

Thrace – Local Coinage and Regional Identity

Ulrike Peter
Vladimir F. Stolba
(eds.)



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THRACE, WITH ITS HETEROGENEOUS POPULATION; proximity to the Greek civilisation; and the long-lasting dominance of the Persians, Macedonians, and Romans that has impacted culture, language, and political institutions of this historical landscape, is a unique testing ground for studying regionalism and identity in antiquity. This book explores these topics through the lens of coinage, numismatic iconography, and coin circulation. Including a series of case studies and theoretical chapters, this volume does not offer a conclusive solution to all of the questions that emerge. Yet the articles presented here, both in their entirety and individually, show the intricacy and manifoldness of the problem and outline prospects for further research.

Thrace – Local Coinage and Regional Identity

edited by

Ulrike Peter – Vladimir F. Stolba

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Preface

This volume presents the outcomes of the international symposium *Thrace – Local Coinage and Regional Identity: Numismatic Research in the Digital Age*, held on April 15–17, 2015 and organized by the Corpus Nummorum Project of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities (BBAW) and the Münzkabinett Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, with generous support from the German Research Foundation (DFG), the TOPOI Cluster of Excellence, and the International Relations Department of the BBAW.¹ We warmly thank all our colleagues for participating in the conference; the majority of their contributions could be published in this volume.

The conference was preceded by a workshop, *Greek Coins – Collaboration in the Digital Age*, which was devoted to the creation of an overarching digital corpus of ancient Greek coin types and followed up on the workshops that had already been held in Berlin (2012) and Paris (2014).² These meetings and discussions aimed for enhanced international cooperation that should result in a major reference work encompassing coin types of some 700 ancient Greek mints, of which many had struck coins over a long period of time. As with the already well-established numismatic namespace www.nomisma.org this ambitious project (www.greekcoinage.org), stands under the patronage of the International Numismatic Council. The web portal Corpus Nummorum Online (www.corpus-nummorum.eu) – which started as a pilot project concerned initially with the coinages of Thrace and which over the years has expanded to also include Moesia Inferior, Mysia and the Troad – paves the way for the aforementioned online corpus of ancient Greek coin types, approaching this major goal from a regional perspective. Using standardized type descriptions in German and English, this numismatic research database (CN) contains information on individual coins, as well as on types and dies, all of which are provided with unique resource identifiers (URIs). These CN coins (CN and ID-number) and types (CN Type and ID-Number) are referenced in the papers collected in this volume.

The portal could not have been realized without financial support from the German Research Foundation and the Federal Ministry for Education and Research. It is the work of many committed colleagues and student assistants, whose names can be found on the CN website, in the “Team” section. We owe special thanks to Angela Berthold,

1 <https://www.corpus-nummorum.eu/news/901>.

2 <https://www.corpus-nummorum.eu/news/897>.

Georgia Bousia, Lily Grozdanova, Hristina Ivanova, and Domenic Städtler for their meticulous recording of Thracian coins. For the technical implementation of the project and IT solutions, we are indebted to our colleagues from the TELOTA working group of the BBAW, and particularly to Karsten Tolle of the Big Data Lab, University of Frankfurt/Main, whose assistance we were happy to gain for the project's later phases. We are also much obliged to the Berlin Münzkabinett, and in particular to its director, Bernhard Weisser, who has supported and promoted the project from the very first day and co-organized this conference. For the careful administrative assistance of the symposium we thank Arianna Zischow from the TOPOI Cluster. Our thanks also go to all members of Research Group B-2 of the TOPOI Cluster of Excellence and especially Kerstin Hofmann, for the diverse and stimulating discussions on the broad and much debated topic of identity. For their support we are also very grateful to the TOPOI Cluster and its directors, Gerd Graßhoff and Michael Meyer. Gerd Graßhoff has made possible the publication of this volume as a digital enhanced book. Following the constant expansion of the portal, the information in the book will also be enriched. We very much hope that in the future we will be able to markup other useful information, such as persons and geographical data, and thus enhance the added value of a parallel print and online edition. For the technical vision of this book and its realization we thank again most warmly the tireless encouragement of Gerd Graßhoff. In some practical matters, our work on this volume was assisted by Hannah Vogler. Finally, we are also indebted to Sasha Agins, who copy-edited the English texts.

1 „Land ohne Grenzen“ – Thrakiens Münzprägung und Identität

Ulrike Peter – Vladimir F. Stolba

Dieser Band ist das Ergebnis des internationalen Symposiums „*Thrace – Local Coinage and Regional Identity: Numismatic Research in the Digital Age*“, das vom 15.–17. April 2015 an der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften stattgefunden hat. Initiatoren und Veranstalter waren zwei Projekte: zum einen das Thrakienportal, zu dem sich die Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften und das Berliner Münzkabinett mit seinem Direktor Bernhard Weisser zusammengeschlossen haben, und zum anderen das Projekt B-4-2 des Excellence Clusters TOPOI. Der Einladung zur Standortbestimmung und Erörterung der Probleme der numismatischen Thrakienforschung sowie der Perspektiven, die die kooperative Münzerschließung im Zeitalter der Neuen Medien bietet, folgten namhafte Wissenschaftler aus zwölf Ländern.

Die geographische Bestimmung Thrakiens ist keine leichte Aufgabe (Abb. 1). Seit Eckhels Zeiten wird das Gebiet in numismatischen Studien traditionell mit dem Territorium der heutigen Europäischen Türkei, Nordostgriechenland und Bulgarien verbunden. Zurückgehend auf die römische Provinz Thrakien, die unter Kaiser Claudius gegründet wurde und bis 395 n. Chr. in verschiedenen Grenzen existierte, handelt es sich jedoch nur um ein Fragment dessen, was einst als thrakisches Land gegolten hat.

Eine Definition von Thrakien als jenem Land, in dem die Thraker leben, erlaubt keinesfalls eine klare Vorstellung von seinen physischen Grenzen. So ist zum einen der Begriff $\Theta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$, ebenso wie $\Sigma\acute{\kappa}\upsilon\theta\alpha\iota$, kein Ethnonym im eigentlichen Sinn, sondern wird eher als kumulative Bezeichnung (Exonym) gewählt, die Außenstehende für eine Vielzahl von Ethnien verwendeten, die sie aufgrund von Ähnlichkeiten in der materiellen Kultur, in Religion, Bräuchen, Sprache und allgemeiner Lebensweise als miteinander verwandt ansahen. Zum anderen sind bei der Bestimmung die Fluktuationen und die Unsicherheiten der Grenzen dieser Stämme und ihrer Migrationen zu berücksichtigen ebenso wie die Entwicklung der geografischen Vorstellungen in der Antike über diese Region und die sich ständig verändernden politischen Realitäten.

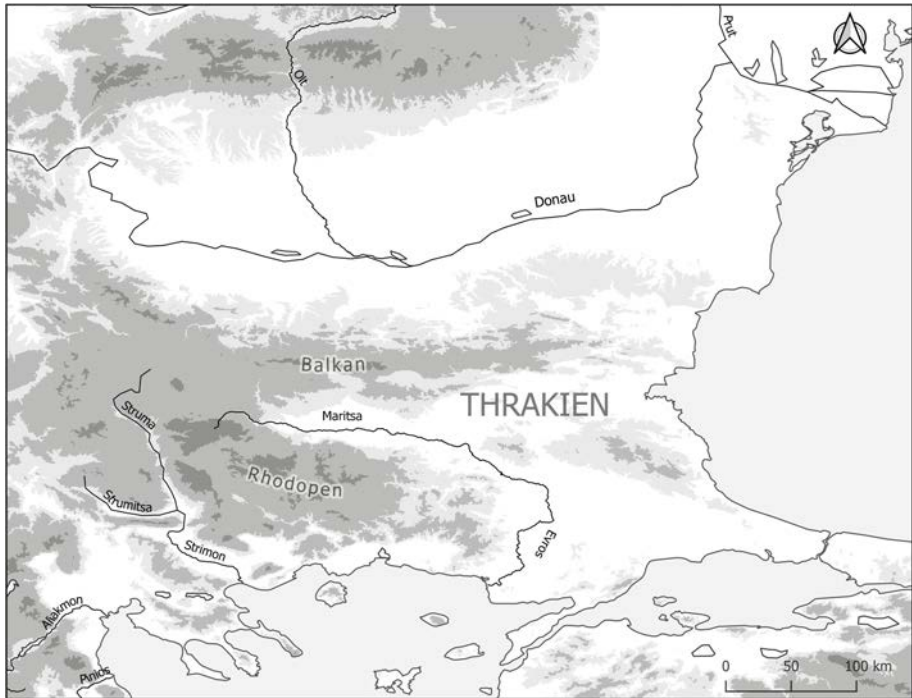


Abb. 1 Übersichtskarte von Thrakien.

Benannt nach der Schwester der Europe, Θράκη, die die Tochter des Okeanos und der Parthenope war, galt Thrakien in der Antike lange Zeit als eigenständiger Erdteil. Herodot nennt die Thraker das zweitgrößte Volk nach den Indern¹ und laut Dionysius Periegetus hat ihr Land keine Grenzen.² Ohne Berücksichtigung der nach Kleinasien übergesiedelten Stämme lassen sich die Grenzen des Thrakischen Gebietes mehr oder weniger zuverlässig nur im Süden und Osten bestimmen, wo sie auf natürliche Weise durch die Gewässer der nördlichen Ägäis, des Hellesponts, der Propontis und des Schwarzen Meeres begrenzt wurden (Abb. 1).

Wenn man Thrakien als Land der Thraker versteht, wird auch das Gebiet nördlich der Donau mit eingeschlossen, inklusive der Karpatenregion, die von sprachlich verwandten geto-dakischen Stämmen besiedelt war und häufig als Wiege der Thraker bezeichnet wird.³ Ungeachtet bestimmter Unterschiede in Religion und Sitten betrach-

1 Hdt. 5.3.1: Θρηκίων δὲ ἔθνος μέγιστον ἐστὶ μετὰ γὰρ Ἰνδοῦς πάντων ἀνθρώπων.

2 Dionys. Per. 323: Θρηκίαι, ἀπείριον γαίαν ἔχοντες.

3 E.g. Bouzek und Graninger 2015, 13.

teten die Griechen die Geten als Thraker, wie Herodot, Strabo und andere Autoren explizit bezeugen.⁴ Diese Identifizierung widerspricht nicht dem Hinweis Herodots, dass der Istros die Grenze zwischen Thrakien und Skythien bildete (Hdt. 4.99),⁵ denn an dieser Stelle spricht er nur vom Delta der Donau, die bekanntermaßen, bevor sie ins Meer einmündet, scharf nach Norden abbiegt. Die geto-dakischen Gebiete sind entsprechend westlich und nordwestlich des Flusses tief im Landesinneren zu verorten. Im gleichen Sinne sind die Hinweise von Pseudo-Skylax und Strabo sowie von Plinius und Pomponius Mela zu verstehen, deren ethnogeografische Informationen hinsichtlich dieser Region größtenteils auf den „Vater der Geschichte“ zurückgehen.⁶ Mit anderen Worten, laut den antiken Vorstellungen bildete die Mündung des Istros die nördliche Grenze des thrakischen Gebietes und nicht – wie es heutzutage häufig interpretiert wird – der Verlauf des Istros selbst viel weiter südlich (westlich von Silistra).⁷ Die thrakischen (geto-dakischen) Gebiete erstreckten sich also bereits in der Zeit Herodots viel weiter nach Norden.

Dies wird auch durch archäologische Zeugnisse bestätigt, die getische Siedlungen des 6.–5. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts im Norden bis zum Pruth bezeugen, der fast erst am Delta in die Donau mündet, und ein Jahrhundert später sogar noch weiter nördlich bis zum Dnjestr.⁸ Auch Strabo (7.3.2) erwähnte Thraker, die zu beiden Seiten des Istros lebten. Versuche allerdings, die östliche Siedlungsgrenze der Thraker in das Mündungsgebiet des Dnepr-Bug zu verlegen, nur weil in Siedlungen der Chora von Olbia einzelne Elemente der thrakischen materiellen Kultur (handmodellerte Keramik) zu finden sind,⁹ entbehren einer ausreichenden Grundlage und werden auch durch schriftliche Quellen nicht bestätigt.

Die Bestimmung der westlichen Grenze, wo Thrakien an Makedonien und Illyrien stieß, ist ebenfalls schwierig. Entscheidend ist hier nicht nur, um welches Thrakien welcher Zeit es sich handelt, sondern auch die Perspektive, die sich in den Quellen und in den politischen Ambitionen sowohl der antiken als auch der Neuzeit widerspiegelt. Für Hekataios (*FGrHist* 1 F 146), der die Städte Therme und Chalastra zu Thrakien zählte, war die westliche Grenze vermutlich der Axios (Vardar), der westlich der

4 Hdt. 4.93.1. οἱ δὲ Γέται <...>, Θρηκίων ἔοντες ἀνδρηϊότατοι καὶ δικαιοτάτοι; Strab. 7.3.2: οἱ τοίνυν Ἕλληνας τοὺς Γέτας Θράκας ὑπελάμβανον; vgl. Hdt. 5.3.2: οὐνόματα δ' ἔχουσι πολλὰ κατὰ χώρας ἕκαστοι, νόμοισι δὲ οὔτοι παραπλησίοισι πάντες χρέωνται κατὰ πάντα, πλὴν Γετέων καὶ Τραυσῶν καὶ τῶν κατ' ἕπερθε Κρησιωναίων οἰκεόντων; Mela 2.18: *una gens Thracas habitant, aliis aliisque praediti et nominibus et moribus. quidam feri sunt et paratissimi ad mortem, Getae utique*. Siehe auch Oltean 2007, 45.

5 Vgl. Thuc. 2.97.1.

6 Ps.-Skyl. *PPE* 67–68 (Counillon); Plin. *NH* 4.19; Mela 2.16.

7 Stein 1857, 244 ad 4.99; Oberhummer 1936, 395; Spiridonov 1983, 48 Karte 21 (Thracia Herodotiana); Vulpe 1991, 189–190; Asheri 2007, 651. Vgl. aber Dan 2015, 135.

8 Meljukova 1979, 160–163; Niculiță 1991, 199–200, Karten 1 und 2.

9 Marčenko 1991, 209–212.

Chalkidike in den Thermaischen Golf mündet.¹⁰ Es ist jedoch offensichtlich, dass sich diese Grenze im Laufe der Zeit immer weiter nach Osten verschoben hat, zunächst bis zum Strymon¹¹ und dann bis zum Mestos (Nestos).¹²

Somit ist die Frage, was unter Thrakien zu verstehen ist, nicht nur untrennbar mit der Frage nach einer humangeographischen und sprachlichen Einheit zu verbinden, sondern auch mit einem zeitlichen Aspekt. In diesem Band, der sich mit verschiedenen Fragen der Münzprägung und des Geldumlaufs in einem *regionalen* kulturellen, historischen und anthropogeografischen Kontext befasst, beschränken wir uns deshalb auf das Gebiet, das von der Donau (Istros), der Struma (Strymon) sowie den Küsten der Nordägäis und des westlichen Pontos begrenzt wird. Im Norden, Osten und Süden fällt dies mit den geografischen Grenzen der Balkanhalbinsel¹³ sowie den Grenzen des Odrysenreiches während seiner Blüte zusammen, wobei die geto-dakischen Stämme außer Acht gelassen werden, da sie nicht nur kulturell, sondern auch numismatisch eine eigenständige Region darstellten. Die Schwankungen an der Peripherie der thrakischen Welt wirkten sich nicht auf ihren Kern aus, dessen charakteristische geografische Konstanten unverändert blieben. Ohne das Risiko eines geografischen Determinismus einzugehen, ist die Bedeutung der physischen und geografischen Merkmale hervorzuheben, die das Wesen der Wirtschaftsstruktur im antiken Thrakien ausmachten. Dies ist jedoch nur einer der entscheidenden Faktoren, die die kulturelle Eigenheit der Region bestimmt haben. Bei der Wahrnehmung dieser Besonderheiten ist es zudem schwierig, zwischen den realen und fiktiven Eindrücken zu unterscheiden.

Die Reihe der üblichen Bilder, die traditionell mit Thrakien als dem Land des Orpheus, des Diomedes und des Rhesus, mit thrakischen Pferden und Gold verbunden werden, zusammen mit abstrakt idealisierten Vorstellungen über Bräuche und Sitten seiner Bewohner, sind ein semantisches Kontinuum von Begriffen und Konzepten, die außerhalb des thrakischen Raums entwickelt wurden.¹⁴ Die Heterogenität der thrakischen Stämme selbst sowie die Nähe zur griechischen Zivilisation, die langandauernde Dominanz der Perser und Makedonier sowie die Jahrhunderte römischer, byzantinischer und osmanischer Herrschaft haben Kultur, Sprache und politische Institutionen des anthropogeographischen Gebietes geprägt, das zu Recht als kultureller Palimpsest bezeichnet wird. Wenn man nun das Problem der Politisierung und übermäßigen

10 Steph. Byz. s.v. Χαλάστρα: πόλις Θράκης περι τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον. Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπη·«ἐν δ' αὐτῷ Θέρμη πόλις Ἑλλήνων Θρηίκων, ἐν δὲ Χαλάστρη πόλις Θρηίκων»; idem, s.v. Θέρμη: πόλις Θράκης. Ἀπολλόδορος δὲ Μακεδονίας φησὶ καὶ Θουκυδίδης.

11 Ps.-Skyl. 67.1 (Shipley); Strab. 7.7.4; Plin. *NH* 4.19; Solin. 10.

12 Strab. 7 fr. 15 (Radt): τὸ Νέστου στόμα τοῦ διορίζοντος Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θράκην.

13 Siehe z.B. Sobolev 2013, 72–74 und detaillierter Vezenkov 2017.

14 Wie Thrakien und die Thraker in den Augen der Griechen gesehen wurden, vgl. Archibald 1998, 94–102.

Ethnisierung der Geschichte Thrakiens im modernen akademischen Diskurs beiseite lässt,¹⁵ ist man dann berechtigt, hier nach etwas rein „Thrakischem“, regional Definiertem zu suchen, obwohl Multikulturalismus und Polygenese die grundlegenden methodologischen Prinzipien der modernen Balkanforschung bleiben? Ist es möglich, innerhalb einer Vielzahl spezifischer Formen und Erscheinungen einen sogenannten „thrakischen Prototyp“ zu finden? Sind die Ideen der modernen Ethnologie, die den *homo balcanicus* als „[a] man half-way between barbarity and civilization, nature and culture, tradition and modernity, raw and cooked“¹⁶ charakterisieren, auf die Situation in der Antike übertragbar? Ist es letztlich sinnvoll, nach Erscheinungsformen regionaler Identität bei jenen zu suchen, die „despite a fundamentally common language and heritage, failed ever to achieve a national consciousness“?¹⁷

In Anbetracht der Komplexität und Vielseitigkeit dieses Problems haben wir uns zum Ziel gesetzt, uns einer Lösung durch Analyse einer einzigen Quellenkategorie anzunähern: Es sollen die Münzprägung, die numismatische Ikonographie und der Geldumlauf untersucht werden. Der Vorteil der Münze als Quelle liegt hier nicht nur in der Vielfalt und Vielschichtigkeit der darin enthaltenen historischen Informationen (einschließlich auch solcher scheinbar unerwarteter Aspekte wie Merkmale von Flora und Fauna eines bestimmten Ortes),¹⁸ sondern auch in der schier Masse des Materials, die vielleicht nur mit den Keramikfunden vergleichbar ist. Aus der historischen Landschaft Thrakien kennen wir zudem vielfältige Münzemissionen von den frühen Münzen thrako-makedonischer Stämme und Dynasten bis zum Ende der städtischen Prägungen im 3. nachchristlichen Jahrhundert. Thrakien ist eine Region, in der die Anzahl der jährlich neu zu Tage tretenden Typen und Varianten bis hin zu neuen Münzstätten und bis dahin unbekanntem Herrscherprägungen so groß ist wie sonst nirgendwo.¹⁹

Seit 2013 wurde im Rahmen der neuen wissenschaftlichen Initiative zur Etablierung eines *Corpus Nummorum Thracorum* (<https://www.corpus-nummorum.eu>) mit der digitalen Erfassung dieses fragmentierten und häufig aus verschiedenen Gründen schwer zugänglichen Materials begonnen. Bisher konnten allein mehr als 21.000 Münzen dieser Region aufgenommen werden. Vor kurzem hat das Projekt seinen geografischen Rahmen auf die benachbarten Gebiete erweitert und somit erheblich ausgedehnt. Das Corpus Nummorum Online ist eine Open-Access-Ressource und steht im Zusammenhang mit internationalen Initiativen zur Erschließung der antiken

15 Dazu vgl. bspw. Marinov 2015; Marinov 2016; Marinov und Zorzin 2017 und ebenfalls Wartenberg (in diesem Band).

16 Živković 1998, 72–98; Živković 2011, 127.

17 Hoddinott 1981, 14.

18 Dazu vgl. bspw. Imhoof-Blumer und Keller 1889; Nollé 2017, 42–47.

19 Peter 2009, 32–34, 37–45; Peter und Stolba 2015, 39–43, 46–58.

griechischen Münztypen. Ziel ist es nicht nur, Daten zur antiken griechischen Prägung und zur römischen Provinzialprägung von Thrakien, Niedermösien, Mysien und der Troas zu sammeln und zu systematisieren, sondern auch ein effektives Recherchewerkzeug für die Auswertung und Analyse mit Linked Open Data zu schaffen.²⁰ Dieses Instrument und die Zielsetzungen des Portals wurden auf dem Symposium vorgestellt. Es ist eine gemeinsame Anstrengung, davon zeugen die vielen Beiträge – seien es Museen oder öffentliche wie auch private Sammlungen und der Handel – die Münzen in die Datenbank einpflegen oder deren Import bzw. deren Verknüpfung erlauben.

Auf der Basis des im Portal versammelten Materials wurden auf der Konferenz eine Reihe spezifischer historischer und numismatischer Fragen zur Diskussion gestellt: Lässt sich bei den mannigfaltigen und auf den ersten Blick recht unterschiedlichen lokalen Prägungen des thrakischen Kulturraums so etwas wie eine spezifisch thrakische Identität fassen und darstellen? Welche regionalspezifische Ausgestaltung erhielt das an sich griechische Phänomen der Münzprägung und Geldwirtschaft in Thrakien? Können hinter griechischer oder römischer Ikonographie auch autochthone Traditionen aufgespürt werden?

In seiner Einführung zu „*Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*“ identifizierte Chris Howgego sieben grundlegende soziokulturelle Kategorien, in denen sich verschiedene Erscheinungsformen von Identität in den römischen Provinzialprägungen widerspiegeln können: 1) Religion; 2) Abbildung von Monumentalität; 3) Darstellung der Vergangenheit; 4) Kodifizierung der Zeit; 5) Strukturierung und Repräsentation von Raum und Orten; 6) Wahl der Sprache; 7) Grad der Identität bzw. Verbundenheit mit der Reichsmacht.²¹ Was kann auf der Basis der zeitlich früheren Münzprägungen – also jener der klassischen (vgl. den Überblick von U. Wartenberg in diesem Band) und hellenistischen Zeit (siehe die Zusammenfassung von F. de Callatay in diesem Band) – aus dem thrakischen Raum hierzu ergänzt werden? Es ist offensichtlich, dass sich die Herausbildung von Identitäten nicht nur entlang der Linie von Ähnlichkeit mit dem Eigenen, Nahen und Verständlichen vollzog, sondern auch (und bis heute²²) häufig entlang der Linie der Ausgrenzung und des Widerspruchs gegenüber dem Fremden. Hierbei stellt sich nicht nur die Frage, wie sich die äußere Wahrnehmung von Thrakien und den Thrakern herausbildete – dies bereits seit der Zeit Homers – und sich dann im Laufe der Jahrhunderte wandelte,²³ sondern auch, wie sich diese äußere Perspektive letztendlich auf die der inneren und der Autostereotypen auswirkte (vgl. den Beitrag von K. Hofmann in diesem Band). Die Möglichkeit, dass

20 Peter 2019.

21 Howgego 2005.

22 Vgl. zum Beispiel Neumann 1999.

23 Über Thrakien und die Thraker aus der Sicht der Griechen, vgl. Archibald 1998, 94–102; Siebert 1998, 79–89.

eine Vielzahl von sich teilweise überlappenden Identitäten im thrakischen Raum und darüber hinaus auch innerhalb von Mikroregionen in Thrakien selbst entstehen konnte, ist auch auf numismatischer Ebene zu erforschen. Lässt sich der Großraum Thrakien auf der Grundlage der Gestaltung seiner Münzen und den Formen der dort praktizierten Geldwirtschaft untergliedern? Angesichts der Tatsache, dass Identität und deren Erscheinungsformen in der Praxis ständig neu ausgehandelt wurden, ist eine langfristige Perspektive von entscheidender Bedeutung: Wie transformierten sich lokale und regionale Identitätskonstrukte unter dem Einfluss sozialer, wirtschaftlicher, politischer und administrativer Veränderungen? Gibt es Themen, die über längere Zeiträume in den Münzbildern kontinuierlich aufgegriffen wurden?

Eine Reihe von Fallstudien und theoretischen Abhandlungen, die in diesem Buch vorgestellt werden und mehrere Themenblöcke bilden, veranschaulichen nicht nur die Möglichkeiten, sondern auch die Grenzen des numismatischen Materials bei der Beantwortung einer Reihe von Fragen innerhalb des angegebenen Themas. Nicht jede thrakische Münze bildet hier ein relevantes Zeugnis.²⁴ Offensichtlich wird bei der Arbeit mit Münzen als Quelle und materiellem Objekt das subjektive Element bei der Interpretation oft unterschätzt. Die Geschichte der imaginären und rekonstruierten Identitäten hängt letztendlich vom Wissen und der Erfahrung jener ab, die sich mit ihnen befassen (cf. Hofmann, dieser Band).

Kerstin Hofmann geht auf die theoretischen Aspekte der numismatischen Untersuchung räumlicher Identitäten ein und bezweifelt die Zweckmäßigkeit von Formulierungen, die zu ihrer 'Essentialisierung' beitragen. Sie betont die Wichtigkeit nicht nur von Kontinuitäten sondern auch von Brüchen und Rückverweisen im Rahmen von *invented traditions*, die Indizien für „intentionale Handlungen und bewusst geführte Diskurse“ sind. Konkrete Beispiele numismatischer (physischer oder mythischer) Bezugnahmen auf den Raum, die bestehende Identitätskonstrukte widerspiegeln und manifestieren oder zur Bildung neuer beitragen könnten, werden von Angela Berthold (dieser Band; siehe auch Raycheva, dieser Band) betrachtet.

Im Zusammenhang mit den obigen Ausführungen stellt sich jedoch die grundsätzliche Frage der Zugehörigkeit von Identitäten, die sich im numismatischen Material manifestieren. Ihre Verbindung mit den „Autoritäten“, die für die Münzprägung verantwortlich waren (seien es Herrscher, lokale Eliten, Stammes- oder Bürgerkollektive), scheint nahezuliegen. Aber ist das in allen Fällen wahr? De Callataj klassifiziert dies zu Recht als methodologisches Problem und befasst sich erneut mit dem Thema der Beneficiärer. Entsprechend der Auffassung, dass die erste bzw. hauptsächliche Funktion der Prägungen in klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit, einschließlich der

24 Peter 2005, 113.

lokalen Bronzen,²⁵ die Bezahlung der fremden Söldner war („military first function“) und diese Münzen also ursächlich nicht für die einheimische Elite oder Bevölkerung bestimmt waren, muss man in den Söldnern auch die Hauptadressaten der visuellen Botschaften der Münzbilder sehen (de Callataÿ, dieser Band). Es scheint jedoch, dass es aufgrund der Besonderheiten unseres Materials sowie der mangelnden Ausdruckskraft oder Mehrdeutigkeit externer (nicht-numismatischer) Quellen noch verfrüht ist, über Regeln zu sprechen. Jede pauschale Verallgemeinerung in Bezug auf die Zwecke der antiken griechischen Münzprägung verstellt unvermeidlich den Blick auf die Komplexität des Phänomens und die Vielzahl der beteiligten Faktoren und Kontexte. Jeden Fall gilt es einzeln zu untersuchen.²⁶

Die Erforschung räumlicher Identitäten im Kontext einer Region wie Thrakien impliziert das Vorhandensein von mindestens zwei hauptsächlichen kulturellen Sichtweisen: der lokalen thrakischen („barbarischen“) und der Perspektive bzw. den Perspektiven der griechischen Kolonien und ihrer Bürger, die hier eine neue Heimat fanden. Dies ist auch für den numismatischen Aspekt dieses Problems relevant, obwohl der postulierte Währungsverbund zwischen den Stämmen des Pangaiongebietes und Thasos,²⁷ die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass die Stammesmünzen und die der Dynasten in Prägestätten griechischer Zentren geprägt wurden,²⁸ die Verwendung der griechischen Schrift und Sprache für ihre Legenden sowie letztlich die Tatsache, dass die Idee der Münze bei den Thrakern von den Griechen entlehnt wurde, uns hier nicht immer eine klare Grenzziehung erlauben. Solche für die Region charakteristischen hybriden Geldformen wie Pfeilmünzen (siehe Talmaçhi, dieser Band) verdeutlichen die Mehrdeutigkeit dieser Problematik, welche wiederum die Dynamik des interkulturellen Austauschs bezeugt, bei dem Anlehnung und Übernahme durchaus nicht immer in die gleiche Richtung verliefen.

Aufgrund der Ähnlichkeit der Bildmotive auf den frühen Silberemissionen, die dieser Region zugeschrieben werden, ist auch die Grenze zwischen den thrakischen und makedonischen Prägungen verschwommen, und nur das Auftauchen von Legenden auf den Münzen der Derronen, Bisalten, Edonen und Orreskier ermöglicht es uns, erste Ausdrucksformen von Stammesidentität und von etwas typisch Thrakischem zu entdecken. Wie Ute Wartenberg (dieser Band) zutreffend hervorhebt, spiegelt die einheitliche Typologie der frühen klassischen Prägungen der thrakischen Stämme die von Herodot (5.3.2) gegebene Charakteristik wider: Die Thraker „haben zwar je nach den verschiedenen Gegenden verschiedene Namen, im ganzen aber alle so ziemlich

25 Z. B., Callataÿ 2016a, 128–130; Callataÿ 2016b, 41–54.

26 Stolba 2019, 531.

27 Picard 2000, 246.

28 Peter 1997, 151–156 und passim.

dieselben Sitten ...“.²⁹ Das frühe Auftreten von Münzen mit Porträtabbildungen und Benennung der Herrscher ist ein weiteres Phänomen in Thrakien, das nicht nur eine Form der Manifestation der Identität der odrysischen Dynasten spiegelt, sondern auch einen deutlichen achämenidischen Einfluss zeigt (Wartenberg, dieser Band), ähnlich dem, was wir in der frühen Prägung der Städte der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste finden.³⁰ In den Artikeln von Russeva und Stoyas (dieser Band) werden neue Varianten thrakischer Dynastenprägungen vorgestellt und es wird versucht, für bekannte Münzen eine alternative Zuschreibung darzulegen. Van Alfen, der in diesem Band die Münzprägung der Philaiden auf der thrakischen Chersones untersucht, wirft die Frage auf, ob man diese Prägungen ebenso wie andere frühe thrakische Münzen als persönliche Emissionen der lokalen Herrscher ansehen kann, und äußert die interessante These, dass die Unbestimmtheiten in der Prägeautorität Schwächen und Grenzen ihrer Macht symbolisieren könnten.

Die Emissionen der griechischen Städte der Region stehen in vielerlei Hinsicht in einem starken Kontrast zu den Münzen der thrakischen Stämme. Vor dem Hintergrund einer gewissen typologischen Eintönigkeit bei den Stammesprägungen, in deren Bildern sich sowohl dionysische Motive als auch die Abbildung des Reiters, die Darstellungen von Pferden, Stieren mit oder ohne Hirten usw. durchgesetzt haben, ist bei den Münzen der griechischen Poleis ein Streben nach Individualität und Wiedererkennung viel deutlicher fassbar, das sich in sogenannten „sprechenden Typen“ oder *parasema* ausdrückt.

Dadurch, dass auf engstem Raum des Münzfeldes äußerst konzentrierte Botschaften platziert werden mussten bzw. wurden, wurde das Prinzip von *pars pro toto* und die aktive Verwendung von Metonymien begünstigt. Das erlaubt es auch, rein praktische Fragen des Geldumlaufs zu lösen, wie die Differenzierung verschiedener Nominale, wie wir sie beispielsweise bei den Münzen von Kardias sehen (siehe Psoma, dieser Band). Diese Praxis beschränkte sich jedoch nicht nur auf das Thrakische Gebiet, sondern war in der ganzen griechischen Welt verbreitet. An konkreten Beispielen von Thasos, Abdera, Odessos und Lysimacheia untersuchen Killen und Tekin (dieser Band) die Gründe für die Wahl eines Symbols und deren mögliche Verbindung mit lokalen thrakischen Motiven.

Indem Killen *parasema* als typisch griechisches Phänomen betrachtet, sieht sie in ihnen ein Instrument, Besonderheiten herauszustellen, die sich auf zwei Ebenen manifestieren: zum einen als betonter Kontrast zwischen Griechisch und Barbarisch, zum anderen als Individualisierung des Griechischen innerhalb des Griechischen.³¹ Hier sei

29 Übersetzung Th. Braun 1956.

30 Stolba 2009, 29; Stolba 2016, 84–85.

31 Siehe auch Killen 2017.

aber an die oben erwähnten Pfeilmünzen erinnert, die ein wunderbares Beispiel für die interkulturelle Synthese von griechischen und barbarischen Ideen innerhalb ein- und desselben thrakischen Gebiets sind. Ein vielleicht noch aufschlussreicheres Beispiel bilden die kuriosen Prägungen von Saratokos und Bergaios, deren Typologie vollständig die Hemihekten und Triten von Thasos kopiert, einschließlich des städtischen Parasemons, des Bildes des Silenus, dessen Abbildung auch von dem Stadttor von Thasos bekannt ist (siehe Picard, dieser Band, Abb. 2a, 5-6). Thrakische Imitationen von thasischen Stateren könnten diese Reihe fortsetzen. Die Funktionen von Parasema scheinen in allen Epochen sehr eng mit der Idee des Siegels zu korrespondieren, das seinerseits von den Griechen aus dem Nahen Osten entlehnt wurde, wo Zylinder- und Stempelsiegel seit Jahrtausenden als Mittel der persönlichen, staatsbürgerlichen oder königlichen Identifikation dienten.³² Gerade aber in Hinblick auf die Tatsache, dass der persische Typ II der Bogenschützenmünzen zweimal auch als Siegel auf der Rückseite der sogenannten „Fortification Tablets“ von Persepolis verwendet wurde,³³ ist zu fragen, ob wir dann von Parasema als einem rein griechischen Phänomen sprechen können. Natürlich aber sollte man nicht bei allem, was typisch Griechisch ist, auch nach einem *bewussten* Ausdruck ethnischer Identität suchen.

Für die in Thrakien und Niedermösien emittierten römischen Provinzialprägungen wurden die Ausdrucksformen der Identität in einem Überblicksaufsatz bereits dargelegt.³⁴ Aber natürlich stellen gerade die Provinzialmünzen eine reiche Quelle für das Selbstverständnis der für die Prägung Verantwortlichen dar. In Anbetracht der Münzprägung von Rhoimetalkes I., der sein Porträt zusammen mit dem Porträt des Kaisers auf den Münzen abbildete, sehen Papageorgiadou und Parissaki darin eine wahre Revolution mit Blick auf Mentalität und Traditionen der kaiserlichen Münzprägung, die die politischen Ambitionen des thrakischen Königs, „who wished to rank as equal, if not higher than the Roman emperor himself, at least in the eyes of his own subjects“, demonstriert (dieser Band). Den vielfältigen Erscheinungsformen von Identität – ausgedrückt in Bild und Schrift – auf den kaiserzeitlichen Münzen ist eine ganze Reihe von Aufsätzen in diesem Band gewidmet (Awianowicz, Tasaklaki, Raycheva, Topalilov, Boteva).

Die Wahl eines Symbols für die Münzbilder war immer von äußerster Wichtigkeit, entsprechend groß war das Spektrum der visuellen Botschaften von Münztypen, auch wenn die Fragen des Ausdrucks von Identität nicht immer im Vordergrund standen. Wie Johannes Nollé auch jüngst wieder zeigen konnte, spielten gerade mythologische Szenen in der antiken Bildersprache eine große Rolle, wobei es durchaus üblich war,

32 Spier 1990, 108; Mack 2019.

33 Root 1989, 36–37, fig. 1.

34 Peter 2005.

dass sich eine Reihe von Orten auf dasselbe mythische Geschehen berufen konnte und entsprechend in den Münzbildern äußerte.³⁵

Wenn auch in der Ikonographie der autonomen Emissionen der thrakischen Städte in klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit regionale Tendenzen in der Kultpraxis nicht leicht zu erkennen sind, so lassen sie sich in der römischen Münzprägung doch sehr deutlich nachvollziehen. Die wachsende Beliebtheit von Münztypen im Zusammenhang mit Heilkulten wurde von Grigorova und Grozdanova (dieser Band) untersucht. Beispiele für Münztypen aus Thrakien und Mösien, die die Verbreitung des Kultes der ägyptischen Gottheiten dokumentieren, deren Popularität bereits in der hellenistischen Zeit begann,³⁶ wurden ursprünglich im Rahmen der *Sylloge Nummorum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae* von Peter³⁷ zusammengestellt und jetzt von Minkova (dieser Band) erneut aufgegriffen und um den Kybele Kult für Augusta Traiana erweitert. Das Eindringen der Kulte dieser ägyptischen wie auch der thrakischen Gottheiten weiter nördlich ist spätestens seit der Wende vom 3. zum 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. gut durch epigraphische Funde dokumentiert.³⁸ Am Beispiel von Tyras versucht Kovalenko dies auch am numismatischen Material (Kovalenko, dieser Band) zu verfolgen.

Die enge Verbindung Thrakiens mit der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste ist ferner bei Münzfunden deutlich zu erkennen, wie Mielczarek (dieser Band) überzeugend darlegt. In einer Reihe von weiteren, in diesen Symposionsakten vorgestellten Artikeln wurde versucht, die Merkmale der thrakischen Region durch die Analyse der Münzfunde und des Geldumlaufs zu fassen (Yaci, Gyuzelev, Komnick). Dabei wurde auch auf das Problem der Produktion und Verteilung der Geldmenge im Rahmen des Konzepts der Werkstätten und Lieferbezirke eingegangen (Peter/Grozdanova).

Dieser Band bietet keine abschließende Lösung für alle angesprochenen Fragen. Angesichts der Art und der Spezifik der Quellen ist dies zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt nicht möglich. Die hier vorgestellten Artikel – sowohl in ihrer Gesamtheit als auch einzeln – zeigen jedoch die Komplexität und Vielseitigkeit des Problems auf und skizzieren die Möglichkeiten für weitere Lösungsansätze.

35 Nollé 2018.

36 So bspw. auf den Münzen von Perinth, vgl. CN Types 910, 938, 951.

37 Peter 2008.

38 *IOSPE* I², 5 = *IOSPE* I, 17 = Bricault 2005, I, 188, no. 115/0101 (Tyras, 2.–1. Jh. n. Chr.); *IOSPE* I, 18 = *SEG* 57, 746 (Tyras, 2.–1. Jh. n. Chr.); *IOSPE* I², 184 = Bricault 2005, I, 189, no. 115/0201 (Olbia, 222–235 n. Chr.); *SEG* 50, 691 = Bricault 2005, I, 189, no. 115/0302 = *IOSPE* III, 112 (Chersonesos, spätes 3.–frühes 2. Jh. v. Chr.).

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2 Coined Identities? Prolegomena zu einer numismatischen Erforschung regionaler, antiker Identitäten

Kerstin P. Hofmann

Zusammenfassung

Münzen wurden in den letzten Jahren zunehmend als Quellen für die Identitätsforschung entdeckt. Der Beitrag bietet eine kurze Einführung in die Diskussion um das sozialwissenschaftliche Konzept der Identität und problematisiert seinen Transfer in die Altertumswissenschaften. Der Fokus liegt dabei auf kollektiven, raumbezogenen Identitäten. Es werden zunächst damit verknüpfte philosophische Grundfragen angesprochen und verschiedene Forschungsstrategien vorgestellt. Anschließend wird die Wechselbeziehung von Raum und Identität näher betrachtet. Im Resümee wird betont, dass man – unter anderem um Essentialisierungen zu vermeiden – besser nicht von *coined identities* sprechen sollte, sondern lieber vermeintlich eindeutige raumbezogene Identitäten hinterfragen und ihre Formation und Transformation anhand des Wechselspiels von Materialisierung und Materialität im Rahmen konkreter Fallbeispiele untersuchen sollte.

Keywords

Identitätsforschung, raumbezogene Identität, Münzen, Numismatik, Altertumswissenschaft, Region, Kulturkreislaufscheema // identity research, spatial identity, coins, numismatics, Ancient Studies, Region, circuit of culture

„Coins tell stories“¹ – mit diesem provokanten Statement begann kürzlich der britische Althistoriker Joseph Skinner einen Artikel zu Münzen als Zeugnisse intentionaler Geschichten, also Eigengeschichten kollektiver Identität.² Im Laufe des Textes betonte er ferner: „The desire to link coinage to questions of identity is not some anachronistic preoccupation derived from modern notions of the nation-state“.³ Was hat es mit

* Dieser Aufsatz entstand während meiner Tätigkeit als Nachwuchsgruppenleiterin und Beauftragte für das keytopic „identities. space and knowledge related identification“ im Rahmen des Berliner Exzellenzclusters „Topoi. The Formation and Transformation of Space and Knowledge“. Für die Einladung zur Tagung und die stets konstruktive und engagierte Zusammenarbeit in der Forschungsgruppe B-4 „Space – Identity – Locality. The construction of knowledge related identity spaces“ danke ich ganz herzlich Ulrike Peter. Mein Dank gilt ferner Doris Bachmann-Medick, die den Aufsatz kritisch kommentierte. Weitere Unterstützung durch Korrekturlesen und Grafikgestaltung erhielt ich von Blandina C. Stöhr und Sabine Pinter, denen ich an dieser Stelle ebenfalls herzlich danke.

1 Skinner 2010, 137.

2 Für eine erste Definition siehe Gehrke 1994, 247; für weiterführende Überlegungen siehe Gehrke 2004; Foxhall 2010 sowie Gehrke 2014.

3 Skinner 2010, 139.

diesen Aussagen auf sich und welchen Stellenwert haben sie für die aktuelle Diskussion um Identität? Im Folgenden werde ich dabei auf kollektive, raumbezogene Identitäten fokussieren. Zunächst soll geklärt werden, ob es sich bei Identität um ein transdisziplinäres Konzept handelt, welches auch für die Altertumswissenschaften von Interesse ist. Aufgrund der herrschenden Begriffsverwirrungen wird eine operationale, den jeweiligen Analysen jedoch anzupassende Definition von Identität für die numismatischen Forschungen vorgeschlagen. Nach einer kurzen Erörterung möglicher Ansätze einer altertumswissenschaftlichen Identitätsforschung werden die Besonderheiten raumbezogener Identitätskonstruktionen herausgestellt, wobei der Schwerpunkt auf der Diskussion regionaler Identitäten liegt. Im Fazit wird dann die Erforschung von Identitäts-(Trans)Formationen thematisiert.

Identität – ein transdisziplinäres Konzept?

In der Einleitung eines der meistzitierten deutschsprachigen Sammelbände zum Thema Identität wird diese als transdisziplinärer Begriff bezeichnet.⁴ Doch kann man wirklich jenseits der vielkritisierten leichtfertigen Begriffsverwendung in der Alltagssprache und der unheimlichen Konjunktur dieses „Plastikwortes“⁵ eine auch für die Altertumswissenschaften heute noch taugliche Analysekategorie behaupten? Und welche philosophischen, sozial- und kulturwissenschaftlichen Problemstellungen sind mit diesem Begriff verbunden?

Die Antwort auf die Frage, was/wer ist das, ist nicht trivial. Bereits die Vorsokratiker sahen in der Bestimmung der Identität von Dingen und Personen ein Problem, wo doch nach Heraklit (um 520–um 460 v. Chr.) alles im beständigen Werden und Wandel begriffen ist.⁶ Dies problematisiert auch das von Diogenes Laertius (3. Jh. n. Chr.) dem Dichter Epicharmos (um 540–um 460 v. Chr.) zugewiesene Wachstumsargument (*auxanomenos logos*),⁷ dessen Spezialfall, das Paradoxon des Schiffs von Theseus, in der ältesten Formulierung durch Plutarch (um 45–um 125 n. Chr.) überliefert worden ist⁸ und das noch heute diskutiert wird. Nach dem französischen Philosophen Vincent Descombes geht die philosophische Kritik am Identitätsbegriff und die damit einhergehende Unterscheidung in einen strengen und relativen Identitätsbegriff dar-

4 Assmann und Friese 1998, 11.

5 Pörksen 1988; Niethammer 1994; Niethammer 2000.

6 Heute bekannt unter der Kurzformel πάντα ρεῖ (panta rhei, alles fließt) gefasst.

7 Dieses Argument bezieht auf jeden lebendigen Körper sowie Körper, die in der Lage sind durch eine Modifikation ihre Bestandteile sich zu verändern. Mit diesem Argument forderten die Mitglieder Platons Akademie die Stoiker heraus, ihren Materialismus zu überdenken und mit der lebensweltlichen Beobachtung des Wachsens von Lebewesen und Dingen zu versöhnen.

8 Plut. *Vit. Thes.* 23.1.

auf zurück, dass für Objekte bzw. Lebewesen fälschlicherweise nur ein synchrones Individuationsprinzip, nämlich das der Materie, genutzt würde, wo doch aber auch ein diachrones Individuationsprinzip notwendig wäre.⁹ Um letzteres zu bestimmen, sollte man auf die von dem britischen Philosophen David Wiggins als zentral betrachtete *sortale Abhängigkeit der Individuation* zurückgreifen.¹⁰ Somit stellt sich zunächst die Frage „was bedeutet es für ein x der Sorte/Art/Kategorie y fortzudauern?“ oder hier im konkreten Falle „was bedeutet es für Thrakien als regionale Identität oder z. B. Philippiopolis als Polis zu ‚existieren‘?“

Warum jedoch ist diese sogenannte objektive Identität der Metaphysik und Logik für uns als GeschichtswissenschaftlerInnen relevant, obwohl immer wieder betont wird, dass ein solcher Identitätsbegriff für soziale Zusammenhänge eigentlich bedeutungslos ist.¹¹ Es hängt mit unserer Verwendung von Eigennamen in den von uns verfassten historiographischen Texten zusammen. Identität im oben ausgeführten Sinne kann nämlich nach dem britischen Philosophen Peter Geach nicht nur prädikativ durch den Gebrauch von Relationen wie, „ x ist der-/dasselbe wie y “ bzw. „ x ist identisch mit y “, sondern auch seitens des Subjekts behauptet werden, indem wir einen Eigennamen ein zweites Mal verwenden oder ihn durch ein anaphorisches Pronomen wie „er“, „sie“, „es“ ersetzen.¹² In dem Moment, wo wir einer Person, einer Gruppe oder einem Gegenstand einen Eigennamen geben, sollten wir eine Regel für die möglichen zukünftigen Verwendungen, sprich ein synchrones und ein diachrones Identitätskriterium für das zu bezeichnende x festgelegt haben. In unserem Fall ist also für jeden Beitrag zu klären, was die jeweiligen Identitätskriterien für den Eigennamen Thrakien sind und damit auch was es für diese regionale Identität bedeutet zu „existieren“? Ansonsten drohen wir schon textimmanent einem sophistischen Trugschluss aufzusitzen und uns selbst zu widersprechen bzw. in bloßes Gerede, dem vielfach kritisierten *identity talk*,¹³ zu verfallen.

Da wir als GeschichtswissenschaftlerInnen den Anspruch haben, faktuale Erzählungen¹⁴ über einstige Identitäten zu verfassen, müssen wir jedoch nicht nur textimmanent logisch konsistente Identitätskriterien finden, sondern nach damaligen Identifikationen fragen und so die objektive Identitätsfrage subjektivieren und historisieren. Wieso ist dieser Schritt jedoch so kompliziert?

Die subjektive Frage „wer bin ich?“ und das Problem der Identität des Selbst bzw. der Subjektivität wurde erst in den Philosophien Lockes, Voltaires, Humes und Hegels

9 Descombes 2013, 52–80.

10 Wiggins 2001.

11 Z. B. Reese-Schäfer 1999, 14–15.

12 Geach 1980[1962], 212–213; Geach 1957, 71.

13 Brubaker und Cooper 2000, 25.

14 Genette 1992, 65–94.

seit Ende des 17. Jhs. aufgeworfen.¹⁵ Im gesellschaftstheoretischen Denken des ersten Drittels des 20. Jhs. fand die Idee der personalen, aber auch der kollektiven Identität – wenn auch noch nicht immer unter diesen Begriffen – bei diversen Autoren wie Sigmund Freud und Carl Gustav Jung in der Psychoanalyse, Maurice Halbwachs und Georg Herbert Mead in der Soziologie sowie Carl Schmitt und Georg Lukacs in der Politischen Philosophie Anhänger.¹⁶ Das heute den Diskurs dominierende psychosoziale Identitätskonzept ist jedoch eine durch gesellschaftliche Problemlagen angeregte „semantische Innovation“ der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften.¹⁷ Ende der 1940er vom deutsch-US-amerikanischen Psychologen Erik H. Erikson (1902–1994) geprägt und unter Rückgriff auf die amerikanische Kulturanthropologie als Phasenmodell der sich in einer Krise befindlichen Ich-Identität konzipiert ist der Identitätsbegriff u. a. im Rahmen der Bezugsgruppentheorie und des Symbolischen Interaktionismus, aber auch durch die Bürgerrechts-, Frauen- und sogenannten Minderheitenbewegung in Wissenschaft wie auch Politik in unterschiedlichen Formen verbreitet worden.¹⁸ ‚Identität‘ dient dabei jedoch nicht nur als Analyse-kategorie, sondern auch als – oft wenig durchdachter – *umbrella term* für die verschiedensten Arten sozialer und kultureller Ungleichheit oder gar nur als Schlagwort bzw. wissenschaftliche Kampfvokabel.

Bei seiner Anwendung in den Altertumswissenschaften besteht – wie bei anderen modernen Konzepten – immer die Gefahr einer Projektion anachronistischer Definitionen auf die Vergangenheit. So stellte der Sozialpsychologe Jürgen Straub nicht umsonst die universale Anwendung des Identitätsbegriffs in Frage, der letztlich ja für spätmoderne Individuen der westlichen industrialisierten Welt entwickelt wurde.¹⁹ Die psychosoziale Identität scheint zudem letztlich nur dann eine Rolle zu spielen, wenn sich das Selbst oder das Andere in dynamisch wandelnden Welten differenziert und eine Antwort auf die sich daher stellende Identitäts- bzw. Alteritätsfrage nicht eindeutig ist – wenn Identitätsfindung also zu einem virulenten Problem wird und man von einer Identitätskrise sprechen kann. Dies trifft m. E. jedoch nicht nur für die Moderne zu, sondern kann auch in anderen historischen Zeiträumen nachweislich großen Wandels der Fall gewesen sein. Ich halte es daher für legitim und gewinnbringend, das Konzept der Identität auch auf die Antike zu übertragen – oder besser für die Untersuchung der Antike zu übersetzen. Bewusst habe ich hier nicht das Wort „anwenden“ gewählt; es bedarf translatorischer Arbeit!²⁰ Die heftig geführte

15 Locke 1981[1690]; Hume 1989[1748]; Voltaire 1785[1766]; Hegel 1970[1835–1838].

16 Siehe Niethammer 2000.

17 Reckwitz 2001, 21.

18 Siehe Gleason 1983, Stachel 2005.

19 Straub 1998.

20 Vgl. Bachmann-Medick 2014.

Kontroverse, ob Identität nur eine Frage der Moderne²¹ oder eine anthropologische Konstante sei,²² lenkt m. E. nur von einer zentralen Aufgabe der Identitätsforschung ab: Diachrone und synchrone Spezifizierungen – sprich die Historisierung und ‚Provinzialisierung‘²³ – und damit zugleich eine De-Naturalisierung des Identitätskonzeptes sind erforderlich.²⁴

Doch ist die Suche nach Identität(en) nicht eigentlich schon längst überholt? Schon früh wurde der inflationäre Gebrauch des Identitätsbegriffs beklagt, seine analytische Tauglichkeit in Frage gestellt und versucht, ihn auch aufgrund der mit ihm einhergehenden Gefahren – u. a. Hypostasierung und Homogenisierung – abzuschaffen oder durch andere Konzepte zu ersetzen. Beispiele hierfür sind die in Deutschland viel diskutierte Abrechnung mit dem kollektiven Identitätsbegriff von Lutz Niethammer oder der vielzitierte Artikel „Beyond Identity“ des Soziologen Rogers Brubaker und des Historikers Frederick Cooper.²⁵ Im Zuge einer ideologiekritischen Dekonstruktion und der Hinwendung zum Konstruktivismus wurde – vor allem im Rahmen der sogenannten Nationalismuskritik – immer wieder betont, dass das Konzept der kollektiven Identitäten zur Hypostasierung, Naturalisierung und Homogenisierung der jeweiligen Entitäten beitrage.²⁶ Auf die 1996 von Stuart Hall, einem der Gründungsväter der *cultural studies*, in einem gleichnamigen Essay gestellte Frage „Who needs identity?“²⁷ musste dieser jedoch – trotz starker Bedenken – zugeben, dass wir dieses Konzept brauchen, um bestimmte Schlüsselfragen an die Dialektik zwischen Individuum und Gesellschaft stellen zu können. Als zentrale Aspekte eines – mehr oder minder – ent-essentialisierten, bereits durch die Dekonstruktionsmühle gegangenen Identitätsbegriffes nennt er Identifikation (als Anbindung), Differenz und Diskurs. Von dem Ethnologen Martin Sökefeld vor einigen Jahren um Multiplizität und Intersektionalität ergänzt.²⁸

Allerdings werden nach wie vor mit dem Konzept der „kollektiven Identität“ folgende offene philosophische Grundfragen berührt:²⁹ 1) die erkenntnistheoretisch-ontologische Frage nach der Existenz kollektiver Identitäten bzw. deren Konstruktcharakter; 2) die sozial-ontologische Frage nach den Strukturen bzw. Letztelementen,

21 Siehe u. a. Taylor 1995; Straub 1998.

22 Siehe u. a. Keupp 2008.

23 Hier in Anlehnung an den indischen Historiker Dipesh Chakrabarty verwendet, der als einer der Vorreiter einer postkolonialen Geschichtsschreibung gilt; siehe Chakrabarty 2000; Chakrabarty 2002.

24 Vgl. Meskill 2001; Smith 2004.

25 Niethammer 2000; Brubaker und Cooper 2000 ; siehe ferner u.a. Gleason 1983; Narr 1999.

26 U. a. Berger und Luckmann 2000[1966], 185 Anm. 40; Henrich 1993, 87; Niethammer 2001. Für eine Zusammenstellung weiterer Kritikpunkte siehe Luutz 1999, 4–7.

27 Hall 2000.

28 Sökefeld 2001, 535.

29 Luutz 1999, 8–9.

auf die das gesellschaftliche Sein zurückgeführt werden kann (Handlungs- versus Struktur- bzw. Systemtheorie); 3) die methodologische Frage nach der angemessenen Beschreibung bzw. Erklärung gesellschaftlicher Phänomene (methodologischer Individualismus oder Holismus bzw. Kollektivismus)³⁰ und nicht selten auch 4) die Wert-Frage, ob der Erhalt der Gesellschaft/des Kollektivs oder die Entfaltung des Individuums wichtiger sei.

Fest steht, dass sich die Antworten auf diese Fragen und damit auch unsere Vorstellungen über Identitäten in den letzten Jahrzehnten stark verändert haben.³¹ Wurde Identität bis weit in die 1960er oft und z. T. auch später noch mit Essenz und Wesenhaftigkeit sowie Kohärenz und Kontinuität in Verbindung gebracht, sieht man sie im Zuge der Postmoderne und den *post colonial studies* eher als arbiträr, kontingent und hybrid an. In der Metadiskussion über Spannungsfelder der Identitätsforschung werden diese unterschiedlichen Sichtweisen meist mit den Polen primordialistisch *versus* konstruktivistisch bzw. instrumentalistisch bezeichnet (Tabelle 1).³²

Tab. 1 Zentrale Unterschiede primordialistischer/essentialistischer und konstruktivistischer/instrumentalistischer Identitätskonzeptionen.

primordialistisch/essentialistisch	konstruktivistisch/instrumentalistisch
unmittelbar, ursprünglich, durch Geburt erworben	diskursive Praxis, durch Abgrenzung erzeugt
Zugehörigkeit	Strategie, Legitimation, Macht
kann sich nur langsam verändern	schnell veränderbar, flexibel, situativ
Wesenheit, Substanz	Code, soziales Konstrukt

Da in den Altertumswissenschaften das Konzept der kollektiven Identität in den 1990ern ursprünglich dazu eingeführt wurde, um der kolonialistischen Perspektive auf Kulturkontaktsituationen – Stichwort Romanisierung – und den großen nationalen Volks-Erzählungen entgegenzutreten,³³ herrschen hier meist intellektualistische und voluntaristische Identitätsdefinitionen vor. Selbstzuordnung, Reflexion und Bewusstsein werden betont.³⁴ Prägend war ferner die Thematisierung von situativ erfolgenden sozialen Grenzziehungen durch den norwegischen Ethnologen Frederik Barth.³⁵ Wird Identität allerdings nur als politisch korrektes Wort via *copy & paste* für Stamm, Völker oder Kulturen bzw. Reiche eingesetzt, dann bleibt es meist bei den häufig noch durch

30 Vgl. Gillespie 2001.

31 Zum Wertewandel siehe z. B. Keupp 2004.

32 Vgl. Jones 1997, 65–79; Sökefeld 2012; Hu 2013.

33 Pitts 2007; Brather 2004; Rieckhoff und Sommer 2007.

34 Siehe z. B. Assmann 1992, 130; Sørensen 1997, 94; Brather 2004, 97; Howgego 2005, 2; Williams 2005.

35 Barth 1982[1969]; siehe auch Gillespie 2001.

Nationalismus und Kolonialismus sowie Kulturkreislehre beeinflussten Vorstellungen von statischen, essentialistischen kollektiven Identitäten.

Auch um sich davon abzusetzen, möchte ich auf Basis der vorherigen Ausführungen daher folgende operationale Arbeitsdefinition vorschlagen, die selbstverständlich je nach Fragestellung und Untersuchungsobjekt zu modifizieren wäre: kollektive Identität ist das Resultat von Selbst- und Fremduordnungen von Individuen bzw. Personen zu einer Gruppe aufgrund spezifischer gemeinsamer Merkmale, Werte und Normen. Derartige Identifikationen sind letztlich immer auch ein Mittel der Machtausübung und -legitimation, denn mit ihnen gehen auf die Gegenwart und Zukunft ausgerichtete und oft mit der Vergangenheit begründete Ansprüche auf Anerkennung eigener Ziele und Wünsche einher. Sie basieren auf Wissenssystemen, wobei unter Wissen nicht nur theoretisch begründete, explizierbare Erkenntnis, sondern auch implizites – also durch Erfahrungen erworbenes praktisches und verkörpertes bzw. unhinterfragtes – Wissen zu verstehen ist,³⁶ welches sich auch in dem Gefühl der Zugehörigkeit oder in einem ‚Glauben‘ an Gemeinsamkeiten ausdrücken, was wiederum zu Solidarität und gemeinschaftlichem Handeln führen kann.

Die prozessuale Konstruktion von Identitäten basiert dabei auf einem Wechselspiel zwischen unterschiedlichen Graden der Inklusion und Exklusion und geht mit dem Aufbau von Alteritäten – ‚übersetzbaren‘ Andersheiten – und/oder der Abgrenzung zur Alienität – ‚radikaler Andersheit‘ – einher (Abb. 1). Identität ist zudem in einem Kontinuum zwischen den Polen Multiplizität und Totalität angesiedelt. Während die Multiplizität zu einer Zerrissenheit und Handlungsunfähigkeit führen kann, ist die Totalität eine rigide gegen Fremdes und Neues abgeschottete, starr auf ihre eigene Reproduktion bedachte Zwangsstruktur.³⁷

Für unsere hier im Fokus des Interesses stehenden raumbezogenen Identitäten bedeutet dies, dass wir nicht nur den Nachweis von Münzen, die für eine Polis charakteristisch sind, benötigen, sondern auch Hinweise darauf, dass diese bzw. deren Semata nicht nur dem Polismage in Hinblick auf die Außenperspektive dienen, sondern sich die BürgerInnen selbst mit diesen identifizieren, also eine Polisidentität ausbilden.³⁸ Dies gleiche gilt dann für den Nachweis von Regionen wie Thrakien, wobei hier dann zusätzlich die Frage besteht, ob sich Thrakien durch die in der Region befindlichen Poleis ergibt (Abb. 1) und z. B. über die Analyse der Behauptungen von Ähnlichkeiten innerhalb der Region und Differenz zu anderen Regionen fassen lässt, oder z. B. überregionale Verbände einzelner Poleis eine territorial und/oder naturgeographisch konstituierte Einheit in Frage stellen.

36 Vgl. Allen 2000; Barth 2002; Gottschalk-Mazouz 2007.

37 Hofmann 2014, 22–26.

38 Vgl. Matissek 2007.

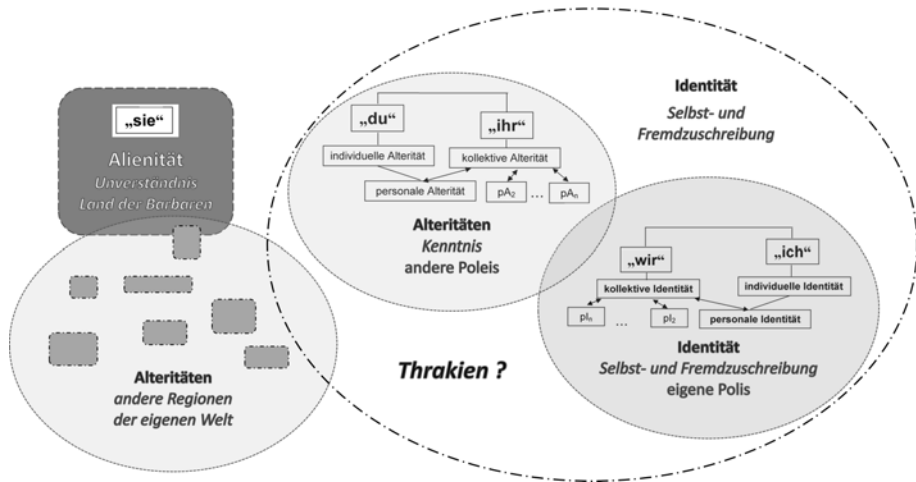


Abb. 1 Identität – Alterität – Alienität: Eigene Polis/Thrakien, andere Poleis/Regionen und das Land der Barbaren.

Wie die hier cursorisch erfolgten Ausführungen gezeigt haben, ist Identität weit davon entfernt ein transdisziplinärer Begriff zu sein, der einfach zu definieren wäre. Je nach Kontext und Fragestellungen, aber auch Forschungs- und Anwendungsgegenstand bedarf es vielmehr der Modifikation. In Anlehnung an den Literaturwissenschaftler Edward Said und an die Kulturtheoretikerin Mieke Bal kann Identität also vielmehr als *travelling concept*³⁹ bzw. „*concept in translation*“⁴⁰ betrachtet werden.

Ansätze für eine Identitätsforschung in den Altertumswissenschaften

Welche Wege zur Beschreibung und Erklärung kollektiver Identität gibt es nun für die Altertumswissenschaften und welche Möglichkeiten und Grenzen haben diese? Nach dem Sozialpsychologen Jürgen Straub sollte die Erforschung kollektiver Identitäten auf empirisch-rekonstruktiven Binnenanalysen der jeweils interessierenden Aspekte des Selbst-, Fremd- und Weltverhältnisses der betreffenden Personen basieren, denn normative Identifikationen können sehr leicht für machtpolitische Zwecke, z. B. zur Homogenisierung und Ausgrenzung, genutzt werden.⁴¹ Rekonstruktive Ansätze, zu

³⁹ Frietsch 2013; Neumann und Nünning 2012; hier insb. Müller-Funk 2012.

⁴⁰ Bachmann-Medick 2014, 133.

⁴¹ Straub 1998, 104.

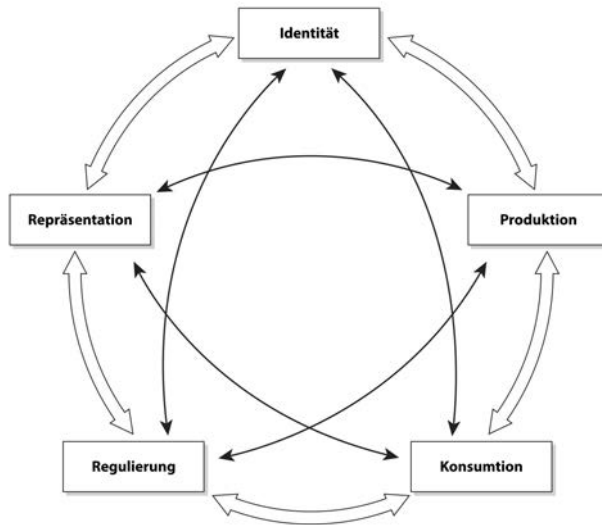


Abb. 2 Das Kulturkreislauf-Schema des Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies (nach Woodward 1997b: 2).

denen z. B. Benedict Andersons *imagined communities* zählt,⁴² gehen gewöhnlich von der individualistischen Prämisse aus. Sie fragen danach, wie geteilte Vorstellungen soziale Realitäten konstruieren.⁴³ Unterschieden werden kann zwischen den Analysen alltäglicher, lebensweltlicher Identitätskonstruktionen Jedermanns und strategischen bzw. legitimatorischen Eliten-Diskursen bzw. Identitätsstrategien ‚von unten‘ und ‚von oben‘.⁴⁴ Gerade letzteren, die bei numismatischen Analysen bislang eine dominante Rolle spielen, liegt jedoch häufig eine implizite Dichotomie zwischen „ErfinderInnen“ bzw. „KonstrukteurInnen“ und passiven „Konsumierenden“ bzw. „AdressatInnen“ und somit ein unterkomplexes, unidirektionales „Sender-Empfänger-Modell“ zugrunde. Um Interdependenzen zu berücksichtigen, wäre es zum einen möglich, einen diskursanalytischen Ansatz zu implementieren, zum anderen den *circuit of cultures* zu berücksichtigen (Abb. 2), den ich im Folgenden kurz vorstellen möchte.

Es handelt sich um ein Schema, das von den ForscherInnen des Centre for Contemporary Culture Studies der Universität Binghamton in den 1980/90ern entwickelt

42 Anderson 1998[1983].

43 Luutz 1999, 14.

44 Vgl. Giordano 1997.

wurde und noch heute für die Analyse von Konsumgütern, aber auch Dienstleistungen und Bildungsangeboten Anwendung findet.⁴⁵ Auf Grundlage semiotischer Überlegungen und der von Ernesto Laclau und Chantal Mouffe entwickelten Artikulationstheorie wird davon ausgegangen, dass jedes Kulturprodukt eine Artikulation ist, dessen Bedeutung sich durch ein diskursives In-Beziehungsetzen verändert, wobei für die Konstitution von Kultur fünf wechselseitig aufeinander bezogene Faktoren ausgemacht wurden: Identität, Produktion, Repräsentation, Konsumtion und Regulation.⁴⁶ Da KommunikatorInnen und RezipientInnen wechselseitig auf Kommunikationsinhalte Bezug nehmen, um Bedeutung zu generieren, gibt es auch kein Ursprungsmoment mehr in der Kommunikation. Für die Münzen bedeutet dies, dass wir die Intentionen bei der Münzkonzeption nicht mehr losgelöst vom Umgang mit den Münzen, sowie deren Wirkungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte betrachten sollten. Materialisierung und Materialität⁴⁷ stehen damit in einer komplexen Konnektivität zueinander und wirken gegenseitig aufeinander ein. Zu Recht haben Fleur Kemmers und Nanouschka Myrberg kürzlich ferner darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass Münzen Gefühle wie Vertrauen, Zugehörigkeit, aber auch Handlungen und kreative Umgangspraktiken evozieren können.⁴⁸ Aber auch Regulierungen und Konventionen und letztlich deren Anerkennung bzw. Infragestellung müssen beachtet werden. Münzen als Dinge bzw. Praktiken mit Münzen können dann z. B. als Verdinglichungen von „kollektiven Identitäten“ auch selbst zu wichtigen Quellen und Ressourcen der Identifikation werden. Dies leitet über zu zwei weiteren Forschungsansätzen.

Statt nach kollektiven Identitäten zu fragen, werden in den letzten Jahrzehnten zunehmend Vorgänge, Strategien und Praktiken unter den Schlagworten „Identifikation“, *doing* oder *negotiating identity* untersucht.⁴⁹ Der Philosoph Wolfgang Lutz, Mitglied eines Forschungsverbundes zu regionenbezogenen Identifikationen,⁵⁰ hat dies selbstkritisch als „sprachhygienische Lösung“ bezeichnet, da auch diese ein identifizieren mit *etwas* oder mit *jemanden* voraussetzen.⁵¹ Um das Missverständnis einer Essentialisierung zu vermeiden und den Prozesscharakter zu betonen, kann dieser Fokus forschungsstrategisch jedoch dennoch sinnvoll sein; allerdings für die Altertumswis-

45 Johnson 1986–1987; du Gay 1997; Woodward 1997; Taylor 2002; Leve 2012. Zur Kritik, dass es sich weniger um einen Kulturkreislauf, sondern um einen Kreislauf kultureller Erzeugnisse handele und man besser Kultur als System untersuchen sollte siehe u.a. Fine 2002.

46 Für eine Einordnung des Konzeptes in die Cultural Studies siehe Hepp 2009.

47 Zu den bisher allerdings oft getrennt behandelten Thema der Materialisierung und Materialität siehe exemplarisch: DeMarrais 2004; DeMarrais 1996; Borgerson 2005; Miller 2005; Knappett und Malafouris 2008.

48 Kemmers und Myrberg 2011, 94–103.

49 Z. B. Wollersheim 1998; Demetriou 2012; Campbell 2014; M'charek 2014.

50 SFB 417 „Regionenbezogene Identifikationsprozesse. Das Beispiel Sachsen“; siehe <https://www.uni-leipzig.de/~sfb417/> (zuletzt geprüft: 20.10.2015).

51 Lutz 1999, 10–12.

senschaften nur dann, wenn nicht – wie üblich – der Blick dadurch vor allem auf intraindividuelle Vorgänge und Dispositionen gelenkt wird, sondern Motive, Anreize, Bedingungen und Resultate von Identifikationsprozessen beleuchtet werden.

Eine weitere für altertumswissenschaftliche Forschungen wichtige Perspektive, die aber aufgrund ihres stärker kollektivistisch mit dem Unbewussten argumentierenden Ansatzes nicht unumstritten ist, ist die der Mentalitäts- bzw. Struktur- und Ideengeschichte. In diesem Zusammenhang sind Émile Durkheims *conscience collective*⁵² sowie das von Pierre Bourdieu entwickelte Habitus-Konzept zu nennen.⁵³ Hierunter kann man auch Dieter Henrichs hermeneutisch-geistesgeschichtliche Perspektive subsumieren, denn Henrichs geht davon aus, dass Völker und Kulturen charakteristische Eigenschaften besäßen, die vor allem aus der Außenperspektive auffällig wären, jedoch zumindest über Umwege dann aber auch auf die Binnenperspektive Einfluss hätten.⁵⁴ Dies macht auf die Bedeutung von Hetero-, aber auch Autostereotypen aufmerksam,⁵⁵ wobei letztere nicht selten auch durch Herkunftsmythen geprägt werden. Grundsätzlich dürften sie also auch mit Hilfe von Münzen analysiert werden können.

Global – Regional – Lokal? Raumbezogene Identitätskonstruktionen

Wie sind die eben wiedergegebenen Strategien einer Identitätsforschung nun aber zuzuschneiden, wenn auf Räume rekurriert wird? Im Titel der Tagung „Thrace – Local Coinage and Regional Identity“ finden zwei sprachlich eindeutige Raumbegriffe – lokal und regional – und ein impliziter – Thrakien – Verwendung. Aufgrund ihrer Relationalität lassen sie weitere mitdenken. Dies gilt insbesondere für die Region, die Teil von etwas größerem und gleichzeitig mehr als ein Ort bzw. etwas Lokales, in unserem Fall eine Polis ist. Global, bei uns z. B. das Römische Reich, schwingt also nicht nur als Antonym von lokal mit. Thrakien ist dann die hier im Vordergrund stehende regionale Identität, die auf Grundlage lokaler Münzen erforscht werden soll.

Es verbergen sich hinter der Bezeichnung Thrakien jedoch sehr unterschiedliche Räume, z. B. der Siedlungsraum eines *ethnos* oder mehrere *ethne*, aber auch eine Provinz des Römischen Reiches.⁵⁶ Thrakien ist damit ein typisches Beispiel dafür, wie semantisch verkürzt unterschiedliche Räume – ethnischer, geographischer und

52 Ins Deutsche gewöhnlich mit „Kollektivbewußtsein“ und ins Englische mit „collective consciousness“ übersetzt, was der Mehrdeutigkeit des französischen Wortes jedoch nicht ganz gerecht wird. Vgl. Bohannon 1964; siehe ferner Luutz [in Vorbereitung].

53 Bourdieu 1974; Bourdieu 1987[1979]; Bourdieu 1997.

54 Henrich 1993, 23.

55 Gotthard 2000.

56 Einführend siehe Ivanov und Bülow 2008.

verwaltungstechnischer – durch die gleiche Benennung schon in der Antike zusammenfallen.⁵⁷ Im Zuge altertumswissenschaftlicher Erforschung von Identität besteht hier jedoch immer wieder die Gefahr von Verwirrungen und Kurzschlüssen.

In den inzwischen auch auf das Römische Reich übertragenen Globalisierungstheorien⁵⁸ würde man, um die Komplementarität lokaler, regionaler und globaler Dynamiken zu betonen, statt von lokal oder global von global bzw. Glocalität sprechen.⁵⁹ Eine weitere wichtige Konsequenz der Globalisierung ist der Wettbewerb der Regionen. Dies kann sich wiederum auch in der Konstituierung von lokalen und regionalen Identitäten, in unserem Fall der Poleis und z. B. Thrakiens ausdrücken.

Was ist aber das spezifische von regionalen gegenüber anderen politischen oder sozialen Identitäten?⁶⁰ *Erstens* ist der Stellenwert des Raumbezuges besonders hoch. Nicht selten werden regionale Besonderheiten, wie Traditionen, Kulte oder Dialekte, aber auch Charakteristika des Naturraumes oder Monumente zu Emblemen (Abb. 3 und 4).⁶¹ Tendenziell sind die gesetzten Zeichen nicht in- und prospektiv, sondern vielmehr retrospektiv. *Zweitens* können durch regionale Identifikationen unter- und übergeordnete Raumordnungen in Frage gestellt werden und zwar dann, wenn vor Ort politisch festgelegte Territoriumsgrenzen als willkürlich bzw. überholt empfunden werden. Dies warnt uns davor, z. B. Provinzgrenzen mit den Raumbezügen von regionalen Identitäten gleichzusetzen; auch wenn beide sich wechselseitig beeinflussen können. *Drittens* erfolgen die Grenzziehungen meist anders. Sie sind flexibler, selten linear und nicht notwendiger Weise im Sinne des Freund-Feind-Schemas aufgeladen. Neben dem Wettstreit mit dem Nachbarn ist auch an Allianzen und damit Netzwerke zu denken, aber auch Zentrum und Peripherie können eine Rolle spielen. Für Thrakien sei hier auf seine Lage als Vorposten gegenüber dem Osten, als östlichste Provinz der westlichen Hälfte des Römischen Reiches hingewiesen. Letztlich kann man sich aber auch als besonderer Teil eines größeren Ganzen ansehen und erfahren.⁶² Die erwähnte Glocalität wird dabei dann oft durch Darstellungen betont, die heute meist als synkretistisch oder hybrid bezeichnet werden. *Viertens*, die Kommunikationsintensität ist in Regionen potentiell höher, als z. B. im Imperium. Im Unterschied zur direkten Face-to-Face-Kommunikation im lokalen Nahraum bedarf es für die soziale Kommunikation bereits technischer Medien.⁶³ Deren Zeichensetzungen können spezifischer

57 Howgego 2005, 10. Zu Verwirrungszusammenhängen zwischen verschiedenen Raumkonzepten und deren ‚Funktionalitäten‘ siehe Weichhart 1999.

58 Z. B. Hingley 2005; Jennings 2011; Boozer 2012; Pitts und Versluys 2014; eher kritisch: Gardner 2013.

59 Swyngedouw 1997; Weichhart 2002; Maran 2011; Kistler 2012.

60 Siehe Luutz 1999, 24–27.

61 Howgego 2005; Peter 2005.

62 Vgl. Luutz 1996.

63 Blotevogel 1996, 56.



Abb. 3 Personifikation des Rhodope Gebirges auf der Rückseite einer unter Antoninus Pius in Philippopolis geprägten Bronzemünze (CN 13221).



Abb. 4 Darstellung des Mythos von Leander, der schwimmend den Hellespont zu seiner Geliebten Hero überquert, auf einer unter Severus Alexander in Sestos geprägten Bronzemünze (CN 20412).

und nuancierter sein als bei großräumigeren Einheiten, da mehr geteiltes Vorwissen erwartet werden kann. Um nicht heute nachträglich auf fehlgeschlagene Propaganda-Versuche hereinzufallen, gilt es neben öffentlichen Medien, wie Münzen, immer auch eher private Medien und Praktiken in die Untersuchungen einzubeziehen.⁶⁴

Fazit: Zur Erforschung der (Trans-)Formationen von Identitäten

Die wichtige Analyse der (Trans-)Formationen regionaler Identitäten bedarf der vergleichenden Betrachtung. Die Absenz von Bildthemen, aber auch Veränderungen im Bildprogramm oder andere Kombinationen können hier höchst aufschlussreich sein. Doch nicht nur die Münztypen, sondern auch Änderungen der Münz-

⁶⁴ Als Beispiel sei auf die inschriftlich (*IGBulg* III.2, 1626) in der Kultvereinigung bezeugten Anhänger des Gottes Asklepios in Augusta Traiana verwiesen. Auf gleichzeitigen Münzen des 2.-3. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts genoss die Gottheit ebenfalls große Verehrung (CN Type 1688, 1717, 1748, 1756, 1767, 1817, 1838, 1874, 1937, 1965, 2019, 2058, 2203, 2210, 2229, 2272, 2333, 2374; einige Typen zeigen zudem Asklepios im Tempel: CN Type 1775, 1927, 1935 und 2269). Für eine Vielzahl von Zeugnissen in den Schwarzmeerstädten siehe bspw. Ruscu 2015.

Verbreitungsgebiete und der üblichen Fundkontexte und -zusammensetzungen müssen sorgsam untersucht werden.

Statt Kontinuitäten, die jedoch bei mentalitätsgeschichtlichen Analysen eine Rolle spielen können, sind vor allem Brüche und Rückbezüge z. B. im Rahmen von *invented traditions*⁶⁵ interessant, da sie Indizien für intentionale Handlungen und bewusst geführte Diskurse sind. Materialisierung und Materialität gilt es über Funde und Befunde zu analysieren.

Altertumswissenschaftliche Identitätsforschung sollte zudem stets interdisziplinär verfolgt werden. Münzen stellen zwar aufgrund ihrer Verbindung von Bildern, Inschriften und Materialität eine einzigartige Quelle dar, aber nur durch eine Einbettung in die jeweiligen historischen Kontexte und die Berücksichtigung anderer Quellengattungen sind Aussagen über durch Münzen ermittelte potentielle Identitäts-(Trans-)Formationen möglich.⁶⁶

Ferner ist das Identitätskonzept stets zu historisieren. Auch der sich vielen aufdrängende Vergleich mit dem Europa der Regionen und den Euromünzen⁶⁷ ist daher nicht so einfach möglich, da strukturelle Unterschiede, aber auch Rückbezüge nicht zu verleugnen sind.⁶⁸ Wie gezeigt, gibt es sehr unterschiedliche Forschungsstrategien, sich mit kollektiven Identitäten auseinanderzusetzen. Sie behandeln jeweils andere Aspekte des überaus komplexen Themas der Identität. Auch wenn aufgrund politischer Umstände und Fachtraditionen es sinnvoll erscheint, Schwerpunkte zu setzen, sollte man andere Ansätze und Strategien nicht gänzlich aus dem Blick verlieren.

Ist es nun aber sinnvoll von *coined identities* zu sprechen? Meines Erachtens sollte man von dieser Formulierung besser Abstand nehmen, da sie einer Essentialisierung von Identitäten Vorschub leistet. Außerdem besteht die Gefahr, eine eventuell ausgeübte Praxis der *identity politics* ohne Prüfung mit deren vermeintlichem Resultat gleichzusetzen. Zu beachten ist ferner, dass auch scheinbar eindeutige Verdinglichungen von Identitäten polyphom sind, also neue Bedeutungen zugeschrieben bekommen können und andere verlieren. Münzen sind zwar in Identitäts-Geschichten verstrickt,⁶⁹ können streng genommen jedoch Geschichten und Stereotype nur evozieren bzw. verdinglichen. Die imaginierten und rekonstruierten Geschichten hängen letztlich vom Wissen und von den Erfahrungen der mit ihnen Umgehenden ab. Diese Ein-

65 Hobsbawm und Ranger 1983; siehe auch Boschung 2015a.

66 Fleur Klemmers und Nanouschka Myrberg betonen, dass Münzen allein schon aufgrund der Tatsache, dass sie eine multi-disziplinäre Quelle darstellen, einer interdisziplinären Erforschung bedürfen; Klemmers und Myrberg 2011, 89.

67 Vgl. Europäische Zentralbank 2007; Zäch 2005.

68 So auch Howgego 2005, 1–2.

69 Vgl. Hofmann 2015.

schränkung ist nicht häufig genug zu betonen.⁷⁰ Dennoch spielen Münzen im Kreislauf der Kultur immer wieder als Materialisierungen, aber auch in ihrer Materialität für raumbezogene Identitäten eine wichtige Rolle. Dieses Wechselspiel muss dann jedoch im Rahmen konkreter Fallbeispiele analysiert werden.

70 Zum Konzept der Objektbiographie aus numismatischer Sicht siehe Krmnicek 2009. Für eine kritische Beurteilung der Möglichkeiten und Grenzen des objektbiographischen Ansatzes siehe u. a. Jung 2012; Hahn und Weiss 2013; Boschung 2015b.

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3 Thracian Identity and Coinage in the Archaic and Classical Period

Ute Wartenberg

Abstract

The article discusses the difficulties and opportunities in defining Thracian identity on the basis of the numismatic evidence in the Archaic and Classical period. Thracian identity itself is a concept fraught with political and historical implications, which have its roots in the 19th century. Greek inscriptions of rulers and tribes are examined, in particular the coinage attributed to Seuthes I; the article also scrutinizes the role of the 19th century ethnographer Stefan Verkovich, who provided many of the specimens known today to museums. In a second part, the use of early ruler portraits on Thracian coins is discussed, which finds its parallels in Achaemenid coinage. More detailed research about individual tribes in Thrace and Macedon, in the context of other evidence, might help define what Thracian identity is, if it exists at all.

Keywords

Numismatics, Coins, Identity, Thrace, Greek inscriptions, Ruler portraits, Seuthes I, Stefan Verkovich

National identity is usually defined by the culture, traditions, or specific character of a nation. Almost by definition, we look for what we have and what others do not have to give ourselves an identity. What, if anything, constitutes a Thracian identity, and, more specifically, one which we can discover on coins of the late Archaic and Classical periods? Such a broad topic is undoubtedly more the subject of a book than of a short article, and this introduction merely highlights a few personal observations rather than offering a comprehensive overview on this complicated subject.

Defining the subject starts with the issue of Thracian identity, and more specifically the question of how identity can be defined on coins. Here I refer to François de Callataÿ's piece in this volume, which gives an excellent introduction to the problem. The definition of Thrace and Thracians has been a matter of intense discussion for almost two centuries, much of which has been associated with modern political settings rather than archaeological or historical realities. From the early 19th century onwards, when many modern nation-states began to emerge, the interest in Thracians, who are viewed together with so-called Proto-Bulgarians (also named ancient Bulgars)

* I am grateful to Ulrike Peter for inviting me to contribute this paper to the conference volume. It is meant to raise some issues and encourage debate, and I apologize if this article only cites a small amount of literature on this vast subject. I am grateful to Mary Lannin, Ulrike Peter, and Selene Psoma for comments and help. All errors are mine.

and Slavs as ancestors of modern Bulgarians, began to grow. In the Balkans and Greece, which were encompassed by either the Austro-Hungarian or the Ottoman Empire, strong national movements emerged, and an ethnogenesis was fashioned for each country based on archaeology and history going back to the ancient period. Fundamental works for establishing a history of these countries were writings by Marin Drinov (1838–1906) for Bulgaria and the six volumes *History of the Greek Nation* by Constantine Paparrigopoulos (1815–1891) for Greece. Focus on Thracian history and archaeology in Bulgaria emerged in the 1970s, when the country, with strong funding and direction from the communist government, created the Institute of Thracology, which was led by Alexander Fol. After 1989, the direction of Thracian studies in Bulgaria broadened considerably and abandoned the Marxist interpretations common and required in former times, but archaeological studies still continue to have an impact on political debates in Bulgaria.² In Greece, archaeological discoveries such as the Macedonian tombs at Vergina or Amphipolis continue to define the identity of the nation, which defines the ancient Macedonians as Greek. Conversely, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), the northern neighbour of Greece, has long asserted that the Macedonians were Slavs. What is clear from these disputes, often fought with resentment towards each other, is the importance that is attached to archaeology when it comes to defining modern identity. Given this background of rancour about modern identity, it is not surprising that defining ancient Thracian identity is anything but straightforward, since deconstructing the arguments beyond the archaeological data is challenging.

What ancient Thrace means is as much a question of modern national boundaries and identities as it is a scholarly question, and as an outsider one has to tread carefully when writing about this subject. Over the last two decades archaeological scholarship in Bulgaria, Turkey and Greece, FYROM and Romania, which share the heritage of former ancient Thrace, has advanced considerably, which allows for a more detailed idea of Thrace and its history before the middle of the 4th century. When reading various discussions about Thrace one is struck by how different the geographical boundaries are.¹ For this discussion, Thrace is defined in a rather wide geographical context, with the southern border roughly from the Aegean Sea and east towards Byzantium, then north from the Black Sea, with the northern border along the Istros river. For the Classical period, it is virtually impossible to determine with any precision where various tribes along the river Strymon were located.

For the general chronology of historical events or rules, we still rely on the Greek authors, in particular Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon. Although we learn from Herodotus that the Thracians are the most numerous people after the Indians,

1 See for example the various maps in the recent exhibition catalogue Martinez 2015, 23, fig. 2.



Fig. 1 Electrum hekte (2,50 g)



Fig. 2 Stater of Maroneia (AR 9,56 g; CN 3434)



Fig. 3 Abdera (AR 13,75 g; CN Type 4385)

their power as a nation is hindered by the lack of unity (Hdt. 5.3.1). The numismatic evidence mirrors this statement: as early as 500 BC, quite a few tribes or kings issued coins, but there is no clear and dominant power. What we find instead is a variety of coins, issued with their names written in Greek. The excellent article by Evgeni Paunov – *Introduction to the Numismatics of Thrace, ca. 530 BCE–46 CE* – gives an overview of the subject.²

When coinage begins to be used (and perhaps minted) in Thrace is still not entirely certain. It has generally been accepted that electrum coins, even though later by perhaps 50–75 years than the earliest Lydian issues, were circulating in Thrace and Macedonia, particularly in the coastal areas. A new analysis of a hoard of electrum fractions found in 1840 in Neapolis (*IGCH* 354) illustrates that electrum, and in particular fractional issues, must have been in use in the middle of the 6th century BC.³ Whether some of these fractional electrum coins were minted in Thrace cannot be determined with certainty, but it is highly likely given the distribution of early electrum in this region.

For example, the group with the forepart of a horse (Fig. 1) is found in three different recorded contexts, all in Thrace, and therefore is probably minted there as well. Considering how common Kyzikos electrum occurs in finds from Thrace, it is likely that the tradition of using this metal was already well-established.⁴ When

² Paunov 2015.

³ See Wartenberg 2018 and Svoronos 1919, 183–186, who lists a number of electrum coins originating in Thrace and Macedonia.

⁴ The interpretation that some of the so-called Ionian revolt, Milesian-weight staters found near Abdera are minted in various Thracian mints is being discussed by Wartenberg 2018. See Paunov 2015, 268, for the views expressed

6th-century silver coins are found, they are often connected with the trading relations of Greek colonies with Asia Minor, where the first such coins were minted around 640–630 BC (Fig. 2–3).

The earliest electrum issues of the mid-6th century are more or less contemporary with the early silver issues of the city of Abdera, and perhaps even those of Maroneia; Dikaia, Neapolis, or Selymbria also minted in the late 6th century.⁵ Since Thrace was known for its important gold and silver mines, the presence of early coins is hardly surprising. Although it is likely that the concept of coinage was introduced by the Greek settlers, I would assume that findspots in the Thracian hinterland hint that various Thracian kings adopted this relatively new medium of exchange more or less at the same time. The relationship of electrum coins to the finds of metal vases (gold, silver, and bronze) in Thrace clearly needs further examination, but the ruling elite obviously treasured gold and used it in order to express prestige not only at banquets, but probably also in gift exchange.

For the 7th and 6th centuries as a whole, the most difficult issue is undoubtedly that electrum coins cannot be assigned with any degree of certainty to Thrace and its various Greek colonies. The problem of the expression of identity on early electrum for any region is a tricky subject, which cannot be discussed in detail in the context of this article. Designs on coins are largely animals, insects, even floral or simply geometric designs, and rarely with a human depiction. Only the Lydian series, with its lion or boar heads, is accompanied by inscriptions, but even here we are rarely on firm ground when it comes to a mint attribution. On the eastern side of Thrace, the Thracian Chersonesos presents its own problems, where cities or rulers were also issuing coins. Considering the proximity of Kyzikos and the island of Lesbos, both major centres of electrum coinage, it is likely that minting in this region had a tradition that might have well begun in the first half of the 6th century. The situation of the earliest silver coins of the late 6th century is not much better, where many coins are so-called *incerti*, and are therefore hard to assign to any particular mint. In addition, Thracian and Macedonian coins are not easily differentiated, which has led to the term ‘Thracio-Macedonian’ for many of these unattributed series. The more promising are these so-called Thracio-Macedonian tribes, such as the Derrones, the Bisaltai, Edones, and others, which can be described as Thracian.

Scholars discussing these various mints often associate the minting activities in this region, in particular the large silver denominations of Abdera and the various tribes, with the Persian presence in this region after 513 BC. The tribes and Greek cities

by Svoronos; Price 1976, 1 actually did not go as far as attributing these coins found in Abdera to those local mints.

5 For Abdera, see May 1966; Kagan 2006, 49–59; Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007; for Maroneia, see Schönert-Geiss 1987; for Selymbria and Dikaia, see Schönert-Geiss 1975 and for Dikaia also May 1965.

were required to pay tribute to the Persian king, and since many of these coins are found in the Near East, within the confines of the Persian Empire, some numismatists see the reason for minting as facilitating taxation. As I have argued elsewhere, the archaeological and numismatic evidence does not support this thesis.⁶ The larger denominations do circulate extensively in the Balkans, and for the Derrones this has long been established. However, coins of Abdera and other mints also circulated, and the main output of the larger denominations in the 460s (of Thracian and Macedonian origin) falls in the period when the Persian influence had almost disappeared in this region. A more nuanced analysis of coins in Thrace and the neighbouring regions is needed to get a better sense of the regional and global role of the coins of the late 6th and 5th centuries. The influence of Persia on Thracian culture and politics can be seen in many aspects, but a monocausal explanation for coinage as tribute does not do justice to the complex relationships of Thracian tribes, Greek cities, and the Persians.

So, what can we say about identity of the coins from Thrace in the late Archaic and Classical periods? I shall look at two phenomena, which might help determine what defines a Thracian characteristic on these coins: the inscriptions found on the coins of kings and tribes within the Thracian region, and secondly, the iconography employed on coins of tribes, and in particular the portraits of various rulers. The coins of the Odrysian kingdom and of various tribes generally described by numismatists as ‘Thracio-Macedonian’ will be considered, although I am aware of some of the difficulties in describing those tribes as Thracians.

Legends, identifying the issuing authority (ruler or city), are common on coins from the early 5th century onwards. In the 7th and 6th centuries, few such legends exist, and most coins have a variety of designs, which are not all attributable as emblems of an authority. The tradition of using a fixed emblem (such as the owl for Athens, the turtle for Aegina, or the nymph Arethusa for Syracuse) develops in the second half of the 6th century, and in some cases, letters are used to identify the mint. AΘE for Athens is first used with the introduction of the Athena/owl type in c. 520 BC, when other mints still have nothing but a simple emblem. Only when such mints continue to employ this same emblem with the legend, are we able to identify the earlier Archaic mint from the later-inscribed Classical city. The Asyut hoard (IGCH 1644), dated to c. 480 BC, well illustrates that there were a large number of mints in operation in the area of Thrace and Macedonia. While many are not identified and remain uncertain as to their minting authority, some bear inscriptions, which are largely names of the issuing authorities (Fig. 4-7).

6 Wartenberg 2015, 356–361.



Fig. 4 Lete or Laeitikon?
(AR 9.22 g; CN Type 4658)



Fig. 5 Uncertain mint
(AR 9.26 g; CN 29086)



Fig. 6 Derrones (AR 33.07 g; CN Type 4588)



Fig. 7 Getas (c. 465 BC, AR 28.49 g; cf. CN Type 4702)

One of the most prominent Thracian series identified by an inscription is that of the Derrones (Fig. 6).⁷ Looking at the earliest examples represented in the Asyut hoard, we see all three words ending in -KON or -KION, and with an -ΟΣ ending. All are presumably adjectives in the neuter and masculine gender, if we assume they are composed according to Greek grammatical structure. This kind of nomenclature turns a place or a ruler's name into an adjective, followed by implicit nouns such as multiples of drachms or stater. Although known from a few rare issues in mainland Greece and Sicily, this phenomenon is highly unusual. On Thracian tribal issues it seems to have a few parallels in the coins of the Orreskii and perhaps in an unknown tribe (ΛΑΕΙΤΙΚΟΝ). It remains uncertain what the names of these tribes really were, which – with two exceptions (Bisaltai and Edones) – are unknown from all other

⁷ Tzamalīs 2012.

sources.⁸ This absence of names is curious and points to the possibility that it is more the name rather than some emblem which identifies a particular tribe. In contrast, by 500, in the tradition of the Greek mainland, issuers were identified by a city emblem, which is absent from the Thracian tradition. The concept of using a tribal name is also noteworthy, insofar as the group and not its leader is identified on most of these coins. The most notable exception is the coinage of Getas, king of the Edones, whose name and title are indicated on coins in a variety of combinations on both obverses and reverses (Fig. 7). Since both the Elmalı and the 'Karkemish' hoards (CH VIII. 48; unpublished) contained such coins, which were absent in the Asyut hoard, it seems likely his reign may be placed to c. 465–450/40. It thus falls into a similar period as the main output of Alexander I of Macedon and of Bisaltai. After 440, Sparadokos, king of the Odrysians, used a legend in his own name only, without any attribution to the dynasty (see Fig. 12).⁹ This development might well reflect the consolidation of the many tribes in the second part of the 5th century under either Odrysian or Macedonian rule; the Macedonian kings never added their dynasty.

There must have been rivalry between the various tribes, and the fact that a few issuers name themselves on the coins illustrates the existence of a distinct identity. Furthermore, legends on these coins are often the only distinctive feature concerning the identity behind these coins, which all show rather similar iconography, such as a horseman, a man with oxen, etc. Without the names, these coins would be hard to distinguish. The question, then, is for whom and perhaps by whom were these Greek legends added? The likelihood that most people could read and understand the Greek letters is remote, and one cannot necessarily assume that the issuing authority within the tribal structure was responsible for the addition of the letters. It is conceivable that the people who were in charge of minting all these coins were shared between tribes and that some legends were added by mint personnel. I shall come back to this question when I discuss the iconography of these coins, but first, I shall consider a set of unique inscriptions on Thracian coins, which provide further evidence for the effects of acculturation in Thrace.

The coins under discussion (Fig. 8–11) are all of King Seuthes I, who issued a group of didrachms, drachms, and a fraction, all presumably on the Attic standard.¹⁰ The didrachms exist in two, slightly different series, both of which show a rider on a horse holding a spear in his right hand. A chlamys, attached around his neck, is floating in the back. Of interest are the reverses: one (Paris, de Luynes collection) has an

8 As Psoma and Zannis 2011 and Wartenberg 2015 have shown, IXNAION refers to the Macedonian town of Ichnai. For an overview of the tribes, see Delev 2014.

9 Psoma 2002, 513–522; previously Psoma 1995, 1039–1043; for a discussion about the distribution in Western and Central Thrace, see Gatzolis 2005, 176–177.

10 Peter 1997, 78–83.



Fig. 8 Seuthes (AR 8.46 g; CN 13596)



Fig. 9 Seuthes (AR 8.58 g; CN 27079)



Fig. 10 Seuthes (AR 4 g; cf. CN Type 4850)



Fig. 11 Seuthes (AR 1.45g; CN 21153)

inscription set in an incuse, which reads ΣΕΥΘΑ/ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΝ (Fig. 8); the second one is set in a round circle and reads ΣΕΥΘΑ/ΚΟΜΜΑ (Fig. 9).

On a drachm with a riderless horse, the latter reverse is repeated (Fig. 10), and on the smallest denomination, weighing about 0.90g, are a forepart of a horse and the legend ΣΕΥ (Fig. 11). These coins are extremely rare; today there are less than a dozen specimens known.

The first specimen (Fig. 9) entered the British Museum's collection in 1859 as part of a purchase from Professor Stefan Verkovich, who sold the British Museum a group of 68 ancient, Byzantine, and medieval coins. All were from the region of the Balkans and northern Greece. Verkovich, who also sold at least one coin to the Berlin cabinet in 1873, is much better known for his role in the early South-Slav or Bulgarian movement.¹¹ His publication of the *Veda Slovena*, a set of epic folk songs, which supposedly predated Homer, was part of the romantic national movement seen in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries. Similar to the Poems of Ossian, which the Scottish poet James Macpherson was said to have collected in their original Gaelic and translated into English, Verkovich's works are now considered modern literary inventions, effectively literary hoaxes that were created to give an emerging nation state poems, in order to prove its ancestry and thus its legitimacy. The phenomenon of creating such seemingly ancient practices within a context of nationalism has been termed 'invented tradition' in a famous collection of essays, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger in 1983. Verkovich's collected poems fit neatly here. Nevertheless, the *Veda Slovena* assured his status in the newly formed state of Bulgaria, where he died in 1893. For most of his life, Verkovich seems to have sold antiquities, and in

11 See Trencsenyi 2013, 181–183, for a biography and his works.

particular coins, which he appears to have purchased ‘during his wandering in Upper Macedonia’. This reference is from Vaux’s publication in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, where he is described as a ‘Professor of Latin’.¹² How active he was as a dealer of coins is evident from an advertisement in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of 1857, one of Germany’s early daily newspapers, in which he also specified his interest in searching and selling literary and numismatic documents from the Slavic past.

Considering Verkovich’s reputation regarding the *Veda Slovena*, one wonders whether the theory that the Seuthes coins may be 19th century counterfeits has some merit after all. Such doubts were first voiced by Bulgarian scholars such as Gerasimov and later Youroukova, who based her doubts on letter forms, cracked flans, and the wording on the coins.¹³ Youroukova later reversed her views in an article in the Kraay-Mørholm Essays, where she attributed the series of didrachms and drachms to Seuthes II and described them as genuine coins.¹⁴

It is clearly time to look at the two coins again. The Paris specimen (Fig. 8), which weighs 8.48 g, was first published by the Duc de Luynes in 1846 in his *Essai sur la numismatique des satrapies et de la Phénicie sous les rois Achaéménides*.¹⁵ It is assigned to Seuthes I. Unfortunately, it is not clear when and from whom de Luynes acquired the coin. Some 15 years later, the British Museum acquired the second coin with the slightly different inscription κόμμα, which was promptly published in an article by Samuel Birch, the famous Egyptologist and keeper in the British Museum.¹⁶ Birch, who had started his career in the museum in 1836 by cataloguing Chinese coins, began his article with the exact provenance information of this coin: ‘The above coin was obtained by Professor Verkovich, of Belgrade, at Serres, the ancient Siris, in the territory of the Edoni.’¹⁷ Birch speculates further that the coin was perhaps minted by Seuthes I in this region. Verkovich lived for about two decades in Serres, and to judge from the other coins which he sold the British Museum, they were probably found in the same region and along the Aegean coast.¹⁸ The fact that the reverses each have simply a large inscription is indeed odd, but the text itself is perhaps not altogether unparalleled. Even if we leave aside the much later coin of Kotys II (57–48 BC), which reads KOTYOS XAPAKTHP, the inscription of ΕΔΟΝΕΟΝ ΒΑ-ΣΙ-Λ-[...] ΠΙΤΑ ΝΟΜΙ-ΣΜ-Α on the famous octodrachm in the British Museum (inv.-no. 1948.0706.1)

12 Vaux 1861, 105.

13 See Youroukova 1976, 13–14; Gerasimov 1975, 74.

14 Ruseva 2016 also attributes the didrachms and drachms very likely to Seuthes I and the smaller denominations and bronze coins rather to Seuthes II.

15 Luynes 1846, 45.

16 Birch Apr. 1857–Jan. 1858, 151–156.

17 Birch Apr. 1857–Jan. 1858, 151.

18 For the various coins, see the accessions of 1859.1013 and 1859.1011.

indicates the same concept.¹⁹ Instead of simply using a possessive genitive, as most coins from mainland Greece or Asia Minor do, these coins have varying descriptions of the object itself. While νόμισμα and ἀργύριον are common enough words for a coin, the term κόμμα is unusual. It is used in inscriptions from Attica and Delos (*IG* II 2, 1610, 1627, 1644; *Inscriptions de Délos* 104) and most memorably in Aristophanes' *Frogs* (890), where the playwright Euripides wishes to pray to his own gods, to which Dionysus replies: "Ἰδιοί τινες σου, κόμμα καινόν" ('your own private ones, newly struck?'). In the *Frogs*, Aristophanes used another numismatic description in a famous passage where he referred to the counterfeit bronze coins (*Ar. Ran.* 718–733), and it is not surprising to find such specialist vocabulary in this play. Outside the Attic vocabulary, the word κόμμα can be considered rare, and if one applies an adaption of the rule of textual criticism '*lectio difficilior potior*' (meaning that the more difficult reading of a word is to be preferred to a simpler one) to this problem, I would argue that it is highly unlikely that a 19th century forger would have chosen this word at all, and further added the Doric genitive, ΣΕΥΘΑ.²⁰

The Athenian influence on this coinage is also noticeable when we consider the weight standard, which is Attic. The didrachms and drachms follow the Attic system, just as in the similar coinage of Sparadokos.²¹ This has implications for the attribution of this coinage, which has been variously given to either Seuthes I or Seuthes II.²² Since toward the end of the Peloponnesian War and in the early 4th century, no Attic-weight coinage was produced in the Thrace or Macedonia, and it is therefore almost impossible that Seuthes II would have issued this coinage on this standard. It is more plausible that Seuthes I struck this small group of coins before he succeeded his uncle Sitalkes in the period around 430, when Athens and King Sitalkes, along with Seuthes, were allied to take on the Chalcidicean cities. One can hardly be more precise about the exact circumstances of these Seuthes coins, but it appears to be the most likely circumstances in which such an 'Athenian' coinage would have been produced.

Where does this all leave us in our search for Thracian identity? In some ways, the use of an inscription which occupies the whole field on a coin is unusual. One might further speculate that the act of calling a coin a coin suggests it might have other uses within the cultural context in which it is issued. The object itself could be viewed merely as a piece of stamped silver, and calling it a coin points towards its intended use – in case this was not entirely clear to those producing the coins. However, by using Greek as a language, the socio-economic background of these

19 See Tatscheva 1998, 613–626.

20 It appears that in the late 4th century, Seuthes III's name was ΣΕΥΘΗΣ, with a genitive of ΣΕΥΘΟΥ.

21 Psoma 2002, 518–519: drachms and diobols of Persian standard.

22 Youroukova 1976, 9–14 interprets them as issues of Seuthes II; Peter 1997, 76–88 leaves the issue open; Ruseva 2016 attributes the silver didrachms and drachms to Seuthes I.



Fig. 12 Sparadokos (AR 17.15 g; CN 3144)



Fig. 13 Saratokos (AR 1.06 g; CN 3299)



Fig. 14 Metokos (AR 1.09 g; CN 3155)



Fig. 15 Hebryzelmis (AE 3.83 g; CN 3211)



Fig. 16 Kotys I (AR 0.86 g; CN 3201)



Fig. 17 Kotys I (AE 6.74 g; CN 3208)



Fig. 18 Kotys I (AE 2.22 g; CN 3209)

coins points towards the Greek world. But of course, if one interprets the inscription only as a more elaborate way of identifying its issuer, Seuthes, the coins are not so different from those of Getas of the Edones, and, to use an example outside Thrace, from those of Alexander of Macedon, who inscribed his name in the genitive. In Thrace, the desire of the tribes or individuals to identify themselves, perhaps in order to create a contrast to other tribes, is evident. The collective identity of a Greek city is largely expressed through the various emblems, a sort of logo, whereas the various Thracian mints are hard to distinguish from their often similar designs related (in the 5th century) to the Dionysiac cult or the man with oxen/bulls. The legends alone allow the identification of the tribe, even when this is written in a script (and probably language) not their own. The name itself provides, and perhaps even creates, identity in a historical setting in which the Thracian tribes are clearly numerous. As

Herodotus states (5.3.2; trans. by A. D. Godley), ‘the Thracians have many names, each tribe according to its region, but they are very similar in all their customs, save the Getae, the Trausi, and those who dwell above the Crestonaeans.’ In some ways, this description mirrors the early Classical coinage of the Thracians, which is similar in design but identified by many names. This picture changes more towards the end of the second half of the 5th century when the names of individual Odrysian kings appear and the consolidation of the Thracian tribes under Odrysian (and in the West, Macedonian) control is apparent.

When we look further at the numismatic iconography of various mints in Thrace during the late Archaic and early Classical period, a number of them use Dionysiac motifs, as do other early Greek mints such as Naxos in Sicily, but the depiction on these Thracian mints is thematically and stylistically distinctive. The motif of a nymph being carried by a satyr on the coinage attributed to Thasos finds a very similar parallel in a centaur carrying a nymph. The latter type is accompanied by three different legends, which allow an attribution to three tribes (Orreskioi, Letaioi, and, the Zaelioi). The combination of theme and a somewhat crude late Archaic style sets these coins apart in the corpus of late archaic coinage, and if the attribution of the nymph/satyr coinage to Thasos can be trusted, one wonders how such a type came about. Whether Thracian imagery is a factor in the choice for this design is hard to determine, but Dionysus is one of the main deities worshipped in Thrace and therefore appropriate, if the authorities wanted to express their identity.

Turning to coins of the later 5th and 4th centuries, the royal name on coins becomes increasingly important when designs imitate the common series of Maroneia, Abdera, or the earlier various nymph/satyr or centaur designs common in this area. Design elements such as the typical double-handled, conical cup – perhaps a *kypsele* – and the double axe appear on the later 4th-century coins quite regularly, probably as royal symbols of the Odrysian dynasty under Teres I and his successors.²³ Intriguing is the phenomenon of the depiction of a ruler, either on his horse or as a portrait head, which appears remarkably early on Thracian coins. Here one could argue that the depiction of a horseman on the coinages of Sparadokos is meant to show the ruler on horseback (Fig. 12).

By the mid-5th century, personal names of rulers in Thrace and Macedonia are beginning to be accompanied with images of men on horses, such as the famous depiction of a rider with petasos on an octadrachm (or tristater) of Alexander I. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that these are not supposed to be representations of the ruler himself. The king’s depiction is not yet individualized and is paralleled more by that of the Persian king on a Daric gold coin. The elements that set the king apart are

23 Following Topalov 2012, 26 for a summary of his views and various earlier literature.

part of his identity as a ruler: the Persian king carries a spear and bow and wears a crown, whereas the Thracian or Macedonian ruler is seated on a horse and carries two spears. It is noteworthy that the depiction on the coins of the Bisaltai and of Mosses also show a man with two spears, who walks with a horse. By the time of the Peloponnesian War, the situation in the north has changed, and the various tribes known from earlier periods have virtually all disappeared from the numismatic record. The Macedonian kings rule the area up to the river Strymon, whereas the Odrysian kings controlled the region to the east.

On a few rare, small silver coins minted in the late 5th century, we begin to see heads of Thracian rulers. Examples are Saratokos (410–380?), whose coins show a beardless male head with long hair and no other distinguishing features (Fig. 13). Metokos (405–390) issued silver coins with a bearded head and a double axe (Fig. 14); Hebryzelmis (390–380) issued a bronze series with a male bearded head (Fig. 15), while Kotys I (384/3–359) minted coins with portraits, both with and without a beard (Fig. 16), as well as an issue of a man, presumably the king, on a horse (Fig. 17). It is interesting that few of these male heads have symbols, which could help identify the person as a king, but the reverses show various emblems, such as the cup (*kypsele*) and the double axe, which might well have been royal symbols or regal paraphernalia. Such depictions of rulers are highly unusual before the Hellenistic period, if not unknown outside the Persian Empire and its immediate sphere of influence. Although we cannot determine with certainty that the men on these coins are rulers, the probability that they are gods or heroes is small. An exception in which a Thracian king wears a royal emblem is a small bronze coin of Kotys, which shows a male head with a diadem (Fig. 18).²⁴

If this coin is indeed correctly dated to Kotys I, this diademed head represents an early example of such a depiction. The convention of using a diadem can be found on Persian coins, such as the famous coin from the British Museum (inv.-no. 1947.0706.4), attributed to Tissaphernes or the coins of Kyzikos with a satrapal portrait (perhaps of Pharnabazos).²⁵ Various Lycian dynasts also wear these diadems or ribbons, which has led to different theories as to what status the depicted ruler had within the hierarchy.²⁶ If we look at the Macedonian coinage in the same period, no such depictions occur.²⁷ The early example of a diademed head of Kotys I adds further evidence of the influence of the Achaemenids on the Odrysian dynasty, which is

24 Peter 1997, 115.

25 BM1892.0703.1.

26 Zahle 1982, 101–112.

27 We should, however, note that the Macedonian king Alexander I is portrayed on coins wearing a Persian-style sword, as Heinrichs and Müller 2008, 283–309 discovered. If this interpretation is correct, Achaemenid influence on Macedonian regal representation is noticeable.

much better documented by the presence of drinking vessels. The similarity between Achaemenid and Thracian societies has been noted, and here the early introduction of portraits on coins, including the use of a diadem, supports the idea that the Odrysian kingdom took some of its aristocratic expressions from the Persians.²⁸

Given the earlier Thracian tradition of personalizing individual coin issues with royal or tribal names, the early introduction of portraits on coins can be seen as a continuation of the same desire to create an identity in a regional context where other rulers undoubtedly challenged the authority of the kings. While this evolution of portraits on Thracian coins is academically noteworthy, its impact at the time is not entirely clear since the issues with such portraits are rare and only on small silver and bronze coins, which circulated locally. Nevertheless, the fact that such portraits were used on coins points to the desire to highlight the leaders in the Odrysian kingdom and to create some kind of identity. Some of the same rulers, who use their portraits on some coins, also mint coins that are imitations of Maroneia or Thasos ('Bergaios'), and here the contrast between expressing identity and using someone else's identity is noteworthy.

It is time to consider what these few cases tell us about Thracian identity. In the early 5th century there are clearly some common features on coins of the various tribes such as the Edones, Bisaltai, and Derrones. It is also worth mentioning that the Macedonian coins of Alexander I are closely associated through their iconography, which begs the question whether a 'Thracian' identity can be really clearly differentiated from a Macedonian one. The question of the early Macedonian identity, which has been much more studied, is clearly part of the debate about early Thrace and needs a closer examination that extends beyond numismatics. Zofia Archibald has pointed out – correctly in my view – that there are methodological issues with interpretations that associate Thracian identity with Persian influence, while Macedonian practices are viewed more in Greek terms.²⁹ It is virtually impossible not to be influenced by Greek authors, who speak of 'Thrace', but the regional differences between various tribes, their practices, and society are visible in different coin designs or styles. Here the coins of the Derrones represent a distinct entity, but coins of Ichnai, the Edones, and Alexander I illustrate that coins issued by different authorities (Macedonians and 'Thracians') are very similar and only distinctive by the addition of legends. Further, we see Athenian influences on the coins of Seuthes, an Odrysian ruler, and here the close connection with Athens is well documented in the sources and by spectacular Athenian silverware found in Bulgaria.³⁰ The Persian influence is also visible in the

28 Vassileva 2015, 320–336; Archibald 1998, 222.

29 Archibald 1998, 217 with bibliography.

30 Sears 2013; Martinez 2015.

case of the early introduction of portraiture on Odysian coins. What the numismatic evidence presents to the debate about Thracian identity is the need for an approach that focuses on the individual tribes and their coins, where one can distinguish different styles or similarities. Whether there is actually something 'Thracian' *per se* about the similarities is questionable. For the Archaic and Classical periods, the terminology is not particularly helpful and reflects as much our lack of more precise classification about the various tribes. In that sense, we are not more advanced than the Athenian authors, who were struggling to understand what they called Thracians. Progress can be undoubtedly made by studying archaeological remains from excavations, as well as coins, to gain a better classification. Only on the basis of more research can we continue to define identity or identities of the many tribes in the Northern Aegean.

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4 Identities and Thracian Hellenistic Coinages

François de Callatay

Abstract

For more than a decade, the topic of identity has been heavily discussed in historical studies dominated by the cultural approach. Identities are attractive for two reasons: they resonate loudly with our global world of massive imports and exports of products and people, and they are extremely difficult to define. To define identities through coinages does not escape the general framework: one needs to get rid of some preconceived notions. It has long been assumed that coins, as a product highly controlled by the issuing authorities, seem a priori to faithfully mirror how these powers wanted to be seen. While essentially true, this assumption is, however, open to criticism. The main criticism is that coins were issued for specific purposes, mostly to pay soldiers and that their messages are likely to have targeted these first beneficiaries. Conversely, coin types were not conceived for the elite or the general population, as is often repeated. Thracian coinages don't escape this general observation.

Keywords

Identity, coinage, Thrace, Hellenisation

Identities

For more than a decade, the topic of identity has been heavily discussed in historical studies dominated by the cultural approach. Identities are attractive for two reasons: they resonate loudly with our global world of massive imports and exports of products and people, and they are extremely difficult to define. Humanities and social sciences have always been attracted by complexity. Cultural identities are a kind of summit of complexity and bear the additional burden of sustaining a constant fight against the reductive view promoted by politics haunted by nationalism. It should be stressed that this particular tension between a search for complexity on the one hand and a reduction to simplicity on the other affects both parties, including cultural historians who may be tempted to overreact. As a result, any discourse about identities, and especially ethnicities, immediately prompts the question: *Cui bono?* – for whom benefit? How far is the argument manipulated?

It should also be emphasized that academic backgrounds generally play a significant role in how the past is reconstructed: anthropologists are mainly trained to look

* The author is grateful to Oliver Hoover who read and improved the English of the initial draft.

for differences and changes,¹ whereas archaeologists are more guided to interpret what they have found. Again, that natural tension between a top-down (shared by processual archaeologists) and a bottom-up agenda creates a context for overly rigid positions and becomes an argument over models versus facts. As an example taken not far from the Thracians, François Hartog once famously argued how the definition of the Other is a construction that mirrors the definition of the Self and how Herodotus was unreliable when speaking about the Scythians.² The first statement is always useful to remember, even if this elegant binary construction is possibly more misleading than useful (as is often the case with the structuralist approach).³ The second one about the unreliability of Herodotus has been severely criticized by modern scholarship.⁴ What mainly emerges from recent literature is that identities are recomposed in permanence (i.e. they are multiple and overlapping)⁵ and that everything has to be considered in context.⁶ Objects themselves rarely possess an ethnic identity, *per se*.⁷

Thracian identities have also received considerable attention recently, as illustrated by the recent manual, *A Companion to Ancient Thrace*.⁸ It is a field in which several past over-interpretations, heavily influenced by modern politics, first have to be deconstructed.⁹ Conversely and alongside archaeological artefacts, DNA (more than anthropometrics) promises to play a major role in future ethnic reconstructions,¹⁰ which should additionally take non-ethnic identities into account.¹¹ It is well-known that any reconstruction in the field is largely complicated by the moving landscape of Thracian tribes during Hellenistic times. Already advocated by Fanoula Papazoglou, this fluidity has been confirmed and reinforced in the recent book on the subject by Peter Delev.¹²

1 As emphasized by Wells 2001.

2 Hartog 1980; see also Schubert 2010.

3 For a more nuanced approach using the concept of ethnicity, see Hall 1989; for the image of the Thrace in Athens, see e.g. Siebert 1998 and Schirripa 2015.

4 For a rehabilitation of Herodotus, see e.g. Bäbler 2012; Bäbler 2011; Ivantchik 1999; Ivantchik 2011. On how ancient writers proceed with information and build suitable images for their audiences, see Woolf 2011.

5 See recently Hales and Hodos 2009, and, for Roman numismatics, Williamson 2005.

6 Brélaz [forthcoming].

7 As reminded for the 'Scythian costume', by Ivantchik 2005.

8 Valeva 2015; see especially Graninger 2015.

9 See e.g. Dichev 2001–2002, 2002. For the concept of the 'grave-temple', see Marinov 2013.

10 See already Duțescu and Ștefan 2008.

11 For a first attempt to deal with genders, see Ștefan 2010.

12 Papazoglou 1978 and Delev 2014.

Numismatic Identities

To define identities through coinages does not escape the general framework: one needs to get rid of some preconceived notions. It has long been assumed that coins, as a product highly controlled by the issuing authorities, seem a priori to faithfully mirror how these powers wanted to be seen. It has been implicitly or explicitly held that these powers engaged in true propaganda through monetary iconography for the simple reason that coins are allegedly the best medium to do so in terms of numbers and diffusion.¹³

While essentially true, this assumption is, however, open to criticism. The main criticism is that coins were issued for specific purposes, mostly to pay soldiers in precious metals (but garrisons were often paid in bronze coins, too),¹⁴ and that their messages are likely to have targeted these first beneficiaries. Conversely, coin types were *not* conceived for the elite or the general population, as is often repeated. It is even trickier with Hellenistic rulers, for they seem to have favoured coins as the payment par excellence for mercenaries, i.e. foreigners *not* sharing the local ethnic identity (supposing it can be defined). Many false considerations may derive from this reminder. For example, the fact that Greek was the only language deployed on Thracian coins cannot be used in any reconstruction about the knowledge of Greek in the area, and, hence, as a mark of Hellenisation. In other words, the simple opposition between identity and 'otherness' (see the first graph of K.P. Hoffmann) is seriously biased with mercenary coinages, which were very often produced for the Other. Despite its paramount importance, the question of the first beneficiaries (again, mostly for military expenses) is the one most neglected by current literature. Coin messages are likely to have been created in such a way that contemporary outsiders of the targeted audience may not have understood them (or only partly).

Although of minor importance in comparison with the issue of the first beneficiaries, additional criticisms could be added to reject monetary iconography as a reliable guide on the road towards identities. First, we cannot be certain that, as in the inscription of Sestos, the city itself was responsible for the choice of coin types. This point is possibly less sensitive for Hellenistic powers than for Republican Rome but should not be totally neglected when engaging with monetary identities. In terms of constructed identities, it is not without consequence to know if the type was chosen by one person or by a group.

Moreover, issuing powers may have been tempted to falsify reality intentionally, as was the case with the 4th century AD Roman emperors repeating *ad libitum* the

¹³ See Millar 1993, 230: 'the most deliberate of all symbols of public identity'.

¹⁴ See Psoma 2009.

motto of the *Gloria exercitum* at a time when their armies were most often defeated on the battlefield. For coins as well, there is a distance between active or constructed identity (how one wishes to be perceived) and passive or experienced identity (how one is really perceived), with little means for modern historians to decide about real identity (and most anthropologists prefer to avoid that elusive reality).

In addition, coins could deliver tricky messages once put into circulation, at least if based on scanty evidence. To find a Thracian coin in a grave does not make the skeleton Thracian. We need much more additional evidence.¹⁵ To give an anachronistic example, in Napoleonic times, British soldiers staying at Portsmouth prior to embarking for the Peninsular War were only paid in Spanish money – then the most inconvenient device for them¹⁶ – and, once in Spain, the sergeant William Lawrence described how he only found Spanish and British coins in the pockets of a wounded Frenchman.¹⁷

With all these provisos in mind, what could be said about coin identities on Hellenistic coinages issued or circulating in Thrace? In his introduction to *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, Christopher Howgego gives a list of topics where deliberate choices about monetary iconography could be detected if put into broad perspective: religion, monumentality, past (myth/history), time, geography, language, and ‘Romanness’ (converted here to ‘Greekness’).¹⁸ This is a fine agenda of large topics. To a lesser extent than the Roman Empire, the pattern of Hellenistic Thrace rarely allows, however, (and so far) for pinpointing clear developments.

Beyond topics to explore, innovative methodology sometimes seems to offer new paths of understanding. A persuasive different way to look at monetary identities has been attempted by Kevin Butcher who argues that ‘if identity is an activity

15 As emphasized for the Scythians again by Fless and Lorenz 2005.

16 Vernert 1965, 12: ‘From the length of the time we lay off Portsmouth before sailing we had consumed our sea stock frequently, and as we were only provided with Spanish money, it was very inconvenient to have drawn upon our resources’.

17 Bankes 1886, 134–135: ‘I came across a poor wounded Frenchman crying to us English not to leave him, as he was afraid of the bloodthirsty Spaniards: the poor fellow could not at most live more than two hours, as a cannonball had completely carried off both thighs. He entreated me to stay with him, but I only did so as long as I found it convenient: I saw, too, that he could not last long, and very little sympathy could be expected from me then; so I ransacked his pockets and knapsack, and found a piece of pork ready cooked and three or four pounds of bread, which I thought would be very acceptable. The poor fellow asked me to leave him a portion, so I cut off a piece of bread and meat and emptied the beans out of my haversack, which with the bread and meat I left by his side. I then asked him if he had any money, to which he replied no, but not feeling quite satisfied at that, I again went through his pockets. I found ten rounds of ball cartridge which I threw away, and likewise a clothes-brush and a roll of gold and silver lace, but those I would not give carriage to. However, I found his purse at last, which contained seven Spanish dollars and seven shillings, all of which I put into my pocket except one shilling, which I returned to the poor dying man, and continued on my way up the hill.’

18 Howgego 2005. On monumentality, see Meadows and Williams 2001. On history (and monumentality), see Hölscher 2014.

or performance rather than something one merely possesses, then two principal activities seem relevant here: choosing designs and using designs'.¹⁹ Borrowing from Umberto Eco, he intends to apply to coins the concept of '*intentio operis* which lies between the intention of the author and the intention of the reader, and through which overinterpretation can be constrained by the standard hermeneutic practice of checking to see if the interpretations cohere with the whole of a text, on the understanding that the context(s) of the text rather than that of the author is more important to understanding'.²⁰ So, again, everything in context, one should fear overinterpretation, that endemic disease whose abuses in the 1920s and 1930s nearly killed iconographic studies after WWII!

In a paper entitled 'The Medium is the Message' – a reference to the famous motto of Marshall MacLuhan²¹ – Oliver Hoover underlines how we do have many Greek coinages with a non-Greek legend.²² He concludes that 'the means of written communication on the coins were messages in themselves, indicating identification as Greek or non-Greek and Roman or non-Roman and at times expressing cultural resistance or parity'.²³ In closer keeping with the title, I would additionally emphasize that the medium is indeed the message, insofar that users paid more attention to the Greek nature of coinage than to the foreign nature of the script; it is a coin, so it is Greek. What we do observe in Thracian territory is a remarkable paucity of Thracian iconographic elements. This has nothing to do, in my mind, with the supposed extent of Hellenisation in ancient Thrace, but should be explained by the intention of the issuers, whatever their ethnic origins. For Hellenistic kings (and perhaps also for Thracian rulers), the logic may well have been paradoxical; it is precisely because they faced a variety of languages and nations in their armies that they opted for Greek legends on their coins. In other words, if Greek legends prove something, it is the multicultural nature of the first beneficiaries. A contrario, this may explain the strange case of the *fratarakā* coinage under the Seleucids: coins of Greek weights and fabric with types clearly derived from the Greek iconographic repertoire, but merging Persian elements in a style which is distinctively Persian. It is interesting to observe that these *fratarakā* coins continue to be seen as a defiant gesture in opposition to Greco-Macedonian culture (but David Engels argues that these *fratarakā* dynasts may have been loyal supporters of the Seleucids).²⁴ Once more, the medium is the

19 Butcher 2005.

20 Eco 1992 (esp. 23–88) and Butcher 2005, 154–155.

21 MacLuhan 1969, 23.

22 Hoover 2016.

23 Hoover 2016, 15.

24 Engels 2013, see 79: '... a rejection of the traditional "conflictual model" in favour of a "pacific model" does not claim any superior "truth" based on new evidence, but only tries to show that our sources enable us to interpret

message. If following the logic developed here, it simply indicates that these coins were targeting a Persian audience only as first beneficiaries.

Thracian Numismatic Identities

Regrettably enough (and I am among the guilty), papers presented at this conference rarely engage directly with the question of identities during Hellenistic times.²⁵

Several authors prove keen to consider various forms of evidence and not to explain coin images only by coin images, as is still too often the case.²⁶ But the general link between coinages and trade, although mostly irrelevant to explain coin types (for it confuses the first beneficiaries with subsequent users), continues to imbue many developments as when identifying two reversed heads with Getic slaves on the large silver coinage of Istros, for Istros was notoriously engaged in that commerce.²⁷ The militaristic first function of many coinages, including bronzes and even civic bronzes, still awaits recognition.

Similarly, one has noticed that local elements, which were never abundant before anyway, almost totally disappear in Hellenistic times. To explain this quasi-disappearance by an intense trade partnership between the Greek cities of the seashore and the tribes of the hinterland is not entirely convincing. Again, the medium is the message: there is little doubt that, in the system of values of a Thracian ruler or anyone living in one of those very multicultural Greek cities located on the seashore or in the hinterland, like Pistiros, coins were perceived as fundamentally Greek. So why take the risk of confusing users and altering their trust by putting non-Greek elements on the coins? This also applies to *parasema*, civic badges. In her introduction, Simone Killen underlines how ‘Greek’ cities failed to integrate any ‘Thracian’ elements.²⁸ In any case, we do not observe in Hellenistic Thrace this kind of mixture, recently gathered by Peter Thonemann under the subtitle ‘Hellenizing identities’.²⁹

the history of Hellenistic Persia as one of loyal submission to the Seleucid dynasty rather than one of continuous rebellion’.

25 A noticeable exception is the paper of Gabriel Talmaçhi in this volume.

26 On the necessity to take into account all kinds of evidence, see now Krmnicek and Elkins 2014.

27 Moses Finley famously stated that coin types referring to a local commercial activity are desperately few: see Finley 1985, 136.

28 Dealing with coins and commercial weights of Lysimacheia and Ainos and observing how these allegedly ‘civic badges’ may have varied into a same city, Oğuz Tekin is going further, wondering if civic badges really existed or if it would not be more appropriate to speak about dominant images.

29 Thonemann 2015, (43–107: *Part II. Identity*). Sign of the time, no less than a full part (making a third of the book) is devoted to identities, declining the topic in three subparts: civic identities, collective identities, and Hellenizing identities.

What looks distinctively Thracian, on the other hand, is the use of explicit Greek words to qualify the coin: ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑ (coin) for Getas (5th c. BC), ΑΡΓΥΡΙΑ (monetized silver) as well as ΚΟΜΜΑ (coin, ‘what is cut’) for Seuthes II (c. 405–391 BC), and ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ (seal, reverse die) for Kotys (c. 57–48 BC).³⁰ These words never appear elsewhere,³¹ and, although of the highest rarity considering the full corpus, clearly express something Thracian. They resonate as an attempt to appear more Greek than a Greek. It is especially interesting to observe how the legend ΣΕΥΘΑ / ΑΡΓΥΡΙΑ or ΣΕΥΘΑ / ΚΟΜΜΑ occupies the full field of the reverse, monumentalizing the inscription in a way Greek coinages never adopted.³²

Several questions still remain to be fully addressed. Why did some Thracian rulers, like Skostokos or Kavaros, put their names on coins while others did not? Why did Mostis consider it advantageous to strike tetradrachms with his own portrait while others did not? Why did the names of ΚΟΤΥΟΥ (of Kotys) or ΘΡΑΚΩΝ (of the Thracians) only appear on a few reverse dies, lost in the middle of a huge production of tetradrachms with Thasian types with which they are die-linked?³³ And this is also true for Orsoaltios or Kersibaulos, whose evanescent names can be read on a couple of dies with the types of Alexander. Why did they not exploit the propagandistic capacities of the medium more efficiently?

In addition, several Thracian rulers seem to have limited their action to very small silver or bronze coins, a rather unusual practice for Hellenistic kings. This is the case for Medokos, Saratokos, Hebrzelmis, Kotys I, Kersobleptes, Amadokos II, Teres III, Ketrporis, Philemon, Seuthes III, Spartokos, Rhoigos, or Adaios.³⁴ Looking at the full picture, these Thracian rulers – with the only exception of Skostokos (no more than c. twenty obverse dies for tetradrachms) – were poorly monetized in terms of monetary mass.

Therefore, in the current state of research, it seems that they wanted to appear Greek, both by striking coins, which is in itself a manifesto, and by the types they chose to display on their coins. Most of them, however, did not push the experience very far, being pleased enough with a small-scale coinage. As such (but the amount of evidence has dramatically improved during these last decades due to the activity of metal-detectorists),³⁵ this is a fascinating situation which questions the very nature of

30 See Leschhorn and Franke 2002, 48 (Seuthes II), 175 (Seuthes II), 218 (Getas), and 313 (Kotys).

31 As it is also the case for the words ΑΡΓΥΡΟΣ and ΧΡΥΣΟΣ naming two *erotes* along the River Strymon on several issues minted at Pautalia at the turn of the 2nd and 3rd c. AD.

32 See Peter 1997, 76.

33 On these coinages, see now MacDonald 2012 and Callataÿ 2012.

34 See Peter 1997.

35 For another dramatic increase of documentation, see the case of the Scythian ‘kings’ installed near Dionysopolis (Draganov 2015).

the coin issues: were they really all-purpose money, or should we consider some of them more as some token of identity?

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5 Parasema als Identitätsmarker griechischer Poleis in Thrakien

Simone Killen

Zusammenfassung

Nach einer kurzen Einführung in das Phänomen der Parasema und einem Überblick zu sämtlichen Parasema der griechischen Poleis in Thrakien wird anhand von drei Fallbeispielen (Thasos, Abdera und Odessos) das ikonographische Programm der Staatssymbole im Detail untersucht. Dabei wird gezeigt, in welchen Gattungen die Parasema verwendet wurden und welche Gründe bei der Wahl eines Symbols eine Rolle gespielt haben können. Dies leitet über zu der Frage, ob es sich um eine rein griechische Ikonographie handelt oder ob thrakische Einflüsse auszumachen sind. Dieser Aspekt ist vor allem bei der zentralen Fragestellung von Bedeutung, inwiefern sich an den Parasema die Identität der Bewohner der Griechenstädte im thrakischen Raum ablesen lässt.

After a brief introduction to the phenomenon of *parasema* and an overview of all *parasema* in the Greek cities in Thrace, the iconographic program of badges is examined in detail with reference to three case studies (Thasos, Abdera and Odessos). It is shown, in which sorts of monuments *parasema* were used and what reasons may have played a role in the choice of a symbol. This leads on to the question of whether it is a purely Greek iconography or whether Thracian influence can be discerned. This aspect is particularly important for the central issue to what extent the identity of the inhabitants of the Greek cities in Thrace can be discovered on the basis of *parasema*.

Keywords

Parasema, Thasos, Abdera, Odessos, Identität // Parasema, Thasos, Abdera, Odessos, Identity

Parasema sind vorwiegend kleinformatige Zeichen mit offiziellem Charakter, die von griechischen Poleis und Bundesstaaten als Staatssymbole geführt wurden.¹ Dabei handelt es sich um ein originär griechisches Phänomen, das vermutlich vor allem aus der Notwendigkeit heraus entstand, das staatliche Münzrecht zu versinnbildlichen. Erste Belege für Parasema lassen sich für die 2. Hälfte des 6. Jhs. v. Chr. nachweisen,² während das Ende des Phänomens mit dem ausgehenden 1. Jh. v. Chr. angegeben werden kann. Das Verbreitungsgebiet der Parasema-führenden Poleis und Bundesstaaten umfasst Griechenland und die griechischen Inseln, das westliche Kleinasien, die

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1 Vgl. Killen 2017b.

2 Hier sind beispielsweise die Münzen mit der Sphinx von Chios Baldwin 1979 und dem Greifen von Teos (Kinns 1980, 163–238. 502–518 Nr. 1–122 Taf. 28–33; 520–525 Nr. 130–158 Taf. 35. 36; Matzke 2000, 21–53) zu nennen.

Schwarzmeerküste sowie Thrakien. Die Verantwortlichkeit für Parasema lag meist bei staatlichen Funktionsträgern, welche die Symbole zur Kontrolle, als Garantiezeichen oder zur Angabe der Herkunft nutzten. Die Symbole zeigen mehrheitlich Gegenstände, beispielsweise die Doppelaxt von Tenedos³ oder den Helm von Mesambria⁴, sowie Tiere, wie den Thunfisch von Kyzikos⁵ oder den Löwen von Lysimacheia⁶. Es treten aber auch figürliche Darstellungen von Gottheiten und Heroen (zum Beispiel der bogenschießende Herakles von Thasos, s. unten), Mischwesen wie die Sphinx von Chios sowie Monogramme (MI für Milet) auf.⁷ Bei den meisten Parasema ist eine Verbindung zu einer bestimmten Gottheit bzw. zu einem Mythos offensichtlich (beim Helm von Mesambria beispielsweise zu Athena). Durch die Wahl eines bestimmten Symbols, aber auch durch die Verwendung von Parasema im Generellen, gewähren uns die Gemeinwesen beispielsweise Einblicke in ihre Verfassungsstrukturen oder auch in die Konkurrenz untereinander. Dabei führen uns die Symbole positiv besetzte, unverwechselbare Charakteristika der griechischen Poleis und Bundesstaaten vor Augen und waren dadurch prädestiniert für die Selbstrepräsentation der Gemeinwesen. Darüber hinaus versinnbildlichen sie aber auch die kollektive Identität einer Polis- oder Koinonbevölkerung. Dieser Aspekt soll nun im Folgenden in Bezug auf die griechischen Poleis in Thrakien näher untersucht werden.

Dazu wird zunächst ein Überblick darüber gegeben, welche Aussagen sich allgemein zu den Parasema im thrakischen Raum machen lassen und inwiefern sie sich in das Gesamtphänomen der griechischen Staatssymbole einordnen lassen. Anhand von drei Fallstudien soll danach das ikonographische Programm der Staatssymbole im Detail vorgestellt werden, um zu eruieren, ob man sich der üblichen griechischen Ikonographie bediente oder ob thrakische Einflüsse oder Elemente auszumachen sind. Dazu wurden Abdera als bedeutende Polis an der Ägäis, das kleinere Odessos am Schwarzen Meer sowie Thasos als Insel und Polis mit mehreren Parasema ausgewählt. Anhand dieser Beispiele wird ferner zu erörtern sein, welche Bedeutungsebene die Symbole hatten, die letztlich zu ihrer Wahl geführt haben mag. Der dadurch gewonnene Einblick in das Selbstverständnis der Poleis führt in einem weiteren Schritt zur kollektiven Identität der Bürgergemeinschaften und zu der Frage, inwiefern Identität an offiziellen Symbolen generell und insbesondere für den thrakischen Raum abgelesen werden kann.

3 Killen 2008, 367–372.

4 Vgl. beispielsweise Stoyanov 2011, 193–201 Abb. 1, 1–3 Taf. 15, 5, 11.

5 Beispiele für die zahlreichen Marktgewichte finden sich u. a. bei Weiß 1990, 119–123.

6 Killen 2015.

7 Zur Sphinx von Chios s. Anm. 2. – Milet: z. B. auf Amphorenstempeln: Jöhrens 2009, 208 Kat. 1; 214 Kat. 21–23; 216 Kat. 31.

Parasema in Thrakien

In elf griechischen Poleis in Thrakien sind Parasema bislang nachgewiesen. Tabelle 1 bietet nicht nur einen Überblick über diese Orte und ihre Staatssymbole, sondern enthält zudem die Gattungen, in denen Parasema verwendet werden, und eine grobe zeitliche Einordnung der Objekte.

Tab. 1 Parasema griechischer Poleis in Thrakien

Polis	Parasemon	Zeichen für ...	Gattung	Datierung	
Thasos	Herakles	Herakles	Münzen	390–310 v. Chr. und 2. Jh. v. Chr.	
			Ziegel	4. Jh. v. Chr.(?)	
			Weihgeschenk	478–465 v. Chr.	
	Keule und Bogen	Herakles	Münzen	4. und 2. Jh. v. Chr.	
			Marktgewichte	um 300 v. Chr. oder später	
	Kantharos	Dionysos	Münzen	520–510 v. Chr. und 412–404 v. Chr.	
Maßgefäß			Anfang 4. Jh. v. Chr.		
Abdera	Greif	Apollon/Dionysos?	Münzen	520/515 – Mitte 1. Jh. v. Chr.	
			Amphoren	Ende 5.–3. Jh. v. Chr.	
			Ziegel	Ende 5.–3. Jh. v. Chr.	
	Herme	Hermes	Siegel	2. Hälfte 3. Jh. v. Chr.	
			Münzen	Mitte 4.–3. Jh. v. Chr.	
			Marktgewichte	4. Jh. v. Chr.	
Ainos	Kerykeion	Hermes	Amphoren	4. Jh. v. Chr.	
			Münzen	5. Jh. v. Chr.	
	Ziege	Hermes	Amphoren	5.–4. Jh. v. Chr.	
			Münzen	5.–4. Jh. v. Chr.	
	Lysimacheia	Löwe	?	Amphoren	5.–4. Jh. v. Chr.
				Münzen	309/308–220 v. Chr.
Byzantion	Delphin	Poseidon	Marktgewichte	309/308–144 v. Chr.	
			Münzen	416–340 und 3. Jh. v. Chr.	
Apollonia	Anker	Poseidon	Marktgewichte	4.–1. Jh. v. Chr.	
			Münzen	450–2. Jh. v. Chr.	
			Amphoren	hell.?	

Tab. 1 Parasema griechischer Poleis in Thrakien

Polis	Parasemon	Zeichen für ...	Gattung	Datierung
Mesambria	Helm	Athena	Münzen	1. Hälfte 5. Jh. – 65 v. Chr.
			Amphoren	2. Viertel 3. Jh. v. Chr.
Odessos	Theos Megas	Theos Megas	Münzen	Mitte 4.–1. Jh. v. Chr.
			Marktgewichte	Mitte 4.–3. Jh. und 2. Jh. v. Chr.
Kallatis	Keule und Bogen/ Keule und Bogen im Gorytos	Herakles	Münzen	4.–3. Jh. v. Chr.
			Marktgewichte	3.–1. Jh. v. Chr.
Tomis	Dioskurenkopf	Dioskuren	Münzen	Mitte 2. Jh. v. Chr.
			Marktgewichte	2. H. 2. Jh. v. Chr.
Istros	Adler schlägt Delphin	Zeus und Apollon?	Münzen	4.–1. Jh. v. Chr.
			Marktgewichte	3.–1. Jh. v. Chr.
			Urkundenreliefs	3.–1. Jh. v. Chr.

Die frühesten Belege für Parasema im thrakischen Raum stellen die abderitischen Münzen dar, deren Prägung um 520 v. Chr. einsetzte. Es handelt sich bei dem Greifen von Abdera (s. unten) nicht nur um das erste bezeugte Staatssymbol in Thrakien, sondern auch über das thrakische Gebiet hinaus um ein frühes offizielles Zeichen. Wie weiter unten noch gezeigt wird, brachten die Siedler von Abdera ihr Staatssymbol aus ihrer Metropolis Teos mit, konnten also in ihrer neuen Heimat zu so einem frühen Zeitpunkt schon bekannte Strukturen der Staatssymbolik einführen und etablieren. Neben die abderitischen Münzen kamen fast zeitgleich oder kurze Zeit später Münzen mit dem Kantharos von Thasos auf und im 5. Jh. v. Chr. traten Amphoren- und Ziegelstempel aus Abdera sowie Münzen mit Parasema in Ainos (Kerykeion und Ziege) und Mesambria (Helm) hinzu.⁸ Insgesamt zeichnet sich die Tendenz ab, dass die Poleis an der ägäischen Küste eher mit der Einführung von Parasema begonnen haben als die Städte an der Westküste des Schwarzen Meeres. Zumindest datieren die meisten *instrumenta publica* der Poleis am Schwarzen Meer erst in die Zeit vom 4. bis zum 1. Jh. v. Chr. Jedoch muss bedacht werden, dass der zeitliche Horizont – abgesehen von der Münzprägung – oftmals nur durch wenige oder gar durch Einzelstücke abgesteckt werden kann. Es bleibt abzuwarten, ob zukünftige Funde die aufgezeigte Tendenz bestätigen werden.

8 Ainos: May 1950. – Mesambria: Karayotov 1994; Karayotov 2009.

Das späteste, relativ sicher zu datierende Parasemon in Thrakien ist der istrische Adler auf Delphin,⁹ der in den 30er Jahren des 1. Jhs. v. Chr. als Relief auf einer Urkundenstele angebracht wurde.¹⁰ Generell lässt sich in Bezug auf die griechischen Poleis in Thrakien festhalten, dass sie – auch wenn sie nicht wie beispielsweise Athen oder Milet auf eine lange Stadtgeschichte zurückblicken konnten – dennoch das System der Parasema etwa zeitgleich mit anderen griechischen Poleis einführten und nutzten. So stammen beispielsweise die frühesten Exemplare von Amphorenstempeln mit Parasema aus Abdera und Ainos.¹¹ Auch die Parasema-Ziegelstempel aus Abdera und Thasos aus dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. sind im überregionalen Vergleich recht früh.¹²

Dass sich die „thrakischen“ Parasema in das Gesamtbild der Staatssymbole einfügen, zeigen ferner die Materialgattungen und die Motivwahl.¹³ Auch in den Poleis in Thrakien sind Münzen, Marktgewichte, Amphoren- und Ziegelstempel, Urkundenreliefs, Siegel und Maßgefäße die meistverwendeten Gattungen. Bei den Motiven dominieren die Gegenstände – wie Anker oder Helm –, wie dies auch im überregionalen Vergleich gezeigt werden konnte. Ferner kommen Tiere, figürliche Darstellungen und Mischwesen vor, wobei im thrakischen Raum einzig die hohe Zahl an Figuren wie dem bogenschießenden Herakles von Thasos, dem Theos Megas der Odessiten und dem Dioskurenkopf von Tomis auffällt. Dies ist aber bedingt durch die Entstehungszeit dieser „thrakischen“ Parasema: Sie treten erstmalig im 4. Jh. v. Chr. (Thasos, Odessos) bzw. im 2. Jh. v. Chr. (Tomis) auf, also in einer Zeit, in der figürliche Darstellungen bevorzugt als Münzbilder verwendet wurden.¹⁴ Dieser Trend findet auch in den Parasema seinen Niederschlag, die offenbar erst in dieser Zeit ausgewählt und eingeführt wurden.

In der Untersuchung zu Parasema konnte gezeigt werden, dass die Symbole nicht nur als Kontroll-, Garantie- oder Herkunftszeichen fungierten, sondern den Gemeinwesen auch als Repräsentationszeichen dienten.¹⁵ So handelt es sich bei den meisten Staatsymbolen nämlich um positiv besetzte Zeichen, die auf bestimmte (Alleinstellungs-) Merkmale einer Polis zu beziehen sind. Dabei spielen die Symbole auf das hohe Alter der Stadt, auf die Herkunft der Bewohner, auf bestimmte Kulte, auf Ressourcen, die ih-

9 Vgl. Killen 2017b, 75. Untersucht wurden griechische Staatssymbole von ihrem Aufkommen in archaischer Zeit bis zum Ende des Hellenismus. In der römischen Kaiserzeit lässt sich zwar in wenigen Städten die Verwendung der „alten“ Symbole – vor allem auf Münzen – noch belegen, aber das Gesamtphänomen mit verschiedenen *instrumenta publica* und zum Teil mehreren Staatssymbolen ist nicht mehr nachweisbar.

10 Pippidi 1983, Nr. 54 Taf.

11 Zu Abdera vgl. den entsprechenden Abschnitt im Folgenden; Ainos: z. B. Karadima 2004, 157–158 Nr. 1–5. 19. 20 Abb. 2–6. 27. 28.

12 S. u. die Abschnitte zu Abdera und Thasos.

13 Zum Folgenden: Killen 2017b, 71–73 und 148–150.

14 R.-Alföldi 1978, 104.

15 Vgl. zum Folgenden Killen 2017b, 137–138.

ren Wohlstand begründen, oder auf lokale Charakteristika an. Darüber hinaus wählten die Poleis aber auch bedeutende Leistungen des Gemeinwesens aus, stellten ihren Ort als Schauplatz eines wichtigen Mythos dar oder wählten ein redendes Zeichen als ihr Stadtsymbol. Die erstgenannten Besonderheiten lassen sich auch in den Parasema der thrakischen Städte erkennen: Ainos betont mit der Darstellung des altehrwürdigen Xoanon des Hermes Perpheraios nicht nur das Alter des Kultes, sondern damit auch das Alter der Polis selbst.¹⁶ Gleichzeitig verweist die Herme ebenso wie das Kerykeion und die Ziege auf den Kult für Hermes,¹⁷ während Mesambria mit dem korinthischen Helm seine Athena-Verehrung in den Fokus stellt. Als Herkunftsangabe sind auch die Heraklesattribute Keule und Bogen im Gorytos von Kallatis zu interpretieren, die nicht nur als Anspielung auf die Stadtgründung durch diesen Heros anzusprechen sind,¹⁸ sondern zudem von der Mutterstadt Herakleia Pontike übernommen wurden. Denn aus Herakleia Pontike stammen drei Marktgewichte, deren Vorderseiten einen Herakleskopf zeigen. Auf den Rückseiten finden sich Keule sowie Bogen im Gorytos.¹⁹ Da das Ethnikon der Stadt auf den Rückseiten steht, ist davon auszugehen, dass es sich bei der Kombination aus Keule und Bogen im Gorytos um das Parasemon von Herakleia handelt.²⁰ Auf eine lokale Ressource, die den Wohlstand der Polis begründet, verweist Thasos mit dem Symbol des Kantharos (s. unten). Der Delphin von Byzantion sowie der Anker von Apollonia sind Zeichen, die auf die Lage der Städte am Meer hindeuten.²¹ So zeigt sich, dass auch die griechischen Poleis in Thrakien die Aussagekraft der Symbole zu nutzen wussten und es verstanden, Parasema als Kommunikationsmittel einzusetzen.

Thasos

Die Polis Thasos auf der gleichnamigen Insel wurde zu Anfang bzw. um die Mitte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. von parischen Siedlern gegründet,²² nachdem zuvor bereits Phönikier und

16 Oppermann 2010, 288.

17 Nicht nur die Herme von Ainos, sondern zahlreiche andere Parasema lassen sich mehr als einer der genannten Kategorien zuordnen.

18 Isaac 1986, 262–263.

19 München, Staatliche Münzsammlung, o. Nr.: Lang 1968, 1 Nr. 1 Taf. 1; Paris, Bibliothèque National, Froehner 941; Killen 2017b, 213–214, Kat. HerPon b2; Paris, Louvre, MNC 1908: Ridder 1915, 167 Nr. 3336.

20 Anders bin ich in meiner Dissertation noch davon ausgegangen, dass der Herakleskopf der Münzvorderseiten das städtische Symbol ist, vgl. Anm. Killen 2017b, 213–214 und Killen 2017a. Die Kombination von Keule und Bogen im Gorytos als Parasemon findet ihre Bestätigung in den Rückseitenbildern von Silber- (1. Hälfte 4. Jh. v. Chr.) und Bronzemünzen (1. Hälfte des 3. Jhs. v. Chr.): Head 1911, 514; Stancomb 2009, 17–20 Nr. 4–5 Taf. 2, 8–22.

21 Schönert-Geiß 1970, 75.

22 Bergquist 1973, 19; Isaac 1986, 279.



Abb. 1 Thasos, Tetradrachme mit bogenschießendem Herakles – Berlin, Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen, Objektnr. 18215383.



Abb. 2 Thasos, Ziegelstempel mit bogenschießendem Herakles – Thasos, Museum, Inv. Th 11843.

Thraker auf der Insel ansässig waren.²³ Der Beginn der thasischen Münzprägung wird in den letzten Jahrzehnten des 6. Jhs. v. Chr. angesetzt,²⁴ wobei die Münzen am Anfang des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. eine grundlegende Reform erfuhren: Nach dieser Zeit zeigen die thasischen Münzen gänzlich neue Bilder, die auch als Parasema Verwendung fanden.²⁵

Für Thasos lassen sich insgesamt drei offizielle Symbole nachweisen. Zunächst sei hier der bogenschießende Herakles genannt: Er begegnet auf den Rückseiten von Gold-, Silber- und Bronzemünzen, die zwischen 390 und 310 v. Chr. datieren, und auf

23 Zur Frage, ob Phönizier auf Thasos siedelten oder nicht, vgl. Matthäus 1988, 18–19, ausgehend von Hdt. 2.44, 6.47 und Paus. 5.25.12 und dem Mangel an archäologischen Belegen für ihre Anwesenheit (vgl. auch Des Courtils und Pariente 1988, 121: keine Hinweise auf eine phönizische Gründung des Herakleions).

24 Picard 2000a, 303, der auf den anschließenden Seiten den besten Überblick über sämtliche griechischen Münzen aus Thasos bietet.

25 Picard 1982a, 123–128; Picard 1982b, 418; Picard 1982c, 170–171. – Um 390 v. Chr. ändert sich nicht nur die Ikonographie der Münzen; auch die Stempelung der thasischen Amphoren setzte zu dieser Zeit ein (Picard 2000a, 1080 Anm. 58). So drängt sich die Vermutung auf, dass um 390 v. Chr. die Kennzeichnung der *instrumenta publica* in der Stadt Thasos grundlegend überdacht und Parasema in einem einheitlichen ikonographischen Programm eingeführt wurden.



Abb. 3 Thasos, Herakles- und Dionysos-Tor, Relief mit bogenschießendem Herakles – Istanbul, Archäologisches Museum, Inv. 718.

Silbermünzen des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. (Abb. 1).²⁶ Herakles ist knieend nach rechts gerichtet, sein linker Fuß ist aufgestellt, während sein rechtes Knie angewinkelt den Boden berührt. Die Arme des Halbgottes sind waagrecht nach rechts gestreckt und halten seinen gespannten Bogen; er ist gerade im Begriff, einen Pfeil abzuschießen. Bekleidet ist er mit einem gegürteten Gewand (s. unten), auf seinem Kopf ist das Löwenfell zu erkennen. In identischer Körperhaltung ist Herakles auf einem hochrechteckigen Ziegelstempel aus Thasos dargestellt, der 6,2 × 3,2 cm misst und vermutlich ebenfalls aus dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. stammt (Abb. 2).²⁷ Der Abdruck ist verrieben, so dass nicht alle Details erkennbar sind. Ersichtlich ist aber, dass Herakles hier ebenfalls das Löwenfell trägt. Als Vorlage für diese Herakles-Darstellung muss das Stadttorrelief von Thasos

26 Die Vorderseiten dieser Münzen zeigen den Kopf des Dionysos. Picard 2000b, 306–309 mit Abb. 271; Silber: Picard 1982c, 170; Picard 1990, 24–25; Bronze: Picard 1989, 677. Zur Darstellung des Herakles auf den Münzen von Thasos vgl. auch Martinelli 2012, 79–82.

27 Museum Thasos, Inv. Th 11843; Garlan 2001, 193 Abb. 19.

gelten, das in vergleichbarer Weise den bogenschießenden Herakles zeigt (Abb. 3).²⁸ Mit seiner Entstehungszeit zwischen 500 und 491 v. Chr. ist das Relief aus parischem Marmor jedoch deutlich älter als die Münzbilder und der Ziegelstempel aus dem 4. Jh. v. Chr.²⁹ Obwohl bei dem Relief Hände, Bogen, Füße und Teile von Kopf und Armen verloren sind, lassen sich einige Details, die es mit den Münzbildern gemein hat, benennen: Herakles trägt das komplette Löwenfell, dessen Vorderpranken vor seinem Oberkörper herabhängen, wahrscheinlich verknotet. Das Fell ist entlang seiner Körperrückseite nach unten geführt. Eine hintere Pranke des Löwen hängt an der Außenseite seines linken Oberschenkels herab; ihre Unterseite mit den Ballen ist dem Betrachter zugewandt. Der Schwanz des Löwen ist im Bogen um die Gluteen des Halbgottes hoch zu seinem Gürtel und darunter durch geführt, wobei das Ende des Schwanzes über dem rechten Gluteus nach unten hängt. Im Schritt sind Zickzackfalten eines feinen Untergewandes angegeben, das an dieser Stelle unter der Löwenhaut hervorragt und dessen Bahnen an den Beinen in flacherem Relief parallel zu den Löwenfellrändern verlaufen. Ob das Stadttorrelief als Parasemon anzusprechen ist, bleibt fraglich. Der offizielle Charakter eines Parasemons besteht vor allem darin, dass seine Anbringung unter staatlicher Aufsicht (durch städtische Beamte) stattfand, auf Beschluss von Demos und Boule vorgenommen wurde und/oder auf Objekten angebracht wurde, die bei Rechtsakten verwendet wurden, wie Losplaketten oder Stimmkarten. Während der offizielle Charakter von Reliefs auf Stelen mit Urkundentexten, die Beschlüsse von Boule und Demos wiedergeben, offenkundig ist,³⁰ muss offenbleiben, inwiefern er bei den Reliefs eines Stadttores gegeben gewesen sein könnte.

Sicher als Parasemon zu deuten ist hingegen die Statue des Herakles, die von den Thasiern in Olympia geweiht wurde. Pausanias, der sie dort sah, überliefert, dass die Bronzestatue in der Rechten die Keule und in der Linken den Bogen hielt und von Onatas aus Ägina geschaffen wurde.³¹ Durch die Nennung des Bildhauers, dessen Schaffenszeit von etwa 480 bis 450 v. Chr. reichte, und aufgrund der historischen Begebenheiten können Entstehung und Weihung der Statue in die Jahre zwischen 478 und 465 v. Chr. angesetzt werden.³² Ob die Statue ebenfalls den Typus des bogenschießenden Herakles zeigte, ist eher unwahrscheinlich, da er beide Hände zum Spannen des Bogens benötigt und daher nicht die Keule gehalten haben kann, wie Pausanias dies beschreibt. Vermutlich ist eher von einem stehenden Motiv auszugehen, wobei er durch den Bogen in seiner Linken ebenfalls als Bogenschütze charakterisiert ist.³³

28 Istanbul, Archäologisches Museum, Inv. 718; Lacroix 1946, 292; Lacroix 1949, 11; Geis 2007, 31–41.

29 Geis 2007, 41.

30 Vgl. Killen 2017b, 59–60.

31 Paus. 5.25.12–13.

32 Kansteiner 2014, 417 und Nr. 511.

33 Vgl. auch die Überlegungen zum Typus bei Kansteiner 2000, 87–88.



Abb. 4 Thasos, Bronzemünze mit Bogen und Keule – London, British Museum, Inv. 1866,1201.845.



Abb. 5 Thasos, Marktgewicht mit Bogen und Keule – Berlin, Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen, Inv. 2869x.



Abb. 6 Thasos, Trihemiobol mit Kantharos – London, British Museum, Inv. 1918,0204.95.



Abb. 7 Thasos, Maßgefäß mit Kantharos – Thasos, Museum, Inv. 793π.

Die kombinierte Darstellung dieser Herakles-Attribute, Bogen und Keule, sind ein weiteres thasisches Parasemon. Dieses Symbol begegnet zum einen auf Rückseiten von Bronzemünzen des 4. Jhs.³⁴ sowie des 2. Jhs. v. Chr.³⁵ (Abb. 4). Zum anderen sind zwei Marktgewichte aus Bronze erhalten, die Bogen und Keule zeigen (Abb. 5).³⁶ Sie sind in

34 Picard 1985, 763–764; Picard 1989, 975; Picard 2000b, 307–309 mit Abb. 272–273. Die Vorderseiten dieser und späterer Prägungen zeigen einen Herakleskopf, der inhaltlich aufs Engste mit den Rückseiten verbunden ist.

35 Picard 2000b, 311 mit Abb. 281; vgl. auch Picard 2001, 281–292.

36 Berlin, Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Inv. 2869x, 5,3 x 5,4 x 0,6 cm, 226,8 g; München, Staatliche Antikensammlung, Inv. 3586, 5,1 x 5,4 x 0,9 cm, 218,4 g.

Analogie zur Münzprägung frühestens im 4. Jh. v. Chr. entstanden. Die Marktgewichte wiegen 226,8 g und 218,4 g und stellen damit Hemimnaia dar. Die Anordnung der Einzelsymbole ist in beiden Gattungen mehrheitlich identisch: oben waagrecht der Bogen (mit der Sehne nach unten), darunter ebenfalls waagrecht die Keule mit ihrem Griff am linken Ende. Die Orientierung ergibt sich aus der beigefügten Legende: Das Ethnikon ΘΑΣΙΟΝ/ΘΑΣΙΩΝ³⁷ ist entweder unterhalb der Keule gesetzt oder zwischen Keule und Bogen eingefügt. Die kleine Amphora, die im Bogen der beiden Marktgewichte abgebildet ist, findet ihre Parallelen auf den Münzrückseiten: Während die unterschiedlichen Beizeichen zunächst als Angabe der verschiedenen Emissionen zu deuten sind, erschienen ab etwa 300 v. Chr. nur noch die Beizeichen Amphora und Traube, die von Picard als Nominalangabe interpretiert werden.³⁸ Während die Traube ein Viertel angibt, kennzeichnet die Amphora die Hälfte, also die Hemiobolen. Dieses Symbol für die Hälfte galt aber offensichtlich nicht nur in der Münzprägung von Thasos, sondern hatte auf den Marktgewichten dieselbe Funktion: Es handelt sich – wie bereits erwähnt – um Hemimnaia, also um Gewichte, die halb so schwer sind wie die Grundeinheit Mine. Daran wird wieder einmal die enge Verknüpfung von Münzen und Marktgewichten, nicht nur metrologisch, sondern auch ikonographisch, deutlich. Das Ergebnis hilft in diesem Falle, die Datierung der Marktgewichte weiter zu präzisieren: Auch sie werden wahrscheinlich um oder nach 300 v. Chr. zu datieren sein.

Als drittes Parasemon von Thasos kann ein Kantharos identifiziert werden. In der Münzprägung findet sich dieses Trinkgefäß „lediglich“ als Detail eines Münzbildes, in dem es in der rechten Hand eines laufenden Silens nach links gezeigt wird (Abb. 6).³⁹ Diese Hemihekten zählen zu den Emissionen „Silens und Mänade“, wobei in diesem Fall das Münzbild verkürzt wiedergegeben ist: der Silens trägt nicht eine Mänade, sondern in seiner Rechten den besagten Kantharos. Die Prägungen mit dieser Vorderseite (die Münzrückseiten zeigen einen Krater) gehören der 1. und 3. Gruppe der Emissionen an, die zum einen zwischen 520 und 510 v. Chr., zum anderen zwischen 412 und 404 v. Chr. herausgegeben wurden.⁴⁰ Der Kantharos findet sich zudem auf einem Fragment eines Maßgefäßes aus Thasos wieder, auf dessen Außenseite er in einem kleinen rechteckigen (1,2 × 1 cm) Stempel abgedrückt ist (Abb. 7).⁴¹ Vom Gefäß ist so viel

37 Picard 1982a, 125 deutet die unterschiedliche Schreibweise nicht etwa als Unterscheidung zwischen dem Ethnikon im Genitiv Plural und dem Adjektiv im Neutrum Singular, sondern vielmehr als Wechsel vom parischen Alphabet, in dem das Omega als Omikron geschrieben wird, hin zum ionischen Alphabet. Letzteres verbreitete sich auf Thasos seit dem letzten Viertel des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. immer stärker.

38 Picard 2000b, 310.

39 Picard 1987, 154; Picard 2000b, 303–606 mit Abb. 270.

40 Picard 2000b, 306.

41 Museum Thasos, Inv. 793π. H 7,7 cm, B max. 8 cm, Volumen ca. 0,25 l (Kotyle); Ghali-Kahil 1960, 135 Nr. 35 Taf. 61, 35 und Taf. G.

erhalten, dass es sicher als zylindrisches Maß mit Rillen im oberen und unteren Bereich der Außenwand zu rekonstruieren ist. Die Form findet enge Parallelen in athenischen Maßgefäßen, die zum Abmessen von trockenen Früchten und Waren benutzt wurden. Mehrere Exemplare solcher Maßgefäße sind – zum Teil annähernd vollständig, wenn auch zerscherbt – vor allem auf der Athener Agora gefunden worden.⁴² Auch die Athener Gefäße sind mit offiziellen Symbolen gestempelt, teilweise sogar mit zwei verschiedenen Stempeln auf einem Gefäß. Sie datieren in das 5. und 4. Jh. v. Chr. Das thasische Gefäß ist nach Ghali-Kahil zu Beginn des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. entstanden.⁴³ Analog zu den Athener Stempeln mit Eule und Athenakopf ist der Stempel auf dem thasischen Maßgefäß ebenfalls als offizielle Kennzeichnung mit Parasemon zu betrachten. Der Kantharos wird zudem durch die Münzbilder des Kantharos-tragenden Silens in seiner Funktion als Parasemon bestätigt. Als Vorbild für diese Darstellung kann wie im Falle des bogenspannenden Herakles ein Stadttorrelief von Thasos angeführt werden. Vom sogenannten Silen-Tor hat sich ein Relief erhalten, das einen tänzelnden Silen mit Kantharos in der rechten Hand zeigt (Abb. 8).⁴⁴ Auch hier ist die Entstehung des Reliefs (um 500 v. Chr.) deutlich eher anzusetzen als die Belege des Kantharos als Staatssymbol auf den Münzen und dem Maßgefäß.

Dieses ikonographische Programm der Parasema von Thasos vereint thematisch das Umfeld des Herakles mit demjenigen des Dionysos; Reliefs beider Götter waren auch am sogenannten Herakles- und Dionysos-Tor gemeinsam, auf gegenüberliegenden Wänden des Tordurchganges, angebracht.⁴⁵ Wie bereits gezeigt, wird Herakles als Parasemon ganzfigurig dargestellt, zudem werden seine Waffen Bogen und Keule kombiniert. Die göttliche Verehrung des Herakles auf Thasos ist hinreichend belegt.⁴⁶ Der bedeutendste Kultbezirk der Stadt lässt sich bis ins 7. Jh. v. Chr. zurückverfolgen.⁴⁷ Aufgrund epigraphischer Zeugnisse wissen wir, dass Herakles auf Thasos als Phylakes und Soter verehrt wurde.⁴⁸ Er ist eindeutig als Hauptgottheit der Insel anzusprechen.⁴⁹ Dass die Thasier ihn und seine Attribute als ihre Staatssymbole auswählten und damit auch ihre *instrumenta publica* unter seinen Schutz stellten, bedarf insofern keiner weiteren Erläuterung.

42 Lang und Crosby 1964, 49–54 DM 4. DM 5. DM 23. DM 44. DM 45. DM 46. DM 48. DM 51. DM 59. DM 61. DM 63 Taf. 13–14. 18. 33–34.

43 Vgl. Ghali-Kahil 1960, 135 Nr. 35.

44 Geis 2007, 46–58 Abb. 25.

45 Geis 2007, 26–31.

46 Bergquist 1973, 35–36. 39; zusammengefasst auch bei Geis 2007, 24–26 und Martinelli 2012, 84–89.

47 Bergquist 1973, 19–21. 39; Des Courtils und Pariente 1988, 121.

48 Bergquist 1973, 29. 36.

49 Bergquist 1973, 36.



Abb. 8 Thasos, Silen-Tor, Relief mit Kantharos.

Der Kantharos steht als Trinkgefäß für Wein vordergründig mit dem ausgedehnten Weinanbau auf der Insel in Verbindung,⁵⁰ der für die Bewohner von Thasos als Erwerbszweig und Einnahmequelle große Bedeutung besaß. Zudem ist der Kantharos aber auch ein Symbol für den Gott des Weines, Dionysos, als dessen Gabe der Weinbau angesehen wurde. Vor diesem Hintergrund wird die Wahl des Kantharos als Parasemon von Thasos verständlich. Es sei noch erwähnt, dass auch die Amphora, die als Symbol für die Hälfte einer Einheit zu deuten ist, als Behältnis für Wein ebenfalls mit Dionysos und dem thasischen Wein verbunden ist. Die enge Verbindung von Dionysos und Herakles auf Thasos hat schon Martinelli betont.⁵¹

50 Matthäus 1988, 27–28.

51 Martinelli 2012, 89–98.

Man wählte in Thasos rein griechische Symbole: Herakles ist als der wichtigste griechische Heros zu bezeichnen, dem eine bedeutende Rolle im panhellenischen Mythos zukam.⁵² Der Kantharos ist eine originär griechische Gefäßform.⁵³ Auch die Ikonographie der Symbole ist griechisch. Die Darstellung des Herakles als Bogenschütze war zu Zeiten der thasischen Beispiele bereits verbreitet, beispielsweise in der Vasenmalerei oder auf Friesen. Allerdings kommt der bogenschießende Heros dabei meist in mehrfigurigen Kampfszenen vor; diese isolierte Darstellung wie am thasischen Stadttor sowie auf den Münzen und dem Ziegelstempel ist hingegen bemerkenswert.⁵⁴ Auch die Ikonographie von Bogen, Keule und Kantharos folgt ausschließlich der griechischen Bildsprache; thrakische Elemente oder Einflüsse lassen sich nicht ausmachen.

Abdera

Nachdem die Polis Abdera in den 50er Jahren des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. von Siedlern aus Klazomenai gegründet und in der Folgezeit wieder aufgelassen worden war, wurde 545 v. Chr. an gleicher Stelle oder in unmittelbarer Nähe eine Neugründung durch das ionische Teos vorgenommen.⁵⁵ Schon kurz nach dieser Neugründung begann in Abdera die Ausprägung städtischer Silbermünzen in großer Stückzahl,⁵⁶ die von Anfang an das Parasemon von Abdera – einen Greifen – zeigten.

Der Greif blieb bis zur Mitte des 1. Jhs. v. Chr. das bestimmende Münzbild in Abdera: In der Anfangsphase erschien er hauptsächlich sitzend nach links, nur kurzfristig ganz zu Beginn der Münzprägung und dann noch einmal im 3. Viertel des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. wurde er gehend wiedergegeben (Abb. 9);⁵⁷ ab der Mitte des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. wurde er zudem auch springend oder liegend dargestellt (Abb. 10).⁵⁸

Auf den Silbermünzen, bei denen er hauptsächlich auf der Vorderseite vorkommt, blickt er fast ausschließlich nach links, während die Bronzemünzen, deren Emission

52 Boardman 1988, 728.

53 Frankenstein 1924, 866, wobei die thrakische Herkunft des Dionysos nicht verschwiegen werden soll (Isaac 1986, 83–84).

54 Geis 2007, 33–35 mit Beispielen.

55 Isaac 1986, 78. 80. 280; Graham 1992, 46–48; Triantaphyllos 1994, 59. Zu den verschiedenen Gründungen der Polis s. vor allem Chryssanthaki 2001, 384–406. Zum phönizischen Stadtnamen und einer daraus abzuleitenden ursprünglich phönizischen Siedlung vgl. Graham 1992, 44–45.

56 Zur Münzprägung von Abdera grundlegend: Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007. Vgl. dazu auch May 1966 und Raven 1967, 289–297. Zum Beginn der abderitischen Münzprägung um 530 v. Chr. vgl. Matzke 2000, 40; Kagan 2006, 57, während Chryssanthaki 2004, 311–312 bzw. Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007 das Einsetzen der Münzen um 520/515 v. Chr. ansetzt.

57 May 1966, 59 Nr. 1–2 Taf. 1; 138 Nr. 182–183 Taf. 12; Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 97.

58 May 1966, passim; Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 97–151. Hier angegebene Datierungen beruhen auf den Angaben der letztgenannten Publikation.



Abb. 9 Abdera, Tetradrachme mit schreitendem Greif – Berlin, Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen, Objektnr. 18241640.



Abb. 10 Abdera, Tetradrachme mit liegendem Greif – Berlin, Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen, Objektnr. 18215117.



Abb. 11 Abdera, Amphorenstempel mit schreitendem Greif – Abdera, Archäologisches Museum, Inv. A 4064.

am Ende des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. einsetzte,⁵⁹ ihn sowohl nach links als auch nach rechts gerichtet zeigen, unabhängig von seinem Haltungsschema.⁶⁰ Die Ikonographie der vielfältigen und umfangreichen Prägungen ist von Chryssanthaki-Nagle in ihrer 2007 veröffentlichten Studie eingehend behandelt worden.

Abgesehen von diesen Münzbildern findet man den Greifen auch auf Amphoren- und Ziegelstempeln⁶¹ sowie auf einem Siegelabdruck aus Abdera. In diesen Gattungen ist der Greif sowohl schreitend als auch liegend wiedergegeben, während er in sitzender Stellung nicht belegt ist. In schreitender Stellung wird der Greif auf insgesamt drei Ziegel- und acht Amphorenstempeln aus Abdera dargestellt. Alle acht Amphorenstempel zeigen den Greifen nach rechts gewandt (Abb. 11)⁶² und werden in die Zeit vor der Mitte des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. datiert: Denn ein Exemplar wurde im heutigen

59 Picard 1997, 685–690; Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 162.

60 Silber: Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 97–151; Bronze: Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 161–324. Zu den wenigen Goldmünzen aus Abdera vgl. Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 152–160.

61 Im Falle der Amphoren wurden die Stempel auf den Henkeln abgedrückt. Erhalten haben sich in der Regel nur die Henkel bzw. Fragmente davon. Auch die gestempelten Dachziegel sind zerscherbt auf uns gekommen.

62 Archäologisches Museum Abdera, Inv. A 3176; A 3687 b; A 3748; A 4060; A 4064; AK 2039; AK 3048; D 38 (Peristeri-Otatzki 1986, 493–494 Abb. 3. 5).



Abb. 12 Abdera, Amphorenstempel mit liegendem Greif – Abdera, Archäologisches Museum, Inv. A 2387.

Strimi gefunden, dessen antike Besiedlung um die Mitte des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. zerstört wurde und damit einen *terminus ante quem* liefert.⁶³

Während sieben Stempel eine runde Form aufweisen, gibt es ein querrrechteckiges Exemplar, das sich durch weitere Merkmale von den runden Stempel unterscheidet (Abb. 11): Dieser querrrechteckige Amphorenstempel weist als einziger das Ethnikon AB(δηρίτων) in Monogrammform sowie den Eigennamen [Δ]ημόκριτος auf. Der Name kommt auch auf Münzen der Phase V vor, die May zwischen ca. 439/437 und 411/410 v. Chr. datierte, die nun aber von Chryssanthaki-Nagle etwas später (415–395 v. Chr.) angesetzt werden.⁶⁴ Sollte es sich dabei um dieselbe Person handeln, wird der Stempel etwa im letzten Viertel des 5. Jhs./Anfang 4. Jh. v. Chr. entstanden sein. Die Mehrzahl der Amphorenstempel wurde in Abdera gefunden, was auch die Identifizierung der Stempel ohne Ethnikon und ihre Zuweisung an Abdera sicher macht. Auch die drei Ziegelstempel mit schreitendem Greif wurden in Abdera gefunden.⁶⁵ Es liegen keine Anhaltspunkte zur Datierung dieser runden Stempel vor; sie können lediglich in Analogie zu den Amphorenstempeln mit schreitendem Greif in das ausgehende 5. Jh. und das 4. Jh. v. Chr. datiert werden.

63 Peristeri-Otatzki 1986, 496.

64 May 1966, 172–173; Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 117–119. Die Datierung in die 2. Hälfte des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. von Peristeri-Otatzki 1986, 494 fußte auf May.

65 Archäologisches Museum Abdera, Inv. A 4066 (Peristeri-Otatzki 1986, 493).



Abb. 13 Abdera, Ziegelstempel mit liegendem Greif – Thasos, Museum, Inv. Th 13796.



Abb. 14 Abdera, Siegel mit liegendem Greif – Abdera, Archäologisches Museum, Inv. 278π.

Ebenfalls in Abdera gefunden wurden 13 querovale Amphorenstempel, die den Greif liegend nach links zeigen (Abb. 12).⁶⁶ Ihre Herkunft aus Abdera ist zum einen aufgrund der Fundorte in der Polis selbst und zum anderen durch die Beischrift AB(δηρίτων), welche die Mehrzahl der Exemplare aufweist, gesichert. Die Datierung von acht der Amphorenstempel konnte Peristeri-Otatzki durch Fundkontext, datierte Beifunde oder die Buchstabenform auf die 2. Hälfte des 3. Jhs. v. Chr. einschränken.⁶⁷ In Analogie dazu und in Anbetracht der Tatsache, dass die Darstellung des liegenden Greifs in der Münzprägung erst um die Mitte des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. begann, dürften die übrigen Amphorenstempel mit liegendem Greif aus dem 4. oder 3. Jh. v. Chr. stammen. Der liegende Greif wird zudem auf vier runden Ziegelstempeln wiedergegeben (Abb. 13).⁶⁸

Hier ist er allerdings nach rechts gerichtet. Drei der Stempel wurden in Abdera gefunden, was neben der Darstellung des Mischwesens zusätzlich für eine Zuweisung an diese Polis spricht. Das in Thasos gefundene Exemplar kann als Abdruck eines abderitischen Staters der Phase VI in die Zeit zwischen 395 und 360 v. Chr. oder danach datiert werden (Abb. 13).⁶⁹ Die weiteren Ziegelstempel lassen sich analog zu den Amphorenstempeln mit liegendem Greif und der Münzprägung grob dem 4. und 3. Jh. v. Chr. zuweisen. Aus der 2. Hälfte des 3. Jhs. v. Chr. stammt ferner ein Abdruck eines Siegels in Ton, der in Abdera gefunden wurde und den liegenden Greif

66 Archäologisches Museum Abdera, Inv. A 1251; A 2374; A 2387; A 2389; A 3708; A 3798; A 4059; A 4061; A 4062; A 4063; A 4065; A 4070 (Peristeri-Otatzki 1986, 494 Abb. 6–10) sowie Lazaridēs 1965, 460 Taf. 562 b.

67 Peristeri-Otatzki 1986, 494.

68 Archäologisches Museum Abdera, Inv. A 4067; A 4068; o. Nr. (Peristeri-Otatzki 1986, 493 Abb. 4); Museum Thasos, Th. 13796 (Garlan 1986, 228 Abb. 29).

69 Der vierte Stempel kam im Kontext einer Amphoren-Werkstätte zutage. Garlan datiert den Stater nach May etwa Ende 5./Anfang 4. Jh. v. Chr. (Garlan 1986, 228), Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 119–126 setzt die Phase etwas später an.

nach links wiedergibt (Abb. 14).⁷⁰ Dieses querovale Siegel weist vor dem Kopf des Mischwesens das Monogramm AB(δηριτων) auf, so dass die Zuweisung an Abdera und auch die Identifizierung als Parasemon unstrittig sind.

Obwohl die Datierungen der Ziegel- und Amphorenstempel teilweise vage bleiben müssen, lässt sich aber insgesamt die Tendenz erkennen, dass die Darstellungen mit schreitendem Greif früher einsetzen als diejenigen mit liegendem Greif.⁷¹ Der schreitende Greif kommt – wie oben bereits erwähnt – auch in der Münzprägung nur auf den ganz frühen Emissionen im 6. Jh. v. Chr. und dann erneut im 3. Viertel des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. vor. Orientiert man sich an den Datierungen der Münzprägung, in der die Darstellung des liegenden oder springenden Greifs erst um die Mitte des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. beginnt, so ist zu vermuten, dass auch die Ziegel- und Amphorenstempel mit liegendem Greif nicht vor dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. einzuordnen sind. Auffällig ist, dass der sitzende Greif auf den Münzen über einen langen Zeitraum (ca. 520–360 v. Chr.) geprägt wird, auf den anderen Parasema-Gattungen jedoch nicht verwendet wird. Allerdings setzen die Amphoren- und Ziegelstempel mit abderitischem Parasemon erst gegen Ende des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. ein, also etwa in Phase V der Münzmissionen, als in diesen neben die Darstellung des sitzenden Greifen auch der springende Greif aufgekommen war.

Betrachtet man nun die Darstellungsweise des Greifen in den verschiedenen Gattungen, so muss der unterschiedlich gute Erhaltungszustand der Stempel und Bilder berücksichtigt werden: Die Stempel auf Amphoren und Ziegeln sowie der Abdruck des Siegels sind zum Teil stark verripen, und auch die besser erhaltenen Exemplare zeigen immer nur einzelne Details der Reliefs vollständig. Dennoch lassen sich einige Unterschiede zu den Münzbildern benennen: In den Stempeln ist der Flügel des Greifen nie volutenförmig gestaltet, wie dies hauptsächlich in den ersten vier Prägephasen der Münzen (also bis ca. 425 v. Chr.) der Fall ist.⁷² Auf den Amphoren, Ziegeln und im Siegelabdruck zeigt die Flügelspitze nach hinten, die einzelnen Federn sind waagrecht angeordnet (Abb. 11–14). Zudem ist der Schnabel meist geschlossen und damit nicht – wie bei den frühen Münzbildern – geöffnet.⁷³ Bemerkenswert ist auch die Standlinie unter dem Greifen: Deren Länge variiert auf den Münzen. Beim liegenden und beim schreitenden Greif ist sie länger als beim sitzenden (Abb. 9. Abb. 10), beim springenden

70 Archäologisches Museum Abdera, Inv. 278π (Lazaridēs 1960, 46. 70 B 124 Taf. 27; Peristeri-Otatzki 1986, 494 Abb. 11). – Ein weiterer Abdruck eines runden Siegels mit Greif, der in Abdera gefunden wurde, wird in der Literatur erwähnt, aber nicht weiter beschrieben oder abgebildet (Lazaridēs 1965, 460).

71 Furtwängler 1886–1890, 1771 beschreibt für den griechischen Greifen im Allgemeinen eine Entwicklung vom sitzenden zum schreitenden bzw. aktiven Greif gegen Ende des 5. Jhs. v. Chr.

72 Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, Taf. 6–7. Die volutenförmigen Flügel treten vereinzelt in der sechsten Prägephase erneut auf (395–360 v. Chr.). Zu den Flügelformen vgl. auch Dierichs 1981, 254 mit Abb. 19.

73 Z. B. May 1966, Taf. 3 oder Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, Taf. 6.

Greif ist sie als kurze Linie nur unter den Hinterläufen angegeben.⁷⁴ Entsprechend ist in den Stempeln auf Amphoren und Ziegeln sowie auf dem Siegelabdruck, die ausschließlich den liegenden oder schreitenden Greifen wiedergeben, stets eine lange Standlinie erkennbar (Abb. 12–14). Bis auf wenige Ausnahmen in den Münzbildern⁷⁵ hebt der Greif in allen Haltungsschemata die vom Betrachter abgewandte Vorderpatte an, was gerade in der liegenden Stellung den Anschein erweckt, als ob er gerade im Begriff ist aufzuspringen.⁷⁶ Betrachtet man diese merkwürdige Stellung der Vorderpatte in der chronologischen Abfolge, so scheint hier dieses Merkmal des sitzenden Greifen auf den liegenden übertragen worden zu sein.⁷⁷ Die erhobene Vorderpatte findet sich auch bei allen Darstellungen auf den Stempeln und dem Siegel wieder. Furtwängler interpretierte dieses Motiv als Wachsamkeit und Abwehr, das der Greif bereits auf hethitischen Denkmälern zeigt.⁷⁸

Zusammenfassend präsentiert sich das aberitischen Parasemon in einer beachtlichen Bandbreite an Darstellungsweisen: die Stempel sind rund, oval oder rechteckig – der Greif schreitet oder liegt, mal nach rechts, mal nach links – das Ethnikon kann in abgekürzter Form beigeschrieben sein. Während man bis vor einigen Jahren noch davon ausging, dass der Greif auf den Prägungen von Abdera stets nach links blickt,⁷⁹ konnte hier gezeigt werden, dass diese strikte Ausrichtung weder auf den Münzen⁸⁰ noch in den übrigen Gattungen vorhanden ist.

Darstellungen von Greifen sind sowohl in der thrakischen als auch in der griechischen Kunst weit verbreitet. Man geht davon aus, dass dieses Mischwesen – das hauptsächlich aus Löwe und Adler zusammengesetzt ist, aber durch Nackenkamm, spitzen Ohren usw. weitere Tiere vereint – aus dem Vorderen Orient in mehreren Wellen nach Thrakien und Griechenland gelangte.⁸¹ Die Wahl des Greifen als Parasemon von Abdera hängt aber nicht mit dem thrakischen Umland der Polis und dessen Einfluß zusammen, sondern es wurde direkt aus Kleinasien übernommen, da es mehr oder weniger identisch ist mit dem Parasemon von Teos, der Metropolis von Abdera.⁸²

74 Beispielsweise Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, Taf. 6, 13, Taf. 8, 7 oder Taf. 9, 1.

75 Matzke 2000, 40 und Abb. 106–108.

76 Flagge 1975, 32; vgl. beispielsweise auch May 1966, Taf. 15, 268–280.

77 May 1966; Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007.

78 Furtwängler 1886–1890, 1752–1753.

79 May 1966, 49; Matzke 2000, 38; Kagan 2006, 54, wobei diese Blickrichtung die aberitischen Münzen von den teischen mit nach rechts gewandtem Greifen abgrenzen sollten. Erwähnt werden sollte an dieser Stelle auch, dass die Blickrichtung des Greifen von Teos auch auf den Alexanderprägungen nicht nur nach rechts zeigt, sondern zwischen links und rechts wechselt, vgl. Price 1991, P65A. 2271–2272. 2274–2276A. 2278–2282. L35–41.

80 Als Beispiele seien Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 188 Nr. 94 Taf. 21, 94; 397 Nr. 78 Taf. 11, 9 oder 408 Nr. 166 Taf. 14, 14 genannt.

81 Simon 1962, 750–755; Agre 1997, 437–439.

82 May 1966, 49; Raven 1967, 294–295; Matzke 2000, 38.



Abb. 15 Teos, Stater mit Greif – Berlin, Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen, Objektnr. 18249713.

So wurde in Teos der Greif mit dem Beginn der Münzprägung im 2. Viertel des 6. Jhs. v. Chr. als Vorderseitenbild gewählt, das jahrhundertlang Verwendung fand (Abb. 15).⁸³

Weil es darüber hinaus auch als Relief einer Urkundenstele in Teos angebracht wurde, kann es eindeutig als teisches Parasemon angesprochen werden.⁸⁴ Zunächst wurden in Teos Elektron- und Silbermünzen mit dem Kopf des Greifen geprägt, zu denen ab der Mitte des 6. Jhs. v. Chr. Emissionen in Silber mit der Protome des Greifen hinzutraten.⁸⁵ Sitzend ist der Greif dann ab ca. 540 v. Chr. auf Silbermünzen wiedergegeben, wobei er in den ersten Emissionen beide Vordertatze aufstellt (Serie Ba nach Matzke 2000), später aber die linke Vordertatze anhebt (Serie Bb).⁸⁶ Mit dieser Serie setzte auch die Darstellung der Protome bzw. des Kopfes auf Kleinmünzen ein.⁸⁷ Gelagerte Greifen lassen sich auf teischen Münzen jedoch nicht nachweisen.

Mit dem Greifen als Parasemon von Abdera und Teos liegt einer der seltenen Fälle vor, bei dem eine Übernahme des mütterstädtischen Parasemon sicher nachgewiesen werden kann.⁸⁸ Diese Übernahme lässt sich durch die außergewöhnlich enge Verbindung Abderas zu seiner Metropolis erklären,⁸⁹ die beispielsweise durch eine fragmentierte Inschrift aus Teos aus der Zeit zwischen 480 und 450 v. Chr. belegt ist.⁹⁰ Darin werden Verwünschungen ausgesprochen, die nicht nur in Teos Anwendung fanden, sondern ebenfalls im Stadtgebiet von Abdera galten. Zudem ist überliefert, dass einige Siedler aus Abdera nach dem Perserangriff in Ionien wieder nach Teos

83 Matzke 2000, 32.

84 Loukopoulou 2005, 197–200 E6 Taf. 2. Vgl. auch Anm. 88.

85 Matzke 2000, 43–46. – Der Greif zierte in Teos mehrheitlich die Münzvorderseiten.

86 Matzke 2000, 46.

87 Matzke 2000, 37–38. 46–48.

88 Zur eindeutigen Identifizierung eines Parasemons bedarf es mindestens zweier offizieller Gattungen einer Polis, die das entsprechende Symbol zeigen. Vgl. Killen 2017b, 9. Da die Überlieferungslage in den einzelnen Poleis sehr unterschiedlich ist, lassen sich Verbindungen zwischen Apokiern und ihren Metropoleis in der Staatssymbolik nur selten fassen.

89 Herrmann 1981, 26–27; Graham 1992, 53. 68.

90 Herrmann 1981, 1–30 mit weiteren Beispielen auf S. 26; Graham 1992, 53–59; Youni 2007, 724–736.

zurückkehrten.⁹¹ Die enge Verbindung der beiden Poleis drückt sich auch in der Übernahme kultischer Feste und politischer Strukturen in Abdera aus.⁹² Implizierte diese Übernahme (Herrmann spricht davon, dass „beide Städte in einer Art staatlicher Grundordnung verbunden“ waren⁹³) zugleich auch, dass der Gebrauch von Siegeln und Stempeln mit Parasemon übernommen wurde und im Falle Abderas sogar das Motiv dieser Siegel und die entsprechenden Medien? Denn offenbar nahmen die Kolonisten von Abdera den Greif als städtisches Symbol aus Teos mit, das unmittelbar nach Gründung der Polis als abderitisches Münzbild Verwendung fand. Die abderitischen und teischen Münzbilder ähneln einander so sehr, dass man geneigt ist, die Einführung der Ethnika als eine logische Konsequenz zu betrachten: Teos setzte sein Ethnikon schon auf die Vorderseiten seiner frühen Silbermünzen; nach Matzke gehören diese ersten Münzen mit Ethnikon (T, THIO, THI) zu Serie C, die er zwischen ca. 510 und 450 v. Chr. ansetzt.⁹⁴ In Abdera findet sich das Ethnikon (AB oder ΑΒΔΗ) etwa zeitgleich in der zweiten Prägephase (500–475 v. Chr.), während die längeren Formen und ΑΒΔΗΠΙΤΩΝ erst ab 450 v. Chr. auftraten.⁹⁵ Diese Gleichzeitigkeit ließe sich zum einen mit der allgemeinen Entwicklung innerhalb der griechischen Münzprägung erklären. Zum anderen könnte dies aber ein weiterer Beleg für die enge Verbindung zwischen Abdera und Teos sein. Übernahmen die Abderiten wie so manches andere auch die Angabe des Ethnikons auf den Münzen von ihrer Metropolis? Vielleicht handelt es sich dabei aber auch um eine simple Methode, die beiden äußerst ähnlichen städtischen Münzprägungen unterscheidbar zu machen, beispielsweise für den Geldumlauf außerhalb der eigenen Polis.⁹⁶ Dann stellt sich aber die Frage, warum dies erst zu einem Zeitpunkt vorgenommen wurde, als beide Poleis schon seit mehreren Jahrzehnten Münzen emittierten. Dass dies mit dem Rückzug abderitischer Siedler nach Teos und dessen „Neugründung“ zusammenhängt, kann nur vermutet werden.

Damit ist bereits beantwortet, warum die Abderiten den Greif als Parasemon wählten, nicht jedoch, warum die Teier dieses Mischwesen zu ihrem städtischen Symbol machten. Welche Konnotation des Greifen veranlasste Teos, sich dieses Parasemon zuzulegen? Die Deutung des Mischwesens Greif erweist sich jedoch generell als schwierig.⁹⁷ Die literarischen Quellen erwähnen Greifen vor allem als goldhütende Wesen, die weit im Norden in direkter Nachbarschaft zu den Hyperboreern wohnen.⁹⁸

91 Herrmann 1981, 27, fußend auf Hdt. 1.168 und Strab. 14.644; Graham 1992, 53.

92 Herrmann 1981, 10; Graham 1992, 57–58.

93 Herrmann 1981, 28.

94 Matzke 2000, 48–51 Nr. 95–100.

95 Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 104.

96 Die Angabe des Ethnikons findet sich in beiden Poleis auf den größeren Nominalen, vor allem in Abdera auf Oktadrachmen, Tetradrachmen usw.

97 Dierichs 1981, 270–274.

98 Hdt. 3.116; 4.13, 27.

Sie werden aber auch als goldschürfend in Indien oder als Wachhunde des Zeus bei den Aithiopen beschrieben.⁹⁹ Durch die Verbindung zu den Hyperboreern sind sie mit Apollon assoziiert, was sich auch ikonographisch fassen lässt.¹⁰⁰ Als Reittiere und Begleiter sind sie Apollon, als Sonnen- und Lichtgottheit, zugeordnet, wie sie analog dazu im Osten mit der Sonnenscheibe verbunden wurden bzw. dem Sonnengott heilig waren.¹⁰¹ Darüber hinaus konnte Simon auch Beziehungen zwischen Greif und Nemesis sowie zwischen Greif und Dionysos aufzeigen.¹⁰² Letzterem dienen sie seit spätklassischer Zeit als Wagentiere und werden vor allem in der römischen Kunst mit Dionysos Sabazios dargestellt.¹⁰³ Als Synthese der hier nur angerissenen literarischen und ikonographischen Überlieferung wird der Greif als übernatürliches und apotropäisches Wesen gedeutet, dem eine Wächterfunktion zukam.¹⁰⁴ Durch seine bildlichen Darstellungen an Gräbern, auf Sarkophagen usw. sowie seine Verknüpfung mit Sabazios als Vegetationsgottheit, die für Wiedergeburt und Unsterblichkeit steht, ist der sepulkrale Aspekt des Greifen immer wieder betont worden.¹⁰⁵ Als das Münzbild von Teos ist er stets in Verbindung zu Dionysos gesetzt worden, da dessen Kult in dieser Polis hinreichend nachgewiesen ist. So wurde Dionysos beispielsweise im berühmten, von Hermogenes errichteten Tempel in Teos verehrt.¹⁰⁶ Die Siedler nahmen die Dionysosverehrung mit nach Abdera, wo ein Filialheiligtum vermutet wird.¹⁰⁷ Die Übernahme der teischen Dionysosfeste in Abdera wurde bereits oben angesprochen.¹⁰⁸ Allerdings lässt sich die Verbindung von Greif und Dionysos in beiden Poleis ikonographisch nicht eindeutig nachweisen: Die Münzen aus Teos zeigen nur in einer kleinen Emission den Kopf des Dionysos auf der Vorderseite, während der Greif auf die Rückseite gewandert ist.¹⁰⁹ Dass diese Emission „erst“ in hellenistische Zeit zu datieren ist, spricht nicht für eine originäre Verknüpfung der beiden Symbole. Für Abdera lässt sich feststellen, dass Apollon in der Münzprägung immer dominanter wird, Dionysos aber dennoch – ablesbar an epigraphischen Quellen – Hauptgottheit der Polis bleibt.¹¹⁰ Insofern muss die Verbindung des Greifen zu einer einzelnen Gott-

99 Aesch. *PV* 803–806; Ael. *NH* 4.27.

100 Simon 1962, 763.

101 Simon 1962, 765.

102 Nemesis: Simon 1962, 770–779.

103 Simon 1962, 767–770.

104 Dierichs 1981, 270–274.

105 Dierichs 1981, 270–274.

106 Zum Tempel: Zu 1990, 51–61.

107 Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 96.

108 Herrmann 1981, 8. 10; Triantaphyllos 1994, 62; Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 96.

109 Kinns 1980, 236. 525 Nr. 159 Taf. 36.

110 Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 96.



Abb. 16 Odessos, Bronzemünze mit Theos Megas – London, British Museum, Inv. 1841.B.449.

heit in diesen beiden Poleis mit Skepsis betrachtet werden.¹¹¹ Vielmehr scheint mir die jahrhundertelange Konzentration auf den Greifen als einzelnes Symbol eher dafür zu sprechen, in ihm ein eigenständiges Symbol zu sehen, dessen Bedeutung wir heute nur ansatzweise nachvollziehen können.

Abschließend bleibt festzuhalten, dass mit den abderitischen Greifen ein aus dem Osten stammendes Symbol gewählt wurde, das auf ikonographischer und konnotativer Ebene keinerlei thrakischen Einfluss erkennen lässt.

Odessos

Als Apoikie von Milet wurde Odessos in der 1. Hälfte des 6. Jhs. v. Chr. gegründet.¹¹² Da der Ortsname nicht griechisch, sondern thrakisch ist,¹¹³ kann man vermuten, dass es vor Ort eine Vorgängersiedlung gegeben hat. Allerdings ist der antike Ort vollständig vom modernen Varna überlagert, so dass die bauliche Struktur der Stadt bislang nur punktuell untersucht werden konnte.¹¹⁴ Nach der vergleichsweise späten Gründung setzte auch die städtische Münzprägung in Odessos erst um die Mitte des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. ein.¹¹⁵

Als Parasemon verwendete die Polis eine Darstellung eines gelagerten Gottes. Dieser wird auf Rückseiten von Bronzemünzen ab der Mitte des 4. bis zum 1. Jh. v. Chr. wiedergegeben (Abb. 16):¹¹⁶ Es handelt sich dabei um eine bärtige männliche

111 Dies vermutete auch schon Lacroix 1982, 80 in Bezug auf die Sphinx von Chios.

112 Ps.-Skymn. 748–750, vgl. dazu auch Boshnakov 2004, 178–182. Apoikie Milets: Strab. 7.6.1; Plin. *NH* 4.45. Zu den verschiedenen Gründungsdaten s. Isaac 1986, 255, 280; Velkov 1988, 103; Pelekidis 1994, 104; Pudill 2000, 334; Damyanov 2004–2005, 289; Oppermann 2005, 7.

113 Detschew 1957, 335–336; Isaac 1986, 255.

114 Isaac 1986, 258.

115 Pick und Regling 1910, 522; Velkov 1988, 104; Oppermann 2004, 151; präzisere Datierung auf Grundlage der Auswertung von Hortfunden und Überprägungen bei Karayotov 2007, 150.

116 Pick und Regling 1910, 522–523, 541–546 Nr. 2177–2198; Karayotov 2007, 150. Die Vorderseiten zeigen entweder einen weiblichen Kopf oder einen Apollonkopf. Zu erwähnen ist, dass der gelagerte Gott auch die Gegenstempel der Polis Odessos zierte: Pick und Regling 1910, 542 Nr. 2184 Taf. 4, 7; 543 Nr. 2189–2190 Taf. 4, 8–9.

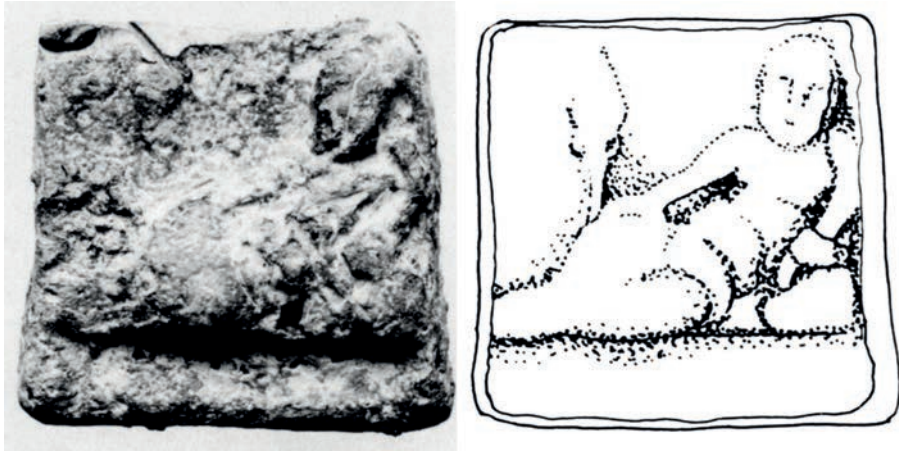


Abb. 17 Odessos, Marktgewicht mit Theos Megas – Dälgopol, Historisches Museum, Inv. H 0011.



Abb. 18 Odessos, Marktgewicht mit Theos Megas – Dälgopol, Historisches Museum, Inv. H 0017.

Gottheit, die auf ihren linken Arm gestützt auf einer Basis oder Standleiste liegt. Ihr Unterkörper ist bekleidet (Mantel?), der nackte Oberkörper sowie der Kopf sind frontal ausgerichtet. Der Gott hält im linken Arm ein Füllhorn, mit der rechten Hand meist eine Patera. Im Hintergrund oberhalb seiner Beine ist eine Amphora mit der Mündung nach unten erkennbar, aus der sich eine Flüssigkeit ergießt. Darüber hinaus ist diese Gottheit nahezu identisch auf zwei Marktgewichten aus Odessos wiedergegeben (Abb. 17 und 18). Die Reliefs dieser bleiernen Stathma sind verrieben, jedoch lassen sich die Attribute Füllhorn, Patera und Amphora noch deutlich ausmachen. Das eine der beiden Gewichte wiegt 611 g und wird in die Zeit zwischen dem Beginn der autonomen Münzprägung und dem Ende des 3. Jhs. v. Chr. datiert (Abb. 17).¹¹⁷

117 Historisches Museum Dälgopol, Inv. H 0011; 5,9 x 6,4 x 2,0 cm; Lazarov 1992–1993, 77–81.

Das andere Marktgewicht ist 91,50 g¹¹⁸ schwer und stellt damit ein Hektemorion – eine Sechstelmine – dar, was auch an der Beischrift EKTHMO(ρΙΟΥ) ersichtlich ist, die unter der Basis der Figur eingeschrieben ist (Abb. 18).¹¹⁹ In seiner oberen linken Ecke lesen wir zudem die Buchstaben API, bei denen es sich höchstwahrscheinlich um die Anfangsbuchstaben des Eigennamen eines Beamten handelt, der für die Herstellung und Kontrolle des Marktgewichtes (meist Agoranomoi) verantwortlich war. Aufgrund der Vielzahl von Ergänzungsmöglichkeiten lassen sich diese drei Buchstaben allerdings nicht auflösen.¹²⁰ Die von Lazarov vorgenommene Datierung an das Ende des 2. Jhs. bzw. an den Anfang des 1. Jhs. v. Chr., basierend auf der Einordnung des Gewichts in das attische Gewichtssystem,¹²¹ muss überdacht werden, da Hitzl die Chronologie des attischen Systems neu geordnet hat. Hitzl datiert das hellenistische System, nach dem eine Mine aus 138 Drachmen besteht, vom 3. Jh. bis zur 2. Hälfte des 2. Jhs. v. Chr.¹²² Gemäß diesem System hat ein Hektemorion ein Gewicht von ca. 100 g, dem das vorliegende Stathmos mit 91,50 g nur bedingt entspricht. In spätklassischer Zeit wog eine Sechstelmine in Athen ca. 80 g, wovon unser odessisches Gewicht etwa in gleichem Maße abweicht. Allerdings legen die Form des Stathmos mit den leicht eingezogenen Seitenkanten¹²³ und die Angabe der Beamten, deren Namen in Monogrammform auf odessischen Münzen von der Wende vom 2. zum 1. Jh. v. Chr. erscheinen,¹²⁴ nahe, das Stathmos dem attischen System hellenistischer Zeit zuzuordnen und eine Entstehung im 2. Jh. v. Chr. zu vermuten.

Die Deutung dieser gelagerten Gottheit beruht auf den Beischriften hellenistischer Silbermünzen aus Odessos, die einen stehenden Gott mit Hüftmantel und den gleichen Attributen (Füllhorn und Patera) zeigen.¹²⁵ Die Legende bezeichnet ihn als Theos Megas der Odessiten, den Großen Gott von Odessos.¹²⁶ Neben diesen Münzbildern

118 Historisches Museum Dälgopol, Inv. H 0017; 3,3 x 3,5 x 0,9 cm, Lochung in der oberen linken Ecke; Lazarov 1992–1993, 81–82.

119 Ob die Inschrift gerahmt war, wie Lazarov 1992–1993, 82 vermutet, oder ob es eine Darstellung einer Kline war, auf der die Gottheit ruht, ist nicht zu entscheiden, da das Gewicht am linken Abschluss der Inschrift beschädigt ist. Kline werden erst auf den kaiserzeitlichen Münzen aus Odessos dargestellt, Pick 1899, 158.

120 In Odessos selbst sind folgende mögliche Namen in klassisch-hellenistischer Zeit epigraphisch bezeugt: Ἀριστείδης, Ἀριστοκλής, Ἀριστομένης, Ἀριστόνομος, Ἀρίστων (Fraser 2005, s. v.). Es gibt aber keine Anhaltspunkte, um eine dieser Personen mit den Buchstaben auf dem Gewicht in Verbindung zu bringen, so dass sich für die Datierung des Marktgewichtes keine weiteren Hinweise ergeben.

121 Lazarov 1992–1993, 82.

122 Hitzl 1996, 115.

123 Zur Formentwicklung von griechischen Marktgewichten vgl. Weiß 2005, 417–434.

124 Lazarov 1992–1993, 82.

125 Pick 1899, 155; Pick und Regling 1910, 524–525. 549–550 Nr. 2214–2215 Taf. 4, 1–2.

126 ΘΕΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΔΗΣΙΤΩΝ. – Erst zu Beginn des 3. Jhs. n. Chr. wird diese Gottheit mit Darzalos verbunden bzw. gleichgesetzt (Gočeva 1981, 232), so dass sie im Folgenden ausschließlich als Theos Megas oder Großer Gott von Odessos bezeichnet wird. – Das Rückseitenbild einiger hellenistischer Bronzen, das einen Reiter mit Füllhorn im Arm zeigt (Pick und Regling 1910, 524. 547–549 Nr. 2200–2213 Taf. 4, 13–15), wurde in der Forschung mit

und den besprochenen Marktgewichten wurden in Odessos zudem Terrakotten und Reliefs mit der Darstellung des stehenden Gottes mit Füllhorn gefunden, die ebenso als Wiedergaben des Großen Gottes gedeutet werden.¹²⁷ Da der gelagerte Gott mit Bart, Füllhorn, Patera und Hüftmantel(?) in gleicher Weise wie der stehende Theos Megas charakterisiert ist,¹²⁸ ist er ebenfalls als Großer Gott anzusprechen. Der Charakter dieses Gottes bleibt aber weiterhin undeutlich. Aus der Ikonographie können wir schließen, dass er einerseits aufgrund seines Füllhorns mit Pluton assoziiert wurde und als Unterwelts- und Fruchtbarkeitsgottheit zu deuten ist.¹²⁹ Die Tatsache, dass seine koroplastischen Wiedergaben in den Nekropolen von Odessos gefunden wurden, bestätigt seinen chthonischen Charakter.¹³⁰ Andererseits verbinden ihn die Patera und die Amphora mit Dionysos. Seine gelagerte Position kann sowohl auf Pluton als auch auf Dionysos verweisen; eine Interpretation als Flussgott wird ausgeschlossen.¹³¹ Diese ikonographischen Elemente machen aber deutlich, dass wir es mit einer rein griechischen Bildsprache zu tun haben. Dazu passt, dass die koroplastischen und plastischen Belege ausschließlich in griechischen Kontexten in Odessos und Umgebung zu Tage kamen.¹³² Dies ist vor allem vor dem Hintergrund wichtig, dem zufolge es sich beim Theos Megas um eine lokale, also thrakische Unterweltsgottheit handeln soll.¹³³ Gočeva vermutete, dass der Große Gott von Odessos nicht mit den griechischen Siedlern in die Stadt gekommen ist, sondern dort schon vorher verehrt wurde, weil er auf den frühesten Münzen nicht wiedergegeben werde.¹³⁴ Jedoch zeigen bereits die ersten autonomen Münzen aus Odessos den gelagerten Gott auf ihren Rückseiten, und diese werden – *communis opinio* – bereits in das ausgehende 4. Jh. v. Chr. datiert, und nicht erst an das Ende des 2. Jhs. v. Chr., wie Gočeva angab.¹³⁵ Insofern kann die Datierung der Münzbilder nicht als Beleg für eine thrakische Herkunft der Gottheit angesehen werden. Auch die Schlussfolgerung Gočevas, dass der Kult des Theos Megas nicht von den Siedlern mitgebracht wurde, weil es in der Metropolis Milet keine Hinweise auf eine Verehrung dieser Gottheit gibt,¹³⁶ ist mit Skepsis zu behandeln.

dem Theos Megas in Verbindung gebracht. Die Interpretationen reichen von Verschmelzung zweier Gottheiten (Pick 1899, 161–162; Pick und Regling 1910, 524) bis zu Gleichsetzung, die aber immer wieder kritisiert wurde (Żelazowski 1992, 47–48). Da die Deutung des Reiters für die weitere Diskussion nicht relevant ist, wird diese Frage hier nicht weiter verfolgt.

127 Oppermann 2004, 199.

128 Pick 1899, 157–158.

129 Pick 1899, 159; Oppermann 2004, 199.

130 Pick 1931, 29.

131 Pick 1899, 157–158.

132 Alexandrescu Vianu 1999–2001, 78.

133 Gočeva 1981, 229; Oppermann 2004, 199, 201.

134 Gočeva 1981, 229; Velkov 1988, 105.

135 Gočeva 1981, 230.

136 Gočeva 1981, 229.

Denn Alexandrescu Vianu konnte zeigen, dass es vor allem im westlichen Kleinasien zahlreiche Belege für den Kult des Theos Megas in hellenistischer Zeit gibt.¹³⁷ Sie kann jedoch eine thrakische Herkunft dieses Gottes ebensowenig ausschließen.¹³⁸ Die Gleichsetzung des Großen Gottes mit dem thrakischen Gott Darzalos, die erst im 3. Jh. n. Chr. nachweisbar ist,¹³⁹ spricht m. E. eher dafür, im hellenistischen Großen Gott von Odessos noch eine rein griechische Gottheit zu sehen.¹⁴⁰ Aus Sicht der griechischen Staatssymbolik wäre die Wahl einer einheimischen, nicht griechischen Gottheit zudem singulär: Hier lassen sich nur originär griechische Symbole, insbesondere bei den figürlichen Darstellungen, nachweisen.

Zuletzt sei noch auf die ungewöhnliche umgedrehte Amphora im Hintergrund des Großen Gottes verwiesen, aus der sich eine Flüssigkeit ergießt. Sie wird zum einen mit einer Spende an Theos Megas verbunden, der die Flüssigkeit mit der Patera auffängt,¹⁴¹ zum anderen aber auch mit dem Wasserreichtum und der daraus resultierenden Fruchtbarkeit der Böden des odessischen Umlandes gedeutet.¹⁴² Welche inhaltliche Bedeutung ihr auch immer zugemessen wurde, sie stellt – abgesehen vom Stadtnamen in Monogrammform – das häufigste Münzstättenzeichen Odessos' auf den Alexandertetradrachmen dar, die zwischen ca. 280 und 200 v. Chr. in Odessos geprägt wurden.¹⁴³

Parasema und Identität

Was zu Beginn der Ausführungen bereits angesprochen wurde und in den drei Fallstudien deutlich geworden sein dürfte, ist die Tatsache, dass Parasema als Medien der Selbstrepräsentation stets positive Eigenschaften einer Polis versinnbildlichen. Zudem haben wir gesehen, dass sich die Bürgergemeinschaften rein griechisch präsentieren; ein thrakischer Einfluss ließ sich nicht ausmachen. Was sagen ihre Symbole darüber hinaus über ihre Identität aus? Können sie als Identitätsmarker, insbesondere in Thrakien, bezeichnet werden?¹⁴⁴ Den folgenden Gedanken liegt die Definition Assmanns zugrunde, wonach man unter kollektiver Identität „das Bild, das eine Gruppe von sich aufbaut und mit dem sich deren Mitglieder identifizieren [, versteht]. Kollektive

137 Alexandrescu Vianu 1999–2001, 75.

138 Alexandrescu Vianu 1999–2001, 78.

139 Pick 1899, 156; Gočeva 1981, 232.

140 Zu diesem Schluss kam auch schon Pick 1899, 161. 165.

141 Pick 1899, 158; Pick und Regling 1910, 523.

142 Gočeva 1981, 230.

143 Price 1991, 192–195 Nr. 1147. 1152–1157. 1161.

144 Zum Folgenden auch Killen 2017b, 150–151.

Identität ist eine Frage der *Identifikation* seitens der beteiligten Individuen.¹⁴⁵ Dieses Bild setzt das Bewusstsein, einer bestimmten Gruppe anzugehören, voraus, wobei dieses Bewusstsein wiederum Voraussetzung dafür ist, dass sich eine Gruppe ein gemeinsames Symbol zulegen kann. Anders ausgedrückt, nur eine Gemeinschaft, die sich als solche versteht, kann eine gemeinschaftliche Symbolik wählen. Diese gemeinschaftliche Symbolik in Form von Parasema funktioniert auf zwei verschiedenen Ebenen:

Parasema sind ein Phänomen der griechischen Poliskultur, ohne deren Ausbildung die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Staatssymbolik nicht denkbar, aber vermutlich auch nicht notwendig gewesen wäre. Weder vor der Entstehung der Polis noch im Imperium Romanum, in das die Poleis integriert wurden, finden sich vergleichbare Symbole, noch in angrenzenden Kulturkreisen während der archaischen bis hellenistischen Zeit. Es handelt sich also um ein originär griechisches Phänomen. Deshalb stellen sich die Bürgergemeinschaften bereits durch das Zulegen eines solchen Symbols als Griechen dar und grenzen sich von Barbaren ab. Hier fassen wir die Ebene der ethnischen Identität oder auch der Hellenen-Identität. Angewandt auf die Poleis in Thrakien zeigt sich hier deutlich eine Abgrenzung gegenüber der indigenen thrakischen Bevölkerung: Parasema wurden in diesem geographischen Raum nicht verwendet; dennoch „installierten“ die Siedler in einer Vielzahl der griechischen Poleis diese Symbolik und nutzten sie darüber hinaus mit ausschließlich griechischer Ikonographie. Auch wenn die *instrumenta publica* hauptsächlich lokal, also innerhalb der Polisgrenzen, verwendet wurden, so dürfte die thrakische Bevölkerung zum einen beim Handel vor Ort (Marktgewichte, Maßgefäße) mit ihnen in Berührung gekommen sein. Zum anderen ist im Falle der Münzen und Amphorenstempel auch von einem Umlauf im thrakischen Hinterland auszugehen.

Auf einer weiteren Ebene, nämlich auf derjenigen der Motivwahl, wirkt ein Parasemon innerhalb dieser Gruppe der Hellenen ebenfalls abgrenzend. Denn eine Polis will sich durch ihr Motiv von anderen griechischen Poleis unterscheiden. Dies kann mit dem Begriff der Polis-Identität umschrieben werden. Die Bürgergemeinschaft versteht sich als abgeschlossenes Gemeinwesen und stellt eigene positive Merkmale in den Vordergrund, mit denen sich die Bewohner gerne identifizieren. Dass es sich dabei um Alleinstellungsmerkmale handelt, wird dadurch deutlich, dass ein Symbol in der Regel von nur einer Polis verwendet wurde.¹⁴⁶ Dies zeigt sich auch im Mikrokosmos der Poleis in Thrakien (Tabelle 1): Lediglich die Herakles-Waffen, Keule und Bogen, treten in zwei Poleis auf (allerdings in Kallatis ergänzt um den Gorytos, in dem der Bogen

145 Assmann 2005, 132.

146 Auch diese Regel hat ihre seltenen Ausnahmen (drei Fälle bei rund hundert Poleis): Dreizack (Mantineia, Tenos, Mylasa, Priene), Athenakopf (Athen und Priene), Delphin (Byzantion und Olbia), wobei diese Symbole anhand des beigeschriebenen Ethnikons oder ikonographischer Details unterscheidbar waren.

steckt), und die Übernahme des Greifen von Teos in Abdera stellt eine Ausnahme dar, die durch die enge Verbindung zwischen Apoikie und Metropolis zu erklären ist (s. o.).

Im städtischen Bereich des Handels und der Administration waren die offiziellen Symbole im Alltag allgegenwärtig. Ihre Anbringung auf vielen verschiedenen *instrumenta publica*, aber vor allem ihre große Zahl auf Münzen und Amphorenstempeln war entscheidend bei der Ausbildung einer Polis-Identität, da diese Massenmedien die Voraussetzungen (Wiederholung und Vergegenwärtigung) für die Ausbildung von kollektiver Identität erfüllten.¹⁴⁷ Die alltägliche Begegnung eines Polisbewohners mit den positiv besetzten Staatssymbolen verstärkte eine Identifizierung mit der Polis als Institution. So wirkten nicht nur die Symbole der positiven Charakteristika einer Bürgergemeinschaft identitätsfördernd – wie beispielsweise der Kantharos als Zeichen für den wohlstandbringenden Weinanbau auf Thasos –, sondern vor allem auch die Vergegenwärtigung einer gemeinsamen Vergangenheit (historisch oder mythisch). Dies lässt sich beispielsweise am Xoanon des Hermes Perpheraios in Ainos und der Legende seiner Auffindung festmachen.¹⁴⁸

Insofern sind Parasema nicht nur Indikatoren dafür, dass sich die Polisbewohner als Gemeinschaft verstanden und dies bildlich ausdrückten. Darüber hinaus kam den Parasema aufgrund des von ihnen transportierten Inhalts und wegen ihrer Wiederholung und Präsenz eine identitätsfördernde Funktion zu, d. h. sie unterstützten aktiv die Ausbildung einer Polis-Identität, aber auch einer Hellenen-Identität. Wie gezeigt wurde, bilden die Parasema der Poleis in Thrakien keine Ausnahmen, sondern fügen sich in jeder Hinsicht nahtlos in die griechische Staatssymbolik ein. Insofern dürfen Parasema auch in Thrakien als Identitätsmarker bezeichnet werden und zeigen, dass ebenfalls in einem geographischen Raum, der nicht zum traditionellen Siedlungsgebiet der Griechen zählt, griechische Staatssymbolik gewinnbringend eingeführt werden konnte.

147 Assmann 2005, 17. Zur Rolle moderner Massenmedien bei Identitätskonstruktionen vgl. Christmann 2004, 28.

148 Pfeiffer 1934, 23–30, 34–99.

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6 *Parasema* of the Two Cities on Their Coins and Weights: The Lion of Lysimacheia and the Hermes Throne of Ainos

Oğuz Tekin

Abstract

This paper discusses the *parasema* of Lysimacheia and Ainos, two Greek cities on the Thracian Chersonese and in Thrace, respectively in regard to the coins' and weights' evidence. The roles of the coins and weights of these two cities are evaluated together. This paper seeks answers to the following questions: why did Lysimacheia choose a lion as its *parasemon*, and from where does this type originate? What are the similarities or differences between the lions of Lysimachos and Lysimacheia on the coins and weights? In Ainos, could the throne with a herm on the city's coinage and weights be viewed as a *parasemon* of the city, or are there other types which may be regarded as its *parasema*? Are the coin and weight types reliable and sole indicators of the civic identities?

Keywords

parasemon, Ainos, Lysimacheia, Thracian Chersonese, coinage, market weights

This paper deals with the images frequently seen on the coins and balance weights of Ainos and Lysimacheia, two cities situated in the Northern Aegean and on the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonese. Despite the widespread opinion that civic badges, also known as *parasema*, are primarily characteristic of coins, they also appear on a variety of other media, such as sculpture, gravestones, and loom weights, as well as in vase paintings and literature. In this paper, I will demonstrate that the civic badges, or *parasema*, also occur on the balance weights of the Greek city-states, as well as compare the coins and weights – two important elements of *instrumenta publica* – with each other. The coins and weights of the two cities will be discussed independently, without any attempt to establish a relationship between Ainos and Lysimacheia on the basis of this material alone.

Founded by Aeolians in the 7th century BC at the mouth of River Hebros (Meriç), Ainos (modern Enez) was one of the earliest settlements in Thrace known to Homer.¹ The coinage of Ainos was first studied by May,² who prepared a corpus of the 5th and 4th century BC coins of the city. A goat (Fig. 1),³ a caduceus (Fig. 2),⁴ and a throne

1 For more information about Ainos, see Müller 1984 and Bredow and Luzatto 1996.

2 May 1950.

3 CN 3322.

4 CN 4569.



Fig. 1 Ainos, tetradrachm, 5th century BC (CN 3322)



Fig. 2 Ainos, diobol, 5th century BC (CN 4569)



Fig. 3 Ainos, drachm, 4th century BC (CN 4657)



Fig. 4 Ainos, tetradrachm, 3rd century BC (CN 5965)

with a herm (Fig. 3) seem to have been the most common motifs of the Ainos reverse types struck from the 5th century BC through the Hellenistic period.⁵ Whereas the goat usually appears as a main type and not as a secondary symbol, the caduceus and throne with a herm also occurred as a main type and as a symbol that accompanies the main type.

The cult statue or *xoanon* of Hermes is first mentioned by Kallimachos (c. 300–250 BC), according to whom⁶ the cult statue of Hermes made by Epeios was thrown into the sea. When fishermen drew it up in their nets, they tried to make a fire for themselves but failed and threw it again into the water. Yet the wooden piece was caught again in their nets. They thought that it was not a wooden piece, but rather, that it might be a god or something otherwise divine. The throne with a herm also occurs on the Lysimachi (Fig. 4)⁷ and on the coins of Ptolemy III as an additional symbol, indicating that their mint-place was Ainos.

The weights of Ainos, of which only two examples are known—one in the collection of Edirne Museum (Fig. 5)⁸ and the other in commerce—⁹ are square in shape and

5 CN 4657.

6 *POxy* 661.45–50, col. 2: Acosta-Hughes 2002. See also Petrovic 2010, 208 and May 1950, 272–73.

7 CN 5965.

8 Edirne Museum, 121.70 g. Tekin 2009.

9 CNG 88 (14.09.2011), 2171. 128.07 g.



Fig. 5 Ainos, bronze-plated lead weight, 121.70 g, 4th century BC/Hellenistic (Edirne Museum)

made of bronze. They both belong to the same denomination and seem to have been produced in the same mould. These weights have been attributed to Ainos due to their designs; both weights show a throne with a herm on it, i.e. the motif also known on the Classical and Hellenistic coins of Ainos. Although the weights bear no ethnic-name, this peculiar design makes their attribution to Ainos fairly secure. This example shows how the coin types can assist in the identification of weights bearing the same images; at this point the relation between identity and constant type which may also be called a *parasemon* is clear. Below the throne, there is an embossed Π with the shortened right bar, which stands for *pentemorion*, i.e. a fifth of a *mna*. The weight itself is fairly heavy and may contain lead. The comparison of this coin type and a similar representation on the weights reveals a slight difference in rendering the motif. Whereas on the coins the throne with a herm is depicted either in profile or facing, the weights invariably show the throne facing, while the herm is depicted in profile.

Lysimacheia (modern Bolayır), located on the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonese, is another city whose coins and weights will be discussed here.¹⁰ The city was founded by Lysimachos in around 309 BC and was named after him.¹¹ Lysimachos settled the people of neighbouring towns (particularly Kardìa)¹² at his new capital city. Nearly all coins of Lysimachos or Lysimacheia bear a representation of a lion, sometimes as a full figure (Fig. 6),¹³ and sometimes as a protome (Fig. 7)¹⁴ or a head. The Lysimacheian weights are usually square in shape and easy to identify, as they bear the city's *parasemon*, a lion figure, and an abbreviation of the city-ethnic (Λυσισμαχέων) as ΛΥΣΙ

10 For more information about the city, see Brodersen 1986 and Sayar 2007.

11 Strab. 7, frags. 51–52; Diod. Sic. 20.29.1.

12 Paus. 1.9.8.

13 Zeki Karaoğlu Collection, inv. no. 674.

14 Zeki Karaoğlu Collection, inv. no. 677.



Fig. 6 Lysimachos, AE, late 4th–early 3rd century BC (Zeki Karaoğlu Collection)



Fig. 7 Lysimachos, AE, late 4th–early 3rd century BC (Zeki Karaoğlu Collection)



Fig. 8 Miletos, drachm, 4th century BC (Zeki Karaoğlu Collection)



Fig. 9 Kardian, AE, 4th century BC (CN 3822)

or $\Lambda\Upsilon$. On the larger units, such as the *mna* and its multiples, the lion is depicted in full, whereas on smaller fractions, such as the *hemimnaion* and *tetarton*, it is represented by a protome. (However, it cannot be generalized.)

The story told by Pausanias is a reference to the relationship between Lysimachos and the lion in the past¹⁵ and tells us how Lysimachos beats the lion, demonstrating that he is stronger than the beast. As it seems, the origin of the Lysimacheian lion goes back to Miletos (Fig. 8),¹⁶ the mother-city of Kardian,¹⁷ from whence it was transferred to Kardian and then further on to Lysimacheia. As on the coins of Miletos (Fig. 8), the motif of a standing, backward-facing lion accompanied by a star in the field appears on the Kardian coins (Fig. 9).¹⁸ On the coins of Lysimachos or Lysimacheia, however, the lion (full figure or protome) is depicted mainly jumping (Fig. 6) or seated instead of standing with his head turned back. On the lead *mna* weights the lion is depicted as a full figure (Fig. 10),¹⁹ while on their fractions we see a protome (Fig. 11), with exceptions.²⁰

A similar pattern is also found on the coins. An interesting and rare variety of the Lysimacheian weights is represented by a type that shows a lion breaking a spear

15 Paus. 1.9.5.

16 Zeki Karaoğlu Collection, inv. no. 109.

17 Tzvetkova 2009, 41.

18 CN 3822.

19 Pera Museum, inv. no. PMA 1904 (= Tekin 2013, no. 2).

20 Çanakkale Museum, inv. no. 3076.



Fig. 10 Lysimacheia, lead weight, Hellenistic, 496.80 g (Pera Museum)



Fig. 11 Lysimacheia, lead weight, Hellenistic, 121.36 g (Çanakkale Museum)

held in his mouth.²¹ Also known on the coins of Kardia (Fig. 12),²² this motif does not, however, appear on the Lysimacheian coinage. A similar type is also recorded on other Macedonian coins—for example, on the coins of Perdikkas III,²³ Amyntas III,²⁴ and Kassandros.²⁵ In the later period, the type of a lion holding a spear in his mouth will also occur on the coins of some Italian cities, such as Mateola,²⁶ Venusia,²⁷ and Capua.²⁸ The fact that the type of a lion breaking a spear is unrecorded in the coinage of Lysimacheia makes it plausible that this motif on the city's weights might have come directly from Kardia.

Considering the types on the coins and weights of a city-state, there are a few remarks to be made. One of the questions that may arise is of what can be called a civic *parasemon* and what cannot. It appears that some *poleis* have only one civic badge throughout their history. In the Roman Imperial period, however, other local types related to the city in question may take over as a civic badge. This is the case on the coins and balance weights of many cities. This suggests that, in the different periods, some cities may have had different civic badges. If so, would it be justified

21 Gorny & Mosch 169, 448. Other than this specimen, there are two triangular lead examples with a lion breaking a spear, one in the Tekirdağ Museum (= Tekin 2014, no. 2) and the other in a private collection in Turkey.

22 CN 3541. For this type, see also Tzvetkova 2009, Type 1 (nos. 1–75).

23 Gorny & Mosch 200 (10.10.2011), 1399.

24 SNG Lockett 1399.

25 CNG, EA 265 (5.10.2011), 72.

26 CNG, Triton V (16.01.2002), 40.

27 CNG, Triton V (16.01.2002), 48.

28 CNG, Triton V (16.01.2002), 23.



Fig. 12 Kardis, AE, 4th century BC (CN 3541)

to call these different symbols *parasema*, or rather the most common types of the cities in question? Ainos is among the cities which used different types (or symbols) in different periods, or even in the same period. For example, what is in fact a civic badge of Ainos in the pre-Roman period? Is it the goat, the caduceus, or the throne with a herm, or, are they all *parasema* of Ainos? It seems that all three motifs were the predominant types of Ainos, and they can be viewed as the city's badges, too. But, it is impossible to establish what was a civic symbol of Ainos under the Roman Empire, as the local coins of this period are rare and were scarcely minted. Thus, Lysimacheia belongs to the cities which used their civic emblems throughout their history, although some cities may have had more than one civic badge and some cities preferred to use a different symbol or civic badge for their identity throughout their history.

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7 Local Identity Symbols in the Greek Coinage of Northern Dobrudja

Gabriel Mircea Talmăţchi

Abstract

The Greek colonization of the western Black Sea coast led to the establishment of a trade-economic partnership between the Greeks and indigenous communities. To attract the local population, some local identity symbols were adopted by the Greek colonists: so pre-monetary forms of money were produced by the Greek mints of the Dobrudjan coast. Some local borrowings can also be found in the shapes of burials, dwellings, pottery, etc. Each of these elements represents a specific aspect of complex Greek-barbarian relations, the intensity and character of which varied according to the historical evolution.

Keywords

Symbols, pre-monetary signs, coins, Greeks, Getai, Pontos Euxeinos

The colonization of the western Black Sea coast (Istro-Pontic space) resulted in the establishment of direct political and trade relations between the Greek and local communities. The nature and expressions of these relationships varied depending on time, from their debut to subsequent manifestations.

In the evolution of these relations, three distinct stages can be identified:

1. The search for collaboration and the initiation of exchange. This corresponds to the period of the Greek cultural supremacy (generally in the Archaic period);
2. Greek-native partnership (generally in the Classical and early Hellenistic periods); and
3. Getic military supremacy and political pressure (the later part of the Hellenistic period until the establishment of Roman hegemony in the area).

The activity of local mints, including the choice of monetary types with appropriate representations, also depended on the nature of these relationships. Sometimes, certain identity symbols originating in the native culture and adopted by Greeks in the early stages of contact can be identified.

Attracting the local population with trading partnerships was achieved through the adoption and assimilation of some Getic and Scythian themes. This was especially



Fig. 1 Small-size silver dolphin, discovered in the *chora* of Istros (not to scale).

characteristic of the Archaic period, roughly a few decades after the arrival of the first colonists of the western coast of the Black Sea. The pre-monetary forms of money were the first objects to reflect this idea of exchange.¹ They can primarily be found in two main shapes with other possible similar variants, namely the arrowhead-shaped (for example, on Berezan, in Olbia, Istros, Tomis, Apollonia, etc.) and the dolphin/fish-shaped (for example, on Berezan and in Olbia) (Fig. 1).² The former shape originates from the so-called Scythian-type projectile weapons. By breaking off their tips and occasionally filling their sockets with lead, the initial function of these weapons was changed. They are occasionally known from stray finds and hoards, where they appear together with similarly-shaped monetary signs that were specifically produced for commercial purposes (Fig. 2).³

Arrowheads turned into monetary signs have been recovered in excavations in the so-called Sacred Area of Istros (Fig. 3).⁴ These finds were stratigraphically associated with the late Archaic votive deposits consisting of small vessels (*olpai*, Korinthian *alabastra*, and Ionian cups), a silver Ionian-type spool, and a painted terracotta figurine of a bull with garlands on its horns.⁵ The arrowheads correspond to the so-called

1 Talmațchi 2010, 14.

2 Aricescu 1975, 23; Oberländer-Târnoveanu 1978, 147; Anochin 1986; Anochin 1989, 5–11; Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 1990, 38; Poenaru Bordea 2001, 9; Talmațchi 2001, 133; Balabanov 2005, 92; Oppermann 2007, 20–21; Topalov 2007, 725–726, 728; Talmațchi 2010, 28–29.

3 Talmațchi 2010, 81–99.

4 Avram 2010.

5 Birzescu 2014; Birzescu 2015.



Fig. 2 A hoard of arrowhead-shaped monetary signs discovered at Tomis.

Scythian type, but the projectiles of such shape are also well-attested in the Getic environment in the Istro-Pontic area.⁶

These finds provide crucial insight into the use of pre-monetary forms of money in Istros and also more generally. Due to lack of such finds in reliably dated archaeological contexts in Istros and Tomis, the arrowheads originally used for military purposes and consequently transformed into the means of exchange are considered to have occurred later than those moulded specifically as pre-monetary signs.⁷ The contexts discovered in the Sacred Area of Istros reverse the situation, since the arrowheads produced specifically as pre-monetary signs appear stratigraphically later. As mentioned above, such finds are known in the Scythian and Getic milieu, and their appearance inside the Sacred Area is of great importance for the colonizing Ionian Greek population, shedding light on the early contacts with the local population, at least from the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th century. The fact that they were discovered in an archaeological context that is reliably datable by pottery to the first half of the 6th century BC (the uppermost layer of the Sacred Area dates to the end of the 7th through the beginning of the 6th century BC) indicates an early stage of these

6 Talmațchi 2010, 75.

7 Mănuțu-Adameșteanu 1984, 19–20; Talmațchi 2010, 41.



Fig. 3 Early Archaic context in Sector 'Temple' at Istros. Arrowhead-shaped monetary sign in situ.

Greek-native relations. These local symbols, which were transformed by mutual interest, are in line with other cultural markers of local civilization assumed by the Greeks. Other indigenous elements that penetrated local Greek culture include some types of burial structures (tumuli),⁸ dwellings,⁹ and kitchen utensils (such as Getic handmade pottery).¹⁰ All these elements constitute important parts of a complex set of Greek-native relations, which involve various aspects of everyday life and experience, as well as religious practices.

An interesting example where an indigenous form is combined with a Greek design is offered by the arrowhead-shaped pre-monetary objects, one side of which bears the image of a wheel with four spokes – a design that is well known on the cast coins of Istros.¹¹ The Istrian production of these objects also seems to be supported by the distribution of the finds known to date, which includes the area of Plateau X inhabited in the Archaic period, as well as the nearby Greek and indigenous settlements in the *chora*.¹² The arrowheads with the wheel design may be regarded as transitional forms to Istros' cast round coins, the production of which had started in the early 5th century BC.¹³ It cannot be ruled out that, for a few years, they had circulated (and may even have been produced) simultaneously. Some rare varieties of the struck Istrian coins

8 Alexandrescu 1966, 133–294.

9 Rădulescu and Scorpan 1975, 27, 29–33.

10 Alexandrescu 2005.

11 Preda 1960, 21; Preda and Nubar 1973, 32; Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 1990, 44; Preda 1998, 61; Poenaru Bordea 2004, 32–33.

12 Talmațchi 2006, 38.

13 Poenaru Bordea 2001, 15.



Fig. 4 Istros. Didrachm of Group II.

with the wheel design could probably be dated to the middle and the second half of the 5th century BC,¹⁴ thus overlapping chronologically with the city's silver coins with two reversed heads.

This wheel design has been plausibly interpreted as a solar symbol.¹⁵ The wheel has a complex universal significance in most religions, regardless of the historical period or worshipping population. The solar symbols (solar discs) are also well known in Thracian-Getic art,¹⁶ and the wheel design on the coins of Istros may thus be an adoption of a symbol known in the local environment. The emergence of local silver coinage in Istros during the mid-5th century replaced the traditional semi-monetary trade models that had previously been employed (Fig. 4). Recent research suggests that the type with the two reversed heads can be associated with Apollo, at least concerning the first two monetary series.¹⁷ Given the existence of a well-developed slave trade in the area, it has also been argued that the two reversed heads may represent the 'Istrian' Getic slaves.¹⁸

After the 5th century, the west-Pontic monetary iconography is marked by the decreased presence of identity symbols that allude to the local population. The 4th century BC can be defined as a period of intensive Greek-native partnership, not only in the polis' territory, but also beyond. Istros became the most important provider of goods for the Getai in Wallachia, Moldavia, and even greater distances made accessible via waterways such as the Danube and other rivers.¹⁹ The city also held major economic influence throughout the north-western coast of the Euxine.²⁰ During this time, the city became the principal economic centre of the western-Pontic Greek world. While some of its products were intended for the domestic market, the majority was exported.²¹ This is also when the largest series of silver coins were minted. These

14 Talmăţchi 2002, 24; Preda 2003, 23.

15 Mitrea 1982, 92.

16 Mitrea 1984, 114; Sanie 1999, 168.

17 Panait-Bîrzescu, 2005, 218.

18 Hind 1992, 18; Hind 1994, 154.

19 Conovici 1980, 50; Teodor 1999, 93–94; Pippidi and Berciu 1965, 164; Preda 1972, 5.

20 Alexandrescu 1974, 215; Schönert-Geiss 1971, 106; Preda 1982, 22.

21 Descat 1994, 24.

coins were used in transactions with the indigenous Scythian, Getic, and Thracian population and did not circulate in the city's market or in its *chora*, as suggested by the distribution of finds.²² Most hoards found outside the polis territory contain as many as several hundred specimens.²³ Additionally, various types of bronze coins that feature deities such as Apollo, Demeter, and Helios, among others, were minted throughout the Hellenistic period.²⁴

In the Classical and early Hellenistic periods, other Greek cities of the western Black Sea coast, such as Kallatis (middle or the second half of the 4th century BC)²⁵ and Tomis (middle of the 3rd century BC),²⁶ also started producing their own coinage. The typology of the Kallatian silver coinage is dominated by representations of Heracles wearing a lion skin. In the period from the 3rd to the 1st century BC, the city also produced bronze coins of various types, which, among others, include representations of Apollo, Dionysus, Artemis, Heracles, Athena, Demeter, or their attributes.²⁷ The economy of this Doric colony flourished in the 3rd century and in the first half of the 2nd century BC, as suggested by the epigraphic evidence that testifies to commercial activities of a wide geographical range. The cultivation of cereals and the subsequent grain trade must have played a central role in the city's economy.²⁸ The inscriptions, which refer to a common land between Kallatis and Tomis,²⁹ suggest that after Lysimachos' death (281 BC) the city's territory continued to exist. Along with the cultivation of cereals, various crafts and a highly active trade in other goods must have also been an important source of revenue for the city.³⁰

Despite being founded in the second half of the 6th century BC, it seems that Tomis did not obtain the status of a polis until the middle of the 3rd century BC,³¹ becoming a politically stable and economically sustainable entity. A clear expression of its economic and financial independence, the city's coin production started in the middle of the 3rd century, making it independent of the Istrian monetary market. Bearing representations of Apollo, the Great God, Demeter, and other deities and their attributes, the coinage of Tomis continued until the 1st century BC, throughout the period of the city's autonomy.³²

22 Talmațchi 2006, 72, 88–118.

23 Poenaru Bordea 2004, 32–35; Talmațchi 2006, 37–39, 43–49; Munteanu 2013, 359–361.

24 Talmațchi 2011, 100–110.

25 Preda 1969, 14; Poenaru Bordea 1997, 61; cf. Preda 1998, 74.

26 Regling 1910, 590; Poenaru Bordea 1997, 62; Preda 1998, 83; Talmațchi 2011, 500.

27 Talmațchi 2011, 347–352.

28 Pippidi and Berciu 1965, 190–191.

29 Avram 1999, 437–438, no. 106.

30 Pippidi 1967, 51, 54.

31 Stoian 1962, 18; Talmațchi 1995, 23; Matei 1995, 183.

32 Talmațchi 2011, 437–441.



Fig. 5 Didrachm of Moskon issued in Dobrudja; 8.01 g.

Many coin types of Kallatis and Tomis, and primarily the silver coins of Istros, seem to have been regarded by the indigenous communities as status symbols. The trust in these coinages facilitated their role as a means of exchange in intercultural trade and thus contributed to the authority and prestige of these Greek cities. The following fact needs to be emphasized, though. In the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, the remarkable development of trade between the Greek colonies and the early centres of local power north and south of the Danube accompanied by close political relationship seem to have made the adoption of any symbolic elements characteristic of local identity no longer necessary.

This is also true for the west-Pontic bronze issues struck in the name of the Scythian kings of Dobrudja, the iconography of which features no local themes. Rather, these coins bear the images characteristic of the Greek mints in the area (Zeus, Apollo, Demeter, Kore, Hera, Heracles, Hermes, Helios, Dioscuri, and their attributes).³³ The same can be said about silver coins of King Moskon (Fig. 5), which are generally discovered north of the region and inspired by the Macedonian coinage.³⁴

In the late Hellenistic period, particularly in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, the life of the Greek colonies of the western Black Sea coast is marked by political, military, and economic instability. The situation was aggravated by the increasing political and military pressure exercised by the indigenous communities. The epigraphic documents testify to regular threats to the cities and their territories, such as piracy and plundering of the *chora*, as well as demands of a tribute. Given the role that agriculture played in the cities' economy, these developments must have been particularly painful for the local Greeks. Withstanding this situation required not only political solutions, such as entering various treaties and asking local sovereigns for protection, but also additional financial resources to pay tributes and hire mercenaries, as well as to strengthen their own military forces.³⁵ This 'climate of constant uncertainty

33 Preda 1964, 406; Preda and Nubar 1973, 182; Talmațchi and Andreescu 2008, 58; Draganov 2010, 30–31.

34 Preda 1964, 401–410; Ocheșeanu 1970, 125–129; Preda 1973, 180–182; Talmațchi 2008, 480–482.

35 Munteanu 2013, 367–368.

and tension³⁶ that resulted in an aversion of local Greeks towards their indigenous neighbours, which cemented over time, explains the exclusion of local motifs from the typology of Greek coinage. These processes were accompanied by a gradual decrease in monetary production. The crystallization of military aristocracy gave rise to the formation of powerful tribal unions with fortified administrative 'capitals'.³⁷ Similar processes can also be observed in Thrace, but, unlike the situation in the south (for instance, Mesembria's and Apollonia's relations with the Thracian kings³⁸), the relationships with the barbarian hinterland were rather hostile, which must have had a dramatic impact on the economies of the Greek poleis (see, for instance, the Istrian decrees in honour of Zalmodegikos and Agathokles, son of Antiphilos, etc.).³⁹ Another phenomenon that distinguishes the Greek cities of the Romanian Black Sea coast from the colonies situated further south is the absence or insignificant presence of Thracian names in Greek inscriptions discovered in northern Dobrudja (Kallatis, Tomis, etc.).⁴⁰ To withstand the barbarian pressure, the colonies will come, on their own initiative, under the protection of Mithridates VI Eupator, King of Pontos. This gradual, but inexorable reversal of relationship is characteristic of the Greek-barbarian contacts in the Hellenistic Age.

However, the dramatic change in intercultural relations in the area that resulted in the disappearance of all forms of interaction between the west-Pontic Greeks and any non-Greek political and military entity occurs with the arrival of Rome.

To sum up, at the early stage of the Greek-barbarian contacts, the indigenous communities emerged as potential trade partners and initiators of the primary economic, trade, and political relations. To attract the local population, the Greeks adopted and assimilated a wide variety of symbolic images pertinent to the local cultural identities. The first objects created in the spirit of these ideas were the pre-monetary forms of currency. To some extent, this phenomenon can also be observed on the coins produced by the Greek mints of northern Dobrudja. Gradually, the true value of coinage as a means of exchange and a status symbol was appreciated by the indigenous population. Accordingly, the early and somewhat unstable relationships unfolded into a close partnership based on solid foundations.

Yet the balance of power between the Greeks and the barbarians changed gradually to the detriment of the Greeks. In the later part of the Hellenistic period, the native population reached a level of social and political organization that was sufficiently advanced to become a military force, taking over the role of protector of the Greek

³⁶ Ruscu 2013, 17.

³⁷ Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1978, 137–138; Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1995, 130–131.

³⁸ Ruscu 2013, 18–19.

³⁹ Pippidi 1963, 150.

⁴⁰ Ruscu 2013, 22.

colonies. Also economically, it became capable enough to sustain this power zone. The formation and strengthening of the second Iron Age civilization within the Getic society positively impacted the economic, social, and military situation in the region. In this new context, the Greek mints seem to have deliberately avoided the use of 'barbaric' iconographic themes (religious or otherwise) on their coinage. From then on, the coins bore the images referring to the issuing authorities, local Greek myths, or economic activities.

Evidently, most of our work explains the absence rather than the presence of the symbols of indigenous identity on the coins of Istros, Kallatis, and Tomis minted in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Finding a plausible answer to the above questions is unthinkable without a careful scrutiny of the entire body of evidence pertinent to the Greek-non-Greek relationship in northern Dobrudja.

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8 Ambiguities in Monetary Authority: the Archaic Coinages of the Thracian Chersonese

Peter G. van Alfen

Abstract

This paper reexamines the various series of archaic coinages that have been attributed to the Thracian Chersonese. In addition, the ambiguities of the monetary authority exercised by the Athenian tyrants who were in nominal control of the Chersonese is explored, especially vis-à-vis the political authority in Athens.

Keywords

Thracian Chersonese, Athens, monetary authority, political economy, tyranny, Miltiades the Elder, Miltiades the Younger, Stesagoras, Peisistratos

At some point in the 540s BC, the Athenian eupatrid Miltiades, son of Kypselos, was invited by the Dolonkoi to the Thracian Chersonese to help them in their ongoing struggles against another group of Thracians, the Apsinthians. Herodotus tells us that Miltiades' interest was piqued, in no small part because he was tired of his own struggles with the Athenian tyrant Peisistratos, so first sought approval for the venture from the oracle at Delphoi, then assembled a contingent of Athenian volunteers, and finally set out for a new life in Thrace.¹ There he 'took possession of the land',² oversaw the construction of a wall stretching 7 km across the peninsula effectively sealing it off from the marauding Apsinthians to the north, and probably (re)founded (new) settlements, including one along the wall called Agora (or Chersonesos).³ In doing so, he created a safe haven for the Dolonkoi, as well as for the preexisting Greek settlements established by earlier colonizers from Athens, Miletos, and Klazomenai.

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1 Herodotus (4.137, 6.34–41, 102–104, 140) is our primary literary source for the Philaids in the Chersonese. See also Paus. 6.19.6 for a dedication set up in the name of the Chersonesitans. For the date of the departure to the Chersonese, see Davies 1971, 299–300. A good amount of attention has been paid to the activities of the Athenians in the archaic Chersonese by modern historians; see Berve 1937 and Berve 1967, 79–85; Davies 1971, 299–311 and Davies 2013; Ehrenberg 1946; Figueira 1991, 131–214 and Figueira 2006; Graham 1999[1964], 192–196; Kahrstedt 1954; Isaac 1986, 159–180; Scott 2005; Tzvetkova 2008; Kallet 2013; Loukopoulou 1989 and Loukopoulou 2004.

2 Hdt. 6.36: καὶ ἔσχε τὴν χώραν καὶ μὴ οἱ ἔπαγαγόμενοι τύραννον κατεστήσαντο.

3 For succinct overviews of Philaid activities in the Chersonese and the sources, see Isaac 1986, 159–176 and Loukopoulou 2004; on Agora-Chersonesos, see Loukopoulou 2004, 905; Tzvetkova 2008, 270–271.

Miltiades subsequently became some sort of ruler over some sort of political entity. Ancient sources describe him as a ‘tyrant’; modern commentators are not sure how best to describe him.⁴ This ambiguity is due in part to a lack of a clear understanding of what it was he ruled over in the first place. It seems that his rule extended beyond just Agora and included nearly a dozen other communities both native and Greek (cf. Hdt. 6.39). Herodotus (6.38) describes it simply as an ἀρχή; among recent historians there is little consensus about the nature of this *archê*, or its extent across the peninsula.⁵

Miltiades’ conception of his rule clearly included a hereditary component. Dying childless in the mid-520s, he left both his *archê* and *chrêmata*, which probably included his property in Attic Lakiadai,⁶ to his nephew, Stesagoras, son of Kimon. Stesagoras subsequently took up the mantle in Chersonese and celebrated his uncle with a hero cult and games (Hdt. 6.38). Like his uncle’s, his rule was also marked by conflict, notably with Lampsakos, and by internal political strife. Upon Stesagoras’ assassination c. 515 everything then reverted to his brother, Miltiades, son of Kimon,⁷ the future hero of Marathon, who was then living in Athens where he had served as archon in 525/4. Peisistratos’ son, Hippias, now tyrant of Athens, encouraged Miltiades II to sail north to claim his inheritance, lending (?) him a trireme for the voyage. He was not, however, welcomed with open arms; through a combination of ruse, threatened violence, and a marriage alliance with the Thracian king Oloros, he did at last manage to regain control over the hereditary domain (Hdt. 6.39–41). With one foot in the Chersonese and another in Athens, Miltiades’ career thereafter was one equally of great heights and devastating lows; he died in 489 of a gangrenous wound gotten during a failed attempt to take Paros and owing a fine to the Athenian democracy of 50 talents, a massive, unprecedented sum, one that only a state might afford to pay, or a man possessing state-like wealth. His family’s claim to the Thracian *archê* died along with him and for a number of decades thereafter the Chersonese

4 ‘Tyrant’: Hdt. 6.34, 36; Ehrenberg 1946, 118, 136: ‘princely dynast’; ‘lordly dynast’; Kahrstedt 1954, 6: ‘Stammeshaupt’; Hammond 1956, 122: ‘native ruler’; Isaac 1986, 173: ‘absolute ruler’; Loukopoulou 1989, 71: ‘chef tribal’; Serrati 2013, 321: ‘warlord’. Note too that Berve 1967, 81 attempts to outline a change in the nature of Philaid rule, first as type of ‘leadership’ (*Führerschaft*) over the native Thracians that ultimately became a pure tyranny.

5 *What was it?:* Babelon 1907, 1225: ‘petite royaume’; Davies 1971: a ‘colony’ with an ‘unformulable juridicial position’; Figueira 1991, 134 and Figueira 2006, 430: ‘political entity’; Hall 2007, 172: ‘feifdom’; Isaac 1986, 171: ‘principality’; Kraay 1976: ‘small kingdom’; Loukopoulou 2004, 901: ‘political entity’; Scott 2005, 153: ‘balliwick’; Tzvetkova 2008, 293: ‘state of the Philaids’; *Its nature:* Davies 1971, 311: ‘personal and inheritable property of the family’?; Ehrenberg 1946, 123: ‘federation’?; Figueira 1991, 135: ‘mixed polity ... single dynastic state’; Isaac 1986, 178: ‘something less than a unified state’; *Its extent:* Davies 2013: ‘all or most of the Gallipoli peninsula’; Loukopoulou 2004, 900: ‘the entire peninsula’. Cf. Kahrstedt 1954, 7. But, cp. Scott 2005, 153–154, who is more circumspect noting that Sestos appears to have remained independent throughout.

6 Scott 2005, 175; cf. Davies 1971, 310–311.

7 For the sake of simplicity here, henceforth I shall refer to Miltiades son of Kypselos as ‘Miltiades I’, and Miltiades son of Kimon as ‘Miltiades II’. For more on the Philaid and Kimonid family, see Davies 1971, 299–311.

appears to have been in Persian hands.⁸ The Persians, in fact, probably exercised some control over the Chersonese even earlier. In 513, Miltiades II was one of several tyrants helping to guard a bridge over the Istros (Danube) for the Persian King Darius, who eventually returned to Asia Minor after his Thracian campaign via Sestos and left behind Megabazos with an army of 80,000 men to ensure the subjugation of the Hellespont and coastal Thrace (Hdt. 4.137, 143–144).

Beginning at some point after Miltiades I's arrival, those in the Chersonese began to produce coins and they probably continued to do so for a while after the demise of Miltiades II. At least one series of coins has been attributed to Miltiades II, but identifying coins linked to Miltiades I or Stesagoras proves more difficult. At the same time, the political lineage of other coins likely produced in the archaic Chersonese is less than clear; did the native Thracians and earlier Greek settlers, for example, produce their own coinages independently? What role did the Persians play in the production of coinage?

While the problems of Philaid rule and the coinages of the Chersonese have received a great deal of attention, little has been said about the relationship between the structure and nature of political power and the production of coinage there. The Thracian Chersonese, in fact, offers an important case study for exploring this relationship in the Archaic period. Scholars of ancient coinage generally assume that only 'the State' produced coins, that this State possessed a monopoly or right to coin that excluded private and other producers. As I have argued elsewhere, this model of coin production is based both on modern conceptions of a powerful and socially distant State, an entity whose otherness is indicated by a capital 'S' or scare quotes or both ('State'), and on the way that modern nation states typically organize the production of their monetary instruments.⁹ Although parallels for this model can be found in antiquity, it is not always fully applicable, particularly in the Archaic period, when the state powers of many poleis were arguably far from fully fledged, let alone in some cases fully hatched. Political power in the Archaic period was often quite fluid, flexible, and personal, not yet fully and impersonally institutionalized or buried within state institutions.¹⁰ At the same time many archaic communities were also caught in hierarchical power relationships with other poleis or foreign superpowers, such as the Persians, which added additional layers and potential problems to the

8 Plut. *Cim.* 9.3–6, 14.1; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 1.34.2; Balcer 1988; Tzvetkova 2008, 294–295; Vassileva 2015, 324.

9 Alfen 2020.

10 Note, for example, that while recounting the tale of Miltiades I, Herodotus (6.35) indicates that while Miltiades was a powerful man (*ἔδυνάστευε*), it was Peisistratos who held all the power (*εἶχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος*), despite the fact that Athens still had a government that included an assembly and magistrates where sovereign power would presumably otherwise reside.

authorization of coin production.¹¹ Thus we can expect to find examples of fluidity and ambiguity in archaic monetary authority confounding our expectations of the relationship between power and coin production.¹² My concern here is to explore these ambiguities of power in the case of the archaic Chersonese, but to do so we first need to identify the coinages produced there between c. 540 and 480 BC.

The Coins

Since the 19th century, over a dozen different series of coins have been attributed to the archaic Chersonese. All such attributions remain plausible to some greater or lesser degree. In the interest of providing a comprehensive summary, I have catalogued the series below along with a list of examples arranged by dies.¹³ A discussion of the attributions and their problems follows each series, followed at the end of the section by a summarizing overview. The series are divided into two groups, those struck according to what appears to be the Euboic weight standard, and those struck to another, indeterminate weight standard.

Euboic Weight Standard

Type A: Facing Quadriga and Horsemen

A.1. AR stater

Obv.: Facing quadriga within linear border

Rev.: Mill sail incuse with four wings

1. O₁/R₁

*a. 16.76 g | London, BM: Weber Coll. 1897; Seltman 1924, 218, no. 482; Head 1911, 208; Babelon 1907, no. 1250; Alfen 2009, 144, C

11 See Hansen 2004, for the types of hierarchical power relationships between poleis and with the Persians.

12 See, for example, Alfen 2014, wherein I look at problems of archaic monetary authority in the case of two divided communities (Teos-Abdera and Phokaia-Velia) that still maintained close economic, political, and social ties after their split.

13 In compiling these lists, I have consulted an unpublished paper by Bolmarchich 2005 written for the 2005 American Numismatic Society (ANS) summer graduate seminar, the ANS' card file of early 20th century auctions, coinarchives.com, the online databases of the major collections, and the print publications of various collections. Even so, I have not exhausted all possible sources. These lists were compiled with the intention of assembling a representative sample of the coinages in order to gain a basic understanding of the weight standard in use and the relative size of the coinage. One series is not included here, however. Head 1911, 258 notes a series of tiny silver coins he attributes to Aigospotamoi featuring a head of a goat and double lozenge-type incuse on the reverse (see below). He notes that examples are in the British Museum; I have not been able to locate images or further information on these coins specifically. However, he may be referring to a series of 1/12 staters generally attributed to Kebren featuring the head of a ram on the obverse, many of which have a double lozenge reverse (e.g., ANS 1944.100.43817). More work on this series, and confirmation of its attribution, is needed.

A.2. AR stater

Obv.: Diademed beardless head to l.

Rev.: Facing quadriga within shallow incuse square

2. O₁/R₁

*a. 12.78 g | ANS 2008.39.77; Alfen 2009, 142, no. 2

b. 15.69 g | London, BM: Weber Coll. 1901; Seltman 1924, 137–139

A.3: AR 1/3 stater?

Obv.: Rider on facing horse leading another facing horse without rider; the whole on a round shield

Rev.: Rough incuse square, diagonally divided into four parts

3. O₁/R₁

*a. 5.56 g | London, BM: Alfen 2009, p. 143, B

b. 5.60 g | London, BM: Weber Coll. 1898; Alfen 2009, 143, B, note 16

c. 5.67 g | Lanz 111 (25 Nov. 2002), 113; Alfen 2009, 143, B, note 16

A.4: AR 1/6 stater

Obv.: Facing horse with rider

Rev.: Rough incuse square

4. O₁/R₁

a. 2.45 g | Babelon 1907, no. 1833; Alfen 2009, 143, A

*b. 2.80 g | London, BM: Alfen 2009, p. 143, A

A.5: AR 1/6 stater

Obv.: Rider facing with legs almost at right angles from the body of rider and horse. Horse's head to r.

Rev.: Incuse square, diagonally divided into four parts

5. O₁/R₁

*a. 2.80 g | London, BM: Weber Coll. 1899; Alfen 2009, 144, D

b. 2.82 g | Naville (4. April 1921; Pozzi Coll.), 743; Alfen 2009, 144, D

The attributions of A.1–5 to the Thracian Chersonese are the least secure of the series listed here. Based on the unusual facing horse types and the presumed Euboic(-Attic) weight standard, commentators since the 19th century have been keen to group the coins together and to place them within a general Euboean or Attic milieu. Seltman (1924) was the first to suggest that they were minted in the Thracian Chersonese

under the Philaids, linking the horse types to Miltiades I's equestrian victories; more recent commentators have suggested the coins were produced in Euboeia, based in part on finds there. In a recent review of the attributions of these coins, I was skeptical, and remain so, that these can be attributed convincingly to the Chersonese under the Philaids, a conclusion based, among other things, on the style of the reverse incuse types.¹⁴ The mill-sail type reverse of no. 1, and the X-type reverse of nos. 3 and 5, for example, appear to be characteristics of coins minted farther to the west.¹⁵ What is completely lacking among this group of coins is the reverse type that I call here, for the sake of simplicity, the 'double lozenge' incuse type, examples of which can be found among all the other series catalogued here, with the exception of the double-sided coins. This reverse type is one of the defining characteristics of coins likely produced in the Thracian Chersonese, as well in locales in and around the Hellespont and the Sea of Marmara.¹⁶ In the 4th century BC an evolved double lozenge type was employed for a vast series of silver hemidrachms (?) produced in Kardia,¹⁷ but for the earlier series, such as D.2 below, we find a mix of reverse types, which include the double lozenge, the quadripartite 'window pane' reverse, common among many northern Aegean mints, as well as rougher, less well defined incuse punches. This suggests that there was a period of evolution before the double lozenge reverse type became fixed.

Type B: Pegasus (and Bellerophon)

B.1.a: AR stater

Obv.: Pegasus r. in flight, floral motif to l.

Rev.: Quadripartite incuse square

6. O₁/R₁

*a. 16.83 g | ANS 1960.176.8: SNG BYB 499

7. O₂/R₂

*b. 16.87 g | Sternberg 24 (19 Nov. 1990), 55; Liampi 2005, E1

B.1.b: AR ½ stater

8. O₁/R₁

*a. 7.8 g | ANS 1967.152.179: SNG ANS 7.1, 759; Liampi 2005, E2

¹⁴ Alfen 2009; cf. Alfen 2015.

¹⁵ These types of reverses and their association with Athenian or Euboean minting in and around the Chalcidice are discussed in Alfen 2015.

¹⁶ Babelon 1907, 1232; Head 1911, 258 notes the 'incuse reverse of the Chersonesian pattern,' i.e. the double lozenge.

¹⁷ These so-called hemidrachms of c. 2.5 g feature a lion protome on the obverse with head reverted. On the evolved double lozenge reverse there are symbols and letters in the two sunken lozenges. See, for example, <http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.16535>.

B.1.c: AR 1/12 stater

9. O₁/R₁

*a. 1.04 g | Alpha Bank 6385; Liampi 2005, E3

B.2.a: AR stater

Obv.: Bellerophon riding Pegasus r. in flight, X on neck

Rev.: Quadripartite incuse or double lozenge

10. O₁/R₁

*a. 16.75 g | Babelon 1907, no. 1804

11. O₁/R₂

*a. 16.35 g | CNG Triton VIII (11 Jan. 2005), 246 (X on neck)

B.2.b: AR 1/6 stater (or 1/2 drachm?)

12. O₁/R₁

*a. 2.19 g | Babelon 1907, no. 1805

*b. 2.16 g | Babelon 1907, no. 633 (Lampsakos)

Laiampi's recent attempt to attribute the Pegasus types B.1.a–c to Argilos remains unconvincing both for stylistic reasons and for the odd short-lived Euboic-weight interlude that these coins would represent at Argilos.¹⁸ The floral motif on the obverse of no. 6 and the window-pane quadripartite reverse type indicate that these coins were produced within a Thracio-Macedonian context, perhaps in the Thracian Chersonese as suggested for no. 6 in SNG Burton Y. Berry (no. 499) based on parallels with no. 10. Indeed, the Pegasi of nos. 6 and 10 are strikingly similar both in their rendering of the winged horse and its pose. With the Bellerophon type, B.2.a, we move to slightly firmer ground. Babelon's (1907) attribution to the Chersonese was based on the double lozenge reverse type found on no. 10; the recent appearance of no. 11, which appears to have the same obverse die as no. 10 but now with an 'X' (for Χερρονησίωv, Χερσονησίωv, or Χερσονησιτέωv?) inscribed on the neck of the creature that might confirm the attribution. Based again on the double lozenge reverse type, as well as stylistic parallels on the obverses, Babelon proposed as well that B.2.b was part of the same series as B.2.a. There is, however, a great deal of confusion with these smaller coins since they also share some stylistic parallels with the earliest silver issues

18 Liampi 2005, 166–169; see also Fischer-Bossert 2007. All other types of Argilos show Pegasus standing, or perhaps walking; these coins, by contrast, show Pegasus in flight. Also, all other coins minted at Argilos were struck on the 'reduced Thracio-Macedonian' standard; Liampi 2005, 242.

of Lampsakos; Babelon himself listed an example (here no. 12b) under Lampsakos. However, in their studies of the early coins of Lampsakos, both Brett and Gaebler expressed doubts that no.12b was issued by the Mysian polis.¹⁹ For all these early scholars the weights of nos. 12a–b were problematic since they were far too low to be 1/6 staters from Lampsakos, but seemed closer to a 1/2 drachm in the Euboic system.²⁰ This 1/2-drachm denomination would be unusual for the Chersonese since no other coin listed here was struck to this weight.

The prevalence of the winged-horse (protome) as a type on the coinages of several mints in Mysia across the Hellespont from the Chersonese, notably Skepsis, Adramyteion, and the earliest issues of Lampsakos in the late 6th century, is suggestive of a connection, but of what type exactly is difficult to say.²¹ Given the state of war that existed between Miltiades I and Lampsakos especially, it seems rather unlikely that either of these producers would be particularly keen to adopt the types of their rival. The Pegasus-Bellerophon types might then allude to the Corinthian connections of Miltiades I's family on his father Kypselos' side.²² If so, the type was a personal symbol of the tyrant rather than a symbol of the Chersonesitan collective.

Type C: Mounted Rider

C.1: AR 1/6 stater

Obv.: Mounted rider to r., hurling spear *Rev.*: Quadripartite incuse or double lozenge

13. O1/R1

*a. 2.61 g | ANS 1983.51.64: SNG ANS 7.1, 1014

*b. 2.72 g | Paris: Babelon 1907, no. 1488 (Thrace uncertain)

*c. 2.91 g | Alpha Bank 7274

14. O1/R2

*a. 2.63 g | Spink 14005 (25 June 2014), 87

19 Baldwin 1914, 19, note 1: 'The coin no. 633 ... seems scarcely to belong to this system. The style and size of the obverse types as compared with the tetrobols and diobols are against its attribution to Lampsakos, which is noted in the *Traité* as uncertain ... Probably also the silver coins bearing the winged half-horse r., beneath which is an ear of wheat (Six 1894, pl. XIII.8) should not be included. They may belong to Adramyteion ..., or to Iolla, although no other coins of these cities are known, earlier than the middle of the Fourth Century, B.C.' Cf. Gaebler 1923, 4.

20 Babelon 1907, no. 633.

21 Tekin 2017 weighs in on the identification of this creature appearing on the earliest Mysian coins, arguing it is a winged horse protome, not a hippalectryon as sometimes suggested. I thank Tekin for sending me a draft of this paper.

22 Davies 1971, 295–298.

15. O₁/R₃
 *a. 2.62 g | SNG Fitzwilliam, Leake and General Coll. 1688

16. O₁/R₄
 *a. 2.68 g | Pecunem/Naumann 23 (5 Oct. 2014), 161

C.2: AR 1/6 stater

Obv.: Mounted rider to r. (or l.) carrying two spears²³

Rev.: Quadripartite incuse or double lozenge

17. O₁/R₁
 a. 2.75 g | Boston, MFA 04.697: Warren Coll. 1393
 *b. 2.70 g | Paris: Babelon 1907, no. 1487 (Thrace uncertain)
 *c. 2.65 g | Munich: Svoronos 1919, p. 109, no. 22.b
 d. 2.45 g | Hess (18 Feb. 1936), 553

18. O₁/R₂
 a. 2.65 g | Glendining (7–8 March 1957), 59
 *b. 2.69 g | Alpha Bank 7270

19. O₁/R₃
 *a. 2.74 g | Alpha Bank 7273
 b. 2.70 g | Berlin: Seltman 1924, p. 220, pl. XXIV, ε

20. O₁/R₄
 *a. 2.36 g | Alpha Bank 7271

21. O₂/R₅
 a. 2.55 g | Berlin: Seltman 1924, p. 220, pl. XXIV, ζ
 b. 2.57 g | Berlin: Seltman 1924, p. 220

22. O₃/R₆
 *a. 2.44 g | Alpha Bank 7272

23. O₄/R₇
 *a. 2.69 g | Alpha Bank 7275
 b. 2.60 g | SNG Fitzwilliam, Leake and General Coll. 1689

C.3.a: AR 1/12 stater

Obv.: Mounted rider to r. carrying spear(s)?

²³ I have listed here as well a possible variation, no. 23, with the youth on horseback to left.

Rev.: Non-bearded figure (Dionysus?) to r. wearing alopekis cap; behind, thyrsus (?);
above: XEP

Without XEP legend

24. O1/R1

*a. 1.25 g | ANS 1944.100.10673: SNG ANS 7.1, 696

25. O2/R2

*a. 1.30 g | Imhoof-Blumer 1883, p. 461, no. 11, pl. J, 19

26. O?/R?

a. 1.20 g | SNG Cop 316, Potidaia? (ex van Lennep 1897, found on Imbros)

b. 1.25 g | London: BMC Macedonia, p. 100, no. 8; Babelon 1907, no. 1646

c. 1.09 g | Alexander 1953, p. 212, no. 2; Hirsch XIII (15 May 1905),
447, pl. 14

With XEP legend

27. O3/R3

*a. 1.29 g | ANS 1982.15.15: SNG ANS 7.1, 698 (Potidaia); Rosen Coll. 108

b. 1.06 g | CNG E-239 (25 Aug. 2010), 40

c. 0.98 g | Solidus 7 (15 Nov. 2015), 41

28. O?/R?

a. 1.31 g | London: BMC Macedonia, p. 100, no. 7; Babelon 1907, no. 1645

C.3.b AR 1/48 stater

Rev.: legend XEP

29. O1/R1

*a. 0.38 g | SNG Milano VI.1, 590 (Potidaia)

A type frequently associated with Macedonia and Thrace, the mounted rider type, often perhaps erroneously referred to as the 'Thracian rider', alone provides no clue as to where precisely these coins were struck, or if this type requires a close association with native Thracians rather than Greek immigrants.²⁴ Babelon could not commit to an attribution for types C.1 and C.2; Svoronos thought they were struck by the Bisaltai; Seltman, on the other hand, pointed to the Thracian Chersonese, arguing

24 For the significance of the mounted rider type across the region, see most recently Greenwalt 2015, 341, who suggests it may represent a 'religious/mythological figure.' It is important to note that monumental and funerary depictions of the 'Thracian rider' first appear only in the Hellenistic period. Cf. Dimitrova 2002.

that these were part of the same series as type H (below).²⁵ Stylistically, types C.2 and H are similar – notably in the stance of the horse, the two spears carried upright, and the indeterminate sex of the rider. The weights of C.1 and C.2, however, align closely with those of D.2.a and E.1.a below so would appear to have been struck on the same (Euboic?) standard.

Type C.3 has long been attributed to Potidaia. Alan Johnston, however, noted that the inscription on no. 27a must read XEP (for Χερρονησίων, Χερσονησίων, or Χερσονησιτέων) and so must be an issue of the Thracian Chersonese.²⁶ A better preserved example of the inscribed type (no. 27c) recently appeared, which also makes it clear that the rider on the obverse carries no trident and that the reverse has a figure wearing a Thracian alopekis cap and a vegetal symbol of some sort in the left field. This symbol has been described as both a mace and a palm frond, but might in fact be a thyrsus, thus making the figure Dionysus.²⁷ Despite the basic similarities, this then is not a coinage of Potidaia.²⁸ An uninscribed example, no. 26, was also found on Imbros, where a later 4th-century coin struck in the Chersonese was also found.²⁹

Type D: Lion, head reverted

D.1: AR stater

Obv.: Lion standing to r., l. paw raised, head reverted

Rev.: Helmeted head of Athena to l. or r., XEP

Without XEP legend:

30. O1/R1

*a. 16.21 g | *Numismatica Genevensis* (14 Dec. 2015), 32; Stack's (14 Jan. 2008), 2162; CNG Triton VIII (11 Jan. 2005), 247

31. O1/R2

a. 16.76 g | Berlin, IKMK 18242608: Babelon 1907, no. 1798³⁰

*b. 15.52 g | NAC 54 (24 March 2010), 92

c. 17.07 g | Hess (12 March 1906), 113; Naville (4 April 1921; Pozzi Coll.), 1101;

25 Babelon 1907, nos. 1487–1488; Svoronos 1919, 109; Seltman 1924, 140–141.

26 Johnston 1986, 258.

27 Massue: Imhoof-Blumer 1883, 461, no. 11; palm frond: *Solidus* 7 (15 Nov. 2015), 41; I thank Ute Wartenberg Kagan for the suggestion that this might, in fact, be a thyrsus.

28 Indeed, in his study of the coinage of Potidaia, Alexander 1953, 212, already suspected there was something different about these coins: 'The question presents itself whether we are not dealing here with a representation of a different personality ... What does the new figure represent?'

29 Waggoner 1983, no. 135.

30 The coin illustrated for Babelon 1907, no. 1798, pl. VII, no. 15, is Berlin, IKMK 18242608, no. 31a here, which weighs 16.76 g, not 17.10 g as indicated by Babelon, which could be no. 31c here.

SNG Lockett 1179; Seltman 1924, p. 220, no. 488b; Glendining (12 Feb. 1958), 1095; SNG Ashmolean 3584

32. O1/R3
a. 16.83 g | London, BM 1919.0911.11: Weber Coll. 2400; Seltman 1924, p. 220, no. 489a
*b. 16.55 g | Paris, BnF 1966.453.812: Naville (4 April 1921; Pozzi Coll.), 1100; SNG BnF Delepierre 812
33. O2/R4
*a. 15.64 g | Alpha Bank 7277
b. 16.40 g | Collection de Hirsch 897; Babelon 1907, no. 1798
34. O3/R5
*a. 16.66 g | M&M 31 (23 Oct. 2009), 15

With XEP legend:

35. O4/R6
*a. 16.40 g | Alpha Bank 7278
b. 16.25 g³¹ | Paris, BnF 1540: Babelon 1907, no. 1797; Seltman 1924, p. 220, no. 487a
c. 16.37 g | M&M AG Basel (18–19 June 1970), 45

D.2.a: AR 1/6 stater

Obv.: Lion protome to r., head reverted

Rev.: Quadripartite incuse or double lozenge

36. O1/R1
*a. 2.70 g | Weber Coll. 2402; SNG BnF Delepierre 811
37. O1/R2
*a. 2.67 g | Seltman, 1924, p. 220, pl. XXIV, η (Cambridge)
38. O2/R3
*a. 2.60 g | Hirsch (12 Dec. 1961), 420a
39. O3/R?
*a. 2.40 g | Imhoof-Blumer 1876, p. 278 note 5, pl. VI, 9 (obv.); Babelon 1907, no. 1799

31 Babelon 1907, no. 1797 and Six 1885a, no. 1, both record the weight of this coin as 16.30 g. The online catalogue of the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, however, has it as 16.25 g (<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8587661f>).

40. O₄/R?

*a. 2.42 g | Imhoof-Blumer 1876, p. 278 note 5, pl. VI, 10 (obv.)

41. O[?]/R?

a. 2.93 g | Weber Coll. 2401

D.2.b: AR 1/12 stater

42. O₁/R₁

*a. 1.24 g | Alpha Bank 7281

43. O₂/R₂

*a. 1.07 g | CNG E-227 (10 Febr. 2010), 19

44. O₃/R₃

*a. 1.12 g | ANS 1960.176.9; SNG BYB 500

45. O[?]/R?

a. 1.05 g | SNG Dreer/Klagenfurt 105

b. 1.01 g | Calico-A.N.E. 3 (11–13, March 1975), 128

c. 1.15 g | London, BM G.363

D.2.c: AR 1/48 stater

46. O₁/R₁

*a. 0.32 g | CNG E-306 (10 July 2013), 23

b. 0.34 g | Roma 4 (30 Sept. 2012), 36

47. O₂/R₂

*a. 0.37 g | Pecunem/Naumann 30 (5 April 2015), 36

48. O[?]/R?

a. 0.22 g | London, BM RPK,p97G.2.Car

b. 0.34 g | London, BM 1894,0505.26

c. 0.34 g | London, BM RPK,p97G.1.Car

Few have doubted the attribution of D.1 to the Chersonese.³² The Milesian lion on the obverse probably refers to the earlier Milesian settlers of Kardia, while the Athena

32 Series D.1 is the focus of a forthcoming study by Gil Davis and Kenneth Sheedy Davis and Sheedy 2019, who argue that the coinage was not produced under Miltiades II, but rather was struck during the Persian occupation of the Chersonese in the early 5th century. I thank both authors for allowing me to see an early draft of their paper. The arrangement of the dies for D.1 presented here is based on their die observations.

on the reverse is perhaps a nod to the Athenians.³³ The inscription, XEP, found on one variant seals the attribution, but problems remain in understanding whether the inscription refers to the Chersonese in toto as a collective polity or to the denizens of the (presumed) seat of government, Agora-Chersonesos.³⁴ Also problematic is the date of the coinage. It has long been assumed that the coins were issued by Miltiades II in part because the fully developed reverse type of this coinage parallels that of the Athenian owl; D.1 must then postdate the introduction of the owls c. 515 BC and thus to a time when Miltiades II was ruling the Chersonese. More recently, however, Gil Davis and Kenneth Sheedy have argued for downdating this series to the time of the Persian occupation of the Chersonese after 493.

As with D.1, few have questioned the attribution of D.2 to the Chersonese, due to the massive coinage produced in Kardia (?) in the 4th century with similar, but stylistically more developed reverted-lion/double-lozenge types. This later coinage was produced in only a single denomination of c. 2.50 g, which appears to be a different standard than the Euboic 1/6 staters of D.2.³⁵ Dating D.2 has proven difficult. With its much simpler and more archaic reverse punches than the 4th century types, D.2 was probably produced earlier, perhaps much earlier if D.1 and D.2 were issued at roughly the same time and can be construed as component parts of the same series, as the obverse types might suggest.³⁶ If this is correct, another problem arises. At roughly the same moment c. 500 BC, Skione in the Chalcidice was also producing a series of Euboic 1/6, 1/12, and probably 1/24 staters that likewise featured a lion forepart with head reverted and a quadripartite incuse reverse. Some coins in this series are inscribed with an ethnic assuring the attribution.³⁷ For the uninscribed types, however, there is little to guide one from separating the coins probably minted in the Chersonese from those probably minted in the Chalcidice. For Skione, the most telling attribute, it would seem, is the truncation of the lion's body, which, following the inscribed examples, typically has a line of dots (rivets?). By contrast, based on features of the lions found on 4th century issues, those from the Chersonese have no

33 This 'nod', as Davis and Sheedy 2019 note, is questionable, however. Also, it is worth considering the fact that a similar helmeted Athena appears on the reverse of a series of coins struck perhaps contemporaneously at Lampsakos (Janiform obv./Athena rev.). What connection, if any, there might have been in the adoption of this iconography on both sides of the Hellespont is open to question.

34 The problem is summarized by Davis and Sheedy 2019; see also Babelon 1907, 1223–1228; Kahrstedt 1954, 8–9; Tzvetkova 2000, 434–435; Loukopoulou 2004, 901.

35 The dating of this latter series is based on hoard finds; see Le Rider 1963, 53–54.

36 Babelon 1907, 1230, suggested that D.2 was produced after Kimon recaptured the Chersonese in 466.

37 E.g., SNG ANS 7.1, 719 (= ANS 1960.170.75) (as Skithai).

elaborated truncation, the lion's body appears more elongated, and the mane less frizzled.³⁸

Type E: Lion Head

E.1.a: AR 1/6 stater

Obv.: Lion head to l., mouth open wide

Rev.: Quadripartite incuse or double lozenge

49. O1/R1

*a. 2.65 g | Weber Coll. 2404

50. O2/R1

*a. 2.64 g | Berlin, IKMK 18235373

51. O3/R2

*a. 2.64 g | NS 1944.100.16481

b. 2.70 g | London, BM 1894.0505.23

c. 2.46 g | Babelon 1907, no. 1803

d. 2.78 g | London, BM: Mørkholm 1971, p. 88, no. 58

52. O4/R3

*a. 2.75 g | Berlin, IKMK 18242610

53. O5/R4

*a. 2.72 g | London, BM RPK, P112D.2.Cab

54. O6/R5

*a. 2.59 g | ANS 1944.100.16480

55. O7/R6

*a. 2.60 g | Triton XII (6 Jan. 2009), 324; Freeman & Sear 8 (Fall 2003), 1; Gemini I (11 Jan. 2005), 62; Leu 77 (11 May 2000), 145

56. O8/R7

*a. 2.64 g | Gorny & Mosch 208 (16 Oct. 2012), 1233

38 Based on these criteria, a number of coins that probably belong to Skione have been catalogued as D.2-type coins. These include: *1/6 staters*: Winterthur 1190; BM 1866.1201.783; *1/12 staters*: Weber Coll. 2403 (= Seltman 1924, p. 220, pl. XXIV, 0); ANS 1944.100.16484; ANS 1944.100.16483; Triton XIII (5 Jan. 2010), 90; Pecunem/Naumann 34 (2 August 2015), 41; Dix Noonan Webb A7 (17 March 2009), 1134; Winterthur 1191; *1/48 staters*: ANS 1944.100.16486; Pecunem/Naumann 30 (5 April 2015), 35; Pecunem/Naumann 7 (1 Sept. 2013), 45.

57. O₉/R₈
*a. 2.78 g | Gorny & Mosch 159 (8 Oct. 2007), 78; Leu 81 (16 May 2001), 145
58. O₁₀/R₉
*a. 2.82 g | Gorny & Mosch 142 (10 Oct. 2005), 1082
59. O₁₁/R₁₀
*a. 2.56 g | SNG Kayhan 933; CNG 50 (23 June 1999), 853
60. O[?]/R₁₁
*a. 2.65 g | Babelon 1907, no. 1803; Mørkholm 1971, p. 88, no. 59
61. O[?]/R[?]
a. 2.73 g | SNG Fitzwilliam 1690
b. 2.56 g | London, BM 1921,0614.1
c. 2.86 g | Roma e-sale 13 (29 Nov. 2014), 149
d. 2.78 g | CNG e-sale 220 (14 Oct. 2009), 67

E.1.b: AR 1/12 stater

62. O₁/R₁
*a. 1.47 g | London, BM 1894,0505.24; Mørkholm 1971, p. 88, no. 61
63. O₁/R₂
*a. 1.27 g | ANS 1968.184.1 (Asia Minor uncertain)
64. O₂/R₃
*a. 1.74 g | London, BM 1922,0317.20; Mørkholm 1971, p. 88, no. 60

E.1.c: AR 1/24 stater

65. O₁/R₁
*a. 0.47 g | London, BM 1894,0505.25; Mørkholm 1971, p. 88, no. 62

E.1.d: AR 1/48 stater

66. O[?]/R[?]
a. 0.15 g | SNG Cop Cyprus etc. 348; Mørkholm 1971, p. 88, no. 64
b. 0.24 g | London, BM: Mørkholm 1971, p. 88, no. 63

Type E has long been attributed to the Thracian Chersonese due to the double lozenge reverse that appears on some examples and parallels with later lion-head coinages; several examples (nos. 51d, 60, 62, 64–66a) were found in a late 6th-century hoard (IGCH 1165) said to have been found in western Asia Minor.³⁹ However, because of rough similarities with coins produced in Asia Minor, these types have more recently been assigned to Karia.⁴⁰ Some caution is in order here. The Karian lion-head types invariably have an extended foreleg appearing below the lion's head; also, the weights of the Karian coins, with extended foreleg, tend to be much higher.⁴¹ Most importantly, however, the lion heads of type E closely parallel those found on a 4th-century series of bronze coins from the Chersonese, part of a cooperative coinage of Kardia, (Agora-)Chersonesos, and Paktye. All these coins share the same lion head obverse and corn reverse with inscription.⁴²

Type F: Lion/Winged Boar

F.1: AR stater

Obv.: Lion crouching to l. devouring prey; floral motif below

Rev.: Winged boar to l. or r. within incuse square

67. O₁/R₁

a. 17.16 g | New York Sale XXVII (4 Jan. 2012), 259

*b. 16.05 g | ANS 1967.152.436

c. 17.21 g | London: Babelon 1907, no. 1858; Svoronos 1919, p. 234, 8a

68. O₁/R₂

*a. 17.16 g | Weber Coll. 8555; Jameson Coll. 2028; *Nomos 8 (22 Oct. 2013), 76

*b. 17.19 g | Paris: Babelon 1907, no. 1857; Svoronos 1919, p. 234, 8b

69. O₂/R₃

*a. 16.37 g | Boston, MFA 58.1188

Babelon suggested an attribution to the Chersonese for F.1 based primarily on the winged boar reverse type, which also appears on the archaic coinage of Klazomenai. Here the type would signal the earlier Klazomenian involvement in the initial

39 For the attribution, see Babelon 1907, 1231–1232; in his publication of the hoard, Mørkholm 1971, 88–89, acknowledged this attribution, but preferred to list the coins as ‘uncertain’ for unstated reasons.

40 E.g., SNG Kayhan 933.

41 E.g., SNG Kayhan 931–932.

42 For Kardia (inscribed: ΚΑΡΔΙΑ), see: Tzvetkova 2009, Type IV.B; for (Agora-)Chersonesos (inscribed: ΧΕΡΡΟ), (SNG Cop 844–846); and for Paktye (inscribed: ΠΑΚΤΥ): Roma 4 (30 Sept. 2012), 256. Cf. Kahrstedt 1954, 37–40 and Loukopoulou 2004, 902, 905.

settlement of Kardia.⁴³ Babelon's somewhat weak link here, however, might be further strengthened by the appearance of similar crouching lions on later 4th century coinages of Kardia.⁴⁴ Also, in sculpture the crouching lion devouring its prey was unusually popular in Athens around the middle of the 6th century, so an additional Athenian connection as well might not be out of place.⁴⁵

Type G: Helmet

G.1: AR 1/24 stater

Obv.: Facing Corinthian helmet

Rev.: Quadripartite incuse (double lozenge)

70. O1/R1

*a. 0.26 g | ANS 1944.100.16634

On the ticket associated with this ANS coin, Edward T. Newell suggested that this small fraction could be attributed to the Thracian Chersonese based on the double lozenge reverse type.

Uncertain Weight Standard

Type H: Mounted Rider

H.1.a: AR stater

Obv.: Mounted rider to r. carrying spear(s)

Rev.: Quadripartite incuse or double lozenge

71. O1/R1

*a. 11.48 g | Boston, MFA 04.1251

43 Babelon 1907, no. 1858. Kardia was jointly founded by Milesians and Klazomeneans: Ps.-Scymn. 699; Strab. 7, fr. 52.

44 Tzvetkova 2009, 41–42, notes a possible link between the crouching lion type and earlier 4th century coinages of the Macedonian kings Amyntas III (e.g., SNG ANS 8.2, 99) and Perdikkas II (SNG ANS 8.2, 114–119), but notes, p. 42, '[i]n spite of the iconographic parallels it is difficult to find a connection between the Chersonesian city and the Macedonian kings before 346 BC, when Philip II imposed his power on the peninsula.' It may well be instead that the crouching lion refers to an earlier coinage of Kardia. There are also series of archaic didrachms? (6.8–7.2g) that might be related to these staters; the obverse features a standing lion to right devouring the leg of a prey animal, the reverse features a windowpane style quadripartite incuse. See Babelon 1907, no. 1836; CNG mail bid 61 (25 Sept. 2002), 403. Gaebler 1935, 110 attributed these didrachms to the Skithai.

45 See Markoe 1989. The mid-6th c. 'Bluebeard' temple at Athens, for example, had four such lions in the pediment sculpture groups.

72. O1/R2
 *a. 10.79 g | Gemini IX (9 Jan. 2012), 71
 b. 11.80 g | Jameson Coll. 1649; Seltman 1924, p. 219, no. 486, pl. XXIV, P416; Hess & Leu (16 April 1957), 155
73. O1/R3
 *a. 11.58 g | Peus 283 (14 May 1974), 59; Alpha Bank 7269
74. O1/R4
 *a. 11.60 g | De Luynes (25 Jan. 1926), 2788a
75. O1/R5
 *a. 11.47 g | SNG Ashmolean 3583; Kraay and Moorey 1981, no. 4
76. O1/R6
 *a. 11.64 g | Alpha Bank 7267
77. O2/R7
 *a. 11.65 g | Berlin: Seltman 1924, pl. XXIV, A329/P415
78. O3/R8
 *a. 11.63 g | Alpha Bank 7268
79. O?/R9
 a. ? Yakouchikoff (1908), 36
 b. 11.55 g | NFA (20–21 March 1975), 100

H.1.b: *Rev.*: Within lozenges: lion's head r. and lion head reverted

80. O1/R1
 *a. 12.83 g | ANS 1972.54.1: Naville (4. April 1921; Pozzi Coll.), 2065; Seltman 1924, p. 221, A333/P420, c
 b. 12.17 g | Seltman 1924, p. 221, A333/P420, b
 c. 11.0 g | Seltman 1924, p. 221, A333/P420, a

As with the mounted rider types C.1–3 above, the double lozenge incuse type has prompted scholars to attribute H.1 to the Chersonese, an attribution seemingly made secure by the lion heads in both profile and reverted, that appear within the lozenges of H.1.b. Both the weight standard and the date of these coins are problematic; more on this will be said below.

Type I: 'Sinope'

I.1: AR 1/2 stater?

Obv: Uncertain: head of eagle, sunfish, or heart?

Rev: Double lozenge

81. Example

*a. 6.13 g | ANS 1961.179.23

Barclay Head attributed type I to the Chersonese based primarily on the double lozenge reverse type.⁴⁶ Soon after Head wrote, however, the coins were assigned to Sinope based on finds there, where the attribution for this seemingly massive coinage has remained little contested for over a century.⁴⁷ Ute Wartenberg Kagan is currently preparing a study that reassigns this coinage to a mint in the Hellespont area, possibly Daskyleion.

General Discussion

Overall, there is little that has changed in the last century to strengthen or weaken the attribution of many of these coinages to the Thracian Chersonese. No new hoards, for example, have been found that might prove or disprove the attributions. As noted, it is highly unlikely that type A (facing quadriga and horsemen) was produced in the Chersonese; the case for type I ('Sinope') is currently under revision. Of the remaining types, those inscribed with XEP, types C.3 and D.1, are almost certainly issues of the Chersonese, as are those that have parallels with later coinages produced in the area, types D.2 and E (lion heads reverted and in profile). Likewise, the 'X' that appears on the Bellerophon coin, no. 11, and the double lozenges that appear on nos. 10 and 12a steer the attribution of type B firmly towards the Chersonese. Of the mounted rider types, the lions that appear on the reverses of H.1.b, as well as stylistic parallels in the rendering of the horse/rider and the double lozenge incuse, tie H.1 and C.2 to each other and to the Chersonese. Less certain is the attribution of C.1, although here again the similarities in weight with C.2 and the double lozenge incuse on some examples link these issues. The attributions of types F and G to the Chersonese is possible, but in no way provable.

If we accept that types C, D, E and H were struck in the Thracian Chersonese and that types B and F might have been, general aspects of the coinages come into sharper focus. The weight standard and denominational system for most of the coinages (types

⁴⁶ Head in Poole 1877, 183.

⁴⁷ See Six 1885b, 19, who also registers some reservation about the attribution to Sinope due to the double lozenge reserve type.

B–F) appears to be based on the earliest Euboic standard and denominational system, rather than the Athenian, anchored around a 1/6 stater (drachm) of c. 2.8 g, with the largest coin in the system being a stater of c. 17.2 g.⁴⁸ Fractions below the 1/6 stater were by halves: 1/12 stater (c. 1.4 g), 1/24 stater (c. 0.7 g), and a 1/48 stater (c. 0.35 g). The 1/6 stater appears to have been the denomination produced in the largest numbers in the Chersonese (cf. types C.1, C.2, D.2.a, E.1.a). Significant numbers of smaller denomination coins were also produced. With the possible exception of no. 8, a Pegasus 1/2 stater, no denominations were produced in the range between the stater and 1/6 stater. A similar Euboic standard/system was employed at nearby Ainos when that polis began producing coins in the early 5th century, and at a much earlier date farther to the west in the Chalcidice, where the system remained in use until being supplanted in the early 5th century by the Athenian system employing a drachm of c. 4.2 g and an obol of c. 0.72 g.⁴⁹ In general, the weights of the coins attributed to the Chersonese were not carefully controlled and tend to fall well below the ideal mark, leading commentators to conclude that coins in the Thracian Chersonese were produced on a ‘reduced Attic’ standard, one specifically designed to intersect with the Persian standard.⁵⁰ However, poor weight control is frequently observed among the earliest coinages produced in the Thraco-Macedonian region generally, so the suggestion that this is a deliberately reduced version of an existing standard may be unwarranted.⁵¹

The weight standard of types H and I is clearly not related to that of types B–F. The ‘Sinope’ drachms (type I) are thought to be of the Aeginetan standard, but here again the lack of rigorous weight control makes this uncertain.⁵² The stater weights of type H (mounted rider) are roughly double the weights of type I (‘Sinope’), with most examples approaching 12 g, a weight again suggestive of the Aeginetan standard, rather than the Persian.⁵³ Further work on this standard is needed, but must be part of a larger study incorporating the ‘Sinope’ coinage, type I.

The use of both the Euboic standard/system and the ‘Aeginetan’ requires explanation since neither of these was seemingly brought to the Chersonese from Attica or Ionia, where many of the settlers originated. The adoption of the Euboic system may in part have been due to the widespread popularity of 1/6-stater weight coins across the

48 On the use of the Euboic system in the North Aegean, see Six 1885a; Psoma 2015; Alfen 2015.

49 For Ainos, see May 1950, 266–268; for the Chalcidice, see Alfen 2015.

50 May 1950, 268; Davis and Sheedy 2019.

51 Cf. Psoma 2015; Alfen 2015.

52 See Kraay and Moorey 1981, 4–6; in her forthcoming study of the ‘Sinope’ coinage, Ute Wartenberg Kagan (Wartenberg Kagan [forthcoming]) likewise concludes that the standard is Aeginetan.

53 Seltman 1924, 144 suggests that these were minted on the ‘Pheidonian’ (i.e., Aeginetan) standard and date to c. 478–476, when ‘for a brief period the Peloponnese dominated the Hellespont and Bosphorus and brought its coin-standard with it.’ Cf. Babelon 1907, 395–396.

Northern Aegean; archaic coins in the 2.5–2.8 g range were minted by several mints in the western region (Euboic system: Akanthos, Dikaia, Kampsia, Mende, Potidaia, Sermylia, Skione, Terone) and also towards the east as well (Thracio-Macedonian system: Maroneia, ‘Derrones’; Euboic system: Aineia).⁵⁴ Coincidence with the expected Athenian system appears at the highest stater (tetradrachm) level; thus the system adopted initially in the Chersonese meshed at different levels with both regional north Aegean systems and that in Athens. Clearly, the adoption of the ‘Aeginetan’ system represents a significant change, but whether this was due to politics (e.g., hegemonic action, Persian or otherwise) or economics (e.g., cooperation with other coin producers in the region), or some combination, we cannot say.

The dating of the coins presents several problems, due in part to the fact that only a handful of those listed here have come from known hoards: no. 10 (type B.2), nos. 51d, 60, 62, 64–66a (type E), and no. 75 (type H.1.a).⁵⁵ Stylistic considerations must therefore play an outsized role in their dating. In general, those coins with developed reverses, types C.3, D.1, F, and H.1.b, must postdate the introduction of a developed reverse type at Athens c. 520 BC.⁵⁶ Based on such stylistic criteria, in fact, D.1 has been associated with Miltiades II’s post-515 BC rule in the Chersonese.⁵⁷ A safe assumption would be that C.3, D.1, F, and H.1.b were produced sometime around 500 BC, give or take a decade. Since the lions in the lozenges of type H.1.b seem to make reference to the lions of types D and E, we can presume that these two types predated H.1.b. If the change in weight standard evidenced by type H generally is a sign of greater political change, such as that following Miltiades II’s escape and the Phoenicians’ occupation of the peninsula in 493, then type H would perhaps be the last of the archaic coinages produced in the Chersonese. Types C.1–2, D.2, and E share general characteristics of reverse types, fabric, and weight and so may be roughly contemporaneous. It is, however, difficult to tell if these coins predate or are also contemporaneous with those that have developed reverses, such as C.3 and D.1. Based on fabric and style, the earliest coins must be those of type B (Pegasus/Bellerophon), which probably date to c. 530 BC.⁵⁸

In sum, coin production in the Thracian Chersonese may have started as early as the third quarter of the 6th century BC with type B, but it only was towards 500 BC that

54 See Paunov 2015, 269; Psoma 2015; Alfen 2015.

55 Nos. 51d, 60, 62, 64–66a: *IGCH* 1165 (c. 500 BC), see Mørkholm 1971; no. 75: on the ‘Black Sea’ hoard dated c. 420 BC, see Kraay and Moorey 1981. About no. 10, Svoronos 1919, 238, no. 5a, remarks ‘trouvée avec d’autres monnaies thraco-macédoniennes à Killiz près de Seulecie d’Antioche.’ Little else is known about this hoard.

56 Kroll 1981; see also Fischer-Bossert 2015.

57 Davis and Sheedy 2019 date D.1 to the time of Persian rule.

58 For comparanda, see the coinages of ‘Phase I’ of minting in the Chalcidice discussed in Alfen 2015, 259–260, Table-1.

serious output in a variety of different denominations and types really began (types C–F). At some point, probably after 500 BC, a new weight standard was adopted (type H, ‘Aeginetan’). Soon thereafter, coin production in the Chersonese was seriously curtailed until the 4th century, when it was revitalized with new bronze coinages as well as a massive output of silver ‘hemidrachms’. It thus seems probable that a significant portion of the archaic output coincided with the rule of the Philaids beginning under Miltiades I or Stesagoras, but reaching its greatest momentum under Miltiades II, and then continuing for some time under Persian rule as well. For us, however, the question remains: who made the ultimate decision to produce each of these series, and what was the nature of the power that authorized them to do so?

Ambiguities of Authority

This is, in fact, a rather difficult question to answer. Elsewhere I have discussed at length the problem of monetary authority in the Archaic period and its location within poleis, underscoring both the links between monetary authority and sovereign power and the difficulty of locating where exactly sovereign power resided within poleis.⁵⁹

Locating and defining this power proves difficult on the one hand because the evidence for regime types, governmental structure, and the political machinations of most Archaic and Classical period poleis is thin, but also because of the outsized authority that individual elites often had despite the existence of state-like institutions where we might otherwise expect to find sovereign power situated.⁶⁰ Under the Peisistratids in late-6th-century Athens, for example, there were governing institutions, such as the eponymous archonships, that nominally stood apart from the tyrant, but even so it was the tyrant who ‘held all the power’, which we can presume to mean ‘sovereign power’, a fact that chafed other elites, like Miltiades I.⁶¹ If we accept Greg Anderson’s view of archaic tyrannies, like that of the Peisistratids, early tyrants were not illegitimate rulers who established rogue monarchic regimes, but were rather mainstream oligarchic leaders who had managed to amplify their personal power above that of other political competitors.⁶² Some form of oligarchic government continued to exist, but one individual had more of an outsized role or say in governing matters than others. If such veto power amounted to sovereign power, it became then highly personalized, but this power could not be maintained by tyrants over a long

59 Alfen 2014, 635–643.

60 On the role of elites in the political process and governing in archaic Athens particularly, see Anderson 2003, Anderson 2005, and Forsdyke 2005; see also Luraghi 2013 on one-man government.

61 Herodotus (6.35) notes that while Miltiades was a powerful man (ἐδυνάστευε), it was Peisistratos who held all the power (εἶχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος).

62 Anderson 2005.

period of time without the consent or the coercion of the other elites.⁶³ Conflict was inevitable: some political competitors were removed by murder; some by involuntary exile; and some, like Miltiades I, simply went elsewhere, finding an outlet for their ambitions far from home, while others, like Miltiades II, were coopted by the regime.⁶⁴ We might then presume that the Peisistratids were the final arbitrators of monetary matters in Athens, but the earliest coins of Athens, the *Wappenmünzen*, which were unquestionably produced under Peisistratid rule, imply that monetary authority was more broadly shared among the Athenian elite. The fourteen different obverse designs that appear on these coins may have been emblems attached to individuals much like seals or as familial heraldry (*Wappen*), rather than emblems with a collective, civic significance like the Athena heads and owls that were to appear on Athenian coinage later on.⁶⁵ If these emblems had personal rather than civic meaning, what did they signify, especially within the context of the Peisistratid tyranny? One explanation is that the agents, such as magistrates, who were directly responsible for overseeing the production of coinage for a particular period of time placed a personal device on the coins, much like the monograms and other personal symbols found on later coinages. If this is correct, what then was the relationship between these agents and the tyrant? Since there can be little doubt that only those favoured by the tyrant were given this responsibility, it may be that these symbols represent a type of political payoff by the Peisistratids to their supporters. Rather than simply appointing an all but nameless bureaucratic official to oversee the production of coinage, the tyrant opted to allow others, undoubtedly elites, to partake in his monetary authority and to advertise their role in it, thereby enhancing the personal prestige of those men and further incentivizing their support for the regime. While this is only one possible explanation for the *Wappenmünzen*, it does demonstrate how the relationship between power and coin production might have been organized, not necessarily within the bounds of governmental institutions, and how coin production could serve political purposes, helping to cool heated political situations. These are lessons the Philaids might have taken with them to the Chersonese.

If the situation with sovereign power and monetary authority for Peisistratid Athens presents interpretive challenges, the challenges for the Thracian Chersonese are greater still. There the situation is complicated by the nature of the external political

63 Miltiades II's archonship in 524/3 and possible marriage to one of Hippias' relations can be seen as attempts by the Peisistratids to coopt an elite who might otherwise compete for political power; see Davies 1971, 301–302.

64 Kimon, the father of Stesagoras and Miltiades II, who was seen as a political threat was purportedly murdered at the behest of the Peisistratids (Hdt. 6.39.1; Davies 1971, 300); on the politics of exile, see Forsdyke 2005; Sear 2013 argues that Macedonia and Thrace served as an outlet for ambitious Athenian elites, where they could seek power and wealth without interference from those at home.

65 Ehrenberg 1946, 110–111; Kroll 1981; Alfén 2011, 89–90; Fischer-Bossert 2015; on archaic coin type imagery in general, see Spier 1990.

relationships not just with the Athenians, but also with the Persians. At the same time, the internal governing arrangements between the native Thracians, the earlier Greek settlers, and the imported Athenian tyrants appear variable and unsteady. Thus it is not clear how concentrated or diffuse sovereign power, and by extension monetary authority, was in the archaic Chersonese.

Herodotus' (6.35–36) account of Miltiades I's departure to the Chersonese indicates that he left in part because he was at odds with Peisistratos and that those Athenians who followed him did so with no official support or, we might presume, expectations of being able to return once a new settlement for them was established. Miltiades I never returned to Athens; his successor, Stesagoras, appears to have been raised mostly in the Chersonese. However, Stesagoras' brother, Miltiades II, was raised in Athens, where he had close political and personal relationships with the Peisistratids.⁶⁶ His departure for the north, in contrast to that of his uncle's decades earlier, had explicit Peisistratid support (Hdt. 6.39). Because of these contrasting departures, there has been considerable discussion about the extent to which Miltiades I's venture to the Chersonese was, in fact, a private affair, or was part of a larger strategic plan of the Peisistratids to control access to the Black Sea and thereby to enrich not only themselves and cooperating elites but also the Athenian 'collective' more broadly.⁶⁷ To what degree then was the Thracian Chersonese an extension of Attic territory, and how vulnerable politically were the Philaids there to the Peisistratids?⁶⁸ In other words, was sovereign power, and by extension monetary authority, located in Athens or in Agora-Chersonesos?

There is little in our sources to suggest that the Peisistratids, and later the democracy, had any direct sway over the archaic Chersonese; the Philaids are invariably presented as the rulers ('tyrants') implying, that sovereign power in the peninsula grew independently of Athens. Nevertheless, the continuing financial, social, and even political ties with those in Athens complicate the issue. If, for example, the Athenian settlers, including the Philaids, remained Athenian citizens, they then continued to be

66 Davies 1971, 301–302.

67 Berve 1937, 26–35 and Berve 1967, 62, has been among the strongest proponents for the venture being a private affair, while Kahrstedt 1954, 6–9, concluded that it was not. But as many commentators have noted, there is not enough evidence to decide conclusively whether it was, in fact, a private or state-sponsored act: Graham 1999[1964], 33, 194; Davies 1971, 311 and Davies 2013, 46; Isaac 1986, 166, 175; Loukopoulou 1989, 70. Attempts to thread a middle course include Figueira 1991, 134–138, Figueira 2006, 430, who has argued that it is another example of a 'quasi-civic' type of 'patronal colonization', undertaken by powerful individuals who did not reject greater civic interests. Similarly, Kallet 2013, 53 has argued that 'the leading men of Athens ... worked together to possess this strategic region'; cf. Figueira 2006, 430; Davies 2013. The interpretive problem is also linked to that of the Athenian settlement at Sigeion at the mouth of the Hellespont opposite the Chersonese, which appears to have been essentially a private possession of the Peisistratids; see Ehrenberg 1946, 118; Graham 1999[1964], 192; Isaac 1986, 162–166; Loukopoulou 1989, 76; Figueira 2006, 430.

68 Kahrstedt 1954, 9, for example, remarks: 'Gewiss war es zugleich ein Teil des peisistratidischen Athen ...'

subject to Athenian law and subject to Athenian sovereign power, as was the case with Miltiades II on his return to Athens in 493 when he faced a politically motivated trial for tyranny.⁶⁹ There is the possibility that the legal and political relationship between Athens and the Philaid Chersonese was never fully or formally defined during the period that concerns us here; over time the relationship no doubt evolved as the players and circumstances changed, but in what way exactly we do not know.⁷⁰

If, in fact, Miltiades I initiated coin production in the Chersonese (type B above), it is hard to imagine that he asked the tyrant in Athens for permission to do so. From the perspective of those in Athens, if it was a concern of theirs at all, any Philaid expression of monetary authority may have appeared at best to be an informal extension of Athenian power, or at worst an act of renegade elites overstepping their station. It would be of interest to know if the production of coinage under any of the Philaids factored into the charges brought against Miltiades II in his trial for tyranny (Hdt. 6.104.2). Would the production of coins by an Athenian elite residing overseas as a tyrant be seen as a politically egregious act or simply as an expedient of a state no matter the (il)legitimacy of its governing regime?⁷¹

While it is unlikely that those in Athens had much involvement, directly or indirectly, with coin production in the Chersonese, the same cannot be said conclusively for the Persians. Within only a year or two after his arrival in the Chersonese, Miltiades II offered support to the Persian King Darius during the Thracian campaign of 513 BC. Herodotus places Miltiades II in the company of the Ionian tyrants who were ordered to guard a temporary bridge the King had used to cross the Istros (Danube) River; Miltiades was voted down when he suggested that they destroy the bridge and turn their backs on the King (Hdt. 4.137–138). Sometime later the King crossed back to Asia Minor via Sestos in the Chersonese and left behind Megabazos and his army to ensure the subjugation of the Hellespont and coastal Thrace (Hdt. 4.143–144), which presumably included the Chersonese. Sometime thereafter (510? 496?), Miltiades II fled for a number of years when the Scythians, provoked by Darius, attacked and

69 Hdt. 6.104.2; see Scott 2005, 366.

70 The legal status of Miltiades I's followers and their descendants is opaque. Did they retain their Athenian citizenship much like later cleruchs, or was their citizenship invalidated by their participation in what amounted to a colonizing venture, especially one led by an opponent of the Peisistratids? See Ehrenberg 1946, 121; Graham 1999[1964], 194–196; Davies 2013, 58. In at least one early recorded case from c. 500 BC, that of the cleruchs residing in Salamis, the democratic government did seek to define the status and responsibilities of Athenians living abroad; see *IG I³*, 1 and Taylor 1997.

71 There are other grey areas of monetary authority relating to Athens. Themistokles, the exiled Athenian statesman, appears to have produced coins in the 460s in Magnesia in Ionia, where he was set up as a local ruler by the Persian king (Thuc. 1.138.5); see Cahn and Gerin 1988; Cahn and Mannsperger 1991; Nollé and Wenninger 1998–1999, 99; Nollé 1996. The cleruchs of Salamis produced a series of bronze coins c. 400 BC (see Kroll 2013), and the Athenian general Timotheus produced bronze coins (or tokens) during the siege of Olynthos, 364–362 BC; see Sheedy 2015a and Sheedy 2015b.

occupied the Chersonese. After their departure, the Dolonkoi invited the tyrant to return (Hdt. 6.40). Miltiades II eventually left for good in 493 as the Persians sought to eliminate any pockets of resistance following the Ionian Revolt. As he was fleeing from Kardia in five triremes loaded with family, supporters, and all his moveable wealth (*chrêmata*; including coins?), he barely escaped capture by the Phoenicians (Hdt. 6.41).⁷²

While the relationship between the Persians and Miltiades II is not made explicit by Herodotus, it seems clear enough that he had initially submitted to Persian suzerainty and that there was a (continuous?) Persian presence in the Chersonese thereafter, which was not fully eradicated until the Athenian commander Kimon, son of Miltiades II and Hegesipyle the daughter of the Thracian king Oloros, retook the Chersonese in 466 for the Athenians and the Delian League.⁷³ What the Persians expected of Miltiades II besides ‘earth and water’ is not stated, but could have included some form of military support, as at the Istros bridge, or tribute. If the latter, the need to provide funds to the Persians could have provided an impetus for coining, as has been argued was the case elsewhere in Thrace.⁷⁴ Would the Persians have dictated the specifications of the coinage that they were willing to accept, for example the weight standard or denominations?⁷⁵ The change of weight standard seen in type H (and I) may hint at some sort of Persian directive, but of this we cannot be certain.

While external hegemonic pressure perhaps had some bearing on coin production decisions, it is far from clear who made those decisions internally. Although Miltiades I claimed or was proclaimed to be the (or a) sovereign power, the origins of that power,⁷⁶ how deeply it was rooted, and how far geographically it extended remain rather vague.⁷⁷ Since we have little notion of the preexisting structures of power across the Chersonese, or of the preexisting relationships between the various groups of native Thracians and Greek settlers there, there is no way of knowing whether Miltiades I simply stepped into, for example, an indigenous leadership vacancy, or found there an opportunity to seize, expand, and organize power as he saw fit. If, as

72 For the chronological and other problems of Herodotus’ account of Miltiades II’s reign in the Chersonese, see Viviers 1993.

73 See note 8 above.

74 Picard 1997, Picard 2011, Picard 2012; Tzamalīs 2011.

75 In general, the Persians seem to have had little interest in exercising direct, invasive control over the production of coinage in any of the regions they ruled; see Alfen 2014, 641–642.

76 Scott 2005, 163, Appendix 8, notes that the episode in Herodotus of the Dolonkoi’s invitation to Miltiades I to rule in the Chersonese has a folkloristic overlay. Whatever the arrangement between the Athenian and the Thracians actually was, Miltiades might have pushed for more power once in Thrace; see Scott 2005, 170–179. As Isaac 1986, 171 notes, ‘Herodotus clearly emphasizes the differences between the origin of the power of Miltiades I and II.’ Hammond 1956, 118 characterized Miltiades II’s take over as a ‘coup d’état.’

77 While several scholars (see note 4 above) have argued that the Philaids controlled the entire Gallipoli Peninsula this is far from certain; see Scott 2005, 153–154.

seems likely, there was no preexisting, formalized federation between the various native groups and Greek settlements in the Chersonese, any attempt on his part to force his rule or to goad a federation into existence was sure to meet with resistance. There are hints that the Philaids' claim to greater power was seriously contested: Stesagoras' assassin might have been motivated by Greek political opponents;⁷⁸ on his arrival Miltiades II had to trick local leaders, both Greek and Thracian, in order to gain power and subsequently sought to reinforce it by means of a marriage alliance with an outside Thracian chief, Oloros, and by keeping 500 mercenaries at the ready.⁷⁹

The many types and series of coinage arguably produced in the Chersonese speak more to devolved and contested power than to power that was solidly centralized. Three ethnic groups appear to have played a significant role in the production of coinage there: 1) the Athenians/Philaids (types B, D.1); 2) the native Thracians (Dolonkoi?) (types C and H);⁸⁰ and 3) the Milesian and Klazomenean settlers (types D.2, E, F). Although there are aspects of the coins that link most of them together – notably the shared Euboic weight system and occasional glimpse of shared types like the double lozenge reverses – these links are far from being robust and consistent enough to point to a single font for all of the coinages. Even the best evidence for a single monetary authority, the inscription X(EP), which is found on three of the types (B.2.a, C.3.a, and D.1), flickers on and off, appearing on some dies of the types but not on others. Although the XEP inscription has been taken as evidence for a unified Chersonesitan state, it is not clear what the abbreviation stands for, whether a toponym or an ethnic, and if the latter, an ethnic of all those living in the peninsula or just those residing in Agora-Chersonesos?⁸¹ Support for the abbreviation signaling some degree of political unification might be found on the coins themselves. The fact that the three-lettered abbreviation, XEP, appears on two distinct series, one with an obverse type pointing possibly to the native Thracians (C.3.a, mounted rider), and the other, D.1, with types pointing to both the Kardians (lion) and Athenians (Athena), could indicate that XEP represented all these groups, that is, *Χερσονησιτέων* ('of the

78 Scott 2005, 178.

79 Kahrstedt 1954, 15–18; Isaac 1986, 171, 175; Loukopoulou 2004, 901; Scott 2005, 178–179.

80 This presumes that there is an association between the mounted rider type and Thracian identity, which is far from certain; see note 24 above.

81 As Babelon notes (Babelon 1907, 1223), XEP could be an abbreviation for *Χερρονησιῶν*, *Χερσονησιῶν*, or *Χερσονησιτέων*. The later 4th century coinage of Agora-Chersonesos, including those minted as part of a cooperative effort with other cities (see note 42), used the abbreviation XEP(PO). Concerning type D.1 Ehrenberg 1946, 123 notes: 'The coin proves that there was a State, but it does not prove that this State represented the whole united peninsula. It could just as well be a federation, a Koinon, or one of the cities in the area ... (p. 124) perhaps even the XEP-coin gives evidence rather against than for a political unity. For one can hardly imagine a reason for all the towns in the Chersonese using as a symbol of common coinage the Milesian lion'. See also Kahrstedt 1954, 8–9; Loukopoulou 2004, 901.

Chersonesitans collectively') and so could fortify arguments for there being a single collective monetary authority. But if this authority (the Philaids?) desired to indicate this unity by means of the inscription X(EP) on some of the earliest coins produced in the peninsula (type B.2.a) and again on some of the latest (types C.3.1 and D.1), why not on all of the coins? Or why not signal this unity through the adoption of a shared obverse type with the individual members acknowledged on the reverse, such as was done on the 4th-century cooperative bronze coinage struck in the Chersonese?⁸² Type H.1.b, with the mounted rider obverse and lions within the lozenges on the reverse, also hints at political unity between some of the Thracians and the Kardians, but the new weight standard could again be indicative of greater political change, one that excluded the Philaids, if type H.1.b was in fact produced after Miltiades II's departure in 493.

Conclusions

All told, there is no single type or consistent message that stands out among the various coinages, a worrisome problem for those wishing to use the coins to bolster arguments for a continuously strong, unified Chersonesitan state under Philaid rule from the time of Miltiades I's arrival in the 540s down to Miltiades II's departure in 493. The coins instead suggest that there was serious political fracturing, which could reflect one of two scenarios: 1) the Philaids 'had all the power' and so controlled all coin production throughout the peninsula, but they allowed the Thracian and Greek dynasts (δυναστεύοντες, Hdt. 6.39.2) to produce coins in return for political support; this arrangement lasted until the Persians fully took control of the peninsula in 493; 2) the Philaids did not have continuous or extensive power and so could not effectively police coin production across the peninsula; local dynasts were therefore free to pursue coin production as they saw fit, including voluntary cooperative efforts with each other and with the Philaids. In either case, the ambiguities of authority preserved in the numismatic record suggest that the Philaids' hold on power was tenuous, and that, among other things, coinage served as a symbol of the limits of their power.⁸³

This is not to say that these coins did not serve economic functions as well, although what precisely those functions were is difficult to tell. As noted earlier, some coins may have been produced for payments to the Persians, but this could not have been

82 See note 40. On cooperative coinages in general, including the arrangement of obverse and reverse types, see Mackil and Alfen 2006.

83 Paunov 2015, 274 argues that coinage for later Thracian kings served more of symbolic than economic function as a demonstration of their authority.

the purpose for all of them. Miltiades II's 500 mercenaries perhaps required payments, as did those engaged in earlier building activities.⁸⁴ But these expenditures needed to be offset by income generated by economic activities elsewhere, which if proxy measures can be of any use, appear to have been quite elevated.⁸⁵ Taxation on commercial activities, such as those in the aptly named polis of Agora(-Chersonesos), no doubt accounted for much of this revenue.⁸⁶ If so, the broad range of denominations observed in the coins listed here and the high level of monetization that this suggests, could indicate that a good deal of the coinage produced in the archaic Chersonese was intended to facilitate exchange and taxation no matter who was ultimately the authority responsible for it.

84 There is no mention of the labourers involved in building Miltiades I's wall across the isthmus, or those who constructed public buildings, like the *prytaneion* mentioned by Herodotus (6.38.2), being conscripted, paid, or purchased; presumably Miltiades I's soldiers in his war with Lampsakos (Hdt. 6.37) and Miltiades II's 500 mercenaries (Hdt. 6.39) would have required some form of payment, whether in cash or kind.

85 Shortly before his death, Miltiades II was fined 50 talents of silver for his mismanagement of the operation against Paros (Hdt. 6.136.3), a phenomenal sum which clearly the Athenians felt he was capable of paying perhaps due in part to the wealth he and the Philiads had acquired in the Chersonese (cf. Hdt. 6.44). In the Athenian tribute lists of the mid-5th century, those in the Chersonese are recorded as paying an enormous sum of 18 talents, one of the largest sums in the lists, which can be taken as an indication of the high level of economic activity and revenue generated in the peninsula; see *IG I³*, 259.11.28, etc.; Loukopoulou 2004, 901. It was presumably the promise of wealth or revenue that drew the Athenians to the region: see Davies 2013, Kallet 2013.

86 What evidence there is for civic taxation in Greece down to the mid-6th century suggests it was limited primarily to in-kind payments of agricultural produce. Later on, many cities were drawing the bulk of their revenues from indirect taxes on long-distance trade and local commerce; see Migeotte 2014, 229–236, 355, 504–505; Wees 2013, chapter 2. There is, however, no evidence for ways to differentiate the types of commercial and taxation activities that might have taken place in the archaic Chersonese; on these issues in general for Thrace, see Archibald 2013.

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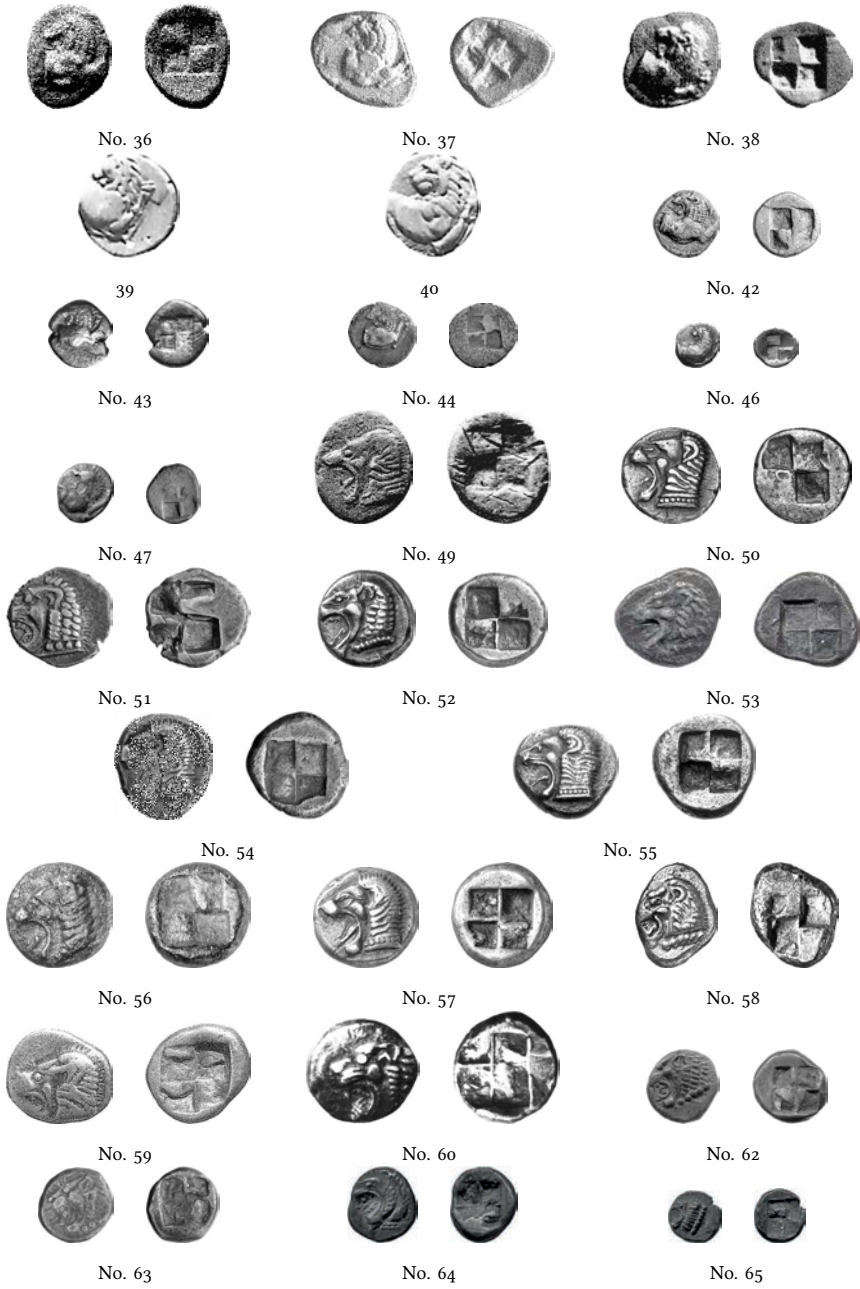


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9 The Bronze Coinage of Kardia

Selene Psoma

Abstract

This paper focuses on the bronze coinage of the city of Kardia, a colony of Miletos on the Thracian Chersonese. It proposes a new arrangement of the bronze series, makes remarks on the iconography and the fractional system, and proposes the chronology around the mid-4th century BC, during the last years of Odrysian rule and mainly under Philip II.

Keywords

Amphipolis, Athens, Byzantion, Chersonesos, Coinage (Bronze), Demeter, Kardia, Kersobleptes, Lion, Lysimachos, Lysimacheia, Macedonians, Miletos, Nymph Kardia, Odrysians, Olynthos, Paktye, Philip II, Sestos

The coinage of Kardia, the home of Eumenes and the historian Hieronymos, has finally attracted the attention of modern scholarship. Julia Tzvetkova, a leading specialist on the Thracian Chersonese, presented the civic bronze coinage of this significant city in a 2009 article published in *Archaeologia Bulgaria*.¹ She collected all available information from auctions, online and museum catalogues, and excavations and presented all known coin types. She also proposed an arrangement of the different series, and the coinage was placed into the historical context of the second half of the 4th century BC. The aim of this paper is to add further remarks concerning the types, the arrangement of the series, the system of denominations, and the dates of this coinage.

Types and Iconography

Kardia shares its main type, a lion, with its metropolis, Miletos (Fig. 5).² The ear of grain and the seed of wheat are clearly connected with the significant local production of grain (Fig. 1–4).³ The seed of wheat is also used as a secondary symbol on the reverse of the series, with a left-facing female head on the obverse and a lion breaking a spear in its jaws (Fig. 6–7).⁴ The female head on the obverse of the two largest

1 Tzvetkova 2009, 33–54.

2 Strab. 7, frg. 50. For Kardia, see Loukopoulou 2004, 907 no. 665 with previous bibliography.

3 Tzvetkova 2009, 40.

4 For the coinages of the cities of the Thracian Chersonese, see Loukopoulou 2004, 903–910.



Fig. 1 Kardina (CN 3847)



Fig. 2 Kardina (CN 3833)



Fig. 3 Kardina (CN 3835)

denominations is normally interpreted as Demeter.⁵ However, this deity, whose presence in the Thracian Chersonese and in neighbouring Byzantion is connected with rich agricultural production, is always represented wearing either a veil or a *polos*.⁶ A number of numismatic *exempla* from this area may be cited, such as the silver staters of Byzantion from the early Hellenistic period (Fig. 8) and the Hellenistic bronzes of Sestos.⁷ In the coinage from Sestos, the goddess is seated on a throne, and the surrounding epithet, *Sastia*, refers to its local cult (Fig. 9). This is not the case at Kardina. The female head portrayed in profile (Fig. 6) or in three-quarter view (Fig. 5) wears heavy earrings in both cases, as well as a wreath with ears of grain on the largest denominations. The local nymph, a personification of Kardina, may instead be represented on these coins. This is the case with many 4th century BC coinages, e.g. those of Dikaia on the Chalcidic Peninsula and of the Thessalian Larissa, among others.⁸

Arrangement by Series and Denominations

The Arrangement Proposed by J. Tzvetkova

Tzvetkova divided the coinage of Kardina into five different series and three denominations. The heaviest denomination, A, is the city's earliest bronze coinage. On the obverse, the nymph's head is depicted facing either left or right. She wears earrings and a necklace (Type I.A.1: nos. 1–54). On the reverse, there are a lion breaking a spear to the left and different symbols in exergue. The legend on these coins, ΚΑΡΔΙΑ, is always on the reverse. Some examples of the same type and denomination were issued with the legend ΚΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ (Type I.B.1: nos. 56–59). There are also examples of the same denomination that have a different legend, ΚΑΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ (Type I.C:

5 See Tzvetkova 2009, 40–41.

6 For the iconography of Demeter, see Angeli 1988, 844–908.

7 For Byzantion, see Schönert-Geiss 1970, 133–136 nos. 979–1025, pls. 42–46 (staters), 136–137 nos. 1026–1042, pls. 46–47 (fractions), 140–144 nos. 1131–1213, pls. 53–56, and 148–149 nos. 1257–1281, pls. 60–61 (bronzes). For Sestos, see Imhoof-Blumer 1908, 56 no. 149.

8 For Dikaia, see Gaebler 1935, 59 nos. 11–12, pl. XIII 22–23. For Larissa, see Imhoof-Blumer 1908, 68–73 nos. 184–204. For nymphs depicted on Greek coinages, see Imhoof-Blumer 1908, 1–213.



Fig. 4 Kardias (CN 29030)



Fig. 5 Kardias (CN 3822)

nos. 64–75). Bronze coins featuring a nymph's head in three-quarter view on the obverse and a left-facing lion on the reverse were also interpreted as belonging to the same denomination, A. In these, the lion's head is turned to the right, and a star is occasionally depicted below left (Type II: nos. 76–90).

Very rare bronzes with a right-facing nymph's head and the forepart of a lion with a spear (Types I.A.2, I.B.2 and III.B) belong to the second denomination, B. The legend is either *KAPΔΙΑ* (Type I.A.2: no. 55) or *KAPΔΙΑΝΩΝ* (Types I.B.2: nos. 60–63 and III.B: nos. 101–102). The smallest denomination, C, includes coins that depict a lion or a lion's head on the obverse and a seed of wheat on the reverse (Type IV: nos. 103–152), sometimes together with an ear of grain or a wreath with ears of grain (Type V: nos. 153–156).

The New Arrangement

In most cases, Greek bronze coinages begin in small fractions, mostly the *chalkous*, a coin of c. 10 mm and 1–2 g that we conventionally call 'Denomination C'. On the basis of stylistic development, it seems quite clear that the earliest bronzes of Kardias are those with a left-facing lion on the obverse and a small seed of wheat on the reverse. The lion on the obverse is either standing (Type IV.A.1: nos. 103–121) or jumping (Type IV.A.2: nos. 122–130, Fig. 1). On the reverse, the legend, *KAP/ΔΙΑ*, is within a linear square, both above and below the seed of wheat. Their weights are between 1.80 and 2.50 g. These bronzes share the same reverse type with bronzes of a lighter denomination (C). The lion's head on the obverse is turned either to the left or to the right (Types IV.A.3: nos. 131–142 and IV.B: nos. 143–152, Fig. 2). A numismatic practice in many fractional coinages of the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods represented progressively smaller parts of the main type.⁹ This helped the user to recognize the different nominal values much more easily. These coins weigh between approximately 1 and 2 g.

The disappearance from the reverse of the linear square in which the corn grain was placed coincided with the addition of an ear of corn and a change in position for

⁹ Kraay 1976, 4 with note 1.



Fig. 6 Kardian (CN 3541)



Fig. 7 Kardian (CN 29031)



Fig. 8 Byzantion (CN 3124)



Fig. 9 Sestos (CN 6692)

the legend (Fig. 3), which could now be found between the seed of wheat and the ear of grain (Type IV.B: nos. 143–152: 1.40–1.12 g). These seem to be the earliest series of the coinage of the city of Kardian.

The lion's head ceased to be the obverse type and was replaced by the nymph's head in a linear square. The legend, KAP/ΔIA, moved to the left and right of the ear of grain (*stachys*) on the reverse. These coins have a diameter of 12 to 15 mm and weigh between 2.33 and 2.90 g (Fig. 4).

Bronze coins with a three-quarter profile of a nymph wearing heavy earrings, a necklace, and a wreath of ears of grain on the obverse adopted the type of the silver and bronze coinage of Kardian's metropolis, Miletos, for the reverse (Fig. 5). This type shows a standing lion with his head turned back and a star in the left of the field. A seed of wheat is placed below the lion. These coins clearly represent a larger denomination. Their diameter (15–18 mm), weight (5.50–7.50 g), and the different types present point in the same direction. This was Denomination A of the city's bronze coinage. As in almost all early Greek coinages of the 4th century BC, only small values were initially struck in bronze and were later followed by a larger one. These small values were *chalkoi* and *tetartemoria* (one quarter of the obol: 2 or 3 *chalkoi*).¹⁰ Denomination A thus represented the hemiobol (half-obol: 4 or 6 *chalkoi*).

Denomination A was eventually followed by a heavier denomination (AA) with a nymph's head in profile on the obverse and a lion breaking a spear on the reverse

¹⁰ Psoma 2001, 120–131.

(Fig. 6). The weight of these coins was between 6.50 and 9.00 g. The combination of the seed of wheat with a star is also occasionally found on the reverse of this denomination. Other symbols, such as the dolphin or letters and monograms, occur on these bronzes. Stylistic development and the use of different symbols and monograms point to later series. In the latest specimens of the series, the legend, ΚΑΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ, refers to the coin's nominal value as an *obolos*.¹¹ The legend can be found in the same position as the first letters of the ethnic from the series with the Milesian type on the obverse. There is also a second denomination of this series. The forepart of the lion refers to the value of the coin; we can thus consider it as a hemiobol (Fig. 7).

The type of the reverse, a lion breaking a spear, can also be found on the latest silver staters of Amyntas III, as well as on the bronze coins of Perdikkas III.¹² The coins of Kardia clearly date after these royal Macedonian coinages, as their style reveals. The introduction of the same denomination at Aphytis dates from the second half of the 4th century BC, under the reign of Philip II and Alexander III.¹³

We can now present our conclusions. The bronze coinage of Kardia began, as with all early Greek coinages, with small bronzes, *tetartemoria* and *chalkoi*. We know two series of *chalkoi*. The first was issued with a lion's head and a seed of wheat in a linear square, and the second with a lion's head, seed of wheat, and ear of grain. The earliest *tetartemoria* present a lion standing or jumping to the left and a seed of wheat in a linear square. A nymph's head and an ear of grain later replaced these types. The earliest hemiobols were struck with the head of the nymph in three-quarter profile and the lion of Miletos, the obols with the nymph's head in profile and a lion breaking a spear, and their hemiobols with the nymph's head in profile and the forepart of a lion breaking a spear. Thus we have the following sequence for the city's 4th century BC bronze coinage:

I. Denomination B: Lion standing or jumping left or right¹⁴ / Seed of wheat in linear square, ΚΑΡ/ΔΙΑ.

Denomination C: Lion's head left or right / Seed of wheat in linear square, ΚΑΡ/ΔΙΑ,¹⁵ and later seed of wheat and ear of corn.¹⁶

II. Denomination A: Three-quarter profile of the local nymph in border of dots/
Left-facing standing lion and turning back his head, star left in the field,

11 Psoma 2012, 18.

12 Westermark 1989, pl. LXX no. 31 (Amyntas III), pl. LXX nos. 46–47 (Perdikkas III).

13 Gatzolis 2011, 194.

14 Standing lion: Tzvetkova 2009, nos. 103–115 (left), 116–118 (right), 119–121 (left: monogram E); jumping lion: *ibid.*, nos. 122–128 and 129–130 (monogram, E above, and I below the lion).

15 Tzvetkova 2009, nos. 131–142.

16 Tzvetkova 2009, nos. 143–152.

ΚΑΡΔΙΑ.¹⁷

Denomination B: Right-facing head of the local nymph / Grain ear, ΚΑΡ/ΔΙΑ, ΚΑΡΔ/ΙΑΝΩΝ.¹⁸

III. Denomination AA (obol): Head of the local nymph facing left or right/ Lion with a spear in his mouth and facing left or right, seed of wheat or wreath of grain ears in exergue, ΚΑΡΔΙΑ, ΚΑΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ, ΚΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ.¹⁹

Denomination A: Right-facing head of the local nymph / Left-facing protome of lion holding spear, ear of corn in the field left of his left foreleg, ΚΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ.²⁰

Chronology

As Julia Tzvetkova has pointed out, the bronze coins of Kardia were never found in hoards or well-dated deposits, making it difficult to ascertain their chronology. She has proposed dates between 346 and 309 BC for this coinage. The lower date is given on the basis of the foundation of Lysimacheia at the site of Kardia. This is certainly the *terminus ante quem* for this coinage.²¹ Pausanias (1.9.8; cf. 1.10.5), based on Hieronymus of Kardia, says that Lysimachos destroyed the city and founded Lysimacheia in its place. Pliny speaks of the incorporation of Kardia into the new city of Lysimacheia (*NH* 4.11.40), which seems to be Lysimachos' practice, as known from many other cases.²² The view that Kardia was incorporated into the Lysimachos' new settlement is also supported by the adoption of Kardia's types — the nymph's head and the lion — for the coinage of Lysimacheia.²³

The year 346 BC has been proposed as the beginning of coinage in Kardia.²⁴ This date coincided with the end of Odrysian control and the establishment of Macedonian power in this area.²⁵ However, coinage and power should be discussed separately.²⁶ It has long been assumed that a city that was under the control of a foreign power could not issue its own coinage. There is no evidence in the literary sources for this, and this theory was based mainly on medieval parallels.²⁷ Coinage was primarily a

17 Tzvetkova 2009, nos. 76–90.

18 Tzvetkova 2009, nos. 91–100, 101–102.

19 Tzvetkova 2009, nos. 1–54, 64–75 and 56–59.

20 Tzvetkova 2009, nos. 55, 60–63.

21 Tzvetkova 2009, 36.

22 Cohen 1995, 82–87.

23 Cohen 1995.

24 Tzvetkova 2009, 38.

25 On Philip's campaign against Kersobleptes in 346 BC and his surrender, see Aeschin. 2.81–86 with Harris 1995, 61–62 and 74–76.

26 Martin 1985, 3–14, 15–33, 219–248.

27 Martin 1985.

financial instrument that was issued to satisfy certain needs. Kardia could have struck its bronze coinage under the Odrysians or the Macedonians.

As far as the Macedonians are concerned, iconography may provide some insight into this topic. The lion with a spear is an old Macedonian type and was also depicted on the reverse of the second series of silver staters issued by Amyntas III (393/2–370/69? BC).²⁸ This was also the main type for the bronzes of denominations AA and A of Perdikkas III (365/4–360/59? BC), Philip's brother and predecessor.²⁹ It should be noted that these were the types of bronzes issued with the legend ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ during the period in which a Macedonian garrison was established in the city by Perdikkas III.³⁰ We might then propose to date these coins after the end of Kersobleptes' control of the area and to the years of excellent relations and close collaboration with Philip II. It is in the context of this collaboration with the Macedonian king that a garrison might have been sent to Kardia to protect the city against Athenian attacks.

These obols and hemiobols seem to be the latest coins of Kardia. They might have been accompanied by the enigmatic *chalkoi* with a seated lion to the left and a wreath of grain ears, or occasionally by the legend ΚΑΡ or ΚΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ.³¹ Wreaths as reverse types of coins and those containing the first letters of the ethnic also occur on contemporary bronzes of two other cities of the Thracian Chersonese, Krithote and Elaious.³² Similar wreaths were also depicted as the main type on the reverse of bronze coins in Bisanthe,³³ Zone,³⁴ Thasos,³⁵ and Perinthos,³⁶ and later on coins of Seuthes III,³⁷ Lysimachos,³⁸ his son Agathokles,³⁹ and also their capital, Lysimacheia.⁴⁰ Other cities in Thrace that depicted wreaths as the main type on the reverse of their coinages are Kallatis, Dionysopolis, and Mesembria.⁴¹

The series with the nymph's head and lion with spear was introduced after the beginning of the series of hemiobols with Milesian types.⁴² The Milesian staters, quarters, and eights were struck with names of citizens on the reverse in four successive

28 Westermark 1989, 301–315; Psoma and Lykiardopoulou-Petrou 2000; Psoma 2008, 321–323.

29 Westermark 1989, 301–315.

30 Psoma 2008, 205–206.

31 Tzvetkova 2009, no. 156.

32 Head 1911, 259.

33 Schönert-Geiss 1975, 8 nos. 1–11, pl. 1.

34 Galani-Krikou 1996, 63–80.

35 Picard 2000, 311, figs. 278–279.

36 Schönert 1965, 101 nos. 69–72, pl. 3.

37 Peter 1997, 181 no. 2.

38 *SNG Cop.* 1168–1169.

39 Psoma 2008, 207–209; Psoma 2009, 309–320.

40 *SNG Cop.* 911.

41 Head 1911, 274 (Kallatis), 274 (Dionysopolis), 278 (Mesembria).

42 Deppert-Lippitz 1984, 258–303; Kinns 1986, 249.



Fig. 10 Paktye (CN 20279)

series. Series I and II of Miletos with these types are dated before 341/340 BC on the basis of their presence in the so-called Pixodaros hoard.⁴³ The earliest fourth-staters and eights were struck with six-rayed stars. All others have eight-rayed stars, a feature shared with the bronzes of Kardia. This may suggest that the bronze coinage of Kardia with Milesian typology began sometime in the late 350s BC and was issued during the 340s BC.

This brings us to the years before the mid-4th century BC for the issue of coins with a female head / seed of wheat and the *chalkoi* with the lion's head / seed of wheat. The types of these *chalkoi* were shared with the earliest series of bronze coinage struck in the name of the *Cherronesioi* and of the city of Paktye (Fig. 10). The Chersonesos bronzes might help us to propose a date for the series in Kardia. The reverse type of these bronzes remained unchanged, but the following types were adopted for the obverse: a right- or left-facing nymph's head, a nymph's head in three-quarter profile, and later Athena's head facing to the left or right. Some of the bronzes with a lion's head on the obverse were excavated at Olynthos,⁴⁴ and, since the large majority of bronze coins reached the capital of the Chalcidean League before its siege by Philip II in 348 BC, we may propose a *terminus ante quem* of c. 350 BC. All other series of obverse types with the lion are of a later date. This corroborates the dates proposed for the bronze series of Kardia with the nymph's head in profile and three-quarter view on the obverse.

Thus, the bronze coinage of Kardia began before the mid-4th century BC and continued for some years after 346 BC, when the city was an ally of Philip II. Its beginning coincided with the period during which Kardia emerged from literary sources against the historical background of Athenian efforts to regain control of the Thracian Chersonese. These efforts began after the successful end of the siege of Samos by Timotheos in early 365 BC. Kardia was a precious ally of Kotys, and it was the Kardians who executed the rebel Miltokythes and his son, the allies of the Athenians in 362 BC (Dem. 23.169).⁴⁵ After the assassination of Kotys in the second half of 360/359 BC and the establishment of his son Kersobleptes in the eastern part

43 Ashton 2002, 208–209.

44 Robinson 1933, 714–718; Robinson and Clement 1938, 334 with note 479.

45 Heskell 1997, 85–89.

of the Odrysian kingdom, Kardia remained faithful to its Odrysian ally. War between Athens on the one hand and Kardia and Kersobleptes on the other was avoided in 354 BC (Dem. 23.183). Kardia was excluded from all negotiations of Kersobleptes with Athens (Dem. 23.181; Diod. Sic. 16.34.4). In 346 BC, the city became an ally of Philip II (Dem. 8.58, 64, 66; 9.35; 10.18, 60, 65, 68). Apollonides of Kardia, the messenger of Kersobleptes to Philip II in 354 BC, received lands from the Macedonian king beyond Agora (Dem. 23.183; 7.39) after the establishment of Macedonian control in the area. Athenian claims to Kardia after the elimination of Kersobleptes by Philip II were not fulfilled. As Kersobleptes had done some years before, Philip II excluded Kardia from all negotiations.

It is during the 340s BC that the hemiobols with the reverse type of Milesian coinage began to be issued. The lion was a reference to the important cult of Apollo in Kardia's metropolis, Miletos.⁴⁶ In this way, the Kardians were stressing their Milesian origin.⁴⁷ The adoption of the metropolis' reverse type may also be connected with Kardia's will to remain free from Athenian control. Similar cases might be detected at Olynthos and with the Chalcideans of Thrace, who first turned to the legendary background of their metropolis, Chalkis. With the types of their federal coinage (Apollo's head, cithara, tripod, and laurel branches), which began after their revolt against Athens, they stressed their origin as colonists under the protection of Apollo.⁴⁸ Amphipolis, the city that defended its autonomy against Athenian claims from 368 to 360 BC, issued a coinage with types referring to Apollo during these years.⁴⁹

When Macedonian control was established in Kardia, Philip's faithful Kardian allies adopted types referring to the local nymph, as far as the obverse was concerned. The lion of Miletos continued to occupy the reverse but adopted the Macedonian habit of holding a spear in his jaws, a reference to royal hunting. It is unclear whether the Macedonian reverse of these coins may refer to their use either by Macedonian soldiers or by Kardians collaborating with Macedonians, but some similar cases that all date between the 380s and the 360s should be noted: Pydna struck bronzes with the types of Amyntas III, and Methone, Skapsa, and Amphipolis did so with the types of Perdikkas III.⁵⁰

46 Ehrhardt 1983, 40–42, 135.

47 The image of Apollo, who was the most significant deity of the metropolis, as well as his attributes, were also referring to their identity as colonists, Apollo being the god who led colonists to their new homes, and thus strengthened the link to the metropolis. For Apollo and the colonies, see Malkin 1987.

48 For the types of the silver coinage of Olynthos, see Psoma 2018. For the depiction of Apollo in coinages of colonies, see Psoma 2017, 414–415. For the beginning of the coinage of the Chalcideans of Thrace, see Psoma 2001, 154–168, 200–203.

49 For this coinage, see Lorber 1990. For dates between 370 and 357 BC, see Psoma 2001, 179–187.

50 See Psoma 2008, 205–206. For Amphipolis, see also Kremydi and Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2016, 176.

Particular attention should be paid to the years before the mid-4th century BC, when Kardias was an ally of Kersobleptes. Some of the earliest bronzes of the city with types referring to the metropolis and the rich agricultural production of the surrounding area come from this time. It was during the 350s that Kardias, Chersonesos,⁵¹ and Paktye (Fig. 10) issued bronzes of the same weight and diameter that also shared types. We thus have three different issuing authorities, all cities on the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonese. Kardias, Chersonesos, and Paktye issued small bronzes with the same types and same arrangement of the legend at the same time. It is possible to view these issues as the products of a coinage coalition or a federal coinage. A *synoikismos* seems less plausible, as Chersonesos continued to mint a small fraction with differing obverse types that followed iconographic traditions introduced by Kardias. Both Chersonesos and Paktye might have been incorporated into Kardias well before Lysimachos established his royal capital in their territories.

51 Tzvetkova 2009, 38.

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10 Thracian Chersonese Surveys of 2011–2012: Observations on the Coin Finds

Arif Yacı

Abstract

The Thracian Chersonese surveys of 2011–2012, directed by Prof. Dr Mustafa H. Sayar, have yielded 63 bronze coins, of which only 36 could be identified. Chronologically, they span the period from about the mid-4th century BC to the Ottoman epoch. Except for one single specimen, all of them were found on the isthmus of the Gallipoli Peninsula, in the area where the ancient cities of Kardia and Lysimacheia were situated.

The coin finds, especially those of the early Hellenistic period, offer a good illustration of the peninsula's troubled history. The earliest of the coins belong to the Kardian mint, while the subsequent issues are represented by the coins of Philip II and Alexander III. The foundation of Lysimacheia resulted in the destruction of the nearby cities of Kardia and Paktye in order to attract their inhabitants to the new capital. Out of 36 identifiable coins, 21 belong to this period. In addition, the Ptolemaic and Seleucid coins, as well as those of the Celtic king, Kauaros, who was known for his activities on the northern coast of the Sea of Marmara, fall into this group of finds.

Keywords

Thracian Chersonese, Kardia, Lysimachos, Lysimacheia, Kauaros

The coins presented in this paper come from the surveys conducted by Prof. Dr Mustafa H. Sayar in 2011–2012 on the Thracian Chersonese (Gallipoli). While the surveys covered the entire peninsula, their main works concentrated on the isthmus of the Gallipoli Peninsula, where all coins but one were found. The entire number of finds amounted to 63 coins, of which 27 were too oxidized and thus could not be identified.

Located in the southeast of Thrace, the Thracian Chersonese is a major crossing point from Europe to Asia (Fig. 1). It also controls the Hellespont that connects the Black Sea and the Aegean. Due to its strategic position, this region was a constant area of interest for many states, who tried to gain control over it throughout its troubled history. The coins found in surveys, especially those of the Hellenistic period, provide important additional evidence of these historical events.

The overall chronology of the coin assemblage covers the period from the 4th century BC to the 17th century AD. The earliest finds, dating to the middle of 4th century BC, are represented by two coins of Kardia (Fig. 2–3), one coin of Philip II (Fig. 4), and one coin of Kyzikos. Kardia began to strike its first coins in the middle of the 4th century



Fig. 1 General map of Thracian Chersonese



Fig. 2 Kardia (AE 16 mm, 3.48 g)



Fig. 3 Kardia (AE 12.5 mm, 1.74 g)



Fig. 4 Philip II (AE 13 mm, 1.06 g)



Fig. 5 Lysimachos (AE 21 mm)

BC. In the 360s BC, it allied with Kotys during his war with Athens¹ and fell under the influence of the Odrysians. Two coins from this period were found in the surveys. They bear the traditional Kardian designs, i.e. a lion, a grain of corn,² and a head of Demeter or Persephone (Fig. 2–3). The lion type might be reminiscent of the city's origins and may have been borrowed from Miletos, one of the mother cities of Kardia. The type of a lion with a spear in its mouth might have symbolized the city's liberation from Athens or the Odrysian domination.³ The grain and Demeter/Persephone types likely refer to the city's agricultural production and its fertile soil. Ancient writers mention the productivity of the Thracian Chersonese's land, especially in terms of grain.⁴

In her study of the coins of Kardia, Tzvetkova distinguishes three different units in the city's coin production. According to her classification, our Kardian coin in Figure 2 belongs to Nominal B, while a smaller specimen in Figure 3 must be Tzvetkova's Nominal C.⁵

One of the coins shown in Figure 4 is a small bronze of Philip II. The choice of Heracles as a type of this coin, and Macedonian coins more generally, can be explained by this hero's role as a mythical ancestor of the Macedonian kings. On the other hand, he was a hero who fought against injustice and was therefore respected by the Greeks.

Another 4th-century BC coin found in the surveys is a small bronze struck in the city of Kyzikos. This coin is similar to the specimen illustrated as Table I.3 in H. von Fritze's work on the bronze coinage of Kyzikos.⁶

The largest group of our coin assemblage consists of Lysimacheian coins. In 309 BC, Lysimachos chose the area on the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonese, where the modern-day village of Bolayır is situated, to be the location of his new capital.⁷ This strategic location offers a good view over the Hellespont and Melas Kolpos. The first of Lysimachos' coins were struck at this site. The design of these coins follows the types of Philip II's coinage with minor modifications, such as a lion protome and the abbreviation ΛΥ. Depicted as a protome or a whole figure, a lion became the canonical *parasemon* of the city of Lysimacheia. Prior to Lysimachos' rule, other cities on the isthmus, such as Kardia, Chersonesos-Agora, and Paktye, used this motif in their coinage, as well. Conversely, the corn-grain type emerging on the coins of these cities

1 Loukopoulou 2004, 907.

2 There is also a corn stalk used as a type.

3 Tzvetkova 2009, 42.

4 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.8; Thuc. 1.11; Eur. *Hec.* 8.

5 For detailed information on Kardian coins, see Tzvetkova 2009, 33–54.

6 Fritze 1917, 1–30.

7 For Lysimacheia, see Weiss 1927, 2554–2556 and Sayar 2007, 514–517.

also occurs as a symbol on the Lysimacheian coins. The phenomenon of a lion being used as a coin type also remained in use in the post-Lysimachian period.

The type distribution of the coins of Lysimachos/Lysimacheia presented in this paper (Fig. 5–9) is as follows:

Head of Athena/lion right 3 ex (Fig. 5).

Head of Tyche/sitting lion 1 ex (Fig. 6).

Head of Athena/lion's protome 1 ex (Fig. 8).

Head of Heracles/Nike 6 ex (Fig. 7).

Head of Athena/trophy 1 ex.

Head of Hermes/ΑΥ ΣΙ within wreath 2 ex.

Head of Heracles/ΒΑΣΙ ΑΥΣΙ within wreath 2 ex.

Lion's head/corn ear ΑΥ ΣΙ 2 ex (Fig. 9).

The Ptolemaic rule began over the peninsula during Ptolemy III Euergetes' reign and weakened in the last quarter of the 3rd century BC. In this period, the Celtic king Kauaros, who titled himself *basileus*, undertook military campaigns in the Hellespont and on the northern coast of the Propontis. Bronze Lysimacheian coins were also struck under his reign, along with posthumous Alexander III tetradrachms. In c. 200 BC, hoping to benefit from these politically unstable conditions, the Macedonian king, Philip V, launched a military expedition in the Thracian Chersonese. The surveys conducted in the region have also yielded bronze coins from these periods, namely the Ptolemaic (Fig. 10) and Seleucid (Fig. 11–12), as well as the coins of Kauaros (Fig. 13) and Philip V (Fig. 14). The remaining Macedonian coins presented in this paper are the anonymous bronze coins that bear typical Macedonian shield and war helmet depictions.

In 190 BC, following the Battle of Magnesia, the peninsula was endowed to the Kingdom of Pergamon, which was a Roman ally. Consequently, when Attalos III, the King of Pergamon, bequeathed his kingdom to Rome in 133 BC, the Thracian Chersonese became part of the Roman territory. The only Roman coin found during the surveys dates to the 4th century AD.

The only Byzantine coin was a Class E anonymous follis (Fig. 15) found on a small hill called Kalanoro located on the coast of the Hellespont. Situated in close proximity to the Münipbey Stream, this site is thought to be likely a candidate for the location of Aigospotamoi or its port.

The latest specimen in our collection is represented by an Ottoman coin minted in Saray under the reign of Suleiman II (AD 1687–1691).



Fig. 6 Lysimacheia (AE 20 mm)



Fig. 7 Lysimacheia (AE 23 mm)



Fig. 8 Lysimachos (AE 15 mm)



Fig. 9 Lysimacheia (AE 14 mm)



Fig. 10 Ptolemaic coin (AE 18 mm)



Fig. 11 Seleucid coin (AE 16 mm)

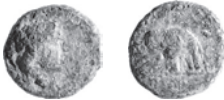


Fig. 12 Seleucid coin (AE 13 mm)

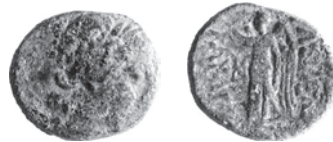


Fig. 13 Kauaros. (AE 20 mm)



Fig. 14 Philip V (AE 23 mm)



Fig. 15 Byzantine Class E Follis (AE 29 mm)

Distribution of the coins

Kardia: 2

Kyzikos: 1

Lysimachos/Lysimacheia: 18

Ptolemaic: 1

Seleucid: 5

Kauaros: 1

Macedonian: 5

Roman Imperial: 1

Byzantine: 1

Ottoman: 1

Unidentified: 27

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11 Les monnayages de Thasos dans leurs relations avec les monnayages thraces

Olivier Picard

Résumé

Dès la fondation de leur cité, les Thasiens ont manifesté un vif intérêt pour les mines d'argent du continent, comme le montrent la circulation de leurs monnaies en Thrace et l'influence qu'ils ont exercée sur plusieurs monnayages thraces. Notre étude se limitera à la première série, au type du Silène (513-404).

Lors de la création de la monnaie dans la région, au moment où les Perses imposent un tribut aux peuples et aux cités, l'étroite parenté iconographique et technique que l'on constate entre les statères de Thasos du 1^{er} groupe et ceux au type de l'enlèvement de la ménade par un centaure nous fait connaître les relations entre les Thasiens et certains peuples thraces.

L'interruption de ces premiers monnayages thraces vers 470/460 ne met pas fin à la circulation des statères thasiens du 2^e groupe. Ceux-ci font l'objet d'imitations en pays thraces.

La guerre du Péloponnèse voit l'apparition de petites émissions attribuées à des dynastes thraces, qui reprennent des types thasiens du 3^e groupe, cependant que les petites fractions frappées alors en très grand nombre par Thasos sont très abondantes autour du domaine continental de Thasos.

Après 390, Thasos cessa de jouer un rôle sur le Continent et son nouveau monnayage n'y circula pas

Keywords

Thasos, Thraces, mines d'or et d'argent, Tribut, Pangée

Les Anciens savaient depuis un passé très ancien que la région du Pangée possédait des gisements d'or et d'argent.¹ Les quelques restes conservés des vers que le poète Archiloque a consacrés à la fondation de Thasos, vers 670, laissent entendre que l'installation des Pariens est liée à la volonté de tirer profit de cette richesse.² Pour exploiter les mines, il leur fallait, après avoir pris possession de l'île, combattre les Thraces du continent, qui étaient d'excellents guerriers, beaucoup plus nombreux que les Grecs, ou bien s'entendre avec eux. Les textes nous donnent peu d'informations sur ce sujet, mais les monnaies apportent des informations intéressantes.

L'histoire de la région, surtout connue lors des interventions de puissances étrangères, amènent à distinguer six périodes, caractérisées par des formes de relations et des monnaies différentes.

1- La fondation de l'*apoikia* de Thasos est un cas très particulier dans l'histoire de la colonisation grecque : Archiloque évoque la venue de Grecs très pauvres attirés

1 Hdt. 2.44 et 6.46 ; Arist. [*Mir. ausc.*] 45 ; Strab. 7. fg. 34.

2 Salviat 2017.

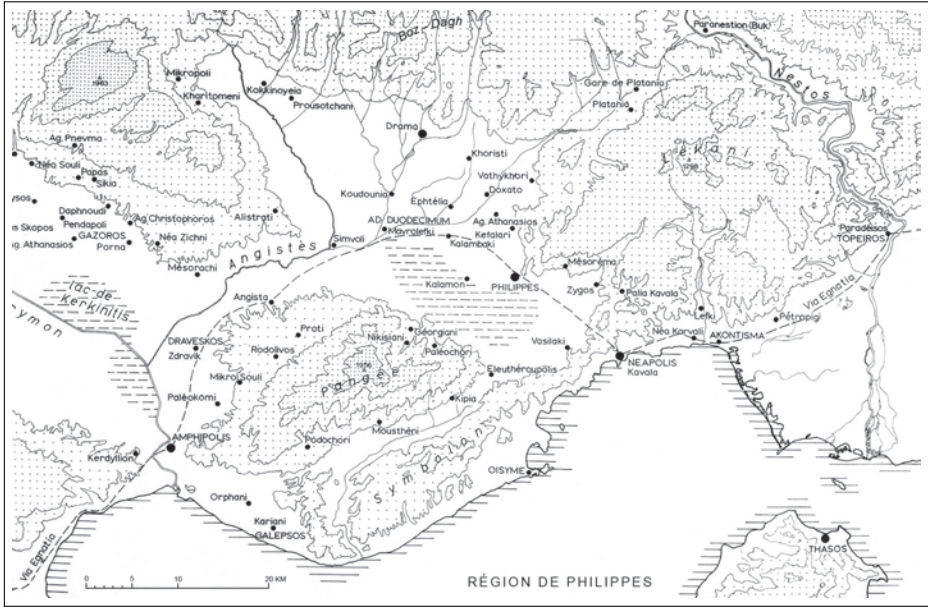


FIG. 1 L'Épire de Thasos



FIG. 2 Le silène de Thasos

par la richesse de Thasos, des combats sur le continent, un *dôron* payé en or. Le nombre des colons est particulièrement élevé : aux premiers arrivés s'ajoute bientôt un contingent de mille nouveaux colons.³ Non seulement les Thasiens contrôlent toute l'île, mais ils cherchent à s'installer sur la côte en face. En dehors de Thasos, les restes d'exploitations minières sont particulièrement nombreux au N-E du Pangée et à l'est du massif de la Lekané. Il y en a aussi sur le Mont Symbolon et dans la vallée

3 Archil. fgs. 97-98, 108 (Lasserre et Bonnard).

du Strymon, au Nord du lac Kerkinitis, près de Bergè.⁴ Dès le début les Thasiens s'installent sur la côte, construisent des emporia, Néapolis, Oisymé, Néapolis-Kavalla, Symè (dont le site est inconnu) : ils commencent à former ce qu'ils appelleront leur *Épire* (Figure 1). Jusqu'où et dans quelles conditions pénètrent-ils dans l'intérieur, nous ne le savons pas. Dès la fin du VI^e siècle, nous devinons la présence de Thasiens dans la moyenne vallée du Strymon. Il est probable que, pour y arriver, ils ont utilisé la route traditionnelle, qui passe par le nord du Pangée : c'est le trajet que reprendra la via Egnatia. Il y eut des combats, mais aussi des accords avec des chefs Thraces (achat d'esclaves contre vente de vin, échanges de services guerriers de toutes sortes), que nous ne connaissons pas.

2- La conquête de la Trace égéenne par les Perses en 513 change la situation. Le nouveau maître, Darius, donne de vastes domaines miniers à des *Philoï*, comme Histiée de Milet qui reçoit une terre près du Strymon et aussi le domaine de Datès / Datos, au nom typiquement perse, sur lequel s'élèvera plus tard la ville de Philippes. Il impose aux peuples thraces et aux cités grecques de la côte un tribut, qui devait être payé en monnaie, comme en Asie Mineure. Cela est sûr à l'époque de Xerxès mais cela remontait au temps de la conquête. Ces décisions développent l'exploitation des mines et, à mon avis, c'est alors que la monnaie est introduite dans la région.⁵ La monnaie a entraîné une forme de collaboration entre Thraces et Grecs, dont les Thasiens et les peuples thraces voisins nous montrent le meilleur exemple.

Thasos construit sa monnaie à partir d'une trité de 3.90-4.0 g (divisée en quatre hémihecté), et d'un statère dont le poids est plus irrégulier, autour de 10 g et un peu en dessous.⁶ Le système suit un modèle pondéral venu d'Asie Mineure. Comme type, la cité choisit l'image du silène, qu'elle sculpte au même moment sur une des portes de la ville (Figure 2). Sur les monnaies les plus anciennes, jusque vers 430, le silène a des sabots de cheval, tandis que sur le relief, les pieds sont humains, comme le reste du corps. Il porte un canthare, que l'on retrouvera à la fin du V^e siècle sur une fraction de monnaie, les hémihecté. Sur les monnaies, il enlève une ménade. Ces monnaies au silène ne portent pas d'ethnique, mais elles doivent être attribuées en toute certitude à Thasos.⁷

Cette ménade, nous allons la retrouver avec la même chevelure, la même main de profil (en Y), sur deux séries de statères du même poids, ayant le même revers. Sur une série le ravisseur est un centaure, avec, comme il est normal, un corps de cheval (Figure 3). Mais le torse du centaure, la manière dont il tient la Ménade sont exactement

4 Zannis 2014.

5 Picard 2000b.

6 Picard 1982, 412-424.

7 Cela a été mis en doute, par exemple Price et Waggoner 1975, 35-36.

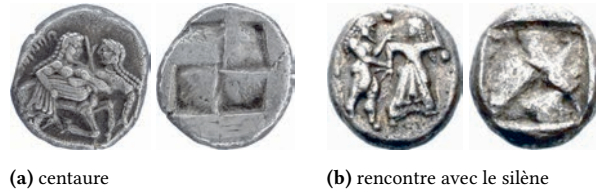


FIG. 3 Statères à la ménade

les mêmes que sur les statères au silène : c'est très net dans le dessin de l'épaule et des bras. Il est fort possible que certains des coins des deux séries aient été gravés par un même graveur. Mais dans ce monnayage, seulement 60% des monnaies sont anonymes, d'autres portent différents ethniques, dont le plus fréquent est celui des Orreskii. Certains de ces ethniques associés au type de l'enlèvement par un centaure, dont celui des Orreskii, se retrouvent sur d'autres monnaies de types différents.⁸ C'est une grande différence entre Grecs et Thraces : les Grecs organisent leur monnayage par cité, les Thraces n'associent pas un type à un *ethnos*. Peut-être le type monétaire est-il lié à un secteur minier où plusieurs peuples sont associés, comme paraissent le montrer les monnaies au cavalier utilisant l'argent du Mont Dysoron.⁹ Le plus vraisemblable est de mettre ces monnaies au centaure en relation avec le bassin de Datos / Philippes.¹⁰

Une autre série représente la rencontre de la ménade et du silène qui, comme à Thasos, a des sabots de cheval (Figure 3). Le système pondéral, fondé sur un statère divisé en $1/12^e$, les hémihecté, est le même que celui de Thasos et des statères au centaure. Le dessin est plus maladroit, l'ouvrier moins maître de son art, ce qui a pu faire penser, sans preuve, que ces monnaies avaient commencé plus tôt. Mais les poids sont les mêmes et ces pièces circulent ensemble. Ces pièces sont toutes anonymes. On a d'abord voulu les donner aux Létéens, mais sans preuve. Récemment, S. Psôma a proposé de les attribuer au secteur minier où se développera la cité de Bergé.¹¹

Pour m'en tenir à ce qui est assuré, je parlerais d'un cercle de la Ménade, qui associe très étroitement aux Thasiens différents peuples thraces, qui exploitent à leur profit plusieurs secteurs miniers. Ce n'est certes qu'une hypothèse que seul le progrès des analyses de métal permettrait de vérifier.

8 Tzamalīs 2012.

9 Picard 2016.

10 Zannis 2014, 178–181, 523–539, veut distinguer radicalement Datos et Philippes. Cette hypothèse est contredite par les sources, cf. Picard 2016.

11 Psoma 2006, 61–85.



FIG. 4 Statères du groupe 2 (463-430) et imitations thraces

3- La défaite de Xerxès en 480/79 ouvre une période de combats pour le contrôle des mines. Xerxès entendait sans doute garder le pays à l'Est du Strymon, mais les Perses en seront chassés peu à peu. Quelle que soit la valeur de notre hypothèse d'un domaine perse, Datos, appelé aussi *chôra Datou*, ou pays des Daténiens, passe alors à d'autres maîtres. Parmi ceux qui cherchent à se tailler un domaine minier, il y a des Thraces, dont les actions sont inconnues, le roi Alexandre de Macédoine, et surtout Thasos et Athènes. Alexandre, qui franchit alors le Strymon, n'a sans doute pas poussé jusque-là et, après le désastre subi par les Athéniens dans la région de Datos,¹² restent les Thraces et les Thasiens : ceux-ci ont pu trouver moyen de s'associer à l'exploitation de l'argent, sans pour autant contrôler le pays, sous une forme que nous ne connaissons pas.

Nous retrouvons ces différents rivaux en 465, quand Thasos décide de sortir de la symmachie athénienne pour défendre ses intérêts. Vaincue, Thasos doit payer tribut à Athènes et lui céder le revenu des mines et des *emporía*. Les monnayages thraces qui avaient continué après 478, s'arrêtent vers 470-465. Thasos modifie alors sa monnaie, le poids est abaissé à 8.60 g (un statère attique) et le changement est signalé par une modification du dessin de la main, qui est maintenant représentée de face, les cinq doigts visibles : ce schéma caractérise le groupe 2 (Figure 4). Les trésors montrent que ces nouveaux statères de Thasos circulent en pays thrace, dans

12 C'est « le combat pour les mines » qu'évoque Hérodote 9.75, tandis que Thucydide 1.100.3, précise « à Drabescos ». Sur les tentatives de localisation, cf. Zannis 2014, 141-143, 419-425.



FIG. 5 Hémihecté, fin V^e siècle

les hautes vallées du Strymon, du Nestos et de l'Hébro^s¹³ : c'est dans ce secteur que se trouve le site de Pistiros, où la présence thasienne est bien attestée au V^e siècle et où une inscription célèbre mentionne, dans le premier tiers du IV^e, la présence d'*emporoi* thasiens qui prêtent de l'argent au dynaste et à des Thraces.¹⁴ En revanche, les chouettes athéniennes ne circulent pas en pays thrace.

Cet intérêt des Thraces pour les monnaies de Thasos explique que certains en viennent frapper des imitations du statère thasien, peut-être dès les années 430–420 (Figure 4).¹⁵ Ces frappes se poursuivent dans la première moitié du IV^e siècle, jusqu'à l'époque où le tétradrachme de Philippe II devient la monnaie de référence chez les Thraces. Bien que les types soient les mêmes, la médiocrité du style, la pauvreté du métal et l'abaissement du poids indiquent que ces monnaies sont des imitations.

4- La deuxième partie de la guerre du Péloponnèse ouvre un épisode nouveau dans les relations monétaires entre Thasos et les Thraces. La défaite d'Athènes en Sicile, la réaction oligarchique qui suit permettent à Thasos de retrouver son indépendance : elle recommence à frapper monnaie en changeant à nouveau le style du statère. Mais le phénomène le plus significatif est la reprise de la frappe des petites dénominations, surtout des hémihecté. Le silène galopant seul du premier groupe (513–465) revient, désormais avec un canthare à la main. C'est exactement le même canthare que celui du relief de la porte du silène. Plus remarquable, le revers porte maintenant lui aussi un type, une amphore avec des anses à volute et l'ethnique ΘΑΣ/ΩΝ. Ces pièces ont été frappées en très grand nombre. On en trouve à Pistiros et dans plusieurs sites juste au-delà de l'Épire thasienne. J'imagine, sans en avoir la preuve, que ces pièces ont servi à payer des guerriers, dans des opérations militaires que nous ne connaissons pas.

Cette hypothèse s'appuie sur deux émissions très curieuses. La première est une hémihecté en tout point semblable à celles de Thasos, à une différence près : l'ethnique

13 Picard 2011, 84–90, avec la carte, fig. 5.

14 Chankowsky et Domaradzka 1999, 247–258 ; Picard 1999, 331–346.

15 Youroukova 1980, 205–214 ; Picard 1982, 412–424.



FIG. 6 Trité de Thasos et de Bergaios

est remplacé par le nom ΣΑΡ/ΑΤΟ-, disposé en deux colonnes, exactement comme l'ethnique ΘΑΣ/ΙΩΝ. Saratokos est un nom thrace. Le style est identique à celui des pièces de Thasos, au point qu'on conclurait volontiers que les coins ont été gravés par un graveur de Thasos, pour ne pas dire que ces monnaies ont été frappées dans l'atelier de Thasos (Figure 6). Il y a quelques exemples ailleurs de monnaies de dynastes non grecs frappées dans l'atelier d'une cité, comme les statères du roi Monounios frappées à Dyrrachion.¹⁶

Le deuxième cas est celui des trités de Bergaios, qui utilisent le type des trités de Thasos, à une différence près : le mot ΒΕΡΓΑΙΟΥ, gravé dans un marli autour du carré incus (Figure 7). Par-delà l'identité de types, la gravure de ces pièces atteste une très grande parenté avec le monnayage thasien contemporain : elles reprennent un schéma très complexe, en présentant le couple silène - ménade de trois-quarts face, avec une justesse du dessin anatomique, qui est une prouesse technique ; le style des têtes et du corps sont exactement les mêmes. Ici encore, il est certain que des graveurs et des techniciens de l'atelier thasien ont participé au travail.

La légende ΒΕΡΓΑΙΟΥ, la seule qui soit gravée sur ces trités, est difficile à interpréter. A la différence de Saratokos, le mot n'est pas thrace, mais on peut le mettre en rapport avec l'ethnique de la cité de Bergè. Trois hypothèses sont possibles. Ou bien « *βεργαίον* » est un adjectif qualifiant le mot *nomisma* sous-entendu et ces pièces seraient le seul monnayage attesté de Bergè. Ou bien Bergaios est un nom, celui d'un monétaire de Thasos, le seul qui ait signé de son nom une émission de cette époque. Je me demande, comme l'a déjà proposé U. Peter¹⁷ si ce ne serait pas plutôt celui d'un chef de guerre opérant sur le continent, où a été trouvé le seul trésor connu de ces pièces.¹⁸ Les liens avec Thasos sont très étroits : artistiques, techniques, à quoi s'ajoute la circulation de ces pièces dans le voisinage de l'Épire thasienne. Ces années de la fin de la guerre du Péloponnèse et des troubles de l'après-guerre jusqu'à la reconstitution

16 Meta 2015, 165–173.

17 Peter 1997, 104–106.

18 Psoma 2002, 205–229.



(a) CN 13472, 16.70 g



(b) BnF, 16.00 g



(c) BnF

FIG. 7 Tétradrachme de Thasos et imitations thraces

de la cité en 390¹⁹ ont été très agitées : le contrôle des richesses du pays oppose comme toujours les Thasiens qui veulent récupérer ce qu'ils ont perdu depuis 463, les Thraces qui s'estiment les maîtres légitimes, à qui nous pouvons ajouter ceux qui travaillent sur le terrain. Mais ces événements n'ont pas trouvé d'historien.

19 Picard 2000a.

5- La nouvelle cité reconstituée en 390 adopte un monnayage entièrement nouveau, que nous pouvons appeler, d'après une inscription, le monnayage des dieux gardiens. Ce monnayage ne semble pas avoir circulé en pays thrace, qui n'en a pas donné de trésor.²⁰ Le grand événement de la période est la rupture qui intervient vers 360 entre Thasos, mais aussi les Thraces, et les Thasiens du Continent : ceux-ci se constituent en une cité autonome où l'on peut penser qu'un certain nombre de Thraces hellénisés avaient été incorporés.²¹ La réaction des chefs Thraces des alentours fait échouer l'entreprise et entraîne l'intervention du roi Philippe de Macédoine qui refonde la cité avec une population renouvelée. Désormais le roi est *de facto* maître de la région. Thasos ne conserve qu'une petite partie de son Épire et n'est plus en mesure de jouer un rôle quelconque en pays thrace, aussi longtemps que vit le royaume de Macédoine.

6- Le dernier monnayage qui atteste des relations très étroites entre Thasos et le pays thrace est créé par la cité à partir des années 170, à une époque où Thasos est devenue l'alliée fidèle de Rome qui l'a délivrée de l'occupation macédonienne. Il reprend le thème des dieux gardiens, mais en rajeunissant leur image : le Dionysos du droit, couronné de lierre et l'Héraclès du revers, la main droite appuyée sur sa massue, la léonté sur l'épaule gauche, sont des dieux jeunes. La cité adopte l'étalon attique. Le type de revers n'est pas entouré d'une couronne, comme à Athènes, et la légende est disposée en carré sur trois côtés, selon une autre mode connue en Asie Mineure. Ses caractéristiques aussi bien techniques, la forme du flan large et mince, que stylistiques, la mise en page de la légende, placent ce monnayage dans la lignée des nouvelles monnaies émises après les alexandres.

Peu abondante au début, la production connaît un développement remarquable à partir des années 125, quand commencent les guerres thraces qui, elles aussi, sont très mal connues.²² Le monnayage thasien est alors, par son importance,²³ le second du monde grec après celui d'Athènes et faute de pouvoir expliquer un tel monnayage par l'hypothèse traditionnelle du commerce, on a parlé de « römische Geld im griechischen Gewand ».²⁴ Les tétradrachmes thasiens font partie avec ceux de Maronée (qui adopte alors le type créé un demi-siècle plus tôt par Thasos)²⁵ ainsi que les drachmes contemporaines frappées les cités de Dyrrachion et d'Apollonia en Illyrie et, bien sûr, les monnayages de la province de Macédoine, des numéraires qui ont permis

20 Picard 2011, 92–97.

21 Diod. Sic. 16.3.7, 16.8.6; App. *B Civ.* 4.105, que l'on consultera dans les éditions procurées récemment par App. *B Civ.* 4.105, que l'on consultera dans l'édition procurée récemment par P. Goukowsky, Les Belles Lettres, (Paris 2015), p. [lxxxiii–lxxxix]. Voir Picard 1994, 409–424 et Salviat 2017.

22 Picard 2008, 465–493.

23 Prokopov 2006.

24 Prokopov 2006, 19–20. Parlent aussi de « monnayage romain » Crawford 1985, 131–132; Meadows 2002, 256–258 no. 265 et d'autres.

25 Schönert-Geiss 1987.

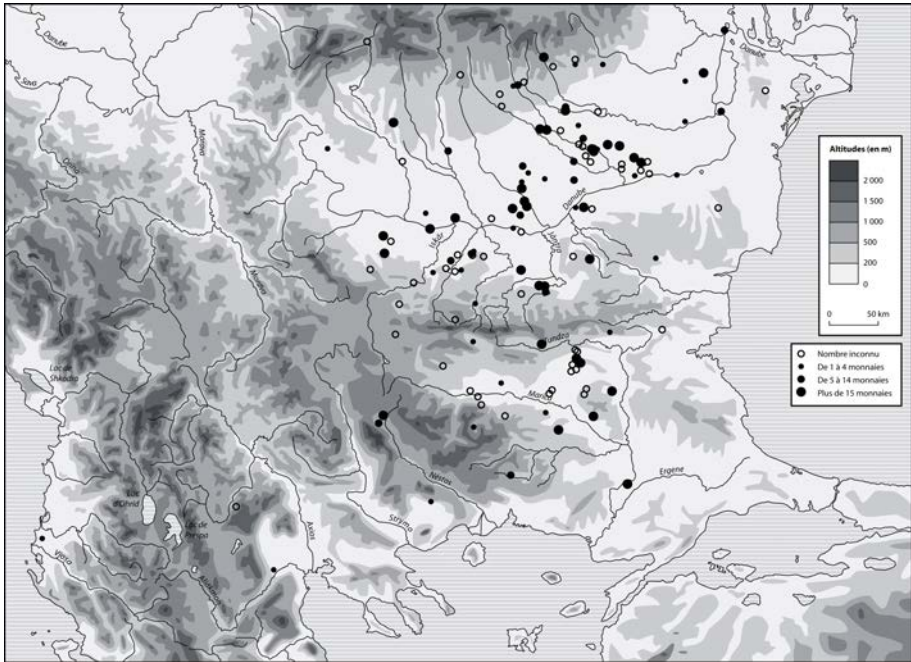


FIG. 8 Les trésors de tétradrachmes thasiens (120–80 av. J.-C.)

aux alliés de Rome tout au long de ces guerres thraces de répondre aux exigences financières de Rome. Ce ne sont pas pour autant des monnayages « pseudo-romains ». Les marques de contrôle qui sont organisées selon un système particulier à chaque cité –dont le fonctionnement nous échappe encore à Thasos– montrent que la frappe est bien sous l'autorité de la cité. L'emploi de types différents par atelier paraît bien indiquer que la collecte de l'argent se faisait par régions, sous l'autorité de la cité. D'autres indices, comme la frappe de monnayages de bronze, dont les types sont propres à chaque cité, confirment que ce sont bien des monnayages civiques, émis dans une période très particulière, pour répondre aux exigences de l'allié tout puissant. Les trésors qui nous les font connaître sont très nombreux. Ils ont été enfouis en Thrace dans des régions connues pour avoir été hostiles aux Romains et au nord du Danube, que les légions romaines n'ont pas franchi à cette époque : c'est le produit du butin fait par les peuples coalisés contre Rome.²⁶

A côté de ces monnaies thasiennes, on trouve deux sortes d'imitations thraces. Les premières, très peu nombreuses, portent des noms thraces, comme celle qui a pour

²⁶ Picard 2008, 99–103, avec la carte, 102.

légende l'expression très intéressante ΚΟΤΥΟΣ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ, gravure (ou type) de Kotys, le roi thrace qui est connu comme allié de Rome. Les secondes, qui sont au contraire très abondantes, reprennent sans aucun doute le type créé par Thasos, avec beaucoup de maladresse : si l'on reconnaît sans peine la tête de Dionysos et Héraclès au revers, la légende est illisible, faite de points gravés à l'emplacement des lettres. Ces monnaies, regroupées parfois un peu vite sous le nom de *ostkeltisch*, sont celles des ennemis de Rome.

Tout au long de l'histoire du monnayage de Thasos, le rapport avec les Thraces a été un des facteurs majeurs de la politique monétaire de la cité. Exploitation de mines, guerres, certainement aussi commerce entraînent des échanges nombreux et variés, que les monnaies facilitent et dont elles expliquent l'intensité. Ces échanges sont sans aucun doute à l'origine de la fortune de Thasos.

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12 A New Type of Small Silver Coins Struck in the Name of the Paradynast Seuthes (c. 405–387 BC) found in Emporion Pistiros

Boryana Russeva

Abstract

The author examines a unique silver coin, found during the excavations of the 'Emporion Pistiros', an archaeological site near the town of Septemvri, situated upstream on the Maritsa River (ancient Hebros). This little coin (0.29 g) is apparently a fraction smaller than a *hemiobol*, i.e. a *tetartemorion*, struck with the types 'horse head to left / wheel with four spokes and the name Σ-E-V-Θ within'. The fact that the numismatic assemblage of Pistiros contains numerous bronze coins of Seuthes II, the paradynast of Medokos (c. 405–391 BC) mentioned by Xenophon in his *Anabasis*, makes it possible that he was also responsible for this interesting emission of small silver.

Keywords

Emporion Pistiros, Odrysian kingdom, Thracian dynasts, Seuthes I, Seuthes II, Medokos

The Archaeological Museum (AM) in Septemvri houses artefacts from the archaeological excavations at the settlement known as 'Emporion Pistiros'.¹ In this collection, I came across a small silver coin that remained undefined since the time of its discovery. It can be described as follows:

Obverse: Horse head to left, its large almond-shaped eye well outlined. The ear and the mane of the animal are not very clear because of corrosion.

Reverse: Letters Σ-E-V-Θ between four spokes of an incuse wheel.

Silver; 0.29 g; cleaned, but badly corroded; AM-Septemvri, inv. no. 1.284 (Fig. 1).

The abovementioned coin is a fraction of an obol, probably a tetartemorion, i.e. 1/4 of an obol.

Another similar coin from a private collection weighs 0.38 g and was found somewhere in the Plovdiv region (Fig. 2).² Both coins belong to the same series and share the same reverse die.³

1 This is the name by which they usually call the ancient fortified settlement at the site of Adzhiyska Vodenitsa near the town of Vetren in the Septemvri municipality, in the region of the Upper Maritsa Valley. The researchers have adopted this name from the stone inscription that was found nearby and mentions Pistiros.

2 Toromanov 2007, 32–34. The author mentions a third unpublished coin of the same types but larger in size, which also was in possession of a collector 'residing in the Haskovo region' (*ibid.*, 33).

3 The highly corroded obverse of the coin from 'Emporion Pistiros', along with the poor quality of the photographs I was working with, make it difficult to say whether the obverses are also identical, i.e. of the same die.



Fig. 1 Silver 'tetartemorion' of Seuthes II from the area of 'Emporion Pistiros' (scale 3:1).



Fig. 2 Silver 'tetartemorion' of Seuthes II from Plovdiv region (scale 3:1).

A. Toromanov and S. Topalov⁴ have ascribed the silver coins of the type 'horse head / wheel with four spokes' bearing the inscription ΣΕΥΘ[Ο] to Seuthes I, son of Sparadokos and nephew of Sitalkes, who was a ruler of the Odrysian Kingdom from c. 424 to c. 405 BC. According to Topalov, all silver and bronze coins with the name of Seuthes minted before the time of Lysimachos' contemporary, Seuthes III, belong to the coinage of Sparadokos' son.⁵ He rules out the possibility of coinage under Seuthes II, the paradynast of Medokos the Odrysian (c. 405–391 BC), mentioned by Xenophon in his *Anabasis* and *Hellenika*.

In his paper from 1999, Kamen Dimitrov⁶ re-examined a bronze coin of the type 'horse protome to right / round vessel with a handle', which was previously published by Topalov and erroneously attributed to the regal coinage of the Odrysian king Medokos.⁷ His new attributions base the new reading of the legend on the coin reverse where the name ΣΕΥΘΟ can be discerned. Thus, as shown by Dimitrov, the entire group of heavy bronze coins with the types 'horse protome to right / round or conical vessel with one or two handles' and the name of ΣΕΥΘΟ received its new and, to my mind, true addressee – Seuthes II.

The famous 'hero' mentioned by Xenophon⁸ was Seuthes, son of Maisades, a foster son and paradynast of Medokos.⁹ With the help of Xenophon's hoplites, he became 'the ruler of the sea areas',¹⁰ while Medokos was 'king of the inland'.¹¹ As Alexander Fol notes, among the few names of paradynasts known from the whole political

4 Toromanov 2007, 32–34; Topalov 2006, 125.

5 Topalov 2006, 117–127.

6 Dimitrov 1999, 178–180.

7 Topalov 1994, 32–38. Ulrike Peter accepted the same attribution in her book on the Thracian royal coinages (Peter 1997, 92, fig. 3). Topalov later redacted himself assigning the same coins from Metokos to Seuthes I (Topalov 2000, 15–17).

8 Xen. *An.* 7.2.17–38, 7.3.17–38, 7.4–8; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.2–3, 3.2.5, 3.2.8–11, 4.8.26. The works of Xenophon were used in their Bulgarian translation. See *Ksenofont* 1985.

9 Seuthes describes him as 'the present-day King' (Xen. *An.* 7.2.32), who 'lives twelve days away from the sea in the inland' (Xen. *An.* 7.3.16).

10 Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.26.

11 Xen. *Hell.* 7.7.3. The late Margarita Tačeva discusses in detail the personality of Seuthes II in her last book (Tačeva 2006, 98–105). Obviously influenced by the studies of S. Topalov, she erroneously associates the heavy bronze

history of the Thracians,¹² ‘Maisades alone [paradynast of the Melanditai, Thynoi and Tranipsai] and his son Seuthes, known as Seuthes II, hold a certain paradynastic rank’.¹³

While the questions of Odrysian genealogy and the location of the mint that produced heavy bronzes of the ‘Maroneian’ types with the names of Medokos/Metokos, Amadokos/Amatokos (I), Seuthes (II), Kotys (I), Amadokos/Amatokos (II), and Teres (II) remain highly speculative, the concentration of the finds of these coins in the area of ‘Emporion Pistiros’ is certain. As of May 2013, the total number of these coins amounted to 143 specimens, including 10 AR and 133 AE. Their classification by ruler, metal, and type is as follows:

Medokos/Amadokos I: three silver and 35 bronze coins, of which 21 belong to the type ‘bunch of grape / *labrys*’ and six to the type ‘horse prancing to right / *labrys*’;¹⁴

Seuthes II: one silver ‘tetartemorion’ of the type ‘horse head to left / Σ-E-V-Θ between spokes of incuse wheel’ and 11 bronze specimens of the type ‘horse protome to right / round, conical, or bi-conical vessel with one or two handles’;¹⁵

Kotys I: six silver coins of two obverse types (‘head of the bearded king with moustache’ and ‘young male head’) and 51 bronze coins.¹⁶ 36 of them belong to the type ‘horseman / conical or cylindrical vessel with two handles’, twelve are of the type ‘horse protome to left’¹⁷ / round or conical vessel with one or two handles’, and two specimens are of the type ‘bearded head with moustache to left or to right / conical vessel with two handles’ with the inscription KOTYΟΣ,¹⁸

issues of the type ‘horse protome to right / round or conical vessel’ bearing the name ΣΕΥΘΟ with the coinage of Seuthes I (Tačeva 2006, 85–86).

12 Fol 1972, 131.

13 Fol 1972, 133.

14 For now, it seems more acceptable to relate the typologically similar bronze coins (bunch of grapes / *labrys* and horse prancing to right / *labrys*) with the names MHTOKO and AMATOKO to the same issuing authorities, as suggested already by A. Fol in his study of the historical and linguistic aspects of the problem (Fol 1975, 103–105).

15 The eleventh bronze coin of the same type, magnificently preserved and with a distinct legend, was discovered in 2014 by G. Lazov, who presented it in the spring 2015 report (see Lazov 2015, 202, figs. 3–6). In the same article, the author also mentions a newly-found bronze coin of Kotys I (Lazov 2015, 202).

16 During the excavations of 2014, G. Lazov found yet another bronze coin of Kotys I, but does not mention its type or provide any illustration (see note 15 above Lazov 2015, 202). It is the fifty-first Kotys bronze coin known to me so far. It is not unlikely that more coins of this Odrysian dynast might have been found in recent years.

17 The AM-Septemvri houses a bronze coin of Kotys I (Inv. no. 1.2174, 14.46 g). The horse protome on its obverse is shown turned to the right instead of its regular direction to the left. If my description is correct, the coin in question, bearing a distinct legend KO-T-Y on its reverse, would be the only one of its kind (see also Topalov 2006, 203–204). The museum in Septemvri keeps another bronze coin, whose attribution cannot be ascertained because of the thick corrosion covering its reverse. The obverse of this coin (Inv. no. 1.2117, 15.40 g) shows horse protome to left, which also makes possible its association with Kotys.

18 Obviously, the silver and bronze issues of Kotys I discovered during the excavations in Pistiros significantly exceed those of the other Odrysian rulers of the first half of the 4th century BC in number, diversity of images, and nominal value. It seems that the finds of Kotys’ coins in ‘Emporion Pistiros’ represent the entire range of



Fig. 3 Silver diobol of Medokos 'ruler's head / labrys' (12 mm, 1.03/1.05 g) from the excavations in 'Emporion Pistiros', season 1988.

Amadokos II: 5 bronze coins of the type 'labrys / vine with five bunches of grape within square linear border' with the name AMATOKO;

Teres II: 18 bronze coins of the same type with the name THPEΩ; and

Amadokos II or Teres II: 12 bronze coins of the same type without legends. Two of them are fragmented.¹⁹

The numismatic assemblage of the Adzhiyska Vodenitsa ('Emporion Pistiros') settlement presented above makes it possible to ascribe the issue of silver 'tetartemorion' of the type 'horse head to left / wheel' with the legend Σ-E-V-Θ to Seuthes II rather than Seuthes I. The 'tetartemorion' from Pistiros with the name of Seuthes II corresponds perfectly to the silver 'diobols' of the king from 'the inland', Medokos (Fig. 3),²⁰ as well as to the heavy bronzes of his paradynast, 'the ruler of the sea areas', Seuthes II (Fig. 4-6).²¹

types and denominations that were produced in his name by one or several Greek cities under his 'protection'. This phenomenon is a matter of a special study which awaits publication.

- 19 The last specimen in my list of the early Odrysian royal coins from 'Emporion Pistiros' is Inv. no. 2.369 (15.39g). Its surface is badly corroded, making the identification of the legend and designs impossible. According to its texture, the specimen must belong to one of the Odrysian rulers discussed here, from Medokos or Teres II, although we cannot classify it more precisely. A heavy coin blank discovered at the settlement can perhaps also be added to the same group of the Pistiros numismatic assemblage, although we cannot be absolutely sure about its relationship to the heavy Odrysian bronzes in question.
- 20 Three silver coins of the type 'ruler's head / labrys' with the name of MHTOKO are kept in the AM-Septemvri under Inv. nos. 1.62 (1.03/1.05 g; see Fig. 3), 1.2134 (0.53 g), and 1.2190 (1.11 g). In this regard, it needs to be noted that Medokos, like Seuthes II, also minted small silver coins (*tetartemorion*?) of the same types, whose weights are close to Seuthes's 'tetartemorion' (between 0.48 and 0.56 g) (see Topalov 2007, 35-39). The cited work reveals that the known specimens, all in private collections, have been found not far from Pistiros in the Plovdiv region, as well as that the distribution of finds obviously followed the *Via Diagonalis*, the main Balkan transport artery since the Roman period.
- 21 The bronze of Seuthes II of the types 'horse protome to right / round or conical vessel with one or two handles' and a legend of ΣΕV-ΘO, all within a concave circle, is housed in the museum in Septemvri under the Inv. nos. 1.244 (10.08 g), 2.281 (16.82 g; see Fig. 5), 1.251 (11.41 g), 1.2119 (14.35 g), 1.2121 (10.71 g), 1.1968 (14.74 g; see Fig. 4), 1.2170 (17.87 g), 2.278 (13.41 g), 2.280 (17.44 g), and 2.440 (15.43 g). The inventory number and the weight of the eleventh heavy bronze coin of Seuthes II (Fig. 6) discovered by G. Lazov in the summer of 2014 are not known to me (see note 15 above Lazov 2015, 202).

As we have already seen, the three ‘tetartemoria’ known thus far were discovered in the territory of ‘Emporion Pistiros’, somewhere in the Plovdiv and Haskovo regions, i.e. all along the Roman *Via Diagonalis* (Fig. 7).²²

The silver and bronze coins of the ‘Maroneian’ types that bear the names ΜΗΤΟΚΟ, ΑΜΑΤΟΚΟ, ΣΕΥΘΟ, ΚΟΤΥΟΣ, and ΤΗΡΕΩ must have travelled along the Maritsa River from the place of their production (the Maroneian mint?) to one of the numerous residences of the Odrysian dynasty established at the modern site of Adzhiyska Vodenitsa.²³ This continuous flow of people, goods, and power along one of the major Balkan arteries of communication might have brought to Pistiros not only the Odrysian coins, but also the numerous silver and bronze coins of the Greek mints of south-eastern Thrace, such as Kypsela, Ainos, the Thracian Chersonese, and Kardias, as well as the silver and bronze issues of the Asia Minor cities of Parion, Prokonnesos, Adramyteion, and Dardanos.²⁴ For likely the same reason, although in the opposite direction (from the north to the south), the *labrys* and the initials of Medokos/Amadokos²⁵ began to appear on the hemidrachms of the Thracian Chersonese, an allusion to the direct commitments of the Chersoneseans to the Odrysian dynastic court. The assumption that ‘Emporion Pistiros’ was the mint that produced the bronze coins of the Odrysian rulers from Medokos to Teres II²⁶ would only be plausible in the situation resembling that in Seuthopolis, where various types and denominations of Seuthes III’s coins comprise an assemblage of more than 900 specimens.²⁷ Until then, any speculation and suggestion in this direction remain rather tentative, especially given the small number of coins of the early Odrysian kings found in ‘Emporion Pistiros’.

22 At the end of the 5th and during the 4th century BC, the Maritsa Valley, an essential Thracian area along the Roman *Via Diagonalis*, must have been actively used by the Odrysian rulers as an inner transport corridor. The strongest evidence for this essential road along the ancient Hebros River, from its entrance into the Upper Thracian Plain near modern-day site of Belovo down to ancient Ainos where it empties into the Aegean Sea, are the exceptionally abundant and diverse archaeological finds and coin hoards, necropoleis, sanctuaries, cult pit fields, and settlements of pre-Roman date situated on both sides of the river.

23 According to M. Tačeva (Tačeva 2006, 176–177 and note 32), who follows M. Domaradski, the excavator of ‘Emporion Pistiros’ (Domaradski 1995, 15), ‘the dismantled tower (*tyrsis*) of the Thracian ruler near the eastern gates of the settlement’ has been revealed in the territory of this archaeological site. Some Bulgarian researchers identify it as Demosthenes’ Masteira (Bošnjakov 2001, 267–288), which gives ‘grounds to assume that Masteira was an Odrysian royal residence of the so-called Inner (Upper) Kingdom of Medokos ... Masteira is mentioned by Demosthenes (Dem. 8.44) alongside the *horrea* of Drongilon and Kabyle as the conquered by Philip “wretched dens” in Thrace in 352/1’.

24 The vast majority of the coins discovered during the archaeological excavations in Pistiros from 1989 onwards remain unpublished, similarly to the abovementioned silver and bronze coins of the Odrysian dynasts found at this site. In 2013, I had the opportunity to study the entire Pistiros numismatic assemblage, for which I am grateful to the directorate of the museum in Septemvri. As mentioned above, all the artefacts from the archaeological excavations of the ancient Thracian settlement are deposited there.

25 Topalov 2006, 382.

26 See Dimitrov 1999, 176–177.

27 Dimitrov and Penčev 1984, 73–107.

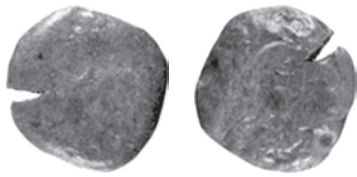


Fig. 4 Bronze coin of Seuthes II 'horse protome to right / vessel in a concave circle' (22 mm, 17.74 g) from the excavations in 'Emporion Pistiros', season 1999.

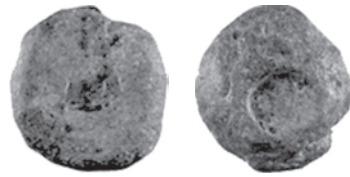


Fig. 5 Bronze coin of Seuthes II 'horse protome to right / vessel in a concave circle' (22 mm, 16.82 g) from the excavations in 'Emporion Pistiros', season 2007.



Fig. 6 Bronze coin of Seuthes II 'horse protome to right / vessel in a concave circle' from the excavations in 'Emporion Pistiros', season 2014.

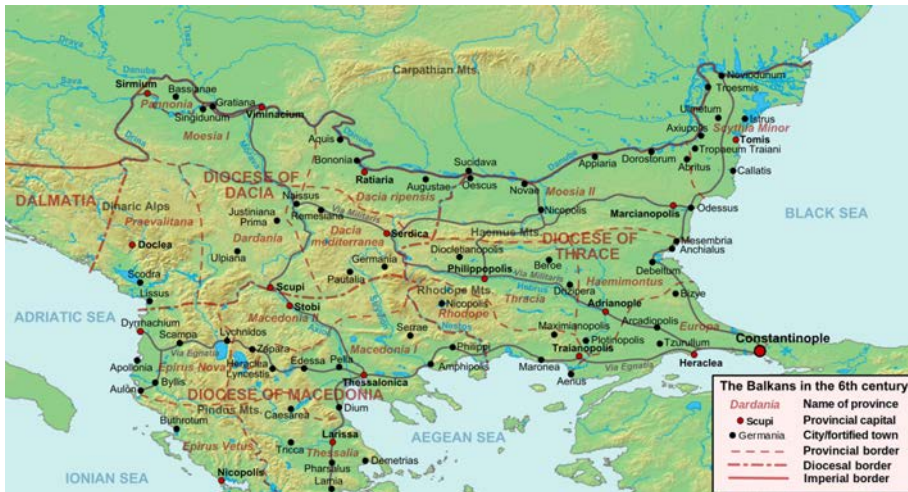


Fig. 7 The Roman Via Diagonalis connecting Singidunum (Belgrade) with Byzantium on the Thracian Bosphoros

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13 The Case of the ΜΕΛΣΑ Coins: A Reappraisal

Yannis Stoyas

Abstract

Coins bearing the legend ΜΕΛΣΑ first came to notice in the 1990s; since then, this numismatic riddle offered quite a challenge for research regarding the identity of the issuing authority. Quite recently, valuable information became available for several stray finds reportedly coming from an area near Shabla (in north-eastern Bulgaria). A reappraisal of the whole matter was due, tackling first with problems of historical topography; in the vicinity of the reported concentration area, the place name Καρῶν λιμῆν or Portus Caria is attested in literary sources. It has to be noted that a *limēn* (harbour), similarly to a *polichnion* or a fort, would not have been in the position to issue its own coins. Even if such an option might be considered, the omission of the ethnic name on the coins is hard to explain. Then, by using a process of elimination, the attribution of the ΜΕΛΣΑ coins to a city turns out to be highly unlikely (taking into account the territory borders of Kallatis, Dionysopolis, and Bizone). In a similar fashion, the possibility for an unknown dynast to have struck the coins under discussion appears to be quite scarce, as the coin types do not seem to imply a ruler's issue.

The name Melsas is apparently of Thracian origin and provides a plausible connection to the mythical founder of Mesembria Pontike. Moreover, it seems more preferable to adhere to the only known Melsas (the mythical figure) than to hypothesize the arguable existence of a historical person of that name. The filleted bull's head employed for this coin issue is a significant element, linked with animal sacrifice and probably hinting to a founder hero. A logical solution would be to assume that this may be the coinage of a sanctuary, perhaps a non-urban sanctuary which, under circumstances that called for the use of currency, produced coins of a commemorative character.

The chronology of the coins is addressed particularly on the basis of stylistic analysis and the testimony of overstrikes (ΜΕΛΣΑ specimens struck over pieces of Philip II, Alexander III, and Kassander). It can be argued that such pieces may fit better in a 'time of troubles' and that they could have been minted sometime in the period from c. 313 BC to c. 304 BC, alongside the rebellion of certain West Pontic cities against Lysimachos and the events that followed. An alternative dating in the first decade of the 3rd century BC would be also possible, framed within the historical context of the hostilities between Lysimachos and Dromichaites.

Some further insights are put forward in brief, such as ritual practices related to local cults in the area under spotlight, as well as the Dorian connection(s) in a wider context. A possible clue may additionally emerge in association with the *horothesia* inscription of Dionysopolis, where an intriguing point of reference might hint at a conspicuous monument (a *heroon*?) of importance in broadening perspective.

Keywords

Hero cult, Karōn limēn, Melsas, Mesembria Pontike, sanctuary coinage, Shabla



Fig. 1 Melsas; KIKPE Numismatic Collection, inv. no. 318.

‘The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there.’¹

After a fashion, this remarkable dictum can set the limits for *Altertums-wissenschaft*. Sometimes, perhaps quite often, there comes a realization that we are alienated from the past to a great extent, yet not free from it, as this is a past that continues to exist partially in the subconscious and to haunt the amputated collective memory.²

History of Research

The case of the coins with the legend MEΛΣΑ first came to notice some 27 years ago.³ A little later, back in 1997, the first specimen of such a coin (filleted *bucranium* / fish l.; below, MEΛΣΑ) appeared in trade (Fig. 1).⁴ It was a numismatic puzzle which managed to offer quite a challenge until present. In the fixed price list in which it was featured, this piece was accompanied by a comment suggesting that it might be connected to a small inland Bulgarian town called Melta in Roman times and Lovech in the present-day. This suggestion was attributed to the late Martin Jessop Price; there is another reference to Price’s interest in this coin issue from 1993, but no solid evidence that he truly believed that there might be some connection to the site of Melta could be found.⁵ The coin in question ultimately ended up in the holdings of the KIKPE Numismatic Collection.⁶

Stavri Topalov, a collector in Bulgaria, proved to be very active with regard to these quite elusive pieces. As early as 1998, he expressed his *prima vista* opinion that this coinage might belong to an otherwise unknown Thracian chieftain named Melsas.⁷ In that same year, he also went on to propose an alternative theory claiming that

1 Hartley 1953; this is the poignant opening line of the novel. For a sense of ‘beguiling irony’ contained in this point, see Caldicott and Fuchs 2003, 13.

2 For the lack of empathy with regard to the past, see Malkin 1996, 75; cf. Gardner 2013, lxxi.

3 See Topalov 1998b, 37, no. 3, reporting a letter by M.J. Price from 1993, which referred to such a coin.

4 Frank L. Kovacs, Fixed Price List 29 (1997), no. 2.

5 See *supra* note 3; see also Stoyas 2012, 161, note 173.

6 *SNG KIKPE* I 318; Stoyas 2012, 157, no. M1, note 136, pl. 6, fig. 18.

7 Topalov 1998a, 10–14.



Fig. 2 Melsas; CNG 88 (14 Sept. 2011), 70.

the coins in question had been produced by a port called Messa or Melsa during the first half of the 2nd century BC.⁸ He supposed that the location of this port was at the site where Anchialos later came to stand and discussed the concurrent existence of a nearby inland Thracian settlement. This hypothesis was revisited and elaborated further in 2007,⁹ but proved to be untenable. In 2011, when a second specimen (Fig. 2) emerged in commerce,¹⁰ the view that it was issued by an unknown ruler was again tentatively adopted, this time by Ivan Karajotov.¹¹

In 2012, the author advanced a new proposal to this mystery in an article published in Ilya Prokopov's *Festschrift*.¹² In view of overstruck ΜΕΛΣΑ coins, a chronology closer to the early 3rd century BC was thought more reasonable. As to the issuing authority, a hypothesis was put forward that these peculiar coins may possibly have been issued by a sanctuary in the name of a legendary ruler, Melsas.¹³ In this study, an impasse was reached with regard to Mesembria Pontike and its colonies; the lack of adequate evidence for coin circulation at that time made things even more difficult.¹⁴ Consequently, the location of this sanctuary was tentatively sought in the vicinity of Byzantion based on the available, if scanty, evidence.¹⁵ More recently, Topalov returned to the topic with a new take in a self-published book.¹⁶ Together with the late Jordan Tachev, he offered a significant insight into the whole matter and mentions

8 Topalov 1998b, esp. 39–41, 45, 49.

9 Topalov 2007, 289–302.

10 CNG, Mail Bid Sale 88 (14 Sept. 2011), 70; considering an otherwise unknown Thracian chieftain Melsas, but also mentioning the founder of Mesembria.

11 Karajotov Aug. 10, 2011.

12 Stoyas 2012, 157–175, 181–186.

13 Stoyas 2012, esp. 166.

14 Stoyas 2012, 163, notes 194–197, and esp. note 198.

15 In retrospective, it looks like one should have taken a left turn (pun intended) at Obzor. Aside from such an attempt at self-critical humour, a significant point which can be made is that someone may get some access to the truth even by following a wrong way. Accordingly, then, as it was phrased by Ludwig Wittgenstein, one 'must, so to speak, throw away the ladder, as soon as he has ascended it' (Wittgenstein 1921, 262, 6.54: 'Er muß sozusagen die Leiter wegwerfen, nachdem er auf ihr hinaufgestiegen ist'). Similarly echoed by Umberto Eco in an insightful remark: 'The only truths that are useful are instruments to be thrown away' (Eco 1983, 288).

16 Topalov and Tačev 2012, 355–376; Stavri Topalov's book was for some reason antedated, i.e. the printed date (2012) is earlier than the actual date of publication (2014), according to all information available and to the data



Fig. 3 Melsas; Rauch 97 (14 April 2015), 93.



Fig. 4 Melsas; Solidus, Online-Auction 8 (23 April 2016), 36.

a concentration point where a number of the coins with the legend MEΛΣΑ were reportedly found. This place is located in the area of Shabla in north-eastern Bulgaria, accordingly supported by several stray finds that have partially come to light and are kept in private collections. Abandoning his former view, Topalov opted for the existence of a so-far unknown civic mint in this area, while also putting forward some additional arguments in favour of its 2nd-century BC date.¹⁷ Furthermore, a couple of new specimens appeared in trade. A third specimen (Fig. 3) was catalogued in a recent auction as being perhaps a tribal emission.¹⁸ The fourth specimen of this kind (Fig. 4) made an even more recent appearance.¹⁹

A few years ago, there were five known specimens that could be illustrated; four more specimens were reported without an illustration, while there was also a mention of about a dozen more. Currently, the number of known specimens amounts to 28,²⁰ and there are pictures for 19 of them. In addition, a similar coin issue (filleted *bucranium* / trident I.; above, fish I.; below, MEΛ), has recently been published by Topalov (Fig. 5).²¹ According to previous information, this could be a larger denomination but seems to be the same after all²² and should rather be considered as a variety of the main issue. Moreover, what seems to be yet another variety of the main coin issue

provided by the publisher's web page (http://www.mind-print.com/display_book.php?my_id=1343); started on 1 January 2013; completed on 30 April 2014.

17 Topalov and Tačev 2012, 376; see also Topalov and Stojanov 2016, 12–13.

18 Rauch 97 (14 April 2015), 93 (4.70 g): 'Melsa (*Stammesprägung?*)'.

19 Solidus Numismatik, Online-Auction 8, 23 April 2016, lot 36 (2.77 g, 13 mm).

20 Topalov and Tačev 2012, 357–366, lists 22 specimens; see also Topalov and Stojanov 2016, 4. To these there can be added the following four: Stoyas 2012, 158, no. M3, note 139, pl. 6, fig. 20; 158, no. M4, note 140, pl. 6, fig. 21; 158, no. M5, pl. 6, fig. 22; 158, note 143 (coin from Sozopol environs); plus the two new specimens in trade – see *supra* notes 18 and 19. There is always a chance, of course, that the actual number of coins is smaller, as the non-illustrated pieces are more difficult to identify and could have been counted more than once.

21 Topalov and Tačev 2012, 366–367, no. 23 (3.21 g, diam. 17 mm, 3 mm thick).

22 Recorded weights (excluding a couple of very worn pieces) range from 2.50 to 6.80 g.



Fig. 5 Melsas, variation with large trident; once in the (late) Yordan Tachev Collection.



Fig. 6 Melsas, variation with small trident; Svetozar Stoyanov Collection.

(filleted *bucranium* / fish l.; above, small trident l.; below, ΜΕΛΣΑ) was published more recently (Fig. 6).²³

With regard to the coins known by 2012, a provenance in north-eastern Bulgaria was reported for four of them; for another two, a provenance in south-eastern Bulgaria was recorded (in the Burgas and Sozopol environs).²⁴ Currently, 21 coins come from north-eastern Bulgaria; for 17 of them, including the first variety with the trident, there is a reported origin in the territory of Shabla or, even more specifically, in the area between Cape Shabla and the town of Shabla,²⁵ near the supposed location of the ancient site Karōn Limēn.²⁶ Other than the two specimens kept in the Archaeological Museum of Varna,²⁷ there are no other known coins from public collections.²⁸ Unfortunately, until present, there is no information on such coins having been found in the territory of Romania.²⁹ Finally, some illustrated and better-preserved specimens are now available; it has to be noted that working with this material is highly difficult, as most of the pieces are in private collections and remain out of sight or are poorly photographed.

23 Topalov and Stojanov 2016; 5, fig. 1.14 (6.42 g, diam. 16.6 mm, 4.8 mm thick). Due to some publishing errors, there is an unfortunate mess with the photographic documentation of this paper, as the numbers in the text do not correctly match the numbers under the photos. A concordance is necessary here to clear up things:

Topalov and Stojanov 2016, 14, fig. 4 (= Topalov and Tačev 2012, 359, no. 7) is *recte* Topalov and Stojanov 2016, fig. 1 (main issue).

Topalov and Stojanov 2016, 5, fig. 3 (= Topalov and Tačev 2012, 362, no. 16) is *recte* Topalov and Stojanov 2016, fig. 2 (main issue).

Topalov and Stojanov 2016, 5, fig. 2 (= Topalov and Tačev 2012, 366–367, no. 23) is *recte* Topalov and Stojanov 2016, fig. 3 (first variety, with large trident).

Topalov and Stojanov 2016, 5, fig. 1 is *recte* Topalov and Stojanov 2016, fig. 4 (second variety, with small trident).

24 Stoyas 2012, 158, notes 137, 140–144; 163, note 194.

25 Topalov and Tačev 2012, nos. 6–14, 16–23.

26 See the sketch in Topalov and Tačev 2012, 368. For a partially necessary topographic revision, see *infra*.

27 Stoyas 2012, 158, no. M4, note 140, pl. 6, fig. 21; no. M5, pl. 6, fig. 22.

28 A query to the Dobrich Museum (Dobrich is the administrative centre of the Dobrich province to which the Shabla municipality belongs) yielded no information on coins with the legend ΜΕΛΣΑ coming from there or from other parts of this region.

29 Contacts were made with museums and institutions in Mangalia, Constanța, and Bucharest, but the answers regarding the presence of ΜΕΛΣΑ coins there (at least at the time of inquiry) were negative. It is interesting that there seems to be a higher concentration of finds in the Shabla area, but this information still needs to be verified.

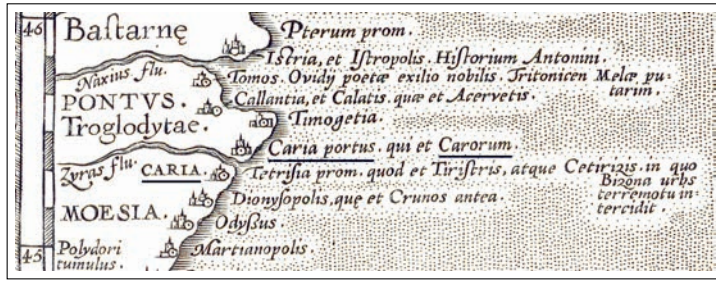


Fig. 7 Pontus Euxinus, by Abraham Ortelius, 1590, map (detail).

In any case, the challenge with this whole matter is, if possible, to use new insights and move forward on more solid ground.³⁰

Matters of Historical Topography

It would be quite useful at this point to comment on the historical topography of the territory of Shabla and of the broader area. The name Καρῶν λιμῆν is attested in literary sources, such as Arrian's *Periplus of the Euxine Pontos*.³¹ The surrounding territory of this harbour was called Καρία or Καρίαί and then later Καρέα.³² The testimony of Pomponius Mela preserves the Latin name of the site as *Portus Caria*.³³ The geographical information provided by the ancient texts was reflected in cartography from early on. For instance, a closer look at a map by Abraham Ortelius (1590) reveals the area toponym *Caria*, as well as the location *Caria portus, qui et Carorum* (Fig. 7). *Carum portus* and *Caria* both appear on another map by Andriveau-Goujon from 1764.³⁴ The *Charta of Hellas* (1797) by Rhegas Pheraios (Velestinlis) also marks both Καρίαί and Καρῶν Λιμῆν, adding a detail with the nearby toponym of Γαλεάγρα.³⁵ This detail resurfaces in Müller's commentary to Arrian's *Periplus*, who assumes

30 In relation to the realization of this study, I should express special thanks to Dr Sergei Kovalenko (Numismatic Department, Pushkin Museum, Moscow), Dr Igor Lazarenko (Archaeological Museum, Varna), and Dr Ulrike Peter (Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften), as well as to Dr Paloma Guijarro (Complutense University of Madrid) and Guentcho Banev (University of Athens) for their courteous assistance on certain matters.

31 Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 24.3: ... Καρῶν λιμένα ... καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ λιμένος Καρία κληίεται.

32 Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 75: Καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ λιμένος Καρία κληίεται. Νῦν δὲ αἱ Καρίαί λέγονται Καρέα.

33 Mela. *De Chorogr.* 2.22. As noted already (Wendel 1937, 346, note 2), one would rather expect a genitive here (*portus Cariae*).

34 Map by J. Andriveau-Goujon (1764), based on a map by J.-B. Bourguignon d'Anville (1760); for more information, view: <http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/s/320622> (accessed: 30.11.2016).

35 See e.g. Karaberopoulos 1998, 33, and esp. the Sheet 12 of the *Charta* displaying the area under discussion.

the proximity of the *portus* to the site of Gulgrad.³⁶ Both Shabla and Gulgrad are mentioned in a press correspondence from Varna (29 July 1877) published in the New York Times,³⁷ for the latter toponym, there might be some confusion with the area of the Cape Kaliakra a little further to the south, but the site meant is the area of Tyuleno-ovo and the coastal caves located there. Occasionally, there is also some confusion as to where exactly Karōn Limēn should be pinpointed. This hesitance emerges in the relevant map of the *Barrington Atlas*.³⁸ It might be inferred from this map and from the sketch published by Topalov³⁹ that the ancient port was located north of Cape Shabla. Archaeological research only provides information for a submerged prehistoric necropolis north of Cape Shabla.⁴⁰ Taking into account the available data and studies focusing on this area (particularly an article by Sergey Torbatov),⁴¹ the location of the ancient harbour can be pinpointed just a bit to the south of Cape Shabla (Fig. 8).⁴²

Another harbour (perhaps secondary and of a later date) could have existed near the lagoon of Shabla (Shablenska Tuzla).⁴³ A major problem is that the sea level along this part of the Bulgarian coast may have been about seven metres below its present status.⁴⁴ Archaeological remains provide a rather vague picture of this area, ranging from Classical to Roman times. Fragmentary information refers to a settlement adjacent to the harbour with archaeological material that probably dates from first half of the 5th century BC onwards,⁴⁵ and underwater investigations also provided

36 GGM I, 399, note for line 29: 'Καρία κληίζεται ... *Portus ... non longe ab hod(ie) vico Gulgrad quaerendus*'. See also Silberman 1995, 20 (24.3), 63–64, note 248 ('Site occupé par le bourg de Šabla, entre Ekrene et Dišpudak ...').

37 New York Times, 21 August 1877, p. 2: <https://www.newspapers.com/newspage/20339091/>

38 See Map 22 of the *Barrington Atlas* (F5, Karōn Limēn?).

39 Topalov and Tačev 2012, 368.

40 Peev 2008, 303.

41 Torbatov 1994, esp. 325, fig. 1, 326–327, fig. 3.

42 Samothrakes 1963, s.v. Καρῶν (λιμὴν), on this matter following K. Müller, was right to the point with his note 'to the south of Cape Shabla'. The sketch illustrated here (Fig. 8) is based on the one published by Topalov and Tačev 2012, 368, though amending the position of Karōn Limēn.

43 Peev 2008, 303.

44 Peev 2008, 303; for a different assessment on this matter, see Brückner 2010, 165, 167–170, 174 (but cf. the commentary in 177–179); cf. also Torbatov 1994, 330–331. I wish to thank Prof. Dr Sergey Torbatov (National Institute of Archaeology with Museum, Sofia) for indicating that destructions of the continental shelf in this region were not caused by sinking of the terrain, but rather by coastal erosion, as shown by geophysical surveys (*per litt.*). Furthermore, there are some clues for tsunami effects possibly related to major seismic activity in this area, such as the Bizone earthquake of the 1st century BC or the Shabla earthquake of AD 1901 (Matova 2000, 357). There are also some occurrences of ground subsidence in the vicinity of Shabla related to saturated soft rocks (Matova 2000, 359 and fig. 3). These data should be taken into account in future considerations of a broader picture with potential missing links due to physical phenomena.

45 For a better view about the area occupied by the ancient settlement, see Torbatov 2002a, 197–200, esp. 197, fig. 36 (sketch).

archaeological finds as early as this date.⁴⁶ To clarify the historical topography of this area, more extensive archaeological investigations are required,⁴⁷ as well as further research that is largely beyond the scope of this study. The data are clearer concerning the area in late antiquity; in this period, the main site was at the cape, and two stages of fortification, one from the first half of the 4th century AD and the other from the mid-6th century AD, have been discerned.⁴⁸

Taking a step back to look at the broader picture, the region in question and its ancient settlements have been thoroughly studied for a long time. In fact, things are more or less clear for a great part of the Bulgarian coast. Of course, open questions remain, such as if Krounoi was a site succeeded later by Dionysopolis (at Balchik), or if another ancient site should be sought at the vicinity of Kranevo.⁴⁹ However, dealing with Karōn Limēn merits more attention. In the following discussion, some parts of the argumentation presented in the author's previous study may be dealt with in a synoptic fashion.

Perhaps (Not) a City?

Whether the issuing authority of the ΜΕΛΣΑ coins can be attributed to a city can be answered by a process of elimination. The Roman town of Melta (modern Lovech) is an unlikely candidate, as it was located too far inland; with no other data in this direction, this possibility can be summarily discarded.⁵⁰ Anchialos is referred to as a *polichnion*, and it is quite telling that it only produced coinage during the imperial period; any elaborate scenario involving this site definitely cannot stand.⁵¹ Mesembria also has to be excluded, as its coinage does not have a slot for this issue, and the change of the ethnic name cannot be explained.⁵² Naulochos (Obzor) could be considered, as it was a colony of Mesembria, as was Bizone (Kavarna). The connection with Melsas, the mythical founder of this city, could be applied by extension. Nevertheless, they both are referred to as *polichnia*,⁵³ and they probably never minted coins. The question also arises as to Karōn Limēn, which is not mentioned explicitly as a *polis*.

46 Torbatov 1994, 334.

47 I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Sergey Torbatov for sharing some enlightening pieces of topographical and archaeological information from his deep knowledge regarding this area (personal communication).

48 Torbatov 1994, 328–330; Băjenaru 2010, 136–137.

49 On this matter, see Gocheva 1996, 13–16; cf. Damyanov 2007, 3–5, 21; Draganov 2015, 57–58.

50 Stoyas 2012, 161.

51 Stoyas 2012, 163.

52 Stoyas 2012, 162, note 188.

53 Stoyas 2012, 163, note 196.

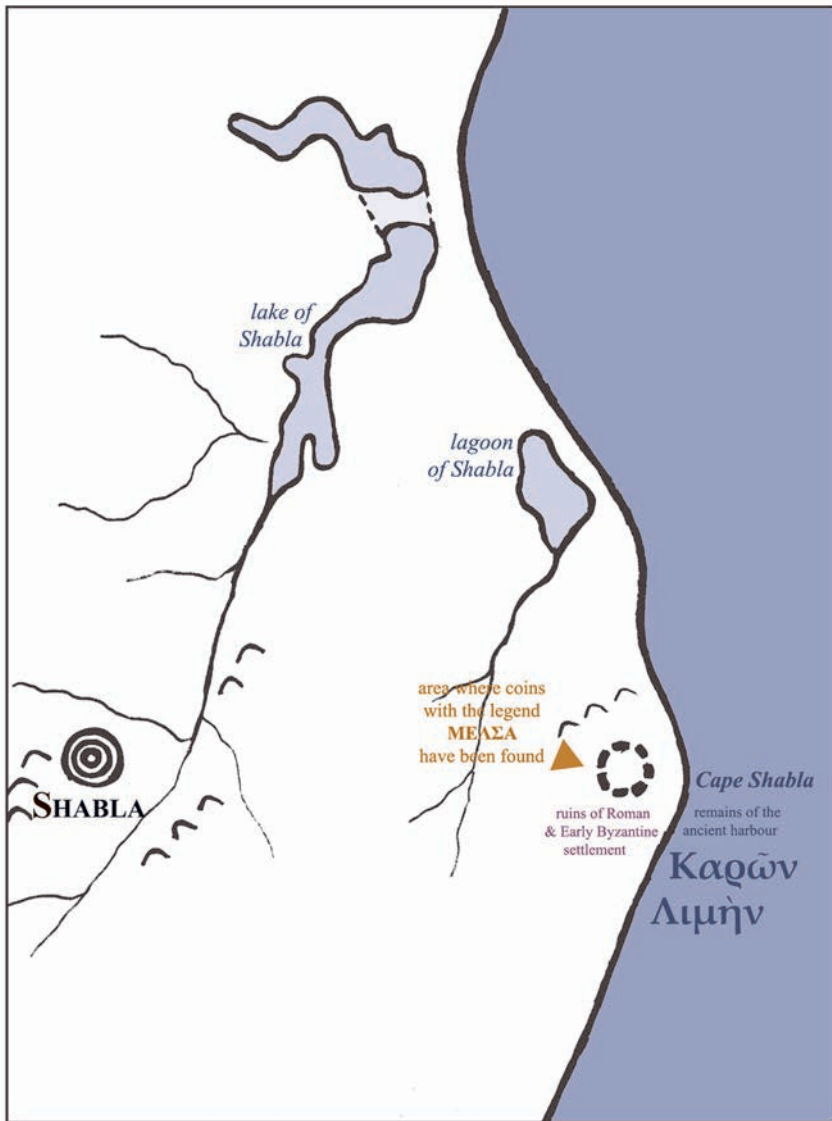


Fig. 8 Sketch of the area of Shabla and Karōn Limen; after Topalov and Tačev 2012, 368 (after Bobčeva 1974, 69, and Todorova 1984, Vol. I, 20).

Instead, it is simply a *limēn*, a harbour,⁵⁴ and, similarly to a *polichnion* or a fort,⁵⁵ it would not have been in the position to issue its own coins.⁵⁶ Moreover, an essential question is that, if it were a city, why would the *ethnikon* not have been used on the coins? Stephanus Byzantius makes reference to a village of unknown location in Thrace mentioned by Theopompus and called *Karos kēpoi*, whose ethnic name is cited as Καροκηπίτης.⁵⁷ *Mutatis mutandis*, there is reference by the same author to *Kalpē*, a city in Bithynia, and to the *limēn Kalpēs*, from which derives the ethnic name Καλπολιμενίτης.⁵⁸ Accordingly, an ethnic name formed in an analogous fashion could have been used on the coins, but obviously this did not happen. Furthermore, the scenario for a so-far unknown local community in this area, a town, or a *bria* (alternatively designated a *protopolis*)⁵⁹ does not seem to have a strong case. A crucial reason would have to do with the territories (*chorai*) of the known *astea* in this region. The two major poleis were Kallatis and Dionysopolis; Bizone could also have evolved into a polis at some point. There is epigraphic testimony from the late 3rd to the early 2nd century BC that Bizone had its own *chora*.⁶⁰ A later inscription from the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD deals with the *horothesia* of Dionysopolis;⁶¹ an interesting detail is that the *horiothetai* consulted earlier documents (lines 13–14, 26–27: μαθόντες ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων γραμμάτων) before setting to the task. Consequently, this epigraphic text may also reflect a previous state of arrangements. There is also a reference to ‘the ancient borders of the Kallatians and the Dionysopolitans’ (lines 23–24). The fact that Bizone had been destroyed by an earthquake or tsunami in the second half of the 1st century BC⁶² poses a problem.⁶³ Taking all epigraphic evidence into account, the initial southern border of Kallatis had been probably set in the area of Tvarditsa (about 20 km north-west of Cape Shabla),⁶⁴ and was perhaps expanded later

54 Karōn Limēn could have been established at first as a trading post; later it could have possibly evolved into a city or not.

55 Anchialos is alternatively mentioned as a fort in the 2nd century BC (*IGBulg I*³, 388bis, l. 14); there is no minting activity known during Hellenistic times. Tirizis *akra* is referred to as a fort by Strabo (7.6.1: χωρίον ἐρυμνόν), where Lysimachos kept his treasury, but, as far as one can tell, no mint operated at this site.

56 Additionally, cases of *epineia* can be brought in the discussion, such as Nisaia, the *epineion* of Megara, or Kynos, the *epineion* of Opous. There is not a recorded case, however, of an *epineion* issuing coins. For the polis status in connection with the practice to mint coins see Hansen 2004, 148, esp. 149.

57 Steph. Byz., s.v. Καρὸς κῆποι.

58 Steph. Byz., s.v. Κάλη, and then λιμὴν Κάλης.

59 See Preshlenov 2003, 164–165.

60 *ISCM I*, 15 (lines 25–26, 30, 32–33, 42, 44, 48 and 53). See also Damyanov 2007, 15, 17.

61 *IGBulg V*, 5011. For the chronology, see Slavova 1998, 104 (c. 15 AD); Tatscheva 2001, 84 (42–18/6 BC); Torbatov 2002b, 260, note 1; Damyanov 2007, 16, note 26; Parissaki 2009, 323–324, notes 13–16.

62 Strab. 7.6.1; Mela. *De Chorogr.* 2.22; Plin. *NH.* 4.44.

63 For this discussion, see Slavova 1998, 106; Tatscheva 2001, 79–80; Damyanov 2007, 15, esp. 17.

64 *ISCM III*, 241: F(*ines*) Terr(*itorii*) / Call(*atidis*).



Fig. 9 Map of the coastal area of SE Dobrudja with the sites mentioned in the text.

to a point between Cape Shabla and Cape Kaliakra (ἔξω Ἄκρας, as it is noted in the *horothesia* inscription).⁶⁵ Later, it may have returned to the limit set by the Tvarditsa inscription.⁶⁶ Based on the borders of Kallatis, Dionysopolis, and even Bizone,⁶⁷ it can be argued that there is little, if any, space left for another town, much less a city (Fig. 9).

Perhaps (Not) an Unknown Ruler?

It is also a possibility that the ΜΕΛΣΑ coins were issued by a yet-unknown dynast. There have already been such cases of otherwise unattested rulers known only from

⁶⁵ *IGBulg V*, 5011, l. 25.

⁶⁶ Damyanov 2007, 17.

⁶⁷ One has to keep in mind that the ΜΕΛΣΑ coins belong to a time long before the destruction of Bizone. It seems that the territory of the latter did not extend much to the west, as a site named Aphrodeision (probably mod. Topola) was part of the territory of Dionysopolis (*IGBulg V*, 5011, lines 29–30); see Torbatov 2002b, 260–262; Damyanov 2007, 18–19; Draganov 2015, 30, note 23, 143–144. Consequently, it is quite possible that the territory of Bizone extended more towards the area of Shabla.

their coins, such as Orsoaltios⁶⁸ and Kersibaulos,⁶⁹ Celtic kings of Tylis. However, the types of the ΜΕΛΣΑ coins do not seem to somehow imply that this is a ruler's issue. In an effort to find a possible parallel, a particular bronze issue with a head of Silenos r. on the obverse and a fish r. on the reverse could be considered. A connection with a certain dynast, Bergaios, has been proposed,⁷⁰ but an attribution to the city of Berge has also been suggested.⁷¹ Another parallel could be sought in the silver obols struck at Sinope for Datames (female head r. / fish r.; c. 375–360 BC),⁷² but, in any case, this is a satrapal issue coming from a very different context. One could also consider the coins of Sparatesas (ΣΠΑΡΑΤΕΣΑ). The ending of the name is similar, the possible mint is nearby, and the proposed dating may fit,⁷³ but something does not add up, as this is another extraordinary case: imitative bronzes modelled on Lysimachos' coins and usually bearing a countermark of Odessos. There is another variety with the legend ΣΠΑΡΑΤΕΟΥ,⁷⁴ which makes things a little more complicated. Finally, there is also the possibility of these coins belonging to an unknown Scythian ruler. However, there is essentially no Scythian involvement near Shabla or in the broader area from the death of Ataias (339 BC) until the 210s BC.⁷⁵ Fitting an unknown ruler into this period ultimately proves difficult.

What's in a Name?

Considering the genitive case (*Melsa*) employed on the coins, the name Melsas is quite problematic by its own merits, especially in terms of etymology. A possible affinity with a stem *meld-* could be examined, pointing to counterparts in Baltic languages which mean 'marsh reed' (Lith.) or 'reed' (Latv.), or even tracing to the similar root *melt-* in Old High German.⁷⁶ These ventures using linguistic analysis can, however, lead to uncertainty and on occasion such an approach may not be relied on too heavily. Based on the suffix *-sa*, a potential parallel to Scythian ruler names like Akrosas or Tanousas could also be investigated.⁷⁷ However, a closer affinity to Thracian personal

68 Peter 1997, 249; Paunov 2015, 272, 278, 280–281.

69 Peter 1997, 250; Paunov 2015, 272, 278, 280–281.

70 Peter 1997, 104–106, esp. 105, notes 526–527.

71 Psôma 2002, 217–229; Liampi 2005, 46–49, 193–194.

72 SNG BM *Black Sea* 1447A (reverse type falsely described as 'dolphin').

73 Lazarenko 2002–2003, 2003, 3–11 (c. 281–280 BC).

74 Topalov 2002, 43, 61, 69, 139, 168, 231, no. 10.

75 See Draganov 2015, 29–31, 127–129.

76 Duridanov 1985, 35; Duridanov 1995, 825.

77 It should be noted that the ethnicity of Sparatesas is unknown, deepening the mystery for this person.

names seems more probable, such as the name Kyrsas on silver coins of Odessos,⁷⁸ which is also epigraphically attested in Apollonia Pontike,⁷⁹ or the name Μελέων found in inscriptions at Mesembria and Seuthopolis.⁸⁰

The Possibility of a Mythical Figure

Evidently, it is quite logical that the name of Melsas, the mythical founder of Mesembria, would draw attention. The several variations in the literary sources will not be repeated here, except for the fact that the genitive ΜΕΛΣΑ appears only in an inscription from the imperial period.⁸¹ It has to be underlined, as Nawotka convincingly proposed, that the incorporation of Melsas in the foundation myth of Mesembria is probably a later fabrication.⁸² Furthermore, the supposition that Melsas had been depicted on silver coins of Mesembria may seem more or less plausible.⁸³ Still, the hero Melsas should have had some special place in the local traditions of Thrace, perhaps in an analogous fashion to that of Achilles being worshipped on the island of Leuke.⁸⁴ Moreover, the name Melseōn is obviously a herophoric⁸⁵ name which derives from the heronym Melsas. Aside from some blind spots, this is the only Melsas known thus far. Therefore, it seems preferable here to invoke *lex parsimoniae*, more commonly known as Occam's razor: 'numquam ponenda est pluralitas sine

78 SNG BM Black Sea 289 (tetradrachm civic issue, late 3rd century BC); Price 1991, nos. 1175–1176, pl. XLVIII (tetradrachms in the name of Alexander the Great, late 3rd century BC). In both cases, the name ΚΥΡΣΑ appears in the exergue of the coins, and Martin Price thought that this was the same person.

79 *IGBulg I*², 458 (4th / 3rd century BC).

80 Mesembria: *IGBulg I*², 308 *sexies* (3rd century BC), *IGBulg V*, 5103 (late 2nd / early 1st century BC); Seuthopolis: *SEG* 35, 832, 42–43 (amphora stamps, 4th / 3rd century BC). See also Slavova 2009, 215–216. The name also occurs at Dionysopolis (*SEG* 59, 730), as well as on amphora stamps found at Kabyle and Iezeru (Romania); see also Slavova 2009, 215–217; Stoyanov 2011, 193, notes 14 and 16, 197–198, fig. 8, 199–200. For a Mesembrian magistrate whose name is hypothesized to be Μελέων and whose coin issue is assigned between 275 and 225 BC, see Karayotov 1994, 43 (M10), 85, nos. 63–71, 130, table II, no. 10, pl. IX.

81 *IGBulg I*², 345 (probably 2nd century AD). For the whole discussion on the variations of the name, see Nawotka 1994, 321–323; for a more recent overview, see Robu 2014, 317–322, and Barrio Vega 2018, 521–523.

82 Nawotka 1994, 324–326. The case made by Nawotka largely stands still, to my opinion, despite most of the criticism that addressed his points later.

83 Dr Kamen Dimitrov has questioned the appearance of Melsas on an early Mesembrian silver issue in the abstract of his paper for this symposium, which unfortunately was not presented then and there.

84 For the cult of Achilles on this little island east of the mouth of the Danube, see Rusaeva 2003, 1–14; Avram 2004, 929; Okhotnikov 2006, 49–87; Popova 2015, 67–71.

85 Aside from certain cases (e.g., Heracles, Asclepius), names coming from individual heroes are rare and appear mainly in the close vicinity of the local cult from which they derive; see Parker 2000, 56, note 14 (example related to Achilles and the area of Olbia) and 68. In Thrace, Πολτύδωρος is an analogous example, confirming the existence of a hero Poltys at Ainos; Knoepfler 2000, 86, note 17. The case of the name Ογχηστόδωρος (Tanagra) is quite interesting, as the toponym Onchestos does not refer to a village or a city, but to a sanctuary and, more precisely, to a sacred grove, while the hero Onchestos was the *genius loci*; see Knoepfler 2000, 86–87, notes 19–20.

necessitate' ('plurality must never be posited without necessity').⁸⁶ In other words, it may be enough having to deal with one, mythical Melsas than feeling inclined to hypothesize that the arguable existence of a historical person of that name⁸⁷ would be necessary to effectively explain things. Moreover, the appearance of the head of Melsas on a bronze issue of Mesembria some time in the second half of the 4th century BC may provide a further clue (see *infra*).

The Possibility for Coinage of a Sanctuary

In the mythological account of Byzas, there is a Thracian king called Melias who tasked the hero with hunting a bull.⁸⁸ Be that a coincidence or not, the filleted bull's head is a significant element that cannot be ignored. Linked to a ritual sacrifice, this tauroctony may also symbolize an ancestral king, according to Walter Burkert's anthropological point of view.⁸⁹ It seems a logical solution to assume that a sanctuary possibly minted the coins with the legend ΜΕΛΣΑ in reference to the hero Melsas. As a matter of fact, drawing on the work of François de Polignac, it is worth considering a non-urban sanctuary, as some sanctuaries were situated in the periphery of city or a state and thus marked political borders.⁹⁰ Such a crucial location would be of importance for both Greek and Thracian populations,⁹¹ particularly if this were a sanctuary dealing with religious matters in a way that reflected a form of syncretism.⁹²

A supplementary suggestion would be that this coin series may be viewed as a '*panegyris* coinage'⁹³ of a sort (since a hero cult is considered here) or as sanctuary

86 Ockham 1495, i, dist. 27, qu. 2, K.

87 In such a case, it would be an unaltered heroic name (see Parker 2000, 56, note 14, 58, note e), but this scenario seems very improbable, given also the peculiarity of the name.

88 Stoyas 2012, 164.

89 Burkert 1983, 171; cf. also 165–167, 186.

90 See Polignac 1995, esp. 21–25, 33–41, 143–149, 150–154. For an example of adopting de Polignac's views in a case study related to the Thracian lands, see Christov 2010, 120, 158, 183 (temple in Chetinyova Mound, near Starosel). For criticism with regard to de Polignac's theory, see Malkin 1996, 75–81. Malkin accepted the value of de Polignac's thesis, but set on to largely reverse the perspective by asserting that the construction of extra-urban sanctuaries usually predated the foundation of cities and by arguing that the religious importance of the former affected the development of the latter.

91 See Panait-Birzescu and Birzescu 2014, esp. 33–39, overviewing the relation of the Thracians with Greek sanctuaries in the western Black Sea area. On Thracian sanctuaries with the role of a 'roadside sacred place' (on occasion nearby important crossroads in a plain), see Christov 2001, 60–68, 104–111; Hristov 2013, 30.

92 The notion of the respect for precedents of sacredness as proposed by I. Malkin can also be brought forth here, dealing with cases of Greek colonists showing a consideration of local gods and heroes in the context of 'foundation' (or rather 'refoundation'); Malkin 1987, esp. 148, 151–154, 156, 162–163. See also Popova 2015, 70.

93 The attention to these coinages was drawn by Selene Psoma (Psoma 2008); in a recent article, J. Nollé went through the case studies included in Psoma's paper and expressed reservations for the use of this term *in genere* and for certain functions applied on occasion; see Nollé 2014.

coinage.⁹⁴ The details may be difficult to grasp, but a commemorative character or an occasion associated with a local festival could be surmised,⁹⁵ perhaps in combination with circumstances that called for the use of currency.⁹⁶ In any case, the religious nature of this coinage is highly likely. The filleted *bucranium* is directly linked with animal sacrifice and may also hint to a founder hero or *archēgetēs* who had a preferential connection with the land; the fish and the trident constitute a clear allusion to the sea. In an attempt to further reconcile a problem by trying to view it through another problem, a brief reference may be made to the coins with the legend ΑΠΟΛ.⁹⁷ For this topic, there are some conflicting views,⁹⁸ but it has been assumed that the coins in question were struck by a temple at Pantikapaion. If this could be proven true after all, then a kind of a precedent would emerge. However, a current assessment of the various proposals leads to largely inconclusive results.⁹⁹

Chronology Problems

As long as the chronology of the coinage in question is concerned, some new insight can be gained thanks to a few less-worn specimens. Stylistic analysis can be tricky,

- 94 More generally, on the role of temples (particularly temples of Apollo) in minting activities of the northern Black Sea cities, see Dem'jančuk 1999, 90–91. For a coinage associated with a sanctuary in the area of Thrace, the case of Apollonia Pontike is instructive. On an islet just off the city's coast was the temple of Apollo Iatros with a colossal statue famous in antiquity. This statue, accompanied by the legend ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ΙΑΤΡΟΥ, appears on Hellenistic coins of Apollonia; see Psoma 2008, 231–232. For the very rare silver tetradrachm issue of Apollonia depicting this statue, see CNG, Triton XII (5 Jan. 2009), 128.
- 95 *Mutatis mutandis*, one may recall the coins of Thespias and Orchomenos related to the *Mouseia* and the *Charitesia*, respectively. See Psoma 2008, 245–246.
- 96 The practice of overstriking points in this direction, especially if viewed within a period of upheaval. Additionally, the copper pieces with the legend ΜΕΛΣΑ should probably have been put in use for the pilgrims visiting the sanctuary.
- 97 Lion's head frontal / quartered square incuse, Α–Π–Ο–Λ; see, e.g., *SNG Pushkin Museum I/1* 768–769 (diobols), 770 (hemiobol), c. 450–425 BC. See also for another issue with ant / quartered incuse square, Α–Π–Ο–Λ, MacDonald 2005, 17, nos. 22 and 24 (tetartemoria, c. 400–375 BC). The ant appears already on a 5th-century issue with no legend on the reverse; MacDonald 2005, 12, no. 10 (c. 460–450 BC). The coin issues with the ant have sometimes been attributed to Myrmekion, which was probably never an independent city, or to the Pantikapaion mint; see Vinogradov 2003, 803.
- 98 Anochin 1986, 5–14, 136–139, pl. 1.26/1, pl. 2.48/1 (issued by the temple of Apollo Iatros at Pantikapaion); Abramzon and Frolova 2004, 32–35, 45–46, nos. 43–45, pl. IV.43–45 (federal alliance coinage under the aegis of the temple of Apollo Iatros in Pantikapaion); MacDonald 2005, esp. 16, 17, nos. 21 and 23 (lion's head), nos. 22 and 24 (ant), dated c. 400–375 BC (produced by the Pantikapaion mint; inscription may refer to Apollo or his temple, which perhaps provided the silver for coining); Strokin 2007 esp. 360–371, 376–377 (struck by Phanagoria, which may have had earlier the name Apollonia); Tereščenko 2013, esp. 49–51 (struck at Pantikapaion in an attempt of the Archaianactids to legitimize their power through a military-religious union under the patronage of Apollo). Note that in some varieties, the use of a lion's scalp instead of a lion's head was occasionally preferred.
- 99 This topic was very recently visited by V. Stolba (Stolba 2016, 84–85), who claims that ΑΠΟΛ stands for a personal name (e.g., Apollonios), likely to be concealing the name of one of the Archaianactids (c. 480–438 BC). Still, it seems that the matter is far from being settled.



Fig. 10 Melsas; Svetoazar Stoyanov Collection; scale 2:1.



Fig. 11 Koinon of the Phokians; c. 357–354 BC. NAC 55 (8 Oct. 2010), 289 (ex BCD Collection); scale 2:1.



Fig. 12 Melsas; V. Bekov Collection; scale 2:1.



Fig. 13 Theodosia; c. 385–380 BC. Private collection; scale 2:1.



Fig. 14 Melsas; KIKPE Numismatic Collection, inv. no. 318 (overstrike); scale 2:1.

especially with a coin type that can be largely *immobilisé*, but it is worth noticing certain details of the *bucranium* obverse, such as the eyes (Fig. 10–11), which seem to point to the 4th century BC.¹⁰⁰ An affinity to certain issues of Theodosia seems impressive¹⁰¹ (Fig. 12–13), a clue that intensifies the notion of an influence from the Tauric Chersonese in relation to other more distant cases.¹⁰² Regarding the overstrikes, there are the following examples that we know of: two specimens struck over coins of Philip II¹⁰³ (Fig. 14), two over bronzes of Alexander III,¹⁰⁴ and one over a coin of Kassander (Fig. 15–16).¹⁰⁵ There is also the problematic case of one coin from the collection of the late Yordan Tachev, for which Topalov hypothesized that it had been overstruck either on Kassander or Antiochos II.¹⁰⁶ It is obviously one of the respective royal issues with a tripod on the reverse, but unfortunately there is no photo or other technical information which could help with its identification.¹⁰⁷ If a coin of this Seleucid king had indeed been used, then the dating of the Melsas coins could be shifted to the middle of the 3rd century BC.¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, a sequence of overstrikes on Philip II, Alexander,¹⁰⁹ and Kassander seems more probable. There is still a key question regarding the time span of the issue, but this cannot be answered until a die study exists. It can be supposed, for the present, that the coinage did

100 The example from the coin series of the Phokians (*BMC Central Greece*, 22, no. 94, pl. III.22) illustrated here for comparison (Fig. 11) is probably dated just before the middle of the 4th century BC. The iconographic affinity to a certain bronze issue of the Tauric Chersonese (filleted *bucranium* / fish l., club l., XEP) can also be remembered; Stoyas 2012, 159, note 150, pl. 6, figs. 23a–b; Kovalenko 2008, 48, 70, nos. 39–83, pls. 2–4; see also *SNG Pushkin Museum I/1* 602–606 (dated to c. 400–375 BC).

101 The coin to be compared (Fig. 13) is a silver issue (2.20 g – triobol?) of Theodosia: head of Athena l. / filleted *bucranium*, ΘΕΟΔΟ. See Anochin 2011, 140–141, no. 937; see also Sidorenko and Šonov 2009, 513–514, no. 23, pl. I.55 (c. 385–380 BC). The example illustrated here comes from the online catalogue: <http://bosporan-kingdom.com/000-2068/1.html> (accessed: 30.11.2016).

102 For cases of distant but quite strong stylistic *comparanda* such as those of Elateia (late 4th century BC) and Lilaia (late 4th – early 3rd century BC), see Stoyas 2012, 159, notes 155–156, pl. 6, figs. 25–26.

103 One depicted in the plates (Fig. 14) and one in Topalov and Tačev 2012, 363, no. 17 (V. Bekov Coll.).

104 Topalov and Tačev 2012, 360, no. 11 (Y. Tachev Coll.); 363, no. 18 (V. Bekov Coll.).

105 Head of Heracles r. / lion seated r., ΚΑΣΣΑΝ–ΔΡΟΥ (c. 316–305 BC); the overstruck Melsas specimen belongs to the exact variety illustrated (*SNG Alpha Bank* 887), recognizable by the three 'bovine'-like folds of the lion's mane (Fig. 16) that can be discerned just above the fish's tail (Fig. 15); see Stoyas 2012, 162, notes 185–186. I would like to thank Dr Dimitra Tsangari, curator of the Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection, for kindly providing me with a high-resolution image of said piece.

106 Topalov and Tačev 2012, 360–361, no. 12 (it is noted that only ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is visible).

107 The fate of this coin after the death of Yordan Tachev is unfortunately unknown.

108 The campaign of Antiochos II in Thrace took place probably in 255–254 BC; see Avram 2003 1208, 1209, 1211–1212; Delev 2015, 60–61. For a post-253 BC dating, see Draganov 2015, 126–127, notes 108–109; cf. also Iliev 2013, 213–220 (keeping reservations on the historical and the numismatic interpretation).

109 It may be noted that the coin issue variation with the small trident is assumed as having possibly been overstruck over a coin either of Philip II or Alexander III; Topalov and Stojanov 2016, 14.



Fig. 15 Melsas; CNG 88 (14 Sept. 2011), 70 (overstrike); scale 2:1.



Fig. 16 Kassander; c. 316–305 BC. Alpha Bank Numismatic Collection, inv. no. 7611; scale 2:1.

not last for a long time.¹¹⁰ With an overstrike of Melsas over a coin of Antiochos II, the obvious problem would arise that such a piece, potentially struck in the mid-3rd century BC or a little later, would appear to be far distanced from its closer stylistic comparanda, even taking into account a time lag in the adoption of the *bucranium* coin type due to some conservatism.

Based on a hypothesis that this coinage may fit better in a ‘time of troubles’ (a plausible interpretation of the overstriking practice),¹¹¹ there is a possibility to view their minting as having some association with the events launched when certain West Pontic cities (Kallatis, Istros, Odessos, and others) rebelled against Lysimachos in 313

110 Topalov (Topalov and Stojanov 2016, 15) assumed that the main issue was minted first; he also thinks it likely that next was the (new) variety with the small trident, which was followed by the coins with the large trident. However, this may not be the case, as it is possible that there could have been some brief experimentation at the beginning of the coining, while, subsequently, the coin types should have been standardized. In my opinion, it would be more logical to view the Melsas coin series in the following way: a) variety with the large trident as basic reverse type, b) variety with the fish and the supplementary small trident, and c) main issue with the fish as basic reverse type.

111 See Doty 1982, s.v. overstrike.

BC.¹¹² Lysimachos reacted swiftly and picked off the cities one by one, as well as their allies, the Thracians and Scythians. Aside from a small break due to the peace of 311 BC, Kallatis continued to resist until 310/309 BC.¹¹³ By the time of the city's capitulation, a part of its population had fled; one thousand Kallatian refugees were given shelter by Eumelos,¹¹⁴ who was king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus from 310/9 to 304/3 BC. These events may be echoed in the fragmentary text of a lost decree from the kindred Dorian city of Mesembria.¹¹⁵ In this context, the coinage with the legend ΜΕΛΣΑ might have appeared from as early as 313 BC to the culmination of the siege of Kallatis (c. 310? BC)¹¹⁶ or in the wake of the aforementioned events as an after-effect.¹¹⁷ The Dorian connection should be examined further. There is a fragmentary inscription from the area of Shabla, dated probably to the late 4th – early 3rd century BC, where the Doric form *gyna* appears.¹¹⁸ Kallatis may have been indirectly linked to the Shabla area even from early on.¹¹⁹ Seen from the angle of the Dorian/Megarian networks,¹²⁰ the whole matter gains some interesting connotations, as would an invocation to a heroic figure such as Melsas, respected by both Dorians and Thracian allies, and particularly so in circumstances of dire straits. In line with the stylistic analysis and the known overstrikes, the coinage under discussion could tentatively be dated to sometime in the period from c. 313–304 BC (more probably in the first five years of this decade). Moreover, if some kind of a commemoration is to be sought, it might not be accidental that the year 313 BC marks the bicentenary anniversary of Mesembria's foundation, based on literary tradition.¹²¹

112 Diod. Sic. 19.73.1–6.

113 Lund 1992, 40–42; Delev 2000, 386; Dimitrov 2011, 14–15; Draganov 2015, 30, note 21.

114 Diod. Sic. 20.25.1.

115 *IGBulg I*, 316 (reference to [Καλλ?]ατιαῶν σωτηρίαν in l. 11); see Preshlenov 2003, 179. Avram considers the possibility that this inscription is related to the events of the campaign of Antiochos II (255–254 BC), but also mentions the alternative linked to the post-313 BC events; Avram 2003, 1196–1197, note 41.

116 In this case, there would be a narrow window of opportunity of a few years for the overstriking of the specimen with the Kassander undertypes to happen (Fig. 15), either at the earliest limit (313 BC) or a bit later.

117 It is uncertain if Lysimachos established his treasury at Tirizis *akra* (Kaliakra) during these years or at a later time; see Delev 2000, 386. Knowing more about the impact of this stronghold would be highly useful.

118 *IGBulg I*, 4. See Damyanov 2007, 17, who supposes that the inscription with the word γυνά (Doric form) provides a link with Kallatis. This is probable, but it may not be necessarily valid, as there is also the alternative of the nearby Bizone, possibly of Dorian origin as well – if indeed a Mesembrian colony; see Ps.-Scymn. 758–760. For some critical stance on this matter, see Avram 2004, 932, and Robu 2014, 317, note 904.

119 For a possible early connection of Kallatis with the area near Cape Shabla, see Birzescu and Ionescu 2016, 385–386.

120 Regarding the networks of the Megarian cities of the Black Sea and the 'Dorian Pontic space', see respectively Castelli 2016, esp. 136–139, and Cojocaru 2016, esp. 166, 178–179.

121 At the time of Darius I's campaign against the Scythians (513 BC) according to Pseudo-Scymnos, 738–742: 'Καλχηδόνιοι ταύτην δὲ Μεγαρεῖς τ' ᾤκισαν, ὅτ' ἐπὶ Σκύθας Δαρείος ἐστρατεύετο'. This passage is repeated almost verbatim in Anon. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 84. Furthermore, it would be highly interesting if the appearance of the helmeted head of Melsas on a bronze issue of Mesembria (Karayotov 2009, 30–34, 74, 99–100, 102, 146–151, pl. V–VII; 'Melsas – META in pelta'; c. 350–300/290 BC) might be far from a coincidence.

Another scenario would be to adopt an alternative interpretation of the available numismatic data that allows a later dating in the first decade of the 3rd century BC. Such a chronology would be possible, and it could be framed within the historical context of the hostilities between Lysimachos and Dromichaïtes, king of the Getai, from c. 297–291 BC.¹²² However, if so, seeking another literary tradition to be combined with the bicentenary of Mesembria would be greatly misleading.¹²³ In any case, even leaving aside a fitting canvas of events, the coin series provides enough reasons that would eventually make its dating after the first quarter of the 3rd century BC very difficult.¹²⁴

Considering Other Factors – Final Comments

Rounding up the discussion, some directions for further research can be highlighted in brief.

First, a few things should be said about the Carian connection hinted by the place name Limēn, which is translated as the ‘Port of (the) Carians’. The toponym possibly alludes to a past more distant than the Greek colonization.¹²⁵ It is also quite intriguing that the pre-Greek, pre-Dorian history of Megara had been incorporated into a Carian past early on, in the figure of Kar, the mythical first king of the city.¹²⁶ This legendary Carian past may have also been reflected during the foundation of Megarian colonies, though the available clues are scanty.¹²⁷

Further clues should be sought in relevant archaeological remains in the area around Shabla, especially those related to local cults. For example, the recent discovery of the temple of the Pontic Mother of Gods in Balchik revealed important features of the cult of this goddess at Dionysopolis. The proposed dating of the temple is supported, among other finds, by the presence of a frieze of *bucrania* with garlands on the epistyle, indicating its construction in c. 280–260 BC or in the second quarter of the 3rd century

122 Diod. Sic. 21, *frgs.* 11–12; Paus. 1.9.6. See Delev 2000, 386–392.

123 Herodotus (6.33.2) relates that after the end of the Ionian Revolt (493 BC) the Byzantines and the Kalchedonians left their cities, went into the Euxine ‘καὶ ἐνθαῦτα πόλιν Μεσαμβρίην οἰκησάν’. However, the verb οἰκησάν (settled in) rather than οἰκίσαν (founded) suggests the reading ‘and there settled in the city of Mesambria’. Since at that point Mesembria existed already (see Hdt. 4.93.1), this event might be considered at best a ‘re-foundation’.

124 Also due to an (extant?) overstrike with Antiochos II’s undertypes; however, such a possibility seems less likely (see *supra*).

125 On the matter of the Carian presence in the Black Sea, see Herda 2013, 448–449, notes 128–136.

126 Paus. 1.44.6; cf. Paus. 1.44.2 (for Apollo Karinos). For the comprehensive analysis, see Herda 2016, 77–86, esp. 77, note 251, 78–80 (grave and hero cult), 82, 85.

127 See *supra* the reference to the Thracian village called Karos kēpoi. It is also noteworthy that the ethnic name of the Mesembrians, the early version of which (META) is attested by coins (e.g., *SNG Stancomb* 218–228), contains the letter Τ (usually called *sampi*), which is later rendered as double sigma. The possible origin of this letter is regarded as Carian. Jeffery 1990[1961], 38–39, 366–368; Chiekova 2008, 274–275, note 12; see also Herda 2013, 467, note 237, and Barrio Vega 2018, 515, 523, n. 40.



Fig. 17 Map of SE Dobrudzha showing the locations of ancient sites.

BC.¹²⁸ One of the inscriptions attests that the key public festival (πανήγυρις) of the Pontic Mother held at Dionysopolis was called the Μητροῶα and was celebrated in the month Ταυρεῶν.¹²⁹ In an additional note, attention can also be turned to the temple of the Great Goddess Cybele located on the Big Island of the Durankulak Lake (about 24 km north of Cape Shabla), which is dated to the late 4th–3rd centuries BC.¹³⁰ A basic element of the cult of the goddess there were the ritual sacrifices of cattle, particularly of bulls, judging by the animal bones found in votive pits.¹³¹

All in all, it is notable that the finds of the coins with the filleted *bucranium* and the legend ΜΕΛΣΑ concentrate at a spot (Fig. 17) where certain nearby factors may have played a role: the obvious Melsas link to Mesembria possibly through Bizone; these cities' possible Dorian connections, more likely with Kallatis; and the context of finds related to cult and sacrifices attested at Durankulak (territory of Kallatis) and Balchik (Dionysopolis). In fact, there may be one more clue coming from the latter city, again

128 Lazarenko 2010, 15–16, 19, esp. 49, fig. 4, 50, fig. 7 (for the details of the filleted *bucrania*); Lazarenko 2013, 15–16 (and figs. 11a-b and 13), 25, note 48, 25–26, note 53, esp. 27, note 61 (rather preferring the date in 280–260 BC).

129 Slavova 2009, 202; Lazarenko 2010, 30, note 21; Lazarenko 2013, 50, notes 103–105, 51, fig. 44 (first half of the 3rd century BC). The month *Taureōn* has been already known from another inscription of Dionysopolis: *IGBulg V*, 5011, lines 2–3.

130 Todorova 2007, 175–181; Vajsov 2016, 44, 212.

131 Todorova 2007, 182; Vajsov 2016, 47, 213, 215.

[τὴν φέρ]ουσαν ἐπὶ Σκηρηζίν καὶ ἀπὸ Σκηρη-
 [ζεως ἄ]μαξήλατον τὴν φέρουσαν ἐπὶ τὸν τά-
 20 [φον τοῦ] σκοπεύοντος τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ
 [τάφου] τὴν φέρουσαν ἀμαξήλατον ἐπὶ Καρ-
 [βατε]ῖδα καὶ ἀπὸ Καρβατειδος τὴν φέρουσα
 [ἐπὶ τ]ᾶ ἀρχαῖα ὄρια Καλλατιανῶν καὶ Διονυ-
 [σοπ]ολειτῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων τούτων
 25 [τ]ῆν φέρουσαν ἔξω Ἄκρας ἐπὶ τὸ Νυμφαῖ-
 ον, ταῦτα κρεῖνομεν μαθόντες ἐκ τῶν

Fig. 18 *IGBulg V 5011*; *horothesia* of Dionysopolis; excerpt from the transliteration.

traced in the *horothesia* inscription. This is one of the topographical minutiae used in the inscription as a point of reference, the ‘grave of the one who beholds or watches the *chora*’ (‘τά[φον τοῦ] σκοπεύοντος τὴν χώραν’; Fig. 18).¹³² M. Damyanov noticed this intriguing detail and commented that this was probably a tumulus that must have once belonged to ‘a person of some importance for the development of the polis’, ‘somebody who was venerated (heroized?) after his death’.¹³³ This insightful hypothesis may acquire in the future some valuable meaning for the city of Dionysopolis, but it could also be extended to have some relevance possibly with a more conspicuous monument (a *heroon*?)¹³⁴ for the whole area, regardless perhaps to which territory was at that time or to which one might have belonged in earlier times.

This numismatic riddle can rest aside for the time being with the advice given by Rilke ‘... to have patience with everything unresolved in your heart and to try to love the questions themselves as if they were locked rooms or books written *in a very foreign language*’.¹³⁵

The whole matter comes down to what we do really know about antiquity and what comes to be the *Nachleben*, the afterlife, of a small piece of the bygone times. A simple answer may be that it probably has to do with both the ‘*wissen*’ in the

132 *IGBulg V*, 5011, lines 19–20.

133 Damyanov 2007, 18. On hero cult and tomb cult, as well as territorial claims, see e.g. Antonaccio 1999, 115–117, 118.

134 For funerary cults in Thrace connected with heroes, founder-heroes or ancestors, see Rabadjiev 2016, esp. 291–292, 294, 302.

135 Rilke 1929; the original quote in his letter (Worpswede bei Bremen, 16 July 1903) reads: ‘... Geduld zu haben gegen alles Ungelöste in Ihrem Herzen und zu versuchen, die Fragen selbst liebzuhaben wie verschlossene Stuben und wie Bücher, die in einer sehr fremden Sprache geschrieben sind’.

Altertumswissenschaft and with the ‘*nach*’ in the *Nachleben*. Moreover, a question still stands about what remains to be really gained as knowledge. This question is applicable, even when focusing just on a chunk of history or archaeology,¹³⁶ even when some things have to remain for now rather unresolved.¹³⁷ The present approach has been taken in an attempt to somehow appease a fragment of the alienation with the past, for it is still our unalienable right to try hard to find some understanding out of it.

136 Olivier 2011, 180–181.

137 Rilke again (in the same letter, see *supra*) offers some further advice: ‘... Live the questions now. Perhaps then, someday far in the future, you will gradually, without even noticing it, live your way into the answer’ (‘Leben Sie jetzt die Fragen. Vielleicht leben Sie dann allmählich, ohne es zu merken, eines fernen Tages in die Antwort hinein’).

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14 What Does the Dense Network of Thracian and Macedonian Overstrikes on Late Hellenistic Tetradrachms Reflect?

François de Callatay

To the memory of Rick Witschonke

Abstract

At the turn of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, tetradrachms produced in Thrace or having circulated in the Thracian area were heavily overstruck. The catalogue of these overstrikes is still growing. For Thasos, we possess more than 30 cases, implying many other mints (such as the late Alexanders of Odessos and Mesembria, the late Lysimachi of Byzantion, Maroneia, the quaestor Aesillas, Athens, Alexandria Troas, Tenedos, and even Ephesos). In some cases (Athens and Aesillas), these overstrikes are numerous and afford a detailed study. Historically, research has mainly tried to identify them for chronological purposes. This paper aims to go further and asks the question of why it was deemed necessary to overstrike coins of the same Attic weight standard.

Keywords

Overstrikes, Thrace, mints, tetradrachms, Late Hellenistic period

This study is as a by-product of a larger project known as the Greek Overstrikes Database (GOD). Together with David MacDonald, it is our intention to gather and make the several thousands of recognized cases of overstrikes for Greek coinages available online, in what should be a collaborative process where identified users will be allowed to introduce new evidence or to comment and certify proposed identifications.¹ This is all the more encouraged by modern technology, allowing us to work with better quality photographs and larger formats than researchers of past generations had the ability to. Practically all of the evidence discussed in this paper is available on [pinterest.com](https://www.pinterest.com), where it may be controlled and annotated.²

- 1 See already MacDonald 2009. Indeed, overstrikes are often difficult to recognise. Several mistakes have to be avoided, such as considering what is simply a double strike (or some die or striking accident) to be an overstrike or over-interpreting remaining traces, especially when it may lead to the recognition of some unexpected or historically important under-type. This is why it is important to validate each identification in a collaborative process.
- 2 See: <https://fr.pinterest.com/francoisdecalla/greek-overstrikes-database-late-hellenistic-alexan> (36 coins)
<https://fr.pinterest.com/francoisdecalla/greek-overstrikes-database-thrace-maroneia-and-tha> (56 coins) and
<https://fr.pinterest.com/francoisdecalla/greek-overstrikes-database-macedonia-late-hellenis> (16 coins).

Overstrikes are notoriously important for chronology, and, as a result, most studies dealing with overstrikes are focused on chronology. However, there is much more to expect in terms of historical and monetary benefits. In particular, overstrikes are often our best guides for what literary sources cannot provide: official withdrawals (*décri*) of old currencies to be re-struck or melted down. Georges Le Rider was a pioneer in the field of Greek numismatics who authored a paper which still stands as the most comprehensive treatment of the topic, as well as an emblematic case study which refers to the massive overstriking of foreign coins, most notably Cyrenaica by Cretan mints.

Silver tetradrachms struck in the late Hellenistic period in Thrace and Macedonia provide another rich network of such overstrikes, although never to as large a scale as in Crete. Of note are the late Alexanders struck at Mesembria (with 29 cases of overstrikes recorded in Annex 1) and Odessos (10 cases), the late Lysimachi struck at Byzantion (two cases), those struck in the name of Mostis (four cases), and the large issues of tetradrachms with Heracles the Saviour in the name of the citizens of Maroneia and Thasos (15 and 30 cases, respectively). The large issues struck by the Romans in Macedonia in the name of the regions or *merides* (chiefly the First Region) and those in the name of Aesillas (three³ and 13 cases, respectively) are also worth mentioning.

This study aims to be more than an updated catalogue and investigates the structure and the purpose of these overstrikes. This is possible because each of these coinages has already received considerable attention, including a detailed die study. Die studies allow us to reduce the size of descriptions considerably. More importantly, they enable us to determine levels of frequency. What proportion of the coinage is likely to have been overstruck? Was it a highly concentrated pattern, affecting only a couple of dies, or was it a more widespread phenomenon that was dispersed throughout the full coinage? Without these die studies, it would have been impossible to answer such questions.

To better detect phases with a high concentration of overstriking, coins listed in the catalogue (Annex 1) have not been classified by under-types, but rather by over-types in the sequential order of the dies as given by modern studies.

3 Ilya Prokopov is the author of a die study for this coinage (Prokopov 2012), with apparently no case of overstrike out of the c. 1,610 published tetradrachms (for c. 200 obverse dies). David MacDonald published three cases of what he considers to be imitations of Macedonia First Meris tetradrachms on tetradrachms of Myrina MacDonald 1997. I am not absolutely convinced by these identifications and leave these apart from my commentary.

The Evidence

For each coinage, I have tried 1) to estimate the percentage of recognized overstrikes to compare with the total of known coins, 2) to localize where overstrikes appear in the sequence, and 3) to examine on what kind of identified under-type they appear.

Mesembria (29 overstrikes)

Looking at the die studies that Ivan Karayotov and I have proposed, the percentage of late Alexanders issued by the mint of Mesembria which show clear signs of overstriking is likely to be between 1 and 2%.⁴ Not only are the 29 cases of the catalogue not well distributed between the four subgroups as defined by Callataÿ,⁵ but the distribution among the dies of each group is highly unbalanced (see Table 1).

Tab. 1 Mesembria. The evidence.

Group	o	n	O	Number of overstrikes	Implied dies (Karayotov 1994)	Overstruck types (surely identified)	Overstruck types (likely identified)
1	10	49	c. 11	11	O23 (9), O28, O34	Alexander (5)	Alexander (2)
2	31	396	c. 31	16	O47 (6), O49 (7), O74, O76, O77	Thasos (5) Athens (123/2 BC) First Macedon	Alexander (3) Lysimachos First Macedon (2) Tenedos
3	13	66	c. 13	2	O86 (2)	Thasos (1)	Mostis
4	10	28	c. 13	–	–	–	–

Most cases of overstrikes have been issued with some specific dies. Indeed, while the number of obverse dies amounts to 64 and, consequently, the average of overstrikes per obverse die below 0.5 (29 overstrikes/64 obverse dies), three dies turn to be responsible for more than three-quarters of all overstrikes (22 out of 29 – Group 1: O43; Group 2: O47 and O49). Moreover, if these three dies are certainly well represented in our corpus, they are not the best represented ones. As a result, we cannot escape the conclusion that late Mesembrian Alexanders were not produced on a regular basis by

4 Taking into account that there were eight recognized overstruck coins out of the 490 late posthumous Alexanders issued at Mesembria (c. 1.6%) in Callataÿ 1997, 56–57 and 10 out of 853 in Karayotov 1994 (c. 1.2%).

5 Callataÿ 1997.

reusing old coins that were not melted down (less than 2%) and that, when they were, it affects some very specific moments of the sequence.

In terms of overstruck coinages, we can observe a clear pattern. Overstrikes of Group 1 were made by recycling other Alexanders (late or otherwise), while overstrikes of Group 2 did so preferably with Thasian-type tetradrachms.

Odessos (10 overstrikes)

It would be odd to find a very different pattern for Odessos, and, indeed, this is not the case. Just like for Mesembria, the percentage of overstruck tetradrachms is clearly small, perhaps not even 1%.⁶ Here, too, overstrikes concentrate on some specific dies, while nothing similar is observed for other better documented dies located very near to them in the sequence. So, the five cases of overstrike recorded for Group 1 were produced with only two obverses (O13 and O14) out of the 16 recorded for the group.

Just like in Mesembria, one can see that overstrikes, although a minor phenomenon, decline through time (only one for Group 2 and nothing for Group 3). In addition, and once more similarly to Mesembria, we observe a switch between a first phase during which Alexanders were reused to produce other ones and a second phase during which Thasian-type tetradrachms were clearly targeted for the same purpose (Table 2). A unique but extremely useful case is provided by the only overstrike of Group 2, identified as having been struck on a tetradrachm of Nikomedes of Bithynia and issued in the late 90s or the first part of the 80s BC.

Tab. 2 Odessos. The evidence.

Group	o	n	O	Number of overstrikes	Implied dies (Callataÿ 1997)	Overstruck types (surely identified)
c. 150 BC	?	?	?	4	2 dies	Alexander (2) Lysimachos
1	16	154	c. 16	5	O13 (3), O14 (2)	Thasos (4)
2	14	34	c. 16	1	O12	Nikomedes (96–86 BC)
3	6	38	c. 6	–	–	–

⁶ Callataÿ 1997, 57–58 (1 coin overstruck out of 226).

Byzantion (2 overstrikes)

The mint of Byzantion produced vast quantities of late posthumous Lysimachi, but, of these, only two overstrikes are known so far. The percentage of overstruck coins is clearly less than that of the late Alexanders of Mesembria and Odessos, well under 1%.⁷

Nonetheless, these two overstrikes prove to be of great interest historically, the latter of which having been struck on a tetradrachm of Mithradates Eupator and likely issued around 86/85 BC.

Tab. 3 Byzantion. The evidence.

Group	o	n	O	Number of overstrikes	Implied dies (Callataÿ 1997)	Overstruck types (surely identified)
2A	45	76	c. 89	–	–	–
2B	17	32	c. 29	1	O7	Aesillas
3	56	105	c. 97	–	–	–
4	59	102	c. 113	1	O50	Mithradates Eupator

Maroneia (15 overstrikes)

In her study of the coinage of Maroneia, Edith Schönert-Geiss detected only three overstrikes out of the 573 coins she gathered for the late Hellenistic silver tetradrachms whose types mirror those issued in the name of the Thasians.⁸ It is true that this small number of recognized overstrikes has since been multiplied by five, but, as such, it again provides a low percentage of c. 0.5%.

The sequence of this considerable coinage (109 obverses dies numbered by Schönert-Geiss) is hard to establish, and the proposed chronology has been entirely revised and lowered. Despite these difficulties, it is absolutely clear that Maroneian overstrikes are not dispersed throughout the entire sequence, but are heavily concentrated in a specific part (2/3 have been issued with 1/10 of the obverse dies, those numbered O48 to O58 by Schönert-Geiss – see Table 4).

⁷ Callataÿ 1997, 68–69 (1 coin overstruck out of 315).

⁸ Schönert-Geiss 1987; see also MacDonald 1994.

Tab. 4 Maroneia. The evidence.

o	n	O	Number of over- strikes	Implied dies (Schönert-Geiss 1987)	Overstruck types (surely identified)	Overstruck types (likely identified)
109	573	120	15	O34, O37 (2), O48, O52 (2), O53, O54 (3), O56, O58 (2), O95	Aesillas (3) Tenedos (2) Alexander Lysimachos (2) Perseus Mithradates Eupator	Thasos

What is more astonishing in the case of Maroneia is the variety of securely identified overstruck coinages. Tetradrachms in the name of Aesillas come first (three cases), and that alone forces us to date the bulk of this coinage to after the 90s. There is, however, a range of other currencies which includes local coinages of Alexander, Lysimachos, and Perseus, as well as more exotic coinages like Tenedos and Mithradates Eupator. As a testimony to the rule of universal vexation, the oldest overstrike as classified by Schönert-Geiss (O34) is also the one which had been struck over the most recent independently-established coin: a tetradrachm of Mithradates Eupator struck in c. 86 BC.

Thasos (32 overstrikes)

Turning our attention to the similar but much larger coinage issued in the name of the Thasians, we also find a very low ratio of overstruck coins, likely to be under 1%.⁹ Here too, the grouping of varieties into clear chronological groups proves to be problematic, all the more since these Thasian-type tetradrachms have prompted several waves of imitations with no clear connection between them. Ilya Prokopov has produced the standard die study for the so-called tetradrachms issued in the name of the Thasians, while Ivo Lukanc has gathered a large amount of data (without a die study) for what are traditionally called imitations. Unfortunately, much more work remains to be done before reaching a consensus about the sequence of these issues and their chronology. Taking liberties with the order proposed by Ilya Prokopov, I have tentatively organized the evidence in a reasonable number of categories (Table 5).

⁹ Prokopov 2006 (0 out of c. 3,000 coins) and Lukanc 1996 (3 out of 1,923). See also MacDonald 2003.

Tab. 5 Thasos. The evidence.

Group	o	n	O	Number of overstrikes	Implied dies (Prokopov 2006 and Lukanc 1996)	Overstruck types (surely identified)	Overstruck types (likely identified)
<i>'Thasian' types</i>							
Monogram ΔI	?	?	?	1	–	–	
Monogram M	?	?	?	5	Ig25, near Ka1-2, BBa1 (2), BBd1	Aesillas (2)	Aesillas (2)
Monogram MH	?	?	?	9	near DD11, unrecorded (2), DD10, near A23, BBa1, BB7 (2), BB8	Aesillas (4) Athens (2: 124/3 BC and unspecified)	
ΘΠΑΚΩΝ	2	14	2	3	BBd1 (3)	Athens (2: 88/7 and 81/0 or 77/6 BC) Aesillas	
Monogram HPAM	–	–	–	1		Lysimachos	
<i>'Imitations'</i>							
Later issues (w/ intelligible legends)	?	?	?	5	AC6, GB1, 1138	Athens (3: 126/5, 107/6 BC [or 105/104] and unspecified) Thasos Aesillas	
Late issues (w/ unintelligible legends)	?	?	?	6	1202, 1206, 1385, 1422, 1633, 1808	Athens (5: 126/5 [2], 125/4, 123/2 BC and unspecified) Aesillas	

Again, some obverse dies have been used extensively to strike new coins onto old ones. This is especially true for the dies numbered BB by Prokopov. It is particularly striking in Thasos that, in contrast with the dispersion of under-types observed for Maroneia, overstrikes were first applied on tetradrachms in the name of Aesillas and then later on Athenian tetradrachms. As for Maroneia, these numerous cases of overstrikes on Aesillas coinage strongly argue against any high chronology and make it likely that the bulk of the coinage was struck not before the 80s. It comes thus as half a surprise to notice that most (8 out of 10) late overstrikes (with or without intelligible legends) were applied on Athenian tetradrachms, i.e. on coins mostly issued in the 120s, at least three decades before tetradrachms in the name of Aesillas.

Aesillas (13 overstrikes)

At last, tetradrachms of Aesillas provide another rich set of evidence that has been thoroughly investigated by Robert Bauslaugh.¹⁰ These tetradrachms have been issued in two phases: a first phase of limited magnitude (19 obverse dies) between c. 93 and 88 BC and another larger one (84 obverse dies) apparently two decades later (c. 70–60s). No matter the phase, overstrikes of Aesillas tetradrachms have been applied chiefly, if not only, on Athenian *stephanephoroi* tetradrachms. As for Thasos, this phenomenon occurred on coins which had already been circulating for three decades.

Taken together, no more than 1% of the Aesillas tetradrachms have been overstruck, a low percentage similar to what has been noticed elsewhere.¹¹ As elsewhere, these overstrikes are not evenly balanced throughout the sequence. With less than 20% of the dies but more than 75% of the overstrikes, the first phase is much richer than the last one (see Table 6).

Tab. 6 Aesillas. The evidence.

Group	o	n	O	Number of overstrikes	Implied dies (Bauslaugh 2000)	Overstruck over (only surely identified types)
<i>First Phase</i>						
1	6	127	c. 6	1	O ₄	Athens
2	7	180	c. 7	9	O ₇ (2), O ₉ (2), O ₁₁ , O ₁₂ (4)	Athens (3: 98/7 BC)
3 (B)	2	132	2	–	–	–
4	4	21	c. 4	1	O ₁₈	–
<i>Second Phase</i>						
5	12	55	c. 14	–	–	–
6	52	305	c. 55	–	–	–
7	4	44	c. 4	–	–	–
8	15	133	c. 15	2	O ₉₀ , O ₉₄	Athens (125/4 BC)

To elaborate further, it is clear that Group 2, with 70% of the overstrikes (9 out of 13) for only 7% of the dies (7 out of 100), is especially overrepresented. Moreover, inside Group 2, some dies are particularly well-documented (such as no. 12). Table 7 gives the number of recorded coins for each obverse die of the first phase (Groups 1–4: obverse dies nos. 1–19), as well as the number of detected overstrikes.

¹⁰ Bauslaugh 2000. See also Regling 1908, Thompson 1973 and Bauslaugh 1987.

¹¹ Bauslaugh 2000, 92 (11 coins overstruck out of c. 1,000).

Tab. 7 Aesillas. The detailed evidence for the first phase (Bauslaugh 2000, O1–O19).

	n	overstrikes
<i>Group 1</i>		
<i>(O1–O6)</i>		
Obverse 1	11	–
Obverse 2	21	–
Obverse 3	26	–
Obverse 4	2	1
Obverse 5	7	–
Obverse 6	50	–
<i>Group 2</i>		
<i>(O7–O13)</i>		
Obverse 7	39	2
Obverse 8	1	–
Obverse 9	33	1
Obverse 10	10	–
Obverse 11	40	1
Obverse 12	50	4
Obverse 13	8	–
<i>Group 3</i>		
<i>(O14–O15)</i>		
Obverse 14	78	–
Obverse 15	54	–
<i>Group 4</i>		
<i>(O16–O19)</i>		
Obverse 16	1	–
Obverse 17	11	–
Obverse 18	8	–
Obverse 19	1	–

There is no clear correlation between the number of overstrikes and the best documented dies. O12, with 50 coins, is especially well documented, but that is not necessarily the case with O14 and O15, for which no overstrikes are known. Conversely, O4 is attested by just two coins.

General Commentary

Striking similarities emerge from the study of these late Hellenistic silver coinages issued in Thrace and Macedonia.

(1) Overstrikes were overall a minor phenomenon affecting a very low percentage of the total amount of recorded coins, generally about 1%, sometimes much less (e.g., in Byzantium) and sometimes a bit more (e.g., in Mesembria).

(2) These overstrikes were never well dispersed throughout the sequence but heavily affect some limited part of it, as proven by the die evidence.

(3) As a rule and taking into account the various chronologies, these overstrikes seem to have concerned the last groups of these coinages much less.

What we today consider to be overstrikes are actually imperfect overstrikes. A question which naturally arises is to determine the proportion of undetected overstrikes to compare with well-noticed ones. For each recognized overstrike, how many others escape our attention because the under-type is perfectly obliterated? To answer this specific question, Georges Le Rider expressed the following opinion:

J'ai pour ma part le sentiment que les surfrappes imparfaites ont dû être plus nombreuses que les surfrappes parfaites : l'oblitération totale du type antérieur exigeait sans aucun doute des soins particuliers et, en général, l'ouvrier devait se contenter d'obtenir pour la nouvelle monnaie une présentation convenable, sans se soucier de ces menus traces que décèle aujourd'hui le numismate et qui lui permettent de reconnaître que la pièce a été surfrappée. Or, précisément, la plupart des monnayages grecs n'offrent qu'un nombre relativement très faible de surfrappes visibles.¹²

The reoccurring pattern of the evidence analyzed here fully supports such a prudent statement. The simple fact that overstrikes concentrate on specific dies argues against the likelihood that most overstrikes escape our attention.

As a rule, it seems thus that these late Hellenistic silver coinages were issued on a regular basis with new blanks that were produced especially for them, except during certain times when old coins were recycled.

How can we explain this general pattern? It has been observed that overstriking is a less satisfactory manner by which to produce coins and that any mint concerned by the quality of its production must have tried to avoid this process.¹³ However, it should be dangerous to infer from this observation that overstrikes are typical of hasty production, typically done under military pressure. The evidence presented here offers no firm support for that hypothesis. Only for one obverse die at Mesembria (O47) do we observe a link between overstrikes and what looks like a neglected fabric.

¹² Le Rider 1975, 51.

¹³ Le Rider 1975, 49.

Conversely, other obverse dies which were used intensively for overstriking look very good in terms of engraving and weight.¹⁴

We could argue differently and state that ancient mints did not concern themselves with producing beautiful coins in order to please modern collectors. Instead, they overstruck what they could, providing that the overstruck coins had a good alloy and weight. But the available amount of coins fitting these criteria was not large in any specific place and time. The scarcity of overstrikes would then reflect the scarcity of available coins and vice versa, not the trouble of the times.

Another theory about overstrikes and countermarks is that they were a means for the state to make a profit through a difference of legal tender between the old and the new coin. This idea is particularly challenged by the evidence discussed here. All of these late big silver Hellenistic coinages were initially produced for military purposes and were all the same weight standard, the so-called reduced Attic standard. Whether for the Romans or the Thracians, all these tetradrachms were struck to pay troops and were accepted as such, as Table 8 shows.

Tab. 8 Likely purposes for the striking of these late Hellenistic silver coinages.

Coinage	Likely purpose	Circulation
Late Alexanders of Mesembria	To pay for the protection of the Thracians	Hinterland of Mesembria
Late Alexanders of Odessos	To pay for the protection of the Thracians	Hinterland of Odessos
Late Lysimachi of Byzantion	To pay Thracian mercenaries (last groups)	Mainly Thrace
Maroneia	To pay Roman troops or auxiliaries	Thrace (outside Macedonia)
Thasos	To pay Roman troops or auxiliaries	Thrace (outside Macedonia)
Aesillas	To pay Roman troops or auxiliaries	Macedonia

It is not reasonable to suppose that a Thasian-type tetradrachm had a different exchange value when compared to an Aesillas or an Athenian tetradrachm. It is even more challenging to assert that a tetradrachm in the name of the Thasians was valued differently than a tetradrachm in the name of the Maroneitans, or that the value of tetradrachms in the name of the Thasians evolved through time. However, we do surely have an overstrike of Thasos over Thasos, and possibly of Maroneia over Thasos, despite the fact that these two coinages circulated alongside each other. Clearly, these overstrikes were not applied for any benefit of the issuing power.

14 Mesembria: Karayotov 1994, O23 and O49; Maroneia: Schönert-Geiss 1987, O52 and O54; Thasos: Prokopov 2006, OBBd1; Aesillas: Bauslaugh 2000, O12.

What can be said about withdrawals without benefit? Do these short episodes of overstrikes reflect major withdrawals, motivated by a non-economic agenda? Nothing compels us to adhere to that scenario. Eight tetradrachms in the name of Alexander, 11 for the Thasians, 12 for Aesillas, and 18 for the Athenians are attested as having been effectively overstruck. However, they were overstruck in different places and times, apparently not at once.

Considering the floating chronology for several coinages (chiefly Maroneia and Thasos), it is risky to sum up all the evidence in one table. Table 9 should thus be taken as a tentative and unsecure attempt in that sense.

Tab. 9 Essay of chronological framework for late Hellenistic silver overstrikes in Thrace and Macedonia.

Date	Mesembria	Odessos	Maroneia	Thasos	Aesillas
c. 150–120 BC	11 (Alexander: 5)	4 (Alexander: 2; Lysimachos: 1)	?	?	–
c. 120–85 BC	18 (Thasos: 6; Athens: 1; First Macedon: 1)	5 (Thasos: 4; Nikomedes: 1)	15 (Aesillas: 3; Tenedos: 2; Lysimachos: 2; Alexander: 1; Perseus: 1; Mithra- dates Eupator: 1)	19 (Aesillas: 7; Athens: 4; Lysimachos: 1)	11 (Athens: 4)
c. 85–50 BC	–	–	?	11 (Athens: 8; Aesillas: 2; Thasos: 1)	2 (Athens)

The general consensus is that overstrikes were applied mostly at the beginning of the 1st century BC, which is also likely to have been the period of maximal production of late Hellenistic tetradrachms in the area.

With due caution, I would like to propose a scenario in which old coins were mainly re-struck as a function of their availability. The Alexanders were the most common existing stock in the area of modern Varna around the mid-2nd century BC but subsequently disappeared and were replaced by the Thasian-type tetradrachms. Used by the Romans, the Thracian mints of Maroneia and Thasos – especially Maroneia – provide an illustration of the variety of currencies available there (including Tenedos). The shift in Thasos is in between Aesillas and Athens coinages. Issued in Macedonia, tetradrachms in the name of Aesillas could never rely on a variety of currencies: only Athenian tetradrachms used to circulate inside the province, which is what also appears from overstrikes.

Now why would, say, a Roman soldier in Macedonia at the end of the 90s, have had to be paid in tetradrachms issued in the name of Aesillas and no longer in the Athenian currencies organized for his predecessors a generation before? The question is particularly upsetting since – here again – hoards prove that these two currencies had circulated together. However, in at least six cases, the mint in charge of the Aesillas coinage decided to obliterate these Athenian tetradrachms.

We can suspect political reasons in some cases; it makes sense that a Thracian mercenary who was back home after campaigning with the king of Pontus would have preferred to be paid in Lysimachi issued at Byzantium instead of in tetradrachms of Mithradates, his defeated employer. It also makes sense, as a political affirmation of themselves, that the short coinages in the name of the ‘king’ Mostis (with types of Lysimachos) or ‘the Thracians’ (with types of the Thasians) would have been massively produced through overstrikes (with the percentage of recognized overstrikes as high as 20% – the only ones of its kind).¹⁵

However, political reasons or propaganda are not a universal key and cannot explain all cases. I am not a believer in the adage that ‘we have explained nothing unless we have explained everything’ (which stands possibly for natural sciences but not for the humanities). To be sure, this simple explanation of relying heavily on availability is not entirely satisfying. Nonetheless, it is the most comprehensive we could offer at the present stage of enquiry.¹⁶

Catalogue¹⁷

Late Alexanders of Mesembria

Karayotov (O28)

(1): New York, ANS, Propontis Hoard (16.87 g – see Waggoner 1979, 11, pl. 1, no. 19 and MacDonald 2009, 212, no. 1) – overstruck on undetermined type (on Alexander?).

Price 1015; Karayotov (O23); Callataÿ Group 1 (O1)

(2): New York, ANS 51.35.103 (16.54 g; 35 mm; 1 h – see Waggoner 1979, 11, pl. 2, no. 3, Callataÿ 1997, 92, and MacDonald 2009, 212, no. 6) – overstruck on undetermined type (on Alexander?).

15 For the Thracians, see Callataÿ 2012 and MacDonald 2012 (3 overstrikes out of 14 coins = 21%); for Mostis, see Paunov 2014 (4 coins overstruck out of 20 = 20%) and Callataÿ 1991a.

16 This paper was written in 2015. The problem has since been solved, see Callataÿ 2018.

17 NB: All the overstrikes are illustrated on [pinterest.com](https://www.pinterest.com).

- (3): CNG e-Auc 276 (21 March 2012), 50 (16.61 g; 37 mm; 12 h) – overstruck on undetermined type.
- (4): CNG MBS 63 (21 May 2003), 171 (16.83 g – see MacDonald 2009, 212, no. 5) – overstruck on undetermined type.

Price 1027; Karayotov (O23 [but clearly different from preceding]); Callataï Group 1 (O3)

- (5): MacDonald Coll., no. 92 (16.48 g; 12 h – see MacDonald 2009, 123) – overstruck on Alexander.
- (6): MacDonald Coll., no. 93 (16.49 g; 1 h – see MacDonald 2009, 124) – overstruck over Alexander (same obverse die as no. 2).
- (7): Shoumen, HM, Haralanov Coll. 105.5 (34 mm – see Karayotov 1994, 88, no. 169, pl. XVI [O23–R82], MacDonald 2009, 212, no. 4) – overstruck over Alexander.
- (8): London, BM 1923-2-3-6 Lawrence (16.80 g; 37 mm; 12 h – see Karayotov 1994, 88, no. 167 [O33–R65], pl. XV, Callataï 1997, 92, [O3–R2b], MacDonald 2009, 212, no. 3) – overstruck over Alexander.
- (9): New York, ANS 49.215 (16.67 g; 35 mm; 12 h – see Callataï 1994, 322 [O3–R1b], Karayotov 1994, 88, no. 157 [O23–R77], pl. XV, Callataï 1997, 93 [O3–R1b], MacDonald 2009, 212, no. 2) – overstruck on undetermined type (with dotted border).
- (10): MacDonald Coll., no. 94 (16.48 g; 12 h – see MacDonald 2009, 125) – overstruck on Alexander (same obverse die as nos. 2–3).

Price 1005; Karayotov (O34)

- (11): London, BM, Tucker 1879 (15.52 g – see Karayotov 1994, 90, no. 204 [O34–R96], ‘overstruck on a “shield/Athena” tetradrachm of Antigonos Gonatas’, pl. XVIII) – overstruck (on enigmatic type, unlikely to be Antigonos Gonatas ‘Shield/Athens’).

Price 1077; Karayotov 347 (O49); Callataï Group 2 (O2)

- (12): MacDonald Coll., no. 95 (16.63 g; 12 h) – overstruck on undetermined type (with dotted border – Alexander?).
- (13): MacDonald Coll., no. 96 (16.62 g; 12 h) – overstruck (on Lysimachos from Byzantion?).
- (14): Coin Galleries (7 July 2011), 954 (16.66 g) – overstruck (on undetermined type).
- (15): Lanz 123 (30 May 2005), 112 (16.13 g; 12 h) – overstruck (on Alexander?).
- (16): CNG 72 (14 June 2006), 343 (16.69 g) = Ira & Larry Goldberg 42 (23 Sept. 2007), 51 (16.69g) – overstruck (on undetermined type, with dotted border on each side).

- (17): Shoumen, HM, Haralanov Coll. 105.5 (34 mm – see Karayotov 1994, 95, no. 358, pl. 25 [O49–R163], MacDonald 2009, 213, no. 9) – overstruck (over Alexander better than over First Macedon).
- (18): Münzen & Medaillen 34 (26 May 2011), 46 (16.85 g) – overstruck (on Tenedos?).

Karayotov (O77)

- (19): Rudnik Hoard (CH III 74), no. 21 (15.72 g; 35 mm; 12 h – see Callataÿ and Prokopov 1994a, 207 and Karayotov 1994, 108, no. 718 [O77–R262], pl. XVIII) – overstruck on Athens (issue ΜΙΚΙΩΝ–ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕ dated 123/122 BC).

Karayotov (O74); Callataÿ Group 2 (O28)

- (20): New York, ANS 1944.100.35789 E.T. Newell – Schulman V.27 (16.48 g; 36 mm; 12 h – see Callataÿ 1994, 334 [O28–R2a], Karayotov 1994, 107, no. 701 [O76–R256], Callataÿ 1997, 102 [O28–R2a], MacDonald 2009, 214, no. 16) – overstruck (over First Macedon?).

Karayotov (O76); Callataÿ Group 2 (O29)

- (21): New York, ANS 48.19.964 Gautier (16.55 g; 32 mm; 1 h – see Lederer 1941, 8–9, Callataÿ 1994, 334 [O29–R3b], Karayotov 1994, 107, no. 694 [O74–R254], Callataÿ 1997, 102 [O29–R3b], MacDonald 2009, 213–214, no. 15) – overstruck over First Macedon.

Price 1101; Karayotov (O47); Callataÿ Group 2 (O31)

- (22): Paris, BnF, R1825 (16.90 g; 40 mm; 12 h – see Callataÿ 1987, Karayotov 1994, 93, no. 292, Callataÿ 1997, 103 [O31–R5a] and MacDonald 2009, 213, no. 11) – overstruck on Thasos.
- (23): MacDonald Coll., no. 97 (16.66 g; 11 h – see MacDonald 2009, 128) – overstruck on Thasos.
- (24): MacDonald Coll., no. 98 (16.79 g; 12 h – see MacDonald 2009, 129) – overstruck on Thasos.
- (25): MacDonald Coll., no. 99 (16.98 g; 12 h – see MacDonald 2009, 129–130) – overstruck on Thasos.
- (26): Kurpfälzische Münzhandlung 14 (31 May–2 June 1978), 12 (36 mm – see Karayotov 1994, 93, no. 294, Callataÿ 1997, 103 [O31–R6b], MacDonald 2009, 213, no. 12) – overstruck on Thasos.

- (27):** London, BM 1896-7-3-142 Bunbury (16.79 g; 36 mm; 12 h – see Karayotov 1994, 92, no. 280; Callataï 1997, 103, pl. 30 [O31–R1a], MacDonald 2009, 213, no. 10) – overstruck (on First Macedon?).

Price 1102; Karayotov (O86); Callataï Group 3 (O3)

- (28):** New York Sale 20 (7 Jan. 2009), 136 (16.85 g) – overstruck on Thasos.
(29): Lanz 44 (16 May 1988), 109 (16.07 g; 11 h – see Callataï 1991a, Callataï 1994, 337 [O3–R1a], Karayotov 1994, 110, no. 764 [O86–R278], pl. XLIV, Callataï 1997, 104 [O3–R1a]) – overstruck (on Mostis? [I would be much more prudent now than a quarter of century ago about that identification]).

NB: I do not recognize an overstrike for the following coins:

- (a):** New York, ANS 51.35.104 – Propontis Hoard (16.76 g; 31 mm; 12 h – see Waggoner 1979, no. 30, Karayotov 1994, 91, no. 229 [O39–R108: ‘restruck’], Callataï 1997, 93 [O8–R1a], MacDonald 2009, 213, no. 8 [‘over uncertain host coin’]) – double strike.
(b): Veliko Tirnovo, HM, 121 (16.90 g; 40 mm – see Karayotov 1994, no. 295 [O47–R134], pl. XXII, MacDonald 2009, 213, no. 13 [‘over Thasos’]) – double strike.
(c): Sofia, AM, 10429-54 (16.22 g; 33 mm – see Callataï 1994, 335 [O30–R1b], Karayotov 1994, 108, no. 702 [O75–R257: ‘overstruck?’], pl. XLI, Callataï 1997, 102 [O28–R2a], MacDonald 2009, 214, no. 17 [‘over uncertain host coin’]) – traces on outer r. field of the reverse are not totally convincing although they might be part of a dotted border.

Late Alexanders of Odessos

Price 1167 (Var.)

- (1):** Lanz 154 (11 June 2012), 63 (16.94 g) – overstruck over Alexander.

Price 1322

- (2):** CNG 91 (19 Sept. 2012), 215 (17.38 g; 30 mm; 12 h) – overstruck over Lysimachos.
(3): Triton 16 (8 Jan. 2013), 248 (16.90 g; 30 mm; 12 h) – overstruck on uncertain type (same obverse as no. 2).
(4): CNG 94 (18 Sept. 2013), 158 (16.99 g; 29 mm; 12 h) – overstruck over Alexander (same obverse die as no. 2–3).

Price 1181 and Callataÿ Group 1 (O13)

- (5): Brussels, Royal Library, inv. no. II 82.531 – from Superior (30 May 1995), 7288 (16.17 g; 32 mm; 12 h – see Callataÿ 2008, pl. 1, no. 6 and pl. 2, no. 10) – overstruck on Thasos.
- (6): Numismatic Fine Arts Journal 32 (Summer/Fall 1986), 6 (15.81 g – see MacDonald 1994, 174, fig. 3 and MacDonald 2009, 130) – overstruck on Thasos or Maroneia.
- (7): MacDonald Coll., no. 100 (15.49 g; 12 h – see MacDonald 2009, 131) – overstruck on Thasos or Maroneia (same obverse die as nos. 5–6).

Price 1181 – Callataÿ Group 1 (O14)

- (8): Brussels, Royal Library, inv. no. 2000–2087 – from Ritter 53, 512 (15.19 g; 35 mm; 12 h – see Callataÿ 2008, pl. 1, no. 5 and pl. 2, no. 11) – overstruck on Thasos.
- (9): Paris, BnF, HS R4114 (16.24 g; 33 mm; 12 h – see Callataÿ 1997, 87, pl. 25 [D14–R42c] and pl. 27, no. E [enlargement of the reverse] and MacDonald 2009, 130) – overstruck on Thasos.

Callataÿ Group 2 (O12)

- (10): MacDonald Coll., no. 101 (16.08 g; 12 h – see MacDonald 2009, 132–133) – overstruck on Nikomedes of Bithynia (the overstruck monogram is known for the years 96/95 [BΣ], 94/3 [ΔΣ], 88/87 [IΣ] and 87/86 [AΙΣ] BC)

NB: I do not recognize overstrikes for the following coins:

- (a): SNG Stancomb 271 (14.92 g; 12 h; ‘overstruck on a coin from Lysimachus type from Byzantium’ – Price 1197 (see MacDonald 2009, 130, no. 4). The line which appears in the field r. on the obverse is not a ‘trident’ (then in the wrong direction) but some die accident.
- (b): SNG Stancomb 273 – from Berk (17 Apr. 1996), 120 (16.25 g; 12 h; ‘overstruck?’ – Price 1200) – nothing apparent.

Byzantion

Callataÿ Group 2B (O7)

- (1): Berlin (see Thompson 1973, pl. A, no. 1, Callataÿ 1997, 122 [O7–R4a], pl. 36, no. C and Bauslaugh 2000, 92, no. 1, pl. 14) – overstruck over Aesillas.

Callataï Group 4 (O)

- (2): CNG 93 (22 May 2013), 101 (16.26 g; 36 mm; 12 h – see Callataï 2013) – overstruck on Mithradates Eupator (likely to be dated c. 85 BC).

Maroneia

- (1): Platt [Paris], Spring 1981 (16.40 g – see Schönert-Geiss 1987, 190, nos. 1099–1107 [O34] and Callataï 1991b) – overstruck on Mithradates Eupator.
- (2): Warsaw, 154.873 (16.16 g; 32 mm – Schönert-Geiss 1987, 189, no. 1085 [O37–R101]) – overstruck (on Thasos? with grateful thanks to Ms. A. Krzyżanowska for the sending of a plaster cast).
- (3): CNG Coin Shop, before 2004, no. 732041 (16.21 g – see Schönert-Geiss 1987, no. 1093 [O37–R107]) – overstruck on Alexander type (Odessos, Mesembria?).
- (4): CNG 87 (18 May 2011), 257 (16.41 g; 32 mm; 12 h – see Schönert-Geiss 1987 [near O48]) – overstruck on Tenedos.
- (5): Nomos 7 (15 May 2013), 24 (17.03 g; 11h – see Schönert-Geiss 1987, 193, nos. 1145–1176 [O52–54]) – overstruck on Lysimachos.
- (6): Comptoir Général de Bourse 34 (30 Apr. 2008), 91 (? – see Schönert-Geiss 1987, 193, nos. 1145–1176 [O52–54]) – overstruck on Perseus.
- (7): SNG Fabricius 301 (16.76 g; 12 h – see Schönert-Geiss 1987 [near O52] and Bauslaugh 2000, 92) – overstruck over Aesillas.
- (8): New York, ANS SNG Berry 497 (16.77 g; 12 h [‘struck over a posthumous Lysimachus: outline of the profile visible on the obverse and ΨΙΜΑΧΟ on the reverse’] – see Schönert-Geiss 1987, 193, no. 1160 [O53–5169], pl. 53 [O53 is identical with O52]) – overstruck on Lysimachos.
- (9): Collector’s Journal of Ancient Art 7 (3–4), Winter/Spring 1992/1993, 4–5, no. 33 (16.36 g – see Schönert-Geiss 1987, 193, nos. 1170–1176 [O54] and MacDonald 1994, 179, no. 2) – overstruck on undetermined type.
- (10): Gitbud & Naumann 3 (5 May 2013), 32 (16.50 g; 31 mm – see Schönert-Geiss 1987, no. 1176 [O54]) – overstruck on undetermined type.
- (11): SNG Cop. 641; van Lennep 1891 (16.60 g; 12 h – see Schönert-Geiss 1987 [O54]) – overstruck on undetermined type.
- (12): Berlin, MK, Imhoof-Blumer (14.80 g; 30 mm – see Schönert-Geiss 1984, 92, no. 20 and Schönert-Geiss 1987, 193, no. 1169 [O56–R176] and Bauslaugh 2000, 92) – overstruck over Aesillas.
- (13): Hirsch 152 (23–26 Nov. 1986), 123 (see Callataï 1986 and Schönert-Geiss 1987, 194, nos. 1179–1192 [O58–62]) – overstruck over Tenedos.

- (14): MacDonald Coll. (see Schönert-Geiss 1987, 194, nos. 1179–1192 [O58–62] and MacDonald 1994, 179, no. 1) – overstruck on Aesillas.
 (15): Vinchon (13–15 Nov. 1986, Trampisch Coll.), 145 (13.83 g – see Schönert-Geiss 1987, [O95–R315]) – overstruck on undetermined type.

NB: There is no illustration for:

- (a): Cambridge (12.54 g; 33/5mm – see Schönert-Geiss 1987, 197, no. 1239/1 [O71–R240: ‘überprägt auf späte Alexander-Tetradr.’]).

And I do not recognize overstrike for the following coin:

- (a): Münzhandlung Sonntag 20 (9 Dec. 2014), 31 (14.98 g – see Schönert-Geiss 1987, 195, nos. 1201–1212 [O65]) – overstruck (?).

Thasos

Monogram ΔI

- (1): Bucharest, ArchInst, inv. no. 1261/A605 (16.47 g; 31 mm; 12 h – see Prokopov 2006 [O]) – overstruck on undetermined type.

Monogram M

- (2): Ahlstrøm 47 (17 Apr. 1993), 1357 (see Prokopov 2006, Group IX [OIg25]) – overstruck (on undetermined type).
 (3): Coin Investment (Den Haag) 35 (23 Apr. 1990), 1087 (14.09 g – see Prokopov 2006, Group X [near Oka1–2]) – overstruck (over Aesillas?).
 (4): Lanz 114 (26 May 2003), 82 (16.79 g; 34 mm; 11 h – see Prokopov 2006, Group XIII [OBBa1] and MacDonald 2012, 327 [O2–R8a]) – overstruck (over Aesillas?).
 (5): Gorny & Mosch 186 (10 March 2010), 1021 (16.12 g – see Prokopov 2006, Group XIII [OBBa1] and MacDonald 2012, 327 [O2–R8b]) – overstruck over Aesillas.
 (6): Witschonke Coll. = Stack’s, (24 Apr. 2008, Tallent & Belzberg Collections), 2077 (16.74 g – see Prokopov 2006, Group XIII [close to OBBd1]) – overstruck over Aesillas.

Monogram MH

- (7): London, BM, H.P. Borrell, 32 N. 29 (16.96 g; 32 mm; 12 h – see Prokopov 2006, Group XVI [near ODD11]) – overstruck on undetermined type.

- (8): MacDonald Coll. (16.62 g; 12 h – see MacDonald 2003, no. 1, Prokopov 2006, Group X? [no close parallel] and MacDonald 2009, 137–138, no. 103) – overstruck over Athens (on issue ΚΑΡΑΙΧ–ΕΡΤΟΚΛΕ dated 124–123 BC).
- (9): Dorotheum 483 (1–2 Oct. 1996), 18 (see Prokopov 2006, Group XVI [ODD10–R1015]) – overstruck over Athens (undetermined issue).
- (10): Christie's (Geneva), (12 May 1984), 2 (see Prokopov 2006, Group XVI [close to ODA23 – same obverse as Lukanc 1996, nos. 131–132, 146 and 995]) – overstruck on undetermined type (with incuse square: old Maroneian tetradrachm?).
- (11): MacDonald Coll. (16.62 g; 11 h – see Prokopov 2006, Group XIII [close to OBBa1] and MacDonald 2009, 135, no. 102) – overstruck over Aesillas.
- (12): London, BM 1899-4-1-14 Lambros (16.16 g; 34 mm; 12 h – see Prokopov 2006, Group XIII, [OBB8]) – overstruck over Aesillas.
- (13): Oxford, AM 3700 – gift E.S.G. Robinson 1964 (16.42 g; 32 mm; 12 h – see Prokopov 2006, Group XIII, [OBB7]) – overstruck over Aesillas.
- (14): Hirsch 32 (22–24 Oct. 1962), no. 2334 (see Bauslaugh 2000, 92, no. 2 and Prokopov 2006, Group XIII [close to OBB7]) – overstruck over Aesillas.

Issue with ΘΡΑΚΩΝ

- (15): Lanz 121 (22 Nov. 2004), 160 (16.58 g; 34 mm; 12 h) = Lanz 135 (21 May 2005), 139 = Gorny & Mosch 160 (9 Oct. 2007), 1032 (16.59g – see Prokopov 2006, Group XIII [close to OBBd1]) – overstruck over Aesillas.
- (16): Gorny & Mosch 195 (7 March 2011), 8 (16.38 g – see Prokopov 2006, Group XIII [close to OBBd1] and CallataÏ 2012) – overstruck on Athens (issue ΑΠΕΛΛΙΚΩΝ–ΓΟΡΤΙΑΣ dated 88/87 BC).
- (17): MacDonald Coll. (17.08 g – see Prokopov 2006, Group XIII [close to OBBd1] and MacDonald 2012) – overstruck on Athens (issue ΑΜΦΙΑΣ–ΟΙΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ dated 81/80 or 77/76 BC).

Monogram HPAM

- (18): Kress 140 (7 Aug. 1967), 27 (see CallataÏ 1997, 132, pl. 36, no. A, CallataÏ 2008, 40 and Prokopov 2006, Group XV) – overstruck over Lysimachos (of Byzantion Group 2A, c. 110–100 BC).
- (19): Hirsch 271 (17 Febr. 2011), 1835 (16.14 g – see Prokopov 2006, Group XIV, 148, no. 1045 [OCB7–R840], pl. 74) – overstruck on undetermined type.
- (20): CNG, Coin Shop, no. 828121 (16.44 g; 35 mm – see Prokopov 2006, Group XV [OCH7]) – overstruck on undetermined type.

Late issues (with intelligible legends)

- (21): Rauch 95 (30 Sept. 2014), 54 (16.73 g – see Prokopov 2006 [no close parallel]) – overstruck over Thasos.
- (22): New York, ANS 1944.100.16774 (16.30 g; 34 mm; 12 h – see Prokopov 2006, Group XII, 122, no. 725 [OAC6-R579], pl. 53) – overstruck over Aesillas.
- (23): Silistra, Popina Hoard, no. 439 (16.25 g – see Callataÿ and Prokopov 1994b and Prokopov 2006, Group XIX [OGB1]) – overstruck over Athens (issue ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ–ΕΥΚΛΗΣ dated 107/106 or 105/104 BC).
- (24): Bucarest, MHNR 533A (14.57 g; 31 mm; 1 h – see Lukanc 1996, 102, no. 1138, pl. 102) – overstruck on undetermined type.
- (25): MacDonald Coll. (15.80 g; 12 h – see MacDonald 2003, no. 2 and MacDonald 2009, 141, no. 104) – overstruck over Athens (issue ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗΣ–ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ dated 126–125 BC).
- (26): Hirsch 179 (21–25 Sept. 1993), 52 (15.84 g – see Lukanc 1996) – overstruck over Athens (laurel wreath).

Late issues (with unintelligible legends)

- (27): MacDonald Coll. (16.13 g; 12h – see Lukanc 1996, 103, no. 1202, pl. 108, MacDonald 2003, 31–39, no. 2 and MacDonald 2009, 142, no. 105) – overstruck over Athens (issue ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗΣ–ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ dated 126–125 BC).
- (28): MacDonald Coll. (16.26 g; 1h – see Lukanc 1996, 108, no. 1422, pl. 126 and 110, no. 1521, pl. 134, MacDonald 2003, no. 3 and MacDonald 2009, 143, no. 106) – overstruck over Athens (issue ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗΣ–ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ dated 126–125 BC).
- (29): MacDonald Coll. (16.66 g; 11 h – see Lukanc 1996, 107, no. 1385, pl. 123, MacDonald 2003, no. 4 and MacDonald 2009, 144, no. 107) – overstruck over Athens (issue ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ–ΑΛΚΕΤΗΣ dated 125–124 BC).
- (30): Budapest, Desseffy 832 (16.38 g; 33 mm; 12 h – see Lukanc 1996, 103, no. 1206, pl. 108) – overstruck over Athens (undetermined issue).
- (31): Boljarino Hoard, inv. no. 2281 (16.20 g – see Callataÿ and Prokopov 1995, 7, no. 15, pl. 2) – overstruck over Athens (issue ΜΙΚΙΩΝ–ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕ dated 123–122 BC).
- (32): Budapest, Desseffy 548 (15.88 g; 32 mm – see Göbl 1973, pl. 49, no. 9 and Lukanc 1996, 116, no. 1808, pl. 158) – overstruck over Aesillas.

NB: I do not recognize an overstrike for the following coins:

- (a): Helios 6 (9 March 2011), 389 (16.89g [‘Überprägungsspuren’]_ – see Prokopov 2006, no. 282 [Oig11-R238]) – double strike not overstrike.
- (b): Padarevo Hoard (CH I 99) (16.58 g; 35 mm; 1 h – see Prokopov 2006, Group X? [no close parallel]) – overstruck (?).

- (c): Bucarest, Severeanu Coll. 3413 (17.80 g; 35 mm – see Lukanc 1996, 100, no. 1043, pl. 95 [‘surfrappe’]) – double strike, not overstrike.
- (d): Brno, MZM 209644 (16.33 g; 33 mm – see Lukanc 1996, 109, no. 1476, pl. 131 [‘surfrappe’]) – defect in the die (r. field of the obverse), not overstrike.

First Region of Macedonia

- (1): MacDonald Coll. (15.85 g; 4 h – see MacDonald 1997, no. 1, pls. 1–3 and MacDonald 2009, 97, no. 72) – overstruck on Perseus (not Myrina).
- (2): MacDonald Coll. (16.69 g; 3 h – see MacDonald 1997, no. 2, pls. 4–6 and MacDonald 2009, 98, no. 73) – overstruck on Perseus (not Myrina).
- (3): MacDonald Coll. (16.78 g; 7 h – see MacDonald 1997, no. 3, pls. 7–9 and MacDonald 2009, 98–99, no. 74) – overstruck on Perseus (not Myrina).

Aesillas

Bauslaugh Group I (end of the 90s)

- (1): CNG (July 2013), 55 (see Bauslaugh 2000 [O4–R16]) – overstruck over Athens.

Bauslaugh Group II (end of the 90s)

- (2): Witschonke Coll. (16.72 g; 34 mm) = Schulten, 20–22 Oct. 1987, no. 140 (16.70g – see Bauslaugh 2000, 37 [O7–R36], pls. 3 and 14) – overstruck over Athens (not Thasos).
- (3): Peus 315 (30 Apr. 1986), 85 (16.61 g – see Bauslaugh 2000, 37 [O7–R35]) – overstruck over undetermined type.
- (4): Istanbul, 954 (16.82 g; 33 mm – see Bauslaugh 2000, Group II, 38 [O9–R43]) – overstruck on undetermined type.
- (5): Munich (16.64 g; 33 mm – see Bauslaugh 2000, 38 [O9–R47], pl. 3) – overstruck on undetermined type (Athens?).
- (6): Westmoreland, no. 27 (16.65 g; 32 mm – see Bauslaugh 2000, 38 [O11–R56]) – overstruck (over Athens?).
- (7): Budapest, 61.953/4 (16.87 g – see Bauslaugh 1987, 16–20 and Bauslaugh 2000, 40 [O12B–R65], pls. 4 and 14) – overstruck over Athens (issue ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ–ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ dated 98/97 BC).
- (8): Sotheby’s 1914, no. 72 (16.91 g) = Hirsch, 13, 1905, no. 779 (16.84g – see Bauslaugh 2000, 39 [O12A–R61], pl. 4) – overstruck (?).

- (9): Classical Numismatic Auction 20 (March 1992), 62 (16.62 g) = Coin Galleries, FPL (13 Nov. 1991), 83 (see Bauslaugh 2000, 40 [O12C–R68], pl. 4) – overstruck over Athens.
- (10): International Coin Exchange 2 (18 Febr. 2011), 7 (16.65 g – see Bauslaugh 2000 [O12D]) – overstruck on undetermined type.

Bauslaugh Group IV

- (11): Kyustendil, Jabocrut Hoard (16.00 g; 30 mm – see Bauslaugh 2000, Group IV, 47 [O18–R95]) – overstruck over undetermined type.

Bauslaugh Group VIII

- (12): Plovdiv (16.38g – see Bauslaugh 2000, Group VIII, 66 [O90–R326]) – overstruck on undetermined type.
- (13): Berlin, 214/1907 (16.10 g; 30 mm – see Regling 1908, 241, Thompson 1973, 56, pl. A, no. 1, Bauslaugh 1987, pl. 3, no. 9 and Bauslaugh 2000, 67 [O94–R353], pl. 14) – overstruck over Athens (issue ΔΕΜΕΑΣ–ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ dated 123/122 BC).

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15 Thracian Coins and the North-Eastern Border of the Thracian World: The Lower Dniester Region

Mariusz Mielczarek

Abstract

The ancient Tyras River formed the border between the Thracian and Scythian worlds. From the 5th to the first half of the 4th century BC, two Greek poleis, Nikonion and Tyras, dominated the Lower Tyras region. Tyras attained a dominant position in the region at the end of the 4th century BC when Nikonion declined. Coins struck in Thrace, with the exception of those of the Lysimachos type, are recorded in small quantities in both poleis. They are represented only by single finds, and only one Thracian coin was discovered outside of the poleis. Thracian coins of the 5th through the 3rd centuries BC are regarded as evidence of political and commercial links with the Greek cities of the western and north-western Black Sea coast. Most popular in Tyras are coins of Rhoimetalkes I (11 BC–AD 12) and Rhoimetalkes II (AD 19–36). The quantity of coin finds suggests that Tyras had a special relationship with the last Odrysian kings.

Keywords

Black Sea coast, Thracians, Scythians, Greek poleis, coin finds

Archaeological evidence from both sides of the Dniester Liman (Fig. 1) indicates that the ancient Tyras River (modern Dniester) formed a border between the Thracians and the Scythians in the 5th and 4th centuries BC.¹ The border character of the Lower Dniester region in the late 1st millennium BC, when the river's mouth formed a delta with two arms,² is attested by Strabo (7.3.8, 14), but his view contrasts with those of Herodotus (4.99),³ Thucydides (2.96), and Pomponius Mela (2.7, 16).⁴

In the Hellenistic period, two Greek poleis dominated the Lower Dniester region. These were Nikonion, situated on the left arm of the Dniester Delta north of the modern village of Roksolany, and Tyras (present-day Belgorod-Dnestrovskiy), which was located on the right arm of the river. Nikonion had been founded in the late 6th century BC (or in the very early 5th century),⁵ but the 5th and 4th centuries BC are generally regarded as the period when it was most prosperous.⁶ Tyras had been

1 Meljukova 1969, 65–80; Fol and Spiridonov 1983, 97 and Map III on p. 132; Bouzek and Graninger 2015, 14.

2 For instance, Brujako and Karpov 1992, 96.

3 Archibald 1998, 105; Archibald 2013, 53, 64.

4 Meljukova 1969, 61–65. See also Fol 1975.

5 The problem lies in the chronology of the Ionian ceramics found during the excavations. See Bujskich 2013b; Bujskich 2013a, 116–155; Sekerskaja and Bujskich 2006, 37–44; Sekerskaja and Bujskich 2019, 203–212.

6 Sekerskaja 1989.

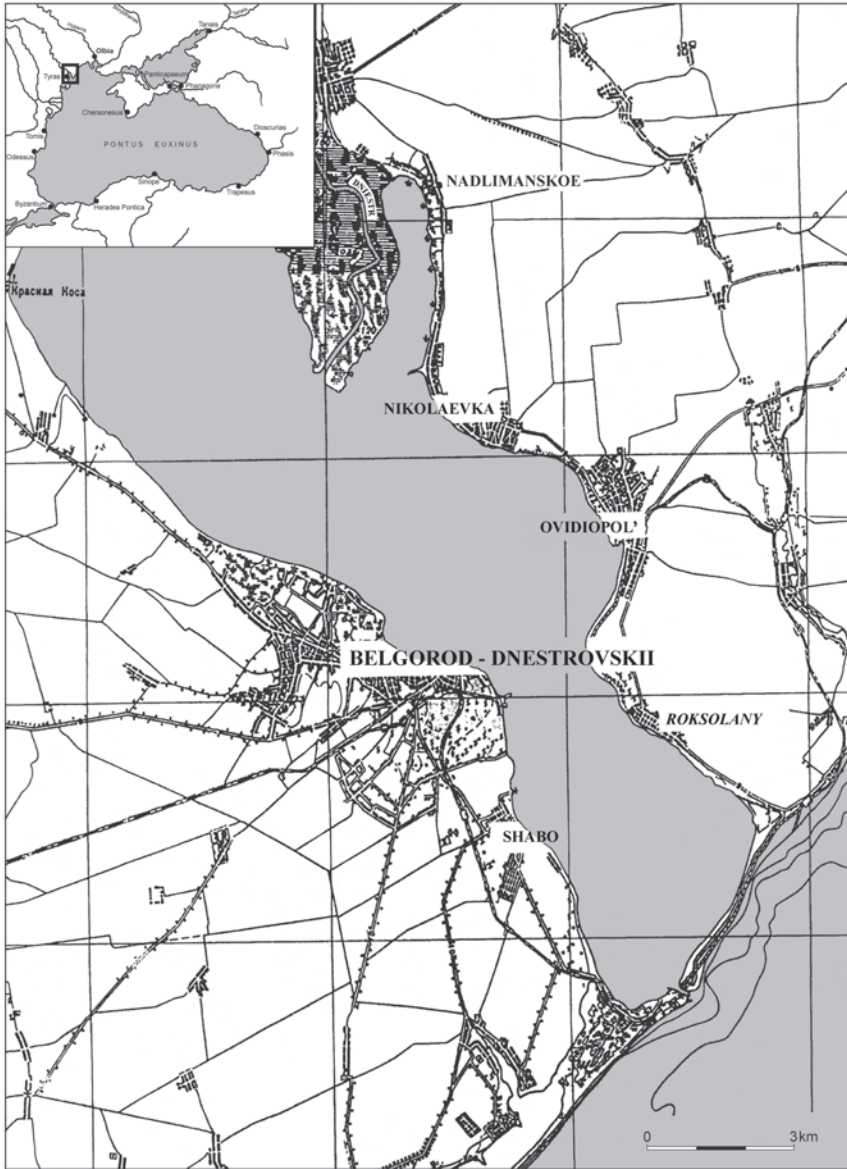


Fig. 1 Lower Dniester region.

founded at the end of the 6th century BC.⁷ The polis attained a dominant position in the region at the end of the 4th century BC when Nikonion declined, most likely as a consequence of Zopyrion's expedition along the Euxine shore. The city's existence in the Lower Dniester (Tyras) area during the 3rd century BC is attested by an inscription found in Belgorod-Dnestrovskiy that honours Autokles, a citizen of Tyras, for his support given to the inhabitants of Nikonion.⁸

Based on finds in Nikonion from the 5th and 4th centuries BC,⁹ bronze and silver coins from Istros,¹⁰ Olbian emissions, and Nikonian imitations of Istrian 'wheels' all circulated in the area of Lower Tyras.¹¹ In the following centuries, coins from Tyras, issues of Alexander the Great, coins of the Lysimachos type (omitted in the present discussion), and Roman currency dominated.

Coins struck in Thrace, with the exception of those of the Lysimachos type, are recorded in small quantities. It is interesting to note, however, that Thracian and Scythian ceramics appear alongside Greek pottery in the 5th-to-4th-century Greek settlements located mostly on left bank of the liman (Fig. 2).¹²

The Thracian coins, documented only as single finds, have been attributed to Nikonion and Tyras (for their description, see the Appendix).¹³ Only one Thracian coin was discovered outside of these cities, having been found in a settlement located on the right bank of the Dniester Liman along with Thracian ceramics.

Nikonion has yielded two coins from Thrace.¹⁴ A bronze coin of Apollonia Pontike was discovered in 1960 during the course of archaeological excavations led by A.G. Zaginajlo, who dated the coin to the 4th century BC. This specimen should be regarded as the evidence of trade between the Greek cities of the western and north-western Black Sea coast.¹⁵ A bronze coin of Antoninus Pius that was struck in Philippopolis has also been found.¹⁶

In the city of Tyras, on the right bank of the Tyras River, the number of Thracian coin finds is greater.¹⁷ One diobol of Sparadokos, dated to the second half of the 5th

7 Karyškovskij and Klejman 1985, 41–43.

8 Vinogradov 1999.

9 Mielczarek 1999; Mielczarek 2012.

10 Nikonion has yielded the earliest Istrian silver coins.

11 Nikonion also seems to have yielded an electrum coin (or coins?) of Kyzikos. See Alekseev and Loboda 2002.

12 Ochotnikov 2000, 18–19.

13 I am extremely grateful to S.A. Bulatovič and the staff of the Numismatic Department of the Odessa Archaeological Museum for their support in providing information on coin finds from the Lower Dniester region, as well as for discussions on reliability of the evidence.

14 Zaginajlo 1966, 112, 114. On other finds from Nikonion, see Sekerskaja and Bulatovič 2010.

15 Zaginajlo 1976, 78–79, 83; Stefanova 1980; Peter 1997, 34.

16 Zaginajlo 1966, 114.

17 On coins found during excavations at Tyras, see Bulatovič 1989; Karyškovskij and Kocievskij 1979; Bulatovič and Nosova 2010.



Fig. 2 Lower Dniester region in the 5th century BC.

century BC,¹⁸ is described as having been found at Belgorod-Dnestrovskiy, ‘at ancient Tyras’.¹⁹ The next Thracian coins found in the city of Tyras (such pieces are unknown on the left bank of the Dniester Liman) are issues of the late Odrysiian (Sapaian) kings (+#3–4), Rhoimetalkes I (11 BC–AD 12) and Rhoimetalkes II (AD 19–36).²⁰ One silver coin bearing the legend BYZANTIA,²¹ as well as an imprecise quantity of bronze coins

18 Peter 1997, 62–75.

19 Diamant 1982, 114–115; Ochotnikov 2000, 14.

20 Youroukova 1976, 54–65, 90–100; Youroukova 1989.

21 Schönert-Geiss 1972, nos. 1032–1305 (no. 1305 is from the Odessa Archaeological Museum); Youroukova 1989, 190–192.



Fig. 3 Coin of Rhoimetalkes I found at Tyras.



Fig. 4 Coin of Rhoimetalkes I found at Tyras.

of Rhoimetalkes I, have been found.²² E. Diamant, an archaeologist working in Tyras, has stated that 'we know other finds of such coins from Belgorod-Dnestrovskiy'.²³ Coin finds struck by Rhoimetalkes II have also been attested in Tyras. According to P.O. Karyškovskij and S.A. Bulatovič, these amount to about ten specimens.²⁴

Two (or more) coins of Rhoimetalkes I and Rhoimetalkes II bearing countermarks of Tyras should be considered along with the aforementioned finds.²⁵ On the basis of the finds from Belgorod-Dnestrovskiy, P.O. Karyškovskij proposed to regard all illegible coins with Tyras' countermarks as emissions of Rhoimetalkes I or Rhoimetalkes II.²⁶ As a result, the number of Thracian coins from Tyras cannot be precisely established.

According to information supplied by S.A. Bulatovič, the numismatic collection of the Odessa Archaeological Museum²⁷ includes 16 Thracian coins found in Tyras: one coin of Kotys, six (?) coins of Rhoimetalkes I, seven pieces described as belonging to the emissions of Rhoimetalkes II, and two coins, which, owing to their poor state of preservation, could have been struck by either Rhoimetalkes I or Rhoimetalkes II. Among these 16 coins, seven are countermarked.

In summary, finds of Thracian coins in the Lower Dniester area are almost exclusively located on the right bank of the Dniester Liman. The coins (omitting pieces of Philippopolis from Nikonion and Tyras) represent two different chronological periods. The first of them dates to the middle of the 5th century BC and comprises only one silver specimen, while the second dates to the turn from the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD and comprises one silver and more than 20 bronze specimens.

22 Bulatovič 1989, 82.

23 Diamant 1982, *passim*.

24 Karyškovskij and Klejman 1985, 87; Bulatovič 1989, 82.

25 See Frolova 2006, 42–43; Makandarov 2007, 44–51; Paunov 2013, 235–238.

26 Karyškovskij and Klejman 1985, 86–88; Karyškovskij and Klejman 1994, 197–203.

27 Since the 19th century, the Odessa Archaeological Museum has assembled a numismatic collection which is one of the largest in the northern Black Sea region. The structure of this collection confirms that the small number of finds of Thracian coins in the Lower Dniester region reflects the real situation in antiquity. For instance, the Odessa collection contains *about* 20 specimens of the Thracian Chersonese (Bulatovič 2008, 108–113); none of them was found in the region (Bulatovič 2008, 110).

Thracian coins found on the north-eastern border of Thrace have failed to attract special attention of numismatists and archaeologists,²⁸ although some problems of Thracian coinage and its relation to the history of ancient Tyras have been discussed by P.O. Karyškovskij.²⁹ Only the circulation of coins of the Lysimachos type has received detailed study.³⁰ The problem of whether staters of the Lysimachos type were struck at Tyras has received special attention.³¹

The considerations presented below are limited by the fact that published finds represent our primary source of information. Therefore, the quality of publications determines the character of the discussion. Most Thracian coins were recovered from archaeological sites, not always by means of formal excavation. Only two pieces described as having been found in 'Tyras' should be treated as stray finds. The descriptions of finds are fairly general and devoid of data on the archaeological context. The reliability of different accounts about specific finds has been analyzed, even with regard to coins owned by private persons. Consequently, it can be assumed that the evidence for Thracian coins from the Lower Dniester region presented below is fairly reliable.

Owing to Herodotus (4.78–90),³² who was not interested in the Lower Dniester region,³³ the situation in the 5th century BC seems especially problematic. We do have evidence³⁴ for a very strong connection, or even cooperation, between the Scythians and the Odrysian kingdom.³⁵ The Thracian world and that of the Scythians had mutually interacted for a long time.³⁶ Herodotus informs us about the Thracian wife of the Scythian king Ariapeithes,³⁷ who was the daughter of the Odrysian king Teres. Herodotus' tale about Skyles,³⁸ who was the son of Ariapeithes and ruled from 470/450 to 450/440 BC,³⁹ is also informative. A ring that was found in 1930 south of Istros and that bears the name of Skyles was used as an argument to support the hypothesis that

28 In contrast, see the works on Thracian coins found in the Central European Barbaricum: Mielczarek 1989, 52–57; Bursche 1984, 235–244; Bursche 1983, 197–199. The ideas presented in the works cited above have been recently supported by the finds from Nemčice in Moravia. See Kolníková 2012, 58–59, no. 960 (a bronze coin of King Adaios, late 3rd c. BC); Noeske 2008.

29 Karyškovskij and Klejman 1985; Karyškovskij and Klejman 1994.

30 Karyškovskij 1977; Bulatovič 1980.

31 Frolova 2006, 113–126; cf. Bulatovič 1983; Alekseev 2005–2009.

32 For the discussion, see Fehling 1971; Bichler 1985; Myres 1966, 9–10; Vinogradov 1990, 132–135.

33 Asheri 1990; Corcella 2007, 560; Archibald 2006, 121; Biondi 2011.

34 See Corcella 2007, 635 and Bravo 2012, 67–70.

35 Zahrnt 2015, 40–41; Braund 2015.

36 For instance, Venedikov 1975; Velkova 1975.

37 See the opinion of Archibald 1998, 105.

38 Vinogradov 1989, 106–107; Braund 2015, 359–362.

39 Vinogradov 1989, 116, 120.

Skyles escaped from Scythia to the Odrysian kingdom.⁴⁰ However, Scythian coins have not been found on the right bank of the Dniester River. For the 5th century BC, the coin of Sparadokos is a separate find.

Almost at the same time, cast bronze coins⁴¹ bearing the letters ΣΚ, ΣΚΥ, and ΣΚΥΛΕ were produced in Nikonion.⁴² They are interpreted as emissions of Skyles.⁴³ At present, the number of such coins is so small that it is difficult to discuss the economic role of these 'Skyles emissions'. As a consequence of these emissions, however, the popular idea arose that Nikonion was under the Scythian protectorate from the middle of the 5th century BC. The activities of Skyles described by Herodotus were, above all, connected with Olbia, a city that was also under the Scythian protectorate. Coins from Thrace that have been found in Olbia are mainly struck by the poleis of the western Black Sea coast, such as Apollonia, Tomis, and Dionysopolis,⁴⁴ as well as one bronze coin of King Seuthes.⁴⁵ A coin of Philippopolis has also been found in Olbia.⁴⁶

The Sparadokos silver coin, the first silver emission of any Odrysian ruler, is worthy of special attention. The Lower Tyras region was not under Sparadokos' control.⁴⁷ This Thracian silver coin is especially interesting because of the fact that, in the 5th century BC, coin circulation in the Lower Tyras region was dominated by cast bronze coins of Istros. In effect, we have purely numismatic evidence for Scythian authority over Nikonion, Olbia, and possibly Istros. We have no indication that the Scythians extended their protectorate to the western bank of the Tyras River. The Sparadokos coin found in Tyras can eventually be considered as an argument against the existence of a Scythian protectorate exercised over the city. A more probable explanation of the find is to seek a political reason,⁴⁸ i.e. political cooperation between the Scythians and the Odrysian rulers.⁴⁹ Coins of Odrysian rulers played a certain economic role in the Lower Tyras region and did not necessarily support Thracian ethnic identity in the region.⁵⁰

At this point, it is necessary to return to the archaeological evidence. The most important site in the territory of Tyras is the settlement near the modern village of Pivdennoe, which lies 17 km north of Belgorod-Dnestrovskiy and dates to the 4th and

40 Vinogradov 1980; Vinogradov 1981; cf. Dubois 1996, 11–13.

41 See Mielczarek 1999; Mielczarek 2012.

42 Zaginajlo 1990; Zaginajlo and Karyškovskij 1990; Zaginajlo 1991; Zaginajlo 1993; Mielczarek 2005.

43 This idea was proposed by Karyškovskij 1987, 66–68.

44 Karyškovskij 1988, 78.

45 Karyškovskij 1988, 85.

46 Karyškovskij 1988, 117.

47 Archibald 1998, 106–107.

48 Peter 1997, 74.

49 See Archibald 2013, 115–118.

50 See Morgan 2003, 10–18; Archibald 2006, 123–124, 127.

the 3rd centuries BC. The Thracian pottery prevails in the finds from the *chora* of Tyras.

Coins struck by Thracian rulers return to the Lower Dniester, but only to Tyras, at the end of the 1st century BC and in the early 1st century AD. For this period, we do not have such rich archaeological evidence, as was previously the case.

A popular opinion regarding Tyras is that the local production of coins had stopped after Mithridates VI Eupator's fall from power. New production started from the reign of Augustus. The use of extremely worn coins in Tyras can be explained by the serious lack of copper for local coin production. Countermarked coins produced outside the city were also used on the local market. Among them are coins struck by Thracian rulers. Rhoimetalkes I struck silver coins in considerable numbers,⁵¹ as well as many series of bronze coins⁵² that were circulating in large quantities.

The quantity of coin finds suggests that Tyras had a special relationship with the last Odrysian kings. Following the political interpretation of the fragmentary inscription on the lower part of an architrave discovered in Tyras that bears the letters $\text{IE}\Omega\Sigma[\text{P}]^{53}$ / $\text{YIO}\Sigma\text{THI}^{54}$, it has been suggested that Tyras was under the protectorate of Rhoimetalkes II.⁵⁵ According to the second, economic interpretation⁵⁶ of the same epigraphic document, an explanation of the coins as a special donation given to Tyras cannot be ruled out.

Rhoimetalkes I's coins were very common,⁵⁷ and the presence of his coins and the coins of Rhoimetalkes II in Tyras should be regarded as a temporary effect of the Tyras' political and economic relations. In the city of Tyras, bronze coins of Rhoimetalkes I when the Odrysian kingdom was supported by Augustus could have played a role of an 'interregional currency'.

51 Youroukova 1976, 55–56.

52 Youroukova 1976, 54–59; Youroukova 1989, 193.

53 In the case of the 'P', only the lower part of its vertical hasta is discernible.

54 Saprykin 1997, 47.

55 Saprykin 1997, 46–57.

56 Youroukova 1976, 54.

57 Paunov 2013, 234–235, 250.

Appendix: Finds of Thracian coins in the Lower Dniester region

Nikonion

Apollonia Pontike

4th century BC (after Zaginajlo 1966).

Obv.: Head of Apollo left.

Rev.: Anchor.

AE, 3.50 g, 14.9 × 16.1 mm; Zaginajlo 1966, 112 and 125 no. 177.

Philippopolis

Antoninus Pius (AD 138–161)

AE, Zaginajlo 1966, 114; Kropotkin 1961, 110 no. 1712.

Tyras

Sparadokos, second half of the 5th century BC

Obv.: [Σ]ΠΑ. Horse protome left.

Rev.: Eagle left in *quadratum incusum*.

AR, diobol, 1.22 g, 9.5 × 11 mm; Peter 1997, 63. Lit.: Diamant 1982, 115, pl. 8.18.

Kotys I (384–359 BC)

Obv.: Male head right.

Rev.: KO/TY. Cotyle.

AE, 0.91 g, 10 mm. Lit.: Bulatović and Nosova 2010, no. 153.

Rhoimetalkes I (11 BC–AD 12)

Mint: Byzantion

1. Obv.: Diademed head of Rhoimetalkes right, monogram ΒΑΣ ΠΟΙΜΗΤΑΑ.
Rev.: ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΑ. Head of Augustus right; monogram ΚΑΙΣΑΡ.
AR, 3.80 g, 18 mm; *RPC I* 1775. Lit.: Diamant 1982, 115–116.
2. Obv.: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Fasces and capricorn.
Rev.: [ΠΟΙ]ΜΗΤΑΑΚ[ΟΥ]. *Sella curulis* and sceptre.
AE, 2.77 g, 14 mm; *RPC I* 1704. Lit.: Anochin and Puškarev 1965, 195 no. 5.

3. Obv.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ. Jugate heads of diademed Rhoimetalkes, and his queen Pythodoris right.
Rev.: ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Bare head of Augustus right.
AE, 9.28 g, 23 mm, 6 h; *RPC I* 1711. Lit.: Anochin and Puškarev 1965, 195 no. 4.
4. Obv.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ. Busts of diademed Rhoimetalkes and Pythodoris right.
Rev.: ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Bare headed bust of Augustus right.
AE, 8.56 g; 23.6 mm; Youroukova 1976, 99 nos. 205–207; *RPC I* 1711. Lit.: Bulatovič 1989, no. 29.
5. As above.
AE, 8.37 g, 21 mm. Lit.: Bulatovič 1989, no. 30.
6. As above.
AE, 8.20 g, 25 mm. Lit.: Bulatovič 1989, no. 31.
7. Obv.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ. Head of Rhoimetalkes right.
Rev.: ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Head of Augustus right.
AE, 3.16 g, 19 mm; Youroukova 1976, 97–98 nos. 194–200; *RPC I* 1718. Lit.: Bulatovič and Nosova 2010, no. 154.

Rhoimetalkes I (11 BC–AD 12) or/and *Rhoimetalkes II* (AD 19–36)

1. Obv.: Completely worn; countermark: head in wreath right.
Rev.: Completely worn; countermarks: monogram AP and QVA.
AE, 3.38 g, 19.0 mm. Lit.: Bulatovič and Nosova 2010, no. 23.
- a) Three completely worn bronze coins with Tyras' countermarks. Lit.: Alekseev 2008, 86–88, nos. 8–10.
- b) Three completely worn bronze coin with Tyras' countermarks. Lit.: Alekseev and Loboda 2004b, 138–140 nos. 15–17 (published coins have different weights than listed above).
- c) Seven completely worn bronze coins with Tyras' countermarks. Lit.: Alekseev and Loboda 2004a, 73–75, nos. 248–254, see also p. 101,
- d) Bronze coins of Rhoimetalkes I (?). Lit.: Anochin and Puškarev 1965, 195 no. 6.
- e) 'Coin of Rhoimetalkes' found in 1960 and described as 'placed into the wall' – after Furmanskaia, then director of Tyras excavations. Lit.: Anochin and Puškarev 1965, 197.

- f) 16 coins stored in the Odessa Archaeological Museum (it is very probable that among them are items appearing in other places in this list).
- g) Bronze coins of 'Rhoimetalkes II' (?), about which E. Diamant reports in the sentence: 'More than three coins of Rhoimetalkes II, also with Tyras' countermark.'
Lit.: Diamant 1982, 117 note 17.

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16 Coins of Thracian Rulers (4th c. BC–1st c. AD) from the Numismatic Collection of the Archaeological Museum of Burgas

Martin Gyuzelev

Abstract

This paper presents 47 coins of Thracian rulers from the numismatic collection of the Archaeological Museum in Burgas. Minted by Metokos, Seuthes III, Mostis, Kotys, Rhoimetalkes I and II, as well as by Kotys V and Rhaiskouporis III, they originate from various find spots in western Bulgaria, including the Roman mansio of Aquae Calidae, and shed light on the coin circulation in the territory of ancient Mesembria and adjacent areas.

Keywords

Coins, Archaeological Museum of Burgas, Thracian rulers, Thracian dynasty of Bizye, Aquae Calidae, the Eastern Balkan Mountains, Strandja Mountain, Burgas Lowland and the Black Sea coast

The coins of rulers from coastal Thrace kept in the numismatic collection of the Archaeological Museum of Burgas have been the subject of intense scientific interest. The recent archaeological investigations at the Mineral Springs near Burgas have unearthed new finds, including coins which add to our knowledge about this site that is attested in literary sources. Most of the recent publications are devoted to the coins found at this site.¹ The provenance of the rest of the coins spans almost the entire Burgas region, i.e. coastal Thrace, as well as the eastern spurs of the Balkan Mountains and Strandja Mountain.

Chronologically, the earliest coin is one of Metokos, a Thracian ruler of the Odrysian dynasty who reigned at the end of the 5th to the beginning of the 4th century BC (Table 1, no. 33; Fig. 1). It was found alongside drachms, diobols, and bronze coins of the Pontic *apoikiai* of Apollonia and Mesembria during the ‘*captage*’ works at a mineral spring.² The depictions are typical of the Thracian royal coinage,³ but the coin presented here is not particularly well preserved as a result of the aggressive environment it was found in, i.e. highly-mineralized hot water. For now, this is the first coin of an Odrysian ruler that coincides chronologically with the expansion of this powerful Thracian kingdom towards the Black Sea coast. The discovery of the

1 Paunov 2013 with references; see also Paunov 2014.

2 Kiachkina and Karayotov 1994, 127.

3 Jurukova 1992, 56, no. 43.

coin shows either the circulation of Thracian rulers' coins within the border areas under their direct control, or it hints to the presence of Thracians among the admirers of the mineral springs.

After a considerable chronological gap lasting for almost a century, the coins of the Thracian rulers appeared again at the western Black Sea coast. Of the early Hellenistic Thracian rulers found here, the coins of Seuthes III are the most numerous (Fig. 2).⁴ These coins are quite common in the Burgas region; one of the coins was also found at the mineral spring of *Aquae Calidae*.⁵ The name of Seuthes III is associated with a strong pursuit of the establishment of direct domination over the Black Sea coastlands as a part of his attempts to authorize and to restore the rule of the Odrysians over territories he considered theirs by rights. He intended to take advantage of the difficulties that Lysimachos had after the division of Alexander the Great's empire and the crisis in the Hellenic Pontic poleis.

One coin which was most likely discovered in the Sea Garden of Burgas has been a matter of scholarly debate (see Table 1, no. 23; Fig. 3). According to Youroukova, this coin belongs to the coinage of Kotys and Rhaiskouporis from the third quarter of the 3rd century BC and was countermarked in Apollonia. She adduced arguments of iconographic nature,⁶ as well as the position of the countermark in the cited parallels, while also referring to epigraphical and metrological data.⁷ On the contrary, Karayotov dated the coin to the 1st century BC, drawing on the same epigraphic evidence, which he dated to about two centuries later. There are discrepancies in Karayotov's argumentation. For instance, the inscription is not from the 1st century BC, but rather belongs to the early Hellenistic period, judging by its paleography. Its provenance is not exactly clear, though most researchers associate it with the settlement in the Sladkite Kladentzi locality.⁸ There are, however, some inconsistencies in Youroukova's argument, which probably result from the plaster cast she had. In fact, the obverse of the coin bears no inscription, and, even if there were one, it is illegible now. Furthermore, the weight specified in the publication differs from the actual weight by more than two grams, and the coin is held in the museum as opposed to a private collection. It is possible that the original provenance of the coin itself was not the Sea Garden, but that it ended up there with the soil brought from elsewhere, a very common practice in a place like this. These two opinions impacted

4 Jurukova 1992, type 1–2, no. 83 (see Table 1, nos. 6 and 39), 76 (Table 1, nos. 19–20, 28), 79 (Table 1, no. 43).

5 Kiachkina and Karayotov 1994, 128.

6 The depiction of a horseman wearing a chlamys and a spear which was not typical of the coins of the Bizyan rulers.

7 Jurukova 1992, 153–157 with references.

8 Karajotov 2000, 20 *et contra* Mihailov *IGBulg I*², 377 = 389 comm. See also Gyuzelev 2008, 100 and 194.

the subsequent literature, resulting in far-reaching conclusions.⁹ Eugeny Paunov recently dated this coin type to right after the time of Rhoimetalkes I, in the period between AD 12–18/19.¹⁰ Under these circumstances, it is impossible to use this coin as evidence for relations between Apollonia on the Black Sea coast and some paradynasts in its hinterland. Its dating actually refers to a completely different political situation in the region from the time of the relations of the emperors of Julio-Claudian dynasty with the Bizyan rulers of Thrace.

The irregularity of Thracian coin circulation along the present-day Bulgarian Black Sea coast is distinct in the next period of almost two centuries. The separate paradynasts did not likely mint their own coins. We have bronze coins from as late as the time of Mostis, who was not a representative of the Odrysian dynasty. One of the coins was found during archaeological investigations in the ancient city of Mesembria, and the other one was discovered along with Hellenistic materials at a fortified structure near Burgas. In the collection of the Archaeological Museum of Burgas, this coinage is represented by two types (Fig. 4).¹¹ A monogram consisting of the letters *pi*, *alpha*, and *rho* is legible on one of the coins and is considered to be either an abbreviation of a magistrate's name or the indication of a possible mint.¹² Tetradrachms of Mostis have been found recently during archaeological investigations along the southern Bulgarian Black Sea coast, together with tetradrachms of Byzantion and the Bithynian king Prusias.¹³ This is an additional insight into the circulation of this ruler's coins in this part of the Black Sea region.

Of particular interest among the Hellenistic rulers of the 1st century BC are those named Kotys, as at least three more-or-less contemporary rulers share the name; they were likely all members of the Odrysian dynasty. One silver imitation of a Thasian tetradrachm coming from a hoard found at the village of Slivarovo in the Strandja area belongs to the group of coins bearing this name.¹⁴ A barbarian imitation of Alexander-type tetradrachms was found alongside it (see Table 1, nos. 30–31; Fig. 5). A bronze coin unearthed at the Burgas Mineral Springs has been ascribed to a ruler bearing the same name.¹⁵

The most numerous coins are those of Rhoimetalkes I, one of the representatives of the Thracian dynasty based in Bizye (modern-day town of Vize, Turkey). During

9 Kojčev 2003, 41–42.

10 Paunov 2013, 241–242.

11 Presented in Jurukova 1992, 171–172, no. 135; Paunov 2014, 459; tab. 2, type 1, variant A (see Table 1, nos. 5 and 27), no. 139; type 2, variant B (Table 1, no. 46).

12 Paunov 2014, 458.

13 Unpublished, based on preliminary information provided by Ivan Karayotov.

14 Jurukova 1992, 177–179, nos. 140–141; Paunov 2013, 220–221, fig. 6.17.

15 Jurukova 1992, 180, nos. 142–143; Paunov 2016, 10, tab. 4; see also Table 1, no. 34.

his reign, the Roman patronage is especially well attested in the coinage. Eight coins belong to the so-called Group II.¹⁶ Group III is represented by the largest quantity of coins, 18 specimens altogether (Fig. 6).¹⁷ Four coins (Table 1, nos. 32, 35–36 and 44) belong to Group IV.¹⁸ One coin could be conditionally ascribed to Group V,¹⁹ though the young Kotys is presented here with his father only (Table 1, no. 4; Fig. 7a), while the other is more conventional (Table 1, no. 17; Fig. 6b). There are three countermarks on the coins of Rhoimetalkes, of which two (letter B and a temple) appear on no. 25. The ‘temple’ countermark suggests that the countermarking had taken place in Anchialos, as does the fact that the coin was found in the village of Poroy, which is within the urban territory of ancient Anchialos. This hypothesis is substantiated by an inscription with a dedication to Dionysus from the reign of Rhoimetalkes II. The ‘conventional’ countermark on Rhoimetalkes’ neck, RA, can be seen on two other coins (Table 1, nos. 36 and 44; Fig. 8).²⁰ Out of the 33 coins of this ruler, the most unusual is no. 47 in our Table 1, based on its use of Latin in Augustus’ title; the type seems to be unpublished (Fig. 9).

The client relationship with the Roman *principes* of the Julio-Claudian dynasty reflects the gradual decline of the Thracian coinage. This coincides with the end of Thracian power in the region and the conversion of Thrace into a Roman province in the 40s of the 1st century AD.

On the threshold of the new millennium, the horse and the horseman are no longer commonly depicted on Thracian coins.²¹ This phenomenon requires further studies, and it is noteworthy that these iconographic elements emerge on the reliefs with the famous nameless deity referred to as the Thracian Horseman. This situation is well exemplified by the last known royal dynasty in the region of Pontic Thrace, whose capital city was Bizye. A possible explanation may be sought in the special character of this royal Thracian family. Throughout the whole duration of its existence, these rulers kept strong relations with their Roman suzerains. Other than the kings, some prominent administrators also bore Roman names and the *nomen gentilicium*.²² It is therefore likely that the Thracian kings who had once been renowned for their horses would eventually present their legitimization from Rome on their coins. The horse

16 Mušmov 1912, no. 5782; Jurukova 1992, 189–190, nos. 160–161; Paunov 2013, 229; Paunov 2016, 8, tab. 2; see Table 1, nos. 2, 7, 9–11, 13, 29 and 37.

17 Mušmov 1912, no. 5784; Jurukova 1992, 190, no. 162; Paunov 2016, 8, tab. 2; see Table 1, nos. 1, 3, 8, 12, 14–16, 18, 21–22, 24–26, 38, 40–42 and 45.

18 Jurukova 1992, 190, nos. 164–165; Paunov 2013, 229.

19 Mušmov 1912, no. 5797; Jurukova 1992, 189–190, nos. 166–167.

20 See Paunov 2013, 235–238.

21 Jurukova 1992, 154–155.

22 The last case is an unpublished Greek inscription on a stone base found recently in Sozopol. It mentions Tiberius Claudius Proclus, a priest of Zeus Progonicus during the reign of Rhoimetalkes.

would have transformed from being a royal attribute into being an exclusively divine one.

The sufficiency of Thracian coins allows us to draw some preliminary conclusions, but, as a whole, the problems related to them are much more extensive. The area of their distribution shows that most of them were found in the Burgas lowlands and the southern sides of the eastern part of the Balkan Mountains (see Fig. 11). We have only two silver imitations from a hoard from Strandja Mountain (unpublished), which are quite elucidating. Strictly speaking, the coins outline to some extent the Thracian territories and their relations with the Pontic poleis or sanctuaries, such as the one situated near the later Roman *mutatio* Aquae Calidae. However, their provenance could be explained in another way, too. These areas were agriculturally cultivated much more than the mountainous parts of Strandja, especially because this was a sparsely populated border zone during the Communist period. In any case, much more information is needed to draft an even rough idea of the relations reflected by the coins in this key region.



Fig. 1



(a)



(b)

Fig. 2

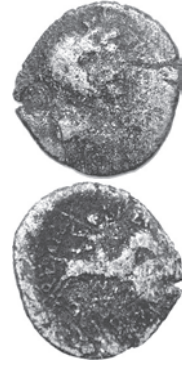
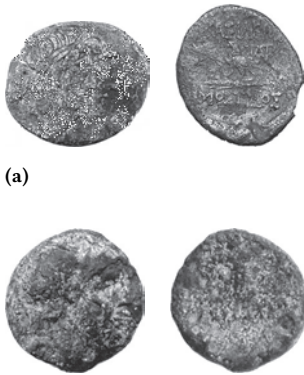


Fig. 3



(a)

(b)

Fig. 4



(a)



(b)

Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



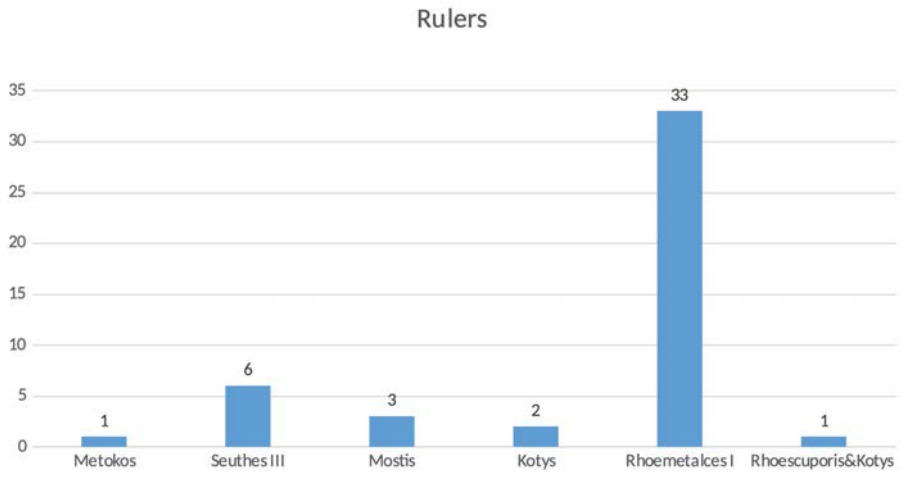


Fig. 10 Distribution of coins finds by ruler.



Fig. 11 Distribution of coin finds

No.	Inv.no.	Ruler	Metal	Diam./ thickn. (mm)	Weight (g)	Description	Provenance
1	319	Rhoimetalkes I (c. 12/11 BC – AD 12)	Æ	22 / 4	10.38	ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Head of Augustus, right; long-neck vase in front of him. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ. Jugate heads of Rhoimetalkes and his wife Pythodoris, right.	Aquae Calidae - Burgas Mineral Springs; in the digs at the old baths
2	321	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	19,5 / 3,5	4.77	ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Head of Augustus, right; long-neck vase in front of him. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ. Head of Rhoimetalkes right. Fig. 6a	Unknown
3	322	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	25 / 3,5	8.84	[ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ] ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ]. Head of Augustus, right; long-neck vase in front of him. Illegible inscription. Jugate heads of Rhoimetalkes and his wife, right.	Unknown
4	323	Rhoimetalkes I and Kotys V	Æ	18 / 3.0	5.78	[ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕ]ΒΑΣ[ΤΟΥ]. Head of Augustus, right; Capricorn in front of him. ΒΑΣ[ΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΟΙΜΗΤ]ΑΛΚΟΥ. Laureate head of Rhoimetalkes, right; in front of him, head of Kotys as a child. Fig. 4a	Unknown
5	486	Mostis (125/0–86/85 BC)	Æ	19×17,5 / 3	6.21	Laureate heads of Zeus and Hera, right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ[Σ] ΜΟΣΤΙΑΟΣ. Eagle standing on thunderbolt, left; monogram and countermark - ΓΑΡ.	Nesebar
6	487	Seuthes III	Æ	21.5 / 4	6.70	Laureate, bearded male head, right. ΣΕΥΘΟΥ. Horseman cantering, right. Fig. 2a	Nesebar?
7	660	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	18,5 / 2	3.64	ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Head of Augustus, right; border of dots. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟ[Υ]. Head of Rhoimetalkes, right; border of dots.	Unknown
8	661	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	21.5 / 3,5	8.63	Κ[ΑΙΣΑΡ]ΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Head of Augustus, right. ΒΑΣ[ΙΛΕΩΣ] ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ. Jugate heads of Rhoimetalkes and his wife, right.	Unknown
9	848	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	18×17 / 3	4.50	[ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣ]ΤΟΥ. Head of Augustus, right, border of dots. Illegible inscription. Head of Rhoimetalkes, right; border of dots.	Village of Kosharitza Nesebar Municipality
10	923	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	28,5 / 3	7.95	ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Laureate head of Augustus, right; border of dots. ΒΑΣΙΛ[ΕΩΣ] Ρ[ΟΙ]ΜΗ[ΤΑΛ]ΚΟΥ. Head of Rhoimetalkes, right.	Unknown

No.	Inv.no.	Ruler	Metal	Diam./ thickn. (mm)	Weight (g)	Description	Provenance
11	1102	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	19 / 2	3.88	ΚΑΙΣΑΡ[ΟΣ] Σ[Ε]ΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Head of Augustus, right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΟΙΜΗ[ΤΑ]Λ[ΚΟΥ]. Head of Rhoimetalkes, right.	Aquae Calidae – Burgas Mineral Spa, 1906
12	1151	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	23 / 3.5	10.17	ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟ[Υ]. Head of Augustus, right; border of dots. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚ[ΟΥ]. Jugate heads of Rhoimetalkes and his wife, right; border of dots.	Unknown
13	1203	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	17 / 2	3.29	Illegible inscription. Head of Tiberius (?), right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[Ω]Σ [ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ]. Head of Rhoimetalkes, right.	Aquae Calidae – Burgas Mineral Spa
14	1248	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	23 / 5	12.03	ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Head of Augustus, right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ. Jugate heads of Rhoimetalkes and his wife.	Village of Banevo, Manastir Tepe Locality, Burgas Municipality
15	1281	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	24×21 / 3.5	7.76	ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Head of Augustus, right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ. Jugate heads of Rhoimetalkes and his wife.	Town of Aytos, Burgas Region
16	1326	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	22.5 / 4	10.65	ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Head of Augustus, right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΟΙΜΗΤ[ΑΛ]ΚΟΥ. Jugate heads of Rhoimetalkes and his wife.	Unknown
17	1994	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	27 / 3.5	11.84	ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Jugate heads of Augustus and Livia, right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΟΙ[ΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ]. Jugate heads of Rhoimetalkes and his wife with Kotys, right. Fig. 6b	Town of Obzor, Nesebar Municipality
18	1999	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	23 / 4	10.36	ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Head of Augustus, right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ. Jugate heads of Rhoimetalkes and his wife, right.	Village of Poroy, Pomorie Municipality
19	2225	Seuthes III	Æ	18 / 3.5	5.72	Laureate male head, right. ΣΕΥΘΟΥ. Horseman cantering right.	Unknown
20	2228	Seuthes III	Æ	18.5 / 3	4.93	Laureate male head, right. Illegible inscription. Horseman cantering right.	Unknown
21	2230	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	25 / 4	8.63	ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Head of Augustus, right. ΒΑΣ[ΙΛΕΩΣ] ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ. Jugate heads of Rhoimetalkes and his wife, right; border of dots.	Unknown

No.	Inv.no.	Ruler	Metal	Diam./ thickn. (mm)	Weight (g)	Description	Provenance
22	2499	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	23×21 / 3.5	8.23	ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ Head of Augustus, right; long-neck vase in front of him. [BA]ΣΙΑΕ[ΩΣ] ΡΟΙ]ΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ. Jugate heads of Rhoimetalkes and his wife, right.	Unknown
23	2586	Rhaiskouporis and Kotys?	Æ	22.5 ×23.5 / 2	5.16	Jugate heads of two men, right; badly preserved countermark. ΒΑΣΙ[ΛΕΩΣ ΡΑ][ΣΚΟΥΠ]ΟΡΕΩΣ. Horseman galloping right, wearing chlamys and holding spear. Fig. 3	Burgas, Sea garden?
24	2631	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	22.5 / 3	6.07	Illegible inscription. Head of Augustus, right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ. Jugate heads of Rhoimetalkes and his wife, right.	Village of Chernomore, Yakata Locality, Burgas Region
25	2653	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	21.5× 22.5 / 3	7.11	Head of Augustus, right; two ctms: 1) B and 2) temple. Illegible inscription. Jugate heads of Rhoimetalkes and his wife, right.	Vilage of Poroy, Pomorie Municipality
26	2925	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	22 / 4	7.73	Head of Augustus, right. Illegible inscription. Jugate heads of Rhoimetalkes and his wife.	From the area of Razboyna village, Ruen Municipality
27	A42	Mostis	Æ	21.5 / 3.5	6.53	Jugate heads of Zeus and Hera, right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΟΣΤΙΔΟΣ. Eagle standing on thunderbolt, left.	Ancient fortified house on the north bank of Mandra Lake, Burgas Region
28	A151	Seuthes III	Æ	18.5 / 3.5	6.36	Male head, right. Illegible inscription. Horseman cantering right.	Town of Pomorie, Burgas Region
29	A190	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	18 / 3	3.47	Head of Augustus (?), right. Illegible inscriptions. Head of Rhoimetalkes (?), right.	From an ancient settlement – 1 km east of the village of Razboyna, Ruen Municipality
30	A270	Kotys (second half of the 1st cent. BC). Imitation of late Thasian tetradrachms	AR	34.5×31.5 / 3	16.52	Wreathed head of Dionysus, right. ΚΟΤΥΟΣ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ. Nude Heracles, standing left, holding club and lion's skin. Fig. 5a	Part of a hoard found at an ancient fortress/settlement near the village of Slivarovo, Malko Tarnovo Municipality

No.	Inv.no.	Ruler	Metal	Diam./ thickn. (mm)	Weight (g)	Description	Provenance
31	A271	Imitation of late Thasian tetradrachms	AR	34 / 3.5.	16.77	Wreathed head of Dionysus, right. Analphabetic inscription. Nude Heracles, standing left, holding club and lion's skin; monogram N. Fig. 5b	Part of a hoard found at an ancient fortress/settlement near the village of Slivarovo, Malko Tarnovo Municipality
32	A1258	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	28 / 4	13.84	ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Jugate heads of Augustus and Livia, right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[Ω]Σ ΠΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ. Jugate heads of Rhoimetalkes and his wife, right; monogram N on the neck of the king.	Unknown
33	A1672	Metokos	Æ	22.5×21 / 12	16.86	Horse galloping right; border of dots. [ΜΗΤΟ]ΚΟ. Labrys. Fig. 1	Aquae Calidae – Burgas Mineral Springs, 1994
34	A1712	Kotys (c. 57–48 BC)	Æ	12 / 2.5	1.34	Laureate head of ruler wearing mantle, right. Eagle standing on thunderbolt, left.	Aquae Calidae – Burgas Mineral Springs, 1994
35	A1715	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	27 / 4	13.34	ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Jugate heads of Augustus and Livia right; Capricorn in front of them. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ. Jugate heads of Rhoimetalkes and his wife, right; monogram N on the neck of the king.	Aquae Calidae – Burgas Mineral Springs, 1994
36	A1716	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	28×26.5 / 4	14.99	ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Jugate heads of Augustus and Livia, right; Capricorn in front of them. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ. Jugate heads of Rhoimetalkes and his wife, right; monogram RĀ on the neck of the king; border of dots. Fig. 8a	Aquae Calidae – Burgas Mineral Springs, 1994
37	A1717	Rhoimetalkes I (AD 18/19–37)	Æ	18.5×17.5 / 2	2.52	ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟ[Σ] ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Head of Tiberius, right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ. Head of Rhoimetalkes, right.	Aquae Calidae – Burgas Mineral Springs, 1994
38	A1779	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	22.5 / 3.5	7.68	ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Head of Augustus, right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ. Jugate heads of Rhoimetalkes and his wife, right.	Village of Prosenik, Pomorie Municipality
39	A1843	Seuthes III	Æ	21×19 / 3.5	5.98	Laureate head of Zeus, right. ΣΕΥΘΟΥ. Horseman cantering right.	Village of Yabalchevo, Sredetz Municipality

No.	Inv.no.	Ruler	Metal	Diam./ thickn. (mm)	Weight (g)	Description	Provenance
40	A2205	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	28 / 4	9.91	Illegible inscription. Head of Augustus, right; long-neck vase in front of him. Illegible inscription. Jugate heads of Rhoimetalkes and his wife, right.	Village of Ruen, Burgas Region
41	A2248	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	24×21 / 4	8.23	Illegible inscription. Head of Augustus, right; border of dots. Illegible inscription. Jugate heads of Rhoimetalkes and his wife, right.	Unknown
42	A2249	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	22,5×21,5 / 3,5	7.96	Illegible inscription. Head of Augustus, right. Illegible inscription. Jugate heads of Rhoimetalkes and his wife right.	Unknown
43	A2304	Seuthes III	Æ	21×19 / 3,5	5.86	Laureate male head, right; border of dots. [Σ]EYΘOY. Horseman cantering right. Fig. 2b	Aquae Calidae – Burgas Mineral Springs, 1994
44	A2306	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	28,5×27 / 3	14.46	ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Jugate heads of Augustus and Livia; Capricorn in front of them. Illegible inscription. Jugate heads of Rhoimetalkes and his wife, right; monogram (probably \overline{RA}) on the neck of the king. Fig. 8b	Aquae Calidae – Burgas Mineral Springs, 1994
45	A2384	Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	24,5×22 / 3,5	9.05	Head of the princeps, right. Jugate heads of Rhoimetalkes and his wife, right. Worn.	Village of Kamenar, Pomorie Municipality, Taushan Tepe Locality – 1.5 km away
46	A2401	Mostis	Æ	19 / 2,5	2.25	Helmeted head of Mostis (?), right. [MO]ΣΤΙΑ[ΟΣ]. Thorax. Fig. 4b	Thracian settlement near the village of Cherna mogila, Aytos Municipality
47		Rhoimetalkes I	Æ	19×20 / 2	3.72	CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI PATER P[ATR]IAE. Head of Augustus, right. ΒΑΣ[ΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΟΙ]ΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ. Head of Rhoimetalkes, right. Fig. 9	Unknown. Private collection

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17 Friends and ‘Friends’ in the Client Kingdom of Thrace

Charikleia Papageorgiadou – Maria-Gabriella G. Parissaki

Abstract

The emergence of the client kingdom of Thrace during the second half of the 1st century BC signalled a turning point in Rome’s handling of Thracian affairs. Since the provincialization of neighbouring Macedonia in 146 BC and for almost a century thereafter, Rome tried to deal with the different tribes of inland Thrace on an individual basis, only to realize that even those alliances that could be qualified as more or less operative in its eyes could as easily turn against it (cf. Cicero’s accusations in *In Pis.* 34.84). During this first period, the repulsion of Thracian attacks against the Roman province of Macedonia or the organization of preventive campaigns in inland Thrace became a major preoccupation for the Roman governors of Macedonia. But after the creation of the client kingdom of Thrace, which resulted from the unification of two major tribes of southern and eastern Thrace (the Sapaioi and the Astai), the handling of Thracian affairs was left to this new local power, with Rome intervening only in cases of serious disruption caused either by internal dynastic disputes or by serious rebellions. The precarious character of this new kingdom, combined with the limited information offered by ancient sources, still leaves many aspects of its history, territorial extent, and internal organization inadequately known. The aim of this paper is to combine the information offered by these sources, mainly ancient Greek and Roman authors, as well as a handful of inscribed texts, against that offered by the monetary production and coin circulation in order to address questions concerning the extent of its authority over the tribes of inland Thrace, the limits of its realm, and, finally, its very identity.

Keywords

Rome, Thrace, Thracian tribes, client kingdom, Rhoimetalkes, coin hoards

In the long series of so-called client or friendly kingdoms that developed on the eastern frontiers of the Roman Empire during the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods, the client kingdom of Thrace certainly represents an interesting case.¹ This can be maintained by evidence of its longevity, spanning from at least the third quarter of the 1st century BC and the time of Augustus to AD 46 and Thrace’s provincialization under Claudius,² but also that of its supra-tribal and supra-regional importance. The

* In the following analysis, the first author contributed the numismatic data and the second the historical context.

1 For the terms ‘client king’ and ‘friendly king’, deriving from the related notions of *clientela* and *amicitia* respectively, see Braund 1984, 7, 23–24. No thorough analysis of the history of the client kingdom of Thrace exists up to this day, but the relevant material has been gathered in discussions over the genealogy of the ruling family or the kingdom’s monetary production. For the genealogy, see Sullivan 1979, Tacheva 1985, Tacheva 1995 and, more recently, Dimitrova 2008, Kirov 2011, and Delev 2016, with further bibliography; for the monetary production, see mainly Youroukova 1976, Paunov 2013b, and Paunov 2018.

2 The efforts of Rome to create a nexus of client tribes in inland Thrace clearly predate the reign of Augustus, as indicated, for example, by Rome’s relations with the Dentheletai (see *infra*, p. 3) or with the Astai in the

primary *raison-d'être* of this client kingdom that emerges fully fledged in our sources after the unification of the two tribes of the Astai (located in the region of south-eastern Thrace in modern Turkish territory) and of the Sapaioi (in the south-western Rhodopes, just to the north of the Greek cities of the north Aegean littoral) was to check the rebellious tribes of the Thracian interior. In doing so, it protected the neighbouring Roman province of Macedonia, which had suffered severely from the recurrent incursions of northern tribes during the period that preceded the formation of this client kingdom.³

Despite its importance, many aspects of this client kingdom remain inadequately known, including, among others, the actual extent of its realm. This is partly due to the fragmentary character of the information disclosed by ancient Greek and Roman authors, since there is no extant text that is comparable to the description of Sitalkes' realm given by Thucydides on the occasion of this Odrysian king's campaign against Macedonia in 429 BC (2.97). Kings of the client kingdom of Thrace are usually mentioned on the occasion of a serious dynastic strife or during some tribal rebellion, thus implicitly indicating that these tribes were a part of this kingdom before and after the rebellion. To this we should add our difficulty to locate all or at least some of these tribes on the map, even with a relative degree of certainty; this is the case with the Bessoï, for example. And, of course, one last line of caution is required: it must be emphasized that the extant sources reflect the 'official' view of the winning order; whatever 'rebellion' meant was defined by the Romans. Bearing this in mind, the importance of both inscriptions and coins as sources directly connected to the client kingdom becomes obvious. Thus, in what follows, we will try to combine the information offered by written sources on the one hand and coinage on the other in order to compare and, if possible, complement each other. In doing so, we will differentiate among the coastal zone of the north Aegean Sea, the Propontis, and the Euxine – that is the world of the ancient Greek *apoikiai* – and the tribal zone of the interior.

Cities Along the Thracian Littoral

In a fundamental article on the strategies of Thrace, i.e. the administrative units that emerged in the Thracian interior simultaneously with the client kingdom of Thrace, Gerov concluded that the Greek cities of the coasts were included into the *strategiai*

years preceding the unification with the Sapaioi under Augustus. For the demise of the client kingdom and the provincialization of Thrace in AD 46 under Claudius, see Kolendo 1998.

³ For this period of incursions and the role Rome played in the creation of the client kingdom of Thrace, see Parissaki 2013, with earlier bibliography.

and were thus put under the direct control of the Thracian kings. This view was based on two arguments: first, the mention of a στρατηγὸς Ἀγχιάλου in two dedicatory inscriptions from Razgrad and Burgas and, second, Pliny's information relating the strategy of Astice with Apollonia (*NH.* 4.45: 'Astice regio habuit oppidum Anthium, nunc est Apollonia').⁴ In a communication previously presented in Athens,⁵ we have tried to show that what sources attest for Anchialos and Apollonia should not be applied to all other cases, since these two closely-related Greek foundations on the Euxine shore had been treated in a punitive way by Rome for their resistance to the army of Lucullus. Such extrapolations would, moreover, discredit the often-attested capacity of Romans to adapt themselves to local variations. Inscriptions indicate that at least three other models of relations and of degrees of dependence between the client kingdom and the Greek cities of the coast may be suggested, as exemplified by Abdera and Maroneia on the Aegean littoral, Byzantion, and the cities of the Euxine coast.

- (A) Two major epigraphic discoveries from the last 40 years – the treaty signed at the end of 167 BC between Rome and Maroneia in the immediate aftermath of the Third Macedonian War and the so-called eternal oath issued by the same city in the aftermath of the provincialization of Thrace under Claudius almost two centuries later – have helped clarify that Maroneia and quite probably the two other major cities of the Aegean coast, Abdera and Ainos, succeeded in keeping their status of *civitates liberae* throughout the two centuries that elapsed between the two texts.⁶ The so-called eternal oath moreover revealed the city's fierce resistance to Mithridates' army; the great calamities inflicted upon the city by the Pontic troops, including the utter destruction of its city walls (l. 9-10: κατασκαφή); and Rome's subsequent rewards, which included the reinstatement of the city's rights. There is no reason to doubt, therefore, that throughout this period and just like on the neighbouring island of Thasos, where epigraphic material is much more abundant,⁷ these cities' status remained unaltered. As a result, Rome would have had no reason to undo what had so effectively worked some decades earlier by replacing it with a kingdom whose stability was a question of constant concern. It is important to stress, however, that these considerations concern the official political status of these cities and

4 Gerov 1970.

5 Parissaki 2018.

6 See *IThrAeg* E168 and E180 respectively; for further discussion and bibliography on these two inscriptions, see Parissaki 2018. A third inscription found at Teos and pertaining to this period is currently being prepared for publication by Peter Thonemann.

7 For Thasos, see Fournier 2013.

should not be interpreted as meaning that nothing changed in their relations with the Thracian tribes of the interior. The fact that, for the first time after the Odrysian kingdom of the Classical and early Hellenistic era, Thracian tribes were finally put under check by a coalition of fellow tribesmen acknowledging Roman control not only meant that all were on the same side but also that, for the first time after a long period, the cities of the north Aegean coast would have felt secure from incursions from the north. It is from this perspective that we believe we should interpret the honorary inscriptions for the last Thracian kings set up by Abdera, Maroneia, and the Roman colony of Philippi.⁸ The question can then be raised of how this new political reality affected the cities' currency relations. From the 2nd century BC onwards, two cities in the region – Maroneia and Thasos – played a significant role by supplying the main bulk of the necessary currency,⁹ alongside the numerous Roman denarii and the coins of Macedonia,¹⁰ especially for the regions of central and eastern Thrace, where the modern cities of Nova Zagora, Jambol, Sliven, and Veliko Tarnovo lay.¹¹ However, both cities ceased their production in the early years of the Principate; this is not surprising, since most of the cities in other regions of mainland Greece, with the exception of the Roman colonies in Achaia and Macedonia, seem to have been equally reluctant to produce coinage.¹² This resulted in a hiatus of currency, mostly covered by the Roman denarii, as can be deduced from the coin hoards.¹³ An illustrative and characteristic example of the numismatic circulation that embraced the whole Aegean-Thracian littoral, as well as the southern regions of contemporary Bulgaria, is offered by the bronze coins unearthed during Maroneia's excavations. They comprise issues of the Macedonian *koinon*, coins of Roman colonies such as Pella or Philippi,

8 These are inscriptions *IThrAeg* E83 (Abdera), E207 (Maroneia), and *CIPH* II.1, 3 (Philippi). Only two inscriptions from south-western Thrace point to direct control of the client kingdom: an inscription from a quarry in the region of Nea Karvali (appr. 10 km east of Kavala) set up in honour of Rhoimetalkes III and his sons (Bakalakis 1935) and a dedication of king Kotys, son of Rhaiskouporis, to Heracles found in the region of modern Didymoteichon (*IThrAeg* E45); both these regions lay outside the *chorai* of the Greek colonies of the shore.

9 For the coinage of Maroneia, see Schönert-Geiss 1987 and Psoma 2008; for Thasos, see Prokopov 2006 and Callatay 2008.

10 See *CCCHBulg* III.

11 *IGCH* 529, 531, 679–680, 924, 933, 963–964 and 966.

12 Thus, only Amphipolis, Edessa, Pella, Philippi, and Thessalonika were active in Macedonia.

13 Under Augustus, only Imbros and Sestos seem to have issued a rather restricted coinage of problematic denominations, bearing the bare head of the emperor and local types accompanied by the ethnic; see *RPC* I, 317 nos. 1734–1737 (Imbros) and nos. 1739–1740 (Sestos). It is tempting to relate them to the refuge taken there by Rhoimetalkes I in 11 BC.

a few issues of Augustus, and those of some of the Julio-Claudians from the mint of Rome.¹⁴

In this framework of currency, the participation of the coinage of the client kingdom of Thrace in the coin circulation of Aegean Thrace offers interesting insights. Only a few isolated specimens of Rhoimetalkes I were unearthed during excavations by the local ephorates; his coins are not represented among the finds from Maroneia or Ainos, despite the fact that these cities did not produce their own coinage under Augustus,¹⁵ and are to be found in significant numbers only at Abdera.¹⁶ Taking into account the city's geographical proximity to the land of the Sapaioi and its close bonds with Roman negotiating families during the 2nd and 1st centuries BC – as indicated by the decrees in honour of the *Apustii* – it is possible that Rhoimetalkes exploited the potentialities offered. Since Abdera did not mint until Tiberius' reign,¹⁷ the coins provided by Rhoimetalkes seem to have constituted a considerable part of the locally-circulating currency. The same figure of a loose relationship between the Greek cities of the littoral and the client kingdom is provided by the scarce presence of issues belonging to his heirs, also in accordance with their humble production. Two coins of Rhoimetalkes II and two coins of Rhoimetalkes III were found at Abdera, and one coin of Rhoimetalkes II was found at Maroneia.¹⁸

(B) Further east, Byzantion should be treated as a case of its own, as indicated by one inscription and some coin issues. The text mentions Rhoimetalkes I as the reigning king and a second person as μέραρχος, a term that also occurred in a very fragmentary, though slightly earlier, inscription from Bizye.¹⁹ The lack of evidence does not permit speculation into the possible relation of μεραρχία and στρατηγία for the time being, though some scholars have suggested that the first were subdivisions of the second.²⁰ The possibility that they should be considered separately, indicating a difference in status should not be excluded, either. Be that as it may, the probable – though not ascertained – provenance of

14 See Karadima and Psoma 2007.

15 Maroneia started minting under Nero, while Ainos issued a pseudo-autonomous series dated to the 1st–2nd centuries AD; see *RPC* I, 316 nos. 1732–1733 and also Schönert-Geiss 1987, Psoma 2008, 95, and Tekin 2007, 597.

16 See Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2011, 111–133.

17 See *RPC* I, 315 no. 1727.

18 See Psoma 2008, 127, 252. In order to complement the picture of Aegean Thrace, we should mention a few specimens of Kotys and Rhaiskouporis from the citadel of Kalyva, although this lay outside the *chora* of the Greek cities of the coast, in a region that during this period should have been actual Sapaian territory; see Triantaphyllos 1988, 449.

19 For a thorough discussion of these two inscriptions, see *IK Byzantion* 324 and Lampousiadis 1938, 64 no. 16 respectively; this second inscription dates from before the creation of the united client kingdom.

20 Thus Moretti 1984, 263–266 (*SEG* 34 [1984] 701).

this text from Byzantion leads to interesting considerations further supported by the evidence of coins.

Byzantion issued silver coins in the name of Rhoimetalkes I, consisting of drachms and didrachms and representing the familiar type combining the royal and imperial portraits,²¹ as well as smaller denominations in bronze that consistently displayed the king's monogram in a wreath.²² As Youroukova has already suggested, Rhoimetalkes I issued his first festive silver coins in Byzantion in the Greek manner, as indicated by both legend and weight and denominations, when he finally ascended the throne.²³ At the same time, from his accession onwards, Rhoimetalkes was engaged in the minting of his well-known *aes* coinage, depicting the royal and imperial portraits and following the Roman metric system.²⁴ By reviewing the existing material and by taking into consideration the fact that Thracians traditionally issued regal and not ethnic coinage, it becomes quite tempting to wonder whether Byzantion²⁵ – and not the capital, Bizye – may have been this king's main mint. Apart from being an important mint for the whole region that also operated under king Lysimachos and was the preferred mint of Rhoimetalkes I to produce his coronation coins, Byzantion was also active for the whole period after Augustus' reign, under Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius – the patrons of Rhoimetalkes II and III. This makes it the only Thracian mint that shows continuous activity all through the existence of the client kingdom.

(C) As indicated by the aforementioned cities of Anchialos and Apollonia, as well as by inscriptions referring to *stratego*i like the dedicatory inscription of the *strategos* Φάρσαλος Βείθουος found at the fort of Tirizis at the promontory of Kaliakra,²⁶ substantial parts of the western Pontic shore were put under the direct control of the client kings of Thrace. However, the two important cities

21 For the metric system followed, see the relevant discussion in *RPC* I, 311–312 and Paunov 2013a, 6; see also Crawford 1985, 239, who considers this coinage as 'a denarius coinage with subsidiary bronze'.

22 At the same time, the representation of local types on the obverse pronounces a more independent character of the city; see *RPC* I, 322 nos. 1774–1777. The same iconographic pattern is followed in Kalchedon's coinage (*RPC* I, 323 nos. 1783–1785), always closely related to that of neighbouring Byzantion.

23 Youroukova 1976, 56.

24 Consisting of all denominations corresponding to dupondii, asses, semises and quadrantes, although showing differences/discrepancies from the official Augustan currency system, with dupondii weighing 12.50 g, asses 11.00 g, and quadrantes 3.00 g, while the Neronian semises weighed around 3.25 g. It is interesting to note that his semises and quadrantes find parallels in the analogous coins of Imbros (*RPC* I, 317 nos. 1734–1737) and Sestos (*RPC* I, 317–318 nos. 1740–1741), issued in the Augustan period and showing the imperial portrait alongside Greek legends, and local types on the reverse, while quadrantes also issued in Byzantion feature only local types (*RPC* I, 322 nos. 1771–1773).

25 Paunov 2013a, 238.

26 For this text, see *IGBulg* I², 12 and Parissaki 2009, 322–323 no. I/2. For Apollonia and Anchialos, see the discussion above.

of the region south of the Haemus range, Odessos and Mesembria, once more display a different development. For strategic reasons, they were both declared *civitates foederatae* after the campaign of M. Terentius Varro Lucullus in 72–71 BC. Whether we accept the existence of a *praefectura orae maritimae* or not, relations with the Romans were regulated through the nearest Roman governor, i.e. the governor of Macedonia first and, from the early years of the 1st century AD onwards, that of nearby Moesia.²⁷

Odessos possibly started minting from the time of Augustus,²⁸ thus making it one of the very few cities of Thrace that minted in his name. The mint also remained active under Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius.²⁹ The rather restricted Augustan issues, dating to about 10 BC,³⁰ are heavily countermarked for the next years. As Bekov has pointed out, the Augustan issues usually display three different countermarks. Two of them, which always appear together, seem to represent Augustus and Rhoimetalkes I, while the third one, always isolated, is interpreted as a portrait of King Kotys IV, the son of Rhoimetalkes I. Mesembria's mint also started operating during Augustus' reign, as proven by Karayotov,³¹ who, in a more recent study, attributed two extremely restricted issues to that period. A few specimens (*RPC Suppl.* S3-I-1790) display the characteristic Augustan iconography (the head of Augustus with the legend ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ and Apollo Kitharodos with the ethnic ΜΕΣΑΜΒΡΙΑΝΩΝ), while two more examples (*RPC Suppl.* S3-I-1789) belong to the well-known series of Rhoimetalkes that displays the king's portrait with the ethnic ΜΕΣΑΜΒΡΙΑΝΩΝ on one side and the imperial portrait with the legend ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ on the other. Both issues are countermarked on the obverse with an ear of corn³² and a female veiled or turreted head.

27 For the history of the region, see Minchev 2003, 228–230 and, more recently, Zahariade 2013 and Ruscu 2014, with earlier bibliography.

28 For the coinage of Odessos under Augustus, see *RPC* I, 324 no. 1801, Lazarenko 2011, and Bekov 2014. The coinage of both Odessos and Mesembria during the 1st century BC is closely related to the Mithridatic wars, either as payment to Thracian mercenaries recruited by the king of Pontus or as payment to garrisons installed by the king on the western coast of the Euxine; their circulation is, thus, mostly restricted to the area; see Callataÿ 1994, esp. 309. For such specimens in other regions, see, for instance, the two tetradrachms of Mesembria found in a hoard at Mindya in the region of Veliko Tărnovo (*IRRCH Bulg* 118 = *IGCH* 664), buried in the mid-1st century BC, and at Bolyarino, near Plovdiv (*IRRCH Bulg* 102 = *IGCH* 975), buried in the years after 44 BC.

29 This extremely productive mint continued operating until the reign of Gordian III.

30 One example is mentioned in *RPC* I, 325 no. 1801 and three more in *RPC I Supplement*. For the dating, see Lazarenko 2011, 57.

31 Karayotov 2009, also included in *RPC Suppl.* S3-I-1789–1790; however, these coins were already attributed to the city by Youroukova 1991.

32 Youroukova 1991 related this symbol to the iconography of the city's earlier issues; however, it could have also referred to the Black Sea grain commerce or the provision of the Roman army (*annona*), for which the client kings could be responsible.

A combination of literary sources, inscriptions, and coins therefore indicates yet another interesting political reality. In an article published in 2014,³³ Ligia Ruscu pointed out, quite correctly in our view, that ‘the most conspicuous feature of the situation of the Western Pontic cities during the reign of Augustus and the early Julio-Claudians is their geographical separation, by land and by sea, from the closest Roman provincial soil extant at the time ... It was thus sometimes deemed necessary to admit the presence of some form of Roman authority that would take care of things on the spot and would act as an intermediary between the ruled and the provincial governor’. At the time, that intermediary were the client-kings of Thrace. It is from this perspective, in our view, that we should interpret the coin issues mentioned above.

Tribes of the Interior

Moving inland and regarding the extent of the client kingdom towards the Thracian interior, ancient authors permit us to say at least three things with a fair degree of certainty:

- (A) When describing the division of the kingdom of Thrace among the two heirs of Rhoimetalkes I under Augustus, Tacitus (*Ann.* 2.64-67) conveys a sense of dichotomy among a more developed part, described as consisting of ‘agricultural lands, the towns, and the districts adjoining the Greek cities’ and a second, more backward one consisting of ‘a sterile soil, a wild population, with enemies at the very door’. This dichotomy is interestingly reflected in inscriptions, as well. The names of the strategies, that is of the administrative subdivisions that existed within the boundaries of the client kingdom of Thrace, point to the eastern and southern areas of Thrace; and so does the origin of the strategoi known up to this day.³⁴
- (B) Control seems to have been less secure moving westwards towards the western limit of the Hebrus/Maritza Plain and the convergence of the Haemus and Rhodopes Mountains. For example, the Bessoï, Koïlaletoi, and Dioi, which are named by ancient sources as repeatedly challenging the authority of the Thracian kings, may have dwelled in this general area.
- (C) Tribes located even further west – that is along the course of the upper Strymon River – may have developed their own communication channels with Rome and may have remained independent versus the client kingdom of Thrace.

³³ See Ruscu 2014, 164.

³⁴ See Parissaki 2009, 328.

The Dentheletai, generally located in and around modern Kyustendil, were allies of Rome from the middle of the 1st century BC onwards, as indicated by Cicero in his speech against the governor of Macedonia, L. Calpurnius Piso, delivered in the Senate in 55 BC (*In Pis.* 34.84) and also by Titus Livius, who mentions Rome's *foedus* with the Dentheletai and their blind king, Sitas, while describing the seminal campaign of the Macedonian governor, Marcus Licinius Crassus, against the Bastarnai in 29–28 BC (Dio Cass. *Ρωμαϊκά* 51.23.2–5 and 51.25.4).³⁵ To their south, the Maidoi gained their notoriety through their constant aggression towards the Roman province of Macedonia. Though the number of these invasions clearly decreases after the emergence of the client kingdom of Thrace, their inclusion within this kingdom's boundaries should not be considered as ascertained. The only source that explicitly mentions them during the second half of the 1st century BC, though in a totally different context, is Varro, who differentiates the region of Maedica from the rest of Thrace in his *De Re Rustica* (2.1.5).

A dependent economy evolved in these regions during the 2nd–1st centuries BC, mostly based on any strong coinage of the period. This economic and financial situation also continued during the early years of the Principate, when the Thracian hinterland was still dependent on the Macedonian mints to acquire the currency needed. In this environment, the coinage of the client kings, and especially that of Rhoimetalkes I, played a significant role. The size of the numismatic production of this king – clearly more impressive than that of his heirs, as already demonstrated by Youroukova (1976) – has significantly increased in recent years by the addition of new finds from excavations, as well as by the auctioning and purchasing of new coins.³⁶ Two points seem important to highlight here: the character of these numismatic finds and their place of discovery. Coins of Rhoimetalkes I are found either isolated or in extremely few numbers in larger contexts, as in the case of the finds from Sivino and Sadievo (region of Sliven), where the coins of the king formed only a small part of the wider hoarding.³⁷ Hoards including or totally consisting of coins of Rhoimetalkes I,

35 According to a third passage of Cassius Dio (54.20.3), the Dentheletai, together with the Skordiskoi, invaded Macedonia in 16 BC. The author mentions Marcus Lollius' campaign and combines it with his settling of affairs within the client kingdom; this juxtaposition probably indicates that the Dentheletai were still outside the realm of the client kingdom of Thrace during this period.

36 See in general Paunov 2013a, with the relevant bibliography.

37 The find of Sivino, found during the excavations of a Thracian sanctuary at the region of Smolyan in the heart of the Rhodopes Mountains and in an area included in or, at least, adjacent to the tribal territory of the Sapaioi, consisted of one AE Rhoimetalkes I/Augustus, one drachm of Abdera and some AE coins of the 4th/3rd century, a number of Roman denarii (2nd–1st centuries BC), one denarius of Alexander Severus (222–235), and two AE of Constans (333–350); see *IRRCH Bulg* 155. For the find of Sadievo consisting of one AE Rhoimetalkes I, coins of Maroneia, and Roman denarii; see *IRRCH Bulg* 126.

on the other hand, are few in number but surely more impressive. This is the case of the coin hoard of Erma Reka in the region of Zlatograd, where a clay vase containing two to three kilograms or 200–500 *aes* coins of different types of Rhoimetalkes I was discovered (*CCCHBulg* III, p. 12). A second hoard, which consisted exclusively of 1,000 AE coins of Rhoimetalkes I and was formerly regarded as originating from the modern Greek part of Thrace, but is currently considered to have been found in the region of Dobrudja (*CH* III 85),³⁸ was unfortunately dispersed in the market; thirty coins are kept in the Athens Numismatic Museum as part of the Kyrou collection. The size of this hoard drove Michael Crawford to the assumption that Rhoimetalkes I had produced a large amount of money.³⁹

Although the information about the coin finds is scanty, we could suppose that the first category of finds, those including isolated coins of the king, reflects the true circulation pattern and the involvement of the coins under discussion in the market activities. The second category of hoards, those consisting exclusively of Rhoimetalkes I's coins, may demonstrate their use for special occasions. This hypothesis can be sustained by the findspots of the hoards. Today, Erma Reka is the centre of intensive mining activity producing galena;⁴⁰ therefore, the find of the hoard could be related to possible mining activities in antiquity. On the other hand, the Dobrudja hoard was in all probability unearthed in the region of Razgrad, north of the Haemus Range, where the base of a *strategia* was located, as indicated by inscriptions. Therefore, the bulk of his coinage is found in the regions of contemporary southern and eastern Bulgaria, where the centre of the Sapaian and Odrysian/Astaian kingdom is traditionally placed. However, the most impressive finds are related to places of special interest, either of economic significance, such as the mines, or of an administrative one, such as the seat of *strategiae*. Coins of Rhoimetalkes I are scarcely found in other regions further west than Sliven, where the preponderance of the coins from Macedonian mints is clearly indicated by the finds.

The coinage of his heirs does not display the dynamic of the founder of their royal line. Paunov has identified three specimens attributed to the joint reign of Kotys IV and Rhaiskouporis III. No numismatic evidence exists for this ruler,⁴¹ but his furious struggle with Kotys over the sovereignty of the whole kingdom allows us to suggest that he had adequate financial resources. The coinage of the next rulers is better

38 As Adonis Kyrou, who has purchased some pieces of the hoard, personally informed us. Lacking other information, however, Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2011, 131 had placed the findspot of this hoard in the Greek littoral regions, thus significantly raising the percentage of the coins of Rhoimetalkes I in the modern Greek part of ancient Thrace.

39 Crawford 1985, 239.

40 An ore from which lead and even silver can be extracted, easily elaborated and therefore greatly appreciated in antiquity.

41 Paunov 2013a, esp. 123 no. 37.

represented, although in smaller output. The consolidation of the Roman Empire, resulting in the increase of the imperial coin production and circulation,⁴² as well as the reopening of the mints of the Greek cities, which resumed their activity from the time of Tiberius onward, might have resulted in diminished minting activity of the client kings. The restricted minting activity of Rhoimetalkes II under Tiberius is also reflected in the circulation of his coins, as, according to Youroukova,⁴³ there is possibly only one hoard attributed to him, which contains 449 *aes* coins and was found in Gruevo, Momchilgrad district. The coinage of Rhoimetalkes III, the last Thracian king before the provincialization of Thrace in AD 46 under Claudius, displays interesting features and eloquent diversity not otherwise known in the Thracian kingdom. His coins are, however, only found sporadically. The scarcity of these finds possibly indicates the limited power of his economic realm.

An indication for the size of the regal coinage and its financial power in the frame of the local economy is provided by the finds from Aquae Calidae. Situated on the Black Sea coast, near modern Burgas, this bath complex provided a large number of coins.⁴⁴ Among them, 181 Thracian coins are said to be of Rhoimetalkes I, though some of them could perhaps be of Rhoimetalkes II, which suggests that these were the *aes* coins that circulated most abundantly in this area under Augustus. A few specimens of his heirs were also present, including one of Kotys IV and Rhaiskouporis and two of Rhoimetalkes III.⁴⁵

Conclusions

Both ancient authors and inscriptions alike indicate that the client kingdom of Thrace consisted of a nucleus of friends and allies of the Roman Empire. This network consisted of tribes such as the Astai/Odryasai and the Sapaioi, who somehow operated in consortium with Rome from the last quarter of the 1st century BC onward. Less reliable tribes such as the Bessoï, who are qualified here as 'friends', were also present within this network, but their loyalty was a matter of constant concern. The old Greek colonies of the northern Aegean shore, the Propontis, and the western shore of the

42 For the time of Tiberius, see Rodewald 1976, 52–57.

43 Youroukova 1976, 61–63.

44 See Rodewald 1976, 57: 'some three thousand were saved, 2,204 of which were not too damaged to be identified' and recently Paunov 2015.

45 Rodewald 1976, 124, no. 444, 'that circulated most abundantly in this area under Augustus; perhaps even until the reign of Claudius, though the fact that there are only one of Kotys IV and Rhaiskouporis and two of Rhoimetalkes III and Caligula might indicate that, during a period marked by dynastic strife and popular risings, there was a gradual fading away of these issues, which, following the cessation of the issues of Apollonia and Mesembria, led to an increasing demand for Roman *aes*, a demand for the satisfaction of which the presence of Roman troops in Moesia accidentally created a gradual increasing supply'.

Euxine developed their own channels of communications with the Romans, as well as varying degrees of political and/or economic dependence from the client kingdom of Thrace. This was determined by a number of factors, such as their loyalty to Rome or their proximity to Roman centres of administration, but actual inclusion within the limits of the client kingdom, as in the case of Anchialos and Apollonia, should be considered an exception.

This complex political reality can also be testified by the Thracian kingdom's monetary production and the region's coin circulation, especially of the first client king, Rhoimetalkes I. This king launched the most numerous coinage,⁴⁶ due not only to his long-lasting rule but also to local needs caused by the movements of the Roman troops and to Augustus' policy.⁴⁷ The most interesting feature of his coinage, however, was its propagandistic character, according to the best examples of the Julio-Claudians. Rhoimetalkes was the first to introduce the combination of the royal and the imperial portraits, a precedent followed by his heirs. Most importantly, the representation of his own portrait on the obverse constitutes a real revolution in the mentality and tradition of the imperial coinage and clearly shows the political ambition of the king, who wished to rank as equal, if not higher than the Roman emperor himself, at least in the eyes of his own subjects. Rome obviously allowed this deviation, not only because of these coins' local use, but also because of its desperate need to promote an alliance that aimed at controlling rebellious tribes without the involvement of the Roman army. The coinage of Rhoimetalkes I seems to have won the role of the counterpart of the Roman currency, circulating as supplementary to the Roman issues⁴⁸ and enhanced by the lack of serious minting activities of the Thracian cities during the Augustan era.⁴⁹ Significant numbers of his coins, sometimes as unique components of concealments as in the case of the Dobrudja hoard, are mostly unearthed in the eastern parts of Thrace. In the years to come, the pattern of the monetary circulation changed, first under Tiberius, when many of the Thracian cities started minting their own coinage that was enriched under the subsequent emperors. It is not surprising, therefore, that the coins

46 Paunov 2013a, 248.

47 Augustus was interested in the organization of the provinces, but he did not initially interfere with their monetary system, following the Roman republican tradition.

48 The pre-existing republican denarii and silver Thasian tetradrachms and their imitations were in circulation for many years afterwards.

49 This fact is not surprising, since most of the Greek cities of the other regions of mainland Greece seem to have been equally reluctant, except for the Roman colonies in Achaia and Macedonia. In Macedonia, only Amphipolis, Edessa, Pella, Philippi, and Thessalonika were active, while in Moesia Inferior, Moesia Superior, and Thrace, only four major mints operated: Byzantium, Mesembria, Odessos, and Tomis (Imbros and Sestos displaying a 'special occasion' activity), which issued only small quantities of coins. In these conditions of currency shortage, it is evident that the huge amounts of republican denarii that previously circulated still kept their value, a fact proven by their presence in hoards buried many years later; see the relevant *IRRCHBulg* cases.

attributed to Rhoimetalkes II and III are not only less numerous and of less importance since they did not have a real cause to fulfil other than their propagandistic character, but also because they are scarcely represented in hoards. From this perspective, just like literary sources and epigraphic texts suggest, both the circulation and minting point to their preponderance in the eastern areas of the Thracian lands, alongside the Black Sea littoral, which were of importance for the Roman policy because they controlled the trade routes to the Black Sea.⁵⁰

50 See Bounegru 2014.

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18 Raumbezogene Identitätsverweise auf thrakischen Münzen

Angela Berthold

Zusammenfassung

Die griechischen und römischen Münzprägungen Thrakiens zeigen in ihren Motiven gelegentlich Beziehungen zum Territorium, der sie ausgehenden Poleis, haben also einen deutlichen Raumbezug. Dieser kann auf real existierende Landschaften oder auch mythische Begebenheiten rekurrieren und dient der Konstruktion bzw. Manifestation der städtischen Identität und der, der in ihr lebenden Gemeinschaft. Der städtische Lebensraum wird durch Architektur präsentiert, die Stadt selbst oder der sie durchfließende Fluss mit Hilfe von Personifikationen; mythologische Raumbezüge werden durch Darstellung des mythischen Personals hergestellt. Die Darstellungen zielen dabei einerseits auf eine edle Tradition und das Wohlergehen und den Reichtum der Stadt sowie in römischer Zeit auf die Romanitas ab.

Keywords

Antike Münzen, Thrakien, Medium, Kommunikation, Identität, Raumbezug, mythischer Raum // Ancient coins, Thrace, media, communication, identity, space related motifs, mythical space

Münzen – häufig als einziges Massenmedium der Antike bezeichnet – bieten neben ihrer monetären Funktion unter anderem die Möglichkeit, als Kommunikationsmedium eingesetzt zu werden.¹ Dieser Aspekt tritt immer mehr in den Fokus der Forschung, lassen sich durch die Bildbotschaften der Münzen doch politische Propaganda-Absichten rekonstruieren oder Rückschlüsse auf Identitäts-Konstrukte der herausgebenden Einzelpersonen, etwa Herrscher, oder Gruppen, z.B. Polisgemeinschaften, der Münzen ziehen.² Dieser Beitrag möchte für den Bereich der thrakischen Münzbilder vom Prägebeginn in der Archaik bis in die späte römische Kaiserzeit Identitätsverweise mit Raumbezug untersuchen. Dabei handelt es sich meist um den Ausdruck kollektiver Identität der die Münzen ausgehenden Gemeinschaft. Dieser dient einerseits beim Umlauf der Münzen im Ausgabegebiet dazu, sich seiner selbst als Gruppe zu vergewissern und das Kollektiv zu festigen. Andererseits wird im über-

1 Eckhardt und Martin 2011.

2 Howgego 2005: Themen der Münzbilder, die mit identitätsbezogenen Aspekten verbunden werden: „religion“ (lokale Kulte und Götter), „monumentality“ (Architektur profan oder sakral), „past“ (Schauplatz mythischer oder historischer Ereignisse), „time“ (im Sinne einer Ära/Zeitzählung), „geography“ (naturräumliche Besonderheiten, Flüsse, Berge oder auch die Produkte oder Ressourcen, die der Naturraum bietet), „language“ (Sprache der Legenden), „Romanness“ (Stil, Ausdrucksform).

regionalen Umlauf ein gewünschtes Außenbild der Gemeinschaft konstruiert und konstituiert.³

Zur Spezifik der Münze als Bildträger gehört, dass ihr Herstellungsort meist gesichert und ein Bezug zu diesem erwünscht ist. Münzen wurden über einen langen Zeitraum an unterschiedlichen Orten des thrakischen Gebietes hergestellt. Diese Orte unterscheiden sich nicht nur auf Grund ihrer geographischen Lage und der damit verbundenen natürlichen Gegebenheiten, sie können häufig auch in einer mythischen Landschaft verortet werden oder sind etwa Koloniegründungen anderer Städte. Alle diese mit den Münzstätten verbundenen Faktoren haben einen Raumbezug. Die identitätsstiftende Kraft des Raumes wurde in vielen Studien der letzten Jahre unterstrichen.⁴ Die Darstellung von expliziten Räumen scheint insofern naheliegend, als die Motive auf den Münzen häufig dahingehend interpretiert werden, dass sie die kollektive Identität der Polisgemeinschaft in einem Bild zu verdichten suchen. Eine Gemeinsamkeit aller Bewohner einer Stadt ist der Ort, an dem sie leben, und die Besonderheiten, die mit diesem verbunden sind. Deshalb ist es einleuchtend, diesen als gemeinsames Merkmal zu verbildlichen, insbesondere da der bewohnte Raum maßgeblich zur Identität eines Einzelnen und auch einer Gruppe beiträgt. Menschen empfinden eine emotionale Ortsbezogenheit⁵ und ein Regionalbewusstsein, die sie in ihrer Identität prägen, da mit diesen Orten bestimmte Merkmale und Charakteristika durch Eigen- und Fremdzuschreibung verbunden werden. Durch das Leben und Sich-Bewegen in diesem Gemeinschaftsgebiet wird dieses Areal emotional aufgeladen und als Element des Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühls empfunden. Der physische Raum ist somit auch symbolischer Repräsentant für soziale Interaktion und soziale Werte. So erscheint die Münze ein ideales Medium zur Kommunikation von Identitäten einer Gruppe, die sich unter anderem aus dem Raum, in dem sie sich bewegt, konstituiert. Bei der Betrachtung der thrakischen Münzen lassen sich verschiedene Raumkategorien erkennen: Einerseits werden Bezüge zum real existierenden physischen Raum, sei es durch Bauwerke oder naturräumliche Darstellungen abgebildet, andererseits finden sich Bezüge zum mythischen Raum. Welches Selbstverständnis jeweils hinter diesen verschiedenen Raumbezügen zu finden ist, soll die genauere Analyse beleuchten.

3 Vgl. Hölscher 2011, 47 zur Problematik der Übertragung von modernen Identitätskonzepten auf die Antike und für kritische Beobachtungen zum Konzept der kollektiven Identität.

4 Weichhart 2006, 15–21.

5 Bedingt durch die kollektiven Gemeinsamkeiten der Geburt an, Herkunft von und Wohnen in diesem Ort.

Bezüge zu mythischen Orten

Auf Münzbildern wird gelegentlich darauf verwiesen, dass die Münzstätte oder ihre nähere Umgebung Schauplatz von Mythen waren. In den meisten Fällen wird der Raumbezug über das mythische Personal, also über die figürliche Darstellung der Protagonisten, evoziert, ohne den Raum selbst abzubilden.⁶ Im thrakischen Münzmaterial kann eine Münze von Dikaia mit einer Heraklesdarstellung als Beispiel dienen (Abb. 1).⁷ Das Motiv bezieht sich darauf, dass Herakles im Rahmen seiner Arbeit der Zähmung der Pferde des Diomedes den Abfluss des Sees Bistonis zum Meer hin grub, wie z.B. Strabo⁸ überliefert. Nur der Kopf des Heros wird als Referenz auf diese Geschichte abgebildet. Ein mythischer Bezug findet sich auch in Madytos auf der thrakischen Chersonesos, das auf seinen Münzen aus der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. einen sitzenden Hund (Abb. 2), der das Grabmal der Hekabe bei Madytos markiert haben soll, zeigt.⁹ Hekabe, die Frau des Priamos, wurde von Odysseus aus Troja verschleppt. Um Odysseus nicht als Sklavin dienen zu müssen, stürzte sie sich bei der Halbinsel von seinem Schiff ins Meer. Dabei verwandelte sich Hekabe in einen Hund und starb. An Land errichtete man ihr an dieser Stelle, in der Nähe der Stadt Madytos, ein Grabmal in Form eines Hundes. Dieses diente Seeleuten als Orientierungspunkt und ist auf den Rückseiten der Bronzemünzen der Stadt abgebildet.

Beziehungen der die Münzen ausprägenden Städte zu einem mythischen Geschehen finden sich auch in der römischen Münzprägung Thrakiens. Etwa in Sestos auf der thrakischen Chersonesos, das wie das am Hellespont gegenüberliegende Abydos mit der Sage um Hero und Leander verbunden ist.¹⁰ Hero war Aphroditepriesterin in Sestos, ihr Geliebter Leander lebte an der kleinasiatischen Küste in Abydos und durchschwamm allnächtlich die Meerenge, um zu ihr zu gelangen. Als die Lampe, die Hero als Wegweiser aufgestellt hatte – auf der Münze hält sie diese in ihrer Hand (Abb. 3) –, in einem Sturm erlosch, verirrte er sich im Meer und ertrank. Am folgenden Morgen entdeckte Hero seinen Leichnam und stürzte sich von einer Klippe in den Tod. Münzen von Sestos beispielsweise aus der Zeit des Septimius Severus und des Caracalla zeigen aber noch das Geschehen vor der Katastrophe. Die Rückseitenbilder können als Raumdarstellung mit direktem Ortsbezug aufgefasst werden. Das Meer und das Land bei Sestos sind abgebildet und der Betrachter blickt offensichtlich von Nord-Osten, von der Propontis kommend, in Richtung Süden auf diese Szenerie.

⁶ Sauer 2014, 123–124.

⁷ Schönert-Geiss 1975, 13–32; Isaac 1986, 109–111.

⁸ Strab. 7 frg. 44.

⁹ Isaac 1986, 194; Kemp-Lindemann 1977, 201–205.

¹⁰ Isaac 1986, 195–196; Fritze 1907, 1–13.

Während bei den genannten Beispielen der mythologische Bezug eindeutig war und alle dahingehend interpretiert werden können, dass sich die Münzstätte gleichwohl in griechischer wie in römischer Zeit mit dem berühmten Mythos schmücken wollte, der sich in ihrem Territorium zugetragen hatte,¹¹ kommt es bei den nächsten Beispielen zu einer Vermischung des mythischen Raumbezugs mit weiteren Elementen. Die frühen Vorderseitenbilder von Byzantion, die eine Kuh/ein Rind auf einem Delfin schreitend zeigen (Abb. 4), erfuhren teils auch eine mythische Interpretation.¹² Nach I. N. Svoronos und anderen soll hier die Sage von Io und Zeus dargestellt sein. Die, in eine Kuh verwandelte Geliebte des Zeus soll bei ihrer Flucht auch die Meerenge beim heutigen Istanbul durchschritten haben. In diese mythische Interpretation ließe sich auch eine raumbezogene Komponente einfügen. Der Name der Meerenge des Bosphorus – Rinderfurt –, der die geografische Lage der Stadt Byzantion kennzeichnet, könnte verbildlicht sein und gleichzeitig illustrierte das Münzbild auch das mythische Geschehen um die verwandelte Io.

Zu einer doppelten Angabe kommt es bei der Verbildlichung des Stadtnamens von Alopeknesos (Abb. 5) auf der thrakischen Chersonesos.¹³ Der erste Teil des Stadtnamens, der den Fuchs nennt (griechisch: *άλωπηξ*), wird auf den Münzen der Stadt als Hauptmotiv oder Beizeichen verbildlicht. Gleichzeitig bezieht sich der Fuchs auf das Gründungsorakel der Stadt. Die Stadt Alopeknesos sollte an der Stelle gegründet werden, wo junge Füchse gesichtet werden.¹⁴ Diese Methode der Kombination von Bild und Schrift zur Illustration des Stadtnamens führt zu einer schnellen Identifizierung.

Bezüge zum Territorium der ausgebenden Polis

Auch auf ganz reale Raumkomponenten wird in der thrakischen Münzprägung Bezug genommen. In vorrömischer Zeit können Abbildungen von Produkten, die in einer Stadt oder ihrer Umgebung hergestellt wurden, als erweiterte Darstellung des Naturraums der Stadt und ihrer Ressourcen angesehen werden. Bronzemünzen von Krithote etwa, die in die Mitte des 4. Jhs. bis ins erste Drittel des 3. Jhs. v. Chr. datieren, zeigen Ähren, Ährenkränze und einzelne Körner (Abb. 6).¹⁵ Die Ambivalenz dieser Darstellungen tritt deutlich zu Tage, die Motive können ebenso als Attribute der Demeter gewertet werden. Analog sind die Abbildungen von Weintrauben und Rebstöcken

11 Hölscher 2011, 48.

12 Zu Byzantion Isaac 1986, 215–236; Yalouris 1986, 3–23; Schönert 1966, 174–182 gegen die mythische Interpretation mit einem Vorschlag, beide Tiere als Quelle des Reichtums der Stadt anzusehen, also in ihnen eine naturräumliche Komponente der Stadt zu erblicken, zur Interpretation von Münzbildern in diese Richtung siehe unten.

13 Isaac 1986, 189–191, 196.

14 Steph. Byz. s.v. *Αλωπεκόνησος*.

15 Isaac 1986, 191–192. Einzelnes Gerstenkorn z.B. IKMK 18215006 (CN 3316).

auf den Münzen Maroneias gleichzeitig auf den dortigen Weinanbau wie auf den damit verbundenen Gott Dionysos zu beziehen.¹⁶ In Krithote ist die Verknüpfung zum Produkt Getreide eindeutig, da die Ährenmotive weiterhin als Verbildlichung des Stadtnamens (griechisch: ἡ κριθή, das Gerstenkorn) interpretiert werden können. Auch in Kardia und anderen Städteprägungen der Chersonesos finden dieselben Symbole Verwendung, um die Halbinsel als Kornkammer auszuweisen.¹⁷ Die Münzen bilden durch die Körner und Ähren Erzeugnisse der Region und Produkte des Handels mit Hilfe eines gemeinsamen Symbols ab.

Ein spezieller Fall von territorialem Bezug ist der Verweis des Münzbildes auf die Gründerstadt: in Thrakien verwendet Abdera von Prägebeginn an das Münzmotiv seiner Mutterstadt Teos, den Greifen, spiegelbildlich.¹⁸ Perinthos verknüpft sich in römischer Zeit mit seiner Mutterstadt Samos, indem auf den Rückseitenbildern das Kultbild der Hera von Samos gezeigt wird.¹⁹

Auf den römischen Münzen des thrakischen Gebiets lassen sich zwei Themenkomplexe mit deutlichem Raumbezug fassen: der Naturraum, der vorwiegend mit Hilfe von Personifikationen verbildlicht wird, und gestalteter städtischer Raum, fast immer in Form von Architekturdarstellungen.²⁰ Die häufigste Personifikation eines Raumelements auf Münzen der römischen Zeit in Thrakien sind die Flussgötter, sie gehören zum festen Repertoire der Rückseitenbilder. Dabei handelt es sich, etwa die Lagerung und das Gefäß betreffend, weitgehend um standardisierte Darstellungen.²¹ Unterschiede zwischen den einzelnen Flussgottdarstellungen finden sich vornehmlich in den gehaltenen Pflanzen, meist Zweigen. Auf den dargestellten Fluss kann über den ebenfalls auf der Rückseite beigeschriebenen Stadtnamen geschlossen werden. Die Identifizierung dieser Flussgottdarstellungen wird gelegentlich durch die Beischrift des Flussnamens erleichtert: in Pautalia findet sich Strymon (CTPVMΩN) (Abb. 7) und in Philippopolis Hebros zugesetzt.²²

Die Darstellung von drei Flussgöttern nebeneinander lagernd, unter ihnen ein Schiff und Fische, auf Münzrückseiten von Hadrianopolis (Abb. 8) zeigt eine sehr spezifische geographische Situation: die Lage der Stadt in unmittelbarer Nähe von gleich drei Flüssen. Hadrianopolis liegt in einer Flussschleufe des Tonzos, der bei der Stadt in den größeren Hebros mündet, der wiederum wenig darauf vom Harpessos gespeist wird. Die konkrete räumliche Situation wird mit Hilfe figürlicher Mittel –

16 Zu Maroneia und seiner Münzprägung Schönert-Geiss 1987 und Isaac 1986, 111–122.

17 Isaac 1986, 159–185.

18 Abdera z.B. IKMK 18214530 (CN 3312) und Teos IKMK 18249713.

19 Z.B. IKMK 18237353 (CN 3657) und 18237356 (CN 3658).

20 Sauer 2014, 111–113.

21 Zu Flussgöttern auf antiken Münzen: Imhoof-Blumer 1923.

22 Peter 2005, 927–936.

den Personifikationen – dargestellt. Gepaart wird dieses Motiv mit Elementen der ‘realistischen Natur’: dem schiffbaren Fluss als Lebensraum von Fischen. Im Sinne einer geographischen Lagedarstellung kann auch der Flussgott mit Tyche als Darstellung einer am Fluss gelegenen Stadt interpretiert werden. Beispiele hierfür finden sich etwa auf den Münzrückseiten von Philippopolis und Serdica (Abb. 9).²³ Das Wohlergehen der Stadt wird durch die Personifikationen des Flussgottes und der Tyche verbildlicht.²⁴ Die personifizierte Stadt wird weiterhin mit dem Kaiser zusammen abgebildet, was auf einen Besuch des Herrschers in der Stadt verweisen kann.²⁵

Eine motivische Vermengung von Personifikation und ‘realistischen’ Landschaftselementen findet sich auch bei einer Münze von Augusta Traiana, die einen Flussgott in einer Art Laube lagernd zeigt, die von einem Zweig und Blattwerk gerahmt und definiert wird.²⁶ Darüber angeschnitten, also eventuell dahinter, wird die Stadtmauer mit Türmen dargestellt (Abb. 10).²⁷

Ein detailreiches Beispiel für diese Vermischung von Landschaftspersonifikation mit realistischer Darstellung des physischen Raums findet sich auf Rückseiten von Pautalia aus der Zeit des Caracalla (Abb. 11). Abgebildet wird die Personifikation bzw. Nymphe der Strymongegend, deren wirtschaftliche Bedeutung und der daraus resultierende Reichtum der Stadt: die Nymphe lagert auf einem Fels, unter ihr rinnt Wasser aus einer Urne und sie hält einen Weinstock mit Trauben. Rechts auf dem Bergrücken pflückt ein kleiner nackter Knabe von einem Weinstock Reben; daneben steht BOTPV (βότρυς), also Weintraube. Davor links trägt ein zweiter Knabe einen Sack auf dem Rücken, darüber findet sich die Bezeichnung APTVPOC (ἄργυρος), im Sack ist demnach Silber. Unter dem Quellgefäß hockt links ein dritter nackter Knabe und schöpft mit den Händen aus dem Wasser Gold, darüber steht XPVCOC (χρυσός). Im Abschnitt in einem Getreidefeld liest ein vierter nackter Knabe Ähren, daneben ist CTAXV (σάχυς), Kornähre, zu lesen. Diese Darstellung verknüpft Personifikationen von Landschaftselementen und Produkte in einer artifiziellen Landschaft, die auf dem Münzrund angelegt wird und in der sich die Protagonisten bewegen.

Die Darstellung dieser Landschaftselemente in Form von Personifikationen zielt offenbar auf verschiedene Aspekte ab. Einerseits symbolisieren sie die Fruchtbarkeit und damit den Reichtum der Stadt, der sich in ihrer Personifikation als Tyche ausdrückt. Die Wohlhabenheit verdanken die Städte teils auch ihrer Lage an Flüssen, die einerseits durch das Wasser direkt für Fruchtbarkeit sorgen, andererseits wichtige

23 Z.B. IKMK 18234616 (Philippopolis, Caracalla; CN 10001), IKMK 18247974 (Philippopolis Domitian; CN 6732), IKMK 18246050 (Serdika, Gallienus; CN 5116).

24 Peter 2005, 928.

25 Z.B. in Perinthos IKMK 18237290 (Claudius und Tyche; CN 3652).

26 Schönert-Geiss 1991 und Schönert-Geiss 1993.

27 Für Abbildungen des gesamten Tores siehe IKMK 18240242 (CN 3767) und 18240520 (CN 3784).

Transportwege für in der Stadt und im Umland hergestellte Produkte sind und somit die strategisch günstige Lage der Stadt ausmachen, die den Handel beflügelt.

Neben der Verbildlichung des natürlichen Raumes durch Personifikationen werden auf thrakischen Städteprägungen auch einzelne architektonische Elemente wie Stadttore, Stadtmauern und Tempel gezeigt.²⁸ Da sie meist als Einzelelemente auftreten, bleiben sie häufig unspezifisch.²⁹ Ohne einen beigezeichneten Stadtnamen auf derselben Münzseite wären sie kaum einer bestimmten Stadt zuzuordnen. Bei den Darstellungen von Tempeln auf den Rückseiten der römischen Münzen von Augusta Traiana zeigt sich teils ein sehr gleichförmiges Bild, lediglich Kultstatue und gelegentlich Bauweise wechseln. So unterscheiden sich Apollontempel (Abb. 12) und Hadestempel (Abb. 13) nur durch die Kultstatue. Die Tempel werden zudem wie die Stadttore als Solitäre gezeigt, meist ohne in eine Umgebung eingebettet zu sein. Das Stadttor Augusta Traianas (Abb. 14) erscheint auf den Münzrückseiten immer in derselben Weise: ein Tor wird von zwei Türmen gerahmt, dahinter erhebt sich ein Dritter, man sieht Mauerwerk. Das anhaltend gleiche Aussehen lässt vermuten, man habe es mit einer getreuen Abbildung zu tun. Zur Realitätsnähe trägt weiterhin die Einbettung von architektonischen Einzelelementen in einen Kontext bei, wie sie auf der Rückseite einer Prägung von Perinthos aus der Zeit des Septimius Severus erfolgt. Ein Tempel (Abb. 15), der auf einer anderen gleichzeitigen Münze (Abb. 16) als Solitär erscheint, wird dadurch, dass ein Schiff auf einem Fluss an ihm vorbei fährt, in einem Raum verortet. Diese Darstellung soll verdeutlichen, dass Septimius Severus der Stadt Perinthos einen Besuch abgestattet hat.³⁰

Indem die Architekturdarstellungen in einen Umgebungskontext eingebunden werden, wirken sie in ihrer Darstellung näher am realen Raum. Auf Münzen von Hadrianopolis (Abb. 17) und Augusta Traiana³¹ wird ein Artemis-Tempel auf einem Podest von Bäumen flankiert dargestellt.³² Gelegentlich erscheint auf den Münzen ein ganzes Panorama der Stadt,³³ das die bekanntesten und markantesten Gebäude wiedergibt. Am Beispiel der Stadtansicht von Pautalia (Abb. 18) lässt sich ein Charakteristikum dieser römischen Architekturbilder ablesen.³⁴ Sie scheinen wie auch andere römische Münzbilder nach einer Art Baukastenprinzip entstanden zu sein und unterliegen stark einer Schematisierung, Standardisierung und Systematisierung.³⁵

28 Sauer 2014, 114: Benennung als 'designed space'.

29 Price und Trell 1977, 246–249. Zusammenstellung der Bauten auf thrakischen Münzen.

30 Schönert-Geiss 1965 43–44.

31 IKMK 18240179 (CN 3762).

32 Nollé 2009. Nach J. Nollé ist in beiden Fällen der Tempel von Hadrianopolis zu sehen, der in Augusta Traiana ebenfalls abgebildet wird und auf einen dortigen Filiation der Göttin verweist.

33 Price und Trell 1977, 30; siehe auch den Beitrag von M. Raycheva in diesem Band.

34 Zur Stadtansicht von Amaseia vgl. Sauer 2014, 117.

35 Fuchs 1969, 92–107.

Diese Architekturdarstellungen zielen auf das Stadt-Sein an sich und zeigen für die Stadt charakteristische Gebäude. Diese Architekturen sind einerseits häufig standardisiert, z.B. die Tempel, andererseits finden sich außergewöhnliche Bauten wie z.B. ein Nymphäum auf Münzen von Hadrianopolis (Abb. 19).³⁶

Resümee

Im Rahmen des griechischen wie auch des römischen Darstellungsrepertoires wird der Raumbezug sowohl zu realen physischen Räumen wie auch zu virtuellen mythischen Räumen bevorzugt über Personalisierung hergestellt. Die Raummerkmale werden als Personifikationen von z.B. Flussgöttern oder Stadttychen wiedergegeben. Auch die Darstellung ortsspezifischer Mythen und Ereignisse hebt immer auf eine identifizierbare Darstellung des Personals und nicht des Ortes ab.³⁷ Anhand der agierenden Personen kann dann auf den Ort rückgeschlossen werden. Alleine bei der Architektur kommt es in römischer Zeit zu einer quasi-realistischen Raumdarstellung, der Grund ist wohl darin zu suchen, dass sowohl die Münzprägung selbst als auch die darauf abgebildete Architektur wichtige Faktoren für das Stadt-Sein an sich sowie Ausdruck der Romanitas sind. Die mythischen Bezüge wiederum zielen auf die Vergangenheit zur Identitätsbildung im Sinne einer langen Tradition oder einer lokalen Identitätsbildung indem ein Heros aus der Region stammt oder hier, wie im Fall von Dikaia Herakles, eine berühmte Tat vollbracht hat.³⁸

Der Lebensraum gilt als wichtiger identitätsstiftender Faktor;³⁹ auch auf den thrakischen Münzen lassen sich Verweise auf den Raum – sei es der physische oder mythische – erkennen, die zur Konstruktion der Identität der die Münzen ausgebenen Gemeinschaft beitragen können bzw. bestehende Identitäts-Konstrukte spiegeln und manifestieren. Auf den Münzen der griechischen Koloniestädte Thrakiens finden sich Verweise auf Produkte dieser Städte, die aus der Nutzung des neu besiedelten Raumes resultieren. Diese Produkte (seien es Früchte, wie Gerste oder Weintrauben oder Fische) waren wichtige Handelsgüter und begründeten den Reichtum der Stadt. Die Bilder dieser Erzeugnisse werden nicht nur mit dem Naturraum, sondern häufig auch mit der für diesen zuständigen Gottheit assoziiert, z.B. Dionysos in Verbindung mit dem Weinanbau auf Thasos oder Demeter in Verbindung mit Kornanbau. Im identifikationsbezogenen Bereich verkörpern sie die Grundlage des Wohlergehens und des Reichtums einer Gemeinschaft. Auch eine strategisch günstige Lage an Fern-

36 Price und Trelle 1977, 43–44 mit Abb. 69.

37 Vgl. in der Vasenmalerei Dietrich 2010.

38 Lindner 1994, 199–200.

39 Weichhart 2006 und Weichhart 1990.

handelsstraßen oder wichtigen Wasserwegen kann zur Bedeutung einer Stadt und somit zum Reichtum und Selbstverständnis ihrer Bewohner beitragen. In diese Richtung zielen wohl die zahlreichen Flussgott- und Tychebilder der thrakischen Münzen. Häufig changieren die Darstellungen dieser Personifikationen auch in den Bereich der Fruchtbarkeit und des daraus resultierenden Reichtums an Erträgen.

Durch die scheinbar realitätsgetreue Abbildung städtischer Bauten wie von Toren, Tempeln oder ganzen Stadtansichten wird einerseits das Stadtsein an sich als identifikationsbezogener Wert transportiert, andererseits versichert man sich trotz Zugehörigkeit zum römischen Machtgebiet, die durch das Kaiserporträt auf der Münzvorderseite zum Ausdruck kommt, auf der Rückseite der eigenen städtischen Identität. Zu dieser gehört auch das Eingebundensein in alte Traditionen, wie es durch Gründungssagen unter Beteiligung mythischer Heroen oder das Stadtgebiet als Schauplatz mythischer Ereignisse evoziert wird. In eine alte Tradition reihen sich auch diejenigen Städte ein, die auf ihren Münzen den Bezug zu ihrer Mutterstadt suchen. Die raumbezogenen Identitätsverweise sind auf den antiken thrakischen Münzen zahlreich und in verschiedene Richtungen zu interpretieren. Außer bei den ausdrücklich in Thrakien lokalisierten Mythen lässt sich kaum ein spezieller Thrakienbezug bei den Raumdarstellungen finden. Die Personifikationen von Tychen und Flussgöttern wie die Architekturdarstellungen finden sich in der Münzprägung beinahe aller römischer Provinzen, ebenso wie die Verweise auf Güter und verehrte Gottheiten auf vielen griechischen Münzen dargestellt sind. Die identitätsbezogenen Aussagen sind demnach in den meisten Fällen nicht als spezifisch thrakisch einzuordnen, sondern sind universal auch in anderen Städteprägungen zu finden.



Abb. 1 Distater von Dikaia (CN 6383)



Abb. 2 Bronze von Madytos (CN 3338)



Abb. 3 Bronze von Sestos (CN 6694)



Abb. 4 Drachme von Byzantion (CN 3343)



Abb. 5 Bronze von Alopeknesos (CN 3756)



Abb. 6 Bronze von Krithote (CN 3139)



Abb. 7 Bronze von Pautalia (CN 4860)



Abb. 8 Bronze von Hadrianopolis (CN 10355)



Abb. 9 Bronze von Philippopolis (CN 10001)



Abb. 10 Bronze von Augusta Traiana (CN 3763)



Abb. 11 Bronze von Pautalia (CN 3108)



Abb. 12 Bronze von Augusta Traiana (CN 3782)



Abb. 13 Bronze von Augusta Traiana (CN 3737)



Abb. 14 Bronze von Augusta Traiana (CN 3710)



Abb. 15 Bronze von Perinth (CN 2617)



Abb. 16 Bronze von Perinth
(CN 2619)



Abb. 17 Bronze von
Hadrianopolis (CN
6749)



Abb. 18 Bronze von Pautalia
(CN 4935)



Abb. 19 Bronze von Hadrianopolis (CN 6750)

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19 Traces of Thrace in the North-Western Black Sea on the Coinage of Tyras

Sergei A. Kovalenko

Abstract

The ancient city of Tyras can be considered an indicative example of a small provincial town that existed in alien barbarian environment over a long period of time. Situated in the north-western corner of the Black Sea region, on the border between Scythian and Getic tribes, the city was obviously faced with the challenge to survive and establish appropriate relations with the local population. Until recently, the evidence of Tyrian coins as a reflection of local peculiarities and the city's position as an integral part of some bigger political, cultural, and religious entity has not been sufficiently appreciated. This paper attempts to show that, despite its remoteness from the main Greek centres in Thrace and Moesia, Tyras could have nevertheless been involved in historical events, of which we are informed by literary and epigraphic sources. A study of Tyrian coinage from its start in the Hellenistic period until its termination in the first half of the 3rd century AD has been used to confirm this suggestion. An analysis of coin typology, especially that of issues dating from the turn of the 2nd to the 3rd century AD, also allows for the assumption that Tyras developed according to the same trends as better known Greek poleis of Thrace and Moesia in this period.

Keywords

Tyras, local coinage, barbarian environment, regional identity

The history of ancient Tyras (modern-day Belgorod-Dnestrovskiy), which was most likely a Milesian colony founded in the second half of the 6th century BC on the right bank near the mouth of the modern Dniester River (ancient Tyras), still contains many uncertainties (Fig. 1). Due to the scarcity of literary sources,¹ investigations into the archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic finds originating from the city and its surroundings are of great importance. Archaeological excavations of ancient Tyras, conducted since the beginning of the last century, have been the main source of empirical evidence, which allows us to reconstruct various aspects of the city's existence, as well as to write detailed essays on its history, culture, religion, and coinage during various historical periods.²

The remoteness of Tyras from the main centres of Hellenic civilization on the western and north-western Black Sea coast, as well as its location in the very heart

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1 For a comprehensive survey of the ancient written tradition on Tyras, cf. Karyškovskij and Klejman 1985, 5–18.

2 Karyškovskij and Klejman 1985; Son 1980; Son 1993; Zograf 1957; Frolova 2006.

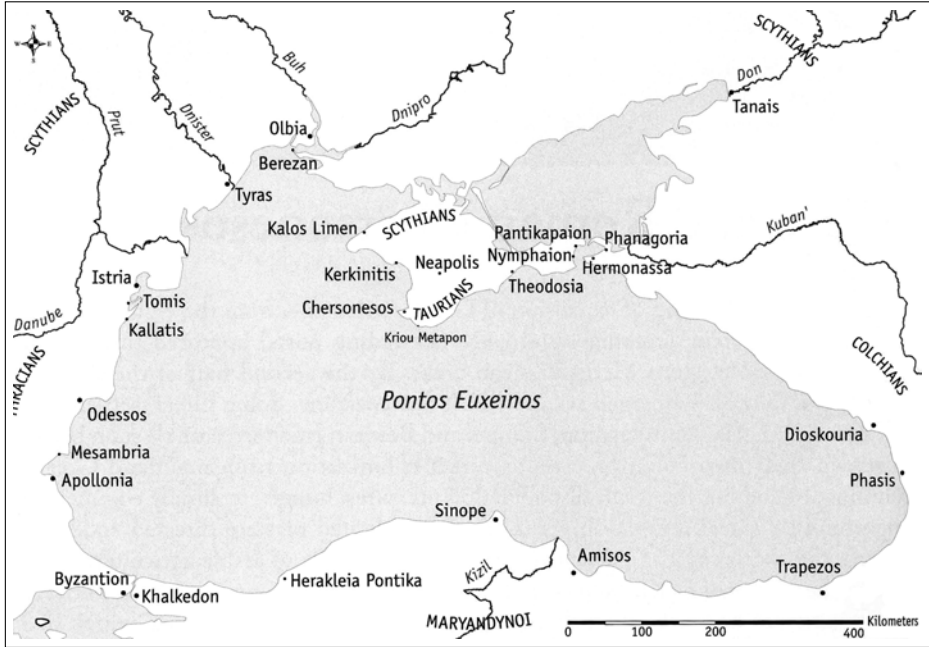


Fig. 1 The mints of the Black Sea region

of barbarian territory on the border between Scythian and Thracian (Getic) tribes, has raised the question of the city's survival in surroundings that were not always friendly. As far as our sources allow us to judge, the solution to this problem lay in seeking a balance between the desire to preserve Hellenic identity and the necessity to adapt to the alien barbarian environment for the sake of survival and development. It seems that such a balance was achieved partially through the controlled penetration of barbarian elements into the polis due to interethnic marriages, exploitation of the barbarian slaves, and trade with the barbarian hinterland, as well as through various peace and friendship agreements with the tribal chieftains.³ Such contacts with the barbarian world inevitably caused the assimilation of some elements of the barbarian culture and religious representations by the Greek population of the city. On the other hand, one can say that Tyras was included within the multi-level network of Greek cities of the western Black Sea region, which existed there during even the earliest periods. Often based on a kind of trade, military, religious, or even monetary alliance,

3 On the finds of North-Thracian types of handmade pottery dated to the 4th century BC in Tyras, see Klejman and Son 1983, 49; Krykin 1988.

such a system of relations was especially important for remote provincial cities such as Tyras and became one of the prerequisites for the preservation of such cities as islands of Greek civilization in the barbarian sea.

The coinage of Tyras started relatively late, around the middle of the 4th century BC,⁴ and, apart from the very first silver issues, was almost exclusively represented by bronze. The importance of this coinage as a source of information regarding the city's possible participation in various alliances and treaties is still underappreciated. Recently, having analyzed some Tyrian coin issues, I suggested the existence of allied relations between this polis and Lysimachos, the king of Thrace, in the first quarter of the 3rd century BC.⁵ Production of the gold *Lysimachi*, though short-lived and reduced in number, might be considered as evidence for the deliberate aspiration by the city authorities to include Tyras in the monetary circulation of the Thracian poleis at the end of the 3rd century and into the 2nd century BC.⁶

The gradual growth of barbarian pressure on the Greek poleis of the western and north-western Black Sea reached its culmination in the time of Burebistas, when some local Hellenic settlements were destroyed by the Getai. We do not have precise information on the fate of Tyras. Scholars believe that the city, which did not possess strong military potential, was either destroyed as well or had to recognize the power of Burebistas.⁷ The death of the latter in 44 BC and the subsequent collapse of his state, as well as the advance of the Romans to the mouth of the Danube and Dobrudja, changed the situation. Odrysian kings became Roman allies and were assigned the duty of protecting the Greek cities in the region.⁸

It can be suggested that in the first half of the 1st century AD, Tyras established close relations with Thrace. Bronze coins and one silver coin of the last Odrysian dynasts,⁹ as well as a fragmentary dedicatory inscription of the son of the Odrysian king found in Tyras excavations and dating to the turn of the eras,¹⁰ might testify to this. Also noteworthy is the increase in finds of Getic pottery that is observable from the early 1st century AD and seemingly indicative of intensive penetration of the Thracian population into the city.¹¹ After the Getic devastation in the middle of the 1st century BC, production of coins in Tyras ceased for a century. Demands of the local monetary circulation were met by both the city's old coins and the foreign ones that included

4 Cf. Zograf 1957, 21–23.

5 Kovalenko 2014, 324–326.

6 Alekseev 2005–2009, 287–289.

7 Karyškovskij and Klejman 1985, 81.

8 Son 1993, 17.

9 Karyškovskij and Klejman 1985, 86–87, figs. 28–29; Son 1993, 18.

10 Karyškovskij and Klejman 1985, 87–88, fig. 30.

11 Karyškovskij and Klejman 1985, 85.

the aforementioned Thracian issues and Roman coins. The majority of these foreign coins bear rectangular countermarks with the letters 'TYP' or oval countermarks with the image of a beardless male head wearing wreath and diadem. The same image appeared on the obverse of the extremely rare Tyrian coins representing the first city issue after the lapse of a century. The legend on the reverse, IEPAC CYNKAHTOY, allows for the identification of the obverse type as a personification of the Roman Senate.¹² The emergence of these coins and, correspondingly, the resumption of coin production in Tyras are dated to the beginning of the second half of the 1st century AD.¹³

The preserved epigraphic documents permit the conclusion that important changes in the political and administrative system of Tyras took place at approximately the same time.¹⁴ In AD 57, a new era was introduced in Tyras. In unanimous scholarly opinion, it happened because Tyras became part of the province of Moesia.¹⁵ The city was turned into an important base of Roman power on the north-western Black Sea coast. During the first centuries AD, Tyras was of particular importance as a centre of transit trade. It was integrated into the network of the river, maritime, and overland trade routes connecting Dacia with West Pontic cities, as well as with the provinces of Moesia and Thrace. As epigraphic materials testify, the city had its own trade fleet,¹⁶ and the land route leading along the coast to Mesembria and Byzantion went through it. The road from Tyras to Dacia was built under Trajan.¹⁷ Tyras was mentioned as one of the waypoints of the itinerary connecting Moesia Inferior with the Chersonesos and Bosphorus on the map decorating the back of the leather shield found in Dura-Europos.¹⁸

From the moment of resuming coin production in the middle of the 1st century AD until its cessation in the second quarter of the 3rd century AD, Tyrian coinage demonstrates features characteristic of Roman imperial coins, representing portraits of the emperors and members of the imperial family together with relevant legends on the obverses. Tyras did not issue autonomous or pseudo-autonomous coins any longer. During the imperial period, Tyrian coinage was developing along the same lines as coinages of the large cities of Thrace and Moesia. This is true of the system of denominations, as well as the repertory of images used as reverse types.¹⁹ A hypothesis

12 Kocievskij 1982, 120, no. 4.

13 Karyškovskij and Klejman 1985, 88, note.

14 *IOSPE I²*, 2 and 4.

15 Karyškovskij and Klejman 1985, 90–93, with literature.

16 Son 1993, 78.

17 Son 1993, 78–79; Karyškovskij and Klejman 1985, 96–97.

18 Karyškovskij and Klejman 1985, 96.

19 Cf. Gardner 1876, 307–314; Pick 1898, 74–75, 82; Zograf 1957, 34, 50–51.

that the same artists engraved dies for the coins of Tyras as for those of other Moesian poleis has been put forward.²⁰ The likelihood of such a suggestion is confirmed by the fact that the same obverse die was used to produce coins of Gordian III in Odessos, Tomis, and Marcianopolis, as mentioned by von Sallet.²¹ The same system of letter indication of the coin denominations was used on the coins of no fewer than ten cities of the western Black Sea region, including Tyras. It allowed Gardner to postulate the existence of a monetary league of the West Pontic cities.²² The systematic use of a certain type of reverse for each denomination is noteworthy, as well.²³ However, the application of the letter indications did not have the regular and homogenous character which one would expect in the case of the actual existence of a monetary league or union. There are gaps that are hard to explain in the usage of these letters on the coins of various mints considered to have been possible members of the league. Therefore, one should rather consider the wish to facilitate identification of the bronze denominations, as well as their exchange to Roman coins, which, along with the local issues, played an important role in the region's everyday monetary circulation.²⁴ Metrological analysis of the Greek bronze coins of Moesia and Thrace in the Roman period suggests the existence of a special weight system, which considerably facilitated trading and monetary operations and had a small coin of 2.5–4.0 g as its unit.²⁵

As noted above, Tyrian coinage of the imperial period has been the subject of scholarly research in special articles, as well as in general catalogues and numismatic corpora.²⁶ As a result of this research, detailed classification and chronology of the coin issues were developed, the repertory of coin images was studied, and its important role for the reconstruction of religious beliefs in the city during the first centuries AD was established. The only reason I turn again to this thoroughly investigated material is that it may still conceal surprises which allow for more detail or even provide new information on some aspects of the city's history and religion.

Of particular note are the coin issues of Tyras that date to the Severan period. It was a special time in the city's history, marked by the rise in trade, the blossoming of economic life, and the considerable increase in the volume of coin production.²⁷ Epigraphic monuments testify that Tyras had enjoyed trade privileges granted by Septimius Severus in AD 201.²⁸ The Roman military garrison was stationed here, as

20 Zograf 1957.

21 Sallet 1888, 195, no. 16.

22 Gardner 1876, 307–314.

23 Zograf 1957, 34.

24 Schönert-Geiss 1985, 468–469.

25 Schönert-Geiss 1990, 26.

26 For recent literature on the Tyrian coinage, cf. Frolova 2006, 140–143. See also Peter and Stolba 2015, 44–45.

27 Karyškovskij and Klejman 1985, 123; Son 1993, 74.

28 *IOSPE* I², 4; Zograf 1957, 14.

well as one of the bases of the Roman navy.²⁹ In AD 214, the Roman troops, perhaps under the command of Emperor Caracalla himself, defeated tribes of Karpoi that intruded on the boundary of the Roman Empire near Tyras.³⁰

The coinage of Tyras under Septimius Severus is characterized not only by an increase in quantity, but also by changes in design. During this time, the reverses of the largest denominations started to show changing images and, along with the earlier invariable depiction of Cybele, those of Heracles, Demeter, Dionysus, Nike etc. appeared.³¹ In Zograph's view, the Tyrian mint authorities might have initiated this special series of coins at this time in order to commemorate the aforementioned grant of trade privileges. This series was marked by the especially high quality of the coin images, likely made by a single artist.³²

The reverses of some coins of a larger denomination struck under Septimius Severus and bearing a portrait of Caracalla on the obverse were taken up by the new type of galloping or stationary horseman, which was identified by Zograph and others as Caracalla or Septimius Severus.³³ Such a conclusion seems to be logical if one takes into consideration the practice of giving the features of Septimius Severus and Caracalla to other reverse images of the large denomination, such as Heracles.³⁴ A galloping or stationary horseman becomes a widespread reverse type in the coinages of the Greek cities of Moesia and Thrace from the 2nd century AD.³⁵ Schönert-Geiss noted that the use of equestrian emperors' depictions in these coinages, along with images of emperors on ships, in carriages, or in hunting scenes (so-called *Kaisertypen*) might have been connected either with the emperor's visit to this polis, with the movement of the Roman troops through it, or with some local events that remain unknown to us. Such types might also have emerged as imitations or borrowings from the coinages of other centres.³⁶

The study of the Tyrian coins with the reverse type of a stationary horseman struck under Septimius Severus revealed an unexplained detail overlooked in Frolova's catalogue descriptions. I should underline at once that such coins were unknown to Zograph. On one of the specimens from the Paris collection (Fig. 2) one can clearly

29 Karyškovskij 1979, 86–87; Karyškovskij and Klejman 1985, 99.

30 Karyškovskij 1979, 88; Karyškovskij 1980, 72–80; Karyškovskij and Klejman 1985, 128.

31 Zograf 1957, 35, 41.

32 Zograf 1957, 39–40.

33 Zograf 1957, 101 nos. 83–83a, 104 nos. 93–93a, 113 nos. 108–108a-b; Anochin 1989, nos. 528, 534 and 549; Frolova 2006, types XXI, XXII, XXXIV and LIX.

34 Noted already by Zograph. See Zograf 1957, 52.

35 Cf. Pick 1898, nos. 319 and 326 (Kallatis), 492–493 (Istros); Pick and Regling 1910, no. 2230–2231. (Odessos); Schönert-Geiss 1967, 229–230.

36 Schönert-Geiss 1967, 217–227.



Fig. 2 Tyras, coin of Caracalla (AD 209–211).



Fig. 3 Tyras, coin of Caracalla (AD 209–211).

see a small altar below the raised foreleg of the horse.³⁷ The presence of such an altar is also possible on a coin from the collection of Grandmezon in the State Historical Museum.³⁸ In the book by Anokhin, another such specimen was published (Fig. 3).³⁹ Frolova registered a total of 11 coins of Tyras with the type of the stationary horseman struck under Septimius Severus (not taking into consideration the coin published by Anokhin, whose provenance remains unknown). Seven of these coins are illustrated. As mentioned above, an altar is present on two of these coins, absent on three of them, and the very poor preservation of the others does not allow us to say something definite in this respect. Meanwhile, I believe that the presence of such an altar as an attribute of cult practice allows us to suggest another interpretation of the reverse image in general and to identify it not as the emperor, but as some divine personage. Such an iconographic scheme resembles one of the variants of the depiction of the Thracian Rider-god on the epigraphic and sculptural monuments, as well as on some civic coins of Thrace and Moesia Inferior.⁴⁰ The cult of this syncretic god becomes especially popular in the Roman period,⁴¹ and the iconographic type might have originated from Greek art—namely, from funerary reliefs with images of the heroized dead.⁴² Thousands of votive and funeral reliefs with the Thracian Rider, mainly from Roman times, are known. He is depicted galloping, hunting, or stationary in front of a female figure, a tree entwined by a snake, or an altar.⁴³ Two votive stone reliefs of the 2nd–3rd centuries AD with the image of the Thracian Rider-god were found in Tyras.⁴⁴ These finds, as well as the emergence of Thracian personal names in the city's

37 Frolova 2006, pl. XLL2 = Type LIX, no. 6.

38 Frolova 2006, pl. XL.10 = Type LIX, no. 1.

39 Anochin 1989, pl. XXXI.549 = Frolova 2006, 103, type LIX (note to no. 2).

40 Pick 1898, 157; *IGBulg* II, 509, 534, 752 and 848; *IGBulg* III, 1285, 1403 and 1412.

41 Chieikova 2007, 56; Dimitrova 2002, 209–210.

42 Dimitrova 2002, 220.

43 Dimitrova 2002, 209–210; Nicolae 2011, 163.

44 Karyškovskij and Klejman 1985, 118–119; Son 1993, 111.



Fig. 4 Tyras, coin of Severus Alexander (AD 222–235).



Fig. 5 Tyras, coin of Severus Alexander (AD 222–235).

prosopography of this time, have been connected with the presence of the Thracians as part of a Roman garrison or of auxiliary troops stationed in Tyras.⁴⁵

To what extent the cult of the Thracian Rider was widespread among the local Greek population remains an unsolved question, as no monument of undoubtedly local origin bearing relation to this cult has been found in Tyras. However, the use of a coin type that might be compared with the widespread image in the Thracian territory and normally associated with the Thracian Rider, who combined functions of several deities in imperial times, would hardly have been accidental. In view of the aforementioned marble votive reliefs with depictions of this deity found in Tyras, it seems improbable that this coin type was just a simple mechanical borrowing from the coinages of the larger Thracian and Moesian poleis. It has often been underlined that the imperial coins of West Pontic cities are an important source of our knowledge about the religious life of their inhabitants.⁴⁶ Therefore, it is plausible that the emergence of the equestrian coin type in Tyras was caused by the existence of a local cult of the rider-god or some similar syncretic deity that incorporated the features of the former. The official character of this cult is confirmed by putting such an image on the city coins. This suggestion might be considered an additional piece of evidence of Tyras' participation in the complex process of the evolution of religious and cultural representations that was taking place in the Greek poleis of the Roman provinces of Thrace and Moesia, as well as in the barbarian hinterland, during the first centuries AD.

A very rare coin issue of Tyras from the time of Severus Alexander, known in only two specimens and classified by Frolova as Type VI, might testify to the same.⁴⁷ One of these coins originates from the former Grand Duke's collection (Fig. 4), and the second one is housed in the British Museum (Fig. 5).⁴⁸ The preservation of both specimens is

⁴⁵ Son 1993, 111.

⁴⁶ Cf. Karyškovskij and Klejman 1985, 116; Peter 2005, 109.

⁴⁷ Frolova 2006, 110 nos. 1–2, pl. XLV.5–6.

⁴⁸ Frolova 2006, 110.

very poor, the former being known only through photographs in the article by Giel and books by Pick and Zograph.⁴⁹ As with the coins of Septimius Severus considered above, the coins in question bear an image of a stationary horseman on the reverse, which has been interpreted by all scholars as an emperor. Careful study of the image, however, led to the observation that the horseman wore a headdress, which might be identified as a *kalathos*. This detail testifies that the personage depicted is not an emperor, but a syncretic god combining features of Serapis and the Thracian Rider.⁵⁰ Such images are known on the coins of Istros, the nearest Greek city to Tyras, dating to the first third of the 3rd century AD (Fig. 6).⁵¹ Their emergence is considered today as a reflection of a new tendency that started at the beginning of the 3rd century. This was the gradual merging of highly prominent deities worshipped throughout the empire, such as Serapis, with local cults such as those of the rider-god and Theos Megas, who were popular in Thrace and Moesia.⁵² It is noteworthy that the cult of Serapis had been known in Tyras since Hellenistic times.⁵³ Judging by the coinage, its transformation in the imperial period developed in the same way as in other cities of the West Pontic area, which had close economic, political, and cultural links with Tyras.

The coinage of Tyras under Severus Alexander demonstrates one more peculiar feature. All large denominations bear a six- or eight-rayed star and crescent beside the main type on the reverse. Zograph, who first drew attention to it, underlined that explaining the meaning of these symbols had to be a task for future scholars.⁵⁴ Neither Anokhin nor Frolova, however, tried to approach this problem in their general works on the Tyrian coinage. Meanwhile, the usage of such additional symbols in the Roman provincial coins of Thrace and Moesia is unknown and, as far as I can see, is a unique phenomenon. The relatively small size of the Tyrian coinage under Severus Alexander⁵⁵ excludes the possibility of these symbols being signs of some sort of administrative or fiscal control over emissions. Obviously, their presence only on the larger denominations, near images of the deities depicted on the reverse, is not accidental. On the small coins with a reverse depiction of an eagle with wreath, these symbols are absent.⁵⁶

49 Giel 1895, pl. XVIII.13; Pick 1898, Taf. XIII.5; Zograf 1957, pl. X.4.

50 The state of preservation of two more coins of Type VI with a depiction of the stationary horseman on the reverse, unfortunately, does not allow us to judge whether he wore a *kalathos* or not. See Frolova 2006, pl. XLV.3-4.

51 Pick 1898, nos. 492-494, 503-504, 509-510 and 516.

52 Peter 2005, 110-111; cf. also Pick 1898, 157.

53 *IOSPE I*², 5; Karyškovskij and Klejman 1985, 78; Son 1993, 114.

54 Zograf 1957, 43.

55 Frolova registered in all fewer than 40 coins of 11 types. Frolova 2006, 107-111.

56 Frolova 2006, pl. XLV.7-9.

The star and crescent on the coins of Tyras appear near images of Cybele (Fig. 7), Heracles, Dionysus (Fig. 8), Demeter, Nike (Fig. 9), Serapis-rider, and the river god (Fig. 10). If putting such additional images on the coins did not have a practical purpose, one can only suppose that they had to have had some symbolic meaning and somehow corresponded with the main types of the reverse.

During all periods of Tyrian imperial coinage, the depiction of the goddess on her throne was a special reverse type of the large denominations.⁵⁷ Despite the occasional absence of her attributes,⁵⁸ one can interpret this image as that of the Magna Mater or Cybele, whose cult became one of the main city cults in Tyras in the first centuries AD.⁵⁹ The cult of the Magna Mater in the Roman Empire reached peak popularity during the Severan period, as epigraphic, archaeological, and numismatic materials testify. In the Danubian provinces, Istros and Tomis were the main centres of this cult on the sea-coast, while Nicopolis ad Istrum and Marcianopolis were the main centres of the interior.⁶⁰

The process of religious syncretism characteristic of the Roman era found its full expression in this very cult. Features of the various deities of the Greek, Roman, Thracian, and oriental pantheons merge in the figure of Cybele. She is goddess of fertility and a patroness of animals and plants and is as such identified with Demeter-Ceres.⁶¹ She is the Great Mother of gods and acts as patroness of women and motherhood. Therefore, she is close to Greek Artemis (and sometimes was accompanied by a deer)⁶² and to the Thracian female deity, who was identified by the Greeks with Artemis.⁶³ The god of vegetation, Dionysus, is also associated with her. According to inscriptions, the same priests could have performed rites in the cults of both deities, and the rites themselves were very close to each other in both.⁶⁴

Cybele wearing the mural crown was considered to have been protector of the cities.⁶⁵ When Romans, hoping for victory and divine support in the Second Punic War, brought the holy meteorite personifying the goddess to Rome from the Phrygian Pessinous in 204 BC, it was placed into the sanctuary of Victoria on the Palatine. Cybele remained partner of the Roman goddess until late antiquity.⁶⁶

57 Zograf 1957, 50.

58 On the specifics of the changing iconography of Cybele in the Roman era, see Tacheva-Hitova 1983, 136–138; Vermaseren 1989.

59 Cf. Son 1993, 112.

60 Tacheva-Hitova 1983, 156; Vermaseren 1989, 116–119, 127–139.

61 Schwenn 1922, 2270, 2280; Rapp 1890–1897, 1897, 1640.

62 Schwenn 1922, 2258; Rapp 1890–1897, 1897, 1643.

63 Tacheva-Hitova 1983, 160–161.

64 Schwenn 1922, 2280; Rapp 1890–1897, 1897, 1659.

65 Schwenn 1922, 2268; Son 1993, 112–113.

66 Simon 1997, 744.



Fig. 6 Istros, coin of Elagabalus (AD 218–222).



Fig. 7 Tyras, coin of Severus Alexander (AD 222–235).



Fig. 8 Tyras, coin of Severus Alexander (AD 222–235).



Fig. 9 Tyras, coin of Severus Alexander (AD 222–235).



Fig. 10 Tyras, coin of Julia Mamaea (AD 222–235).

The spring festival of Cybele included the ritual of washing her statue in the river, and, as the water was an important condition of fertility, its connection with the cult of Cybele is obvious. Cybele acts as the spouse of the river god Sangarius, by whom she gave birth to a daughter,⁶⁷ or she was seen as the wife of the Phrygian river god Gallos, on which bank the ancient centre of her cult at Pessinous was situated and festivals in her honour took place.⁶⁸ Her worship as goddess of the springs goes back to prehistoric times.⁶⁹

She was often depicted along with the Thracian Rider on votive reliefs from Thrace.⁷⁰ A marble relief with images of the Great Mother and Heracles was found in Odessos. It was obviously the chthonic character of their cults that put images of these deities together, as well as the accompanying joint dedication to them.⁷¹

Finally, in the imperial period, Cybele was worshipped as a celestial ruler. She acquired the epithet *Urania*, and a crescent and stars accompany her image on various monuments.⁷² Her cult merges with that of the Carthaginian celestial goddess (*Virgo* or *Dea Caelestis*), who was also worshipped as a heavenly ruler and controlled movements of the moon and stars, directed lightning, and sent fertile rains to the earth. Apart from this, like Cybele, she was a personification of the productive forces of nature and a goddess of fertility.⁷³ Under Elagabalus, who moved the effigy of the Carthaginian goddess to Rome, her cult acquired a state character.⁷⁴ Use of the same ceremonies in the cult practices of both goddesses is noteworthy, in particular those of *taurobolia* and washing the divine statue.⁷⁵ Shrines of Cybele were erected near the temple of the Punic goddess, who, like Cybele, was depicted riding a lion.⁷⁶ It is interesting that Elagabalus personally took part in *taurobolia*, wearing women's clothing and representing Cybele while driving a chariot drawn by lions.⁷⁷ Severus Alexander was far from such exaltation, though he also paid special attention to her cult and sent special food to the spring festivals of Cybele, the *Hilaria*.⁷⁸

67 Rapp 1890–1897, 1897, 1640.

68 Schwenn 1922, 2255–2256.

69 Simon 1997, 745.

70 Tacheva-Hitova 1983, 89–90 nos. 39–40, 98 nos. 55a–56, 106–107 nos. 74–75; Vermaseren 1989, 127 nos. 432–433, 131–132 no. 446.

71 Tacheva-Hitova 1983, 82 no. 20; Vermaseren 1989, 119 no. 396.

72 Rapp 1890–1897, 1897, 1644; Simon 1997, 765; Vermaseren 1989, 89 no. 300, pl. LXXIII.

73 Halsberche 1972, 94.

74 Mundle 1961, 237.

75 Halsberche 1972, 91–92.

76 Schwenn 1922, 2279; Simon 1997, 765.

77 *SHA* 7.1.

78 *SHA* 37.123.

The aforementioned phenomena allow us to suggest that the star and crescent on the Tyrian coins of Severus Alexander might have been symbols of Cybele. They correlate with one of the most important and characteristic features of this goddess, namely her celestial power. Their presence on all varieties of the large denomination (whose special main type was for a long time, in fact, Cybele) reflects the leading position of her cult in the Tyrian pantheon and correlates with the prominent role of this deity in the official Roman pantheon.⁷⁹ The syncretic character of this goddess makes the presence of these symbols near images of the gods connected with the Great Mother, the Mother of Gods, or Cybele quite natural.

However, the logical question arises: why did the need to attract attention to this goddess occur in this manner? If one extends the sequence of assumptions and remembers that Cybele played an important role as city patroness at this time, one may suggest that some important and favourable event might have taken place in the history of Tyras and that this event was ascribed to divine intervention or support. In its turn, it would have caused extraordinary measures to be taken in order to honour the merits of Cybele.

I believe that Tyras joining the alliance of the Greek cities of the Left Pontos (*sinistra Pontus*), which, as epigraphic and written sources testify, existed before the time of Augustus, might have been such an event. Apart from the name of 'Pontos' itself, other terms like 'Pentapolis' or 'Hexapolis' that indicate the number of members of this alliance are known from inscriptions. It is possible to assume that Istros, Tomis, Kallatis, Dionysopolis, and Odessos, i.e. the coastal Greek cities of Moesia Inferior, were its members in the 2nd century AD. Mommsen believed that the provincial borders limited the geographical framework of this union.⁸⁰ A suggestion on the possible membership of Tyras was also expressed, though its location outside the provincial borders prevented support of this assumption.⁸¹ Inscriptions from the time of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius testify that *pentapolis* was replaced by *hexapolis* in the 2nd century. In Pick's opinion, Mesembria, which was included in Moesia Inferior at this time, might have become the sixth member of the alliance.⁸² In the next century, however, the city might have left it when it became part of the province of Thrace. The alliance might have been reduced to five members or might have accepted another sixth member. Tyras, which in the beginning of the 3rd century started to play an important role in the life of the region despite its remoteness from other Greek centres, might have become this new sixth member.⁸³ Joining the city to such an alliance was

79 Tacheva-Hitova 1983, 145.

80 Pick 1898, 70, Anm. 3.

81 Pick 1898, 70.

82 Pick 1898, 72.

83 Pick 1898, 72.

undoubtedly of great reputational and practical value. Like other city alliances of the imperial period, the Pontic alliance was created mainly for the joint organization of festivals and games, as well for the performance of the emperor's cult. Later, the submission of petitions might have become one more kind of activity carried out by the alliance. The existence of the Pontic alliance in the 3rd century AD is evidenced by inscriptions mentioning Pontos or a *koinon* of Greeks and Tomis as its metropolis.⁸⁴

Coming back to the Tyrian coin issues, one can say that Tyrian moneyers realized a peculiar pictorial programme that kept within the strict limits established by imperial regulations for provincial coinage on the one hand and by regional demands permitting access of the city coins to the local market on the other. Tyrian authorities managed to place emphasis on the things that were important for the city and used coinage as a kind of medium for delivering relevant information to everybody who used these coins.

Thus, the observations and suggestions expressed in this paper show that Tyrian coins of the imperial period might still be used as an important source of our knowledge on various aspects of the city's history and that the task of their further investigation is still as real as it was 75 years ago when Zograph published the first corpus of the city's coinage.

84 Pick 1898, 72–73.

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- 4 Frolova 2006, pl. XLV, 5 — 366
- 5 Frolova 2006, pl. XLV, 6 — 366
- 6 Peter 2005, pl. 8.2, 17 — 369
- 7 Frolova 2006, pl. XLIII, 11 — 369
- 8 Frolova 2006, pl. XLIV, 5 — 369
- 9 Frolova 2006, pl. XLIV, 7 — 369
- 10 Frolova 2006, pl. XLVI, 3 — 369

20 Changes of Cultural and Religious Identity through the Iconography of the So-Called Pseudo-Autonomous Coins of the Cities of Roman Thrace

Marina Tasaklaki

Abstract

Thirteen cities of the Roman province of Thrace issued the so-called pseudo-autonomous bronzes with no imperial portrait but the head of a god or hero. These issues ran parallel to the provincial coinages of these cities. Their metrological system is the one used by the city that issued these coins. Thus, these coinages were struck for local use. What distinguishes these coins is their iconography. In some cases, their types refer to the old iconographic traditions of the cities that issued them, e.g. Maroneia. However, some coin types reveal that these served as imperial propaganda, as at Augusta Traiana. The aim of this paper is to trace the changes that occurred during this period and to analyze the impact of the Roman Empire on the religious and cultural life of local societies through the coin types of the pseudo-autonomous issues.

Keywords

Roman Thrace, coins, Roman Provincial coins, pseudo-autonomous coins

Among the most puzzling coins included under the rubric Greek Imperials (coins of the Greek cities issued during the Roman Empire) are those which lack a portrait of a member of the imperial family on the obverse, often designated the pseudo-autonomous series (Ann Johnston)¹

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1 Ann Johnston (Johnston 1985) gives a thorough analysis of the presence of such issues in the broader context of monetary production of the Greek cities. She also comments on the use of the terms 'pseudo-autonomous' or 'coins without imperial portrait' and draws on observations concerning both the use of autonomous types as a way to easily distinguish different denominations and the absence of a direct link with the political status of the city, as Greek cities and Roman colonies issued coins with or without imperial portrait simultaneously and indiscriminately. For the use of the terms autonomous, pseudo-autonomous, or issues without the imperial portrait, see also *RPC* I, 41–42; *RPC* II, 31–32; *RPC* III, 857–858; Κρεμόδη-Σισιλιάνου 1996, 78. In this article, I kept the second term for practical reasons, since it is more broadly employed and is widely accepted that the term does not refer to the political status of the city.

Introduction

Ann Johnston's article is still the starting point for the study of the pseudo-autonomous coins of the cities located chiefly in the eastern part of the Roman Empire.² Indeed, the lack of imperial portraiture, as well as the absence of other information apart from iconography, makes dating and, by extension, the deductions that follow difficult.³ Bearing that in mind, I will first attempt to present the pseudo-autonomous coins from cities in the province of Thrace, integrating them into as secure a chronological framework as possible based on iconographic-stylistic evidence.⁴ It needs to be stressed, however, that this article does not seek to present a full survey of this particular group of coins of the province of Thrace. Instead, I will focus on those iconographic signs that shed light on the religious and civic identity and to possible changes within it.⁵ Only a few chronological observations that emerged from the study will be made here. For this reason there is no coin catalogue attached rather a table of all iconographic types with an indicative reference (Table 1).

- 2 At first, MacDonald (MacDonald 1904) published the pseudo-autonomous coins of Antioch in 1904. Various approaches followed by von Fritze 1917; Mattingly 1960, 198; Franke 1966; Kraft 1972, etc. The aforementioned studies were based on issues of the cities located in Asia Minor. Regarding the pseudo-autonomous issues in Greek cities, see Kraft 1972; Touratsoglou 1988, 82–93; Αγαλοπούλου 1991; Κρεμύδη-Σισιλιάνου 1996, 77–85; Papaefthymiou 2002, 163–166. An important addition to the previous literary references is the 177th volume of the journal *Numismatic Chronicle* published in 2017, where five important articles of R. Bennett, G. Watson, L. Bricault, U. Peter, J. Dalaison, and J. Nurpetlian related to pseudoautonomous coins can be found; see NC 177 (2017), 185–307.
- 3 For the most important chronological points that lead to dating, see Johnston 1985, 97–101. For this article, more than 250 coins have been studied. The majority comes from SNG, *RPC*, *RPC online*, auction catalogues, and, of course, from the corpora of the cities, of which some are out of date (Serdica, Pautalia). There is no access to private collections or unpublished excavation coins and context. Moreover, given the absence of the numismatic corpora of Philippopolis, Plotinopolis, Topeiros, and Anchialos and the velocity that new types appear on the net, a full approach to the topic would be difficult to accomplish.
- 4 The pseudo-autonomous coinage of the cities of Thrace has up to now occupied research in either the context of the monetary corpora of the cities of Perinthos (Schönert-Geiss 1965), Maroneia (Schönert-Geiss 1987), Augusta Traiana-Traianopolis (Schönert-Geiss 1991), Bizye (Jurukova 1981), Hadrianopolis (Jurukova 1987), and Pautalia (Ruzicka 1932–1933) or, in the case of Philippopolis, within the individual study of Kolev (Kolev 1989) and recently of Ulrike Peter, who presented in the International Numismatic Congress in Taormina (Peter 2017). Furthermore, in the case of Hadrianopolis, Kojouharov (Kojouharov 1990) and Draganov (Draganov 1998) published two more new types in brief articles. For the pseudo-autonomous coins of Anchialos at the numismatic collections of Mesembria's museum, see Dimova 2015.
- 5 Reference to the cultural and religious identity, based primarily on issues with imperial portrait of the cities of the provinces of Thrace and Moesia, has already been made by Peter (Peter 2005), while I am going to limit discussion only to those elements that have been detected in pseudo-autonomous coins.

Thirteen out of a total of twenty-one cities⁶ struck coins without an imperial portrait, in both small and medium denominations (Fig. 71, Table 1).⁷ Pautalia, Serdica, and Augusta Traiana produced isolated issues, while most of the cities produced more than one. Regular emissions can only be traced for the mint of Perinthos.⁸ The production of Byzantion is not part of this study, since it belonged to the province of Pontus-Bithynia from AD 75 until the age of Septimius Severus.⁹ Important chronological landmarks consist of the issues during the reigns of Antoninus Pius, Septimius Severus, and Caracalla (Table 2), where it is possible to trace a proliferation of coin production regarding both regular and pseudo-autonomous issues. As for the iconography of the obverse, divinities of the Greek pantheon dominate; of the Panhellenic heroes, only Heracles appears, in many cases as a famous ancestor or founder of the city (Table 3). On the reverse, symbols related to them appear, which give them a distinct character (Table 4). The representations of eponymous heroes such as Anchialos and Perinthos may be considered evident regional themes. There is no hint of the depiction of famous citizens or of personifications of forms of administration like *boule*, *demos*, or the Senate.¹⁰ Finally, there is no coin, so far, that bears a name other than the city ethnic on the reverse, such as a magistrate name.¹¹

6 The absence, of course, from cities like Topeiros, Nicopolis ad Nestum, Traianopolis, and Abdera and the Roman colonies of Deultum and Apros can only mean that, in the case of Thrace, pseudo-autonomous issues were not the rule; see Johnston 1985, 95, 105–106.

7 The small denomination varies in diameter between 14–17 mm and has an average weight of 2.00 g, and the medium one varies between 22–26 mm and weighs 6.50 g. In pseudo-autonomous issues of the province of Thrace, larger denominations of the medallion type (more than 26 mm in diameter and 10 g in weight), like in Asia Minor according to Johnston, are almost absent; see below Footnote 45 Johnston 1985, 97; cf. also Termessos, Pisidia: Gitbud & Naumann 19 (6.07.2014), 425–428; Gitbud & Naumann 16 (4.05.2014), 722; Blaundos, Lydia: Gitbud & Naumann 15 (6.04.2014), 437; Tarsos, Cilicia: Gitbud & Naumann 15 (6.04.2014), 500; Kibyra, Phrygia: Gitbud & Naumann 17 (18.05.2014), 121, etc.

8 Schönert-Geiss 1965, 23–26 and pls. 3–4.74–101.

9 Gerov 1979, 230–231; Marek 2003, 44–62; Baz 2013. For the pseudo-autonomous issues of Byzantion, see Schönert-Geiss 1972, 19–21, 130–150 and pls. 113–131.

10 Not unusual since, except for Philippopolis under Caracalla (Varbanov 2007, 1637 and Varbanov 2019, 150, 325 no. XV.42), we cannot find personifications of Roman or local administrative institutions in regular issues of the Thracian cities, like the Senate, the *boule*, or the *demos*. On the contrary, it is very common in Asia Minor and Bithynia-Pontus, where there was also a cult of Senate; see Johnston 1985, 91–2; *RPC* III 857–858. Both were senatorial provinces in contrast to Thrace, which was an imperial province. For the administration in Thrace, see Danov 1979; Gerov 1970; Gerov 1978; Gerov 1979; Parissaki 2009; Parissaki 2013; Lozanov 2015.

11 In Asia Minor, there are examples with the name of the magistrate or even the name of the emperor, like in Tripolis (*BMC Lydia* 54) and Sala (Auctiones GmbH, e-Auc 13 [17.02.2013], 43), in Lydia, Temenothyrai (*SNGvA* 4003), in Phrygia, etc.; see also Johnston 1985, 93–95.

Pseudo-Autonomous Issues of the First Century AD (Fig. 72)

Until the end of the 1st century AD, only the cities of Perinthos (Fig. 1–7),¹² Maroneia (Fig. 8),¹³ and later Philippopolis (+9–10) issued coins without imperial portraiture.¹⁴ In the province of Thrace, which was newly established by Claudius and still divided according to strategies,¹⁵ only certain self-governed Hellenic cities in the Aegean and Black Sea coastal zones remained powerful.¹⁶ Thus, the identification of a limited number of coins is acceptable. On the issues of Perinthos, Hera, Poseidon, Dionysus, Apollo, Athena, and Heracles are represented,¹⁷ whose worship is testified epigraphically from the Classical period on.¹⁸ The statue of Hera, which is also found on contemporary issues of Nero, was brought to the city by the first Samian colonists, while Herodotus (4.90) already testifies to the presence of a Heraion in the city.¹⁹ Basically, Perinthos chose the representation of divinities that refer to the city itself. One can observe the same thing in the issues of Maroneia, with the emission of types drawn from the Classical period onward.²⁰ Issues from Philippopolis that depict the standing Dionysus with a bunch of grapes or a *kantharos*, as well those bearing the representation of Apollo and the lyre or Artemis with a deer, can be considered essential deities of the city and appeared from the first issues of Domitian.²¹ The

12 Schönert-Geiss 1965, 23–24.

13 Schönert-Geiss 1987, 88, pl. 94.1736–1743; Psoma 2008, 149.

14 Kojouharov 1990 and Peter 2017. More types of pseudo-autonomous coins of Philippopolis one can find in Varbanov 2019, 8–12. Unfortunately this paper was submitted in January 2016; thus at that time there was no access to this important material.

15 The establishment of the strategies in Thrace is a matter of a long-lasting debate; see Mihailov 1967; Gerov 1970; Lozanov 2002; Parissaki 2009; Lozanov 2015, 81–82.

16 Kolendo 1998. Along with the establishment of the province by Claudius, he maintained the status of strategies, which had been introduced by Philip II, and only the cities of Abdera, Maroneia, Ainos, Perinthos, Anchialos, and Apollonia Pontike kept a relative autonomy, enabling them to continue minting their own coins.

17 Schönert-Geiss 1965, 23–24, pls. 3–4.

18 Sayar 1998, 3 (AD 195, Ποσειδών), 61 (3rd to 1st centuries BC, theophoric/divine names: Διονύσιος, Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἀπολλόδωρος, Ἡρακλείδης, Ποσιδεῖος), 63 (3rd to 1st centuries BC, Διονυσίου), 289 (1st to 2nd centuries AD, Ἡρα).

19 Schönert-Geiss 1965, 55–56.

20 Dionysus' figure and his main attributes appear in Maroneia's coinage from the second half of the 5th century BC (Psoma 2008, 183).

21 It seems that Philippopolis acquired the right to strike coins in the time of Domitian, although it was one of the first cities conquered by M. Terentius Varro Lucullus on his way to confront Mithridates VI Eupator (Topalilov 2012, 365). Kolev (Kolev 1989) was the first who studied the pseudo-autonomous coins of Philippopolis, citing four types: Apollo/griffin, Apollo/tripod, Hermes/caduceus, and Hermes/tripod. He dated all of them to the era of Domitian. Since then, new types have appeared, like the type of Artemis/deer. Inevitably, a new chronological order has been proposed here; see also Peter 2017. During the Flavian dynasty, the transformations that took place, mainly structural (Topalilov 2012, 368–370; Topalilov 2005), justified the necessity for striking coins, both

common element among all of these is the presentation of the protector gods of the city and their basic attributes, a combination that refers to the glorious Greek past of the cities and to their earlier coinage.

First Half of the Second Century Until the End of the Antonine Dynasty (Fig. 73–74)

During the first half of the 2nd century AD, a broad increase in provincial coin production can be observed. As far as the province of Thrace is concerned, this increase was a natural consequence of the gradual implementation of the urbanization program on the mainland and of the parallel abolition of strategies placed in the reign of Trajan or Hadrian.²² Thus, pseudo-autonomous issues have been identified in six out of the fourteen active mints of the period.

The principal themes are nearly exclusively Apollonian and Dionysian, with elements that reference the basic characteristics of these gods. The worship of Apollo with epithets such as *Zerdinos* and *Kendreisos* during Roman times reveals the syncretism that took place among the local Thracian deities and the Panhellenic deity.²³ Apollonian topics dominate at Perinthos (Fig. 11–18), while at Apollonia (Fig. 19–20)

for economic reasons and for reasons related to the city's pride (on the occasions for minting coins, see *RPC III* 868–873). Along with Perinthos, Philippopolis is the only other active mint of the province. They both struck coins in large denominations and medallions. The city was expected to start issuing pseudo-autonomous coins with the depictions of the main deities of the city, Apollo (Gočeva 1988; Gočeva 1992; Peter 2005, 109) and his sister, Artemis, who, in the case of Thrace, was strongly connected with Bendis since the Hellenistic period; see Deoudi 2010 and Janouchová 2013. The contemporary medallions of the city depict the personification of the city and the river god, Hebros.

- 22 In the particular period under consideration, a significant increase of provincial mints has been registered, especially in the eastern part of the Roman Empire, with the number of active mints reaching 380 (Yarrow 2012, 429). For the common dies or mobile mints in Asia Minor, see Kraft 1972, 60–66; Johnston 1974; Yarrow 2012; Watson 2017; Watson 2019. For die-sharing in Thrace and the possibility of the existence of common mints, see Schönert-Geiss 1991, 14–16; Schultz 1999; Peter 2005, 112. For possible minting reasons for the Antonine period, see Ziegler 1996; Gitler 1990–1991.
- 23 For the cult of Apollo in Thrace and the syncretism with local divinities, see Gočeva 1977; Gočeva 1988; Gočeva 1992; Rabadjiev 2015, 447–448; Dana 2015, 254. See also the wide dispersion through the inscriptions; for Philippopolis: *IGBulg V*, 5435: [κυρίῳ Ἀπόλλων[ι Κενδρεισῶ]; *IGBulg III.1*, 1457–1462: Ἀπόλλωνι Ζγούλαμηγῶ; for Augusta Traiana: *IGBulg III.2*, 1744: [Ἀπ]όλλωνι Ζερδ[ηνῶ]; *IGBulg V*, 5591: Ἀπόλλωνι Δαυτερηνῶ; *IGBulg V*, 5617–5621: [Ἀπόλλωνι] Τηραδεην[ῶ]; *SEG* 53, 646: Ἀπόλλωνι Συδιηνῶ; for Pautalia: *IGBulg IV*, 2110: κυρίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι Τραδιηνῶ; for Serdica: *IGBulg IV*, 1930: κυρίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι Ζελαηνῶ; *IGBulg IV*, 2025: Ἀπόλλωνι Σκοδρηηνῶ; for Anchialos: *SEG* 53, 643.1: [Ἀπόλλων]ι Καρσηηνῶ; for Perinthos: Sayar 1998, 50: Ἀπόλλωνι Λυκίῶ; for Plotinopolis: *IThrAeg E459*: Ἀπόλλωνι Κερσ[ηνῶ]; for Bizye: Dumont and Homolle 1892, 376.62d: Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀλσηηνῶ; *ABSA* 12 (1905/06), 178.3: [Ἀπόλλ]ωνι Πα[κτυ]ηνῶ; for Traianopolis: *IThrAeg E457*: Ἀπόλλωνι Σιρηνῶ.

and Philippopolis (Fig. 21–24), the coinage bears themes solely related to Apollo and his main attributes (tripod, caduceus, raven, and griffin).²⁴

The reception of Dionysus is related. Inscriptions testify to his worship at Augusta Traiana, Bizye, Maroneia, Pautalia, Philippopolis, and Serdica, and also to the existence of mystery associations in the region in the Hellenistic period.²⁵ He was depicted as the god of wine and viticulture on the issues of Bizye (Fig. 25–26), Perinthos (Fig. 27), and Plotinopolis (Fig. 28–29).

At this time, nevertheless, the first iconographic signs that reveal an attempt to connect the local tradition with the Roman scene and with the emperor himself can be detected. An issue of Bizye with an enthroned Dionysus on the obverse is of particular interest (Fig. 30).²⁶ It bears the inscription ΔΙΟΝΥCΘ ΚΤΙCΤΗ. In Asia Minor, there are many examples of this type,²⁷ and all of them were the result of the more general trend of projecting foundation stories from the imperial mint during the celebration of the 900th anniversary of Rome in the time of Antoninus Pius.²⁸ Is the issue of Bizye dated to the time of Hadrian the earliest example, as Jurukova has claimed? Or was it entered into the pre-existing framework, projecting Dionysus as founder with the addition of the inscription to ensure the transmission of the proper message?²⁹

- 24 Regarding the relation of Apollo and the raven, there are two tales in Greek mythology. In the first, the raven was originally a white bird turned black by Apollo since it brought bad news for his lover, Coronis, the mother of Asclepius. In the second story, Apollo himself took the form of a raven to battle the Titans when the Olympian gods were fighting for dominion of the world. On the other hand, the griffin guarded the gold of the Hyperboreans, the birthplace of Leto, and Apollo rode one. Apart from ravens and griffins, snakes, wolves, dolphins, deer, swans, cicadas, hawks, and mice were included among the sacred animals of the god; see also Hekster 2002b, 366–367. For Apollo, see Graff 2009, 39, 77; Fumo 2010, 209–215 and <http://www.theoi.com/Olympios/Apollon.html> where all related literary sources are gathered.
- 25 Slavova 2002. For the origin of Dionysus' cult, see Fol 1990; Rabadjiev 1998; Shepart 2008 and Gočeva 2009. See also the inscriptions: for Philippopolis: *IGBulg* III.1, 957 [ἀνέθη]κεν θεῶ Διονύσῳ; *IGBulg* III.1, 1055 Διονύσῳ καὶ Ἡρακλῆ; for Augusta Traiana: *IGBulg* III.2, 1650 Διονύσῳ δῶρον; *IGBulg* III.2, 1671 οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον; *IGBulg* V, 5579 τὸ ξόανον τῷ βακχείῳ; *SEG* 39, 649 σπεῖρη...μαγαρεύς...; for Serdica: *IGBulg* IV, 1925b δοῦμου ταῖς μυστηρίαις; *IGBulg* IV, 2022 Διονύσῳ .αταλδε[.]ουηνῳ; *IGBulg* IV, 2026 κυρίῳ Διονύσῳ ..ταγη[νῳ] Ἀηταγη[νῳ]; *IGBulg* V, 5684 κυρίῳ Διονύσῳ; for Bizye: *IGBulg* V, 5659 βωμόν Διὶ καὶ Διονύσῳ; *IGBulg* III.2, 1862, 1864; for Perinthos: Sayar 1998, 56 τῷ Βακχείῳ; for Pautalia: *IGBulg* IV, 2195 κυρίῳ Διονύσῳ Μυτοργηνῳ; *IGBulg* IV, 2230 Κυρίῳ Διί, Ἥρα, Ἑρμῆ, Ἡρακλῆ, Διονύσῳ, Ἀφροδείτη; *IGBulg* V, 5873 [Δ]ιον[ύ]σῳ.
- 26 Jurukova 1981, 15–16. See also Nollé 2018.
- 27 The earliest example of the type of the seated Dionysus as *Ktistes* is found in Nikaia of Bithynia in the time of Antoninus Pius; see SNGvA 7017, CNG 72 (14.06.2006), 1149, CNG 237 (21.07.2010), 76; Yarrow 2012, 443. Of the same period comes an issue of Nicopolis (*BMC Epirus* 8) with the head of Augustus on the obverse as a founder of the city bearing the inscription ΑΥΓΟΥCΤΟC ΚΤΙCΤΗC and Fortuna on the reverse with the inscription ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΕCΘC (Kraay 1976). The proposed date, however, is AD 125–150 due to the inscription; see Kraay 1976, 244–245.
- 28 Yarrow 2012, 441–443.
- 29 There is evidence that leads me to question the date proposed by Jurukova (Jurukova 1981, 15–16) and to propose the period of Antoninus Pius, particularly the earliest years of his reign. The writing of the letters Y and ω, more or less unusual, is found in the first as well as in the 2nd century AD. In Thrace especially, we can see epsilon (Y)

One can place the issue with Zeus and a city gate (Fig. 31) into the same framework.³⁰ Zeus is also identified on other pseudo-autonomous issues of the period, as well as on coins with the imperial portrait (Fig. 32–33). The catalyst for the production of this issue could be the construction of towers under Julius Commodus,³¹ an aspect that would refer simultaneously to the local identity of the city and to the ruler. The connection of a basic patron deity with construction work is not found on other pseudo-autonomous issues, in contrast to their representation that abounds on issues with imperial portraits during this time and afterwards.³²

Another example comes from Maroneia, where the upright Dionysus and Capricorn (Fig. 34), a symbol of Augustus, is repeated on the city's issues under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.³³ The symbol also occurs on *denarii* of the imperial mint, and, as far as Maroneia is concerned, it could be connected with Hadrian's visit to the city. It could also be indirectly connected to the attempt of the emperors to legitimize their dynasty and to create a link to the glorious Roman past and to Augustus.³⁴

In the time of Commodus, pseudo-autonomous issues are identified for the first time at Pautalia and Hadrianopolis, moving in two different directions. In Pautalia, there is

in Sabina's issues in Bizye (Jurukova 1981 no. 10; CNG 125 (26.10.2005), 140), but not together with the letter omega (ω). The omega is seen in issues of Septimius Severus and his sons. It is found on issues of Hadrianopolis under Septimius Severus (Varbanov 2005, 3359), of Maroneia under Antoninus Pius (Varbanov 2005, 4114–4115), of Perinthos under Nero (Varbanov 2007, 22) and Hadrian in the name of Sabina (Varbanov 2007, 100), of Serdica under Caracalla (Varbanov 2007, 2118), and, lastly, of Abdera under Antoninus Pius (Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, nos. 932–953). Moreover, Dionysus first appears on coins of Antoninus Pius and is known as a founder from an issue under Antoninus of the Bithynian Nikaia (see Footnote 27). On the other hand, the theme of the river god and the personification of the city is not part of Bizye's repertoire, so it cannot provide any further information.

30 Jurukova 1981, 16. She attributes the male head on the obverse to Poseidon. However, no epigraphic evidence testifies to the cult of Poseidon in Bizye, while there are no coins with the depiction of the god. Iconographic similarities with Perinthos' Zeus (CN 2143), which is also dated back to the same period, indicate that he is Zeus and not Poseidon. Besides, the depiction of Poseidon on coins in both Roman Thrace and in Asia Minor is rare and is always related to cities with a naval tradition like Anchialos (Varbanov 2005, 52), Byzantion (Varbanov 2005, 1882, 1950), or Perinthos (CN 5471) and, finally, is common during the Severans.

31 Taşlıklioğlu 1971 II: 67,1.

32 The depiction of city gates with towers surmounted by sculptural works of art is one of the first topics that appears in Bizye's coinage and has a long tradition until the end; see Jurukova 1981, nos. 2, 5, 7, 30–31, 94, 135, 137 and Varbanov 2005, 1421, 1452, 1466, 1480. Also, the inscription Taşlıklioğlu 1971 II: 67,1 refers to the construction of the towers of the city's wall at the time of Julius Commodus in approximately AD 155.

33 Schönert-Geiss 1987, pl. 94, no. 1736; cf. Schönert-Geiss 1987, pl. 91, nos. 1701–1704 (Hadrian), pl. 92, nos. 1705–1706 (Antoninus Pius); Psoma 2008, M158–159 (Hadrian), M160 (Antoninus Pius); Capricorn on the reverse is also found on issues of Carian Alabanda along with Artemis on the obverse (SNGCop Caria 8; Roma Numismatics, e-Sale 7 (26.04.2014), 666), and on Lydian Tralleis along with Helios (Gitbud & Naumann 8 [6.10.2013], 225). For the Capricorn as a symbol of Augustus, see Barton 1995; Weisser 2005.

34 For Hadrian's visit to Thrace, see Halfman 1986, 194, 201, 208; Schönert-Geiss 1987, 87 (note 3); Birley 1997, 262, 279; Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 345 (note 4) with further bibliography; Topalilov 2011; PRC III.2, 794. Regarding the attempt of Roman emperors to connect themselves with the glorious Roman past and especially with Augustus, and to establish the continuity in their dynasty, see Hekster 2009; Yarrow 2012, 432; Barnes 2008.

only one issue to discuss (Fig. 35). The chief god of the city, Asclepius, was present on the obverse, while his symbol appeared on the reverse. Epigraphic testimony, as well as excavation finds, confirms the extent of the city's Asclepeion.³⁵

At Hadrianopolis, Heracles appears with a club (Fig. 36). In fact, it is nothing other than a faithful copy of Roman issues of the year 192 and refers to Commodus' attempt to be identified with the mythical hero (Hdn. 14.8; Dio Cass. 73.17).³⁶ This coin, although rare among provincial issues,³⁷ nevertheless fits within the framework of the use of symbols and assimilations on the part of the emperors as a legitimizing paradigm. In the case of Heracles, it began with Trajan and then, apart from a few isolated examples, started up again under Commodus and Caracalla.³⁸

Pseudo-Autonomous Issues of the Severans (Fig. 75)

In this last period, at the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century, pseudo-autonomous issues have been identified at nine mints out of a total of twenty. Egyptian deities, Heracles, and Hermes are dominant. Asclepius also appears, while the chthonic nature of the gods Dionysus and Demeter is emphasized through the representation of the *cista mystica* on the reverse among cities such as Perinthos (Fig. 38) and Plotinopolis (Fig. 39). Inscriptions found around the province of Thrace indicate that *Kistaphoros* or *Kistophoros* was the name that the initiates of the Dionysian guild bore.³⁹

Issues with Serapis' head can be found in Anchialos (Fig. 40–41), Augusta Traiana (Fig. 42–43), Hadrianopolis (Fig. 44–45), and Perinthos (Fig. 46–48). Although the presence of Egyptian deities in coastal Thrace had a long history that began with the period of its occupation by the Ptolemies,⁴⁰ their representation on coins was rare at

35 Ruzicka 1932–1933, 29–30, 39–40; Peter 2005, 107 (note 4); Dana 2015, 254.

36 Silver *denarii*, *sestertii*, and *asses* were struck in AD 192 depicting Commodus as Heracles on the obverse and a club on the reverse; see *RIC* III 251–522, 637, 644; *BMC* 343, 711–712, 725. On the other hand, only a few cities like Egyptian Alexandria, Kyzikos, and Dionysopolis in Moesia did the same; see Yarrow 2012, 439–440. Apart from coins, the most famous work of art is the statue of Emperor Commodus as Heracles which was discovered in 1874 in the Horti Lamiani (the gardens of Lucius Aelius Lamia, Capitoline Museum MC 1120). For Commodus as Heracles, see Hekster 2001; Hekster 2002a; Hekster 2004; Hekster 2005.

37 I am not aware of other pseudo-autonomous issues with Heracles wearing a lion-skin on his head. In Perinthos (Fig. 37) and Phoenician Tyros (*RPC online* IV.3, 6826), Heracles' head is bare, and the lion-skin is on his shoulder.

38 Kaiser-Raiss illustrates a *sestertius* where Hadrian dons a lion scalp, Kaiser-Raiss 1980, 61–63; Palagia 1986; Hekster 2001; Hekster 2002a; Hekster 2004; Hekster 2005; Yarrow 2012, 439–440.

39 Slavova 2002.

40 Ptolemaic occupation of Thrace in the 3rd century BC left traces in both the epigraphic and numismatic records. The earliest inscriptions date back to the middle of the 3rd century BC and come from Mesembria (*IGBulg* I² 322.3, 323, 329, 329.2, 341). Inscriptions referring to Egyptian deities and religious clubs have also been found in Maroneia (*IThrAeg* E182–183, E199–200, E205, E212–213), Perinthos (Sayar 1998, 42–43), Anchialos (*IGBulg* V,

first, until the practice changed fundamentally during the time of Septimius Severus. At this point, a particular emphasis was placed on the representation of the Egyptian triad: Isis, Serapis, and Harpokrates. Moreover, the worship of the Nilotic divinities points to Caracalla himself (Table 5).⁴¹

A second thematic commonality is the representation of Heracles and other local heroes, such as Perinthos or Anchialos. In the case of Anchialos, the eponymous hero of the city is represented with Asclepius on the reverse (Fig. 49–50).⁴² In two other issues of Perinthos, we find the hero on the obverse and subjects related to Heracles on the reverse like the depiction of his club or his third labour, the capture of the Ceryneian Hind (Fig. 51).⁴³ Other coins allude to the city, such as the one that depicts Tyche Poleos holding an agonistic crown (Fig. 52).⁴⁴ A coin worth mentioning is one

5133), and Apollonia Pontike (*IGBulg I*², 391.9). At the same time in numismatics, Greek cities in Thrace like Perinthos adopt types related to Egyptian gods (Schönert-Geiss 1965, 4, 14 and nos. 31–58). For the Ptolemaic presence in Thrace, see Psoma 2008, 248; Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 281–282.

- 41 For the representation of Egyptian deities on the coins of Thrace, see Tacheva-Hitova 1983; Tram Tam Tinh 1998; Peter 2001; Peter 2005, 112 and Bricault 2017. In Plotinopolis, there is also a coin of Caracalla with the depiction of Hades abducting Persephone. It is unique for the region of Thrace, but this type is abundant in cities in Asia Minor where there is evidence of the existence of plutonium and the cult of Hades-Serapis; see Τασακλάκη and Κουτσουμανής 2012. For the representation of Egyptian deities in Asia Minor, see Dunant 1973; Talloen 2001, and Bricault 2017. In general: Vidman 1970; Witt 1971; Turcan 1989; Dunant 1980; Takács 1995; Bricault 2001. With regard to their presence in provincial circles, Dunant argues that the worship of Egyptian deities could be considered as the official cult of the Roman Empire, probably the result of imperial propaganda (Dunant 1980, 120). Their cult in Thrace was instigated under the Severans by the presence of Roman soldiers, as well as by commercial transactions conducted between the two regions; see Auffarth 2014. For the devotion of Septimius Severus, see Gorrie 1997, 19–21, esp. note 88.
- 42 Anchialos has four types of pseudo-autonomous coins: Anchialos/Hygieia, Anchialos/Asclepius, Serapis/Isis r. and Serapis/Isis l. According to Dimova (Dimova 2015, 15–18), the types of Anchialos/Hygieia, Serapis/Isis r., and Serapis/Isis l. should be dated to the time of Antoninus Pius, while the type of Anchialos/Asclepius should be dated to the time of Commodus. Nonetheless, Asclepius, Hygieia, and Isis are part of the Severan iconography of the city's issues, and, later, the writing of the letters also points to the Severans. Further questions arise from the different way of writing the name of the hero and the city's ethnic on the type of Anchialos/Asclepius. There are three combinations: ANXIAAOC/ANXIAAEEΩN, AΓXIAAOC/ANXIAAEEΩN, and ANXIAAOC/AΓXIAAEEΩN. In the time of Commodus and Septimius Severus, the letter E is rounded as E. In the time of Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius, the *ethnikon* is written both ways, with N and Γ. In the time of Caracalla, the *ethnikon* is written only with the letter Γ and linear E. The arrangement of X is the same in reigns of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Caracalla. Thus, I deem possible that the type had been repeated by the Severans (types ANXIAAOC/AΓXIAAEEΩN and AΓXIAAOC/ANXIAAEEΩN), while the first type (ANXIAAOC/ANXIAAEEΩN) could be dated to the time of Marcus Aurelius. Similar is the case of Perinthos, where the hero first appears on the reverse of a coin of Marcus Aurelius (see Perinthos CN 2527–2533). The depiction of a local hero and Asclepius is also found in Phrygian Dokimeion (*SNGvA* 3547, 3rd century AD).
- 43 For Perinthos, the eponymous hero of the city, see Schönert-Geiss 1965, 53–54, pl. 8, no. 203. See also BYZAS of Byzantium (Schönert-Geiss 1972, 20–21, pls. 125–127, nos. 2032–2074), TOMOS of Tomis in Moesia Inferior (Gitbud & Naumann 9 [3.11.2013], 318), and KYZIKOC of Kyzikos (Roma Numismatics, e-Sale 14 [27.12.2014], 165, time of Severans)
- 44 This is the only pseudo-autonomous coin in the province of Thrace that has a diameter of 32 mm; see Footnote 7. There are similarities with issues of the city under Gallienus (Gitbud & Naumann 13 [16.02.2014], 39).

from Bizye that does not bear the inscription KTICTHC and depicts the guardian goddess of the city, Artemis (Fig. 53), whose statue on top of the tower is represented. This image was issued under Septimius Severus and can be found on later issues under Philip I.⁴⁵

At this time, Heracles was put forward as the founder of Hadrianopolis (Fig. 54–58) and Perinthos (Fig. 59–62).⁴⁶ On the obverse of the issues of Hadrianopolis, the bearded head of Heracles is always represented, while various iconographic themes inspired by his labours are depicted on the reverse. These topics are widespread in the coinage of the cities of the province of Thrace (Table 6).⁴⁷ At Perinthos, their distinctiveness lies in the inscription of the first and second *Neokoria*,⁴⁸ by which we have the first secure sign of their chronological inclusion in the years of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Severus Alexander. Of the thirty-seven cities that were honoured with the title of *Neokoros* from the time of Augustus and given the privilege of erecting a temple for the worship of the emperor, twenty-nine issued coins with the inscription of *Neokoria*, and only twelve struck pseudo-autonomous coins with various iconographic types.⁴⁹ The decision to inscribe *Neokoria* on the coins was nothing more than the desire to advertise that the city had the emperor's goodwill. For Perinthos, this held particular importance because it was the first *Neokoros* in the province of Thrace.

The attempt to make a connection between an indigenous element and the general ideological framework of imperial culture, especially during the Severan dynasty with their attempt to form a new ideology, is probable. The interest in Heracles was particularly strong, as was that of Dionysus, the patron god of Septimius Severus' homeland, Leptis Magna.⁵⁰ Their worship certainly could have been established by

45 Varbanov 2005, 1520, 1521; Gorny & Mosch 196 (7–9.03.2011), 2017. For coins of Philip I with a city gate and the statue of Artemis, see also Lanz 149 (24.10.2010), 502; Lanz 154 (11.07.2012), 449; Gorny & Mosch 170 (13.10.2008), 1690.

46 Apart from Hadrianopolis and Perinthos in Thrace, Heracles as KTICTHC also occurs on issues of Moesian Kallatis (CNG 224 [16.12.2009], 319) and of Phrygian Temenothyrae (CNG 90 [23.05.2012], 1066).

47 Twelve different iconographic types were struck by the mint of Hadrianopolis in general (see Table 6). Two of those types belong to Commodus' reign. As for the others, they should all be dated to the beginning of the 3rd century AD, probably more to the last years of Caracalla's reign. According to Jurukova (Jurukova 1987, 17, 242), the types of Heracles on the obverse, Heracles on a lion, Heracles and erotes, Heracles and the Lernaian Hydra, and Heracles with club on the reverse all belong to the time of Gordian III. However, similarities in stylistic features with coins of Caracalla, especially as far as the treatment of the portrait of Heracles and Caracalla is concerned, in combination with the fact that the portraits of Gordian without paludamentum are so rare, make this plot stronger.

48 For the imperial cult, see Friesen 1993; Burell 2004; Iosa 2010. In the province of Thrace, only two cities had been honoured with the title of *Neokoros*: Perinthos under Septimius Severus and his sons and later under Elagabalus and Severus Alexander (Burell 2004, 236–242 and Raycheva 2015), and then Philippopolis under Elagabalus (Burell 2004 243–245).

49 Burell 2004.

50 Gorrie 1997, 23, 301–316.

Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius,⁵¹ but it was Septimius Severus who gave them an honoured position as *dii patrii* at the Secular Games of AD 204.⁵² The connection of Caracalla with Heracles also derived indirectly from his attempt to assimilate himself with Alexander.⁵³ Evidence of this phenomenon is the pseudo-autonomous issue of Hadrianopolis with Heracles resembling young Caracalla.⁵⁴

Of particular interest are the coins of Hermes and the caduceus. They are found on issues of Ainos (Fig. 63), Bizye (Fig. 64), Perinthos (Fig. 65), Philippopolis (Fig. 66–67), and Plotinopolis.⁵⁵ We also find the caduceus on a pseudo-autonomous issue of Serdica, represented instead with the head of a helmeted Athena (Fig. 68) and with Hermes in Ainos with a goat on the reverse. Herodotus (5.7) mentions that Hermes was worshipped by the Thracian kings as their ancestor, while epigraphic testimony of the Roman period locates his worship at Pautalia, Augusta Traiana, Perinthos, and Philippopolis. At Philippopolis, the figure of Hermes with the caduceus in one case and the tripod (Fig. 69) in the other is of particular interest, as both are symbols of Apollo found on pseudo-autonomous issues of the same city (Fig. 21–22). It is known that the city celebrated games for youths and adults every four years in the gymnasium. Hermes was the patron of the ephebic games, and the tripod, which is connected to Apollo as the main divinity of the city, forms an implicit reference to the prizes that were given at theatrical games in his honour.⁵⁶ The simultaneous production of the type of Hermes and the caduceus in Philippopolis, Perinthos, Bizye, and Plotinopolis, as well as in Byzantium, cannot be explained only by the existence of mobile mints and the use of common dies that were established in this period.⁵⁷ Perhaps, if we accept that it was a matter of anniversary or special occasion issues, they can be connected with the athletic and theatrical contests that were performed under the Severans and possibly in the presence of Caracalla.⁵⁸ These coins were minted by the Thracian *Koinon*, by Perinthos and even by Byzantium (Fig. 70), which was part of the province of Thrace by this time.

51 Gorrie 1997, 302; Palagia 1986.

52 For the Secular Games, see Gorrie 1997, 25–32. For the imperial patronage of Hercules and Bacchus, see Gorrie 1997, 301–304.

53 Palagia 1986, 150.

54 Draganov 1998, 225, no. 15.

55 For the coin, see *Coin Project Plotinopolis* PC1011 (photo credit Tom Mullaly): <http://www.coinproject.com/siteimages/31-PC1011.jpg>.

56 For the theater of Philippopolis, see Bouley 1996; Topalilov 2012, 30–37; for the games in Thrace, see Leschhorn 1998; Peter 2013. In general for the theatrical games playing a central role in the religious life of the city, see Edwards 1993, 98–136; Salzman 2013, 478–496.

57 See Footnote 22 above.

58 Levick 1969; Boteva 1999; Boteva 2013; Peter 2013, 103, 106–117.

Pseudo-Autonomous Coins and Religious-Cultural Identity

After a short chronological presentation of the pseudo-autonomous coins of the cities of the province of Thrace and a discussion of the iconography that relates to aspects of identity, some points will be suggested regarding the choice of themes over time and their correlation with the expression of local identity.

At first, the arrangement of the coins themselves, i.e. of the types on the obverse and reverse and the inscription of the city name that references the pre-Roman issues, formed the city's identity. In other words, it was an attempt to express their memory in face of change. Their production was also an element of civic identity. Perhaps their use was occasional and complementary to the medals produced mostly under the Severans,⁵⁹ which were struck by each city for important events, e.g. for the visit or worship of an emperor, the construction of a public work, or the production of games. Their difference lies in their audience, with the medals aimed at the local elite and the pseudo-autonomous coins oriented toward a wider group.

Regarding the iconography, the uniformity in types and forms cannot be observed until the end of the 1st century. Indeed, each city, in its attempt to preserve its ethnic and civic identity, projected its own character through clearly local types, such as Maroneia and Perinthos. It seems that people who find themselves under political duress use these types as a means to strengthen their spirit and boost their differences in the face of new events.⁶⁰ The introversion of the inhabitants of Thrace when they were turned to Roman rule expressed itself with a new boosting of local religion, but gradually ended up even at this very level, in the Romanization of Thrace at the end of the 2nd century.

During the first half of the 2nd century, the selection of themes was connected with two different audiences: the local community, using the representation of myths and divinities that referred to the cities' past and to their religious identities and the local elite, the *legatus* of the province and the emperor, through the connection with the imperial ideology. Geopolitical changes contributed the most to the turn toward the acquisition of imperial goodwill. With the gradual implementation of the Thracian urbanization program on the mainland (the foundation and re-foundation of cities) under Trajan, and with the new form of government with its parallel abolition of strategies – which was streamlined by the construction of new major roads that helped to access problems and strengthened the sense of community among people – the

59 There is an increase in the production of medals in the Severan time, the majority of which bear iconography related to Hercules' labours and the imperial cult, see Table 6.

60 Pettazzoni 1967, 90–91.

initial zones of coastal Thrace and of the inland gave way to a zone of the province with a shared religious-political base.⁶¹

From Commodus onward, the syncretism of ancient Greek deities with Thracians passes onto a different phase with their connection to imperial worship, as well as with the effort of the rulers to assimilate their features. The panhellenic hero Heracles, as well as local heroes were known, but their chronological representative parallels referred to the past as well as the future through their connection with imperial decisions. It is also clear that the concept of local identity pertained to the borders of the province. Common elements of Roman rule were put forward, which, on the basis of the regular issues as well as from the study of pseudo-autonomous coins, seem intimately connected with a Roman ideology and the changes that followed each dynasty. The goal was to highlight the close relationship with the emperor. The long term presence of the Severans in Thrace, starting when the founder of the dynasty used Perinthos as his military base during the civil war against Niger, was the determining factor. At the same time, the appearance of *Neokoria*, the official cult of the emperor, in Perinthos twice within a decade confirms it.

Conclusions

One might expect that pseudo-autonomous issues could chiefly form a field of free expression of local identity through the selection of iconography. Since the imperial portrait was missing, the targeted group was the inhabitants of the polis itself, and the circulation remained local. There are no local topics already extant in issues with imperial portraiture, such as depictions of Orpheus or Eumolpus, Orpheus and Eurydice, Hades and Persephone, the mountains Rhodope and Haimos, or the three rivers (the Hebros, Tonzos and Arteskos).⁶² Nonetheless, what we could suggest, although much work still needs to be done on the provincial coinage of Roman Thrace in general, is the gradual augmentation of themes affected by the contemporary trend of imperial politics. These are themes that, as far as the rich evidence from the pseudo-autonomous issues is concerned, point to the gradual transformation of a strictly local identity to a provincial-imperial identity.

61 Parissaki 2013. The gradual implementation of the Thracian urbanization program launched by Trajan probably was completed by Antoninus Pius in the middle of the 2nd century AD, when almost all cities had their own coins.

62 Peter 2005.

Tab. 1 Types of pseudo-autonomous coins per city

City	Date	Type	Reference
Anchialos	AD 161–180	Anchialus / Asclepius	CN 4996
		Serapis / Isis r.	CN 3959
	AD 192–217	Serapis / Isis l.	CN 3961
		Anchialus / Asclepius	CN 6907
		Anchialus / Hygieia	Dimova 2015, no. 1
Ainos	AD 192–217	Hermes / Asclepius	CN 4985
		Hermes / Goat	Solidus Numismatik 5 (26.04.2015), 126
		Hermes / Caduceus	CN 5963
Apollonia Pontike	AD 138–161	Apollo / Lyre	BnF Paris, 271
		Apollo / Tyche	BM London 1921-2-13-203
Augusta Traiana	AD 192–217	Serapis / Isis	CN 6904
		Serapis / Harpocrates	CN 3700
Bizye	AD 135–145	Dionysus / River God-Demeter	CN 6897
		Demeter / Basket	RPC III, 738
	AD 138–161	Zeus / City Gate	CN 6897
		Zeus / Dionysus	RPC IV, 9313.2
		Zeus / Zeus phiale	CN 6900
		Zeus / Zeus	CN 6899
		Dionysus / Silenus	CN 3853
		Dionysus / Satyr	CN 3854
	AD 192–217	Heracles l. / Artemis	CN 3855
		Heracles r. / Artemis	Private coll. SHH 756
Hadrianopolis	AD 192	Heracles / club	CN 6902
		Athena / Club	Private coll. SHH 4088
	AD 192–217	Hermes / Grape	RPC IV, 10848
		Heracles r. / Bow, club, quiver	BnF Paris, 588
		Heracles l. / Heracles with club r.	CN 6909
		Heracles TON KTICTHN / Eros	CN 6910
		Heracles TON KTICTHN / Heracles fighting Hydra	CN 6913
		Heracles TON KTICTHN / Heracles on a panther	CN 6911
		Heracles TON KTICTHN / Heracles l. with club	CN 6912
		Serapis / Isis	CN 6906
		Asclepius / Telesphorus	CN 6905
Imbros	AD 192–217	Athena / Silenus?	BnF Paris, 1966.453
		Athena / Apollo	BnF Paris, 1934
		Athena / Owl	BnF Paris, 1930
		Athena / Tyche	BnF Paris, 1932
Maroneia	AD 54–68	Dionysus / Grapes	Schönert-Geiss 1987, no. 1739
		Dionysus / Kantharos	Schönert-Geiss 1987, no. 1741
		Dionysus / Dionysus	CN 6860

Tab. 1 Types of pseudo-autonomous coins per city

City	Date	Type	Reference	
	AD 117-138	Dionysus / Capricorn	CN 6901	
Pautalia	AD 180-192	Asclepius / Snake	Hirsch 272 (4.05.2011), 146	
Perinthos	AD 54-68	Tyche / Hermes	CN 2000	
		Dionysus / Hera advancing r.	CN 2019	
		Dionysus / Hera standing	CN 2011	
		Dionysus / Eagle	CN 2022	
		Poseidon / Dolphin	CN 5343	
		Apollo / Basket	CN 2036	
		Apollo / Lyre	CN 2037	
		Apollo / Inscription	CN 2046	
	AD 117-138	Heracles / Headdress of Isis	CN 4328	
		Heracles l. / Zeus	CN 2053	
		Dionysus / Demeter	CN 2091	
		Demeter / Artemis advancing r.	CN 2101	
		Demeter / Pot with grain and poppy	CN 2121	
		Pot with grain and poppy / Two cornucopias	CN 2127	
		Apollo / Artemis advancing r.	CN 2104	
		Apollo / Lyre	CN 2111	
	AD 138-161	Zeus / Eagle	CN 2142	
		Zeus / Apollo with lyre	CN 2143	
		Dionysus / Heracles	CN 4686	
		AD 192-218	Demeter / Cista Mystica	CN 2164
			Hermes / Caduceus	CN 4706
			Heracles / Club	CN 2181
			Heracles / Club covered with lion skin	CN 2188
Heracles TON KTICTHN / Club (inscription)			CN 4689	
Heracles l. TON KTICTHN / Bull r.	CN 2202			
Perinthos / Heracles fighting Cerynean Hind	CN 2201			
Perinthos / Tyche Poleos and emperor	CN 6908			
AD 222-235	Serapis - Isis / Harpocrates	CN 4684		
	Serapis - Isis / Apis advancing r.	CN 4334		
	Serapis / Harpocrates	CN 4685		
	Heracles r. TON KTICTHN / Bull r.	CN 5378		
	Heracles l. ΙΩΝΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙCΤΗ / Club	CN 2203		
	Heracles r. ΙΩΝΩΝ / Club (Inscription)	CN 2223		
	Heracles r. ΙΩΝΩΝ / Bull r.	CN 2224		
	Plotinopolis	AD 138-161	Dionysus / Kantharos	CN 6896
Dionysus / Satyr			RPC IV, temp. 7644.2	
AD 192-217		Dionysus / Cista	CN 6903	
		Hermes / Caduceus	Coin project Tom Mullaly	
Serdica	AD 192-217	Athena / Caduceus	CN 6916	
	AD 81-96	Apollo / Lyre	CN 6861	
		Artemis / Deer	CN 6891	

Tab. 1 Types of pseudo-autonomous coins per city

City	Date	Type	Reference
Philippopolis ⁶³	AD 138–161	Apollo / Tree	CN 32500
		Apollo / Raven	CN 28987
		Apollo / Tripod	CN 6892
		Apollo / Griffin	CN 6895
		Apollo / Caduceus	CN 6893
		Apollo / Artemis	CN 32483
		Apollo / Serpent	CN 32499
		Apollo / Cista	Varbanov 2019, 10 no. I.3.1.
	AD 192–217	Hermes / Tripod	CN 6917
		Hermes r. / Caduceus	CN 6914
		Hermes l. / Caduceus	CN 6915
		Hermes l. / Grape	Varbanov 2019, 10 no. I.4.1.
		Hermes r. / Rooster	CN 39125

Tab. 2 Pseudo-autonomous issues of cities of Thrace

Pseudo-autonomous issues	Claudius	Nero	Domitian	Hadrian	Antoninus Pius	Commodus	Septimius Severus	Caracalla	Geta	Severus Alexander
Ainos							X			
Anchialos					X		X			
Apollonia					X					
Augusta Traiana							X			
Bizye					X		X			
Hadrianopolis						X	X			
Imbros							X			
Maroneia		X		X	X					
Pautalia						X				
Perinthos	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
Philippopolis			X		X		X			X
Plotinopolis					X		X			X
Serdica							X			X

63 For the types of Philippopolis see note 14 above.

Tab. 3 Obverse types of pseudo-autonomous issues

Obverse Types	Zeus	Poseidon	Apollo	Dionysus	Hermes	Asclepius	Serapis	Hera	Demeter	Athena	Isis	Heracles	Local Heroes	Kalathos
Ainos					X									
Anchialos							X						X	
Apollonia			X											
Augusta Traiana							X							
Bizye	X			X	X				X			X		
Hadrianopolis					X	X	X			X		X		
Imbros										X				
Maroneia				X										
Pautalia						X								
Perinthos	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Philippopolis			X		X									
Plotinopolis					X									
Serdica									X					

Tab. 4 Reverse types of pseudo-autonomous issues

Reverse Types	Ainos	Anchialos	Apollonia	Augusta Traiana	Bizye	Hadrianopolis	Imbros	Maroneia	Pautalia	Perinthos	Philippopolis	Plotinopolis	Serdica
Zeus					X					X			
Apollo							X			X			
Dionysus					X			X					
Hermes							X			X			
Asclepius	X	X											
Harpocrates				X						X			
Heracles						X				X			
Silenus					X							X	
Telesphorus						X							
Local Heroes										X			
River God					X								
Eros						X							
Hera										X			
Demeter										X			
Artemis						X				X			
Isis	X			X						X			
Tyche			X				X						
Hygieia	X												

Tab. 4 Reverse types of pseudo-autonomous issues

Reverse Types	Ainos	Anchialos	Apollonia	Augusta Traiana	Bizye	Hadrianopolis	Imbros	Maroneia	Pautalia	Perinthos	Philippopolis	Plotinopolis	Serdica
Gate					X								
Caduceus	X				X					X	X	X	X
Cista Mystica										X		X	
Cup of Isis										X			
Club						X				X			
Capricorn								X					
Kantharos								X				X	
Grapes						X		X					
Apis									X	X			
Eagle										X			
Deer											X		
Goat	X												
Owl							X						
Dolphin										X			
Griffin											X		
Raven											X		
Snake									X				
Lyre			X							X	X		
Tripod											X		
Kalathos					X					X			
Two horns										X			
Inscription										X			

Tab. 5 Egyptian deities as reverse types on coins with imperial portrait

Egyptian Deities on coins with imperial portrait	Pseudo-autonomous issues	Hadrian	Antoninus Pius	Marcus Aurelius	Commodus	Septimius Severus	Caracalla	Geta	Elagabalus	Severus Alexander	Maximus	Gordian III	Philip I	Philip II	Gallienus
Anchialos	X					X	X				X	X			
Augusta Traiana	X					X	X	X	X						
Bizye				X									X	X	
Deultum							X				X	X	X		
Hadrianopolis	X			X	X	X	X							X	

Tab. 5 Egyptian deities as reverse types on coins with imperial portrait

Egyptian Deities on coins with imperial portrait	Pseudo-autonomous issues													
	Hadrian	Antoninus Pius	Marcus Aurelius	Commodus	Septimius Severus	Caracalla	Geta	Elagabalus	Severus Alexander	Maximus	Gordian III	Philip I	Philip II	Gallienus
Mesembria											X	X	X	
Pautalia					X	X	X							
Perinthos	X				X	X			X		X			X
Philippopolis		X		X	X	X	X	X						
Serdica			X		X	X	X							

Tab. 6 Heracles on coins with imperial portrait and Medallions (C = coins, M = Medallions, 1,2,3 ...= numbers of iconographic types)

Heracles on coins with imperial portrait	Pseudo-autonomous issues																
	Nero	Domitian	Trajan	Hadrian	Antoninus Pius	Marcus Aurelius	Commodus	Septimius Severus	Caracalla	Geta	Diadumenian	Elagabalus	Severus Alexander	Maximus I	Gordian III	Philip I	Gallienus
Anchialos					C1		C2	C2						C2	C2		
Augusta Traiana						C1				C1							
Bizye	X					C1			C1	C2						C3	
Deultum													C1	C5			
Hadrianopolis	X				C1		C3	C2	C7	C5					C8		
Mesembria										C1							
Pautalia								C5	C8	C2							
Perinthos	X	C1	C1	C2	C1	C1		M10	M8	M7		C1	M7	M1		M5	C3
Philippopolis						C1	C1	C1	C6	M1	C1	C1	M1				
Plotinopolis					C1												
Topeiros					C1	C1				C1	C3						
Traianopolis																	C1
Serdica							C2	C1	C3	C9	C1						



Fig. 1 Perinthos, Tyche / Herm and amphora (CN 2000)



Fig. 2 Perinthos, Dionysus / Statue of Hera (CN 2011)



Fig. 3 Perinthos, Dionysus / Statue of Hera advancing r. (CN 5346)



Fig. 4 Perinthos, Dionysus / Eagle (CN 2022)



Fig. 5 Perinthos, Poseidon / Dolphin (CN 5343)



Fig. 6 Perinthos, Heracles / Headdress of Isis (CN 4328)



Fig. 7 Perinthos, Apollo / Legend (CN 2046)



Fig. 8 Maroneia, Dionysus / Standing Dionysus (CN 6860)



Fig. 9 Philippopolis, Apollo / Lyre
(CN 6861)



Fig. 10 Philippopolis, Artemis / Deer
(CN 6891)



Fig. 11 Perinthos, Demeter / Artemis
(CN 2101)



Fig. 12 Perinthos, Dionysus / Demeter
(CN 2091)



Fig. 13 Perinthos, Demeter / Pot with ears of
grain and poppy (CN2121)

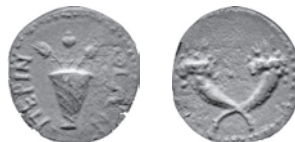


Fig. 14 Perinthos, Pot with ears of grain and poppy
/ Two cornucopiae (CN2127)



Fig. 15 Perinthos, Apollo I. / Lyre
(CN 2111)



Fig. 16 Perinthos, Apollo / Artemis
(CN 2104)



Fig. 17 Perinthos, Zeus / Apollo Kitharodos
(CN 2143)



Fig. 18 Perinthos, Heracles I. / Enthroned Dionysus
(CN 2053)



Fig. 19 Apollonia Pontike, Apollo / Tyche
(CN 28988)



Fig. 20 Apollonia Pontike, Apollo / Lyre
(CN 11293)



Fig. 21 Philippopolis, Apollo / Tripod
(CN 6892)



Fig. 22 Philippopolis, Apollo / Caduceus
(CN 6893)



Fig. 23 Philippopolis, Apollo / Raven
(CN 28987)



Fig. 24 Philippopolis, Apollo / Griffin
(CN 6895)



Fig. 25 Bizye, Dionysus / Silenus
(CN 3854)



Fig. 26 Bizye, Dionysus / Silenus pours wine into a
krater (CN3853)



Fig. 27 Perinthos, Dionysus / Heracles
(CN 4686)



Fig. 28 Plotinopolis, Dionysus / Silenus
(CN 28989)



Fig. 29 Plotinopolis, Dionysus / Kantharos
(CN 6896)



Fig. 30 Bizye, Dionysus / River god – City goddess
(CN 6897)



Fig. 31 Bizye, Zeus / City gate
(CN 6898)



Fig. 32 Bizye, Zeus / Standing Zeus
(CN 6899)



Fig. 33 Bizye, Zeus / Standing Zeus
(CN 6900)



Fig. 34 Maroneia, Dionysus / Capricorn
(CN 6901)



Fig. 35 Pautalia, Asclepius / Serpent-staff
(CN 28990)



Fig. 36 Hadrianopolis, Heracles / Club
(CN 6902)



Fig. 37 Perinthos, Heracles / Upturned club
(CN 2181)



Fig. 38 Perinthos, Demeter / Cista mystica
(CN 2164)



Fig. 39 Plotinopolis, Dionysus / Cista mystica
(CN 6903)



Fig. 40 Anchialos, Serapis / Isis Pharia
(CN 3959)



Fig. 41 Anchialos, Serapis / Isis standing
(CN 3964)



Fig. 42 Augusta Traiana, Serapis / Isis
(CN 6904)



Fig. 43 Augusta Traiana, Serapis / Harpocrates
(CN 3700)



Fig. 44 Hadrianopolis, Zeus / Telesphoros
(CN 6905)



Fig. 45 Hadrianopolis, Serapis / Isis
(CN 6906)



Fig. 46 Perinthos, Serapis-Isis / Apis bull
(CN 4334)



Fig. 47 Perinthos, Serapis-Isis / Harpocrates (CN 4684)



Fig. 48 Perinthos, Serapis / Harpocrates (CN 4685)



Fig. 49 Anchialos, Hero Anchialos / Asclepius (CN 4996)



Fig. 50 Anchialos, Hero Anchialos / Asclepius (CN 6907)



Fig. 51 Perinthos, Hero Perinthos / Heracles capturing Cerynean hind (CN2201)



Fig. 52 Perinthos, Perinthos / Tyche Poleos and Emperor? (CN6908)



Fig. 53 Bizye, Heracles I. / Artemis (CN 3855)



Fig. 54 Hadrianopolis, Heracles I. / Heracles (CN 6909)



Fig. 55 Hadrianopolis, Heracles / Two Erotes (CN 6910)



Fig. 56 Hadrianopolis, Heracles / Heracles on lion (CN 6911)



Fig. 57 Hadrianopolis, Heracles / Standing Heracles (CN6912)



Fig. 58 Hadrianopolis, Heracles / Heracles fighting Hydra (CN6913)



Fig. 59 Perinthos, Heracles I. / Apis bull (CN 2202)



Fig. 60 Perinthos, Heracles I. / Upright club (CN 2203)



Fig. 61 Perinthos, Heracles / Apis bull (CN 2224)



Fig. 62 Perinthos, Heracles / Upright club (CN 2223)



Fig. 63 Ainos, Hermes / Winged caduceus (CN 5963)



Fig. 64 Bizye, Hermes / Winged caduceus (CN 3856)



Fig. 65 Perinthos, Hermes / Winged caduceus (CN 4706)



Fig. 66 Philippopolis, Hermes / Winged caduceus (CN 6914)



Fig. 67 Philippopolis, Hermes I. / Winged caduceus (CN6915)



Fig. 68 Serdica, Athena / Winged caduceus (CN 6916)



Fig. 69 Philippopolis, Hermes / Tripod (CN 6917)



Fig. 70 Byzantion, Hermes / Winged caduceus (CN 577)

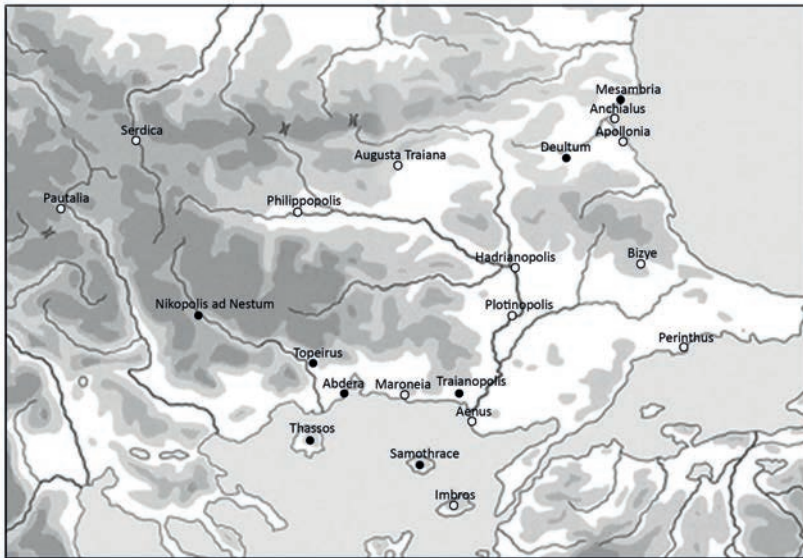


Fig. 71 Mints of Roman Thrace (cities that struck pseudo-autonomous coins are indicated by white circles)



Fig. 72 Mints active in the second half of the 1st c. AD (cities that struck pseudo-autonomous coins are indicated by white circles)



Fig. 73 Mints active in the first half of the 2nd c. AD (cities that struck pseudo-autonomous coins are indicated by white circles)



Fig. 74 Mints active in the second half of the 2nd c. AD (cities that struck pseudo-autonomous coins are indicated by white circles)

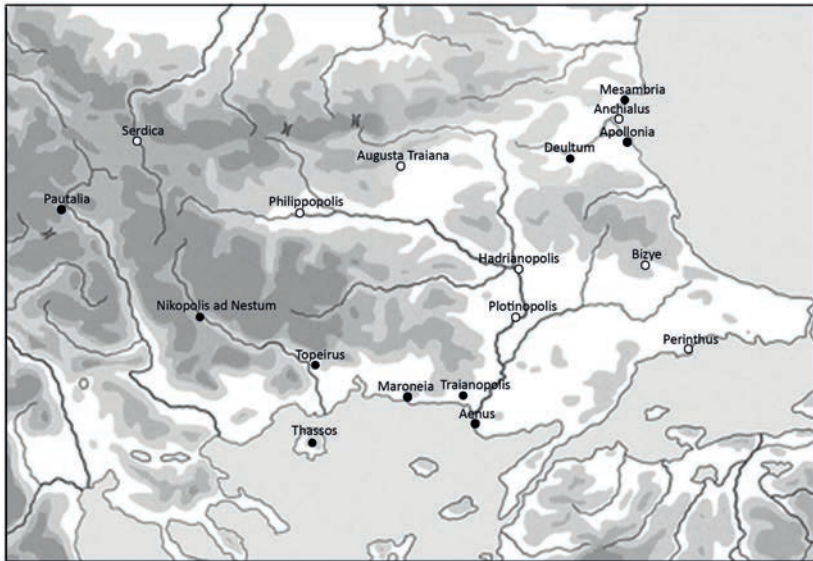


Fig. 75 Mints active in the late 2nd – early 3rd c. AD (cities that struck pseudo-autonomous coins are indicated by white circles)

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21 Emperor Worship and Local Identity in the Coinage of Roman Thrace

Milena Raycheva

Abstract

This paper attempts to create an overview of the known features related to emperor worship in Roman Thracian mints and to observe the extent to which coins can be locally-identifiable in that aspect. The focus is set entirely on coin reverses and especially their iconography as it pertains to architecture, cultic scenes, athletic events, imperial visits, and the language employed in the legends.

Keywords

Imperial cult, identity, Thrace, iconography, temples, games, imperial visits

Introduction

The study of Roman emperor worship traditionally concerns itself with the influences of central authority, as opposed to the expressions of indigenous traditions in the provinces. An ethnically varied province like Thrace allows for the analysis of these two processes on many levels, and numismatic data complements the valuable information obtained from epigraphic and archaeological evidence.

This paper addresses the problem of local identities in Roman Thrace in the context of a universal phenomenon, such as the so-called imperial cult. Did 'identity markers' connected to emperor worship exist in Thracian provincial coinage then, and, if so, did they originate in local contexts or in imperial ideology? More specifically, this study attempts to examine whether such identities are reflected and can be traced in coinage at all. The paper focuses entirely on coin reverses and the possible local iconography of buildings and events that can be related to ruler veneration.

Local identity in the context of Roman imperial art has long been a problematic concept. Attempts to define indigenous traditions in the provinces often prove a genuine challenge, especially for numismatists, as it is rather difficult to discern local initiatives from those that are centrally-decreed in an imperial milieu.

One might compare the risks of studying coin imagery to those of examining sculptural personifications of various peoples and landmarks that played a significant

role in Roman art propaganda since the rule of Augustus.¹ Such personifications served both to illustrate the diversity of regions in the enormous state and to emphasize the power that united them. Naturally, these images expressed the *Roman* idea of the foreigner, even when the execution was provincial.

This imperial approach to identities can be seen in the relief panels of the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias that show regions and peoples subdued by the mighty empire. In those panels we witness a Thracian ‘identity’ personified, too; the tribe of the Bessoï is perceived as a woman in drapes, wearing a Dionysiac headband, a peculiar hat at her feet, and wine-related symbols adorning the garland on the base.² But would ‘the Bessoï’ have chosen the same idea of self-definition, given the opportunity?

We should therefore bear in mind that coin iconography poses similar dangers of confusing or misplacing identities, unless we carefully consider the commissioners and the intended audience of these images.

Imperial Cult Buildings and Coinage

Epigraphic and Archaeological Evidence

One possible direction of our search could be the architectural monuments related to emperor worship and the way they are rendered in coinage. Non-numismatic evidence, e.g. excavations and inscriptions, is very promising in that aspect. Archaeological data from the entire Roman Empire has demonstrated that emperor worship took place in many locations and was not restricted to the sacred grounds of temples only. The reason for that reaches far beyond the awkward situation (for some) of worshipping a living ruler in the abodes typical for the traditional gods.³ One should also remember the great propaganda potential of entertainment buildings, basilicas, bathhouses, open-air venues, and many more, as well as the willingness of cities to produce an ever-increasing number of unparalleled structures in order to keep up with other rival cities. Thus, the Roman East has yielded a striking variety of structures that can be attributed to the imperial cult, without necessarily having a classic *naos* layout. Apparently, there was no particular architectural form that applied exclusively to the ruler cult. The surviving names of emperor-worship structures, whenever referenced in literary or epigraphic sources, are not too specific, either; the terms *Kaisareion* and *Sebasteion* denote a function, not a shape. Since there was no universal pattern (or

1 Smith 1988, 50.

2 Smith 1988, 66–67.

3 See Steuernagel 2010, for a summary of this issue.

official regulation) for either the ground plan or the number of such locations a city can possess, every place demonstrated a different situation.⁴

The same observation holds true for Thrace. Excavations have brought to light a variety of structures, both indoor and outdoor, and certainly not only temple-shaped ones. A good example in that aspect is set by Thasos, where a number of diverse structures related to the imperial cult have been identified, such as the building with a *paraskenia*⁵ and the apse-hall with an over-life-size statue of Hadrian⁶ at the southern corner of the agora. The epigraphic evidence from the province suggests the existence of many other structures that we have not yet discovered, the best known examples being the unidentified temple of Roma and Augustus in Thasos,⁷ and the *Augustium* [*sic*] of Augusta Traiana.⁸

To what extent, however, is this complex situation actually reflected in coinage?

Temples on Coins with City Panoramas

To begin with, it is essential to examine the cases of city panoramas shown on coin reverses and to try to determine if there are any imperial cult buildings recognizable in them. Traditionally, panoramic coins are considered to be realistic, as they show views of cities willing to express identities and taking pride in certain local landmarks.

Depictions of urban landscapes in Thrace are comparatively rare, but the few known instances render detailed and plausible views of the local environment. Some of the best known examples of bird's-eye views come from Bizye (Fig. 1)⁹ and Marcianopolis (Fig. 2),¹⁰ and some recognizable panoramic images were minted in Philippopolis (Fig. 3)¹¹ and Pautalia (Fig. 4).¹² These cityscapes sometimes feature temples as landmarks, as in the aforementioned cases of Philippopolis and Pautalia. However, the temples in question are unmistakably identifiable as shrines of the traditional gods and cannot be linked directly to the imperial cult through any inscription or scene. The presence of a cult statue of the deity with their special symbols (e.g., Asclepius with his serpent-staff in Pautalia)¹³ contradicts any ruler-cult attribution. It seems,

4 Parigi 2015, 1599–1604, for the latest overview of this diversity.

5 The main publication for that building is Martin 1959. Some important remarks and observations are made by Picard 1921, 95–97 and Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 66–67. For the imperial cult interpretation, see Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, 66–70; Martin 1959, 90–91, 98–99; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 155–156.

6 Rolley and Salviat 1963, 548–555.

7 *IG* XII, 8, 380.

8 Dimitrov 1932–1933, 291–295.

9 Jurukova 1981, no. 137; Varbanov 2005b, no. 1521; Bizye CN 3112.

10 Mušmov 1912, no. 805; Varbanov 2005a, no. 1972; Marcianopolis CN 29032.

11 Varbanov 2007, no. 1325; Philippopolis CN 29073.

12 Mušmov 1912, no. 4243; Varbanov 2007, no. 5257; Pautalia CN 29033.

13 Mušmov 1912, no. 4243.

therefore, that none of the urban view reverses shows a building indisputably related to emperor worship, although, as we have seen from the epigraphic and archaeological record, many such venues must have existed. This comes to show that, at least in terms of imperial cult buildings, coinage did not convey the variety of structures that is otherwise attested by excavations.

Neokoros Coinage

The certainly-identifiable imperial cult buildings in Thracian mints, similarly to other parts of the Roman East, appear to be only those where legends are *explicitly* related to emperor worship, i.e. in the *neokoros* coinage. It is usually believed that the temples featured on *neokoros* reverses represent the very shrines for which the titles were conferred on the cities.

Observing the two *neokoroi* of the province, Perinthos and Philippopolis,¹⁴ may give us some valuable insights regarding imperial cult architecture in provincial coinage. We know that the capital of the province received this title twice, whereas the metropolis held it just once for a short period of time. The earliest coin types that record the first *neokoros* title of Perinthos were struck on the occasion of Septimius Severus' second visit to the city and show the emperor on a galley, with a temple on the shore in the background (Fig. 5–7).¹⁵ Although the façade of the temple looks unoriginal, we can accept that the rest depicts realistic topographic elements of a port city with an acropolis, which Perinthos certainly is. Perhaps the exclusive occasion caused the representation of a genuine city situation. However, this individualism is short-lived and later coin types from the same ruler show no local identity markers (Fig. 8).¹⁶ The coins of the second *neokoros* title (presumably since Caracalla, according to the majority of authors)¹⁷ are also hopelessly uninformative, as they show a city goddess with two temple models (Fig. 9),¹⁸ which is by no means different from the conventional temple-bearer imagery known from almost all provincial mints.

The other known certain case of a provincial imperial shrine in Thrace is the very problematic neocorate temple of Philippopolis. Most scholars argue that the sacred building for which the city was granted its *neokoros* status was a pre-existing shrine of the patron god Apollo, worshipped here with the local epithet *Kendrisos*. It is traditionally believed that the emperor Elagabalus must have been accommodated

14 On the two *neokoroi* in the province of Thrace and the history of their titles, see Burrell 2004, 237–245.

15 Schönert 1965, nos. 461 and 463; Burrell 2004, 236–237; Perinthos CN 2617, 2621–2622.

16 For instance, Perinthos CN 2626.

17 Burrell 2004, 237–241, for a concise and updated discussion of the date.

18 E.g., Perinthos CN 2958.

in that temple as a *synnaos theos*.¹⁹ The neocorate temple²⁰ itself is featured on coins of Elagabalus (Fig. 10)²¹ and his wife, Julia Paula (Fig. 11).²² One of the more original depictions in the *neokoros* series of the city is the type which shows Elagabalus and Kendrisos holding a temple together with an agonistic table between them as a demonstration of ‘exchange’ of honours (Fig. 12).²³ The remaining examples only show a very standardized temple that can be seen anywhere in Roman provincial coinage. What is peculiar in the case of Philippopolis, however, is that supposedly the same temple²⁴ of the patron god Apollo can be seen on earlier coins, especially those struck under Caracalla (Fig. 3).²⁵ These earlier issues show a very realistic environment on a hill with trees and many buildings. The temple itself has fewer columns and a cult statue of Apollo; in fact, it is depicted as other temples of traditional gods, with the usual two or four columns and a deity between them. This very temple, supposedly the one that brought the *neokoros* title to the city a few years later, appears larger on the abovementioned coins of Elagabalus and Julia Paula,²⁶ now octastyle and with no surroundings. In the later and contemporary to the title reverses, there are no more emblematic city hills or other markers of local identity depicted. Therefore, we might be witnessing an intentional standardization of a temple that used to be presented in more detail. Similarly to Perinthos, local identity is perhaps omitted on purpose, or rather *neokoros* temples are deliberately depicted identical, as a universally-established symbol. An observation of the other *neokoros* cities of the Roman East indeed reveals a similar tendency everywhere; there are very few examples of actually identifiable *neokoros* temples, and there is usually a discrepancy between the archaeologically- and numismatically-attested buildings.²⁷ Apparently, in the cases of neocorate temples, the standard depiction of octa- or decastyle structures should be regarded as a globally recognizable status, rather than a snapshot of a local landmark.

19 Gerassimov 1935, 128; Mušmov 1924, no. 463; Varbanov 2007, no. 1626.

20 The localization of the temple on one of the many hills in the city is still problematic, with the majority of scholars accepting the *extra muros* Dzhendem tepe in Plovdiv as the most probable venue. See Cončev 1938, 28; commentary by G. Mihailov in *IGBulg* III.1, p. 44–45; Gočeva 1985, 105–108; Gočeva 2000, 161–163; Burrell 2004, 244. For a recent reassessment of the problem and a proposal of an alternative location on a hill inside the city walls, closer to the agora and beside the theatre, see Raycheva 2014, 239–242.

21 Philippopolis CN 33970.

22 Mušmov 1912, no. 5441; Varbanov 2007, no. 1809; Philippopolis CN 29072.

23 Philippopolis CN 3156.

24 Kolev 1969, 7–9. An attempt at a reconstruction of the temple based on the earlier coin is made by Majewski 1977, 200–206.

25 Philippopolis CN 29073.

26 For example, Mušmov 1912, nos. 5435 and 5441.

27 Burrell 2004, 306–312.

Other Architectural Forms Related to Emperor Worship

Apart from reverses with strictly cult buildings, we can direct our attention elsewhere. There are many other elements of urban environments that should be considered in the context of emperor worship, although they are often underestimated as sources, since they are not temples proper. We should examine other features of architecture, such as entertainment buildings and open-air landmarks adorned with imperial statues. These images seem less conventional than the religious edifices discussed previously. They appear to be far more realistic and free from the strict standardization of the temple coins. Moreover, they are known only from specific mints and for limited time periods, which makes them all the more precious for the study of local identity.

Examples in Thrace include mostly city gates, which seem to be a persisting motif in the issues of more than one mint. Among these examples are Marcianopolis with the statues of the Severan family (Fig. 13),²⁸ a similar gate at Nicopolis ad Istrum from the Severans onwards (Fig. 14),²⁹ as well as Plotinopolis,³⁰ Bizye (Fig. 15–17),³¹ and Anchialos (Fig. 18–20),³² which all show quadrigas above the entrances. The cited instances create the impression of individualism, as gates differ from place to place (unlike temples!). Some of these examples feature statues or statuary groups in detailed outdoor environments and most likely reflect realistic situations. An indirect confirmation that such gates truly existed in Thrace can be found in the so-called Arch of Caracalla excavated in Thasos, which bore a honorary inscription for the entire Severan family and was also crowned with an imperial statuary group.³³

28 Mušmov 1912, no. 495; Varbanov 2005a, no. 1040; Marcianopolis CN 29106.

29 Mušmov 1912, no. 1394; Varbanov 2005a, no. 3986; Nicopolis ad Istrum CN 29080.

30 Varbanov 2007, no. 1840.

31 A city gate surmounted by a quadriga was clearly a beloved motif in this city under more than one emperor – cf. Hadrian: Mušmov 1912, no. 3450, Varbanov 2005b, no. 1421, Bizye CN 3857; Septimius Severus: Varbanov 2005b, no. 1452, Bizye CN 29034; Philip the Arab: Mušmov 1912, no. 3502, Varbanov 2005b, no. 1519, Bizye CN 3107.

32 Notably, with two quadrigas in Commodus' rule – Varbanov 2005b, no. 120; Anchialos CN 29081. A city gate is often depicted in the coinage of Anchialos, sometimes with a Poseidon statue above the entrance; cf. Anchialos CN 5791, 5818.

33 Marc 1997[1993], 585–590.

Imperial Cult Events

Athletics

Moving on from the settings to the events, an overview of emperor worship manifestations would not be complete without considering athletic competitions in Thrace.³⁴ The agonistic depictions on coins can be regarded as yet another possible direction to explore identity. There is an impressive number of scenes related to imperial festivals in Thrace. Throughout the 3rd century AD, cities like Perinthos, Philippopolis, Anchialos, and Byzantion held a series of athletic festivals with imperial epithets. Certainly, such events were fashionable in the era of city rivalry and were used to gain imperial favour. We cannot identify any specific Thracian trend in the images. They show athletes before or during the competition, casting lots, or engaging in different sport activities, or we see agonistic tables and prize crowns (Fig. 21–24),³⁵ which are conventional for the entire Roman East.

However different the festivals might have been, the iconography of the agonistic coinage of Thrace does not show any particular originality, not even in the medallions struck on the occasion of the great imperial games in the *neokoros* cities. The only slightly more specific example is the reverse of Elagabalus and Kendrisos in Philippopolis³⁶ mentioned previously, where the otherwise standard agonistic table and temple model are accompanied by an exchange-of-honours scene between the god and the emperor.

The local impulse of Thracian athletic coinage, on the other hand, is obvious in the *name* of the imperial festival in Philippopolis – *Kendriseia* – after the local epithet of Apollo.³⁷

Another specific and very subtle feature of Roman Thracian coinage can be sought in the prominent number of life events of emperors recorded, such as victories, campaigns, promotions, or visits.³⁸ Once again, it is the legend rather than the imagery that

34 For a brief but informative outline of the athletic events that took place in Roman Thrace, many of which bore an imperial epithet, see Leschhorn 1998, 408–414. The most recent comprehensive work on festivals in Roman Thrace is Andreeva 2014.

35 For example, Anchialos CN 5126, Byzantion CN 899, Perinthos CN 2611, Philippopolis CN 767.

36 Philippopolis CN 3156.

37 A similar phenomenon can be observed in Lower Moesia, with the *Darzaleia* games held in Odessos. See Peter 2005, 109–110.

38 Peter 2005, 113.

reflects this. Pautalia (Fig. 25–26)³⁹ and Nicopolis ad Istrum (Fig. 27–29),⁴⁰ for instance, show some originality with their coin reverses occupied by honorific addresses and well-wishing formulas for the emperors.

Imperial Visits

Last, but not least, we should pay attention to the scenes that can be related to imperial visits. They reflect activities of the emperors in a city, such as participation in rituals, celebrating victories, etc. These historical records of visits were used as true manifestations of local pride, since they depicted the special rapport between a particular emperor and a particular city, interacting with its symbols or the population. Moreover, these scenes capture a specific event in the sense of a commemorative photograph. The iconography of such reverses is not commonplace, unlike that of temples and games, and it varies from city to city. The scenes do not reappear in the repertory of the same cities, either. These special and rare instances are possibly our best chances for a glimpse at an imagery that originated from the cities and not from the central authorities.

Such depictions from Thrace are to be expected, mostly from the cities that were on the routes of imperial travels: Perinthos, Philippopolis, Bizye, Augusta Traiana, Pautalia, etc. The known examples are not abundant (but this is naturally so in the other provinces, too), and they usually show the togate or cuirassed emperor performing a sacrifice or interacting with a deity. We should not doubt that these events really happened and that the cities must have been willing to emphasize them. One such example is the previously cited early *neokoros* reverses of Perinthos, showing the arrival of Severus to the shore.⁴¹ Another very emblematic instance is a Geta reverse from Philippopolis, showing an emperor in a sacrificial scene in front of the local patron god Apollo Kendrisos (Fig. 30).⁴² Probably the most remarkable scene in Thrace dates back to Philip the Arab's rule and comes from Bizye. It shows the emperor and his son addressing their soldiers (Fig. 31),⁴³ which perfectly corresponds to the historical events in the area in the context of Philip's military activity.

We must consider, however, that this most original genre of coin themes gained popularity under the early Severans and was in use predominantly in the 3rd century

39 $\text{ΙΣ ΕΩΝΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΥΠΙΟΥΣ ΕΠ ΑΓΑΘΩ ΠΑΥΤΑΛΙΩΤΑΙΣ}$ – on coins with Severus and Caracalla obverses, cf. Ruzicka 1932–1933, nos. 288 and 714; Varbanov 2005b, nos. 4937 and 4974; Pautalia CN 29108 and 29105.

40 $\text{ΕΥΤΥΧΩΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΚΥΠΙΟΙΣ}$, with different Severan family members on the obverses: Septimius, Septimius and Caracalla, Caracalla and Geta; cf. Mušmov 1912, no. 975; *AMNG* I 1625; Varbanov 2005a, nos. 2792, 2828 and 3169; e.g. Nicopolis ad Istrum CN 29107, 29109 and 29110.

41 Perinthos CN 2617, 2621–2622.

42 Mušmov 1912, no. 5380; Kolev 1969; Varbanov 2007, no. 1626; Philippopolis CN 29074.

43 Varbanov 2005b, no. 1560; Bizye CN 29111.

throughout the Roman East. Caracalla's time was especially productive in terms of such imagery, as can be seen in the remarkable sacrificial scenes in front of a temple in Pergamon (Fig. 32),⁴⁴ or the address to the people in the stadium or agora of Laodicea in Phrygia (Fig. 33).⁴⁵ In this sense, we should note that the cities of Thrace follow a larger trend characteristic of the eastern Roman provinces, but, at the same time, they succeed in expressing some individual features.

Conclusions

When studying emperor worship, one inevitably encounters E. Bickerman's memorable sentence that 'there is no such thing as the imperial cult',⁴⁶ which reasonably warns that we are not exploring something universal, but rather a mosaic of religious practices from different regions and cities. Surprisingly enough, Roman provincial coinage does little to justify the diversity that is otherwise indisputably proven by epigraphic evidence and architectural remains. In terms of numismatic imagery, we must admit we are still largely ignorant about the mechanisms of identity construction, especially when it comes to the emperor's cult.

This overview of imperial cult-related coinage leads to a few conclusions about Thrace, although they might well be valid for other eastern provinces, as well.

First and foremost, there is a conspicuous discrepancy between numismatic and all other evidence regarding the architectural aspect of emperor worship in this province. While coin imagery is greatly standard, the archaeological finds show diversity and originality of structures. This phenomenon appears to be the norm rather than an exception in the Roman East. Imperial cult temples are standardized and shown without city surroundings, thus serving as a symbol and not as an expression of *realia*. Despite the archaeological evidence of various sacred or secular structures, it is only octastyle *neokoros* temples that are presented on coin reverses. The only deviation from the general principle seems to be Perinthos, the first *neokoros* city in Thrace, which demonstrated a realistic urban scene in its earliest *neokoros* issues for a short time.

Secondly, a less conservative approach is seen when presenting outdoor monuments that are indirectly involved in ruler veneration. Landmarks adorned with imperial statues, especially city gates, demonstrate that open-air public spaces were shaped and actively used as settings for emperor worship. These structures in Thrace did not

44 Pergamon CN 24882.

45 Boston MFA 1971.45.

46 Bickerman 1972, 9.

observe the strict principles of standardization and the possible top-down approach that was applied to imperial temples.

Another conclusion that can be drawn is that imperial festival coinage also provided little opportunity for the expression of local identity. Apart from the repetitive and unoriginal themes of athletes and prizes, only Philippopolis managed to show some creativity through coin legends and the names of festivals. No matter how sumptuous or innovative the *agones* might have been, their numismatic rendition hardly varied from place to place.

Moreover, the most promising genre of scenes in search of 'local identity' as reflected in coinage appears to be the one that might indicate emperor visits, which deserve some further examination.

Finally, one chronological remark: we should be cautious about the fact that the greatest frequency of original scenes (e.g., city landmark panoramas and imperial visits) in Thrace and all other eastern provinces is observed under the Severans. This imperial family travelled frequently enough and ruled long enough to introduce family ideology and, in fact, encouraged the rivalry of cities and caused the appearance of much previously unseen ruler veneration in the form of architecture, portraiture, and festivals. It is no surprise that coinage representations of this era were generally more varied than in previous decades. In other words, the presence or absence of certain imperial cult structures, formulae, or events in Thrace and other provincial mints depended not only on the indigenous traditions, but also largely on the imperial family's perceptions and indulgence of such expressions of loyalty.



Fig. 1 Bizye, Philip the Arab (CN 3112)



Fig. 2 Marcianopolis, Gordian III (CN 29032)



Fig. 3 Philippopolis, Caracalla (CN 29073)



Fig. 4 Pautalia, Caracalla (CN 29033)



Fig. 5 Perinthos, Septimius Severus (CN 2617)



Fig. 6 Perinthos, Septimius Severus (CN 2621)



Fig. 7 Perinthos, Septimius Severus (CN 2622)



Fig. 8 Perinthos, Septimius Severus (CN 2626)



Fig. 9 Perinthos, Caracalla (CN 2958)



Fig. 10 Philippopolis, Elagabalus (CN 33970)



Fig. 11 Philippopolis, Julia Paula (CN 29072)



Fig. 12 Philippopolis, Elagabalus (CN 3156)



Fig. 13 Marcianopolis, Caracalla (CN 29106)



Fig. 14 Nicopolis ad Istrum, Elagabalus (CN 29080)



Fig. 15 Bizye, Hadrian (CN 3857)



Fig. 16 Bizye, Septimius Severus (CN 29034)



Fig. 17 Bizye, Philip the Arab (CN 3107)



Fig. 18 Anchialos, Commodus (CN 29081)



Fig. 19 Anchialos, Caracalla (CN 5791)



Fig. 20 Anchialos, Maximinus Thrax (CN 5818)



Fig. 21 Anchialos, Caracalla (CN 5126)



Fig. 22 Byzantion, Elagabalus (CN 899)



Fig. 23 Perinthos, Septimius Severus (CN 2611)



Fig. 24 Philippopolis, Caracalla (CN 767)



Fig. 25 Pautalia, Septimius Severus (CN 29108)



Fig. 26 Pautalia, Caracalla (CN 29105)



Fig. 27 Nicopolis ad Istrum, Septimius Severus (CN 29107)



Fig. 28 Nicopolis ad Istrum, Septimius Severus & Caracalla (CN 29109)



Fig. 29 Nicopolis ad Istrum, Caracalla & Geta (CN 29110)



Fig. 30 Philippopolis, Geta (CN 29074)



Fig. 31 Bizye, Philip the Arab (CN 29111)



Fig. 32 Pergamon, Caracalla (CN 24882)



Fig. 33 Laodicea, Caracalla

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22 Political Propaganda in Roman Thrace: A Case Study of the Foundation Myth

Ivo Topalilov

Abstract

The present paper deals with the variation of the foundation myth used by the cities in the Roman province of Thrace. Some differences are observed between the specifics of the urbanistic development of the coastal and inland cities; the inland ones mostly followed the Latin practice, while the coastal ones the Greek, mostly stemming from the Asiatic provinces.

Keywords

Foundation myth, political propaganda, Ulpia, eponym, ktistes, Thrace

Political propaganda in the Roman Empire has many aspects. This is true at the level of the central state, but also at the provincial and municipal levels, which are different and specific. A major role, along with the imperial cult, was played by the foundation myth, a legend that united the local community by developing local patriotism while also strengthening its loyalty to Rome.¹ Roman Thrace was no exception. Moreover, considering its geographical location, which made it a border province between the Greek- and Latin-speaking provinces of the empire, as well as its own specific development, one finds that this province had shared characteristics with both halves of the empire, while also having unique features of its own. These features are also to be found in the foundation myth and will be discussed below. It is indisputable, however, that the later urbanization of inner Thrace, as compared to the coastal region and other provinces, as well as the composition of the local municipal elite, both seem to have played major roles and led to a diversity in the myths that are almost exclusively attested on the provincial coinage.

Thus, this is well illustrated in the so-called Ulpian cities, which appeared after Trajan's successful campaigns in Dacia and the integration of the local elites into the Pax Romana. This allowed the Roman authorities to advance an important administrative reform and to entrust government functions to the local municipal elite. A major consequence of this was the emergence of some 14 'Trajanic' cities, some of them *ex*

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¹ On this, see Mitchell 1993, 206–211

novo.² Among these cities, Nicopolis ad Istrum, erected on the occasion of Trajan's victory over the Dacians on the place where, according to tradition, the Roman troops defeated the Dacians³ or the Sarmatians,⁴ stands out. In this case, it is evident that the link between the city and the *Optimus Princeps* was unquestionable in the local perspective. It is probably for this reason that the city received the Trajanic *gentilicium* 'Ulpia' in its title from the time of its foundation and that Οὐλπία Νεικόπολις ἡ πρὸς Ἴστρον appears in its official inscriptions.⁵ This strong connection prevailed in the succeeding centuries and also remained in the literary tradition until at least late antiquity.⁶

Unlike Nicopolis ad Istrum, the rest of the so-called Trajanic cities are accepted as such based mainly on the use of the pseudo-tribe *Ulpia* in the praetorian nomenclature in *laterculi praetorianum*, or as an epithet in the city title, but only on the so-called 'pseudo-autonomous' coinage or provincial coinage.

When studying the appearance of *Ulpia* on the provincial coinage, it appears that not all of the 'Trajanic' cities used it as an epithet in the city title. Moreover, it appears on coin issues of only five of them: Pautalia, Serdica, Nicopolis ad Nestum, Topeiros, and Anchialos. Among them, two groups can be clearly distinguished. The first consists of Pautalia, Anchialos, and probably Serdica, while Topeiros and Nicopolis ad Nestum belong to the second group. The difference between these two groups lies in the moment when *Ulpia* appeared on the coinage, either from its very beginning or sometime later. A detailed study concludes that the cities in the former group used *Ulpia* from the very beginning of their coinage.⁷ Thus, in Pautalia and Anchialos, it appeared in Antoninus Pius' time, in the governorship of Pompeius Vopiscus (AD 157/158) for the former and of Iulius Crassipes (AD 138) for the latter,⁸ while in Serdica, it appeared most likely during the governorship of A. Claudius Martialis (AD 166–169)⁹ or the Severans. As for the cities in the second group, it appeared in the time of Severans in both cases.¹⁰ So, two main periods in the use of the name *Ulpia* may be distinguished: in the time of the Antonines, more precisely Antoninus Pius and probably Marcus Aurelius, and in the time of Septimius Severus and his sons.

2 They are mostly identified by using *Ulpia* in their title, sometimes, however, as a pseudo-tribe in the praetorian nomenclature in the *laterculi praetorianum* and military diplomas.

3 Amm. Marc. 31.5: 'Nicopolis, quam indicium victoriae contra Dacos Traianus condidit imperator.'

4 Iord. *Get.* 101: 'Unde a Gallo duce remotus Nicopolim accedit, quae iuxta Istrum fluvium est constituta notissima, quam devictis Sarmatis Traianus et fabricavit et appellavit Victoriae civitatem.'

5 See, for example, *IGBulg* II, 607, 617–618, 621.

6 See notes 4 and 5.

7 See Topalilov 2015.

8 See most recently Tačev 2018, 370–371.

9 See Mušmov 1926, 52, no. 9, which seems to be the only known reference to this coin issue.

10 See note 8.

It seems, however, that not all of the cities in Roman Thrace traced their foundation to Trajan. This is a small group which may be called the ‘κτίστης group’, although in some cases, the meaning of this term should not be understood literally as ‘founder of the city’. For example, Marcus Aurelius was honoured as κτίστης in Augusta Traiana. This is, however, at odds with the history of the city, contradicting the version reflected in the city’s official name, ἡ Τραιανέων πόλις, attested in epigraphic documents.¹¹ This name undoubtedly implies some connection to Trajan and not to Marcus Aurelius. This is why it has been argued that the use of κτίστης may in this case be due to purposes unrelated to the foundation of the city.¹² Whatever the reason, the important element is the use of κτίστης to commemorate events not connected with the actual establishment of the city.¹³ We will return to this problem below.

More clear is the case of Hadrianopolis, where the establishment of the city by Hadrian is attested by literary sources,¹⁴ as well as by coins.¹⁵ On these coins, Hadrian is clearly mentioned as κτίστης, using this term in its classical sense.

Byzantion, whose historical fate led to its re-establishment by Caracalla, also belongs to this group. As the city had taken the wrong side in the civil war of AD 193–196, its punishment, by which it lost its civic status and was turned into a simple κώμη, is not surprising. The site’s importance, however, did not allow this situation to last long, and the community of Byzantion regained its civic status as early as the time of the same Septimius Severus. This was commemorated by coins with Septimius Severus as ΚΤΙCIC (Fig. 1), and the city was renamed after his son as Ἀντωνία [*sic*] πόλις.¹⁶ Despite the long civic tradition of Byzantion, it may be assumed with some reservations that, in this case, the word κτίστης was used in its classical sense and referred to the restoration of city’s civic status.

In all examples discussed above, the foundation myth is linked with the *imperial* foundation of the city. The rest of the cities, however, provide other types of foundation myths that are related to local personages, rather than to the emperor. Thus, some of the cities belong to the group which may be called the group of the ‘founding hero’, i.e. the eponymous hero who appears mostly on the so-called pseudo-autonomous coins of the Roman period as well as epigraphic monuments. This group

11 See, for instance, *IGBulg* III.2, 1552.

12 See Dimitrov 1931–1932, 61.

13 It is generally accepted that the reference to Marcus Aurelius implies the construction of the wall curtain which had taken place under this emperor; see Schönert-Geiss 1991, 44.

14 Ioan. Malalas, *Chronogr.* 280.3–4 (Dindorf): ‘Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Ἀδριανὸς ἔκτισε πόλιν ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ, ἣν ἐπεκάλεσεν Ἀδριανούπολιν καὶ ἄλλην δὲ ἔκτισε πόλιν.’

15 Jurukova 1987, 8.

16 Schönert-Geiss 1972, 2, nos. 10 and 14.

includes Abdera, Maroneia, Anchialos, Byzantion, Mesembria and the provincial capital, Perinthos.

The case of Perinthos has already been discussed in the literature. The earliest image, showing a young male head with the inscription ΠΕΡΙΝΘΟΟ (Fig. 2), is offered by a coin issued at the time of Antoninus Pius.¹⁷ This coin type continued in use up to the time of Severus Alexander.

More unclear is the case of Anchialos. It is suggested that in the time of Hadrian, or most likely in that of Antoninus Pius, when a coin was issued with the image of a young man and the inscription ΑΝΧΙΑΛΟΟ (Fig. 3).¹⁸ The date of this very issue, however, might be slightly later – in the time of the Severans.

As for Byzantion, the case is also well-studied, and it is clear that the head of the eponymous hero, Byzas, appeared on coin issues as early as the time of Hadrian. On the city's pseudo-autonomous coinage dating between AD 128 and 136, he is shown as a bearded man with a helmet (Fig. 4).¹⁹

This group contrasts with other examples coming from the cities in the south-east of Thrace. A unique example is the case of Bizye, whose municipal elite declared a divine personage as founder of the city. Thus, on one coin emission, the image of Dionysus is accompanied by the inscription ΔΙΟΝΥΧ-Ω ΚΤΙΟΤΗ around him.²⁰ This issue probably dates to the first half of the 2nd century, most likely during the reign of Hadrian.²¹

The use of personages from Greek mythology as founder can also be found in other cities in Thrace, which form a distinctive group consisting of Hadrianopolis, Perinthos, and Philippopolis.

Unlike the rest of the examples presented so far, the case of Hadrianopolis is attested by written sources rather than by numismatic material. Thus, according to the narrative preserved in late antiquity, the original name of the city that was later renamed into Hadrianopolis was Orestes, after the son of Agamemnon.²² According to the tradition, 'posteaquam se apud Tria Flumina circa Hebrum ex responso purificavit, etiam Orestam condidit civitatem, quam saepe cruentari hominum sanguine necesse est. et Orestam quidem urbem Hadrianus suo nomini vindicari iussit eo tempore, quo furore coeperat laborare, ex responso, cum ei dictum esset ut in furiosi alicuius domum vel nomen inreperet.'²³ It is clear that *apud Tria Flumina* refers to the place

17 Schönert 1965, nos. 411–418, pl. 22.

18 See Marina Tasaklaki's paper (this volume) and Tačev 2018, 170.

19 Schönert-Geiss 1972, no. 2032.

20 Jurukova 1981, 78, no. 165.

21 Jurukova 1981, 15.

22 Hdt. 1.67, 9.11; Apollodor, *Epitome* 2.16; 6.13–14, 24–28.

23 *SHA. Heliogab.* 7.6–8.

near Hadrianopolis where three rivers – the Arteskos, Tonzos, and Hebros – meet. This place is also commemorated on a coin issue struck by the city in the time of Marcus Aurelius as Caesar.²⁴ It is believed that this late tradition goes back to at least as early as the beginning of the 3rd century.²⁵

It seems that a similar process took place in neighbouring Philippopolis in the beginning of the 3rd century. This is seen in a well-known coin series from the time of Septimius Severus, which bears the image of Eumolpus, the legendary priest, poet, and warrior who was a son of Poseidon. He is presented in the Thracian manner, with high boots and the *patera* held in his right hand and with a torch in his left. One of the coin issues bearing the legend ΕΥΜΟΛΠΙΟC confirms that it is Eumolpus.²⁶ Despite the fact that no ΚΤΙCΤΗC or ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙCΤΗΝ is attested, in late antiquity there emerged a tradition of Eumolpus as founder of the city, which was named after him and therefore made Philippopolis the successor of *vetus Eumolpias*.²⁷ T. Gerasimov argued that the figure depicted on these coins was easily recognized by the locals as the city's founder and that is why no ΚΤΙCΤΗC or ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙCΤΗΝ was needed,²⁸ as it was in Bizye, Hadrianopolis, and Perinthos.²⁹

Under the reigns of the Severans, Philippopolis was not the only city that celebrated a divine mythological personage as founder. For example, the coins of Perinthos, the capital of the province, present Heracles in such a role, as the inscriptions ΗΡΑΚΛΗC ΚΤΙCΤΗC, ΗΡΑΚΛΗ ΚΤΙCΤΗ, or just ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙCΤΗΝ reveal.³⁰ These coin series date to the period of AD 193–218, though it is not possible to determine a more accurate date.³¹ It is worth mentioning that the cult of Heracles was also popular in pre-Severan times and that the coins date it as early as the 1st century.³² It was, however, the actual imperial presence in the city, which occurred on several occasions, that led to the increased popularity of the cult in the city, so that Heracles was proclaimed as founder. We will return to this problem below.

The popularity of this cult is also attested by several pseudo-autonomous issues with the image of Heracles and the inscription ΙΩΝΩΝ ΚΤΙCΤΗΝ, ΙΩΝΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙCΤΗΝ, or just ΙΩΝΩΝ, which refer to the Ionian origin of the city, proclaimed

24 See Jurukova 1987, 70, 123, pl. IV.40–41; see also Nollé 2009, 125.

25 Nollé 2009, 139.

26 Gerasimov 1972, 43; Peter 2005, 108–109.

27 Amm. Marc. 22.2.1, 26.10.3: 'Philippopolim clausam praesidiis hostium, Eumolpiadam veterem; Sext. Ruf. Brev. 9: Eumolpiadem quae nunc Philippopolis dicitur.'

28 See also Apollod. 2.5, 3.15; Paus. 1.38.2; Hyg. *Fab.* 273; Strab. 7.7.1; Diod. Sic. 1.11.

29 Gerasimov 1972, 43.

30 Schönert 1965, 121–123, nos. 197–202, 204–206, 215–216, 219.

31 Schönert 1965, 53.

32 Schönert 1965, 53.

by the municipal aristocracy.³³ This may stem from the tradition according to which the Perinthians also worshiped Hera as the goddess of Samos, the place of their origin. The specific images of Hera accompanied by the legends *HPA ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ* or *ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ ΗΡΑ* appear on the issues with an imperial portrait as well as on the so-called pseudo-autonomous coinage as early as the time of Nero.³⁴ The Ionian origin of Perinthos is also referred to on the coins issued in the times of Severus Alexander³⁵ and probably Gordian III.³⁶

The case in Perinthos is also interesting from another point of view. For instance, it gives the impression that the foundation myth was celebrated in two different aspects simultaneously – the mythical in the case of Heracles, and the historical in that of the Ionian legend and the image of Hera of Samos. This specific case is not unique and finds parallels in other cities of Roman Thrace. What is new and unusual, however, is the presence of both myths on one coin emission, with Heracles replacing Hera. A possibly similar phenomenon can also be found on the coins issued under Severus Alexander, where two depicted figures can be interpreted as Heracles and the eponymous hero, Perinthos (Fig. 5).

It seems that another city also celebrated Heracles as its founder, or at least presented him as such. This is neighbouring Hadrianopolis, where his images appear a bit later in the time of Gordian III, when coins showing his bearded head accompanied by the legend *TON ΚΤΙCΤΗΝ* were issued.³⁷ The similarities and the close link between the coinage of Perinthos and Hadrianopolis have already been noted,³⁸ which raises questions as to whether such a cult was really celebrated. It should be mentioned that the mythological aspect of the foundation myth was most likely connected with the aforementioned Orestes at the time of Gordian III, while its historical aspect relates to Hadrian. It would not be farfetched to assume that the municipal elite of Hadrianopolis simply copied the idea of the Heracles cult from the capital of the province.

This brief review of the numismatic, epigraphic, and literary evidence available makes it possible to draw some preliminary conclusions.

It seems that the foundation myths well-attested in the provinces of Asia Minor had not been widespread in Roman Thrace, which is not surprising. The civic traditions, history, and various practices, as well as the so-called ‘epigraphic habits’,³⁹ of these regions are difficult to compare. This should not, however, be considered a disadvan-

33 Schönert 1965, nos. 207–210, 212–214, 217–218, 220–221.

34 Schönert 1965, 55, 134.

35 Schönert 1965, 231, 234, 237, 239–243.

36 Schönert 1965, 258.

37 Jurukova 1987, 242–243, nos. 707–711.

38 See Jurukova 1987, 52.

39 On the so-called epigraphic habit, see MacMullen 1982, 233–246.

tage in a study such as this. On the contrary, it is in Roman Thrace that we find such diverse approaches to the foundation myths due to both local and provincial specifics.

For example, Thrace is the only Greek-speaking province of the empire where the imperial *gentilicium* is used in the cities' title instead of the more commonly found *cognomina*.⁴⁰ It is also notable that the cities in question had a peregrine status of *civitas stipendiaria*, which was one of the lowest available. The only instances of the 'normal' usage are those of ἡ Ἀδριανέων Ἀβδηρειτῶν πόλις⁴¹ and Ἀντωνία πόλις used by Byzantion.

This unusual situation remained unexplained for a long time, with solutions being suggested only recently. Due to its close link with the emperor Trajan, the *Optimus Princeps*, Nicopolis ad Istrum achieved enormous prestige among the rest of the *ex novo* cities of Roman Thrace. We can even say that the *Victoria Civitatis* became the symbol of a city closely linked to the emperor Trajan, signifying a Roman city or a city founded by the *Optimus Princeps*. If so, we may assume that the epithet *Ulpia* indicated the municipal status or was the synonym for such status.⁴² It might have also been a sign of higher prestige, so it is not surprising that when a city was later punished, it was the epithet *Ulpia* which was lost.⁴³

The case of Nicopolis ad Istrum is quite different from other Trajanic cities in Thrace, whose appearance must have been an effect of an administrative reform carried out in Trajan's time, rather than the emperor's personal initiative. This is probably why *Ulpia* never appeared in their official inscriptions, but only on their coinage; their link to the emperor is obscure, and no permission was given to use the imperial *gentilicium* in the cities' official title or inscriptions. Keeping in mind the specifics of the provincial coinages and the political messages they bore, it seems possible to assume that this was the way to advance a 'fake' link to Trajan.⁴⁴ The appearance of *Ulpia* on the provincial coinage of some cities is very likely connected with the development of their foundation myths.

It is important to note that not all of the Trajanic cities built *ex novo* used or were allowed to use Trajan's *gentilicium*, even on the local coinage. In some cases, however, no additional indication of the city's link to the emperor was necessary. Examples include Marcianopolis, named after the sister of Trajan; Plotinopolis, named after Trajan's wife; Traianopolis; and Augusta Traiana, which in the official inscriptions was mentioned as ἡ Τραιανέων πόλις.

40 See Galsterer-Kröll 1972, 50.

41 Loukopoulou 2005, 78–79.

42 This problem is discussed in Topalilov 2015.

43 See Topalilov 2007.

44 This idea is advanced in Topalilov 2015.

Even though the primary message advanced by the local coinages was the self-image of the municipal elites, in some cases this image was untrue and cannot therefore be regarded as an explicit evidence for what is advertised. In spite of this, it becomes clear that the municipal elites in Pautalia, Anchialos, and probably Serdica were already established in the time of Antoninus Pius. Their likely foreign character is indicated by the foundation myths that have absolutely no roots in Thracian tradition. This is especially true for the areas of inner Thrace, where the cities under discussion were located. However, the spread of this new practice was rather limited, as they were *ex novo* Roman, and the choice was not big. Hence, it is not surprising that the only available model similar to their case – that of Nicopolis ad Istrum – was used.

The classical model of the foundation myth is found in Hadrianopolis, celebrating Hadrian as κτίστης. However, the case of Augusta Traiana, ἡ Τραιανέων πόλις, is different.

As indicated by its name, its foundation in the time of Trajan or as a result of Trajan's activity in the province (carrying out of the administrative reform or alike) is unquestionable. Despite this, however, the emperor was honoured as κτίστης in the time of Marcus Aurelius. The previous debate associates this usually with the construction of a new wall curtain rather than the foundation of the city,⁴⁵ but the practice itself is significant. So far, this is the earliest and the only example in inner Thrace of not using the term κτίστης in its classical sense. The usage of an old term with a different meaning known in other neighbouring regions like the provinces in Asia Minor⁴⁶ may indicate the penetration of new elements into the municipal elites, at least in Augusta Traiana. This would explain the emergence of new practices previously unknown in Thracian society.

The case of Philippopolis, also dated to the time of Marcus Aurelius, is likely similar. In the winter of AD 165/166, Lucian of Samosata spent some time in this city, whose urban tradition was longer than that of Augusta Traiana and other cities of inner Thrace, probably except for Hadrianopolis. In his 'Runaways', we find a mention of the city being founded by Philip II of Macedon.⁴⁷

The case of Bizye is, however, different. Unlike the aforementioned examples, Bizye developed a foundation myth in the time of Hadrian, according to which the founder of the city was not a historical person, but Dionysus. This is the earliest example of such a myth in Thrace. The origins of this foundation story are unknown, but may be connected with the physical presence of Hadrian who was in Thrace in AD 124. I see a close relation between this case and the case in Nikaia, a town also visited by

45 See Schönert-Geiss 1991, 44; Dimitrov 1931–1932, 62.

46 The importance and the spread of this practice among the cities in Asia Minor and the Aegean islands from the time of Augustus till the time of the Severans are discussed in Pont 2007, 526–552.

47 Lucian. *Fug.* 25: ἡ δὲ πόλις ἔργον Φιλίππου ἔκεινεν. The case is discussed in Topalilov 2014.

the emperor and where on the main gate Heracles and Dionysus were honoured as founders.⁴⁸ The Hellenization of the municipal elite, which is clearly visible in the coins issued in the time of the governorship of T. Statilius Barbarus (AD 196–198) with Kapaneus,⁴⁹ allowed such perception. The municipal elite of Bizye remain the only one among the cities of inner Thrace, i.e. the ‘Thracian’ cities, that used a divine personage as founder.

The foundation myths of the cities of inner Thrace sharply contrast with the foundation stories of the Thracian coastal cities. This concerns the myth of the eponymous hero which appeared in the time of Antoninus Pius and never spread to inner Thrace. In the Roman period, this practice is attested in Perinthos, Byzantion, and Anchialos, but in the Greek coastal colonies, such as Abdera, Mesembria and Maroneia, it was already known in pre-Roman times. In Abdera, this myth is linked to Abderos, the son of Poseidon and Tronia or of Hermes.⁵⁰ He participated in the eighth labour of Heracles and was devoured by the horses of Diomedes, king of the Bistones. In his honour, Heracles founded a city named Abdera and located it near his tomb. This explains why both of these heroes were regarded as founders of the city,⁵¹ although Abderos himself could not be admitted as a κτίστης. The city’s historical foundation by Greek colonists from Klazomenai dates to 654 BC.⁵² The cult of Abderos survived until the Roman period, as demonstrated by the city’s coins from late Hadrianic and Antoninus Pius’ times.⁵³ On the reverse, they show the diademed head of a young man, who may be either the young Marcus Aurelius or Abderos (Fig. 6).

Similar is the case of neighbouring Maroneia, which, according to legend, was established by Maron, the grandson of Dionysus and Ariadne.⁵⁴ He was worshipped in a sanctuary both in the city and abroad, but can hardly be regarded as the *oikistes*. It seems that his cult united the municipal elite and society by referring to the ancient colony which glorified the past and reflect the present.

Byzantion, with its eponymous hero, Byzas, may also be added to this group. It is not my intention here to discuss whether the legend of Byzas has roots in indigenous

48 *IK Iznik* 29, 30: Ἀὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Π[α]ρθικοῦ υἱῶ, θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱωνῶ, Τραιανῶ Ἀδ[ριανῶ] Σεβαστῶ δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ἡ εὐσεβεστάτη [[νεω[κό]ρος [τῶ]ν [Σεβαστῶν]], ἀπὸ Διονύσου [καὶ Ἡρακλέ]ους, [[πρ]ῶ[τ]η [Βι]θυυ[ία]ς καὶ Πόντου, ἡ μη[τρ]ῶ[π]ολις δὲ κα[τὰ τὰ κρίματα] τῶ[ν] Αὐ[τοκρ]α[τ]ῶ[ν] καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς σ[υ]νκλήτου]].

49 Jurukova 1981, 55, no. 29.

50 Chryssanthaki 2001, 385.

51 Chryssanthaki 2001, 385.

52 Chryssanthaki 2001, 386–388.

53 On the coins, see Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007, 347–350, 359–361, pl. 63–64; *RPC IV*, 4494.

54 Isaac 1986, 114.

Thracian mythology. But it needs to be noted that this tradition continued in the Roman period, and the head of Byzas also appeared on coins in late Hadrianic times.⁵⁵

It seems that the eponymous heroes had played an important role only in the coastal Greek cities, including Anchialos. What makes this impression is the almost simultaneous manifestation of this cult on various media, mostly local coinage, in late Hadrianic-Antonine times.

Also of interest is why Heracles was honoured as founder of Perinthos. It seems that the major change in his role occurred in the time of Septimius Severus, as the numismatic data reveal. An ally and provincial capital, as well as the major city of Pescennius Niger in Thrace, Perinthos was turned into the headquarters of the victorious emperor for some time. He probably stayed there in the winter of AD 193/194.⁵⁶ It is hardly accidental that Perinthos benefited from the loss of the civic status by nearby Byzantion, as well as from the acquisition of new territories.⁵⁷ Despite the likely restoration of Byzantion's status in AD 214, these lands remained under the control of the provincial capital.⁵⁸ Clearly, the frequent imperial presence in the city influenced the decision to grant Perinthos a neocorate and had an impact on the beliefs and political propaganda espoused by the local municipal elite, which claimed Heracles as the city's mythical founder. As Heracles was one of the patrons of the imperial family, particularly under Septimius Severus,⁵⁹ such a claim might have made obtaining the neocorate status easier.

The spread of the Heracles foundation myth to Hadrianopolis at a time when the pre-Roman Greek or Thracian origin was cherished renders this a straightforward imitation of the Perinthos myth by the municipal elite of Hadrianopolis. As demonstrated by the coin typology, Heracles was not one of the most popular deities in the city and never was before being claimed as founder. This is an interesting example of the role the political propaganda of the provincial capital had played in the province and of its impact on the cities' propaganda. The answer in this case may lay in the fact that some members of the municipal elite at Perinthos were also members of the municipal elite of Hadrianopolis.

A further case that should be noted is that of the later use of *Ulpia* in the coinage of Topeiros and Nicopolis ad Nestum, which were located on the *Via Egnatia* that may have served as the route for an imperial journey. It seems that in these cases we are dealing with the proliferation of new elements in the political propaganda of the municipal elite that were previously unknown or for some reason unused. It

55 On the coinage, see Schönert-Geiss 1972, 140–141, nos. 2032–2040; on Byzas, see Robu 2014, 285–292.

56 Mennen 2011, 39.

57 Sidebotham 1986, 169.

58 See Sidebotham 1986, 169.

59 Potter 2004, 113–120; Rowan 2013, 32–110.

seems that under Septimius Severus's sons they began to use *Ulpia*, and, as the case of Topeiros reveals, with certain success.⁶⁰

The preliminary study of the foundation myths, their creation, specifics, and spread makes it possible to distinguish two groups in terms of the geographical and chronological distribution of the evidence. In terms of the nature of the foundation stories, the cities of Roman Thrace also fall into two groups: the coastal cities of Greek origin and the inland ones, which (with some exceptions) were built *ex novo* in the Roman period. In the former group, the practices demonstrate more variety, most of them following pre-Roman local traditions that undergone some changes or traditions deriving from the provinces in Asia Minor; these were myths that may have been changed, developed, or replaced. The latter group includes mostly the cities with a consistent myth that never changed, as in the case of *Ulpia*. The exceptions are Philippopolis, Hadrianopolis, and Augusta Traiana. The first two cities have long pre-Roman civic traditions. Combined with the close geographic location of Hadrianopolis to Perinthos and the role that Philippopolis as metropolis played in the life of the province, this suggests some possible development of the foundation myth towards what is found in the cities of the first group. The cases of Augusta Traiana and Anchialos are particularly interesting, since in both places we find two traditions being closely interwoven. Thus, in Anchialos, the eponymous hero appears on the coins in periods when the *Ulpia* title is also found, probably representing the historical origin combined with the legendary one. This is the only example of this type.

The case of Augusta Traiana is also of interest. It presents a practice at odds with classical traditions, which suggests a new element in the municipal elite, possibly originating from the provinces in Asia Minor.

In chronological terms, it is remarkable that in most of the cities, no matter how long their coinage tradition, the foundation myths appear on the coins in the time of Late Hadrianic/Antoninus Pius. Since the foundation myths were new for inner Thrace, being 'imported' by its multi-ethnic elite, this created the divergence whereby the coastal cities used one practice suggesting older tradition, while the new cities used another. The diversity among the cities in the latter group is due to local initiatives caused by immigrants from the provinces in Asia Minor. These initiatives were sporadic and temporary.

Further development of the foundation myths may be observed in the time of Severans in the coastal cities and two cities of inner Thrace that had long civic traditions – Philippopolis and Hadrianopolis. The main centre of change appears to have been the provincial capital, Perinthos, which influenced the other municipal elites.

60 Topalilov 2000–2005.

The observations made in this study are very preliminary and require more argumentation. The nature of the ‘epigraphic habit’ among the Thracians,⁶¹ the historical development, the introduction of practices which were uncommon for the Thracians and their elite, as well as the lack of urbanization from the beginning, undoubtedly had an impact on the foundation myths, their creation, development, and spread. Thracian ethnic identity must have found another way to express itself, not or not only by coinage,⁶² but in a more peculiar way, which was commemorated in the late antique narrative as seen in the case of Uskudama, the predecessor of Hadrianopolis, or the city of Ὀδρυσσα.

61 One of the exceptions is the famous inscription *IGBulg I*², 345.

62 See the discussion in Peter 2005, 198; Nollé 2014, 281–284.



Fig. 1 Bronze coin of Byzantium with the reverse showing laureate emperor standing r., wearing toga, holding patera over garlanded altar; large torch before, c. AD 202–205 (CN 372)



Fig. 2 Bronze coin of Perinthos showing the eponymous hero Perinthos



Fig. 3 Bronze coin of Anchialos with the head of the hero Anchialos (CN 4996)



Fig. 4 Bronze coin of Byzantium with the head of Byzas, c. AD 202–205 (CN 676)



Fig. 5 Bronze coin of Perinthos from the time of Severus Alexander (AD 222–235) showing the eponymous hero, Perinthos, and Heracles.



Fig. 6 Bronze coin of Abdera from the time of Antoninus Pius (AD 138–161), showing on the reverse a diademed head of young Marcus Aurelius or Abderos.

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works as an associate professor at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, focusing on the development of urban life in Thrace in various aspects such as topography, urbanization, foundation, and religious transformations. His works involve the study of foundation myths as a source for the expression of the city-identity, various practices implemented in the urbanization of the region, and especially within the Roman province of Thrace, as well as the Christianization of Thracian society.

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23 Some Aspects of the Greek Legends of the Coins Minted in Thrace and Lower Moesia under Caracalla and Geta

Bartosz Awianowicz

Abstract

Thracian and Lower Moesian coinage of Septimius Severus and his family shows some exceptional features, not only in its iconography with local deities and temples but also in the coins' legends. The aim of this paper is to discuss three characteristics of imperial Greek titlature of Geta and, in particular, of Caracalla that seem to be significant for the provinces

Keywords

Thrace, Moesia Inferior, Caracalla, Septimius Geta, coin legends, Greek epigraphy

Andrew Burnett introduced his investigation of the emperors' names on provincial coins in the Julio-Claudian period by the following statement: 'There were only rare attempts by the Romans to intervene in civic coinages. As a result, there was no empire- or even province-wide system. The conclusion must be that the inspiration for the coinages came from within the cities, no doubt from the local aristocracies that dominated them, even though they did, of course, reflect local and regional fashions.'¹ This statement concerns not only the relations between Rome and provincial civic coinage in the period 30 BC–AD 68, but also in the first half of the 3rd century AD. Bronze coinage of the Roman provinces of Thrace and Lower Moesia shows some exceptional local or, at least, regional features, both in its iconography and in the legends, especially in the emperors' titlature. The aim of this paper is to examine the following elements, which seem to be typical for the Thraco-Moesian region during the reign of Septimius Severus' sons, particularly Caracalla:²

1. On many Thracian and Moesian coins of Caracalla, one can see an abbreviated cognomen CEOVHPOC = Lat. Severus (mostly in the abbreviated forms CE, CEV, and CEVH) that never appears on his imperial coins and only extremely rarely in the coinages of other provinces,

¹ Burnett 2011, 11

² A secondary aim of the paper is to demonstrate the usefulness of the Corpus Nummorum project as a source for research on epigraphic aspects of Thracian coins. Therefore, most of the examples are references (by CN-numbers) from the website www.corpus-nummorum.eu (accessed 25.06.2019).

2. The name Severus is transliterated on most Thracian and Lower Moesian coins as CEVHPOC, not CEOVHPOC, and

3. On coins minted in Thrace and Lower Moesia for Caracalla and Geta, the abbreviation CEB or CE (for CEBACTOC as a Greek translation of the Latin AVGVSTVS) seldom appears.

However, before we discuss inscriptions on Severan coins struck in Lower Moesia and Thrace, it seems reasonable to present types with the titulature of Caracalla and Geta on both imperial and provincial coins. During the joint rule of Septimius, Geta, and Caracalla (AD 193–211) and the sole reign of the latter (212–217), 12 examples appeared of Geta (eight as Caesar, four as Augustus) and 34 appeared of Caracalla (two as Caesar, 32 as Augustus).

Tab. 1 Types of Geta's titulature on imperial coins.

1	GETA CAES PONT (Rome: 203–208)
2	GETA CAES PONTIF (Rome: 200–208)
3	GETA CAES PONTIFEX (Rome: 203–208)
4	L SEPT GETA CAES PON (Rome: 198–200 ³)
5	L SEPTIMIVS GETA CAES (Rome and Laodicea: 198–200)
6	P SEPT GETA CAES PONT (Rome: 200–202)
7	P SEPTIMIVS GETA CAES (Rome: 202–209)
8	P SEPTIMIVS GETA CAESAR (Rome: 203–208)
9	IMP CAES P SEPT GETA PIVS AVG (Rome: 209–210)
10	P SEPT GETA PIVS AVG BRIT (Rome: 210–211)
11	P SEPTIMIVS GETA PIVS AVG (Rome: 211 ⁴)
12	P SEPTIMIVS GETA PVS AVG BRIT (Rome: 210–211)

Tab. 2 Types attested for Caracalla's imperial coins.

1	M AVR ANTON CAES PONTIF (Rome: 196–198)
2	M AVR ANTONINVS CAES (Rome: 196–198)
3	ANTON P AVG (Rome: 202–204)
4	ANTONIN P AVG (Rome: 202)
5	ANTONIN PIVS AVG (Rome: 202 ⁵)
6	ANTONINVS AVG (Rome: 200–202)
7	ANTONINVS AVGVSTVS (Laodicea: 201–202; Rome: 199–201)
8	ANTONINVS P AVG (Rome: 202)

3 Very rare variant, see *RIC* IV, 314, note*, *BMCRE* V, 182 and Awianowicz 2017, 299.

4 Only as a variant of the obverse legend of sestertius *RIC* IV 166; cf. Awianowicz 2017, 296.

5 Only obverse and reverse of denarii *RIC* IV Septimius Severus 179 note and *RIC* IV 62 and of aureus *RIC* IV 57. See also Awianowicz 2017, 296.

- 9 ANTONINVS PI AVG BRIT (Rome: 210–213⁶)
- 10 ANTONINVS PIVS AVG (Rome: 201–211)
- 11 ANTONINVS PIVS AVG BRIT (Rome: 210–213)
- 12 ANTONINVS PIVS AVG GERM (Rome: 213–217)
- 13 ANTONINVS PIVS FEL AVG (Rome: 213)
- 14 IMP C M AVR ANTON AVG (Laodicea: 198)
- 15 IMP C M AVR ANTONINVS AVG (Laodicea: 198 and Asia Minor 198–202⁷)
- 16 IMP C M AVR ANTONINVS PONT AVG (Laodicea: 198)
- 17 IMP CAE M AVR ANT AVG (Laodicea and Rome: 198)
- 18 IMP CAES M AVR ANT AVG (Laodicea: 198⁸; Rome: 198–199)
- 19 IMP CAES M AVR ANTON AVG (Laodicea: 198–199)
- 20 IMP CAES M AVR ANTONINVS AVG (Rome: 198–199)
- 21 IMP CAES M AVREL ANTONINVS AVG (Asia Minor: 198–202⁹)
- 22 M AVR ANTONINVS PIVS AVG (Rome: 202–210)
- 23 M AVR ANTONINVS PIVS AVG BRIT (Rome: 213)
- 24 M AVR ANTONINVS PIVS AVG GERM (Rome: 216)
- 25 M AVR ANTONINVS PIVS AVG GERM MAX (Rome: 214–215)
- 26 M AVR ANTONINVS PIVS FELIX AVG (Rome: 213–214)
- 27 M AVREL ANTONINVS AVG (Rome: 209)
- 28 M AVREL ANTONINVS PIVS AVG (Rome: 207–211)
- 29 M AVREL ANTONINVS PIVS AVG BRIT (Rome: 213)
- 30 M AVREL ANTONINVS PIVS AVG GERM (Rome: 214–217)
- 31 M AVREL ANTONINVS PIVS AVG GERM MAX (Rome: 214)
- 32 M AVREL ANTONINVS PIVS FE AVG (Rome: 213–214)
- 33 M AVREL ANTONINVS PIVS FELIX AVG (Rome: 213–215)
- 34 M AVRELIVS ANTON AVG (Rome: c. 198¹⁰)

The above list of legends demonstrates characteristics that can also be observed in the majority of provincial issues, i.e. the absence of the name Severus on coins of Caracalla. Coins of Roman *coloniae* and *municipia*, e.g. Thracian Deultum, directly followed Latin legends of imperial issues.¹¹ In Deultum, the same types of Caracalla can be observed as in the following legends: Tab. 2.28 (as well as its variant M AVREL ANTONINVS PIVS A), 2.29, and a specific variation of the legend 2.22: ANTONINVS / M AVR PI AVG.¹²

An analogous situation can be found in many provincial issues with Greek legends, where translations of imperial titles and the transliteration of personal names occur in various abbreviated forms, though often with some omissions. Coins of Antiocheia and of Smyrna can serve here as a typical example of such a practice. Among An-

6 A very rare titlature, only on denarii.

7 Obverse legend of denarii struck in Laodicea ad Mare and of cistophoric tetradrachms; cf. Awianowicz 2017, 296.

8 Only aureus RIC IV 338.

9 On cistophoric issues as a variant of obverse legend; cf. Awianowicz 2017, 296.

10 Only aureus RIC IV 17 / BMCRE V Septimius Severus 121.

11 See Hekster 2015, 105.

12 See Jurukova 1973, 60 and Deultum CN 6698, 6700, 6702, 7686–7690, 8036, 8841–8842, 15352, 15357 resp. CN Type 7–9, 11, 878, 882, 885, 4216.

tiocheian issues are billon tetradrachms with the obverse inscription AVT. K. M. A. ANTΩNEINOC CEB¹³ and *aes* coins of Caracalla with the obverse inscriptions AVT. K. M. AY. ANTΩNEINOC CEB and AVT. K. MAP. AVP. ANTΩNEINOC CεB¹⁴ corresponding to Latin legends IMP C M AVR ANTONINVS AVG (Tab. 2.15). However, in the dominant inscription on tetradrachms, AVT. KAI. ANTΩNEINOC CEB,¹⁵ the abbreviations of the *praenomen* M(APKOC) and *gentilicium* AVP(ΕΑΙOC) are omitted. The pontifical title of Geta as Caesar, a typical element for his imperial titulature (Tab. 1.1–4 and 1.6), never appears in short obverse legends of Syrian tetradrachms.¹⁶ On coins struck at Smyrna for Caracalla, the abbreviated form of the title AVGVSTVS – CEBACTOC is always omitted,¹⁷ and a similar omission is observed in legends of Geta as Augustus. On his earlier coinage (minted for him as CAESAR – KAICAP), we find all elements present in imperial coinage as well. The obverse inscriptions Λ CΕΠ ΓΕΤΑC KAI and Λ CΕΠ ΓΕΤΑC KAICAP¹⁸ can be treated as variants of a transliterated type (Tab. 1.5).

If we look at the titulature of Caracalla on coin obverses from Thrace, we can see that many of them bear inscriptions with the abbreviations C, CE, CEH [*sic*], CEV, CEVH, and CEOVHP – though not in every city. In the Corpus Nummorum database, we find the following obverse legends with the name Severus transliterated in Greek:

1. AVT K M AVP C – ANTΩNEINOC (Hadrianopolis,¹⁹ Serdica,²⁰ Traianopolis²¹) (Fig. 1)
2. AVT K M AVP CE – ANTΩNEINOC (Hadrianopolis,²² Plotinopolis,²³ Traianopolis²⁴) (Fig. 2)
3. AVT K M AVP CEH – ANTΩNEINOC (Augusta Traiana²⁵) (Fig. 3)

13 McAlee 2007, 270–273: types 677–692 dated to c. 213–217 AD.

14 McAlee 2007, 272 and 274: types 694A and 697.

15 McAlee 2007, 268–271: types 662–676.

16 McAlee 2007, 276–277: 710–717.

17 We find the following legends of Caracalla on Smyranean coins: A K M AVP ANTΩNEINOC, AV K M AVP ANTΩNEINOC, A K M AV ANTΩNEINOC, AVT K M AVP ANTΩNEINOC, AVT K ANTΩNEI, AVT K ANTΩ and AV K M AVP ANTΩNINOC (Klose 1987, 8, 283).

18 Klose 1987, 9, 291.

19 CN 5207.

20 CN 5091. Last letters are partly preserved, but AVP C seems to be the most plausible reading.

21 CN 38001.

22 CN 5154–5158, 5160–5161, 5170, 5183, 5208, 5227–5228, 7196, 7471.

23 CN 5030.

24 CN 3799–3800, 3802.

25 CN 3770–3771.

4. AVT K M AVP CEV – ANTΩNEINOC (Hadrianopolis,²⁶ Serdica²⁷) (Fig. 4)
5. AVT K M AV CEV ANTΩNEINOC (Serdica²⁸) (Fig. 5)
6. AVT K M AVP CEVH – ANTΩNEINOC²⁹ (Augusta Traiana,³⁰ Hadrianopolis,³¹ Philippopolis,³² Serdica³³) (Fig. 6)
7. AVT K M AVP CEVH ANTΩNEINOC (Serdica³⁴) (Fig. 7)
8. AVT · K · M · AVP CЄOVHP³⁵ · – ANTΩNINOC³⁶ · AVT (Perinthos³⁷) (Fig. 8)
9. AVT · K · M · AVP CЄOVHP – ANTΩNINOC · AVT (Perinthos³⁸) (Fig. 9)

Although the above list does not include all possible variants of obverse legends with the abbreviated name CE(O)VHPOC, and the Corpus Nummorum website does not yet allow for a quantitative approach to the emperors' titulature on coins struck in Thrace under Caracalla,³⁹ it presents most of such legends and gives us the notion of their evident presence in the province. To supplement the list of obverse inscriptions with the 'Severan' abbreviations and to appraise them in the context of all coins produced by certain mints in Thrace, we still need monographic catalogues and studies. Some of them, i.e. 'Thracian' volumes of the *Griechisches Münzwerk*, are accessible online.⁴⁰ Thus, by relying only on the Corpus Nummorum website, we can learn, for example, that coins in Augusta Traiana were also struck with the obverse legend AVT K M AVP CEVHP – ANTΩNEINOC,⁴¹ and, that amongst 171 types of coins minted in the city for Caracalla as Augustus, 63 bear abbreviations of

- 26 CN 5148–5153, 5159, 5163–5169, 5171–5176, 5179–5182, 5184–5198, 5209–5226, 6756, 7195, 7469, 7472, 7475, 7482, 7487.
- 27 CN 3143, 5050, 5052–5057, 5059, 5067–5068, 5071, 5074, 5079, 5083, 5085–5088, 5093, 5095, 5098–5099, 7321. The bad preservation of the obverse of the specimen CN 5055 does not allow us to read and classify the legend, although the variant with CEV seems to be very possible.
- 28 CN 5102. There is also a variant: AVT K M AVP (VP ligated) CЄVP ANTΩNEINOC (Serdica) – CN 7571.
- 29 Some with dots: AVT · K · M · AVP · CЄVH · – ANTΩNINOC.
- 30 CN 3725, 3727–3728, 3730, 3753, 3763 and 3765.
- 31 CN 5162, 5199–5204.
- 32 CN 766–767, 1034, 6382, 6385–6386.
- 33 CN 5061–5063, 5069, 5072, 5076–5078, 5080, 5084, 5089, 5092, 5094, 5096, 7214, 7322, 7334, and 8420.
- 34 CN 5047–5048, 5051, 5064–5065, 5073, 5097, 6080.
- 35 HP in ligature.
- 36 Some issues with NT in ligature.
- 37 CN 2921–2940, 2949–2954, 2958–3000, 4387–4398, 4751–4757, 4759–4763, 5517–5518, 5521–5527, 5536, 5538, 5932, 5934.
- 38 CN 2944–2947, 5519.
- 39 The portal www.corpus-nummorum.eu is developing quickly, and what was impossible in 2016 when this paper was written is possible now.
- 40 http://www.corpus-nummorum.eu/resources_pdfLibrary.php.
- 41 See Schönert-Geiss 1991: 107–109, nos. 337–349 or CN 9849–9868 and CN Type 1951, 1953, 1964, 1882, 1913, 1969, 1915, 1971, 1974–1977.

the name CE(O)VHPOC,⁴² comprising 36.8% of the total amount.⁴³ From the book by Edith Schönert-Geiss, we learn how the legends AVT K M AVP CE, CEV, and CEVH ANTΩNEINOC (and their variants) are used by the scholar as one of the most important factors to date various issues of Augusta Traiana and Traianopolis that bear these inscriptions from AD 214–217.⁴⁴ While, according to Schönert-Geiss, Caracalla's coins with the abbreviations of the name CE(O)VHPOC are particularly associated with his itinerary through Thrace in 214, Dilyana Boteva⁴⁵ dates them 'in the year after Geta's assassination, i.e. not later than the end of 212'.⁴⁶ Boteva also claims that one can assign coins with the abbreviated name CE(O)VHPOC struck in Hadrianopolis and Pautalia to the same period,⁴⁷ whereas, in the case of Serdica, she proposes more cautious dating to Caracalla's sole reign before 217. Furthermore, she dates issues of Philippopolis to 215 because Caracalla's presence in Thrace on his way to Asia Minor could be dated to this year.⁴⁸

Because the appearance of the abbreviated name CE(O)VHPOC in the obverse legends of Thracian coins is usually used as an important argument for dating them to the sole reign of Caracalla and, more specifically, to 212 (after Geta's assassination in December 211) and 214–215 (the emperor's visits in cities of Thrace), the absence of C, CE, CEH, CEV, CEVH, CEVHP, or CEOVHP in Caracalla's titulature on coins from Byzantium, Bizye, Dionysopolis, Maroneia, and Sestos⁴⁹ is also interpreted mostly in chronological terms.

Dated provincial coins from other Greek parts of the empire can serve as an important argument for the dating of the Thracian coins with the abbreviated name CE(O)VHPOC. In the coinage of Marcianopolis and Nicopolis ad Istrum, the nearest mints to Thrace in the province of Lower Moesia, either no coins were issued during the sole reign of Caracalla (Nicopolis), or all were struck under Quintilianus (*legatus Augusti* in Lower Moesia from late 213 to 216)⁵⁰ without this element in the emperor's

42 Schönert-Geiss 1991, 98–115

43 We can observe a similar relationship between coins bearing legends with the abbreviated name CE(O)VHPOC in the coinage of other Thracian mints, e.g., Serdica. See Hristova and Jekov 2007a, 55–132.

44 See Schönert-Geiss 1991, 12–14, 146.

45 Boteva 1997, 269–270, 273, 286–287.

46 Boteva 1997, 287.

47 Boteva 1997, 270–271, 277, 286, 288.

48 Boteva 1997, 287.

49 The abbreviated name CE(O)VHPOC can be found on rare coins of Ainos. Boteva 1997 278 and 288 claims that 'Caracalla's coins which were struck in Nicopolis ad Nestum and bear his title with the name CEVHPOC attest the activity of this provincial mint during the years of his sole reign', but in the newest monographic catalogue of coinage of that mint (Hristova and Jekov 2007b), there are only coins with the obverse legend AVTK M AVPH ANTΩNINOC or AVT K M AVPH ANTΩNEINOC (see also CN 3534, 3688–3698 and 7208).

50 See Boteva 1996, 245.

titulature (Marcianopolis).⁵¹ Nonetheless, parallels to the Thracian coin inscriptions can be found in distant provinces such as Cilicia, Pamphylia, and Egypt. In Cilician Tarsos, large bronzes (*tetrassaria*) were produced with the obverse legend AYT KAI M AYP CEOYHPOC (or CEYHPOC) ANTΩNEINOC CEB II II.⁵² In Cilician Rhosos and Pamphylian Side, a smaller denomination with the legend AYT K M AYP CEOY ANTΩNINOC CE⁵³ and large bronzes with the obverse inscription AV K M AV CEOY ANTΩNEINOC (Fig. 11) were produced respectively, but it is difficult to date them precisely. In contrast, we do not have any problems with the dating of large bronzes (drachms) minted for Caracalla in Alexandria. Most specimens with the legend AYT K M AYP CE ANTΩNINOC II ME BPE M⁵⁴ were struck in the twenty-first year of his reign (between August 212 and August 213), and most with the longer legend AYT K M AYP CE ANTΩNINOC II MET BPE ME⁵⁵ were struck in the twenty-second year (between August 213 and August 214). Although the emperor's visit to Egypt is well attested by ancient writers⁵⁶ and can be dated to the midsummer of 215, we observe that his Alexandrian coins with the abbreviated name CE(O)VHPOC were issued earlier, not only in 212, but at least in late 213 or at the beginning of the subsequent year. According to Tom B. Jones,⁵⁷ the mints which honoured Caracalla as sole emperor seem to be mostly in these regions where he conducted military campaigns or which he visited. However, this general pattern does not emerge in the case of Egypt, and, therefore, coins minted in Thrace with the element C, CE, CEH, CEV, CEVH, CEVHP, or CEOVHP in the obverse titulature may have been connected with local celebrations of the twentieth anniversary of Septimius Severus' reign and his decisive victories in the east over Pescennius Niger (194) and Byzantion (196). As such, they should rather be dated to the period of 212–214 or even 212–216, as opposed to only 212 or 215. The importance of Septimius Severus for Thrace is illustrated not only by coins, but also by a large number of dedications and building inscriptions from the time of his visit that have been preserved throughout the Danubian and Balkan region and which, as Anthony R. Birley observes, do not prove that the emperor 'visited the places in question. (...) Even if he did not set foot in a particular town, his presence somewhere in a province would result in the setting up of statues, altars and other marks of honours.'⁵⁸

51 See Hristova and Jekov 2010, 60–103 and Hristova and Jekov 2011, 171–230.

52 *SNG France* 1504–1541, Fig. 10.

53 *SNG Glasgow* 2386.

54 Kampmann and Ganschow 2008, 247–248, types 51.12–30, Fig. 12.

55 Kampmann and Ganschow 2008, 248, types 51.31–33.

56 Hdn. 4.8.6–9; Dio Cass. 78.22–23; and SHA *M. Ant.* 6.2–3.

57 Jones 1963, 333.

58 Birley 1988, 143.

Another interesting feature of the name CE(O)VHPOC in the obverse legends of Thracian (and Lower Moesian) coins is its transliterated form. While the form CEOVHPOC with OY/OV as an equivalent of the Latin consonant *v* dominates on coins of Septimius Severus struck in Asia Minor and Syria, the form CEVHPOC prevails in both Thrace and Lower Moesia (but also in Macedonia),⁵⁹ where Y/V seems to have been pronounced not as the Greek vowel *v*, but as the Latin consonant. Obverse legends of some rare issues from Tomis minted for Septimius (Fig. 13) and medallions of Perinthos struck for Caracalla (Fig. 8–9) are an exception to this tendency. Furthermore, analogies for the use of Σ/CEY/V instead of Σ/CEOY/OV in Greek transliterations of the name Severus can also be found in the epigraphic material. The transliterated form ΣΕΥΗΡΟΣ / CEYHPOC⁶⁰ appears 216 times in 201 known texts and, among them, 64 times in the provinces of Thrace and Lower Moesia (33.37% of all monuments), while the form ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΣ / CEOYHPOC is attested 623 times in 564 texts and only 61 times in the Thracio-Moesian region (only 10.21%). In Northern Greece (including Macedonia), which provides important context for Thrace, the proportion is different. There, we can find 24 texts with 23 declensional forms of ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΣ / CEOYHPOC and 18 forms in 14 texts with the same name transliterated as ΣΕΥΗΡΟΣ / CEYHPOC. A similar situation can be observed in the north-western part of Asia Minor, e.g. in the region of Bithynia, where the name ΣΕΥΗΡΟΣ / CEYHPOC appears only seven times, whereas ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΣ / CEOYHPOC appears 33 times in 28 inscriptions.⁶¹ This comparison led us to the conclusion that most Thracian and Lower Moesian die engravers, who lived in a bilingual environment, used the Greek letter *v* in the same manner as Latin *v*.

The last phenomenon is that the Greek transliteration of the title Augustus instead of its translation, CEBACTOC, seems to be less confined to Thrace and Lower Moesia, for we find Caracalla's titulature with the transliterated title AVTOVCTOC in its complete or abbreviated form (AV, AVT, AVTO) in Bithynia (Claudiopolis, Herakleia Pontike, Flaviopolis, Nikaia, Nikomedeia, Prousa), Cappadocia (Caesarea), Cyprus (bronze denominations with the reverse legend KOINON KYPIIΩN), Galatia (Ankyra, Pessinous), Ionia (Ephesos), Mysia (Kyzikos, Pegamon), Pamphylia (Side), Paphlagonia (Germanicopolis), or in Phrygia (Amorion, Kotyaion, Midaion). However, even if there are rare issues with the abbreviation CEB in the Severan titulature attested

59 Under Septimius Severus, billon tetradrachms were also struck in Alexandria with the abbreviation CEVH in the years 4–6 and 8–10 of his reign, while the whole name CEOVHPOC dominated in years 2, 3 and 4 of his reign. See Kampmann and Ganschow 2008, 242–244.

60 In all grammatical cases.

61 For the statistics, see: epigraphy.packhum.org – a website based on *Agora*, *ArchEph*, *EKM*, *IG*, *SEG*, *IGBulg*, *IScM*, and many other epigraphic corpora and publications.

in few Thracian cities (Bizye,⁶² Byzantion, Tomis), they are exceptional and can be compared with the specimens without the title Augustus or with much more common legends such as ANTΩNINOC AVTOVCTOC, ANTΩNINOC ΠIOC AVTOVCTOC, or AYT K M AVPH ANTΩNEINOC AYT. For example, Schönert-Geiss⁶³ notes only one issue with Caracalla's obverse legend AVT K M AVPHA ANTΩNINOC CEB (type 1520) for Byzantion but notes 58 with the legend ANTΩNINOC (or ANTΩNEINOC) AVTOVCTOC (1519, 1538–1561 and 1563–1596).⁶⁴ She notes nine with the titulature AYT K M AVPH ANTΩNEINOC AYT (1529–1537⁶⁵), as well as only one type with the Geta's obverse inscription Π CEΠ ΓETA CEB (type 1601), and two with the legend AV K Π CEΠ ΓETAC AVTOVCTOC (1623 and 1624). Four have the legend AVT K Π CEΠ ΓETAC AVT (1625–1628⁶⁶), one has the legend AVT K Π CEΠ ΓETAC AVT (1629), and four have the legend ΓETAC AVT or ΓETAC AVTO (1630–1633). The Lower Moesian city of Marcianopolis has coins which were struck under Caracalla only during the tenure of the *legatus* Quintilianus and which bear the legends ANTΩNINOC ΠIOC AVTOVCTOC or (together with the portrait and titulature of Julia Domna) ANTΩNINOC AVTOVCTOC.⁶⁷ Among 26 synchronous legends of Septimius Severus' coins in Ephesos,⁶⁸ only three are attested with the abbreviation AV or AVT⁶⁹ and, among 25 legends of Caracalla as Augustus,⁷⁰ there are only five obverse inscriptions with the abbreviation AV, AVT, or AVTOVCT(?).⁷¹ It is worth mentioning that the transliteration AVTOVCTOC in the emperor's titulature seems to be a specifically numismatic phenomenon, since there are no stone inscriptions with such transliterated imperial titles.⁷²

62 Only in Geta's titulature: AVTOKPA Π CEΠ ΓETAC CEB. See Jurukova 1981, 60 and CN 3872–3874.

63 Schönert-Geiss 1972, 71–88.

64 See Fig. 14 (CN 785).

65 See Fig. 15 (CN 758).

66 See Fig. 16 (CN 861).

67 Hristova and Jekov 2010, 61–99. Bronzes with the obverse legend AVK M AVPA ANTΩNINOC Π AV-T and with the reverse legend MAPKIANOΠIOAITΩN Hristova and Jekov 2010 should also be dated to the period of the governance of Quintillus, 73 – Type 6.18.36.20–22.

68 Karwiese 2012, 91–98.

69 Karwiese 2012. Type 400: A K CEOVHPOC Π AVT – three specimens known, Type 406: AVT K A CE OVHPOC Π AV – one specimen known, and types 404, 410, 417, 423: CEOVHPOC ΠEIOC AVT: 6, 2, 2, and 11 specimens noted respectively.

70 Karwiese 2012, 107–120.

71 Karwiese 2012. Type 475: AV K ANTΩNEINOC AV: two specimens known, Type 519: M AVP A ANTΩNEINOC Π AV – seven specimens known, but, together with the variant without Π AV, types 483 and 511: M AVP A ANTΩNEINOC Π AVT – three specimens noted and Type 495: [M AV]PHA [AN]TΩNIN A[VTOVCT...] – only one specimen known.

72 In the single known inscription dated to the Severan period with the female form Αὐγούστῆς (*IG XIV 910* from Veltrae in Latium Adiectum), the name is related to the *III Legio Augusta*, not to the empress.

Christopher Howgego observes that 'the proposition that language is an important marker of identity is well established, for all that it may be more important in some contexts than in others, and that the choice of language to express communal identities need not reflect what people actually spoke.'⁷³ The above remarks on three elements in the emperors' titulature on Severan coins struck in Thrace and Lower Moesia seem to suggest that not only the choice of language (Greek or Latin), but also choice of the particular abbreviations, the use of the emperor's cognomen, or its transliteration can be a marker of local identity in the region situated between eastern and western influences. The frequent occurrence of the title AVTOVCTOC situates the coinage of the provinces closer to Roman imperial issues, and the appearance of the abbreviated name CE(O)VHPOC is a sign of a particular attitude of local or provincial (especially Thracian) authorities towards Septimius Severus and his family.

73 Howgego 2005, 12.



Fig. 1 Caracalla (Serdica, CN 5091)



Fig. 2 Caracalla (Traianopolis, CN 3799)



Fig. 3 Caracalla (Augusta Traiana, CN 3771)



Fig. 4 Caracalla (Hadrianopolis, CN 6756)



Fig. 5 Caracalla (Serdica, CN 5102)



Fig. 6 Caracalla (Serdica, CN 7322)



Fig. 7 Caracalla (Serdica CN 5047)



Fig. 8 Caracalla (Perinthos, CN 2958)



Fig. 9 Caracalla (Perinthos, CN 2946)



Fig. 10 Caracalla (Tarsos)



Fig. 11 Caracalla (Side)



Fig. 12 Caracalla (Alexandria)



Fig. 13 Septimius Severus
(Tomis, CN 28953)



Fig. 14 Caracalla (Byzantium,
CN 785)



Fig. 15 Caracalla (Byzantium,
CN 7589)



Fig. 16 Geta (Byzantium CN
861)

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24 The Health Cult in Pautalia: Some Key Aspects of the City Coinage as a Primary Source on the Subject

Valentina Grigorova-Gencheva – Lily Grozdanova

Abstract

The health cult was traditionally important in the province of Thrace. Pautalia represents an intriguing research case in this sense. The city has mineral springs that have been popular because of their healing capacity ever since antiquity. The cult is evidenced by different types of sources. There are archaeological artefacts directly indicating medicinal activity, such as a box with medical instruments and a tube with medicines. The provincial coinage minted in the city from the time of Antoninus Pius (AD 138–161) until Caracalla (AD 198–217) contains an impressive diversity of types depicting the health cult theme. There are abundant reverses with Asclepius, Hygeia, Telesphorus, the Nymphs, and the snake (including the Glykon and the specific type of Asclepius on a flying snake). Attested are reverse types representing Asclepius and Hygeia in front of a temple, thus indicating the existence of such cult building functioning in the city. The importance of the health cult in Pautalia is further stressed by the inscription from the central Asclepeion of Epidauros dedicated to the health gods of the city in question (*IG IV*, 477). Despite the evidence and several localization theories, the exact location of the Asclepeion of Pautalia remains uncertain. This is just one of the issues concerning the health cult there. The systematization and the simultaneous interpretation of the different types of sources have the potential to reveal aspects of the religious activity and importance of the city that are yet to be researched and clarified.

Keywords

Pautalia, medical and balneological centre, health cult, provincial coinage

The health cult and its deities are traditionally well attested in the region of ancient Thrace.¹ In this regard, the city of Pautalia represents an intriguing research opportunity.

The evidence for settlement life in the vicinity of the modern-day town of Kyustendil in south-western Bulgaria dates back to the early Iron Age. The territory of the Thracian tribe of the Dentheletai is traditionally located in the region. After the Roman conquest of Thrace, the sources attest the strategy *Denthelethica* there.² The foundation of the city of Pautalia dates back to the beginning of the 2nd century AD, in the time of the emperor Trajan (AD 98–117).³ The analysis of the health cult

1 Nilsson 1950, 312–329; Tačeva-Chitova 1981a, 107–108.

2 Ptol. 3.11.8.

3 The theories concerning the precise location and the identification of the earlier settlements in the region, as well as the organization and administrative structure of the Roman city, are still a matter of controversy. See on

particularly concerns this stage of the settlement life in the region. Thus, in order to interpret the ancient sources more accurately and efficiently, it is important to approach them from the perspective of the Roman provincial city life and mentality.

The epigraphic monuments are often the basis for the reconstructions of political and religious life in Pautalia.⁴ Elements indicating the importance of the cult for its people are found in several inscriptions that have been discussed frequently. To these documents belongs the inscription from Spinopara (Territorium Pautaliae, *IGBulg* IV, 2129). The text contains a list of the *neokoroi* of the Asclepius cult. The fact that such an epigraphical document was produced is a direct indication not just of the existence of the cult, but also of its significance. Further signs of this religious behaviour emerge in four dedicatory inscriptions of the citizens of Pautalia from the Asclepeion of Glava Panega, the area of present-day Pleven (*IGBulg* II, 511, 536, 540, 544).⁵

The typological diversity and quantity of the material related to different aspects of the health cult in the city are impressive. This is indicative of the essential role that the cult had played in the construction of the polis identity. In addition to the epigraphic monuments, of which some were previously mentioned, there is an abundance of numismatic material which we will come back to more explicitly later. Fragments of the healing gods' statues, stone eggs, medical instruments, votive tablets, etc. were also recovered.⁶ The material available attests to specifics that seem to have local roots. The dedications to Asclepius on some Thracian horseman reliefs (as *IGBulg* IV, 2100)⁷ seem to indicate that the religious notion of him in Pautalia has incorporated elements of a Thracian origin.⁸

The practical aspect, i.e. the medical and balneological activity there, is also reflected in the sources.⁹ The artefacts recovered during the 1992 archaeological excavations¹⁰ of a 1st–2nd-century AD burial mound near Kocherinovo (region of Kyustendil) included

the subjects Ivanov 1906, 8–9; Danoff 1962, 800–824; Ruseva-Slokoska 1982; Ruseva-Slokoska 1989; Tačeva 2004; Kacarova 2005, 95; Katsarova 2012; Delev 2014, 222; Parissaki 2016, 189–191.

4 For the analysis of the epigraphic data in connection with the religious life of Pautalia, see Gočeva 1992; Gočeva 2000; Tonini 2012; Parissaki 2016.

5 Kacarova 2005, 129; Grigorova 1995, 45, 54; Gerov 1961, 268.

6 Grigorova 2000.

7 *IGBulg* IV, 2100: above the relief I. [κυρίῳ Ἀσκ]ληπιῶ Σκαλπηνῶ.

8 Gerov 1961, 268; Tačeva-Chitova 1981b, 107a; Kacarova 2005, 127. According to these authors' convincing assumption, the cult of Asclepius in Pautalia, though organized in the traditional Greco-Roman way, had a distinctly local Thracian character. Their argument is based on the appearance of the Thracian horseman reliefs with dedications to Asclepius, where he is referred to as κύριος, Σκαλπηνός and Σπινθοπυρηνός, as well as on the lack of traditional elements for the Greek interpretation of the cult.

9 For an important analysis of the medical and balneological activities at Pautalia and the sources attesting these activities, see Grigorova 2000.

10 The excavations were conducted by an archaeological team directed by A. Božkova and P. Delev. See Grigorova 2000.

a bronze box with vessels containing drugs (Fig. 1). The healing properties of the Pautalian mineral springs are mentioned in the letter from the people of Skaptopara to emperor Gordian III dated to AD 238 (*Syll.*³ 2, 888, l. 120–130).¹¹ The typical mentality of the urbanized population in the Roman era and its religious perceptions seem to logically connect the therapeutic properties of the springs to the healing gods Asclepius,¹² Hygieia, Telesphorus, and the nymphs.¹³

The above facts have played an important role in previous attempts to locate the Asclepeion of Pautalia. The long-term and systematic excavations have yielded thus far no architectural structure that could be positively identified as a temple associated with the city's main cult. Having compared the archaeological data from the location with the famous Asclepea in Epidauros, Kos, Pergamon, and the geographically closest example at Glava Panega, researchers agree in viewing the hill Hisarlaka and its immediate surroundings which include the Pautalia's thermal springs as the most probable location of the cult complex. The epigraphic and numismatic evidence available was the main reason to search for such religious and architectural structures inside the town. A well-known inscription from the important healing cult complex in Epidauros (*IG IV*² 1, 477) contains a dedication from a priest to the Pautalian Asclepius, Hygieia, and Telesphorus. This source strongly implies that the importance of the health cult of Pautalia reached beyond the borders of the city. This document and a group of coin images support the theory that such a strong religious cult had surely been equipped with a respective temple complex. A few other coin types¹⁴ represent the Pautalian triad of Asclepius, Hygieia, and Telesphorus in different kinds of temples¹⁵ and panoramic views with several religious installations (Fig. 2).¹⁶ Based on these coin types, the existence of up to four different, probably not coexistent, temples linked to the health gods has been assumed.¹⁷

The long-term interest in the history of Pautalia and the importance of the health cult for the city have resulted in a large number of works on this topic and its different aspects. Since it is very often the numismatic data that is being used as an empirical

11 Croon 1967, 244–245 comments on the development of the connection between the cult of Asclepius and the progress of thermal medicine during the Hellenistic, and especially the Roman ages. On p. 244 note 3, he notes that the explicit mentioning of the healing properties of the thermal springs in Pautalia deserves special attention as this kind of information is not common, even in the Roman period.

12 On the subject of the main aspects of the cult of Asclepius and some of his central sanctuaries outside Thrace, see Heiderich 1966; Riethmüller 2005.

13 Croon 1967, 246; Kacarova 2005, 128.

14 Wroth 1882, 293.

15 See, for instance, Ruzicka 1933, no. 258 (Commodus); Varbanov 2005, no. 4422 (Marcus Aurelius), no. 4661 (Septimius Severus).

16 Ruzicka 1933, no. 287 (Septimius Severus), nos. 711–713 (Caracalla), no. 908 (Geta).

17 Božkova 2006, 189.

foundation for the analysis, we would like to highlight a particular aspect of this issue. It is interesting to see in greater detail what information the coinage provides about the broader picture of the polis life or to what extent the health cult was related to the way the city wanted to present itself and communicate its image and identity. The patterns that can be traced in the coinage struck on behalf of the imperial family seem intriguing, too. Do they indicate whether and how the cult had been connected with the political behaviour of the city, not just on a local level, but also on an imperial one? The extent to which coins do actually serve as carriers of information remains a matter of debate. Certainly, they are a remarkably multilayered source that combines text, image, and materiality. Their primary function as a means of payment presumes a large number of users that come in contact with them.¹⁸ Thus, at least their potential to mediate information seems obvious enough.

Pautalia had an active mint in the period from Antoninus Pius (AD 138–161) to Caracalla (AD 211–217). The city's coin typology is traditionally diverse. The coin designs reflect multiple aspects of the city's religious life and landscape, both manmade and topographic. Notably, the variety of health cult motifs greatly surpasses that of the other themes.

The health cult-type group contains a multitude of designs with Asclepius, Hygieia (Fig. 3), Telesphorus,¹⁹ the snake, and the three nymphs. Each of these three deities has individual types where they are represented with their typical attributes, seated or standing. The simple reverse type with Asclepius standing with a serpent-staff and with his head turned left or right is present during the entire period of the city's minting activity. It is better attested in the issues of the male members of the imperial families. However, it seems incorrect to presume that the types with Asclepius are minted exclusively for the emperors and their heirs. He can be found in the more complex reverse compositions used for all the members of the ruling families, including the female. A particularly interesting reverse design represents Asclepius with a garment and serpent-staff flying on a winged serpent (dragon). This specific type can mainly²⁰ be found in the issues of Septimius Severus;²¹ his joined coins with his wife, Julia Domna;²² and on coins of Caracalla,²³ and of Geta.²⁴ The type is unusual and seems to have no close analogies in the region and the period of the activity of this civic

18 Noreña 2011, 15; Manders 2012, 29–30.

19 Ruzicka 1933, nos. 501–502.

20 Before the time of the Severan family, the type is currently attested only by several specimens of Lucius Verus (AD 161–169) Ruzicka 1933, no. 159.

21 Ruzicka 1933, nos. 342–344; Varbanov 2005, nos. 4681–4689.

22 Ruzicka 1933, no. 434; Varbanov 2005, no. 4856.

23 Ruzicka 1933, nos. 612–618; Varbanov 2005, nos. 5007–5015.

24 Ruzicka 1933, no. 883; Varbanov 2005, nos. 5339–5342.

mint.²⁵ As far as the Roman provincial coinage in Thrace is concerned, it visually resembles the types with Triptolemus and Demeter with a *biga* drawn by serpents, but not to the degree that would help the interpretation and explanation of the Pautalian type. An interesting direction of analysis could be linking this type with the local characteristics of the deity. Leon Ruzicka, in his important study on the coinage of Pautalia, excludes the connection with the popular early-Thracian serpent cults.²⁶ Still, this line of thought could prove fruitful as researchers, as already stated, tend to find indications of the syncretism of the Pautalian Asclepius and an earlier deity from the local Thracian pantheon. Yet, presented this way, the presumption is nothing more than a mere speculation, as the topic needs to be thoroughly revisited. What is certain, however, is that the winged dragon on Pautalian coins, Glycon, is the guardian of the polis' thermal springs, as in many other Greek cities. The cult of the snake god Glycon was introduced in the mid-2nd century AD by the Greek false prophet Alexander of Abonuteichos, according to the satirist Lucian, who provides the primary literary reference to the deity.²⁷ From the reign of Antoninus Pius until the late 3rd century AD, Roman provincial coins depicting Glycon were struck across the whole eastern part of the Roman Empire, thus attesting his popularity as a reincarnation of Asclepius.

Another interesting case is a specimen of the so-called pseudo-autonomous issue of the city. Its obverse represents the head of Asclepius, while its reverse depicts Asclepius' staff with the serpent coiled around it.²⁸ Although this coin type is difficult to interpret, it seems indicative enough of the importance of the cult for the city.

There are different compositions presenting the three deities together or just two of them, with and without a temple, or with other elements like an altar, a column, or a *cista mystica*, etc. The type diversity is further enriched by the plentiful serpent motifs and those of the three nymphs traditionally connected to the thermal springs. Of particular interest are the aforementioned types with a panoramic view containing multiple temples and the figures of Asclepius, the nymphs, and a male personification of the mineral springs. Besides the information that these types provide with regard to the architecture of the city, they also demonstrate that the elites responsible for the

25 Grozdanova is currently researching the appearance of this particular type for Severus Alexander (AD 222–235) in Nikaia.

26 Ruzicka 1933, 38.

27 On the role of the snake in the iconography of the cult and the idea of Glycon, see Lucian, *Alex.* 18–20; Küster 1913; Bernhard 1926, 28; Schouten 1967; Kos 1991; Stoll 1992, 44.

28 Ruzicka 1933, no. 1.

issuing, especially under the rule of the Severans, considered this view meaningful and representative.²⁹

Some of the types depicting Apollo may, of course, also be associated with the cult of the health gods, as he was undoubtedly praised for his healing abilities. However, the numismatic and epigraphic data strongly suggests that the central health cult triad of the city involved Asclepius, Hygieia, and Telesphorus.³⁰

There is no interruption in the minting activity of Pautalia in the period from Antoninus Pius to Caracalla, yet an obvious peak in the production can be observed under the Severan dynasty – a phenomenon that is characteristic of the provincial coinage in the period. It is striking that in this period the coin types associated with the health cult increasingly gained in popularity (Fig. 4). They certainly dominate in the coinage. It is exactly in this period that most of the unconventional and locally specific types, such as the aforementioned Asclepius riding a winged serpent (dragon), have been struck. The presence of the members of the imperial family in Thrace is well attested. It has even been assumed that Septimius Severus and Caracalla had personally visited Pautalia.³¹ The intensification in the city's coin production seems logically linked to their activities in the region. In this context, the presence of the health cult theme on the coins of Pautalia suggests that the cult was a part of the political manifesto of the city. Moreover, it is quite possible that, during his visits to the town, the emperor, his family, and associates could have personally experienced the medicinal properties of the local thermal springs and the skills of the Pautalian healers.

In conclusion, the entire range of sources testifies to the importance of the health cult in the city of Pautalia. Although some questions remain without an unambiguous answer, such as the precise location of the Asclepeion, the overall notion about this particular aspect of the city's religious life seems to be more than adequate.

The analysis of the numismatic data indicates that the cult played a key role in the way the city represented itself. It seems that the portrayal of these types of motifs on an information medium such as coins was considered meaningful and important, communicating the polis' collective identity. These conclusions would be impossible without taking into consideration the entire spectrum of ancient sources available. Ultimately, the combined examination of the epigraphic and numismatic data indicates

29 Ruzicka 1933, no. 289 (Septimius Severus), nos. 711–713 (Caracalla), no. 908 (Geta); Varbanov 2005, nos. 4648 and 4833 (Septimius Severus), nos. 5255–5257 (Caracalla), no. 5427 (Geta).

30 According to Ruzicka 1933, 23, the uncommon coin type of Pautalia showing Demeter with the *cista mystica* and a snake inside, holding torch with a snake entwined on it, attests to her role as a health deity, thus shedding additional light on the importance of the health-cult for the city.

31 Ruzicka 1933, 11; Grigorova 1995, 45; Boteva 1997, 238–245. In this connection, it also needs to be borne in mind that the healing deities play a central role in religious behaviour and politics, especially under Caracalla. The problem is examined in Rowan 2012, 110–163.

that the city promoted itself through its health cult not just on a local provincial level, but also on an imperial one.

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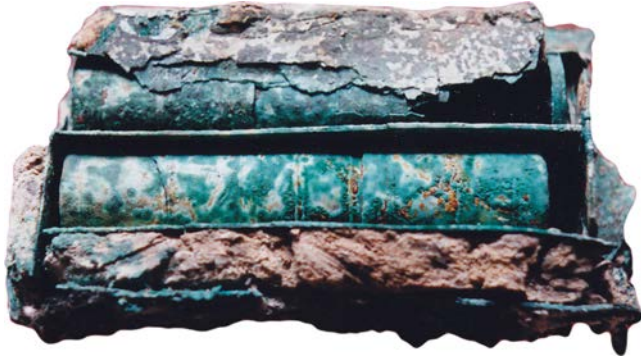


Fig. 1 Bronze medicine box



Fig. 2 Bronze coin of Pautalia: Caracalla / Hillview (CN 4935)



Fig. 3 Bronze coin of Pautalia: Septimius Severus / Asclepius, Hygieia and Telesphorus (CN 9709)

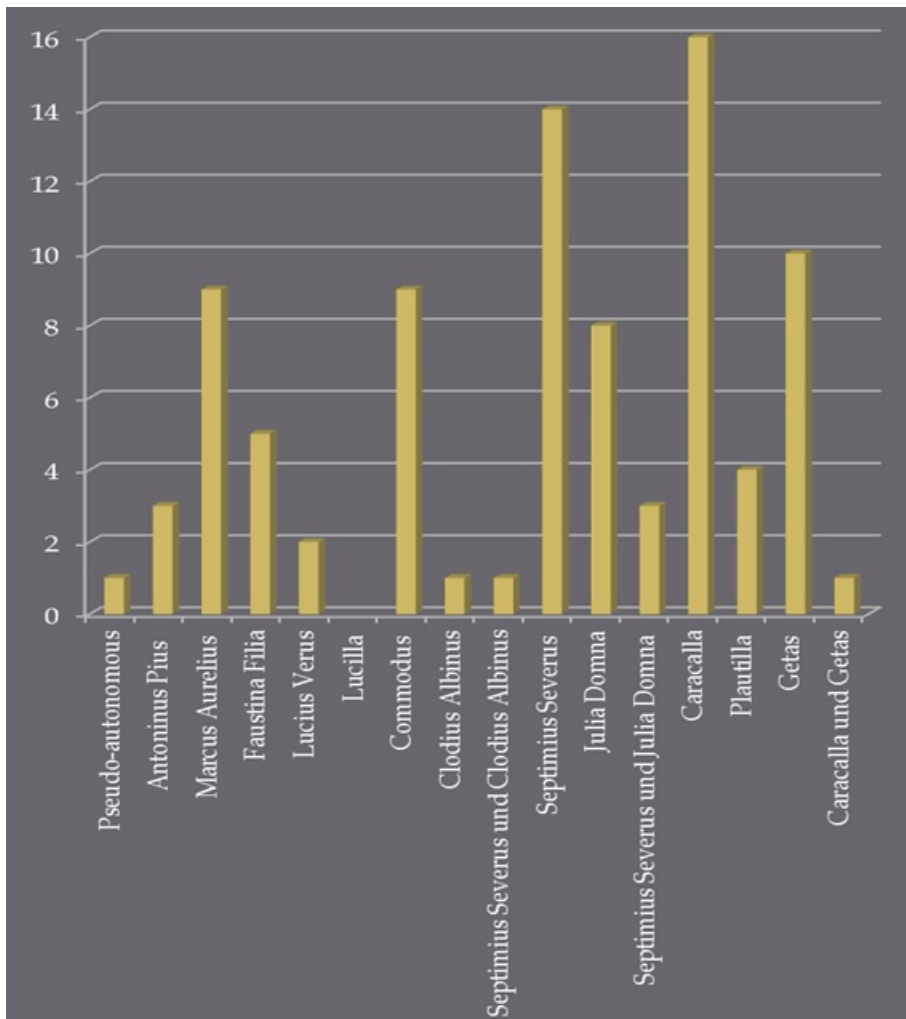


Fig. 4 The health cult type variety under the Antonine and Severan dynasty according to the type systematization of Ruzicka 1933

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25 Philippopolis and Pautalia – A Parallel Study of the Coinages

Ulrike Peter – Lily Grozdanova

Abstract

The mints of Philippopolis and Pautalia, two cities in the province of Thrace, functioned fairly simultaneously in the Antonine and Severan periods. A parallel study of the coinages reveals similarities and differences in the choice of coin designs and denominations, as well as in the quantity of issues and other aspects, with the most interesting parallels coming from the Severan period.

Along with local motifs typical of these Roman mints, these coinages bear designs common and understandable for the entire Thracian province. The analysis of the numismatic data supports the idea put forward by K. Kraft and advanced by E. Schönert-Geiss and H.-D. Schultz. According to his concept, the cities of central Thrace belonged to a common *Lieferbezirk*. Despite the fact that no shared dies have been found thus far, the similarities in the coinages of the *Lieferbezirk* are firmly established. Whereas the issues of individual cities were primarily meant for the internal city market, the evidence of the coin finds suggests that the similarities in fabric and style, as well as shared cultural values, made the civic issues a recognizable and convertible means of payment in the entire *Lieferbezirk*. The composition of coin hoards from the region and the period indicates that civic coins produced in this inner Thracian workshop (or workshops) circulated not only together but also outside their issuing city. The polis elites were responsible for the choice of the coin designs, but did these coins also articulate a particular regional identity? The coinages of Pautalia and Philippopolis offer an opportunity for exploring these questions in a comparative perspective.

Keywords

Philippopolis, Pautalia, coinage, 'Lieferbezirk', workshop, regional identity

Within the framework of project B4-2 'Region and Memoria: Local History and Local Myths on Thracian Provincial Coins', supported by the Excellence Cluster Topoi,¹ the activities of the Roman provincial mints² of Philippopolis³ and Pautalia⁴ have been investigated. Throughout this study, our attention was often attracted by

- 1 <http://www.topoi.org/project/b-4-2/>. For fruitful and inspiring discussions we thank all members of B-4 and especially Kerstin Hofmann.
- 2 On the complex topic of the Roman provincial coinage, see e. g. Ripolles 1992, 1-54; Heuchert 2005; Howgego 2005; Weiss 2005.
- 3 On the coinage of Philippopolis, see Mušmov 1924; Peter 2005; Peter 2013; Peter 2017; Peter 2018; Varbanov 2007, 84-207; Dotkova 2014; Jordanov 2014 – with further literature. The new type study of Ivan Varbanov (Varbanov 2019) could not be considered in this article.
- 4 On the coinage of Pautalia, see Ruzicka 1932-1933; Grigorova 1993; Grigorova 1995; Varbanov 2005b, 374-458; Woytek 2015; Woytek 2016; Prokopov 1983; Dimitrov 1985; Boteva 1997, 143-152, 277-278; Filipova 2002; Filipova and Tonev 2003; Kacarova 2005, 224-236; Filipova 2006; Grozdanova 2016; Grozdanova 2017a; Grozdanova 2017b – with further literature.

the similarities in the design, as well as in the style and fabric, of the dies produced by these two cities. Consequently, it was expected that identical obverse dies could be identified.

In his seminal study of the provincial mints of Asia Minor, Konrad Kraft developed the theory of a *Lieferbezirk*, or common supply area.⁵ Extending his observations to the province of Thrace, he presumed that during the time of Caracalla, there was one workshop (*Werkstätte*) responsible for the production of coins for the cities of Serdica, Philippopolis, Topeiros, and Traianopolis. He also included Pautalia within this group.⁶ Edith Schönert-Geiss demonstrated that Augusta Traiana was also part of this group, having postulated a common *Lieferbezirk* for all inner Thracian cities. While including cities like Hadrianopolis, she also excluded Nicopolis ad Nestum and Plotinopolis.⁷ Later, Hans-Dietrich Schultz argued that Plotinopolis also belonged to the same supply area, based on the evidence of a common die between Plotinopolis and Hadrianopolis he discovered. Thus, he connected the polis to the same workshop, which, according to his and Schönert-Geiss' opinion, most likely operated in the metropolis of Philippopolis.⁸

Apart from these observations, we have not been able to discover any shared dies for Philippopolis and Pautalia, and, even if some would have been found, this phenomenon was evidently not typical of Thrace, unlike in Asia Minor.⁹ Nevertheless, our data seems to support the common *Lieferbezirk* postulated by Kraft. Our understanding of a common workshop assumes a common mint that struck for the entire microregion or a group of mints that were served by the same (travelling?) die engravers.

But what would the idea of a common workshop mean for the interpretation of the numismatic material? What kind of identity can it disclose? Are the coin issues informative of the civic identity of the minting city? Do the similarities in designs reflect some sort of regional identity? Or, are the coins as material objects informative only of a likely common workshop and its production organization and technologies?¹⁰ The coinages of Philippopolis and Pautalia offer a good opportunity for a comparative study, thus bringing us a step forward in answering these questions.

5 Kraft 1972. On the *Lieferbezirk* theory and its application, see also Robert 1975, 188–192; Harl 1987, 15–18; Heuchert 2005, 43–44, as well as the dissertation by George Watson, Cambridge University, devoted to Kraft's theory and prepared under the supervision of Terence Volk, which is published now; see Watson 2019. Unfortunately we were not able to include the book yet.

6 Kraft 1972, 101.

7 Schönert-Geiss 1991, 16.

8 Schultz 1999, 830; Schönert-Geiss 1991, 16.

9 The reason for the rarity (see Kraft 1972, 102, note 20) or complete absence of common dies between the cities in Thrace remains unclear. Schultz 1999, 829 offers no definite explanation for the lack of common dies either.

10 The conclusions Kraft made from his observations were too one-sided; see the justified criticism by Nollé 1997, 23–24 with note 67 relying on L. Robert.

A better understanding of the notion of a common *Lieferbezirk* for a number of cities can be achieved through the study of the coin circulation. In the future, this work will be eased by the new functionalities of the Thracian coin portal (<https://www.corpus-nummorum.eu/thrace/home>). A closer look at the composition of the coin hoards in the region of Thrace from the period of Pautalia's and Philippopolis' minting activity¹¹ reveals one intriguing detail. The coins of the cities potentially belonging to a common *Lieferbezirk* are often found together. To mention just a few examples, the hoards of Todorichene,¹² Gabare,¹³ Akadjievo¹⁴ and Pravishte¹⁵ all contain mainly coins of Pautalia, Serdica, Philippopolis, and Augusta Traiana. Although other mints are represented in these finds too, it appears that the hoards from the territory of a particular workshop primarily contain specimens of the cities of its *Lieferbezirk*. These observations make it possible to assume that, although initially intended for the internal market of the issuing city, the coin production of the workshop(s) (and particularly those of inner Thrace) freely circulated in the entire territory of the *Lieferbezirk*. This would appear even clearer, if one compares the coin circulation in inner Thrace and on the coast – the areas representing two different *Lieferbezirke*.¹⁶

According to Volker Heuchert, the provincial coinage circulated mostly within a radius of c. 80 km from the issuing city.¹⁷ This assumption seems plausible. Yet inner Thrace features many hoards that were found at a much greater distance from the mint best represented in the assemblage. A good example is offered by the coin hoard of Krepost in the region of Haskovo that included 190 bronze coins from the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.¹⁸ The majority of coins belong to Pautalia (63), Serdica (61),

11 On the coin hoards containing specimens of Pautalia and their interpretation, see Dimitrov 1985; Grigorova 1995, 95–113; Kacarova 2005, 224–236. It must be noted that, according to the data reported by Grigorova, the finds also contain specimens of Philippopolis in over 50% of all cases. In a forthcoming article, Ulrike Peter demonstrates that almost in every hoard with coins of Philippopolis there were also coins of Pautalia and usually coins of other cities of the *Lieferbezirk*.

12 <http://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/hoard/10157>: Pautalia: 35 coins; Philippopolis: 11; Augusta Traiana: 25; Serdica: 90; Nicopolis ad Nestum: 3; Traianopolis: 3; Perinthos: 4; Mesembria: 1; Nicomedia: 2.

13 <http://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/hoard/9797>: Pautalia: 11 coins; Philippopolis: 3; Augusta Traiana: 3; Serdica: 9; Nicopolis ad Istrum: 1; uncertain: 1.

14 <http://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/hoard/12104>: Pautalia: 31 coins; Philippopolis: 15; Augusta Traiana: 10; Serdica: 30; Nicopolis ad Nestum: 1; Ancyra 1.

15 <http://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/hoard/12140>: Pautalia: 47 coins; Philippopolis: 9; Augusta Traiana: 8; Nicopolis ad Mestum: 1; Deultum: 14; uncertain: 6.

16 Kraft 1972, 101.

17 Heuchert 2005, 31 with note 22.

18 Gerov 1977, 163 no. 196. For the latest interpretation of the hoard, see Komnick 2003, 34 no. 11, with further references and also Klinger 2016, 363–371; Teodosiev 2017 683–684; <http://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/hoard/12298>. The coin distribution is according to Jurukova 1976 (193–194), which supersedes the earlier publication by Gerasimov 1965, 248–249.

and Philippopolis (22), with other cities being represented by much smaller numbers: Traianopolis (1), Augusta Traiana (13), Nicopolis ad Nestum (3), Deultum (2), Bizye (1), Nicopolis ad Istrum (1), Kalchedon (1), Nikaia (1), Ankyra (1), and Rome (1). Pautalia and Serdica, the best-attested mints in the hoard, are situated more than 200 km away from the find spot. A smaller find from Golyama Brestnitsa, the region of Lovech, shows a similar pattern.¹⁹ Its 26 coins are distributed as follows: Pautalia (10), Serdica (7), Philippopolis (4), Augusta Traiana (2), Anchialos (2), and Nicopolis ad Nestum (1). Again, the distance between the find spot and the best-represented mint is c. 200 km. Even if this phenomenon is not a rule, it shows the peculiarities of the coin circulation in the region.²⁰

Further links between the civic issues of Central Thrace can be identified through detailed studies of the coinages. The time of the Severan dynasty is an exceptionally active period for provincial minting. Some impressive similarities in the coinages of Pautalia, Philippopolis, Augusta Traiana, Serdica, Hadrianopolis, Topeiros, Traianopolis, Nicopolis ad Mestum, and Plotinopolis can be illustrated by the portraits of Emperor Caracalla (Fig. 1).

The reverse types and their designs are also very informative in this regard. The types featuring Hermes are characteristic of the entire empire and especially of the province of Thrace.²¹ However, even in the case of this popular deity, there are type variations indicating regional peculiarities. Thus, in the Antonine and the Severan periods, a cock appears in front of Hermes standing with a purse (*marsupium*) and caduceus (*kerykeion*) on coins from Pautalia²² and Philippopolis²³ (Fig. 2); Hermes with the cock²⁴ can also be found on the coins of Serdica,²⁵ Augusta Traiana,²⁶ Hadria-

19 Dimitrov 1985, 13 argued that, according to the finds, including that from Golyama Brestnitsa 2 of 1941, the coins of Pautalia seem to have circulated outside the territory under its administrative control. On the coin hoard, see also Gerov 1977, 153 no. 64; Schönert-Geiss 1991, 25; Grigorova 1995, 95–113; Teodosiev 2017, 291–292; <http://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/hoard/2700>.

20 The interpretation of (see Elkins 2009) and the reasoning behind the hoarding of the coins, as well as their dating, remain highly disputed (see Gerov 1977; the data was re-assessed by Varbanov 2012). Thus drawing conclusions on the basis of coin hoards requires certain caution, but they still remain our key source on the topic.

21 The cult of Hermes and his representations in the province of Thrace were examined by Oppermann 2010.

22 Ruzicka 1932–1933, no. 329; CN 7672, 9703. Oppermann 2010, 294 with note 70 depicts a relief with Hermes and cock from Daskalovo near Pernik in Western Thrace.

23 Varbanov 2007, no. 1203. Oppermann 2010, 293 with note 59 mentions also a votive relief of Hermes with cock from the vicinity of Plovdiv.

24 Oppermann 2010, 296 with note 86 knows coins of Serdica, Pautalia, Augusta Traiana, and Deultum which depict Hermes with a cock.

25 CN Type 792, 803.

26 CN Type 1729, 1765, 2127, 4090. Hermes accompanied by a cock is also seen on a relief found near Stara Zagora, see Oppermann 2010, 291 with note 36 (*IG Bulg V 5588*).

nopolis,²⁷ Deultum,²⁸ Nicopolis ad Istrum,²⁹ Marcianopolis.³⁰ The cock as an attribute of Hermes is rare in Greek art, including the numismatic iconography. In the late years of the Antonines and in the time of the Severans, this particular coin design occurs especially in the Thracian region where it is attested by more than one mint.

A specific type of Demeter with a serpent-entwined torch and *cista mystica* at her feet offers another interesting example (Fig. 3). A common opinion is that this atypical representation of the goddess reflects healing aspects of her cult. A relief with a similar representation of the goddess was found in Philippopolis.³¹ This coin design is common for the Severans and predominantly for the Thracian provincial territories, being attested on the coins of Philippopolis,³² Pautalia,³³ Serdica,³⁴ Hadrianopolis,³⁵ Augusta Traiana,³⁶ Traianopolis³⁷ and Topeiros,³⁸ as well as in Tomis³⁹ and Nicopolis ad Istrum.⁴⁰ In this regard, one should keep in mind cultural peculiarities of the area where healing cults were highly important. The common Thracian provincial sanctuaries were unequivocally the strongholds of regional identity.⁴¹ Hence, their roles as religious centres are inevitably connected to the way the people of the region perceived themselves and the surrounding reality and may explain the appearance and spread of the coin designs specific to a particular region.

A closer look at the coinages of Thrace provides the opportunity to explore identity constructions on a more narrowly defined spatial level. The period of the Severans offers an interesting example of very close design combinations on the coins of different cities minted for the members of the *domus Augusta*. For instance, coins of Julia Domna with the turreted city-goddess on the reverse were minted for four cities of the same inner Thracian *Lieferbezirk*. Her coins with such a reverse are

27 CN Type 6244.

28 CN Type 4119, 1043, 4129.

29 CN Type 4160, 4608, 4986, 4998, 5620.

30 CN Type 7100, 7101.

31 Ruzicka 1932–1933, 23.

32 CN Type 7285.

33 CN Type 7284.

34 CN Type 520, 632, 635.

35 CN Type 6141, 6152, 6882.

36 CN Type 2014.

37 CN Type 2698.

38 CN Type 7210.

39 CN Type 7197.

40 CN Type 5080, 5646.

41 See Heuchert 2005, 50, on the function of temples in constructing local identity and their representation on provincial coins. On the use of coinage in forging and promoting identities, see e.g. Howgego 2005; Manders 2012; Horster 2013; Woolf 1997.

attested in Pautalia,⁴² Philippopolis,⁴³ Serdica,⁴⁴ and Augusta Traiana,⁴⁵ a fact already observed by E. Schönert-Geiss in her study on the latter city.⁴⁶ Going a step further, the numismatic data testify to a high level of similarity, particularly between the coins of this type from Pautalia (Fig. 4a) and Philippopolis (Fig. 4b). Comparing the portraiture of the two cities in the period of their simultaneous activity under the Antonine and the Severan rules proves even more revealing. The obverse images featuring the members of these two imperial families are astonishingly similar. Some of them could hardly be differentiated without the legend on the reverse.

Furthermore, the reverse typology in the two cities is also strikingly similar. This can be exemplified by the Hermes types discussed above. The appearance of this deity on the coins of these two merchant centres seems more than logical, but the parallel analysis of this type in the cities in question reveals even more impressive similarities. Apart from tiny details, the Hermes types of the cities completely match each other. The type of Hermes of Praxiteles requires particular attention. There are very few numismatic examples representing this sculptural artwork;⁴⁷ such a level of the die-design resemblance is attested only for Pautalia (Fig. 5a)⁴⁸ and Philippopolis (Fig. 5b).⁴⁹ Equally interesting is the type of young Hermes riding a ram (fig. 5c–d).⁵⁰ In the regional perspective, this type of representation is particularly characteristic of the coinages of the two cities in question.⁵¹ Other types with Hermes also match each other as few further examples show in figures 5e–h.⁵²

The acclamation coins issued by the two cities continue the number of typological parallels. In the period of Septimius Severus and his sons, a time when the imperial family was personally present in the Balkans,⁵³ such coins were minted by just three

42 Ruzicka 1932–1933, nos. 470–471.

43 Varbanov 2007, nos. 846, 879, 1266 and 1499.

44 CN Type 700.

45 CN Type 1816.

46 Schönert-Geiss 1991, 16.

47 Ruzicka 1932–1933, 26.

48 Gerasimov 1958, 289–290.

49 Ruzicka 1932–1933, nos. 15 and 166; Oppermann 2010, 302.

50 Philippopolis: Varbanov 2007, no. 1632; Pautalia: Ruzicka 1932–1933, no. 821a.

51 Kolev 1989, 181; Oppermann 2010, 298. Draganov 2012, 42 stresses that the design is known on other archaeological objects found in Pautalia and Serdica, thus arguing for its Pautalian origin.

52 Further coin types with Hermes depicted and minted in same way by Pautalia and Philippopolis can be found in the web-portal www.corpus-nummorum.eu.

53 Halfmann 1986, 218, 221, 224, 226–227.

cities in the area: Nicopolis ad Istrum,⁵⁴ Philippopolis,⁵⁵ and Pautalia.⁵⁶ In the case of the latter two, the acclamation form used on the reverse is almost identical.⁵⁷

All the similarities discussed above seem to point to a particular form of regional identity or other (cultural, political, religious, etc.) bonds connecting Pautalia and Philippopolis. The assumption of a specific workshop repertoire is only one possibility to explain the high level of resemblance. A similar pattern might be expected in other cities of the same *Lieferbezirk* too, but such examples are not attested so far. Another presumption based on the analysis of the so-called engraver's style may be more helpful in this case, assuming the same artist had produced coin dies for different cities.⁵⁸ Yet this seems to be just a partial explanation. Still, the answer to the question of the specific kind of connection between Pautalia and Philippopolis remains unclear, but the indications of their belonging to a common cultural space can be traced in the character of their main deities. The cults of Apollo Kendrisos in Philippopolis and Asclepius in Pautalia both seem to have been heavily influenced by the local Thracian religious ideas.⁵⁹

The parallels in the coinages of the two cities exceed simple technological similarities. The political elites of the two poleis, who were responsible for the coin production and for the choice of the types, must have had very similar ideologies.⁶⁰ The coin types representing the surrounding landscape and its natural resources are very comparable.⁶¹ They are not, however, fully identical because of individual peculiarities of each city and its self-representation. These images also illustrate the ideas with which the communities of Philippopolis and Pautalia identified themselves, how they perceived their own living space, and which characteristics of their poleis were regarded as advantageous in the competition with their neighbouring cities.

These coins were actually able to express information about the particular polis identities. The unique reverse designs with the Trimontium view⁶² and the Asclepius on a flying snake or dragon⁶³ are direct expressions of these individualities.

54 Peter 2005, 113 with note 72 and Varbanov 2005a, nos. 2211, 2911–2912, 3169, 3798, (3797?).

55 Peter 2005, 113 with note 70 and fig. 27 on pl. 8.2.

56 Peter 2005, 113 with note 71 and Varbanov 2005b, nos. 4629, 4937 and 4974. See also Nollé 1998, 328–339.

57 Philippopolis: Σ ΕΩΝΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΥΣ ΕΠΙ ΑΓΑΘΩ ΤΗ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΙ; Pautalia: Σ ΕΩΝΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΥΣ ΕΠΙ ΑΓΑΘΩ ΠΑΥΤΑΛΙΩΤΑΙΣ.

58 Schultz 1999, 82.

59 Oppermann 2010, 298 notes that Hermes also appears to be syncretized with local Thracian religious beliefs.

60 Nollé 1997, 23 with the rightful criticism to Kraft: the local elites were responsible for the selection of coin designs.

61 Philippopolis: Peter 2003, 107 (pl. 8.1 no. 3); Pautalia: Ruzicka 1932–1933, nos. 473 and 634.

62 Varbanov 2007, no. 656.

63 Ruzicka 1932–1933, nos. 159, 260, 342–348, 434, 612–618 and 883.



Fig. 1 Obverses of Caracalla



(a) Pautalia: Septimius Severus / Hermes with cock
(CN 9703)

(b) Philippopolis: Septimius Severus / Hermes with cock
(CN 29137)

Fig. 2



(a) Pautalia: Caracalla / Demeter (CN 4903)

(b) Philippopolis: Septimius Severus / Demeter (CN
29366)

Fig. 3



(a) Pautalia: Julia Domna / Tyche (CN
6118)

(b) Philippopolis: Julia Domna / Tyche (CN
29185)

Fig. 4



(a) Pautalia: Caracalla / Hermes with infant Dionysus (CN 4898) (b) Philippopolis: Hermes with infant Dionysus (CN 29140)



(c) Pautalia: Geta / Hermes on ram (CN 4988) (d) Philippopolis: Geta / Hermes on ram (CN 29141)



(e) Pautalia: Caracalla / Hermes with caduceus and purse (CN 4905) (f) Philippopolis: Commodus / Hermes with caduceus and purse (CN 29197)



(g) Pautalia: Commodus / Hermes seen from behind (CN 4865) (h) Philippopolis: Commodus / Hermes seen from behind (CN 29142)

Fig. 5

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26 Cities' Identities Viewed through Reverse Types with Fortification Constructions: A Case Study of the Provincial Coinage of Thrace

Dilyana Boteva

Abstract

The paper discusses the Roman provincial coinage with coin types representing city gates and fortification walls as meaningful indications of local identity. It offers an attempt to unravel the internal logic of their appearance on the coins' reverses as an obligatory step towards being approached as relevant and reliable documents. The case studies of Byzantion, Perinthos, Philippopolis and Ulpia Serdica result in the supposition that the city walls and gates could appear as reverse types only in issues synchronous to the respective construction works, an idea first formulated by Adrien Blanchet in 1923, and more recently introduced also by Johannes Nollé. This approach provides researchers with important documents for the chronology of the urban development of Roman cities with provincial mints. On the basis of the newly published book on the coins of Augusta Traiana by Mariana Minkova and taking into consideration the most recent information on the chronology of the provincial governors of Thrace under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus offered by Marietta Horster, a new view on the fortification of Augusta Traiana is presented here: The first depictions of a fortification gate dated to AD 161–163 could be connected with the decision to build the fortification wall. The actual construction works were most probably finalized in four consecutive stages within four different parts of the fortification; the entire building period could have taken about 20 to 25 years. Having in mind that the Theodosian Wall of Constantinople took nine years to build, 20–25 years for completing a fortification of a provincial city in the periphery seems plausible.

Keywords

Roman provincial coinage, reverse designs, Augusta Traiana, Ulpia Serdica, city gate, fortification walls

When discussing the Roman provincial coinage, one has to admit that 'not every coin is a document of a specific local identity' and that 'only a part of all Thracian and Moesian coins known to us have designs which we can interpret as meaningful indications of local identity'.¹ The coin types representing city gates, fortification walls, and turrets are beyond doubt meaningful indications of local identity. However, in order to correctly approach such reverse representations as relevant documents, one has to unravel the internal logic of their appearance on the respective coins.

Each coinage is a legal manifestation of the central and/or local administration, with an impact on thousands of people that may or may not be acquainted with concrete realities. Coins are universally recognized as first-class evidence, and a

1 Peter 2006, 113.

correct reading of the information they bear is of immense importance.² Because of this, the interpretation of the depictions on the coins has been one of the focal points of numismatic research throughout the centuries.³ As a result, certain images have been scrutinized in detail, and, accordingly, some agreements have been reached on their interpretation. Other images still require a thorough analysis that considers both the iconographic details and regional peculiarities of their appearance.

Among the latter are, for instance, the reverse types with depictions of different fortification constructions (city gates, walls, turrets, etc.) on the Roman provincial coins minted under the Principate.⁴ When insisting that they have not received enough attention, I do not refer to the question of the accuracy of the representation, which was formulated brilliantly and thoroughly by Andrew Burnett.⁵ Rather, my concern is about their place in the designs on the coin reverses, minted in the name of provincial cities, especially the ones in the Balkan province of Thrace, which generally remain falsely positioned in the literature overview. An example for such a case could be found in Martin Price and Bluma Trell's book from 1977; twenty-three of the coins presented with photos belong to the Balkan province of Thrace (and Lower Moesia),⁶ but five of them have incorrect captions.⁷ Even worse is the situation with the map, where three out of six cities are falsely located.⁸ No clear distinction is offered by Price and Trell concerning the reverse types depicting city gates and triumphal arches, and one is left to wonder on what grounds one of the images is defined as a

2 The literature dealing with this topic is vast. Still, there is one title that should be obligatorily taken into consideration – Metcalf 1999.

3 The most instructive study on this issue belongs, in my opinion, to Andrew Burnett, who formulated several aspects of the problem in an article still valid and inspiring, despite being published twenty years ago (Burnett 1999). See also Levick 1999. On the Roman provincial coinage, see Howgego 2006.

4 The observations and conclusions that are going to be shared in this publication refer solely to the time of the Principate and are not relevant for the time of the Tetrarchy discussed by Bayet 1994.

5 Burnett 1999, 148–153.

6 Price and Trell 1977, figs. 24–26, 29, 44, 69–70, 85–88, 383, 402, 416, 434, 441, 471–472, 490, 497, 499–501, 504.

7 Price and Trell 1977, 27, fig. 29 – the coin of Pautalia is ascribed to emperor Macrinus, which is obviously wrong, as the city did not mint coins under this emperor (Ruzicka 1932–1933); 52, fig. 86 – the coin of Augusta Traiana is dated to the sole rule of emperor Caracalla (AD 211–217), although the name of the provincial governor Sicinnius Clarus is easily legible on the photo, and it is well known that his tenure in Thracia includes the year AD 202 (on the dating of his office in Thracia, see Thomasson 1984, col. 170, no. 45, and for an alternative opinion, see Boteva 1998, 134); fig. 500 – the city of Tomis is placed in the province of Thrace, which is wrong, as Tomis belonged to Lower Moesia and is even considered to have been the capital of this province (cf. Haensch 1997, 333–335 with lit.); figs. 25, 499, 501 – during the rule of emperor Gordian III, the city of Marcianopolis belonged to the province of Lower Moesia, not to Thrace (Gerov 1979, 224–225; Tacheva 1995; Boteva 1996; Horster 2004, 252, note 46).

8 Price and Trell 1977, map: Nicopolis was not situated at the Danube but southwards; Pautalia was situated further north; Bizye is shown, similarly to Kallatis and Anchialos, as if it were part of the Black Sea coast, which was definitely not the case, as it was situated westwards in the Strandja Mountains.

'triumphal arch',⁹ while another one that looks more or less identical is defined as a 'city gate'.¹⁰ Thus, along with numerous historical and geographical errors concerning the provinces of Lower Moesia and Thrace in this book, one confronts both the lack of consistency when defining depictions of respective constructions and the lack of real discussion on the inner logic of the appearance of fortification elements within a certain coinage.

The insufficient knowledge of the region discussed here persists even to this day, long after the fall of the Iron Curtain. This is clearly visible in Leo Hefner's book published about ten years ago, where two Thracian cities have unfortunately been erroneously mixed; one, situated to the north of the Haemus Range, is Nicopolis ad Istrum, whose coin Hefner describes in both the text and the catalogue,¹¹ and the other is Nicopolis ad Nestum/Mestum, which is situated to the south of the Haemus Range close to the city of Gotse Delchev and appears in the respective footnote.¹² Hefner's information about Marcianopolis is also misleading, as multiple incorrect points are easily detectable.¹³ The suggestion that a coin emission under Gordian III that depicts a city gate¹⁴ could have been a reaction to an event which is, in fact, falsely dated by the author is symptomatic of the attitude towards this issue.¹⁵ There is no evidence that Marcianopolis was captured by the Goths in AD 238, as stated by Hefner, but an unsuccessful Gothic siege of this city is attested a decade or so later, under Philip the Arab or Trajan Decius.¹⁶

Back in the first half of the 20th century, the depictions of fortifications on the coin reverses were viewed as a literal image of the respective city, and Leon Ruzicka insisted that, if such representations are not attested on the coins of a certain city, this is an indication that the city in question did not possess a fortification wall: 'Bis zum 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. scheint die Stadt [Pautalia] keine Befestigungsmauern

9 Price and Trell 1977, 51, fig. 85 – 'Marcianopolis, Moesia: Triumphal arch surmounted by four figures on pedestals (Macrinus and Diadumenianus A.D. 217–218)'.

10 Price and Trell 1977, 223, fig. 499 – 'Marcianopolis, Thrace (sic! – Price and Trell 1977, figs. 24–26, 29, 44, 69–70, 85–88, 383, 402, 416, 434, 441, 471–472, 490, 497, 499–501, 504): City gate (Gordian III AD 238–244)' – note that not a word is said about the three figures surmounting the construction which has some common features with the one pictured in fig. 85 (Price and Trell 1977, 51, fig. 85).

11 Hefner 2008, 161, no. V.3.

12 See Hefner 2008, 158, note 264. On the coinage of the southern Nicopolis, see Komnick 2003. On the two Nicopoleis in Thrace, see most recently Boteva 2014.

13 Hefner 2008, 159, note 265: Firstly, the name of Emperor Trajan's sister, whose name was, of course, Marciana and not Marcia. Secondly, nowadays no settlement called 'Reka Devnja' exists; this was the name of a village, which was transformed into a neighbourhood of the town of Devnya in the 1960s.

14 Hefner 2008, 161, no. V.4.

15 Hefner 2008, 159, note 265.

16 Traditionally, this siege is dated to AD 248 (see Gerov 1977, 130 with earlier literature). See, however, Boteva 2001, 40 where the siege is dated to only after AD mid-250.

besessen zu haben, weil sonst Torbilder oder Mauerumfassungen auf den Münzen ... nicht fehlen würden.¹⁷

This is obviously not a correct approach, as shown by at least two very important relevant case studies. Neither Perinthos nor Byzantion depicted fortification constructions on their coin emissions.¹⁸ Following Leon Ruzicka's approach, one would come to the conclusion that these two cities remained without fortification walls. This would, however, contradict the ancient literary sources with their indisputable evidence of fortification walls in both Perinthos and Byzantion during 5th and 4th centuries BC. A relatively similar situation is observable within the coinage of the city of Ulpia Serdica; no fortification constructions are attested as reverse types so far, but two explicit pieces of epigraphic evidence attest to the construction of the city wall during the joint rule of the emperor Marcus Aurelius and his son, Commodus, who had already been named Augustus,¹⁹ i.e. between AD mid-177 and 17 March 180.²⁰ These examples lead to the conclusions that Leon Ruzicka's interpretation of these reverse types is obviously misleading and that the mere existence of fortification constructions is not sufficient for their appearance on the city coinage.

Jordanka Jurukova adopts a different approach 50 years later in her book on the coinage of Hadrianopolis; there, one finds her 'regret' for the lack of representations of fortification constructions on the coins of this city under the Severans, as they appear only under Gordian III.²¹ This 'regret' speaks of a pre-determined attitude that disregards the dynamics of the historical development, although she otherwise correctly insists that any particular case should be approached on its own.²² My opinion is that, from a historical point of view, the easiest and most logical way to explain the situation with the coins of Hadrianopolis would be to keep in mind the possibility that the city fortification wall was constructed under Gordian III (AD 238–244). Consequently, this would mean that no city walls existed and, accordingly, that there were no walls to be depicted on the coin reverses during the rule of Septimius Severus and his sons (AD 193–217). If built under Emperor Gordian III, these walls would have appeared on the coins only as early as his rule.

The view I am offering here has already been proposed in the numismatic research but has surprisingly remained neglected for several decades. Back in 1923, Adrien Blanchet noted the following significant observation:²³ 'Il est certain qu'Anchialus

17 Ruzicka 1932–1933, 5.

18 Schönert 1965; Schönert-Geiss 1972.

19 *IGBulg* IV, 1902 and V, 5668. See Mihailov 1976; Stančeva 1975.

20 Kienast 2011, 147.

21 Jurukova 1987, 81.

22 Jurukova 1987, 81–82.

23 Blanchet 1923, 7–8.

avait déjà murs avant le règne de Commode; mais il est évident que la porte fortifiée, empreinte sur une pièce de cet empereur, conservait le souvenir de travaux qui venaient d'être exécutés.²⁴

Naturally, Blanchet's point of view could not be taken into consideration in the volume on Thracian coinage published by Max Strack a decade earlier.²⁵ It appears regularly in the recent publications, however. Thus, in a 2006 article, Johannes Nollé posits that the representation of a city gate on a coin of Prusias ad Hypium minted under the emperor Gallienus serves as a reminder of the completion of the city wall.²⁶

Even with the immense corpus of numismatic literature at our disposal,²⁷ it remains difficult to answer the question of why the coinage of Ulpia Serdica contains no depictions of any fortification despite the existence of a city wall, which was constructed under the joint rule of Marcus Aurelius and his son, Commodus. In the hope that this question would not be estimated as 'formulated wrongly',²⁸ the only productive approach here would be, in my opinion, to look into the available details of the historical development of the city in question, for which the relevant information is unfortunately meagre. Nevertheless, it seems that some hope still exists, owing thanks to the numismatic evidence. Thus, it is clear that the city mint first issued coins with the names and portraits of the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, as well as for the empress Faustina Junior;²⁹ later, after a short break, it minted for the emperor Septimius Severus and his family and continued minting under the sole rule of Severus' elder son, Caracalla;³⁰ a long break then followed before coins were minted with the names and portraits of Emperor Gallienus and his wife, Salonina.³¹ It is noteworthy that coins of Lucius Verus (AD 161–169) and of Empress Faustina the Younger (AD 161–176) are struck with the name of the provincial governor, Appius Claudius Martialis, whose office in the province of Thrace is dated traditionally to AD

24 Jordanka Jurukova's reference to the article of Adrien Blanchet when stating that some researchers regard the reverse depictions of city gates, turrets, or walls just as symbols without any documentary value, is obviously misleading (Jurukova 1987, 81 with note 278). Several years ago, I published a short text on the topic without being able to work with Blanchet's article, and I unfortunately decided to trust Jurukova's assessment (Boteva 2012, 539, note 1).

25 Strack 1912, 217: 'Nur mag erinnert werden, dass nach Ovids Zeugnis [Tristien I, 10] schon zu Augustus Zeit Anchialos ummauert war, und dass so der Schluss, die Befestigung sei unter Commodus errichtet, unter dem das Stadttor zum ersten Mal auf den Münzen erscheint, mindestens der Einschränkung bedarf.' See also Blanchet 1923, 8, note 1: 'Les auteurs du volume de la Thrace (*Die antiken M.*, loc. cit., p. 217), ne paraissent pas avoir envisagé cette solution de la question.'

26 Nollé 2006, 280.

27 See, however, Metcalf's critique concerning the job done by the numismatic community: Metcalf 1999, 16.

28 Metcalf 1999, 16.

29 Ruzicka 1915, 9–12.

30 Ruzicka 1915, 13–74. On the chronology of Serdica's coinage under Septimius Severus and his two sons, see Boteva 1997, 139–142, 275–277.

31 Ruzicka 1915, 74–78.

161–163³² (though more recently, researchers have insisted on AD 166–169).³³ In both cases, the minting of these coins preceded the epigraphically-attested construction of a wall in Serdica, the latter being obviously finalized at a certain moment during the tenure of Asellius Aemilianus as a provincial governor of Thrace, according to the two inscriptions discovered at two of Serdica's gates.³⁴ Traditionally, these inscriptions are dated to the period of AD mid-177 to March 180, while Marcus Aurelius ruled the empire together with Commodus.³⁵ Recently, some new discoveries have led to a more precise dating of Asellius Aemilianus' office in Thrace to as late as AD 178,³⁶ thus pinpointing the time of the two building inscriptions to AD 177/178. This would mean that no coins were minted contemporaneously with the time of the completion of the city wall in Serdica. The coinage of Philippopolis provides a very similar case study. On the one hand, fortification works are attested in this city by an inscription dated to AD 172, when the provincial governor of Thrace was Pantuleius Graptiacus;³⁷ on the other, no fortifications appear on coins issued by the mint of Philippopolis, which was obviously not functioning during the tenure of governor Graptiacus.³⁸ These observations indicate that, similar to Serdica, no coins were minted synchronously with the time of the completion of the city wall in Philippopolis, attested by the inscription of AD 172.

In summary, the cities of Perinthos and Byzantion, despite their attested pre-Roman fortification walls, do not provide a single depiction of fortification constructions on their coin reverses. During the Roman period, there are explicit testimonies that the cities of Philippopolis and Serdica were fortified, with building works completed in AD 172 and AD 177/178, respectively; their coinage, however, does not provide a single depiction of a city wall or gate. In my opinion, the sole plausible explanation for the four aforementioned cases would be to suppose that these fortifications were no news at the time when the four respective Roman provincial mints were active. If this supposition is correct, it would mean that the city walls and gates could appear as reverse types only in issues synchronous to the respective construction works, an idea first introduced by Adrien Blanchet in 1923. Such an approach would provide the researchers of Lower Moesia and Thrace with extremely important documents

32 Thomasson 1984, col. 166, no. 29.

33 Horster 2004, 247, note 5 with literature.

34 *IGBulg* IV, 1902 and *IGBulg* V, 5668. See Mihailov 1976; Stančeva 1975.

35 See Georgi Mihailov's comment on these two inscriptions in *IGBulg* V, 308.

36 Horster 2004, 255. There is, however, a contradiction in Horster's text, as within a different context another name – the one of Claudius Bellicus – is proposed as a candidate for the tenure of AD 176/7–183/4 (see Horster 2004, 258). Compare the dating of Asellius Aemilianus' tenure in Thrace offered by Thomasson 1984, col. 167, no. 33: '176–180'.

37 *IGBulg* III.1, 878. On Graptiacus, see Thomasson 1984, col. 166–167, no. 31.

38 Mušmov 1924.

for the chronology of the urban and architectural development of Roman cities with provincial mints.

In the context of this approach, a totally new reading appears concerning the picture provided by Augusta Traiana's coins. They depict two different designs of fortifications. One shows a turreted wall at a top of a hill with a river god at the foot of the hill,³⁹ and the second one only depicts a turreted city gate. The two of them most likely refer to two different realities, clearly indicated by the topography of the Roman city of Augusta Traiana, which was situated in a completely flat geographical location. Accordingly, it is clear that one needs more information regarding the infrastructure of the territory administrated by the city in order to correctly estimate and interpret the design with the fortified hill, which seems irrelevant to the proper urban structure of Augusta Traiana. However, part of the city's administrative territory located to the west and to the north of the urban centre itself included mountainous terrain, where the context of the respective coin design with the fortified hill should be sought, not in the city itself.

Because of this, here I am going to focus my analysis on the Augusta Traiana's design that only shows a city gate with three turrets. It appeared for the first time on the coins during the joint rule of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (AD 161–169) and continued to appear up to the time of Emperor Septimius Severus and his two sons (AD 193–217).⁴⁰ According to Edith Schönert-Geiss, all reverse types refer to one and the same city gate, reflecting its three building periods.⁴¹ This sounds highly improbable, as it would mean that the city had only one gate and that this gate had undergone reconstructions too often. An alternative possibility would be that the respective coin reverses depict different city gates. Schönert-Geiss also insists that the city gate appeared on the coinage of Augusta Traiana no earlier than AD 165, supporting this dating with different historical arguments.⁴² The earliest coins with a city gate bear the name of Quintus Tullius Maximus as a provincial governor of Thrace; his office was traditionally dated to AD 163–169.⁴³ However, recent discoveries indicate that his tenure in Thrace took place as early as AD 161–163.⁴⁴ This means that our entire knowledge of the history of Augusta Traiana must be thoroughly revised.

39 See for instance Schönert-Geiss 1991, 57, no. 17.

40 Schönert-Geiss 1991, 43–44; Schönert-Geiss 1988. On the chronology of Augusta Traiana's coinage under Septimius Severus and his sons, see Boteva 1997, 125–132, 273.

41 Schönert-Geiss 1991, 44; Schönert-Geiss 1988, 13–15.

42 Schönert-Geiss 1991, 41 with note 2, 44.

43 Thomasson 1984, col. 166, no. 30.

44 Horster 2004, 247, note 5.

A recently-published book on the coins of Augusta Traiana contributes significantly to the start of such a revision.⁴⁵ A city gate with three turrets appears on coin reverses with the names of four different provincial governors: 1) the aforementioned Quintus Tullius Maximus,⁴⁶ whose tenure in Thracia was recently dated to AD 161–163; 2) Aemilius Iustus,⁴⁷ whose office in Thrace was recently dated to AD ‘/?/188–/?/192’⁴⁸ and whose coins were not available to Edith Schönert-Geiss;⁴⁹ 3) Titus Statilius Barbarus,⁵⁰ whose coinage in Augusta Traiana has been dated to the first half of AD 195;⁵¹ and 4) Quintus Sicinnius Clarus,⁵² whose coinage in Augusta Traiana has been dated to c. AD 202–203/204.⁵³ Additionally, there are depictions of a city gate on coins of Augusta Traiana that do not bear the name of a governor and that can be dated to between the years AD 205–212.⁵⁴ These are, however, more likely to be connected with the shorter period of c. AD 209/210–212 because of the coins with the portrait and name of Geta-Augustus. If we remain attached to the approach formulated above when interpreting the reverse types with city gates and fortification walls, a conclusion could be made that construction works on the fortification of Augusta Traiana had been completed during the four periods corresponding to the tenures of these provincial governors.

Thus, there is a break of about 25 to 30 years between the first and the second depictions of a city gate on Augusta Traiana’s coins (AD 161/163 –188[?]/192[?]), followed by three other coin issues minted with an interval of about five to ten years each: the first half of AD 195, c. 202–203/204, and c. 209/210–212. Such a chronology introduces at least three possibilities. The first would be that the construction of the fortification wall of Augusta Traiana started effectively during the tenure of Quintus Tullius Maximus in Thrace (AD 161–163) and progressed slowly so that the completion works happened in four consecutive stages within four different sections of the city fortification; the second would be that the construction of the city wall of Augusta Traiana was completed during the tenure of Quintus Tullius Maximus and that some reconstruction works were needed and conducted within four different sections of

45 Minkova 2015.

46 Minkova 2015, nos. 1–6, 109–112.

47 Minkova 2015, no. 225.

48 Horster 2004, 258.

49 Schönert-Geiss 1991, 68–70.

50 Minkova 2015, nos. 245–246.

51 Boteva 1997, 333; Minkova 2015, 118. For a different dating, see Schönert-Geiss 1991, 70: ‘c. 196–198’.

52 Minkova 2015, nos. 250–255, 287–289, 303–305.

53 Boteva 1997, 333; Minkova 2015, 118. For a different dating, see Schönert-Geiss 1991, 72: ‘202’.

54 Minkova 2015, nos. 359–361 (Septimius Severus), 442–447 (Caracalla), 570 and 658 (Geta as Augustus), 676–677 (Caracalla). For the dating, see also Boteva 1997, 287, 333.

the fortification starting 25 to 30 years later, in c. 188(?)–192(?), and continuing to c. 209/210–212.

In this context, an essential point would be Andrew Burnett's reminder of 'the instances in which coins were made depicting a building such as a temple soon after the decision to build the temple was made [...] when, clearly, the building did not at that time exist'.⁵⁵

If we apply this suggestion to the case of Augusta Traiana, the third possibility emerges, as the first depictions of a fortification gate dated to AD 161–163 could be connected with the decision to build the fortification wall rather than its actual construction, which may have been postponed for various reasons, such as the beginning of the Marcomanic War. Because of the coins issued in AD 188(?)–192(?), it seems plausible to date the real start of the construction of the fortification wall either to during the joint rule of Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus as Augustus or to the very beginning of the sole rule of Commodus. Accordingly, as previously mentioned, the completion works happened in four consecutive stages within four different parts of the city fortification; in such a case, the entire building period could have taken about 20 to 25 years. It is difficult, if not impossible, to estimate whether such a duration of the construction works is reasonable or not because any reliable relevant information concerning the period and territory we are discussing is all but missing. On the one hand, it would be expected that building a defence wall should take a shorter amount of time (and not as long as 20 to 25 years), especially keeping in mind the epigraphic information that the Theodosian Wall of Constantinople took nine years to build.⁵⁶ Of course, it should be mentioned that in the beginning of the 5th century AD, Constantinople was the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire with enormous financial and demographic resources available. On the other hand, the scarce knowledge on the development of the province of Thrace in the second half of the 2nd century AD is an obvious obstacle for a correct understanding of the situation. A further obstacle is the unknown dimensions of the construction and the characteristics of the whole process in the case of Augusta Traiana: close or distant stone resources; technology of transporting the stone blocks from quarry to worksite and lifting them up – carts, animals, treadmills, etc.; available tools and their condition; number of workers working at the same time both in the quarry and at the construction, but also engaged in transporting the blocks, etc. Still, a comparison

55 Burnett 1999 99, 141. See also Metcalf 1999, 12, note 21.

56 Asutay-Effenberger 2007, 2, 37–39; Bardill 2004, 122 with note 8. The *editio princeps* of the inscription found in 1993 belongs to Hatice Kalkan and Sencer Şahin – Kalkan and Şahin 1994, 150–155. Important revisions of the reading are offered by Denis Feissel and especially by Wolfgang D. Lebek (Feissel 1995, 566–568; Lebek 1995, 137–146).

between the nine years for building a defence wall of the capital and possibly 20–25 years for building such a wall of a provincial city in the periphery seems plausible.

Are any of the three proposed possibilities (especially the third one!) reliable, or do they, in fact, embody an arrogant misinterpretation of the designs on the coins of Augusta Traiana? A possible argument in favour of this could come from the two building inscriptions found at the north and the west gates of the fortification wall of Ulpia Serdica, thus giving ground for the supposition that there were four city gates.⁵⁷ A contrary argument would be the fact that the two building inscriptions from Serdica are set up simultaneously, without any time gap, at two of the city gates. Of course, all these considerations would not be relevant at all if one manages to prove that the depictions on the reverses of Augusta Traiana's coins were chosen to follow different principles compared with the coinages of Philippopolis and Serdica, and possibly also of Anchialos and Hadrianopolis. In both cases, only further evidence, especially epigraphic and/or archaeological (in any case, one needs evidence beyond pure numismatics!), could contribute to a truly correct understanding of Augusta Traiana's coins with depictions of a city gate.

⁵⁷ Stančeva 1987.

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27 Numismatic Evidence for Eastern Cults in Augusta Traiana

Mariana Minkova

Abstract

The article provides an overview of coin types of Augusta Traiana (modern-day Stara Zagora in Bulgaria) from the time of Marcus Aurelius (AD 161–180) through the reign of Gallienus (AD 253–268) that evidence the spread of eastern cults in the city and feature deities such as Harpocrates, Isis and Serapis, as well as Cybele.

Keywords

Augusta Traiana, coinage, Serapis, Isis, Harpocrates, Cybele

The coinage of Augusta Traiana commenced at the time of Emperor Marcus Aurelius (AD 161–180) and his brother, Lucius Verus (AD 161–169). With some interruptions, this coinage lasted to the rule of Emperor Gallienus (AD 253–268), after which it finally ceased.¹

The Augusta Traiana coins constitute an integral part of the Roman provincial coinage. Together with the deities of the Greco-Roman pantheon, they also frequently feature the eastern deities from Asia Minor and Egypt. The manifestation of cult and religious symbols on coins from Augusta Traiana can be explained by the cultural influence from Asia Minor and Egypt² that resulted from the presence of many migrants from Asia Minor who took part as founders and builders of the Roman town of Augusta Traiana (2nd–4th c. AD).

Pseudo-autonomous coins

Images of the Egyptian deities Harpocrates, Serapis, and Isis³ frequently appear on the so-called pseudo-autonomous coins of Augusta Traiana.⁴ The obverses of these coins do not possess the images of the emperors under whose rules they were minted.

1 About the coinage of Augusta Traiana, see Schönert-Geiss 1991 and Minkova 2015.

2 Mušmov 1912, nos. 2973, 3014, and 3065.

3 An overview of all coin types with Egyptian deities on issues of Thrace and Moesia Inferior was published by Peter 2008.

4 Peter 2008, 204 and SNRIS database Augusta Traiana nos. 01–02.

Due to the fact that these coins are represented by the smallest denominations, they are likely to have served for primarily minor, local shopping needs.⁵

The nearby Roman towns also minted pseudo-autonomous coins that had deities of various origins.⁶ The pseudo-autonomous coins of Hadrianopolis present Serapis and Isis⁷ or Serapis and Telesphorus⁸ and, rarely, Heracles⁹ or Hermes.¹⁰ By contrast, the Augusta Traiana pseudo-autonomous coins exhibit only eastern deities.¹¹

Why are the eastern deities, such as Harpocrates, Serapis, and Isis, put on the coins of Augusta Traiana without the image of the emperors on the obverse? Perhaps such coins were easily recognizable and were well-received by the city's residents.

All three depicted deities – Serapis, Isis, and Harpocrates – are not related to the local Thracian religion. Serapis is the Hellenic and Egyptian god of fertility and the sun and is known as a healer and saviour. The Egyptian ruler Ptolemy I Soter, who founded the Ptolemaic dynasty and was of Hellenic-Macedonian origin, introduced the cult of this deity to Egypt. Isis is the ancient Egyptian goddess of magic, life, and family, while Harpocrates, a son of Isis, is an Egyptian god of silence. Harpocrates was portrayed as a young man with a raised finger in front of his mouth, making the sign of silence.

The appearance of these Egyptian deities on the coins of Augusta Traiana may express the religious beliefs of a portion of the town's inhabitants. At the very least, the images of these deities attest to the role of eastern cults amongst the population of Augusta Traiana, which incorporated settlers and whole communities professing to their respective cults.

It is debated, however, which effigy of eastern deities on the Augusta Traiana coins is the earliest. Mušmov dates the Augusta Traiana pseudo-autonomous coins to the beginning of the civic coinage,¹² while E. Schönert-Geiss dates them to the end of this coinage, i.e. the middle of the 3rd century.¹³ Considering the pseudo-autonomous coinages of other nearby cities such as Hadrianopolis, a conclusion could be drawn that such a kind of coin might have been minted during the rules of various emperors. For example, there are several types of such pseudo-autonomous coins

5 Jurukova 1987, 16.

6 See also the paper of M. Tasaklaki in this volume.

7 Jurukova 1987, no. 703; *RPC* IV.1 10849 (temporary); Peter 2008 SNRIS database Hadrianopolis no. 14; CN 7449.

8 Jurukova 1987, no. 704; *RPC* IV.1 11130 (temporary); CN 6905.

9 Jurukova 1987, no. 701.

10 Jurukova 1987, no. 702.

11 Schönert-Geiss 1991, no. 525; Peter 2008, SNRIS database Augusta Traiana no. 02; CN 3700; CN Type 2361.

12 Mušmov 1912, no. 2973.

13 See note 11 above.



Fig. 1 Bronze coin of Augusta Traiana: Head of Serapis / Isis (CN 6904)



Fig. 2 Bronze coin of Augusta Traiana: Head of Serapis / Harpocrates



Fig. 3 Bronze coin of Augusta Traiana: Markus Aurelius / Serapis

minted in Hadrianopolis, of which Jurukova assigns four to the time of Commodus (AD 177–192)¹⁴ and another two to the time of Septimius Severus (AD 193–211).¹⁵

There are two types of Augusta Traiana coins whose obverse contains the image of Serapis instead of the emperor's image. The first type has an obverse of Serapis and a reverse of Isis standing with a *sistrum* and *situla* (Fig. 1).¹⁶ The second type has the obverse of Serapis and the reverse of Harpocrates standing, holding a cornucopia with the other hand raised in the sign of silence (Fig. 2).¹⁷ The chronology of pseudo-autonomous coins is always difficult to ascertain. Maybe the type with Harpocrates should be dated into the beginning of the 3rd century AD, because we know coins of Caracalla and Geta with Harpocrates on the reverse from Augusta Traiana.¹⁸

Marcus Aurelius (AD 161–180)

The earliest type of Augusta Traiana coins with the portrait of an emperor on the obverse and the image of eastern deities on the reverse contains the image of Serapis and was minted during the rule of Marcus Aurelius. This type is represented by the smallest denomination and without the name of the provincial governor. The type depicts Serapis, seated left and holding a sceptre in his right hand (Fig. 3). This type is published here for the first time.

14 Jurukova 1987, nos. 701–704.

15 Jurukova 1987, nos. 705–706.

16 Peter 2008, SNRIS database Augusta Traiana no. 01.

17 See note 11 above.

18 CN Type 2059 and 2070.



Fig. 4 Bronze coin of Augusta Traiana: Lucius Verus / Cybele

The commonly found type of Cybele sitting on a throne, holding the *patera*, and leaning on the *tympanon* also appears during the rule of Marcus Aurelius.¹⁹ This type had been minted during the time of the provincial governor Quintus Tullius Maximus (AD 161–163).²⁰ This also holds true for another type with Cybele on a throne between two lions.²¹

Lucius Verus (AD 161–169)

During the rule of Emperor Lucius Verus, the same types of eastern deities were minted as in the time of his brother, Marcus Aurelius. The coins with Cybele depicted wearing a mural crown on her head, sitting on a throne between two lions, and holding *patera* in her right hand while leaning on her *tympanon* with the left continued to be minted.²² The same type of coin was minted with the name of the provincial governor Quintus Tullius Maximus (Fig. 4).²³ The other type of Cybele,²⁴ lacking the accompanying images of animals, also continued to be minted.

Septimius Severus (AD 193–211)

During the rule of Septimius Severus, the type with Serapis was minted in the largest denomination with the value of 5 units without the name of the governor. Hades-Serapis is seated left with a *kalathos* and holding a *patera* in his right hand and a sceptre in his left, with the dog Cerberus at his feet (Fig. 5).²⁵ An additional new type

19 Varbanov 2005, no. 861.

20 Horster 2004, 247–258.

21 Varbanov 2005, no. 862; Schönert-Geiss 1991, nos. 1–2.

22 Varbanov 2005, no. 921.

23 Varbanov 2005, no. 926.

24 Schönert-Geiss 1991, nos. 76–77.

25 Schönert-Geiss 1991, no. 149; Varbanov 2005, no. 983; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Augusta Traiana no. 03; CN 9573; CN Type 1777.



Fig. 5 Bronze coin of Augusta Traiana: Septimius Severus / Hades -Serapis

was minted with the image of Hades-Serapis that depicts a tetrastyle temple with a statue of Serapis.²⁶

Another type shows Cybele sitting on a lion in a hexastyle temple.²⁷ The coin type of Cybele sitting on a throne between two lions, holding a *patera*, and leaning on a *tympanon* continued to be minted with different obverses; one of them bears the name of provincial governor Statilius Barbarus (AD 195).²⁸ A new type of coin representing Cybele on a walking lion appeared in the time of Septimius Severus as well and was minted also in the name of the provincial governor Statilius Barbarus.²⁹

Julia Domna (AD 193–217)

Of the eastern deities, the type of Serapis standing with the *patera* and sceptre was minted on the coins of Augusta Traiana only during the time of the empress Julia Domna.³⁰

Caracalla (AD 198–217)

The eastern deities are more popular on the coins of Caracalla. The type of Cybele on a throne with two lions continued to be minted in the time of this emperor (Fig. 6).³¹ The same type was minted on the Augusta Traiana coins with the name of the provincial governor Quintus Sicinius Clarus (AD 201–204 [?]) (Fig. 7).³²

26 Schönert-Geiss 1991, nos. 165–166; Varbanov 2005, no. 1011; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Augusta Traiana no. 04; CN 9531; CN Type 1785.

27 Mušimov 1912, no. 3029.

28 Varbanov 2005, nos. 965 and 1033. See also Boteva 1997, 126.

29 Varbanov 2005, no. 1032.

30 Schönert-Geiss 1991, no. 217; Varbanov 2005, no. 1059; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Augusta Traiana no. 05.

31 Mušimov 1912, no. 3065; Varbanov 2005, no. 1101.

32 Boteva 1997, 247.



Fig. 6 Bronze coin of Augusta Traiana: Caracalla / Cybele



Fig. 7 Bronze coin of Augusta Traiana: Caracalla / Cybele

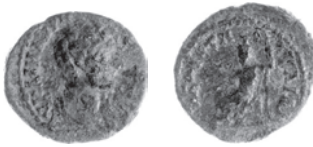


Fig. 8 Bronze coin of Augusta Traiana: Caracalla / Serapis



Fig. 9 Bronze coin of Augusta Traiana: Caracalla / Temple with statue of Serapis

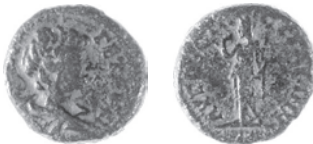


Fig. 10 Bronze coin of Augusta Traiana: Geta / Harpokrates

Hades-Serapis is presented alone (Fig. 8) or in the middle of a temple with four columns (Fig. 9).³³ The type with Hades-Serapis on a throne with the dog Cerberus also continued to be minted.³⁴ A new type of coin with Serapis raising his right hand and holding a sceptre in his left first appeared in the time of Caracalla.³⁵ Harpocrates was also depicted on the coins of Caracalla with the denomination of 1 unit.³⁶

Geta (AD 209–212)

During the time of the emperor Geta, the types of Cybele on a throne between two lions³⁷ and of Hades-Serapis on a throne with Cerberus³⁸ both continued to be minted, as did that of Harpocrates standing with his right hand to his mouth and with a cornucopia in his left hand (Fig. 10).³⁹

Similar to other provincial coinages, Isis is the rarest coin type present in the coinage of Augusta Traiana. Hadrianopolis, like Augusta Traiana, minted pseudo-autonomous coins with Isis⁴⁰ and Serapis. Jurukova dates the pseudo-autonomous coins of Hadrianopolis to the time of Commodus. Isis is represented on the coins of other Thracian cities, such as in Serdica on coins minted under Marcus Aurelius⁴¹ and in Philippopolis on coins minted under Commodus.⁴²

Harpocrates is also a relatively rare coin type in the provincial coinages of Thrace. He appears on the coins of Philippopolis during the time of Elagabalus (AD 218–222),⁴³ in Nicopolis ad Istrum during the time of Septimius Severus,⁴⁴ and in Serdica during the rule of Caracalla.⁴⁵

33 Schönert-Geiss 1991, nos. 261 and 345; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Augusta Traiana no. 10; CN 3737; CN Type 1856.

34 Schönert-Geiss 1991, nos. 275 and 321; Varbanov 2005, no. 1151; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Augusta Traiana no. 09; CN 9687, 9689; CN Type 1868.

35 Mušmov 1912, X, no. 1; Schönert-Geiss 1991, no. 370; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Augusta Traiana no. 08.

36 Varbanov 2005, no. 1153; Schönert-Geiss 1991, no. 387; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Augusta Traiana no. 11; CN 3770; CN Type 2059.

37 Varbanov 2005, no. 1306.

38 Varbanov 2005, no. 1332; Schönert-Geiss 1991, nos. 444 and 473; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Augusta Traiana no. 06; CN 3775; CN Type 2099.

39 Mušmov 1912, XXII, no. 12; Varbanov 2005, no. 1277; Schönert-Geiss 1991, nos. 397–398; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Augusta Traiana no. 07; CN 3774; CN Type 2070.

40 See note 7 above.

41 Mušmov 1912, no. 4752. See also Peter 2008 SNRIS database Serdica no. 05; CN 5022; CN Type 488.

42 Mušmov 1912, nos. 5207–5208; See also Peter 2008 SNRIS database Philippopolis nos. 02–03.

43 Mušmov 1912, no. 5426; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Philippopolis no. 09.

44 Mušmov 1912, no. 1005; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Nicopolis ad Istrum no. 06.

45 Mušmov 1912, no. 4904; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Serdica no. 17a; CN 5102, 8568; CN Type 566, 657.

Serapis is a more frequent coin type that was minted in Philippopolis during the time of Septimius Severus⁴⁶ and in Serdica during the rules of emperors Marcus Aurelius,⁴⁷ Lucius Verus,⁴⁸ Caracalla,⁴⁹ and Geta.⁵⁰ Additionally, this type was minted in Nicopolis ad Istrum during the times of Septimius Severus,⁵¹ Caracalla,⁵² Macrinus⁵³ (AD 217–218) and his son Diadumenianus,⁵⁴ Elagabalus,⁵⁵ and Gordian III (AD 238–244).⁵⁶ In Deultum, coins of this type were minted during the time of Maximus Caesar (AD 236–238),⁵⁷ Gordian III,⁵⁸ and his wife, Tranquillina.⁵⁹ A temple in three-quarter view with the statue of Serapis was minted in Deultum during the reign of Gordian III.⁶⁰

Hades as Serapis is known on coins from Nicopolis ad Istrum minted for Septimius Severus⁶¹ and Gordian III,⁶² as well as on those from Serdica minted for Julia Domna.⁶³

The coin type with Serapis is well-investigated in the coinage of Hadrianopolis, where it is rarely present. He makes his earliest appearance on the coins of the emperor Commodus.⁶⁴ The type was also minted during the rules of Septimius Severus,⁶⁵ Caracalla,⁶⁶ and others.

- 46 Mušmov 1912, no. 5253; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Philippopolis no. 05.
 47 Mušmov 1912, nos. 4753 and 4758; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Serdica nos. 04 and 06.
 48 Mušmov 1912, no. 4761; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Serdica no. 01; CN 8578, 8805; CN Type 667.
 49 Mušmov 1912, nos. 4832–4833; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Serdica nos. 12–15; CN 5048, 5050, 8525–8528, 8641–8642, 8714, 8767, 9772; CN Type 514, 630, 722–723, 740.
 50 Mušmov 1912, no. 4943; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Serdica no. 18; CN 5105; CN Type 570.
 51 Mušmov 1912, no. 995; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Nicopolis ad Istrum no. 02; CN 16087, 16518–16520; CN Type 3947, 4151–4152.
 52 Mušmov 1912, no. 1123; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Nicopolis ad Istrum no. 07.
 53 Mušmov 1912, no. 1276; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Nicopolis ad Istrum no. 14.
 54 Mušmov 1912, no. 1353; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Nicopolis ad Istrum no. 15.
 55 Mušmov 1912, no. 1443; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Nicopolis ad Istrum no. 17.
 56 Mušmov 1912, no. 1510; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Nicopolis ad Istrum no. 21.
 57 Draganov 2005, pl. 56.825; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Deultum no. 21; CN 7823–7824, 8902, 15592; CN Type 161, 117, 1058, 116.
 58 Draganov 2005, pl. 86.1281, 87.1287–1304, 88.1305–1311; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Deultum no. 21; CN Type 177, 1108, 1116, 1399–1401, 3674, 3712, 3725.
 59 Draganov 2005, pl. 102.1521–1523; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Deultum no. 21; CN 7952–7954, 8945; CN Type 197, 1172.
 60 Draganov 2005, pl. 93.1382; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Deultum no. 21; CN 7859; CN Type 142.
 61 Mušmov 1912, no. 1004; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Nicopolis ad Istrum no. 03; CN 16087; CN Type 3947.
 62 Mušmov 1912, nos. 1514 and 1523; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Nicopolis ad Istrum nos. 22–23.
 63 Mušmov 1912, no. 4797; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Serdica no. 11; CN 5040; CN Type 505.
 64 Jurukova 1987, no. 105; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Hadrianopolis no. 02a; CN 4475–4476, 4518, 6351; CN Type 5573, 5711, 5751, 6049.
 65 Jurukova 1987, no. 218; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Hadrianopolis no. 05; CN Type 5960.
 66 Jurukova 1987, nos. 313, 339; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Hadrianopolis no. 09; CN 28505, 10611; CN Type 6210, 6228.

In the coinage of Pautalia, this type is especially widespread. It was issued during the time of all the emperors of the Severan dynasty: Septimius Severus,⁶⁷ his sons, Caracalla⁶⁸ and Geta⁶⁹ and his wife, Julia Domna.⁷⁰

Within the Thracian provincial coinage, Cybele is first found on the coins minted in Pautalia under Antoninus Pius.⁷¹ The same city minted coins with Cybele during the reigns of Lucius Verus,⁷² Marcus Aurelius,⁷³ and Caracalla.⁷⁴ On the coins of Hadrianopolis, Cybele is represented on issues of Marcus Aurelius.⁷⁵ In Deultum, Cybele is present on coins minted under Severus Alexander (AD 222–235)⁷⁶ and his mother, Julia Mamaea,⁷⁷ as well as those struck under Philippus I (AD 244–249).⁷⁸ The coins of Augusta Traiana also show Cybele sitting on a lion,⁷⁹ which is probably a variant of the type of Cybele riding a lion that is well-known from the coinages of Hadrianopolis⁸⁰ and Nicopolis ad Istrum during the rules of Septimius Severus⁸¹ and Caracalla,⁸² and from the Roman colony Deultum,⁸³ among others. The image of the goddess Cybele riding a lion is a common type in the coinage of the eastern Roman provinces.

Cybele is a popular coin type in the coinage of Nicopolis ad Istrum minted during the time of Septimius Severus,⁸⁴ Caracalla's wife, Plautilla,⁸⁵ Geta,⁸⁶ and Gordian III.⁸⁷ A temple of the goddess Cybele has been recently discovered in the territory of Nicopolis ad Istrum.

The presence of the eastern cults in the territory of Augusta Traiana is documented not only numismatically, but also by the epigraphic and archaeological data. The

67 Mušmov 1912, no. 4160; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Pautalia no. 01.

68 Mušmov 1912, nos. 4246, 4290–4291; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Pautalia nos. 06–07; CN 4899, 9729.

69 Mušmov 1912, no. 4324; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Pautalia no. 03; CN 9743.

70 Mušmov 1912, no. 4228; Peter 2008 SNRIS database Pautalia no. 02.

71 Mušmov 1912, no. 4084.

72 Mušmov 1912 no. 4123.

73 Mušmov 1912, no. 4096.

74 Mušmov 1912, no. 4278.

75 Jurukova 1987, no. 49.

76 Draganov 2005, pl. 22.313–315.

77 Draganov 2005, pl. 37.553–556.

78 Draganov 2005, pl. 107.1600.

79 Varbanov 2005, no. 1032.

80 Jurukova 1987, 124, no. 432.

81 Mušmov 1912, no. 961.

82 Varbanov 2005, no. 3061.

83 Jurukova 1973, no. 200.

84 Mušmov 1912, no. 960.

85 Varbanov 2005, no. 3190.

86 Varbanov 2005, no. 3304.

87 Varbanov 2005, no. 4184.

existence of eastern cults in Augusta Traiana is discussed in the works by Margarita Tačeva⁸⁸ and others.

There is evidence for the existence of a cult of Jupiter Dolichenus at several sites close to Stara Zagora: the village of Han Asparukhovo,⁸⁹ the Stara Zagora mineral baths, at the Tri Chuchura locality,⁹⁰ and additionally at two other places with dedications to Sabazius – the villages of Yavorovo⁹¹ and Karanovo.⁹² The existence of a cult of Cybele in Augusta Traiana is supported by an inscription found in the village of Lovets near Stara Zagora,⁹³ thus providing evidence for the localization of a temple or altar to the goddess in the area of the village. The cult of Isis is evidenced by the head of a bronze statuette of the goddess originating from Stara Zagora.⁹⁴ Isis is also shown on two bronze-box appliquéés found in the burial mound in the Chatalka locality.⁹⁵ Additional evidence for the eastern cults in Augusta Traiana was provided by Bujukliev,⁹⁶ who mentions a signet-ring with the image of Serapis found in a medieval grave in Karasura, later published in detail.⁹⁷

The cult of Apis, the Egyptian sacred bull, is substantiated in Augusta Traiana by three effigies, two of marble and one of bronze.⁹⁸ The marble figurines of bulls, without any attributes, originate from the necropolis of Augusta Traiana,⁹⁹ while the bronze one is found in the burial mound at Chatalka.¹⁰⁰

Attis, another eastern deity closely related to the cult of Cybele, is also testified archaeologically in the territory of Augusta Traiana. Four bronze appliquéés of Attis adorn the chariot found at the Trite Mogili locality near Stara Zagora.

In summary, the coinage of Augusta Traiana, which represents an integral part of Roman provincial coinage, not only shows typical deities of the Greco-Roman pantheon, but also eastern deities. Egyptian deities such as Harpocrates, Isis, and Serapis appear on the pseudo-autonomous coins of the city without images of the emperors. Harpocrates also occurs on coins minted by the emperor Geta. Serapis and Cybele emerge frequently on the coins of Augusta Traiana. Serapis appears enthroned

88 Tačeva 1982, 366; Nikolov and Bujukliev 1971, 45.

89 Kacarov 1922–1925, 122–126; Tačeva 1982, 366.

90 Nikolov and Bujukliev 1971, 46–47; Tačeva 1982, 367–369.

91 Bujukliev 1965, 50–51; Tačeva 1982, 273–275.

92 Tačeva 1982, 275–276.

93 Tačeva 1982, 205.

94 Tačeva 1982, 42.

95 Bujukliev 1986, nos. 187–188.

96 Bujukliev 1994, 205.

97 Jankov 2007, 338–340.

98 Bujukliev 1994, 206.

99 Bujukliev 1994, 206.

100 Bujukliev 1986, no. 324b.

on coins minted by emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, while on coins of Julia Domna he is shown standing. Serapis enthroned and accompanied by Cerberus appears on coins of both Caracalla and Septimius Severus. In addition, images of Serapis standing within a tetrastyle temple is known on coins of Septimius Severus and Caracalla. The type of enthroned Cybele can be seen on coins of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, while a similar type of Cybele flanked by lions appears on coins of Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta. The types of Cybele on a lion within a tetrastyle temple and Cybele standing inside a hexastyle temple are found only on coins minted under the emperor Septimius Severus.

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28 Lokales Geld – lokaler Umlauf – lokale Zielgruppen? Die thrakischen Städteprägungen der römischen Kaiserzeit im Spiegel des Münzumschlufs der Provinz Thracia

Holger Komnick

Zusammenfassung

For the territory of the Roman province of Thracia, only a small amount of bronze coins minted in the 2nd and 3rd centuries (from the Emperor Trajan till Gallienus) has been published, which are represented by stray finds and coins coming from burial assemblages. The examination of these finds as indicators of the coin circulation and with regard to their producing centres, in particular to the Thracian mints, reveals certain tendencies: the regionally differentiated circulation areas that are identifiable in Thracia may reflect internal structure of this Roman province.

Aus dem Bereich der römischen Provinz Thracia steht im Vergleich zu den Münzschatzfunden eine bisher erst geringe Menge an publizierten Bronzemünzen zur Verfügung, die im 2. und 3. Jh. n. Chr. (Kaiser Traianus bis Kaiser Gallienus) geprägt und als Einzelfunde oder als Beigaben aus Gräbern aufgedeckt sowie erfasst worden sind. Der Vergleich dieser als Stichproben des einstigen Münzumschlufs aufzufassenden Münzfunde im Hinblick auf die vertretenen Münzstättenanteile – insbesondere des Anteils der thrakischen Städteprägungen – zeigt erste Tendenzen für eine regionale Gliederung des Münzumschlufs im thrakischen Raum auf. Die verschiedenen Münzumschlufgebiete können als Hinweis auf regionale Binnenstrukturen innerhalb der Provinz Thracia gedeutet werden.

Keywords

coin circulation, samples, single coin finds, coins found in graves, bronze coins, provincial issues and city coinages, imperial coinage // Münzumschluf, Stichproben, Einzelfunde, Grabfunde, Bronzemünzen, Provinzial- und Städteprägungen, Reichsprägungen

Einleitung

Im Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts für das Jahr 1898 erschien ein von Behrendt Pick – Leiter des Münzkabinetts an der Herzoglichen Bibliothek in Gotha – unter dem Titel *Thrakische Münzbilder* verfasster Aufsatz, in dem er sich mit den thrakischen Elementen auf den Münzen der Griechenstädte im

thrakischen Gebiet beschäftigt (Abb. 1).¹ Der Beitrag entstand im Umfeld des von ihm bearbeiteten ersten Teils von Band I: Die antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien in der Reihe *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands*,² der 1898 unter der Leitung von Friedrich Imhoof-Blumer von der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin herausgegeben wurde.³ Die Frage, wo die vorgestellten Münzen umliefen und welchen Anteil sie am Fundmünzaufkommen haben, spielt in dem Aufsatz von Pick keine Rolle. Ein ganz wesentlicher Grund dafür dürfte der Umstand gewesen sein, dass in jener Zeit nur vereinzelt Fundmünzpublikationen für den Arbeitsraum des Münzprojektes der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften zur Verfügung standen.⁴ In der Folgezeit änderte sich das, wobei im Fokus vor allem zu Tage getretene Schatzfunde standen.⁵ Da Schatzfunde absichtlich verwahrt und verborgen worden sind, sie zudem bei ihrer Bildung auch Selektionsprozessen unterlegen haben, verkörpern die Einzelfunde respektive die Einzelfundreihen die aussagekräftigeren „Stichproben des antiken Geldvolumens und seiner inneren Strukturen“.⁶ Den Forschungsstand zu den Fundmünzen der römischen Kaiserzeit im thrakisch-moesischen Raum beschreiben Andrzej Kunisz respektive Radoslav Gušćerakliev am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts wie folgt:

- 1 Pick 1898b [1899]. Der Mommsen-Schüler B. Pick war zuvor, genauer gesagt von 1889 an Mitarbeiter des Münzprojektes der Berliner Akademie (Kaenel 2004, 32); zur Lebensgeschichte von B. Pick siehe Steguweit 2011.
- 2 Pick 1898b [1899], 134 Anm. 1: „Wenn ich in der vorliegenden Arbeit zuweilen Text oder Tafeln meines noch im Drucke befindlichen ersten Bandes dieses Werkes citire, so möge dieses Vorgreifen entschuldigt werden; hoffentlich werden die Citate nicht mehr zu lange unbenutzbar sein.“
- 3 Pick 1898a.
- 4 So beschreibt etwa D.-E. Tacchella in einem 1893 erschienenen Aufsatz eine Reihe von Münzen aus dem Schatzfund von „Saradjaschak-Weli“, heute Karadža, westlich von Dobrič, Bezirk Varna, Bulgarien (Tacchella 1893).
- 5 Darauf weist J. Jurukova in ihrem 1973 erschienenen Corpusband zur Münzprägung von Deultum hin: „Entsprechend einer sehr wertvollen Tradition, die vor fast 50 Jahren bei den Mitteilungen der Bulgarischen Archäologischen Gesellschaft und danach bei den Mitteilungen des Bulgarischen Archäologischen Instituts eingeführt worden ist, werden kurze Mitteilungen über in Bulgarien auftretende Schatzfunde regelmäßig veröffentlicht. Da ein großer Teil dieser Münzfunde zerstreut oder verlorengegangen ist, sind diese Mitteilungen die einzige Dokumentation, die uns über die Zirkulation der Münzen in unseren Ländern Auskunft geben kann.“ (Jurukova 1973, 54). Das zunächst vorrangige Interesse an Schatzfunden ist kein spezifisch bulgarisches Phänomen: „Die traditionell höhere Wertschätzung der Schatzfunde ergibt sich allein schon durch die erheblich größere Zahl der diesbezüglichen Publikationen seit dem 18. Jahrhundert, während die Einzelfunde erst seit der Einrichtung der großen Ausgrabungsplätze im Mittelmeergebiet, dann auch in Mitteleuropa in das engere Blickfeld der archäologischen Forschung getreten sind. Neben Architektur und Plastik gewinnen die Kleinfunde, darunter auch die Münzen, erst langsam seit der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts an Gewicht, und nehmen einen festen Platz in den Grabungspublikationen ein.“ (Noeske 2000, 163 Anm. 236).
- 6 Noeske 2000, 76. Denn für Einzelfunde gilt: „Kein Willensakt des antiken Menschen bei einer Verbergung ist hier zu beobachten. Im Gegenteil, der unbemerkte Verlust ist als Ursache des ‘Herausfallens’ aus dem Münzumlauflauf zu nennen. Eine Selektion fand nicht statt [...]“ (Noeske 2000, 163).



Abb. 1 Behrendt Pick (1861–1940), Vorderseite der Pick-Medaille von Bruno Eyer mann, 1921, nicht maßstäblich: verkleinert

Almost no research has been so far carried out on the monetary circulation in the discussed territory for the 1st and 2nd cc. (Kunisz);⁷

Die Untersuchung umfasst 125 kollektive Münzfunde von Stadtverwaltungen, die in Nordbulgarien gefunden sind. [...] Die Bearbeitung von Einzelfunden – zufälligen oder als Resultat archäologischer Untersuchungen – ist immer noch in ihrem Anfangsstadium. (Guščerakliev).⁸

Vorbemerkungen

Auch wenn eine in die Fläche gehende, umfassende Einzelfundmünzerfassung der Prägungen aus der römischen Kaiserzeit für den thrakischen Raum fehlt⁹ und die Zahl der in Druckwerken publizierten sowie verwertbaren Fundmünzinventare noch nicht allzu hoch ist, soll dennoch der Versuch unternommen werden, einen ersten Interpretationsansatz unter dem Aspekt der Münzstättenverteilung im Folgenden zu geben.¹⁰

⁷ Kunisz 1992b, 178.

⁸ Guščerakliev 2000, 64.

⁹ Für das 1. Jh. n. Chr. kann neuerdings auf die an Universität Cardiff entstandene Arbeit von E. Paunov verwiesen werden, die auf Schatz- und Einzelfunden aus der Zeit von der Einrichtung der Provinz Macedonia im Jahre 146 v. Chr. bis einschließlich der Herrschaft des Kaisers Trajan (98–117 n. Chr.) im moesischen und thrakischen Raum beruht (Paunov 2013).

¹⁰ Der Verfasser des vorliegenden Beitrags orientierte sich bei der Erstellung des Grundlagenteils (für diesen siehe am Ende des Beitrages) an den in der „Bibliographie zur antiken Numismatik von Thrakien und Moesien“



Abb. 2 Karte der im 2. und 3. Jh. prägenden Städte in der römischen Provinz Thracia.

Da es sich um Stichproben von unbekanntem Ausgangsmengen handelt,¹¹ die zudem bisweilen auch nur unvollständig publiziert worden sind, kann als Ergebnis der Untersuchung nur mit ersten vorläufigen Tendenzen gerechnet werden. Die Betrachtung ist auf die Analyse der in Bronze geprägten Münzen beschränkt, deren Prägezeitpunkt zwischen der Regierungszeit des Kaisers Trajan (98–117 n. Chr.) und der des Gallienus (260–268 n. Chr.) liegt.¹² Dies ist der Zeitraum, in dem die bronzenen Provinzial- und Städteprägungen im Fundaufkommen das Übergewicht über die in den Reichsmünzstätten geprägten Bronzemünzen gewinnen.¹³ In diesem Zeitraum erreicht auch die Zahl der münzprägenden Städte im griechischen Osten ihren Höhepunkt: während der Herrschaftszeit des Kaisers Septimius Severus und seiner Söhne Caracalla und Geta,

von E. Schönert-Geiß (Schönert-Geiß 1999) verzeichneten Fundmünzpublikationen sowie an der nachfolgend erschienenen Literatur-Zusammenstellung für den Balkanraum, der von U. Peter im Rahmen des Surveys of Numismatic Research der Jahre 2002–2007 anlässlich des 14. Internationalen Numismatischen Kongresses in Glasgow 2009 vorgelegt wurde (Peter 2009).

11 Grundsätzliches hierzu findet sich etwa bei Noeske 2000, 74–76, 163–166.

12 Fundmünzen, die nicht näher als 1.–2. Jh. oder 1.–3. Jh. in der Literatur datiert sind, werden berücksichtigt. Stücke, die in der Literatur als Medaillons bezeichnet sind, werden ebenfalls als Materialgrundlage mit einbezogen.

13 Komnick 2015, 173–174.

das heißt zwischen 193 und 217 n. Chr.¹⁴ Die Fundmünzen der einzelnen Fundorte werden in der Untersuchung als chronologisch geordnete Summen gehandhabt, denn diese stammen ja aus einer Vielzahl von antiken Nutzungen und Verlusten. Da eine Aufgliederung nach der relativen Abfolge ihrer Verlustzeitpunkte in der Regel nicht anhand der Publikationen möglich ist, werden die Fundmünzen auch nicht getrennt nach den Prägezeiträumen 2. Jh. oder 3. Jh. n. Chr. behandelt. Um dem Mengenproblem zu begegnen, werden die in den Publikationen zur Verfügung stehenden Einzelfundmünzreihen zudem regional zusammengefasst und durch Fundmünzen aus Gräbern ergänzt.¹⁵ Die im 2. und 3. Jh. n. Chr. münzprägenden thrakischen Städte verteilen sich über die gesamte römische Provinz Thracia (Abb. 2), die einen Bereich umfasst, der in die heutigen Länder Bulgarien, Griechenland und die Türkei fällt.¹⁶

Vergleich der Stichproben

Blickt man zunächst auf die Gesamtheit aller Stichproben, die für den in das heutige Griechenland fallenden Teil der Provinz Thracia zur Verfügung steht und auf publizierten Funden aus Abdera, Maroneia, Molyvoti und Thasos beruht (für Details siehe Tabelle 1¹⁷), so zeigt sich eine starke Dominanz der thrakischen Städteprägungen. Denn diese Prägungen nehmen rund vier Fünftel des Stichprobengesamtbildes ein (Abb. 4). Das verbleibende Fünftel wird zur Hälfte von den Reichsprägungen gebildet, der Rest verteilt sich auf Münzen, die in Kleinasien (hier: Asia [Region Troas]) oder in anderen Provinzen (hier Macedonia) gelegenen Städten geprägt worden sind sowie auf die nicht näher zuweisbaren Stücke. Nicht vertreten sind in den Stichproben Münzen der moesischen Städte. Für den in den europäischen Teil der Türkei fallenden Bereich der Provinz Thracia kann als Stichprobe auf die Münzen aus den Ausgrabungen von Ainos, dem heutigen Enez zurückgegriffen werden, die in einem Vorbericht summarisch publiziert sind (Tabelle 2).¹⁸ Die Fundreihe wird hier dominiert von Münzen, die von kleinasiatischen Städten aus den Provinzen Bithynia und Asia (Region Aeolis und Troas) emittiert worden sind (Abb. 5, dort im Segment Sonstiges Kleinasien zusammengefasst). Thrakische Städteprägungen weisen lediglich einen Anteil auf, der dem der anderen Provinzen (hier: Syria [Region Kommagene]) entspricht. Wie bereits im Stichprobengesamtbild für den in das heutige Griechenland fallenden Teil der Provinz Thracia festgestellt, liegen auch in der Stichprobe für den

14 Harl 1987, 107.

15 Zur Frage der Münzmengengröße, die für die Repräsentativität einer Münzreihe erforderlich ist, siehe beispielsweise die Ausführungen von Heinrichs 2007, 229.

16 Im Beitrag wird für die Provinz Thracia die Ausdehnung zugrunde gelegt, die diese seit dem späten 2. Jh. n. Chr. hat; vgl. hierzu Ivanov und Bülow 2008, 15–18 mit Abb. 8: Die Grenzen der römischen Provinz Thracia (Karte).

17 Die Tabellen befinden sich im Grundlagenteil am Ende des Beitrages.

18 Tekin 2007, 596–601.

türkischen Teil keine Münzen vor, die in den moesischen Provinzen geprägt worden sind. Den Fundmünzpublikationen für das heutige Bulgarien liegen in der Regel die modernen Verwaltungseinheiten zugrunde. Die südlichen Verwaltungsbezirke fallen – grob gesagt – in den Bereich der Provinz Thracia, die nördlichen in den der moesischen Provinzen (Abb. 3). Das Stichprobengesamtbild aus den bulgarischen Verwaltungsbezirken im Bereich der Provinz Thracia (Tabelle 3 und Abb. 6) weist die Dominanz des Anteils der thrakischen Städteprägungen mit über 61,5% aus; mehr als 10,5% sind Provinzial- und Städteprägungen, die nicht näher zugewiesen sind. Die Prägungen des obermoesischen Viminacium (9,5%) und die des in der kleinasiatischen Provinz Bithynia gelegenen Nikaia (gut 5%) sowie die im Segment Andere Provinzen zusammengefassten Prägungen (hier durchweg Münzen von Städten in der Provinz Macedonia einschließlich der makedonischen Koinon-Prägungen: 5%) folgen und liegen dabei mit ihrem Anteil über dem der Münzen, der von den in der Provinz Moesia inferior lokalisierten münzprägenden Städten gebildet wird (3,5%). Die übrigen Anteile werden von den Reichsprägungen (gut 2,5%), von nicht näher zuweisbaren Bronzprägungen (gut 1%) und den bronzenen Dacia-Prägungen (weniger als 0,5%) gestellt. Das Stichprobengesamtbild für den Teil Bulgariens, der in den Bereich der Provinz Moesia inferior fällt (Tabelle 4 und Abb. 7), zeigt dagegen, dass in diesem Raum die Städteprägungen Niedermoesiens den Hauptanteil mit gut 41% bilden, gefolgt von den Reichsprägungen mit über 31%. Thrakische Städteprägungen sind in der Gesamtstichprobe aus diesem Gebiet mit einem Anteil von etwas mehr als 11,5% vertreten; 9% sind Provinzial- und Städteprägungen, die nicht näher zugewiesen sind. Die restlichen Anteile entfallen zum einen auf die Bronzemünzen, welche nicht näher zuweisbar sind (etwas mehr als 1,5%), zum anderen auf die Viminacium-Prägungen aus der Provinz Moesia superior (etwas mehr als 2%); des Weiteren auf Münzen des bithynischen Nikaia (etwas mehr als 1%), auf Prägungen von Städten in anderen Provinzen (hier durchweg Münzen von Städten in der Provinz Macedonia einschließlich der makedonischen Koinon-Prägungen – etwas mehr als 1%), auf Münzen, deren Prägeort im sonstigen Kleinasien liegt (hier Städte in den Provinzen Caria, Galatia, Mysia, Paphlagonia – knapp 1%) und auf die Dacia-Prägungen (weniger als 0,5%).

Jeweils ein zweites Stichprobengesamtbild zu Fundmünzen aus den bulgarischen Verwaltungsbezirken im Bereich der Provinz Thracia respektive im Bereich der Provinz Moesia inferior kann zudem noch anhand folgender Publikationen gewonnen werden: aus den Fundmünzennungen in den Corpusbänden des Griechischen Münzwerks¹⁹ sowie der Monographie von Jordanka Jurukova zur Münzprägung von Hadrianopo-

19 Es handelt sich um die Corpusbände des Griechischen Münzwerks zu Augusta Traiana/Traianopolis (Schönert-Geiß 1991), Bizye (Jurukova 1981), Byzantion (Schönert-Geiß 1972), Nicopolis ad Nestum (Kornick 2003) sowie Perinthos (Schönert 1965).



Abb. 3 Karte der bulgarischen Verwaltungsbezirke: Bezirke, die ganz oder überwiegend in den Bereich der Provinz Moesia inferior fallen, sind hellgrau eingefärbt, die in den Bereich der Provinz Thracia fallen, dunkelgrau.

lis;²⁰ aus der von Stojan Avdev anhand von Archivinformationen und Literaturangaben vorgenommenen Zusammenstellung von Münzfunden aus Bulgarien, die in den Jahren 1823–1900 gefunden worden sind;²¹ aus dem Fundmünzverzeichnis, das Andrzej Kunisz für seine Darstellung des Geldumlaufs in Moesien und Thracien erstellt hat²² sowie aus den im ersten Jahrzehnt des 21. Jahrhunderts erschienenen Fundmünzabhandlungen von Mariana Minkova und Radoslav Gušcerakliev.²³ Die aus diesen Quellen gewonnenen zweiten Stichprobengesamtbilder sind mit einer geringeren Repräsentativität behaftet: In den Corpusbänden wie auch in der Monographie zur Münzprägung von Hadrianopolis sind nur die Fundmünzen der jeweiligen emittierenden Stadt zusammengestellt, denen die Arbeit gewidmet ist; in der Zusammenstellung von Avdev liegen meist keine Angaben zu den Stückzahlen vor;²⁴ Kunisz berücksich-

20 Jurukova 1987.

21 Avdev 1981.

22 Kunisz 1992b.

23 Minkova 2002; Minkova und Pafford 2007; Gušcerakliev 2005.

24 In den Tabellen des Grundlagenteils des vorliegenden Beitrages wird daher die Stückzahl für die von S. Avdev genannten Münzstätten grundsätzlich jeweils mit „1“ angegeben.

tigt in seiner Zusammenstellung nur die im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert geprägten Münzen;²⁵ in dem einem der beiden für die zweiten Stichproben herangezogen, von Minkova verfassten Beiträgen sind die von Nicopolis ad Istrum geprägten Fundmünzen aus dem Bereich von Augusta Traiana und seiner Umgebung Gegenstand der Untersuchung, in dem anderen, zusammen mit Isabelle Pafford vorgelegten Beitrag, die Fundmünzen aus dem Bereich der Nekropole von Augusta Traiana, wo jedoch vorberichtsbedingt nur die Münzstätten der in Gräbern aufgefundenen Grabbeigaben erwähnt werden und nähere Angaben zur Anzahl fehlen;²⁶ der Aufsatz von Guščerakliev schließlich richtet den Fokus auf die von Pautalia geprägten Fundmünzen aus der Region Loveč. Interpretiert man die zweite Stichprobe für die Einzel- und Grabfunde aus den bulgarischen Verwaltungsbezirken im Bereich der Provinz Thracia unter der Berücksichtigung der angeführten Prämissen, so kann Folgendes an ihr abgelesen werden: Das zweite Stichprobengesamtbild zeigt wie bereits das erste die Dominanz der Fundmünzen, die im Bereich der Provinz Thracia geprägt worden sind, über diejenigen, die aus den im Bereich der Provinz Moesia inferior befindlichen Münzstätten stammen (Tabelle 5 und Abb. 8). In dieser deutlichen Steigerung des Anteils der thrakischen Prägungen spiegelt sich zweifelsohne der Umstand wider, dass die in den Corpusbänden des Griechischen Münzwerks behandelten münzprägenden Städte durchweg in den Bereich der Provinz Thracia fallen. Viminacium und Nikaia, die noch im ersten Stichprobengesamtbild deutliche Anteile aufweisen, sind im zweiten Stichprobengesamtbild gar nicht beziehungsweise im Falle von Nikaia nur mit einem marginalen Anteil vertreten. Auch dies ist der Grundlage der zweiten Stichprobe geschuldet, denn die Arbeit von Kunisz, die die umfangreichste Quelle für diese Anteile in der zweiten Stichprobe stellt, behandelt nur die Fundmünzen des 1. und 2. Jahrhunderts. Die Münzen der erst im 3. Jh. eingerichteten Münzstätte Viminacium bleiben im Katalog von Kunisz somit zwangsläufig außen vor und auch die Prägetätigkeit des bithynischen Nikaia schwillt erst ab severischer Zeit deutlich an. Der Anteil der Reichsprägungen steigt dagegen im zweiten Stichprobengesamtbild im Vergleich zum ersten (vgl. Abb. 6) sichtbar an, was freilich ebenfalls auf die zeitlichen Erfassungsgrenzen des Katalogs in dem Werk von Kunisz zurückzuführen ist. Bekanntermaßen erreichen die Provinzial- und Städte-

25 Kunisz 1992b, 127–176. Dem Katalog von A. Kunisz ist die Bezirkseinteilung der in den Jahren 1987 bis 1999 gültigen Form, die neun Verwaltungseinheiten umfasste, zugrunde gelegt: 1. Burgas (umfasst die heutigen Bezirke Burgas, Jambol und Sliven), 2. Chaskovo (Chaskovo, Kărdžali, Stara Zagora), 3. Loveč (Gabrovo, Loveč, Pleven, Veliko Tărnovo), 4. Montana (Montana, Vidin, Vrača), 5. Plovdiv (Pazardžik, Plovdiv, Smoljan), 6. Razgrad (Razgrad, Ruse, Silistra, Targovište), 7. Sofia–Stadt, 8. Sofia–Region (Blagoevgrad, Kjustendil, Pernik, Sofia–Region), 9. Varna (Dobrič, Šumen, Varna). Im Grundlagenteil des vorliegenden Beitrages sind die bei Kunisz genannten Fundorte unter den aktuell bestehenden Verwaltungseinheiten verzeichnet.

26 Wie bereits im Falle des Beitrages von S. Avdev, wird die Stückzahl der bei M. Minkova und I. Pafford genannten Münzstätten jeweils mit „1“ in den Tabellen des Grundlagenteils des vorliegenden Beitrages angegeben.

prägungen erst ab severischer Zeit ihren Höhepunkt,²⁷ während umgekehrt ab diesem Zeitpunkt nur noch wenig frisch geprägtes Bronzereichsgeld in den Geldumlauf von der Provinz Thracia gelangt. Vergleicht man das zweite Stichprobengesamtbild für die Einzel- und Grabfunde aus den bulgarischen Verwaltungsbezirken im Bereich der Provinz Moesia inferior mit dem ersten für diesen Bereich, so ist auffällig, dass in der zweiten Probe die Fundmünzen, die in der Provinz Thracia geprägt worden sind, die Anzahl der Fundmünzen, die in der Provinz Moesia inferior geprägt worden sind, über-treffen (Tabelle 6 und Abb. 9). Auch hier spiegelt sich der Umstand wider, dass die in den Corpusbänden des Griechischen Münzwerks behandelten münzprägenden Städte durchweg in den Bereich der Provinz Thracia fallen. Vergleicht man des Weiteren die zweiten Stichprobengesamtbilder (Abb. 8 und 9) miteinander, so zeigen sie aber dennoch fast die gleichen Tendenzen, die schon im Vergleich der ersten Stichproben ermittelt werden konnten (Abb. 6 und 7): Im zweiten Stichprobengesamtbild, welches das in den bulgarischen Bereich der Provinz Thracia fallende Fundmünzaufkommen zum Gegenstand hat (Abb. 8), dominieren die Prägungen aus den auch dort gelegenen Münzstätten; Münzen, die im Bereich der Provinz Moesia inferior geprägt worden sind, spielen – ebenso wie die Reichsprägungen – dagegen nur eine untergeordnete Rolle. Das zweite Stichprobengesamtbild, welches das in den bulgarischen Bereich der Provinz Moesia inferior fallende Fundmünzaufkommen zum Gegenstand hat (Abb. 9), wird von den Reichsprägungen und zu annähernd gleichen Teilen von den Prägungen der Münzstätten im Bereich der Provinz Thracia sowie der Provinz Moesia inferior beherrscht. Die Prägungen aus dem thrakischen Raum weisen hier einen höheren Anteil auf, als es umgekehrt die Prägungen aus dem Raum der Provinz Moesia inferior am Fundmünzaufkommen im Bereich der Provinz Thracia haben. Vereint man schließlich die erste und zweite Stichprobe sowohl des bulgarischen Bereiches der Provinz Thracia als auch des bulgarischen Bereich der Provinz Moesia inferior, so treten die genannten Unterschiede bei der Gegenüberstellung der beiden Gesamtgrafiken ebenfalls deutlich hervor (Abb. 10 und 11).

Anteile an Prägungen aus thrakischen Münzstätten

Im Folgenden sollen die Fundmünzreihen, die in den Bereich der Provinz Thracia fallen, detaillierter im Hinblick auf die in diesen vertretenen thrakischen Münzstätten betrachtet und der Frage nachgegangen werden, inwieweit sich das Aufkommen dieser Münzstättenanteile innerhalb der Provinz Thracia wandelt. Analysiert man unter diesem Gesichtspunkt die Fundmünzreihen aus demjenigen Teil der Provinz Thracia, der in das heutige Griechenland fällt, so zeigt sich, dass hier die größten Anteile

27 Harl 1987, 107.

von den thrakischen Städteprägungen von Topeiros und Maroneia gebildet werden (Tabelle 1 und Abb. 12). Dominiert in der Fundmünzreihe von Maroneia auch der Anteil der von in Maroneia geprägten Münzen, so spielen sie in der Fundmünzreihe von der weiter westlich gelegenen Insel Thasos keine bedeutsame Rolle: Hier ist der thrakische Anteil des Fundmünzaufkommens von den in Topeiros geprägten Münzen beherrscht. In der Fundmünzreihe aus dem im türkischen Teil der Provinz Thracia befindlichen Ainos (heute Enez) wird der thrakische Anteil lediglich durch Münzen der dortigen Münzstätte repräsentiert; das Gros in der Reihe stellen die Prägungen aus Kleinasien (Sonstiges Kleinasien) (Tabelle 2 und Abb. 13). Blickt man auf die publizierten Einzelfundmünzen, die aus den bulgarischen Bezirken stammen, welche ganz oder überwiegend in die Provinz Thracia fallen, so ist vorab auf die stark unterschiedliche Publikationslage hinzuweisen. Stehen für die Bezirke Pernik (Abb. 14), Kjustendil (Abb. 15) und dem Bezirk Stara Zagora (Abb. 16) mehr als 100 publizierte Bronzefundmünzen zur Verfügung, so sinkt die für die Bezirke Philippopolis (Abb. 17), Burgas (Abb. 18) und Chaskovo (Abb. 19) aus den vorliegenden Stichproben gebildete Gesamtmenge jeweils auf eine sich auf um 50 belaufende Zahl. Eine nochmals deutlich reduzierte Gesamtstichprobenmenge liegt jeweils für die noch verbleibenden Bezirke Blagoevgrad, Jambol, Kărdžali, Pazardžik, Sliven, Smoljan, Sofia und Sofia (Stadt) vor: im Falle von Blagoevgrad 14 (Abb. 20) und von Kărdžali 11 Exemplare (Abb. 21), für die aneinandergrenzenden Bezirke Jambol und Sliven stehen zusammengenommen 20 Exemplare bereit (Abb. 22) und für den von den Bezirken Pazardžik, Smoljan, Sofia (Bezirk und Stadt) gebildeten Raum 18 Bronzemünzen (Abb. 23). Für die vergleichende Betrachtung der Fundmünzen aus dem bulgarischen Bereich der Provinz Thracia, die von thrakischen Städten emittiert worden sind, bietet sich ergänzend zu den in den Abbildungen 14–23 wiedergegebenen Graphiken ein Auszug der in den Gesamfundmünzreihen vertretenen Anteile an Prägungen aus den thrakischen Münzstätten in Tabellenform an (Tabelle 7).

Anhand der Übersicht lässt sich ablesen, dass der Anteil der am weitesten westlich gelegenen Münzstätte, nämlich der von Pautalia (siehe Abb. 2) – heute Kjustendil – in der Gesamtfundreihe aus dem gleichnamigen bulgarischen Bezirk (siehe Abb. 3) am höchsten ist. Es folgen der nördlich angrenzende Bezirk Pernik und der südlich angrenzende Bezirk Blagoevgrad mit ihren pautalischen Anteilen. Als einziger Bereich im östlichen Teil Bulgariens weist der durch die Bezirke Sliven und Jambol gebildete Raum einen zweistelligen Prozentsatz bei den Prägungen von Pautalia auf. Möglicherweise ist dies dem Umstand geschuldet, dass mit 20 Münzen dieser Raum zu den weniger repräsentativen Gesamtstichproben zählt. Die nächste in der Betrachtungsweise von West nach Ost folgende münzprägende thrakische Stadt ist Serdica – heute Sofia. Der Anteil der dort geprägten Münzen ist in den zur Verfügung stehenden

Gesamtstichproben im Fundaufkommen aus den Bezirken Kjustendil und Pernik am höchsten;²⁸ es folgt der Anteil der Gesamtfundreihe, die von den Fundmünzen aus dem sich östlich angrenzenden sofioter Raum nebst dessen südlicher Erweiterung in die Bezirke Pazardžik und Smoljan gebildet ist. Nicht vertreten sind die Prägungen von Serdica in den sich östlich und südlich des Bezirkes Stara Zagora anschließenden bulgarischen Bezirken (Sliven, Jambol, Burgas respektive Chaskovo und Kărdžali). Letzteres gilt auch für die Prägungen von Nicopolis ad Nestum, denn diese sind nur im Fundaufkommen der westlichen Bezirke Pernik, Kjustendil, Blagoevgrad, Pazardžik sowie der zentralen bulgarischen Bezirke Plovdiv und Stara Zagora vorhanden. Den höchsten Anteil an nicopolitanischen Münzen nimmt im Vergleich der aus der Gesamtfundreihe des Bezirkes Blagoevgrad ein – dies ist der Bezirk, in dem auch Nicopolis ad Nestum, das heutige Gärmien, liegt –, gefolgt von dem aus der Gesamtfundreihe des Bezirks Pazardžik.²⁹ Die Münzen von Philippopolis – heute Plovdiv sowie nächste thrakische Münzstätte in östlicher Richtung – sind im Fundaufkommen des gleichnamigen bulgarischen Bezirkes am stärksten vertreten, gefolgt vom Anteilswert von der Gesamtfundreihe des Raumes, der aus den Bezirken Jambol und Sliven gebildet ist. Einen deutlichen Anteil bilden die philippopolitanischen Münzen ebenfalls in der Gesamtfundreihe des Bezirks Stara Zagora, der das Bindeglied zwischen dem Raum der Bezirke Sliven und Jambol respektive dem Bezirk Plovdiv darstellt. Auf einem ähnlich hohen Niveau wie im Bezirk Stara Zagora nehmen die Prägungen von Philippopolis ihren Platz in der Gesamtfundreihe des Fundaufkommens aus dem Fundraum ein, der sich aus den Bezirken Sofia (Bezirk und Stadt), Pazardžik und Smoljan zusammensetzt.³⁰ Die Prägungen von Augusta Traiana – heute Stara Zagora und Bezirkshauptstadt des gleichnamigen Bezirks – verfügen im Bezirksvergleich auch im Bezirk Stara Zagora über den höchsten Anteil im Fundaufkommen. Größere Anteile sind zudem in den Gesamtfundreihen aus dem westlich angrenzenden Bezirk Plovdiv sowie aus dem östlich angrenzenden Raum, der von den Bezirken Sliven und Jambol gebildet wird, vorliegend. Weist das Fundaufkommen aus dem Fundraum, der sich aus den Bezirken Sofia (Bezirk und Stadt), Pazardžik und Smoljan zusammensetzt

28 In der Fundmünzreihe aus dem Heiligtum in Daskalovo, Bezirk Pernik, die mit Prägungen von Marcus Aurelius einsetzt, bilden die westlichen thrakischen Münzstätten Pautalia und Serdica mit vier respektive drei Exemplaren den Schwerpunkt der bronzenen Städteprägungen. Hinzu kommen zwei makedonische Bronzemünzen sowie eine bronzene Reichsprägung und eine Viminacium-Münze; sieben weitere bronzene Provinzial-/Städteprägungen sind keiner Münzstätte zugewiesen (Filipova 2010, 104–105). Diese aus einem Heiligtum stammende Fundmünzreihe bekräftigt das aus den Einzel- und Grabfunden gewonnene Bild, dass die Münzen aus Pautalia und Serdica den Münzumlauf im Westen der Provinz Thracia dominieren. Für den Hinweis auf diese publizierte Fundreihe sei Dilyana Boteva, Sofia, vielmals gedankt.

29 In den Bezirken Sofia (Bezirk und Stadt) und Smoljan, deren Fundaufkommen mit demjenigen von Pazardžik zusammengefasst sind, kommen keine Münzen von Nicopolis ad Nestum vor.

30 Die von Philippopolis emittierten Münzen kommen hier nur in Funden vor, die in den westlich und südlich des Bezirks Plovdiv angrenzenden Bezirken Pazardžik und Smoljan zu lokalisieren sind.

und dasjenige aus dem an den Bezirk Stara Zagora angrenzenden Bezirk Plovdiv einen ähnlichen hohen Anteil an in Stara Zagora geprägten Münzen auf,³¹ wie er für den Fundraum der Bezirke Sliven und Jambol vorliegt, so sind diese Münzen in allen anderen bulgarischen Bezirken, die im Bereich der römischen Provinz Thracia liegen, nur mit einem geringen Anteil oder gar nicht vertreten. Münzprägende Städte, die östlich von Augusta Traiana im bulgarischen Teil der Provinz Thracia zu lokalisieren sind, sind in den Gesamtfundreihen mit Münzen aus den drei an der Schwarzmeerküste im Bezirk Burgas gelegenen Städten Deultum – heute Debelts – , Anchialos – heute Pomorie – und Apollonia Pontike – heute Sozopol – vertreten. Im Gesamtfundreihen-Vergleich haben die von diesen drei thrakischen Städten geprägten Münzen ihren höchsten Anteil in der Gesamtfundreihe für den Bezirk Burgas. Münzen von Deultum und Anchialos sind zudem in geringerem Umfang in der Gesamtfundreihe aus dem westlich angrenzenden Raum vorliegend, der aus den Bezirken Sliven und Jambol gebildet ist. Auf einen nochmals deutlich geringeren Wert beläuft sich ihr Anteil in den Gesamtfundreihen der sich wiederum westlich anschließenden Bezirke Stara Zagora und Chaskovo. Mit einem marginalen Wert ist die Stadt Anchialos mit den von ihr geprägten Münzen in der Gesamtfundreihe aus dem Bezirk Pernik vertreten. Alle anderen in der Westhälfte Bulgariens gelegene Bezirke, die in den Bereich der Provinz Thracia fallen, weisen keine Exemplare aus den an der Schwarzmeerküste gelegenen münzprägenden thrakischen Städten in ihren Gesamtfundreihen auf. Aus dem Bereich der Provinz Thracia, dessen Teil heute zur Türkei gehört, sind fünf Münzstätten in den bulgarischen Gesamtfundreihen belegt: Plotinopolis, Hadrianopolis und Bizye sowie die an der Küste des Marmarameer gelegenen Städte Perinthos und Byzantion. Prägungen von Plotinopolis sind in nur zwei Gesamtfundreihen vertreten: zum einen im Bezirk Kärđzali, zum anderen mit einem sehr niedrigen Anteil im Bezirk Stara Zagora. Die von Bizye emittierten Münzen sind ebenfalls in den Gesamtfundreihen dieser beiden Bezirke vertreten, wobei der Bezirk Kärđzali – wie bereits im Falle der Prägungen von Plotinopolis – den höchsten Anteil aufweist. Der Anteil der Münzen aus Bizye an der Gesamtreihe von Stara Zagora ist wiederum recht niedrig, was auch für den Bezirk Burgas gilt, der als dritter Bezirk Fundmünzen aus dieser Münzstätte in seiner Gesamtfundreihe enthält. Dagegen ist ein Anteil von Münzen der Stadt Hadrianopolis in den Gesamtfundreihen von fast allen bulgarischen Bezirken vorhanden. Den höchsten Anteil weist die Gesamtfundreihe von Chaskovo aus, gefolgt von den Bezirken Kärđzali und Burgas. Es handelt sich in allen Fällen um Bezirke, die sich im Südosten Bulgariens befinden und somit zu diesen drei Münzstätten mit am nächsten gelegen sind. Die Prägungen von der an der Küste des Marmarameeres gelegenen Stadt

31 In dem von den Bezirken Sofia (Bezirk und Stadt), Pazardžik und Smoljan gebildeten Raum stammen die Funde der von der Stadt Augusta Traiana geprägten Münzen aus dem Bereich der Stadt Sofia.

Perinthos sind in den Gesamtfundreihen der Bezirke von Burgas und Kărdžali vertreten, in deutlich geringerem Umfang zudem in den Bezirken Stara Zagora und Plovdiv. Münzen von Byzantion sind lediglich marginal in der Gesamtfundreihe des Bezirks Stara Zagora vorhanden. Von den im heutigen Griechenland gelegenen thrakischen Münzstätten geprägten Münzen sind in den untersuchten Gesamtfundreihen aus dem bulgarischen Teil der Provinz Thracia nur Münzen aus Topeiros und Traianopolis bezeugt. Für die Münzen aus ersterer Münzstätte ist nur ein unbedeutender Anteil in der Gesamtfundreihe aus dem Bezirk Stara Zagora festzustellen, für die Prägungen aus der zweitgenannten Münzstätte ist ein kleiner, respektive geringer Anteil in den Gesamtfundreihen der Bezirke Plovdiv, Stara Zagora und Pernik gegeben. Ansonsten haben diese Münzen keinen Niederschlag in den Gesamtfundreihen aus dem Bereich der Provinz Thracia gefunden, der in das bulgarische Staatsgebiet fällt.

Fazit

Trotz der wenig komfortablen Ausgangslage bei der Zahl der bisher publiziert verfügbaren Bronzemünzen aus Einzel- und Grabfunden in der Provinz Thracia liefert die vorgenommene Untersuchung erste Tendenzen hinsichtlich regionaler Umlaufgebiete. Anhand der sich wandelnden Münzstättenanteile, die der Vergleich der gebildeten Gesamtfundreihen ausweist, zeichnet es sich ab, dass der Provinz Thracia eine Binnengliederung in mehrere Räume zu eigen ist. Der bulgarische Teil der Provinz lässt sich nach dem derzeitigen Ausweis der Fundmünzen aus den Einzel- und Grabfunden ganz grob in mehrere Räume gliedern: Erstens der westliche Raum, der in die Bezirke Pernik, Kjustendil, Blagoevgrad, Sofia (Bezirk und Stadt), Pazardžik und Smoljan fällt, zweitens der zentrale Raum, der von den Bezirken Plovdiv und Stara Zagora gebildet wird; zu diesem ist wohl auch der Bereich der Bezirke Sliven und Jambol zu rechnen, auch wenn hier bereits Übergangstendenzen zum dritten Raum erkennbar sind, der vom Bezirk Burgas repräsentiert wird. Schließlich ist als vierter Raum der Bereich anzuführen, der die beiden südöstlichen Bezirke Kărdžali und Chaskovo umfasst. Weitere Räume liegen im südlichen Bereich der Provinz Thracia vor, der sich über die Länder Griechenland und Türkei erstreckt. Abschließend sei nochmals betont, dass es sich bei der Interpretation der in Bronze geprägten Münzen, deren Herstellungszeitpunkt zwischen der Regierungszeit des Kaisers Trajan (98–117 n. Chr.) und der des Gallienus (260–268 n. Chr.) liegt und die aus publiziert vorliegenden Einzel- und Grabfunden aus der römischen Provinz Thracia stammen, nur um eine Momentaufnahme handeln kann. Denn die von Radoslav Gušcerakliev im Jahr 2000 publizierte Feststellung, dass „die Bearbeitung von Einzelfunden – zufälligen oder als Resultat archäologischer

Untersuchungen – [...] immer noch in ihrem Anfangsstadium“ ist,³² hat im Hinblick auf den Untersuchungsgegenstand ihre Gültigkeit weitestgehend noch nicht verloren.

³² Guščerakliev 2000, 64.

Grundlagenteil

Vorbemerkung: Abgesehen von der im Literaturverzeichnis mit Kurzzitat aufgeführten Literatur, sind die für den Grundlagenteil herangezogenen Publikationen gemäß ihren Einträgen in der „Bibliographie zur antiken Numismatik Thrakiens und Mösiens“ von Edith Schönert-Geiß (Schönert-Geiß 1999) und der Literatur-Zusammenstellung von Ulrike Peter im Rahmen der Surveys of Numismatic Research der Jahre 2002–2007 (Peter 2009) zitiert.

Tab. 1 Einzelfunde aus Griechenland im Bereich der Provinz Thracia

Prägeorte	Fundorte				Gesamt
	Abdera	Maroneia	Molyvoti	Thasos	
Abdera		1			1
Ainos					
Anchialos					
Apollonia Pontike					
Augusta Traiana					
Bizye					
Byzantion					
Coela		1			1
Deultum				1	1
Elaious					
Hadrianopolis		2		3	5
Maroneia	1	10		1	12
Mesembria					
Nicopolis ad Nestum					
Pautalia		1			1
Perinthos				1	1
Philippopolis		1		3	4
Plotinopolis					
Serdica					
Sestos					
Thasos		1		1	2
Topeiros		8	1	19	28
Traianopolis					
Kallatis					
Dionysopolis					
Istros					
Marcianopolis					
Nicopolis ad Istrum					
Odessos					
Tomis					
Viminacium					
Dacia					

Prägeorte	Fundorte				Gesamt
	Abdera	Maroneia	Molyvoti	Thasos	
Nikaia					
Sonstiges Kleinasien		1		1	2
Andere Provinzen		2			2
Reichsprägungen		4	1	2	7
Prov.-/Städtepr., nicht näher zuweisbar					
AE, nicht näher zuweisbar				2	2
Gesamt	1	32	2	34	69

Literatur

Abdera: Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 8723.

Maroneia: Karadima und Psoma 2007, 50 Nr. M20, 52 Nr. M32–M33, 78 Nr. M158–M164, 87 Nr. M192, M194 und M 195–M199, 89 Nr. M204, 92 Nr. M224, 99 Nr. M263–M264, 113 Nr. M341, 118–119 Nr. M369–M371 und M374.

Molyvoti: Karadima und Psoma 2007, 31 PM96, 45 PM165.

Thasos: Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 4185, 4477, 6510, 6091; Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 5644; Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 4717, siehe in dem Beitrag von G. Daux auch S. 975–979 (Anm. d. Verf.: Bei denjenigen Münzen, für die keine Angabe zum Prägeort gemacht werden, dürfte es sich mutmaßlich um Reichsprägungen handeln. Für die zwei auf S. 975 nicht näher spezifizierten der insgesamt 5 Münzen des 2. Jhs. n. Chr. geht der Verfasser des vorliegenden Beitrags davon aus, dass es sich ebenfalls um Bronzemünzen handelt. Die ebenfalls dort genannte Bronzemünze und als Fig. 20a auf S. 978 abgebildete Münze des Antoninus Pius aus Topeiros dürfte identisch sein mit dem bei Picard [=Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 6509] auf der S. 271 beschriebenen Stück, das auf der S. 276 unter der Nr. 11 abgebildet ist. Da für die auf S. 976–979 genannten Münzen keine Nominal- oder Münzmetallangaben vorliegen, wähnt der Verfasser, dass es nicht ausgeschlossen ist, dass die genannte Hadrianus-Münze ein Bronzenominal sein könnte [in Tabelle berücksichtigt], bei den 8 Münzen der Kaiser Gordianus III. bis Gallienus hingegen ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit hierfür wohl eher gering [in Tabelle nicht berücksichtigt]).

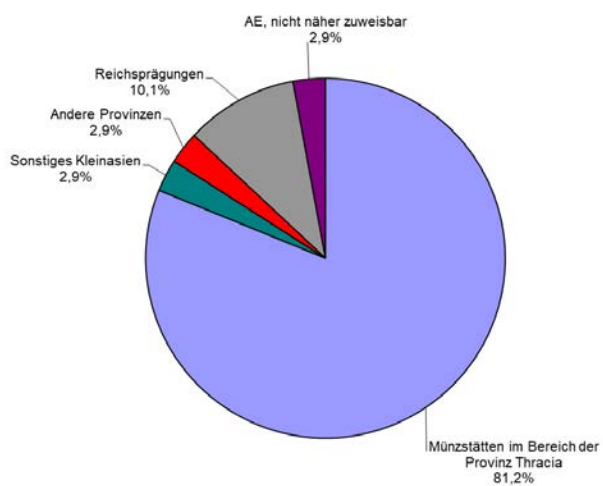


Abb. 4 Einzelfunde Griechenland im Bereich Provinz Thracia (zur Grundlage siehe Tabelle 1): 69 Münzen

Tab. 2 Einzelfunde aus der Türkei im Bereich der Provinz Thracia

Prägeorte	Fundort Enez (Ainos)
Abdera	
Ainos	1
Anchialos	
Apollonia Pontike	
Augusta Traiana	
Bizye	
Byzantion	
Coela	
Deultum	
Elaious	
Hadrianopolis	
Maroneia	
Mesembria	
Nicopolis ad Nestum	
Pautalia	
Perinthos	
Philippopolis	
Plotinopolis	
Serdica	
Sestos	
Thasos	
Topeiros	
Traianopolis	
Kallatis	
Dionysopolis	
Istros	
Marcianopolis	
Nicopolis ad Istrum	
Odessos	
Tomis	
Viminacium	
Dacia	
Nikaia	
Sonstiges Kleinasien	14
Andere Provinzen	1
Reichsprägungen	
Prov.-/Städtepr., nicht näher zuweisbar	
AE, nicht näher zuweisbar	

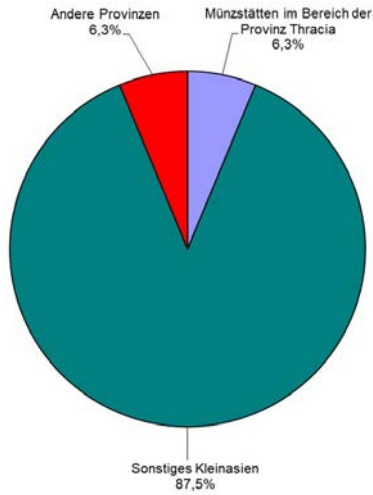


Abb. 5 Einzelfunde Türkei im Bereich Provinz Thracia (zur Grundlage siehe Tabelle 2): 16 Münzen

Prägeorte	Fundort
	Enez (Ainos)
Gesamt	16

Literatur

Ainos: Tekin 2007, 600 (Anm. d. Verf.: Unter den 11 Münzen aus dem kleinasiatischen Alexandria Troas sollen sich auch ein oder mehrere pseudo-autonome Exemplare befinden. Zu den auf S. 600 des Vorberichts summarisch aufgelisteten Reichsprägungen liegen keine Nominal- oder Münzmetallangaben vor. Nach freundlicher Mitteilung von Oğuz Tekin [E-Mail vom 22.10.2015] handelt es sich durchgängig wohl um Antoniniane.).

Tab. 3 1. Stichprobe von Einzel- und Grabfunden aus Bulgarien im Bereich der Provinz Thracia
A Koprivlen, Bez. Blagoevgrad | **B** Ajtos, Bez. Burgas | **C** Georgi Dobrevo–Dana Bunar, Bez. Chaskovo | **D** Ivajlovgrad, Bez. Chaskovo | **E** Meričleri, Bez. Chaskovo | **F** Kabile, Bez. Jambol | **G** Dikili-Kajrak, Bez. Kärđžali | **H** Sart-dere (= Ručej), Bez. Kärđžali | **I** Kadin most, Bez. Kjustendil | **J** Kjustendil (Pautalia), 1975 Bez. Kjustendil | **K** Kjustendil (Pautalia); Kilijno Učilišće, Bez. Kjustendil | **L** Kjustendil (Pautalia), Villa extra muros, Bez. Kjustendil | **M** Kjustendil (Pautalia) (Funde in CCCHBulg 2), Bez. Kjustendil | **N** Kočerimovo, Bez. Kjustendil | **O** Kopilovci, Bez. Kjustendil | **P** Sapareva banja, Bez. Kjustendil | **Q** Vukovo, Bez. Kjustendil | **R** Arbanas, nahe Radomir, Bez. Pernik | **S** Kralev dol, Bez. Pernik | **T** Pernik, Bez. Pernik | **U** Pernik, Daskalovo, Bez. Pernik | **V** Borino, Bez. Smoljan | **X** Smoljan, Bez. Smoljan | **Y** Zlatograd, Bez. Smoljan | **Z** Karasura, Bez. Stara Zagora | **AA** Seuthopolis bei Koprinka, Bez. Stara Zagora

Prägeorte	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	X	Y	Z	AA	Gesamt
Abdera																											0
Ainos																											0
Anchialos		1			1													1									3
Apollonia Pontike																											0
Augusta Traiana		1		1	3			1	1	1	1	1	1					5									14
Bizye			1																								8
Byzantion								3	4																		0
Coela																											0
Deultum						1																1					4
Elaious																											0
Hadrianopolis		1	27	2				1						1						1							34
Maroneia																											0
Mesembria																											0
Nicopolis																											0
ad Nestum													2							1							3
Pautalia			1					7	3	6	6	29	24	2	1	1		27	1	7	3						118
Perinthos							1																				1
Philippopolis			2	2				1				3	3	1				11	2	1	1	1					29
Plotinopolis							1																				1
Serdica								3	2	2	7	1						14	1								31
Sestos																											0

Prägeorte	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	X	Y	Z	AA	Gesamt	
Thasos																											0	
Topeiros																												0
Traianopolis																	1										1	
Kallatis																											0	
Dionysopolis																											0	
Istros																											0	
Marcianopolis																	4							1			6	
Nicopolis																												
ad Istrum	1							1		1																	7	
Odessos									1																		1	
Tomis																											0	
Viminacium								2	2		2	2	9	1				16	1	6				1			38	
Dacia																	1										1	
Nikaia								2				1	1	2				15									21	
Sonstiges Kleinasien																											0	
Andere Provinzen											3	1	4					10	2								20	
Reichsprägungen								4				4					1							1			11	
Prov./Städtepr., nicht näher zuweisbar	3	4															35										44	
AE, nicht näher zuweisbar																											5	
Gesamt	5	2	6	29	6	7	4	5	18	8	13	17	57	33	2	3	1	144	8	17	3	2	2	1	1	3	401	

Literatur

Koprivlen: Aladjova 2002, 266 Nr. VI.3.2.1–5.

Ajtos: Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 2992 und 3580.

Georgi Dobrevo–Dana Bunar: Minkova 2008, 78 Nr. 1–5 und 79 Nr. 6.

Ivajlovgrad (Villa Armira): 27 Hadrianopolis – Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 4429, in der dort verzeichneten Monografie zur Münzprägung von Hadrianopolis von J. Jurukova auf S. 112 aufgezählt; die Nr. 77/1, 600/2, 706/2 und 711/2 sind allerdings im Katalogteil des Werkes von Jurukova nicht als Fundmünzen aus der Villa Amira gekennzeichnet oder fehlen ganz, möglicherweise ist die Anzahl der Münzen von Hadrianopolis entsprechend geringer; die von Mladenova 1965, 31 genannten beiden Münzen von Hadrianopolis sind vermutlich in den von Jurukova genannten enthalten.

Meričleri: Slavova 2012, 551–552 Nr. 13–18.

Kabile: Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 2960, Nr. 3382, Nr. 3460: dort auf S. 26, Nr. 5454; Nr. 5981.

Dikili-Kajrjak: Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3551 und Nr. 6191.

Sart-dere (= Ručej): Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3551 und Nr. 5678.

Kadin most: Grigorova 1998 23 Nr. 12; Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 5415, in dem Aufsatz von D. Dimitrov wird auf S. 18 in der Tabelle II Nr. 24 der Fundort unter Nevestino geführt.

Kjustendil (Pautalia) 1975: Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 78, Nr. 1676, Nr. 3342, Nr. 5403, die Münze von Nicopolis ad Istrum ist verzeichnet unter Nr. 26 in der Tabelle II auf S. 18 des Aufsatzes zum Geldumlauf in Pautalia von D. Dimitrov (vgl. Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 5415), Dimitrov listet zudem im Gegensatz zu B. Božkova nur 1 Münze von Viminacium und dafür 4 Münzen von Pautalia auf.

Kjustendil: Kilijno Učilišče: Filipova und Tonev 2003, 277–278 Nr. 2–3 und Nr. 4–14; siehe auch Prokopov und Filipova 2009: 50 Nr. 242, 52 Nr. 257, 60 Nr. 298, 64 Nr. 330 und Nr. 332, 72 Nr. 391, 74 Nr. 394, 82 Nr. 451, Nr. 453, 84 Nr. 467.

Kjustendil (Pautalia): Villa extra muros: Filipova und Meshekov 1997, 115–118 Nr. 1–15 und Nr. 17–18; siehe auch Prokopov und Filipova 2009: 56 Nr. 280, 62 Nr. 316–317 und Nr. 319, 66 Nr. 340 und Nr. 351, 70 Nr. 367, 72 Nr. 380, 74 Nr. 413, 84 Nr. 468 und Nr. 476.

Kjustendil (Pautalia): Prokopov und Filipova 2009, 48 Nr. 222, Nr. 229, 50 Nr. 235, Nr. 238, Nr. 241, Nr. 247, 52 Nr. 253–254, Nr. 258, 54 Nr. 267, 56 Nr. 278, Nr. 284, Nr. 286–288, Nr. 290, 60 Nr. 291, Nr. 295–296, Nr. 299, 62 Nr. 306, Nr. 308, Nr. 311, Nr. 314–315, 64 Nr. 325, Nr. 331, Nr. 334, Nr. 336–338, 66 Nr. 339, Nr. 342–345, 68 Nr. 355, Nr. 357, Nr. 362, 70 Nr. 365–366, Nr. 369, 72 Nr. 379, Nr. 387, 74 Nr. 401, Nr. 403, Nr. 407, 78 Nr. 429, 80 Nr. 434, Nr. 436, Nr. 443, 82 Nr. 444, Nr. 450, 84 Nr. 457–458, 84 Nr. 461, Nr. 478; zu

weiteren in Prokopov und Filipova 2009 erfassten Fundmünzen siehe auch hier in der Tabelle Kjustendil, Kilijno Učilišče sowie Kjustendil (Pautalia), Villa extra muros.

Kočerinovo: Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 5415, im Aufsatz von D. Dimitrov unter der Nr. 28 in der Tabelle II auf S. 18 aufgelistet.

Kopilovci: Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 5415, im Aufsatz von D. Dimitrov unter der Nr. 39 in der Tabelle II auf S. 18 aufgelistet.

Sapareva banja: Grigorova 1998, 26 Nr. 34, für die Bronzereichsprägung siehe S. 321 des bei V. Grigorova genannten Beitrags von T. Gerasimov.

Vukovo: Grigorova 1998, 27 Nr. 44.

Arbanas, nahe Radomir: Filipova 2012, 514–516 und 534–535, es werden bei S. Filipova nur die Provinzial- und Städteprägungen betrachtet; im Katalogteil ist nur ein Teil der 145 Provinzial- und Städteprägungen detailliert aufgeführt (S. 519–530 Nr. 1–74). Der Fundort ist identisch mit dem bei V. Grigorova genannten Fundort Temelkovo, Flur Arbanas: Grigorova 1998, Nr. 40.

Krlev dol: Najdenova 1985, 79 Nr. 62–65, Nr. 68, Nr. 86 und 80 Nr. 100, Nr. 102.

Pernik: Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 131, Nr. 132, Nr. 4421, Nr. 5476, Nr. 5481, Nr. 6012, in dem Beitrag von J. Jurokova aus dem Jahre 1962 sind Münzen aus Pella und Thessalonica ohne Zahlenangaben auf S. 40 erwähnt, im Katalog, der nur eine Auswahl darstellt, ist eine Münze von Thessalonica enthalten (S. 41 Nr. II 3). Im Aufsatz von D. Dimitrov (Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 5415) werden unter der Nr. 35 in der Tabelle II auf S. 18 ebenfalls Fundmünzen aus Pernik aufgelistet, die aber abweichend von den bei Jurkova genannten Zahlen und Münzstätten sind: Pautalia 8, Nicopolis ad Istrum 2/9 [sic], Hadrianopolis 1, Viminacium 4.

Pernik, Daskalovo: Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 5415, im Aufsatz von D. Dimitrov unter der Nr. 36 in der Tabelle II auf S. 18 aufgelistet.

Borino: Prokopov und Filipova 2011, 100 Nr. 377 und 104 Nr. 393.

Smoljan: Prokopov und Filipova 2011, 102 Nr. 392.

Zlatograd: Prokopov und Filipova 2011, 98 Nr. 372.

Karasura: Peter 2009, Nr. 254, die Bronzemünzen sind im Beitrag von M. Minkova im Katalog auf S. 157 unter den Nr. 6 und 8–9 aufgelistet.

Seuthopolis: Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 1310, Nr. 3356, Nr. 4101, Nr. 4361, Nr. 5936, Nr. 6302.

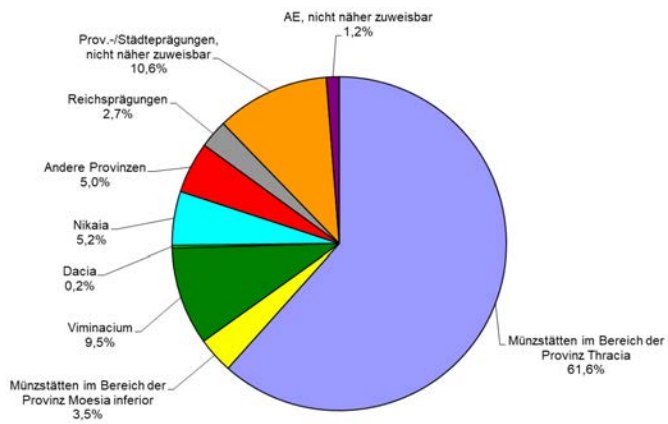


Abb. 6 1. Stichprobe Einzel- und Grabfunde aus Bulgarien im Bereich der Provinz Thracia (zur Grundlage siehe Tabelle 3): 401 Münzen

Tab. 4 1. Stichprobe von Einzel- und Grabfunden aus Bulgarien im Bereich der Provinz Moesia inferior
A Kaliakra, Bez. Dobrič | **B** Odarci, Bez. Dobrič | **C** Topola, Bez. Dobrič | **D** Vlahinja, Bez. Loveč | **E** Krivina, Bez. Ruse | **F** Madara, Bez. Šumen | **G** Preslav, Bez. Šumen
| **H** Vojvoda, Bez. Šumen | **I** Mogilec, Bez. Targovište | **J** Butovo, Bez. Veliko Tärnovo | **K** Nikjup (Nicopolis ad Istrum), Bez. Veliko Tärnovo | **L** Pavlikeni, Bez.
Veliko Tärnovo | **M** Rjachovec, Bez. Veliko Tärnovo | **N** Suchindol, Bez. Veliko Tärnovo | **O** Svišov (Novae), Bez. Veliko Tärnovo | **P** Dolna Kremena, Bez.
Vraca | **Q** Drašan, Bez. Vraca

Prägeorte	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	Gesamt
Abdera																		0
Ainos																		0
Anchialos	1	1			2						8		1	6				19
Apollonia Pontike																		0
Augusta Traiana								2	1		1		4					7
Bizye														1				1
Byzantion								1						2				3
Coela																		0
Deultum				1						2				2				5
Elatous																		0
Hadrianopolis				2				6	5	1	7	22	1					44
Maroneia																		0
Mesembria	1	1			1													3
Nicopolis ad Nestum																		0
Pautalia				1				3	1	3	1	5	1	1				16
Perinthos																		0
Philippopolis	1							3	2	3	2	3						14
Plotinopolis																		0
Serdica									1	1	1	1		1	2			6
Sestos																		0
Thasos																		0
Topeiros																		0
Traianopolis								1	1									2

Prägeorte	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	Gesamt
Kallatis										1								1
Dionysopolis	1		9												1			11
Istros																		0
Marcianopolis	3	5	8	14	2	11		3	9	20	4	1	9	70				159
Nicopolis ad Istrum	1		7	3			2	12	61	16		9	124					235
Odessos	1	1	3				1	1	3	1								14
Tomis	1								1									6
Viminacium			8	1						4				9				22
Dacia																		1
Nikaia									2	1				9				12
Sonstiges Kleinasien									1					6	1			8
Andere Provinzen				1					7	2				1	1			12
Reichsprägungen	4	5	2	14	15			34	9	16	1	5	219					324
Prov.-/Städtepr., nicht näher zuweisbar	1	1		3					15					72	1			93
AE, nicht näher zuweisbar			3	2?					7					5				17
Gesamt	14	13	27	34	26	27	2	1	7	83	142	44	3	36	568	4	4	1035

Kaliakra: Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 344, Nr. 1288, Nr. 1862, Nr. 2176, Nr. 3047, Nr. 5237, Nr. 6090, siehe zudem in dem Beitrag von V. Parušev auch S. 22 Nr. 5–8 und Nr. 18.

Odärçi: Peter 2009, Nr. 449, 40–43 Nr. 5–14, Nr. 16–17 und 44 Nr. 3; vermutlich hierin auch enthalten die in Kunisz 1992b, 159 verzeichneten Münzen (1 Odessos, 2 AE-Reichsprägungen).

Topola: Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 345, Nr. 1289, Nr. 1863, Nr. 3048, Nr. 5238, siehe zudem in dem Beitrag von V. Parušev auch S. 115 Nr. 20 und Nr. 22 sowie S. 117 Nr. 52–54.

Vladinja: Guščerakliev 2012, 570–576 Nr. 3–36.

Krivina: Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 1222 und Nr. 1506, siehe zudem in dem Beitrag von E. Kluwe auch S. 398–400 Nr. 16–21; Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 222, Nr. 446, Nr. 1321, Nr. 1605, Nr. 4201, siehe zudem in dem Beitrag von E. Geiß auch S. 175 Nr. 18–19, 176 Nr. 21 und Nr. 25–28; Schönert-Geiß 2007, 341 Nr. 968, Nr. 970–971.

Madara: Mušmov 1934, Nr. 3–6; Gerasimov 1960, 57 Nr. 2–5 und Nr. 9, 58 Nr. 10–12; 60 Nr. 37–39, 61 Nr. 40–41 und Nr. 46–49, 62 Nr. 50–51, 64 Nr. 71–72, die 15 AE-Reichsprägungen sind auch enthalten in Kunisz 1992b, 174–175.

Preslav: Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3038, in dem Beitrag von Mušmov wird auf S. 315 außer einer Münze des Gordianus III. von Anchialos eine zweite Münze von dieser Prägestätte erwähnt, die Gordianus III. und Tranquillina auf der Vorderseite zeigt.

Vojvoda: Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 1740.

Mogilec: Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 1185, Nr. 1466, Nr. 1751, Nr. 6564.

Butovo: Cočev 1998, 129–134 Nr. 23–56, 144–152 Nr. 121–165; weitere 4 Mz. von Hadrianopolis aus Butovo werden in der Monografie zur Münzprägung von Hadrianopolis von J. Jurukova (Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 4429) auf S. 112 aufgezählt.

Nikjup (Nicopolis ad Istrum): Grigorova 1998, 24–25 Nr. 26; Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 84, Nr. 1133, Nr. 1425, Nr. 1683, Nr. 2920, Nr. 3347, Nr. 4093, 4349, 6296, siehe zudem in dem Beitrag von K. Butcher auch S. 278–279 Nr. 74–96, Nr. 98–100, Nr. 103–106, Nr. 109 und Nr. 113.

Pavlikeni: Cočev 1998, 112–114 Nr. 18–32, 116–121 Nr. 47–74, Kunisz 1992b, 176 (hier nur AE Odessos) berücksichtigt.

Rjachovec: Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 551, Nr. 1104 und Nr. 4324, siehe zudem in dem Werk von I. Băčvarov auch S. 70 Nr. 3.

Suchindol: Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 1296, Nr. 1584, Nr. 3051, Nr. 4481, Nr. 5540, Nr. 6096, Nr. 6411, siehe zudem in Pisarev/Cočev S. 38–39 Nr. 42–46 und S. 45 Nr. 96; Kunisz 1992b, 176 verzeichnet 1 Philippopolis, 1 Nicopolis ad Istrum, 3 AE-Reichsprägungen unter Verweis auf Pisarev/Cočev.

Sviščov (Novae): Sektor IV, Grabungen 1960–2020 Ciołek und Dycec 2011, 62–68 Nr. 46–49, Nr. 52–57, Nr. 59–62, Nr. 64–67, Nr. 69–72, 70–85 Nr. 77–92, Nr. 96, Nr. 98–108, Nr. 112–113, Nr. 117, Nr. 119–126; Nr. 129, Nr. 131–132, 178–181 Nr. 481–498, 184–190 Nr. 513–537 und Nr. 539–540.

Grabung 1959: 2 Byzantion, 3 Hadrianopolis, 2 Pautalia, 3 Nicopolis ad Istrum, 1 Andere Provinzen (Thessalonica, Prov. Macedonia), 90 AE-Reichsprägungen, 2 ? (Prov./Städtepr.) – Kunisz 1992b, 161–162.

Ohne Fundjahr: 1 Bizye, 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 162.

Grabungen 1960–1986 (Anmerkung: Es ist unklar, inwieweit Münzen, die A. Kunisz für diesen Grabungsaktivitätszeitraum verzeichnet hat, Eingang in die Zusammenstellung von R. Ciołek/P. Dycec für den Sektor IV gefunden haben. Doppelungen können daher nicht ausgeschlossen werden!): 4 Anchialos, 3 Augusta Traiana, 2 Deultum, 17 Hadrianopolis, 3 Pautalia, 3 Philippopolis, 64 Marcianopolis, 107 Nicopolis ad Istrum, 3 Odessos, 3 Tomis, 6 Viminacium, 6 Nikaia, 4 Sonstiges Kleinasien, 74 AE-Reichsprägungen, 2+36=38 ? (Prov./Städtepräg.). Kunisz 1992a, 113–114 Tab. I. und Tab. II. Laut der Tabelle I bei A. Kunisz soll die Anzahl der von 96–253 n. Chr. geprägten Provinzial- und Städteprägungen sich auf 250+14 nicht näher datierte Exemplare =264, die der AE-Reichsprägungen auf 74+18 nicht näher datierte Exemplare =92 Exemplare belaufen haben. In Tab. II sind jedoch lediglich 228 Provinzial- und Städteprägungen nach Münzstätten verzeichnet. Bei den in Tab. II verzeichneten 3 Stücken, die unter der Rubrik „andere Städte im kleinasiatischen Raum“ in der Spalte der 222–253 n. Chr. datierenden Bronzeprägungen verzeichnet sind, dürfte es sich vermutlich um die 3 auf S. 112 erwähnten, als Medaillon bezeichneten Prägungen von Amisus/Pontus, Sala/Lydia und Cyzicus/Mysia handeln. Es sei schließlich noch angemerkt, dass davon ausgegangen wird, dass die in Kunisz 1992b, 162 für den Zeitraum 1960–1986 verzeichneten Münzen (1 Hadrianopolis, 2 Pautalia, 2 Philippopolis, 1 Marcianopolis, 1 Nicopolis ad Istrum, 68 AE-Reichsprägungen, 3 ? [Prov./Städtepr.]) in Kunisz 1992a enthalten sind.

Dolna Kremena: Grigorova 1998, 22 Nr. 7; Mašov 1988, 38–39 Nr. 49–52.

Drašan: Jurukova 1977, 70; Grigorova 1998, 22 Nr. 8; Guščerakliev 2000, 29 Nr. 7 (dort als Schatzfund, nicht als Grabbeigabe betrachtet).

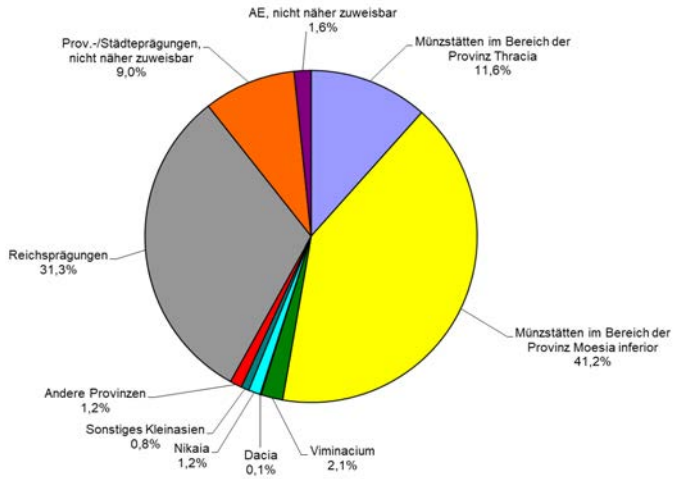


Abb. 7 1. Stichprobe Einzel- und Grabfunde aus Bulgarien im Bereich der Provinz Moesia inferior (zur Grundlage siehe Tabelle 4): 1035 Münzen

Tab. 5 2. Stichprobe von Einzel- und Grabfunden aus Bulgarien im Bereich der Provinz Thracia

A Bez. Blagoevgrad | B Bez. Burgas | C Bez. Chaskovo | D Bez. Jambol | E Bez. Kjustendil | F Bez. Kărdžali | G Bez. Pazardžik | H Bez. Pernik | I Bez. Plovdiv | J Bez. Sliven | K Bez. Sofia (Stadt) | L Bez. Stara Zagora

Prägeorte	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	Gesamt
Abdera													0
Ainos													0
Anchialos		10	1							2		5	18
Apollonia Pontike		1											1
Augusta Traiana		1	1	1			2		21	2	3	229	260
Bizye												1	1
Byzantion												2	2
Coela													0
Deultum		3								1			4
Elaios													0
Hadrianopolis		3	2			1	1					2	9
Maroneia													0
Mesembria													0
Nicopolis ad Nestum	7				6		2		3			4	22
Pautalia	2	1			5			1	2	1	1	4,5	17,5
Perinthos		4							1			2	7
Philippopolis		1	1				1		19	2		47	71
Plotinopolis												1	1

Prägeorte	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	Gesamt
Serdica											1	2,5	3,5
Sestos													0
Thasos													0
Topeiros												1	1
Traianopolis									2			7	9
Kallatis													0
Dionysopolis													0
Istros													0
Marcianopolis										1			1
Nicopolis ad Istrum						1						15	16
Odessos		2											2
Tomis													0
Viminacium													0
Dacia													0
Nikaia												1	1
Sonstiges Kleinasien												1	1
Andere Provinzen													0
Reichsprägungen		14		2	1		2		1	2		22	44
Prov./Städtepr., nicht näher zuweisbar			1									5	6
AE, nicht näher zuweisbar						1			1		2	9	13
Gesamt	9	41	5	3	13	2	8	1	51	10	7	361	511

Literatur

Bez. Blagoevgrad

Babjak: 1 Nicopolis ad Nestum – Komnick 2003, 34 Nr. 18; Blagoevgrad: 1 Pautalia – Kunisz 1992b, 173; Bukovo: 1 Pautalia – Kunisz 1992b, 173; Gärmén: 2 Nicopolis ad Nestum – Komnick 2003, 34 Nr. 19; Ilindenci: 1 Nicopolis ad Nestum – Komnick 2003, 35 Nr. 20; Kočerino, Quartal Barakovo: 2 Nicopolis ad Nestum – Komnick 2003, 35 Nr. 21; Mandžovo: 1 Nicopolis ad Nestum – Komnick 2003, 35 Nr. 22.

Bez. Burgas

Ajtoski(te) bani, nordwestl. Burgas: 6 Anchialos, 1 Apollonia Pontike, 1 Augusta Traiana, 3 Hadrianopolis, 2 Perinthos, 1 Odessos, 13 AE-Reichsprägungen – Kunisz 1992b, 164–165; Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460, dort auf S. 23; Debelt: Münze von Deultum – Avdev 1981, 27 Nr. 75; Karnobat: 1 Anchialos – Kunisz 1992b, 166; Lozarevo: 1 ? (Prov./Städtepr.) – Kunisz 1992b, 166; Nesebär: 1 Pautalia, 1 Perinth, 1 Odessos, 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 165; Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 5823, dort auf S. 109 Nr. 118/5; Pomorie: 3 Anchialos; Deultum, 1 Philippopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 165;

Trojanovo: Deultum – Avdev 1981, 27 Nr. 72; Židarovo: 1 Perinthos – Kunisz 1992b, 166.

Bez. Chaskovo:

Efrem: 1 Anchialos, 1 Hadrianopolis, 1 Philippopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 167–168; Slivengrad: 1 Augusta Traiana – Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460, dort auf S. 32; Ustrem: Hadrianopolis – Avdev 1981, 27–28 Nr. 83.

Bez. Jambol

Granitovo: 2 AE-Reichsprägungen – Kunisz 1992b, 166; Pravdino: 1 Augusta Traiana – Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460, dort auf S. 31.

Bez. Kjustendil

Blažievo: 1 Nicopolis ad Nestum – Komnick 2003, 34 Nr. 12; Červen Brjag: 1 Nicopolis ad Nestum – Komnick 2003, 35 Nr. 29; Eremija: 1 Pautalia – Kunisz 1992b, 173; Golemo selo: 1 Pautalia – Kunisz 1992b, 173; Gorna Graščica: 1 Nicopolis ad Nestum – Komnick 2003, 34 Nr. 13; Kjustendil: 1 Nicopolis ad Nestum, 2 Pautalia, 1 Nicopolis ad Istrum, 1 AE Reichsprägung – Komnick 2003, 34 Nr. 14; Kunisz 1992b, 173; Sgurovo: 1 Pautalia – Kunisz 1992b, 174; Zemen: 1 Nicopolis ad Nestum – Komnick 2003, 34 Nr. 15; Zlogoš: 1 Nicopolis ad Nestum – Komnick 2003, 34 Nr. 16.

Bez. Kărdžali

Kărdžali: 1 Hadrianopolis, 1 ? (AE) – Kunisz 1992b, 168.

Bez. Pazardžik

Aleko Konstantinovo: 1 Nicopolis ad Nestum – Komnick 2003, 35 Nr. 23; Branipole: 1 Nicopolis ad Nestum – Komnick 2003, 35 Nr. 24; Glavinica: 1 Augusta Traiana – Kunisz 1992b, 171; Kapitan-Dimitriev: 1 Philippopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 171; Pazardžik: 1 Augusta Traiana, 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 171, Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460, dort auf S. 30; Saraja: 1 AE-Reichsprägungen – Kunisz 1992b, 172; Svoboda: 1 Hadrianopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 172.

Bez. Pernik

Mramor: 1 Pautalia – Kunisz 1992b, 173.

Bez. Plovdiv

Asenovgrad: 1 Philippopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 171; Belaštica: 1 Philippopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 171; Branipole: 1 Nicopolis ad Nestum – Komnick 2003, 35 Nr. 24; Belozem: 1 Augusta Traiana – Kunisz 1992b, 171; Caracovo: 1 Philippopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 171; Carimir: 1 Philippopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 171; Černozemen: 2 Philippopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 171; Goljama Kanare: 1 Augusta Traiana – Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460, dort auf S. 25; Markovo: 3 Augusta Traiana, 1 ? (AE) – Kunisz 1992b, 171, Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460, dort auf S. 29; Mogilarci: 1 Philippopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 171; Patriarh-Evtimovo: 1 Philippopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 171; Plovdiv: 15 Augusta Traiana, 1 Perinth, 6 Philippopolis, 2 Traianopolis, 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 171–172,

Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460: dort auf S. 31 und Nr. 6605, dort auf S. 152, Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 5823, dort auf S. 194 Nr. 581/1; Pravišče: 2 Nicopolis ad Nestum – Komnick 2003, 35 Nr. 25; Rakovski: 1 Philippopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 172; Rogoš: 1 Augusta Traiana – Kunisz 1992b, 172; Sadovo: 1 Philippopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 172; Säedinenije: 1 Philippopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 172; Särnegor: 2 Pautalia, 1 Philippopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 172; Skutare: 1 Philippopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 172; ohne Fundort im Bez. Plovdiv: Marcianopolis – Avdev 1981, 26 Nr. 58.

Bez. Sliven

Čokoba: Deultum – Avdev 1981, 27 Nr. 80; Karanovo: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 166; Kermen: 1 Augusta Traiana – Kunisz 1992b, 166; Nova Zagora: 1 Augusta Traiana – Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460, dort auf S. 30; Sliven: 2 Anchialos, Pautalia, 2 Philippopolis – Avdev 1981, 27 Nr. 74, Kunisz 1992b, 166–167; Sokol: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 167.

Bez. Sofia Stadt

Sofia, Bez. Sofia (Stadt): 3 Augusta Traiana, 1 Pautalia, 1 Serdica, 2 ? (AE) – Avdev 1981, 28 Nr. 93, Kunisz 1992b, 174, Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460, dort auf S. 32.

Bez. Stara Zagora

Bjalo pole: 1 Augusta Traiana – Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460, dort auf S. 23; Bogomilovo: 1 Augusta Traiana, 2 Philippopolis, 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 167; Bratja Daskalovy: 1 Philippopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 167; Čatalka/Chatalka: 3 Augusta Traiana, 1 Bizye, 1 Nicopolis ad Nestum, 1 Pautalia oder Serdica, 3 Philippopolis, 3 AE-Reichsprägungen, 4 ? (2 Prov./Städtepr., 2 AE) – Komnick 2003, 35 Nr. 26, Kunisz 1992b, 167; Černa Gora, nordwestl. von Čirpan: 1 Augusta Traiana – Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460, dort auf S. 24; Christeni, nordwestl. Stara Zagora: 3 Augusta Traiana – Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460, dort auf S. 24; Čirpan: 1 Anchialos, 5 Augusta Traiana, 1 Perinth, 4 Philippopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 167, Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460, dort auf S. 24; Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 5823, dort auf S. 111 Nr. 136/7; Dälboki, nordöstlich Stara Zagora: 1 Augusta Traiana, 1 ? (AE) – Kunisz 1992b, 167, Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460, dort auf S. 24; Daskochove, im Gebiet von Čirpan: 1 Augusta Traiana – Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460, dort auf S. 24; Dimitriovo (Emporium Pizus): 1 Nicopolis ad Nestum, 1 ? (Prov./Städtepr.) – Komnick 2003, 35 Nr. 27, Kunisz 1992b, 167; Gäläbovo: 1 Philippopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 168; Hatjuren: 1 Augusta Traiana – Kunisz 1992b, 168; Hrišteni: 1 Pautalia, 1 Philippopolis, 1 AE-Reichsprägung, 1 ? (AE) – Kunisz 1992b, 168; Izvorovo: 1 Augusta Traiana – Kunisz 1992b, 168; Kalojanovec: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 168; Käncevo: 1 Anchialos – Avdev 1981, 27 Nr. 77; Kazanlák: 1 Augusta Traiana, 1 Philippopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 168, Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460, dort auf S. 26; Kirilovo, südsw. Stara Zagora: 1 Augusta Traiana, 1 Serdica, 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 168, Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460, dort auf S.

26; Kolarovo, südöstl. Stara Zagora: 1 Augusta Traiana – Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460, dort auf S. 26; Ljaskovo: 1 Nicopolis ad Istrum – Kunisz 1992b, 168; Lovec: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992, 168; Mägliž: 1 Augusta Traiana – Kunisz 1992b, 169; Malka Detelina: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 169; Malka Vereja: 2 Augusta Traiana – Kunisz 1992b, 169; Mopipec: 1 Augusta Traiana – Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460, dort auf S. 30; Najdenovec, bei Stara Zagora: 1 Augusta Traiana – Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460, dort auf S. 30; Obrucište: 2 Philippopolis, 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 169; Opan, südl. Stara Zagora: 1 Augusta Traiana – Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460, dort auf S. 30; Orjahovica: 1 Augusta Traiana, 1 Philippopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 169; Ploska mogila: 1 Philippopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 169; Podslon: 1 Philippopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 169; Pravoslav: 1 Byzantion, 1 Philippopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 169; Preslavec: 1 Augusta Traiana – Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460, dort auf S. 32; Preslaven: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 169; Pšeničevo: 1 Anchialos, 1 Philippopolis, 1 Plotinopolis, 1 ? (AE) – Kunisz 1992b, 169; Radnevo: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 169; Säedinenije: 1 Augusta Traiana – Kunisz 1992b, 169; Sredno Gradište: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 169; Stara Zagora: 2 Anchialos, 201 Augusta Traiana, 1 Byzantion, 1 Hadrianopolis, 2 Nicopolis ad Nestum, 3 Pautalia, 1 Perinth, 27 Philippopolis, 1 Serdica, 1 Topeiros, 7 Traianopolis, 14 Nicopolis ad Istrum, Nikaia, Andere Provinzen (Cyzicus/Prov. Asia), 8 AE-Reichsprägungen, 6 ? (2 Prov./Städtepr., 4 AE) – Komnick 2003, 35 Nr. 28, Kunisz 1992b, 170, Minkova 2002, 128–130 Nr. 1–14, Minkova und Pafford 2007, 205, Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460, dort auf S. 33–36 und Nr. 6605, Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 4345, Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 5823, dort auf S. 258 Nr. 858/3, dort auf S. 152; Trojanovo: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 170.

Tab. 6 2. Stichprobe von Einzel- und Grabfunden aus Bulgarien im Bereich der Provinz Moesia inferior
A Bez. Loveč | **B** Bez. Montana | **C** Bez. Pleven | **D** Bez. Razgrad | **E** Bez. Ruse | **F** Bez. Šumen | **G** Bez. Targovište | **H** Bez. Varna | **I** Bez. Veliko Tärново | **J** Bez. Vraca

Prägeorte	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Gesamt
Abdera											0
Ainos											0
Anchialos				1			1	1			3
Apollonia Pontike											0
Augusta Traiana		1			1			1			3
Bizye											0
Byzantion											0
Coela											0
Deultum					1	1					2
Elaious											0
Hadrianopolis								1	12		13
Maroneia											0

Prägeorte	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Gesamt
Mesembria											0
Nicopolis ad Nestum	2		4								6
Pautalia	10		1								11
Perinthos			1								1
Philippopolis			4		1						5
Plotinopolis											0
Serdica											0
Sestos											0
Thasos											0
Topeiros											0
Traianopolis											0
Kallatis								1			1
Dionysopolis								1			1
Istros					1	1					2
Marcianopolis					2	4		3			9
Nicopolis ad Istrum			1		2	1			2		6
Odessos					1	3		17			21
Tomis								1			1
Viminacium											0
Dacia											0
Nikaia											0
Sonstiges Kleinasien					1				1		2
Andere Provinzen											0
Reichsprägungen			27		14	2		7	7	1	58
Prov./Städtepr., nicht näher zuweisbar									1		1
AE, nicht näher zuweisbar	1		8	1				3	1		14
Gesamt	13	1	46	2	24	12	1	36	24	1	160

Literatur

Bez. Loveč

Todoričane: 2 Nicopolis ad Nestum – Komnick 2003, 35 Nr. 33 (dort irrtümlich unter Bez. Pleven).

Region Loveč: 11 Pautalia – Guščerakliev 2005, 114 (Anm. d. Verf.: Bei einer der von Guščerakliev genannten 11 Münzen handelt es sich um die bereits oben in Tabelle 4 unter der Fundreihe Vladinja erfasste Pautalia-Münze – vgl. auch Guščerakliev 2005, 110 Nr. 55 –, weshalb hier in Tabelle 6 die Zahl mit 10 angegeben ist.); Orešene: 1 ? (AE) – Kunisz 1992b, 176.

Bez. Montana

Michailovgrad: 1 Augusta Traiana – Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460, dort auf S. 29.

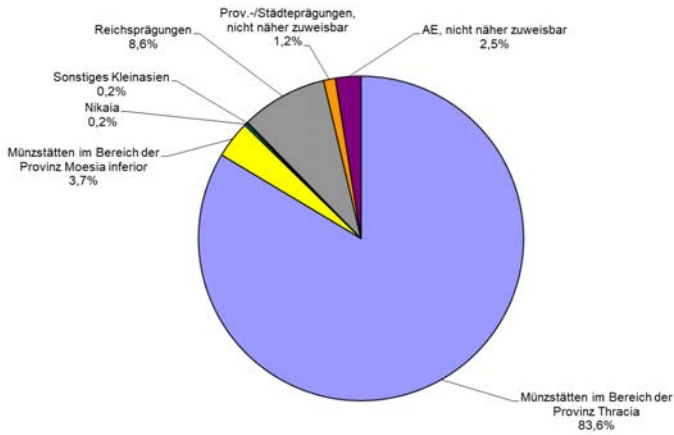


Abb. 8 2. Stichprobe Einzel- und Grabfunde aus Bulgarien im Bereich der Provinz Thracia (zur Grundlage siehe Tabelle 5): 511 Münzen

Bez. Pleven

Bärkač: 1 Pautalia – Kunisz 1992b, 160; Belene: 4 AE-Reichsprägungen – Kunisz 1992b, 160; Bešli bei Nikopol (Oescus): 1 Perinth – Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 5823, dort S. 106 Nr. 103/2; Borislav: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 160; Čomakovci: 1 Nicopolis ad Nestum – Komnick 2003, 35 Nr. 30; Debovo: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 160; Dolni Däbnik: 2 AE-Reichsprägungen – Kunisz 1992b, 160; Gigen (Oescus): 1 Nicopolis ad Nestum, 3 Philippopolis, 7 AE-Reichsprägungen, 3 ? (AE) – Komnick 2003, 35 Nr. 31, Kunisz 1992b, 160; Jasen: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 161; Kameneč: Nicopolis ad Istrum – Avdev 1981, 29 Nr. 105 = 30 Nr. 117; Kreta: 2 AE-Reichsprägungen – Kunisz 1992b, 161; Milkovica: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 161; Novačene: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 161; Obnova: 1 ? (AE) – Kunisz 1992b, 161; Orechovica: 1 Nicopolis ad Nestum – Komnick 2003, 35 Nr. 32; Pleven: 1 Philippopolis, 3 AE-Reichsprägungen, 3 ? (AE) – Kunisz 1992b, 161; Radiševo: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 161; Slavonica: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 161; Somovit: 1 AE (?) – Kunisz 1992b, 161; Tränčovica: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 162; Värbica: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 162; Bez. Pleven: 1 Nicopolis ad Nestum – Komnick 2003, 35 Nr. 34.

Bez. Razgrad:

Osenec: Anchialos – Avdev 1981, 30 Nr. 118; Tetovo: 1 ? (AE) – Kunisz 1992b, 160.

Bez. Ruse

Červena voda: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 159; Mečka: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 159; Pisanec: 1 Sonstiges Kleinasien [Nicomedia] – Kunisz 1992b, 159–160; Rjachovo: 1 Istros, Marcianopolis, Nicopolis ad Istrum?, 5 AE-Reichsprägungen – Avdev 1981, 29 Nr. 106, Kunisz 1992b, 159–160; Ruse: Deultum, Marcianopolis, Nicopolis ad Istrum?, Odessos, Philippopolis, 6 AE-Reichsprägungen – Avdev 1981, 30 Nr. 115, Kunisz 1992b, 160; Štrákvevo: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 160; Bez. Ruse: 1 Augusta Traiana – Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 3460, dort auf S. 32.

Bez. Šumen

Izbul: Marcianopolis, Nicopolis ad Istrum – Avdev 1981, 29 Nr. 101, Kunisz 1992b, 174; Kjulevča: Deultum, Odessos – Avdev 1981, 29 Nr. 111; Lozevo: Marcianopolis – Avdev 1981, 29 Nr. 113; Sini vir (Senebir): Odessos – Avdev 1981, 29 Nr. 100; Troica: Istros, Odessos – Avdev 1981, 29 Nr. 102, Kunisz 1992b, 175; Visoka poljana: Marcianopolis – Avdev 1981, 29 Nr. 108; Vojvoda: Marcianopolis – Avdev 1981, 30 Nr. 116; Voivoda: 2 AE-Reichsprägungen – Kunisz 1992b, 175 (dort Bez. Varna, in dem von Kunisz angegebenen Mitteilung von I. Moiglov jedoch Bez. Šumen angegeben).

Bez. Targovište

Čerkovna: 1 Anchialos – Kunisz 1992b, 175.

Bez. Varna

Aksakovo: 7 Odessos, 2 ? (AE) – Kunisz 1992b, 158; Beloslav: 1 Odessos – Kunisz 1992b, 158; Devnja: 1 Hadrianopolis, 1 Marcianopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 174; Osenovo: 1 Dionysopolis, 1 Odessos – Kunisz 1992b, 158; Suvorovo: 1 Marcianopolis – Kunisz 1992b, 159; Štipsko: 2 AE-Reichsprägungen – Kunisz 1992b, 159; Varna: Anchialos, 1 Augusta Traiana, Kallatis, 6 Odessos, Tomis, 5 AE-Reichsprägungen, 1 ? (AE) – Avdev 1981, 26 Nr. 54, Kunisz 1992b, 158–159; Venelin: 1 Odessos – Kunisz 1992b, 159; Vetrino: Marcianopolis, Odessos – Avdev 1981, 29 Nr. 104.

Bez. Veliko Tärnovo

Alekovo: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 160; Chotnica: 12 Hadrianopolis – Schönert-Geiß 1999, Nr. 4429, in der dort verzeichneten Monografie zur Münzprägung von Hadrianopolis von J. Jurukova auf S. 112 aufgezählt; Dragomirovo: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 160; Polski Senovec: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 176; Prisovo: 1 Nicopolis ad Istrum, 1 Sonstiges Kleinasien [Nicomedia], 4 AE-Reichsprägungen, 1 ? (Prov.-/Städtepr.) – Kunisz 1992b, 176; Vardim: 1 ? (AE) – Kunisz 1992b, 162; Veliko Tärnovo: Nicopolis ad Istrum? – Avdev 1981, 26 Nr. 56.

Bez. Vraca

Selanovci: 1 AE-Reichsprägung – Kunisz 1992b, 163.

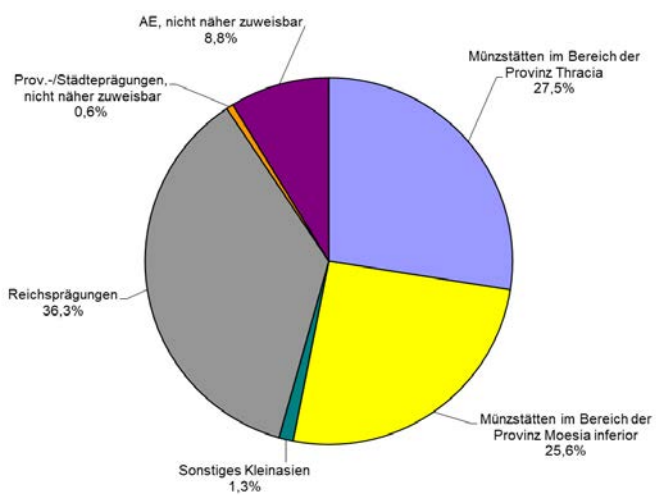


Abb. 9 2. Stichprobe Einzel- und Grabfunde aus Bulgarien im Bereich der Provinz Moesia inferior (zur Grundlage siehe Tabelle 6): 160 Münzen

Tab. 7 Auszug der in den Gesamtfundmünzreihen vertretenen Anteile an Prägungen aus thrakischen Münzstätten

Bulgarische Bez. im Bereich der Provinz Thracia	Thrakische Münzstätten (von West nach Ost)														im Bereich des heutigen Griechenlands		
	im Bereich des heutigen Bulgariens							im Bereich der heutigen Türkei									
	Nicopolis		Augusta		Apollonia		Deultum		Anchialos		Plotinopolis		Byzantion		Traianopolis		
	Pautalia	Serdica	ad Nestum	Philippopolis	Traiana	Deultum	Anchialos	Apollonia	Plotinopolis	Hadrianopolis	Byzantion	Plotinopolis	Hadrianopolis	Byzantion	Plotinopolis	Traianopolis	
Pernik	22,5%	8,7%	0,6%	8,1%	2,9%	0,6%				0,6%							0,6%
Kjustendil	50,9%	9,1%	4,8%	4,8%	1,8%					1,2%							
Blagoevgrad	14,3%		50,0%		7,1%												
Sofia+Pazardžik+Smoljan	5,6%	5,6%	11,1%	16,7%	27,8%					5,6%							
Plovdiv	3,9%		5,9%	37,3%	41,2%				0,3%	0,8%							3,9%
Stara Zagora	1,2%	0,9%	1,1%	13,0%	62,2%	0,5%	1,4%			0,3%	0,5%						1,9%
Jambol+Sliven	10,0%			26,0%	30,0%	5,0%	15,0%										
Burgas	2,3%			2,3%	2,3%	7,0%	25,6%	2,3%									
Kärđzali				6,5%	4,3%	2,2%	2,2%										
Chaskovo																	

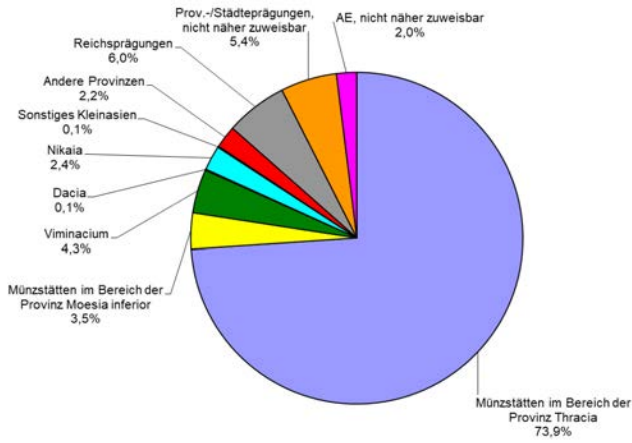


Abb. 10 Einzel- und Grabfunde aus Bulgarien im Bereich der Provinz Thracia (1. und 2. Stichprobe): 913 Münzen

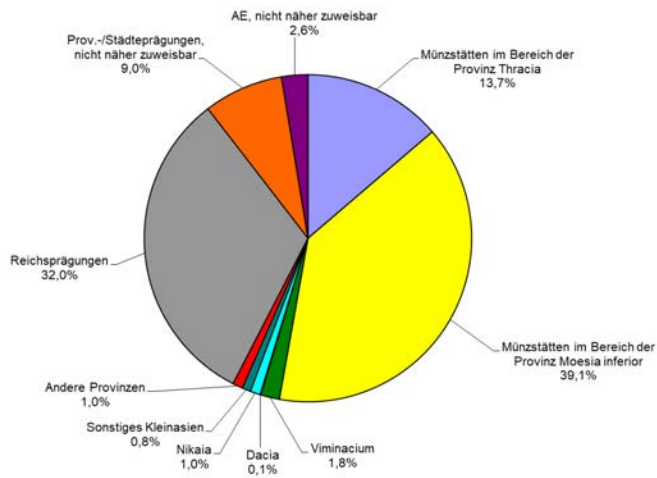


Abb. 11 Einzel- und Grabfunde aus Bulgarien im Bereich der Moesia inferior (1. und 2. Stichprobe): 1195 Münzen

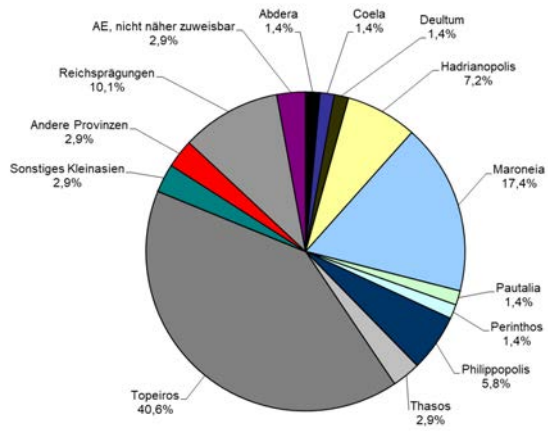


Abb. 12 Griechenland – Abdera, Maroneia, Molyvoti und Thasos: 69 Münzen

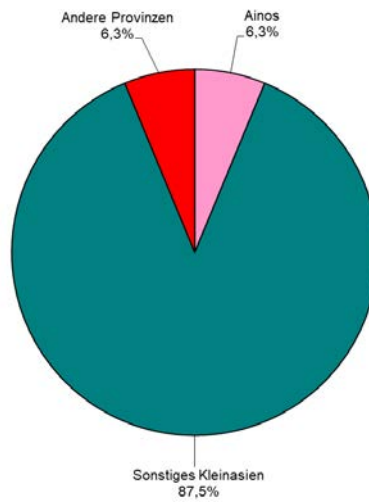


Abb. 13 Türkei – Ainos: 16 Münzen

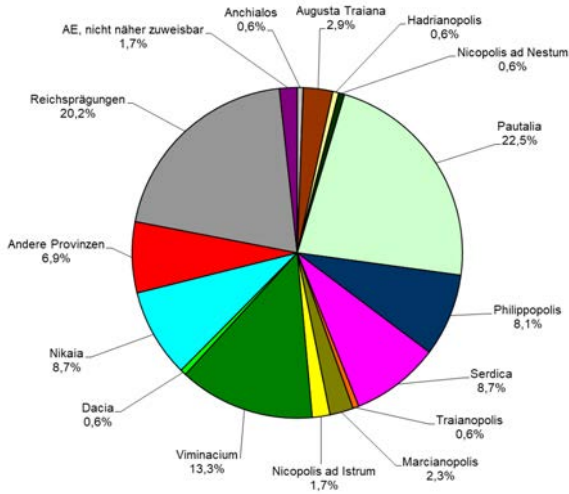


Abb. 14 Bez. Pernik (Stichprobe 1+2): 173 Münzen

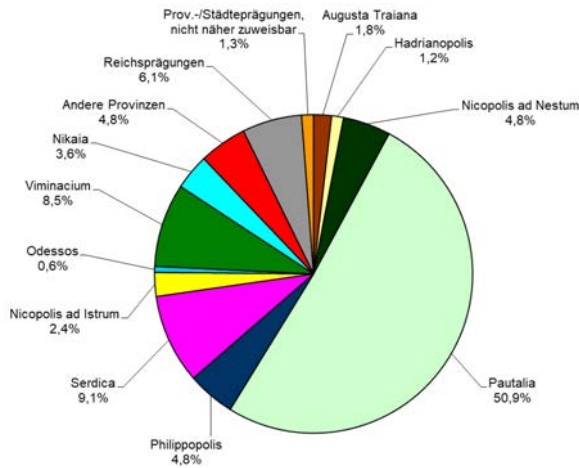


Abb. 15 Bez. Kjustendil (Stichprobe 1+2): 165 Münzen

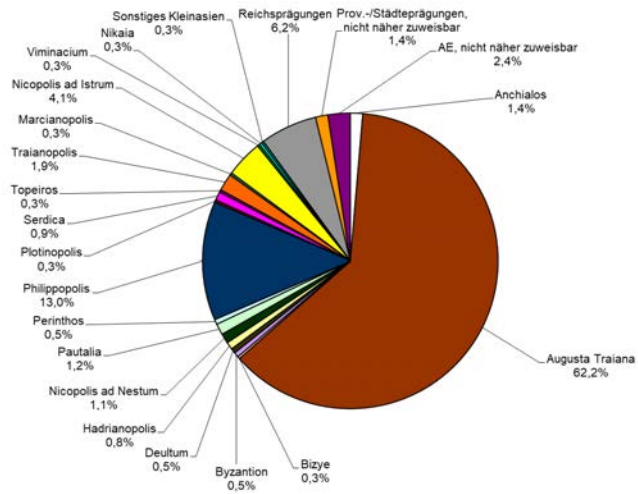


Abb. 16 Bez. Stara Zagora (Stichprobe 1+2): 370 Münzen

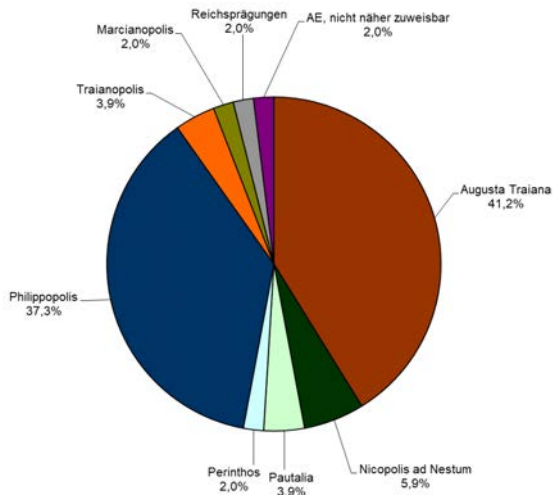


Abb. 17 Bez. Philippopolis (Stichprobe 2): 51 Münzen

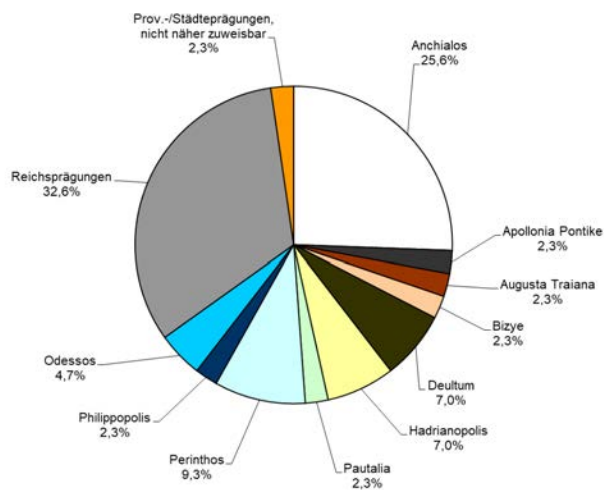


Abb. 18 Bez. Burgas (Stichprobe 1+2): 43 Münzen

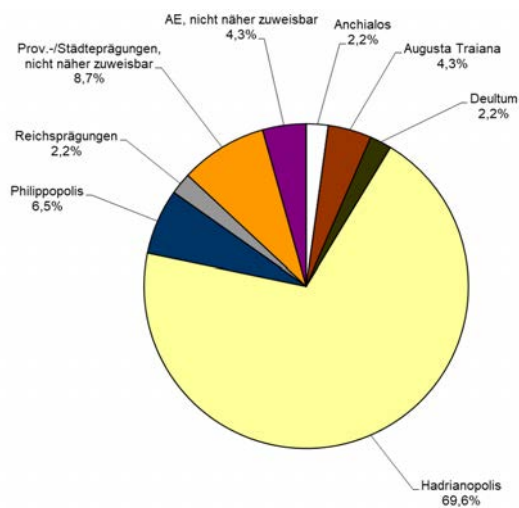


Abb. 19 Bez. Chaskovo (Stichprobe 1+2): 46 Münzen

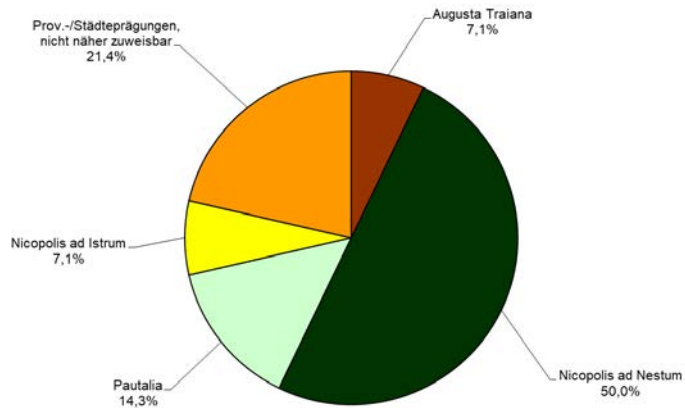


Abb. 20 Bez. Blagoevgrad (Stichprobe 1+2): 14 Münzen

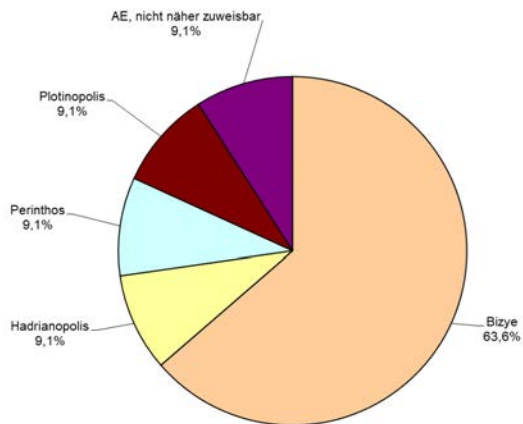


Abb. 21 Bez. Kärđzali (Stichprobe 1+2): 11 Münzen

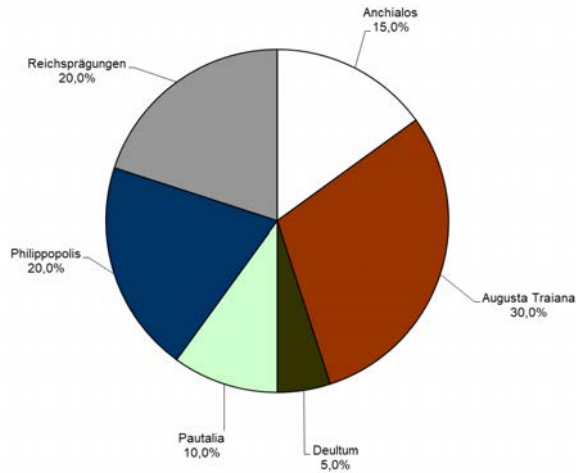


Abb. 22 Bez. Jambol (Stichprobe 1+2) und Sliven (Stichprobe 2): 20 Münzen

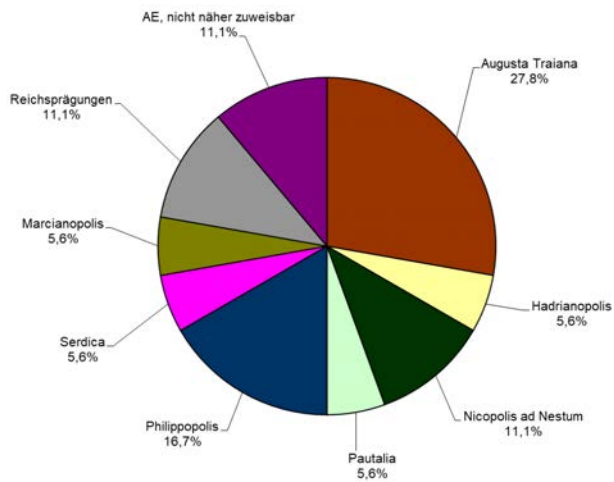


Abb. 23 Bez. Sofia (einschließlich Stadt, beide Stichprobe 2), Pazardžik (Stichprobe 2) und Smoljan (Stichprobe 1): 18 Münzen

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