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Head of Alexandria: What A Coin Can Tell Us About Roman Foreign Policy in the 1st Century BCE

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Introduction

This paper discusses the silver denarius of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus minted in Rome in the year 61 BCE ([RRC 419/2](#)). The coin features a beautiful depiction of a female head identified as Alexandria on the obverse, and a detailed scene on the reverse of one figure crowning the other with a ribboned headdress. A close investigation of the moneyer's history reveals that this reverse scene represents an ancestors visit to the Ptolemaic kingdom in 201 BCE, a visit which allegedly saw the Roman diplomat 'tutoring' the young Ptolemy V, who was crowned at only five years old. This paper argues that this coin is not only visually striking, but also emblematic of Rome's foreign policy with the Ptolemaic Kingdom. By combining the Romanized depiction of Alexandria on the obverse with the historical scene on the reverse, we argue the coin displays a message of Roman 'dominance' through diplomatic measures.

Materiality

As with any piece of numismatic research, this paper begins with a close study of the coin's materiality. This silver denarius was minted to the standards of such a denomination in the 1st century BCE: the coin issued from Yale (Accession no. 2001.87.1822) measures a weight of 4 g and a diameter of 18.1 mm. The weight standard for a denarius was approximately 3.86 g¹. Crawford's places the coin as being minted in 61 BCE in Rome, during M. Lepidus's tenure as *monetalis*.² The obverse features a female looking right. She wears a turreted diadem with four

¹ Michael Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 594.

² Crawford, 443-4.

points resting on done-up hair, with a dangling, beaded earring, slightly inset eyes, a protruding cheekbone, a large nose, and full lips. Below, the legend identifies the figure as ALEXANDREA. A border of dots circles the field. The reverse features a tandem of togate figures, the right figure crowning the left with a ribboned diadem. The left figure holds a staff. The legend, right, PONF•MAX (upwards) TVTOR•REG (left downwards), M•LEPIDVUS (below), and SC (above). With this brief overview of the coin's materiality, this paper can analyze iconography and significance of this coin with greater detail.

Elements of the Obverse

The obverse possesses several striking features which distinguish the figure of Alexandria as a Roman abstraction. Of these features, this obverse study will primarily focus on the diadem as a symbol of *both* royalty *and* divinity, the excessive jewelry on the obverse, and the personification of a region/city as an obverse type. Through this analysis, it should become clear that this obverse type features the city of Alexandria as a distinctly *Roman* abstraction, *not* one that is Ptolemaic or Egyptian, despite the location and sovereignty of the city in 61 BCE.

First, one must understand the potent history and symbology of the diadem to interpret its significance on this obverse type. The word diadem comes from the Greek word *diadēma*, meaning 'to bind round.' Even with this humble etymology, the diadem was the main exclusive symbol of the Hellenistic kingship, and was a simple band of white cloth worn around the head, tied in the back; in the Hellenistic sense, the best definition was 'royal headband'.³ Notably,

³ R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 34.

Alexander the Great first wore the diadem in the Greek world, and the symbol took off from there as early as 306/5 BCE when some of the Diadochi declared themselves independent kings by putting on the diadem, evidently imitating Alexander.⁴ Scholars debate the origins of the diadem prior to Alexander's adoption. Justinus claimed that Alexander assumed the attire of the Persian kings, including the diadem.⁵ However, for the ancient writers Diodorus and Pliny the Elder, these origins were too earthly, and instead claimed that the god Dionysos wore the diadem to symbolize his conquests in the east, and that the kings eventually took it over from him.⁶ Archaeological evidence confirms this connection between the diadems of Alexander and Dionysos as a symbol of victory.⁷ Similarly, Smith argued that both Greek gods and mortals often wore headbands, and found it likely that Alexander took his royal symbol from these sources, rather than the east.⁸ Therefore, though we have conflicting evidence of the diadem prior his reign, it is easy to place the diadem's potency as a symbol to Alexander the Great.

While there is conflicting evidence whether the symbol emerged as a Persian or Greek symbol, Alexander truly popularized the diadem as a symbol of kingship, especially posthumously. In the same way that Alexander may have leaned into the mythos of Dionysos and borrowed the diadem as a symbol of conquest, for the Successors, the diadem meant Alexander-like kingship, the highest honor. In the third century BCE, the diadem would be adopted by non-Greek rulers in Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pontus who presented themselves as Greek-style kings in the likeness of Alexander.⁹ However, more interesting for the purposes of

⁴ Smith, 35.

⁵ Justin, 12.3.8.

⁶ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. John Bostock, M.D. (1885), 7.57; Diodorus Siculus. *Library of History*, trans. C. H. Oldfather, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935), 4.4.4.

⁷ Smith, 37.

⁸ Smith, 36.

⁹ Smith, 38.

this paper, the Ptolemaic kingdom adopted the diadem as one of their royal symbols, as early as Ptolemy I Soter. This fact renders itself most prominently on his coinage. Ptolemy I Soter minted a tetradrachm in 316–315 BCE which features the deified head of Alexander with a diadem, this time wearing an elephant skin headdress ([COPE vol. I, part 1, no. 35](#)). Additionally, a hemiobol minted in 312 BCE by Ptolemy I features the head of a deified Alexander, right, wearing a diadem/mitra ([COPE vol. I, part 2, no. B12](#)). This tradition continued when Ptolemy I minted the first coinage with his own bust on the obverse, beginning with the gold stater minted in 299–295 BCE ([COPE vol. I, part 1, no. 91](#)). This stater was the first bust of a Ptolemy, and the diadem is quite prominent atop his head, suggesting that this was a symbol very closely associated with Ptolemy I Soter. The diadem persisted on coins through Ptolemy II Philadelphus in 295–285 BCE ([COPE vol. I, part 1, no. 175](#)), Ptolemy III Eurgetes in 246–222 BCE ([COPE vol. I, part 1, no. 732](#)), and Ptolemy IV Philopator in 221–204 BCE ([COPE vol. I, part 1, no. 894](#)). In fact, this trend continued until the very end of the Ptolemaic kingdom with Cleopatra VII's tetradrachm minted in 36 BCE which features her diademed portrait on the reverse ([ANS 1977.158.621](#)). However, the piece of numismatic evidence which most firmly established the diadem as a symbol of Ptolemaic kingship is a coin minted in during the roman empire ca. 6 BCE–14 AD; this bronze semis ([RPC I, no. 173](#)), minted in Carthago Nova (modern-day Spain) features a cloth diadem encircling the words REX PTOL (trans. king Ptolemy). Beyond coinage, the diadem is featured on other forms of art, often alongside the Egyptian crown (the diadem is wrapped around the Pschent on the ring in Figure 10). Meanwhile in the roman republic, the diadem was the reviled symbol of 'Eastern' kingship and was utterly avoided by Augustus and

all later emperors until 301 AD when Roman power was moved to the Greek East by Constantine.¹⁰

Besides its potent meaning of royalty, the diadem was also used to symbolize divinity, especially on Roman and Ptolemaic coinage. On Ptolemaic coins, the diadem was often worn alongside other divine attributes on the obverse of coins, distinguishing the portrait as godlike. These divine attributes commonly included the aegis and rays, and sometimes bull's horns, goat's horns, trident, lion scalp, or elephant scalp. A common decadrachm type introduced by Ptolemy II Philadelphus featured the deified head of Arsinoe II with a ram's horn and diadem (e.g. [COPE vol. I, part 1, no. 321](#)). The Ptolemies also utilized the aegis, the goat-skin garment or shield belonging to Zeus, as a divine element either knotted close around the neck ([COPE vol. I, part 1, no. 103](#)) or in the form of a royal chlamys ([COPE, vol. I, part 1, no. 887](#)). Furthermore, the Ptolemies combined the symbol of a diadem with rays to form a radiate diadem, likened to the head of Helios as seen on the last coin. While the diadem was worn alongside other divine attributes on Ptolemaic coinage, Roman Republican moneyers employed the diadem as a divine attribute itself. The earliest Roman type to feature a diadem is a denarius featuring the laureate female bust of Roma minted in 114–113 BCE ([RRC 291/1](#)). Next, the diadem was portrayed atop the head of Pietas in 108–107 BCE ([RRC 308/1](#)), then atop the head of Juno in 87 BCE ([RRC 348/2](#)), and on Venus in 83 BCE ([RRC 357/1](#)). After the Venus type in 83, the diadem's usage exploded in Roman coinage, appearing on 22 unique coins prior to the minting of 419/2 in 61 BCE. However, on these Roman types, we must emphasize that the literal meaning of a diadem changed from the Ptolemaic sense; no longer did the diadem refer to the simple band of cloth as was with the Ptolemies, it became an ornate metal band or crown. This distinction is

¹⁰ Ibid.

extremely important because we notice that the head of Alexandria wears both a diadem in the Roman sense (the turreted crown), and the diadem in the Ptolemaic sense (the hanging ribbons to the left). In that way the obverse is similar to the ring of Ptolemy IV, though the roman crown heavily dominates in both size and prominence on the obverse of 419/2.

After studying the diadem in both the Ptolemaic and Roman sense, we compare the obverse of 419/2 to Roman goddess types minted in the mid 1st century BCE, noting the similarities in idealized features and excessive jewelry. The head of Alexandria wears 4 strands of beads, perhaps pearls, dangling from her hair and ear. Around her neck sits a beaded necklace. The beaded necklace is an attribute commonly featured on Venus types. The head of Venus first appeared on the denarius in 83 BCE ([RRC 357/1](#)), and the coin depicts her with a tight beaded necklace alongside the ornate diadem. This beaded necklace persisted on following Venus types. On Venus and Diana types in 56 BCE ([RRC 424/1](#) & [426/1](#)), the goddess received a wider, more intricate necklace, and decorations in the hair. The bust of Libertas also received the beaded necklace in 75 BCE ([RRC 391/1,3](#) & [392/1](#)). Only on the head of Sibyl in 65 BCE ([RRC 411/1](#)), is another female depicted with beads dangling from the hair, though there are only two strands rather than four. By comparing the attributes of other Roman goddess types in the mid 1st century BCE, it becomes clear that the head of Alexandria is depicted in a similar way with her ornate, beaded jewelry.

Finally, after discussing the abstraction of the obverse head, one that is draped in elements of royalty and divinity, one can now study RRC 419/2 in the context of other foreign head obverse types. First, we discuss the head of Africa type, and study the seriation of a man wearing an elephant skin headdress. Next, we analyze the veiled head of Hispania, a unique

obverse type, and study the seriation of veiled female types. This comparison emphasizes the uniqueness of Alexandria's portrayal on 419/2's obverse type.

The first appearance head of Africa type was an aureus minted for Pompey's triumph in Africa ([RRC 402/1](#)). This aureus was minted in 71 BCE, an era which was notably marked by a lack of gold coinage in the republic, so its significance is great.¹¹ The obverse features a man, r., wearing elephant's skin, the legend reading MAGNVS downwards. The reverse features Pompey in triumphal quadriga, right, holding branch in right hand; on near horse, a rider; above, flying Victory with wreath. Numismatists identify this coin as the first head of Africa type because of its clear connection to Pompey's triumph in Africa in 82 BCE.¹² An obverse of a man wearing an elephant headdress was not a new type; it was first introduced on the posthumous coin portraits of Alexander minted by Ptolemy I (again [COPE vol. I, part 1, no. 35](#)), and its initial meaning was most likely as spoil of war from India, a symbol of Alexander's eastern conquest.¹³ Pompey's coin seems to have harness the same sentiment, this time his conquest of Africa. Following Pompey's coin, the head of Africa type is reintroduced on a denarius in 47-46 BCE ([RRC 461/1](#)). The obverse once again features the head of Africa wearing an elephant headdress, and the legend Q•METELL SCIPIO•IMP identifies this coin as another of conquest, this time referencing the victories of Scipio Africanus over Hannibal in 202 BCE. To summarize, both African head types were minted as coins of conquest, both referencing a specific victory in Africa.

¹¹ Herbert A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum / With an Introduction and 123 Plates*. (London: Printed by order of the Trustees, 1910), 498.

¹² George Francis Hill, *Historical Roman Coins* (Chicago: Ares, 1976), 95; Crawford, 412-3.

¹³ Smith, 41.

Now, we look at the other example of a foreign head type, that of Hispania, a denarius serratus minted in 81 BCE (RRC 372/2). The obverse features a veiled woman identified by the legend as (l. down) as HISPAN(IA). The reverse hosts a togate figure with right hand raised, standing between legionary eagle and fasces with axe. The veiled head of Hispania is plain and reserved, with her features concealed by the veil. Unlike the head of Alexandria and other female head types of the 1st century, she wears no jewelry or diadem. By combining the obverse and reverse iconography, it becomes clear that this coin is another one minted to commemorate the Spanish command of L. Postumius Albinus, another coin of conquest.¹⁴

In conclusion, while 1st century coinage portrayed foreign head types as outlandish and ultimately as a symbol of conquest over that nation, the obverse of 419/2 portrays the head of Alexandria as a Roman abstraction, much akin to Roman goddess types. This contrast emphasizes the Romanization of Alexandria on the obverse.

Elements of the Reverse

The reverse features a beautiful portrait of a moment in Roman-Ptolemaic history. The important attributes to note on the reverse are the ribboned diadem and the staff of the left figure which may be meant to represent a scepter. Evident on Ptolemaic coinage and sculpture, both attributes were important symbols of royalty within the kingdom (see *Elements of the Obverse* for discussion of the diadem). Furthermore, the act of crowning was a type seen on many Roman coin types as early as 211 BCE. For the reverse, this paper will briefly summarize the M.

¹⁴ Crawford, 389.

Aemilius Lepidus's historical journey to Alexandria, compare this historical type with others in the 1st century, and discuss the variety in the 'crowning' type on Roman coinage.

The moneyer, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus the triumvir, had a famous great-grandfather of the same name, born in 230 BCE. This ancestor was said to have served the army when he was but a boy, and at the age of fifteen, had both killed an enemy and saved the life of a citizen.¹⁵ However, the reverse type recalled the duties of Lepidus who was sent to the Egyptian court in Alexandria by the senate. In 201 BCE, the Roman Senate sent three ambassadors, Gaius Claudius Nero, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, to King Ptolemy V of Egypt to announce the defeat of Hannibal and the Carthaginians and thank the king because he had remained loyal to the Romans.¹⁶ At the time of this diplomatic journey, Ptolemy V was just nine years of age. Though he was the youngest of the three ambassadors, ancient authors reported that Lepidus served as *tutor* for the boy king, hence the legend TUTOR•REG¹⁷ According to some sources, the king's late father, Ptolemy IV Philopator, had authorized this guardianship in his will.¹⁸ In 180 BCE, M. Lepidus was named *pontifex maximus*, explaining the legend PONF•MAX on the reverse.

Following this explanation of the scene depicted on 419/2, this paper explores the historical scenes depicted on three additional republican coins, noting their elements and themes. As Crawford explored in his discussion of republican *private types*, moneyers expressed their freedom in minting coins by allusions to family history or family gods/goddesses.¹⁹

¹⁵ Val. Max., 3.1.1.

¹⁶ Livy, 31.2.1–4.

¹⁷ Justin, 30.3.4.

¹⁸ Val. Max., 6.6.1.

¹⁹ Crawford, 725–31.

First, we discuss a denarius minted by L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, Cos. 50, in 62 BCE, another coin which acknowledges the accomplishments of his ancestor, L. Aemilius Paullus, Cos. 182,168 ([RRC 415/1](#)). The reverse of the coin features a togate man, standing by trophy, and a bound man with a long beard and two youth captives, standing left of trophy. This scene portrays the defeat and capture of Perseus King of Macedon and his two sons by Lucius Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus, who brought the captives to Rome for a triumph lasting three days. The legend TER relates to the three victories earned by Paullus in Spain (190 BCE), Liguria (181 BCE), Macedon (168 BCE), for which he was hailed three times “imperator.”²⁰ This reverse type represents triumph and subjugation.

Next, we discuss the denarius of Marcus Aemilius Scaurus minted in 58 BCE, a coin whose obverse depicts the moneyer’s exploits ([RRC 422/1](#)). Interestingly, this type is the first example of a roman coin with the moneyer commemorating his own exploits. The obverse features the kneeling of King Aretas, holding reins in left hand and olive-branch tied with fillet in right hand. Above, the legend M•SCAVR. In 64 BCE, Scaurus entered Judea to settle the disputes between the brothers Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. After that, he repressed the raids of the Nabathean Arabians, compelling their king, Aretas, to submit and pay a fine of 300 talents to Pompey. This coin type represents exploitation.

Finally, we discuss the denarius minted by Caepio Brutus in 54 BCE to honor an ancestor, Lucius Junius Brutus ([RRC 433/1](#)). This reverse type features L. Junius Brutus, Cos. 509, walking left between two lictors, and preceded by an accensus; BRVTVS in exergue. This coin is intended to recall the expulsion of the Tarquins from Rome in 509 BCE, the last

²⁰ Grueber, vol. I, 418.

monarchy in Rome, and was indicative of Brutus' staunch republican beliefs.²¹ Crawford made a stronger assertion: the coin was minted in face of rumors of a dictatorship for Pompey around 54 BCE.²² No matter the contemporary motives behind minting such a type, clearly we have a historical scene which evoked a pro-republic message, highlighting the expulsion of the monarchy from Rome.

While these three types depict historical scenes of Roman conquest, forced submission, and Roman triumph, the scene depicted on 419/2 displays the message of a crowning, and an alleged tutorship of Ptolemy V by M. Lepidus. Crowning became a roman type in the late 3rd century BCE, the first minted ca. 211 BCE. The type, on the reverse, displayed the standing figure of Victory crowning a trophy (see [RRC 53/1](#) as the first coin), the trophy sometimes surrounded by a kneeling captive (e.g. [RRC 326/2](#)). This type was so prominent, that it received its own denomination, the *victoriatus*, due to the reverse scene of Victory. This type was meant to record specifically the victory of Teuta, the Illyrian queen.²³ Crawford's RRC counted 35 different victoriatus types, making it a very prominent design in the late 3rd century to early 2nd century BCE, the victory wreath signifying triumph. After this victory type, the next crowning type is featured on the reverse of denarius minted in 100 BCE ([RRC 329/1c](#)). The field depicts helmeted Roma standing facing, holding spear, with a standing man, r., crowning her with what looks to be a laurel wreath. Due to the laurel wreath and helmeted figure of Roma, we assume that this is another coin of Roman triumph, though it is interesting the coin depicts the standing figure rather than a trophy. The next coin to feature a crowning figure type was 419/2. Notably, 419/2 differed from these other crowning types given that the crown itself was a ribboned

²¹ Grueber, vol. I, 480.

²² Crawford, 456.

²³ Grueber, vol. I, xlix.

diadem, rather than a victory wreath; therefore, the meaning was entirely different. Hence, rather than a scene of victory, this crowning type instead gave legitimacy to Ptolemy V, and by extension the Ptolemaic Kingdom, via Roman power. However, it was not only legitimacy which this type gave to the Ptolemies; also, we have this sense of Rome ‘tutoring’ the kingdom. Thus, we have a different form of ‘victory’, one which places Roman influence in a foreign nation as early as 201 BCE.

Discussion of Scholarly Work

While research on this rare coin type is limited, some scholars debate elements of the obverse and reverse, particularly the coin’s historical significance. First, we investigate the historicity of Marcus Lepidus’s diplomatic mission to Alexandria, and whether he *actually tutored* Ptolemy V. Next, we briefly humor the theory that Marcus Lepidus triumvir minted the coin in favor of Ptolemy XII Auletes, who was exiled in Rome at the time of the minting.

Several sources confirm the dispatch of ambassadors, including M. Lepidus, to Alexandria in 201 BCE.²⁴ However, several scholars debate the nature of the visit to Alexandria, and the legitimacy of these historical writers. From Livy. and Poly., the prime motive of the ambassadors’ visit was to deliver the news of Hannibal and the Carthaginian’s defeat. However, from Val. Max., supposedly Ptolemy IV had written in his will to request Roman tutorship for the young Ptolemy V. Additionally, Tacitus wrote that Marcus Lepidus served as the guardian of Ptolemy V.²⁵ In response to these written histories, Evans argued that the guardianship claim was

²⁴ Liv. 31.2.1-4, and 18.1; Poly. 16.27, and 34.1-7; Val. Max. 6.6.1.

²⁵ Tac., *Annal*, ii, 67.

unhistorical given that Livy., and Poly., the sources written soonest following the dispatch, make no mention.²⁶ Similarly, Kropp argued that Lepidus would have been too junior a member of the Senate to serve as the king's tutor, let alone his guardian; it was most likely that Ptolemy V already had his own circle of court advisors.²⁷ Hill argued that although there may be no evidence of Lepidus serving as guardian for Ptolemy Epiphanes, he can imagine that the Romans would take advantage of any claim, real or invented, to such a title.²⁸ Regardless of whether this alleged tutorship of Ptolemy V by M. Lepidus was truthful or family propaganda, M. Lepidus triumvir's choice to include the scene speaks to its meaning in 61 BCE.

Another theory regarding 419/2 was that the coin was intended to show support for Ptolemy XII Auletes. By mid 1st century BCE, Ptolemy Auletes had been exiled from the Ptolemaic kingdom, and was spending time in Rome, attempting to obtain the Roman support for a bid back to the throne. Evans found it highly likely, citing evidence from the Mesagne hoard, that Lepidus was influenced by contemporary events when minting the coin, also given the notoriety of Ptolemy Auletes around Rome; pushing further, Evans claimed that the reverse's legend may suggest that the current *pontifex maximus*, Caesar, was just the man to restore Auletes to the throne.²⁹ Crawford disregarded this claim as utterly improbable.³⁰ Hill asserted that there was no reason to assume that the type must have been inspired by some current event. This paper makes no such claim for the connection between 419/2 and Ptolemy Auletes due to the lack of numismatic evidence.

²⁶ Richard J. Evans, "The Moneyership of Marcus Lepidus Triumvir." *Acta Classica* 33, (1990): 103. <https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/moneyership-marcus-lepidus-triumvir/docview/1298196226/se-2, 103-104>.

²⁷ Andreas J. M. Kropp, 2017, "Kings Without Diadems – How the Laurel Wreath Became the Insignia of Nabataean Kings". *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2 (May): 21–41. <https://doi.org/10.34780/4g6e-jp0e>, 31.

²⁸ Hill, 55.

²⁹ Evans, 105; Evans, Note 24.

³⁰ Crawford, 753.

Conclusion

To summarize, this paper first analyzed the iconography on the obverse, arguing that the type portrays Alexandria as a Roman abstraction rather than a Ptolemaic one. Next, with a discussion of the reverse, the coin implied the consistent Roman influence over the Ptolemaic kingdom through diplomacy. By combining the messages of obverse and reverse, the coin tells a story of Rome controlling the Ptolemaic kingdom through diplomatic measures. Considering that the coin's minting pre-dated Rome's annexation of Egypt by around 30 years, the coin is extremely significant for expressing Roman sentiment towards the Ptolemaic kingdom prior to this event.

Coin Catalog Abbreviations

COPE: *Coins of the Ptolemaic Empire*. Lorber, Catherine. 2018.

RRC: *Roman Republican Coinage*. Crawford, Michael. 1974.

Figures



Figure 1—RRC 419/2 (61 BCE, Rome). <https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/99087>



Figure 2 (Right)—COPE vol. I, part 2, no. B12 (312 BCE). <https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?id=18214374>

Figure 3 (Left)—COPE vol. I, part 1, no. 35 (316–315 BCE). <https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?id=18203058>



Figure 4 (Right): COPE vol. I, part 1, no. 732 (246–222 BCE). <http://numismatics.org/collection/1935.117.1092>

Figure 5 (Middle): COPE vol. I, part 1, no. 175 (285 BC–275 BC). <http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.75850>

Figure 6 (Left): COPE vol. I, part 1, no. 91 (299–295 BCE). <http://numismatics.org/collection/1997.9.69>



Figure 7 (Right): RPC I, no. 173 (6 BCE–14 AD) <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/1/173>

Figure 8 (Middle): ANS 1977.158.621 (36 BCE). <http://numismatics.org/collection/1977.158.621>

Figure 9 (Left): COPE vol. I, part 1, no. 894 (221–204 BCE). <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11318683q>



Figure 10: Ring of Ptolemy VI (ca. 180–145 BCE). <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010255634>



Figure 11 (Right): COPE vol. I, part 1, no. 887 (221–204 BCE). <https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?id=18200181>

Figure 12 (Middle): COPE vol. I, part 1, no. 103 (299–295 BCE). <http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.75732>

Figure 13 (Left): COPE vol. I, part 1, no. 321 (270–240 BCE). <http://numismatics.org/collection/1967.152.417>



Figure 14 (Right): RRC 348/2 (87 BCE). <http://numismatics.org/collection/1950.103.29>

Figure 15 (Middle): RRC 308/1 (108–107 BCE). <http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.644>

Figure 16 (Left): RRC 291/1 (114–113 BCE). <http://numismatics.org/collection/1992.1.2>



Figure 17 (Right): RRC 426/1 (56 BCE). <http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.3331>

Figure 18 (Middle): RRC 424/1 (57 BCE). <http://numismatics.org/collection/1937.158.198>

Figure 19 (Left): RRC 357/1 (83 BCE). <http://numismatics.org/collection/1951.61.9>



Figure 20 (Middle): RRC 411/1 (65 BCE). <http://numismatics.org/collection/2002.46.449>

Figure 21 (Left): RRC 391/3 (75 BCE). <http://numismatics.org/collection/2002.46.389>



Figure 22: RRC 402/1 (71 BCE). https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1867-0101-584



Figure 23 (Right): RRC 372/2 (81 BCE). https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1867-0101-584

Figure 24 (Left): RRC 461/1 (47–46 BCE). <http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.3309>



Figure 25 (Right): RRC 433/1 (54 BCE). <http://numismatics.org/crro/id/rrc-433.1>



Figure 26 (Middle): RRC 422/1 (58 BCE). <http://numismatics.org/collection/1941.131.252>



Figure 27 (Left): RRC 415/1 (62 BCE). <http://numismatics.org/crro/id/rrc-415.1>



Figure 28 (Left): RRC 53/1 (211 BCE). <http://numismatics.org/collection/1969.83.134>



Figure 29(Middle): RRC 326/2 (101 BCE). <http://numismatics.org/collection/1926.202.1>



Figure 30 (Right): RRC 329/1c (100 BCE). <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10431912r>

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