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KILIKIA ARKEOLOJİSİNİ ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ YAYINLARI



# OLBA

## II

(ÖZEL SAYI)  
I.CİLT

I. Uluslararası Kilikia Arkeolojisi Sempozyumu  
Bildirileri

MERSİN 1999



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## ÖNSÖZ

Mersin Üniversitesi Rektörlüğüne bağlı olan "Kilikia Arkeolojisini Araştırma Merkezi"nin düzenlemiş olduğu "I. Uluslararası Kilikia Arkeolojisi Sempozyumu"nın bildirilerini içeren bu kitabın basımını sağlayan Mersin Üniversitesi Rektörü sayın Prof. Dr. Uğur Oral'a teşekkürü borç biliriz.

"I. Uluslararası Kilikia Arkeolojisi Sempozyumu" 1-4 Haziran 1998 tarihleri arasında Mersin Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü, "Kilikia Arkeolojisini Araştırma Merkezi (KAAM)" tarafından düzenlenerek Fen ve Edebiyat Fakültesi Konferans salonunda gerçekleştirilmiştir. Hergün 9.30 - 18.00 saatleri arasında yapılmış olan konuşmalar, sempozyumun son günü olan 4 Haziran'da Kanlıdivane (Kanytelleis)'ye düzenlenmiş bir gezi ile son bulmuştur.

Prehistorik çağlardan İslami döneme kadar tüm dönemleri kapsayan bildiriler, konularına göre belli günlere bölünmüşlerdi: İlk gün Kilikia Arkeometrisi , Prehistoria ve Protohistoria'sı, ikinci gün Protohistoria'ya devam edilerek Klasik ve Hellenistik Yunan Kilikia Arkeolojisine geçiş, üçüncü gün Hellenistik ve Roma Kilikiası ile numismatik, epigrafik ve filolojik açıdan Kilikia, son gün ise bölgenin Bizans ve İslami dönemleri incelenmiştir.

Bildiriler, bölgede kazı, yüzey araştırması ya da bilimsel veriler ile kütüphane çalışmaları yapan araştırmacıların bu konularda ulaştıkları sonuçları içermiştir. Katılımcıların bizzat kendi araştırmalarında elde ettikleri son buluntularını, bulgularını ya da teorilerini anlatmış oldukları bu sempozyum, konularında söz sahibi olan bilim adamları tarafından gerçekleştirilmiştir. Uluslararası Kilikia Sempozyumu'na onur konuğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Eskiçağ Dilleri ve Kültürleri Bölüm Başkanı Prof. Dr. Sencer Şahin olmuştur.

Gizemli Kilikia üzerine bilgilerimizi zenginleştirmek için bu sempozyuma katılmış olan tüm meslektaşlarıma teşekkür ederim. Sempozyum'un iki yılda bir tekrar edilmesi amaçlanmaktadır.

Aşağıda adları yazılı bulunan kişi ve kuruluşlara, sempozyum'un gerçekleşmesindeki değerli katkılarından dolayı teşekkür ederim:

Mersin Üniversitesi, Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Dekanı sayın Prof. Dr. Onur Bilge Kula,

Mersin Üniversitesi eski Rektörü sayın Prof. Dr. Vural Ülkü,

Sempozyum organizasyon komitesi üyeleri Öğr. Gör. Murat Durukan, Öğr. Gör. Ümit Aydınoglu ve Okt. Murat Özyıldırım,

Atlas Dergisi Yazı İşleri Müdürü Özcan Yüksek ve Arkeolog Füsün Arman ,

Martı Otel ve Genel Müdürü sayın Cemal Akın,  
Royal Restoran ve Mersin Seyahat İşletmesi.

Sempozyum'da sunulmuş olan bildirilerin kalıcılığını sağlamak ve bu bilgiyi geniş kitlelerle paylaşabilmek amacıyla bunları yayınlamak da, sempozyum'u gerçekleştirmek kadar önem taşımaktadır. "Kilikia Arkeolojisini Araştırma Merkezi"nin "Olba I" adlı (sayın İçel Valisi Şenol Engin ve Vali Yardımcısı sayın Muzaffer Güzelant'ın katkılarıyla ve T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı'nın olanaklarıyla basılmış olan) ilk yayınından sonra "Olba - Özel Sayısı-" başlığı ile yayına girmiş olan bu kitap, "I. Uluslararası Kilikia Arkeolojisi Sempozyumu" nun bildirilerini içermektedir.

Bu yayının gerçekleşmesinde bizzat organizasyonu ile ilgilenen ve maddi kaynak yaratan sayın Rektörümüz Prof. Dr. Uğur Oral'a bu değerli katkılarından ötürü sonsuz teşekkürlerimizi sunarız. Çukurova Üniversitesi Basımevi Müdürü sayın Ergin Ören, Müdür Yardımcısı sayın Mustafa Akray ve bilgisayar operatörü Nur Sema Gültepe'nin basım aşamasındaki yardımları ile "Olba -Özel Sayısı-" oluşturulmuştur. Katkı ve ilgilerinden dolayı ayrıca Almanya Federal Cumhuriyeti Ankara Büyükelçiliği, Büyükelçi sayın Dr. Hans-Joachim Vergau ve Kültür Müşaviri sayın Dr. Gudrun Sräga'ya teşekkür ederiz.

Saygılarımla,  
Doç. Dr. Serra Durugönül  
Arkeoloji Bölüm Başkanı ve  
KAAM Müdürü

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## THE MINT OF ANEMURIUM (Lev.40-51)

\*James RUSSEL

With the exception of the prolific mints of a few major centres, the civic coinages of the eastern Roman empire have long languished as *terra incognita* on the periphery of the numismatic world. Reasons for this neglect are not hard to seek; their bewildering variety and apparent lack of system, the inferior quality of most issues, especially when measured by the standards of the metropolitan mints of Rome, Syrian Antioch and Alexandria, and the inadequate and frequently inaccessible documentation of most mints. In recent years, however, the value of the local civic coinage of the Roman empire as a source of information on a wide range of economic, iconographic, political and religious matters has begun to attract the scholarly attention that it deserves and to bear rich fruit, exemplified in the publication of *Roman Provincial Coinage* now in progress.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate from the case of one modest city in a remote corner of Cilicia how much variety and interest are to be found in the coins issued by its civic mint.

The city in question is Anemurium, located on the east side of the promontory of the same name, the modern Cape Anamur, southernmost point of Asia Minor. It is the largest of a number of cities that occupied the small fertile plains of an otherwise inhospitable shore dominated by steep cliffs where the Taurus range descends sheer to the sea. Although the region, appropriately name Tracheia, i.e. Rough or Mountainous, was notorious throughout much of its history for brigandage and piracy, it experienced during the Roman empire a considerable degree of urbanization, as is evident from the surprising number of small cities that developed not only along the coast, but on the upland terraces along the higher reaches of the Calycadnus valley, the modern Gök Su. What is even more remarkable is the high proportion of cities in this rugged territory that produced their own coins during the first two and half centuries after Christ. Indeed a total of 17 civic mints are attested for Rough Cilicia, outnumbering the 14 known civic mints of Cilicia Pedias, a region far more populous and prosperous than its western neighbour. On the other hand, except for Seleucia ad Calycadnum, none of the

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I wish to express my gratitude to Ms. K.A. McGregor (British Museum), Mr. K. Konuk (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) and Dr. H.-D. Schultz (Staatliche Museen, Berlin) for their kind assistance in providing me with casts of the Anemurium coins in their respective museums; to Bay Ramazan Peker for permission to study and photograph the Anemurium coins in the Anamur Museum; and to Prof. Dr. R. Ziegler, University of Duisburg, for much valuable information about the Anemurium mint in the light of recent coin finds.

<sup>1</sup> For Anemurium coins, *RPC* I 1992, 562 nos. 3704-08; 723 no. 3707A.

Rough Cilician mints can compare in activity with the prolific mints of eastern cities such as Anazarbus, Aegeae and Tarsus. In most cases the Rough Cilician mints produced coins only intermittently "and the coins are rather like their cities; small in number, crude in style, and scruffy in fabric."<sup>2</sup> Harsh words, to be sure, but hardly justification for scholarly neglect.

The city of Anemurium has been the subject of archaeological investigation by a Canadian team for over three decades, in the course of which it has produced approximately 1300 coins in identifiable condition. These range in date from coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes of the early third century BC to coins of the Seljuk Sultans of Rum when the region was under their control in the thirteenth century A.D. Of this total, only 33 coins can be identified with any certainty as belonging to the civic mint of Anemurium and in most cases they are in execrable condition.<sup>3</sup> Yet despite this, a number of these coins have proved significant in illuminating aspects of the city's history. Several Anemurium coins of the mid-third century, for example, found in a sealed deposit have supplied a secure *terminus post quem* of 255 for the construction of the city's large baths-palaestra complex whose unfinished state may be explained by the city's capture by the Persians under Sapor I in the invasion of Asia Minor following the battle of Edessa in 260.<sup>4</sup> On occasion too the archaeological context of Anemurium coins could prove disconcerting, as when a local issue of either Marcus Aurelius or Lucius Verus was found in association with seventh century pottery and coins of Heraclius lying on the floor of a late house built on the mosaic floor of the mid-third century palaestra. Holes pierced through it for a suspension chain point to its use by the occupants of the house as a charm or amulet, a phenomenon that explains the appearance of other pierced civic issues found in equally anomalous contexts (figs. 1 and 2).<sup>5</sup>

Though few in number and poorly preserved in most cases, the coins of the Anemurium mint discovered during the excavation itself or found by local farmers while working in fields close to the site and brought to the Anamur Museum remain the only substantial group with a known provenance. The only other examples with a well documented findspot are single specimens found in archaeological excavations at other sites in the eastern Mediterranean, including Antioch-on-the-Orontes, Curium on Cyprus, Side in Pamphylia, and Tarsus in Plain Cilicia.<sup>6</sup> These provide at least a rudimentary impression of

<sup>2</sup> Butcher 1988, 93.

<sup>3</sup> All inventoried coins are housed in the Museum of Anamur. The typical condition of these coins is illustrated in figs. 1 and 2.

<sup>4</sup> The city's capture is mentioned in the inscribed *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* at Naqs-i Rostam, cf. Honigmann-Maricq, 1953, 14, 149, 153; Maricq, 1958, 312-313, 340.

<sup>5</sup> Russell 1995, 47-48. This example is Anamur Museum Inv. no. 1.525.90.

<sup>6</sup> Waagé 1952, no. 824 (Antioch); Cox 1959, 22 no. 165 (Curium); Atlan 1976, 53 no. 169 (Side); Cox 1941, 19 no. 82 (Tarsus).



the Anemurium mint's wider circulation. Apart from these coins of known provenance, the vast majority of Anemurium coins until recently were to be found either in major public collections, such as those in Berlin, Cambridge, London, Munich, New York, Paris and Vienna, or in certain specialized private collections, such as those of Hans von Aulock and Edoardo Levante, both of whom concentrated their acquisitions on Asia Minor. In the past the contents of only two of these collections, the British Museum and the Sammlung von Aulock, were available in published form.<sup>7</sup> In recent years, however, two other major collections have been catalogued by Edoardo Levante for the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, his own collection of Cilician coins published in 1986, with Supplement containing recent acquisitions in 1993, and the Cilician coins in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which appeared in the same year.<sup>8</sup> An important but disturbing recent development for the study of local Cilician coinage, however, has been a veritable flood of coins of Anemurium and other cities of Rough Cilicia that appeared on the ancient coin market, especially in Germany, over a seven year period from 1986 through 1992. From a survey, by no means exhaustive, of listings in auction catalogues that appeared during these years I have noted close to 200 coins of the Anemurium mint alone, including a considerable number of issues previously unknown. Without question, this sudden influx of Cilician coins is the result of the dispersal of several substantial hoards discovered probably by metal detectors operating in southern Turkey and subsequently smuggled into Germany. Fortunately, Dr. Ruprecht Ziegler has kept a close track of this material during the period of greatest activity and has been able to document a large number of coins that had found their way into private collections without going to auction. His catalogue of these coins has undoubtedly saved a considerable proportion of the original material from disappearing completely from the public record.<sup>9</sup> Of particular significance is his skill in tracking the fate of at least two hoards as they passed through the market. In one case he was able to identify as many as 250 coins of a hoard with an estimated original total ranging between 600 to 1,000 pieces. On the basis of their distinctive patina, chronological and regional distribution, he concluded that it had been deposited at or near Seleucia ad Calycadnum around A.D. 260, doubtless as a precaution against the impending invasion of the Persians. In his analysis of the hoard he includes 20 third century coins of Anemurium.<sup>10</sup>

From these various sources I have compiled a corpus of coins of Anemurium that now numbers close to 700 pieces, over one quarter of which have appeared in the last decade or so, including a number of very rare issues,

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<sup>7</sup> *BMC* 21, 1900, 41-43, pl. 7; v. Aulock 3, 1964, pl. 185 nos. 5517-5539.

<sup>8</sup> Levante 1986, pls. 29-31 nos. 483-522; Levante Supp. 1993, pls. 8-10, nos. 99-122; *SNG France* 2, 1993, pls. 33-35, nos. 692-720.

<sup>9</sup> Ziegler 1988, 34-39 nos. 190-235 (Anemurium coins).

<sup>10</sup> Ziegler 1988, 4-7, especially Table 1.

some of them unique. The availability of this enlarged body of material provides an opportunity to offer a preliminary review of some aspects of the Anemurium mint.

First, the chronological span. With the enigmatic exception of a unique silver coin of the early fourth century BC to be considered separately, Anemurium started producing coins during the reign of Antiochus IV of Commagene (A.D. 38-72). The existence of an issue dated to year 12 of his reign provides a fixed terminus for the establishment of the mint no later than 49-50.<sup>11</sup> Production of civic coins appears to have continued uninterrupted after Antiochus was deposed in 72 when his territories were incorporated by Vespasian into the enlarged province of Cilicia. In common with many other civic mints of the region, Anemurium ceased minting coins early in the joint reigns of Valerian and Gallienus. During the two centuries of its existence most emperors, except for some short-lived reigns in the third century, are attested in the coinage, the only notable omissions being Nerva and Gordian III for whom no specimens have yet appeared. There is considerable unevenness in the distribution of coins amongst individual emperors, however. Antoninus Pius' reign, for example, has produced only six coins in total, four from one issue, and a second issue attested only by two coins found in the excavation of the city itself. Septimius Severus' reign is represented by only four coins, all of them issued in year 6 of his reign, 197-198. By contrast, the short 14 month reign of Macrinus and his son Diadumenianos has produced as many as thirteen specimens distributed evenly between the two rulers, all of them minted in 218, the second year of their joint reign.

The mint seems to have been especially prolific during the last 2 years of its existence, with a total of over 200 coins, accounting for close to one third of all the documented Anemurium coins. They are all datable to the second or third years of the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus, i.e. 254-56. With numbers on this scale, it is possible to distinguish a variety of obverse and reverse dies and document their several combinations. From the obverse dies, for example, one can clearly identify two distinct styles of die engraving in the portraiture of each ruler. One depicts Valerian's profile as long, lean and angular, especially noticeable in the jutting chin and prominent nose (fig. 3), while the second engraver portrays the emperor with a plumper, rounder and shorter face (fig. 4).<sup>12</sup> In this version the emperor's prominent nose is retained, but the chin recedes markedly instead of jutting. Even within these two contrasting styles one can easily note degrees of competence, especially obvious in the execution of the eye which is greatly out of proportion to the size of the head in some specimens (fig. 5).<sup>13</sup> The same contrast in styles is

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<sup>11</sup> e.g. Levante 1986, no. 483; Levante Supp. 1993, no. 100; *SNG France* 2, 1993, no. 692.

<sup>12</sup> e.g. v. Aulock 3, 1964, nos. 5526-27 (long profile); Levante 1986, nos. 514-15, 517; *SNG France* 2, 1993, no. 719 (short profile).

<sup>13</sup> e.g. Levante 1986, nos. 511 (long profile), 519-20 (short profile).

repeated in the portraiture of Gallienus whose elongated sharp-featured profile as it appears in some issues is quite indistinguishable from that of his father, while the short round profile evident in others reproduces similar characteristics noted in the comparable rounded version of Valerian's portraiture (figs. 6 and 7).<sup>14</sup>

Besides coins readily attributable to specific reigns through the obverse portraits of ruling emperors, Anemurium also produced an interesting series of so-called autonomous issues. These are coins in which the ruler's portrait on the obverse is replaced by heads of deities or some other personification or symbol intended to identify the city. For Anemurium's autonomous coins a bust of the city's Tyché with mural crown is by far the commonest obverse (fig. 8), but a female bust of an Athena-type with crested helmet and aegis, perhaps to be interpreted as Roma, is also found (fig. 9).<sup>15</sup> Reverse images usually bear images similar to those on coins identified by ruler. Lacking the usual clues to their chronology that we find in the standard series, the autonomous issues are often difficult to date. The marked similarity of most of the reverses of the Anemurium autonomous coins to those found on first century coins issued during the reigns of Antiochus IV and the Flavian emperors, however, suggests that the two groups are contemporary. It is certainly significant that neither of the two commonest reverses depicted on autonomous coins appears on coins dated after the end of the first century. The latest example of the nude Apollo leaning against a cippus or tripod with bow or laurel branch in his right hand, for example, occurs in the reign of Vespasian (fig. 10)<sup>16</sup>; and parallels for the depiction of Artemis as huntress dressed in long chiton, as she invariably appears in autonomous issues, are limited exclusively to coins minted under rulers of the first century (fig. 11).<sup>17</sup> By contrast, from the reign of Trajan onwards, Artemis as huntress, though comparable in gesture and pose in other respects, is invariably depicted wearing the more familiar short tunic (fig. 12).<sup>18</sup>

The dating of autonomous coins to the first century has recently been reinforced by the evidence from a homogeneous group of 52 coins associated with a hoard of indeterminate size that appeared on the coin market in Germany around 1987. Although no findspot was divulged, the large preponderance of Anemurium coins, accounting for nearly two thirds of the entire group, led Ziegler to the conclusion that the hoard originated from

<sup>14</sup> e.g. Ziegler 1988, no. 233 (long profile), 234-35 (short profile).

<sup>15</sup> e.g. *BMC* 21, 1900, 41 no. 1; Levante 1986, no. 488; *SNG France* 2, 1993, nos. 693-94.

<sup>16</sup> e.g. coins of Domitian as Caesar, v. Aulock 3, 1964, no. 5518; Ziegler 1988, nos. 193-94.

<sup>17</sup> e.g. Levante 1986, no. 490; Levante Supp. 1993, no. 104 (autonomous); *RPC* I, 1992, no. 3704; Levante Supp. 1993, no. 101 (Antiochus IV); Levante Supp. 1993, no. 106 (Titus Caesar); Ziegler 1988, no. 192 (Domitian Caesar).

<sup>18</sup> e.g. Levante 1986, no. 491; Ziegler 1988, no. 195 (Trajan).

somewhere in the vicinity of Anamur.<sup>19</sup> Given the absence of any coins later than the reign of Vespasian, a date of deposit no later than 80 is virtually certain. With the exception of three autonomous issues, all 32 Anemurium coins in the group are distributed almost evenly between Antiochus IV and the sons of Vespasian as Caesar. One of the autonomous issues is inscribed with a regnal year 18, a possibility valid only for Antiochus IV within the time-limits covered by the hoard, and therefore minted in the year 54-55.<sup>20</sup> The close similarity between the reverses of other autonomous coins and those of some Vespasianic reverses suggests, however, that the mint continued to produce autonomous issues for some time after the annexation of Antiochus's kingdom.

The same group of coins has also shed important light on the denominational system employed by the Anemurium mint during the second half of the first century. This was made possible through Ziegler's success in tracking down most of the specimens from the original group as they were listed in auction catalogues of German coin dealers during the period 1988 through 1991, from which he gleaned information on their size, weight and die position.<sup>21</sup> The crucial evidence, however, was the presence amongst the civic coins of Anemurium and other neighboring cities, of coins of Vespasian's reign issued by an imperial mint of Asia Minor, possibly a short-lived successor to the royal mint of Commagene. They comprised 9 asses and 3 dupondia, the latter dated to A.D. 74.<sup>22</sup> Since it is now generally agreed that there was at least an approximate metrological relationship between the imperial as and the assarion of the civic mints of the eastern Empire, it proved possible, by collating the imperial coins with the Anemurium coins, to identify with some confidence four separate denominations and their respective types.<sup>23</sup> They include the assarion itself with a diameter of 20-22 mm. and a weight of around 7 gm., and two fractions consisting of a quarter assarion, with diameter of ca. 15 mm. and weight of 2-3 gm., and a half assarion measuring 18-19 mm. in diameter and weighing around 4-5 gm. The largest of the coins, with diameter of 24-25 mm. and weighing 10-11 gm. may be identified as the 1 1/2 assaria denomination.<sup>24</sup> The relative scarcity of coins of the Anemurium mint from the second century makes it difficult to

<sup>19</sup> Ziegler 1996, nos. 437-460.

<sup>20</sup> Ziegler 1996, 450 no. 6. Except for the regnal year, the coin is similar to the Athena (Roma) - Poseidon issue, see above n. 15 and figs. 9 and 17. There is also an unpublished coin of the same type dated to regnal year 17 (A.D. 53-54) in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (ex-Mossop Collection).

<sup>21</sup> The practice of some dealers of omitting the weight of coins listed accounts for the absence of this information in a number of instances in his catalogue of the hoard, Ziegler 1996, 449-457 (Anemurium coins, nos. 5-37).

<sup>22</sup> Ziegler 1996, 455-457, nos. 41-52.

<sup>23</sup> Ziegler 1996, 441-442; Melville-Jones 1971, 99-105; MacDonald 1989, 120-123; MacDonald 1992, 17-23.

<sup>24</sup> The information for each of the cities represented in the hoard is conveniently presented in Ziegler 1996, 444, Table 2.

establish the continuity of this denominational system with any certainty during this period. Nevertheless, for some reigns there is enough variety to conjecture at least some equivalents. During Trajan's reign, for example, there appears to be a consistent system of two groups. The first, with a reverse type depicting the bust of the City Tyche and an average weight of ca. 7.3 gm. and diameter of 24-25 mm., probably represents the assarion (fig. 13). The second, with Artemis as huntress on the reverse, having an average weight of ca. 14.8 gm. and diameter of 28-29 mm., may have a value of 2 assaria (fig. 12).<sup>25</sup>

I now turn to the iconography featured on the reverses of Anemurium's coinage. As one might expect, some images are commonplace and may be regarded as standard motifs for civic coinage throughout the eastern empire. These include the city's name inscribed in a laurel wreath with the emperor's year in the bottom line (fig. 14), or the city Tyché represented either as a bust with mural crown or in the form of a cult statue standing within the arched central intercolumniation of a tetrastyle temple or, less frequently, a smaller distyle temple (fig. 15). Rather unexpected, however, is the variety of deities represented on Anemurium reverses. This is remarkable for a relatively modest city, especially when we contrast the range of the coin images with the scarce evidence for the city's cults produced from the excavation of the site. In fact, not a trace of any of the city's temples survives in situ, though large architectural blocks suitable for a temple were found reused in later buildings or submerged beneath the sea close to the shore where they may have formed part of a capsized load of spolia destined for reuse in the mediaeval Mamuriye Castle about 10 kilometres along the coast to the east. Only two inscriptions give any indication of cults practised in the city. Both record dedications, one to Asclepius and the other to Isis; yet neither deity has thus far appeared in the coinage.<sup>26</sup> Instead, we encounter Apollo frequently represented in coins of the first century as a nude youth in typical contraposto pose either standing free or leaning on a cippus and holding a bow or branch in his right hand (fig. 10). In coins after this date Apollo usually appears leaning on a lyre either standing on its own or supported by a short column or tripod (fig. 16). Poseidon also appears, but exclusively in autonomous issues of the first century, generally attributable to the reign of Antiochus IV. These show him draped in a himation holding a trident in his left hand and a dolphin in his extended right hand (fig. 17). Much more frequent, from the second century onwards, is Dionysus shown standing nude except for the *nebris*, his left hand holding the thyrsus, sometimes beribboned, and holding in his extended right hand a cantharus or phiale, from which he pours a libation over a panther with head reverted (fig. 18). Artemis as huntress is by far the most common deity depicted throughout the

<sup>25</sup> There is also some consistency in the allocation of reverses for other reigns also, smaller denominations bearing the bust of the city Tyche; the large denominations show Artemis as huntress with short tunic.

<sup>26</sup> Russell 1973, 320-321, fig. 2 (Asclepius). The Isis inscription awaits publication.

entire history of the mint, though there are variations in the form of her dress as mentioned previously (figs. 11 and 12). An interesting feature worth mentioning is a countermark in the form of Artemis as huntress to be found on the obverse of coins of Alexander Severus (fig. 19).<sup>27</sup>

Artemis is also depicted in a much less familiar fashion on reverses beginning with the reign of Alexander Severus. In these she is depicted as a cult figure standing on a base, her body, including her legs, swathed like a mummy in a series of hoops composed of individual round globules (fig. 20). Her entire figure is veiled by a light mantle which sometimes encloses the *polos* she wears on her head, but in other instances the *polos* rests on top of her veiled head.<sup>28</sup> She holds a sprig in each outstretched hand, while at her left and right appear one or two stags or a stag and hind always with heads reverted. This image of Artemis closely resembles the Artemis of Ephesus and a number of other cities of Asia Minor. Artemis in this guise bears little relation to the traditional hellenizing image of the huntress, but has its roots deep in the soil of Anatolia as the primeval Mistress of the Beasts. It is intriguing to find this ancient Anatolian deity suddenly reasserting herself in the mid-third century alongside the long dominant hellenizing image of Artemis the Huntress on the coinage of Anemurium.<sup>29</sup>

It is tempting to identify in the image of a lion depicted on reverses of coins of Maximinus Thrax an allusion to another Anatolian deity, Cybele in this case (fig. 21). It appears in several variant forms, sometimes walking and sometimes bounding forward, but always accompanied by a star and crescent in the field above.<sup>30</sup> The association of Cybele with lions and the syncretism that frequently links her with Men, the Moon goddess, another hallowed Anatolian deity, may likewise be seen as another reference to a revival of indigenous forms of religion in this region of Asia Minor in the third century.

We may conclude with another Anemurium reverse that also contains an unmistakable reference to the ancient mythological traditions of Anatolia. This takes the form of the hero Perseus. The image first appears in a unique autonomous issue of first century date,<sup>31</sup> and then reappears in several variations in the reign of Maximinus (fig. 22). In these Perseus is depicted in a variety of poses, nude, except for his winged sandals and chlamys flowing from his shoulders. In each case the gorgon's head is held in his left hand to

<sup>27</sup> e.g. Ziegler 1988, nos. 205-206.

<sup>28</sup> e.g. v. Aulock 3, 1964, no. 5523; Levante 1986, nos. 506-507 (*polos* above veil); Levante 1986, nos. 519, 520 (*polos* covered by veil).

<sup>29</sup> For comprehensive treatment of this image in Asia Minor with comparative discussion of coinage, including that of Anemurium, Fleischer 1973, 258-59 (Anemurium).

<sup>30</sup> e.g. Levante Supp. 1993, no. 120; *SNG France* 2, 1993, no. 711; *BMC* 21, 1900, 42, no. 6.

<sup>31</sup> Levante 1986, no. 489.

face the viewer, while his right hand holds his knife or *harpé*.<sup>32</sup> The figure of Perseus as portrayed here and in other representations is well attested in the coinage of other cities of Cilicia, at Iotape and Coropissus in Rough Cilicia, for example, and at Aegeae in Cilicia Pedias.<sup>33</sup> His most significant appearance, however, is in the coinage of Tarsus, the metropolis of the province, which, according to one tradition, claimed Perseus as its founder.<sup>34</sup> The Greek noun *tarsos*, from which the city derived its name, was believed to be the footprint or hoofprint of either Perseus himself or his steed Pegasus. It would thus not be out of place for smaller cities of the same province to honour the founder of the principal city of the region. The general concentration of representations of Perseus in coins and other forms of art in the central and southeastern parts of Asia Minor, however, suggests a deeper significance for the phenomenon that would identify Perseus with one of the indigenous heroes of Asia Minor.<sup>35</sup> It is surely not a coincidence that Pegasus, Chrysaor and the Gorgon are depicted in the painted tombs at Kızıbel near Elmalı in northern Lycia excavated by Machteld Mellink, and dated by her as early as 500 B.C.<sup>36</sup> Lycia, of course, is normally identified with Bellerophon, with connections dating back to the Bronze Age. Given the widespread popularity of Perseus in the iconography of the same general region, however, it is tempting to see in him also a native Anatolian hero who is eventually transformed on the reverses of the local coinage of Anemurium and other cities of southern Asia Minor into the familiar hellenized image of Perseus.

The final topic relating to the coinage of Anemurium is of a very different order. It is a silver coin categorized as "unbekanntes Unikum" in the catalogue for an auction held in November 1910 by the Munich coin dealer, Dr. Eugen Merzbacher.<sup>37</sup> The obverse depicts a laureate head of Apollo with the faint but legible legend ΦΙΛΟΚΥ - ΠΡΟ [Υ or Σ](fig. 23). On the reverse appears the naked Hercules striding to the right, with lionskin over his head and outstretched left arm and carrying his club in his right hand and bow with arrow in position in his left (fig. 24). The legend is equally indistinct, but close scrutiny leaves no doubt about the reading ANEMΩ - ΠΙΕΩΝ.

<sup>32</sup> e.g. Levante 1986, nos. 498-499; Levante Supp. 1993, no. 119; SNG France 2, 1993, nos. 708-710.

<sup>33</sup> Coropissos (scene of Perseus and Andromeda), Levante 1986, no. 590; Levante Supp. 1993, no. 157; SNG France 2, 1993, nos. 770, 775. Iotape (Perseus holding *gorgoneion*), SNG France 2, 1993, no. 677; Aegeae, Levante 1986, no. 1700, 1717 (head of Perseus); 1782 (Perseus standing holding *gorgoneion*).

<sup>34</sup> Perseus appears in a variety of forms at Tarsos. For depictions of him holding *gorgoneion* and *harpé*, Levante 1986, no. 1112; SNG France 2, 1993, nos. 1614, 1627, 1637, 1716-1717.

<sup>35</sup> For detailed treatment of the Perseus myth in relation to Tarsus and Asia Minor generally, Robert 1987, 98-121.

<sup>36</sup> The scene depicts the birth of Pegasus and Chrysaor, Mellink 1970, 251-253; Pl. 61.

<sup>37</sup> Merzbacher 1910, 52, no. 799, Pl. 14.

The coin, subsequently acquired by the Münzkabinett of the Staatliche Museen of Berlin, remains as much an "Unikum" today as at the time of its sale in 1910.<sup>38</sup> Everything about the coin, its style, size and weight appropriate to a Persian stater, the local significance of both legends referring to Cyprus and Anemurium respectively, is consistent with coastal Rough Cilicia. This region of the Persian Empire had a well established tradition of hellenization, admirably exemplified in the fifth and fourth century B.C. mints of Nagidos and Kelenderis, both within a short sailing distance of Anemurium and Cyprus alike. Both the Apollo obverse and the Hercules on the reverse quite closely resemble images on coins of certain Cypriot cities, such as Marium, Citium and Lapethus, dating to the early fourth century B.C.<sup>39</sup> The existence of this coin raises many interesting issues, but I restrict myself to one, the evidence that the Berlin stater of Anemurium provides for a community not only of sufficient size to have a distinct identity, but important enough to merit mention on a coin of considerable value. The earliest written record of a city at Cape Anamur appears in an entry in the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Skylax believed to date to the mid-fourth century. Here Anemurium is described as "promontory and city".<sup>40</sup> The coin thus confirms the testimony of Pseudo-Skylax for a city on the site in the fourth century. On the other hand, the excavations have produced no evidence of occupation earlier than the beginning of the third century.<sup>41</sup> This dearth of material from the late Persian period at Anemurium is all the more perplexing, especially when we compare it to the evidence for a prosperous civic life during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. that has emerged in recent years from excavations at the neighboring cities of Nagidos and Kelenderis.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup> I am indebted to the late Professor Olivier Masson for notifying me of the coin's present location in Berlin and to Dr. H.-D. Schultz for providing me with a cast of the coin and information about its appearance and weight.

<sup>39</sup> e.g. *BMC* 24, 1904, Pl. 2, no. 11, Pl. 3, nos. 2, 11, Pl. 4, nos. 21-23 (Hercules at Citium); Pl. 6, nos. 9-11, Pl. 20, nos. 5-6 (Apollo at Marium), Pl. 19, nos. 7, 9-13 (Hercules at Lapethus).

<sup>40</sup> *Periplus* 102.

<sup>41</sup> The earliest datable material from the site are three coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes datable to ca. 290. From similar contexts were recovered several fragments of black glazeware, possibly of late fourth century date.

<sup>42</sup> For recent discoveries at Nagidos, Jones - Russell 1993, 295; for Kelenderis, Zoroğlu 1994.



CAPTIONS

- Fig. 1. Coin of Anemurium found in excavation, obv. bust of Marcus Aurelius or Lucius Verus (Anamur Museum, Inv. no. 1.525.90).
- Fig. 2. Rev. of fig. 1, City Tyche in tetrastyle temple.
- Fig. 3. Cast of Anemurium coin, obv. bust of Valerian, Year 2 (London, Brit. Mus. 1913: 12-4-9).
- Fig. 4. Cast of Anemurium coin, obv. bust of Valerian Year 3 (London, Brit. Mus. 1979: 1-1-2560).
- Fig. 5. Cast of Anemurium coin, obv. bust of Valerian Year 3 (London, Brit. Mus., Hill BMC 21, 1900, p. 43, no. 12).
- Fig. 6. Coin of Anemurium, obv. bust of Gallienus, Year 2 (Lanz, München, Aukt. 56, 13 May, 1991, no. 725).
- Fig. 7. Cast of Anemurium coin, obv. bust of Gallienus, Year 3 (London, Brit. Mus. 1988: 5-16-14).
- Fig. 8. Cast of Anemurium coin, autonomous issue, obv. head of City Tyche (Paris, Cab. Méd.: SNG, France 2, no. 695).
- Fig. 9. Cast of Anemurium coin, autonomous issue, obv. bust of Athena (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus., Mossop Coll.).
- Fig. 10. Rev. of Fig. 8, Apollo leaning on cippus.
- Fig. 11. Cast of Anemurium coin, Titus, rev. Artemis as huntress (Berlin, Staatl. Mus.).
- Fig. 12. Coin of Anemurium, Trajan, rev. Artemis as huntress (Ex. Mabbott Coll. Holzer Auct., June 1969, no. 2142).
- Fig. 13. Cast of Anemurium coin, Trajan, rev. head of City Tyche (London, Brit. Mus. 1979: 1-1-2556, ex. von Aulock, SNG Deutschland 3, 1964, no. 5519).
- Fig. 14. Rev. of Fig. 3, city name in wreath.
- Fig. 15. Rev. of Fig. 4, City Tyche in tetrastyle temple.
- Fig. 16. Rev. of Fig. 7, Apollo with lyre on tripod.
- Fig. 17. Rev. of Fig. 9, Poseidon.
- Fig. 18. Cast of Anemurium coin, Alexander Severus, Year 13, rev. Dionysus and panther (London, Brit. Mus. 1975: 4-11-303).
- Fig. 19. Coin of Anemurium, Alexander Severus, obv. with countermark of Artemis as huntress (Lanz, München, Aukt. 52, 14 May 1990, no. 601).
- Fig. 20. Cast of Anemurium coin, Philip Sr., Year 2, rev. mummy-shaped figure of Artemis (London, Brit. Mus., Hill BMC 21, 1900, p. 42, no. 7).
- Fig. 21. Cast of Anemurium coin, Maximinus, Year 1, rev. lion with star in crescent (London, Brit. Mus., Hill BMC 21, 1900, p. 42, no. 6).
- Fig. 22. Cast of Anemurium coin, Maximinus, Year 1, rev. Perseus (London, Brit. Mus. 1979: 1-1-2557, ex von Aulock, SNG Deutschland 3, 1964, 5521).

Fig. 23. Cast of silver coin of Anemurium, obv. head of Apollo (Dr. Eugen Merzbacher, München, Aukt. 15 November, 1910, no. 799).

Fig. 24. Rev. of Fig. 23, Herakles striding.

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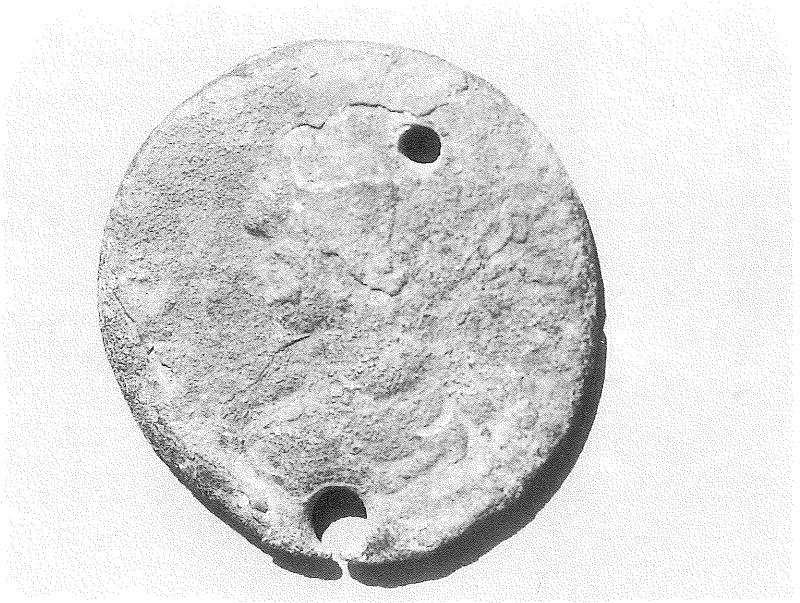


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8





Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 24