B62**

Obv: ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟ-ΜΝΑ CEBACT. Bust of Julia Domna, r.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥ-ΔΕΩΝ. Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia, between deer, moon and star.

1. SNG von Aulock 2503. 15.44g, 28-29mm

#### **TYPE B63**

Obv: ΙΟΥΛ[ΙΑ]-CEBAC[T]H. Bust of Julia Domna, r.

Rev: ΑΤΤ-ΟΥ-ΔΕΩΝ. Dioscuroi, wearing boots, cuirass and spear, side by side with a flamed altar in between.

1. Winterthur 3344. 3.93g, 20.2mm, 7h = Mionnet IV 294. AE5 (21.2mm). R5.

#### **TYPE B64**

Obv: [ΙΟΥΛ]ΙΑ ΔΟ-ΜΝΑ [CEBACTH]. Bust of Julia Domna, r.

Rev: ATT–OY–ΔEΩN. Hygieia and Asklepios standing opposite each other; Hygieia feeding serpent from patera; Asklepios holding his serpent sceptre.

1. Denizli M. Inv. no. 9546. 30mm, 14.64g, 6h.

### **CARACALLA (198-217)**

#### **TYPE B65A**

Obv: AY KAI M–AY ANTΩNIN. Laureate bust of Caracalla.

Rev: (M OY KAP) ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝΟC ACIAPX ANEΘ / ATTOYΔE–ΩN. Caracalla riding on horse, r., hurling his spear onto two Parthians.

Magistrate: (M. Ou. Kar.) Klaudianos, Asiarchos.

1. Boston MFA 1998.540. 54.96 g, 41 mm, 6h = SNG von Aulock 2505. 55.04g, 40mm / 2. Roma E-Sale 27 (28.05.2016) Lot 296. 44.81g, 42mm, 12h / 3. Hirsch Auc. 309 (07.05.2015) Lot 571. 43mm. Youthful depiction of Caracalla, attributed to his joint rule with his father / 4. Mz. Rheinland Auc. 186 (17.10.2018) Lot 166. 47.2g, 41mm.

It is noted that there are well made fake copies of this type. It seems that no.1 here is genuine and others are fakes ([https://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/caracalla/\\_attuda\\_SNGvA\\_2505.txt](https://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/caracalla/_attuda_SNGvA_2505.txt))

#### **TYPE B65B**

Obv: AYTOK KAI M–AY ANTΩNEINOC. Laureate bust of Caracalla.

Rev: AYTOK K–AI AN–TΩNEIN–ATTOYΔE–ΩN. Caracalla riding on horse, r., hurling his spear onto two Parthians.

1. BM Inv. no. 1979.0101.1864. 22.28g = ex SNG von Aulock 2504. 22.31g, 36-37mm / 2. FR Künker Auc. 193 (26.09.2011) Lot 866. 25.79g = GMGM Auc. 265 (14.10.2019) Lot 1003 / 3. BNF 1966.453 (10312684v). 19.90g = ex Delepierre.

#### **TYPE B65C**

Obv: AYTOK KAI M–AY ANTΩNEINOC. Laureate bust of Caracalla.

Rev: ATO–Y–Δ–EΩN (*sic*). Caracalla riding on horse, r., hurling his spear onto two Parthians.

1. ANS 1971.230.40. 22.06g, 36mm, 6h.



**TYPE B66**

Obv: AY KAI M AYPH ANTΩ(NEINOC). Laureate bust of Caracalla.

Rev: EΠI.... Kybele, standing, between two lions.

Magistrate unknown.

1. BM 1979.0101.1865. 45.92g, 36-37mm = SNG von Aulock 2506 / 2. Mionnet IV 295. AE 10.5 (36.5mm). R.4.

**TYPE B67**

Obv: ... Bust of Caracalla, r.

Rev: ... ATTOYΔEΩN. Zeus, seated, holding patera and sceptre.

1. Mionnet IV 296. AE7 (26.6mm). R5. Unillustrated.

**CARACALLA and PLAUTILLA****TYPE B68**

Obv: AYTO... Laureate bust of Caracalla, r.; bust of Plautilla, l.

Rev: ATTOY-ΔEΩN. Asklepios, standing, l.; on the right Telesphoros.

1. Fitzwilliam CM.LS.1649-R. 12.42g, 28.75mm, 12h. Obv: cmk: bust of Elagabalus. - Howgego 82a

**TYPE B69**

Obv: AYT KAI ANTΩ[.] ΠΛAYTIA[...] Laureate bust of Caracalla, r.; bust of Plautilla, l.

Rev: ATTOYΔEΩN.. Heracles, standing, resting on his club.

1. Leu Web Auc. 6 (28.09.2018) Lot 562. 13.20g, 28mm, 1h. Obv: cmk – laureate head -Howgego 82a.

**GETA (209-211)****TYPE B70**

Obv: ΠO ΣEΠIT ΓETAΣ KEΣA (sic). Bust of Geta, r.

Rev: (OY) K KΛAYΔIANH ANEΘH ATTOYΔEΩN. Aphrodite, standing, holding an apple and her chiton.

Magistrate: (Ou.) K. Klaudiane.

1. SNG Cop 168. 8.12g. 23-24mm, 6h / 2. BNF 369.41 (8522210j). 8.45g.

**TYPE B71**

Obv: ... Bust of Geta, r.

Rev: ...ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ.. Kybele, standing, between two lions, within a tetrastyle temple façade with arched entablature.

1. BNF 369.42 (8522211z). 30.06g. cmk – prow?

**TYPE B72**

Obv: ... Bust of Geta, r.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ. Tyche standing with attributes.

1. Mionnet IV 297. AE4 (18.1mm). R5. Unillustrated.

**DIADUMENIANUS (Caesar 217-218)**

**TYPE B73**

Obv: Μ Α Ν Δ Ι Α Δ Ο Υ Μ Ε Ν Ι Α Ν Ο C. Bust with cuirass, r.

Rev: Α Τ Τ Ο Υ – Δ – Ε Ω Ν. Kybele enthroned, l., holding a patera and resting her arm on tympanum; between two lions.

1. Naumann Auc. 55 (02.07.2017) 514. 13.22g, 29 mm. Obv: cmk – bust within oval incuse, r -Howgego 82a.

**SEVERUS ALEXANDER (222-235)**

**TYPE B74**

Obv: Α Υ Τ Κ Μ Α Υ Ρ C Ε Ο – Α Λ Ε Ξ Α Ν Δ Ρ Ο C. Laureate bust, r.

Rev: Α – Τ – Τ – Ο – Υ – Δ – Ε Ω Ν. Kybele, standing, between two lions, within a tetrastyle temple façade with arched entablature.

Big unit: 1. MMD Auc. 11 (07.11.2002) Lot 82. 24.82g, 40 mm. = RPC VI 5341 (temp) no.2

Small unit: 2. CNG MBS 69 (08.06.2005) Lot 1014. 17.25g, 32 mm, 6h. = RPC VI 5341 (temp) no.1

**GORDIANUS III (238-244)****TYPE B75**

Obv: A K MA-ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝ[OC?]. Radiate bust with cuirass, r.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥ-ΔΕΩΝ. Tyche, standing, l., holding rudder and cornucopia.

1. RPC VII.1 638. 7.92g, 25.3mm, 8h = B 363/1910.

**TYPE B76**

Obv: A K MA-ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC. Radiate bust with cuirass, r.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥ-ΔΕΩΝ. Kybele, standing, facing, between two lions (head l.).

1. RPC VII.1 638A. 5.27g, 21mm = Munthandel G Henzen, online list 52121 (July 2020).

**FIRST HALF OF THIRD CENTURY AD****TYPE B77**

Obv: ΙΕΡΑ-ΚΥΝΚΛΗ-ΤΟC. Youthful head of Senate, r. laureate.

Rev: ΑΤ-Τ-Ο-ΥΔ-ΕΩΝ. Kybele, standing, flanked with a lion; within a tetrastyle temple façade with arched entablature.

1. SNG München 188. 24.04g, 33mm, 6h / 2. BNF 369.24 (8522196q). 17.78g. ex Waddington.

**GALLIENUS (253-268)****TYPE B78**

Obv: ΑΥ Κ Π (Ο/Λ)-ΓΑΛΛΙΗΝΟ-c. Radiate bust, r.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥ-ΥΔΕΩΝ. Kybele standing, facing, between two lions.

1. SNG Cop 169. 13.76g, 6h. 30-31.5mm O / 2. SNG München 189. 14.44g, 6h. 30-32mm L / 3. BMC 33. 11.42g, 29.2mm. Inv. no. HPB,p142.2.B / 4. BMC 34. 7.88g, 30.5mm / 5. BM Inv. no. 1979.0101.1866. 10.10g. 30-31mm = ex SNG von Aulock 2507 / 6. CNG E. Auc. 249 (09.02.2011) Lot 251. 13.98g, 29mm, 5h / 7. GMGM Auc. 156 (05.03.2007) Lot 1771. 12.52g = GMGM Auc. 269 (9.3.2020) Lot 908 / 8. CNG E. Auc. 145 (09.08.2006) Lot 207. 10.59g, 30 mm / 9. ANS 1944.100.47739. 30mm, 11.07g, 6h / 10. BNF 369.45 (85222146). 12.69g = ex Waddington / 11. BNF 369.44 (8522213s). 13.05g / 12. Naumann

Auc. 78 (2.6.2019) Lot 627. 12.14g, 31mm / 13. Naumann Auc. 77 (5.5.2019) Lot 527. 10.92g, 31mm / 14. Naumann Auc. 83 (3.11.2019) Lot 503. 8.69g, 31mm.

### TYPE B79

Obv: AY KE-ΓΑΛΛΙΗΝο-c. Radiate bust, r.

Rev: ATTO-YΔEΩN. Tyche standing, l., holding rudder with globus and cornucopia(?).

Small unit: 1. SNG München 191. 9.53g, 24-23mm, 6h / 2. BNF M3146 (8522212c). 8.63g / 3. SNG München 192. 8.27g, 24-24.5mm, 12h / 4. BMC 36. 6.83g, 24mm. Inv. no. 1894.0505.45 / 5. Weber 6438. 8.36g, 25mm / 6. Naumann Auc. 49 (08.01.2017) Lot 463. 8.53g, 24mm / 7. Roma Auc. 4 (30.09.2012) Lot 2545. 7.36g, 25mm, 7h / 8. SNG München 190. 8.53g, 27.5-28.5mm, 8h: PO / 9. CNG E. Auc. 442 (17.4.2019) Lot 693. 10.45g, 26mm, 7h.

Big unit: 10. CNG E. Auc. 237 (21.07.2010) Lot 89. 15.20g, 31mm, 12h. ex-Coll. CR = MMD Auc. 13 (09.10.2003) Lot 410. 15.21g, 32mm = ex-Righetti / 11. ANS 1950.76.1. 17.63g, 33mm, 6h. Obv: PO

### TYPE B80

Obv: ΠΟΛΙ-ΓΑΛΛΙΗΝο-c. Radiate bust, r.

Rev: ATT-OYΔ-EΩN. Kybele, seated on lion, l., dressed with long chiton; sceptre on shoulder.

1. BMC 35. 12.82g, 29.2mm. Inv. no. 1844.0425.577 / 2. SNG Tübingen 3368. 11.81g, 30-31mm, 8h / 3. Pecunem Auc. 37 (01.11.2015) Lot 472. 15.97g, 30mm / 4. Mionnet IV 298. AE9 (31.8mm). R5. / 5. CNG E. Auc. 145 (09.08.2006) Lot 208. 15.37g, 27mm.

### TYPE B81

Obv: ΠΟΛΙ-ΓΑΛΛΙΗΝο-c. Radiate bust, r.

Rev: ATT-OYΔ-EΩN. Kybele, enthroned, l., dressed with long chiton; sceptre on shoulder.

1. BNF 369.46 (8522215m). 11.37g.

### SALONINA (253-268)

#### TYPE B82

Obv: IOY KOP-CAΛΩNINA. Bust, r.

Rev: A-TTOY-Δ-EQN. Large garlanded altar of Men; two small altars with flames between three pine cones on top.

1. SNG Cop 170. 9.42g, 25mm, 8h / 2. SNG UK Hunter 1916. 8.50g, 24mm, 12h / 3. BMC 39. 6.82g, 23mm. Inv. no. 1853.0512.206 / 4. BMC 40. 5.78g, 23mm. Inv. no. 1844.0425.575 / 5. Boston MFA 64.1373. 8.38g, 24mm, 12h = SNG von Aulock 2508. 8.41g. 23mm / 6. Weber 6439. 4.96g, 21mm. Pl. 227 / 7. Weber 6440. 6.35g, 22mm / 8. Winterthur 3345. 7.67g, 22.8mm, 8h. Obv: ...ΛΙΑ ΚΟΡ ΚΑΛΩΝ / 9. CNG E. Auc. 137 (12.04.2006) Lot 53. 5.44g, 20mm. Rev: dagger in exergue / 10. ANS 1944.100.47740. 8.71g, 24mm, 12h / 11. BNF 369.48 (8522217f). 6.48g / 12. Roma E-Sale 56 Lot 634. 6.67g, 22mm, 1h / 13. Aphrodisias M. 80/6/250. 6.54g, 22mm, 7h / 14. Aphrodisias M. 3410. 4.93g, 20.2mm, 6h.

### TYPE B83

Obv: ΚΟΡΝ ΚΑΛΩΝΙΝΑ. Bust, r., crescent behind shoulders.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ. Heracles, standing, facing, head l., resting r. hand on club, holding lion skin with l. hand.

1. BMC 37. 9.9g, 24.1mm. Inv. no. HPB,p.142.4.B / 2. BMC 38. 6.9g, 24.1mm. Inv. no. 1858.1124.71 / 3. BNF 369.47 (85222161). 9.22g = ex Waddington / 4. Tatış Coll. 2760. 7.59g, 25mm, 7h.

### TYPE B84

Obv: ... Bust of Salonina, r.

Rev: ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ. Zeus seated, holding patera and sceptre; eagle by his feet.

1. Mionnet IV 299. AE7 (26.6mm). R5. Unillustrated.

### SALONINUS VALERIANUS JUNIOR (258-260)

### TYPE B85

Obv: ... ΚΑ-ΛΩΝΙ[ΟC] ΟΥΑΛΕ-ΡΙΑΝΟC. Laureate bust with cuirass and paludamentum, r.

Rev: ΑΤΤ-ΟΥΔΕΩΝ. Athena, dressed with long chiton and aegis, standing, facing, resting r. hand on shield, holding spear in l. hand.

1. BMC 41. 12.66g, 28mm. Inv. no. 1841.B.3404. Unillustrated.

**TYPE B86**

Obv: ... CA-Λ-ΩNIOC OYAAEPIA-NOC. Laureate bust with cuirass and paludamentum, r.

Rev: ATT-OYΔEΩN. Demeter, veiled, standing, facing, head l., holding torch in r., and wheat in l. hand.

1. SNG Tübingen 3369. 12.21g, 30 mm, 6h.

**Commentary****Name of the City:**

Ramsay states that the name of the city was derived from Attis/Attes and that Attis and Men were deities of similar character. In this case the name Attoud(d)a means ‘the city of Attis’ (Ramsay, 1895, p.169 and n. 2; Laumonier, 1958, p.474). The autonomous coins of the Hellenistic period spell the name of the city as ATTOYΔΔA (Attoudda) with double delta -ΔΔ- (Types A1 to A4) but in later emissions a single delta -Δ- was used. It is not known exactly when the citizens dropped one of the two deltas in the name of their city but it should be in the very last years of the Hellenistic period or very beginning of Roman Imperial period for the earliest datable Roman coin with Augustus on the obverse (Type B03) spells the name with a single delta.

**Time Frame, Materials, Denominations, and Weight System:**

According to accessible extant and published coins, the city of Attouda started to mint her own coins in the second or first century BCE. Emissions of the Hellenistic period were struck in silver (only four specimens) and bronze (seven specimens). Attouda minted only one series in silver in the Late Hellenistic period and these four specimens with a mass varying between 3.44 and 3.68 g seem to be drachms in the Rhodian system; it is difficult to make any other comments regarding the weight system based only on four specimens, two of which have holes.

Bronze coins of the Hellenistic period seem to have various -perhaps only two- denominations with Type A2 (Hellenistic) (?12-13mm, ?10mm), A3 (12mm), and A4 (18-20mm).

During Roman rule, minting of bronze coinage continued with intervals until the reign of Gallienus (253-268) (more than 300 specimens in total). It was possible to identify a few issues with two units only: Types B74 (S. Alexander) (40mm, 32mm), B79 (Gallienus) (31-33mm, 23-26mm).

Based on data provided in RPC volumes (RPC I.1, p.35; RPC II.1, pp.24-25; RPC III.2, p.817-19, Tables 33-36; RPC VII.1, p.73; RPC IX.1, pp.45-47) the following may be proposed for the Roman period denominations:

Reign / period	40+ mm	35- 40mm	33- 38mm	28- 32mm	25- 28mm	20- 25mm	18- 22mm	16- 20mm	15- 17mm
Augustus (27 BC – AD 14)								17- 19mm 4.38g (5) B03	
1st c. AD – civic								16mm, 3.95g (1) B02	15mm, 2.56g (2) B01
Flavian period - civic							19- 22mm, 6.00g (13) B04	18- 20mm, 4.62g (5) B07	15- 17mm, 3,32g (9) B05, B06
Domitianus							20- 22mm, 6.37g (4) B08		
Reign of Domi- tianus - civic					25mm, 11.92g (1) B10	24mm, 7.06g (3) B11	19- 22mm, 5.06g (4) B09		
Traianus (98-117)				29- 31mm, 15.58g (2) B12					
Reign of Traia- nus or Hadria- nus - civic						24.7mm, 8.45g (1) B14	22mm, 6.8g (1) B13		
Hadrianus (117-138)				32mm, 16.88g (1) B15	27- 27.4mm 10.63g (2) B16, B17				

First half of 2nd c. AD - civic								19- 20mm, 3.86g (4) B18	
Antoninus Pius (138-161)			36- 38mm, 29.66g (8) B19, B20A	33mm, 21.7g (1) B20B					
Reign of Antoninus Pius or Marcus Au- relius - civic			33- 34mm, 14.93g (1) B24	32mm, 15.23g (1) B25		23mm, 8.35g (2) B23, B27	20- 21mm, 4.88g (3) B22	19mm, 3.80g (2) B21	15- 16mm, 2.51g (4) B26
Marcus Aure- lius - Lucius Verus - (161- 180)		??mm, 27.42g (1) B30	35- 37mm, 16.76g (6) B28, B29						
Commodus (177-192)					28mm, 12.44g (2) B31				
Reign of Commodus or Septimius Se- verus – civic								18- 20mm, 3.26g (3) B32	
2nd –3rd cen- tury – civic					24- 26mm, 8.12g (3) B33A, B41	19- 25mm, 6.88g (45) B33B, B34, B36, B39A, B42, B43	18- 22mm, 5.21g (20) B35B, B38, B39B, B44 (??mm)	16- 20mm, 3.73g (12) B35A, B37, B40, B45	



Severan period (193-217)	41- 43mm, 45.52g (2) B55, B65A	35- 37mm, 26.79g (11) B47, B54, B65B, B65C, B66, B71 (??mm)	35mm, 26.03g (3) B56	28- 30mm, 14.17g (6) B46 (??mm), B57, B60, B62, B64, B68	25- 28mm, 12.96g (3) B58, B59, B67 (??g), B69	23- 24mm, 8.29g (2) B70		17- 20mm, 3.96g (4) B61, B63, B72 (??g)	
Reign of Sep- timius Severus – civic					24- 26mm, 8.42g (9) B50	22.5- 24mm, 6.12g (6) B49	19- 22mm, 5.22g (6) B48		
Early 3rd cen- tury – civic					24- 26mm, 8.38g (3) B51, B52 (??mm), B53				
Diadumenianus				29mm, 13.22g (1) B73					
Severus Alexander	40mm, 24.82g (1) B74 (big)			32mm, 17.25g (1) B74 (small)					
Gordianus III					25mm, 7.92g (1) B75	21mm, 5.27g (1) B76			
Mid-3rd cen- tury – civic			33mm, 20.91g (2) B77						

Gallienus (253-268)				27- 32mm, 12.59g (22) B78, B80, B79 (big), B85, B86	25- 27mm, 11.37g (1) B81 (??mm), B84 (??g)	23- 26mm, 8.47g (13) B79 (small), B83	20- 25mm, 6.33g (14) B82		
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Neither Hellenistic nor Roman Imperial period bronze coins bear any denomination marks; therefore, it is difficult to comment on their values. Furthermore, it is not known when Attouda -and other cities in the vicinity- switched to the Roman *as* system. Yet, A2 may not necessarily have two units; it is necessary to refer to more specimens to reach clearer conclusions.

### Administrative Bodies:

On the coins, people's assembly Demos is personified as a youthful, or bearded male head; city council Boule is depicted as a veiled female head (Martin 2013); and Synkletos, which represented the joint assembly of people and city council on certain occasions during the Classical period but came to represent the Roman Senate in the Roman Imperial period as it became a cult, particularly in the eastern provinces (Kienast, 1985; Canciani, 1994; Forni, 1994), is depicted as a youthful male head. Thus, it can be safely stated that Attouda had a Boule (City Council) and a Demos (People's Assembly).

Demos coins were minted during the reigns of Domitianus – Traianus (Types B04 and 09) and Antonine – Severan period (Types B22, 33, 34, 35A-B, 36, 43, 44). The legend on the obverses is either *Demos* alone (Types B33, 34, 35A-B, 36, 43, 44) or *Demos Attoudeon* (Types B04, 09, 22).

Boule coins comprise six types attributed to the reign of Domitianus or Traianus (Type B11), to the reign of Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius (Type B23), to the reign of Commodus or Septimius Severus (Type B32) and to the Severan period (Types B38, 39, 40). The legend on the obverses is *Boule* only (Type B38), *Boule Attoudeon* (Types B11, 23) or *Hiera Boule* (Types B32, 39, 40).

Two emissions with Demos and Boule depicted together on the obverse (Types B24, 25) were minted by M. Oul. Karminios Klaudianos, the son of the city.

Coins with Synkletos representing the Roman Senate were minted during the reigns of Domitianus / Traianus / Hadrianus (Types B10, 12); and in the period from the last quarter of

the second century to the mid-third century (Types B41, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 77). Their obverse legends are either *Hiera Synkletos* (Types B10, 12, 49, 50, 51, 52, 77) or *Theon Synkletos* (Types B41, 53).

### **Homonoia Issues:**

Two specimens with the portrait of Antoninus Pius on the obverse (Type B20A) evince a *homonoia* agreement between Attouda and Trapezopolis. Homonoia were agreements between two or more cities on minor issues such as to settle small disputes, to conclude commercial alliance, and origin kinship between them<sup>3</sup>. The purpose or reason for the homonoia agreement between Attouda and Trapezopolis remains a mystery. The two specimens depict Kybele (Meter Adrastou) with two lions flanked with Tyche of Attouda on the left and of Trapezopolis on the right. Tyches raise one hand up, and hold a long sceptre with the other. This suggests that the cult of Meter Adrastou was the most important one for both cities as she is hailed by their Tyches.

A recently added coin on RPC online (RPC IV.2 854.2 from Vatican Library) features the same iconography but the legend on the reverse reads “Epi M. Ioul. Grammateos Homonoia Artemis Ephesion” (Type B20B). Editors of RPC state that the lettering is heavily tooled. There seems to be no mention of the name of Attouda on this coin. Could this coin be one of homonoia with Trapezopolis overstruck with new legend and dedicated to a hitherto unknown homonoia with Ephesus?

Head mentions alliance coins with Trapezopolis and Eumeneia (Head, 1887, p.559); however, the author could not locate any specimens in publications, and Franke and Nollé (1997, p. 16 no. 90, Tafel 10) list only one specimen, namely Imhoof-Blumer no. 14.

### **Magistrates:**

The names of the magistrates are given on the coins starting with ΔΙΑ. However, in the second century AD issues with ΕΙΠΙ formula start to appear – Types B20B, 41, 47, 53. Furthermore, some issues feature the term *epime-* (Type B55) and *epimelethentos* (Type B28).

Four specimens surviving from the only silver emission (A1) known from the city give us two magistrate names: Sopolis Charmides (K)Le- and Sopolis Andreas Nepos. The name Sopolis was corrected as Sosipolis by Head but not by Imhoof-Blumer. Checking on LGPN online, it is noted that both names were somewhat popular – Sopolis with 91 entries (only 25 from Asia Minor) and Sosipolis with 54 entries (only eight from Asia Minor) at the time of writing. One still wonders if this Sopolis, or Sosipolis, could be a title, or only a proper personal name.

3 For detailed study on *homonoia* see Dönmez-Öztürk, 2006. However, Dönmez-Öztürk does not make any comments on the *homonoia* between Attouda and Trapezopolis.

Imhoof-Blumer cites the name Protea(s) Pappi..(?) from an unillustrated coin (Type B02).

Later, on the coins struck in the reigns of Domitianus (Domitia), Traianus and Hadrianus (Sabina) are the names Menip(p)os, Menip(p)os Apol(l)oniou, M. Ailios Menippos, which are thought to be the same personage by the editors of RPC II (RPC II Part 1, p. 187) but different personages by Martin (2013, vol. II p. 66). However, starting simply with Menippos (B04, 05, 06, 07), it seems plausible to suggest that he was followed by a second Menippos, who needed to distinguish himself from the former by adding his patronymic Apolloniou -even with spelling mistakes- (B08 Domitia, B09, 10, 11). Then, either a third Menippos appeared with the name, or, perhaps the second Menippos further ascended the stairs of good fortune and assumed the name M. Ailios Menippos (B13, 14). On the coin of Traianus (B12) the name appears as Menippos, *uiou poleos*, i.e. ‘son of the city’. It is possible that this Menippos assumed the name M. Ailios in the reign of Traianus, after the title of ‘son of the city’, because the types with imperial portraits from the reign of Hadrianus (B15, 16, 17) and the civic type B18 give the name as M. Ailiou Menippou.

In the Antonine period, the coins struck by the Carminii step forth. Markos Oulpios Karminios Klaudianos of this family stand out with the titles of ‘son of the city’, ‘son of the *demos*’, ‘Asiarchos’. When Septimius Severus ascended the power and fight for the throne started the family got a blow but in time they regained their position and Markos Oulpios Karminios Klaudianos (II) (Asiarchos), Oulpia Karminia Prokla, and Oulpia Karminia Klaudiane struck coins<sup>4</sup>. Of these, Oulpia Karminia Prokla minted three types (Types B51, 52, 70) and M. Oul. Karminios Klaudianos, *uios poleos*, minted one type (Type B19), and (M. Oulpios Karminios) Klaudianos, Asiarchos, minted two types (Type B56, 65A) inscribed with the term *anethe-*.

Besides, on the coins, particularly those attributed to the Severan period are other magistrate names such as Roufous Polyd(eukes?) Antoni(nus?) (Type B55) and Klaudios Flabios Arri(daios?) (Hierous) (Types B33, 47, 48), Glykon Philo- (Grammateus? or Grammatikos?) (Type B47), Arch(on) S. Ps. Thik. Oul. (Type B47), M. Ioul. Grammateos (B20B) but their connection to the Carminii is not known. After the Severan period no magistrate names are attested on the coins.

Name of magistrate	Attested on types	Reign / Period
Protea(s) Pappi..(?)	B02	1 <sup>st</sup> c. AD
Dia Menippou	B04, 05, 06, 07	Flavian period
Dia Menipou Apolonou	B08, 09	Reign of Domitianus (B08 Domitia)
Dia Menippou tou Apol(l)oniou	B10, 11	Reign of Domitianus

4 The Carminii were from Attouda and had a prominent place in Aphrodisias. For more information on them see Thonemann & Ertuğrul, 2005; Pont, 2008.

Dia Menippou ‘uiou poleos	B12	Traianus
Dia M. Aili(os) Meni.	B13, 14	Reign of Traianus or Hadrianus
Dia M. Ailiou Menippou	B15, 16, 17	Hadrianus
Dia Klaudianou	B21, 22, 26, 27	Reign of Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius
Dia Klaudianou ‘uiou poleos	B24, 25	Reign of Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius
... Karm. Klaudianou	B23	Reign of Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius
M. Oul. Karminios Klaudianos ‘uios poleos anetheke	B19	Antoninus Pius
Dia M. Oul. Klaudianou ‘uiou tou demou	B20A (homonoia)	Antoninus Pius
Dia Karminiou Klaudianou Asiarchou	B29	Marcus Aurelius & Lucius Verus
Epimelethentos Karm. Klaudianou	B28	Marcus Aurelius & Lucius Verus
Epi Arch. [...]vei. Klud.	B30	Marcus Aurelius
M. Oul. Kar. Klaudianos Asia(r)ch an.	B56	Septimius Severus
Ou. K. Prokla...	B58	Septimius Severus
(M. Ou. Kar.) Klaudianos Asiarch. aneth.	B65A	Caracalla
Ou. K. Klaudiane anethe.	B51, 52, 70	Early 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. AD (B70 Geta)
Epi Steph. Oulpi(a)s Klaudianes	B53	Early 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. AD
Dia Flabias Iereias	B33A, B48	2 <sup>nd</sup> – beg. of 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. AD (reign of Septimius Severus)
Dia Kl. Flabias Arri.	B47	Septimius Severus
Epi M. Ioul. Grammateos	B20B (homonoia)	Antoninus Pius
Epi Arch. S. Ps. Thik. Oul.	B47	Septimius Severus
Epi Gram. Glykonos Philo.	B47	Septimius Severus
Epime. Roufou Polyd. Antoni.	B55	Septimius Severus
Epi Steph. Tryph... ..on	B41	2 <sup>nd</sup> – beg. of 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. AD
...tod/k]ianou	B59	Partly legible - Septimius Severus
Epi ....	B66	Partly legible - Caracalla

### Titles attested:

*Iereus* (ἱερέυς): Meaning “priest”, this title is attested with a certain Flavius (Types B33A, 47, 48) from the reign of Septimius Severus.

*Asiarchos*: The chief priest of the imperial cult in the province of Asia. This title is attested with names of M. Oul. Klaudianou (‘*uiou tou demou*) on the homonoia coin of Type B20A, of Karminiou Klaudianou on Type B29, of (M. Oul.) Kar. Klaudianos on Types B56 and 65A.

*‘Uiou tou demou*: Means “son of the people”. Attested on B20A with M. Oul. Klaudianos.

*‘Uiou poleos* or *‘uios poleos*: Means “son of the city”. Attested on B14 with Menippou,

on B19 with M. Oul. Kar. Klaudianus and on B24 and 25 with Klaudianos; both of these Klaudianoi should be the same personage. This title suggests that these two personages, namely Menippos from the time of Traianus and Hadrianus, and Klaudianos from the reign of Antoninus Pius, made great philanthropic contributions to the *polis* of Attouda. This title is attested in other small cities of Asia Minor as well (Adak, 2020, pp. 56-68).

*Steph-*: The abbreviation of *steph.* attested should be referring to *stephanephoros*, the high-rank magistrate wearing a *stephane* type crown. This title is attested on types B41 (Tryph...on) and 53 (Oulpia Klaudiane).

*Grammateus*: M. Ioulius of Type B20B is followed by *grammateos*, meaning secretary. The abbreviation of *gram.* preceding the name of the magistrate Glykon on Type B47 should be referring to *grammateus* as well.

### **Cults at Attouda:**<sup>5</sup>

The coins categorised in the first section of this study suggest that in Attouda there were the cults of Zeus, Athena, Demeter, Dionysos, Asklepios and Hygieia, Sarapis, Tyche, Men, rider god, Leto, Kybele (Meter Adrastou), Dioskouroi, Artemis of Ephesos, Herakles, Nemesis, Aphrodite and Apollon. These cults in alphabetical order may be explored as follows:

*Aphrodite*: Aphrodite wearing a chiton and himation is depicted standing and holding an apple in one hand: Types B51, B53, B70 (Geta).

*Apollon*: Apollon is placed on the coins of Attouda either as a figure or symbolised in his attributes such as bow-quiver, laurel tree and lyra. First of all, he is depicted standing and leaning on a column with Corinthian capital, on the reverse of the only silver series A1. This type is also found on the reverse of B02 and then reappears with B33A-B and B52 in the Roman Imperial period. The composition of naked Apollon standing and holding a branch/arrow/bow in hand is seen on Types A4, B09, B37 and B41.

On the reverse of the bronze type A2 (Zeus) of the Hellenistic period is the lyra. On the reverse of Hellenistic bronze type A3 (Tyche) is the bow and quiver. On the reverses of B39A and B39B is a tree accompanied with an altar; this may be the laurel tree. All these types may be considered attributes of Apollo albeit bow and quiver could also be linked to Artemis but she appears as Artemis Ephesia only on the coins of Attouda.

*Artemis Ephesia*: The cult statue of Artemis Ephesia is the type attested on the reverse of B62 (Julia Domna).

5 See also Sina, 2002, pp.132-139.

*Asklepios*: On the reverses of Types B16 (Sabina), B57 (with Telesphoros) (Julia Domna) and B68 (with Telesphoros) (Caracalla and Plautilla) Asklepios is depicted draped, standing and holding his serpent sceptre. On the obverse of Type B07 he is given as a bearded head with a kerykeion. On the reverses of Types B50 and B64 he is depicted together with his daughter Hygieia. Presence of Asklepios and Hygieia on the coins of Attouda should be linked to the presence of thermal springs as well as a medical school of the great physician Herophilos of Chalcedon (Strabo XII.8.20) in the vicinity.

*Athena*: In the Roman Imperial period, Athena's helmeted head is found on the obverse of Types B18 and B21. These coins feature Tyche (B18) or Dioskouroi (B21) on the reverses. She is depicted as full figure with spear and shield on the reverse of the coin of Saloninus Valerianus Junior (Type B85).

*Demeter*: She is depicted standing, facing, draped, holding a torch and ear of wheat, on the reverses of Types B59 (Julia Domna) and B86 (Saloninus Valerianus Junior). The three ears of wheat on the reverse of B04 should also be referring to Demeter.

*Dionysos*: Although Demeter, the goddess of agriculture and fertility, is not seen frequently on the coins of Attouda, Dionysos, the god of vines and wine, is attested more frequently: Types B08 (Domitia), B11, B14 (obv. Polis), B32 (obv. Boule), B34 (obv. Demos), B38 (obv. Boule), B58 (Julia Domna). Dionysos is depicted semi-naked, standing, holding thyrsus and kantharos in hand and a panther is by his feet.

*Dioskouroi*: Twin brothers Kastor and Pollux appear on the coins of Attouda: B21 (naked, holding a sword and spear), B63 (Julia Domna) (cuirassed, holding sword, wearing boots, flamed altar in between).

*Herakles*: The demi-god Herakles is depicted standing and naked; he rests on his club and holds the lion skin around his other arm: Types B60 (Julia Domna), B69 (Caracalla and Plautilla), B83 (Salonina).

*Hygieia*: Asklepios' daughter Hygieia is depicted feeding a serpent from a patera on the reverses of Types B07 and B13. On Types B50 and B64 she is depicted together with her father.

*Kybele (Meter Adrastou)*: Kybele, Mother Goddess of Anatolia, was venerated as Meter Adrastou, i.e. 'Mother of Adrastos', at Attouda as known from inscriptions<sup>6</sup>. Meter Adrastou is draped with a long chiton, wears a *kalathos* on her head; she is depicted standing and facing; her hands rest on the heads of a lion on either side. This composition is either given alone or

6 MAMA VI nos. 74-76; Laumonier, 1958, p.474; Söğüt, 2007, p.386; Chaniotis, 2012, 353-354, no. 24 and Figure 17.

within a tetrastyle temple façade. Types with this composition alone<sup>7</sup>: B03 (Augustus), B12 (Traianus), B15 (Hadrianus), B19 (Antoninus Pius), B28 and B29 (Marcus Aurelius – Lucius Verus), B30 (Marcus Aurelius), B47 (Septimius Severus), B56 (Septimius Severus – Julia Domna), and B66 (Caracalla), B76 (Gordianus III), and B78 (Gallienus). Kybele is flanked with Tyches on the *homonoia* coins of B20A and B. Types with this composition within a tetrastyle temple: B46 (Septimius Severus), B55 (Septimius Severus – Caracalla – Geta), B71 (Geta), B74 (Severus Alexander) and B77 (obv. Senate). Types B46, B55, B71, B74 and B77 featuring Kybele, flanked with a lion on both sides, standing in the middle of a tetrastyle temple with a triangular pediment; the pediment has acroteria on the corners and top and it is broken with an arch at its bottom resting on top of the middle two columns; the columns seem to be of Ionic order and the middle ones seem to be spirally fluted. Unfortunately, Söğüt's article (2007) on architectural pieces from Attouda does not contain a piece that might have belonged to such a temple.

Another type featuring Meter Adrastou depicts her in profile, seated on a throne with high back, and again flanked with a lion<sup>8</sup>: Types B24 (r.) (obv. Boule and Demos), B31 (l.) (Commodus), B73 (l.) (Diadumenianus), B81 (l.) (Gallienus).

An interesting type of Kybele depicts her seated on the back of a lion advancing left: B80 (Gallienus). Head and legs of Kybele are depicted in profile and her body facing; she carries a sceptre on her shoulder. Similar coins with Cybele seated on the back of a lion and holding a tympanon and a sceptre usually are found across a wide geography ranging from Moesia to Pamphylia<sup>9</sup>. Coins with a female deity seated on the back of a lion also include examples with Hekate from Stratonikeia in Karia: on the reverse Hekate is seated sideways on the back of a lion advancing left and her shawl is flying over her head; the lion's tail resembles that of a dog. These coins of Stratonikeia

7 This type of Meter Adrastou, or Kybele, is attested only at Laodikeia by the Lykos (RPC IV.2 2097 (temp.)) and Hierapolis in Phrygia (RPC IV.2 2003 (temp.)).

8 In the near vicinity this type of Kybele is also attested at Laodikeia by the Lykos (RPC IV.2 2948 and 2098 (temp.)); at Tripolis (RPC VII.1 739, IX.790); and, at Hierapolis (RPC III.2345 and 2352). Kybele seated on a throne with high back is quite widely seen.

9 E.g., Kallatis (Moesia Inferior): RPC IV.1 3606 (temp.) (M. Aurelius), VI.2 ID=27637 (Gordianus III); Pautalia (Thrace): RPC IV.1 3930 & 8775 (temp.) (Marcus Aurelius); Hadrianopolis (Thrace): RPC IV.1 10538 (temp.) (Commodus); Anchialus (Thrace): RPC IV.1 10481 (temp.) (Antoninus Pius), RPC IV.1 4539 (temp.) (Commodus); Nikaia (Bithynia): RPC IV.1 5873 (Antoninus Pius), RPC VIII ID=19888 & 19914 (Philip I); Kyzikos (Mysia): RPC IV.2 2363 & 9167 (temp.) (Commodus); Pergamon (Mysia): RPC IV.2 3216 (temp.) (Marcus Aurelius); Dokimeion (Phrygia): IV.2 1974 & 1979 (temp.) (Marcus Aurelius), VII.1 746 & 749 (temp.) (Gordianus III); Midaeum (Phrygia): RPC IV.2 1910 & 11591 (temp.) (Marcus Aurelius), RPC VII.1 765 (temp.) (Gordianus III); Dorylaeum (Phrygia): RPC VIII ID=20671 (Philip I); Kotiaion (Phrygia): RPC IV.2 3037 (temp.) (Commodus); Pessinus (Galatia): RPC IV.3 4107, 4118, 4119, 5765, 10056, 10910 (temp.) (Marcus Aurelius); Germa (Galatia): RPC IV.3 7270 (temp.) (Commodus); Timbriada (Pisidia): RPC VI 5904 & 5905 (temp.) (Severus Alexander); Hyde (Lykaonia): RPC IV.3 7242 (temp.) (Marcus Aurelius); Side (Pamphylia): RPC VIII ID=21164 (Philip I).



feature Zeus Panamaros riding on horse advancing right on their obverses<sup>10</sup>. A group of gold, silver and bronze coins struck at the capital Rome during the Severan period (193-217) feature the portrait of the emperor on their obverses and the goddess seated sideways on the back of a lion advancing right by a spring gushing from a rock on the left is identified as Dea Caelestis<sup>11</sup>.

Types with a veiled cult statue of the mother goddess raise more questions. Type B62 of Julia Domna clearly features Artemis Ephesia flanked with her deer. Types B23 and B48 feature a cult statue with a long veil falling from the *kalathos* reaching down to the feet, and sticks extend to the ground from her outstretched hands; however, Type B25 does not have these sticks. Furthermore, these three types do not have lions or deer; therefore, the question arises whether this goddess could be Aphrodite of Aphrodisias or Artemis Anaitis. Above all, it is thought to be the cult statue of Aphrodite as the Carminii of Attouda had settled in Aphrodisias but kept warm relations with their hometown. Aphrodite's cult statue is depicted either facing or in profile r., alone or within a temple, on the coins of Aphrodisias<sup>12</sup>; however, Groups 2, 4 and 9A of Brody (2007, pp. 30-34) feature the cult statue of a veiled Aphrodite. Specimens with the cult statue depicted facing feature a goddess with different costume not resembling the figure on the coins of Attouda<sup>13</sup>. On the other hand, looking at the coins of Hypaipa, a centre of Artemis Anaitis cult, the iconography of the single specimen of Type B25 is similar to that of Artemis Anaitis because the goddess with a long veil falling down from her *kalathos* to her ankles on the coins of Hypaipa does not have sticks extending from her wrists to the ground<sup>14</sup>. For instance, the goddess cult statue on the coins of Phrygian Apameia reminiscent of Attouda's B23 and B48 types has sticks extending from her wrists to the ground and birds are perched on her wrists and she is identified as Artemis or Hekate (?)<sup>15</sup>.

*Leto*: An important goddess of the Greek pantheon and mother of Artemis and Apollo, Leto is depicted running/fleeing with her little children in her arms: Type B36. On the obverse

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- 10 E.g., RPC IV.2 2435 (temp.) and 9237 (temp.) of the reign of Antoninus Pius and uncertain period respectively.
- 11 E.g., RIC IV Septimius Severus 193, 266 (aureus), 266 (denarius), 267A, 267B, 267a, 267b, 594, 759, 759A, 760, 763, 763A, 766, 766A, RIC IV Caracalla 130A (aureus), 130A (denarius), 130B, 131A, 131B, 415A, 415B, 415C, 415D, 418A, 471.
- 12 Cult statue of Aphrodite, facing, within a distyle temple (Brody, 2007, p.30 Group 8): RPC I.2839, 2840, 2841, II.1223; cult statue of Aphrodite within tetrastyle temple (Brody, 2007, p.30 Group 9): RPC III.2248 (facing), IV.2 51 (temp.), VI.5360 (temp.), VII.1 617 (temp.) right; cult statue of Aphrodite within octastyle temple: Brody, 2007, p.30 Group 10; cult statue, facing (Brody, 2007, p.30 Groups 2, 4, 5): RPC I.2842, 2843, 2844, II.1223A; cult statue, r., alone or with others (Brody, 2007, p.30 Groups 1, 3, 6, 7): RPC III.1365, 1366, 2247, IV.2 (temp. nos.) 38, 2441, 2440, 45, VI.5364 (temp.), VII.1 613.1, 613.2, 618, 623, 626, 632; Aphrodite with Eroses, emperors etc: Brody, 2007, p. 30 Groups 11-16.
- 13 E.g., RPC I.2842, 2843, 2844, II.1223A
- 14 Altınoluk, 2013; e.g. see types T2, T30, T32, T35, T45, T49, T60, T64, T66, T71, T72, T75, T80, T90, T105, T108, T110, T111 etc.
- 15 E.g., as Artemis RPC I 3130 (Augustus); as Hekate (?) RPC IV.2 2958 (temp.) (Antoninus Pius).

of the coin is the youthful and laureate head of Demos. Similar iconography is also known from other cities in the region, e.g. neighbouring Tripolis<sup>16</sup>, and Mastaura<sup>17</sup>.

*Men Karou*: Strabo (XII.8.20) states that the moon god Men had a temple to the east of Karoura located at the border of Phrygia and Caria. Although the exact location of this temple is not known it must have been within or just by the boundary of the territory of Attouda (Ramsay, 1895, p.167). According to Ramsay, Men Karou could be the Carian adaptation of a local deity worshiped in the Lykos Valley during the Phrygian period – just as he assumed the identity of Zeus Laodikenos at Laodikeia and Apollon Lairbenos at Hierapolis (Ramsay, 1895, p.169; Laumonier, 1958, p. 475).

Men Karou is depicted as a bust or full figure. As a bust, he wears a Phrygian headgear and a big crescent is depicted behind his shoulders: on the obverse of Type B42 (= Lane Attouda Type 1; with his altar on the reverse); on the reverses of Types B22 (= Lane Attouda Type 2; obv. Demos) and B27 (obv. Sarapis). As a full figure he is standing, l., holding a patera(?) and a staff (on the reverse of Type B38 = Lane Attouda Type 3).

The garlanded large altar representing Men Karou is seen on the Types B35A and B (both with Demos on the obverse), B42 (obv. Men), and B81 (Salonina). On this large altar are two small altars aflame placed between three pinecones. On Type B35A, the altars are in the form of tall columns. Men Karou's name is inscribed on the obverse of Type B42. Pinecones are among the attributes of Men Karou (Lane, 1976, pp.103-105; Vollkommer, 1992, esp. p. 472).

*Nemesis*: Draped with a long chiton, the goddess is depicted standing, holding the collar of her chiton with one hand and harness with her other hand: Types B05, B26, and B40. Types B05 and B26 feature turreted head of Tyche on their obverses whereas B40 has veiled head of Boule.

*Rider God*: The male figure riding a horse on the coins of Attouda holds a double-axe (*labrys*) on a long stick. This figure seen on the reverses of Types B04 and B43 is proposed as Zeus Sabazios<sup>18</sup> in some publications. However, Zeus Panamaros, a Karian deity, is also depicted riding a horse<sup>19</sup>. Both Sabazios and Panamaros seem to carry a sceptre although our rider deity carries a double-axe on a long stick. Looking at the coinage of neighbouring cities it is noted that there is a rider god carrying a long stick with a double-axe and he is

16 RPC IV.2 11570 (temp.) (Marcus Aurelius); IV.2 1639 (temp.) (Lucius Verus); IV.2 3958 (temp.) (Commodus); VI.5547 (temp.) (Elagabalus); VI.5548 (temp.) (Severus Alexander); VI.5562 (temp.) (Maximinus); VI.5568 within temple (temp.) (Boule; Elagabalus – Gallienus); VI.5571 with prize table (temp.) (Senate; Elagabalus – Gallienus); VIII. ID.20616 (Otacia Severa); VIII. IDs.20629, 20630, 20631 with Zeus (homonoia with Laodikeia; Philippus I); IX.791 (Traianus Decius); IX.792 (Herennia Etruscilla).

17 RPC VI.4821 (temp.) (Maximinus), VIII. ID.20381, 20381 (Philip II).

18 For more information on Zeus Sabazios see, Şahin, 2001, pp.159-162.

19 For more information on Zeus Panamaros see, Şahin, 2001, pp.140-144.

identified as Apollon-Men, Apollon, local hero, Apollon Tyrimnaios or Apollon Propylaios. The author agrees with Laumonier and proposes that this rider god should be either Apollon or Men (Laumonier, 1958, pp.475-476). Cities in the vicinity with a rider god type carrying a double axe are Eumeneia<sup>20</sup> and Hierapolis<sup>21</sup> in Phrygia, Thyateira<sup>22</sup>, Blaundos<sup>23</sup>, Mastaura<sup>24</sup>, Mostene<sup>25</sup>, Tomara<sup>26</sup> and Tripolis<sup>27</sup> in Lydia and so on.

*Sarapis*: This deity of Egyptian origin appears only on one type (B27) as a bust wearing *kalathos* on his head. He is accompanied by the bust of Men Karou on the reverse. He is also reported as a bust on the obverse of the unillustrated single specimen of B45 with an eagle on its reverse.

*Tyche*: Tyche, identified as the city goddess, is depicted in two versions in terms of iconography: as a turreted head on the obverses; or, as a full figure holding a *cornucopia* with one arm and a rudder with the other hand. Apart from Meter Adrastou, she is one of the most frequently attested deities on the coins of Attouda. The turreted head is seen on the only silver emission A1 and bronze A3 of the Hellenistic period, and on Types B05 (Nemesis), B06 (three ears of wheat), B14 (obv. Polis; rev. Dionysos), B26 (Nemesis), B48 (veiled goddess) during the Roman Imperial period. The full figure on the reverses is found on Types B18 (Athena), B61 (Julia Domna), B72 (Geta), B75 (Gordianus III), and B79 (Gallienus).

On the reverse of the *homonioia* coins from the reign of Antoninus Pius (Types B20A and B20B), as mentioned above, Meter Adrastou is flanked with Tyches of Attouda and Trapezopolis (B20A) or Attouda and Ephesus (B20B).

The Tyche bust on the obverse of B14 is identified as Polis Attoudeon, i.e. the personification of the city of Attouda. It is attributed to the reign of Traianus or Hadrianus based on the name of the magistrate, who also has the title of “the son of the city”.

*Zeus*: Head of Zeus is the obverse type of the bronze coins Types A2 and A4 and B02 and it is linked with Apollo or his lyra on the reverse. During the Roman Imperial period,

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- 20 As Apollon Propylaios at RPC III.2577 (Hadrianus); as Apollo-Men at RPC VIII. ID.20609 (Philip I).  
 21 As Apollon at RPC I.2957 (Augustus), I.2970 (Claudius), I.2974, 2975, 2976 (Nero), IV.2 2005 (temp.) (Antoninus Pius), IV.2 1698 (temp.) (Marcus Aurelius), IV.2 9791, 9789 (temp.), VI.5462 (temp.); as horseman at RPC VI.5457 (temp.) (Elagabalus); Roman mint in Latin RPC III.1396 (Hadrianus).  
 22 As radiate Apollon Tyrimnaios at RPC VI.4398, 4400, 4405 (temp.).  
 23 As Apollon-Men at RPC IV.2 1168 (temp.) (Antoninus Pius), IV.2 1194 (temp.), IV.2 9318 (temp.) (Senate) (Marcus Aurelius).  
 24 As local hero Mastauros at RPC I.2672A (Augustus) and 2673 (Tiberius).  
 25 As hero at RPC I.2461 (Claudius), II.987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 991A, 992, 992A, 992B, 992C, 992D (Vespasian), II.994 and 994A; III.1961 (Hadrian); as Apollon-Men at RPC IV.2 1363 (temp.) (with Hermes), IV.2 11431, 1338, 1339 (Marcus Aurelius), IV.2 1343 (temp.) (with Hermes), IV.2 1340 (temp.) (Commodus), IV.2 1345, 11432 (Crispina).  
 26 As Apollon-Men at RPC IV.2 1583 (temp.) (Antoninus Pius).  
 27 As rider god at RPC I.3050 (Augustus), I.3052 (Tiberius).

Zeus appears only on the reverses: Types B10 and 49 feature Zeus as a full figure, naked, moving right throwing thunderbolt with one hand and holding an eagle with the other. Type B16 features him again as a full figure, naked, but standing frontally holding a patera in his outstretched hand and left arm resting on a sceptre with an eagle by his feet. Types B67 and B84, both unillustrated by Mionnet, are listed with Zeus seated, holding a patera and sceptre.

### **Other Types:**

As mentioned above, the eagle type on the reverse of the unillustrated B44 should be referring to the cult of Zeus. The tree type on the reverses of B38A and B may (or may not) be the laurel tree of Apollon. The lyra on the reverse of A2 and the bow and quiver on the reverse of A3 should be referring to the cult of Apollon for Artemis is attested only as Artemis Ephesia once on B62. The aflamed altar type on the reverse of B01 may also be linked to the cult of Apollo as the head of Apollo is the obverse type of that coin. Similar to B01 Laodikeia on the Lykos has one issue of Apollo/altar: RPC I 2909 (reign of Tiberius) and one issue of Demos/altar: RPC II 1278 (reign of Titus); however, the altar on the coins of Laodikeia features headdress of Isis on its top.

### **Countermarks:**

Only six types of countermarks are identified on the coinage of Attouda. The most common one is a male head, laureate, r., identified as Howgego 82a on types B33A (4 cmks on two coins), B33B (1 cmk), B34 (6 cmks on five specimens), B35B (5 cmks), B36 (4 cmks), B42 (2 cmks), B44 (1 cmk), B49 (3 cmks), B50 (2 cmks), B51 (1 cmk), B52 (1 cmk), B68 (1 cmk), B69 (1 cmk), and B73 (1 cmk). Howgego attributes this countermark to the time of Septimius Severus.

The letter B (Howgego 765d, 767), which may indicate a value of 2-as, is attested on three coins only: Types B39A, B39B and B50.

The letter Γ which may indicate a value of 3-as, is found only on one specimen of Type 43 (Howgego 774i).

The countermark of an eagle advancing left, head r., is found as one of three countermarks on a single coin of Type B33A (Howgego 325a).

The countermark on Type B71 of Geta is unclear but seems to recall a prow, which is not in the list of Howgego's 428.

One interesting countermark is attested on Type B36 as CAP B, stamped by Sardis and classified as Howgego 559 and attributed to the time of Gallienus by Howgego. Furthermore,

CAP B indicates a value of 2-assaria and attributed to the time range from Elagabalus to Valerianus (Johnston, 2007, p.44, Table 5.c) for coins of 21-27mm and 4.5-10g.

One coin published by Mionnet (IV 284) is noted with a countermark but no specifications are given.

A few coins have multiple countermarks: One specimen of B50 features two countermarks – one is Howgego 82a and the other 767. One coin of B33A features three countermarks – two of 82a and one 325a. The other specimen of B33A features two 82a. One specimen of B34 also features two 82a. One specimen of B36 features one 82a and one 559.

It is worth noting that only Types 68 and 69 (Caracalla and Plautilla), B71 (Geta) and B73 (Diadumenianus) with imperial portraits feature countermarks, respectively 82a, 82a, 428(?) and 82a; all the rest are civic issues of Boule (B39A, B39B), Demos (B33A, B33B, B34, B35B, B36, B43, B44), Synkletos (B49, B50, B51, B52) and one issue with Men Karou (B42).

The coins with countermarks are all attributed to the second century and beginning of the third century AD. Could it be that countermark Howgego 82a was actually punched by Elagabalus because this countermark is found on the joint coins of Caracalla and Plautilla and those of Diadumenianus; thus, surmising all the civic issues bearing this countermark actually belong to the Severan period and perhaps to Diadumenianus?

### **Circulation:**

The countermark of CAP B (Type B36) indicates coins of Attouda reaching up to Sardis. Excavation finds at Tripolis (Types B34 and B61) are further evidence for circulation. As more excavation finds are published it will be possible to reach safer conclusions.

### **Incerti:**

One coin at BM (Inv. no. 1995.0605.185, 4.72g, 12h = ex-Thackray) features a female bust on the obverse and Kybele seated on eagle flying r. It is attributed to Livia on the website of the British Museum based on Thackray's attribution. However, editors of RPC classify it as uncertain (<https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/1/5482>).

One coin published by Mionnet (IV 281. AE4 (18.1mm). R5. Rev: "pomme de pin") seems possible to be classified under Type A2 considering the wear of the flan with the inscription not clearly legible; however, neither its size nor its reverse type by Mionnet match the type. Furthermore, Mionnet's attribution to Attouda also bears a question mark, which has led us to place it under *Incerti*.

### Concluding Remarks:

This study has brought together more than 300 coins minted by Attouda, displaying a rich typology with about 90 types. Minting started most likely in the second or first century BC and lasted until mid-third century AD with interruptions. Only one silver series has been documented, belonging to the Late Hellenistic period.

The city is a small one and the dominant Carminii originating from it certainly changed a lot of things for the city. The Carminii also minted coins at neighbouring Trapezopolis<sup>28</sup>; therefore, it should not be surprising to find a coin issued for a homonoia agreement of unknown content between these two cities. Its coins are found in the excavations at Tripolis and one bears a countermark indicating its circulation in Sardis.

It is hoped that this study will pave the way for and contribute to future research on this ancient city and its connections with the wider world.

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**Hakem Değerlendirmesi:** Dış bağımsız.

**Çıkar Çatışması:** Yazarlar çıkar çatışması bildirmemiştir.

**Finansal Destek:** Yazarlar bu çalışma için finansal destek almadığını beyan etmiştir.

**Peer-review:** Externally peer-reviewed.

**Conflict of Interest:** The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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28 For instance, see RPC IV.2 2739, 2418, 2419, 11793 (temp.) all from the reign of Antoninus Pius.

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- RPC II Burnett, A., Amandry, M., & Carradice, I. (1999). *Roman Provincial Coinage, Volume II, From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69-96), Part I: Introduction and Catalogue*. London: British Museum Press, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
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- SNG *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*
- SNG Anamur Tekin, O. & Altınoluk S. (2007). *SNG Turkey 2. Anamur Museum Volume 1. Roman Provincial Coins*. Istanbul, Turkey: Turkish Institute of Archaeology.
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### Abbreviations for Collections, Auction Houses and Online Sources:

Agora Auc.	Agora Auctions, Inc. NY, USA.
ANS	American Numismatic Society, NY, USA. <a href="http://numismatics.org/search/">http://numismatics.org/search/</a> (last accessed 28 Sep. 2020)
Aphrodisias M.	Aphrodisias Museum Collection, Turkey
B. Peus	Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger Auction House
BM	The British Museum Collection <a href="https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/search?keyword=coin,&amp;keyword=Attouda">https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/search?keyword=coin,&amp;keyword=Attouda</a> (last accessed 28 Sep. 2020)
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, <a href="http://gallica.bnf.fr">http://gallica.bnf.fr</a> (last accessed 28 Aug. 2020)
Boston MFA	Boston Museum of Fine Arts <a href="http://www.mfa.org/collections">http://www.mfa.org/collections</a> (last accessed 28 May 2020)
CNG E. Auc.	Classical Numismatic Group Electronic Auction
CNG MBS	Classical Numismatic Group Mail Bid Sale
Coin Archives	<a href="http://coinarchives.com">http://coinarchives.com</a>
Denizli M.	Denizli Museum Collection, Turkey
Fitzwilliam online	<a href="http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk">www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk</a> (last accessed 20 Oct. 2019)
FR Künker eLA	Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG Auction House
GMGM	Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung Auction House
Harlan BBS	Harlan J. Berk – Buy or Bid Sale Auction House
Hess-Divo	Hess-Divo AG Auction House, Zurich, Switzerland
HNO	Historia Numorum Online <a href="http://hno.huma-num.fr/">http://hno.huma-num.fr/</a> (last accessed 28 Sep. 2020)
Lanz	Numismatik Lanz München Auction House, Munich, Germany.
Leu (Web) Auc.	Leu Numismatik AG, Winterthur, Switzerland.
LGPN	Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, <a href="http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk">www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk</a> (last accessed 28 May 2020)
Lisi Coll.	Mr. Renzo Lisi Collection, Italy
Manisa M.	Manisa Museum Collection, Turkey
MMD	Münzen & Medaillen Deutschland GmbH Auction House, Weil am Rhein, Germany.

Naumann	Numismatik Naumann (formerly Gitbud & Naumann) Auction House, Vienna, Austria.
Nomos obolos	Nomos AG, Zurich, Switzerland
Pecunem	Pecunem / Numismatik Naumann (formerly Gitbud & Naumann) Auction House
Roma	Roma Numismatics Ltd. Auction House, London, UK.
RPC online	<a href="http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/">http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/</a> (last accessed 28 Sep. 2020)
RIC online	<a href="http://numismatics.org/ocre/">http://numismatics.org/ocre/</a> (last accessed 20 Sep. 2020)
Savoca	Savoca Ltd. Auction House, Munich, Germany
Tatış Coll. Mr. Y.	Tatış Collection, Izmir, Turkey
Tripolis Excavations	Tripolis Excavations Archives (Prof. Dr. B. Duman & Assoc. Prof. Dr. A.T. Tek)
Uşak M.	Uşak Museum Collection, Turkey
UBS	UBS Gold & Numismatics Auction House, Zurich, Switzerland











B46.1



B47.3



B48.5



B49.5



B50.9



B51.1



B52.1



B53.1



B55.1



B56.2



B58.1



B59.1



B60.1



B61.3



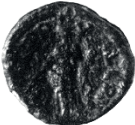
B62.1



B63.1



B64.1



B65A.1





B65B.3



B65C.1



B66.1



B68.1



B69.1



B70.2



B71.1



B73.1



B74.1





B75.1

B76.1

B77.2

B78.9



B79.11

B79.2

B80.3

B81.1



B82.13

B83.4

B86.1

INCERTI.1

