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ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹՅԱՆ  
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ТРУДЫ МУЗЕЯ ИСТОРИИ АРМЕНИИ  
№2(12)

YEREVAN 2023 ЕРЕВАН

ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԹԱՆԳԱՐԱՆ

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№2(12)

ԵՐԵՎԱՆ 2023

*Տպագրվում է Հայաստանի պատմության թանգարանի  
գիտական խորհրդի որոշմամբ*

Հրատարակվում է 1948 թվականից

*Խմբագրական խորհուրդ՝*

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## THE ROBERT W. EDWARDS COLLECTION OF ARMENIAN AND OTHER COINS THROUGH THE POST-MEDIEVAL PERIOD WITH DOCUMENTED FIND SITES IN CILICIA\*

*For Robert W. Edwards, with my gratitude for his passion  
to study and preserve the Armenian heritage in Cilicia*

**Keywords:** Cilician Armenian coins, post-medieval coins in Cilicia, Armenian fortresses in Cilicia, Armenian monasteries in Cilicia, coin circulation in medieval Cilicia, French feudal coin circulation during the Crusades, Dutch coin circulation in the Levant.

### Introduction

This article describes in detail a collection of 48 medieval and post-medieval coins, including 40 Armenian coins, acquired by Robert W. Edwards (referred to in this article as the “RWE Coin Collection”) from their find localities at fourteen sites in Cilicia between 1973 and 1981. These coins are being published here for the first time.<sup>1</sup>

These coins hold substantial scientific value, and this article will attempt to derive as many conclusions about the coins and their respective find sites as possible and shed some new light on the issues and circulation of the local coinage within the Armenian Kingdom in Cilicia. These numismatic discoveries are comprised of coins that were found by local inhabitants at generally isolated sites. That fact, combined with the low mobility of locals, especially since these coins were acquired prior to the modern roads built almost fifty years ago, precludes the possibility of contamination from neighboring sites.

Very little is published of material recovered from any Armenian sites in Turkey, especially from the region of Cilicia.<sup>2</sup> Despite the extent of “renovation” and “reconstruc-

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1 Only one, the unique feudal French denier of Soissons, coin no. 39, was previously published; see the catalog.

2 There are very few exceptions to this generalization. The reports of two sites of salvage excavations conducted during the Baku–Tbilisi–Ceyhan (BTC) pipeline construction have been published, which include Armenian coins (Görür 2005; Tekinalp 2005). Additionally, Yeghia T. Nercessian published reports on finds by Scott Redford during excavations at Kinet, a medieval fortified site on the Gulf of Iskenderun (Nercessian 2004, 47 – 55. Nercessian 2014, 77 – 88). While there are a number of misattributions in these four reports, correcting them is beyond the scope of this article but will be addressed in a future one.



tion” work at Armenian medieval fortresses in Cilicia in the last ten years, much of which has unfortunately been performed with little regard to preserving the original architecture or construction styles and materials and which necessitated extensive excavations of the sites, no coin finds from these officially sanctioned and conducted activities are known to have been published.<sup>3</sup>

Robert Edwards traveled throughout Cilicia in the course of about 20 years to study, photograph, and publish plans of over 75 medieval Armenian sites, including fortresses, churches, and chapels (Edwards 1982, 155–76, Fig. 1–41. Edwards 1983, 123–46, Fig. 1–91. Edwards 1987. Edwards 1993, 181–249). During these travels and site visits, locals often offered him gifts of coins found by them in these locations; at other times, coins were offered to him for sale (Edwards 2016; personal communications). It is very fortunate that he recorded the find spot of each of these coins and preserved them for their eventual publication.

While this subset is too small to formulate extensive, detailed conclusions such as those that can be derived from larger hoards, one objective of numismatic find studies can also be to help identify the ruler that issued specific coins when such ruler is not named on them or when, as in the case of repeating Armenian kings’ names, ambiguity exists as to which within a series, such as for the five named Levon, two named Hetoum, and three named Gosdantin, issued a particular coin type. A number of these have been reattributed in the last decade (Christianian 2012, 81–87, pl. 6. Vardanyan 2013, 3–19, pl. 1–6. Vardanyan 2018, 129–54. Vardanyan 2019, 133–44. Vardanyan 2014. Vardanyan 2020). While the heartland of the Armenian Kingdom in Cilicia enjoyed almost 300 years of formal Armenian rule, from 1080 to 1375, first by the barons, or “lords of the mountains”, and eventually by the Roupenid, Hetoumid, and Armenian Lusignan kings, the border regions of the kingdom often changed hands between them and their foes, primarily the Seljuqs of Rum, the Mamluks, and the Frankish Principality of Antioch. Since many of these transitions are documented, the find at a given site of firmly attributed coins, such as those naming kings whose names were not repeated, i.e., Oshin, Guy, or Smpad, would increase the likelihood that the site in question was held by the Armenian Kingdom during or after that king’s rule. On the other hand, the find of a coin bearing one of the repeating kings’ names at a site that is known to not have been in Armenian hands past a certain point in time could preclude the attribution of that specific issue to kings who ruled afterwards.

The coins are grouped below by find site. If the medieval Armenian name is known, it is listed first; otherwise, the modern Turkish name is given. The coins at each site are presented according to the latest attributions for the coins. These fourteen sites are shown in Figures 1 and 2.

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3 Despite major official excavations and restorations in the last twenty years at sites such as Korykos (Gorigos) and in the last ten years at the fortresses of Silifke, Yilan, Vahga, Lampron, and Haruniye, among others, none of the excavation reports or material finds from those sites are known to have been published to date.

It should be noted that, while during the earliest period of the Armenian presence in Cilicia, the barons likely struck their crude copper coins in their mountain strongholds of Gaban, Partsrpert, and Vahga, their successors probably established their mints in Anavarza and ultimately in Sis as the Armenian holdings expanded. The only two mints clearly identified on Armenian coins are Միս (Sis) and Տարսոն (Darson, i.e., Tarsus, but only for a short period during the reign of King Gosdantin II). Some numismatists read the mint name on certain coins of Hetoum I and Levon II, with unusually inscribed letters, as Աիսս (Ayas), the principal trade port and customs house to the outside world for the kingdom, while others believe that is just a blundered rendering of Միս.<sup>4</sup>

### The Sites and Coins

A few notes about the cataloguing, attributions and descriptions of the coins in this article:

The transliteration used for Armenian toponyms, personal names, and numismatic denominations assumes the Western Armenian pronunciation throughout his article. In many instances, incorrect engravings by illiterate or inexperienced die cutters (often Գ for Զ), or partial letters at the ends of inscriptions are encountered; in these cases, the Armenian letter most closely resembling them is used to render them.

The numbers used to identify each coin are those assigned by Edwards in his collection. Coin numbers missing from the sequence given in this article belong to earlier cultures (Hellenistic or Roman) and will be published in a future article. For each coin, the attribution is followed by metrological data including largest diameter (in mm), weight (in g), and obverse-to-reverse die axis relationship, as well as the description of the obverse and reverse.

Many of the attributions by Bedoukian (CCA) and others have been corrected in the last two decades, based on new research and scholarship. As such, when a CCA attribution is followed by the name of a king in parentheses, it refers to the original attribution in that volume.

Underlines of the letters in an inscription indicate ligatured letters.

Letters of an inscription between square brackets (“[ ]”) indicate likely but illegible parts; if they are instead given as “[...]”, then multiple possibilities may exist.

Quadrants of a cross are numbered as on a clock: 1<sup>st</sup> is between 12 and 3 o'clock, then clockwise.

Abbreviations used:

Æ: bronze  
Cu: copper

4 Such blundered engraving of the letters in legends is rather common throughout the Cilician Armenian coinage. Although the Armenian spelling of the two names involves letters that look alike, and inexperienced or illiterate die-cutters may have made errors that could have resulted in the ambiguous readings encountered, Ayas, in upper-case letters, is spelled ԱՅԱՍ in Armenian and not Աիսս, rendering improbable the possibility of reading the relevant inscription portions on coins as that city's name.

- AR: silver  
 Bi: billon  
 O: obverse  
 R: reverse  
 l: left  
 r: right  
 f: facing  
 std: seated  
 v: catalog attribution variant, typically of legend  
 CCA: Bedoukian, Paul Z., *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, revised edition, Danbury, Connecticut, 1979.  
 Del: Delmonte, André, *Le Benelux d'Argent*, Amsterdam, 1967.  
 KM: Cuhaj, George, ed., *Standard Catalog of World Coins – 1701–1800*, 7<sup>th</sup> Ed., Krause Publications, 2016.  
 PA: Poey-d'Avant, Faustin, *Monnaies Féodales de France*, Bologna, A. Forni, 1975 reprint of original published 1858–1862.  
 SNA1: Vardanyan, Ruben, *Sylloge Nummorum Armenorum. Armenia, Cilicia, Volume I, Levon the Magnificent*, Yerevan, HMA, 2014.  
 SNA5: Vardanyan, Ruben, *Sylloge Nummorum Armenorum, Armenia, Kilikia, Volume 5, Levon IV, Ki (Guy), Kostandin III, Kostandin IV, and Levon V*, Yerevan, HMA, 2020.

**Anavarza (also Anazarba, Arm. Անազարբա, Անարզարբա, Անաւարզա; modern name Anavarza), Late Antique City and Fortress**

Anavarza is located on a substantial outcrop in the eastern half of the Cilician Plain. This enormous baronial castle is primarily an Armenian construction (Edwards 1987, 65–72. CALA, <https://charlvarchive.org/Site/79>, May 26, 2023).

Three Armenian coins were found by locals in the late antique city and castle, acquired in 1973 and 1981.

9. Kingdom of Armenia, Levon I, A.D. 1198–219, Cu tank, Sis, CCA 696, SNA 887v (pendilia of 7 dots), 29 mm, 6.98 g, 1:00 (Fig. 3.1)  
 O: His leonine bust f, wearing crown with 5 dots, +ԼԵԻՈՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅԻՈՅ  
 R: Patriarchal cross, six-pointed star at sides, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՍ Ի ՍԻՍ
10. Kingdom of Armenia, Hetoum I, A.D. 1226–70, Cu kardez, Sis (not on coin), CCA – (cf. 1633 ff, Hetoum II), 23 mm, 2.70 g, 7:00 (Fig. 3.2)  
 O: King std cross-legged on ground, holding long (fleur-de-lys tipped?) scepter over r shoulder and globe in l hand, his head protrudes into space of legend, [ՀԵԹՈՒԻՄ ԹԱԳԱ  
 R: Cross pattée, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ ԳԱՂ...
11. Kingdom of Armenia, Hetoum I, A.D. 1226–70, Cu kardez, Sis (not on coin), CCA 1627 (Hetoum II), 22 mm, 3.31 g, 1:00 (Fig. 3.3)  
 O: King std cross-legged on ground, holding long (fleur-de-lys tipped?) scepter over r shoulder and globe(?) in l hand, his l foot extending down between his knees, his head protrudes into space of legend, ՀԵԹՈՒԻՄ ԹԱԳԱ  
 R: Cross pattée, pellet in each quadrant, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՍԻՍ ԳԱ

The fact that the Armenian coins from this site start with one from the rule of Levon I perhaps underlines the prominent role this castle must have played in Levon I's consolidation of power in Cilicia and the resultant importance of this fortress, which, since it does not appear on the famous "Coronation List" of Levon I, is understood to have been part of the royal domains (Dédéyan 1980, 73–80). The next two Armenian coins belong to those that are ambiguous in attribution, as they name King Hetoum, and are of a general type that existed starting with the rule of Hetoum I and lasted possibly into the reign of Levon IV. Additionally, the name of the mint is not legible on either, although the type for the coins naming Hetoum is only known to name Sis as the mint. The latest attribution for the type assigns them to Hetoum I (Vardanyan 2022, 281–285).<sup>5</sup>

### Antul (also Andul, Arm. Անդուլ; modern name Andıl) Monastery

Antul consists of a monastic hermitage and fortified estate house, a rectangular building (possibly the scriptorium) near the village of the same name, and the remains of a medieval settlement, all of Armenian construction (Edwards 1987, 72–7. CALA, <https://charlvarchive.org/Site/78>, May 26, 2023).

Six Armenian coins were found by locals within the site, acquired in the summer of 1979.

12. Kingdom of Armenia, Hetoum I, A.D. 1226–70, Cu tank, Sis, CCA 1321, 30 mm, 6.13 g, 9:00 (Fig. 4.1)  
O: King seated on throne with conventionalized lion armrests, holding fleur-de-lys scepter over r shoulder, globus cruciger in l hand, 8-point star in l field, +ՇԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ  
R: Cross pattée with pellet at each arm-end, olive in each quadrant, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱԳՆ (sic!) Ի ՍԻՍ
13. Kingdom of Armenia, Hetoum I, A.D. 1226–70, Cu tank, Sis, CCA 1327, 30 mm, 5.75 g, 7:00 (Fig. 4.2)  
O: King seated on throne with lion armrests, holding fleur-de-lys scepter over r shoulder, globus cruciger in l hand, +ՇԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ  
R: Cross pattée, olive in each quadrant, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ
14. Kingdom of Armenia, Hetoum I, A.D. 1226–70, Cu tank, Sis, CCA 1304–37 (O), CCA 1348 (R), 30 mm, 6.62 g, 1:00 (Fig. 4.3)  
O: King seated on throne with conventionalized lion armrests, holding fleur-de-lys scepter over r shoulder, globus cruciger in l hand, +[ՇԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱ]ԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ  
R: Cross pattée with X-crosslet at center, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ
15. Kingdom of Armenia, Hetoum I, A.D. 1226–70, Cu kardez, Sis, CCA 1592a (Hetoum II), 23 mm, 2.65 g, 5:00 (Fig. 4.4)  
O: King's head f, crowned, +ՇԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ  
R: Patriarchal cross with floriated base, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍՍ
16. Kingdom of Armenia, Levon III, A.D. 1306–7, Ar takvorin, Sis, CCA 1734, 21 mm, 2.39 g, 10:00 (Fig. 4.5)  
O: King with youthful face riding horse r, holding fleur-de-lys scepter over r shoulder, 3 pellets in l field, +ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ  
R: Lion walking r, cross behind, pellet l of tail, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱԳՆ ՍԻՍ Է

<sup>5</sup> Another type previously believed to have been struck by Hetoum II was reattributed to Hetoum I (Christianian 2012, 81–87, pl. 6).

17. Kingdom of Armenia, Gosdantin I<sup>6</sup>, A.D. 1344–63, Ar takvorin, Sis, CCA 2071v (O & R legends; Gosdantin III), SNA5 74 (Gosdantin III), 23 mm, 1.97 g, 3:00 (Fig. 4.6)  
 O: King riding horse r, holding fleur-de-lys scepter over r shoulder, +ԿՈՍԸՆԴԻՆ ԹԳ ԸՅ  
 R: Lion walking r, cross behind, pellet above rump, +ՇԻՆԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ս

Since Antul Monastery is believed to have been used by Hetoum I as a summer retreat with his wife Zabel (Alichan 1899, 264) could explain the concentration of coins from his reign. In fact, four of the six coins from this site are distinctly from his rule and may be the result of an active court with attendants having spent considerable time at this site over the course of his protracted rule of 44 years. It is curious that both groups of coins acquired at the two monasteries of Antul and Sari Çiçek have a high preponderance of those of Hetoum I, perhaps giving further support to the generally accepted piety of this royal couple, if in fact Hetoum and Zabel contributed to their renovations or expansions. The two silver takvorins from the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century indicate the site was used at least through that period.

**Baberon (also Paperon, Arm., Պապերոն, Պապեռաւն, Պապեռօն, Պապեռաւն, Պապիռաւն, Պապառոն; modern name Çandır) Fortress**

Baberon was the baronial stronghold of the Hetoumid dynasty and contains today the impressive remains of numerous structures, including a residential complex and basilica, the latter preserving an ornate *khatchkar*. Most are of Armenian construction. This site is located in the middle of a cluster of fortifications that once guarded routes to Cappadocia, Lampron, and Guglag (Edwards 1987, 102–10. CALA, <https://charlvarchive.org/Site/64>, May 26, 2023).

Five Armenian coins were found by locals within the fortress and acquired in the summer of 1979.

18. Kingdom of Armenia, Hetoum I, A.D. 1226–70, Cu kardez, Sis, CCA 1399(O), 1394(R), 23 mm, 3.90 g, 5:00 (Fig. 5.1)  
 O: King seated cross-legged on bench throne with 2 legs each side, 1 foot or drapery pointing down between knees, holding long cross over r shoulder and globus cruciger in l hand, star in l field, in circle of dots, +ՇԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ  
 R: Cross pattée, crescent in 1<sup>st</sup> quadrant, drop in others, in circle of dots, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ (Ի?) ՍԻՍ
19. Kingdom of Armenia, Hetoum I, A.D. 1226–70, Cu kardez, Sis, CCA 1382v (not dot in O l field), 24 mm, 4.47 g, 10:00 (Fig. 5.2)  
 O: King riding horse r, holding fleur-de-lys scepter over r shoulder, [+ՇԵԹՈՒՄ]Ս ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅ  
 R: Cross pattée, star in each quadrant, [+ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՍԻՍ
20. Kingdom of Armenia, Hetoum I, A.D. 1226–70, Cu tank, Sis, CCA 1295, 30 mm, 7.25 g, 5:00 (Fig. 5.3)

6 Mutafian clarifies the sequence of kings named Gosdantin and convincingly concludes that Gosdantin, the brother of King Hetoum II, was never crowned king (although he may have struck coins in his short regency of less than a year in 1298, naming him Gosdantianos and calling him “king”), and that the Lusignan King Guy of Armenia was never referred to as Gosdantin. These conclusions refute the persistent numbering mistakes to that end, especially in numismatic publications, such as CCA and SNA5. Thus, there were only two kings named Gosdantin, who ruled in the 14<sup>th</sup> c (Mutafian 2012, Volume 1, 192 and 428).

- O: King seated on throne with lion armrests, holding fleur-de-lys scepter over r shoulder, globus cruciger in l hand, +ՀԵԹՈՒԻՄ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ  
R: Cross pattée with 6-point star in each quadrant, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ
21. Kingdom of Armenia, Hetoum I, A.D. 1226–70, Cu tank, Sis, CCA 1341, 30 mm, 8.21 g, 10:00 (Fig. 5.4)  
O: King seated on throne with armrests having two legs, holding fleur-de-lys scepter over r shoulder, globus cruciger in l hand, +ՀԵԹՈՒԻՄ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ  
R: Cross pattée with drop in each quadrant, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ
22. Kingdom of Armenia, Levon IV, A.D. 1320–42, Ar takvorin, Sis, CCA 1958?, SNA5 –, cf. 316, 20 mm, 154 g, 8:00 (Fig. 5.5)  
O: King riding horse r, wearing wide crown, holding long cross or scepter over r shoulder, +ԼԵՒՈՆ ... ՀԱՅՈՆ..., U in l field, U or S in r field  
R: Lion walking r, cross behind, +ՇԻՆ... ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՍԻՍ

The earliest of the Armenian coins found there are of Hetoum I. This follows our expectation, since it would have been unlikely, just as at Lampron, given the enmity between the Roupenids and the Hetoumids, that royal coins of Levon I would have circulated there until the reconciliation between them late in Levon I's reign. Baberon was held by the Armenians until it fell to the Mamluks late in the kingdom's existence, which explains the presence of a coin of Levon IV (ruled A.D. 1320–42).

### Dibi (modern name, antique and medieval names unknown) Castle

Dibi is a small Byzantine garrison fortress with two symmetrical baileys and several rounded salients. This site guarded a road from Kadirli, in northeastern Cilicia, to Marash (Edwards 1987, 117–9. CALA, <https://charlvarchive.org/Site/61>, May 26, 2023). Dibi, as with the nearby site of Kalasi, was interpreted by Edwards as having had a period of Byzantine construction prior to its Armenian occupation.

Two Armenian coins were found by locals near the castle, acquired in the summer of 1979.

25. Kingdom of Armenia, Hetoum I, A.D. 1226–70, Cu tank, Sis, CCA 1306v (R legend), 30 mm, 6.77 g, 3:00 (Fig. 6.1)  
O: King seated on throne with conventionalized lion armrests, holding fleur-de-lys scepter over r shoulder, globus cruciger in l hand, 8-pointed star in l field, +ՀԵԹՈՒԻՄ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ  
R: Cross pattée with pellet at each arm-end, 8-pointed star in each quadrant, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ԱՍ
26. Kingdom of Armenia, Hetoum I, A.D. 1226–70, Cu tank, Sis, CCA 1332, 28 mm, 5.19 g, 12:00 (Fig. 6.2)  
O: King seated on throne with conventionalized lion armrests, holding fleur-de-lys scepter over r shoulder, globus cruciger in l hand, 8-pointed star in l field, +ՀԵԹՈՒԻՄ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ  
R: Cross pattée w 6-pointed star in 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> quadrants, inward-pointing V in 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> quadrants, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

The Armenian copper coins of Hetoum I confirm the Armenian occupation of the castle. They may possibly, as also seen from some of the other frontier fortresses in this article, represent some additional activity by Hetoum I in reinforcing his borders.

### Gaban (also Kapan, Arm. Կապան, Կապանաբերդ; modern name Geben or Meryemcil) Fortress

Gaban is a large baronial castle primarily of Armenian construction (late 11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> century) with probable late antique / Byzantine remains and a period of Crusader occupation. This site was the guardian of the strategic road connecting Cappadocia to the Cilician Plain and housed a customs station. The remains of a late antique / medieval settlement are in the valley below to the south (Edwards 1987, 124–31; CALA, <https://charlvarchive.org/Site/116>, May 26, 2023).

Salvage excavations conducted in 2003 during the construction of the BTC Pipeline at the foot of the fortress uncovered a Late-Roman to Early-Byzantine bath. The bath may have been used during the Armenian period, based on some later evidence of repairs uncovered during the excavations, as well as a coin of King Hetoum I (Görür 2005, 110, incorrectly referring to a “Kilikya Armenian Prince Hetum I (1226–1270)” (sic!); 130, incorrectly referring to a “Kilikya Armenian Prince I. Hetum (1226–1270)”; Figs. 80 and 87, while the images of the two Roman coins are too poor to confirm their identification by the author, the Armenian coin is clearly a tank of King Hetoum I).

Three Armenian coins were found by locals below the castle, acquired in 1974 and 1979.

29. Kingdom of Armenia, Hetoum I, A.D. 1226–70, Cu kardez, Sis, CCA 1405 (O)-CCA 1406 (R), 24 mm, 3.82 g, 10:00 (Fig. 7.1)

O: King std on throne w lion armrests, holding fleur-de-lys scepter over r shoulder, globus cruciger in l hand, [+ՇԵՌՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՅՈՑ?]

R: Cross pattée, olive in each quadrant, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

30. Kingdom of Armenia, Hetoum I, A.D. 1226–70, Cu kardez, Sis, CCA 1396, 22 mm, 4.08 g, 8:00 (Fig. 7.2)

O: King std cross-legged on bench-throne with 2 legs each side, l foot or drapery pointing down between his knees, holding long cross over r shoulder and globe(?) in l hand, in solid circle, [+ՇԵՌՈՒՄ] ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՅՈՑ?

R: Cross pattée, crescent in 1<sup>st</sup> quadrant, drop in other quadrants, in solid circle, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

31. Kingdom of Armenia, Hetoum I, A.D. 1226–70, Cu kardez, Sis, CCA 1392?, 23 mm, 5.55 g, indetermined (Fig. 7.3)

O: King riding horse r, holding fleur-de-lys scepter over r shoulder, +ՇԵՌՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ?

R: Cross pattée, star in each quadrant, [+ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ?]

The Armenian coins in the RWE Coin Collection, all of Hetoum I, with the single find of the same ruler mentioned above, would seem to indicate some increased level of activity at Gaban during his rule. Given the reinforcement of the borders of the kingdom during Hetoum I's long reign, especially with increased construction of fortifications, this would be expected, as Gaban was clearly one of his key border fortresses on the northern frontier.

### Guglag (also Kuklak, Arm. Կուկլակ; modern name Gülek) Fortress

Guglag is an Armenian baronial castle with traces of late antique and Byzantine construction. It has impressive defenses and a gate placed to the south. It is strategically located above the main route to the Cilician Gates (Edwards 1987, 139–42. CALA, <https://charlvarchive.org/Site/112>, May 26, 2023).

Two Armenian and four Islamic (probably all Ottoman) coins were found by locals in the castle, acquired in the summers of 1973 and 1979.

33. Ottoman Empire, Cu mangir (probably Selim I, A.D. 1512–20<sup>7</sup>), Aleppo?, 20 mm, 2.90 g, indetermined (Fig. 8.1)  
O: Interwoven horizontal and vertical lines, in solid line, Arabic legend around  
R: Arabic legend: Sultan / Selim / bin khaqan / Bayazid
34. Ottoman Empire (possibly, but not certainly), Cu mangir? (too worn to identify), 15 mm, 2.38 g, indetermined (Fig. 8.2)
35. Ottoman Empire (probably Selim I, A.D. 1512–20<sup>8</sup>), Ar medini, Konya?, struck 918? H. = A.D. 1512, 15 mm, 1.17 g, indetermined (Fig. 8.3)  
O: Arabic legend: duriba Konya sanat 918(?)  
R: Arabic legend: Sultan / Selim / bin khaqan / Bayazid(?)
36. Kingdom of Armenia, Hetoum I, A.D. 1226–70, Cu kardez, Sis, CCA 1419, 23 mm, 3.96 g, 3:00 (Fig. 8.4)  
O: King seated on throne with lion armrests, holding fleur-de-lys scepter over r shoulder, globus cruciger in l hand, +ՇԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ  
R: Cross pattée, olive in each quadrant, +ՇԻՆԵԼ ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ
37. Kingdom of Armenia, Levon III, A.D. 1306–7, Cu kardez, Sis (not in legend), CCA 1826a<sup>9</sup>, 20 mm, 2.64 g, 6:00 (Fig. 8.5)  
O: King std cross-legged on bench throne with 2 legs each side, foot or drapery pointing down between his knees, footstool below, holding long scepter over l shoulder and globe in r hand, in dotted circle, +ԼԵՒՆՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ  
R: Cross pattée, drop in each quadrant, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔ
38. Ottoman Empire, Mahmud I, A.D. 1730–45, Ar medin, Misr, KM-82<sup>10</sup>, 16 mm, 0.41 g, 6:00 (Fig. 8.6)  
O: Toughra  
R: Duriba fi / Misr / sanat / 1143, dated 1143 H (accession year, = A.D. 1729–30)

The coin of Hetoum I once again attests to the expanded economic activity, and possibly the frontier reinforcements, during his reign. The coin of Levon III confirms the occupation of this key northern fortress by the Armenians into the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

### Kalasi (modern name; medieval Armenian name unknown) Fortress

Kalasi, in northeastern Cilicia, is a small Armenian garrison fortress consisting of two walls that partially enclose the summit of an outcrop and a small, rounded salient. This site once guarded a secondary route through the Anti-Taurus Mts. to the Marash-Antioch Highway (Edwards 1987, 153–5. CALA, <https://charlvarchive.org/Site/117>, May 26, 2023).

7 I would like to thank Alexander Akopyan for his help in researching and identifying this coin. In an email dated June 18, 2023, he stated: “Most likely, this is the mangyr of Selim I. Inscription: Sultan / Selim / bin khaqan / Bayazed. However, I did not find this type either in the book of Kabaklarli or in Zeno, only similar coins (257435, 244464). It looks like a Haleb and perhaps this is a new type.”

8 I would like to thank Alexander Akopyan for his help in researching and identifying this coin. In his email dated June 18, 2023, he stated: “Mint of Konya, most likely struck by Sultan Selim I in the year 918 AH. The weight (1/4 mithqal) indicates that the denomination is ‘medin.’”

9 For a discussion of the reattributions of many copper coins naming King Levon, see Vardanyan 2019, 133–44.

10 I would like to thank Stephen Album for identifying this coin (personal communication, May 25, 2023).



One Crusader-period French feudal coin was found on the surface within the castle during the summer of 1979.

39. France, feudal, unidentified Count of Soissons, early 11<sup>th</sup> century, Ar or Bi denier, Soissons, PA – 11, 20 mm, 0.94 g, 1:00 (Fig. 9)

O: Church on a pediment, cross in center, 3 pellets arranged vertically either side, 3 pellets in tympanum?, +SVES[... ]VVIT

R: Cross pattée, pellet in 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> quadrants, +HLVOTH[... ]VRS (retrograde)

The find of a unique French feudal coin at this site undoubtedly constitutes the most striking entry to the RWE Coin Collection. Although the legends are poorly preserved, they offered enough similarities to others to be identified as an issue of a yet-unidentified Count of Soissons, and dated to the early 11<sup>th</sup> century. As such, it establishes a high likelihood that it was lost by a participant in the First Crusade, which had reached Antioch in 1097. To reach Antioch, some of the troops, led by Baldwin and Tancred, had crossed through the Cilician Gates into Cilicia, and from there, they crossed the Amanus Mts., towards Marash. Thus, it seems likely that the Kalasi Fortress was a stop on this journey.

**Gorigos (Korykos, Kiurikos, Korikos or Gurigos, Arm. Կիւռիկոս, Կորիկոս, Գիւրիկոս, Կորիկոս, Կուռիկոս; modern name Korikos, or Kiz Kalesi for the Sea Castle) the land castle and the Late Antique necropolis**

Gorigos is a fortified harbor consisting of a land castle with three chapels, primarily of Byzantine construction, and a sea castle with one chapel, primarily of Byzantine and Armenian construction. To the north is a Hellenistic / late antique / Byzantine city with 13 churches and chapels, an extensive necropolis, and several civic buildings. The city was an important Armenian port, partly due to its proximity to Cyprus, and part of the Armenian kingdom from its inception to its demise. This site defended the coastal road between Seleukia and Darson (Edwards 1987, 161–7. CALA, <https://charlvarchive.org/Site/100>, May 26, 2023).

Two Armenian coins were found by locals in the castle and the late antique necropolis, acquired between 1973 and 1981.

43. Kingdom of Armenia, Levon III, A.D. 1306–7, Cu kardez, Sis (not in legend), CCA 1808v (no pellets in cross quadrants), 20 mm, 2.20 g, 7:00 (Fig. 10.1)

O: King seated cross-legged, holding long scepter (cross?) over l shoulder and globe (?) in r hand, [ԼԵՒՈՂ]Ն ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱ

R: Cross pattée, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ

44. Kingdom of Armenia, Hetoum I, A.D. 1226–70, Cu kardez, Sis, cf. CCA 1589–1619 (Hetoum II), 23 mm, 2.45 g, 3:00 (Fig. 10.2)

O: King's head f, crowned, +ՀԵԹՈՂԻՄ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՒՆ

R: Patriarchal cross with floriated base, [+ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի] ՍԻՍ worn and poorly struck, impossible to define specific variety

11 The identification of this apparently unique coin was made by Michel Hourlier and Michel Dhénin, curators of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, who were contacted in February 1980 by Paul Bedoukian on behalf of Robert Edwards. They concluded that it was minted by an unidentified Count of Soissons in the early 11<sup>th</sup> century and published it (Hourlier, Dhénin 1998, 277, coin no. 52).

The two Armenian copper coins, being from the middle of the period of Armenian occupancy, as such do not contribute any valuable information.

### Sis (Arm. Սիս; modern name Kozan) Fortress

Sis was the seat of the Armenian Catholicos, the capital of the Armenian Kingdom from around 1170 (Mutafian 2012, Volume 1, 610), and one of its largest castles, primarily of Armenian construction but with a few remains from the Byzantine and Mamluk periods of occupation. The combined length of the circuit walls extends over 3 km. The lower terrace has the Armenian foundations of the Church of St. Gregory the Illuminator as well as two chapels. This fortification covers a massive outcrop in the eastern lobe of the Cilician Plain and has clear inter-visibility with numerous sites, including Anavarza, Tumlu, and Antul (Edwards 1987, 233–7. CALA, <https://charlvarchive.org/Site/14>, May 26, 2023).

Five Armenian coins and one unidentified, possibly Crusader or European, were found by locals within the castle, acquired in 1974 and 1981.

74. Kingdom of Armenia, Cu kardez, too worn to identify (Hetoum I or Levon III), Sis(?), 20 mm, 1.76 g, indetermined (Fig. 11.1)  
O: Too worn, traces of circular inscription  
R: Cross pattée barely visible
75. Kingdom of Armenia, Hetoum I, A.D. 1226–70, Cu kardez, Sis, CCA 1408 or 1416? (double-struck, poor details), 23 mm, 3.23 g, indetermined (Fig. 11.2)  
O: King std on throne with lion armrests, holding fleur-de-lys scepter over r shoulder, globus cruciger in l hand, +ՇԵԹՈՒՄ Թ[...]  
R: Cross pattée, olive in each quadrant, +ՇԻՆ[...] ՍԻ
76. Kingdom of Armenia, Levon III, A.D. 1306–7, Cu kardez, Sis(?), CCA 1816–25 for general type (poor strike and preservation), 20 mm, 2.08 g, 3:00 (Fig. 11.3)  
O: King seated cross-legged on ground, holding r hand on chest?, globe in l hand?, ԼԵԻՈ[...]  
R: Cross pattée, [...]?
77. Kingdom of Armenia, Levon I, A.D. 1198–219 (previously attributed to Levon II, A.D. 1270–89), Cu kardez, Sis, CCA 1558v (O crescent and legend ending, Levon II), 23 mm, 2.85 g, 3:00 (Fig. 11.4)  
O: Lion walking l, crescent upward in l field, [+ԼԵՆՆ ԹՍԳՍԻՈՐ Ս[...]] (sic!)  
R: Cross pattée, 5-pointed star in each quadrant, +ՇԻՆԵՍԼ Ի ՔՍՂՍԳՆ Ի Ս?
78. Kingdom of Armenia, Levon III, A.D. 1306–7, Cu kardez, Sis, CCA 1836v (King holding long cross in l hand, orb in r hand), 20 mm, 2.78 g, 7:00 (Fig. 11.5)  
O: King seated cross-legged on ground, holding long cross in l hand over shoulder, globe in r hand, [+ԼԵԻՈՆ] ԹՍԳՍԻՈՐ  
R: Cross pattée, pellet in each quadrant, [+ԼԵ]ԻՈՆ ԹՍԳՍԻ[ՈՐ]
79. Crusader or European? too worn to identify, 14 mm, 1.02 g, indetermined (Fig. 11.6)  
O: Too worn, traces of circular Latin inscription, [...]VPO[...]  
R: Cross pattée barely visible

The five Armenian copper coins found at Sis, once again, do not contribute any valuable information since Sis was occupied by Armenians from before the birth of the kingdom to its demise. In fact, with this fortress likely having housed the main and longest-operating mint of the Armenian kingdom, many more coins should be expected to be found there if proper excavations are conducted someday.

The last coin found at Sis, yet unidentified, may yield interesting information if its partial legend is eventually recognized.

**Partsrpert (also Bardzrberd, Arm. Բարձրբերդ, Բարձր Բերդ; modern name Meydan) Fortress (for the identification of Meydan Fortress with Partsrpert, see Christianian 2019, 114 – 5. Christianian 2020, 384)**

Partsrpert was a royal property, one of the earliest holdings of the Roupenids, but passed to Hetoum I at his accession to the throne. It is an impressive castle and chapel of Armenian construction, an array of rounded towers, and a ceremonial hall whose decorations included carved capitals. This site controlled access into the eastern half of the Valley of Aladağ (Edwards 1987, 189–94. CALA, <https://charlvarchive.org/Site/59>, May 26, 2023).

Three Armenian and two Dutch coins were found by locals within the castle, acquired in the spring of 1979.

50. Kingdom of Armenia, Levon I, A. D. 1198–219, Cu tank, Sis, CCA 697, SNA1 964 (Group D), 28 mm, 6.24 g, 1:00 (Fig. 12.1)  
O: Leonine bust f, wearing crown with 5 dots, +ԼԵԻՈՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅԻՈՑ  
R: Patriarchal cross, 6-point star at sides, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ
51. Kingdom of Armenia, Levon I, A.D. 1198–219, Cu tank, Sis, CCA 746, SNA1 957 (Group D), 30 mm, 7.53 g, 9:00 (Fig. 12.2)  
O: Leonine bust f, wearing crown with 5 dots, +ԼԵԻՈՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅԻՈՑ  
R: Patriarchal cross, 6-point star at sides, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ
52. Kingdom of Armenia, Levon II, A.D. 1270–89, Ar tram, Sis, CCA 1515, 22 mm, 2.45 g, 1:00 (Fig. 12.3)  
O: King riding horse r, wearing crown with pendilla, holding fleur-de-lys scepter over r shoulder, cross in l field, ☉ bel horse, +ԼԵԻՈՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՍ  
R: Lion standing r, f, with round paws, tail with single tuft pointing back, patriarchal cross behind, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱԶՆ Ի ՍԻՍ
53. Netherlands<sup>12</sup>, Holland, A.D. 1576, Ar leeuwendaalder, Delm 831, 42 mm, 27.00 g, 10:00 (Fig. 12.4)  
O: Armored knight with sash, looking over left shoulder, left hand holding shield with provincial arms set on ground in front of him, right hand holding sash, year split both sides of shield, x MO x NO x ARG x – x ORDIN x HOL x  
R: Lion rampant left; rose mintmark, x CONFIDENS x DNO x NON x MOVETVR x ❀
54. Netherlands, West Friesland, A.D. 1637, Ar leeuwendaalder, Delm 836, 40 mm, 27.00 g, 8:00 (Fig. 12.5)  
O: Armored knight with sash, looking over left shoulder, left hand holding shield with provincial arms set on ground in front of him, right hand holding sash, MO • ARG • PRO • CON – FOE • BELG • WEST  
R: Lion rampant left; lily(?) mintmark, CONFIDENS • DNO • NON • MOVETVR • 1637 ❀

The two Netherlands silver coins, of a type found reasonably commonly in the region, attest to the fact that, in the post-medieval period, these attractive, large coins of good (75%) silver content were a well-regarded medium of exchange. Additionally, the 61 years between the striking of these two speak to their longevity in commerce. As to the significance of their find in the fortress of Partsrpert, it indicates some possible habitation

<sup>12</sup> I would like to thank Vicken Yegharian for his help in attributing the Dutch coins in this collection in an email dated May 18, 2023.

inside the castle walls well past the fall of the Armenian kingdom and to the extent and reach of commerce in the region, rich in agricultural and mining resources, and possible links, given the local Armenian population in the post-medieval period persisting until the 1915 Genocide, to the Armenian trade networks that extended from England and the Netherlands through Armenia and Iran to India.

**Misis (also: Mamesdia, Msis, Mamestia, Mopsuestia, Arm. Մսիս, Մամեստիս; modern name Misis), part of a hoard of approximately 45 coins found by locals near the stadium.**

Misis is a fortified town of ancient, late antique, Arab, Byzantine, and Armenian construction. It guarded the strategic highway to Darson to the various routes through the Anti-Taurus Mts. as well as a road to the port of Ayas. Cargo vessels sailed directly from the Venetian and Genoese warehouses in Misis on the Ceyhan River to the Mediterranean Sea (Edwards 1987, 198–200. CALA, <https://charlvarchive.org/Site/43>, May 26, 2023). It was also the site of a (winter) residence of the Armenian royal family.

While some of the coins in the RWE Coin Collection originated from Misis, none of them is Armenian. Since coins from other cultures were acquired there, the importance of this site warrants it being mentioned in this article.

**Lampron (also Lambrun or Lambron, Arm. Լամբրոն, Լամբրուն, Լամբրաւն, Լամբրոս, Լամբոս; modern names Namrun or Çamlıyayla) Fortress**

Lampron is a large Hetoumid castle of Armenian construction with a few remains from the late antique and Byzantine periods. It guarded a strategic route from Tarsus to Cappadocia (Edwards 1987, 176–85. CALA, <https://charlvarchive.org/Site/94>, May 26, 2023).

Three Armenian coins were found by locals near the perimeter of the castle, acquired in the summers of 1973 and 1979.

47. Kingdom of Armenia, Levon III, A.D. 1306–7, Cu kardez, Sis, see CCA 1807–1839 for general type, 20 mm, 3.51 g, indetermined (Fig. 13.1)  
O: King std on throne, holding scepter in r hand?, l hand up?, with footstool, ԼԵԻՈՆ Թ[...]  
R: Cross pattée, legend illegible
48. Kingdom of Armenia, Hetoum I, 1226–70, Cu kardez, Sis, see CCA 1393–8 for general type, 22 mm, 5.27 g, 7:00 (Fig. 13.2)  
O: King std cross-legged on bench throne with 2 legs each side, l foot or drapery pointing down between his knees, holding fleur-de-lys scepter over r shoulder and globus cruciger in l hand, in solid circle, ՀԵԹՈՒՄԻ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՅՈՅ  
R: Cross pattée, crescent in 1<sup>st</sup> quadrant, drop in others, in solid circle, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳ[...]?
49. Kingdom of Armenia, Hetoum I, 1226–70, Cu kardez, Sis, see CCA 1365 for general type, 26 mm, 5.14 g, 5:30 (Fig. 13.3)  
O: King riding horse r, holding fleur-de-lys scepter over r shoulder, +ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳ[...]  
R: Cross pattée, 6-pointed star in each quadrant, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳԱ[...]

It is interesting, considering that Lampron was the seat of the Hetoumids, north and west of the Roupenid and royal holdings, that there are no coins of Levon I from this site. The Hetoumids were allies of the Byzantines and avowed enemies of the Roupenids, and it would appear possible that the royal currency may not have circulated there, or, at least, not until the two families were reconciled sometime between A.D. 1201 and 1210, during the middle of King Levon I's reign (Alichan 1899, 85).

Sarı Çiçek Monastery near Partsrpert (medieval name unknown, but possibly the Armenian monastery and scriptorium of Grner) (for information on the location of the latter, see Mutafian 2012, Volume 1, p. 624)

The ruins comprise an Armenian monastery with a well-preserved chapel, residential buildings, and probably a scriptorium. A fountain is located a short distance from the buildings. This site is located near the castles of Partsrpert and Tamrut, in the hills bordering the south flank of the Valley of Aladağ (Edwards 1987, 211–5. CALA, <https://charlvarchive.org/Site/20>, May 26, 2023).

Three Armenian coins were found by locals within the monastery, acquired in the summer of 1981.

67. Kingdom of Armenia, Hetoum I, A.D. 1226–70, Cu kardez, Sis, CCA 1393–404 for general type, 25 mm, 3.81 g, 11:00 (Fig. 14.1)  
O: King seated cross-legged on bench throne with 2 legs each side, 1 foot or drapery pointing down between his knees, holding fleur-de-lys scepter over r shoulder and globus cruciger in l hand, in dotted circle, +ՀԵԹՈՒՄ [ԹԱ]ԳԱՒՈՐ [ՀԱՅ...]?  
R: Cross pattée, crescent in 1<sup>st</sup> quadrant, drop in other quadrants, in dotted circle, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՄԻՍ?
68. Kingdom of Armenia, Oshin, A.D. 1308–20, Ar takvorin, Sis, CCA 1863v (R: ՔԱՐԱՔՆ instead of ՔԱՂԱՔՆ), 21 mm, 2.44 g, 3:00 (Fig. 14.2)  
O: King riding horse r, holding fleur-de-lys scepter over r shoulder, +ԱԻՇԻՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՒՆ, pellet in l field, Յ in r field  
R: Lion walking r, cross behind, pellet above rump, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՐԱՔՆ (sic!) ՄԻՍ
69. Kingdom of Armenia, Levon I, A.D. 1198–219 (previously attributed to Levon II, A.D. 1270–89<sup>13</sup>), Sis, Cu kardez, CCA 1559–63v (O and R legends, Levon II), 24 mm, 3.62 g, 4:00 (Fig. 14.3)  
O: Cross pattée, 5-pointed star in each quadrant, +[...]ՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅ  
R: Lion walking l, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի Ս

13 These larger copper coins, showing on one side a lion walking right or left, and on the other a cross, often with a star in each quadrant, had for decades been attributed to King Levon II. However, recently discovered specimens, overstruck by the Ayyubid Sultan al-Zahir Ghazi (ruled 1193–219, prior to the rule of Levon II), definitively reassigns them to Levon I. I would like to thank Levon Vrtanesyan, who brought these coins to my attention in an email dated July 22, 2022, stating “Last year I acquired an Ayyubid fals of al-Zahir that was struck over an Armenian kardez. Since then, others have come across 3 additional examples of this, and I have purchased one additional example of this. The overstrike belongs to al Zahir in Halab and dated 603–612 AH.” Images of a few specimens of this coin, overstruck by al-Zahir Ghazi, are available online (Zeno, <https://www.zeno.ru/showgallery.php?cat=23080>, July 29, 2023). I would also like to thank Ruben Vardanyan for informing me, independently of Vrtanesyan's communication, that he also had discovered evidence to substantiate this re-attribution.

This complex is in Roupenid or royal territory, being a very short distance south of the Bardzrberd fortress. The single coin of Levon I would indicate that it was likely already in operation during his reign, while that of Hetoum I could indicate, like at Antul, that it was renovated or expanded during his rule. See the additional notes under Antu concerning Hetoum and Zabel having been a very pious couple and possibly having funded extensive renovations of these two monasteries.

**Selevgia (also Selevkia, Seleukeia, Selefkia or Selewkia, Arm. Սելվկիա; modern name Silifke) Fortress, near the Late Antique Theatre**

Selevgia is an impressive, well-fortified baronial castle, primarily of Crusader (Hospitaler) construction, with a few contributions by Byzantine and Armenian builders. It is located at the mouth of the Calycadnus River near the Mediterranean Sea and once guarded the coastal highway as well as an important route to Cappadocia via Alahan (Edwards 1987, 221–9. CALA, <https://charlvarchive.org/Site/17>, May 26, 2023).

Three Armenian coins were found by locals near the late antique theater, acquired in the summer of 1973.

71. Kingdom of Armenia, Hetoum I, A.D. 1226–70, Cu kardez, Sis, CCA 1653v (R cross and legend), 20 mm, 1.58 g, 3:00 (Fig. 15.1)  
O: King seated cross-legged on ground, holding long scepter in r hand over shoulder, globe in l hand, ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԼ  
R: Cross pattée, pellet in each quadrant, +ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳ[...]
72. Kingdom of Armenia, Levon I, A.D. 1198–1219 (previously attributed to Levon II, A.D. 1270–1289), Cu kardez, Sis, CCA 1563 (Levon II), 28 mm, 5.48 g, 5:00 (Fig. 15.2)  
O: Cross pattée, 5-pointed star in each quadrant, +Լ[ԵԻՈ]Ն ԹՍԳՍԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՍ  
R: Lion walking l, +ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔՍՂԱՔՍ ՍԻՍ
73. Kingdom of Armenia, Hetoum I, A.D. 1226–1270, Cu kardez, Sis, CCA 1406, 24 mm, 4.40 g, 7:00 (Fig. 15.3)  
O: King seated on throne with lion armrests, holding fleur-de-lys scepter over r shoulder, globus cruciger in l hand, +ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՈ  
R: Cross pattée, olive in each quadrant, +ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ԳԱՂԱԳՆ Ի ՍԻՍ

The fact that the Armenian coins are restricted to the reigns of Levon I and Hetoum I is interesting. While the fortress of Selevgia was deeded by King Levon I to the Knights Hospitaler, who held it into the reign of Hetoum I, it seems to have been lost from Armenian ownership or influence sometime during the early part of the reign of Levon II (reigned A.D. 1270–1289). The coins found there would therefore reflect this period of Armenian affinity, before the fortress was overrun by the Karamanids.<sup>14</sup> Additionally, the find of coin no. 71 at Selevgia would further confirm that it is indeed a type issued by Hetoum I and not Hetoum II (Bedoukian 1979, coin no. 1649), as that coin had previously been attributed, since it is unlikely that a copper coin from an Armenian king who ruled some 15–20 years after the fall of Selevgia to Moslems would have circulated there.

<sup>14</sup> While the exact date of the fall of Selevgia to the Karamanids is not known, it must have occurred during the reign of Levon II (Mutafian 2012, Volume 1, 153–4).

## Conclusions

In addition to some specific conclusions reported for each site, a few general remarks are summarized here. The summary of these coins appears in Table 1.

The lack of coins of the Armenian barons deserves to be pointed out, although, given their overall rarity, it does not contribute any new information. It is hoped that formal excavations at, and future finds associated with, one or more of the early Roupenid fortresses will one day shed light on which of those they used for their mints.

It appears that the coinage of King Levon I did not circulate in the Hetoumid lands of northwestern Cilicia, as none of his coinage appears among the coins from Lampron or Baberon, although they may have reached those territories after their reconciliation.

The large number of coins of King Hetoum I deserve a special mention. He was the longest reigning king of the Armenian kingdom in Cilicia, ruling in a period of power and economic success, which explains his very abundant coinage, issued in both silver and copper. However, the fact that his coins are found in such prevalence in even this small sampling gives yet another measure of the wealth of the kingdom during his reign. Additionally, this distribution of his coinage would support the idea of a uniform, standardized circulation of centrally issued currency throughout the kingdom.

The find of a unique French feudal coin at Kalasi may constitute proof of the path taken by some of the participants of the First Crusade while crossing the Amanus Mts. in 1097.

The two Dutch silver coins found at Partsrpert could indicate links to the Armenian trade guilds that operated from England and the Netherlands through Armenia and Iran to India, as Armenian populations are known to have persisted in that area through the post-medieval period and until the 1915 Genocide.

Finally, the recent re-attribution of the kardez type with the king seated cross-legged, from Hetoum II to Hetoum I, is further confirmed by the specimen found at Selevgia (coin no. 71).

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ՈՌԲԵՐՏ Վ. ԷԴՎԱՐԴՍԻ ՀԱՅԿԱԿԱՆ ԵՒ ՀԱՐԱԿԻՑ  
ՄԻՆԶԵՏՄԻՉՆԱԴԱՐՅԱՆ ԺԱՄԱՆԱԿԱԾՐՁԱՆԻ ԴՐԱՄՆԵՐԻ  
ՀԱՎԱՔԱՃՈՒՆ՝ ԿԻԼԻԿԻԱՅՈՒՄ ՉՏԱՃՈՆԵՐԻ  
ՎԱՅՐԵՐԻ ՓԱՍՏԱԳՐՎԱԾ ՏՎՅԱԼՆԵՐՈՎ

**Հիմնաբառեր.** Կիլիկյան հայկական մետաղադրամներ, հետմիջնադարյան մետաղադրամներ Կիլիկիայում, հայկական ամրոցներ Կիլիկիայում, հայկական վանքեր Կիլիկիայում, դրամների շրջանառությունը միջնադարյան Կիլիկիայում, ֆրանսիական ֆեոդալական դրամների շրջանառությունը խաչակրաց արշավանքների ժամանակ, հոլանդական դրամների շրջանառությունը Լևանտում:

Հոդվածում առաջին անգամ ներկայացվում է Ռոբերտ Վ. Էդվարդսի հայկական, միջնադարյան և հետմիջնադարյան այլ դրամներից բաղկացած հավաքածուն, որը ձևավորվել է 1973–1981 թվականներին: Բոլոր մետաղադրամները հայտնաբերվել են Կիլիկիայի տարբեր վայրերից, մեծ մասամբ՝ միջնադարյան հայկական բերդերից կամ վանքերից: Այստեղ ներկայացված դրամների մեծ մասը Կիլիկիայի Հայոց թագավորության թողարկումներ են՝ 40 դրամ: Հավաքածուն ներառում է նաև 11-րդ դարի սկզբի ֆրանսիական եգալի դենիե, չորս օսմանյան, երկու հոլանդական և մեկ անհայտ (հավանաբար եվրոպական կամ խաչակիրների) դրամներ: Հայտնաբերման վերաբերյալ տեղագրական տվյալներ ունեցող այս դրամները որոշակի լույս են սփռում Կիլիկյան Հայաստանի տիրակալների շինարարական գործունեության վրա, հատկապես Հեթում I-ի օրոք թագավորության սահմանների ամրացման և վանական շինարարության առնչությամբ: Այս հավաքածուի պղնձե դրամներից մեկն օգնում է վերահաստատել վերջերս կատարված առաջարկն այն մասին, որ Հեթում II-ինը համարվող թողարկումներից մեկն իրականում պատկանում է Հեթում I-ին:

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КОЛЛЕКЦИЯ РОБЕРТА У. ЭДВАРДСА АРМЯНСКИХ  
И ДРУГИХ МОНЕТ ДО ПОСТСРЕДНЕВЕКОВОГО  
ПЕРИОДА С ЗАДОКУМЕНТИРОВАННЫМИ  
МЕСТАМИ НАХОДОК В КИЛИКИИ

**Ключевые слова:** киликийские армянские монеты, постсредневековые монеты в Киликии, армянские крепости в Киликии, армянские монастыри в Киликии, монетное обращение в средневековой Киликии, французское феодальное монетное обращение во время крестовых походов, голландское монетное обращение в Леванте.

В статье впервые представлена коллекция армянских, средневековых и постсредневековых монет Роберта В. Эдвардса, сформировавшаяся в 1973–1981 годах. Все монеты были найдены в разных местах Киликии, в основном в средневековых армянских крепостях или монастырях. Большую часть представленных здесь монет составляют выпуски Армянского Киликийского королевства: 40 драмов. Коллекция также включает уникальную французскую монету начала 11-го века, четыре османские, две голландские и одну неизвестную (вероятно, европейскую или крестоносцев) монету. Эти монеты с топографическими данными о находке проливают некоторый свет на строительную деятельность правителей Киликийской Армении, особенно в отношении укрепления границ царства и монастырского строительства в период правления Хетума 1-го. Одна из медных монет в этой коллекции подтверждает недавнее предположение о том, что один из выпусков, приписываемых Хетуму 2-му, на самом деле принадлежит Хетуму 1-му.

*Jirair Christianian*

THE ROBERT W. EDWARDS COLLECTION OF ARMENIAN AND RELATED COINS THROUGH THE POST-MEDIEVAL PERIOD WITH DOCUMENTED FIND SITES IN CILICIA

	Number of Coins for each Find Site (generally, W to E)														
	Selevkia	Korykos	Paperon	Lampron	Kuklak	Grner? (San Çiçek)	Bardzrberd	Andul	Sis	Anavarza	Misis	Kapan	Kalasi	Dibi	Total
Ruler or Authority	3	2	5	3	6	3	5	6	6	3	0	3	1	2	48
France, Count of Soissons, 1120s?													1		1
Crusader / European (?)									1						1
Levon I, A.D. 1198-1219	1					1	2		1	1					6
Hetoum I, A.D. 1226-1270	2	1	4	2	1	1		4	1	2		3		2	23
Levon III, A.D. 1306-1307		1		1	1		1	1	2						7
Gosdantin I, A.D. 1344-1363								1							1
Oshin, A.D. 1308-1320						1									1
Levon IV, A.D. 1320-1342			1												1
Kingdom of Armenia (unidentified)									1						1
Netherlands, Holland, A.D. 1576							1								1
Netherlands, W Friesland, A.D. 1637							1								1
Mahmud I, A.D. 1730-1745					1										1
Selim I, A.D. 1512-1520					2										2
Ottoman (? , unidentified)					1										1

Table 1. Summary of the Armenian and related coins through the post-medieval period in the RWE Coin Collection, by find site and issuing authority

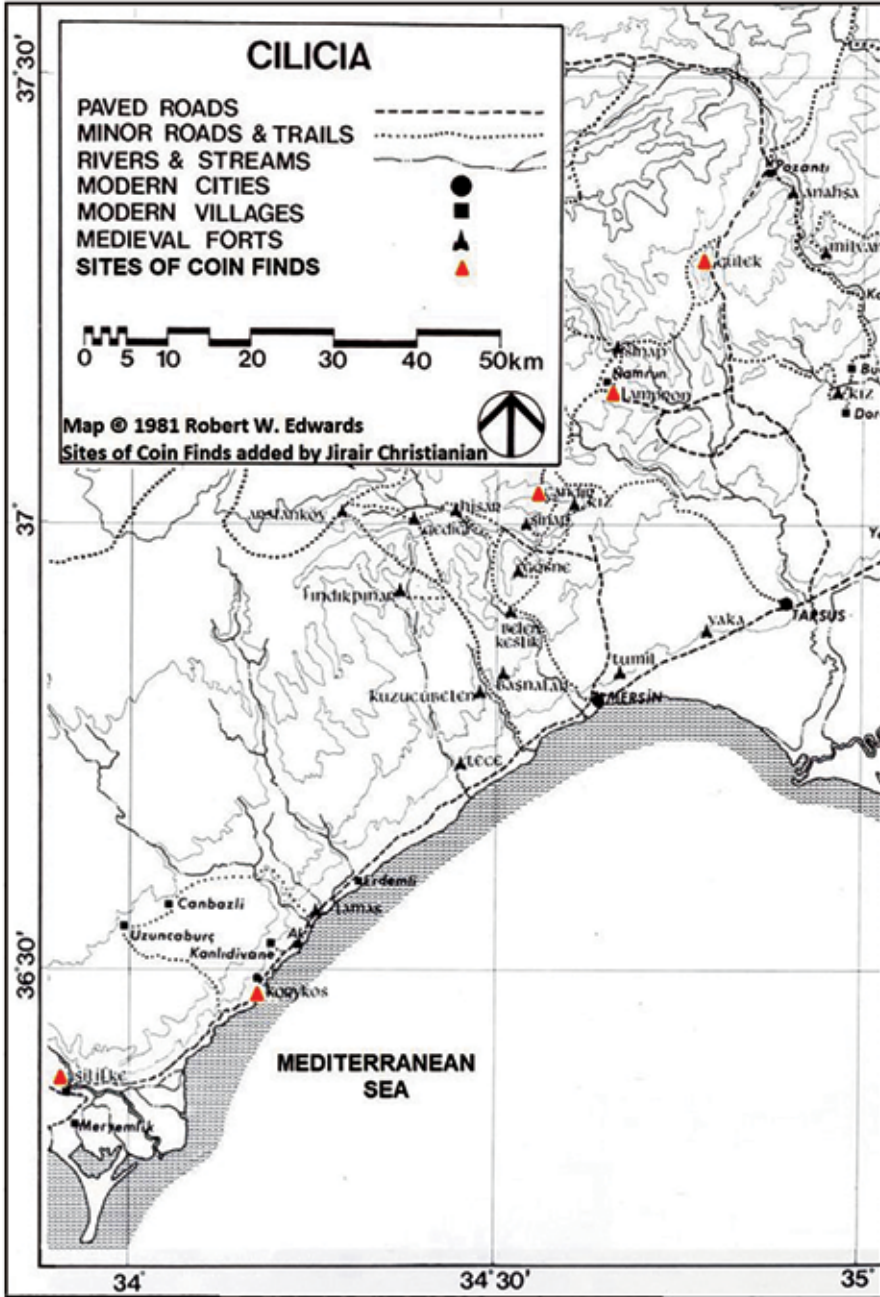


Figure 1. Sites of coin finds from the RWE Coin Collection in Western Cilicia

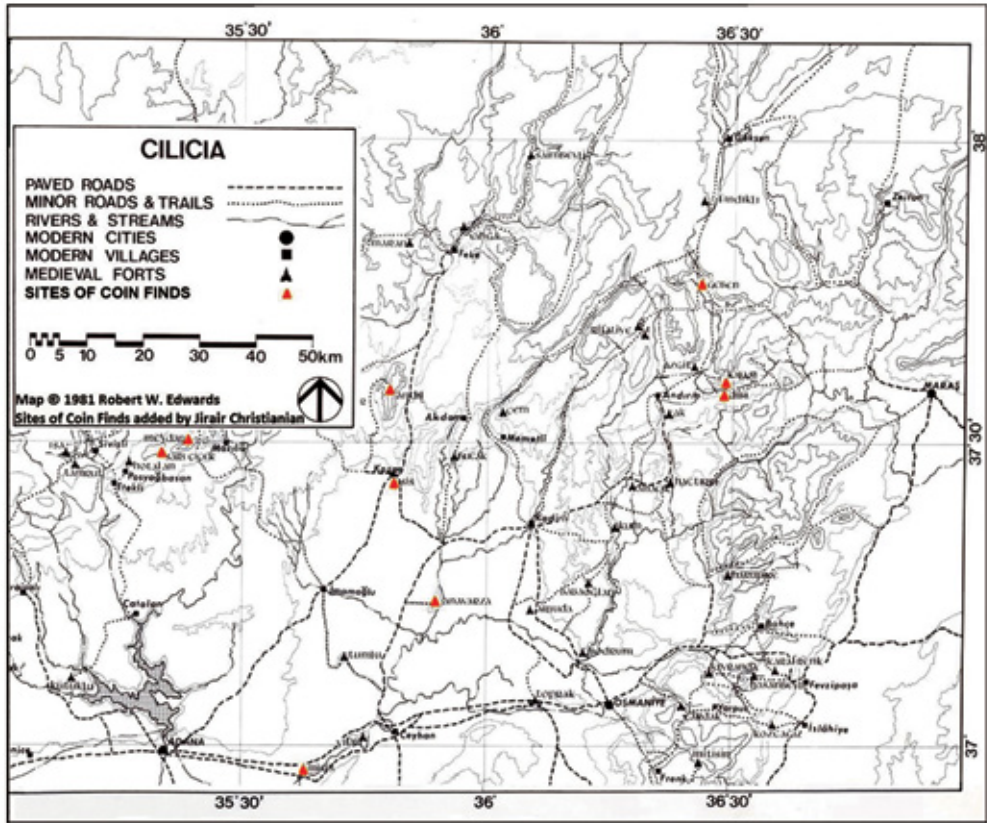


Figure 2. Sites of coin finds from the RWE Coin Collection in Eastern Cilicia



Figure 3. Anavarza coin finds, coins nos. 9, 10, 11



Figure 4. Antul coin finds, coins nos. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17



Figure 5. Baberon coin finds, coins nos. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22



Figure 6. Dibi coin finds, coins nos. 25, 26



Figure 7. Gaban coin finds, coins nos. 29, 30, 31



Figure 8. Guglag coin finds, coins nos. 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38



9. Coin 39

Figure 9. Kalasi coin find, coin no. 39



Figure 10. Gorigos coin finds, coins nos. 43, 44



Figure 11. Sis coin finds, coins nos. 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79



Figure 12. Partspert coin finds, coins nos. 50, 51, 52, 53, 54



Figure 13. Lampron coin finds, coins nos. 47, 48, 49



Figure 14. Sari Çiçek coin finds, coins nos. 67, 68, 69



Figure 15. Selevgia coin finds, coins nos. 71, 72, 73

