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## **New Evidence for the Late Hellenistic Coinage of Lampsakos**

Lampsakos'un Geç Hellenistik Dönem Sikkelerine  
İlişkin Yeni Kanıtlar

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## NEW EVIDENCE FOR THE LATE HELLENISTIC COINAGE OF LAMPSAKOS

### ABSTRACT

This article discusses five new examples of the late Hellenistic coinage of Lampsakos (Coins A-E), which recently appeared in public auctions and significantly contributed to our understanding of this rare series. Coin A appears to belong early in the series, along with the the early issue signed by Ephesios, son of Theodoros. Coins B and C attest two new reverse dies and are further examples from IGCH 1322 (western Asia Minor, 1964/5), a poorly known hoard dispersed in commerce, which is the key evidence for the date of this series. Coins B and C derive from a private collection assembled in the 1950s/1960s, which may shed light on the other mints represented in IGCH 1322. A list of Lampsakos, Abydos, and Tenedos coins likely deriving from the hoard is provided. Finally, Coins D and E represent a new type for the series in which Priapos is depicted full-figure on the reverse and Apollo Citharoedus as the obverse portrait rather than vice versa. The depiction of Priapos without a prominently displayed phallus is an early example of the so-called 'noble' Priapos type and reflects how Lampsakos wanted to represent their god at this time. This was a short-lived experiment, as we see from the many depictions of Priapos on the city's provincial coinage beginning in the reign of Augustus. Coin E is the first example of a drachm in this series and is also overstruck. Both overstriking and employing denominations other than tetradrachms are characteristic features of the Troad's silver coinage in the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

**Keywords:** Lampsakos, Priapos, Apollo, Hoard, Troad.



## LAMPSAKOS'UN GEÇ HELLENİSTİK DÖNEM SİKKELERİNE İLİŞKİN YENİ KANITLAR

### ÖZ

Bu makalede Lampsakos'un Geç Hellenistik sikkelerinin (Sikke A-E) yakın zamanda müzayedeelerde ortaya çıkan ve bu nadir seriyi anlamamıza önemli katkılarda bulunan beş yeni örneği ele alınmaktadır. Sikke A, Theodoros oğlu Ephesios tarafından imzalanmış erken bir seriye ait gibi görünmektedir. B ve C sikkeleri iki yeni arka kalıbı ortaya koymaktadır ve bu serinin tarihi için en önemli kanıt niteliğinde olan, ticarete dağılmış ve az bilinen bir define olan IGCH 1322'nin (Batı Küçük Asya, 1964/5) diğer örnekleridir. B ve C sikkeleri 1950/1960'larda bir araya getirilmiş özel bir koleksiyondan gelmektedir ve IGCH 1322'de temsil edilen diğer

darphanelere ışık tutabilir. Lampsakos, Abydos ve Tenedos sikkelerinden oluşan ve muhtemelen bu defineden gelen bir liste verilmiştir. Son olarak, D ve E sikkeleri Priapos'un arka yüzde tam figür, Apollon Citharoedus'un ise ön yüzde portre olarak betimlendiği seride yeni bir tipi temsil etmektedir. Priapos'un belirgin bir fallus olmadan tasviri, "soylu" Priapos tipinin erken bir örneğidir ve Lampsakos'un o dönemde tanrılarını nasıl temsil etmek istediğini yansıtır. Augustus döneminden itibaren kentin eyalet sikkelerinde bulunan çok sayıdaki Priapos tasvirinden de gördüğümüz gibi, bu kısa ömürlü bir deneme olmuştur. Sikke E bu serideki ilk drahmi örneğidir ve aynı zamanda çift darplıdır. Hem çift darplı olması hem de tetradrahmiden farklı değerlerin kullanılması, MÖ 1. yüzyılın başlarında Troas gümüş sikkelerinin karakteristik özellikleridir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Lampsakos, Priapos, Apollon, Define, Troas.



## INTRODUCTION

The city of Lampsakos was located on the Asian shore of the Hellespont, close to where the straits open out into the Propontis. This location has guaranteed that the city has always been strategically important to the various empires that have wanted to control this crucial crossroads in the Mediterranean<sup>1</sup>. A corollary of the city's logistical significance to these external powers has been that they have frequently chosen to mint their precious metal coinages at Lampsakos. For example, we see this happen with Memnon of Rhodes in the 350s, with Alexander and his early successors c. 330-280, and with Antiochus II and Antiochus Hierax in the 250s and 230s, respectively<sup>2</sup>. Beyond these coinages, which were explicitly minted for the various states ruling over Lampsakos, the city also produced a variety of other high-value coinages, some of which may also have been minted at the behest of external powers even if their types do not explicitly declare as much. For example, there were large silver series in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century (Pegasus type), c. 500-480 (Janiform Head Group A), c. 400-350 (Janiform Head Group B), and c. 400-350 (Deity Head Group B); a large gold series c. 400-350 (Pegasus reverse); posthumous Lysimachi in the 150s; and finally civic tetradrachms with a portrait of Priapos c. 90-70<sup>3</sup>. It is this final rare series representing the culmination of a long history of civic minting at Lampsakos that is the focus of this article.

1 Frisch 1978, 103-157 (ancient testimonia), Belke 2020, 722-726 (late antique and medieval history).

2 Memnon of Rhodes: Ellis-Evans 2018, 37-42. Alexander and his early successors: Price 1342-1457, P11-17, L9-15, Thompson 1968, 170-171, nos. 39-62; Seleucids: SC 484-486 (Antiochus II), 848-856 (Antiochus Hierax). For a discussion of these 3<sup>rd</sup> century royal coinages at Lampsakos see Ellis-Evans forthcoming, Ch. 3.2, 3.4.

3 Baldwin 1924 covers the entire civic coinage of Lampsakos, but is inevitably out of date in a number of respects. Dates of Pegasus-type coinage and Janiform Head Group A: Ellis-Evans - van Alfen 2018. Date of Janiform Head Group B: Ellis-Evans 2018, 46-47. Date of Deity Head Group B based on overstrikes of Janiform Head Group B: examples collected at <https://silver.knowledge.wiki/Lampsacus> (Accessed: 12/9/2023). Date of late

The obverse portrait of this series is of a bearded Priapos facing right, wearing an ivy wreath, with his hair falling down to his shoulders, surrounded by a dotted border. The reverse depicts Apollo Citharoedus standing right on a ground line, wearing a chiton and mantle, holding a plectrum in his right hand, and a lyre under his left arm. The city's ethnic, ΛΑΜΨΑ|KHNΩΝ, is written vertically to either side of Apollo. In the exergue, a signer's name appears in the genitive, and there is always a monogram and a control mark in the inner left and right respectively.

These coins first became known to Greek numismatics in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century when examples entered the collections of Richard Payne Knight, Edmond de Cavallène, and William Waddington, and, thence, the British Museum and the Bibliothèque nationale<sup>4</sup>. Hugo Gaebler and Agnes Baldwin Brett produced the first serious treatments of the coinage in the early 1920s, but at that time, only nine examples had appeared, and not all of them were known to either scholar<sup>5</sup>. In 1964/5, a hoard reportedly found in western Asia Minor, IGCH 1322, reached the market, which doubled the number of Priapos tetradrachms known to scholarship<sup>6</sup>. Although the hoard also contained tetradrachms of Abydos and Tenedos, which have subsequently been downdated to *c.* 90-70, the significance of this for the date of the Priapos tetradrachms was overlooked, and as a result, the series continued to retain its conventional date of *c.* 190 BC<sup>7</sup>. Soon after I published the first die study of the series in 2020, five important new examples of the series appeared in commerce: one with Classical Numismatic Group in 2020, two with Leu Numismatik in 2021, and two with Morton & Eden in 2022<sup>8</sup>. Although few in number, these new examples significantly alter our understanding of the series<sup>9</sup>.

Table 1 illustrates where the five new examples (A, B, C, D, E) fit within the existing die study. A attests a new signer and new obverse die, B and C belong to signers who were already known and attest two new reverse dies, while D (tetradrachm) and E (drachm) belong to a new type where the figures of Priapos and Apollo are swapped on the obverse and reverse. D also attests a new signer, and E represents a new denomination for the series.

Lysimachi: Ellis-Evans 2019, 41-42, 44-46. Date of Priapos tetradrachms: Ellis-Evans 2020, 99-117.

4 Richard Payne Knight (bequeathed 1824): no. 24 = BM RPK,p131D.1.Lam (BMC Mysia 86, no. 68). Edmond de Cavallène (bequeathed 1832): no. 12 = BnF K 1832 (SNG Paris 1229). William Waddington (known by 1897 and 1853 respectively): no. 1 = BnF Fonds Général 769 (SNG Paris 1230); no. 7 = BnF Fonds Général 770 (SNG Paris 1231).

5 Gaebler 1923, 72-73, Baldwin 1924, 30-32.









6 Ellis-Evans 2020, 107-109.

7 Ellis-Evans 2020, 106-107.

8 Die study: Ellis-Evans 2020, 100-103.

9 The only other update to the die study is a more recent sale for no. 16: NAC 124 (23/6/2021) 198.

**Table 1.** Summary of the late Hellenistic silver coinage of Lampsakos with new additions highlighted in grey.

#	Dies	Signer	Control Marks	
<b>Priapos Portrait / Apollo Standing</b>				
A	-/-	ΝΙΚΟΔΡΟΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ   ΗΓΗΧΙΑΔΗΜΟΥ	<LF>  , <RF> club	
1	1/1	ΕΦΕΣΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ   ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ	<LF>  , <RF> tripod	
2	2/2	ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΙΩΝΟΣ   ΤΟΥ ΛΑΜΠΙΩΝΟΣ	<LF>  , <RF> Hekate holding torches	
3	2/3			
4	2/4			
5	2/5			
6	2/6(1)			
7	2/6(2)			
8	3/7	ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧΟΥ   ΤΟΥ ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΥ	<LF> K, <RF> Isis headdress	
B	3/-	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ   ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ   ΜΕΙΚΑΛΟΥ	<LF>  , <RF> bow and arrow r.	
9	4/8			ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ   ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΥ
10	4/9(1)			
11	4/9(2)			
12	4/9(3)			
13	4/10(1)			
14	4/10(2)			
15	4/10(3)			
16	4/11			
17	4/12(1)			
18	4/12(2)			
C	4/-	ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΙΩΝΟΣ   ΤΟΥ ΛΑΜΠΙΩΝΟΣ	<LF>  , <RF> Hekate holding torches with pair of recumbent lions	
19	5/13			
20	5/14	ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ   ΞΕΝΟΦΑΝΟΥ	<LF>  , <RF> palm branch	
<b>Apollo Portrait / Priapos Standing</b>				
D	-/-	ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ   ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ	<LF>  , <RF> Isis headdress	
E	-/-	-	<LF> 	

## COIN A: A SECOND EARLY EXAMPLE

In my die study I placed the issue of Ephesios son of Theodoros (**Fig. 1.b**) first for several reasons: the finer quality of its obverse die compared to O2-O5; its higher weight (16.79g), which is closer to the reduced Attic standard (16.8g), compared to later issues in the series; and the relative lack of 'late' letter forms (i.e. no lunate letters or alphas with broken crossbars)<sup>10</sup>. These arguments are not all of equal weight, and none should be considered decisive, but it is clear enough that the issue of Ephesios stands somewhat apart from the rest of the series as we currently know it, and it is more likely to do so at the beginning than at the end of the series.



**Fig. 1. a:** Leu Numismatik 10 (24/10/2021) 2133 (29mm, 1h, 16.73g). **b:** BnF Fonds Général 769 = SNG Paris 1230 (32mm, 16.79g).

The new issue of Nikodromos, son of Hegesidemus (Coin A: Fig. 1.a) clearly belongs with that of Ephesios since they share versions of a monogram (Α, Δ) quite unlike the one whose varieties we see throughout the rest of the series (⊗, ⊕, ⊖, ⊗). The die cutting is similarly fine and the weight comparably high, although there is not the same relative absence of 'late' letter forms (e.g., the alphas with broken crossbars in the ethnic, the lunate sigma in the signer's patronymic)<sup>11</sup>.

## COINS B, C: FURTHER COINS FROM IGCH 1322

The dispersal of the commerce hoard IGCH 1322 in 1964/5 was a crucial turning point in our knowledge of the series. Before this, only nine examples were known, and a new example had not appeared since 1921<sup>12</sup>. By contrast, nine new examples appeared in the decade following the hoard's dispersal, all clearly from

<sup>10</sup> Ellis-Evans 2020, 104.

<sup>11</sup> It is also worth noting that this is the first obverse portrait of Priapos where his locks fall loosely down his neck rather than tightly curled (as we see e.g. on the illustrated Ephesios issue).

<sup>12</sup> Nos. 1-4, 7, 12, 15, 19-20.

this hoard<sup>13</sup>. Two more examples appeared in 1984 and 1990, very likely stragglers from IGCH 1322, and then no more until 2021/2022<sup>14</sup>.

Of the three new Priapos tetradrachms from 2021/2022, the Leu Numismatik coin (Coin A) has no provenance and may be from a new source. By contrast, the two examples Morton & Eden sold in 2022 (Coins B, C: Fig. 2.a-b) come from the collection of a European ambassador formed mainly in the 1950s and 1960s. The family of this anonymous collector was not in possession of documents indicating where and when he purchased these coins. However, they are highly likely to derive from IGCH 1322 given the period when he was collecting, the fact he was buying in Europe, the immediate impact this hoard had on the European market in the mid-1960s, and how rarely new examples of the series otherwise appear<sup>15</sup>.



**Fig. 2. a:** Morton & Eden 119 (6/12/2022) 48 = 115 (5/5/2022) 101 (16.22g). **b:** Morton & Eden 115 (5/5/2022) 102 (16.71g; slight tooling of the field before Priapos head, reverse double struck).

Otto Mørkholm's entry for IGCH 1322 reported that the hoard contained 20+ Abydos and 10+ Lampsakos tetradrachms. In addition, we have recently learned that two Abydos tetradrachms in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, purchased from Spink in June 1966 came, according to the accession register, "from a small hoard of 4 drs [i.e., tetradrachms], mostly Abydos, but also Tenedus & Lampsacus", which is surely a reference to IGCH 1322<sup>16</sup>. Given how rarely new Lampsakos tetradrachms appear, one can identify likely hoard coins with some confidence based on time of appearance alone. By contrast, the same cannot be done with the much more copious Abydos and Tenedos series, thus making it all but impossible to say anything about these parts of the hoard<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Nos. 5-6, 8, 10-11, 13-14, 16, 18.

<sup>14</sup> Nos. 9, 17.

<sup>15</sup> I am grateful to Tom Eden and Menelaos Danellis of Morton & Eden for sharing what they know of the European ambassador collection.

<sup>16</sup> Ellis-Evans 2020, 108.

<sup>17</sup> See Ellis-Evans 2020, 108-109 for some speculation on this question.

However, the appearance of the two Lampsakos coins in the European Ambassador Collection may change that. Given that this collector was able to buy these coins, which very likely derive from IGCH 1322, it is possible he was also offered other coins from the hoard at the same time. Sure enough, the sale of his collection contains four coins of Abydos and one of Tenedos. While it is clear from the two sales of his coins that this collector had broad interests, it is striking that, except for a handful of Athenian stephanephoroi, the Abydos, Lampsakos, and Tenedos coins are the only Hellenistic civic tetradrachms in the collection<sup>18</sup>. It may, therefore, be that the opportunity to buy the Abydos and Tenedos tetradrachms came at the same time as this collector was offered the Lampsakos tetradrachms. Thus, all these coins come from IGCH 1322<sup>19</sup>. With all due caution, therefore, Table 2 lists the coins of Abydos, Lampsakos, and Tenedos which may belong to the hoard, and the grounds for thinking so in each case. It is notable that the six coins of Abydos all belong to the last third of the series and that the one coin of Tenedos belongs to the final issue of the series.


**Table 2.** Coins of Abydos, Lampsakos, and Tenedos which may belong to IGCH 1322.

Dies	Signer / Controls	Earliest Reference	Connection to Hoard
<b>Abydos</b> (die study: Callataÿ 1996)			
18/1	Xanthippos / dolphin, trident	Morton & Eden 115 (5/5/2022) 105	European ambassador
25/-	Xanthippos / tripod, palm branch	Morton & Eden 119 (6/12/2022) 51	European ambassador
23/1a	Philiskos / Eros with bow	SNG Ashmolean 1002	From small hoard, 1966
27/2a	Antigonos / horse	SNG Ashmolean 1004	From small hoard, 1966
32/3	Iphiades / Helios & star	Morton & Eden 115 (5/5/2022) 106.	European ambassador
34/-		Morton & Eden 115 (5/5/2022) 107	European ambassador
<b>Lampsakos</b> (die study: Ellis-Evans 2020)			
2/5	Promethion s. Lampon (1)	Elsen 102 (12/9/2009) 97	BM Cast ("Mallers Hd. 1965"; see Ellis-Evans 2020, 101, n. 22)
2/6(1)		Sotheby's London (28/1/1976) 31	Time of appearance
3/7	Andromachos s. Menophilos	R. J. Myers, Ancient Coins Summer Sale (1971) 24	Time of appearance
3/-		Morton & Eden 119 (6/12/2022) 48	European ambassador


18 Athenian stephanephoroi: Morton & Eden 115 (5/5/2022) 76 (tetradrachm, 125/4), 77 (drachm, c. 150-140), 78 (drachm, 131/0; hemidrachm, 137/6).

19 Other coins in the collection which are of interest but from a minting authority not specified for IGCH 1322: Morton & Eden 115 (5/5/2022) 38 (Aesillas), 46-47 (Byzantium Lysimachi), 89-90 (Mithridates VI, 76/5, 74/3), 91-93 (Bithynia, 100/99, 89/8, 75/4); Morton & Eden 119 (6/12/2022) 9 (Byzantium Lysimachus), 46-47 (Bithynia, 92/1, 75/4).



4/8	Herodes s. Dorotheus	NAC 2 (21/2/1990) 182	Time of appearance (?)
4/9(1)	Demetrios s. Demetrios s. Meikalos	Hess-Leu 31 (7/12/1966) 406	Time of appearance
4/9(2)		Boston MFA 1973.294 (“by 1969: with Robert E. Hecht Jr.”)	Time of appearance
4/10(1)		SNG Copenhagen Suppl. 306 (acq. 1970)	Time of appearance
4/10(2)		MM Basel 41 (18/6/1970) 149.	Time of appearance
4/11		MM Basel 47 (30/11/1972) 493.	Time of appearance
4/12(1)		Lanz 28 (7/5/1984) 250.	Time of appearance (?)
4/12(2)		Bank Leu 7 (9/5/1973) 205.	Time of appearance
4/-		Morton & Eden 115 (5/5/2022) 101	European ambassador
<b>Tenedos</b> (die study: Callataÿ 1998)			
21/-	 , grapes, pilei with stars	Morton & Eden 115 (5/5/2022) 108	European ambassador

## COINS D, E: NEW TYPES AND A NEW DENOMINATION

Coins D and E (Fig. 3.a-b) introduce new types which swap the deities between obverse and reverse (i.e., the obverse Priapos portrait becomes Apollo, the full-figure Apollo on the reverse becomes Priapos). While it is unclear how exactly these issues fit into the series, they do appear to belong: the tetradrachm shares the Isis headdress control mark also found on the Andromachos son of Menophilos issue, while the drachm shares the same monogram () as most of the previously known coins, with the specific form being an exact match for Promethion son of Lampon (2) and Socrates son of Xenophanes.

The portrait of Apollo (laureate, hair tied up in a bun at the back, loose locks down the neck) is recognizably the same as the full-figure depiction of Apollo Cit-haroedus on the previously known coins. The reverse depicts Priapos as a bearded male figure standing right, his hair tied up at the back, wearing a chiton and mantle, and holding a kantharos in his right hand while he rests a filleted thyrsus over his shoulder with his left hand. It is possible he is also laureate (as with the obverse portrait of Priapos on the previously known coins), but the double striking of the tetradrachm and the small module of the drachm make it impossible to make out whether this detail is there.



**Fig. 3. a:** Leu Numismatik Web Auction 18 (18/12/2021) 1065 = Leu Numismatik 10 (24/10/2021) 2134 (30mm, 1h, 16.36g; double struck, flan crack at 3h). **b:** CNG EA 477 (23/9/2020) 130 (19mm, 12h, 3.73g; flan crack at 5h, overstruck).

While the portrait of Apollo is perfectly conventional, the depiction of Priapos is at first somewhat surprising since he appears to lack his most recognizable feature: his phallus. In fact, this is an example of the so-called ‘noble’ Priapos type in which an archaic-style head with neatly coiffed hair and a finely kept beard is paired with a body clothed in a floor-length chiton. Unlike the ‘Anasyrma’ type, where a similarly clothed Priapos faces the viewer head on and lifts his chiton to display his erect phallus, in the ‘noble’ type, the outline of his flaccid or semi-erect phallus is only discernible through how it interferes with the folds of his chiton (Fig. 4)<sup>20</sup>.



**Fig. 4.** Votive altar, early Imperial (Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale). Bearded silenos makes an offering over an altar to Priapos, holding a thyrsus and fruits gathered in his cloak. The outline of his phallus is visible beneath the folds of his chiton. Schraudolph 1993, 245, L201, Taf. 47.

<sup>20</sup> Megow 1997, 1034-1036 (IV. Anasyrma-Typus), 1037-8 (VII. ‘Elden’ Typus), 1043 (discussion), Megow 2000.

In sculptural depictions of the ‘noble’ type, the phallus nevertheless remains clearly identifiable because Priapos faces the viewer, and the scale of the object is sufficiently large to make out such details. However, in these new numismatic depictions, the choice of the ‘noble’ type renders the phallus essentially invisible because Priapos is standing in profile, and the scale is far too small for the phallus to be discernible beneath the chiton. The identification of the figure as Priapos rather than his father Dionysos (equally possible with the attributes of beard, kantharos, and thyrsus) is primarily secured by the fact that this is a coin of Lampsakos, that the other silver series and accompanying bronzes have clear portraits of Priapos, and that Priapos is later depicted on the provincial coinage of Lampsakos with kantharos and filleted thyrsus (Fig. 5.c). The approach to depicting Priapos, which we see on the provincial coinage of Lampsakos from the reign of Augustus down to the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, is far less unambiguous. As with the late Hellenistic coinage, Priapos is depicted either full-figure (Fig. 5.a, c) or as a portrait bust (Fig. 5.b), but the full-figure depictions always show him with a large erect phallus and never in the ‘noble’ type.



**Fig. 5. a:** RPC 1.2274 (Augustus): Berlin 18241758 (17mm, 12h, 2.41g). **b:** RPC 3.1551 (Hadrian): BnF Fonds Général 808 = SNG Paris 1274 (20mm, 5.68g). **c:** RPC IV (2) 595 Temp. (Marcus Aurelius, c. 176-180): BnF Fonds Général 811 = SNG Paris 1278 (26mm, 7h, 7.73g).

In my recent article on the Priapos tetradrachms, I noted that although Priapos had been closely associated with Lampsakos for some time, he only began to feature prominently in civic iconography from the late 2<sup>nd</sup>/early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC onwards<sup>21</sup>. This change in status appears to have resulted from a joint epiphany of Priapos and his mother, Aphrodite, which can be dated to the war with Aristonikos c. 133-131<sup>22</sup>. A minor deity who had previously only been associated with protecting crops in the rural margins of the city’s territory now found himself thrust into the role of chief defender of the city<sup>23</sup>. The awkwardness of this shift in status and

21 For Priapos as a relatively ‘late’ god without much of a substantive presence in the sources before the late 4<sup>th</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> century see Parker 2020, 145-6.

22 Ellis-Evans 2020, 109-17.

23 His trajectory as a cultic figure should perhaps be compared to that of Artemis, another deity who originally had strong associations with the rural margins but who in the Hellenistic period, and particularly in Asia Mi-

his essential inappropriateness for such a role is captured in a near-contemporary poem by Erykios, a poet from nearby Kyzikos:

Ὡς βαρὺ τοῦτο, Πρίηπε, καὶ εὖ τετυλωμένον ὄπλον  
 πᾶν ἀπὸ βουβώνων ἄθροον ἐκκέχυκας  
 εἰς γάμον οὐκ ἀνέτομον· ἔχει δέ σε δίψα γυναικῶν,  
 ὦ ἄγαθέ, καὶ σπαργᾶς θυμὸν ἅπαντα πόθοις.  
 ἀλλὰ καταπρήνυε τὸν ἐξωδηκότα φαλλὸν  
 τόνδε, καὶ ἀνθηρῆ κρύψον ὑπὸ χλαμύδι·  
 οὐ γὰρ ἐρημαῖον ναίεις ὄρος, ἀλλὰ παρ’ Ἑλλης  
 ἦονα τὴν ἱερὴν Λάμψακον ἀμφιπολεῖς.

*“How heavy and well-hardened, Priapos, is this weapon, which springs all of it from your loins, not unready for marriage! You are a thirst for women, my friend, and all your heart is swollen with desire. But appease this swollen phallus and hide it under a flowered robe, for you do not dwell on a lonely mountain, but guard holy Lampsakos by the shore of the Hellespont<sup>24</sup>.”*

The poet’s injunction to Priapos to hide his “weapon” beneath his cloak may just be a way of saying that he needs to act with the decorum befitting his new status as a poliadic deity. However, in light of the new coin type in which a very deliberate iconographic decision has been made to represent Priapos with his phallus safely out of the way, one wonders whether Erykios had this coin type in mind when he wrote these lines<sup>25</sup>. Whatever the case, it is striking that this portrayal of Priapos, which downplayed his most recognisable attribute, was only a short-lived experiment on Lampsakene coinage. When the opportunity arose again under Augustus to depict the city’s god on its coinage, the Lampsakenes went for an unambiguous depiction of Priapos with his phallus on full display and stuck with it for the rest of antiquity.

A final point to note regarding Coin E is that both the attestation of a drachm denomination for this series and the fact that it is overstruck are typical of the civic silver production of the Troad in the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. In the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, when mints in the Troad such as Alexandria Troas, the koinon of

nor, also developed the characteristics of a city deity. This created a certain discordance between canonical literary representation and cultic reality which Hellenistic poets such as Callimachus found highly productive. See Petrovic 2007, 182-247 and Petrovic 2010.

24 Anthologia Planudea 242 with Ellis-Evans 2020, 116-17.

25 It is worth noting in passing that the attestation of a ‘noble’ type Priapos at Lampsakos in the early 1st century BC shows that this was not an innovation of the Augustan era (pace Zanker 1988, 245). Now that the depiction is attested at Lampsakos itself, it is probably also worth questioning the view that it must have originated with artists in 3rd century Alexandria (e.g. Megow 1997, 1043, Megow 2000) given how limited the evidence for this is.

Athena Ilias, Parion, and Tenedos produced civic silver, they focused exclusively on tetradrachms. By contrast, the civic coinages of the early 1<sup>st</sup> century involve a broader range of denominations: drachms and hemidrachms at Abydos, cistophori, didrachms, and drachms at Alexandria Troas, didrachms and drachms with the koinon of Athena Ilias, and drachms at Tenedos<sup>26</sup>. Likewise, whereas overstriking is an unknown phenomenon for the Troad's silver coinage in the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century, it is a widespread feature of its silver coinage in the early 1<sup>st</sup> century<sup>27</sup>. These changes in production may reflect Roman interference in the production of these coinages<sup>28</sup>.

## ADDENDUM

After this article was complete, Ute Wartenberg kindly made me aware of an unpublished issue of the series in Athens. The issue uses O5 for its obverse die and is signed by a new individual, Isocrates son of Isocrates. The ethnic uses alphas with broken crossbars while the signer's name uses lunate sigmas. In left field it has a monogram in the same form as Promethion s. Lampon (2) and Socrates s. Xenophanes (with which it also shares an obverse die) and in right field the control mark is a fulmen.

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26 Abydos: Callataÿ 1996. Alexandria Troas: Ellis-Evans forthcoming. Athena Ilias: Ellis-Evans 2016. Parion: Ellis-Evans 2020, 95-99. Tenedos: Callataÿ 1998 with Meadows - Houghton 2010, 185-186 for the part of the series which now dates to the 150s.

27 Ellis-Evans - Callataÿ forthcoming.

28 Ellis-Evans 2020, 117-120 explores this possibility for the Priapos series. Ellis-Evans - Callataÿ forthcoming, Section 4 makes the case for the prevalence of overstriking in early 1st century BC Troad coinages reflecting Roman involvement in production.

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