

The Monetary Economy of the Seleukid Empire

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Abstract

The present thesis is a study of the monetary economy of the Seleukid empire, from its inception until the late 2nd century BC, right before its collapse. The Seleukid empire was a political entity that encompassed a large territory and a wide variety of peoples and traditions. As a result, Seleukid rule was not articulated in the same way everywhere. The study of coins obviates to some of the methodological problems traditionally posed by cross-regional comparisons of the Seleukid empire, and it also allows us to appreciate structural differences between the various phases of its existence. The aim of the thesis is to understand the reasons and the modalities in which the Seleukids produced their coins, and how the latter were used, in two different regions of the empire – Northern Syria and Western Asia Minor. The analysis of the numismatic evidence will be conducted against the historical, political, and numismatic backdrop of these two regions. As a result, in order better to understand the peculiarities of Seleukid coin-production and circulation, the present thesis adopts a long-durée approach, spanning from the 5th century BC until the late 2nd century BC. Through the comparison with the Achaemenid and early Hellenistic periods, the aim of **Chapter 1** is to formulate a Seleukid model of monetary economy for Northern Syria, a region where the state was at its “strongest”. However, it will become clear that it is possible to argue that several models of the Seleukid monetary economy existed in Northern Syria, depending on the coin-types or even on the individual reigns under consideration. The results of **Chapter 1** will be compared with the data from Western Asia Minor in **Chapter 2** and **3**. Contrary to Northern Syria, Asia Minor was a territory where royal authority over the subordinate cities and dynasts had often to be negotiated. Nonetheless, royal interference – or lack of it – in the minting activity of the cities of Western Asia Minor, and the impact of the royal troops on the patterns of coin circulation, represent important pieces of material evidence that will help shed light on the realities of Seleukid imperialism, beyond the rhetoric of the language of royal euergetism.

Abbreviations

- Austin = Austin, M. (2006). *The Hellenistic world from Alexander to the Roman conquest: A selection of ancient sources in translation* (2nd augmented ed.). Cambridge.
- BE = *Bulletin épigraphique*.
- BMC Caria = Head, B. (1897). *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Caria, Cos, Rhodes & c.* London.
- BMC Ionia = Head, B., & Poole, R. (1892). *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia*. London.
- BMC Lydia = Head, B. (1901). *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lydia*. London.
- BMC Troas = Wroth, W. (1894). *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Troas, Aeolis and Lesbos*. London.
- BMC Syria = Wroth, W. W. (1899). *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria*. London.
- BNJ = *Brill New Jacoby*.
- CH = *Coin hoards*. London.
- CPE = Lorber, C. (2018). *Coins of the Ptolemaic Empire. Part 1. Ptolemy 1 through Ptolemy IV*. New York.
- FGrHist = Jacoby, F. (1923-1958). *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin.
- I. BurdurMus = Horsley, G. H. R. (2007). *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Burdur Archaeological Museum. Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor V. The British Institute at Ankara Monographs, 34*. London.
- I. Creticae = Guarducci, M., & Halbherr, F. (1935-1950). *Inscriptiones Creticae*. 4 vols. Rome.
- I. Iasos = Blümel, W. (1985). *Die Inschriften von Iasos*. 2 vols. Bonn.
- I. Ilion = Frisch, P. (1975). *Die Inschriften von Ilion*. Habelt.
- I. Laodikeia am Lykos = Corsten, T. (1997) *Die Inschriften von Laodikeia am Lykos*. Bonn.
- I. Priene = Hiller von Gaertringen, F., Fredrich, C., Prott, H., Schrader, H., Wiegand, T., & Winnefeld, H. (1906). *Inschriften von Priene*. Berlin.

- *I. Sestos* = Krauss, J. (1980). *Die Inschriften Von Sestos Und Der Thrakischen Chersones*. Bonn.
- *I. Smyrna* = Petzl, G. (1982-1990). *Die Inschriften Von Smyrna*. 2 vols. Bonn.
- *I. Sultan Dağı* = Jonnes, L. (2002). *The Inscriptions of the Sultan Dağı I*. IGSK 62. Bonn.
- *IGCH* = Thompson, M., Mørkholm, O., Kraay, C., Noe, S. (1973). *An inventory of Greek coin hoards*. New York.
- *OGIS* = Dittenberger, W. (1903). *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae. Supplementum Sylloges Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Leipzig.
- *P. Cair. Zenon* = Edgar, C. C. (Ed.) *Zenon Papyri, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Cairo.
- *RC* = Welles, C. (1934). *Royal correspondence in the Hellenistic period: A study in Greek epigraphy*. London.
- *REG* = *Revue des Études Grecques*.
- *Sardis VII* = Buckler, W. H. & Robinson, D. M. (1932). *Sardis. Volume VII: Greek and Latin Inscriptions*. Leyden.
- *SC* = Houghton, A., Lorber, C. (2002), (2008). *Seleucid coins: A comprehensive catalogue*. 2 vols. New York.
- *SEG* = *Sylloge Epigraphicum Graecum*.
- *SNG von Aulock* = Aulock, H. von (1957) *Sammlung v. Aulock*. Berlin.
- *SNG Copenhagen* = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Daenemark*. Copenhagen.
- *Syll.³* = Dittenberger, W. (1915-1924). *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*. 3rd edition. Hirzel - Leipzig.
- *WSM* = Newell, E. T. (1941). *The coinage of the Western Seleucid mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III*. New York.

Introduction

For much of the scholarship on the Hellenistic period, the Seleukid empire has traditionally enjoyed a poor reputation –¹ to borrow Capdetrey’s expression, it has long been judged as the “*homme malade de l’Asie hellénistique*”.² In recent decades, however, Paul Kosmin and Laurent Capdetrey, among others, have challenged this traditional view by offering a different account of the Seleukid state.³ In their interpretation, this dynasty elaborated clear empire-wide strategies, sometimes with long-lasting consequences even after its downfall. As one of the greatest expressions of this modern revaluation – although sometimes overreaching in its conclusions – Aperghis’ book on the Seleukid royal economy goes so far as to offer a modernist interpretation of the Seleukid state, whose workings, according to the author, were aimed at maximising coined revenues.⁴

Among their merits and shortcomings, all three of these works – together with John Ma’s book on Antiochos III –⁵ have contributed toward a modern “Seleukid renaissance”. Except for Ma – who focused on the cities of Western Asia Minor in the 3rd century BC – Kosmin, Capdetrey, and Aperghis have taken on the study of the Seleukid empire by looking at its entire territorial extent and at the whole history of the dynasty. Such an approach is certainly complex and fraught with difficulties. Due to the geographic vastness of the empire and the variety of peoples and traditions within its borders, we cannot assume the experience of Seleukid rule was felt in the same way everywhere. Indeed, a call for a regional approach in Seleukid scholarship already emerged in 2002 at the conference “*Le roi et l’économie*”, organised by Véronique Chankowski and Frédérique Duyrat, in response to Aperghis’ monograph.⁶ The second section of the proceedings was dedicated to the differences of Seleukid rule and of its economic outcomes in Asia Minor, the Levant, Babylonia, and Baktria. Despite the conference’s merit

¹ *E.g.*, Tarn 1951: 4-5.

² Capdetrey 2007: 11.

³ Capdetrey 2007; Kosmin 2014.

⁴ Aperghis 2004.

⁵ Ma 1999.

⁶ Chankowski & Duyrat 2004.

of recognising the Seleukid empire not as a monolithic entity, similar cross-regional comparisons are destined to encounter significant difficulties. In fact, not only does the regional approach itself entail some important methodological problems;⁷ but its application to the study of the Seleukid empire is also complicated by the availability of very different types of documentary evidence, or by the complete lack of them, in the various territories the Seleukid kings held under their control. For instance, the stone inscriptions of Western Asia Minor record the official communications between the kings and the Greek cities and Anatolian temple-states; instead, the cuneiform tablets of Mesopotamia shed light on the kings' relationship with the local priestly elite and record the price trends of the regional staple commodities;⁸ finally, we have almost no documentary evidence for Northern Syria in the 3rd century BC.

The chronological element is another crucial factor that needs to be taken into consideration when doing cross-regional comparisons. In fact, the Seleukid empire was not a political entity set in stone, but rather a “bicycle” whose parts changed over time.⁹ This is most evident when we compare the 3rd-century Seleukid empire with its 2nd-century equivalent. As a result, based on literary and epigraphic evidence, scholars have traditionally viewed the Treaty of Apameia as the first time when the parts of our metaphorical bicycle really changed, with the Seleukid loss of Asia Minor and the shift in international balance of powers due to the rise of Rome. However, this approach tends to treat the 3rd-century kings as a homogenous group, with few differences between them in the running of the empire. Instead, it is not implausible to assume that such discrepancies did exist – either reflecting different ideological approaches to government, or more simply reacting to the specific circumstances each Seleukid king found himself in. Furthermore, the inability to perceive such discrepancies between the individual rulers is not the result of a presumed “laziness” on the modern scholars' part. Rather, it is caused by the

⁷ The geographers of the last century have questioned whether it was ultimately possible to identify spatial frames with defined borders – one may remember Kimble's negativity (Kimble 1951) or Feyel's charge against regional historians (Feyel 2006: 341-68, esp. 367-68).

⁸ In particular, the so-called Astronomical Diaries have been the basis of the most recent and significant contributions to the study of the Seleukid economy, both regional studies of Hellenistic Babylonia (Pirngruber 2017; Monerie 2018).

⁹ I borrow this analogy from Nicholas Purcell, who applied it to the Roman empire in the seminars I attended during my MPhil.

limitations of the very sources that have constituted the primary focus for the study of the Hellenistic world – namely, literary historical accounts, stone inscriptions, and clay tablets.

Instead, the growth of publications in the numismatics field in the last thirty years has offered a rich, important alternative for the study of the Seleukid empire. Indeed, the study of the production of coinage under each Seleukid ruler can elucidate their different spending strategies, possibly hinting at the organisation of the imperial machine and its relationship with the authorities of the individual cities – not only in different regions of the empire, but also through time. Furthermore, the analysis of hoards and single coin-finds from archaeological excavations throws some light on the purposes of production of the royal coins and on the circulation and (possibly) spending patterns of their recipients. Overall, numismatics provides fertile ground for obviating to some of the very methodological problems mentioned above for cross-regional and chronological comparisons of the Seleukid empire – namely, the disparity in the amount of available archaeological, epigraphic, and literary material among its various regions; and the limitations this kind of evidence poses for the study of the Seleukid empire as a changing, living organism.

Considering the challenges of studying a vast territory like the Seleukid empire, the present work will not cover its entirety, but it will rather focus on two specific areas – namely, Northern Syria and Western Asia Minor. The motivation for choosing these two regions is twofold. Firstly, it allows us to compare, on the one hand, an area where the Seleukids established a strong political and military core around the so-called “Tetrapolis”, with – on the other hand – a part of the empire that not only presented a very different political landscape, but one that, throughout the 3rd century BC, was also politically and militarily contested by other actors, both local and international.

Secondly, both Northern Syria and Western Asia Minor constitute excellent test cases for a numismatic-oriented study of the Seleukid empire – not only for the coins produced there, but also for their comparable “richness” in hoards and single coin-finds from archaeological excavations. Other regions of the Seleukid empire, instead, are much “poorer” with this material evidence. As a result, from the present inquiry it was necessary to exclude territories like Mesopotamia. In fact, despite its longer and relatively more stable history of Seleukid control compared to Western Asia Minor; and despite its

status, together with Northern Syria, as a core area for this dynasty, its numismatic evidence, in the form of both hoards and especially single coin-finds from excavations, is extremely limited.¹⁰

Identifying the regions under scrutiny

Before embarking on the analysis of the numismatic evidence, it is necessary first to provide a summary of the political history, urbanisation and territorial administration of Northern Syria and Western Asia Minor, starting from before the rise of the Seleukid empire. This will allow us to better understand the political actors that existed in those two regions and how their relationship with the royal authority may have impacted the production and circulation of coins.

Northern Syria

Northern Syria, to quote Cohen, was *terra incognita* for much of the Classical and Hellenistic periods,¹¹ lacking major urban settlements on the coast, except for Al-Mina, a flourishing emporium on the right bank of the Orontes in the 4th century BC. The hinterland, on the other hand, was dotted with Persian colonies of which we know very little. Similarly, there is a lack of information about the rural estates of the Achaemenid elite in the Syrian countryside.¹²

In Northern Syria, Antigonos Monophthalmos founded Antigoneia-on-the-Orontes, but Seleukos was the first to implement a truly ambitious building programme in this region. He first founded Seleukeia-in-Pieria on the 23rd of Xanthikos in 300 BC; then Antioch-on-the-Orontes the following month with settlers from Antigoneia-on-the-Orontes; and finally Laodikeia-by-the-Sea and Apameia.¹³ The founding of the Tetrapolis had an impact not only on the lives of the Greek-Macedonian settlers – many of whom were moved to populate these cities – but also on the older neighbouring centres. Archaeological excavations have in fact shown that Al-Mina was suddenly deserted by c.300 BC.¹⁴

¹⁰ See Monerie 2018: 24, 469-73 for the single coin-finds from Babylonia.

¹¹ Cohen 2006: 23.

¹² Duyrat 2005: 206-8.

¹³ Malalas 8.199-203; Str. 16.2.4.

¹⁴ Woolley 1938: 26-8.

According to Appian, Seleukos I was responsible for many more foundations in Northern Syria.¹⁵ Some of them – Kyrrhos, Hierapolis-Bambyke, and the military outposts of Jebel Khalid and Dura-Europos – controlled the communication lines with Mesopotamia.¹⁶ Another series of foundations in the Orontes valley controlled the southern access to Northern Syria (**Fig. 1**).

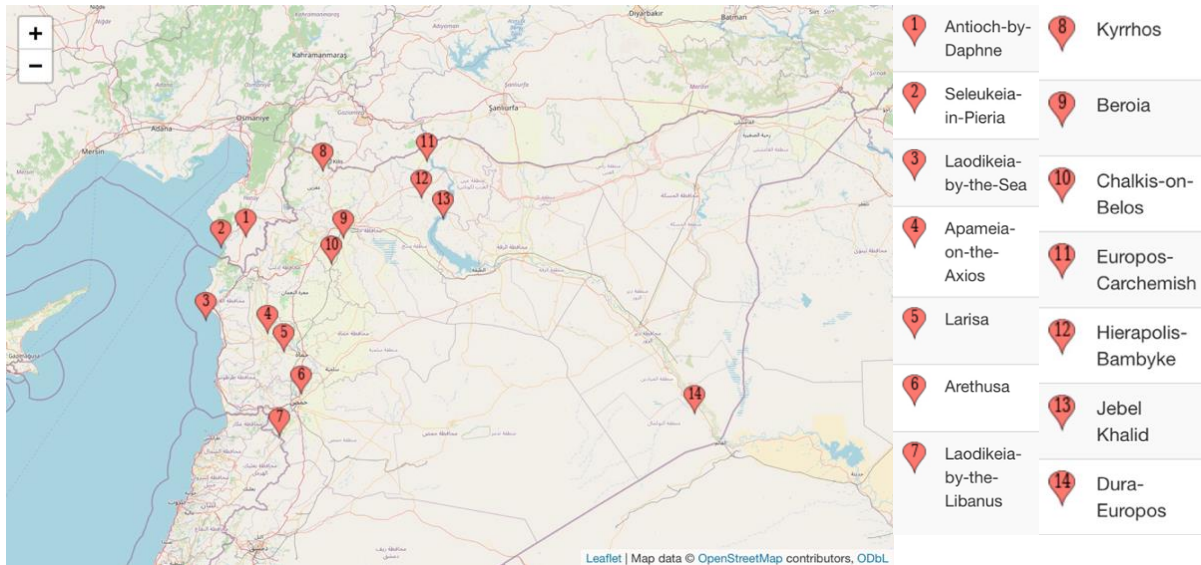


Fig. 1: Seleukid foundations attributed to Seleukos I

In the 3rd century BC, the Seleukids are not known to have founded any more settlements in Northern Syria. Seleukos II expanded Antioch,¹⁷ but we are completely in the dark about the interactions between royal and civic administrations in the cities of the Tetrapolis. The attestations of a royal governor (*epistates*) in royal letters from the 2nd century BC suggest that the border between royal and civic authority in these four cities was very hard to define.¹⁸ According to Strabo, who was citing Poseidonios,

¹⁵ App. Syr. 57.

¹⁶ The “need to oversee territories, cities and villages” as prime motivation for Seleukid colonisation is particularly stressed by Cohen 1978: 25.

¹⁷ Str. 16.2.4.

¹⁸ Capdetrey 2007: 217. In 186 BC, on Seleukos IV’s orders to the *epistates* of Seleukeia-in-Pieria, the city awarded honours to a royal Friend (RC 45). In 174 BC, Laodikeia-by-the-Sea voted on religious affairs on a proposition by the *epistates*.

the Seleukis was divided in four satrapies.¹⁹ Only the one of Apameia is mentioned in an epigraphic document,²⁰ and, despite the very limited evidence, scholars agree this satrapy emerged only in the second half of the 2nd century BC.²¹ While none of the four cities of the Tetrapolis seems to have clearly acquired a preeminent status over the others until after 188 BC, the very little evidence available shows Antioch as the seat of the regional satraps around the mid-3rd century BC, suggesting it had somewhat grown in importance already by Antiochos II's death.²² Instead, the other cities of the Tetrapolis performed different functions – Apameia-on-the-Orontes was the Seleukid military centre of Northern Syria,²³ Laodikeia-by-the-Sea presumably hosted the Seleukid fleet, while Seleukeia-in-Pieria maintained a strong ideological importance as the hearth of the empire.²⁴

Outside of the Tetrapolis, it is unclear what political status all the Seleukid foundations held. Chalkis-on-the-Belos and Kyrrhos are usually considered the capitals of the satrapies of Chalkidike and Kyrrhestike respectively, although there is some disagreement on whether they were actual *poleis* since their foundation.²⁵ Hierapolis-Bambyke is described by Strabo as a *polichnion*, although a Delian inscription from the late 2nd century BC explicitly calls it a *polis*.²⁶ Dura-Europos started out as a garrison town – perhaps the seat of the *strategos* of Parapotamia during Antiochos III's early reign –²⁷ before growing in dimension and probably getting promoted to *polis*-status in the mid-2nd century BC.²⁸ As for the Phoenician city of Arados, the only attestation of its “autonomous” status comes from the dating of its coinage according to the civic era starting in 259 BC.²⁹

¹⁹ Str. 16.2.4.

²⁰ RC 70, 1.7: τῆς περὶ Ἀπάμιαν σατραπίας.

²¹ Rigsby 1980: 253, followed by Dignas 2002: 78 and Duyrat 2005: 243.

²² Antiochos II's wedding with Berenike at Antioch: App. Syr. 65; P. Cair. Zenon II.59251. At Antioch, Ptolemy III met with the Seleukid satraps during his invasion of Northern Syria, while at Seleukeia-in-Pieria he was welcomed by priests, magistrates, and other officers (FGrHist 160 III.20. Downey 1961: 89-90, 113-14; Kosmin 2014: 152-53; Cohen 2006: 92 n.26).

²³ Str. 16.2.10.

²⁴ Pol. 5.58.

²⁵ For instance, Kyrrhos produced quasi-municipal coinage under Alexander I Balas in 149 BC, meaning that it had acquired *polis*-status by the mid-2nd century BC (see **Chapter 1**). See Cohen 2006: 181 and n.9.

²⁶ Str. 16.2.7; I. Delos 2226.

²⁷ Pol. 5.48.6, 5.69.5; Kosmin 2011: 63.

²⁸ See Cohen 2006: 158-61; Kosmin 2011.

²⁹ Duyrat 2005: 227-28 on the start of the Aradian era.

Only from the 170s BC onwards is Antioch presented clearly in literary sources as the royal capital of Northern Syria, in addition to being an essential city for pretenders to legitimise their aspirations to the Seleukid throne.³⁰ Antiochos IV is said to have founded the fourth settlement of Antioch and to have also added a *bouleuterion* and sanctuaries.³¹ With the emergence of the satrapal divisions within the Seleukis perhaps in the 2nd century BC, each city of the Tetrapolis assumed administrative responsibilities over their province. Other places, like Dura-Europos, were probably elevated to *polis*-status from the mid-2nd century BC. Conversely, with the dynastic infighting from the 150s BC onwards, the political unity of Northern Syria broke apart – Tryphon set the base of his rebellion against Demetrios II at Chalkis-on-the-Belos first, then at Apameia-on-the-Orontes;³² in the early 1st century BC, a small principality also emerged in Northeastern Syria around Beroia.³³

Western Asia Minor

As for Western Asia Minor, before the Seleukids, the Persians interfaced with a much more politically complex situation compared to Northern Syria – with the Greek cities of the western coast on the one hand, and the remnants of the Lydian empire on the other. All these components were nonetheless integrated within the Achaemenid state through the practice of *dōrea*. In fact, the Persian kings conceived their empire as a great *oikos* whose parts they could give in usufruct to individuals.³⁴ Even Greeks like Themistokles, the Spartan Demaratos, and the Eretrian Gongylos count among the many recipients of the Persian royal donations of lands and cities.³⁵ As a result of this policy, Western Asia Minor eventually became a patchwork of local governorships who nevertheless stood under royal authority. On the physical level, this manifested in the estates held by the Persian elite and by their

³⁰ See Martinez-Sève 2004: 22-32; Capdetrey 2007: 359-62; Neumann 2021: 60-1.

³¹ Str. 16.2.4; Malalas 8.205, 10.234. See Downey 1961: 99-107; De Giorgi 2016: 57-60.

³² Diod. 33.4a; Str.16.2.10.

³³ The minister of Antiochos VIII Grypos, Herakleon, came from Beroia (Athen. 4.153b-c). His son Demetrios controlled this city together with Herakleia and Hierapolis-Bambyke (Str. 16.2.7). Probably before him, in 88 BC a certain Straton ruled over Beroia (Just. *Prol.* 39).

³⁴ Cf. Corsaro 1997: 16-7. See Schuler 1998: 137-45 for discussion. *Contra* de Ste. Croix 1972: 313-14, followed by Lewis 1977: 105; Gomme *et al.* 1981: 41.

³⁵ Themistokles: Thuc. 1.138.5; Nep. *Them.* 10; Plut. *Them.* 29.7; Athen. 1.29f-30a; Diod. 11.57.7. Demaratos and Gongylos: Hdt. 6.70; Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6. For a list of Achaemenid *dōreai*, see Briant 1985.

subordinates in the countryside of Western Asia Minor.³⁶ Archaeological excavations have shown an increase in human occupation of greater Lydia in the Achaemenid period, both in the form of rural estates and garrisons, while the city of Sardis was generally abandoned.³⁷

Measures to partially counter the centripetal tendencies of the local powerholders were later taken, especially by Alexander's early successors. While Alexander himself maintained the satrapal organisation of the western provinces – nominating Macedonian governors instead of Persian ones – in 319/8 BC Antigonos, as *strategos* of Asia, replaced the satraps with *strategoí* in Western Asia Minor.³⁸ Concerning the distributions of landed estates and cities to their subordinates, Alexander introduced a clear distinction between the *chōra politikē* and the *chōra basileōs* –³⁹ thus, we have evidence of estates held by Macedonians in the early Hellenistic period.⁴⁰ Nonetheless, literary and epigraphic evidence still attests to donations of cities to individuals by both Alexander and his *Diadochoi*.⁴¹

The biggest change in the political conformation of Western Asia Minor in the early Hellenistic period derived by the *synoikismoi* of pre-existing cities, often sponsored by the *Diadochoi* themselves – the most famous cases being Alexandria Troas and Ephesos.⁴² Instead, the Seleukids conducted a much less ambitious urbanising plan. Their foundations consisted of military settlements, *synoikismoi* of small indigenous villages, or refoundations of older Achaemenid centres, in an area comprising the Lydian countryside, the Maiandros valley, and the inland arteries connecting Western Asia Minor to the Syrian core (**Fig. 2**).

³⁶ Xen. *An.* 7.8.9-23 is the only description in Greek of an Achaemenid domain. See Schuler 1998: 66-9. On Persian colonisation of Asia Minor: Sekunda 1985, 1988, 1991.

³⁷ Roosevelt 2009: Chs 4-5.

³⁸ Bengtson 1937: 203-9.

³⁹ *I. Priene* 1; Heisserer 1980: 146; Sherwin-White 1985: 80-1; Rhodes & Osborne 2003: 86B. See Thonemann 2013a for a recent reconsideration of the inscription.

⁴⁰ *E.g.*, “Mnesimachos inscription” (*Sardis* VII 1.1). See Thonemann 2009: esp.384-90.

⁴¹ Plut. *Phoc.* 18; Ael. *VH* I.25. Wörrle 1978: 201-2; Meadows 2012. *OGIS* 55 ll.8-9 (παραλαβὸν τὴν πόλιν παρὰ βασιλέ[ως Π]τολεμαίου).

⁴² For *synoikismoi* in Western Asia Minor under Alexander's *Diadochoi*, see Boehm 2018: 56-67, 73-7.

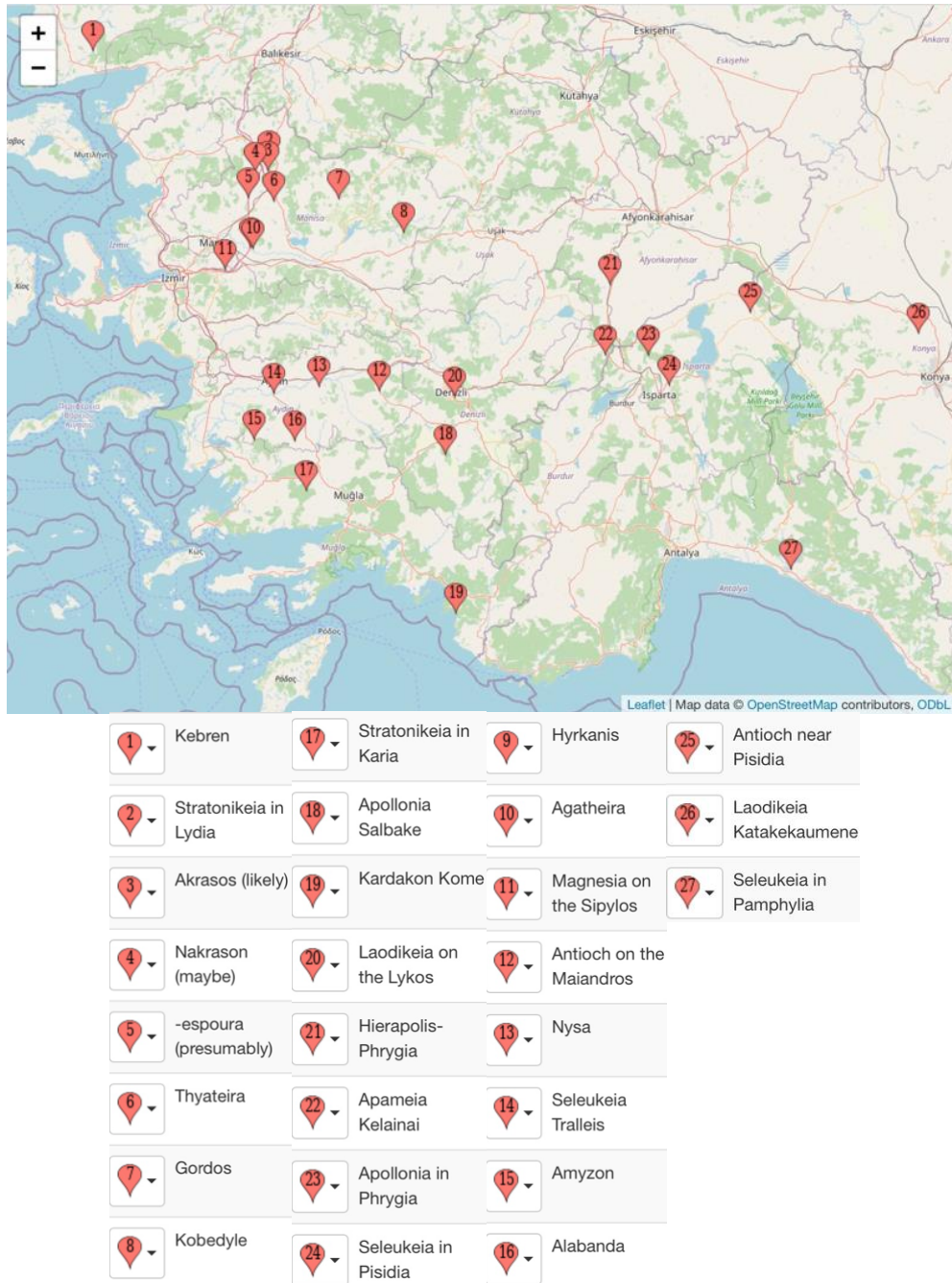


Fig. 2: Seleukid foundations in Western Asia Minor (including Phrygia, Pisidia, and Pamphylia)

Through the expansion of Sardis and the *synoikismoι* of small indigenous villages, the Seleukids initiated a process of integration of the countryside within the central administration,⁴³ which

⁴³ Roosevelt 2019: 163-64. Cf. Thonemann 2013b: 16 (“...these highly stratified, highly-centralized city-state cultures were unusually easy to tax and bully.”).

constituted a major departure from the Achaemenid period. In fact, the Seleukid kings sponsored *sympoliteiai*, for instance between Smyrna and the Macedonian colony of Magnesia-Sipylos;⁴⁴ they gifted rural estates to royal friends and officials, who in turn attached their newly-acquired properties to civic territories;⁴⁵ and they also sold rural estates to individuals, cities, and even villages.⁴⁶ As far as we know, these were Seleukid innovations, although earlier examples could well emerge sometime in the future.⁴⁷ By attaching gifted estates to cities, on the one hand, the Seleukids increased the legibility of the landscape by centralising their resources in the *poleis*; on the other hand, this procedure benefited the grantee by securing possession of his property. In fact, the uncertain times of a war-torn landscape were dangerous for extra-civic domains. In such circumstances, a *polis* represented a desired refuge for a landowner, as it had higher chances of reclaiming illegally occupied estates by petitioning the kings.⁴⁸ The other clear beneficiaries of this measure were the *poleis* themselves, which were very eager to permanently obtain vast tracts of land.⁴⁹

Despite the superficial impression of a pervasive, centralising system, the realities of Seleukid imperialism in Western Asia Minor were much more complicated. Outside of Sardis – the provincial capital – and Ephesos – an important city for Antiochos II first,⁵⁰ and then for Antiochos III in his naval warfare against the Romans in the 190s BC –⁵¹ the epigraphic evidence from Antiochos III’s time and the dispositions of the Treaty of Apameia show that the *poleis* of Asia Minor withstood different degrees of subordination to royal power in the 3rd century BC. Despite Ma’s insistence to the contrary,⁵² it is

⁴⁴ *OGIS* 229 ll.106-7: κ[αί] προνοῆσαι τὸν δῆμον ὅπως αὐτοῖς διδῶται ἐκ βασιλικοῦ τὰ τε μετρήματα καὶ τὰ ὀψώνια | τᾶλλα ὅσα εἰώθει ἐκ βασιλικοῦ δίδοσθαι αὐτοῖς.

⁴⁵ “Aristodikides dossier”: *RC* 10-13. “Larichos dossier”: *OGIS* 215. Unlike the Achaemenids, the Seleukids rarely included cities in *dōreai*. Most Seleukid examples are from the 2nd-century Levant and are usually associated with the growing weakness of the dynasty (Capdetrey 2007: 148-49). Instances from 3rd-century Asia Minor are similarly connected to Seleukos II’s turbulent years in Western Asia Minor: 1) donation of Pitane to Eumenes I (*IG* XII suppl. no.142, l.141); 2) marriage of Seleukos II’s sister with Mithridates II of Pontos and donation of Greater Phrygia as a dowry (Just. 38.5.3; Porphyry *BNJ* 260 F32.6); 3) donation of Stratonikeia to Rhodes (Pol. 30.31.6, with Cohen 1995: 271 n.4 and Ma 1999: 277-78).

⁴⁶ Sale of land from Antiochos I to Pitane: *OGIS* 335 ll.133-34. Sale of estate from Antiochos II to Laodike: *RC* 18. Sale of land from Ptolemaios son of Thrasesas to the village of Kardakon Kōmē, probably at Antiochos III’s request: Segre 1938: 190-207; Virgilio 2003: inscr.28.

⁴⁷ Cf. Capdetrey 2007: 152 and n.118.

⁴⁸ E.g., “Boulagoras inscription”: *SEG* 1.366.

⁴⁹ Cf. *RC* 13, ll. 16-7: ἵνα μένη ὑμῖν | βεβαίως εἰς πάντα τὸν χρόνον τὰ συγχωρηθέντα.

⁵⁰ *SEG* 1.366 l.9-11.

⁵¹ App. *Syr.* 4, 6.

⁵² Ma 1999: 160.

unclear if the Seleukids used an actual legal structure to subordinate the *poleis*, or if their relationship with the cities of Asia Minor was simply the result of the different realities the Seleukids interacted with.⁵³ In fact, in Karia and Lykia, royal authority could intervene directly in the workings of the local communities, which were mostly pre-civic political bodies or very modest cities that dated their decrees by the current ruler's regnal year and Macedonian month.⁵⁴ Instead, due to their stronger political standing, the coastal cities of Ionia and Karia were in a better position to negotiate their relationship with the sovereign power.⁵⁵ As a result, in several instances the Seleukids granted these *poleis* *eleutheria* and *autonomia*, which entailed different privileges, such as the exemption from tribute and freedom from royal garrisons. Rather than on a definite set of rules, however, even these privileges were probably contingent on the specific circumstances of the grant, and they did not ultimately prevent the beneficiary cities from completely escaping from royal authority.⁵⁶ In fact, some Seleukid "autonomous" *poleis* in Asia Minor are attested to have hosted royal garrisons.⁵⁷

Even the countryside of Western Asia Minor was not uniformly under royal control. Despite the centralising efforts of the Seleukids, many rural estates still existed in the extra-civic space. They were not only small *klēroi* of the Seleukid *katoikoi*,⁵⁸ but also vast properties, such as Achaios the Elder's estate near Laodikeia-by-the-Lykos,⁵⁹ or the property the Karian dynast Olympichos acquired from a queen Laodike and then gifted to the sanctuary of Zeus Osogō at Mylasa.⁶⁰ The owners of these estates were unlikely all direct beneficiaries of Seleukid *dōreai*, but at least some of them were grantees of the earlier *Diadochoi*. As they took over Asia Minor, the Seleukids likely found many of these local strongmen in possession of vast estates. They probably left the more powerful ones in their place either

⁵³ Capdetrey 2007: 223.

⁵⁴ "Subject cities" (Ma 1999: 156-59; Capdetrey 2007: 215-17).

⁵⁵ "Subordinated cities" (Ma 1999: 159; Capdetrey 2007: 214-15).

⁵⁶ Capdetrey 2007: 208. *Contra* Ma 1999: 160-61, who argued the privileges of *eleutheria* and *autonomia* designated a precise legal status that entailed a fully free government. Thus, he assimilated the cities declared free and autonomous by Antiochos III with the autonomous cities that escaped Seleukid authority, such as Lampsakos and Smyrna. However, Capdetrey 2007: 210-11 is uncomfortable with this assimilation and thus designates the Seleukid "autonomous" cities as "cités dépendantes", mainly Ionian and Karian *poleis*. Ma 1999: 164 himself recognised that the freedom of the Seleukid "autonomous" cities was largely dependent on the king's goodwill and that it could thus be lost.

⁵⁷ *E.g.*, Iasos under the Ptolemies (*I. Iasos* nos.2, 3) and the Seleukids (Liv. 37.17.3).

⁵⁸ *E.g.*, *OGIS* 229 l.102: "ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς τοὺς τρεῖς κλήρους δωρεάν".

⁵⁹ *I.Laodikeia am Lykos* 1; Wörrle 1975 (267 BC).

⁶⁰ Crampa 1969: inscr.8 (c.240 BC).

in order not to disrupt the local balance of power excessively,⁶¹ or because they were ultimately unable to remove them, like the Attalids of Pergamon.⁶² Consequently, powerful landowners and strongmen are still attested in the extra-civic space of Attalid Western Asia Minor, in the 2nd century BC. These were probably the former grantees of Seleukid donations who had gained full ownership over their estates after 188 BC.⁶³ Some of them were integrated within the territory of neighbouring *poleis*;⁶⁴ others, instead, were co-opted into the Attalid administration during the 2nd century BC,⁶⁵ as part of a policy that Peter Thonemann has defined as institutional and fiscal devolution.⁶⁶

This Attalid strategy also included the attachment of royal land to *poleis*, towns, and *katoikiai* –⁶⁷ a measure that was not completely new for Hellenistic Asia Minor. As seen above, while the attachment of gifted rural estates to cities occurred through beneficiaries of *dōreai*, in the 3rd century BC the sale of royal land had allowed *poleis* and villages to acquire rural property directly from the king, albeit with the vendor's expectation for a return in cash.⁶⁸

On their part, the Attalids devolved land with no similar strings attached to it. While we can only speculate on the precise circumstances behind the annexation of royal estates to cities and *katoikiai*, the epigraphic dossiers concerning the beneficiaries of the 2nd century BC show that this was used as a relief measure in times of financial crisis.⁶⁹ Furthermore, this Attalid practice betrays an even wider attention that this dynasty paid to the rural communities – most famously exemplified by the promotion of the former Seleukid colony of Toriaion to *polis*-status.⁷⁰

⁶¹ Cf. Antiochos III's treatment of Ptolemaios son of Lysimachos (*RC* 36-7; Liv. 37.56.4) and Ptolemaios son of Thraseas (Landau 1966: 58-60; Bertrand 1982; Virgilio 2003: inscr.27).

⁶² For the most recent treatment on these dynasts of Western Asia Minor (Attalids included) and their relationship with the Seleukids, see Wunsch 2022: 75-91, 118-28.

⁶³ E.g., *SEG* 57.1150; Thonemann 2011b.

⁶⁴ Union of Diokles' and his family's estate with Antiocheia-on-the-Maiandros (Habicht 1972; Thonemann 2021a). Thonemann 2021a: 34-5 suggests another example was Archippe, a civic benefactor at Kyme in the mid-2nd century BC (*SEG* 33.1035-1041; van Bremen 2008).

⁶⁵ *SEG* 44.1108; *I.BurdurMus* 326; *BE* 1997: 563. For other examples of local strongmen integrated within the Attalid administration, see Thonemann 2013b: 14-6.

⁶⁶ Thonemann 2013b: 4 ("a process of institutional devolution unparalleled in the Hellenistic world before 188 BC"), 19.

⁶⁷ Thonemann 2013b: 20-6; Kaye 2022: 193-203.

⁶⁸ Antiochos I's sale of land to Pitane: *OGIS* 335 ll.133-34. Lysimachid Ptolemaios' sale of land to the Kardakōn Kōmē: Segre 1938; Virgilio 2003: inscr.28.

⁶⁹ Apollonioucharax: *SEG* 57.1150; Thonemann 2011b. Kardakōn Kōmē: Segre 1938; Virgilio 2003: inscr.28.

⁷⁰ *SEG* 47.1745; *I.Sultan Dağ* 393; Bencivenni 2003: 333-56; Müller 2005.

Overall, the 2nd century BC has yielded several epigraphic documents where villages and colonies are attested acting as political bodies. Once again, the existence of such extra-civic entities was not new for Hellenistic Asia Minor;⁷¹ however, epigraphic attestations of their existence become much more frequent in the 2nd century BC than ever before. We ignore if such an increase in political awareness of the rural communities was a spontaneous phenomenon resulting from more than a century of Graeco-Macedonian colonisation of the hinterland of Asia Minor, or if (and how much) this was the result of Attalid intervention. Nonetheless, the Pergamene kings undeniably attempted to integrate these rural communities within the workings of their state more than ever before,⁷² although their strategies had clear antecedents in the period of Seleukid domination over (parts of) Western Asia Minor.

The numismatic material and the monetary economy

The brief summaries above have not only shown the different political realities of Northern Syria and Western Asia Minor before and during the Hellenistic period, but also the limits of using the literary and epigraphic data for understanding the history and political organisation of Seleukid rule in those two regions. In fact, while the material for Northern Syria is much limited, the richer body of evidence for Western Asia Minor mainly concerns a specific point in time – namely, Antiochos III's reconquest at the end of the 3rd century BC. As mentioned in the opening of the **Introduction**, this poses serious difficulties for doing comparisons between these two regions *tout court*. Nonetheless, these brief summaries on the political history, urbanisation, and territorial administration of Northern Syria and Western Asia Minor will provide the necessary backdrop against which our analysis of the numismatic evidence will be conducted in the rest of the thesis.

The royal Seleukid coinage – typology and challenges

As the title of the thesis implies, the primary body of material evidence under investigation will concern the coins minted in the name of the Seleukid kings. Struck predominantly in the form of silver

⁷¹ Cf. Smyrna and the Macedonian settlers of Magnesia-Sipylos (*OGIS* 229), or the villages belonging to Achaïos the Elder's estate (*I.Laodikeia am Lykos* 1; Wörrle 1975).

⁷² Thonemann 2013b: 29-30; Kaye 2022: 200-3.

tetradrachms and (to a lesser degree) drachms on the Attic weight-standard, the coins of the Seleukid rulers can be recognised, as a rule of thumb, by the portrait of the current king (or of his predecessor) on obverse, accompanied by his name on reverse. The most recent catalogue of the coins of the entire dynasty came out around twenty years ago in four volumes titled *Seleucid Coins*, authored by Arthur Houghton, Catharine Lorber, and Oliver Hoover.⁷³ This catalogue has provided a much needed update to Edward Newell's work, despite preserving many of his attributions.⁷⁴ For convenience, for the present thesis I have followed the attributions to mints and rulers as they are found in *Seleucid Coins*, also maintaining its system of classification, which denotes the various degrees of certainty of the mint attributions themselves. These can be roughly divided into five categories – city name (e.g., “Antioch-on-the-Orontes”); “perhaps + city name” (e.g., “Perhaps Smyrna”); “city name/city name” (e.g., Ephesos/Miletos”); “coin-monogram + mint” (e.g., “ΔΕΛ Mint”); and “Uncertain Mint”. This system of classification reveals the problems intrinsic in the identification of Seleukid coins. In fact, in the absence of clear links to a particular place (such as a civic mintmark or control-monograms shared with bronze coins found in a specific city), most attributions in *Seleucid Coins* fundamentally rest on the artistic style of the obverse and reverse of the coins, which Houghton, Lorber, and Hoover (and Newell before them) have associated to certain parts of the empire instead of others. While this system allows us to separate the eastern coins from the western ones, more granular attributions to specific cities are more complicated – especially for Western Asia Minor, as we shall see in **Chapter 2**. Whenever possible, throughout the thesis I will try to flag any uncertain mint attributions in the footnotes, even for the cases that enjoy greater “certainty”.

The other coinages in the Seleukid sphere – sources, catalogues, and typologies

To better understand the monetary economy of the Seleukid empire, the present thesis cannot limit itself to the analysis of the Seleukid royal coins alone. Instead, a large variety of other coins will also be covered in their dedicated chapters, looking both back to the Achaemenid and early Hellenistic periods

⁷³ Houghton & Lorber 2002; Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008.

⁷⁴ Newell 1938, 1941.

and forward to the Attalid one – the objective being to acquire a better understanding of the Seleukid example, in comparison with both its predecessors and successors.

For the non-Seleukid royal coinages of the Hellenistic period, the standard reference work for the Alexanders is Martin Price's catalogue,⁷⁵ although many of its attributions have been updated since then (see **Chapters 1 and 2**). For the other royal coinages, I have relied on several specialised articles and books that will be cited throughout the thesis. For the non-royal coinages, instead, for Northern Syria I have mainly used the works of Josette and Alain Elayi as reference for Phoenician numismatics in the Achaemenid period,⁷⁶ and the works of Frédérique Duyrat for Hellenistic Arados and its *peraiia*.⁷⁷

For Western Asia Minor, I have mostly relied on the database of the *ARCH* website ("A Typology of Ancient Greek Coinage": <https://greekcoinage.org/arch/>), which was essential for the creation of the chronological tables of the gold, silver, and bronze coinages of Western Asia Minor (**Chapters 2 and 3**). This online typology of ancient Greek coins was created through a collaboration between the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents at the University of Oxford (*CSAD*), the Bibliothèque nationale de France (*Bnf*), and the Department of Archaeology at the University of Valencia. As it became available to the public in 2022, this typology combined the *ARCH* project's own *IRIS* database (<https://greekcoinage.org/iris/>) with the data from other projects, among which "Hellenistic Royal Coinages" (*HRC*, American Numismatic Society: <https://numismatics.org/hrc/>) and "Corpus Nummorum" (*CN*, Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften and Münzkabinett Der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin: <https://www.corpus-nummorum.eu>).⁷⁸ In particular, the "Corpus Nummorum" project only provides the Berlin material concerning the coinages of Moesia Inferior, Thrace, Mysia, and Troas. Therefore, the entries we find on the *ARCH* website for the latter two regions derive only from one source, contrary to the coins for the other regions of Western Asia Minor.

However, the need for this typology to integrate databases from other museums is not the only issue that could make its use challenging. As an online resource, it needs to constantly update its information on each entry from the most recent literature. Therefore, throughout the thesis I have indicated the date

⁷⁵ Price 1991.

⁷⁶ Elayi, 1992, 2009; Elayi & Elayi 2004a, 2004b, 2009, 2014, 2015.

⁷⁷ Duyrat 2002, 2005.

⁷⁸ <https://greekcoinage.org/arch/pages/about> (accessed on 30/06/2025).

when I accessed information from this website. In particular, the mint attributions and dates I have adopted from the *ARCH* typology for **Chapters 2 and 3** may be subject to become outdated in the not-so-distant future. Nevertheless, whenever necessary, I have attempted to integrate any currently “obsolete” information contained in *ARCH* with the most recent numismatic literature.

Overall, while its use needs some caution, this typology has recently emerged as an essential resource for the study of a body of evidence that has hitherto been almost inaccessible due to its complexity. This will prove to be precious in the attempt of this thesis to look at the numismatic data from different regions over a long period of time.

Why did the Seleukids mint their coins?

An important question that has been raised about Seleukid coins, as well as for those of the other Hellenistic dynasties, concerns the reason why the kings needed to mint in the first place. In the second book of his *Oikonomika* – which probably dates from the early Hellenistic period – pseudo-Aristotle identified three types of economies – the royal, the satrapal, and the civic. Responsibility of coin-production reportedly fell on the kings,⁷⁹ but the author failed to explain for what purposes the state struck its issues. Aperghis has provocatively argued that the Seleukids, being in control of the monetary supply, minted coins whenever a “top up” was necessary.⁸⁰ However, his “modernist” explanation presupposes a level of economic information and bureaucratic sophistication for the Seleukid empire that states have only managed to acquire in modern times. Furthermore, such level of control must have been especially implausible in a large, “open currency area” like the Seleukid empire, where coins – as we shall see throughout the thesis – regularly crossed regional boundaries and where foreign Attic-weight issues frequently circulated alongside Seleukid ones.⁸¹

In an influential article in 1990, citing multiple examples from both the Greek and Roman worlds, Christopher Howgego argued that coinage was generally minted not only to cover state expenses, but

⁷⁹ Ps.-Arist. *Oec.* 2.1345b7, with Meadows 2022. For Bresson 2005: 46, pseudo-Aristotle’s comments on money applied to cities as well as to kingdoms. For a recent, alternative reading of this passage, see Ellis-Evans & Kagan 2022: 214-17.

⁸⁰ Aperghis 2004: 213-46.

⁸¹ Bresson 2005: 57-9; Le Rider & de Callatay 2006: 215-17.

also for a variety of other reasons – military purposes, civic pride, or payment for infrastructural works, food, and games, among others.⁸² In particular, Howgego was trying to nuance the monolithic picture offered by Michael Crawford in 1970, who argued that coinage in the Roman empire was only produced to meet state expenditure, and that the monetary, economic function of issues was an accidental consequence of the invention of coinage.⁸³ In more recent years, drawing from Aristotle’s link between trade and coins, Alain Bresson has also underlined the need for states to facilitate commercial exchanges as an important factor for minting issues.⁸⁴ In particular, in a famous letter addressed to the *dioikētēs* Apollonios in 258 BC, the Ptolemaic official Demetrios reports complaints from traders at the port of Alexandria about the lack of local coins to carry out transactions with. This papyrus not only shows the difficulties that a closed-currency state like Ptolemaic Egypt could encounter from time to time with their coin supply, but it also corroborates Howgego’s and Bresson’s point that coin-production may have also responded to commercial needs.⁸⁵

With the developments of Hellenistic numismatic scholarship over the last thirty years, however, there has been a general shift to Crawford’s view – namely, that military expenses constituted the primary motivator for minting coins. In fact, François de Callataÿ’s book on the coinages of the Mithridatic wars has shown how the highly irregular character of production of Mithridates VI’s issues was connected to periods of build-up to the conflicts with Rome.⁸⁶ As we shall see in **Chapter 1** in greater detail, Frédérique Duyrat has similarly shown the impact of military spending on the coinages of Arados and its *peraiia*,⁸⁷ while Andrew Meadows has convincingly linked the production of the late 3rd-century Pamphylian Alexanders to Antiochos III’s military campaign in Western Asia Minor.⁸⁸

The conclusions that these three scholars were able to reach were made possible by the die-studies of coinages that were dated by the year, if not even month, of production. Unfortunately, a similar level of granularity is impossible to achieve for the Seleukid coinages. Firstly, these started to be dated by the

⁸² Howgego 1990.

⁸³ Crawford 1970.

⁸⁴ Bresson 2005: 45-50.

⁸⁵ For a recent commentary on *P. Cair. Zenon* 1.59021, see Bresson 2015.

⁸⁶ de Callataÿ 1997.

⁸⁷ Duyrat 2005.

⁸⁸ Meadows 2009a.

regnal year only from around the mid-2nd century BC (see **Chapter 1**). Secondly, and most importantly, we have very few die-studies available altogether, especially for the Seleukid issues of Western Asia Minor.⁸⁹ For Northern Syria, instead, Georges Le Rider’s fundamental die-study of Seleukid Antioch only covers the reigns from Seleukos I to Antiochos V.⁹⁰

Despite these few die-studies available, in **Chapters 1** and **2** we shall see that the overall output of the Seleukid mints paled in comparison with the volume of Alexanders produced in the late 4th century BC. Nonetheless, with the help of the “Die Studies Database” (https://silver.kbr.be/Die_Studies_Database), it will become evident that Seleukid minting was still substantially large, not only compared to the civic coinages of Western Asia Minor in the Classical period, but also compared to the coinages of the other Hellenistic dynasties. Considering also the choice of denominations produced (predominantly silver tetradrachms and, to a lesser degree, drachms), this seems to point towards an explanation of Seleukid minting that privileges the role of state expenditure, especially related to the payment of both campaigning and stationary troops.

It is mainly through these interpretive lenses that the present thesis will carry out the analysis of the coin-production of the Seleukid state, while opening to the possibility that other factors, such as facilitation of trade, may have also played a role in the decision to mint these coins. However, as Peter Thonemann has noted, it is admittedly difficult to assess the impact of these non-military factors on Seleukid spending.⁹¹

The other coinages in the Seleukid sphere – between royal and civic authority

As noted above, Seleukid coins were not the only issues in circulation across the empire. In hoards found within the former Seleukid territories, Seleukid royal issues often appear alongside coins in the name of Alexander and Lysimachos, as well as those of the kings of Pergamon, Bithynia, Pontos, and Antigonid Macedonia.

⁸⁹ Hochard 2023; Houghton 1978, 1992.

⁹⁰ Le Rider 1999.

⁹¹ Thonemann 2015a: 111.

These coinages, all struck on the Attic weight-standard, reflect a broader monetary landscape shaped by both competition and coexistence among Hellenistic powers. The Pergamene, Bithynian, Pontic, and Macedonian coins can be confidently attributed to contemporary rival royal authorities seeking to expand their influence in Western Asia Minor. The case of the Alexanders and Lysimachi, however, is more complex. In fact, they include both coins from the late 4th century BC and later, posthumous emissions struck after 300 BC. Significantly, many of these later issues bear mintmarks clearly linked to civic authorities, introducing a second major player in the monetary economy of the Seleukid world – namely, the cities. Primary producers of the coinages circulating in the 5th and 4th centuries BC under the Achaemenids, in the Hellenistic period the cities struck both “civic” Alexanders and other issues that, like in the Classical period, bore more explicit marks of the civic minting authorities – namely, the name of the minting city and designs specific to the place of production, without any explicit reference to royal authority. These coins, typically of small denomination and thus serving everyday local exchanges, suggest that the monetary economy of the Seleukid empire functioned at multiple levels simultaneously. On the one hand, royal coinages – predominantly silver and struck in large quantities with consistent types and weight-standards – circulated broadly across the empire, fulfilling state needs and expressing royal authority. On the other hand, civic coinages were produced and used in the context of epichoric economies.

However, while this dichotomy between “royal” and “civic” domains offers a helpful starting point, it quickly proves too rigid to capture the diversity and entanglement of real practices. In fact, several types of coinages show that neither origin nor circulation neatly mapped onto a simple royal-civic binary. For instance, Seleukid bronze issues – though minted by the royal authority – were primarily used in local transactions; therefore, they occupied the epichoric economic space typically associated with civic coinages. Conversely, many of the late-posthumous Alexanders were issued by cities and yet circulated alongside royal issues of the Hellenistic dynasties. Admittedly, recent scholarship has challenged the assumption that all late-posthumous Alexanders were truly civic in nature. As noted above, work on the coinages of Hellenistic Arados and Pamphylia has demonstrated a close correlation between the production of these issues and Seleukid military spending. Other late Alexanders have similarly been

interpreted as “proxy coinages” – civic in appearance but minted on behalf of a higher authority.⁹² This raises the crucial question of agency – whether these emissions resulted from royal imposition, from collaborative arrangements between cities and rulers, or from civic initiative under royal patronage. In some cases, that authority may have been Seleukid; in others, it was likely a different royal power. Nonetheless, the possibility that, at least in some cases, these late-posthumous Alexanders were minted by the cities themselves for their own spending also needs to be taken into consideration.

A further complication to the royal-civic dichotomy in the monetary economy of the Seleukid empire also emerges when considering the Seleukid-looking coinages bearing civic mintmarks – such as the issues of Simyra and Karne (**Chapter 1**) and the ones produced for Antiochos II and Antiochos Hierax in Western Asia Minor (**Chapter 2**). These cases will require careful comparison not only with the “civic” Alexanders, but also with the “conventional” Seleukid issues, in order to assess the nature and extent of civic involvement in production.

However, the phenomenon of blurred monetary authority was by no means unique to the Seleukids. In fact, instances of “proxy-coinages” emerge in the Achaemenid period as early as the late 6th century BC, with electrum issues of Kyzikos and other neighbouring cities, also continuing later with other “apparently civic” coinages that were too large to be for internal expenditure only (see **Chapter 2**). Nonetheless, the problem of royal interference in the production of civic coinages themselves is one that also needs to be taken into consideration for the Hellenistic period. Beyond the “civic” Alexanders and Seleukid issues, patterns of increased minting by the cities during periods of Seleukid military activity – such as at Arados in the 2nd century BC (see **Chapter 1**) – also suggest a coordinated or responsive relationship between civic and royal spheres. The same could be said about the so-called “Wreathed Coinages” from post-Seleukid Asia Minor, whose volume and quantity far exceeded typical civic production (see **Chapter 2**).

Such instances of interference of royal authorities in the minting activity of the subject cities has led to new readings of Pseudo-Aristotle’s description of the ancient monetary economy in recent years. In fact, in his *Oikonomika*, which takes the Achaemenid empire as its point of reference, Pseudo-Aristotle

⁹² *E.g.*, Ellis-Evans 2021 and forthcoming (a).

makes no mention of coin production by satraps or cities. Yet, as Meadows has recently argued, this silence may reflect not the absence of such practices, but their execution on behalf of the king.⁹³ Certainly, gold and high-denominational silver civic issues are prime candidates for us for suspecting royal influence in the minting activity of a city. However, while Meadows' suggestion that the cities and satraps minted under royal delegation may indeed fit well with large-denominational civic issues; conversely, it may be harder to apply to lower-value silver or bronze coins.⁹⁴ Furthermore, alternative motivations – such as local state and/or military expenditure, long-distance payments, or bullion export – must also be considered even when studying the higher-value issues.

Overall, the interplay between “royal” and “civic” levels of coin-production in the Seleukid empire defies simple categorisation. Their coexistence and mutual contamination produced a wide array of outcomes shaped by multiple factors – the political relationship between kings and cities; the metal in question, whether silver or bronze; and broader structural characteristics of empire, including the rulers' varying approaches to governance. While some empires tended to favour one approach to the other, significant changes could and did occur under different rulers. Throughout this thesis, it will be argued that understanding Seleukid monetary policy requires attention to this spectrum of possibilities and to the fluid boundaries between civic autonomy and royal authority in the ancient economy.

The circulation and use of coins

The study of the ancient monetary economy cannot be limited to analysing what coins were produced and where. It must also integrate evidence that informs our understanding of how coins circulated and, to some extent, how they were used. The two primary types of such evidence – hoards and single coin-finds – reflect different aspects of coin use. Hoards typically represent aggregated value, often stored or hidden deliberately,⁹⁵ whereas single coin-finds are mostly low-value issues dropped or lost by users who never attempted to retrieve them, due to their lack of intrinsic worth.⁹⁶ Consequently, while single

⁹³ Meadows 2022: 17-23.

⁹⁴ As Meadows 2022: 24 also acknowledges.

⁹⁵ See Duyrat 2016: 294-99.

⁹⁶ Cf. the Parable of the Lost Coin (Luke 15: 8-9).

finds contribute to our understanding of coin use in local, everyday contexts, hoards may inform us about circulation patterns not only at the epichoric level, but also at the “royal” or interregional level. In working on the hoard evidence from Northern Syria, I have relied on the catalogue of hoards compiled by Duyrat in her book *Wealth and Warfare: The Archaeology of Money in Ancient Syria*.⁹⁷ For Asia Minor, instead, the hoard data studied in this thesis derives from my own compilation of entries listed in the *Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards (IGCH)* and the ten volumes of *Coin Hoards (CH)*. Given the regional emphasis of this thesis, it is important to clarify some of the methodological problems of using the hoard data.⁹⁸ Both *IGCH* and *CH* include hoards discovered under various circumstances – most frequently through accidental finds by private individuals, which often leads to dispersal through the antiquities market. Of the 209 hoards I have compiled for Western Asia Minor, 184 (nearly 90%) were discovered in this way, reaching museums, auction houses, or private collections via Greek and Turkish dealers. By contrast, only twenty-six hoards (12%) were recovered through archaeological excavation (**Table a**).

Because the majority of hoards entered the market through unofficial channels, information about the original findspot and composition depends entirely on the reliability of the dealers or the original finders. Hoards that entered the market this way are often received by museums and private collectors in incomplete form – in fact, we lack full or precise content information for over half the Western Asia Minor hoards (116 out of 209: 56%). Nonetheless, even in those cases, their known contents may be considered substantial enough to treat them as representative of the original hoard.

Conversely, as Christophe Flament has cautioned with market-sourced hoards, dealers may not only withhold high-quality specimens, but they may also “enrich” groups with unrelated coins. Moreover, Flament warns that, the more intermediaries involved, the harder it becomes to identify the exact find location; instead, hoards discovered during controlled excavations should be considered above suspicion.⁹⁹ Admittedly, as Duyrat observes, even this type of hoards may not be complete, since

⁹⁷ Duyrat 2016: Ch.1.

⁹⁸ See Duyrat’s discussion of these problems for the hoards of Syria and the Levant (Duyrat 2016: Ch.3).

⁹⁹ Flament 2005: 29-32.

valuable coins are sometimes removed by the workers themselves. Indeed, large hoards and hoards with gold coins almost always appear first on the antiquities market.¹⁰⁰

Another point to be wary of concerns the reliability of the *IGCH* and *CH* listings, which varies considerably. Mistakes in reported coin-types and quantities are not uncommon. As Duyrat has noted, the coins listed in a *Coin Hoards* entry may not always correspond precisely with those described in the related article published in the same volume.¹⁰¹ Comparison between such listings and the publications of the hoards in catalogues and articles – especially the ones featuring photographic documentation – can help correct such discrepancies. Thus, Duyrat’s catalogue of hoards from Syria and the Levant is based on a detailed re-examination of each hoard’s bibliography, which has allowed her to revise the types and quantities of coins listed whenever necessary. However, for Asia Minor I have chosen to retain the coin-types and quantities as recorded in *IGCH* and *CH*, only supplementing details from the *Seleucid Coins* hoard catalogues where appropriate.¹⁰² This was done to facilitate direct cross-referencing for the reader. Furthermore, relatively few hoards from Western Asia Minor have had their contents fully published in articles and catalogues – namely, only seventy-five out of 209 hoards (36%), to which we may add seventeen more, whose contents have only been published partially (8%). For the remaining 117 unpublished hoards (56%), some of their coins are identifiable in museum holdings or on the antiquities market. However, in many cases, their contents have been entirely dispersed and are known to us only through listings. This is true for thirty-nine of the 117 unpublished hoards (33%). As previously mentioned, such listings are particularly susceptible to error.

Overall, despite the negative outlook, the hoard data available from *IGCH*, *CH*, and *Seleucid Coins* is an invaluable resource for understanding patterns of coin-circulation and use. Nonetheless, these preliminary points have made it clear that the limitations of this evidence will necessarily entail some caution in the interpretation of coin-circulation patterns, especially when working at a regional level.

¹⁰⁰ Duyrat 2016: 288-89.

¹⁰¹ Duyrat 2016: 258.

¹⁰² Houghton & Lorber 2002; Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008.

| | Troas | Mysia | Aiolis | Lydia |
|---------------------|--|---|---|---|
| Published | <u>CH 8.341</u> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>CH 9.371</u> • <u>CH 1.22 = CH 3.15</u> • <u>IGCH 1201 = CH 9.388</u> • <u>IGCH 1296</u> • <u>IGCH 1302</u> • <u>IGCH 1303</u> • <u>CH 9.502</u> • <u>IGCH 1348</u> • <u>IGCH 1327</u> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>IGCH 1315 = CH 4.47</u> • <u>IGCH 1347</u> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>IGCH 1178 = CH 2.11</u> • <u>CH 9.472</u> • <u>IGCH 1293</u> • <u>IGCH 1299 = CH 9.499</u> • <u>IGCH 1300 = CH 9.500</u> |
| Partially published | <u>IGCH 1220</u> | | <u>IGCH 1187</u> | <u>IGCH 1318</u> |
| Not published | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>IGCH 1188</u> • <u>IGCH 1228</u> • <u>IGCH 1229</u> • <u>CH 3.18</u> • <u>IGCH 1212</u> • <u>IGCH 1301</u> • <u>IGCH 1316</u> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>IGCH 1230</u> • <u>CH 3.19</u> • <u>IGCH 1349</u> • <u>IGCH 1326</u> • <u>IGCH 1336</u> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>CH 3.5</u> • <u>IGCH 1192</u> • <u>IGCH 1227</u> • <u>IGCH 1295</u> • <u>IGCH 1297</u> • <u>IGCH 1346</u> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>CH 10.208</u> • <u>IGCH 1226</u> • <u>CH 8.58 = CH 10.225</u> • <u>CH 8.130</u> |

| | Ionia | Karia | Uncertain Western |
|----------------------------|---|--|--|
| Published | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CH 8.22 • IGCH 1166 = CH 9.344 • IGCH 1179 = CH 7.20 • IGCH 1194 • IGCH 1224 • IGCH 1197 = CH 9.380 • CH 8.79 • IGCH 1210 = CH 10.231 • IGCH 1211 = CH 9.424 • IGCH 1217 • IGCH 1282 • CH 8.249 = CH 10.249 • CH 10.254 • CH 8.225 • CH 8.295 = CH 9.479 • IGCH 1305 • CH 10.270 • IGCH 1304 • IGCH 1313 = CH 8.342 • IGCH 1314 • CH 9.504 • IGCH 1337 • IGCH 1323 • IGCH 1329 • IGCH 1330 • IGCH 1331 • IGCH 1332 • IGCH 1333 • IGCH 1334 • CH 9.535 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IGCH 1180 • CH 5.17 = CH 8.96 = CH 9.387 = CH 10.229 • IGCH 1209 = CH 1.29 • CH 9.421 = CH 10.241 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IGCH 1288 • IGCH 1294 • CH 8.239 • IGCH 1292 = CH 9.475 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IGCH 1309 • IGCH 1310 • CH 2.68 = CH 8.287 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CH 10.267 • IGCH 1311 = CH 10.276 • IGCH 1341 = CH 10.290 • IGCH 1342 = CH 2.84 = CH 10.291 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CH 8.444 • CH 4.57 = CH 9.516 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IGCH 1324 • IGCH 1335 = CH 9.515 = CH 10.305 • IGCH 1357 = CH 9.538 = CH 10.324 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CH 9.537 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IGCH 1165 = CH 5.1 • CH 8.36 • CH 9.352 = CH 10.211 • CH 10.238 • IGCH 1298 • CH 8.474 = CH 9.543 • CH 10.320 |
| Partially published | <p>IGCH 1225 = CH 10.223</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IGCH 1312 • CH 8.347 • CH 8.348 • IGCH 1320 • IGCH 1317 • IGCH 1344 = CH 10.282 • CH 8.427 = CH 9.509 • IGCH 1328 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IGCH 1168 • CH 10.213 • CH 10.217 • IGCH 1281 • CH 8.317 |

| | | | |
|---------------|--|--|---|
| Not published | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IGCH 1195 • IGCH 1221 = CH 8.30 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>CH 7.14</u> • <u>IGCH 1184 = CH 7.21 =</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <u>CH 8.49</u> • CH 8.50 • IGCH 1191 • <u>CH 8.47 = CH 9.358</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CH 8.68 • IGCH 1198 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>CH 8.72</u> • <u>CH 1.23</u> • <u>CH 9.376</u> • CH 10.230 • IGCH 1208 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>CH 1.28</u> • <u>CH 8.111</u> • CH 8.112 • <u>IGCH 1213</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CH 7.48 • <u>CH 1.54</u> • <u>CH 1.53</u> • CH 9.473 • <u>IGCH 1306</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>CH 1.66</u> • <u>CH 7.89</u> • CH 6.32 = CH 7.82 = <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <u>CH 8.340</u> • <u>CH 3.48</u> • CH 5.38 • CH 9.375 • CH 5.41 • IGCH 1338 • <u>IGCH 1339</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>CH 2.94</u> • <u>IGCH 1350 = CH 3.69 =</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <u>CH 4.67</u> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IGCH 1222 • IGCH 1181 • IGCH 1186 • IGCH 1193 • <u>IGCH 1200</u> • IGCH 1202 • IGCH 1203 • IGCH 1205 • IGCH 1206 • IGCH 1214 • <u>IGCH 1215 = CH 9.423 =</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <u>CH 10.240</u> • <u>IGCH 1216</u> • IGCH 1218 • IGCH 1219 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CH 10.255 • IGCH 1291 • IGCH 1283 • <u>IGCH 1284</u> • IGCH 1285 • IGCH 1286 • IGCH 1289 • IGCH 1290 • IGCH 1287 = CH 2.59 • <u>IGCH 1345 = CH 8.247</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IGCH 1307 • <u>CH 8.294</u> • <u>CH 4.48</u> • <u>CH 3.50</u> • <u>CH 8.346</u> • IGCH 1319 • <u>IGCH 1308 = CH 10.280</u> • IGCH 1343 = CH 7.95 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>CH 8.416</u> • IGCH 1321 • <u>CH 10.302</u> • <u>CH 7.106</u> • CH 10.299 • <u>IGCH 1325</u> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CH 10.207 • <u>IGCH 1196</u> • <u>IGCH 1223</u> • <u>IGCH 1175</u> • IGCH 1182 • <u>IGCH 1189</u> • <u>IGCH 1190</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CH 1.20 • CH 4.17 • CH 10.227 • <u>IGCH 1231 = CH 8.82</u> • IGCH 1232 • <u>IGCH 1233</u> • <u>CH 3.14</u> • CH 9.370 • <u>IGCH 1199</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CH 8.71 • IGCH 1204 • <u>IGCH 1207</u> • CH 10.239 • CH 1.31 • CH 4.25 • <u>IGCH 1370</u> |
|---------------|--|--|---|

Table a: List of hoards from Western Asia Minor consulted from *IGCH* and *CH*. Legend: Hoards highlighted in yellow = found in excavations. Bold characters = dispersed hoards. Underlined = incomplete listing of contents.

Single coin-finds from excavations

The handling of the single find data presents challenges distinct from those associated with hoards. In fact, while consolidated corpora such as *IGCH* or *CH* exist for the latter, there is currently no equivalent resource for single coin-finds. Thus, researchers must consult individual articles and excavation reports to gather and assess single-find evidence from the various sites of interest. This work was already done

by Duyrat for Northern Syria – in fact, the single find data studied for this region in this thesis derives from her catalogue of excavation sites (with relevant single coin-finds).¹⁰³ For Western Asia Minor, the *CHANGE* Project has recently begun to address the lack of corpora of excavation sites and relevant single finds from this region.¹⁰⁴ However, the catalogue included in the **Appendix** was compiled before the publication of this website, and its realisation was instead possible thanks to the bibliography compiled by Zeynep Çizmeli Ögün in 2017.¹⁰⁵

The catalogue in the **Appendix** does not intend to provide an exhaustive list of all the excavations and all the single coin-finds discovered in Western Asia Minor. Nor is such an endeavour currently possible. In fact, it is not unusual for catalogues of single coin-finds to only cover some excavation seasons at a site, leaving other years “uncovered”. Such is the case, for instance, of the sanctuary of Klaros, for which we lack information on the coins found in the 1950s and early 1900s excavations.¹⁰⁶ Other times, the coins that are presented in a catalogue are the ones that reached the museum holdings, but they may not constitute the whole sample size. For instance, for Kolophon, out of a reported total of around 350 specimens, Philip Kinns provides a catalogue of the 136 coins he found on the trays in Istanbul Museum.¹⁰⁷ For Assos, 408 coins were reportedly found in 1881-1883; however, only 270 of them were turned over to H. W. Bell for publication.¹⁰⁸

The physical condition of the coins themselves presents another significant hurdle. Most single finds are bronze issues, which are often badly corroded or incrustated with soil when retrieved.¹⁰⁹ Many are in such poor conditions that identification is impossible. Even when their types and legends are legible enough, their identification is not straightforward, due to the absence of adequate or up-to-date reference books, articles, and catalogues. In fact, many of the coin identifications we find in the publications of single coin-finds are obsolete. However, they cannot be corrected or updated if photographic references

¹⁰³ Duyrat 2016: Ch.2.

¹⁰⁴ *CHANGE* Project Site Finds Database: <https://change.csad.ox.ac.uk/sitefinds/index.html>.

¹⁰⁵ Çizmeli Ögün 2017.

¹⁰⁶ Delrieux 2014: 136.

¹⁰⁷ Kinns 1980: 602.

¹⁰⁸ Bell 1921: 297.

¹⁰⁹ The steps they need to go through before their publication are several — they are usefully described in detail by Ann Johnston and T. V. Buttrey in the introductory pages to the catalogue of the coin-finds from the 1958-1972 seasons at Sardis (Buttrey *et al.* 1981: xiv-xvii).

are missing or are only partial. Attributions of Seleukid coins to rulers and mints often suffer from the same problem. Whenever Newell's work is referenced,¹¹⁰ however, it is nonetheless possible to update them by simply following the more recent information in *Seleucid Coins*. Instead, for publications that preceded Newell, such as Bell's catalogue of the finds from Sardis,¹¹¹ similar reattributions are unfortunately much harder to achieve.

Once the coin has been cleaned and identified, there are several possibilities for publishing it. Sometimes, the single coin-finds are presented in summaries in preliminary articles; other times they appear in tables that do not specify the types and dates for each entry. For instance, Çizmeli Ögün presented the single coin-finds from the sanctuary of Smintheion in Troas in two preliminary articles first,¹¹² and then in a book chapter that included a table listing only the Greek and Roman Provincial coins.¹¹³ The items in that list were organised chronologically in macro-periods, simply depending on whether they were minted before or after the foundation of Alexandria Troas in 310 BC.¹¹⁴

Proper catalogues, instead, offer more granular information on the single coin-finds. They often include detailed descriptions of each entry, specifying the metal, obverse and reverse types, legend(s), weight, diameter, suggested dates, and minting authority. Admittedly, the use of such catalogues is not always straightforward for the readers. Firstly, the information they contain may sometimes be difficult to use together with other publications concerning the same site, but which are of a different nature, like a preliminary article. This is the case of Aphrodisias in Karia, for which we possess a catalogue of the single finds from the 1961-1973 excavation campaigns.¹¹⁵ In 2019, instead, Ahmet Tolga Tek only provided the preliminary results of the 1998-2019 seasons, thus without offering any catalogue of the coins.¹¹⁶

Secondly, even the catalogues themselves may pose some difficulties for the reader. This is especially true for the older publications, which adopt organisational criteria of the material that are tedious to

¹¹⁰ Newell 1941.

¹¹¹ Bell 1916.

¹¹² Çizmeli Ögün 2004, 2005.

¹¹³ Çizmeli Ögün 2015.

¹¹⁴ Çizmeli Ögün 2015: 100, Table 1.

¹¹⁵ MacDonald 1976.

¹¹⁶ Tek 2019.

navigate through and that are ripe for potential mistakes.¹¹⁷ The most widely adopted method for presenting the single find material is what we could term “chronological-geographic”. For each time-period (either “Greek”, “Roman”, “Byzantine”, or sometimes also “Islamic”), the single coin-finds are listed in geographic order, according to their region and city of origin. In this arrangement, the Seleukid coins are presented as from “Syria”, even when they include issues from Western Asia Minor or from other regions of the Seleukid empire.¹¹⁸ Then, under each heading, the single finds are presented according to their estimated minting dates. We find examples of this method of cataloguing already in the early 1900s, with the publication of the single finds from Sardis and Assos by H. W. Bell;¹¹⁹ and as recently as 2016/2017 for Iasos and the Theatre of Ephesos.¹²⁰

The problem with this method of publishing the single coin-finds stems from the inclusion of the Roman Provincial coins within the “Greek” chronological umbrella. In fact, this results in the creation of lists of single coin-finds that alternate issues from (usually) as early as the 4th/3rd century BC with coins from as late as the 2nd-3rd century AD. Therefore, it becomes laborious to extrapolate only the Classical and Hellenistic data from this type of catalogues. The difficulty becomes even more glaring for Ephesos, for which we have multiple publications (see **Appendix**). While the single finds from the theatre are presented in a “chronological-geographic” order, the catalogues concerning the other areas of Ephesos, curated by Stefan Karwiese, arrange the entries by findspot and excavated layer. As a result, we see lists of issues from the Classical and Hellenistic periods mixed with Roman Provincial, Imperial, Byzantine, and even Ottoman coins. Furthermore, to make things even more complicated for the reader, whenever precise dates are provided, no “v. Chr.” nor “n. Chr.” is added.

Overall, catalogues of single coin-finds require the readers to do some intense mental gymnastics when trying to calculate the number of the Classical and Hellenistic coin-finds at a site, separately from the Roman Provincial or even later issues. A recent, positive change has come from Jane De Rose Evans’ book on the 1973-2013 excavations of Harvard University at Sardis.¹²¹ In the catalogue of the single

¹¹⁷ *E.g.*, Regling 1927 for Priene.

¹¹⁸ *E.g.*, Buttrely *et al.* 1981: cat. nos. 360-365 (Sardis under Antiochos II).

¹¹⁹ Bell 1916, 1921.

¹²⁰ Iasos: Delrieux 2016. Theatre of Ephesos: Schachinger 2017.

¹²¹ Evans 2018.

coin-finds, the author adopts the “chronological-geographic” method, but she clearly distinguishes between the Lydian royal coinages¹²² and the Hellenistic issues on the one hand,¹²³ and the Roman Provincial coins on the other.¹²⁴ Such a clear separation of the coins undoubtedly increases the legibility of the data. It is to be hoped that this method will be adopted for future publications of the single coin-finds from excavations.

Overall, attempting to juggle with information from several types of publications and lists constitutes the primary challenge in creating catalogues of single coin-finds. Nonetheless, it is not the only methodological problem one encounters. In fact, single coin-finds are not discovered in the same types of places and circumstances, but each site and each excavation present different characteristics and histories. Knowledge of the context of discovery of the coins greatly increases our understanding of the economic and social life of a site. In fact, it is not unusual for bronze coins to be found with issues or pottery from much later periods. However, it is important to know whether the mixing occurred in a primary deposit, or in a secondary (or tertiary) one.¹²⁵ The former tells us what coins were in circulation at the time of the formation of the stratum. However, Classical and Hellenistic primary deposits are rare, particularly so in sites with a long history of occupation – both in large urban sites like Sardis¹²⁶ and Ephesos,¹²⁷ and in smaller ones like Nysa¹²⁸ and Allianoi, a prominent healing centre in the Roman Imperial period.¹²⁹ Admittedly, the history of the excavations at a site may also strongly impact the outlook of the single find evidence. In fact, for Klaros, the archaeologists focused especially on the

¹²² Evans 2018: cat. nos. 1.1-6.1.

¹²³ Evans 2018: cat. nos. 7.1-94.86.

¹²⁴ Evans 2018: cat. nos. 96.1-230.118.

¹²⁵ Evans 2018: 50.

¹²⁶ The 1910-1914, 1958-1972, and 1973-2013 expeditions combined have retrieved a total of 1,388 Greek coins, against 19,013 Roman issues, ranging from the Provincial and Early Imperial periods to the Late Imperial one.

¹²⁷ The Classical and Hellenistic single coin-finds from the Theatre, for instance, constitute a small percentage of the whole data (only 7% of 283 coins (Schachinger 2014: 526 Graph 1), or only 8% of 260 single coin-finds (Schachinger 2017: 230, Grafik 17), despite the Theatre having been erected in Hellenistic times.

¹²⁸ Only three Hellenistic coins in total were found, due to the existing remains of the city dating to the Roman Imperial period and later and to the concentration of the works exclusively on the layers from those periods (Özbil 2011: 430).

¹²⁹ Four excavation campaigns at Allianoi, from 1998 to 2001, have only yielded seven (Tekin & Erol-Özdizbay 2012: cat. nos. 1-7.), four (Tekin & Erol-Özdizbay 2013: cat. nos. 1-4.), eight (Tekin & Erol-Özdizbay 2014: cat. nos. 1-8.), and twenty-three Classical and Hellenistic coins (Tekin & Erol-Özdizbay 2016: cat. nos. 1-23.), respectively, out of a total of 7,000 coins.

Hellenistic and earlier strata, which resulted in a higher number of Hellenistic single coin-finds than Roman ones.¹³⁰

Finally, knowledge of the archaeological contexts of the single coin-finds also helps us separate the excavated coins from the stray-finds. The latter are usually discovered and sold by the locals to the archaeologists, and, as a result, reliability of the information on their provenance is often questionable. After this long premise on the importance and usefulness of archaeological information for our understanding of the single find data, the reader may feel disappointed to learn that, unfortunately, it is often lacking from coin reports and catalogues. This concerns, for instance, the reports on the single coin-finds from Assos (partly),¹³¹ Kyzikos,¹³² Daskyleion,¹³³ Mamurt Kale,¹³⁴ Kyme,¹³⁵ Kolophon,¹³⁶ Didyma,¹³⁷ Bargylia.¹³⁸ In several other publications, instead, we do learn where the coins were found precisely – for example, for Sardis,¹³⁹ Klaros,¹⁴⁰ Klazomenai,¹⁴¹ Ephesos,¹⁴² Priene,¹⁴³ Kaunos.¹⁴⁴ Admittedly, sometimes the indications of the findspots may be difficult to decipher (or may be altogether useless) for the “lay” reader when they are provided in the form of archaeological inventory numbers, as in Çizmeli Ögün’s report on the coins from Klaros.¹⁴⁵ Other times, information on the context of discovery may be offered only summarily – like for Iasos, with Delrieux simply indicating whether a foreign single find was discovered at Iasos or in its immediate vicinity at the sanctuary of Çanacık Tepe;¹⁴⁶ or like for Aphrodisias, with David MacDonald simply indicating whether a coin was

¹³⁰ Çizmeli Ögün 2011: 322.

¹³¹ Bell 1921; Lenger 2016a.

¹³² Köker 2003.

¹³³ Köker 2016.

¹³⁴ Regling 1911.

¹³⁵ Ünal 2009.

¹³⁶ Kinns 1980: 602-18.

¹³⁷ Baldus 2006.

¹³⁸ Delrieux 2010.

¹³⁹ Bell 1916; Buttrey et al. 1981; Evans 2018.

¹⁴⁰ Çizmeli Ögün 2007a; Delrieux 2014.

¹⁴¹ Moussaka & Tselekas 2004.

¹⁴² Vettors 1979: 131-32; Vettors 1980: 261-66; Vettors 1981: 154-68; Vettors 1982: 86-101; Karwiese 1983: 123-69; Karwiese 1986: 110-62; Karwiese 1987: 110-55; Karwiese 1988: 105-26; Karwiese 2003; Lang-Auinger 2003; Karwiese 2007; Schachinger 2014, 2017.

¹⁴³ Regling 1927.

¹⁴⁴ Çizmeli Ögün 2007b.

¹⁴⁵ *E.g.*, Çizmeli Ögün 2007a: cat. no. 1 = KL 97 S 4G 6.

¹⁴⁶ Delrieux 2016. Instead, in his catalogue of the Iasian single coin-finds at Iasos, Delrieux provides more precise indications of the place of discovery of the coins (Delrieux 2019b).

excavated or a stray-find.¹⁴⁷ In fact, stray-finds are normally included in the catalogues of the single coin-finds.¹⁴⁸ Even the more archaeologically minded authors, like Evans or Schachinger, include them in their catalogues, alongside the excavated issues.¹⁴⁹ This could still be acceptable, if information on discovery of each entry is provided in the catalogue. However, when archaeological information is incomplete or lacking, like for Kyzikos,¹⁵⁰ then it becomes impossible to distinguish the stray-finds from the excavated ones. Interestingly, Hans Voegtli's publication of the single coin-finds from Pergamon represents a noticeable exception to this practice, for it lists the stray-finds separately from the main body of evidence.¹⁵¹

Even when the context of discovery of the single finds is provided, however, the catalogues are normally devoid of any additional information on the excavated trenches and deposits. This certainly stems from the fact that such a topic is traditionally of greater interest to archaeologists than to numismatists.¹⁵² Instead, the authors of the catalogues of single coin-finds are often museum-numismatists, who, in most cases, did not take active part in the excavation works, but only analysed the coins as preserved in museum holdings – like for Ilion (partly),¹⁵³ Kolophon,¹⁵⁴ Klaros,¹⁵⁵ and Priene,¹⁵⁶ among others. The ones who do provide important and detailed descriptions of the contexts of discovery of the coins are either archaeologists – George Hanfmann and Barbara Burrell for Sardis;¹⁵⁷ Andrea Berlin for a votive deposit at Ilion;¹⁵⁸ and Armando Taliano Grasso on the votive deposits in the sanctuary of the *kourotrophos* at Kyme –¹⁵⁹ or archaeologists-numismatists – namely, Jane De Rose Evans for Sardis¹⁶⁰ and Ursula Schachinger for the theatre of Ephesos.¹⁶¹

¹⁴⁷ MacDonald 1976.

¹⁴⁸ MacDonald 1976: 2. However, see Tek's well-founded scepticism regarding the inclusion of stray finds in a catalogue of excavated coins (Tek 2019: 158 and n.7).

¹⁴⁹ E.g., Evans 2018: cat. nos. 6.1, 8.1-8.2. Schachinger 2017: cat. nos. 16-17.

¹⁵⁰ Köker 2003: 385-86.

¹⁵¹ Voegtli *et al.* 1993: *Streufunde*.

¹⁵² Evans 2018: 49.

¹⁵³ Bellinger 1961: ix.

¹⁵⁴ Kinns 1980: 602.

¹⁵⁵ Çizmeli Ögün 2007a: 214-15.

¹⁵⁶ Regling 1927: v.

¹⁵⁷ Buttrey *et al.* 1981: xx-xxiv.

¹⁵⁸ Berlin 2002.

¹⁵⁹ Grasso 2008.

¹⁶⁰ Evans 2018: 49-96.

¹⁶¹ Schachinger 2017: 257-75.

Admittedly, responsibility for the lack of archaeological information in the reports or catalogues may not always fall on the museum-numismatists' indifference to this topic. In fact, there are instances, like for Assos (partly),¹⁶² Kyzikos,¹⁶³ Daskyleion,¹⁶⁴ and Kyme,¹⁶⁵ where the archaeologists who excavated the sites themselves did not provide any information on the findspots or on the excavated trenches.

Overall, despite the heterogeneity of publication formats, the inconsistencies in cataloguing methods, the frequent absence of archaeological context, and the inevitable biases introduced by site histories and excavation practices, the creation of tables such as the ones offered in the **Appendix** risks flattening all the differences not only between sites and between excavations, but also between publications – which we have seen are of several types and are uneven in the amount and quality of information they provide on the archaeology of the single coin-finds from a site. While it risks flattening the differences between sites and between excavations, nonetheless, the tables in the **Appendix** are the best (and perhaps only) way to consolidate all of this heterogenous material into a picture “coherent” enough to allow us to carry a comparative study of the ancient monetary economy.

Structure of the thesis

The thesis is divided in three chapters. **Chapter 1** analyses the numismatic evidence from Northern Syria, from the 5th century BC to Tryphon's reign (c.140 BC), which I have deemed a good end point, since Seleukid authority collapsed completely afterwards. Through the comparison with the Achaemenid and early Hellenistic periods, the aim of **Chapter 1** is to formulate a Seleukid model of monetary economy for Northern Syria, a region where the state was at its “strongest”. However, it will become clear that it is possible to argue that several models of the Seleukid monetary economy existed in Northern Syria, depending on the coin-types or even on the individual reigns under consideration. The results of **Chapter 1** will be compared with the data from Western Asia Minor in **Chapter 2** and **3**. Contrary to Northern Syria, Asia Minor was a territory where royal authority over the subordinate

¹⁶² Bell 1921: 297.

¹⁶³ Köker 2003: 385.

¹⁶⁴ Köker 2016: 431.

¹⁶⁵ Ünal 2009: 407.

cities and dynasts had often to be negotiated. Nonetheless, royal interference – or lack of it – in the minting activity of the cities of Western Asia Minor, and the impact of the royal troops on the patterns of coin circulation, represent important pieces of material evidence that will help shed light on the realities of Seleukid imperialism, beyond the rhetoric of the language of royal euergetism. An important part in this will be played by the comparison not only with the Achaemenid period, but also with Attalid Asia Minor – in fact, though a *longue-durée* approach, Seleukid change will be tested against the backdrop of long and deep tradition of coin-production and use. The amount of material collected for Asia Minor, however, has prompted me to structure the analysis on this region in two chapters. **Chapter 2** is dedicated to gold and silver coin-production and the hoard data of Western Asia Minor. **Chapter 3**, instead, analyses the evidence on bronze coin-production in Western Asia Minor and the single find data from the archaeological excavations that I have collected and organised in the **Appendix**.

Chapter 1

Syria from the Achaemenids to the Seleukids (5th century BC – c.140 BC)

Achaemenid Northern Syria was almost completely devoid of settlements of any significance, except perhaps for the coastal trading centres – which nonetheless, according to our knowledge, did not acquire a prominent political status in the 5th and 4th centuries BC.¹⁶⁶ The lack of a substantial urbanisation of the region and the preference for an economic organisation structured around large estates likely contributed to the limited development of the production and use of coined money in Achaemenid Northern Syria. In fact, a real change occurred only in c.300 BC with the installation of the so-called “Seleukid core” – namely, the Tetrapolis of Seleukeia-in-Pieria, Antioch-on-the-Orontes, Apameia-on-the-Orontes, and Laodikeia-by-the-Sea, which all produced coins for the Seleukid kings. The hierarchical relationship between these four cities changed over time, as the Seleukids moved towards a centralisation of coin-production especially in the 2nd century BC.

The present chapter aims to analyse the monetary history of Northern Syria from the 5th to the 2nd century BC. As the region studied here is defined by the political borders of the Hellenistic period, Aradian issues will be treated as “regional” Syrian products, although, for the Achaemenid period, they will be considered within the wider context of Phoenician minting. In each section dedicated to a specific period, the study of coin-production will be integrated with the analysis of the hoard evidence and of the single coin-finds from archaeological excavations as collected and catalogued by Frédérique Duyrat in her book on money in Hellenistic Syria and the Levant.¹⁶⁷ However, the present chapter will exclude the finds from Kommagene due to its uncertain political status in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC,¹⁶⁸ as well as the hoards from unknown locations in modern-day Syria, whose borders extend far beyond the limits of its Hellenistic namesake. Barring all the methodological limits of hoards and single coin-finds as indicators of monetary practices in a certain region, this approach will allow us to trace continuities and changes in the use of money in Northern Syria over three centuries. Compared to

¹⁶⁶ Duyrat 2005: 206-8.

¹⁶⁷ Duyrat 2016.

¹⁶⁸ See Cohen 2006: 31.

Duyrat's book, however, the present chapter will lay particular focus on the power relationship between kings, governors, and the local political actors, and how this was reflected in the production and circulation of coinage in Northern Syria. It will then be evident how much and in what ways the Seleukids innovated from their predecessors, and whether we can talk of a Seleukid model or models for this region before we can compare it – or them – to Western Asia Minor in the next two chapters.

Section 1.1. The Achaemenid period

1.1.1. Coin-production

1.1.1.1. Silver coinages

For the Achaemenid period, the bulk of coin-production came from the Phoenician cities of Arados, Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre. Despite the scantiness of the written sources, we know that the Phoenician cities were each governed by a king,¹⁶⁹ who was in turn a vassal of the Persian King, paying him tribute and providing ships for the Achaemenid fleet. As a people renowned for their trading activities, the Phoenicians must have been familiar with coins as a form of payment.¹⁷⁰ Nonetheless, minting activity in the Levant began relatively late. Byblos was the first minter, followed by Sidon, Tyre, and Arados, with proposed starting dates ranging from the early to mid-5th century BC.¹⁷¹ Josette and Alain Elayi have unconvincingly adduced historical and economic motivations for the start of Phoenician coin-production,¹⁷² while, in recent years, the works of Duyrat and de Callataÿ have pushed for a military explanation.¹⁷³ Indeed, a large share of Phoenician coin-production was likely connected to the

¹⁶⁹ See Apicella & Briquel-Chatonnet 2015 for a discussion of the available evidence regarding the existence of people's assemblies and of magistrates in Achaemenid Phoenicia.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Elayi 2014: 97-8, 133.

¹⁷¹ Elayi 1992: Byblos (460 BC), Tyre (c.450 BC), Sidon (c.445 BC), Arados (c.425 BC). Sawaya *et al.* 2019: start in early 5th century BC. For a useful summary of the dating proposals, see Sawaya *et al.* 2019: 368-70.

¹⁷² For Elayi & Elayi 2009: 184-95, Byblos was the first minter due to its lack of military obligations towards the Achaemenids. Furthermore, the city experienced an economic renaissance in the 5th century BC, proved, in the Elayis' eyes, by the higher concentration of hoards at Byblos than elsewhere (Elayi & Elayi 2009: 207-8). On the contrary, the repeated defeats suffered by Arados, Sidon, and Tyre against the Greeks in the Persian campaigns would have tarnished the Phoenicians' image and ruined their relationship with their Persian overlords. As a result, they would have begun minting to express a greater autonomy from the Achaemenid king (Elayi & Elayi 2009: 334; 335: "As we have shown, their political function is almost certain."). Admittedly, there is no evidence of a greater need for autonomy from the Phoenician cities until much later, when they rebelled against the Achaemenids in the mid-4th century BC.

¹⁷³ Duyrat 2014: 567 (on Tyre); de Callataÿ 2017.

maintenance of the ships and of the training of its personnel. Arados, Sidon, and Tyre are known to have been involved with the Achaemenid fleet in the wars against Greece,¹⁷⁴ at the battle of the Eurymedon in 466 BC,¹⁷⁵ then in Egypt in 460-454 BC,¹⁷⁶ and at Cypriote Salamis in 450 BC.¹⁷⁷ Such an early involvement in the Achaemenid military campaigns could imply an earlier start of Levantine coin-production than the 460s BC, as some have already suggested.¹⁷⁸ If we nonetheless accept a beginning around the mid-5th century BC, it is easy to link Phoenician minting to Athenian activity in the eastern Mediterranean in the same period, for instance to Kimon's attack on Cypriote Kition in 454 BC.¹⁷⁹

A common trait to the Achaemenid-era Phoenician coinages is the apparent lack of coordination between the cities in their minting activity. For instance, in the 5th century BC, Arados, Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre initially adhered to a common weight-standard, striking a shekel at c.14g.¹⁸⁰ However, in the 4th century BC, the Phoenician coinages adopted different, lowered, weight-standards – thus, Byblos struck shekels at 13.18g starting from king 'Ozba'al's reign (c.400-370 BC); Sidon lowered the weight of its shekel by c.1.20g from c.365 BC under 'Abd'aštart I; from c.357 BC Tyre issued its shekels at c.8.60g, the equivalent of an Attic didrachm.¹⁸¹ Another common phenomenon of all Phoenician coinages was a shift from iconographic "exuberance" in the 5th century BC to the use of fixed types in the 4th century BC.¹⁸² The images displayed on these coins reflected traditions peculiar to each city,

¹⁷⁴ Hdt. 7.96, 98; Diod. 11.19.

¹⁷⁵ Thuc. 1.100.1.

¹⁷⁶ Thuc. 1.104, 109-110; Diod. Sic. 11.71.3-6, 75, 77.

¹⁷⁷ Thuc. 1.112.4. On this occasion, the Phoenicians lost 100 ships (Diod. Sic. 12.3.3).

¹⁷⁸ Sawaya *et al.* 2019.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. de Callatay 2017: 26 and n.9. However, referring to the repair and maintenance of the damaged Phoenician fleet after the battles of the 5th century BC, Elayi 2009: 139-40 admits that: "Ces lourdes dépenses pourraient suffire à expliquer l'apparition des monnayages de Sidon, de Tyr et d'Arwad, pour essayer de tirer un profit fiscal de la différence entre la valeur de l'argent brut et le cours légal des monnaies." At 140 n.112, however, she states that: "La frappe monétaire n'était cependant pas toujours liée à la guerre, comme le montre l'exemple de Polycrate de Samos qui entretenait une flotte puissante et frappait peu de monnaies."

¹⁸⁰ Exceptional is the first series of Byblian issues, probably struck on the Lykian standard (Elayi & Elayi 2014: 77-82).

¹⁸¹ Elayi & Elayi 2014: Group IV.2-4 (Byblos); Elayi & Elayi 2004a: Group IV.2-5 (Sidon); Elayi & Elayi 2009: Group II.2 (Tyre).

¹⁸² For instance, the 5th-century Aradian coins (Elayi & Elayi 2015: Pl. xiii c1-12) show a fish-tailed god or a head of a bearded deity for the obverse; for the reverse, a galley, a hippocamp under a galley, a prow of a galley and dolphin, or a tortoise. In the 4th century BC, instead, Aradian iconography became limited to the head of a bearded deity on obverse, and galley on reverse (Elayi & Elayi 2015: Pl. xiv c13-24, Pl. xv c25-28). Byblian coins displayed galley over a hippocamp and a seashell/lion attacking a bull; Sidon employed galley/male figure on a

although there were some common types, such as the hippocamp, the galley, or the dolphin. Inscriptions, instead, did not appear on these coins systematically, and their meaning is very often unclear. We can recognise royal names on the coins of Byblos and Sidon from c.400 BC onwards, starting with ‘Elpa’al for Byblos,¹⁸³ and Ba’alšillem II for Sidon.¹⁸⁴ For Arados, instead, we can only identify its last pre-Alexandrine king, Gerostratos, who signed his issues with his initial *G*, preceded by the letters *M*’ (“king of Arwad”) and followed by a number from one to seven.¹⁸⁵ The digit indicated the regnal year of the Aradian king – a custom that Sidon had already introduced under Ba’alšillem II, and that Tyre had adopted around the mid-4th century BC,¹⁸⁶ but which Byblos did not follow.

In the second half of the 4th century BC, other issues of civic and satrapal/dynastic nature emerged in parallel with the Phoenician coinages. A small series was produced at Posideion – identified as Ras el-Bassit in Northern Syria – with the same seated Baal as on Mazaios’ coinage at Tarsos.¹⁸⁷ Interestingly, however, the issues bore the legend ΠΟΣΙΔΕ. In a part of the Mediterranean where we only see coin legends in either Aramaic or Phoenician, a Greek inscription on a Syrian coinage was exceptional at this stage. Not only did it clearly indicate Greek presence on the Northern Syrian coast in this period, but also that the settlement of Posideion at Ras el-Bassit had apparently risen to *polis*-status if it was minting coins in its own name.

Contrary to Western Asia Minor, no Achaemenid royal mint was opened in the Levant. The only clear instance of Persian intervention in local coin-production occurred at Sidon with Mazaios’ coinage in the second half of the 4th century BC. After Sidon’s revolt against the Achaemenids and its repression in c.360 BC,¹⁸⁸ Mazaios became governor of Kilikia and Transeuphratene,¹⁸⁹ establishing his provincial seat at Sidon. This city produced issues in the governor’s name with the same types, weight-standard,

chariot or male figure fighting a lion or archer kneeling; finally, Tyre used bearded deity riding a hippocamp above a wave and a dolphin or hippocamp above a line of waves/owl, sceptre, and flail on the shoulder.

¹⁸³ Elayi & Elayi 2014: Series IV.1.1-4.

¹⁸⁴ Elayi & Elayi 2004a: Series IV.1.1.1-4.

¹⁸⁵ Elayi & Elayi 2015: Pl. xv c26-27.

¹⁸⁶ Elayi & Elayi 2009: Series II.1.2.

¹⁸⁷ Le Rider 1986a.

¹⁸⁸ Elayi & Elayi 2004: 658-60.

¹⁸⁹ A group of his Tarsian issues displays the Aramaic legend *MZDYZY ‘L ‘BRNHR’ WHLK* (“Mazaios who is in charge of Transeuphratene and Kilikia”: Mildenberg 1990-91: pl.2.7; Lemaire 2000: 134-35; Briant 2000: 268-69).

and denominations as its traditional coinage. On Mazaios' issues, however, the dates probably indicated his regnal years as provincial governor –¹⁹⁰ thus, we learn that his coinage lasted for twenty-one years, from 353 to 333 BC.¹⁹¹ Mazaios also introduced important innovations, such as the use of an Aramaic legend and the employment of non-Sidonian engravers.¹⁹² Despite the rebellion, Sidon's kings were left in power, and they also continued minting coins in their name, with some overlap with Mazaios' issues. A "dynastic mint" – that is, a workshop producing coins in the name of a local powerholder – emerged in the mid-4th century BC at Manbog (Bambyke), in the Syrian hinterland.¹⁹³ Aside from the fractions, this mint struck issues on the same denomination, but using an unclear weight-standard.¹⁹⁴ The earlier coins (Andrade Series 1-4) mostly displayed images related to the cult of Atargatis at the local sanctuary, while the legends, in Aramaic, referred to the goddess Atargatis or the god Hadad on the obverse, and to the local priest-dynast on reverse – thus, from the early issues we learn of priests called Abyty and Abd-Hadad.¹⁹⁵ The latter also introduced a new reverse design with a sacred ritual performed by a robed figure with conical hat – presumably the priest-dynast himself.¹⁹⁶ Mazaios' name also made a brief appearance on Bambyke's coinage,¹⁹⁷ with issues almost identical to the priest Abd-Hadad's coins (Andrade Series 6) in both iconography and obverse legend.¹⁹⁸ These two coinages were thus either contemporary or struck one immediately after the other.¹⁹⁹ Due to its small size, Nathanael Andrade has suggested Mazaios' Bambyke coinage was produced after the loss of Tarsos to the Graeco-Macedonians in the summer of 333 BC, and before the battle of Issos in November of the same year.²⁰⁰ Admittedly, the coinage of Bambyke was small as a whole – only twenty-one obverse dies are identified before

¹⁹⁰ See Elayi & Elayi 2004b: 155-57.

¹⁹¹ Elayi & Elayi 2004b: 156.

¹⁹² Elayi & Elayi 2004b: 157; Debord 1999: 416 suggested that Mazaios struck his Sidonian coinage on his own account while using the pre-existing infrastructures.

¹⁹³ Andrade 2017.

¹⁹⁴ With a weight approximating to 7.5-8.5g, they could be either slightly underweight Attic didrachms or Babylonian shekels (see Andrade 2017: 7-8).

¹⁹⁵ Andrade 2017: Series 1 (Abyty); Series 4 (Abd-Hadad).

¹⁹⁶ Andrade 2017: Series 5 and 6.

¹⁹⁷ Andrade 2017: Series 7.

¹⁹⁸ The legend is a continuous inscription beginning on the reverse and continuing onto the obverse: *mzdy zy'l 'brnhr'/zy y[dmr?] b[hdd] b'l [rb]* = "Mazdai, who is over Transeuphratene/who [trembles at? Hadad], [great] master".

¹⁹⁹ Andrade 2017: 14 and n.46.

²⁰⁰ Andrade 2017: 16.

Alexander (c.360-333 BC). The findspots suggest it circulated only locally, in Aleppo and in adjacent areas of Northern Syria.²⁰¹

Despite constituting an important innovation in the Levantine numismatic landscape, the coinages of Posideion and Bambyke were almost irrelevant compared to the output of the Phoenician cities. Sidon and Tyre were the biggest minters, largely producing shekels and double-shekels (**Table 1**). The predominance of these two denominations over the lower ones made the Sidonian and Tyrian coinages too big for mere commercial transactions.²⁰² Rather, military motivations better explain this level of output – in fact, literary sources suggest that, among the Phoenician cities, Sidon and Tyre played the largest role within the Persian fleet.²⁰³ Byblos, instead, did not provide ships for the Persian expedition against Greece,²⁰⁴ but it did have its fleet built at some point during the 5th-4th centuries BC.²⁰⁵ Given its minor importance, it is unsurprising this city minted at a much lower yearly rate than Sidon and Tyre. Furthermore, the predominance of shekels over the lower denominations in Byblian coinage was not as marked as in the other two Phoenician cities. Unfortunately, for Arados we lack die-studies of its Achaemenid-era coinage. Nonetheless, as this city played a lesser role than Sidon and Tyre within the Achaemenid fleet – although perhaps not as marginal as Byblos –²⁰⁶ we may assume its output was on the lower end of the spectrum among the Phoenician cities.

| Mints | Elayi & Elayi dates | | Double-shekels | Shekels | Half-shekels | Fractions of shekel | Total | Obv. dies/year |
|--------|---------------------|-----------|----------------|---------|--------------|---------------------|--------|----------------|
| Byblos | c.460-401 BC | obv. dies | – | 240 | – | 114 | 354 | 5.9 |
| | | g*dies | – | 216g | – | 102.6g | 318.6g | 5.3g |
| | | % | – | 68 | – | 32 | | |
| | c.400-351 BC | obv. dies | – | 320 | – | 24 | 344 | 6.9 |
| | | g*dies | – | 288g | – | 21.6g | 309.6g | 6.2g |
| | | % | – | 93 | – | 7 | | |
| | c.350-332 BC | obv. dies | – | 64 | – | 60 | 124 | 6.5 |

²⁰¹ See Andrade 2017: 9-12.

²⁰² As also de Callataÿ 2017 points out.

²⁰³ Cf. the seating disposition of the kings of Sidon and Tyre and of the other dynasts when questioned by Xerxes on the opportunity of fighting at sea (Hdt. 8.67).

²⁰⁴ Hdt. 7.96, 98.

²⁰⁵ Upon Alexander's arrival in 333 BC, the king of Byblos Enylos left Autophradates' fleet to hurry back to his city (Arr. An. 2.20.1).

²⁰⁶ Contrary to Byblos, the Aradian fleet was present at the Persian expedition against Greece (Hdt. 7.98).

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|------------------|---------|---------|--------|--------|----------------|----------------|
| | | g*dies | – | 57.6g | – | 54g | 111.6g | 5.8g |
| | | % | – | 52 | – | 48 | | |
| Sidon | c.445-402 BC | obv. dies | 928 | – | 368 | 8 | 1304 | 29.6 |
| | | g*dies | 835.2g | – | 331.2g | 7.2g | 1173.6g | 26.6g |
| | | % | 71 | – | 28 | 1 | | |
| | c.401-352 BC | obv. dies | 2560 | – | 120 | 157 | 2837 | 47.7 |
| | | g*dies | 2304g | – | 108g | 141.3g | 2553.3g | 42.9g |
| | | % | 90 | – | 4 | 6 | | |
| | c.351-333 BC | obv. dies | 2752 | – | 24 | 77 | 2853 | 150.1 |
| | | g*dies | 2476.8g | – | 21.6g | 69.3g | 2567.7g | 135.09g |
| | | % | 96 | – | 1 | 3 | | |
| Tyre | c.450-394 BC | obv. dies | – | 1200 | – | 153 | 1353 | 23.7 |
| | | g*dies | – | 1080g | – | 137.7g | 1217.7g | 21.3g |
| | | % | – | 89 | – | 11 | | |
| | c.393-358 BC | obv. dies | – | 528 | – | 28 | 556 | 15.4 |
| | | g*dies | – | 475.2g | – | 25.2g | 500.4g | 13.9g |
| | | % | – | 95 | – | 5 | | |
| | c.357-333 BC | obv. dies | – | 2128 | – | – | 2128 | 85.1 |
| | | g*dies | – | 1915.2g | – | – | 1915.2g | 76.6g |
| | | % | – | 100 | – | – | | |

Table 1: obverse die count for Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre expressed in 1/16 shekels – 5th and 4th centuries

BC

As the precise chronological arrangement of the Phoenician coinages is subject to debate, it is difficult to connect levels of output to specific historical events. However, the significant peak in production at Sidon and Tyre in the last two decades before Alexander’s arrival was likely linked to the turbulent times of the 4th century BC, especially of the 350s-330s BC (**Fig. 3**).²⁰⁷ While we ignore the precise details of these events, it is highly likely the military involvement of Sidon and Tyre in the 4th century BC – fighting either for or against the Persians – significantly impacted their spending.

²⁰⁷ Evagoras of Salamis’ revolt against the Great King in the early 4th century BC and taking over of Tyre (Diod. 15.2.4; Isokr. *Pan.* 161; Isokr. *Ev.* 62); Achaemenid attempts to reconquer Egypt several times, using Sidon as the main base of their naval operations (Isokr. *Pan.* 140; Diod. 14.41.3); invasion of Phoenicia and Syria by the Egyptian pharaoh Tachos and his nephew Nektanebo (Diod. 15.92.4); the Sidonian king Tennes’ rebellion together with the other Phoenician cities (Diod. 16.41.1-3).

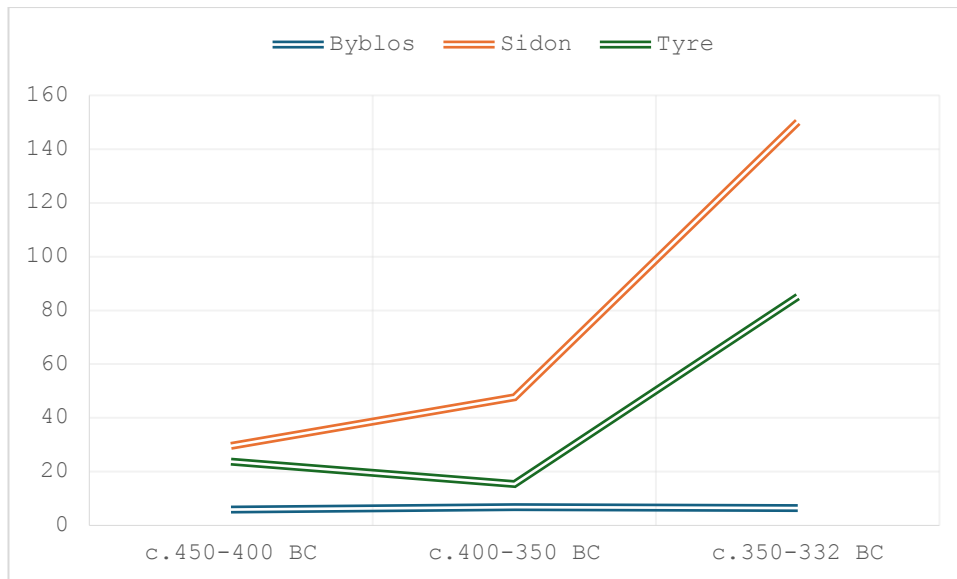


Fig. 3: Number of obverse dies/year (equivalent to sixteenths of shekel)

1.1.1.2. Bronze coinages

As for metals other than silver, no Levantine mint produced gold issues in the Achaemenid period. Asia Minor saw an “explosion” of bronze coin-production in the 4th century BC (see Chapter 3), but in the Achaemenid Levant bronze coins were “much” rarer. Aside from Posideion’s bronzes, only Sidon and Tyre minted bronzes. The Elayis have assembled a corpus of 340 issues for Sidon, but only seventy-eight for Tyre. One series of Sidonian bronzes started in the second quarter of the 5th century BC,²⁰⁸ but most of this city’s production occurred during the 4th century BC,²⁰⁹ similarly to Tyre.²¹⁰ All Sidonian and Tyrian bronzes were anepigraphic, except for the coinage of ‘Abd’āstart I, which displayed the same iconography as the silver – bearded head wearing a tiara/galley – together with the king’s initials on reverse.²¹¹

²⁰⁸ Elayi 2004a: Series V.3.

²⁰⁹ Elayi 2004a: Series IV.7.6-9.

²¹⁰ Elayi 2009: Series III.2.1-6.

²¹¹ Elayi 2004a: Series IV.2.7-8.

1.1.2. Circulation

1.1.2.1. Hoard evidence

1.1.2.1.1. 5th century BC

| N. of hoards | Greece, Macedonia, Thrace | Asia Minor | Cyprus | N. Syria | C. Levant | S. Levant |
|--------------|--|---|-----------------|----------|---------------------|-----------|
| 7 | Akanthos, Bisaltai, Athens, Mende, Getas king of the Edones, Aigina, Thasos, Eretria, Melos, Thera | Tenedos, Chios, Knidos, Phaselis Sardis | Kition, Salamis | Arados | Byblos, Sidon, Tyre | – |

Table 2: geographic provenance of coins found in hoards from Northern Syria (royal mints in bold) – 5th century BC

The hoard evidence for Northern Syria from the 5th century BC is quite limited – only seven hoards in total, which have yielded numerous coins from Greece, Macedonia, and Thrace (**Table 2**). These coinages are especially common in Northern Syrian hoards from before c.450 BC (**Fig. 4**).²¹² Even the start of the coinages of Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre did not stop the influx of these foreign coins into Northern Syria (**Fig. 5**).

²¹² “Jablah, 1929” (*IGCH* 1479); “Region of Seleukeia, before 1898” (*IGCH* 1480); “Latakia, 1979” (*CH* 6.5).

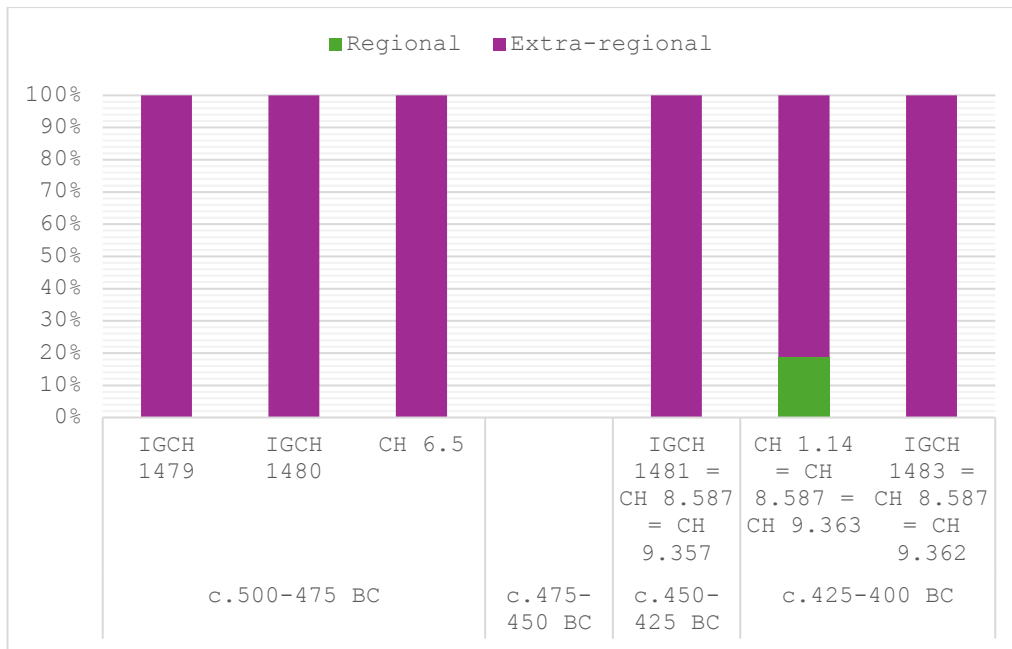


Fig. 4: regional vs. extra-regional coins in Northern Syria – 5th century BC

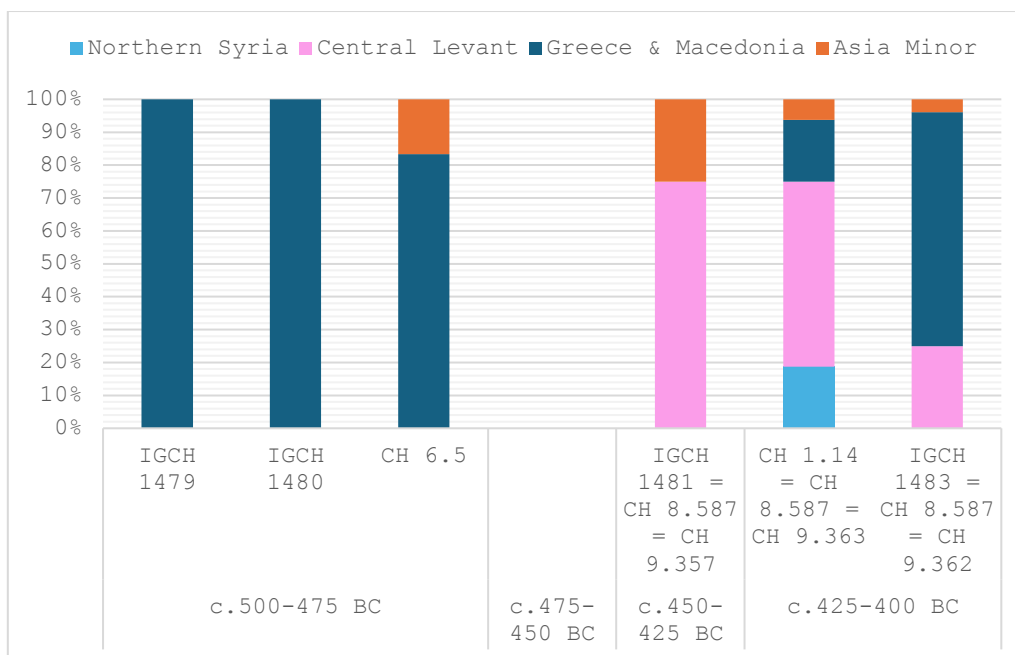


Fig. 5: regions represented in Northern Syrian hoards – 5th century BC

Among these “extra-regional” products, Athenian owls were featured in hoards the most frequently, appearing in four out of the seven finds recorded for the 5th century BC (57%) (Table 3). Until c.420 BC, Athenian coins are always found with products of other Mainland Greek mints, and together with

Macedonian, Thracian, and Asia Minor issues. However, a hoard discovered at Aleppo (**Table 3 – Hoard 4**) suggests this pattern changed at the end of the 5th century BC – here, Athenian owls are the only non-local component of the hoard, and they are only accompanied by issues of Sidon and Tyre.²¹³

| No. | Duyrat 2016 no. | Hoard | Date | Findspot | Athenian coins | Greece, Macedonia, and Thrace coins | Asia Minor coins | Levant coins | Other coins |
|-----|-----------------|--|---------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|--|---|----------------------|--|
| 1 | 4 | <i>IGCH</i> 1479 | 500-490 | Jablah | Athens (12) | Akanthos (4) | – | – | – |
| 2 | 6 | <i>CH</i> 6.5 | 480 | Latakia | Athens (2) | Akanthos (2), Aigina (1) | Phaselis (1) | – | – |
| 3 | 17 | <i>IGCH</i> 1483 = <i>CH</i> 8.587 = <i>CH</i> 9.362 | 425-420 | Massyaf | Athens (16+19 frags.) | Akanthos (1), Bisaltai (1), Macedonian tribe (1), Thasos (1), Eretria (1), Aigina (11), Melos (2), Thera (1) | Tenedos (1), Chios (1), Knidos (1), Persian <i>sigloi</i> (1) | Sidon (14), Tyre (5) | Akragas (1), Syracuse (1), Kition (2), Salamis (2) |
| 4 | 20 | <i>IGCH</i> 1490 = <i>CH</i> 8.587 = <i>CH</i> 9.360 | End of 5 th century? | Aleppo, ancient Beroia | Athens | – | – | Sidon, Tyre | – |

Table 3: hoards from Northern Syria with Athenian coins – 5th century BC

The scanty presence of Achaemenid issues in Northern Syrian hoards should be contextualised within this influx of western coins into Syria and the Levant (**Table 4**). In fact, they are always found buried with western products, amounting to a marginal percentage of the contents of each find. Combined with

²¹³ A similar shift to burying Athenian and local products together also occurred in the Central and Southern Levant. The hoards with Athenian and local issues are “Vicinity of Gaza, 1983” (*CH* 8.29), “Beithir, 1901” (*IGCH* 1489 = *CH* 8.587 = *CH* 9.366 = *CH* 10.216) and “Ramallah” (*CH* 8.59). While we do not know the precise burial date for the first hoard, the other two are from the end of the 5th century BC.

the evidence from the Central and Southern Levant,²¹⁴ royal Achaemenid coins appear in six total hoards, none of which from the 4th century BC.²¹⁵

| No. | Duyrat 2016 no. | Hoard | Date | Findspot | Royal coins | Non-royal coins |
|-----|-----------------|---|-------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| 1 | 12 | <i>IGCH</i> 1481 = <i>CH</i> 8.587 = <i>CH</i> 9.357 | 450 | Northern Syria | Persian <i>sigloi</i> (1) | Byblos (3) |
| 2 | 15 | <i>CH</i> 1.14 = <i>CH</i> 8.587 = <i>CH</i> 9.363 | 425 | Northern Syria | Persian <i>sigloi</i> (1) | Getas king of the Edones (1), Akanthos (1), Aigina (1), Arados (3), Sidon (9) |
| 3 | 17 | <i>IGCH</i> 1483 = <i>CH</i> 8.587 = <i>CH</i> 9.362 | 425- 420 | Massyaf | Persian <i>sigloi</i> (1) | Akragas (1), Syracuse (1), Akanthos (1), Bisaltai (1), Macedonian tribe (1), Thasos (1), Eretria (1), Athens (35), Aigina (11), Melos (2), Thera (1), Tenedos (1), Chios (1), Knidos (1), Kition (2), Salamis (2), Sidon (14), Tyre (5) |

Table 4: hoards from Northern Syria with royal coins – 5th century BC

Among the Northern Syrian hoards that have yielded western coins, “Massyaf, 1961” (*IGCH* 1483 = *CH* 8.587 = *CH* 9.362) is of particular interest, as it is one of the Levantine finds to feature *Hacksilber*. Fragments of coins amount to over half of its contents (58% of 104 pieces), together with two silver spirals for hair and a silver fragment. The jewellery and the elevated number of cut coins present in this find strongly suggest the issues contained in this hoard were seen by their users as silver bullion rather than actual coins. The earliest example of this hoard typology is “Ras Shamra, 1936” (*IGCH* 1478), which dates from 525-520 BC. The Massyaf find, instead, is the only “*Hacksilber* hoard” from Northern Syria from the 5th century BC, while more examples of this hoard typology from this period are available from the Central and Southern Levant and uncertain locations (**Table 5 – Hoards 2, 3, 4, 5, 6**).

²¹⁴ “Antilebanon, 1978” (*CH* 6.4 = *CH* 8.45), from 475 BC; “Byblos, 1933-1938”, from 450 BC (*CH* 8.587 = *CH* 9.356); and “Region of Bostra, 1967” (*IGCH* 1482 = *CH* 9.355), from 445 BC.

²¹⁵ Duyrat’s hoard catalogue also includes three finds with Persian *sigloi* from uncertain locations – “Near East, 1966” (*CH* 7.28 = Duyrat 2016: no.24), “Near East, 1951” (*CH* 8.126 = Duyrat 2016: no.46), and “Near East, before 2006” (c.1986?) (*CH* 10.244 = Duyrat 2016: no.68). They are dated to the 4th century BC, but their attribution to Syria and the Levant is less than certain.

All six of these finds contain western coins, which represent over half of the hoard contents four times (Table 5 – Hoards 1, 2, 5, 6). It is thus possible issues from Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, and Asia Minor were imported by Phoenician traders in their commercial activities and then treated like precious luxury items from faraway places. This was probably true especially before c.450 BC, although, even after their introduction, Phoenician coinages did not propel a quick transition to a monetised economy. In fact, quite the opposite was true – four of the “*Hacksilber* hoards” are post-450 BC, and they all contain coins from Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre (Table 5 – Hoards 1, 3, 4, 5).

| | No. | Duyrat 2016 no. | Hoard | Burial date | Western coins over 50% of hoard content | Levantine coins | <i>Hacksilber</i> content |
|-----------------|-----|-----------------|--|--------------|---|-----------------|--|
| Northern Syria | 1 | 17 | IGCH 1483 = CH 8.587 = CH 9.362 | 425- 420 | Yes | Yes | Jewellery; 17 unidentified and frags.; 4 frags. of uncoined silver; two silver spirals for hair(?); silver frags. |
| Central Levant | 2 | 8 | CH 6.4 = CH 8.45 | 475 | Yes | No | c.20 kg of <i>Hacksilber</i> |
| | 3 | 11 | CH 8.587 = CH 9.356 | 450 | No | Yes | Jewellery and silver toiletry accessories, some fragmentary |
| | 4 | 16 | Region of Jbeil? | After 425 | No | Yes | 3 ingots AR |
| Southern Levant | 5 | 13 | IGCH 1482 = CH 9.355 | 445 | Yes | Yes | Jewellery and frags. of coins; 10 small frags. of silver; 32 pieces of jewellery (beads, elements of bracelets and necklaces, earrings) and frags. of silver |
| Unc. Findspots | 6 | 7 | CH 7.12 | 480 | Yes | No | 20+ kg of ingots and of cut coins, perhaps an Athenian dekadrachm |

Table 5: hoards from Northern Syria, Central and Southern Levant, and uncertain locations with western issues – 5th century BC

Overall, the “*Hacksilber* hoards” attest to a gradual transition in the Levant from older habits of weighing metal for transactions to a fully monetised economy.²¹⁶ The fact that this hoard typology constitutes 75% of the evidence from the Central Levant (three out of four finds) is impressive. In fact, even in the region with the richest Phoenician cities, the use of coins as money took a long time before becoming an established fact. This was likely influenced by the late start of local minting in the 5th century BC – in fact, despite predominating the hoard evidence from the Central Levant after their introduction,²¹⁷ Phoenician issues at this stage were mostly buried with other metal objects. The same observation can be made for Northern Syria, even though the Massyaf hoard constitutes only 14% of the evidence for the 5th century BC (one out of seven finds). As western and Levantine issues are both well represented in this hoard, it is unclear if these same coins preserved in the non-“*Hacksilber* hoards” were similarly viewed as silver bullion by their users or as actual money.

Finally, the late start of minting activity in the Levant is also reflected in the small number of hoards with Phoenician coins from the 5th century BC – only eight out of the fifteen total finds from Northern Syria and the Central and Southern Levant combined (53%).²¹⁸ Aradian coins have survived in only one find from Northern Syria,²¹⁹ but we cannot ascertain clear circulation patterns at this stage, due to the limited sample size (**Fig. 6**).

²¹⁶ For the beginning of the use of money in the Iron-Age Mediterranean, see most recently Heymans 2021.

²¹⁷ Average of 90% of the contents of “Byblos, 1933-1938” (*CH* 8.587 = *CH* 9.356), “Region of Jbeil? Uncertain date”, and “Beithis, 1901” (*IGCH* 1489 = *CH* 8.587 = *CH* 9.366 = *CH* 10.216).

²¹⁸ Hoards from the Central Levant: Duyrat 2016: nos. 8, 11, 16, 18. Hoards from the Central Levant with Phoenician coins: Duyrat 2016: nos. 11, 16, 18. Hoards from the Southern Levant: Duyrat 2016: nos. 3, 10, 13, 14. Hoards from the Southern Levant with Phoenician coins: Duyrat 2016: nos. 10, 13.

²¹⁹ “Northern Syria, 1974” (*CH* 1.14 = *CH* 8.587 = *CH* 9.363).

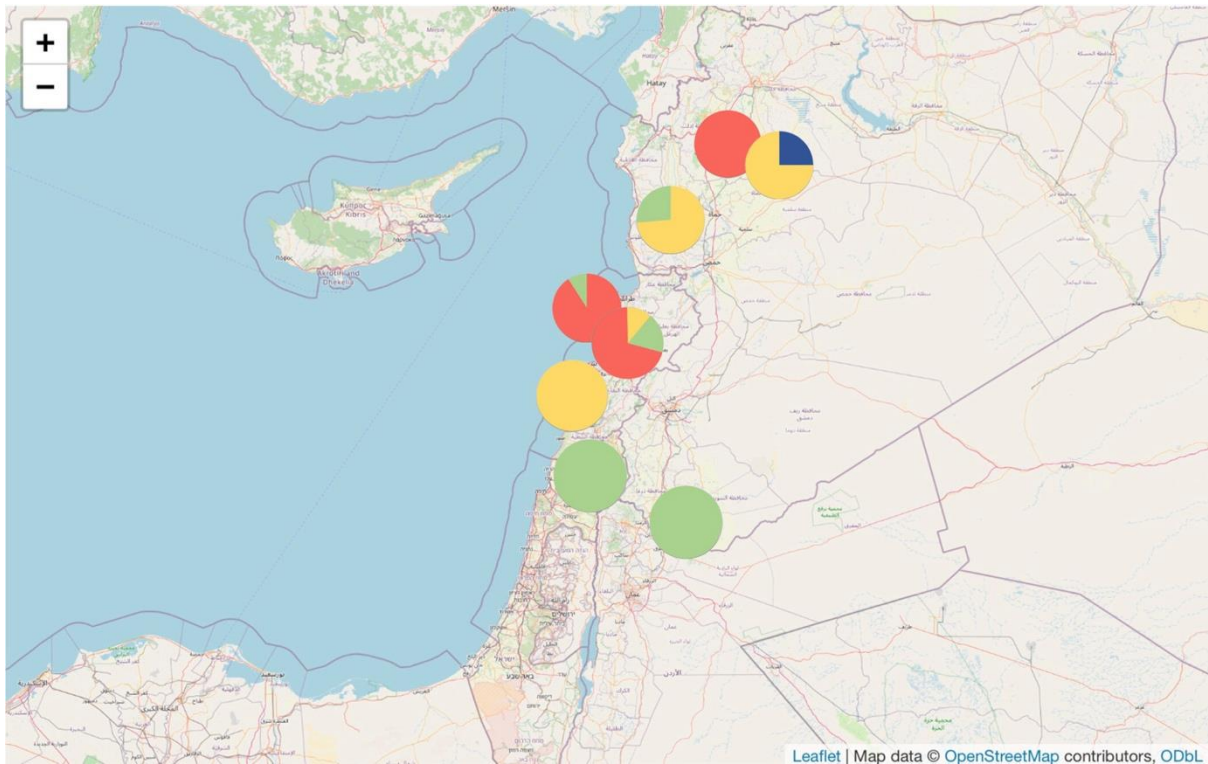


Fig. 6: hoards from Syria and the Levant with Phoenician coins – 5th century BC (Arados = *blue*; Byblos = *red*; Sidon = *yellow*; Tyre = *green*)

1.1.2.1.2. 4th century BC

| N. of hoards | Greece, Macedonia, Thrace | Asia Minor | Cyprus | N. Syria | C. Levant | S. Levant | East |
|--------------|---------------------------------|------------|--------|----------|---------------|-----------|------|
| 7 | Thasos, Athens (and imitations) | — | — | Arados | Byblos, Sidon | — | — |

Table 7: geographic provenance of coins found in hoards from Northern Syria (royal mints in bold) – 4th century BC

The number of finds recorded for Northern Syria in the 4th century BC is the same as in the previous period (**Table 7**). However, as **Fig. 7** below shows, most of Northern Syrian hoards from the 4th century BC were buried in 390-375 BC. Only two finds are from the period pre-334 BC. This was in stark contrast with the Central and Southern Levant, which show a greater concentration of hoarding in the

second half of the 4th century BC – six and two hoards from 400-375 BC;²²⁰ five and one from 375-350 BC;²²¹ eight and seven from 350-334 BC.²²² This surely reflected the richer coin-production of Sidon and Tyre compared to Arados, but historical events were also likely a major factor. Admittedly, not much is known about Northern Syria in the Achaemenid period. Nonetheless, the hoard evidence reinforces the impression we derive from the literary sources that the Central and Southern Levant played a more central role in the 4th century BC. This was not only due to the presence of rich cities like Sidon and Tyre, but also to the key importance of these regions in the political and military relationship of the Achaemenid kings with Egypt.

The richer coin-production of the Phoenician cities compared to the 5th century BC is also reflected in the hoard evidence from the 4th century BC. Aradian issues appear in all seven of the Northern Syrian hoards, constituting at least 85% of the contents of five of them (71% of seven total finds) (**Fig. 7**). Similarly, the other Phoenician coinages constitute over 50% of the contents of the nineteen hoards from the Central and Southern Levant combined (66% of twenty-nine total finds).²²³ Thanks to the rich availability of the evidence, for the 4th century BC we can observe definite circulation patterns (**Fig. 8**). Sidonian issues predominate the evidence of the Central Levant; Byblian coins have mostly turned up in proximity of their minting city, while Tyrian products mainly circulated in the Southern Levant. Instead, Aradian coins barely appeared in the Central Levant, and not at all in the South.

²²⁰ Central Levant: Duyrat 2016: nos.21, 23, 25, 28, 29, 35; Southern Levant: Duyrat 2016: nos.22, 26.

²²¹ Central Levant: Duyrat 2016: nos.39, 40, 41, 44, 47; Southern Levant: Duyrat 2016: no.38.

²²² Central Levant: Duyrat 2016: nos.49, 53, 56, 58, 60, 63, 64, 65; Southern Levant: Duyrat 2016: nos.50, 52, 55, 56, 59, 62, 67.

²²³ Central Levant: Duyrat 2016: nos.23, 28, 29, 39, 40, 41, 44, 47, 49, 53, 58, 60, 63, 64, 65. Southern Levant: Duyrat 2016: nos.55, 59, 62, 67.

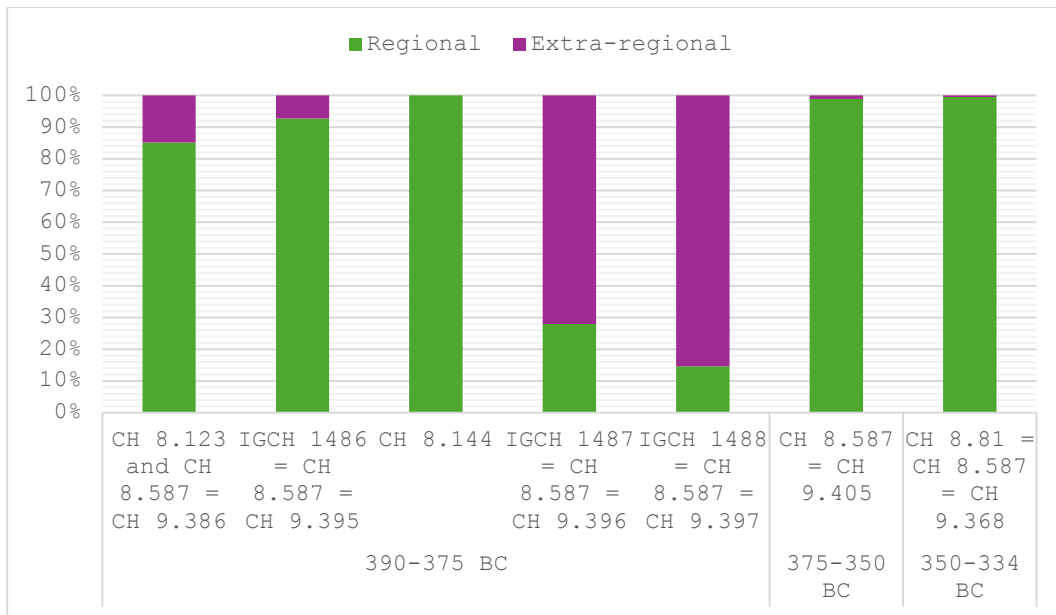


Fig. 7 regional vs. extra-regional coins in hoards from Northern Syria – 4th century BC

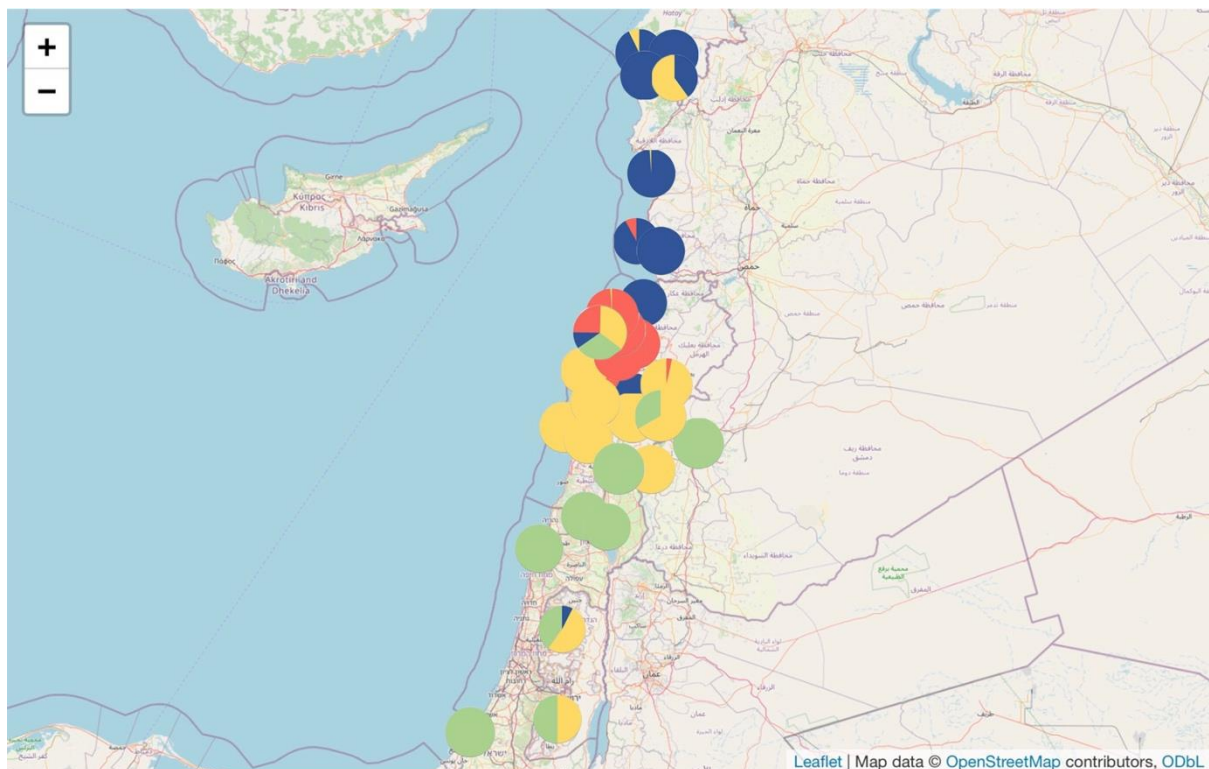


Fig. 8: hoards from Syria and the Levant with Phoenician coins – 4th century BC (Arados = blue; Byblos = red; Sidon = yellow; Tyre = green)

In Northern Syria, Aradian coins were often buried with other products from the West and from the Central Levant (**Fig. 9**). However, compared to the 5th century BC, the number of western mints circulating in Northern Syria massively shrank (**Table 7** above). Except for a fragment of a Thasian

stater discovered near Arados,²²⁴ the only western coins are Athenian owls, which often appear together with their imitations.²²⁵ In the 4th century BC, they were buried in Northern Syrian hoards as frequently as before, while their presence in hoards from the Central and Southern Levant was proportionally more limited – especially in Phoenicia, where original and/or Athenian owls appear in only 16% of the evidence for the 4th century BC (**Table 8**).

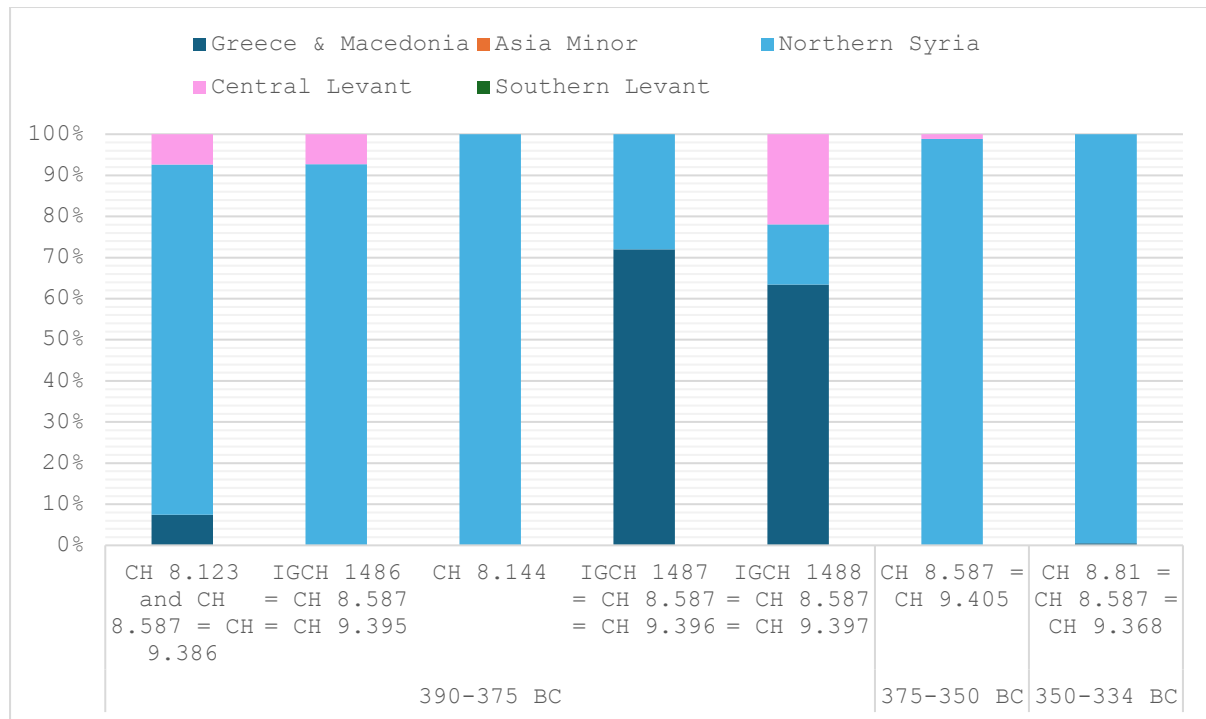


Fig. 9: regions represented in hoards from Northern Syria – 4th century BC

| | 5 th century BC | | | 4 th century BC | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|---|--|
| | Total no. of hoards | Hoards with Athenian coins | % of hoards with Athenian coins | Total n. of hoards | Hoards with orig. and/or imit. Athenian coins | % of hoards with Athenian coins over total |
| Northern Syria | 7 | 4 | 57% | 7 | 4 | 57% |
| Central Levant | 4 | 3 | 75% | 19 | 3 | 16% |

²²⁴ “Region of Arwad, 1983” (CH 8.123 and CH 8.587 = CH 9.386).

²²⁵ For imitative Athenian owls, see van Alfen 2011; Duyrat 2016: 316-20.

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| Southern Levant | 4 | 3 | 75% | 9 | 4 | 44% |
| Total | 15 | 10 | 67% | 35 | 11 | 31% |
| Unknown findspots | 3 | 1 | 33% | 12 | 5 | 42% |
| Total | 18 | 11 | 61% | 47 | 16 | 34% |

Table 8: hoards with Athenian owls in Levantine regions – 5th century BC vs. 4th century BC

Aradian coins were also sometimes buried with *Hacksilber* in the form of jewellery, ingots, silver fragments, and other valuable objects (Table 9 – Hoards 1, 2). The only other “*Hacksilber* hoard” from this period comes from Samaria (Table 9 – Hoard 3). The constant presence of original and/or imitative Athenian owls and of Levantine coins in these three “*Hacksilber* hoards” makes us question once again how much these issues were generally seen by their users as simple lumps of precious metal or as issues to be exchanged in transactions. This question is especially pertinent to Northern Syria – among the regions of the Levant, it has yielded the highest percentage of “*Hacksilber* hoards” relative to its overall evidence for the 4th century BC.²²⁶ Admittedly, the small sample size calls for great caution against arguing that the transition to coin use occurred at different speeds within the Levant. Nonetheless, considering the rich coin-production of cities like Sidon and Tyre, it is not unreasonable to think the Central Levant – which has yielded no “*Hacksilber* hoard” for the 4th century BC – was quicker at adapting to a coin-based economy, contrary to Northern Syria, where the transition likely occurred at a much slower pace. Indeed, the discovery of the two “*Hacksilber* hoards” in the Arados area and Al-Mina indicate the old economic practices of weighing lumps of metal for transactions persisted even in important political and economic coastal centres of the Achaemenid period. They are thus quite revealing of the overall monetary habits of this region before Alexander the Great’s arrival, after which “*Hacksilber* hoards” virtually disappeared.²²⁷

²²⁶ Northern Syria: 29% of seven finds; Central Levant: 0%; Southern Levant: 11% of eleven hoards.

²²⁷ The only two examples of early Hellenistic “*Hacksilber* hoards” come from the South at the end of the 4th century BC: “Nablus, 1968” (IGCH 1504 = CH 9.440): 333/2 BC; “Samaria” (CH 10.237): end of 4th century BC.

| | No. | Duyrat 2016 no. | Hoard | Date | Findspot | Athenian owls | Greece, Macedonia, and Thrace coins | Levant coins | <i>Hacksilber</i> |
|-----------------|-----|-----------------|---|---------|-----------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|---|
| Northern Syria | 1 | 31 | CH 8.123 and CH 8.587 = CH 9.386 | 390-350 | Region of Arwad | Athens (1) | Thasos (1) | Arados (23), Byblos (2) | Frgs., 3 figurines and a pair of silver earrings; a bronze arrowhead; 7 terracotta statuettes |
| | 2 | 37 | IGCH 1488 = CH 8.587 = CH 9.397 | 375 | Al-Mina | Athens and imitations (26) | – | Arados (6), Sidon (9) | Jewellery |
| Southern Levant | 3 | 50 | CH 8.587 = CH 9.413 | 345 | Samaria | Imitations (66) | – | Arados (6), Sidon (42), Tyre (32), Samaria (182) | Frgs. in a pot, with beads and frgs. of jewellery |

Table 9: “*Hacksilber* hoards” – 4th century BC

1.1.2.2. Single find evidence

The “slowness” of Northern Syria in the transition to a fully monetised economy is also reflected in the single chance finds from the excavation sites, for which Al-Mina and Ras Shamra provide the largest samples for the 4th century BC (Fig. 10). Despite the beginning of production of Phoenician bronzes in this period, bronzes appear in no hoards at this stage. Furthermore, Ras Shamra, as well as most other sites, has predominantly yielded fractional silver coins, either from Athens, Arados, or Sidon (Fig. 11).²²⁸ Thus, the transition to a low-level economy as was occurring in Western Asia Minor did not yet take place in this part of the Mediterranean in the 4th century BC.²²⁹ Admittedly, Al-Mina is quite exceptional in this regard – most of its single finds are in fact bronzes. Coming from Kyzikos, Ephesos,

²²⁸ See Duyrat 2016: 322-23 Table 4.6.

²²⁹ Duyrat 2016: 322-23 Table 4.6, 326.

Phygela, Kos, Rhodes, Kition, and Salamis, these bronzes attest to the far-reaching connections of this harbour-town.²³⁰

Among the Phoenician coinages, only Aradian and Sidonian issues appear in the Northern Syrian excavation sites, although the former are much more common (**Fig. 12**). Thus, the single find evidence confirms the picture offered by the hoards of the 4th century BC – namely, that coinage in Syria and the Levant, both in silver and bronze, circulated within “preferential” monetary areas. For Arados, both hoards and chance finds show this area corresponded to Northern Syria.

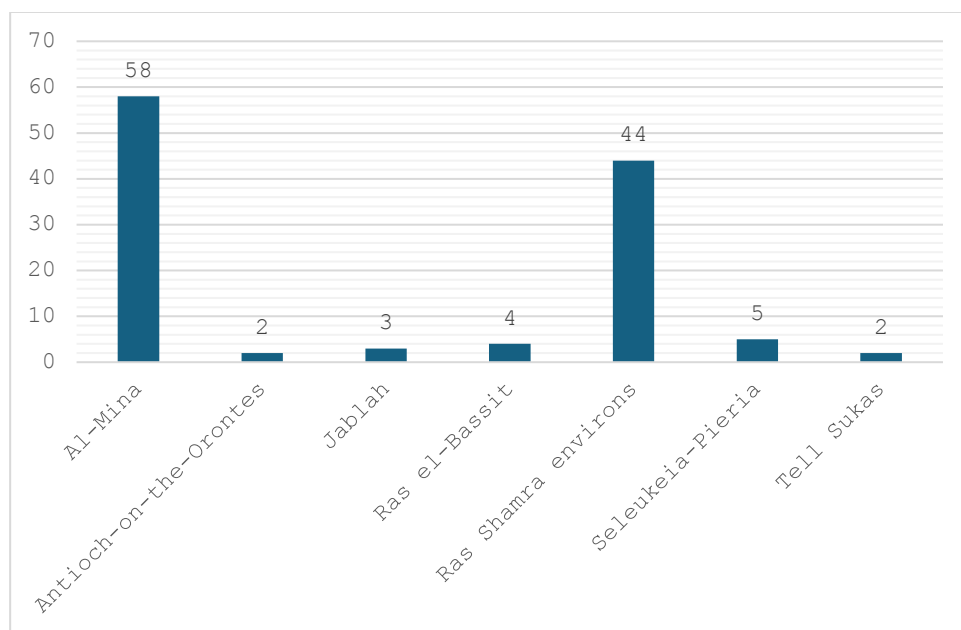


Fig. 10: no. single finds from Northern Syrian excavation sites – 4th century BC

²³⁰ Robinson 1937: 192-93.

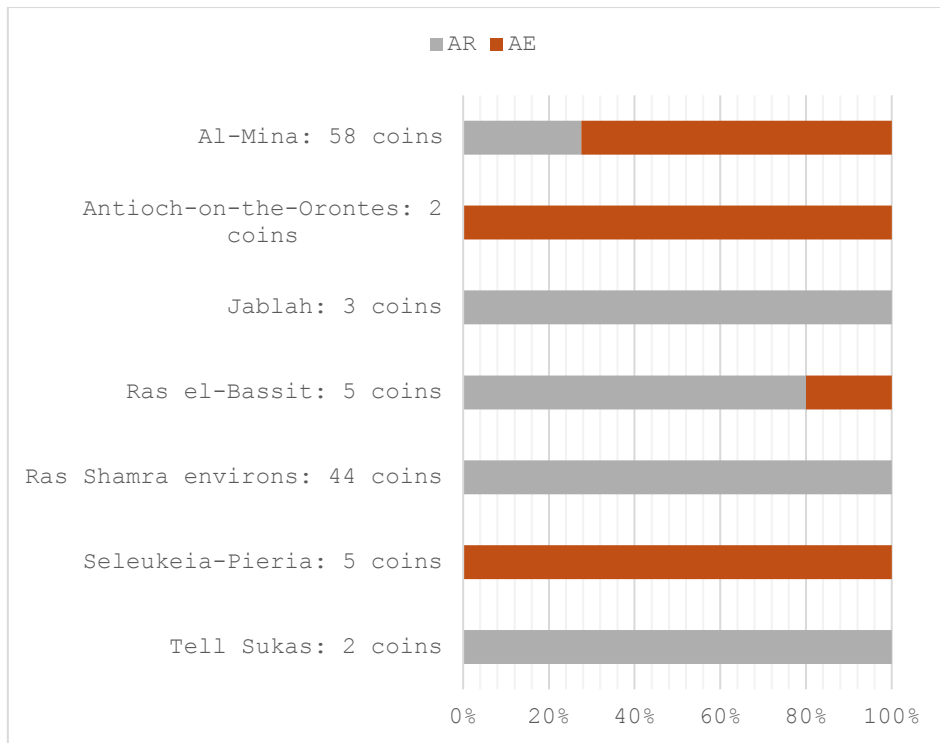


Fig. 11: silver vs. bronze coins in Northern Syrian excavation sites – 4th century BC

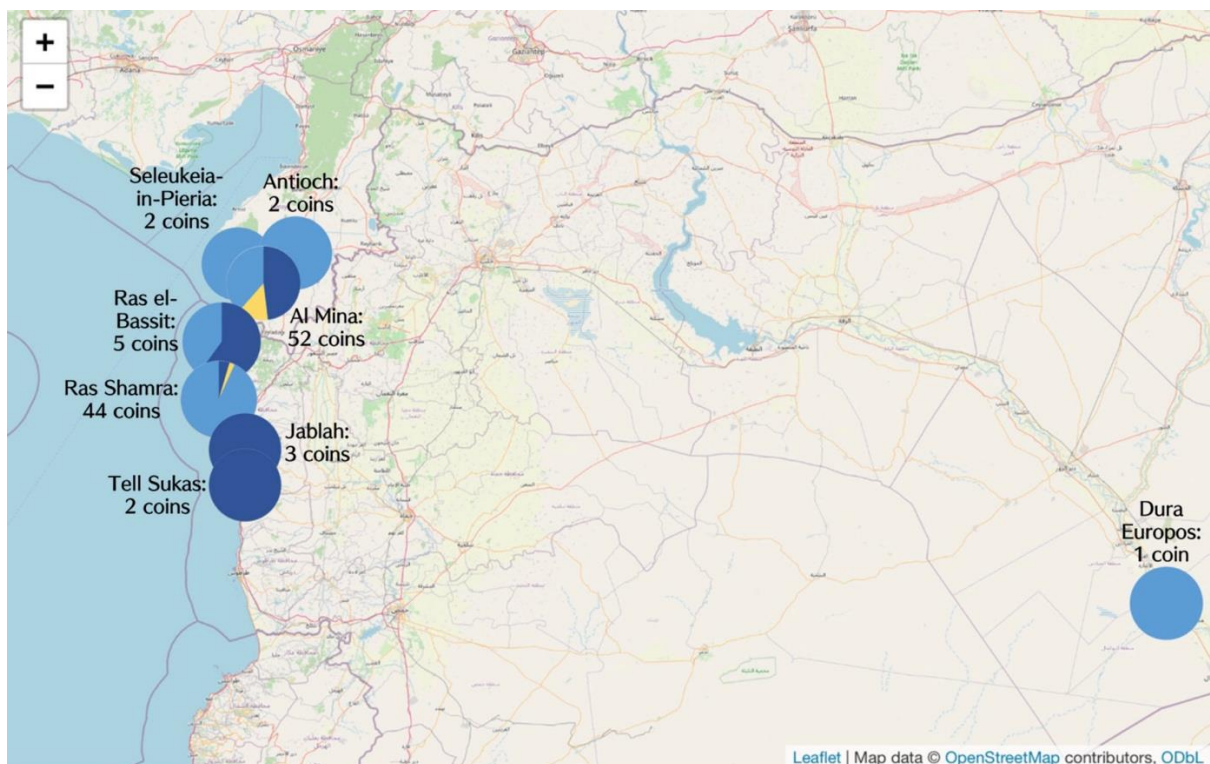


Fig. 12: Northern Syrian excavation sites – 4th century BC (Arados = blue; Sidon = yellow; other mints = light blue)

Section 1.2. Late 4th/early 3rd century BC (333-c.280 BC)

1.2.1. Production

1.2.1.1. Silver and gold coinages

The arrival of the Graeco-Macedonians brought major changes in the numismatic landscape of Northern Syria and of its neighbouring regions. In the summer of 333 BC at the earliest, the mint of Tarsos began producing tetradrachms bearing the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ and the image of a head of Herakles wearing lion skin headdress on obverse; and enthroned Zeus with eagle on the right hand and sceptre in left hand on reverse (Zeus Aetophoros).²³¹ No later than 333/2 BC, Sidon was the first Levantine city to start minting a coinage with the same types and legend.²³²

However, several “transitional” issues were produced before the Graeco-Macedonians could consolidate their presence in Northern Syria and before minting of Alexander’s imperial issues fully kicked in. After the battle of Issos, Bambyke produced a small coinage – using three obverse dies – that, for its reverse, adopted the imagery of Mazaios’ Tarsian issues.²³³ Clear references to any minting authority were, however, absent. The Aramaic inscriptions on both obverse and reverse simply referred to the gods Atarateh and Hadad, and no image of a priestly figure appeared on any issue. After the Graeco-Macedonian takeover of Northern Syria, however, Bambyke produced a small coinage – using eleven obverse dies in total – with Alexander’s name in Aramaic, *'lksndr*.²³⁴ The goddess Atarateh was now represented in novel ways – either riding a lion, seated, in profile to the right, or standing while holding a wreath and an eagle – but the types of the reverse were still clearly derived from Mazaios’ Tarsian issues, although we also see a horseman with conical hat and spear. Overall, the use of an Aramaic legend and of images from Achaemenid-era satrapal coinages place these Bambyke issues before production of Alexander’s imperial coinage fully began.²³⁵

²³¹ Le Rider 2007: 6-14, 113-25.

²³² Le Rider 2007: 114-16.

²³³ Andrade 2017: Series 8-9.

²³⁴ Andrade Series 10-16.

²³⁵ Andrade 2017: 18-20.

From this “transitional” period, we also have Aradian tetrobols with beardless male head wearing a laurel wreath on obverse, and prow of ship and the letters *M*’ on reverse.²³⁶ These letters were characteristic of Arados’ Achaemenid-era coinage and first Alexanders (see below). As the style of these tetrobols was “parfaitement hellénisé”, Duyrat suggested they were struck either immediately after the Macedonian conquest, or in parallel with Arados’ first Alexanders with the same letters *M*’.²³⁷ Instead, Tyre constitutes a more controversial case – Lemaire suggested ‘Ozmilk/Azelmikos’ coinage ended after the Graeco-Macedonian takeover of Phoenicia, and that a small fractional series with the same types lasted until 322/1 BC.²³⁸ However, in their study on Tyre, the Elayis considered all these issues as pre-Alexandrine products.²³⁹

Byblos, “Ake”, and Damaskos were the first places to follow Sidon in the minting of Alexanders (c.330 BC), later joined by Arados and Karne (c.328 BC). Identification of the Levantine Alexander mints mainly rests on the Greek and Phoenician letters displayed on the coins (**Table 10**). However, since the publication of Price’s catalogue,²⁴⁰ there have been several reattributions. The most controversial one concerns the issues of “Ake”, which may actually be Tyrian.²⁴¹ Houghton and Lorber have reassigned the issues of Marathos, together with Arados’ “anchor Alexanders” and Philip III coins, to Babylonia.²⁴² Strong scepticism also surrounds the identification of Karne as a lifetime Alexander producer.²⁴³ Finally, Le Rider suggested Posideion as a possible mint for bronze Alexanders,²⁴⁴ but Price did not retain his attribution.²⁴⁵

| Mint | Dates | Price 1991 nos. |
|------|-------|-----------------|
|------|-------|-----------------|

²³⁶ Duyrat 2005: nos.1090-1094.

²³⁷ Duyrat 2005: 36.

²³⁸ Lemaire 1976: 11-4, followed by Le Rider 2007: 132-34 and Duyrat 2019: 151.

²³⁹ Elayi & Elayi 2009: 388-89 antedate the start of ‘Ozmilk/Azelmikos’ reign to 349 BC. As the last known dated issue of this king is from Year 17, production of his coinage (Series II.2.1.14-28) would have ended with Alexander’s arrival. Furthermore, they consider the small Tyrian fractions (Series II.1.2.2.b-i) as much earlier than ‘Ozmilk/Azelmikos’ issues.

²⁴⁰ Price 1991.

²⁴¹ *Contra* Price 1979: 241-46. See Le Rider 2007: 126-30 and Elayi & Elayi 2009: 237-38 for a summary of the debate around the “Ake” mint.

²⁴² See Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.34-7, 39, 43-8, 481-83; Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.701-7 (proposed end of Aradian Alexander production in c.320 BC).

²⁴³ Duyrat 2002: 47.

²⁴⁴ Le Rider 1986a: 400.

²⁴⁵ Price 1991: 415.

| | | |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| Arados | c.328-c.300 | 3303-3364 |
| Karne | c.328-c.320 | 2439-3430 |
| Marathos | c.323-c.300 | P159-P167 and 3434-3451 |
| Byblos | c.330-c.320 | 3421-3428 |
| Berytos | c.323-c.320 | 3406-3420 |
| Sidon | 333-306/5 | 3456-3526 |
| “Ake” | c.330-305/4 | 3238-3302 |
| Tyre | c.305-290 | 3528-3562 |
| Damaskos | 330-320 | 3197-3215 |

Table 10: Alexander mints as listed and dated in Price 1991 – late 4th/early 3rd century BC

Among the Levantine Alexander mints, the production of Arados, Sidon, and “Ake” was the most “complete”, ranging from gold stater and silver tetradrachms to denominations as low as Sidon’s pentobols and hemiobols (**Table 11**).

| | AV | AR | | | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| | <i>Stater</i> | <i>Tetradr.</i> | <i>Drachm</i> | <i>Hemidr.</i> | <i>Pentobol</i> | <i>Obol</i> | <i>Hemiobol</i> |
| Arados | | | | | | | |
| Karne | | | | | | | |
| Marathos | | | | | | | |
| Byblos | | | | | | | |
| Berytos | | | | | | | |
| Sidon | | | | | | | |
| “Ake” | | | | | | | |
| Tyre | | | | | | | |
| Damaskos | | | | | | | |

Table 11: metals and denominations of Alexanders in Northern Syria and the Central Levant – late 4th/early 3rd century BC

Thanks to the Greek and Phoenician letters on the Levantine Alexanders, we can recognise the local kings as the minting authorities of this new imperial coinage. At Arados, the first Alexanders bore the

Phoenician letters *M'*, meaning “king (or kingdom) of Arwad”.²⁴⁶ These letters were soon replaced by a monogram containing the letters A and P, standing for the city’s initials.²⁴⁷ The Phoenician mark *M'* returned on the very last Aradian lifetime Alexanders – a group of gold staters – together with the Greek monogram AP.²⁴⁸ In the early years of the Hellenistic period, the Aradian Alexanders introduced a new legend – ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.²⁴⁹ It is unclear if this choice reflected any changes in the political situation of the city. Nonetheless, any reference to the local institutions disappeared from all Levantine Alexanders after the Macedonian’s untimely demise, which suggests that most of the local kingships had ceased to exist by then.

After c.320 BC, Sidon and Ake/Tyre remained the only two Levantine Alexander mints in activity (Table 12), thus maintaining their traditional central role within the Levant. Sidon produced Alexanders with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΥ from 320 BC until Philip III’s death in 316 BC.²⁵⁰ Afterwards, during its brief Ptolemaic occupation in 312 BC,²⁵¹ Sidon produced Alexanders with Ptolemy’s types (horned deified Alexander with elephant headdress/Athena Promachos).²⁵²

| | 333-330 | 330-327 | 327-323 | 323-320 | 320-317 | 317-314 | 314-311 | 311-308 | 308-305 | 305-302 | 302-299 | 299-296 | 296-293 | 293-290 |
|-------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Arados ²⁵³ | | | | B | | | | | | | | | | |
| Byblos | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Berytos | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sidon | | | | | Φ | | | | | | | | | |
| “Ake” | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tyre | | | | | | | | | | B | B | B | B | B |
| Damaskos ²⁵⁴ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

²⁴⁶ Duyrat 2005: Group II, 10, 212. Newell 1923: 120 gave an Aradian attribution to Alexanders with the letters A and Γ. Duyrat initially followed it (Duyrat 2005: Group I, 10) before rejecting it later (Duyrat 2019: 149).

²⁴⁷ Duyrat 2005: Group III.

²⁴⁸ Duyrat 2005: Group III, Series 3. For the other Phoenician lifetime Alexanders, see Duyrat 2019: 151.

²⁴⁹ Price 1991: 33 believed this legend appeared on the issues that were minted in Babylon, Southern Asia Minor, and Phoenicia to pay off the mercenaries in 324 BC. Le Rider 1996: 838 – following Troxell 1991: 45-9; 1997: 92-3 – was more in favour of dating its introduction on the post-323 BC Alexanders. For Arados, Duyrat has opted for the latter hypothesis (Duyrat 2005: Group IV, 11, 214-15).

²⁵⁰ Price 1991: P168-177.

²⁵¹ Diod. 19.80-86; Plut. *Demetr.* 5; App. *Syr.* 54; Just. 15.1.6-9.

²⁵² *CPE* 240.

²⁵³ I followed the dates in Duyrat 2005, but I excluded Duyrat 2005: Groups V-VI, which Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.34-7, 39, 481-83 and Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.701-7 have reattributed to Babylonia.

²⁵⁴ I have used the dates proposed by Glenn 2018.

Table 12: Alexander mints in Syria and the Levant – late 4th/3rd century BC (B = ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ; Φ = ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ)²⁵⁵

Of the lifetime and early-posthumous Alexanders from Syria and the Levant, we only have die-studies for Arados and Damaskos.²⁵⁶ These two cities minted in very different conditions. With sixty/seventy obverse dies, Damaskos was not one of the biggest Alexander mints in terms of output. However, due to the “highly interconnected nature of the links” between the obverse dies, minting in Damaskos probably occurred in a short period of intense activity – according to Simon Glenn, for less than a year. Therefore, after Parmenion’s capture of Damaskos together with Dareios III’s war chest,²⁵⁷ the Macedonians probably decided to strike coinage from this Persian metal as quickly as possible.²⁵⁸ Arados, instead, produced Alexanders for longer than Damaskos. Unfortunately, as the only Phoenician Alexander mint for which we have a full die-study, we cannot properly compare its volume of production with the other Levantine workshops.²⁵⁹ Arados minted the lifetime Alexanders at a low volume, while production intensified dramatically with the early-posthumous issues (**Fig. 13**). This change in output in c.324/3-320 BC was likely connected to the discharge of Alexander’s veterans and to the first conflicts between the *Diadochoi*,²⁶⁰ which was also reflected in the predominance of the tetradrachm denomination, both in the total number of obverse dies (188) and in absolute value (76%) (**Table 13**).

²⁵⁵ Marathos and Karne not included. See nn. 59-60.

²⁵⁶ Duyrat 2005 (Arados); Glenn 2018 (Damaskos).

²⁵⁷ Plut. *Alex.* 24.1-2; Arr. 2.11.9, 2.15.1; Ath. 13.607.

²⁵⁸ Glenn 2018: 103-5.

²⁵⁹ Le Rider 2007: 145-46 attempted to do so by counting the dies of the Alexanders discovered in the Demanhur hoard, but the results were distorted by the abundance of Aradian Alexanders. Duyrat 2019: 153-54 and Table 2 used the number of coins found in hoards as an indicator of the volume of output of Arados, Sidon, and Tyre – she concluded that Tyre was probably the largest mint in terms of production of tetradrachms, while speculating that Sidon could have specialised in striking gold staters.

²⁶⁰ Thompson 1984; Duyrat 2016: 447.

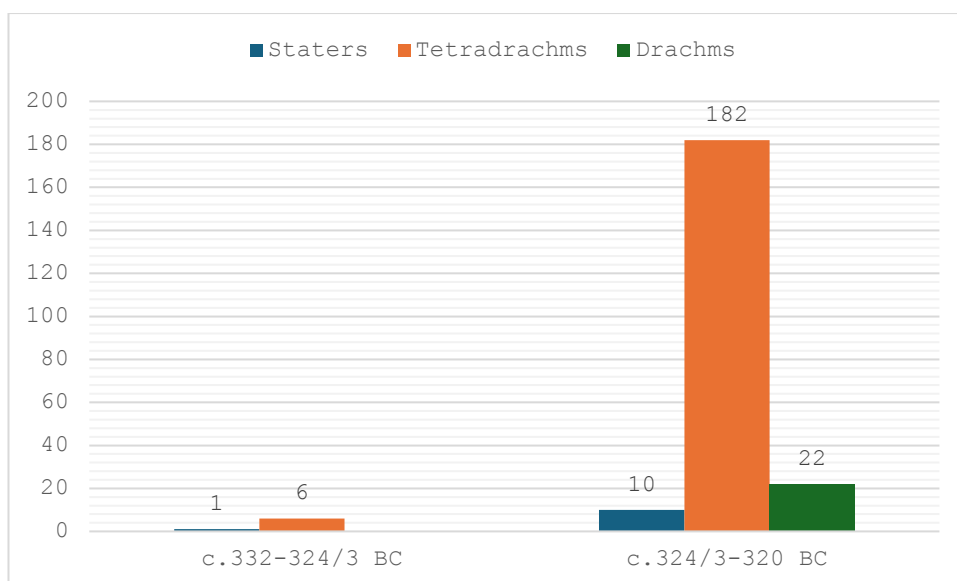


Fig. 13: number of obverse dies used at the Arados Alexander mint – late 4th century BC

| Duyrat 2005 Groups | Dates | | AV | AR | | Total | Obv. dies/year |
|--------------------|----------------|-----------|---------|--------------|---------|---------|----------------|
| | | | Staters | Tetradrachms | Drachms | | |
| II-III | c.332-324/3 BC | obv. dies | 20 | 24 | – | 44 | 4.8 |
| | | g*dies | 86.2g | 103.4g | – | 189.6g | 20.6g |
| | | % | 45 | 55 | – | | |
| IV | c.324/3-320 BC | obv. dies | 200 | 728 | 22 | 950 | 237.5 |
| | | g*dies | 862g | 3137.7g | 94.8g | 4094.5g | 1023.6g |
| | | % | 21 | 77 | 2 | | |
| II-IV | c.332-320 BC | obv. dies | 220 | 752 | 22 | 994 | 76.4 |
| | | g*dies | 948.2g | 3241.1g | 94.8g | 4284.1g | 329.2g |
| | | % | 22 | 76 | 2 | | |

Table 13: drachm-equivalent obverse die count for Arados Alexander mint – late 4th century BC

After Antigonos Monophthalmos' defeat at Ipsos in 301 BC,²⁶¹ a new player entered Syria – Seleukos I, who had previously governed the satrapy of Babylonia from 320 BC to 316 BC, when Antigonos had forced him to flee to Ptolemy I's court. Seleukos had then regained control over Babylonia in 311 BC

²⁶¹ Diod. 21.1.4; Plut. *Demetr.* 29.3-5; App. *Syr.* 55.

thanks to Ptolemy's support,²⁶² assumed the royal title in c.305 BC, and extended his dominion up to the borders with Chandragupta Maurya's kingdom.²⁶³ From his time as satrap of Babylonia to his ascension to royal status, Seleukos did not employ personal types for his gold and silver coinage, but he continued producing Alexanders. This remained his chosen coin-type for his reign, except for some eastern issues from the early 3rd century BC.²⁶⁴

As he gained control over Northern Syria after Ipsos, Seleukos opened new mints in the district of "Seleukis". The first one was inaugurated at Seleukeia-in-Pieria,²⁶⁵ followed by Antioch²⁶⁶ and Laodikeia-by-the-Sea.²⁶⁷ Mint attributions to Seleukeia-in-Pieria and Antioch rest on control-links between the royal coinage and the early civic bronzes of these two cities.²⁶⁸ Instead, the royal issues of Laodikeia-by-the-Sea displayed a dolphin control-mark that later appeared on this city's "quasi-municipal" coinage in the 2nd century BC.

Contrary to his Mesopotamian and eastern issues – all of Seleukos I's Alexanders in Northern Syria featured the legend ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.²⁶⁹ The only exception is a small series of silver tetradrachms with the inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, perhaps from Antigoneia-on-the-Orontes, which minted while Seleukeia-in-Pieria was under construction.²⁷⁰ Even more remarkably, these "Antigoneia" tetradrachms introduced a new iconographic type on the reverse of Seleukos I's Alexanders – namely, the enthroned Zeus Nikephoros, instead of the usual Zeus Aetophoros. This type was employed for all Seleukos I's Northern Syrian coinages (**Fig. 14**), as well as for Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris,²⁷¹ Tarsos,²⁷²

²⁶² Diod. 19.90.1-91.5; App. Syr. 54.

²⁶³ App. Syr. 55.

²⁶⁴ Hero head wearing a helmet with bull's ear and horns/Nike standing right, crowning trophy: SC 173-176 (Susa), 195 (Persis), 196-199 (Uncertain Mint).

²⁶⁵ SC 29-31.

²⁶⁶ SC 12-14.

²⁶⁷ SC 36-37.

²⁶⁸ Antioch: control-links between WSM 910 and SC 13.1c. Seleukeia-in-Pieria: control-links between WSM 896-899 and SC 29.3, and WSM 901 and SC 30.

²⁶⁹ Some of Seleukos' Mesopotamian and eastern issues continued displaying the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ until c.280 BC: SC 39, 41, 44 (Karrhai); 49 (Uncertain Mint 1); 62 (Uncertain Mint 6); 81-83, 86-87 (Babylon); 114, 116 (Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris); 171, 194 (Susa); 204 (Ekbatana).

²⁷⁰ SC 27-28 (two obverse dies in total). These ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ tetradrachms show remarkable similarity in the engraving of types to Seleukeia-in-Pieria. However, they were struck from fixed dies, while Seleukeia-in-Pieria only employed loose ones (Le Rider 1999: 21).

²⁷¹ SC 154. 119-120, 122-124.

²⁷² SC 10.

Sardis,²⁷³ and at a number of uncertain mints.²⁷⁴ This reverse design also proved to be quite exceptional in Seleukid coinage overall – in fact, as soon as under Antiochos I, Zeus returned to the Aetophoros version. The Nikephoros type only reappeared more than a century later with Antiochos IV.



Fig. 14: AR tetradrachm of Seleukos I from Antioch (SC 13.2). American Numismatic Society:

<http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.75011>

Outside of the three mints of the Tetrapolis, Hierapolis-Bambyke produced silver obols in Seleukos' name probably in c.298-294 BC, in the context of the king's benefactions to this temple-state and of his marriage to Stratonike.²⁷⁵ These obols featured the goddess Atarateh on both coin sides and the same stylised bucranium mintmark from the Achaemenid period. However, the "finer style, Greek inscriptions, and use of control letters" clearly distinguished these obols from the earlier coinages of Bambyke.²⁷⁶

Overall, under Seleukos I, the Northern Syrian mints mainly produced tetradrachms. Of the other denominations, Antioch was the only one to strike gold staters and silver hemiobols, while Seleukeia-in-Pieria and Laodikeia-by-the-Sea issued drachms (**Table 14**).

| Mints | |
|---|--------------------|
| Antioch-on-the-Orontes | <i>S T Hemiob.</i> |
| Antigoneia-on-the-Orontes, c.306-300 BC, or Seleukeia-in-Pieria, c.300 BC and shortly after | T |
| Seleukeia-in-Pieria, from c.300 BC or shortly after | <i>T D</i> |
| Laodikeia-by-the-Sea | <i>T D</i> |
| Hierapolis-Bambyke, c.298-294 BC | <i>Obol</i> |

²⁷³ SC 3-5.

²⁷⁴ Uncertain Mint 2 (SC 57); Uncertain Mint 3 (SC 58-59); Uncertain (SC 64-65, 74-75).

²⁷⁵ SC 38. Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.27.

²⁷⁶ Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.27.

Table 14: Coin metals and denominations of Seleukos I by mint – early 3rd century BC

Die-studies for Seleukeia-in-Pieria, Antioch-on-the-Orontes, and Laodikeia-by-the-Sea show that the output of Seleukos I's Northern Syrian mints was vastly inferior not only to Arados in c.332-320 BC, but also to Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris (**Fig. 15**).²⁷⁷ Le Rider attributed such modest production to a higher availability of the other Attic-weight coins than in the Eastern satrapies.²⁷⁸ The copious presence in Seleukid hoards of issues of this weight-standard suggests this might have been the case (see section on circulation below). Overall, in 300-281 BC, Laodikeia-by-the-Sea was the biggest Northern Syrian minter, although, in absolute value, Antioch was more important thanks to its gold stater issue (**Table 15**). The predominance of Laodikeia-by-the-Sea, however, was not peculiar to Seleukos I's reign but would continue until the mid-3rd century BC.

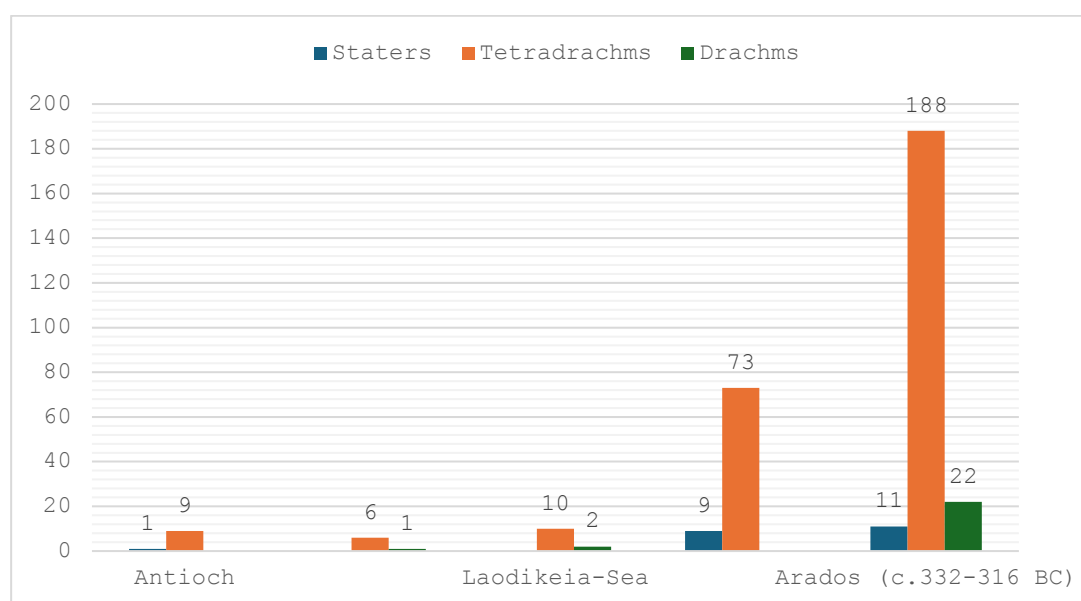


Fig. 15: number of obverse dies used at Antioch-on-the-Orontes, Laodikeia-by-the-Sea, and Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris (c.300-281 BC) vs. Aradian Alexanders (c.332-316 BC)

²⁷⁷ Die-studies: Le Rider 1999: 11-34 (Seleukeia-in-Pieria and Antioch); Houghton 1999 (Laodikeia-by-the-Sea); Newell 1938: 11-36 (Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris).

²⁷⁸ Le Rider 1999: 29.

| Dates | Mints | | AV | AR | | Total | Obv. dies/year |
|------------------|----------------------------|--------------|---------|--------------|---------|--------|-------------------|
| | | | Staters | Tetradrachms | Drachms | | |
| c.300- 281 BC | Antioch-on- the-Orontes | obv. dies | 20 | 36 | – | 56 | 2.8 |
| | | g*dies | 86.2g | 155.1g | – | 241.3g | 12g |
| | | % | 36 | 64 | – | | |
| | Seleukeia- in-Pieria | obv. dies | – | 24 | 1 | 25 | 1.2 |
| | | g*dies | – | 103.4g | 4.3g | 107.7g | 5.4g |
| | | % | – | 96 | 4 | | |
| | Laodikeia- by-the-Sea | obv. dies | – | 40 | 2 | 42 | 2.1 |
| | | g*dies | – | 172.4g | 8.6g | 181g | 9g |
| | | % | – | 95 | 5 | | |
| | Total | obv. dies | 20 | 100 | 3 | 123 | 6.1 |
| | | g*dies | 86.2g | 431g | 13g | 530.2g | 26.3g |
| | | % | 16 | 81 | 3 | | |

**Table 15: obverse die count for Antioch-on-the-Orontes and Laodikeia-by-the-Sea expressed in drachms
– early 3rd century BC**

1.2.1.2. Bronze coinages

Among the Phoenician Alexander mints, Arados, Byblos, Sidon, and “Ake” issued bronze Alexanders, which featured the head of a beardless Herakles wearing lion skin headdress on obverse, and bow in bow-case and club on reverse, alongside the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.²⁷⁹

However, it was only under Seleukos I that we observe an important development in bronze coin-production. In fact, Antioch alone struck three series of bronzes for this ruler,²⁸⁰ whereas Seleukeia-in-

²⁷⁹ Arados: Price 1991: nos.3311, 3334-3335; Duyrat 2005: Group IV nos.133-134, 870-873. Byblos: Price 1991: nos.3425, 2427-2428. Sidon: Price 1991: nos.3469, 3492-3493. “Ake”: Price 1991: nos.3268-3269.

²⁸⁰ SC 15-26.

Pieria issued two.²⁸¹ Both cities initially struck civic bronzes with Zeus head on obverse and thunderbolt on reverse,²⁸² but stopped once the royal coinage began. The mint magistrates of the civic bronzes were reemployed for the royal precious-metal issues,²⁸³ but a separate administration got in charge of the royal bronzes. In fact, these bronzes share no control monograms with the earlier civic issues, nor with the royal gold and silver coins. The break from the earlier civic bronzes, while not immediately evident at Seleukeia-in-Pieria – which continued the earlier civic types (Zeus/thunderbolt) – is instead clear at Antioch, whose bronzes displayed several new designs, including Apollo, Athena Promachos, and Medusa, among others. Neither Newell nor Houghton and Lorber have attributed a bronze coinage to Laodikeia-by-the-Sea. Instead, Apameia-on-the-Orontes, which lacked a royal workshop for precious-metal coins under Seleukos I, apparently produced bronze issues with elephant/horned horse head types.²⁸⁴ Newell justified this attribution due to the Syrian fabric and military types of these bronzes.²⁸⁵ Overall, Seleukos' major innovation consisted in concentrating coin-production in an area that had not been the fulcrum of Achaemenid Northern Syria. We ignore the details of his relationship with Arados – nonetheless, we know of no Seleukid workshop operating there at this stage. Outside of Hierapolis-Bambyke's exceptional issue of tetrobols, minting responsibilities for Seleukos' coinage were distributed among the cities of the Tetrapolis. While Apameia only produced bronzes, no clear hierarchy was evident among the other three cities at this stage – despite some differences, they all minted at similar volumes. Bronze coin-production, instead, shows a different picture – with its rich series of bronzes, Antioch emerged as the centre for low-level payments to Seleukid troops and garrisons in Northern Syria already in the early 3rd century BC.

²⁸¹ *SC* 32-34.

²⁸² *WSM* 894, 896-899, 901; 910.

²⁸³ Antioch: control-links between *WSM* 910 and *SC* 13.1c. Seleukeia-in-Pieria: control-links between *WSM* 896-899 and *SC* 29.3, and *WSM* 901 and *SC* 30.

²⁸⁴ *SC* 35.

²⁸⁵ Newell 1941: 156.

1.2.2. Circulation

1.2.2.1. Hoard evidence

| N. of hoards | Greece, Maced., Thrace | Asia Minor | Cyprus | N. Syria | C. Levant | S. Levant | Egypt | East |
|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| 9 | Athens (and imitations) Amphipolis, Pella, Corinth | Sinope, Kyzikos, Ephesos Tarsos (Datames, Mazaïos) Lampsakos, Abydos, Aigai, Sardis, Teos, Kolophon, Magnesia, Miletos, Side, Tarsos, Myriandros | Paphos, Amathos, Kition, Salamis | Arados Hierapolis- Bambyke (satrapal) Arados, Marathos | Tyre Damaskos, Byblos, Berytos, Sidon | Ake/ Tyre | Alexan- dria | Karrhai, Babylon, Seleuk.- Tigris, Susa, Ekbatana? |

Table 16: geographic provenance of coins found in hoards from Northern Syria (royal mints in bold) – late 4th/early 3rd century BC

The hoard evidence from the late 4th/early 3rd century BC is marked by the return of coins from (especially Western) Asia Minor and Cyprus, and by the appearance of issues from Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Upper Satrapies (**Table 16**). The opening up of Northern Syria to coins from these other regions is already apparent in the “Syria, 100 km east of Aleppo, 1989” hoard (*CH* 8.158), buried in 333 BC. In it, for the first time since the 5th century BC, we find coins from Asia Minor – namely, from Sinope, Kyzikos, Ephesos, and from Datames’ and Mazaïos’ Tarsian workshops – mixed with products from Bambyke, Tyre, and Athenian owls. The “Syria, 1989” hoard is thus reflective of the “internationalisation” of currency the Graeco-Macedonians introduced in Northern Syria. However, the two other hoards from before 330 BC – “Latakia, 1936” (*IGCH* 1494 = *CH* 8.587 = *CH* 9.414) and “Arados, 1999” (*CH* 9.446) – have both yielded only Achaemenid-era Aradian issues. In order to see a truly changed monetary landscape, we have to wait until 320 BC, when coins from Mesopotamia

became a major component of Northern Syrian hoards, to the detriment of the Levantine products (Figs. 16-17).

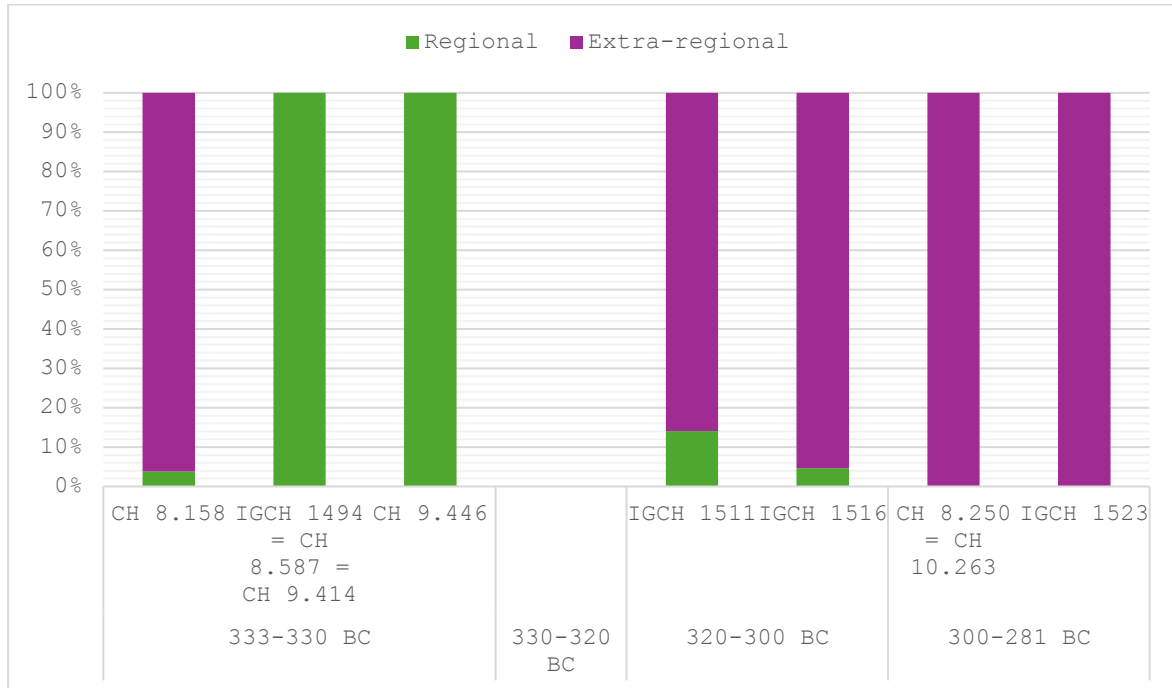


Fig. 16: regional vs. extra-regional coins in Northern Syria – late 4th/early 3rd century BC

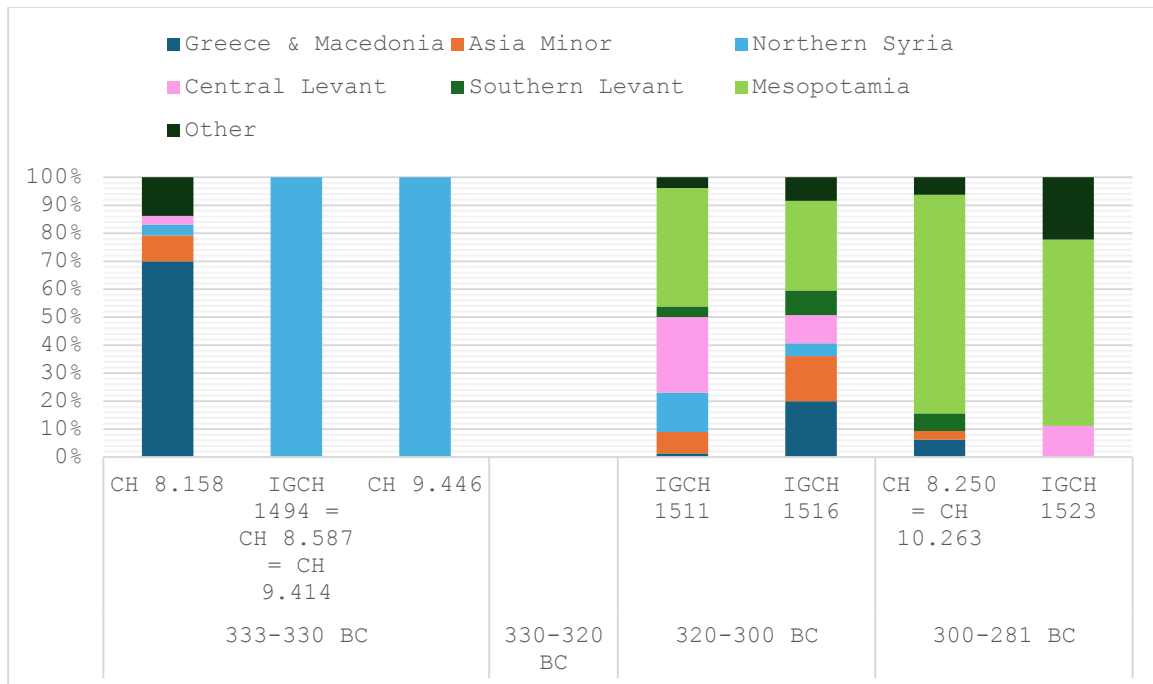


Fig. 17: regions represented in Northern Syrian hoards – late 4th/early 3rd century BC

The arrival of Mesopotamian coins in the last two decades of the 4th century BC coincided with the Alexanders' takeover of the hoard evidence (**Figs. 18-19**).²⁸⁶ These Mesopotamian Alexanders entered the Northern Syrian monetary circulation from 320 BC onwards, first with Antigonos' troops returning from their eastern campaign against Eumenes of Kardias in 316 BC, and later with Seleukos' takeover of Northern Syria post-battle of Ipsos. Among the royal coinages of the early Hellenistic period, Alexanders were the most predominant issues; Philip III's issues constitute a small share of the evidence, while Ptolemaic and Seleukid coins made their first appearance in two hoards from Aleppo – "Aleppo, 1892?" (*IGCH* 1516), buried c.305 BC, and "Aleppo, 1983" (*CH* 8.231), from c.300 BC. Afterwards, Ptolemaic coins hardly turned up in Northern Syria, except for some exceptional hoards from the 3rd century BC. Seleukos I's issues predictably continued to appear in Northern Syria after 300 BC, but they only represent a marginal share of the evidence from the early 3rd century BC – we can only count thirty-four Seleukid coins, against a total of 101 Alexanders.

²⁸⁶ The takeover of Alexanders in the Central and Southern Levant was similarly slow. This coin-type first appeared, for the Central Levant, in "Qasr Naba, 1902" (*IGCH* 1506 = *CH* 8.587 = *CH* 9.445), buried in 332 BC; in the South, in "Tel Michal, 1977-1980" (*CH* 10.256), buried after 325-320 BC. In the decade 330-320 BC, in both the Central and Southern Levant, the Alexanders coexisted with Achaemenid-period issues, but they finally took over the evidence in the last two decades of the 4th century BC. Nonetheless, differently from Northern Syria, pre-Hellenistic coins or non-royal issues continued to appear in hoards until c.300 BC, albeit much more rarely than before. See Duyrat 2016: 330-33.

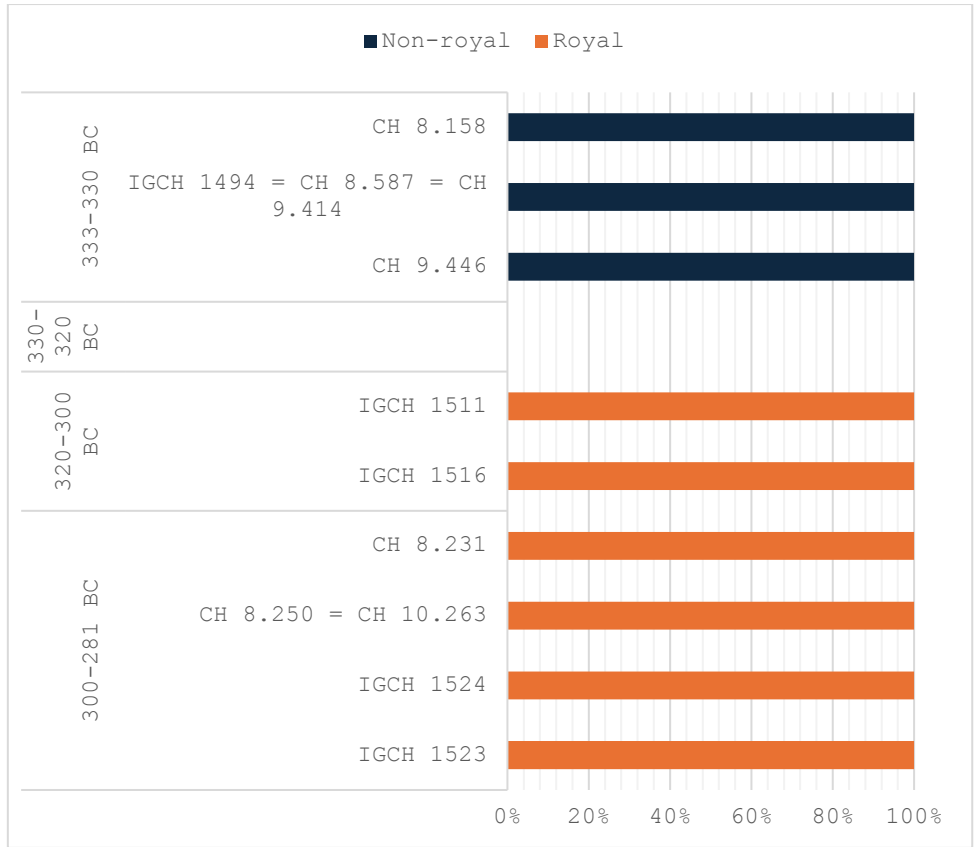


Fig. 18: non-royal vs. royal coins in Northern Syrian hoards – late 4th/early 3rd century BC

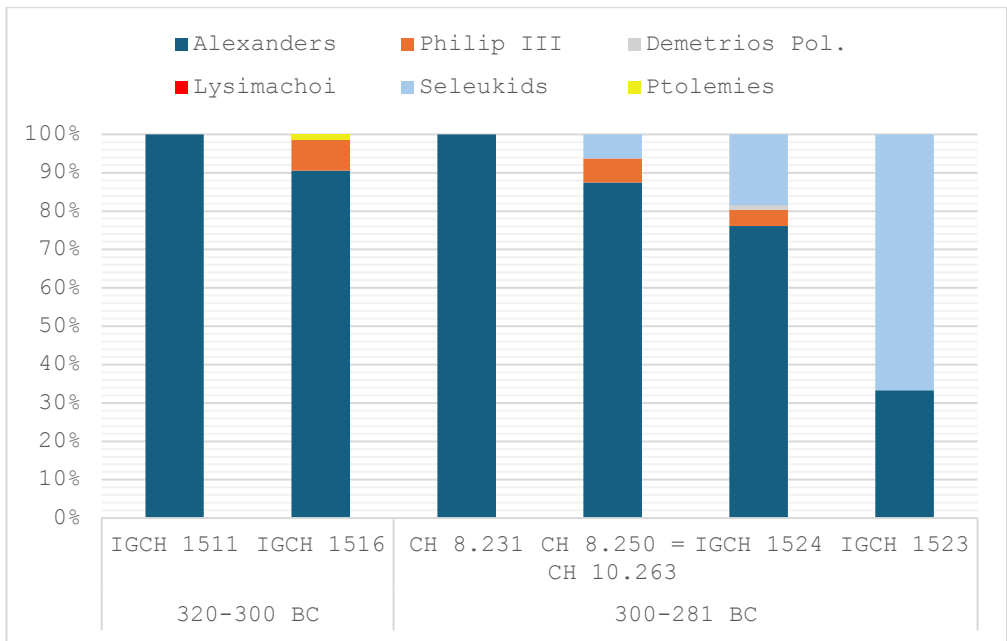


Fig. 19: royal coin-types in Northern Syrian hoards – late 4th/early 3rd century BC

The only eight Seleukid issues that have received mint attribution are all eastern products, predominantly from Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris, and few from Susa (**Fig. 20**).²⁸⁷ For the Alexanders, if we also include the hoards from the end of the 4th century BC, we have a much larger data set – a total of 1031 coins with mint attribution. Levantine Alexanders (25%: 257 coins) – especially the ones from Arados, Marathos, and Karne (5%: 54 coins) – are much fewer than the western (33%: 348 coins) and eastern Alexanders (37%: 373 coins) (**Fig. 21**). This strongly suggests this coinage was not meant for local use, but especially for export, most likely connected with the movement of troops.

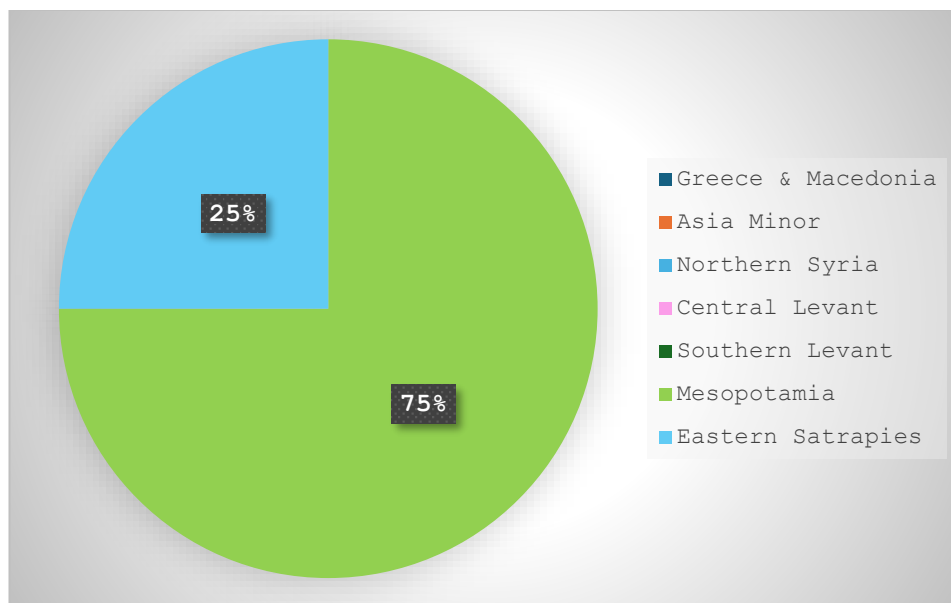


Fig. 20: geographic provenance of Seleukos I's coins – late 4th/early 3rd century BC (total no. = 8)

²⁸⁷ No mint attribution for the Seleukid coins in “Aleppo, 1983” (*CH* 8.231: nine issues) and “Aleppo, 1933” (*IGCH* 1524: seventeen issues).

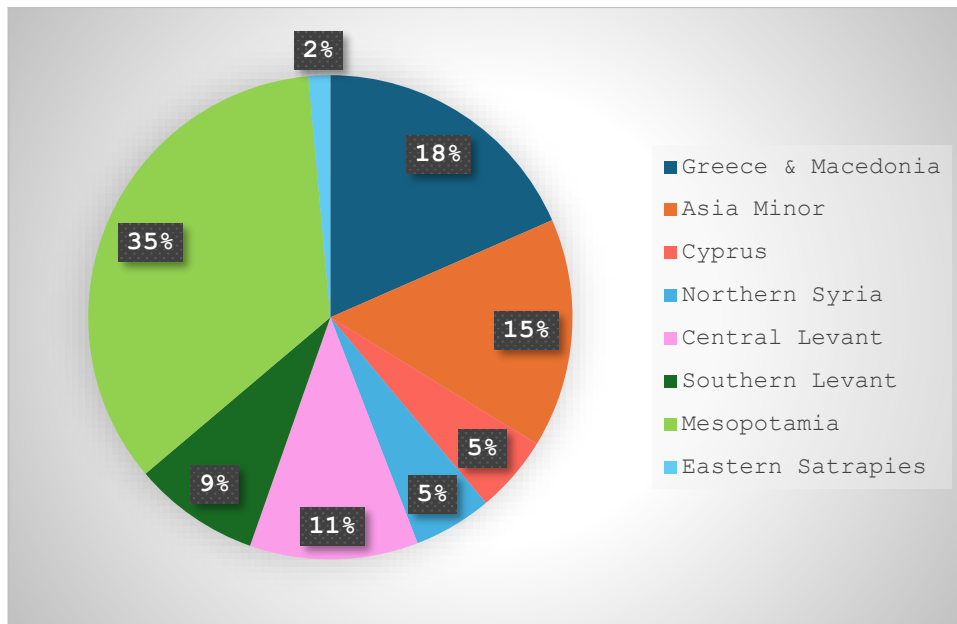


Fig. 21: geographic provenance of Alexander III and Philip III coins in Northern Syrian hoards – late 4th/early 3rd century BC (total no. = 1031)

With the creation of an “international” coinage like the Alexanders, the “preferential” monetary areas of Phoenician coinages that we have observed for the Achaemenid period were completely broken up. In fact, Aradian and Byblian coins – which had mostly circulated near their mint of origin in the 4th century BC – are even found in the Southern Levant; Tyrian issues – which had established their “preferential” monetary area in the South – have been discovered in Northern Syrian hoards from the late 4th/early 3rd century BC (**Fig. 22**).

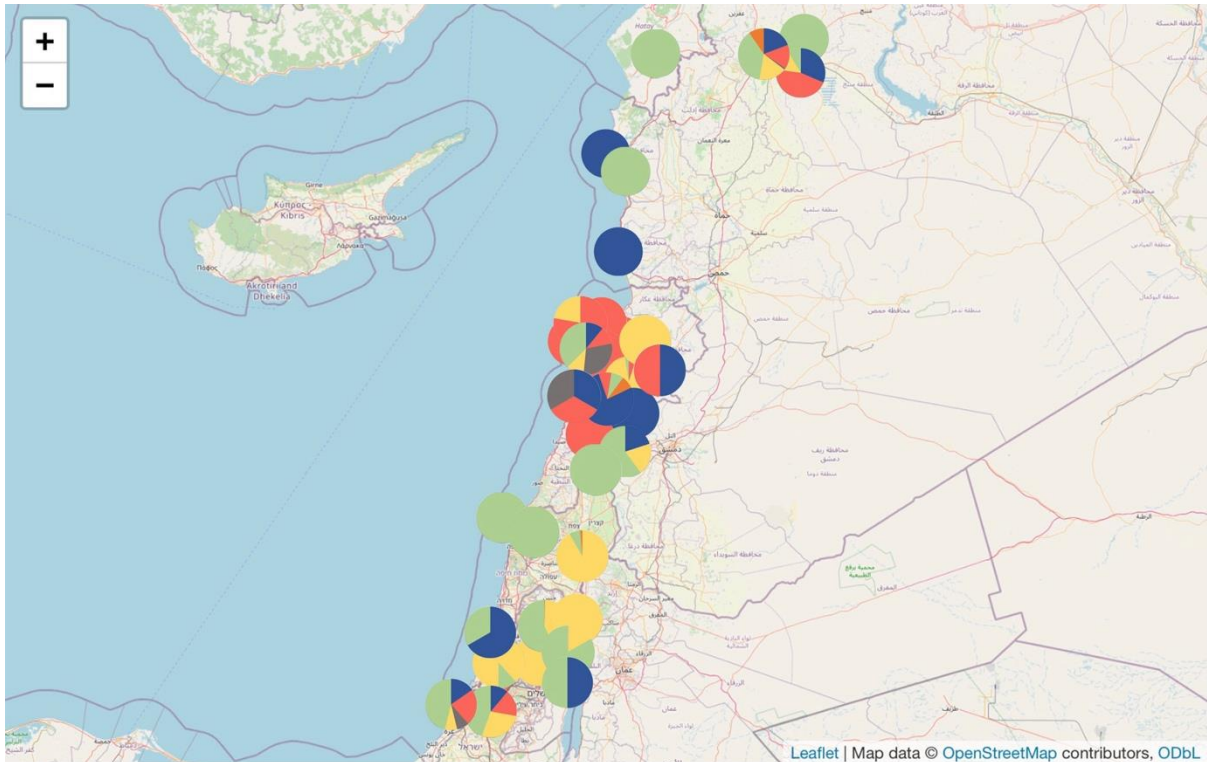


Fig. 22: hoards from Syria and the Levant with Phoenician coins – late 4th/early 3rd century BC (Arados = *blue*; Byblos = *red*; Berytos = *grey*; Sidon = *yellow*; Tyre = *green*; Damaskos = *orange*)

1.2.2.2. Single find evidence

The single find evidence shows continuity with the Achaemenid period, insofar as the coastal settlements have yielded the highest number of single finds for the late 4th/early 3rd century BC (**Fig. 23**). This indicates these centres were occupied for a large part of the early Hellenistic period, probably also by the Graeco-Macedonian troops left to garrison these places, before Seleukos moved most of them to the Tetrapolis. The presence of Graeco-Macedonian soldiers also explains the increased presence of bronzes among the single finds for the late 4th/early 3rd century BC – aside for some exceptions, coins in this metal usually represent over 80% of the finds from this period at each excavation site (**Fig. 24**).

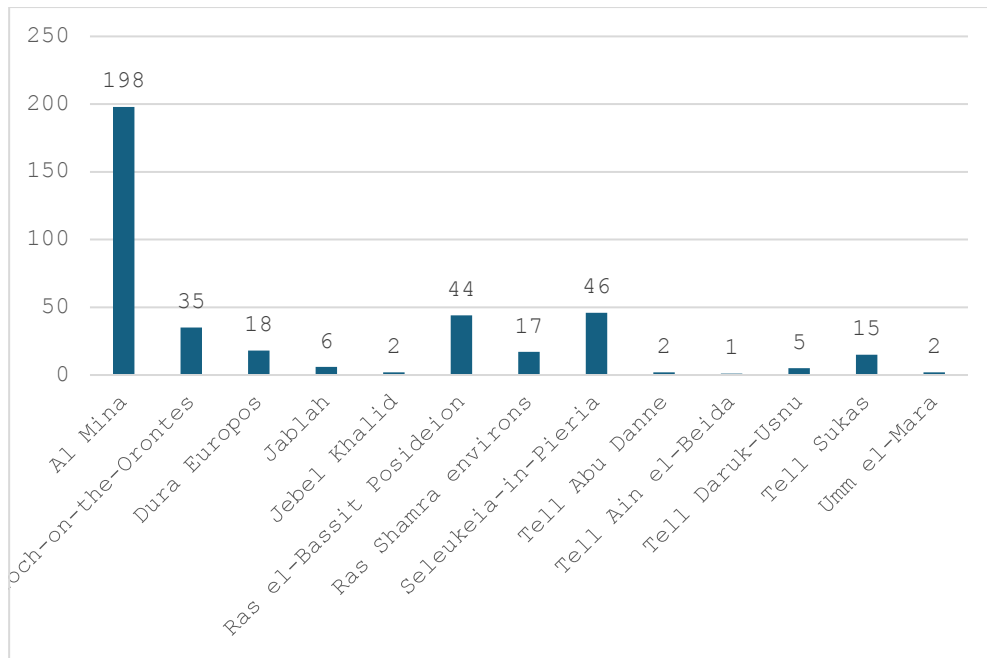


Fig. 23: no. of single finds in Northern Syrian excavation sites – late 4th/early 3rd century BC

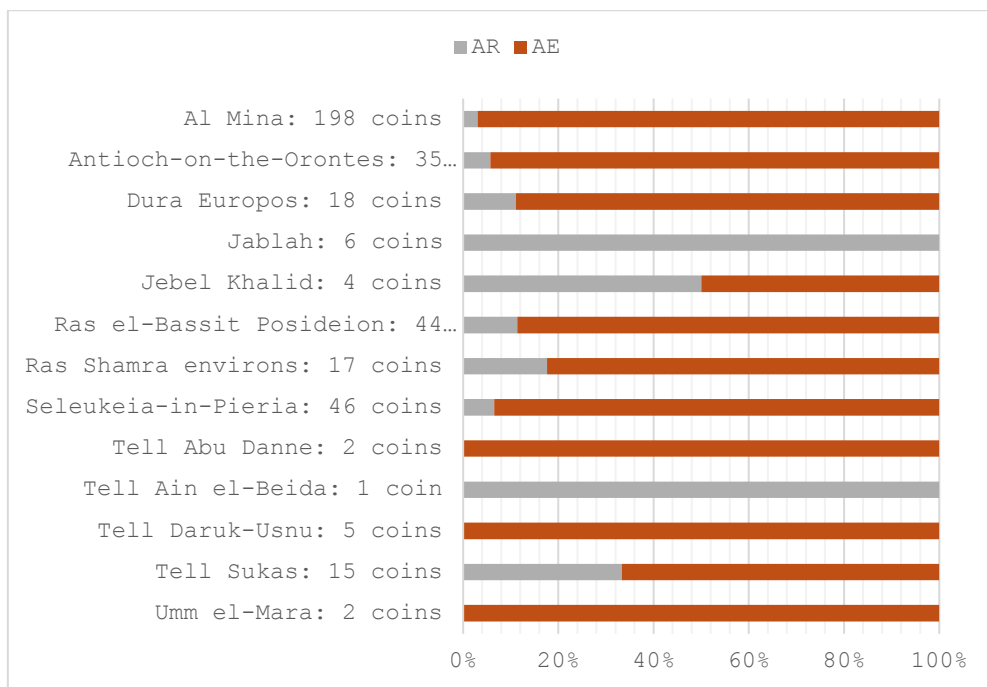


Fig. 24: silver vs. bronze coins in Northern Syrian excavation sites – late 4th/early 3rd century BC

The single find evidence shows the usual mix of western and local mints, although for the late 4th/early 3rd century BC, most bronze coins are of local origin or come from neighbouring areas (Fig. 25). Except for very few civic bronzes, all the single finds for this period are royal products (Fig. 26). These are

mostly Alexanders, which represent a large share of the evidence at every site, especially in the coastal settlements (**Fig. 27**). Instead, at this stage, the coins of Antioch-on-the-Orontes and – to a lesser degree – Seleukeia-in-Pieria are mainly found in their place of production and at the garrison-towns at the northern and southern crossings of the Euphrates (**Fig. 28**).

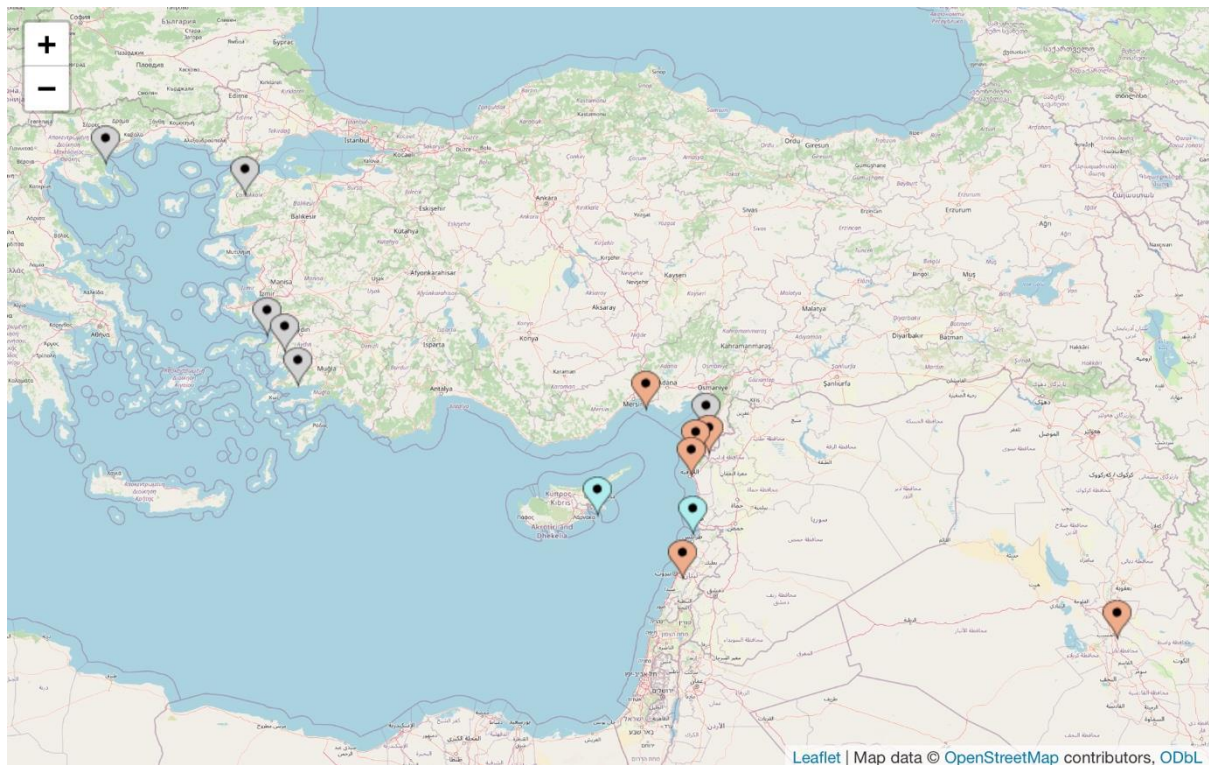


Fig. 25: mints in Northern Syrian excavation sites – late 4th/early 3rd century BC (grey = silver coins; brown = bronze coins; blue = silver and bronze coins)

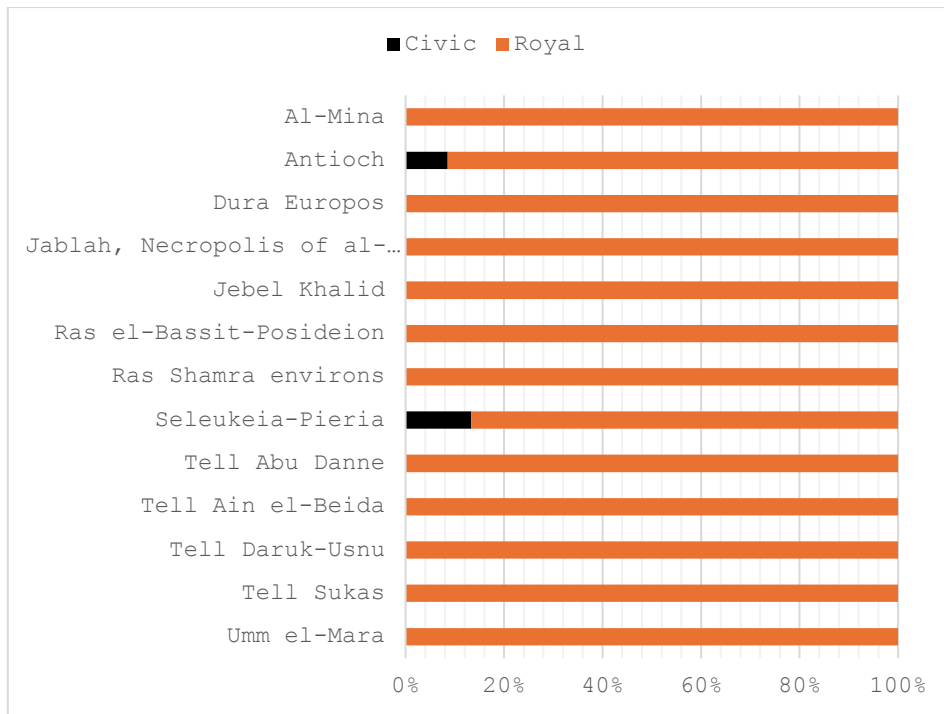


Fig. 26: civic vs. royal coins in Northern Syrian excavation sites – late 4th/early 3rd century BC

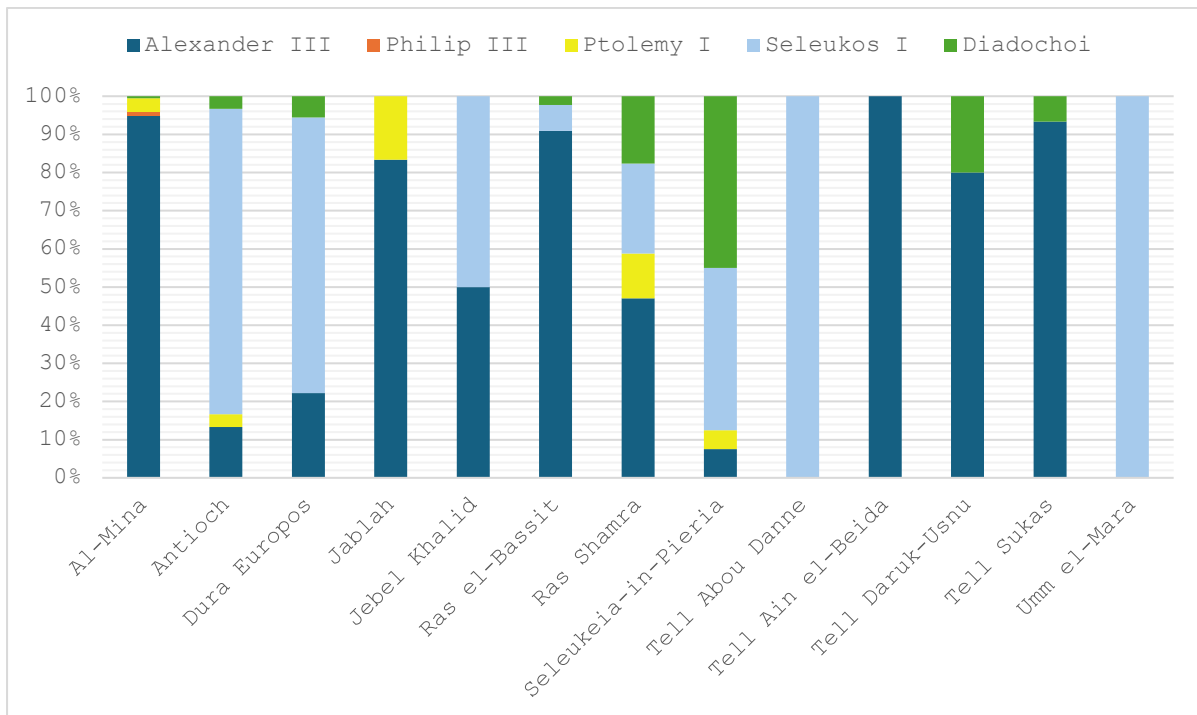


Fig. 27: royal coins in Northern Syrian excavation sites – late 4th/early 3rd century BC

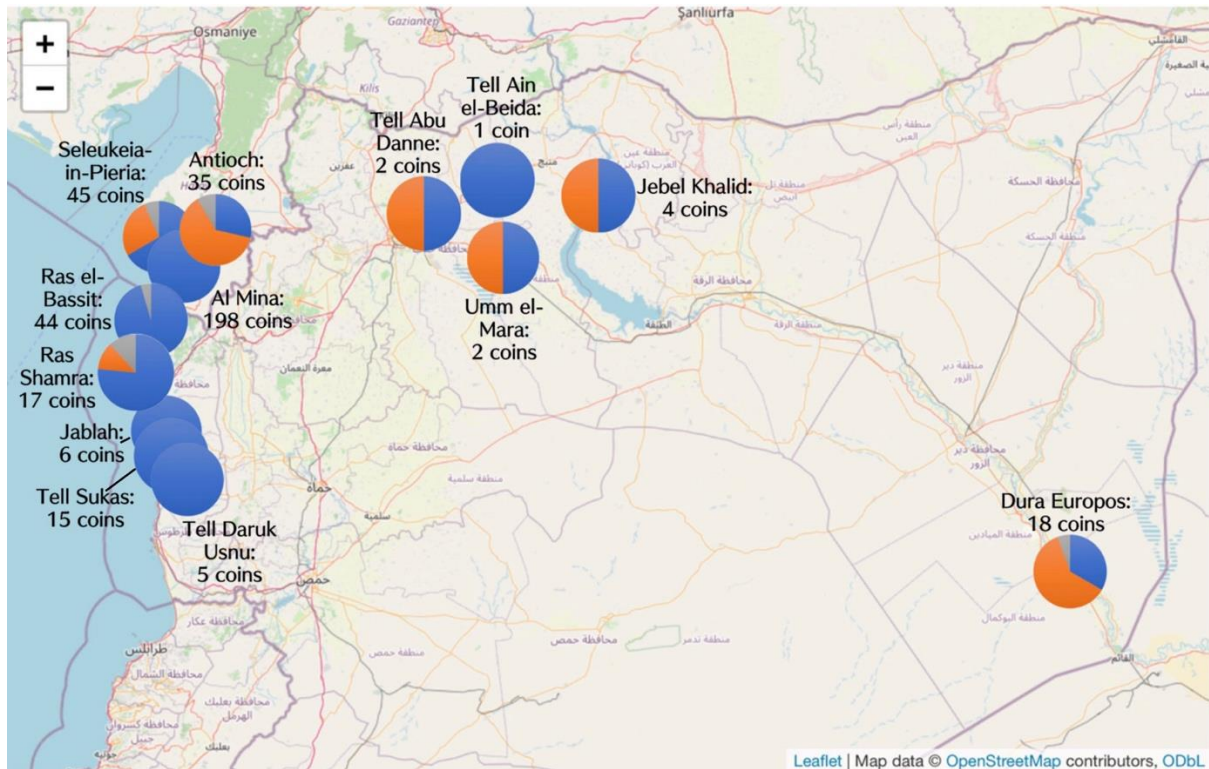


Fig. 28: Northern Syrian excavation sites – late 4th/early 3rd century BC (*Antioch* = orange; *Seleukeia-in-Pieria* = grey; other mints = blue)

Overall, the single find evidence shows that the arrival of the Graeco-Macedonians in Northern Syria was a major disruptor not only for the precious-metal coinages, which became predominated by an international, imperial coinage, but also for the low-level monetary economy of this region, which was “flooded” with Graeco-Macedonian bronzes. This constituted a major departure from the Achaemenid period, when fractional silver coinage was the preferred means for low-level transactions. Coming from areas where mainly bronze was used for everyday exchanges, the Graeco-Macedonian troops mostly received their *sitarchia* in coins of this metal. Admittedly, we ignore how widespread the use of bronze issues became among the local population, but at this stage we may suspect it was essentially limited to the royal garrisoning troops. Finally, the single find evidence offers an important snippet of the transition from the centrality of the coastal settlements of Al-Mina, Ras el-Bassit, and Ras Shamra, typical of the Achaemenid period, to the centrality of the Orontes valley and of the crossings of the Euphrates River, typical, instead, of the Seleukid organisation of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.

Section 1.3. 3rd century (c.280-189 BC)

1.3.1. Production

1.3.1.1. Royal coinages

1.3.1.1.1. Silver and gold coinages

During Antiochos' reign, Laodikeia-by-the-Sea continued its Alexander tetradrachms and drachms in Seleukos I's name and with the dolphin mintmark, although the issues now returned to the Zeus Aetophoros reverse type (**Fig. 29**).²⁸⁸ Another series of tetradrachms in Antiochos I's name and with seated Apollo on omphalos on reverse are assigned to Antioch,²⁸⁹ but their mint attribution is admittedly rather dubious.²⁹⁰



Fig. 29: AR tetradrachm of Antiochos I from Laodikeia-by-the-Sea (SC 357.4d). American Numismatic Society: <http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.77058>

The same attribution problems also concern the gold staters and tetradrachms of Antiochos II.²⁹¹ Houghton and Lorber note that no discernible links are traceable with Antiochos I's tetradrachms from the same mint.²⁹² Overall, their attribution to Antioch fundamentally rests on the importance this city assumed in Seleukid Syria under Antiochos II.²⁹³ Instead, other tetradrachms and drachms in this king's

²⁸⁸ SC 357-358.

²⁸⁹ SC 335.

²⁹⁰ It only rests on a similarity of control monograms Newell 1941: 108 identified with some Antiochene royal bronzes of Antiochos I (Newell 1941: 108 (Control monogram ΠΙΟ: WSM 937 and 942 = SC 335.2 and 339.2), 114 (Control monogram ΔΡΩΟ: WSM 957 and 960-62 = SC 335.4c and 351.1)). Le Rider 1999: 37 accepts that, despite the slight differences, the monograms on the silver tetradrachms and the bronze coins may, after all, be the same. However, note that *Seleukid Coins Online* reads the letters ΓΟ in the control monogram on SC 335.2 but ΠΙΟ on the bronze SC 339.2.

²⁹¹ SC 570-571.

²⁹² Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.200.

²⁹³ Newell 1941: 119-20 presented the classification of Antiochos II's silver tetradrachms of Antioch – in Le Rider's words – "... comme allant de soi" (Le Rider 1999: 43). Le Rider 1999: 43-4 attempted to adduce similarity

name are assigned to unidentified mints between Syria and Northern Mesopotamia, likely of military origin.²⁹⁴ In fact, numismatic and papyrological evidence attests to brief Ptolemaic presence in Seleukis Syria and Kilikia during the Second Syrian War (262-252 BC) –²⁹⁵ thus, some clashes with the Ptolemaic army likely occurred in this area in those years. In 252 BC, Antiochos II's wedding with Ptolemy II's sister Berenike at Antioch sealed the end of the conflict,²⁹⁶ possibly prompting production of Antioch's gold staters to celebrate this very event.²⁹⁷ In parallel with the coins in Antiochos II's name, Laodikeia-by-the-Sea continued issuing Alexanders with the legend ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.²⁹⁸ According to Houghton's chronology, this workshop eventually closed at the end of Antiochos II's reign in c.246 BC.²⁹⁹

Newell termed the period following Antiochos II's death as "interregnum" for Northern Syria, lasting until Seleukos II's recovery of Antioch in 244 BC.³⁰⁰ In the years of the "interregnum", a temporary mint was likely set up by partisans of Seleukos II at Antioch or in its proximity.³⁰¹ It produced bronzes with the control monogram ΔΕΛ and the legend ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (see section below on bronze production). Because of the peculiar control monogram, Le Rider has termed this temporary workshop "ΔΕΛ Mint".³⁰² To these ΔΕΛ bronzes Houghton and Lorber have also associated gold octadrachms and silver tetradrachms with Antiochos I's diademed head on obverse and the same legend ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ

of monograms and of technical features between Antiochos I's and Antiochos II's coins as proof of Antioch's activity under the latter king. However, Le Rider was ultimately forced to admit that: "Aucun de ces arguments n'est décisif.", while nonetheless concluding that: "...puisqu'il est vraisemblable qu'Antioche a frappé sous Antiochos II des monnaies en métal précieux, on peut dire au moins que nos n^{os} 1-77 prennent sans difficulté la suite des monnaies n^{os} 1-28 d'Antiochos I dans l'atelier antiochéen". As for the gold staters, for Newell 1941: 119, the monogram on SC 570.2 (= WSM 974) may be assimilable to the ones featured on Antiochos II's silver tetradrachms SC 571.4b and 571.1 (= WSM 971 and 976). However, for the other gold stater assigned to Antioch (SC 570.1), Le Rider 1999: 45 noted that its control monograms and its rendering of the diadem on Antiochos II's head are alien to Antiochene customs. Thus, he concluded that: "... une attribution... à Antioche est possible, ma n'est pas certaine."

²⁹⁴ Uncertain Mint 28: SC 577-578; Le Rider 1999: 56.

²⁹⁵ "Hüseyinli, 1986" (CH 9.489), found 9 km west of Antakya, has yielded fifty-eight Ptolemaic *trichrysa*, together with one Antiochos I bronze (Davesne & Yenisoganci 1992). Ptolemy II also struck silver staters and drachms at Tarsos in 261-259 BC (CPE 400-403). Instead, a demotic *ostrakon* and *papyri* from the Zenon archive attest to the presence of Ptolemy II at Daphne in 258/7 BC and of Egyptian soldiers at the frontier on the Eleutheros river in 257 BC (Winnicki 1991).

²⁹⁶ App. Syr. 65; P. Cair. Zenon II.59251.

²⁹⁷ Newell 1941: 119.

²⁹⁸ SC 576.

²⁹⁹ Houghton 1999: 179.

³⁰⁰ Newell 1941: 163.

³⁰¹ Le Rider 1999: 85-90.

³⁰² Le Rider 1999: 74-90 ("Atelier ΔΕΛ").

ANTIOXOY (**Fig. 30**).³⁰³ However, differently from the bronzes, these gold and silver coins lack any control monograms, making their attribution to the ΔΕΛ Mint rather tentative.³⁰⁴



Fig. 30: AR tetradrachm of the “interregnum”, ΔΕΛ Mint (SC 641). Münzkabinett, Wien:

<https://www.ikmk.at/object?id=ID52101>

In the same year he recovered Antioch, Seleukos II reopened the royal workshop of this city, which produced gold staters, silver tetradrachms, and drachms.³⁰⁵ Control-links to coinages of Seleukos II’s predecessors and successors make the attribution of these precious-metal issues more secure than for the earlier rulers.³⁰⁶ Seleukos II was also a major innovator of the iconographic repertoire of Antioch’s coinage – in fact, his staters and tetradrachms introduced the Apollo standing with bow reverse type (**Fig. 31**), while the drachms displayed Athena’s head in Attic helmet on obverse (**Fig. 32**). Furthermore, for the first time since its opening under Seleukos I, Antioch produced not one, but two series of gold staters.



Fig. 31: AR tetradrachm of Seleukos II at Antioch (SC 689.1a). American Numismatic Society:

<http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.75084>

³⁰³ SC 640-641.

³⁰⁴ On this point, see also Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.657.

³⁰⁵ SC 687-691.

³⁰⁶ Le Rider 1999: 67.



Fig. 32: AR drachm of Seleukos II at Antioch (SC 691.1). American Numismatic Society:

<http://numismatics.org/collection/1967.152.602>

The minting activity of Antioch under Seleukos II occurred in two phases, possibly separated by a gap period,³⁰⁷ perhaps reflecting the troubles in this city fomented by the king's aunt Stratonike during the king's campaign in the East against the Parthians and Antiochos Hierax.³⁰⁸ In fact, some tetradrachms portray the king with mature features, probably after Seleukos' return from the Parthian expedition and after Hierax's expulsion from Mesopotamia.³⁰⁹ As these later tetradrachms were not control-linked to the earlier ones, they likely coincided with a reorganisation of the mint – probably an aftereffect of the repression of Stratonike's revolt. The new mint magistrates of these final issues of Seleukos II signed with the letters ΞY and ΩP .³¹⁰ The latter monogram also appeared on several other coinages of Seleukos II – on gold staters Le Rider attributed to Antioch,³¹¹ although Houghton and Lorber suggested they were minted elsewhere,³¹² and on silver tetradrachms of the $\Delta E A$ Mint,³¹³ which also struck gold staters and silver drachms, with frequent die-links with Antioch's issues, showing closeness of the two workshops.³¹⁴

Several other coinages of Seleukos II, both gold staters and silver coins, are of uncertain mint attribution.³¹⁵ Houghton and Lorber have catalogued them either as perhaps Antiochene products,³¹⁶ or

³⁰⁷ See Le Rider 1999: 67.

³⁰⁸ Just. 28.1.2; Jos. *Ap.* 1.206.

³⁰⁹ Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.253.

³¹⁰ *SC* 689.10, 690.

³¹¹ Le Rider 1999: 60 nos.18-22; 67.

³¹² Gold Staters with the Antioch Control ΩP , perhaps minted elsewhere: *SC* 717-719; Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.261-62.

³¹³ *SC* 704.1d, 704.4.

³¹⁴ *SC* 703-704.

³¹⁵ Le Rider 1999: 69-73 questioned their attribution to Antioch by Newell mainly on stylistic grounds.

³¹⁶ *SC* 701-702.

emissions of uncertain workshops in Northern Syria/Northern Mesopotamia.³¹⁷ These coinages of uncertain attribution were probably linked with Seleukos II's eastern campaign and with his fight with Hierax in Mesopotamia. Before he died unexpectedly in a horse-riding accident in late 225 BC,³¹⁸ Seleukos was also probably planning an expedition to retake the former Seleukid territories in Asia Minor from Attalos I, who had, in the meantime, extended his possessions through his victories over Antiochos Hierax. In fact, Karne and Simyra produced tetradrachms with Seleukos II's types in 229/8 BC and 225/4 BC respectively,³¹⁹ thus at the very end of Seleukos' reign.³²⁰ Contrary to "standard" Seleukid products of the Tetrapolis, however, these issues were marked with Greek civic monograms and were dated in Phoenician letters following the local Aradian era – thus, underlining the contribution of the local authorities in their minting. The coinages of Karne and Simyra would have constituted a forced contribution for this campaign in Asia Minor, which, however, ultimately never took place under Seleukos II.

Porphry informs us that Seleukos III was also preparing for a similar expedition against Ptolemy III.³²¹ In fact, his reign was marked by massive spending, as exemplified by the adoption of the octadrachm denomination for Antioch's gold coins, struck from two obverse dies. Works at the Antioch mint continued to be supervised by the same ΞΥ and ΩΡ magistrates from Seleukos II's final issues,³²² although the Apollo on reverse returned to the usual seated position on omphalos. Production in 225/4 BC of Alexander tetradrachms with the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥΥ at mints of the Syrian coast – namely, Laodikeia-by-the-Sea(?),³²³ Arados, and the cities of its *peraia* –³²⁴ suggests Seleukos was also planning

³¹⁷ Uncertain Mint 38: SC 721-722; Uncertain Mint 39: SC 723-724; Probably Uncertain Mint 39: SC 725.

³¹⁸ Just. 27.3.12. Hoover 2006: 46 and Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.657-58 date Seleukos II's death in November/December 225 BC.

³¹⁹ Karne: SC Ad154; Simyra: SC Ad157, C931.

³²⁰ Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.337 and Duyrat 2005: 234-35 attributed Simyra's Seleukid tetradrachms to Seleukos III's reign (225/4 BC). However, the revised dates for Seleukos II's rule as suggested in Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.657-58, and the use of the standing Apollo with bow on reverse, indicate they were rather issued at the end of Seleukos II's reign.

³²¹ Porph. *FGrHist* 260 F44. Asia Minor campaign: Newell 1941: 132; Price 1991: 432; Meadows 2009a: 71. Campaign in Koile Syria: Seyrig 1971: 7-11; Duyrat 2002: 55; Duyrat 2005: 234-35.

³²² Monogram with letters ΞΥ: SC 690, 695-696 and 920-921.1, 921.3, 921.5. Monogram with letters ΩΡ: SC 689.10, 690a, 704.4 and 920, 921.1-4.

³²³ SC 926. However, Price 1991: 404 noted that both his attribution of these Alexanders to Laodikeia and their dating to c.225 BC needed confirmation.

³²⁴ Arados: SC 927; Gabala: SC 928; Karne: SC 929; Marathos: SC Ad196.

to invade Asia Minor by sea.³²⁵ Several other tetradrachms and drachms with Seleukid types were also possibly struck for Seleukos III's military campaigns, but their mint attribution is uncertain.³²⁶

Antiochos III's coinage can be arranged in four series, which displayed a royal portrait that changed as the king aged over the years.³²⁷ Series 1 featured Antiochos' head with youthful features and is dated 222-211/0 BC. It included silver tetradrachms and an emission of gold octadrachms die-linked to the former.³²⁸ The mintmarks ΕΥ and ΩΡ from Seleukos II's coinage returned once again in Series 1.³²⁹ Antioch's Series 2 (c.211-209/8 BC) introduced a new portrait type with a horn above the king's ear, likely to celebrate the Armenian victory.³³⁰ This group included silver tetradrachms and gold octadrachms die-linked to the former.³³¹ The mintmark ΕΥ disappeared, leaving only the monogram ΩΡ on Antioch's coins.³³² Based on hoard evidence, Series 2 was probably struck until 209/8 BC, in part to finance Antiochos III's campaign in the Upper Satrapies.³³³

Probably after the king's return to Syria in c.204 BC, the Antioch mint underwent a significant reorganisation.³³⁴ Except for a tetradrachm and a drachm signed by the ΩΡ magistrate,³³⁵ the coins of Series 3 did not feature any of the previous control monograms. These were instead replaced by control symbols, such as the tripod, anchor, or bow in bowcase. The tetradrachms of Series 3 were also tightly die-linked, suggesting they were produced intensively in a short time span, likely in preparation for Antiochos III's following conflicts in Asia Minor.³³⁶ For the last decade of Antiochos III's reign, instead, the Antiochene silver tetradrachms displayed a royal portrait with mature features (Series 4),³³⁷ while the production of the octadrachms – lacking any control- or die-links to the silver issues – fell under a separate administration.³³⁸

³²⁵ Meadows 2009a: 71.

³²⁶ Uncertain Mint 50: SC 932-933; Uncertain Mint 51: SC 934-935.

³²⁷ See Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.357-60, 394-96.

³²⁸ SC 1037, 1041-1042. Obverse die-link between SC 1037 and 1041.1.

³²⁹ Control monogram ΕΥ: SC 1037, 1041, 1042.1-4. Control monogram ΩΡ: SC 1041.2-3, 1042.3-5.

³³⁰ SC 1038, 1043. Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.394, 396.

³³¹ Obverse die-link between SC 1038 and 1043.5.

³³² SC 1038, 1043.3, 1043.5-8.

³³³ Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.396.

³³⁴ SC 1044, 1047.

³³⁵ SC 1044.1, 1047.1.

³³⁶ Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.394.

³³⁷ SC 1045-1046.

³³⁸ SC 1039-1040.

During Antiochos III's reign, other Northern Syrian workshops operated outside of Antioch, and their minting activity can be dated approximately thanks to the royal portrait type adopted. Thus, the ΔΕΛ Mint produced silver tetradrachms probably until before 211 BC.³³⁹ Silver "elephant drachms" from Antiochos III's early years came from perhaps Apameia-on-the-Orontes.³⁴⁰ Finally, other tetradrachms and drachms with both youthful and mature portraits of Antiochos III were struck perhaps at Laodikeia-by-the-Sea, although – despite the typical dolphin mintmark on some of them – their Syrian origin is admittedly uncertain.³⁴¹

Overall, in 3rd-century Northern Syria, the Seleukids predominantly issued silver tetradrachms (**Table 17; Fig. 33**). Except for Antiochos I, they were always accompanied by gold coins and – save for the "interregnum" period – drachms. Gold coins were mostly struck on the stater denomination, but, in the last twenty or so years of the 3rd century BC, Northern Syria switched to octadrachms. The purpose of these issues was to celebrate landmark events in a king's reign – for instance, Antiochos III's victory over the Armenians – or to heavily finance upcoming expeditions. For the whole 3rd century BC, gold coins were only struck at Antioch, except under Seleukos II, who also produced five gold stater series at unidentified mints in Northern Syria/Northern Mesopotamia. Considering the conflicts Seleukos II fought in this area – from local unrest³⁴² to the Parthians³⁴³ to finally Antiochos Hierax –³⁴⁴ it is possible they were temporary mints activated to heavily subsidise military expeditions. If this was indeed Seleukos II's strategy, it was followed by neither Seleukos III nor Antiochos III. Despite handling conflicts in the same area, they opened these unidentified mints for tetradrachms and drachms only, restricting production of gold octadrachms to Antioch.

³³⁹ *SC* 1063; Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.403.

³⁴⁰ *SC* 1065-1066. The attribution to Apameia lies on the large concentration of these silver elephant drachms in "Ma'aret en-Numan, 1980" (*CH* 6.37 = *CH* 7.98 = *CH* 8.433 = *CH* 9.511), and on the fact that the elephant type would have been appropriate for the base of the Seleukid elephant corps. The portrait type suggests production of these elephant drachms lasted until 211 BC. Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.404-5 supposed they served as advance payment before the Armenian campaign. Other "elephant issues", instead, are of uncertain attribution: *SC* 1067-1068.

³⁴¹ *SC* 1069-1077; Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.406.

³⁴² Sherwin-White & Kuhrt 1993: 138-39.

³⁴³ *Just.* 41.4.6-8.

³⁴⁴ *Polyain.* 4.17; *Eus. Chron.* 1.40.5.

| Mint | Antiochos I | Antiochos II | “Soter” Coinage | Seleukos II | Seleukos III | Antiochos III |
|--|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Antioch-on-the-Orontes | T | ST | | STD | OT | OTD |
| Perhaps Antioch | | | | ST | | |
| Gold staters with the Antioch Control ΩP, perhaps minted elsewhere | | | | S | | |
| Unattributed Gold Stater, Western, perhaps associated with the preceding | | | | S | | |
| Temporary Antioch subsidiary | | | | | T | |
| Perhaps Apameia-on-the-Orontes | | | | | | D |
| Laodikeia-by-the-Sea | TD | T | | | | |
| Perhaps Laodikeia-by-the-Sea | | | | | T | T |
| Perhaps Laodikeia-by-the-Sea(?) | | | | | | T |
| ΔEA Mint | | | OT | STD | | T |
| Unattributed issues with elephant types | | | | | | TD |
| Uncertain Mint 28 | | TD | | | | |
| Uncertain Mint 38 | | | | TD | | |
| Uncertain Mint 39 | | | | ST | | |
| Probably Uncertain Mint 39 | | | | T | | |
| Uncertain Mint 50 | | | | | TD | |
| Uncertain Mint 51 | | | | | TD | |
| Karne | | | | T | | |
| Simyra | | | | T | | |

Table 17: Seleukid mints of Northern Syria with gold and silver denominations produced by reign – 3rd century BC (O = gold octadrachms; S = gold staters; T = silver tetradrachms; D = silver drachms)

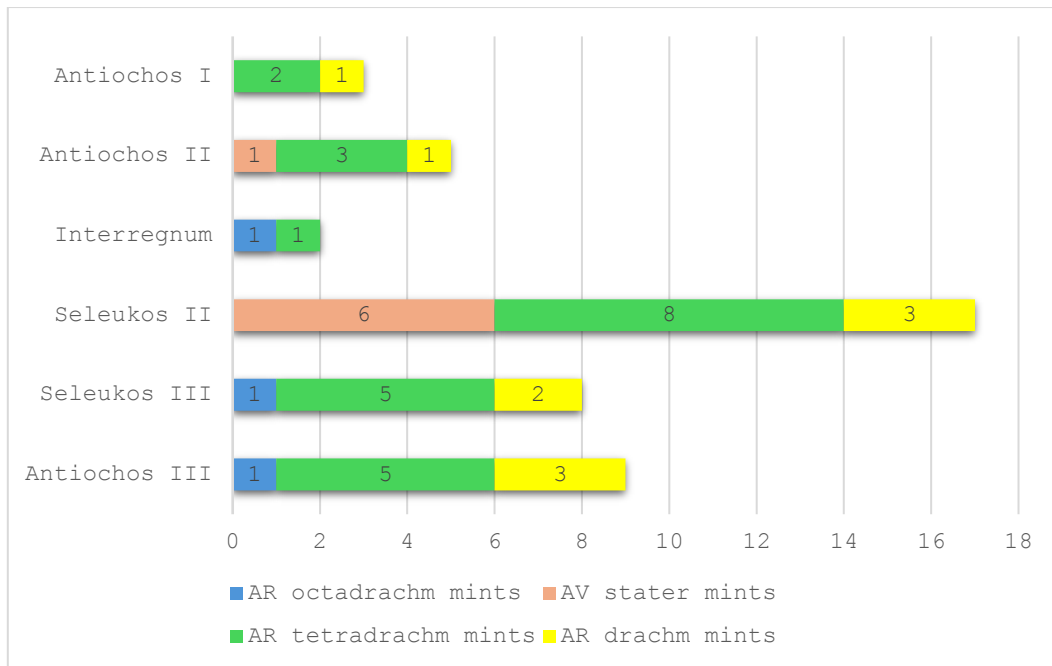


Fig. 33: no. of royal mints by gold and silver denominations for each Seleukid king – 3rd century BC

Fig. 34 below illustrates the number of obverse dies used at Antioch-on-the-Orontes, Laodikeia-by-the-Sea, and the ΔEA Mint by reign. In the first half of the 3rd century BC, Laodikeia-by-the-Sea was significantly more productive than Antioch. However, the Ptolemaic takeover of the Seleukis entailed the closure of the Laodikeia workshop, after which Antioch saw its importance increased, with the further contribution of the ΔEA Mint. **Fig. 34** below also shows that tetradrachms were struck more intensely than the other denominations, amounting to 77% of all obverse dies employed during the 3rd century BC at Antioch, Laodikeia-by-the-Sea, and the ΔEA Mint combined (139 out of 179).

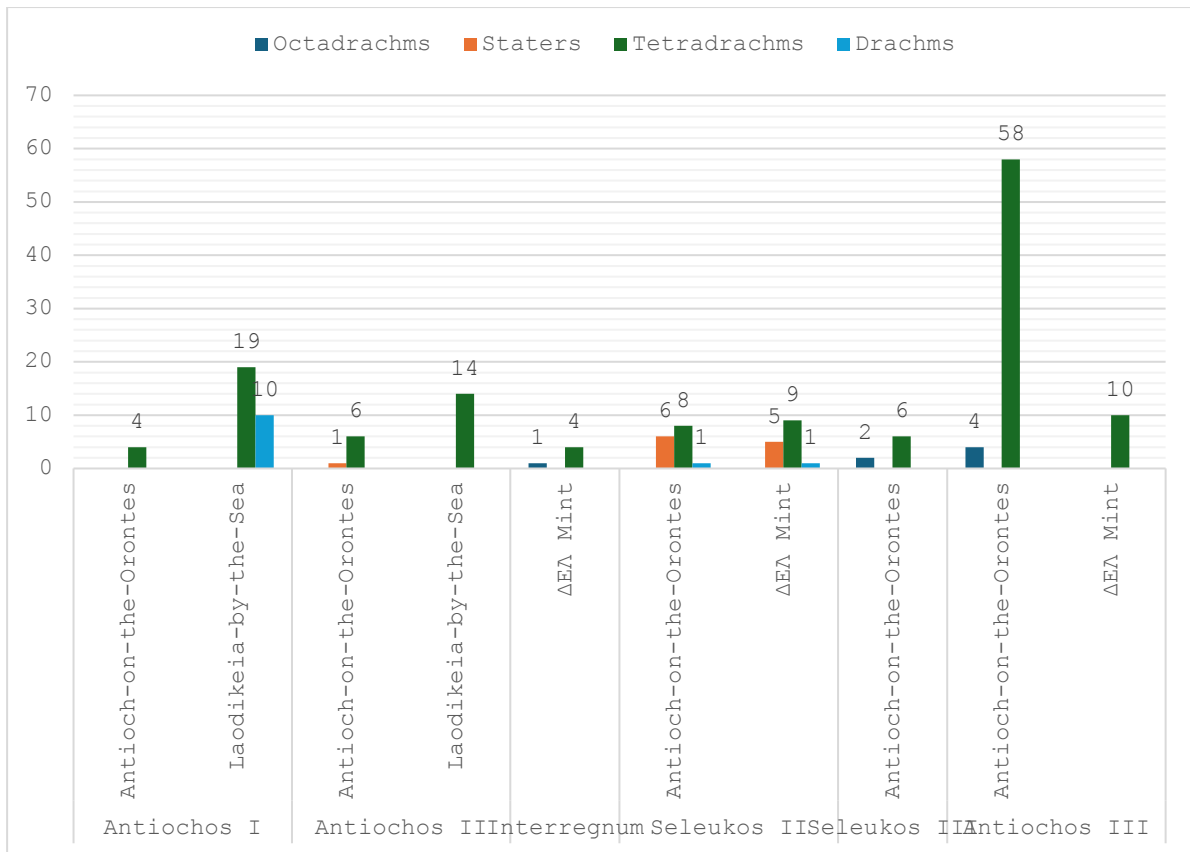


Fig. 34: No. of obverse dies per coin type and reign – 3rd century BC

However, if we consider the absolute value of the coinage produced, silver tetradrachms amounted to only 40% of the whole Seleukid output of the 3rd century BC, against 41% for the gold octadrachms (Table 18). Nonetheless, even in absolute value, the dynamic between Antioch and Laodikeia-by-the-Sea in the first half of the 3rd century BC is left unchanged. In fact, despite Antioch's gold staters, Laodikeia still results as the more productive mint under the early Seleukids – with 142 drachm-equivalent obverse dies against only 60 at Antioch. After the closure of the Laodikeia workshop, Antioch's minting activity rose significantly, reaching its peak under Antiochos III.

Admittedly, Antiochos III's numbers – both in absolute and non-absolute value – are somewhat inflated by the length of his reign. In fact, his yearly average output was close – albeit slightly higher – to Seleukos II's, under whom Antioch-on-the-Orontes increased the level of output from the earlier Seleukids. If we consider regnal lengths, instead, it was Seleukos III's rule to have coincided with the most productive period for Antioch, with 61.3 drachm-equivalent obverse dies a year (Table 18; Fig. 35).

| Mint | Ruler | Dates | | AV | | AR | | Total | Obv. dies/year |
|------------------------------|---------------|------------------|-----------|----------|---------|-----------|---------|--------|----------------|
| | | | | Octadrs. | Staters | Tetradrs. | Dr. | | |
| Antioch-on-the-Orontes | Antiochos I | 281-261 BC | obv. dies | – | – | 16 | – | 16 | 0.7 |
| | | | g*dies | – | – | 69g | – | 69g | 3g |
| | | | % | – | – | 100 | – | | |
| | Antiochos II | 261-246 BC | obv. dies | – | 20 | 24 | – | 44 | 2.7 |
| | | | g*dies | – | 86.2g | 103.4g | – | 189.6g | 11.6g |
| | | | % | – | 45 | 55 | – | | |
| | Seleukos II | 245-late 225 BC | obv. dies | – | 120 | 32 | 1 | 153 | 7.3 |
| | | | g*dies | – | 517.2g | 138g | 4.3g | 659.5g | 31.4g |
| | | | % | – | 78 | 21 | 1 | | |
| | Seleukos III | early 224-222 BC | obv. dies | 160 | – | 24 | – | 184 | 61.3 |
| | | | g*dies | 689.6g | – | 103.4g | – | 793g | 264.2g |
| | | | % | 87 | – | 13 | – | | |
| Antiochos III | 222-187 BC | obv. dies | 320 | – | 232 | 10 | 562 | 15.6 | |
| | | g*dies | 1379.2g | – | 1000g | 43.1g | 2422.3g | 67.2g | |
| | | % | 57 | – | 41 | 2 | | | |
| ΔEA Mint | Interr. | 246-244 BC | obv. dies | 80 | – | 16 | – | 96 | 32 |
| | | | g*dies | 345g | – | 69g | – | 414g | 138g |
| | | | % | 83 | – | 17 | – | | |
| | Seleukos II | 245-late 225 BC | obv. dies | – | 100 | 32 | 1 | 133 | 6.3 |
| | | | g*dies | | 431g | 138g | 4.3g | 573.3g | 27.1g |
| | | | % | | 75 | 24 | 1 | | |
| | Antiochos III | 222-c.211 BC | obv. dies | – | – | 40 | – | 40 | 3.3 |
| | | | g*dies | – | – | 172.4g | – | 172.4g | 14.2g |
| | | | % | – | – | 100 | – | | |
| Total (Antioch + ΔEA) | | | obv. dies | 560 | 240 | 416 | 12 | 1228 | 13 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------|------------|------------------|---------|---------|---------|-------|----------------|--------------|
| Mint) | | 281-187 BC | g*dies | 2413.6g | 1034.4g | 1793g | 51.7g | 5292.7g | 56g |
| | | | % | 46 | 19 | 34 | 1 | | |
| Laodikeia-by-the-Sea | Antiochos I | 281-261 BC | obv. dies | – | – | 76 | 10 | 86 | 4 |
| | | | g*dies | – | – | 327.5g | 43.1g | 370.6g | 17.2g |
| | | | % | – | – | 88 | 12 | | |
| | Antiochos II | 261-246 BC | obv. dies | – | – | 56 | – | 56 | 3.5 |
| | | | g*dies | – | – | 241.3g | – | 241.3g | 15g |
| | | | % | – | – | 100 | – | | |
| Total (Antioch + ΔEA Mint + Laodikeia) | | 281-187 BC | obv. dies | 560 | 240 | 548 | 22 | 1370 | 14.4 |
| | | | g*dies | 2413.6g | 1034.4g | 2361.8g | 94.8g | 5904.7g | 62g |
| | | | % | 41 | 17 | 40 | 2 | | |

Table 18: drachm-equivalent number of obverse dies – 3rd century BC

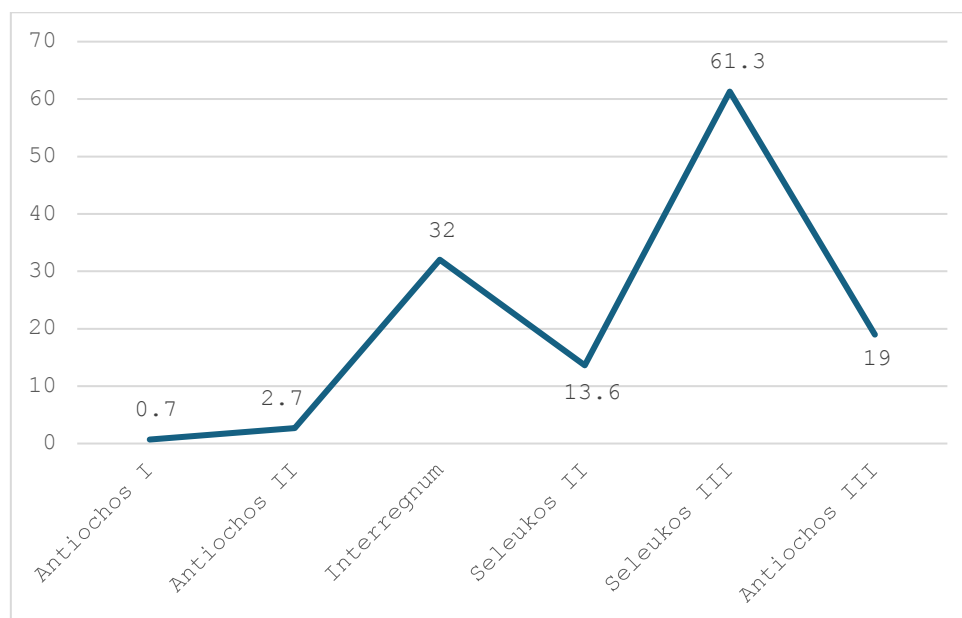


Fig. 35: drachm-equivalent obverse dies/year of Seleukid coins at Antioch and ΔEA Mint – 3rd century

BC

Many other non-Antiochene issues Houghton and Lorber assigned to Northern Syria were produced in the second half of the 3rd century BC – namely, at Laodikeia-by-the-Sea, Apameia-on-the-Orontes, and in many provisional military mints of uncertain identification between Northern Syria and Northern Mesopotamia. Unfortunately, we do not possess die-studies for any of these coinages.

Overall, the Tetrapolis played a large role in producing gold and silver coins for the Seleukids in 3rd-century Northern Syria. Under the early rulers, several mints were operative simultaneously, with Laodikeia-by-the-Sea acting as the primary mint with its Alexanders. However, Antioch eventually assumed a greater role, likely due to partial Ptolemaic occupation of Seleukis Syria from the Third Syrian War onwards. Nonetheless, we cannot yet talk of a fully centralised coin-production even after the mid-3rd century BC. In fact, Antioch's minting efforts were compensated by other coinages from the ΔΕΛ Mint and several uncertain workshops operating between Northern Syria and Northern Mesopotamia. We should be open to the possibility that at least some of these unidentified mints were in Northeastern Syria, perhaps at Kyrrhos, or even in another city of the Tetrapolis – perhaps Apameia-on-the-Orontes, to which very few coins are assigned in Houghton and Lorber's catalogue. However, lack of information on these places during the 3rd century BC, together with a general dearth of archaeological data, prevents us from making such attributions with much confidence.

1.3.1.1.2. Bronze coinages

Seleukid production of bronze coinages underwent a clear process of centralisation at Antioch. Several mints were still active under Antiochos I, although Antioch struck the richest bronze coinage. It comprised three series with a variety of types,³⁴⁵ but only the last bronzes featured the same coin-designs as the silver issues – namely, Antiochos I/Apollo on omphalos (**Fig. 36**).³⁴⁶ Despite their overall lack of control-links with the silver coins, Le Rider considered their mint attribution certain, due to their great number in the excavations of Antioch and also in local collections.³⁴⁷ A further bronze, with

³⁴⁵ SC 336-353.

³⁴⁶ SC 351-353.

³⁴⁷ Le Rider 1999: 37.

Apollo/bull types, was perhaps also struck in this city.³⁴⁸ Other bronze mints were opened at Seleukeia-in-Pieria,³⁴⁹ at an uncertain workshop probably in Syria,³⁵⁰ and at Dura Europos.³⁵¹ Of particular interest is the production of the latter mint, which underwent a gradual increase in quality of manufacture of its coinage. Its early issues – with Seleukos I’s diademed, horned head on obverse but the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ –³⁵² were probably unofficial products of this workshop.³⁵³ The following bronzes were placed under the supervision of mint officials, who signed the bronzes with control monograms. Nonetheless, the quality of manufacture only improved with the final issues.³⁵⁴ Minting operations at Dura were discontinued after Antiochos I, reprising only a century later under Antiochos IV.



Fig. 36: AE unit of Antiochos I from Antioch with Antiochos I/Apollo on omphalos (SC 351.1a). American Numismatic Society: <http://numismatics.org/collection/1941.131.1065>

With Antiochos II, only Antioch issued bronzes control- and countermark-linked to Antiochos I’s bronzes from the same workshop.³⁵⁵ The strong connection between the two coinages suggests that, initially, Antioch operated only as a bronze mint for Antiochos II, before starting its silver issues under a separate administration. In fact, Antiochos II’s bronzes and precious-metal coins from this mint shared no control monograms with each other. In the “interregnum” period, the ΔΕΛ Mint produced bronze

³⁴⁸ SC 354.

³⁴⁹ SC 355-356. Newell 1941: 92 and Le Rider 1999: 39 did not discount the possibility that these bronzes – which featured Zeus/thunderbolt types – may rather be Antiochene products.

³⁵⁰ Uncertain Mint 21: SC 359, 359A.

³⁵¹ SC 363-368.

³⁵² SC 363-364.

³⁵³ Newell 1941: 403-4. The cithara and horse head countermarks on Dura’s early bronzes seem to reinforce this impression, as they presumably served to legitimise them as official products sometime after their minting.

³⁵⁴ SC 367-368 (horned horse head/bow). Instead, the previous issues (SC 365-366: Macedonian shield/elephant) were still of low quality, due to “... the clumsy workmanship, the poor fabric... the abnormal inscription and the monogram” (Newell 1941: 405).

³⁵⁵ SC 572-575.

units with Antiochos I's head on obverse, but an anchor flanked by caps of Dioskouroi on reverse.³⁵⁶ This was a new coin-design for Northern Syria, although its precise meaning is unclear.³⁵⁷ Furthermore, these bronzes displayed the legend ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ and the control monogram ΔΕΛ. The association of this signature with Antioch is shown, first, by the large number of "ΔΕΛ bronzes" discovered in the excavations of this city;³⁵⁸ secondly, by the die-links between the silver "ΔΕΛ coins" and Antioch's silver issues under Seleukos II, as discussed above in the section on silver coin-production.

For Seleukos II, the ΔΕΛ Mint continued striking bronzes, together with the newly reopened Antioch workshop. The latter produced doubles and units, with either Athena/Nike or Athena/tripod types.³⁵⁹ The final issues probably belong to the last years of Seleukos II's reign –³⁶⁰ in fact, they were signed with the same control monogram ΕΥ as of the precious-metal coins, which later also appeared on Seleukos III's and Antiochos III's bronzes (see below).³⁶¹ A further emission of doubles, units, halves, and quarters may also belong to Antioch's production for Seleukos II.³⁶² However, under this king, Antioch assumed a lesser role compared to the ΔΕΛ Mint. In fact, the latter workshop issued bronzes not only with images of deities, but also with the royal portrait on obverse.³⁶³ On some of these bronzes, Seleukos' head also featured a beard, likely linked with the Parthian campaign of c.228 BC.³⁶⁴ These bronzes included not only low denominations in line with Seleukid practice, but also octuples (Denomination AA: 28-32 mm) with cavity in the centre –³⁶⁵ a technical feature of the Ptolemaic coins from c.261 BC.³⁶⁶ Their production was perhaps influenced by the Ptolemaic bronzes introduced in Syria during the Third Syrian War.³⁶⁷ Indeed, never again were bronzes of this size produced at Antioch, except for Antiochos IV's "Egyptianising" coins, clear imitations of Ptolemaic bronzes. Given the

³⁵⁶ SC 642.

³⁵⁷ See Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.226.

³⁵⁸ Le Rider 1999: 87-8.

³⁵⁹ SC 692-696.

³⁶⁰ SC 695-696.

³⁶¹ Newell 1941: 128-29.

³⁶² Probably Antioch: SC 697-700.

³⁶³ SC 706-716.

³⁶⁴ SC 711-712. Iossif & Lorber 2009: 95-6.

³⁶⁵ Seleukos II/king on horseback: SC 709; Bearded Seleukos II/Pegasus: SC 711.

³⁶⁶ Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.258.

³⁶⁷ Newell 1941: 173.

highly military nature of Seleukos II's bearded portrait-type, some of these octuples were likely produced to finance the Parthian campaign. This would have been an important departure from traditional Seleukid practice, which had otherwise entailed production of small-sized bronzes for the *sitarchia* of the royal garrisons stationed in Northern Syria. Another important innovation under Seleukos II was the control-sharing between bronzes and precious-metal coins at both Antioch and the ΔΕΛ Mint. For the first time among the Seleukids, issues in different metals were thus struck under the same administration, or, at least, under two separate administrations working in close collaboration, sharing mint officials.

Bronze coin-production was restricted to the main Antioch workshop under Seleukos III, who "departed" from his predecessor's model by only producing units,³⁶⁸ almost exclusively under a separate administration from the precious-metal coins – except for the final issue, which displayed the control-monogram ΞΥ.³⁶⁹ Seleukos III's coinage was thus more likely intended for low-level payments for his garrisoning troops within Syria than for funding his important military campaigns in Asia Minor.

With Antiochos III, the ΔΕΛ bronze mint was once again operative, but, similarly to the silver coinage, its output was rather circumstantial. The main Antiochene workshop, instead, continued to be the prime producer for the king's bronzes. Like for the gold and silver, under Antiochos III, bronze coin-production at Antioch was articulated in successive series – three in total – all displaying very traditional royal Seleukid iconography. Series 1 was struck in quadruples, units, and halves, signed with the same letters ΞΥ as on the precious-metal coinage of Series 1 – thus, it should be dated to c.223-211/10 BC.³⁷⁰ Series 2, instead, bore the ΩΡ mint-magistrate's signature, and it was limited to two denominations (quadruples and halves).³⁷¹ Around the same period, the ΔΕΛ Mint worked in close collaboration with Antioch's bronze administration, issuing Apollo head/standing Apollo halves control-linked to Antioch's Series 1 and 2 bronzes.³⁷² At Antiochos III's return from his Armenian campaign, the

³⁶⁸ SC 922-924.

³⁶⁹ SC 924.

³⁷⁰ SC 1048-1052.

³⁷¹ SC 1053-1055.

³⁷² SC 1064. Control monogram A: SC 1048.1b, 1050.2; 1064b. Control monogram ΔH: SC 1055.5a; 1064e. Control monogram Z: SC 1048.1e, 1051, 1052d; 1064c.

reorganisation of the main Antioch workshop also concerned the bronzes. In fact, the ΞY and ΩP mint-magistrates disappeared from Antiochos' final bronzes (Series 3).³⁷³ These displayed new control-marks – most of them not clearly legible, while the rest were shared with the contemporary Antiochene tetradrachms and drachms from the end of the 3rd century BC (silver Series 3).³⁷⁴

Overall, based on the number of bronze coin-series by denomination, the Seleukid mints of Northern Syria showed a general preference for doubles, units, and halves (**Fig. 37**). Halves and quarters were the prevalent denominations under Antiochos I. A slight shift towards doubles occurred under Seleukos II at Antioch, while the $\Delta E \Lambda$ Mint produced octuples, doubles, and units. It was hypothesised above that these big bronzes were part of Seleukos II's spending for his military campaigns in the East. This was an approach to bronze production that was not followed by his successors, although Antiochos III did produce more bronze series on the quadruple and unit denomination than else (**Table 19**). While Seleukos II's bronzes of the $\Delta E \Lambda$ Mint were probably inspired by the Ptolemaic model, the shift towards production of larger bronze denominations under Antiochos III perhaps signalled a more developed use of bronzes in Northern Syria, while the role of the fractional silver coinages – as seen above – had been noticeably reduced.

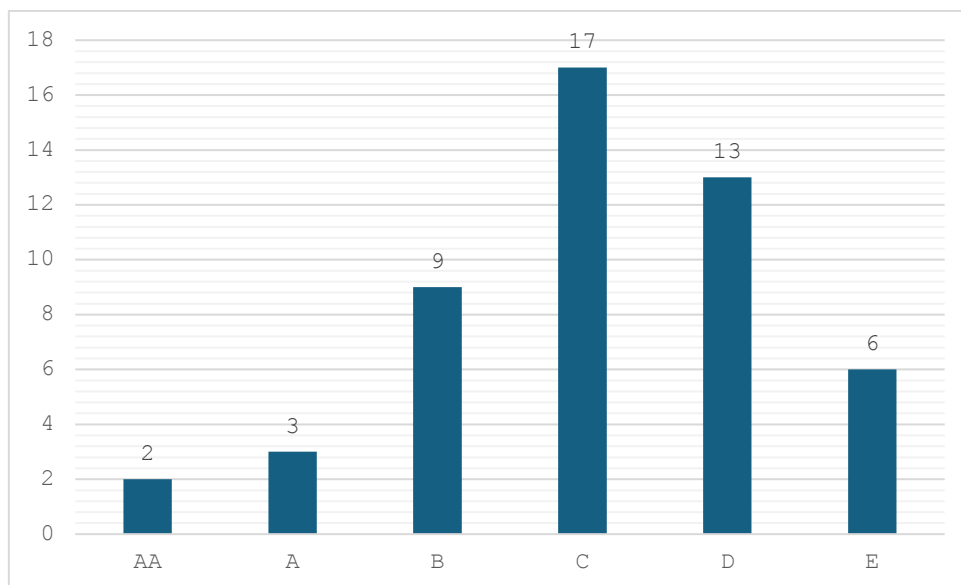


Fig. 37: number of Seleukid Northern Syrian bronze coin-series by denomination – 3rd century BC

³⁷³ SC 1056-1061.

³⁷⁴ Control monogram ΔI : SC 1044.4, 1047.2, 1058a, 1059a.

| | Denominations | Antiochos I | Antiochos II | Interregnum | Seleukos II | Seleukos III | Antiochos III | Total | % |
|------------------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|-------|------|
| Antioch-on-the-Orontes | AAA | | | | | | | | |
| | AA | | | | | | | | |
| | A | | | | | | 3 | 3 | 9% |
| | B | 3 | 1 | | 3 | | | 7 | 21% |
| | C | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 3 | 3 | 9 | 26% |
| | D | 5 | 1 | | 1 | | 2 | 9 | 26% |
| E | 3 | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | 6 | 18% | |
| ΔEA Mint | AAA | | | | | | | | |
| | AA | | | | 2 | | | 2 | 22% |
| | A | | | | | | | | |
| | B | | | | 2 | | | 2 | 22% |
| | C | | | 1 | 3 | | | 4 | 45% |
| | D | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 11% |
| E | | | | | | | | | |
| Seleukeia-in-Pieria | AAA | | | | | | | | |
| | AA | | | | | | | | |
| | A | | | | | | | | |
| | B | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 50% |
| | C | | | | | | | | |
| | D | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 50% |
| E | | | | | | | | | |
| Dura Europos | AAA | | | | | | | | |
| | AA | | | | | | | | |
| | A | | | | | | | | |
| | B | 2 | | | | | | 2 | 34% |
| | C | 2 | | | | | | 2 | 33% |
| | D | 2 | | | | | | 2 | 33% |
| E | | | | | | | | | |
| Unc. mints | AAA | | | | | | | | |
| | AA | | | | | | | | |
| | A | | | | | | | | |
| | B | | | | | | | | |
| | C | 2 | | | | | | 2 | 100% |
| | D | | | | | | | | |
| E | | | | | | | | | |

Table 19: number of Northern Syrian bronze coin-series by mint, denomination, and reign – 3rd century

BC

1.3.1.2. Arados and its *peraia*

1.3.1.2.1. Silver coinages

The numismatic history of 3rd-century Northern Syria was not restricted to the Tetrapolis. Outside of all the uncertain mints from Northern Syria/Northern Mesopotamia, Arados and the cities of its *peraia* sometimes also contributed with royal coinages, either Seleukid ones at Karne and Simyra, or late-posthumous “civic” Alexanders. The latter coin-type constituted Arados’ main coinage in the 3rd century BC. These Alexanders featured, on reverse, the civic AP monogram beneath the throne, a palm tree on the left field, and a date in Phoenician letters in exergue indicating the year of the Aradian civic era.³⁷⁵ After an initial group of undated issues,³⁷⁶ the first date to appear on these Aradian Alexanders was the Year 17 (243/2 BC).³⁷⁷ At the same time, Arados also produced a civic coinage consisting of tetrobols and hemidrachms on the Attic weight-standard, which displayed mostly local types.³⁷⁸ After an initial series of undated issues,³⁷⁹ the first dated civic coins were from Year 19 (241/0 BC).

Probably for the first time ever, Arados was joined in its minting efforts by its *peraia* from the mid-3rd century BC onwards. These cities all struck civic coinages – Marathos produced tetradrachms and hemidrachms,³⁸⁰ Karne struck tetrobols and diobols,³⁸¹ and Simyra hemidrachms.³⁸² They all displayed a Greek civic monogram (or legend for Marathos’ tetradrachms) and the date of the Aradian era in Phoenician letters. Despite the limited iconographic repertoire employed for these coins,³⁸³ the issues of the Aradian *peraia* featured types specific to each minting city, although episodes of type-sharing occurred on two separate occasions. In Arados’ Year 30 (230/29 BC), Marathos and Simyra struck Aradian-looking hemidrachms; in Year 33 (227/6 BC), Karne and Simyra produced, respectively,

³⁷⁵ Duyrat 2005: nos.1114-1338. The date changed to Greek letters from Year 58 (202/1 BC).

³⁷⁶ Duyrat 2005: nos.1114-1157.

³⁷⁷ See Duyrat 2005: 227-28 for the date of the start of the Aradian era.

³⁷⁸ Tetrobols: Zeus head/prow of a ship, with Athena as figurehead (Duyrat 2005: nos.1455-1494). Hemidrachms: Tyche/prow of a ship (Duyrat 2005: nos.1558-1601).

³⁷⁹ Duyrat 2005: nos.1455-1475; 1558-1577.

³⁸⁰ Duyrat 2002: Marathos Series II nos. 55-58; Series IV-V nos. 64-65, 75.

³⁸¹ Duyrat 2002: Karne Series II-III nos.10-11, Series V no.72.

³⁸² Duyrat 2002: Simyra Series II nos.2-4.

³⁸³ Head of Tyche or Zeus; veiled bust of goddess; beardless male head; prow of a ship; cornucopiae.

Aradian-looking tetrobols and hemidrachms (**Table 20**). The apparent coordination between Arados and its mainland counterparts also manifested with the production of Alexanders with the same palm tree design and Phoenician date in exergue as on the Aradian Alexanders.³⁸⁴ These coinages were struck in Aradian Years 30-35 (230/29-225/4 BC), together with Seleukos II's tetradrachms from Karne (229/8 BC) and Simyra (225/4 BC).³⁸⁵ The absence of control monograms prevents us from determining exactly whether the production of these "shared" coinages was centralised or left to each city of the *peraia*. D. H. Cox noted that the reverse of the Alexanders of Simyra and Marathos: "... seem the work of one producing almost simultaneously two nearly identical dies."³⁸⁶ However, due to the use of Greek civic monograms on both royal and non-royal-looking coins, and the presence of Phoenician letters – *beth* and *gimel* – only on Karne's Alexanders, we may assume that coin-production remained decentralised even during these episodes of apparent mint-coordination. Furthermore, simultaneously with these "shared" coinages, Marathos and Karne continued striking their usual civic issues in 227/6-225/4 BC.

After 225/4 BC, every city of the *peraia* ceased issuing coins altogether, except for a tetrobol of Karne in 188/7 BC. Aradian minting of civic tetrobols and hemidrachms became even more sporadic than before.

If we look at Arados' operational period in the 3rd century BC overall (**Table 20**: fifty-six years), the civic tetrobols and hemidrachms were only issued in nine years (16%). On the contrary, despite several interruptions, Aradian Alexander production was much more frequent, occurring in eight batches, for a total of thirty-one years (55%).³⁸⁷ Until 225/4 BC, the minting interruptions had lasted, on average, one/two years. In the last two decades of the 3rd century BC, instead, these pauses became longer,³⁸⁸ although the Alexanders were produced for more consecutive years than before, culminating in the final

³⁸⁴ Duyrat 2002: Marathos Series III nos.62-63, Series VI nos.77-78; Karne Series IV nos.35-38; Simyra Series I no.1.

³⁸⁵ Karne: *SC* Ad154; Simyra: *SC* Ad157, C931.

³⁸⁶ Cox 1966: 37.

³⁸⁷ First: 243-239 BC. Second: 236-234 BC. Third: 233/2 BC. Fourth: 230-228 BC. Fifth: 227-224 BC. Sixth: 220-214 BC. Seventh: 206/5 BC. Eighth: 202-190 BC.

³⁸⁸ Four-year gap from Year 36 (224/3 BC) to Year 39 (221/0 BC); eight years between Years 46 (214/3 BC) and 53 (207/6 BC); three years from Year 55 (205/4 BC) to Year 57 (203/2 BC), before the final emission of Alexanders.

emission that lasted twelve years.³⁸⁹ As **Fig. 38** makes clear, these prolonged periods of coin-production – alternated with equally long pauses – likely represented occasional payments from Arados to finance Antiochos III's expedition to Asia Minor in 216 BC first, and later his military exploits at the end of the third century BC.³⁹⁰ The earlier Aradian Alexanders – and those of the *peraia* – were also likely produced for similar reasons. The opening of the Arados mint itself, datable to the Third Syrian War, probably aimed to compensate for the Seleukid loss of Laodikeia-by-the-Sea.³⁹¹ Instead, the episodes of “coordinated” coin-production among Arados and the cities of its *peraia* were likely connected with the preparations for Seleukos II's and Seleukos III's attempt to recover the lost territories in Asia Minor (more on this in the bronze coin section).³⁹²

| Year of civic era | Year | Arados | | Marathos | Karne | Gabala | Simyra | |
|-------------------|-------------|----------|---|----------|----------|--------|--------|---|
| Undated | ? | A | T | Tetrads. | | | | |
| | | | H | | | | | |
| 17-18 | 243/2-242/1 | A | | | | | | |
| 19 | 241/0 | A | T | | | | | |
| | | | H | | | | | |
| 20 | 240/39 | A | T | Tetrads. | | | | |
| | | | H | | | | | |
| 21 | 239/8 | T | H | | | | | |
| 22-23 | 238/7-237/6 | NO COINS | | | | | | |
| 24-25 | 236/5-235/4 | A | | | | | | |
| 26 | 234/3 | H | | | | | | |
| 27 | 233/2 | A | T | | | | | |
| 28-29 | 232/1-231/0 | NO COINS | | | | | | |
| 30 | 230/29 | A | | A | H | | A | H |
| 31 | 229/8 | A | | | SELEUKID | | | |
| 32 | 228/7 | NO COINS | | | | | | |

³⁸⁹ After a gap of four years, a new group of Alexanders was produced continuously for six years. A new pause – this time of eight years – occurred between when new Alexanders were produced once in Year 54 (206/5 BC). This was followed by another interruption of three years, and a final batch of Alexanders from Year 58 (202/1 BC) to 69 (191/0 BC).

³⁹⁰ Duyrat 2005: 237.

³⁹¹ Houghton 1999: 181.

³⁹² For a Seleukos III campaign against Ptolemy III: in 1) Koile Syria: Seyrig 1971: 7-11; Duyrat 2002: 54-6. 2) In Asia Minor: Newell 1941: 132; Price 1991: 432; Meadows 2009a: 71.

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|---------------|----------|----------|----------|---|---|----------|
| 33 | 227/6 | A? | Tetrads. | | T | D | H |
| 34 | 226/5 | A | H | | | | |
| 35 | 225/4 | A | A | Tetrads. | A | A | SELEUKID |
| | | | | H | | | |
| 36-39 | 224/3-221/0 | NO COINS | | | | | |
| 40-41 | 220/19-219/8 | A | | | | | |
| 42 | 218/7 | A | H | | | | |
| 43 | 217/6 | A | | | | | |
| 44 | 216/5 | A | H | | | | |
| 45 | 215/4 | A | | | | | |
| 46-52 | 214/3-208/7 | NO COINS | | | | | |
| 53 | 207/6 | T | | | | | |
| 54 | 206/5 | A | | | | | |
| 55-56 | 205/4-204/3 | NO COINS | | | | | |
| 57 | 203/2 | T | | | | | |
| 58-69 | 202/1-191/0 | A | | | | | |
| 70-71 | 190/189-189/8 | NO COINS | | | | | |
| 72 | 188/7 | | | | T | | |

Table 20: chronology of the silver coinages of Arados and of its *perai* – 3rd century BC (T = tetrobols; H = hemidrachms; D = diobols; A = Alexanders). Period of shared types highlighted in red.

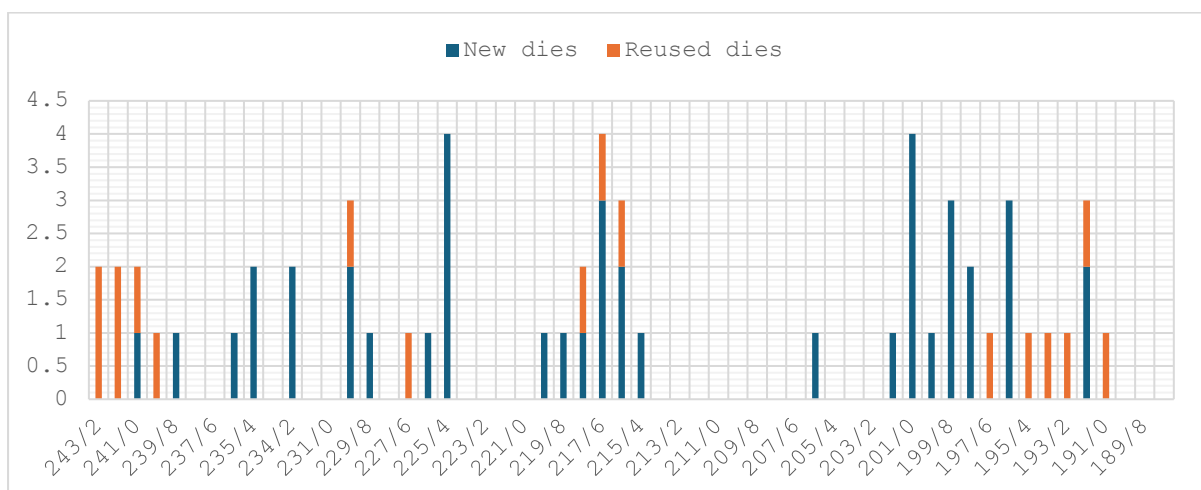


Fig. 38: obverse dies of Arados and *perai* Alexander tetradrachms from Duyrat 2005 (undated issues not included) – 3rd century BC

Overall, the output of Arados and its *peraia* was very small, counting only 208 drachm-equivalent obverse dies (**Table 21**).³⁹³ The limited character of this output is especially apparent when compared not only with the Aradian Alexanders of the late 4th century BC; but also with the contemporary production of Antioch and the ΔEA Mint (246-187 BC), for which we have 1168 drachm-equivalent obverse dies recorded (**Fig. 39**). If coin-production of the Alexanders – and perhaps also of the “coordinated” issues in 230-225 BC – likely coincided with Seleukid wars and with preparatory periods for further royal military expeditions, the output numbers suggest that the contribution by Arados and its *peraia* was rather minimal – probably the result of the use of civic, rather than royal, metal reserves. This was in stark contrast with the late 4th century BC, when Arados and the other Phoenician cities were injected with the metal looted from the Persian treasuries.

| Mints | Duyrat 2002 & 2005 series | Coin-type | Obv. dies | Drachm-equivalent obv. dies | g*dies |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------|---------------|
| Arados (38 years) | I | Alexander tetradrachms | 41 | 164 | 706.8g |
| | II | Tetrobols | 9 | 6 | 25.8g |
| | III | Hemidrachms | 10 | 5 | 21.5g |
| | Total | | | 175 | 754.1g |
| Marathos (8 years) | II | Tetradrachms | 2 | 8 | 34.4g |
| | III | Alexander tetradrachms | 1 | 4 | 17.2g |
| | IV | Hemidrachms | 1 | 0.5 | 2.1g |
| | V | Hemidrachms | 2 | 1 | 4.3g |
| | VI | Alexander drachms | 1 | 1 | 4.3g |
| | Total | | | 14.5 | 62.3g |
| Karne (4 years) | II | Tetrobols | 1 | 0.6 | 2.5g |
| | III | Diobols | 1 | 0.3 | 1.3g |
| | IV | Alexander tetradrachms | 1 | 4 | 17.2g |
| | V | Tetrobols | 1 | 0.6 | 2.5g |
| | Total | | | 4.3 | 23.5g |
| Gabala | I | Alexander tetradrachms | 1 | 4 | 17.2g |

³⁹³ Die-studies: Duyrat 2002; Duyrat 2005.

| | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|-------|--------------------------|---|-----|--------|
| (1 year) | | | | | |
| Simyra (3 years) | I | Alexander tetradrachms | 1 | 4 | 17.2g |
| | II | Hemidrachms | 2 | 1 | 4.3g |
| | III | Seleukos II tetradrachms | 1 | 4 | 17.2g |
| | Total | | | 9 | 38.7g |
| Arados and its <i>peraia</i> total | | | | 208 | 896.4g |

Table 21: number of obverse dies at Arados and its *peraia* (c.246-188 BC)

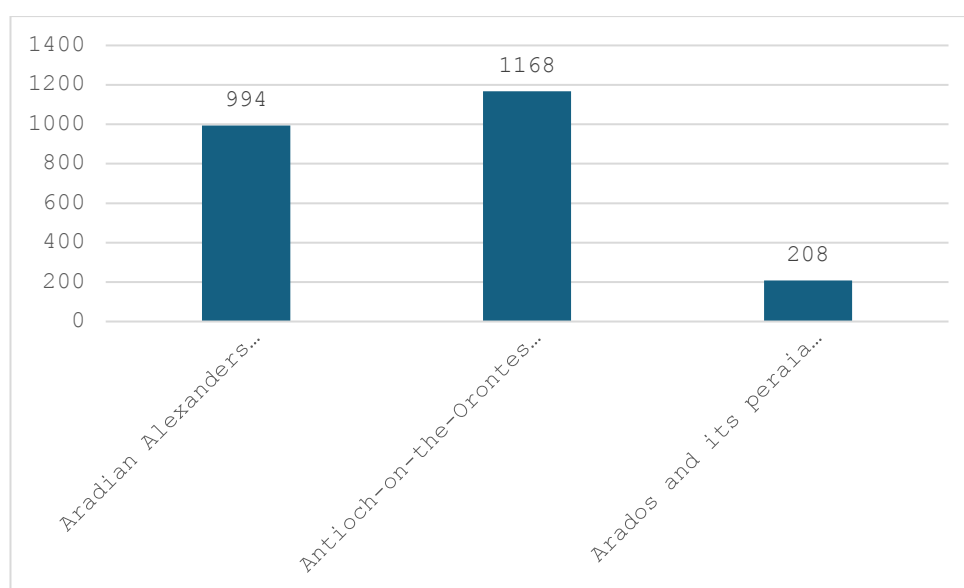


Fig. 39: total number of drachm-equivalent obverse dies at Arados (c.332-316 BC), Antioch-on-the-Orontes + ΔΕΛ Mint (246-287 BC), and Arados and its *peraia* (c.246-187 BC)

1.3.1.2.2. Bronze coinages

Arados started producing bronzes probably around the same time as the silver issues. In fact, after a few undated coins,³⁹⁴ the first dated bronzes are from Year 18 (242/1 BC). Arados' bronze coinage was articulated in five series,³⁹⁵ sometimes sharing types with the silver coins.³⁹⁶ The bronzes of the *peraia*

³⁹⁴ Duyrat 2005: Series 1 nos.1357-1403.

³⁹⁵ Duyrat 2005: Series 1 nos.1357-1451; Series 2 nos.1630-1642; Series 3 nos.1643-1728; Series 4 nos.1733-1736; Series 5 nos.1769-1770.

³⁹⁶ Head of Tyche/Prow and Athena as figurehead: Duyrat 2005: Series 1 nos.1357-1451. Head of Tyche/Prow of a ship: Duyrat 2005: Series 3 nos.1643-1728.

began much later – Marathos in Year 32 (228/7 BC), Simyra in Year 33 (227/6 BC), Karne in Year 34 (226/5 BC), and Gabala in Year 35 (225/4 BC). The bronze coin-production of the *peraia* was much richer than the silver. Marathos struck eight series of bronze coins;³⁹⁷ Karne five;³⁹⁸ Gabala one;³⁹⁹ and Simyra two.⁴⁰⁰ These bronzes drew their designs from the same iconographic repertoire as the silver issues, but they were marked with a civic Phoenician legend – except for Gabala and for Simyra’s Series 2 – and with a date in Phoenician letters. Despite the many series of bronzes, coin-production, similarly to the silver, was quite sporadic, at both Arados and especially in its *peraia*. In fact, the bulk of Aradian bronze minting occurred late, from 215/4 BC onwards, with very few interruptions. Bronze coin-production of the *peraia* was concentrated in the 220s BC, when especially Marathos and Karne minted multiple series of bronzes simultaneously (**Table 22**).

It was also in the 220s BC that, similarly to the silver, an episode of “type-sharing” occurred among Karne, Gabala, and Simyra.⁴⁰¹ Like for the silver coins, Duyrat connected this episode to the preparation of a military campaign by Seleukos III against Koile Syria. She argued that the gathering of Seleukid troops on the Eleutheros River readying to strike against the Ptolemies generated an increase in everyday transactions and a greater demand for small change – in this sense, the silver fractions and the bronze coins with shared types would have served to facilitate the exchanges within the *peraia* region.⁴⁰² As we ignore of any campaigns of Seleukos III in Koile Syria, however, this expedition was more likely aimed towards Asia Minor.⁴⁰³ We may assume the Aradian *peraia* hosted some of the Seleukid warships, especially in light of the loss of Seleukeia-in-Pieria and (temporarily) of Laodikeia-by-the-Sea. In fact, the production of Seleukid tetradrachms at Karne and Simyra suggests a fairly strong royal presence in this area. Thus, the bronze coinages must have been somehow connected to Arados’ and its *peraia*’s contributions in Alexanders and Seleukid tetradrachms in the 220s BC. Nonetheless, it remains unclear

³⁹⁷ Duyrat 2002: Series 1 nos.66-74; Series 2 nos.79-82; Series 3 no. 83; Series 4 nos.84-90; Series 5 no.172; Series 6 nos.173-183; Series no.216; Series 8 no.269.

³⁹⁸ Duyrat 2002: Series 1 nos.12-14; Series 2 nos.15-34; Series 3 nos.39-48; Series 4 nos.49-52; Series 5 nos.73-74.

³⁹⁹ Duyrat 2002: Series 1 nos.2-6.

⁴⁰⁰ Duyrat 2002: Series 1 no.5; Series 2 no.6.

⁴⁰¹ Duyrat 2002: Karne Series 2 nos.15-34, Series 5 nos.73-74; Gabala Series 1 nos.2-6; Simyra Series 2 no.6.

⁴⁰² Duyrat 2002: 55.

⁴⁰³ Newell 1941: 132; Price 1991: 432; Meadows 2009a: 71.

why Arados basically stopped minting in that very decade, and why only some coinages shared types, whereas others continued displaying autonomous designs. Marathos' apparent "refusal" to adopt Aradian types can be understood in light of the rivalry between the two cities;⁴⁰⁴ however, the often simultaneous striking of "Aradian" and non-"Aradian" bronzes at Karne is harder to comprehend. Overall, this was a missed chance at creating a coherent monetary space with common bronze coinages. Neither were Arados and the cities of its *peraia* able to go beyond their own particularisms; nor were the Seleukids interested in integrating these cities within their own bronze monetary system by installing royal bronze workshops.

| Year of civic era | Year | Arados | Marathos | Karne | Gabala | Simyra |
|-------------------|-------------|----------|----------|-------|--------|--------|
| Undated | ? | 1 | | | | |
| 18-22 | 242/1-238/7 | 1 | | | | |
| 23-24 | 237/6-236/5 | NO COINS | | | | |
| 25 | 235/4 | 1 | | | | |
| 26 | 234/3 | NO COINS | | | | |
| 27-29 | 233/2-231/0 | 1 | | | | |
| 30 | 230/29 | 1 | | | | |
| 31 | 229/8 | NO COINS | | | | |
| 32 | 228/7 | | 1 | | | |
| 33 | 227/6 | | 1 | | | 1 |
| 34 | 226/5 | | | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| 35 | 225/4 | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| 36 | 224/3 | | 3 | | 1 | |
| 37 | 223/2 | | 1 | 2 | | |
| 38 | 222/1 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 2 | |
| 39 | 221/0 | | 2 | 4 | 2 | 3 |
| 40 | 220/19 | | 4 | | | |
| 41 | 219/8 | 2 | | | | |
| 42 | 218/7 | NO COINS | | | | |
| 43 | 217/6 | | 6 | | | |
| 44 | 216/5 | | 1 | | | |
| 45 | 215/4 | 2 | 3 | | | |
| 46 | 214/3 | 2 | 3 | | | |
| 47 | 213/2 | 3 | | | | |
| 48 | 212/1 | 2 | 3 | | | |
| 49 | 211/0 | 3 | | | | |
| 50 | 210/9 | 2 | 3 | | | |
| 51 | 209/8 | 3 | 4 | | | |
| 52-53 | 208/7-207/5 | NO COINS | | | | |
| 54 | 206/5 | 3 | 4 | | | |

⁴⁰⁴ Pol. 5.68.7.

| | | | | | | | |
|----|--------|----------|---|---|---|---|--|
| | | | 5 | | | | |
| 55 | 205/4 | NO COINS | | | | | |
| 56 | 204/3 | 3 | | | | | |
| 57 | 203/2 | 3 | | | | | |
| 60 | 200/99 | 3 | | | | | |
| 61 | 199/8 | 3 | 4 | 7 | | | |
| 64 | 196/5 | 2 | 3 | | | | |
| 65 | 195/4 | 3 | | | | | |
| 66 | 194/3 | 3 | | | | | |
| 69 | 191/0 | 3 | | | | | |
| 70 | 190/89 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 4 | |
| 71 | 189/8 | 3 | | 6 | | | |
| 72 | 188/7 | 3 | | 6 | 4 | 5 | |

Table 22: chronology of the bronze coinages of Arados and of its *peraia* – 3rd century BC (*numbers – series nos. from Duyrat 2002 and 2005. Coloured boxes = episodes of type-sharing*)

1.3.2. Circulation

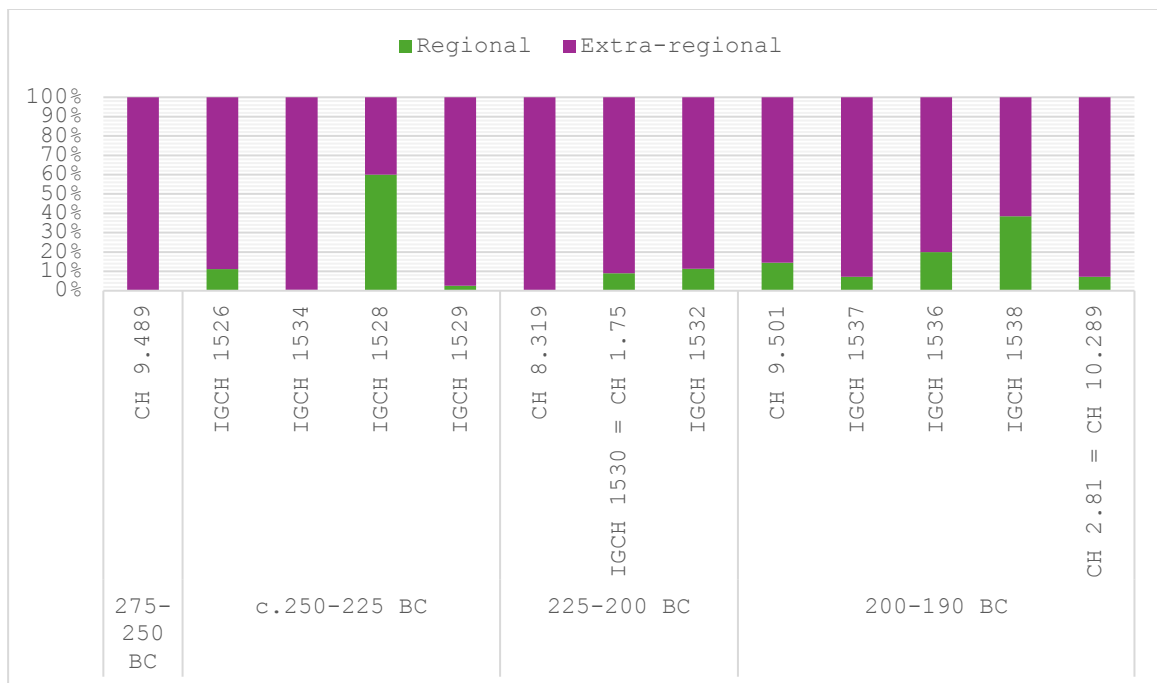
1.3.2.1. Hoard evidence

| N. of hoards | Greece, Maced., Thrace | Asia Minor | Cyprus | N. Syria | C. Levant | S. Levant | Egypt | East |
|--------------|---|---|---------|---|------------|------------|------------|---|
| 15 | Megalopolis, Euboia?, Amphipolis, Pella, Lysimacheia, Chalkedon, Byzantion, Ainos, Mesembria, Odessos | Sinope, Ephesos, Antioch-Alabanda, Perge, Side Herakleia, Sinope, Sestos, Kios, Lampsakos, Abydos, Kyzikos, Assos, Ilion, Parion, Alex.-Troas, Tenedos, Pergamon, Mytilene, Phokaia, Kyme, Sardis, Smyrna, Kolophon, Klazomenai, Teos, Chios, Ephesos, Magnesia, Miletos, Mylasa, Rhodes, Unc. Phrygia, Komm./Kappad. Termessos, Phaselis, Perge, Aspendos, Side, Seleukeia- | Salamis | Antigon.-Orontes, Antioch, ΔΕΛ Mint, Laodik.-Mare, Arados, Simyra, Marathos | Sidon Tyre | Joppa Gaza | Alexandria | Nisibis, Edessa, Seleuk.-Tigris, Gerrha, Alex.-Aria |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | Kalykadnos, Soloi, Tarsos | | | | | | |
|--|--|--------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|

Table 23: geographic provenance of coins found in hoards from Syria and the Levant (royal mints in bold) – 3rd century BC

The available data for the 3rd century BC is twice the size than for the previous two centuries, albeit not incredibly large overall.⁴⁰⁵ Furthermore, the seventy total mints featured in the hoards from this period signal a more pronounced “internationalisation” of the currency circulating in Northern Syria than ever before (**Table 23**). Thus, unsurprisingly, all 3rd-century hoards from this region have mostly yielded “foreign” coins, except only for “Tell Sukas, 1958” (*IGCH* 1528), from before 243/2 BC, which contains Aradian Alexanders and Antiochos II’s issues from Antioch. It is, admittedly, one of the smallest finds of this period, with only ten coins in total (**Fig. 40**).



⁴⁰⁵ Twenty-one mints in total had appeared in the evidence from the 5th century BC, only five in the 4th, and thirty-nine in the fifty years of Alexander’s conquest and of the early Hellenistic period.

Fig. 40: regional vs. extra-regional coins in Northern Syria – 3rd century BC

In terms of the total number of issues discovered in the 3rd-century hoards, local products are among the least relevant coinages (Fig. 41). Nonetheless, they appear quite frequently in hoards (85% of the time: eleven out of thirteen finds), constituting over half of the contents of "Tell Sukas, 1958" (IGCH 1528) – which, as mentioned above, is a small hoard. They are also the primary component of "Dniye, near Safita, 1952" (IGCH 1538), which, given its findspot in Northern Phoenicia, has unsurprisingly yielded ten Aradian coins – nine late-posthumous Alexanders, and one civic tetrobol. Nonetheless, contrary to the 4th century BC, the evidence from the Aradian *peraiia*, or from the Syrian coast more generally, is not predominated by Aradian issues nor by the coins of the Tetrapolis, but by extra-regional products. Among them, a "curious" case in the Northern Syrian evidence is constituted by what Duyrat has termed as the "Ptolemaic enclave".⁴⁰⁶ In Seleukis Syria, in fact, two hoards have yielded issues from Egypt and the Central and Southern Levant, all Ptolemaic coins. "Hüseynli, 1986" (CH 9.489) – from c.259 BC, found 9 km west of Antakya – features fifty-eight Ptolemaic *trichrysa*, together with one Antiochos I bronze. It attests to the presence of Ptolemaic troops in Northern Syria during the Second Syrian War (261-252 BC). The second hoard – "Seleukeia Pieria, 1932-1933" (IGCH 1526) – instead, contains both Attic- and Ptolemaic-weight issues. Its dating to c.250 BC links it perhaps to the Second Syrian War, although its finding in Seleukeia-in-Pieria suggests it could belong to the years of the following conflict.⁴⁰⁷ Admittedly, we know very little about the events of the Second Syrian War, so that brief Ptolemaic presence at Seleukeia-in-Pieria is not theoretically inconceivable. Further mixed Attic-Ptolemaic hoards have emerged near the border at the Eleutheros River, although at a much later stage – "Dniye, 1952" (IGCH 1538) and "Syria, perhaps the Aradian Peraia, 1971" (CH 2.81 = CH 10.289), both from c.190 BC. In 201 BC, Antiochos III had conquered the Central and Southern Levant, but even then these regions remained Ptolemaic-weight areas.⁴⁰⁸ Nonetheless, their political unification with the North likely favoured the circulation of coins of different weight-standards both northwards

⁴⁰⁶ Duyrat 2016: 355-58.

⁴⁰⁷ Duyrat 2016: 356.

⁴⁰⁸ Lorber 2019.

and southwards. In fact, in the 2nd century BC, several hoards with Attic-weight coinages were buried in the Central Levant.⁴⁰⁹ Thus, it is not surprising that Attic-weight and Ptolemaic issues similarly circulated together in Northern Syria in the 190s BC, especially near the Eleutheros River.

Among the extra-regional Attic-weight coinages, instead, Mesopotamian products are one of the least important issues in terms of their total number (**Fig. 41**). Admittedly, they appear quite frequently in the hoard evidence (in ten out of thirteen finds), but they are never the major component of a hoard. Thus, compared to the Early Hellenistic period, Mesopotamian coins were a rather marginal coinage in the currency circulation of 3rd-century Northern Syria.

On the contrary, western coins were by far the most predominant issues of this period. Of the seventy mints featured in the hoard evidence, 60% are from Asia Minor (forty-two mints), half of which from the western coast alone (twenty-three). This macro-region is the best represented one not only in terms of its total number of coins discovered in finds – amounting to 63% of the whole data set (**Fig. 41**) – but also for the number of times its issues constituted the primary component of a hoard – seven out of thirteen finds with recorded number of coins (**Fig. 42**). The predominant presence of Western Asia Minor coins in Northern Syrian hoards, however, is not uniformly distributed throughout the 3rd-century evidence, but it is especially concentrated in the finds from c.225-190 BC (more on this below).

Greece and Macedonia, instead, are much less represented. Their coins appear in almost every recorded find (eleven out of thirteen hoards), but they are never the primary component of a hoard. The only glaring exception is “Northeast Syria” (*CH* 8.319), from 225 BC, which only contains 3rd-century Athenian tetradrachms. Given their weight-standard, we can assume they circulated widely within the Seleukid empire,⁴¹⁰ but they are very rarely found in Northern Syrian finds after the Achaemenid period. Outside of the “Northeast Syria” hoard, in fact, only the 2nd-century Kırıkhan find has yielded Athenian *stephanephoroi*.

⁴⁰⁹ Duyrat 2016: nos. 181, 188, 200, 209, 232 (mixed Attic-Ptolemaic).

⁴¹⁰ Duyrat 2016: 353.

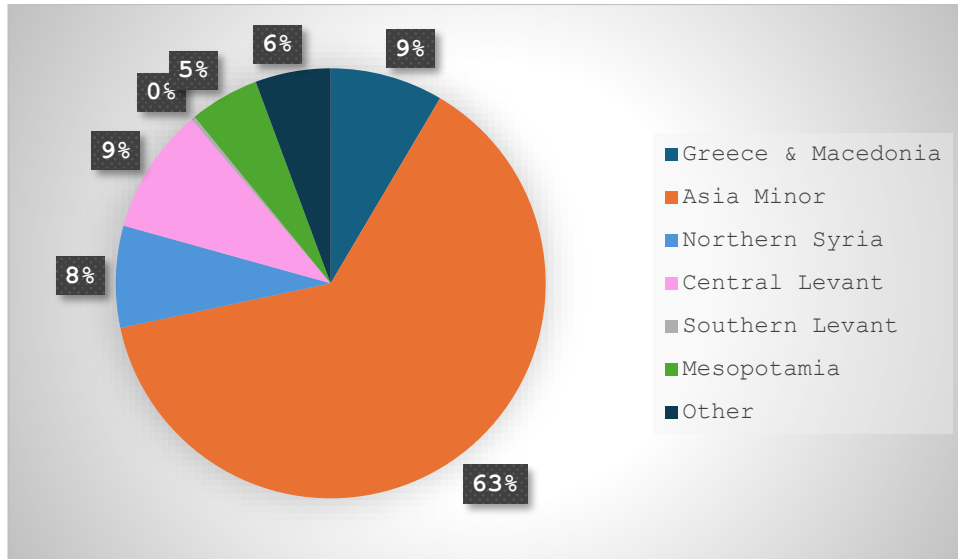


Fig. 41: geographic provenance of coins in Northern Syrian hoards – 3rd century BC (no. = 706 coins)

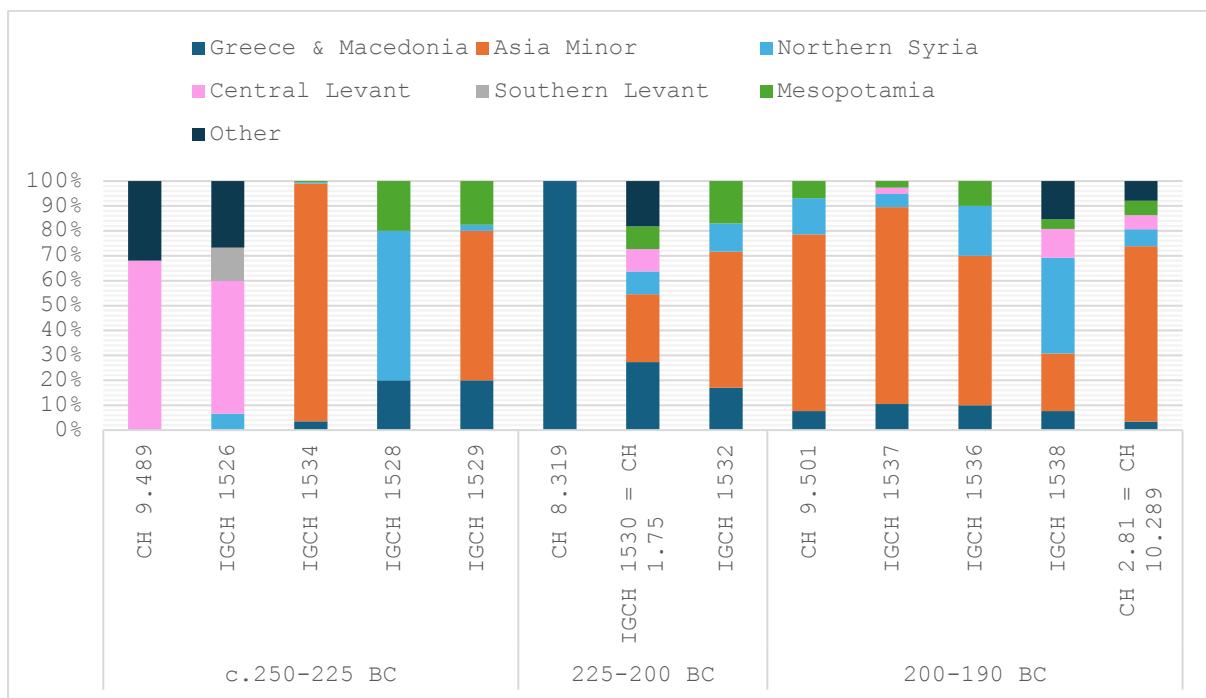


Fig. 42: geographic provenance of coins in Northern Syrian hoards – 3rd century BC

The Athenian tetradrachms of the “Northeast Syria” hoard (CH 8.319) are also among the few civic coins discovered in the 3rd-century finds of Northern Syria, and the only ones from a pre-200 BC hoard. In fact, the few other civic issues discovered in this region only started appearing in the 190s BC, coming mostly from Ephesos, Antioch-Alabanda, Perge, and Side (Fig. 43). Instead, the limited output

of the civic mints of Arados and its *peraiia* is reflected in their circumstantial presence in hoards. In fact, they only appear in two finds from the 190s BC – “Idlib, 1959” (IGCH 1543: not included in **Fig. 43**), with an unrecorded number of Marathos’ issues; and “Dniye, 1952” (1538), with one Aradian tetrobol from Year 20 (240/39 BC).

The rest of the evidence is made up of royal coins. This coin-type is featured alone in seven out of thirteen finds, and it amounts to at least over 70% of the contents of the other hoards.

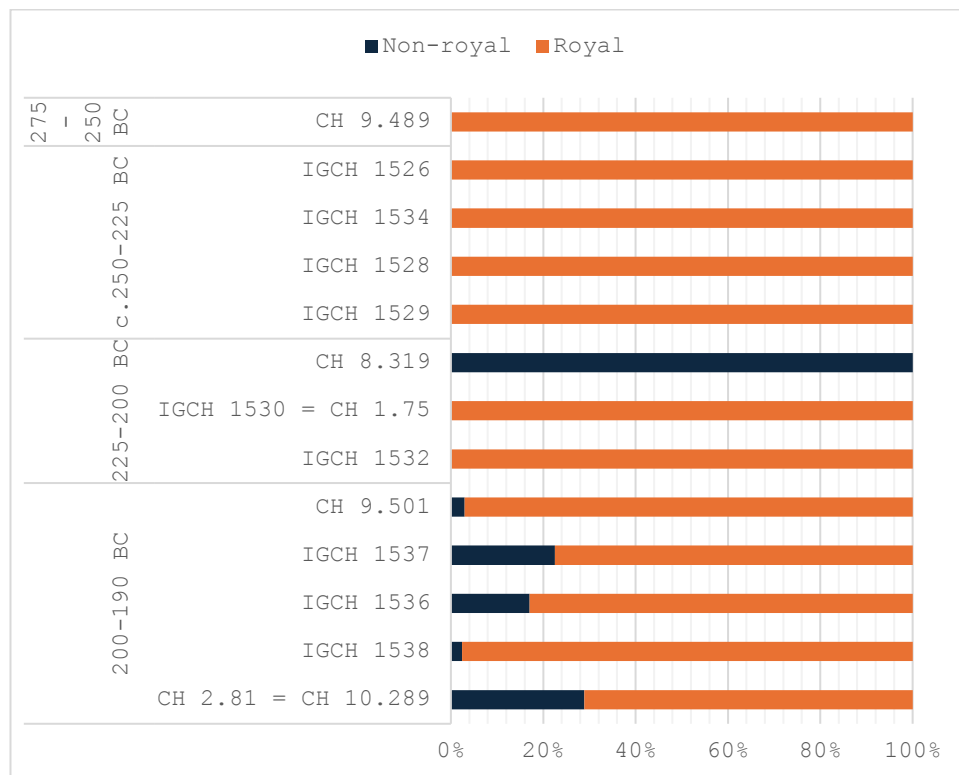


Fig. 43: non-royal vs. royal coins in Northern Syrian hoards – 3rd century BC

In the early Hellenistic period, lifetime and early-posthumous Alexanders had been the most common royal coinage, retaining their popularity also in the 3rd century BC, both in terms of the total number of coins discovered in hoards (**Fig. 44**), frequency of appearance (in 83% of the 3rd-century finds with recorded number of issues), and primacy among the other coinages in each find (they are the primary hoard component in over half of the evidence: **Table 24**). However, their predominance was challenged by the other Hellenistic royal products. The common adoption of the Attic weight-standard by almost all the 3rd-century dynasties contributed to the arrival of issues from a multitude of places, which helps

explain the overwhelming presence of foreign coins in Northern Syrian hoards. Lysimachos issues are better represented than Seleukid coins in terms of total number of issues (**Fig. 45**). They especially appear in hoards from the second half of the 3rd century BC, constituting half the contents of two finds (**Table 24; Fig. 45**), before becoming almost irrelevant in 200-190 BC. Despite occupying a small share of the evidence, Seleukid coins enjoyed the same “popularity” as the Alexanders, appearing in the same number of hoards (seven: 83% of the evidence). However, they are never the primary hoard component (**Table 24; Fig. 45**).

Finally, the coins of the “Other Hellenistic kings” were mostly Ptolemaic issues, mainly found in the two hoards from the so-called “Ptolemaic enclave”. Instead, Antigonid, Attalid, and royal Bithynian issues barely circulated in 3rd-century Northern Syria (**Fig. 46**).⁴¹¹

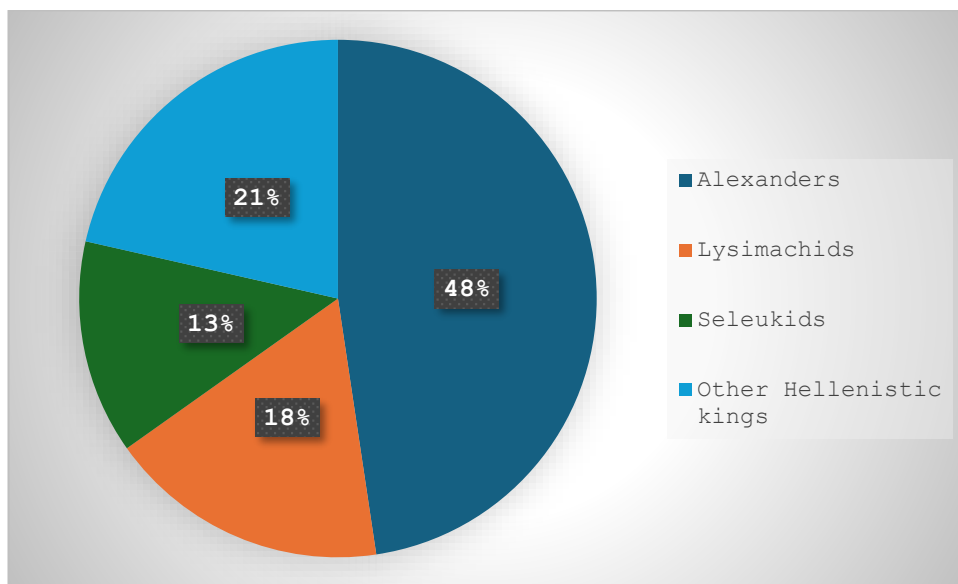


Fig. 44: royal coin-types in Northern Syrian hoards – 3rd century BC (total no. = 718)

| No. of “royal” hoards | Hoard with Alexanders | Alexanders 1 st place | Hoard with Seleukid coins | Seleukid coins 1 st place | Hoard with Lysimachi | Lysimachi 1 st place |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| | | | | | | |

⁴¹¹ Not shown on Fig. 42 are the coins of Demetrios Poliorketes, which have appeared in “Seleukeia Pieria, 1932-1933” (*IGCH* 1526), “Bab, 1944” (*IGCH* 1534), and “Tartos, 1940” (*IGCH* 1530).

| | | no. | % | no. | % | | no. | % | no. | % | | no. | % | no. | % |
|-----------------------|----|-----|----|-----|----|--|-----|----|-----|---|--|-----|----|-----|----|
| Northern Syria | 12 | 10 | 83 | 7 | 58 | | 10 | 83 | – | – | | 7 | 58 | 2 | 17 |

Table 24: occurrences of Alexander, Seleukid, and Lysimachos coins in Northern Syrian hoards – 3rd century BC

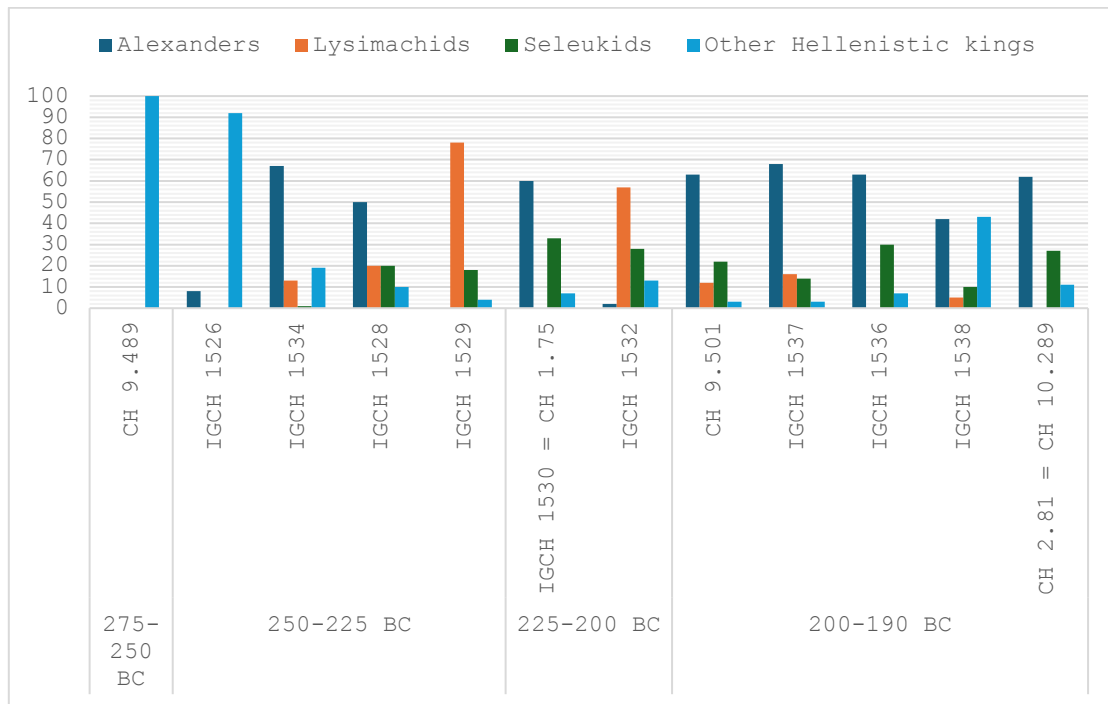


Fig. 45: percentages of royal coin-types in Northern Syria by hoard – 3rd century BC

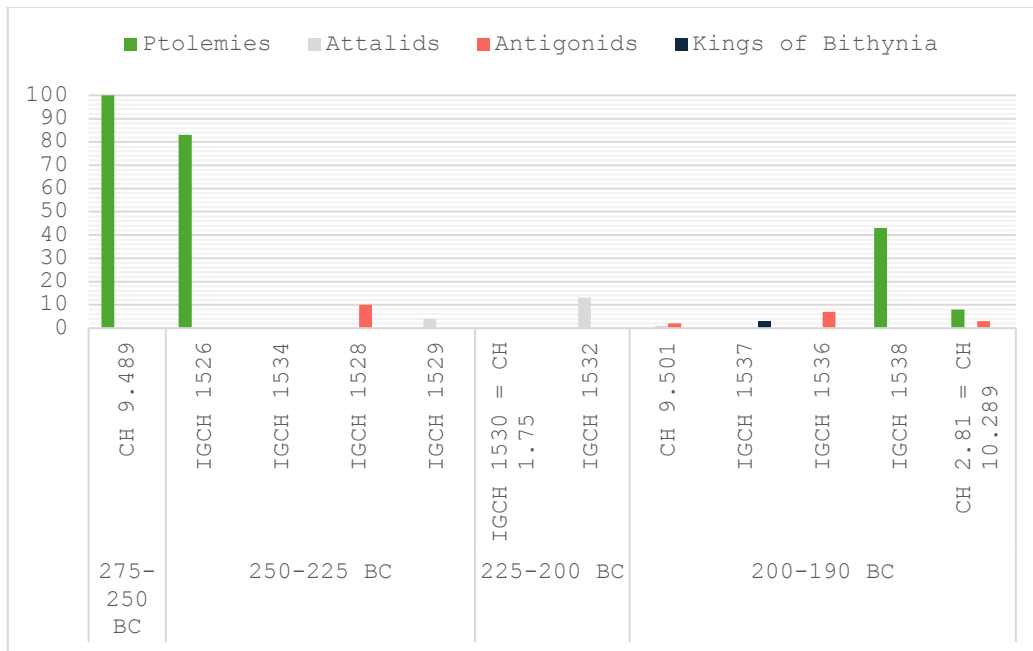


Fig. 46: percentages of royal coin-types in Northern Syria by hoard – 3rd century BC

Alexanders were the most widely adopted coin-type across the entire ancient Greek world, from mainland Greece to Mesopotamia and Iran. Nonetheless, over 80% of the Alexanders discovered in Northern Syria came from the West, especially from Asia Minor, while almost no eastern nor Phoenician Alexanders are attested for this period (**Fig. 47**). The large presence of the western Alexanders attests to an eastward circulatory movement, leading from Macedonia and Western Asia Minor to Northern Syria. This especially occurred at the end of the 3rd century BC and 200-190 BC, which explains the predominance we have note above of Western Asia Minor coins in hoards from this period. In fact, the returning troops from Seleukos III's and Antiochos III's Asia Minor campaigns brought the western Alexanders with themselves all the way back to Syria, together with the civic coins of Ephesos, Antioch-Alabanda, Perge, and Side. This also explains the behaviour of the Alexanders of Phaselis, Perge, and Aspendos, which started in the last quarter of the 3rd century BC but only made their first appearance in Northern Syrian hoards in the 190s BC, as they arrived with the troops returning from Antiochos III's campaigns in Asia Minor (**Fig. 48**).

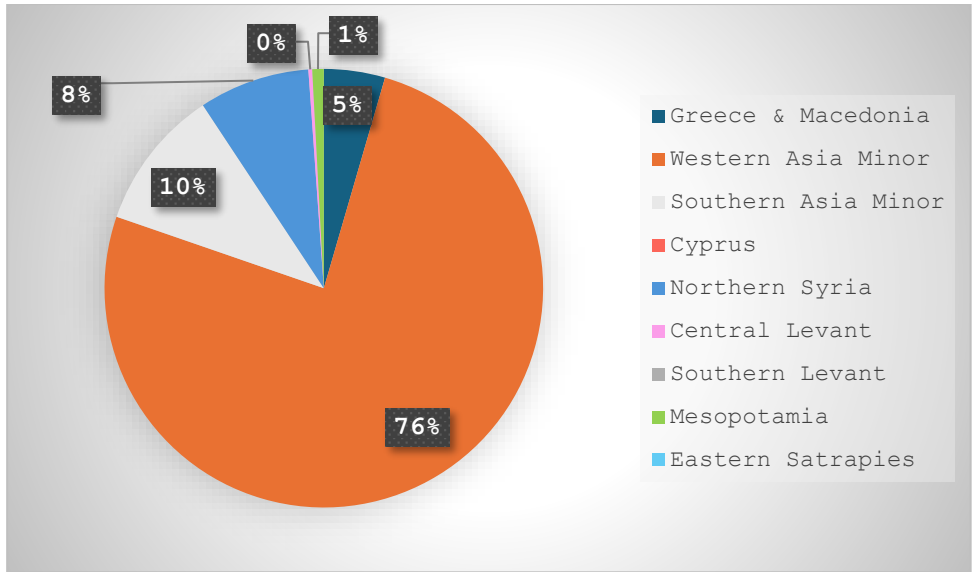


Fig. 47: geographic provenance of Alexanders in Northern Syrian hoards (total no. = 358 coins)

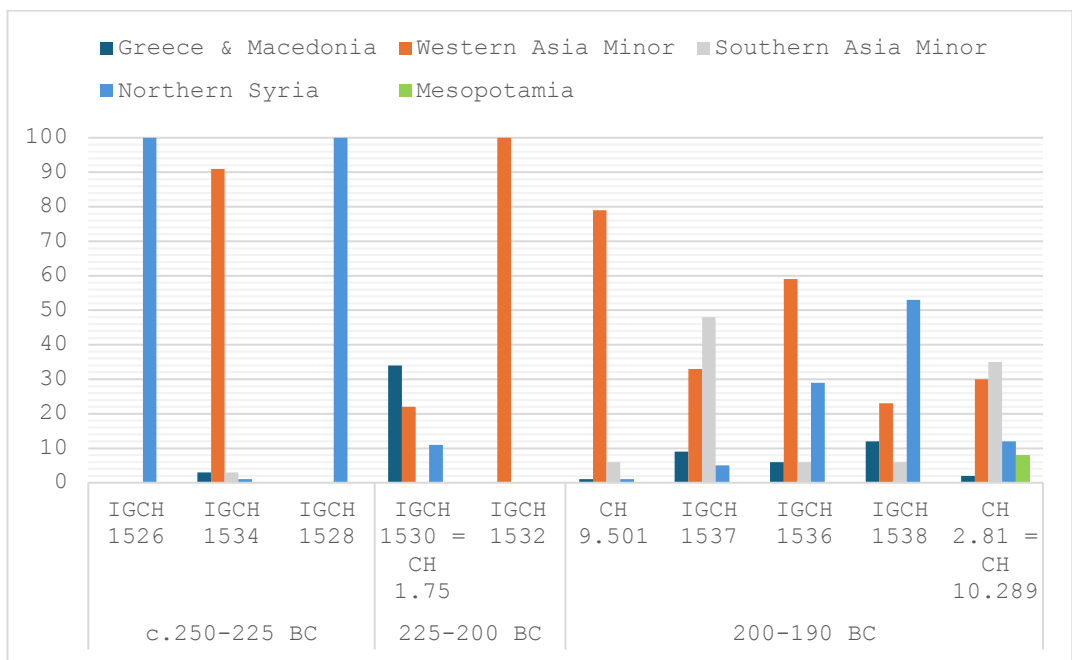


Fig. 48: percentages of Alexanders by region in Northern Syrian hoards – 3rd century BC

The picture for the Seleukids, instead, is slightly different. The coins of Antiochos I and Antiochos II found in Northern Syria originated mostly from Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris, while Antiochene issues are virtually absent (**Table 25**). Indeed, under the early kings, Antioch and the other mints of the Tetrapolis were characterised by low volume of coinage produced. A comparison with Asia Minor further confirms the impression that the Babylonian capital was the principal Seleukid imperial mint for

Antiochos I and Antiochos II (**Fig. 49**). However, this dynamic changed under the following Seleukids. Significantly fewer coins from the Babylonian capital appeared in hoards of both Northern Syria and Asia Minor in the second half of the 3rd century BC, probably absorbed by the eastern expeditions of Seleukos II and Antiochos III. Nonetheless, Antioch's products continued to be almost non-existent in local finds until 189 BC. In fact, many of Seleukos II's and Antiochos III's Syrian coins have been discovered in Asia Minor, which suggests they were mostly intended for export (**Fig. 49**). Conversely, very few Seleukid coins from Asia Minor are found in Northern Syrian hoards in the 3rd century BC. For Antiochos III, we only have one issue from an uncertain Phrygian mint, and two coins from Soloi in Kilikia (**Fig. 50**). The situation was not much different under the earlier kings – for Antiochos I and Antiochos II, we can only count three coins from Alexandria Troas, Pergamon, and Ephesos/Miletos combined. It is thus clear that, instead of the western Seleukid coinages, the royal troops returned to Northern Syria from Asia Minor carrying coins from Western and Southern Asia Minor, which consisted in a mix of Alexanders, Lysimachi, and civic issues, all on the Attic-weight standard.

| | No. hoards | | Sardis | Tarsos | Antioch | ΔEA Mint | Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris | Other mints | Total coins |
|---------------------|------------|------------------|--------|--------|---------|----------|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Antiochos I | 7 | no. coins | 1 | 1 | – | – | 16 | 1 | 19 |
| | | % | 6% | 5% | – | – | 84% | 5% | – |
| Antiochos II | 7 | no. coins | – | 1 | 3 | – | 8 | 7 | 19 |
| | | % | – | 5% | 16% | – | 42% | 37% | – |
| Interregnum | 2 | no. coins | – | – | – | 2 | – | – | 2 |
| | | % | – | – | – | 100% | – | – | – |
| Seleukos II | 2 | no. coins | – | – | – | 1 | – | 2 | 3 |
| | | % | – | – | – | 33% | – | 67% | – |
| Ant. Hierax | 3 | no. coins | – | – | – | – | – | 6 | 6 |
| | | % | – | – | – | – | – | 100% | – |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|---|------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|------------|-----------|
| Seleukos III | 2 | no. coins | – | – | 4 | – | 1 | – | 5 |
| | | % | – | – | 80% | – | 20% | – | – |
| Antiochos III | 5 | no. coins | 1 | 2 | 10 | 4 | 2 | 20 | 39 |
| | | % | 3% | 5% | 26% | 10% | 5% | 51% | – |
| TOTAL | | no. coins | 2 | 4 | 17 | 7 | 27 | 36 | 93 |
| | | % | 4% | 4% | 18% | 8% | 29% | 39% | – |

Table 25: comparison of main Seleukid mints in Northern Syrian hoards – 3rd century BC

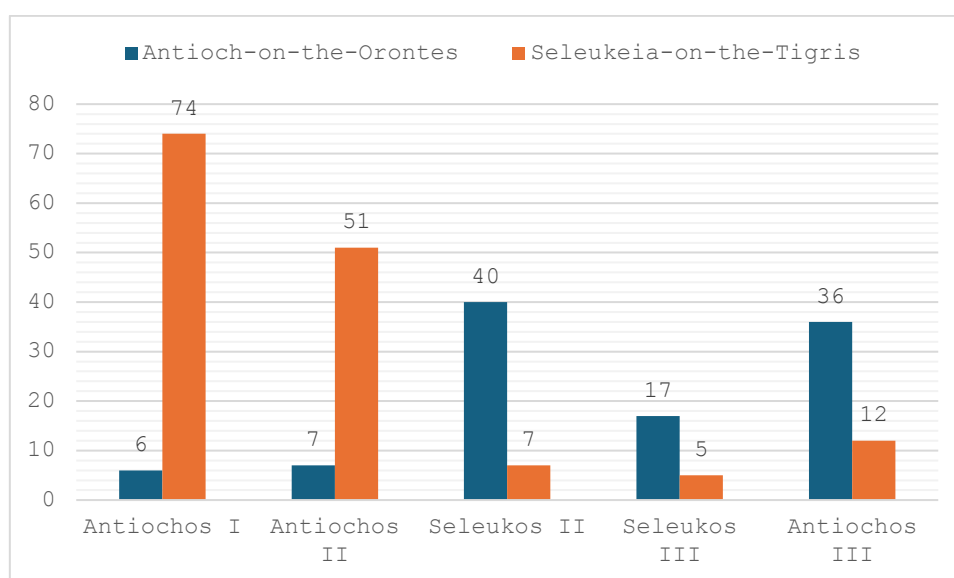


Fig. 49: Seleukid coins from Antioch-on-the-Orontes and Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris in hoards from Western, Northern, Central, Southern, and Uncertain Asia Minor (twenty-seven hoards) – 3rd century BC

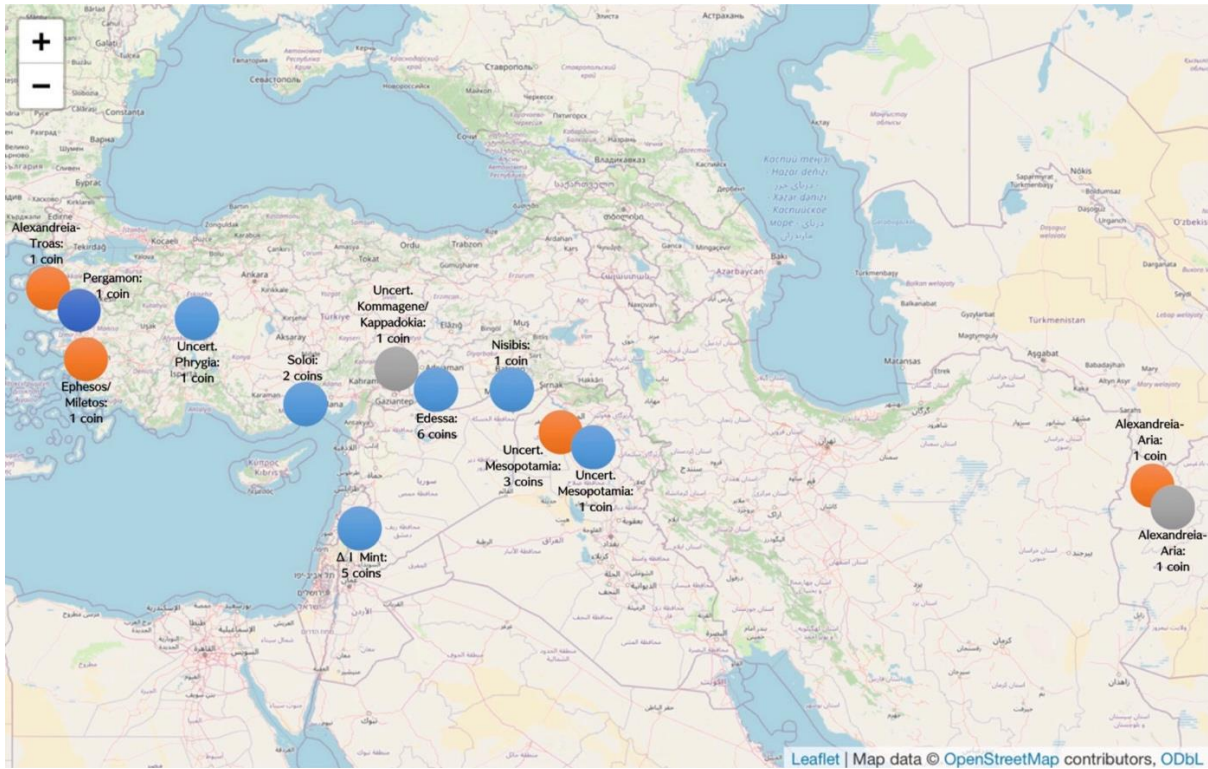


Fig. 50: Other Seleukid mints in Northern Syrian hoards – 3rd century BC (blue = Antiochos I; orange = Antiochos II; grey = Seleukos II; light blue = Antiochos III)

Overall, the best explanation for the circulatory patterns described above lies in the army's movements in the Seleukid military campaigns. Admittedly, part of the evidence discovered in the Northern Syrian hoards must have also reached this region through commercial routes. However, we are unable to identify how much of the evidence is indeed reflective of the trading activities that had been connecting the West to Syria for several centuries – as exemplified by the Macedonian and Thracian coins from the 5th-century hoards. Nonetheless, the representation of the Seleukid kings in Northern Syrian finds is well explained by the military model of coin circulation. In fact, Antiochos III's coins, numerically speaking the best represented Seleukid king overall (**Fig. 51**), barely appeared in Syrian hoards from the last quarter of the 3rd century BC, despite having started in 222 BC. Instead, they appear in Northern Syrian hoards from 200 BC onwards, when the army returned from Asia Minor carrying this king's issues from Soloi, Tarsos, and the other Attic-weight coinages of the late 3rd century BC (**Fig. 52**). Admittedly, the evidence from 225-200 BC is represented only by two hoards – thus, a larger sample size may very well alter our present perception. Nonetheless, the dynamic just described fits well with

the behaviour of the other royal coinages and civic issues, although, interestingly, the same model does not easily apply to the eastern coins. In fact, despite the important campaigns of Seleukos II and especially Antiochos III in the Upper Satrapies, in neither case we observe an influx of coins from Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris, Susa, or Ekbatana as vigorous as the one observed for Asia Minor.

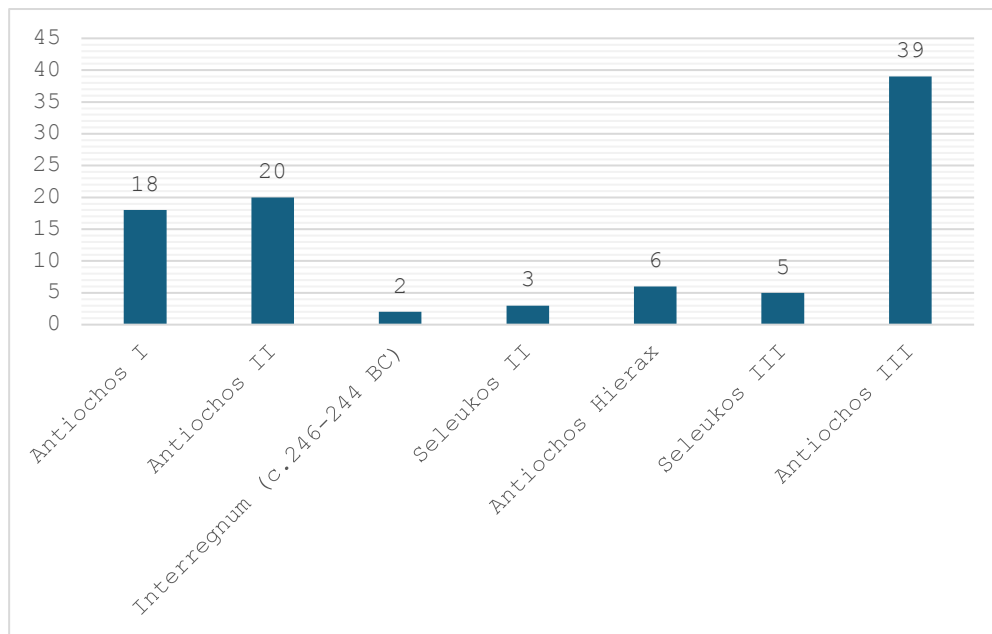


Fig. 51: total number of Seleukid coins in Northern Syrian hoards by ruler – 3rd century BC

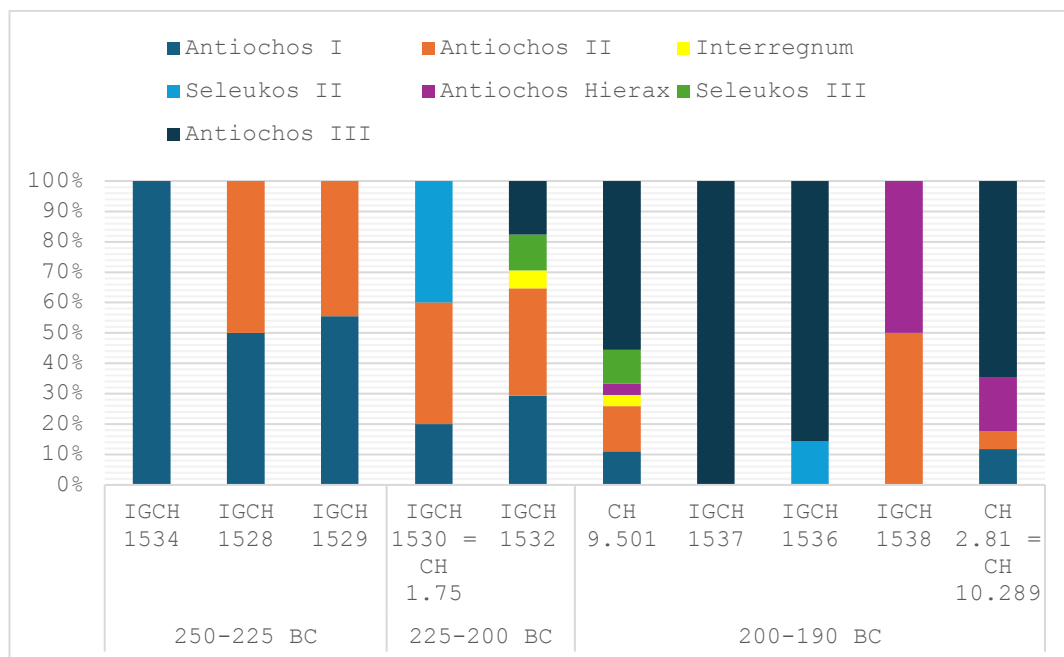


Fig. 52: percentage of Seleukid coins in Northern Syrian hoards by ruler – 3rd century BC

Thus, overall, the Northern Syrian hoard evidence from the 3rd century BC is a poor indicator of the monetary circulation within this region, as it is probably mostly constituted by coins transported by troops returning from military campaigns. Furthermore, the concept of a regional currency-area, which had emerged in the 4th century BC with Arados' coins, but which had begun to crumble in the Early Hellenistic period, was ultimately “demolished” under the Seleukids, with the export of locally-produced royal coinage and, in return, with the large import of foreign issues, either Seleukid or (mostly) Alexanders and Lysimachi.

1.3.2.2. Single-find evidence

The single finds discovered in Northern Syrian excavations show that a regional monetary area was established at the lower-currency level. Differently from the 4th century BC and the Early Hellenistic period, the single coin-finds from the 3rd century BC are almost exclusively bronzes (**Fig. 53**), although the total number of issues discovered at each site is often negligible. Al-Mina, Hama, Ras Shamra, Tell Ain el-Beida, Tell Beydar, Umm el-Mara, and Tell el-Hajj – thus, both coastal and inland settlements – have all yielded between one and two single coin-finds each, attesting either to non-intensive occupation of the sites – for instance, at Al-Mina and Hama – or to largely underdeveloped monetary economy in the countryside. It is, instead, at Antioch and Seleukeia-in-Pieria and at the main transit points on the Euphrates River – Jebel Khalid and Dura-Europos – that we find the highest concentration of single coin-finds for the 3rd century BC.

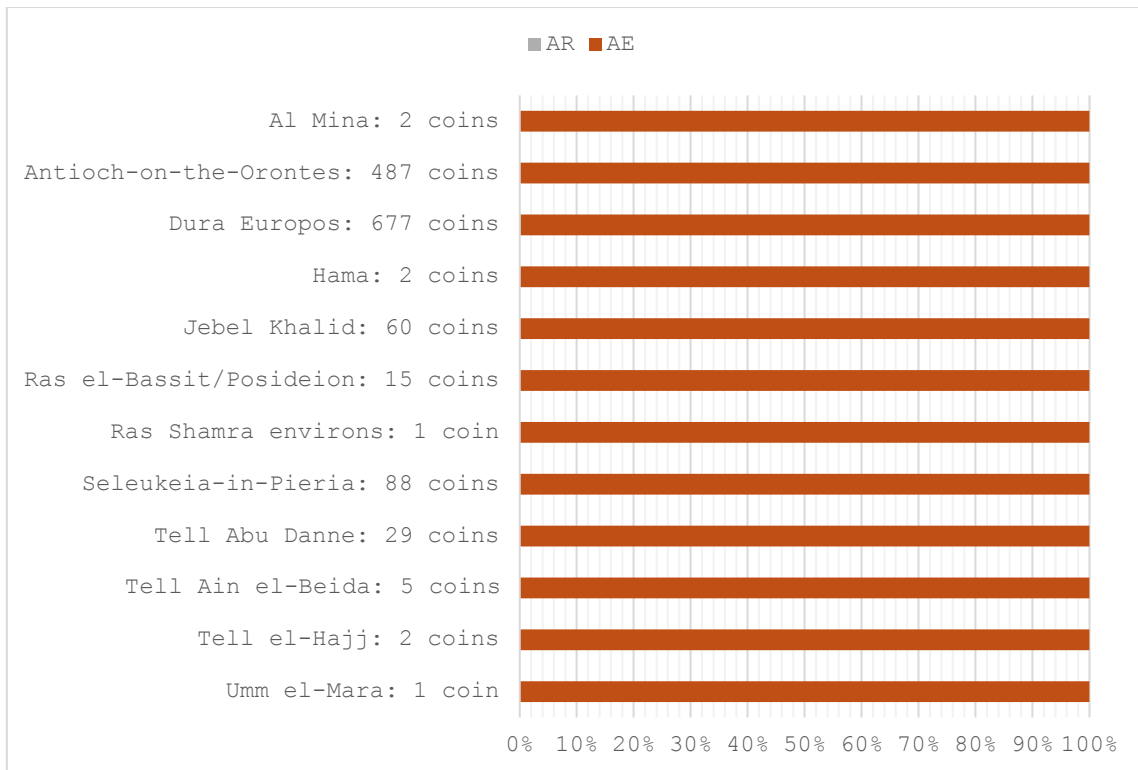


Fig. 53: silver vs. bronze single coin-finds at Northern Syrian excavation sites – 3rd century BC

Despite the limitations of bronze coinage in long-distance travel, 3rd-century bronzes from western and eastern mints have emerged in Northern Syrian excavation sites alongside Levantine issues (**Fig. 54**). Whenever it is possible to establish mint attribution, however, the single coin-finds from the 3rd century BC are predominantly of Syrian origin (**Fig. 55**). The only two places where non-regional issues constitute a sizeable chunk of the evidence – namely, Seleukeia-in-Pieria and Ras el-Bassit/Posideion – have yielded Ptolemaic bronzes, which attest to the Ptolemaic occupation of the Seleukis Syria from the Third Syrian War until Antiochos III’s reconquest of the area. Ptolemaic bronzes have also turned up at Antioch, but their presence there is negligible compared to Seleukeia-in-Pieria, due to the shorter occupation of the city.

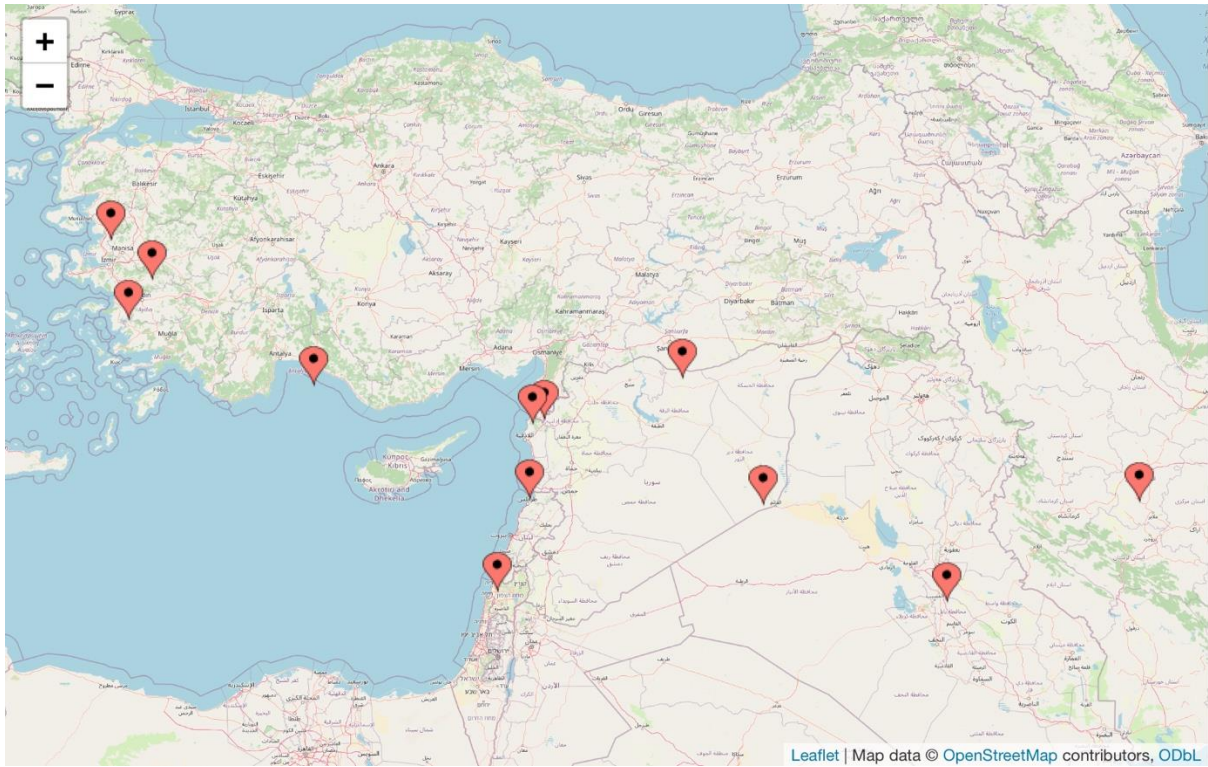


Fig. 54: mints of single coin-finds in Northern Syrian excavation sites – 3rd century BC

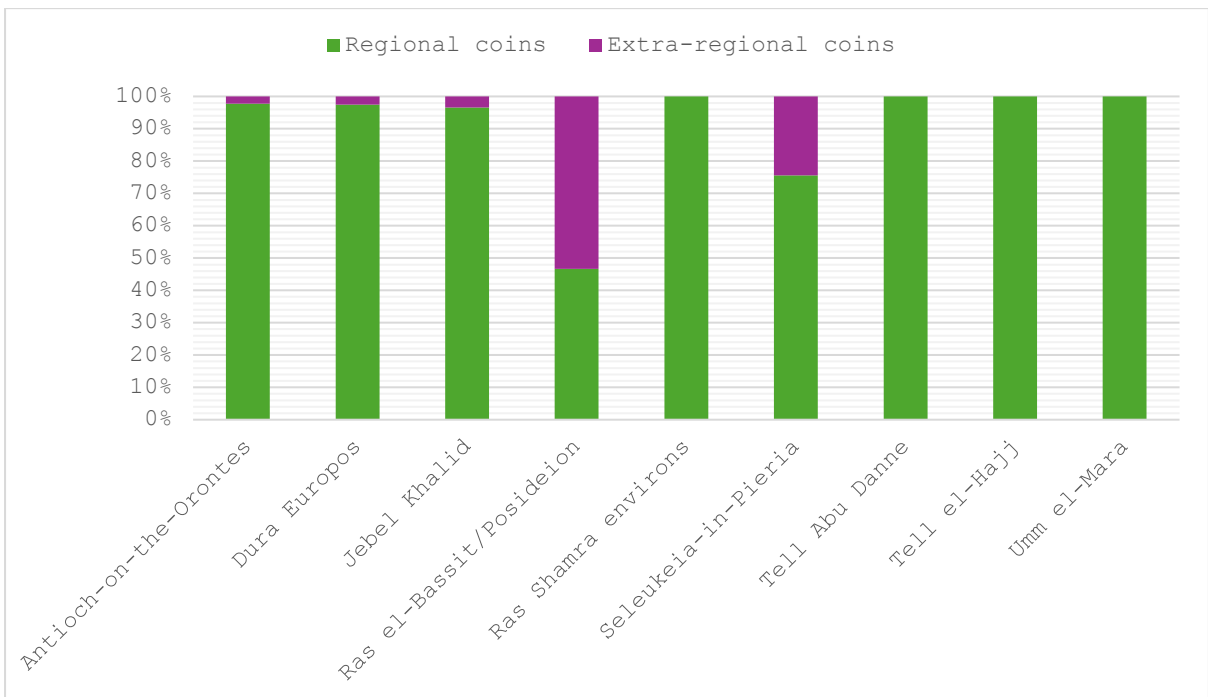


Fig. 55: regional vs. extra-regional single coin finds in Northern Syrian excavations – 3rd century BC

In all the other Northern Syrian sites, Antioch's coins constitute either the only evidence or over 90% of the single finds discovered, even in places as far as Dura-Europos on the Euphrates River (**Fig. 56**). Antioch's predominance was largely the result of a Seleukid effort – beginning from Antiochos II – to concentrate royal bronze coin-production in one place only. Indeed, dramatically few issues of the other Syrian mints have survived (**Table 26**). The ΔΕΑ coins are mostly found at Antioch and Dura Europos, while Antiochos I's bronzes from Dura have almost exclusively emerged in their place of production. The same likely applied to Arados as well, as its bronzes are virtually absent from the sites listed in **Table 26** below. Thus, we may assume their standard circulation pattern was restricted to the *peraia* area, for which, unfortunately, we have no archaeological data.

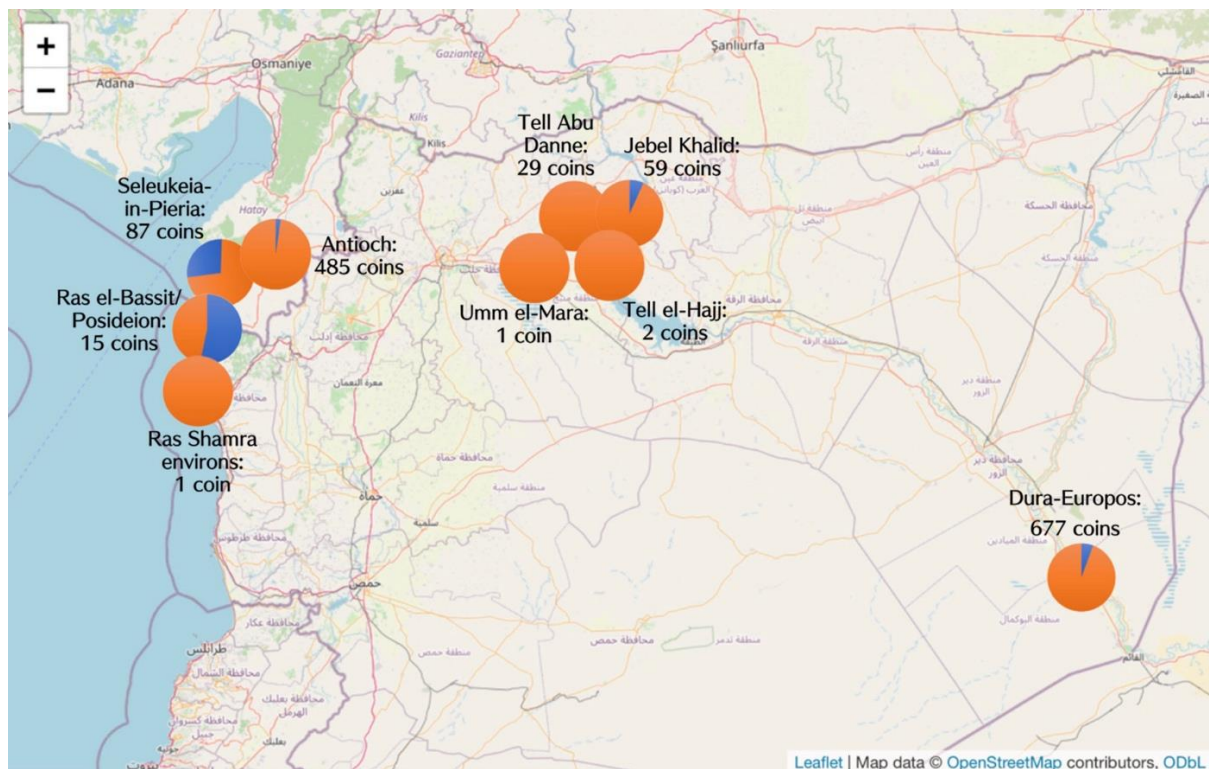


Fig. 56: Antioch-on-the-Orontes (orange) vs. other mints (blue) in Northern Syrian excavations – 3rd century BC

| | | Northern Syrian bronze mints | | | | |
|------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| | | Antioch-on-the-Orontes | Seleukeia-in-Pieria | ΔΕΛ Mint | Dura Europos | Arados |
| Excavation sites | Antioch-on-the-Orontes | 437 | – | 35 | – | – |
| | Seleukeia-in-Pieria | 58 | 2 | 3 | 1 | – |
| | Ras el-Bassit/Posideion | 7 | – | – | – | – |
| | Ras Shamra | 1 | – | – | – | – |
| | Jebel Khalid | 55 | 2 | – | – | – |
| | Tell Abu Danne | 29 | – | – | – | – |
| | Umm el-Mara | 1 | – | – | – | – |
| | Tell el-Hajj | 2 | – | – | – | – |
| | Dura Europos | 621 | – | 18 | 21 | 4 |
| TOTAL | | 1211 | 4 | 56 | 22 | 4 |
| | | 94% | 0% | 4% | 2% | 0% |

Table 26: single coin-finds from Northern Syrian mints discovered in Northern Syrian excavation sites – 3rd century BC

Overall, in 3rd-century Northern Syria two levels of monetary circulation coexisted – one that could be defined as “international”, centred around the silver tetradrachms and drachms from mostly western mints; the other more local, anchored on the bronze coins produced at Antioch. The western and eastern bronzes that reached Syria attest to the wide-range connections that this region established with the “outside” world. However, the predominance of Antioch’s bronzes in the albeit meagre evidence of Northern Syria made these “foreign” issues almost irrelevant. This was reflective of a largely homogenous lower-level monetary space, where Antiochene bronzes were by far the currency of choice for everyday coined transactions. Aside from Antioch’s rich bronze coin-production, the royal character of its bronzes surely allowed them to predominate the evidence of distant places, like the garrison-towns on the Euphrates River. As “imperial” coins, royal bronzes were not bound to their place of production by their fiduciary value and could potentially travel all over the Seleukid kingdom. Nonetheless, even royal bronzes could display a certain “regionality” in their circulation patterns. For instance, Seleukid bronzes from western and eastern mints reached Northern Syria in extremely modest amounts – only

one Sardian bronze was found in the excavations at Jebel Khalid, while bronzes of Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris emerged exclusively at Dura-Europos (**Table 27**).

| | | Seleukid bronze mints | | | | | |
|------------------|--------------|-----------------------|---------|------|---------|-------------------------|----------|
| | | Sardis | Antioch | Tyre | Karrhai | Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris | Ekbatana |
| Excavation sites | Antioch | – | 472 | 3 | 2 | – | – |
| | Dura Europos | – | 639 | 4 | – | 8 | – |
| | Jebel Khalid | 1 | 57 | – | – | – | 1 |
| TOTAL | | 1 | 1116 | 7 | 2 | 8 | – |
| | | 0% | 98% | 1% | 0% | 1% | 0% |

Table 27: Seleukid coins from western and eastern mints vs. Antioch’s bronzes in Northern Syrian excavations – 3rd century BC

Conversely, at Sardis and Ephesos – the two places that have yielded the most Seleukid single coin-finds in Western Asia Minor – Sardis’ royal bronzes are by far more numerous than Antioch’s and especially Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris’ bronzes (**Fig. 57**). This certainly depended on the long distance between Sardis and these other royal centres. After all, the material royal bronzes were made of prevented them from travelling in great quantities – it was indeed more convenient for soldiers and merchants to carry silver coins in long-distance travel, rather than a mass of bronzes of equivalent value. Thus, not completely unlike the civic issues, royal bronzes tended to circulate with greater intensity closer to their mint of origin, forming what we could term “preferential monetary areas”.

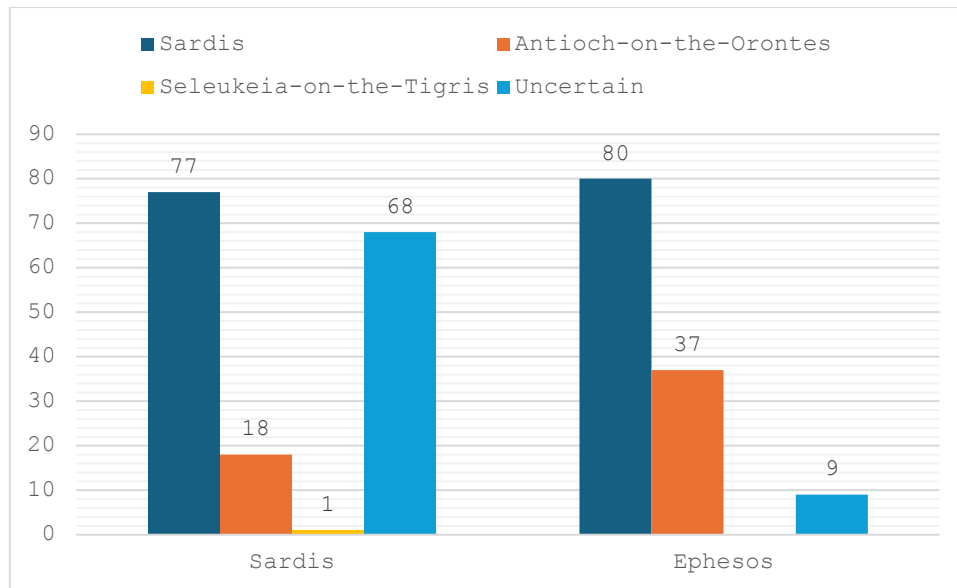


Fig. 57: no. of single coin-finds of main Seleukid bronze mints discovered at Sardis and Ephesos – 3rd century BC

In the Achaemenid period, these areas reflected the spatial extent of a city's power – in Arados' case, over Northern Syria; over the Central Levant for Sidon; over the Southern Levant for Tyre. Instead, in the Seleukid kingdom, these monetary areas were the result of administrative arrangements. Especially in Western Asia Minor, Seleukid bronze coins abounded in the centres of royal power or in garrisoning-towns. The same also applied to Northern Syria. For Jebel Khalid, C. E. V. Nixon believes the predominance of Antiochene bronzes reflected political and military events, rather than commercial ones. In fact, compared to the single coin-finds, the pottery evidence from Jebel Khalid – for instance, the stamped Rhodian amphorae – implied a much wider commercial network for this fort-garrison.⁴¹²

The same considerations are likely valid for Dura Europos as well.

Unfortunately, we have no information regarding the organisation of Seleukid garrisoning in Syria. Soldiers were probably dispatched to the various forts from a military centre, perhaps Apameia-on-the-Orontes. Antioch's bronzes would then be sent directly to the garrison-towns to pay the military installed there. It is also possible some troops were dispatched to a fort from Antioch itself, while taking the royal issues along to the place of destination.

⁴¹² Clarke et al. 2019: 266-67.

However, circulation of bronzes could reflect not only transfer of troops – in fact, we can assume that Seleukid soldiers used these issues for everyday transactions, and that these royal bronzes thus ended up in the hands of civilians. They could have then circulated throughout Northern Syria through common people’s trips from one place to another; merchants’ travels; or religious pilgrimages to cult places, like Hierapolis-Bambyke. Admittedly, for Western Asia Minor these types of movement can usually be traced through the circulation of civic bronzes (see **Chapter 3**); for Northern Syria, instead, the same can be done with much less certainty, as our only available evidence is represented by royal coins from Antioch. Nonetheless, the circulation of this city’s bronzes from the Orontes valley to the Euphrates River reflected a general movement of people West to East, which also finds confirmation in the pottery evidence. For instance, at Jebel Khalid, 95% of the ceramic was locally manufactured, while the majority of the imported pottery was of western origin, with little from the East.⁴¹³ The stamped Rhodian amphorae likely reached Jebel Khalid through Antioch, where many objects of this type were found.⁴¹⁴ Similarly, the majority of the imported ceramic discovered at Dura Europos came from Syria and the Aegean.⁴¹⁵

Overall, Antioch’s predominance in the single find evidence does not only reflect the Seleukids’ ability to establish their hold on Northern Syria. It is also a strong indicator of the centrality this city came to assume during the 3rd century BC within this region.

Section 1.4. 2nd century BC (187-c.140 BC)

1.4.1. Coin-production

1.4.1.1. Silver and gold royal coinages

The defeat at Magnesia-on-the-Sipylos in 189 BC against the Roman-Attalid coalition and the Treaty of Apameia in 188 BC represented the turning points in the history of the Seleukid empire, as Antiochos III surrendered control over Asia Minor. However, the Seleukid empire was far from finished.

⁴¹³ Jackson & Tidmarsh 2013.

⁴¹⁴ Waage & Comfort 1948.

⁴¹⁵ Alabe 2013.

Antiochos III's son, Seleukos IV, reigned for twelve years (187-175 BC), during which he reinforced the defense of the remaining Seleukid possessions. Antioch was the only active mint for this ruler, issuing silver tetradrachms and drachms with the usual Apollo on omphalos reverse.⁴¹⁶ No control-links with Antiochos III's silver or bronze issues are apparent, which suggests Antioch's minting administration underwent a significant change under Seleukos IV. Nonetheless, Le Rider judged the mint attribution secure, based on the closeness of portrait style with Antiochos III's coinage.⁴¹⁷

In the few months between Seleukos IV's assassination by his minister Heliodoros and Antiochos IV's arrival in Syria, Antioch produced a rather exceptional coinage. Le Rider explained it as Heliodoros' attempt to gain support and to muster an army of mercenaries in the shortest time as possible before Antiochos IV's impending arrival.⁴¹⁸ The tetradrachms and drachms displayed the portrait of Seleukos IV's child-king Antiochos,⁴¹⁹ who had ascended to the throne in coregency with his mother Laodike IV.⁴²⁰ In fact, the gold octadrachms featured the royal portrait of both queen-mother and child-king – a first in Seleukid history.⁴²¹ Mint magistrates from Seleukos IV's administration continued to operate under the child-king,⁴²² and eventually for Antiochos IV, who ruled in coregency with his nephew until the latter's assassination in 170 BC.

Seleukeia-in-Pieria may have struck a series of tetradrachms with Antiochos IV's head with star above diadem/Apollo on omphalos types,⁴²³ but mint attribution is not completely certain.⁴²⁴ Instead, Antioch's production under Antiochos IV was much richer, spanning multiple coin-series struck in successive phases of his reign.⁴²⁵ The first issues – consisting of tetradrachms and drachms – bore the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, and the usual Apollo seated on omphalos on reverse.⁴²⁶ This

⁴¹⁶ SC 1313-1314.

⁴¹⁷ Le Rider 1999: 179.

⁴¹⁸ Le Rider 1999: 188.

⁴¹⁹ SC 1369-1370.

⁴²⁰ On this child of Seleukos IV, see Mørkholm 1964: 73-6; Le Rider 1986b: 412; Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.35.

⁴²¹ SC 1368.

⁴²² Monogram ΔΙ: SC 1313.1-3, 1314; 1369b, 1370. Monogram ΗΡ: SC 1313.6c; 1368a, 1369a. Monogram Φ: SC 1313.6b; 1369e.

⁴²³ SC 1424.

⁴²⁴ See Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.72-3.

⁴²⁵ For the chronology of Antiochos IV's coinage at Antioch, Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.61-2 follow Mørkholm 1963, with refinements by Le Rider 1999: 223-24.

⁴²⁶ SC 1395, 1402.

series likely lasted until c.173/2 BC.⁴²⁷ From the following coinage – once again including tetradrachms and drachms – the royal legend expanded by including Antiochos IV’s royal epithets ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥ.⁴²⁸ On reverse, the drachms preserved the Apollo on omphalos type, while the tetradrachms introduced the enthroned Zeus Nikephoros, a type that had only appeared on Seleukos I’s issues (**Fig. 58**). Furthermore, the tetradrachms and drachms of this second series were struck at a reduced Attic weight-standard, at c.16.8g for tetradrachms. This change, only applied at Antioch, would also be maintained for Antiochos IV’s following coinages at the same mint, and later adopted by his successors.⁴²⁹ However, there is no clear consensus as to why this weight-reduction took place.⁴³⁰



Fig. 58: AR tetradrachm of Antiochos IV from Antioch (SC 1396c). American Numismatic Society:

<http://numismatics.org/collection/1908.115.38>

Probably in 170/69-169/8 BC, thus, between the two Egyptian campaigns of Antiochos IV, the ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ legend also appeared on a special series of silver drachms, hemidrachms, and diobols.⁴³¹ Very few of these silver fractions have survived altogether – two drachms, fifteen hemidrachms, and three diobols in total. Overall, they constituted a very brief minting episode, probably occurring only in

⁴²⁷ Mørkholm 1963: 36-7.

⁴²⁸ SC 1396-1397, 1403.

⁴²⁹ Mørkholm 1963: 39-43; Le Rider 1999: 225-26.

⁴³⁰ Mørkholm 1963: 41-3, followed by Le Rider 1999: 226 and Aperghis 2004: 226, believed this measure aligned the weight of Seleukid coinage with that of the other contemporary Attic-weight issues. However, he later changed his mind in Mørkholm 1982: 304-5, where he framed the reduction of weight-standard within a general strategy of Antiochos IV to limit the use of silver coinage. Mørkholm believed Antiochos struck lighter Attic-weight tetradrachms after he failed to implement his strategy with the “Egyptianising” silver fractions. For Houghton 2012: 248-49, instead, this reform was meant “almost certainly to reduce the silver requirement of 15,000 talents imposed by the Romans in the Treaty of Apamea (189) and to help finance the military spending needs of Antiochos IV.”

⁴³¹ SC 1404-1406; Le Rider 1999: 224. Le Rider 1994: 20-1, 27 believed they served the purpose of increasing everyday currency for the people of Antioch, together with the “Egyptianising” bronzes, with which they shared types and legend.

169 BC, before the second Egyptian campaign, in connection to the “Egyptianising” bronzes from the same mint (see section below on bronze production).⁴³²

At Antiochos IV’s return from his humiliating treatment at Eleusis by the Roman delegation led by C. Popillius Laenas,⁴³³ Antiochene royal coins started displaying three epithets – ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ.⁴³⁴ The new legend first appeared on a special emission of tetradrachms with Zeus’ laureate head on obverse to celebrate the king’s return in 168 BC.⁴³⁵ Production of the usual tetradrachms with Antiochos IV’s head/enthroned Zeus Nikephoros types soon recommenced, albeit with the ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ legend.⁴³⁶ The same inscription appeared on a special emission of tetradrachms with new types – Apollo head/standing Apollo with cithara – probably struck for the festival at Daphne.⁴³⁷ Gold staters with Zeus Nikephoros reverse type and the ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ legend probably also belong to the same context.⁴³⁸

At Antiochos IV’s death at Tabai in Persia in 164 BC, the royal minister Lysias crowned the new king Antiochos V.⁴³⁹ Two years followed where Northern Syria was subjected to several pressures, especially Seleukos IV’s elder son’s escape from captivity in Rome and impending arrival in Syria.⁴⁴⁰ In these two years, Antioch produced a voluminous series of coins that included silver tetradrachms and drachms, and even gold octadrachms.⁴⁴¹ They all displayed Antiochos V’s portrait as an adolescent on obverse, while the reverse featured an enthroned Zeus Nikephoros.

Under Demetrios I, Antioch was once again the only royal mint of Northern Syria. For the first time, Seleukid coins featured the goddess Tyche and a cornucopiae as reverse types. Demetrios’ first emission

⁴³² Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.66.

⁴³³ Pol. 29.27.1-13; Liv. 45.12.3-6; App. Syr. 66; Diod. 31.2.1-2; Plut. *Mor.* 202F-203A.

⁴³⁴ Mørholm 1963: 36-7. *Contra* Le Rider 1999: 224, who suggested a start after the second Egyptian campaign.

⁴³⁵ SC 1398-1399.

⁴³⁶ SC 1400.

⁴³⁷ SC 1401; Newell 1917: 30; Mørholm 1963: 34. Le Rider 1999: 228 pointed out that of the ten surviving specimens of this coinage, five were minted by overstriking. This led him to consider the possibility these Apollo/standing Apollo with cithara tetradrachms were produced at a temporary mint opened for the occasion at Daphne.

⁴³⁸ SC 1394. Newell 1917: 81, followed by Mørholm 1963: 33. However, see the reservations expressed in Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.63.

⁴³⁹ Polyb. 31.9; 2 *Macc.* 1.13-7, 9.1-29; 1 *Macc.* 6.1-17; Diod. 31.18a; Jos. *AJ* 12.354-61; App. Syr. 46, 66.

⁴⁴⁰ Polyb. 31.11-3; App. Syr. 47.

⁴⁴¹ SC 1574-1576.

consisted of a series of tetradrachms with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ.⁴⁴² The last issues added the royal epithet ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, introduced presumably after Demetrios' return from his eastern campaign, where he had received the epithet *Sōter*.⁴⁴³ This inscription carried over to Demetrios' coinage from the last years of his reign –⁴⁴⁴ it consisted of tetradrachms, drachms, and hemidrachms, all dated from 155/4 to 151/0 BC according to the Seleukid era, a first in Seleukid numismatic history. Similarly dated was also a rich series of gold coins from Demetrios I's last two regnal years, 152/1 and 151/0 BC.⁴⁴⁵ They included denominations Antioch had never struck before – tristaters, two ½ staters, distaters, and hemistaters, along with the “usual” staters and octadrachms (**Fig. 59**). These were exceptional coins, likely meant to strengthen support around Demetrios I against a new rival to the Seleukid throne – Alexander Balas.⁴⁴⁶



Fig. 59: AV distater of Demetrios I from Antioch (SC 1631). Münzkabinett, Berlin:

<https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?id=18206054>

During the five years as Alexander's principal mint, the output of Antioch was voluminous. Except for a special tetradrachm emission from 149 BC (Alexander I/standing Athena Nikephoros),⁴⁴⁷ the gold staters and silver tetradrachms all displayed the enthroned Zeus Nikephoros reverse design from Antiochos IV's coinage. The lower silver denominations, instead, used the more traditional Apollo – either seated on omphalos or standing – and a tripod. All precious-metal coins displayed the full legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΙΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ, except for the hemidrachms and diobols, which lacked the royal epithets.

⁴⁴² SC 1633-1638.

⁴⁴³ SC 1639-1640.

⁴⁴⁴ SC 1641-1643.

⁴⁴⁵ SC 1627-1632.

⁴⁴⁶ Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.166.

⁴⁴⁷ SC 1783.

Alexander's coinage can be arranged in two groups – one undated, the other dated. The former included gold staters, and silver hemidrachms and diobols.⁴⁴⁸ As for the tetradrachms and drachms, after a first emission with no dates,⁴⁴⁹ coins in these two denominations were dated in 150 BC (**Fig. 60**).⁴⁵⁰ However, only the tetradrachms continued to display years of the Seleukid era until 146 BC;⁴⁵¹ all the successive drachms, instead, were undated, albeit control-linked to the contemporary dated tetradrachms.⁴⁵²



Fig.60: AR tetradrachm of Alexander I Balas from Antioch, dated to S.E. 163 = 150 BC (SC 1781.3).

American Numismatic Society: <http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.76377>

In the last years of Alexander's reign, the Antioch mint produced posthumous tetradrachms and drachms of Antiochos IV dated S.E. 167 (146/5 BC) and with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ (**Fig.**).⁴⁵³ Mørkholm hypothesised this series was either struck by Alexander I himself in a last attempt to win over the people's support, or by local magistrates in the months between Alexander's expulsion and Demetrios II's arrival in Antioch.⁴⁵⁴ Considering the 3rd-century precedent of the ΔΕΛ Mint – which had struck posthumous coins of Antiochos I in the “interregnum” period – the latter option appears as the most probable.

⁴⁴⁸ SC 1780, 1786-1787.

⁴⁴⁹ SC 1781.1-2, 1785.1-2; Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.218.

⁴⁵⁰ SC 1781.3-4, 1785.3-4.

⁴⁵¹ SC 1782-1784.

⁴⁵² SC 1785.5-13.

⁴⁵³ SC 1885-1886.

⁴⁵⁴ Mørkholm 1960.



Fig.61: posthumous AR tetradrachm of Antiochos IV from Antioch, dated to S.E. 167 = 146/5 BC (SC 1885.5g). American Numismatic Society: <http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.76539>

In the two years Demetrios II controlled Antioch, this city struck an extensive series of royal tetradrachms and drachms,⁴⁵⁵ as well as hemidrachms and diobols.⁴⁵⁶ The tetradrachms were dated S.E. 167 and 168 (146/5-145/4 BC). Except for S.E. 168,⁴⁵⁷ all drachms were undated, as well as the fractional silver. A workshop of uncertain identification (Uncertain Mint 94) which struck royal bronzes from Demetrios II's first regnal year may also have issued hemidrachms for this king.⁴⁵⁸

Tensions between Demetrios II and the military and civilian populations eventually culminated in a revolt led by Diodotos Tryphon in the name of Balas' son, Antiochos.⁴⁵⁹ This rebellion constituted the clearest sign of the beginning of the end for the Seleukid dynasty. While in the previous dynastic strife the Seleukids had somehow been able to preserve the political unity of Syria and the Levant, after Tryphon's revolt, this territory found itself split between opposing pretenders to the throne – a situation that carried on until the very last years of the Seleukid empire. Due to the divisions gripping this dynasty, the centralist model of coin-production focused on Antioch was eventually abandoned. Indeed, the headquarters of Tryphon's rebellion, Apameia-on-the-Orontes, produced coins in the name of the child-king Antiochos VI from mid-144 to mid-143 BC (**Fig. 62**).⁴⁶⁰ Several mint officials working in Antioch for Demetrios II joined Tryphon's rebellion and signed Antiochos VI's Apameian coins, with Tryphon himself acting as mint supervisor by signing the tetradrachms with his initials TPY.

⁴⁵⁵ SC 1906-1908.

⁴⁵⁶ SC 1909-1911.

⁴⁵⁷ SC 1908.4-6.

⁴⁵⁸ Perhaps Uncertain Mint 94: SC 1923A. The combination of date and Attic weight-standard suggest a Syrian origin for these hemidrachms, and a possible control-link may connect them to Uncertain Mint 94 (Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.287).

⁴⁵⁹ Diod. 33.4a; 1 *Macc.* 11.39-40, 54-5; Jos. *AJ* 13.131-32, 143-44; Just. 36.1.1-2.

⁴⁶⁰ SC 2008-2012; 2013.



Fig. 62: AR tetradrachm of Antiochos VI from Apameia-on-the-Orontes (SC 2009.2b). Archäologisches Seminar der Philipps-Universität, Marburg: <https://mk-marburg.ikmk.net/object?id=ID468>

As the rebels advanced, in 144/3 BC Demetrios II fled to Kilikia. Tryphon gained control of Antioch, where he placed the young Antiochos VI on the Seleukid throne.⁴⁶¹ With the rebels gaining control of Antioch, the returning mint officials struck coins nearly identical to Antiochos VI's Apameian emissions. They were countersigned with Tryphon's initials and by a new magistrate, ΣΤΑ.⁴⁶² Instead, coastal Northern Syria remained in Demetrios II's hands, with Seleukeia-in-Pieria probably functioning as his capital in this period.⁴⁶³ This city, together with Laodikeia-by-the-Sea, minted tetradrachms and drachms for Demetrios II.⁴⁶⁴ Other workshops of uncertain identification, in Syria or Phoenicia (Uncertain Mint 95 and ΔH Mint), also minted for this king.⁴⁶⁵

In 142 BC, Antioch produced undated silver drachms of Antiochos VI with no signature of the magistrate ΣΤΑ, but only Tryphon's. Furthermore, the reverse displayed a spiked Macedonian helmet,⁴⁶⁶ Tryphon's personal badge. These innovations announced the change in power dynamics leading to Antiochos VI's assassination in that year and to Tryphon's rise to royal status by acclamation from his troops.⁴⁶⁷ This rebel minted undated coinage in his own name at Antioch (**Fig. 63**)⁴⁶⁸ and at perhaps Apameia-on-the-Orontes.⁴⁶⁹ However, in 138 BC, Demetrios II's brother Antiochos VII landed

⁴⁶¹ 1 *Macc.* 11.55-7; *Jos. AJ* 13.144-45.

⁴⁶² *SC* 1999-2005.

⁴⁶³ *Porph. FGrHist* 260 F32.16.

⁴⁶⁴ *SC* 1924-1927A; 1929-1931.

⁴⁶⁵ Uncertain Mint 95: *SC* 1933-1934. ΔH Mint: 1935-1936A.

⁴⁶⁶ *SC* 2003.

⁴⁶⁷ *Diod.* 33.28, 28a; 1 *Macc.* 13.31-2; *Jos. AJ* 13.187, 218-19; *App. Syr.* 67; *Just.* 36.7.

⁴⁶⁸ *SC* 2029-2033.

⁴⁶⁹ Uncertain Mint 99: *SC* 2037-2038. Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.343 suggested identification with Apameia-on-the-Orontes.

in Seleukeia-in-Pieria and defeated Tryphon at Apameia-on-the-Orontes.⁴⁷⁰ This was the last vital jolt of the Seleukid dynasty, before new clashes within the family and foreign interventions finally decreed the fall of one of the most powerful empires of the ancient world.



Fig. 63: AR tetradrachm of Tryphon from Antioch (SC 2030b). Münzkabinett, Berlin:

<https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?id=18201381>

Overall, **Table 28** below illustrates well what was remarked multiple times in this section on the 2nd century BC – namely, that the bulk of coin-production in Northern Syria for this period occurred at Antioch. Nonetheless, we can observe a fairly clear divide between the first thirty-seven years – from Seleukos IV to Demetrios I – when coin-production was almost exclusively concentrated at Antioch, except for a series of tetradrachms from probably Seleukeia-in-Pieria; and the last thirteen years – from Alexander I to Tryphon – when the disintegration of Seleukid authority corresponded to the opening of contemporary mints, although mostly of uncertain identification. Furthermore, while the 3rd century BC had shown a clear preference for tetradrachms, the predominance of the latter denomination in the 2nd century BC was no longer as clear-cut as before. In fact, drachms and silver fractions were produced almost under every ruler. Gold coins were usually minted at the stater denomination as prestige issues. The octadrachm, instead, was the denomination of choice in times of crisis – usually to garner support in the face of an imminent threat. This was true for the child-kings, while Demetrios I took things to another level by striking a large series of gold coins in six denominations – something unprecedented for a Seleukid mint, and which testifies to the levels of spending of the royal administration (**Fig. 64**).

⁴⁷⁰ Jos. AJ 13.221-24; Str. 16.2.10.

| Mint | Seleukos IV | Antiochos | Antiochos IV | Antiochos V | Demetrios I | Alexander I | Demetrios II (1 st reign) | Antiochos VI | Tryphon |
|---|-------------|-------------|---|-------------|---|---|--|---|---------|
| Antioch-on-the-Orontes | T D | O T D | S T D <i>Hemidr.</i> <i>Diob.</i> | O T D | S O Trist. 2 ½ St. Dist. Hemist. T D <i>Hemidr.</i> | S T D <i>Hemidr.</i> <i>Diob.</i> | T D <i>Hemidr.</i> <i>Diob.</i> | S T D <i>Hemidr.</i> <i>Diob.</i> | T D |
| Barbarous imitations of Antioch tetradrachms | | | T | | | | | | |
| Issues imitating Antioch | | | | | T D | | | | |
| Tetradrachm of Antiochene style | | | | | | T | | | |
| Seleukeia-in-Pieria | | | | | | T | | | |
| Probably Seleukeia-in-Pieria | | | T | | | | T D | | |
| Seleukeia-in-Pieria or Laodikeia-the-Sea | | | | | | | T D | | |
| Apameia-on-the-Orontes | | | | | | | | T D <i>Hemidr.</i> | |
| Probably Apameia | | | | | | | | <i>Hemidr.</i> | |
| Unc. Mint 87 | | | | | | T | | | |
| Unc. Mint, 88 | | | | | | T D | | | |
| Perhaps Unc. Mint 94 | | | | | | | <i>Hemidr.</i> | | |
| Unc. Mint 95 | | | | | | | T D | | |
| Unc. Mint 99 | | | | | | | | | T D |
| ΔH Mint | | | | | | | D | | |
| Unattributed Syrian issue | | | | | T | | | | |
| Unattributed issues | | | | | | | | D | |
| Unattributed Western Drachms with Cornucopiae Reverse | | | | | | | D | | |

Table 28: denominations of Seleukid coinage in Northern Syria – 187-c.140 BC

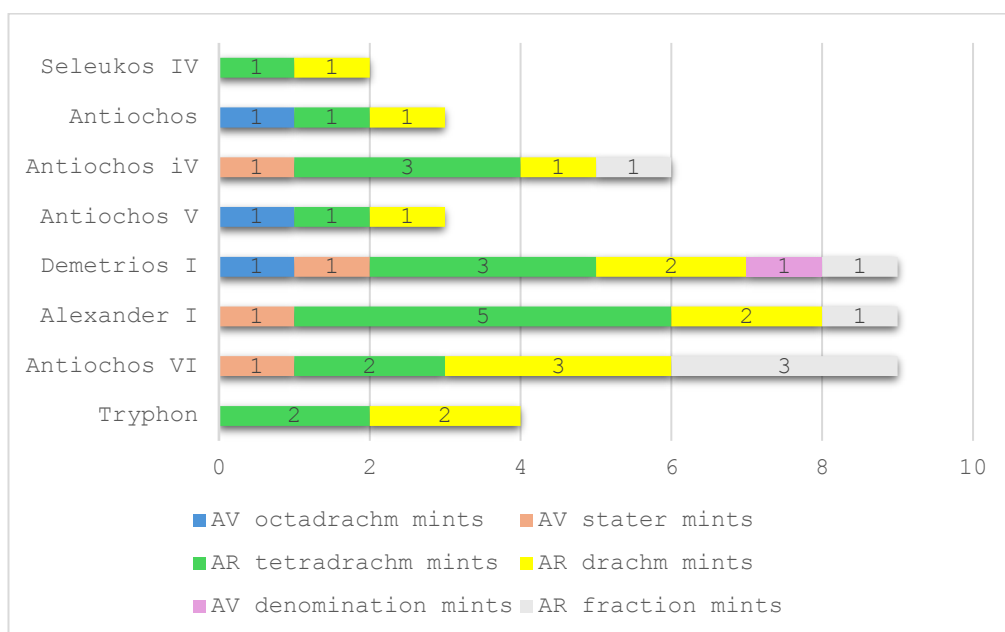


Fig. 64: no. of royal mints by gold and silver denominations for each Seleukid king – 187-c.140 BC

Unfortunately, however, we can only estimate the output of Seleukid coinage at Antioch for only twenty-six years of the 2nd century BC – from Seleukos IV to Antiochos V.⁴⁷¹ In fact, we lack a full die-study for the coinages of the kings of the second half of the 2nd century BC.⁴⁷²

We have seen above how production of Seleukid coinage in 187-140 BC was not restricted to tetradrachms alone. In fact, this denomination was almost always accompanied by gold coins, silver drachms, and silver fractions. Nonetheless, from the number of used obverse dies in 187-162 BC, the preferred denomination at Antioch clearly remained the tetradrachm, for which Le Rider has identified a total of 107 obverse dies. These account for 86% of all used obverse dies at Antioch in 187-162 BC (**Fig. 65**). Once we think in absolute value, however, due to the gold octadrachms of the child-king Antiochos and of Antiochos V, such a predominance of the tetradrachm becomes less marked, amounting to 65% of the whole Antiochene production (**Table 29**).

⁴⁷¹ Le Rider 1999: 166-250.

⁴⁷² Hoover 2011 provided the number of obverse dies only for Antioch's dated tetradrachms from Demetrios I to Antiochos VI.

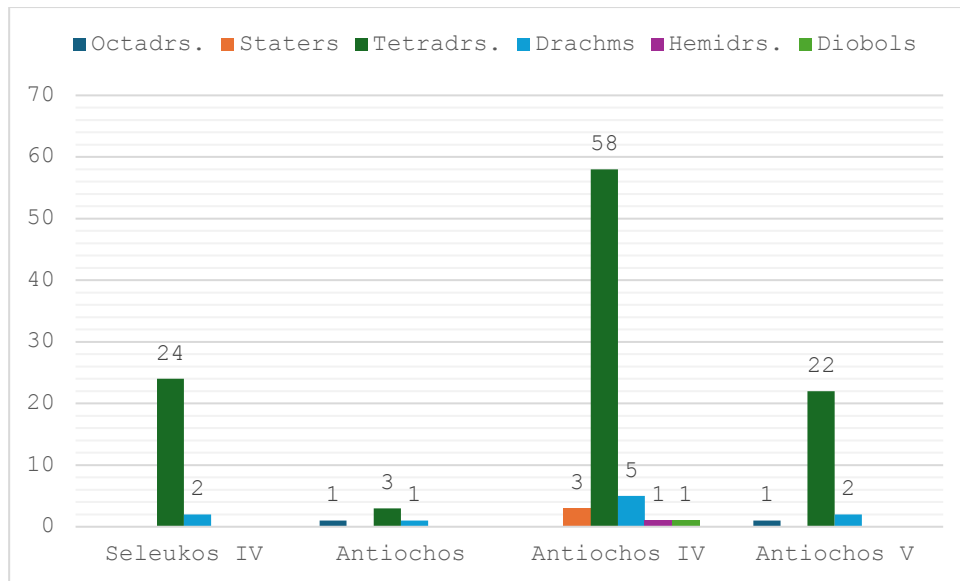


Fig. 65: Number of obverse dies per coin type and regnal year – 2nd century BC

| Ruler | Dates | | AV | | AR | | Total | Obv. dies/year |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|-----------|----------|---------|----------|-------|--------|----------------|
| | | | Octadrs. | Staters | Tetradr. | Dr. | | |
| Seleukos IV | 187-175 BC | obv. dies | – | – | 96 | 2 | 98 | 7.5 |
| | | g*dies | – | – | 412.8g | 8.6g | 421.4g | 32.2g |
| | | % | – | – | 98 | 2 | | |
| Antiochos | September-October/November 175 BC | obv. dies | 80 | – | 12 | 1 | 93 | – |
| | | g*dies | 344g | – | 51.6g | 4.3g | 400g | – |
| | | % | 86 | – | 13 | 1 | | |
| Antiochos IV | 175-c.173/2 BC | obv. dies | – | – | 16 | 1 | 17 | 5.6 |
| | | g*dies | – | – | 68.8g | 4.3g | 73.1g | 24g |
| | | % | – | – | 94 | 6 | | |
| | c.173-164 BC | obv. dies | – | 60 | 216 | 4 | 280 | 28 |
| | | g*dies | – | 252g | 907.2g | 16.8g | 1176g | 117.6g |
| | | % | – | 21 | 77 | 2 | | |
| Antiochos V | 164-162 BC | obv. dies | 80 | – | 88 | 2 | 170 | 56.6 |
| | | g*dies | 336g | – | 369.6g | 8.4g | 714g | 237.7g |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|------------|------------------|-------|------|-------|-------|----------------|-------------|
| | | % | 47 | – | 52 | 1 | | |
| Total | 187-162 BC | obv. dies | 160 | 60 | 428 | 10 | 658 | 25.3 |
| | | g*dies | 1016g | 252g | 1810g | 42.4g | 3120.4g | 120g |
| | | % | 24 | 9 | 65 | 2 | | |

Table 29: drachm-equivalent number of obverse dies – 2nd century BC

If we look at the output of each king in absolute value, we may also notice that, during Seleukos IV's reign, the annual use of obverse dies at Antioch was attested around the same level as under Seleukos II (7.3: ΔΕΛ Mint excluded). While Seleukos II had been one of the most active coin-producers at Antioch in the 3rd century BC, Seleukos IV, among the kings of the 2nd century BC, employed the lowest number of drachm-equivalent obverse dies in relation to the length of his rule (**Fig. 66**). In fact, his output was attested at around a third of Antiochos IV's production, and an eighth of Antiochos V's. While for the latter it is necessary to account for the exceptional circumstances of his reign, Antiochos IV represents the start of an increased output of Seleukid precious-metal coinages at Antioch. Judging by the numerous series struck by his successors, this tendency became even more marked later in the 2nd century BC.

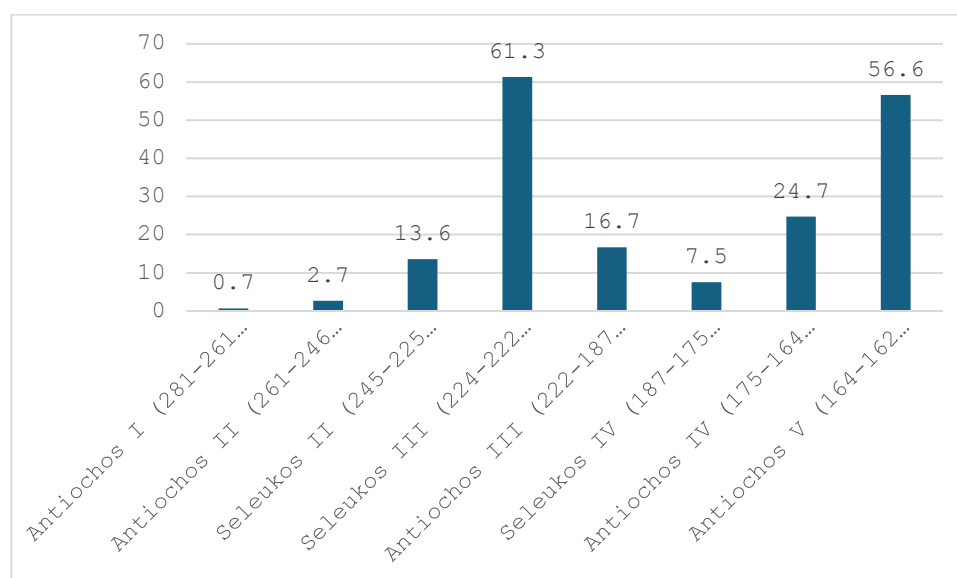


Fig. 66: annual drachm-equivalent obverse dies at Antioch from Antiochos I to Antiochos V

1.4.1.2. *Bronze royal coinages*

Outside of Antiochos I's reign, in the 3rd century BC Antioch had acted as the primary royal bronze mint of Northern Syria, with the occasional assistance of the closely related ΔΕΛ Mint (never again operative after Antiochos III). The situation did not change under Seleukos IV, as Antioch was his only bronze mint. Contrary to his conservative approach to silver minting, Seleukos IV produced a rather rich bronze coinage. The bronzes displayed a serrate fabric and central cavities and were struck in four (or five) denominations, each with their own types.⁴⁷³ Furthermore, virtually every bronze bore a control monogram on the obverse (either ME or AB), together with the usual reverse monograms. Seleukos IV's Antiochene bronzes were also innovative in the iconographic repertoire of their coin-designs. Some types were returning on Antioch's bronze coinage after a long time – for instance, Artemis, which had last appeared on Seleukos III's bronzes. Other types were instead new, such as Dionysos, the prow, and especially the portrait of a queen. For Oliver Hoover, this veiled female portrait represented Laodike IV.⁴⁷⁴ The combination with the elephant reverse type has led Houghton, Lorber, and Hoover to suggest perhaps a military function for this coinage.⁴⁷⁵

Production of the Laodike IV/elephant bronzes continued even after Seleukos IV's assassination, but without any obverse control monograms, and with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ. Most of these issues did not feature Seleukos IV's distinctive serrate fabric and are thus assigned to Antiochos IV's early reign, until c.173/2 BC.⁴⁷⁶ Instead, the few that did display serrate fabric and central cavities in continuity with Seleukos' coinage perhaps belong to the short reign of his son Antiochos.⁴⁷⁷ However, we do not know if the abandonment of the serrate fabric occurred at Antiochos IV's accession to the throne, or at some point afterwards.⁴⁷⁸ This early emission of Laodike IV/elephant bronzes for Antiochos IV featured an elevated number of monograms but – like Antiochos IV's entire bronze coin-

⁴⁷³ SC 1315-1319.

⁴⁷⁴ Huth *et al.* 2002.

⁴⁷⁵ Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.13.

⁴⁷⁶ SC 1407.

⁴⁷⁷ SC 1371.

⁴⁷⁸ Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.38.

production at Antioch – it lacked any control-links with the contemporary precious-metal coinage. Nonetheless, numismatists have provided dates for Antiochos IV’s bronzes based on their legend. Thus, all the bronzes with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ are placed after the Laodike IV bronzes. A first series with this legend and the radiate Antiochos IV design on obverse was produced in c.173/2-169 BC.⁴⁷⁹ Likely between the two Egyptian campaigns (summer 169 BC-summer/autumn of 168 BC), Antioch produced a second series with the ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ legend, but with “Egyptianising” features. They displayed an eagle on thunderbolt, Isis, or Serapis types; bevelled edge and central cavities; and denominations comparable to the Ptolemaic bronzes.⁴⁸⁰ The purpose of these “Egyptianising” bronzes was presumably propagandistic,⁴⁸¹ but they may have also served practical needs.⁴⁸² Their high rate of survival suggests their production lasted even beyond the Egyptian campaigns,⁴⁸³ occurring in parallel with Antioch’s following bronze series. In fact, from summer/autumn 168 BC, once again Antioch minted bronzes with Antiochos IV’s radiate head on obverse, Zeus holding wreath on reverse, but the civic legend ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΑΦΝΗΙ.⁴⁸⁴ This coin-type, commonly known as “quasi-municipal”, was also struck at several other mints in Northern Syria. Thus, we find bronzes with royal portrait but civic legend on bronze coinages of the other cities of the Tetrapolis,⁴⁸⁵ as well as of Hierapolis-Bambyke.⁴⁸⁶ Contrary to the “Egyptianising” series, these “quasi-municipal” issues were all struck on the usual Seleukid denominations, predominantly doubles and units.

Despite the presence of the royal portrait, the “quasi-municipal” issues signalled the beginning of a process of decentralisation of bronze coin-production in Northern Syria. Admittedly, it did not quite reach the same level as in the Central Levant, where we find discrepancies among mints in both royal

⁴⁷⁹ *SC* 1408-1411.

⁴⁸⁰ *SC* 1412-1415; Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.62, 68.

⁴⁸¹ Mørkholm 1963: 23.

⁴⁸² Le Rider 1994: 20-1, 27; Mørkholm 1982: 303-5.

⁴⁸³ Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.62.

⁴⁸⁴ *SC* 1416-1418.

⁴⁸⁵ Seleukeia-in-Pieria: *SC* 1425-1426 (legend: ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΜ ΠΙΕΡΙΑΙ). Apameia-on-the-Orontes: *SC* 1427-1428 (legend: ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΑΞΙΩΙ). Laodikeia-by-the-Sea: *SC* 1429-1430 (legend: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗ).

⁴⁸⁶ *SC* 1432 (legend: ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ).

portraits and legends.⁴⁸⁷ Nonetheless, use of different control systems,⁴⁸⁸ lack of control-links between the various coinages,⁴⁸⁹ and adoption of reverse designs reflecting local cults suggest that production of the “quasi-municipal” coinages under Antiochos IV was to some extent decentralised in Northern Syria as well.⁴⁹⁰ However, identifying the administrators responsible for these bronzes and their relationship with royal authority is more complex. At Antioch, at least one royal officer was involved in the production of the “quasi-municipal” bronzes,⁴⁹¹ whereas no control-links to earlier or contemporary royal issues are apparent for the other mints. It is unclear if their control monograms represented signatures of royal officials, or if at least some civic magistrates were involved. Unfortunately, due to the lack of contemporary civic coinages in the Tetrapolis, we are unable to answer this question with much certainty.

Antiochos IV’s decentralisation of bronze coin-production also concerned his more explicitly royal bronzes. In fact, bronzes with the ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ legend – thus, from no earlier than c.173/2 BC – have been discovered at the excavations of Dura-Europos and have received local mint attribution.⁴⁹² Finally, Houghton and Lorber have catalogued bronzes of uncertain origin as probable Syrian products.⁴⁹³

No bronze mint was operative in Northern Syria during Antiochos V’s very short reign, contrary to the Central Levant, where we find “quasi-municipal” issues for this king.⁴⁹⁴ The Antioch workshop was

⁴⁸⁷ See Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.79-87.

⁴⁸⁸ Antioch used a system of primary and secondary control monograms, and on some issues the tripod symbol. Seleukeia-in-Pieria employed a less complex system of control monograms and sometimes applied the quiver symbol. Apameia used control monograms, but no symbols. Similarly, coins from Laodikeia-by-the-Sea bear no symbol, but very few control monograms on both obverse and reverse. Finally, Hierapolis-Bambyke used control monograms and either a lion or bull symbol.

⁴⁸⁹ Only exception is perhaps the sharing of the control monogram ΔΙ on *SC* 1416.7b (Antioch) and 1427c, 1428c (Apameia).

⁴⁹⁰ For instance, the winged thunderbolt of Seleukeia-in-Pieria stood for the cult of Zeus Keraunios (*SC* 1425); the dolphin of Laodikeia-by-the-Sea echoed the mintmark of its 3rd-century Alexanders (*SC* 1430-1431); Zeus/Hadad on the bronzes of Hierapolis-Bambyke (*SC* 1432-1433) reflected the cult of Atargatis’ consort-god at this temple.

⁴⁹¹ Antioch’s “quasi-municipal” bronzes were control-linked by a single monogram to Antiochos IV’s earlier royal coins – control monogram HP: *SC* 1407h (Series 1); 1408b(?), 1409.2f (Series 2); 1416.5 (“quasi-municipal” coinage, Series 1) – and perhaps also to the contemporary silver tetradrachms – control monogram HP: *SC* 1400i and 1416.5, if we admit the monogram on the former is HP and not H.

⁴⁹² *SC* 1434; Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.77.

⁴⁹³ Uncertain Mint 79, probably in Syria: *SC* 1435-1436. Unattributed Western Bronze Issues, probably Syrian: *SC* 1437-1440.

⁴⁹⁴ *SC* 1577-1580.

once again operative after Demetrios I's takeover in 162 BC. It produced bronzes of four different sizes – from quadruples to halves – with serrate edges and types specific to each denomination, and with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ.⁴⁹⁵ They were all undated and signed by no mint magistrate – thus, it is uncertain if their production fell under the responsibility of the same administration in charge of the precious-metal coins, or of a separate one. Among Demetrios I's bronzes, an exceptional series with animal types and Demetrios' *Sōter* epithet may also have originated from Northern Syria.⁴⁹⁶

Alexander Balas' invasion of Syria marked the definitive end of the old model of bronze coin-production centred on Antioch. In fact, the 140s BC were marked by a multitude of bronze coinages of different nature and with different coin-designs. Of these, I offer a brief summary in the following pages. Before his final clash with Demetrios I, Alexander minted bronzes at Apameia-on-the-Orontes with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY and dated to S.E. 162 (151/0 BC). On some of these bronzes, Dionysos was portrayed with the features of Antiochos IV, diademed and wreathed with ivy.⁴⁹⁷ In the same year, Seleukeia-in-Pieria struck “quasi-municipal” bronzes with traditional Seleukid iconography.⁴⁹⁸ After Alexander I's rise to the Seleukid throne, this same coin-type also emerged at the other Syrian cities, probably to celebrate the king's visits after his marriage with Kleopatra Thea.⁴⁹⁹ Thus, Antioch and Apameia minted “quasi-municipal” bronzes in 150 BC,⁵⁰⁰ followed by Kyrrhos in 149 BC.⁵⁰¹ Instead, Laodikeia-by-the-Sea's “quasi-municipal” bronzes were undated, and, contrary to the other coinages, displayed local, traditional images as reverse designs (Poseidon and a dolphin).⁵⁰² Like under Antiochos IV, these “quasi-municipal” bronzes did not share any control monograms with each other. They were thus produced under separate administrations, perhaps civic. Contemporarily, the Tetrapolis (except for Laodikeia) also struck royal bronzes for Alexander Balas, all undated and with different control systems from the “quasi-municipal” bronzes. Unusually for Seleukid practice in

⁴⁹⁵ SC 1644-1647.

⁴⁹⁶ Uncertain Mint 83, probably in Northern Syria: SC 1660-1664; Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.176.

⁴⁹⁷ SC 1883-1884; Mørkholm 1983; Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.259.

⁴⁹⁸ SC 1799-1800.

⁴⁹⁹ Hoover 2001: 25.

⁵⁰⁰ SC 1788; 1803-1804.

⁵⁰¹ SC 1809-1810A.

⁵⁰² SC 1806-1808.

the 2nd century BC, Antioch's royal bronzes displayed several control-links with the precious-metal coinage; furthermore, they exhibited an extreme variety of types (Dionysos head; aegis with gorgoneion in centre; Nike; Pegasos; owl, among others),⁵⁰³ whereas the iconographic repertoire of the royal bronzes of Seleukeia-in-Pieria and Apameia-on-the-Orontes was very limited, merely reflecting standard Seleukid imagery (standing Athena with owl; tripod; standing Apollo with bow).⁵⁰⁴ Royal bronzes of Alexander I were also struck at uncertain mints.⁵⁰⁵

During Alexander I's reign, Seleukeia-in-Pieria also produced large civic bronzes with the legend ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΔΗΜΩΝ dated to S.E. 164-166 (149/8-147/6 BC), likely celebrating the city's close bond with Antioch. On the obverse, they displayed either two bearded heads (likely a reference to the *demoi* of the two cities), Zeus, or Apollo; on the reverse, Zeus, Tyche, winged thunderbolt, or tripod.⁵⁰⁶ Scholars have argued over whether this coinage represented a weakening of Seleukid power.⁵⁰⁷ Indeed, no royal portrait nor legend are featured on these ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΔΗΜΩΝ bronzes. Furthermore, the winged thunderbolt was a reverse type of Seleukeia-in-Pieria's "quasi-municipal" coinage under Antiochos IV and, later, of this city's autonomous and Imperial issues.⁵⁰⁸ However, the obverse and reverse designs of the ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΔΗΜΩΝ bronzes otherwise belonged to the standard Seleukid iconographic repertoire. Furthermore, the explicit use of Seleukid-era dates explicitly placed these bronzes under the umbrella of royal authority. Thus, similarly to the "quasi-municipal" issues, we could view these bronzes as a sign of the rise of civic authority in the coin-production of Hellenistic Northern Syria, albeit while explicitly remaining under the umbrella of Seleukid power.

At the end of Balas' reign, probably after his flight to Kilikia and before Demetrios II's arrival, Antioch produced bronze doubles with the same types and legend as the silver posthumous Antiochos IV

⁵⁰³ SC 1790-1796.

⁵⁰⁴ SC 1801-1802; 1805.

⁵⁰⁵ Uncertain Mint 89, in Northern Syria: SC 1814 (the reverse design, a prow with galley, suggests an origin from a coastal mint, perhaps in the Aradian *peraia*); Uncertain Mint 90, in Northern Syria: SC 1815-1816; Unattributed bronze issues, probably North Syrian: SC 1817-1819.

⁵⁰⁶ Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.227; Hoover 2009: 293, 296-297.

⁵⁰⁷ Bellinger 1949: 60 and n.6, 62 n.17 and Downey 1961: 121 believed this coinage celebrated the creation of a league between Antioch and Seleukeia against a weak royal authority. *Contra* Rigsby 1980: 242-48. Overall, see Cohen 2006: 132-33 n.12 for detailed summary of the differing views on this coinage. Cohen himself suspected the quasi-municipal bronzes and the ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΔΗΜΩΝ issues indicated greater civic autonomy from royal authority.

⁵⁰⁸ E.g. BMC Syria: Seleuceia in Pieria no.24.

tetradrachms.⁵⁰⁹ After Demetrios II's takeover, instead, two mints produced royal bronzes – Antioch, with three series, and another workshop (Uncertain Mint 94) with five more.⁵¹⁰ All these coinages featured central cavities and sometimes the legend including Demetrios' epithets ΘΕΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ. Of this production before Tryphon's rebellion, only the bronzes of Uncertain Mint 94 were dated. Nonetheless, thanks to control-links with the contemporary silver coins, we know that bronze minting at Antioch occurred only in Demetrios II's first regnal year (S.E. 167 = 146/5 BC), although the reason for this is unclear.

As he revolted against Demetrios II, Tryphon established the first headquarters of his rebellion at Chalkis-on-the-Belos, which probably issued a series of bronze doubles of unpolished style with Antiochos VI's radiate portrait.⁵¹¹ After the takeover of Antioch by the rebels, instead, the Syrian capital produced two series of Antiochos VI's bronzes, featuring not only this king's typical Dionysiac images, but also an elephant reverse design – probably an allusion to the victory over Demetrios II.⁵¹² The use of control symbols – such as the cornucopiae, a palm branch, or a star – suggests the bronzes were produced under a separate administration from the precious-metal coins. Nonetheless, they stood under the overall supervision of the mint magistrate ΣΤΑ, who also signed Antioch's gold and silver coins for Antiochos VI. After the loss of Antioch to Tryphon, magistrates loyal to Demetrios moved to Uncertain Mint 94,⁵¹³ before being absorbed in Antiochos VI's mint of probably Apameia.⁵¹⁴ Finally, another emission of royal bronze units with panther forepart/inscription in ivy wreath was struck in Antiochos VI's name probably in Northern Syria, but its mint of origin is uncertain.⁵¹⁵

Seleukeia-in-Pieria and Laodikeia-by-the-Sea remained in Demetrios II's hands – they probably operated as bronze mints for this king, although they may have already started earlier in his reign.⁵¹⁶

⁵⁰⁹ SC 1887.

⁵¹⁰ SC 1912-1914; 1919-1923.

⁵¹¹ SC 2016-2017; Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.329.

⁵¹² SC 2006-2007; Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.322.

⁵¹³ Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.284-85.

⁵¹⁴ SC 2014-2015. Control links between Demetrios II's Uncertain Mint 94 and Antiochos VI's perhaps Apameia-on-the-Orontes: monogram ΠΑ (SC 1919.3-5b, 1923a; 2015.1g, 2015.2d); monogram ΠΥ/ΠΥΡ (SC 1919.4c, 1919.7b, 1923b; 2014e, 2015.1h); monogram ΑΙ (SC 1920.6; 2014b); monogram ΑΒ (SC 1919.6d; 2015.1i, 2015.2g); monogram ΔΑΒ (SC 1919.5c, 1919.7a; 2015.1i).

⁵¹⁵ SC 2019.

⁵¹⁶ Seleukeia-in-Pieria: SC 1928-1928A; Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.287-88. Laodikeia-by-the-Sea: SC 1932.

After Tryphon's takeover in 142 BC, Antioch produced a series of bronzes in two denominations with central cavities. The issues displayed Tryphon's portrait on obverse and a Macedonian helmet on reverse, and the full legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΡΥΦΩΝΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ.⁵¹⁷ These bronzes continued the system of symbol controls Antioch had introduced under Antiochos VI. Several other bronzes in Tryphon's name were probably struck in Northern Syria, but they are of uncertain mint attribution.⁵¹⁸ Overall, **Table 30** below well illustrates the multiplication of Seleukid bronze mints in Northern Syria throughout the 2nd century BC. The abandonment of the 3rd-century "Antioch model" of bronze production in the late 150s and 140s BC likely resulted from the complicated historical vicissitudes of those years. However, already under Antiochos IV we observe the production of bronze coinages at several places, not only in the form of "quasi-municipal" issues, but also of royal bronzes. These were produced not only at Antioch, but also at Dura-Europos and uncertain Syrian mints. The same occurred after Alexander I secured his place on the Seleukid throne, when Seleukeia-in-Pieria, Antioch, and Apameia-on-the-Orontes produced both "quasi-municipal" and royal bronzes. The latter were also minted at uncertain Syrian workshops. The polycentrism of bronze production through both coin-types likely reflected a precise policy pursued by these two kings, which probably ought to be linked with the administrative changes of Northern Syria in the 2nd century BC – perhaps the creation of the four satrapies of the Seleukis mentioned by Strabo (see Introduction) – as well as the expansion and juridical promotion of former colonies such as Dura-Europos. In fact, the organisation of the Seleukis into satrapies and the elevation of colonies to *polis*-status would have theoretically entailed a different organisation of the payments for the garrisoning troops within Northern Syria – which probably did not exclusively fall on Antioch anymore – as well as an overall increased demand for low-level currency in this region. Yet, as **Table 30** below shows, by the sheer number of bronze series, Antioch still remained the primary mint for bronze coinage in this region in the 2nd century BC, probably reflective of this city's status as capital of Northern Syria.

The increased demand for low-level currency is also probably what caused a greater focus on production of larger bronze denominations (**Fig. 67**). The difference with the 3rd century BC is stark – the halves

⁵¹⁷ SC 2034-2035.

⁵¹⁸ Uncertain Mint 100: SC 2039-2040. Unattributed bronze issue, probably of Northern Syria: SC 2041.

produced after 187 BC were much fewer, while the quarter denomination was completely abandoned. In the 3rd century BC, the main denominations had been units and halves, whereas 2nd-century Seleukid coinage mainly comprised units and doubles, with also some quadruple series. The reintroduction of silver fractional coinage from Antiochos IV first, and then from Demetrios I onwards, may be similarly understood as the result of a greater need for low-level currency. This was in stark contrast with the 3rd century BC, when the Seleukid model was centred on production of tetradrachms and drachms on the one hand, and of small bronze denominations on the other.

| | Denominations | Seleukos IV | Antiochos IV | Demetrios I | Alexander I | Demetrios II | Antiochos VI | Tryphon | Total | % |
|-------------------------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|---------|-------|----|
| Antioch-on-the-Orontes | AAA | | 3 | | | | | | 3 | 8 |
| | AA | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 3 |
| | A | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | 4 | 10 |
| | B | 1 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 1 | | 12 | 32 |
| | C | 2 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 14 | 37 |
| | D | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 4 | 10 |
| Seleukeia-in-Pieria | AAA | | | | | | | | | |
| | AA | | | | | | | | | |
| | A | | | | 2 | | | | 2 | 28 |
| | B | | 1 | | 1 | | | | 2 | 29 |
| | C | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | | 3 | 43 |
| | D | | | | | | | | | |
| Apameia-on-the-Orontes | AAA | | | | | | | | | |
| | AA | | | | | | | | | |
| | A | | | | | | 1 | | 1 | 12 |
| | B | | 1 | | 4 | | 1 | | 6 | 75 |
| | C | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 13 |
| | D | | | | | | | | | |
| Laodikeia-by-the-Sea | AAA | | | | | | | | | |
| | AA | | | | | | | | | |
| | A | | | | | | | | | |
| | B | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 14 |
| | C | | 2 | | 1 | 1 | | | 4 | 57 |
| | D | | 1 | | 1 | | | | 2 | 29 |
| Kyrrhos | AAA | | | | | | | | | |
| | AA | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----|
| | A | | | | | | | | | |
| | B | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 50 |
| | C | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 50 |
| | D | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Chalkis- on-the- Belos | AAA | | | | | | | | | |
| | AA | | | | | | | | | |
| | A | | | | | | | | | |
| | B | | | | | | 2 | | 2 | 100 |
| | C | | | | | | | | | |
| | D | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hierapolis- Bambyke | AAA | | | | | | | | | |
| | AA | | | | | | | | | |
| | A | | | | | | | | | |
| | B | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 50 |
| | C | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 50 |
| | D | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Dura- Europos | AAA | | | | | | | | | |
| | AA | | | | | | | | | |
| | A | | | | | | | | | |
| | B | | | | | | | | | |
| | C | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 100 |
| | D | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| Uncertain mints | AAA | | | | | | | | | |
| | AA | | | | | | | | | |
| | A | | | 1 | | 1 | | | 2 | 12 |
| | B | | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | | | 6 | 38 |
| | C | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | | 1 | 8 | 50 |
| | D | | | | | | | | | |

Table 30: number of Northern Syrian bronze coin-series by mint, denomination, and reign – 2nd century

BC

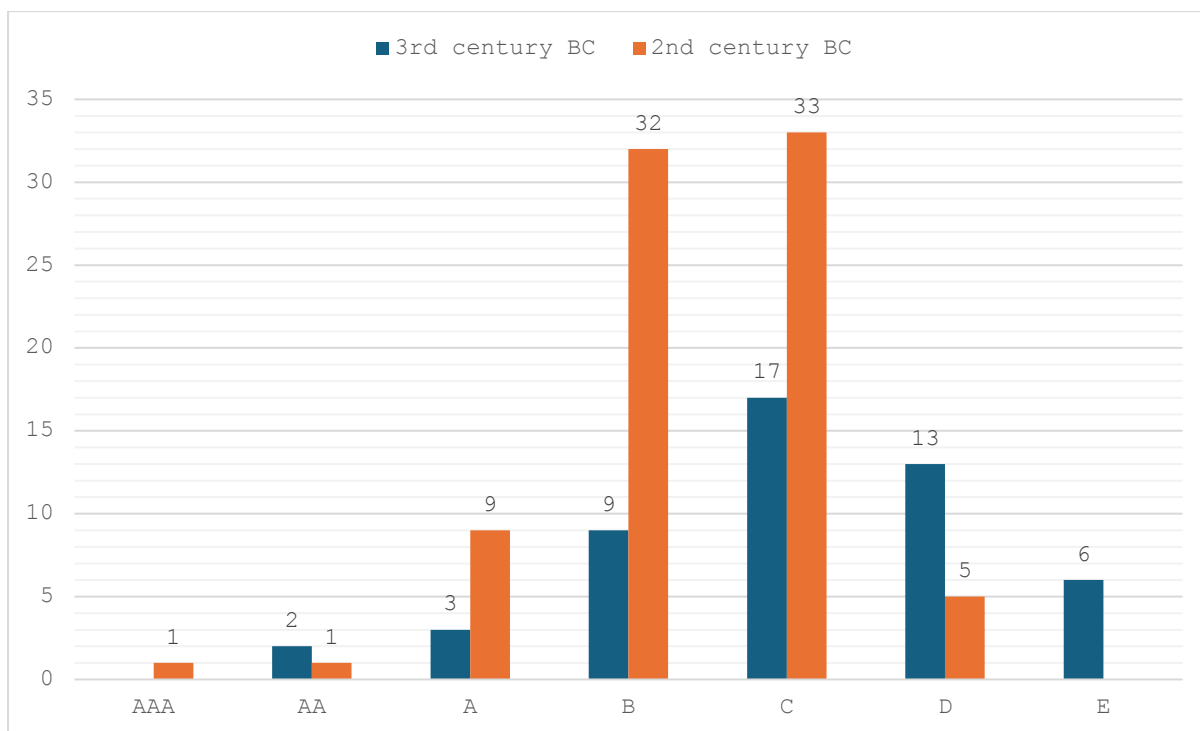


Fig. 67: number of Seleukid Northern Syrian bronze coin-series by denomination – 2nd century BC

1.4.2. Arados and its *peraia*

1.4.2.1. Silver coinages

Arados and the cities of its *peraia* continued minting coins in the 2nd century BC. Arados reprised its Alexander coinage in 186 BC, but only struck six years in total, and even more sporadically than before (**Table 31**).⁵¹⁹ The first emission occurred in 186/5-184/3 BC, with one obverse die per year, except for 184/3 BC, which recorded four obverse dies (**Fig. 68**).

Arados reprised its civic coinage in 174 BC with an isolated emission of tetradrachms (**Table 31**).⁵²⁰ However, its main coinage for the 2nd century BC was a series of imitative Ephesian drachms on Antiochos IV's reduced Attic weight-standard, starting from 172/1 BC.⁵²¹ Analogously to the Athenian owls and their 4th-century imitations, the popularity enjoyed by the actual Ephesian drachms in the early 2nd century BC must have prompted Arados to choose a similar design for its drachms.⁵²² The beginning

⁵¹⁹ Duyrat 2005: Series I nos.1339-1356.

⁵²⁰ Duyrat 2005: Series V nos.2493-2494.

⁵²¹ Duyrat 2005: Series VI nos.2573-2958.

⁵²² See Duyrat 2005: 250 for a summary of the discussion on Arados' pseudo-Ephesian drachms.

of this Aradian series probably coincided with the preparations for Antiochos IV's first Egyptian campaign.⁵²³ Indeed, the peak in production of this coinage occurred in 171/0-169/8 BC. Furthermore, in 171/0 BC first, and then in 169/8-168/7 BC, Arados struck its last Alexanders. Aside from hemidrachms and tetrobols of 187/6 BC,⁵²⁴ Marathos also reprised minting in this period – in 171/0 BC with its 3rd-century civic tetradrachms,⁵²⁵ and in 169/8 BC with an isolated emission of Alexanders.⁵²⁶ Thus, overall, Antiochos IV's Egyptian campaigns coincided with the most intense minting activity at Arados and its *peraia* in the 2nd century BC.

Arados reprised the “pseudo-Ephesian” drachms once in 167/6 BC and then minted it for fourteen years straight from 165/4 BC.⁵²⁷ This new stint of drachm production reached its peak in 162/1-161/0 BC, with Demetrios I's arrival in Northern Syria. This suggests Arados perhaps contributed financially towards Demetrios' takeover of the Seleukid throne.⁵²⁸ Conversely, things did not go quite the same way with Alexander Balas in 151 BC. In fact, Arados issued one of its last “pseudo-Ephesian” drachms in 152/1 BC, while Marathos minted its final civic tetradrachms in 151/0 BC.⁵²⁹ Thus, the 140s BC, except for an issue of Aradian “pseudo-Ephesian” drachms, saw the interruption of all minting activities at Arados and its *peraia*. This area was apparently untouched by the vicissitudes of the Seleukid kings in those years – namely, the reigns of Alexander Balas and Demetrios II, and the rebellion of Tryphon and Antiochos VI. The only news from this period concern Marathos, which probably lost its independence to Arados in the 140s BC.⁵³⁰ With the fragmentation of Seleukid authority, Arados eventually separated itself from royal influence by introducing an epichoric weight-standard.⁵³¹ It was adopted for a new series of civic wreathed tetradrachms from 139/8 BC (c.15.3g) and for the last

⁵²³ Duyrat 2005: 249-51.

⁵²⁴ Duyrat 2002: Marathos Series V no.76, Series VII no.270.

⁵²⁵ Duyrat 2002: Marathos Series II no.59.

⁵²⁶ Duyrat 2002: Marathos Series VIII no.285.

⁵²⁷ Porphyry (*FGrHist* 260 F44) relates of a rebellion at Arados and of its quelling by Antiochos IV upon his return from Egypt. As punishment, the king ravaged Arados' territory. However, as Duyrat 2005: 251 noted, following Mørholm 1967: 76, the emission of “pseudo-Ephesian” drachms in 167/6 BC and then from 165/4 BC onwards depict a not-so-weakened city, casting doubt on Porphyry's account of Arados' rebellion and of its punishment by Antiochos IV.

⁵²⁸ Duyrat 2005: 254.

⁵²⁹ Duyrat 2002: Marathos Series II nos.60-1.

⁵³⁰ Diod. 33.5; Str. 16.2.12. See Duyrat 2002: 56-7; 2005: 254-56.

⁵³¹ Duyrat 2005: 258-60.

“pseudo-Ephesian” drachms from 129/8 BC (c.3.8g).⁵³² This Aradian epichoric weight-standard was also used by Tripolis, Seleukeia-in-Pieria, and Laodikeia-by-the-Sea in the early 1st century BC. Thus, as Dyrat wrote, with the Seleukid dynastic strife in Northern Syria from the second half of the 2nd century BC: “Les particularismes locaux se font de plus en plus vigoureux et les cités les plus puissantes créent leurs propres aires d’influences.”⁵³³

Overall, in 187-140 BC, Arados’ and Marathos’ coin-production was quite sporadic compared to the 3rd century BC. Arados minted coins 51% of the time (twenty-five out of forty-nine years), against 64% in the 3rd century BC (thirty-eight out of fifty-nine years). Similarly, after 187 BC, the workshop of Marathos was active for only four years, against eight in the 3rd century BC. Both cities generally abandoned the low-silver denominations in favour of larger coins meant for the international market (drachms and tetradrachms). Simultaneously, as we shall see below, bronze coin-production became richer than ever, propelled by the abandonment of the small silver denominations for internal everyday transactions.

| Year of civic era | Year | Arados | Marathos | Karne | Gabala | Simyra |
|-------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------|--------|--------|
| 73 | 187/6 | | H T | | | |
| 74-76 | 186/5-184/3 | A | | | | |
| 77-85 | 183/2-175/4 | NO COINS | | | | |
| 86 | 174/3 | Tetradrachms | | | | |
| 87 | 173/2 | NO COINS | | | | |
| 88 | 172/1 | Drachms | | | | |
| 89 | 171/0 | A Drachms | Tetradrachms | | | |
| 90 | 170/69 | Drachms | | | | |
| 91 | 169/8 | A Drachms | A | | | |
| 92 | 168/7 | A | | | | |
| 93 | 167/6 | Drachms | | | | |
| 94 | 166/5 | NO COINS | | | | |
| 95-108 | 165/4-152/1 | Drachms | | | | |
| 109 | 151/0 | | Tetradrachms | | | |

⁵³² Dyrat 2005: Series VI nos.2959-2987, Series VII.

⁵³³ Dyrat 2005: 260.

| | | | | | |
|----------------|--------------|-----------------|--|--|--|
| 110-116 | 150/49-144/3 | NO COINS | | | |
| 117 | 143/2 | Drachms | | | |
| 118-121 | 142/1-139/8 | NO COINS | | | |

Table 31: silver coinages of Arados and its *peraia* – 2nd century BC (*T* = tetrobols; *H* = hemidrachms; *A* = Alexanders)

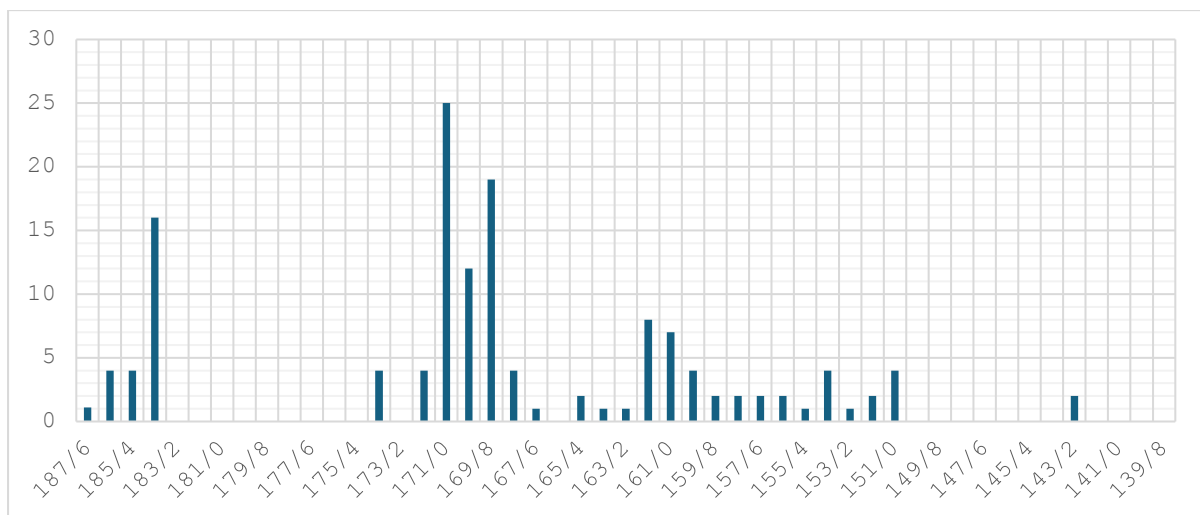


Fig. 68: drachm-equivalent obverse dies per year at Arados and Marathos combined (Alexanders + civic coins) – 2nd century BC

The level of production of Arados and Marathos in 187-139 BC was not only much smaller than Antioch's in 187-162 BC – with 139 drachm-equivalent obverse dies, it was also lower than their output in the 3rd century BC, when Arados and its *peraia* had employed 208 drachm-equivalent obverse dies (Table 32). The difference in levels of production was certainly motivated by the more sporadic minting of the 2nd century BC. Nonetheless, in absolute value, Marathos' output was not much different from before, due to its specialisation in tetradrachm production, either Alexander or civic. On the contrary, Arados' focus on its civic drachms resulted in a lower overall output in absolute value than in the 3rd century BC (164 drachm-equivalent obverse dies in total).

Therefore, the overall picture for Arados and its *peraia* in 187-139 BC is that of a greater specialisation in larger silver denominations, but also of occasional minting. Admittedly, things changed from 137 BC, when Arados started a new tetradrachm series on its own epichoric weight-standard (c.15.3g). From

137 BC until the end of the 2nd century BC, it minted silver coins for thirty-one years – thus, 82% of the time – resulting in a higher output in absolute value compared to 187-140 BC (Table 33; Fig. 69). In fact, by adopting an epichoric weight-standard, Arados could not tap into the large pool of Attic-weight coinages of the Seleukid monetary area anymore. Thus, it had to rely on its own coined resources. As mentioned above, this was the clearest sign of the process of disintegration of Seleukid authority in Northern Syria in the late 2nd century BC.

| Mints | Duyrat 2002 & 2005 series | Coin-type | Obv. dies | Drachm-equivalent obv. dies | g*dies |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------|---------------|
| Arados (25 years) | I | Alexander tetradrachms | 10 | 40 | 172g |
| | V | Tetradrachms | 1 | 4 | 4.3g |
| | VI | Drachms | 82 | 82 | 344.4g |
| | Total | | | 126 | 520.7g |
| Marathos (4 years) | II | Tetradrachms | 2 | 8 | 34.4g |
| | V | Hemidrachms | 1 | 0.5 | 2.1g |
| | VII | Tetrobols | 1 | 0.6 | 2.5g |
| | VIII | Alexander tetradrachms | 1 | 4 | 17.2g |
| | Total | | | 13.1 | 56.2g |
| Total | | | | 139 | 576.9g |

Table 32: number of obverse dies at Arados and its *perai* (187-139 BC)

| Duyrat 2005 series | Coin-type | Obv. dies | Drachm-equivalent obv. dies | g*dies |
|--------------------|---------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------|---------------|
| VI | “Pseudo-Ephesian” drachms | 6 | 6 | 22.8g |
| VII | Wreathed tetradrachms | 49 | 196 | 744.8g |
| Total | | | 202 | 767.6g |

Table 33: number of obverse dies of Arados’ coinage from 138-100 BC

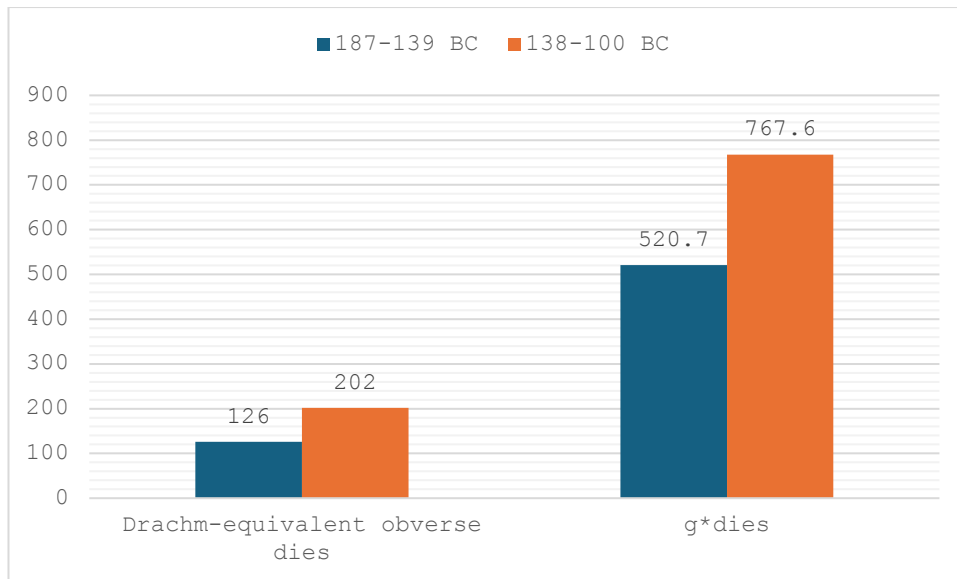


Fig. 69: drachm-equivalent obverse dies and grams*die at Arados – 187-139 BC vs. 138-100 BC

1.4.2.2. Bronze coinages

The sparse minting of silver coinage at Arados and its *peraia* was paralleled by a much richer bronze production. Arados struck seven bronze series in total, three of which new;⁵³⁴ Marathos issued six series of bronzes, three of which also new;⁵³⁵ Karne two series, one of which new;⁵³⁶ Gabala two, both new;⁵³⁷ Simyra one new.⁵³⁸ However, these cities all struck civic bronzes together only in 187/6 BC. Afterwards, Gabala and Simyra stopped minting for the rest of the 2nd century BC, while Karne continued only until 184/3 BC. Thus, like for the silver, Arados and Marathos emerged as the main – if not only – bronze coin producers (**Table 34**).

Arados struck bronzes more consistently than it did for the silver – from 187 BC until 139 BC, it minted bronzes 80% of the time (thirty-nine years in total), with few interruptions in between. Furthermore, Arados issued multiple bronze series simultaneously in seventeen years (59% of its minting period). The difference with the silver coins is especially apparent for Marathos. This city produced bronzes for

⁵³⁴ Duyrat 2005: Series 1 no.1452, Series 3 nos.1729, Series 4 nos.1737-1768, Series 5 nos.1771-2180, Series 6 nos.2221-2236, Series 7 nos.2237-2294, Series 8 nos.2495-2530.

⁵³⁵ Duyrat 2002: Marathos Series 4 nos.91-171, Series 6 nos.184-215, Series 7 nos.217-268, Series 9 no.271, Series 10 nos.272-284, Series 11 nos.286-313.

⁵³⁶ Duyrat 2002: Karne Series 4 nos.53-64, Series 6 no.75.

⁵³⁷ Duyrat 2002: Gabala Series 2 no.7, Series 3 nos.8-21.

⁵³⁸ Duyrat 2002: Simyra Series 3 no.10.

twenty-five years until 152/1 BC (51% of the time), with multiple simultaneous series being produced in eleven years (44% of its minting period). Thus, overall, this rich 2nd-century bronze production signalled a transition to a low-level economy dominated by bronzes, which replaced the silver fractions of the 3rd century BC – a paradigm-shift that had already occurred in the cities of Western Asia Minor two centuries before. However, this was somehow counter to Seleukid minting practice, which reintroduced silver fractional coinage in the 2nd century BC, although the reason for such difference with Arados and Marathos is difficult to explain.

| Year of civic era | Year | Arados | | Marathos | | Karne | | Gabala | | Simyra |
|-------------------|-------------|----------|---|----------|----|-------|---|--------|---|--------|
| 73 | 187/6 | 6 | | 4 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| 74 | 186/5 | 4 | 6 | 6 | | 4 | | | | |
| 75 | 185/4 | 4 | | 6 | | | | | | |
| 76 | 184/3 | 5 | | | | 4 | | | | |
| 77-78 | 183/2-182/1 | NO COINS | | | | | | | | |
| 79 | 181/0 | 4 | | | | | | | | |
| 80 | 180/79 | 4 | | 7 | | | | | | |
| 81 | 179/8 | 4 | | | | | | | | |
| 82-83 | 178/7-177/6 | NO COINS | | | | | | | | |
| 84 | 176/5 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 9 | | | | | |
| | | | 7 | | | | | | | |
| 85 | 175/4 | 4 | 7 | 7 | 10 | | | | | |
| 86 | 174/3 | 5 | 7 | 7 | | | | | | |
| | | | 8 | | | | | | | |
| 87 | 173/2 | 7 | | 7 | | | | | | |
| 88 | 172/1 | | | 7 | | | | | | |
| 89 | 171/0 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 10 | | | | | |
| 90 | 170/69 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 7 | | | | | |
| | | | 8 | | 10 | | | | | |
| 91 | 169/8 | | | 7 | | | | | | |
| 92 | 168/7 | 5 | 7 | 7 | | | | | | |
| 93 | 167/6 | 1 | 5 | 4 | | | | | | |
| | | | 8 | | | | | | | |
| 94 | 166/5 | 5 | 8 | | | | | | | |
| 95 | 165/4 | 5 | 8 | 4 | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------|-------------|----------|---|---|----|--|--|--|
| 96 | 164/3 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 11 | | | |
| 97 | 163/2 | NO COINS | | | | | | |
| 98 | 162/1 | 5 | | 4 | | | | |
| 99 | 161/0 | NO COINS | | | | | | |
| 100 | 160/59 | 5 | | 4 | | | | |
| 101 | 159/8 | 5 | 8 | | | | | |
| 102 | 158/7 | 5 | 8 | 4 | | | | |
| 103 | 157/6 | 5 | | 4 | 11 | | | |
| 104 | 156/5 | 5 | 8 | 4 | 11 | | | |
| 105 | 155/4 | 5 | | 4 | 11 | | | |
| 106 | 154/3 | 5 | 8 | 4 | 11 | | | |
| 107 | 153/2 | | | 4 | | | | |
| 108 | 152/1 | 5 | | 4 | 11 | | | |
| 109-111 | 151/0-149/8 | 5 | | | | | | |
| 112-116 | 148/7-144/3 | 5 | 8 | | | | | |
| 117 | 143/2 | 5 | | | | | | |
| 118 | 142/1 | 5 | 8 | | | | | |
| 119-121 | 141/0-139/8 | 5 | | | | | | |

Table 34: bronze coinage of Arados and its *peraia* – 2nd century BC (*numbers – series nos. from Duyrat 2002 and 2005*)

1.4.3. Circulation

1.4.3.1. Hoard evidence

| N. of hoards | Greece, Maced., Thrace | Asia Minor | Cyprus | N. Syria | C. Levant | S. Levant | Egypt | East |
|--------------|--|---|--------|---|-----------------|-----------|-------|---|
| 22 | Athens, Syros Messene, Corinth, Argos, Samothrake, Amphipolis, Pella, Euboia? | Conf. Athena Ilias, Pergamon, Mytilene, Myrina, Kyme, Aigai, Herakleia-Latmos, Smyrna, Ephesos, Lebedos, Magnesia, Herakleia-Latmos, Miletos, Kos, Alabanda, Side | – | Arados Antioch, ΔEA Mint, Seleuk.-Pieria, Arados | Damaskos, Sidon | Ake-Ptol. | – | Edessa, Seleuk.-Tigris, Susa, Antioch-Persis? |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | Herakleia, Lampsakos, Assos, Alex.- Troas, Pergamon, Mytilene, Methymna, Temnos, Myrina, Kyme, Smyrna, Erythrai, Klazomenai, Kolophon, Chios, Teos, Ephesos, Magnesia, Miletos, Mylasa, Alabanda, Antioch- Maiandros, Rhodes, Perge, Phaselis, Aspendos, Soloi, Tarsos, Myriandros | | | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|

Table 35: geographic provenance of coins found in hoards from Northern Syria (royal mints in bold) – 2nd century BC

For c.188-140 BC, Northern Syria has yielded an even higher number of hoards than for the previous periods analysed so far in this chapter. However, the geographic provenance of the coins did not change significantly from the 3rd century BC – in fact, once again we find a mixture of Levantine issues with eastern and especially western coins (**Table 35**). Overall, “foreign” products constituted a large chunk of the evidence, although not as predominantly as in the 3rd century BC. In fact, before 188 BC, foreign coins had accounted for over half of the hoard contents 92% of the time (twelve out of thirteen finds). In c.188-140 BC, they did the same 67% of the time (twelve out of eighteen hoards) (**Fig. 70**).

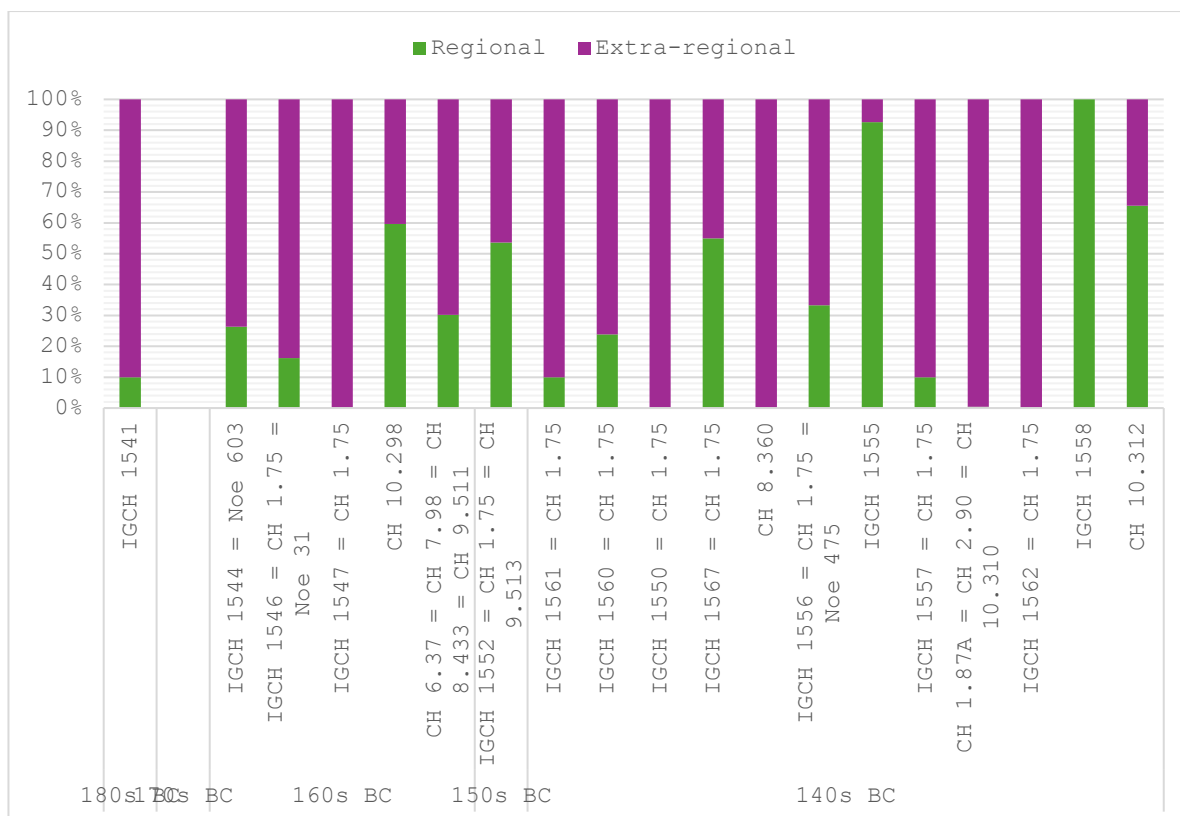


Fig. 70: regional vs. extra-regional coins in Northern Syria – 2nd century BC

If we break down the evidence chronologically, we can clearly identify two main phases of hoarding in Northern Syria. The years c.188-160 BC continued the trend observed for the 3rd century BC, with “foreign” issues constituting the predominant coin-type. In terms of frequency of appearance in hoards, products from Western Asia Minor were the most common, featuring in all six finds from c.188-160 BC. Southern Asia Minor issues, instead, first appeared in “Latakia, 1759” (IGCH 1544), from 169 BC, with two late-posthumous Alexanders from Perge and Aspendos, and two civic tetradrachms from Side. However, it is from the mid-160s BC, with “Aleppo?, 1931” (IGCH 1546 = CH 1.75), that the Pamphylian coins start constituting a major portion of the contents of Northern Syrian hoards (Fig. 71). In fact, the Alexanders of Phaselis, Perge, and Aspendos, and the civic tetradrachms of Side are the primary component of two further finds from the late 160s BC – “Khan Cheikhoun, 1940” (IGCH 1547 = CH 1.75), from 165 BC, and “Ma’aret en-Numan, 1980” (CH 6.37 = CH 7.98 = CH 8.433 = CH 9.511), from 162 BC. These Pamphylian coins were often countermarked with an anchor or a Helios

head. While the Seleukid association of the anchor is clear, it is not equally so for the Helios head.⁵³⁹ This episode of countermarking likely occurred in Southern Asia Minor in the early 170s BC,⁵⁴⁰ before the coins reached Northern Syria probably as part of Attalid financing of Antiochos IV in 175 BC.⁵⁴¹ Examples of anchor countermarks are also traceable on Alexanders from Western Asia Minor, albeit on a much more limited scale.⁵⁴² Interestingly, the same Pamphylian coinages had undergone a similar episode of countermarking in the 180s BC, albeit with the so-called “kistophoric” countermark (actually a bow in case), commonly associated with Antiochos III’s indemnity payments to Eumenes II in 188-183 BC.⁵⁴³ Through these episodes of countermarking in the 180s and 170s BC, it is thus evident Pamphylia acted as a point of contact between the Attalid and Seleukid monarchies before Attalid conquest in the 150s BC.⁵⁴⁴

However, after c.160 BC, the Pamphylian Alexanders and Sidetan civic tetradrachms almost completely “disappeared” from the hoard evidence. They were replaced by coins from Western Asia Minor with civic types and wreathed border – the so-called “Wreathed Coinages”. Despite not “flooding” the currency circulation of Northern Syria, they were nonetheless a popular coinage in the 140s BC. In fact, of the six finds they appear in, they constitute on average c.65% of the hoard contents. Production of these Wreathed Coinages occurred in c.154-135 BC, with an output too big for “mere” civic emissions (see **Chapter 2 – Section 2.5.1**). It has thus long been suspected these wreathed issues constituted Attalid proxy coinages aimed at financing Alexander Balas’ bid for the Seleukid throne.⁵⁴⁵ As very few of these coins appear in the “Demetrios I hoard, 2003” (*CH* 10.301) from 151 BC/0 BC – the first find to have yielded wreathed tetradrachms of Western Asia Minor –⁵⁴⁶ such a connection with Alexander

⁵³⁹ See Hoover 2008: 157-63 for a summary of the scholarly debate and hoard evidence. Hoover himself (2008: 162-63) suggests the Helios head was a Rhodian countermark.

⁵⁴⁰ Hoover 2008: 159.

⁵⁴¹ Hoover 2008: 160.

⁵⁴² Meadows 2018: 192-93 Map 4, Chart 3.

⁵⁴³ See Bresson 2018; Thonemann 2021b.

⁵⁴⁴ It is often assumed the Pamphylian cities were declared free after the Treaty of Apameia based on a testimony of Livy on the appearance of Pamphylian ambassadors before the Senate in 169 BC to renew the alliance of *amicitia* with the Romans (Liv. 44.14.3-4). See Hopp 1977: 104-6. Meadows 2013: 186-87.

⁵⁴⁵ Kinns 1987: 107; Hoover & MacDonald 1999-2000: 114-16; Lorber & Hoover 2003: 63.

⁵⁴⁶ Lorber 2010: 128 considers two options – either the bulk of wreathed tetradrachms arrived after Alexander had defeated Demetrios; or the “Demetrios I” hoard was formed by a supporter of Demetrios I, while the wreathed tetradrachms were being used to pay Alexander I’s troops.

Balas may be more tenuous than most commentators have made it out to be.⁵⁴⁷ Interestingly, in the late 140s BC, Tryphon countermarked wreathed issues from Western Asia Minor with his Macedonian helmet symbol. Given the late appearance of Tryphon's badge on Antiochos VI's coins, this countermarking episode likely occurred around the beginning of the rogue general's reign.⁵⁴⁸ As Tryphon's rule represented a break from Seleukid history – as expressed by the designs on his coinage and by the use of his own regnal era – this late countermarking episode likely constituted a political statement of his authority against Seleukid power.⁵⁴⁹ No known coins of Antiochos VI, Demetrios II, or of any of their predecessors were countermarked with the Macedonian helmet symbol, but only “Wreathed Coinages” from Western Asia Minor. While this certainly attests to the popularity of these issues still in the late 140s BC, Tryphon also possibly chose to deliver his political message on a coinage that, despite the murkiness behind its origin,⁵⁵⁰ had eventually become strongly associated with the Seleukids by the late 2nd century BC.

⁵⁴⁷ Duyrat 2016: 379, who, nonetheless, does not discount the ties between the Wreathed Coinages and Alexander Balas' reign. *Contra* Kaye 2022: 145-46, who, following Marcellesi 2012: 150, rejects political and military motivations for the circulation pattern of the Wreathed Coinages. Instead, he believes they: “... participated in an old circulation pattern that intensified in this period.”

⁵⁴⁸ Newell 1938: 23-4; Hoover 2008: 163.

⁵⁴⁹ *Cf.* Newell 1938: 24. *Contra* Houghton in Draganov *et al.* 1993-1994: 66, who believed the countermarks were applied “... to ensure an adequate supply of authorised currency at a time of limited but special need when the cities under Tryphon's control could not immediately produce new silver coinage.”

⁵⁵⁰ Psoma 2013.

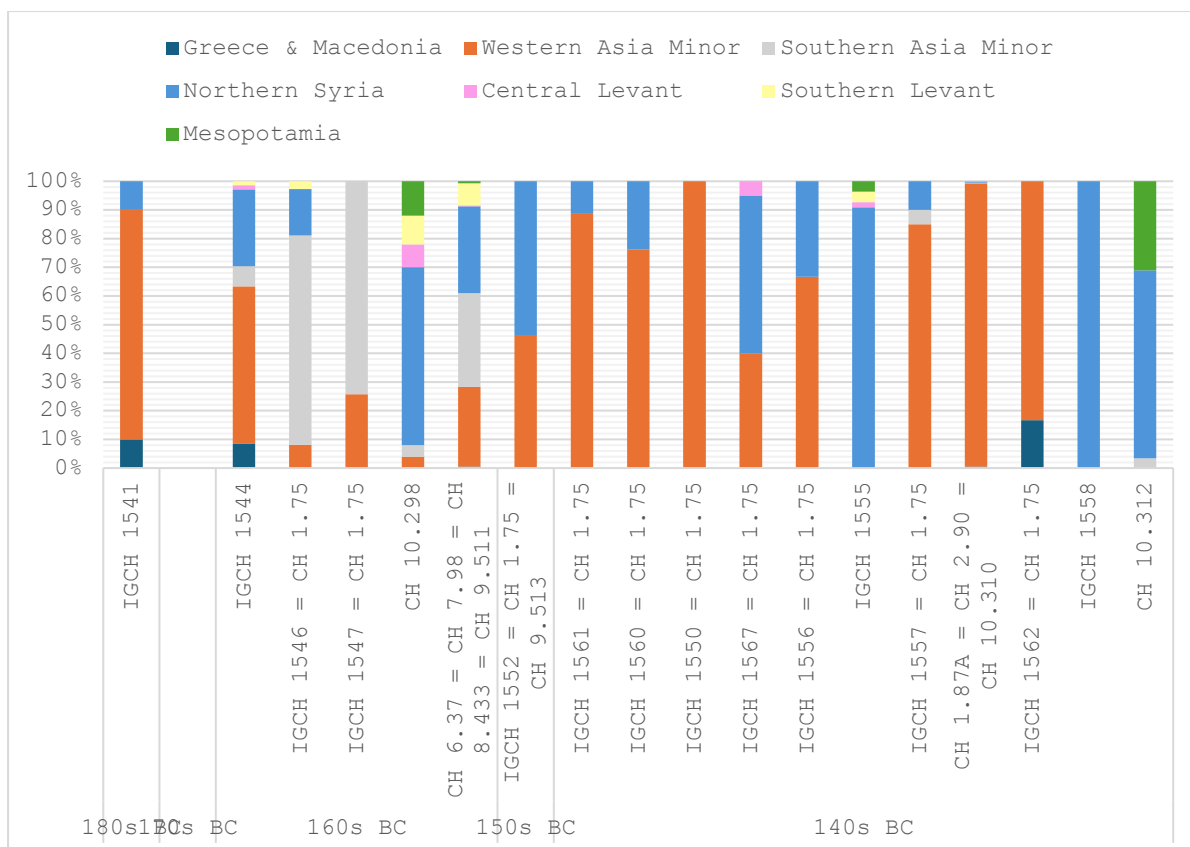


Fig. 71: regions represented in Northern Syrian hoards – c.188-140 BC

Similarly to the 3rd century BC, local products appeared quite commonly in the hoard evidence (almost 80% of the time: fourteen out of eighteen finds), but they suffered from the competition of foreign issues especially in c.188-160 BC, when Northern Syrian coins are the primary component of only one hoard – “Qal’at el-Moudiq, before 1996” (CH 10.298), from 165 BC, with twenty-two coins from Antioch. In c.160-140 BC, instead, local issues became more preponderant – in the hoards from this period, they are the primary component of five finds. These Northern Syrian coins were almost exclusively Antiochene products of the various Seleukid kings. In “Arab el-Mulk, 1940” alone (IGCH 1552 = CH 1.75 = CH 9.513), from after 152/1 BC, the local products are almost exclusively Aradian “pseudo-Ephesian” drachms.

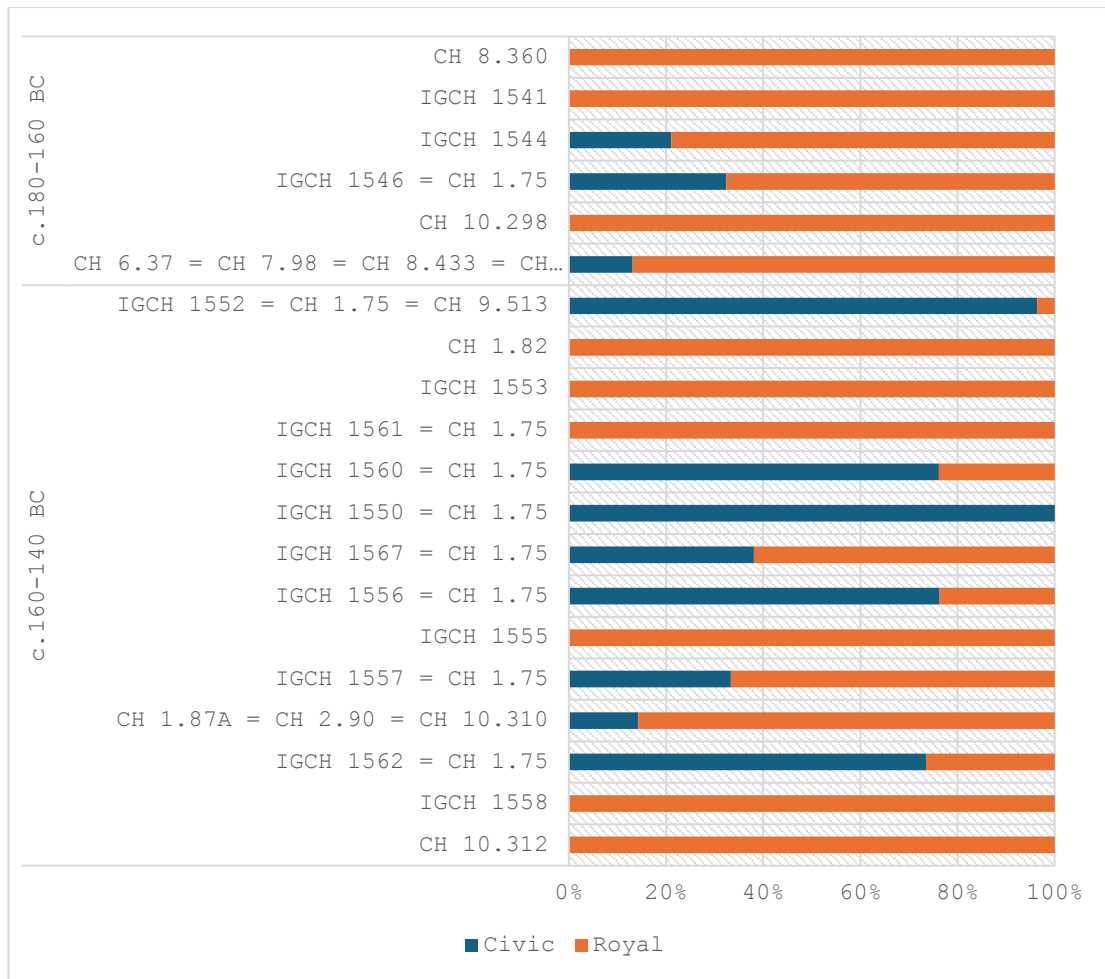


Fig. 72: civic vs. royal coins in Northern Syrian hoards – c.188-140 BC

In fact, for the whole period under consideration (c.188-140 BC), except for the civic drachms of Ephesos, the civic tetradrachms of Side, and especially the Wreathed Coinages, both foreign and local coins in Northern Syrian hoards were mostly royal products, which represented over half of a hoard's contents fifteen times overall (out of nineteen finds: **Fig. 72** above). Alexanders were the most common royal issues until the 160s BC, after which almost all western mints ceased producing this coinage (see **Chapter 2**). As a result, in the 150s-140s BC, Alexanders appear in hoards much more rarely than before, only four finds – in three of them they are the primary royal coinage.

Seleukid products had been far less common than Alexanders in the 160s BC. Conversely, with the decrease of Alexanders in circulation, they became the most predominant royal issues of c.160-140 BC

– either appearing alone in five hoards, mostly from the late 140s BC,⁵⁵¹ or constituting the primary component of a hoard once.⁵⁵² The other royal coinages were mostly Lysimachi, except for “Aleppo?, before 1930” (*IGCH* 1562 = *CH* 1.75: after 142/1-139/8 BC), which has yielded 3rd-century issues of Antigonos Doson and Prousius I of Bithynia (**Fig. 73**).

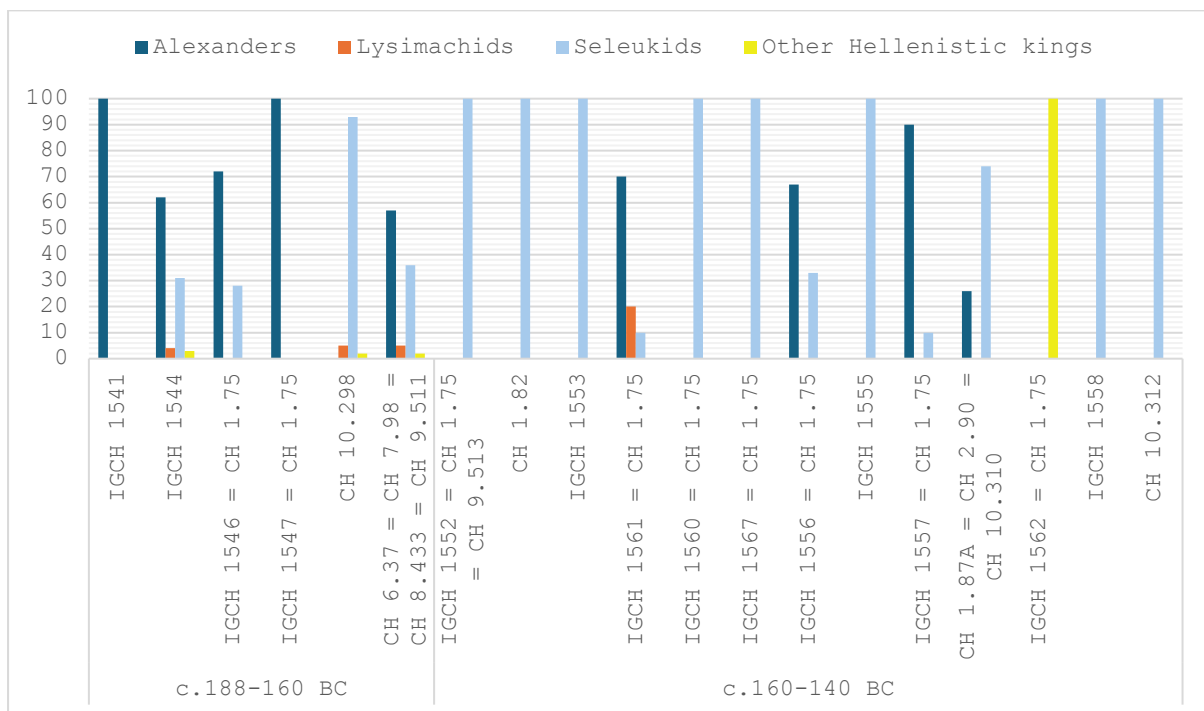


Fig. 73: percentages of royal coins in Northern Syrian hoards – 2nd century BC

Among the Seleukid kings, if we break down the hoard evidence chronologically, 3rd-century Seleukid products continued to appear until the 160s BC, after which they were almost completely replaced by the 2nd-century coins (**Fig. 74**). Antiochos IV is the best represented ruler in terms of the absolute number of coins discovered in hoards. He is immediately followed by Antiochos V, then by all the others (**Fig. 75**). However, Antiochos IV’s coins are only predominant in the evidence of the 160s BC, after which they become way less common. In their stead, in the hoards of the 140s BC we mostly find coins of Demetrios I and Alexander Balas first, then also of Demetrios II and Antiochos VI (**Fig. 76**).

⁵⁵¹ “Northern Syria, 1974” (*CH* 1.82: 150 BC); “Antakya, 1959” (*IGCH* 1553: 150 BC); “Northern Syria, 1906” (*IGCH* 1555: 145 BC); “Antakya, 1962” (*IGCH* 1558: 140 BC); “Region of Hama, 2001” (*CH* 10.312: 140 BC).

⁵⁵² “Kırıkhan, 1972” (*CH* 1.87A = *CH* 2.90 = *CH* 10.310: 140 BC).

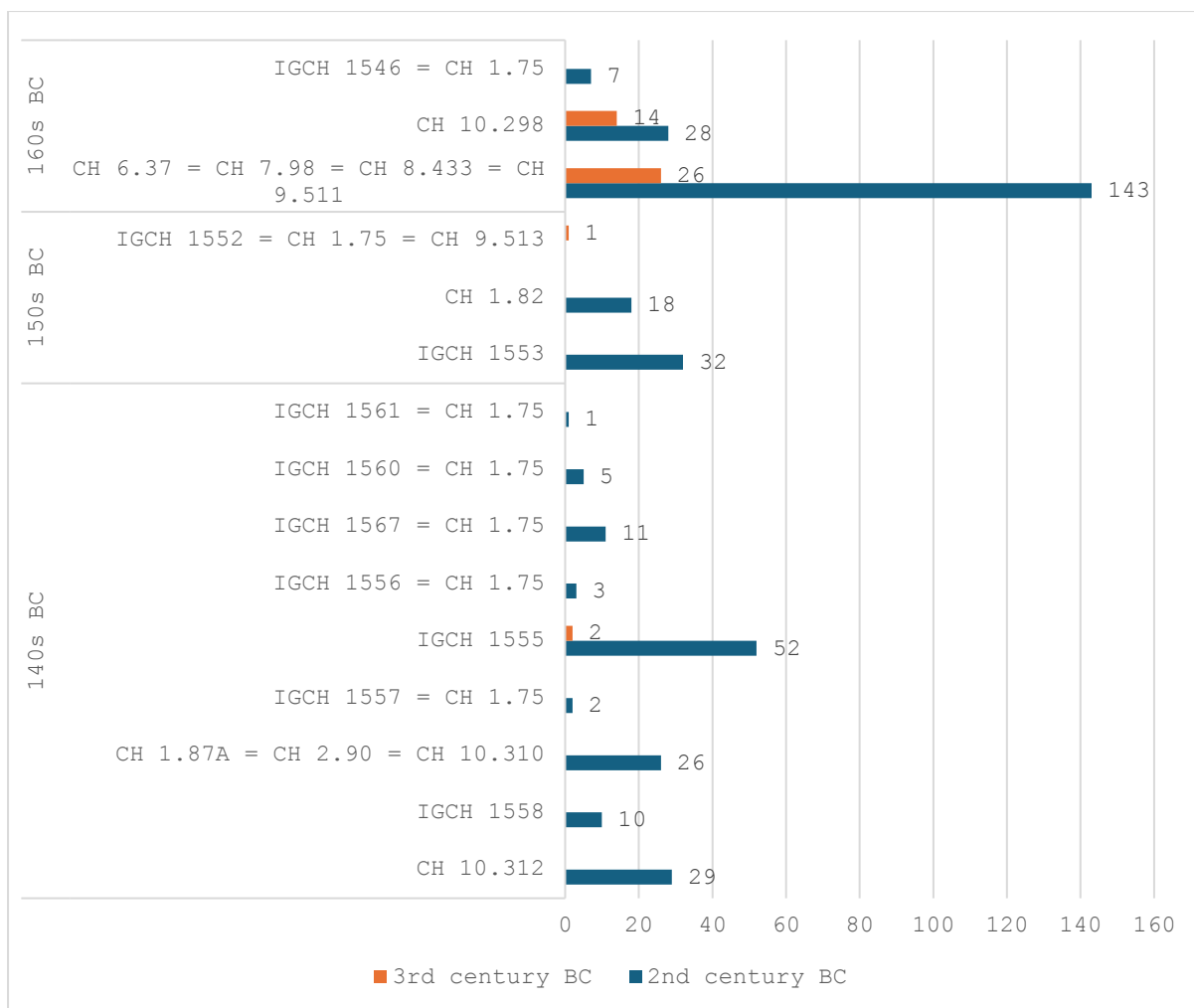


Fig. 74: no. of 3rd-century vs. 2nd-century Seleukid coins in Northern Syrian hoards – c.188-140 BC

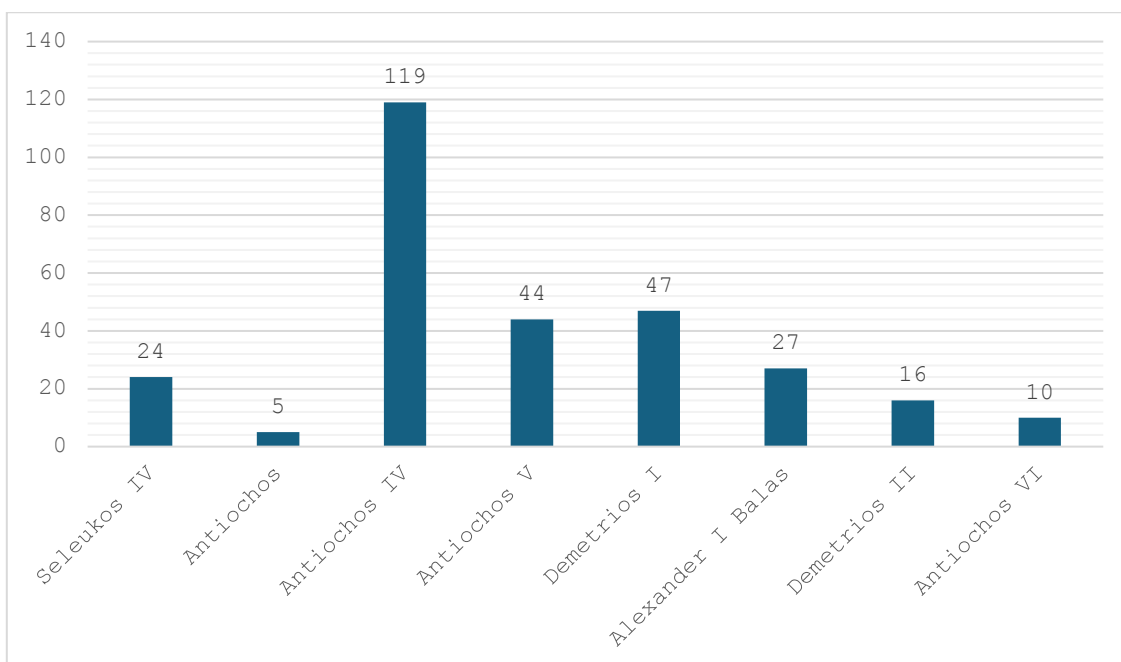


Fig. 75: total number of Seleukid coins in Northern Syrian hoards by ruler – c.188-140 BC

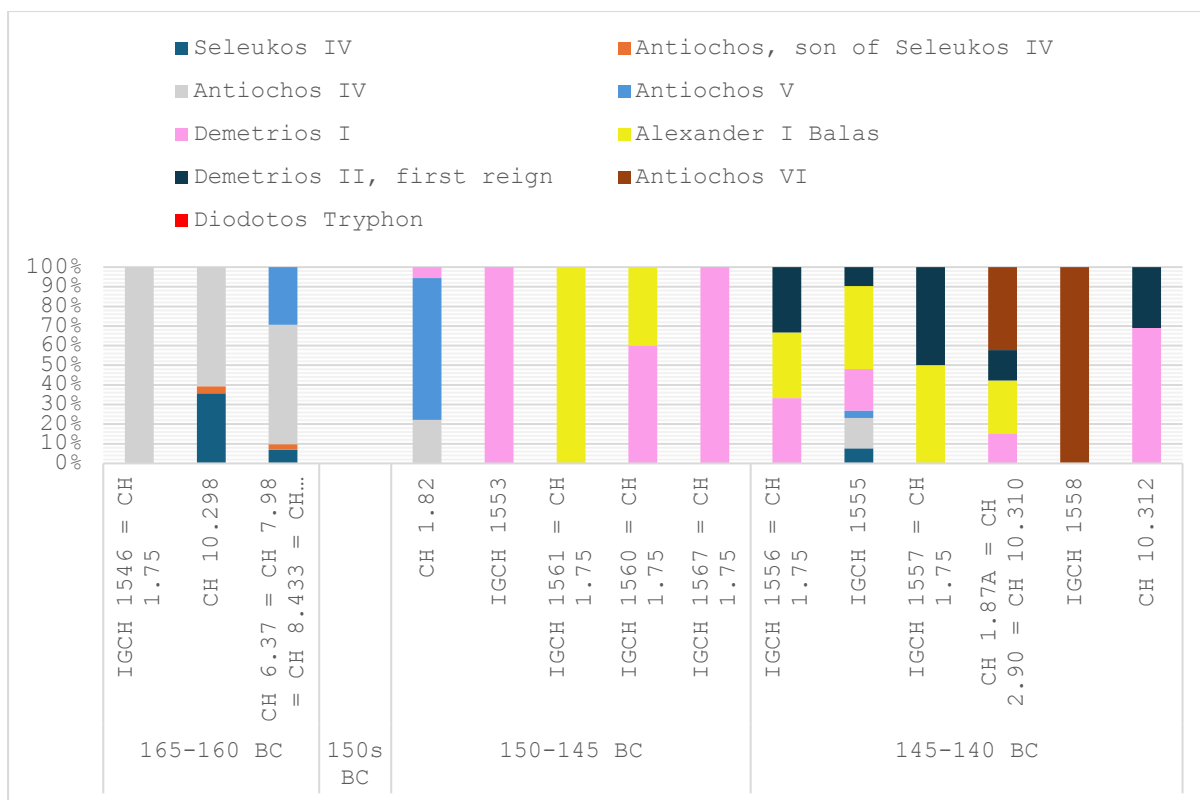


Fig. 76: percentage of Seleukid coins in Northern Syrian hoards by ruler – c.188-140 BC

Antioch was the best represented city in the 2nd-century hoard evidence among the main Seleukid mints. While other places like Tarsos, Seleukeia-in-Pieria, Damaskos, and especially Ake-Ptolemais appear until Antiochos V, from Demetrios I onwards Antiochene coins represent almost the only Seleukid coinage in Northern Syrian hoards. Furthermore, contrary to the 3rd century BC, Mesopotamian and eastern mints are almost completely absent, except for Demetrios II, for whom we have more coins from Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris than from Antioch (**Table 36; Fig. 77**). Instead, all the other few Mesopotamian coins discovered in 2nd-century Northern Syrian hoards belong to the 3rd-century Seleukid kings.

| | No. hoards | | Kilikia | Seleukeia-in-Pieria | Antioch | Damaskos | Ake-Ptolemais | Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris | Antioch-in-Persis | Total coins |
|----------------------|------------|-----------|---------|---------------------|---------|----------|---------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| Seleukos IV | 3 | no. coins | 1 | – | 16 | 6 | 1 | – | – | 24 |
| | | % | 4 | – | 67% | 25% | 4% | – | – | – |
| Antiochos | 2 | no. coins | – | – | 4 | – | – | – | 1 | 5 |
| | | % | – | – | 80% | – | – | – | 20% | – |
| Antiochos IV | 4 | no. coins | 5 | 1 | 76 | – | 37 | – | – | 119 |
| | | % | 4% | 1% | 64% | – | 31% | – | – | – |
| Antiochos V | 2 | no. coins | 1 | – | 32 | – | 11 | – | – | 44 |
| | | % | 2% | – | 73% | – | 25% | – | – | – |
| Demetrios I | 5 | no. coins | 1 | – | 46 | – | – | – | – | 47 |
| | | % | 2% | – | 98% | – | – | – | – | – |
| Alexander I Balas | 5 | no. coins | – | – | 27 | – | – | – | – | 27 |
| | | % | – | – | 100% | – | – | – | – | – |
| Demetrios II | 4 | no. coins | – | – | 6 | – | – | 10 | – | 16 |
| | | % | – | – | 37% | – | – | 63% | – | – |
| Antiochos VI | 1 | no. coins | – | – | 10 | – | – | – | – | 10 |
| | | % | – | – | 100% | – | – | – | – | – |
| TOTAL | | no. coins | 8 | 1 | 217 | 6 | 49 | 10 | 1 | 292 |
| | | % | 3% | 0% | 74% | 2% | 17% | 4% | 0% | – |

Table 36: comparison of main Seleukid mints in Northern Syrian hoards – c.188-140 BC

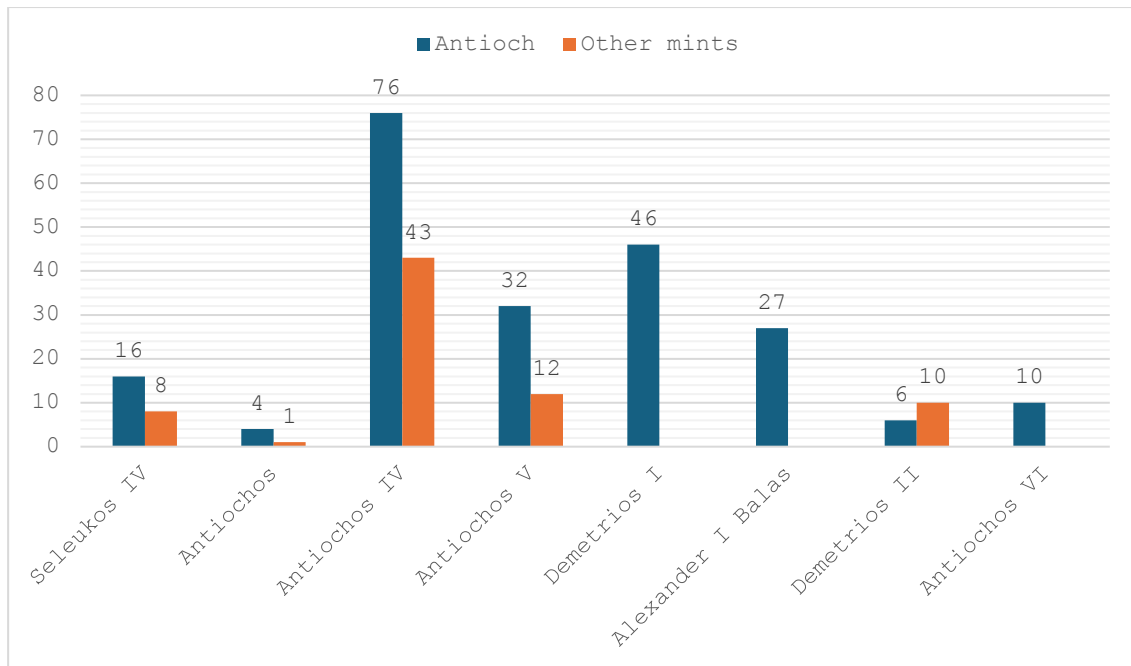


Fig. 77: Antioch vs. other Seleukid mints by ruler – c.188-140 BC

Overall, while we still observe the circulation of “international” currency in Northern Syria in the 2nd century BC, a progressive “isolation” of Northern Syria in the 140s BC occurred in its hoarded currency, a process that was partly compensated by the brief episode of the Wreathed Coinages. In fact, with the end of the Alexanders, Seleukid issues especially from Antioch became almost the exclusive royal coinage buried in hoards. In the 3rd century BC, most of the little Northern Syrian production had been exported to other regions of the empire, most notably to Asia Minor. In the 2nd century BC, instead, Seleukid coinage seems to have mostly circulated near its place of origin – in fact, the only non-Northern Syrian issues were from Kilikia and Ake-Ptolemais, while Demetrios II’s reign constitutes the exception with its coins from Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris. This isolationist tendency would only be further accentuated in the late 2nd century and especially the 1st century BC.

1.4.3.2. Single find evidence

In some ways, 2nd-century Seleukid silver coinage displayed a circulation pattern similar to the single bronze finds discovered at the Northern Syrian excavation sites. Mesopotamian and eastern bronzes had been almost non-existent already in the 3rd century BC – they had mainly arrived from Seleukeia-on-

the-Tigris with Seleukos I in the early 3rd century BC; afterwards, except for two issues of Antiochos I from Karrhai at Antioch, they had only appeared at the garrison-towns on the Euphrates River (one coin from Ekbatana at Jebel Khalid; eight coins from Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris at Dura-Europos). Instead, in the 2nd century BC Mesopotamian and eastern bronze mints are completely unrepresented in Northern Syrian sites. Generally, the single bronze finds are in fact either of local origin or come from Kilikia and the rest of the Levant (**Fig. 78**) No coin from Western Asia Minor securely dated to c.188-140 BC has been discovered. If we extend the data set by also including the single coin-finds dated in the excavation reports to a generic “Hellenistic” period, several mints from Western Asia Minor appear as well, together with a plethora of Kilikian, Northern Syrian, and Levantine mints (**Fig. 79**). Admittedly, we ignore how many of the “Hellenistic” coins belong to the period c.188-140 BC, to the late 2nd/1st century BC, or even earlier to the 3rd century BC. Nonetheless, it is not implausible that at least some western bronze coins travelled together with the Pamphylian issues first, and then with the Wreathed Coinages in the 140s BC.

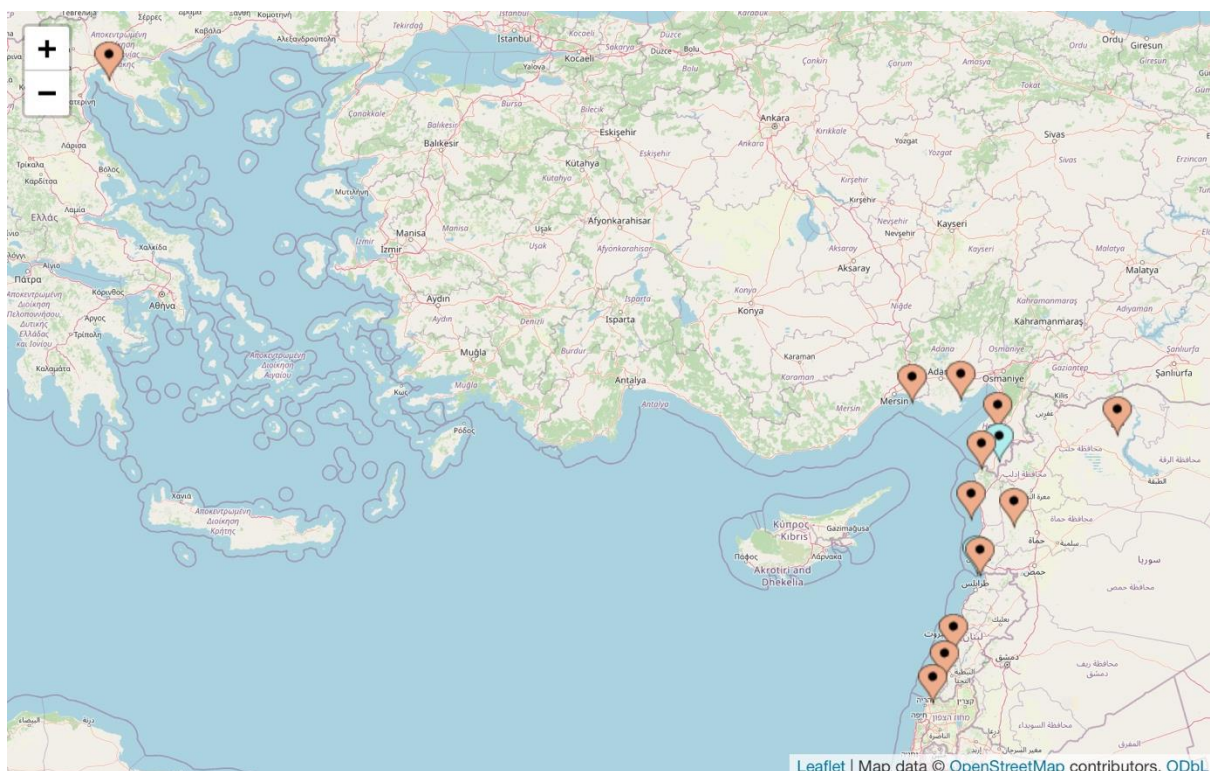


Fig. 78: mints of single coin-finds in Northern Syrian excavation sites – c.188-140 BC (*brown = bronze coins; blue = bronze and silver coins*)

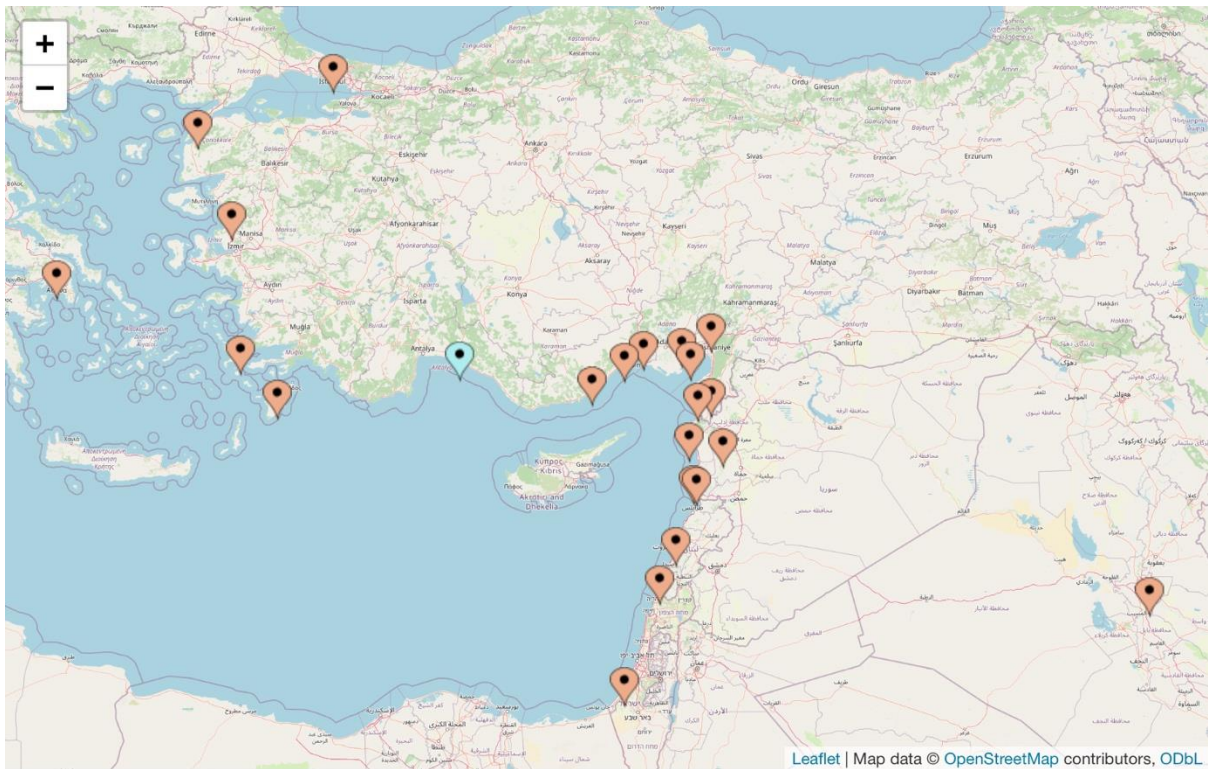


Fig. 79: mints of single coin-finds in Northern Syrian excavation sites – “Hellenistic period” (*brown = bronze coins; blue = bronze and silver coins*)

For the evidence dated to c.188-140 BC, local issues are vastly more predominant than the extra-regional bronzes (**Fig. 80**). Once again, Antioch has provided for most of the data (**Fig. 81**), while few coins from the other Northern Syrian mints have survived altogether, in the form of both royal and especially “quasi-municipal” issues (**Table 37**). Admittedly, outside of a few archaeological sites, the data is meagre, and more evidence would help refine the picture just delineated. Nonetheless, the single coin-finds reflect the primacy of Antioch as royal capital during the 2nd century BC. On a side note, Aradian and Marathian bronzes do not only appear in the Aradian *peraiia* area but circulated as far as the garrison-towns on the Euphrates River – perhaps the result of the richer bronze production of these cities during the 2nd century BC.

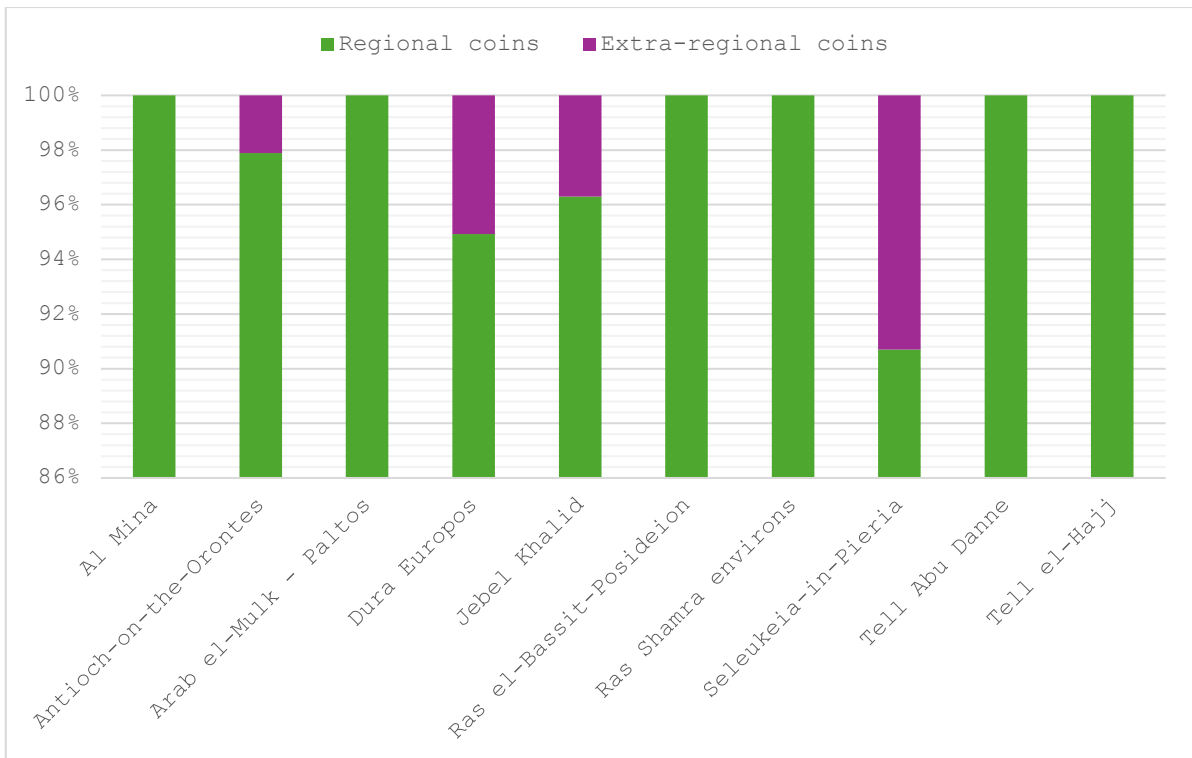


Fig. 80: regional vs. extra-regional single coin finds in Northern Syrian excavations – c.188-140 BC

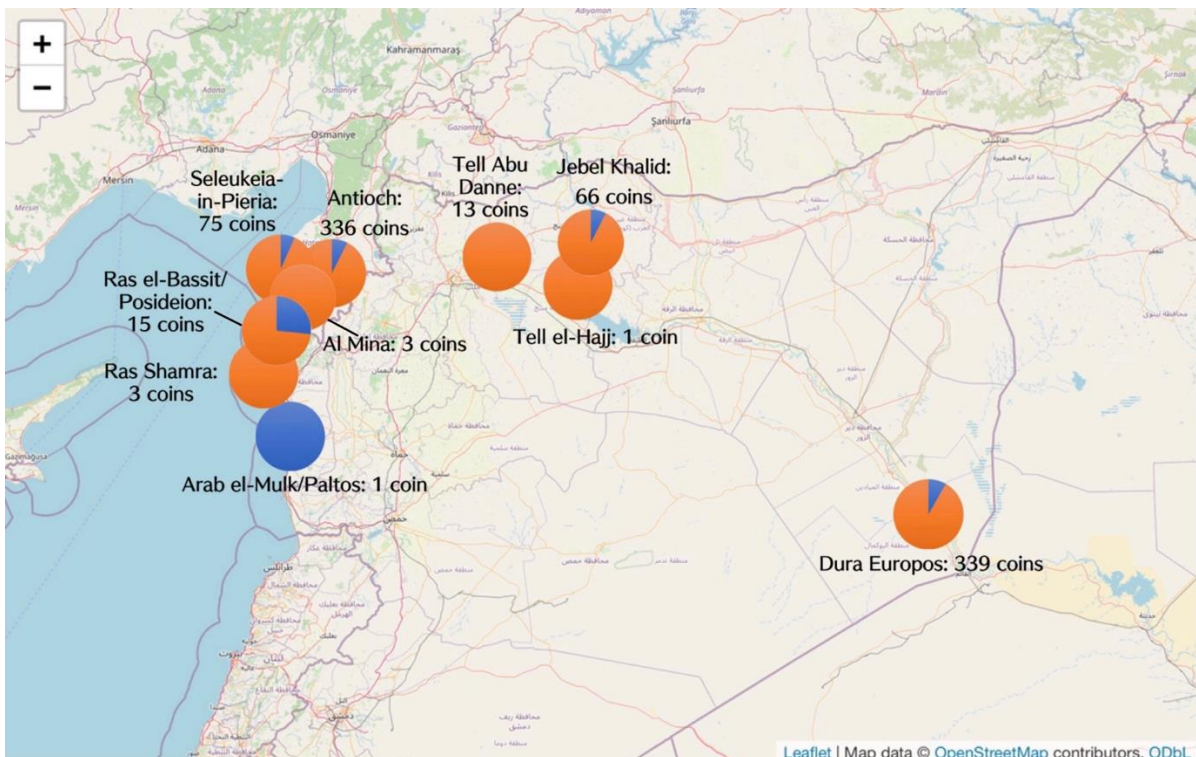


Fig. 81: single coin-finds in Northern Syrian sites – c.188-140 BC (orange = Antioch; blue = other mints)

| | | Northern Syrian bronze mints | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|-----------|--------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-----------|-----------|
| | | Royal coinages | | | “Quasi-municipal” issues | | | | Civic | |
| | | Antioch | Seleukeia-in-Pieria | Apameia | Antioch | Seleukeia-in-Pieria | Laodikeia-by-the-Sea | Hierapolis-Bambyke | Arados | Marathos |
| Excavation sites | Antioch-on-the-Orontes | 168 | 5 | – | 4 | 6 | – | – | – | 1 |
| | Seleukeia-in-Pieria | 26 | 4 | – | – | 2 | – | – | – | – |
| | Al-Mina | 2 | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| | Ras el-Bassit/Posideion | 2 | 1 | – | – | – | 1 | – | – | – |
| | Ras Shamra | 3 | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| | ‘Arab el-Mulk/Paltos | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | 1 | – |
| | Jebel Khalid | 22 | – | – | – | – | – | 1 | 3 | – |
| | Tell Abu Danne | 4 | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| | Tell el-Hajj | 1 | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| | Dura-Europos | 118 | 3 | 1 | – | – | – | – | 9 | – |
| TOTAL | | 346 | 13 | 1 | 4 | 8 | 1 | 1 | 13 | 1 |
| | | 89% | 4% | 0% | 1% | 2% | 0% | 0% | 4% | 0% |

Table 37: single coin-finds from Northern Syrian mints discovered in Northern Syrian excavation sites – 3rd century BC

Overall, the single find evidence shows the continuing development of bronze coin use in Northern Syria, a process that had started in the early Hellenistic period. In fact, at every site, bronzes amount to at least 90% of the whole evidence (**Fig. 82**). As further confirmation of the more widespread use of bronzes, for the first time the 2nd century BC has yielded hoards with only bronzes.⁵⁵³ Admittedly, their number – especially in relation to the silver hoards from the same period – is very meagre compared to Western Asia Minor, where bronzes had become a popular currency to bury or to preserve in hoards

⁵⁵³ “Jablah, 2005” (Duyrat 2016: 194-96: after 190/189 BC); “Amrith, 1893-1894” (*IGCH* 1545: 168 BC or later); “Doura Europos, 1934” (*IGCH* 1770: 150-130 BC).

already in the 3rd century BC (see **Chapter 2**). In Northern Syria, this was a phenomenon that was just *in nuce* in 2nd century BC.

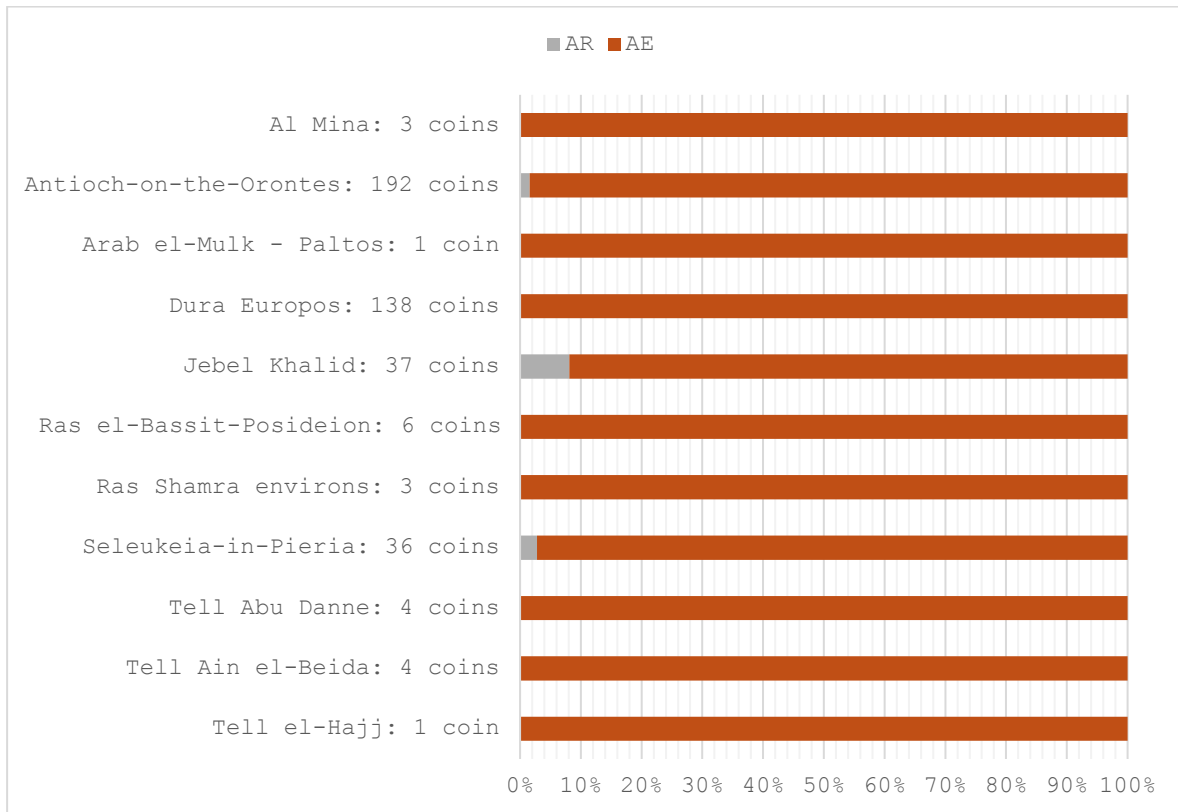


Fig. 82: silver vs. bronze single coin-finds at Northern Syrian excavation sites – c.188-140 BC

Section 1.5. Concluding remarks

A Seleukid model of monetary economy for Northern Syria?

This chapter has shown how different approaches in the exercise of sovereign power affected coin-production and patterns of monetary circulation in Northern Syria from the 5th century BC to c.140 BC. In the Achaemenid period, we have no explicit sign of direct royal intervention in the minting of local coins. On the contrary, the “laissez-faire” approach of the Persian kings resulted in a variety of issues with features – such as coin-designs and weight-standards – that were not commonly shared across the Syrian and Levantine regions, not even among the Phoenician cities. Overall, these coinages reflected the composite nature of the Achaemenid empire, which, in the **Introduction**, I termed as a “patchwork of local governorships”. These local governorships minted coins for different reasons and purposes. For

instance, the coinage of Bambyke was likely struck for cultic reasons, probably also serving as a visual means for the local priest-dynasts to project their power. Pride of the communities and of the local kings was certainly an important factor in the minting of the Phoenician issues. However, given the frequent attestations of Phoenician involvement in the naval campaigns of the Achaemenid kings and satraps in Asia Minor and Egypt, and also considering the levels of output and the main denominations of the coinages of Sidon and Tyre, a significant share of Phoenician coin-production was very likely aimed at paying for the maintenance of the fleet, training of its personnel, and for contributing to the expenses of the Achaemenid campaigns. The impression is of a complete devolution of military expenditure from the Persian kings to the Phoenician cities, although, due to lack of evidence, we are unable to tell whether their coinages were only produced with civic resources, or if the Phoenician cities themselves were injected with any bullion from the satrapal treasury at all.

The composite nature of the Achaemenid empire also emerges through the hoard and single find evidence. As will be shown in more detail in **Chapter 2**, the coins of different regions of Asia Minor – either from the western or the southern side of Anatolia – rarely mixed with each other. Differing weight-standards surely contributed to this “isolationist” behaviour of the Achaemenid-period coinages – in fact, the need for users to convert from one standard to another likely prevented most issues from entering monetary spaces outside of their usual one. Referring to the Phoenician coinages, I have termed these spaces as “preferential monetary areas”. In the Levant, these emerged in the 4th century BC, while in the 5th century BC, hoards mostly contained Thracian-Macedonian and mainland Greek coins, which had likely reached the Levant through trade as luxury items. In fact, they were often preserved together with other precious metallic objects as *Hacksilber*. With Syria and the Levant developing a stronger monetary culture, these western coins “disappeared”, leaving the Athenian owls and their imitations, together with the Phoenician issues, as the main issues in hoards and excavation single finds. The “preferential monetary areas” that emerged in the 4th century BC reflected the political and economic ties the Phoenician cities established with the territory around them. As a result, Achaemenid-era Aradian coins were mostly discovered in Northern Syria; Sidonian issues in the Central Levant; and Tyrian products in the Southern Levant. Nonetheless, I have argued above that the persistence of the “*Hacksilber* hoards” in the 4th century BC perhaps signalled a slower transition of Northern Syria to a

monetised economy – for which reason users could sometimes still treat Aradian coins simply as precious metallic objects, even in the more populated areas of the Syrian coast.⁵⁵⁴

The Graeco-Macedonians' arrival was game-changing for Northern Syria in several respects. Nonetheless, like for the land-administration in Western Asia Minor, the late 4th century BC also displayed important continuities with the previous years. While Arados and the other Phoenician mints struck an imperial coinage with uniform coin-designs and weight-standard for the first time ever, the lifetime Alexanders themselves showed clear signs of Graeco-Macedonian collaboration with the pre-existing minting authorities. Nonetheless, in the early years after Alexander's conquest, the Graeco-Macedonians settled in Northern Syria mainly resorted to local coinages, as exemplified not only by the "transitional issues", but especially by the currencies buried in the hoards from this period, which only consisted of Aradian coins.

Things significantly changed only after 323 BC. Arados' early-posthumous Alexanders still displayed the civic Greek monogram, which marked them as Aradian products; however, any reference to the local kings completely disappeared from this point onward, perhaps signalling a takeover of the Macedonian authorities. At the same time, coin-production intensified significantly, and these Levantine Alexanders were exported *en masse* to other regions, mainly to Macedonia and mainland Greece.⁵⁵⁵ Once the discharged mercenaries had been paid, coin-production in Northern Syria was soon interrupted c.320 BC. Instead, in the last twenty years of the 4th century BC under Antigonid control, Sidon and Tyre alone continued minting Alexanders, returning in some ways to the previous Achaemenid scheme, with the Central Levant assuming a primary role over the neighbouring regions due to its political and economic standing. On the contrary, the previous model of regional compartmentalisation of monetary circulation was completely abandoned. The hoard evidence did not reflect the "preferential monetary areas" evidenced for the Achaemenid period anymore. It rather showed the ability of the sovereign authorities to amass human resources and move them from one end of the empire to another. For instance, the influx of Mesopotamian coins in the early-3rd-century hoard

⁵⁵⁴ See Duyrat 2016: 437-40 drawing textual evidence from Babylonia and the Libyan desert for examples on the coexistence of weighing metal and use of struck coins for transactions.

⁵⁵⁵ See Duyrat 2016: 442-48.

evidence of Northern Syria was likely the outcome of Seleukos I's mobilisation of troops from Mesopotamia, rather than a result of trade. Admittedly, the Achaemenids possessed the same coercive power to move large numbers of people across their empire, especially during military campaigns. However, in most cases, due to the heterogenous numismatic landscape of the Achaemenid period, coin hoards from the 5th and 4th centuries BC do not allow us to significantly appreciate the impact of these movements on coin circulation patterns. Things are different for the evidence from the early Hellenistic period onwards, thanks to Alexander's and his *Diadochoi*'s choice to mass-produce a single Attic-weight imperial coinage, instead of relying (outside of some exceptions) on regional issues produced by cities and local governors. This was obviously a fundamental shift from the Achaemenid period.

The Seleukids followed a similarly centralising model in their administration of Northern Syria by producing an imperial coinage with standard designs and legend. Nonetheless, like in the late 4th/early 3rd century BC, minting responsibilities fell upon multiple workshops from early on. Normally, mint magistrates were not shared among the Northern Syrian cities, as no control-links are known for the 3rd century BC. This perhaps suggests a certain autonomy among the minting administrations of each city, although we do not know how much decisional power they each held concerning some aspects of the coins produced – like the choice of denominations, the style of the royal portrait, or even how much coinage was needed to be minted. Nonetheless, it is more likely these decisions were taken at a higher level, and that the various mint magistrates were mere executors of royal orders. For instance, Laodikeia-by-the-Sea was the primary royal mint in Northern Syria in the first half of the 3rd century BC, producing Alexanders in Seleukos I's name. Rather than a reflection of a supposedly superior wealth of this city compared to the rest of the Tetrapolis and of the community's preference for a certain coin-type, the centrality of Laodikeia and the choice of a non-explicitly Seleukid coinage were more likely tied to the central power's need to cover for the expenses of the royal fleet and to the preference mercenaries generally accorded to Alexanders as a means of payment for their service.⁵⁵⁶ Thus, for the Syrian Tetrapolis in the 3rd century BC, the Seleukids followed a model we could term as “centralised polycentrism”. In the case of Laodikeia-by-the-Sea, rather than simply a top-down imposition, it was

⁵⁵⁶ Hoover 2019: 139-44.

the result of the Seleukids' adaptability to the advantages a harbour city like Laodikeia offered, as well as to "consumers' demand".

The Seleukids' adaptability to current circumstances and needs perhaps also explains the little production of Antioch and Laodikeia-by-the-Sea during the 3rd century BC, which was likely caused by the diffusion and popularity of the late-4th and early 3rd-century Alexanders among the contemporary currencies. However, a comparison with Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris shows that other factors were perhaps also at play. In fact, from the volume of its early output and from the number of its coins surviving in hoards, Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris appears to have operated as the principal mint of the Seleukid empire for the 3rd century BC. Northern Syria and Mesopotamia were both lacking in natural metallic resources. Perhaps Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris could directly tap into whatever was left of the Persian treasuries Alexander the Great had looted,⁵⁵⁷ while the easiest way for Northern Syria to get its hands on silver bullion came from the harbour cities, which had immediate access to the coins entering this region through trade or other channels. However, we do not know how often Seleukid issues were struck by melting pre-existing coins – like the Ptolemies did –⁵⁵⁸ and how much, instead, the royal authorities tapped into their own resources. Nonetheless, it was perhaps this closeness of Northern Syria to the Mediterranean that prompted the Seleukids to resort to the currencies already in circulation for their payments (especially the Alexanders and the Lysimachi), instead of minting new coinage in great quantity. On the contrary, the intense production under the first kings at Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris may have resulted from the need to fill a void left in the currency pool by the demobilisation of the armies of Alexander and his *Diadochoi*, which had caused a movement *en masse* of the locally produced silver coins of the Early Hellenistic period.⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁷ Le Rider 2007: 234 assumed that the wealth captured at Persepolis followed Alexander in his expedition to India, while Lane Fox 2018 suggested that it was placed at Ekbatana, from where payment to the army was dispatched. Antigonos Monophthalmos took 25,000 talents from the treasuries of Ekbatana, Persepolis and Susa (Diod. 19.46.5-48.8), before moving westwards with a large train of wagons and camels, stopping at Babylon to meet with Seleukos, at the time satrap of Babylonia (Diod. 55.1). However, Diodoros does not tell us whether those 25,000 talents stayed in Babylonia, or they followed Antigonos to Syria and Asia Minor.

⁵⁵⁸ Le Rider & de Callatay 2006: 142-43.

⁵⁵⁹ Cf. Duyrat 2016: 445-46.

Admittedly, the disparity in output between Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris and Antioch may have also been contingent on the historical events and administrative arrangements of the Seleukid empire. In fact, Mesopotamia probably hosted the main body of the Seleukid army, which was dispatched westwards or eastwards according to the kings' needs.⁵⁶⁰ However, things must have changed from Seleukos II onwards. We have seen above how coins from Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris ceased being the most common Seleukid products in western hoards, while the Antioch workshop (supported by the ΔΕΛ Mint) increased its productivity sensibly. Perhaps the partial Ptolemaic takeover of Syria acted as a catalyst for a strengthening of the military presence in Northern Syria, resulting in a growth of coin-production through silver tetradrachms, gold staters, and large bronze denominations. However, a comparison with the level of output at Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris under Seleukos II and Seleukos III shows that, while Antioch was the superior mint in terms of the absolute value of coinage produced (thanks to its gold staters and octadrachms), nonetheless Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris struck more tetradrachms under both rulers (**Fig. 83**).⁵⁶¹ The rarity of appearance of these issues in western hoards suggests they were perhaps mainly exported to the Upper Satrapies during the eastern expeditions of Seleukos II and later of Antiochos III, although the hoard evidence East of the Euphrates is admittedly not very straightforward about this.⁵⁶² Nonetheless, a full die-study of the coinages of all Seleukid Mesopotamian mints would

⁵⁶⁰ Cf. Sachs & Hunger 1988: no.-273: the satrap of Akkad is requested to send men and resources to the Transeuphratene to support Antiochos I in the First Syrian War against Ptolemy II.

⁵⁶¹ Die-study: Miller & Hoover 2008.

⁵⁶² A study of the hoard evidence from east of the Euphrates River goes beyond the scope of this thesis. Nonetheless, a survey of the hoards collected in Houghton & Lorber 2002: 2.106-24 shows that very few finds can be attributed altogether to the eastern expeditions of Seleukos II and Antiochos III. In fact, the 3rd-century hoards from Mesopotamia and especially Iran are mostly from before c.250 BC – seven out of thirteen total finds (54%) for Mesopotamia, six out of eight hoards (75%) for Iran. Furthermore, in Iran, coins of Seleukos II appear only in “Tarik Darreh, 1974” (*CH* 2.70 = *CH* 7.78: 226/5 BC) with twenty-five gold staters, while Antiochos III issues are found exclusively in 2nd-century hoards: “Persia, 1932-1933” (*IGCH* 1801: c.160 BC), and “Kuh-i-Tuftan, 1902” (*IGCH* 1803: c.140 BC). Instead, in the six hoards post-250 BC from Mesopotamia we observe the same dynamics between the coins of Antioch and of Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris as the ones identified in the western hoards. In fact, for Seleukos II (nine coins), two issues come from Antioch (22%), but none from Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris; for Seleukos III (two coins), one issue is from Antioch (50%), one from Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris (50%); finally, for Antiochos III (eighteen coins), six issues are from Antioch (33%), one from Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris (5%). By comparison, of the fifty-six total coins for Antiochos I and Antiochos II, twenty-five (45%) are from Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris, only six (11%) from Antioch.

Instead, out of the six hoards listed by Houghton and Lorber for Bactria, Sogdiana, and Central Asia with precious-metal issues, none are from the 3rd century BC. Furthermore, coins of Seleukos II, Seleukos III, and Antiochos III appear only in half of them: “Aï Khanoum, 1973” (*CH* 3.53: 160 BC); “Aï Khanoum” (150 BC); “Balkh, 1974?” (*CH* 2.88: 150 BC); “Khisht Tepe, 1946” (*IGCH* 1826: after 140 BC); “Bukhara, 1984” (c.160 BC). The identified coins that have survived in these hoards for these three kings are too few to ascertain any patterns between the issues of Antioch and of Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris. In Pakistan, the “Quetta, 2001” hoard is from the end of the 3rd

offer a more complete perspective on the changing patterns of Syrian coin-production throughout the 3rd century BC.

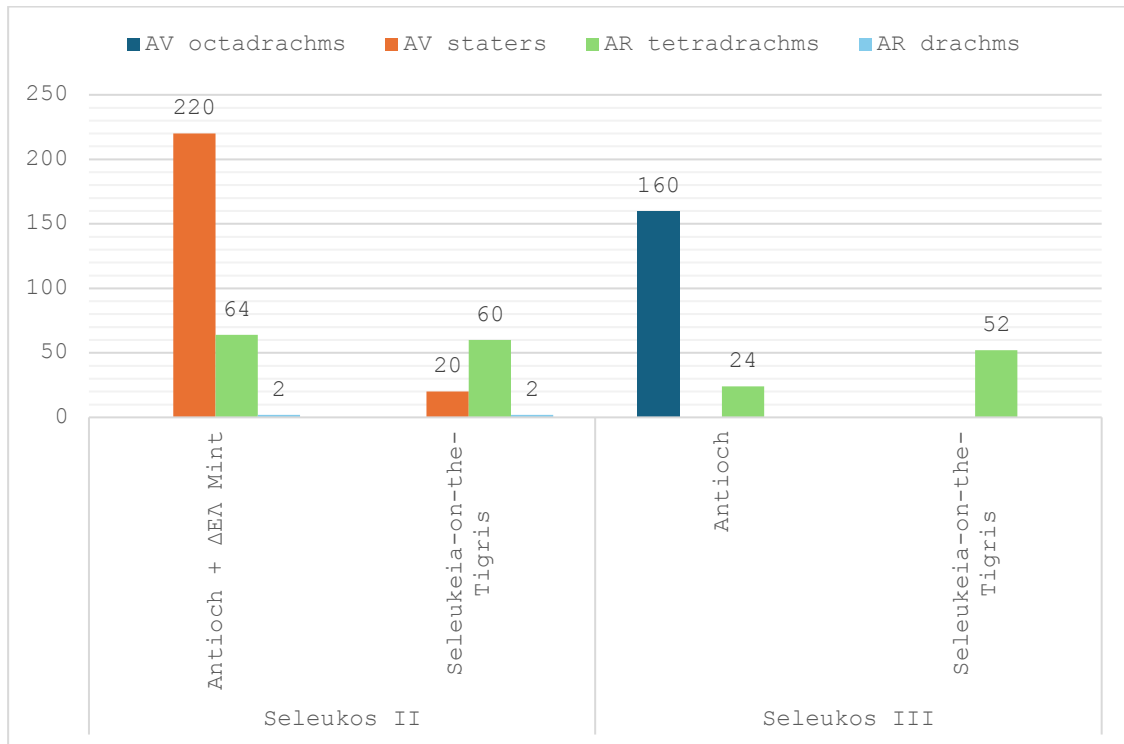


Fig. 83: drachm-equivalent observe dies at Antioch and Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris under Seleukos II and Seleukos III

Another consequence of the partial loss of the coast of Seleukis Syria was the beginning of the transition from a “centralised polycentrism” towards a progressive centralisation of coin-production in Northern Syria. This process found its full expression only in the 2nd century BC, when Antioch clearly emerged as the royal capital of Northern Syria. In 187-c.150 BC, similarly to the kings of the 3rd century BC, the Seleukids embarked on eastern expeditions and were challenged by rebels in Mesopotamia or foreign powers in the Upper Satrapies. Nonetheless, under the reigns of Antiochos IV and Demetrios I, we do not see a similar proliferation of temporary mints in Northeastern Syria/Northern Mesopotamia as under

century BC (*CH* 10.275: 206-200 BC). Out of the twenty-two coins of Antiochos III it has yielded, eleven (50%) are from Antioch, seven (32%) from Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris. Houghton 2004: 53-4 and Table II has estimated an output of 177 tetradrachm-dies for Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris under Antiochos III, against sixty-two for Antioch. One thus wonders where all this coinage of Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris ended up.

Seleukos II and Seleukos III. Instead, the 3rd-century model of a “centralised polycentrism” would only return from Alexander I Balas onwards, coinciding with periods of dynastic strife and the beginning of the crumbling of the political unit of this region and of the Levant more at large.

Meanwhile, Arados and the cities of its *peraiā* coexisted with the Seleukid reality in an unbalanced relationship of alliance with the sovereign power. As part of their contributions to the kings’ military expeditions, they minted Alexanders, and some of them even produced Seleukid tetradrachms, all with clearly local marks. This level of collaboration with the local authorities was perhaps prompted by the “autonomous” status of Arados and of the cities of the *peraiā*. However, it is unclear why Karne and Simyra struck Seleukid tetradrachms one year, and “civic” Alexanders in another.⁵⁶³ It is difficult to conceive a change in political status of these two cities in 230-225 BC, with Karne going from subordinate to “autonomous” status, and Simyra from “autonomous” to subordinate. The use of Seleukid types suggests the presence of royal officials, but the few obverse dies and overall few surviving specimens of these coinages suggest they were civic products offered to the kings as “voluntary” contributions for their military campaigns.⁵⁶⁴ Thus, side-by-side with the strongly polycentric centralism of the Tetrapolis, the Seleukids followed a different model of coin-production for Arados and its *peraiā*, which essentially entailed the partial devolution of expenses to the subject cities.

Another peculiarity of Arados and its *peraiā* concerned the production of small silver and bronze civic coins for local consumption. However, aside from the Alexanders, the Seleukids were also able to influence this civic production in more subtle ways. For instance, in the 2nd century BC, Arados started a “pseudo-Ephesian” drachm series, whose peaks in production coincided with the military endeavours of Antiochos IV and Demetrios I. In the 3rd century BC, instead, the episode of “type-sharing” between the coinages of Arados and the *peraiā* was likely influenced by an intensified presence of Seleukid troops and personnel in the area, in preparation for Seleukos II’s military expeditions to the East and to Asia Minor. Instead of opening new royal bronze mints at Arados or the *peraiā*, the Seleukids opted to

⁵⁶³ Karne produced Seleukid tetradrachms in 229/8 BC but Alexanders in 225/4 BC. Instead, Simyra produced Alexanders in 230/29 BC but Seleukid tetradrachms in 225/4 BC.

⁵⁶⁴ So Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.664, who implicitly assume Karne’s agency in the production of the tetradrachms for Seleukos II. Only three samples from Simyra have survived (Duyrat 2002: Simyra nos.7-9).

use the local low-level currencies to pay the *sitarchia* to their troops. In the rest of Northern Syria, instead, we do not observe similar instances of parallel minting of royal and civic issues. In fact, the low-level currencies were also struck in the king's name, following a strongly centralised model with Antioch as its fulcrum. However, in the 2nd century BC, the civic identities of the Tetrapolis came progressively forward on bronze coins – the “quasi-municipal” coinages; the ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΔΗΜΩΝ bronzes; Apameia's posthumous Antiochos IV issues with Dionysiac images; Laodikeia-by-the-Sea's bronzes for Demetrios II (with standing Poseidon resting on trident as reverse type). A similar phenomenon cannot be ascertained for the silver coinages, which nonetheless displayed a great variety of royal reverse designs from Antiochos IV onwards. In times of dynastic crisis, instead, the civic community of Antioch did not come forward by producing autonomous coinages with civic legend and types. The Syrian capital rather struck “nostalgia” silver issues in the name of previous rulers – Antiochos I in 246-244 BC, and Antiochos IV in 151 BC. This should be taken as the sign of the level of embeddedness of Seleukid power in the communities of the Tetrapolis, especially Antioch, to the point that their identity could not be separated from the sovereign power.

The embeddedness of Seleukid authority in Northern Syria also emerges from the type of currency circulating in this region. Since the early 3rd century BC, the coins buried in hoards were predominantly of royal nature. The circulatory patterns evidenced from their regional provenances suggests these issues reached Northern Syria through the Seleukid troops returning from their expeditions in Asia Minor. Even though we should be aware of the limits of hoards as indicators for the currencies circulating within Northern Syria, the impression for the 3rd century BC is that the Attic-weight coinages produced at Antioch, especially the tetradrachms, were not primarily meant for local consumption. Thus, differently from the Achaemenid period, the circulatory patterns of the silver coinages were not revealing of a particular city's influence over the surrounding territory or of its network of relationships – like in the Early Hellenistic period, it rather reflected the ability of royal power to move large numbers of people from one end of the empire to another.

The “preferential monetary area” evidenced for the Achaemenid period, however, did emerge at the lower level of the monetary economy. The vast predominance of Antiochene bronzes – thus, royal products – in every Northern Syrian excavation site was certainly the result of precise administrative

arrangements. The Seleukids probably set up a garrisoning system that was regionally coordinated from Antioch. Nonetheless, in their circulatory patterns, even the royal bronzes showed a strong regional character, not dissimilarly from the civic coins of Asia Minor (see **Chapter 3**). As the archaeological evidence from the garrisoning towns on the Euphrates River seems to confirm, the spread of Antioch's bronzes reflected various forms of human movement within Northern Syria – either of military, commercial, or perhaps even religious nature.

Overall, the study of the numismatic evidence from Northern Syria in this chapter has shown how difficult it is to formulate a single Seleukid model of monetary economy. In fact, for this region in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, we should probably talk of several monetary economies, which differed from each other depending on multiple factors – the coin-metal considered (either silver or bronze); the political standing of the minting cities within the Seleukid system (either royal foundations or allied “autonomous” communities); and the historical circumstances, which determined the adoption of different models of royal coin-production (*e.g.*, the 3rd-century “centralised polycentrism” of the Tetrapolis *vs.* the centralisation of production of precious-metal coinages in the first half of the 2nd century BC). The political history of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC also contributed to the emergence of certain circulatory patterns – the export of locally produced coinages paired with the arrival of western issues in the 3rd century BC; and the progressive isolation of Northern Syria at the end of the 2nd century BC, with its local Seleukid coins occupying a growing place in the currency evidence. These various factors will have to be considered in the analysis of the numismatic evidence of Western Asia Minor in the second part of the thesis.

Chapter 2

Production and circulation of precious-metal coins in Western Asia Minor

(5th century BC – c.133 BC)

The numismatic outlook of Hellenistic Northern Syria was largely the result of political and historical circumstances specific to that region. The level of assimilation of the Tetrapolis within Seleukid royal power was very high, if not total. Indeed, on multiple occasions, whenever Seleukid authority was compromised by external and internal threats, Antioch would produce “nostalgia issues” depicting kings of times past, rather than resort to issuing “purely” civic-looking coins.

However, the Seleukid monetary approach in the Northern Syrian core was far from simply being “dirigiste”. Indeed, the “centralised polycentrism” model reflected a reality where the administrations of the Northern Syrian mints worked separately from each other, although always as part of the larger imperial machine. At the same time, the Seleukids integrated Arados and the cities of its *peraiia* within their administration with the language of alliance and equal partnership. This was by no means a less effective approach, for Arados, together with its neighbouring/subject cities, produced both Alexanders and Seleukid tetradrachms in parallel to their own civic issues, likely as contributions for the military campaigns of their overlords.

Overall, both the royal capitals of the Tetrapolis and Arados with its *peraiia* provide excellent terms of comparison for the study of the Seleukid monetary economy in Western Asia Minor. Admittedly, the western fringe of Anatolia had experienced a much richer political, urban, and numismatic history than Northern Syria before the Hellenistic period. Prior to Alexander the Great’s arrival, in fact, Western Asia Minor had not only seen a changeover of several imperial powers, both “indigenous” and foreign, but it was also the very place where coinage itself was invented. The first coins appeared under the Lydians – probably with the first Mermnad king Gyges – in the form of electrum, an alloy of gold and silver in addition to small amounts of bronze, tin, lead, and iron.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶⁵ On the early electrum coinages, see most recently the contributions in van Alfen & Wartenberg 2020, with review by Meadows 2021a.

Meadows has recently suggested that early electrum coins may have originated in a horizon of crisis in the 7th century BC, as a measure to meet the military expenditure of the various political actors of Archaic Asia Minor.⁵⁶⁶ The coexistence, the collaboration, and the conflicts between different levels of authority within Western Asia Minor, and their impact not only on coin-production, but also on the very use of coinage, will constitute the thematic core of this second part of the thesis.

The focus of the present chapter will be on the minting and circulation of precious-metal coins – namely, electrum, gold, and silver. Like for Northern Syria, this chapter will be structured in different time-periods, five in total – the 5th century BC, focusing on the Achaemenid and Athenian empires; the 4th century BC, with Spartan and Achaemenid domination; the late 4th/early 3rd century BC, from Alexander’s arrival in Western Asia Minor (334 BC) to Seleukos I’s death (281 BC); the “Seleukid” 3rd century, from Antiochos I’s reign (280 BC) to the Battle of Magnesia (189 BC); and, finally, the “Attalid” 2nd century, from the Treaty of Apameia (188 BC) until Attalos III’s death (133 BC). Each period will be structured in two sections – the first one on coin-production, the latter on the circulatory evidence emerging from hoards. I have used the website “A typology of Ancient Greek Coinage” (*ARCH*: <https://greekcoinage.org/arch/>) as the starting point of the analysis of the rich numismatic evidence of Western Asia Minor, as well as for creating chronological charts (unless otherwise noted). For the hoard record, I have selected the hoards from the “Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards” and the ten volumes of “Coin Hoards” that have findspots in the historical regions here under study. Nonetheless, it will sometimes be necessary, especially for the Hellenistic period, to also look at the data from the other regions of Asia Minor, in order better to understand the peculiarities of the numismatic landscape of western Anatolia.

Section 2.1. 5th century BC

2.1.1. Coin-production

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, before the Persians, the cities of Western Asia Minor had already interfaced with another sovereign power – namely, the Lydian kingdom. In the first half of

⁵⁶⁶ Meadows 2021a: esp.463-67.

the 6th century BC, the last Mermnad ruler Kroisos, who had firmly brought all the territories west of the Halys River under Lydian control,⁵⁶⁷ had introduced new gold and silver coins commonly known as *Kroiseioi stateres*.⁵⁶⁸ After the fall of Sardis to Kyros the Great in 547 BC,⁵⁶⁹ the Achaemenids initially continued minting the same coinage, probably out of a desire not to disrupt a monetary system already in place (**Fig. 84**).⁵⁷⁰ Later, with Dareios I, the Persians adopted a new coin-type, depicting the Great King with a bow.⁵⁷¹ Initially consisting only of silver, this new royal coinage was eventually articulated, like the *Kroiseioi stateres*, in a bimetallic system of gold and silver – namely, the *Dareikoi* and *sigloi*.⁵⁷² Sardis was likely the mint of these royal coinages, although not all numismatists agree it was the only one – perhaps it was also joined by Daskyleion, the satrapal capital of Hellespontine Phrygia.⁵⁷³



Fig. 84: Achaemenid AR *Kroiseios*, Sardis, 546-510 BC (Carradice 1987: Croeseid B). British Museum:

<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/1613850009>

The Greek *poleis* that fell under Achaemenid domination after the capitulation of Sardis and Paktyes' failed revolt continued, nonetheless, to produce their own civic coins as before (**Table 38**).⁵⁷⁴ Silver had already acquired great popularity for minting after Kroisos' monetary reform.⁵⁷⁵ Past scholarship viewed the highly variable intrinsic value of electrum as a limiting factor to the use and spread of coins

⁵⁶⁷ Hdt. 1.26-8; Nic. Dam. *BNJ* 90 F65.

⁵⁶⁸ Le Rider 2001: 102; Cahill & Kroll 2005.

⁵⁶⁹ Hdt. 1.71-3, 79-80, 84-6.

⁵⁷⁰ See Le Rider 2001: 101-21.

⁵⁷¹ Hdt. 4.166.2; Pollux *Onom.* 3.87.

⁵⁷² On Achaemenid royal coinage, see Carradice 1987, 1998; Alram 2012; Tuplin 2014; Bodzek 2022: 74-8.

⁵⁷³ For Carradice 1987: 84-5, 1998: 80, hoard evidence and the absence of die-links between the later phases of Achaemenid coin-types indicates that at least two mints were operative. Le Rider 2001: 133-39 suggests that this second royal workshop was opened in Daskyleion. On the contrary, Alram 2012: 68 believes that, if we were to admit to the existence of different workshops, these would have been both active at Sardis alone.

⁵⁷⁴ Hdt. 1.76, 141, 153-77.

⁵⁷⁵ Konuk 2012: 53-5.

in this metal – thus, resulting in the “decline” of their production and replacement with a bimetallic system.⁵⁷⁶ However, thanks to recent analyses, it has emerged that electrum was always obtained artificially –⁵⁷⁷ therefore, this “decline” in the minting of coins in this alloy may have rather resulted from the costly procurement of gold, to which the cities preferred silver alone for striking their civic issues. Nonetheless, hoard evidence shows that electrum issues did continue to be struck even in later decades.⁵⁷⁸ For instance, numismatists have traditionally attached a group of late-Archaic, Milesian-weight electrum coins (c.14.2g) to the Ionian Revolt of 500-494 BC.⁵⁷⁹ Admittedly, recent studies have suggested an earlier production period for these issues, probably around 650-625 BC.⁵⁸⁰ Nonetheless, even though it was restricted to only a few places, minting of electrum staters and fractions was far from over not only in the 5th century BC (**Table 38**), but also later in the 4th.

⁵⁷⁶ *E.g.*, Konuk 2012: 44, 49.

⁵⁷⁷ See Gitler & *al.* 2020 and Blet-Lemarquand et *al.* 2020 for metallurgical analyses of electrum coins, with tabulation of results in Meadows 2021a: 445 Figure 1.

⁵⁷⁸ See Wartenberg 2020: 575 Table 1.

⁵⁷⁹ Gardner 1911.

⁵⁸⁰ Wartenberg 2020, although see Meadows’ cautionary remarks (2021: 460-61).

| | 500-450 BC | 450-400 BC |
|-------------------|------------|------------|
| Abydos | El | Au |
| Dardanos | | |
| Gergis | | |
| Skepsis | | |
| Tenedos | | |
| Kebren | | |
| Neandreia | | |
| Antandros | | |
| Gargara | | |
| Lamponeia | | |
| Larissa | | |
| Assos | | |
| Kyzikos | El | El |
| Prokonnesos | | |
| Parion | | |
| Lampsakos | El | |
| Pergamon | | |
| Gambreion | | |
| Teuthrania | | |
| Pitane | | |
| Methymna | | |
| Nesos Pordosilene | | |
| Mytilene | B, El | El |
| Elaia | | |
| Myrina | | |
| Kyme | | |
| Phokaia | El | El |
| Klazomenai | El | |
| Erythrai | | |
| Chios | | El |
| Teos | | |
| Kolophon | | |
| Ephesos | | |
| Magnesia | | |
| Samos | | |
| Priene | El | |
| Myous | | |
| Miletos | | |
| Euromos | | |
| Iasos | | |
| Mylasa | | |
| Kasolaba | | |
| Halikarnassos | | |
| Chersonesos | | |
| Termera | | |
| Kalymna | | |
| Idyma | | |
| Kos | | |
| Knidos | | |
| Astypalaia | | |
| Kaunos | | |
| Ialysos | El | |
| Kamiros | El | |
| Lindos | | |
| Rhodes | | |
| Poseidion | | |

Table 38: mints of W. A. Minor – 5th century BC (cities in blue = members of Delian League; grey squares = civic silver coinages; orange squares = dynastic coinages; El = electrum coins; Au = civic gold coins.

Source: *ARCH* (<https://greekcoinage.org/arch/>), accessed on 30/06/2024.⁵⁸¹

The Greek victories at the battles of Plataia and Mykale introduced significant changes in the political landscape of Western Asia Minor, as the rising power of Athens and its allies challenged Achaemenid control over these territories. Almost all the minting cities of western Anatolia entered the Athenian *archē* at some point during the 5th century BC (highlighted in blue in **Table 38** above). Nonetheless, as summarised by John Kroll,⁵⁸² the numismatic production of Western Asia Minor remained extremely varied. It mainly included silver coins, while electrum issues (as mentioned above) continued to be produced throughout the 5th century BC only at a few places – namely, Kyzikos, Lampsakos, Mytilene, and Phokaia. Furthermore, the coins produced in this period in Western Asia Minor reflected the composite political landscape of this territory. Indeed, the Greek *poleis* of the coast coexisted not only with the local dynasts of the South-West, but also with the Achaemenid dignitaries who had received estates and cities in *dōrea* from the Great King. Therefore, for the 5th century BC we observe the production of both civic and dynastic – or, as Bodzek has termed them, “proto-satrapal” –⁵⁸³ coinages (indicated by the orange squares in **Table 38** above). Both coin-types displayed local iconography and civic ethnics as their legends, and they were struck on different weight-standards – either the Phokaian, the Chian, the Milesian, the Samian, or the Persian one.⁵⁸⁴ Dynastic issues also featured the local dignitaries’ name on either obverse or reverse. From the coin-legends we can thus identify the tyrants Tymnes and Histiaios at Termera;⁵⁸⁵ an unknown dynast (“Orou”) from a place probably near

⁵⁸¹ Attribution of Lesbos billon to Mytilene specifically: Ellis-Evans 2019: 224-7. For the Attic-weight silver coinages (from 427 BC) of Mytilene, Troas, and other mints in Mysia and Aiolis, see Ellis-Evans 2019: 190-96. Gargara (c.500-475 BC): <https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=186726> (accessed on 03/07/2025). Assos: Ellis-Evans 2021a: 72 and n.58. Methymna: Franke 1975: nos.1-12. For Nesos and Pordosilene being almost certainly the same mint, see Erol-Özdizbay 2018.

⁵⁸² Kallet & Kroll 2020: Ch. 3.

⁵⁸³ Bodzek 2014: 68-9.

⁵⁸⁴ Phokaian standard: stater of 16.1g and hekte of 2.68g; Chian standard: ideal stater of 15.6g; Milesian standard: stater of 14.2g, and hekte of 2.4g; Samian standard: tetradrachm of 13.1g; Persian standard: *siglos* of 5.5g and double-*siglos* of c.11g (Kallet & Kroll 2020: 148-49).

⁵⁸⁵ Price 1979; Konuk 2000: 174-75. We lack information about Tymnes, while Histiaios is simply mentioned as tyrant of Termera in Hdt. 5.37, 7.98.

Kaunos;⁵⁸⁶ Themistokles and his descendants at Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros;⁵⁸⁷ and Gongylos at Gambreion.⁵⁸⁸ Most of these dynastic coinages featured local types, but some of Themistokles' silver fractions displayed a male head wearing a Persian cap as an obverse type.⁵⁸⁹ A similar coin-design also appeared on the coinages of Pergamon and Teuthrania from the end of the 5th century BC.⁵⁹⁰ These two cities were in the hands of the descendants of Gongylos and Demaratos, both Greek exiles who, like Themistokles, had received estates and cities in *dōrea* from the Persian King.⁵⁹¹ The “male head with Persian cap” type would later gain widespread diffusion among the coinages of the high-ranking Persian officials minting in the early 4th century BC (see **Section 2.2.1**).⁵⁹² Therefore, this coin-design must have underlined Themistokles' and the Gongylids' and Demaratids' relationship with the Achaemenid king, although it is unclear whether they minted as royal functionaries, or rather in a private capacity, simply using a design to express closeness to Persian culture.⁵⁹³ Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that, at Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros, this design disappeared from the coinage of Themistokles' son, Archepolis, after the city had entered the Delian *archē*,⁵⁹⁴ whereas Pergamon and Teuthrania, whose coinages featured this Persian-inspired design, were never under Athenian influence (**Fig. 85**).

⁵⁸⁶ Konuk 2007: Types 2-3; 207.

⁵⁸⁷ Cahn & Gerin 1988; Cahn & Mannsperger 1991; Nollé 1996; Debord 1999: 55, 58 Pl.1.1-6; Nollé & Wenninger 1998-1999; Sheedy 2017. Themistokles received Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros, together with Lampsakos and Myous, in 465 BC as *dōrea* from Artaxerxes I (Thuc. 1.138.5; Plut. *Them.* 29.7).

⁵⁸⁸ Nollé & Wenninger 1998-1999.

⁵⁸⁹ Nollé & Wenninger 1998-1999: Th. 3b-c, 4a, 5a; Sheedy 2017: Th. F, G, H. This coin-design has received contrasting interpretations – Cahn & Gerin 1988: 18-9, and Cahn & Mannsperger 1991 have identified the man as Themistokles, whereas for Nollé & Wenninger 1998-1999 he is the god Hephaistos.

⁵⁹⁰ Babelon, *Perses*, LXXI, no.373.

⁵⁹¹ Xerxes donated Teuthrania and Halisarna to the Spartan king Demaratos for having accompanied him on the expedition against Greece, and Gambreion, Palaigambreion, Myrina, and Gryneion to the Eretrian Gongylos for having espoused the Persian cause – the descendants of both were still holding these cities in 399 BC (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6).

⁵⁹² The head with Persian cap first appeared on electrum *hektai* of Phokaia, perhaps struck under Tissaphernes' authority (Babelon 1910: 115-18, no.64 Pl.88, 23; Bodenstein 1976: 70-1 no.1 Pl.I.1; Bodenstein 1981: 147, em.65 Pl.47 Pl.7,1; Debord 1999: Pl. I.7; Bodzek 2011: 221).

⁵⁹³ For instance, according to the ancient accounts, Artaxerxes' donation to Themistokles of Lampsakos, Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros, and Myous only entailed control over the revenues of these three places (Thuc. 1.138.5; Plut. *Them.* 29.7). Nonetheless, Thucydides, when referring to Magnesia specifically, mentions that Themistokles *ταύτης γὰρ ἦρχε τῆς χώρας* – usually translated as “he was governor of the city”. However, it is unclear what office he actually held and whether it was within the Achaemenid administrative apparatus (Hornblower 1991: 224).

⁵⁹⁴ The types displayed on the obverse of Archepolis' coins are either Zeus or a helmeted head of the hero Leukippos (Sheedy 2017: Ar.1-34).



Fig. 85: Pergamon AR diobol (Marcellesi 2012: 174 n.1). Bearded male head to right, wearing satrapal cap on reverse, with legend ΠΕΡΓΑ. Image:

<https://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=2393218&AucID=5893&Lot=1251&Val=eb930bea0c62a37283054cde02e37282> (accessed 29/05/2024)

Overall, the dynastic issues with the “satrapal head” type represent the only explicit point of contact between royal Achaemenid power and the subject mints. In fact, judging from the coin-designs employed in 5th-century Western Asia Minor, apparently the Achaemenids did not meddle with the activity of the cities’ monetary workshops at this stage, limiting themselves to producing *Dareikoi* and *sigloi* at Sardis (and perhaps also Daskyleion). Athens seems to have followed the same approach – indeed, no Western Asia Minor produced Athenian owls. Furthermore, very few cities adopted the Attic weight-standard, doing so mainly as an effect of Athenian “soft”, rather than strong-fisted, power.⁵⁹⁵

The only exception was Samos, which produced Attic-weight tetradrachms and drachms during the Ionian war, likely as forced contributions to pay the Athenian fleet.

Similarly, other new high-value coinages emerged during the Ionian War in the last decade of the 5th century BC, such as Chios’ new electrum series.⁵⁹⁶ The gold staters of Abydos, which had revolted to Derkyllidas and Pharnabazos in 411 BC,⁵⁹⁷ were likely meant to support Spartan war efforts. Chian-weight electrum staters from Mytilene and Lampsakos have also been linked to the financing of the Spartan fleet during the Ionian War,⁵⁹⁸ although their association with the Lacedaemonian army is

⁵⁹⁵ Ialysos: Kallet & Kroll 2020: 64. Mytilene and cities of Troas and Aiolis: Ellis-Evans 2019: 190-96; Kallet & Kroll 2020: 94-8.

⁵⁹⁶ Hardwick 1991: Chian 410-380 electrum.

⁵⁹⁷ Thuc. 8.62.1.

⁵⁹⁸ Hardwick 1993: 213-18 dates the Chian, Mytilenean, and Lampsakene electrum staters to 412-410 BC. Ellis-Evans 2016a dates them to c.405/4 BC as support for Lysander’s repairing of the fleet that had survived Arginousai.

doubtful.⁵⁹⁹ Finally, Kyzikos, Ephesos, Samos, Knidos, Iasos, and Rhodes, together with Byzantion,⁶⁰⁰ produced Chian-weight tridrachms with obverse featuring an infant Herakles strangling a snake and the legend ΣΥΝ (**Fig. 86**). Few obverse dies of these Chian-weight tridrachms have survived in total, with only Ephesos using more than one. The dating of these issues has been subject to much debate, but the “ΣΥΝ tridrachms” likely constituted a very brief, albeit coordinated, minting episode at the very end of the Peloponnesian War, probably promoted by Lysander in 405-404 BC.⁶⁰¹



Fig. 86: “ΣΥΝ tridrachm” from Ephesos, 405-404 BC (BMC Ionia: Ephesos no.25). British Museum:

<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/1613855692>

2.1.2. Hoard evidence

| | N. of hoards | Troas | Mysia | Aiolis | Lydia | Ionia | Karia | Lykia |
|---------------|--------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|---------------|---|-------------------------------|----------|
| Troas | 1 | Kebren, Neandreia, Skepsis, Tenedos | Kyzikos, Lampsakos | Aigai, Mytilene | – | Teos | – | – |
| Mysia | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| Aiolis | 3 | – | – | Lesbos, Methymna | – | – | – | – |
| Lydia | 1 | – | – | – | Sardis | – | – | – |
| Ionia | 12 | – | Kyzikos, Lampsakos | Mytilene, Lesbos | Sardis | Miletos, Phokaia, Chios, Klazomenai, Erythrai, Kolophon | Ialysos | – |
| Karia | 5 | – | – | – | Sardis | – | Uncertain Karian mint, Knidos | Phaselis |

⁵⁹⁹ Kallet & Kroll 2020: 129-30.

⁶⁰⁰ Meadows 2024: 102 also adds a singular gold coin of Lampsakos with baby Herakles with snake on obverse.

⁶⁰¹ See Meadows 2024: 101-9.

| | | | | | | | | |
|--|----|--------|-----------------------|---|---------------|--|-----|----------|
| | | | | | | | | |
| Uncertain W. Asia Minor | 10 | Abydos | Lampsakos, Kyzikos | – | Sardis | Ephesos, Miletos, Phokaia, Teos, Chios, Klazomenai?, Kolophon, Magnesia?, Teos | Kos | Phaselis |

Table 39: mints by region of retrieval (W. Asia Minor) – 5th century BC. Source: IGCH, CH.

A total of thirty-six hoards from the 5th century BC can be attributed to Western Asia Minor with more or less certainty. However, some caution is due in handling the data. First, fourteen of these hoards (40%) come from uncertain findspots, and are thus “useless” for us in identifying regional circulation patterns of coins. Second, more than half of the other hoards are Ionian (twelve out of twenty-two: **Table 39**), whereas the other regions are unevenly represented (*e.g.*, one hoard only for Troas and Lydia, respectively).⁶⁰²

At first glance, this limited evidence seems to suggest that two preferential circulatory areas existed in 5th-century Western Asia Minor – one in the North-West, and the other in the South-West. In fact, the hoards from Aiolis and Lydia only feature local products. The one single hoard recorded for Troas, instead, has yielded coins from Mysia and Aiolis, and from no place south of Teos – however, we should exercise caution in using this information, as this hoard is known to us only from a listing and its contents are dispersed.⁶⁰³ In the South, Karian finds mostly feature local coins, while no foreign issues come from Troas, Mysia, or Aiolis – in fact, one hoard from Pirlı bey has yielded one thousand darics;⁶⁰⁴ instead, a countermarked silver stater from Phaselis has appeared in another hoard reportedly from the Karo-Lyikian border.⁶⁰⁵

Extra-regional coins were a common feature of Ionian hoards in the 5th century BC, as they appear in half of the evidence from this region (**Table 39; Fig. 87**). **Table 39** suggests that, contrary to the rest of Western Asia Minor, Ionia was equally open to coins from the North-West – with electrum issues from

⁶⁰² “Troas, 1969” (IGCH 1188); “Çal dag, Sardis, 1945” (IGCH 1178 = CH 2.11).

⁶⁰³ “Troas, 1969” (IGCH 1188).

⁶⁰⁴ “Pirlı bey, c. 55 km. E of Aydin” (IGCH 1222).

⁶⁰⁵ “Karia, 1982” (IGCH 1180). Robinson 1936: 265.

Lampsakos and Kyzikos –⁶⁰⁶ and the South-West – with silver coins from Ialysos and uncertain Karian mints.⁶⁰⁷ One more hoard from Bayraklı has yielded late-Archaic coins from Sardis – two silver *Kroiseioi stateres* and four Persian *sigloi*, together with silver obols from uncertain Ionian mints.⁶⁰⁸

As for the Ionian coins themselves, the hoards from the other regions suggest that they rarely travelled outside of their place of production – except only for one Teian issue found in Troas. However, given their small number, these hoards are unlikely to provide the full picture. For instance, half the hoards with uncertain findspot feature coins from different regions, including Ionian ones. It would be far from surprising if at least some of them attest to extra-regional circulation of Ionian issues.⁶⁰⁹

Overall, the impression we get from the hoard data from the 5th century BC is that, in this period, coins tended to circulate especially at a local level (**Fig. 87**), while **Table 39** above suggests that when issues travelled outside of their region, they did so within northern and southern preferential areas of circulation. Admittedly, the data for this century is limited, and more is needed to confirm this impression. Furthermore, evidence of interregional movement of coinage may reflect different kinds of exchanges, not necessarily all of a commercial character, as the presence of royal Achaemenid coins may suggest. This applies, for example, to the aforementioned Bayraklı or Pirlı bey hoards.⁶¹⁰ The Vourla hoard, dated to the end of the 5th century BC, contained both electrum stateres of Kyzikos and Lampsakos and “several” *Dareikoi* –⁶¹¹ the presence of royal Achaemenid coins suggests it was probably a treasure chest meant as payment, likely for the Lacedaemonian army at the end of the “Ionian war”.

⁶⁰⁶ “Chios, 1931” (*IGCH* 1221 = *CH* 8.30); “Cesme, 1924” (*IGCH* 1184 = *CH* 7.21 = *CH* 8.49); “Vourla?, 1875” (*IGCH* 1194).

⁶⁰⁷ “Ionia, before 1940” (*IGCH* 1195); “İzmir” (*CH* 8.50).

⁶⁰⁸ “Bayraklı, Izmir, 1951” (*IGCH* 1166 = *CH* 9.344).

⁶⁰⁹ “Asia Minor, western, before 1893” (*IGCH* 1165 = *CH* 5.1); “Asia Minor, western, c.1962” (*IGCH* 1168); “Asia Minor, western?, 1961” (*IGCH* 1175); “Asia Minor, western, 1963” (*IGCH* 1182); “Asia Minor western, c.1930” (*IGCH* 1189); “Asia Minor, western, c.1936” (*IGCH* 1190); “Unknown Findspot, Turkey, 2000” (*CH* 10.213).

⁶¹⁰ “Bayraklı, Izmir, 1951” (*IGCH* 1166 = *CH* 9.344); “Pirlı bey, c. 55 km. E of Aydin” (*IGCH* 1222).

⁶¹¹ “Vourla?, 1875” (*IGCH* 1194).

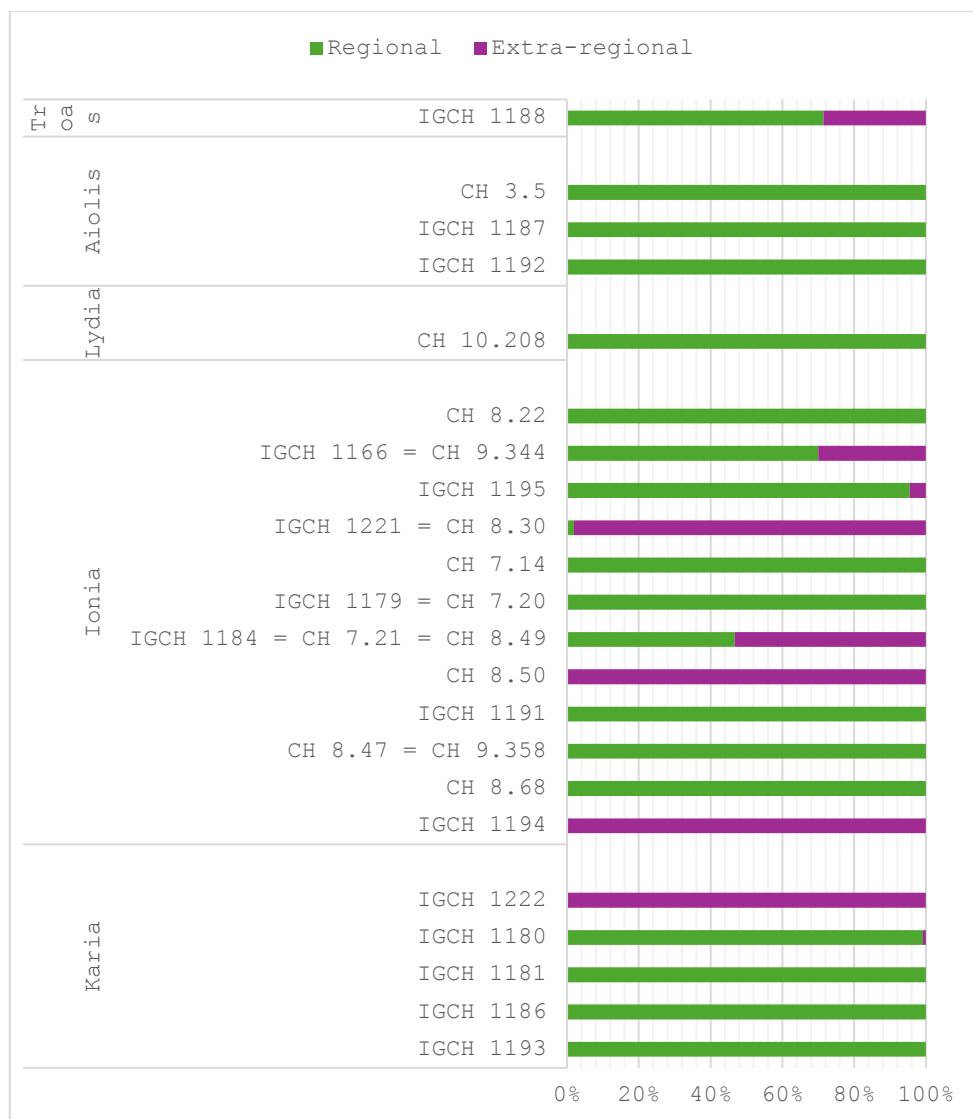


Fig. 87: regional vs. extra-regional coins in hoards from Western Asia Minor – 5th century BC

Nonetheless, civic issues were overall the predominant coin-type in the hoards from 5th-century Western Asia Minor – the obvious exception being Lydia, which has only yielded a single hoard containing royal issues (**Fig. 88**). Coins like the *Kroiseioi*, Persian *sigloi*, and *Dareikoi*, despite their status as royal, international coinages, appear in very few finds altogether – only in five out of the thirty-six (14%) recorded western hoards for the 5th century BC (**Table 40**). Three of them belong to the years of the Ionian Revolt and of the Persian expeditions against Greece (**Table 40 – Hoards 1, 2, 3**). Instead, only the Vourla hoard belongs to the years of the “Ionian War” (**Table 40 – Hoard 4**). Another find from near Tralleis – with at least a thousand *Dareikoi* – could have similarly served as payment for the Spartans, although it may also belong to a much later context (**Table 40 – Hoard 5**).

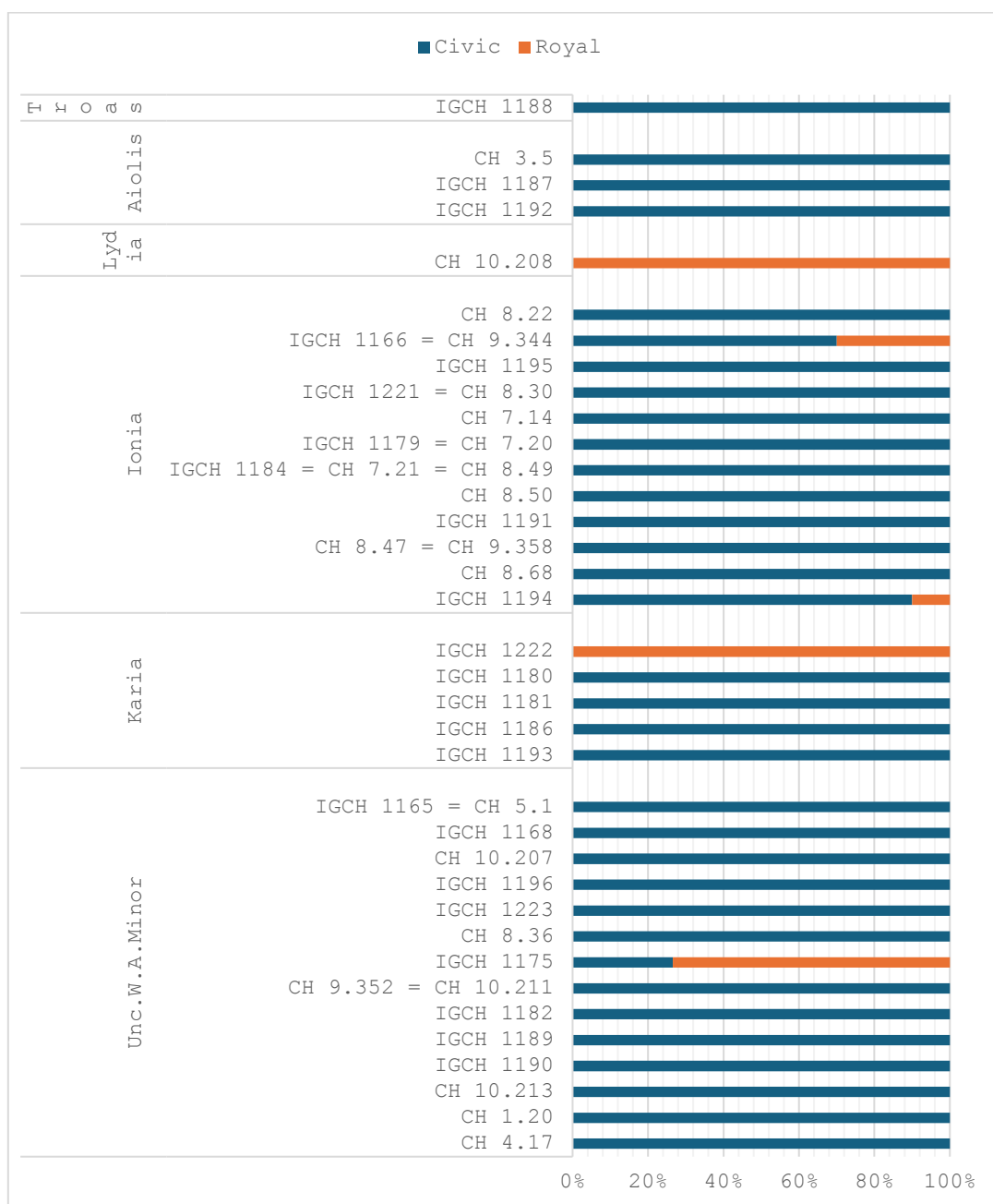


Fig. 88: civic vs. royal coins in Western Asia Minor – 5th century BC

| | Hoard | Date | Findspot | Civic contents | Royal contents |
|---|----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| 1 | CH 10.208 | early 5 th c. | Girelli, Avşar (Lydia) | – | <i>Kroiseioi</i> (38), Persian <i>sigloi</i> (20) |
| 2 | IGCH 1166 = CH 9.344 | 500 | Bayraklı, Izmir (Ionia) | Uncertain Ionia (14) | <i>Kroiseioi</i> (2), Persian <i>sigloi</i> (4) |
| 3 | IGCH 1175 | c.480 | Asia Minor, western? | Kyzikos (14), Miletos (3) | Lydia (2 EL), <i>Kroiseioi</i> (6), Persian <i>sigloi</i> (39) |

| | | | | | |
|---|-----------|--|--|---------------------------------------|----------------------|
| 4 | IGCH 1194 | c.410-400 | Vourla? (Ionia) | Kyzikos (70 EL), Lampsakos (20 EL) | Dareikoi (“several”) |
| 5 | IGCH 1222 | 5 th -4 th c. | Pirli bey, c.55 km E of Aydin (Karia) | – | Dareikoi (1000+) |

Table 40: hoards from Western Asia Minor with royal coins – 5th century BC. Source: IGCH, CH.

Interestingly, no hoards containing both royal Persian coins and Athenian owls have survived. Indeed, as already mentioned above, the latter coinage appeared in extremely few finds altogether. Only two of them are from identified places, and they are both from Lykia (**Table 41**). The so-called “Dekadrachm Hoard” has yielded 288 coins from mainland Greece, over 60% of which from Athens alone (**Table 41 – Hoard 1**). These are almost all in mint condition, which suggests that they came directly from civic treasuries. Therefore, we are not dealing with a “circulation” or deposit hoard, but most likely with an “emergency” one, possibly connected with the Athenian campaigns in Lykia and Pamphylia.⁶¹² **Table 41 – Hoard 2**, instead, belongs to a later period (c.430 BC), and it features only three silver owls, together with Lykian dynastic issues.

| Hoard | Date | Findspot | Greece, Macedonia, and Thrace coins | W. A. Minor coins |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|-------------------|--|--|
| 1 CH 8.48 = CH 10.212 | c.460 | Elmalı (Lykia) | Bisaltai (68), Getas (3), Derrones (1), Litas (1), Oreskoi (2), Tuntanoi (1), Thraco-Macedonian uncertain (1), Thasos (9), Abdera (19), Akanthos (37), Mende (1), Potidaia (1), Terone (2), Peparethos (2), Eretria (1), Athens (187), Aigina (5), Melos (3), Paros (39), Aegean islands uncertain (7) | Parion (1), Ephesos (34), Miletos (2), Chios (4), Samos (41), Kos (5), Knidos (1), Mylasa (10), Karpathos (3), Kamiros (289), Lindos (6), Lykia (970), Uncertain (2) |
| 2 IGCH 1251 = CH 10.214 | 440- 430 | Lykia | Athens (3) | Lykia dynasts (96) |

Table 41: Lykian hoards with Athenian coins – 5th century BC. Source: IGCH, CH.

⁶¹² Kagan 1987.

Athenian coins appear in three more hoards from unidentified locations in Western Asia Minor, all from the first half of the 5th century BC (**Table 42**). Only **Table 42 – Hoards 2 and 3** belong to the years of the expansion of the Delian League in Asia Minor, although they may have originated in different places. Several of the mints that appear in the “Dekadrachm Hoard” are also featured in **Table 42 – Hoard 2**, which could thus come from Lykia. However, we cannot say with certainty whether it was connected to the Athenian campaigns in South-Western Asia Minor in the 460s BC, or more simply to the trade route linking mainland Greece to the eastern markets, as the presence of *Hacksilber* would suggest. Instead, **Table 42 – Hoard 3** probably originated in Ionia, given the predominance of issues from this region, whereas Athenian issues make up a very small percentage of its contents. The same observations equally apply to **Table 42 – Hoard 1**, which, however, belongs to the years of the Ionian Revolt.

| Hoard | Date | Findspot | Greece, Macedonia, and Thrace coins | W. A. Minor coins | |
|--------------|------------------|-----------------|--|--|---|
| 1 | <i>IGCH</i> 1165 | c.500 | Asia Minor, western | Athens (4), Andros (1) | Abydos (2), Lampsakos? (1 EL), Ephesos (2), Miletos (4), Phokaia (3), Teos (18), Chios (1), Kos (1), Uncertain (39) |
| 2 | <i>IGCH</i> 1182 | c.460 | Asia Minor, western | Abdera (1), Thasos (1), Akanthos (“several”), Alexander I – Macedonia (5), Pantikapaion (1), Athens (“many”), Aigina (2) | Ephesos (1), Phaselis (1), Cyprus, Uncertain (3), <i>Hacksilber</i> |
| 3 | <i>IGCH</i> 1189 | c.450 | Asia Minor, western | Athens (1) | Klazomenai? (2), Kolophon (5), Magnesia? (2), Teos (1) |

Table 42: hoards from uncertain locations in Asia Minor with Athenian owls. Source: *IGCH, CH*.

Overall, the limited hoard evidence of the 5th century BC suggests that Western Asia Minor formed a monetary space predominated by its civic emissions. These mostly circulated within their region of production, or in neighbouring areas at best. Inside the western circulation space, both royal Persian and Athenian issues appear very few times in hoards and mostly in relation to military campaigns. Instead, almost none of the owls that presumably entered the monetary space through the exchanges with the cities of the Delian League were ultimately hoarded in western Anatolia. Overall, as Konuk

has already underlined, the find evidence argues against the idea that a huge mass of Athenian owls circulated in 5th-century Western Asia Minor.⁶¹³ What is even more remarkable is the absence (for now) of war chests with Athenian owls meant to fund the Peloponnesian campaigns, which are instead attested in the literary evidence. While we may subscribe to Flament and Kroll's theory that these owls were reabsorbed by Athens through its tribute system,⁶¹⁴ to quote Howgego: "This absence of evidence may not, with total confidence, be taken as evidence of absence, but it is worrying."⁶¹⁵

Section 2.2. 4th century BC

2.2.1. Coin-production

⁶¹³ Konuk 2011a: 57-62.

⁶¹⁴ Flament 2011: 47-9; Kallet & Kroll 2020.

⁶¹⁵ Howgego 1995: 45.

| | 400-350 BC | 350-300 BC |
|-------------------|------------|------------|
| Abydos | Au | |
| Dardanos | | |
| Ophryneion | | |
| Sigeion | | |
| Birytis | | |
| Gergis | | |
| Skepsis | | |
| Tenedos | | |
| Kebren | | |
| Neandreia | | |
| Antandros | | |
| Gargara | | |
| Assos | | |
| Kyzikos | El | El |
| Prokonnesos | | |
| Parion | | |
| Lampsakos | Au | Au |
| Adramytteion | | |
| Kisthene | | |
| Pergamon | | Au |
| Gambreion | | |
| Atarna | | |
| Pitane | | |
| Methymna | | |
| Nesos Pordosilene | | |
| Mytilene | El | El |
| Elaia | | |
| Kyme | | |
| Myrina | | |
| Aigai | | |
| Temnos | | |
| Larissa Phrikonis | | |
| Sardis | | |
| Phokaia | El | El |
| Leukai | | |
| Smyrna | | |
| Klazomenai | Au | |
| Erythrai | | |
| Chios | El | |
| Teos | Au | |
| Kolophon | | |
| Ephesos | | |
| Phygela | | Au |
| Magnesia | | |
| Samos | | |
| Priene | | |
| Miletos | | |
| Latmos | | |
| Euromos | | |
| Mylasa | | |
| Kasolaba | | |
| Halikarnassos | | |
| Idyma | | |
| Kos | | |
| Knidos | | |

| | | |
|------------|--|----|
| Astypalaia | | |
| Kaunos | | |
| Rhodes | | Au |

Table 43: mints of W. A. Minor – 4th century BC (grey squares = civic silver coinages; orange squares = satrapal coinages; brown squares = civic+satrapal coinages; El = electrum coins; Au = civic gold coins).

Source: *ARCH* (<https://greekcoinage.org/arch/>), accessed on 05/07/2024.⁶¹⁶

While few mints had ceased operating by the end of the Peloponnesian War,⁶¹⁷ the 4th century BC saw the opening of several new monetary workshops in Western Asia Minor, for a total of eighteen new mints (**Table 43**). Most of them (78%) were from the North-West (Troas, Mysia, and Aiolis combined), and they mostly started their activity from around 350 BC, only producing low-denominational silver coinage, especially in the form of small fractions.

By contrast, very few new monetary workshops opened in Ionia and Karia. They all began operating (or were active only) in the first half of the 4th century BC, thus earlier than the new northwestern mints. Furthermore, only Leukai and Latmos exclusively produced denominations lower than the drachm. Smyrna, instead, issued silver tetradrachms, together with Phygela, which also struck gold staters (**Table 44**).

| | Mints | Dates of activity | Coin-metal struck | Denominations |
|---------------|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| Troas | Ophryneion | 350-325 | AR | <i>fractions</i> |
| | Rhoiteion | 350-325 | AR | drachms |
| | Sigeion | 350-300 | AR | <i>fractions</i> |
| | Ilion | 355-350 | AR | drachms |
| | Birytis | 350-300 | AR | <i>fractions</i> |
| | Gergis | 400-320 | AR | drachms & <i>fractions</i> |
| Mysia | Adramytteion | 362-348 | AR | drachms & <i>fractions</i> |
| | Kisthene | 362-348 | AR | <i>fractions</i> |
| | Atarneus | c.400 | AR | drachms & <i>fractions</i> |
| Aiolis | Nesos | 400-300 | AR | <i>fractions</i> |
| | Myrina | 350-270 | AR | drachms & <i>fractions</i> |
| | Aigai | 350-300 | AR | <i>fractions</i> |

⁶¹⁶ For the Chian-weight coinages of the mints in Troas and Mysia, for the coinages of Memnon and Mentor, and for the Athena Ilias coinages, see Ellis-Evans 2018. For Assos as the mint of the AIOLE coinage: Ellis-Evans 2019: 262-65.

⁶¹⁷ Mysia: Teuthrania. Ionia: Myous. Karia: Iasos, Chersonesos, Termera, Kalymna, and Posideion.

| | | | | |
|--------------|-------------------|---------|----|-------------------------------------|
| | Larissa-Phrikonis | 350-300 | AR | “ |
| | Temnos | 400-300 | AR | “ |
| | | | | |
| Ionia | Leukai | 390-330 | AR | <i>fractions</i> |
| | Smyrna | 400-390 | AR | tetradrachms |
| | Phygela | 400-250 | AR | tetradrachms & fractions |
| | | 350-330 | AV | staters |
| | | | | |
| Karia | Latmos | 400-350 | AR | <i>fractions</i> |

Table 44: new mints of Western Asia Minor – 4th century BC. Source: <https://greekcoinage.org/arch/>

(accessed on 05/07/2024)

Phygela’s case was not isolated, as 4th-century Western Asia Minor saw a spread of gold coin-production. The Achaemenid royal authority had minted in this metal in the 5th century BC, while, among the cities, only Abydos had struck gold staters around 410 BC, likely in support of the Peloponnesian army. In the early 4th century BC, Abydos reprised its production of gold coins;⁶¹⁸ Lampsakos issued a major series of gold staters;⁶¹⁹ Teos also struck gold issues for the first time ever in the form of hemidrachms and trihemiochms.⁶²⁰ Following the King’s Peace, Klazomenai⁶²¹ and Teos⁶²² produced exceptional Attic-weight octobols in the 360s BC.⁶²³ Phygela struck a gold emission in 350-330 BC,⁶²⁴ whereas Rhodes minted gold staters in 345-316 BC.⁶²⁵

Despite the spread of gold coinages, minting in this metal was still rare, usually restricted to emergency payments when silver bullion was not readily available.⁶²⁶ For this reason, 4th-century gold issues usually count only one or two obverse dies at best, representing, in absolute value, a small percentage of the overall output of a minting city. Instead, for the mints for which we have die-studies available, all from Ionia and Karia, tetradrachms always constituted the bulk of coin-production in absolute value

⁶¹⁸ *BMC Troas*: Abydos no.9; Löbbecke 1890: 169, no.2.

⁶¹⁹ Baldwin 1924: nos.1-41. For possible die-link between Baldwin 1924: no.23 (Helios head as obverse type) and Memnon’s silver coinage at Lampsakos, see Ellis-Evans 2018: 41.

⁶²⁰ Kinns 1980: Period 1.1 AV A.

⁶²¹ Dengate 1967: IIA.

⁶²² Kinns 1980: Period 1.2 AV B.

⁶²³ Kinns 1989: 184-87.

⁶²⁴ Regling 1924: 177-78.

⁶²⁵ Ashton 2001: no.106.

⁶²⁶ See Kraay 1984: 11-3.

(Fig. 89). Admittedly, Teos is a glaring outlier, as it did not issue any tetradrachms, making its gold octobols even more exceptional. Overall, the general predominance of large silver denominations at these Ionian and Karian mints makes their coinages too large for internal expenditure.

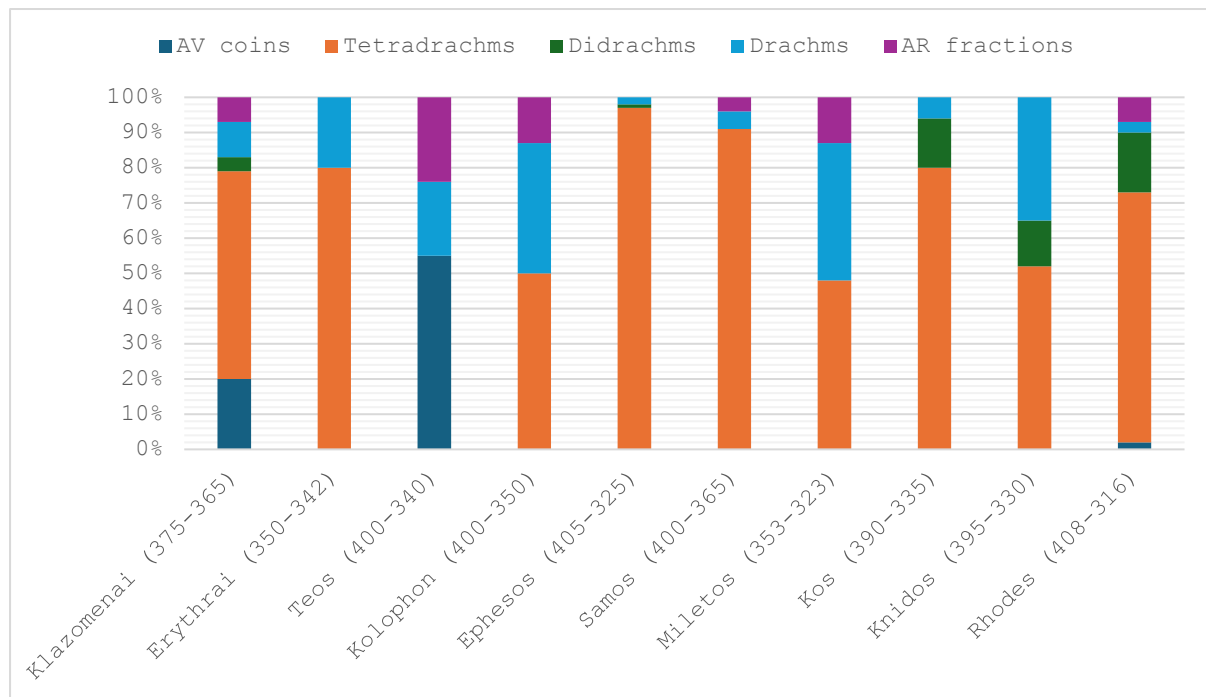


Fig. 89: percentage of gold coins and silver denominations in the output of a selection of cities from Western Asia Minor – 4th century BC. Obverse die numbers from Kinns 1989: 185 for Klazomenai and from Die Studies Database for the rest (https://silver.kbr.be/Die_Studies)⁶²⁷

Admittedly, cities did not usually produce tetradrachms for long periods of time, or when they did, they would mint with greater intensity in some period than in others. For instance, Rhodes issued tetradrachms at a very high volume until c.385 BC,⁶²⁸ and almost exclusively until the late 340s BC –

⁶²⁷ The Rhodian tetradrachms of 404-385 BC (facing Helios/rose) are given 161 obverse dies ([https://silver.kbr.be/Rhodes_silver_tetradrachms_facing_Helios/rose_\(404-385_BCE\)_Ashton](https://silver.kbr.be/Rhodes_silver_tetradrachms_facing_Helios/rose_(404-385_BCE)_Ashton)) – however, Ashton *et al.* 2002a: 140-50 nos.1-250 provides this number for the *entire* tetradrachm series of Rhodes (408-305 BC), not for the tetradrachms of 404-385 BC exclusively.

⁶²⁸ A total of 452 drachm-equivalent obverse dies have been recorded for the tetradrachms struck in c.408-385 BC (Ashton 2001: nos.1-6, 28-56).

⁶²⁹ after which didrachms of a reduced weight-standard became the preponderant denomination in Rhodian minting, ⁶³⁰ probably in coordination with the Hekatomnid coinages of Hidrieus and Pixodaros.⁶³¹

The 4th century BC was also marked by the emergence of civic coinages that carried images and legends that explicitly referred to the satrapal authority. This phenomenon started in the late 5th century BC, probably under Artaxerxes II. **Table 45** contains a list of the known emissions from Western Asia Minor in *ARCH* that were probably produced by satraps. They were minted in different metals, denominations, and weight-standards, and are mostly anepigraphic.⁶³² They featured the satrap's head with a Persian cap or tiara, usually on obverse (**Table 45: nos.1-13**), whereas civic iconography was mostly used on the reverse, but sometimes even on both sides of the coin, with the legend of a high-ranking Persian official marking the issues as "satrapal" (**Table 45: no.14**). The use of civic iconography underscored the collaborative effort between Persian officials and civic administrators, although we ignore if the satraps struck these issues in a workshop separate from the city's mint – like Mazaios probably did at Sidon (see **Chapter 1 – Section 1.1.1.1**) – or fully relied on the civic administrators alone.

| No. | Types | | City | Authority | Dates | Denoms. |
|-----|----------------|--|-----------|---------------|-----------|-----------|
| | Obverse | Reverse | | | | |
| 1 | Satrapal head | Ship's prow, framed by two dolphins, below a tunny to the left | Kyzikos | Pharnabazos | 397 | tetradr. |
| 2 | | Forepart of winged horse | Lampsakos | Orontas | c.387-334 | AV st. |
| 3 | Head of Athena | Satrapal head | Mytilene | Pharnabazos? | 412-378 | EL stater |
| 4 | Satrapal head | Forepart of a horse | Kyme | Autophradates | 390-355 | drachm |
| 5 | | Horse head | | | 340-334 | AR fr. |
| 6 | | Forepart of horse | | Spithridates | 420-400 | AR fr. |
| 7 | | Great King kneeling | Sardis | Tissaphernes? | | |

⁶²⁹ Tetradrachms were the only silver denomination struck in c.385-360 BC (Ashton 2001: nos.67-80: eighty-four drachm-equivalent obverse dies), and the predominant one in c.360-340 BC – forty drachm-equivalent obverse dies (Ashton 2001: nos.81-9) against seventeen obverse dies for drachms (Ashton 2001: 90-2).

⁶³⁰ 140 drachm-equivalent obverse dies (Ashton 2001: nos.95-99) against twenty-eight for tetradrachms (Ashton 2001: nos.93-4).

⁶³¹ Ashton 2001: 83-4.

⁶³² For the most recent treatment on these coinages, see Bodzek 2011, 2014, 2022.

| | | | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|---------------|---------|-----------------|
| 8 | Satrapal head, seal | Quadripartite square incuse | Phokaia | Tissaphernes? | 477-388 | EL <i>hekte</i> |
| 9 | Female satrapal head, seal | | | ? | 477-388 | EL <i>hekte</i> |
| 10 | Satrapal head, seal | | | ? | 387-326 | EL <i>hekte</i> |
| 11 | Satrapal head | Swan | Leukai | Autophradates | 390-355 | AR fr. |
| 12 | | | | ? | 360-330 | AR fr. |
| 13 | | Lyre | Iasos | Tissaphernes? | 412-408 | tetradr. |
| 14 | Head of Athena | Forepart of winged horse | Adramytteion | Orontas | 362-348 | dr., frs. |

Table 45: “Satrapal coinages”. Source: <https://greekcoinage.org/arch/> (accessed on 07/07/2024)

Somehow belonging to this phenomenon of the “satrapal coinages”, but also continuing the tradition of the 5th-century “dynastic issues”, was the coinage of the Hekatomnids of Karia. After minting their first dynastic coins at Mylasa,⁶³³ with the transfer of their satrapal seat to Halikarnassos, the Hekatomnids began producing emissions with types that would be replicated on the coins of every member of this dynasty – a three-quarter laureate Apollo head on obverse, adopted from Halikarnassos’ civic coinage from c.390-370 BC; on reverse, the Zeus Labraundos inaugurated by Hekatomnos on his Chian-weight issues at Mylasa.⁶³⁴ The beginning of minting at Halikarnassos also coincided with a jump in the volume of production and with a specialisation in the minting of silver tetradrachms (**Table 46**).⁶³⁵ This denomination continued to be the focus of coin-production under Hidrieus, who nonetheless also struck didrachms and small silver fractions. Instead, under Pixodaros, silver didrachms, alongside Persian-

⁶³³ Konuk 1998: Hekatomnos A1-4, A6, B7; Maussollos A1, B2. Konuk 2009 also argues that a series of civic coins from Mylasa bears the initials of Hyssaldomos, Hekatomnos’ father.

⁶³⁴ See Konuk 2013.

⁶³⁵ Hekatomnos used a total of 79.6 drachm-equivalent obverse dies, for an average of 4.1 drachm-equivalent obverse dies/year. Maussollos at Mylasa, instead, used 34.3 drachm-equivalent obverse dies in total, with an average of 11.4 drachm-equivalent obverse dies/year (obverse die numbers from Konuk 1998).

weight gold fractions,⁶³⁶ became the focus of Hekatomnid minting,⁶³⁷ although tetradrachms reprised their primary role under Orontobates.

| Ruler | Dates | | Half-Dareikoi | Dareikoi fractions | Tetradrachms | Didrachms | Drachms | Fractions | Total | Obv. dies/year |
|-------------|---------|-----------|---------------|--------------------|--------------|-----------|---------|-----------|---------|----------------|
| Maussollos | 375-352 | obv. dies | – | – | 292 | – | 71 | – | 363 | 15.1 |
| | | g*dies | – | – | 1138.8g | – | 276.9g | – | 1415.7g | 58.9g |
| | | % | – | – | 80 | – | 20 | – | | |
| Hidrieus | 351-343 | obv. dies | – | – | 92 | 18 | 13 | 3.25 | 126.25 | 14 |
| | | g*dies | – | – | 358.8g | 70.2g | 50.7g | 12.6g | 492.3g | 54.7g |
| | | % | – | – | 73 | 14 | 10 | 3 | | |
| Pixodaros | 340-335 | obv. dies | 40 | 46 | 12 | 120 | 8 | 0.5 | 226.5 | 37.7 |
| | | g*dies | 167.2g | 39.4g | 46.8g | 468g | 31.2g | 1.9g | 883.3g | 147.2g |
| | | % | 18 | 20 | 5 | 53 | 4 | 0 | | |
| Orontobates | 336-334 | obv. dies | – | – | 24 | – | – | – | 24 | 8 |
| | | g*dies | – | – | 93.6g | – | – | – | 93.6g | 31.2g |
| | | % | – | – | 100 | – | – | – | | |

Table 46: no. of drachm-equivalent obverse dies of Hekatomnid coinage at Halikarnassos (obverse die numbers from Konuk 1998)

The integration of personal and local iconographies and the employment of the same types by all family members are among the “dynastic” traits of Hekatomnid issues. However, volume of production and focus on denominations larger than the drachm make this coinage rather “satrapal”. In fact, the yearly average number of obverse dies for the Hekatomnids’ coinage is even higher than Pharnabazos’ series

⁶³⁶ Konuk 1998: Pixodaros B2-4.

⁶³⁷ Konuk 2013: 110 has hypothesised that the introduction under Maussollos’ children of didrachms and their eventual predominance, together with the production of small gold coins, might have been connected to a shortage of silver.

at Kyzikos – which was produced in a short timespan to meet military expenses –⁶³⁸ and almost double compared to the biggest civic producers of the 4th century BC – namely, Ephesos, Miletos, and Rhodes (Fig. 90).

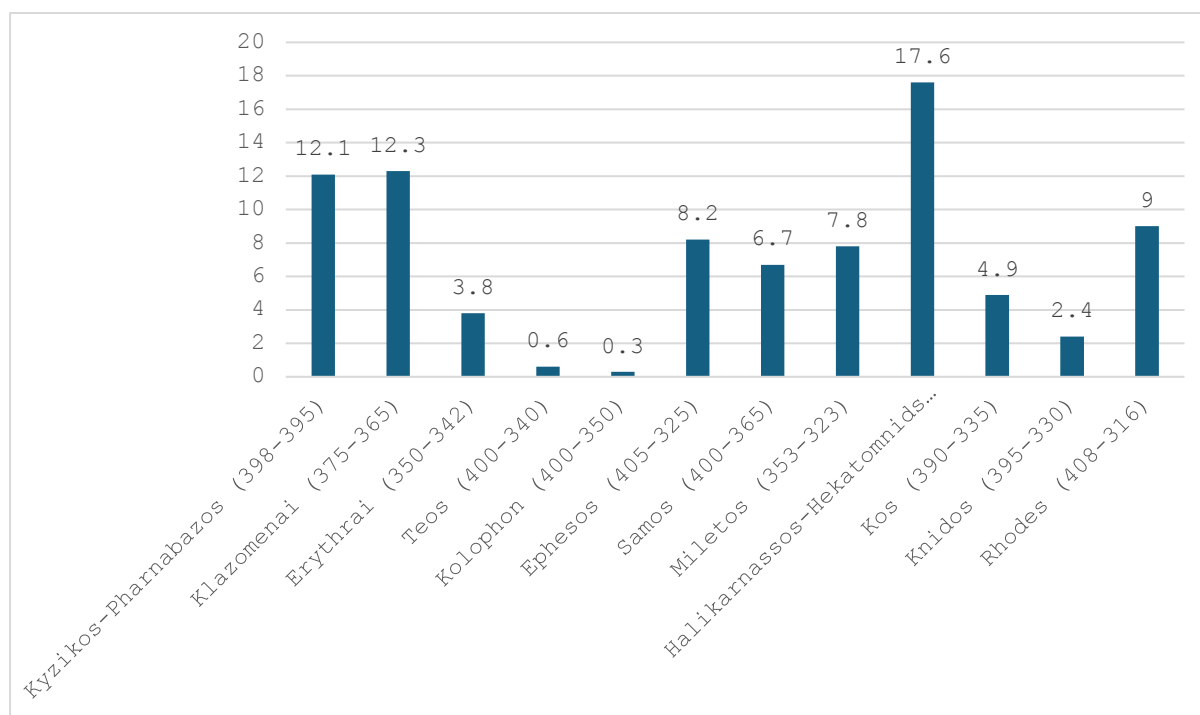


Fig. 90: comparison of volume of output – 4th century BC. Obverse die numbers from Kinns 1989: 185 for Klazomenai and from Die Studies Database for the rest (https://silver.kbr.be/Die_Studies)⁶³⁹

Finally, the numismatic landscape of 4th-century Western Asia Minor was further complicated by the emergence of the so-called “Late Royal Coinages”. Production of the Achaemenid *sigloi* apparently declined in the 4th century BC,⁶⁴⁰ and it was replaced by the minting of coins featuring the “Great King kneeling” from Carradice’s Type IIIb *sigloi*, often along the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ legend (mostly in abbreviated form). The presence of this inscription has led many scholars to consider these products as royal.⁶⁴¹ However, as Jarosław Bodzek has rightly underlined,⁶⁴² they all featured “satrapal” iconography (Table

⁶³⁸ See Maffre 2004.

⁶³⁹ See note 626 for the Rhodian tetradrachms.

⁶⁴⁰ Carradice 1987: 92-3.

⁶⁴¹ Mildenberg 1998: 24ff; Harrison 2002: 313-24; Meadows in Ashton *et al.* 2002b: 210; Meadows 2005: 200; Anderson & van Alfen 2008: 158; Alram 2012: 71-4.

⁶⁴² See Bodzek 2011: 70; 2014: 71-2; 2022: 78-88.

47: nos.1, 4), “dynastic” imagery (**Table 47: no.7**), or even local types (**Table 47: no.6**). The presence of a satrap’s name or of other unknown officials in either Greek, Aramaic, or even Karian letters (*e.g.* ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΗΣ)⁶⁴³ further reinforces the link of these “Late Royal Coinages” to satrapal authority. Nonetheless, compared to the “satrapal coinages” seen above, they displayed much stronger coordination among each other, not only for their shared “Great King kneeling” type and the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ legend, but also because they were all minted on the Chian weight-standard, mostly as silver tetradrachms, and sometimes in great quantity over a long period of time.⁶⁴⁴ Thus, it is likely these issues received greater royal backing than the “satrapal coinages”, as Bodzek himself admits.⁶⁴⁵

| No. | Types | | City | Authority | Dates | Denoms. |
|-----|---------------------|----------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------|---------------|
| | Obverse | Reverse | | | | |
| 1 | Satrapal head | Great King kneeling | Sardis | Tissaphernes? | 420-400 | AR fr. |
| 2 | Great King kneeling | Rectangular incuse | | Orontas | 360-350 | <i>siglos</i> |
| 3 | | Map of Sardis region | | ? | 360-340 | tetradr. |
| 4 | | Horseman with satrapal cap | | ? | 340-330 | tetradr. |
| 5 | | Square within a square | Ionia | ? | 550-500 | |
| 6 | | Male head | Kasolaba | ? | 410-390 | AR fr. |
| 7 | | Zeus Labraundos | Halikarnassos | Maussollos | 376-352 | tetradr. |

Table 47: Achaemenid “Late Royal Coinages”. Source: ARCH (<https://greekcoinage.org/arch/>), accessed on 08/07/2024.

2.2.2. Hoard evidence

| | N. of hoards | Troas | Mysia | Aiolis | Lydia | Ionia | Karia | Lykia |
|-------|--------------|-------|--------------------|----------|-------|------------------|-------|-------|
| Troas | 3 | – | Kyzikos, Lampsakos | Mytilene | – | Phokaia, Ephesos | – | – |
| | | | | | | | | |

⁶⁴³ See Bodzek 2017: 40-1.

⁶⁴⁴ Meadows in Ashton *et al.* 2002b: 211-12; Bodzek 2022: 82.

⁶⁴⁵ Bodzek 2022: 85-6 (“All of them used funds obtained from the king to strike coins”).

| | | | | | | | | |
|--|----|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------|--|---|---|
| Mysia | 5 | – | Kyzikos | Mytilene | Sardis | Phokaia, Ephesos, Samos | Rhodes | – |
| Aiolis | 1 | – | – | Lesbos, Mytilene | – | Phokaia | Knidos | – |
| Lydia | 3 | – | – | Lesbos | Sardis | Phokaia | – | – |
| Ionia | 16 | Kebren | – | – | Sardis | Samos, Teos, Kolophon, Ephesos, Chios, Klazomenai, Magnesia, Priene, Miletos | Rhodes, Rhoes, Kos, Hekatomnids | – |
| Karia | 9 | – | Kyzikos | – | – | Ephesos, Kolophon, Chios, Samos, Miletos | Knidos, Kaunos, Idyma, Halikarnassos, Kos, Rhodes, Chersonesos, Euthenai, Hekatomnids | – |
| Uncertain W. Asia Minor | 13 | Antandros, Abydos | Kyzikos, Lampsakos | Lesbos | Sardis | Magnesia, Phokaia, Ephesos, Samos, Miletos | Rhodes, Kos | – |

Table 48: mints found in hoards by region of retrieval in Western Asia Minor – 4th century BC. Source: IGCH, CH.

Once again, like for the 5th century BC, the information from the hoard data is skewed by the predominance of Ionian hoards and the ones with uncertain findspot (**Table 48**). Nonetheless, the impression of a divide between North and South-Western Asia Minor, which emerged from the analysis of the 5th-century hoard data, seems to be confirmed once again by the 4th-century evidence. The three hoards from Troas contain coins from no mint South of Ephesos; Karia, instead, exchanged coins predominantly with Ionia. Once again, the latter region imported foreign issues from both northern and southern mints, especially Persian *sigloi* and the satrapal emissions of the Hekatomnids (**Table 48**). However, in the 4th century BC, such a North/South divide was not as clean-cut as before – in fact, several north-western hoards from this period contain southern coins and vice-versa. For instance,

Knidian issues travelled all the way up to Lesbos;⁶⁴⁶ Rhodian coins circulated in Mysia;⁶⁴⁷ and twenty-five Kyzikene issues have survived in the “Pixodaros Hoard” from Karia.⁶⁴⁸ These emissions all bore the Chian standard, which certainly contributed to the greater “fluidity” of monetary exchanges in the 4th century BC.⁶⁴⁹ Overall, in this period it became altogether much more common for coins to be found outside of their region of production than before, as the number of finds with foreign issues tripled from the 5th century BC (Table 49; Fig. 91).

| | N. of hoards | N. of hoards with extra-regional coins | N. of hoards with <i>only</i> extra-regional coins |
|----------------------------|--------------|--|--|
| 5 th century BC | 35 | 10 | 3 |
| 4 th century BC | 40 | 30 | 14 |

Table 49: regional and extra-regional coins in Western Asia Minor – 5th vs. 4th centuries BC. Source:

IGCH, CH.

⁶⁴⁶ “Lesbos?, 1936” (*IGCH* 1227).

⁶⁴⁷ “Durasalar, 1959” (*IGCH* 1201 = *CH* 9.388).

⁶⁴⁸ “Karia, 1979” (*CH* 9.421 = *CH* 10.241). These are the only Kyzikene coins featured in Karia. “Pixodaros” is not a straightforward “savings” hoard, as its contents were removed from circulation at one time (Ashton *et al.* 2002b: 159-60).

⁶⁴⁹ For the spread of the Chian standard and for its possible historical background, see Meadows 2011.

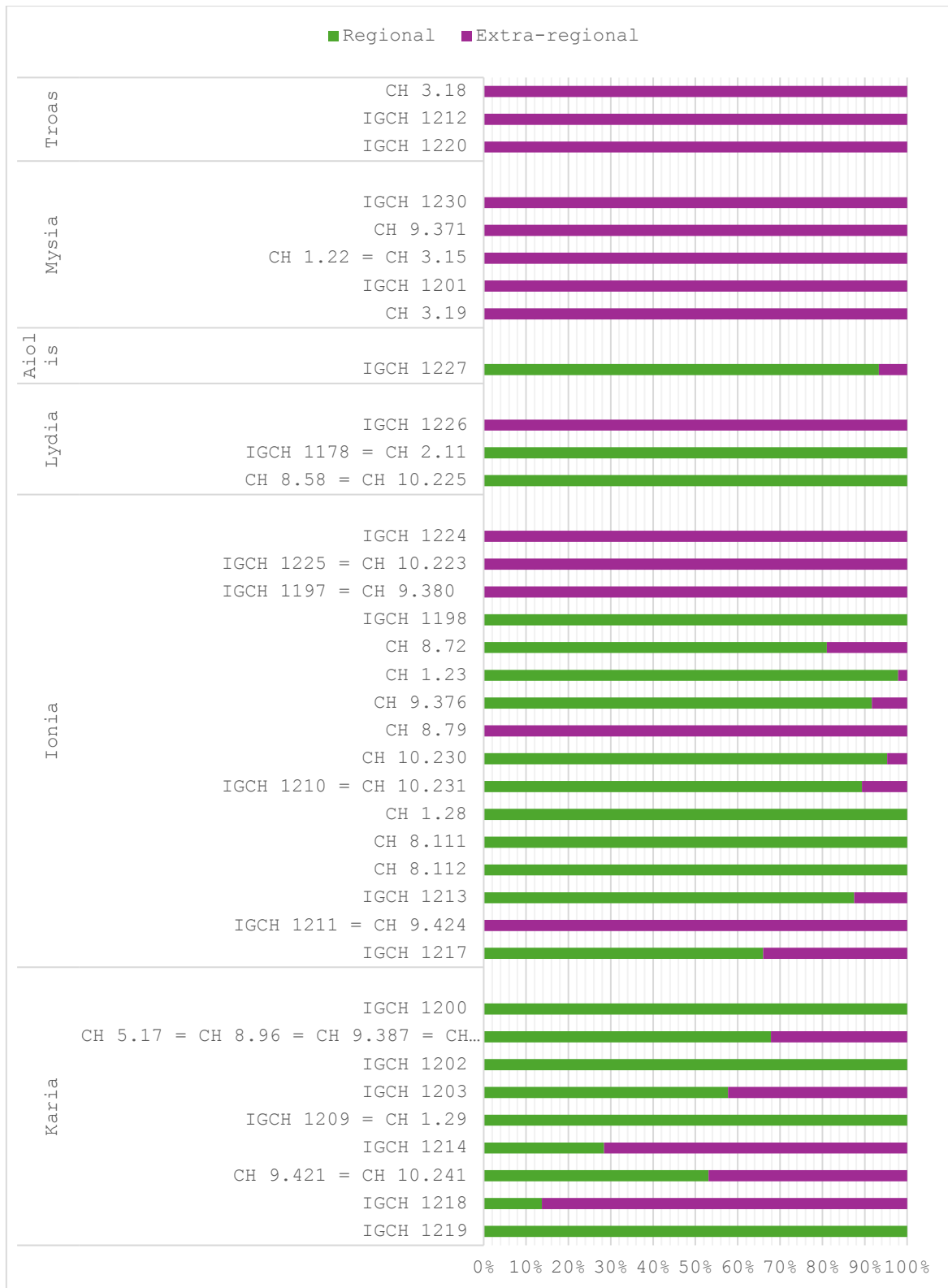


Fig. 91: regional vs. extra-regional coins in hoards from Western Asia Minor – 4th century BC

In this regard, Troas and Mysia represent a particularly interesting case. In the former region, the only attested silver coins in the hoard evidence came from Mysia, Aiolis, and Ionia. As for the local products,

only the bronze ones stayed in Troas (*IGCH* 1228 and 1229), while silver emissions are attested once in Ionia,⁶⁵⁰ and twice in uncertain locations of Western Asia Minor.⁶⁵¹ The hoard evidence from Troas seems to suggest this region possibly saw a growing preference towards bronze issues for internal exchanges in the 4th century BC, before the rest of Western Asia Minor eventually caught up in the early Hellenistic period and in the 3rd century BC. Admittedly, the hoard evidence from Troas is once again too limited to allow us to make statements like this too confidently – undoubtedly, future publications or discoveries of new hoards may change this perception.⁶⁵²

As for Mysia, its hoards have yielded only one issue of Lampsakos, despite the wealth and the long tradition of coin-production of this city, together with that of Kyzikos. The emissions of both places have mostly been retrieved along the maritime trade routes linking the Black Sea to the Ionian islands and coast.⁶⁵³ Instead, the five Mysian hoards from the 4th century BC all come from the hinterland (**Fig. 92**) – only the finds from Adramytteion and Pergamon are somewhat closer to the sea, and feature electrum coins from Mytilene and Phokaia. Of particular interest are the hoards from Miletopolis, Balıkesir, and Durasalar – they all contain Persian *sigloi*, and are located on the road connecting Sardis to the satrapal capital of Daskyleion. Furthermore, the Durasalar find also features civic issues from southern locations – namely, Ephesos, Samos, and Rhodes – which were otherwise rare in Mysia. They probably travelled to Sardis, and from there towards Daskyleion together with Persian *sigloi*.

⁶⁵⁰ “Ionia, 1989” (*CH* 8.72).

⁶⁵¹ “Asia Minor, western, c.1956” (*IGCH* 1232), “Asia Minor, western, 1966-1967” (*IGCH* 1204).

⁶⁵² See for instance the hoard published in Ellis-Evans 2018 – its coins are all from Troas and Hellespontine Mysia, which Ellis-Evans suggests may point towards an origin of the hoard in Troas (2018: 35).

⁶⁵³ Near the Bosphoros at Principo (Bithynia: *IGCH* 1239), at Abydos in Troas (*IGCH* 1212), and at Bodrum in Karia (*CH* 9.421 = *CH* 10.241). “Durasalar, 1959” (Mysia: *IGCH* 1201 = *CH* 9.388) and “Kütahya, 1967” (Phrygia: *IGCH* 1248) are the only two hoards from the hinterland with Kyzikene issues, although there is another hoard from an uncertain location in Troas (*IGCH* 1220) with twenty-two silver coins from Kyzikos and Lampsakos.

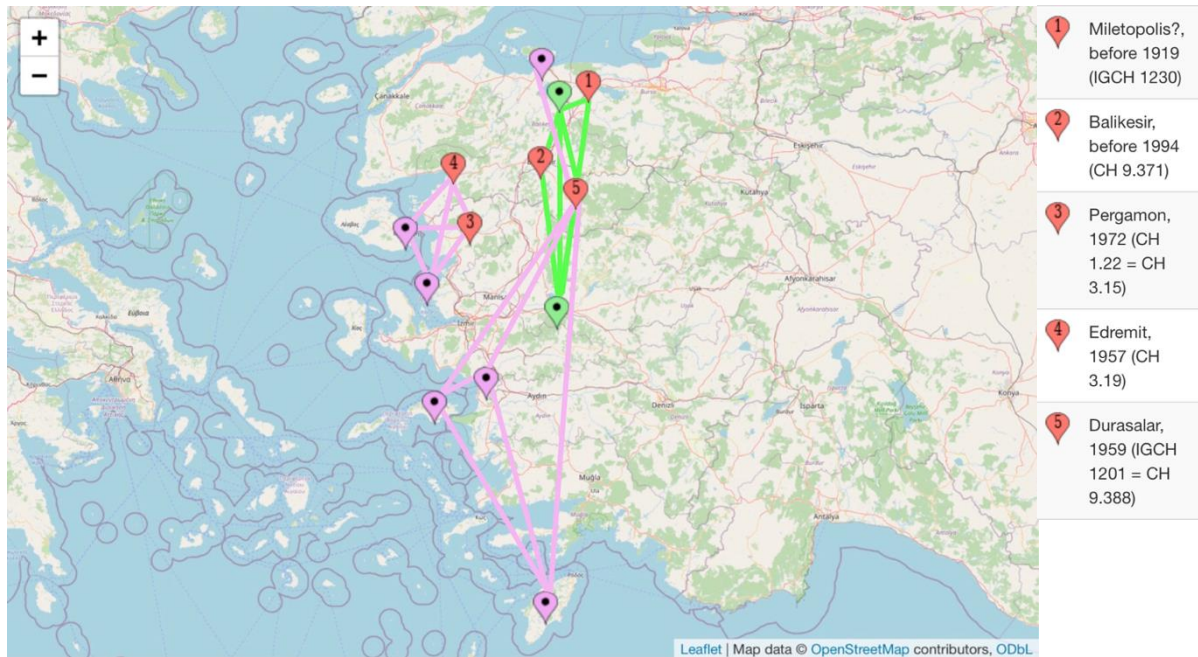


Fig. 92: 4th-century hoards from Mysia. Green dots: Sardis and Daskyleion. Purple dots: Kyzikos, Mytilene, Phokaia, Ephesos, Samos, and Rhodes. Green lines: hypothesised movement of Persian *sigloi* to hoards. Purple lines: hypothesised movement of civic coins to hoards.

Not only did locally produced coins circulate more widely in the 4th century BC, but Western Asia Minor also “opened up” to other parts of Anatolia, albeit still in a limited manner. Issues from Aspendos and Tarsos were found in Lykia;⁶⁵⁴ “Ionia, 1972” (CH 1.23) has yielded one issue from as far as perhaps Kelenderis in Kilikia. Furthermore, Athenian owls appear in a higher number of hoards than in the 5th century BC, and, differently from before, they are never found together with emissions from mainland Greece, Macedonia, or Thrace.⁶⁵⁵ Admittedly, even in the 4th century BC they still appear in very low numbers in western hoards; instead, in the first two decades of the 4th century BC they were especially concentrated in Kilikia and Lykaonia (**Fig. 93**). Their numbers eventually shrank everywhere after the 380s BC, before completely disappearing after the 350s BC.

⁶⁵⁴ “Bucak, 1957” (IGCH 1262); “Lykia” (CH 5.16).

⁶⁵⁵ Only one silver stater from Corinth appears in IGCH 1254 from Pamphylia.

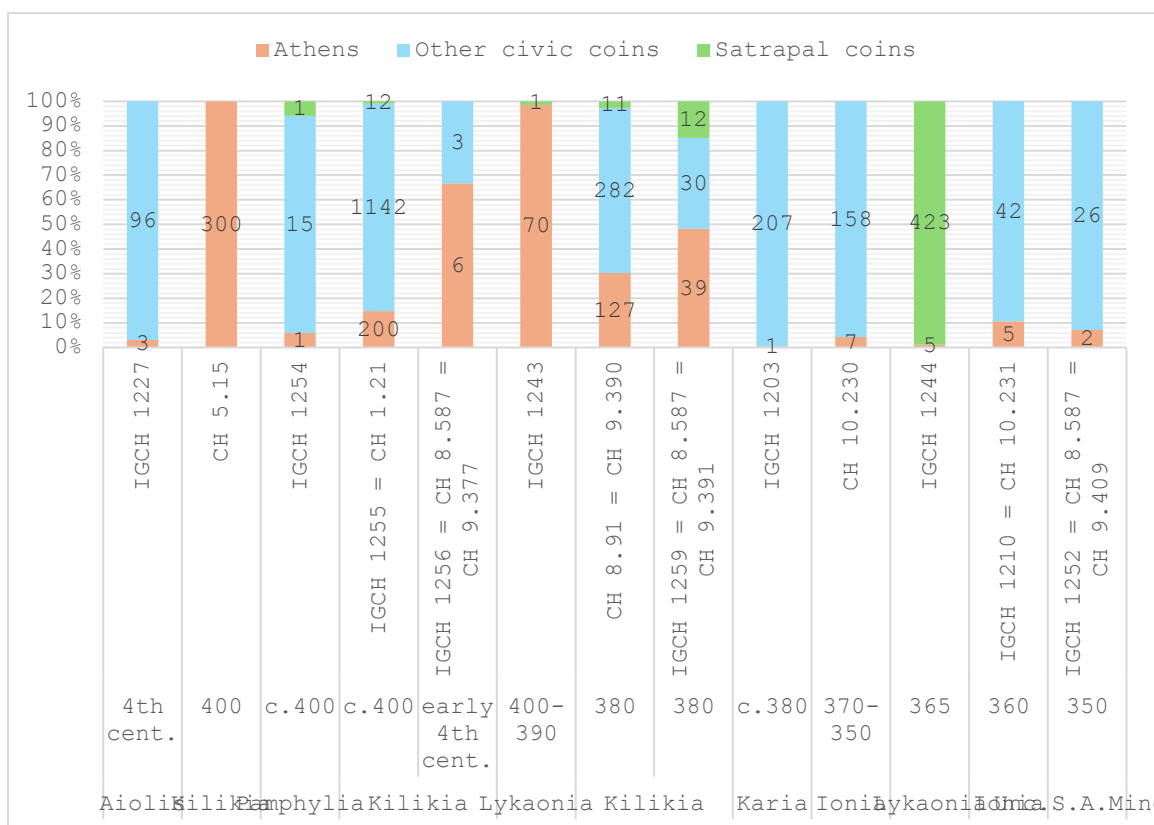


Fig. 93: Athenian, other civic coins, satrapal coins by hoard in Asia Minor – 4th century BC

The number of hoards with Persian *sigloi* more than doubled from the 5th century BC (ten), for a total of twenty-four finds. However, once again they represent a small portion of the whole data available for the 4th century BC for each part of Asia Minor. Eight further hoards with uncertain findspots contain Persian *sigloi*, but they are difficult to pinpoint to a precise location, due to the ability of royal issues to travel longer distances compared to civic coins (Table 50).

| | Total n. of hoards | Hoards with Persian royal coinage | Percentage |
|---------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|------------|
| W. Asia Minor | 53 | 12 ⁶⁵⁶ | 23% |
| N. Asia Minor | 9 | 1 ⁶⁵⁷ | 11% |
| S. Asia Minor | 36 | 5 ⁶⁵⁸ | 14% |

⁶⁵⁶ IGCH 1230; CH 9.371; IGCH 1201 = CH 9.388; IGCH 1178 = CH 2.11; CH 8.58 = CH 10.225; IGCH 1224; IGCH 1225 = CH 10.223; IGCH 1197 = CH 9.380; CH 8.79; CH 10.227; IGCH 1233; CH 10.239.

⁶⁵⁷ IGCH 1241.

⁶⁵⁸ IGCH 1249; CH 1.26 = CH 5.19; IGCH 1255 = CH 1.21; CH 6.11; IGCH 1252 = CH 8.587 = CH 9.409.

| | | | |
|------------------------|------------|------------------|------------|
| C. Asia Minor | 6 | 2 ⁶⁵⁹ | 33% |
| Unc. Asia Minor | 9 | 8 ⁶⁶⁰ | 89% |
| TOTAL | 113 | 28 | 25% |

Table 50. Source: IGCH, CH.

As in the 5th century BC, Persian *sigloi* are sometimes found in western hoards together with civic emissions from Kyzikos, Ionia, and now also Karia (**Table 51**). The similarity of the contents of the three hoards in **Table 51** is striking and may point towards a common provenance from South-Western Asia Minor. In particular, the presence of Hekatomnid coinage in **Table 51 – Hoard 3** probably places this find somewhere between Ionia and Karia (more on this below).

| | Hoard | Date | Findspot | Civic contents | Royal contents | Satrapal contents |
|----------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|---|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>IGCH</i> 1233 | 4 th century | Asia Minor, western | Kyzikos (1), Ephesos (1) | Persian <i>sigloi</i> (33) | – |
| 2 | <i>IGCH</i> 1201 = <i>CH</i> 9.388 | 390-385 | Durasalar (Mysia) | Kyzikos (1), Ephesos (7), Samos (1), Rhodes (2) | Persian <i>sigloi</i> (100) | – |
| 3 | <i>CH</i> 10.239 | mid-340s | Unknown Findspot | Kyzikos (2), Ephesos (6), Miletos (1), Kos (1) | Persian <i>sigloi</i> (1) | Maussollos (12), Hidrieus (3) |

Table 51: mixed hoards with civic, royal, and satrapal coins (W. A. Minor) – 4th century BC. Source: IGCH, CH.

In **Fig. 94**, I have mapped the hoards with a more or less certain findspot that contain Persian *sigloi*. Achaemenid silver coinage clearly travelled exclusively through the interior of Asia Minor, in particular on the roads connecting Ionia to Sardis and Daskyleion, and on the Royal Road linking Ephesos and Sardis to Susa. These finds constitute the nodes of the “ideal” network where Achaemenid royal coinage was most likely to circulate in the 4th century, albeit displaying different degrees of intensity. The purple

⁶⁵⁹ *IGCH* 1247 = *CH* 9.379; *CH* 8.27 = *CH* 9.411 = *CH* 10.232.

⁶⁶⁰ *CH* 5.21 = *CH* 6.12; *CH* 8.121; *CH* 1.34; *CH* 1.35; *CH* 1.36; *CH* 10.234; *CH* 8.142 = *CH* 9.420; *CH* 4.24.

lines show how much more densely connected Ionia, Lydia, and Mysia were compared to Phrygia, Northern Pisidia, and especially Kilikia, which rather appears more like an isolated case.

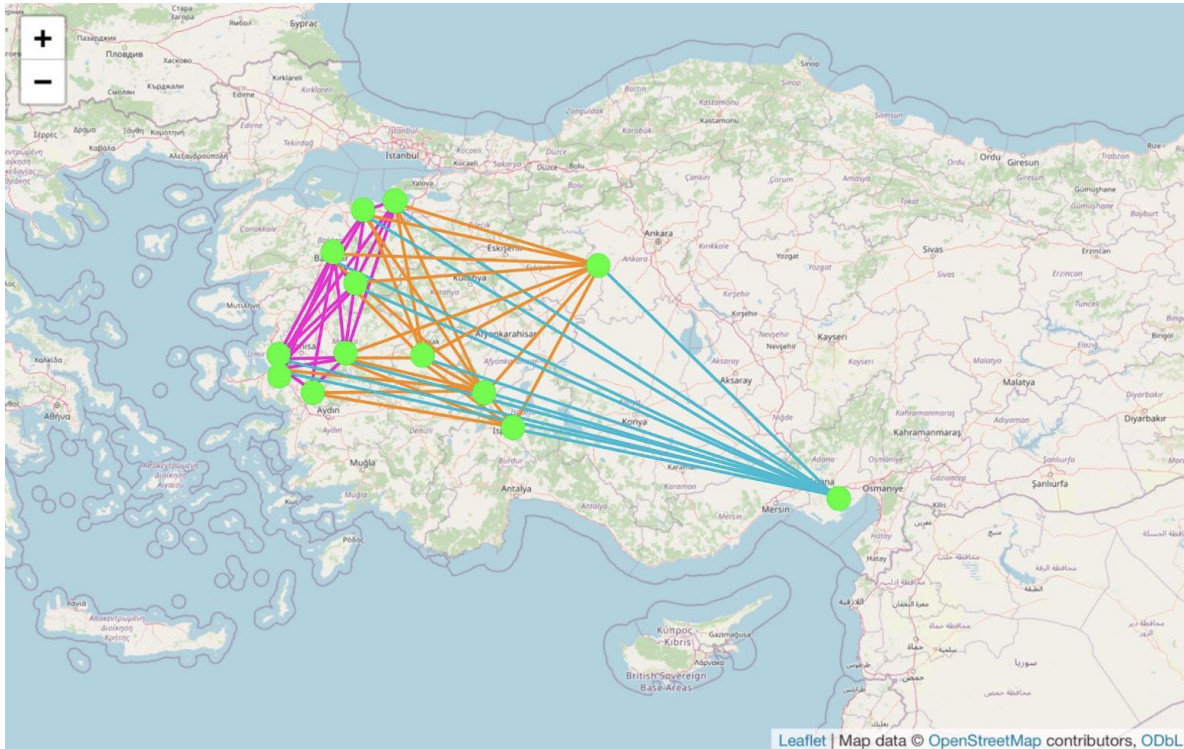


Fig. 94: network of hoards with Persian *sigloi* – 4th century BC (green dots: hoard locations; line colours indicate density of networks: purple = greatest density; orange = lower density; light blue = lowest density)

Overall, the map above shows that Achaemenid royal coins especially travelled within an area comprising Northern Ionia and the satrapal capitals of Sardis and Daskyleion. On the contrary, the coast was left “free” not only for the civic, but also for the “dynastic” and “satrapal coinages” to circulate. Hekatomnid coins mostly circulated within a regional framework, travelling as far as Chios in Ionia and Fethiye in Western Lykia (**Fig. 95**). Their coinage is always found together with civic emissions,⁶⁶¹ all minted by Karian cities or from neighbouring Ionia (**Table 52**) – thus from the very network observed in **Fig. 95**. The only exceptions are the so-called “Hekatomnos” and “Pixodaros” hoards, which also

⁶⁶¹ The only exception may be “Karia, c.1965” (*IGCH* 1206), which features many tetrobols of Hekatomnos and at least one illegible tetrobol of uncertain origin.

feature Thasian and Kyzikene products (**Table 52 – Hoards 1, 8**). The exceptional nature of the contents of these two finds is however mitigated by the fact that both Thasos and Kyzikos produced their coins on the Chian weight-standard, the same as the other issues present in these two hoards.⁶⁶²

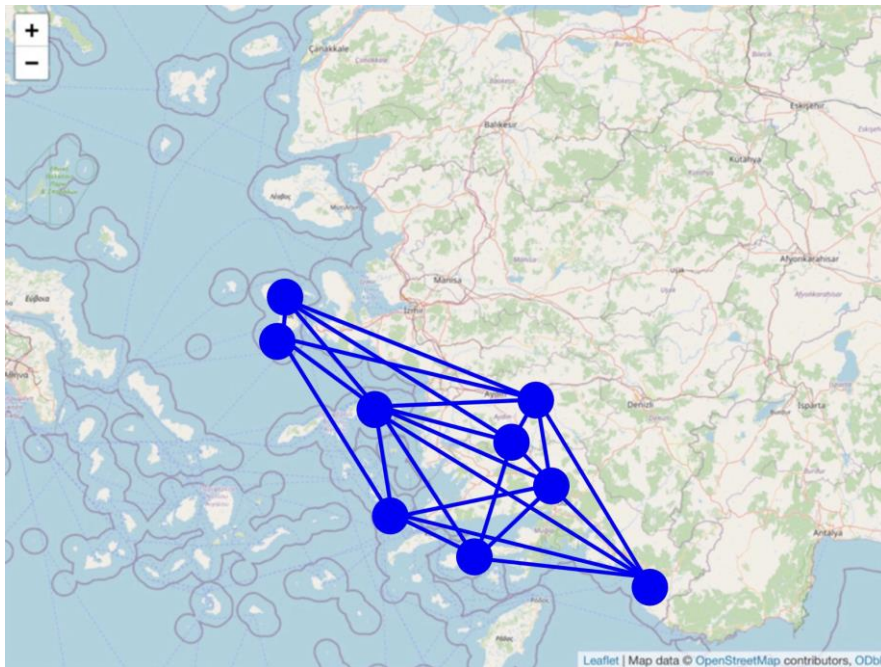


Fig. 95: network of hoards with Hekatomnid coinage

| Hoards | Date | Findspot | Civic contents | Satrapal contents |
|---|-------------|---------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| 1 <i>CH</i> 5.17 = <i>CH</i> 8.96 = <i>CH</i> 9.387 = <i>CH</i> 10.229 | 390- 385 | Karia | Thasos (11), Ephesos (67), Kolophon (1), Chios (3), Samos (25), Kaunos (22), Knidos (33), Idyma (1), Halikarnassos (2), Kos (26), Rhodes (65) | Hekatomnos (77) |
| 2 <i>IGCH</i> 1205 | c.375 | “Gherelli”, near Bodrum (Karia) | Miletos | Hekatomnos at Miletos |
| 3 <i>IGCH</i> 1206 | c.370 | Karia | Illegible (1) | Hekatomnos (many) |
| 4 <i>IGCH</i> 1207 | c.370 | Asia Minor, western | Samos (1), Kos (1) | Hekatomnos at Miletos (2) |
| 5 <i>IGCH</i> 1266 = <i>CH</i> 9.418 | 345 | Fethiye (Lykia) | Ephesos (49) | Mausolos (14), Hidrieus (5) |
| 6 <i>CH</i> 10.239 | mid 340s | Unknown Findspot | Kyzikos (2), Ephesos (6), Miletos (1), Kos (1) | Mausolos (12), Hidrieus (3) |

⁶⁶² Kyzikene coins also appear together with Chian and Koan emissions in another hoard with uncertain provenance (*CH* 9.370).

| | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|---|--|
| 7 | <i>IGCH</i> 1211 = <i>CH</i> 9.424 | 340 | Pindakas, Chios | Chios (65 AE) | Mausolos (1) |
| 8 | <i>CH</i> 9.421 = <i>CH</i> 10.241 | 340 | Karia | Thasos (29), Kyzikos (25), Kolophon (1), Ephesos (604), Chios (17), Samos (22), Knidos (2), Kos (122), Rhodes (30) | “Satrapal” issues (17), anonymous Hekatomnid issues (2), Mausolos (232), Hidrieus (206), Pixodaros (196) |
| 9 | <i>IGCH</i> 1213 | c.340 | Samos | Ephesos (17), Magnesia (9), Miletos (13), Priene (5), Samos (5) | Mausolos & Hidrieus (7) |
| 10 | <i>IGCH</i> 1214 | c.340 | Yaka, near Bozdogan (Karia) | Ephesos (77), Chios (6) | Mausolos (33) |
| 11 | <i>IGCH</i> 1215 | c.340 | Muğla (Karia) | Ephesos, Miletos, Knidos, Kos, Rhodes, Euthenai | Mausolos, Hidrieus |
| 12 | <i>IGCH</i> 1216 | c.335 | Kalymna | Knidos, Kalymna, Kos, Rhodes | Mausolos, Hidrieus, Pixodaros, Persian satrap |
| 13 | <i>IGCH</i> 1217 | 334- 332 | Pithyos on Chios | Ephesos (?), Erythrai (26 AE), Miletos (13), Chios (19 AR, 149 AE), Kos (2), Rhodes (1) | Mausolos (12), Pixodaros (2) |
| 14 | <i>IGCH</i> 1218 | c.330 | “Pademlik” near Datça (Karia) | Kolophon (1), Ephesos (67), Samos (1), Knidos (6), Kos (1) | Mausolos (4) |
| 15 | <i>IGCH</i> 1219 | c.330 | Karia | – | Pixodaros (100), Persian satraps (20) |

Table 52: hoards with Hekatomnid coins. Source: *IGCH*, *CH*.

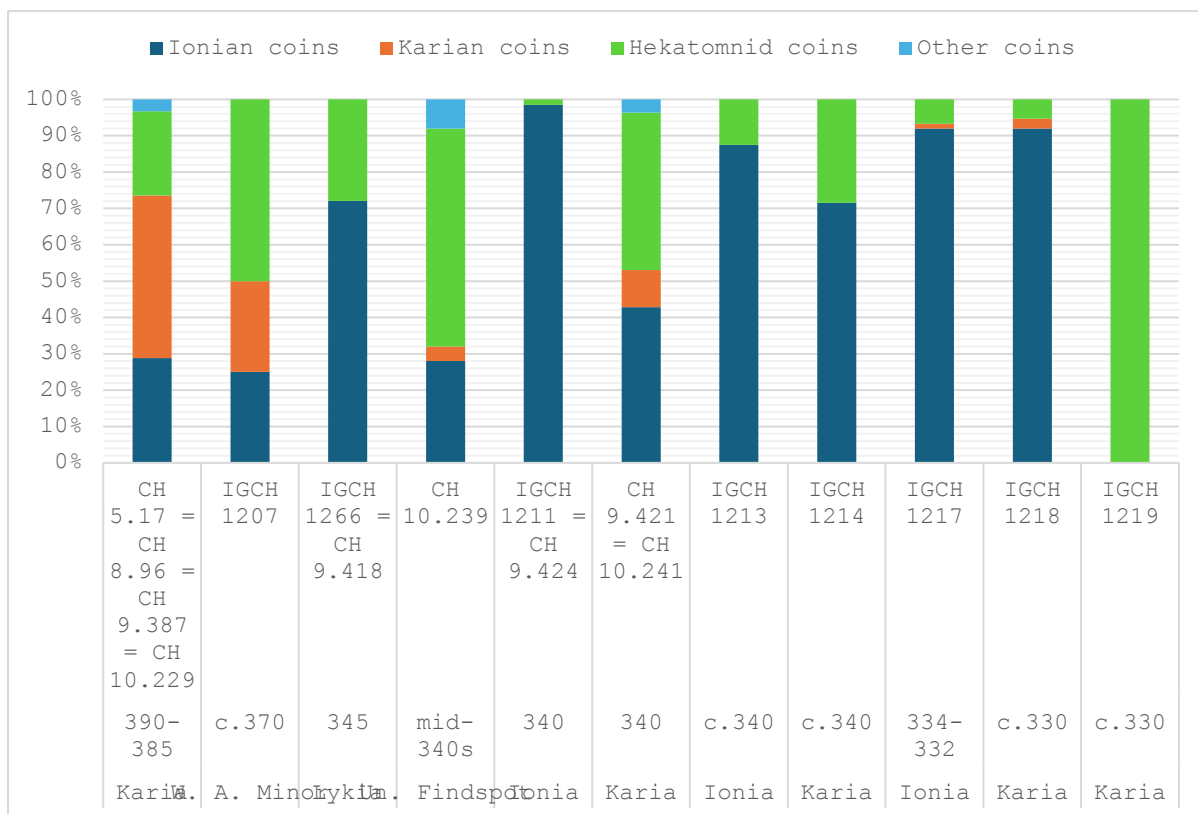


Fig. 96: Hekatomnid hoards with known numbers of coins

Despite the size of its output, Hekatomnid coinage usually holds a minor percentage of the contents of every hoard it appears in compared to civic issues (**Fig. 96**). Admittedly, the available data is incomplete, as we lack the recorded numbers for **Table 52 – Hoards 2, 3, 11, 12**. Nonetheless, after c.350 BC, with the interruption of several civic coinages in mainland Karia, this region clearly compensated for the lack of local products not only with Hekatomnid issues, but especially with civic coins from neighbouring Ionia.

Overall, it is apparent that Hekatomnid issues behaved like civic coinages. Not only did they circulate at a local level, but they are also found together with civic products at a much higher rate than other satrapal coins – namely, the ones of Pharnabazos, Orontas, Memnon and Mentor, and others, which rarely appear in the hoard evidence altogether. Therefore, Hekatomnid issues belonged to a regional context where coin-users viewed them as fundamentally the same as local civic products.

The complete opposite is true for the Persian *sigloi* and *Dareikoi*. In a monetary landscape predominated by civic coinages, royal Achaemenid issues still found little room for manoeuvre. Not only do they

rarely appear in hoards, but, out of the 111 hoards from the whole of Asia Minor recorded for the 4th century BC, they are found together with civic issues only seven times. In terms of coin-use, the separation between the civic and royal level was thus still as high as in the 5th century BC.

Section 2.3. Late 4th/early 3rd century BC (c.334-281 BC)

2.3.1. Coin-production

2.3.1.1. Civic coinages

| | 350-300 BC | 300-250 BC |
|-----------------------------|------------|------------|
| Abydos | | |
| 'Abydos' | A | A, L |
| Dardanos | | |
| Ophryneion | | |
| Rhoiteion | | |
| Gergis | | |
| Skepsis | | |
| Tenedos | | A, L |
| Alexandreia Troas | | |
| 'Alexandreia Troas' | | L |
| Neandreia | | |
| Antandros | | |
| Assos | | |
| Kyzikos | El | |
| Parion | | |
| 'Parion' | | L |
| Lampsakos | Au | |
| 'Lampsakos' | A | A, L |
| Pergamon | Au | |
| 'Pergamon' | | L |
| Pitane | | |
| Methymna | | |
| Mytilene | El | A |
| 'Mytilene' | | A, L |
| Myrina | | |
| Aigai | | |
| Kyme | A | A, L |
| Larissa Phrikonis | | |
| Temnos | | |
| Sardis | | |
| 'Sardis' | A | |
| Phokaia | El | |
| Leukai | | |
| Smyrna | | L, A |
| Klazomenai | | A |
| Erythrai | | A |
| Chios | | A |
| Teos | | Au, A |
| 'Teos' | A | |
| Kolophon | | |
| 'Kolophon' | A | A, L |
| Lebedos | | |
| Ephesos | | A |
| 'Ephesos' | | D, L |
| Phygela | Au | |
| Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | | |
| 'Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros' | A | A, L |
| Samos | | |
| Priene | | A |
| Miletos | | A |
| 'Miletos' | A | A, D |
| 'Mylasa' | A | |
| Bargyia | | A |
| Keramos | | |
| Kos | | |

| | | |
|------------|----|--|
| Knidos | | |
| Nisyros | | |
| Astypalaia | | |
| Rhodes | Au | |

Table 53: mints of Western Asia Minor – late 4th/early 3rd century BC (grey squares = civic silver coinages; orange squares = satrapal coinages; brown squares = civic+satrapal coinages; El = electrum coins; Au = civic gold coins; A = Alexanders; L = Lysimachi; D = coins of Demetrios Poliorketes). Source: ARCH (<https://greekcoinage.org/arch/>). Accessed on 03/08/2024.⁶⁶³

The aftermath of the fall of the Achaemenid empire represents a dramatic breaking point for the numismatic history of Western Asia Minor. Civic coin-production continued for a few years following the Macedonian invasion of Asia Minor in 334 BC. However, after the issues in Alexander’s name were introduced in this region around 325 BC, the number of active civic mints was first reduced by a third, and after c.300 BC by two thirds even (**Fig. 98**).

⁶⁶³ For the lifetime/early-posthumous Alexander mints identified in **Table 53** as ‘Abydos’, ‘Lampsakos’, ‘Sardis’, ‘Teos’, ‘Kolophon’, ‘Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros’, ‘Miletos’, and ‘Mylasa’, see Meadows 2019: 70-1. Reattribution of a large part of the lifetime/early-posthumous Alexanders and Lysimachi from Sardis to Kyme: Ashton 2021. Alexanders and Lysimachi of Tenedos: Meadows 2021b. For ‘Alexandreia Troas’ as mint of Lysimachi: Meadows 2004: Appendix. Early-posthumous Alexanders of Mytilene: Ellis-Evans *forthcoming* (a): Mytilene Series 1. For lifetime Lysimachi attributed to ‘Mytilene’, see Ellis-Evans *forthcoming* (a): n.3. Assos: no 3rd-century civic coinage (Ellis-Evans 2021a: 72). Alexandreia Troas civic coinage: Meadows 2004. Kyzikos AR: Conway *forthcoming*.

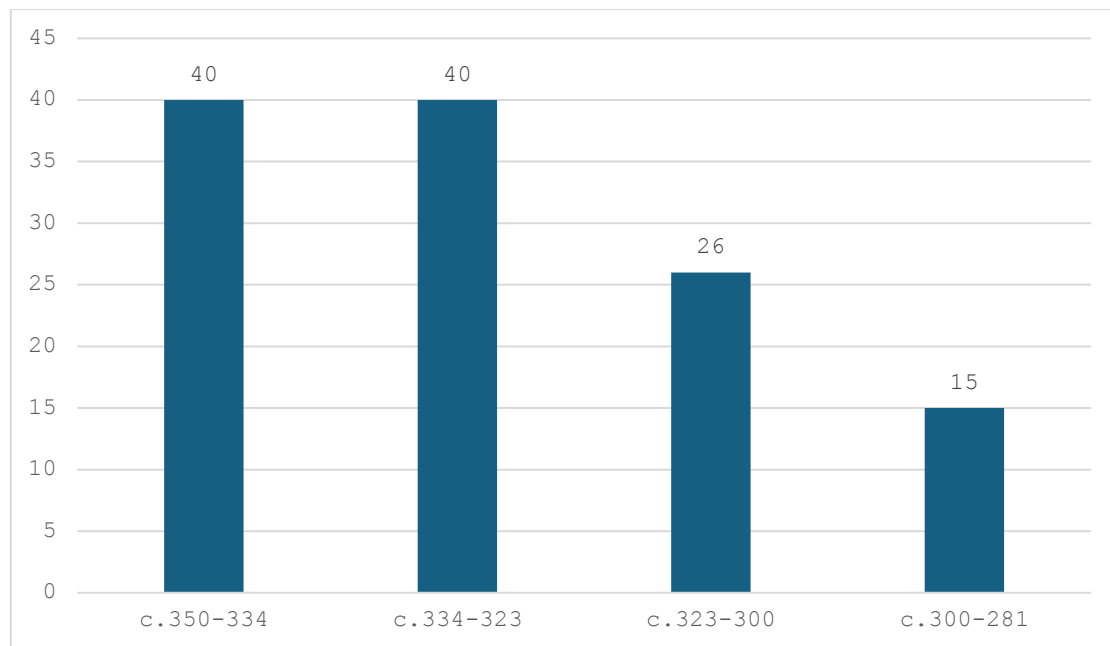


Fig. 98: no. of civic mints of Western Asia Minor active in c.350-281 BC

Epigraphic and literary evidence testifies to exactions of military and financial contributions from kings and generals on the subject cities during the Diadochic Wars.⁶⁶⁴ This practice may have also occurred frequently during the Macedonian invasion of the Achaemenid empire.⁶⁶⁵ In fact, in c.336-320 BC, Pergamon produced Attic-weight gold staters with designs inspired by Alexander's coinage –⁶⁶⁶ these also appeared on silver diobols from the same mint.⁶⁶⁷ Striking of Attic-weight civic gold staters at Rhodes may have been part of this city's contributions to Alexander during his siege of Tyre.⁶⁶⁸ Later, Teos produced an Attic-weight gold tetrobol dated to c.304-295 BC –⁶⁶⁹ however, it constituted an exception to a numismatic landscape that otherwise saw almost no production of high-value civic coinages. In fact, for the late 4th/early 3rd century BC, we can only count a total of six civic tetradrachm

⁶⁶⁴ See Capdetrey 2022: 43-4.

⁶⁶⁵ *E.g.* Arr. 2.20.2.

⁶⁶⁶ Marcellesi 2012: nos.5-6. See de Callatay 2012b.

⁶⁶⁷ Marcellesi 2012: no.7.

⁶⁶⁸ Ashton 2001: 92.

⁶⁶⁹ Kinns 1980: Teos Period II, AV C.

mints – namely, Kyzikos,⁶⁷⁰ Erythrai,⁶⁷¹ Ephesos,⁶⁷² Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros,⁶⁷³ Knidos,⁶⁷⁴ and Rhodes.⁶⁷⁵ Almost all of them ceased minting tetradrachms relatively early – Ephesos, Magnesia, and Knidos stopped producing this denomination around 320 BC, followed by Kyzikos and Rhodes in c.300 BC. Ephesos and Rhodes then focused on minting silver didrachms,⁶⁷⁶ whereas only Erythrai continued striking tetradrachms until c.280 BC.

This paucity of civic coin-production especially in the early 3rd century BC is hard to reconcile with the above-mentioned evidence of exactions of military and financial contributions on the cities. The best explanation for this radical change should probably be sought in the massive output of coins in Alexander’s name from c.325 BC onwards. The popularity of this coinage, which came to predominate the numismatic landscape of most of the Hellenistic period (see **Sections 2.3.1.2** and **2.3.2** below), may have made production of heavy civic coinages redundant,⁶⁷⁷ perhaps not dissimilarly from the effect the Athenian owls had sorted on 5th-century civic minting in Western Asia Minor.⁶⁷⁸ Perhaps as a further effect of the spread of the Alexanders, some of the very cities that had minted Chian-weight issues in the 4th century BC – namely, Kyme, Phokaia, Ephesos, Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros, Chios, and Miletos – switched to an epichoric, Persic weight-standard for their civic minting from the late 4th century BC.⁶⁷⁹ The overall result was the creation of a rift between an international, “royal” monetary economy and a more local, civic one, which finds further confirmation in the hoard evidence from this period (**Section 2.3.2** below).

2.3.1.2. Royal coinage

⁶⁷⁰ von Fritze 1914: Groups III-IV.

⁶⁷¹ Kinns 1980: Period III, AR IA.

⁶⁷² https://greekcoinage.org/iris/id/ephesus_kinns_holt_2023.ii.ar.viii.

⁶⁷³ *BMC Ionia*: Magnesia no.2.

⁶⁷⁴ Ashton 1999 Tetradrachms.

⁶⁷⁵ Ashton 2001: nos.93-94, 107.

⁶⁷⁶ Ephesos: https://greekcoinage.org/iris/id/ephesus_kinns_holt_2023.iii.ar.xv. Rhodes: Ashton 2001: nos.108, 157-169.

⁶⁷⁷ Cf. Martin 1985: 128; Thonemann 2015a: 49.

⁶⁷⁸ Parallel between Athenian owls and Alexanders drawn in Kallet & Kroll 2020: 71-2.

⁶⁷⁹ Kinns 2006. Alexandria Troas also adopted the Persic weight-standard (Meadows 2004).

Production of the Alexanders in Western Asia Minor started in c.325-c.322 BC at a number of cities – namely, ‘Lampsakos’, ‘Abydos’, ‘Sardis’, ‘Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros’, and ‘Miletos’ in c.325 BC;⁶⁸⁰ ‘Teos’, ‘Kolophon’, and ‘Mylasa’ in c.322 BC.⁶⁸¹ Contrary to the early Phoenician Alexanders, the numerous mintmarks of the western early issues bear no links with the authorities of any specific city. This makes all mint-attributions tentative,⁶⁸² but it also shows, as Meadows has rightly remarked: “... an elaborate internal control system developed across an extended region, and thus... the result of a top-down administrative decision.”⁶⁸³ Production of these early-posthumous Alexanders lasted until c.301 BC, but we ignore if it occurred continuously throughout the whole period or with some interruptions.⁶⁸⁴

In terms of the number of used obverse dies, drachms were the most common denomination for the early Alexanders of Western Asia Minor (**Fig. 99**), although, for pure monetary value, gold staters far surpassed silver coins.⁶⁸⁵ Thus, two parts of Alexander’s empire displayed very different behaviours – the West, except for Amphipolis, mostly produced drachms; the East mainly issued tetradrachms and gold staters. It is unclear whether this was the result of a top-down imposition.⁶⁸⁶ So far no one has satisfactorily explained why drachms were the preferred silver denomination for the western early Alexanders. Thompson has linked them to the massive demobilisation of the Graeco-Macedonian army at the end of 325 BC;⁶⁸⁷ Le Rider, instead, proposed that production of silver drachms and gold staters continued the “well-established regional custom” of issuing *sigloi* – which were barely heavier than drachms – and *Dareikoi*.⁶⁸⁸ However, it is unclear why the royal administration, which seems to have operated autonomously from the cities, needed to follow old customs specific to Western Asia Minor, especially when the early Alexanders were not seemingly conceived for local usage. In fact, in an article

⁶⁸⁰ Le Rider 2007: 88-92.

⁶⁸¹ These three mints are absent from the Demanhur hoard (*CH* 8.189 = *CH* 9.460), buried c.322 BC. See Price 1991: 248, 294-95; Le Rider 2007: 90-3.

⁶⁸² See Meadows 2019: 70-1 for an overview of the reasons (and relative problems) behind the identification of the Alexander mints.

⁶⁸³ Meadows 2019: 72.

⁶⁸⁴ See Meadows 2019: 66.

⁶⁸⁵ de Callatay 1994; Meadows 2019: 64.

⁶⁸⁶ Mørkholm *et al.* 1991: 50 saw “a deliberate division of labour” that reserved the production of silver drachms for these western mints alone.

⁶⁸⁷ Thompson 1984.

⁶⁸⁸ Le Rider 2007: 95-8.

from 1994, de Callataÿ showed that half of the hoards containing these drachms in *IGCH* and in the first seven volumes of “Coin Hoards” are from Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly,⁶⁸⁹ which strongly suggests that they were meant to pay mercenaries from those areas.

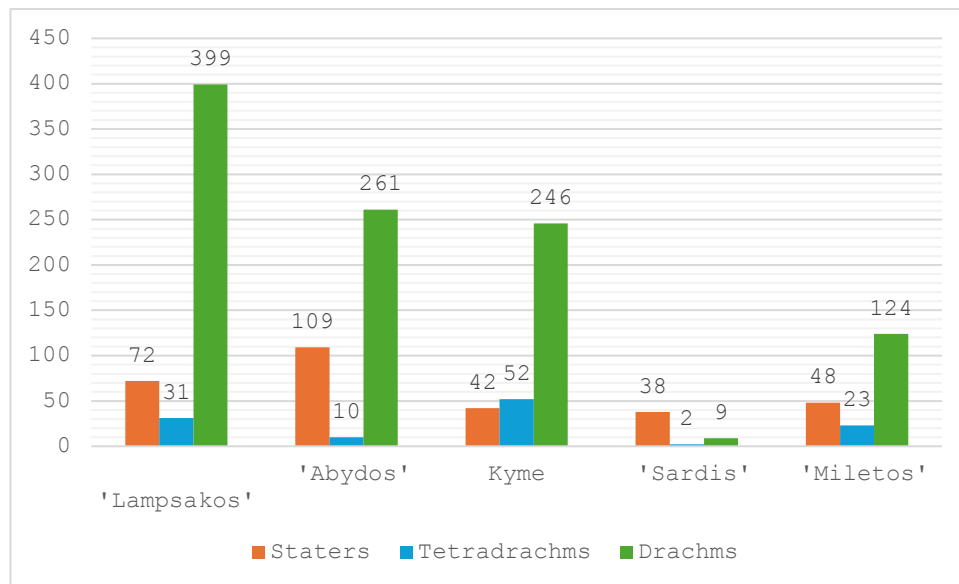


Fig 99: no. obverse dies of early-posthumous Alexanders (from Thompson 1983: 40 ('Sardis' Series I-VIII), 65; 1991: 38, 63. For Thompson 'Sardis' Series IX-XXIII to Kyme: Ashton 2021)

After Alexander's death, the legend ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΥ (for Philip III) appeared in 323-319 BC on the Alexanders produced at 'Lampsakos', 'Abydos', 'Sardis', 'Teos', 'Magnaesia-on-the-Maiandros', and 'Miletos'.⁶⁹⁰ Antigonos Monophthalmos did not issue any coins in his own name. Instead, after Ipsos (301 BC), Lysimachos resumed production of Alexanders at 'Lampsakos', 'Abydos', 'Mytilene',⁶⁹¹ 'Teos', 'Sardis' (or more likely Kyme),⁶⁹² 'Kolophon', and 'Magnaesia', mostly in the form of gold staters and silver drachms – these Alexanders continued the obverse and reverse types of the earlier issues, but they were minted in Lysimachos' name (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ: **Fig. 100**).⁶⁹³

⁶⁸⁹ de Callataÿ 1994: 34.

⁶⁹⁰ Price 1991: P11-P110.

⁶⁹¹ Note, however, that attribution of Alexander-type drachms of Lysimachos to Mytilene (Price 1991: no.L21) is almost certainly incorrect: see Ellis-Evans *forthcoming* (a): n.3.

⁶⁹² Ashton 2021.

⁶⁹³ Price 1991: nos.L9-L15 (Lampsakos), L16-L20 (Abydos), L21 (Mytilene), L22-L28 (Kolophon), L29-L34 (Magnaesia-on-the-Maiandros), L35-L41 (Teos), L42-L45 (Sardis).



Fig. 100: AR Alexander drachm of Lysimachos from ‘Kolophon’ (301-297 BC; Price 1991: no.L28).

American Numismatic Society: <http://numismatics.org/collection/1952.123.335>

Miletos in Ionia, instead, remained faithful to Demetrios Poliorketes – in c.300-294 BC, it may have produced a series of gold and silver Alexanders with ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ legend,⁶⁹⁴ as well as a small series of tetradrachms with Demetrios’ personal types and name (Nike on prow/Poseidon; ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ) (**Fig. 101**).⁶⁹⁵ In 301-295 BC, Ephesos may have struck tetradrachms with these same types, while drachms and hemidrachms bore Demetrios’ portrait on obverse (**Fig. 102**).⁶⁹⁶ However, once again, none of these issues display control-monograms or symbols that could be associated with the cities. Their attributions by Newell are, instead, based on style, fabric, and relative position of the obverse and reverse dies, alongside the historical importance of Miletos and Ephesos for Demetrios –⁶⁹⁷ therefore, they should be considered tentative.



Fig. 101: AR tetradrachm of Demetrios Poliorketes from Miletos with Nike on prow/Poseidon types and

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ legend (Newell 1927: no.50). Münzkabinett, Berlin:

<https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?lang=en&id=18271809&view=rs>

⁶⁹⁴ Price 1991: nos.2146-2148; Newell 1927: nos.47-49.

⁶⁹⁵ Newell 1927: no.50.

⁶⁹⁶ Newell 1927: nos.51-59.

⁶⁹⁷ Newell 1927: 66-72.



Fig. 102: AR drachm of Demetrios Poliorketes from Ephesos with Demetrios/Poseidon types (Newell 1927: no.54). American Numismatic Society: <http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.13712>

After 297 BC, Lysimachos switched production to a gold and silver coinage that displayed the types that would become the staple of his late-posthumous issues – a deified Alexander’s head on obverse, and a seated Athena on reverse.⁶⁹⁸ Except for Teos, all his other Alexander mints started producing this new coinage, which chiefly consisted of tetradrachms.⁶⁹⁹ ‘Alexandreia Troas’, which became specialised in gold staters,⁷⁰⁰ followed by ‘Ephesos’, ‘Pergamon’, ‘Parion’, and Smyrna, joined in production of Lysimachos’ new coinage.⁷⁰¹ Once again, almost none of these royal coinages are control-linked to civic issues,⁷⁰² making their attributions tentative and sometimes demonstrably wrong.⁷⁰³ However, from c.295 BC, Miletos, then under Lysimachos authority,⁷⁰⁴ struck one of the first examples of Alexander tetradrachms with a civic monogram.⁷⁰⁵ This was part of a phenomenon that unpublished research connects to Demetrios Poliorketes’ and Lysimachos’ activities in Ionia in the 290s BC, whereby several Ionian mints,⁷⁰⁶ with the addition of Mytilene and Bargylia,⁷⁰⁷ minted Alexanders with civic badges that Price generally dates to “c.300-c.275 BC”.⁷⁰⁸ If their dating to the 290s BC is correct, then this would provide an example similar to Lysander’s ΣΥΝ tridrachms, where we observe coordination among cities under the aegis of a superior authority.

⁶⁹⁸ Thompson 1968: 165-66.

⁶⁹⁹ Thompson 1968: nos.39-62 (Lampsakos); 69-77 (Abydos); 82-91 (Sardis, but probably actually Kyme, see Ashton 2021); 100-118 (Magnesia); 128 (Kolophon); 133-138 (Mytilene, although almost certainly not – see Ellis-Evans forthcoming(a): n.3).

⁷⁰⁰ Meadows 2004: Appendix rejects attribution of these Lysimachi to Alexandreia Troas.

⁷⁰¹ Thompson 1968: nos. 139-163 (Alexandreia Troas); 164-174 (Ephesos); 215-229 (Pergamon); 230-235 (Parion); 236-238 (Smyrna).

⁷⁰² For control-links between Teos Alexanders, Smyrna Lysimachi and their respective civic coinages, see Ellis-Evans forthcoming (a): n.38.

⁷⁰³ E.g., Alexandreia Troas and Mytilene, see notes 699 and 701 above.

⁷⁰⁴ Lund 1992: 92.

⁷⁰⁵ Price 1991: nos.2149-2163.

⁷⁰⁶ Price 1991: nos.1740-1742 (Klazomenai), 1875-1878 (Ephesos), 1887-1899 (Erythrai), 2149-2151 (Miletos), 2231-2239 (Priene), 2246 (Smyrna), 2750-2751 and 2762-2763 (Chios).

⁷⁰⁷ Price 1991: nos.1697 (Mytilene = Ellis-Evans forthcoming (a): Mytilene Series 1), 2491-2493A (Bargylia).

⁷⁰⁸ Ellis-Evans forthcoming (a), esp. nn.33, 38.

In the year Seleukos I ruled over Western Asia Minor before his assassination in late 281 BC, Sardis struck Alexander drachms and tetradrachms with the legend ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, displaying the same Zeus Nikephoros reverse type introduced earlier in Northern Syria (**Fig. 103**; see **Chapter 1 – Section 1.2.1.1**).⁷⁰⁹ Furthermore, in order to help setting up minting operations at Sardis, Seleukos seems to have brought over a mint magistrate who had operated at Susa in 301-295 BC,⁷¹⁰ but no officials from Northern Syria or Tarsos. Pergamon – under Philetairos – also minted for Seleukos I in 282-281 BC, producing coins with the Seleukid horned horse/elephant walking right type,⁷¹¹ and possibly also Alexanders with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (more on this in **Section 2.4.1.2**).⁷¹²



Fig.103: AR tetradrachm of Seleukos I from Sardis (SC 3.3a). American Numismatic Society:

<http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.78149>

2.3.2. Hoard evidence

| | N. of hoards | Troas | Mysia | Aiolis | Lydia | Ionia | Karia | Lykia |
|---------------|--------------|---------|-----------|--------|--------|------------------------------------|-------------|-------|
| Troas | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| Mysia | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| Aiolis | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| Lydia | 2 | Abydos? | Lampsakos | – | Sardis | Kolophon, Magnesia, Miletos | — | – |
| Ionia | 4 | – | – | – | – | Ephesos, Erythrai, Chios, Kolophon | Rhodes, Kos | – |

⁷⁰⁹ SC 3-5.

⁷¹⁰ Control-monogram EP at Susa (SC 173-176) and Sardis (SC 3.2-3, 5).

⁷¹¹ SC 1.

⁷¹² SC 308.

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|---------------|------------------|---|---------------|---|-------------------|---|
| Karia | 8 | Abydos | Lampsakos | – | Sardis | Teos, Kolophon, Miletos, Klazomenai, Magnesia, Ephesos | Rhodes, Mylasa | – |
| Unc. W. A. Minor | 1 | – | Kyzikos | – | – | – | – | – |

Table 54: western mints by region of retrieval – early Hellenistic period (*royal mints in bold*). Source:

IGCH, CH.

For the period between Alexander’s death and the beginning of Seleukid control of (parts of) Western Asia Minor, we have very few recorded hoards – only fifteen in total, including one from an uncertain place (**Table 54**).⁷¹³ The limited civic production in this period coincided with a sharp decrease in the number of civic mints in the hoard evidence – the only attested ones are Kyzikos, Chios, Erythrai, Kolophon, Ephesos, Kos, and Rhodes. This, paired with the introduction and intense production of western Alexanders, resulted in a less unbalanced ratio between “royal” and “civic” hoards than in the Classical period. In fact, 30% of the fifteen western hoards only contain royal issues, to which we may add a further mixed find (**Fig. 104**).

⁷¹³ I have attributed two hoards with uncertain findspot – “Unknown findspot, Turkey, 2000” (*CH* 10.254) and “Asia Minor, c.1725 (*CH* 8.225) – to Ionia, as they exclusively contain drachms from, respectively, Ephesos and Erythrai. As for “Asia Minor, western, 1890-5” (*IGCH* 1281), which contains seventeen Kyzikene tetradrachms, I have preferred not to attribute it to any specific region, as the silver coins from this city traditionally displayed a greater tendency to circulate outside of their region of production compared to Ionian issues.

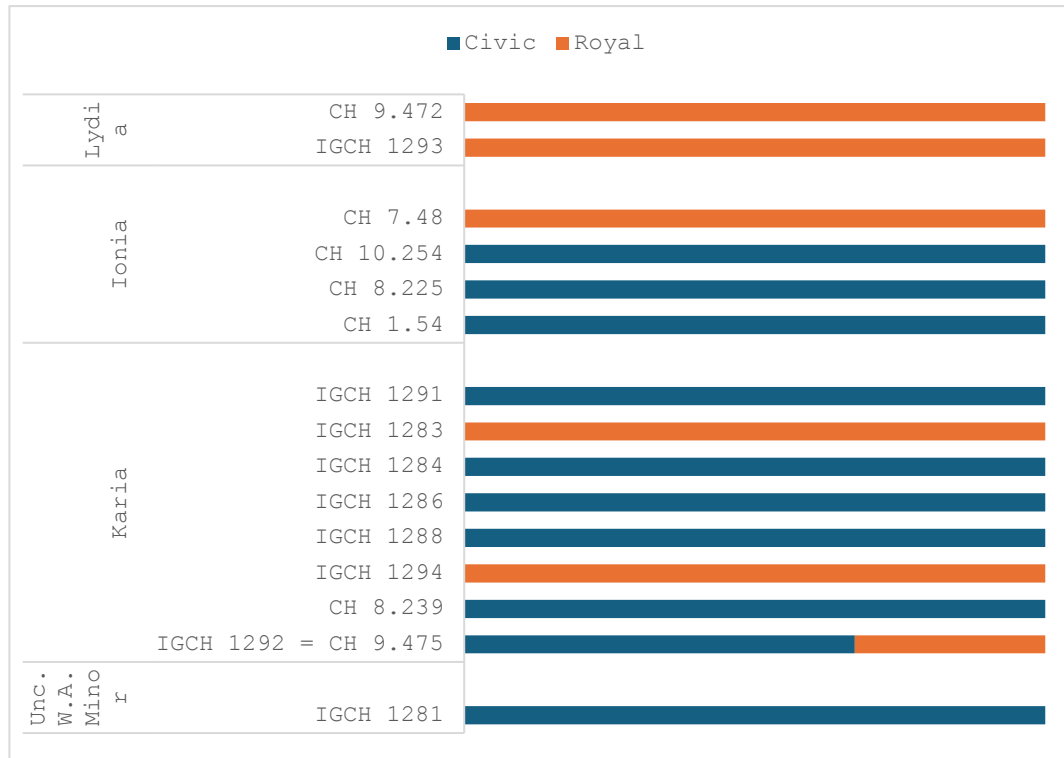


Fig. 104: civic vs. royal coinages in hoards from Western Asia Minor – late 4th/early 3rd century BC

A stronger presence of royal coins in western hoards also coincided with a wider circulation of issues outside of their place of production. Extra-regional emissions appear in half of the hoard evidence, and even when they are together with local coins, they are always the superior hoard component from a quantitative standpoint (**Fig. 105**).⁷¹⁴ As a result, the early Hellenistic period saw an even greater “fluidity” of the areas of monetary circulation identified in the 5th and 4th centuries (see **Table 54** above). In the seven hoards with “foreign” issues, royal products are almost always the main component. In fact, four finds only feature royal coins,⁷¹⁵ while a further hoard is mixed.⁷¹⁶ Instead, when alone, civic products almost exclusively stayed local,⁷¹⁷ in stark contrast with the 4th century BC.

⁷¹⁴ The only exception is “Muğla, 1945” (*IGCH 1292 = CH 9.475*), which features 38 Rhodian coins against 18 extra-regional royal and civic issues from Troas, Mysia, and Ionia.

⁷¹⁵ *CH 9.472, IGCH 1293, CH 7.48, IGCH 1283, IGCH 1294*.

⁷¹⁶ *IGCH 1292 = CH 9.475*.

⁷¹⁷ The only exception is “Leros, 1974” (*CH 1.54*) in Ionia, where we find didrachms and drachms from Rhodes and Kos. The very little interregional mixing of civic coinages thus seemed to have been restricted between Ionia and Karia – apart from “Leros”, “Muğla, 1945” (*IGCH 1292 = CH 9.475*) features one Ephesian civic tetradrachm together with Rhodian issues and royal products.

Admittedly, as we have seen in **Section 2.3.1.2**, several of the royal coinages produced in Western Asia Minor are of tentative attribution. Thus, when we see in **Table 54** above that, for instance, for the first time ever, Karian hoards featured coins from as far as Macedonia, Thrace, and Troas,⁷¹⁸ the Alexanders from the latter region are all from ‘Abydos’ – which may not be from Troas at all.

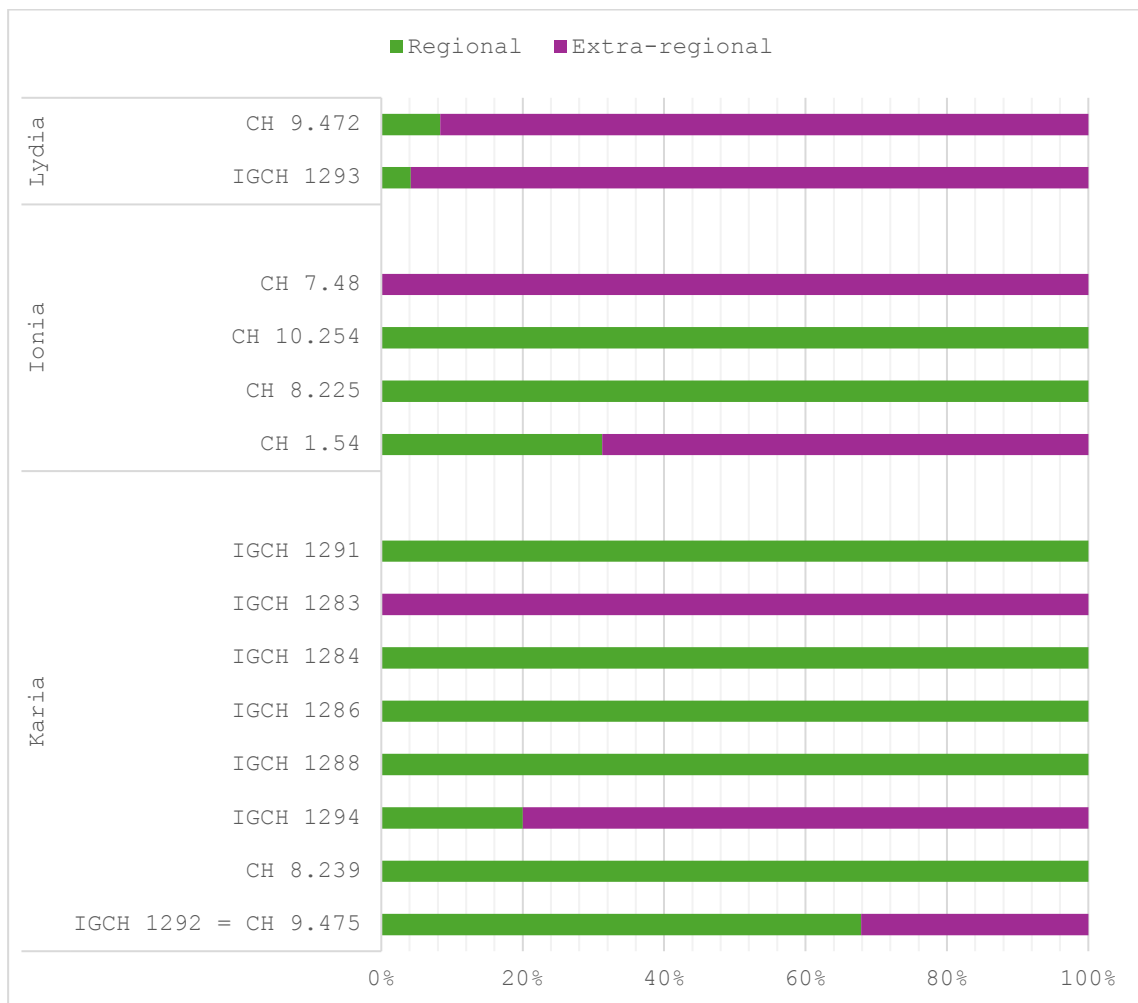


Fig. 105: regional vs. extra-regional coins (W. Asia Minor) – late 4th/early 3rd century BC

While civic silver issues saw their presence severely reduced in the hoard evidence of this period, bronze products overall acquired greater popularity. This was especially true for Ionia and Karia, as more than

⁷¹⁸ “Aphrodisias, 1969” (IGCH 1283): one Abydos (Alexander III). “Maiandros Valley, 1895” (IGCH 1294): one Amphipolis, two Abydos (Philip II posthumous gold staters). “Muğla, 1945” (IGCH 1292 = CH 9.475): two Abydos (one Alexander III, one Philip III), one Ainos (Lysimachos).

half of their finds feature coins in this metal (**Fig. 106**).⁷¹⁹ Similarly with the precious metal coinages, hoards with royal bronze issues represent a significant share of the evidence (five hoards out of fourteen: 38%). Royal bronzes appear alone twice,⁷²⁰ and they are mixed with civic products in three Karian find.

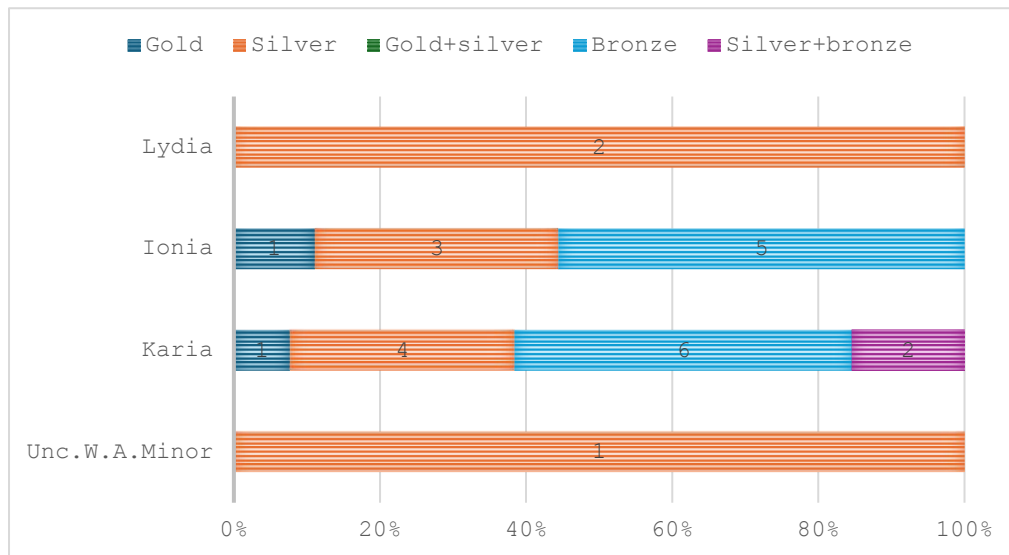


Fig. 106: hoards from Western Asia Minor by coin-metal – late 4th/early 3rd century BC

As far as royal coins are concerned, unsurprisingly, the early Alexanders are the predominant royal type, not only in western hoards, but in all of Asia Minor. They not only appear in almost all the royal hoards from this period, but they also hold first place among the other royal coinages in 96% out of forty-six hoards (**Table 55; Map 1**).

| | Hoard with royal coins | Hoard with Alexanders | Alexanders 1st place |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| W. Asia Minor | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| N. Asia Minor | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| C. Asia Minor | 18 | 17 | 16 |
| S. Asia Minor | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Uncertain A. Minor | 16 | 16 | 15 |

⁷¹⁹ No hoard with bronze coins has been recorded for the rest of Asia Minor, except for “Gordion hoard 8, 1967” (*CH* 9.470), from Phrygia, which contains twelve Alexander bronzes and one issue from Dardanos.

⁷²⁰ “Ephesos, before 1912” (*IGCH* 1282); “Karia, 1986” (*CH* 10.255).

| | | | |
|--------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|
| TOTAL | 47 | 46 (98%) | 44 (96%) |
|--------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|

Table 55. Source: IGCH, CH.

Despite a significant share of the royal hoards from the early Hellenistic period (sixteen out of forty-seven: 34%) comes from uncertain locations, **Table 55** above shows that the highest concentration of royal hoards is found in Central Anatolia. Furthermore, there, as well as in the South of Asia Minor, we find a much higher average number of royal coins per hoard compared to the West (**Table 56**).

| | N. Asia Minor | W. Asia Minor | C. Asia Minor | S. Asia Minor | Unc. Asia Minor |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| No. of hoards with civic coins | 4 | 10 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Avg. no. civic coins | 126 | 30.5 | 18 | 48 | 2 |
| No. of hoards with royal coins | 1 | 6 | 17 | 6 | 16 |
| Avg. no. royal coins | 3 | 20.1 | 108.8 | 390 | 81.3 |

Table 56: average number of civic coins vs. royal coins in hoards from Asia Minor – late 4th/early 3rd century BC. Source: IGCH, CH.

If we analyse the geographic origin of the contents of the royal hoards, it becomes evident that a large chunk of their contents is represented by western Alexanders.⁷²¹ In particular, from the death of the Macedonian king until the end of the 4th century BC, a fairly sharp division existed between two territorial groupings. On the one hand, the West and Centre only (or mainly) featured western coins, and almost none from the East; on the other hand, in the hoards from the South and Centre-East of Asia

⁷²¹ The following analysis will only include the hoards that bear an identified findspot, and more than half of whose contents have received mint attribution. Therefore, I will exclude a total of eighteen finds, almost double the number of the hoards here under consideration (twenty-five). For this reason, the following analysis may result very partial, and may be confirmed or changed by the evidence from the excluded hoards.

Minor, royal issues mostly came from Syria, the Levant, and Mesopotamia (**Map 2**). From c.300 BC until the battle of Koroupedion, the situation slightly changed, with some exceptions emerging in both areas. In fact, more eastern than western emissions make up the contents of some hoards from the West/Centre grouping – such as at Magnesia-on-the-Sipylos in Lydia,⁷²² and at Gordion in Phrygia.⁷²³ Instead, western Alexanders appear in the South for the first time around 300 BC,⁷²⁴ and constitute a major portion of the coins of two Kilikian hoards from the 280s BC (**Map 3**).⁷²⁵ Such a change from c.323-300 BC to c.300-280 BC may be attributable to Seleukos I's advancement into Asia Minor, which may have brought eastern Alexanders, together with his own coinage, westwards. In fact, Seleukos I's issues appear in both “Gordion III” and “Manissa” hoards – which, quite exceptionally for their regional contexts, contain more eastern than western royal coins.

Seleukos I's issues came predominantly from Mesopotamian mints. Instead, his issues from Sardis, Antioch, Seleukeia-in-Pieria, and Laodikeia-by-the-Sea only appear in the two Kilikian hoards dated from the very end of the early Hellenistic period – “Armenak” and “Mersin”, where they are, however, far fewer than the coins from Babylon and Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris (**Map 4**). Overall, we should not overstate the importance of Seleukos I's coinage – as shown in **Map 1**, at this stage, it was one of the “least popular” royal currencies in circulation, having survived only in eight hoards, all from the Centre

⁷²² “Manissa, 1971” (*IGCH* 1293): only one Milesian Alexander and two Lysimachi from Lampsakos and Ephesos against fourteen eastern issues.

⁷²³ “Gordion Hoard III” (*IGCH* 1403): more than half of its forty-two coins are from Arados, Damaskos, Carrhae, Babylon, and Ekbatana, against only one Sardian Alexander and one Pergamene Lysimachos.

⁷²⁴ “Asia Minor, southern, c.1960” (*IGCH* 1422).

⁷²⁵ “Mersin, c.1963” (*IGCH* 1424), from the 280s BC, and “Armenak, 1927” (*IGCH* 1423), from the 270s BC. Western coins represent, respectively, 30% and 70% of their contents. Admittedly, the exact findspot for “Armenak” is unknown, and Thompson 1986: 63-4 has preferred to identify its provenance simply as “Asia Minor” for several reasons – the uncertainties surrounding the identification of the exact location of “Armenak”, the high proportion of coins from Macedonia and Western Asia Minor, and the almost complete absence of issues from the southern regions. The “Armenak” hoard should indeed be treated with caution as a find from Southern Asia Minor. Its contents are fairly similar to those of “Mersin”, although the western coins of the latter hoard are not as predominant; furthermore, in “Armenak”, not only the southern, but also the eastern royal issues are significantly fewer compared to the western ones – an oddity in the monetary landscape of the South. This last detail may either point towards a different location for this hoard or suggest that from the very end of the early Hellenistic period western royal coins started arriving in elevated numbers in the South. As a comparison, in a later hoard from the 240s BC, “Meydancikkale, 1980” (*CH* 7.80 = *CH* 8.308 = *CH* 10.269), half of a total of 2941 Alexanders that have received mint attribution are from Western Asia Minor. This hoard represents the savings of soldiers in an area of conflict, at the border between the Ptolemaic and Seleukid spheres of influence (Davense & Le Rider 1989). Therefore, it may reinforce the notion that, in the post-Koroupedion era, Southern Asia Minor saw much higher numbers of western Alexanders arriving there than before, thus changing the previous patterns of monetary circulation.

and South of Asia Minor, except for only one find from Magnesia-on-the-Sipylos (**Map 4**), and three more from uncertain locations.⁷²⁶ Nonetheless, the penetration of eastern Alexanders into territories that had otherwise known a general predominance of western issues suggests that Seleukos I employed this very coin-type to finance his campaigns to Asia Minor.

Overall, it is undeniable that royal coins were ultimately hoarded more frequently outside of Western Asia Minor than in their place of production. Competition from civic issues, especially bronze ones, may have contributed to this phenomenon. However, various late 4th-century inscriptions mentioning Alexander coins suggest that royal issues did circulate in the West. In fact, these documents show not only that people used this coin-type as a measure of account, but especially that civic institutions were familiar with this royal coinage.⁷²⁷ Nonetheless, the impact of Seleukos I's campaigns on the geographic origin of the Alexanders buried in Asia Minor shows that military activity was a major factor in the creation of the hoarding patterns of this coinage, mostly leading it away from its place of origin.

Section 2.4. 3rd century BC

2.4.1. Production

2.4.1.1. Civic coinages

⁷²⁶ “Asia Minor, 1989” (*CH* 8.236); “Asia Minor, 1970” (*CH* 1.55); “Turkey, 1973/4” (*CH* 1.56).

⁷²⁷ See Psoma 2019.

| | 300-250 BC | 250-200 BC |
|---------------------------|------------|------------|
| Abydos | | |
| Ilion | | |
| Skepsis | | |
| Tenedos | A, L | A, L |
| Alexandreia Troas | A | A |
| Assos | | A |
| Kyzikos | | L |
| Parion | A | A |
| Lampsakos | A | A |
| Adramytteion | | |
| Pergamon | A | A |
| Pitane | | |
| Methymna | | A |
| Mytilene | | A |
| Elaia | | |
| Myrina | | A |
| Aigai | | |
| Kyme | | A |
| Temnos | | A |
| Magnesia-on-the-Sipylos | | |
| Sardis | | |
| Tralleis | | |
| Phokaia | | A |
| Smyrna | A | A |
| Klazomenai | A | A |
| Erythrai | A | A |
| Chios | A | A |
| Teos | | A |
| Kolophon | | A |
| Ephesos | A | A |
| Phygela | | |
| Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | A | A |
| Samos | | A |
| Priene | A | A |
| Miletos | A | A |
| Alabanda | | |
| Alinda | | |
| Euromos | | |
| Mylasa | | A |
| Iasos | | |
| Bargylia | | |
| Hydisos | | |
| Halikarnassos | | |
| Kalymna | | |
| Keramos | | |
| Kos | | A |
| Knidos | | A |
| Nisyros | | A |
| Kaunos | | |
| Rhodes | Au | Au, A |

Table 57: mints in W. A. Minor – 3rd century BC (grey squares = civic silver coinages; yellow squares = Seleukid domination; red-highlighted squares = Seleukid mints; Au = civic gold coins; A = Alexanders; L = Lysimachi). Source: *ARCH* (<https://greekcoinage.org/arch/>), accessed on 05/08/2024.⁷²⁸

The general decline of the civic coinages in Western Asia Minor that had started in the late 4th/early 3rd century BC also continued in the following period. In particular, in the 3rd century BC this decline was particularly evident in the north-western regions – especially Troas and Mysia, which for this period only count three and four civic mints, respectively. Instead, the bulk of silver civic coin-production came from Ionia and Karia, which have yielded twelve and fifteen civic mints respectively (**Table 57**). However, the 3rd century BC witnessed some dramatic fluctuations in the number of active civic mints. In fact, while this number was overall stable in c.280-225 BC, there was a significant drop in c.225-210 BC. Conversely, a dramatic increase followed in c.210-188 BC, with the number of active civic mints almost tripled (**Fig. 107**). This surge was caused by the opening of new civic monetary workshops, alongside pre-existing mints that resumed their activity after an interruption earlier in the 3rd or even 4th century BC – again, both mint-types were mainly found in Ionia and especially in Karia (**Fig. 108**).

⁷²⁸ The dates for Alexanders indicated in Price 1991 are integrated with Delrieux 2019a: 90-2 Table 1. For dating of Abydos, Ilion, and Lampsakos Lysimachi to the second quarter of the 2nd century BC, instead of the last third of the 3rd century BC: Ellis-Evans 2019: 37-46; Ellis-Evans & Erol-Özdizbay 2020: 42-3. For Assos and Phokaia Alexanders: Ellis-Evans 2021a. For Alexanders from Pergamon (Attalos I), Chios, Kyme, Temnos (c.235-225 BC): Ellis-Evans 2024a. For Mytilene and Methymna Alexanders: Ellis-Evans *forthcoming* (a). For Tenedos Alexanders and Lysimachi: Meadows 2021b. Skepsis civic AR (c.210-188 BC): Kagan 1984: 14-7; Ellis-Evans 2019: 37 n.3.

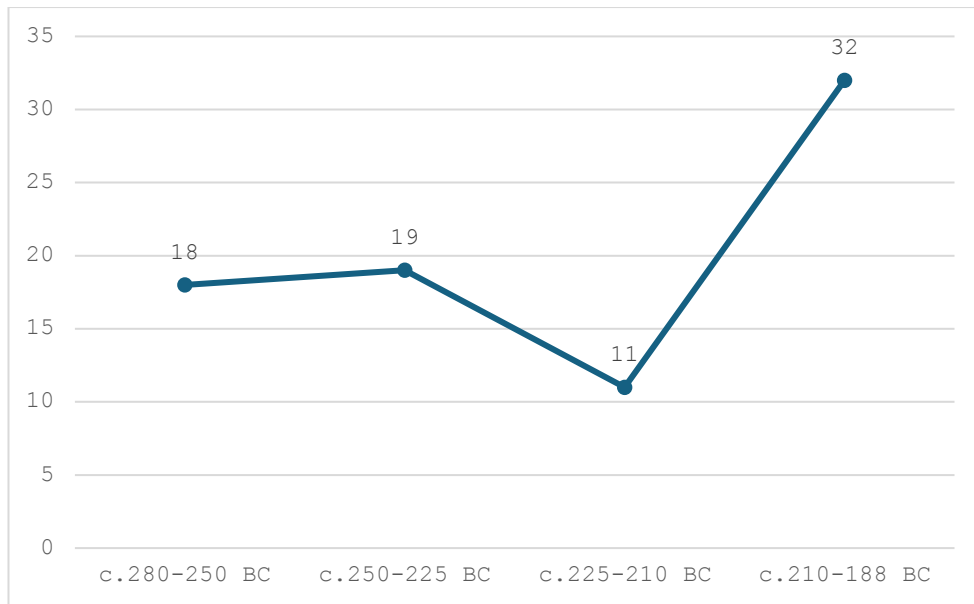


Fig. 107: no. of civic mints of Western Asia Minor active in different phases of the 3rd century BC.

Source: *ARCH* (<https://greekcoinage.org/arch/>), accessed on 05/08/2024.

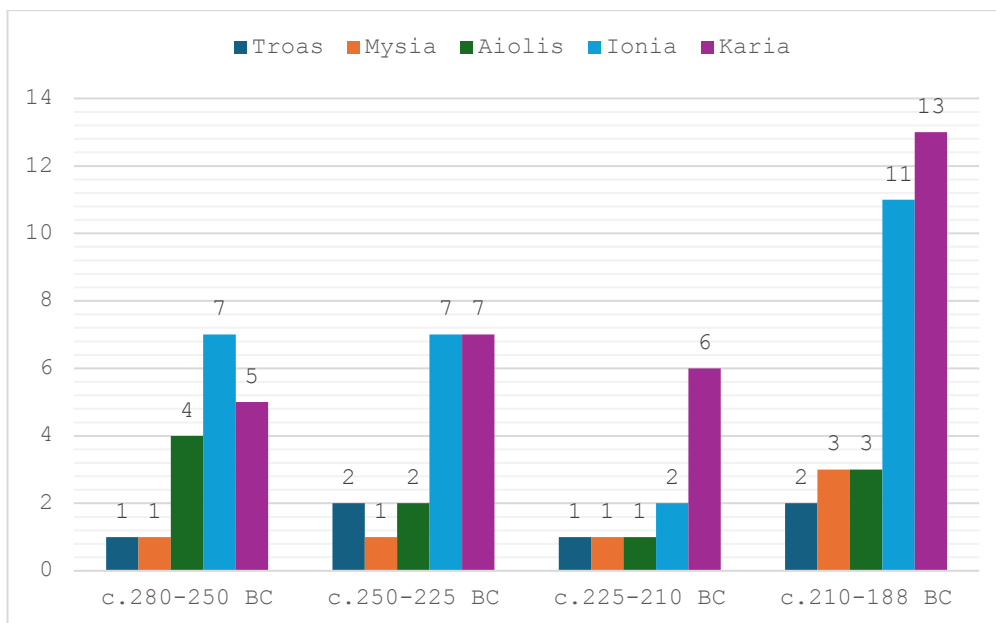


Fig. 108: no. of civic mints of Western Asia Minor by period of activity and region – 3rd century BC.

Source: *ARCH* (<https://greekcoinage.org/arch/>), accessed on 05/08/2024.

Striking of larger civic denominations, namely didrachms and tetradrachms, constituted a rare occurrence among these new civic mints (**Table 58**). Aside from Kos in c.280-250 BC⁷²⁹ and Rhodes from c.230 BC,⁷³⁰ no other civic tetradrachm had been produced until the late 3rd century BC, whereas minting of didrachms had enjoyed a slightly greater popularity, occurring at Kyme,⁷³¹ Ephesos,⁷³² Miletos,⁷³³ Kalymna,⁷³⁴ Kos,⁷³⁵ and Rhodes.⁷³⁶

| | Mints | Starting date | | AR denominations | | | |
|--|---------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|-----------|---------|-----------|
| | | Before c.200 | After c.200 | Tetradrachms | Didrachms | Drachms | Fractions |
| First time ever | Alabanda | | | | | | |
| | Alinda | | | | | | |
| | Tabai | | | | | | |
| | Euromos | | | | | | |
| | Bargyia | | | | | | |
| | Hydisos | | | | | | |
| First time since 4th c. BC or late 4th/early 3rd c. BC | Skepsis | | | | | | |
| | Adramytteion | | | | | | |
| | Aigai | | | | | | |
| | Temnos | | | | | | |
| | Smyrna | | | | | | |
| | Erythrai | | | | | | |
| | Teos | | | | | | |
| | Magnesia | | | | | | |
| | Priene | | | | | | |
| | Mylasa | | | | | | |
| | Halikarnassos | | | | | | |
| Kaunos | | | | | | | |
| First time since earlier in 3rd c. BC | Phokaia | | | | | | |
| | Chios | | | | | | |
| | Samos | | | | | | |
| | Miletos | | | | | | |

⁷²⁹ Stefanaki 2012: 7.17.

⁷³⁰ Ashton 2001: nos.212-215.

⁷³¹ Ashton 2012: Groups A-C.

⁷³² https://greekcoinage.org/iris/id/ephesus_kinns_holt_2023.iv.ar.xviii.

⁷³³ Marcellesi 2004: no.30.

⁷³⁴ Höghammar 2010: Type A.

⁷³⁵ Stefanaki 2012: 7.18-19.

⁷³⁶ Ashton 2001: nos.157-169, 180-187, 204-209.

Table 58: new civic mints of Western Asia Minor starting from c.210 BC onwards. Source: *ARCH*

(<https://greekcoinage.org/arch/>), accessed on 05/08/2024. For Skepsis: Kagan 1984: 14-7.

Instead, most of the new civic mints from c.210 BC onwards (86%: nineteen out of twenty-two) struck silver fractions, although the production of this denomination had largely fallen out of fashion by the end of the 4th century BC. In fact, out of the twenty silver fractional coinages that had been interrupted by c.300 BC, only six of them were resumed in the late 3rd century BC – namely, at Skepsis, Aigai, Temnos, Erythrai, Teos, and Priene.

Furthermore, while in the late 4th century BC several places had adopted the Persic weight-standard, which later also spread to Iasos, Kos, and Knidos from c.250 BC,⁷³⁷ around half of the new civic coinages of c.210-188 BC were Attic-weight issues – namely, the coins of Skepsis,⁷³⁸ Phokaia,⁷³⁹ Smyrna,⁷⁴⁰ Erythrai,⁷⁴¹ Chios,⁷⁴² Teos,⁷⁴³ Samos,⁷⁴⁴ and Halikarnassos,⁷⁴⁵ to which we should also add the Attic-weight drachms of Ephesos.⁷⁴⁶ However, rather than being the result of a joint minting effort coordinated by the cities themselves or by a higher authority, the current evidence on these issues suggests that the adoption of the Attic weight-standard probably resulted from mutual influence between mints belonging to the same region. In fact, these late-3rd-century Attic-weight coinages did not all begin at the same time; moreover, their minting cities were in different political situations at the time of their inception – for instance, Ephesos probably began its drachms under the Ptolemies,⁷⁴⁷ although this coinage later gained great popularity in Northern Syria (see **Chapter 1 – Section 1.4.2.1**); Teos, instead, was under Seleukid control when it started producing its Attic-weight issues. Nonetheless,

⁷³⁷ Ashton 2007; Höghammar 2007.

⁷³⁸ Kagan 1984: 14-7.

⁷³⁹ Ashton & Kinns 2002: Phocaea nos.13-15.

⁷⁴⁰ Milne 1921: Pl.3,2.

⁷⁴¹ Kinns 1980: Erythrae Period V, AR VIII-XI.

⁷⁴² Lagos 1998: Reduced Attic standard A-B, diobols.

⁷⁴³ Kinns 1980: Teos Period III, AR VII.

⁷⁴⁴ Barron 1966: 223-27.

⁷⁴⁵ *BMC* Karia: Halicarnassus nos.43-47.

⁷⁴⁶ Kinns 1999.

⁷⁴⁷ Kinns 1999: 80.

as Kinns has argued for Phokaia,⁷⁴⁸ Erythrai,⁷⁴⁹ and Teos,⁷⁵⁰ it is possible these new Attic-weight issues were associated with the contemporary late-posthumous Alexander tetradrachms (and sometimes drachms), one of the major monetary products of 3rd-century Western Asia Minor.

As we will discuss in **Section 2.4.1.2** below, the production of the Alexanders in c.210-188 BC may have resulted from requests for financial contributions from higher authorities, making these coins products made on behalf of others. The spread of the Attic weight-standard among civic coins could also be related to such requests to pay the troops of the Hellenistic kings, although this coin-type would have been suitable mainly for everyday transactions. However, the role of the civic authorities in the production of the late-posthumous Alexanders, as well as in the adoption of the Attic weight-standard for civic coins, cannot be completely ruled out.

2.4.1.2. Late-posthumous Alexanders

Coins with Alexander's types and legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ continued to be struck in 3rd-century Western Asia Minor. These Alexander issues are commonly referred to as "late posthumous". Their peculiarity consisted in the presence of civic mintmarks, which allow us to trace the origin of the issues. In the second and third quarters of the 3rd century BC, several places struck this coin-type, albeit only in brief, circumscribed stints, except for Chios and Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros, which minted Alexanders from c.280 BC until the end of the 3rd century BC.⁷⁵¹ A first batch of this coinage emerged in fifteen cities in c.280-275 BC, and later in nine cities around 227 BC, after Antiochos Hierax's death.⁷⁵² Finally, in parallel with the surge in the number of new civic issues from c.210 BC onwards, there was an "explosion" in minting of Alexanders, with the highest concentration of contemporary minting occurring at the turn of the century (**Fig. 109**) – namely, in the years of Antiochos III's second campaign in Asia Minor and of Philip V's conquest of Karia.⁷⁵³

⁷⁴⁸ Ashton & Kinns 2002: 24.

⁷⁴⁹ Kinns 1980: 150.

⁷⁵⁰ Kinns 1980: 222.

⁷⁵¹ Price 1991: nos.2004-2056 (Magnesia); 2316-2404 (Chios).

⁷⁵² Meadows 2019: 85.

⁷⁵³ See Ma 1999: 66-73.

Admittedly, this is the picture that emerges if we follow Price’s typology, which has been increasingly receiving corrections over the years. For instance, the recent publication of new hoard evidence has led Aneurin Ellis-Evans to move the dating of several late 3rd century BC Alexander mints to c.235-225 BC– namely, for Pergamon, Methymna, Mytilene, Temnos, Kyme, Chios, and an unidentified Aiolian/Ionian mint.⁷⁵⁴ Furthermore, Price’s date ranges such as “c.210-200 BC” or “c.200-190 BC” may give the false impression of continuous production, while Ellis-Evans’s study of the Alexanders of Phokaia shows that a first, brief emission of Phokaia Alexanders occurred in the 210s BC, followed by more episodic minting over the 190s BC.⁷⁵⁵ Therefore, it is possible that more evidence and further studies will provide changes and/or greater precision to the dates of many of these 3rd-century Alexander coinages. Nonetheless, the current impression for Western Asia Minor at the end of the 3rd century BC is of widespread minting activity of the cities.

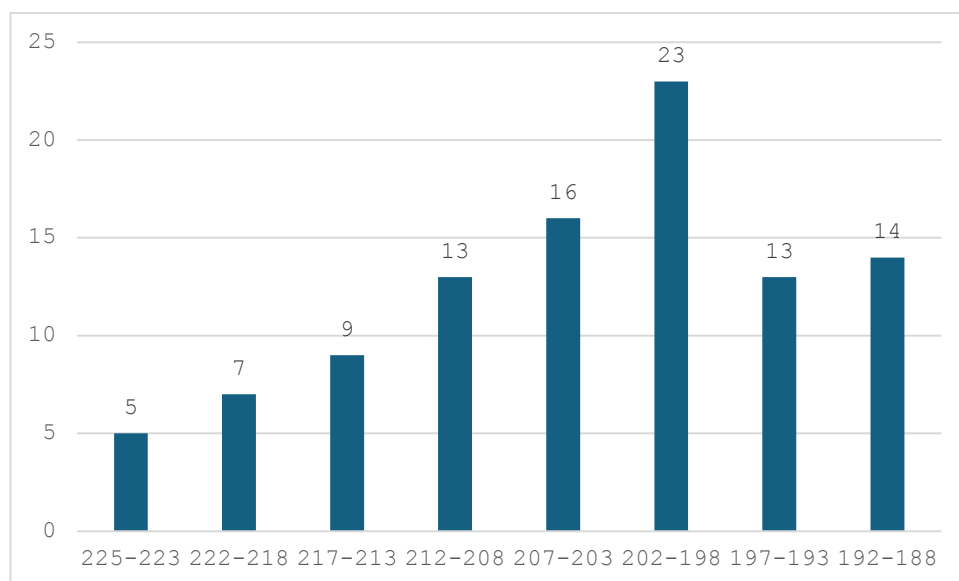


Fig. 109: no. of active late-posthumous Alexander-mints in Western Asia Minor (c.225-c.188 BC)⁷⁵⁶

⁷⁵⁴ Ellis-Evans 2024a: esp.114-15; Ellis-Evans *forthcoming* (a).

⁷⁵⁵ Ellis-Evans 2021a.

⁷⁵⁶ Dates from Price 1991 with Delrieux 2019a: 90-2 Table 1. For Tenedos Alexanders: Meadows 2024. For dating of Alexanders of Pergamon (Attalos I), Methymna, Mytilene, Temnos, Kyme, and Chios to c.235-225 BC: Ellis-Evans 2024a: esp.114-15; Ellis-Evans *forthcoming* (a).

The late-posthumous Alexanders of Western Asia Minor were struck mainly on the tetradrachm denomination.⁷⁵⁷ While we cannot appreciate the levels of production on a yearly basis with the same precision as for Arados and its *peraiia*, the available die-studies show us that the output of the western Alexander mints was not particularly large. Thus, they underscore the fact that these coinages were likely produced with civic resources, rather than with the injection of royal silver bullion (**Table 59**).

| | Years | No. obverse dies (drachm-equivalent) | Yearly average (drachm-equivalent) |
|-------------------|-------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| Pergamon | c.220-c.190 | 80 | 2.56 |
| Klazomenai | c.225-c.190 | 36 | 1 |
| Kolophon | c.200-c.190 | 40 | 4 |
| Erythrai | c.215-c.190 | 28 | 1 |
| Smyrna | c.220-c.200 | 40 | 1.8 |
| Teos | c.204-c.190 | 16 | 1 |
| Chios | c.210-c.190 | 56 | 2.64 |
| Knidos | c.201 | 24 | — |
| Mylasa | c.210-c.190 | 16 | 0.76 |
| Kos | c.201 | 16 | — |
| Rhodes | c.225-c.190 | 88 | 4.8 |

Table 59: output of late-posthumous Alexander mints (c.225-c.190 BC)⁷⁵⁸

The nature of the late-posthumous Alexanders of Western Asia Minor has long been a matter of debate. Despite their civic mintmarks, Meadows has recently insisted on the royal character of these coins, suggesting they fundamentally constituted a Seleukid phenomenon.⁷⁵⁹ Indeed, in **Chapter 1** we have observed the link between the late-posthumous Alexanders of Arados and its *peraiia* with Seleukid authority, despite the presence of the cities' mintmarks and of the Aradian civic era on these coins. In fact, their levels of production, while not the same as the royal coinages, intensified in periods of preparation for royal military campaigns – this has suggested that these Alexanders constituted civic contributions for the Seleukid kings' war efforts.

⁷⁵⁷ The only attested drachms are from Kolophon, Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros, and Phokaia (Price 1991: nos.1850; 2037, 2043A, 2045; 2230).

⁷⁵⁸ Numbers and dates from Delrieux 2019a: 104-6 Table 3.

⁷⁵⁹ Meadows 2019: 83-5 (the article focuses on the period 280-223 BC).

Nonetheless, while compelling, Meadows' interpretation of the western Alexanders from c.280-223 BC as essentially a Seleukid phenomenon suffers from the redating of several Alexander issues that Price attributed to the early 270s BC, but which, according to forthcoming studies, should be moved to the 290s BC instead.⁷⁶⁰ Furthermore, the redating of several Aiolian and Ionian Alexanders to the 230s BC has led Ellis-Evans to link these coinages to Attalid spending.⁷⁶¹ Meadows' model – at least in the strong terms he puts it – also does not apply well to the end of the 3rd century BC either. First, no Alexander mint is known to have been operative when briefly under Achaios' control – for instance, the series from Kyme and Myrina are dated c.230-225 BC, during the period of liberation by Attalos I;⁷⁶² or Phokaia's Alexanders, struck in the 210s BC, after its liberation by Attalos I.⁷⁶³ Later, only 38% of the Alexander mints from c.220-188 BC (ten out of twenty-six) were acquired by Zeuxis and Antiochos III in c.203 BC and in 197-192 BC.⁷⁶⁴ Therefore, the Alexanders of this period may have served to meet the financial needs of the other high-level authorities that interfaced with the cities of Western Asia Minor in the late 3rd/early 2nd century BC – various candidates emerge, like Philip V, although Attalos I was the most likely one.⁷⁶⁵ At the same time, some cities may have produced Alexanders to hire mercenaries themselves for defensive reasons, adopting this coin-type because of its popularity in the Hellenistic period. This was likely the case of the Alexander coinage of Rhodes,⁷⁶⁶ which was probably meant to pay for the military force of this city-island, rather than to contribute to the war efforts of the Hellenistic kingdoms.

Similarly, the role of the cities in the production and consumption of the late-posthumous Alexanders may have been important also in the earlier decades. In fact, if we consider the specific contexts in which they were active during the 3rd century BC, the Alexander mints operated in periods of political uncertainty and conflict. Aside from the redating of the Aiolian and Ionian Alexanders to the 290s

⁷⁶⁰ Ellis-Evans *forthcoming* (a): nn.33, 38.

⁷⁶¹ Ellis-Evans 2024a: 115; Ellis-Evans *forthcoming* (a).

⁷⁶² Price 1991: nos. 1612-1634 (Kyme); 1648-1658 (Myrina). See Ellis-Evans 2024a: 115.

⁷⁶³ Ellis-Evans 2021a: 67 (Phokaia Series 1a).

⁷⁶⁴ See Ma 1999: 54ff.

⁷⁶⁵ Ellis-Evans 2021a: 67-75.

⁷⁶⁶ Price 1991: 2509-2525A, dated c.225-190 BC by Ashton in Ashton & Kinns 2004: 95-8 (c.201-190 BC in Price 1991).

BC,⁷⁶⁷ in the early regnal years of Antiochos I, the weakening of royal supervision and the Galatian raids may have prompted some cities in Troas and Hellespontine Mysia to strike Alexanders in order to arrange their defense.⁷⁶⁸ Furthermore, as the hoard evidence will show below, the Galatians themselves seem to have had a “predilection” for this coin-type – thus, it is a suggestive possibility that the Alexanders of c.227 BC were produced by the cities of Western Asia Minor in order to pay tribute to the Galatians,⁷⁶⁹ after Hierax’s death had left them unprotected against the threat of these tribes.

Overall, as in the case of Northern Syria, the link between the Alexanders and situations of crisis and military conflict seems to apply to Western Asia Minor as well. Nevertheless, the interpretation of these issues may need to be more nuanced than for Arados and its *peraia*, simply because of the much more complex political history of Western Asia Minor, where several actors coexisted and competed in the same space. As a result, while in Northern Syria the connection between the late-posthumous Alexanders and the Seleukids seems quite strong, for Western Asia Minor this is not always the case. In fact, it is often unclear on whose behalf these coins were produced – whether for the other Hellenistic kings or for the cities themselves.

2.4.1.3. Royal coinages

Parallel to the civic issues and the late-posthumous Alexanders, the numismatic landscape of 3rd-century Western Asia Minor was further enriched by the production of a variety of royal coinages, the most important of which belonged to the Seleukids. The production of issues of this dynasty in the 3rd century BC began at a time of grave uncertainty for the Seleukid crown, following the assassination of Seleukos I at Lysimacheia in 281 BC. In these years, the mint of Sardis initially continued producing Alexanders

⁷⁶⁷ Ellis-Evans *forthcoming* (a): nn.33, 38.

⁷⁶⁸ Price 1991: nos.1339-1341 (Kyzikos), 1444-1456 (Lampsakos), 1458-1466 (Parion), 1588-1590 (Alexandreia Troas). See Ellis-Evans *forthcoming* (b): 41-4 for redating of Price 1991: nos.1457 (Lampsakos: SC 847), 1591 (Alexandreia Troas: SC 873) to c.280-275 BC.

⁷⁶⁹ See Liv. 38.16.13.

in Seleukos I's name in c.280-278 BC,⁷⁷⁰ followed by another Alexander series with the ANTIOXOY ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ legend, probably in c.278-277 BC (**Fig. 110**).⁷⁷¹



Fig. 110: AR Alexander tetradrachm of Antiochos I from Sardis with Zeus Nikephoros and ANTIOXOY ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ legend on reverse (SC 321.2a). Münzkabinett, Berlin:
<https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?lang=en&id=18228231&view=rs>

Antiochos arrived in Asia Minor around 278 BC to deal with the unrest in the northern regions, after his officials had been unsuccessful.⁷⁷² It was at this time that Sardis produced a commemorative issue of tetradrachms with Seleukos I's horned head on obverse and a horse head on reverse.⁷⁷³ The dynasty's founder's portrait continued to appear on later issues of Sardis with the Apollo on omphalos reverse design (**Fig. 111**),⁷⁷⁴ before finally changing to Antiochos I's head (**Fig. 112**).⁷⁷⁵



Fig. 111: AR tetradrachm of Antiochos I from Sardis with Seleukos I's portrait on obverse (SC 323.2).
 American Numismatic Society: <http://numismatics.org/collection/1967.152.671>

⁷⁷⁰ SC 3.3b. Reattributed to Antiochos I's early reign by Miller & Hoover 2010.

⁷⁷¹ SC 321. Newell 1941: 239-40 dated SC 321 to c.280-278 BC. Miller & Hoover 2010 have downdated this Alexander coinage to c.278-277 BC, so as to accommodate SC 3.3b (last Sardinian Alexanders with ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ legend) to the very first years of Antiochos I's early reign.

⁷⁷² Memnon *BNJ* 434 F1 9.1-3, 12.5. Strobel 1996: 212 dates the Seleukid official Hermogenes' defeat to 280 BC; Bittner 1998: 66 and Heinemann 2010: 216 date it to 279 BC.

⁷⁷³ SC 322.

⁷⁷⁴ SC 323.

⁷⁷⁵ SC 324-325.



Fig. 112: AR tetradrachm of Antiochos I from Sardis with Antiochos I's portrait on obverse (SC 325b).

Münzkabinett, Berlin: <https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?lang=en&id=18228251&view=rs>

Antiochos' portrait also appeared on other western Seleukid coins. As they are associated to Sardis for portrait style and controls, they were probably produced in an area that included Lydia, Aiolis, and northern Ionia. Precise mint-attribution, however, is difficult and should be approached with caution – nonetheless, they are conventionally assigned to Smyrna,⁷⁷⁶ an uncertain mint operating either at Smyrna or Sardis,⁷⁷⁷ Magnesia-on-the-Sipylos,⁷⁷⁸ and Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros.⁷⁷⁹

Antiochos I's final issues of his reign, struck at Smyrna/Sardis and Magnesia-on-the-Sipylos, introduced a new reverse design – a Herakles seated on rock (**Fig.113**).⁷⁸⁰ This type was peculiar to Western Asia Minor and would also later appear on Antiochos II's coinage from Aiolis/northern Ionia.



Fig. 113: AR tetradrachm of Antiochos I from Magnesia-on-the-Sipylos with seated Herakles on rock on reverse (SC 318a). American Numismatic Society: <http://numismatics.org/collection/1977.158.639>

Pergamon under Antiochos I constituted a separate case. Philetairos had joined the Seleukid cause against Lysimachos in 281 BC. For Seleukos I, he had minted silver tetradrachms with horned horse

⁷⁷⁶ SC 310-311.

⁷⁷⁷ SC 313.

⁷⁷⁸ SC 318.

⁷⁷⁹ SC 327-328.

⁷⁸⁰ SC 313, 318. Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.116.

head/elephant types and ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ legend.⁷⁸¹ Probably already before Seleukos I's death and during the uncertain early years of Antiochos I's rule, Philetairos minted Alexanders with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ.⁷⁸² Once Antiochos had secured control over Western Asia Minor, Pergamon remained under the Seleukid umbrella, but also showed signs of growing independence.⁷⁸³ Indeed, the epigraphic evidence attests to Philetairos' proactive attitude in performing acts of munificence towards Pergamon's neighbours and mainland Greece.⁷⁸⁴ This tension between Philetairos' subservience towards the Seleukids on the one hand, and his independence on the other, is well expressed on a coinage that he probably struck in the first half of his reign (280-271 BC), which showed Seleukos I's portrait on obverse, but an enthroned Athena, patron goddess of Pergamon, and the legend ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ on reverse (Fig. 114).⁷⁸⁵



⁷⁸¹ *SC* 1.

⁷⁸² *SC* 308. Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.119, following Newell 1936, attribute these Alexanders to Antiochos I's reign. For Meadows 2013: 156, instead, they probably belong to before 281 BC, as he finds it difficult to understand why Philetairos would have continued to mint in Seleukos' name, after the latter had been succeeded by Antiochos I. Newell 1936: Series 1 and 2B (= *SC* 1 and 308) would thus combine for a total of ten obverse dies, representing a massive output of Pergamene coinage in a very short period, between Philetairos' adherence to Seleukos' cause in mid-282 BC and the latter's death in Thrace in late 281 BC (see Meadows 2013: 157 Table 5.1). As Meadows 2013: 156 remarks, Philetairos did have the financial means to strike such a coinage. In that case, it would represent a substantial contribution to Seleukos' cause for the battle of Koroupedion and the expedition to Thrace, making Pergamon the most prolific Seleukid mint in Western Asia Minor – by comparison, Sardis only used two obverse dies for its lifetime Seleukos I Alexanders (Miller & Hoover 2010).

Admittedly, it was precisely for the large number of subsidiary symbols, obverse dies, and surviving specimens that Newell considered Pergamon's Alexanders with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ legend too big to fit into such a short period of time, from mid-282 BC to late 281 BC – instead, he believed that their production lasted at least five or six years (Newell 1936: 20-1). Therefore, it seems sensible to extend Meadows' dating of this tetradrachm series from late 282 BC to the uncertain early years of Antiochos I's reign. If this is correct, it would provide a nice parallel to the Sardian Alexanders of c.280-278 BC, also minted in Seleukos I's name (if Miller & Hoover 2010 are indeed right in their reattribution of *SC* 3.3b).

⁷⁸³ For Philetairos' relationship with Seleukid power, see Chrubasik 2013: 87-93.

⁷⁸⁴ For sources, see Orth 2008: 486.

⁷⁸⁵ Newell 1936: Series 3 = *SC* 309.

Fig. 114: AR tetradrachm of Philetairos from Pergamon with Seleukos I/enthroned Athena with

ΦΙΑΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ legend (SC 309.5a). Münzkabinett, Berlin:

<https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?lang=en&id=18231569&view=rs>

Eventually, from around 270 BC, Pergamon's coinage became fully independent from Seleukid iconography, displaying Philetairos' portrait on obverse and once again a seated Athena and the legend ΦΙΑΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ on reverse.⁷⁸⁶ From then on, Pergamon never again produced coinage bearing any explicit reference to the Seleukids. Instead, it continued minting *Philetairoi* even after Eumenes I took over the Pergamene *dynasteia*, although Philetairos' portrait did not wear a *strophion* anymore, but a diadem.⁷⁸⁷

Antiochos II's reign coincided with a proliferation of royal mints. Sardis only struck a single gold stater emission and a limited series of silver tetradrachms.⁷⁸⁸ Other mints were opened in Hellespontine Phrygia,⁷⁸⁹ Troas,⁷⁹⁰ Aiolis,⁷⁹¹ Lydia,⁷⁹² Ionia,⁷⁹³ and northern Karia,⁷⁹⁴ together with other unidentified workshops.⁷⁹⁵ Like his father, Antiochos II's coinage was marked by a greater variety of obverse and reverse types than on his contemporary issues from Northern Syria. On the obverse, Antiochos II's western coins displayed either Antiochos I's or Antiochos II's head. Only a few issues featured an idealised portrait of a young king, whose attribution to Antiochos II's reign is uncertain, due to the popularity of this obverse type on Antiochos Hierax's coinage.⁷⁹⁶

⁷⁸⁶ Westermark 1961: Group II. In his study of the Meydancikkale hoard, Georges Le Rider (Davesne & Le Rider 1989: 338) proposed to raise the starting date of the *Philetairoi* from Eumenes I – as suggested by Westermark 1961 – to the second half of Philetairos' reign.

⁷⁸⁷ Westermark 1961: Groups II-III.

⁷⁸⁸ SC 517-519.

⁷⁸⁹ Hellespontine Mint, perhaps Lampsakos: SC 484-486.

⁷⁹⁰ Abydos: SC 487. Ilion: SC 488. Alexandria Troas: SC 490-492.

⁷⁹¹ Aigai: SC 494-496. Perhaps Temnos: SC 497. Myrina: SC 498-501. Kyme: SC 502-505. Probably Kyme: SC 506-507.

⁷⁹² Perhaps Tralleis: SC 534-536.

⁷⁹³ Phokaia: SC 508-513. Phokaia, probably under Antiochos II: SC 514. Probably Phokaia: SC 515. Perhaps Smyrna: SC 516. Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros: SC 540-541. Perhaps Ephesos: SC 543. Probably Ephesos or Miletos: SC 546-547. Perhaps Miletos: SC 548.

⁷⁹⁴ Perhaps Bargylia: SC 549-550. Alinda or Mylasa: SC 551-552. Probably Stratonikeia, Mylasa, or Alabanda: SC 553.

⁷⁹⁵ SC 554-558.

⁷⁹⁶ See, for example, Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.177 (Alexandria Troas) and 1.183 (Phokaia).

We do not know whether the coins with Antiochos I's portrait all clearly precede chronologically the issues with Antiochos II's head. Houghton and Lorber suggest that the latter may have been introduced at the north-western mints after the end of the Second Syrian War.⁷⁹⁷ However, the authors of *Seleucid Coins* themselves admit that some mints may have been left unaffected by this change in portraiture, continuing to strike coins with Antiochos I's head on obverse.⁷⁹⁸ In fact, some mints seem to have shown a stronger preference for one portrait instead of the other – for instance, Antiochos I was a popular choice among the Seleukid mints of Aiolis/northern Ionia, whereas the northern and southern regions showed a stronger predilection for Antiochos II (Fig. 115).

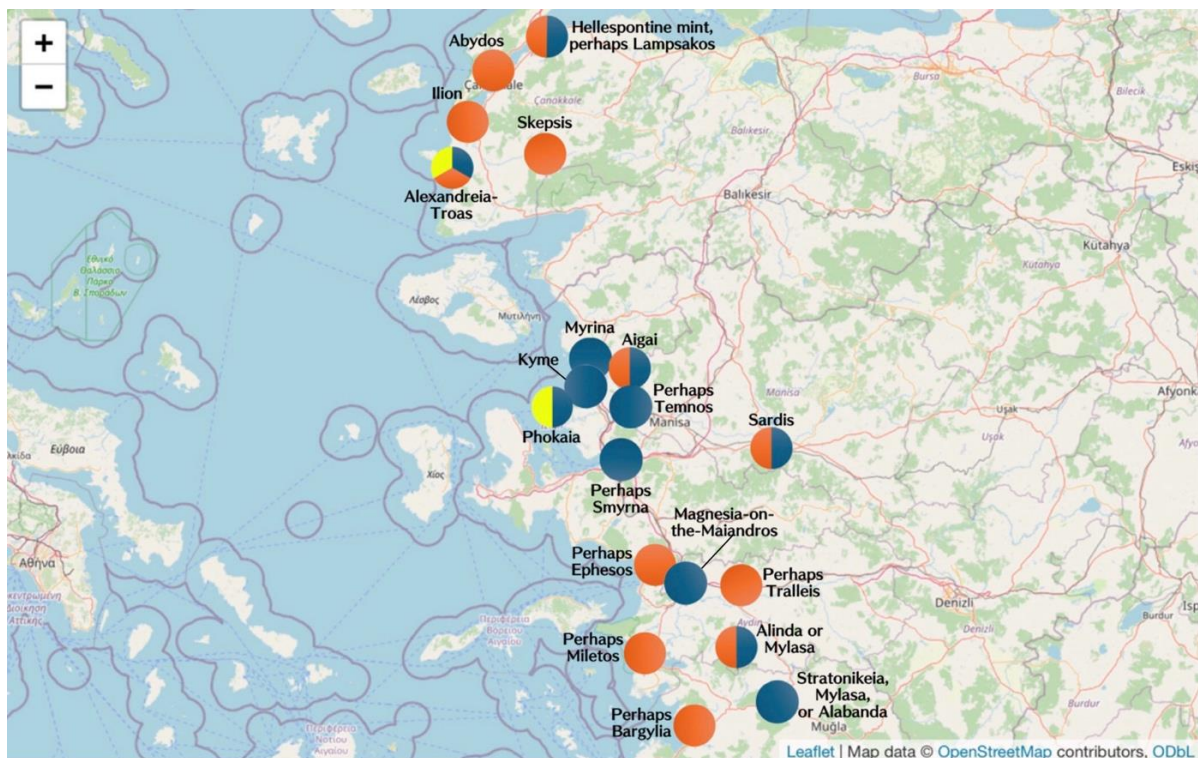


Fig. 115: Antiochos II mints in Western Asia Minor for gold and silver coins. Colours indicate different obverse portraits: Antiochos I (blue); Antiochos II (orange); idealised portrait of king (yellow)

⁷⁹⁷ Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.169.

⁷⁹⁸ Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.169. Afterall, Antiochos II's coinage from Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris (SC 586-587, Ad26) and Artakoana (SC 612-614) exclusively displayed his predecessor's portrait on obverse.

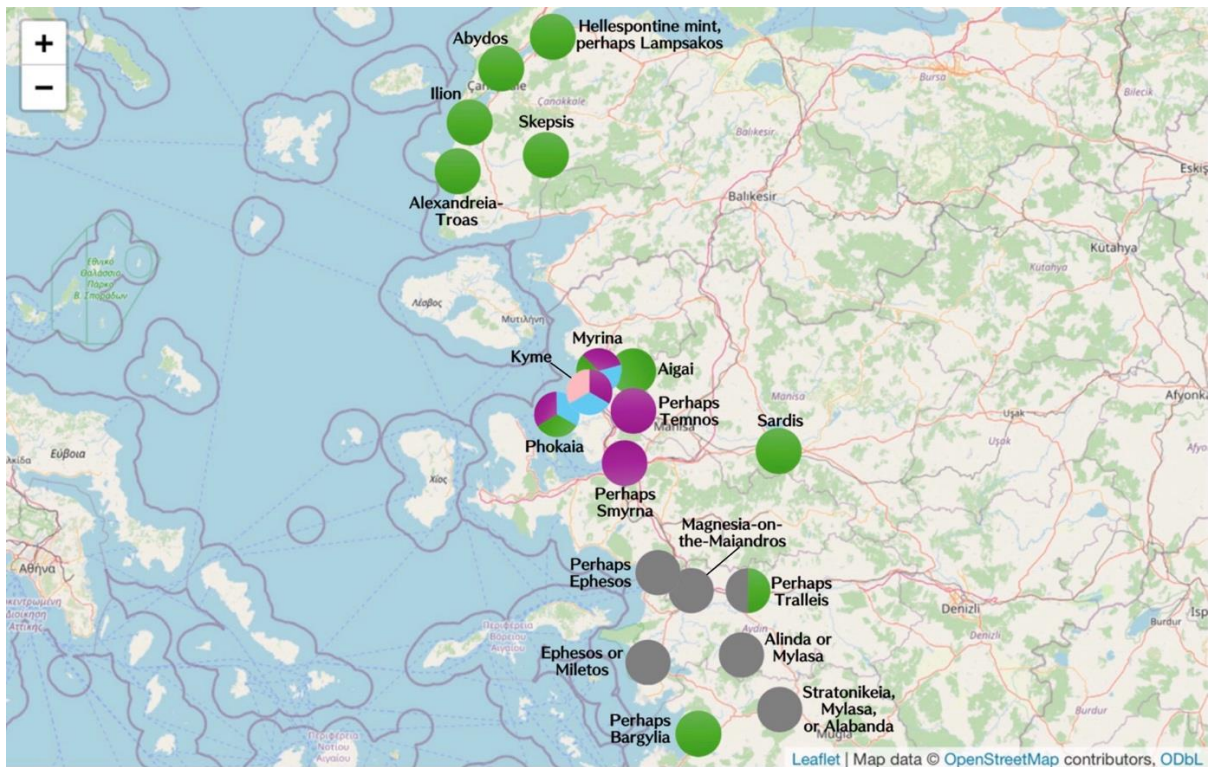


Fig. 116: Antiochos II mints in Western Asia Minor for gold and silver coins. Colours indicate different reverse types: Apollo seated on omphalos testing arrow (*green*); Herakles seated on rock (*purple*); Athena standing, holding filleted palm and Nike (*light blue*); Apollo seated on throne (*pink*); Apollo seated on omphalos holding bow (*grey*)

The reverse designs of Antiochos II's coinage also reveal similar regional patterns. The geographic distribution of the reverse types of Antiochos II's coinage reveals similar regional patterns (**Fig. 116**). For instance, the Hellespont and Troas, Aigai, Sardis, and perhaps Bargylia seem to have preferred the Apollo seated on omphalos reverse type (**Fig. 117**).



Fig. 117: AR tetradrachm of Antiochos II from Alexandria Troas, with Antiochos II/Apollo seated on omphalos holding arrow. (SC 491.2). Münzkabinett, Berlin:

<https://ikmk.smb.museum/object?lang=en&id=18283442&view=rs>

Aside from a gold stater of Myrina and some tetradrachms and drachms of Phokaia featuring the traditional Apollo seated on omphalos,⁷⁹⁹ Antiochos II's silver tetradrachms from Aiolis/northern Ionia mainly display the seated Herakles type (**Fig. 118**),⁸⁰⁰ which had been introduced at the end of Antiochos I's reign. By contrast, the gold staters of Myrina, Kyme, and probably Phokaia used the image of a standing Athena, holding a filleted palm and Nike (**Fig. 119**).⁸⁰¹ Finally, a workshop probably based at Kyme produced silver tetradrachms and gold staters with Apollo seated on a throne with lion's leg – an iconography that was derived from the Athena reverse of the *Lysimachi* and the *Philetairoi* (**Fig. 120**).⁸⁰²



Fig. 118: AR tetradrachm of Antiochos II from Kyme, with Antiochos I/Herakles seated on rock (SC 504.1). American Numismatic Society: <http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.78262>



⁷⁹⁹ SC 499; 508, 513.

⁸⁰⁰ SC 497 (perhaps Temnos), 500-501 (Myrina), 503-505 (Kyme), 509-512 (Phokaia), 516 (perhaps Smyrna)..

⁸⁰¹ SC 498; 502; 515.

⁸⁰² SC 506-507. Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.181.

Fig. 119: AV stater of Antiochos II from probably Phokaia, with Antiochos I/Athena Nikephoros holding a filleted palm (SC 515). Bibliothèque nationale de France:

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8567130m>



Fig. 120: AR tetradrachm of Antiochos II from probably Kyme, with Antiochos I/Apollo seated on throne with lion's leg, testing arrow (SC 507). Bibliothèque nationale de France:

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b85671311>

The most popular reverse type among Antiochos II's south-western mints, instead, was the traditional Apollo seated on omphalos, albeit holding a bow instead of testing an arrow.⁸⁰³ Already introduced by Antiochos I at Sardis and Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros,⁸⁰⁴ this reverse type appeared on coins of Antiochos II in combination with either Antiochos I's (**Fig. 121**) or Antiochos II's portrait on obverse (**Fig. 122**).



Fig. 121: AR tetradrachm of Antiochos I from Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros, with Antiochos I/Apollo seated on omphalos holding bow (SC 540.3b). American Numismatic Society:

<http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.78250>

⁸⁰³ SC 536 (perhaps Tralleis), 540-541 (Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros), 543 (perhaps Ephesos), 546-547 (probably Ephesos or Miletos), 551-552 (Alinda or Mylasa), 553 (probably Stratonikeia, Mylasa, or Alabanda).

⁸⁰⁴ SC 323, 327-328.



Fig. 122: AR tetradrachm of Antiochos II from perhaps Ephesos, with Antiochos II/seated Apollo on omphalos holding bow (SC 543.1b). Münzkabinett, Wien:

<https://www.ikmk.at/object?lang=en&id=ID107624&view=rs>

Overall, the geographic distribution of the obverse and reverse types of Antiochos II's western coinage suggests the existence of "regional units" operating independently from Sardis. We can clearly observe these "units" through instances of die-sharing and control-links, which attest to the transfer of magistrates between workshops within the same region.⁸⁰⁵ This sense of locality was further reinforced by the use of civic mintmarks. Their presence on many of Antiochos II's issues implies a degree of cooperation with the local, civic authorities – an impression that is confirmed by several control-links between Antiochos II's coins from Kyme, Myrina, and Phokaia and the contemporary civic Persic-weight didrachms of Kyme itself.⁸⁰⁶

However, civic mintmarks were applied systematically only on Antiochos II's coins from Troas and Aiolis/northern Ionia, whereas they were used much more rarely in southern Ionia/northern Karia.⁸⁰⁷ Nonetheless, the point about the decentralisation of Seleukid coin-production under Antiochos II is still valid, through the regional patterns expressed by the choice of different obverse and reverse types, and through the obverse and die-links between the coinages of neighbouring monetary workshops. At the

⁸⁰⁵ North-West: obverse die-link between Abydos, Ilion, and Alexandria Troas (SC 487-8, 491); sharing of portrait-type of Antiochos II between Skepsis and Lysimacheia (SC 493. Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.177). Aiolis/northern Ionia: control-links between Myrina, Kyme, and Phokaia (monogram ΦΩ: SC 500-501; 503-505; 512), between Aigai and Temnos (monogram ΔΗ: SC 495-496.1; 497), and between Kyme, Phokaia, and Smyrna (monogram ΑΡ: SC 502, 504.3, 505.2-5, 506-7; 508.1, 511.1, 511.3, 513.3; 516). Obverse die-link between Aigai and Temnos (SC 495.1-2a; 497).

South-West: control-links between Sardis and Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros (monogram ΑΣ: SC 518a; 541.2. Monogram ΑΙ: SC 518b-e, 519; 540.1), and between Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros and Ephesos (monogram ΑΣΚ: SC 540.4; 543.1).

⁸⁰⁶ See Ashton 2012. For a recent discussion of this, see Ellis-Evans 2021a: 68-70.

⁸⁰⁷ Mintmarks appear on single coins from perhaps Ephesos (a star – SC 543.4), perhaps Bargylia (statue of Artemis Kindyas – SC 549-550), and Alinda/Mylasa (a double-bladed axe – SC 552.2).

same time, portrait- and control-links between issues from different regions promptly remind us that production of Antiochos II's coinage also took place within a wider, imperial space.⁸⁰⁸ A further example of this is the palm branch reverse symbol that was shared among Antiochos II's Alexandrine gold staters of Myrina,⁸⁰⁹ Kyme,⁸¹⁰ Phokaia,⁸¹¹ Sardis,⁸¹² Miletos,⁸¹³ and even Tarsos –⁸¹⁴ this was the symbol that marked Antiochos II's "victory gold coins", meant to celebrate the Seleukid reconquest of Western Asia Minor.

Seleukos II's reign represented a significant departure from his father from a coin-production standpoint. His coinage only used one royal portrait-type – namely, Seleukos II's head – and introduced a new design on reverse – the standing Apollo, which was later adopted at Antioch after its liberation from Ptolemaic occupation (see **Chapter 1 – Section 1.3.1.1.1**). For Seleukos II, Sardis produced silver drachms and a quite extensive tetradrachm series –⁸¹⁵ their mint-attribution is made certain by control-links with Antiochos II's coins from the same place.⁸¹⁶ Outside of Sardis, however, Seleukos II's western production consisted entirely of short tetradrachm series – except for a gold stater –⁸¹⁷ that were struck at only a few mints. Houghton and Lorber have identified an uncertain north-western mint,⁸¹⁸ Teos,⁸¹⁹ Smyrna,⁸²⁰ Magnesia-on-the-Sipylos,⁸²¹ an uncertain Lydian mint,⁸²² another uncertain inland

⁸⁰⁸ Control-links between Phokaia and Ephesos or Miletos (monogram APK: SC 513.2; 547.1), and between Kyme and Alinda/Mylasa (monogram ΠΙΟ: SC 503; 551.1). Mint officials were also probably transferred from the North to Karia to operate a royal mint at Bargylia (SC 549-550), which imitated Antiochos II's portrait from Lysimacheia; furthermore, unusually for a south-western mint of Antiochos II, but similarly to Troas and Aiolis/northern Ionia, it used symbols as mintmarks and employed the seated Apollo on omphalos testing an arrow reverse type (Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.196).

⁸⁰⁹ SC 498.

⁸¹⁰ SC 502.

⁸¹¹ SC 515.

⁸¹² SC 517.

⁸¹³ SC 548; Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.195.

⁸¹⁴ SC 559-560.

⁸¹⁵ SC 652-656.

⁸¹⁶ Control-monogram AI: SC 517, 518b-e, 519; 652-654, 656. Control-monogram NΔ: SC 517, 518d-e, 519; 654.1, 654.3-4, 655-656.

⁸¹⁷ SC 671.

⁸¹⁸ Uncertain Mint 34: SC 643-643A.

⁸¹⁹ SC 644-646.

⁸²⁰ SC 647-650.

⁸²¹ SC 651.

⁸²² Uncertain Mint 35: SC 664.

workshop,⁸²³ Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros,⁸²⁴ and Ephesos.⁸²⁵ While a few more issues from Western Asia Minor have not yet been assigned to any city,⁸²⁶ the mint-attributions by Houghton and Lorber for Seleukos II's western coinages are admittedly all conjectural. In fact, unlike his predecessor, Seleukos II's coins do not feature any civic symbols.⁸²⁷ Therefore, Houghton and Lorber's mint-attributions rest exclusively on the grounds of portrait style and quality of Seleukos II's coins, and also on the political situation of Western Asia Minor more generally.⁸²⁸

Overall, despite the difficulties in attributing most of his coins, the limited numismatic evidence for Seleukos II's reign suggests a more predominant role for Sardis over the other western mints, but at the same time very little coordination overall, whether at a central or regional level. In fact, except for Sardis, Smyrna, and Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros,⁸²⁹ no control-links are visible among Seleukos II's western issues, nor does Sardis seem to have exercised a strong influence on the artistic execution of the coins of the other mints.

Hierax's coinage was marked by a strong continuity with Antiochos II's production.⁸³⁰ The geography of his mints reflects the shift from Sardis to North-Western Asia Minor as the centre of his royal power. In fact, while several mints were opened in Aiolis,⁸³¹ northern Ionia,⁸³² and inland Asia Minor,⁸³³ the

⁸²³ *SC* 667-668.

⁸²⁴ *SC* 669.

⁸²⁵ *SC* 671-672.

⁸²⁶ *SC* 674-675.

⁸²⁷ The only exception is Teos(?) (*SC* 644-646), which employed a branch mintmark, see Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.238.

⁸²⁸ *E.g.*, Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.239 (Smyrna as producer of *SC* 647-650 because of the elevated "artistic self-confidence" in the portraits, and strong Sardian influence on the Apollo reverse, which all suggest "that the mint was located in one of the great cities of western Asia Minor"), 1.247 (Ephesos as producer of *SC* 671-672 because of "fine style and workmanship of the present series"; production of gold staters, that "highlights the importance of the mint"; and an "Antiochene flavor" of the coins, which suggests possible involvement of refugees from Ptolemaic occupation of Northern Syria).

⁸²⁹ Control-monogram ΘE: *SC* 647-649 (perhaps Smyrna), 653.2-3, 654.2 (Sardis). Control-monogram AI: *SC* 652-654 (Sardis), 669.2 (perhaps Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros).

⁸³⁰ For a brief discussion of Hierax's coinage, see also Boehringer 1993: 42-3.

⁸³¹ Elaia: *SC* 888. Aigai: *SC* 889-890. Perhaps Temnos: *SC* 891. Uncertain Mint 47: *SC* 892. Unattributed issue, perhaps of Aiolis or northern Ionia: *SC* 893.

⁸³² Phokaia: *SC* 894. Probably Phokaia: *SC* 895. Perhaps Teos: *SC* 896. Perhaps Smyrna, or perhaps Sardis: *SC* 897-899.

⁸³³ "Sardis" (probably Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos): *SC* 900-903. Probably "Sardis": *SC* 904. Uncertain Mint 35: *SC* 905. ΕΠΙΟ Mint, probably in Phrygia: *SC* 906-908.

most intense minting activity occurred in Troas⁸³⁴ and the Hellespont,⁸³⁵ where coin-production was organised around regional centres – namely, Alexandria Troas in Troas, and Abydos in the Hellespontine area, before it was probably closed and the personnel transferred to Lysimacheia and Lampsakos.⁸³⁶

Overall, aside from the drachms of the EΠO Mint (probably from Phrygia),⁸³⁷ Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros,⁸³⁸ and perhaps Tralleis,⁸³⁹ Hierax's coinage entirely consisted of silver tetradrachms, and it marked the return of civic mintmarks, which, similarly to Antiochos II, appeared systematically in Troas, Mysia, Aiolis, and northern Ionia,⁸⁴⁰ but not anywhere else – save for some tetradrachms of probable Phrygian origin.⁸⁴¹ Furthermore, some level of collaboration between civic and royal authorities also emerges through control-links to civic coinages.⁸⁴²

Except for Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros and Tralleis,⁸⁴³ Hierax's issues displayed the traditional Apollo on omphalos testing an arrow as a reverse type. The iconography of the obverse, instead, was much more varied. In fact, Hierax's coins reprised the earlier Seleukid tradition of using the portrait of the predecessors of the current ruler. While it is impossible to determine whether they were used as part of a coherent iconographic program that reflected the different phases of Hierax's reign,⁸⁴⁴ the royal portraits on Hierax's coinage, similarly to Antiochos II, tended to appear in some areas with a greater probability than elsewhere. Thus, Antiochos I was predominantly featured on Hierax's north-western

⁸³⁴ Ilion: *SC* 864-872. Alexandria Troas: *SC* 873-883. Imitative issues of Alexandria Troas: *SC* 884-886. Skepsis: *SC* 887.

⁸³⁵ Parion: *SC* 835-839. Abydos: *SC* 840-842. Perhaps Abydos: *SC* 843. Barbarous imitations of Abydos issues: *SC* 844-845. Barbarous imitation of Abydos or Lampsakos: *SC* 846. Lampsakos: *SC* 847-856. Finally, Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.205-6 have given a series of silver tetradrachms a Hellespontine attribution based on portrait style – Uncertain Mint 46: *SC* 860-861; Perhaps Uncertain Mint 46: *SC* 862; Unattributed issue of the Hellespont or Troas: *SC* 863.

⁸³⁶ Three obverse dies were transferred from here to Lysimacheia and Lampsakos (*SC* 874-83).

⁸³⁷ *SC* 908.

⁸³⁸ *SC* 909.

⁸³⁹ *SC* 911-912.

⁸⁴⁰ Except for Smyrna(?) (*SC* 897-899).

⁸⁴¹ *SC* 901, 902.2, 903.2 ("Sardis", probably Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos).

⁸⁴² Alexandria Troas (*SC* 874-883) employed control-marks that had persisted since c.280-175 BC and that eventually survived after the battle of Magnesia in 189 BC, suggesting they were very likely of civic origin (Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.308). Ilion also shared a control-mark with its civic bronzes (monogram BX: *SC* 866.2, Bellinger T24, 27; Bellinger 1961: 19).

⁸⁴³ *SC* 909, 911-912: Apollo on omphalos holding a bow reverse type.

⁸⁴⁴ Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.294.

coins;⁸⁴⁵ Antiochos II in the South-West,⁸⁴⁶ despite also appearing on issues from the North-West;⁸⁴⁷ the portrait of a generic king of difficult identification – sometimes young,⁸⁴⁸ other times adult or even mature –⁸⁴⁹ was especially used in Aiolis/northern Ionia; and, finally, Hierax himself was depicted as an idealised young king in the North-West and Aiolis/northern Ionia,⁸⁵⁰ but with more adult-like features in Phrygia (**Fig. 123**).⁸⁵¹ Finally, it is worth mentioning that the royal portrait on the obverse of Hierax's coins at Alexandria Troas always featured a winged diadem.⁸⁵²

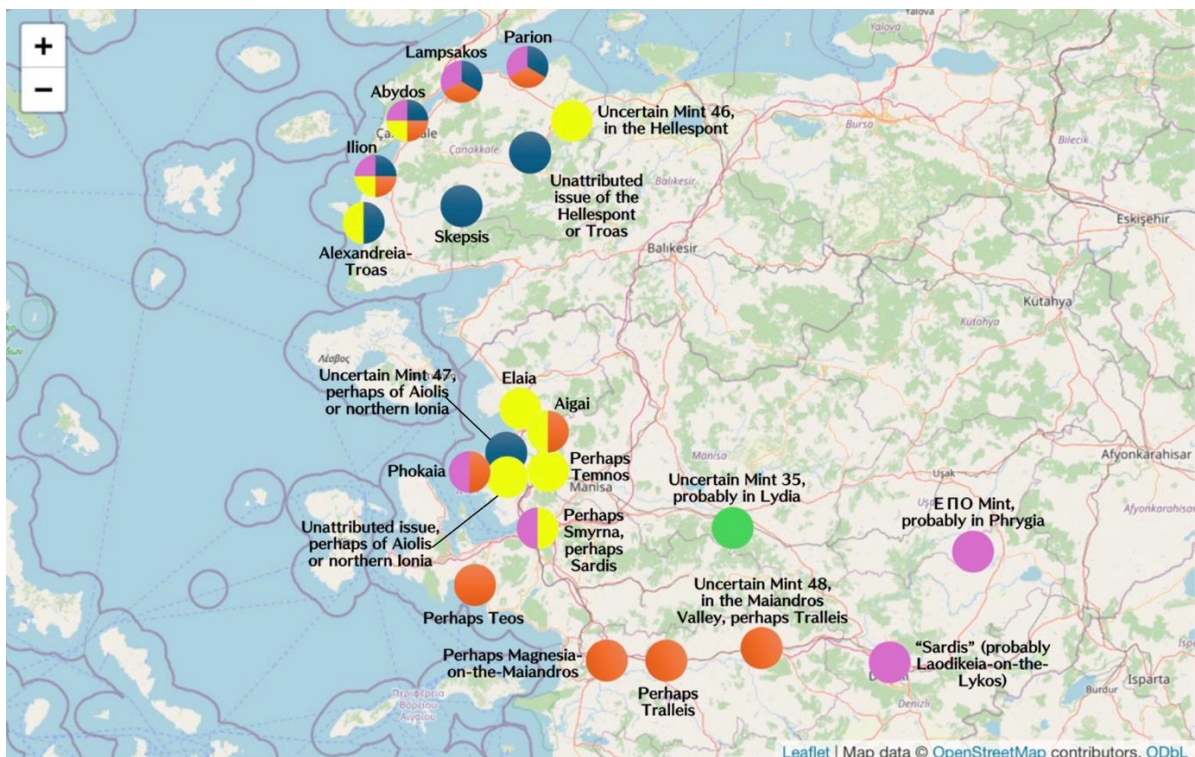


Fig. 123: Antiochos Hierax mints in Western Asia Minor for gold and silver coins. Colours indicate different obverse portraits: Antiochos I (blue); Antiochos II (orange); idealised portrait of king (yellow); Antiochos Hierax (purple)

⁸⁴⁵ SC 837-838; 840; 848; 863; 866-867, 871-872; 874-876, 878, 880-882, 884; 887.

⁸⁴⁶ SC 909, 910, 911-912.

⁸⁴⁷ SC 835, 841, 853-855, 864, 889, 894, 896.

⁸⁴⁸ SC 843; 861; 868; 877, 879, 885-886; 890; 891; 897.

⁸⁴⁹ SC 844-845; 846; 860; 862; 865, 869; 883; 888; 893; 913.

⁸⁵⁰ SC 836, 842, 849-852, 870, 895, 898-899.

⁸⁵¹ SC 900-904, 906-908.

⁸⁵² SC 874-883.

Antiochos III's issues represent the last major Seleukid coinage of Western Asia Minor. As mentioned in **Chapter 1 – Section 1.3.1.1.1**, their peculiarity was the use of changing royal portraits, showing the ruler as he aged throughout his reign. This allows us to roughly associate certain coinages of Antiochos III with the different phases of his recovery of Western Asia Minor in the late 3rd/early 2nd century BC. Thus, soon after Seleukos III's assassination, in the first months of Antiochos III's reign, the king's cousin Achaios struck silver tetradrachms bearing Seleukos III's portrait but the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY legend on reverse, probably at an inland mint, perhaps Apameia-Kelainai.⁸⁵³ Presumably, Achaios' choice of portrait at this early stage was influenced by the fact that the official iconography of the king had not yet been established. Instead, in the following two years, as he recovered the lost territories from Attalos I while holding the throne for the king in the West,⁸⁵⁴ Achaios probably produced silver tetradrachms with the portrait of a young Antiochos III (Houghton & Lorber Type Aii) at Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos(?),⁸⁵⁵ in Mysia(?),⁸⁵⁶ and perhaps in Aiolis/northern Ionia (**Fig. 124**).⁸⁵⁷



Fig. 124: AR tetradrachm of Antiochos III, perhaps from Aiolis/northern Ionia, from 222-220 BC or 216-213 BC (SC 965). American Numismatic Society: <http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.78234>

However, following his successes in Asia Minor, Achaios eventually assumed the royal diadem in 220 BC, in open rebellion against Antiochos III.⁸⁵⁸ As king, Achaios struck gold staters and silver tetradrachms in his own name and with a non-Seleukid reverse design – Athena Promachos brandishing

⁸⁵³ SC 999 (Uncertain Mint 49, in Phrygia, perhaps Apameia).

⁸⁵⁴ Pol. 4.48.6-10.

⁸⁵⁵ "Sardis" – really a Phrygian mint, probably Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos: SC 989-990.

⁸⁵⁶ Uncertain Mint 53: SC 961, Perhaps Uncertain Mint 53: SC 963.

⁸⁵⁷ Unattributed issue, perhaps of Aiolis or northern Ionia: SC 965.

⁸⁵⁸ Pol. 4.48.6-13.

a spear and a shield.⁸⁵⁹ Houghton and Lorber have attributed this series to Sardis, Achaïos' base of operations,⁸⁶⁰ while some of his bronze coins were probably struck during his Pisidian campaign.⁸⁶¹

Antiochos III himself embarked on his first expedition to Asia Minor in c.216 BC, repressing Achaïos' rebellion in late 214 BC after a successful siege of Sardis.⁸⁶² The silver tetradrachms with the young Antiochos III's portrait from Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos(?),⁸⁶³ Mysia(?),⁸⁶⁴ and Aiolis/northern Ionia(?)⁸⁶⁵ that I have attributed to the years before Achaïos' rebellion may have instead been produced during this first campaign in Asia Minor. Probably after the fall of Sardis, Antiochos also struck silver drachms – together with bronzes – displaying the elephant reverse type,⁸⁶⁶ likely to pay for the setting up of the royal garrison of Sardis.

The royal coinages that either Zeuxis or Antiochos III produced on the following campaigns in Western Asia Minor were all tetradrachms, except for a single gold stater from (perhaps) Sardis.⁸⁶⁷ Thanks to the various portrait-types, we can associate Antiochos' issues to the various phases of his reconquest of Western Asia Minor. Thus, apparently, the largest share of his royal minting occurred in c.203-197 BC, during the campaigns to recover the south-western regions (**Fig. 125**).⁸⁶⁸ Before then, instead, while the king was away on his eastern *anabasis*, royal coin-production under Zeuxis' administration had mainly occurred at Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos(?),⁸⁶⁹ which operated alongside two uncertain mints from Western

⁸⁵⁹ See Chrubasik 2016: 106-11 for discussion of the iconography of Achaïos' coinage and of its anti-Seleukid message.

⁸⁶⁰ *SC* 952-953, Ad199-200.

⁸⁶¹ *SC* Ad202-203, C953, Ad204; Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008: 1.685.

⁸⁶² *Pol.* 7.15-8, 8.15-21.

⁸⁶³ *SC* 989-990.

⁸⁶⁴ *SC* 961, 963.

⁸⁶⁵ *SC* 965.

⁸⁶⁶ *SC* 976; Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.373. The association with the elephant bronzes of Sardis (*SC* 977-982) is suggested not only by the same orientation of the elephant on reverse, but also by a control-link with the bronze *SC* 981.1b (control-monogram Ιω). Of particular interest is the fact that the same reverse design had already appeared on drachms probably from Apameia-on-the-Orontes, which similarly featured the portrait of a young Antiochos III (*SC* 1065). However, differently from the Syrian issues, the elephant on the drachms and bronzes of (probably) Sardis was oriented towards left, instead of right.

⁸⁶⁷ Probably Uncertain Mint 56: *SC* 988.

⁸⁶⁸ *SC* 964 (perhaps Kyme), 967 (Uncertain Mint 55, perhaps in Aiolis or northern Ionia), 969 (Unattributed issue of Western Asia Minor), 985 (Uncertain Mint 56, perhaps Sardis), 993-998 ("Sardis", probably Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos), 1005-1006 (Uncertain Mint 57, perhaps Synnada).

⁸⁶⁹ *SC* 991-992.

Asia Minor.⁸⁷⁰ Similarly, only three (or four) mints were active in c.197-190 BC,⁸⁷¹ but only one of them (perhaps Sardis) remained operative until the battle of Magnesia-on-the-Sipylos in 189 BC.⁸⁷²

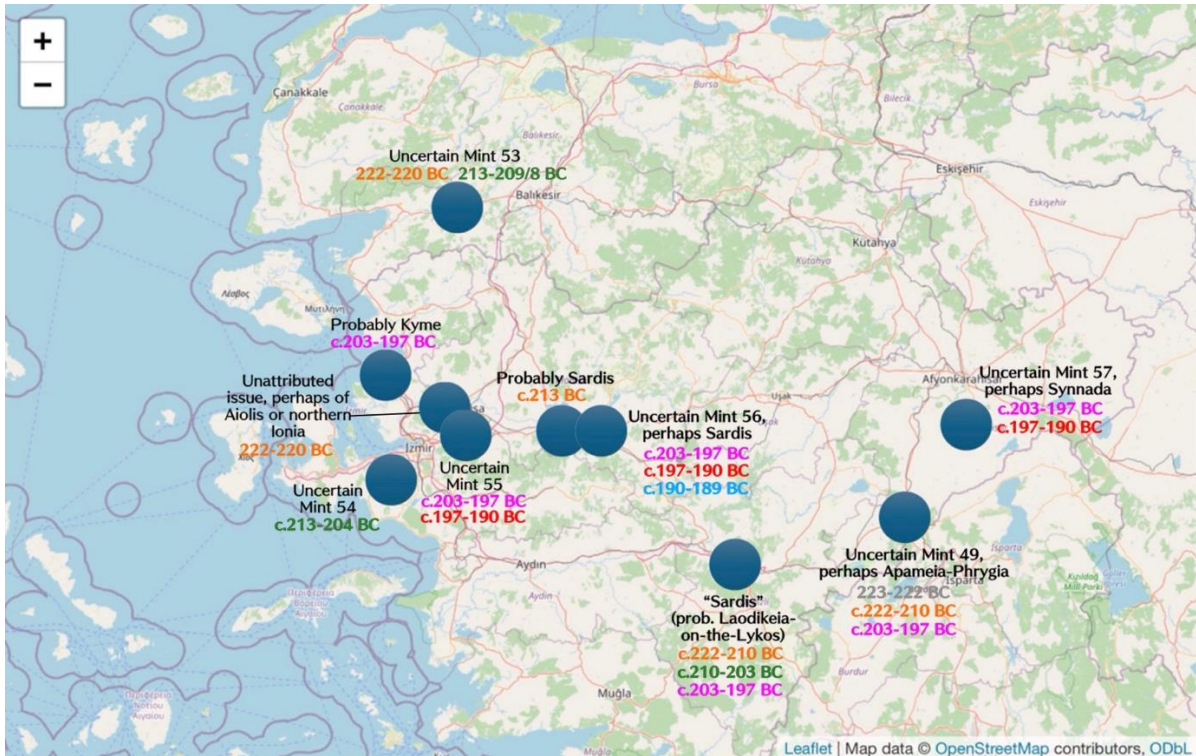


Fig. 125: mints of Antiochos III in Western Asia Minor with plausible dates of activity based on portrait-type (Houghton & Lorber Type Aii: c.222-210 BC; Type B: c.210-203 BC; Type Cii: c.203-197 BC; Type D: c.197-190 BC; Type E: c.190-188 BC. See Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.357-59)

While the portrait-types allow us to outline a rough chronology of Antiochos III's coin-production in Western Asia Minor, the fundamentally uncertain origin of most of his coins, however, prevents us from identifying a clear model of royal coin-production in Western Asia Minor under this ruler. In fact, the absence of any civic symbols has forced Houghton and Lorber to mainly rely on stylistic criteria.⁸⁷³

⁸⁷⁰ SC 962 (Uncertain Mint 53, perhaps in Mysia), 966 (Uncertain Mint 54, perhaps in Northern Ionia).

⁸⁷¹ SC 968 (Uncertain Mint 55), 970 (unattributed issue of Western Asia Minor), 986 (Uncertain Mint 56, perhaps Sardis), 988 (probably Uncertain Mint 56), 1007-1009 (Uncertain Mint 57, perhaps Synnada).

⁸⁷² From c.190-189 BC (Houghton & Lorber portrait type E): SC 987 (Uncertain Mint 56, perhaps Sardis).

⁸⁷³ For instance, Houghton and Lorber have given a western attribution to SC 961-963 (Uncertain Mint 53), 970 (Uncertain issues), 967-968 (Uncertain Mint 55), 990, 992, 995, 998 ("Sardis", probably Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos), and 1006, 1008 (Uncertain Mint 57, perhaps Synnada), due to the presence of two large pellets or a single large pellet flanked by two disks on Apollo's bow grip on reverse. Instead, Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.377 give a tentative Sardian attribution to SC 985-987, as the "ostentatious character of the series, as well as its volume and

If we accept their tentative attribution of the elephant tetradrachms and drachms,⁸⁷⁴ as well as of Antiochos III's only gold stater from Western Asia Minor,⁸⁷⁵ then Sardis seems to have assumed a primary role in the production of coins for this king, especially in the late 3rd/early 2nd century BC. Furthermore, the absence of any civic mintmarks strongly suggests that royal coin-production was kept "in house", although there seems to have been very little coordination among the various royal workshops, as control and portrait-links between Antiochos III's coins from different mints are rare.⁸⁷⁶ However, despite a more centralised approach than under Antiochos II and Antiochos Hierax, the royal administration of Antiochos III seems to have relied mostly on inexperienced or probably even unofficial minters, perhaps recruited among the former Galatian mercenaries settled in the Anatolian hinterland.⁸⁷⁷ However, the technical inconsistencies and crude style of the coins from inland places such as Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos(?) or Synnada(?) reveal not only mint inexperience, but also weak royal supervision (**Fig. 126**).⁸⁷⁸ As a further example of this, some of the inland coins were overstruck either on Alexander issues or even on earlier tetradrachms of Antiochos III (**Fig. 127**).⁸⁷⁹ As Newell has rightly pointed out, it is unclear why there would have been any need to overstrike coins that were already perfectly acceptable everywhere.⁸⁸⁰ These overstruck issues were probably the product of people unfamiliar with a monetised economy. Antiochos III's royal administration did attempt to

duration, imply an important mint." Finally, SC 989-998 are attributed to an inland mint, probably Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos, due to "artistic and technical inconsistencies" (Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.379).

⁸⁷⁴ SC 976, 985-987; Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.377.

⁸⁷⁵ SC 988; Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.378.

⁸⁷⁶ Control-link (monogram ΩΡ) between SC 967-968 (Uncertain Mint 55, perhaps in Aiolis or Northern Ionia) and SC 998.1 ("Sardis", probably Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos). Portrait of SC 964 (perhaps Kyme) was imitated on SC 1002 (Uncertain Mint 49, perhaps Apameia).

⁸⁷⁷ See, for example, Thonemann 2015b: 122.

⁸⁷⁸ SC 989-998 ("Sardis", probably Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos) feature mistakes in either the spelling of the royal legend (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on SC 991, ANTIO – IXOY on SC 995, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on SC 998.3) or in the depiction of the reverse type (Apollo seated right, instead of left, on omphalos on SC 996). Furthermore, SC 994 imitated Seleukos III's portrait from SC 915 and 999 (Uncertain Mint 49, perhaps Apameia) in a "semibarbarous" manner – the use of this portrait at this advanced stage of Antiochos III's reign can only be explained by the negligence of the mint administrators.

⁸⁷⁹ SC 989 (on an Alexander tetradrachm), 1003 (on an eastern tetradrachm of Antiochos III with portrait Type A).

⁸⁸⁰ Newell 1941: 377.

integrate them by transferring the more seasoned officials of Antioch to Asia Minor, but with very mixed results.⁸⁸¹



Fig. 126: AR tetradrachm of Antiochos III from Uncertain Mint 57, perhaps Synnada, from c.197-190 BC (SC 1008). Bibliothèque nationale de France: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8567424x>



Fig. 127: AR tetradrachm of Antiochos III from Uncertain Mint 49, perhaps Apameia-Phrygia, overstruck on eastern tetradrachm of Antiochos III (SC 1003). American Numismatic Society:

<http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.74184>

Generally, the issues that Houghton and Lorber have attributed to Western Asia Minor were technically better executed, although some of them also present mistakes – such as double striking (**Fig. 128**)⁸⁸² or are again overstruck on Alexander tetradrachms.⁸⁸³ In the end, only the silver tetradrachms of Sardis(?) and of an uncertain mint are characterised by any high-level artistry (**Fig. 128a**)⁸⁸⁴

⁸⁸¹ For example, Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos(?) received royal supervision from c.203 BC – SC 998.1 features the monogram of the ΩΡ magistrate who had signed Antioch's issues until c.204 BC (SC 1038, 1041.2-3, 1042.3-5, 1043.3, 1043.5-8) and who also supervised the operations of Uncertain Mint 55 from Aiolis/northern Ionia in c.203 BC (SC 967). Nonetheless, royal supervision did not prevent the other contemporary issues of Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos(?) from displaying the technical inconsistencies typical of this mint (e.g., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on SC 998.3 instead of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ).

⁸⁸² SC 966 (Uncertain Mint 54, perhaps in northern Ionia).

⁸⁸³ SC 964, perhaps from Kyme (Newell 1941: 376).

⁸⁸⁴ On Uncertain Mint 56, perhaps Sardis (SC 985-987): "The first two portraits of these elephant tetradrachms are extraordinary works of art, perhaps taken from life." (Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.377). On Unattributed issues of Western Asia Minor (SC 969-970): "... these coins share portraits of superior quality..." (Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.371).



Fig. 128: AR tetradrachm of Antiochos III from Uncertain Mint 54, perhaps in northern Ionia, from c.213-204 BC, with double-striking (SC 966.1). American Numismatic Society:

<http://numismatics.org/collection/1993.47.1>



Fig. 128a: AR tetradrachm of Antiochos III with elephant reverse from Uncertain Mint 56, perhaps Sardis, from c.203 BC (SC 985.1). American Numismatic Society:

<http://numismatics.org/collection/1960.69.3>

Overall, a glance at the plates in Houghton and Lorber’s catalogue of Seleukid coinage shows that the technical execution of Antiochos III’s tetradrachms in western Anatolia was generally of a much lower quality than in the rest of his empire.⁸⁸⁵ An analogous disparity in technical execution between coinages of different regions of the Seleukid empire cannot be identified for any of the earlier Seleukid rulers. Such a lack of attention for the production of royal coins in Western Asia Minor by Antiochos III and his governor Zeuxis could be related to the “explosion” in the number of producers of late-posthumous Alexanders at the end of the 3rd century BC, and perhaps even to the spread of the Attic weight-standard among several civic mints, although the coins produced by the latter – mostly of small denominations – could hardly have compensated for Antiochos III’s limited production of tetradrachms. As mentioned in **Section 2.4.1.2**, historical circumstances would suggest that relatively few civic Alexanders were

⁸⁸⁵ Houghton & Lorber 2002: 2.Pl.48-63.

produced for the Seleukids at the end of the 3rd century BC. However, future new studies of these coins may lead to a redating of at least some of them. At the same time, as we will see in **Section 2.4.2** on hoard evidence, an influx of coins from the East, coinciding with Antiochos III's campaigns in Asia Minor, may have rendered an abundant production of new Seleukid coins not immediately necessary for the royal administration.

Unfortunately, the die-studies available for Seleukid western coinages are too few to allow us to properly assess production levels, especially in comparison to Northern Syria.⁸⁸⁶ Nevertheless, so far, we have been able to see that the Seleukids' silver minting occurred mainly in the form of tetradrachms. In fact, out of the forty-four mints listed in Houghton and Lorber's catalogue for Western Asia Minor, almost 90% of them struck silver in this denomination (thirty-nine mints), 60% of the time exclusively (**Table 60; Fig. 129**). Therefore, as in Northern Syria, Seleukid coin-production in Western Asia Minor was intended to meet elevated state expenses, predominantly of a military nature. Instead, drachms (23% – ten mints) and gold stateres (27% – twelve mints) were much rarer, with most of them dating from the reign of Antiochos II. In particular, the number of places striking gold stateres for this ruler is unmatched by any other king of this dynasty. They either signified heavy state expenditure or, more likely, were intended to celebrate Antiochos II's military successes, perhaps conveying an ideological message of restoration of Alexander's empire, as suggested by the strongly Alexandrine iconography of many of Antiochos II's gold stateres.⁸⁸⁷

| Mint | Antiochos I | Antiochos II | Seleukos II | Ant. Hierax | Achaios | Antiochos III |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|---------|---------------|
| Parion | | | | T | | |
| Hellespontine Mint, perhaps Lampsakos | | T | | | | |
| Lampsakos | | | | S T | | |
| Abydos | | T | | T | | |
| Perhaps Abydos | | | | T | | |

⁸⁸⁶ Hochard 2023: 156-59 (Magnesia-on-the-Sipylos under Antiochos I and Seleukos II); Delrieux 1998 (uncertain Karian mint of Antiochos II); Houghton 1978 (Lampsakos under Hierax).

⁸⁸⁷ SC 498 (Myrina), 502 (Kyme), and 515 (probably Phokaia) displayed the Athena Nikephoros reverse design; SC 517 (Sardis) and 548 (perhaps Miletos), instead, featured the typical designs of Alexander's gold stateres.

| | | | | | | |
|--|------------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Ilion | | T | | T | | |
| Alexandreia Troas | | <i>T D</i> | | ST | | |
| Skepsis | | T | | T | | |
| Unc. Mint 34, N.W. A. Minor | | | T | | | |
| Unc. Mint 53, perhaps Mysia | | | | | | T |
| Kyme | | ST | | | | |
| Probably Kyme | | ST | | | | T |
| Myrina | | ST | | | | |
| Elaia | | | | T | | |
| Aigai | | ST | | T | | |
| Perhaps Temnos | | T | | T | | |
| Unc. Mint 47, Aiolis/N. Ionia | | | | T | | |
| Unc. Mint 55, perhaps Aiolis/N. Ionia | | | | | | T |
| Magnesia-Sipylos | T | | | | | |
| Perhaps Magnesia-Sipylos | | | T | | | |
| Sardis | T | ST | <i>T D</i> | | ST | |
| Prob. Sardis, c.213 BC | | | | | | <i>D</i> |
| Unc. Mint 56, perhaps Sardis, from 203 BC | | | | | | ST |
| Unc. Mint 35, imitating portrait of Sardis, probably Lydia | | | T | T | | |
| Perhaps Tralleis | | <i>T D</i> | | T | | |
| Unc. Mint 54, perhaps N. Ionia, c.213-204 BC | | | | | | T |
| Phokaia | | <i>T D</i> | | | | |
| Prob. Phokaia | | S | | T | | |
| Smyrna | T | | | | | |
| Perhaps Smyrna | T | T | T | T | | |
| Perhaps Teos | | | T | T | | |
| Perhaps Ephesos | | T | ST | | | |
| Prob. Ephesos or Miletos | | ST | | | | |
| Magnesia-Maiandros | <i>T D</i> | <i>T D</i> | | | | |
| Perhaps Magn.-Maiandros | | | <i>D</i> | <i>D</i> | | |
| Unc. Mint 48, in the Maiandros Valley | | | | <i>D</i> | | |
| Perhaps Miletos, c.250 BC | | S | | | | |
| Alinda or Mylasa | | <i>D</i> | | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|--|-----|--|-----|--|---|
| Karian issue, probably of Stratonikeia, Mylasa, or Alabanda | | T | | | | |
| Perhaps Bargylia | | T D | | | | |
| “Sardis” (prob. Laodikeia-Lykos) | | | | T | | T |
| EIO Mint, prob. in Phrygia | | | | T D | | |
| Unc. Mint 49, in Phrygia, perhaps Apameia | | | | | | T |
| Unc. Mint 57, in Phrygia, perhaps Synnada, from c.203 BC | | | | | | T |

Table 60: Seleukid mints of Western Asia Minor with gold and silver denominations produced by reign – 3rd century BC (S = gold staters; T = silver tetradrachms; D = silver drachms). Source: SC.

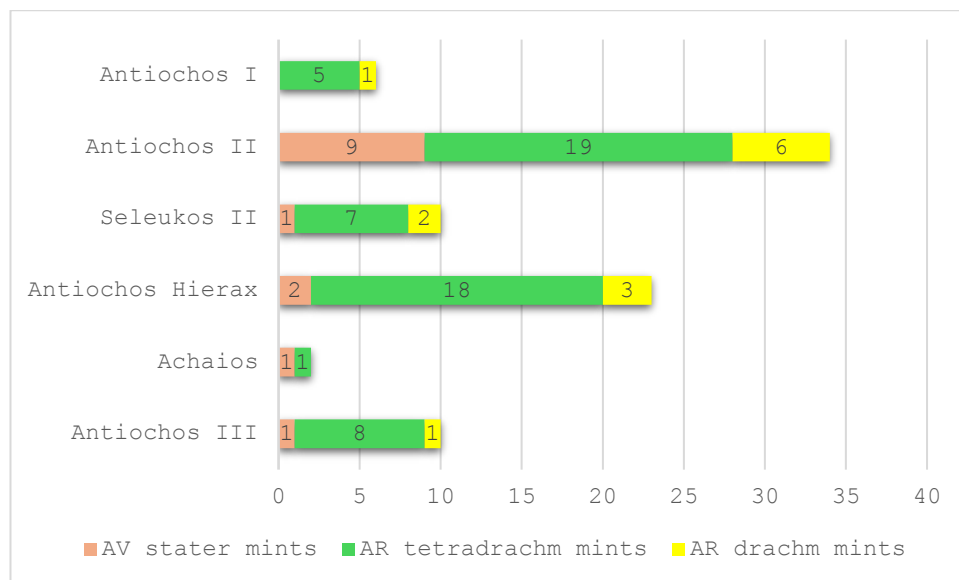


Fig. 129: no. of royal mints by gold and silver denominations for each Seleukid king – 3rd century BC

As for the other contemporary royal coinages of Western Asia Minor, we have already seen that the *Philetairoi* of Pergamon continued to be produced posthumously for the rest of the 3rd century BC. In terms of output, this coinage was not particularly large, especially in comparison with the other

Hellenistic royal issues of the time.⁸⁸⁸ At its best – namely, under Eumenes I – the average annual output of the Attalid Pergamene mint was comparable to that of Hekatomnid Halikarnassos in the 4th century BC (Fig. 130).

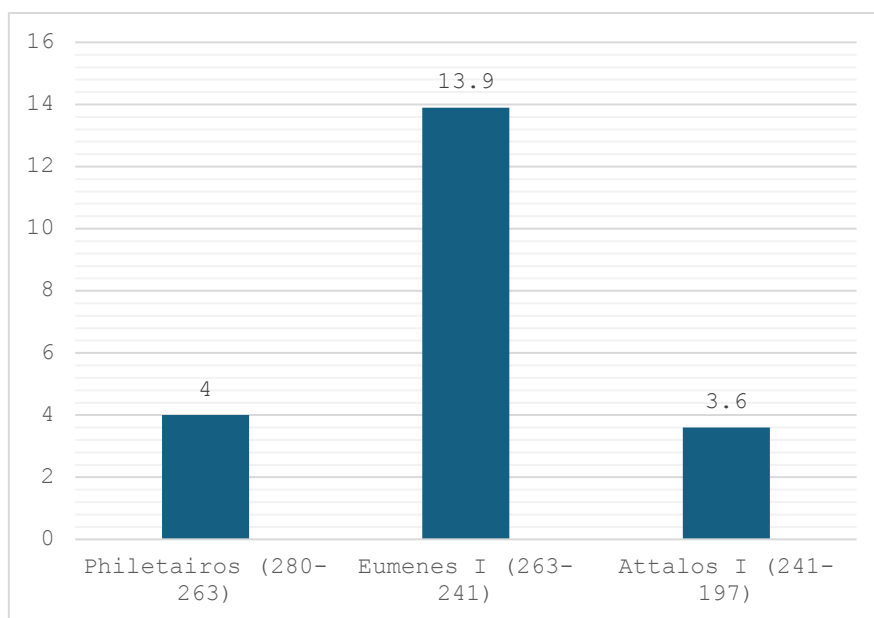


Fig. 130: no. of drachm-equivalent obverse dies/year of *Philetairoi* (from Westermark 1961)

In contested spaces like Ionia and Karia, over which the Seleukids were able to establish control only for short periods of time, the Ptolemies opened a total of four mints – namely, Lebedos,⁸⁸⁹ Ephesos,⁸⁹⁰ Halikarnassos,⁸⁹¹ and Telmessos.⁸⁹² Instead, for Antigonos Doson and Philip V we ignore of the existence of any royal workshops in South-Western Asia Minor.

2.4.2. Hoard evidence

| | N. of hoards | Troas | Mysia | Aiolis | Lydia | Ionia | Karia | Lykia |
|-------|--------------|----------------------|------------------------|-------------------|-------|-------------------|-------|-------|
| Troas | 2 | Alexandreia Troas | Lampsakos | Myrina | – | – | – | – |
| Mysia | 2 | Assos, Tenedos | Lampsakos, Pergamon | Mytilene, Kyme | – | Magnesia, Teos | – | – |

⁸⁸⁸ See de Callatay 2013: 210 Table 6.2.

⁸⁸⁹ *CPE* B418-432 (246-222 BC).

⁸⁹⁰ *CPE* 768-780.

⁸⁹¹ *CPE* B432A (246-222 BC).

⁸⁹² *CPE* B356-357, B436-437 (258-222 BC).

| | | | | | | | | |
|--|----|--|--|-----------------------------|---------------|--|---------------------------------------|-----------------|
| | | | | | | Miletos, Priene | | |
| Aiolis | 2 | – | – | Methymna, Mytilene | – | – | – | – |
| Lydia | 2 | Abydos | Lampsakos, Pergamon | Mytilene | Sardis | Kolophon, Ephesos, Erythrai, Magnesia | Rhodes, Alabanda | Phaselis |
| Ionia | 8 | – | – | – | – | Ephesos, Erythrai, Miletos, Kolophon | Rhodes, Kos | – |
| Karia | 15 | – | Pergamon | – | – | – | Kaunos, Kos, Rhodes, Kalymna | – |
| Uncertain W. Asia Minor | 2 | Assos, Tenedos, Alexandreia Troas | Pergamon, Parion, Lampsakos | Mytilene, Myrina | – | Magnesia, Erythrai, Chios, Teos | – | – |

Table 61: mints by region of retrieval in Western Asia Minor – 3rd century BC (royal mints in bold).

Source: *IGCH, CH*.⁸⁹³

The 3rd century BC has yielded a total of thirty-three hoards, which, overall, feature even fewer civic mints than in the late 4th/early 3rd century BC (**Table 61**). Furthermore, the evidence from this period suggests the existence of two distinct areas within Western Asia Minor. On the one hand, the coins of civic mints have turned up especially in Aiolis, Ionia, and Karia; on the other hand, the 3rd-century hoards of Troas, Mysia, and Lydia have yielded only (or mostly) issues of royal nature. This coin-type also appears in five hoards from Ionia and Karia –⁸⁹⁴ however, these finds are exceptional in the numismatic landscape of those two regions, which was otherwise dominated by civic coins. This is hardly surprising, since civic coin-production in the 3rd century BC mostly occurred in South-Western Asia Minor, as seen in **Section 2.4.1.1**. Furthermore, to reinforce the territorial separation between the

⁸⁹³ Contents of “Edremit, 1954” (*IGCH* 1302) updated with Ellis-Evans 2024b.

⁸⁹⁴ In Ionia: “Western Asia Minor, Ephesos area?, 1991?” (*CH* 8.295 = *CH* 9.479); “Chios” (*CH* 6.32 = *CH* 7.82 = *CH* 8.340); “Ionia, 1978” (*CH* 5.41). In Karia: “Uşak, 1966” (*CH* 2.68 = *CH* 8.287); “Rhodes or SW Asia Minor, c.1900” (*IGCH* 1317). There are also two more “royal” hoards from uncertain locations – one in the North-West (*IGCH* 1370), the other in the South-West (*CH* 8.317).

“royal” North-West and the “civic” Centre/South-West, royal and civic coins were rarely hoarded together, appearing in the same hoard only five times out of the thirty-three 3rd-century finds from Western Asia Minor (**Fig. 131**).⁸⁹⁵

⁸⁹⁵ Two of them – *IGCH* 1303 and *IGCH* 1318, from Pergamon and Sardis respectively – feature coins from Karia and Pamphylia, while more local civic products appear in Ionian and Karian hoards. *CH* 8.295 = *CH* 9.479 and *CH* 5.41, both from Ionia but from different periods – the former from the first half of the 3rd century BC; the latter from the early 2nd – include Ephesian, Koan, and Rhodian coins. Instead, a hoard listed as from Uşak in Phrygia (*CH* 2.68 = *CH* 8.287) contains 107 Rhodian didrachms, together with five Ptolemaic coins – given the predominantly regional circulation of Rhodian issues (Bresson 1993), this hoard is unlikely to have been from Central Asia Minor; therefore, it was more probably a Karian find.

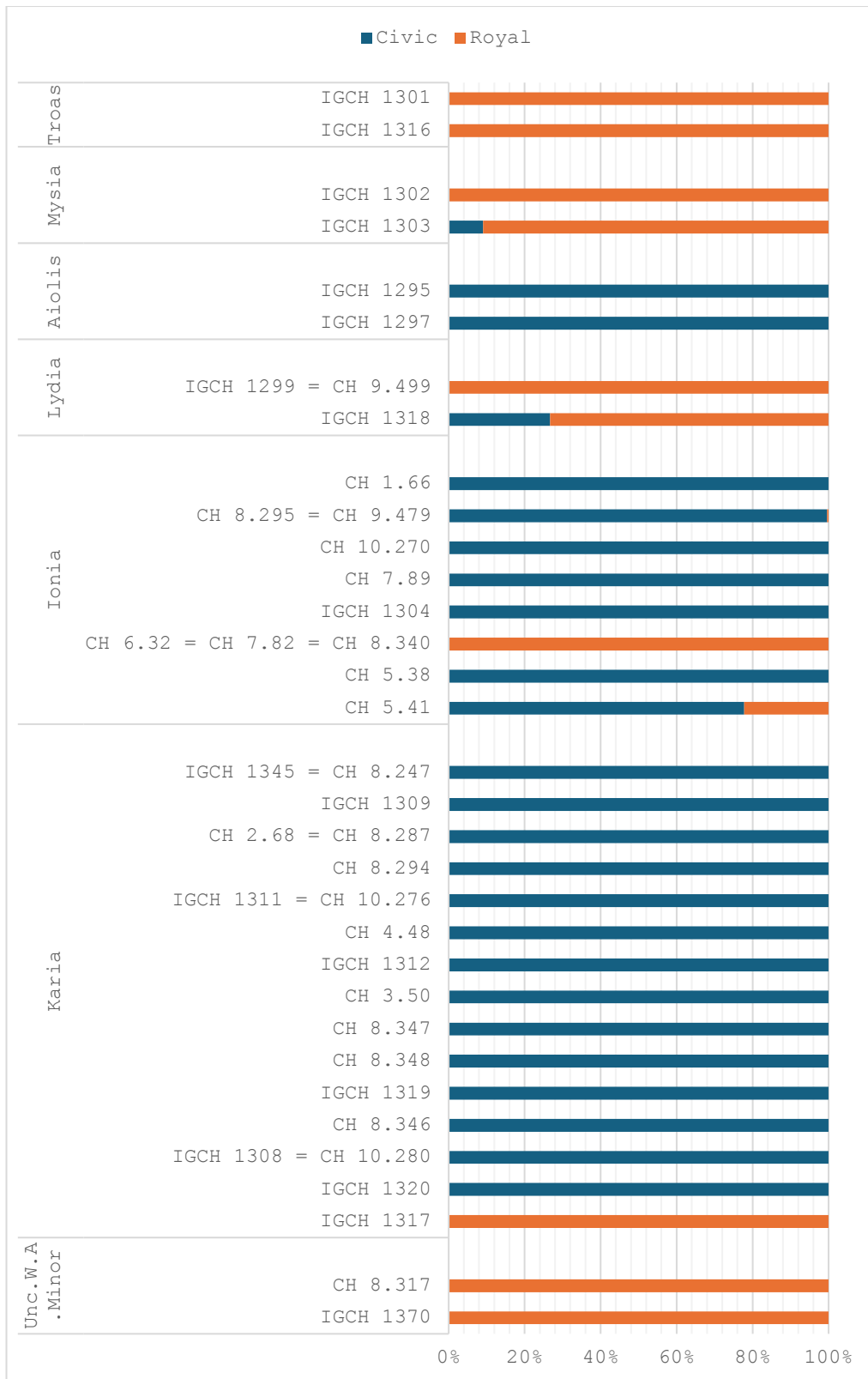


Fig. 131: civic vs. royal coins in Western Asia Minor hoards – 3rd century BC

As in the late 4th/early 3rd century BC (**Section 2.3.2**), the adoption of the Attic-weight standard for the Hellenistic royal coinages favoured the circulation and eventual hoarding of issues from different places. In fact, mixing of local and non-local issues in hoards occurred the most frequently in the “royal” North-West (**Fig. 132**). Instead, civic coins in the 3rd century BC tended to remain strictly local, although Karian products – especially the ones from the islands – could sometimes be found outside of their region of production.⁸⁹⁶

⁸⁹⁶ Coins from Kos and Rhodes reached Ionia (“Western Asia Minor, Ephesos area?, 1991?” (*CH* 8.295 = *CH* 9.479)), and an Alabandan tetradrachm travelled all the way to Sardis (“Sardis, 1911” (*IGCH* 1318)). This same hoard, together with “Pergamon, 1960” (*IGCH* 1303), also contains Pamphylian tetradrachms, which likely reached Lydia and Mysia together with royal coins, as part of soldiers’ purses.

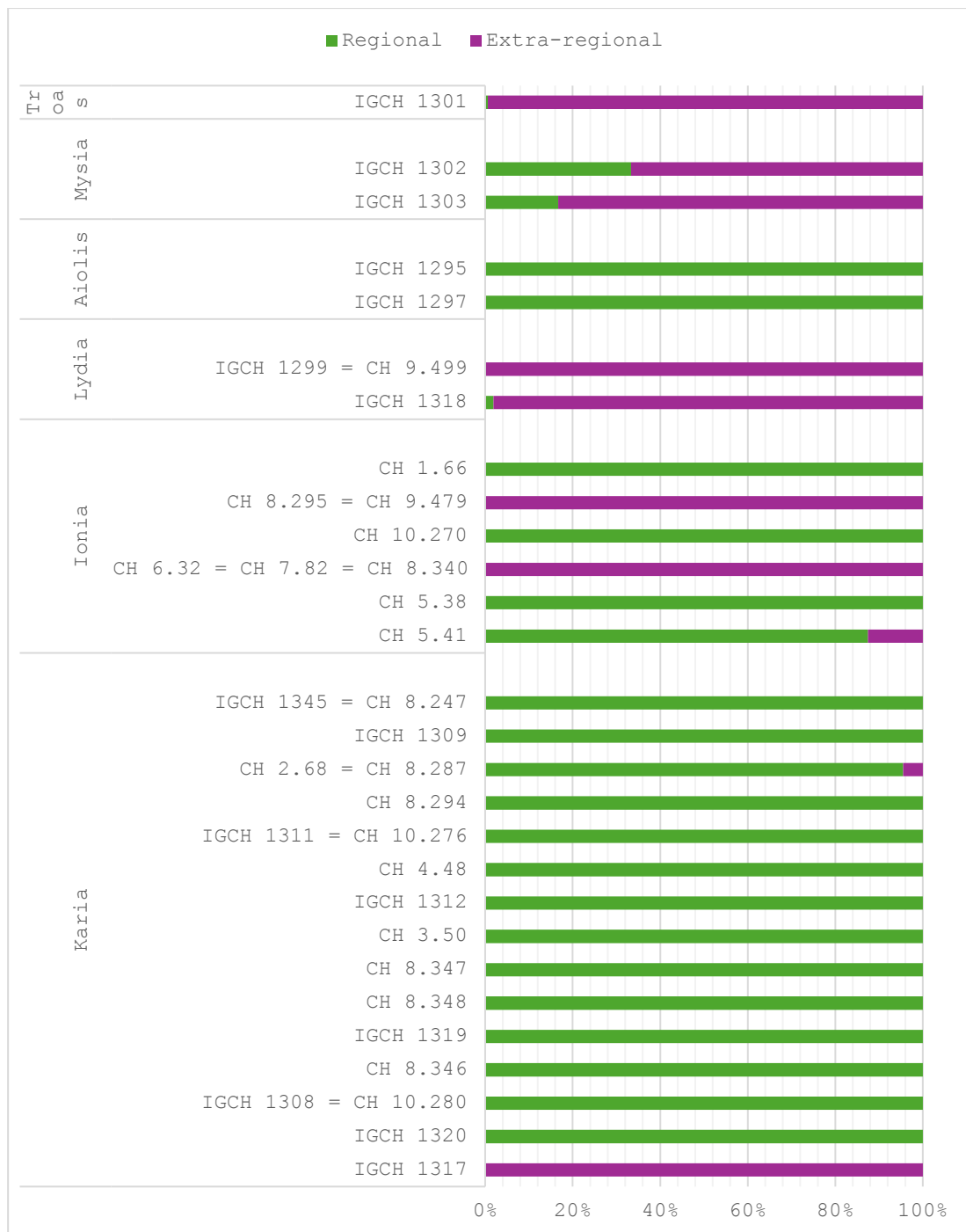


Fig. 132: regional vs. extra-regional silver coins (W. Asia Minor) – 3rd century BC

The “isolationist” character of the civic monetary economies in the 3rd century BC was further accentuated by the growing popularity of bronze coins, which appear in a total of eighteen hoards, mostly on their own, as mixing with silver coins was still uncommon at this stage. Bronze hoards make up a significant proportion of the evidence, particularly for those regions, such as Lesbos and Ionia,

which were not under Seleukid authority continuously or at all (**Fig. 133**). Overall, over 80% of the hoards featuring bronze coins, either alone or mixed with silver issues, contain only products struck by the cities. Instead, the evidence for royal bronzes is even more meagre than for the silver, as they appear together with civic coins in only three finds (**Table 62**).⁸⁹⁷

| Coin-metals found in hoards | Coin-types found in hoards | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| | Only civic coins | Only royal coins | Civic + royal coins |
| AR only | 20 | 9 | 5 |
| AE only | 12 | — | 3 |
| AR+AE | 3 | — | — |
| TOTAL | 35 | 9 | 8 |

Table 62: Western Asia Minor – 3rd century BC. Source: IGCH, CH

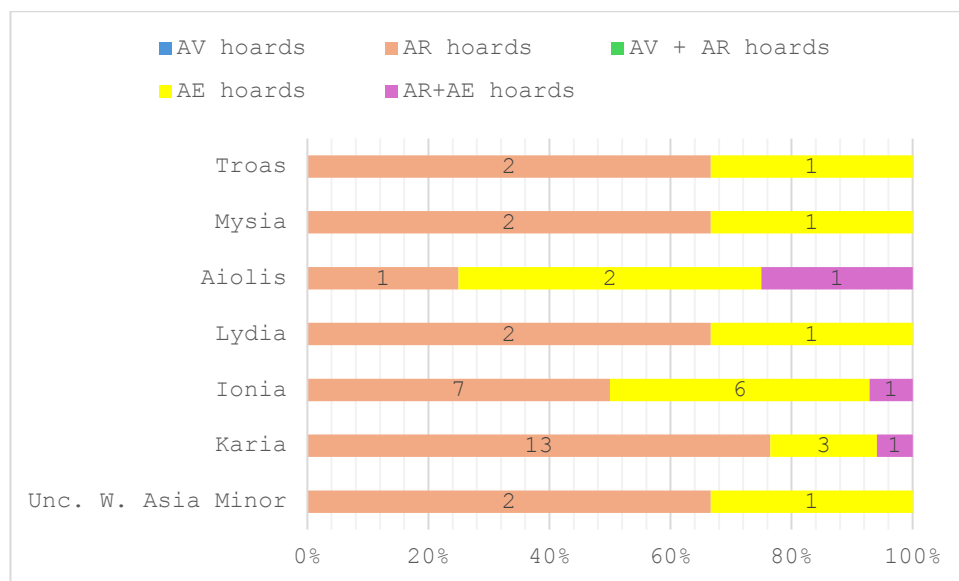


Fig. 133: silver vs. bronze hoards in Western Asia Minor – 3rd century BC

Overall, the hoard evidence from 3rd-century Western Asia Minor suggests a fairly strong resistance against royal issues, especially in the south-western regions. On the contrary, the hoard evidence from

⁸⁹⁷ “Pergamon, 1961” (IGCH 1296); “Sardis, 1911” (IGCH 1300 = CH 9.500); “Izmir, 1884” (IGCH 1313 = CH 8.342).

the rest of Anatolia shows a very different situation (**Fig. 134**). In fact, not only are royal coins much more predominant in the hoards from the North, Centre, and South of Asia Minor, but they also survive in greater numbers on average than civic issues (**Fig. 135**). At first glance, the situation in the 3rd century BC appears similar the late 4th/early 3rd century BC, when large numbers of western Alexanders travelled and were ultimately hoarded far from their place of production.

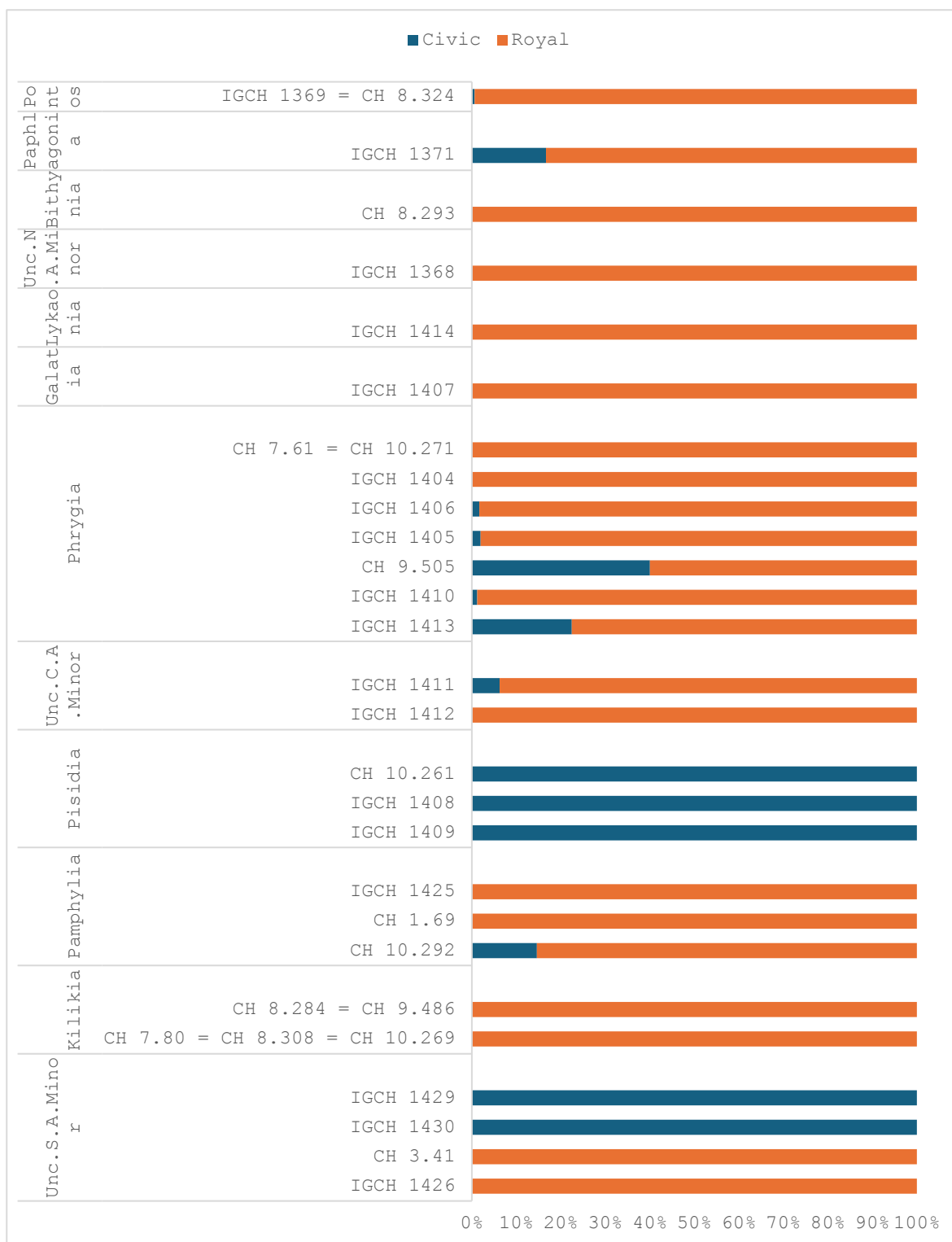


Fig. 134: civic vs. royal coins (N., C., S. Asia Minor) – 3rd century BC

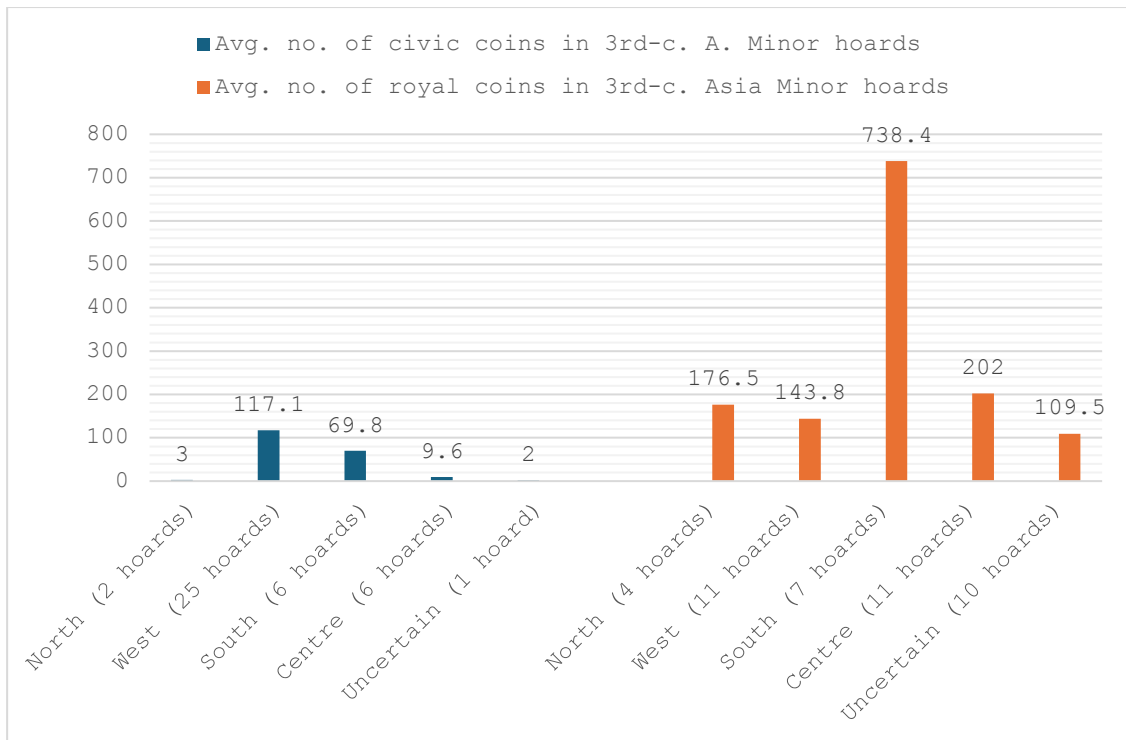


Fig. 135: average number of civic coins (left) vs. royal coins (right) in hoards from Asia Minor – 3rd century BC

In the 3rd century BC, no single royal coinage was able to establish an absolute predominance over the others. Ptolemaic issues represent a special case, as they appear only in the regions that underwent Ptolemaic occupation, more specifically in the South-West,⁸⁹⁸ and also in Pamphylia and Kilikia.⁸⁹⁹ They generally did not mix with other royal coinages, the only exception being the “Meydancikkale” hoard, half of whose contents are Alexanders. The coexistence of different weight-standards in this hoard was most likely the result of a situation of conflict in Kilikia during the Laodikeian war, in a border area between the Seleukid and Ptolemaic spheres of influence.⁹⁰⁰

⁸⁹⁸ “Uşak, 1966” (CH 2.68 = CH 8.287), presumably from Karia, is from a region controlled by the Ptolemies for much of the 3rd century BC. Instead, the find from Chios (CH 2.62 = CH 7.82 = CH 8.340) is more surprising, as its coins point towards a burial date around the end of the 3rd century BC, when the island had long ceased to be under Ptolemaic suzerainty. This hoard was more likely owned by a Ptolemaic soldier than by merchants travelling from Egypt to Chios – the lower weight standard of Ptolemaic coinage would have rendered commercial exchanges with these issues disadvantageous.

⁸⁹⁹ “Antalya, 1974” (CH 1.69); “Aydincik, 1974” (CH 8.284 = CH 9.486); “Meydancikkale, Kilikia Tracheia, 1980” (CH 7.80 = CH 8.308 = CH 10.269).

⁹⁰⁰ Davesne & Le Rider 1989.

Instead, among the Attic-weight royal coinages, the Antigonids' and the Attalids' emissions were among the minor series. The former appear in eleven finds,⁹⁰¹ and the *Philetairoi* in thirteen. However, the presence of both coinages in these hoards is almost always negligible from a quantitative standpoint (**Fig. 136**). Admittedly, Pergamene issues are more relevant in western hoards than in the rest of Anatolia,⁹⁰² while Antigonid coins are always very few, except for one hoard from an unknown location in Southern Asia Minor, where they appear alone (*CH* 3.41).

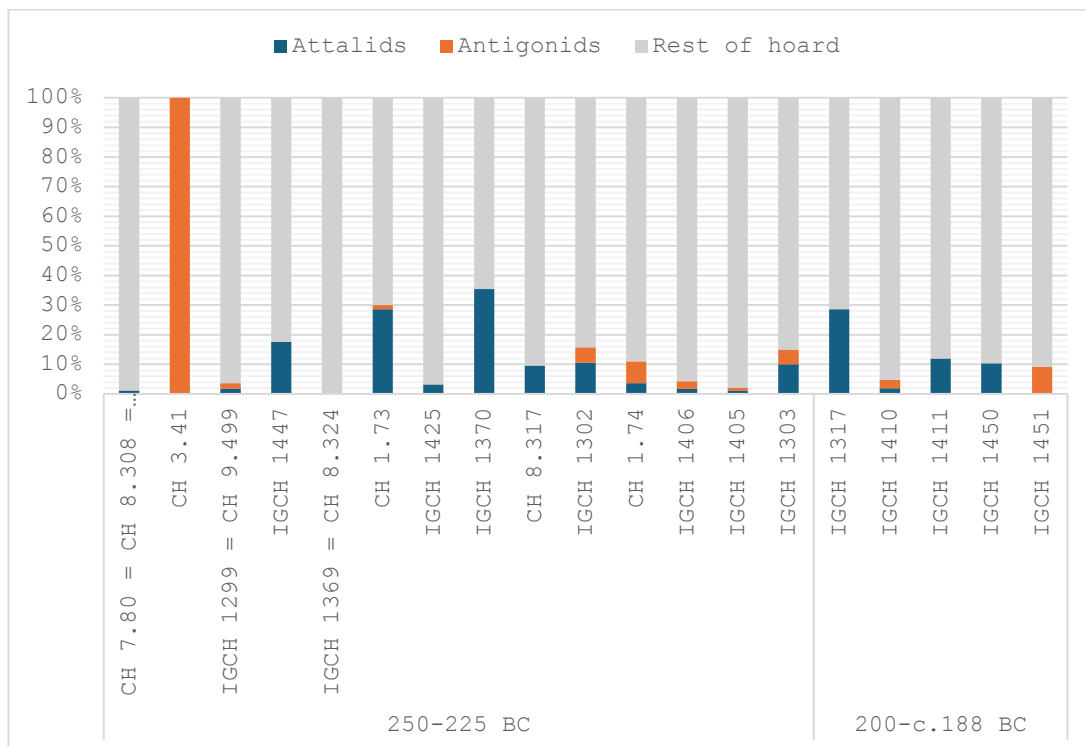


Fig. 136: Attalid and Antigonid coins in Asia Minor hoards – 3rd century BC

Alexanders were still the most popular currency of the 3rd century BC. They appear in almost 70% of the royal hoards from this period, and 65% of the time they also come in first place among the other royal coinages (**Table 63; Map 4**). Admittedly, if we break down the evidence geographically, Alexanders appear in 75% of the hoards from Northern, Central, and Southern Asia Minor combined, coming in first place almost 70% of the time. Instead, they were not as predominant in the West as in

⁹⁰¹ One further find from Troas or Mysia (*IGCH* 1301) – which I have not included in **Fig. 25**, for its contents are not fully catalogued – has yielded 150 Antigonid issues, quite an exceptional number for this dynasty.

⁹⁰² *IGCH* 1370, *CH* 8.317, *IGCH* 1302, *IGCH* 1303, *IGCH* 1317.

the late 4th/early 3rd century BC – there, they appear in just slightly over half of the hoard evidence, coming in first place among royal issues 57% of the time. In this region, apart from the Ptolemaic coins, Alexanders suffered from the competition from especially the Lysimachos and Seleukid issues. The former appear in almost half of the royal hoards of Asia Minor from the 3rd century BC (49%), although they rarely take first place among royal coins. Instead, by the sheer number of hoards in which they appear (thirty), Seleukid emissions were one of the most common royal currencies of the 3rd century BC. In terms of their quantity, however, they were mostly negligible when hoarded together with other coinages, as they come in first place among royal issues in hoards only 30% of the time (**Table 63**).

| | No. of royal hoards | Hoards with Alexanders | | | | Hoards with Seleukid coins | | | | Hoards with Lysimachi | | | |
|------------------|---------------------|------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| | | no. | % | no. | % | no. | % | no. | % | no. | % | no. | % |
| West | 13 | 7 | 58 | 4 | 57 | 9 | 69 | 3 | 33 | 6 | 46 | 1 | 17 |
| North | 4 | 3 | 75 | 3 | 100 | 2 | 50 | — | — | 1 | 25 | — | — |
| Centre | 10 | 10 | 100 | 8 | 80 | 7 | 70 | 2 | 29 | 4 | 40 | — | — |
| South | 7 | 4 | 57 | 4 | 100 | 4 | 57 | — | — | 4 | 57 | — | — |
| Uncertain | 11 | 7 | 64 | 1 | 14 | 8 | 73 | 4 | 50 | 7 | 64 | 5 | 71 |
| TOTAL | 45 | 31 | 69 | 20 | 65 | 30 | 67 | 9 | 30 | 22 | 49 | 6 | 27 |

Table 63: occurrences of Alexander, Seleukid, and Lysimachos coins in Asia Minor hoards – 3rd century

BC. Source: IGCH, CH. For Seleukid hoards: Houghton & Lorber 2002.

As seen in **Sections 2.3.1.2** and **2.4.1.2**, Alexanders had been produced in very large numbers in the late 4th/early 3rd century BC and continued to be struck over a long period of time, in various phases of the 3rd century BC. Minting of late-posthumous Alexanders in c.275-225 BC mostly occurred in

circumscribed stints. It was suggested above that this was perhaps done in response to specific crises, mainly related to the Galatian threat. Nonetheless, it is also possible that the great availability of Alexanders of the late 4th/early 3rd century BC limited the need for a large production of new Alexander coins. In fact, the early-posthumous issues are the most dominant Alexander coins in hoards from c.275-225 BC (**Fig. 137**). Instead, in the period c.225-200 BC, with the “explosion” of new Alexander mints, especially from c.210 BC, the late-posthumous issues replaced the earlier Alexanders in hoards. This process took place much earlier in Western Asia Minor than in the other regions of Anatolia – in fact, western hoards mostly contained contemporary Alexanders already in c.225-200 BC, whereas the Centre and South had to wait until the early 2nd century BC to see an increased, though not overwhelming, presence of the post-220s issues.

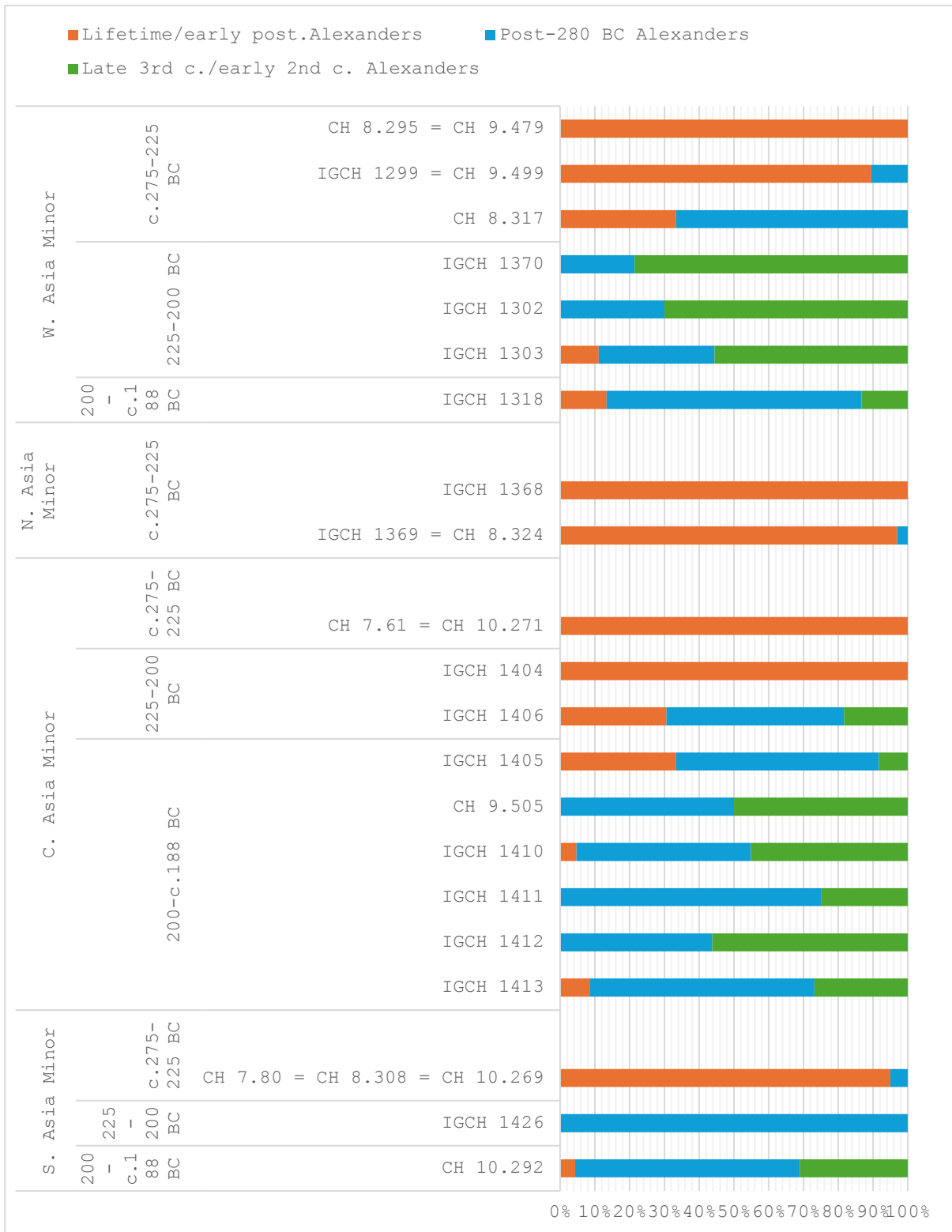


Fig. 137: early posthumous vs. late posthumous Alexanders in Asia Minor – 3rd century BC

The replacement of the early-posthumous Alexanders with the late-posthumous ones corresponded to slight changes in the geographic origin of the Alexanders found in hoards. In fact, from c.210 BC

onwards, the hoards from all the regions of Asia Minor recorded an increase in the number of Alexanders from Pisidia and Pamphylia, especially in the early 2nd century BC (Figs. 138-139). Nonetheless, the predominance of western Alexanders in hoards from all over Asia Minor in the earlier decades also continued in the period c.200-188 BC.

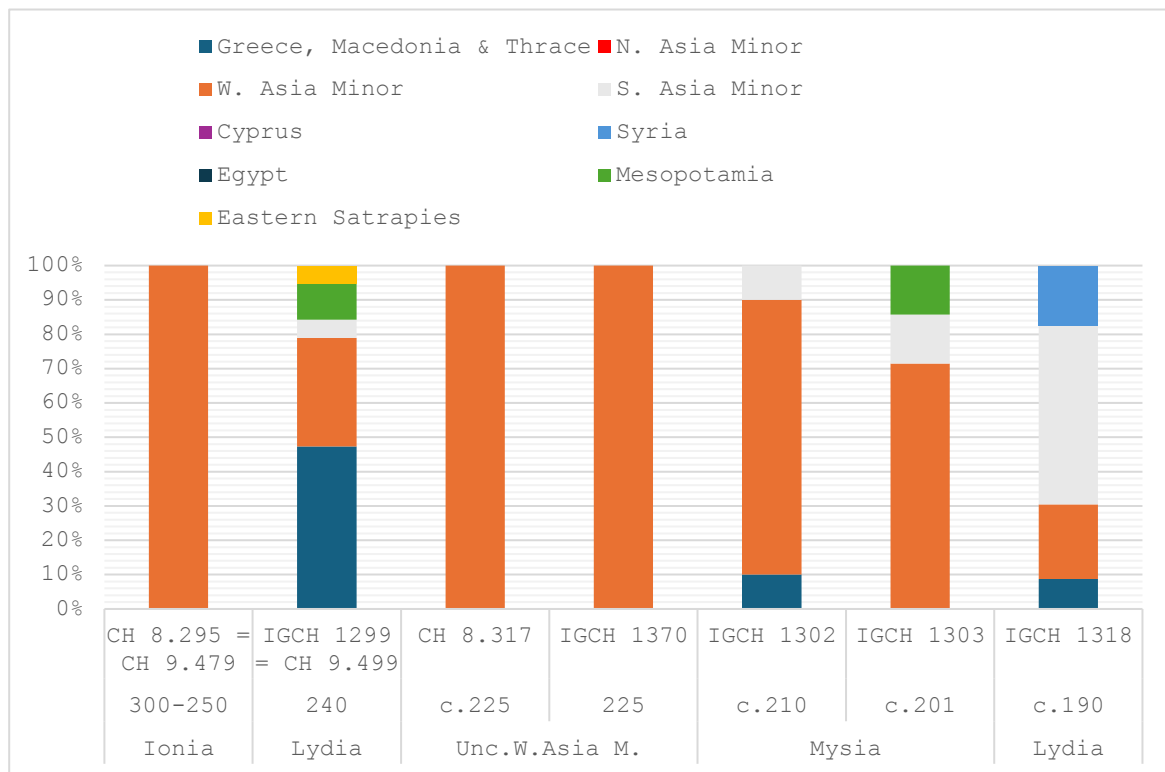


Fig. 138: geographic origin of Alexanders in hoards of Western Asia Minor – 3rd century BC

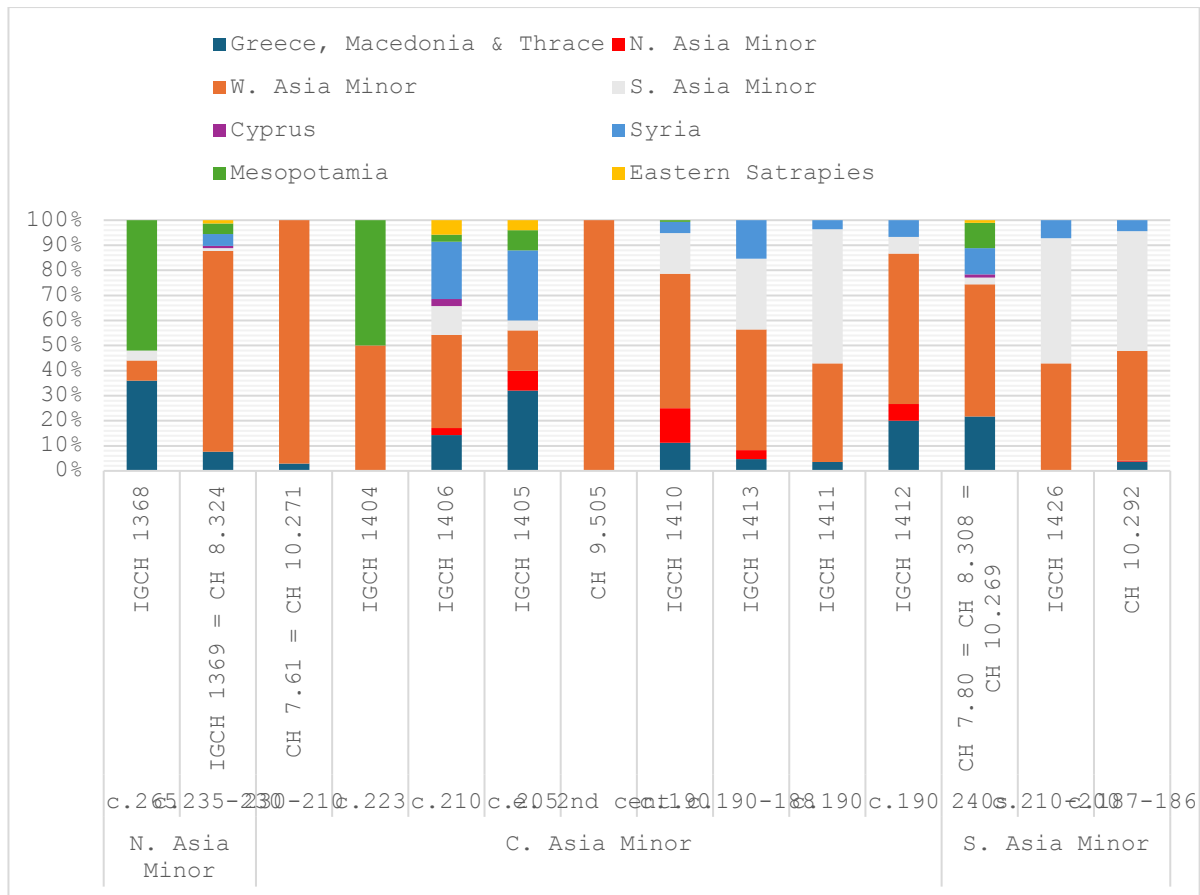


Fig. 139: geographic origin of Alexanders in hoards (Northern, Central, Southern A. Minor) – 3rd century BC

As for the hoards containing Seleukid issues, only a few have survived from c.275-225 BC – five in total, together with four other hoards of uncertain origin in Asia Minor (**Fig. 140; Map 5**)⁹⁰³ Only one find has appeared in the West, at Sardis, yielding four coins of Antiochos I, alongside ten pieces of Antiochos II.⁹⁰⁴ Otherwise, the first two Seleukid rulers were generally the best represented in hoards from the rest of Asia Minor in c.275-225 BC, before their presence declined drastically from c.225-200 BC onwards. In fact, the coins of their successors became better represented in the last quarter of the 3rd century BC – three hoards from Troas and Mysia, buried between c.225 and c.210 BC, have mostly yielded coins of Antiochos II and Antiochos Hierax from Lampsakos, Myrina, Alexandria Troas, and

⁹⁰³ “Asia Minor?, 1950” (IGCH 1447); “Asia Minor?, 1950” (IGCH 1449); “Asia Minor, 1972” (CH 1.73); “Asia Minor, c.1925” (IGCH 1448).

⁹⁰⁴ “Sardis, 1911” (IGCH 1299 = CH 9.499).

Teos.⁹⁰⁵ In the other parts of Asia Minor, instead, no ruler seems to have predominated over the others in the coin circulation of the 3rd century BC (**Fig. 140; Map 6**). Antiochos III's coins began to appear in hoards from c.210 BC onwards,⁹⁰⁶ but it was only in the 190s BC that their presence in hoards became common (**Fig.140; Map 8**). In this period, four western finds have yielded issues of this ruler, along with three from Central Asia Minor, one from the South, and two more from unknown locations.⁹⁰⁷ With the exception of these last two, Antiochos III's coins are the main Seleukid component in every hoard. Interestingly, Hierax's issues are the only Seleukid issues of "Ayaz-In, c.1953" (*IGCH* 1413), while they come in second place, after Antiochos III, among the Seleukid coins of the other three hoards of Central Asia Minor from c.200-188 BC.⁹⁰⁸

⁹⁰⁵ "Northwestern Asia Minor, 1929" (*IGCH* 1370); "Troas or Mysia, before 1947" (*IGCH* 1301); "Edremit, 1954" (*IGCH* 1302).

⁹⁰⁶ "Gordion Hoard I" (*IGCH* 1406).

⁹⁰⁷ "Asia Minor, 1949" (*IGCH* 1450); "Asia Minor, c.1947" (*IGCH* 1451).

⁹⁰⁸ "Mektepini, 1956" (*IGCH* 1410); "Karacalar, 1951 or earlier" (*CH* 9.505); "Asia Minor, central, 1963" (*IGCH* 1411).

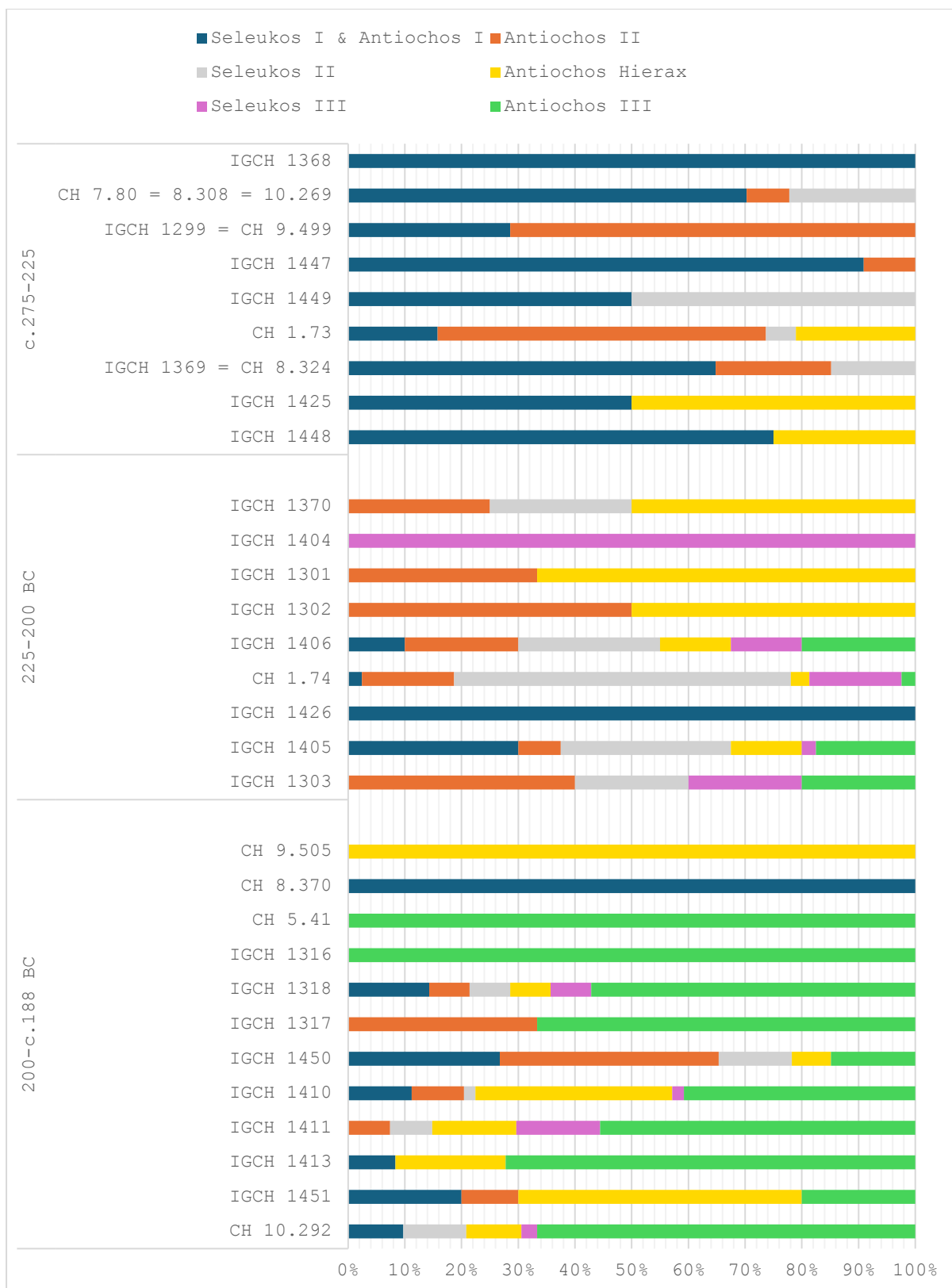


Fig. 140: Seleukid rulers in hoards from Asia Minor – 3rd century BC

Apart from the three above-mentioned hoards from Troas and Mysia containing western coins of Antiochos II and Hierax, the Seleukid issues hoarded in Asia Minor were predominantly of eastern origin (Northern Syria included). In fact, coins from the other side of the Tauros rank first among Seleukid issues in 70% of the hoards containing coins of this dynasty (nineteen out of twenty-seven finds). Furthermore, eastern coins predominated among the Seleukid evidence in the 3rd-century hoards of every region of Asia Minor (**Fig. 141; Maps 9-15**).

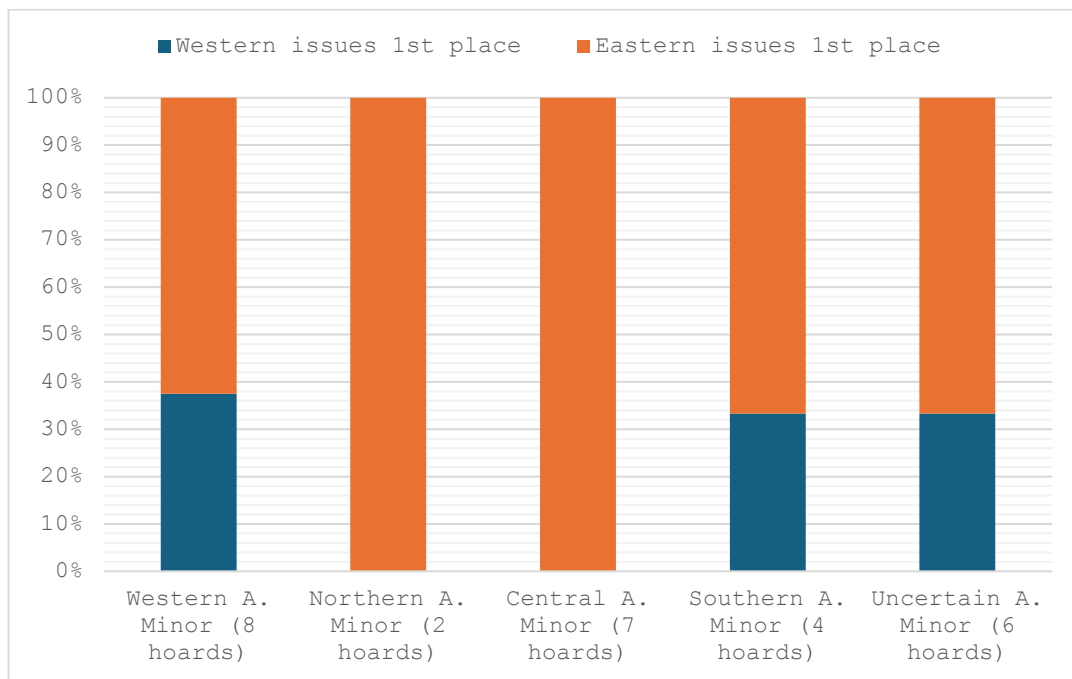


Fig. 141: Western vs. eastern Seleukid coins in hoards from Asia Minor – 3rd century BC ⁹⁰⁹

As already seen in **Chapter 1 – Section 1.3.2.1**, the coins of the first three Seleukid rulers came mainly from Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris. However, the role of this city was drastically reduced from Seleukos II onwards, as Antioch became the main supplier of Seleukid issues in Asia Minor. The change was particularly marked under Seleukos III and Antiochos III – in fact, up to 70% of the coins of each of these two rulers hoarded in Asia Minor had an Antiochene origin (**Fig. 142**).

⁹⁰⁹ I have only counted the hoards whose Seleukid contents have received mint attribution.

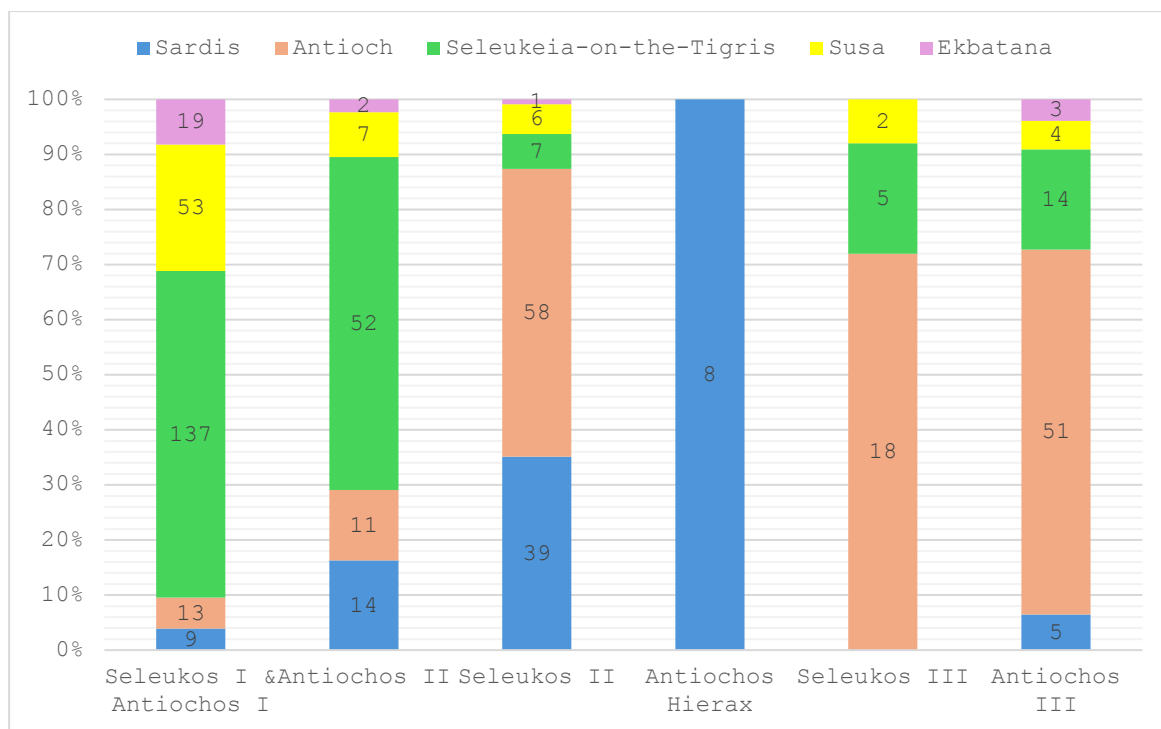


Fig. 142: no. of coins from main Seleukid mints by ruler in hoards of Asia Minor – 3rd century BC

As for the western Seleukid mints, Lampsakos, Alexandria Troas, Sardis, and Smyrna were the largest contributors of western Seleukid coins found in the 3rd-century hoards from Asia Minor (**Fig. 143**). Unfortunately, for 37% of the western Seleukid mints (seven out of nineteen), at least half of their coins appear in hoards of unknown origin in Asia Minor. These also account for a significant share of the evidence from the other western Seleukid mints (**Fig. 144**). Again, with the exception of the three above-mentioned hoards from Troas and Mysia containing Antiochos II's and Hierax's western coins, western Seleukid issues rarely remained *in loco*, as most of them travelled to the other regions of Asia Minor. Nonetheless, we can see how the Seleukid coins of Troas, especially those struck for Antiochos Hierax, appeared mainly in hoards from Central Asia Minor. Instead, coins from south-western mints such as Tralleis, Ephesos, Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros, and Miletos were hoarded in the North, more precisely near Amasya in Pontos.⁹¹⁰ Several other western coins were found in the South – in particular, twenty

⁹¹⁰ “Kirazlı, near Amasya, 1939” (*IGCH* 1369 = *CH* 8.324).

of the thirty-one issues of Sardis discovered there were products of Seleukos II buried at Meydancikkale in Kilikia.⁹¹¹

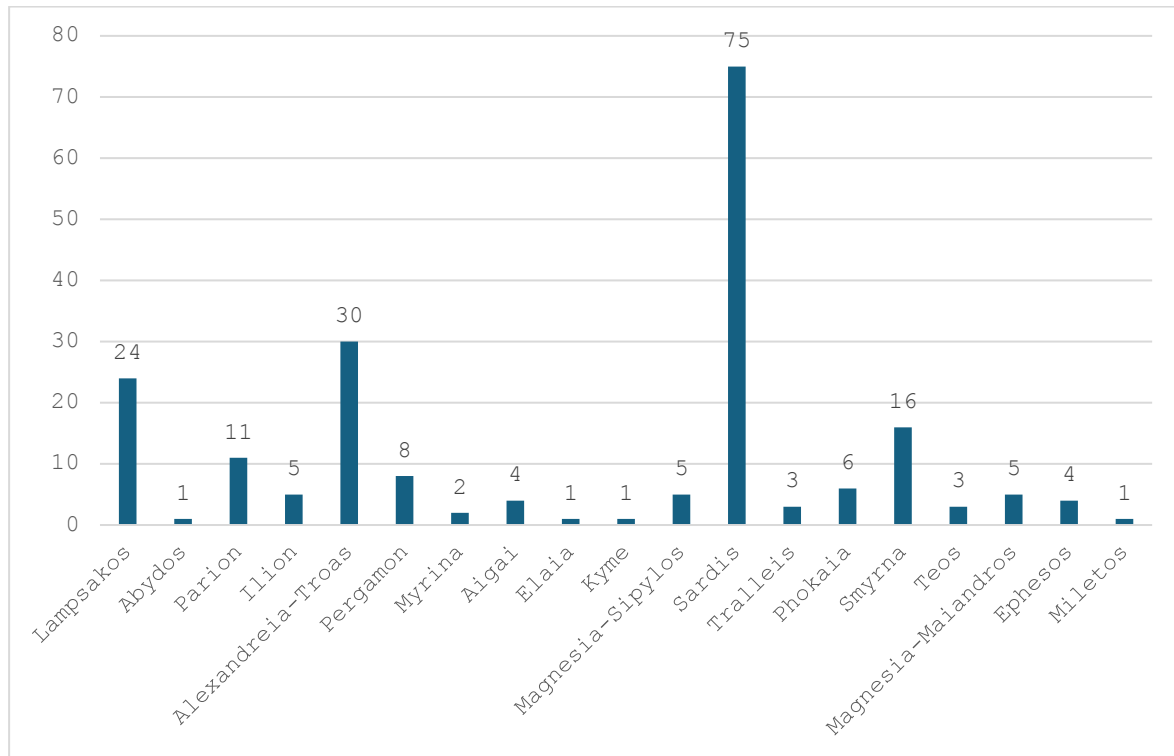


Fig. 143: total no. of coins from Seleukid mints of Asia Minor in hoards from Asia Minor – 3rd century

BC

⁹¹¹ “Meydancikkale, 1980” (CH 7.80 = CH 8.308 = CH 10.269).

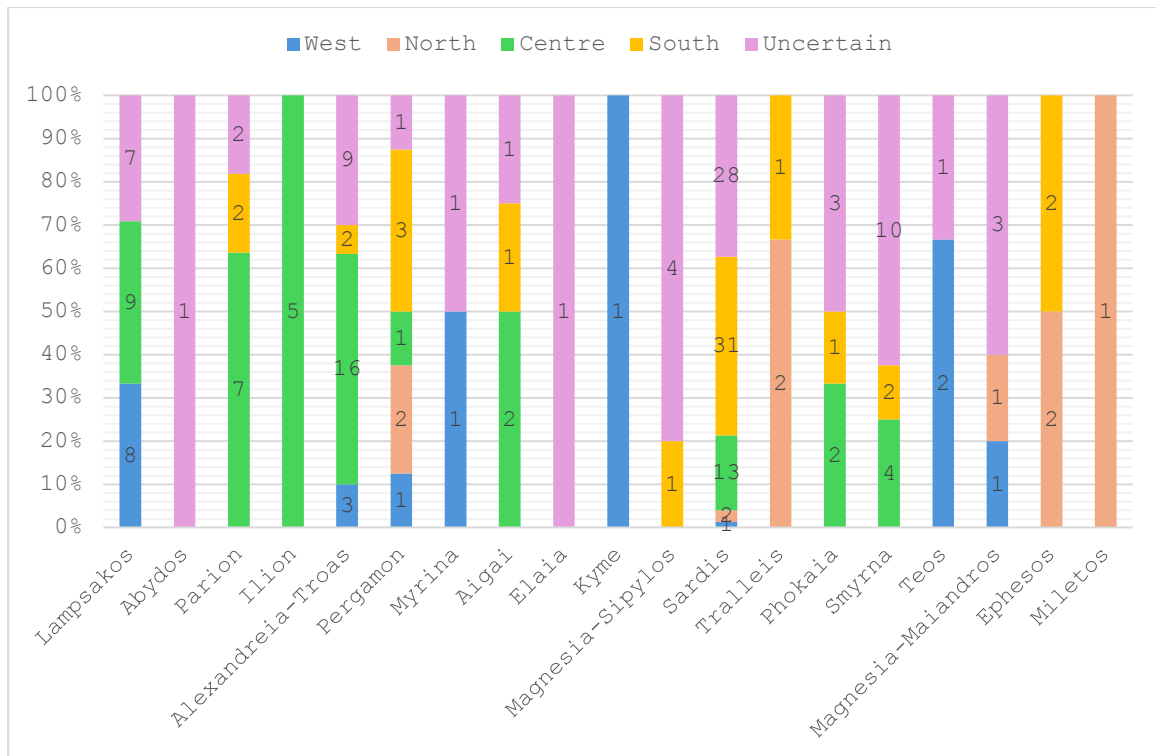


Fig. 144: geographic distribution of coins of western Seleukid mints across Asia Minor – 3rd century BC

Overall, the predominance of western royal coins across Anatolia in this period can be attributed to the popularity of the Alexanders. In fact, large numbers of the issues struck in Western Asia Minor in the late 4th/early 3rd century BC continued to circulate throughout the 3rd century BC; it was only from c.225 BC that they began to be replaced by the late-posthumous Alexanders, due to the “explosion” in minting of this coinage in that period. Instead, all the other Attic-weight royal coinages produced in Western Asia Minor were, with some exceptions, largely inferior in quantity to the Alexanders. The greater presence of eastern royal issues in the hoard evidence of the last quarter of the 3rd century BC coincided with a contemporaneous increase in the circulation of Seleukid coins from the East, coming especially from Antioch – in fact, Seleukos III first, Antiochos III later, led the Seleukid “reconquista” of Asia Minor from the Syrian capital, bringing new issues from that part of the empire. By the early 2nd century BC, instead, western and southern late-posthumous Alexanders became the dominant component of hoards from all over Anatolia, especially Phrygia. The discharge of the Galatian mercenaries and the abandonment of Asia Minor by the Seleukids probably contributed towards this massive transfer of western and southern royal coins eastwards, as the Galatian and Seleukid troops made their way home.

Section 2.5. 2nd century BC

2.5.1. Coin-production

2.5.1.1. Civic coinages

| | 200-150 BC | 150-100 BC |
|---------------------------|------------|------------|
| Abydos | L | |
| Ilion | L | |
| Koinon of Athena Ilias | | |
| Alexandria Troas | A | |
| Assos | A | |
| Tenedos | A | |
| Parion | A | |
| Lampsakos | L | |
| Adramytteion | | |
| Pergamon | | |
| Methymna | A | |
| Mytilene | A | |
| Myrina | A | |
| Aigai | A | |
| Kyme | A | |
| Temnos | A | |
| Stratonikeia | | |
| Thyateira | | |
| Apollonis | | |
| Sardis | A | |
| Blaundos | | |
| Tralleis | Au | Au |
| Smyrna | | |
| Klazomenai | | |
| Erythrai | A | |
| Chios | A | |
| Teos | A | |
| Kolophon | A | |
| Lebedos | | |
| Ephesos | | Au |
| Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | A | Au |
| Samos | A | |
| Priene | A | |
| Miletos | Au, A | Au |
| Alabanda | A | |
| Alinda | | |
| Herakleia-Latmos | | |
| Tabai | A | |
| Euromos | A | |
| Stratonikeia | | |
| Iasos | | |
| Mylasa | A | |
| Bargyia | | |
| Hydisos | | |
| Myndos | | |
| Halikarnassos | | |
| Keramos | | |
| Kos | A | |
| Knidos | | |
| Kaunos | | |
| Rhodes | | |

Table 64: mints in W. A. Minor – 2nd century BC (grey squares = civic silver coinages; light green squares = *kistophoroi*; dark green squares = civic silver + *kistophoroi*; A = Alexanders). Source: ARCH

(<https://greekcoinage.org/arch/>), accessed on 07/08/2024⁹¹²

The numismatic landscape of 2nd-century Western Asia Minor was characterised by the continuation of the late-posthumous Alexanders at several cities (**Table 64**).⁹¹³ 62% of the mints that had struck this coinage in c.225-188 BC either continued or reprised minting it, before completely ceasing by the 160s BC, except for Methymna,⁹¹⁴ Kyme,⁹¹⁵ Temnos,⁹¹⁶ and Alabanda.⁹¹⁷ While few of these 2nd-century Alexanders have received die-studies, the current data shows “l’importance relative des monnayages émis.”⁹¹⁸ As in the 3rd century BC, at least some of these coinages may have constituted contributions for the Attalid kings and their military campaigns during the second quarter of the 2nd century BC.⁹¹⁹ At other times, they may have also been used to finance troops in local military conflicts against other cities – for example, Temnos is known to have fought in the first half of the 2nd century BC against neighbouring Klazomenai, which, in turn, struck civic tetradrachms from a single obverse die.⁹²⁰ Klazomenai’s case was far from isolated in the 2nd century BC – in fact, this period was marked by the introduction of many new large-denominational civic silver coins (**Fig. 145**). For over half of them, tetradrachm was the only denomination produced, which was unsuited for low-level exchanges.⁹²¹

⁹¹² Abydos, Ilion, and Lampsakos Lysimachi: Ellis-Evans 2019: 37-46; Ellis-Evans & Erol-Özdizbay 2020: 42-3. For Assos Alexanders: Ellis-Evans 2021a. For Parion post-Apameia Alexander tetradrachms, see Ellis-Evans *forthcoming* (b): 44-6 (redating of Price 1991: nos.1467-1469 (= SC 839)). For Mytilene and Methymna Alexanders: Ellis-Evans *forthcoming* (a). For Tenedos Alexanders and Lysimachi: Meadows 2021b. For Apollo Smintheos coinage at Alexandreia Troas (c.175-65/4 BC): Ellis-Evans *forthcoming* (b): Ch.6. Parion civic AR (160s/150s BC): Ellis-Evans 2020, 2023. Kyme: Ellis-Evans & Erol-Özdizbay 2020: 44-9. Magnesia: Ellis-Evans 2021b. Lebedos (late 140s BC): Ellis-Evans *forthcoming* (c).

⁹¹³ See Delrieux 2019a, esp. for Ionia and Karia; articles by Ellis-Evans and Meadows (see note above) on the 2nd-century Alexanders from North-Western Asia Minor.

⁹¹⁴ Ellis-Evans *forthcoming* (a): Methymna Series 3 (c.160-150 BC).

⁹¹⁵ Price 1991: nos.1612-1644 (c.170-151 BC: Houghton & Lorber 2010: 180-81).

⁹¹⁶ Price 1991: nos.1667-1690 (c.188-145 BC: Meadows & Houghton 2010: 181). For Attalid status of Temnos: RC 48.

⁹¹⁷ Price 1991: nos.2454-2468 (c.170-153 BC: Delrieux 2019a: 92 n.19, Table 1).

⁹¹⁸ Delrieux 2019a: 104. See Delrieux 2019a: 104-6 Table no.3 for numbers from available die-studies on the post-190 BC Alexanders.

⁹¹⁹ See, for instance, Ellis-Evans 2021: 74-5 (Assos). See Ma 2013: 53-5 for Attalid military campaigns in the 2nd century BC.

⁹²⁰ Meadows 2009b: esp.253-54.

⁹²¹ Alexandreia Troas, Tenedos, Parion, Mytilene, Sardis, Smyrna, Klazomenai, Teos, Kolophon, Samos.

However, the circumstances behind the minting of these new civic tetradrachms differed from one another. While Klazomenai's emissions may have been used for a local military conflict, some others were produced for covering the costs of religious festivals and of special events – that was case, for instance, of the tetradrachms of the *koinon* of Athena Ilias.⁹²² A special tetradrachm from Teos was struck by the association of Dionysiac artists, probably to celebrate the foundation of the *Attalistsai* in the 150s BC;⁹²³ furthermore, the reorganisation of the *Nikephoria* festival in 181 BC possibly prompted the rare tetradrachms of Athena Nikephoros at Pergamon;⁹²⁴ finally, this mint also struck very rare issues of Attic-weight tetradrachms with Eumenes II/standing Kabeiroi types and ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΜΕΝΟΥ legend.⁹²⁵ Another Attic-weight tetradrachm emission perhaps also from Pergamon, with Demeter/standing Kabeiroi types and ΘΕΩΝ ΚΑΒΕΙΡΩΝ ΣΥΡΙΩΝ legend, was struck from mid- to late 140s BC not only at a much higher volume of these one-off mintings, but even at a higher rate than the contemporary Pergamene *kistophoroi*.⁹²⁶ Thus, the heavy production of this coinage was unlikely meant to cover expenses related to the running of religious festivals. Other issues that were similarly minted in large amounts also emerged in the same period, between c.154 and c.135 BC,⁹²⁷ at Aigai, Kyme, Myrina, Smyrna, Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros, and Herakleia-Latmos. They displayed a laurel wreath on reverse – for this reason, they are commonly known as “Wreathed Coinages”.⁹²⁸ However, their peculiarity did not solely consist in the choice of their coin-designs, but it especially concerned their volume of production – in fact, even places that had not minted for a long time, such as Lebedos, struck Attic-weight tetradrachms at a very high rate around the mid-2nd century BC.⁹²⁹ In **Chapter 1 – Section 1.4.2.1** we have seen that these coinages appear predominantly in Northern Syrian hoards – for this reason, it has been assumed they represented Attalid financial backing of Alexander Balas' attempt at the Seleukid throne. Aside from the purpose of their production, it is undeniable that their size, which

⁹²² Ellis-Evans 2016b.

⁹²³ Lorber & Hoover 2003.

⁹²⁴ Le Rider 1973: 70. See Meadows 2013: 175 and n.70 for bibliographic reference.

⁹²⁵ Meadows 2013: 173-75 and n.67 for bibliographic reference.

⁹²⁶ Meadows 2013: 184-86.

⁹²⁷ For chronologies, see Meadows & Houghton 2010.

⁹²⁸ de Callatay 2013: 232-36. See Picard 2010: 175 n.48, for the debate on the meaning of the wreath with reference to earlier bibliography.

⁹²⁹ See de Callatay 2013: 233 Table 6.10 for size of these issues.

was too large for merely civic products, implied a level of Attalid backing for their minting, at least in the form of provision of silver bullion.⁹³⁰ Thus, they likely constituted another example of “proxy-coinage”, similarly to the late-posthumous Alexanders of Western Asia Minor, and of Pisidia and Pamphylia at the end of the 3rd century BC.⁹³¹

At the same time, in parallel with tetradrachms struck in the form of late-posthumous Alexanders, special religious or commemorative emissions, and “proxy” civic coinages, minting of smaller silver issues was relatively rare in the 2nd century BC. In fact, it was already shown in **Section 2.3.1.2** that the decline of production of especially fractional silver coins reached its apex in the 2nd century BC. However, if we break down the evidence geographically, we may notice that over half of the drachm and fractional civic mints from this period operated in Karia.

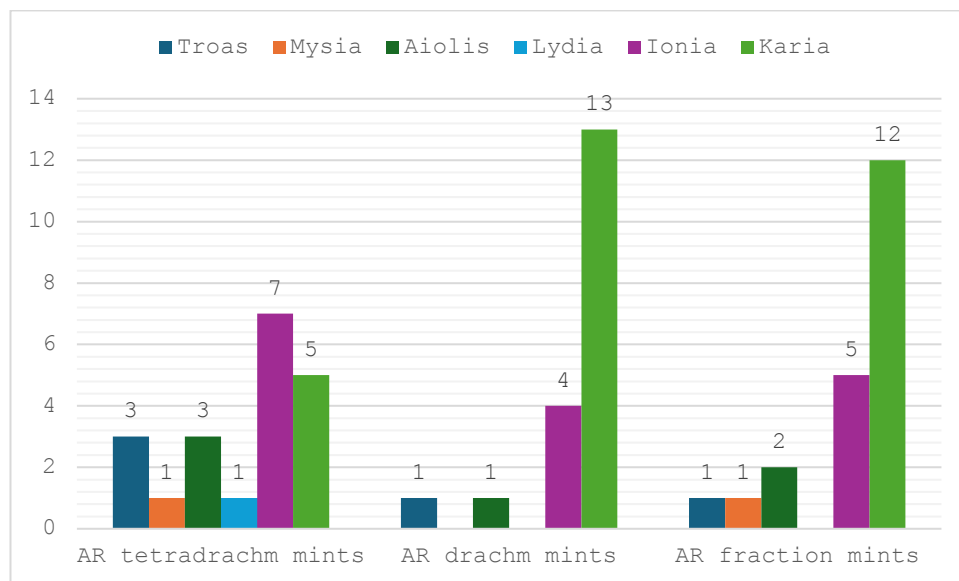


Fig. 145: no. of civic silver mints by denomination and region – 2nd century BC. Source: ARCH

(<https://greekcoinage.org/arch/>), accessed on 07/08/2024

In this region, Rhodes introduced new issues on a reduced weight-standard, based on drachms of around 3.05 g. This coinage – the so-called *plinthophoros*, from the shallow square incuse on the reverse –

⁹³⁰ Rostovtzeff 1939; Kinns 1987: 107; Ellis-Evans 2021b: 252-53.

⁹³¹ Meadows 2009a.

started around 190 BC, and it included drachms, hemidrachms, and diobols.⁹³² Production lasted until the 80s BC, with an average rate of around 9 drachm-equivalent obverse dies a year.⁹³³ Except for Kos,⁹³⁴ plinthophoric imitations emerged at a number of Karian and Lykian mints only after Rhodian loss of this region in c.167 BC.⁹³⁵ In the same period, a number of places also adopted the kistophoric weight-standard,⁹³⁶ which, rather than the symbol of political subjugation to the Attalids, probably resulted from the connection through the Maiandros valley between Attalid territories and some of the adopters of the kistophoric weight-standard – such as Alabanda and Stratonikeia (see **Section 2.5.1.2**).

2.5.1.2. Royal coinages

The royal mint of Pergamon continued minting posthumous *Philetairoi* under Eumenes II.⁹³⁷ However, the start and end dates of his series are subject to debate. Meadows has argued for a beginning in c.180-175 BC, following a pause in production lasting around ten years,⁹³⁸ during which period Pergamon may have minted late-posthumous Alexanders.⁹³⁹

At some point between the 180s and the 160s BC, Pergamon introduced a new series – the *kistophoroi*.⁹⁴⁰ The tetradrachm bore a *cista mystica* on obverse, encircled by an ivy wreath, and on the reverse two snakes on either side of a bow in its case, with various symbols and the name of a city usually in abbreviated form or monogram. *Kistophoroi* were minted at a lower standard than the Attic – the theoretical weight of a tetradrachm being c.12.6 g, 6.15 g for a didrachm, and 3.05 g for a

⁹³² Jenkins 1989: Groups A-B. See Ashton 2001: 89, 93-4.

⁹³³ de Callataj 2013: 238 Table 6.11.

⁹³⁴ Stefanaki 2012: 14.43, from c.180-170 BC.

⁹³⁵ In Karia: Stratonikeia (Meadows 2002: Group 2) and Mylasa (Akarca 1959: no.12). These imitations displayed their own civic types on obverse, but the plinthos on reverse.

⁹³⁶ Alabanda (Meadows 2008: Series 5); Stratonikeia, perhaps after 160 BC (Meadows 2002: Group 1; 98-101); Euromos (Ashton & Kinns 2003: 35-6); Kibyra (*SNG von Aulock* 3700-3718); and perhaps Alinda (see Ashton 2013: 253-54).

⁹³⁷ Westermark 1961: Group VII.

⁹³⁸ Gap in production between Westermark 1961: Group VI B2 and VII (Meadows 2013: 164-69).

⁹³⁹ Meadows 2013: 163.

⁹⁴⁰ For discussion of the *kistophoroi* in the context of Attalid coin-production, see Kaye 2022: Ch.3. For the starting date, Meadows 2013: 175-83; Meadows 2020 (c.167 BC). de Callataj 2013: 218-31 (170s BC). Bresson 2018: 134; Kaye 2022: 142 (c.175 BC).

drachm.⁹⁴¹ Pergamon continued striking *Philetairoi* simultaneously with *kistophoroi* until 160-150 BC, as the last samples of the former appear in hoards from the 150s BC.⁹⁴²

Production was not concentrated at Pergamon alone but shared with a number of other mints.⁹⁴³ The larger ones were Ephesos, Tralleis, Sardis, and Apameia, which were joined by Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos shortly after their start, and also Adramytteion.⁹⁴⁴ Smaller, irregular mints also opened at Blaundos, Dionysopolis, Lysias, and Dioskome,⁹⁴⁵ and a further workshop has been located at Kormasa in the Milyas.⁹⁴⁶ These minor mints were possibly opened in a period of Attalid activity in southern Phrygia, either fighting against the Gauls or founding new cities in the region.⁹⁴⁷ Interestingly, instances of die-sharing are traceable between Pergamon and the cities of the Anatolian hinterland – in particular, through one die-link with Dionysopolis, and five die-links with Apameia.⁹⁴⁸ No other die- or control-links have been identified between the other kistophoric mints, except for a tetradrachm from Adramytteion and an early Pergamene *kistophoros* from 166-160 BC.⁹⁴⁹ Nonetheless, modern commentators tend to view production of this coinage in the Attalid period as highly centralised, to the point that the ethnics displayed on the issues are not thought to indicate actual places of production.⁹⁵⁰ Indeed, *kistophoroi* show great uniformity of imagery, placement of the ethnic and symbols. However, as seen above, instances of die-sharing were not very frequent, and mostly concerned Pergamon and the Phrygian cities. Some coins of Ephesos and Apameia, but not from Pergamon, also display letters

⁹⁴¹ Kleiner & Noe 1977: 15.

⁹⁴² Meadows 2013: 164-66 Table 5.5; Marcellesi 2012: 122-23.

⁹⁴³ Kleiner & Noe 1977.

⁹⁴⁴ Adramytteion was among the cities providing the “kistophoric countermarks” on Attic-weight tetradrachms from Side and late-posthumous Alexanders from Phaselis (Bauslaugh 1990: 45; de Callataÿ 2013: Table 6.6). The ethnic ΑΔΡΑ appears on a kistophoric tetradrachm (Stauber 1996: no.94) that is die-linked to an early *kistophoros* from Pergamon (Carbone 2020: 174). On the so-called “kistophoric countermarks”, see now Thonemann 2021b.

⁹⁴⁵ Kleiner & Noe 1977: 79-81, Sardes-Synnada Series 5-8; mint reattributions in Le Rider 1990: 689-700.

⁹⁴⁶ Thonemann 2008: 53-8.

⁹⁴⁷ Thonemann 2011b: 171-77, esp. 172-73 for a militaristic explanation of these coinages, followed by Kaye 2022: 150, who, citing Filges 2003: 42, points out that Blaundos was not apparently urbanised under the Attalids. On the contrary, Le Rider 1990: 701 and Meadows 2013: 199 believe these mints related to Attalid civic foundations.

⁹⁴⁸ Kleiner & Noe 1977: S10 (Series 6) and P24; A17/P38, A24/P46, A28/P54, A38/P75, and A40/P79.

⁹⁴⁹ Carbone 2020: 174.

⁹⁵⁰ “The amount of die-sharing between mints strongly points to a single minting place for issues allegedly coming from different mints” (de Callataÿ 2013: 228). Cf. Meadows 2013: 199: “Since the ‘mintmarks’ that appear on a number of these coinages do not in fact designate sites of production, we might speculate that their inclusion was at least partly an element of the ideological programme”.

that possibly stood for regnal years;⁹⁵¹ furthermore, the specialisation of the Tralleis mint in the production of small kistophoric denominations –⁹⁵² usually interpreted as the result of a top-down decision –⁹⁵³ was perhaps rather motivated by the economic geography of the Maiandros valley, and by the preference of Karia for small silver coins, as seen in **Section 2.5.1.1**;⁹⁵⁴ finally, control-links between Tralleis' *kistophoroi* and the city's own gold coins show some form of collaboration between civic and royal authorities.⁹⁵⁵ For these reasons, I am happy to borrow Kaye's definition of the *kistophoroi* as a "coordinated coinage",⁹⁵⁶ which displayed a "tension" between royal power and civic particularities. In this respect, this new Attalid series was not too dissimilar from Antiochos II's and Hierax's issues in Aiolis/Northern Ionia and Troas, and perhaps from the late-posthumous Alexanders as well.

If we adopt the dates suggested by Meadows,⁹⁵⁷ the periods of more intense kistophoric production correspond to two phases – the first years of the series, when the Attalids needed to kickstart their new coinage; and 133-129 BC, when possibly the Romans themselves or pro-Roman factions needed to finance the suppression of the uprising led by the Attalid pretender Aristonikos (**Fig. 146**).

⁹⁵¹ Kleiner & Noe 1977: E33-36; A26-28; 52, 94.

⁹⁵² Kleiner & Noe 1977: 60-75 list sixteen drachm obverse dies and twenty didrachm obverse dies for Tralleis. For a comparison, they record only four didrachm obverse dies for Pergamon (Kleiner & Noe 1977: 22-40); Ephesos five didrachm and eight drachm obverse dies (Kleiner & Noe 1977: 41-59).

⁹⁵³ "The fact that the mint of Tralleis was in charge of nearly all the fractions also points in the direction of a general policy established at a higher level" (de Callataÿ 2013: 228).

⁹⁵⁴ Kaye 2022: 152-63. Tralleis was located at the midpoint between Ephesos and Karia (Str. 14.2.29), and from the 160s BC a series of mints adopted the plinthophoric standard, whose drachm roughly corresponded to a kistophoric drachm.

⁹⁵⁵ Kleiner & Noe 1977: T21, T78. Jenkins 1980.

⁹⁵⁶ Kaye 2022: 176.

⁹⁵⁷ Meadows 2013: 182, although he cautions that internal chronology of the *kistophoroi* before 133 BC is difficult to establish.

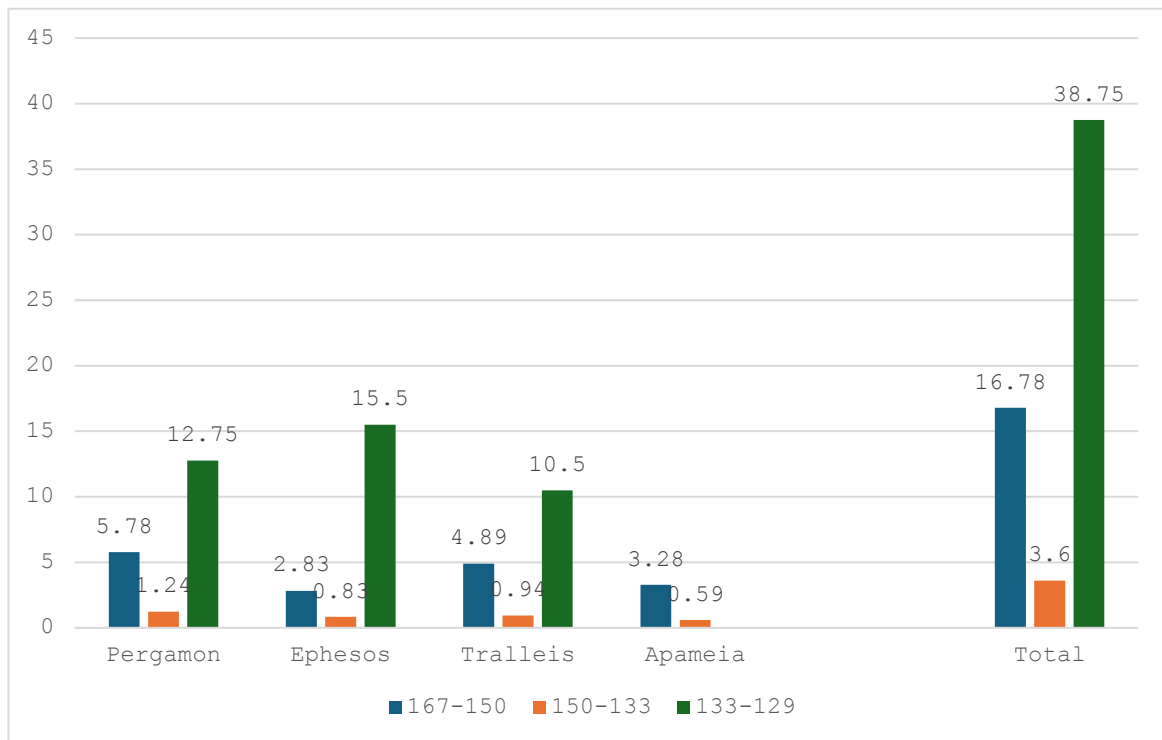


Fig. 146: annual average of used obverse dies by mint (numbers from Meadows 2013: 182 Table 5.8b)

Section 2.5.2. Hoard evidence

| | N. of hoards | Troas | Mysia | Aiolis | Lydia | Ionia | Karia | Lykia |
|---------------|--------------|-------|----------------------|--------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------|-------|
| Troas | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Mysia | 4 | — | Kyzikos, Pergamon | — | Sardis, Tralleis | Ephesos | — | — |
| Aiolis | 1 | — | — | Temnos | — | — | — | — |
| Lydia | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Ionia | 5 | — | Pergamon | — | Sardis, Tralleis | Smyrna, Ephesos | Rhodes | — |
| Karia | 15 | — | Pergamon | — | Tralleis | Ephesos | Rhodes, Knidos, Mylasa, Kos, | — |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|--|--|---|---|---------|----------------------------------|---|
| | | | | | | | Stratonikeia, <i>Alabanda</i> | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Uncertain Western Asia Minor | 1 | | | — | — | Miletos | Herakleia- on-the- Latmos | — |

Table 65: mints by region of retrieval (W. Asia Minor) – 2nd century BC (royal mints in bold, kistophoric mints in italics)

The 2nd century BC saw an even lower number of hoards with a more or less identified findspot than before, for a total of twenty-six hoards. The western mints featured in them were either civic or kistophoric, with the only exception of the Alexanders from Temnos found near their place of production (**Table 65**).⁹⁵⁸ The hoards from the 2nd century BC paint a situation where, once again, Western Asia Minor was split into two distinct areas of monetary circulation, which also corresponded to different political units. On the one hand, in their meagre hoard evidence, the Attalid North and Centre-West have registered extremely few civic mints – namely, Kyzikos, Lampsakos, Abydos, Smyrna, and Miletos – while the rest of the data comprised *kistophoroi* and limited instances of royal coins. On the other hand, almost only regional civic products are found in the numerous hoards from Karia (**Fig. 147**).

⁹⁵⁸ “Temnos environs, c.1912” (*IGCH* 1346).

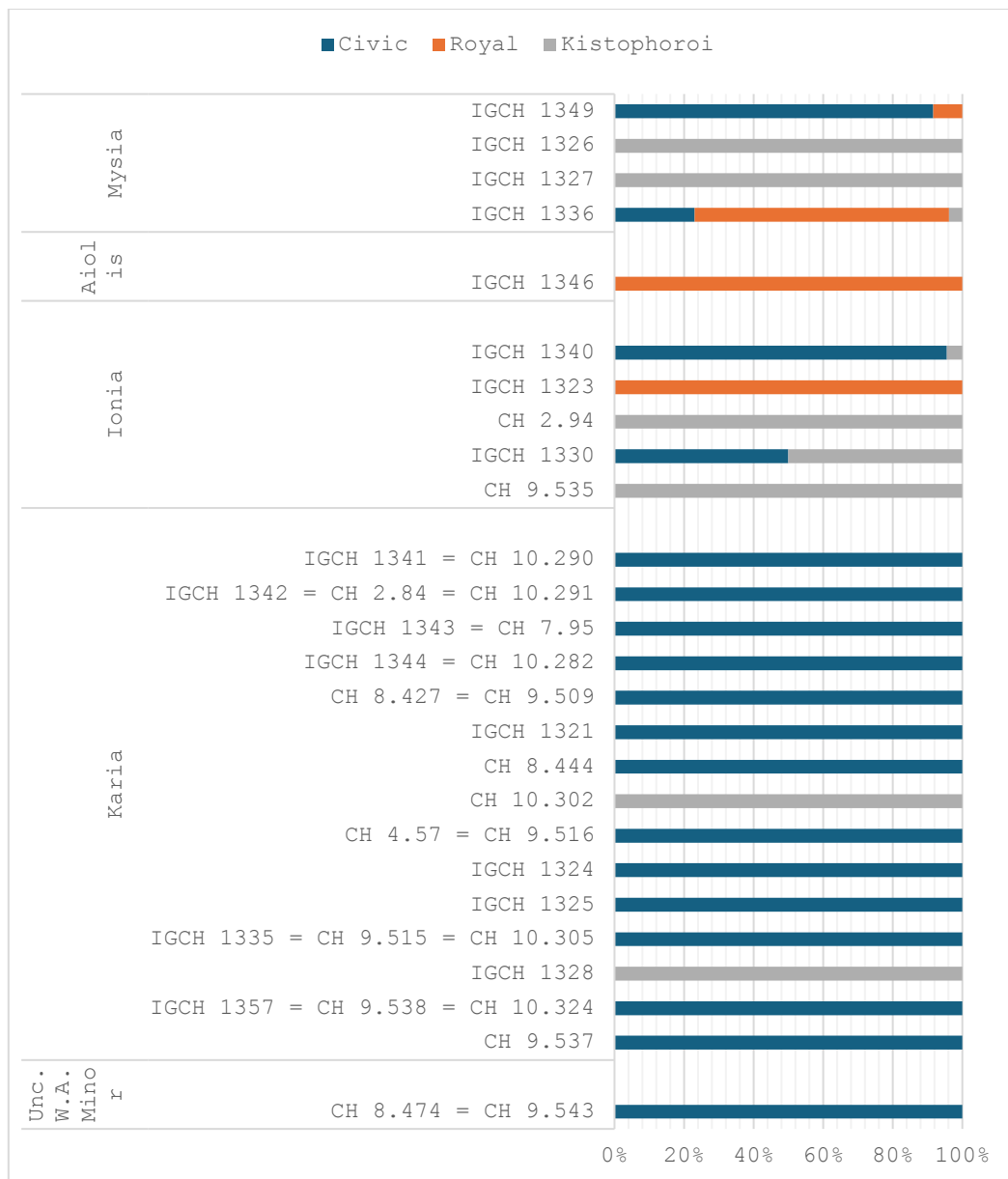


Fig. 147: civic coins vs. royal coins vs. *kistophoroi* in hoards from Western Asia Minor – 2nd century BC

Such a territorial distinction can also be observed when considering the level of interregional mixing displayed by the hoards. Compared to Karia, which featured almost no extra-regional issues, coins in the North/Centre-West showed a greater tendency to travel outside of their place of production, in part thanks to the federal nature of the *kistophoroi* (Fig. 148).

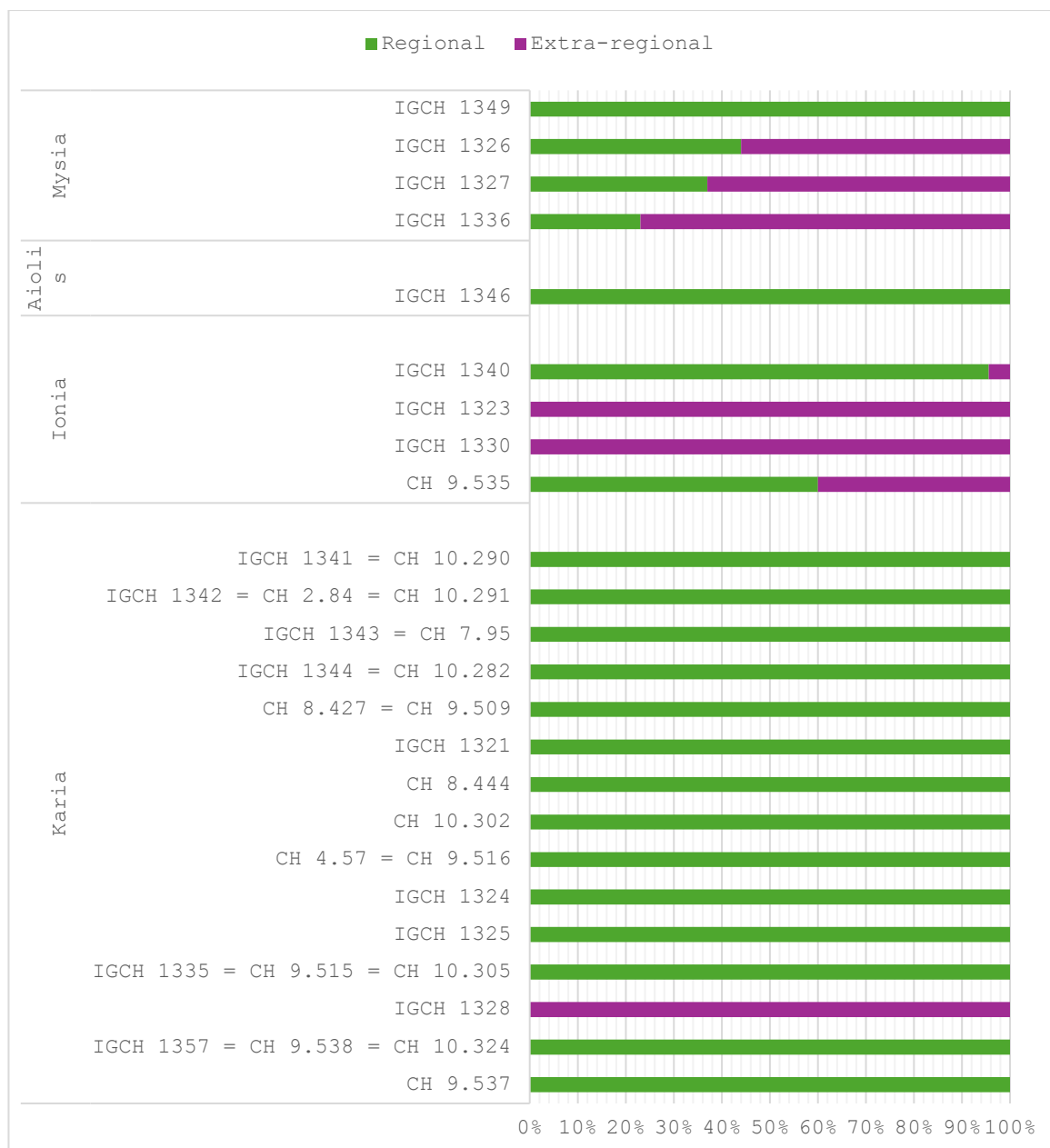


Fig. 148: regional vs. extra-regional issues in Western Asia Minor hoards – 2nd century BC

This coinage appears in a total of fifteen hoards for the whole 2nd century BC, also including the ones from Phrygia and uncertain locations of Asia Minor. However, only two (perhaps three) of them belong to the Attalid period – thus accounting for a maximum of 20% of the evidence (**Table 66 – Hoards 1, 2, perhaps 3**). The rest of the data is either from the time of Aristonikos’ revolt (**Hoards 4-11: 53%** of the hoard data), or from the very end of the 2nd century BC (**Hoards 12-15: 27%**).

| | Hoard | Date | Findspot | Civic contents | Kistophoric contents | Royal contents |
|-----------|---------------------|---------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|--|---|
| 1 | <i>IGCH</i> 1452 | c.150- 145 | Asia Minor | — | Pergamon (14), Ephesos (20), Sardis (2), Tralleis (11), Apameia (6), Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos (1) | — |
| 2 | <i>IGCH</i> 1453 | 145- 140 | Asia Minor | Side (5) | Pergamon (11), Ephesos (3), Tralleis (7), Apameia (1) | Attalids (5), Bithynian kings (11), Seleukids (8) |
| 3 | <i>IGCH</i> 1326 | c.135- 130 | Balikesir (Mysia) | — | Pergamon (22), Ephesos (10), Sardis (1), Tralleis (8), Apameia (8), Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos (1) | — |
| 4 | <i>IGCH</i> 1415 | after 133 | Afyon-Karahissar (Phrygia) | — | Apameia (10), uncertain (110) | — |
| 5 | <i>CH</i> 2.94 | 130s? | Ionia | — | Pergamon, Ephesos, Tralleis, Apameia | — |
| 6 | <i>IGCH</i> 1327 | c.130 | Yesilhisar, near Savastepe (Mysia) | — | Pergamon (37), Ephesos (33), Sardis (2), Tralleis (19), Apameia (8), Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos (1) | — |
| 7 | <i>CH</i> 8.446 | 130 | Polathı (Phrygia) | — | Pergamon (12), Ephesos (11), Sardis (1), Tralleis (9), Apameia (4) | — |
| 8 | <i>IGCH</i> 1328 | 128 | Salinali, near Euhippe (Karia) | — | Pergamon (2), Ephesos (5), Tralleis (5), Apameia (2), Synnada (2), uncertain (2) | — |
| 9 | <i>CH</i> 8.437 | 128 | Unknown findspot | — | Pergamon (13), Ephesos (16), Tralleis (6), Apameia (6), Apameia? (1) | — |
| 10 | <i>IGCH</i> 1455 | 128 | Asia Minor | — | Pergamon (57), Ephesos (51), Sardis (7), Thyateira (1), Tralleis (35), Apameia (5), Unc. Mints (2) | — |
| 11 | <i>CH</i> 9.535 | 128 | Ahmetbeyli (Ionia) | — | Pergamon (22), Ephesos (10), Sardis (1), Tralleis (8), Apameia (8), Laodikeia-on-the-Lykos (1) | — |
| 12 | <i>IGCH</i> 1330 | c.125 | Priene | Priene (329 AE) | Tralleis (1) | — |
| 13 | <i>IGCH</i> 1336 | c.110- 100 | Marmara (Mysia) | Athens (1), Kyzikos (5) | Pergamon (1) | Lysimachos (11), Bithynian kings (8) |
| 14 | <i>IGCH</i> 1456 | 105- 100 | Asia Minor | — | Pergamon (4), Ephesos (4), Tralleis (1) | — |

| | | | | | | |
|----|-------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|---|-----------------------------|---|
| 15 | CH 9.524 | mid- late 2 nd cent. | Unknown findspot | — | Pergamon, Ephesos, Tralleis | — |
|----|-------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|---|-----------------------------|---|

Table 66: kistophoric hoards – 2nd century BC

Despite the small data set available especially for before 133 BC, we can observe that, on average, Pergamon, Ephesos, and Tralleis emerge as the largest contributors of *kistophoroi* in the hoard evidence; conversely, the output of Apameia and especially Sardis was fairly limited. The balance between these kistophoric mints did not change during Aristonikos’ rebellion, despite the higher number of hoards available for this period (Fig.149).

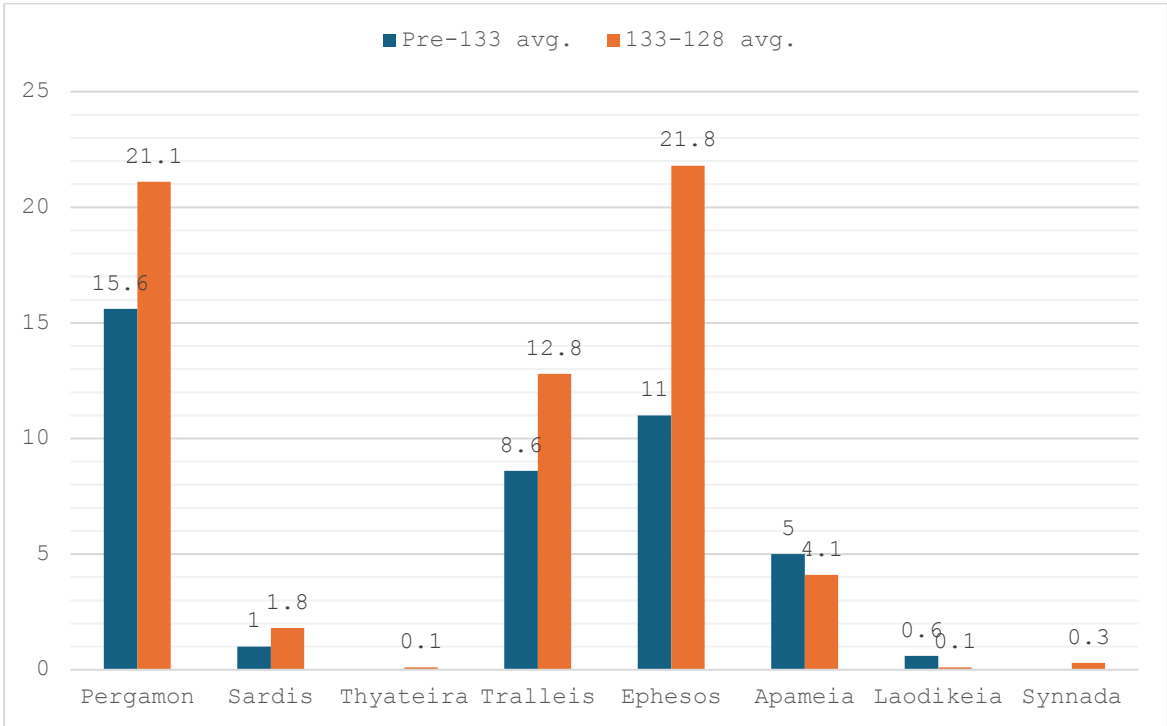


Fig.149: average number of *kistophoroi* in hoards by mint – 2nd century BC

Overall, 50% of the kistophoric hoards are securely located in Western Asia Minor. One of them, being dated to “135-130 BC”, stands in between the Attalid and post-Attalid periods (Table 66 – Hoard 3). The two other finds from before 133 BC, instead, are from unknown locations in Asia Minor (Hoards 1, 2). However, they are far from being the only kistophoric finds with uncertain provenance. In fact,

this typology of hoards accounts for 36% of the whole evidence, and it is equally distributed across the 2nd century BC (**Fig.150**). Not only does it represent a significant chunk of the data, but it also complicates the idea that the Attalids created a closed-currency area, outside of which *kistophoroi* did not circulate at all.⁹⁵⁹

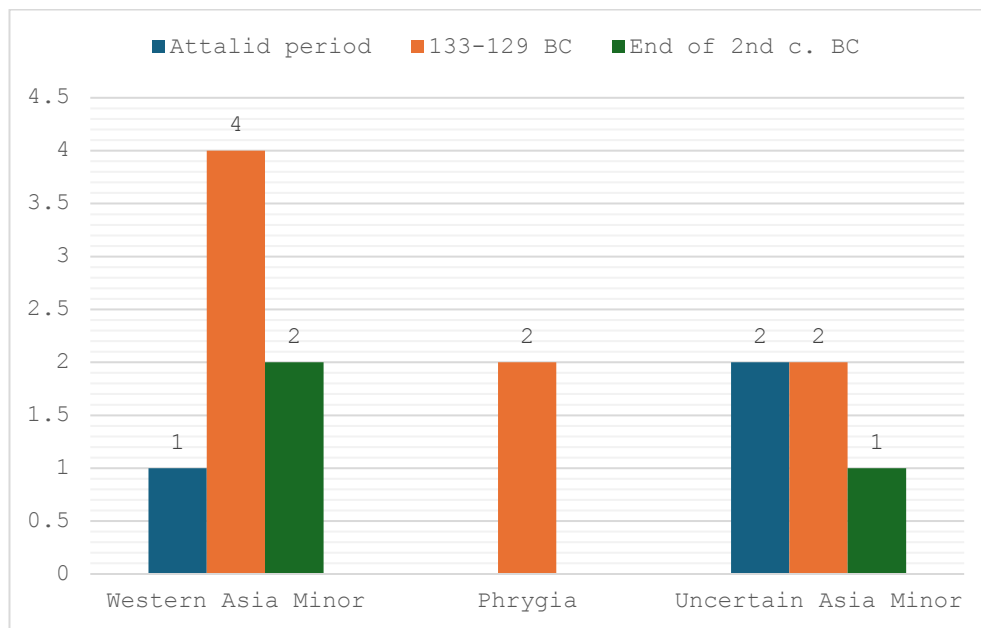


Fig.150: no. of kistophoric hoards by period and area of discovery – 2nd century BC

Furthermore, several recorded hoards from 2nd-century Western Asia Minor contain no *kistophoroi*. Some have been retrieved in Mysia and Aiolis, although they are dated to a generic “2nd century BC”.⁹⁶⁰ Two further finds from Phrygia, just north of Pisidia, have yielded Sidetan tetradrachms with kistophoric countermarks, but actually belong to the time before the inception of *kistophoroi*.⁹⁶¹ A hoard from an uncertain western location contains civic issues from Abydos and Lampsakos –⁹⁶² however,

⁹⁵⁹ See Meadows 2013: 149-51 for the history of the development of this notion.

⁹⁶⁰ “Asia Minor, western?, c.1946” (*IGCH* 1349): one Alexander from an uncertain mint, and eleven civic Kyzikene issues; “Temnos environs, c.1912” (*IGCH* 1346): 6 Alexanders (Temnos) and 300 bronze civic coins from Temnos.

⁹⁶¹ “Hocalar, Afyon, 1995” (*CH* 10.293): eight Sidetan tetradrachms with kistophoric countermark, one with anchor countermark; “Çeltek, Yeşilova, 1995” (*CH* 9.508). Bauslaugh 1990: 63 explains the Sidetan tetradrachms with kistophoric countermark as indemnity payment from the Seleukids to the Attalids in the aftermath of Apameia.

⁹⁶² “Asia Minor, western, 1964-5” (*IGCH* 1322).

while dated in *IGCH* as from the 2nd century BC, it is actually from the early 1st.⁹⁶³ It is dated around 160 BC – thus, around the beginning of *kistophoroi* – or shortly thereafter, if we accept the lower chronology for this coinage. One last hoard, from the basis of a cult statue in Priene, features tetradrachms of Orophernes of Kappadokia,⁹⁶⁴ and is to be linked to the alliance that this king established with Priene, and to the deposit of 400 talents that he left in this city in case of an emergency. Therefore, this hoard may have been part of his dedication of the statue of Athena Polias, either before or after he was expelled from his throne.⁹⁶⁵

Overall, no hoards with civic and/or royal coins from Western Asia Minor that are clearly from 160-133 BC have survived. Similarly, there are few instances of mixing of *kistophoroi* with civic and royal issues, either silver or bronze. Accounting for 20% of all kistophoric hoards from the 2nd century BC (**Table 66 – Hoards 2, 12, 13**), these mixed finds do not clearly show that different coin-types circulated together within the Attalid kingdom in 160-133 BC. In fact, **Hoards 12** and **13**, which are located in Western Asia Minor, belong to the very end of the 2nd century BC. Instead, **Hoard 2** is from the 140s BC, but, due to its uncertain findspot, it could come either from Attalid territory or from a fringe area. We have seen that, in 3rd-century Kilikia and Northern Syria, coexistence of coinages of different weight-standards – in that case Ptolemaic and Attic – mostly occurred in border areas between two distinct spheres of influence. The same reasoning could be applied to **Table 66 – Hoard 2**.⁹⁶⁶ Its burial date in the 140s BC and the presence of Sidetan tetradrachms may suggest a location in the Pamphylian area, where Attalos II probably fought in the 150s BC in order to take control of the coast.⁹⁶⁷

Overall, it is surprising that the 2nd century BC has yielded very few hoards, given the number of conflicts fought within the confines of the Attalid kingdom.⁹⁶⁸ New civic coinages were produced in great quantity by the Greek *poleis* of the western coast from the 150s BC, but they have turned up almost only in Southern Asia Minor and especially in Syria (see **Chapter 1 – Section 1.4.2.1**). However,

⁹⁶³ See discussion of this hoard, see Ellis-Evans 2020: 107-9; Ellis-Evans 2023: 251, 253-56.

⁹⁶⁴ “Priene, 1870” (*IGCH* 1323).

⁹⁶⁵ Pol. 33.6; *RC* 63.

⁹⁶⁶ So de Callatay 2013: 230.

⁹⁶⁷ Meadows 2013: 186-87.

⁹⁶⁸ Ma 2013.

it is not a remote possibility that at least some of the Attic-weight issues, like the “Wreathed Coinages”, also circulated within Attalid territory, and that more mixed hoards from the mid-2nd century BC will eventually come to light in the future.⁹⁶⁹

Instead, the situation in Karia was more straightforward. “Western Asia Minor?, 1920” (CH 10.302) and “Sanhali, 1952” (IGCH 1328) are the only kistophoric hoards, although the former features Alabandan civic emissions on the kistophoric weight-standard. All the other finds from Karia have yielded local civic coins, minted by either Kos, Rhodes, Knidos, Mylasa, and in only one instance Stratonikeia. In particular, Rhodian *plinthophoroi* are among the most common coins found in Karian hoards, appearing in half of the regional finds (Fig. 151).

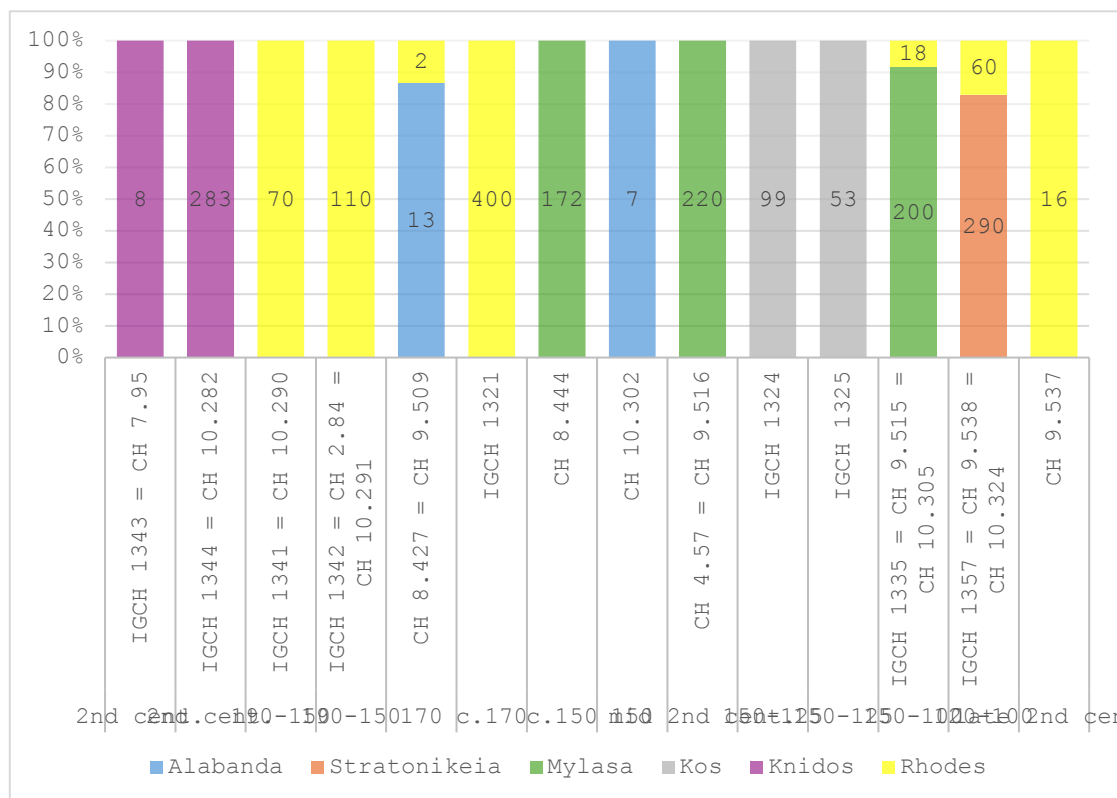


Fig. 151: local mints in Karian hoards – 2nd century BC

Silver was the almost absolutely predominant coin-metal in this period, especially in Karia. Bronze coins continued to be a much popular currency in hoards, representing more than half of the total

⁹⁶⁹ Meadows 2013: 197.

evidence for Ionia, and appearing in both finds from Aiolis. However, like in previous periods, the tendency of silver to circulate together with bronze was still very much limited (**Fig. 152**).

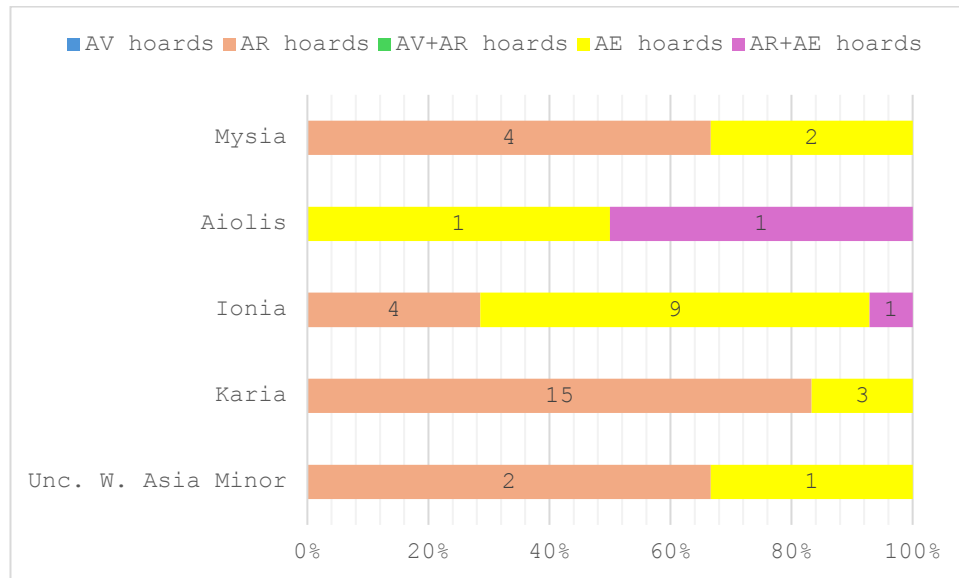


Fig. 152: silver vs. bronze hoards in Western Asia Minor – 2nd century BC

Due to the difficulties inherent in dating bronze coinage, of the fourteen bronze hoards from the regions under Attalid control, half of the evidence is dated to a generic “2nd century BC”,⁹⁷⁰ while the other half consists mainly of Prieneian finds from the 120s BC.⁹⁷¹ Thus, while we can say for the whole 2nd century BC that bronze coins predominated in the hoard evidence from the North/Centre-West of Asia Minor, we cannot do the same with any satisfactory degree of certainty specifically for the years of Attalid rule. If bronzes were indeed the more common currency available for hoarding in the years 160-133 BC, we would have a situation where cities were producing silver coinages – namely, late-posthumous Alexander and civic tetradrachm issues – primarily for export, while bronze coins served as the primary means of internal exchange.

⁹⁷⁰ “Pergamon ‘Forgers hoard’, 1988” (*CH* 9.502), “Temnos environs, c.1912” (*IGCH* 1346), “Asia Minor, western, c.1912” (*IGCH* 1347), “Chios?, c.1910” (*IGCH* 1337), “Chios, 1917” (*IGCH* 1338), “Chios?, c.1933” (*IGCH* 1339).

⁹⁷¹ “Izmir?, before 1916” (*IGCH* 1329), “Priene, 1895-8” (*IGCH* 1330), “Priene, 1895-8” (*IGCH* 1331), “Priene, 1895-8” (*IGCH* 1332), “Priene, 1895-8” (*IGCH* 1333), “Priene, 1902-8” (*IGCH* 1334), “Izmir 1967/8” (*IGCH* 1350 = *CH* 3.69 = *CH* 4.67).

Section 2.6. Concluding remarks

A Seleukid model of monetary economy for Western Asia Minor?

In this long history of the numismatic production and coin-circulation of Western Asia Minor, from the inception of coinage to the late Hellenistic period, I have attempted to draw attention to the coexistence of the various political actors in Western Asia Minor; to the modalities of the exercise of power; and to how all this was reflected on the coinages produced.

In fact, throughout this chapter, the two political actors that have emerged as the most influential for the production of coinage in Western Asia Minor were the kings on the one hand, and the cities on the other. The former produced coinage following different models in the organisation of minting activity throughout the period 5th century BC – c.133 BC, generally with a tension between centralising and decentralising tendencies. For instance, in the 5th century BC, Achaemenid royal coin-production followed a strongly centralised approach – in fact, minting responsibilities to produce *Dareikoi* and *sigloi* fell on the satraps of Lydia and (perhaps) of Hellespontine Phrygia. Nonetheless, the crystallised types of these Persian coins show strong royal supervision in their production. However, things changed from the late 5th century BC onwards, with the emergence of the “satrapal coinages” and the “Late Royal Coinages”. The minting of issues in the name of satraps was likely the result of a devolution of a large share of responsibility in the financing of military efforts from the Great King to his high officials.⁹⁷² However, while the coin-designs and legends strongly point to satrapal authority, it is unclear whether the decision to mint the “satrapal coinages” ultimately fell on the officials themselves or on the Great King; we also ignore with whose resources these issues were struck.⁹⁷³ In fact, for instance, Frédéric Maffre has hypothesised that Pharnabazos’ large output at Kyzikos was financed with the 500 talents that Artaxerxes II had granted him in 399 BC in order to build a fleet, together with

⁹⁷² Bodzek 2022: 96.

⁹⁷³ Meadows 2022: 27.

Pharnabazos' personal funds and the tribute collected from his satrapy.⁹⁷⁴ This might have also been the case for some of the other “satrapal coinages” of the late 5th/early 4th century BC, which included high-value coinages in the form of electrum stater and *hektai* and silver tetradrachms. Instead, the satrapal emissions from the second quarter of the 4th century BC onwards seem to have reverted to the local dimension of the 5th-century dynastic coinages – in fact, aside from Orontas' gold staters at Lampsakos and Phokaia's electrum *hektai* for an uncertain official, they only included silver drachms and smaller fractions. Thus, production of these small-sized coinages would have been more sustainable for the resources of the satraps themselves compared to the earlier high-value coinages. Furthermore, Orontas' coins – at least the ones from Adramytteion – were likely struck during this satrap's revolt.⁹⁷⁵ Therefore, the possibility they were minted on royal orders or with the king's financial support is probably to be excluded.

Equally complex is the interpretation of minting process behind the Achaemenid “Late Royal Coinages”. In fact, these issues, while displaying the “Great King kneeling” type from Carradice's Type IIIb *sigloi*, often with the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ legend, clearly bear the marks of the authority of satraps and of other officials. However, this does not necessarily take away from the royal nature of these issues.⁹⁷⁶ In fact, the names, letters, and symbols on the Achaemenid “Late Royal Coinages”, which refer to satrapal and local authorities, could be seen as the forerunners of the control-monograms and symbols typical of the late-posthumous Alexanders and Lysimachi, as well as of the Seleukid issues. In **Chapter 1** we have seen similar cases with the early Phoenician Alexanders first, and the late-posthumous Alexanders and Seleukid coins of Arados and its *peraia* later. For both the Achaemenid and Hellenistic royal coins, these letters and symbols were the sign of either a delegation or collaboration with local authorities. Furthermore, variations in the appearance of royal coins also occurred at a regional level for the Seleukid coins of Antiochos II and Hierax. However, personal images analogous to the “satrapal head”, the “Iranian horseman”, or the Hekatomnid Zeus Labraundos of the Achaemenid “Late Royal Coinages” only appeared on the issues of governors who were growing in independence from Seleukid power,

⁹⁷⁴ Maffre 2004: 18.

⁹⁷⁵ Diod. 15.91.1.

⁹⁷⁶ *Contra* Bodzek 2022: 78-88.

shortly before achieving full autonomy.⁹⁷⁷ Nonetheless, the organisational structure of the Achaemenid and Hellenistic states was fundamentally different – the former relied heavily on a decentralised approach, whereas the latter, with the substitution of the Persian satraps with Graeco-Macedonian *strategoï* (as mentioned in the **Introduction**), tended to exercise a stronger grip on its administrators, guaranteeing a greater uniformity in types, legends, and weight-standard of the royal coinages across the empire than in the Achaemenid period.

It is then no surprise that, in the late 4th/early 3rd century BC, royal coin-production returned to a strongly centralised model. In fact, due to the absence from the early Hellenistic royal coinages of mintmarks and symbols indicating any involvement of civic administrators, the resulting impression is that the kings of this period adopted a fully hands-on approach to coin-production.

Instead, the picture for the Seleukids is quite more complex. In fact, these rulers did not follow a single model of royal coin-production in Western Asia Minor. Instead, two approaches emerged during the 3rd century BC – one that was “Sardian-centric”, occurring under Antiochos I, Seleukos II, and Antiochos III; another, instead, of strongly polycentric nature, emerging under Antiochos II and Hierax. With the former approach, the royal mint of Sardis would operate as the primary producer of Seleukid tetradrachms and sometimes drachms, while also exercising, sometimes, strong influence on the artistic execution of the coins of the other royal mints. This model was adopted by the Seleukid kings who either dealt with difficult circumstances in their early reigns, like Antiochos I and Seleukos II, or were involved in the reconquest of Western Asia Minor, like Antiochos III. The polycentric approach of Antiochos II and Hierax, instead, entailed the creation of several “regional” minting units, coordinated among each other in their production of royal issues. The presence of civic mintmarks on especially the north-western coins of Antiochos II and Hierax, together with the evidence for control-links with civic issues, suggest that this model resulted in a high level of involvement on the part of the city’s administrators. Therefore, the regional patterns that emerge in the production of coins with specific portrait- and reverse-types perhaps reflected decisions made not only by the royal officials stationed in the various cities of the kingdom, but also by civic administrators. The participation of the subject cities

⁹⁷⁷ This is the case of the issues of Philetairos of Pergamon with Seleukos I/seated Athena and ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ legend (SC 309) and of the Diodotids of Baktria (SC 628-637).

in the minting of royal coins reminds us of the royal tetradrachms of Karne and Simyra for Seleukos II seen in **Chapter 1 – Section 1.3.1.1.1**. Similarly to those issues, it is possible that the coins of Antiochos II and Antiochos Hierax signed with civic mintmarks in Troas and Aiolis/northern Ionia were contributions from the cities themselves towards the financing of the kings’ military efforts. However, it is also possible that, among Antiochos II’s various coinages in Western Asia Minor, the ones with types inherited from the end of Antiochos I’s reign (such as Antiochos I/Herakles seated on rock) were produced in the uncertain years of Antiochos II’s early reign on the civic authorities’ initiative, perhaps to pay for their own mercenaries or for the Galatian tribute.⁹⁷⁸

This participative, delegating model introduced in the 4th century BC with the Achaemenid “Late Royal Coinages”, and later reprised by Antiochos II and Hierax, was further developed by the Attalids in the 2nd century BC. Possibly as late as the 160s BC, the kings of Pergamon introduced a new coinage, the *kistophoros*, whose outlook as a federal coinage, with neutral obverse and reverse types and the presence of the minting city’s ethnic, suggest that the Attalids followed a highly decentralised model of coin-production. In **Section 2.5.1.2** I have adopted Kaye’s definition as “coordinated coinage”, where we observe a tension between centralising tendencies of the kings on the one hand – with uniformity of iconography, placement of the ethnic, and symbols – and local particularities on the other.

Below the royal level of coin-production, we have seen that the cities of Western Asia Minor produced a great variety of coins. However, in the second book of his *Oikonomika*, pseudo-Aristotle writes that minting of coinage in Western Asia Minor only occurred at the royal level of the economy.⁹⁷⁹ If we were to take this literally, it would entail that production of *all* coinages of Western Asia Minor was decided at a royal level.⁹⁸⁰ While I do not think it is necessary to take the evidence so far, it is still possible to observe the influence of the royal authorities on the minting activity of the *poleis* of Western Asia Minor through the volume of production of the various minting cities and in the choice of metal and denomination for their coinage. In fact, whenever its volume of output was particularly large and

⁹⁷⁸ For the Galatian tribute: Liv. 38.16.13.

⁹⁷⁹ Ps.-Arist. *Oec.* 2.1345b7.

⁹⁸⁰ Cf. Meadows 2022: 23.

regular, there was a chance that a minting city received royal backing.⁹⁸¹ This was the case for Ephesos' tetradrachm production in the 4th century BC, which Kinns deemed too large for a civic mint.⁹⁸² Similarly, for quite some time numismatists have suspected the same about the post-Achaic electrum coinages of Kyzikos, Mytilene, and Phokaia.⁹⁸³ Just outside of Western Asia Minor, the Pisidian and Pamphylian late-posthumous Alexanders at the end of the 3rd century BC have been explained as Seleukid "proxy-coinages".⁹⁸⁴ Later, in the mid-2nd century BC, the so-called "Wreathed Coinages" were similarly too big to be simply civic emissions, and they were thus probably produced with Attalid funding.

Overall, the creation of "proxy-coinages" was a trait shared by all the royal powers that ruled over Western Asia Minor, although it is not always easy to identify them, due to their otherwise perfectly civic outlook. Nonetheless, this was not the only way royal authority could impact the minting activity of the cities. In fact, the different approaches to state expenditure by the various empires that ruled over Western Asia Minor could also majorly influence minting of civic coins. For instance, the Achaemenid model of devolution of military expenses to the subject cities resulted in a concentration of a great number of places minting high value coinages in the early 5th century BC (**Fig.153**). In fact, in that period, the *poleis* of Western Asia Minor had to contribute to the military expenses required for the expeditions against Greece in 490 and 480-479 BC.⁹⁸⁵

⁹⁸¹ See de Callatay 2022 for Southern Asia Minor.

⁹⁸² Kinns 1989: 193.

⁹⁸³ For Kyzikos, see de Callatay 2020; Psoma 2020; Lazar 2024: 227-33, 239-42.

⁹⁸⁴ Meadows 2009a.

⁹⁸⁵ In Western Asia Minor, the Achaemenid impact on minting in the transitional period from the Archaic to the Classical period is a largely understudied subject. However, Lazar 2024: 241 n.193 promises a forthcoming contribution with Aneurin Ellis-Evans on the coinages of Kyzikos, Lampsakos, and Abydos and their financing of Xerxes' fleet in 480 BC.

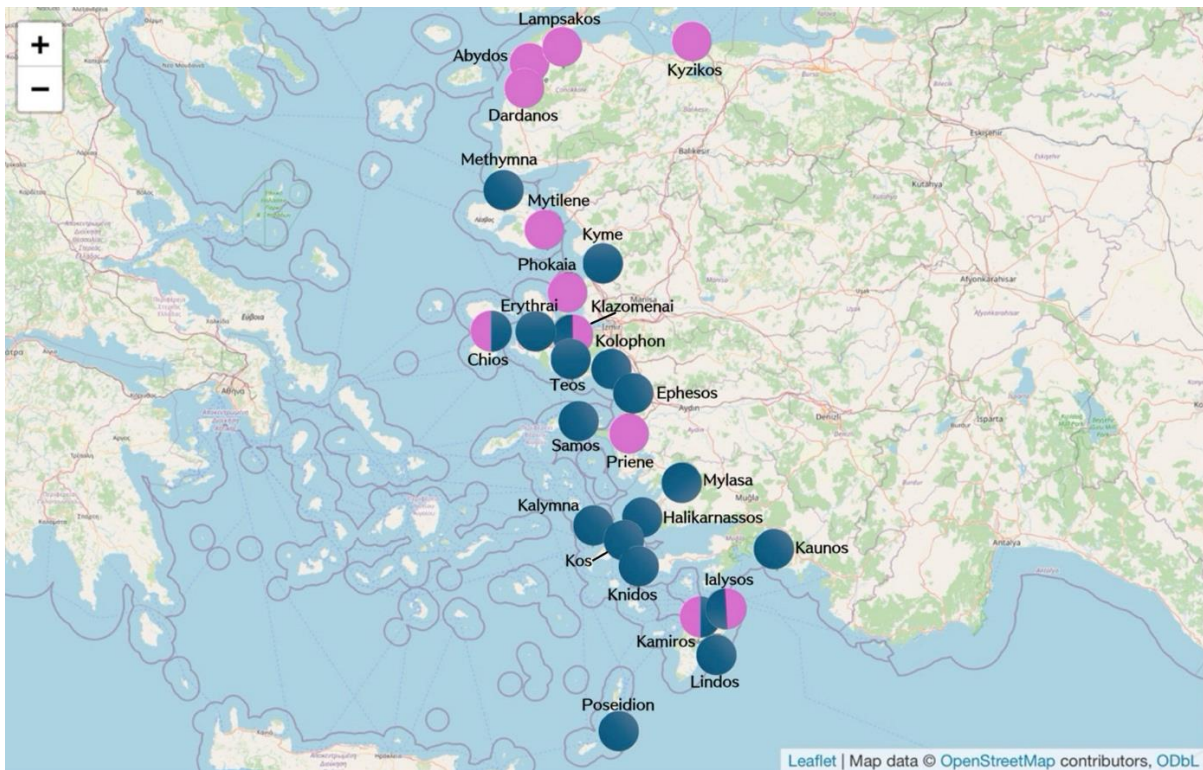


Fig. 153: high-value coinages in c.500-480 BC (blue circles = silver coinages larger than drachms/sigloi; purple circles = electrum coinages). Source: ARCH (<https://greekcoinage.org/arch/>), accessed on 30/06/2024.

Instead, the rise of the Delian League in the following decades brought about a model of state expenditure that was much more centralised than the Achaemenid. In fact, in this defensive alliance, while Athens provided the bulk of the triremes forming the Delian fleet,⁹⁸⁶ most member-*poleis* chose to pay the annual tribute instead of providing ships at their own expense.⁹⁸⁷ Therefore, Athens had to shoulder most of the military expenses of the Delian League by itself, resulting in the “industrial” production of its owls in the 5th century BC.⁹⁸⁸ The great availability of this coinage in Western Asia Minor (despite its absence from the hoard evidence) certainly contributed to a reduced need for the cities to mint new large coinages.⁹⁸⁹ Nonetheless, I would argue that it was because of the very organisational structure of the Delian League that minting of large silver denominations became such a

⁹⁸⁶ Kagan 1969: 43-4.

⁹⁸⁷ Thuc. 1.99.3.

⁹⁸⁸ See estimate of output in Meadows 2024: 98 n.17, 99 Figure 1.

⁹⁸⁹ Figueira 1998: 21-197; Kallet & Kroll 2020: 67-72, 143. However, see reservations in Konuk 2011a: 57-62, *contra* Flament 2011: 47-9.

rare occurrence in Western Asia Minor, especially in the latter half of the 5th century BC (Figs.154-155). Therefore, the rise of the Athenian *archē* coincided with the emergence of a different model of imperial expenditure in Western Asia Minor that was much more centralised than the Achaemenid.

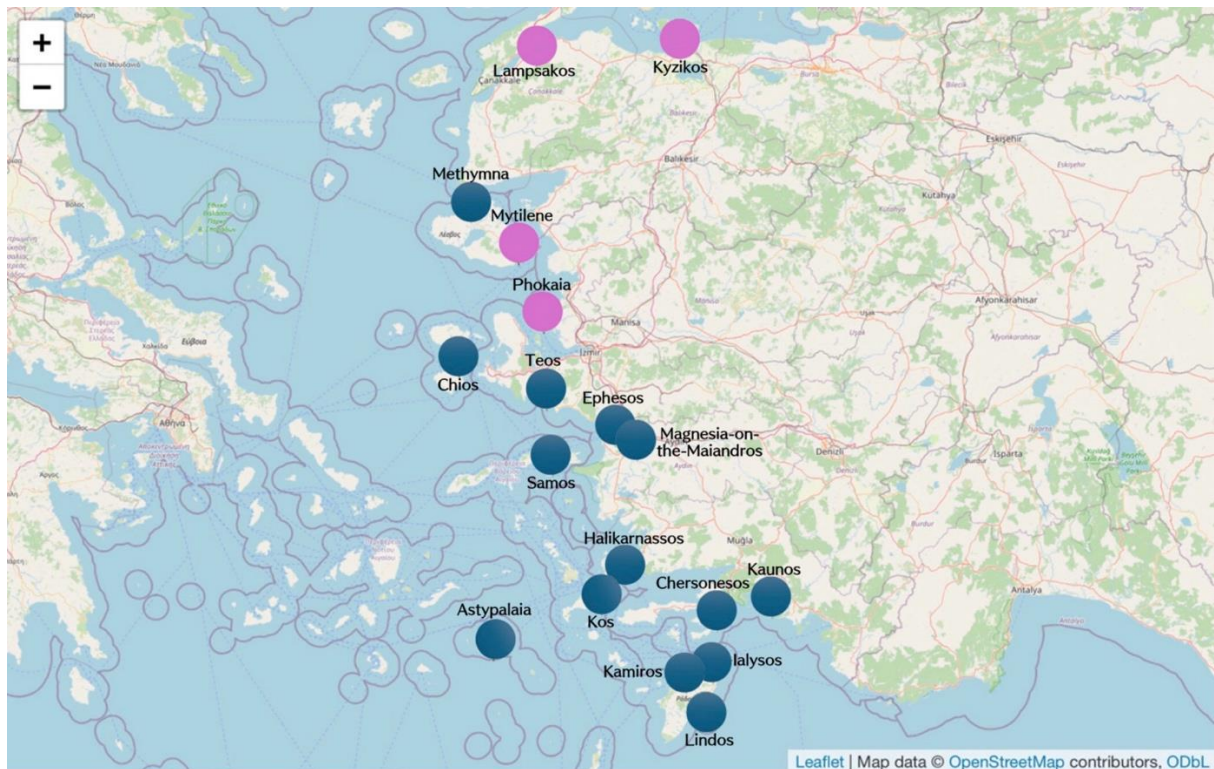


Fig. 154: high-value coinages in c.480-450 BC (blue circles = silver coinages larger than drachms/sigloi; purple circles = electrum coinages). Source: ARCH (<https://greekcoinage.org/arch/>), accessed on 01/07/2024.

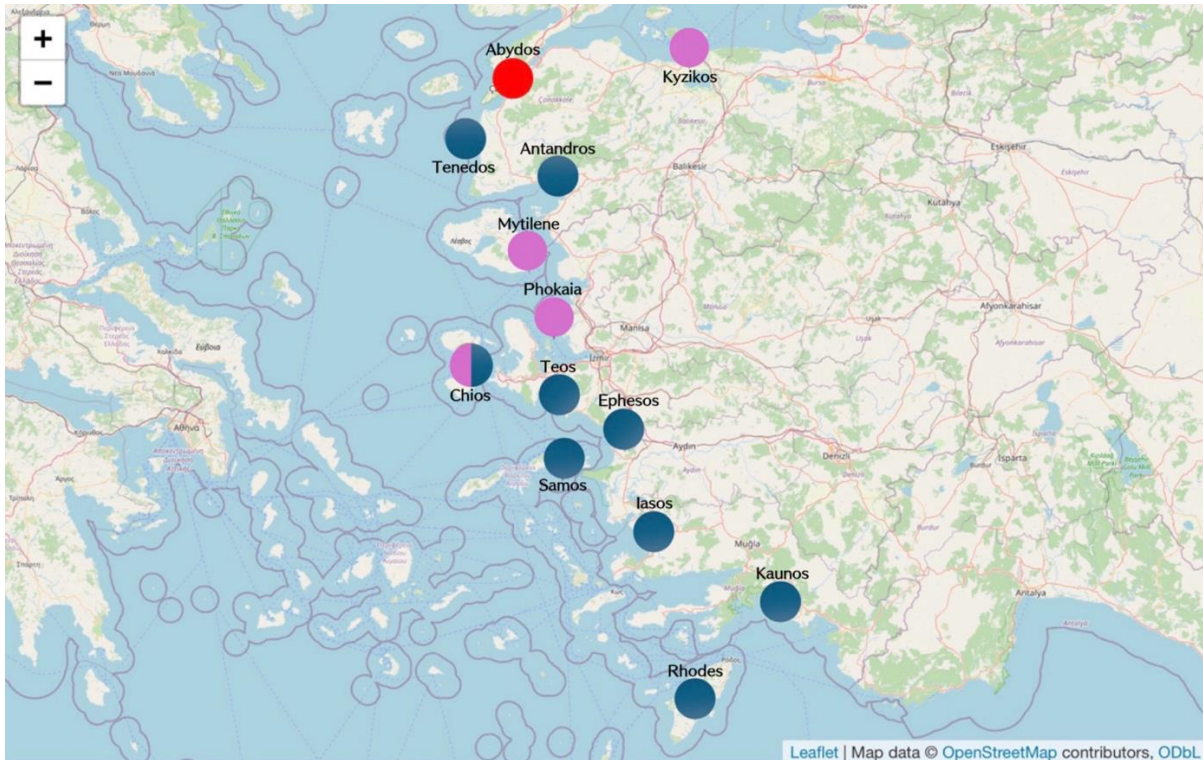


Fig. 155: high-value coinages in c.450-400 BC (blue circles = silver coinages larger than drachms/sigloi; purple circles = electrum coinages; red circles = gold coinages). Source: ARCH

(<https://greekcoinage.org/arch/>), accessed on 01/07/2024.

In **Section 2.2.1** we have observed that in the 4th century BC, the coinages of places like the Ionian cities, with the tetradrachm denomination as the most important one in terms of absolute value, were too large for internal expenditure. Therefore, their production was probably influenced by the requests of military and financial contributions from the Persian kings and satraps during the 4th century BC, although other factors may have also come into play. These could have been the need to cover the costs of building works, like at Rhodes in the early 4th century BC;⁹⁹⁰ or the need to pay military expenses related to local conflicts with neighbouring cities, as was the case of Klazomenai (and perhaps also Teos), with a short, but important series of Attic-weight gold and silver coinages produced in the 360s BC.⁹⁹¹

⁹⁹⁰ Ashton 2001: 92, 96.

⁹⁹¹ Kinns 1989: 185-87.

Instead, with the rise of the early Hellenistic kingdoms in the late 4th/early 3rd century BC, we have observed a phenomenon not too dissimilar from what had already occurred in the 5th century BC. On the one hand, due to the absence of any control-marks or symbols referring to civic involvement, only the royal administration was responsible for the production of the early-posthumous Alexanders. This reflected a centralised approach to state expenditure under the early *Diadochoi* that resulted in the massive issue of Alexanders in order to pay for the discharge of Alexander's veterans and for the troops of the Diadochic armies. As a result, very few large-sized civic coinages are attested not only for the late 4th/early 3rd century BC, but also for the 3rd century BC. In particular, during the latter period we observed a dearth of civic production in north-western Asia Minor, which stood under Seleukid authority with greater continuity than elsewhere. It is thus a suggestive possibility that a combination of a highly centralised approach to state expenditure by the Seleukid state and the great availability of Alexanders (which would have made production of new big civic issues redundant) caused a general lack of civic coin-production. However, the civic nature of the late-posthumous Alexanders shows that cities did continue to produce high-value coinages in the 3rd century BC, albeit in very circumscribed stints, as a measure to respond to situations of disorder and crisis. We have also seen above how production of the north-western coinages of Antiochos II and Hierax may have been forced civic contributions requested by the Seleukid kings themselves.

Therefore, apparently, these tetradrachms in Antiochos II's and Hierax's name represented a return to the Achaemenid model. The same could be said about the late-posthumous Alexanders, although, as seen in **Section 2.4.1.2**, their interpretation is quite complex. Indeed, contrary to the Seleukid issues with civic mintmark, for these Alexanders, it is not always clear whether a king requested their production, and, if that was the case, which Hellenistic ruler did make the request – either Attalos I or Antiochos III. The relative paucity of production of the coinage of the latter ruler, together with the poor technical execution of most of his issues, suggests that the coins of Antiochos III that were produced in Western Asia Minor did not constitute the primary source of coinage that he used to fund the Seleukid army. The late-posthumous Alexanders could have provided another source, and future study will be needed on the Attic-weight drachms and fractions that began from c.210 BC onwards.

Nonetheless, as already remarked in **Section 2.4.1.2**, the role played by the cities themselves in the minting of the late-posthumous Alexanders should not be undervalued.

Overall, even though the bird's-eye view adopted when writing this long-durée of the numismatic history of Western Asia Minor may have inevitably resulted in generalisations and omissions, the analysis of the numismatic data has revealed that royal authority could deeply impact production of civic coinage. The data for the Seleukid 3rd century is particularly striking. However, so far, we have focused only on high-value coinages. External influence on the production of small denominational silver, unless otherwise stated as on some "satrapal coinages", is more difficult to evaluate. Nonetheless, the drastic reduction of the number of silver fractional mints from the early 3rd century BC is particularly striking, but it is hard to explain it as the result of the abundant circulation of Alexanders. Instead, in **Section 2.1.1** I have suggested that this was the result of the increasing popularity of bronze coins in the low-level economy of the cities of Western Asia Minor, especially in the Centre-West. As we shall see in **Chapter 3**, this was a level of the monetary economy with which the Seleukids seem to have had little interest in interfering overall. In fact, they were more interested in an international, empire-wide level of the monetary economy, an approach that clearly emerges from the hoard evidence we have analysed in **Section 2.4.2**. In fact, Seleukid coins, even the ones produced in Western Asia Minor, are rarely found in hoards from their place of production. While hoards generally reflect the movement of the Seleukid troops and of the Galatian mercenaries rather than commercial activity, the scarce representativity of Seleukid coins in Western Asia Minor not only suggests that they hardly entered the civic level of monetary circulation, but that probably they were not even meant to be used there.

Overall, while suggestive for our understanding of especially the civic high-value coinages, pseudo-Aristotle's description of the monetary economy of Achaemenid Asia Minor is perhaps too simplistic in portraying a reality where, instead, both the civic and royal economies clearly coexisted with one another and at times influenced each other.

Chapter 3

Production and use of bronze coins in Western Asia Minor

Bronze issues from Western Asia Minor have traditionally received less attention than their more-valued-counterparts – not only are they less “attractive” than silver and gold issues, but their poor state of preservation often prevents numismatists from identifying them with certainty. Nonetheless, the academic literature on low-value coins has expanded considerably, especially in the last thirty years. Troas and Karia have received a number of studies on the coinages of the Classical and Hellenistic age;⁹⁹² Marcellesi has produced monographs on Pergamon and Miletos;⁹⁹³ Regling’s publication of the excavation results from Priene also included a study of the civic coinage;⁹⁹⁴ Philip Kinns has written his doctoral thesis on Erythrai, Teos, Lebedos, and Kolophon;⁹⁹⁵ more recently, in the latest publication of the single coin-finds from Sardis, Jane DeRose Evans has provided a thorough analysis of the Hellenistic bronze coinage of this city.⁹⁹⁶ Furthermore, in 2006, François de Callataÿ offered a first comparative analysis of excavation sites from the Greek world – thirty-eight in total, ranging from continental Greece to Syria and the Levant.⁹⁹⁷ In 2011, Zeynep Çizmeli Ögün and Marie-Christine Marcellesi provided another comparative study, this time of fourteen excavation sites from Western Asia Minor,⁹⁹⁸ focusing only on the Classical and Hellenistic foreign coins retrieved at each site. However, notwithstanding the absence of some very important excavations from their article – above all Ephesos – Çizmeli Ögün and Marcellesi did not tackle the question of the relationship between local and foreign bronzes, especially from a quantitative standpoint; nor did they attempt to group the coin-finds by date of emission, in order to trace changes chronologically.

Overall, in numismatic literature there is a consensus that production of bronze coins in Western Asia Minor did not start before the late 5th-early 4th centuries BC.⁹⁹⁹ The beginnings of the institution of

⁹⁹² Bellinger 1961 (Ilion); Meadows 2004 (Alexandria Troas); Ashton 2006 (early coinages of Karia).

⁹⁹³ Marcellesi 2012 (Pergamon); Marcellesi 2004 (Miletos).

⁹⁹⁴ Regling 1927.

⁹⁹⁵ Kinns 1980; Kinns 1989.

⁹⁹⁶ Evans 2018.

⁹⁹⁷ de Callataÿ 2006.

⁹⁹⁸ Çizmeli Ögün & Marcellesi 2011.

⁹⁹⁹ Konuk 2011b.

bronze coinage in the Greek world were fairly complicated, however. In fact, for quite some time the use of bronze in transactions was met with scepticism and resistance among Greek individuals and city-states. The 4th century BC represents an important shift in this sense, with the use of bronze coins becoming much more widespread in low-level transactions. The advent of the Hellenistic generals and kings also marked the beginning of production of royal bronze coins, which circulated in parallel with the civic issues. This dynamic once again changed in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, under the Attalids first and the Romans later, as royal coins gradually disappeared and an increasing number of cities, especially from the Anatolian hinterland, began their own bronze coinages.

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the evidence on bronze coin-production and circulation in Western Asia Minor, with a particular focus on Seleukid policies towards bronze coinages in this part of their empire. The present analysis, however, will range from the beginnings of bronze coinage to the late Hellenistic period, so as to underline continuities and differences with the predecessors and successors of the Seleukids in Asia Minor. Thus, the first part of the chapter will run through the evidence on production of bronze coinages, both civic and royal, in the same regions of Western Asia Minor as in **Chapter 2** – namely, Troas, Aiolis, Mysia, Lydia, Ionia, and Karia – but following a chronological division into four main timeframes, largely reflecting the succession of the major sovereigns of Western Asia Minor – the Achaemenids; Alexander and his *Diadochoi*; the Seleukids; the Attalid period. The second part, instead, will first analyse the excavation evidence from the cities of Western Asia Minor listed in the **Appendix** and will then provide a general commentary focusing on three aspects – local and regional circulation patterns; the monetary situation of the cities *vs.* the countryside; and the representativity of royal coinages in the excavation sites of Western Asia Minor. The final section of this chapter will draw the conclusions on Seleukid attitude regarding bronze coinage in Western Asia Minor, comparing it to the situation in Syria and the Levant.

Section 3.1. Production

3.1.1. The Achaemenid period

| | 450-400 BC | 400-350 BC |
|---------------------------|------------|------------|
| Abydos | | |
| Dardanos | | |
| Skepsis | | |
| Tenedos | | |
| Kebren | | |
| Larissa | | |
| Lamponeia | | |
| Gargara | | |
| Antandros | | |
| Miletropolis | | |
| Plakia | | |
| Prokonnesos | | |
| Harpagion | | |
| Lampsakos | | |
| Thebe | | |
| Astyra | | |
| Iolla | | |
| Adrampyteion | | |
| Kisthene | | |
| Eleutherion | | |
| Perperene | | |
| Pergamon | | |
| Gambreion | | |
| Atarneus | | |
| Teuthrania | | |
| Pyrrha | | |
| Mytilene | | |
| Nesos Pordosilene | | |
| Autokane | | |
| Elaia | | |
| Myrina | | |
| Tisna | | |
| Kyme | | |
| Boione | | |
| Temnos | | |
| Thyessos | | |
| Sardis | | |
| Larisa | | |
| Phokaia | | |
| Leukai | | |
| Klazomenai | | |
| Erythrai | | |
| Chios | | |
| Airai | | |
| Teos | | |
| Kolophon | | |
| Lebedos | | |
| Ephesos | | |
| Phygela | | |
| Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | | |
| Samos | | |
| Naulochos | | |
| Mvous | | |

| | | |
|---------------|--|--|
| Miletos | | |
| Mylasa | | |
| Iasos | | |
| Karyanda | | |
| Pedasa | | |
| Halikarnassos | | |
| Keramos | | |
| Idyma | | |
| Kaunos | | |
| Knidos | | |
| Nisyros | | |
| Chalke | | |
| Kamiros | | |
| Rhodes | | |

Table 67: bronze mints of W. A. Minor – 5th and 4th centuries BC (grey squares = civic bronze coinages; orange squares = dynastic/satrapal coinages). Source: *ARCH* (<https://greekcoinage.org/arch/>), accessed on 04/05/2024.

According to *ARCH*, a total of sixty-seven places struck bronze coins between c.450-350 BC (**Table 67**). Except for Lydia (with its only two mints), each region of Western Asia Minor contributed a similar number of mints for the 5th and 4th centuries BC, with numbers ranging from the nine mints of Troas to the seventeen mints of Ionia (**Fig. 156**).

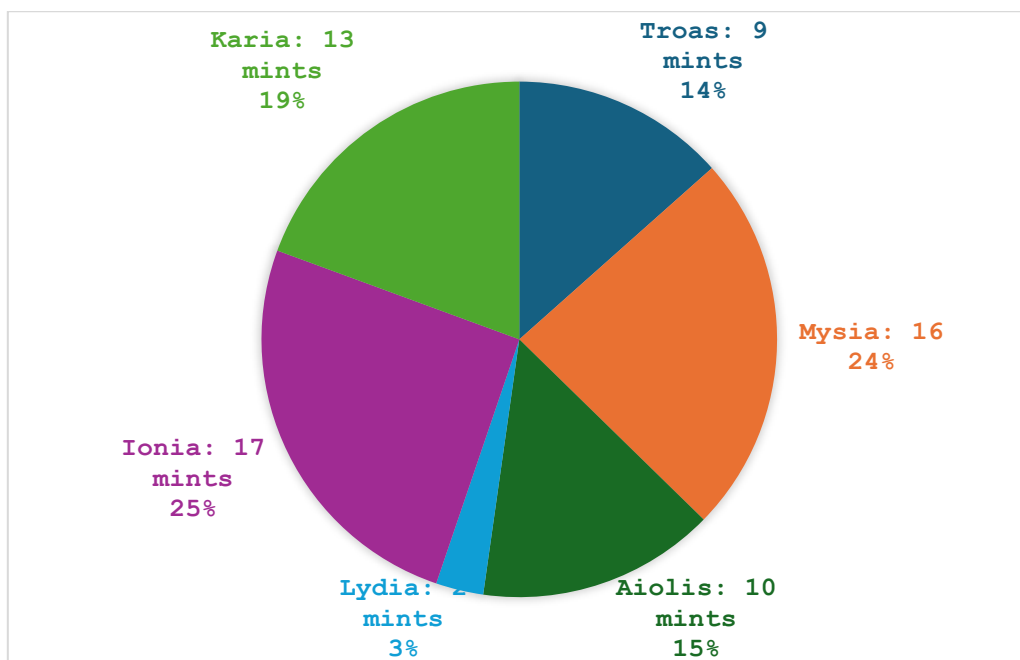
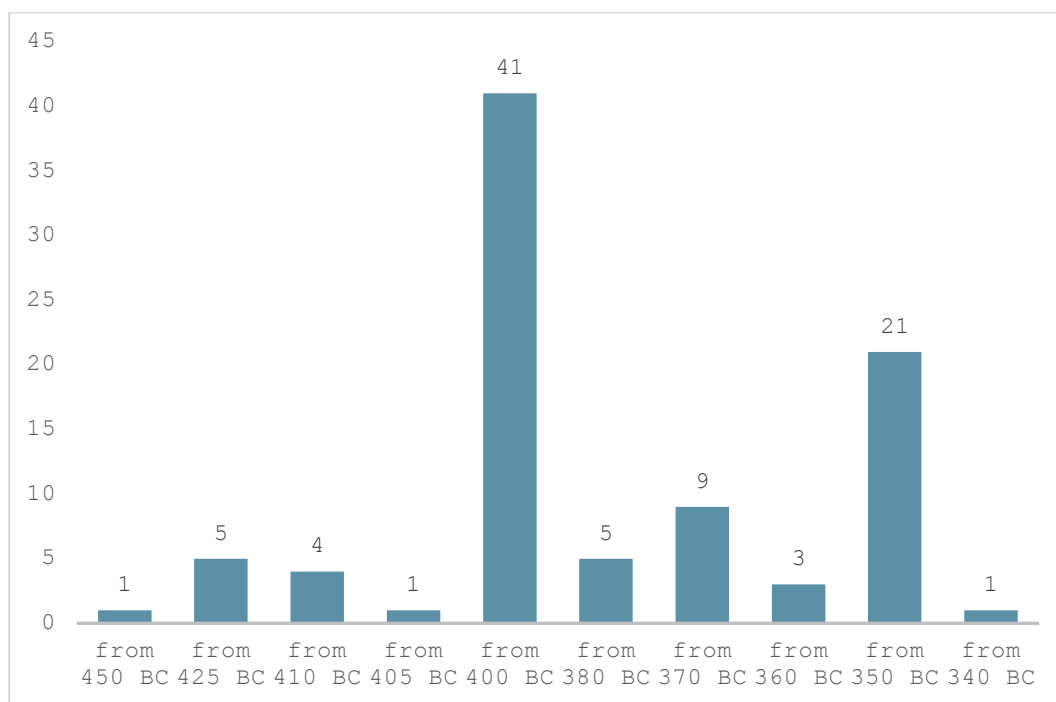


Fig. 156: bronze mints in W. A. Minor by region – c.450-c.350 BC

Overall, bronze coin-production was hardly a widespread phenomenon in 5th-century Western Asia Minor. In fact, only nine places in total issued bronzes before c.400 BC, accounting for 13% of the whole evidence for c.450-350 BC (**Fig.157**). In particular, Karia provided the bulk of the 5th-century bronze mints, with seven places starting before c.400 BC. All the other cities began issuing bronzes later. If we follow *ARCH*, forty-one out of the eighty bronze mints that were active in the 4th century BC (52%) were opened around 400 BC. The cities of almost every region started issuing bronzes mostly from around this date.¹⁰⁰⁰ The two exceptions are Troas and Karia – in the former, while 45% of its bronze mints (nine out twenty) began activity in the first half of the 4th century BC, the rest (55%) started from c.350 BC; in Karia, instead, an almost equal number of bronze mints were opened in the first and second halves of the 4th century BC. Admittedly, this picture is largely the result of the conventional dates we may find on *ARCH* – as bronze coins are difficult to date precisely, and, in most cases, they are given wide and non-precise dates (*e.g.*, “mid 4th-century BC”). Therefore, we should treat this data with caution.



¹⁰⁰⁰ 58% of the Mysian mints (eleven out of nineteen); 64% for Aiolis (nine out of fourteen); 50% for Lydia (one out of two mints); 61% for Ionia (eleven out of eighteen mints).

Fig. 157: number of bronze mints by starting date – 5th and 4th centuries BC. Source: *ARCH*

(<https://greekcoinage.org/arch/>), accessed on 04/05/2024.

Nonetheless, while we should refrain from reading into these numbers too much, the 4th century BC did see a development and spread of the bronze coin-production especially from the second half onwards. This is not only apparent from the number of new bronze coinages that begin from c.350 BC, but also from evidence concerning those places that had started minting earlier. Pergamon, for instance, only produced one denomination of bronze coins in the early 4th century BC,¹⁰⁰¹ whereas its civic coinage increased later on.¹⁰⁰² A similar phenomenon seems also to have concerned Ionia –¹⁰⁰³ the “Phygela hoard”, from c.400 BC, with its (at least) 329 specimens (of which 152 bronzes from Ephesos, seventy-one issues from Phygela, and fifty-six from Samos) seems to suggest that, on the contrary, bronze coin-production of the Ionian cities was already plentiful at an early stage. However, as Koray Konuk has persuasively argued, these issues likely constituted emergency payments for the army, probably for Thibron’s troops in the Asia Minor campaign of 399 BC.¹⁰⁰⁴ In Karia, despite this region hosting the highest number of 5th-century mints of all western Anatolia, bronze coin-production was very limited in the early 4th century BC,¹⁰⁰⁵ and things did not change much even afterwards. In fact, aside from the rich production of Knidos, Rhodes, and Kaunos, bronze met with some resistance in Karia until Alexander’s arrival.¹⁰⁰⁶ Quite tellingly, the Hekatomnids, differently from the satraps of the northern regions, only struck gold and silver coins, but no bronzes at all.¹⁰⁰⁷

The bronze coinages of the Achaemenid period included not only civic products, but also satrapal emissions.¹⁰⁰⁸ Persian royal coins, instead, were only minted in the form of silver and gold, as seen in **Chapter 2**. Production of satrapal bronzes mostly occurred in the North-West, with the southernmost

¹⁰⁰¹ Marcellesi 2012: 31-2 and appendix 1 no. 4.

¹⁰⁰² Marcellesi 2012: 43-4 and appendix 1 no. 8.

¹⁰⁰³ For an overview of bronze coinages in 4th-century Ionia, see Kinns 1989.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Konuk 2011b.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Ashton 2006: 8: “They are all very rare in comparison with bronze coinages from later in the fourth century, and give the impression of rather tentative, experimental coinages which were short-lived and had little economic significance.”

¹⁰⁰⁶ Ashton 2006: *esp.* 8-11.

¹⁰⁰⁷ For Ashton 2006: 11, bronze coin-production was either made unnecessary by the economic dominance of Rhodes, Knidos, and Kaunos, or it was suppressed by the Hekatomnids for reasons that escape us.

¹⁰⁰⁸ On satrapal bronze coinages, see Bodzek 2011: 159-75.

mint being Sardis (**Table 68**). Except for an Orontes issue at Adramytteion with Zeus head and the coins of Sardis – which featured the image of the Great King on obverse – satrapal bronze coinages all displayed the satrapal head type on either obverse or reverse, while the other side usually featured local iconography shared with the civic coinage. Satrapal bronzes were usually signed by the issuing authority – we thus have evidence of bronze specimens struck in the name of Tissaphernes, Pharnabazos, Orontes, and possibly of Prokles and Eurysthenes, dynasts of Teuthrania. Other issues, instead, bore no signature at all, as is the case with Kyme and Sardis. Overall, satrapal bronzes further underline the Persian officials’ power to interfere with the activity of the civic mints of Western Asia Minor. However, similarly to their silver equivalents, these bronzes were unlikely meant for the local economies of the minting cities, but rather for the troops led by the satraps themselves – either during the fighting with the Spartan army or during the period of satrapal unrest in Western Asia Minor.

| City | Satrap | Dates | Types |
|---------------------|--------------|-------------|---|
| Astyra | Tissaphernes | 400- 395 | Bare bearded head of Tissaphernes/Artemis Astyrene, wearing kalathos |
| Adramytteion | Orontes | 362- 348 | Head of Orontes, wearing kyrbasia/forepart of winged horse |
| | | | Laureate head of Zeus/forepart of winged horse |
| Kisthene | Pharnabazos | 400- 387 | Head of Pharnabazos (?), wearing kyrbasia/forepart of winged boar |
| | Orontes | 362- 348 | Head of satrap, wearing kyrbasia/horseman galloping right Head of Orontes, wearing kyrbasia/forepart of winged boar |
| Teuthrania | uncertain | 400- 399 | Head of Apollo/head of satrap, wearing kyrbasia |
| Kyme | uncertain | 340- 334 | Head of satrap in cap/forepart of a horse |
| Sardis | uncertain | 360- 340 | Persian Great king kneeling, drawing a bow/map of the Sardis region Persian Great king kneeling, running with bow and spear/map of the Sardis region |
| | | 340- 330 | Persian Great king kneeling, holding a bow and a spear/horseman with satrapal cap, brandishing a spear |

Table 68: mints, authorities, dates, and coin-types of satrapal bronze coinages of Western Asia Minor – 4th century BC. Source: *ARCH* (<https://greekcoinage.org/arch/>), accessed on 04/05/2024.

3.1.2. Late 4th/early 3rd century BC (c.334-281 BC)

| | 350-300 BC | 300-250 BC |
|-------------------|------------|------------|
| Zeleia | | |
| Abydos | | |
| Dardanos | | |
| Ophryneion | | |
| Sigeion | | |
| Ilion | | |
| Birytis | | |
| Gergis | | |
| Gentinos | | |
| Skamandreia | | |
| Skepsis | | |
| Tenedos | | |
| Alexandreia Troas | | |
| Kebren | | |
| Neandreia | | |
| Kolonai | | |
| Larissa | | |
| Hamaxitos | | |
| Assos | | |
| Lamponeia | | |
| Gargara | | |
| Antandros | | |
| Miletropolis | | |
| Plakia | | |
| Kyzikos | | |
| Prokonnesos | | |
| Priapos | | |
| Parion | | |
| Lampsakos | | |
| Thebe | | |
| Iolla | | |
| Adramytteion | | |
| Kisthene | | |
| Eleutherion | | |
| Perperene | | |
| Pergamon | | |
| Gambreion | | |
| Atarneus | | |
| Pitane | | |
| Antissa | | |
| Agiros | | |
| Eresos | | |
| Pyrha | | |
| Mytilene | | |
| Nesos Pordosilene | | |
| Autokane | | |
| Elaia | | |
| Gryneion | | |
| Myrina | | |
| Tisna | | |
| Kyme | | |
| Larissa-Phrikonis | | |
| Boione | | |
| Temnos | | |
| Thyessos | | |

| | | |
|---------------------------|--|--|
| Sardis | | |
| Larisa | | |
| Phokaia | | |
| Leukai | | |
| Smyrna | | |
| Klazomenai | | |
| Erythrai | | |
| Chios | | |
| Teos | | |
| Kolophon | | |
| Lebedos | | |
| Ephesos | | |
| Phygela | | |
| Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | | |
| Samos | | |
| Priene | | |
| Oinoi | | |
| Miletos | | |
| Stratonikeia | | |
| Mylasa | | |
| Iasos | | |
| Halikarnassos | | |
| Syangela | | |
| Keramos | | |
| Kos | | |
| Kaunos | | |
| Knidos | | |
| Nisyros | | |
| Astypalaia | | |
| Telos | | |
| Chalke | | |
| Kamiroi | | |
| Rhodes | | |
| Kranaos | | |

Table 69: bronze mints of W. A. Minor – late 4th/early 3rd century BC (grey squares = civic bronze coinages; orange squares = dynastic/satrapal coinages). Source: *ARCH* (<https://greekcoinage.org/arch/>), accessed on 10/05/2024.

According to *ARCH*, a total of eighty-nine places struck bronze coins from c.350 to c.250 BC (**Table 69**). As mentioned in the previous section, bronze coins are normally given such wide date ranges that more precise comments about the short, transitional period from Alexander’s invasion of Western Asia Minor to Seleukos I’s death in 281 BC are difficult to make with much confidence.

Nonetheless, as before, in c.350-250 BC, the regions of western Anatolia all contributed a similar number of bronze mints, with Troas being the highest contributor with twenty-two mints (**Fig. 158**).

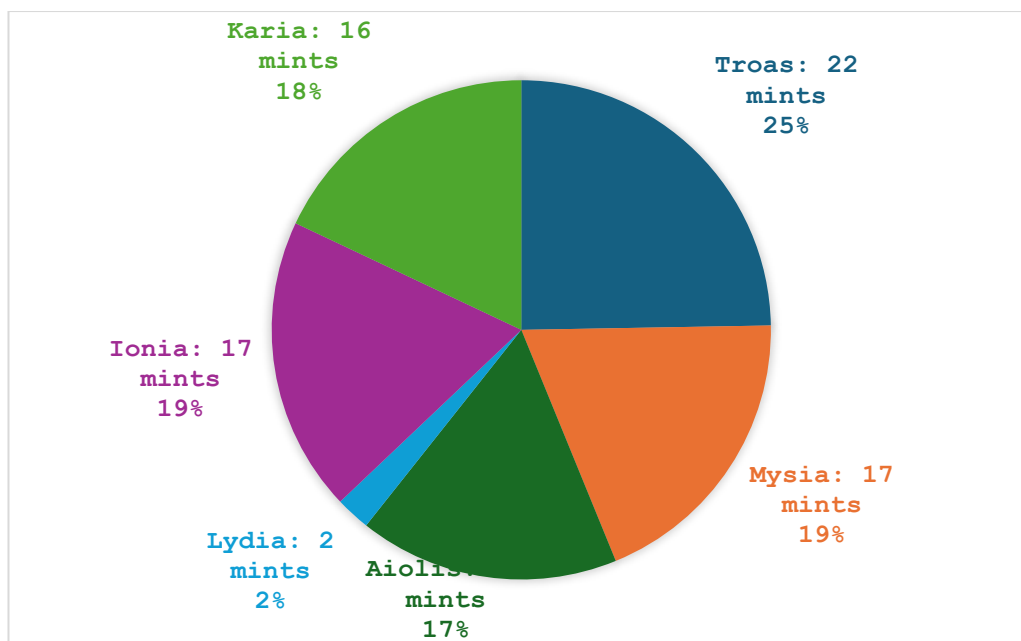


Fig. 158: bronze mints in W. A. Minor by region – late 4th/early 3rd century BC

However, many of the active mints during the 4th century BC also continued operations into the 3rd (Fig. 159). This pattern is observable in every single region, except for Ionia, where the mints continuing into the 3rd century BC were more numerous than the ones not continuing after c.300 BC.¹⁰⁰⁹ Overall, it is probable that Alexander’s arrival in Western Asia Minor in 334 BC did not have an immediate impact on the production of bronze coinages, while things changed during the wars of the *Diadochoi*, resulting in the interruption or end of the activity of many of the civic bronze mints. Once again, while *ARCH* allows us to do interesting exercises, such as visualising data through graphs like Fig. 159 below, if we do not take into account the wide date ranges of bronze coins (“c.400-300 BC”, “c.300-200 BC”), we may incur in the risk of trying to find patterns that are simply not there.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Percentage of mints closing by c.300 BC: 65% in Troas (fifteen out of twenty-two); 59% in Mysia (ten out of seventeen); 67% in Aiolis (ten out of fifteen); 100% in Lydia; 41% in Ionia (seven out of seventeen); 69% in Karia (nine out of thirteen).

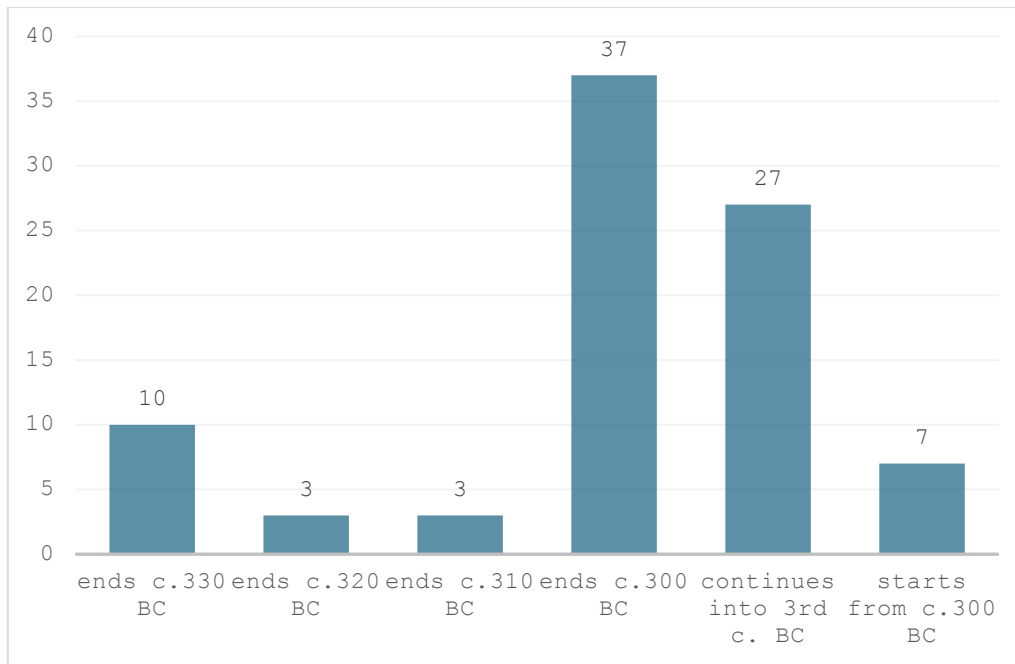


Fig. 159: number of bronze mints by approximate ending date – late 4th/early 3rd century BC. Source: ARCH (<https://greekcoinage.org/arch/>), accessed on 10/05/2024.

Nonetheless, the interruption of many bronze mints by the turn of the century is not altogether an implausible pattern, especially if we consider the period of great upheaval for many of these communities. In fact, as we saw in the **Introduction**, the late 4th century BC saw the forceful reorganisation of the human geography of Western Asia Minor, especially under Antigonos Monophthalmos and Lysimachos. This is most notable in Troas, where the cessation of many of its 4th-century bronzes followed the creation of Antigoneia/Alexandreia Troas and the absorption into Ilion of several communities, like Sigeion, Ophryneion, Rhoiteion, Birytis, and Skamandreia. In Ionia, Lysimachos destroyed and laid waste to Kolophon, deporting its inhabitants to populate Ephesos-Arsinoeia – an event from which Kolophon apparently never recovered.¹⁰¹⁰ While the details of this narrative are certainly exaggerated,¹⁰¹¹ Kinns’ die study of Kolophon’s bronze coinage nonetheless

¹⁰¹⁰ Paus. 1.9.7; 7.3.4: “ἐρημωθῆναι”.

¹⁰¹¹ Epigraphical evidence attests to the survival of the community of Kolophonians in the 3rd century BC – Merritt 1935: no.6, an inscription found in the Metroon, mentions a *Seleuk[is]* tribe. The same tribe appears in another inscription at Klaros from the late 2nd century BC (Robert & Robert 1989: 66, col.3.21) – it was probably a tribe of Notion/New Kolophon-on-the-Sea (Boehm 2018: 74 n.280). Furthermore, the American Archaeological Expedition in the early 20th century did not find clear signs of destruction of the ancient site of Kolophon (Holland 1944. *Pace* Cohen 1995: 186).

attests to a sharp drop in production in the 3rd century BC, before seeing a resurgence only in the late 2nd century BC (**Fig. 160**).¹⁰¹² Thus, Lysimachos' intervention was likely disruptive for the community of the Kolophonians, who took some time before reorganising their bronze coin production. The analysis of the excavation evidence in the second part of the chapter will shed more light on this (**Section 3.2.5.1**).

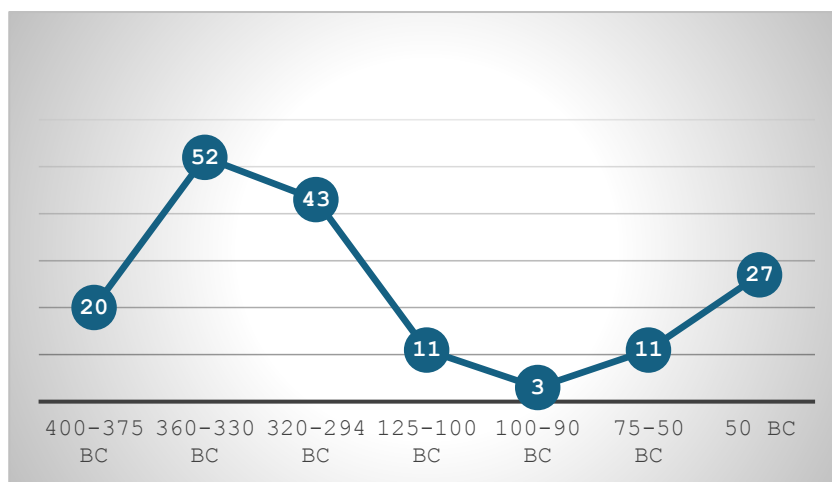


Fig. 160: noted bronze obverse dies by Kinns' periods for Kolophon

The *synoikismo*i and refoundations promoted by the *Diadochoi*, however, did not only lead to the closure of civic bronze mints, but the new urban centres also started producing bronzes themselves, assuming a primary role in the region to which they belonged. In Troas, Alexandria Troas started minting bronzes from the early 3rd century BC.¹⁰¹³ In Ionia, Ephesos, refounded by Lysimachos as Arsinoeia, issued a coinage with the portrait of queen Arsinoe on obverse, whereas the reverse featured the forepart of a stag – a coin-type typical of Ephesos' bronzes.¹⁰¹⁴ Similarly, Smyrna, refounded as Eurydikeia after Lysimachos' daughter Eurydike, started producing bronzes with the Macedonian princess' veiled head on obverse, whereas the reverse displayed a tripod,¹⁰¹⁵ which later also appeared

¹⁰¹² Kinns 1980: 559ff.

¹⁰¹³ Alexandria Troas: Bellinger 1961: 81 nos.A21, A22, A24 pl.14.

¹⁰¹⁴ *BMC Ionia*: 56 nos. 72-4.

¹⁰¹⁵ Milne 1923: Period IIA.

on the 3rd-century coinage of Smyrna.¹⁰¹⁶ From a certain point of view, the bronze emissions of Ephesos-Arsinoeia and Smyrna-Eurydikeia were not too dissimilar from the Achaemenid satrapal coinages, as they both featured the portrait of a high-level member of the ruling elite on obverse, and a local coin-design on reverse. However, the use of the portrait of Arsinoe and Eurydike did not necessarily entail that either of them were the minting authority behind these bronzes. On the contrary, while satrapal issues were usually signed by the Achaemenid official himself, the bronze coins of both Ephesos-Arsinoeia and Smyrna-Eurydikeia displayed the name of the community of each city. These bronzes could thus be considered as fully civic products. However, while this was the first time Smyrna ever produced coins since its emissions in the early 4th century BC,¹⁰¹⁷ it is unclear how the Arsinoeia bronzes affected production of the issues in the Ephesians' name. These coins continued to be struck throughout the whole Hellenistic period, but we unfortunately ignore if their minting was momentarily halted during the ten or so years Ephesos was a Lysimachean royal city – future studies on Ephesos' Hellenistic coinage will hopefully shed more light on this aspect.¹⁰¹⁸

Another innovation from the Achaemenid period was represented by the introduction of royal bronze issues. Sardis struck bronzes in Alexander's name, together with gold staters, silver tetradrachms and drachms.¹⁰¹⁹ Margaret Thompson has also identified Miletos as a mint of Alexander bronze units.¹⁰²⁰ This city had been issuing a civic bronze coinage until c.330 BC, probably interrupted by the Alexander series.¹⁰²¹ As for the royal bronze coins of the other *Diadochoi*, instead, the picture is quite murky. Mørkholm's account of the early Hellenistic period contains no mention of bronze coins for Western Asia Minor, apart from Lysimachos' issues.¹⁰²² Thompson's article on the mints of this king is almost sixty years old and does not fully tackle his bronze production – she identified Lysimacheia as the sole issuer of his bronze coins from 306/5 to 301/0 BC, but also added in a footnote that Sardis and

¹⁰¹⁶ Milne 1923: Period IIIB.

¹⁰¹⁷ Kinns 1980: 276-77.

¹⁰¹⁸ Karwiese 1995, 2012, 2016 only cover the Archaic, Classical, and Roman periods.

¹⁰¹⁹ Thompson 1983: 5-42.

¹⁰²⁰ Thompson 1983: Miletus nos. 149-56, 166-68, 198-203, 217 (bronze quarter), 218-23.

¹⁰²¹ Marcellesi 2004: 51-6, cat. nos. 1, 5-7, 9-10.

¹⁰²² Mørkholm *et al.* 1991: 82.

Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros joined it later.¹⁰²³ Sardis must have been a royal mint for Lysimachos until 287 BC, when he briefly lost the city to Demetrios Poliorketes.¹⁰²⁴ The latter seems to have opened a royal bronze mint at Erythrai, which struck issues with his portrait on obverse.¹⁰²⁵ Furthermore, a significant number of Demetrios Poliorketes' bronzes have been found in Karia, which may have originated from a local mint, possibly Miletos.¹⁰²⁶ Finally, coins in Kassandros' name have also appeared in the excavations of Pergamon, Sardis, and especially of Karia, which his general Eupolemos invaded. This same *strategos* also struck a bronze coinage at Mylasa.¹⁰²⁷

After his victory at Koroupedion in 281 BC and his acquisition of Western Asia Minor, Seleukos I issued bronze coins in his name at Sardis and Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros. The issues of the former mint display no control-links to the silver coinage, but their attribution to Sardis is nonetheless supported by their discovery in the excavations at the former Lydian capital.¹⁰²⁸ The bronzes of Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros, instead, display the meander pattern on its border, a sort of mintmark of this city.¹⁰²⁹ The emissions of both places display the Medusa head/butting bull types, a combination of coin-designs that also appeared at Antioch in the late 280s BC.¹⁰³⁰ However, the Syrian capital minted bronzes on the double, unit, and half denomination; Sardis, on the contrary, only produced units/halves and halves/quarters. Similarly, Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros only struck units/halves.

Section 3.1.3. 3rd century BC (c.280-188 BC)

¹⁰²³ Thompson 1968: 168 n.1.

¹⁰²⁴ *Ibid.*: 166, 173.

¹⁰²⁵ Kinns 1980: Period III.1, AE 8; Kinns 2002.

¹⁰²⁶ Newell 1927: 149-51 nos. 162-69 ("Caria (?)"). Newell 1927: 62, 156 suggests they were the accompanying bronze issues of 60-1 nos. 47-50 (Milesian Alexander-type staters, drachms, and tetradrachms).

¹⁰²⁷ *BMC Caria*: 128 nos. 1-6.

¹⁰²⁸ *SC* 6-7. Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.16.

¹⁰²⁹ *SC* 8. Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.17.

¹⁰³⁰ *SC* 21-4.

| | 300-250 BC | 250-200 BC |
|---------------------------|------------|------------|
| Abydos | | |
| Dardanos | | |
| Ilion | | |
| Skepsis | | |
| Tenedos | | |
| Alexandreia Troas | | |
| Antiocheia-Kebren | | |
| Hamaxitos | | |
| Assos | | |
| Antandros | | |
| Miletopolis | | |
| Kyzikos | | |
| Priapos | | |
| Parion | | |
| Pergamon | | |
| Atarneus | | |
| Pitane | | |
| Methymna | | |
| Antissa | | |
| Eresos | | |
| Mytilene | | |
| Nesos Pordosilene | | |
| Elaia | | |
| Kyme | | |
| Magnesia-on-the-Sipylos | | |
| Sardis | | |
| Tralleis | | |
| Phokaia | | |
| Smyrna | | |
| Erythrai | | |
| Chios | | |
| Teos | | |
| Kolophon | | |
| Lebedos | | |
| Ephesos | | |
| Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | | |
| Samos | | |
| Priene | | |
| Oinoi | | |
| Miletos | | |
| Alabanda | | |
| Amyzon | | |
| Alinda | | |
| Stratonikeia | | |
| Iasos | | |
| Bargylia | | |
| Kalymna | | |
| Keramos | | |
| Kos | | |
| Kaunos | | |
| Knidos | | |
| Nisyros | | |
| Astypalaia | | |

Table 70: bronze mints in W. A. Minor – 3rd century BC (yellow boxes = Seleukid domination; grey squares = civic bronze coinages; red-highlighted squares = Seleukid mints). Source: *ARCH*

(<https://greekcoinage.org/arch/>), accessed on 12/05/2024.¹⁰³¹

According to *ARCH*, a total of fifty-four mints – not including the Seleukid royal ones – were active from c.300 BC to the end of the century (**Table 70**). While in Troas, Mysia, and Aiolis we find roughly the same number of cities producing bronzes during the 3rd century BC, Ionia and Karia contributed with thirteen and fourteen mints each (**Fig. 161**).

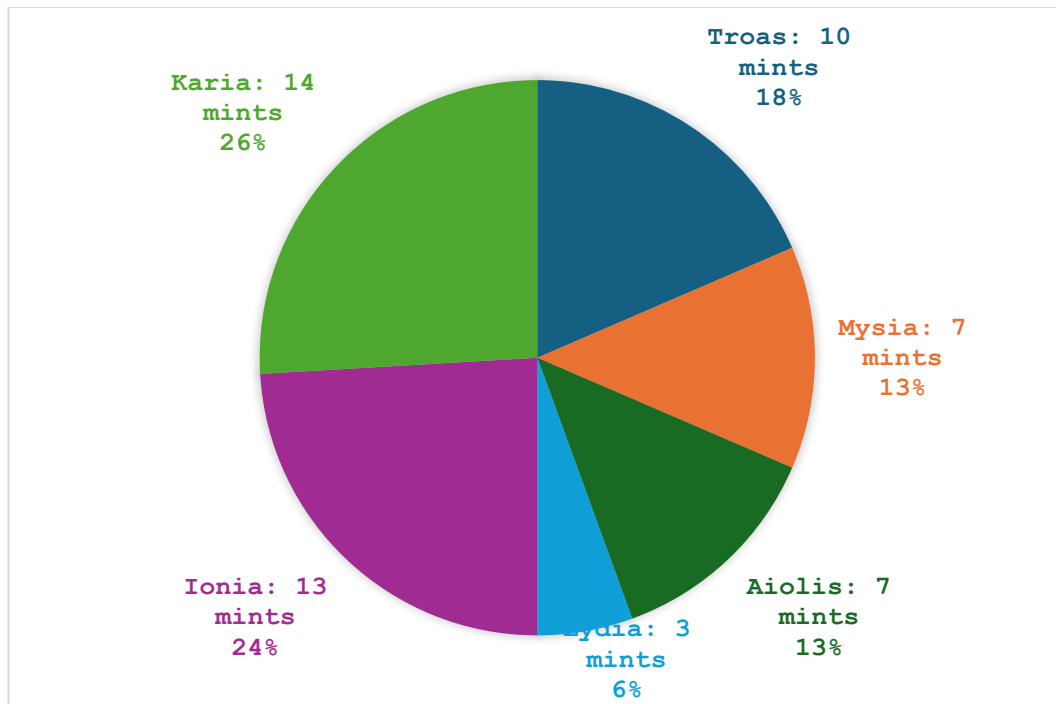


Fig. 161: bronze mints in W. A. Minor by region – 3rd century BC

Among the fifty-four civic bronze mints that were operative in c.300-200 BC, around two thirds of them struck civic bronzes under Seleukid control at some point during the 3rd century BC (forty mints). The ones standing outside of the Seleukid sphere of influence, instead, were mostly from Aiolis – most

¹⁰³¹ For Hamaxitos at the end of the 3rd century BC, see Bresson 2007. Assos probably not active after c.250 BC (see Ellis-Evans 2021: 72). For Methymna (c.350-250 BC): Franke 1975: nos.19-24.

notably, Lesbos and its neighbouring islands – and Karia. Numismatic literature of the last twenty years has widely debated on the link between sovereignty and the right to coin,¹⁰³² but the evidence gathered from *ARCH* and represented in **Table 70** above suggests that Seleukid control did not prevent the subject cities of Western Asia Minor from continuing producing their civic coins. Also included were the *poleis* that hosted a Seleukid mint for precious-metal issues – namely, Abydos, Ilion, Skepsis, Alexandria Troas, Parion, Elaia, Kyme, Teos, Ephesos, and Miletos. The Seleukids themselves opened a series of bronze mints in Western Asia Minor during the 3rd century BC – **Fig. 162** below shows they were concentrated in a “core” centred around Sardis.

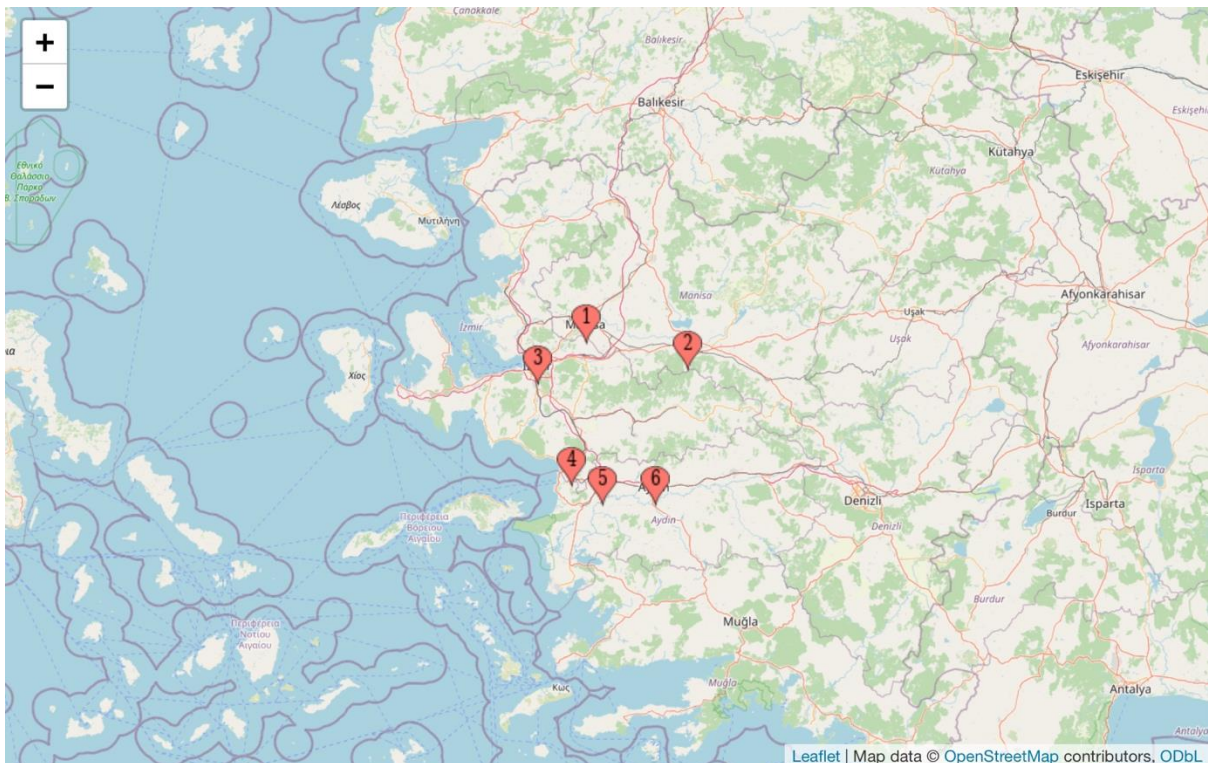


Fig. 162: Seleukid bronze mints in Western Asia Minor

1 = Magnesia-on-the-Sipylos; 2 = Sardis; 3 = Smyrna; 4 = Ephesos; 5 = Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros; 6 = Tralleis

¹⁰³² See Meadows 2001: 53-5 for review of the literature and bibliographic references on this topic.

Admittedly, Sardis did not always enjoy a primary role in the production of Seleukid bronzes in the West. In fact, under Antiochos I, only a single series of bronze quarters can be assigned with certainty to this city.¹⁰³³ Aside from the units and halves of Magnesia-on-the-Sipylos,¹⁰³⁴ and the units/halves of Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros,¹⁰³⁵ Smyrna acquired a significant role in royal bronze minting during Antiochos I's reign, as attested by a possible transfer of magistrates with Sardis.¹⁰³⁶ Instead, it was under Antiochos II that Sardis became the primary producer of Seleukid royal bronzes in the West. Six series of Apollo head/tripod bronzes – all of double/unit denomination – have been attributed to this city,¹⁰³⁷ together with other bronzes with Apollo head/kithara, Apollo head three-quarters/tripod, and Apollo head/anchor types – all halves and quarters.¹⁰³⁸ These coin-types also appear on bronzes minted at other places – namely, Tralleis¹⁰³⁹ and Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros –¹⁰⁴⁰ thus leading Houghton and Lorber to think that at least some bronzes attributed to Sardis were also possibly minted somewhere else close.¹⁰⁴¹ Outside of this core centred around Sardis, Ephesos produced bronze units for Antiochos II using coin-types that belonged to the traditional civic iconographic repertoire – namely, Artemis bust/stag forepart types.¹⁰⁴² The same mints operated also for Seleukos II, although they produced almost only units and halves and never used civic iconography for either obverse or reverse.¹⁰⁴³ After the loss of Western Asia Minor, the rebel Achaïos used Sardis as its main mint for the production of doubles, units, halves, and quarters in his own name,¹⁰⁴⁴ together with other mints of uncertain

¹⁰³³ SC 326.

¹⁰³⁴ SC 319-320.

¹⁰³⁵ SC 329.

¹⁰³⁶ Smyrna: SC 312. Smyrna or Sardis: SC 314-316. North Ionian or Aiolian Mint, perhaps Smyrna: SC 317.

¹⁰³⁷ SC 520-527.

¹⁰³⁸ SC 528-531.

¹⁰³⁹ SC 520-524. Mint attribution of these bronzes with Sardian types (Apollo head/tripod and Apollo head three-quarters/tripod) is suggested by control-links with the silver of Tralleis, despite their style, fabric, and recorded findspots being indistinguishable from those of Sardis. Furthermore, the countermarks on SC 537 – a bee (of Ephesos), a humped bull (Tralleis), or a trident (Priene) – attest to a southerly circulation, consistent with a mint located at Tralleis; instead, the satyr mask countermark on SC 538 establishes a link with Tralleis' bronzes under Seleukos II, which added a satyr mask to the tripod reverse type (Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.190).

¹⁰⁴⁰ SC 542, with Apollo head/butting bull. Provenance and reverse type that may allude to the civic coinage of Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros support a mint attribution there, although the fabric of these bronzes is indistinguishable from that of Sardis (Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.193).

¹⁰⁴¹ Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.184: "Some of the many control varieties may represent the output of other mints, as in the reign of Antiochus I, when several mints of western Asia Minor struck facing Athena/Nike bronzes."

¹⁰⁴² SC 544-545.

¹⁰⁴³ Sardis: SC 657-663. Perhaps Tralleis: SC 665-666. Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros: SC 670. Ephesos, before Ptolemaic conquest: SC 673.

¹⁰⁴⁴ SC 954-959.

identification probably from his campaign in Pisidia and Pamphylia.¹⁰⁴⁵ The iconography used on Achaïos' bronzes did not deviate majorly from traditional Seleukid imagery, except for the standing eagle reverse type. Finally, Houghton and Lorber have attributed to Antiochos III a series of Apollo head/tripod bronzes.¹⁰⁴⁶ Provenance, control-links with this king's bronzes from Sardis, and a double-bladed axe countermark on some of these issues have suggested to Houghton and Lorber a Sardian attribution. Admittedly, these bronzes comprise unusual denominations for Sardis – namely, octuples and doubles – which Houghton and Lorber have explained away as the result of overstriking bronzes imported from Antioch, possibly to be used as *sitarchia* for the troops involved in the siege of Sardis in 215-214 BC.¹⁰⁴⁷ Instead, Antiochos III bronzes with more secure Sardian attribution only comprised units and halves – they included one series of Apollo head/elephant, likely from before c.210 BC,¹⁰⁴⁸ and another series, with Apollo head/standing Apollo types,¹⁰⁴⁹ whose progressive decline in manufacture suggests a dating late in Antiochos III's reign, possibly in the context of the desperate conditions of Asia Minor c.190 BC.¹⁰⁵⁰

Overall, like for Northern Syria, control-links with the precious-metal issues were rare – therefore, in Western Asia Minor bronze coin-production for the Seleukids probably also occurred under the umbrella of a separate administration from the silver and the gold.¹⁰⁵¹ As for the iconographic repertoire employed in the West, the obverse and reverse types were drawn from the traditional Seleukid imagery – namely, Apollo, the tripod, and the anchor. However, very few were the times when the same combination of obverse and reverse types was also found in Northern Syria under the same ruler (**Table 71**). This suggests that the western fringe of the Seleukid empire minted independently from the Syrian core.

¹⁰⁴⁵ SC Ad202-203, C954, Ad204.

¹⁰⁴⁶ SC 971-975A.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.372.

¹⁰⁴⁸ SC 976A-982. A drachm probably of Sardis that displays the same elephant with leftward orientation reverse as the SC 977-982 bronzes (elsewhere, the elephant has a rightward orientation) features a portrait of Antiochos III from before 210 BC, implying a similar date for the elephant bronze coinage (Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.374).

¹⁰⁴⁹ SC 983.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.376.

¹⁰⁵¹ Cf. Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.184.

| | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|---|---|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|---|--|
| | Smyrna | Smyrna or Sardis; North Ionian or Aiolian Mint, perhaps Smyrna; Magnesia-Sipylos; Magnesia-Maiandros | | | Smyrna or Sardis | Sardis | |
| Antiochos I | Athena head/ elephant head | Athena bust/ Nike with wreath and palm | | | Athena head/Nike with wreath and palm | Apollo head/ arrowhead | |
| | Sardis; perhaps Tralleis | Sardis | Sardis; perhaps Tralleis | | Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | Ephesos | |
| Antiochos II | Apollo head/tripod | Apollo head/ anchor | Apollo head three-quarters/ tripod | | Apollo head/bull butting | Artemis bust/stag forepart | |
| | Sardis | | | Perhaps Tralleis | Magnesia-Maiandros | Ephesos | |
| Seleukos II | Young Herakles head/ Apollo seated on omphalos | Athena head/ standing Apollo with bow | Athena head/ elephant head | Athena head/ anchor | Apollo head/ tripod with satyr mask | Artemis head/ standing Apollo with bow | Artemis bust/ standing Apollo with bow |
| | Probably Sardis, c.215-213 BC | | | Sardis | | Perhaps Sardis | |
| Antiochos III | Apollo head/tripod | | | Apollo head/ elephant right | Apollo head/ elephant left | Apollo head/Apollo seated on omphalos | |

Table 71: obverse-reverse types combinations of Seleukid bronze coinages in Western Asia Minor.

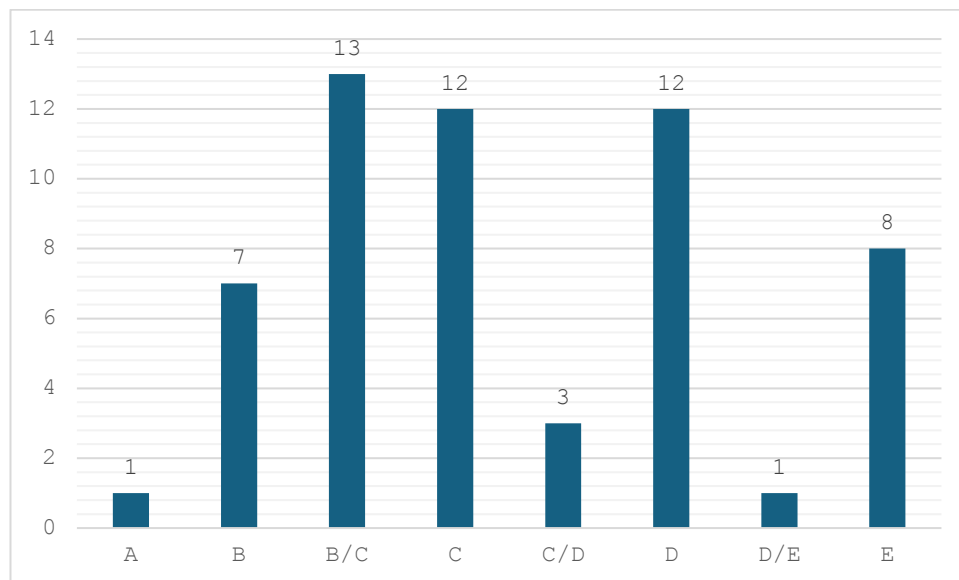
Highlighted in yellow are the obverse-reverse types combinations also found in Northern Syria under the same ruler

The impression that the bronze mints of Western Asia Minor operated autonomously from Northern Syria is further reinforced by the metrological system. In fact, Sardis and its neighbouring mints produced bronzes that did not precisely fit with the denominations used in Northern Syria. Western Asia Minor struck doubles/units, units/halves, and halves/quarters (corresponding, respectively, to Houghton and Lorber's B/C, C/D, and D/E denominations). Nonetheless, not too dissimilarly from Syria, if we look at the mints both individually and globally, bronze coin-production of Western Asia Minor was mostly articulated around the unit and the half denominations (**Table 72; Fig. 163**).

| | Denominations | Antiochos I | Antiochos II | Selenkos II | Achaios | Antiochos III | Total | % |
|------------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------|---------------|-------|-----|
| Magnesia-Sipylos | A | | | | | | | |
| | B | | | | | | | |
| | B/C | | | | | | | |
| | C | 1 | | | | | 1 | 100 |
| | C/D | | | | | | | |
| | D | 1 | | | | | 1 | 100 |
| | D/E | | | | | | | |
| E | | | | | | | | |
| Sardis | A | | | | | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| | B | | | 1 | 2 | 4 | 7 | 19 |
| | B/C | | 7 | | | | 7 | 19 |
| | C | | | 2 | 1 | 4 | 7 | 19 |
| | C/D | | | | | | | |
| | D | | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 8 | 21 |
| | D/E | | 1 | | | | 1 | 3 |
| | E | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | | 6 | 16 |
| Tralleis | A | | | | | | | |
| | B | | | | | | | |
| | B/C | | 2 | | | | 2 | 40 |
| | C | | | 1 | | | 1 | 20 |
| | C/D | | | | | | | |
| | D | | | 1 | | | 1 | 20 |
| | D/E | | | | | | | |
| | E | | 1 | | | | 1 | 20 |
| Smyrna | A | | | | | | | |
| | B | | | | | | | |
| | B/C | | | | | | | |
| | C | | | | | | | |
| | C/D | 1 | | | | | 1 | 100 |
| | D | | | | | | | |
| | D/E | | | | | | | |
| | E | | | | | | | |
| Ephesos | A | | | | | | | |
| | B | | | | | | | |
| | B/C | | | | | | | |
| | C | | 1 | 1 | | | 2 | 100 |
| | C/D | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|------------|---|---|---|--|---|---|----|
| | D | | | | | | | |
| | D/E | | | | | | | |
| | E | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Magnesia-Maiandros | A | | | | | | | |
| | B | | | | | | | |
| | B/C | | | | | | | |
| | C | | | 1 | | | 1 | 34 |
| | C/D | 1 | | | | | 1 | 33 |
| | D | | | | | | | |
| | D/E | | | | | | | |
| | E | | 1 | | | | 1 | 33 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Uncertain mints | A | | | | | | | |
| | B | | | | | | | |
| | B/C | 2 | 2 | | | | 4 | 57 |
| | C | | | | | | | |
| | C/D | 1 | | | | | 1 | 14 |
| | D | 1 | | | | 1 | 2 | 29 |
| | D/E | | | | | | | |
| | E | | | | | | | |

**Table 72: Seleukid bronze coins in Western Asia Minor – no. of entries from Houghton & Lorber 2002
arranged by mint, denomination, and reign**



**Fig. 163: Seleukid bronze coins in Western Asia Minor – no. of entries from Houghton & Lorber 2002
arranged by denomination**

Another difference with Northern Syria is that, while in the Seleukid core bronze coin-production was almost exclusively concentrated at Antioch during the 3rd century BC, in Western Asia Minor minting was devolved to other workshops, despite them operating under the supervisory umbrella of one centre, namely, Sardis. Furthermore, while we ignore of Seleukid royal issues struck at Arados and the cities of its *peraiia*, the royal bronzes struck in Western Asia Minor were produced in cities that also minted their own civic coinages. This was the case of Tralleis, Smyrna, and Ephesos, for which **Table 70** above shows there was some overlap between Seleukid bronze minting and civic coin-production. Furthermore, the relationship between the minting of these two different bronze coin-types is of particular interest for the cities that enjoyed special status within Seleukid Western Asia Minor – namely, Ephesos and Sardis. The former had possibly obtained an autonomous status under the early Seleukids,¹⁰⁵² but Phylarkos mentions an official ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφέσου, serving in 246 BC, after Antiochos II's reconquest.¹⁰⁵³ In that period, the city became the royal residence of Antiochos II and of his ex-wife Laodike, but only striking small royal bronze coinages.¹⁰⁵⁴ Instead, it is uncertain whether civic bronze minting continued or was temporarily interrupted – as mentioned above, we unfortunately lack studies on the Hellenistic civic coinage of Ephesos. After Antiochos III's reconquest, no new royal bronze mint was opened there, despite the importance of Ephesos in the naval warfare against the Romans and their allies in the early 2nd century BC.¹⁰⁵⁵

Sardis, instead, represents a more controversial case. Most numismatists have attributed the beginning of its civic coinage to the 2nd century BC, either under Attalid rule,¹⁰⁵⁶ or once Asia Minor became a Roman province.¹⁰⁵⁷ For others, the coinage started in the late 3rd century BC, when Sardis possibly became an autonomous *polis* under the Attalids.¹⁰⁵⁸ The archaeological evidence from the modern

¹⁰⁵² Ma 1999: 166. The Ionian polities, Ephesos included, issued a decree in honour of Antiochos I, asking him to preserve their liberty and democracy (*OGIS* 222).

¹⁰⁵³ *FGrHist* 81 F24.

¹⁰⁵⁴ *SC* 544, 673.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Grainger 2002: 259ff.

¹⁰⁵⁶ *BMC Lydia*: xcvi (189 BC); Price 1991: 321 (180s BC).

¹⁰⁵⁷ Buttrey *et al.* 1981: 79 (after 133 BC).

¹⁰⁵⁸ Ma 1999: 47 and n.71; Gauthier 1989: 165-67.

excavations suggests that the civic mint was indeed operative in the 3rd century BC –¹⁰⁵⁹ **Table 73** lists the dates suggested by Evans for the various series of Sardian civic bronzes.¹⁰⁶⁰

| Series | Denomination | Suggested date |
|---------------------------|--------------|---|
| Tyche/Zeus Lydios | Large | 3 rd century BC? |
| Herakles/Apollo | Medium | 245–220 BC into 2 nd century BC |
| Dionysos/forepart of lion | Small | 3 rd century BC |
| Artemis/Athena | Large | 189–133 BC |
| Dionysos/Demeter | Medium | 189–133 BC |
| Herakles/lion | Large | 2 nd –1 st century BC |
| Apollo/club | Medium | 2 nd –1 st century BC |
| Dionysos/panther | Small | 2 nd –1 st century BC |
| Herakles/kantharos | Small | Highly uncertain, possibly early |

Table 73: Evans’ suggested dates for the civic bronze coins of Sardis (Evans 2018)¹⁰⁶¹

In particular, Evans dates the Herakles/Apollo coins after the Seleukid loss of the city, during the “gap” of 245-220 BC.¹⁰⁶² For some scholars, this period coincided with the acquisition of *polis*-status by Sardis. As the Attalids elevated several settlements to *polis*-status in the 2nd century BC,¹⁰⁶³ it is natural to assume that Sardis also became a *polis* in the 2nd or already in the late 3rd century BC. However,

¹⁰⁵⁹ A Hellenistic fill dated by the pottery to c.270/260-240/230 BC has yielded a Dionysos/forepart of lion coin, which shows that the civic mint must have been already operative in the 3rd century BC. For bibliographic references on the excavated sectors and the dating of the potteries, see notes in Evans 2018: 21-2.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Evans 2018: 24, from Table 2.1.

¹⁰⁶¹ However, see reservations on Evans’ dating of the Tyche/Zeus Lydios, Dionysos/Demeter, and Artemis/Athena series expressed by Ellis-Evans in Ellis-Evans *et al.* 2022: 271.

¹⁰⁶² Evans 2018: 21-3. Coins of this series were found in Hellenistic strata and dumps dated by the pottery to the mid-3rd to mid-2nd century BC. One further sample of this series was retrieved in the upper Hellenistic fill of the theatre, dated by the pottery to 175-150 BC (Berlin 2016: 353) – as the coin was in a worn state and countermarked, a starting date for the Sardian bronzes after 189 BC is highly unlikely. Furthermore, Evans 2018: 21 notes that the convex reverse of the Herakles/Apollo coins is featured only on a Sardian bronze of Antiochos II (Evans 2018: 131, nos. 79.1-2), and thus allows for a more precise starting date of the coinage around 245-220 BC.

¹⁰⁶³ *E.g.* Thonemann 2013b: 5-6 on Toriaion.

Kosmin has recently rightly noted that Sardis may have become a *polis* already in the early 3rd century BC, as the Seleukids sponsored a building of a theatre, the temple of Artemis, a gymnasium, a hippodrome, and royally constructed shops – all elements that qualified Sardis as a *polis*.¹⁰⁶⁴ Admittedly, this was not enough for Sardis to be able to produce its own civic coinage. After all, we have seen in **Chapter 1** that, until c.140 BC, the cities of the Tetrapolis never minted purely civic issues, despite them enjoying *polis*-status. Sardis found itself in a similar situation – like for the cities of the Tetrapolis, it had to wait until the collapse of Seleukid power before it could issue its own coinage. Evans suggests that the Sardian civic issues were not only a statement of civic pride, but also the means to maintain the local economy due to the absence of royal bronzes in the years 240s-220s BC.¹⁰⁶⁵ Admittedly, it is highly unlikely that Seleukid coins disappeared *en masse* from Sardis with the retreat of the royal armies – considering the great numbers Antiochos II produced, and the longevity typical of issues in bronze, many of his coins must have still circulated in this city after the Seleukid downfall in the West. However, I believe Evans underscores an important point, namely that *Sardis*, not royal authority, got in charge of civic matters. As a result, it was not royal power anymore that had to cover for the expenses of the former Lydian capital, but the community of Sardis itself, prompting the production of new, civic bronzes. It is safe to assume that this coinage continued after the takeover by Achaïos first, and Antiochos III later – however, no control-links between the Seleukid bronzes and the Sardian civic bronzes are detectable, which shows the two minting administrations remained separate from each other. An interesting comparative case is provided by Pergamon, where, contrary to Sardis in the late 3rd century BC, we find a greater synergy between civic and royal authorities. Pergamon introduced a civic coinage with the abbreviated ethnic ΠΕΡΓΑ or ΠΕΡΓ in the 3rd century BC.¹⁰⁶⁶ However, when the Attalids acquired their independence from the Seleukids, Pergamon started minting silver and bronze coinages in the name of Philetairos. The royal bronze series began some time in the 3rd century BC,

¹⁰⁶⁴ Kosmin 2019: 78-80.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Evans 2019: 109-10.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Marcellesi 2012: 73-7, 92-4 and appendix 1 nos. 14-7, 21.

possibly around the middle of the century.¹⁰⁶⁷ The sharing of control symbols and monograms (bee and ivy-leaf, A and Θ) between the early *Philetairoi* (both silver and bronze) and the civic ΠΕΡΓΑ series not only shows a temporary overlap of royal and civic coinages,¹⁰⁶⁸ but also that the Attalids integrated civic mint officials into their own administration. However, it is uncertain whether the civic ΠΕΡΓΑ coinage continued until the end of the 3rd century BC, or if it was interrupted once production of the bronze *Philetairoi* fully kicked in.¹⁰⁶⁹

Overall, it is unclear why so few cities minted bronze coins for the Seleukids in Western Asia Minor. For instance, Antiochos II opened a series of mints in Troas, Aiolis, and Ionia, whose activity was nonetheless relegated to the exclusive production of silver (and sometimes gold). It is well possible that several coins attributed to Sardis based on provenance were actually produced elsewhere – unfortunately, however, mint attribution is particularly difficult to establish for bronze coins in general. Another possibility is that the Seleukids also exploited the civic mints of their subject *poleis* to pay *sitarchia* for their troops. This is suggested by the control monograms shared between the royal silver tetradrachms of Antiochos Hierax at Ilion and Alexandria Troas and the local civic bronzes – which, Houghton and Lorber suggest, may indicate a joint administration of the civic and royal mints.¹⁰⁷⁰ This was not an isolated episode – in fact, a royal gold stater and several royal silver tetradrachms produced at Kyme in Aiolis for Antiochos II display control-links with the local civic bronze coinage from around 250 BC.¹⁰⁷¹ Furthermore, under the same king, coins from mints other than Sardis, despite displaying stylistic and technical links to Sardian bronzes – thus suggesting a centralised supervision in their production –¹⁰⁷² sometimes used imagery that referenced local iconography. This is the case of

¹⁰⁶⁷ Marcellesi 2012: 73-4 favours a starting date in the early 3rd, on the basis of the East Attica hoard (*CH* 9.170), buried around 267-262 BC; see Chameroy 2012: 144, who questions the reliability of this hoard. Chameroy 2012: 139-40 favours a later dating.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Westermark 1991: 153-54.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Marcellesi 2012: 92-4; 2016: 212 favours a continuation of the civic ΠΕΡΓΑ series until the end of the 3rd century BC – in fact, a hoard from ancient Smyrna from around 200 BC (*CH* 8.343 = *IGCH* 1313) contains one ΠΕΡΓΑ and one *Philetairoi* issues, which suggests to Marcellesi that production and circulation of royal and civic coins continued until the end of the 3rd century BC (see esp. Marcellesi 2012: 93). However, bronze coins stayed in circulation for very long after their production. For what we know, the ΠΕΡΓΑ issue in *CH* 8.343 might have been struck in the early 3rd century BC, well before the start of the bronze *Philetairoi*.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.308.

¹⁰⁷¹ See Ashton 2014.

¹⁰⁷² Under Antiochos II, the bronze coins from Tralleis and Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros, for example, are often almost indistinguishable from Sardis' (Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.190, 193).

Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros, whose butting bull on reverse probably alluded to the civic coinage.¹⁰⁷³ Ephesos' coins for Antiochos II took things even further, as they displayed types that traditionally belonged to the local culture – if not for the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY, they would perfectly appear as civic coins (**Fig.164**). On the contrary, contemporary Seleukid silver and gold issues from the same place displayed fully royal imagery.



Fig. 164: bronze coin of Ephesos, 258-246. Draped bust of Artemis left, wearing stephane/ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY, Stag forepart right. AA.GR.9986: Bibliothèque nationale de France

The use of different iconography for the bronzes on the one hand, and for the precious-metal coinages on the other may be the result of their production being supervised by separate administrations. Nonetheless, it is also possible that the adoption of the local imagery for certain bronzes of Antiochos II may have been deliberate – in fact, due to their similarity to the local civic bronzes, these royal issues appeared as more “acceptable” for the users of that determined city, and thus “easier” for Seleukid soldiers to use in local, small transactions.

3.1.4. The Attalid 2nd century (188-133 BC)

¹⁰⁷³ Houghton & Lorber 2002: 1.193. Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros' civic bronzes: *BMC Ionia*: 160-1 nos.17-35. Erickson 2009: 148-49 observes that the bull was a recurring image on Seleukos I's issues – in fact, it also appears on the royal bronzes of Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros (*SC* 8). Thus, the butting bull on Antiochos II's coins from Magnesia could very well be fully royal imagery. It is also worth noting that Seleukos I's bronze coins from the same mint (*SC* 8) also feature a meander border on the reverse, which is typical of the reverse of the local civic bronze coins.

| | 200-150 BC | 150-100 BC |
|-----------------------------|------------|------------|
| Abydos | | |
| Dardanos | | |
| Ilion | | |
| Skepsis | | |
| Tenedos | | |
| Alexandreia Troas | | |
| Gargara | | |
| Antandros | | |
| Hamaxitos | | |
| Apollonia-on-the-Rhyndakos | | |
| Miletopolis | | |
| Kyzikos | | |
| Priapos | | |
| Parion | | |
| Lampsakos | | |
| Adramytteion | | |
| Pergamon | | |
| Pitane | | |
| Methymna | | |
| Antissa | | |
| Mytilene | | |
| Elaia | | |
| Myrina | | |
| Aigai | | |
| Kyme | | |
| Temnos | | |
| Neonteichos | | |
| Olympos | | |
| Apollonis | | |
| Thyateira | | |
| Magnesia-on-the-Sipylos | | |
| Sardis | | |
| Klannoudda | | |
| Blaundos | | |
| Philadelphia | | |
| Kaystrianoi | | |
| Apollonia-on-the-Maiandros | | |
| Aninetos | | |
| Nysa | | |
| Tralleis | | |
| Phokaia | | |
| Smyrna | | |
| Klazomenai | | |
| Erythrai | | |
| Chios | | |
| Teos | | |
| Kolophon | | |
| Lebedos | | |
| Ephesos | | |
| Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | | |
| Samos | | |
| Priene | | |
| Miletos | | |
| Antiocheia-on-the-Maiandros | | |
| Orthosia | | |

| | | |
|-------------------------|--|--|
| Harpasa | | |
| Euhippe | | |
| Gordiouteichos | | |
| Neapolis | | |
| Bargasa | | |
| Apollonia Salbake | | |
| Kidrama | | |
| Kys | | |
| Alabanda | | |
| Amyzon | | |
| Alynda | | |
| Herakleia-on-the-Latmos | | |
| Euromos | | |
| Mylasa | | |
| Iasos | | |
| Bargylia | | |
| Hydisos | | |
| Myndos | | |
| Halikarnassos | | |
| Kallipolis | | |
| Kos | | |
| Kaunos | | |
| Knidos | | |
| Astypalaia | | |
| Rhodes | | |

Table 74: bronze mints in W. A. Minor – 2nd century BC (grey squares = civic bronze coinages). Source: *ARCH* (<https://greekcoinage.org/arch/>), accessed on 15/05/2024.

According to *ARCH*, a total of eighty mints were active in Western Asia Minor during the 2nd century BC (**Table 74**). The balance between the various regions is similar to the 3rd century BC, except that many new mints from Lydia and Karia started producing bronze coins for the first time. This explains the larger representativity of these two regions in the bronze mint data than in previous centuries (**Fig. 165**). Admittedly, once again, almost all these coinages have very wide dates, which makes it difficult to place their production at a precise moment of the 2nd century BC.¹⁰⁷⁴ In fact, while some new Lydian bronze mints were Attalid foundations, like Apollonis and Philadelphia,¹⁰⁷⁵ we should not discard the possibility that they started producing bronze coins at the end of the 2nd century BC, even in the post-

¹⁰⁷⁴ *E.g.*, Apollonis: 200-30 BC (Hochard 2020: nos.2.1-2.4). Philadelphia: 160-100 BC (Hochard 2020: nos.1.1-2, 1.3.1374-1379, 1.4.1380-1381).

¹⁰⁷⁵ See Cohen 1995: 201-4, 227-30.

Attalid period. The same probably applies to the many new Karian bronze mints dated “200-100 BC” or “200-30 BC”.¹⁰⁷⁶

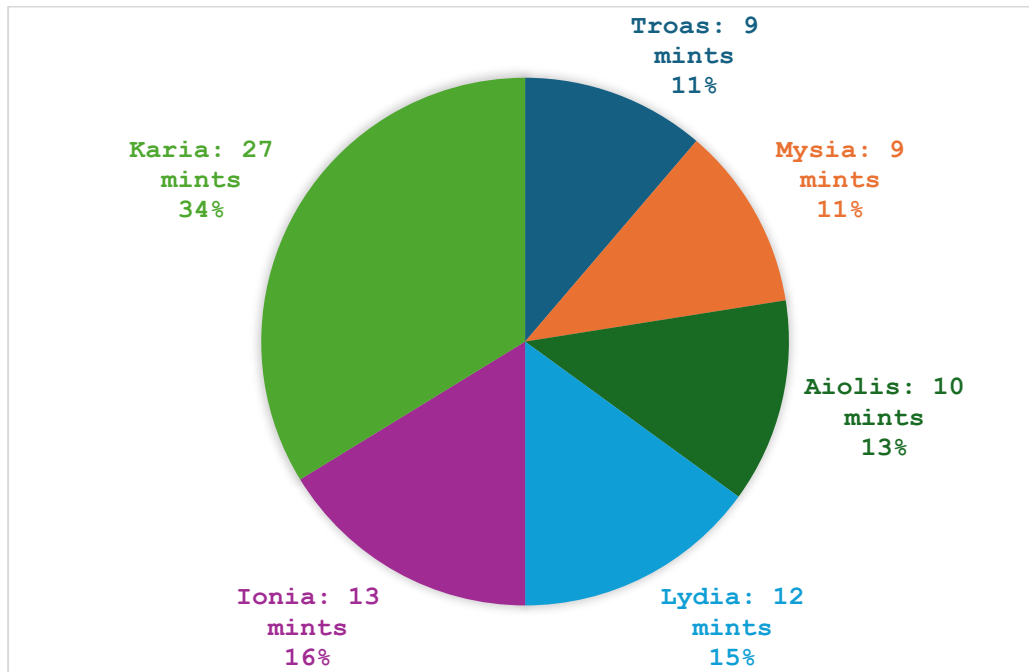


Fig. 165: bronze mints in W. A. Minor by region – 2nd century BC

Contrary to the Seleukids, the Attalids did not mint their own bronze issues in multiple cities, but apparently restricted their production to Pergamon alone. The bronze *Philetairoi* probably ended sometime in the early 2nd century BC.¹⁰⁷⁷ They were followed by a civic coinage with the full ethnic ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ,¹⁰⁷⁸ and by the so-called “deities’ coinages”, most of which were issued in the name of *Athena Nikephoros*¹⁰⁷⁹ and *Asklepios Soter*.¹⁰⁸⁰ Boehringer, Voegtli, and Marcellesi all give a very wide dating to the ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ series, between the 2nd and the early 1st century BC.¹⁰⁸¹ Chameroy

¹⁰⁷⁶ E.g., Kidrama: 180-30 BC (Robert & Robert 1954: A-C; Imhoof-Blumer 1912: 198, 29). Neapolis: 200-100 BC (Delrieux 2008: NH1).

¹⁰⁷⁷ Boehringer 1972: M 32-5; Westermarck 1991: 151-57; Marcellesi 2012: 92-4. *Contra* Voegtli *et al.* 1993: cat. nos. 193-269, *Streufunde* nos. 31-46 (133 BC) and Chameroy 2012: 141-44 (133 BC). See Marcellesi’s response to Chameroy in Marcellesi 2016. While Voegtli does not provide any explanation for his dating, Chameroy’s argument relies on the 2006-2011 excavations at Atarneus. However, see Marcellesi’s response (2016: 214).

¹⁰⁷⁸ Marcellesi 2012: 130-1 and appendix 1 nos. 63-7.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Marcellesi 2012: 127-8 and appendix 1 nos. 53-7.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Marcellesi 2012: 128-30 and appendix 1 nos. 59-61.

¹⁰⁸¹ Boehringer 1972: M 43-4; Voegtli *et al.* 1993; Marcellesi 2012: 127-32.

is the only one in favour of a low dating – after 133 BC – although the evidence he brings forward is ultimately not decisive.¹⁰⁸²

The chronology of the “deities’ coinages” is also quite uncertain. Production probably started sometime in the 2nd century BC – once again, Boehringner, Voegtli and Marcellesi give these coinages a wide dating, from the 2nd to the beginning of the 1st century BC,¹⁰⁸³ while Chameroy is the only one in favour of a start after 133 BC. In his chronology, the more ancient series is the *Asklepiou Soteris*, followed first by the *Athenas Nikephorou*, and secondly by the ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ issues.¹⁰⁸⁴ However, Chameroy’s use of archaeological evidence to support his argument is problematic.¹⁰⁸⁵ Furthermore, he does not consider that the *Athenas Nikephorou* series displays some of the control-monograms of the *kistophoroi*,¹⁰⁸⁶ which strongly suggests a start of this series in the first half of the 2nd century BC.¹⁰⁸⁷ Furthermore, silver issues in the name of *Athena Nikephoros* were struck between 181 and 160s BC,¹⁰⁸⁸ possibly with the reorganisation of the *Nikephoria* festival in 181 BC –¹⁰⁸⁹ it is plausible, although not strictly necessary, that such an occasion prompted the production of a parallel bronze series.¹⁰⁹⁰

Most of the *Asklepiou Soteris* coins, instead, only bear the full name of the moneyers on the obverse,¹⁰⁹¹ and do not have a corresponding silver series. This coinage may have started later in the 2nd century BC, after the *Athenas Nikephorou* coinage – probably in connection to the *Soteria* and *Herakleia* of 165 BC that celebrated Eumenes II’s victory over the Galatians –¹⁰⁹² lasting until the early 1st century BC.¹⁰⁹³

¹⁰⁸² Chameroy 2012: 141-44.

¹⁰⁸³ Boehringner 1972: M 45-50; Voegtli *et al.* 1993: 6; Marcellesi 2012: 127-30. Westermarck 1995: 32 gives the *Athenas Nikephorou* series a finishing date around 133 BC.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Chameroy 2012: 147-56.

¹⁰⁸⁵ See Marcellesi 2016: 215-7.

¹⁰⁸⁶ These monograms represent the abbreviated names of the cities that are thought to have contributed to the minting of these coinages (Westermarck 1995: 31).

¹⁰⁸⁷ Westermarck 1995: 31-2; Marcellesi 2012: 128.

¹⁰⁸⁸ See Meadows 2013: 175 and n.70.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Le Rider 1973: 70. For evidence on the *Nikephoria*, see Holleaux 1938: 2.63-72.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Marcellesi 2012: 128.

¹⁰⁹¹ Marcellesi 2012: 129-30.

¹⁰⁹² Marcellesi 2012: 159. On this religious festival, see Wörrle 2000: 261-63.

¹⁰⁹³ However, *cf.* Chameroy 2016, who discusses some *Athenas Nikephorou* overstrikes on *Asklepiou Soteris* issues – this would prove the chronological precedence of the latter series over the former, although without ultimately affecting a dating of these bronze coinages in the 2nd century BC.

It is difficult to determine with precision the role these Pergamene “deities’ coinages” played. Their most recent definition – as “panegyris coinages” –¹⁰⁹⁴ underscores their function as currency for transactions during the sacred festivals, similarly also to other issues in the name of deities.¹⁰⁹⁵ The *Athenas Nikephorou* bronzes were probably connected to the *Nikephoria* of 181 BC, and the *Asklepiou Soteris* to the *Soteria* and *Herakleia* of 165 BC. However, Westermark and Marcellesi go beyond this interpretation – using the control-sharing between the *kistophoroi* and the *Athenas Nikephorou* bronzes,¹⁰⁹⁶ and the evidence of royal intervention in the organisation of the sacred festivities,¹⁰⁹⁷ they suggest these “deities’ coinages” replaced the bronze *Philetairoi* as royal issues after the introduction of the *kistophoroi*. Furthermore, the excavation evidence from Asia Minor shows that the “deities’ coinages” travelled more widely than the Pergamene civic issues, thus replicating the same circulation pattern of the *Philetairoi* and civic coins in the 3rd century BC. This, in Marcellesi’s opinion, further proves the royal nature of the *Athenas Nikephorou* and *Asklepiou Soteris* coinages.¹⁰⁹⁸

Westermark and Marcellesi’s arguments are indeed quite suggestive. The adoption of a non-royal iconography for royal issues was not a novelty for the Attalids, as after 188 BC they started minting silver coins with the image of a *kista* on the obverse, and a recoiling serpent on the reverse. The abbreviated names of the cities on the *Athenas Nikephorou* bronzes also make this series appear as a “federal coinage”, similarly to the *kistophoroi*.¹⁰⁹⁹ The analysis of the excavation evidence from Pergamon in **Section 3.2.2.2** will attempt to provide more definite answers on the relationship between the two “deities’ coinages” and the civic series during the 2nd century BC.

Section 3.2. Single find evidence from excavations sites in Western Asia Minor

The following pages will be dedicated to the analysis of the excavation results from a select number of cities of Troas, Mysia, Aiolis, Lydia, Ionia, and Karia, in particular focusing on the single coin-finds

¹⁰⁹⁴ Psoma 2008. Cf. von Fritze 1910: 5–6 (“Festmünzen”); Robert 1966: 46 (“monnaies de panéguries”).

¹⁰⁹⁵ Psoma 2008: 233-34. However, for arguments against the notion of “panegyris coinages”, see Nollé 2014 and Ellis-Evans 2016b: 141-2.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Westermark 1995: 32.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Marcellesi 2012: 159.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Marcellesi 2012: 160-1.

¹⁰⁹⁹ See Thonemann 2013b: 32-4.

discovered in these places that are datable to the period between the 4th and the 2nd century BC. Special attention will be paid to the numerical relation between local and foreign coins at each site; to the regional network of the excavated city as attested by the single coin-finds and its changes through time; the impact of the Graeco-Macedonians' arrival in Asia Minor and the creation of the Successors' states.

3.2.1. Troas

As observed in the first part of this chapter, production of bronze coins in Troas became especially widespread in the 4th century BC. However, Ilion and Assos are unfortunately the only two *poleis* to have offered a meaningful sample of single finds in Troas. This certainly prevents us from drawing sweep conclusions on this region as a whole. Nonetheless, Ilion and Assos, two cities that stood in different parts of Troas – one on the western, the other on the southern coast – show similar trends nonetheless. One is therefore entitled to assume that similar patterns may have also occurred in their neighbouring cities, although with some variations.

3.2.1.1. Ilion

At Ilion, for the 4th century BC, the single coin-finds are exclusively of foreign origin, although they are mostly of regional provenance – in fact, the cities of Troas constitute almost 80% of the coin-finds from this period (**Table 75**), with an especially significant contribution from the neighbouring city of Sigeion (thirty-two issues). The 4th-century coins found in the excavations of Ilion attest to movements of people along the coast of the Propontis and the Skamandros valley (**Fig. 166**). Beyond Troas, Thrace and Aiolis are the second-best represented regions for the 4th century BC.

| | 4 th century BC | Late 4 th /early 3 rd century BC | 3 rd century BC | 2 nd century BC | Total coins by region |
|------------------|----------------------------|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| Local | – | 11 | 13 | 58 | 82 |
| Greece | – | – | – | 1 | 1 |
| Thrace | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 8 |
| Macedonia | 1 | – | – | – | 1 |
| N. Aegean | – | 1 | – | – | 1 |

| | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|------------------|
| Troas | 54 | 39 | 14 | | 107 |
| Mysia | 3 | | | 1 | 4 |
| Aiolis | 1 | 2 | 2 | | 5 |
| Ionia | 2 | – | – | 1 | 3 |
| Karia | – | – | 1 | – | 1 |
| S. Aegean | 1 | – | – | – | 1 |
| Royal | 1 | 2 AR, 15 | 1 AR, 1 | – | 3 AR, 17 |
| Total | 68 | 69 | 1 AR, 32 | 62 | 3 AR, 231 |

Table 75: regional provenance of single coin-finds at Ilion

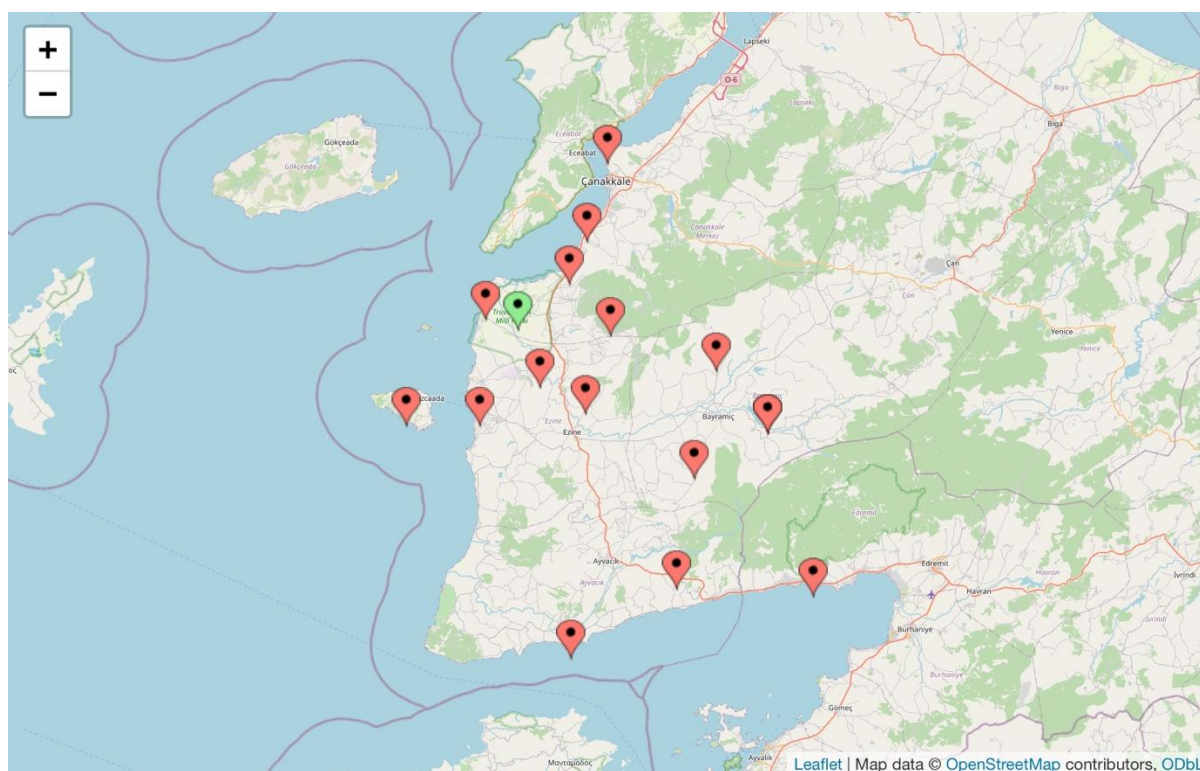


Fig. 166: Troas mints represented at Ilion until early 3rd century BC (*Ilion in green*)

After the beginning of Ilion’s civic coinage in the late 4th/early 3rd century BC, more than half of the coin-finds from this period (57% of sixty-nine issues) were nonetheless still drawn from the neighbouring cities. The picture is therefore not much different from earlier, except for the injection of a significant number of royal Macedonian coins – especially Alexander and Diadochic issues – into the local circulation.

The creation of Antigoneia/Alexandreia Troas by *synoikismos* at the end of the 4th century BC,¹¹⁰⁰ instead, brought about the interruption of many of the regional bronze coinages by the first half of the 3rd century BC. This is indeed reflected in the sharp decrease of the total number of single coin-finds from Troas discovered at Ilion for the 3rd century BC – furthermore, most of them came from Alexandreia Troas, which is represented in the excavations of Ilion with ten issues out of the fourteen non-local, regional coins of the 3rd century BC. The extra-regional issues discovered at Ilion for the Hellenistic period mostly came from Thrace and Aiolis, although some coins from Ionia and Karia also made their appearance in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. Finally, extremely few 3rd-century royal coins have survived – namely, one silver tetradrachm of Antiochos I from Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris, and one Antiochos II bronze from Antioch. Royal issues from the Attalid period, instead, are completely absent from Ilion.

Production of the local civic bronze coinage at Ilion took some time to take off – of the 3rd-century evidence (thirty-two issues in total), Ilion's own coins only represent 40% of the evidence. Thus, after c.300 BC, this city only partially compensated for the “disappearance” of the coins of Troas, as it still largely relied on the import of extra-civic bronzes. However, Ilion's own civic issues represent over 90% of the 2nd-century evidence, signalling a radical change in the monetary habits of this city after the Seleukid withdrawal from Western Asia Minor.

3.2.1.2. Assos

Assos has yielded more local single finds than Ilion – a total of 217 bronzes and one silver issue, against the eighty-two autochthonous coins discovered at Ilion. The two cities began producing their bronze coinages from the mid-4th century BC (see **Section 3.1.1**). However, while Ilion continued minting bronzes throughout the whole Hellenistic period, Assos stopped around 250 BC, with the bulk of production occurring until the early 3rd century BC – in fact, out of the 214 local single coin-finds discovered at Assos, only three are from the 3rd century BC (**Table 76**). While c.40% of the foreign issues are from Troas alone (thirty-three out of eighty-one coins, including also the silver issues), Assos

¹¹⁰⁰ Akalın 2008.

has a more southern orientation compared to Ilion, featuring a higher number of single finds from Aiolis, Pergamon, and Ionia (Fig. 167).

| | 4 th century BC | Late 4 th /early 3 rd century BC | 3 rd century BC | 2 nd century BC | Total by region |
|---------------|----------------------------|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| Local | 111 | 1 AR, 103 | 3 | – | 1 AR, 217 |
| Thrace | – | – | – | 1 | 1 |
| Troas | 1 AR, 16 | 8 | 7 | 1 | 1 AR, 32 |
| Mysia | – | 6 AR, 3 | – | 2 | 6 AR, 5 |
| Aiolis | 1 | 20 | 1 | – | 22 |
| Ionia | 3 | – | – | 3 AR, 1 | 3 AR, 4 |
| Karia | – | – | 1 | – | 1 |
| Royal | | 3 AR, 1 | 1 AR, 2 | | 4 AR, 3 |
| Total | 1 AR, 131 | 10 AR, 135 | 1 AR, 14 | 3 AR, 5 | 15 AR, 255 |

Table 76: regional provenance of single coin-finds at Assos

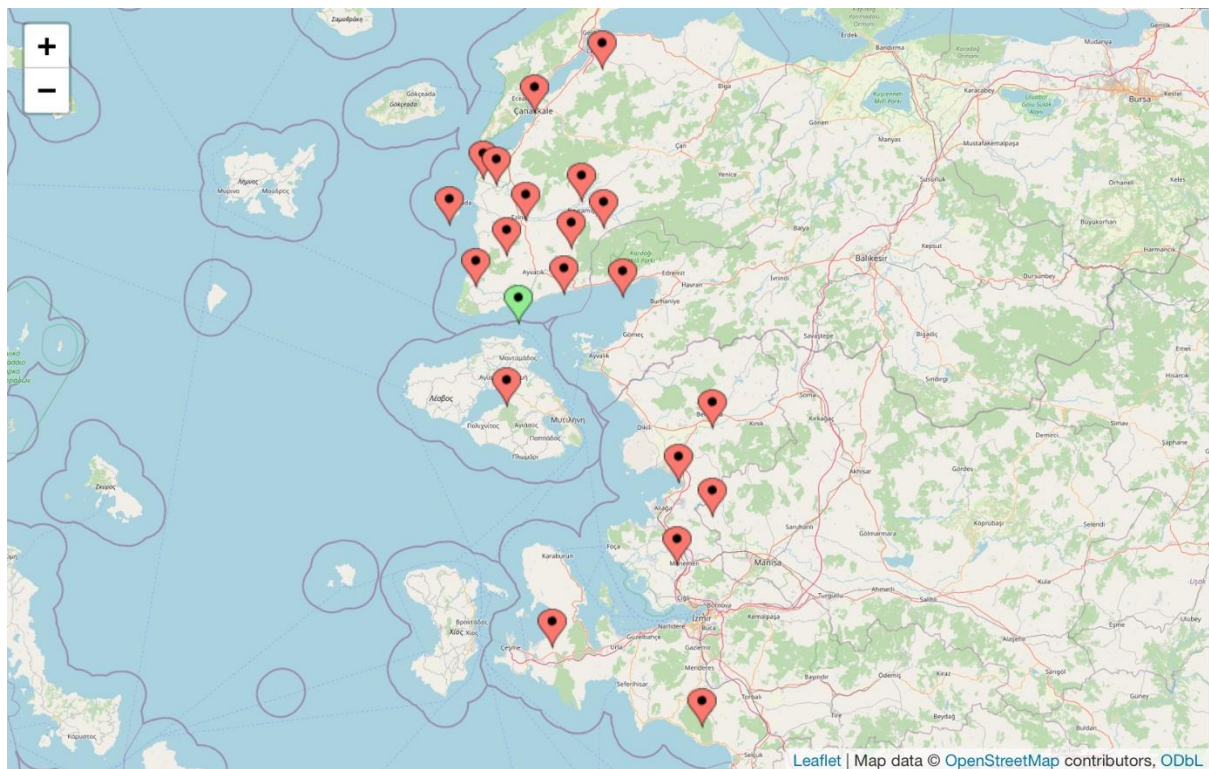


Fig. 167: foreign mints at Assos – 4th century BC (Assos in green)

In the 3rd century BC, similarly to Ilios, almost every mint from Troas disappears from Assos, while Alexandria Troas becomes the main contributor of regional bronzes (**Fig. 168**). This phenomenon, paired with the very few local bronzes of the 3rd century BC, results in a dramatic reduction of the total number of single coin-finds at Assos from the Hellenistic period – going from 277 issues (266 bronze, eleven silver) for the period from the 4th century BC to the early 3rd century BC, to only twenty-three coins from the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC combined (nineteen bronze, four silver).

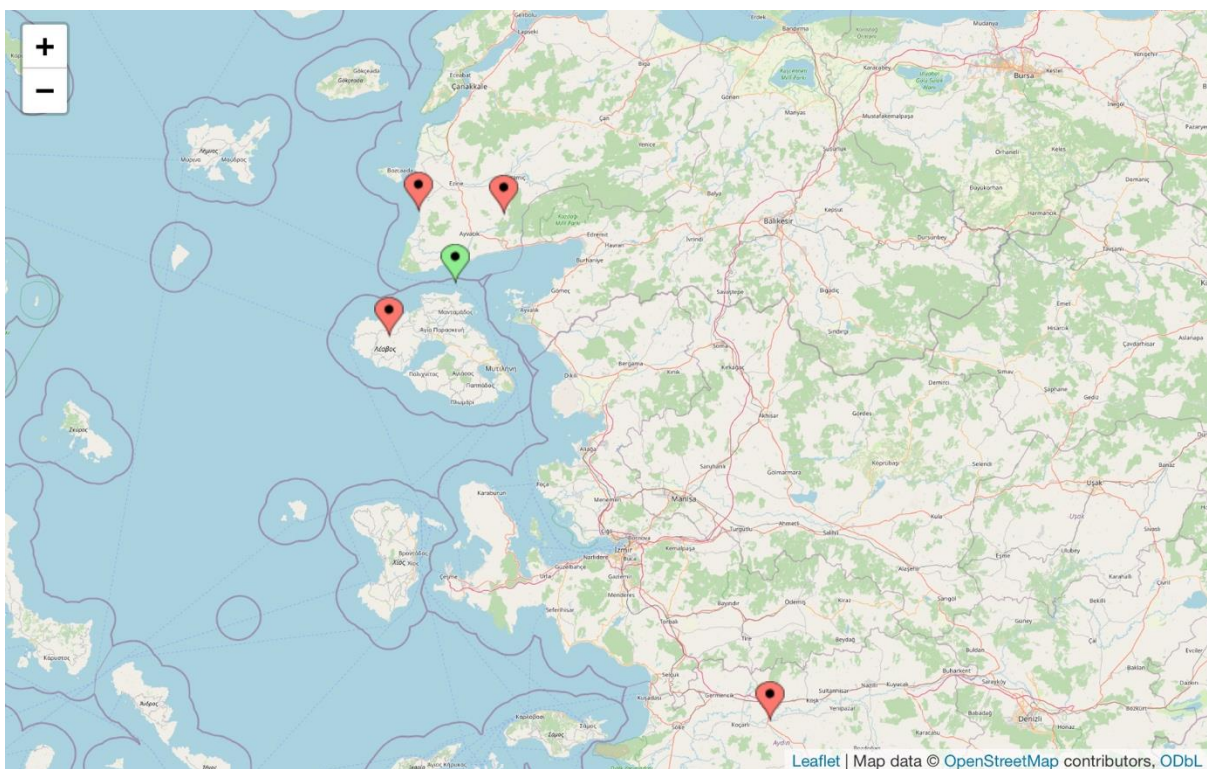


Fig. 168: foreign mints at Assos – 3rd century BC (Assos in green)

Overall, the decrease of local finds in Troas did not correspond to the opening of royal bronze mints, as no Alexander nor early Macedonian bronze coins were produced in this region. In fact, the excavations at Assos have retrieved no early Macedonian royal bronze coins, whereas, similarly to Ilios, only one Seleukid bronze – from Sardis under Antiochos III – has been discovered there. Apparently, the Seleukids' choice not to open any bronze mints in Troas was hardly compensated by the import of royal bronzes from elsewhere.

The integration of Troas into the Attalid kingdom brought about neither a significantly increased presence of royal coinages – only one *Philetairou* bronze at Assos, together with one silver issue of the same type – nor a significant change in the general orientation of the region. Ilion features very few coins from Pergamon – only one *Asklepiou Soteris* from the 2nd-1st centuries BC. On the contrary, Assos seems to have had closer contacts with Pergamon since the early 3rd century BC, with six silver coins and three bronzes from this city. The presence of two *Philetairou* issues, one *Athenas Nikephorou* and one *Asklepiou Soteris*, therefore, does not appear as a major innovation from previous times.

3.2.2. Mysia

3.2.2.1. Kyzikos

In Northern Mysia, the excavations at Kyzikos have yielded 107 single bronze coin-finds, plus four silver issues. However, these numbers pale in comparison to Pergamon, where a total of 1,070 bronzes and seven silver coins have been discovered. Almost half of the limited evidence from the Classical period at Kyzikos consists of silver issues – namely, one royal Persian *siglos* and three coins of Kyzikos itself (**Table 77**). Things change from the early Hellenistic period onwards, as only bronzes have emerged for the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, most of them of local origin. The foreign mints represented at Kyzikos, instead, are cities of Bithynia and Troas that are located on the commercial route of the Bosphoros (**Fig.169**). However, as **Table 77** shows, their number is overall very low. As for the royal issues, they are among the better represented single coin-finds of foreign origin. Aside from one Philip II bronze – possibly lost or discarded during Parmenion’s campaign in 336-335 BC –¹¹⁰¹ the excavations at Kyzikos have retrieved seven Alexander bronzes, two bronze *Philetairoi*, and one bronze of Prusias I. No Seleukid bronzes have been found there.

| | 4 th century BC | Late 4 th /early 3 rd century BC | 3 rd century BC | 2 nd century BC | Total by region |
|-----------------|----------------------------|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| Local | 3 AR | 16 | 28 | 34 | 3 AR, 78 |
| Bithynia | – | 1 | – | – | 1 |
| Troas | 2 | 3 | – | – | 5 |

¹¹⁰¹ Memnon’s strategy against Kyzikos as described in Polyain. 5.44.5 suggests that this city had become an ally of the Macedonians during Parmenion’s expedition, for which, however, we have very fragmentary evidence.

| | | | | | |
|---------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| Mysia | 2 | – | 2 | 1 | 5 |
| Aiolis | – | – | – | – | – |
| Ionia | – | – | – | – | – |
| Karia | – | – | – | – | – |
| Royal | 1 AR, 1 | 7 | 3 | | 1 AR, 11 |
| Total | 4 AR, 5 | 27 | 33 | 35 | 4 AR, 100 |

Table 77: regional provenance of single coin-finds at Kyzikos

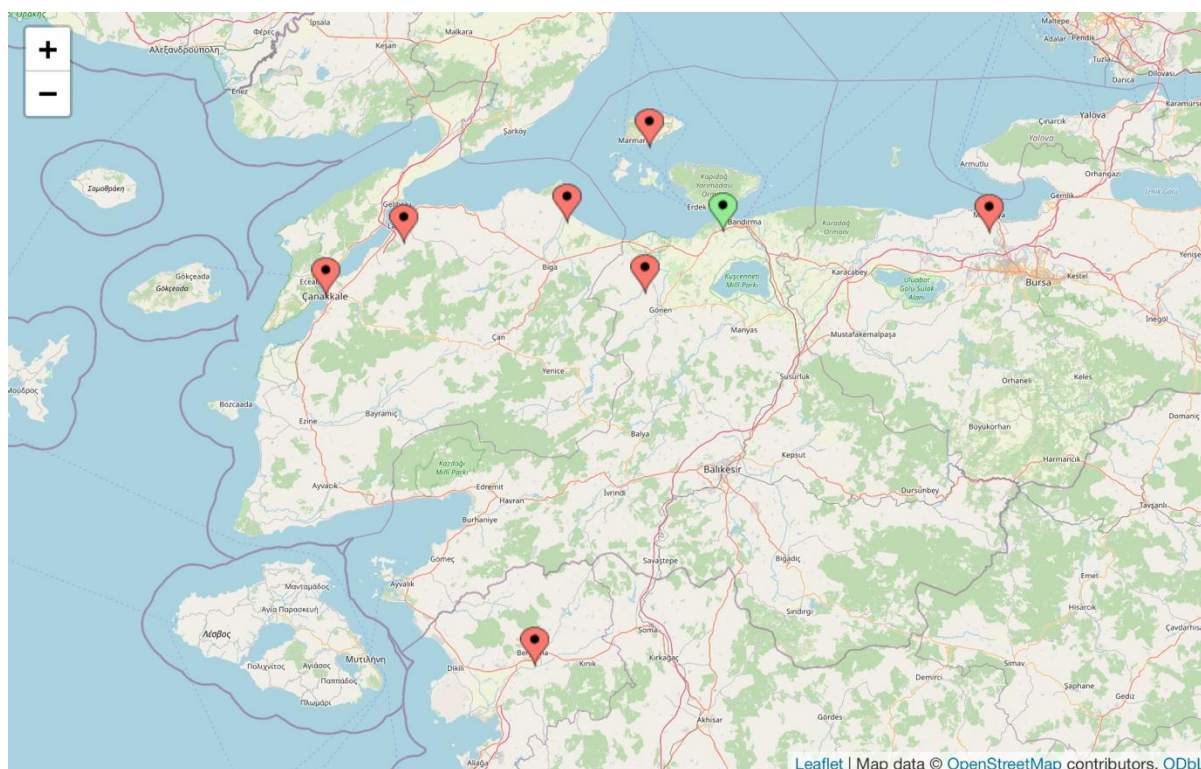


Fig. 169: foreign mints at Kyzikos – 4th-2nd centuries BC (*Kyzikos in green*)

3.2.2.2. Pergamon

At Pergamon, archaeologists have discovered a total of 1,077 single coin-finds from the 5th to the 1st century BC – of these, only seven were silver issues. 11% of the whole data set (114 coins) are of uncertain mint attribution, whereas thirteen coins (one silver, twelve bronze) are of unidentified date. As for the ones of certain date and mint attribution, very few are from the Classical period, comprising only fourteen coins, to which we could also add two single finds (one silver, one bronze) from the 5th

century BC. These numbers are significantly inferior to the data set available for the Hellenistic period (Table 78).

| | 4 th century BC | Late 4 th /early 3 rd century BC | 3 rd century BC | 2 nd century BC | Total by region |
|---------------|----------------------------|--|----------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------|
| Local | – | 65 | 200 (<i>Philetairoi</i>) | 3 AR (<i>kistophoroi</i>) 317 | 3 AR, 582 |
| Thrace | 1 | – | – | – | 1 |
| Troas | 4 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 11 |
| Mysia | 5 | 10 | 25 | 3 | 43 |
| Aiolis | 3 | 21 | 12 | 6 | 42 |
| Lydia | – | – | – | 8 | 8 |
| Ionia | 1 | 3 | 6 | 8 | 18 |
| Lykia | – | 1 | – | – | 1 |
| Royal | – | 1 AR, 10 | 1 AR, 17 | – | 2 AR, 27 |
| Total | 14 | 1 AR, 115 | 1 AR, 261 | 3 AR, 343 | 3 AR, 733 |

Table 78: regional provenance of single coin-finds at Pergamon

The foreign single coin-finds discovered at Pergamon attest to a fairly local economic network for the 4th and 3rd centuries BC (Table 78; Figs. 170-171). They mostly come from Mysia and Aiolis, in particular from the neighbouring cities of Gambreion, Kyme, and Aigai. Nevertheless, the growing number of finds from Ionia in the 3rd century BC attests to a slight “opening” of Pergamon to a wider network of “movement of people”. The sudden and dramatic expansion of the Attalid kingdom after 189 BC corresponded to the acquisition of a predominantly southern orientation of the city (Fig. 172).

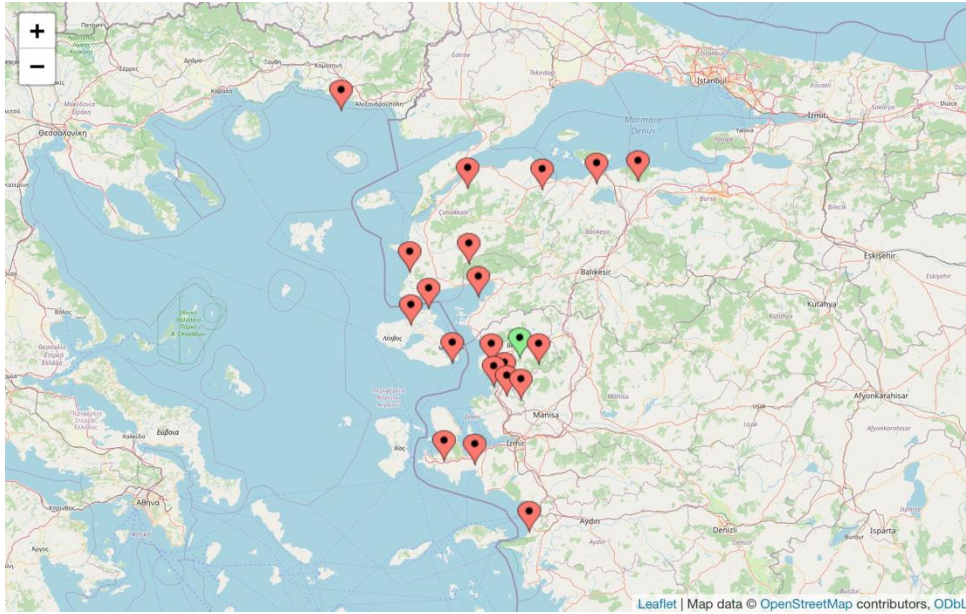


Fig. 170: foreign mints at Pergamon – 4th century BC (*Pergamon in green*)

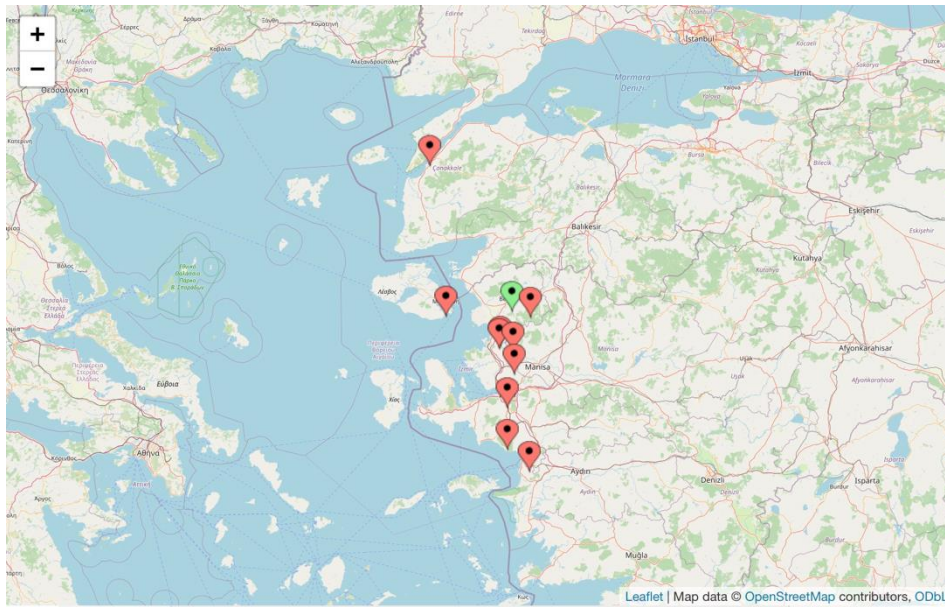


Fig. 171: foreign mints at Pergamon – 3rd century BC (*Pergamon in green*)

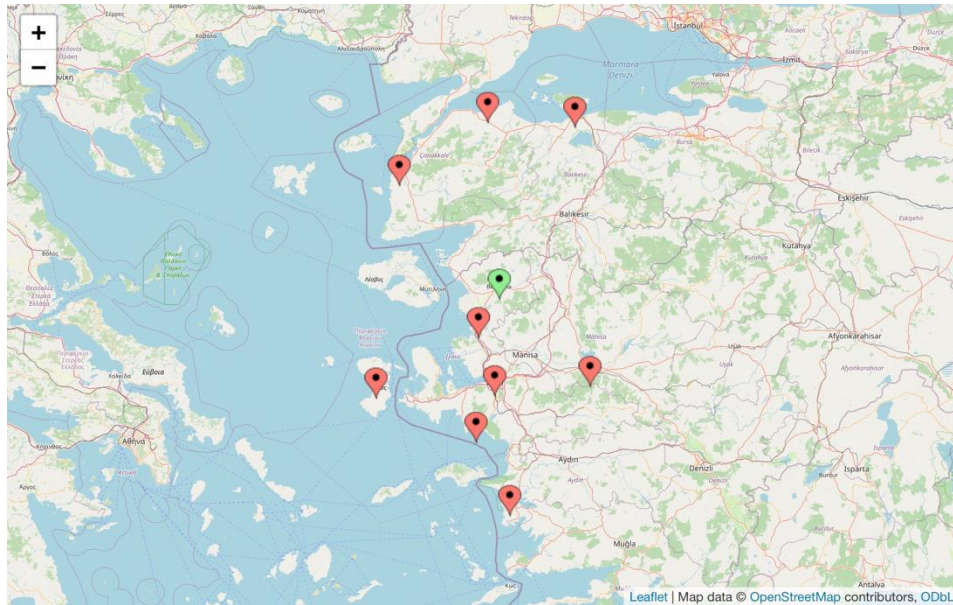


Fig. 172: foreign mints at Pergamon – 2nd century BC (*Pergamon in green*)

Nine Seleukid issues have been found in the excavations of Pergamon, but most of them are unidentified – the only recognised kings are Antiochos I and III, and the only identified mint is Antioch (for two Antiochos III bronzes). Considering the unstable Seleukid control over Pergamon and Mysia in general, these are impressive numbers, although they certainly pale in comparison with the *Philetairoi* retrieved at Pergamon (200). Nonetheless, except for the Attalids, as **Fig. 173** shows, the Seleukids are the best represented dynasty at Pergamon among the Hellenistic rulers.

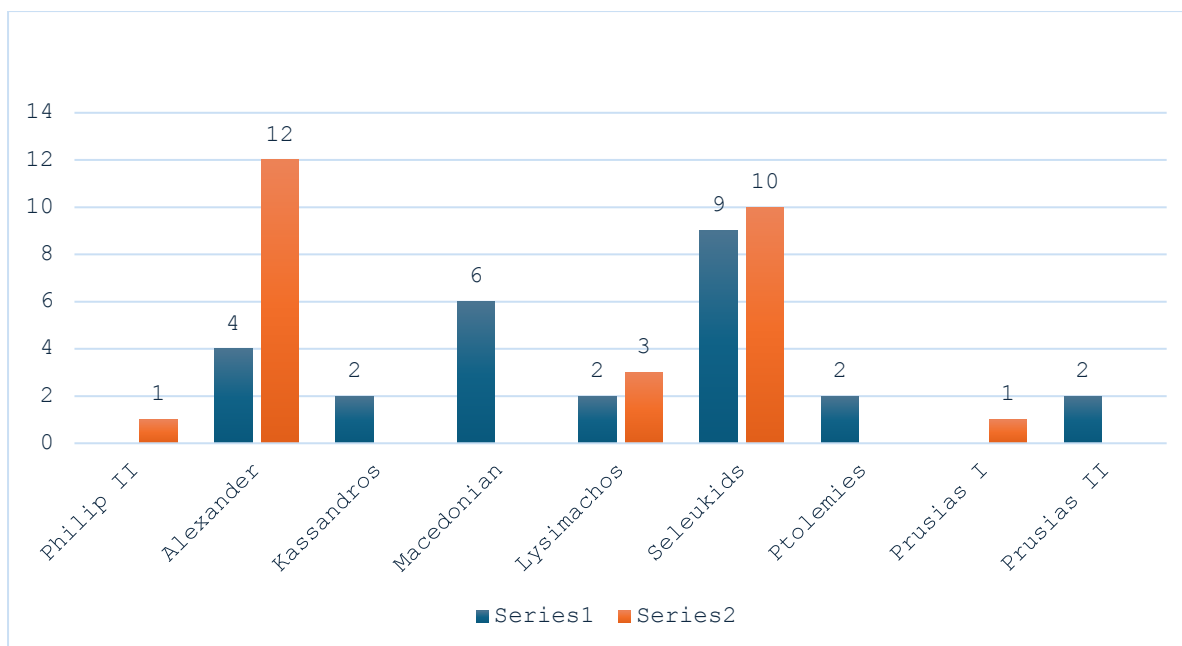


Fig. 173: number of single coin-finds of non-Attalid royal coinages at Pergamon (Series 1) and in Mysia (Series 2)

Local coins represent 79% of the single find evidence from the 4th to 2nd century BC discovered at Pergamon. In particular, once production of the *Philetairou* bronzes kicked in, the predominance of the local issues became all the more evident, as these royal coins amount to 76% of the 262 finds from the 3rd century BC. For a comparison, the civic Pergamene civic issues represent 56% of the 116 coins from the late 4th/early 3rd century BC. In the 2nd century BC, the relationship between the different coinages of Pergamon changed. Three new coinages were introduced – the *Athenas Nikephorou*, the *Asklepiou Soteris*, and the civic series with the full ethnic ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ. Marie-Christine Marcellesi and Ulla Westermark have suggested that the “deities’ coinages” possibly functioned as royal coinages, based on control-sharing between the *Athenas Nikephorou* and the *kistophoroi* and excavation evidence from Asia Minor. If we indeed admit that at least the *Athenas Nikephorou* coinage was royal, its numbers in the excavations, especially at Pergamon, are quite “unroyal”. Coins of this series are, in fact, much fewer than the *Philetairou* and *Asklepiou Soteris* bronzes, both at Pergamon (**Fig. 174**) and at other sites of Western Asia Minor (**Table 79**). This could be the result of either a short period of production or of an overall small number of coins issued. As for the *Asklepiou Soteris* series, no strong evidence suggests this was a royal coinage, and its numerous finds are probably due to the fact it was issued until

the early 1st century BC. Conversely, the number of single finds at Pergamon for the ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ series is much higher compared to the previous civic coinage – in fact, the ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ bronzes amount to 87% of 343 single finds for the 2nd century BC (**Fig. 174**). Thus, the predominant role which the *Philetairou* bronzes held in the 3rd century BC was assumed by the autochthonous civic issues of the 2nd century BC.

If we accept the higher starting date for the ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ series, then this coinage was issued for a long period of time, which probably explains its elevated number in the excavations. Nonetheless, their larger presence in the local low-level circulation may be interpreted either as the sign of a stronger civic community in the later Attalid period, or of a change of status in the relationship between the city of Pergamon and royal power. Epigraphic evidence from the 3rd century BC does not show much activity from the civic body of Pergamon. Under Eumenes II, instead, things took a noticeable turn. Most of Pergamon's decrees and honorific statue-bases are in fact from the 2nd century BC,¹¹⁰² which suggests that Pergamon had become a self-aware *polis*-community already before 133 BC, acting as a partner to the Attalids rather than as their subject.¹¹⁰³ The epigraphic evidence thus seems to confirm what the numismatic data has suggested – namely, that during the 2nd century BC the Pergamene civic community acquired a more active role, possibly as a result of the acquisition of a more “autonomous” status from Attalid authority. This would have entailed not only the chance for the citizens of Pergamon to express their civic pride through diplomatic activity and numismatic production, but also the responsibility of covering the civic expenses, which were not responsibility of the king anymore. It was perhaps the acquisition of this more “autonomous” status by Pergamon *vis-à-vis* royal power that probably caused an increase in production of its civic coinage during the 2nd century BC.

¹¹⁰² For a list, see Bielfeldt 2010: 197–201.

¹¹⁰³ This process seems to have reached its zenith under Attalos III – see Chin 2018 for discussion of *OGIS* 332 with its contextualisation within the relationship city-king as evidenced by 2nd-century Pergamene inscriptions.

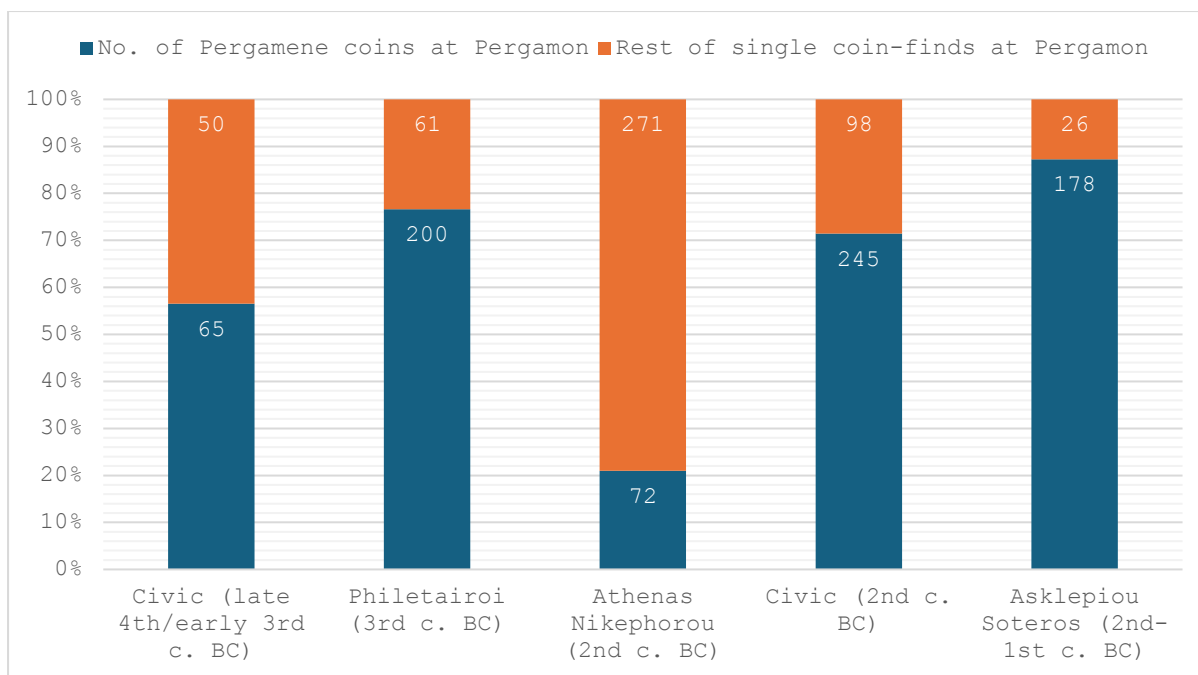


Fig. 174: Pergamene coins and their relationship with the total number of coin-finds at Pergamon by period

| | <i>Philetairoi</i> | <i>Athenas Nikephorou</i> | <i>Asklepiou Soteris</i> | ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|------------|
| Ilion | – | – | 1 | – |
| Assos | 1 | 1 | 2 | – |
| Kyme | – | – | 1 | 1 |
| Kyzikos | 2 | 1 | – | – |
| Allianoi | 5 | – | 6 | 4 |
| Asklepieion & Kapıkaya | 3 | – | 1 | 6 |
| Mamurt Kale | 1 | – | 2 | – |
| Sardis | 60 | 33 | 55 | – |
| Mount Nif | – | 4 | 1 | – |
| Kolophon | 2 | – | – | – |
| Ephesos | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Priene | 4 | – | 1 | – |
| Didyma | – | 1 | – | – |
| Lagina | 1 | – | – | – |
| Nysa | – | – | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 81 | 41 | 72 | 14 |

Table 79: number of bronze *Philetairoi*, “deities’ coinages” and ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ single coin-finds in excavations in Western Asia Minor – 3rd-1st centuries BC

3.2.3. Aiolis

The combined finds from Kyme and Larissa-Phrikonis amount to 147 issues, which pales in comparison to the 588 coins from Ilion and Assos. It is therefore impossible to trace significant changes in the lower-level monetary situation of Aiolis across the last four centuries BC.

Nevertheless, one can observe different preferential areas in terms of bronze coin-circulation. The foreign issues found at Kyme, albeit very few, attest to exchanges both northwards and southwards, with one issue from Thrace and two from Northern Ionia (Smyrna and Ephesos) (Table 80; Fig. 175). The cities of Northern Ionia are featured much more prominently at Larissa-Phrikonis, with Klazomenai, Kolophon, and Ephesos as the main contributors of foreign issues in this city (Table 80; Fig.176). Furthermore, Larissa-Phrikonis seems to have entertained exchanges with the *poleis* of the Peloponnese, as five out of the thirty-one foreign single coin-finds in this city come from this region, dating from the 5th to the 1st century BC. Xenophon reports of a failed siege of Larissa-Phrikonis by the Spartan general Thibron,¹¹⁰⁴ but one can hardly explain, if not with trade, the arrival of Peloponnesian bronzes in later centuries.

| | Kyme | Larissa-Phrikonis |
|--------------------|------------|-------------------|
| Local | 99 | – |
| Thrace | 1 | – |
| Troas | – | – |
| Mysia | 2 | – |
| Aiolis | 3 | 5 |
| Lydia | – | – |
| Ionia | 2 | 17 |
| Peloponnese | – | 5 |
| Royal | – | 4 |
| Total | 107 | 31 |

¹¹⁰⁴ Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.7.

Table 80: regional provenance of foreign single coin-finds at Kyme and Larissa-Phrikonis (4th-1st c. BC)

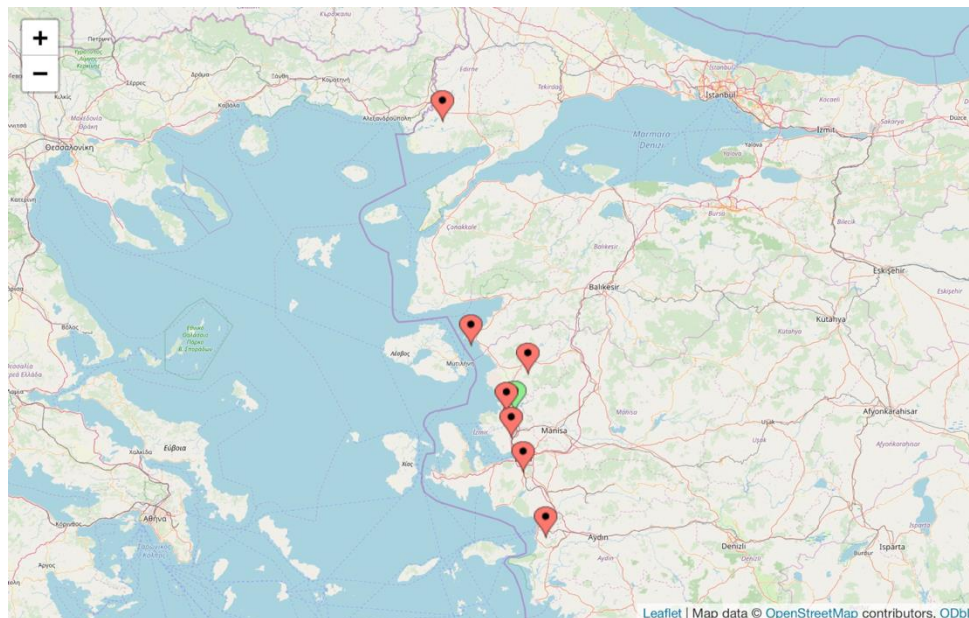


Fig. 175: foreign mints represented at Kyme – 4th-1st c. (Kyme in green)

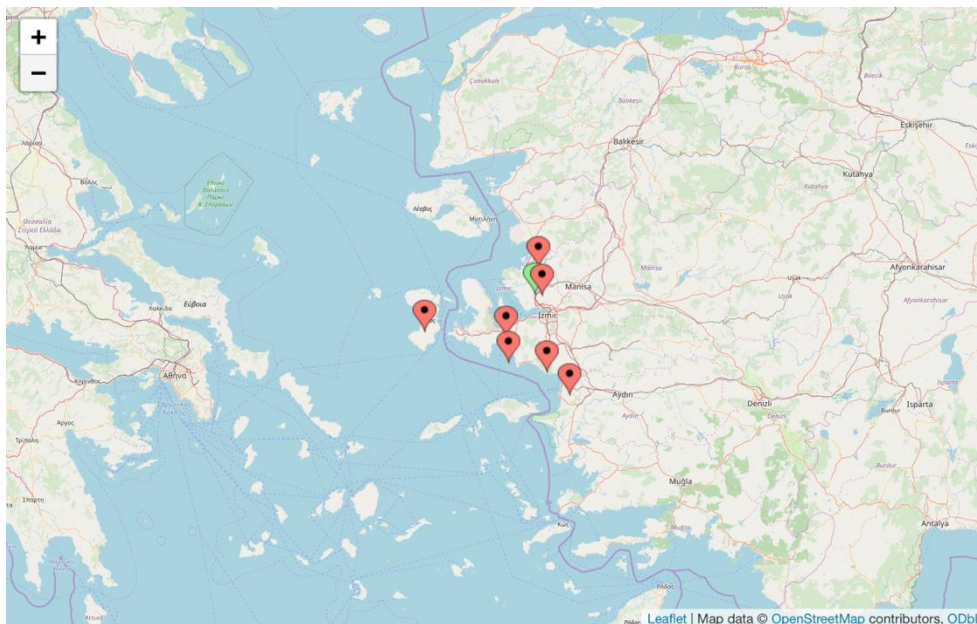


Fig. 176: foreign mints represented at Larissa-Phrikonis – 4th-1st c. (Larissa in green)

Kyme produced a plentiful bronze coinage from the mid-4th well into the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC –¹¹⁰⁵ 89% of the 111 bronze single coin-finds from this city are in fact of local origin. On the contrary, the excavations at Larissa have yielded not even one specimen of its small 4th-century civic bronze series.¹¹⁰⁶ Not many samples have been preserved for this coinage in general, but they do appear at Assos and Kyme (one issue at each site) – one would have therefore expected at least a few specimens to turn up in the excavations of Larissa itself.

Royal coins are generally very poorly represented in Aiolis – only two silver issues in the name of Alexander, three Alexander bronzes, and one in Philip III's name. Seleukid bronzes are completely unattested, albeit unsurprisingly, as no Seleukid royal bronze mint was ever opened here. No explicitly Attalid royal coins either are featured among the finds of Aiolis, but two Pergamene bronzes have been discovered at Kyme – one civic and one in the name of Asklepios Soter.

3.2.4. Lydia

Sardis is the only site in Lydia for which we have a published catalogue of single coin-finds. The excavations in this city have retrieved the largest number of issues of all pre-Roman Asia Minor. Archaeologists have found Lydian royal coinages, but only one Persian *siglos* – which is surprisingly very little given the status of Sardis as the main Western mint for the Achaemenids. The foreign civic bronze coins discovered at Sardis for the whole 4th century BC are predominantly Ionian, especially from Ephesos. Instead, the late 4th/early 3rd century BC was strongly affected by the wars of Succession, as royal coinages make for almost 70% of the bronzes discovered at Sardis for that period (**Table 81**). Nonetheless, most foreign coins still came from Ionia – once again especially Ephesos – although northern mints made their first appearance as well (**Fig. 177**). The inclusion of Sardis into Lysimachos' kingdom of Thrace, thus, seems to have slightly affected the orientation of the city, as the coins from Lampsakos, Ilion, and Alexandria Troas are otherwise absent from the evidence of Sardis for the following two centuries, except for one Alexandria Troas issue from after 133 BC (see **Appendix**).

¹¹⁰⁵ *BMC Troas*: 106-113, nos. 16-20, 27-57, 59-97.

¹¹⁰⁶ Babelon 1910: nos.2065-2070; *SNG Copenhagen Larissa Phriconis* no.208; Imhoof-Blumer 1901-2: 511 no.1.

| | 4 th century BC | Late 4 th /early 3 rd century BC | 3 rd century BC | 2 nd century BC | Total by region |
|-----------------|----------------------------|--|---|----------------------------|--|
| Local | – | 17 (<i>royal</i>) | 138 (<i>civic</i>) 96 (<i>royal</i>) | 61 (<i>civic</i>) | 199 (<i>civic</i>) 155 (<i>royal</i>) |
| Troas | – | 2 | – | – | 2 |
| Mysia | – | 1 | – | 91 | 92 |
| Aiolis | 1 | 8 | 4 | – | 13 |
| Lydia | – | – | 2 | 5 | 7 |
| Ionia | 14 | 33 | 11 | 5 | 63 |
| Karia | 1 | – | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| N. Syria | 1 AR | – | – | – | 1 AR |
| Royal | – | 10 AR, 104 | 1 AR, 155 | – | 11 AR.259 |
| Total | 1 AR, 16 | 10 AR, 165 | 1 AR, 407 | 102 | 12 AR, 794 |

Table 81: regional provenance of single coin-finds at Sardis

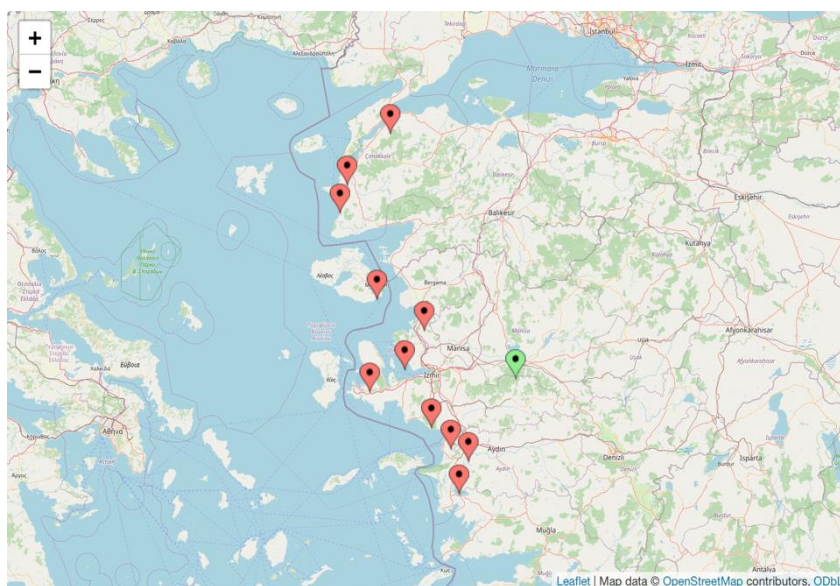


Fig. 177: Foreign mints at Sardis – 4th c. BC (*left*); late 4th-early 3rd c. BC (*right*). Sardis in green

With the elevation of Sardis to royal residence of the Seleukids, the number of foreign civic bronzes for the 3rd century BC decreased drastically, although Sardis' ties with Ionia did not weaken – in fact, eleven out of its eighteen foreign civic bronze finds (61%) came from there, once again especially from

Ephesos. Furthermore, if we follow Evans' chronology for the Sardian civic bronzes (see **Section 3.1.3**), the latter represented a significant share of the 3rd-century evidence. Nonetheless, over half of the data for this period comprises royal emissions (**Fig. 178**).

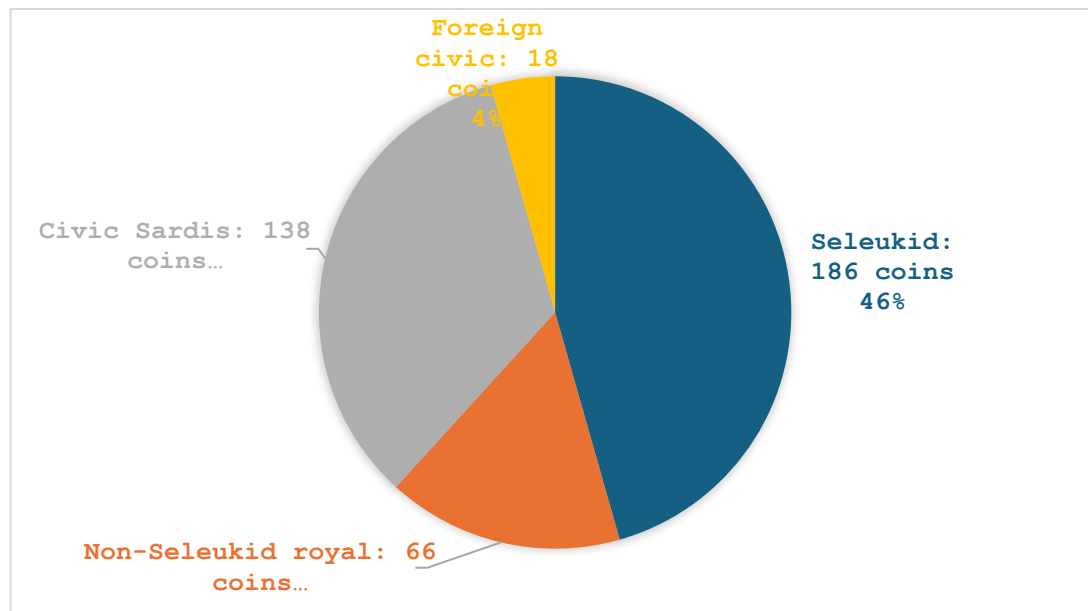


Fig. 178: royal vs. civic bronze in Sardis – 3rd century BC

Out of the 254 royal coins from the 3rd century BC discovered at Sardis, 73% are Seleukid products. Each ruler of this dynasty is represented more or less equally, with the high points reached by Antiochos II and Antiochos III (**Fig.179**). Issues from Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris are found at Sardis for Seleukos I, Antiochos I, and Seleukos II – in particular, for the latter two kings, the excavations at Sardis have unearthed the same number of coins from Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris and Antioch. Instead, under Seleukos I and especially Antiochos III, Antiochene issues represent either the majority or the only non-Sardian royal Seleukid bronze finds. All of Antiochos III's bronzes from Antioch are of the elephant type, which bears a strong military character – therefore, their presence at Sardis was mostly likely connected to Antiochos III's military campaigns to retake Western Asia Minor. Nonetheless, royal bronze coins of local origin represent at least over 80% of the bronzes of each Seleukid king (**Fig.180**). The exceptions are Seleukos I, Antiochos I, and Antiochos III, all for different reasons – Seleukos I only ruled over Sardis for one year; Antiochos I apparently minted a small bronze series; finally, Antiochos III imported

a significant number of bronzes from Antioch, which had especially served to pay *sitarchia* to the troops besieging Sardis.

Admittedly, both **Figs. 179** and **180** show that a large number of Seleukid coin-finds at Sardis is of uncertain attribution – however, we do not know if these bronzes would change or confirm the picture just described above.

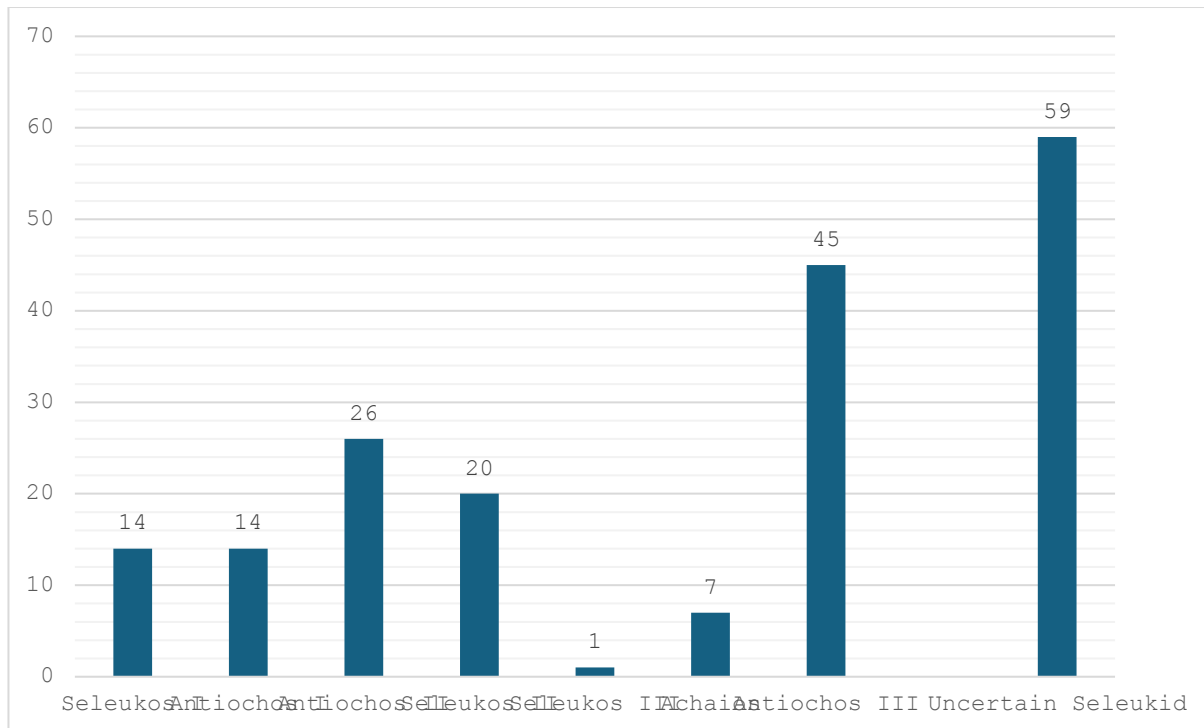


Fig. 179: number of Seleukid bronzes by ruler found at Sardis

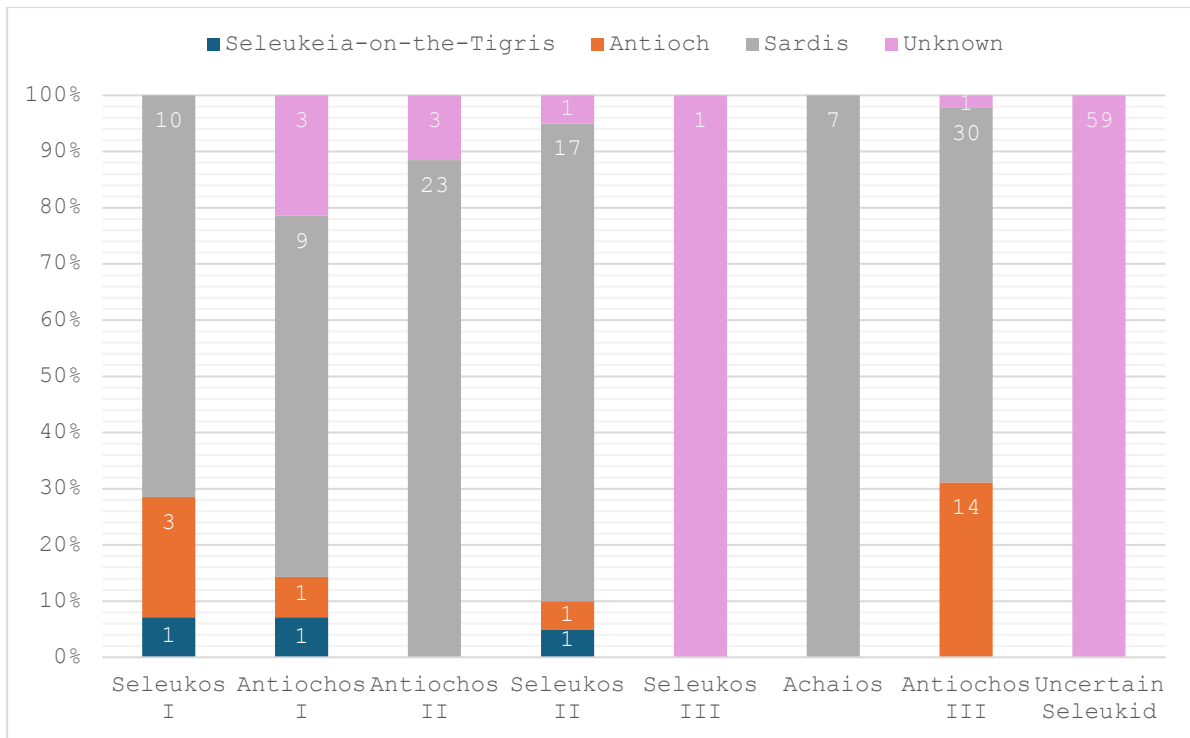


Fig. 180: percentage of Seleukid coin-finds from Sardis by mint and ruler

Coins of several other dynasties also circulated at Sardis together with Seleukid issues, reflecting the tumultuous years of the second half of the 3rd century BC. Thus, we have three issues of the Ptolemies, sixty of the Attalids, and three of the Antigonids (one of Demetrios II and two of Philip V).

In the 2nd century BC, after the Seleukid withdrawal from Western Asia Minor and Sardis' incorporation into the Attalid kingdom, the regions represented in the single find evidence of Sardis continued to be the same as in the previous periods. Nonetheless, Pergamene bronzes “invaded” the 2nd-century low-level circulation of this city, amounting to almost 90% of the foreign issues from this period. Conversely, Ionian coins shrank to only five finds. The local civic bronzes, instead, seem not to have solidified their presence in the 2nd century BC – their numbers (sixty-one) are even lower than those of Pergamon (eighty-nine). Once control over the city was transferred to the Romans after 133 BC, however, the pattern changed completely, as the local coins finally became the preferred means of exchange at Sardis (86% of 263 bronze finds).

Overall, Sardis appears as one of the more receptive cities of Western Asia Minor to royal coinages and shifting political landscapes. No other site has yielded similar numbers of royal emissions, nor has it

featured such dramatic shifts in orientation from one century to the other, the most notable being the “disappearance” of Ionian coins in the 2nd century BC due to the “invasion” of issues from Pergamon. Both aspects are certainly tied to the status of Sardis as a royal capital under the Seleukids and as one of the more important centres under Attalid administration – overall, Sardis was the city where royal power was at its strongest. The end of the Pergamene kingdom in the late 2nd century BC marks the time when the local coinage finally predominated over the other bronzes – it was only at this point that the low-level monetary circulation of Sardis acquired the standard outlook of the cities of Western Asia Minor.

3.2.5. Ionia

3.2.5.1. Kolophon

The excavations at Kolophon have yielded mostly local coins for the 4th century BC (64% of the thirty-nine single finds for that period). The pool from which this city drew the foreign bronzes is essentially regional – issues came from northern and southern Ionia alike, with Klazomenai, Ephesos, and Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros as the biggest contributors (**Table 82; Fig. 181**).

| | 4 th century BC | Late 4 th /early 3 rd century BC | 3 rd century BC | 2 nd century BC | Total by region |
|---------------|----------------------------|--|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| Local | 1 AR, 24 | 2 AR, 66 | – | 1 | 3 AR, 90 |
| Mysia | 1 AR | – | – | – | 1 AR |
| Aiolis | – | – | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Ionia | 1 AR, 10 | 1 AR, 5 | 1 | 2 | 2 AR, 18 |
| Karia | 1 AR, 1 | – | – | – | 1 AR, 1 |
| Royal | – | 1 AR | 11 | – | 1 AR, 11 |
| Total | 4 AR, 35 | 4 AR, 71 | 13 | 5 | 8 AR, 123 |

Table 82: regional provenance of single coin-finds at Kolophon

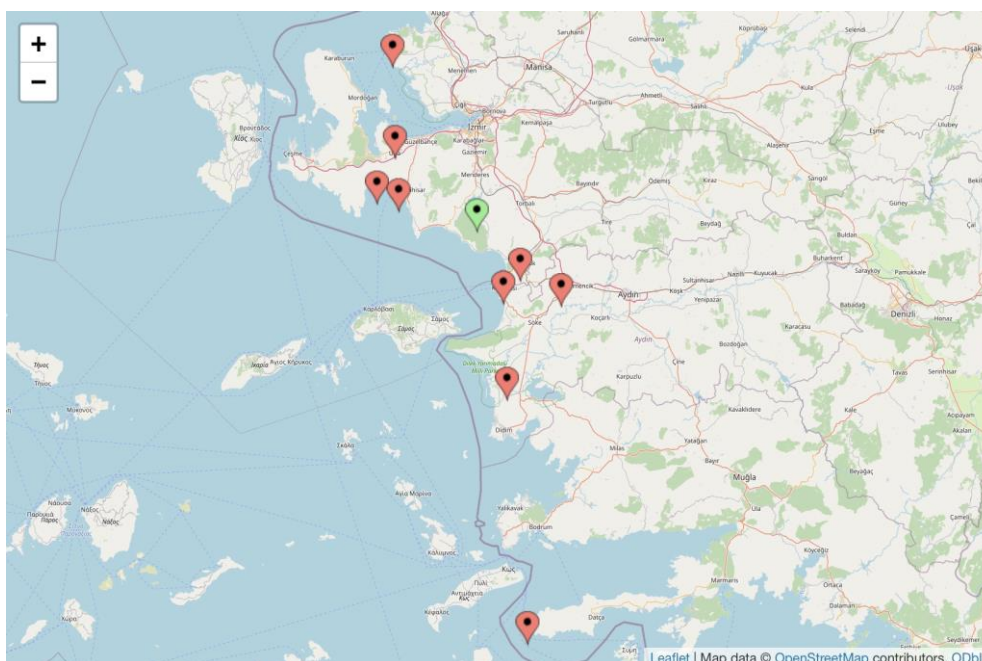


Fig. 181: foreign mints at Kolophon – 4th century BC (*Kolophon in green*)

The excavations at Kolophon have yielded very few coins for the 3rd and 2nd century BC. While the archaeological evidence does not support Pausanias’ narrative of the destruction of the city, the coin-find evidence, instead, suggests that Lysimachos’ intervention did leave a lasting mark on the classical site of Kolophon, as the population of the Classical site of Kolophon moved to Notion.¹¹⁰⁷ At this site almost no civic bronze coins survive from the 3rd century BC, while 85% of the thirteen finds from this period are royal coins – nine of Antiochos II from Sardis and two of the Attalids. For the 2nd century BC, instead, the site of Kolophon has barely yielded any coins at all – only five issues in total, of which one local. For a comparison, at Klaros, the sanctuary of Kolophon, 3rd-century coins are the fewest among the single finds retrieved there (**Fig.182**). However, when Kolophon reprised its bronze coinage with more intensity in the late 2nd century BC, the sanctuary saw a corresponding resurgence in the number of single coin-finds, including eighty-four local bronzes (**Fig.183**).

¹¹⁰⁷ Boehm 2018: 75-6.

The single find evidence from Kolophon and Klaros thus suggests two things – firstly, the community of the Kolophonians took some time before reorganising a civic bronze mint; secondly, a systematic reoccupation of the Classical site of Kolophon did not really occur following Lysimachos’ *synoikismos* of Ephesos-Arsinoeia. Considering the royal character of many 3rd-century coin-finds, the site may have been reused as a military outpost by royal armies. The one bronze of Antiochos III from Antioch discovered at Klaros also seems to confirm this. Admittedly, the inscription found in the *Metroon* of Kolophon suggests more than a reoccupation of the site for mere military purpose. Nonetheless, Seleukid presence must have been particularly felt in this city – not only were several coins from Sardis found here, but a tribe was also named after the founder of the dynasty, and an inscription at the sanctuary of Klaros from the 3rd century BC refers to the farming of civic taxes *κατὰ τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως διάγραμμα*.¹¹⁰⁸

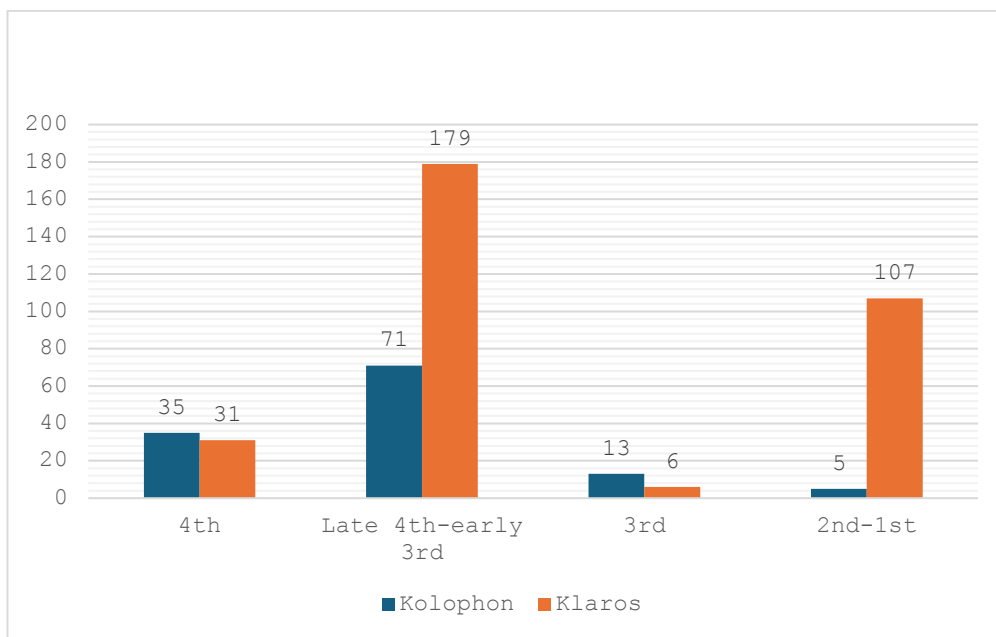


Fig. 182: number of bronze finds at Kolophon and Klaros by period

¹¹⁰⁸ de la Genière 1990 (*REG* 103): 105, ll. 23-4 (unpublished inscription).

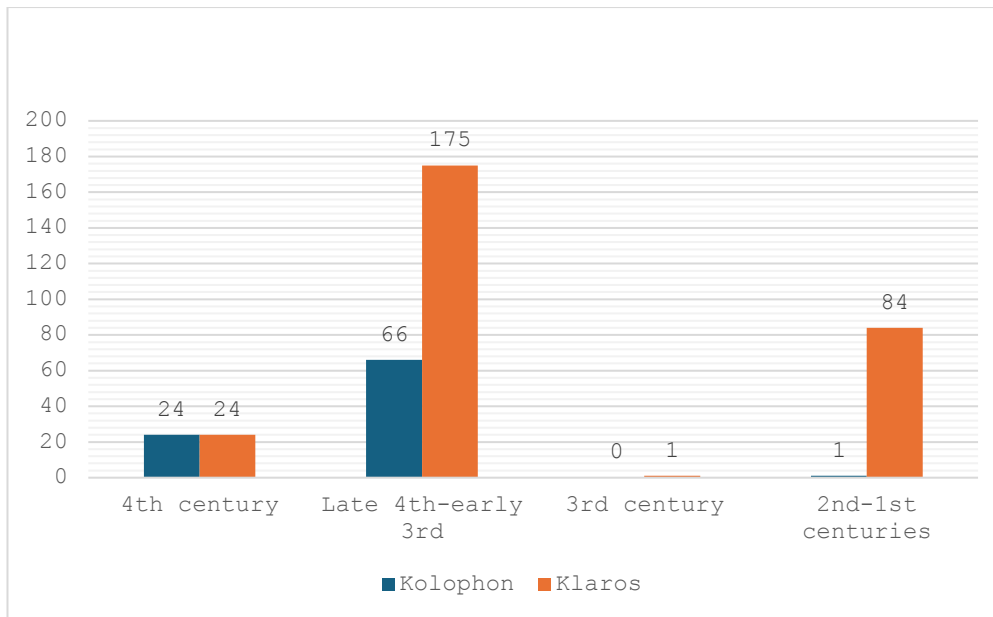


Fig. 183: total amount of Kolophonian bronzes discovered among the single coin-finds of Kolophon and Klaros by period

3.2.5.2. Ephesos

For the 4th century BC, the absolute majority of the finds – eighty-three out of eighty-seven coins – are local issues (**Table 83**). However, the following centuries record a massive surge in the number of single coin-finds at Ephesos. In fact, the excavators have recorded 996 total coins dated to a generic “Hellenistic” period, which approximately corresponds to the period from the late 4th to the early 2nd century BC. Other coins have received a more precise dating, but, in order to accommodate these “Hellenistic” issues, for the following analysis I have organised the whole single find evidence from Ephesos in “Hellenistic” (= late 4th-early 2nd centuries BC) and “late-Hellenistic” (= 2nd-1st centuries BC) periods.

Among the “Hellenistic” finds, Ephesian bronzes were still largely predominant, amounting to 74% of the evidence from this period. Among the foreign issues, instead, the Ionian cities hold the higher share, with thirty coins in total, against five from Mysia, five from Aiolis, and three from Lydia. Miletos is the southernmost mint represented at Ephesos, despite one issue from 3rd-century Kos and another from 2nd-century Iasos (**Fig.184**).

In the “late-Hellenistic” period, Ephesian coins represent 82% of the evidence. Instead, Aiolian issues “disappear” in the 2nd-1st centuries BC, while coins from Mysia and Lydia are still attested in numbers similar to the previous centuries. At the same time, inland cities made their first appearance in the monetary landscape of Ephesos (**Table 83; Fig.185**). The number of Ionian coins was surprisingly reduced to only three samples for the 2nd-1st centuries BC, although their places of origin do not show marked differences compared to the “Hellenistic” period.

| | Achaemenid | Hellenistic | Late-Hellenistic | Total by region |
|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| Local | 84 | 585 | 78 | 747 |
| Troas | – | – | – | – |
| Mysia | – | 5 | 5 | 10 |
| Aiolis | – | 5 | – | 5 |
| Lydia | – | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| Ionia | 3 | 30 | 3 | 36 |
| Karia | – | – | 1 | 1 |
| Phrygia | – | – | 1 | 1 |
| Krete | 1 | – | – | 1 |
| Phoenicia | – | – | 1 | 1 |
| Royal | – | 166 | 2 | 168 |
| Total | 88 | 794 | 95 | 977 |

Table 83: regional provenance of single coin-finds at Ephesos by period

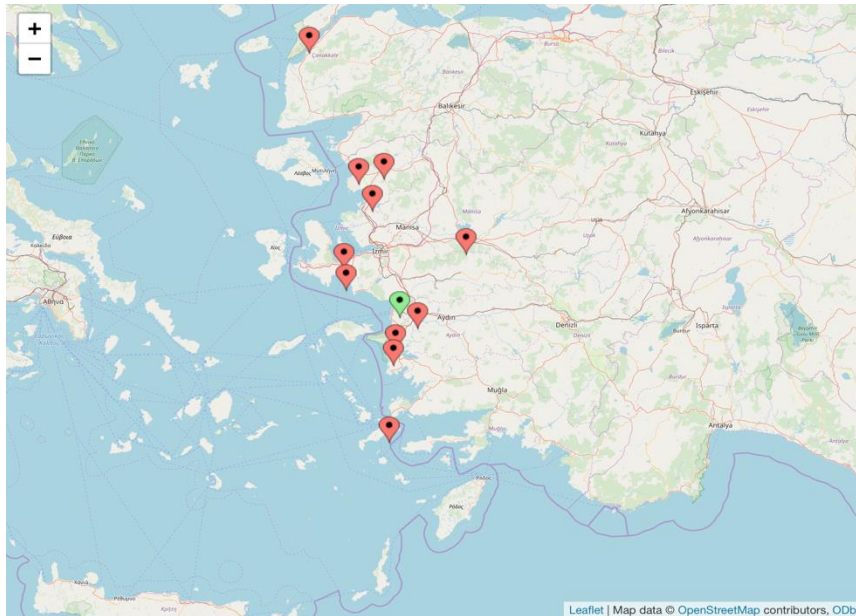


Fig. 184: “Hellenistic” foreign mints at Ephesus (*Ephesos in green*). Antioch not included on this map

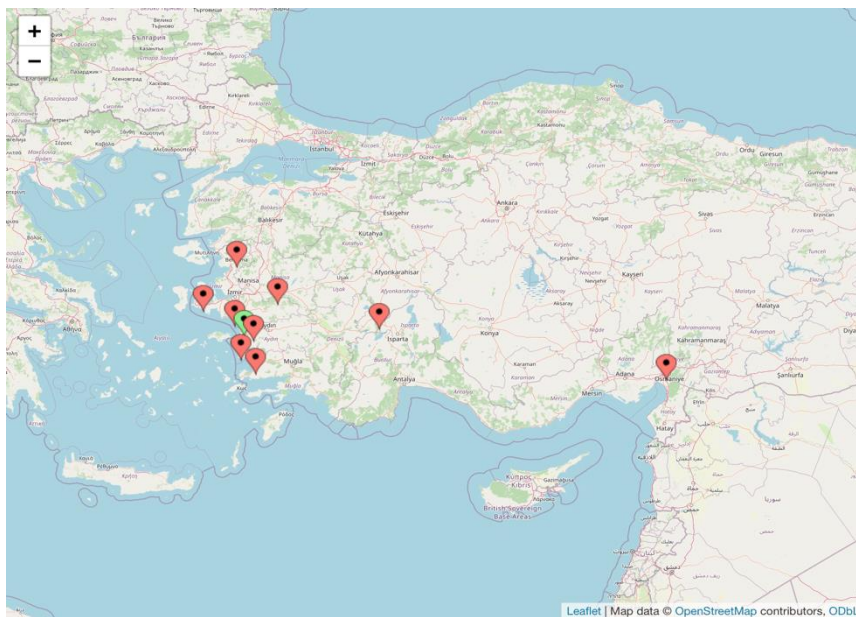


Fig. 185: foreign mints at Ephesus – “late-Hellenistic” period (*Ephesos in green*)

Together with the decrease of Ionian finds, the impact of royal coinages represents for Ephesus the most glaring difference between the “Hellenistic” and “late-Hellenistic” periods. Out of the whole 168 royal coin-finds, the last two centuries BC have yielded only two Seleukid bronzes from Antioch (one in the name of Seleukos IV, one of Alexander Balas). For the “Hellenistic” period, instead, Alexander issues are strangely absent, except for one silver drachm in his name, while Lysimachos’ coinage in the name

of Arsinoe has survived with thirty-eight issues. Apart from two bronze *Philetairoi*, all royal finds for the 3rd century BC are Seleukid – their issues amount to 76% of the 166 royal coins from the “Hellenistic” period (**Fig.186**). All Seleukid coins are in the name of Antiochos II and Antiochos III, except for one Seleukos II’s issue from an uncertain mint, and four others from an unknown Seleukid king. Antiochos II’s conquest of Ephesos during the Second Syrian war, and the establishment of his residence there, certainly explain the predominance of his Sardian coins (59%); on the contrary, Antiochos III’s issues from the same mint are dramatically fewer (only five), while thirty-seven come from Antioch (**Fig.187**).

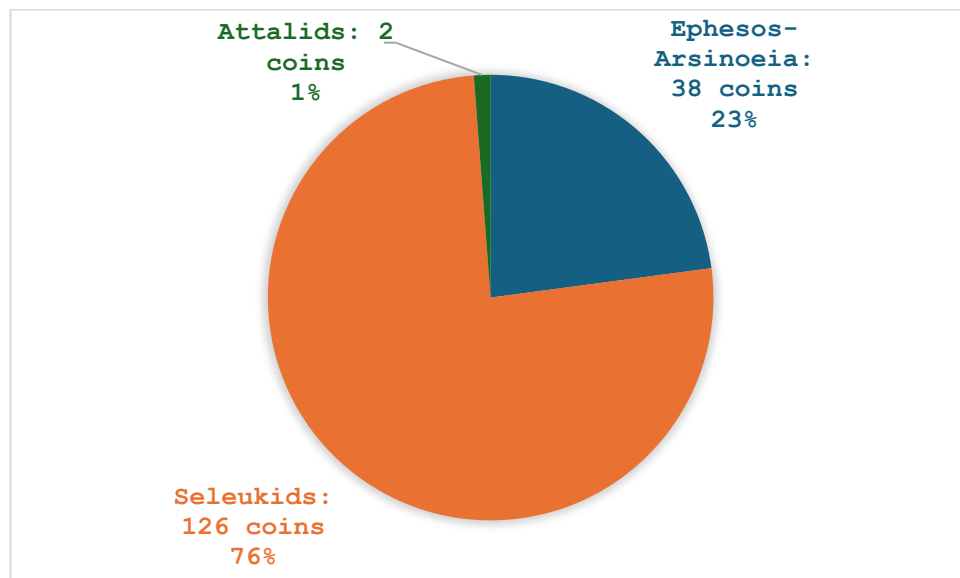


Fig. 186: royal bronze single coin-finds in “Hellenistic” Ephesos

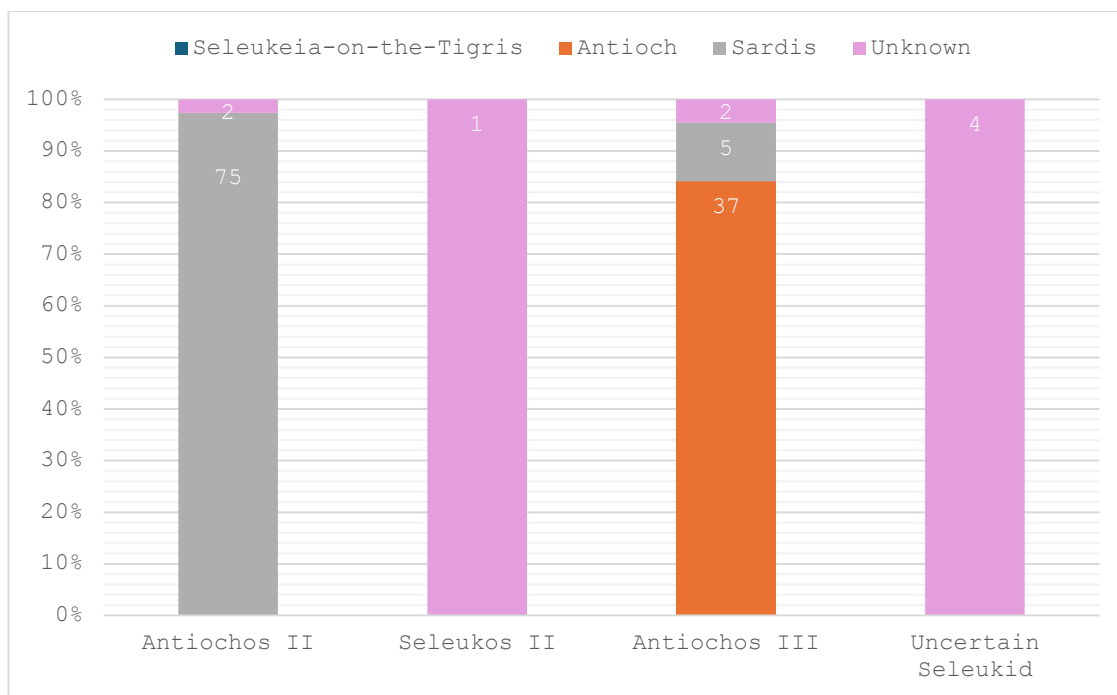


Fig. 187: percentage of Seleukid coin-finds from Ephesos by mint and ruler

Despite Ephesos being a Ptolemaic possession in the early Hellenistic period until 260 BC, no Ptolemaic bronzes have been unearthed – the presence of a garrison here apparently did not affect the low-level circulation of Ephesos at all. The Attalids, instead, have left a slightly more tangible mark, as two bronze *Philetairoi* and one *kistophoros* have been found there, while the “late Hellenistic” period has yielded for Ephesos only five more Pergamene bronzes.

3.2.5.3. Priene

Priene started issuing its own bronzes from the late 4th century BC and continued for the whole Hellenistic period.¹¹⁰⁹ Production of these bronze issues must have been rich, since they account for most of the single finds discovered at Priene – in fact, of the whole lot of issues unearthed from the excavations, 967 are local products (82%), whereas 219 coins are of foreign origin (18%).

| | 4 th century BC | Late 4 th /early 3 rd century BC | 3 rd century BC | 2 nd century BC | Total by region |
|--|----------------------------|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| | | | | | |

¹¹⁰⁹ Regling 1927 offers a detailed study of both silver and bronze coinages of Priene.

| | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|-----------------|------------------|-----------|------------------|
| Local | – | 1 AR, 75 | 2 AR, 323 | 1 AR, 289 | 4 AR, 687 |
| Thrace | – | 1 | – | – | 1 |
| Mysia | – | – | – | 1 | 1 |
| Aiolis | – | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| Ionia | 17 | 12 | 56 | 1 AR, 68 | 153 |
| Lydia | – | – | – | 1 AR, 2 | 1 AR, 2 |
| Karia | 2 | – | 3 | 2 | 7 |
| Royal | – | 1 AR, 6 | 6 | – | 1 AR, 12 |
| Total | 19 | 2 AR, 95 | 2 AR, 389 | 74 | 6 AR, 866 |

Table 84: regional provenance of single coin-finds at Priene

Most non-Prienean bronzes come from other Ionian mints, especially in the 4th century BC, when the city had not yet started its own civic bronze coinage. However, things did not change much in the following centuries, Ionia continued to be the most represented region among the foreign single finds at Priene (**Table 84**), with most coins coming from Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros and Miletos. In fact, these two cities account for 76% of all the 153 Ionian single coin-finds discovered at Priene for the 4th-2nd centuries BC (**Fig.188**).

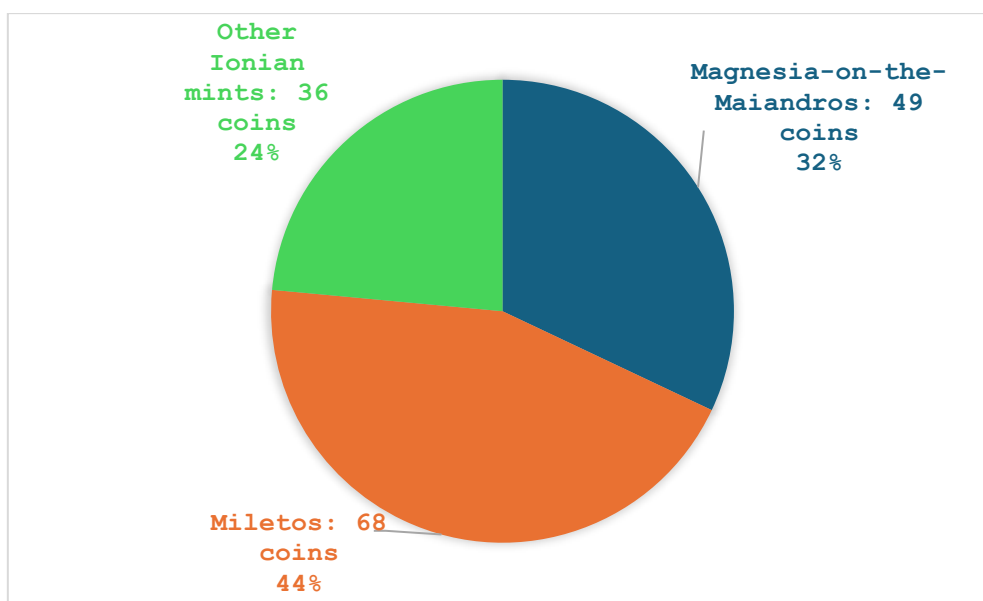


Fig. 188: mint origin of Ionian single coin-finds from Priene – 4th-2nd centuries BC

However, of particular interest is the discovery of Karian single finds at Priene – seven in total for the 4th-2nd centuries BC. By comparison, Kolophon and Ephesos have yielded only one coin each from this region. Together with the predominance of issues from Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros and Miletos, these Karian coins give Priene a decidedly more southern outlook compared to Kolophon and Ephesos, acting as a sort of “transitional area” between Ionia and Karia.

The presence of royal coinages at Priene is more strongly felt for the late 4th/early 3rd century BC, when issues in Alexander’s name and of the early Successors circulated in the city (including one coin from Ephesos-Arsinoeia). Their impact on the low-level exchanges, however, is strongly limited by the predominance of the local coinage. No Seleukid issues have been recorded, quite surprisingly, given the epigraphic evidence of Seleukid control over this city.¹¹¹⁰ On the contrary, Pergamon is represented by four bronze *Philetairoi* and, for the following centuries, by one *Athenas Areias* and one *Asklepiou Soteris*. Priene itself, however, never became part of the Attalid kingdom, although we know from a local 1st-century inscription that, among three saltpans north of the Maiandros valley, one had formerly belonged to the Attalid kings.¹¹¹¹ The presence of Attalid-owned land around Priene may have favoured economic exchanges between the kings and Priene itself, possibly helping Pergamene bronzes enter the low-level circulation of this city.

3.2.6. Karia

Excavations in Karia have yielded a small number of finds compared to the neighbouring Ionian sites. The more significant results come from three cities – Aphrodisias, Stratonikeia, and Iasos. The finds from Bargasa and Knidos, instead, amount to nineteen bronzes each, and attributions are not always certain (see **Appendix**).

3.2.6.1. Aphrodisias

¹¹¹⁰ Larichos inscription, from Antiochos I’s reign: *OGIS* 215; Gauthier 1980. Interactions between Priene and Zeuxis: Ma 1999: 346-9, docs. 32-3.

¹¹¹¹ *I. Priene* 111.112-23, 134-43.

Aphrodisias is an ancient settlement near a sanctuary of Aphrodite, on a tributary of the upper Maiandros River. Unfortunately, we do not know much about the earlier history of this site, but it was plausibly elevated to *polis*-status not before the mid-2nd century BC, either on the initiative of the indigenous landowners or of the Macedonian settlers.¹¹¹² Thus, only in the 1st century BC did Aphrodisias start its own civic coinage,¹¹¹³ which represents 84% of the sixty-eight finds from this site for the late Hellenistic period (see **Appendix**). The Achaemenid period, instead, has mostly yielded fractional silver coins, which consist of one issue from Erythrai, one Persian *siglos*, and one Mausolos coin. The two Achaemenid-period bronzes, instead, came from Erythrai and Halikarnassos. For the late 4th/early 3rd century BC, the excavations at Aphrodisias have discovered six Alexander silver coins, together with three Alexander bronzes, one Kassandros and one Demetrios Poliorketes bronze. Two further civic issues from Ephesos, with two more of Ephesos-Arsinoeia, are counted among the early Hellenistic single finds at Aphrodisias. The 3rd century-evidence from this city is also similarly predominantly of royal character – almost 80% of the single finds from this period are royal products, almost all Seleukid. Surely, the presence of Macedonian colonists from the late 4th century BC must have favoured the circulation of these many royal bronze coins. However, no concrete evidence has survived concerning Aphrodisias' relationship with royal authority in general, and the Seleukids in particular – considering its acquisition of *polis*-status only after 188 BC, Aphrodisias possibly belonged to the *chōra basilikē* before then, thus standing under direct jurisdiction of the kings. This would explain the predominance of royal coins in the excavations.

As for the foreign civic coins, 50% of them came from other Karian cities, but they were struck mostly in the 2nd century BC (**Table 85**). In the early Hellenistic period, instead, the finds are either Ionian or especially royal issues, with very few Karian coins (**Fig.189**). Once bronze production became a more widespread regional phenomenon in the 2nd century BC, the find evidence at Aphrodisias acquired a

¹¹¹² See Chaniotis 2010 for discussion on the date of foundation of the *polis* of Aphrodisias. Chaniotis 2010: 464) suggests that the promoters were Macedonian colonists; Ratté 2010 (*online version, accessed on 10/10/2024: <https://books.openedition.org/ausonius/2771?lang=en#:~:text=3Ongoing%20research%20continues%20to,out%20between%201995%20and%201998.>*) par. 7, instead, thinks that such a role was played by the indigenous aristocracy.

¹¹¹³ MacDonald 1992: nos. 27-37.

markedly Karian outlook. In particular, the coins found for the 2nd and 1st centuries BC show the networks of exchanges occurring in the Maiandros valley and in its proximity (**Fig.190**).

| | 5 th -4 th centuries BC | Late 4 th /early 3 rd century BC | 3 rd century BC | 2 nd century BC | Total by region |
|----------------|--|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| Local | – | – | – | – | – |
| Mysia | – | – | – | – | – |
| Ionia | 1 AR, 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 8 |
| Lydia | – | – | – | 1 | 1 |
| Karia | 1 AR, 1 | – | 1 | 7 | 9 |
| Phrygia | – | – | – | – | – |
| Royal | 1 AR | 6 AR, 8 | 14 | 1 | 8 AR, 15 |
| Total | 3 AR, 2 | 6 AR, 10 | 18 | 11 | 8 AR, 33 |

Table 85: regional of single coin-finds at Aphrodisias

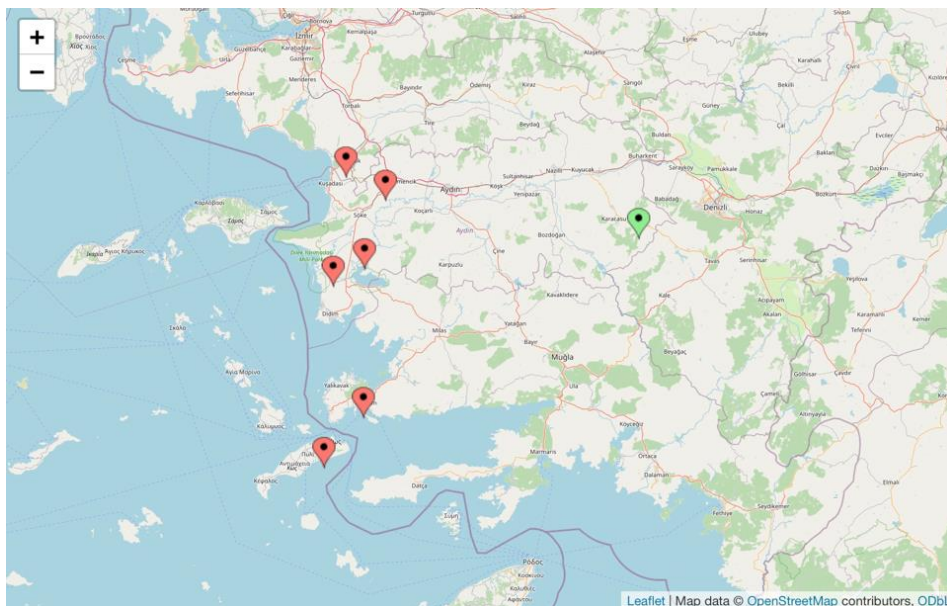


Fig. 189: foreign mints at Aphrodisias: 4th-3rd c. BC (*Aphrodisias in green*)

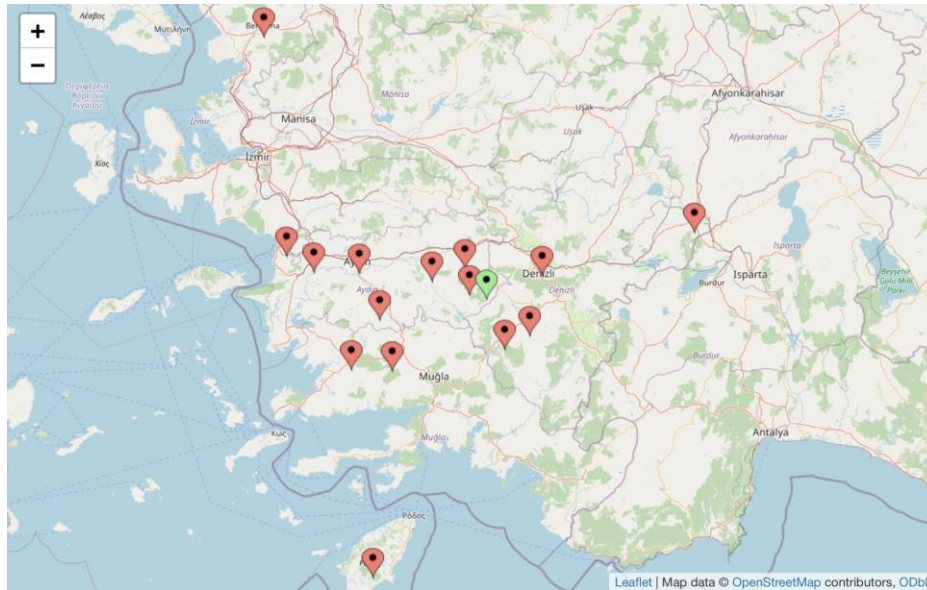


Fig. 190: foreign mints at Aphrodisias: 2nd-1st c. BC (*Aphrodisias in green*)

3.2.6.2. Stratonikeia

Stratonikeia is described by Strabo as a “κατοικία Μακεδόνων”, adorned with expensive buildings by the kings.¹¹¹⁴ Its exact date of foundation is unclear, although probably not before Antiochos II, as Seleukid control over Western Karia is unattested before the mid-3rd century BC.¹¹¹⁵ Even though Strabo’s description alludes to a fully Macedonian settlement in a Karian landscape, Debord’s and van Bremen’s studies have shown a substantial continuity of the constituent parts of Stratonikeia with the neighbouring Karian villages.¹¹¹⁶ Control of this city did not remain Seleukid for long, as Stratonikeia became a Rhodian possession at some point before 201 BC, when it was lost to Philip V.¹¹¹⁷ During

¹¹¹⁴ Str. 14.2.25.

¹¹¹⁵ Cohen 1995: 268-69.

¹¹¹⁶ Debord 1994; van Bremen 2000.

¹¹¹⁷ Liv. 33.18.1-3.

Antiochos III's reconquest of Karia, the city was recovered by the Seleukids and donated to the Rhodians once again.¹¹¹⁸

Stratonikeia began its civic coinage possibly around the later 2nd century BC, although no certain starting date is easy to pinpoint.¹¹¹⁹ Excavations in this city have retrieved ninety-six pre-Roman coins, which are however yet to be catalogued.¹¹²⁰ We are in a better position with the surrounding villages, which connect Stratonikeia to the sanctuary of Hekate at Lagina. Among these sites, Börükçü has yielded the greatest number of single finds – 150 bronze, fifty-eight silver, and one electrum issue in total, against seventeen bronzes from Beybağ, Bozukbağ, Kurudere, Tepecik, and Hankuyu combined.

| | 5 th century BC | 4 th century BC | Late 4 th /early 3 rd century BC | 3 rd century BC | 2 nd century BC | Total by region |
|----------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Local | – | – | – | – | 29 | 29 |
| Troas | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| Mysia | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| Aiolis | 3 AR | – | – | – | – | 3 AR |
| Lydia | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| Ionia | 50 AR | 2 | 10 | 5 | 15 | 50 AR, 32 |
| Karia | 2 AR | 1 AR, 17 | – | 3 | 14 | 3 AR, 34 |
| Kilikia | – | – | – | – | 1 | 1 |
| Royal | 1 EL | 2 AR | 47 | 7 | – | 1 EL, 2 AR, 54 |
| Total | 1 EL, 55 AR | 3 AR, 19 | 57 | 15 | 59 | 1 EL, 58 AR, 150 |

¹¹¹⁸ Pol. 30.31.6: Στρατονίκειαν ἐλάβομεν ἐν μεγάλῃ χάριτι παρ' Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Σελεύκου.

¹¹¹⁹ See Meadows 2002: 113-16.

¹¹²⁰ See Appendix for bibliographic reference.

Table 86: foreign single coin-finds at Börükçü

Quite predictably, having begun so late, Stratonikeian coinage represents not even 20% of all 150 bronze finds at Börükçü (**Table 86**). From the 5th century BC, one electrum and fifty-five silver coins have survived, fifty of which coming from Miletos. For the following periods, the number of silver issues decreases dramatically (only three in total), while bronze becomes more abundant. Before the 2nd century BC, few regional coins circulated at Börükçü – three issues from Mylasa from before the 4th century BC, and few coins from the islands and the coast (especially Kos and Rhodes). The later coinage of Mylasa (which spanned from 200 to 30 BC)¹¹²¹ has survived with ten samples. Overall, from the 4th to the 2nd century BC, Börükçü appears as a Southern Ionian/Karian site. Almost 50% of the sixty-eight total civic foreign finds excavated there are in fact from Ionia, almost all from Miletos alone, with also some issues from Ephesos and Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros.

Having been a royal possession for most of the Hellenistic age, the impact of royal coinages is strongly felt especially in the late 4th/early 3rd century BC, with a significant number of coins in the name of Kassandros and in particular of Demetrios Poliorketes. These royal Macedonian bronzes represent around 30% of the 150 bronze finds from Börükçü. The 3rd century BC has preserved significantly fewer royal issues – seven in total, against the forty-seven coins from the early Hellenistic age. Even though Stratonikeia was a Seleukid foundation, the excavations at Börükçü have yielded only one Seleukos I and two Antiochos II bronze issues. The sanctuary of Lagina offers a similar picture, insofar as the royal bronzes represent most of the finds before the 2nd century BC (69% of nineteen coins), but Seleukid issues amount to only three samples. Rhodian impact on the low-level circulation, instead, is almost imperceptible – coins from this island only represent 10% of all combined finds from Lagina, Börükçü, and all the other villages on the Sacred Road.

¹¹²¹ Akarca 1959: nos.20-37.

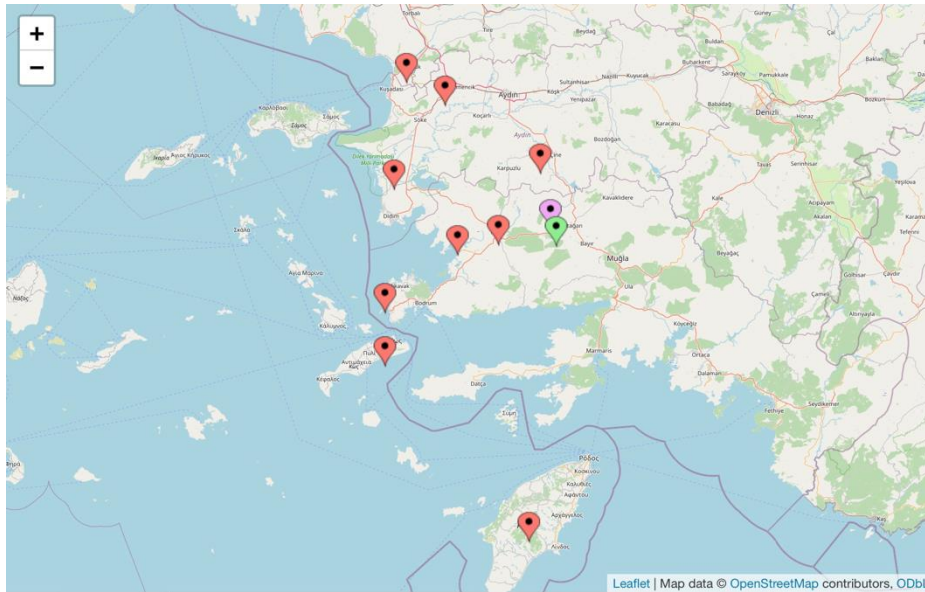


Fig. 191: mints represented at Stratonikeia and Lagina – 4th-1st centuries BC (*Stratonikeia* in green; *Lagina* in purple). Tarsos and Amisos not included

3.2.6.3. Iasos

Iasos was a Ptolemaic possession from the early Hellenistic period until at least the first half of the 3rd century BC.¹¹²² By 197 BC, the city shifted to Seleukid suzerainty, although it is not clear exactly when this occurred. The epigraphic evidence concerning the benefactions and honours between Iasos, Antiochos III and Laodike III, presents this city as enjoying *eleutheria*, *autonomia*, and possibly also relief from royal garrisoning, all thanks to Antiochos III's intervention.¹¹²³

Iasos' production of bronze coinage is attested already in the late 5th/early 4th century BC with few issues preserved in the Phygela hoard, but it became more vigorous from the late 4th century BC, continuing without interruptions.¹¹²⁴ Delrieux has individually catalogued 108 coins of Iasos discovered in the excavations of this city – two silver and 106 bronze – which constitute 61% of the 176 single coin-finds from between the 4th and 2nd century BC (**Table 87**).

¹¹²² Bagnall 1976: 91-2.

¹¹²³ Laodike's letter to the Iasians and decree of the city: *I. Iasos* 4; Ma 1999: doc. 26. Decree of the Iasians in honour of Antiochos III: *OGIS* 237; Ma 1999: doc. 28.

¹¹²⁴ Ashton 2007.

The foreign civic finds, instead, attest to a southern Ionian/Karian orientation of Iasos (**Table 87; Figs.192-193**), whereas the bronzes in Alexander's name flooded the low-level circulation of this city in the early Hellenistic period, showing the impact of royal garrisoning in Iasos. Instead, only one Antiochos III bronze from Sardis is attested at Iasos for the 3rd century BC.

| | 4th century BC | Late 4th/early 3rd century BC | 3rd century BC | 2nd century BC | Total by region |
|---------------|--------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Local | 1 AR, 4 | – | 1 AR, 49 | 53 | 2 AR, 106 |
| Thrace | – | 1 | – | – | 1 |
| Troas | 1 | – | – | – | 1 |
| Mysia | – | – | – | – | – |
| Aiolis | – | – | – | – | – |
| Lydia | – | – | – | – | – |
| Ionian | 2 | 3 | 8 | 4 | 17 |
| Karia | 2 | 3 | 4 AR, 5 | 3 AR, 1 | 7 AR, 11 |
| Royal | – | 30 | 1 | | 31 |
| Total | 1 AR, 9 | 37 | 63 | 58 | 9 AR, 167 |

Table 87: foreign single coin-finds at Iasos by provenance and century

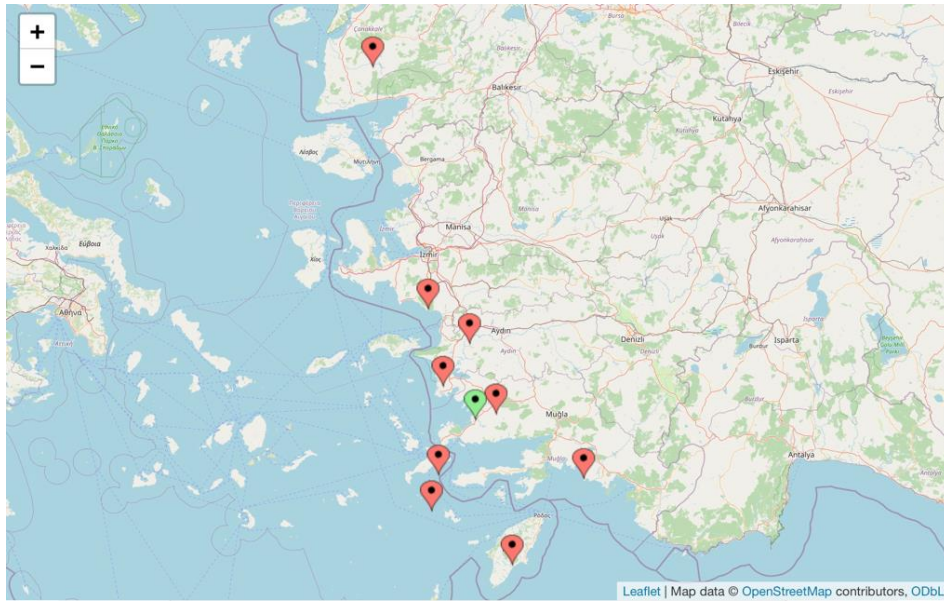


Fig. 192: foreign mints at Iasos: 4th-3rd c. BC (*Iasos in green*)

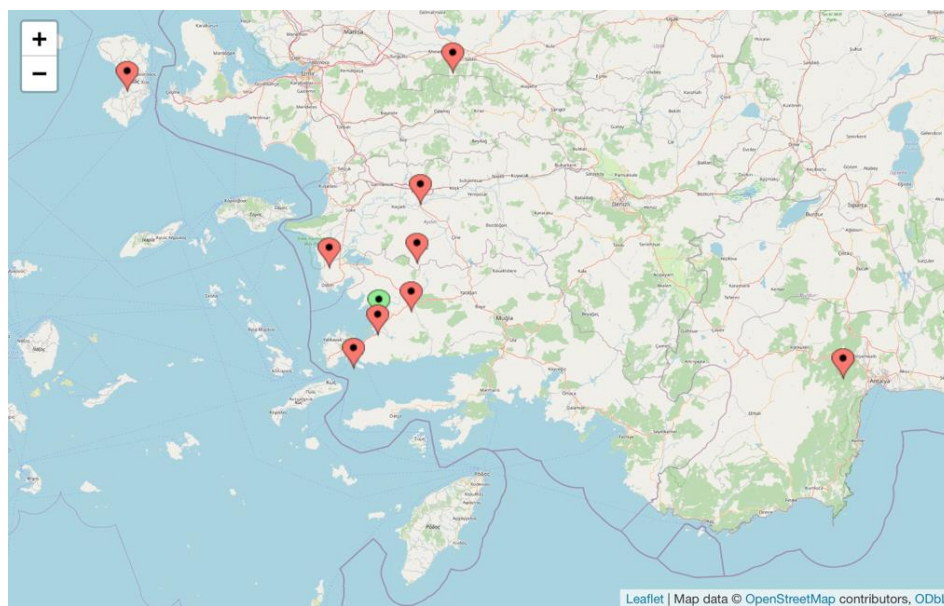


Fig. 193: foreign mints at Iasos: 2nd-1st c. BC (*Iasos in green*)

Section 3.3. Commentary on the single find evidence from Western Asia Minor

The pseudo-Aristotelian anecdote of Timotheos' payment of his troops with bronze coins – and the soldiers' subsequent angry reaction to it –¹¹²⁵ is representative of both the custom, current in the 5th century BC, of resorting to bronze coins especially in times of economic difficulties, and of the diffidence individuals expressed towards them as a means of payment.¹¹²⁶ Athens is also known to have used bronze issues late in the Peloponnesian war as an emergency measure.¹¹²⁷ We do not have evidence of a similar lack of trust towards bronze in Western Asia Minor, although we can assume that, at least in the beginning, a certain diffidence was not uncommon. Admittedly, at first glance, the more than 300 bronze issues from the Phygeia hoard, dated around 400 BC, suggest a significant usage of bronze in lower-level transactions in Western Asia Minor already in the late 5th century BC. As Koray Konuk has convincingly argued, however, this hoard was probably connected to emergency military payments made in the years of conflict between Sparta and Persia.¹¹²⁸ Before the mid-4th century BC, almost everywhere in Western Asia Minor, in fact, the preferred medium of exchange for low-level transactions was silver, which represents 81% of all single coin-finds from this period (**Table 88**).

| | Gold | Electrum | Silver | Billon | Bronze |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Troas | | | 8 | 1 | 4 |
| Aiolis | | | 4 | | |
| Mysia | | | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Lydia | 2 | 2 | 9 | | |
| Ionia | | 2 | 8 | | 8 |
| Karia | | 1 | 60 | | |
| | | | | | |
| Total | 2 (2%) | 5 (4%) | 91 (81%) | 2 (2%) | 13 (11%) |

Table 88: single coin-finds from Western Asia Minor (late 5th-early 4th century BC)

¹¹²⁵ Ps.-Ar. *Oecon.*, 2.1350a.

¹¹²⁶ Marcellesi 2010.

¹¹²⁷ Robinson 1960: 13-4.

¹¹²⁸ Konuk 2011b: 154-57.

On the contrary, the second half of the 4th century BC marks a dramatic change, as the number of single bronze finds in the excavations increases exponentially, to the detriment of the other metals (**Fig. 194; Table 89**). Bronze coins thus started to enjoy a much wider use in both Western Asia Minor and mainland Greece – de Callataÿ has famously talked of an “Absolute Preponderance of Bronze Coins in the 4th century BC”.¹¹²⁹ The advantages of their employment were evident – the adoption of bronze for small issues allowed states to save precious bullion for more valued coins, like drachms and tetradrachms, which had little use for everyday purposes.

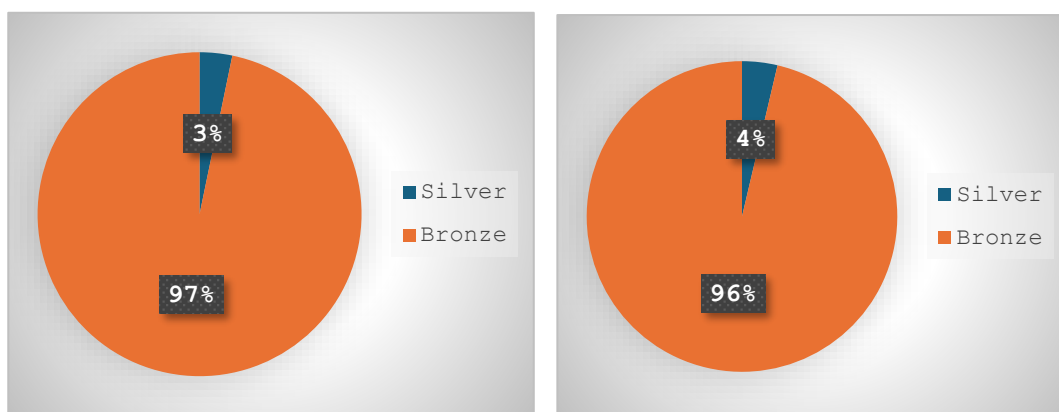


Fig. 194: percentages of silver and bronzes in excavation sites: 4th century, no. = 431 (*left*); late 4th-early 3rd century BC, no. =1088 (*right*)

| 4 th century BC | | | | | | | |
|--|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------------------|
| | Troas | Aiolis | Mysia | Lydia | Ionia | Karia | Total |
| Silver | 1 | – | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 14 (3%) |
| Bronze | 159 | 11 | 23 | 16 | 177 | 31 | 417 (97%) |
| Late 4 th -early 3 rd century BC | | | | | | | |
| Silver | 12 | 2 | 1 | 11 | 6 | 8 | 40 (4%) |
| Bronze | 204 | 12 | 142 | 166 | 402 | 122 | 1048 (96%) |

¹¹²⁹ de Callataÿ 2006: 178.

Table 89: single coin-finds from Western Asia Minor by metal and region of discovery (4th and late 4th-early 3rd centuries BC)

The increasing diffusion of bronze coins in Western Asia Minor also corresponds to a dramatic increase of the number of single coin-finds for the late 4th/early 3rd century BC – the excavations have retrieved 1088 total issues from this period, against the 113 from the late 5th/early 4th century BC. A higher number of single finds suggests a greater production and, especially, use of coins in low-level transactions in the 4th century BC – nonetheless, it is uncertain how much more monetised Western Asia Minor became after the introduction of bronze issues. In fact, the number of single finds from the 5th-early 4th century BC may not perfectly reflect the actual number of coins in circulation at the time – silver was the predominant metal in that period, and users tried to recover a lost silver coin with more effort compared to a bronze issue.¹¹³⁰ Furthermore, barter economy still played a significant role in the Hellenistic period. A passage from a mid-3rd-century-BC-decree from Gortyn, reads:

“If anyone accepts silver obols, or refuses to accept the bronze coinage, or *sells anything in exchange for grain* (my italics), he will be fined five silver staters.” (Austin no. 123)¹¹³¹

As Thonemann has rightly observed, the city of Gortyn was not only trying to prevent people from accepting silver obols, but also from using commodities as a means of exchange.¹¹³² We do not know whether the intervention of the city-state eventually proved successful or not, but it certainly shows that in the Hellenistic period low-level transactions still occurred without coins at all. Admittedly, Gortyn itself issued its first civic bronze coins relatively late, around 300-250 BC, which may explain the struggle the locals faced to accept this medium in the mid-3rd century BC. By comparison, bronze coin production had started much earlier in Western Asia Minor, and by the mid-3rd century BC a good

¹¹³⁰ The woman from the Parable of the Lost Coin (Luke 15: 8-9) shows exactly how willingly people put the time and effort to find a dropped silver drachm. Looking for a bronze coin, instead, was not as worthy of people’s time and energy.

¹¹³¹ *I. Creticae* iv, no. 162, ll.3-8: νομίσματι χρῆτ- | θα]ι τῶι καυχῶι τῶι ἔθηκαν ἅ πόλις· τὸ δ’ | δ’ ὀδελὸνς μὴ δέκετθαι τὸνς ἀργυρίος. | αἱ δέ τις δέκοιτο ἢ τὸ νόμισμα μὴ λείοι | δέκετθαι ἢ καρπῶ ὀνίοι, ἀποτεισεῖ ἀρ- | γύρω πέντε στατηῆρας.

¹¹³² Thonemann 2015: 129.

number of transactions was likely occurring with coins. However, no clear evidence from this period illustrates the role barter economy played in Western Asia Minor, although its disappearance, especially in non-urban spaces, is highly unlikely.

The analysis of the excavation evidence has shown, further supported by the chart below, that the cities that minted civic bronze coins from the 4th century BC have usually yielded fewer foreign coins than local ones (**Fig.195**). This is especially true for the cities of Ionia, Troas – except for Ilion – and for Pergamon. Greater availability of local bronzes in a city surely explains their predominance over foreign issues. However, either because of an awareness of the superior value of the local coins, or of actual laws that overvalued the local coinage to protect it against external issues, people from other cities were deterred from bringing their own bronzes in any great quantities. The fiduciary value of bronze coins, in fact, encouraged their use within the confines of the cities that produced them. The hoards that contain bronze issues from Pergamon, Sardis, and Priene (see **Appendix**) further illustrate the preference for local coins – when hoarding a store of wealth, the citizens of a *polis* considered it more convenient to hoard local coins rather than foreign ones.

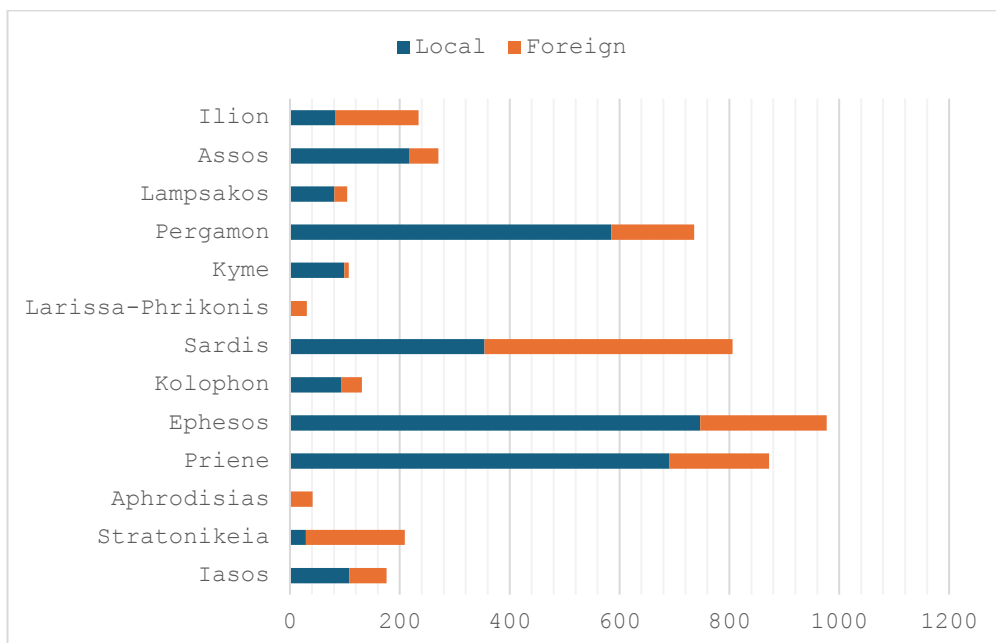


Fig. 195: local vs. foreign coins in Western Asia Minor from 5th/4th century BC to 2nd century BC

Admittedly, the cities that have yielded fewer local issues than foreign started their own bronze coinage relatively late. Ilion's first bronzes date to around the late 4th century BC; Sardis' probably to around the second half of the 3rd; Aphrodisias' and Stratonikeia's to the late 2nd-1st centuries BC. Before producing their own bronze series, these cities imported issues from different sources, either from neighbouring mints, or from royal authority. The political status of these places certainly played a determining factor – Sardis was the Seleukid capital in the West; Aphrodisias and Stratonikeia were originally Graeco-Macedonian settlements, the former acquiring *polis*-status only late in the 2nd century BC.

The strong predominance of the local coinage also extended to the *chōra* of cities, including their sanctuaries. As **Fig.196** shows, with the interesting exception of the “Felsheiligtum Ost” of Priene, the Smintheion in the Troas, the sanctuary of the *kourotrophos* at Kyme, the Asklepieion and Kapıkaya at Pergamon, Klaros, Didyma, and the sanctuary of Hekate at Lagina have all yielded mostly or almost only local civic bronzes. Royal issues, instead, are almost absent – this is particularly glaring for Didyma, which has yielded no Seleukid coins, despite the close relationship between this sanctuary and the Seleukids.¹¹³³ The single coin-finds in these cult centres come from votive deposits and other contexts, probably dropped or lost there by pilgrims attending the religious festivals and the fairs occurring during the festivities.¹¹³⁴ As the contents of the purse lost near Didyma (*CH* 8.520) show, pilgrims reached the sanctuaries from other parts of the Greek world, bringing foreign bronze coins with themselves. It is thus surprising that local civic coins are vastly dominant even in the bigger and more famous sanctuaries. This could either suggest that the greater percentage of visitors came from the city to which the cult centre belonged; or that moneychangers operated at sanctuaries, thus entailing a stronger preference for the local bronze coinage for transactions at the religious festivals.

¹¹³³ Appian (*Syr.* 56) reports that Seleukos I consulted the oracle of Apollo Didymeion while he was still serving under Alexander, and there he received the prophecy that he would become king at the place where he would lose his ring. Appian is only one among numerous sources attesting to the closeness of the Seleukid dynasty with this sanctuary. For example, two Milesian decrees (*OGIS* 213; *SEG* 4.442) refer to the effort Seleukos I, Apame, and Antiochos I put into rebuilding the temple. In 288/7 BC Seleukos and Antiochos also donated a large number of votive offerings to Didyma (*OGIS* 214 = *RC* 5).

¹¹³⁴ See Chandezon 2000. Transactions in sanctuaries could range from something as banal as the purchase of snacks to the payment for sacred rites (see Knapp & Isaac 2005: 11ff.).

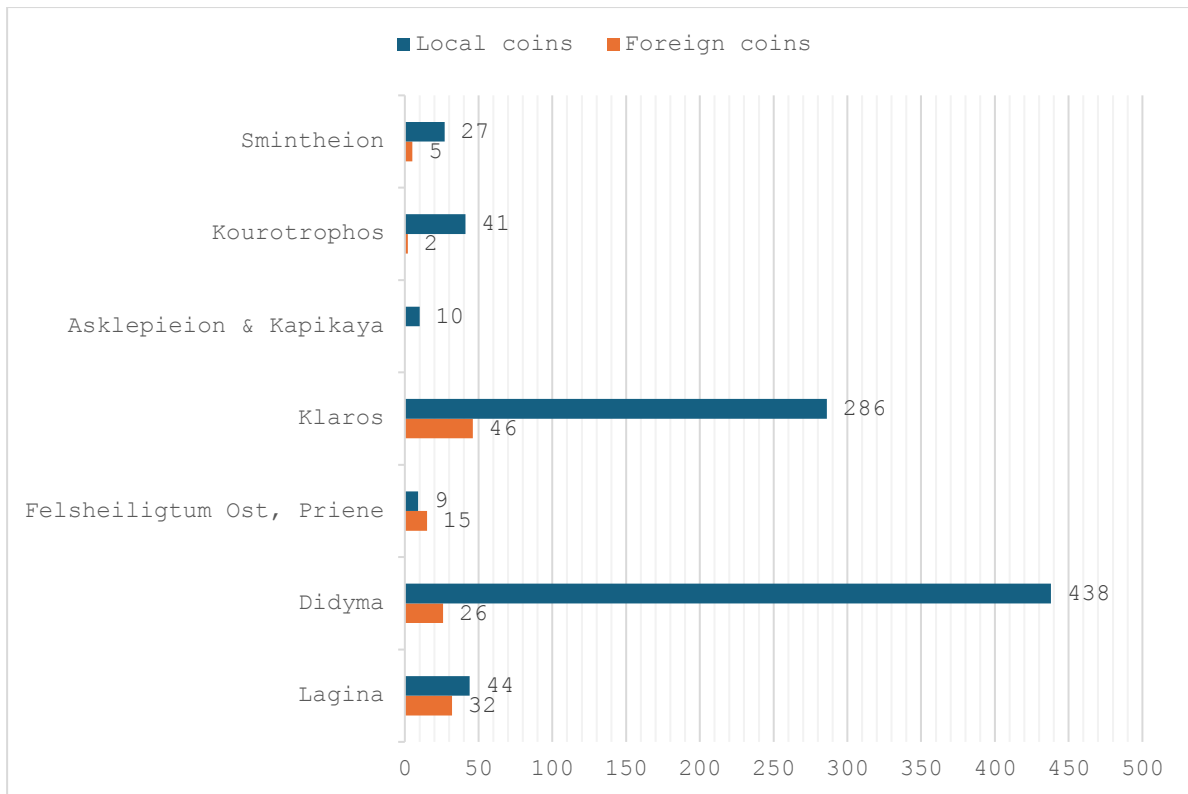


Fig. 196: local vs. foreign bronze coins in urban sanctuaries

Overall, a city and its *chōra*, especially when a longer tradition of bronze coin-production was in place, formed a sort of “bubble”, where the foreign civic coinages circulated with greater difficulty compared to the local civic ones. Nonetheless, bronze coins did travel far from their mint of origin, as Çizmeli-Öğün and Marcellesi have already illustrated.¹¹³⁵ The excavations in Western Asia Minor show that bronze coins mostly circulated within a regional context. Geographic collocation naturally played an important factor in the orientation of a city – Kolophon and Ephesos, for example, drew foreign coins mostly from the North, while Priene was oriented towards the mints of Southern Ionia and Northern Karia. Nonetheless, circulation patterns more or less remained unchanged throughout the last three centuries BC, except for the appearance of new coins from the Anatolian hinterland from the late 2nd century BC onwards.

The extra-urban sites, instead, not producing their own bronze coinage, have predictably only yielded issues from the neighbouring cities. For example, Allianoi, a site 18 km from Pergamon, mostly

¹¹³⁵ Çizmeli Öğün & Marcellesi 2011.

received coins from Aiolis in the 4th century BC, but, with the rise of the Attalid capital as a serious political power in the 3rd century BC, Pergamene bronzes became the predominant currency at Allianoi, as they represent almost half of the pre-Roman finds from this site – twenty-two coins out of forty-one (see **Appendix**).

On the contrary, the extra-urban sanctuary dedicated to the *Mētēr Theōn* on Mamurt Kale,¹¹³⁶ at roughly 30 km Southeast of the Attalid city, has yielded few Pergamene coins. Despite the importance of this sanctuary for the Attalids, with Philetairos even launching a building-project there, the twenty-five pre-Roman finds from Mamurt Kale come from both Mysian and Lydian cities (**Fig.197**). Coins minted at Pergamon are only six – one *Philetairou*, two *Asklepiou Soteris* and three civic issues – possibly due to the longer distance separating this sanctuary from Pergamon compared to Allianoi. Furthermore, Mamurt Kale shows that a cult centre not belonging to the *chōra* of a *polis* was more “open” to several civic coinages compared to an urban sanctuary like the Asklepieion or Klaros, where the local coinages were vastly the predominant currency.

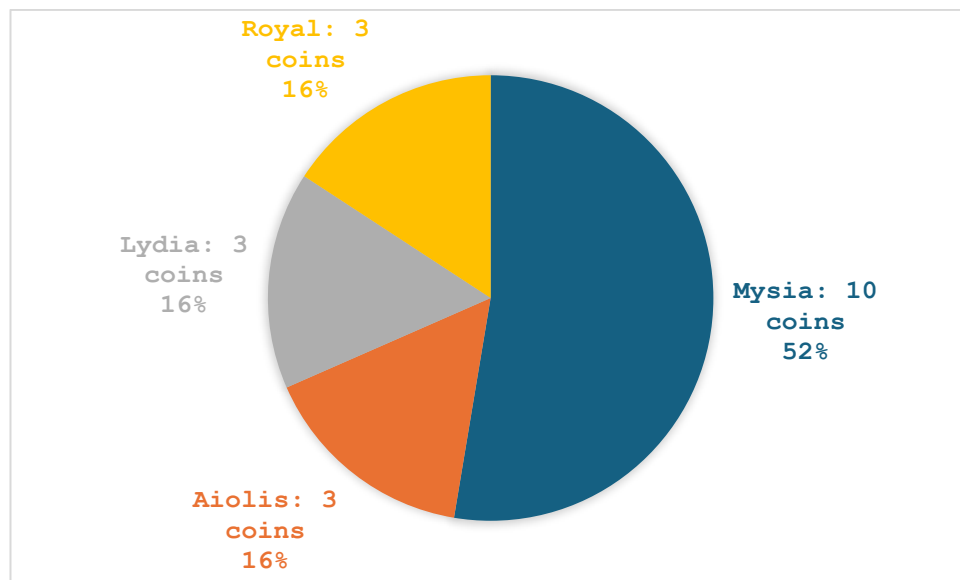
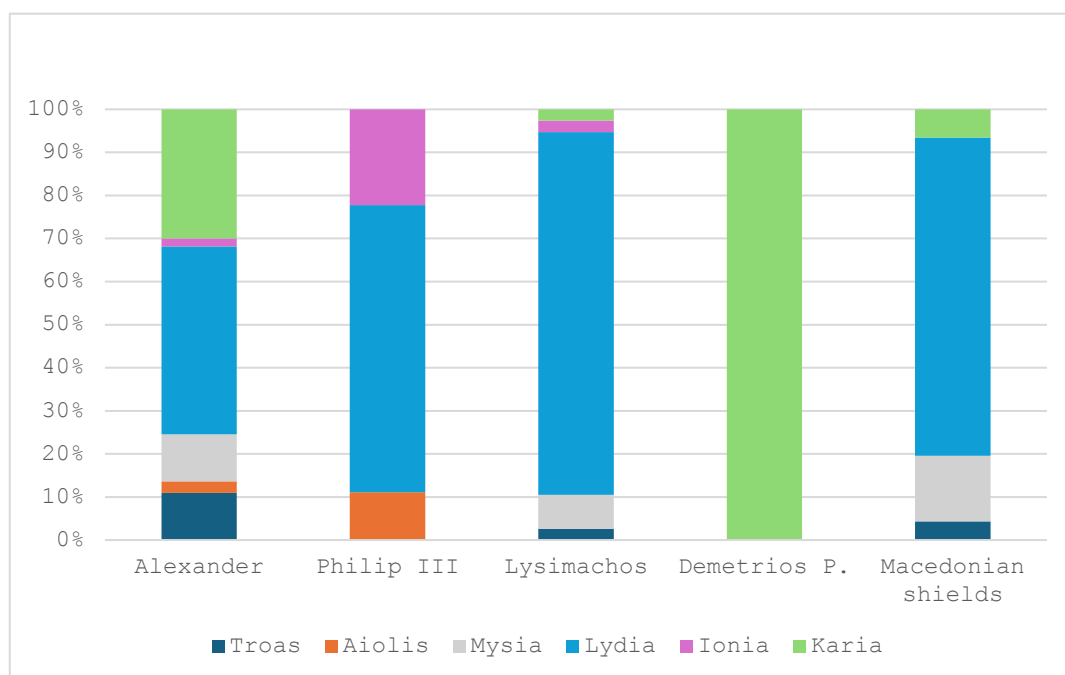


Fig. 197: provenance of single coin-finds with mint attribution at Mamurt Kale

¹¹³⁶ It is uncertain whether it was part of the *chōra* of a city or of royal land (see Schuchhardt 1912: 69-70, 95, 105-8, map 64), although the single find evidence suggests it was part of the latter.

As discussed in the **Introduction** of the thesis, the extra-urban territory of Western Asia Minor was also a land where many Macedonian soldiers were settled, either in garrisons or in *katoikiai*. For example, during the Hellenistic period, the settlers on Mount Nif in Ionia drew bronze issues from the lines of communication connecting Smyrna to Sardis, as, on both the northern and southern side of the mountain, many coins were drawn from Smyrna and Sardis, including both civic and royal issues. The official excavations coordinated by the University of Istanbul have also retrieved sixty-one bronzes of Philip III at Karamattepe, a necropolis on Mount Nif probably connected to Ballicaoluk castle, a Macedonian fort found North-West of the necropolis itself (see **Appendix**).¹¹³⁷ These numerous royal bronzes suggest that the presence of the Macedonian military contributed to an increased monetisation of the countryside of Western Asia Minor. Similarly, in Karia, the arrival of the Macedonian colonists at Aphrodisias and Stratonikeia marked the introduction of a much higher number of bronze coins than before.

Royal coins appear to have circulated in Western Asia Minor only from the early Hellenistic age. **Fig.198** shows how the Alexander and Diadochic single coin-finds are distributed by region. Overall, the highest percentages come from Lydia and Karia – in fact, a strong military presence was put in place at Sardis and its hinterland, and in the pre-*polis* space of South-Western Asia Minor.



¹¹³⁷ See also Ellis-Evans *et al.* 2022: 267-68.

Fig. 198: no. of Alexanders and Diadochic bronze coins by region

Among the Seleukids, Antiochos II is the best represented in the single find evidence – his Sardian bronze coins amount to 33% of all 355 Seleukid finds attested in Western Asia Minor (**Fig. 199, left**). Outside of Sardis, he is even better represented than the other Seleukids, with 55% of 170 total issues in his name (**Fig. 199, right**). Antiochos III comes second, especially with his so-called “elephant issues” from Antioch, which circulated with his military campaigns.

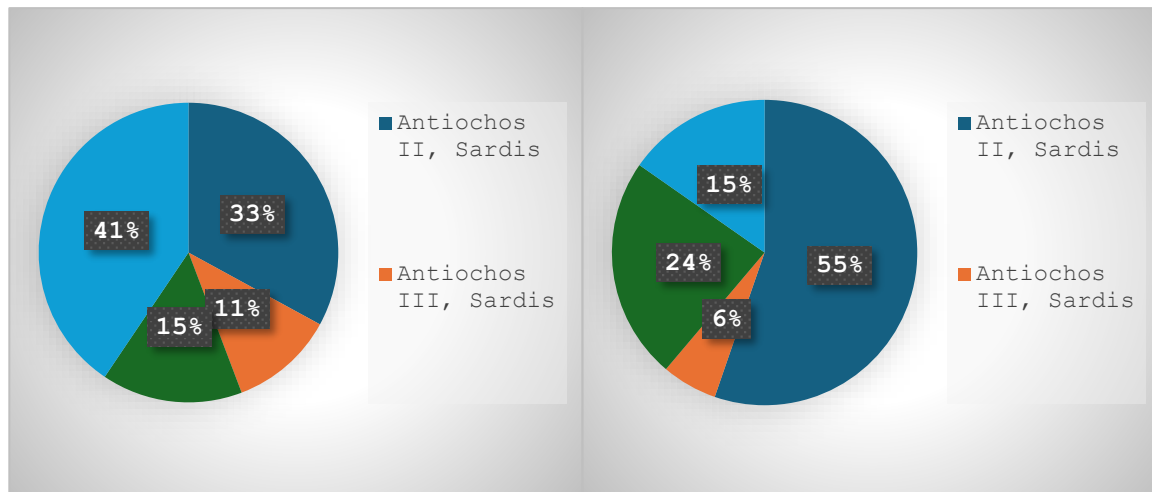


Fig. 199: left: distribution of Seleukid bronze coins by mints and rulers in Western Asia Minor (no. = 355). Right: distribution outside of Sardis (no. = 170)

However, one should not overstate Antiochos III’s impact on the low-level circulation of Western Asia Minor. While Seleukid military occupation of Koile Syria had coincided with an aggressive “invasion” of this region from Antiochene bronzes – entailing the disappearance of Ptolemaic bronzes –¹¹³⁸ in Western Asia Minor there is no evidence of an analogous phenomenon. Seleukid coins, in fact, are overall well represented only in the centres of royal power – namely, Sardis and Ephesos – while they are almost absent from Troas, and completely missing from Aiolis. Karia, especially with Aphrodisias,

¹¹³⁸ Duyrat 2016: 361-66.

has yielded some Seleukid bronzes, but nowhere near close to the numbers recorded for Sardis and Ephesos (Figs.200-201).

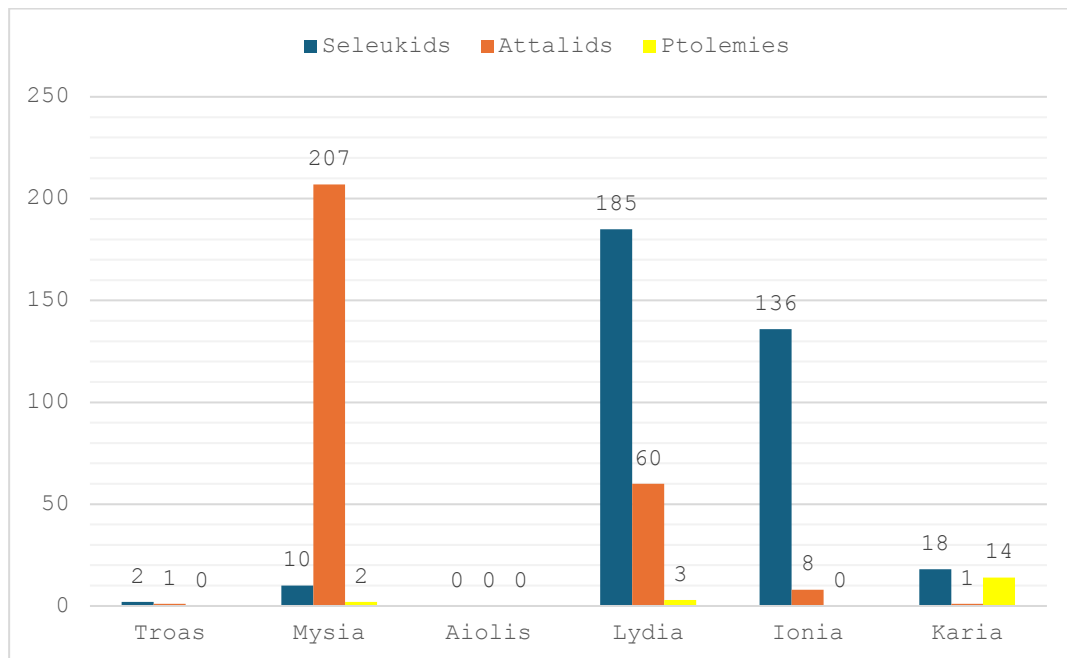


Fig. 200: distribution of royal bronze coins by region (3rd-early 2nd centuries BC)

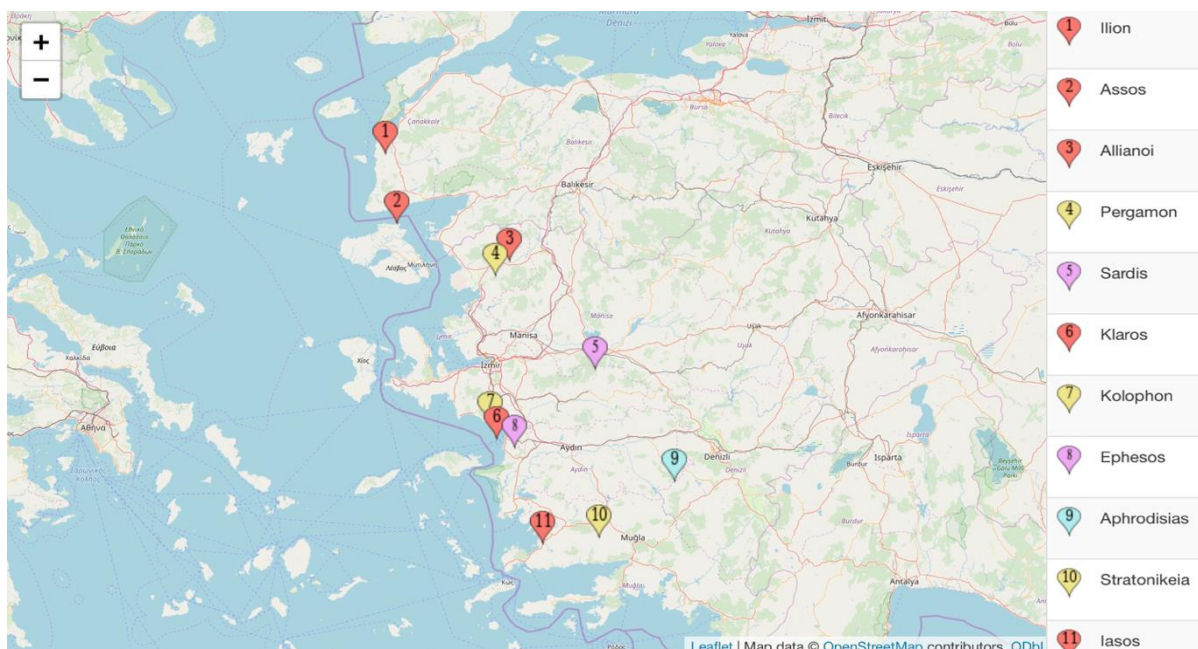


Fig. 201: Sites with Seleukid bronze coins (red=1-4; yellow = 5-10; blue=10+; purple=20+)

It is hard to explain the scarce representation of Seleukid coins, and of royal coins more generally. They do predominate in the extra-urban spaces, thanks to the settlement of Graeco-Macedonian soldiers, but it is difficult to evaluate their impact on the monetisation of the countryside. The average soldier living in an extra-urban garrison may have used the bronze coins he received as *sitarchia* to buy food and other products – however, given the small number of royal bronze coins found in rural areas, and the fact that the barter economy was still important, even in cities, it is uncertain how willingly local farmers or peasants sold their products in exchange for royal coinage rather than for goods in kind. Royal issues could sometimes enter the civic economies through exchanges between cities and *basilikē chōra* –¹¹³⁹ Priene, for example, has yielded bronze *Philetairoi* probably due to its proximity to Attalid salt-pans. No similar instances, however, have been recorded for Seleukid bronzes.

As for the *poleis* themselves, the ones under Seleukid control must have hosted royal troops – even the cities with *autonomia* and *eleutheria* were probably not always exempted from royal garrisoning.¹¹⁴⁰ The only *poleis* that received such an exemption from the Seleukids were Lysimacheia,¹¹⁴¹ Smyrna,¹¹⁴² Mylasa,¹¹⁴³ and possibly Iasos.¹¹⁴⁴ If the central military authority at Sardis paid these troops with royal bronzes from this mint, these soldiers would have presumably used them for everyday expenses in the city they were patrolling. However, the impact of royal coinages on the low-level circulation of cities is apparently almost non-existent, as if these coins ultimately disappeared into some unknown place. An epistolary exchange between Iasos and the Ptolemaic administration, however, shows this city had to contribute a *syntaxis* for the upkeep of royal garrisons in its *chōra*,¹¹⁴⁵ a part of which must have been in kind, but probably also in cash. It is possible that also the cities under Seleukid control were

¹¹³⁹ For epigraphic evidence on exchanges between cities and *basilikē chōra* see for example Zeuxis' letter to Herakleia-Latmos (Ma 1999: doc. 31).

¹¹⁴⁰ In *I. Iasos* 3, Iasos was granted *eleutheria* and *autonomia* by Ptolemy I, but it had to contribute a *syntaxis* for the payment of the garrisons in the *chōra* of the city (*I. Iasos* 3, ll.4-5: διελέγοντο δὲ καὶ ὑ[πὲρ συντά]- | [ξε]ω[ς] ἵνα τὴν [κ]αλω[ς] ἔχουσιν εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας συντελωσιν. Migeotte 2015: 204-5). Capdetrey 2007: 208 believes, *contra* Ma 1999: 160-65, that the benefits *eleutheria* and *autonomia* entailed were not necessarily uniform across the Seleukid empire, but depended “du contexte, des antécédents immédiats, de la capacité de négociation de la cité mais aussi de ses revendications conjoncturelles”.

¹¹⁴¹ *I. Ilion* 45 (281-261 BC).

¹¹⁴² *I. Smyrna* 576 (c.246-241 BC).

¹¹⁴³ Crampa 1969: no. 8 (240-220 BC).

¹¹⁴⁴ *I. Iasos* 4; Ma 1999: doc. 26 (196-195 BC). However, during the Roman-Seleukid war Iasos had a royal garrison (Liv. 37.17.3). Ma 1999: 163 suggests it might have been a temporary one – nonetheless, he recognises the king's power to impose a garrison on a “free” city.

¹¹⁴⁵ *I. Iasos* 2.

responsible for the maintenance of the royal garrisons, who were then paid with civic bronze coins. This certainly explains why *poleis* were happy, when in dire straits, to be relieved from the burden of royal troops. The Seleukids, on their part, probably did not mind that their garrisoning troops received local civic bronze issues, as these were more “powerful” and “prestigious” than royal bronze coins in a civic environment. The employment of civic types on the Ephesian bronzes of Antiochos II may even have represented a royal recognition of the “strength” of civic coinages within their minting *polis* (see **Section 3.1.3**). Furthermore, we have seen that at Kyme and Alexandria Troas, under Antiochos II and Antiochos Hierax respectively, royal silver tetradrachms shared several control-monograms with the civic bronze coinages. Admittedly, the nature of control-monograms on Hellenistic issues has been much debated –¹¹⁴⁶ if they indicate the mint-official responsible for the production of coins, then the royal tetradrachms and civic bronzes of these two cities were struck under the supervision of the same people. In this collaboration between civic and royal authorities, only civic, not Seleukid, bronze coins were produced, suggesting that these were meant as payment of the *sitarchia* for the garrisoning troops. The same presumably also occurred in Northern Syria, during the 220s BC, when the intensification of Seleukid military presence in the Aradian *peraia* led to the episode of “type-sharing” among the civic silver and bronze coinages of Karne, Gabala, and Simyra (see **Chapter 1**), rather than to the opening of new Seleukid bronze mints there.

The impact of the bronze coins of the Attalid dynasty on the low-level circulation of the cities was very similar to the Seleukids’. Once again, the bulk of the Attalid single finds comes from the centres of royal power, Pergamon and Sardis; outside of these two cities, instead, the numbers are even lower than for the Seleukids (**Fig.202**). Overall, **Fig. 202** suggests that the Attalid kingdom established a different “core” from the Seleukids, one located more in the North – the majority of Attalid finds, in fact, comes from Pergamon and Mysia, and Sardis. Ephesos has surprisingly yielded very few Pergamene bronzes, even though it was a kistophoric mint, and despite the important building works the Attalid kings carried out in this city.¹¹⁴⁷

¹¹⁴⁶ See de Callatay 2012a for an overview and discussion of the various interpretations of control-marks on royal Hellenistic coinages.

¹¹⁴⁷ Ladstätter 2019: 203-4.

Marcellesi has already observed that the circulation and number of single finds of both “deities’ coinages” is very similar to the *Philetairoi* (Fig. 203). However, I have discussed elsewhere in this chapter that it is difficult to ascertain how “royal” these two bronze series were, especially the *Asklepiou Soteris* one. Nonetheless, the 2nd century BC displays the same “Attalid core” as seen with the bronze *Philetairoi*.

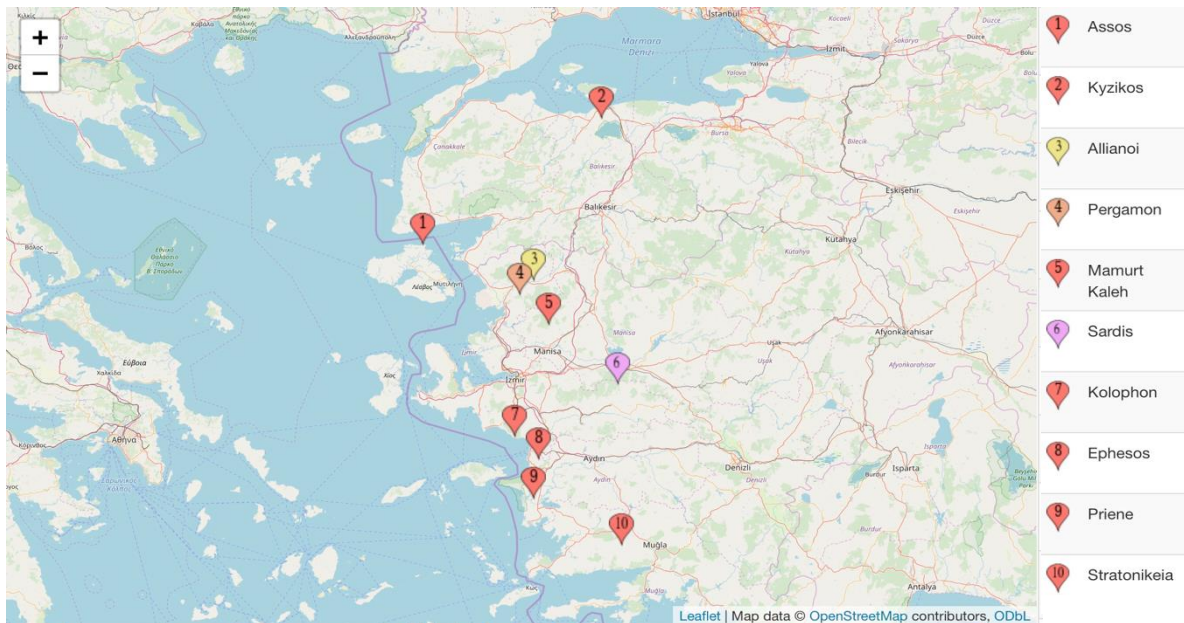


Fig.202: Sites with *Philetairou* bronze coins
(red=1-4; yellow = 5-10; purple=20+; brown=100+)

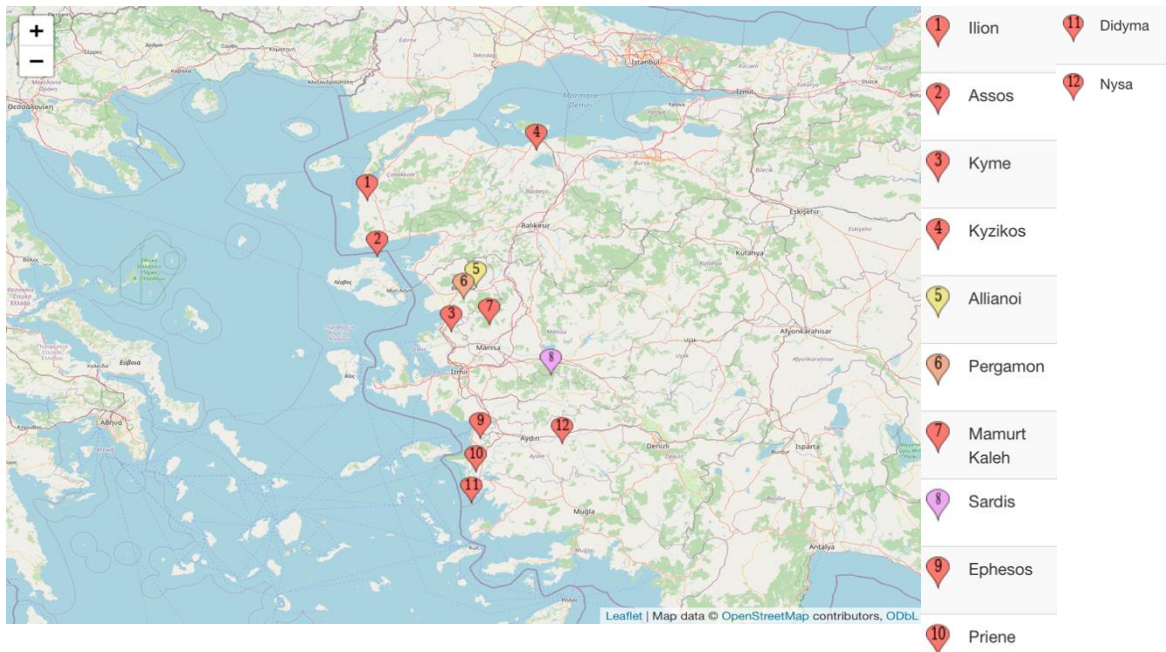


Fig. 203: sites with Pergamene “deities’ coinages”

(red=1-4; yellow = 5-10; purple=20+; brown=100+)

Furthermore, for the period after the Treaty of Apameia, the excavation results from Western Asia Minor have shown a general decrease of the coin-finds in every region. All sites but Pergamon and Aphrodisias have yielded fewer single coin-finds for the 2nd and 1st centuries BC than for the previous two centuries (**Fig. 204**). Philip Kinns` die study of the bronze coinage of Kolophon further underscores this point – an elevated number of dies for the late 4th century BC (eighty-five) is followed by a sharp decrease in the late 2nd and 1st centuries BC combined (fifty-two in total).

Admittedly, more evidence than this is needed to prove that the 2nd and 1st centuries BC saw a decrease of new bronze coins compared to earlier periods. Furthermore, even if this were true, it would hardly prove that a process of “demonetisation” of the low-level exchanges in Western Asia Minor occurred at the end of the Hellenistic era. The pilgrim’s purse from the Sacred Road on the way to Didyma (*CH* 8.520) contains – out of sixty-three identified coins – twenty-two and possibly even more issues from the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. This goes to show that bronze issues remained in circulation for a very long time. Their substantial production in the late 4th and 3rd centuries BC possibly made it unnecessary, later

on, to strike bronze coins with the same intensity as before. Were this the case, city-states in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC simply would have “topped-up” the low-level circulation with new bronzes. While ideological motivations, such as civic pride, played a role in the production of civic bronze coinages,¹¹⁴⁸ civic expenditure must also have prompted *poleis* to strike new issues, but **Fig. 204** below seems to suggest this was not a compelling factor in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC.

However, once again, this remains highly hypothetical, and more evidence – especially in the form of die-studies of bronze coinages – is needed to confirm it.

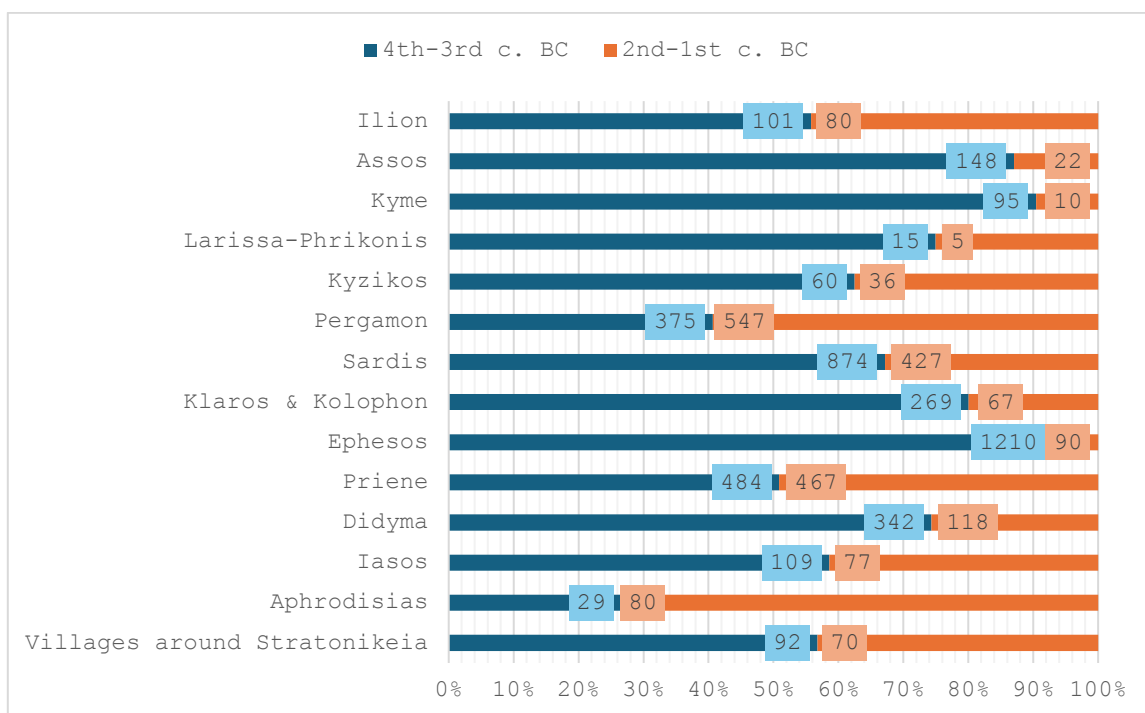


Fig. 204: no. of coin-finds from Early Hellenistic period vs. late Hellenistic period in Western Asia Minor

In this chapter I have discussed the evidence for bronze coin-production and circulation in Western Asia Minor, tracing continuities and differences especially for the period from the 4th to the 2nd century BC, albeit sometimes also extending the scope of the analysis beyond 133 BC. Throughout this analysis on the bronze coinages and site finds, we have seen how the 4th century BC witnessed an “explosion” of civic bronze coin-production, which occurred earlier in some regions than in others. Bronze coins

¹¹⁴⁸ See for example the Sestos inscription (*I. Sestos* 1*, ll. 43–49) with discussion and bibliographic references in Meadows 2014: 189-91.

mostly circulated within the minting city and its territory, including the urban sanctuaries. Overall, the *poleis* of Western Asia Minor formed some sort of “bubbles”, where foreign issues entered with some difficulty because of the higher nominal value of the local bronzes.

Except for the sporadic emission of “satrapal coins” in the late 5th century BC, royal bronze coins were produced and circulated in serious numbers only from the early Hellenistic age. The primary bronze mint for the Seleukids was Sardis, while most of the other producers lay in its proximity. The other subjected cities of Western Asia Minor, instead, did not issue any royal bronze coins, despite striking Seleukid precious issues. The royal bronzes from Sardis travelled through military movement, but one cannot tell whether they also travelled through commerce. It is difficult to imagine the life of a royal bronze coin in Western Asia Minor – was it ever used by soldiers for transactions outside of Sardis, and if so, how often? As royal coins are very rare in excavations, the answer seems to be: “almost never”. Thus, the archaeological evidence suggests that the *Diadochoi* and especially the Seleukids were unable, or unwilling, to impose a “universal” bronze coinage in this part of their empire. Instead, they mostly left production of bronze coins in the hands of the civic administrations. These, I have suggested, being in charge of the maintenance of the royal garrisoning troops, paid the soldiers with civic coins. Sardis, instead, kept striking royal bronze issues until the Seleukid administration did not cover the civic expenses anymore, and thus started its first civic bronze series. It is possible that the same dynamic occurred between the Attalids and Pergamon in the 2nd century BC, when the predominance of the local civic coinage in the city after 189 BC signals a “transfer” of responsibility over civic expenditure from the royal power to the city administration.

Overall, if in Western Asia Minor the Seleukids engaged with *poleis* that had been issuing coinage for almost a century before their arrival, Northern Syria was a space which this dynasty created almost *ex-nihilo*, and where the cities of the Tetrapolis only struck royal bronze coins.¹¹⁴⁹ The eventual dominance of Antioch over the rest of Syria and the Levant reflects a policy of centralisation of bronze coin-production and distribution that was facilitated especially by a lack of competition from preexisting civic coinages. The policy of concentrating bronze minting in one place certainly finds a parallel at

¹¹⁴⁹ Except for an early civic bronze series by Seleukeia-in-Pieria and Antioch under Seleukos I (see **Chapter 1**).

Sardis, but the distribution of the royal bronze issues in Northern Syria bears little resemblance to Western Asia Minor. If Syria describes Seleukid imperialism at its fullest, Asia Minor shows a “weaker” Seleukid authority, insofar as it chose to come to a compromise with the pre-existing realities in this part of the empire.

Conclusion

Throughout this thesis, I have attempted to demonstrate how analysing the numismatic evidence from Northern Syria and Western Asia Minor between the 5th and 2nd centuries BC can provide valuable insights into the functioning of Seleukid power in comparison to its predecessors and successors.

This *longue-durée* approach has enabled the present analysis to address the themes introduced at the beginning of the thesis – namely, coinage as a means of understanding the workings of an empire; coinage as a means of shedding light on the power relations between kings and subjects and how such a relationship could be expressed; and the reasons for producing coins. As will become clear in the following pages, these questions will inevitably be addressed simultaneously. In fact, our understanding of the structural characteristics of an empire is not only intrinsically connected to the relationships established by the sovereign power with its subjects, but it is also influenced by our understanding of the very functions performed by coinages.

The 5th and 4th century background

Analysing the numismatic material from Northern Syria and Western Asia Minor in **Chapters 1** and **2** allowed us to observe the characteristics of the Achaemenid approach. This served as a backdrop against which we could later compare the Seleukid system. In the two regions of the empire under study, the Achaemenids operated by delegating a large share of state expenditure to their subordinates. For the Phoenician cities of Northern Syria – given the size of their coinages and the denominations struck most frequently – this meant that a significant proportion of their coin-production probably financed the Achaemenid fleet, although the precise financial arrangements remain unclear. In **Chapter 2**, it was argued that the Achaemenids' decentralising approach in Western Asia Minor also led to a proliferation of minting in the early 5th century BC, as cities contributed to the expeditions against Greece in 490 and 480–479 BC. Similarly, the sheer scale of some civic issues in the 4th century BC, such as the tetradrachms of Ephesos and the electrum staters of Kyzikos, suggests that these large outputs were not solely intended to satisfy local needs, but were likely influenced by royal directives.

Consequently, pseudo-Aristotle's description of coin-production as being exclusively handled by the king may tempt us to use this kind of evidence to confirm the veracity of his statements.¹¹⁵⁰ While the present thesis did not endorse a maximalist reading of this passage, whereby decisions to produce all coinages were made at the royal level, it was nonetheless instructive to observe how pre-Hellenistic powers such as the Achaemenids or Athens with the Delian League could impact the production of coinages in cities under their authority. Admittedly, this did not always occur through top-down impositions from a higher authority. In fact, changes in the numismatic landscape may have resulted from cities simply adapting to different situations. Thus, **Chapter 2** noted that the highly centralised model of state expenditure of the Delian League was perhaps a decisive factor in the decline of high-value coinages from the early 5th century BC onwards. Specifically, it was suggested that the taxation and fleet financing system established by Athens, possibly in conjunction with the circulation of Athenian owls, rendered the production of high-value coinages “unnecessary” during the final three-quarters of the 5th century BC.

In contrast, the large civic coinages minted in the 4th century BC under the Achaemenids reveal different power dynamics and forms of interaction between civic and royal authorities. However, not all of these large issues were necessarily prompted by external requests to meet state expenditure. Local events, such as the conflicts involving Klazomenai in the 360s BC, which produced an important series of Attic-weight gold and silver coins,¹¹⁵¹ may have prompted the minting of these high-value coinages. Export of silver bullion to eastern markets or the need to finance building works, as was probably the case at Rhodes,¹¹⁵² were other factors that potentially contributed to the decision to mint silver issues above the drachm-denomination.

Admittedly, the fact that the pre-Hellenistic “proxy-coinages” often appear to be “civic” makes it more difficult to understand the numismatic evidence from the 5th and 4th centuries BC. Consequently, our interpretation of the numismatic material is generally informed by our views on the reasons for minting coinage. For example, this thesis generally supports the military factor as the likely explanation for the

¹¹⁵⁰ Ps.-Arist. *Oec.* 2.1345b7.

¹¹⁵¹ Kinns 1989: 184-86.

¹¹⁵² Ashton 2001: 92, 96.

production of many high-value coinages, but, if applied carelessly, it may risk overlooking the specifics of each situation.

However, the purpose behind the minting of a coinage and the power relations between a higher authority and the subject cities becomes clearer when there is explicit evidence of external involvement. Such is the case for the “satrapal coinages” bearing markings of both civic and satrapal authorities, like Mazaios' coinage at Sidon or the many issues of Persian dignitaries in Western Asia Minor during the 4th century BC. Another example of a coinage produced with external “interference” comes from Lysander's ΣΥΝ tridrachms, which, however, betray a more collaborative approach between the higher authority and the minting cities, rather than an imposition – thus, anticipating a type of arrangement that became commonplace in the Hellenistic period for the production of “civic” Alexanders.

Finally, we have seen that, despite largely relying on devolution of state expenditure, the Achaemenids did produce their own royal coinage – first in the form of *Dareikoi* and *sigloi* in the 5th century BC; and later with the so-called “Late Royal Coinages” in the 4th century BC. However, the production of these royal Achaemenid coins was largely a regional phenomenon, limited to Asia Minor. Therefore, there was clearly no empire-wide strategy concerning the production of royal coins under the Achaemenids. Nonetheless, the “Late Royal Coinages” set an important precedent for later Hellenistic royal coinages, as they were the first example of royal coins being produced through delegation to subordinates or local authorities.

The earliest instance of a similar arrangement came from the early Phoenician Alexanders, which featured mintmarks pointing towards collaboration between royal and civic authorities. Interestingly, however, the Alexanders of Western Asia Minor during and shortly after his lifetime bore no clearly identifiable mintmarks that could connect them to any specific place. As Meadows argues, while this makes attributing the mints difficult and uncertain, it also shows that the responsibility for their production lay wholly within the royal administrations.¹¹⁵³ Thus, the Alexanders of the early *Diadochoi* imply a level of centralisation in their production that was the opposite of what the Achaemenids had done with their “Late Royal Coinages.” However, this was not to last, as the production of “civic”

¹¹⁵³ Meadows 2021: 72.

posthumous Alexanders in Aiolis and Ionia in the early 3rd century BC seems to imply, probably in relation to Demetrios Poliorketes' activities in the area.¹¹⁵⁴

The Seleukids and their coinages

After this necessarily lengthy preamble, it is now time to draw some conclusions on the subject of interest to the present thesis – the Seleukids.

Throughout this analysis, I have attempted to demonstrate the difficulty of defining a univocal model of Seleukid monetary production and state expenditure that is applicable to the entire kingdom and the entire dynasty. In **Chapter 1**, we saw how the Seleukids in Northern Syria operated within a system in which most minting took place in the Tetrapolis under strong royal control. Nevertheless, their monetary approach was far from being simply “dirigiste”. Examples such as Laodikeia-by-the-Sea specialising in producing Alexanders from Seleukos I to Antiochos II, and control monograms appearing on certain mints' coinage but not on others', have led us to formulate the notion of a “centralised polycentrism” model of monetary production in Northern Syria. This expression was chosen to reflect the activity of several mints in this region that presumably operated independently from one another. However, it is unlikely that they held much decision-making power regarding the choice of denominations, the style of the royal portrait or how much coinage needed to be produced. The uniformity of the obverse and reverse types and the predominance of the tetradrachm denomination suggest that these decisions were most likely made at a higher level and that the various mint magistrates were merely executing royal orders.

At the same time, the “centralised polycentrism” system of Northern Syria could conceal substantial differences between the rulers of this dynasty over a period of just a few years. For example, Seleukos II established several temporary emergency mints in north-eastern Syria, produced his “civic” coins in Karne and Simyra, and adopted large bronze coins based on the Ptolemaic model. In contrast, Antiochos II only produced silver tetradrachms at Antioch and Laodikeia-by-the-Sea.

¹¹⁵⁴ See Ellis-Evans *forthcoming* (a): nn.33, 38.

These differences within the same dynasty become even more apparent when we compare the situation in Northern Syria in the 3rd century BC with that in the 2nd century BC. In fact, Seleukid production became centralised at Antioch, which had effectively become the capital of the region. However, the 3rd-century “centralised polycentrism” model did return, but only from the time of Alexander I Balas, when dynastic strife caused the political unity of this region and the Levant as a whole to crumble.

However, while there are sometimes considerable differences between the various members of the Seleukid dynasty within the same region, particularly from one century to the next; it is even more surprising to see how the organisation of coin-production in different regions could diverge significantly from each other under the same ruler. In fact, in **Chapter 2**, the concept of “centralised polycentrism” elaborated for for 3rd-century Northern Syria was difficult to apply to Western Asia Minor. Instead, two fundamentally different approaches could be outlined for this region – one “Sardian-centric”, under Antiochos I, Seleukos II and Antiochos III; and another of a strongly polycentric nature, emerging under Antiochos II and Hierax. Under the former approach, the royal mint of Sardis operated as the primary producer of Seleukid tetradrachms and occasionally drachms, also exercising strong influence over the artistic execution of coins produced by the other royal mints.

Antiochos II and Hierax, instead, adopted a polycentric approach, creating several “regional” minting units that coordinated their production of royal issues. The presence of civic mintmarks on the coins in their names, particularly those from the North-West, together with evidence of links to civic issues, suggests that this model involved the city’s administrators to a high degree. Overall, the decision by Antiochos II and Hierax to produce “civic” Seleukid coinage was significant, especially considering the evidence of this dynasty using Alexanders as contributions from the cities. In fact, a first minting episode had occurred in northwestern Asia Minor in the early 270s BC; other more famous examples, instead, come from Pamphylia and Arados later in the 3rd century BC.

The use of less “neutral” coin-types, such as the Seleukid ones, instead of the Alexanders, implied, if not the physical presence of a royal official at the civic mint, then certainly a greater degree of royal oversight than was probably necessary for the “civic” Alexanders. However, the regional patterns that emerge in the coinages of Antiochos II’s and Hierax’s coins in Western Asia Minor, with portrait- and reverse-types used specifically in certain regions instead of others, perhaps reflected decisions made

not only by the royal officials stationed in the various cities of the kingdom, but also by the civic administrators themselves. In fact, Antiochos II's coinages with types inherited from the end of his predecessor's reign (Antiochos I/Herakles seated on rock) that they may have been produced in the uncertain years of Antiochos II's early reign on the civic authorities' initiative, perhaps to pay for their own mercenaries or for the Galatian tribute.

However, the specific reasons why not all the 3rd-century Seleukid kings followed the same approach are ultimately obscure to us. As we have seen in **Chapter 1** for Northern Syria, differences in Seleukid spending organisation and strategies were strongly tied to the political landscape and to the current historical circumstances. Thus, we can only hypothesise that the same type of explanation can be offered to the adoption of different models of coin-production and state expenditure in Western Asia Minor. In fact, the "Sardian-centric" model – which focused on Sardis and its neighbouring mints, in combination with the exaction of contributions in the form of "civic" Alexanders – was adopted by Seleukid kings who either faced difficult circumstances in their early reigns, such as Antiochos I and Seleukos II, or were involved in the reconquest of Western Asia Minor, such as Antiochos III.

At the same time, in **Chapter 2** we observed how the 3rd century BC was characterised by a dearth in production of civic-looking coinages, especially in the regions that stood under Seleukid control with greater continuity. It is tempting to associate this phenomenon to centralised spending by the Seleukids, in combination with the spread of Alexanders – similarly to what had occurred in the 5th century BC under the authority of the Delian League. However, the civic character of the late-posthumous Alexanders shows that cities did continue to mint high-value coinages at various points of the 3rd century BC – either on their own initiative or prompted by either the Seleukids or the Attalids. Furthermore, if we look beyond the Seleukid example in Western Asia Minor, they continued to mint high-value coinages during the 2nd century BC, first with the Alexanders until c.150 BC, then with the so-called "Wreathed Coinages" – even though they were unlikely purely civic in character, as their very large size seems to imply.

What was even more striking, however, was the massive reduction in the number of civic silver fractional mints in the 3rd century BC from before – a phenomenon that is unlikely to be explained by the widespread popularity of the Alexanders. In fact, these were mostly produced on the tetradrachm

denomination, and they were thus too large for everyday economic exchanges. Conversely, it was suggested in **Chapter 2** that the increase in the number of hoards containing both silver and bronze coins or only issue in the latter metal possibly implied an increased popularity of coinages in this metal for the lower level of the economy.

Hoards and single finds

The inclusion of the hoard data and of the single coin-find evidence from Western Asia Minor and Northern Syria in the present analysis has allowed us to attempt to offer a more complete picture of the monetary economy of these two regions, from the 5th to the 2nd century BC. As a result, we were able to appreciate the continuities and differences over a long period of time.

The hoard evidence from the 5th and 4th centuries BC has allowed us to observe the circulatory patterns of coins and the meaning behind their movement – whether through commercial exchanges, human movement more in general, or more simply influence of cities over certain areas, as was the case for the Phoenician cities in the Achaemenid period (**Chapter 1**).

For the 5th and 4th centuries BC, it was also possible to appreciate the sharp separation between the royal and the civic coinages in hoards. In fact, in **Chapter 2**, we have seen how little mixing of civic and royal coinages occurred in the hoards of Asia Minor, despite the Persian *sigloi* being a “local” product of Western Anatolia. When instances of mixing did occur, it was probably in the context of treasure war chests meant for the payment of troops, like the Lacedaemonian ones at the end of the 5th century BC, during the “Ionian war”.¹¹⁵⁵

The advent of the Alexanders and of the other Hellenistic royal coinages, instead, brought forward a major paradigm shift for the types and origin of coins in hoards from both Asia Minor and Northern Syria. In fact, the hoards from the late 4th century BC and the 3rd century BC show a level of mixing of coinages from distant places, at a level that had never been observed before. Surely, this was the result of the Hellenistic royal coinages all adopting the Attic weight-standard, which became the international weight-standard of reference. However, it was at this point that the outlook of the contents of the hoards

¹¹⁵⁵ “Vourla?, 1875” (*IGCH* 1194).

from Western Asia Minor and Northern Syria diverged significantly. In fact, while in the latter region the dominant form of currency we find is of royal character; in the 3rd-century hoard data from Western Asia Minor, instead, we still observe a predominance of civic coinages. In fact, by expanding the geographical scope of the thesis, it was possible to see that the royal coinages that were produced in Western Asia Minor ended up in large numbers in hoards from Central and Southern Asia Minor, and in Northern Syria. This evidence has thus suggested to us that the royal coins found in hoards from the 3rd century BC did not reflect commercial exchanges, but rather the movement of troops – either Galatian or Seleukid. This was particularly noticeable when observing the influx of coins from Antioch during Antiochos III's campaigns in Asia Minor (**Chapter 2**); and with the transfer of western royal coins to Central Asia Minor and Northern Syria in the 190s BC – namely, with the return of Antiochos III's troops and of the Galatian mercenaries from Asia Minor following this king's various campaigns in this region and after the Seleukid withdrawal from Asia Minor in 188 BC.

Furthermore, the analysis of the hoard data has allowed us to gauge the “popularity” of Alexanders in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC in Northern Syria and from the regions of Asia Minor outside of its western fringe. Seleukid coins, instead, while appearing in a similar number of hoards as the Alexanders, they often constituted a minor portion of the contents of hoards. This certainly opens up questions about the reasons why the Seleukids minted their coinages. In the present thesis I hope to have shown that the Seleukids were not trying to monetise their economy, as Aperghis has tried to argue in strong terms.¹¹⁵⁶ In fact, the predominance of the tetradrachm denomination in the production of their coinage made the Seleukid issues generally unfit for everyday exchanges – this has led us to consider the military explanation as the most likely one. Nonetheless, one has to wonder if episodes of coin shortages and requests for minting of coinage to be handed to traders – like the one attested in the Ptolemaic official's letter to the *dioikētēs* Apollonios in 258 BC –¹¹⁵⁷ also ever occurred at the port cities of the Seleukids, like Laodikeia-by-the-Sea. Admittedly, episodes of coin shortages in the Seleukid empire probably tended to occur with much less frequency than in Ptolemaic Egypt, due to the latter's closed-currency area. Nonetheless, the specialisation of the Laodikeia-by-the-Sea mint in the production of Alexanders

¹¹⁵⁶ Aperghis 2004: 213-46.

¹¹⁵⁷ *P. Cair. Zenon* 1.59021, see Bresson 2015.

under the first Seleukids may have stemmed not only from the need to pay off mercenaries and maintain the royal fleet; but the choice of a coinage of this type may have also derived from the popularity of the Alexanders in the commercial transactions that were expected to take place at a harbour city like Laodikeia.

Furthermore, in light of the availability of a variety of other royal coinages on the Attic weight-standard, it is admittedly unclear at the present state of the evidence how the Seleukids calculated the amount of new coinage needed to be produced – either to pay their troops, or for other types of expenditure. Considerations on the relationship between the Alexanders, Lysimachi, other Hellenistic royal coinages on the one hand; and the Seleukid ones on the other in the economic life of the Seleukid empire may go beyond the limits of the current thesis. Nonetheless, these are questions that will need to be explored in further studies.

With the single coin-find evidence analysed in **Chapters 1** and **3** for Northern Syria and Western Asia Minor, respectively, the present thesis also touched upon the epichoric, every-day level of the monetary economy. Single coin-finds, in fact, are usually small value coins that were lost or dropped by their owners while they were handling them in transactions or were simply carrying them around, but did not recover them afterwards. The evidence from the excavations from Northern Syria and Western Asia Minor show the progressive increase in popularity of bronze coins throughout the 4th century BC – to the point that it became the predominant metal found in the excavation from that point onwards.

For the specific case of the Seleukids, the single coin-find evidence has shown starkly different outlooks for Northern Syria and Western Asia Minor. In fact, while in the former region the single find evidence is dominated by the royal bronze coinages of Antioch; in Western Asia Minor, Seleukid royal coins hardly appear in the excavated sites outside of Sardis and Ephesos, which functioned as royal capitals for a period of time.

This absence of evidence may derive from the usually limited number of Hellenistic coins found in excavations, due to the concentration of the archaeologists on the more recent strata (see **Introduction**). Nonetheless, the absence of evidence is surprising – in **Chapter 3** it was argued that the fiduciary character of bronze coinage made it altogether difficult for a Seleukid bronze issue to be accepted within the economic sphere of a city. Due to the lack of evidence on the Seleukids “freeing” their subject cities

from royal garrisoning, and thanks also to the evidence provided by an inscription from Ptolemaic Iasos, it was suggested that this lack of royal bronze coins in the single find data of Western Asia Minor may have been due to the Seleukids' choice to required the subject cities to pay the royal garrisons with local, civic coinage. In fact, within the monetary "bubble" of a city, the latter type of issues were surely more "powerful" than foreign coins like the Seleukid ones.

Northern Syria, instead, offered a completely different picture – namely, one that saw the absolute dominance of royal bronze coins minted in Antioch. This was reflective of a largely homogenous lower-level monetary space, where Antiochene bronzes were by far the currency of choice for everyday coined transactions. Aside from Antioch's rich bronze coin-production, the royal character of its bronzes surely allowed them to predominate the evidence of distant places, like the garrison-towns on the Euphrates River. As "imperial" coins, royal bronzes were not bound to their place of production by their fiduciary value and could potentially travel all over the Seleukid kingdom. Nonetheless, even royal bronzes could display a certain "regionality" in their circulation patterns. After all, the material royal bronzes were made of prevented them from travelling in great quantities – it was indeed more convenient for soldiers and merchants to carry silver coins in long-distance travel, rather than a mass of bronzes of equivalent value. Thus, not completely unlike the civic issues, royal bronzes tended to circulate with greater intensity closer to their mint of origin, forming what we could term "preferential monetary areas". In the Achaemenid period, these areas reflected the spatial extent of a city's power – in Arados' case, over Northern Syria. Instead, in the Seleukid kingdom, these monetary areas were the result of administrative arrangements. Especially in Western Asia Minor, Seleukid bronze coins abounded in the centres of royal power or in garrisoning-towns.

However, circulation of bronzes could reflect not only transfer of troops – in fact, we can assume that Seleukid soldiers used these issues for everyday transactions, and that these royal bronzes thus ended up in the hands of civilians. They could have then circulated throughout Northern Syria through common people's trips from one place to another; merchants' travels; or religious pilgrimages to cult places, like Hierapolis-Bambyke. Admittedly, for Western Asia Minor these types of movement can usually be traced though the circulation of civic bronzes (see **Chapter 3**); for Northern Syria, instead,

the same can be done with much less certainty, as our only available evidence is represented by royal coins from Antioch.

Some concluding remarks on the sources consulted

The analysis offered in the present thesis was made possible using resources and studying evidence whose methodological criticalities we illustrated in the **Introduction**. Those issues emerged in various points throughout the thesis, especially regarding the use of *ARCH* and of the hoard evidence.

Overall, the observations on the circulation and use of coinages through the analysis of the hoard and single find evidence were made possible by the consultation of sources, whose methodological problems were discussed in the **Introduction**. In fact, we have stated the uncertain nature of much of the evidence from the hoards, since most of them were not found in controlled excavations but went through multiple hands before reaching auction houses or museum holdings. Certainly, this has strong bearings on the completeness of the data that hoards provide and on the reliability of the information concerning their origin – factors which are strongly limiting when doing analyses of the numismatic data at a regional and extra-regional level, together with the uneven distribution of the hoard evidence across the various regions of Western Asia Minor under consideration. This was particularly evident, for instance, when looking at the hoard evidence from the 5th and 4th centuries BC in Western Asia Minor, with most of the data coming from Ionia, while the northwestern regions, like Troas, yielded very few hoards altogether, and not all with much reliable information.

As for analysis of the single find data, instead, the archaeological context of discovery of the single coin-finds was left out of the discussion in **Chapters 1 and 3**, due to its uneven availability and quality in the catalogues of single finds that were consulted alongside other forms of publications.

For the study of the numismatic material of Western Asia Minor and Northern Syria, various sources were consulted. However, it was especially through the use of the “Typology of Ancient Greek Coins” that comparisons of coinages from various regions and over a long period of time was possible. Nonetheless, the methodological issues in its use, which were raised in the **Introduction**, became apparent in various points throughout the second part of the thesis. In fact, it was often necessary to integrate the data presented on *ARCH* with more recent bibliography. However, it should be stressed,

once again, that as an online typology, ARCH will receive updates in the future that could make some, or even most, of the data obsolete. Furthermore, in several points we have observed the limitations of adopting its dating conventions (e.g., “300-200 BC”) – which, if not handled with enough caution, could lead us into rushing into conclusions that are not supported by enough evidence – at least not in the strong terms one might frame such considerations.

Admittedly, not all the potential methodological shortcomings of the analysis in the present thesis lie on the shoulders of the limitations of this typology, or of the hoard and single find data studied. In fact, despite the attempt to convey the complexity of the numismatic landscape, especially of Western Asia Minor, from the 5th to the 2nd century BC, an analysis that adopts such a broad scope, both geographically and chronologically, risks underscoring or outright flattening the differences and particularities of the individual cases that would instead emerge if the scope were narrower, at least spatially. Nonetheless, through this thesis, I hope to have shown that the *longue-durée* approach is also one of the strengths of such a type of analysis. In fact, it allows us to observe not only differences, but also important continuities throughout the periods under consideration, which a purely regional analysis may not allow us to see. Nonetheless, the complexity of the data presented in this thesis requires us to always exercising salutary caution to try to avoid the excessive simplifications or over-interpretations of the evidence that such an approach has the potential to generate.

Appendix

*Catalogue of single coin-finds from excavations in Western Asia Minor*¹¹⁵⁸

The present Appendix contains the results I have collected from the reports on the single coin-finds discovered in archaeological excavations at a number of places in Troas, Aiolis, Mysia, Lydia, Ionia, and Karia. I was able to find these reports thanks to the list compiled and published by Zeynep Çizmeli Ögün in 2017.¹¹⁵⁹ The results for each site are organised in tables. In each of them, the single coin-finds are arranged by group-periods, the standard subdivision being the following one:

- 5th-early 4th century BC;
- 4th century BC;
- late 4th/early 3rd century BC;
- 3rd century BC (until c.190 BC);
- 2nd century BC;
- late 2nd-1st centuries BC.

Admittedly, the reader will notice some variations to this scheme, which however depend on the dating of the coins provided by the reports. For some issues, in fact, the dates are so wide that it was necessary to list them separately from the standard group-periods. This the case, for example, of the coins from Ephesos that are dated to a generic “Hellenistic” period; or of the coin-finds from Priene dated to an uncertain “4th-2nd centuries BC”. Furthermore, when distributing the coin-finds across centuries, it was necessary to make some compromises, especially for the issues dated “350-250 BC”, which are assigned to the late 4th/early 3rd century BC.

All the coins listed in the tables below are bronzes, unless indicated otherwise. In each table, they are arranged by geographical order, from North to South. The single cities are grouped into regions indicated in the second column from the left, together with the total sum of the coin-finds for each region. Royal coins are always listed in each group-period after the civic issues.

¹¹⁵⁸ This catalogue was created before the online publication of the *CHANGE* Project Site Finds Database (<https://change.csad.ox.ac.uk/sitefinds/index.html>).

¹¹⁵⁹ Çizmeli Ögün 2017.

Troas

- Ilion

Coins from votive deposits (Berlin 2002)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|--|-----------------|-------------------|-----------|
| 4 th century BC | <i>Troas: 3</i> | Birytis | 1 |
| | | Sigeion | 2 |
| Late 4 th -early 3 rd century BC | <i>Troas: 2</i> | Gambreion? | 1 |
| | | Gergis | 1 |
| 4 th -3 rd centuries BC | <i>Mysia: 1</i> | Lampsakos | 1 |
| | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Klazomenai | 1 |
| 3 rd century BC | <i>Troas: 1</i> | Achilleion? | 1 |

Single finds (Bellinger 1961: 153-211; Berlin 2002: 142-43 Table 5)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins | | |
|---|------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-----------|---|
| 4 th century BC: 68 | <i>Thrace: 5</i> | Ainos? | 1 | | |
| | | Maroneia | 4 | | |
| | | <i>Macedonia: 1</i> | Aphitis | 1 | |
| | | <i>Troas: 49</i> | Abydos | 1 | |
| | | | Dardanos | 1 | |
| | | | Gentinos | 2 | |
| | | | Sigeion | 32 | |
| | | | Gergis | 1 | |
| | | | Skepsis | 6 | |
| | | | Kebren | 6 | |
| | | | <i>Mysia: 8</i> | Kyzikos | 3 |
| | | | | Lampsakos | 5 |
| | | | <i>Aiolis: 1</i> | Elaia | 1 |
| | | <i>Ionia: 2</i> | Klazomenai | 1 | |
| | | | Miletos | 1 | |
| <i>South Aegean: 1</i> | Telos | 1 | | | |
| <i>Royal: 1</i> | Philip II | 1 | | | |
| Late 4 th /early 3 rd century BC: 2 AR, 69 | <i>Thrace: 1</i> | Maroneia | 1 | | |
| | | <i>North Aegean: 1</i> | Lemnos – Hephaestia | 1 | |
| | | | <i>Troas: 47</i> | Dardanos | 8 |
| | | Ilion | 11 | | |
| | | Ophryneion? | 1 | | |
| | | Achaiion | 1 | | |
| | | Tenedos | 1 | | |
| Birytis | 5 | | | | |

| | | | |
|---|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------|
| | | Gergis | 9 |
| | | Skepsis | 2 |
| | | Skamandreia | 2 |
| | | Assos | 2 |
| | | Gargara | 2 |
| | | Antandros | 3 |
| | <i>Mysia: 3</i> | Lampsakos | 3 |
| | <i>Aiolis: 2</i> | Methymna | 2 |
| | <i>Royal:</i> | Alexander III, Lampsakos | 1 AR |
| | <i>2 AR, 15</i> | | |
| | | Alexander III, Amphipolis | 5 |
| | | Alexander III, Alexandreia Troas | 3 |
| | | Alexander III, uncertain mint | 3 |
| | | Lysimachos, probably Lampsakos | 1 AR |
| | | Lysimachos, Thrace | 1 |
| | | Demetrios Poliorketes, Hellespont | 1 |
| | | Macedonian shield/helmet | 2 |
| | | | |
| 3rd century BC: 1 AR, 32 | <i>Thrace: 1</i> | Samothrake | 1 |
| | <i>Troas: 27</i> | Abydos | 4 |
| | | Ilion | 13 |
| | | Alexandreia Troas | 10 |
| | <i>Aiolis: 2</i> | Eresos | 1 |
| | | Mytilene | 1 |
| | <i>Karia: 1</i> | Rhodes | 1 |
| | <i>Royal: 1 AR, 1</i> | Antiochos I, Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris | 1 AR tetradr. |
| | | Antiochos II, Antioch | 1 |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| 2nd century BC: 62 | <i>Greece: 1</i> | Dyrrachion | 1 |
| | <i>Thrace: 1</i> | Thasos | 1 |
| | <i>Troas: 58</i> | Ilion | 58 |
| | <i>Mysia: 1</i> | Lampsakos | 1 |
| | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Smyrna | 1 |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| 2nd-1st centuries BC: 11 | <i>Thrace: 1</i> | Thasos | 1 |
| | <i>Bithynia: 1</i> | Dia? | 1 |
| | <i>Pontos: 1</i> | Amisos | 1 |
| | <i>Troas: 3</i> | Alexandreia Troas | 3 |
| | <i>Mysia: 1</i> | Pergamon <i>Asklepiou Soter</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Aiolis: 3</i> | Mytilene | 2 |
| | | Aigai | 1 |
| | <i>Karia: 1</i> | Rhodes | 1 |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| 1st century BC: 7 | <i>Greece: 1</i> | Athens | 1 |
| | <i>Macedonia: 1</i> | Thessalonike | 1 |
| | <i>Thrace: 1</i> | Byzantion | 1 |
| | <i>Troas: 4</i> | Ilion | 3 |
| | | Alexandreia Troas | 1 |
| | | | |
| | | Total | 3 AR, 249 |

- **Alexandreia Troas**

Single finds (Pohl 1994)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|----------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|-----------|
| 4 th century BC | <i>Troas: 13</i> | Neandreia | 7 |
| | | Dardanos (?) | 1 |
| | | Sigeion | 1 |
| | | Gambreion (?) | 1 |
| | | Kolonai or Gambreion (?) | 1 |
| | | Dardanos | 1 |
| 1 st century BC | <i>Troas: 1</i> | Alexandreia Troas | 1 |
| Unidentified | ————— | ————— | 17 |
| Total | | | 31 |

- **Smintheion**

Single finds (Çizmeli Ögün 2004, 2005, 2015)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins | |
|--------------------------------|------------------|---------------------|--------------|---|
| 4 th century BC: 10 | <i>Troas: 10</i> | Hamaxitos | 9 | |
| | | Gargara | 1 | |
| After 310 BC: 24 | <i>Troas: 20</i> | Ilion | 1 | |
| | | Alexandreia Troas | 18 | |
| | | Tenedos | 1 | |
| | | <i>Aiolis: 1</i> | Mytilene | 1 |
| | | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Chios | 1 |
| | | <i>Uncertain: 2</i> | Unidentified | 2 |
| Total | | | 34 | |

- **Assos**

Single finds (Bell 1921; Lenger 2016a)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|---|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| 7 th -6 th centuries BC: 1 EL | <i>Ionia: 1 EL</i> | Ionian mint | 1 EL |
| 5 th century BC: 8 AR, 1 billon, 4 | <i>Troas: 8 AR, 4</i> | Kebren | 1 AR |
| | | Assos | 5 AR, 2 |

| | | | |
|--|-------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| | | Lamponeia | 2 AR, 2 |
| | <i>Aiolis: 1 billon</i> | Lesbos | 1 <i>billon</i> |
| 4th century BC: 1 AR, 131 | <i>Troas: 1 AR, 127</i> | Abydos | 1 |
| | | Neandreia | 1 AR, 1 |
| | | Larisa | 1 |
| | | Gergis | 1 |
| | | Skamandreia | 1 |
| | | Skepsis | 2 |
| | | Kebren | 2 |
| | | Assos | 111 |
| | | Gargara | 6 |
| | | Antandros | 1 |
| | <i>Aiolis: 1</i> | Larissa-Phrikonis | 1 |
| | <i>Ionia: 3</i> | Erythrai | 2 |
| | | Kolophon | 1 |
| Late 4th/early 3rd century BC: 10 AR, 135 | <i>Troas: 1 AR, 110</i> | Ilion | 1 |
| | | Sigeion | 2 |
| | | Tenedos | 1 |
| | | Gergis | 1 |
| | | Assos | 1 AR, 103 |
| | | Gargara | 2 |
| | <i>Mysia: 6 AR, 4</i> | Lampsakos | 1 |
| | | Pergamon | 6 AR, 3 |
| | <i>Aiolis: 20</i> | Lesbos | 7 |
| | | Elaia | 1 |
| | | Aigai | 1 |
| | | AIOΛE | 11 |
| | <i>Royal: 3 AR, 1</i> | Alexander III | 3 AR, 1 |
| 3rd century BC: 1 AR, 14 | <i>Troas: 10</i> | Alexandreia Troas | 4 |
| | | Antiocheia-Kebren | 3 |
| | | Assos | 3 |
| | <i>Aiolis: 1</i> | Antissa | 1 |
| | <i>Karia: 1</i> | Tralleis | 1 |
| | <i>Royal: 1 AR, 2</i> | Pergamon <i>Philetairou</i> | 1 AR, 1 |
| | | Antiochos III, Sardis | 1 |
| 2nd century BC: 3 AR, 5 | <i>Thrace: 1</i> | Abdera | 1 |
| | <i>Troas: 1</i> | Alexandreia Troas | 1 |
| | <i>Mysia: 2</i> | Lampsakos | 1 |
| | | Pergamon <i>Athena</i> | 1 |
| | | <i>Nikephoros</i> | |
| | <i>Ionia: 3 AR, 1</i> | Ephesos | 3 AR, 1 |
| 2nd-1st centuries BC: 17 | <i>Troas: 2</i> | Alexandreia Troas | 2 |
| | <i>Aiolis: 8</i> | Methymna | 5 |
| | | Mytilene | 3 |

| | | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|------------------|--|
| <i>Mysia: 2</i> | Pergamon <i>Soteris</i> | <i>Asklepiou</i> | 2 |
| <i>Ionia: 4</i> | Smyrna | | 2 |
| | Chios | | 2 |
| <i>Pamphylia: 1</i> | Side | | 1 |
| | Total | | 1 EL, 1 billion, 23 AR, 305 |

Mysia

- Kyzikos

Single finds (Köker 2003)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|---|---------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 5 th century BC: 1 AR <i>siglos</i> | <i>Royal: 1 AR siglos</i> | Persia | 1 AR <i>siglos</i> |
| 4 th century BC: 3 AR, 5 | <i>Troas: 2</i> | Zeleia | 1 |
| | | Abydos | 1 |
| | <i>Mysia: 3 AR, 2</i> | Kyzikos | 3 AR |
| | | Prokonnesos | 2 |
| | <i>Royal: 1</i> | Philip II | 1 |
| 4 th -early 3 rd century BC: 24 | <i>Bithynia: 1</i> | Myrleia-Apameia | 1 |
| | <i>Mysia: 16</i> | Kyzikos | 16 |
| | <i>Royal: 7</i> | Alexander III | 7 |
| 4 th -3 rd centuries BC: 3 | <i>Mysia: 3</i> | Lampsakos | 3 |
| 3 rd century BC: 33 | <i>Mysia: 30</i> | Kyzikos | 28 |
| | | Priapos | 2 |
| | <i>Royal: 3</i> | Pergamon <i>Philetairou</i> | 2 |
| | | Prusias I (230-182 BC) | 1 |
| 2 nd century BC: 35 | <i>Mysia: 35</i> | Kyzikos | 34 |
| | | Pergamon <i>Athenas Nikephorou</i> | 1 |
| 2 nd -1 st centuries BC: 1 | <i>Mysia: 1</i> | Parion | 1 |
| Unidentified: 6 | | Uncertain mint | 6 |

Total **4 AR, 107**

- **Daskyleion**

Single finds (Köker 2016)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|---|--------------|--------------------|-----------|
| 4 th century BC | <i>Mysia</i> | Kyzikos | 2 |
| 4 th -early 3 rd century BC | <i>Royal</i> | Alexander III | 1 |
| 3 rd century BC | <i>Mysia</i> | Kyzikos Priapos | 4 1 |
| 2 nd century BC | <i>Mysia</i> | Kyzikos | 6 |
| 2 nd -1 st centuries BC | <i>Mysia</i> | Parion | 1 |
| Total | | | 15 |

- **Allianoi**

Single finds (Tekin & Erol-Özdizbay 2012, 2013, 2014, 2016)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 6 th -5 th centuries BC: 1 <i>billon</i> | <i>Aiolis: 1 billon</i> | Lesbos | 1 <i>billon</i> |
| 4 th century BC: 3 | <i>Aiolis: 2</i> <i>Mysia: 1</i> | Atarneus Kyme Gambreion | 1 1 1 |
| Mid 4 th -early 3 rd centuries BC: 4 | <i>Aiolis: 4</i> | Elaia Mytilene Kyme | 1 1 2 |
| 3 rd century BC: 6 | <i>Aiolis: 1</i> <i>Royal: 5</i> | Aigai Pergamon <i>Philetairou</i> | 1 5 |
| 3 rd -2 nd centuries BC: 3 | <i>Aiolis: 1</i> | Atarneus | 1 |

| | | | |
|--|------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| | <i>Mysia: 1</i> | Pergamon | 1 |
| | <i>Royal: 1</i> | Uncertain Seleukid king | 1 |
| 2nd century BC: 2 | | | |
| | <i>Mysia: 2</i> | Pergamon <i>Asklepiou Soter</i> | 2 |
| 2nd – 1st centuries BC: 9 | | | |
| | <i>Aiolis: 1</i> | Elaia | 1 |
| | <i>Mysia: 8</i> | Pergamon <i>Asklepiou Soter</i> | 4 |
| | | Pergamon civic | 4 |
| 1st century BC: 2 | | | |
| | <i>Mysia: 2</i> | Pergamon civic | 2 |
| Hellenistic: 12 | | Uncertain mints | 12 |
| Total | | | 1 billion, 41 |

- **Mamurt Kale**

Single finds (Regling 1911)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|--|------------------|---------------------------------|-----------|
| 4th-3rd centuries BC: 4 | <i>Aiolis: 1</i> | Aigai | 1 |
| | <i>Royal: 3</i> | Alexander III | 1 |
| | | Lysimachos | 1 |
| | | Macedonian king | 1 |
| 3rd century BC: 1 | <i>Royal: 1</i> | Pergamon <i>Philetairou</i> | 1 |
| 2nd-early 1st century BC: 2 | <i>Mysia: 2</i> | Pergamon <i>Asklepiou Soter</i> | 2 |
| Late 2nd-end of 1st century BC: 1 | <i>Mysia: 1</i> | Pergamon | 1 |
| Undated: 17 | <i>Mysia: 6</i> | Adramytteion | 1 |
| | | Gambreion | 2 |
| | | Pergamon | 2 |
| | | Pitane | 1 |
| | <i>Aiolis: 2</i> | Elaia | 1 |
| | | Aigai | 1 |
| | <i>Lydia: 3</i> | Apollonis | 1 |
| | | Sardis | 1 |
| | | Thyateira | 1 |

Unknown: 6 Unknown mint 6

Total 25

- Pergamon

Asklepieion single finds (Boehringer 1968; Furtwängler 1975)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|---------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| 3 rd century BC | <i>Mysia</i> | Pergamon <i>Philetairou</i> | 2 |
| 2 nd -1st century BC | <i>Mysia</i> | Pergamon civic | 1 |
| | | Pergamon <i>Asklepiou Soterou</i> | 1 |

Kapıkaya single finds (Furtwängler 1978)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|---------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| 3 rd century BC | <i>Mysia</i> | Pergamon <i>Philetairou</i> | 1 |
| 2 nd -1st century BC | <i>Mysia</i> | Pergamon civic | 5 |
| Total | | | 10 |

Pergamon single finds (Regling 1913; Boehringer 1984; Voegli *et al.* 1993; Chameroy 2012), including the “Kanalmünzfund” (Chameroy 2012: 162-64)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|--|---------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| 5 th century BC: 1 AR, 1 | <i>Troas: 1</i> | Antandros | 1 |
| | <i>Ionia: 1 AR</i> | Erythrai | 1 AR |
| 4 th century BC: 15 | <i>Thrace: 1</i> | Maroneia | 1 |
| | | Skepsis | 1 |
| | | Thymbra | 3 |
| | <i>Mysia: 5</i> | Pitane | 3 |
| | | Atarneus | 1 |
| | | Harpagion | 1 |
| | <i>Aiolis: 3</i> | Elaia | 3 |
| | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Klazomenai | 1 |
| | <i>Uncertain: 1</i> | Uncertain mint | 1 |
| Late 4 th /early 3 rd century BC: 1 AR, 114 | <i>Troas: 3</i> | Alexandreia Troas | 1 |
| | | Assos | 1 |
| | | Antandros | 1 |
| | <i>Mysia: 77</i> | Kyzikos | 2 |
| | | Lampsakos | 2 |
| | | Pergamon | 65 |
| | | Gambreion | 5 |
| | | Iolla | 1 |
| | | Pitane | 1 |

| | | | |
|--|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------|
| | | Plakia | 1 |
| | <i>Aiolis: 21</i> | Aigai | 1 |
| | | Kyme | 15 |
| | | Methymna | 1 |
| | | Mytilene | 4 |
| | <i>Ionia: 3</i> | Phygela | 1 |
| | | Erythrai | 2 |
| | <i>Lykia: 1</i> | Phaselis | 1 |
| | <i>Royal: 1 AR, 10</i> | Alexander | 1 AR, 4 |
| | | Kassandros | 2 |
| | | Macedonian king | 2 |
| | | Lysimachos | 2 |
| 3rd century BC: 1 AR, 261 | | | |
| | <i>Troas: 1</i> | Abydos | 1 |
| | <i>Mysia: 25</i> | Gambreion | 25 |
| | <i>Aiolis: 12</i> | Aigai | 5 |
| | | Kyme | 3 |
| | | Gryneion | 2 |
| | | Temnos | 1 |
| | | Mytilene | 1 |
| | <i>Ionia: 6</i> | Ephesos | 2 |
| | | Smyrna | 3 |
| | | Kolophon | 1 |
| | <i>Royal: 1 AR, 217</i> | Macedonia | 4 |
| | | Antiochos I, unknown | 1 |
| | | Antiochos III, unknown | 1 |
| | | Antiochos III, Antioch | 2 |
| | | Antiochos? | 1 |
| | | Seleukid king | 4 |
| | | Ptolemies | 1 AR, 1 |
| | | Ptolemy V | 1 |
| | | Pergamon <i>Philetairou</i> | 200 |
| | | Prusias II | 2 |
| 2nd century BC: 3 AR, 343 | | | |
| | <i>Troas: 1</i> | Ilion | 1 |
| | <i>Mysia: 320</i> | Kyzikos | 2 |
| | | Parion | 1 |
| | | Pergamon <i>Athena</i> | 72 |
| | | <i>Nikephoros</i> | |
| | | Pergamon civic | 245 |
| | <i>Aiolis: 6</i> | Myrina | 6 |
| | <i>Ionia: 8</i> | Lebedos | 1 |
| | | Smyrna | 2 |
| | | Chios | 4 |
| | | Miletos | 1 |
| | <i>Lydia: 8</i> | Nakrasa | 3 |
| | | Sardis | 5 |
| | <i>Royal: 3 AR</i> | Pergamon <i>kistophoroi</i> | 3 AR |
| 2nd-1st centuries BC: 204 | | | |
| | <i>Paphlagonia: 1</i> | Sinope | 1 |
| | <i>Aiolis: 17</i> | Mytilene | 3 |
| | | Elaia | 3 |
| | | Aigai | 6 |
| | | Myrina | 5 |

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| | <i>Mysia: 178</i> | Pergamon <i>Soteros</i> | <i>Asklepiou</i> | 178 |
| | <i>Ionia: 3</i> | Erythrai | | 1 |
| | | Kolophon | | 1 |
| | | Chios | | 1 |
| | <i>Lydia: 4</i> | Apollonis | | 1 |
| | | Sardis | | 3 |
| | <i>Phrygia: 1</i> | Epikteteis | | 1 |
| 1st century BC: 6 | <i>Aiolis: 4</i> | Adramytteion | | 4 |
| | <i>Lydia: 1</i> | Philadelphia | | 1 |
| | <i>Greece: 1</i> | Athens | | 1 |
| Unidentified date: 1 AR, 12 | <i>Thrace: 1 AR, 4</i> | Abdera | | 1 |
| | | Maroneia | | 1 |
| | | Alopekonnesos | | 1 |
| | | Thasos | | 1 AR |
| | | Orthagoreia | | 1 |
| | <i>Greece: 2</i> | Athens | | 1 |
| | | Sikyon | | 1 |
| | <i>Bithynia: 1</i> | Herakleia | | 1 |
| | <i>Mysia: 1</i> | Teuthrania | | 1 |
| | <i>Ionia: 4</i> | Magnesia-on-the- Maiandros | | 1 |
| | | Phokaia | | 2 |
| | | Samos | | 1 |
| Unidentified: 114 | | Uncertain mint | | 114 |
| | | Total | | 7 AR, 1070 |

Pergamon stray-finds (Voegtli *et al.* 1993)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|---|------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|
| Late 4th/early 3rd century BC: 8 | <i>Mysia: 8</i> | Pergamon | 8 |
| 3rd century BC: 21 | <i>Aiolis: 2</i> | Gergis | 1 |
| | | Kyme | 1 |
| | <i>Mysia: 1</i> | Iolla | 1 |
| | <i>Royal: 18</i> | Pergamon <i>Philetairou</i> | 16 |
| | | Seleukos I, Antioch | 1 |
| | | Antiochos III, unknown | 1 |
| 2nd century BC: 29 | <i>Aiolis: 2</i> | Mytilene | 2 |
| | <i>Mysia: 20</i> | Pergamon civic | 8 |
| | | Pergamon <i>Athenas Nikephorou</i> | 3 |
| | | Pergamon <i>Asklepiou Soteros</i> | 9 |
| | <i>Ionia: 7</i> | Smyrna | 3 |
| | | Chios | 3 |
| | | Sardis | 1 |

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------|--------|-----------|
| 1 st century BC: 3 | <i>Aiolis: 3</i> | Elaiia | 3 |
| Total | | | 61 |

Aiolis

- Kyme

Single finds (Ünal 2006, 2009; Grasso 2008)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|--|--------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------|
| 4 th century BC: 2 | <i>Thrace: 1</i> | Kypsela? | 1 |
| | <i>Aiolis: 1</i> | Larissa-Phrikonis | 1 |
| Late 4 th century BC: 1 AR | <i>Royal: 1 AR</i> | Alexander III, "Kolophon" | 1 AR |
| 3 rd century BC: 95 | <i>Aiolis: 95</i> | Kyme | 94 |
| | | Nessos | 1 |
| 2 nd century BC: 4 | <i>Mysia: 1</i> | Pergamon <i>ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Aiolis: 1</i> | Myrina | 1 |
| | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Smyrna | 1 |
| 2 nd -1 st centuries BC: 6 | <i>Mysia: 1</i> | Pergamon <i>Asklepiou Soteris</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Aiolis: 4</i> | Kyme | 4 |
| | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Ephesos | 1 |
| Uncertain: 1 | <i>Aiolis: 1</i> | Kyme | 1 |
| Unidentified: 4 | ————— | ————— | 4 |
| Total | | | 1 AR, 111 |

- Larissa-Phrikonis

Single finds (Gren 1942)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|--|--------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| 6 th /5 th century BC: 1 AR, 1 <i>siglos</i> | <i>Ionia: 1 AR</i> | Teos | 1 AR |

| | | | |
|--|---------------------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| | <i>Royal: 1 siglos</i> | Persia | 1 siglos |
| 5th century BC: 2 AR | <i>Ionia: 1 AR</i> | Klazomenai | 1 AR |
| | <i>Peloponnesos: 1 AR</i> | Argos | 1 AR |
| 4th century BC: 9 | <i>Ionia: 7</i> | Klazomenai | 3 |
| | | Kolophon | 3 |
| | | Samos | 1 |
| | <i>Peloponnesos: 2</i> | Sikyon | 2 |
| Late 4th/early 3rd century BC: 1 AR, 12 | <i>Aiolis: 2</i> | Kyme | 2 |
| | <i>Ionia: 5</i> | Kolophon | 4 |
| | | Ephesos | 1 |
| | <i>Peloponnesos: 1</i> | Sikyon | 1 |
| | <i>Royal: 1 AR, 4</i> | Alexander III | 1 AR, 3 |
| | | Philip III | 1 |
| 3rd century BC: 3 | <i>Aiolis: 1</i> | Kyme | 1 |
| | <i>Ionia: 2</i> | Klazomenai | 1 |
| | | Chios | 1 |
| 2nd century BC: 4 | <i>Aiolis: 2</i> | Neonteichos | 2 |
| | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Ephesos | 1 |
| | <i>Peloponnesos: 1</i> | Sikyon | 1 |
| 2nd/1st century BC: 1 | <i>Peloponnesos: 1</i> | Lakedaimon | 1 |
| Hellenistic: 1 | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Teos | 1 |
| Undated: 1 | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Chios | 1 |
| Uncertain: 5 | <i>Uncertain mint: 5</i> | Uncertain mint | 5 |
| | | Total | 1 siglos, 4 AR, 36 |

Lydia

- Sardis

Single finds (Bell 1916; Buttrey *et al.* 1981; Evans 2018)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|--|--|--|-------------------|
| 6th/5th century BC: 9 AR, 2 AU, 2 EL | <i>Ionia: 2 AR</i> | Miletos | 2 AR |
| | <i>Royal:</i> <i>7 AR, 2 AU, 2 EL</i> | Lydian royal coinage | 2 AU, 2 EL, 6 AR |
| | | Persia | 1 AR |
| 4th century BC: 3 AR, 16 | <i>Mysia: 1 AR</i> | Parion | 1 AR |
| | <i>Aiolis: 1</i> | Mytilene | 1 |
| | <i>Ionia: 1 AR, 15</i> | Leukai | 1 |
| | | Erythrai | 1 |
| | | Kolophon | 1 |
| | | Ephesos | 10 |
| | | Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | 1 |
| | | Miletos | 1 AR |
| | | Myous | 1 |
| | <i>Phoenicia: 1 AR</i> | Arados | 1 AR |
| | Late 4th/early 3rd century BC: 11 AR, 166 | <i>Troas: 2</i> | Alexandreia Troas |
| | | Ilion? | 1 |
| <i>Mysia: 1</i> | | Lampsakos | 1 |
| <i>Aiolis: 8</i> | | Kyme | 8 |
| <i>Ionia: 33</i> | | Kolophon | 8 |
| | | Ephesos | 25 |
| <i>Royal: 11 AR, 121</i> | | Early Hellenistic Sardis (Macedonian shield) | 3 |
| | | Early Hellenistic Miletos (Macedonian shield) | 1 |
| | | Alexander or his successors | 9 AR, 48 |
| | | Philip III, Kolophon | 1 AR |
| | | Philip III, probably Sardis | 3 |
| | | Philip III or Antigonos I, probably Sardis | 3 |
| | | Macedonian shield | 30 |
| | | Lysimachos, Thrace | 15 |
| | | Lysimachos, Sardis | 8 |
| | | Lysimachos uncertain | 9 |
| | | Ephesos-Arsinoeia | 2 |
| | Antigonos | 1 AR (Macedon) | |
| 3rd century BC: 1 AR, 708 | <i>Aiolis: 4</i> | Aigai | 1 |
| | | Kyme | 3 |
| | <i>Lydia: 140</i> | Thyateira | 2 |
| | | Sardis (civic) | 138 |
| | <i>Ionia: 11</i> | Phokaia | 2 |
| | | Smyrna | 3 |
| | | Erythrai | 1 |
| | | Ephesos | 4 |
| | | Miletos | 1 |
| | <i>Karia: 1</i> | Halikarnassos | 1 |
| | <i>Royal: 1 AR, 251</i> <i>(Seleukid: 1 AR, 185)</i> | Seleukos I, Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris | 1 |

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------|
| | | Seleukos I, Antioch | 3 |
| | | Seleukos I, Sardis | 10 |
| | | Antiochos I, Antioch | 1 |
| | | Antiochos I, Magnesia-on-the-Sipylos | 1 |
| | | Antiochos I, Sardis | 9 |
| | | Uncertain Antiochos I | 3 |
| | | Antiochos II, Sardis | 23 |
| | | Uncertain Antiochos II | 3 |
| | | Seleukos II, Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris | 1 |
| | | Seleukos II, Antioch? | 1 AR |
| | | Seleukos II, Sardis | 17 |
| | | Seleukos II, uncertain mint | 1 |
| | | Seleukos III, uncertain mint | 1 |
| | | Achaïos, Sardis | 7 |
| | | Antiochos III, Antioch | 14 |
| | | Antiochos III, Sardis | 30 |
| | | Antiochos III, uncertain mint | 1 |
| | | Uncertain Seleukid ruler | 59 |
| | | Ptolemies | 3 |
| | | Pergamon <i>Philetairou</i> | 60 |
| | | Demetrios II | 1 |
| | | Philip V | 2 |
| | Rome: 2 | Rome | 2 |
| | Uncertain: 299 | Uncertain Hellenistic | 299 |
| | | | |
| 2nd century BC: 164 | Mysia: 91 | Adramytteion | 1 |
| | | Pergamon <i>Athenas Nikephorou</i> | 33 |
| | | Pergamon <i>Asklepiou Soteris</i> | 55 |
| | | Pergamon <i>Athenas Areias</i> | 1 |
| | | Neonteichos? | 1 |
| | Lydia: 66 | Magnesia-on-the-Sipylos | 2 |
| | | Sardis | 61 |
| | | Kaystrianoi | 2 |
| | | Philadelphia | 1 |
| | Ionia: 5 | Smyrna | 1 |
| | | Ephesos | 2 |
| | | Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | 1 |
| | | Priene? | 1 |
| | Karia: 1 | Alabanda | 1 |
| | Uncertain: 1 | Uncertain mint | 1 |
| | | | |
| After 133 BC: 1 AR, 263 | Troas: 1 | Alexandreia Troas | 1 |
| | Mysia: 12 | Adramytteion | 1 |
| | | Pergamon | 11 |
| | Lydia: 231 | Sardis | 225 |
| | | Tralleis | 3 |
| | | Blaundos | 1 |
| | | Kaystrianoi | 1 |
| | | Philadelpheia | 1 |
| | Ionia: 1 AR, 11 | Smyrna | 9 |
| | | Teos | 1 |
| | | Ephesos | 1 AR, 1 |
| | Lykia: 1 | Phellos | 1 |

| | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>Karia: 1</i> | Rhodes | 1 |
| <i>Pisidia: 2</i> | Kibyra | 2 |
| <i>Phrygia: 4</i> | Apameia-Phrygia | 4 |
| | | |
| Uncertain date: 3 | Ephesos | 1 |
| | Uncertain mint, Macedonian shield | 2 |
| Total | | 2 EL, 2 AU, 25 AR, 1,320 |

Ionia

- **Klazomenai**

Karantina island single finds (Moustaka & Tselekas 2004)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|---|-----------------|-------------------|-----------|
| 4 th century BC | <i>Ionia: 3</i> | Klazomenai | 3 |
| | | | |
| 2 nd -1 st century BC | <i>Ionia: 2</i> | Klazomenai | 1 |
| | | Smyrna | 1 |
| | | | |
| 1 st century BC | <i>Ionia: 2</i> | Klazomenai | 1 |
| | | Smyrna | 1 |
| Total | | | 7 |

- **Mount Nif (Olympos)**

Ballicaoluk castle single finds (Lenger 2015)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|--|---------------------------------|--|-----------|
| 4 th century BC: 2 AR, 3 | <i>Mysia: 1</i> | Adramytteion | 1 |
| | | <i>Ionia: 2</i> | Kolophon |
| | <i>AR, 2</i> | Ephesos | 2 AR |
| | | Samos | 1 |
| Late 4 th /early 3 rd century BC: 1 AR, 1 | <i>Royal: 1</i> <i>AR, 1</i> | Alexander III, Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | 1 AR |

| | | | |
|---|-----------------|--|-----------------|
| | | Alexander III/Philip III, uncertain mint | 1 |
| 3rd century BC: 3 | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Ephesos | 1 |
| | <i>Royal: 2</i> | Antiochos I, Smyrna or Sardis | 1 |
| | | Antiochos III, Sardis | 1 |
| 2nd century BC: 3 | <i>Mysia: 1</i> | Pergamon | 1 |
| | <i>Ionia: 2</i> | Smyrna | 2 |
| Late 2nd/early 1st century BC: 1 | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Smyrna | 1 |
| 1st century BC: 2 | <i>Ionia: 2</i> | Smyrna | 2 |
| Uncertain: 4 | | Uncertain mint | 4 |
| | | Total | 3 AR, 17 |

Northern side of Mount Nif single finds (Lenger 2016b)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|---|------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|
| Late 4th-early 3rd century BC: 3 | <i>Royal: 3</i> | Philip III | 2 |
| | | Lysimachos | 1 |
| 2nd century BC: 6 | <i>Mysia: 4</i> | Pergamon <i>Athenas Nikephorou</i> | 4 |
| | <i>Ionia: 2</i> | Smyrna | 2 |
| 2nd-1st centuries BC: 14 | <i>Mysia: 1</i> | Pergamon <i>Asklepiou Soteris</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Lydia: 12</i> | Sardis | 12 |
| | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Smyrna | 1 |
| | | Total | 23 |

- **Klaros**

Single finds (Çizmeli Ögün 2007a; Delrieux 2014)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|---|--|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 5th century BC: 1 AR, 4 | <i>Ionia: 1 AR, 4</i> | Kolophon | 1 AR, 2 |
| | | Samos | 1 |
| | | Uncertain Ionian | 1 |
| 4th century BC: 31 | <i>Ionia: 31</i> | Teos | 1 |
| | | Kolophon | 16 |
| | | Kolophon? | 8 |
| | | Ephesos | 5 |
| | | Phygela | 1 |
| Late 4th/early 3rd century BC: 179 | <i>Aiolis: 1</i> <i>Ionia: 178</i> | Elaia? | 1 |
| | | Kolophon | 175 |
| | | Ephesos | 1 |
| | | Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | 1 |
| | | Miletos | 1 |
| 3rd century BC: 6 | <i>Aiolis: 1</i> <i>Ionia: 4</i> | Kyme | 1 |
| | | Lebedos-Ptolemais | 1 |
| | | Kolophon | 1 |
| | | Ephesos | 2 |
| | | <i>Royal: 1</i> | Antiochos III, Antioch |
| 2nd century BC: 3 | <i>Lydia: 1</i> <i>Ionia: 2</i> | Maionia | 1 |
| | | Lebedos | 1 |
| | | Ephesos | 1 |
| End 2nd/early 1st century BC: 59 | <i>Mysia: 1</i> <i>Aiolis: 5</i> <i>Lydia: 1</i> <i>Ionia: 51</i> | Kyzikos | 1 |
| | | Aigai | 1 |
| | | Sardis | 1 |
| | | Smyrna | 1 |
| | | Klazomenai | 4 |
| | | Chios | 2 |
| | | Lebedos-Ptolemais | 1 |
| | | Kolophon | 40 |
| | | Ephesos | 2 |
| | | Miletos | 1 |
| <i>Pisidia: 1</i> | Termessos | 1 | |
| 1st century BC: 49 | <i>Lydia: 1</i> <i>Ionia: 47</i> | Sardis | 1 |
| | | Smyrna | 1 |
| | | Kolophon | 44 |
| | | Ephesos | 1 |
| | | Miletos | 1 |
| | | <i>Pisidia: 1</i> | Termessos? |

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------|------------------|
| Uncertain Hellenistic: 11 | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Ephesos | 1 |
| | <i>Uncertain: 10</i> | Uncertain mint | 10 |
| Total | | | 1 AR, 342 |

- **Kolophon**

Single finds (Kinns 1980: 602-18)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins | |
|--|------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|------|
| 5th century BC: 1 EL, 2 AR | <i>Aiolis: 1 EL</i> | Mytilene | 1 EL | |
| | <i>Ionia: 2 AR</i> | Kolophon | 2 AR | |
| 4th century BC: 4 AR, 35 | <i>Mysia: 1 AR</i> | Parion | 1 AR | |
| | | Klazomenai | 2 | |
| | | Airai | 1 | |
| | | Teos | 3 | |
| | | Kolophon | 1 AR, 24 | |
| | <i>Ionia: 2 AR, 34</i> | Ephesos | 1 AR, 3 | |
| | | Phygela | 1 | |
| | | <i>Karia: 1</i> | Knidos | 1 |
| | | <i>Dynastic: 1 AR</i> | Mausolos | 1 AR |
| Late 4th/early 3rd century BC: 4 AR, 71 | <i>Ionia: 3 AR, 71</i> | Phokaia | 1 | |
| | | Kolophon | 2 AR, 66 | |
| | | Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | 1 AR, 3 | |
| | | Miletos | 1 | |
| | | <i>Royal: 1 AR</i> | Ephesos-Arsinoeia | 1 AR |
| | | | | |
| 3rd century BC: 13 | <i>Aiolis: 1</i> | Antissa | 1 | |
| | | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Smyrna | 1 |
| | | <i>Royal: 11</i> | Antiochos II, Sardis | 9 |
| | | | Pergamon <i>Philetairou</i> | 2 |
| 2nd-1st centuries BC: 5 | <i>Aiolis: 2</i> | Mytilene | 1 | |
| | | Myrina | 1 | |
| | <i>Ionia: 3</i> | Smyrna | 1 | |
| | | Kolophon | 1 | |
| | | Ephesos | 1 | |
| Uncertain: 1 | | Uncertain mint | 1 | |

Total

**1 EL, 10 AR,
125**

- **Ephesos**

Single finds

(Milne 1925; Vettors 1976: 12; Vettors 1979: 131-32; Vettors 1980: 261-66; Vettors 1981: 154-68; Vettors 1982: 86-101; Karwiese 1983: 123-69; Karwiese 1986: 110-62; Karwiese 1987: 110-55; Karwiese 1988: 105-26; Karwiese 2003; Lang-Auinger 2003; Karwiese 2007; Schindel 2009; Pfisterer 2010; Schachinger 2014, 2017)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|--|------------------------|--|----------------------|
| 6th century BC: 1 EL, 3 sigloi | <i>Macedonia: 1 EL</i> | Kimmeria | 1 EL |
| | <i>Royal: 3 sigloi</i> | Persia | 3 sigloi |
| 5th century BC: 1 | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Ephesos | 1 |
| 4th century BC: 87 | <i>Ionia: 86</i> | Erythrai | 1 |
| | | Kolophon | 1 |
| | | Ephesos | 83 |
| | | Miletos | 1 |
| | <i>Krete: 1</i> | Elyros? | 1 |
| Late 4th/early 3rd century BC: 1 AR, 54 | <i>Aiolis: 2</i> | Kyme | 2 |
| | <i>Ionia: 14</i> | Ephesos | 13 |
| | | Miletos | 1 |
| | <i>Royal: 1 AR, 38</i> | Alexander III | 1 AR |
| | | Ephesos-Arsinoeia | 38 |
| 3rd century BC: 160 | <i>Aiolis: 1</i> | Atarneus | 1 |
| | <i>Lydia: 1</i> | Sardis | 1 |
| | <i>Ionia: 22</i> | Ephesos | 12 |
| | | Priene | 2 |
| | | Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | 6 |
| | | Miletos | 2 |
| | | <i>Royal: 128</i> | Antiochos II, Sardis |
| | | Antiochos II, unknown mint | 2 |
| | | Seleukos II, unknown mint | 1 |
| | | Antiochos III, Antioch | 37 |
| | | Antiochos III, Sardis | 5 |
| | | Antiochos III, unknown mint | 1 |
| | | Antiochos III, unknown Asia Minor mint | 1 |

| | | | |
|---|-----------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| | | Seleukid king, unknown Asia | 4 |
| | | Minor mint | |
| | | Pergamon <i>Philetairou</i> | 2 |
| | Uncertain: 8 | Asia | 6 |
| | | Unknown mint | 2 |
| <hr/> | | | |
| Hellenistic: 996 | Mysia: 5 | Abydos | 1 |
| | | Pergamon | 4 |
| | Aiolis: 2 | Kyme | 2 |
| | Lydia: 2 | Sardis | 2 |
| | Ionia: 579 | Klazomenai | 2 |
| | | Teos? | 1 |
| | | Kolophon | 2 |
| | | Ephesos | 560 |
| | | Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | 8 |
| | | Miletos | 3 |
| | | Priene | 2 |
| | | Kos | 1 |
| | Uncertain: 408 | Asia | 396 |
| | | Unknown mint | 12 |
| <hr/> | | | |
| 2nd century BC: 1 AR, 13 | Mysia: 2 | Pergamon | 1 |
| | | Pergamon <i>Athenas Nikephorou</i> | 1 |
| | Lydia: 1 | Sardis | 1 |
| | Ionia: 8 | Erythrai | 1 |
| | | Ephesos | 6 |
| | | Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | 1 |
| | Royal: 1 AR, 2 | Pergamon Attalids | 1 AR |
| | | Antioch, Seleukos IV | <i>kistophoros</i> |
| | | Antioch, Alexander Balas | 1 |
| | | | 1 |
| <hr/> | | | |
| 2nd-1st centuries BC: 11 | Mysia: 2 | Pergamon <i>ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ</i> | 1 |
| | | Pergamon <i>Asklepiou Soteris</i> | 1 |
| | Lydia: 1 | Sardis | 1 |
| | Ionia: 4 | Kolophon | 1 |
| | | Ephesos | 1 |
| | | Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | 1 |
| | | Miletos | 1 |
| | Karia: 1 | Iasos | 1 |
| | Kilikia: 1 | Hierapolis/Kastabala-Kilikia | 1 |
| | Uncertain: 2 | Unknown mint | 2 |
| <hr/> | | | |
| 1st century BC: 80 | Mysia: 1 | Pergamon | 1 |
| | Lydia: 2 | Sardis | 1 |
| | | Kaystrianoi | 1 |
| | Ionia: 71 | Ephesos | 71 |
| | Phrygia: 1 | Apameia-Phrygia | 1 |
| | Phoenicia: 2 | Berytos | 2 |
| | Uncertain: 3 | Asia | 3 |

Total

**1 EL, 3 sigloi, 2
AR, 1402**

- **Priene**

Die Münzschätze (Regling 1927: 169-76)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins | | | Total |
|--|--------------|-------------------|---------------------------|----------|-----------|-------------|
| | | | Hoard I | Hoard II | Hoard III | |
| Late 4 th century BC | <i>Ionia</i> | Priene | 1 | | 5 | 6 |
| 3 rd century BC | <i>Ionia</i> | Priene | 1 | | 1 | 2 |
| Late 4 th -mid 2 nd century BC | <i>Ionia</i> | Priene | 592 | | 3517 | 4113 |
| 2 nd century BC | <i>Ionia</i> | Priene | 50 | 329 | 734 | 1230 |
| Unidentified date | Hellenistic | <i>Ionia</i> | Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | 1 | 10 | 11 |
| | | | Miletos | | 1 | 1 |
| | | <i>Karia</i> | Iasos | | 1 | 1 |
| | | | Unidentified mint | | 3 | 3 |
| Total | | | | | | 5367 |

Single finds (Regling 1927)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|---|--------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| End of 5 th century BC: 1 AR | <i>Ionia: 1 AR</i> | Ephesos | 1 AR |
| 4 th century BC: 19 | <i>Ionia: 17</i> | Klazomenai | 1 |
| | | Kolophon | 2 |
| | | Leukai | 1 |
| | | Miletos | 11 |
| | | Naulochos | 2 |
| | | <i>Karia: 2</i> | Kos |
| | | Rhodes | 1 |

| | | | |
|--|--|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Late 4th/early 3rd century BC: 1 AR, 95 | <i>Thrace: 1</i> | Pantikapaion | 1 |
| | <i>Aiolis: 1</i> | Mytilene | 1 |
| | <i>Ionia: 1 AR, 87</i> | Kolophon | 1 |
| | | Ephesos | 11 |
| | <i>Royal: 1 AR, 6</i> | Priene | 1 AR, 75 |
| | | Macedonian shield | 2 |
| | | Alexander III | 2 |
| | | Perdikkas III | 1 |
| | | Antigonos, Miletos | 1 AR |
| | | Ephesos-Arsinoeia | 1 |
| 3rd-early 2nd century BC: 2 AR, 389 | <i>Aiolis: 1</i> | Mytilene | 1 |
| | <i>Ionia: 2 AR, 379</i> | Ephesos | 4 |
| | | Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | 40 |
| | | Priene | 2 AR, 323 |
| | <i>Karia: 3</i> | Miletos | 12 |
| | | Antioch-Alabanda | 1 |
| | | Iasos | 2 |
| | <i>Royal: 6</i> | Pergamon <i>Philetairou</i> | 4 |
| | | Philip IV | 1 |
| | | Philip V | 1 |
| 2nd century BC: 2 AR, 362 | <i>Mysia: 1</i> | Pergamon | <i>Athenas</i> 1 |
| | | <i>Areias</i> | |
| | <i>Aiolis: 1</i> | Kyme | 1 |
| | <i>Lydia: 1 AR, 2</i> | Sardis | 2 |
| | | Tralleis | 1 AR <i>kistophoros</i> |
| | <i>Ionia: 1 AR, 357</i> | Ephesos | 1 AR, 6 |
| | | Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | 9 |
| | | Priene | 1 AR, 289 |
| | | Miletos | 45 |
| | | Samos | 8 |
| | | <i>Karia: 2</i> | Mylasa |
| | | Kos | 1 |
| | 2nd-1st centuries BC: 2 AR, 105 | <i>Mysia: 3</i> | Kyzikos |
| | | Pergamon | <i>Asklepiou</i> 1 |
| | | <i>Soteros</i> | |
| <i>Ionia: 1 AR, 97</i> | | Herakleia Ionia | 1 AR |
| | | Priene | 97 |
| <i>Lydia: 1</i> | | Kaystrianoi | 1 |
| <i>Karia: 1 AR, 3</i> | | Halikarnassos | 1 |
| | | Rhodes | 1 AR |
| | | Tralleis | 2 |
| <i>Greece: 1</i> | | Athens | 1 |
| 1st century BC: 23 | <i>Ionia: 20</i> | Ephesos | 3 |
| | | Priene | 17 |

| | | | |
|--|-------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| | <i>Karia: 3</i> | Myndos | 3 |
| <hr/> | | | |
| Uncertain 4 th -2 nd centuries BC: 2 AR, 166 | <i>Ionia: 2 AR, 166</i> | Priene | 2 AR, 166 |
| <hr/> | | | |
| Unidentified date: 3 AR, 27 | <i>Illyria: 1</i> | Dyrrachion | 1 |
| | <i>Greece: 4</i> | Athens | 3 |
| | | Achaian <i>koinon</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Ionia: 3 AR, 12</i> | Smyrna | 2 |
| | | Chios | 1 |
| | | Teos | 2 |
| | | Lebedos | 2 AR |
| | | Ephesos | 1 |
| | | Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | 1 AR, 4 |
| | | Miletos | 1 |
| | | Herakleia-Ionia | 1 |
| | <i>Karia: 4</i> | Alabanda | 2 |
| | | Keramos | 1 |
| | | Iasos | 1 |
| | <i>Lykia: 1</i> | Phaselis | 1 |
| | <i>Pamphylia: 2</i> | Side | 2 |
| | <i>Pisidia: 1</i> | Isinda | 1 |
| | <i>Phrygia: 1</i> | Apameia-Phrygia | 1 |
| | <i>Aegean: 1</i> | Salamis (Cyprus) | 1 |
| Total | | | 13 AR, 1186 |

Felsheiligtum Ost single finds (Weisser 2014)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|--|-----------------|-------------------------------|-----------|
| 4 th century BC | <i>Ionia: 3</i> | Ephesos | 1 |
| | | Miletos | 2 |
| Late 4 th /early 3 rd century BC | <i>Ionia: 3</i> | Kolophon | 1 |
| | | Priene | 2 |
| 3 rd century BC | <i>Ionia: 7</i> | Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | 1 |
| | | Priene | 6 |
| | | Miletos | 1 |
| 3 rd -2 nd centuries BC | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Miletos | 1 |
| 2 nd century BC | <i>Mysia: 1</i> | Pergamon <i>Athena Areias</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Ephesos | 1 |

| | | | |
|--|-----------------|----------------|-----------|
| Late 2 nd /early 1 st century BC | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Priene | 1 |
| Uncertain | | Uncertain mint | 6 |
| Total | | | 24 |

- **Didyma**

Single finds (Baldus 2006)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins | |
|---|--|------------------------------------|--------------|---|
| Late 5 th /early 4 th century BC: 4 | <i>Ionia: 4</i> | Ephesos | 1 | |
| | | Miletos | 3 | |
| 4 th century BC: 2 | <i>Ionia: 2</i> | Miletos | 2 | |
| 3 rd century BC: 100 | <i>Ionia: 96</i> | Miletos | 93 | |
| | | Samos | 3 | |
| | | <i>Karia: 1</i> | Kos | 1 |
| | | <i>Macedonia: 2</i> | Thessalonike | 2 |
| | | <i>Italy: 1</i> | Neapolis | 1 |
| 2 nd century BC: 1 AR, 2 | <i>Mysia: 1</i> <i>Ionia: 1 AR, 1</i> | Pergamon <i>Athenas Nikephorou</i> | 1 | |
| | | Herakleia-Latmos | 1 | |
| | | Miletos | 1 AR | |
| 2 nd -1 st centuries BC: 111 | <i>Aiolis: 1</i> <i>Ionia: 104</i> | Methymna | 1 | |
| | | Miletos | 100 | |
| | | Priene | 2 | |
| | | Chios | 2 | |
| | | <i>Karia: 6</i> | Bargyia | 1 |
| | | | Euromos | 1 |
| | | | Iasos | 3 |
| | | | Mylasa | 1 |
| 1 st century BC: 7 | <i>Ionia: 7</i> | Miletos | 7 | |
| 4 th -2 nd centuries BC: 238 | <i>Ionia: 238</i> | Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | 3 | |
| | | Priene | 2 | |
| | | Miletos | 233 | |
| 4 th /1 st centuries BC: 1 | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Teos | 1 | |

| | | | |
|---|--------------------|--------------|------------------|
| 3rd/1st century BC: 1 AR, 13 | <i>Ionia: 1 AR</i> | Miletos | 1 AR |
| | <i>Unknown: 13</i> | Unidentified | 13 |
| Total | | | 2 AR, 478 |

Karia

- Nysa

Single finds (Özbil 2014; Delrieux *et al.* 2011)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|---|-----------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| 2nd century BC | <i>Mysia: 2</i> | Pergamon Asklepiou Soterios | 1 |
| | | Pergamon | 1 |
| | <i>Karia: 1</i> | Nysa | 1 |
| 2nd-1st century BC | <i>Karia: 2</i> | Kidrama | 1 |
| | | Tralleis | 1 |
| 1st century BC | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Ephesos | 1 |
| Total | | | 6 |

- Aphrodisias

Single finds (MacDonald 1976; Tek 2019)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|---|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 5th century BC: 1 AR | <i>Ionia: 1 AR</i> | Erythrai | 1 AR |
| 5th/4th century BC: 2 AR | <i>Karia (dynastic/satrapal)</i> | Mausolos | 1 AR |
| | | <i>Royal: 2 AR</i> | Persian <i>sigloi</i> |
| 4th century BC: 2 | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Myous | 1 |
| | <i>Karia: 1</i> | Halikarnassos | 1 |
| Late 4th/early 3rd century BC: 6 AR, 9 | <i>Ionia: 2</i> | Ephesos | 2 |
| | | <i>Royal: 6 AR, 7</i> | Alexander |
| | | Philip III | 3 AR |
| | | Kassander | 1 |
| | | After death of Alexander IV | 3 |

| | | | |
|--|------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| | | Demetrios Poliorketes | 1 |
| | | Ephesos–Arsinoeia | 2 |
| 3rd century BC: 18 | | | |
| | <i>Ionia: 3</i> | Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | 1 |
| | | Miletos | 2 |
| | <i>Karia: 1</i> | Kos | 1 |
| | <i>Royal: 14</i> | Antiochos II, Sardis | 7 |
| | | Antiochos III, Sardis | 3 |
| | | Uncertain Seleukid | 1 |
| | | Ptolemies (Ptolemy II) | 1 |
| | | Uncertain Ptolemaic | 1 |
| | | Seleukid? | 1 |
| 2nd century BC: 9 | | | |
| | <i>Ionia: 2</i> | Ephesos | 1 |
| | | Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | 1 |
| | <i>Karia: 6</i> | Alabanda | 1 |
| | | Antioch-on-the-Maiandros | 1 |
| | | Apollonia Salbake | 1 |
| | | Gordiouteichos | 1 |
| | | Harpasa | 1 |
| | | Mylasa | 1 |
| | <i>Royal: 1</i> | Ptolemies (Ptolemy VI and VII) | 1 |
| 2nd or 1st century BC: 2 | | | |
| | <i>Lydia: 1</i> | Tralleis | 1 |
| | <i>Karia: 1</i> | Rhodes | 1 |
| Late 2nd/1st century BC: 1 AR, 62 | | | |
| | <i>Karia: 1 AR, 57</i> | Aphrodisias | 1 AR, 57 |
| | <i>Phrygia: 4</i> | Apameia-Phrygia | 1 |
| | | Laodikeia | 3 |
| | <i>Royal: 1</i> | Mostis, Thrace | 1 |
| 1st century BC: 7 | | | |
| | <i>Mysia: 1</i> | Pergamon | 1 |
| | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Ephesos | 1 |
| | <i>Karia: 5</i> | Stratonikeia | 1 |
| | | Tabai | 4 |
| Uncertain: 1 | | | |
| | | Phokaia | 1 |
| Total | | | 10 AR, 110 |

- **Stratonikeia**

Preliminary report of single finds, preliminary report (Tek *et al.* 2015)

| Minting authority | No. coins |
|--------------------------|-----------|
| Ephesos, Miletos | 3 |
| Stratonikeia | 39 |
| Alabanda, Mylasa, Myndos | 8 |
| Rhodes | 6 |
| Diadochic period | 6 |

If the evidence for Stratonikeia is less than satisfactory, we are in a better place with the single coin-finds from the excavations at Lagina and the villages on the sacred road connecting the sanctuary to Stratonikeia. The temple of Lagina, known as the biggest sacred building for the Goddess Hekate, has attracted the attention of researchers since the 18th century. The issues discovered in the excavations from 1998 have been catalogued by Ekici in his doctoral thesis,¹¹⁶⁰ whereas Ahmet Tirpan has recorded the coin-finds the *naos* of the temple of Lagina.¹¹⁶¹

Lagina temple single finds (Ekici 2013; Tirpan 2012)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|--|-----------------------|--|-----------|
| 4th century BC: 1 | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Ephesos | 1 |
| Late 4th/early 3rd century BC: 1 AR, 14 | | | |
| | <i>Karia: 5</i> | Mylasa | 1 |
| | | Rhodes | 4 |
| | <i>Royal: 1 AR, 9</i> | Alexander III | 2 |
| | | Kassandros | 1 |
| | | Demetrios Poliorketes | 5 |
| | | Lysimachos | 1 AR |
| | | Ephesos-Arsinoeia | 1 |
| 3rd century BC: 4 | | | |
| | <i>Royal: 4</i> | Antiochos II, uncertain mint | 2 |
| | | Uncertain Seleukid Antiochos (3 rd -2 nd century BC) | 1 |
| | | Pergamon <i>Philetairou</i> | 1 |
| 2nd century BC: 6 | | | |
| | <i>Pontos: 1</i> | Unknown | 1 |
| | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Ephesos | 1 |
| | <i>Karia: 4</i> | Alabanda | 4 |

¹¹⁶⁰ Ekici 2013.

¹¹⁶¹ Tirpan 2012.

| | | | |
|------------------------|------------------|--|-----------------|
| Hellenistic: 51 | Karia: 54 | Stratonikeia (2 nd -1 st century BC) | 44 |
| | | Rhodes | 4 |
| | | Mylasa (210-30 BC) | 3 |
| Total | | | 1 AR, 76 |

If Lagina offers a limited number of coins, the situation for the villages on the sacred road is, instead, fairly different.

Börükçü single finds (Ekici 2013)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|--|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------|
| 5th century BC: 1 EL, 55 AR | <i>Aiolis: 3 AR</i> | Lesbos | 3 AR |
| | <i>Ionia: 50 AR</i> | Miletos | 50 AR |
| | <i>Karia: 2 AR</i> | Kasolaba (?) | 2 AR |
| | <i>Royal: 1 EL</i> | Sardis | 1 EL |
| 4th century BC: 3 AR, 19 | <i>Ionia: 2</i> | Ephesos | 1 |
| | | Miletos | 1 |
| | <i>Karia: 1 AR, 17</i> | Mylasa | 3 |
| | | Myndos | 3 |
| | | Kos | 1 |
| | <i>Royal/dynastic: 2 AR</i> | Rhodes | 10 |
| | | Halikarnassos | 1 AR |
| | | Hekatomnos | 2 AR |
| Late 4th/early 3rd century BC: 57 | <i>Ionia: 10</i> | Miletos | 8 |
| | | Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | 2 |
| | <i>Royal: 47</i> | Alexander III | 9 |
| | | Kassandros | 13 |
| | | Demetrios Poliorketes | 25 |
| 3rd century BC: 15 | <i>Ionia: 5</i> | Ephesos | 4 |
| | | Miletos | 1 |
| | <i>Karia: 3</i> | Kos | 1 |
| | | Iasos | 2 |
| | <i>Royal: 7</i> | Ptolemy II | 4 |
| | | Seleukos I | 1 |
| | | Antiochos II | 2 |
| 2nd century BC: 16 | <i>Ionia: 15</i> | Miletos | 15 |
| | <i>Kilikia: 1</i> | Tarsos | 1 |
| 1st century BC: 1 | <i>Pontos: 1</i> | Amisos | 1 |

| | | | |
|------------------------|------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| Hellenistic: 43 | Karia: 43 | Rhodes | 4 |
| | | Stratonikeia | 29 |
| | | Mylasa | 10 |
| Total | | | 1 EL, 58 AR, 151 |

Beybağ, Bozukbağ, Kurudere, Tepecik, Hankuyu single finds (Ekici 2013)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|--------------------|------------------|-----------------------|-----------|
| Hellenistic | Karia: 16 | Stratonikeia | 14 |
| | | Rhodes | 2 |
| | Royal: 1 | Demetrios Poliorketes | 1 |
| Total | | | 17 |

- **Iasos**

Single finds (Delrieux 2016, 2019b)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| 6th/5th century BC: 1 AR | Ionia: 1 AR | Miletos | 1 AR |
| 4th century BC: 1 AR, 9 | Troas: 1 | Gergis | 1 |
| | Ionia: 2 | Kolophon | 1 |
| | | Miletos | 1 |
| | Karia: 1 AR, 6 | Mylasa | 1 |
| | | Iasos | 1 AR, 4 |
| | | Kaunos | 1 |
| Late 4th/early 3rd century BC: 37 | Thrace: 1 | Pantikapaion | 1 |
| | Ionia: 3 | Miletos | 3 |
| | Karia: 3 | Nisyros | 2 |
| | | Kos | 1 |
| | Royal: 30 | Alexander III | 20 |
| | | Alexander III or Philip III | 1 |
| | | Lysimachos, Thrace | 1 |
| | | Demetrios Poliorketes | 3 |
| | | Eupolemos | 4 |
| | | Ptolemy I | 1 |
| 3rd century BC: 4 AR, 63 | Ionia: 8 | Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | 2 |
| | | Miletos | 6 |

| | | | |
|--|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| | <i>Karia: 4 AR, 54</i> | Mylasa | 4 |
| | | Iasos | 2 AR, 49 |
| | | Rhodes | 4 AR, 1 |
| | <i>Royal: 1</i> | Antiochos III, Sardis | 1 |
| | | | |
| 2nd century BC: 3 AR, 58 | <i>Ionia: 4</i> | Miletos | 4 |
| | <i>Karia: 3 AR, 54</i> | Alinda | 1 |
| | | Mylasa | 1 AR |
| | | Iasos | 53 |
| | | Rhodes | 2 AR |
| | | | |
| 2nd/1st century BC: 4 AR, 7 | <i>Lydia: 1</i> | Sardis | 1 |
| | <i>Karia: 4 AR, 8</i> | Tralleis | 2 |
| | | Bargyia | 2 |
| | | Halikarnassos | 2 AR, 1 |
| | | Mylasa | 1 |
| | | Iasos | 2 |
| | | Myndos | 2 AR |
| | | | |
| 1st century BC: 10 | <i>Ionia: 1</i> | Chios | 1 |
| | <i>Karia: 1</i> | Halikarnassos | 1 |
| | | Iasos | 7 |
| | <i>Lykia: 1</i> | Termessos | 1 |
| | | | |
| | | Total | 13 AR, 182 |

- **Bargasa**

Single finds (Delrieux 2010)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|---|--------------------|---------------------------|-----------|
| 4th century BC: 3 | <i>Ionia: 2</i> | Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros | 2 |
| | <i>Karia: 1</i> | Larisa | 1 |
| | | | |
| Late 4th/early 3rd century BC: 1 AR, 3 | <i>Ionia: 2</i> | Miletos | 2 |
| | <i>Karia: 1</i> | Rhodes | 1 |
| | <i>Royal: 1 AR</i> | Alexander III "Teos" | 1 AR |
| | | | |
| 3rd century BC: 5 | <i>Karia: 5</i> | Rhodes | 4 |
| | | Tralleis | 1 |
| | | | |
| 2nd century BC: 4 | <i>Karia: 4</i> | Alabanda | 2 |
| | | Orthosia | 1 |
| | | Anineta | 1 |

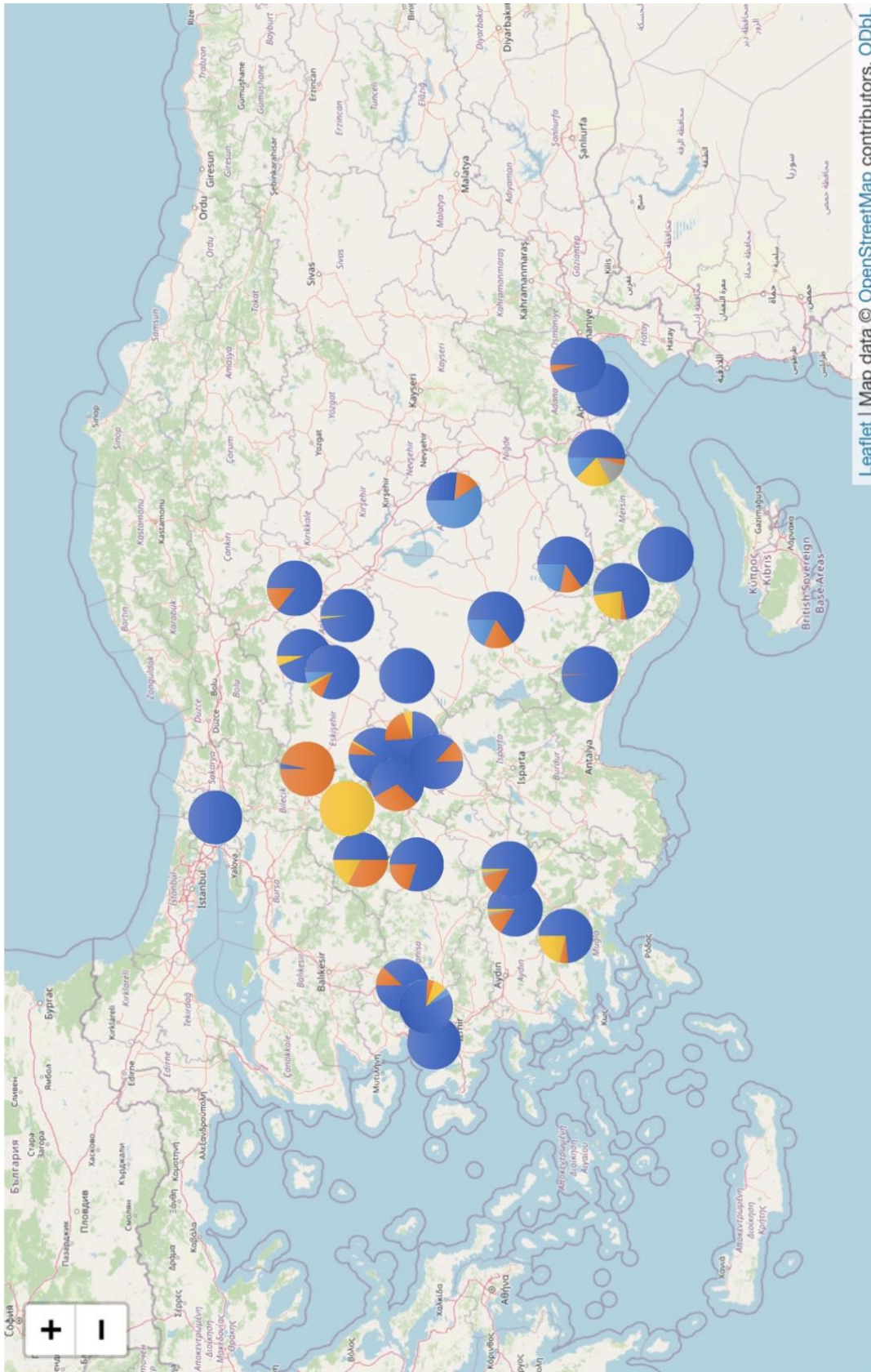
| | | | |
|---|------------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Late 2nd/early 1st century BC: 3 | <i>Karia: 3</i> | Stratonikeia | 2 |
| | | Tralleis | 1 |
| 1st century BC: 1 | <i>Karia: 1</i> | Nysa | 1 |
| | | Total | 1 AR, 19 |

- **Kaunos**

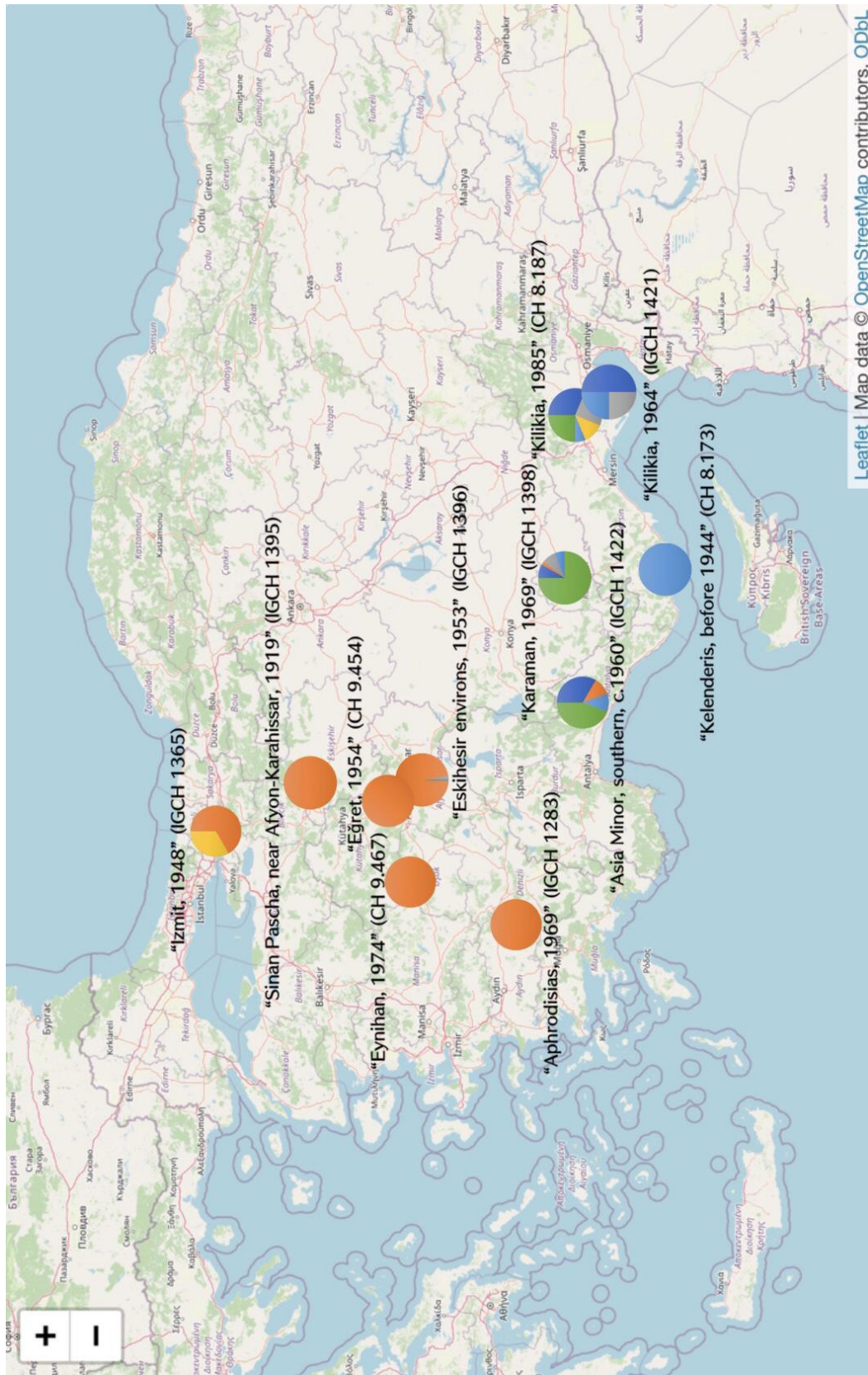
Single finds (Keckman 1981; Çizmeli Öğün 2007b)

| Period | Region | Minting authority | No. coins |
|--|--------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 5 th -4 th century BC | <i>Royal: 1 AR</i> | Persia | 1 AR <i>siglos</i> |
| 4 th century BC | <i>Karia: 1</i> | Rhodes | 1 |
| Late 4 th /early 3 rd century BC | <i>Royal: 1</i> | Alexander III, probably Amphipolis | 1 |
| 3 rd century BC | <i>Royal: 6</i> | Ptolemy I | 2 |
| | | Ptolemy II | 2 |
| | | Unknown Ptolemaic king | 2 |
| 2 nd century BC | <i>Karia: 9</i> | Kaunos | 9 |
| 1 st century BC | <i>Karia: 2</i> | Rhodes | 2 |
| | | Total | 1 AR, 19 |

Maps



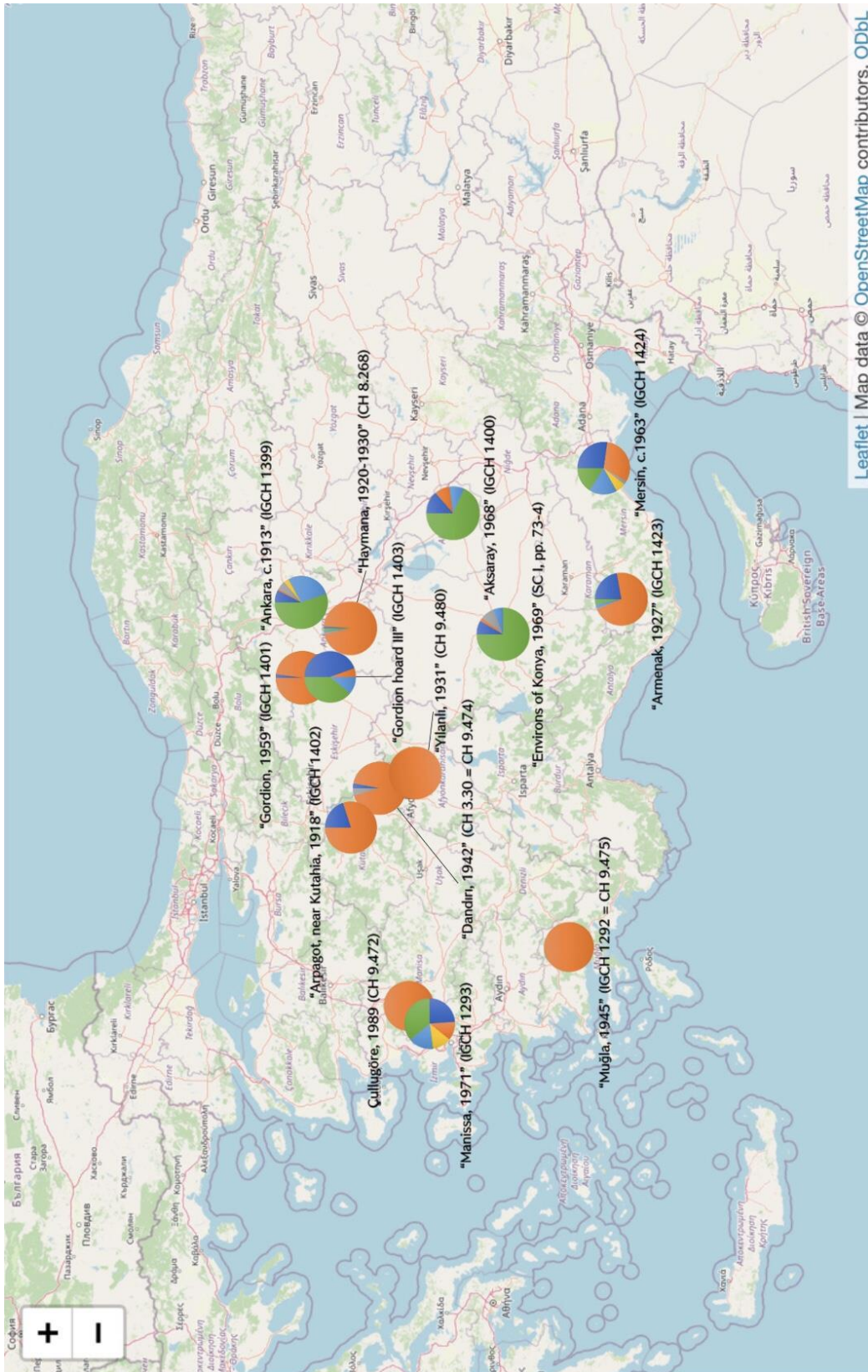
Map 1: “royal” hoard in Asia Minor – late 4th/early 3rd century BC (Alexanders: *blue*; Philip III: *orange*; Demetrios Poliorketes: *grey*; Lysimachos: *yellow*; Seleukos I: *light blue*)



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Map 2: royal coins by provenance (c.323-c.300 BC) – Greece & Macedonia: blue; W. A. Minor: orange; S.

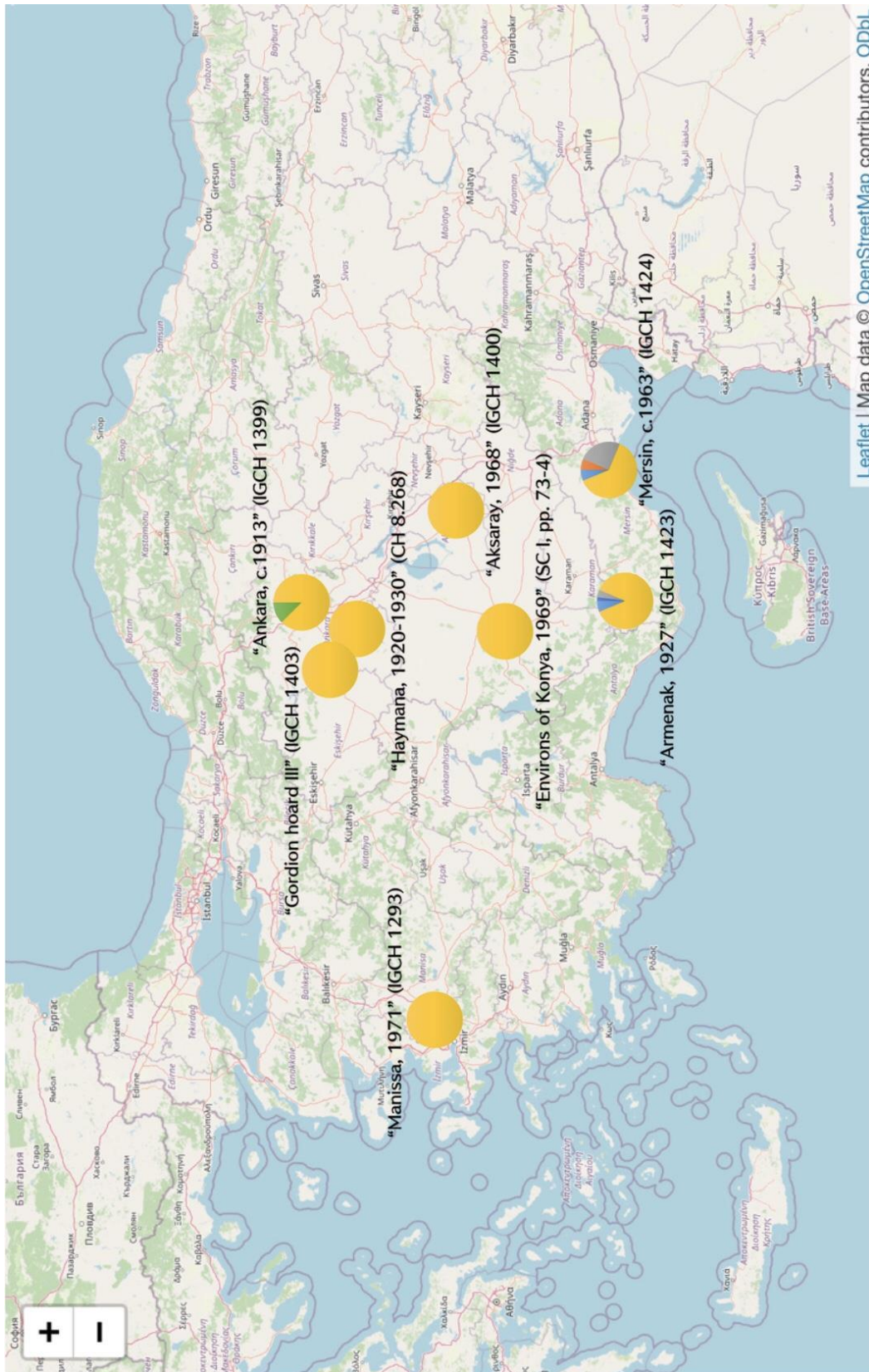
A. Minor: grey; Cyprus: yellow; Syria & the Levant: light blue; Mesopotamia: green



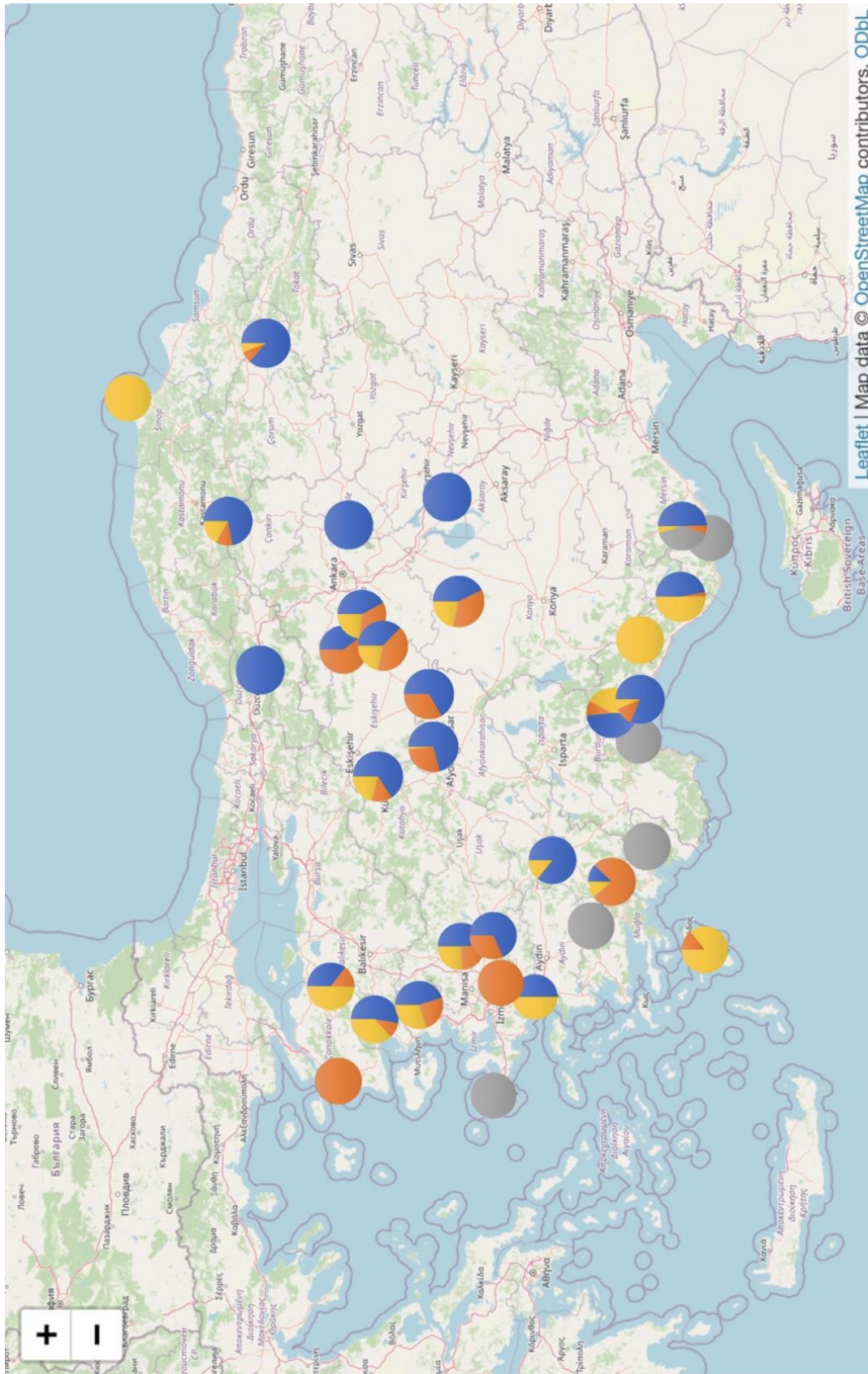
Leaflet | Map data © OpenStreetMap contributors, ODbL

Map 3: royal coins by provenance (c.300-c.280 BC) – Greece & Macedonia: blue; W. A. Minor: orange; S.

A. Minor: grey; Cyprus: yellow; Syria & the Levant: light blue; Mesopotamia: green

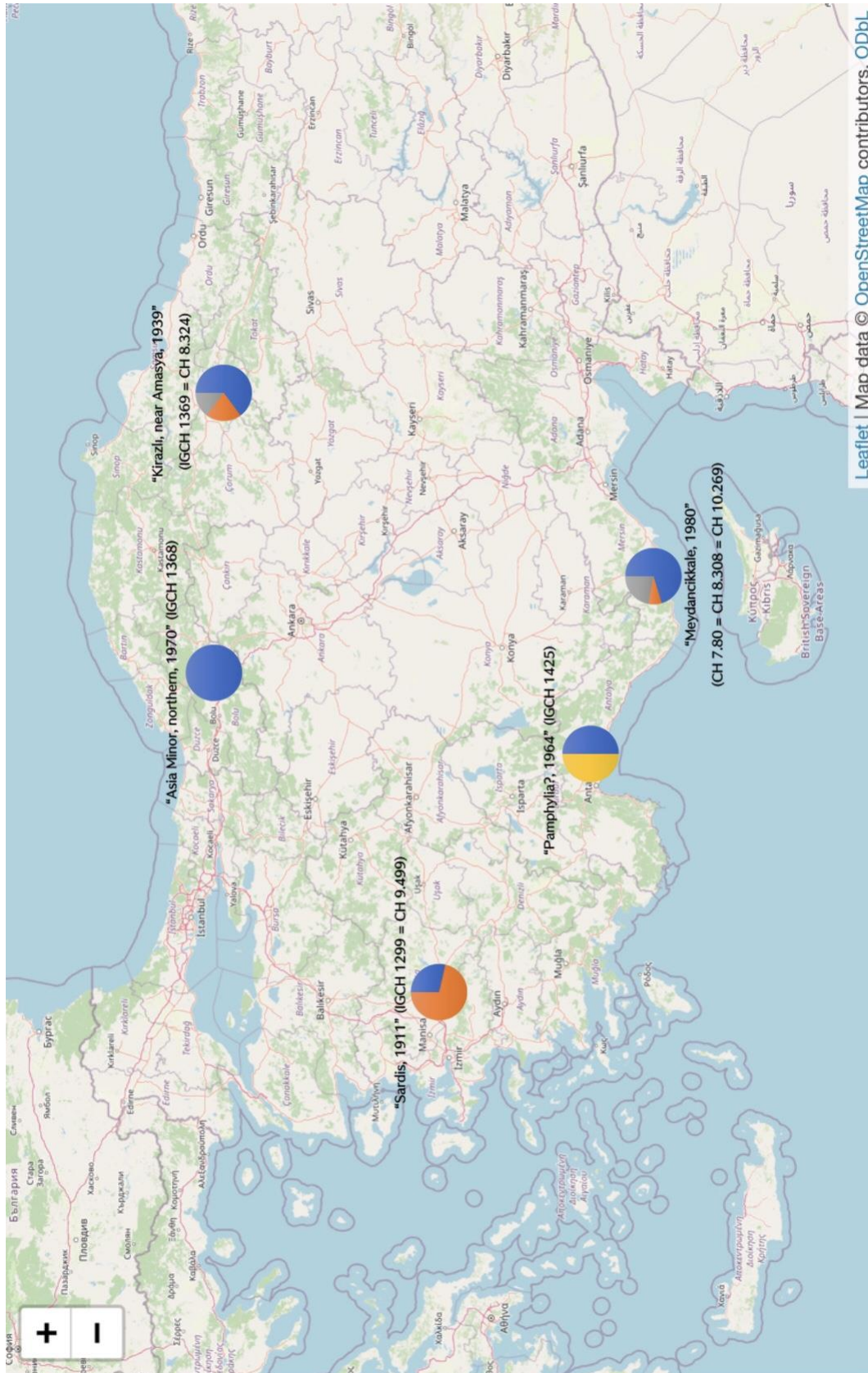


Map 4: Seleukos I – provenance of coins (early Hellenistic period) – W. A. Minor: *blue*; S. A. Minor: *orange*; Syria: *grey*; Mesopotamia: *yellow*; E. Satrapies: *light blue*; Unc. N. Mesopotamia/E. Syria: *green*



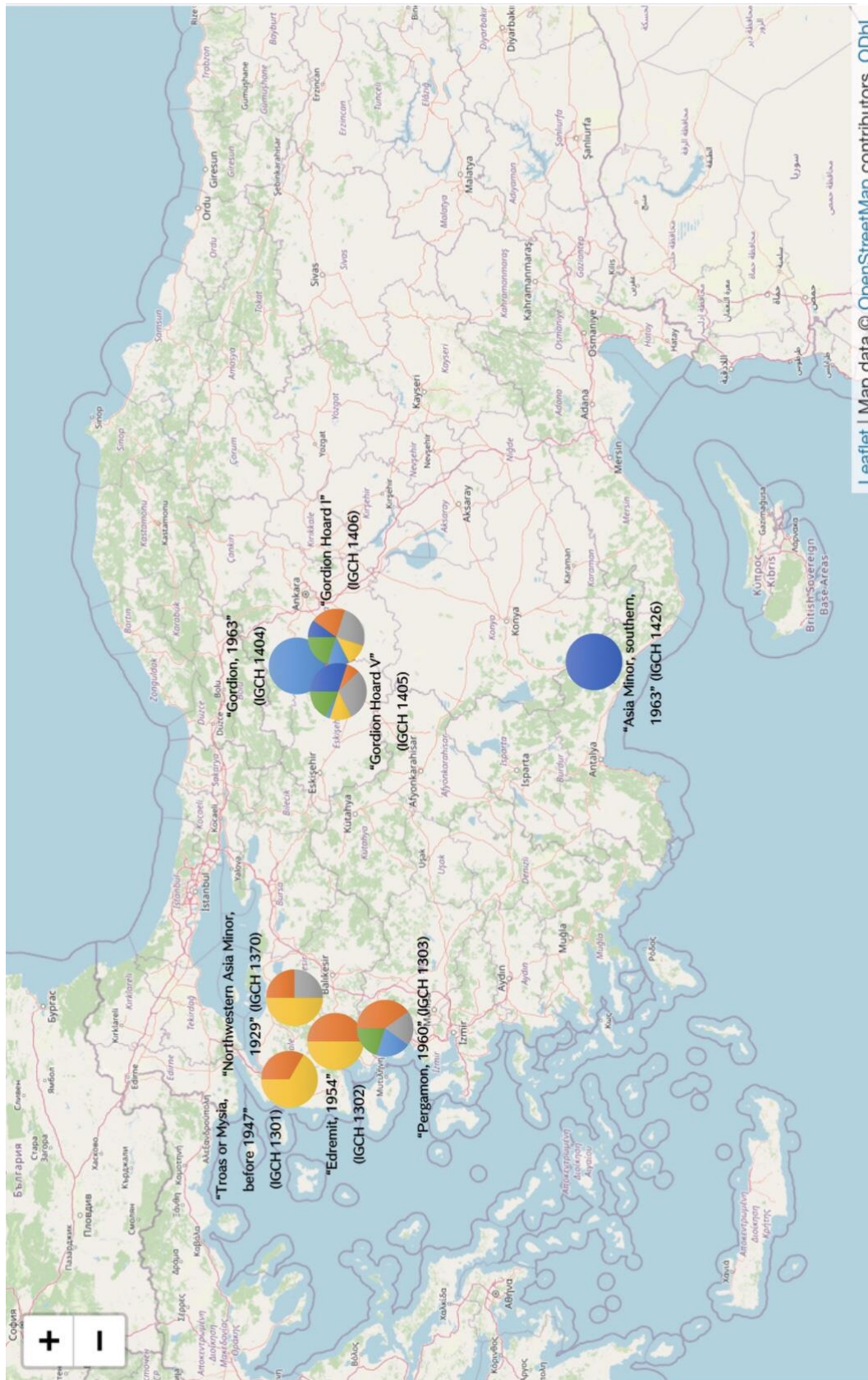
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Map 5: royal hoards – 3rd century BC (Alexanders: *blue*; Seleukids: *orange*; Ptolemies: *grey*; others: *yellow*)



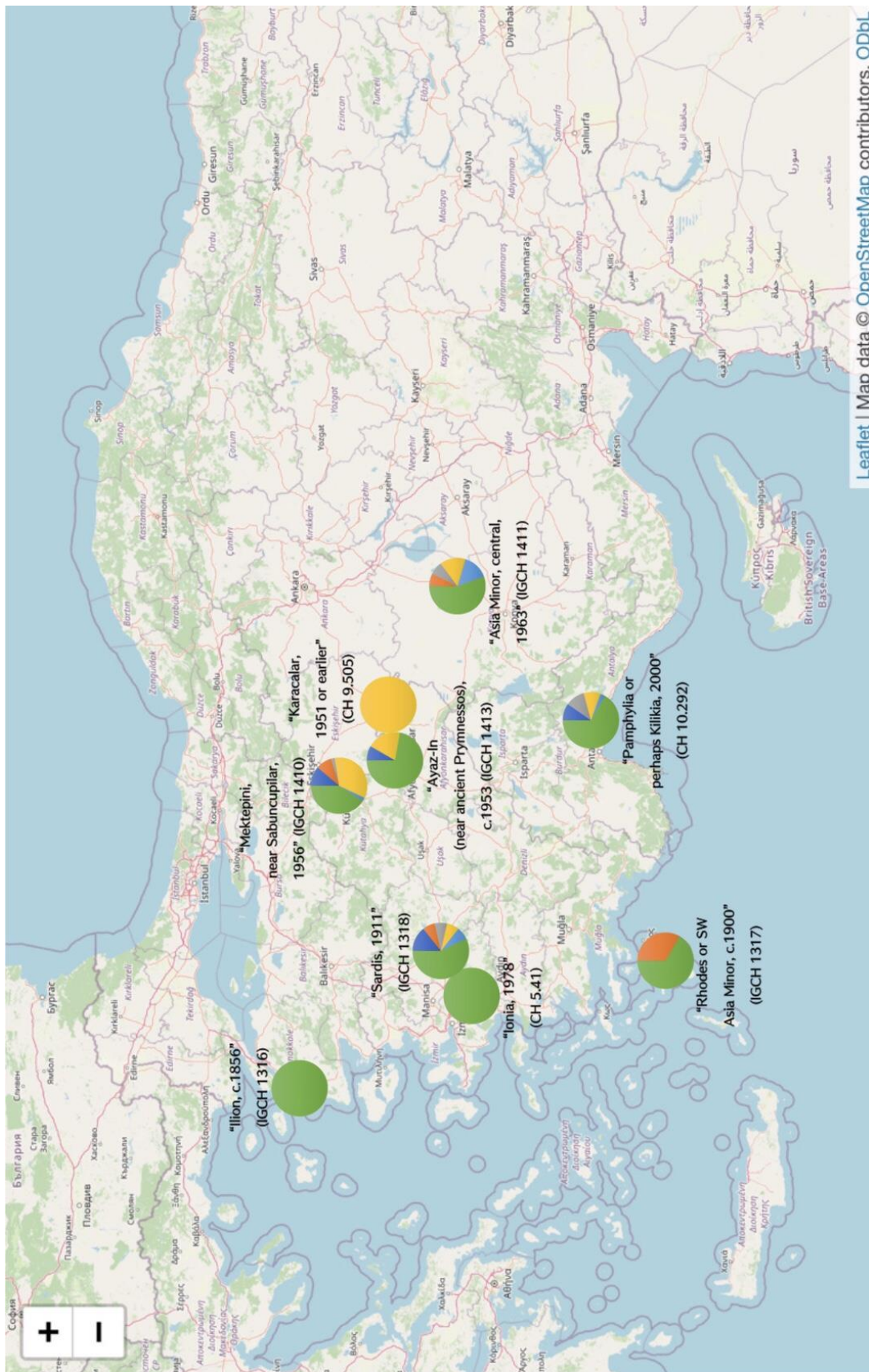
Leaflet | Map data © OpenStreetMap contributors, ODbL

Map 6: Seleukid hoards – c.275-225 BC (Seleukos & Antiochos I: blue; Antiochos II: orange; Seleukos II: grey; Antiochos Hierax: yellow)



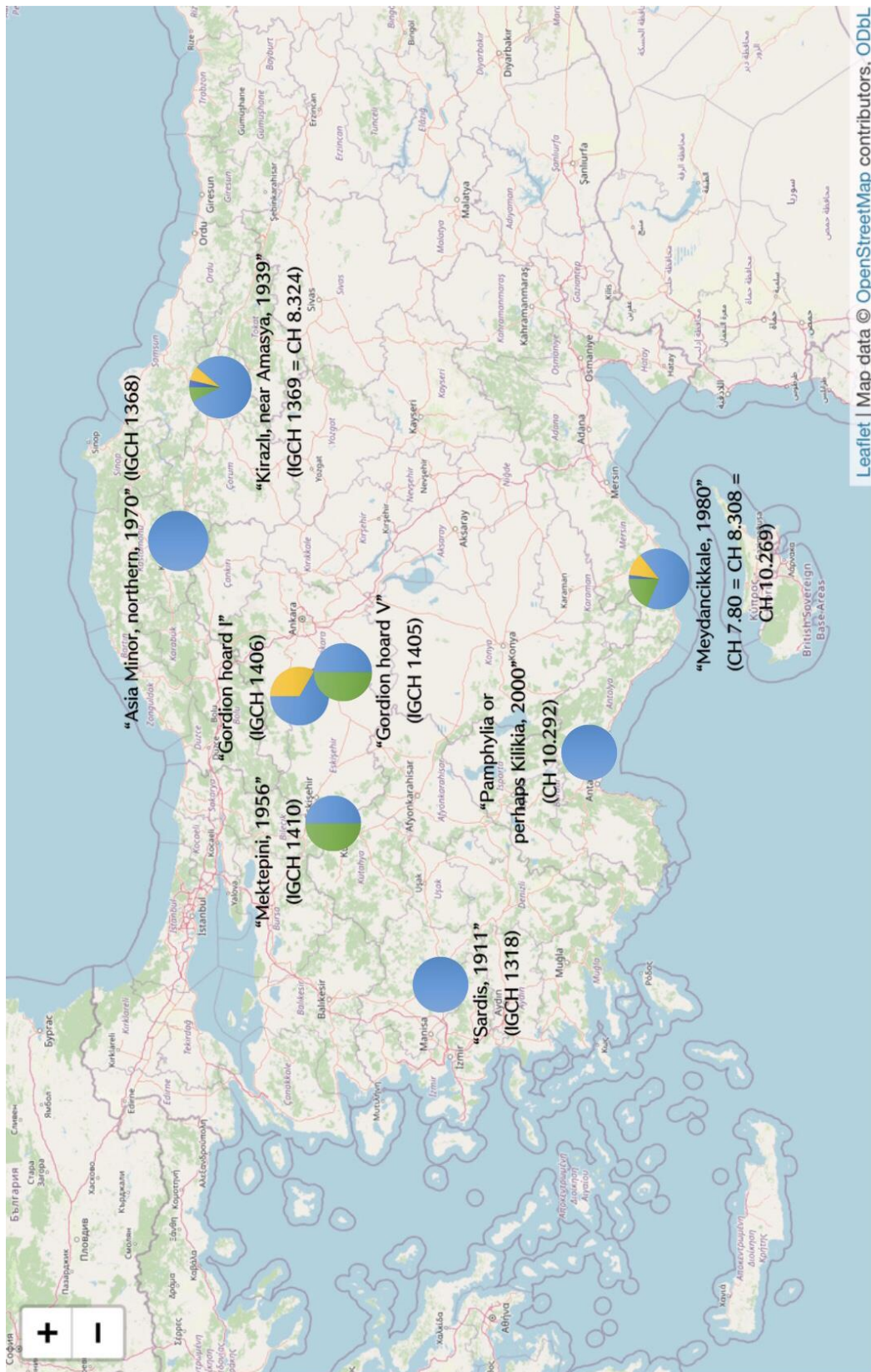
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Map 7: Seleukid hoards – c.225-200 BC (Seleukos & Antiochos I: *blue*; Antiochos II: *orange*; Seleukos II: *grey*; Antiochos Hierax: *yellow*; Seleukos III: *light blue*; Antiochos III: *green*)

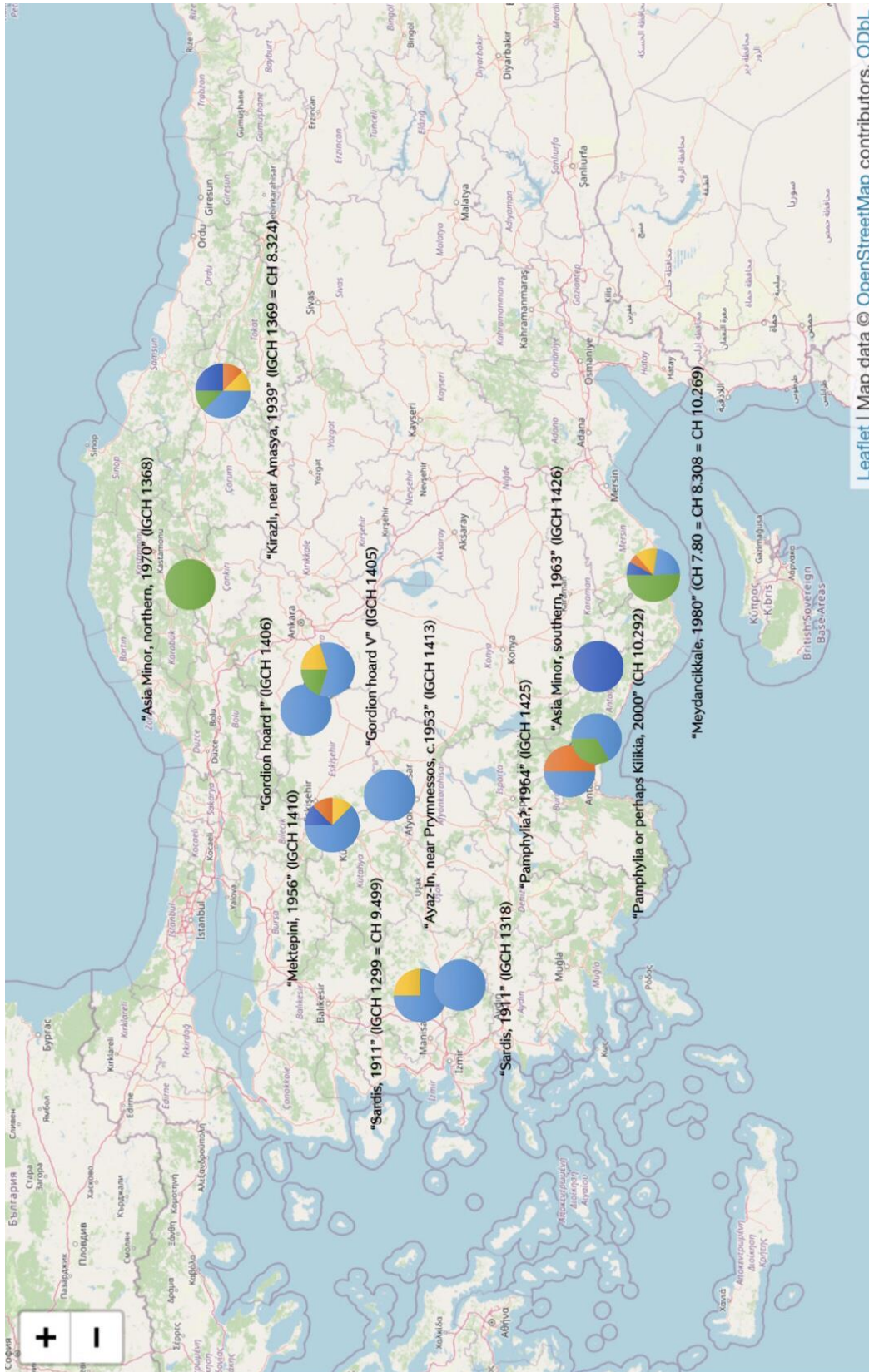


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Map 8: Seleukid hoards – 200-c.188 BC (Seleukos & Antiochos I: blue; Antiochos II: orange; Seleukos II: grey; Antiochos Hierax: yellow; Seleukos III: light blue; Antiochos III: green)

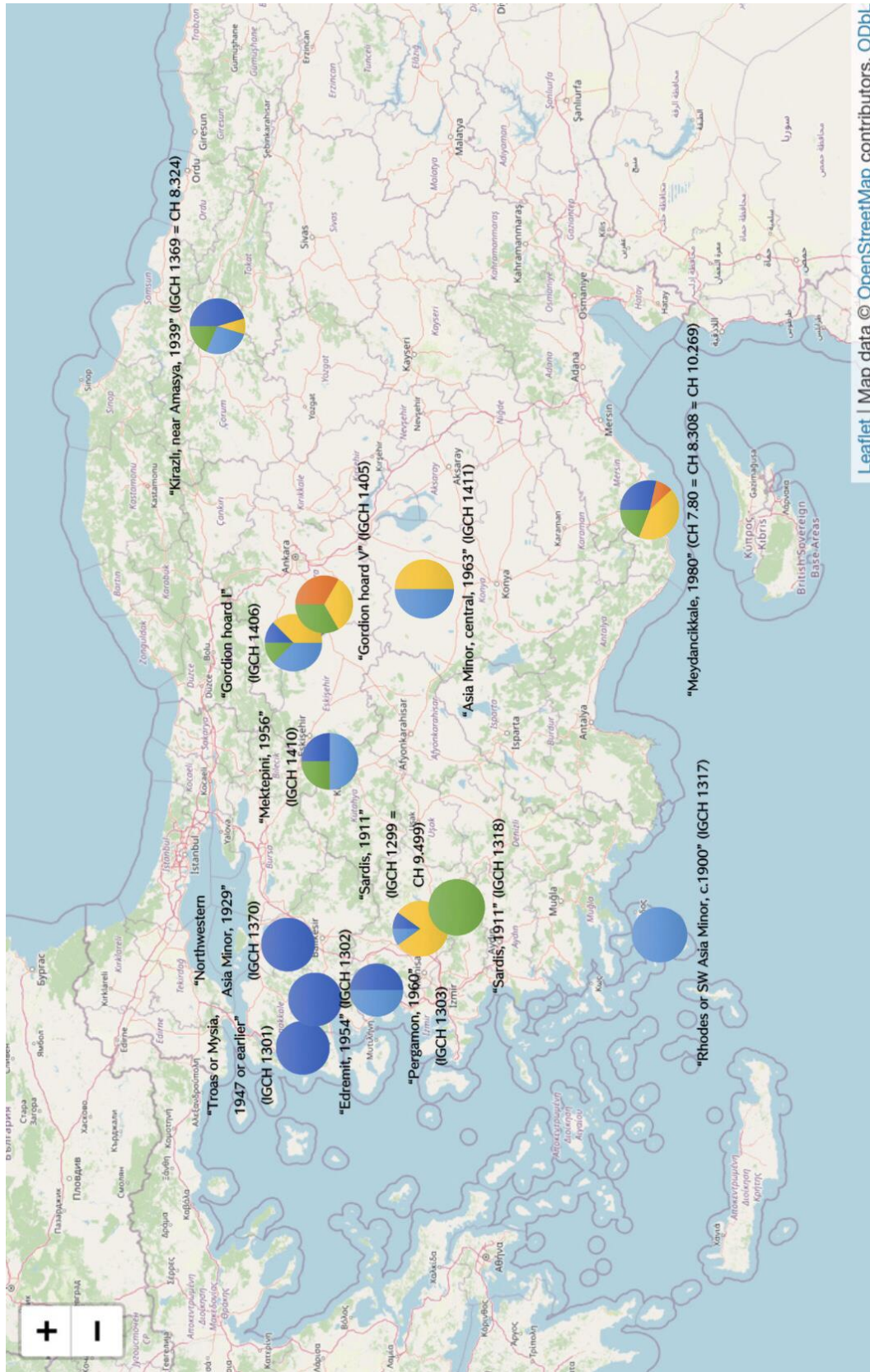


Map 9: Seleukos I – origin of coins (W. A. Minor: blue; S. A. Minor: orange; C. A. Minor: grey; Syria: yellow; Mesopotamia: light blue; Eastern Satrapies: green)



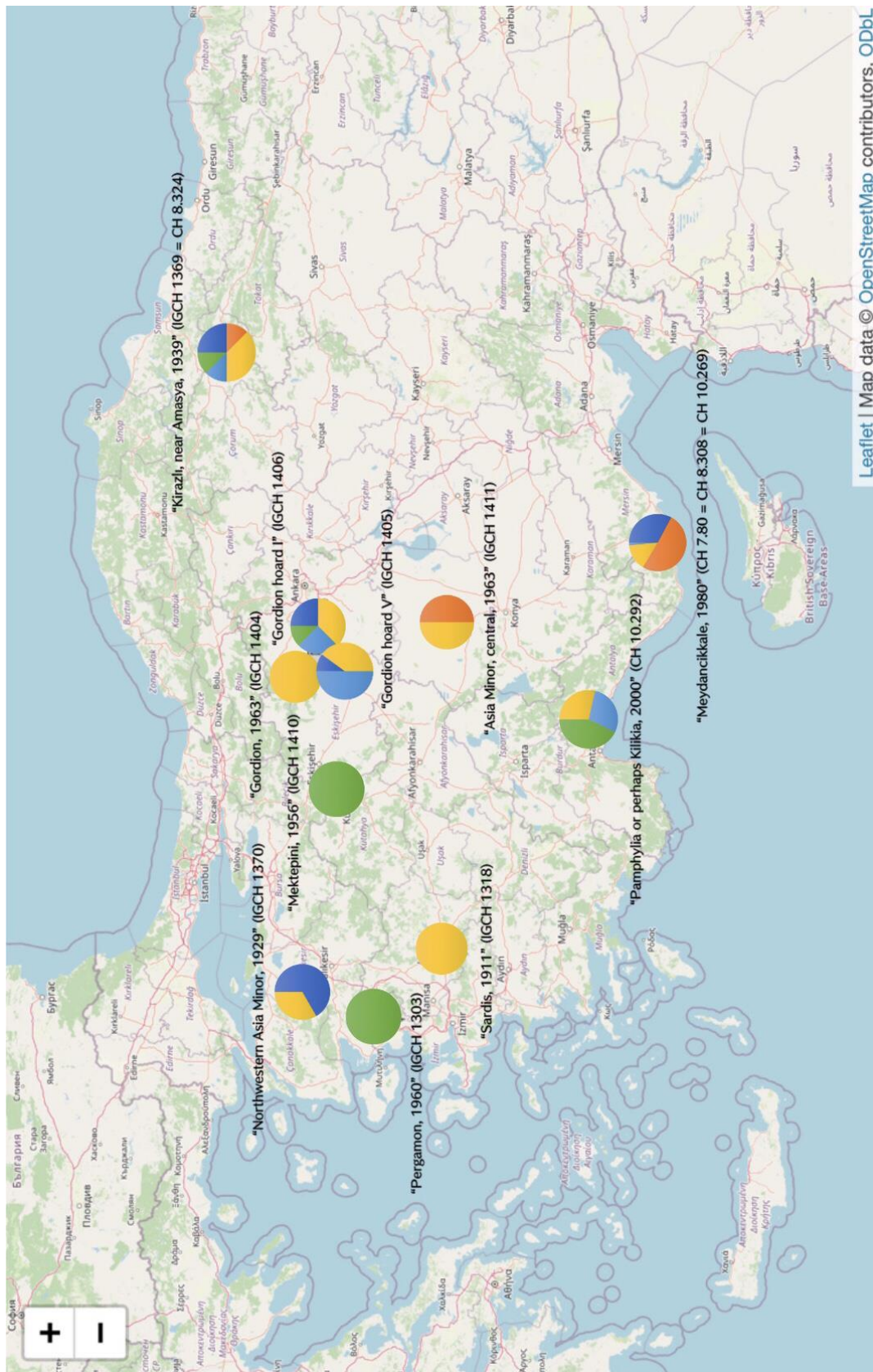
Leaflet | Map data © OpenStreetMap contributors, ODbL

Map 10: Antiochos I – origin of coins (W. A. Minor: blue; S. A. Minor: orange; C. A. Minor: grey; Syria: yellow; Mesopotamia: light blue; Eastern Satrapies: green)

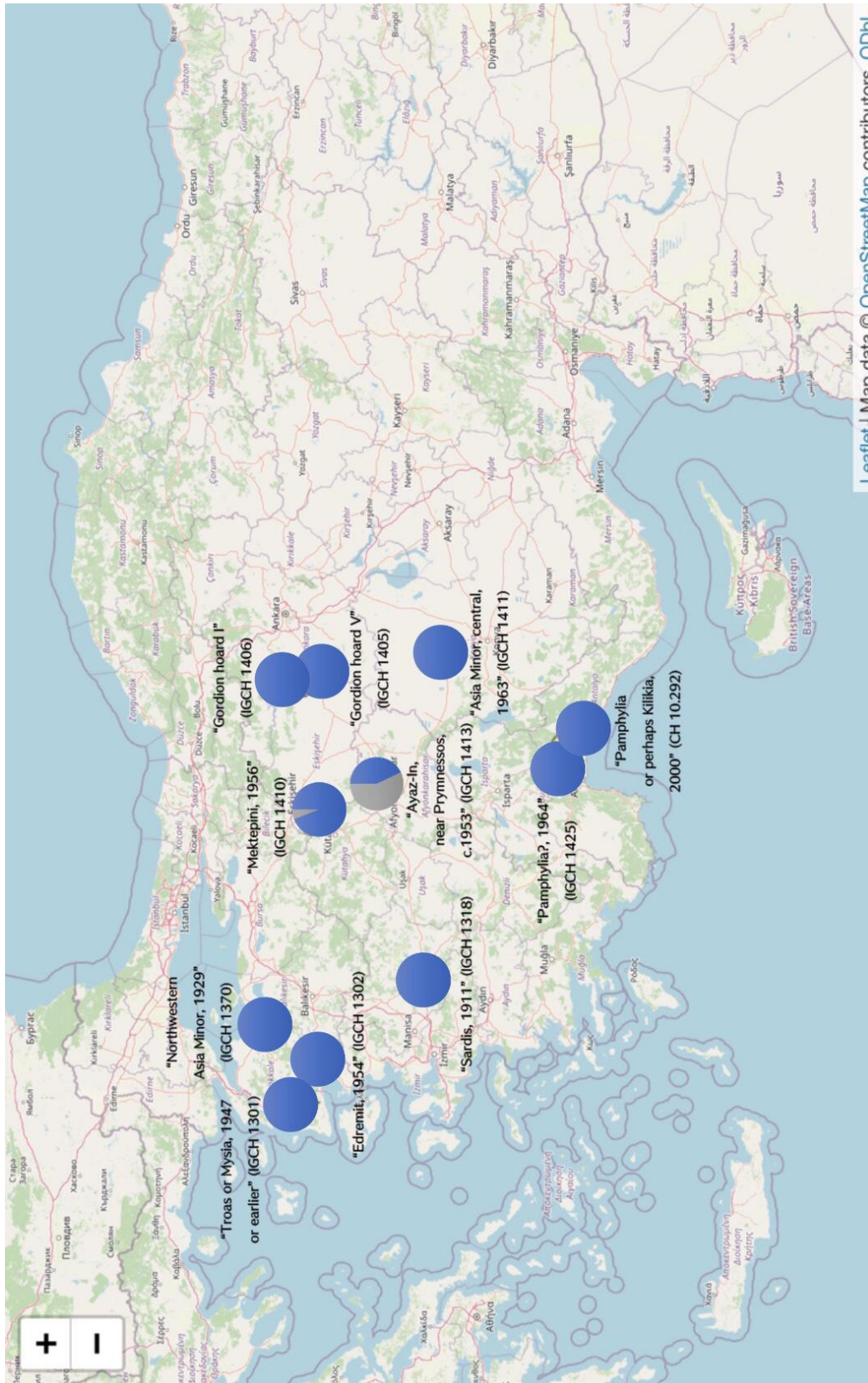


Map 11: Antiochos II – origin of coins (W. A. Minor: blue; S. A. Minor: orange; C. A. Minor: grey; Syria:

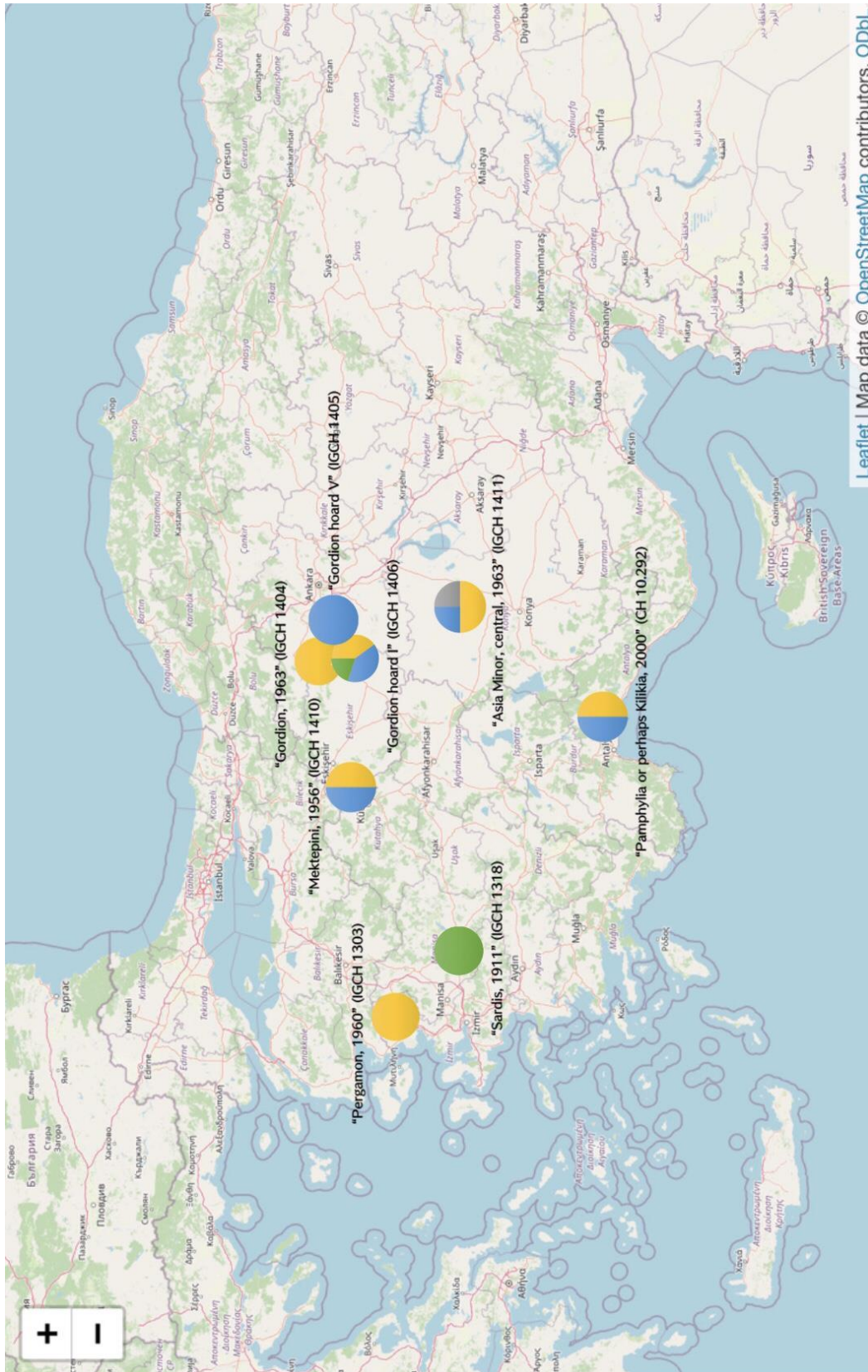
yellow; Mesopotamia: light blue; Eastern Satrapies: green)



Map 12: Seleukos II – origin of coins (W. A. Minor: blue; S. A. Minor: orange; C. A. Minor: grey; Syria: yellow; Mesopotamia: light blue; Eastern Satrapies: green)

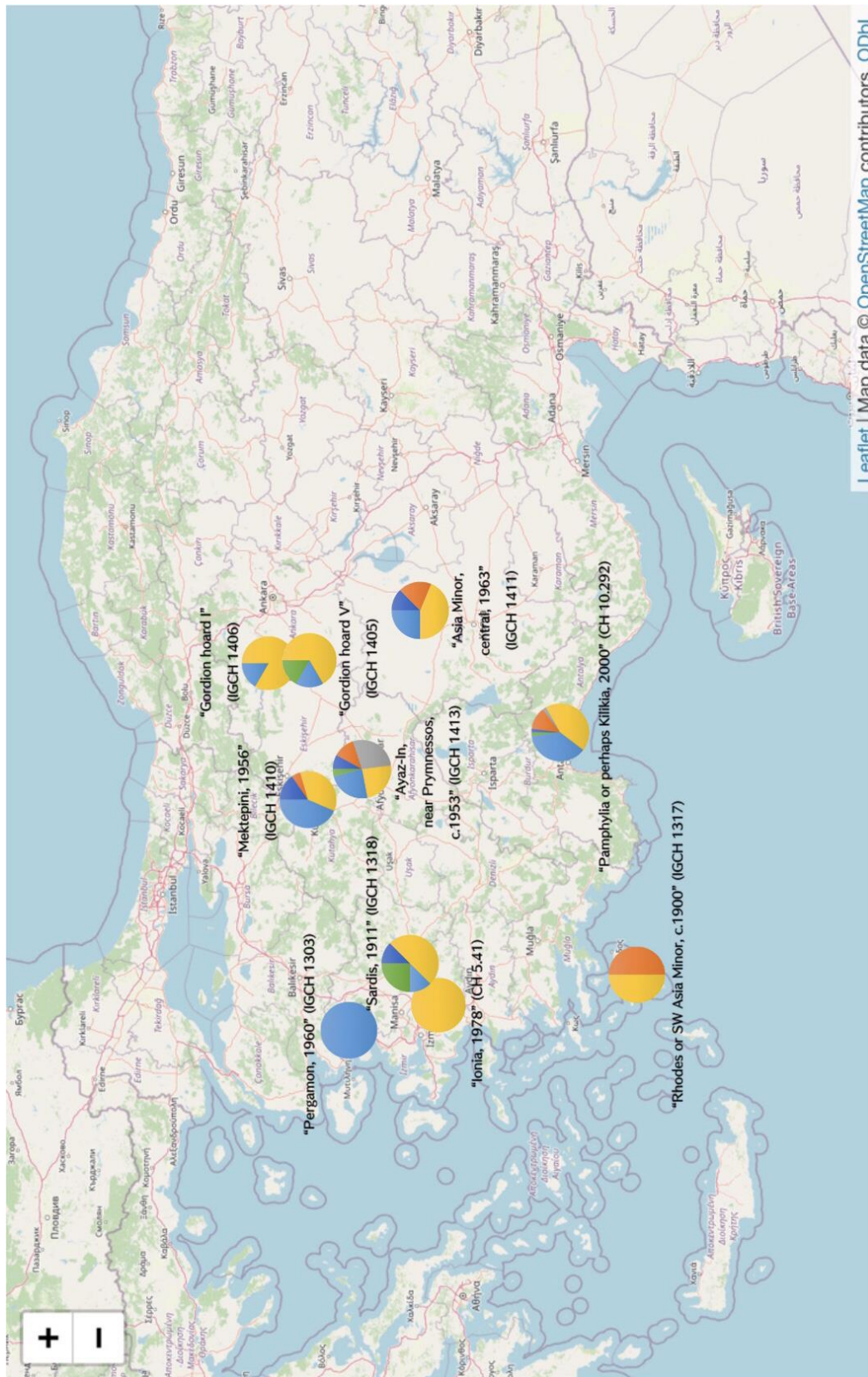


Map 13: Antiochos Hierax – origin of coins (W. A. Minor: *blue*; S. A. Minor: *orange*; C. A. Minor: *grey*; Syria: *yellow*; Mesopotamia: *light blue*; Eastern Satrapies: *green*)



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Map 14: Seleukos III – origin of coins (W. A. Minor: blue; S. A. Minor: orange; C. A. Minor: grey; Syria: yellow; Mesopotamia: light blue; Eastern Satrapies: green)



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Map 15: Antiochos III – origin of coins (W. A. Minor: blue; S. A. Minor: orange; C. A. Minor: grey; Syria: yellow; Mesopotamia: light blue; Eastern Satrapies: green)

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