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COINAGE OF THE ARMENIAN KINGDOMS OF SOPHENE AND COMMAGENE

(PLATES 11–12)

PAUL Z. BEDOUKIAN

Certain types of coins which have on the obverse a characteristic headdress (called the Armenian tiara by Babelon, Langlois, Blau, and others) were struck in southwestern Armenia during the first three centuries before Christ. Although the existence of these coins has long been known, a systematic study of them has not been made because of the paucity of specimens and the lack of historical evidence for their proper attribution. Recent excavations at Nemroud Dag¹ have shed much light on the history of this region—especially of Sophene and Commagene. In addition, much new material has surfaced, making it now possible to attempt a chronological attribution of the coinage of these two Armenian kingdoms.

Historians have generally acknowledged that Armenian and Greek tribes entered Asia Minor from Europe in the eighth century B.C. and gradually spread eastward toward the highlands of historic Armenia. By the sixth century B.C., Armenians were already settled over the lands of the Urartuan kingdom and were in close contact with the Medes.

During the rise of the Achaemenid empire, Armenia constituted a distinct province governed by satraps. Often these satraps were native rulers who had allied themselves with the Persian kings and partici-

¹ F. K. Dorner and T. Goell, *Arsameia am Nymphaios: Die Ausgrabungen im Hierothesion des Mithridates Kallinikos von 1953–1956* (Berlin, 1963) L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latin de la Syrie* (Paris, 1929), 1, pp. 2–42.

pated in their military expeditions. For example, in the year 612 B.C., an Armenian ruler, Paruir, took part in the sack of Nineveh and was rewarded by being recognized king of Greater Armenia. Several centuries later, King Orontes of Armenia joined the Persian army with a contingent of 40,000 infantrymen and 7,000 horsemen in the battle of Arbela (331 B.C.) which resulted in the total victory of Alexander over Darius. The Orontid kingdom, however, was never conquered by Alexander. Its rulers were descended from the Achaemenid royalty and for a time controlled all of historic Armenia, including Sophene and Commagene.

Sophene, situated between the Euphrates and the Tigris rivers, separated the Hittites from the Urartuans. After Alexander's victory over Darius, it became the first region exposed to Greek influence and adopted some aspects of Greek culture. Around the third century B.C., the Seleucids forced its separation from historic Armenia and allowed it to form an independent kingdom. The rulers of Greater Armenia apparently did not issue coins, but the Armenian kingdom of Sophene, which included Commagene initially, followed the western custom of issuing coinage.

Perhaps the greatest single obstacle in studying the coinage of Sophene and related Armenian principalities has been the prevailing opinion that Sophene and Greater Armenia were governed by the same family of rulers.² Both Toumanoff and Lang presented us with a sequence of rulers of Armenia which included not only the kings of Sophene but also six Orontid kings who ruled over Greater Armenia. Because the names of the rulers of both Sophene and Greater Armenia were mixed together, it was hitherto impossible to correctly attribute the coinage of Armenia from the fifth to the first century B.C.

The excavations of the tumulus of Antiochus Theos of Commagene at the beginning of the twentieth century changed the picture and provided us with much information on the Orontids and on Sophene. They established that Sophene was a distinct and different Armenian kingdom. The recently published Armenian encyclopedia clearly diffe-

² C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Washington, 1963), pp. 282, 293-94; David M. Lang, *Armenia, Cradle of Civilization* (London, 1970), p. 121.

rentiates the kingdom of Sophene at the start of the third century B.C from that of Greater Armenia.³

The inscriptions of Nemroud Dagħ list the ancestors of Antiochus I and connect his lineage with the Orontids of Armenia and the Achaemenid house. They also list the kings of Sophene, who were closely related to the ruling dynasties of Armenia and Persia. We are thus able to study the coinage of Sophene as that of a dynasty separate from Greater Armenia.

It has been noted that Armenians named their cities after the rulers who founded them.⁴ This custom prevailed in Greater Armenia and in Sophene as well. A number of cities around Mount Ararat were named after the Artaxiad kings, and hundreds of miles southwest, we find another set of cities named after the rulers of Sophene.

Our present knowledge and the numismatic material now available make it possible to present the following chronology of the rulers of Sophene and of Commagene and their coinage.

SOPHENE

SAMES (ca. 260 B.C.)

Toumanoff⁵ writes that the city of Samosata was first mentioned in the year 245 B.C. by Erasthenes who stated that Ziaelas of Bythnia took refuge in that city in 260 B.C. It seems justifiable to conclude that its founder, Sames, ruled around that time. Although no historical record exists concerning the rule of Sames, his coins were described as early as 1754.⁶ Somewhat later, Belley⁷ gave a fuller description of the

³ *Haikakan Sovetagan Hanrakidaran* [Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia] (Erevan, Arm. S.S.R., 1970), vol. 5, s.v. "Sophene," pp. 139–41 (B. Haroutunian).

⁴ H. A. Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade*, trans. Nina G. Garsoian (Lisbon, 1965), e.g. pp. 34 and 37.

⁵ Toumanoff (above, n. 2), p. 280.

⁶ E. Froelich, *Armenia Regum Numismatum*. . . (Vienna, 1754), pp. 89–91.

⁷ L'Abbe Belley, *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, vol. 26 (Paris, 1840), pp. 355, 380.

coins and attributed them to Sames. Subsequently, other numismatists have accepted this attribution.⁸

In his treatise on the coinage of ancient Armenia, Langlois⁹ mentions the single specimen found in the Vienna Museum. Both Langlois and Babelon¹⁰ considered this coin to be Commagenian. This is incorrect because at that time Commagene was part of the kingdom of Sophene, and the coin was issued by Sames of Sophene.

Sames initiated a style of coinage (Plate 11, 1) with the pointed headdress which, as mentioned above, underwent a gradual change and led to the tiara seen on the coins of the Artaxiads of Greater Armenia.¹¹ On the obverse, the king's head is turned right: he is wearing a tall, conical cap with a diadem, ending in a bow in the back and long strands falling down the neck. On the reverse are the names of the king and Thyrses of Dionysos, with interlaced cornucopiae. At least six examples of the coins of Sames have been found in various collections.

ARSAMES I (ca. 240 B.C.)

It is interesting that two cities were named after Arsames, Arsamosata and Arsameia. Dittenberger¹² and Jalabert and Mouterde¹³ examined the chronological sequence of the rulers of this dynasty and reached the conclusion that there were two kings named Arsames. Although Toumanoff¹⁴ disagrees with this conclusion, numismatic evidence (the existence of two types of coins bearing the name Arsames) strongly supports the argument in favor of two rulers named Arsames.

⁸ J. Eckel, *Catalogue du Musée de Vienne*, p. 252; T. E. Mionnet, *Descriptions des médailles antiques, grecques et romaines*, vol. 4 (1807), p. 454; E. Q. Visconti, *Iconographie Ancienne, Iconographie Grecque*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1811), pp. 345–64.

⁹ V. Langlois, *Numismatique de l'Arménie dans l'Antiquité* (Paris, 1859), p. 9.

¹⁰ E. Babelon, *Rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène* (Paris, 1890), p. ccviii.

¹¹ P. Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of the Artaxiads of Armenia*, RNS Special Publication 10 (London, 1978), p. 4.

¹² W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis graeci inscriptiones selectae* 1 (Leipzig, 1903), p. 611.

¹³ L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie* (Paris, 1929), p. 28.

¹⁴ Toumanoff (above, n. 2), p. 281.

Some Arsames coins (Plate 11, 2–4), the obverses of which are remarkably similar to those of Sames, certainly belong to the first Arsames. On the reverse is a horseman galloping right, holding a spear in his right hand. A figure in front of the horse may represent a foot soldier. This reverse type appears on a coin that Mørkholm¹⁵ attributed to Ariarathes III of Cappadocia who ruled in that period. A variant of the reverse has two foot soldiers facing the armed horseman and a fallen soldier beneath the horse's feet. Two denominations of this coin were struck.

ARSAMES II (ca. 230 B.C.)

Arsames II is reported to have offered asylum to Antiochus Hierax, the viceroy of Asia Minor and brother of Seleucus II. Antiochus, by setting himself up as an independent king, had incurred the wrath of his brother. The obverse design on the coins of Arsames II is different from that of the preceding king. Instead of being conical, the tiara now resembles a cap and does not have the sharp point (Plate 11, 5–8). It sits lightly on the head with the diadem circling the forehead and ending in a bow in the back, then hanging down the neck. On the reverse of the large coppers, under the legend, is a horseman with a cap and floating robes, holding a spear in his right hand, galloping to the right. The larger copper coins of Arsames II have been described by Visconti, Langlois, Babelon¹⁶ and others.

The obverse of the smaller copper coins is identical to the large coppers, with the head of the king turned right and the same type of tiara. There are a number of variations in the reverse design, however, perhaps suggesting that this king ruled over a longer period than his predecessor. On one type is a nude figure, standing and facing, with the right arm extended from the elbow, the left holding a club. A second type shows an eagle turned left holding a bolt of lightning. The third

¹⁵ O. Mørkholm, "The Classification of Cappadocian Coins," *NC* 1969, p. 22, pl. 5.

¹⁶ Visconti (above, n. 8), pp. 345–64; Langlois (above, n. 9), p. 12; Babelon (above, n. 10), p. 211.

type shows the caps of dioscouri along with the legend found on the others.¹⁷

XERXES (ca. 220 B.C.)

Xerxes was the son of Arsames and succeeded his father to the throne. A passage from Polybius¹⁸ sheds considerable light on the events during his rule. It appears that Antiochus IV Epiphanes resolved to subdue Sophene and besieged Xerxes in his city of Arsamosata. Unable to resist such a powerful adversary, Xerxes sued for peace. It was granted on condition that he pay the tribute owed to Antiochus by Arsames. The payment is said to have consisted of 300 talents, 1,000 horses, and 1,000 mules with their harnesses. As a gesture of amity, Antiochus gave his sister in marriage to Xerxes.

The Nemroud Dagh inscriptions do not list Xerxes as one of the ancestors of Antiochus I of Commagene. However, as Toumanoff¹⁹ has pointed out, not all the inscriptions have survived. The existence of coinage issued by Xerxes is ample proof that he was a ruler of this dynasty. Moreover, judging from the fabric and style of his coins, he was either the son or the successor of Arsames II.

The coinage of Xerxes (Plate 11, 9–10, 13–14; Plate 12, 15) shows the continued evolution in the design of the headdress of the kings of Sophene. The cap-like headdress is placed lightly on the head, with the diadem around the head and hanging in the back. The coins of Xerxes show the tiara folded, and open on the side. Unlike his predecessor, the king is heavily bearded, but as on all the coins of this dynasty, he is facing right. Several types of coins, in two denominations, are known to have been struck by Xerxes.

The earliest example of a chalcus of this king was described by Froehlich²⁰ and later, by Langlois, Babelon and other writers. On the reverse of this coin is a representation of victory standing left, holding a crown or wreath in her extended right arm, with the left hand resting

¹⁷ NFA 10, 17 Sept. 1981, 227–28.

¹⁸ Polybius, 8.23.

¹⁹ Toumanoff (above, n. 2), p. 283.

²⁰ E. Froelich (above, n. 6), pp. 91–100.

on the belt of her tunic. Other examples show Athena holding the crown and resting her left arm on a shield. Zeus appears on the reverse of a third variety, seated, holding Nike in his right hand, the left resting on a shield.

ABDISSARES (ca. 210 B.C.)

No information has survived from early historians to establish the genealogical position of this king. However, the striking similarity of his coins (Plate 12, 16–17) to those of Xerxes leaves little doubt that Abdissares was his successor. On the obverse, the king is turned right and is lightly bearded. The reverse of the larger coppers shows an eagle standing right. A similar eagle appears on the smaller versions of this coin. A horse's head, turned right, is on a second variety of the smaller denomination.

Visconti²¹ was apparently the first to note the similarity between the coins of this king and those of Xerxes and to conclude that they belonged to a king of Arsamosata. Subsequently, de Saulcy²² published an article on the coinage of Abdissares. Other numismatists, including Langlois²³ and Babelon²⁴ mentioned the existence of several types of coins struck by this king.

ZARIADRES (ca. 190 B.C.)

It appears that the Seleucids had extended their power over Sophene at the beginning of the third century B.C. and had appointed Zariadres (Zareh) as the strategus of Sophene. In the battle of Magnesia (189 B.C.), the Romans crushed the power of the Seleucids. Taking advantage of the situation, Zariadres declared his independence and was later recognized as king by Rome. It is interesting that the strategus

²¹ Visconti (above, n. 8), p. 329.

²² M. de Saulcy, *Bulletin archéologique de l'Athenaeum français* (1855), no. 12, p. 101.

²³ Langlois (above, n. 9), pp. 15–18.

²⁴ Babelon (above, n. 10), p. cxciv.

of Greater Armenia, Artaxias, likewise declared his independence and established the Artaxiad dynasty.

These events have been described in some detail by Strabo.²⁵ Strabo made a significant remark to the effect that the political situation resulted in the formation of two independent countries whose people spoke the same language. Historians made the same statement a hundred years later when Tigranes the Great joined Sophene and adjacent lands to his empire. There seems to be no doubt that both Sophene and Commagene at that time were inhabited by Armenian people.

Friedlander²⁶ was the first to describe a coin with the legend ΔΣΑΠΙ (Plate 12, 18) which he attributed to a ruler in Armenia. Blau,²⁷ in discussing the coin in the Berlin Museum, attributed it to Zariadres of Sophene. His views were shared by Babelon; however, Regling considers this coin an issue of Anissa.²⁸

Strabo indicated that Zariadres controlled territories beyond Sophene. Perhaps the establishment of a new realm justified a change from the type of coinage issued by the preceding kings of Sophene. On the obverse, we again see the king's head turned right, wearing a tiara. The headdress, however, is somewhat different, with the flaps under the chin. The different styling of the reverse prompted Babelon to suggest the possibility that this coin was struck outside of Sophene. On the reverse is a deity (Anaitis?) facing, with the right hand raised and holding a flower. At her feet are two sphinxes back to back and facing.

MORPHILIG (ca. 150 B.C.)

Friedlander²⁹ described a coin similar to that of Zariadres in the Berlin Museum, with a deity (Anaitis) standing, holding a flower. The letters ΜΟΠΙ can be expanded to ΜΟΡΙΦΙΛΙΟΣ, as there is no space on the flan for the entire name.

²⁵ Strabo 11. 14. 5, 15.

²⁶ J. Friedlander, "Satrapenmünzen," *ZfN* 4 (1877), pp. 266–67.

²⁷ O. Blau, "Die Herron von Sophene und deren Münzen," *NZ* 9 (1877), p. 104.

²⁸ Babelon (above, n. 10), p. cxcviii; K. Regling, "Dynastenmünzen von Tyana, Morima und Asisa in Kappadokien," *ZfN* 1932, p. 10, no. 11 (Berlin).

²⁹ J. Friedlander (above, n. 26), pp. 266–67.

Morphilig and Zariadres fit into the historical frame of the period. The headdress design on the coins of both kings bears marked similarities to that on the contemporary coins of Cappadocia.

ARTANES (ca. 110 B.C.)

According to Strabo,³⁰ Artanes, a descendant of Zariadres, was the last king of Sophene. He lost his kingdom in 95 B.C. No coins bearing his name are extant. The discovery of such a coin would do much to clarify the end of the coinage of the Sophene dynasty. There exists the possibility that a coin mentioned by LeRider with the incomplete legend ...ABANOY (Artabanus?) belongs to this king.³¹

ARSACES (ca. 90 B.C.)

On the evidence that Tigranes, upon adding Sophene to his empire, placed a certain Arsaces as governor of that region, de Sallet³² suggested that certain coins with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ be attributed to this viceroy.

When Pompey in 69 B.C. signed a peace treaty with Tigranes the Great, he gave Sophene to Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia. As a result, this territory gradually became hellenized and became part of the Roman empire.

COMMAGENE

It was mentioned above that the Seleucids succeeded in detaching Sophene from Greater Armenia and allowed it to become an independent kingdom. This action probably secured the northern mountainous

³⁰ Above, n. 25.

³¹ G. Le Rider, "Monnaies grecques acquises par le Cabinet des Médailles en 1959," *RN* 1959-1960, p. 21, no. 28 (Paris).

³² A. de Sallet, "Die ältesten Tetradrachmen der Arsaciden," *ZfN* 1 (1874), p. 312; see also P. Cl. Sibillan, "Drei sehr seltene Münzen armenischer Dynasten," *NZ* 2 (1870), pl. 8, 3.

frontier and at the same time placed the territory, through which passed a major trade route, under the control of the Seleucids. Later, through the intervention of the Seleucids, Commagene detached itself from Sophene and also became an independent kingdom. The circumstances are not clear, but Diodores of Sicily stated that around 163 B.C., Ptolomaeus, the satrap of Commagene, declared his independence and even captured Melitene from the king of Cappadocia.³³

Numismatists, in discussing the coinage of Commagene, have not considered this country as part of the Armenian kingdom. Historical evidence, however, shows clearly that its language and population was Armenian. It was, in effect, an Armenian kingdom separated from Greater Armenia for political reasons. It lost its connection with Armenia some one hundred fifty years later.

PTOLOMAEUS (ca. 163 B.C.)

We do not have any coins bearing the name of this ruler, which is a little surprising, as one would expect that a ruler beginning a dynasty would have taken pains to issue coins in his name.

MITHRADATES I CALLINICUS (96–70 B.C.)

Several coins (Plate 12, 20–21, 23) have been attributed to this king. It is curious that he ruled during the period when Tigranes had gained control of both Sophene and Commagene. It may be that Mithradates was allowed to strike coins even though he recognized the overlordship of Tigranes. The same situation seems to have occurred with his successor, Antiochus.

A few coins of Callinicus are similar to the ones issued by the kings of Sophene, portraying on the obverse the king's head with the pointed Armenian tiara. Three examples have been described in the literature by Babelon and Troxell.³⁴ On one type, Athena is standing left with

³³ Toumanoff (above, n. 2), pp. 281–82; E. Honigmann, *Kommagene*, pp. 980, 983.

³⁴ Babelon (above, n. 10), p. 217, pl. 30, 2–4; H. Troxell, "Greek Accessions, Asia Minor to India," *ANSMN* 22 (1977), pp. 21–22, pl. 4, 8–10.

extended right hand, the left supporting a spear, with a shield at her feet. A second type attributed to this king shows on the reverse Pegasus with curled wing. The legend is incomplete. Troxell has attributed to Callinicus a third type with Pegasus on the reverse.

Other coins with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ/ΜΙΘΡΙΔΑΤΟΥ which do not portray the king on the obverse must be attributed to Callinicus. The obverse shows an eagle turned right with a palm branch under its left wing. This may represent the coat of arms of Tigranes who had extended his power over Commagene. On the reverse is the king's name, ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΥ, with a palm branch upwards to right. The obverse of another example has an eagle and a winged caduceus. and its reverse has the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ/ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ/ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΥ. A fourth class of coins shows the king with a pointed tiara on the obverse and Pegasus on the reverse. The legends are unclear or missing.

ANTIOCHUS I THEOS (60–34 B.C.)

The accepted date for the beginning of the reign of this king coincides with the defeat of Tigranes at the hands of Pompey. For some reason, the few coins of Antiochus I which have reached us (Plate 12, 25, 27) bear on the obverse the portrait of the king wearing a tiara identical with the tiara seen on the coins of Tigranes.³⁵ This has prompted some discussion.³⁶ Were these coins struck for some years before the defeat of Tigranes, indicating the peaceful acceptance of the suzerainty of Tigranes by Antiochus, or were they struck after Tigranes lost control over Commagene? If the latter is true, then Antiochus must have adopted the Armenian tiara to stress the legitimacy of his succession as a descendant of the Armenian Orontid house which in turn was related to the Achaemenid house. The answer to these questions must be left to the historians, but it is clear that Antiochus, by placing the Armenian tiara on his coins, was either declaring himself to be a vassal

³⁵ *BMCCappadocia*, p. 102, pl. 14, 4.

³⁶ P. Z. Bedoukian, "A Coin of Tigranes the Great of Armenia, Struck in Commagene," *NC* 1970, pp. 19–22; R. D. Sullivan, "Diadochic Coinage in Commagene after Tigranes the Great," *NC* 1973, pp. 18–39.

of Tigranes the Great or was claiming that he had the same dynastic lineage as Tigranes.

In any event, after Antiochus, Commagene became a Roman province and the coins of the succeeding kings are entirely different in style and fabric. They are in effect Roman coins, indicating the termination of Commagene as an Armenian state.

Until recently only one type of coin of Antiochus I Theos was known. On the obverse is the portrait of the king wearing the Armenian tiara, and on the reverse, the lion of Commagene walking right, with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ANTIOXOY. Recently the author acquired a second type of copper (Plate 12, 26) struck by this king, which appears to be overstruck on an unidentifiable coin. On the obverse is the familiar youthful portrait of the king turned right. On the reverse is an eagle, standing right on a branch with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ANTIOXOY.

SOPHENE

SAMES (ca. 260 B.C.)

Two Chalci

1. *Obv.*: Head of Sames r. wearing pointed tiara with ends of diadem hanging at back of neck; behind head, a laurel branch; border of dots.
- Rev.*: Thyrsos of Dionysos, between two cornucopiae interlaced; to l. upward ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΣΑΜΟY; to r. upward ΘΕΟΣΕ-ΒΟΥΣ/ΚΑΙΦΙΚΑΙΟΥ.

Bibliothèque Nationale, 4.80 g, 4.15 g; Paul Bedoukian, 7.69 g, 7.56 g (Plate 11, 1); Hunterian Museum, one specimen; Mechitarian Museum, Vienna, one specimen; Hermitage, 6.14 g.

ARSAMES I (ca. 240 B.C.)

Two chalci

2. *Obv.*: Head of Arsames r. wearing pointed tiara with drapes covering neck.

Rev.: Horseman advancing r. with spear in r. hand and pointed at foot soldier or soldiers facing him with shield and spear; sometimes below horse, a fallen soldier; above horseman ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ.

Paul Bedoukian, 6.45 g (Plate 11, 2a), 5.87 g (Plate 11, 2b); British Museum, 4.51 g; Jack Guevrekian, 4.25 g.

One chalcus

3. *Obv.*: As 2.

Rev.: As 2.

Paul Bedoukian, 3.18 g, 2.92 g (Plate 11, 3).

4. *Obv.*: As 2.

Rev.: Winged thunderbolt; to l. upward ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ; to r. uncertain.

American Numismatic Society, 3.61 g (Plate 11, 4).

ARSAMES II (CA. 230 B.C.)

Two chalci

5. *Obv.*: Head of king r. wearing tiara with flat top like a cap; a diadem encircles the head, ends in bow, and hangs down neck.

Rev.: Horseman advancing r. holding spear in r. hand and wearing similar headdress; above horseman ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ.

Paul Bedoukian, 8.35 g (Plate 11, 5); Bibliothèque Nationale, 6.59 g; Mechitarian Museum, Vienna, one specimen.

6. *Obv.*: As 5.

Rev.: Nude figure standing and facing, r. arm extended from elbow and l. arm holding long club; to r. downward ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; to l. downward ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ.

Paul Bedoukian, 6.41 g, 5.37 g (Plate 11, 6); Jack Guevrekian, 7.68 g; British Museum, three specimens.

One chalcus

7. *Obv.*: As 5.

Rev.: Eagle standing r. holding thunderbolt; legends as 6.

Paul Bedoukian, 5.27 g (Plate 11, 7), 3.87 g; Mechitarian Museum, Vienna, one specimen.

8. *Obv.*: As 5.

Rev.: Caps of dioscuroi; legends as 6.

Paul Bedoukian, 3.25 g (Plate 11, 8).

XERXES (CA. 220 B.C.)

Two chalci

9. *Obv.*: Bearded head of king r. wearing folded tiara; diademed with ribbon hanging behind head; in l. field, monogram Σ .

Rev.: Victory standing l. holding crown in extended r. hand, l. hand resting on belt of tunic; in field monogram \mathbf{N} ; to r. downward ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ; to l. downward ΧΕΡΧΟΥ .

Paul Bedoukian, 5.43 g (Plate 11, 9); Bibliothèque Nationale, 5.42 g; Berlin Museum, 4.97 g; Mechitarian Museum, Vienna, one specimen.

10. *Obv.*: As 9, no monogram.

Rev.: Athena seated holding a figure (Minerva?) in extended r. hand; l. hand resting on large shield; legends as 9, no monogram.

British Museum, 4.51 g (Plate 11, 10).

One chalcus

11. *Obv.*: As 10.

Rev.: As 9, monogram H.

Bibliothèque Nationale, 1.90 g.

12. *Obv.*: As 11.

Rev.: As 9, monogram Z.

Rollin collection (see Langlois).

13. *Obv.*: As 11.
Rev.: As 9, monogram N.
 British Museum, 1.89 g (Plate 11, 13).
14. *Obv.*: As 9.
Rev.: As 10.
 Bibliothèque Nationale, 1.90 g (Plate 11, 14) Hermitage Museum, one specimen.
15. *Obv.*: As 9.
Rev.: Athena standing l. holding crown in extended r. hand and resting l. arm on shield.
 Bibliothèque Nationale, 2.52 g (Plate 12, 15); Mechitarian Museum, Vienna, one specimen; Hermitage Museum, one specimen.

ABDISSARES (CA. 210 B.C.)

Two chalci

16. *Obv.*: Head of king r., lightly bearded, wearing folded tiara; diademed, with, ribbon hanging behind head; beaded border.
Rev.: Eagle standing r; to r. downward ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; to l. downward ΑΒΔΙΣΣΑΡΟΥ.
 American Numismatic Society, 6.73; Paul Bedoukian, 5.71 g (Plate 12, 16a); Bibliothèque Nationale, 7.40 g; Berlin Museum, 9.44 g (Plate 12, 16b), 7.25 g; Jack Guevrekian, 7.77 g.

One chalcus

17. *Obv.*: As 16.
Rev.: As 16.
 American Numismatic Society, 2.18 g; British Museum, 2.99 g (Plate 12, 17); Bibliothèque Nationale, 2.15 g, 1.85 g; Mechitarian Museum, Vienna, one specimen.

ZARIADRES (CA. 190 B.C.)

18. *Obv.*: Head of king r., wearing a tiara with flaps tied under chin.
Rev.: Deity (Anaitis?) standing facing; r. hand raised, holding

flowers: at feet two sphinxes, seated, back to back and facing; to r. downward ANIΣA/ΔΩ; to l. downward ΔΣΑΠΙ.

British Museum, 5.42 g (Plate 12, 18); Berlin Museum, one specimen.

MORPHILIG (ca. 150 B.C.)

19. *Obv.*: Head of king turned r., wearing pointed tiara with flaps tied under chin.

Rev.: Deity (Anaitis?) standing; to r. downward ΔΣΑΠΙ [ΑΔΡΙΟΣ]; below deity ΜΟΡΙ[ΦΙΛΙΟΣ].

Berlin Museum, one specimen.

ARTANES (ca. 70 B.C.)

No known coins.

ARSACES (after 70 B.C.)

No known coins, but see A. de Sallet, "Die ältesten Tetradrachmen der Arsaciden, *ZfN* 1 (1874), p. 312, and P. Cl. Sibilian, "Drei sehr seltene Münzen armenischer Dynasten," *NZ* 2 (1870), pl. 8, 3.

COMMAGENE

PTOLOMAEUS (ca. 163 B.C.)

No known coins.

MITHRIDATES CALLINICUS (96–70 B.C.)

Two chalci

20. *Obv.*: Head of Mithridates r., beardless, wearing pointed tiara with flaps down and behind neck.

Rev.: Athena wearing helmet and long chiton, standing l.; r. hand extended while l. hand supports spear; large shield rests at her feet; to r. downward ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; to l. downward, ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ/ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΥ.

American Numismatic Society, 8.47 g; Bibliothèque Nationale, 6.55 g; Hunterian Museum, 7.52 g; Paul Bedoukian, 5.72 g (Plate 12, 20), 5.56 g, 5.53 g, 5.49 g, 5.41 g, 5.33 g.

One chalcus

21. *Obv.*: As 20.

Rev.: As 20.

Paul Bedoukian, 4.54 g (Plate 12, 21); Berlin Museum, 4.77 g; British Museum, 3.88 g.

22. *Obv.*: Head of king r. wearing tall pointed tiara, with ties ending in bow at back of head and long strands falling down over back of neck.

Rev.: Pegasus with curved wings l.; below, sword; above ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; below ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ.

American Numismatic Society, 3.47 g (Plate 12, 22).

23. *Obv.*: Eagle turned r. and holding palm branch under left wing.

Rev.: Palm branch upward and curving right; to l. upward ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ; to r. upward ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΥ.

Bibliothèque Nationale, 3.85 g, 3.39 g; British Museum, 4.52 g (Plate 12, 23).

24. *Obv.*: As 23.

Rev.: Winged caduceus; to r. downward ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; to l. downward ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ/ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΥ.

American Numismatic Society, 4.51 g (Plate 12, 24); Bibliothèque Nationale, 3.95 g.

ANTIOCHUS THEOS (69–34 B.C.)

Two chalci

25. *Obv.*: Head of beardless king r. wearing tiara of Tigranes the Great, having eight pointed star and eagles back to back facing.

Rev.: Lion walking r.; above ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; below ANTIOXOY.

Paul Bedoukian, 7.55 g, 7.26 g, 6.52 g, 5.88 g (Plate 12, 25), 5.55 g; British Museum, one specimen.

26. *Obv.*: As 25.

Rev.: Eagle standing on branch r.; legends as 25.

Paul Bedoukian 6.00 g (Plate 12, 26).

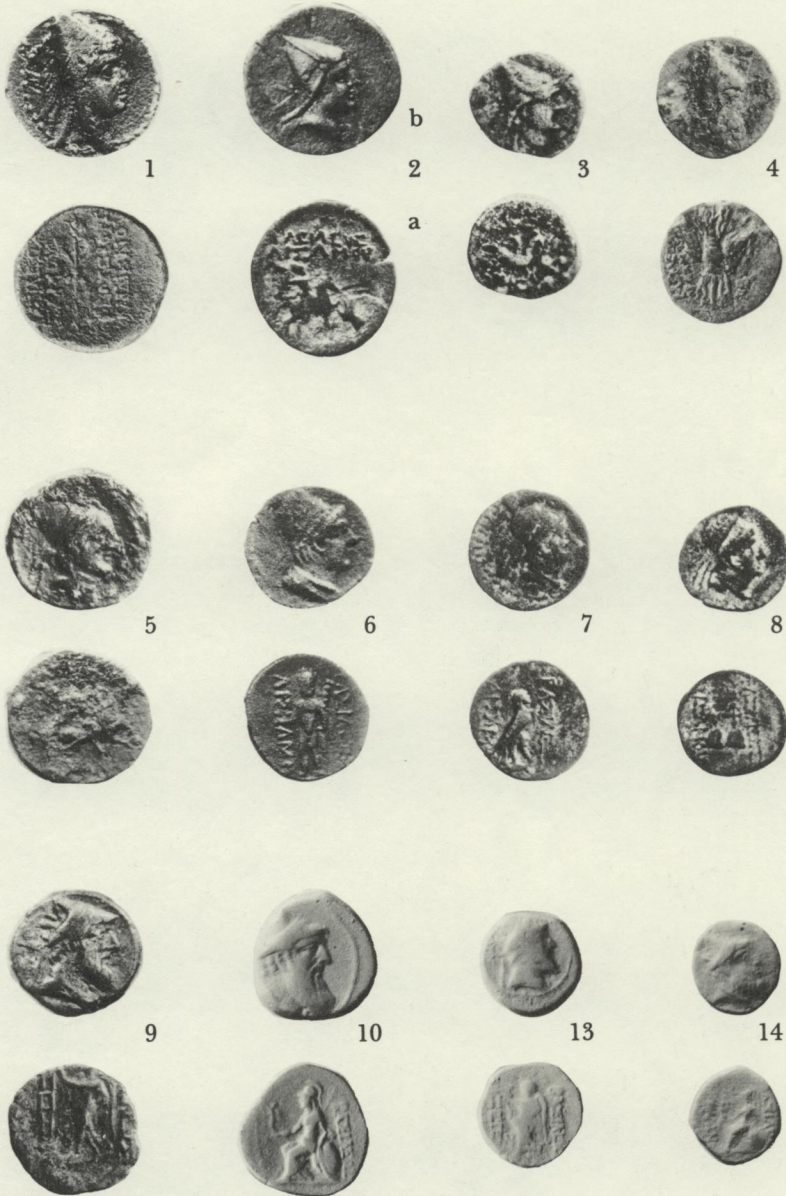
One chalcus

27. *Obv.*: As 25.

Rev.: As 25.

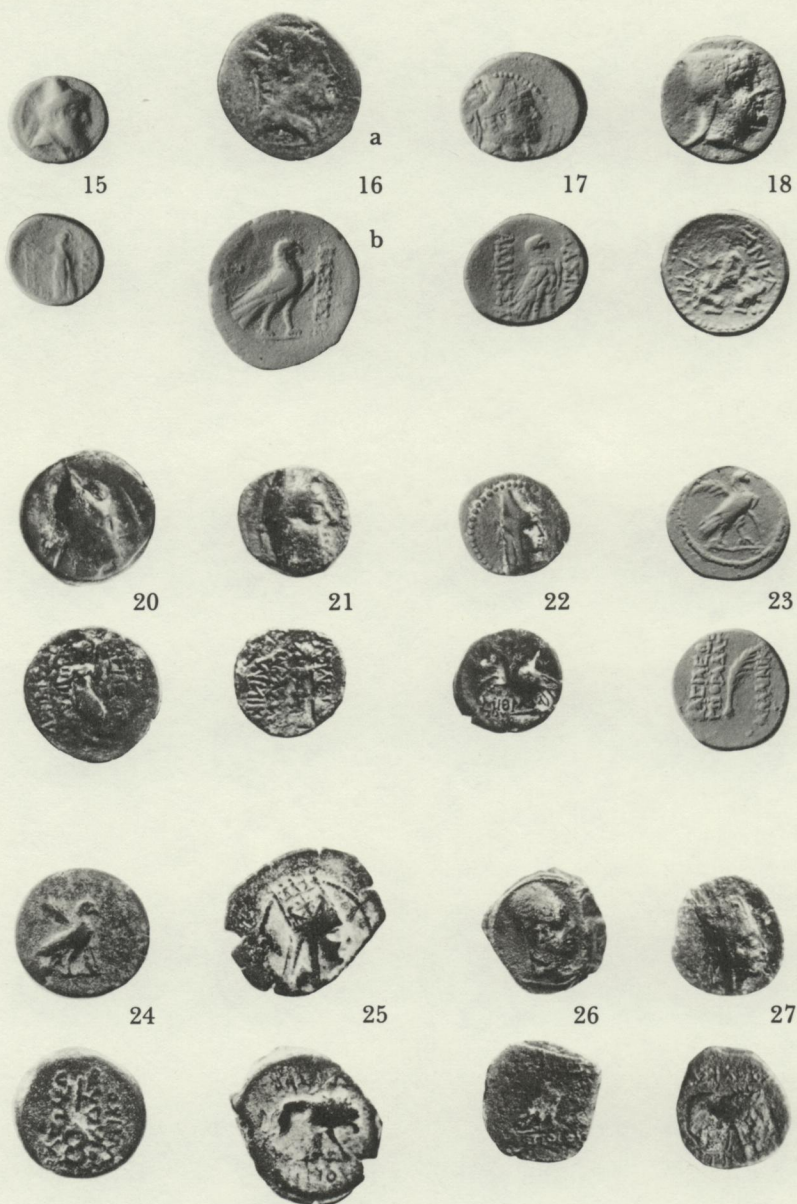
Paul Bedoukian, 2.95 g, 2.93 g (Plate 12, 27).

Plate 11



Armenian Kingdoms of Sophene and Commagene

Plate 12



Armenian Kingdoms of Sophene and Commagene