

The monneyer ΑΠΙ on gold and silver Istrian coins

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During the last years a lot of important Alexander and Lysimachus type gold staters appeared on the international market, which give a better image about the major monetary changes affecting the West Pontic Greek cities: adoption of the international types (Alexander and after that Lysimachus) for precious metal coins, the connection between this general and simultaneous evolution in the entire Black Sea area and the political interests of the great Hellenistic kingdoms at the middle of the 3rd c. BC and after.

A recent example of this series is an apparently unique coin: a Lysimachus type stater from Istros having on the reverse, for the first time, the monogram of an unknown monneyer for gold: ΑΠΙ¹. The most iconographical details (radial model of the shield' decoration, ornaments of the exergual trident, backrest throne, the letter form for omicron) are found also on the first trident series of the early Lysimachus type staters from Istros² or even before the trident series, on earliest Lysimachus type staters of the city³ (downward position of the goddess' spear). However, ΑΠΙ stater was struck using specific dies; there are

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² Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auction 122, March 10th, 2003, lot 1182; La Galerie Numismatique Bogdan Stambuliu. Vente aux enchères, IV, 28 Novembre 2004, no. 83; Classical Numismatic Group, Triton VIII, January 11th, 2005, lot 263; Ira and Larry Goldberg, Auction 28, February 20th, 2005, lot 637 (and Auction 151, May 28th, 2006, lot 3496, same coin); Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 339, November 19th, 2014, lot 19; Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auction 138, March 7th, 2005, lot 1181 (same coin in Auction 151, October 9th, 2006, lot 127), using the same obverse die but without monogram on the reverse; see E. Petac, *Istros numismatic repertory – from the Alexander the Great staters to the Lysimachus*

type, in M. Angelescu, Irina Achim, Adela Băltăc, Viorica Rusu-Bolindeț, V. Bottez (eds.), *Antiquitas Istro-Pontica. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à Alexandru Suceveanu*, Cluj, 2010, p. 571, nos. 6-8.

³ Series 1 (O 1/R 1): mintmark ΙΣ, monneyer Ϝ; E. Petac, *Istros numismatic repertory . . .*, p. 570, nos. 2-3 (Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France and Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine, Orghidan collection, inv. no. O 44); E. Petac, Șt. Vasiliță, *Colecția ing. C. Orghidan. Cabinetul Numismatic al Bibliotecii Academiei Române. Monedele de aur grecești și romane*, in *Tezaurul Academiei Române*, III/1, Bucharest, 2012, p. 73, no. 17; series 2 (O 1/R 2) : mintmark ΙΣ, monneyer Ϝ; G.F. Hill, *Greek Coins Acquired by the British Museum in 1924*, NC⁵, 171925, p. 8, no. 27 (British Museum, Coins and Medals, 1924,0617.10; Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovich collection); Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auction 122, March 10th, 2003, lot 1181; E. Petac, *Istros numismatic repertory . . .*, p. 570, nos. 4-5.

no die-links between this coin and any other Istrian stater. Its weight (8.42 g) suggests the use of the Attic standard. There is no way to include this coin between the issues of the First Mithridatic War, as it was considered in the auction catalogue. The Istrian staters from the beginning of the first c. BC are much lighter (around 8.18 g)⁴, having a completely different style, a different type of shield, an upward oriented spear and an absolutely different trident in the exergue. The early Lysimacheier from Istros presents the same type of shield, the same position of spear, the same type of trident and the same weight with Λ PI stater. More likely these arguments support the assumption that this coin dates in the last third of the 3rd c. BC.

Obv. Diademed head of deified Alexander the Great, right, with horn of Ammon.

Rv. $\text{B}\Lambda\text{C}\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\text{O}\Sigma$ (right, downward) – $\Lambda\text{Y}\Sigma\text{I}\text{M}\Lambda\text{X}\text{o}\text{Y}$ (left, downward). Athena

Nikephoros seated to left, on a backrest throne, resting left arm on shield decorated with Gorgon's head and radial model; on goddess shoulder, downward spear; under the throne, $\text{I}\Sigma$; in the left field, Λ PI; in the exergue, decorated trident.

1. Stater 12 h; 8.42 g; 19.5 mm (1.5×1).

Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 342, January 14th, 2015, lot 242.



Fig. 1. Lysimachus type stater from Istros with monogram Λ PI.

Despite his unique presence on a gold coin from Istros, it is not for the first time when we meet this monneyer. His monogram is present also on two extremely rare hemidrachms of the same city (fig. 2, nos. 2-3).

Obv. Head of Demeter, with *kallathos* and wreath of corn ears, right.

Rv. Eagle standing left on dolphin, turning right his head; above, $\text{I}\Sigma\text{T}\text{P}\text{I}$; in the exergue Λ PI.

2. AR 12 h; 2.79 g; 19 mm (fig. 2, no. 2; 1.5×1).

La Galerie Numismatique Bogdan Stambuliu, Vente aux enchères, I, 22-24 Novembre 2003, no. 75 (considered as drachm).

3. AR 12 h; 2.19 g (broken and repaired); 17 mm (fig. 2, no. 3; 1.5×1).

Philipp Krüger, First Auctions, Auction 1, December 1st, 2012, lot 424 (considered as hemidrachm).

The existence of this type was suggested in an article more than ten years ago⁵, but only the two rare auction catalogues published these two coins, almost ten years one after another. Both of them were struck using the same pair of fixe dies, having an unexpected iconography. We must notice the specific form of letter Alpha (Λ , Alpha with broken cross-bar), the same as on the Λ PI stater⁶. Fortunately, the first published, in 2003, was perfectly preserved. It was erroneously considered drachm in the auction catalogue, despite its weight of only 2.79 g. The second one was published in 2012; although broken, it was repaired

⁴ F. de Callataÿ, *L'histoire des guerres mithridatiques vues par les monnaies*, Louvain-La-Neuve, 1997, p. 143.

⁵ A. Popescu, *O rară monedă elenistică de argint bătută la Istros*, BSNR, 92-97 (1998-2003), 2003, p. 353, note 11; see

also G. Talmațchi, *Monetăriile orașelor vest-pontice Histria, Callatis și Tomis în epoca autonomă*, Cluj, 2011, p. 240.

⁶ M. Dima, *Monedele de argint ale cetății Istros în perioada elenistică*, SCN, s.n., 4 (16), 2013, p. 31.



Fig. 2. Demeter type Istros hemidrachms with monogram ΛPI.

and it is almost complete; only a small part of it is missing, but no more than five percent. So, this coin weights only 2.19 g (maybe 2.30 g completed) and it was correctly considered a hemidrachm. Another similar coin belongs to a private Romanian collection, having 2.73 g⁷. The medium weight of the three coins is around 2.57-2.60 g, resulting a drachm around 5.20 g that apparently corresponds to a Phoenician weight drachm of circa 5.30 g⁸.

During the archaeological excavations made in 1998 in the X sector from Istros it was discovered a small and extremely rare silver Istrian denomination, having on the obverse the veiled head of Demeter towards right, and on the reverse the eagle standing left on dolphin, the head turned to right, ΙΣΤΡΠ above, but ΗΡΟ in the exergue and a corn ear in the left field (fig. 3, no. 4). It weights 0.96 g (1.27 g before cleaning)⁹. A similar coin was published in 1921 by R. Münsterberg, weighting 1.25 g (estimated at 1.50 g and considered an Attic diobol; fig. 3, no. 5)¹⁰. Both coins were struck using the same fixed pair of dies¹¹ and both of them are fragmentary; the same small part is missing (no more than 5-7%). Two other coins from the same type were sold in public auctions during the last decade (2003 and 2012). First of them (fig. 3, no. 6), very well preserved, apparently used the same obverse die, having a different reverse one. It weights 1.46 g and was erroneously considered a hemidrachm¹². The second one (fig. 3, no. 7), perfectly preserved, used the same reverse die as the previous, but a different obverse and it weights 1.10 g¹³. The medium weight of the four coins is around 1.26-1.30 g – that means a quarter of drachm (trihemiobol) of a Phoenician weight standard¹⁴.

From an iconographical point of view, these Istrian coins and the issues from Byzantion and Chalcedon with Demeter head on the reverse are directly related. Therefore R. Münsterberg proposed a date around



Fig. 3. Demeter type Istros quarter of drachms with monogram ΗΡΟ.

⁷ G. Talmatchi, *loc. cit.*

⁸ G. Le Rider, *Sur le monnayage de Byzance au IV^{ème} siècle*, RN, 13, 1971, p. 144; see also O. Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage. From the Accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamea (336-188 BC)*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 9.

⁹ A. Popescu, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

¹⁰ R. Münsterberg, *Neue münzen aus Istros (Monete nouă din Istros)*, BSNR, 16, 1921, pp. 48-51.

¹¹ A. Popescu, *op. cit.*, p. 353, note 7.

¹² *La Galerie Numismatique Bogdan Stambuliu, Vente aux enchères*, I, 22-24 Novembre 2003, no. 76.

¹³ First Auctions, Auction 1, December 1st, 2012, no. 808.

¹⁴ G. Le Rider, *loc. cit.*; O. Mørkholm, *loc. cit.*; M. Dima, *loc. cit.*

200 BC (or even the first half of the 2nd c. BC) for the Istrian coins¹⁵. Since the Demeter type silver coins were struck at Byzantion and Chalcedon sometime between 235 and 220 BC, following the Phoenician weight system¹⁶, the series of Demeter type silver coins from Istros probably became a chronological landmark belonging to a certain moment between the years 235/230 and 220 BC. This does not mean that Istros struck this type of coinage during the entire period, as in Byzantion, where at least ten eponymous magistrates are known¹⁷. For Istros only two monograms and few silver coins are known so far, therefore the minting period could be much shorter, probably towards the end of this interval.

The political context of Istros from the end of the 3rd c. BC, when the city has already lost its former glory, is well documented by epigraphic records concerning ambassadors and ransoms from the Western coast of the Black Sea¹⁸. Three decrees¹⁹ that have been amply discussed honour for their deeds Istrian citizens send as envoys (πρεσβευταί), first of all for ransoming prisoners taken by local dynasts²⁰. The first decree²¹ mentions the ambassadors send to Zalmodegikos, the second²² a certain Dioskourides, son of Strouthion (Διοσκουρίδης, son of Στρουθίων), and the third²³ an Agathokles, son of Antiphilos (Ἀγαθοκλῆς, son of Ἀντιφίλος). The buying back of prisoners was made with large sums of money, mainly gold coins, as shows the decree for Agathokles, who paid a 600 gold coins (χρυσοί) ransom to Zoltes. These payments (ransoms, political alliances etc) are confirmed by the discoveries of hoards²⁴, such as those from Anadol²⁵ (today Domanskoe, Ukraine), Borcea²⁶ (Călărași county), Dăeni²⁷ (Tulcea county), Gâldău²⁸ (Călărași county) or Mărășești²⁹ (Vrancea county).

The studies on Istrian monetary magistrate signatures are few, mainly because these occur, even the abbreviated forms, in a relative small number and much later than in other cities, starting with the 3rd c. BC³⁰. In the case of Olbia, Istros's sister-city on the Bug River mouths, the first monetary magistrate, Aricho (Ἄριχο...), appears at the end of the Archaic period on "dolphin" coins, and later on bronze issues

¹⁵ R. Münsterberg, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

¹⁶ H. Seyrig, *Monnaies hellénistiques de Byzance et Calcédoine*, in C.M. Kraay and J.K. Jenkins (eds.), *Essays in Greek coinage presented to Stanley Robinson*, Oxford, 1967, p. 187.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, note 3.

¹⁸ F. Gazzano, *Ambasciatori greci in viaggio*, in M.G. Angeli Bertinelli, A. Donati (eds.), *Le vie della storia. Migrazioni di popoli, viaggi di individui, circolazione di idee nel Mediterraneo antico. Atti del II Incontro Internazionale di Storia Antica (Genova 6-8 ottobre 2004)*, Rome, 2006, p. 120.

¹⁹ ISM I 8, 12 and 15.

²⁰ The relations between the Greeks and the Barbarians were often discussed in many aspects in literature, see for example Ju.G. Vinogradov, *Zur Klassifizierung der griechisch-barbarischen Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse der vorrömischen Zeit im pontischen Raum*, in B. Funck (ed.), *Hellenismus: Beiträge zur Erforschung von Akkulturation und politischer Ordnung in den Staaten des hellenistischen Zeitalters, Akten des Internationalen Hellenismus-Kolloquium, 9.-14. März 1994 in Berlin*, Tübingen 1996, pp. 427-438.

²¹ ISM I 8.

²² ISM I 15.

²³ ISM I 54.

²⁴ M. Oppermann, *Die westpontischen Poleis und ihr indigenes Umfeld in vorrömischer Zeit*, Langenweißbach 2004, p. 149; about the Istrian stateres see recently A. Vilcu,

E. Petac, *The Second Syrian War and Gold Staters of Alexander Type struck at Istros*, AJN, 24, 2012, pp. 53-60.

²⁵ E.M. Pridik, *Anadol'skij klad zolotykh staterov 1895 goda*, 1902, pp. 1-35.

²⁶ B. Mitrea, *Découvertes récentes et plus anciennes de monnaies antiques et byzantines en Roumanie, Dacia, N.S.*, 11, 1967, p. 379; IGCH 876.

²⁷ Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *Tezaurul de la Dăeni, jud. Tulcea. Catalogul monedelor din colecția Muzeului Național de Antichități*, in Simpozion Chișinău 2003, p. 11-22; E. Petac, *Noi date privind tezaurile de monede de aur din perioada elenistică descoperite în Dobrogea: o nouă cronologie a tezaurului de la Dăeni, jud. Tulcea*, BSNR, 98-103 (2004-2009), 2009, pp. 9-20.

²⁸ B. Mitrea, *Stateri de aur de la Alexandru cel Mare descoperiți într-o așezare geto-dacă din estul Munteniei*, in *Omagiu lui P. Constantinescu-Iași cu prilejul împlinirii a 70 de ani*, București, 1965, pp. 73-79; idem, *Notă suplimentară cu privire la tezaurul de stateri de la Alexandru cel Mare descoperit la Gâldău (jud. Ialomița)*, SCN, 4, 1968, pp. 327-329; IGCH 774.

²⁹ IGCH 958; Gh. Poenaru Bordea, *Le trésor de Mărășești. Les statères en or des cités du Pont Gauche et le problème des relations avec le monde grec et les populations locales au IV^e -I^{er} siècle av. n.è.*, Dacia, N.S., 18, 1974, pp. 103-125.

³⁰ G. Talmățchi, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

from the second quarter of the 5th c. BC, this last one being probably a descendant of the first³¹. Aricho, a possible abbreviation for Arichos (Ἀριχος), is not the only magistrate attested at Olbia in the first half of the 5th c. BC. Another magistrate, Pausanias (Παυσανίας), also appears often on the wheel bronze coins³². Aside from monetary magistrates, another opinion considers Pausanias and Arichos as Greek governors that were more or less in the service of the Scythians, to whom the city paid tribute³³. The third name on the Olbian coins, Eminakos³⁴, is even harder to explain, especially since it is not a Greek name. This early occurrence of monetary magistrates on Olbian coin issues was explained by Ju. Vinogradov in relation with their use by the neighbouring Scythians and the Thracians, as a guarantee of the Olbians in front of the local dynasts³⁵. The fact that in Istros the signatures of monetary magistrates occur on coins much later can be understood through the relation between the city and the various nearby power structures, too. These appear in the Northern Dobrudja in the 4th c. BC. However the explanations for the occurrence of monetary magistrates' signatures at Histria in the early Hellenistic period must lay in the reorganisation of Pontic mints after the Lysimachus reign. The adoption of Lysimachus type staters in the West Pontic cities was a result of a political decision following the victory of Byzantium in the Monopoly War and of the new Ptolemaic hegemony in the Black Sea area. The temporary change of the weight standard and also of the coin types in Byzantium was a part of a new politics towards the control of the monetary exchanges, currency monopoly and control of the Bosphorus, finally generating the war with Rhodes in 221-220 BC³⁶. The use in the same period of the same weight standard and the introduction of a completely new monetary type at Istros, with Demeter head on the obverse, is not a coincidence, but a result of the alliance between Istros and Byzantium. Which leads us to the next problem: the succession of the two monneyers, HPO and ΛΠΙ, and consequently the date of the Attic weight ΛΠΙ stater before, or after the "Persic" (Phoenician) weight of Demeter type silver issues from Istros, namely before, or after 235/230?-220 BC.

The repertory of the Alexander type gold issues from Istros is well known today³⁷. They were struck at the middle of the 3rd c. BC. Price 964 stater having on the reverse the mintmark of the city (ΙΣ) and the monogram Ε is the most recent coin from this series³⁸. The same monneyer appears on the first Lysimachus type issue of the city (O 1/R 1), reflecting the quick transition from one type to another during the same monneyer Ε³⁹ (pl. I, 1-2). This could not happen without a political decision and it was a result of the alliances changes following the defeat in the Monopoly War against Byzantium⁴⁰. This first Lysimachus type "two monograms" series (ΙΣ and Ε)⁴¹ were followed by a new issue keeping the same obverse die (O 1), but introducing a new reverse one (R 2) and a new monneyer, Π⁴² (pl. I, 3-4). The main stylistic features of these first Lysimachus type issues are: a wide shield, having a non-decorated field, excepting the lion head effigy in the central part, the goddess' spear in a downward position, the classic forms of the letters Alpha (Α) and omicron (ο), and the position of the two monograms (mintmark in the left field and monneyer signature in the exergue).

³¹ SNG Black Sea, nos. 374-376, pl. XIV-XV; Ju.G. Vinogradov, *Pontische Studien. Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte und Epigraphik des Schwarzmeerraumes*, Mainz 1997, p. 201, pl. 2.

³² SNG Black Sea, nos. 377-378, pl. XIV.

³³ See also L. Dubois, *Inscriptions grecques dialectales d'Olbia du Pont*, Genève 1996, p. 10-11.

³⁴ SNG Black Sea, no. 358, pl. XIII.

³⁵ Ju.G. Vinogradov, *Pontische Studien* . . . , p. 201 sq.

³⁶ Polybios, 47. See H. Seyrig, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

³⁷ A. Vilcu, E. Petac, *The Second Syrian war and gold*

staters of Alexander type struck at Istros, AJN², 24, 2012, pp. 53-60.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 57-58.

³⁹ E. Petac, *Istros numismatic repertory* . . . , pp. 569-573; A. Vilcu, E. Petac, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁰ E. Petac, *From the types of Alexander to Lysimachus: The chronology of some Mesembrian and other West Pontic staters*. AJN², 23, 2011, p. 13; A. Vilcu, E. Petac, *loc. cit.*

⁴¹ See note 3, series 1; also E. Petac, *Istros numismatic repertory* . . . , p. 570, nos. 2-3.

⁴² See note 3, series 2; also E. Petac, *Istros numismatic repertory* . . . , p. 570, nos. 4-5.

Group 1: O 1/ R 1



Group 2: O 1/ R 2



Group 3: O 2/ R 3



Plate I. Early Lysimachus type staters from Istros (3rd century BC).

Group 3 (following): O 2/R 3



9



Group 4: O 2/R 4



10



Group 5: O 2/R 5



11



Plate II. Early Lysimachus type staters from Istros (3rd century BC).

The next gold series from Istros (3rd, 4th and 5th) stand out by new dies and new monneyers as follows: O 2/R 3 and monogram \mathfrak{M} (issue 3⁴³; pl. I-II, 5-9); O 2/R 4 (issue 4; without monogram⁴⁴; pl. II, 10); O 3/R 5 and monogram $\mathfrak{A}\Pi$ (issue 5⁴⁵; pl. II, 11). The monneyers sign now in the left field, the mintmark is on the goddess throne, and new significant iconographical details appear: decorated trident in the exergue (Byzantion type), and a new shield's representation, with a radial model covering its field. There are some specific features for each of them: a different volume of the issues (\mathfrak{M} series seems to be more consistent than $\mathfrak{A}\Pi$ one – five coins are known⁴⁶ compared to only one⁴⁷, all of them struck with the same pairs of dies, O 2/R 3, reflecting a significant financial pressure); form of the letter Alpha (A on \mathfrak{M} series staters and \mathfrak{A} on $\mathfrak{A}\Pi$ stater, the same form presents on the Demeter type hemidrachms of the city); goddess' spear (not present on \mathfrak{M} series but appearing again on $\mathfrak{A}\Pi$ lysimacheier, O 3/R 5). The adoption of this new variant at Istros (having a decorated trident in the exergue, mintmark on goddess throne and monetary magistrate signature in the reverse left field) it is contemporary with the 4th-5th groups from Byzantion⁴⁸, introducing this type during the early 220's BC. The use of the same form of the letter Alpha (\mathfrak{A}) and the same signature ($\mathfrak{A}\Pi$) both on $\mathfrak{A}\Pi$ stater and on the Demeter type hemidrachm suggest that they are contemporary, the Attic weight standard of the gold coin placing the gold issue soon after the Phoenician weight standard silver one (around 220 BC). Consequently that means the Lysimachus type staters with monogram \mathfrak{M} (using the Alpha with horizontal cross-bar – A) were struck in the early 220's BC (before the Istros Demeter type silver coins), probably during the civil war between Antiochus Hierax and Seleucos II, as it seems to happen in Tomis for the issues with monograms \mathfrak{M} and $\mathfrak{A}\Pi$ ⁴⁹. The use of a single pair of dies for all of them reflects a substantial financial effort and consistent payments having maybe a non-military nature suggested by the absence of the goddess' spear (as it happened in different moments at Byzantion⁵⁰, Mesembria⁵¹, Odessos⁵² and Tomis⁵³). The significance of the reappearance of the spear on the reverse of $\mathfrak{A}\Pi$ stater grows now. This relative chronology of the issues suggests also that the sequence of the two monneyers from the Demeter type hemidrachms is HPO and then $\mathfrak{A}\Pi$, probably during the late 220's BC. It can be assumed that $\mathfrak{A}\Pi$ was the last monneyer striking Phoenician weight standard Istrian coins and the first returning to the usual Attic weight standard for gold issues. Furthermore it seems that these were apparently the first monetary issues from Istros using Alpha with broken cross-bar⁵⁴.

⁴³ Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auction 122, March 10th, 2003, no. 1182; La Galerie Numismatique Bogdan Stambuliu. Vente aux enchères, IV, 28 Novembre 2004, no. 83; Classical Numismatic Group, Triton VIII, January 11th, 2005, no. 263; Ira & Larry Goldberg, Auction 28, February 20th, 2005, nr. 637 (Ira & Larry Goldberg, Auction 36, May 28th, 2006, no. 3496, same coin); Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 339, November 19th, 2014, no. 19; E. Petac, *op. cit.*, pp. 570-571, nos. 6-7.

⁴⁴ Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auction 138, March 7th, 2005, no. 1181; Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auction 151, October 9th, 2006, no. 127 (same coin); E. Petac, *op. cit.*, p. 571, no. 8.

⁴⁵ Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 342, January 14th, 2015, lot 242.

⁴⁶ See note 41.

⁴⁷ See note 43.

⁴⁸ C. Marinescu, *Making and spending money along the Bosphorus: The Lysimachi coinages minted by Byzantium and*

Chalcedon and their socio-cultural context. Columbia University PhD diss., New York, 1996, p. 325, issues 70-76, nos. 158-172 (4th group), years 220-210 BC and issues 77-81, nos. 173-217 (5th group), years 210-195 BC; A. Vilcu, E. Petac, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

⁴⁹ E. Petac, A. Vilcu, *Syrian wars and the beginning of Lysimachus type staters of Tomis*, Istros, 18, 2012, pp. 53-54, nos. 5-8, and p. 58.

⁵⁰ See C. Marinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 37 and p. 65; E. Petac, A. Vilcu, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

⁵¹ E. Petac, *From the types of Alexander to Lysimachus . . .*, pp. 8-9.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 9; E. Petac, A. Vilcu, *The Lysimachus type gold mintage from Odessos*, Istros, 19, 2013, p. 315, 319.

⁵³ E. Petac, A. Vilcu, *Syrian wars . . .*, pp. 51-63.

⁵⁴ The use of alpha with broken cross-bar in Istros is attested on the stone inscriptions since the 2nd c. BC, *cf.* ISM I 33, 45. In other places it appeared earlier, e.g. in Cos, where is attested in the late 3rd c. on a base of the statue of king

Another difficult task is to understand the names of the monneyers in the context of the Istrian prosopography, since they are abbreviations of rather common names: ΑΠΙΣΤ, ΑΠΙΣΤΑ, ΑΥ(Τ), ΑΥΗΕ, ΑΥΣ, ΔΙ, ΔΙΟ, ΔΙΟΝΥ, ΔΟ, ΗΡΟ, ΗΡΟΔΟ, ΙΟΝ, ΚΑΛ, ΜΕ, ΜΙΚ, ΜΟΝ, ΜΟΝΙ, ΜΟΧ, ΜΥ, ΠΑ(Ν), ΤΟ(ΜΙ), ΧΑ, ΧΑΙ, ΧΑΙΡΕ. Only ΑΥΣ (*e.g.* Ἀυσονίος?), ΙΟΝ (probably Ἰόνιος), ΜΟΧ (Μόχλων?) are rare names, which do not occur at Istros, but in other cities from Black Sea or Aegean regions⁵⁵. On staters there are known abbreviations such as ΔΙ, ΜΥ and ΗΡΟ, for which there are dozens of possibilities for reading.

Regarding the abbreviation ΑΠΙ-, this has occurred up to the present only on bronze and silver issues with Apollo and Demeter⁵⁶. These are hard to interpret since at Istros there are dozens of Greek names beginning with ΑΠΙ-, which occur often from the 4th c. BC until the end of Antiquity⁵⁷. As for the minting date of the gold coin with this abbreviation, around 220 BC, the only name that can be taken into account appears in a decree discovered in 1959 in the Histrian sacred area⁵⁸. This mentions the honours given to the Istrian envoys to Zalmodegikos to ransom prisoners. The date of the decree was established by the first editor, Dionisie Pippidi, in the 3rd c. BC, recent studies suggesting a date somewhere in the second half of it⁵⁹. The honoured envoys were Diodoros (Διόδωρος), son of Thrasykles (Θρασυκλής), Prokritos (Πρόκριτος), son of Pherekles (Φερεκλής) and Klearchos (Κλέαρχος), son of Aristomachos (Ἀριστόμαχος). The three envoys (πρεσβευταί) do not occur in other inscriptions, neither do their patronymic. If the decree dates towards the end of the 3rd c. BC, Aristomachos, the father of Klearchos, could have held some offices in the city at the time the gold coins were struck. Therefore a plausible hypothesis is to identify the monetary magistrate ΑΠΙ, accomplishing this magistracy around 220 BC, with Klearchos's father, Aristomachos. One may expect that the envoys belonged to some highly placed Istrian families, and that a monetary magistrate had also a high social status with a significant relevancy. Two of the eponymous magistrates from Byzantion – Olympiodoros and Hekatodoros – who sign on the Phoenician weight Demeter type tetradrachms of the city⁶⁰ became soon after strategists during the war against Rhodes⁶¹.

Another reading of the ΑΠΙ- abbreviation could be Aristagoras (Ἀρισταγόρας), a forefather of the one honoured by the 1st c. BC decree, him also a benefactor and priest of the city (πατρός γεγονώς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ προγόνων εὐεργετῶν καὶ ἱερημένων τῶν θεῶν πάντων, ISM I 54). As in the case of Arichos from Olbia, for which there are enough data to correlate the magistrate on the „dolphin” coins with the one on the bronze coins, one can assume that at Istros, in the Hellenistic period, the monetary magistrates were following the career of their parents too⁶². So, although less probable than the hypothesis concerning Aristomachos, father of Klearchos, one cannot exclude the possibility to identify ΑΠΙ with an ancestor of Aristagoras, son of Apatourios.

Antigonos (Doson?), see R. Herzog, *Heilige Gesetze von Kos*, Berlin, 1928, p. 30; in Orchomenos on a funerary stele, J.M. Fossey, *Epigraphica Beotica II: Further Studies on Boiotian Inscriptions*, Leiden, 2014, p. 216 = SEG XXXIV 359.

⁵⁵ LGPN V A, p. 91, 226, 326.

⁵⁶ On the names of monneyers beginning with ΑΠΙ, see LAGM II, p. 350; for Histria see: G. Talmăţchi, *Despre magistrăţii monetari şi cronologia monetăriilor greceşti dobrogene în perioada preromană*, Peuce 11, 2011, p. 486; idem, *Monetăriile oraşelor vest-pontice Histria, Callatis şi Tomis în epoca autonomă*, Cluj, 2011, pp. 126-130.

⁵⁷ For Black Sea area, see LGPN IV, p. 42-43; PPEE, p. 370.

⁵⁸ ISM I 8.

⁵⁹ Al. Avram, in *Istoria Românilor, I. Moşteneria timpurilor îndepărtate*, Bucharest, 2001, p. 603.

⁶⁰ Edith Schönert-Geiss, *Die Münzprägung von Byzantion, Teil I. Autonome Zeit*, Berlin-Amsterdam, 1970, p. 136, nos. 1017-1025 (Hekatodoros) and p. 137, nos. 1037-1042 (Olympiodoros).

⁶¹ Polybios, IV, 47, 35. See H. Seyrig, *loc. cit.*

⁶² M. Dima, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

