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## HELLENISTIC CIVIC COINAGE OF BLAUNDOS

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**Abstract:** Blaundos, which was located very close to the Phrygian border of Lydia in Antiquity, is today located within the borders of Sülümenli village in Uşak province. While many new findings have been discovered as a result of archaeological excavations carried out in the settlement since 2018, a new study on the coins struck by the city has become essential in the light of numismatic finds and recent literature on the subject. To better understand Blaundos' early foundation, growth and decline, numismatic data should be complete and updated. While the coinage of Blaundos has never been studied broadly, since early 2000s, new specimens appeared in the literature and auction market. So, series struck by Blaundos, discussions and suggestions about dating of these issues and their iconography had to be presented in the light of both new and previous data. Just like many other *poleis* of the Lydian region, Blaundos probably started minting civic coins during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC in a period when almost all of the cities in the region began to strike their own coinage. We can tell that Blaundos, of which we only know the bronze coins for now, has twelve different coin series. Unfortunately, at the moment, it is difficult to place the series in a precise chronology. Iconography of coins, on the other hand, has the potential to let us better understand the cults and main deities of Blaundos as well as its interaction with other cities of the Lydian or Phrygian region. In this study, in the light cults and main deities of Blaundos as well as its interaction with other cities of the Lydian or Phrygian region. In this study, in the light of new data and current literature, evaluations and comments are presented on the iconography, units and dating of coins minted by the city of Blaundos in the Hellenistic period, comparing with the region in general.

## BLAUNDOS'UN HELLENİSTİK DÖNEM SİKKELERİ

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *Lydia, Blaundos, Hellenistik Dönem, Sikke*

**Öz:** Antik Çağ'da Lydia'nın Phrygia sınırına oldukça yakın konumda yer alan Blaundos, bugün Uşak iline bağlı Sülümenli köyü sınırları içerisinde yer alır. 2018 yılından bu yana kentte sürdürülen düzenli arkeolojik kazılar neticesinde pek çok yeni bulguya erişilirken, numismatik buluntular ve güncel literatür ışığında kentin darp ettiği sikkelere dair de yeni bir çalışma elzem hale gelmiştir. Bu doğrultuda, Blaundos'un kuruluşunu, gösterdiği gelişimi ve zayıflama sürecini daha iyi anlamak için numismatik veriler tamamlanmalı ve güncellenmelidir. Blaundos sikkeleri hiçbir zaman geniş çaplı olarak ele alınmamış olmakla beraber 2000'li yılların başından itibaren literatürde ve müzayedelerde yeni örnekler ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu nedenle, Blaundos tarafından darp edilen seriler, bu sikkelerin tarihlendirilmesi ve ikonografileri hakkındaki tartışmalar ve öneriler hem yeni hem de önceki veriler ışığında ele alınmıştır. Her şeyden önce, tıpkı Lydia bölgesinin pek çok diğer kenti gibi, Blaundos da olasılıkla MÖ 2. yüzyıldaki süreçte kendi adını taşıyan sikke basmaya başlamıştır. Şu an için yalnızca bronz sikkelerini bildiğimiz kentin on iki farklı seride sikkesi olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Serilerin kesin bir kronolojiye oturtulması şu an için güçtür. Öte yandan sikke ikonografisi, Blaundos'un kültlerini, ana tanrılarını, Lydia veya Phrygia bölgesindeki diğer kentlerle etkileşimini daha iyi anlamamızı da sağlayacaktır. Bu çalışmada, bölgenin genelinden hareketle Blaundos kentinin Hellenistik Dönem'de darp ettiği sivil nitelikteki sikkelerin ikonografyası, birimleri ve tarihlendirmesi üzerine yeni veriler ve güncel literatür ışığında değerlendirmeler sunulmaktadır.

### INTRODUCTION

Located very close to the Phrygian border of Lydia, ancient Blaundos today lies within the borders of the village of Sülümenli in Uşak. The ruins that have survived to the present day indicate that city was built on an extremely protected hilly area surrounded by deep canyons on three sides<sup>1</sup>. Before appearing on coins with the name Mlaundos in the Hellenistic Period, the site and the canyon in which it is located were continuously inhabited starting from the Bronze Age<sup>2</sup>. Macedonian soldiers might have settled in Blaundos during the Hellenistic Period, in the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC or after 280 BC, when the region came under Seleucid rule, and the city was probably colonized on this occasion<sup>3</sup>.

Comprehensive archaeological studies have recently begun in the city. Three seasons of survey were conducted there between 1999 and 2002<sup>4</sup>. In 1995, a short-term excavation was carried out by the Uşak Museum, and between 2018 and 2023, regular archaeological excavations were maintained at Blaundos under the direction of B. Can from Uşak University<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For detailed information on the location and topography of the city see Filges 2006b, 2-7; Can 2017, 73-74; 2023b, 393. See also Thonemann 2013a, 32.

<sup>2</sup> Can 2017, 74; 2023b, 393. For different suggestions on the origin and meaning of the name Mlaundos see Ramsay 1883, 37-38; Filges 2006c, 19-20. See also Can 2017, 74; 2023b, 393-394; Mazzini 2020, 134.

<sup>3</sup> For further discussion on the subject, see Cohen 1995, 290; Filges 2006c, 20-21; Thonemann 2013a, 17; Can 2017, 76; Mitchell 2018, 23-28; Mazzini 2020, 136-137; González 2021, 115.

<sup>4</sup> For these studies led by A. Filges and their results see Filges 2006a.

<sup>5</sup> For the excavations carried out under the supervision of the Uşak Museum and their results, see Akbıykoğlu 1997. For the new seasons of excavations, see Can et al. 2020; Can 2023a; 2023b, 397-401.

## CIVIC COINS IN LYDIA DURING THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

Before presenting detailed information on the bronze coins of Blaundos, it would be useful to look at the case in the region in general. Because, the cities of the region seem to have started striking civic coins around the same time. First of all, as Hochard, who has conducted significant studies on the region, has shown, bronze coinage of Lydia can be divided into two chronological levels. While royal coins were minted in the region between 334-189/188 BC, civic issues were minted from 189/188 BC onwards<sup>6</sup>.

When we look at the royal mints and the bronze coins they struck, we see that the most active mint in the region was Sardis, which was also the center of the region. At first, Macedonian royal coins were minted here between ca. 334-315 BC<sup>7</sup>. Subsequently, when the region came under the rule of Lysimachus, coins were minted in Sardis in the name of the King between 301-287/286 BC<sup>8</sup>. Finally, between 282 BC and 189/188 BC, royal coins were struck here periodically in the name of the Seleucids<sup>9</sup>. On the other hand, during the Seleucid domination, royal bronze coins were minted in Magnesia ad Sipylum and probably also in Tralleis<sup>10</sup>. The Kingdom of Pergamon, which ruled over Lydia, also struck royal bronze coins in addition to its silver *kistophoroi*<sup>11</sup>.

As mentioned, by the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, Lydian cities gradually began to mint bronze coins in their own names<sup>12</sup>. We understand that the political developments in Lydia directly affected this process. It is suggested that the introduction of civic issues was influenced by the fact that Lydia became more autonomous under the Attalids after they became free from the Seleucid rule in 189/188 BC<sup>13</sup>. First of all, the Kingdom of Pergamon adopted an economic system differ-

<sup>6</sup> Hochard 2013. For the more detailed analysis, see Hochard 2020.

<sup>7</sup> For further information on the coins minted by Alexander III, Philip III and Antigonos, see Thompson 1983, 5-42; Price 1991, 320-337. See also Hochard 2013, 152; Evans 2019, 98-99. For the Macedonian royal bronzes recently attributed to Sardis, see Lenger 2013; Lenger – Tatar, 2019.

<sup>8</sup> For detailed information on the Sardis mint and the coins minted there during the reign of Lysimachus, see Müller 1858, 87; Newell 1935, 35; Thompson 1968, 166; 173; Arnold-Biucchi, 1998, 5; Miller – Hoover 2010, 30; Hochard 2018, 23ff.

<sup>9</sup> For further information and coins minted during this period, see Newell 1971, 242-252; Houghton – Lorber 2002, 16; 113-123; Miller – Hoover 2010, 26-29. See also Hochard 2013, 152; Evans 2019, 101-107.

<sup>10</sup> For Magnesia ad Sipylum, see Newell 1971, 271-280; Houghton – Lorber 2002, 123-125. Although the coinage of Tralleis is not firmly attributed, for possible Seleucid coinage of the city, see Houghton – Lorber 2002, 190-191; 245; 323. See also Hochard 2013, 150.

<sup>11</sup> For these issues of Pergamon, see Nicolet-Pierre 1989; Westermark 1991; Marcellesi 2012, 65-157; Chameroy 2012. For the festival coins struck by the Kingdom, see Psoma 2007, 233-237; Psoma 2008, 233-234. The Kingdom did not produce a uniform bronze coinage that would be valid and circulate throughout its territory. Bronze coins with the legend ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ struck by Pergamon probably circulated from the second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC to 133 BC. On the other hand, the cities must have used the bronzes of Pergamon until they issued their own coins. Sardis excavations provide the most important data. The number of bronze coins with the ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ legend dating to ca. 260-175 BC found there is 35, see Bell 1916, Nr. 139-144; 146-150; Johnston 1981, Nr. 34-40; Evans 2018, Nr. 21-24. These coins constitute the largest group among the specimens from other cities. As argued by Evans (2020, 108-113) Sardis probably struck most of its civic bronzes following the Treaty of Apameia in 188 BC.

<sup>12</sup> "Thyessos in Lydia" as it is recorded in ancient sources, the city has bronze coins dating back to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. While its exact location is unknown today, the city is also related to the Mysia region, as it must have been located near the Kaikos Valley, for more information see Lenger 2017.

<sup>13</sup> Hochard 2013, 151-153; Hochard 2020, 761; Evans 2018, 21.

ent from that of previous royal authorities. A silver-dominated and closed system was established in which it was difficult to meet the need for coins suitable for daily transactions<sup>14</sup>. Moreover, upon the bequeathing of the kingdom to Rome in 133 BC, the circulating Pergamon bronzes belonging to the kingdom were left out of official circulation<sup>15</sup>. Accordingly, the need for bronze coins arose in the market for different reasons. For now, the Lydian cities known to have minted civic coins in the Hellenistic Period are Aninetos, Apollonis, Blaundos, Hieracome, Caystriani, Clannudda, Magnesia ad Sipylum, Mastaura, Mostene, Nysa, Philadelphia, Sardis, Thyatera, Tripolis (Apollonia) and Tralleis<sup>16</sup>.

## CIVIC COINAGE OF BLAUNDOS

Blaundos is one of the Lydian cities which minted civic coins during the Hellenistic Period. In the light of the available data, we can state that the city did not mint silver or bronze coins before the Hellenistic Period. Mlaundos, as it was called in the Hellenistic period, has twelve different bronze coin series identified so far<sup>17</sup>. The city did not strike silver coins during that period. When we take a closer look at the coin series, we can categorize the twelve different series into six different main groups based on their obverse iconography; bearded and laureate head of Zeus; laureate head of Apollo; head of Dionysus wreathed with ivy; laureate head of Apollo or Dionysus; bearded head of Heracles and bearded and laureate head of Asclepius. Below, each bronze series is listed and given with emissions.

### Series

There are four different series of coins depicting Zeus on the obverse. All of them depict the bearded and laureate head of Zeus facing right. On the reverse of the first series, there is an eagle standing facing left, head turned back, wings spread<sup>18</sup>. There is *kerykeion* in the left

<sup>14</sup> For the new system adopted, see Will 1998; Meadows 2013. On the circulation of royal silver *kistophoroi* and civic bronzes, see Marcellesi 2010. For a detailed analysis of the *kistophoroi* in Lydia, see Hochard 2020, 529-534; 758-761. See also Carbone 2019, 14-34 for an overview on the production and circulation for late *kistophoroi*. Following the First Mithridatic War, after 85 BC, there was an increase in the use of *kistophoroi* in the region to pay Rome, see Delrieux 2023, 239-244.

<sup>15</sup> Chameroy 2012, 150.

<sup>16</sup> Hochard 2013, 148ff; 2020, 534ff. For the coins of Nysa, see also Özbil 2017, 240-283; Özbil 2022b, 357-363. For the excavation finds, see Özbil 2014; Özbil 2017, 567ff; Özbil 2022a; 2022b, 385-392. For Philadelphia, see also Doğan 2010, 5-17. For Sardis, see also Evans 2019, 108-113. Based on recent excavation data, Evans proposes, contrary to popular belief, that Sardis began striking civic bronzes not after 189/188 BC, but around 240-220 BC. For an analysis based on excavation finds, see Evans, 2018, 15-25; 2019, 108ff. Hochard (2020, 761), by contrast, dates the civilian bronzes of Sardis after 133 BC. Hochard seems to have based his opinion on the results of earlier excavations. For the analysis based on data up to 1973, see Johnston 1981, 1-5. There are opinions and datings proposing that Thyatera minted its first coins in its own name during Antiochus III's (223-187 BC) Asia Minor campaign when it briefly came under Seleucid rule, see *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 1-7; Imhoof-Blumer 1897, 147. For arguments that Thyatera, like other Lydian cities, began to strike civic coins after the Seleucids control, see Hochard 2020, 753-754.

<sup>17</sup> *GRPC*, 84-88, n. 1-46. Cfr. Matern 2006, 293-295, n. 1-20. Since the *GRPC* was published in 2020, it includes all available series, including those that only appeared in auctions. When Matern published her chapter, some of the series had not yet appeared on the market.

<sup>18</sup> Most numismatic catalogues do not specify what the eagle is standing on. In *BMC Lydia* (Nos. 1-3) the eagle is described as standing on a straight line. Nollé proposes that the eagle is depicted on a bone held by its claws as a reference to the Macedonian origin of the city. For detailed analysis, see Nollé 2015, 16-22.

field and grain ear in the right field. While the city ethnic is written as ΜΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ, ΜΛΑΥΝΔΕΩ, ΜΛΑΥΝΔΕ or ΜΛΑΥΝΔ, reverse also bears one of the two different magistrate names. These are Apolloni[os] Theogen[es]<sup>19</sup> and Theotimidios (Fig. 1-2)<sup>20</sup>. The specimens of this series have an average diameter of 20-21 mm and a weight of 7-8 grams.



**Fig. 1:** Series 1 with the head of Zeus, Head of Zeus/Eagle I.: Apolloni[os] Theogen[es], Source: Concordia Numismatic, Auction 3 (31 March 2023), lot. 281.



**Fig. 2:** Series 1 with the head of Zeus, Head of Zeus/Eagle I.: Theotimidios, Source: Leu Numismatik, Web Auction 19 (26 February 2022), lot. 1303.

The reverse of the second series with the head of Zeus bears the ΜΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ legend and depicts an eagle with closed wings facing right (Fig. 3)<sup>21</sup>. Unlike the first series, these coins do not bear the name of an officer. Based on the small number of specimens, it can be stated that they have a diameter of 11 mm and an average weight of 2 grams<sup>22</sup>.



**Fig. 3:** Series 2 with the head of Zeus, Head of Zeus/Eagle r., Source: Bibliothèque Nationale de France: <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb417831296>.

The reverse side of the third series with the head of Zeus depicts Hermes standing left, holding a *kerykeion* in his left hand and a purse in his right, wearing a *petasos* within a wreath. Ethnic is ΜΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ on these issues as well. They do not bear any magistrate name (Fig. 4)<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Longest version is ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΘΕΟΓΕΝ. Von Saldern (2006) reads the legend as Apollon[...] son of Theogenes. According to Mazzini (2020, 146), the name must be Apollon with the epithet Theogenos, a religious title.

<sup>20</sup> *Waddington Coll.*, Nr. 4901-4903; *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 1-3; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 59-62; *SNG v. Aulock*, Nach. III, Nr. 8221; *SNG Tübingen*, Nr. 3670; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 70-71; *SNG Ashmolean*, Nr. 781-786; Önder 2014, Nr. 35; Gökyıldırım 2016, Nr. 106-107; 111-112. See also Matern 2006, Nr. 1; 5-8; 11; *GRPC*, Nr. 2-5; Nr. 16-20.

<sup>21</sup> *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 29; *Waddington Coll.*, Nr. 4900; *GRPC*, Nr. 32.

<sup>22</sup> These coins are extremely rare. First published in 1898 by Babelon, see *Waddington Coll.*, Nr. 4900. A specimen later appears in the Lydian volume of the British Museum catalogue, see *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 29. Neither publication provides its image or weight. The coin in the collection of the British Museum is available digitally, see [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1838-0419-19](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1838-0419-19) (accessed 24.02.2024). On the other hand, the coin previously owned by Waddington and published by Babelon can be viewed in the digital inventory of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, see <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb417831296> (accessed 24.02.2024)

<sup>23</sup> *Waddington Coll.*, Nr. 4904; *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 22-23; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 67-69; *SNG Tübingen*, Nr. 3671-3672; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 78-79; *SNG Ashmolean*, Nr. 792; Önder 2014, Nr. 38. See also Matern 2006, Nr. 12; 15; *GRPC*, Nr. 33-38.

However, four different emissions bear one of these monograms in left field: ΑΕ, 主 & Π, Ν, ΙΑ<sup>24</sup>. A specimen without monogram, which does not appear in the catalogues but found in recent auction catalogs, is the fifth emission of this series<sup>25</sup>. Coins with a monogram have an average diameter of 19-20 mm and a weight of 6-7 grams. The one without the monogram is on a different denomination, as the present specimen is 16 mm in diameter and it weighs 3.10 grams.



**Fig. 4:** Series 3 with the head of Zeus, Head of Zeus/Hermes with *petasos*, Source: Concordia Numismatic, Auction 1 (7 January 2023), lot. 264.

On the other hand, the similarity between the depiction on the reverse of this series and the reverse iconography of the Heracles/Apollo series from the Sardis issues is notable<sup>26</sup>. Just like Blaundos coins, the reverse of the related Sardis coin bears a legend in the right field and a monogram in the left field. Apollo depicted on the reverse, as Hermes on the Blaundos coin, is standing, facing left, holding a bird in his right hand, which he extends forward, and a laurel branch in his left hand, and is enclosed in a laurel wreath.

The reverse of the fourth and last series, depicting the head of Zeus on the obverse, is similar to the previous ones but differs in its details. Hermes, within a laurel wreath, faces left, holds a *kerykeion* in his right hand. Reverse legend is ΜΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ<sup>27</sup>, while there is not any magistrate name or monogram (Fig. 5)<sup>28</sup>. Specimens have an average diameter of 19-20 mm and a weight of 7-8 grams.



**Fig. 5:** Series 4 with the head of Zeus, Head of Zeus/Hermes with *petasos*, holding *kerykeion*, Source: Numismatik Naumann, Auction 92 (2 August 2020), lot. 259.

<sup>24</sup> Respectively *GRPC*, Nr. 35-38.

<sup>25</sup> Savoca Numismatik, 80th Blue Auction (27 June 2020), lot. 401 = <https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=7138086> (accessed 24.02.2024).

<sup>26</sup> For the specimens, see *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 22-31. While Evans (2018, 20) draws a parallel between the two series in terms of the depictions in a wreath, other reverse elements are also noteworthy. As noted, Evans (2018, 15-25; 2019, 108) suggests ca. 240/220 BC for the introduction of the series.

<sup>27</sup> On the one specimen (*BMC Lydia*, Nr. 18) listed in the catalogue of the British Museum, the legend is divided into two lines as ΜΛΑΥΝ - ΔΕΩΝ. On a recent specimen seen in an auction, the legend is written in its entirety in the right margin, see Bucephalus Numismatic, Auction 6 (12 June 2022), lot 364 (<https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=9596509>) (accessed 24.02.2024). The iconography of the two coins is the same, although there are obvious differences regarding their dies.

<sup>28</sup> *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 18-19. In *GRPC*, the *BMC* reference is given for the coin with the *kerykeion* in the left hand, and this is therefore an oversight. Also, the series with Hermes holding the *kerykeion* in his right hand on the reverse is not included in *GRPC*.

Other group of coins depicts the head of Apollo with a laurel wreath facing right or left on the obverse. The coins are divided into two different series based on the orientation of the head on the obverse and the iconography of the reverse. First, the obverse bears the head of Apollo facing right with a laurel wreath, while the reverse depicts a quiver and bow. Legend is ΜΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ, ΜΛΑΥΝΔΕ or ΜΛΑΥΝ (Fig. 6)<sup>29</sup>. While reverse does not bear a magistrate name, on three different emissions there is one of these monograms: ΝΓ, Ξ & Π<sup>30</sup> or Φ<sup>31</sup>. One emission does not bear any monogram<sup>32</sup>. The metrology of the specimens shows that they have an average diameter of 16-17 mm and a weight of 3-4 grams.



**Fig. 6:** Series 1 with the head of Apollo, Head of Apollo/Quiver and bow, Source: CNG, Electronic Auction 248 (26 January 2011), lot. 149.

The second series of Apollo type coins has the head of Apollo facing left on the obverse, while the reverse is quite similar to the first. However, the bow is behind the quiver with a laurel branch next to it. On the reverse side of the coins, along with legend ΜΛΑΥΝ or ΜΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ, there are names of Apolloni[os] Theogen[es] or Theotimidos (Fig. 7-8)<sup>33</sup>. These coins appear to have been minted in a smaller denomination than the previous series. Available specimens indicate a diameter of 13-14 mm and a weight range of 2-3 grams.



**Fig. 7:** Series 2 with the head of Apollo, Head of Apollo/Quiver and a bow behind it: Apolloni[os] Theogen[es], Source: Savoca Numismatik, 91st Silver Auction (13 December 2020), lot. 233.



**Fig. 8:** Series 2 with the head of Apollo, Head of Apollo/Quiver and a bow behind it: Theotimidos, Source: Savoca Numismatik, 118th Silver Auction (21 November 2021), lot. 127.

The obverse of the other bronze series of Blaundos bears the head of Dionysus with an ivy, facing right. On the reverse is *thyrsos*, one of Dionysus' symbols, while the legend is

<sup>29</sup> Waddington Coll., Nr. 4899; *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 24-25; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 70-72; *SNG Ashmolean*, Nr. 790-791; Önder 2014, Nr. 39. See also Matern 2006, Nr. 17-19; *GRPC*, Nr. 26-30.

<sup>30</sup> These two monograms also appear on the Zeus/Hermes series, see *GRPC*, Nr. 36.

<sup>31</sup> Respectively *GRPC*, Nr. 26-29. These monograms are given there as ΝΑΓ, VEE; TM; ΩΠΑΤΓ.

<sup>32</sup> *GRPC*, Nr. 30.

<sup>33</sup> *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 14-17; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 65-66; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 74; *SNG Ashmolean*, Nr. 789; Önder 2014, Nr. 36-37; Gökyıldırım 2016, Nr. 113. See also Matern 2006, Nr. 3; 9; 16; *GRPC*, Nr. 1; 12-13.

ΜΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ, ΜΛΑΥΝΔΕΩ, ΜΛΑΥΝΔΕ or ΜΛΑΥΝΔ. Specimens bear the name of Apolloni[os] Theogen[es] or Theotimidios, which we know from previous series (Fig. 9-10)<sup>34</sup>. They have an average diameter of 17-18 mm and weigh 4-5 grams.



**Fig. 9:** Series with the head of Dionysus, Head of Dionysus/*Thyrso*s: Apolloni[os] Theogen[es], Source: N&N London, Green Auction 10 (5 June 2023), lot. 119.



**Fig. 10:** Series with the head of Dionysus, Head of Dionysus/*Thyrso*s: Theotimidios, Source: Savoca Numismatik, 7th Blue Auction (26 May 2018), lot. 449.

The head on the obverse of another bronze series has been identified as Apollo or Dionysus<sup>35</sup>. The reverse of the coin depicts Zeus standing left, holding a scepter and thunderbolt. Reverse legend is not fully legible, but it is probably ΜΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ (Fig. 11)<sup>36</sup>. Based on the only available specimen for now<sup>37</sup>, it is not clear whether it bears the name of any officer. The weight of this specimen has been recorded as 12 mm and 1.79 grams.



**Fig. 11:** Series with the head of Apollo or Dionysus, Head of Apollo or Dionysus/*Zeus*, Source: *SNG München Lydien*, n. 80 = *GRPC*, pl. 38, Nr. 46.

When it comes to the series with the head of Heracles, we see a bearded depiction facing to the right. These coins are divided into two different series based on the reverse type. On the reverse side of the first series there is a depiction of a club, one of the main attributes of the deity. In addition to the legend ΜΛΑΥΝΔΕ, the name of Theotimidios is also read (Fig. 12)<sup>38</sup>. Based

<sup>34</sup> *GRPC*, Nr. 6-11; 21-25; see also *Waddington Coll.*, Nr. 4905-4906; *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 4; 11-13; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 63-64; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 72-73; Matern 2006, Nr. 2; 10; *SNG Ashmolean*, Nr. 787-788; Gökyıldırım 2016, Nr. 108-109.

<sup>35</sup> *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 80. See also Matern 2006, 295, Nr. 21; *GRPC*, Nr. 46. This coin is a very rare specimen. It was first published in the *SNG München* (Nr. 80). The coin listed by *GRPC* and Matern is that specimen. No other specimens have been found in de-facto catalogues or auction records.

<sup>36</sup> Legend recorded by *SNG München*, where it was primarily published, is ΒΛΑΥ[ΝΔΕΩΝ]. This is how the legend is written in the *GRPC* and in the catalogue prepared by Matern, who dates the coin to the Roman period with a question mark. All coins minted by Blaundos during the Hellenistic period have the city name beginning with 'M' letter. Mlaundos is also used in the earliest inscription from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC where the city is mentioned. For the inscription see Poljakov 1989, 45. Use of ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ was introduced on Roman Provincial issues and the first ever specimen is from the reign of Claudius, see *RPC I*, Nr. 3059. If the reading given by the *GRPC* is correct, this coin would be the earliest example of the city's name being used in this way. Future specimens will shed light on this issue.

<sup>37</sup> For this reason image was taken from *GRPC* where original image is already distorted.

<sup>38</sup> *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 5; Matern 2006, Nr. 4; Gökyıldırım 2016, Nr. 110; *GRPC*, Nr. 15.



on the available specimens, it appears that coins of this series have an average diameter of 13-14 mm and a weight of 2 grams.



**Fig. 12:** Series 1 with the head of Heracles, Head of Heracles/Club, Source: Blaundos excavation archive (BL'21-B107).

The reverse side of the last series with the head of Heracles on the obverse is Demeter standing and facing left, holding *cornucopiae* in her left hand and an ear of wheat in her right hand<sup>39</sup>. Specimens, with the legend ΜΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ, do not bear any magistrate name (Fig. 13)<sup>40</sup>. The specimens of this series are very rare, 15 and 18 mm in diameter and 3 and 4 grams in weight.



**Fig. 13:** Series 2 with the head of Heracles, Head of Heracles/Demeter, Source: Scholz 1910, pl. II, n. 18.

The last two series struck by Blaundos in the Hellenistic Period are the specimens with the bearded head of Asclepius<sup>41</sup> facing right, with laurel wreath, on the obverse side. The reverse side of the first of these series depicts Hygieia-Tyche<sup>42</sup> facing left, holding *cornucopiae* in her left hand and touching the serpent in front of her with her right hand. Legend is ΜΛΑΥ, while there

<sup>39</sup> This coin was first published in 1833 by Mionnet, assuming it to be an issue of Alabanda. There, the standing figure on the reverse is identified as Ceres bearing *cornucopiae*, see Mionnet 1883, 436, Nr. 12. Scholz (1910, 24, Nr. 127), who later published the coin as a coin of Blaundos based on a specimen in his own collection, identified the type on the reverse as a 'female' figure carrying *cornucopiae* and a wreath. In *GRPC* (Nr. 31), this image is given as Demeter carrying *cornucopiae* and an ear of wheat. The image in that publication has been taken from Scholz's work, and indeed she is seen carrying *cornucopiae* in her left hand. However, the object in her right hand is unclear. Since the city also has a series identified as Hygieia-Tyche with a very similar posture and carrying *cornucopiae* in her left hand (see *GRPC*, Nr. 40), the identification of Demeter should perhaps be treated with skepticism for now.

<sup>40</sup> Scholz 1910, Nr. 127; *GRPC*, Nr. 31.

<sup>41</sup> The obverse type was described by Imhoof-Blumer (1883, 384, Nr. 5), who published these coins first, as the head of Asclepius with laurel wreath. However, in *BMC Lydia* (Nr. 26-28) it is recorded as the head of Zeus with laurel wreath. Same applies for *SNG Cop. Lydia* (Nr. 73). Also, Matern (2006, 294, Nr. 13-14) uses this description. Just like Imhoof-Blumer, *GRPC* (Nr. 39-43) classifies the obverse type as the head of Asclepius head with laurel wreath.

<sup>42</sup> Imhoof-Blumer (1883, 384, Nr. 5), who first published the specimen of the series, identified it as Hygieia. In *BMC Lydia* (Nr. 26-28) it is referred to as Homonoia with a question mark. *SNG Cop. Lydia* (Nr. 73) uses the same identification. It was Svoronos who made a different suggestion. He (1907, 205, Nr. 193) writes the reverse type of the specimen as Tyche. Matern (2006, 294, Nr. 13-14) also uses the definition of *BMC Lydia*. In *GRPC* (Nos. 39-43), this depiction is referred to as Hygieia-Tyche. In addition to the attributes it bears (*cornucopiae* and serpent), when compared with similar examples, this type should indeed be Hygieia-Tyche, combining elements of both goddesses, rather than Homonoia. However, such a combination seems peculiar to Blaundos for now as I did not see any other coin type identified like that in de-facto catalogues. On the other hand, direct literature on the syncretism of Hygieia and Tyche is absent.

is no magistrate name (Fig. 14)<sup>43</sup>. However, they carry one of these monograms:  $\text{ΑΦ}$ <sup>44</sup>,  $\text{Ξ}$  &  $\text{Π}$ <sup>45</sup>,  $\text{Ξ}$  &  $\text{Π}$ <sup>46</sup>. The specimens of the series have an average diameter of 14-15 mm and a weight of 2.5-3.5 grams.



**Fig. 14:** Series 1 with the head of Asclepius, Head of Asclepius/Hygieia-Tyche l., Source: Savoca Numismatik, 110th Blue Auction (14 August 2021), lot 217.

The depiction on the reverse side of the second series is quite similar to the first one, with the difference that Hygieia-Tyche is depicted standing facing instead of standing left. While it bears the ethnic of the city in its full form as  $\text{ΜΑΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ}$ , there is no official name or monogram (Fig. 15)<sup>47</sup>. The specimens of this series have an average diameter of 15-16 mm and a weight of 4-5 grams.



**Fig. 15:** Series 2 with the head of Asclepius, Head of Asclepius/Hygieia-Tyche facing, Source: Saint Paul Antiques, Auction 10 (2 September 2017), lot. 118.

In addition to the coins mentioned here and presented in detail, two other bronze series were included in early numismatic publications, but no later specimens have been published. It should also be noted that the relevant works do not have images of the coins on their plates. The first of these was published by Birch in 1844<sup>48</sup>. Obverse side of this coin has been identified as bearded head facing right<sup>49</sup>, while reverse as Fortuna holding a rudder and *cornucopiae* along with the legend  $\text{ΜΑΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ}$ <sup>50</sup>. One of the possibilities for this coin, of which we know of no other example so far, is that its iconography has been misinterpreted<sup>51</sup>. As mentioned, there is no

<sup>43</sup> *GRPC*, Nr. 40-43. See also *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 26-27; Matern 2006, Nr. 13-14; Gökyıldırım 2016, Nr. 114.

<sup>44</sup> This monogram is also found on Apollo/Quiver series.

<sup>45</sup> These two monograms are also found on the Zeus/Hermes and Apollo/Quiver series.

<sup>46</sup> Respectively, *GRPC*, Nr. 40-41; 43.

<sup>47</sup> *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 28; *GRPC*, Nr. 39. Since the *GRPC* classifies this posterior depiction as left-facing, it is considered together with the left-facing Hygieia-Tyche series and not as a second series there.

<sup>48</sup> Birch 1844, 11. Birch (1844, 5) states in his article that "the coins illustrated in the present paper are chiefly from the collection of Mr. Steuart, purchased by the Museum". While, this specimen is not included in *BMC Lydia* referring to Birch or Steuart, there is one similar coin in the online catalogue of the museum, see [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C\\_1840-1226-158](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1840-1226-158) (accessed 24.06.2024) purchased from Steuart. Reference for this coin is *BMC Lydia*, 45, n. 26 where it is described; head of the Zeus on the obverse and Goddess (Homonoia?) holding *cornucopiae* and feeding serpent on the reverse. As *BMC Lydia* does not refer to Birch or Steuart, we cannot be fully sure whether it is the specimen published by Birch or not, but it is very likely.

<sup>49</sup> Described as Head of Zeus in *GRPC* (Nr. 45).

<sup>50</sup> Birch 1844, 11. Cfr. *GRPC*, Nr. 45. *GRPC* (Nr. 45) more appropriately records it as Tyche facing left.

<sup>51</sup> See fn. 48.

image of the coin in the relevant publication, so we cannot go beyond conjecture about it. Nevertheless, based on Birch's description, the series in which facing Hygieia-Tyche is depicted, holding *cornucopiae* in her left hand, comes to mind. Perhaps the author interpreted the image of the serpent reaching out with his right hand as a rudder. The average diameter of this series (15-16 mm) also coincides with the specimen listed by Birch (15 mm). Of course, Birch may be vindicated if another specimen appears in archaeological excavations, museum collections or auctions in the future.

Another bronze series was first published by Imhoof-Blumer<sup>52</sup>. Measuring 10 mm and weighing 1.43 grams, the coin bears the head of Asclepius with laurel wreath facing right on the obverse, a coiled serpent on the reverse, and the legend is ΜΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ<sup>53</sup>. Unfortunately, the author did not include the image of the coin in the plates of the work. If new specimen or specimens of this coin, which is not currently found in published literature or auction catalogs, are discovered during archaeological excavations in Blaundos or in the inventories of the museums in Lydia and/or Phrygia, a new series would be added to the Hellenistic period coinage of Blaundos.

## Iconography

When we examine the civic coins minted by Blaundos in the Hellenistic Period from an iconographic point of view, it can be seen that more than one god/goddess as both obverse and reverse types were used. Of course, explaining the specific reasons for all the depictions of gods and goddesses on the coins of Blaundos is beyond the scope of this study and deserves detailed monographic research. For this reason, some of the most prominent aspects of Hellenistic coin iconography is discussed here. First of all, Blaundos, like many other cities of Asia Minor from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC onwards, chose an iconography associated with gods, goddesses and cults of regional significance and/or directly related to the city on its coins, which had acquired a civic character then<sup>54</sup>. Considering the Macedonian origin of the city, the choice of certain coin types is interesting. In particular, the Zeus/eagle (Fig. 1-3) and Heracles/club (Fig. 12) series suggest such an association, but it is equally difficult to read these depictions as purely Macedonian and/or city specific. This is because, especially from the Hellenistic period onwards, these two coin types became so common in Asia Minor, just as they were throughout the Hellenistic world<sup>55</sup>. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the Zeus/eagle series was not used much in Lydia. For the time being, we know that Clannudda and Tralleis minted bronzes with the head of Zeus on the obverse and the eagle on the reverse<sup>56</sup>. On the other hand, when we examine the Phrygian cities close to Blaundos, we see that such a series does not exist. Heracles/club iconography only appears on a series of

<sup>52</sup> Imhoof-Blumer 1883, 385, Nr. 6. See also *GRPC*, Nr. 44. Matern did not include this coin in her catalogue.

<sup>53</sup> Imhoof-Blumer 1883, 385, Nr. 6; cfr. *GRPC*, Nr. 44.

<sup>54</sup> Nollé 2015, 16-17. On this change in Asia Minor and also throughout the Hellen world, where royal iconography dominated the coin types from the campaign of Alexander III until the treaty of Apameia in 188 BC, see Meadows 2018.

<sup>55</sup> Especially when it comes to Hellenistic coins of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC, the most common obverse types are Zeus, Heracles and Athena. On the reverse, the eagle is one of the most common depictions associated with Zeus, while the use of the club as an attribute of Heracles is also quite common. For a detailed analysis on these coin types, see de Callatay 2016.

<sup>56</sup> For specimens, see, for example, Clannudda: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 2; Tralleis: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 69-70; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 674-675; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 711-714; Gökyıldırım 2016, Nr. 865.

coins minted by Sardis<sup>57</sup>. In sum, the use of Zeus, Heracles, and eagle, which were clearly transferred from the Hellenistic Period and continued into the Roman Period, cannot be ignored in the context of the local cults in the city and the references to Macedonian origin<sup>58</sup>.

As mentioned above, Blaundos must have chosen religious figures of importance for the city on its civic issues. Apart from Zeus and Heracles, other depictions are Apollo, Asclepius, Demeter, Dionysus, Hermes, Hygieia-Tyche and the attributes of these gods/goddesses. As given, there is a temple of Demeter/Ceres in the city dating back to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD<sup>59</sup>. Accordingly, the presence of Demeter cult in the city is obvious. For this reason, unsurprisingly we see the goddess on the Heracles/Demeter series (Fig. 13), one of the Hellenistic Period coins. On the other hand, the wheat symbol used on the reverse of the Zeus/eagle series (Fig. 1-2), which is a key element of this iconography, may be a reference to Demeter<sup>60</sup>. Other than the temple of Demeter, no other temple structures or sanctuaries in Blaundos are dedicated to other gods or goddesses depicted on the coins<sup>61</sup>. Moreover, no epigraphic evidence from the city regarding the gods and goddesses depicted on the coins has yet been unearthed. In this context, if we examine the iconography in a region-wide perspective, an explanation can be made on Dionysus, one of the gods chosen as a coin type. Although this deity was widely worshipped in both Phrygia and Lydia<sup>62</sup>, it was attested as a dynastic cult during the Attalid period<sup>63</sup>. On the other hand, in eastern Lydia, including Blaundos, the cult of Dionysus is explained within the framework of local beliefs<sup>64</sup>. Although the worship of Dionysus has not been epigraphically identified

<sup>57</sup> Obverse side depicts head of Heracles right, wearing lion skin headdress, while reverse side carries a club along with the legend ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ. This series cannot be found in de-facto catalogues. There is also no example in Hochard's (2020) work. For the specimen recorded in recent auctions, see Numismad, Auction 3 (23 July 2022), lot. 119 (<https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=9742501>) (accessed 10.07.2024); N&N London, Online Auction 9 (29 October 2022), lot. 87 (<https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=10094021>) (accessed 10.07.2024). Sardis also minted bronzes with the head of Heracles with lion skin headdress on the obverse and a quiver and club on the reverse, see *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 38-39; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 510; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 497; Önder 2014, Nr. 246; Hochard 2020, Nr. 1835-1836.

<sup>58</sup> Nollé 2015, 21. The propagandistic and identitarian use of the Macedonian origin is more evident on Roman period coins. The combination of Heracles/eagle types is particularly common on the city's Roman Provincial coins. For such issues, see *RPC IV.2*, Nr. 1191; 1193; 1195-1196. In another series, the head of Heracles with lion skin headdress on the obverse is accompanied by a standing Heracles on the reverse, see *RPC IV.2*, Nr. 1202. They also used reverse types depicting the 12 labours of Heracles, see *RPC IV.2*, Nr. 1188; 9319; VI, Nr. 4555; VIII, Nr. 20274; IX, Nr. 737-738.

<sup>59</sup> For the structure, see Roos – Filges 2006a. See also Akbıyıkoglu 1997, 30-31; Can 2023a, 453-456.

<sup>60</sup> Matern 2006, 286. Demeter appears as a reverse type in four different series of Roman provincial coinage of the city. The goddess is always depicted holding an ear of wheat in her right hand. Matern (2006, 290) argues that the female members of the imperial family felt a connection with Demeter. For these coins struck during the reigns of Vespasianus, Hadrian (in the name of Sabina), Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius (in the name of Faustina II), see *RPC II*, Nr. 1348; III, Nr. 2450; IV.2, Nr. 1189; 9252. For the coin in the name of Iulia Domna see *Waddington Coll.*, Nr. 4922; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 95. Also, Matern 2006, 300, Nr. 68.

<sup>61</sup> There is another temple, which is thought to be contemporary with the temple of Demeter/Ceres, located to the north of the city and outside the city gate. For the moment it is not clear which god/goddess it is associated with. On this structure, see Roos – Filges 2006b; Can 2017, 78-79. Architectural similarities have been identified between the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias, dedicated to the Aphrodite, and the structure in Hierapolis, which is suggested to be the Temple of Apollo, see Roos – Filges 2006b, 56-64.

<sup>62</sup> For an analysis based on inscriptions, see de Hoz 1999, 66-67; Tassignon 2002.

<sup>63</sup> Robert 1987, 483-484 and fn. 41; Dignas 2012, 135.

<sup>64</sup> For further information, see Hochard 2020, 849.

as a major cult in the city for the time being, the fact that it was chosen as a coin type by Blaundos in the Hellenistic Period can be evaluated within this framework<sup>65</sup>.

Among the coin types used by Blaundos, another interesting and worth mentioning is the types of Asclepius/Hygieia-Tyche. As I mentioned above in the section introducing the series, there are different opinions on which gods and/or goddesses the obverse and reverse depict. When it comes to Hygieia-Tyche type, the depiction clearly combines elements of both goddesses (*cornucopiae* and serpent). However, there is a lack of concrete evidence to substantiate the syncretism of Hygieia and Tyche. A noteworthy point, independent of these views, is the thermal area at Aksaz today, which is thought to have been included in the territorium of Blaundos in antiquity<sup>66</sup>. This area lies about 5-6 km southwest of the city. It contains a large bath complex dating back to the Roman period<sup>67</sup>. In this context, it is not surprising to see the depiction of Asclepius, who stands out with his healing qualities, and his daughter Hygieia in connection with him, on the bronze coins of the city<sup>68</sup>. We know that ancient cities that had such natural resources in their territorium and established a cult based on these resources frequently used such iconographies on their coins<sup>69</sup>. When we look at the other cities of the region, we see that Apollonis in Lydia also used the head of Asclepius on the obverse of their coins during the Hellenistic Period<sup>70</sup>. On the other hand, there is a wide worship of Asclepius and Hygieia in the

<sup>65</sup> On use of Dionysus in Lydia, from the Hellenistic Period to Roman provincial mints, see Hochard 2020, 848-850. As noted by Hochard (2020, 848), the iconography of Dionysus was used by many Lydian mints, especially on Roman provincial coins. For Hellenistic period issues from Lydia, see also Bernhardt 1949, 23-25; 29-35.

<sup>66</sup> There are many hot springs in the valley south of Aksaz village and the hot springs have survived to the present day, see Şeftalioğlu 1995, 107.

<sup>67</sup> Von Saldern 2006, 16. Prior to the surveys conducted by A. Filges, a rescue excavation was carried out by the Uşak Museum Directorate in 1994 in the bath of Aksaz. It was determined that the building had a long period of use from the early Roman Period to the Byzantine Period. For the rescue excavations and the bath, see Şeftalioğlu 1995.

<sup>68</sup> Von Saldern (2006, 16) finds it surprising that there is no depiction of Asclepius on the coins of the city that might be seen as a reference to this thermal area. The reason for this interpretation is that Matern (2006, 294, Nr. 13-14) identified the types as Zeus & Homonoia. Matern (2006, 290) herself finds it interesting that despite the thermal wealth of the city, there are no depictions of Asclepius and Hygieia on the coins.

<sup>69</sup> The first one that comes to mind is Pergamon, one of the most important centers of the Kaikos Valley, home to an Asclepion. For further information, see Ziegenhaus – De Luca, 1968; 1975. See also Yaraş 2002, 51-70; Riethmüller 2011; 2014. During the Hellenistic period, both in the name of Philetairos as well as civic issues, Pergamon struck bronze coins bearing Asclepius and Hygieia. For the coins see *BMC Mysia*, Nr. 72-85; 129-134; 144-170; *SNG Cop. Mysia*, Nr. 340-341; 355-358; 368-380; *SNG Turkey* 4, Nr. 87-103; 139-140; 172-214. For the city's 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC bronzes, see also Westermark 1991; Marcellesi 2012; Chameroy, 2012. If we look across the region, for example in Thyatera, an Asclepius cult has been attested epigraphically, see Clerc 1886, 415; Nr. 23-24; Lechat – Radet 1887, 463, Nr. 28; 476, Nr. 51. Although Thyatera did not use such iconography on its Hellenistic period coins, it struck provincial coins depicting Asclepius on the reverse, see *RPC* IV.2, Nr. 1548; 1553; 1555; 2872; 8494. Three of them (Nr. 1553; 1555; 8494) are medallions.

<sup>70</sup> See Önder 2014, Nr. 16-16a; Hochard 2020, Nr. 6. The series in question is a rare specimen that is not included in de-facto catalogues and has started to appear in recent auction catalogues, see Rauch GmbH, Auction 85 (26 November 2009), lot. 221 (accessed 04.02.2024). On the other hand, there is no depiction of Hygieia on Lydian coins of the Hellenistic Period. In the Roman Period, many cities in Lydia used Asclepius on their provincial issues. While Mastaura, Saitta, Silandos and Tripolis use the head of Asclepius on the obverse of their *pseudo-autonomous* coins, the number of cities using this deity on the reverse is over 20. It is noteworthy that Blaundos did not use the iconography of Asclepius and Hygieia during the Roman period.

region, especially during the Roman period<sup>71</sup>. But there is no epigraphically attested Hygieia-Tyche identity in the region<sup>72</sup>.

Apart from these issues, in order to make an observation on the iconographic connection in the region, an examination of other Lydian cities that issued series bearing the same iconography is necessary as the Hellenistic coins of Blaundos reveals just a small number of examples. Hieracome in northwestern Lydia is one of them. In the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, the city, like Blaundos, minted bronze coins with the head of Apollo facing right on the obverse and a quiver and bow on the reverse<sup>73</sup>. The iconography of the reverse, unlike that of Blaundos, is within a wreath. Philadelphia, located closer to Blaundos than Hieracome, at the eastern end of the Hermos Valley, is another city where we find the same iconography. Here, a series of bronze coins dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC depict the head of Dionysus facing right with a wreath on the obverse and the god's attribute *thyrsos* on the reverse<sup>74</sup>.

Finally, apart from the aforementioned series with the same obverse and reverse types, it is worth examining the use of Blaundos' preferred iconography throughout the region. Accordingly, the depiction of Apollo was used by ten different cities of the region, including Aninetos, Hieracome, Caystriani, Clannudda, Magnesia ad Sipylum, Mostene, Philadelphia, Sardis, Thyatera and Tralleis<sup>75</sup>. Blaundos is the eleventh. In this context, this type is the most common in terms of the number of cities. So, we can evaluate the intensive use of the deity, whose cult in Lydia dates back to the Archaic Period<sup>76</sup> and who is recorded in the region with various attrib-

<sup>71</sup> For an analysis in the light of inscriptions, see de Hoz 1999, 67-68.

<sup>72</sup> On the cult of Tyche in the region see de Hoz 1999, 72, for epigraphic finds see also de Hoz 1999, 23.

<sup>73</sup> Hochard 2020, Nr. 612. A bronze series from Thyatera dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC has a quiver and bow on the reverse, while the obverse type is the head of Artemis facing right, see *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 2; Hochard 2020, Nr. 2363.

<sup>74</sup> *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 17-18; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 341; Hochard, 2020, Nr. 1382. Another series of the city depicts the head of Dionysus on the obverse and a panther holding a *thyrsos* on the reverse, see *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 16; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 340; Hochard 2020, Nr. 1373. Sardis is another Lydian city that used Dionysus as an obverse type. The first of two different series has a forepart of a lion facing left on the reverse, see *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 47-48; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 466-468; Hochard 2020, Nr. 1827. The second series features a panther facing left, see *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 40-44; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 464-465; Önder 2014, Nr. 247-247a-ç.

<sup>75</sup> Aninetos: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 1; Hieracome: Hochard 2020, Nr. 612; Caystriani: Önder 2014, Nr. 102-102a; Clannudda: *SNG v. Aulock Lydien*, Nr. 2996; Magnesia ad Sipylum: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 11; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 240; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 226-227; Önder 2014, Nr. 104-104a; Hochard 2020, Nr. 1044-1045; Mostene: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 1-2; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 284; Hochard 2020, Nr. 1319 (arka yüz); Philadelphia: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 8-15; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 337-339; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 399-401; Hochard 2020, Nr. 1374-1379 (reverse); Sardis: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 10-13; 16-21; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 471-473; 477-479; 482-483; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 483-484; Önder 2014, Nr. 244-244a-s; Hochard 2020, Nr. 1860; *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 14-15; 22-36; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 484-488; 492-499; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 472-482; 490-491; Önder 2014, Nr. 245-245a-ü; Hochard 2020, Nr. 1837-1857 (reverse); Thyatera: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 3-7; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 569-571; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 571-574; Önder 2014, Nr. 330; 331-331a-ğ; Hochard 2020, Nr. 2359-2360; *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 1; Hochard 2020, Nr. 2361 (reverse); Tralleis: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 56-58; 71; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 670-671; 676; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 715-716.

<sup>76</sup> It is known that Lydian kings such as Alyattes and Croesus sent offerings to Delphi and Didyma for Apollo, for detailed information see Buxton 2002. See also Kaplan 2006. On the other hand, probably there was a temple of Apollo in Sardis during this period, see Greenewalt 2010, 238. Interestingly, however, Apollo is not mentioned in early local Lydian texts. On the other hand, Q̄ldāns is suggested to correspond to Apollo, while such a matching has been debated and far from certain. For further discussion with references to previous literature, see Payne 2019, 237-240.

utes especially from the Late Hellenistic and Early Imperial Periods, on coins since the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC<sup>77</sup> in this perspective. Although the cult of Apollo with a similar or different title has not been epigraphically attested in Blaundos for the time being, it is possible to consider the city's preference for Apollo on coins within the same perspective.

Just like Apollo, the depiction of the chief god Zeus, which appears as the obverse type in four different series of Blaundos, was frequently used on civic bronze coins. Aninetos, Apollonis, Clannudda, Magnesia ad Sipylum, Mastaura, Mostene, Philadelphia, Sardis, Tralleis and Tripolis (Apollonia) are the Lydian cities that used this type in the Hellenistic Period<sup>78</sup>. As described above, by the Hellenistic period, Zeus and his related symbols became the most widely used iconographical elements not only in Asia Minor but throughout the Hellenic world<sup>79</sup>. On the other hand, there is a localized Zeus worship in the region, which appears with various epithets<sup>80</sup>.

Apollonis, Magnesia ad Sipylum and Sardis are the cities that used Heracles, another common coin type of the region, on their issues<sup>81</sup>. Heracles, along with Zeus, is one of the most preferred obverse types of the Hellenistic Period. Moreover, Heracles is of particular importance for the region. Because, according to the tradition, the Heraclid dynasty that ruled in Lydia is descended from Heracles<sup>82</sup>. Accordingly, this cult has been attested in many cities of the region<sup>83</sup>.

<sup>77</sup> Attested as *Pandenos* in Magnesia ad Sipylum (for an inscription from the city, see TAM V.1, Nr. 1411; Cfr. de Hoz 1999, 160, Nr. 5.23; Gürdal 2007, 188), *Tyrinnos* in Thyatera (see Mazzei 2022; see also Gürdal 2007, 121; 188; for the inscriptions, see de Hoz 1999, 166, Nr. 7.3; 186, Nr. 15.3; 280-286, Nr. 60.1-60.18; *Epekoos* in Tralleis (see Robert 1970, 409), *Toumoundos* in Philadelphia (see Gürdal 2007, 124; 189). For Apollo on Lydian coins, see Hochard 2020, 844-845. The overlap between these epigraphic attestations and the use on coins is noteworthy. For other cities see Keil 1923, 251-252; Gürdal 2007, 124-127. For detailed information on the local god Apollo Lairbenos, who was worshiped mainly in Phrygia but whose worship was also transferred to Lydia, see Miller 1985; Akıncı Öztürk 2011.

<sup>78</sup> Aninetos: Bucephalus Numismatic, Auction 21 (23 June 2023), lot. 170 (accessed 12.02.2024); Apollonis: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 2; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 18; Hochard 2020, Nr. 5 (reverse); Clannudda: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 2; Magnesia ad Sipylum: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 1-2; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 238-239; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 220; 228-229; Önder 2014, Nr. 109; Hochard 2020, Nr. 1037-1039; *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 4-5; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 219; Önder 2014, Nr. 105; Hochard 2020, Nr. 1040-1042 (reverse); Mastaura: Önder 2014, Nr. 153A; Mostene: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 1-2; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 284; Önder 2014, Nr. 154; Hochard 2020, Nr. 1319; Philadelphia: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 5-7; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 348-350; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 398; Önder 2014, Nr. 176-176a; Hochard 2020, Nr. 1380; Sardis: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 49-52; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 463; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 463; Önder 2014, Nr. 250-250a-ç; Hochard, 2020, Nr. 1826 (reverse); Tralleis: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 59-65; 69-70; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 666-669; 674-675; *SNG München*, Nr. 701-709; 711-714; *SNG Turkey 1*, Nr. 1010; Tripolis: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 4-5; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 712.

<sup>79</sup> De Callataÿ 2016, 117-122.

<sup>80</sup> On the worship of Zeus in Lydia, see Cook 1914, 149-151; 1925, 312; 577; 807; 872. See also Popko 1995, 183; de Hoz 1999, 62-64. For inscriptions confirming the cult of Zeus see Keil 1923, 259-261; de Hoz 1999, 23-25. For the cult of Zeus throughout Anatolia see Şahin 2001.

<sup>81</sup> Apollonis: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 3-4; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 17; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 33; Önder 2014, Nr. 15-15a; Hochard 2020, Nr. 3; Magnesia ad Sipylum: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 8-10; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 242-244; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 222-225; Önder 2014, Nr. 107-107a; Hochard 2020, Nr. 1042-1043; Sardis: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 14-15; 22-39; 45-46; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 469; 484-488; 492-499; 510; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 472-482; 490-491; 497; Önder 2014, Nr. 245-245a-ü; 246; Hochard 2020, Nr. 1834-1859.

<sup>82</sup> Hdt. I.7.2; Diod. IV.31.8; Paus. II.21.3.

<sup>83</sup> For the cult, see de Hoz 1999, 69-70. For the inscriptions, see de Hoz 1999, 152-153, Nr. 4.2; 198-202, Nr. 22.1-22.20; 203, Nr. 22.3.

Demeter is the only female figure on the Hellenistic coins of Blaundos. Other Lydian cities that depict the goddess are Magnesia ad Sipylum, Mostene, Sardis and Tralleis<sup>84</sup>. Magnesia and Sardis, like Blaundos, have this depiction on the reverse. Unlike Blaundos, on their coins Demeter is depicted holding an ear of wheat in her right hand and leaning on a long torch on her left. The cult of Demeter in Lydia probably developed from the local cult of Meter in the Hellenistic period<sup>85</sup>.

As described above, Dionysus plays an important role in the region. There are five different cities that use Dionysus on their civic coins in Hellenistic period: Caystriani, Nysa ad Maeandrum, Philadelphia, Sardis and Tripolis (Apollonia)<sup>86</sup>. When it comes to Hermes, which is used as a reverse type in two different series of Blaundos, we observe that it is not used except by Clannudda and Magnesia ad Sipylum<sup>87</sup>. On the coin of Clannudda it is placed on the obverse, while on the bronze of Magnesia it is on the reverse, as on Blaundos'. However, on the relevant coin, Hermes is not alone and shaking hands with Zeus<sup>88</sup>. Although the cult of Hermes is not very widespread in Lydia, we know about its existence in the light of inscriptions<sup>89</sup>. On the other hand, this type, which is not observed in any other city in Lydia, was used as the reverse type on a series of Hellenistic bronzes from the northern Phrygian city of Aizanoi. There Hermes holds a purse and *kerykeion* in the standing position, just like on Blaundos' coins<sup>90</sup>.

## Denominations

An analysis of the specimens of Hellenistic bronze coins minted by Blaundos reveals a certain conclusion about the units in which they were minted. Without doubt, a corpus study on the coins of the city will bring all known specimens together in a more comprehensive way, and the denominations will be revealed and identified more precisely.

First of all, we should look at the general situation in the light of the metrology of the bronzes struck by other cities in the region at the same period. Such a comparative examination helps us understand more clearly the bronze denominations of Blaundos. First of all, we observe that the civic bronzes, which gradually increased in number in the Lydian region from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and reached its peak in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, are in the range of *khalkous* to *hemiobol*.

<sup>84</sup> Magnesia ad Sipylum: *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 238; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 220; Önder 2014, Nr. 109; Hochard 2020, Nr. 1037 (arka yüz); Mostene: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 3-4; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 328; Önder 2014, Nr. 155; Hochard 2020, Nr. 1320; Sardis: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 60-61; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 503; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 466; Önder 2014, Nr. 252; Hochard 2020, Nr. 1829-1833 (reverse); Tralleis: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 73; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 710.

<sup>85</sup> de Hoz 1999, 37; 65. For the inscriptions, see de Hoz 1999, 184, Nr. 14.1-14.3.

<sup>86</sup> Caystriani: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 7-9; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 104; Önder 2014, Nr. 101-101a; Nysa: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 16-18; Özbil 2017, Nr. 195-210; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 351; *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 8; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 354; Özbil 2017, Nr. 91-98; 112-123; 146-166; Philadelphia: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 16-18; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 340-341; Hochard, 2020, Nr. 1373; Sardis: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 40-44; 47-48; 60-61; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 464-468; 503; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 466-471; Önder 2014, Nr. 247-247a-d; Hochard 2020, Nr. 1827-1833; Tripolis (Apollonia): *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 1-3; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 713.

<sup>87</sup> Clannudda: Savoca Numismatik, 101st Blue Auction (24 April 2021), lot. 302 (accessed 14.02.2024); Magnesia: *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 6-7; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 241; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 221; Önder 2014, Nr. 106; Hochard 2020, Nr. 1046. On Roman provincial issues, we see this depiction frequently in the Lydia region since the reign of Augustus. Sardis, Silandos, Thyatera and Tralleis are some of these cities.

<sup>88</sup> For an analysis of the use of this iconography in the region in the light of Ovidius' narrative of Baucis and Philemon, see Jones 1994.

<sup>89</sup> de Hoz 1999, 70.

<sup>90</sup> Aizanoi: *BMC Phrygia*, Nr. 1; *SNG Cop. Phrygia*, Nr. 50; *SNG München Phrygien*, Nr. 1.



On the other hand, as is detailed below, we observe that some cities minted their bronzes in Attic weight system, where a *khalkous* is 1/8 of an *obolos*, while others adopted a different weight standard that does not follow the Attic system<sup>91</sup>. However, there is no consensus in the relevant literature on the identification of the standard used and the naming of the units<sup>92</sup>. The same is true for Asia Minor in general<sup>93</sup>. This problematic is obviously influenced by the following points.

As noted above, the civic bronzes minted in Lydia from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC onwards did not use a general and common denominational system. In this context, it should be noted that the bronze mints of the cities differed from each other. The fact that minting of bronze coinage was under the control of local authorities, especially during the Attalid rule, was also effective in such a result<sup>94</sup>.

For example, the bronze coins minted by the northern Lydian city of Apollonis are divided into four different groups: 9 mm/2.10 grams; 13 mm/3.65 grams; 19 mm/5.30 grams; and 19 mm/7.41 grams<sup>95</sup>. The coins of Magnesia ad Sipylum, located in the Hermos valley just like Apollonis, are more difficult to place in a specific order. This is especially difficult with the same series divided into different denominations. Nevertheless, the coins in question differ from each other with averages of approximately 9.5 mm/1.48 g; 12 mm/2.7 g; 13 mm/3.70 g; 18 mm/7.80 g; 20 mm/10.2 g<sup>96</sup>. On the other hand, unlike these two cities, the bronze coins of Philadelphia and Thyatera are not smaller than 11 mm<sup>97</sup>. When we look at the bronzes of Sardis, we see that, unlike many other cities, it did not strike *khalkous*. The coins of the city can be divided into two main groups: approximately 13-15 mm/4-6 grams and 20-21 mm/7 grams<sup>98</sup>.

Finally, the data from Nysa, located on the Lydia-Caria border and sometimes considered within this region, is also significant at this point. As the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> century BC bronzes of the city were studied by Özbil in her PhD diss., we can discuss the units used in the light of the chronology presented for the coins of the city. In the light of the available data, it appears that the early bronzes of Nysa dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC were struck in three different units with an average

<sup>91</sup> Hochard 2020, 782. From the last quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, when bronze coins were introduced, until the Hellenistic period, the Aegean basin was dominated by the Aigina weight system for bronzes, which corresponded to 1 in 12 of 1 silver obolos. With the Hellenistic Period, this weight system was replaced by the Attic weight system, which is equivalent to 1 in 8 of the obolos. For further information, see Picard 1998, 8-10; Psoma 1998, 22-25; Brousseau 2010, 34.

<sup>92</sup> For example, Hochard (2020) used the term 'large module' or 'small module' in his definition, classification, and metrological analysis, but he preferred to divide the coins according to their diameter-grammage averages on an iconographic basis. Evans (2018; 2019) uses the terms 'double unit' or 'large', 'unit' or 'medium', and 'fractions' or 'small' units for the civic bronzes of Sardis. As Evans (2018, 20ff.) dates the first civic bronzes of Sardis to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, she argues that the series she attributes to this period overlap with the royal Seleucid system. On the other hand, according to Evans (2019, 109), in the case of post-Seleucid bronzes, the city used the local weight standard.

<sup>93</sup> Carbone (2021a; 2021b), in her analysis on issues between 133-30 BC, identified the denominations as: *khalkous* (1-2 grams), *dikhalkon* (?) (2,5-3 grams), *trikhalkon* (?) (3-4 grams), *tetrakhalkon* (4-5 grams), heavy *tetrakhalkon* (5-6 grams), *obol* (?) (6,5-8,5 grams), *diobol* (?) (14.5-18 grams).

<sup>94</sup> Evans 2018, 17.

<sup>95</sup> Hochard 2020, 539-540 and Nr. 1-6.

<sup>96</sup> Hochard 2020, Nr. 1037-1046. For series-based analysis see Hochard 2020, 540-541.

<sup>97</sup> For a comparative table see Hochard 2020, 810, fig. 235.

<sup>98</sup> Evans 2018, 24; Hochard, 2020, 542 and Nr. 1826-1876. Unlike Hochard, Evans (2018; 2019) distinguishes the Dionysus/forepart of a Lion series from the Heracles/Apollo series and classifies it as a third unit, a 'fraction'. However, in the light of Hochard's specimens - although the specimens of Heracles/Apollo series have a slightly higher average weight - there seems to be no metrological difference between the two series that would warrant such a distinction.

size of 9.4 mm/0.87 gram; 12.5 mm/1.8 grams; 15.9 mm/3.6 grams<sup>99</sup>. Regarding the subsequent bronzes dated between the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and 85/84 BC, Nysa continued to use earlier denominations<sup>100</sup>. This seems to follow the pattern of *khalkous*, *dikhalkous* and *hemiobol* in the Attic weight system. When it comes to the bronzes from the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, we find two larger, heavier denominations with an average weight of approx. 19.5 mm/6.29 grams and 24.1 mm/13.1 grams<sup>101</sup>.

On the other hand, we observe that the diameters and weights of many of the series minted by the cities of the region vary over a wide range, which directly affects the issue exemplified above. This makes it difficult to classify the units metrologically. Özbil and Hochard pointed out this problem in their metrological analysis<sup>102</sup>. For example, the specimens of the Cybele/Zeus series of Apollonis are between 16-20 mm in diameter and weigh between 4 and 9 grams<sup>103</sup>. This is also observed in another coin series of Apollonis with shield/club types. They range in diameter from 14 to 20 mm and in weight from 2.29 to 6.81 grams. Same applies for the bronzes of Magnesia ad Sipylum with Kybele/Zeus Lydios types. The diameter of the specimens varies between 16 and 19 mm and their weight are between 6.88 and 9.74 grams<sup>104</sup>. Early bronzes from Nysa, dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, indicate a more regular metrology. However, a similar problem arises regarding the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC issues<sup>105</sup>. This is also the case for some series of Philadelphia and Thyatera<sup>106</sup>.

Hochard, in his evaluation of the Philadelphia coins, proposes early period misstrikes, different units lost over time, or irregular/sloppy minting among the reasons for this problem. However, as Hochard points out, the lack of a firm chronology for many cities and the lack of a pattern between the series makes it difficult to make a definitive interpretation<sup>107</sup>.

As for the denominations of the bronzes struck by Blaundos, when we bring together the specimens identified in de-facto catalogues and auctions based on coin series, it is clear that the city struck coins in different denominations in accordance with the needs of the market.<sup>108</sup> First of all, it should be noted that the bronzes of Blaundos themselves have a wide range of diameters and weights<sup>109</sup>. This makes identifying the denominations difficult, as is discussed below.

<sup>99</sup> See Özbil 2017, 261.

<sup>100</sup> See Özbil 2017, 261-262. A small difference is noticeable here. The bronzes with a diameter of 12.5 mm and a weight of 1.8 grams seem to have been replaced by coins with an average diameter of 11.6 mm and a weight of 1.41 grams. Nevertheless, they must correspond to the same denomination.

<sup>101</sup> See Özbil 2017, 263-265; 271-272. Lower denominations were minted with an approximate of 11 mm/1.80 grams; 17.5 mm/5.4 grams. As Özbil (2017, 272) points out, the large-unit (24 mm/13 grams) coins of this period are similar to the provincial coins of the city under Nero and the issues without imperial portrait dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

<sup>102</sup> Özbil 2017, 265-267; Hochard 2020, 540-543.

<sup>103</sup> See Hochard 2020, Nr. 5.

<sup>104</sup> See Hochard 2020, Nr. 1040-1041.

<sup>105</sup> See Özbil 2017, 261-263.

<sup>106</sup> For a detailed analysis, see Hochard 2020, 541; 543.

<sup>107</sup> Hochard 2020, 541.

<sup>108</sup> Imhoof-Blumer (1897, 49), identified four distinct denominations, which, based on their respective dimensions and composition, are believed to correspond to the fractions of *khalkous*, namely, 4, 2, 1, and 1/2.

<sup>109</sup> For instance, the specimens of the head of Zeus/eagle with spread wings series range from 18 to 22 mm in diameter, while there are specimens weighing as little as 5 grams, as well as specimens weighing 9.5 grams. However, this difference does not indicate the existence of more than one denomination, as different magnitudes are not matched with different weights.

Accordingly, average diameters and weights have been taken into account when naming the denominations. In the light of the available specimens, the table is as follows:

Series	Diameter	Weight
Head of Zeus/Eagle, wings spread	20-21 mm	7-8 grams
Head of Zeus /Eagle, wings closed	11 mm	2 grams
Head of Zeus /Hermes standing, holding <i>kerykeion</i> and purse (with monogram)	19-20 mm	6-7 grams
(without monogram)	16 mm	3.10 grams
Head of Zeus /Hermes standing, holding <i>kerykeion</i>	19-20 mm	7-8 grams
Head of Apollo/Quiver and bow	16-17 mm	3-4 grams
Head of Apollo /Quiver and bow behind	13-14 mm	2-3 grams
Head of Dionysus/ <i>Thyrsos</i>	17-18 mm	4-5 grams
Head of Apollo or Dionysus/Zeus standing	-	2 grams
Head of Heracles/Club	11-12 mm	1,5-2 grams
Head of Heracles/Demeter standing	15-18 mm	3-4 grams
Head of Asclepius/Hygieia-Tyche standing left	14-15 mm	2,5-3,5 grams
Head of Asclepius/Hygieia-Tyche standing facing	15-16 mm	4-5 grams

**Tab. 1:** Series, their mean range of diameters, and weights.

When we examine the smallest (*khalkous*) bronzes of Blaundos, we see that two series are in this unit. Series of Zeus/eagle with closed wings and Heracles/club have an average diameter of 11-12 mm and a weight of 1.5-2 grams. Apollonis and Magnesia ad Sipylum have small bronzes corresponding to a similar average<sup>110</sup>. The city of Nysa also struck coins in a similar denomination in c. 2<sup>nd</sup> -1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

The first group of bigger denominations have differences that make it difficult to place them in a specific unit. This must be related to the fact that Blaundos minted coins in different time periods. The lack of a firm chronology regarding the date of the series makes it difficult to make an interpretation. Based on the average diameters and weights, Apollo/quiver and bow behind series have an average diameter of 13-14 mm (ranging from approx. 13 to 16 mm) and a weight of 2-3 grams (ranging from approx. 2.15 to 3.45 grams). Specimens of Asclepius/Hygieia-Tyche standing left series present a similar metrological result. In this context, we can state that they were struck in a similar denomination. The specimens of the series have an average diameter of 14-15 mm and weight of 2.5-3.5 grams (ranging from approx. 2.5 to 4 grams). Apparently minted as a larger unit of *khalkous*, these coins might be *dikhalkon*<sup>111</sup>. On the other hand, the specimens of the Apollo/quiver and bow series have an average diameter of 16-17 mm (ranging from ca. 15 to 20 mm) and an average weight of 3-4 grams (ranging from ca. 2.90 to 4.80 grams). In this respect, it differs from the previous two series<sup>112</sup>. These are most probably

<sup>110</sup> See Hochard 2020, 539-541.

<sup>111</sup> Cfr. Carbone 2021a, 262-263.

<sup>112</sup> A similar situation is observed regarding the bronzes of Magnesia. According to Hochard's classification, there are three different groups with an average of 13 mm/2.50 grams, 13 mm/4 grams and 14 mm/5.31 grams, see Hochard 2020, 540-541.

*trikhalkon* bronzes<sup>113</sup>. Consequently, there are at least two different denominations. The Dionysus/*thyrsos* series seems to correspond to the larger unit. Metrologically, they have an average diameter of 17-18 mm (ranging from 16 to 18 mm) and a weight of 4-5 grams (ranging from ca. 3.50 to 5.70), indicating that these bronzes must be a subunit of the biggest denomination (*hemiobol*). So, it must be *tetrakhalkon*<sup>114</sup>, the most common denomination in 1<sup>st</sup> century BC Asia Minor.

As for the largest bronzes of Blaundos, Zeus/eagle with spread wings; Zeus/Hermes holding *kerykeion* and purse (with monogram); Zeus/Hermes holding *kerykeion* series are the largest (*hemiobol*) bronzes of the city. When we look at the metrological value ranges of the available specimens, for the Zeus/eagle with spread wings series (15 specimens), the diameter range is 18.5-22.6 mm and the weight range is 5.58-9.35 grams. For the Zeus/Hermes holding *kerykeion* and a purse series (16 specimens), the diameter range is 17.5-22 mm and the weight range is 4.35-9.41 grams. Finally, the Zeus/Hermes holding *kerykeion* series, of which much fewer specimens are known (6 specimens), has a diameter range of 18-21 mm and a weight range of 7.38-9.34 grams. These three series are most probably in the same denomination with an average diameter of 20 mm and 7.5-8 grams. These series seem to overlap in this respect with the Nysa series dated to the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC<sup>115</sup>. On the other hand, the similarity with the bronzes from Sardis, dated by Hochard as 'after 85 BC', is also striking<sup>116</sup>

Compared to other cities of the region: bronzes of Apollonis, Sardis and Thyatera on the largest denomination have a similar metrology<sup>117</sup>. On the other hand, these specimens are close to the coins Nysa began to strike in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, with an average size of approximately 19.5 mm/6.29 grams.

Finally, there are very few known specimens of Zeus/Hermes holding *kerykeion* and a purse, (without monogram); Apollo or Dionysus/Zeus; Heracles/Demeter; Asclepius/Hygieia-Tyche facing series. Accordingly, it is not possible to place these series in a specific denomination with an adequate average for the time being.

As noted above, it has been possible to group the coins based on the names of two officials, Apolloni[os] Theogen[es] and Theotimidos, who were probably successors of each other. Accordingly, we can also make an inference about the denominations used in the relevant periods of their services. The three series carrying the name of Apolloni[os] Theogen[es] show us at least three different denominations used during this period. During the office of Theotimidos, the production of these series continued and also *khalkous* was introduced. In this context, the number of series and denominations increases to four (Tab. 2).

<sup>113</sup> Cfr. Carbone 2021a, 262-263.

<sup>114</sup> On this denomination, see Carbone 2021a, 263-264.

<sup>115</sup> For these coins, see Özbil 2017, 263 (Type 5 (19,9 mm/6,63 grams); Type 6b (19,1 mm/6,26 grams)).

<sup>116</sup> For these coins, see Hochard 2020, Nr. 1861-1876. The specimens of the Artemis/Athena series have an average diameter of 20.8 mm and weight of 7.67 grams.

<sup>117</sup> For metrological analyses see Hochard 2020, 539-540; 542-543.

Series	Diameter	Weight
Head of Zeus/Eagle, wings spread	20-21 mm	7-8 grams
Head of Dionysus/ <i>Thyrso</i> s	17-18 mm	4-5 grams
Head of Apollo/Quiver and bow	16-17 mm	3-4 grams
Head of Heracles/Club	11-12 mm	1,5-2 grams

**Tab. 2:** Coins with magistrate name.

## Dating of the coins

As for the dating of the Hellenistic bronze coins minted by Blaundos, the issues are placed in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, in the de-facto coin catalogues<sup>118</sup>. Apart from these numismatic catalogues, there are almost no comprehensive monographic study on the coinage of Blaundos. The most significant study was published by Matern in 2006<sup>119</sup>. The results of the surveys conducted between 1999 and 2002 are presented in the book, and a chapter discusses the coins of Blaundos. There, for the first time, the Hellenistic and Roman period coins struck by the city have been brought together in their entirety. In this valuable pioneering study, Matern cites Head's argument that the city's Hellenistic civic coinage must have begun in 133 BC, when Roman Republic established the province of Asia<sup>120</sup>. L. Mazzini, who presents the most recent commentary on the coinage of Blaundos, also refers to this date as *terminus post quem*, arguing that the introduction of the civic coinage could not have been earlier<sup>121</sup>. First of all, it should be noted that at the moment there is no concrete archaeological data in the city that would confirm or change this proposed dating<sup>122</sup>. Of course, when dating coins, or dating through coins, it is the other archaeological material found with them that must be taken into account. At this point, ceramics are often the main subsidiary element. Between 2018 and 2022, archaeological excavations in the city yielded five Hellenistic Blaundos coins, but unfortunately four of them are surface finds without archaeological context. One specimen (Fig. 12) was found during the excavations in the temple of Demeter/Ceres. Although the ceramics recovered from the related layer have not yet been subjected to a detailed analysis, we know that no ceramic finds dating before the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC have been found in the temple so far<sup>123</sup>. Therefore, it is not possible to propose a precise date for the Hellenistic period coins of the city based on the archaeological material. Nevertheless, we should not forget that there was no local autonomous

<sup>118</sup> For instance, Head 1887, 570; Imhoof-Blumer 1897, 49; *BMC Lydia*, Nr. 1-29; *SNG Cop. Lydia*, Nr. 59-73; *SNG München Lydien*, Nr. 70-80; Önder 2014, Nr. 35-39; *GRPC*, Nr. 1-46.

<sup>119</sup> Matern 2006.

<sup>120</sup> Matern 2006, 284.

<sup>121</sup> Mazzini 2020, 143.

<sup>122</sup> At this point, it should be noted that the excavated areas in the city include late period buildings. Between 2018 and 2022, excavations focused on the main street and the temple building to the north of the street. A part of the Roman Main Street, which was one of the most important elements of the city center, was redesigned in the Byzantine Period, and various production areas were built there, for studies see Can 2023a, 457-458. The other excavated site, the Temple of Ceres/Demeter, must have been built in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, during the reign of Claudius. On this temple, see Roos – Filges 2006a. See also Akbıyıköğlü 1997, 30-31; Can 2023a, 453-456.

<sup>123</sup> For a preliminary analysis of the *skyphos* recovered from the city, see Öz 2023.

bronze minting throughout the region during the Seleucid control. As mentioned, royal Seleucid coins were struck at certain mints during that period.

However, as noted above, after the region came under the rule of the Attalids, settlements became more autonomous. On the other hand, we know that some small-scale settlements in Phrygia and Lydia were granted *polis* status during the reign of Eumenes II (197-159 BC)<sup>124</sup>. In response to this political change and to meet the need for bronze following the silver-based coinage reform of c. 166 BC, it has been suggested that most Lydian cities began striking civic bronze coins during this period<sup>125</sup>. Similarly, Blaundos may have undergone a similar transformation at that period and introduced its own civic coins. There is no reason to think that the city would have waited until 133 BC for the region to achieve a fully autonomous status under Roman control.

On the other hand, although it is not possible to put the coins in a chronological order due to the lack of precise data, it is possible to group the bronze coin series of Blaundos within the framework of the officer names and the monograms used on coins. So far, we know Apolloni[os] Theogen[es] and Theotimidos as the officials responsible for the coin minting. We do not currently have any data on when they were in the office and which one came first. It is possible to suggest that three series with the name of Apolloni[os] Theogen[es] (Head of Apollo l./quiver, bow and laurel branch; Head of Zeus r./eagle with spread wings; Head of Dionysus r./*thyrsos*) are contemporary issues. Similarly, it can be proposed that four series bearing the name Theotimidos (Head of Apollo l./quiver, bow and laurel branch; Head of Zeus r./eagle; Head of r./club; Head of Dionysus r./*thyrsos*) were struck simultaneously or at short intervals.

Some series use common monograms on the reverse side.  $\Xi$  and  $\text{M}$  monograms are always used together and we see these monograms on the reverses of three different series (Head of Apollo r./quiver and bow; Head of Zeus r./Hermes l.; Head of Asclepius r./Hygeia-Tyche l.). Previously or later, on these three series,  $\text{M}$  was used as the reverse monogram. These, like those with officer names, must have been successive issues. Finally, the coins carrying magistrate names and the monograms do not intersect in a common series and we can assume this fact as an indication that they were minted in different periods.

Finally, based on the coins minted by the cities of Nysa and Sardis in the region, it can be observed that the cities started to mint heavier bronzes from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC onwards<sup>126</sup>. As discussed in the *denominations* section, Nysa put two major units into circulation in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. It can also be inferred that the bronze coins of Sardis dated after 85 BC were minted with larger diameter and weight. In this context, one wonders whether a similar

<sup>124</sup> Thonemann 2013b, 5-8; 26-30. Tyriaion (Toriaion) also on the Lydia-Phrygia border is one of them, see *SEG* 47, Nr. 1745; Thonemann 2008, 43ff. See also Hochard 2020, 755; González 2021, 116-119; Kaye 2022, 195. On the other hand, Apollonis, Hieracome, Magnesia, Mostene, Philadelphia and Thyatera are among the settlements that we can attest thanks to coins to have attained city status in this period before 133 BC, see Hochard 2020, 776.

<sup>125</sup> Hochard 2013, 151; 153; 2020, 761.

<sup>126</sup> The same is true for some other regions of Asia Minor. The administrative reorganization under Sulla in 85 BC had an impact on the coins circulating in the market. While the units were standardized, cities started to strike bronze coins in larger denominations. For the reform and its results, see Kinns 1987, 110-111; Carbone 2021b. From 40 BC onwards, the bronze system based on the Roman unit of *assarion* was introduced in the region, see Carbone 2021a; 2021b.

situation might apply to Blaundos. The fact that three different series struck as *hemiobols* correspond to this metrological class makes it difficult to reach a conclusion. It is unlikely that three different series in the same domination were put into circulation at the same time, considering the needs of the city. Perhaps the three series were introduced at different times from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC onwards, as in the case of Nysa and Sardis two cities.

## CONCLUSION

Based on our current knowledge, Blaundos is not one of the Lydian cities that struck royal coins in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC. From the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC onwards, the city produced at least 12 different series of civic bronzes. In this context, it is one of the cities in the region with so many coin issues. The variety of coinage indicates a flourishing local economy and a degree of administrative autonomy. As can be seen, iconography on civic coins is often religiously referential, in keeping with the regional context. This practice also must have linked the city to broader cultural and religious traditions of the region, probably promoting a sense of belonging and continuity. On the other hand, the clues to the presumed Macedonian origin of the city in the case of Zeus, Heracles and their attributes are intriguing. This deserves a specific paper which is planned to be published soon<sup>127</sup>. It is evident that Blaundos minted coins in various denominations in accordance with the demands of the market including small *khalkous* to bigger denominations such as *dikhalkon*, *trikhalkon* and *hemiobol*. When it comes to dating of the coins, at present, it is difficult to establish an absolute chronology for these coins. However, based on the general situation in the region, it is possible to state that Blaundos introduced its civic coins in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, after 189/188 BC. Although it is difficult at the moment to propose a precise date for the start of these coins or to place them in a specific time period, Blaundos, like many other Lydian, must have been affected by the political changes that followed the end of Seleucid rule in the region. Moreover, it may have begun to strike bronze coins in its own name, following the coinage reform of the Kingdom of Pergamon, which dates to the mid-160s BC. The advent of political autonomy following the bequeathing of the kingdom and the advent of Roman rule, coupled with the absence of Roman mintage program, must have provided the need for the introduction of new series.

<sup>127</sup> A comprehensive study on the subject is in preparation by Birol Can and the present author.

## GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

Antik Çağ'da Lydia'nın Phrygia sınırına oldukça yakın konumda yer alan Blaundos, bugün Uşak iline bağlı Sülümenli köyü sınırları içerisinde yer alır. 1994 yılında Uşak Müzesi'nin gerçekleştirdiği kurtarma kazısının ardından Blaundos'ta A. Filges idaresinde 1999-2002 yılları arasında üç sezon yüzey araştırması yapılmıştır. Bu çalışmaları takiben, 2018 yılından bu yana kentte düzenli arkeolojik kazılar devam etmektedir. Söz konusu çalışmalar neticesinde arkeolojik ve epigrafik pek çok yeni bulguya erişilirken, nümismatik buluntular ve güncel literatür ışığında kentin darp ettiği sikkelere dair de yeni ve kapsamlı bir çalışma yapılması gerekliliği oluşmuştur. Bu doğrultuda, Blaundos kentinin kuruluşunu, gösterdiği gelişimi ve burada yerleşimin zayıflama sürecini daha iyi anlamak için nümismatik veriler bir bütün halinde ele alınmalı ve güncellenmelidir. Bu hususlara ışık tutacak olan, kentte ele geçmiş sikkelerin yayınlanmasından evvel, güncel bilgilerin bilim dünyasına sunulması ihtiyacı üzerine bu çalışma hazırlanmıştır. Blaundos'un darp ettiği sikkeler bu zamana değin geniş çaplı olarak ele alınmamıştır. Kentin darpları üzerine en önemli çalışma 2006 yılında P. Matern tarafından kaleme alınmıştır. Yüzey araştırmalarının neticelerinin sunulduğu oldukça kapsamlı kitap içerisinde Matern, bir bölümde kentin darp ettiği sikkeleri mevcut örnekler ışığında kataloglayarak bir analize tabi tutmuştur. Geçen süre ile beraber 2000'li yılların başından itibaren, hem nümismatik literatüründe hem de yurt dışında tertip edilen sikke müzayedelerinde yeni örnekler ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu nedenle burada, Blaundos kenti tarafından Hellenistik dönemde darp edilen sikke serileri, bu sikkelerin tarihlendirilmesi ve ikonografileri hakkındaki tartışmalar ve öneriler hem yeni hem de önceki veriler ışığında ele alınmıştır.

Her şeyden önce, tıpkı Lydia bölgesinin pek çok diğer kenti gibi, Blaundos da olasılıkla MÖ 2. yüzyıldan sonra Küçük Asya'da yaşanan sosyo-politik süreç neticesinde kendi adını taşıyan sikkeler basmaya başlamıştır. Değerli madenden sikke basmadığı görülen ve şu an için yalnızca bronz sikkelerini bildiğimiz kentin on iki farklı seride sikkesi olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Serilerin kesin bir kronolojiye oturtulması ise şu an için güçtür. Mevcut durumda ifade edebileceğimiz, kentin kendi darplarının kuvvetle muhtemelen, bölgede MÖ 189/188'de sona eren Seleukos egemenliğinden sonra ve belki de MÖ 160'ların ortalarında Pergamon Krallığı'nın sikke reformunu takiben başlamış olabileceğidir. Sikke ikonografyası baktığımızda, Blaundos sikkelerinde birden fazla tanrı ve tanrıça tasviri ve atribülerine yer vermiştir. Zeus, Apollo, Herakles ve Asklepios bunlardan başlıcalarıdır. Kentin bir Makedon kolonisi olarak kurulmuş olabileceği fikrine istinaden Zeus ve Herakles ikonografyası ilgi çekici olsa da bu iki sikke tipinin Hellenistik dönemde Küçük Asya'nın genelindeki yaygın kullanımı şimdilik böylesi bir kesin bağlantıyı mümkün kılmamaktadır. Öte yandan kentin kullandığı sikke ikonografisi, Blaundos'un kültlerini, ana tanrılarını ve daha geniş perspektifte Lydia veya Phrygia bölgesindeki diğer kentlerle etkileşimini daha iyi anlamamızı da sağlayacaktır. Eldeki veriler ışığında, kentin söz konusu bronz sikkelerinin, piyasa ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için çeşitli çap ve ağırlıklarda darp edildiği anlaşılmaktadır. Çap ve gramajlarda görülen bu değişkenlik, birimlerin tanımlanmasını da zorlaştırmaktadır. Yine de bölge genelinden de hareketle sikkelerin basıldıkları birimleri khalkous, dikhalkon, trikalkon, tetrakhalkon ve hemiobol olmak üzere tasnif etmek mümkün olmuştur. Tüm örneklerin bir araya getirileceği corpus niteliğindeki bir çalışma daha kesin neticeleri mümkün kılacaktır.

Roma döneminde Eyalet sikkeleri de basan kentin Hellenistik dönem sikkelerini tanıtmayı amaçlayan çalışmada, bölgenin genelinden hareketle Blaundos kentinin erken dönemde darp ettiği sivil nitelikteki sikkelerin ikonografyası, birimleri ve tarihlendirmesi üzerine yeni veriler ve güncel literatür ışığında değerlendirmeler sunulmaktadır.



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