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The earliest coin series of Thyateira: a precursor to the ‘quasi municipal’ Seleucid coinage

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The purpose of this article is to examine the circumstances under which Thyateira, a city in Lydia, issued its own coinage for the first time in the early 2nd century BC and to offer an overview of the early minting activity of the city.

Thyateira

Thyateira, called a “polis” by Strabo (13.4.4) and Stephanus Byzantius (s.v. Thyateira), was situated in the valley of Lykos in Lydia. Strabo also refers to it as a “settlement of the Macedonians” (13.4.4). Claudius Ptolemaeus (5.2.16) calls Thyateira the metropolis of Lydia (“μητρόπολις Λυδίας”). The city name betrays the existence of an ancient Lydian stronghold since “-teira” is considered to be an old Lydian term for “fortress” or “town”. According to Stephanus (s.v.), Thyateira was a Seleucid military colony founded by Seleucus I just after the Battle of the Kouropedion and before his death in 281 BC. A fragmentary inscription of the early 3rd century BC refers to “the Macedonians that live around Thyateira” and another to “the marshals and the soldiers of the Macedonians in Thyateira”. Another piece of evidence for the early history of the city is provided by a dedicatory inscription to Apollo Pityaēnos (Πιτυαηνός). The text is dated in the year 37 of the Seleucid era, 274 BC.

Little is known about the history of Thyateira in the 3rd century BC. The dedicatory inscription mentioned above tells us that the Galatians had invaded the territory some time before 274 BC. Thyateira remained in Seleucid hands until 226 BC when it was taken by the Attalids. In the later part of the 3rd century the city and its surrounding area continuously changed hands. By 223 BC when Antiochus III ascended to the throne Thyateira was regained by the Seleucids. But the city was lost to the Attalids again in 218 BC – for how long it is not known. In 201 BC, when the city was threatened by Philip V, Thyateira was under Seleucid control. The city was probably recaptured by Antiochus III during the invasion of Asia Minor in 198 BC when many other cities along the road that led from Sardes northwards to the Hellespont were also taken. It was certainly under Seleucid control in 190 BC since Livy (37.8.7, 37.37.6, 37.38.1) reports that Antiochus III camped near it on the eve of the battle of Magnesia ad Sipylum: circa Thyatiram. After the battle delegates from Thyateira

OGIS = W. Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae, Lipsiae 1903.
1 RE VI. A1, 657-659, s.v. Thyateira (1936) [J. Keil]; Der Kleine Pauly 5, 804, s.v. Thyateira (1975) [E.O.]; TAM V.2, 306-309; Der Neue Pauly 12/1, s.v. Thyateira (2002) [H. Kaletsch].
3 J. Keil, A v. Premerstein, II. Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien. Ausgeführt 1908 im Auftrag des K. K. Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts, Wien 1911, 28, commentary on n° 51; OGIS 211 (commentary); RE VI. A1 657, s.v. Thyateira (1936) [J. Keil]; Der Kleine Pauly 5, 804, s.v. Thyateira (1904) [E.O.]; Cohen, op. cit., fn. 2, 240 (with the older bibliography), 246; J. Ma, Antiochus III and the cities of Western Asia Minor, Oxford 1999, 35.
4 G. Radet, BCH 11, 1887, 466, n° 32 (= TAM V. 2, 1166): ὁι παρὰ Θυάτειρα Μυκαδόνος.
5 OGIS 211 with bibliography; TAM V.2, 901: Βασιλεία Σελευκίων ἐν Θυάτειρᾳ Μυκαδόνον οἱ ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται.
surrendered the city to the Romans (Liv. 37.44.4). Thyateira passed in 188 BC to the Attalids (Polyb. 21.45.10; Liv. 37.55.5)\(^\text{10}\).

**The earliest issue: types and iconography**

The Hellenistic coinage of Thyateira has been discussed in the past by T.E. Mionnet and more recently by F. Imhoof-Blumer and B.V. Head\(^\text{11}\). Both Imhoof-Blumer and Head agree that the bronze series Artemis bust/standing Apollo is the earliest in the coin history of Thyateira.

**Obv.:** Draped bust of Artemis to the r. The goddess wears a *stephane* on her head and her hair is swept up in a top-knot with another knot over the nape of the neck. The garment is fastened on the right shoulder by a round fibula. Bow and quiver over left shoulder.

Countermark: Seven pointed star on the l. field.

**Rev.:** ΘΥΑΤΕΙPH-ΝQN, Apollo standing in contraposto and naked, testing arrow and leaning with his left hand on grounded bow. Monogram in the left lower part of the field.

1. Berlin, Münzkabinett 18215051, 6,25g 19 mm, 12h Monogram (1) (Fig. 1).
   Imhoof-Blumer, *op.cit.*, fn. 11, 147, no 2, Pl. VI, 4.
2. London, British Museum 1892.0507.175, 6,94g, 21 mm, 12h Monogram (2) (Fig. 2).
   Head, *op. cit.*, fn. 2, 292, n° 1, Pl. XXIX, 1.

Both pieces are countermarked with a seven-pointed star on the obverse, just behind Artemis’ head.

The specimen in London has an elongated oval shaped flan. The series presents a draped bust of Artemis right, with bow and quiver at her shoulder on the obverse. The goddess wears a *stephane* on her head. Her hair is rolled around her face – over the forehead and the temples – and fastened in a round knot over the nape. Two braids of hair are drawn from above the ears and fastened on the crown of the head in a topknot. The topknot or bowknot, a well-known hairstyle in sculpture of the Hellenistic period, is usually identified as a “*crobylos*”, a term known from literary sources\(^\text{12}\). It is of some significance that here the earliest example of such a hairstyle on coinage can be detected. Artemis with a “*crobylos*” also appears on almost contemporary denarii\(^\text{13}\).

On the reverse Apollo is depicted standing in three quarter view to the left, testing an arrow and resting his left hand on a grounded bow. The ethnic, divided in two – ΘΥΑΤΕΙPH-ΝQN – frames the field on the right and the left. The outstretched right hand of Apollo cuts the –N of the end from the rest of the legend. On both specimens a monogram can be seen on the left side below the last letter of the ethnic. The specimen in Berlin bears a monogram made of an M and an E (?) which share the same vertical. The monogram on the specimen in London is more complicated. It has the shape of Π enclosing a P. Two small lines spread out on top of the horizontal bar of the Π and in alignment with the vertical of the P indicating the letter Y.

The Artemis can be identified with Artemis Boreitini, as demonstrated by an inscription\(^\text{14}\) and coins of the imperial period with a beautiful image of the goddess\(^\text{15}\). The κατάληξης – ήνη

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\(^{14}\) *TAM* V.2, 884.

indicates that the name comes from a place name, probably one of the *komai* among which the territory of the city was divided.\(^{16}\)

The “Apollo testing arrow leaning on his bow” type is well documented amongst the royal coinage of the Seleucids, where it was mainly used for lesser denominations. The iconographic type standing Apollo appears on coins of three of the Seleucid sovereigns: Antiochus I (sole regent: 280-261 BC)\(^{17}\), Seleucus II (246-226 BC)\(^{18}\) as well as Antiochus III (223-187 BC)\(^{19}\). Nevertheless the crude style of the coins of Thyateira, as well as the way that the small bow is placed near the body, finds a closest parallel with the coins of Antiochus III. During his reign “Apollo testing arrow leaning on the bow” was used for bronze series struck in Antioch on the Orontes.

The standing Apollo is a smaller and simplified version of the Apollo *Toxotes* type, that shows Apollo seated on an omphalos, testing an arrow and resting his left hand on grounded bow. This was the type *par excellence* of the royal Seleucid coinage. It was introduced under Antiochus I as an allusion to the dynasty’s descent and as an affirmation of royal might. Apollo *Toxotes* was widely used for the gold and silver issues of all the Seleucid sovereigns of the 3\(^{rd}\) and 2\(^{nd}\) centuries BC\(^{20}\).

**Dating and Interpretation**

The series in question is dated by Imhoof-Blumer before 190 BC and more specifically to the Seleucid era\(^{21}\). The *BMC Lydia* admits that the series may belong to the Seleucid period, but allows, that a later date, after the defeat of Antiochus at Magnesia ad Sipyrum and under Attalid rule, is also plausible\(^{22}\). Recently Hochard, in a brief overview, has placed the beginning of the entire bronze coinage of Thyateira to the period of Attalid domination\(^{23}\).

Military colonies in Mesopotamia had struck bronze coins for the military expeditions of Antiochus III. These emissions were short lived and they are difficult to ascribe to a particular

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\(^{18}\) Houghton, Lorber, *op. cit.*, fn. 17, n° 670 (bronze denomination C, Magnesia on the Maeander, Artemis head on the obverse, dated before the usurpation of Antiochus Hierax, 242 BC); n° 673 (bronze denomination C, Ephesus, before the capture of the city by the Ptolemies in 245 BC); n° 659-661 (bronze denominations B, C, D, Sardes, before the usurpation of Antiochus Hierax); n° 700 (bronze denomination C, uncertain mint); n° 781-784 (bronze denominations B, C, D, E, Seleucia on the Tigres), n° 794 (bronze denomination A, Susa); n° 671, 687, 701, 703, 717-720, 729, 786, 809 (gold staters of various mints); n° 688 (gold stater, Athena with attic helmet on the obverse, Antioch on the Orontes); n° 682-684, 691, 705, 732-733, 736, 812, 832 (silver drachms, Athena with Corinthian helmet on the obverse, various mints); n° 722 (silver drachm, uncertain mint), n° Ad29 (silver drachm, Antioch on the Orontes).

\(^{19}\) Houghton, Lorber, *op. cit.*, fn. 17, n° 1051-1052 (bronze denominations C, D, Antioch on the Orontes, Antiochus II portrait on the obverse), n° 1055-1059 (bronze denominations C, D, E, Antioch on the Orontes). Alexander I Balas had also minted silver coins with Apollo leaning on a bow: SNG Spaer 1412-1415 and bronzes: SNG Spaer 1448-1464.


\(^{21}\) Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.*, fn. 11, 147.

\(^{22}\) Head, *op. cit.*, fn. 2, cxxi.

city\textsuperscript{24}. During 215-213 BC Apollo/ tripod bronzes were overstruck on issues of Antioch and circulated around Sardes where the usurper Achaeus was trapped. They probably constituted a \textit{sitarchia} (provision money) for the besiegers\textsuperscript{25}.

An answer to the question as to why Thyateira might have minted coins under Antiochus III, although in neighboring Sardes a king’s mint was in operation, can be offered by the events of the year 197 BC. After the attack on Cilicia, Seleucid occupation spread across Caria, Ionia, Aeolis, Mysia and Troas. A few of the cities were ravaged while others surrendered. Thyateira, in the hands of the Attalids since 218 BC, was also taken\textsuperscript{26}. Whether the capture was a peaceful one remains uncertain.

It would be worth asking if Thyateira’s Apollon series were issued for the supply of the army, as so-called “sitarchia”. An inscription lists the favorable measures taken after the particularly violent capture of a city in the region of Sardes for the mitigation of the people. Among other things the citizens are freed from the obligation of supplying the stationed troops (\textit{ἀνεπισταθμεία}). The name of the city remains unfortunately unknown but the text gives witness to events of the military expedition in the year 197 BC\textsuperscript{27}.

The series in question are certainly not a royal bronze issue since it lacks the portrait and the legend of the king. Nevertheless it bears on the reverse an unmistakable Seleucid monetary type. The coinage of Thyateira possibly constitutes an early instance of the phenomenon of the so-called “quasi-municipal” coinages of the Seleucids\textsuperscript{28}. By 169/8 BC nineteen cities of the Seleucid kingdom in Cilicia, Syria, Coele Syria and Mesopotamia were allowed to mint bronze coins with the king’s portrait on the obverse and a local chosen type on the reverse. On the reverse both the ethnic and the king’s name and titles are to be found\textsuperscript{29}.

Such is the case for the small bronze coins issued between the autumn of 167 BC and the capture of Jerusalem by Judas Maccabeus in the autumn of 164 BC. The Seleucid authorities in Jerusalem issued bronze coins with the portrait of Antiochus IV Epiphanes on the obverse and the personification of the hellenised Jerusalem on the reverse\textsuperscript{30}.

When compared with the later “quasi municipal” coinages of the Seleucid Empire, the issues of Thyateira lack the king’s portrait on the obverse. Nor do they carry the king’s name and titles on the reverse. A royal intervention is nevertheless evident in the royal type of Apollo leaning on the bow on the reverse. Furthermore Thyateira’s coinage shared with the “quasi municipali” coinages the same purpose: to endow the cities with the profits of a token coinage and to offer a boost to the local economy\textsuperscript{31}.

As to the countermarking with a star on the obverse of both known specimens of Thyateira, this could indicate the revalidation of the series after the Battle of Magnesia ad Sipylum, when the Seleucids had lost the \textit{cis Taurus} Asia Minor. It should be noted that the majority of countermarks applied to Seleucid coins appear on the obverse only after the death of Antiochus III\textsuperscript{32}.

\textsuperscript{24} Houghton, Lorber, \textit{op. cit.}, fn. 17, n\textsuperscript{os} 1237-1271 (Ecbatana); n\textsuperscript{os} 1272-1277 (uncertain mint); n\textsuperscript{os} 1283-1284 (Ai Khanoun); n\textsuperscript{os} 1287-1288 (unattributed).
\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Idem}, n\textsuperscript{os} 976-982.
\textsuperscript{26} Cohen, \textit{op. cit.}, fn. 2, 239; Ma, \textit{op. cit.}, fn. 3, 59.
\textsuperscript{27} W.H. Buckler, D.M. Robinson, \textit{Sardis VII. Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Part I.}, Leyden, 1932, 7-9 n\textsuperscript{2}, SEG 37.1003; L. Robert, \textit{Nouvelles Inscriptions de Sardes I}, Paris 1964, 19-20; Ma, \textit{op. cit.}, fn. 3, Epigraphical Dossier, 352-353, n\textsuperscript{os} 36, 20, to the citizens of Herakleia of Latmos was given the same privilege of \textit{ανεπισταθμεία}: \textit{Idem}, Epigraphical Dossier, 341-345 n\textsuperscript{os} 31 II, 15.
\textsuperscript{31} Houghton, Lorber, Hoover, \textit{op. cit.}, fn. 21, 44-45.
\textsuperscript{32} \textit{Idem}, 195.
Who initiated the countermarking, the answer remains uncertain. The star is a widespread symbol in the Hellenistic period. It has been proposed that in the broad framework of Seleucid coinage the star might suggest a civic or private initiative for the revalidation of demonetized bronzes\(^33\). Since the issue was civic the countermarking appears to reiterate the coins’ face value under the new royal authority.

In at least one case (in Apamea) “quasi-municipal” coins are countermarked. The countermarking – a palm in this case – has been interpreted as having political motives: the palm was the symbol of the victorious Demetrius II Nicator and suggestive of Demetrius’ attack on the city’s freedoms and status, which the city had enjoyed until Alexander I Balas\(^34\).

The issue of Thyateira was the outcome of cooperation between local authorities and royal intentions and pursuits. Although any conclusion remains speculative, royal consent must certainly have been granted and the city was permitted to have its autonomous, “quasi-municipal” coinage. The placement of a specific Seleucid Apollon type for the reverse reveals a preferential status accorded to the city by the King. The encampment of Antiochus and his armies’ needs for supplies and provisions functioned as an instigator for this issue.

On account of Thyateira Antiochus III can be regarded as the initiator of the “quasi-municipal” coinage. The phenomenon has already been connected with him elsewhere: the reverse of the bronze issues of Tyre under Antiochus III have distinctly Phoenician and Tyrian types, that were later carried over into the true “municipal” coinage of the city\(^35\).

**Denomination**

One of the unresolved questions surrounding Hellenistic bronze coinage is the identification of the denominations. Our attempt to identify the weight standard of Thyateira has been based on the fact that only one denomination was produced, which then presumably did not have to be particularly closely regulated. When the weights and diameters of the two extant specimens are compared with the Seleucid bronze weight/denominational system, we can classify Thyateira’s coinage as the ‘double’ in E.T. Newell’s system, the equivalent of a *dichalkon* in face value based on a *chalkous* of 4g\(^36\). The weight and diameter of the two extant specimens of Thyateira cannot be associated with the four Seleucid denominations produced in Sardes that can be dated to 215-213 BC\(^37\). They can better be compared with the *doubles* (denomination B), the heaviest among the four denominations produced in Tyre after 198 BC\(^38\).

**Issues under the Attalids**

The Artemis bust/standing Apollo series is therefore dated prior to Antiochus’ III defeat at Magnesia.

Four more series can all be attributed to another issue that can be dated to the Attalid era, i.e. after 188 BC. They certainly predate the well-known cistophori of Thyateira that have been associated with Attalid coins and dated to 133-130 BC\(^39\).

These four series are classified as belonging to the same issue on account of the control links: they share the same monogram. The monogram has the overall shape of an N with a bar linking the two verticals in middle height. Thus the letter H seems to be as dominant as the letter N. Two short lines spreading above the left vertical bar of the H

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\(^33\) *Idem*, 198.


\(^35\) Houghton, Lorber, *op. cit.*, fn. 17, 409-411, n**10** 1078-1083; Houghton, Lorber, Hoover, *op. cit.*, **11** 29, 44.


\(^37\) Houghton, Lorber, *op. cit.*, fn. 17, 373-376, n**10** 976A-983.

\(^38\) *Idem*, 409-411, n**10** 1078-1083.

indicate an Y. A semi-circle facing left is attached on the right vertical of the H indicating a P. Thus the letters N, H, Y, P can be unscrambled with certainty. Perhaps an A was also intended, formed by the left vertical, the diagonal of the N, and the horizontal bar. The monogram called here for convenience monogram (3) can clearly be seen on British Museum 1839,0919.472 (9.37g 20mm) (=Head, op.cit., fn. 2, 292 no 3 Pl. XXIX, 2), SNG Cop. 569 (7.81g 19mm) as well as Berlin Münzkabinett 18215052.

These four series are listed in descending order of size.

Denomination A (Double): 7.71-9.37g, 19-21mm.
Obv.: Apollo head r., laureate, two long curls hanging down neck.
Rev.: ΘΥΑΤΕΙ-ΡΗΝΩΝ. Tripod, fillets hanging from handles; above monogram (2). All within laurel-wreath.
1. British Museum 1839,0919.472 Monogram (3) (Fig. 3).
2. SNG Cop. 569 Monogram (3).

Denomination B (Unit): 2.98-3.69g, 16-17mm.
Obv.: Artemis bust to the r.
Rev.: ΘΥΑΤΕΙ-ΡΗΝΩΝ. Stag to the r.
1. British Museum 1921,0412.66. In field to r., monogram (Fig. 4).
2. Berlin Münzkabinett 18215052. In field to r., monogram (3) (Fig. 5).
3. Weber Coll. 6923. In field to r., monogram K.

Denomination C (Half): 3.16-5.12g, 14-16mm.
Obv.: Apollo head to the r.
Rev.: ΘΥΑΤΕΙ / ΡΗΝΩΝ. Double axe.
1. British Museum 1899,0703.58 (Fig. 6).
5. SNG Cop. 570.
6. SNG Cop. 571.
7. SNG v. Aul. 3199.
8. SNG v. Aul. 3200.
9. SNG Greece 7, KIKPE, 924.
10. Weber Coll. 6921 (3.69g. 15mm).
11. Weber Coll. 6922 (5.12g. 16mm).

Denomination D (Quarter): 2.36g, 12mm.
Obv.: Artemis bust to the r.
Rev.: ΘΥΑΤΕΙ – ΡΗΝΩΝ. Bow and quiver framed by the ethnic ΘΥΑΤΕΙ – ΡΗΝΩΝ.
1. British Museum BNK.G.741 (Fig. 7).

The dating of the issue is uncertain but the wreath on the obverse of denomination A indicates that it could be contemporaneous with the wreath coinages of the middle of the 2nd century BC that are struck in many cities in Asia Minor and mainland Greece. The monetary types closely follow the pattern set up by the earlier Seleucid issue in continuing to display Apollo and Artemis. The double axe on the obverse helps identify the god here with Apollo Tyrimnos the patron god of Thyateira, also known from inscriptions.

Conclusions

In 190 BC, on the eve of the Battle of Magnesia ad Sipylum, the stationing of the armies of Antiochus III in the vicinity of Thyateira occasioned a bronze issue in just one denomination. It can be regarded as the precursor to the “quasi-municipal” coinages, a phenomenon typical for Syria during the late Seleucid period. The issue displays a royal type for the obverse accompanied by the ethnic. The countermarks on both known specimens reveal the revalidation of the coinage in response to new circumstances after Antiochus III’s defeat. The city then passed into the hands of the Attalids and in the later part of the 2nd century BC bronzes were issued in four denominations. The minting activity of the city was discontinued until the Roman imperial period.

Translation: by the author.