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From the Editor

It is not often that we get the opportunity to devote an entire issue to a single piece of research. Heinz Gawlik has embarked on a detailed look at the coinage of the early Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek rulers, and we can see the results in Part I included in this issue. This is a detailed look at the Diodotid dynasty that made Bactria an independent Hellenistic kingdom in Central Asia. Heinz has provided an exhaustive listing of the series issued by these rulers, with several new types, and has compared the numismatic models in the standard literature on this period.

Part II will be on the coinage of Euthydemos I, who captured power from the Diodotids. This will be published in a later issue.

I wish to draw our members' attention once again to the fact that most of our earlier journals are accessible online at: https://orientalnumismaticsociety.org/ons_journal/archive_of_the_society_journal. These issues can be downloaded in pdf format for free by our members, researchers, as well as the general public. This is an incredibly useful resource for further research in numismatics, and I would like to personally thank the members involved for making this possible.

Karan Singh

GRECO-BACTRIAN AND INDO-GREEK COINAGE - PART 1: NOTES ON THE COINS OF THE DIODOTIDS

Heinz Gawlik

"Occasionally one notes unpublished coins appearing on the internet, in dealer's lists etc. which then seem to disappear without trace or comment", wrote Robert Senior in his paper published in JONS (2014: 14). Exactly this happened when I was shown a coin of Apollodotos II and it turned out to be an unrecorded coin struck by the Indo-Greek king Dionysios. When checking related documents and the internet, a few additional unpublished or at least rare coins of Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek origin turned up. It may be of interest to share my thoughts here for further discussion and/or information as a source of reference.

Our knowledge of Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings is based, to a large extent, on numismatic evidence. Many details about the sequence and relationship of kings and dynasties, as well as their time and duration of rule, are still an issue of discussion. With the appearance of more coins and new types of coins, particularly the details of complete hoards, gaps in our numismatic knowledge may be closing. The standard reference books used are Mitchiner (1975) and Bopearachchi (1991), with the remark 'unlisted' referring to the absence of particular coins from these reference books. A so-called 'unlisted' coin might be referred somewhere else already, and if such a source is known then it should be cited. The dates of kings' reigns referred to in this paper are mostly approximate, and are based on Bopearachchi (1991) and Senior (2004, 2006). It is to be apologised that the dating and sequence of Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings, as well as the attribution of their coins, might not always correspond with the actual results of research, because there may still be ongoing discussions and different opinions among numismatists and archaeologists.

In particular, the transitional period from a Bactria-Sogdian satrapy to an independent kingdom remains a challenge for numismatists. Among the obstacles are that the first two rulers issued coins with the same name Diodotos, or in the name of their Seleucid suzerain Antiochos. Detailed historical records are either missing or provide only insufficient information. Beside the references to Mitchiner and Bopearachchi, one has to consider recent studies when contemplating the initial phase of Greco-Bactrian coinage. The two-mint hypothesis for Diodotid coinage, postulated by Kovalenko (1995-96: 43, 45) and Holt (1999: 92-93), seems to be a reasonable approach, but the increase in numistatic material provides different ways of looking at it. A recent contribution to the discussion comes from Olivier Bordeaux (2018), who focused on the extensive coinage and significance of six Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings: Diodotos I and II, Euthydemos I, Eukratides I, Menander I, and Hippostratos.

1. Diodotid coinage in the name of Antiochos

1.1 Precious metal coinage

There is no written evidence about the date and place of Diodotos I's birth or his origins. He probably became a Seleucid satrap of Bactria and Sogdiana when Seleucid king Antiochos II was in charge of the eastern provinces in c. 281-261 BCE. Antiochos II succeeded his father Antiochos I to the throne and the responsibility of the provinces of Bactria and Sogdiana passed into his hands in 261 BCE.

After the defeat of the Persian king Darius III at the Battle of Gaugamela in 331 BCE, Alexander the Great continued to move his army east to overcome the resistence of Bessus, satrap of Bactria, and Artaxerxes V, self-proclaimed successor to the Persian throne (Gershevitch et. 1985: 449). After an extended campaign putting down the Sogdian resistance, Alexander united Sogdiana with Bactria into one satrapy (Holt 1989: 64-65). The natural wealth of this diverse region included a favourable environment for dry and irrigated farming and abundant pasturage for indigenous food production. The region was also rich in mineral deposits of metals and precious stones, including the famous lapis lazuli of Badakshan. It has been proposed that an ancient 'lapis lazuli trade route' had developed and brought items of wealth into the region in exchage for lapis lazuli (Singh 1999: 86). Beside agricultural activity and the trade of natural resources, the growth of settlements and urban life was supported by the production and trade of crafted goods. The *Milinda Panha* ('Questions of Milinda') purports to be the record of a dialogue between Menander I and the Buddhist sage Nagasena. Nagasena refers to as many as 75 professions, with a long list of different economic occupations that enriched the economy in the region (Singh 1999: 93).

The exchange of goods and knowledge relied exclusively on overland routes at the time. So, it is not surprising that with its strategic location, the region developed into an intersection of trade routes connecting the far East with the West and the South. When Alexander the Great came on his campaign against the Persians to Bactria and Sogdiana, one can assume that he was not just overwhelmed by the beauty of the Bactrian lady, and later spouse, Roxana. He must have been also impressed by the wealth and beauty of the region and supported actively the settling of Greek colonies and the founding of new cities, which developed into a 'meeting point between East and West' (Singh 1999: 88). Fig. 1 shows the geographical location of the eastern provinces Sogdiana and Bactria within the Achaemenid Empire.

Fig. 1. Achaemenid Empire – central and eastern provinces, c. 350 BCE (map by Anton Gutsunaev)

After the death of Alexander the Great, Bactria-Sogdiana was annexed by his general Seleucos, founder of the Seleucid Empire. The ancient sources do not provide an exact date for the later secession and independence of Bactria. Musti (1986: 220-221) proposes a high chronology (c. 255 BCE) and a low chronology (c. 246 BCE).

The high chronology (c. 255 BCE) assumes a revolt by Diodotos I against Antiochos II, and would explain why so few coins of Antiochos II have been found in Bactria, compared to the coins of his father Antiochos I (Holt 1999: 95). Also, the Second Syrian War (260-253 BCE) might have encouraged Diodotos I to secede. When Antiochos II was occupied with fighting against Ptolemaic Egypt in the Second Syrian War, his satrap Andragoras of Parthia and Hyrcania seceded from the Seleucid Empire (Holt 1999: 60). Diodotos I, as satrap of Bactria-Sogdiana, might have used the turmoil of war and the trouble in Parthia to strengthen his position against the Seleucids and to initiate a seccession.

Musti's low chronology (c. 246 BCE) connects the secession of the Diodoti with the Third Syrian War (246-241 BCE), which was a disastrous conflict for the Seleucid king Seleucos II against Ptolemy III, who invaded Seleucid territory.

Holt (1999: 60) argues that the process of secession was a gradual drifting into independence, beginning c. 256 BCE and culminating in the proclamation of an independent kingdom between 255-245 BCE. The final step to the independent kingdom of Bactria might be connected to a coincidence in the year 246 BCE when the kings Antiochos II and Ptolemy II, and possibly also Diodotos I, died. The same year, their successors Ptolemy III and Seleucos III started the Third Syrian War (246-241 BCE) over troubles in the succession to the Seleucid throne. These circumstances might have been used by Diodotos II to succeed to the throne of Bactria-Sogdiana as king, a step, assumed by Holt, that is reflected in the legend on his coinage (1999: 103). The presented timeline seems to be conclusive, but it is still mainly based on assumption.

The mintage of Seleucid coins in Bactria-Sogdiana seems to have come to an end with coins struck by Antiochos II, but there was a brief reprise during the invasion of Bactria by Antiochos III "the Great" in c. 208-206 BCE (Kritt 2015: 63). It is suggested that Antiochos III might have captured Aï Khanoum, or the city may have welcomed the Seleucid king during his campaign (Kritt 2001: 156). A few bronze coins have surfaced, including some counter-marked earlier coins of Antiochos III, that were probably minted in or near Aï Khanoum.

It is still unclear whether Diodotos II made Bactra or Aï Khanoum as his base. Excavations by French and Soviet archaeologists from 1964 to 1978 showed that Aï Khanoum was a principal city of the Seleucids in Bactria, along with Bactra, and possibly served as the capital of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom (Bernard 1994: 103). The excavations also contributed an important part to our numismatic knowledge, particularly about the coinage issued in the transition from the Seleucid empire to the independent Greco-Bactrian kingdom.

Baked bricks utilised in public buildings, marked with the symbol ⏀ and partly in combination with Brahmi characters (*aksharas*), were unearthed during the excavations in Aï Khanoum. An almost similar symbol or control mark ⏀ is observed on coins, with the result that these coins are attributed to a mint in the region of Aï Khanoum (Kritt 2001: 67). Fig. 2 shows this control mark ⏀ on an Attic tetradrachm issued by Antiochos I. The coin features, on obverse, a diademed bust of the king right, and on reverse, Apollo seated left on *omphalos* holding an arrow in his right hand, with his left hand resting on a bow. The legend reads *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ*.

Fig. 2. Antiochos I AR tetradrachm, Aï Khanoum (3)
16.56 g, 24.5 mm, 6 h, ⏀
(MIG Type 59a, Kritt (2016) A1TA-32)

Fig. 3 shows two bronze coins issued by Antiochos I. Coin A is without a control mark, while coin B bears the control mark ⏀. Both coins were struck in Bactria and possibly in the Aï Khanoum region. Coin A was offered for sale in Peshawar at the end of 2019, while coin B appeared in an auction of the Classical Numismatic Group (CNG). The collection of the American Numismatic Society (ANS) has a coin similar to coin B. The coins feature, on obverse, the head of Herakles wearing lion skin right, and on reverse, a humped bull standing right. The legend is arranged in two horizontal lines and reads *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ*. Coin A has a greyish patina, whereas coin B is struck on a thick planchet with bevelled edge and shows the reddish patina that is often associated with Aï Khanoum. The combination of a Greek deity with a zebu bull as a symbol of local culture might be an expression of religious tolerance.

A) 3.20 g, 16.3-17.5 mm, 7 h, (Kritt [2016], pl. 57 no. 2)

B) 3.76 g, 16.5 mm, 6 h ⏀ (3)

Fig. 3. Two Æ units of Antiochos I, Aï Khanoum

A double-unit of Antiochos I depicting Herakles on obverse, and a club together with a bow in case on reverse, is shown in Fig. 4. The coin is struck on a thick planchet and has the typical reddish patina of Aï Khanoum. The legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ* is arranged as centre lines to be read from the left, with the control mark ⏀ in the right field.

Fig. 4. Antiochos I Æ double-unit, Aï Khanoum
7.92 g, 21 mm, 6 h ⏀ *(Kritt [2016], pl. 58 no. 7)* (3)

The ancient settlement, named after the nearby village Aï Khanoum, is located in the Takhar province of modern Afghanistan, northeast of Kunduz, bordering Tajikistan. Antiochos I probably founded this urban settlement on the confluence of the rivers Panj and Kokcha, both tributaries of the Oxus (Amu Darya), in c. 290 BCE, but the initial name is uncertain. Antiochos I established a firm control over the region during his assignment, but he also probably had a special affinity to Sogdiana and Bactria. He was half Sogdian by his mother Apama, a daughter of Spitamenes, the leader of the uprising in Sogdiana and Bactria against Alexander in 329 BCE. It is possible that Aï Khanoum was the historical Alexandria-on-the-Oxus. Fig. 5 shows a map of Bactria, which is located in the east of the Oxus Valley. This valley is surrounded on three sides by the high mountain ranges of Pamir in the north, Tian Shan in the north-east and Hindu Kush in the south. Today, the Amu Darya forms, to a certain extent, the border between Tajikistan and Afghanistan.

A. K.Narain (1986: 4-15) identified the archaeological site near Aï Khanoum with that of the ancient city of Dionysopolis (Senior 1996: 6). The later name Eucratidia seems to be a renaming by Eucratides I, who was probably the last of the Greco-Bactrian kings to have ruled the region. Excavations revealed that numismatic finds start with coins issued by Seleucos I (305-281 BCE) and end with coins of Eucratides I (Kritt 2016: 19; Cohen 2013: 242). The city was abandoned without significant traces of fighting around 146-140 BCE, at a time when the invasion of nomads (probably Scythians) crossing the Oxus became a massive threat to the Greco-Bactrians (Bernard 1994: 103).

Fig. 5. Map of Bactria (created by World Imaging, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=1559381)

The early Diodotid coins are issues in the name of their suzerain Antiochos II. In the progression of sovereignty, the depiction of god Apollo, favoured by the Seleucids, was changed to a new dynastic type of reverse, using Zeus Bremetes on their gold and silver coinage. The introduction of the thundering Zeus on reverse may be provisionally dated between 255 and 250 BCE (Holt 1999: 97). This could have been intended as a reference to divine providence, because Diodotos means 'Gift of Zeus' in Greek. When the Diodotids started to assert independence, the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ* was kept with some ambiguity about the extent of secession from the Seleucids, but they placed their own portraits on the coinage. Holt (1999: 97) associates this dynastic step with the political situation of c. 246 BCE, well after Antiochos II lost direct control of Bactria-Sogdiana in c. 261 BCE.

The uniform design and the wealth of portraits and control marks make it difficult to distinguish which coin was issued by which Diodotos, because their gold and silver coinage consistently feature a portrait of the king on the obverse and a 'Thundering Zeus' on reverse. Variations are observed only in the depiction of the portrait, different control marks, a temporary addition of a wreath, or in the arrangement of the title *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ*.

Holt (1999) used the growing number of available material, and the latest results of hoard finds and excavations, to develop a conclusive and detailed model of the coinage in the Diodotid period, the initial phase of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom. His model organises the precious metal coinage of Diodotid in six series, distinguished by royal names, portraits, sequence of control marks, orientation of die axis, and the operation of two mints, A and B. The location of Mint A is generally identified as near Aï Khanoum. Holt suggested Basra for a tentative location of Mint B (1999: 114, 124). The arrangement of the legend is used to differentiate between these two mints. In Mint A, the title *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* starts below the elbow of Zeus, while in Mint B the title appears outside the elbow (Holt 1999: 91). Kritt (2001, 2015) follows Holt's model and catalogued a large number of various coins struck in Bactria with the name Antiochos and Diodotos, featuring different portraits and control marks. He added new types and took efforts to visualise the chronological succession in the model developed by Holt.

Bordeaux (2018) is critical about certain attempts by Kritt (2015) to extend Holt's model by adding new coin types and supporting the two mints theory. Bordeaux used an intensive die study to reassess Diodotid and Euthydemos I coinage, which is effective for their coinage struck in gold and silver. The availability of an increased number of additional specimens, including new coin types, supported his efforts for a reassessment of Greco-Bactrian coinage in its initial phase. He organised his results in a chrono-typological model based on stylistic, typological, and metrological parameters. Diodotid gold and silver coinage is ordered in six series, A to F, but arranged in two columns, according to the position of *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ,* as proposed by Holt. A significant difference, as a result of his die studies, is that the two arrangements of *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* are not assigned to different mints. Bordeaux follows the thesis of a single mint that produced all the gold and silver coins issued by the Diodotids and he did not differentiate between young and old portraits. The chronological vertical structuring of his model relies on the results of the extensive die-comparison method, with a differentiation between the coins issued with the name *ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ,* attributed to Diodotos I, and coins issued with the name *ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ*. Bordeaux assumes that the majority of the coins are issued by Diodotos I, because he comes to the conclusion that the reign of Diodotos II was brief after a longer reign of his homonymous father (2018:140). Bordeaux refers to the graphic of the Diodotid dynasty after Tarn (2010/1938: 568) which proposes that Diodotos I died in about 230 BCE and Diodotos II in about 226 BCE (2018: 26). Bordeaux also agrees with Holt's argument that *ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ* was introduced on coins in c. 246 BCE (2018: 140). The various proposed chronologies adopt a beginning of the Diodotid reign around 255/250 BCE:

1. Diodotos I c. 256-236 BCE; Diodotos II associated with his father till c. 230 BCE; Euthydemos I c. 230-190 BCE (Mitchiner 1975)
2. Diodotos I & II c. 250-230 BCE; Euthydemos I c. 230-190 BCE (Bopearachchi 1991)
3. Diodotos I c. 255/250-235 BCE; Diodotos II c. 235-225 BCE; Euthydemos I c. 225 BC- (Holt 1999)
4. Diodotos I & II c. 250-235/230 BCE; Euthydemos I c. 230-200 BCE (Senior 2001)
5. Diodotos I c. 256-235 BCE; Diodotos II c. 246-225 BCE; Euthydemos c. 225 BCE- (Kritt 2001)
6. Diodotos I c.255-250 BCE; Diodotos II c. 250-240 BCE; Antiochos Nikator c. 240-225 BCE; Euthydemos I c. 225-195 BCE (Jakobsson 2011)
7. Diodotos I c. 255/250-246 BCE (Groupes A1-A7), c. 246-230 BCE (Groupes A8-A12, B1-B13, C1-C10, D1-D10); Diodotos II c. 230-225 BCE (Groupes E1 & E2, F1-F6) (Bordeaux 2015)

The increased number of Diodotid specimens supported the goal of Bordeaux to reconstruct the sequence of the coinage using the deterioration of dies and the interlink of coins by die-link studies. Several die studies and material tests have shown that there is an imbalance between the obverse and reverse dies (Deyell 2011: 12). This imbalance depends on the position of the dies. The lower or pile die is fixed in an anvil on which the planchet is placed. The upper or trussel die is placed on the planchet and the minting impact is produced by a hammer. It is understood that a part of the hammer blow is absorbed by the deformation of the planchet and therefore the lower die receives a lesser stress (Deyell 2011: 11). Another life reduction of the upper dies can be caused by a deviation from the ideal vertical line of hammer force through the die. The reasons for such a deviaiton could be the edged positioning of the upper die or a tilted hammer blow. Uncontrolled damage to a die can be caused by material defects in the form of gas or slag inclusions from casting or lamination, and cracks from forging. Material defects also have a more significant effect on the upper dies. According to Deyell, the obverse of Indo-Greek tetradrachms was formed by the lower die fixed in an anvil (2011: 12). Die-counts have confirmed that the lower dies required fewer replacement. The imbalance between obverse and reverse dies can provide a useful number of interlinks between coins

It is not my intention to evaluate the different chronological models of Diodotid precious metal coinage developed by Holt, Bordeaux or others, but it seems reasonable to include a brief

overview of Diodotid coinage for a general understanding. The following catalogue of Diodotid coinage uses the numbering in the models of Holt and Bordeaux, as well as those of Mitchiner and Bopearachchi.

1.1.1 Diodotid precious metal coinage in the name of Antiochos (with *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* arranged below the right elbow of Zeus)

Only silver tetradrachms are recorded for the early coinage of the Diodotids issued in the name of *ANTIOXOY* and listed as Series A in the models developed by Holt and Bordeaux. Six specimens of Groups A1 to A5 (Holt and Bordeaux) are illustrated in Fig. 6.

A) 15.60 g, 6 h, no control mark, BM 1922,0424.1
(Holt Group A1, BOR Groupe A1) (7)

B) 15.87 g, 6 h, ⓓ *BM 1939,0318.1*
(Holt Group A2, BOR Groupe A2) (7)

C) 15.71 g, 27 mm, ⌑
(Holt Group A3, BOR Groupe A3) (10)

D) 16.43 g, 27 mm, E
(Holt Group A4, BOR Groupe A4) (3)

E1) 16.47 g, 25 mm, 7 h, Σ
(Holt Group A5, BOR Groupe A5) (3)

E2) 16.27 g, 6 h, Σ
(Holt Group A5, BOR Groupe A5) (12)

Fig. 6. Six AR tetradrachms of Diodotos I
(BOR Series A, MIG Type 64, BOP Série 2)

Obverse: Diademed head of king right
Reverse: Back facing, nude Zeus advancing left, hurling thunderbolt with right hand, *aegis* draped over left arm; small eagle standing left

The legend starts as a characteristic of the series, below the right elbow of Zeus, and reads *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ*. Coin A (BOR Groupe A1) with no control marks, and coins B to E with control marks ⓓ, ⌑, E, and Σ, depict the portrait of a middle-aged king. Holt (1999: 94-101) and Bordeaux (2018: 52) assign these coins to Diodotos I. Holt arranges coins with the title *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* below the right elbow of Zeus as issues of Mint A, located in the region of Aï Khanoum, in his two-mints model (1999: 92). Bordeaux disagrees with this two-mints model; he also does not differentiate between a young and an aging portrait of the person depicted on the obverse, instead seeing the differences in the portraits as the result of artistic freedom and the individualism of the engraver (2018: 32, 58, 109).

Coin B with control mark ⓓ has been identified by Mitchiner as control mark ⓝ and is listed by him as Type 64c. Bopearachchi and Bordeaux have identified the control mark as ⓓ and listed the type as BOP Série 2J and BOR Groupe A2 respectively.

A1) 16.56 g, 27 mm, 6 h ⍋
(Holt Group A6, BOR Groupe A6) (3)

A2) 16.39 g, ⍋
(Holt Group A6, BOR Groupe A6) (3)

B) 15.94 g, 27 mm, ⛫
(Holt Group C -, Kritt C1a, BOR Groupe A6) (19)

Fig. 7. Three AR tetradrachms of Diodotos I
(BOR Groupe A6, MIG Type 64 & 67, BOP Série 2E)

Fig. 7 shows four tetradrachms with control mark ⛫ and the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ* starting below the right elbow of Zeus, listed as Groupe A6 by Bordeaux. The tetradrachms and drachms of this group show two distinct portraits of the king. The majority of the coins depict the portrait of an older king, while a minority depict a younger-looking king. Holt differentiated between portraits and attributed coins with the elder portrait as issues of Diodotos I and coins with the younger portrait as issues of Diodotos II, with the consequence that he had to introduce a separate Series C in his model for the coins with the younger portrait. Coins with control mark ⛫ and the elder portrait are listed as Group A6 by Holt, which is coincidently the same as Groupe A6 used by Bordeaux. Tetradrachms with a younger portrait and control mark ⛫ may have been unknown to Holt and therefore he did not consider such coins in his model. Kritt (2015), who reviewed the model of Holt, added tetradrachms with the younger portrait and the control mark ⛫ to Series C as a new Group C1a.

A closer look at the portraits on Coins A and B in Fig. 7 shows differences in their physiognomy and the hairstyle. These cannot be ignored or explained away as the expression of artistic freedom or due to a specific transposition of the die cutters. The large number of coins featuring portraits of Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings confirm the capability of engravers to produce dies with portraits having distinct details. Therefore, it is difficult to believe that a particular portrait with specific details has been cut without a conscious intention. If various coins are produced in the same workshop then it also cannot be ruled out that dies may been mixed up due to the different life spans of obverse and reverse dies, due to human error, or due to unintentional interchange following a sudden need for a particular die.

Five tetradrachms of BOR Groupe A7, with three varieties of control marks ⛫ ⊜, ⛫ ⊜ and ⛫ ⊜, are illustrated in Fig. 8. The coins all depict the younger portrait of the king and therefore Holt listed these coins as Group C1 in his model, and considered the young portrait as an indication that Diodotos II was associated with his father Diodotos I as a viceroy or co-regent.

Bopearachchi did not separate between coins with a different arrangement of legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ*, or between an elder or younger-looking portrait of the king. He listed all these coins together as issues of "DIODOTI I and II" in BOP Série 2.

As mentioned above, Bordeaux concluded, on the basis of die studies, that all coins issued with the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ* are issues of Diodotos I. He placed the illustrated tetradrachms A1 to A3 in BOR Groupe A7 of his model.

A1) 15.81 g, ⛫ ⊜
(Holt Group C1, BOR Groupe A7) (3)

A2.1) 16.67 g, ⛫ ⊜, *ANS 1944.100.74364*
(Holt Group C1, BOR Groupe A7) (14)

A2.2) 16.53 g, 26 mm, 6 h, ⛫ ⊜
(Holt Group C1, BOR Groupe A7) (3)

A3.1) 16.44 g, 26 mm, 6 h, ⛫ ⊜
(Holt Group C1, BOR Groupe A7) (3)

A3.2) 15.66 g, 6 h, ⛫ ⊜
(Holt Group C1, BOR Groupe A7) (12)

Fig. 8. Five AR tetradrachms of Diodotos I (II)
(BOR Groupe A7, MIG Type 67, BOP Série 2F)

It should be mentioned that the round control marks ⊜ and ⊜ of the illustrated tetradrachms A1 and A2 show a minor variation in the design. Holt and Kritt show the form as ⊜, whereas Bordeaux identifies the monogram as ⊜.

Only a drachm and a hemidrachm with control mark ᛗ ᛘ are listed in Groupe A8, and a single tetradrachm with control mark ᚴ is listed in Groupe A9 by Bordeaux. The same drachm with control mark ᛗ ᛘ, categorised as Groupe A8 by Bordeaux, is listed by Mitchiner with control mark ᛘ as Type 68c. Mitchiner also lists a drachm with control mark ᚴ and a portrait of a middle-aged king as Type 65a, which would be a specimen of Groupe A9 in Bordeaux' model. The tetradrachm with control mark ᚴ depicts the younger portrait. Boperachchi includes the same two drachms listed by Mitchiner with control mark ᚴ, and the other with a differently-sketched control mark ᛞ ᛘ, as Série 3F and Série 3G respectively. Holt and Kritt (2001, 2015) did not record coins with control marks ᛗ ᛘ and ᚴ as coins issued at mint A, with *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* starting below the right elbow of Zeus, in their two-mints model at all.

Fig. 9 shows five coins with control mark ᚾ and *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* starting below the right elbow of Zeus, listed as Groupe A10 by

Bordeaux. Coins A1, B1 and B2 feature an older king and the two others feature a younger-looking portrait, considered by Holt in his two-mint model. As I mentioned above, Bordeaux did not differentiate between portraits and listed all these coins as Series A despite their differences. The different-looking portraits on the illustrated statere A1 and A2 are the reason why they are categorised in two different series as Groups A7 and C2 in Holt's model. Statere with control mark Ɲ and *ANTIOXOY* arranged below the right elbow of Zeus, are one of the most common gold coins issued by the Diodotids. Bordeaux alone listed 97 statere with control mark Ɲ.

A1.1) 8.31 g, 19 mm, 6 h, Ɲ
(Holt Group A7, BOR Groupe A10) (3)

A1.2) 8.30 g, 6 h, Ɲ
(Holt Group A7, BOR Groupe A10) (3)

A2.1) 8.16 g, 18 mm, 6 h, Ɲ
(Holt Group C2, BOR Groupe A10) (3)

A2.2) 8.29 g, 19 mm, 6 h, Ɲ
(Holt Group C2, BOR Groupe A10) (3)

B1) 15.90 g, 6 h, Ɲ
(Holt Group A7, BOR Groupe A10) (12)

B2) 16.57 g, 27 mm, 6 h, Ɲ
(Holt Group A7, BOR Groupe A10) (3)

C) 1.78 g, 13 mm, 12 h, Ɲ
(Holt Group C2, BOR Groupe A10) (5)

Fig. 9. Diodotos I (II): four AV statere, two AR tetradrachms, and AR hemidrachm (BOR Groupe A10, MIG Type 63a, BOP Série 1)

The hemidrachm Coin C, with control mark Ɲ, is classified as a specimen of BOR Groupe A10, but it features the portrait of a young king and is therefore assigned to Group C2 by Holt. Only drachms and hemidrachms are listed in Group C2 by Kritt (2001), who added some new varieties of the precious metal issues.

The four statere in Fig. 9 depict two slightly different portraits of the king. Coins A1.1 and A1.2 feature an aging king with signs of a double chin and a clearly bent contour of the lower jaw to his ear. In contrast, coins A2.1 and A2.2 depict a younger-looking king with a smaller nose, less signs of a double chin, and a less-bent contour of the lower jaw. The observed details are not sufficient to differentiate between the two types, because they might all be within the limits of artistic freedom and craftsmanship. One can assume that at least two engravers cut the obverse dies. This observation is mentioned because it might be connected with the statere in Fig. 10.

The coin C in Fig. 9 is illustrated as number 14 by Bordeaux, but listed as a drachm, number 210 in his catalogue, with the remark "private collection". Bordeaux did not provide the weight of this specimen, or he did not have the information available, and probably assumed it to be a drachm. This specimen actually weighs 1.78 g and has a diameter of 13 mm. These figures indicate a hemidrachm, a denomination not listed in Groupe A10.

Five statere with an unrecorded variety of control mark, Ɲ are illustrated in Fig. 10. The coins appeared in different auctions of reowned numismatic dealers during a period of 17 years (2003 to 2020). The colour of the illustrated coins looks different, but it might be the result of photography. Nevertheless, a serious check is required to establish whether these coins are genuine. These appear to be struck from the same obverse and reverse dies. The portraits show a certain similarity to the portraits seen on coins A2.1 and A2.2 illustrated in Fig. 9.

A1) 8.36 g, Ɲ *(2003)* (3)

A3) 8.26 g, 17 mm, Ⴖ (2012) (16)

A4) 8.26 g, 17 mm, 7 h, Ⴖ (2018) (21)

A2) 8.28 g, Ⴖ (2020) (3)

A5) 8.29 g, Ⴖ (2020) (13)

Fig. 10. Five AV statere of Diodotos I
(Holt Group C-, BOR Groupe A-, MIG Type 63-, BOP Série 1-; control mark unlisted)

There is nothing known about the provenance of the coins in Fig. 10, but it is rather unusual that the five illustrated pieces appear to have been struck from the same dies. One explanation could be that the coins are part of the same find. There are always two sides in any argument, but one wonders why someone would add a minor deviation to the control mark to produce something that is intended to be sold as genuine.

One source may have been the poorly-documented Vaisali Hoard which is said to have consisted of 600 gold statere of Diodotos I and Diodotos II. This hoard was found in Spring 2000 in the district of the ancient city Vaisal (Vaishali, Vesali) located in the modern state of Bihar in India. Kritt notes that he identified 200 pieces from this hoard in a preliminary search of auction catalogues, and expects even more (2001: 1). Bordeaux identified 175 pieces (2018: 23) and Bopearachchi and Grigo noted 70 pieces (2001: 22-24). It is unfortunate that these authors have not provided the criteria they used to attribute coins to the Vaisali Hoard.

The next group in Series A of Bordeaux' model has coins featuring only the symbol of a wreath ◌ on reverse. Fig. 11 shows nine coins with a wreath ◌, listed as Groupe A11 by Bordeaux. Holt associates the adding of a wreath with a major victory over the Parthians, the enemy of the Diodotids in the west, but he assumes that the wreath was removed when Diodotos II became the sole ruler and had probably changed the arrangements with the Parthians.

The four coins A1 and A2 depict the elder portrait and the five other coins B1 to B3 feature the younger portrait. The two distinct portraits on the coins show a close similarity in the physiognomy and hair style to the portraits seen on tetradrachms with control mark ⍋, illustrated in Fig. 7. It was already observed that tetradrachms with control mark ⍋ and the older portrait are in a clear majority, compared to tetradrachms with the younger-looking portrait. This relative frequency is also observed on statere having the wreath symbol ◌. Out of 62 statere, 60 feature the elder portrait and only two statere have the younger portrait. This disparity could be a reflection of the mintage quantity. An alternative option might be that the name *ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ* was replaced by *ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ* only a short time after the introduction of the young portrait. This second option is supported by the observation that most of the coins minted after the change from *ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ* to *ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ* feature the portrait of a young-looking king.

As mentioned earlier, Bordeaux did not differentiate between the older and younger portraits, and listed all coins with a wreath ◌, and *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* beginning below the right elbow of Zeus, as Groupe A11. Holt listed coins with a wreath ◌ and the elder portrait as Group A8, and those with the younger portrait as Group C3.

A1.1) 8.32 g, 6 h, ◌
(Holt Group A8, BOR Groupe A11) (3)

A1.2) 8.28 g, 18 mm, 6 h, ◌
(Holt Group A8, BOR Groupe A11) (3)

A2.1) 16.08 g, 27 mm, 6 h, ◌
(Holt Group A8, BOR Groupe A11) (3)

A2.2) 16.29 g, 27 mm, 6 h, ◌
(Holt Group A8, BOR Groupe A11) (3)

B1.1) 8.29 g, 6 h, ◌
(Holt Group C3, BOR Groupe A11) (3)

B1.2) 8.3 g, 19 mm, 6 h, ◌, ANS 1995.51.48 (Holt Group C3, BOR Groupe A11) (14)

B2) 16.70 g, ◌ (Holt Group C3, BOR Groupe A11) (13)

B3.1) 4.05 g, 17 mm, ◌ (Holt Group C3, BOR Groupe A11) (3)

B3.2) 4.07 g, 18 mm, ◌ (Holt Group C3, BOR Groupe A11) (3)

Fig. 11. Diodotos I: four AV statere, three AR tetradrachms, and two AR drachms (BOR Groupe A11, MIG Type 64, BOP Série 2)

In Fig. 11, the two drachms B3.1 and B3.2, with a wreath ◌ and the portrait of a younger king, are the only smaller denomination listed in BOR Group 11 and Holt Group C3 respectively.

Groupe A12 (seen in Fig. 12) is the last group in Series A of Bordeaux' model. Both Holt and Bordeaux listed and illustrated the same tetradrachm with control marks ◌ Δ A T of the two recorded coins, but classified it in two different categories. Holt saw the arrangement of *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* outside the elbow of Zeus and listed the coin in Group E7. Bordeaux identified the same specimen as *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* located below the elbow of Zeus, and listed it in series A as Groupe A12.

Fig. 12. Diodotos I (II) AR tetradrachm, 16.32 g, 6 h, ◌ Δ A T (Holt Group E7, BOR Groupe A12, MIG Type 69 -, BOP Série 2 -) (12)

Another specimen of this group, similar to that listed by Holt and Bordeaux, is illustrated in Fig. 12. The title *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* is arranged at the edge, but below the elbow of Zeus, as seen on the specimen shown by Holt and Bordeaux. Holt may have been convinced by a single coin with the control mark Δ, which has some parallels to other groups with control mark Δ and the arrangement of *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* outside the elbow of Zeus, and assumed the coin belongs to Group E7. Another difference on coins of the discussed type, in comparison to other groups with control mark Δ, is a wreath ◌, which is missing from other groups of this series. There are now, with the coin shown in Fig. 12, at least three specimens with the control marks ◌ Δ A T. Three coins should be enough to assign these to Groupe A12, due to the arrangement of *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* below the elbow of Zeus.

Fig. 13. Diodotos I (II) AV stater, 8.41 g, 6 h, ◌ M (MIG Type 63 -, BOP Série 5 -, Holt -, Kritt (2015) Group A8a, BOR Groupe C6? as BOR Series C questionable) (3)

The stater shown in Fig. 13 with control mark ◌ M and the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ* is one of the two statere listed in Groupe C6 by Bordeaux. It is not clear why Bordeaux listed the stater in Series C under the headline "coins with the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ"*. The specimen features the portrait of a man in his best years and not the portrait of a young king as depicted on most coins of BOR Series C. It will be shown later that Bordeaux classified 10 groups in Series C, and all the groups, except Groupe C6, deal with coins bearing the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ*. Bordeaux did not list any other denomination in Groupe C6, and he did not link this group to any other stater bearing the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ* or *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ*. The only common characteristic with other coins of Series C is that the control mark consists of a wreath ◌ combined with a Greek letter, which is in this case M and it can be observed on other coins classified in groups of Series C. One noticeable difference is that all coins of other groups in Series C bear the portrait of a young-looking king with a different hairstyle. The portraits on the two recorded statere of BOR Groupe C6, having the hairstyle and wreath, have a parallel to the statere listed in BOR Groupe A11 and Holt's Group A8. Mitchiner, Bopearachchi, and Holt did not know the type because the two statere first appeared in auctions in 2003 and 2004. Kritt (2015) classified the statere as a new Group A8a in the extended model developed by Holt.

1.1.2 Diodotid precious metal coinage in the name of Antiochos (*ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* arranged outside the right elbow of Zeus)

Coins with the name *ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ*, and the arrangement of *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* outside the right elbow of Zeus, show exclusively the portrait of a young king. That could be the reason why Holt assigned the coins to Diodotos II, who might have been appointed as co-regent in the western region of the kingdom with Bactra as his base. Holt assumes that the opening of a mint at Bactra was connected with the son's appointment.

Fig. 14: Diodotos I (II): AR Tetradrachm, 16.42 g, 29 mm, ⛫ Ψ (Holt Group E -, BOR Groupe B -, MIG Type 67 -, BOP Série 2 -) control mark unlisted (15)

Fig 14 shows a tetradrachm of BOR Series B with an unrecorded combination of control mark ⛫ Ψ and the first symbol of a trident recorded for the coinage of the Diodotids. The trident is known in combination with control mark ⛫ Ψ on a drachm and a hemidrachm of BOR Groupe A8, with *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* below Zeus' elbow. Also for BOR Series B, with *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* outside of Zeus' elbow, a single drachm with a trident ⏚ as control mark is recorded as BOR Groupe B1, and another drachm with control mark ⛫ Ψ as BOR Groupe B2. The tetradrachm in Fig. 14, with control mark ⛫ Ψ and the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ*, depicts the younger portrait of the king with the typical hairstyle. The coin fits well into Series B of the model developed by Bordeaux, and Series E of the model developed by Holt.

A single tetradrachm is known with the combination of control marks ⛬ ⊬, issued in the name of Antiochos. Fig. 15 shows this specimen, which is listed by Bordeaux in Groupe B5 and by Holt in Group E6.

Fig. 15. Diodotos I (II) AR tetradrachm, 15.91 g, 12 h, ⛬ ⊬ (Holt Group E6, BOR Groupe B5, MIG Type 67 -, BOP Série 2 -) (24)

Fig. 16 shows three drachms with the arrangement of *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* outside the right elbow of Zeus and with the control marks ⛬ ⛫ and ⛬ ⛫. Holt lists coins with the control mark ⛬ ⛫ as Group E3.

A1) 3.77 g, 18.0 mm, 14 h, ⛬ ⛫, ANS 1995.51.49 (Holt Group E3, BOR Groupe B6) (14)

A2) 4.09 g, 14 h, ⛬ ⛫ (Holt Group E3, BOR Groupe B6) (3)

A3) 4.10 g, 17 mm, 6 h, ⛬ ⛫ Holt Group E3, BOR Groupe B6 (3)

Fig. 16. Three AR drachms of Diodotos I (II) (BOR Groupe B6, MIG Type -, BOP Série 3C)

Mitchiner and Bopearachchi do not differentiate between coins with a variation in the arrangement of *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ,* but Mitchiner attributes coins with control mark ⛬ ⛫ as issues of Diodotos II. Bopearachchi lists all coins with the name Antiochos as coins of Diodotos I and II issued in the name of Antiochos II. Bordeaux listed two tetradrachms and two drachms with control marks ⛬ ⊐ as Groupe B6. He also lists in his catalogue the drachm in the ANS Collection, but the second monogram ⛫ of the control mark ⛬ ⛫ on the specimen shown as A1 in Fig. 16 has different form and is similar to coin A2.

Fig. 17. Diodotos I (II) AR tetradrachm, 16.29 g, 12 h, ⏣ ⛥ ⛫ Γ, BM 1993,1106.11 (Holt Group E9, BOR Groupe B13, MIG -, BOP Série 6 -) (7)

Fig. 17 shows a tetradrachm with control marks ⏣ ⛥ ⛫ Γ and *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* outside the right elbow of Zeus. Bordeaux lists this specimen, along with with three drachms, as Groupe B13. Holt lists the type as Group E9.

1.2 Diodotid bronze coinage in the name of Antiochos

Bordeaux did not put much effort into the bronze coinage due to a lack of material. Holt combines the bronze coinage with the name Antiochos in one series G, but splits it in four groups. All four groups feature the head of Hermes wearing a *petasos* on the obverse, with the reverse showing either a single *caduceu*s or two crossed *cadusei*. Holt places the mintage of these coins in the late co-regency of the Diodotids.

A) *7.33 g, 16 mm (Holt Group G1, Kritt Group AK-5)*

B) *7.27 g, 12 h, counterstamped by Antiochos III (Holt Group G1, Kritt Group AK-5)*

Fig. 18. Two Æ double-units of the Diodotids (MIG Type 76) (3)

Obverse: Head of Hermes right wearing the flat *petasos*
Reverse: Pair of crossed *caducei* flanked by the Greek legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ*

Fig. 18 shows two double-units listed as type G1 by Holt and as AK-5 by Kritt who extended Holt's model. Holt assumes that the issuer of the bronzes with thick planchets and bevelled edges was probably Diodotos I at the mint near Aï Khanoum. Typical characteristics of bronzes struck at Aï Khanoum are thick planchets with steep bevelled edge and reddish-brown patina (Kritt 2001: 48-53, 2015: 175). It needs to be mentioned here that discussions are still ongoing over whether Aï Khanoum was a principal Seleucid mint that continued the production of coins under the Diodotids and Euthydemos as a main mint (Kritt 2015: 167-183).

Coin B is countermarked with an anchor, the Seleucid symbol. It is assumed that the countermark was applied during the campaign of Seleucid king Antiochos III against Euthydemos I in c. 208-206 BCE.

A1) 4.10 g, 17 mm, 6 h
(Holt G1, Kritt AK-5)

A2) 3.54 g, 17 mm, 6 h
(Holt Group G1, Kritt AK-5)

Fig. 19. Two Æ units of the Diodotids (MIG Type 77) (3)

Another denomination is the Attic *chalkous* listed by Mitchiner as Type 77, but he did not illustrate it. Two coins with this weight are shown in Fig. 19. The depiction of Hermes, the crossed *caducei*, and the legend, are similar to the double units. The coins are struck on thick planchets and have steeply-bevelled edges known for issues of Ai-Khanoum. A sprue is visible on each coin, indicating the planchets were cast.

2. Diodotid coinage with the name Diodotos
2.1 Precious metal coinage
Holt assumes that Diodotos I must have achieved a kind of royal status during this period as the satrap of the Seleucids, which was sufficient to elevate his son as his dynastic successor (1999: 64, 97). As a necessary consequence and a next step forward to an independent kingdom, the name of the Seleucid suzerain Antiochos II was replaced by the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ* on the coinage. Holt suggests that this break marks the death of Diodotos I and the accession to the throne by Diodotos II as independent king (1999: 100). The appointment of Diodotos I as satrap of Bactria-Sogdiana could have been around 256 BCE and the co-regency with Diodotos II is assumed to have begun around 246 BCE. The death of Diodotos I might have followed short after and the sole reign of Diodotos II might have lasted till 235 BCE when Euthydemos I took over the kingdom by force. Different authors propose different dates like 256 BCE, 250 BCE and 246 BCE for the independence of the Diodotids. Bordeaux (2018: 26) uses the dynastic table of the Diodotids and Euthydemos I developed by Tarn (2010/1938: 568), which shows 246 BCE as a possible date of independence from Seleucid suzerainty.

2.1.1 Diodotid precious metal coinage with the name Diodotos (*ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* arranged below the right elbow of Zeus)
Diodotid coinage struck on precious metal, with the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ,* features the king's portrait and 'thundering' Zeus, as is already known from the coins issued with the *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ* legend. Holt lists coins with these specific characteristics as Series D, issued at mint A. All coins of Holt's Series D feature the head of a young king. The following denominations are recorded: stater, tetradrachm, and drachm. Hemidrachms have not surfaced yet or have not been published so far.

It was mentioned above that Bordeaux split the Series D of Holt into a Series C (issues of Diodotos I) and a Series E (issues of Diodotos II). Series C covers 10 groups and it is noticeable that the coins of these 10 groups feature, with only one exception, a wreath ◌ below the *aegis* on the left arm of Zeus. Another characteristic is that the Groupes C4 to C10 have, in addition to the wreath, a Greek letter, Β (C4), Γ (C5 and C10), Μ (C6), Ν (C7), Σ (C8), and Ρ (C9). The one group without a wreath is Groupe C1. Bordeaux lists five statere in Groupe C1, all of which feature the Greek letter Ν, a letter known from Bordeaux' Groupe A10 as well as from Holt's Group A7 (portrait of old king) and Group C2 (portrait of young king).

A1) 8.24 g, 18 mm, 7 h, Ν*, BM 1888,1208.63* (7)
(Holt -, condemned this coin as a forgery, BOR Groupe C1)

A2) 8.30 g, 6 h, Ν *(Holt -, BOR Groupe C10* (3)

A3) 8.24 g, 6 h, Ν *(Holt -, BOR Groupe C1)* (3)

A4) 8.24 g, 18 mm, 7 h, Ν *(Holt -, BOR Groupe C1)* (5)

Fig. 20. Four AV statere of Diodotos II (I)
(BOR Groupe C1, MIG Type 70b, BOP Série 5B0)

Fig. 20 shows four statere of Groupe C1. Coin A1 is from the collection of the British Museum and was known to Holt, but he condemned it as a forgery as it was a single specimen without comparability to any other specimen. The coin came originally from the collection of Sir Alexander Cunningham in 1888 with the remark that it originated from the Oxus treasure found in 1877. Bordeaux illustrated this specimen, but he added a note in

the catalogue with a reference to Holt's "Some Diodotid Gold Forgeries" (1999: 172-173) without further explanation.

There are now additional specimens from new discoveries, particularly from the Vaisali Hoard. Bordeaux sees the Vaisali Hoard with scepticism, but he lists three statere from the hoard in Groupe C1 of his catalogue with the remark "private collection". Coins A3 and A4 are two of these. It appears that Coins A2 to A4 are struck from the same pair of dies. This common feature on three coins might lead to a question about genuineness, as discussed above, but it is not impossible to find several pieces struck from the same dies if the coins come from the same source.

The Vaisali Hoard is mentioned here because much about the find was undocumented, but the appearance of such a large number of gold coins with new types was well accepted by the market at the time. The large number of statere from the early period of Greco-Bactrian coinage, found so far from Bactria, received a lot of attention. Kritt notes the total absence of Diodotid Mint B coins in the hoard (2015: 30), which means all the Diodotid coins in the hoard feature the arrangement of *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* below the right arm of Zeus.

The circumstances and handling of the hoard raise critical questions. I had the chance to see about 20 statere with a dealer in New Delhi at the end of 2000. The dealer said that the coins were part of a large hoard found in Bihar and that the better specimens might have already reached the overseas market. The majority of the Diodotid statere offered to me showed the common test mark on the king's head, but I was sceptical about such an unusual find in Bihar in eastern India, located 2,000 km from Bactria. I therefore did not grasp its possible significance at the time.

Returning to our cataloguing of statere, the coins combined in Bordeaux' Series C and Holt's Series D were issued in continuity to Series A. The listing of statere in Groupe C1 could be considered as a chronological classification, which might also show a close connection to the coins of Groupe A10.

The coin type of Groupe C1 might be an early issue with the introduction of *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ*, but it was minted before the wreath was added on the reverse. The portrait looks different to other portraits of Series C, and might support an early issue with the name *ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ*.

A1) 8.31 g, 18 mm, 6 h, ⌬ (Holt Group D7, BOR Groupe C2)

A2) 8.37 g, 19 mm, 6 h, ⌬ (Holt Group D7, BOR Groupe C2)

Fig. 21: Two AV statere of Diodotos II (I)
(BOR Groupe C2, MIG Type 73a, BOP Série 5A) (3)

Fig. 21 shows another two statere of BOR Series C and Holt Series D, with the portrait of a younger-looking king and the arrangement of *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* below the right elbow of Zeus. The two coins are without a monogram and bear only a wreath symbol in the field below the *aegis* on the left arm of Zeus, as it is observed on all other groups of BOR Series C. No less than 40 statere of Groupe C2 are listed by Bordeaux in his catalogue as issues of Diodotos I. The coins of BOR Series C are, with the exception of the statere and tetradrachms of Groupe C2, all rare, because the catalogue lists only one or maximum three specimens for BOR Groupes C3 to C10.

Fig. 22. Diodotos II (I) AV stater, 8.37 g, 19 mm, 6 h, ⌬ ⏃
(Holt Group D -, BOR Groupe C -, control mark unlisted, MIG Type 73 -, BOP Série 5 -) (18)

The unlisted stater illustrated in Fig. 22 appeared in auction in 2020. It features an almost similar depiction of a young king with *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* below the right arm of Zeus, but the reverse shows, in addition to a wreath ⌬, the control mark ⏃ known from coins issued by the Seleucids (Fig. 23).

Fig. 23. Antiochos II AV stater, 8.43 g, 18 mm, 5 h, ⏃ ✳
Ai-Khanoum mint (3)

Fig. 23 shows, for comparison, a stater with control mark ⏃ and an additional symbol of a star ✳, issued by the Seleucid king Antiochos II from the mint near Aï Khanoum (Kritt 2015: 154). The coin features Apollo, the favourite god of the Seleucids, seated on *omphalos* on reverse.

A1) 16.58 g, 27 mm, 6 h, ⌬
(Holt Group D7, BOR Groupe C2) (3)

A2) 16.34 g, 28 mm, 6 h, ⌬
(Holt Group D7, BOR Groupe C2) (3)

B) 3.98 g, 6 h ⌬
(Holt Group D7, BOR Groupe C2) (17)

Fig. 24. Two AR tetradrachms and a drachm of Diodotos II (I)
(BOR Groupe C2, MIG Type 74a, BOP Série 6B)

In Fig. 24, two tetradrachms and a drachm are shown without a monogram, but with a wreath in the left field, below the

outstretched arm of Zeus, a symbol similar to the statere illustrated in Fig. 21. The coins feature also the portrait of a young king assigned to Diodotos II by Holt (Group D7). Bordeaux assigned this type to the Series C issued by Diodotos I.

There is also a special gold stater of the Diodotids in the collection of the British Museum with all characteristics of coins listed in BOR Series C, but besides the obligatory wreath ⌬, a star ✳ is added in the field below the *aegis* on the left arm of Zeus (Fig. 25). The star with eight rays is similar to the star on the stater of Antiochos II shown in Fig. 23.

Fig. 25. Diodotos II AV stater, 8.44 g, 19 mm, ⌬ ✳
BM 1888.1208.64 (Holt Group D -, Kritt (2015) Group D7a, BOR Groupe C3, MIG Type 73, BOP Série 5; control mark unlisted) ⑦

The stater shown in Fig. 25 depicts the portrait of a young king with *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* below the raised right elbow of Zeus. There are questions about the genuineness of this coin, but Kritt (2015) is convinced that the coin is a regular issue of Diodotos II. He added it to the extended model of Holt as Group D7a. Bordeaux also lists the coin as Groupe C3 with a die-link to Groupe C2.

A1) 16.66 g, 26 mm, 6 h, ⌬ Β
(Holt Group D6, BOR Groupe C4)

A2) 16.73 g, 26 mm, 6 h, ⌬ Β
(Holt Group D6, BOR Groupe C4)

A3) 16.58 g, 25 mm, 6 h, ⌬ Β
(Holt Group D6, BOR Groupe C4)

Fig. 26. Three AR tetradrachms of Diodotos II (I) (BOR Groupe C4, MIG Type 74d, BOP Série 6C) (3)

Three tetradrachms with a wreath ⌬ and the Greek letter Β (*Beta*) are illustrated as specimens of BOR Groupe C4 in Fig 26. The engraving of the Greek letter *Beta* Β shows a specific form with a clear space between the semi-circles on the coins studied. The obverse shows the portrait of a young-looking king, assigned to Diodotos II by Holt, but as mentioned already, Bordeaux does not differentiate between old and young portraits. Coins A2 and A3 show similarities in the depictions on obverse and reverse, and may have been struck from the same pair of dies.

Fig. 27. Diodotos II (I) AR tetradrachm, 16.47 g, 6 h, ⌬ Σ
(Holt Group D3, BOR Groupe C8, MIG Type 74e, BOP Série 6 -) (3)

Fig. 27 shows a tetradrachm with the Greek letter *sigma,* Σ, in the right field, below the raised arm of Zeus, and a wreath ⌬ in the left field. This type is listed as BOR Groupe C8 and Holt's Group D3. Bordeaux illustrates the same coin and found die-links to the tetradrachms of Groupes C2, C4, and C7.

Holt and Bordeaux both list a single tetradrachm with control marks ⌬ Ρ in the collection of the British Museum (BM 1993,1106.12), and arranged the coin as Group D1 and Groupe C9 respectively in their models. A second specimen appeared in auction and is illustrated in Fig. 28. It cannot be ruled out that both coins were struck from the same dies.

Fig. 28. Diodotos II (I) AR tetradrachm, 16.59 g, 6 h, ⌬ Ρ
(Holt Group D1, BOR Groupe C9, MIG Type 74 -, BOP Série 6 -) control mark unlisted (12)

Bordeaux arranged coins with the name *ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ*, without a wreath ⌬, and *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* starting below the right elbow of Zeus, in a separate Series E, formed by two groups of coins with the new control marks ◡ and ᛖ.

There is an assumption that Diodotos II reversed the policy of his father against the Parthians, who might have become an ally against the Seleucids (Holt 1999: 105). The wreath was no longer used as a symbol of victory on the coinage struck in precious metals.

Mitchiner illustrated a tetradrachm with the same characteristics and control mark ◡ as an example of Type 71, but with the remark "uncertain control mark". It can be asked why Holt did not consider this specimen. The tetradrachm listed by Mitchiner is not the only coin with control mark ◡, because Bopearachchi illustrated a drachm with control mark ◡ and *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* arranged below the right arm of Zeus as Série 7D.

Fig. 29. Diodotos II AR tetradrachm, 16.50 g, 27 mm, ◡ (Holt -, BOR Groupe E1, MIG Type 71b, BOP Série 6) (3)

Fig. 29 shows a tetradrachm with control mark ◡ and *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* below the right elbow of Zeus. The coin depicts the portrait of a middle-aged king, which does not really fit into the other coins of Series D in Holt's model, which depict the portrait of a young king. Holt lists coins with this control mark ◡ and a similar portrait of a middle-aged king in Series B, but these coins feature the arrangement of *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* outside the right elbow of Zeus. Holt describes the depiction of the king on these coins of Series B as an "idealized" portrait of a middle-aged king, and assigned the coins as "posthumous", issued by Diodotos II.

Bordeaux did not consider elder and younger portraits, but there is in the case of Holt's model, a modification required by adding a separate series under the column of Mint A to accommodate coins with *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* below the elbow of Zeus, an older portrait, and the control mark ◡. The introduction of an additional new series with reference to Holt's thesis would also mean that "posthumous" issues were produced in Mint A of his two-mint model.

The second group in Series E of Bordeaux' model accommodates coins with another innovative control mark ᛖ. Three tetradrachms and seven drachms with this control mark ᛖ are listed in Groupe E2 by Bordeaux. The coins feature the portrait of a young king and that might be the reason why Holt lists coins of the type with the above-mentioned characteristics as Group D8. Two tetradrachms and two drachms with *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* below the right arm of Zeus, without a wreath, and with control mark ᛖ, are illustrated in Fig. 30.

B1.1) 16.60 g, 6 h ᛖ (Holt Group D8, BOR Groupe E2)

B1.2) 16.98 g, 27 mm, ᛖ (Holt Group D8, BOR Groupe E2)

B2.1) 4.08 g, 17 mm, 6 h ᛖ (Holt Group D8, BOR Groupe E2)

B2.2) 3.94 g, 19 mm, 6 h ᛖ (Holt Group D8, BOR Groupe E2)

Fig. 30. Two AR tetradrachms and two AR drachms of Diodotos II (BOR Groupe E2, MIG Type 74 & 75, BOP Série 6 & 7) (3)

The coins of BOR Series E show, at a quick glance, a close relationship to the coins of BOR Series F, with similar control marks ◡ and ᛖ, but with *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* arranged outside the right arm of Zeus. This close connection is supported by the die-link studies carried out by Bordeaux. Coins of Series E and F show not only a close connection, but also an independence from other series. Bordeaux came to the conlusion that coins of Series E and F are the only issues of Diodotos II struck during his reign as a sole king between c. 230 to 225 BCE (2018: 62).

2.1.1 Diodotid precious metal coinage with the name Diodotos (*ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* arranged outside the right elbow of Zeus)

Coins issued with the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ,* and the characteristic arrangement of *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* outside the elbow of Zeus, are grouped by Holt and Bordeau in two series as Series F and B (Holt) and Series D and F (Bordeaux), although their interpretation and conclusions are different. Holt attributes the coins of both series as issues of Diodotos II. The introduction of an older and idealised portrait of Diodotos I in Series B at mint B, is interpreted by Holt that Diodotos II apparently paid homage to his father's reign (1999: 103). Holt places Series B among the last coins struck by the Diodotid dynasty, and believes that the mintage of posthumous issues honoring Diodotos I might have had something to do with the challenge of a rising Euthydemos I.

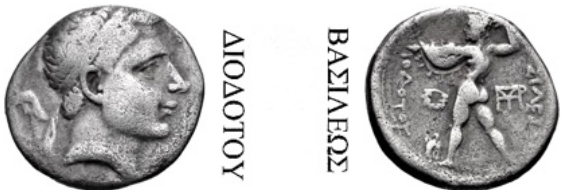
Bordeaux, meanwhile, attributes coins of Series D to be all issues of Diodotos I and, as mentioned above, the coins of Series F are assigned to be issues of Diodotos II (2018: 52).

Fig. 31 shows a selection of coins (2 statere, 3 tetradrachms, and 4 drachms) grouped in BOR Series D. The coins depict the diademed head of a young king on the obverse, and and 'thundering' Zeus on the reverse, following the usual convention with *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* placed outside the raised arm of Zeus. The coins of BOR Groupe D3 have only the typical wreath symbol on reverse, while coins of BOR Groupes (D1-D2, D4-D7) bear a wreath in combination with one or more additional monograms. The monogram ᛗ is found alone, or in combination with other monograms, on all six BOR Groupes (D1 –D2, D4 – D7). Bordeaux could prove die-links between the coins of Series D and coins of Series B (D1 to B13), as well as to the coins of Series C (D3 with C2).

Holt, who differentiates between the coins produced at Mint A and Mint B, and between old and young portraits, came to a different arrangement of the groups in his model.

The two statere of Groupe D3 (coins B1.1 and B1.2 in Fig. 31) are attributed to Diodotos I by Bordeaux, while the same coins, listed in Group F6 by Holt, are seen as issues of Diodotos II. Mitchiner attributes a similar stater to Diodotos II (Type 73), but he did not differentiate between the characteristics of a particular convention of *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ*.

A1) 16.61 g, 26 mm, ○ ⊓
(Holt Group F3, BOR Groupe D1) (3)



A2.1) 3.93 g, 17 mm, 11 h ○ ⊓
(Holt Group F3 -, drachm unlisted; BOR Groupe D1) (3)

A2.2) 3.98 g, ○ ⊓
(Holt Group F3 -, drachm unlisted; BOR Groupe D1) (11)

B1.1) 8.45 g, 6 h ○ (3)

B1.2) 8.49 g, 18 mm, 6 h, ○ *BM 1879,0401.5*
(Holt Group F6, BOR Groupe D3) (7)

B2) 16.53 g, 26 mm, ○
(Holt Group F6, BOR Groupe D3) (3)

C) 17.09 g, 27 mm, 6 h, ○ ⊓ + *2nd monogram is uncertain*
(Holt Group F4?, BOR Groupe D5?) (3)

D1.1) 4.06 g, 18 mm, 9 h, ○ ⊓ ◸
(Holt Group F1, BOR Groupe D6) (3)

D1.2) *4.10 g,* ○ ⊓ ◸
(Holt Group F1, BOR Groupe D6) (27)

E) 4.07 g, 17 mm, 9 h, ○ ⊓ ⋈ M
ANS 1993.29.8 (Holt Group F5, BOR Groupe D7) (14)

Fig. 31. Diodotos II (I): two AV statere, three AR tetradrachms, and five AR drachms (BOR Series D, MIG Type 73, 74 & 75, BOP Série 5, 6 & 7)

Coin C in Fig. 31 was offered in auction in 2004, but Bordeaux did not list this specimen in his catalogue, although other coins were considered. If Coin C is a specimen of BOR Groupe D5 with the control marks ○ ⊓ ⋔, then it would be the second tetradrachm listed in this group. Bordeaux did not mark any die-inks between Groupe D5 and other groups and series.

The two drachms with control marks ○ ⊓ in BOR Groupe D1 (coins A2.1 and A2.2), and the drachm with control marks ○ ⊓ ◸ listed as Groupe D6 (Coin D) by Bordeaux, show slight differences in the form of the monogram ⊓ / ⊓. Mitchiner, Bopearachchi, Holt, and Bordeaux identified the form of the monogram as ⊓, but most of the illustrated coins show the form of the monogram as ⊓. There is only a single specimen, Coin D in Fig. 30, which has a monogram ⊓ similar to the form listed by the four authors above.

The drachm illustrated as Coin E bears a long combination of control marks ○ ⋈ ⊓ M. Holt identified the combination of control marks as ○ ⋈ ⊓ M, whereas Bordeaux identified it as ○ ⋈ ⊓ M and listed three drachms of the type as Groupe D7 in his catalogue. The denomination of drachm is so far the only known representative of Groupe D7.

A closer look at the illustrated coins in Bordeaux and in Kritt (2001) – Holt did not illustrate a coin of the type – reveals some differences in the pictorial reproduction of control marks ○ ⋈ ⊓ M on the coins. The monogram ⊓ shows a continuous centre line to the top on both the illustrated coins, but Holt, Bordeaux, and also Kritt, show the form as ⊓ without a continuous centre line. Also, the other two monograms ⋈ M show differences in the reproduced sketches. The monogram ⋈ has the form ⋈ without the small flag on top left in Bordeaux, while the monogram M has the ordinary form of M in Holt/Kritt.

Hemidrachms of the Diodotids are extremely rare. Mitchiner illustrated three coins as Type 69, with control mark △ and an uncertain control mark. Bopearacchi lists the coins of Mitchiner, but without illustrating them. Bordeaux lists only three

hemidrachms, one each in Groupes A8, B4 and B10, and all are issued in the name of Antiochos.

A) 1.65 g, 13 mm, 7 h, 𐡀?, HCR 53696
(Holt Series F, BOR Series D) (25)

B) *2.03 g, 11 mm, 11 h, 𐡀𐡂, HCR 53712*
(Holt Series F, BOR Series D) (25)

Fig. 32. Two AR hemidrachms of Diodotos II (I)
(MIG -, BOP -), unlisted

Fig. 32 shows two hemidrachms, which are most likely to have been issued in the name of Diodotos. The coins do not have a wreath below the left arm of Zeus. The control marks 𐡀 and 𐡀 and the legend on coin A, indicate these are specimens of BOR Series D.

The following Series F, together with the related Series E, have been separated in Bordeaux' model by a dotted line from the earlier Series A to C. As a result of his studies, Bordeaux combines five groups of coins, with certain characteristics of independence to the earlier series, into a separate Series F. It is observed that Series F has only some closer relations to Series E with *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* below the the right elbow of Zeus and similar control marks. The dotted line separates BOR Series E and F as issues of Diodotos II, from other series to be attributed to Diodotos I.

Holt assumes that coins with *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* outside the right arm of Zeus, and an idealised portrait, are posthumous issues struck by Diodotos II in honour of his deceased father, well after his accession as supreme king. Holt arranges these coins in three groups as Series B. Meanwhile, as stated earlier, Bordeaux does not differentiate between old and young portraits, and does not follow Holt's interpretation of these as posthumous issues.

In contradiction to the separate Series B and F in Holt's model, the Series F with Groupes F1 to F6 in Bordeaux' model covers the three groups of Holt's Series B and also groups of Series F.

Mitchiner listed coins of this BOR Series F as Type 70 (stater), Type 71 (tetradrachm), and Type 75 (drachm), struck by Diodotos I as king of Bactria-Sogdiana. Bopearachchi merged the coinage as issues struck by the Diodotids and listed them as Série 5 (stater), Série 6 (tetradrachm), and Série 7 (drachm).

Five tetradrachms of BOR Groupes F1 to F3, depicting the portrait of a middle-aged king (described as an idealised portrait by Holt), are illustrated in Fig. 33.

Coin A leaves the impression that below the left arm of Zeus the wreath was removed on the die, therefore it is not clear whether the coin is a specimen of Group F1 with a wreath or Group F2 without a wreath. There is a possibility that a reverse die of Holt's Group B1 or BOR Groupe F1, with a wreath below the arm of Zeus, was modified.

Coin B3 shows an interesting defect of lamination. This may have been caused by a defect in the cast planchet, but it is also possible that some material was added by forging to achieve the desired weight of a tetradrachm.

A) 16.42 g, 24 mm, 6 h, 𐡀?
(Holt Group B1, BOR Groupe F1?) (3)

B1) 16.94 g, 6 h, without control marks
(Holt Group B2, BOR Groupe F2) (3)

B2) 16.78 g, 7 h, without control marks
(Holt Group B2, BOR Groupe F2) (12)

B3) 16.44 g, 27 mm, 7 h, without control marks
(Holt Group B2, BOR Groupe F2) (10)

C) 16.18 g, 6 h, 𐡂
(Holt Group B3, BOR Groupe F3) (17)

Fig. 33. Five AR tetradrachms of Diodotos II
(MIG Type 70, BOP Série 6)

The following Groupes F4 to F6 in the model developed by Bordeaux need a closer look, because the different authors come to different conclusions based on the identification of the control mark on these coins. Holt and also Kritt identified a single control mark 𐡌 without any varieties, and combined all the coins of this type, with *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* outside the right arm of Zeus, in Group F7, similar to the coins of Group D8 with *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* below the right elbow of Zeus.

Bordeaux distinguishes between coins with the control marks 𐡌, 𐡍 and 𐡌, and orders these coins in three separate Groupes F4 to F6 of Series F. Mitchiner illustrates a tetradrachm as Type 74c, but identifies the control mark as 𐡌, and three drachms as

Type 75b with the control mark . Bopearachchi illustrates three tetradrachms (Série 6F) and a drachm (Série 7E), and lists all these coins under a single control mark , distinguishable by thicker upper bars.

A1) 16.63 g,
(Holt Group F7, BOR Groupe F4) (3)

A2) 16.60 g,
(Holt Group F7, BOR Groupe F4) (18)

Fig. 34. Two AR tetradrachms of Diodotos II (MIG Type 74, BOP Série 6)

Fig. 34 shows two tetradrachms of BOR Groupe F4 with the control mark . The coins depict the portrait of a young king with stylishly-layered hair. Two layers are arranged below the diadem and four above, but the individual touch of the engravers can be still seen on the two coins. Both Holt and Bordeaux attribute these coins as issues of Diodotos II as supreme king, and list them in Group F7 (Holt) and Groupe F4 (Bordeaux).

Bordeaux lists a single tetradrachm with control mark as Groupe F5. The same tetradrachm is shown in Fig. 33, but a closer look reveals that the control mark differs from the control mark identified by Bordeaux. Another conspicuous detail is the portrait has a different hairstyle, because it shows similarities to the coins of BOR Groupes F1 to F3. The arrangement of the tetradrachm in BOR Groupe F5, between BOR Groupes F4 and F6, is an incorrect decision, because the coin does not have any close relationship to coins of these two groups with control mark and . The control mark has some similarity to control mark which the Diodotids used in the beginning of their reign on coins issued in the name *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ* (BOR Groupes A6 and A7). The position of the illustrated tetradrachm with control mark in the model developed by Bordeaux would be better either after Groupes F1 to F3, or at the end of Series F.

Fig. 35. Diodotos II AR tetradrachm, 16.20 g, 10 h,
(Holt Series B -?, BOR Series F5 ( )?, MIG Type 70-, BOP Série 6 -) (20)

It has been mentioned already that Holt lists coins of BOR Groupes F1 to F3 in a separate Series B, with the assumption that the coins are posthumous issues in commemoration of Diodotos I. As a consequence, based on certain similarities, the tetradrachm illustrated in Fig. 35 would fit in Series E of Holt's model.

The die-study used by Bordeaux has not shown any relationship to other coins, but the control mark is at least unrecorded for the coinage issued with the name *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ*.

Another seven tetradrachms listed as BOR Groupe F6, with control mark , are illustrated in Fig. 36. The specimens also show some varieties of the control mark - , , and - which are not recorded so far.

Coins B1 and B2 show tetradrachms with control marks and respectively, which have only a partial connection line on the top.

The work of Bordeaux provides a particular control mark in at least three places (model, illustration, and catalogue), but in the case of Groupe F6 an error occurred. The control mark is illustrated as correctly in his model and his catalogue, but the illustrated specimen shows the control mark of Groupes B12 and B13. Bordeaux lists 13 tetradrachms in Groupe F6 in his catalogue, which all show the correct control mark .

B1) 16.07 g, 6h,
(Holt Series F7, BOR Groupe F6) (3)

B2) 16.74 g, 25 mm, 6 h,
(Holt Series F7, BOR Groupe F6) (3)

B3) 16.82 g, 6h,
(Holt Series F7, BOR Groupe F6) (3)

B4) 16.41 g, 25 mm, 6 h,
(Holt Series F7, BOR Groupe F6) (3)

B5) 16.53 g, ᛗ
(Holt Group F7, BOR Groupe F6) (4)

C1) 16.51 g, 6 h, ᛘ
(Holt Series F7, BOR Groupe F6 var.) (3)

C2) 15.97 g, 27 mm, 6h, ᛘ
(Holt Series F7, BOR Groupe F6 var.) (3)

Fig. 36. Seven AR tetradrachms of Diodotos II (MIG Type 74c, BOP Série 6, control var.)

Coin B5 in Fig. 36 shows a standing eagle with an almost symmetric body and wings. The plumage on the body and wings has a conspicuous decoration that is missing on other specimens. The artistic individuality of an engraver can find expression in such details, but otherwise he has to meet the requirements of a specific design.

An examination of the coins with control mark ᛗ and ᛗ, including their varieties, leaves the impression that the majority of tetradrachms in BOR Groupes F4 and F6 bear the control mark ᛗ/ ᛘ.

Fig. 37. Diodotos II AR tetradrachm, 16.57 g, 25 mm, 6 h, ᛗ ᛋ *(Holt Series F7 var., BOR Groupes F4 or F6, MIG Type 74, BOP Série 6), double control marks unlisted* (3)

Fig. 37 shows a tetradrachm with two control marks, ᛗ and ᛋ, and belongs to Holt's Group F7 and BOR Groupes F4 or F6. It is not clear why two similar control marks appear on this coin. If it was due to a double strike, it would have left some other traces.

Fig. 38. Diodotos II AV stater, 8.23 g, ⌬ ᛏ, *BM 1888.1208.65 (Holt -, Kritt (2015) B1a, BOR Groupe F -, MIG Type 70a, BOP Série 5)* (7)

Fig. 38 shows an unusual stater which found its way from the collection of Sir Alexander Cunningham to the collection of the British Museum. The coin has besides the wreath ⌬ an additional symbol ᛏ in the right field on reverse. This symbol was seen as a spear head, but Kritt describes it as an altar with flames. Lines like flames are clearly visible in the enlarged picture. Kritt states that the flaming altar, symbolic of the consecration of the dead, supports Holt's identification of Series B as a memorial issue to commemorate Diodotos I. The stater is illustrated by Mitchiner as Type 70a, and is also listed with a few other newly-discovered coins as Group A1a in the extended model of Holt by Kritt (2015). It should be mentioned that the genuineness of this specimen is still questioned.

2.2 Diodotid bronze coinage with the name Diodotos

Holt (1999) attributes bronze coins with the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ* as issues of Diodotos II, and classifies the coins in two distinct Series H and I. Series H comprises of four denominations featuring the head of Hermes on obverse with Pallas Athena standing on reverse. Series I has different depictions featuring the head of Zeus or Artemis along with an eagle or bow case. Kritt (2001) extends the model, based on technical facts and the thesis that probably all bronzes with the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ* were struck in the mint of Aï Khanoum. He lists, as a possible exception, the coins with Zeus/ Artemis struck on a thinner planchet, and attributed such coins to be the issues of a different mint.

Fig. 39 shows three unlisted quarter-units, featuring on obverse, the head of Hermes, and on reverse, a single *caduceus* and the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ*. The coins appeared in auctions with the remark 'issued in the name of Antiochos'. Coins featuring the head of Hermes and crossed *caducei* are known from coins carrying the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ*, but the three illustrated specimens clearly bear the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ*.

Mitchiner listed a double-unit with a single *caduceus* and the control mark ⏢ as Type 78, but misprinted the legend as *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ*. The misprint was corrected by Senior (1996) as *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ* .

Kritt (2001) lists three varieties of the type Hermes/ single *caduceus*, with the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ* and the control mark ⏢, as AK-2 to AK-4.

A1) 0.85 g, 10 mm, 6 h (3)

A2) 0.98 g, 9 mm, 12 h (6)

A3) 0.75 g, 10 mm, 12 h (6)

A4) 0.62 g, 9 mm, 6 h (6)

Fig. 39. Four Æ ¼ units of the Diodotids, unlisted

The specimens shown in Fig. 39, with the head of Hermes wearing *petasos*/ single *caduceus* with legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ* and without a control mark, are an unrecorded type issued by the Diodotids. These coins would fit as an additional type in the Series H of Holt's model.

It might be of interest that Kritt (2001) places the mintage of Hermes/ single *caduceus* type issued with the name Antiochos chronologically earlier than the type featuring Hermes/ crossed *caducei*. The surfacing of the new Hermes/ single *caduceus* type with legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ* may result in a question mark on Kritt's assumption that the single *caduceus* is the earlier type. On the other hand, three new specimens may not be sufficient to change the chronological sequence, but it supports the expectation of more new coins and types to add a tessera to a better understanding of the coinage of the Diodotids.

The second unpublished and very unusual type of bronze coin with a weight close to an Attic *chalkous* is illustrated in Fig. 40. This specimen was offered for sale in Peshawar in 2018.

Fig. 40. Diodotos II Æ unit, 3.28 g, 6 h, ⌀ or ⌀, unlisted

Obverse: Head of Apollo facing 3/4 right
Reverse: Diademed head of king right with Greek legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ*

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ is arranged right-angled on the left side and bottom, to be read counter-clockwise from the outside. The control mark ⌀ or ⌀ on the right side, in front of the face, is assigned to Ai-Khanoum. Control marks on the bronze coinage issued in the name of Diodotos are unrecorded till now. The question arises: who is the issuer of this coin? The portrait on reverse shows a man with a long nose and projected chin as known from coins with the portrait of Diodotos II. The coin is also special in the sense that probably the head of a non-deity is depicted on a bronze coin. If this coin is genuine, it could be one of the early bronzes issued in the name of the Diodotids at Ai-Khanoum mint.

Certain features of this new type may have been adapted from the coinage of Antiochos I struck at Aï Khanoum. Apollo was one of the main deities depicted on Seleucid coins. Antiochos I adopted Apollo on his later coinage struck at the mint of Aï Khanoum. Fig. 41 shows a *dichalkon* or double-unit issued by Antiochos I on a thick planchet with bevelled edges typical of Ai Khanoum mint. The type is listed by Kritt (2016) under the coinage of Antiochos I as Type 10.

Fig. 41. Antiochos I Æ double-unit, 7.82 g, 20 mm, △ (Kritt [2016] Type 10) (3)

Obverse: Laureated head of Apollo 3/4 right
Reverse: Nike standing right, erecting a trophy with both hands; legend in two lines *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ*

The control mark △, attributed to the mint in the region of Aï Khanoum, is placed in the left field outside the legend. The arrangement of the Greek legend on two adjoining sides is already known from coins issued by Antiochos I in Aï Khanoum.

Fig. 42 shows three coins (tetradrachm, drachm, hemidrachm) issued by Antiochos I in Aï Khanoum. The coins have the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ* arranged in a right angle on two sides.

A) Tetradrachm: 15.58 g, 27 mm, 6 h, △ I (Kritt [2016] A1TH-10)

B) Drachm: 4.03 g, ⌀ A Δ (Kritt [2016] A1DH-34)

C) Hemidrachm: 2.69 g, 17 mm, ⌀ (Kritt [2016] A1 HDH)

Fig. 42. Antiochos I: AR tetradrachm, drachm and hemidrachm (MIG Types 54 var./ 55/ 56) (3)

Obverse: Diademed head of king right
Reverse: Bridled horse head right, headgear decorated with horns (probably a depiction of Bucephalus, the famous horse of Alexander the Great)

The control marks △ I, ⌀, and ⌀ are all attributed to Aï Khanoum by Kritt (2016).

Fig. 43 shows two bronze coins from Ai-Khanoum mint issued in the name of Antiochos I. Kritt (2016) lists the type as Ai-Khanoum AE Type 5 (Plate 58). It requires two specimens to show that the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ is* arranged in a right angle on adjoining sides.

A1) *3.71 g, 17 mm,* ⏀ 𐤀

A2) *3.48 g, 16 mm, 5 h,* ⏀ (𐤀)

Fig. 43. Two Æ units of Antiochos I (Kritt [2016] Type 5) (3)

Obverse: Head of Herakles with lion headgear right
Reverse: Bridled forepart of decorated horse prancing right; control mark ⏀ 𐤀on the right side

The few selected specimens show that the coinage issued by Antiochos I in the province Bactria-Sogdiana may have still had a presence at the time of Diodotos I and probably influenced his early coinage. Some similarities in the coinage of the two kings supports Jakobsson's assumption that there may have been an immediate break, and not a gradual secession, from the Seleucid empire (2011: 28). Jakobsson`s arguments for a third king of the Diodotid dynasty named Antiochos Nikator will be discussed later.

A third unlisted bronze coin with the name Diodotos is shown in Fig. 44. This thick coin with bevelled edges was offered for sale in the Peshawar market in 2016. The pictoral design of the coin is well-known from bronze coins issued by the usurper Euthydemos, who killed Diodotos II and captured his kingdom between 230-220 BCE.

Fig. 44. Diodotid Æ double-unit,7.46 g, unlisted

Obverse: Head of Herakles right
Reverse: Horse prancing right with Greek legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ* above and below

The symbol of a prancing horse representing 'kingship' appears on Greco-Bactrian coins for the first time here. The arrangement of the legend spread across two lines above and below is a new feature on bronze coins issued by the Diodotids. The weight of this specimen (8.48 g) classifies it as an Attic *dichalkon* or a double-unit. The thick and bevelled planchet links it to the mint at Aï Khanoum.

I have not come across any similar coin of this type issued by Diodotos II and that makes me confident that it is a genuine coin. Making a forgery of such a low-cost coin requires a substantial number of pieces to be sold to get a profit. The significance of this new type is that it indicates that Diodotos II introduced the Herakles/ horse design first and Euthydemos I later adapted it for his coinage.

Another series of bronze coins issued by Diodotids is illustrated in Figs. 45-49. Mitchiner listed two denominations – double-unit (8.45 g) and half-unit (2.12 g) as Types 79 and 80 respectively. Bopearachchi added a third denomination of half-unit as Série 14 (2.10 g) to the double-unit (Série 12, 8.40 g) and the unit (Série 13, 4.20 g).

A1) 9.91 g, 23 mm, 6 h (3)

A2) 9.35 g, 6 h (4)

A3) 7.47 g, 20 mm, 6 h (8)

A4) 7.06 g, 7 h (3)

A5) 6.60 g, 6 h (4)

A6) 6.15 g, 6 h (9)

A7) 5.83 g, 21 mm, 6 h

A8) *5.25 g, 20 mm, 6 h* (3)

Fig. 45. Eight Æ double-units of the Diodotids (MIG Type 79, BOP Série 12, Holt Group H1)

Obverse: Head of Hermes right wearing *petasos*
Reverse: Pallas Athena standing facing wearing long gown, holding grounded shield in left hand and spear in right hand, flanked by Greek legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ*

The coins illustrated in Fig. 45 show a wide range, from 5.25 g to 9.91 g, for the denomination of double-unit. Coins A1 and A2 are of a heavier weight for a double-unit, while coins A7 and A8 are clearly below the standard weight. The coins are listed in Holt's overview of bronzes issued by the Diodotids as Series H1, with a total of four denominations (double-unit, unit, half-unit, and quarter-unit).

A1) *3.25 g, 6 h* (3)

A2) 4.29 g

A3) 3.5 g, 6 h, ANS 1986.32.3 (14)

Fig. 46. Three Æ units of the Diodotids (MIG -, BOP Série 13, Holt Group H1)

Bopearachchi specifies Série 13 and 14 as unit and half-unit, but without illustrating a specimen of the type with details. Mitchiner (1975) illustrates a single example of a double unit (*dichalkon*) as Type 79, as well as several half-units (*lepton*) as Type 80. Three specimens of a unit with the depiction of Hermes and Pallas Athene are shown in Fig. 46.

The four half-units illustrated in Fig. 47 show a wide range in weights and dimensions. Coin A4 in Fig. 45 and coin A2 in Fig. 47 offer good examples to show how the *petasos* is fixed with a strap on the back of the head and with another strap below the chin.

A1) 2.89 g, 17 mm, 6 h (3)

A2) 2.16 g, 20 mm (3)

A3) 1.54 g, 14 mm, 6 h (3)

A4) 2.0 g, 15.7 mm, 6 h (2)

Fig. 47. Four Æ ½ units of the Diodotids (MIG Type 80, BOP Séries 14, Holt Group H1)

In Fig. 47, Coin A1 with a weight of 2.89 g could be a light unit or a heavy half-unit. Coin A4 shows a kind of mismatch between the obverse and reverse. There is a small head of Hermes on reverse, but large letters in the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ*. It is possible that dies of two different denominations were used to strike the coin. The crack on the bevelled edge might be the result of a cooled-down planchet, but it could also have been caused by the reuse of a flattened old coin. A reuse of an old coin could also be an explanation for the large size of this specimen.

A1) 1.26 g, 12.8 mm, 6 h (16)

A2) 1.34 g, 12-14 mm, 7 h (5)

A3) 1.00 g, 13 mm, 6 h (6)

A4) 0.94 g, 14 mm, 6 h (3)

Fig. 48. Four Æ ¼ units? of the Diodotids (MIG -, BOP -, Holt Group H1)

Fig. 48 shows four possibly quarter-units or Attic *hemilepton* (standard weight 1.10 g) of Series H1 in Holt's model. Quarter-units are unlisted by Mitchiner and Bopearachchi. Holt (1999) lists a single specimen in the National Museum of Tajikistan weighing 0.76 g and 10.1 mm in size. The weights of the four coins illustrated above are in the range of a quarter-unit, but their size of 12-14 mm speaks rather for a half-unit.

The weights have been checked of 51 coins of Diodotid bronzes with the depiction of Hermes/ Pallas Athene (Holt's series H1). The results in Table A show an average weight slightly below the standard weight in brackets (Mitchiner) for the following denominations: double-unit, unit, and half-unit. An exception is the rare and unlisted quarter-unit, which has an average weight of 10% above the standard.

Table A. Average weight of Diodotid bronzes depicting Hermes/Pallas Athene, Series H1 Holt (1999)

Denomination	Standard	Average wt.	Range	No. of pieces
Double-unit	8.48 g	7.65 g	5.25-9.91 g	20
Unit	4.24 g	3.43 g	2.74-4.29 g	8
Half-unit	2.12 g	1.88 g	1.53-2.36 g	20
Quarter-unit	1.06 g	1.14 g	0.94-1.34 g	4

Holt (1999) listed 49 coins from different collections and auctions with weight, and partly also with dimensions, for Series H1 depicting Hermes/ Pallas Athene. Table B shows the average weight of the coins listed by Holt, indicating that the average weights of all denominations is below the standard weights and even lower than the average weights in Table A.

Table B. Average weight of Diodotid bronzes depicting Hermes/ Pallas Athene, coins listed as Series H1 by Holt (1999)

Denomination	Average wt.	Range	No. of pieces
Double-unit	7.35 g	4.38-10.95 g	25
Unit	3.35 g	3.00-3.63 g	6
Half-unit	1.73 g	0.96-2.29 g	17
Quarter-unit	0.76 g		1

The coin shown in Fig. 49 seems to be a specimen of the rare MIG Type 81 depicting the diademed head of Hermes on the obverse and Pallas Athene on the reverse. Mitchiner listed a double-unit with a weight of 6.80 g from the collection of the British Museum. The illustrated coin has a weight of 5.41 g, which is clearly below the standard weight of 8.48 g, but, as we have seen, other coins have shown a wide range in the weights of most denominations.

Fig. 49. Diodotid Æ double-unit, 5.41g, 6 h (MIG Type 81, BOP -, Holt -)

Another series of bronze coinage issued by Diodotos II features the bearded head of Zeus and Artemis holding a torch on reverse. Three denominations are listed. Mitchiner lists the double-unit as Type 82 (8.48 g) and the half-unit (*lepton*) as Type 83 (2.12 g). Bopearachchi lists the double-unit as Série 8 (8.40 g) and the unit as Série 9 (4.20 g). There are two different depictions of Artemis: one shows Artemis alone and the other shows Artemis accompanied by a hunting dog. Bopearachchi differentiates these two depictions, listing the rare depiction with the dog as BOP Série 10. Mitchiner illustrated this variety together with the other double units as Type 82. Holt lists the depiction of Artemis with a dog as a separate Series I, Group 1.

The three specimens illustrated in Fig. 50 clearly show a jumping dog behind the left foot of Artemis. Artemis holds the torch in front of her body and the tip passes the title *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* between *Α* and *Σ*. Holt assumes that coins depicting the hunting dog are first in the sequence and the depiction of dog disappears from subsequent groups of Series I. There is only the denomination of double-unit known so far.

A1) 8.44 g, 19-20 mm, 12 h (9)

A2) 8.03 g, 21 mm, 1 h (3)

A3) 5.47 g (12)

Fig. 50. Three Æ double-units of the Diodotids (MIG Type 82, BOP Group 10A, Holt Series I1)

Obv: Laureate head of bearded Zeus right
Reverse: Artemis striding to right, quiver strung tightly over shoulder, holding torch with both hands, dog leaping to right at her feet

The next group of bronzes features the laureate head of Zeus on obverse, but Artemis is shown without a dog on reverse. The legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ* is arranged on both sides of Artemis. The torch passes the title *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* between the letters *Α* and *Σ,* as on all coins of the group. Holt lists the type as Series I, Group 2, and refers in the description to a star in the outer right field, noting that the animal is quickly abandoned in favour of the star (1999: 111).

Mitchiner did not take notice of a star on the coins. Bopearachchi mentions the star in the description for double-units (Série 8) and adopts the text for units (Série 9). Holt lists 31 double-units and seven units under the headline "The Catalogue of Diodotid Coinage in Bronze". He mentions that nearly half of these coins were excavated at Aï Khanoum and adds that the star is detectable on about half of the specimens.

A1) 10.20 g, 23 mm, 6 h, ✳

A2) 8.97 g, 22 mm, 6 h, ✳(3)

A3) 7.37 g, 24 mm, ✳(3)

A4) 6.37 *g, 6 h,* ✳(22)

Fig. 51. Four Æ double-units of the Diodotids (MIG Type 82, BOP Série 8, Holt Group I2)

Another unmentioned detail is the arrangement of the torch with the depiction of the shaft in front and behind the body of Artemis. Fig. 51 shows three double-units of BOP Série 9 or Holt Group I2 with a star ✳of six rays in the right field below the tip of the torch. On Coin A1, the shaft of the torch is behind the body of Artemis, while on Coins A2 to A4, Artemis holds the shaft of the torch in front of her body. The torch passes the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* between *A* and *Σ* as on most of the other specimens.

A1) 8.17 g, 22 mm, 6 h, ✳(3)

A2) 8.08 g, ✳(3)

A3) 8.16 g, 22 mm, 6 h, ✳*, ANS 1993.29.9* (14)

Fig. 52. Three Æ double-units of the Diodotids (MIG Type 82, BOP Série 8, Holt Group I2)

Fig. 52 shows three double-units with an adjunct star, but here the star ✳consists of eight rays. This variation of stars with six or eight rays is not recorded by Bopearachchi and Holt. The shaft of the torch passes the body of Artemis on the back on Coin A1 and in front of her body on Coin A2. All other details on the coins, including the crossing of *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ*, are in line with other double-units of the group.

Fig. 53. Antiochos II AR drachm, 4.02 g, 17.5 mm, 6 h, ⏃✳(3)

The adjunct symbol of a star is already known from Seleucid coins, and attributed to the ancient city Aï Khanoum. Fig. 53 shows a drachm issued by Antiochos II at Aï Khanoum with control mark ⏃and the adjunct symbol of a star ✳with eight rays. The coin depicts the portrait of Antiochos I on the obverse (Kritt 2016), with Apollo, the favoured god of the Seleucids, seated on *omphalos* on the reverse.

Fig. 54. Diodotid Æ double-unit, 7.69 g, 6 h, ⏄✳ *(MIG Type 82, BOP Série 8, Holt Group I2 variety)* (3)

An unusual double-unit of the Zeus/ Artemis type is illustrated in Fig. 54. The coin has, in addition to the star with six rays, another symbol on the left side. Kritt identified this adjunct symbol as a spearhead (2016: 148), contrasting it to the supposed flaming altar on the stater illustrated in Fig. 38. The double-unit in Fig. 54 shows Artemis holding the shaft of the torch clearly on the back of her body. The shaft passes the title *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* between the Greek letters *Σ* and *I.* This detail is unlisted and different to all the other coins in the series.

A1) 3.19 g, 16 mm, 7 h, ✳ (3)

A2) *4.53 g, 18 mm, 12 h,* ✳ (3)

A3) *3.88 g, 6 h,* ✳*, ANS 1979.45.5* (14)

Fig. 55. Two Æ units of the Diodotids
(MIG -, BOP Série 9, Holt Group I2)

Fig. 55 shows three units of the Zeus/ Artemis series, with the adjunct symbol of a star ✳ of six rays below the torch's tip and right of *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ*. Artemis holds the shaft of the torch on the back of her body on Coin A1 and in front of her body on Coins A2 and A3.

A1) 7.84 g, 22 mm (3)

A2) 9.0 g, 21.1 mm, 6 h (2)

B) 7.62 g, 21 mm, 6 h (3)

Fig. 56. Three Æ double-units of the Diodotids
(MIG Type 82, BOP Série 8, Holt Group I2)

Holt mentions that a star was visible on about half of all the specimens he examined (1999: 169), but it seems that a number of coins are without a star. Fig 56 shows three double-units without this symbol. These specimens show variations in the position of the torch too. Artemis holds the torch in front of her body on Coins A1 and A2, but it is behind her body on Coin B.

ΔΟΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ

Fig. 57. Diodotid Æ double-unit, 6.56 g, 21.1-20.5 mm, 6 h
(MIG Type 82, BOP Série 8, Holt Group I2),
wrong spelling of the king's name

Fig. 57 shows a double-unit of BOP Série 8 and Holt Group I2, with an error in the spelling of the king's name. The die cutter added an extra *O* as the second letter in *ΔΟΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ*.

Fig. 58. Diodotid Æ unit, 4.75 g, 20 mm, 7 h
(MIG -, BOP Série 9) (3)

The unit shown in Fig. 58 is a specimen of BOP Série 9. Artemis holds the torch behind her body on this coin. There are no additional symbols, like a star observed on other coins.

Fig. 59. Diodotid Æ ½ unit, 2.7 g, 13 mm
(MIG Type 83, BOP -, Holt -)

The coin illustrated in Fig. 59 is of a much lower weight and with no traces of any additional symbols. It seems to be a rare half-unit (*lepton*).

The double-units of the Zeus/ Artemis series show, like in the Hermes/ Athena series, a wide range in weights between 6.1 g and 10.2 g. Holt lists 27 double-units with weights ranging between 5.22-10.6 g (average 7.18 g) and dimensions between 20-22 mm. The large variation in weight raises the question whether all of these specimens are double-units. The smaller range in their dimensions speaks rather for a single denomination.

Fig. 60. Diodotid Æ unit 'mule', 4.71 g, 19 mm, 12 h,
SMB-MK-ID: 18217241
(MIG -, BOP Série 11, Holt Group I3) (1)

Fig. 60 shows a unique bronze coin in the collection of the Muenzkabinett Berlin. The coin has the weight of a unit and features a diademed royal portrait of a beardless man on the obverse in the place of Zeus' head, and Artemis with torch on the reverse, flanked by the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ*. There are no additional symbols like a star on the reverse. Bopearachchi assigns this portrait to the Seleucid king Antiochos II, as it is known from gold and silver coins issued by the Diodotids. Bopearachchi lists this coin as Série 11 and Holt

places it in Series I as Group 3, with the remark “Mule”. It is assumed that the obverse die of a stater or drachm was used to strike this ‘mule’.

A single specimen of a very different type, depicting an eagle and quiver, is listed by Bopearachchi as Série 15. The depiction of the eagle is similar to the eagle found at Zeus’ feet on the gold and silver coinage of the Diodotids. The divine attributes of an eagle might here symbolise Zeus or just royal power.

Four quarter-units, similar to the single coin illustrated by Bopearachchi, are shown in Fig. 61. These are struck on thick planchets as seen on other bronze coins issued by the Diodotids.

A) 1.02 g, 11 mm, 5 h (5)

B) 0.99 g, 11 mm, 6 h, ANS 1985.19.14 (14)

C) 0.73 g, 6 h (4)

D) 0.66 g, 6 h (⅛ unit?) (3)

Fig. 61. Four Æ ¼ units (⅛ units?) of the Diodotids (MIG -, BOP Série 15A, Holt Group I4)

Obverse: Eagle standing left, wings half-spread, surrounded by a border of dots

Reverse: Quiver, tubular with three-pointed top, standing upright and flanked by the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ*

Bopearachchi mentions the depiction on reverse as a quiver without any additional strap or bow. Holt lists 13 coins as Series I, Group 4, and describes the reverse as a quiver with dangling straps. The coin illustrated by him as Plate 21 is the same Coin B in Fig. 61 from the ANS collection. Kritt (2001) also illustrates this specimen for Series I, but without specifying whether it belongs to Group 4 or 5. Mitchiner did not list this type at all.

The four specimens illustrated in Fig. 61 do not show any dangling straps. The straps are all in an upright position and fixed to the tubular body of the quiver. The lower parts of the straps are fixed on a stabilising ring of the quiver. The sprue from the casting process of the planchets is visible on all four coins.

Fig. 62. Diodotid Æ ¼ unit, 1.33 g, 12 mm, 6 h (MIG -. BOP -, Holt Series I4) (3)

Fig. 62 shows another quarter-unit (*hemilepton*) with a similar depiction of eagle and quiver. The coin weighs 1.33 g, a remarkably high weight for a quarter-unit, but it may still be within the production range of such a small planchet. A strap on the left side is uncertain, but the worn condition of the coin may be a reason why it is not discernible.

A second, almost similar, type is listed by Holt as Series I, Group 5. The difference to Group 4 is the depiction of an additional bow alongside the quiver on the reverse. Holt mentions three quarter-units with weights of 0.31 g (8 mm), 0.79 g (10 mm), and 0.83 g (11 mm) respectively for Group 5, but without illustrating them. He writes in a footnote: “This feature (bow alongside quiver) has been noted by Bernard (1985), AK 4, p. 57, although available photographs make the bow very difficult to discern.” It was not possible to get information or photographs of the two coins in the British Museum mentioned by Bernard due to the COVID lockdown measures in place.

Bopearachchi did not differentiate between coins with only a quiver and coins with a quiver and bow. Bordeaux did not deal with the bronze coinage of the Diodotids.

A third type is mentioned by Holt as Series I, Group 6. The type is similar to the above-mentioned types of Series I, but it features an eagle with outstretched wings standing right. Bernard (1985) describes the reverse to be likely the usual quiver (without bow) and that the inscription is the same as on coins of Group I4.

Holt states in a footnote to the coin Series I, Group 6, listed by Bernard: “the reverse is likely the usual quiver (without bow) and inscription as on I4. However, his photograph gives a reverse (should be obverse) of eagle to left coin (plate 5), which is probably a printer’s error”. Mitchiner and Bopearachchi did not list this type.

Fig. 63. Diodotid Æ ¼ unit, 1.12 g, 11 h, ANS 1976.215.2 (MIG -, BOP -, Holt Group I7), unlisted (14)

A unique quarter-unit from the ANS collection is shown in Fig. 63. Holt lists this type as Series I, Group 7. The coin was first published by Troxell (1977: 25). She suggests that the eagle/ quiver coins may have been issued at two different mints, as a possible explanation for the differences in the depiction and arrangement of the legend. This specimen features the legend *ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* on the eagle side. The king’s name *ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ* is quite clear, but there are only traces of *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ*. Holt raises several questions like: “Why has the eagle been turned?” and “Why is the eagle now flanked by the coin’s inscription?”, which are difficult to answer. Another discussed issue is the form of the quiver and whether it is a quiver at all. There are proposals that the depiction on reverse might be a stone pillar, an altar, or a *cippus* (tombstone).

3. Antiochos Nikator, a third king of the Diodotid dynasty?

Jakobsson (2011: 27) suggests the existence of a third Diodotid king Antiochos Nikator, proposing that some of the coins issued by the Diodotids with the name *ANTIOXOY* were actually not in the name of their Seleucid suzerain Antiochos II, but issued by an independent king Antiochos, who was a brother or son of Diodotos I, and ruled after Diodotos II at the end of the Diodotid dynasty. The approximate regnal dates as suggested by him are:

- Diodotos I Soter c. 255-250 BCE
- Diodotos II Theos c. 250-240 BCE
- Antiochos Nikator c. 240-225 BCE
- Euthydemos I Theos/Megas c. 225-195 BCE

The initial basis of Jakobsson's hypothesis are the 'pedigree' coins issued by the later Greco-Bactrian king Agathocles to commemorate a king named *ANTIOXOY NIKATOROΣ*. Fig. 64 shows six tetradrachms issued by Agathocles to commemorate Diodotos Soter and Antiochos Nikator.

A1) 16.83 g, (23)

A2) 17.03 g, 32 mm, , ANS 1993.27.1 (14)

A3) 17.37 g, 12 h, (3)

B1) 16.65 g, (4)

B2) 16.3 g, , ANS 1966.150.2 (14)

B3) 16.92 g, 12 h, (3)

Fig. 64. Six AR tetradrachms of Agathocles to commemorate Diodotos Soter (A1-A3) and Antiochos Nikator (B1-B3)

The consideration that none of the Seleucid kings with the name Antiochos used the epithet Nikator at that time, provided Jakobsson with the argument for Antiochos Nikator being the third Diodotid king (2011: 33).

Fig. 65. Antiochos Nikator AR tetradrachm, 16.24 g, 12 h, (23)

For example, the coin shown in Fig. 65 is listed as a commemorative issue struck in the name of Antiochos II (Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995, no. 1075), but Antiochos II's title was Theos and not Nikator.

Jakobsson concludes that these commemorative coins indicate a separate person Antiochos Nikator (2011: 24). He believes the existence of this third Diodotid king is a reasonable possibility due to the following:

1. The two-king reconstruction established in the 19th century has never been properly questioned.
2. The suggestion that Diodotos I chose to issue coins in the name of Seleucid king Antiochos II, but with his own portrait, seems unprecedented for Hellenistic rulers.
3. The transfer of monograms (,) from "Antiochos" coins directly to Euthydemos' early coinage, and close similarities between some of the "Antiochos" coins with early coins of Euthydemos.

In Jakobsson's alternative model of two mints, the coins of Series A, C and E of Holt's model that depict a Diodotid portrait with the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ*, were minted by the third Greco-Bactrian king Antiochos (2011: 27).

There has been a discussion since Jakobsson's hypothesis was first suggested, and it has been rejected by a majority of numismatists. Kritt spent a chapter on disputing the various arguments in detail (2015: 78-85). Bordeaux is also particularly critical of Jakobsson's hypothesis, maintaining that coins with a Diodotid portrait in the name of Antiochos are issues of Diodotos I (2018: 99).

Nevertheless, Diodotid coins of the 'thundering' Zeus type with legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ* do appear in auctions with the remark "issued by Antiochos Nikator, a third Diodotid king". This discussion is sure to continue, and more data is perhaps required to settle the issue.

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Abbreviations

BOP	numbering according to Bopearachchi (1991)
BOR	numbering according to Bordeaux (2018)
CNG	Classical Numismatic Group LLC
JONS	Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society
MIG	numbering according to Mitchiner (1975)
SEN	numbering according to Senior (2001)
SMB-MK	Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Muenzkabinett
var.	variety

Sources of images

(1) Muenzkabinett Berlin, www.ikmk.smb.mueseum.de
(2) Indus Valley Numismatics, www.vcoins.com
(3) CNG (Classical Numismatic Group), www.cngcoins.com
(4) Gorny & Mosch, www.gmcoinart.de
(5) CoinIndia Virtual Museum, www.coinindia.com)
(6) Roma Numismatics Ltd., www.romanumismatics.com
(7) British Museum, www.britishmuseum.org
(8) Universal Numismatics, www.vcoins.com
(9) Muenzen & Medaillen, muenzenundmedaillen-gmbh.de
(10) NOMOS AG, www.nomosag.com
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(12) SPINK & Son, www.spink.com
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(15) Naumann, www.numismatik-naumann.at
(16) Ariana Coins, www.arianacoins.com
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(26) Jean Elsen & ses Fils s.a., www.elsen.eu
(27) Jean Vinchon Numismatique, www.vinchon.com

Images without reference are from my own collection, friends' collections, or from sources who wish to remain unnamed.

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Obituary: Richard James Plant
(6th July 1928 - 2nd August 2020)

Richard Plant

It is with great sadness that I have to report the death of Richard 'Dick' Plant at the age of 92. Readers in the U.K. will know of him through his regular articles for various magazines, such as Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin, and ending with Coin News, to which he contributed until quite recently. The ANS Library Catalog listed 159 articles by December 2008, and an anthology of these would make very entertaining and instructive reading. He was also a frequent speaker at numismatic and other societies, although not a member of one himself. He wrote six books; the two which are most relevant to ONS members are *Arabic Coins and How to Read Them* and *Greek, Semitic, Asiatic Coins and How to Read Them*, which I shall discuss later.

Richard was born in Clapham, London, in 1928, the son of James Mitchell Plant and Catherine Jane Plant. James had emigrated to Australia where he became a successful civil engineer, laying some of the east coast rail north of Brisbane. He returned to England in 1917 to join up and was posted to Salonica with the Royal Army Medical Corps. Back in London, he had a small builders merchant's business, but this ceased when he suddenly went blind in both eyes with cataracts, when Richard was very young.

Richard started collecting coins at the age of six when he was given a 1916 Belgian German occupation zinc coin. Later, he used to go to the Caledonian Market near Tower Bridge on a Friday, and Portobello Market on a Saturday, and dealers would give him coins for help with identification. In 1938, he was awarded a scholarship to Emanuel School in Wandsworth where he was a pupil until 1946, although for most of the time the school was evacuated to Petersfield in Hampshire because of the war. In the sixth form he studied Latin, Greek and Ancient History, and he was awarded a scholarship to Jesus College, Oxford. This was deferred because of National Service, which began on 10th October 1946 when he joined the army. He was allocated to the Royal Artillery Middle East Land Forces in Egypt and Tripolitania in Libya. It was here that he became interested in the Arabic alphabet, and he helped an elderly friend in Balham to sort out his Ottoman coins by sending him notes for him to follow.

Richard took up his scholarship at Oxford in 1948, studying 'Mods and Greats', a four-year course including Latin, Greek, Ancient History and Philosophy, graduating in 1952 with an upper Second Class Honours degree. This was followed by a one-year Postgraduate Certificate in Education in London, and then two years reading Part ii of the Theology Tripos at Wesley House in Cambridge, which included Hebrew. The rest of his working life was spent as a Minister in the Methodist Church, apart from three years teaching English at a school in London in the 1960s. This meant moving around the country every few years and it was in Coventry that he met his wife Ann. In 1993, he retired to Doncaster where he remained for the rest of his life.

We can now turn to his numismatic activities. Richard's breadth of knowledge was very great, and he spoke to my own society, the Lancashire and Cheshire, eighteen times between 1970 and 2001, never repeating the same topic, which ranged from France and Napoleon to his favourite series, Greek coins, including the Seleucids, Syria and Palestine. He began writing articles in November 1965, with an article on the Antwerp Siege pieces in Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin, using the line drawings which would become his trademark. In 1969, in a paper 'Collecting Oriental Coins', he gave his reasons for starting to collect Arabic coins, basically because the series he used to collect had all become expensive, but Arabic coins were still cheap. In October 1970, Richard wrote a paper on Indian coins, and we can see that already his two books on oriental coins were taking shape. It was about this time that the ONS was formed, and it is perhaps regrettable that he did not, as far as I know, become a member.

Arabic Coins and How to Read Them was published by Seaby in 1973, each chapter containing the necessary vocabulary, illustrations of typical coins and their legends, and finally exercises for the reader, with answers at the end of the book. The earlier chapters deal with the more modern coins, which are easier to read. This book was awarded the Royal Numismatic Society Lhotka Memorial Prize for 1975, and a revised edition was published in paperback in 2000 by Spink Books, reprinted in 2020.

Even before the book was published, he was working on his next, *Greek, Semitic, Asiatic Coins and How to Read Them*, which I shall abbreviate to GSA. I saw this for myself when I first met him in 1973, when he was based at nearby Northenden. I had left a packet of about twenty coins at Manchester Museum for identification, and I was told that they had been passed on to the Reverend Richard Plant. I went to his house with the picture in my head of a 19th century country parson, for whom coins was just a hobby. Instead, I found a rather stern figure who spoke with great authority and clearly took his coins very seriously! One in my packet was a copper 1768 four heller and he told me it was from Cologne City, explaining the shield (three crowns above eleven flames signifying the three wise men and eleven thousand martyred virgins). He suggested I buy Craig's *Coins of the World 1750-1850*, which I quickly did (still a good recommendation). I must have told him I had some Arabic coins as he handed me an Afghan copper and asked me to read the date, to see whether I knew the Arabic numerals. Fortunately, I passed the test successfully and he was reassured. During his time in Northenden I bought many coins from him and each time he would explain the legend on the coin, or what should have been on the coin. He introduced me to several different series and also showed me early drafts of GSA, which he had started writing even before I first met him.

GSA was on the same lines as his Arabic book, but on a much grander scale, dealing with 38 scripts from four different language groups: European, Semitic (Phoenician, Hebrew, Arabic and others), Indian, Chinese and their relatives. Having failed to get a publisher in the U.K. he tried the U.S.A., and it was eventually published in 1979 by Scorpion Publishers in Amherst, New York. Unfortunately, the partnership running it broke up soon afterwards, and he was paid royalties for only 100 copies. In 1979, he also published again with Seaby, *Greek Coin Types and Their Identification*, useful for coins where the legend alone is insufficient. This is still available from Spink Books. After a gap of over twenty years, he published three more books, all with Rotographic International: *Roman Base Metal Coins - A Price Guide* and *Roman Silver Coins - A Price Guide*, final editions in 2006, and *A Numismatic Journey through the Bible* in 2007. This combined his two main activities, which he normally kept quite separate.

Richard agreed with me that GSA was his greatest work, and from time to time I would prompt him to persevere with a revised edition. After further setbacks (one attempt was lost in the twin towers disaster in New York in 2001 and he had not kept copies), a second edition did at last appear in 2013, with two new chapters on Russian and Ethiopian scripts, as well as modifications to the original text. It was a print on demand venture with a friend of his, Allan Wallace, but this came to an end with Richard's death, again with only about 100 copies being sold. Hence this book, which should have been his crowning achievement, has not received the recognition it deserves. There were however some problems with matching the new and old material, as well as some typographical errors, and further editing will be required before it can be reissued in a satisfactory format.

In the 2013 edition, I was surprised to learn that Richard and I both knew the Chinese numismatist Li Tiesheng, whom I first met nearly forty years ago when we were both in the Mechanical Engineering Department at UMIST. Li has since written about fifteen books on numismatics for a Chinese audience, covering Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Persian, Central Asian and Indian coins. He had found the first edition of GSA very useful and had corresponded with Richard, who had sent him a complimentary copy of the second edition. Li told me recently that when Richard was in Doncaster he wanted to have a notice saying "welcome for visiting" outside the door of his church, in several languages. He asked Li for some Chinese versions, and from a set of four had selected the one in seal script as being the most Chinese. He also told me that Chinese numismatists were amazed by his assimilation abilities of Chinese characters.

I kept in touch with Richard after he left Northenden, buying coins and occasionally asking his opinion on their inscriptions. Two instances stand out. In 1996, I had just bought a bronze coin of the Roman Emperor Gordian III (238-244 CE), minted in Tyre, and with some Phoenician writing in the exergue of the reverse. Within two days of receiving a photo he rang back, saying it read 'Pygmalion', the first person to read it correctly. It was published in the Spink Numismatic Circular in July 1997. The second was when I had acquired a specimen of the first trilingual coin of Arakan, with legends in Burmese, Arabic and Bengali. Richard read both the Arabic and Bengali and the coin was published in JONS in 1998. My last contact with him was in 2018, with a query about a single Bengali letter on a coin of Arakan. It was clear that he was now slowing down, but he managed to deal with my query.

Richard was a modest man, happy to share his interest in coins with others who might not have had his classical education. He was an exceptionally gifted linguist, and his lasting legacy must surely be his two books on how to read oriental coins, which are works of high scholarship. Taking these two aspects of his work together, I would rate him as one of the UK's great numismatists, not as a specialist researcher but as an educator, which is how I am sure he would wish to be remembered.

His own collection of British, Ancient and Islamic coins was auctioned by Dix Noonan Webb on 9th February 2021.

He is survived by his wife Ann, sons Stephen and Peter and their families, to all of whom we send our condolences. I should also like to thank Ann for informing me of an article on Richard in the March 2010 issue of *The Celator*, and Stephen for a copy of it, the photo, and for help with my queries.

Michael Robinson

Call for papers

***Festschrift* dedicated to 20th anniversary of Zeno.ru**

December 2022 marks the 20th anniversary of the start of the Zeno.ru project, an online database on Oriental numismatics. It has announced a call for papers for the *Festschrift* dedicated to this anniversary date. Papers can be submitted not only by Zeno.ru members, but by anyone interested in Oriental numismatics. Applications should be sent directly to: oldcharm@yandex.ru.

Deadline: January 1, 2022

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The publication is intended to be electronic, with assigned ISBN and DOI. It will also possibly be available as a print-on-demand publication.

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Material requirements:

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For online links:

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