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Money and Power: The Disappearance of Autonomous Silver Issues in the Roman Province of Asia

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Abstract: The standardization process of Asian civic silver coinage that took place during the Augustan Age finds its origins in the attitude that the Roman administration adopted towards civic issues right from the institution of the Provincia Asia in the 120s BC. Through our study of Asian autonomous silver issues, we will demonstrate that Romans were much more involved in the silver coinages of the Asian cities than any previous power dominating the area, as is suggested by the Roman names present on these issues and the evident decrease in the number of cities issuing them after the Roman province of Asia was instituted. Another element hinting at Roman intervention is the fact that the circulation of autonomous silver issues was limited to Caria and Rhodes, regions which were bestowed freedom and special privileges after the First Mithridatic War and maintained these privileges even afterwards. Asian autonomous issues only became fully integrated into the local monetary system during Augustan times through their linkage to the denarius and the cistophorus standards, but this process had already started during the course of the 2nd century BC. After a brief introduction of Augustan policy towards Asian non-autonomous silver coinage, this paper will provide a survey of the changes in the production and circulation of Asian autonomous silver issues under Roman dominion up to the Augustan Age, and will show how these changes were deeply intertwined with a gradual increase in Roman political control over the province of Asia from the beginning of the Roman period.

1. Introduction

We will show that Roman control over the Asian issues began with the annexation of these issuing cities into the Roman province, increased further during the Mithridatic and Civil Wars, and culminated in the Augustan Age. Moreover, the increasing control exerted by Roman authorities led first to the standardization and then to the end of silver autonomous coinages in Asia by the end of 1st century AD. The numismatic record shows that Romans were closely involved in the civic silver coinage of Asia right from the beginning of the Roman province.

After highlighting the significance of the Augustan period for the Asian monetary system, we will discuss the connection between juridical status and autonomous silver issues before Roman control of the province, and then analyze the production of autonomous silver coinages based on an original database of coins issued by the cities of Asia between 133 BC and 96 AD.

The cities included in our analysis are those considered part of the province under Augustus¹. The database comprises 11,898 types catalogued in *SNG* Van Aulock Deutschland, *SNG* Copenhagen and *BMC* (for 2nd and 1st cent. BC), and *RPC* I (for the Augustan period). The

¹ These are the cities included in *RPC* I, which in turn follows the order suggested in HABICHT 1975 and ENGELMANN – KNIBBE 1989, and now confirmed in MITCHELL 2008.

bibliography on specific civic mints has been integrated where possible into the analysis and may be found in the footnotes pertaining to each particular city.

Finally we will analyze the evidence derived from a survey of the hoards reported in *IGCH* and *CH*, in order to show how the circulation patterns of these autonomous issues were influenced by the Roman occupation.

2. The Augustan monetary reform of Asia

During the Attalid kingdom the monetary system of Anatolia was characterized by the consistent and widespread practice of cities minting silver coinage, and this was even more so under the former rulers of the area.² Up until the Attalids, silver currency production and circulation consisted of both autonomous and civic coinages³ coexisting with types common to other cities (i.e. Alexander tetradrachms,⁴ wreathed coinages⁵ and *cistophori*).⁶ These latter coinages were probably used for international or at least state-wide transactions, and were therefore evidenced by hoard distributions indicating a relatively wide circulation.⁷

After the Roman province of Asia was established, city-issued *cistophori*, which had represented the bulk of the silver coinage produced in the Attalid kingdom, initially continued to be struck in quantities,⁸ at least until the proconsular *cistophori* ended in 49 BC.⁹ Up to this year, cistophoric mints had even increased in number if compared to the Attalid period¹⁰, and their locations seem to suggest a direct correlation between cistophoric mints and the main administrative centers of the Asian province.¹¹ Quantitative and iconographical continuity between Attalid, late and proconsular *cistophori* could suggest that the Romans pursued a conservative monetary policy, but this hypothesis is belied by a constant decrease in autonomous silver issues after they established the province of Asia, as we will show in the following pages¹².

By Augustus' time, there were only five cities still issuing autonomous silver coinage: Chios¹³ and Rhodes¹⁴ on a cistophoric standard,¹⁵ and Tabae,¹⁶ Stratonicea,¹⁷ and Mylasa¹⁸ on the *denarius*

²Very select bibliography: CARRADICE 1987; MEADOWS 2005; LE RIDER - CALLATAY 2006; LE RIDER 2007; CALLATAY 2013; MEADOWS 2013; MEADOWS 2014, pp. 169-196; TUPLIN 2014.

³The definition of civic coinage is here applied to all the coinage issued by a city in her own name, identified by the civic mint on the reverse. Autonomous coinage is a term applied here to a particular kind of civic coinage, with types specific only to a certain city on the obverse, in addition to the name of the civic mint on the reverse.

⁴PRICE 1991, pp. 207-345.

⁵Most recently, for a general overview: CALLATAY 2013, pp.233-236.

⁶For the civic nature of the *cistophorus*, see most recently: THONEMANN 2013b, pp. 31-35.

⁷For a general contemporary overview see: MEADOWS 2014; very selectively, for the circulation of the Alexanders: DAVESNE – LE RIDER 1989; LE RIDER – OLCAY 1989; MATTINGLY 1993; ÖZGEN – DAVESNE 1994. For the wreathed tetradrachms, see: PSOMA 2013, Appendix I. For the *cistophori*: CALLATAY 2013; MEADOWS 2013.

⁸cf. CALLATAY 2013, table 6.12.

⁹Most recently: AMELA VALVERDE 2004.

¹⁰Attalid cistophoric mints: Pergamum, Ephesus, Tralles, Sardis – Synnada (probably minted in Pergamum), Apamea and Laodicea (KLEINER – NOE 1977); Dionysopolis, Blaundus, Lysias and Dioskome (LE RIDER 1990). Adramyteum (*BMC Mysia* 5-6 p. 3), Smyrna (*BMC Ionia* 1-2 p. 237) and Nysa (the whole die-study of the Nysan *cistophori* by W.E. Metcalf) were added to these in the years after the establishment of the *Provincia Asia*.

¹¹MITCHELL 1999, esp. pp. 24-25.

¹²For Attalid *cistophori*: KLEINER-NOE 1977; for late *cistophori*: KLEINER 1972; KLEINER 1978; KLEINER 1979; for proconsular *cistophori*: STUMPF 1991.

¹³*RPCI* 2412-2416 (last issue probably under Nero).

¹⁴*RPCI* 2744 – 2745 (mostly known from *CH* 2.127 = 7.146).

¹⁵*RPCI*, pp. 369-370; Chios and Rhodes issued drachms on a reduced standard (1 dr. = c.2.80 g), which seems to match Rhodian pre-plinthophoric standard and could be related to the cistophoric one, as was inferred by Festus, *De Verborum Significatione* 359.20.

¹⁶*RPCI* 2868-2869 (under Augustus).

¹⁷*RPCI* 2775-2781: last issue in the 50s AD.

¹⁸*RPCI* 2782-2785 (under Augustus).

weight standard.¹⁹ Apart from a single silver piece from Rhodes issued under Nerva²⁰, no autonomous silver issues are attested after the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

The decrease and then disappearance of autonomous silver issues could be explained with a growing centralization, since, as P. Weiss noted, by the 1st century AD cities probably needed permission to mint coins.²¹ In the same direction, A. Burnett has recently argued that the Augustan Age was revolutionary for provincial mints, which were increasingly standardized, both at the level of iconography and weight.²²

In further support of this argument is the fictional speech attributed by Cassius Dio to Maecenas, who there asserts the need for a single system of standardized measures and coinages around the Empire.²³ Certainly the line of action proposed by Dio's Maecenas was not followed *in toto*, but it is difficult not to interpret measures such as the Thessalian *diorthoma*²⁴ as representing an increasing desire for equivalent weights and measures throughout the Empire.

As for the silver coinage in Asia, the same Augustan agenda can be found in four developments of the end of 1st century BC: an iconographic alignment between the *cistophorus* and the *denarius*, with the imperial portrait on the obverse and the same control marks on the reverse;²⁵ the establishment of a standard conversion ratio between the *cistophorus* and *denarius*;²⁶ the alignment of autonomous silver issues to the *denarius* and cistophoric standard, as previously mentioned; and the increasing presence of the *denarius* itself, which has hardly ever been found in hoards deposited in Asia before Actium, even though the coin was struck there during the civil wars.²⁷

Only with Augustus did the *denarius* become fully integrated into the Asian monetary system, as is shown not only by its increased production,²⁸ but also by its first epigraphic attestations, which correspond to the beginning of Augustus' sole power.²⁹

By the Augustan age the practice of minting autonomous silver coinages has almost disappeared; but as we will show, this is a consequence of developments beginning from the start of the Roman province.

Was there an Augustan revolution in silver civic coinage in Asia?

The *cistophorus* – the Attalid epichoric silver coinage – had been left in place after the establishment of the *Provincia Asia*, and it circulated more or less on its own within the provincial

¹⁹ *RPC* I, pp. 369-370 (1 dr. = c. 3.50 g).

²⁰ *MMAG* Liste 395, 1977, 94: 1.04 g.

²¹ WEISS 2005.

²² BURNETT 2011: however, Burnett's study focuses almost entirely on bronze.

²³ Dio 52.30.9: μήτε δὲ νομίσματα ἢ καὶ σταθμὰ ἢ μέτρα ἰδίᾳ τις αὐτῶν ἐχέτω, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες χρήσθωσαν· *None of the cities should be allowed to have its own separate coinage or system of weights and measures; they should all be required to use ours* (translation by E. Cary).

²⁴ HELLY 1997.

²⁵ SUTHERLAND 1970, pp.86-105; SUTHERLAND 1973.

²⁶ The cistophorus was equated to 3 denarii, as shown by the second-century AD dossier regarding Salutaris' foundation (*IEph* 27 B,D), but this should probably be antedated to Augustus (*RPC* I, pp. 269-70).

²⁷ *IGCH* 1383 = CH II 113 (Giresun, Pontus, c.83 BC); CH IX 558 (Gridia, Chios, c.75 BC); *IGCH* 1359 (Cesme, Ionia, c.70- 65 BC); B. Overbeck, *SNR* 1978, p.164 (Halicarnassus, 41 BC); *IGCH* 352 = CH II 125 (Hieraptyna, Crete, c.44-42 BC): 5 hoards with *denarii* out of a total of 24 cistophoric hoards (133-31 BC) and 27 hoards with autonomous silver issues (133 -31 BC).

²⁸ *Denarii* were issued under Augustus in 19-18 BC (*RIC* 505-526), probably at the same time as the Augustan Pergamene *cistophori* (*RIC* 505-510).

²⁹ *IEph* 1687 + Add. p. 27 (ll.1-5) consists of a list of donors for the Artemision, which could be better understood in the context of the Augustan building program that led in 29 BC to the inauguration of the *temenos* dedicated to Divus Iulius and Dea Roma (Dio 51.20.6). A tight relationship to Augustus and the Roman Empire is also present in the inscription dated to 27 BC for C. Ulius Nikephoros, who is honored for his contribution in *denarii* to the Πομαῖα (ENGELMANN 1990).

boundaries until 49 BC,³⁰ establishing a ‘relatively’ closed currency system, which probably had the goal of controlling better the inflow and outflow of silver currency from the province.³¹ After the end of the proconsular *cistophori* issues in 49 BC, however, this ‘relatively’ closed currency system seems to come to an end, because the first issues of Asian *denarii* start to appear at this point,³² as do mixed hoards containing both *cistophori* and *denarii*, which had been almost absent in the earlier period.³³

The growing integration between provincial and Roman silver coinage was further pursued by Mark Antony, who was the first one issuing at the same both *cistophori* and *denarii* in Ephesus, beginning in 38 BC. Antony's *cistophori* were produced in very large quantities³⁴, probably in connection with his Parthian expedition, and were also the first ones to bear a Roman magistrate's portrait.³⁵ Thus, radically novel elements, such as the appearance of Roman rulers on coinage and the first issues of *denarii*, had already been introduced during the Civil Wars between Caesar and Pompey and then under Mark Antony, but the beginning of Augustus' reign represented a leap forward, first of all in the volume of silver coinage issued.



Figure 1: Silver Cistophorus (11.57 g) Pergamum 19-18 B.C. RPC 2218. RIC 510. BMCRE 703 (=BMCRR East 310). CBN 982. RSC 298.

Just a few years after the battle of Actium, in 28-27 BC and throughout the entire following decade, Octavian-Augustus struck an unprecedented amount of *cistophori* in Pergamum³⁶ and Ephesus³⁷ – a total of 348.9 obverse dies in ten years, which means almost ten times the average production of Attalid and Roman late *cistophori*³⁸. Moreover, while Antony had retained the coiled serpents of the Attalid tradition on the reverse of his *cistophori*, Augustus not only had his portrait and the legend IMP CAES put on the obverse, but he also had the reverse radically changed, with the disappearance of the snakes and their substitution with the legend AVGVSTVS and varying

³⁰ Among the 30 recorded *cistophoric* hoards (source IGCH and CH), only four of them (IGCH 1336; IGCH 1383 = CH II 113; IGCH 1359; IX 558) before 49 BC are mixed with other silver coinage and most of these 'exceptions' could be explained with war-related circumstances. The only mixed *cistophoric* hoard found outside the provincial boundaries has been interpreted as the war booty of a Mithridatic soldier, as it was found in Pontus and dated to 83 BC (KLEINER 1974).

³¹ The 'relativity' of this closed currency system is given by the presence of the autonomous silver issues (which hardly ever mixed with *cistophori*, as already noted).

³² Issue of *denarii* in Asia: RRC 445/3 (Lentulus, 49 BC); RRC 496-508 (Brutus and Cassius, 42-3 BC); RRC 510 (Murcus, 42-41 BC).

³³ Out of seven hoards dated 5418 BC, four are mixed ones (IGCH 1340: Smyrna, 50 BC; OVERBECK 1978: Halicarnassus, 41 BC; IGCH 352 = CH II 125: Hieraptyna, 44-42 BC; IGCH 1746 = CH I 105: Sarnakunk, 31 BC).

³⁴ BMCRR East 134, 136 (103 obverse dies).

³⁵ RPC I 2201-2. The connection with the Parthian campaign is further suggested by the Sarnakunk hoard (IGCH 1746 = CH I 105), dated to 31 BC and found within the boundaries of the Parthian Empire, which consisted almost entirely of Antony's *cistophori* and *denarii*.

³⁶ SUTHERLAND 1970 group I: 50 o.d. (28 BC); III-IV: total of 20.09 o.d. (27-26 BC); VII: 77 o.d. (19-18 BC)

³⁷ SUTHERLAND 1970 groups V-VI: total of 201 o.d. (25-20 BC).

³⁸ cf. CALLATAY 2013 tab. 6.13

symbols.³⁹ In 19-18 BC the Augustan issues of provincial silver were supplemented by striking *denarii* and *aurei* in Pergamum, in order to provide additional funding to the Armenian campaign, as is suggested by the legends ARMENIA CAPTA and SIGNIS PARTHICIS RECEPTIS on both *denarii* and *aurei*.⁴⁰ Roman silver and gold issues – though struck in considerably lower numbers when compared to contemporary issues of *cistophori* (i.e. 18 obverse dies for the *denarii*, 10 for the *aurei*) – only properly became part of the monetary pool of Asia with Augustus, since these amounted to the first Asian issue of *aurei* and the first quantitatively significant issue of *denarii*.⁴¹



Figure 2: Denarius (3.86 g) Pergamum 18-17 BC
BMC.672, RIC I (second edition) Augustus 516, ANS 1944.100.39175

The same Pergamene mints were used both for provincial and Roman currencies, as is suggested by very close iconographic resemblances and the presence of the same control marks, a fact that further suggests the growing integration of the monetary system of the province of Asia.⁴²

Thus, as far as we can tell from these issues, there was no sudden Augustan revolution in Asian silver coinage, as the main changes – such as the presence of an individual's portrait on the *cistophori* and the beginning of locally issued *denarii* – should be dated earlier, in the 40s or early 30s BC. This, of course, does not deny the importance of the Augustan intervention: immediately after Actium the province was flooded with an unprecedented deluge of coins bearing an imperial portrait, no matter the denomination. The Asian silver coinage considerably enhanced the visibility of Augustus – both from an iconographic and quantitative point of view – and of Roman power too.

3. What about Asian autonomous silver issues?

If the Augustan Age represented a moment of great change in Asian silver coinage, it is now important to analyze the role of autonomous silver issues, which, as already mentioned, were only being issued in five mints by this time⁴³. How did they fit into his program of integration between provincial and Roman silver? It is necessary to outline here the role played by autonomous silver issues in Asia well before Augustus in order to understand his position within the wider framework of the logistical, political, and economic challenges of colonizing Anatolia.

³⁹ Group I (Ephesus, 28 BC): Pax; group 2 (uncertain, 27 BC): Sphinx; Groups III-IV (Pergamum?, 27-26 BC): Sphinx, capricorn, corn-ears; groups V-VI (Ephesus, 24-20 BC): Capricorn, corn-ears, altar; group VII (Pergamum, 19-18 BC): triumphal arch COM ASIAE, temple MART ULTO, temple.

⁴⁰ SUTHERLAND 1973, esp. pp. 131-138.

⁴¹ SUTHERLAND 1973, esp. p. 141.

⁴² SUTHERLAND 1973, esp. pp. 139-141

⁴³ Chios and Rhodes issuing autonomous silver on a cistophoric standard, and Tabae, Stratonicea, Mylasa on the denarius weight standard (see above, nn. 13-19).

3.1 Pre- Roman autonomous silver issues

Until the Roman period, the cities of Western Asia Minor, though often subject to foreign domination, were consistently given a certain level of autonomy that allowed them to strike civic and autonomous coinage, which represented the bulk of the silver coinage in circulation.⁴⁴

Under Persian suzerainty the concept of αὐτονομία or self-government did not automatically correspond to tribute exemption or to complete independence, but consisted in the possibility of administering one's own territory (χώρα) in an autonomous way.⁴⁵ We know that, from 386 BC onwards, most of the Asian Greek cities were declared part of royal dominion.⁴⁶ However, they maintained the authority to strike civic coinage⁴⁷, as demonstrated by the flourishing civic issues of this time.⁴⁸ All these different coinages circulated together with satrapal and royal ones under Persian dominion, as clearly shown by the Pixodarus Hoard, dated to 341/0 BC.⁴⁹

This proves an exception to the so-called *Lex Seyrig*, which dictates that no state issues coins in its own name when it is ruled by another.⁵⁰ At least in the context of the Greek cities under Persian rule, there is no correlation between juridical status and coinage. This seems also to have been true even for later times. P. Kinns, in his review of Deppert-Lippitz's book on the coinage of Miletus,⁵¹ makes the same point: "despite varying degrees of foreign domination, there is no reason to believe that the civic institutions of Miletus were ever suspended, and since the issue of coinage was largely a local civic matter, striking of silver and bronze might surely have been carried out when local need arose."⁵² A few examples may be provided in order to support Kinn's statement.

If juridical status did not determine the production of civic coinage, economic or military need could provide an explanation, as in the case of the wreathed coinages, which were produced in huge quantities in a very short amount of time, probably just between 154 and 135 BC.⁵³ Lebedus, one of the cities issuing these types, had never issued coinage before,⁵⁴ and the sudden minting does not argue for a change in the juridical *status* of the city, which after the wreathed silver issues seems to have issued no more silver, but went on striking bronze.⁵⁵

In the same period, another example of the lack of direct connection between monetary production and juridical status could be offered by Magnesia on the Meander, which began to issue Attic-standard wreathed tetradrachms in addition to its pre-existing civic coinage on a different standard. Since wreathed tetradrachms were struck with 34 obverse dies⁵⁶ and non-wreathed

⁴⁴ Very select bibliography: Persian Empire: MEADOWS 2005; LE RIDER 2001; KINNS 1989a; ASHTON-HARDWICK- KINNS – MEADOWS 2002; Alexander the Great: LE RIDER 1998; HENSCH – TROXELL 1993-94; G. Le Rider, *Alexandre Le Grand*, Paris 2003, pp. 124- 128; 137 – 140; CACCAMO CALTABIANO – RADICI COLACE 1989, p. 226; Seleucids: KLEINER 1971 pp. 95 – 125; LE RIDER – CALLATAY 2006, pp. 28-35; NEWELL 1978; DAVESNE – LE RIDER 1989; LE RIDER – OLCAY 1989; ÖZGEN – DAVESNE 1994; LE RIDER 2001; APERGHIS, pp. 90-97; Attalids: most recently: THONEMANN 2013a.

⁴⁵ CORSARO 1989, pp. 68-69.

⁴⁶ Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.31: Ἀρταξέρξης βασιλεὺς νομίζει δίκαιον τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι καὶ τῶν νήσων Κλαζομενᾶς καὶ Κύπρον *King Artaxerxes thinks it just that the cities in Asia should belong to him, as well as Clazomenae and Cyprus among the islands.* (translation by L. Brownson).

⁴⁷ CORSARO 1989, p. 66; BOFFO, p. 61.

⁴⁸ LE RIDER 2001, pp. 174-178, esp. p. 176.

⁴⁹ ASHTON-HARDWICK- KINNS – MEADOWS 2002.

⁵⁰ MARTIN 1985, p. 219: 'It is my contention that the numismatic, historical, documentary, and literary evidence fails to support the idea that there was operative in the Classical Greek world a strongly felt connection between an abstract notion of sovereignty and the right of coinage which implied the necessity to enforce a uniform monetary circulation'.

⁵¹ DEPERT-LIPPITZ 1984.

⁵² KINNS 1986, cit. from pp. 247-8.

⁵³ CALLATAY 2013, pp. 232-235 (Lebedus, Colophon, Magnesia on the Meander, Heraclea, Smyrna, Cyme, Aegae, Myrina).

⁵⁴ KINNS 1987, pp.111; CALLATAY 2013, pp.233-236.

⁵⁵ KINNS 1980, pp. 270-71.

⁵⁶ 15.2 obverse dies annually.

tetradrachms with only ten,⁵⁷ the difference in standard between these two different coinages, together with their simultaneous production, suggests that the decision to issue a new kind of coinage was not due to a change in the juridical *status* of the city, but to a specific utilitarian reason, probably connected either to international trade or military campaigns in Seleucid territory.⁵⁸

Ephesus, for example, had issued bee/stag tetradrachms since 202 BC when it was liberated from Ptolemaic control, but went on issuing the same kind of coinage even under the Attalids, when it lost its autonomy, and possibly even after its freedom was re-established in 134 BC.⁵⁹

Another example of the same sort could be provided by Mylasa in Caria. Notwithstanding Rhodian domination over Caria and the contemporary passage of Rhodes to the plinthophoric standard in the 190s, Mylasa continued striking silver coinage on the pre-plinthophoric standard,⁶⁰ the so-called light Rhodian drachma, different from the normal plinthophoric drachma which was also circulating in Caria.⁶¹ The adopted standard was not affected when the city passed under Rhodian domination,⁶² as demonstrated by a hoard of pre-plinthophoric drachms buried in the mid-2nd century BC, which was found in Mylasa in 1999.⁶³

Therefore, before the beginning of Roman dominion there was never any a priori correlation between the juridical status of a city and its autonomous coinage.

Was the Roman attitude towards civic issues any different from previous policies?

Until Roman times, the juridical status of the cities in the Anatolian region and autonomous silver issues seem not to have been directly related. Before the Romans, indeed, central administrations refrained from direct intervention in civic coinage even in cities which were directly under their control. Notwithstanding the fact that civic coinages such as the wreathed tetradrachms probably served functions that were not only strictly local,⁶⁴ there is no sign of the direct presence of functionaries from the central administration being involved in the issue of these coinages, nor any indication that authorization for issuing coinage might be required.

The situation seems to have changed radically with the beginning of Roman dominion. The autonomous status of Ephesus, for example, did not prevent the Romans intervening in its cistophoric coinage early on.⁶⁵ We find the earliest example of a Roman name appearing on some of the *cistophori* struck at Ephesus during the thirteenth year of the city's era, corresponding to 122/121 BC.⁶⁶ The legend on the reverse reads “C. AT(monogram)/N C. F.,” which has been identified with C. Atinius C. f. Labeo Macerio, who appears on an inscription of Priene⁶⁷ and on a unique stater in the Kayseri Museum with the same legend (“C.AT[monogram]IN.C.F.”).⁶⁸

Another example of Roman interference is offered by the presence of a Roman name (ΓΑΙΟΥ for Caius) in the civic coinage of the free Carian city of Stratonicea in the 80s BC.⁶⁹ We know that the

⁵⁷ KINNS 1989, pp. 143-148.

⁵⁸ CALLATAY 2013, p.235; PSOMA 2013, pp. 276-77.

⁵⁹ KINNS 1999, pp. 47-50.

⁶⁰ The adopted standard for payments was the reduced-standard pre-plinthophoric drachma (1 drachma = 2.5-2.8 g, to be compared to the ‘full’ Rhodian standard drachm of 3.4 g); most recently: ASHTON – REGER 2006, pp. 125-130.

⁶¹ The simultaneous circulation of plinthophoric and pre-plinthophoric ‘reduced’ standard coinage could explain the need for specification in the lease-inscription, which had previously reported only ἀργύριον ‘money’ (*IK Mylasa* 206.12, 216.8, 221.7, 226.7, 801.6, 802.5, 807.5, 810.9-10, 819.9, 823.4, 829.4, 850.4) and ἀργύριον Ῥόδιον λεπτόν ‘light Rhodian money’ (*IK Mylasa* 202.1, 203.9, 207.12, 18, 816b.6, 822.10-11, 828.4).

⁶² ASHTON 1992, p. 34.

⁶³ ASHTON- REGER 2006.

⁶⁴ CALLATAY 2013, p.235; PSOMA 2013, pp. 276-77.

⁶⁵ CALLATAY 2011.

⁶⁶ KLEINER 1972, p. 25, nr. 19; STUMPF 1991, pp. 5-12; CALLATAY 1997, p. 179.

⁶⁷ *I Priene* 121.

⁶⁸ JENKINS 1987, p. 184 and pl. B, 4.

⁶⁹ Group 3 of MEADOWS 2002, p.91 and pl. 27, 3b, and 4a.

city was one of those on which Sulla bestowed autonomy and special privileges,⁷⁰ but this did not prevent Roman intervention in Stratonicean coinage. Moreover, A. Meadows hypothesizes that the weight reduction of the Series 3 Stratonicean coinage – which includes the ΓΑΙΟΥ coins – was made in order to ‘bring it in line with the Roman *quinarius*’.⁷¹ If this proves correct, Roman influence over this civic coinage is even more evident, since the traces of involvement would not only be limited to identifying the individuals responsible for issuing the coinage, but would also involve changing the standard even during the earlier part of the 1st century BC.

We can turn to Polybius and his narrative of the extravagant behavior of Antiochus IV to show the seachange between Roman and pre-Roman attitudes towards civic administration and coinage.⁷² According to the Achaean historian, the king used to walk around the city not in his royal robes, but in a toga, as a Roman *candidatus*. His involvement in the administrative life of his capital city, Antiochia, puzzled the inhabitants of the city, who looked upon him partly as a ‘mad man’ (μαινόμενον) or as a ‘simple man’ (ἄφελῃ τινα). In the eyes of the Greeks, a king was not supposed to run for civic magistracies (τοὺς δὲ καὶ περιπτύσσων παρεκάλει φέρειν αὐτῷ τὴν ψῆφον, ποτὲ μὲν ὥς ἀγορανόμος γένηται, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ὥς δήμαρχος), because, even in the Seleucid administration, they were reserved to citizens.

It seems that beginning in 169-8 BC, this ‘inappropriate’ royal intervention in civic matters by Antiochus IV can explain some bronze civic issues in several cities of his Empire,⁷³ which have been regarded as ‘quasi-municipal’ for the contemporary presence of the royal portrait and civic types. Kings usually did not intervene in these local coinages, as they did not take care of the administrative life of the cities, but Antiochus acts differently, causing general disapproval.

As remarked by A. Meadows,⁷⁴ the king’s involvement in civic affairs (magistracies, coinage) was perceived by Polybius as ‘typically Roman’ (κατὰ τὸ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος) and it was frowned upon as improper for a Hellenistic monarch. It is only after the beginning of Roman dominion in the East that we have explicit mention of cities and people being given (and not having originally!) the right to strike their own coinage, as in the case of Antiochus VII and the Maccabees.⁷⁵

It is then with the Romans that the central administration began to get involved in local coinages, which were up to that moment considered the prerogative of local administrations according to their autonomous laws.

The contrast between Hellenistic and Roman mentality is also evident in the episode of Q. Caecilius Macedonicus in the Achaean Assembly in 185 BC, where the *desiderata* of the Romans — to the outrage of the Roman general—were considered by the Greeks to be subject to their existing laws.⁷⁶ The Roman attitude towards existing civic institutions was more intrusive than any previous

⁷⁰ SHERK 1969, n. 18.

⁷¹ MEADOWS 2002, p. 101.

⁷² Polyb. 26.1.5-7: πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀποθέμενος ἐσθῆτα τήβενναν ἀναλαβὼν περιήει κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀρχαιρεσιάζων καὶ τοὺς μὲν δεξιούμενος, τοὺς δὲ καὶ περιπτύσσων παρεκάλει φέρειν αὐτῷ τὴν ψῆφον, ποτὲ μὲν ὥς ἀγορανόμος γένηται, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ὥς δήμαρχος. τυχὼν δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἐλεφάντινον δίφρον κατὰ τὸ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος διήκουε τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν γινομένων συναλλαγμάτων καὶ διέκρινε μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς καὶ προθυμίας. ἐξ ὧν εἰς ἀπορίαν ἦγε τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄφελῃ τινα αὐτὸν εἶναι ὑπελάμβανον, οἱ δὲ μαινόμενον. *He would frequently put off his royal robes, and, assuming a white toga, go round the market-place like a candidate, and, taking some by the hand and embracing others, would beg them to give him their vote, sometimes for the office of aedile and sometimes for that of tribune. Upon being elected, he would sit upon the ivory curule chair, as the Roman custom is, listening to the lawsuits tried there, and pronouncing judgement with great pains and display of interest. In consequence all respectable men were entirely puzzled about him, some looking upon him as a plain simple man and others as a madman. His conduct too was very similar as regards the presents he made* (translation by E. S. Shuckburgh).

⁷³ MORKHOLM 1965, pp. 63-67; METCALF 2012, pp. 245-247.

⁷⁴ MEADOWS 2001, p. 61.

⁷⁵ I *Maccabees* 15.6: καὶ ἐπέτρεψά σοι ποιῆσαι κόμμα ἴδιον, νόμισμα τῇ χώρᾳ σου.

⁷⁶ Polyb. 22.10.11-14: οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἄρχοντες ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν δεῖξαι τὰς ἐντολάς, ἃς εἶχε παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου περὶ τούτων. τοῦ δὲ παρασιωπῶντος, οὐκ ἔφασαν αὐτῷ συνάξειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· τοὺς γὰρ νόμους οὐκ ἔαν, ἐάν μὴ φέρῃ τις

dominating power, meaning that the needs and the orders of the sovereign power should find no obstacle in the existing local laws as shown by Caecilius' attitude.

The degree of autonomy a city possessed within its *χώρα* was then subject to Roman sovereignty, therefore the names of Roman magistrates could be present on local coinages and, later on, cities exhibited on their civic coinage explicit mention of the permission granted to them to strike their coinage. In the Imperial Age, this was marked by the formula PERM(issu) IMP(eratoris)⁷⁷ on some coins of Corinth from AD 87 or, always in the same period, by INDVLGENTIAE AVG MONETA IMPETRATA from Patras.⁷⁸ In Asia, in the time of Nero, the bronze coinage from Phrygian Ancyra with the formula AITEΣAMENOY⁷⁹ seems to refer to a specific grant made to an individual, probably the one of issuing coinage.⁸⁰

The formulas reported on these bronze coinages represent in a way the highest point of imperial interference with civic coinage, signifying that by the 1st century AD cities had to apply for the right to issue coinage, but, as we will try to prove in the next pages, there are signs of direct involvement even for the previous centuries of Roman dominion.

It is only with the Romans then that the *Lex Seyrig* seems to prove correct and it is only under their authority that the connection between sovereignty and civic coinage could be made. If this proves true, then issues of autonomous silver coinage could be used as a proxy for Roman territorial expansion in Asia and could enable a better understanding of the implementation of Augustus' standardization policy for provincial silver.

The local production of autonomous silver

In the previous paragraph, we hypothesized that in Roman times autonomous silver issues gave a precise indication of the juridical *status* of the issuing cities. Therefore, studying the evidence for the decrease in the number of mints for these coinages could provide a useful tool for measuring the territorial expansion of the administrative boundaries of the province. Table 1 shows the gradual disappearance of Asian autonomous silver issues after the *Provincia Asia* is instituted.

The data represented in Table 1 are the ones deriving from the already mentioned database.⁸¹

After 129/6 BC⁸² the number of cities issuing autonomous silver decreased from thirty-seven⁸³ to twenty-four.⁸⁴ The number declined further with the First Mithridatic War to seventeen cities still

ἔγγραπτα παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου, περὶ ὧν οἴεται δεῖν συνάγειν. ὁ δὲ Καικίλιος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὀργίσθη διὰ τὸ μὴθὲν αὐτῷ συγχωρεῖσθαι τῶν ἀξιουμένων, ὥστ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν-ἡβουλήθη δέξασθαι παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἀλλ' ἀναπόκριτος ἀπῆλθεν. *The Achaean magistrates asked him to show them the instructions he had from senate on the subject; and, when he made no reply, refused to summon the assembly; for their laws did not allow it unless a written request was presented from the senate stating what matters it desired to submit to the assembly. Caecilius was so indignant at none of his requests having been granted that he did not even consent to receive the answer of the magistrates, but went away without any* (translation by E. S. Shuckburgh).

⁷⁷ *RPC* II 101 – 6.

⁷⁸ *RPC* II 219.

⁷⁹ *RPC* I 3111-13: the legend in its fullest form is ΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΛΟΥ ΕΦ ΟΥΛΑΣΕΝΝΑ ΑΝΤΥΠΙΑΤΩ.

⁸⁰ The question has been heavily debated: ROBERT 1960 (who sees in it a specific permission to strike coinage given as a consequence of an embassy); *contra* NOLLE' 1993; WEISS 1992.

⁸¹ Relevant bibliography regarding autonomous issues is provided in the following pages. A very select bibliography regarding cistophoric issues is: ROBINSON 1954; KLEINER 1972; KLEINER 1978; KLEINER 1979; BACKERDORF 1999; AMELA VALVERDE 2004.

⁸² Traditionally dated to 129/6 BC, with the proconsulship of M. Aquilius cf. Strabo 14.1.38, 19-23: Μάνιος δ' Ἀκύλλιος ἐπελθὼν ὑπατος μετὰ δέκα πρεσβευτῶν διέταξε τὴν ἐπαρχίαν εἰς τὸ νῦν ἔτι συμμένον τῆς πολιτείας σχῆμα. *Manius Aquilius came over as consul with ten lieutenants and organised the province into the form of government that still now endures* (translation by H. L. Jones).

⁸³ Most cities had already ended their silver coinages (mostly wreathed tetradrachms) by 145 – 140 BC.

issuing autonomous issues.⁸⁵ However, as stated by Kinns, “silver issues were still being struck after 84 BC, but most come from cities specially favored by Rome.”⁸⁶ Ilium, Rhodes, Alexandria Troas, Chios and some Carian cities saw their freedom confirmed by Sulla⁸⁷ and most of them went on issuing autonomous silver coinage until the 1st century AD.⁸⁸

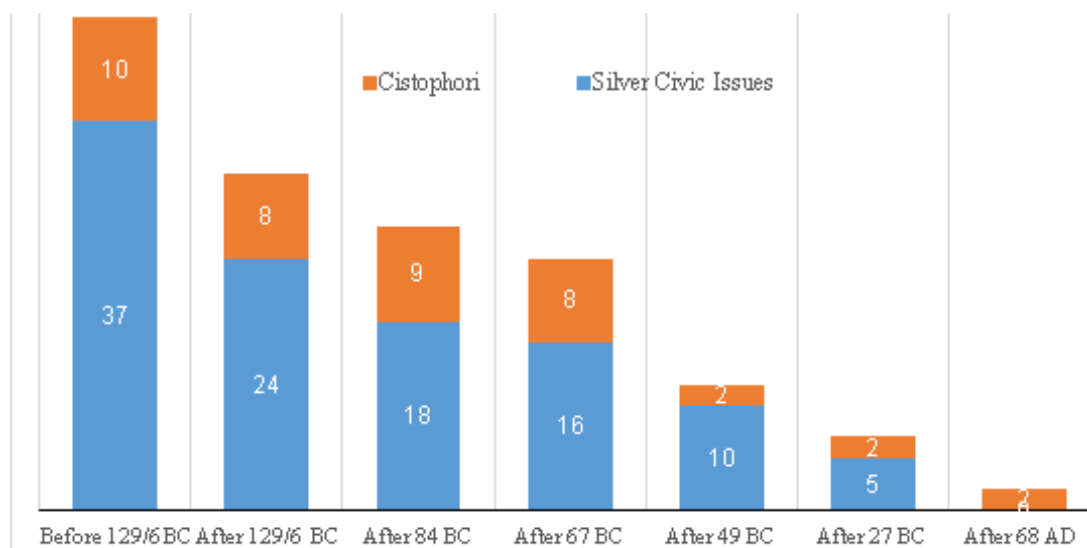


Table 1: Number of cities issuing autonomous silver coinage in Asia

Only in a few cases it is possible to find a historical explanation for the end of the autonomous silver issues, apparently all connected to war-related events. Ilium was destroyed by Fimbria in 85 BC,⁸⁹ Cibyra was conquered by Murena in 84-81 BC,⁹⁰ while Cos, which had welcomed Mithridates ‘with pleasure’ and further cooperated with him,⁹¹ was probably punished.⁹²

⁸⁴ Caria: Aphrodisias – Plarasa, Attuda, Bargylia, Caunus, Cos, Cibyra, Halicarnassus, Harpasa, Mylasa, Myndus, Rhodes, Stratonicea, Tabae; Ionia: Chios, Ephesus, Heraclea ad Latmum, Miletus, Smyrna; Mysia: Cyzicus; Troas: Abydus, Alexandria, Ilium, Tenedus, Parium.

⁸⁵ Caria: Aphrodisias – Plarasa, Attuda, Bargylia, Caunus, Halicarnassus, Harpasa, Mylasa, Myndus, Rhodes, Stratonicea, Tabae; Ionia: Chios, Heraclea ad Latmum, Miletus, Smyrna; Mysia: Cyzicus; Troas: Abydus, Alexandria.

⁸⁶ KINNS 1987, p.111.

⁸⁷ App. *Mithr.* 61: αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν καθιστάμενος Ἰλίας μὲν καὶ Χίους καὶ Λυκίους καὶ Ῥοδίους καὶ Μαγνησίαν καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους, ἢ συμμαχίας ἀμειβόμενος ἢ ὧν διὰ προθυμίαν ἐπεπόνθησαν οὗ ἕνεκα, ἐλευθέρους ἠφίει καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀνέγραφε φίλους *Having settled the affairs of Asia, [the Roman commander Lucius Cornelius Sulla] bestowed freedom on the inhabitants of Ilium, Chios, Lycia, Rhodes, Magnesia, and some others, either as a reward for their cooperation, or a recompense for what they had bravely suffered on his account, and inscribed them as friends of the Roman people* (translation by H. White). For the Carian cities: Aphrodisias, Reynolds 1982 nn.2-3; Stratonicea: RDGE 18; Tabae: RDGE 17; CRAWFORD - REYNOLDS 1974.

⁸⁸ Chios: MAVROGODATO 1917, NO. 1917; Rhodes: JENKINS 1989, pp. 101-119; ASHTON 2001, pp. 62 ff.; ASHTON- WEISS 1997; Stratonicea: MEADOWS 2002; Tabae: BMC Caria 17-48 pp. 162-164.

⁸⁹ Strabo 13.1.27; App. *Mith.* 50; Dio 31.7.

⁹⁰ Strabo 13.4.17.

⁹¹ App. *Mith.* 23: Μιθριδάτης δὲ ἐς μὲν Κῶ κατέπλευσε, Κῶων αὐτὸν ἀσμένως δεχομένων, καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖδα, τοῦ βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου, σὺν χρήμασι πολλοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς μάμης Κλεοπάτρας ἐν Κῶ καταλειμμένον, παραλαβὼν ἔτρεφε βασιλικῶς ἐκ τε τῶν Κλεοπάτρας θησαυρῶν γάζαν πολλὴν καὶ τέχνην καὶ λίθους καὶ κόσμους γυναικείους καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔπεμψε. *In the meantime Mithridates crossed over to the island of Cos, where he was welcomed by the inhabitants and where he received, and afterward brought up in a royal way, a son of [the Ptolemaic king Ptolemy X] Alexander, the reigning sovereign of Egypt, who had been left there by his grandmother, Cleopatra, together with a large sum of money. From the treasures of Cleopatra he sent vast wealth, works of art, precious stones, women's ornaments, and a great deal of money to Pontus* (translation by H. White). Cf. Josephus, AJ 14. 111-113: πέμψας δὲ Μιθριδάτης [εἰς Κῶ] ἔλαβε τὰ χρήματα, ἃ παρέθετο ἐκεῖ Κλεοπάτρα βασίλισσα, καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὀκτακόσια τάλαντα.

⁹² BURASELIS 2000, pp. 122-130; contra SHERWIN-WHITE 1978, pp. 131-145.

If the connection with the First Mithridatic War is evident at least for the cities that ceased their autonomous coinage, the same happens to be true even for the cities where it was retained.

The case of Rhodes is certainly paradigmatic, both for the number of issues and for the evident connections between their coinage and Roman-related juridical changes. The transition around 173/2 BC⁹³ from an Attic-standard coinage to a reduced plinthophoric one, with a drachm of 3.05 grams, could perhaps be connected with the grant of Caria after Apamea, as it enhanced a Rhodian closed-currency system.⁹⁴

Indeed, Rhodian dominion over Caria is mirrored by the plinthophoric standard coinages of several Carian cities, among which are Stratonicea, Caunus and Tabae.⁹⁵ The connection between plinthophoric issues and Rhodian dominion of Caria is proven by the decrease in the number of these issues⁹⁶ after 167 BC, with the ‘liberation’ of Caria (once again, a Roman initiative). The plinthophoric coinage of Rhodes came to an end in 84 BC,⁹⁷ together with the end of the First Mithridatic War, although plinthophoric coins continued circulating, mostly in Caria.⁹⁸ Caria did represent—even if in a reduced measure after 167 BC—the circulation area for the plinthophoric coinage. After this date Rhodes did not pursue a closed currency system, as in the previous period.⁹⁹ The date for the beginning of the new Rhodian series is debated,¹⁰⁰ but the return to Attic-standard coinage could be related to the Roman presence, since Tabae as well adopted this standard in the 1st century AD,¹⁰¹ after having struck silver coinage at a reduced plinthophoric standard in the previous period.

It is notable that while plinthophoric drachms were issued with an average of 9.3 drachm obverse dies per year, Rhodian Attic-standard ones were issued only with an annual average of 4.1 dies,¹⁰² which shows the decreasing quantitative relevance of the autonomous Rhodian coinage.

Direct consequences of Roman dominion—in spite of the privileged conditions enjoyed by Rhodes—were not only the progressive standardization of relative weights, but also a decrease in silver issues, which were to cease altogether during the 1st century AD, after the standard had been changed once again.¹⁰³

The end of the First Mithridatic War set an important date even for Chios, another city whose autonomous silver issues continued up to the 1st century AD.¹⁰⁴ In 84 BC the inhabitants, after having been deported to Pontus by Mithridates in 88 BC,¹⁰⁵ returned to the island and were given

⁹³ JENKINS 1989.

⁹⁴ BRESSON 1993, pp. 159-167.

⁹⁵ Caunus: Cop. Caria 185-86; vA Caria 2565- 2578; BMC Caria 14-16 p. 75; Stratonicea: Cop. Caria 469-481; vA Caria 2653-6; BMC Caria 1-8 pp. 147-148; Tabae: Cop. Caria 515-6; vA Caria 2701; BMC Caria 1 p. 160

⁹⁶ JENKINS 1989: group A (235 o.d.); group B (85 o.d.), group C (42 o.d.), group D (41 o.d.).

⁹⁷ ASHTON- WEISS 1997 pp.32-37.

⁹⁸ IGCH 1357: 84 BC (Mugla, Caria); CH IV 72 = IX 537: 80 BC (Turkey); CH VIII 524: c.70 BC (Köycegiz, Caria); IGCH 1360 = CH IX 570: 1st century BC (Rhodes?); CH IX 564: 55 BC (Rhodes).

⁹⁹ BRESSON 1997, pp. 25-32.

¹⁰⁰ ASHTON- WEISS 1997 propose the beginning of the Attic standard series in 43 BC (pp. 36-37), while BRESSON 1997 points out that the great economic development of Rhodes and the contemporary Athenian silver issues (ending in the 40s BC) would point at an earlier date.

¹⁰¹ Tabae: RPC I 2868; Stratonicea initially maintained the reduced standard in RPC I 2775, but passed to a denarius standard in RPC 2777-2780.

¹⁰² CALLATAY 2013, p. 238.

¹⁰³ RPC I 2744-45, probably issued under Augustus, present a reduced standard (1 dr.= 2.80 g), probably dated to Augustus' times for its typological similarities with the Attic –weight Rhodian drachms (BMC 334-41; vA 2836 ff.)

¹⁰⁴ RPC I 2412-16

¹⁰⁵ App. *Mith.* 47 ὁ Ζηγόβιος ἐς τὸ θέατρον αὐτοὺς συνεκάλει καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν περιστήσας μετὰ γυμνῶν ξιφῶν ἀμφὶ τὸ θέατρον αὐτὸ καὶ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης ὁδοὺς ἤγε τοὺς Χίους [...] ἀνάσπαστοι δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἐς Μιθριδάτην γενόμενοι διεπέρφηθησαν ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον. *Then he stationed his army with drawn swords around the theatre itself and along the streets leading from it to the sea. [...] In this way they were dragged to Mithridates, who packed them off to Pontus on the Euxine* (translation by H. White).

autonomy.¹⁰⁶ In his study of the chronology of Chian coinage, Mavrogordato noted the watershed represented by the Mithridatic Wars for the island's autonomous silver coinage by assigning the Attic-standard silver tetradrachms with the type sphinx seated + symbol/amphora + magistrate's name to the period before the First Mithridatic War (possibly 133-88 BC),¹⁰⁷ and the ones with the type sphinx seated + symbol/amphora + magistrate's name in laurel wreath to the years between 84 BC and the Augustan Age.¹⁰⁸ In the post-exile years reduced standard drachms were struck as well,¹⁰⁹ and the Attic standard and reduced standard drachms coexisted. This represents the norm even during the Augustan age.¹¹⁰

The First Mithridatic War and Zenobius' siege in 86 BC probably represent the historical explanation for the deposition of the Çesme and Gridia hoards,¹¹¹ in which Chian tetradrachms (mostly of Attic standard)¹¹² are mixed with Pergamene *cistophori*, Roman *denarii* and Athenian New-Style drachms.¹¹³

For both Rhodes and Chios the First Mithridatic War represented a very important threshold, because from this moment onwards, though in different ways, their autonomous coinages acquired an importance that differentiated them from the other Asian cities. Chios' tetradrachms began to circulate together with *cistophori* and Athenian tetradrachms, while Rhodian plinthophoric and post-plinthophoric coinage increased even more in Carian coinage circulation, up to the point of becoming almost the only civic coinage represented in Late Republican hoards.¹¹⁴

Thus, as far as we can tell, the Mithridatic Wars represented an important turning point, even more relevant than the creation of the Asian province in 129/126 BC. The end of the First Mithridatic War, as already noticed, brought a change in the *status* of many cities, which was in the Roman period directly linked to their autonomous coinage, as several of them were deprived of their freedom because of their cooperation with Mithridates.

Interestingly enough, all seventeen cities that kept issuing civic silver coinage after the end of the 1st Mithridatic War were free, with the only possible exception of Miletus, which in any case maintained an important position in the province¹¹⁵ and regained its freedom from the *triumviri* soon afterwards, in 40/39 BC.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁶ App. *Mith.* 61.

¹⁰⁷ MAVROGODATO 1917, no. 66 α-δ.

¹⁰⁸ MAVROGODATO 1917, no. 69, 74, 76.

¹⁰⁹ MAVROGODATO 1917, no. 77.

¹¹⁰ Reduced standard: MAVROGODATO 1917, no. 80 = RPC I 2414; MAVROGODATO 1917, no. 82 = RPC I 2412; Attic standard: MAVROGODATO 1917, no. 81 = RPC I 2413.

¹¹¹ LAGOS 1999, pp. 210-212.

¹¹² Ten out of fifteen Chian drachms in the Cesme hoard and nine out of fourteen in the Gridia hoard are from the issue MAVROGODATO 1917, no. 66 γ (ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ), suggesting that the Chian coins were hoarded together in a very short amount of time, probably during Zenobius' siege.

¹¹³ IGCH 1359 Çesme (Ionia), 1960, anc. Erythrai, c.70–65 BC (4 cisto. Of Pergamon [80–67 BC] + 15 dr. Chios, 14 stephanophoroi Athens, 2); CH IX 558 Gridia (Chios), 1959, c.75 BC (2 cistophori [Pergamon] + 14 dr. Chios, 1 Athens and 1 Roman denarius [RRC 340])mit. Athens, 1 late Lysimachos [Byzantion], 1 tetra. Mithradates VI, 1 tetra. Nikomedes II—Boston 38).

¹¹⁴ CH VIII 524 (c. 66 AR from Rhodes): Köycegiz (Caunus, Caria), c. 70 BC; CH 1360 = IX 570 (30+ AR from Rhodes): Rhodes?, 1st century BC; CH IX 564 (47 AR from Rhodes): Rhodes, 55 BC; CH VIII 545 (47+ AR from Rhodes): Turkey, 25-1 BC; CH II 127 = VII 146 = IX 582 (12+ AR from Rhodes): Marmaris (Caria), 25-1 BC; CH VIII 546 = IX 573 (60+AR from Rhodes), unknown, c.25 BC.

¹¹⁵ *IPriene* 106; RGDE no. 52; Abbott-Johnson no. 22; Miletus is listed among the most important cities of the *koinon* of Asia, possibly a *conventus* center in mid 1st century BC: *ibid.*, 43-46 : [πρὸς]/[ύ]μας, Ἐφεσίους, Τραλλιανούς, Ἀλαβανδεῖς, [ύ]/[λ]ασεῖς, Σμυρναίους, Περγαμηνούς, Σαρδιανο[ύς]/Ἀδραμυτηνούς.

¹¹⁶ *Milet I.3*, 126, 23-25 (list of eponymous *stephanophoroi* for the years 53/2 to 18/7 BC); *Inscr. Didyma* 218; 342.

Free cities after the First Mithridatic Wars	Subject cities already before the First Mithridatic War	Subject cities after the First Mithridatic War, under Sulla's decision
Rhodes	Clazomenae	Ephesus
Chios	Synnada	Miletus?
Ilium	Thyatira	Mytilene
Cyzicus	Tralles	Samus
Lampsacus	Colophon?	Termessus
Magnesia ad Sipylum	Nysa?	Caunus (assigned to Rhodes)
Alabanda	Phocaea?	Laodicea ad Lycus?
Tabae		Pergamum?
Stratonicea		
Aphrodisias		
Astypalaea		
Alexandria Troas		
Byzantium?		
Sardis?		
Halicarnassus?		
Apollonis?		
Smyrna?		

Table 2: Juridical status of the cities in the Provincia Asia after SANTANGELO 2007, pp. 122-123

The autonomous silver issues of the Carian cities seem to be tightly related to the privileges that Sulla gave them,¹¹⁷ a circumstance further strengthened by the presence of Roman names on the civic coinage of Stratonicea.¹¹⁸ Moreover, the common reduction of the silver coinage of Stratonicea, Tabae and Aphrodisias to a *quinarius* standard¹¹⁹ seems to hint at a high level of regional coordination, which can probably be explained by a stronger Roman presence in the area after the expedition of Murena.¹²⁰

The Roman annexation of Caria after 84 BC¹²¹ corresponded not to the end of civic silver issues, but rather to the adaptation of a standard weight for the issues, in order to make them compatible with Roman coinage.¹²² This last point confirms what we are trying to prove, namely that Roman

¹¹⁷ Aphrodisias: REYNOLDS 1982 nn.2-3; Stratonicea: *RDGE* 18; Tabae: *RDGE* 17; M. Crawford – J. Reynolds, Rome and Tabae, *GRBS* 15 (1974), pp. 289-299.

¹¹⁸ Group 3 of MEADOWS 2002, p.91 and pl. 27, 3b, and 4a.

¹¹⁹ MEADOWS 2002, p. 101.

¹²⁰ MAREK 1988.

¹²¹ BARONOWSKY 1996.

¹²² MEADOWS 2002, p. 101.

involvement in the administration of civic coinage differed greatly from earlier foreign rulers in the area.

The year 67-66 BC, the beginning of Pompey's campaign in Asia,¹²³ also represents a turning point in the monetary history of the province,¹²⁴ as this is the year in which the issue of late *cistophori* came to an end, certainly at least in Ephesus.¹²⁵ At the same time, autonomous silver issues continued, although three more cities definitely ceased their silver production.¹²⁶

Among the cities which ceased their civic coinage by this date, Alexandria Troas provides a well-documented case study,¹²⁷ since it issued a series of dated Attic-standard tetradrachms from 102/1 to 66/5 BC.¹²⁸ In the same region, autonomous silver issues ended in the same year in Abydus and Tenedus as well.¹²⁹

In the Troad, where these two cities are located, there was a high concentration of cities still issuing silver autonomous coinage until the early 1st century BC. Ilium had issued Attic-standard silver tetradrachms¹³⁰ before its destruction at the hands of Fimbria in 85 BC,¹³¹ and Attic-standard silver tetradrachms were also struck at Tenedus¹³² and at Parium¹³³ until the early first century BC. Pompey's campaigns seem then to have definitively put an end to the autonomous silver issues in the Troad, even if this process had already begun with the First Mithridatic War.

This abandonment of autonomous silver issues, however, did not correspond to a loss of juridical privileges in these cities. Indeed, Alexandria Troas and Ilium were bestowed special privileges by Sulla.¹³⁴ Dardanus was free after 89 BC¹³⁵, and so were Lampsacus¹³⁶, Abydus, Scepsis and Assus¹³⁷. Moreover, Mytilene was freed by Pompey in 67 BC.¹³⁸

The coinage of these cities in the Troad seems to contradict what we have been trying to establish as a rule in this part of the paper, namely the relationship between privileged juridical *status* and autonomous silver issues. Economic and utilitarian considerations must be taken into account in our analysis, however. Ilium, in spite of the financial help and territorial acquisitions granted by Sulla,¹³⁹ resumed its coinage only with Augustus,¹⁴⁰ but never went back to issuing silver coinage. Other cities, such as Dardanus and Scepsis, had never issued civic silver to begin with, in spite of their free status. In the same way, Colophon, whose status is considered paradigmatic for the rights of free cities in Asia under the Romans,¹⁴¹ never issued silver. In the Troad, the end or—in some cities—total lack of autonomous silver issues could then have been caused by economic reasons internal to the cities themselves, as it has been hypothesized for the

¹²³ Dio 36.42.3-4; App. *Mith.* 12.14.91, 15.97; Plut. *Lucull.* 35.9; Plut. *Pomp.* 30.1; Livy per. 100; Eutr. 6.12.2; Orosius 6.4.3; Vell. Pat. 2.33.1.

¹²⁴ CALLATAY 1997, p. 158.

¹²⁵ For 67 BC as the date for the end of late *cistophori* all over the province: KLEINER 1972; KLEINER 1978; KLEINER 1979; for 67 BC as the date for the end *only* of the Ephesian late *cistophori*: BACKERDORF 1999.

¹²⁶ Alexandria Troas, Tenedus.

¹²⁷ CALLATAY 1997, pp. 151-154.

¹²⁸ The coins are dated through the civic era (beginning with Ζωΐλου with Σ in 102/1 BC and ending with Ἀντιφάνου καὶ Ἐρμιοκρέοντος with ΣΛς in 66/5 BC).

¹²⁹ At least, this is what is suggested by CALLATAY 1996 and CALLATAY 1998.

¹³⁰ BELLINGER 1979, pp. 30-36.

¹³¹ Strabo 13.1.27; App. *Mith.* 50; Dio 31.7.

¹³² CALLATAY 1998.

¹³³ MEADOWS 1998, pp. 41-44.

¹³⁴ App. *Myth.* 61.

¹³⁵ Strabo 13.1.28; Livy 38.39.10.

¹³⁶ Livy 43.6.9; SIG 591 (uncertain status after 80 BC).

¹³⁷ SEG IV (1929) 664.

¹³⁸ Plut. *Pomp.* 42; Vell. Pat. 2.18; later on it was also granted a *foedus* (IGR IV. 33)-

¹³⁹ Sulla granted the city freedom and enlarged its territory: App. *Mithr.* 61; Livy 38.39.10; RDGE 53; Sullan age in Ilium: IGR IV 197 = OGIS² 444 = SEG IV (1929) 664; LESCHHORN 1993, pp. 228-230

¹⁴⁰ BELLINGER 1961, pp. 39-42

¹⁴¹ FERRARY 1991.

end of the Ephesian late *cistophori*.¹⁴² The destruction caused by the wars could explain the end of autonomous silver issues in the Troad, as they also caused the decrease in production of the post-Mithridatic Chian silver coinage.¹⁴³ Only free cities could issue autonomous silver coinage under the Romans, but not *all of them* were required to.

The further reduction of the number of mints issuing autonomous coinage seems to have corresponded to important changes in the Asian monetary system, which we have already discussed above. As already mentioned, the issue of the first Asian *denarii*¹⁴⁴ and the end of the production of proconsular *cistophori*¹⁴⁵, both dated to 49 BC, put an end to what we have defined as the Asian 'relatively' closed currency system. We have evidence that after this date *denarii* began to circulate together with *cistophori* and Athenian tetradrachms more consistently¹⁴⁶, but we have no attestation of the circulation of *denarii* together with autonomous silver issues. By then, only Chios, Rhodes and the Carian cities of Tabae and Stratonicea, together with Aphrodisias,¹⁴⁷ Mylasa,¹⁴⁸ Halicarnassus,¹⁴⁹ Iasus and Bargylia¹⁵⁰ were still issuing autonomous silver.

After 49 BC, then, the only two mints outside of Caria still issuing autonomous silver were Chios and Rhodes, which had proven strategically important in the course of the Mithridatic Wars. As we will see next, hoard circulation confirms this situation.¹⁵¹

Thus, even for autonomous issues, the Augustan Age represents the arrival point of a process of growing standardization, which had already begun with Caesar and Mark Antony,¹⁵² and the standard alignment of the autonomous silver issues to the *cistophorus* and the *denarius*,¹⁵³ a *fait accompli* by then, fits well in this picture.

¹⁴² BACKERDORF 1999.

¹⁴³ Mavrogordato puts in direct correlation the reduced number of silver issues and the financial difficulties experienced by the Chians after the First Mithridatic War: MAVROGORDATO 1917, NO. 1917, pp.210-224; *contra*: LAGOS 2010, pp.256-258.

¹⁴⁴ *RRC* 445/3.

¹⁴⁵ STUMPF 1991.

¹⁴⁶ B.Overbeck, *SNR* 1978, pp.164-173, Halicarnassus 41 BC (*denarii* 62, Cibyra:1, *cistophori* 36 [Pergamum 32, Tralles 3, Ephesus 1, Nysa 1]; *IGCH* 352 = *CH* II 125, Hieraptyna (Crete), c.44-42 BC (30 *cistophori* + 43 Athens, 200 Roman *denarii*, etc.); *IGCH* 1746 = *CH* I 105, Sarnakonuk 31 BC (15 *cistophori* + 215 Roman *denarii*, 58 Seleucids, etc.).

¹⁴⁷ MACDONALD 1992, types 2-26, pp. 35-36, 59-67.

¹⁴⁸ ASHTON 1990, pp. 224-225 (probably dated to mid-first BC).

¹⁴⁹ Halicarnassus (?): *BCH* Caria 43-47; 49-53 p. 107.

¹⁵⁰ Iasos: *BMC* 118-197 pp 240-247; Bargylia: *SNG* vA 2515; 874-875; WEISER 1985, pp. 170-185.

¹⁵¹ cf. Table 3.

¹⁵² This seems to be the case even with bronze coinage: BURNETT 2011, pp. 1-11.

¹⁵³ Chios, Rhodes: *cistophoric* (or *Rhodian*) standard; Tabae, Stratonicea, Mylasa: *denarius* standard.

4. Circulation

If Table 1 showed the decrease in the number of mints issuing autonomous issues, Table 3 helps us understand their circulation patterns.

Hoards mixed with cistophori or other foreign currencies

Hoards mixed with bronze coinage

<i>IGCH/CH</i>	Find Spot	Date of deposit	City/ies
1335 = IX 515 = X 305 (c. 220 AR)	Caria	150-100 BC	Caunus or Mylasa, Rhodes
VII 466 (16+ AR)	Unknown	130-110 BC	Rhodes
VIII 467 (61 AR)	Unknown ?	125 BC	Ephesus
VIII 474 (c. 521 AR)	Turkey	c. 120 BC	Miletus, Heraclea
I 90 (75+ AR)	Unknown	125-100 BC	Rhodes
I 91 (266+ AR)	Unknown	125 – 100 BC	Rhodes
IX 537 (16+ AR)	Gülagizi (Mugla)	125-100 BC	Rhodes
1354 (273 AR)	Caria	2 nd – 1 st century BC	Halicarnassus, Myndus
1352 (8 AR, 20 AE)	Bodrum (Halicarnassus)	2 nd – 1 st century BC	Halicarnassus, Myndus
1336 (c. 70 AR)	Marmara (Mysia)	c.110-100 BC	Cyzicus
VIII 481 (1000+ AR)	Myndus (Caria)	c. 100 BC	Myndus, Iasus, Mylasa, Halicarnassus, Bargylia
VIII 482 (30+ AR)	Caria	c. 100 BC	Halicarnassus, Myndus
VIII 485 (274 AR)	Unknown	c. 100 BC ?	Myndus, Halicarnassus, Cnidus
1355 = IX 555	Marmaris (Caria)	100 – 90 BC	Stratonicea, Rhodes
VIII 492 = I 90 -91 ?	Turkey	100 – 75 BC	Rhodes
VIII 495 (68+ AR)	Caria	100 – 75 BC	Halicarnassus, Myndus, Bargylia
VIII 508 (45+ AR)	Unknown	c. 90-80 BC	Rhodes
1357 (350 + AR)	Mugla (Caria)	84 BC	Stratonices, Rhodes
IV 72 = IX 537 (53 AR)	Turkey	80 BC	Rhodes
VI 46 (18 AR)	Chios	75 BC	Chios
IX 558 (16-18 AR)	Gridia (Chios)	c. 75 BC	Chios
VIII 524 (c. 66 AR)	Köycegiz (Caunus, Caria)	c. 70 BC	Rhodes

1359	Cesme (Ionia)	c.70- 65 BC	Chios
1360 = IX 570 (30+ AR)	Rhodes?	1 st century BC	Rhodes
IX 564 (47 AR)	Rhodes	55 BC	Rhodes
VIII 544 (10+AR)	Caria?	30-20 BC	Tabae, Adramyteum
VIII 545 (47+ AR)	Turkey	25-1 BC	Rhodes
II 127 = VII 146 = IX 582 (12+ AR)	Marmaris (Caria)	25-1 BC	Rhodes
VIII 546 = IX 573 (60+AR)	Unknown	c.25 BC	Rhodes

Table 3: Hoards with autonomous silver issues (133 - 1 BC)

Rhodian plinthophoric and post-plinthophoric drachms are by far the most commonly represented among the autonomous issues, but they maintained a strictly local circulation, as they are found only in Rhodes or in Caria, where, as already stated, several cities adopted the Rhodian standard.

Caria seems to have been the region with the largest number of hoards containing autonomous silver issues, and these issues were never found too far away from the mints where they were issued, as evidenced by the silver issues of Halicarnassus, Myndus, Stratonicea, Tabae, Mylasa and Bargylia. Local circulation and a local standard probably explain the unmixed nature of these hoards, where only Rhodian and Carian issues are present. Caria then retained its local circulation patterns and was probably *allowed* to do so, given the strong support provided to the Romans in the course of the war and the consequent bestowal of the aforementioned privileges¹⁵⁴.

5. Characteristics of the circulation of autonomous silver issues in Asia

Autonomous silver issues seem to have been characterized by an unmixed and local circulation.¹⁵⁵ An exception to this pattern is represented by *CH* VIII 467, probably dated around 125 BC, which includes autonomous issues of Ephesus mixed with coins of Demetrius I, Demetrius II and Alexander I Balas.¹⁵⁶ Unfortunately the original location of the hoard is unknown, but the bee/stag Ephesian tetradrachms found in the hoard were probably issued up until shortly after the re-establishment of Ephesian freedom in 134 BC.¹⁵⁷ The circulation of Ephesian drachms together with these foreign currencies could also be explained by means of their Attic standard, which made their circulation abroad easier, as is very significantly shown by their presence in the Ma'aret hoard, dated to 160 BC.¹⁵⁸ Ephesian tetradrachms, however, do not appear in any other hoard in the following years, so we cannot take this hoard as representative of the norm for the circulation of autonomous issues in the Asian province, but only as the last one of a series of earlier hoards that

¹⁵⁴ MAREK 1988.

¹⁵⁵ Unmixed circulation means here that autonomous issues did not circulate together with *cistophori* and other non-Asian currencies (i.e. Athenian tetradrachms or Seleucid coinage).

¹⁵⁶ Demetrius I, Antioch: 5 tetradrachms, 16 dr.; Alexander I Balas, Antioch: 1 tetradrachms, 12 dr.; Alexander I Balas, Beirut: 2 tetradrachms; Demetrius II, Antioch: 1 dr.(not from hoard?); Demetrius II, Tyre: 3 tetradrachms; Ephesus: 15 dr.; Aradus: 6 dr.

¹⁵⁷ KINNS 1999, pp. 47-50.

¹⁵⁸ MATTINGLY 1993: Pergamon (2: 467-468), Mytilene (1:468), Kos (1:469), Side (38: 470- 507), Ephesus (21: 508-528), Arados (8: 529-536).

hinted at a greater integration between the Seleucid and the Attalid monetary systems before the Roman province of Asia was established.¹⁵⁹

Very significantly, there are no other examples of ‘integration’ between autonomous issues and foreign currencies before the Mithridatic Wars, the years to which mixed hoards consisting of Chian tetradrachms, Athenian New Style drachms, *cistophori* and even *denarii* are dated.¹⁶⁰ The reason for the presence of these mixed hoards should probably be sought in the Mithridatic Wars, when the Chians were besieged by Zenobius,¹⁶¹ deported and then finally restored by Lucullus.¹⁶²

The circumstance that even the mixed hoards containing Chian tetradrachms were found in Chios seems to confirm local circulation as a rule for these autonomous issues. However, the presence of a silver coin of Cyzicus in the Marmara hoard seems to contradict this rule.¹⁶³ We can explain its presence by the fact that Marmara, the ancient Proconnesus, was part of Chian territory¹⁶⁴ at the time of the probable deposition of this hoard, around 110 BC. So the only real exception is the presence of a drachm of Adramyteum in a Carian hoard dated to 30-20 BC.¹⁶⁵ The Carian origin of the hoard, however, is not certain and furthermore we have already stated that circulation patterns did change in the second half of the 1st century BC, probably in correspondence with the Civil Wars.

The general picture sketched by Table 3 also shows a decrease in the number of mints represented in the hoards. This process had begun, as far as we can tell from production and hoard evidence,¹⁶⁶ right after the 120s BC, namely after the creation of the Roman province of Asia by Manius Aquilius,¹⁶⁷ but reached its apogee after 49 BC, in correspondence with the end of the Civil Wars and the beginning of Augustus’ reign. Before 49 BC, the hoards containing Rhodian currency were already numerically significant, but not overwhelmingly so (eleven out of a total of 24 hoards).

On the other hand, after 49 BC hoards containing Rhodian currency became the norm (four hoards out of five). Out of the four post-49 BC hoards containing Rhodian currency, all consisted *only* of these coins. Moreover, most of the recorded hoards have been found either on Rhodes or in Caria. The importance of Rhodian autonomous issues is also proven by the relatively large number of obverse dies evidenced by these coins.¹⁶⁸ Adding the significance of Rhodian currency in the hoard evidence, we can assert that the only autonomous silver issues that retained a certain relevance in circulation were Rhodian. Moreover, not only did the number of cities represented in these hoards drastically decrease, but also the location of the hoards seems to become increasingly limited to Caria.

¹⁵⁹ The hoards: Meydancikkale hoard (240 – 235 BC): DAVESNE – LE RIDER 1989; Kirazli hoard (240 – 235 BC): *IGCH* 1369; Ma’aret En-Nu’man hoard (160 BC): MATTINGLY 1993. For a complete list of Syrian hoards containing 2nd century BC Attalid coinage, see PSOMA 2013, Appendix I-II.

For a thorough discussion of the integrated circulation system between Attalid and Seleucid kingdom in the 1st half of 2nd century BC, see LE RIDER – CALLATAY, pp 71-77.

¹⁶⁰ *CHVI* 46 (18 AR), Chios 75 BC; *CHIX* 558 (16-18 AR), Gridia (Chios) c. 75 BC; *IGCH* 1359, Cesme (Ionia), c. 70-65 BC.

¹⁶¹ LAGOS 1999.

¹⁶² App. *Mith.* 47.

¹⁶³ *IGCH* 1336 (c. 70 AR), Marmara (Mysia), c. 110-100 BC.

¹⁶⁴ Paus. 8.46.4: Κυζικηνοὶ τε, ἀναγκάσαντες πολέμῳ Προκοννησίους γενέσθαι σφίσι συνοίκους, Μητρὸς Δινδυμῆνης ἄγαλμα ἔλαβον ἐκ Προκοννήσου.

¹⁶⁵ *CHVIII* 544 (10+AR).

¹⁶⁶ Tables 1,3

¹⁶⁷ Strabo 14.1.38, 19-23: Μάνιος δ’ Ἀκύλλιος ἐπελθὼν ὑπάτος μετὰ δέκα πρεσβευτῶν διέταξε τὴν ἐπαρχίαν εἰς τὸ νῦν ἔτι συμμένον τῆς πολιτείας σχῆμα.

¹⁶⁸ CALLATAY 2013 table 6.11; Rhodian plinthophoric drachmas: 9.3 obverse dies; post-plinthophoric drachmas: 4.1 obverse dies (to be compared, for example, to nearly contemporary Ephesian issues of bee/stag tetradrachms with 1.4 obverse dies).

The close relationship between Caria and Rhodes went back to the Rhodian domination of the area¹⁶⁹ and it is further proven by the fact that Sulla gave the Carian city of Caunus to Rhodes, in order to compensate the losses suffered by the island during the First Mithridatic War.¹⁷⁰

However, the standard adopted by several Carian cities, as clearly shown by the example of Mylasa, was not plinthophoric, but pre-plinthophoric,¹⁷¹ the so-called light Rhodian drachma.¹⁷² This reduced standard was also adopted by Cos,¹⁷³ Caunus,¹⁷⁴ and Miletus,¹⁷⁵ and, by the time of Augustus, by Rhodes as well.¹⁷⁶ This light Rhodian drachma had the advantage of being equivalent to the *cistophorus*¹⁷⁷ and its relevance is still evident in 71 AD, as proven by an inscription from Cibra that shows a standard ratio still in place between this specific kind of Rhodian drachm and the *denarius*.¹⁷⁸

To summarize: Carian autonomous silver issues had a very local circulation and they were produced and circulated in Caria throughout their production span. This region presented significant monetary peculiarities, both from the point of view of production – no *cistophori* were struck here and autonomous silver coinage maintained a plinthophoric and a pre-plinthophoric standard – and circulation, since we find hoards there including only Rhodian and Carian autonomous coinage. As already stated, it is difficult not to see this as a direct consequence of the freedom enjoyed both by several Carian cities and by Rhodes, due to their late annexation to the Asian province and to the help they provided to Sulla during the First Mithridatic War¹⁷⁹.

6. Conclusions

From what we have been analyzing up to now, a few conclusions can be drawn.

In the first place, it seems that the Roman administration became involved in the civic coinages of the Asian cities to a greater extent than any previous power dominating the area, as suggested by the Roman names present on these issues,¹⁸⁰ the progress towards the adoption of equivalent standards, and by the evident decrease in the number of cities issuing autonomous silver coinages after the Roman province of Asia is instituted.¹⁸¹

Secondly, as we have argued in the first part of the part of the paper, only with the beginning of Roman dominion in Asia does the *Lex Seyrig*, dictating that no state issues coins on its own name when it is ruled by another, begin to be operational. This seems to be confirmed both by the production and by the circulation of autonomous silver coinage, as they were concentrated in Caria and in Rhodes, regions which enjoyed freedom and specific privileges under Roman rule.

¹⁶⁹ Polyb. 21.46.8; Livy 37.56.

¹⁷⁰ Rhodes: Cic. *Qfr.* 1.1.33; *Brut.* 312 (embassy to Rome *de praemiis*).

¹⁷¹ The standard for payments in Mylasa was the one of the reduced-standard pre-plinthophoric drachmas (1 drachma = 2.8-2.5 g), to be compared to the 'full' Rhodian standard drachm of 3.4 g. Most recently: ASHTON- REGER 2006, pp. 125-130.

¹⁷² ἀργύριον Ῥόδιον λεπτόν: ASHTON- REGER 2006, pp. 126-127.

¹⁷³ *Cop.* Caria 659; *vA* Caria 2761-63; *BMC* Caria 119-124 pp. 205-206.

¹⁷⁴ *Cop.* Caria 185-86; *BMC* Caria 14-16 p. 75.

¹⁷⁵ *BMC* Ionia 115-120 p. 195.

¹⁷⁶ *RPCI* 2744-2745.

¹⁷⁷ *RPCI*, pp. 369-370; Festus, *De Verborum Significatione* 359.20.

¹⁷⁸ *CIG* 4380a, p. 1167; *LBW* 1213, A; *IGR* 4.915, a, ll. 12-14: τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ [δ]ηναρίου ἰσχύοντος ἄσσάρια δεκαεξ' / ἢ Ῥοδία δραχμὴ τοῦτου τοῦ δηναρίου ἰσχύει ἐν Κιβύρῳ / ἄσσάρια δέκα, ἐν ᾗ δραχμῇ Ῥοδία δέδοται ἢ δωρεά.

¹⁷⁹ MAREK 1988.

¹⁸⁰ Stratonicea: ΓΑΙΟΥ (80s BC) of Group 3 of MEADOWS 2002, p. 91 and pl. 27, 3b, and 4a; Ephesus: C. Atinius (122/1 BC) in KLEINER 1972, pp. 17-32, p. 25, nr. 19; STUMPF 1991, pp. 5-12; CALLATAY 1997, p. 179; JENKINS 1987, p. 184 and pl. B, 4; Chios: ΔΕΚΜΟΣ (Decimius): MAVROGODATO 1917, NO. 1917, 73 (84-27 BC).

¹⁸¹ cf. Table 1.

Even in these regions, however, by the time of Augustus the few autonomous issues still remaining were tightly linked to the *denarius* and to the *cistophorus* standards.¹⁸² Together with the increasing presence of the *denarius* both in hoards and in epigraphic sources, as well as the decrease in cistophoric issues, this connection suggests an enhanced monetary integration in the Roman province of Asia.

The specific types of autonomous silver issues represent an anomaly in the context of the increasing iconographic standardization of Asian provincial coinage, which began after 49 BC, and their existence could only be explained with special privileges bestowed to the issuing cities.

The disappearance of Asian autonomous silver issues after Augustus seems to show that the advice of Dio's Maecenas had been followed after all,¹⁸³ but with the *caveat* that the Augustan Age represents only the terminal point of a four-step process, where the creation of the Asian province, and the Mithridatic and Civil Wars all represented important milestones in the involvement of Romans in the direct administration of the province, which increased over time but had been obvious from the beginning.

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¹⁸² *RPCI*, Introduction.

¹⁸³ Dio 52.30.9: μήτε δὲ νομίσματα ἢ καὶ σταθμὰ ἢ μέτρα ἰδίᾳ τις αὐτῶν ἔχέτω, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες χρήσθωσαν· *None of the cities should be allowed to have its own separate coinage or system of weights and measures; they should all be required to use ours* (translation by E. Cary).

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