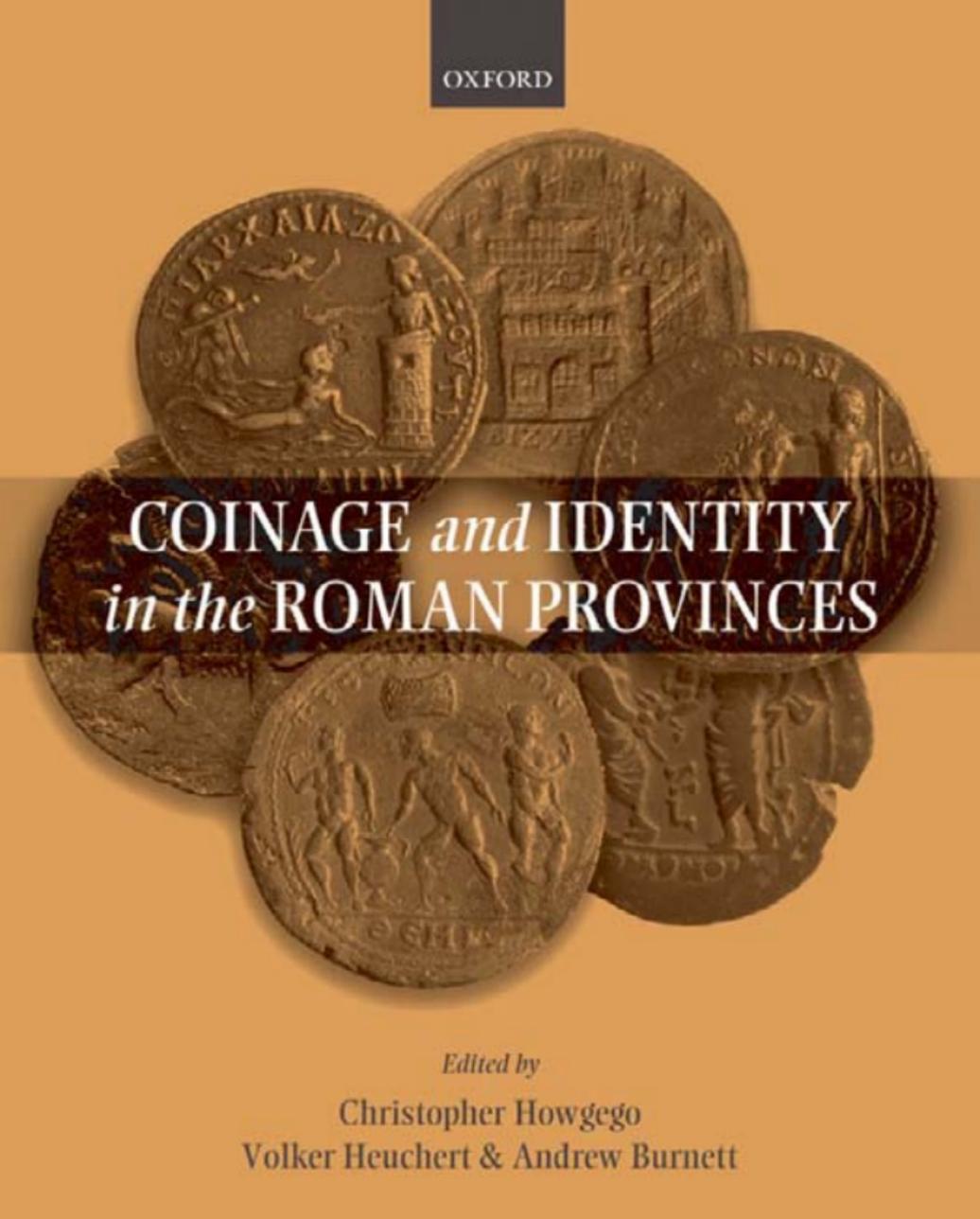


OXFORD



COINAGE *and* **IDENTITY**
in the **ROMAN PROVINCES**

Edited by

Christopher Howgego
Volker Heuchert & Andrew Burnett

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Preface

Coins were the most deliberate of all symbols of public communal identities in the Roman provinces, but no general treatment of the topic exists. This book approaches the subject through surveys of the broad geographical and chronological structure of the evidence, through papers which focus on ways of expressing identity, and through regional studies which place the numismatic evidence in local context. The iconography and inscriptions on the coins are the focus of the greater part of the book, but the patterns of production of the coinage and its circulation have a significant part to play too.

The scope of the volume arises from the nature of the evidence. The cessation of the last regional coinage under Diocletian provides a natural ending. The *Roman Provincial Coinage* (RPC) series has a purely pragmatic beginning around 44 BC, but for our purposes it has been illuminating to range back earlier. Thus Spain is considered from the time it came under Roman sway as a result of the Second Punic War. We have also invited a contribution on the British Iron Age in order to consider how to approach 'Roman' elements in a coinage prior to conquest and issues relating to transition to empire, and in order to draw lessons from a different and more archaeologically-driven tradition of scholarship. The coinage of the two Jewish Revolts has likewise been included in order to obtain an alternative and ostentatiously non-Roman perspective. We have sought to vary the geographical focus of chapters to bring out the benefits of considering the empire as a whole, without losing the increasing contextualization possible through studies of individual regions, provinces, or cities. Much of the existing literature on our topic has been devoted to the spectacular evidence from Asia Minor, and this emphasis inevitably informs several of the general discussions. But we have set out to even up the balance with chapters which range from Britain and Spain to Syria and Egypt.

We have not imposed a formal structure on the book. It is arranged with general introductory material at the beginning. Howgego introduces the topic of coinage and identity in relation to Roman provincial coinage, Williamson looks at issues relating to identity in the Roman world more generally, Heuchert provides an introduction to Roman provincial coinage and traces the chronological development of the iconography, and Weiss examines control over the coinage (which informs our interpretation of the numismatic evidence as evidence for identity). The papers which follow are arranged loosely by geography, from Britain in the west to Egypt in the east, and include studies of specific regions and treatments of specific aspects of identity on the coinage. The final paper by Burnett looks at regional contrasts embracing the whole empire.

The time is ripe to review the rich evidence of the provincial coinage, much of which is only now becoming readily available through the publication of the *Roman Provincial Coinage* series under the aegis of the British Museum and the Bibliothèque

nationale de France. This series represents a systematic attempt to create a full typology of the provincial coinage. Two volumes of ten have appeared, covering the period from 44 BC to AD 96, and most of the later volumes are in progress. Volume IV (Antoninus Pius to Commodus) is currently being undertaken in the Ashmolean Museum, as a seven-year project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Board and the University of Oxford. It is this project which suggested the occasion for holding a meeting in Oxford and for the publication of the book. Two of the editors are engaged on this project, and they have been joined in editing the volume by Andrew Burnett, the British architect and general editor of *Roman Provincial Coinage*. For help, advice, and encouragement the editors are grateful to Roz Britton-Strong, Nick Mayhew, Andy Meadows, Simon Swain, Greg Woolf, and Liv Yarrow.

The book is based on papers given at the Seventeenth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History held on 19–22 September 2002 in Worcester College, Oxford. The Symposium was attended by thirty-eight invited scholars from ten countries. All contributions were solicited with the intention of achieving a broad coverage of the subject, accessible to those without specialist numismatic knowledge, and of making available in English the results of leading international research. The Symposium was generously funded by the Robinson Charitable Trust in memory of Fay Gordon Hill, secretary to Sir Edward (Stanley) Robinson, and also by the Barclay Head Fund (University of Oxford), and the Heberden Coin Room (Ashmolean Museum), and was underwritten by the UK Numismatic Trust.

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Abbreviations

Books

- AMNG Imhoof-Blumer, F. (ed.) (1898–1935). *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands*. Berlin: Georg Reimer and de Gruyter.
- ANRW *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter (1972–).
- BAR British Archaeological Reports.
- BMC *British Museum Catalogue*. London: Trustees of the British Museum (1873–), with suffix to identify the appropriate volume of *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins*.
- BMCRE *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*. London: Trustees of the British Museum (1923–).
- CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin (1862–).
- CNH Villaronga, L. (1994). *Corpus Nummum Hispaniae ante Augusti Aetatem*. Madrid: José A. Herrero.
- CRAI *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*.
- FGH Jacoby, F. (ed.). *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. 15 vols. Berlin (1923–30); Leipzig (1940–58).
- FIRA *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani*. 3 vols. Florence: Barbèra (1940–3).
- Geissen Geissen, A. (1978–83, corrected reprint 1987). *Katalog Alexandrinischer Kaisermünzen der Sammlung des Instituts für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag (= *Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensia* 5).
- I.Ephesos *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*. 8 vols. Bonn: Habelt (1979–84).
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin (1873–).
- IGR Cagnat, R. *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, vols. i, iii, and iv. Paris: Leroux (1906–27). Reprint Chicago: Ares (1975).
- IK *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*. Bonn (1972–).
- ILS Dessau, H. (ed.) (1892–1916). *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. 3 vols. Berlin. Reprint Berlin: Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung (1962).
- IvO Dittenberger, W. and Purgold, K. (1896). *Die Inschriften von Olympia*. Berlin.
- LAGM Leschhorn, W. and Franke, P. R. (2002). *Lexikon der Aufschriften auf griechischen Münzen*, i. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- LIMC *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Zurich: Artemis (1981–).
- MAMA *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, 9 vols. (1929–88).
- McClellan Grose, S. W. (1923–9). *Fitzwilliam Museum: Catalogue of the McClellan Collection of Greek Coins*. 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mionnet Mionnet, T. E. (1806–37). *Description des médailles antiques, grecques et romaines*. Paris.
- OGIS Dittenberger, W. (1903–5). *Orientalis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae*. 2 vols. Leipzig: Hirzel. Reprint Hildesheim: Georg Olms (1960).
- PIR *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*. 2nd edn. Berlin: de Gruyter (1933–).
- RC Welles, C. B. (1934). *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Reprint Chicago: Ares (1974).

RE	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.</i>
Rec	Waddington, W., Babelon, E., and Reinach, T. (1904–12, with a 2nd edn. of one part, 1925). <i>Recueil Général des Monnaies Grecques d'Asie Mineure</i> . Reprint Hildesheim: Georg Olms (1976).
RIB	Collingwood, R. G. and Wright, R. P. <i>The Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i> . Oxford (1965–).
RIC	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i> . London: Spink and Son (1923–).
RPC	Burnett, A. and Amandry, M. (eds.) (1992–). <i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> . London and Paris: British Museum Press and Bibliothèque Nationale. Vol. i (1992): <i>From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)</i> by A. Burnett, M. Amandry, and P. P. Ripollès. <i>Supplement 1</i> (1998) by A. Burnett, M. Amandry, and P. P. Ripollès. Vol. ii: <i>From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69–96)</i> by A. Burnett, M. Amandry, and I. Carradice.
RRC	Crawford, M. H. (1974). <i>Roman Republican Coinage</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> . Amsterdam (1923–).
SIG	Dittenberger, W. <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . 4 vols. (3rd edn. 1915–24).
SNG	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum</i> .
TAM	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> .
Waddington	Babelon, E. (1898). <i>Inventaire Sommaire de la Collection Waddington</i> . Paris: Rollin et Feuarent.

Journals

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i> .
ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i> .
AD	<i>Archaiologikon Deltion</i> .
AE	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i> .
AEA	<i>Archivo Español de Arqueología</i> .
AEMTh	<i>Archaiologico ergo sti Macedonia kai Thraki</i> .
AJPh	<i>American Journal of Philology</i> .
ANSMN	<i>American Numismatic Society. Museum Notes</i> .
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> .
BEFAR	<i>Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome</i> .
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London</i> .
BNJ	<i>The British Numismatic Journal</i> .
BullÉpigr	<i>Bulletin Épigraphique</i> .
EA	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i> .
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i> .
INJ	<i>Israel Numismatic Journal</i> .
JdAI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i> .
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> .
JNG	<i>Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte</i> .
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i> .
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> .
MAAR	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i> .
MDAI(I)	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Abteilung Istanbul)</i> .
N Circ	<i>Numismatic Circular</i> . London: Spink and Son.
NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> .
PCPhS	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i> .
QT	<i>Quaderni Ticinesi di Numismatica e Antichità Classiche</i> .
RA	<i>Revue Archéologique</i> .

RBN	<i>Revue Belge de Numismatique et de Sigillographie.</i>
REA	<i>Revue des Études Anciennes.</i>
RFIC	<i>Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica.</i>
RIN	<i>Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini.</i>
RN	<i>Revue Numismatique.</i>
SM	<i>Schweizer Münzblätter (Gazette Numismatique Suisse).</i>
SNR	<i>Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau (Revue Numismatique Suisse).</i>
ZANT	<i>Ziva Antika.</i>
ZfN	<i>Zeitschrift für Numismatik.</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.</i>

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I

COINAGE AND IDENTITY IN THE ROMAN PROVINCES

Christopher Howgego

Introduction

IDENTITY IS NOW SEEN NOT AS AN ETERNAL given, but as something actively constructed and contested in a particular historical context, based on subjective, not objective criteria.¹ For all that it may be a contingent construct, identity is a powerful driver of action, as we know all too well from our own experience.² Identity matters. Coins have been described, in the words of Fergus Millar, as ‘the most deliberate of all symbols of public identity’.³ Yet the Roman historian will look in vain for any good introduction to, or systematic treatment of, the subject. That, in a nutshell, is the need which this volume seeks to address.

It is worth emphasizing the words *deliberate* and *public*. It is relevant to recall the late second-century BC inscription which states the reasons why the people of Sestus decided to use its own bronze coinage.⁴ The first reason given is so that the city’s coin type should be used as a current type. In this context at least, coins were seen as a *deliberate* advertisement of *public* identity.

What coinage most obviously provides is an enormous range of self-defined and explicit representations

of public/official/communal identities, principally civic in nature. The material thus largely allows us to avoid the thorny problems associated with externally defined, implicit, and private identities. A public medium like coinage is not the place to look for overt opposition to Roman rule.⁵ And it invites, rather than answers, the question of to what extent public identities might have been understood as covert ‘resistance’ to Rome, to what extent they represented a self-definition designed to accommodate or play up to Roman attitudes, and to what extent they may even have been inspired or promoted by Rome itself.⁶

Identity has been a major focus of research in recent decades, for the obvious reason that it is particularly an issue when under threat.⁷ That consideration applies as much to our own scholarly context as it does to our subject, the Roman empire.⁸ The advent of the Euro has inevitably drawn attention to money in this context. Naturally there are major differences between now and then. We need, for example, to think away nationalism (a phenomenon of the eighteenth century onwards) and also the equation of coinage with sovereignty (which is

¹ The useful formulation of Preston 2001: 87; cf. Anderson 1991: 6, all communities are ‘imagined’; Laurence 1998: 8, on multiple readings of identity.

² As argued with authority by Williamson, Chapter 2 below.

³ Millar 1993: 230; cf. 257, ‘The most explicit symbols of a city’s identity and status were its coins.’

⁴ Meadows 2001: 59, cf. 61.

⁵ See Williamson, Chapter 2 below.

⁶ Swain 1996 is excellent in drawing out subversive possibilities from material in which opposition to Rome could not be explicit.

⁷ Miles 1999: 1; cf. Gruen 1993.

⁸ On threats to identity in the Roman world see Woolf 1996: especially 31–2; Swain 1996: *passim*, but e.g. 89 on the way that Roman power forced Greeks to assert their identity in the cultural domain; Woolf 1994a on Greek unease.

medieval).⁹ But it will be obvious that there is potentially considerable contemporary interest in the opportunity to explore through coinage the assertion of local, regional, and imperial identities in a multi-cultural and multilingual world with overarching political and military structures.

The coinage under the Roman empire is particularly fruitful for the study of cultural history, as it includes both provincial and imperial issues, allowing the projection of provincial civic identities to be compared and contrasted with central imperial ideology. Although I hope to exploit this tension in some revealing ways, the primary focus of this chapter (and of the book) is on the provincial coinage.

It is perhaps worth emphasizing how remarkably rich the provincial coinage is: comprising, say, up to a hundred thousand coin types, from well in excess of five hundred cities, for the three and a half centuries from the death of Julius Caesar to the reign of Diocletian.¹⁰ The relatively even survival of the material from all places and periods in which it was produced contrasts markedly with the patchy nature of the literary, epigraphic, sculptural, and other archaeological evidence, and offers a unique opportunity for comparative work.

It is not my intention to describe the familiar and characteristic expressions of civic rivalry through status and titles, the custodianship of the imperial cult (neocorates), agonistic festivals, and the apparent antithesis to competition in the form of symbolic expressions of concord (the Greek word is *homonoia*), which were themselves, of course, competitive.¹¹ I leave, too, the vital issue of authority and control over the coinage, which underlies our interpretation of the numismatic evidence itself. The important chapter by Weiss in this volume addresses this topic, and confirms the appropriateness of using coinage as evidence for collective identity.

What I do want to do is to explore by means of the overall patterning of the evidence and by a few selected examples how choices had to be made in the

construction of collective identity with reference to some of the more fundamental categories familiar to the cultural historian. I think in this context of Religion, the use of Monumentality, the representation of the Past (both mythological and historical), the codification of Time, the structuring and representation of Space and Place (Geography), the choice of Language, and the degree of identity/connectedness with the imperial power ('Romanness'). From this perspective some apparently dry and familiar areas of numismatic scholarship take on a new vitality. In short, this chapter seeks to open things up a bit.

Religion

Religion was overwhelmingly the most common way in which identity was expressed on coins. As 'religion in all societies operates to make sense of the world and of human experience',¹² it presents a natural vehicle for the expression of identity. Any attempt at quantification of the numismatic iconography would be heavily dependent on definition (how many images could be said not to be religious, when the emperor is the recipient of cult, and an ear of corn, say, might also be the attribute of a deity?) but the dominance of religion as a theme is, in any case, readily apparent from many of the chapters in this volume.¹³ The coinage does appear to be representative of the evidence in general, and the key role played by religion in the expression of communal identity has often been remarked. Thus: 'In the east . . . the primary identities of Greek cities continued to be focussed on their ancestral gods,'¹⁴ and 'The specific space created for local self assertion lies above all in religion.'¹⁵ It is indeed a commonplace that polytheism left space for expressions of localism.

The imagery on the coinage is that of '*polis*-religion', in other words it represents the view of those who controlled the *polis*.¹⁶ There is no room for 'private religion' or for the theology of immigrant minorities. There is thus almost no evidence for the spread of Mithraism, Judaism, or Christianity. The most obvious apparent exception—the

⁹ Nationalism: Anderson 1991. Coinage and sovereignty: Martin 1985.

¹⁰ Heuchert, Chapter 3 below, for a characterization of Roman provincial coinage.

¹¹ On civic rivalry over status and titles: Robert 1977a. On neocorates: Johnston 1984a. On agonistic festivals: Klose, Chapter 10 below. On *homonoia* on coins see the works cited by Heuchert, Chapter 3 below; on literary sources Swain 1996: 181 (Plutarch); 219 ff. (Dio); 288 ff. (Aristides). In general: Harl 1987.

¹² Cited from Woolf 1998: 219.

¹³ e.g. Peter, Chapter 8 below.

¹⁵ Elsner 2001: 151.

¹⁶ On the place of *polis*-religion, see Woolf 1997.

¹⁴ Beard, North, Price 1998: 360.

representation of Noah and his ark on the coins of Apamea (pl. 1.1, 1)—is more likely to be the result of an incorporation of the story into a local foundation myth or similar, rather than to represent *per se* a local Jewish or Christian population (whatever role such a group may have played in the myth-making).¹⁷

Local gods were relatively common on provincial coinage in the east, where, by contrast with the west, they were not normally transformed and integrated into the Roman pantheon.¹⁸ This raises serious doubts about the view that local elites were everywhere more interested in universal deities associated with the Roman empire than in local indigenous cults.¹⁹ Local gods even had a place on the imperial coinage. Under the Republic they had had a consistent role in denoting the *origo* of a moneyer.²⁰ In the imperial period there was less of a need for them, but they were used to refer to the origins of the emperor: Hercules Gaditanus for Hadrian, Hercules and Liber Pater, the gods of Leptis Magna, for Septimius Severus, Elagabal, the god-mountain of Emesa, for Elagabalus.²¹ This is at least sufficient to show that the local gods were a natural and acceptable signifier of place.

On the civic coinage in the east, local gods might also be used to incorporate external power and to respond to change in interesting ways. A few examples will serve to illustrate the point. At Laodicea, Zeus Laodiceus is depicted on a base between Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (pl. 1.1, 2). The scene must be read as a symbolic incorporation of the emperors, as there is no possibility that both emperors were actually present in the city. Under Domitian, an issue of the same city had incorporated Rome by representing Zeus Laodiceus as one of the Capitoline triad (pl. 1.1, 3). The primary reference was presumably to the restoration of the Capitol and to the Capitoline games, but it is still interesting and quite exceptional to see the Roman triad represented in a non-Roman community in this way.²² A rather different example

of the incorporation of Rome is the representation in Egypt of Horus of the Sethroite nome, who is depicted hawk-headed and wearing a skhent, but dressed in a Roman military cuirass (pl. 1.1, 4). Such assimilations and incorporations extended beyond Rome and its emperors. In Thrace and Moesia Inferior, as Peter discusses in a fascinating chapter in this volume, local deities became syncretized with the 'Egyptian' Sarapis. One might also note, and wonder about the precise significance of, the widespread representation of Artemis Ephesia outside Ephesus.²³

There may well be an agenda behind the choice of how to represent the cultic symbols themselves (such as the statues of Artemis Ephesia) (pl. 1.1, 5). In many cases there are genuine questions about whether the images represented continuity, revival, or invention.²⁴ Even more interesting in the context of identity is how such images were used. It may be, for example, that they staked a claim to real or alleged antiquity. Archaism was indeed a popular strategy (compare, for example, the Artemis at Anemurium with Artemis Ephesia) (pl. 1.1, 6; cf. 5). Aniconic and zoomorphic cult objects, which extended well beyond the Near East and Egypt respectively, will have been laden with cultural reference (to 'the otherness' of the cults, as well as to their antiquity).²⁵ Thus Herodian describes the cult of the stone of Elagabal at Emesa as having 'no man-made cult statue as among the Greeks and Romans', and Lucian mercilessly parodies the Egyptian predilection for the worship of animals.²⁶ By way of example only, Byblus depicts a cultic stone within an open air cult-place, characteristic of the region (pl. 1.1, 7), and Egypt displays the Apis bull (pl. 1.1, 8), the snakes Agathodaimon and Uraeus, animal-headed (pl. 1.1, 4) or animal-bodied gods, and anthropomorphic gods with animals as attributes (pls. 15.1–2). The coinage of Egypt may well reflect the physical presence of Egyptian cults on the ground, and the participation of local elites in them, but the

¹⁷ *BMC Phrygia* xxxix, p. 101.

¹⁸ Beard, North, and Price 1998: 339; there is, however, a danger of overstating the transformation in the west, see Woolf 1998: ch. 8.

¹⁹ *Pace* Beard, North, and Price 1998: 338. See, for example, Bendlin 1997: 48 citing Glare's thesis on Egypt. ²⁰ *RRC*, p. 728.

²¹ Note also the representations of Hercules Deusoniensis and Hercules Magusanus under Postumus, who was tacitly assimilated to Hercules on the coinage by being depicted with a club and lionskin. Here the local deities may or may not be suggestive of the emperor's origin: Drinkwater 1987: 162–4.

²² Compare the depiction of the Capitoline temple with the inscription *CAPIT RESTIT* on silver *cistophori* for circulation in Asia: *RPC II*, p. 132.

On the Capitoline triad as indicative of a Roman community: Beard, North, and Price 1998: 333–6, 362.

²³ Fleischer 1973; Burnett 1999: 145, 150; Price, Chapter 9 below.

²⁴ Cf. Millar 1993: *passim*; for example 249 on Doliche. For a contrasting, archaeological, view about 'historical amnesia': Kennedy 1999: especially 102–3; 1998: 54–6, 68–9.

²⁵ Aniconism: Elsner 2001: 139; Mettinger 1995: *passim*, 107–9 on Byblus.

²⁶ Herodian 5. 3. 5; Lucian, *Deorum concilium* 10–11 on which Bowman 1986: 178–9.

iconography might also be understood as an Alexandrian take on what is noteworthy about Egypt. It does at times appear to be provocatively ‘other’ (for example, pl. 1.1, 9). The coinage of Egypt was equally able to emphasize Greek and Roman identities, and one needs to be aware that cultural communication is at work.

Monumentality

The temples which contained the cult images, and are often shown as containing them, also provide a clear demonstration of the primacy of religion in the expression of identity on the coins. A glance at the standard works for both the imperial and the provincial coinages gives a vivid impression of the predominance of religious buildings (although other structures from bridges and gates to lighthouses are also represented).²⁷ This same emphasis is apparent in Pausanias, who is primarily interested in cults and the works of art in them.²⁸ But it is worth considering monumentality as a separate category, as it has its own cultural dynamic.

The practice of putting buildings on coins was itself essentially a Roman innovation. In a general sense this is a reflection of a Roman preoccupation with building. Outside Rome, at least in some contexts, the built environment itself may be interpreted as a response to Rome.²⁹ More particularly the representation of monuments on coins may have been suggested by the Roman view of their coins as *monumenta* in their own right.³⁰

Burnett has analysed the patterning of the evidence, so that all that is required here is to highlight a few issues.³¹ He has demonstrated that the practice of depicting buildings on coins was copied from Rome in the period up to AD 68 most readily in the west (this effectively means in Spain) and by client kings (Juba I (pl. 1.1, 10), Herod Philip, and Agrippa I): in other words where the coinage is most ‘Roman’.³² In the

east, the depiction of monuments was at first heavily skewed towards temples of the imperial cult. The practice of depicting monuments more generally later spread to much of the Greek east, but, interestingly, it seems to have been adapted to serve a different cultural function than it performed at Rome.

At Rome the depiction of a building was usually connected to an act, past or present: for example, to the dedication or restoration of a building by a moneyer, or one of his ancestors, or by an emperor (pl. 1.1, 11). In the east this appears not to have been the case. There it seems to have been used more frequently as an allusion to the cult in general, to express collective identity, and without specific reference to building activity or some other ‘event’ (for example, pl. 1.1, 12). This is not a watertight distinction: buildings on civic coins did sometimes record repair after earthquakes, new walls, grants of neocorates, imperial patronage, priesthoods of the individuals named on the coins, and the like. Much of the specificity may be lost on us, owing to lack of evidence. But the distinction between Rome and the east does appear meaningful. The repeated representation of particular buildings over time on civic coinage seems to come closer to a phenomenon noted in the context of nationalism, namely the ‘logoization’ of monuments to fix identity (‘heritage’).³³ Here there is considerable scope to tie the numismatic evidence into highly productive work on monuments as locations of social memory.³⁴

Burnett traces a pattern of decline in the incidence of buildings on coins after the Severan period, both on imperial issues and on civic coinages in the East. The evidence cited for the East relates to three important cities in Asia (Ephesus, Smyrna, and Aphrodisias), and further work is likely to nuance the picture. It has been argued that in Asia Minor the emphasis somehow shifted from temples to festivals in the third century.³⁵ That would indeed be the conclusion from a literal interpretation of the numismatic iconography.³⁶ In whatever way these phenomena are to be linked, the generalization of the observation to the entire ‘East’ requires testing. In Syria-Phoenicia, for example, although civic festivals did become

²⁷ Hill 1989; Price and Trelle 1977.

²⁸ Swain 1996: 331; Habicht 1985: 23.

²⁹ Burnett 1999: 154–5; Laurence 1998: 4.

³⁰ Meadows and Williams 2001. In the imperial period this attitude is reflected in the way that the types of earlier coins might be ‘restored’ (restituit): Komnick 2001.

³¹ Burnett 1999: especially 153–62.

³² On the ‘Romanness’ of the coinage in Spain: Burnett 2002c and Chapter 16 below; on client kings: Burnett 1987b; 2002a: 121; *RPC* II, p. 309.

³³ Anderson 1991: 182; Jones 1997: 138.

³⁴ Alcock 2001: 327.

³⁵ Burnett 1999: 158–9 citing Mitchell 1993: 211 ff. and Harl 1987: 63–70.

³⁶ On the chronology of the depiction of festivals, see Klose, Chapter 10 below.

prominent on coins of a few Syrian cities in the third century, buildings remained common until the end of the coinage. Such regional differences within the East may well repay further investigation, and are strongly indicative of the value of the type of analysis performed by Burnett.

Past (Myth/History)

Monuments on coins may have symbolized communal heritage, but the past was also present on the coinage in a much more explicit fashion in the form of allusions to myth or history. Historicity is not a concern for us here, but rather the use of the past to construct identities.³⁷ The past had a double advantage: it could be specific to a locality and at the same time serve to locate the place within universal myth/history. We find an emphasis on the past already in Strabo, who finished his work under Tiberius, despite the ostensible focus of his *Geography* on the present. This is because 'the present identity and perception of places consisted precisely in stories about the past'.³⁸ Emphasis on the past became more intense, and manifested itself in a great variety of ways, as Greeks under the principate sought to define themselves in the face of the realities of Roman power.³⁹ This dichotomy between Roman present and Greek past was matched by a marked contrast in the coinage. Under the principate the past was emphasized on the civic coinages but largely absent from the imperial coinage.

On the imperial coinage under the Republic myth and history had been well represented in the form of references to the origins and family achievements of the moneyers. The semantic world to which this phenomenon belonged has been brilliantly elucidated in a study of coins as *monumenta*.⁴⁰ On the imperial coinage under the principate the past was noticeable by its absence, although in this, as in other things, the old practice persisted some way into the reign of Augustus. Subsequently myth/history appeared on the coinage only at times when earlier types were

'restored' (like *monumenta*), at least sometimes in the context of the deliberate withdrawal of earlier coins. These are true cases of exceptions which prove the rule. Such issues from Titus to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus explicitly bore the word *restituit* (or its plural) (pl. I.2, 13), but earlier repetition of types suggests that the concept goes back further.⁴¹ Later, the issue of c.AD 250 depicting an extensive series of deified emperors back to Augustus (named in the dedicatory dative, DIVO AVGVSTO etc., and with the inscription CONSECRATIO on the reverse) looks like a clever variation on the same theme (pl. I.2, 14): clever, because it restored the portraits of earlier emperors at a time when their denarii were being withdrawn, and, by presenting them as *divi* in radiate crowns, simultaneously signified that the face value of the coins was being increased (radiate crowns had been used for portraits of deified emperors, but also for living emperors to indicate a double denomination).⁴² Otherwise the past found a place on the imperial coinage only in the mythological types which celebrated the 900th anniversary of Rome (pl. I.2, 15). Such types were not inevitable even for this purpose, and are not found for the 1,000th anniversary in AD 247, when the emphasis was on games and monumental commemoration (the depiction of the wolf and twins is an unsurprising exception). The use of mythology under Pius for the 900th anniversary chimed well with the posturing of Pius as the (pious) Aeneas. It was also a reflection of the Hellenization of the Antonine court: this was the time of an explosion of mythology on coinage throughout much of the Greek East (and see below on Egypt). The reason for the marked absence of history/myth on imperial coins for the rest of the time is that their emphasis was on the charismatic claims of the emperor to rule, based on his virtues and his own achievements.⁴³

The provincial coinage was quite different. Local mythology abounded, as Price's chapter in this volume illustrates and analyses. The uses of mythology on coins are familiar from other contexts: the mythical past reconstructed as sacred history in processions at Ephesus, or the rooting of panHellenic

³⁷ Cf. the 'new' nation states with an immemorial past: Anderson 1991: 11, and 195 (on reading nationalism *genealogically*).

³⁸ Clarke 1999: 282, cf. 293, 306, 326, 336.

³⁹ Bowie 1974; Woolf 1994a; Swain 1996: *passim*.

⁴⁰ Meadows and Williams 2001.

⁴¹ Komnick 2001; Buttrey 1972.

⁴² Mattingly 1949. Withdrawal of denarii: Bland 1996a. For the overstriking of earlier denarii as radiates under Trajan Decius and Trebonianus Gallus: Mattingly 1939.

⁴³ On imperial 'virtues': Wallace-Hadrill 1981; Noreña 2001.

stories in local settings found on the theatrical friezes from Hierapolis, or the combination of mythical and historical foundations as in Aelius Aristides' speeches about Smyrna. All mythology served to claim a position within a wider world with reference to a shared past, and sometimes articulated specific relationships with other Greek cities or with Rome.⁴⁴ Price deals with all this in an exemplary fashion.

It will suffice here to explore briefly the importance of good descent (*eugeneia*) as reflected on the coinage. Being Greek mattered, and mythological/historical descent was a primary criterion.⁴⁵ The foundation of the Panhellenion in AD 131–2 was one aspect of this phenomenon, and of particular interest if it was sponsored by Rome (that is contested).⁴⁶ Either way, the Roman rulers had a 'cultural vocation as promoters and guardians of [Greek] civilization'⁴⁷ and the Panhellenion was a supra-provincial cultural organization which had a formal requirement that all members be Greek.

Greek descent was symbolized on the coinage most of all by the rise in the depiction of founding heroes and foundation myths.⁴⁸ In addition, some cities in Asia made explicit claims to ethnic connections with Old Greece, even where the historicity of the claim was obviously suspect. Weiss has shown through the example of Eumeneia (clearly Attalid, being named after Eumenes) how one Hellenistic foundation might play it, specifically in the context of the Panhellenion.⁴⁹ Eumeneia claimed on its coinage to be 'Achaean', precisely from the time of Hadrian onwards (pl. 1.2, 16). Synnada spectacularly claimed to be a joint foundation by Athens and Sparta, and thus, on its coins, to be both Dorian and Ionian ($\Delta\Omega\Pi\epsilon\omicron\nu\iota\omicron\nu\omicron\nu\sigma\upsilon\eta\nu\nu\alpha\delta\epsilon\omicron\nu$) (pl. 1.2, 17).⁵⁰ Abonuteichos in Paphlagonia (which sounded barbaric) was by imperial permission renamed Ionopolis, after Ion, the eponym of the Ionians, following a petition by its famous citizen, Alexander, the 'interpreter' of the popular prophetic snake Glycon (an

episode mentioned by Lucian).⁵¹ Coins of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus gave the city its new name (pl. 1.2, 18).⁵² There were limits to ingenuity: not all cities in the East could claim a connection with Old Greece and the early migrations, even an indirect one. The role of Alexander and his successors in founding cities was acknowledged. Macedonian descent counted and could be paraded. The citizens of Blaundus in 'Lydia' boasted of their Macedonian identity (ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ) already from the Flavian period (pl. 1.2, 19). Aegae in Cilicia not only depicted Alexander (pl. 1.2, 20), but laid explicit claim to *eugeneia* by virtue of Macedonian descent: $\text{ΜΑΚΕ[ΔΟΝΙΚΗΣ] ΕΥΓΕΝ[ΟΥΣ]}$.

It is interesting to look at the strategies adopted by cities where alleging Greek descent was obviously problematic. Ilium had a heavy investment in descent from Troy, and in Homer the Trojans had fought the Greeks. The coinage, not surprisingly, depicts Aeneas (pl. 1.2, 21). The citizens of Ilium may not be 'Greek' but they provided a founder for Rome and (perhaps more importantly) an ancestor for emperors.⁵³ But this is a very Greek way of exploiting being Trojan, in the same vein as Dio's *Oration* 11, which plays with the paradox of the city being both Trojan and Greek. The cities in Phoenicia were in a somewhat similar predicament, given the repeated appearances of Phoenicians in the *Odyssey*. The response of Tyre and Sidon was to emphasize Kadmos.⁵⁴ The coinage of Tyre drove home the point with inscriptions in Greek: Kadmos was the founder of Thebes ($\Theta\text{ΗΒΕ}$) in Boeotia and the bringer of letters to the Greeks (ΕΛΛΗ[ΝΕΣ] and ΚΑΔΜΟΣ) (pl. 1.2, 22–3).⁵⁵ These bilingual coins (otherwise in the Latin appropriate for a Roman *colonia*) emphasize the point. Tyre may, or may not, be 'Greek', but a king of Tyre had founded a Greek city and taught the 'cultured' Greeks how to read and write in the first place.⁵⁶ The coins are reminiscent of an anecdote in Philostratus, in which a rhetor from Tyre is said to have opened his first oration at Athens with 'Once again letters have come from Phoenicia.'⁵⁷ But, again, this is a very

⁴⁴ On Ephesus: Rogers 1991: *passim*, especially 111–15, procession symbolically linking the Roman present, the Ionian past, and the birth of Artemis; 143, emphasis on founders. For Hierapolis and Smyrna: Price, Chapter 9 below.

⁴⁵ Woolf 1994a: 129; Swain 1996: 9–10, 411.

⁴⁶ Spawforth and Walker 1985; 1986. Panhellenion as a Greek initiative: Jones 1996; Swain 1996: 75–6.

⁴⁷ Woolf 1995: 15–16.

⁴⁸ Heuchert, Chapter 3 below; cf. Swain 1996: 73.

⁴⁹ Weiss 2000a; Jones 1996: 46.

⁵⁰ Spawforth and Walker 1986: 89–90 (account of foundation legend set up at Athens); Jones 1996: 39–41.

⁵¹ Lucian, *Alexander* 23, 58; Swain 1996: 76, 325.

⁵² Hollstein and Jarman 1995.

⁵³ Erskine 2001: 251–3.

⁵⁴ Kadmos: Millar 1993: 264–5, 286, 292.

⁵⁵ On the latter: Millar 1990: 36.

⁵⁶ Tyre was capable of playing with the Phoenician language in much the same way; see below (pl. 1.4, 40–2).

⁵⁷ Philostratus, *VS* 2. 10; Millar 1993: 290.

Greek way of exploiting being Phoenician. Real difference arguably lay in not using mythology for the purpose at all.

As Price notes, the use of mythology was much more intense on the coinage of, say, western Asia Minor than in the region from eastern Asia Minor and Syria southwards to Egypt, even after making allowance for the fact that our ignorance does not allow us to decode some mythological references.⁵⁸ Price must be right that this is explicable in terms of the different position of Hellenic culture in places where the past that was recalled most was not a Greek past, and where, we might add, the past was not recalled in a Greek manner. The Fertile Crescent had an entirely different frame of reference, 'in which dates and places are given by the biblical flood, where the Greek heroes are almost entirely absent and time is marked by king-lists and creation stories'.⁵⁹ The treatment in Strabo's *Geography* provides a good analogy for the local coinage, in that he treated the great sweep of land from Persia to Egypt in a different way from everywhere else, failing to cite local histories, because he could not locate the region so easily within the familiar structures of the Greek past, from Homer onwards.⁶⁰

The examples of mythology on the coinage of Tyre noted above are instructive in this regard, and were possible precisely because the city could be located in a Greek past (Kadmos founded Thebes, Dido Carthage). The coinage of Egypt displayed Greek mythology too, for a restricted period (between AD 140/1 and 178/9). The most spectacular of the 'Greek' themes are the pictorial scenes from mythology (the labours of Hercules, the judgement of Paris, Orpheus and the animals, Bellerophon and the chimaira, Chiron and Achilles, Lycurgus and the sacred vine, Apollo and Marsyas). This use of Greek mythology was generic, not locational. So the judgement of Paris was represented (pl. 1.2, 24), but not the presence of the 'real' Helen in Egypt (on one version), or Menelaus' visit. Egypt, like Rome, caught the mythological habit at this time, but Egyptian myth and history (unlike Egyptian religion) is absent from the coinage.

Thus the use of the past to construct identity on coinage emerges as a strategy somehow correlated

with 'Greekness', and which was borrowed by Rome and Egypt in the context of the hellenization of the Antonine court and the flowering of the Second Sophistic.

Time

The structuring of time itself could be a marker of identity. A spectacular modern example followed the French Revolution, when the Convention Nationale decided to scrap the Christian calendar and to inaugurate a new world-era with Year One, starting from the proclamation of the Republic on 22 September 1792.⁶¹ The use of local eras and other systems to date coins in the Roman world is clearly of interest in this context, but their pattern of use is explicable only if one considers them alongside the use of the names of magistrates and other individuals on coins.

The function of the names of individuals on coins has proved difficult to define: are they there to date the coins or to record responsibility for the minting of the coins (which might include paying for issues)? Particular formulae certainly record responsibility, sometimes embracing initiative or financial generosity on the part of the individual named, but in the vast majority of cases both possibilities are left open. Thus we have a classic problem: are the specific formulae a guide to how to interpret the non-specific evidence, or are they by their nature exceptional? It is now possible to make real progress with this question on the basis of the masterly survey of the evidence by Weiss in this volume. The reason that it has proved impossible to decide between date and responsibility for the majority of the evidence is that it is, in a sense, a false dichotomy. As Weiss argues, following Dmitriev, the 'designation of different magistracies as eponymous in the same city is as a rule to be explained by the relevant spheres of responsibility'. Thus the function of the majority of names on coins may be viewed as traditional dating by means of eponymous magistracy, but in a very flexible system in which the choice of the 'eponymous' magistrate to date the coins tended to be correlated with responsibility for the coin being dated.

⁵⁸ Price and Butcher, Chapters 9 and 12 below.

⁵⁹ Clarke 1999: 324. ⁶⁰ Clarke 1999: 318–25.

⁶¹ Anderson 1991: 193.

This may seem a rather brave assertion, but it is strongly supported by the geographical patterning of the evidence. Many coinages do not bear dates at all, but the vast majority of those that do fall into a well-defined geographical area. In the imperial period eras or regnal years were used for dating coins, in Kushnir-Stein's useful formulation 'west of the Euphrates, as far as Pontus to the north, Palestine and Egypt to the south, and Cilicia Pedias to the west'.⁶² One might extend this delineation to the north of the Black Sea to include the client kingdom of Bosphorus and the city of Chersonesus. These are precisely the areas where the names of individuals are not normally found. Coins with names were struck to the west of the areas with eras, from Olbia on the Black Sea southwards to Asia and Africa and westwards to Spain.⁶³ There are minor transgressions to these patterns, particularly at the margin between the two, but the strong negative correlation between the geographical range of dating by eras or by regnal years on the one hand, and of the use of names on the other, strongly suggests that both performed the same function. Thus the practice of placing names on coins may be seen as belonging to the tradition of dating by eponymous magistrates, which was continued under Rome, as it had been under Hellenistic kings.⁶⁴

It is not intended to argue that all names on coins had a dating function. Any single explanation is unlikely to do justice to the totality of such a diverse phenomenon. But it is suggested that names and eras were two ways of going about the same thing. Both served to locate the coins in time within the official conceptual framework of the *polis*. There are remarkably few coinages which have both names and eras, and the few that do present no real challenge to this view (in any case there are explicit examples of dating by two eras at once). So, for example, the combination of the names of proconsuls and a local

era on civic coins of Bithynia from 61/60 to 47/46 BC seems readily explicable as a double dating system located in relation to a local past and to the Roman present.⁶⁵ Thus there is a good case for considering names and eras together.

In this light one can see considerable potential for the analysis of names on coins in the context of local epigraphy more generally. The discussion by Weiss in this volume is illustrative of the advantages of such an approach. Here all that can be done is to note some of the more obvious characteristics of the numismatic evidence.

The early coinage of *coloniae* often bears the names of the local *duoviri*. Does this represent an emphasis on the distinctive organizational structure of *coloniae* modelled on Rome? If so, does the disappearance of names on their coins by the Flavian period suggest that this formal differentiation of *coloniae* was becoming less important? Or, perhaps less likely, is the lack of names later itself a Roman feature—the imperial coinage does not mention the *triumviri aere argento auro flando feriundo* after c.4 BC—and thus a contrast with Greek cities?⁶⁶ Among the Greek cities themselves there are major regional patterns to be defined and explored. Thus Asia, where civic coinage named mostly local magistrates or priests, might be contrasted with Thrace and Moesia Inferior, where the names were mostly those of Roman governors.⁶⁷ The significance of the use of the names of Roman governors has proved as elusive as their local counterparts, but seems readily explicable along the same lines. Their general function of oversight made them an option for dating according to the traditional system. From the point of view of identity, it is interesting that cities in some regions opted to locate their issues in time with reference to the Roman provincial administration and in others with reference to civic magistracies.

The geographical range of the alternative practice of dating local coinage by eras or regnal years was largely dictated by Hellenistic practice. Its distribution

⁶² Kushnir-Stein, Chapter 13 below. On the exceptional use of an era in Macedonia in AD 244, see below. Outside the pattern are the coinages for Provincia Moesia Superior/Colonia Viminacium (AD 239–55) and for Provincia Dacia (AD 246–57), which were dated by new eras from AN. I. (for example, below pl. 1.3, 29) (Martin 1992). The precise reference of the eras is unclear. The coinages may be viewed as 'Roman' coinages for their provinces (see below for their exceptional iconography) or as coinages in the name of the provincial assemblies (Kos 1992, citing evidence for the use of *Provincia* in that sense).

⁶³ Münsterberg 1911–27 provides a useful, if somewhat dated, conspectus of the evidence arranged geographically (but combined with pre-imperial evidence).
⁶⁴ Leschhorn 1993: 9, 416, 422.

⁶⁵ Leschhorn 1993: 432, 486. Another example of coins with names and eras: Aegae in Cilicia Pedias, see RPC I, pp. 593–4; II, pp. 258–9.

⁶⁶ RPC II, pp. 5, 42.

⁶⁷ Peter, Chapter 8 below: of the thirty cities minting in the Roman period fifteen used the names of provincial governors: Anchialus, Augusta Traiana, Bizya, Byzantium, Hadrianopolis, Marcianopolis, Nicopolis ad Istrum, Pautalia, Perinthus, Philippopolis, Plotinopolis, Serdica, Tomi, Topirus, and Traianopolis.

convincingly demonstrates that continuity with Hellenistic bureaucratic traditions, particularly Seleucid and Ptolemaic, was the determining factor. Dating by era was a Seleucid innovation, and the use of regnal years had been taken over by Alexander from the Achaemenids (and ultimately from Babylonia and Egypt).⁶⁸ These traditions persisted. Thus the Roman coinages of Caesarea in Cappadocia and of Egypt were dated by the regnal years of the emperor, in continuity with the coinages of the kings of Cappadocia and of the Ptolemies. The use of regnal years, not confined to these two coinages, articulated a relationship to imperial power, albeit a traditional one; the use of local eras put the emphasis more on the city.⁶⁹

The most dramatic aspect of this structuring of time was when a new era was instituted. As Kushnir-Stein shows in her chapter in this volume, most of the Palestinian city eras were inaugurated in Roman times, but the practice itself owed little to Rome. The city eras were modelled on Hellenistic eras of autonomy, and marked turning points in the internal histories of the cities concerned (new foundations, or the grant or restoration of the status of *polis*). In Palestine and elsewhere, the sheer variety of form and variability of incidence of dating systems make it clear that dating systems were not primarily the result of initiative or interference by Rome.⁷⁰

While this is clearly right at a formal level, one should not forget that the changes in civic status which gave rise to new eras were now entirely consequent upon Roman intervention, and that ad hoc Roman involvement is possible. We are largely ignorant of the mechanisms for the introduction of a new era: it is tempting to recall in this context the role of a Roman governor in suggesting the precise date on which to start the year of a new calendar for the Province of Asia.⁷¹ If some cities in Paphlagonia instituted a new era on the occasion of their incorporation into the province of Galatia consequent upon the annexation of the kingdom of Paphlagonia, and the new *poleis* of the Roman province of *Arabia* used the era of the establishment of that province, it is clearly too categorical to argue that Rome was

entirely out of mind.⁷² Further, the coins of one city in Asia, Laodicea (pl. I.3, 25), and two in Palestine, Gaza and Ascalon, used new eras based on imperial visits by Hadrian.⁷³ These visits may well have been the occasion for a change of civic status—a refoundation has been suggested for Laodicea—but did the names of these eras really fail to mention Hadrian?

Thus the one explicit acknowledgement on coinage that Rome lay at the heart of the restructuring of time, a series of anonymous coins inscribed 'year 1 of Rome', deserves some attention (pl. I.3, 26). Once attributed to Gadara in the Decapolis, it has now been suggested, with some plausibility, that it may have been struck by a petty ruler in or around the south of the new province of Syria.⁷⁴ This series may be dismissed as the exception that proves the rule ('client kings'—if, indeed, the series was struck by one—emphasized Rome in a way that cities did not) or accepted as making explicit the reality of power which informed all new eras. Epigraphic evidence adds to the impression that the latter alternative must be taken seriously. There was more room on an inscription to spell out how an era was conceived. There are some spectacular examples: the era 'of the apotheosis of the Olympian Augustus and of the reign of his son Tiberius Caesar Augustus' (Samos), or the two eras 'of the victory of the elder Caesar, the Emperor, the god, and of the younger Caesar, the emperor, the son of a god' (Apollonis), but there is a reasonable scatter of less dramatic evidence defining eras in the form 'of the victory of' or 'of the province'.⁷⁵ The victory era for Actium is revealed as an honour for Octavian used in the context of the imperial cult.⁷⁶ In the same vein the fact that the coinages for both the First (AD 66–70) and the Second (AD 132–5) Jewish Revolts proclaimed a new era might be seen as an aggressive reaction to Rome, rather than just as a continuation of normal Hellenistic practice.⁷⁷ So it is not unreasonable to suggest that local eras might acknowledge Rome as well as commemorating civic status.

⁶⁸ Leschhorn 1993: 170–5, 481–4; Kushnir-Stein, Chapter 13 below.

⁶⁹ On dating by regnal years elsewhere: Leschhorn 1993: 19–20; Kushnir-Stein, Chapter 13 below, for Palestine.

⁷⁰ Leschhorn 1993: 419, 434.

⁷¹ Beard, North, and Price 1998: 343.

⁷² Examples selected by Burnett in his review of Leschhorn in *NC* 155 (1995): 378–80; evidence in Leschhorn 1993: 535 (Samos), 504 (Apollonis), 471 ('of the province', Neokaisareia from Klaros), in general 436–541.

⁷³ Leschhorn 1993: 426.

⁷⁴ Kushnir-Stein 2000–2: 82–3.

⁷⁵ Goodman, Chapter 14 below.

⁷⁶ Leschhorn 1993: 426.

⁷⁷ Goodman, Chapter 14 below.

The occasion marked by the introduction of a new era was the most dramatic aspect of this structuring of time, but its duration and pattern of use may also be instructive. The use of an era served to keep an event within the collective memory, and was an aspect of historical consciousness.⁷⁸ Two examples from areas where eras were not normally used on coins, and thus where causation is easier to isolate, will serve to make the point. As has been noted, Laodicea in Asia used an era based on a visit and refoundation of the city by Hadrian on some of its coins, but only from AD 215/16 following a second imperial visit by Caracalla in 214/15 (pl. 1.3, 25). At the time of his visit Caracalla restored the neocorate which the city had lost, and games were held in his honour (*Antonineia*). It looks as though the second imperial visit was the occasion of increased emphasis on the first, and indeed there is no evidence that the 'Hadrianic' era even existed before Caracalla's visit.⁷⁹ In a somewhat analogous way, an imperial presence seems to lie behind the unique use of an era in Macedonia, to date coins struck for the Koinon in year 275 (of an era clearly but not explicitly based on the victory of Caesar (Octavian) at Actium) (pl. 1.3, 27).⁸⁰ The occasion was the presence of Philip I on his return from the East in AD 244 after making a pragmatic peace with Persia. It would be interesting to know the rhetoric of the situation. Was this, like Actium, presented as a victory over the East (the mint of Rome has victory types in 244)? Victory over the East was an obvious theme in Macedonia (many of the coins of the Koinon depict Alexander on the obverse).⁸¹

The introduction and use of eras and the styles of eponymous dating variously emphasized and mixed Greek and Roman, past and present, in ways that were both traditional and creative. Dating systems may be seen as a codification of a conceptual world which informed much else. Thus the prevalence of eras based on changes in civic status or on Actium have their analogues in the *Geography* of Strabo. There the past of settlements is structured around the foundation, refoundation, renaming, and destruction of cities,

and Actium emerges as a significant chronological marker.⁸²

Geography

As with time, the structuring of space and the representation of place are potentially of great interest in the context of identity.⁸³ Geographies are significant. The imperial administrative geography of Roman provinces, with which Strabo ends his *Geography*,⁸⁴ is most obviously on display on the imperial coinage of Hadrian in his so-called 'province series' (which has an analogue under Pius). The relevant issues of Hadrian include depictions of 'provinces', characterized by dress and attributes (pl. 1.3, 28), of imperial visits (*ADVENTVI AVG...*, emperor and 'province' at a scene of sacrifice), of provincial armies (*EXERCITVS...*, emperor addressing troops), and of the emperor restoring 'provinces' (*RESTITVTORI...*, emperor raising kneeling 'province').⁸⁵ These issues belong in a tradition of representation as aggrandizement, which embraces Agrippa's map, the lists in the *Res Gestae*, and the *Ethne* in the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias.⁸⁶ Here it is the conceptual geography which is of interest.

Hadrian's 'province' series is not, in fact, an attempt at representing provinces at all. The correspondence between representation and province is not exact (for example, 'Libya' was not the name of a province, nor was 'Phrygia'; 'Hispania' and 'Gallia' embraced more than one, and the series includes two cities, Alexandria and Nicomedia, and a river, the Nile). The series was rather an attempt to give a visual account of the empire in a flexible tradition which had its origins in the depictions of conquered peoples in Roman triumphal art.⁸⁷ This tradition has been adapted to imperial circumstances: the emphasis has shifted from conquest towards partnership. Despite the fact that regions appear to be defined largely according to the most prominent ethnic name, in the traditional way, the inscriptions

⁸² Clarke 2001: cities: 205, 260, 264–76, 330; Actium: 254–5, 286–7, 304.

⁸³ On the significance of the history of geography: Nicolet 1991; Clarke 2001.

⁸⁴ Strabo 17. 3. 24–5; Clarke 1999: 314, 326 (noting that Strabo contrasts the world conquered by Rome with the world he describes), 335–6.

⁸⁵ Strack 1931–7, vol. ii: 139–66; Toynbee 1934; *BMCRE* III, pp. cxlii–cxliii, clxxi–clxxxii.

⁸⁶ On which, Nicolet 1991.

⁸⁷ On which, Smith 1988.

⁷⁸ Leschhorn 1993: 416, 429–31.

⁷⁹ Leschhorn 1993: 382–5, 429, 431, 536.

⁸⁰ *AMNG* iii.1, pp. 14, 93 (no. 321), 183–8; Gaebler 1906: 32–7.

⁸¹ For the emphasis on Alexander in Macedonia see Kremydi-Sicilianou, Chapter 7 below.

indicate that abstract places rather than peoples are now being represented, and the correspondence with Roman provinces is high. The conceptual importance of Roman administrative geography is demonstrated precisely and emphatically in its ability to shape a quite different tradition.

It is noteworthy that the provinces with armies in the 'exercitus' series are mostly represented as armed figures in the 'province' series, and that the 'restitutor' type is reserved almost exclusively for the (peaceful?) provinces which are not represented in the 'exercitus' series (Hadrian's own Hispania alone is represented in both).⁸⁸ These series thus represent a Roman perspective on the empire, in which the division of the empire into provinces was dominant, and in which the military/non-military division emerges as a primary principle of conceptual organization.

The Roman geography of power was present also on the local coinages, for example in the issues in the name of provincial *koina* (the collective focus for the imperial cult within provinces), in titular claims to be the 'first city' or 'metropolis' of a province, in the use of the names of Roman governors to date issues, and the like, but it is not very noticeable. Not surprisingly military status does not feature as a significant expression of the identity of provinces on local issues, except on those of Provincia Moesia Superior/ Colonia Viminacium (AD 239–55) and Provincia Dacia (AD 246–57) (pl. I.3, 29).⁸⁹ These coinages depict personifications of their *provinciae* with legionary standards or emblems (or both). Neither Moesia Superior nor Dacia had a prior tradition of local coinage under Rome, and the coinages may be read as Roman coinages for the two provinces, so that the 'Roman perspective' expressed in the iconography is readily explicable. An alternative reading would be to see the coinages as struck for the provincial assemblies and their iconography as representing an internalization of the 'Roman perspective' within the provinces themselves. Elsewhere, military iconography had a different reference, particularly to veteran settlement on the coinage of *coloniae*, although it became increasingly generalized on civic issues after the reign of Hadrian. A correlation with cities on military transit routes has been contested, but does seem to have some validity at a very general level.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ The series are tabulated in Strack 1931–7, vol. ii: 143.

⁸⁹ Above, n. 62. ⁹⁰ Rebuffat 1997.

Alongside the Roman geography of power is found a local alternative geography using old ethnic names (Ionia, Lydia, Caria, Phrygia, etc.), of the type used, for example, by Philostratus.⁹¹ One motive behind this geography may have been the preoccupation with purity of language (avoiding Roman terms), and another an emphasis on antiquity.⁹² More subversive interpretations must remain open, but the public acceptability of such alternative geography even at Rome is guaranteed by personifications of Phrygia and the like on the imperial coinage itself.

A few examples from the province of Asia will give a flavour of the local evidence. The people of Mostene were calling themselves Lydian, perhaps even before the imperial period.⁹³ In c.AD 139–44 a magnificent coinage was struck by the initiative of its *archiereus* in honour of the 'Koinon of the thirteen cities' (that is, of the Ionian League) (pl. I.3, 30), and in the mid-third century Colophon explicitly named the Koinon of Ionia, and Samos claimed to be the first city in Ionia.⁹⁴ In AD 211/12 the city-goddess of Laodicea was depicted between labelled personifications of Phrygia and Caria (pl. I.3, 31). This is of particular interest, because the subsequent creation of the province of Caria and Phrygia shows that this conjunction was sufficiently meaningful to receive administrative sanction later.⁹⁵ Tralles even proclaimed itself to be the first city in Hellas. The cultural burden of the term 'Hellas' is obvious in a context in which Greek identity was paramount in the whole of the eastern half of the empire and not just in 'Old Greece'. The claim to primacy in Hellas was bolstered by the symbolic depiction of the local 'Olympic' and 'Pythian' games (pl. I.3, 32).⁹⁶ Local geography as a numismatic phenomenon was not confined to Asia: in Syria, for example, civic coinages mentioned Commagene, Phoenicia, Coele Syria, and Ituraea.⁹⁷

Alongside this local geography, there was an increase in representations of place. Depictions of buildings have been discussed already under the heading of 'monumentality', and there were rare

⁹¹ Bowie 1974: 200–1.

⁹² Swain 1996: *passim*, especially chs. 1–3, 'Language and Identity', 'The Practice of Purism', 'Past and Present'. ⁹³ *RPC* II, p. 155 with no. 993.

⁹⁴ Gillespie 1956; Engelmann 1972.

⁹⁵ *SNG* von Aulock 3856; Roueché 1981; French and Roueché 1982; Reynolds, Beard, and Roueché 1986: 143.

⁹⁶ *SNG* von Aulock 3297; see Klose, Chapter 10 below.

⁹⁷ Butcher, Chapter 12 below.

views of whole cities, of acropoleis, of city walls, of bridges, aqueducts, lighthouses, and harbours.⁹⁸ Place might also be represented by personifications. City-goddesses became ubiquitous, and might be 'customized'. Thus at Side the city-goddess holds a Nike and ship's stern, and the figure is accompanied by a vexillum and a pomegranate (pl. 1.3, 33).⁹⁹ It is not hard to decode references to the excellent harbour and the city's role as a naval and military base, and the pomegranate was simply a pun on the name of the city in Greek.

Personifications of river-gods were also very common, and might likewise be customized.¹⁰⁰ In Egypt, for example, the Nile might be depicted variously crowned with lotus, holding a reed and a cornucopia, and accompanied by a crocodile or, more rarely, with a hippopotamus, water plants, the Nilometer which measured the height of the flood, and personifications of the cubits with which the Nilometer was calibrated.¹⁰¹ A charming *jeu d'esprit* shows him riding on a hippopotamus, another in a car drawn by hippopotami. The benefits of the Nile for the corn supply were made explicit by the depiction of Nilus in the company of Euthenia with her corn ears (the equivalent of Annona) and, spectacularly, of Nilus clasping hands with Tiber (pl. 1.3, 34).

Mountains were much less common on coinage, but might be depicted either by 'physical' representations (the line between 'representation' and 'cult image' is hard to draw, as on coins of Caesarea in Cappadocia with Mount Argaeus (pl. 1.3, 35)), or by personifications.¹⁰² The intricate coin-type from Ephesus with Zeus raining on the mountain-god Mount Pion, which also depicts a temple, three other buildings, and a cypress tree on a hillside, related to a foundation myth, and illustrates how place served to anchor myth/history in the present (Pion was one of the silver images dedicated by Salutaris and carried in processions) (pl. 3.1, 6).¹⁰³

The increase in frequency and diversity of representations of place might be seen, alongside the ethnic geography, as an assertion of locality which served to fix a place in the world.

Language

The geography of the Roman empire embraced a wide range of languages.¹⁰⁴ The proposition that language is an important marker of identity is well established, for all that it may be more important in some contexts than in others, and that the choice of language to express communal identities need not reflect what people actually spoke.¹⁰⁵ The focus here is on the use of languages on coinages within the Roman empire, but it is worth noting that the incidence of inscriptions on coins, their content, and the language, alphabet, and styles of epigraphy used, may provide important evidence of Roman influences prior to conquest. In this vein, the significance of writing on coinage (and of coinage as evidence for writing) in pre-Roman Gaul and Britain has been brilliantly analysed by Williams.¹⁰⁶

Within the Roman empire, two main languages dominated the coinage: Latin in the west and Greek in the east. The principal exception to this pattern is that Roman *coloniae* (and *municipia*) used Latin in the east, on their coinage as on their public inscriptions, in recognition of their Roman status. Latin was employed even for titular *coloniae*, despite the fact that there had been no introduction of Latin-speaking colonists, and despite subsequent difficulties with the language even in some *coloniae* which had begun as genuine military settlements.¹⁰⁷ Thus the symbolic significance of the choice of language is clear. The fact that some Severan and later *coloniae* in the east used Greek from the time they acquired their new title may suggest that the key emphasis was increasingly on the 'privileged status' of a *colonia* rather than on its 'Romanness' (after all, the extension of citizenship in 212 made everyone Roman).¹⁰⁸

The status of Greek alongside Latin on the coinages of the empire is not surprising. Greek language

¹⁰⁴ For a survey of languages within the Roman empire: Harris 1989: 175–9.

¹⁰⁵ Importance of language: Anderson 1991: *passim*, especially 19, 154, 196; Swain 1996: ch. 1; Adams 2003: 751–3; on the variable importance of language to identity: Woolf, 1995: 14. For examples of a contrast between the public/official language and the spoken one, see what follows on *coloniae* and Ripollès, Chapter 6 below, on Latin in Spain; cf. Woolf 1998: 93–4 on Gaul. ¹⁰⁶ Williams 2001b; 2002a; and Chapter 5 below.

¹⁰⁷ Difficulties: Levick 1967: 130–62.

¹⁰⁸ Millar 1990, Carrhae minted alternately in Greek and Latin (p. 39); Millar 1993: 308 (Emesa).

⁹⁸ Price and Trell 1977; Peter, Chapter 8 below.

⁹⁹ RPC II: 1523.

¹⁰⁰ Imhoof-Blumer 1923.

¹⁰¹ A conspectus may be found in Milne 1971: xxx, 143–5.

¹⁰² Some examples in Imhoof-Blumer 1888: 295–7, 'Berggottheiten, Gebirge und Nymphen'. ¹⁰³ Rogers 1991: 83; 108.

was central to self-definition, in a way which was not universal, and it was permitted to operate as an official language (institutionalized, if you like, in the *ab epistulis Graecis*). In this context it is worth stating that even the mint of Rome on occasion produced coinages in Greek to be sent for use in Greek-speaking provinces (including Lycia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Cyprus, Syria, Arabia, Egypt, and Cyrenaica) (for example, pl. 1.4, 36).¹⁰⁹

On coinage the use of other languages on their own, rather than as an addition to Latin or Greek, was a feature confined to the period of the Republic and the very early empire. A clear example is the 'Iberian' coinages in silver and bronze, which have inscriptions in Iberian or Celtiberian written in Iberian script.¹¹⁰ Woolf argued that one of the uses of Iberian epigraphy was precisely to signal differences between different groups, which fits well with the thesis here that language was a fundamental expression of identity.¹¹¹ On any chronology these coinages were struck in the second and first centuries BC and were thus an innovation under Roman control. The inscriptions cannot be dismissed as a linguistic survival from before the provinces were created, but represent deliberate 'choices' of the Roman period.

So why are similar phenomena not found later? It may be that the key development was the creation of a 'Roman Provincial Culture' in the triumviral and Augustan period (sometimes called the Roman Cultural Revolution).¹¹² From that time onwards, but not markedly before, the material culture of the provinces, embracing a wide range of artefacts and structures, became recognizably Roman. Before that time there was little impetus to follow a Roman model, even supposing there was one to follow, and the use of indigenous languages on coinage thus causes no surprise.

That the period from the middle of the first century BC to the middle of the first century AD marked a critical change might also be argued from the contrast between the impact of conquest on coinages in Gaul and in Britain. In Gaul, the production of coinage in a local tradition continued for some decades after the conquest, perhaps until the time of Augustus, Gaulish (a Celtic language) was still used for some numismatic

inscriptions (pl. 1.4, 37), and both Gallo-Greek and Gallo-Latin (Greek and Latin scripts adapted to write Gaulish) continued to spread onto the coinage in new areas within Belgica after the conquest.¹¹³ In Britain, by contrast, the minting of local coinage itself ceased almost immediately with the conquest.

Even more persuasive than this contrast is the simple fact that there are no post-Tiberian *monolingual* coins in languages other than Greek and Latin anywhere in the empire (there were monolingual issues in neo-Punic in Africa up to Tiberius).¹¹⁴ The Hebrew of the coinage of the two Jewish Revolts thus seems all the more pointed, and this impression is supported by the strident nature of the slogans and the deliberate use of palaeo-Hebrew script (presumably to emphasize the antiquity of the Jewish people).¹¹⁵

Although monolingual coins (except in Greek and Latin) came to an end, bilingual coins persisted. Bilingualism has proved a rich topic, and the coinage has something to add.¹¹⁶ There are a few bilingual issues in Greek and Latin from Greek cities, probably under the influence of imperial or provincial Latin issues circulating in their areas (for example, pl. 1.4, 38),¹¹⁷ but other languages are present too. Bilingual coinages display different forms of language mixing or 'code-switching', ranging from simple translations to interesting cases of culturally specific functional differentiation between the languages. In other words two languages were used to express a double identity with a different content.¹¹⁸ A few examples will make the point more clearly. The coins of Sabratha in Tripolitania were regularly bilingual: the head of the

¹¹³ Chronology: Allen 1995: 31–4. Gallo-Greek and Gallo-Latin: Williams 2001b: 9; Gaulish: Colbert de Beaulieu and Fischer 1998 (review by D. Ellis Evans in *NC* 159 (1999): 367–72). The (surely post-conquest?) coinage of the Lexovii of eastern Normandy mixes inscriptions in Gaulish with a Gaulish rendering of a Latin phrase (here pl. 1.4, 37) (Williams 2001b: 4; evidence in Colbert de Beaulieu and Fischer 1998: nos. 109, 195, 226, 262–3). On Gaulish in relation to Latin: Adams 2003: 184–200.

¹¹⁴ For monolingual neo-Punic issues under Augustus and Tiberius at Oea, Sabratha, and Lepcis Magna see *RPC* I, pp. 204–9. For the use of the language in general: Millar 1968: 126–34; Adams 1994: 88–9.

¹¹⁵ Goodman, Chapter 14 below.

¹¹⁶ Adams and Swain 2002 and Adams 2003: *passim*; for the use of bilingualism to express double identities: Adams and Swain 2002: 2, 7–8; Adams 2003: 287–9; on coinage: Adams 2003: 207–9 (Africa), 280–1 (Spain).

¹¹⁷ Cf. Burnett 2002a: 120.

¹¹⁸ This is the kind of bilingualism described by Adams among currencies: Adams 1999: 128–34 where he demonstrates that the distinction was not necessarily between public and private identities. For example, Latin might be used to record a position in the army, and Greek to locate into a Greek cultural tradition.

¹⁰⁹ Butcher and Ponting 1995; Carradice and Cowell 1987.

¹¹⁰ Ripollès, Chapter 6 below; Burnett 2002c: 36–9.

¹¹¹ Woolf 1994b: 86–9. ¹¹² Woolf 1995; 1998: 96–8, 181–5, 238–41.

emperor is labelled CAESAR in Latin, but the local deities are accompanied by the local ethnic and sometimes also the name of the local magistrate in the local language, neo-Punic (pl. 1.4, 39).¹¹⁹ At the Roman *colonia* of Tyre in Phoenicia, there is now evidence (something of a surprise)¹²⁰ for the use of Phoenician as late as the reign of Gallienus.¹²¹ The titles of the Roman emperor and of the *colonia* were invariably in Latin, but on a few issues a local mythological figure is labelled 'Pygmalion' in Phoenician (he was either the king of Tyre, brother of Dido, or alternatively a young hero hunter) (pl. 1.4, 40). The most spectacular example of this phenomenon is a trilingual issue under Gordian III depicting Dido founding Carthage. Again the titles of the Roman emperor and of the *colonia* are in Latin, but the local mythological figure is given her Greek mythological name in Greek (Dido) and her Phoenician name (Elishar) in Phoenician (pl. 1.4, 41–2).

This late use of Phoenician, even though it is minimal, is very striking, and may reflect an unusual interest in Phoenician identity.¹²² Other languages are not evident on coinage as an aspect of the increased visibility of local cultures from the third century AD onwards, for all that language is normally given a place in the description of the emerging changes in cultural patterning (notably with the rise of Syriac and Coptic as major literary languages).¹²³ On the coinage of the empire as a whole Latin triumphed, even over Greek, as we will see.

'Romanness'

The use of Latin was not the only way in which identity or 'connectedness' with the imperial power might be exhibited through coinage. There was first

and foremost the major distinction between east and west, which itself reflected a major cultural contrast.¹²⁴ The west came to use Roman imperial coins exclusively from the first half of the first century AD, whereas in the east local coinages continued to flourish into the second half of the third century. The mechanism for the ending of local coinage in the west is unclear, but the length of the process makes a single administrative act implausible. This is not a conundrum unique to coinage: 'The problem is the familiar one of accounting for the common cultural outcome of multiple independent initiatives without invoking any central policy designed to achieve that end.'¹²⁵ A cultural explanation works well: emulation of Rome in the west was in the ideological interests of both local elites and Rome, just as an emphasis on Greek heritage served both parties in the east.¹²⁶ In this context the use of Roman coins proper in the west makes sense, as does the vitality of local coinage in the east.

The iconography of the coinage might be taken as another indicator of 'Romanness', but any purely literal reading will be inadequate. It may be useful to consider the case of Egypt, as it helps to draw out the more general point. The coin types in Egypt may be categorized as Roman, Greek, or Egyptian. The pictorial scenes from Greek mythology have been discussed already (for example, pl. 1.2, 24). Under 'Egyptian' themes a prominent place belongs to the series representing the *nomes* (administrative districts) by means of localized deities very frequently with animals or birds as attributes (an aspect of Egyptian religion which we have already had occasion to note) (pl. 1.1, 4; and pls. 15.1–2).¹²⁷ The chronology reveals something else. The scenes of Greek mythology were struck between AD 140/1 and 178/9, and the 'nome coins' between AD 91/2 and 144/5. In other words, the mint at Alexandria displayed an interest in mythology and representation of place at broadly the same time as did the mint of Rome (mythology under Antoninus Pius, 'province' series for Hadrian and Pius).¹²⁸ This is not a simple

¹¹⁹ *RPC* I, pp. 204–6; Adams 2003: 207–9; Burnett 2002c: 35.

¹²⁰ Millar 1993: 293, cf. 271 on the paucity of evidence for Phoenician in the imperial period. Not a single connected sentence survives from after the Augustan period.

¹²¹ Gitler and Bijovsky 2002; Bijovsky 2000; Robinson 1997a; 1997b; 1999.

¹²² Embodied in the *Phoenicica* of Philo of Byblus, apparently of the beginning of the second century AD: see Millar 1993: 277–9.

¹²³ Cameron 1993: 9–10, 167; Swain 1996: 300–1 on Syriac as a cultural phenomenon. Edessa, while under Roman control (from 160s) had a small bronze coinage in Syriac under King Ma'nu (164/5–176/7) and his successor Abgar, but the silver naming Ma'nu, the larger bronzes of Abgar, and all subsequent coinage was in Greek alone. On Edessa: Millar 1987: 159–62; 1993: 456–67, 472–81.

¹²⁴ Howgego 1995: 58–9; Burnett, Chapter 16 below.

¹²⁵ Woolf 1998: 219 (on the reinvention of Gallic religion!).

¹²⁶ On the major cultural distinction: Woolf 1998: 241–9. West: Woolf 1995, especially 16. East: Bowie 1974; Woolf 1994a.

¹²⁷ Geissen, Chapter 15 below.

¹²⁸ 'Province' series of Pius: *BMCRE* IV, pp. lxxix–lxxx, lxxxv.

case of Egypt copying Rome, which does not work even at a chronological level, but more importantly is the kind of approach towards ‘Romanization’ which is rightly criticized as being influenced by the modern colonial experience.¹²⁹ Nor does it mean that the representation of Greek mythology and ‘Egyptian’ deities should be re-categorized as ‘Roman’ phenomena (although it does make it harder to interpret them as anti-Roman, or even as non-Roman). But the broadly parallel developments in Rome and Egypt are indicative of a wider cultural interaction, and serve to problematize literal readings of iconography as ‘Roman’, ‘Greek’, or ‘Egyptian’.

Nevertheless, it does seem worth examining the structure of the iconography of the local coinage from the perspective of identity. There is something of a typological continuum, but a brutal simplification is adopted here for the purposes of analysis. The types of most coinage may be characterized by obverse and reverse as imperial/local, local/local, or imperial/imperial.

The imperial/local mode—emperor, wife, or Caesar on the obverse, local image on the reverse—is the norm. Such iconography served to locate the community in relation to both Roman power and local tradition and was normal in other media too. Statuary in public spaces and temples, festivals, and processions all mixed the Hellenic past with the Roman present.¹³⁰ Countless images here and elsewhere bear witness to this mode. The other modes are much less common, but are potentially revealing.

The local/local mode is made up of two quite distinct categories. The first, the so-called pseudo-autonomous coins, are not quite what they might seem.¹³¹ The term has been used by numismatists to describe local coins of the imperial period which do not portray an imperial image on the obverse. In most cases there is a denominational significance. Within a given issue the denominations in descending order may bear the heads of the emperor, empress, Caesar, and then, for example, the Roman senate (pl. 3.2, 14), or the local *Boule*, or *Demos* (pl. 3.2, 15). It is clearly wrong to interpret these coins as rejecting, or even ignoring, Roman power, as the

hierarchy of the denominational structure clearly expresses the subordination of local to imperial. The high frequency of use of the bust of the Roman senate on the obverse of coins of the province of Asia also speaks clearly against any such interpretation. Pseudo-autonomous coins are interesting in showing another way in which imperial and local were accommodated.

The second category—coins of mints which did not depict the emperors or Rome at all—is much harder to explain. The phenomenon is confined to a few free cities: Athens, Chios (pl. 1.4, 43), Rhodes (until Nero), and Tyre (pl. 1.4.1, 4). That status is a relevant consideration is suggested by the fact that Tyre abandoned this mode for the normal imperial/local mode when it became a *colonia* (thus pl. 1.2, 22–3; 1.4, 40–2).¹³² By no means all free cities adopted the local/local mode, and those that did seem to be on the privileged end of the spectrum. This mode should not be automatically read as subversive, then, nor as inevitably consequent upon status. There are likely to be particular circumstances which escape us. Perhaps, by way of example only, proposals by these cities to strike coins with imperial heads were met by a flattering imperial *recusatio*. It is also possible that we should construct an explanation which locates this phenomenon in a cultural world in which the novel and much other literature ignores Rome.¹³³ Whatever the explanation, what is perhaps most interesting is that this is an option rarely taken up.

The imperial/imperial mode is most common among *coloniae* and client kings, and in Egypt. The symbolic structures of *coloniae* in general mirrored their status as ‘mini-Romes’.¹³⁴ But their Roman status was fully compatible with the existence of local myths and cults of ‘Greek’ or other origin, and the coinage of *coloniae* may equally well be imperial/local.¹³⁵ Client kings had obvious reasons for advertising their connections to Rome. Not only was their

¹²⁹ On the absence of imperial images at Tyre: Millar 1993: 289–90, suggesting that it expressed an attachment to the Phoenician identity of the city. The status of Tyre before it became a *colonia* is unclear: Millar 1993: 288 questions whether it was free in a formal sense.

¹³⁰ Swain 1996: 112–13.

¹³¹ Beard, North, and Price 1998: 328–9 (religion); Lomas 1998: 69 (reordering of physical space of city to reflect colonial status).

¹³² For the complex identities of *coloniae*—incorporating Greek myth and creating founders—see Weiss 1996 on Alexandria Troas (playing on Roman foundation, supposed Hellenistic foundation by Alexander, and (Homeric) Trojan myth).

¹²⁹ Laurence 1998: 2.

¹³⁰ The incorporation of Rome: in public spaces: Alcock 2001: 338; in festivals: van Nijf 2001: 318–20; in processions: Rogers 1991.

¹³¹ Johnston 1985; *RPC* I, pp. 41–2.

power dependent on Rome, but in some cases they had spent time in Rome and were well connected at court. The coinages of Agrippa I and Agrippa II are obvious cases in point (pl. 1.4, 44).¹³⁶ The coinage for the province of Egypt was capable of stressing Roman themes, as well as 'Greek' and 'Egyptian'.¹³⁷ The appearance of Roman themes is readily explicable: this was a genuinely Roman *provincial* coinage (it was not the *civic* coinage of Alexandria) and was, in continuity with Ptolemaic practice, dated by the regnal years of the emperor. Egypt was not, perhaps, quite a 'normal' province.¹³⁸ Connections with Rome were strong and frequent, the nature of control exceptional, and the security of the corn supply paramount.

The imperial/imperial mode was unusual for Greek cities, but it is found. Sometimes indeed the coinage appears to be very 'plugged in' to developments at Rome, and the explanation may well lie in particular elite involvement. For example, at Nysa a portrait of Domitian is paired with the Nike of the emperor Domitian (*NEIKH AYTOKPATOPOΣ ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΥ*), who is depicted as a winged Minerva, thus demonstrating awareness of the emperor's particular emphasis on that goddess (pl. 1.4, 45).¹³⁹ The influence of Roman governors is a possible explanation for cases such as this, but it needs to be remembered that the Greek elite itself was increasingly a Roman elite too.

In this context, it is interesting that the 'universal' extension of citizenship by Caracalla's edict of AD 212 had no automatic impact on the nature and balance of iconography, in marked contrast to grants of colonial status, presumably because citizenship represented a change in the status of individuals rather than of communities.¹⁴⁰ There was no noticeable general shift towards imperial/imperial types at the time.

The third century did, however, see the gradual demise of local coinages. The explanation will have been complex: alongside a degree of economic disruption, political instability, and military crisis, a significant role will have been played by the changing

cultural preferences of the elite in how they devoted their energies and deployed their surplus wealth.¹⁴¹ The demise of local coinage needs to be viewed in the context of the decline of civic euergetism, of civic building, and of monumental inscriptions, and a marked increase in the 'privatization' of display.¹⁴²

This process culminated under Diocletian, with the end of the last regional coinage (in Egypt). Henceforth there was to be only a standardized imperial coinage struck at decentralized mints. From the perspective of identity the choice of type for what was presumably the commonest denomination is quite stunning. The *nummus* at all mints portrayed the Genius of the Roman people (GENIO POPVLI ROMANI) (pl. 1.4, 46). Here we have the Genius of the Roman People *in Latin* chosen as the symbol for the whole empire. This marks the real end of our story: the civic coinage of the Roman world was gone for good. Henceforth, the coinage speaks only of imperial Roman identities.

Whose Identity?

This chapter took as a starting point Millar's description of coins as 'the most deliberate of all symbols of public identity'. The significance and complexity of private and other forms of social identities are stressed by Williamson's chapter in this volume.¹⁴³ Coinage is not well suited to addressing such identities, although Williams in his chapter brings a lesson from Iron Age archaeology about one way in which this might be done (by looking at trends in ritual coin-deposition at sanctuary sites). In the sense that identity is not an innate quality but is constituted in representation,¹⁴⁴ the identities on the coinage are by definition those of the elite. The explicit representations on the coinage, and the identities implicit in the patterning of the iconography and in the structure of the coinage, belonged to those who controlled the coinage. Butcher in this volume stresses the self-reflexive nature of the evidence. Thus

¹³⁶ Burnett 1987b; 2002a: 121; *RPC* II, p. 309.

¹³⁷ Burnett 1991; Bland 1996b.

¹³⁸ This observation can be overstated or misused, as observed by Bowman and Rathbone 1992. ¹³⁹ *RPC* II, no. 1110 with p. 35.

¹⁴⁰ The only noticeable impact of the edict on coinage was the subsequent high frequency of the names of individuals beginning with the *praenomen* and *nomen* Marcus Aurelius, a demonstration that substantial numbers gained their citizenship under Caracalla.

¹⁴¹ Howgego 1995: 138–40. On the role of the elite in local coinage see Weiss, Chapter 4 below.

¹⁴² Building: Mitchell 1993: 89, 120–1. Epigraphy: Woolf 1996.

¹⁴³ Note also the comments in the same vein by Williams and Butcher, Chapters 5 and 12 below.

¹⁴⁴ Whitmarsh 2001: 1–38, 295–301; especially 30–1, 296.

it is true that the public identities of the coinage presented 'the surface expression of the dominant cultural system',¹⁴⁵ but that does not mean that its symbolism was relevant only to the elite. The coins themselves do not permit a balanced assessment of the relative importance to different social groups of the identities which they express.

Considerations of coin use and coin circulation have a contribution to make here. Our understanding of coin use in the Roman world is that more or less everybody used coins to some extent.¹⁴⁶ Coin circulation is indicative of the geographical range over which the symbolism it bore was available, and also of its penetration into, for example, domestic contexts.¹⁴⁷ We may at least ponder whether the coins themselves, as a mass-produced and circulating medium, handled by everyone, may have had an active role in spreading and fixing notions of identity. Reception is a difficult topic, but a start might be made by considering the extent to which the type of imagery found on coins was taken up, and 'internalized', in private contexts (on figurines, furniture decoration, jewellery, terracotta lamps, or tombs, etc.).¹⁴⁸ This has scarcely been attempted even for the imperial coinage, and remains a project for the future.

What does seem secure already is that the numismatic evidence, both in its iconography and its structure, is of a piece with the other ways in which the elite represented collective political identity. To this end, an attempt has been made in the foregoing discussion not to leave the numismatic evidence isolated, but to make comparisons with other expressions of elite collective identity: with festivals and processions, with public buildings and spaces, with sculpture and epigraphy, with rhetoric, and with a wide variety of other literary genres. The other papers in this volume bolster this impression. The influence of an individual on the choice of what to

put on a coin can be detected in some cases, and no doubt was more prevalent than we can know.¹⁴⁹ This is not surprising given the central place of euergetism in civic life, and in no way undermines the case that collective identity is represented. Individual influence consisted in making choices within an accepted canon.

It is impressive that, despite a context in which the focus was primarily on the civic polity or province, broader cultural identities emerge: those associated with religious commonality, with ethnicity, with shared historical and geographical outlooks, with language, with 'Romanness', and, above all, with Hellenism. Substantial difference emerges most clearly not from analysis of variations in how the game was played, but from the failure to play it at all. In the west, difference is seen most of all in the lack of any local coinage after Claudius. Likewise in the east, the Greek *poleis* and *metropoleis* of Egypt never produced coinages, even after the reform of AD 200/1 which granted each *metropolis* a *Boule*.¹⁵⁰ This is one way in which the urban communities in Egypt certainly did not function like Greek cities in other provinces.¹⁵¹ And where is the civic coinage of Palmyra, either before or after it became a *colonia* under Severus or Caracalla?¹⁵² Splendid Palmyra produced only vast quantities of very small and badly made bronzes, which some have thought to be *tesserae* rather than coins, but which may rather belong within a Parthian tradition of small change (pl. I.4, 47–8).¹⁵³ Only a very few of the coins name the city at all (in Greek), none depict or name a Roman emperor, and none reveal the status of the city. Now that is different.

¹⁴⁹ Weisser, Chapter 11 below.

¹⁵⁰ The so-called 'nome coins' were part of the normal coinage of Roman Egypt, and were not struck either in, or specifically for, the nomes concerned, see Geissen, Chapter 15 below.

¹⁵¹ Bowman and Rathbone 1992 stress the other side of this equation.

¹⁵² Millar 1990: 42–6.

¹⁵³ Krzyzanowska 1982; 2002; Szaivert 1987. Palmyra countermarked Roman provincial coins from Syria with parallel Greek and Aramaic stamps: Howgego 1985: nos. 683, 694.

¹⁴⁵ Swain 1996: 8. ¹⁴⁶ Howgego 1992.

¹⁴⁷ On the variability in the range of circulation of civic coinage: Howgego 1985: ch. 3; Butcher 2002; Burnett, Chapter 16 below. On circulation in general: King and Wigg 1996; Howgego 1994.

¹⁴⁸ Howgego 1995: 73–4.

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2

ASPECTS OF IDENTITY

George Williamson

Decoding Dayton

A MODERN EXAMPLE MAY HELP TO CLARIFY some of the issues to be discussed in this chapter. Formerly one of the six republics forming the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), Bosnia-Herzegovina has since 1995's Dayton Agreement been an uneasy international protectorate, divided into a Croat-Muslim Federation, and the Serbian 'Republika Srpska' (RS).¹ Bosnia's coinage speaks powerfully about the paradoxes of a state created through a bloody war of identity and ethnic cleansing.

These two entities—the Federation and the RS—and three communities—Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian Muslim—display strong and sometimes aggrieved senses of their own individual identities, and ethnic divisions can arise over the simplest of everyday differences. For example, car registration stickers until recently identified cars as registered either in the Federation or in the RS. The International Community felt compelled to design a coinage in which ethnic differences were avoided. The currency itself is a paradox—known as the 'Convertible Mark' (KM), it converts to another currency, the Deutschmark, which no longer exists. But it is in the choice of iconography that the Bosnian KM is most striking; these are some of the least attractive coins ever issued, more akin to subway tokens than to genuine coinage. One side of the 1 KM coin displays the stylized shield motif of Bosnia-Herzegovina,

a device approved by the International Community. The other bears the denomination and the words 'Bosne i Hercegovina' twice, in one language, and two alphabets, though Serbs, Muslims, and Croats might deny that the Latin script of Catholic Croatia, and the Cyrillic of Orthodox Serbia represent the same language. Aside from this need for linguistic even-handedness, no other motifs are to be found. An iconographic void appears to be the only means of compromise.²

What does this tell us? First, any minting authority can use coins to send an ideological and iconographical message. Coinages represent both political and economic acts. Second, coinage is in no sense an unmediated or direct guide to the ethnic identities of communities; it represents deliberate political choices made by those in control and may therefore mirror social attitudes of those not in control, attempt to modify them, or ignore them outright. Third, coinage takes its iconographical cue from both the overt

¹ For a readable, if sometimes self-obsessed, memoir of the negotiations leading up to the Dayton Agreement see Holbrooke (1998).

² Carlos Westendorp, then High Representative in Bosnia, made a binding decision under the powers granted to him under the 1995 Dayton Agreement, endorsing a letter sent to him on 28 September 1998 by the then Governor of the Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Peter Nicholl. Nicholl set out his intentions regarding the designs of the coins: 'The Governing Board adopted a single, simple design for the coins. It included only the name CBBH in Latin and Cyrillic, the denomination of the coin and the date. It had no state symbols and few design elements. Its aim was to be unexceptional and uncontroversial. Your staff has a copy of those designs.' He added, 'They include the elements that I regard as important the even handed use of both Latin and Cyrillic, the name of the country, the denomination clearly set out and the date.' See <http://www.ohr.int/decisions/econdec/> for the copies of these decisions. Despite these efforts at even-handedness, none of the Presidents representing the different ethnic communities in Bosnia-Herzegovina made any attempt to involve themselves in the consultation process leading to the eventual design of the coinage.

and unexpressed political status quo; it reflects a form of accepted political discourse.

How should we read the local coinages produced under the Roman empire, which the *Roman Provincial Coinage* Project aims to understand? The fact that issues of coinage continued in the provinces of the Empire and, as Peter Weiss shows in his chapter in this volume on the Greek cities, that the issues were nominally under the control of local magistrates, does not mean that they were somehow independent of Rome. It was the same elite city magistrates whose names often date and validate these coins who were most complicit in the Roman system of government, had the most to lose with its disruption, and were therefore the most assiduous in maintaining its norms. The politics of their cities therefore and the forms of expression found on their coinage were those that were acceptable in imperial terms.

Only occasionally in Roman history do we find moments such as that during the Afghan conflicts of 2001/2 when the tribal warlord General Abdul Rashid Dostum decided to issue his own *afghanis*. Outbreaks of large-scale civil unrest within the Roman empire might lead to communities marking their dissociation from the centre through the issue of independent coinage—one thinks for example of the series of coins issued by the Jewish leadership during the Bar Kochba Revolt.³ What requires a closer examination are the rich series of individualized coins issued by subject, provincial communities within, not without, the Roman empire; these have some claim to mark out a separate sense of self, but what sort of claim?

Such questions have become conveniently subsumed in modern literature under the headings either of 'identity' or of 'ethnicity'; a subject whose bibliography grows daily larger as the concept has spread from its origins amongst anthropologists to every humanities subject.⁴ The issues treated by the study of identity—senses of belonging and community, sameness and difference—have of course as much a contemporary relevance as they did under the Roman empire. Questions of nationhood—be it Palestinian, Serbian, Bosnian, or East Timorese—jostle uneasily with other types of identity. What does Islam mean

in a Saudi context?⁵ Or a Turkish? Given the multiplicity of claims that humans can make of themselves—simultaneously—we need to make some theoretical sense of these. Identity here is seen primarily as a socio-psychological term, defined loosely as 'concepts of belonging' and is made up of a series of overlapping domains—language, material culture, and the histories that people tell of themselves. But here agreement ends—the historian, with the benefit of hindsight, often thinks of identity as contingent, a malleable concept with no fixed meaning. To him/her identities can simply disappear or become absorbed (thus the modern world knows of no Cilicians (formerly to be found in south-eastern Asia Minor), or Tolistobogii (a Galatian tribe), or become transformed over the long term (common Homeric gods were central to being an ancient Greek, whereas the Orthodox faith supplies that need to a modern Greek). But looked at from another perspective, that of the individual in history, the historian's view underestimates the emotional investment people placed in identities which they most definitely did not see as historically contingent.

The Historian's View

With the benefit of hindsight, the historian is able to strip claims of identity down, show how they have been transformed, and the processes by which they, in that fashionable term of the late twentieth century, have become 'constructed'. The same is true of the Roman world.⁶ Roman Germany provides an example of how 'Germanness' was in part a creation of Roman imperial power, an ethnographic construct built up from the countless individual tribes which dwelt east of the Rhine, and north of the Danube.⁷

⁵ On questions of nationalism the bibliography is enormous. Hobsbawm (1990) and Gellner (1983) provide sane, if partisan, accounts. Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) is a famous, and enjoyable, account of the idea of 'invented tradition', the ways in which myth and history have been variously reshaped by societies throughout history to meet their current needs.

⁶ Woolf (1998) is perhaps the most useful and clear-headed account of the development of provincial identity within the Roman empire, focusing on the evidence from Gaul. Out of the same 'school' of scholarship, but this time with a more literary and less archaeological bent, come the various papers in Goldhill (2001) which provide some exciting ways of looking at the phenomenon of Greek identity under the Roman empire.

⁷ On the ethnographic traditions on which the Roman idea of 'Germania' was built see the commentary on Tacitus by Rives (1999: 11–41); and Williams, Chapter 5 below, p. 75.

³ Mildenberg (1984). See Goodman, Chapter 14 below.

⁴ For general introductions to the topic see Romanucci-Ross and De Vos (1995) and Glazer and Moynihan (1975). For a history of the confused and confusing use of the term 'ethnicity' see Banks (1996).

As such the modern academic might see it as nothing other than a construct, an artefact of imperial power; yet such constructs quickly became infused with emotional attachments. Throughout his works Tacitus saw the confrontation with Germany as one of the key problems of Roman foreign policy; Germany functions in both the *Annals* and the *Histories* as an unstable frontier, an unheeded warning to a Senate and Principate sunk in the careless frivolity of court politics. It forms the focus of his ethnographic treatise, the *Germania*. And in the movements led by Arminius in AD 9, and the Batavian revolt led by Julius Civilis in AD 69, 'Germania' becomes the standard to which the tribes across the Rhine rally.⁸ A similar process took place in Gaul, another land originally an ethnic and political patchwork of competing tribal loyalties, where the 'imperium Gallicum' proclaimed in the confusion of AD 69 by Julius Civilis demonstrates just how far the sons of the Cannefates had come in accepting Roman categories.

And yet this overestimates the power Rome had to effect change. From our privileged vantage point, confronted with the bureaucratic detritus of Roman imperialism, the provincial edicts, lists of provinces, lists of triumphs, the maps, and even the galleries of statuary celebrating 'Gallia', 'Germania', 'Hispania', 'Asia', it is all too easy to regard these very public interactions between ruler and subject as the reality of how individuals saw themselves. In their appearances before governors Roman subjects typically described themselves in official terms, naming the city in which they held citizenship, or referring to their province. Encounters of this kind form the bulk of our evidence, and only by chance do we find clues to other practices which may have formed the majority of social interactions. The development of cities in, say, Germany, encouraged the development of a civic identity which *may* have begun to replace a tribal identity. The truth is that older identities may have been harder to shift than it was to adopt newer ones. Given that much of our evidence comes from elite, literate settings, it is hardly surprising that it often reflects the official identities individuals would be likely to parade before imperial officials such as the governor, or were keen to show off in such civic settings as the graveyard.

Or, to put it another way, the appearance of literacy is taken as one of the typical markers of Roman imperial political culture, yet this does not mean that all forms of provincial experience were expressed in written form. Rather, the existence of particular genres of Latin or Greek literature led provincials to express themselves in pre-existing literary forms and according to clichéd idioms. Thus in Philostratos' *Lives of the Sophists* individuals from a wide range of provincial backgrounds used shared figures of speech and had a common horizon of literary expectation.⁹

How can we find ways of understanding this? And, for a Roman empire which those writing in a typically postcolonial framework might think destroyed the cultural diversity it found during a process of growth described variously over the years as conquest (legions with swords), cultural assimilation (governors with big ideas), or elite self-acculturation (local elites keen to follow Rome's cultural and political lead), is there any way to recover local perceptions of self? Or, to put it another way, can the demonstrably *local* issues of Roman coinage tell us anything about the survival of local cultures and identities?

The hindsight of the historian helps to explain recent research agendas governed by questions such as: how 'Roman' was the Roman empire? The question arises immediately with the series of 'province' coin reliefs issued under that most philhellenic of Roman emperors, the Emperor Hadrian. These display a variety of different reverse types showing female personifications of a number of 'provinces'.¹⁰ For instance Egypt is shown by the figure of a reclining woman with the legend 'Aegyptus' above her head.¹¹ These personifications are related directly to their ethnic/geographical origin by the use of iconographic shorthand referring either to the typical culture of the region or its geographical features. Thus Aegyptus is shown carrying a *sistrum* or tambourine, an image associated since at least Virgil with the strange religious practices of that land.¹² The presence of an ibis, sacred bird of Egypt, further adds to the ethnographic stereotype. By contrast, Africa,

⁸ Tacitus, *Histories* bks. 4, 5.

⁹ Swain 1996: 380–400.

¹⁰ See Howgego, Chapter 1 above, pp. 10–11.

¹¹ See *RIC* II, p. 374, no. 296, and pl. XIII.265.

¹² Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.696.

picking up on its products rather than its culture, is shown with an elephant scalp upon her head, and carrying a scorpion.¹³ Germania, true to the martial tropes typically applied to her, is a standing, not a reclining, figure, often shown with a spear in one hand, and resting her other hand upon a shield.¹⁴ Whatever the reason for Hadrian's interest in issuing these coins there can be little doubt they fit into a long-standing tradition of annotating the empire in an ethnographic shorthand.

The issue thus posed is simple to understand: an empire based on an imperial centre ('Rome') to which the subject provinces pay allegiance—Spaniards, Africans, Asians, Britons, and Gauls all under that happy imperial sway—celebrated by the panegyricists of the second century AD as encompassing the 'whole world in their government, either as citizens or as those who are governed'.¹⁵ Yet two problems immediately arise. First, such an image promotes a model of a master race ('the Romans') to whom other races are subjected in a hierarchy either of power or of culture. Second, it prompts the question of how 'Roman' the provinces of the empire were. Were they simply Roman possessions? Or did they themselves possess Roman culture? And what does it mean to 'possess' Roman culture? How, indeed, would an inhabitant of one of these provinces have described himself?

Questions about identity are always contextual, and therefore even the most straightforward evidence needs to be treated with extreme caution. For example, abundant evidence survives from all over the Roman empire of the spread of Roman citizenship, be it from the use of the official naming system, the *tria nomina*, from documents (*diplomata*) recording its award to deserving natives, or explicit notices in literary texts.¹⁶ On the face of it, therefore, it ought to be easy to trace the spread of Romans throughout the area that became their empire. For many of the citizens of Rome, the complications of personal identity must have been equally pronounced.

The most often cited ancient example is Paul of Tarsus, a man who had to juggle with a range of identities—Jewish, Greek-speaking, a Roman citizen, and eventually a Christian—all of which made more sense to some groups rather than others.¹⁷ Despite the volume of his writings, his example is less helpful than we might hope for; we can only speculate what his proper Roman name was, or how indeed he (presumably his family) acquired citizenship.

The truth is that surviving literary evidence has been selectively plundered for quotations to fit a particular viewpoint. For proponents of the inherent racism of the Romans, Juvenal's comments on the 'effluence of the Orontes' pouring into Rome always proves a useful starting point. For those who fetishize the martial dominance of Rome, the injunction of Virgil's Anchises to 'war down the proud' (*debellare superbos*), or indeed Plutarch's timely advice to the would-be politicians of the cities of Asia Minor to mind the jackboot of the Roman military, support the vision of the Romans as a superior military caste.¹⁸ Such statements, however, may represent nothing more than personal viewpoints, calibrated to the needs of a particular audience, and as such it is dangerous to adopt any as a key to interpreting Roman attitudes towards its empire, or to ask questions of who the Romans were. Perhaps turning to the literary evidence is the wrong way of approaching the question.

A fashionable recent approach has been to set such statements in creative tension with each other, to see them as snatched moments from a conversation, or a debate which Romans had with each other.¹⁹ This has the twin benefits of enabling us to avoid taking any particular statement as the 'truth' about what the Romans thought, and of enabling us to combine a variety of apparently inconsistent statements. We can set Aelius Aristides' panegyric claims about the worldwide spread of Roman citizenship alongside anecdotes which have the Emperor Claudius stripping citizenship from poor provincials whose Latin seems not to have been up to the standard required.²⁰

¹³ *RIC* II, p. 374, nos. 298–9, and pl. XIII.266.

¹⁴ *RIC* II, pp. 374–5, nos. 302–3, and pl. XIII.273.

¹⁵ See Aelius Aristides, *To Rome* (Oration 26) 58–61.

¹⁶ Sherwin-White (1973) collects together much of the evidence, to which epigraphic finds are continually added. However, his approach is legalistic and historical, and belongs to an age of scholarship not informed by the cultural preoccupations of today.

¹⁷ See Murphy-O'Connor 1996: 39–41 for a discussion of the evidence which accepts the testimony of Luke's Gospel.

¹⁸ Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.853; Plutarch, *Precepts of Statecraft* 17.

¹⁹ This is the strategy pursued throughout in Woolf 1994a.

²⁰ The anecdote appears in Suetonius, *Claudius* 16, and in a longer version, Dio Cassius 60.17.4.

To some the possession of Latin was an important component of Roman identity, to others it was not. But setting this all as part of a 'discourse' has the problem of assuming that the Romans ever consciously thought hard, or systematized their beliefs about such issues. This chapter suggests that we cannot simply analyse written texts in order to establish 'beliefs' about identity, because identity was most often carved out through practice, in a series of locations (within the family, within religious groups, and in encounters with outsiders), and was rarely interpreted by the Romans themselves. These encounters, however, have left traces: be it the way in which individuals described themselves on their burial monuments, the languages they used, or the way they dressed.

The panegyric Rome envisioned in Aelius Aristides' oration *To Rome* may be a fiction, but it was a fiction recognizable to at least the educated classes, especially of the Greek East. For a small international demi-monde, in which wealth, political power, and literary power were concentrated, the opportunities opened up by the ribbons of Roman roads crisscrossing the provinces, linking Asia to Greece through the Balkans, and thence on to Rome and farther west, the availability of material goods through trade networks covering the whole Mediterranean, and the existence of an elite culture built on common education, and a political system into which local elites from all over the empire were co-opted, the Empire may well have seemed a seamless unity. Of course, as Stephen Mitchell has shown, there were voices from the midst of those classes aware of the limits of such unity, such as Aelius Aristides in his *Sacred Tales*, who were suspicious, even afraid, that Roman civilisation did not extend far beyond the cities, and that between those cities lay something very different.²¹ What this suggests is that Romanness could be acquired in different degrees, and that Roman power had a universal, though differential effect.

For whilst Roman power reached down into even the most humble circumstances of the landed peasantry of Asia and Egypt, drawn by its desire for taxation; and whilst the material remains of Roman culture (the lamps, pottery, and mass-produced metalwork) can be found everywhere, not all

interactions or transformations effected by contact between Rome and the inhabitants of its empire led to the use of the name 'Roman'. The spread of Roman-style bathing, gladiatorial games, fashions in clothing, and domestic objects, was not congruent with the spread of Roman citizenship. So rather than the spread of a homogeneous Roman culture over the provinces of the empire, we might think in terms of the spread of institutions, cultural forms and tastes. Roman rule did encourage the formation of towns, of trading networks, a patchwork of provincial legal jurisdictions. It also encouraged the spread of Latin, at least in the provinces of the West.

The controversy, however, and the question as yet unanswered must be what this all means. Scholars of globalization point to its inherent paradoxes: the presence of Starbucks, or McDonald's on the streets of the major cities of the world, or the creation of common legal standards through organizations such as the World Trade Organization, creates an apparently homogeneous culture.²² Yet local cultures retain their hold, even if their forms are modified, and globalization most paradoxically of all seems to have been accompanied by the increased salience of local affiliations, of tribalism and ethnic strife. Perhaps this is because we assume too much from *apparently* similar elements of material culture, with less attention to how they are used in practice. A McDonald's in Beijing is a treat for the relatively affluent, in inner-city America it is the preserve of the low-income. The spread of gladiatorial combat throughout the Roman empire in the early imperial period has been taken as an index of Romanization, though the evidence might be played in another way. The cities of Asia Minor did not, by and large, create the purpose-built amphitheatres of Italy and the West, and instead placed a distinctively local accent on the practice by staging games in their existing theatres and by *continuing* to build these regional types even in the face of alternatives. Culture, and by extension identity, is often only to be traced in the cracks, in the unspoken pauses; it may leave few obvious traces in a culture dominated by the literate few, a few moreover who generally owed their literacy to Roman power.

²¹ Mitchell 1993: vol. i, pp. 165–7.

²² The bibliography on globalization is enormous. Bauman (1998) is a good starting point.

These problems are as marked with coinage as they are with other types of evidence. Imperial coinage generally reflects the preoccupations of the centre, and on the rare occasions, as with Hadrian, when it looks out to the Empire as a whole, it is only Rome's view of others, not their view of themselves. The *Roman Provincial Coinage* project is therefore a valuable attempt to collect together a resource much underused by Roman historians in order to get some sense of how provincials wished to present themselves. But it is important to be realistic about the constraints on provincial coinage. Its very existence depends on Roman acceptance of provincial minting. We need to investigate not merely the legal rules, but the underlying assumptions of this acceptance. The production of coinage within a hegemonic political system makes impossible any view of it as reflecting an unmediated view of provincial identity. This chapter examines the tacit understandings that underpin the relationship of provincial and imperial authorities. These in turn govern the expression of identity upon coins. Coinage is a valuable means of understanding the forms of expression that Rome felt suitable.

The Individual's Viewpoint

Looked at from the standpoint of an individual, matters become more complicated. Work on Lucian of Samosata suggests that he might present himself in his works as either a Roman, a Greek, or a Syrian, depending on context.²³ But this should not lead us to conclude that identity in the Roman empire was simply a question of different masks, worn and taken off depending on social situation. Identity was more than an academic game. Ethnic tension and conflict was a feature of various settings: be it in metropolitan cities such as Rome or Alexandria, and later Constantinople, where large numbers of immigrants came from all over the empire. Alexandria is a good example, not just because of the existence of neighbourhoods described as the residence of different ethnic groups, but also because of the explicit testimony of conflict between at least two of its large

populations, the ongoing conflict between the Jewish and Greek communities known to us through the voluminous correspondence it produced over the years between city authorities, imperial governors, and the emperor himself. Rome too was home to countless of the Empire's different ethnic groups—Egyptians, Syrians, Gauls, and Germans—such immigration, often for economic reasons, continued even in the fourth century at a time when Rome's economic and political importance have traditionally been regarded as in decline.²⁴

Far from being the exception, individuals such as Lucian may even have been the norm. The spread of Roman identity seems to have been accompanied by the creation, or at least consolidation, of a range of other identities. Thus we find an emphasis on an 'Italian' identity for those Roman inhabitants of the Italian peninsula, 'Gallic', 'German', 'Greek', and 'African' Romans. Such labels stuck. Septimius Severus had no problem fitting in at Rome as emperor, and continued to be described as the 'African'.

Take the case of a provincial senator such as Marcus Arruntius Claudianus from Lycia. He is the earliest senator known to us from the Greek-speaking region of south-western Asia Minor known as Lycia.²⁵ His career demanded familiarity with Latin culture and Roman political life. The discovery of a bilingual Greek and Latin inscription in which Claudianus is thanked for his generosity in restoring the Letoon sanctuary after it had been damaged by an earthquake is remarkable in a region where Greek was the dominant language, and Latin generally used only by obvious outsiders.²⁶ Claudianus was also unique in representing himself in his funerary inscription using not the usual local linguistic formulae, but formulae common in the Latin West. His career in the Roman army was an excellent example of the role of the army in introducing

²⁴ Noy 2000.

²⁵ He was known to the editors of PIR² c.753 but only as 'Lucius Claudianus'. A mass of documentation discovered at the Letoon now confirms his name and details his career, cf. Balland 1981: nos. 55, 56, 64 for texts relating to Claudianus and his family, and 143–6, with a summary at 165, for a discussion of his career.

²⁶ Balland 1981: 31, no. 13. All the other bilingual inscriptions so far discovered in Lycia, a small number, either represent imperial or gubernatorial dedications, or are funerary texts, and from consideration of the *cursus* recorded upon them, were clearly set up by overseas Romans or their freedmen (see TAM II. 459, 460, 461, 462, 463 (Patara), all funerary inscriptions).

²³ On Lucian's identity see Swain 1996: 298–329. On the complications of his (As)syrian identity see Elsner 2001.

provincials to Roman culture. And whilst his senatorial career was hardly the most distinguished on record at this period he was a man equally at home in the Latin-speaking world of the Roman army and of provincial command, as well as among his Greek-speaking origins in Lycia. His family ties were still with Lycia, as demonstrated by his first marriage to his cousin Arruntia Hegetoris, and his second to Claudia Arruntia Marcella, probably another relative of his. Moreover, the Letoon inscription referring to him is found in the context of a group monument with statues set up to him and a number of his relatives. Imperial service, a senatorial career, and the acquisition of a degree of Latin culture, have not therefore severed his ties to home, and another rich series of inscriptions refers to his activities as a benefactor within Lycia.

Claudianus might think of himself, and present himself in very different ways: as another Roman before the Senate in Rome, as a privileged Roman senator before a meeting of the provincial *koinon*, as a Greek, or as a Lycian before his family. Thus, in his case Roman identity represents more than a series of legal privileges and honorific marks; it is an active participation in Roman cultural norms. Here the question of Roman versus Lycian identity becomes most acute: what did the possession of a Roman identity and the pursuit of an imperial career mean for Claudianus' attachments to Lycia? Did Roman identity tend to supplant earlier identities, or was it merely a supplement? Even this drastically simplifies the complex social negotiations, the code-switching that occurred. Did such an individual feel secure or insecure as a Roman? Did a Lycian like Claudianus feel as strong a sense of Greek identity as an Athenian, or did their mythological place on the side of the Trojans in the *Iliad* leave them feeling like country cousins? Rarely can we answer such questions, but the complexity of our own social world leads to suspect that they ought at least to be asked.

Identity and Citizenship

Identity is no longer seen in simple terms of citizenship: we must separate the legal category of Roman citizenship from ethnic categories. In regarding it as 'constructed', however, scholars often fail to

recognize the depth of emotional commitment that self-ascribed categories bring. Of course there is a connection: grants might be made to individuals or communities because they had demonstrated their worthiness, that is, they appeared to meet certain criteria of *Romanitas*, familiarity with Roman culture, sometimes a degree of competency in Latin, or Greek. Whole communities might be enfranchised when they were adjudged to have met these criteria, as were groups such as the auxiliary troops attached to Roman armies who might receive their citizenship on discharge. Yet the prevailing legalistic approach to the study of Roman citizenship has both overvalued it, by failing to consider other aspects of the identity of the enfranchised, and undervalued it, by treating it either as a mark of acculturation or as a bundle of legal privileges (for example, access to Roman law, or the right to hold imperial office). In some cases the receipt of Roman citizenship was undoubtedly a source of great pride, shown in the boastful parade of the *tria nomina* by the newly enfranchised, and the source of increased social prestige in one's home community. Other individuals chose to downplay their Roman identity: in their writings, many of the authors of the literary movement known as the Second Sophistic, although we know them to have held Roman citizenship, chose to ignore the reality of Roman rule and to dwell on the glories of the Greek past. Many of their works are clever and artful examples of self-presentation, where the fashioning of a certain sort of self is very much at stake.

The ability to present oneself as fully Roman in one context, fully Greek in another, marks a world in which identity was multifaceted, in which individuals were members of various distinctive social groupings, and were able both unselfconsciously (and self-consciously in the case of literary writers such as Lucian) to switch between one code and another. Such a picture is perhaps more familiar to continental scholarship than to the monolingual British tradition, and to those individuals who are used to switching between different tongues (French, German, Italian) without any necessary sense of priority. Language could be a component of the various ethnic identities of the Roman empire—Greeks certainly marked themselves out by possession of a privileged literary tongue, and local languages such as Lycaonian and Pisidian survived in parts of Asia Minor in the early

centuries AD, as did a version of Punic in North Africa; and in the Near East, Arabic, Syriac, Aramaic, and Hebrew were common. As we have seen, the speakers of these tongues could also be Roman citizens, and in addition either Latin- or Greek-speakers too, though classical historians have, with notable exceptions, preferred to concentrate on those languages most familiar to them. One did not, however, require a language to think of oneself as different. In the Classical Greek or Hellenistic period there had been a greater variety of local languages spoken in what would become the provinces of the Roman empire, both East and West. Nevertheless the apparent disappearance of local languages such as Lycian did not mean the disappearance of those who called themselves Lycians. It is an elementary, but often ignored, point that acquisition of either of the two most widespread tongues, Latin or Greek, even as a mother tongue, did not immediately lead one to think of oneself as either a Roman or a Greek.

The process known as 'Romanization' has often been understood with reference to the imperial policies of various modern states. Texts such as Tacitus' *Agricola*, or even Virgil's *Aeneid* have been used to support interpretations of an active, coercive Roman power, eager to spread the benefits of Roman civilization across the empire. Yet the reality is that the bird's eye view encouraged by modern maps of the imperium Romanum, with their neatly delineated provincial territories, networks of Roman roads and settlements, or by the political networks of Roman jurisdiction, the provincial *conventus* organized by the local governor, misses the cultural diversity on the ground.

The measure of this cultural diversity is not easy. Simple indicators such as the use of local languages mislead, for by the second century AD the territory of the empire does appear dominated by the use of Latin and, in the East, Greek, and the evidence for other local languages is thin on the ground; but this may be because our notion of what constitutes identity is too strongly focused on those indicators which inevitably make the empire look 'Roman': the public architecture, the epigraphic habit, the *terra sigillata*. Certain aspects of identity—often the more marginal provincial forms—may never have found expression in the evidence now available to us. Thus in looking at coins we must be realistic in our expectations.

Subaltern Voices

Another important anthropological focus of the last few years is the growth of 'subaltern studies': the desire to recover the voices and culture of those ordinary peoples everywhere lost in the noise of imperial cultures dominated by their elites.²⁷ But provincial coinage, as the product of local elites deeply complicit in the continuation of the Roman system, provides little scope to pick up on signs of dissonance within the imperial conversation.

The reverse designs of most provincial coins represent a locus of communal memory which shares essential features with other sites of publicly sanctioned memory—for example, the public processions so beloved in the cities of the second-century Greek East, such as the *Demostheneia* at Oenoanda, or the Vibius Salutaris foundation at Ephesus, with their insistence on images of the cities' gods and heroes, mixed with the representations of the ruling imperial house.²⁸ But as documents of the shape of memory sanctioned in these cities they are necessarily valuable. Within the domain of religious life the Roman empire made few demands upon its subjects. The appearance of a cult image of the goddess Hera on the coins of Samos in the time of the Emperor Domitian, or of the Corybantes and the figures belonging to the story of the birth of Zeus on the island of Crete on coins issued by the Cretan Koinon during the reign of Vespasian, goes to mark out not only the mythical role of these figures in the origins of the cities but also their importance in their current memory of their past.²⁹ At best provincial coinage provides an idea of those aspects of provincial identities by which Rome did not feel threatened: the religious cults, local heroes, and local geography and fauna which did not upset the political status quo.

²⁷ Much of the best work can be found in the journal *Subaltern Studies* (published by Oxford University Press) which is edited by one of the foremost exponents of this scholarship, Ranajit Singh, and which is primarily associated with the Indian subcontinent and South-east Asia. Tambiah (1996) provides an interesting example of this type of scholarship.

²⁸ On the *Demostheneia* see Wörrle 1988. Rogers 1991 is a book-length treatment of the rituals associated with the foundation of Vibius Salutaris.

²⁹ Hera: *RPC* II, 1128–36; Corybantes: *RPC* II, no. 16.

The constraints that such tacit understandings placed on the symbols available are not necessarily seen even in those rare issues of coin made in opposition to Roman rule, for example the Gallic issues of AD 69 which bear too clearly the marks of Roman ways of thinking, and perhaps only the coinage of the Jewish revolts makes any break with a Roman symbolic system. Far the best analogy that can be made for the appearance of distinctive iconography on provincial coinage is the symbolic set associated with Rome's encouragement during the first and second centuries AD of local cult and mythical history. Rome did not by any means see her empire as homogeneous, but the appearance of games in honour of local heroes, and the recitation of local mythical histories, were the result of a consensus agreed between centre and periphery that the Roman empire was built on a series of local practices denuded of their political threat.

Such versions of local memory were accepted—indeed the grants of imperial munificence suggest they were sometimes encouraged—within the limits of identities that did not challenge the place of imperial authority. The appearance of the emperor, or more rarely other members of the imperial

household, on the obverse of local coinage, was a visual guarantee of the harmonious world order lauded by the likes of Aelius Aristides.

Conclusion

The picture developed here is of a Roman empire which did develop a series of shared cultural values. Identities were often multiple and overlapping. Some shared in more Roman values than others; few if any were completely unaffected. Yet it is also a picture in which there were few who would describe themselves simply, and in all situations, as Roman. Most Romans could, and did, lay claim to a range of other identities, many of which only made sense in the sorts of local, non-literary settings for which our evidence is always limited. The spread of elements of Roman culture was not always congruent with the spread of the legal mechanism of citizenship itself. What we are beginning to be aware of—and what the publication of the *Roman Provincial Coinage* will certainly make more widely known—is the wealth of hitherto under-exploited evidence for the variety of local identities that were a key feature of the Roman empire.

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3

THE CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ROMAN PROVINCIAL COIN ICONOGRAPHY

Volker Heuchert

THE AIMS OF THIS CHAPTER ARE TO PROVIDE a brief introduction to Roman provincial coinage as background to the book as a whole, and to outline the key developments in Roman provincial coin iconography from a chronological perspective. Geographical diversity will only be touched on here, but emerges strongly from the regional studies within this volume. It is also the main theme of Burnett's paper which compares the Roman East with the Roman West.

This chapter is based mainly on the material contained in the first two volumes of the *Roman Provincial Coinage* (RPC) series, which cover the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods from 44 BC to AD 96, and the database of the RPC IV project. The latter embraces the Antonine period, the time from the accession of Antoninus Pius in AD 138 to the death of Commodus in AD 192.¹ Provincial coins from the reigns of Nerva to Hadrian (AD 96–138) and the third century AD have not yet been catalogued systematically. Consequently, their treatment within this chapter can only be impressionistic, and will require refinement and revision once the RPC series has been completed. Readers in search of a more extended,

but still impressionistic, treatment of key themes in the iconography of the period from AD 180 onwards are referred to Harl 1987. Finally, many of the examples given in this chapter are deliberately drawn from the rich material from the Roman province of Asia, as this region is not the subject of a dedicated chapter in this book.

Introduction to Roman Provincial Coinage²

Types of Roman Provincial Coins and their Characteristics

During the three and a half centuries from 44 BC the Roman empire embraced different categories of coinage. Scholars have divided the material into two main groups: 'Roman imperial coins' on the one hand and 'Roman provincial coins'—also known as 'Greek imperial coins'—on the other. Roman imperial mints produced coins in gold, silver, and 'bronze'. Roman imperial gold coins (*aurei*) circulated throughout the

¹ Frequency figures quoted for the Antonine period may be subject to minor adjustments as the project continues.

² For more detailed introductions to Roman provincial coinage, see Butcher 1988a; RPC I, pp. xiii–xvii and 1–54; RPC II: 1–42; Harl 1987: 12–30; Franke 1968; and Sear 1982. A general introduction to the use of coinage in the study of ancient history is Howgego 1995.

empire, with the possible exception of Egypt. Imperial silver coins (*denarii*) and—from the reign of Caracalla onwards—also radiates or *antoniniani* increasingly circulated alongside provincial silver in the east. The imperial bronze coinage, which consisted of *sestertii*, *dupondii*, *asses*, *semisses*, and *quadrantes*, was largely confined to the west.

In *RPC I*, Burnett, Amandry, and Ripollès opted for a pragmatic definition of provincial coinage, and included all those coins which are not listed in the *Roman Imperial Coinage (RIC)* series.³ Since the publication of *RPC I* in 1992 interest in the material has increased substantially.⁴ Roman provincial coins may be divided into four groups:

1. Coins of 'client kings'. These might include gold, silver, and bronze issues, which circulated within a king's area of control. An example is a gold coin of King Sauromates II (AD 174/5–210/11) from the Bosporan Kingdom. Interestingly, its reverse depicts the heads of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (pl. 3.1, 1),⁵ giving the coin a 'Roman' character, which was not uncommon for this type of coinage.⁶
2. 'Provincial issues'. The most important mints for this type of coinage were at Caesarea in Cappadocia, Antioch-on-the-Orontes in Syria, and Alexandria in Egypt. They struck silver coins, mostly *drachms*, *didrachms*, or *tetradrachms*, and accompanying bronze issues, which circulated within their respective provinces. A common feature of provincial issues is that they lack an ethnic. These coinages were probably under Roman provincial or imperial control. In some cases 'provincial' coinages were actually struck at Rome, and sent to the province concerned.⁷ The importance of provincial issues lies in the fact that they were produced in large quantities, sufficient to provide much of the silver (and some of the bronze) coinage for large parts of the eastern half of the Roman empire. In a few cases scholars have

observed a link between military campaigning and the production of provincial silver issues. This suggests that on some occasions soldiers were paid in regional currencies rather than in imperial *denarii*.⁸ Plate 3.1, 2 is an example of a late Alexandrian *tetradrachm* produced during the reign of Diocletian (AD 295/6).

3. *Koinon* coins. Coinages were issued in the name of a number of the *koina* (provincial or regional federations of cities) in the East, for example the *Koinon* of Ionia.⁹ In the Roman period worship of the emperor lay at the heart of the function of *koina*, and their coins often depict a temple of the imperial cult (pl. 3.1, 3). In other respects *koinon* coins resemble civic coins.
4. Civic coins. Greek-style city states represent the most common type of provincial mint. Except for a small number of silver issues¹⁰ cities produced bronze coins, which circulated locally and provided the majority of small change in the eastern half of the Roman empire. During the Julio-Claudian period civic bronze coins were also made in the West: in Spain, Gaul, Italy, Sardinia, Sicily, Africa Proconsularis, and Mauretania.¹¹ The possible reasons for the end of civic coinage in the West are discussed in detail in the introduction to *RPC I*¹² and in the chapters by Ripollès and Burnett in this volume.

Most of the chapters in this book are devoted to civic coins. It therefore seems appropriate to describe a typical example (pl. 3.1, 4). The coin concerned comes from Laodicea in the Roman province of Asia and depicts a portrait of the emperor Antoninus Pius on the obverse. The obverse inscription gives his titles and name (usually in the nominative case and in Greek) as *ΑΥ(τοκράτωρ) ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ*. The reverse illustrates an object or theme of local relevance, here the cult statue of Zeus Laodiceus. The ethnic *ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ* is in the genitive case and might be translated as '(coin?) of the Laodiceans'.

³ *RPC I*, p. xiii. For critical discussions of the modern classification of coinage in the Roman world see Burnett in this volume; Butcher 1988a: 6–13; and Harl 1987: 12–13.

⁴ Schultz 1997 and Heuchert 2003.

⁵ For a catalogue of the coinage of the Bosporan Kingdom see Frolova 1979 and 1983.

⁶ Burnett 1987b; 1999: 157.

⁷ An example is provided by Butcher 1988a: 95–6. He mentions hybrid coins from the reign of Trajan, which were probably struck due to an error by mint workers. They combined imperial *denarius* obverses with the reverses of coins from Caesarea in Cappadocia.

⁸ For the case of Caesarea in Cappadocia, see Butcher 1988a: 95–6.

⁹ The coins of the Ionian *koinon* have been catalogued in Gillespie 1956; for *koinon* issues of the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods, see *RPC I*: 14 and *RPC II*: 13–14.

¹⁰ The silver coins of Amisus in Bithynia-Pontus are catalogued in Nordbø 1988. For general surveys of provincial silver, see Walker 1976–8 and Prieur and Prieur 2000.

¹¹ For Spain see Ripollès in this volume; for the other provinces see *RPC I*.

¹² *RPC I*: 18–19.

These basic elements might be varied in numerous ways:

- Not all cities use Greek for coin inscriptions; most importantly, Roman colonies (such as Aelia Capitolina/Jerusalem) and *municipia* (Stobi in Macedonia for instance) employ Latin, while other languages occur occasionally.¹³ The coins of Roman colonies constitute particularly interesting material for the study of identity.¹⁴
- Not all coin obverses depict the Roman emperor—a phenomenon discussed later.
- The imperial titulature varies greatly (see below).
- The reverse inscription might contain not only an ethnic but one or more additional features; the most common are:
 - Civic titles (for example, ‘*neocorates*’—wardenships of the imperial cult) and civic epithets. The latter might either include the name of an emperor as part of the ethnic (e.g. *ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΒΙΘΥΝΙΕΩΝ* on the coins of Bithynium in Bithynia-Pontus) or draw attention to the (alleged) ethnic origins of a city (e.g. *ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ* on the coins of Blaundus in the Roman province of Asia). Titles and epithets often occur in the context of inter-city rivalries.¹⁵
 - Regnal years (for example on the coins of Tyana in Cappadocia¹⁶) or local eras.¹⁷
 - Explanatory coin inscriptions (see below).
 - Marks of value (see the next section).
 - ‘Magistrates’ names and titles appear on some coins from Thrace, Moesia, and Asia Minor.¹⁸

Civic coins carry both images and inscriptions with a strong public character, for which—making some allowances for the relatively small size of coins—multiple epigraphic, sculptural, or architectural parallels can be found.

¹³ The coinage of Aelia Capitolina is catalogued in Meshorer 1989; Josifovski 2001 lists the coins of Stobi; for other languages employed on Roman provincial coins see Howgego, Chapter 1.

¹⁴ For colonies in general, Howgego, Chapter 1, Ripollès on colonies and *municipia* in Spain and Kremydi-Sicilianou on the Macedonian colonies. Weiss 1996 is a model study of the multiple identities of the Roman colony of Alexandria Troas.

¹⁵ For the case of Pergamum and its *neocorates*, see Weisser in this volume.

¹⁶ Examples: BMC Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria: 96–7, nos. 2–5 and 7–8; for Tyana and its coinage see Berges and Nollé 2000.

¹⁷ Stein and Howgego in this volume.

¹⁸ For ‘magistrates’ names see Weiss and Howgego in this volume.

Function of Civic Coinage

As was the case with the coin from Laodicea (pl. 3.1, 4), most provincial coins lack marks of value. Consequently, people in the ancient world—as well as modern scholars trying to reconstruct provincial denominational systems¹⁹—have had to rely on size, weight and coin images to determine face value.

Among the cities which did place value marks on their coins, the case of Chios is of particular interest. Probably during the reign of Augustus, the city appears to have shifted from a traditional Greek denominational system based on *obols* to a ‘Romanized’ one based on the *assarion*, the Greek translation of the Latin *as*.²⁰ Similar changes are likely to have occurred elsewhere. However, the use of OBO (presumably meaning *obol*) on the coins of Seleucia Pieria in Syria during the reign of Severus Alexander (AD 222–35) implies that traditional Greek denominational systems could survive well into the third century.²¹

Coin finds and excavation reports indicate that most civic bronze coins circulated locally.²² Countermark evidence suggests that some specimens travelled by land or sea along major routes.²³ It is not entirely clear to what degree and under which circumstances the coins of one provincial city were acceptable in another. Cities without (sufficient) coinage of their own, however, had to rely on coins of other cities or use Roman imperial bronzes for their small change. Among the cities without a substantial coinage of their own were some like Apamea in Syria which were—judging from the size and splendour of their archaeological remains—quite rich.²⁴

¹⁹ RPC I: 26–37 and RPC II: 20–9; A. Johnston is currently working on a book on Greek imperial denominations.

²⁰ Interestingly, in Chios the smaller denomination continued to be calculated in the traditional *chalkous*, which was replaced by the *hemiasarion* at a later stage, probably in the second century AD. The coinage of Chios is catalogued in Mavrogordato 1915–18 with further comments in Howgego 1985: 57; RPC I: 370 and 409; and RPC II: 122 and 150–1.

²¹ Butcher 1988b: 65.

²² T. B. Jones, who was the first to examine the circulation of provincial coins, came to the conclusion that most of the material was found in a radius of 50 miles around the city of origin. To describe this phenomenon, he used the phrase ‘rule of locality’, see Jones 1963: 313–24; see also Callu 1969: 35–57. More up-to-date comprehensive studies are missing. However, an exemplary examination of the coins excavated at Sardis is Johnston 1981; for additional references to excavation reports from the province of Asia, see RPC I: 369.

²³ Howgego 1985: 32–50 with adjacent maps.

²⁴ Butcher 1988a: 18.

When it comes to assessing the reasons why cities struck bronze coins, a well-known Hellenistic inscription from Sestos suggests the double motive of pride (in using their own coinage) and profit.²⁵ As will be explained below, coin images and legends provide unambiguous testimony of civic pride. As far as profit is concerned, one might expect some to accrue from the fact that civic bronze coins were a token coinage, in other words the intrinsic value of the bronze was lower than the face value of the coins. But the potential for profit was limited by the fact that civic bronze coins were only small change. How much profit remained after taking production costs into account is uncertain. An alternative source of income for cities from bronze coins is suggested by an inscription from Pergamum. It implies that the city was contracting out the monopoly of exchanging imperial silver coins into bronze coins, the use of which was compulsory for certain small-scale transactions.²⁶ An increased need for local small change occurred when large numbers of troops or the emperor and his court passed through a city, and Ziegler has demonstrated a link between such events and civic coin production in Cilicia and other areas.²⁷ An inscription from Mylasa in the province of Asia from the reign of Severus Alexander gives some insight into the damage to the local economy when the city's coinage was not functioning properly.²⁸

Rise and Decline of Civic Coinage

Whereas the imperial mint in Rome and the provincial mint in Egypt were (more or less) permanently active during the first three centuries of the empire, civic coins were produced intermittently. Even large cities like Smyrna, Pergamum, or Ephesus had phases ranging from a few years to entire decades when they did not mint at all. At the other end of the spectrum small cities might have issued coins on a handful of occasions or—in the extreme case of Sioccharax in the Roman province of Asia—only once.²⁹ The consequences of this intermittent pattern of production were twofold: (1) cities lacked a

magistracy specifically dedicated to the production of coinage;³⁰ (2) they did not possess permanent 'mints',³¹ but either struck their coins on an ad hoc basis or had them produced by 'workshops'—a phenomenon which will be discussed below.

An important development over the first two and a half centuries of provincial coinage was the substantial rise in the number of coin-issuing cities and *koina*. Table 3.1 is based on *RPC* I, II, and the database of the *RPC* IV project. To provide a visual impression of the increase in the number of civic mints and to show their location, maps of the eastern half of the Roman empire under the Julio-Claudian (Map 3.1) and Antonine emperors (Map 3.2) have been provided. However, when viewing these maps and the table, allowances have to be made for the fact that the periods concerned were of different duration, and that the empire of the Julio-Claudians was smaller than that of the Antonines.³²

Table 3.1. Number of coin-issuing cities (including *koina*) in the East of the Roman empire³³

	Julio-Claudian (44 BC–AD 69)	Flavian (AD 69–96)	Antonine (AD 138–92)
Cyrenaica and Crete	13 ⁽¹⁾	3	2?
Achaea	25 ⁽²⁾	6	27
Macedonia	9	7	10
Thrace	7	5	20
Moesia	3	2	7
Bithynia-Pontus	11	14	23
Asia	106 ⁽³⁾	93	146
Lycia-Pamphylia	19 ⁽⁴⁾	7	12
Galatia-Cappadocia	17	15	39
Cilicia	18	17	37
Cyprus	0	0	1?
Syria and Judaea	32 ⁽⁵⁾	18	47
Totals	260	187	371

³⁰ Weiss in this volume.

³¹ For a discussion of the term 'mint' see Howgego 1995: 26–30.

³² Maps 3.1–2 and Table 3.1 do not include the coinages of client kingdoms such as the Bosporean Kingdom (e.g. pl. 3.1, 1). Map 3.2 does not show the *Koinon* of Ionia, which issued coins in the Antonine period (e.g. pl. 3.1, 3). The names of the cities on Map 3.1 are given in detailed maps at the end of *RPC* I part 1. The vast majority will also be found on the detailed maps (3.2. 1–4) which follow Map 3.2 below.

³³ To ensure comparability, the 50 or so Western mints of the Julio-Claudian period have been excluded as well as the Antonine mints in Mesopotamia (Carrhae and Edessa) and the cities of Adraa, Bostra, and

²⁵ *OGIS* I, no. 339 with comments in Robert 1973 and *RPC* I: 16–17.

²⁶ *OGIS* II, no. 484 with comments in Macro 1976.

²⁷ Ziegler 1993; 1996. ²⁸ Reinach 1896.

²⁹ For the single issue of Sioccharax, dating to AD 202–5, see Aulock 1980: 90–1 and 154–5, nos. 899–907. The *Koinon* of Pontus also issued coins only once, in AD 161/2, the first year of the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, *Rec*: 29–30, nos. 1–2a.

The greatest number of cities and *koina* issued coins under the Severan emperors (AD 193–222), but it is not yet possible to provide similar tables or maps for that or indeed for any of the later periods.³⁴ After the Severans, the numbers of mints declined, and between AD 255 and 276 civic and *koinon* coinage came to an end: first in Europe and Syria by the end of the reign of Valerianus (AD 260), then in most parts of Asia Minor by the end of the reign of Gallienus (AD 268). The last civic coins were struck in Pisidia and Pamphylia in Asia Minor during the reigns of Aurelian (AD 270–5) and Tacitus (AD 275/6)—an example being a coin of Tacitus from Perga (pl. 3.I, 5).³⁵ Provincial coinage as a whole finally ended during the reign of Diocletian, probably in AD 296/7, when the mint of Alexandria in Egypt stopped producing heavily debased silver (*'billon'*) *tetradrachms* (pl. 3.I, 2) and began to strike Roman imperial coins instead.³⁶ From then on the Roman empire possessed a unified monetary system supplied by a network of imperial mints.³⁷

As to the quantity of civic and *koinon* coins being produced, the general pattern was probably broadly

Petra in Arabia. All figures in Table 3.1 do not take into account the cities of the Northern Black Sea (Tyra, Olbia, Chersonesus, Caesarea, and Agrippia) and the mint of Alexandria in Egypt.

The figures of the Julio–Claudian and Flavian periods are taken from the table in *RPC II*: 14 (with explanatory notes); deviations from the numbers given there have been marked as follows: (1) 13 mints were included for Cyrenaica and Crete (rather than the four listed for Crete in *RPC II*: 14: Ptolemais, Cyrene, Axos, Cnossus, Cydonia, Eleutherna, Gortyn, Hierapytna, Lappa, Lato, Lyttos, Polyrrhenium, and the *Koinon* of Crete, the latter located at Gortyn); (2) Achaëa: Aegium (*RPC Supplement I*: 18) and Ceos (*RPC Supplement I*: 19, no. S-1300A) have been added; (3) for Asia the original number of 106 civic mints resulting from *RPC I* is still correct; however, there have been the following changes; the mints of Harpasa (*RPC Supplement I*: 34, no. S-2823A) and Euipe (*RPC Supplement I*: 34, no. S-2823B) have been added, whereas Colossae has been dropped (*RPC Supplement I*: 35, no. 2891) and the only Julio–Claudian coin type of Bagis (*RPC I*: 497, no. 3061) re-attributed to the Flavian period (*RPC II*: 206, no. 1357); (4) the Lycian League was not counted (and displayed on Map 3.1) as a single entity, but as the two districts of Masicytus and Cragus and the six cities of Pinara, Cyanaea, Tlos, Telmessus, Xanthus, and Myra, thus raising the total number of cities for Lycia–Pamphylia to 19 (rather than the 12 listed in *RPC II*: 14); (5) for Syria and Judaea only the 32 cities listed in *RPC I*: 581 under 'Northern Syria', 'Antilebanon' and 'Judæan and Palestinian cities' have been included.

³⁴ The old maps and figures given in Jones 1963 and Jones 1965 seriously underestimate the number of mints and should no longer be used. More up to date but restricted to Asia Minor are the 'Prägetabellen' in Franke, Leschhorn, and Stylow 1981 (with resulting statistics in Leschhorn 1981); however, as *RPC I* and *II* have shown on a number of occasions the city- and emperor-attributions are not always accurate.

³⁵ Butcher 1988a: 19–22; Howgego 1995: 140.

³⁶ For a discussion of the exact end date of the 'provincial issues' in Alexandria, see Metcalf 1987.

³⁷ For the iconography of one of the first empire-wide issues, the GENIO POPVLI ROMANI type, see Howgego, Chapter 1.

in line with that of the number of mints described above. However, the first and second-century increase in production was probably more pronounced than the corresponding trend in the number of mints. By contrast, the post-Severan decline in the number of mints may have been mitigated to some extent by the tendency of at least some of the cities still striking to produce larger issues.³⁸ There are many practical and theoretical considerations which raise questions about the accuracy (or even the feasibility) of attempts to measure provincial coin production.³⁹ The most reliable method is to estimate the number of dies involved in striking the coinage of large mints such as Smyrna,⁴⁰ as an approximation of the relative size of issues during different periods.⁴¹ However, as far as small cities are concerned we cannot be certain that dies were used to exhaustion, and a die-study of the entire provincial coinage is not feasible owing to the numbers of coins involved. Therefore, the authors of *RPC* adopted the frequency of coins in the ten or so most important and accessible museum collections (the *RPC* 'core collections') as a 'semi-quantitative' measure of frequency.⁴² An important weakness of this approach is the fact that museum collections over-represent rare, large, and attractive coins. Furthermore, for historical reasons not all regions of the former Roman empire are equally represented in the 'core collections', thus rendering comparisons between provinces difficult. Even more unreliable are comparisons between the first and second centuries on the one hand and the third on the other, as the survival rate might be seriously biased in favour of the latter.⁴³

³⁸ Johnston 1984b: 254; cf. Howgego 1985: 98.

³⁹ See the comments of Johnston 1984b on Leschhorn 1981 (based on the material in Franke, Leschhorn, and Stylow 1981) and Leschhorn's response in Leschhorn 1985. See also Johnston 1998.

⁴⁰ For an example, see the graph in Klose 1987: 99.

⁴¹ For the difficult question of how many coins were produced per die, thus how to estimate ancient coin production in absolute figures, see Callataj 1995 with further references.

⁴² *RPC I*, pp. xii, 13–25, and 55–7; *RPC II*, pp. xiv and 12–19.

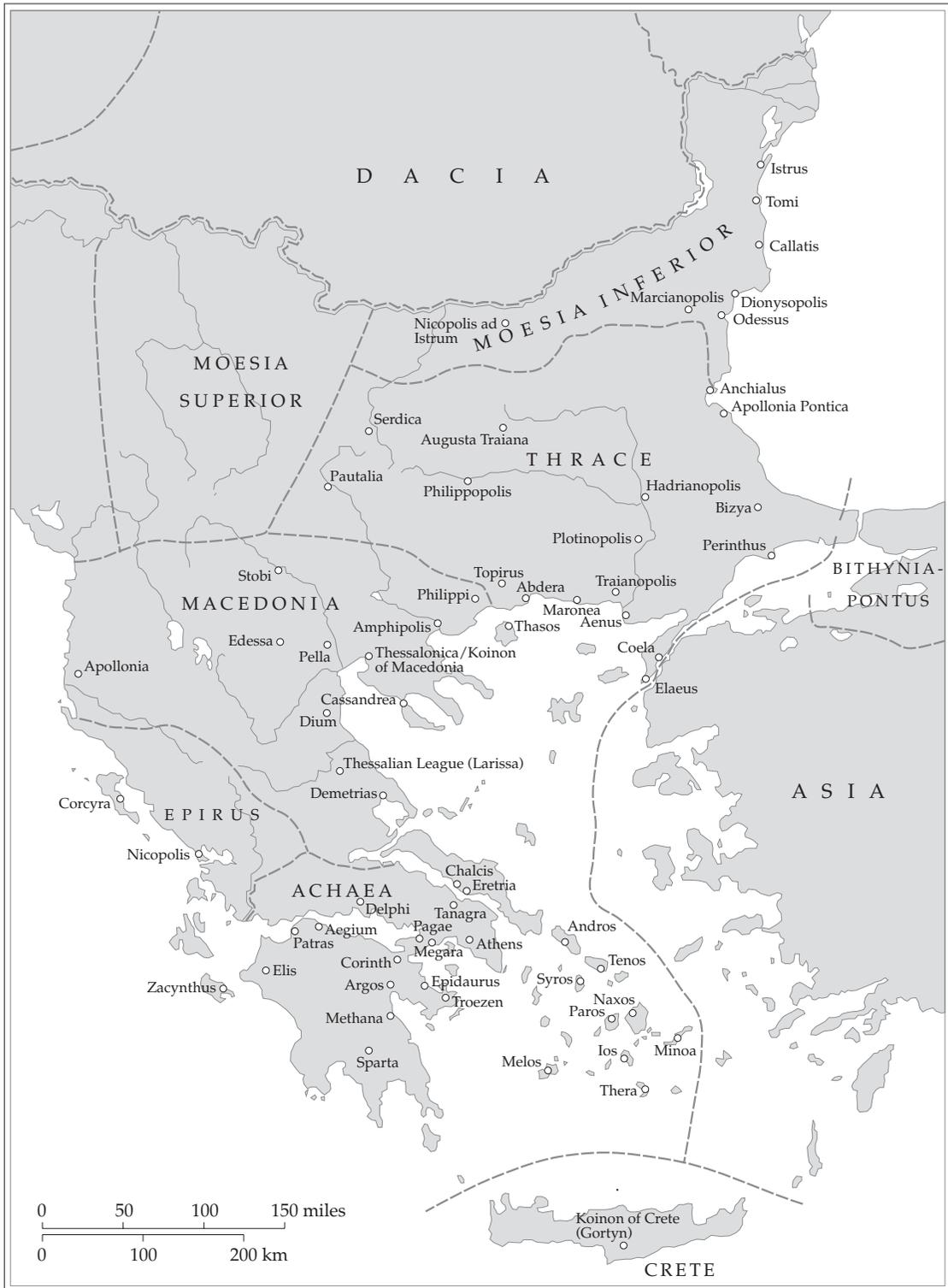
⁴³ Coins from the first and second centuries might have provided the metal for third-century coinage. Apart from that, civic bronze coins from the first two centuries AD are hardly ever found in hoards, as people were more likely to use silver coins rather than bronze coins for that purpose. There are, however, large groups of provincial coins from the third century AD. They might represent hoards from a time when there was not much trust in the debased imperial silver currency or insufficient supply of it when required. Alternatively, the large groups of third-century provincial coins might be the result of the de-monetization of this



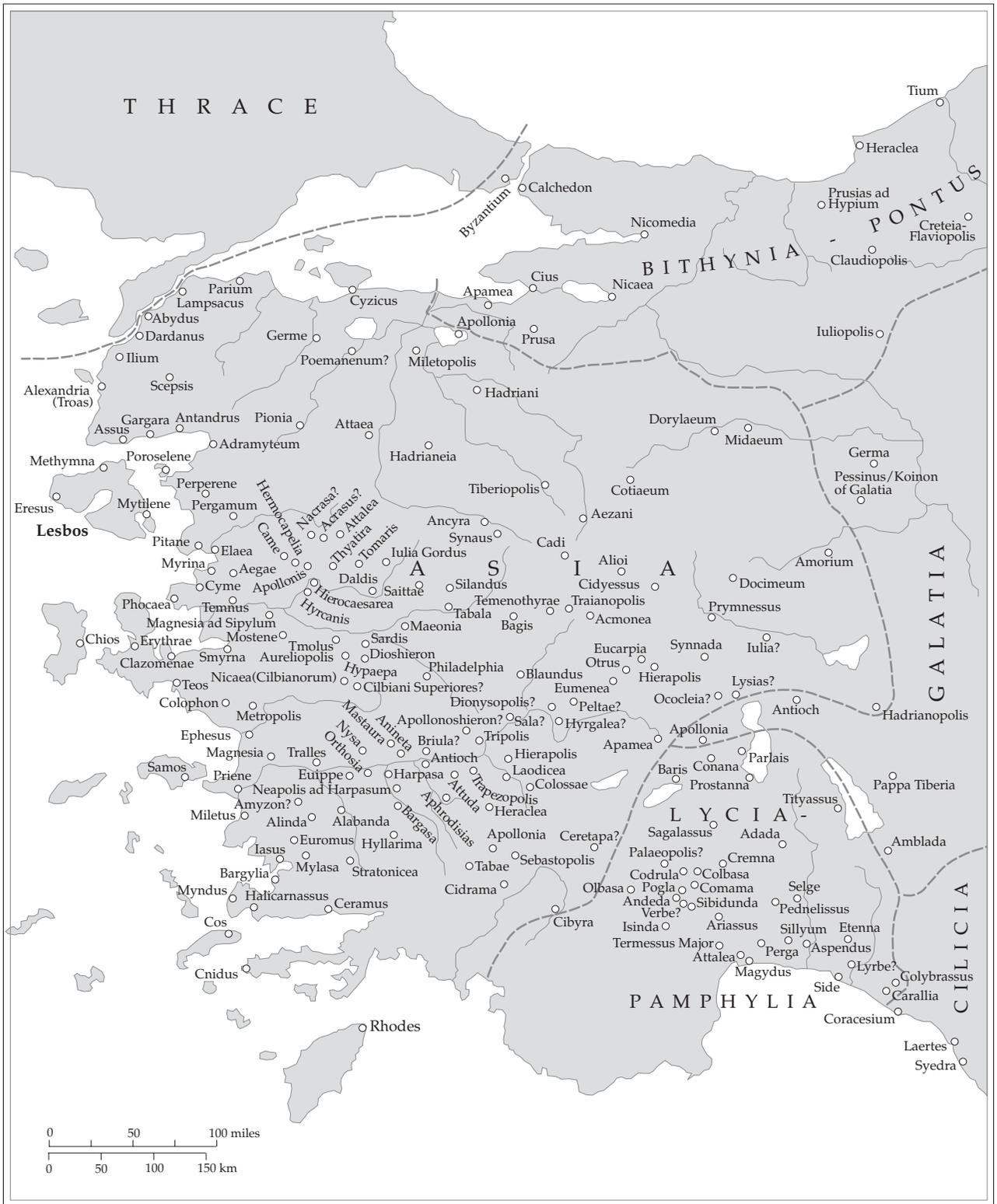
Map 3.1 Cities in the East of the Roman Empire issuing coins during the Julio-Claudian period (44 BC-AD 69)



Map 3.2. Cities issuing coins during the Antonine period (AD 138-92)



Map 3.2.1. The Balkans and Crete



Map 3.2.2. Western Asia Minor



Map 3.2.3. Eastern Asia Minor



Map 3.2.4. Syria

The reasons for the growth in the number of civic and *koinon* mints and the increase in the coinage they produced are not entirely clear. Much depends on assumptions about 'the ancient economy' as a whole, the role of civic bronze coins within it, and the principal motivation for their production. One could argue that the trend towards more civic mints and coinage reflected greater civic and elite prosperity. Attitudes towards coinage might also have been changing, so that more cities and their elites came to regard coins as a potential source of revenue and expression of civic pride. Other possible explanations are that centralized production facilities might have made it easier for cities to issue their own coins, or that flourishing local economies required more small change. Finally, the growing number of mints and coins could reflect rising levels of urbanization and/or monetization.

As far as the demise of civic coinage is concerned, it may have been no longer economically viable or indeed necessary to produce low-denomination provincial bronze coins, when the imperial mints issued massive quantities of heavily debased *antoniniani*.⁴⁴ Besides, during the height of the 'Third Century Crisis' with its economic, political, and military uncertainties, Greek-style cities and their elites perhaps lacked the will and/or the resources to finance the production of their own coins.⁴⁵

In the period under consideration the physical appearance of provincial coinage changed. The first two centuries AD witnessed the gradual introduction of larger coins which represented higher denominations. This was a development with much potential as the higher denominations, being on average 30–35 mm in diameter, provided die-cutters with the physical space for complex and detailed coin designs. A coin of Ephesus from the reign of Antoninus Pius, 36 mm in diameter, illustrates this point (pl. 3.1, 6). Its obverse displays the laureate head of the emperor, while the reverse shows Zeus pouring rain on the

mountain god Pion. A rock decorated with a temple, three other buildings and a cypress provide the background for the scene. In the later third century AD coin diameters contracted a bit, probably in an effort to save metal. A second change to the fabric of provincial coins from the first to the third century AD was that the flans became increasingly thinner. Thus by the mid-first century AD, provincial coins lost the 'dumpiness' of their Hellenistic predecessors and began to look more like Roman imperial coins.

Control over Civic Coinage and Images

When discussing what civic coins and their images reveal about civic identity it is important to ask who was in charge of their production. As explored more thoroughly in the chapter by Weiss, civic coinage was one aspect of the self-administration of Greek-style cities in the Roman East. These cities were run by 'magistrates' from local aristocracies which operated in a general framework set by Rome and overseen by provincial governors and ultimately the emperor. The absence of central 'micromanagement' must have left a considerable degree of freedom for cities and their elite 'magistrates' to choose coin designs. The images can thus be seen as public and official expressions of civic identity as constructed by local aristocracies. Some aspects of local identity expressed through the medium of coinage were probably not exclusive to the elite but (at least to some extent) shared by the citizenship as a whole. As civic coins circulated locally, their principal audience will have been the inhabitants of a city and its territory. It is not clear whether their images were primarily aimed at members of the aristocracy, or at the wider population. Nor do we know what the different social groups within a city and its territory made of them.⁴⁶ This makes it very hard to assess what role civic coin designs played in forging, maintaining, and changing local identities. However, there is a tendency to use explanatory coin inscriptions when new designs are being introduced. This reveals a wish on the part of those in charge of the coinage to have the images understood.

There is no need to examine here the 'inner workings' of the civic self-administration and the

type of coinage. Finally, as far as the third century is concerned, cities from the 240s AD onwards increased the face value of their coins—by either restriking old coins or countermarking them. The chosen method has a serious impact on the survival of the coins of a particular city which renders comparisons between cities difficult (Johnston 1998).

⁴⁴ Walker 1976–8; this should be read in combination with Butcher and Ponting 1997, who found that Walker's results were—owing to surface enrichment—too high in silver content and too variable.

⁴⁵ Howgego 1985: 64–73; for Eastern Cilicia, see Ziegler 1993: 153–5.

⁴⁶ For a problematization of these aspects, Williamson, Williams, and Butcher in this volume.

various ‘magistracies’ and formulae occurring on coin inscriptions, as these topics are covered in the chapter by Weiss. However, it may be useful to note briefly some occasions on which ‘magistrates’ names allow us to see a link between an individual and the choice of designs. A case in point is the series of coins in the name of Aulus Julius Quadratus from Pergamum discussed—in its proper context—in the chapter by Weisser. A few further examples will suffice to show that this was not an isolated case. Thus the issue of the *Koinon* of Ionia in the name of its chief priest Kl. Fronton (e.g. pl. 3.1, 3)⁴⁷ reveals a Sardian influence on the choice of reverse designs, displaying for example the Kore of Sardis,⁴⁸ despite the fact that the Lydian city of Sardis was not part of the Ionian *Koinon*. This influence clearly derives from Fronton himself, as he was first *strategos* at Sardis, and issued a series of coins in that capacity.⁴⁹ Probably the most obvious case of a magistrate influencing the choice of reverse design is a series of coins from Smyrna in the name of the sophist Kl. Attalos. The inscription makes it clear that they were dedicated by him to his hometowns Smyrna and Laodicea jointly (*ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΣΙ ΣΜΥΡΝ ΛΑΟΔ* or similar). The reverses display the Nemeses of Smyrna and Zeus of Laodicea representing their cities in the style of an ‘alliance’ coinage.⁵⁰ As explained in more detail below, both Attalos and his father, the famous sophist Polemon, signed coins which revealed a great awareness of events in Rome.⁵¹ Their coins (not to be confused with a series of a different Attalos from Laodicea⁵²) were exceptionally large and of high artistic quality, thus expressing the extraordinary social status of their dedicators.⁵³

Another interesting case comes from the city of Cyzicus in the Roman province of Asia. During the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (AD 161–9) Kl. Hestaios signed an issue of three coin types in his capacity as *neokoros* or temple warden of the

imperial cult. The three reverses depict (1) Marcus and Verus clasping hands over an altar (pl. 3.1, 7), (2) an emperor on horseback raising his hand (pl. 3.1, 8), and (3) the temple of the imperial cult at Cyzicus (pl. 3.1, 9). All three designs reflect Hestaios’ office as *neokoros*, as the first and the second reverse images were entirely new for the coinage of Cyzicus. A few years earlier the same Kl. Hestaios had signed a coin type as *hipparches*. On that occasion he had chosen a reverse design which was entirely unrelated to the imperial cult, but (probably) showed a sacrifice in honour of Demeter and her daughter Persephone/Kore (pl. 3.1, 10).⁵⁴ Both goddesses were held in high esteem at Cyzicus and regularly featured on the city’s coinage. The series of Hestaios the temple warden (pl. 3.1, 7–9) also shows how—in the context of the imperial cult—imperial imagery could find its way onto provincial reverses, which were normally dominated by local topics.⁵⁵

When examining coin designs one has to be aware of the fact that most cities used the obverse and/or reverse designs—together with size and weight—to indicate denominations, rather than employing explicit marks of value. How this was done in detail could vary between cities and regions and even within a given city over time, as denominational systems evolved. A series of coins from Aphrodisias in the name of the *hierous* (priest) Ti. Kl. Zelos provides an example.⁵⁶ The coins concerned date from the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (c. AD 161–9) and were struck on the occasion of *epinician* games to celebrate an imperial victory. The relevant details have been summarized in Table 3.2. From that table it becomes clear that the eleven different coin types identified by MacDonald 1992 fall into four different denominational groups. These groups not only differ from each other in size and weight, but also have distinct obverse designs. At least one coin from each group has been illustrated

⁴⁷ For the coinage of the *Koinon* of Ionia in general Gillespie 1956 and Engelman 1972; for Fronton, Halfmann 1979: 176, no. 99; and *PIR*, 2nd edn., C: 203, no. 874.

⁴⁸ Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. IIII (88) (medaillon) = Gillespie 1956: no. 28, pl. VIII.

⁴⁹ e.g. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, SNG Ionia 521.

⁵⁰ Smyrna (Asia): Klose 1987: 60 and 328–30.

⁵¹ Examples: (a) Polemon: Smyrna (Asia): obverse portrait of Antinous (pl. 3.4, 32); (b) Kl. Attalos: Phocaea (Asia): reverse celebrating Faustina II giving birth to imperial twins in AD 161 (pl. 3.5, 43).

⁵² For example, SNG von Aulock 3825.

⁵³ For sophists’ names on coins, see Münsterberg 1915.

⁵⁴ The same Hestaios was probably also responsible for an issue of ‘alliance’ coins with Ephesus, see Franke and Nollé 1997: 103–4, nos. 1015–27.

⁵⁵ For further (potential) examples of the influence of individuals over the choice of coin designs, see Harl 1987: 32, with notes 4–7. Kroll 1997a argued for personal or family influence among the coins of imperial Athens.

⁵⁶ For the coinage of Aphrodisias in general see MacDonald 1992 to be read in conjunction with Johnston 1995; the denominational system of Aphrodisias is discussed in MacDonald 1992: 17–23 and Johnston 1995: 61–79.

Table 3.2. The denominations of a coin series from Aphrodisias in the name of Ti. Kl. Zelos (c. AD 161–4)

Denomination	1				2			3		4	
Size/weight*	35mm (6)/25.4g (6)				30mm (6)/15.1g (9)			26mm (10)/10g (10)		24mm (6)/8.3g (6)	
General obverse	Emperor				Empress			Senate		Demos	
Specific obverse	Lucius Verus		Marcus Aurelius		Faustina II			Senate		Demos	
Reverses	Aphrodite, r. + 2 emperors (pl. 3.2, 11)	Temple of Aphrodite	Aphrodite, r. + 2 emperors (pl. 3.2, 12)	Emperor, + trophy + Nike	Aphrodite, r. + priestess + fountain (pl. 3.2, 13)	Aphrodite, facing + Eros	Tyche	Aphrodite, facing + Eros	Leafless tree (pl. 3.2, 14)	Aphrodite, r. (pl. 3.2, 15)	River-god
MacDonald 1992 type no.	62	63	60	61	64	65	66	67	68	69	70

*The round brackets give the number of specimens from which the average diameters and weights have been calculated.

here (pl. 3.2, 11–15). As there were two emperors of equal standing, the city of Aphrodisias (or indeed Zelos) chose to issue coin types with the obverse portrait of either Lucius Verus (e.g. pl. 3.2, 11) or Marcus Aurelius (e.g. pl. 3.2, 12). The second largest denomination carries the portrait of the empress Faustina II (e.g. pl. 3.2, 13), whereas the two smaller ones display the Roman Senate (e.g. pl. 3.2, 14) and the Demos (e.g. pl. 3.2, 15). The use of obverse and/or reverse designs to indicate denominations imposed some restrictions on the choice of images. In the case of Aphrodisias it meant that for the entire series only five different obverse designs could be used—one for each of the three smaller denominations and (exceptionally) two for the highest. What is most interesting about the selection is that it reflects a hierarchical view of the world with the emperor(s) on top, followed by the empress and the Roman Senate, with the local Demos at the bottom.⁵⁷

From third-century central Asia there is evidence for a regional denominational system, under which a number of cities used the same images for a small denomination (e.g. pl. 3.2, 16 from Attalea).⁵⁸

Another factor which influenced the choice of coin designs was the ‘workshop system’ first described in detail by Kraft for Asia Minor.⁵⁹ He discovered many instances from the second and especially the third century AD where coins in the name of different cities were struck from the same obverse dies. Analysing the material further he identified a number of ‘workshops’ which—according to his interpretation—supplied groups of neighbouring cities for certain periods of time. The nature of these ‘workshops’ is not yet fully understood, especially whether they supplied dies or coins, how many individuals constituted a ‘workshop’ (just an individual die-cutter or an entire ‘mint’?), and to what degree the ‘workshops’ were stationary or itinerant.⁶⁰ Research since Kraft’s pioneering study has produced evidence of die-links and stylistic similarities between the coinages of neighbouring cities in other parts of the

Roman empire, showing that the phenomenon was not confined to Asia Minor.⁶¹

The illustrations given as pl. 3.2, 17–19 provide an example of Kraft’s work.⁶² Three coins from the cities of Pergamum (pl. 3.2, 17), Mytilene (pl. 3.2, 18), and Assos (pl. 3.2, 19), dating from the early sole reign of Commodus (c. AD 180–2) share the same obverse die. From examples such as this Kraft wrongly concluded that cities chose their coin images from a small number of standard designs offered by a particular workshop, as indeed the two identical reverse images of a triumphal quadriga on the coins from Mytilene and Assos (pl. 3.2, 18–19) might imply. Consequently, Kraft considered coin designs to be of little scholarly interest.⁶³ Against this, Louis Robert rightly pointed to the overall enormous variety in coin images and the existence of designs exclusive to particular cities.⁶⁴ The coin from Pergamum (pl. 3.2, 17) provides an example of the latter. Its reverse image, Asclepius on a base between two centaurs, occurs—at least to the author’s knowledge—only on this coin type.⁶⁵ The ‘workshop’ was therefore involved in creating not only a unique design, but also one which was highly appropriate for Pergamum, whose chief deity was Asclepius. As far as the two identical reverse images on the coins of Mytilene and Assos (pl. 3.2, 18–19) are concerned, both depict Commodus’ triumph of the year AD 180 in Rome. The emperor is standing in the triumphal quadriga, which is led by an armed figure (a soldier or Roma). In the background there is a trophy on a base with two captives.

⁶¹ 1st cent. AD: for the Julio-Claudian and Flavian period the authors of *RPC I* and *II* observed stylistic similarities between neighbouring cities in Spain, Africa, Macedonia, the province of Asia, and Northern Syria, which they attributed to itinerant die-cutters (*RPC I*: 15 and 375 and *RPC II*: 125).

2nd and 3rd cents. AD: (a) Peloponnesus: stylistic similarities in the Severan period (Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann 1982–3); (b) Thrace: die-link between Hadrianopolis and Plotinopolis on coins of Faustina II (Schultz 1999); (c) Moesia: die-links involving Nicopolis ad Istrum (private communication by A. Popescu) and die-link between Dionysopolis and Marcianopolis on coins of Gordian III (see chapter by Peter with pl. 8.2, 19–20); (d) Eastern Cilicia: stylistic similarities involving various cities and die-link between Tarsus and Pompeiopolis for coins of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian (Ziegler 1993: 136); (e) Syria: die-links between Antioch-on-the-Orontes, Philippopolis, Samosata, and Zeugma for coins of Elagabalus and Philip (Butcher 1986–7; 1988b); (f) Phoenicia: stylistic similarities between the coins of Macrinus and Diadumenianus from Berytus, Tyrus, Byblus, and Tripolis (Vismara 1997).

⁶² Kraft 1972: 61, obverse die-link no. 286, pl. 88.14a–c.

⁶³ Kraft 1972: 94–6.

⁶⁴ Robert 1975: 188–92, also Harl 1987: 15–18.

⁶⁵ A similar design with inward (rather than outward) facing centaurs holding a statue of Asclepius was used in Pergamum under the Severans, e.g. *SNG von Aulock*: no. 1415.

⁵⁷ This is a common yet not universal pattern.

⁵⁸ These coins, mostly from cities within the *conventus* of Pergamum, Smyrna, and Sardis, depict either Athena or Heracles on the obverse and Telesphorus or a walking lion on the reverse; for the phenomenon, Kraft 1972: 94, pl. 115; pl. 3.2, 16 from Attalea (Asia) shows Heracles on the obverse and a lion on the reverse.

⁵⁹ Kraft 1972.

⁶⁰ See Kraft 1972: 90–3; Johnston 1982–3; and Johnston 1995: 49–61.

The design is a close copy of a Roman medallion from the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.⁶⁶ Its reuse on the civic coinage probably reflects local celebrations of Commodus' triumph of AD 180. The iconography for such an event came from imperial models, with the 'workshop' playing some intermediate role.

The exact impact of the 'workshops' on civic coin design is not clear. In particular the question of whether each deity on the coinage of a city had its equivalent civic cult has recently been discussed by scholars.⁶⁷ The official nature of civic coinage and countless positive examples make it quite likely that the great majority of coin designs did indeed reflect local cults. However, it cannot be ruled out that the 'workshops' or regional denominational systems might have been responsible for some choices. Leaving obvious questions of definition as to what exactly constituted a 'civic cult', the main problem is one of proof. On the one hand, the incomplete nature of the archaeological record makes it very hard (if not impossible) to demonstrate that a city lacked a cult which appears on its coins. On the other hand, even if it could be demonstrated for some cities that all the gods and goddesses on their coins had their equivalent civic cults, this would not mean—given the variable and local character of provincial coinage—that this was universally the case. A further point to consider is to what degree 'workshops', when representing specific civic cults, did so in a standardized, generic way.

Obverses

The Imperial Portrait

Traditionally pre-imperial obverses bore the portrait of a city's chief deity, probably the most famous example being the head of Athena on Athenian *tetradrachms* (pl. 3.3, 20). An important Hellenistic innovation by the successors of Alexander the Great was the placing of their names and portraits on royal

coinages. Ptolemy I (323–285 BC) represented a pioneer in this respect and a *tetradrachm* of his is illustrated here (pl. 3.3, 21).⁶⁸ Some cities of the Hellenistic period also chose to display the portrait of a king on their coinage, a (possible) example being Erythrae's depiction of Demetrius Poliorcetes.⁶⁹ A later and clearer case is provided by the nineteen cities in Cilicia, Syria, Phoenicia, and Mesopotamia which issued bronze coins with the portrait of Antiochus IV in 169/8 BC.⁷⁰ Such examples, however, are not very common. As far as the Roman republican coinage is concerned, a major change occurred when Caesar became the first living Roman to have his portrait depicted on Roman coins, shortly before his assassination in 44 BC (pl. 3.3, 22). At first only a handful of provincial cities displayed the portraits of Caesar or Octavian,⁷¹ while depictions of Mark Antony and Cleopatra occurred somewhat more frequently, especially in Syria.⁷² During the long reign of Augustus (31 BC–AD 14) some 200 cities gradually adopted his portrait as the standard obverse feature for their coins (pl. 3.3, 23 being an example from Seleucia in Syria dating from around AD 6). The slow, non-synchronized spread of Augustus' portrait—often in the later part of his reign—implies that individual cities were responding to a new political situation rather than to an Augustan policy imposed from above.⁷³ The fact that the great majority of cities which issued coins during that time replaced the portraits of their traditional deities with that of the first Roman emperor represents a fundamental shift in civic perspective caused by new political circumstances. On the one hand the cities were paying tribute to Augustus' unrivalled superhuman power. On the other they were incorporating the Roman emperor into their own world, thus defining their relationship with him. Parallels can be found in many aspects of civic life, for example in the imperial cult,⁷⁴ processions,⁷⁵ festivals⁷⁶ and public sculpture such as theatre friezes.⁷⁷

⁶⁸ Carradice 1995: 59–60.

⁶⁹ Kinns 2002.

⁷⁰ Mørkholm 1984: 101–2.

⁷¹ Portrait of Caesar: e.g. Nicaea (Bithynia-Pontus): *RPC I*, no. 2026; portrait of Octavian: e.g. Narbo (Gaul): *RPC I*, no. 518.

⁷² Examples: (a) Mark Antony: Aradus (Phoenicia): *RPC I*, nos. 4466–9; (b) Cleopatra: Tripolis (Phoenicia): *RPC I*, no. 4510; for a full listing, see *RPC I*, index 2.1. ⁷³ *RPC I*, 38–40. ⁷⁴ Price 1984.

⁷⁵ Rogers 1991.

⁷⁶ Nijf 2001: 318–20.

⁷⁷ Lindner 1994 and Smith 1990.

⁶⁶ Gnechi 1912, vol. ii. 47, nos. 17 and 19, pl. 73.2 and 74.4; there—rather appropriately—with two emperors (Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus) in the quadriga rather than with a single one as on the coins of Commodus from Mytilene and Assos (pl. 3.2, 18–19).

⁶⁷ For a discussion of this point and further references, see Brandt 2002: 406–7 n. 124; and Nollé 1992: 78–97.

The Julio-Claudian and most of the Flavian obverses depict the emperor with either a bare or a laureate head (e.g. pl. 3.3, 23). Occasionally he wears a radiate crown instead,⁷⁸ but the latter did not function as a denominational marker as on the Roman imperial coinage from Nero onwards, where it helped to distinguish the *dupondius* (worth two *asses*) from the *as*. Following the example of the imperial mint in Rome, provincial obverses under Nero and the Flavians began to display a bust rather than just the imperial head. From Nero onwards this bust could be dressed with an aegis,⁷⁹ and from Titus and Domitian onwards in cuirass and paludamentum.⁸⁰ While the aegis remained rare, the cuirass and paludamentum became increasingly popular on provincial obverses, so that by the time of the Antonines they accounted for more than 50 per cent of all imperial obverse representations. Showing the emperor in this way (e.g. pl. 3.1, 10) emphasized his military role as commander-in-chief of the Roman army. During the troubled third century, some provincial coin obverses acquired an even more militaristic look. Again following the lead of Roman imperial coins and medals, they might depict the emperor with spear, shield, and helmet,⁸¹ as on a coin of Gallienus from Antioch-ad-Maeandrum (pl. 3.3, 24).⁸² Harl has identified a number of other interesting developments at that

time, including the presentation of the emperor as the new Alexander the Great (also on coin reverses) or as a cosmic ruler with a raised hand,⁸³ but we are not yet in a position to assess their importance in quantitative terms.

The imperial portrait might be invested with divine attributes, such as the radiate crown of Sol/Apollo or the aegis of Jupiter just mentioned.⁸⁴ These cases, however, are not very common. A spectacular example from the end of the reign of Commodus showing the emperor as the Roman Hercules has been illustrated here (pl. 3.3, 25). This case demonstrates that the latest trends in imperial self-representation could be picked up very quickly in the provinces.⁸⁵ A related but also not very common phenomenon was the depiction of a god with the features of an emperor, for example Sarapis assimilated to the portrait of the mature Marcus Aurelius from Thyatira in Asia (pl. 3.3, 26). Even less common are obverse depictions of emperors as holders of civic office. There are examples from Tarsus and Anazarbus in Cilicia, where Commodus, Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Severus Alexander occur dressed as the *demiourgoi*, who presided over the league games of Cilicia, Isauria, and Lycaonia (pl. 3.3, 27, a coin of Commodus from Tarsus).⁸⁶

The Imperial Family

From the beginning of Roman provincial coinage, the use of portraiture was not restricted to the emperor but included members of his family. This group consisted of women of imperial rank and prospective heirs to the throne, that is Caesars and junior emperors (e.g. Commodus as junior emperor to Marcus Aurelius). Empresses were normally depicted with draped busts, an example being Faustina II on coins of Aphrodisias (pl. 3.2, 13). They often had elaborate hairstyles, which frequently changed according to high Roman fashion. As an example a coin from Smyrna has been illustrated here, showing

⁷⁸ Under Tiberius the radiate crown was first employed on the imperial coinage for the *Divus Augustus*. From the reign of Caligula onwards it was used for living emperors (Bastien 1992–4: 101–16, especially 104–5). The provincial coinage followed this trend: Examples: *Divus Augustus*: Mopsus (Cilicia): *RPC I*, no. 4049 and Caligula: Aezani (Asia): *RPC I*, no. 3085; 2nd-century example: Antoninus Pius: Irenopolis (Cilicia): Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, SNG Cilicia 2257; 3rd-century example: Gordian III, Aradus (Phoenicia): *BMC Phoenicia*: 50, no. 388, pl. VI.11.

⁷⁹ On the imperial coinage the aegis first occurred under Nero (Bastien 1992–4: 341–67, especially 350–1); examples of its use on the provincial coinage: Nero: Acmonia (Asia): *RPC I*, no. 3176; ‘Provincial issue’ (Syria): *RPC I*, no. 4189; Vespasian: ‘Provincial issue’ (Syria): *RPC II*, no. 1936; Titus: ‘Provincial issue’ (Syria): *RPC II*, no. 1912; Domitian: *Koinon* of Crete: *RPC II*, no. 34; 2nd-century example: Antoninus Pius: Nicaea (Bithynia-Pontus): *Rec*: 407, no. 68, pl. LXVIII.2; 3rd-century example: Perinthus (Thrace): Severus Alexander: Schönert 1965: 239, no. 784, pl. 48 (obverse die D).

⁸⁰ The first use of cuirass and paludamentum on the imperial coinage occurred under Nero (Bastien 1992–4: 235–80, especially 242). Early examples on the provincial coinage: Titus: ‘Provincial issue’ (Syria): *RPC II*, no. 1932; Domitian: Philadelphia (Asia): *RPC II*, no. 1331.

⁸¹ Introduction of (a) spear: imperial medallion of Marcus Aurelius (Bastien 1992–4: 437, pl. 63.8); (b) shield and spear: imperial medallion: Septimius Severus (Bastien 1992–4: 468, pl. 77.5); (c) helmet: *aureus* of Gallienus (Bastien 1992–4: 202, pl. 99.1); (d) helmet, spear, and shield: *sestertius* of Postumus (Bastien 1992–4: 202, pl. 108.9).

⁸² For the developments of Roman imperial obverse designs, see King 1999: 123–36; especially 133.

⁸³ Harl 1987: 40 and pls. 11–14.

⁸⁴ For the Julio-Claudian period, see *RPC I*, 47–8. As discussed below, the phenomenon of investing the emperor with divine attributes also occurs on coin reverses, an example being pl. 3.5, 45.

⁸⁵ For a comparable example from epigraphy, see Speidel 1993.

⁸⁶ For the *demiourgoi* on the coin obverses from Tarsus and Anazarbus, see Harl 1987: 66.

Salonina, wife of Gallienus (pl. 3.3, 28).⁸⁷ Interestingly, portraits of women of imperial rank are rare in most parts of Syria. While emperors could be shown with either a bare or laureate head, Caesars were normally bare-headed as a sign of their lower rank vis-à-vis the emperor.⁸⁸

It appears that over the first two centuries AD coins with the portraits of empresses or Caesars became more frequent, and a growing number of cities issued them. During the time of the Antonines, for example, around 210 out of 371 civic ‘mints’ issued portrait coins of imperial women and around 160 struck portrait coins of prospective imperial successors.⁸⁹ This trend might be due partly to the growing use of portraits of empresses and Caesars on obverses to denote denominations.

In all the examples illustrated so far in this chapter (pl. 3.2, 13 and pl. 3.3, 28) members of the imperial family occur on coin obverses on their own. Alternative arrangements were to display the portraits of both the emperor and his empress or Caesar on the obverse (e.g. pl. 3.3, 29), or to place the imperial portrait on the obverse and that of the member of his family on the reverse (e.g. pl. 3.3, 30).

In Rome, an emperor often had his predecessors or other members of the imperial family deified. This act was proof of his *pietas* and helped to legitimize the new emperor.⁹⁰ The imperial mint in Rome issued *consecration* coins on such occasions, but equivalent provincial coins are quite rare.⁹¹ Deified emperors were, however, portrayed on coins of those cities which they had either founded or re-founded. A good example is the regular display of the head of Augustus

⁸⁷ Further examples of elaborate hairstyles: (a) Domitia (wife of Domitian): Alexandria (Egypt): *RPC* II, no. 2644; (b) Sabina (wife of Hadrian): Amisus (Bithynia-Pontus): *Rec*: 84, no. 99, pl. ix.18; (c) Faustina II (wife of Marcus Aurelius): Ilium (Asia): *SNG* von Aulock 1534; (d) Julia Domna (wife of Septimius Severus): Apamea (Bithynia-Pontus): *Rec*: 256, no. 65, pl. xxxix.10.

⁸⁸ A small number of exceptions to this rule are known, for example from Tripolis (Phoenicia), where in the year AD 147 Marcus Aurelius as Caesar is depicted with a laureate head (*BMC* Phoenicia: 213, nos. 66–8).

⁸⁹ For the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods, see *RPC* I, 49–51; *RPC* II: 38–40; and both indexes 2.1.

⁹⁰ For consecration in Rome, see for example Price 1987.

⁹¹ There are a certain number of coins for the *divus* Augustus on the Julio-Claudian and Flavian coinage, see *RPC* I: 733 and *RPC* II: 347; two later examples: (a) *divus* Vespasianus on the coinage of the ‘client king’ Agrippa II (*RPC* II, no. 2273); (b) *divus* Hadrianus on the coinage of Damascus (Syria): *BMC* Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria: 283, no. 8, pl. xxxiv.8 (rev.).

on the coinage of Nicopolis in Epirus. The coin illustrated here (pl. 3.4, 31) is likely to belong to the second century AD.⁹²

Hadrian’s ‘favourite’ Antinous represents a case of special interest. After Antinous’ death in Egypt in AD 130, Hadrian had him deified and founded a city in his honour. Many cities throughout the Empire set up their own cults and statues of the new divinity.⁹³ A number of Eastern cities such as Smyrna (pl. 3.4, 32 with *ANTINOOS HPOΣ* as the obverse legend) issued coins with his portrait. By contrast, there were no equivalent coins from the Roman imperial mint, perhaps as Antinous was strictly speaking not a member of the imperial family and sensitivities in the capital had to be taken into account. The coin illustrated here from Smyrna (pl. 3.4, 32) is of particular interest, as it carries the name of the famous sophist Polemon. Finally it is noteworthy that Antinous’ hometown of Bithynium continued to employ the portrait of its most famous citizen after Hadrian’s death.⁹⁴

Roman Governors

During the Julio-Claudian period, a number of portraits of Roman governors occurred on the provincial coinage. Most of them were confined to the first half of the reign of Augustus. After this experimental period they became very rare, a late example being a coin from Iconium (pl. 3.4, 33) depicting the Galatian legate Annius Afrinus (49–54 AD).⁹⁵ In this case—as indeed in most others—the governor’s portrait was confined to the smaller denominations, leaving the larger ones for the emperor (and his family). From the Flavian period onwards the only references to Roman officials on the provincial coinage can be found in the coin inscriptions, and the emperor and his family were the only living persons to be portrayed on the coinage.⁹⁶

⁹² For the coinage of Nicopolis in Epirus see Oeconomidou 1975; the book should be read in conjunction with Kraay 1976.

⁹³ Cassius Dio 69. 11. 3–4 and Birley 1997: 235–58.

⁹⁴ e.g. *Rec*: 271, no. 25, pl. xlii.5 from the reign of Commodus.

⁹⁵ For this paragraph and further examples, see *RPC* I: 40–1 and index 4.2 where a ‘*’ denotes a portrait. Of particular interest are two coin types from Cibyra (*RPC* I, nos. 2889–90), which might depict two Lycian governors (*RPC* I: 473–4).

⁹⁶ For a list of the names of Roman officials on the provincial coinage of the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods, see *RPC* I and II, indexes 2.3 and 4.2 respectively.

'Pseudo-autonomous' Coinage

'Pseudo-autonomous' coinage comprises coins which depict neither the emperor nor a member of his family on the obverse. The material, which has been studied by Johnston,⁹⁷ falls into three groups:

1. Gods and goddesses, the most common ones being Zeus, Apollo, Dionysus, Heracles (e.g. pl. 3.2, 16 from Attalea), Athena, Artemis, or Sarapis (e.g. pl. 3.3, 26 from Thyatira).
2. Personifications of the Roman Senate (e.g. pl. 3.2, 14 from Aphrodisias) and Thea Roma.
3. Personifications of the city, either the city-goddess or founding heroes (e.g. Menestheus at Elaea, pl. 3.4, 34) and personifications of civic institutions such as the Demos (e.g. pl. 3.2, 15 from Aphrodisias), the Boule (city council) and the Gerousia (council of the Elders).

'Pseudo-autonomous' coins were most popular among the cities in the Roman province of Asia, where the great majority of cities issued them—Ephesus being a notable exception. They normally occupy the lower end of the denominational scale, as was the case with the series of coins from Aphrodisias in the name of Ti. Kl. Zelos (pl. 3.2, 11–15). The relative importance of 'pseudo-autonomous' coins seems to have increased over the first two centuries AD. By the Antonine period, 'pseudo-autonomous' coins accounted for more than 30 per cent of all coin types in that province. Outside Asia, they were significantly rarer, making up around 7 per cent of all Antonine coin types.

Obverse Legends

During the long reign of Augustus many cities not only adopted his portrait for coin obverses but also added an inscription naming him, for example *ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ* on pl. 3.3, 23 from Seleucia in Syria. This feature made provincial coins look more like Roman imperial coins and set them apart from their Hellenistic and Classical predecessors, which had normally lacked obverse inscriptions. Names of rulers had previously occurred on the coins of Hellenistic monarchs, but then the royal name had been placed on the reverse

(e.g. *ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* on a *tetra-drachm* of Ptolemy I (pl. 3.3, 21).⁹⁸ Obverse inscriptions occurred in times of massive change, when the traditional well-known images of civic deities gave way to the portrait of the first emperor, and those in charge of coin production felt the need to facilitate its correct identification. The habit of labelling the obverse image was extended to Augustus' successors, members of the imperial family, and indeed to most provincial coin obverses.

During the first two centuries AD the imperial name and titulature both became more detailed. When the various provincial institutions selected elements to display on their coins, they did not follow a standard pattern. Consequently, obverse legends became increasingly diverse.⁹⁹ An interesting parallel is the essentially local character of Graeco-Roman epigraphy.¹⁰⁰ Owing to the increasing influence of the 'workshops' outlined above it is likely (but by no means certain) that the variety in the choice of imperial names and titles decreased somewhat in the third century AD.

Under Augustus provincial coins could have very short obverse legends, naming him either *CAESAR/ΚΑΙΣΑΡ* or *AVGVSTVS/ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ*.¹⁰¹ His successors usually added at least a *nomen* or *cognomen* to either title so that the emperor Claudius might be called *ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ*.¹⁰² From the Flavian period onwards *IMPERATOR/ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ* came into regular use, normally at the beginning of the obverse legend.¹⁰³ From then on any one of the three elements *CAESAR/ΚΑΙΣΑΡ*, *AVGVSTVS/ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ* or *IMPERATOR/ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ* could be combined with an imperial *nomen* or *cognomen* to form the 'minimum kit' for an obverse legend. Two or even three of these elements could be used together. Further variation came from the full use of the imperial *tria nomina*,¹⁰⁴ and by affiliations such as *ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ*.¹⁰⁵ Empresses were

⁹⁸ I owe this point to Andrew Meadows.

⁹⁹ For the obverse inscriptions of Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods, see *RPC I*: 43; *RPC II*: 32–3 and 40–2, as well as both indexes 3.1, 3.2, and (especially) 4.1.

¹⁰⁰ Bodel 2001: 14–15.
¹⁰¹ *CAESAR*: e.g. Narbo (Gaul): *RPC I*, no. 518; *ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ*: e.g. Thessalonica (Macedonia): *RPC I*, no. 1556.

¹⁰² For example, Phocaea (Asia): *RPC I*, no. 2437.

¹⁰³ For example, Vespasian in Alabanda (Asia): *RPC II*, no. 1202.

¹⁰⁴ For example, *ΑΥΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡ ΑΥΦΗ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ* for Marcus Aurelius on pl. 3.2, 12 from Aphrodisias (Asia).

¹⁰⁵ e.g. for Tiberius on the coins of Sardis (Asia): *RPC I*, no. 2989.

⁹⁷ Johnston 1985; see also *RPC I*: 41–2 and *RPC II*: 31–2.

normally called *AVGVSTA/ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ* whereas Caesars carried the title *CAESAR/ΚΑΙΣΑΡ*.¹⁰⁶

In addition to the elements mentioned so far, provincial coins might mention imperial titles such as *pater patriae* or *pontifex maximus*, give the numbers of imperial consulships or the holding of the *tribunicia potestas* by the emperor.¹⁰⁷ Occasionally they display victory titles such as *GERMANICVS/ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ*,¹⁰⁸ some of which were added to coins after their production by use of a countermark.¹⁰⁹ Although one can find individual examples of the use of these elements on the civic coinage, they are more frequently associated with the coins of 'client kings', 'provincial issues', and Roman colonies. As was the case with *consecration* coins, these elements were probably a particularly Roman concern and of little importance for Greek-style cities.¹¹⁰

Reverses

Religious Imagery

While the emperor and his family dominated provincial coin obverses, reverses were mostly dedicated to topics of local relevance, resulting in an enormous iconographic variety. The majority of reverse designs were drawn from the religious sphere: depictions of important civic deities, sometimes in the form of their cult statues, were particularly popular (for example, Zeus pl. 3.1, 4, Aphrodite pl. 3.2, 13 and 15, or Athena pl. 3.3, 26).¹¹¹ The same applies—to a slightly lesser extent—to objects or animals sacred to a particular god, such as the thunderbolt of Zeus (pl. 3.3, 23), the lyre of Apollo (pl. 3.4, 35) or the stag of Artemis.¹¹² Both types of images had occurred on the Archaic, Classical (e.g. Athenian *tetradrachm*

pl. 3.3, 20), and Hellenistic predecessors of the provincial coinage.¹¹³ The predominance of traditional religious imagery on the reverses indicates that worship of the ancestral gods was the key element of civic identity.¹¹⁴

This is perhaps best expressed on the so-called 'alliance' coins, which were struck to celebrate an agreement between two (or more) cities. For such coins the most popular way to represent a city was by its most important deity. On an example from Ephesus the city is embodied by its famous cult statue of Artemis, while the ancient statue of Kore stands for Sardis, the other city involved (pl. 3.4, 36). The exergue (the area below the base-line) of the coin contains the Greek word *OMONOIA* ('concord'), which is a feature of many 'alliance' coins. Other than through their most important civic deities, cities were also represented by their city-goddesses or founding heroes.¹¹⁵

The phenomenon of 'alliance' coinage was confined geographically to Thrace and Asia Minor. There were relatively few such issues during the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods,¹¹⁶ the bulk of the material dating from the second and especially the third centuries. In total eighty-seven cities issued 'alliance' coins, nearly 2,400 specimens of which are known today.¹¹⁷ The background for this widespread phenomenon was the intense rivalry between the cities of the East of the Roman empire, that between Nicaea and Nicomedia being a famous example.¹¹⁸ 'Alliances' could be a means of settling disputes, but were also used to build coalitions in order to enhance a city's status by aligning itself either with many cities or with particularly important ones.¹¹⁹ Thus 'alliances' formed part of civic 'foreign policy' and might have involved the exchange of delegates and joint celebrations and sacrifices.¹²⁰

¹⁰⁶ Empresses: e.g. *ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ* for Faustina II on pl. 3.2, 13 from Aphrodisias (Asia); Caesars: e.g. *ΑΥΡΗΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ* for Marcus Aurelius as Caesar on pl. 9.1, 7 from Smyrna (Asia).

¹⁰⁷ Examples: (a) *Pater patriae*: Tiberius: Cyprus: *RPC* I, no. 3911; (b) *pontifex maximus*: Vespasian: 'Provincial issue' (Syria): *RPC* II, no. 1982; (c) number of imperial consulships: Commodus: Caesarea (Cappadocia): *SNG* von Aulock 6440; (d) imperial *tribunicia potestas*: Tiberius: Caesarea (Cappadocia): *RPC* I, no. 3621.

¹⁰⁸ For example Domitian: Smyrna (Asia): *RPC* II, no. 1018.

¹⁰⁹ Howgego 1985: 4–5.

¹¹⁰ Compare the comments of Burnett, Chapter 16 below, on the 'Romanness' of the coinage of client kings.

¹¹¹ For the use of different types of cult statues (classical, archaic, aniconic, etc.) and their (possible) meanings see Howgego, Chapter 1.

¹¹² Gardner 1883: 41–52.

¹¹³ *RPC* I: 38. ¹¹⁴ Beard, North, and Price 1998.

¹¹⁵ Examples: (a) city-goddesses: coin of Amastris from the reign of Antoninus Pius celebrating an 'alliance' with Amisus: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. 545 (= Rec: 176, no. 72, pl. xx.1 (rev.)); (b) founding heroes: coin of Cyzicus from the reign of Antoninus Pius celebrating an 'alliance' with Ephesus: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. 16151.

¹¹⁶ *RPC* I: 48 and *RPC* II: 34–5. ¹¹⁷ Franke and Nollé 1997.

¹¹⁸ For the rivalry between Nicaea and Nicomedia expressed through their legends, see Weiser 1989; *RPC* II: 34; and Robert 1977a.

¹¹⁹ For the 'alliance' coins of Smyrna, see Klose 1987: 44–63; for those of Pergamum, see Kampmann 1996; Franke and Nollé 1997 represents a full die-study of all the known 'alliance' coins, but the second, interpretative volume has not yet been published. ¹²⁰ Weiss 1998.

The authors of *RPC I* have pointed out that cities varied their coin designs during the Julio-Claudian period more often than they had in Hellenistic and Republican times, perhaps deriving their inspiration from the frequent reverse changes of the Roman imperial gold and silver coinage.¹²¹ This trend towards greater iconographic diversity increased during the Flavian period, through the second century and (probably) into the Severan period. It manifested itself in the depiction of more deities per city, as well as in the introduction of entirely new themes, most importantly buildings (especially temples), games (especially prize crowns) and mythological themes (especially founders)—aspects which will be discussed in more detail below. As a consequence of these developments, the frequency of the traditional civic gods and their symbols on provincial reverses declined in relative terms over time. The introduction of new designs, coupled with the possibility of complex images on increasingly large coins, led to the emergence of explanatory coin inscriptions (for example on pl. 3.1, 6 from Ephesus, where the mountain god is labelled *ΠΕΙΩΝ*).¹²²

As mentioned above, (probably) up to the Severan period cities depicted a growing number of deities on their coins. Against a background dominated by Greek culture, most of the new deities were taken from the traditional Greek pantheon. There can be little doubt that this trend, despite the uncertainties about whether every single divinity on a city's coinage had a corresponding civic cult, indicates an increasing religious diversity among the cities of the Roman empire during the second and third centuries AD. The latter phenomenon has been interpreted either as the result of competitive behaviour within unstable civic elites or as an elite response to the growth of 'private cults'.¹²³

The city of Ephesus represents an interesting case in so far as it did not extend its numismatic pantheon to the same degree as others. Here, too, new and innovative coin images were introduced. However, if they did not relate to the city's mythological past (e.g. pl. 3.1, 6), they tended to widen the repertoire of Artemis-related images. An example is the adoption

Table 3.3. Number of coin-issuing cities using certain popular reverse images

Reverse image	Julio-Claudian (44 BC–AD 69)	Flavian (AD 69–96)	Antonine (AD 138–92)
Asclepius standing (pl. 3.4, 34)	1	7	110
Cybele seated	5	11	57
Dionysus standing	14	19	77
River-god reclining	1	6	115
Tyche standing	19	16	163
Total number of coin-issuing cities	260	187	371

of an image of Diana (pl. 3.4, 37) copied from a Roman imperial medal.¹²⁴ The unusual degree to which Artemis designs predominate among the coinage of Ephesus reflects the extraordinary importance of Artemis for the city and recalls the story of Paul and the silversmiths (Acts 19). As was the case with the representation of the Roman triumph of Commodus on the coins of Mytilene and Assos (pl. 3.2, 18–19), the copying from Roman imperial models was appropriate, deliberate, and highly selective.

When cities increased their numismatic pantheon, the new gods were often presented in a standardized fashion.¹²⁵ The spread of some popular reverses can be seen from Table 3.3.

Such standardized coin images occur all over the eastern half of the empire, which makes it impossible to explain the phenomenon simply as the result of workshops that operated on a regional basis. A fairly high degree of religious and cultural homogeneity in the area concerned may underlie the phenomenon.

There are also cases of deities occurring on a regional basis, an example being the god Mên. During the Antonine period he was depicted on the reverses of forty-three cities in central Asia Minor, either standing (pl. 3.4, 38) or on horseback.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Gnecci 1912, vol. iii: 27, no. 130, pl. 148.15.

¹²⁵ As argued by Butcher in this volume, seemingly 'banal' and 'generic' types may well have carried a specific meaning in a local context. There was also the possibility of 'customizing' river-gods and city-goddesses with specific attributes; see Howgego, Chapter 1.

¹²⁶ Example of Mên on horseback: Silyum (Lycia-Pamphylia): SNG von Aulock 4874.

¹²¹ *RPC I*: 43 and *RPC II*: 33.

¹²² Compare the discussion of obverse legends above. For a problematization of the reception of coin designs, see Williamson and Butcher in this volume.

¹²³ Bendlin 1997 and Woolf 1997.

Temples, Other Buildings, City Views, and Games

Together with games and mythology, temples (e.g. pl. 3.1, 9) are one of the three major new topics to emerge on the provincial coinage. They were often shown with the relevant cult statues inside (e.g. pl. 3.1, 3), thus extending the traditional repertoire of religious imagery. The depiction of buildings and temples on coinage was essentially a Roman innovation. Given that early examples from the Julio-Claudian period tend to depict temples of the imperial cult,¹²⁷ Burnett has concluded that this habit was introduced to the East in the context of that cult.¹²⁸ After this initial phase other temples were also displayed, such as the temple of Aphrodite from Aphrodisias.¹²⁹ In general Eastern cities tended to show the same temples on their coins repeatedly, indicating that they were regarded as focal points of local identity. This contrasts with the imperial coinage, where their depiction tended to be one-offs and event-driven, usually praising some imperial deed or benefaction.¹³⁰

As indicated in Table 3.4, in the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods around 12 per cent of the coin-issuing cities had images of temples among their reverses, the number rising to nearly 30 per cent in the Antonine period. Figures for the Severan period are likely to be equally high; thus the popularity of temples on coins appears to coincide with intense civic building activity in the East during the second and early third centuries AD. After the Severan period elite spending seems to have shifted towards festivals and games.¹³¹ Although images of temples continued to feature on the civic coinage right to its very end,¹³² their overall popularity probably declined in favour of games—Syria being a possible exception.¹³³ However,

Table 3.4. Number of coin-issuing cities in the East of the Roman empire depicting temples

Reverse image	Julio-Claudian (44 BC–AD 69)	Flavian (AD 69–96)	Antonine (AD 138–92)
Temple (pl. 3.1, 3 or pl. 3.1, 9)	28	22	110
Total number of coin-issuing cities	260	187	371

more research needs to be carried out to confirm and refine these trends.

Some civic coin designs provide panoramic views of entire sanctuaries or temples in their surroundings. Examples include the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Byblus,¹³⁴ the Acropolis in Corinth with the temple of Venus/Aphrodite, the Acropolis of Athens, the sanctuary of Zeugma, or Mount Gerizim in Neapolis.¹³⁵ Full panoramic views of entire cities (for example, Bizya, pl. 8.1, 8) or their harbours also exist. The latter are found, for example, on the coins of Corinth (pl. 3.4, 39), Patras, and Pompeiopolis.¹³⁶ While such images can be spectacular, they are not particularly common. There is tendency for them to appear on colonial coins. Both observations apply also to the appearance of buildings other than temples. They include triumphal arches on the coins of Pagae and Alexandria in Egypt,¹³⁷ bridges in Buthrotum, Antioch-ad-Maeandrum (pl. 3.3, 24), and Mopsus,¹³⁸ lighthouses in Panormus, Corinth, and Laodicea-ad-Mare,¹³⁹ and monumental city gates.¹⁴⁰ The latter were particularly

¹³⁴ Byblus (Phoenicia): London, British Museum: Price and Trel 1977, fig. 271.

¹³⁵ Mountains with temples (examples): (a) Corinth (Achaea): *BMC Corinth*: 79, no. 616, pl. xx.15 (rev.); (b) Athens (Achaea): *BMC Attica*: 110, no. 803, pl. xix.7; (c) Zeugma (Syria): *BMC Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria*: 124, no. 2, pl. xvi.11 (rev.); (d) Neapolis (Judaea): *BMC Palestine*: 48, no. 22, pl. v.15 (rev.).

¹³⁶ Harbours (examples): (a) Patras (Achaea): London, British Museum, Inv. 1970 9-9-15 = Price and Trel 1977: 41, fig. 60; (b) Pompeiopolis (Cilicia): New York, American Numismatic Society, Inv. 1944.100.54319 = Price and Trel 1977: 220, fig. 483.

¹³⁷ Triumphal arches (examples): (a) Pagae (Achaea): London, British Museum, Inv. 1982 11-1-1 = Price and Trel 1977: 223, fig. 498; (b) Alexandria (Egypt): *RPC II*, 2524.

¹³⁸ Bridges (examples): (a) Buthrotum (Achaea): *RPC I*, no. 3181; (b) Antioch-ad-Maeandrum (Asia): pl. 3.3, 24; (c) Mopsus (Cilicia): *SNG von Aulock* 5747.

¹³⁹ Lighthouses (examples): (a) Panormus (Sicily): *RPC I*: 637; (b) Corinth (Achaea): Berlin, Staatliche Museen = Price and Trel 1977: 84, fig. 147; (c) Laodicea-ad-Mare (Syria): London, British Museum, Inv. 1971 12-9-1.

¹⁴⁰ e.g. Caesarea Germanica (Bithynia-Pontus): *RPC II*, no. 620.

¹²⁷ For example *RPC I*, nos. 2355–7 from Pergamum (Asia).

¹²⁸ Burnett 1999: 158. ¹²⁹ *RPC I*, no. 2839.

¹³⁰ Howgego, Chapter 1.

¹³¹ Woolf 1997: 80, suggesting that this shift might have been an attempt by the elite to bolster traditional polis religion against rival cults. Regarding elite spending, there seemed to have been a tension between paying for buildings on the one hand and games and festivals on the other as implied in the letter by Antoninus Pius to the Ephesians, in which he praised Vedius Antonius for financing the former rather than the latter (*I. Ephesos V*, no. 1491).

¹³² Perga (Lycia-Pamphylia); AD 275/6; Tacitus/temple with two columns enclosing cult statue of Artemis of Perga: *SNG von Aulock* 4759.

¹³³ Howgego, Chapter 1; Burnett 1999: 158–9; Mitchell 1993: 211–25; Harl 1987.

popular in Thrace.¹⁴¹ A reasonably comprehensive list of architecture on ancient coinage may be found in Price and Trell 1977.

Games and festivals are discussed in detail by Klose in this volume. They attracted competitors and visitors to a city, thus enhancing its status and revenues. At the same time they were indicative of a Greek way of life.¹⁴² In the first century AD few coin images related to them,¹⁴³ but this changed in the second century. On the one hand references to traditional games are found in mainland Greece, for example to the Nemeia Hereia in Argos, the Olympic Games in Elis, the Pythia in Delphi, the Isthmia in Corinth, the Panathenaea in Athens, and the Actian games in Nicopolis.¹⁴⁴ On the other hand, cities such as Nicaea in Bithynia, Miletus in Asia, or Tarsus in Cilicia drew attention to their prestigious new games with imperial epithets, usually *Hadrianeia* or *Komodeia* (e.g. pl. 3.3, 27 from Tarsus).¹⁴⁵ However, the overwhelming majority of agonistic coins date from the third century, when cities devoted substantial funds towards festivals, and emperors rewarded loyal or hard-pressed cities with the right to hold particularly prestigious ones. During that time many coin-issuing cities had agonistic types among their coins.

Mythology, Founders, and Foundation Stories

Apart from some early Flavian examples,¹⁴⁶ the bulk of coin reverses depicting founders, foundation stories, and mythological themes belong to the second and third centuries AD, thus coinciding with the heyday of the 'Second Sophistic'. Many cities emphasized their Greek ancestry,¹⁴⁷ the coinage of Pergamum providing an impressive example. A coin

illustrates how Heracles discovers his son Telephos (pl. 3.5, 40), future king of the Mysians and participant in the Trojan War. Smyrna, as shown by Klose, even depicted two foundation stories on its coinage, involving the Greek hero Pelops and Alexander the Great (pl. 9.I, 6–7).¹⁴⁸ The role of Pelops in the foundation of Smyrna is a case of a local tie-in of a pan-Hellenic myth, a topic which has been explored by Price in this volume. There were, however, alternative strategies to alleging Greek descent.¹⁴⁹ A case in point is the Phrygian city of Otrus which adopted—probably because of the similarity in name—the minor Phrygian hero Otreus as its founder. The latter is known from the *Iliad* as fighting on behalf of the Trojans.¹⁵⁰ For the citizens of Otrus it was obviously not necessary to have a Greek ancestor. Instead, it was sufficient for them to have identified for themselves a reference point within the general framework of Greek history.

Many cities depicted eponymous founders, the youthful, nude, and armed hero Kyzikos being a typical case (pl. 3.3, 25). In the province of Asia during the Antonine period for example, nearly forty out of 146 cities issuing coins displayed founders on their reverses. As mentioned above, founding heroes also occur on coin obverses (for example the head of Menestheus on the coinage of Elaea, pl. 3.4, 34) or could represent their city on 'alliance' coins. In the same vein, a manual for speakers addressing city audiences attributed to Menander Rhetor recommends ample praise for founders. In such a climate it is perhaps not surprising that in the third century even the colony of Parium displayed the eponymous founder Parius on its coins.¹⁵¹ In the insecure times of the third century, founders (and indeed civic gods) were increasingly portrayed armed.¹⁵²

As far as the depiction of common events in Greek mythology is concerned, Athens, for instance, showed the contest of Athena and Poseidon,¹⁵³ or

¹⁴¹ Example of city-gate from Thrace: Marcianopolis: Price and Trell 1977: 224, fig. 504. For additional city-views, see Schönert-Geiss 1997a.

¹⁴² Nijf 2001.

¹⁴³ For a Flavian example from Laodicea (Asia): RPC II, no. 1275.

¹⁴⁴ Examples: (a) Argos (Achaea): Copenhagen, Danish National Museum, SNG Argolis—Aegean Islands: no. 91; (b) Elis (Achaea): BMC Peloponnesus: 75, no. 157, pl. xvi.7 (rev.); (c) Delphi (Achaea): BMC Central Greece: 29, no. 33, pl. iv.22; (d) Corinth (Achaea): BMC Corinth: 76, no. 603, pl. xx.3; (e) Athens: BMC Attica: 100, no. 719, pl. xvii.7; (f) Nicopolis (Achaea): BMC Thessaly to Aetolia: 102, no. 2, pl. xxxii.7 = Oeconomidou 1975: Autonoma 37, pl. 3.

¹⁴⁵ Examples: (a) Nicaea (Bithynia-Pontus): *Komodeia*: Rec: 438, no. 320, pl. lxxv.19; (b) Miletus (Asia): *Didymeia-Komodeia*: SNG von Aulock 2109; (c) Tarsus (Cilicia): *Hadrianeia-Komodeia*: pl. 3.3, 27.

¹⁴⁶ RPC II: 33–4; e.g. ΠΕΡΓΑΜΟΣ: Pergamum (Asia): RPC II, no. 924.

¹⁴⁷ See Howgego, Chapter 1, or Weiss 2000a on Eumeneia. An interesting case of an individual emphasizing her Greek ancestry is Licinnia

Flavilla. In an epitaph of AD 210 she traced her genealogy over twelve generations to the Spartan general Cleander (IGR, no. 3500 with comments in Bodel 2000: 14).

¹⁴⁸ Klose 1987: 36 and 256–8. ¹⁴⁹ Howgego, Chapter 1.

¹⁵⁰ *Iliad* 3. 186; Leschhorn 1992: 85; possible examples of the representation of the hero Otreus on the coinage of Otrus are SNG von Aulock 3905–6.

¹⁵¹ e.g. BMC Mysia: 102, no. 83, pl. xxii.9.

¹⁵² Harl 1987: 79.

¹⁵³ Athens (Achaea): For example BMC Attica: 99, no. 710.

Nysa the abduction of Persephone by Hades.¹⁵⁴ Most popular, however, was the claim to be the birthplace of a god. Ephesus, for example, displayed Leto giving birth to Apollo and Artemis,¹⁵⁵ and a number of cities alleged to be Zeus' birthplace. Related images show the infant god either held by a female nurse or being fed by a she-goat (e.g. in Aezani, pl. 3.5, 4r).¹⁵⁶ The latter image was also used by Epidaurus with regard to the infant Asclepius.¹⁵⁷ As was the case with founders, such claims were very important for civic identities, as they provided cities with reference points to themselves within the framework of Greek mythology. The topic is discussed in more detail by Price in this volume.

Famous Citizens

In the second and third centuries, a time when ancient historians showed a renewed interest in local history,¹⁵⁸ a number of cities portrayed historical (or mythological) citizens on their coinage. In a recent article J. Nollé has drawn attention to an encounter between Marcus Aurelius as Caesar and Nicaean ambassadors. When questioned by Marcus, they turned out to be ignorant of the astronomer Hipparchos who came from Nicaea. The ambassadors' ignorance and embarrassment might—apart from perhaps contributing to the failure of their mission—have led to the issue of coins with the astronomer's portrait.¹⁵⁹ This episode demonstrates that knowledge of local history was part of the elite discourse.

When it came to the actual selection of famous citizens most cities opted for ancient poets and philosophers. At least eight cities claimed Homer as their son.¹⁶⁰ Sappho appeared on coins of Eresus

¹⁵⁴ Nysa (Asia): e.g. Copenhagen, Danish National Museum, *SNG Lydia* 318.

¹⁵⁵ Ephesus (Asia): e.g. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. 703.

¹⁵⁶ Infant Zeus with female nurse (examples): (a) Aegae (Cilicia): Ziegler 1989: 173, no. 1378, pl. 69; (b) Magnesia-ad-Maeandrum (Asia): Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, *SNG Ionia* 619; (c) Synnada (Asia): *SNG von Aulock* 3977; Zeus fed by she-goat (examples): (a) Aegium (Achaëa): Kroll 1996: 66, no. 7/1, pl. 15.7; (b) Tralles (Asia, *conventus* of Ephesus): London, British Museum, Inv. 1978 4-24-I; (c) Aezani (Asia): pl. 3.5, 4r.

¹⁵⁷ Epidaurus (Achaëa): Copenhagen, Danish National Museum, *SNG Argolis—Aegean Islands* 134.

¹⁵⁸ Bowie 1974: 184–8.

¹⁵⁹ Nollé 1997; example of a Nicaean coin depicting Hipparchos: *SNG von Aulock* 7028.

¹⁶⁰ Esdaile 1912. Examples of coins depicting Homer: (a) Ios (Achaëa): *BMC Crete and the Aegean Islands*: 102, no. 9, pl. xxiii.12; (b) Amastris (Bithynia-Pontus): *Rec*: 171, no. 40, pl. xix.4 (obverse); (c) Nicaea (Bithynia-Pontus): *Rec*: 422, 190, pl. Lxxi.20 (rev.); (d) Tium (Bithynia-Pontus): *Rec*: 625, 76, pl. cviii.17; (e) Cyme (Asia): *BMC Troas, Aeolis, and Lesbos*: 115,

and Mytilene, Anakreon in Teos, and Arion in Methymna.¹⁶¹ Examples of famous philosophers and mathematicians include Hipparchos at Nicaea, Pythagoras at Samos, Anaxagoras at Clazomenae, Bias at Priene, and Herakleitos at Ephesus.¹⁶²

Athens selected Miltiades and Themistokles for its coins,¹⁶³ while a statue of the latter also occurs on the coins of Magnesia-ad-Maeandrum.¹⁶⁴ The city of Mytilene depicted its statesman and lawgiver Pittakos as well as his political rival and successor Alkaios, both (peacefully united) on the same coin.¹⁶⁵ Cos struck coins with two of its famous physicians, Hippokrates and Xenophon.¹⁶⁶ The appearance of Antinous on the coins of Bithynium has already been mentioned. While Xenophon and Antinous represented examples of recent historical figures, both Abydos and Sestos chose mythological citizens, showing Leander swimming across the Hellespont towards Hero (pl. 3.5, 42).¹⁶⁷

The Roman Emperor

Images of the Roman emperor on civic coin reverses are of particular interest, as they incorporate the emperor into the civic world and, at the same time, position the cities concerned within the wider world of Roman power. Furthermore, these types of images also reveal which aspects and qualities of the emperor were considered important in the Roman East.

no. 110, pl. xxii.11 (obverse; reverse showing the nymph Krethis, Homer's mother); (f) Chios (Asia): *BMC Ionia*: 346, no. 141, pl. xxxiii.12.

¹⁶¹ Examples: (a) Sappho: Eresus (Asia): London, British Museum, Inv. 1925 7-5-3; (b) Sappho: Mytilene (Asia): *BMC Troas, Aeolis, and Lesbos*: 200, no. 167, pl. xxxix.8; (c) Anakreon: Teos (Asia): *BMC Ionia*: 317, no. 58, pl. xxx.16 (obverse); (d) Arion: Methymna (Asia): Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. 16918.

¹⁶² Examples: (a) Pythagoras: Samos (Asia): Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. 3394; (b) Anaxagoras: Clazomenae (Asia): *BMC Ionia*: 33, no. 125, pl. vii.9; (c) Bias: Priene (Asia): Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Inv. 1048/1902 (obverse); (d) Herakleitos: Ephesus (Asia): Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. 712.

¹⁶³ Examples: (a) Miltiades with captive on trophy: *BMC Attica*: 108, no. 791, pl. xix.3; (b) Themistokles on galley: *BMC Attica*: 108, no. 785, pl. xix.1; for the coinage of Athens, Mosch 1999.

¹⁶⁴ e.g. London, British Museum, Inv. 1920 5-116-72 = Schultz 1975: no. 103.1, pl. 7 (rev.).

¹⁶⁵ e.g. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. 261: Pittakos (obverse)/Alkaios (reverse).

¹⁶⁶ Examples from Cos (Asia): (a) Hippokrates: Tübingen University, *SNG Caria and Lydia* 3549; (b) Xenophon: *BMC Caria*: 215, no. 215 (obverse). The latter had been physician to the emperor Claudius in which capacity he gained autonomy for his native city.

¹⁶⁷ For the story: Strabo 13, i. 22; Virgil, *Georgica* 3, 258; and Ovid, *Heroides* 18–19. The impressive coin design might have been inspired by a painting (Price 1981: 72–3). It was first used at Abydos (pl. 3.5, 42) and later copied by Sestos (*BMC Thrace*: 200, no. 18).

References to the emperor on civic reverses are not very common. However, despite the overall increase in the number of coin-issuing cities and in the volume of coin production, the relative frequency of such coins probably grew.¹⁶⁸ Their increase is likely to have been slow and steady and not as fast as the growth of the number of mythological or agonistic types in the second and third centuries AD. The trend towards a more frequent depiction of the emperor is likely to have continued into the third century AD—a field surveyed by Harl.¹⁶⁹

During the reign of Augustus a number of cities adopted the capricorn, the first emperor's badge, from the imperial coinage,¹⁷⁰ and during the reign of Tiberius the same happened to a seated representation of Livia.¹⁷¹ During the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods as a whole there were depictions of members of the imperial family on the reverses, as either portrait(s) or full figures.¹⁷² Similar examples from the Antonine period have been mentioned before.¹⁷³ Pl. 3.5, 43 from Phocaea is an example of imperial succession 'propaganda' and celebrates Faustina II, who is shown on both sides. In 161 she gave birth to two male twins, Commodus and Aurelius Fulvus, who were successors to the throne. The reverse depicts Faustina II holding the twins and surrounded by four little figures which represent her daughters. The design is taken from a Roman imperial coin.¹⁷⁴ The person who was responsible for the choice of design was the sophist Klaudios Attalos, son of the famous sophist Polemon. As in the case of Polemon opting for an Antinous design under Hadrian (pl. 3.4, 32), Attalos' choice of reverse image reveals an acute awareness of important events in the capital.

¹⁶⁸ The general trend outlined does not apply everywhere, see Kremydi-Sicilianou on Macedonia and Weisser on Pergamum in this volume; both authors see the highest number of 'imperial' designs during the Julio-Claudian period.

¹⁶⁹ Harl 1987.
¹⁷⁰ Capricorn (examples): (a) on the imperial coinage: *RIC* I, 2nd edn.: 50, no. 128, pl. 3; (b) on the civic coinage: Alabanda (Asia): *RPC* I, no. 2814.

¹⁷¹ Livia, seated (examples): (a) on the imperial coinage: *RIC* I, 2nd edn.: 96, nos. 33–6, pl. II; (b) on the civic coinage: Thapsus (Africa): *RPC* I, no. 797.

¹⁷² In general: *RPC* I: 46–52 and *RPC* II: 33–42. Examples: (a) relatives as portrait(s): (1) Agrippina II under Nero: Mytilene (Asia): *RPC* I, no. 2349; (2) Titus and Domitian under Vespasian: Tomis (Moesia): *RPC* II, no. 402; (b) full figure(s): (1) Agrippina I and Germanicus on coins of Caligula from Magnesia-ad-Sipylum: *RPC* I, no. 2354; (2) Domitia under Domitian: Smyrna (Asia): *RPC* II, no. 1025.

¹⁷³ Pl. 3.3, 30 from Seleucia-ad-Calycadnum depicts Antoninus Pius on the obverse and a portrait of Marcus Aurelius as Caesar on the reverse.

¹⁷⁴ *RIC* III: 347, nos. 1673–7; for an illustration Fittschen 1982: 42, pls. I.1 and I.5.

In AD 161–9 the cities in the East were faced for the first time with the unusual situation of having two emperors of equal standing, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. The new system of government relied on a good understanding and close cooperation between the two emperors. Consequently the imperial mint in Rome invented a new reverse image inscribed 'CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM'. In a way which foreshadows the tetrarchy, it shows Marcus and Verus clasping hands to express the close harmony between the two.¹⁷⁵ Out of the just over two hundred cities which issued coins during the joint reign of Marcus and Verus, thirty-one or about 15 per cent adopted the new image for their own coins (Table 3.5). This is likely to represent one of the highest incidences of cities copying a Roman imperial reverse image and reacting to events involving the emperor. Of the thirty-one cities copying the Marcus/Verus clasping hands design, eight placed it on the coin obverse to give it greater prominence (e.g. Nysa, pl. 3.4, 38).¹⁷⁶ Other cities such as Laodicea modified the design and supplemented it with the local cult statue of Zeus Laodiceus (pl. I.1, 2), thus embedding Marcus and Verus in a local context. The high degree of attention which the new form of government received in the East is also clear from Aelius Aristides, who referred to it in two of his speeches.¹⁷⁷

Imperial visits to the East left relatively few iconographic traces on the local coinage, early examples being Nero's sojourn in Greece in AD 66/7¹⁷⁸ or Trajan's visit to Samos.¹⁷⁹ The most spectacular example is a series of coins commemorating Caracalla's visit to Pergamum, illustrated by Weisser in this volume (pls. II.1–2, 12–24).¹⁸⁰ Obviously, not all depictions of a Roman emperor on civic reverses

¹⁷⁵ *RIC* III: 215, no. II, pl. VIII.144.

¹⁷⁶ This approach also solved the problem of whether to depict the portrait of Marcus or Verus on the obverses of their coins, a dilemma most cities solved by issuing 'parallel' coin types for the two emperors, pl. 3.2, 11–12 from Aphrodisias providing an example. While both coin types share the same reverse design, the obverse of pl. 3.2, 11 depicts Lucius Verus and the obverse of pl. 3.2, 12 Marcus Aurelius.

¹⁷⁷ In his speech 'On Concord' he criticizes the three leading Asian cities Pergamum, Ephesus, and Smyrna for competing with each other for honours and titles, and presents the two emperors as the greatest example of harmonious government (Aelius Aristides, *Orationes* 23. 78). He follows a similar line in his *Orationes* 27. 22–45.

¹⁷⁸ *RPC* I: 46, for example Corinth (Achaia): *RPC* I, no. 1205.

¹⁷⁹ Schultz 1993.

¹⁸⁰ Weisser in this volume, see also Harl 1987: 55–7, pls. 23–4.

Table 3.5. Cities depicting Marcus/Verus clasping hands on their reverses (AD 161–9)

Pautalia	Thrace	London, British Museum, Inv. 1922 3-17-45
Perinthus	Thrace	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. 1110
Tium	Bithynia-Pontus	SNG von Aulock 949
Cyzicus	Asia	London, British Museum, Inv. 1924 10-15-6
Phocaea	Asia	London, British Museum, BMC Ionia: 222, no. 139
Nysa* (pl. 3.4, 38)	Asia	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. 866
Magnesia-ad-Maeandrum	Asia	London, British Museum, Inv. 1893 6-3-46
Attuda*	Asia	SNG Righetti 955
Heraclea	Asia	Berlin, Staatliche Museen
Laodicea	Asia	Berlin, Staatliche Museen (ex coll. Imhoof-Blumer)
Silandus	Asia	SNG von Aulock 3168
Selge	Galatia	London, British Museum, BMC Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia: 256 no. 76
Adada	Galatia	Aulock 1977: 54, no. 52, pl. 1
Pessinus	Galatia	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, SNG Pamphylie, Pisidie, Lycaonie, and Galatie 2589
Amasea	Galatia	SNG von Aulock 24
Barata	Cilicia	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, SNG Cilicia 2255
Elaeusa/Sebaste*	Cilicia	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. 638
Diocaesarea	Cilicia	Ziegler 1989: 58, no. 384, pl. 19
Olba	Cilicia	SNG von Aulock 5796
Pompeïopolis	Cilicia	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, SNG Cilicia 1228
Tarsus	Cilicia	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, SNG Cilicia 1452
Adana	Cilicia	SNG Righetti 1472
Mopsus	Cilicia	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, SNG Cilicia 297
Anazarbus*	Cilicia	SNG von Aulock 5479
Hierapolis-Castabala*	Cilicia	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, SNG Cilicia 2229
Antioch	Syria	MacDonald 1901: 558, no. 1, pl. 60.23
Neapolis	Judaea	London, British Museum, BMC Palestine: 56, no. 72
Gadara*	Arabia	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (ex coll. Seyrig)
Philadelphia*	Arabia	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. 326
Petra*	Arabia	Private coll.

*Marcus/Verus design occurs on obverse

related to an imperial visit, and the numismatic evidence needs to be used with caution.¹⁸¹

Many references to the emperor and his family relate to military victories or the victorious nature of the emperor in general. These are sometimes difficult to distinguish.¹⁸² Domitian's (supposed) victories against the Germans and Dacians marked a watershed, as they were the first to be reflected in the provincial coinage in any quantity.¹⁸³ This trend continued with Trajan's campaigns against the Dacians and the Parthians and the wars of the Antonine period, and culminated in the third century,

when the great majority of reverses depicting the emperor related to his victorious nature. Thus military power and success gradually emerge as the key imperial qualities and virtues. This corresponds to observations made earlier about the increasing 'militarization' of the imperial portrait on the obverses and the use of victory titles—both of which begin in some quantity in the Flavian period.¹⁸⁴

The victorious nature of the emperor was most frequently represented by Nikai, trophies, and captives. All three elements—typical of Roman imperial

¹⁸¹ For a model study of the numismatic evidence relating to Caracalla's travels in Asia Minor in AD 214/15, see Johnston 1983.

¹⁸² RPC I: 45 and RPC II: 35–7.

¹⁸³ RPC II: 35–6.

¹⁸⁴ Harl 1987 saw this emphasis on the military side of the emperor as a response on behalf of the cities in the East to the threat of foreign invasions and uncertainties of the third century. Although this might partially be correct, the trend starts much earlier.

art—are combined on pl. 3.5, 44 from Mytilene. The coin shows the emperor riding slowly towards a trophy and captives while being crowned by Nike. Plate 3.5, 45 from Silandus, by contrast, shows the emperor (here Marcus Aurelius) actively engaged in a (symbolic) battle—galloping over a fallen enemy. The image relates to Marcus' victories on the Danube. This pose is known from imperial art, for example from a Trajanic relief now on the Arch of Constantine. Imperial art also provided the model for the depiction of Commodus' Roman triumph of AD 180 on the coins of Mytilene and Assos (pl. 3.2, 18–19). Of additional interest is that on pl. 3.5, 45 Marcus is wielding a thunderbolt. The latter is the attribute of Zeus—a god with whom emperors are frequently associated. Such associations of emperors or empresses with particular deities occur occasionally, but are not very common. The series in the name of the *hierex* (priest) Ti. Kl. Zelos from Aphrodisias belonging to the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (pl. 3.2, 11–15) was clearly struck on the occasion of epinician games to celebrate an imperial victory,¹⁸⁵ probably in Verus' Eastern campaign. Given this and the pronounced local character of provincial reverses in general it is quite likely that the other images of the victorious emperor also reflect civic celebrations.

New Dynamic Reverse Images

Most provincial reverses have static representations of traditional religious themes. They show cult images (e.g. pl. 3.1, 4) or divine attributes (pl. 3.4, 35). New themes, such as temples (pl. 3.1, 3 and 9) or prize crowns (pl. 3.3, 27), might also be static. The second and third centuries, however, saw the introduction of a new dynamic style of representation focusing on action. Although the numbers of coins involved were quite small, it is possible to point to cases from all fields of reverse imagery. As a result the overall repertoire was widened considerably. In the religious sphere scenes of cult practice occur—such as an elaborate sacrifice scene (probably in honour of Demeter and Persephone) from Cyzicus (pl. 3.1, 10), the slaughter of a cow hanging from a tree in front of the cult statue of Athena of Ilium, or the depiction of

the sacred wagons on the coinage of Ephesus and Magnesia-ad-Maeandrum.¹⁸⁶ In relation to mythology, Heracles discovering his son Telephos on the coinage of Pergamum (pl. 3.5, 40) or Leander swimming through the Hellespont on the coins of Abydos (pl. 3.5, 42) provide examples of the new dynamic style. Further cases are athletes drawing lots on the coins of Nicaea,¹⁸⁷ gladiators fighting,¹⁸⁸ a graphic representation of the battle of Actium on the coinage of Nicopolis in Epirus (pl. 3.4, 31), and the emperor riding down a foe on the coinage of Silandus (pl. 3.5, 45).

Summary

From the middle of the first century BC to the Severan period a growing number of cities struck increasing quantities of coinage. After that, civic coinage declined and came to an end in the 270s AD, while the last provincial coins were struck in Egypt at the end of the third century AD. During the first two centuries AD coins became larger, thus providing scope for more complex images. From the reign of Augustus onwards coin obverses were dominated by the portrait of the emperor and his family. The imperial image increasingly adopted a militaristic pose. Reverses featured images of local relevance, mostly the traditional civic gods. From the beginning to (at least) the end of the second century AD cities changed their coin designs with increasing frequency. This resulted in a growing number of deities being depicted on the coins of individual cities, the 'new' gods often being displayed in a standardized fashion. At the same time entirely new themes were introduced, namely temples and other buildings as well as games and local mythology, the latter reflecting the cultural climate of the 'Second Sophistic'. Early examples of these new topics go back to the first century, but it was not before the latter half of the second century that they had a serious impact on reverse imagery as a whole. Reverse images relating to the emperor also became (slightly) more frequent. Most of this imagery originated in Rome, but was carefully selected and adapted. This chapter has

¹⁸⁵ MacDonald 1992: 38–9 and Johnston 1995: 87 contra Harl 1987: 29, who thinks that the entire festival (rather than just the coinage) was being donated by Zelos.

¹⁸⁶ Examples: (1) Ilium (Asia)/Faustina II, BMC Troas, Aeolis, and Lesbos: 64, no. 53, pl. XII.10 (rev.); (2) Ephesus (Asia)/Commodus: BMC Ionia: 82, no. 251, pl. XIII.13 (rev.); (3) Magnesia-ad-Maeandrum (Asia)/Lucius Verus: Staatliche Münzsammlung Munich, SNG Ionia 620.

¹⁸⁷ Nicaea (Bithynia-Pontus): Rec: 438, no. 320, pl. LXXV.19.

¹⁸⁸ For example Synnada (Asia): SNG von Aulock 3998.

touched upon some of the mechanisms through which such images might be transferred onto the provincial coinage, namely in the context of the imperial cult, through distinguished individuals, and in connection with centralized production facilities. Coin designs involving the emperor focus on his victorious nature, but we also find references to imperial visits and important events in Rome.

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4

THE CITIES AND THEIR MONEY

Peter Weiss

IN THEIR KIND INVITATION TO CONTRIBUTE TO this book the editors assigned me the topic of 'Authority/control'.¹ The authors of *RPC* devoted an intensive discussion to the subject, with many facets and displaying an extraordinary knowledge of the material.² This is in many respects a difficult field, and it is obvious how wide and heterogeneous is the material, how different the presuppositions were in the various parts of the Roman empire, and with what a broad timespan one has to deal: some three centuries, in which there were many developments and several changes. Despite its gigantic bulk, the coinage affords far fewer unambiguous indications permitting a clear conception of how minting came about and was controlled than one would wish. Epigraphy, which in other cases provides an enormous fund of information, here by contrast leaves us almost entirely in the lurch. It follows that many differences of opinion exist, and in many matters, even on points of central importance, our vision is still clouded.

The topic is too complex to permit a thorough discussion of all the questions before us in this narrow space. For that reason I have undertaken a limited evaluation. In what follows, I am concerned only

with coins pertaining to the cities. Attention is therefore not paid, for example, to the *cistophori* in Asia, the coins of Alexandria in Egypt, or of Caesarea in Cappadocia, or to the provincial coinage of Syria. I shall first consider the question of Roman control, but only in the form of some basic observations and reflections. Much must here remain unresolved.

My central concern will therefore be the following set of questions: How did the cities organize their monetary production? How were responsibilities apportioned, and who was directly involved? What range of possibilities was there? How in this context are we to interpret the numerous names and functional titles on the coins of many Roman cities, especially in the west, down to Julio-Claudian times, and above all, in continuity with Hellenistic practice, on very many coins from the Greek *poleis* in Provincia Asia? These references to 'monetary magistrates' are so confusingly varied and ambiguous that no clear picture appears to emerge. Normally scholars concentrate on the numismatic material and base their picture on it. They have recourse to epigraphy for individual details, establish the relevant offices, personal names, honorary titles, and formulae, discuss them for the city in question, and make lists of them for epigraphists to use. Special attention has been paid by numismatists, but to some extent also by epigraphists, to the few abbreviated formulae (in the widest sense) relating to coinage law. But it is sometimes doubtful how far they may be generalized, and sometimes there are disagreements over what they actually mean.

¹ Much had of necessity to be kept at a very general level; a number of simplifications were unavoidable. I hope the result remains justifiable. I have striven to establish clearly certain basic outlines and to go into details where they offer starting-points for considerations of method. I am grateful to Werner Eck for a critical reading. The manuscript was written in German, the translation was kindly undertaken by Leofranc Holford-Strevens.

² Cf. too the detailed treatment by Howgego 1985: esp. 83–99.

In this contribution I shall reverse the angle of vision and take a different approach that in my judgement promises success, and has very recently been presented and elaborated elsewhere.³ We must first be clear how city government by the local elites was organized overall and how it functioned, how decisions were taken and put into practice, who was able to take part, and how they were expressed in public documents. The point is thus to treat coinage consistently as a part of city self-government and thus to fit it into the larger framework of office-holding in the cities. So far as I can tell, that has not been done sufficiently, yet it promises a better understanding of the background to the various formulae mentioning ‘monetary magistrates’. That is an old term that brings in completely false conceptions. In this part inscriptions will naturally play a large part, since they give us thousands of detailed insights not only into the world of the eastern *poleis*, but also into the language of public documents. This procedure meets a demand formulated long ago by Theodor Mommsen and since then constantly sharpened, for example by Louis Robert, that individual classes of evidence, coins included, should not be considered in isolation, but understood as parts of a unitary living reality. All modern epigraphy adopts this integrated approach.

In both parts of this chapter I also adduce a type of *instrumentum publicum* that to my knowledge has never been considered in this connection and, despite all new approaches, still enjoys only an altogether shadowy existence in classical scholars’ consciousness—the inscribed market-weights of the Greek *poleis* in imperial times.⁴ As products of the cities and central components of economic life, weights, produced in large numbers and in each case by specific officials, are in principle comparable with city coins.

In conclusion I shall show that city coinage met various needs and was particularly suited to forming and propagating notions of identity, on various levels and always with a stabilizing effect.

The Framework: Roman Rule—City Autonomy

Let us begin with the first set of questions, those concerning Roman control.⁵ Fundamental central approval is suggested by general considerations. The production of money is and was so sensitive an area that it seems unthinkable that in this matter every city in the provinces of the empire could proceed as it saw fit without any reference to the central power. The structure of Roman rule excludes that possibility. If the *poleis* and the Roman colonies in the east continued to mint coins, or from Augustus onwards minted in greater quantities, or resumed minting then or at some later time, this must as a matter of principle presuppose imperial acquiescence. This is confirmed by a much-cited passage in Dio from the famous speech of Maecenas. Of the advice that Dio makes Maecenas give the future *princeps* Augustus in a fictitious speech, a whole series are directed at restricting the privileges that could be given to cities. Amongst other things, he advocates a sparing and even restricted award of agonistic rights (this at length and with reasons). Here the word *ἐπιτρέπειν*, ‘permit’, is used directly. This is followed by the recommendation: ‘No city shall continue to have its own coins or weights or measures, but all shall use ours.’⁶ Here the author, a high-ranking consular of the Severan age, suggests that striking one’s own coins required permission or acquiescence by the emperor, which could be revoked. Further detail is not to be extracted from this short passage; but from the overall context it is presupposed that the use of a city’s own coins, weights, and measures was regarded as the continuation of its traditions, which the *princeps* might allow to continue or suppress. Since weights and measures are also mentioned, Dio is clearly thinking, not of *municipia* and *coloniae*, but of the mass of peregrine cities, that is to say, primarily of the *poleis*, from whose world he came himself.

³ Weiss 2003: 98–104. This study goes back to a lecture at a colloquium of Forschungsstelle Asia Minor of the Universität Münster in March 2001. The first part is devoted to the topic discussed here; in the second (104–9) I have much to say on the subject that was the theme of the Oxford Symposium. I was already concerned with what the urban elites made of coin as a product, with traditions and tendencies and also, centrally, with ‘coinage and identity’ at various levels.

⁴ Adduced already by Weiss 2003: 102, 108.

⁵ Detailed treatment in *RPC I*, pp. 1–3, 18–19; *II*, pp. 1–3. On the general background see several individual studies in Eck 1999, esp. W. Eck, ‘Zur Einleitung: Römische Provinzialadministration und die Erkenntnismöglichkeiten der epigraphischen Überlieferung’, 1–15.

⁶ Cass. Dio 52. 30. 7 ff. (excerpted): . . . τὰς δ’ ἵπποδρομίας τὰς ἄνευ τῶν γυμνικῶν ἀγῶνων ἐπιτελουμένας οὐχ ἠγοῦμαι δεῖν ἄλλη τινὶ πόλει ποιεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν. . . Μήτε δὲ νομίσματα ἢ καὶ σταθμὰ ἢ μέτρα ἰδίᾳ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐχέτω, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις καὶ ἐκείνοι πάντες χρῆσθωσαν. . .

Some issues afford direct evidence for imperial permission, nearly all under Augustus and Tiberius, and almost exclusively from *coloniae* and *municipia*: in Lusitania and Baetica they appear with such legends as PERMISSV CAES(ARIS) AVG(VSTI),⁷ at the *colonia* of Berytus in Syria with PERMISSV and the name of a consular *legatus Augusti*.⁸ In the 'senatorial' province of Africa coins with PERMISSV and the names of five proconsuls are attested, three of them in a single *colonia* (Paterna?) within three years (AD 21–3).⁹ Later, under Domitian, a few further such coins appear in Achaëa, again in *coloniae*: in Corinth with the legend PERM(issu) IMP(eratoris) and at Patrae INDVLGENTIAE AVG(usti) MONETA INPETRATA. In these cases there is light to shed on the background. Both *coloniae* had minted earlier (Corinth in large quantities down to Galba). Obviously Vespasian's revocation of Nero's grant of *libertas* to Achaëa had also put a stop to such issues that in turn was lifted by Domitian.¹⁰

What do these findings mean? It is striking that the instances mainly relate to *coloniae* and *municipia*, and (the later special case of Achaëa apart) above all to western cities in the early empire. From the same context, however, there are two other cities with the PERMISSV formula, Cercina and Thaëna in Africa, both *civitates liberae*.¹¹ We should further note that city coinages very soon came to an end in the entire western area, after Tiberius or Caligula. Whatever the reasons for that,¹² we are given the clear impression that the production of a city's own money, and emperors' or governors' attitude to it, was in a very different position in the strongly Romanized Spanish provinces and in Africa than in the Greek east with its ancient and traditional monetary systems. That difference is also clearly observable in the continuation and even resumption of local minting by Roman *coloniae* in the east, in the sharpest contrast to the situation in the west.

The multiple attestation of the *permissu* formula on western coins has led scholars to seek an analogous expression on those of the eastern *poleis*. Louis Robert believed he could thus interpret a formula attested several times, though overall very rarely, on coins of some smaller cities of Provincia Asia, the participle *αἰτησαμένου* with a person's name. From this he inferred a petition to the emperor or the Roman authorities for the right to coin presented by the person in question in the name of the city. With this he linked a report by Lucian that the 'false prophet' Alexander of Abonuteichus in Pontus had applied to the emperor for permission to strike coins with a particular design.¹³ Closer analysis has revealed the weakness in his at first sight impressive arguments, and despite the recent partial rescue attempt in *RPC II*¹⁴ Robert's thesis is certainly unsustainable. The reference must be, as epigraphic parallels confirm, to a petition by the person in question to the city authorities. We therefore have to do with proceedings within the city, which for their part are of considerable interest (see below).¹⁵

But there may yet be, even for the east, some indications of Roman influence on cities' minting. A very early decision in principle must underlie the basic state of affairs that the cities produced *aes*, that is to say small change, whereas silver was coined within definite traditional systems, certainly under governors' control (*cistophori* in Asia; coins of Alexandria in Egypt, Antioch in Syria, Caesarea in Cappadocia). Isolated and all the more noteworthy silver issues must surely have had special Roman authorization, such as the tridrachms and tetradrachms of some Cilician cities under Trajan, Hadrian, and also Caracalla, or the silver coins of Amisus under Hadrian. Decisions by the Roman administration must also be responsible for the striking fact that cities in entire regions coined (in *aes*) only at a particular time and not otherwise, such as the Peloponnesian cities under Septimius Severus and the Lycian cities under

⁷ See *RPC I*, p. 2. Lusitania: Emerita and Eborā; Baetica: Italica, Patricia, Tradaucta, Romula.

⁸ *Ibid.* (Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus Silanus).

⁹ *Ibid.* (L. Volusius Saturninus, L. Apronius, Q. Iunius Blaesus, P. Cornelius Dolabella, A. Vibius Habitus). Most issues belong to the time of Tacfarinas' rebellion, whatever that may signify.

¹⁰ See *RPC II*, p. 1; nos. 101 ff., 219.

¹¹ See *RPC I*, p. 2.

¹² So in detail *RPC I*, pp. 18–19 and Burnett, Chapter 16 below.

¹³ *Alex.* 58.

¹⁴ *RPC II*, pp. 1 ff.

¹⁵ On this, most recently, in detail Weiss 2000b: esp. 239–47; see too the references to Robert's article of 1960 and the critical replies by myself (1992) and J. Nollé (1993). In Alexander of Abonuteichus' petition to the emperor what interests Lucian is not coinage as such, but the newfangled and in his eyes revealingly audacious designs (Nollé 1993; Weiss 1992). In this passage, besides, the author's intention should enjoin the greatest caution.

Gordian III. Some of these unusual cases may be explicable by an increased shortage of coins as a consequence of wars: thus perhaps the Cilician silver coins under Hadrian (war in Judaea) and the minting by the Lycian cities (connected with Gordian III's Persian war). The silver issues of Tarsus and Aegeae under Caracalla are obviously connected to an imperial visit, with a corresponding privilege. In that case preparations for war also lay in the background.

By contrast, it is difficult to see Roman control of the mints behind another phenomenon, the naming of governors on coins. It is known to be relatively widespread, but not regular, on coins from cities of several provinces in Asia Minor, with particular frequency at certain times and in certain regions (so too in the coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia). On by far the majority of coins it is lacking. In Thrace and Moesia Inferior, however, it becomes commoner in the second century, and thereafter in many cities almost the rule. The names may be in the nominative (rare) or in the temporal dative, usually with *ἐπί*, but in the Balkan cities participial phrases (*ἡγεμονεύοντος*, *ὑπατεύοντος*, usually with heavy abbreviation) ultimately prevail. Gerd Stumpf has written a monograph on the naming of governors in the provinces of Asia Minor,¹⁶ without saying a word about their function. But that is the interesting question. What do they mean? Do they merely indicate the date, or do they attest oversight of the mint in whatever form, or even specific authorization by the governors in question? At the outset, we need to state that any attempt to answer these questions from the coins alone will be inadequate. Such references to governors are not confined to coins, but are widely found in public inscriptions of all kinds, in far greater numbers. We ought therefore to start from the abundant epigraphic evidence; but this has not yet been systematically collected and researched.¹⁷

To demonstrate the range we may cite a few specimen inscriptions, without any claim that they are representative. *IK Ephesos* nos. 502–9 are the bases

of various statues publicly erected by private persons. Besides the donor's name the following mentions of office-holders are found:

γραμματεύοντος (name): 3 ×
ἐπὶ (name) *ἀνθυπάτου*, *γραμματεύοντος* (name): 1 ×
ἐπὶ (name) *ἀνθυπάτου*: 1 ×

No consistent system can be discerned here, nor even a reason why governors should be named at all. Moreover, this series contains further cases: one each of *ἀλτάρχοῦντος* (name) + *πρυτανεύοντος* (name) and *ἀλτάρχοῦντος* alone.

Matters are clearer with a group of bases of statues erected in Ephesus by the festal embassies from various cities of the Koinon, probably in the precinct of Domitian's new provincial temple.¹⁸ In most of them the dedication to the emperor is followed, even before the dedicator's name, by mention of the governor, *ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου* (name). They end by mentioning another official, the high priest of Asia, *ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως τῆς Ἀσίας* (name). It was the high priest of Asia who had active responsibility for the temple and cult of the Koinon, the proconsul who represented Rome and the emperor in the province and oversaw its orderly functioning.

Let us cite a third example from another sphere. Recent discoveries have revealed a group of relatively large weights (mostly in lead) all naming a governor.¹⁹ They form a group not only by their text, but also by their shape and may be confidently assigned to Bithynia. As on nearly all weights from imperial times, there are no city names, but one of them was found near Nicomedia. They begin under Trajan; most date from the third century. One side is dated by the emperor's regnal year with full name and title, the other names the consular governor, sometimes a *λογιστής* (*curator civitatis*) and the responsible *agoranomos*. An example from the seventh regnal year of

¹⁸ *IK Ephesos* 232–42; some of the inscriptions are reproduced below, p. 64.

¹⁹ Weiss 1994: 353–74. In that article I could take account of five specimens, together with a sixth on which the formula showed a variant (for the consular legate Ti. Oclatius Severus named on it see now K. Dietz, *Chiron* 32 (2002), 395–400). Since then I have encountered three others; a fourth, very large and made of bronze, is said to have appeared on the art market some time ago.

¹⁶ Stumpf 1991.

¹⁷ For reference and conversations on this topic I am much indebted to Werner Eck. Some comments in Horster 2001. On the general background of governors' activities see also now Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 2002, with extensive bibliography.

Gordian III (the elements of particular concern are underlined):²⁰

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(a) Ἔτους ζ' Ἀυ-
2 τοκράτορο-
ς Καίσαρος Μ.
4 Ἀντωνίου Γο-
ρδιανοῦ Εὐσ-
6 εβοῦς Εὐτ-
υχοῦς Σ-
8 εβαστοῦ,</p> | <p>(b) ὑπατεύοντος
2 τῆς ἐπαρχείας
Τιβέ. Κλαυδίου
4 Ἀττάλου Πατερκλι-
ανοῦ καὶ λογιστεύον-
6 τος Κοίντου Τιηίου
Σευήρου Πετρωνιανοῦ,
8 ἀγορανομοῦ[ν]τος Ἰ-
ουβεντίου Σεκου-
10 δείνου Γαύρου,
λείτρα</p> |
|---|--|

This gradation of rank from the emperor, by whom the text is dated, down to the *agoranomos*, who had the weight made and approved by the name-stamp, is obvious.²¹ An eponymous city official is never mentioned; the *logistes*, one rung above the *agoranomos*, certainly had charge of the city finances. It appears that his duties at that time extended to the official weights, since otherwise the reference to him would hardly make sense. By contrast, it is far less obvious why the *legatus Augusti* should be regularly named on these weights, which was the practice almost nowhere else in the empire. Only Egypt affords a very few examples, with *praefecti Aegypti*. More than their general responsibility for correct conduct in this matter as in others is not to be claimed. We thus have the same problem as with the references to governors on coins. It also arises in many other important areas, particularly building inscriptions and milestones. There too no system seems recognizable, and there too strong regional differences exist, perhaps linked to the formation of traditions. In Bithynia the special formula for weights may go back to the consular *legatio* of the younger Pliny, since it is first attested under his successor C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus. However, in this province there was already a fairly long tradition of naming proconsuls on coins, though once more we cannot account for it.

Our findings are thus unsatisfactory and anything but unambiguous. References to governors hardly point to more than a general function of oversight that the cities felt to be central even in respect of coinage. In any case each decision to name the governor must have had a reason. Traditions and the model of other cities will have played no small part; there may occasionally have been individual reasons as well. In particular cases we should not exclude honorific mention, analogous to isolated earlier honorific coin-portraits of governors.²² Nevertheless it would be highly questionable to infer from every reference to a governor that the legate or proconsul was personally involved in the minting. But that also means that we are largely groping in the dark in trying to understand coinage-rights as a whole.

Coinage: A Facet of City Government by the Civic Elite

Now to the second section, in which considerably more clarity should be attainable, on how minting was organized and carried out by the cities themselves. Amongst the *poleis*, it is almost entirely those in Provincia Asia that afford us detailed insights. The question is how to understand the confusingly varied references to individuals on the coinage. To summarize briefly, there are names with or without indications of function, in the nominative or genitive; there is a very wide range of functions, often high officials of the cities, but also *grammateis* or various priestly functionaries in the city or the Koinon. There are numerous prepositional expressions with ἐπί + genitive, but διά or παρά + genitive is also found; there are occasional instances of participles (mostly in the genitive) such as αἰτησαμένου, ψηφισαμένου, εἰσανγείλαντος, and ἐπιμεληθέντος. In addition, there is a relatively large group with the finite verb ἀνέθηκεν. Practices differ from city to city, and differ over time within the same city. Contrariwise there are periods in which certain legend-types appear with great frequency or new ones are added or older forms are replaced by newer. That is to say, there is an overall development but with regional peculiarities.

²⁰ Weiss 1994: 362–7. On this specimen see too L. Mildenberg in the catalogue of the J. Paul Getty Museum, *A Passion for Antiquities: Ancient Art from the Collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischmann* (Malibu, 1994), 319–20, no. 166.

²¹ On what follows see Weiss 1994: 382–3.

²² See now Erkelenz 2002: 65–87.

How should these ‘magistrates’ names’, as one used to call them, be understood, and why are there so many variations in the formula? Two general points must be made at the outset. Minting must everywhere have taken place by a decree of the *βουλή*, and that must have been so for each issue, to determine its size, the means of financing, the design, and problems of execution. Such decrees are often mentioned directly on Latin coins with the formula encountered over and over again on all manner of inscriptions involving the *ordo*, D(ecreto) D(ecurionum) or EX D(ecreto) D(ecurionum). The same must be true for all Greek coins even when it is not indicated; that may be taken as self-evident. It was implicit in the city name identifying the product, as it had been for centuries. Secondly, nowhere were there officials exclusively engaged in producing coins, like the *III viri monetales* at Rome. On all coins, in both the Greek and the Roman cities, the only persons named have primary functions in some other sphere of duty: *strategoï*, archons, *grammateis*, civic or provincial priests (Archiereis Asias or Asiarchs)²³ etc.; *II viri*, *III viri*, etc. In very many cities the production of coinage is discontinuous or even sporadic. It is indeed very doubtful whether the cities had mints under their own control at all; rather we should suppose that, as in the allocation of other tasks (e.g. building or monumental sculpture), they cooperated with specialized private firms.²⁴

All that, however, must mean that the cities organized, and had to organize, their minting on the same basis as the many other areas of their self-government. We know this empire-wide system very well through thousands of inscriptions. Everywhere there were magistracies or *ἀρχαί* with definite core

²³ Despite recent opinions to the contrary, I take these two to be the same thing: Weiss 2002b.

²⁴ That is the essence of the thesis derived from a wealth of observations on die-links and stylistic data by Kraft 1972, albeit with erroneous conclusions on the influence of the workshops on the coins’ design; see below, p. 68. A number of observations lead us to suppose that such workshops did not only mint coins, but were also active in related fields. The ‘Smyrna’ workshop is clearly the source of an expensively made 3rd-cent. *collegium* seal: Klose 1987: 125–6. Numerous control stamps on weights from western Asia Minor show a very close relation with coins; see in general Weiss 2002a: 144–5. These stamps must also have been produced in such workshops. Finally, there are also the lead *tesserae* from Asia Minor, known in hundreds if not thousands (most demonstrably from Ephesos); but hardly anything has been published on them. They too, in the imperial period, closely resemble small coins (and also the control stamps on weights), and might very well come from workshops that also produced coins.

duties, to which in individual cases others might accrue or be transferred; in addition there were the priesthoods. Notoriously in this system of offices and liturgies there was scope for every possible kind of personal engagement, private initiative, and euergetism. This honourable zeal (*φιλοτιμία*) for service to one’s ‘sweetest fatherland’ (*γλυκυτάτη πατρίς*) was a cornerstone of the public and social order of every city in the Greek east, and not only there. It was that which guaranteed the functioning of self-government, and allowed the members of the city elites to acquire a position and profile in public in competition with others.²⁵

These basic facts must now be set against the evidence of the coin-legends. It is immediately apparent that issues, at least in cities of Provincia Asia, were quite frequently the result of an act of euergetism.²⁶ This is undoubtedly indicated by the legends with the verb *ἀνέθηκεν* attached to the name of a person, ‘... has endowed’. This verb is a previously existing technical term found in other contexts (e.g. the erection of buildings or monumental statuary) in imperial times; some examples will be given below. In addition, there was often a dedication in the dative, which as we know is also the case on coins (the type *ἀνέθηκεν Ἀλίοις*). In such clear-cut dedications *ἀνέθηκεν* might be omitted. In all instances, even when an issue of coinage was personally endowed, there must have first been discussion within official bodies, in particular the *βουλή*; for other acts of euergetism long epigraphic dossiers have been preserved. In imperial, as opposed to Hellenistic times, different technical terms were employed,²⁷ including *αἰτεῖσθαι* for ‘present a petition, ask for a decree’, when a person undertook such an initiative (some examples below), *εἰσαγγέλλειν* for a publicly announced and documented promise, or *ψηφίζεσθαι* for the procuring of a *psephisma*. These very expressions occasionally appear on coins, in participial phrases (mostly in the genitive)—*αἰτησαμένου* (name), *εἰσανγείλαντος* (name; found only once) or (with especial clarity) *ψηφισάμενος ἀνέθηκεν* (with name; again only one attestation).

²⁵ On the background as a whole see Quass 1993.

²⁶ For more detail on what follows see Weiss 2000b.

²⁷ On the change in the documentary formula in general see Gschnitzer 1994.

The short prepositional phrase *παρά* + name in the genitive found several times later on must come to the same thing, also denoting a benefaction.²⁸ Such euergetic acts might take place while the person held a high public position, such as *strategos* or civic or provincial high-priest, but simultaneous office was not a precondition. Family members, wives or sons, might also be included in them. This can also be observed for women in the case of minting (such married couples received particular attention from the authors of *RPC*).

Several of the formulae mentioned appear on odd occasions as early as the Julio-Claudian period; they become somewhat more frequent from the Flavians onward. The explicit formulation *ἀνέθηκεν* dominates from Hadrian's time. Since funding of coin-issues is attested early, and the formulae only gradually developed towards explicit statement of the service, the further assumption seems highly plausible that a whole series of early coins on which a person is mentioned with an honorary title such as *φιλόπατρις* or a reference to an archpriesthood or comparable descriptions in themselves having nothing to do with coinage, should also be regarded as benefactions, or at least as the result of a personal initiative. That must have been the case especially when the city in question did not otherwise issue coins at all, or only very rarely, and when the coin with a man's name is contemporary with one bearing a woman's name. In this respect Eumeneia in Phrygia is a rewarding instance.²⁹ That means, however, that the number of funded issues is likely to rise considerably. In some parts of Provincia Asia such coinages reveal something in the nature of a family or longstanding city tradition, particularly in small communities.³⁰ To the social historian this is easily understood. All issues that came about through a personal initiative presumably owe many of their characteristics to the persons concerned. In several cases that can be shown directly.

It was not only in Greek *poleis* that coins originated in this way, at least if the plausible expansions of abbreviations on a few early western issues are correct: S P D D S S MIL, *s(ua) p(ecunia) d(ono) d(edit)*

s(ententia) s(enatus) mil(ia) in Paestum, with a minting scene;³¹ *P. Sittius Mugonianus IIII vir, decr(eto) decur(ionum), d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia)*, probably in Colonia Cirta in Numidia or Africa Proconsularis.³² Again, in the Roman city of Paestum a woman appears on a coin, a benefactress known from elsewhere, *Minea M.f.*³³ We thus clearly have the same phenomenon in the west, in Roman cities; indeed, it appears even earlier, though in only a very few cases.

Even when euergetic initiatives were possible and achieved a certain frequency, they were not the norm, either in the east or in the west. In most cities there is absolutely no evidence for them. As a rule responsibility for coinage was obviously attached to particular offices, and it must usually have been paid for by the city. At least that is indicated (to remain in the east) by the very frequent *ἐπί* formulae, mostly connected with a *strategos*, archon, or first archon, in other cities with the *grammateus*. This brings us to the problems of eponymous offices; in other words we must consider whether references to office served merely for dating, or indicated actual duties.³⁴ The problem is not confined to coins, but arises generally in Greek epigraphy of the Hellenistic and imperial periods. A recent study, exemplary in its conceptual clarity, has shown that the concurrent or alternating designation of different magistracies as eponymous in the same city is as a rule to be explained by the relevant spheres of responsibility.³⁵ This is basically in very close agreement with the heterogeneous data of the coins and, with modifications, applies to them too.

In what follows a selection of inscriptions will be adduced to illustrate from another public sphere, statue-dedications and the erection of honorific sculpture, the procedures adopted, the officials and persons who might be involved, and the range of formulae available. These too are only samples;

³¹ Cf. *RPC* I, p. 16.

³² *RPC* I: 701, 703, with Münsterberg 1911–27: 256.

³³ See *RPC* I, p. 16.

³⁴ See *RPC* I, pp. 3–4.

³⁵ Dmitriev 1997 with a broad definition of eponyms but no discussion of coin-legends. The author's aim is to show 'that genuine reasons for the choice of this or that system of dating particular events and documents . . . depended on the level of administration to which this event or document was relevant. The eponym was to be the official who corresponded to this level of administration; if the document or event related to more than one level of the inner-city administration, more than one eponym was used to date this document or event' (summary in abstract, 525).

²⁸ See Steinhart and Wirbelauer 2000 (without the coins).

²⁹ See Weiss 2000b: 236–8.

³⁰ So e.g. at Alioi in the 2nd cent.; see Weiss 1993: 417–18 with n. 15.

again no systematic investigation has been carried out. First, a selection of inscriptions from the bases of statues dedicated by cities of Asia Minor in Domitian's temple complex in Ephesus (reassigned after his *damnatio memoriae* to Vespasian), the first provincial imperial temple there (already mentioned in connection with references to the proconsul).

IK Ephesos 232 (Aizanoi)

Αὐτοκράτορι [[Δο-]]
 2 [[μυτιανῶι]] Καίσαρι
 Σεβαστῶι [[Γερμανικῶι]]
 4 ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Μάρκου
 Φουλουίου Γίλλωνος
 6 ὁ δῆμος ὁ Αἰζανειτῶν
 ναῶι τῶι ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῶν
 8 Σεβαστῶν κοινῶι τῆς Ἀσίας
 διὰ Κλαυδίου Μενάν-
 10 δρου πρώτου ἄρχοντος,
 ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως τῆς Ἀσίας
 12 Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Φησεινίου
 [[]]

IK Ephesos 233 (Aphrodisias)

Αὐτοκράτορι [[Δομι-]]
 2 [[τιανῶι]] Καίσαρι Σε-
 βαστῶι [[Γερμανικῶι]]
 4 ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Μάρκ[ου]
 Φουλουίου Γίλλωνο[ς]
 6 ὁ φιλοκαῖσαρ Ἀφροδεισι[έων]
 δῆμος ἐλεύθερος ὦν κα[ὶ αὐ-]
 8 τόνομος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τῆι τῶν Σε[βασ-]
 τῶν χάριτι ναῶι τῶι ἐν Ἐφέσ[ωι]
 10 τῶν Σεβαστῶν κοινῶι τῆς Ἀσί[ας]
 ἰδίᾳ χάριτι διὰ τε τὴν πρὸς τοὺς [Σε-]
 12 βαστοὺς εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν π[ρὸς]
 τὴν νεωκόρον Ἐφεσίων [πό-]
 14 λιν εὐνοίαν ἀνέστησαν,
 ἐπιμεληθέντος Ἀρίστω[νος τοῦ]
 16 Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ Καλλι[]
 ὡς ἱερέως Πλούτωνος [καὶ]
 18 Κόρης καὶ νεοποιοῦ θεᾶ[ς]
 Ἀφροδείτης, ἐπὶ ἀρχιερ[έως]
 20 τῆς Ἀσίας Τιβερίου Κλαυδ[ίου]
 Φησεινίου[[]]
 [[]]

IK Ephesos 236 (Flavia Philadelphia)

[τ]ὸν νεω[κό]ρον
 2 καὶ φιλοσέβαστον
 καὶ κοσμοῦντα τὴν Ἀσίαν
 4 Ἐφεσίων δῆμον ἐτείμησεν
 ὁ Φλαυίων Φιλαδελφῶν
 6 δῆμος διὰ τε τὴν εἰς τοὺς
 Σεβαστοὺς εὐσέβειαν καὶ
 8 τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς συγγένειαν
 καὶ ἐκ προγόνων φιλίαν·
 10 ποιησαμένου τὴν ἐπιμέ-
 λειαν Τ· Φλ· Ἐρμογένους
 12 υἱοῦ · Κυρίνα · Πραξέου
 τοῦ πρώτου · ἄρχοντος

In the first and second examples (Aizanoi, Aphrodisias), as in several others not mentioned here, each dedication is enclosed by two of the *ἐπί* formulae discussed above, naming the proconsul and the Archiereus Asiae, who was responsible for the cult and must have been actively engaged in the matter. In the third example (Philadelphia) these elements are absent, as is the dedication to the emperor. In the case of Aizanoi it was the *πρώτος ἄρχων* introduced by the preposition *διὰ*, 'through', who was responsible for the dedication. At Aphrodisias it was a priest of Pluto and Kore and *νεοροῖος* of Aphrodite, clearly not acting in his official capacity. That is out of the question. He is introduced by the participle *ἐπιμεληθέντος*, obviously meaning the same as *διὰ*, namely that he took charge of execution. Precisely these two expressions are also used for minting. At Philadelphia, as at Aizanoi, execution was entrusted to a *πρώτος ἄρχων* (T. Flavius Praxeas); a third variant speaks of him as *ποιησαμένου τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν*. On a later base from Thyateira, of Severan date, at Ephesus (third *neokoria*) we read: [...] ἡ [λαμ-] προτάτη Θυατειρηῶν πόλις, ἐξ ὑποσχέσεως Αὐρ. Βάσσου χιλιάρχου λεγιῶνος δευτέρας Ἰταλικῆς καὶ Αὐρ. Ἀλεξάν < δρου > Θυατειρηῶν βουλευτῶν (IK Ephesos 243). In this case the background is a benefaction, which is indicated in the text: the statue was put up upon a promise of finance (*ἐξ ὑποσχέσεως*) by two members of the *βουλή*, one of whom was a legionary tribune and hence an *eques Romanus*. Both must also have obligated themselves to see the project through, and were thus active in a similar fashion to the persons mentioned above. That is not

stated directly, but is implied by the nature of the case.

The above-mentioned T. Flavius Praxeas, *πρώτος ἄρχων* of Philadelphia and *ποιησάμενος τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν*, also appears on coins of his home city as *ἄρχων α'* (and at the same time holder of five priesthoods). In this context he appears, as in his duties in Ephesus, once with *ἐπιμελ(ηθέντος)*, otherwise with *ἐπί*.³⁶ This plainly reveals the fluidity of the distinction, for either way the same thing must be meant, responsibility for execution. In both cases he may easily have either been the initiator or volunteered to undertake the task.

It is instructive too to look at the formulae used on city statues in honour of emperors or prominent persons. Four examples from Cibyra:

(i) *IK Cibyra 37*

ἽΟ δ[ῆμος]ς ἐτείμησεν καὶ καθιέρωσεν
Κοῖντ[ον]
Αἰμίλιον Λέπιδον δίκαιον ἀνθύπατον,
σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην καὶ πάτρωνα τῆς
πόλεως,

4 ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης· ἐπιμεληθέντος
τῆς μετακομιδῆς καὶ ἀναστάσεως τοῦ
ἀνδριάντος
κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
Μ(άρκου) Κ(λαυδίου)
Φιλοκλέους Κασσιανοῦ τοῦ γραμματέως τῆς
πόλεως,
8 ἔτους· ζμρ'·μηνὸς Γορπιαίου εἰκάδι.

(ii) *IK Cibyra 11*

Λούκιον Αἴλιον Καί-
σαρα, Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ
4 Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβασ-
τοῦ υἱόν, Θεοῦ Τρα-
ϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱ-
ωνόν, Θεοῦ Νέρονα
8 προέγγονον, δημαρ-
χικῆς ἐξουσίας, ὕ-
πατον τὸ δεύτερον,
ἢ Καίσαρέων Κιβυρατῶν

12 πόλις τὸν ἴδιον εὐεργέ-
την· ἐπιμεληθέντων τῆς
ἀναστάσεως τῶν περὶ
Μ(άρκου) Κλαύδιον Φλαουια-
16 νὸν ἀρχόντων καὶ τοῦ
γραμματέως Ποπλίου
Αἰλίου Ὀρέστου.

(iii) *IK Cibyra 12*

Αὐτοκ[ράτορα Καίσαρα]
[Τίτον Αἴλιον Ἀδριανόν]
Ἄντωνεῖνον Σεβαστόν]
4 Εὐσεβῆ ἢ [βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆ]-
μος ὁ Καίσαρέων Κιβυ-
ρατῶν τὸν ἴδιον σωτή-
ρα καὶ εὐεργέτην· ἐπι-
8 μεληθέντος τῆς ἀνα-
στάσεως· Κλ· Παυλείνου
ἀρχιερέως τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ
νεωκόρου τῶν Σε-
12 βαστῶν.

(iv) *IK Cibyra 46*

Καίσαρέων Κ[ιβυρατῶν]
ἢ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος
ἐτείμησαν Τι·Κλ·Φλαου-
4 ιανόν, υἱὸν Τι·Κλ·Παυλεί-
νου ὑπατικοῦ καὶ Κλ·
Μαρκιοῦ υἱοῦ ὑπατικῆς·
προνοησαμένου τῆς
8 κατασκευῆς καὶ ἀναστά-
σεως τοῦ ἀνδριάντος
Τι·Κλ·Καπίτωνος τοῦ γραμ-
ματέως τῆς πόλεως,
12 ἐν τῷ·βξρ'·ἔτει.

In the first case, the re-erection of a proconsul's statue, explicit reference is made to a decree by *βουλή* and *demus*; execution was entrusted to a city *grammateus* (*ἐπιμεληθέντος*). The *grammateus* was also involved with the statue of L. Aelius Caesar in (ii), but in this more significant case along with the college of archons: *ἐπιμεληθέντων τῶν περὶ* (name) *ἀρχόντων καὶ τοῦ γραμματέως* (name). In (iii), a statue of Antoninus Pius, an *Archiereus* *Asias* and *neokoros* of the emperors (hence a person of extraordinarily high

³⁶ RPC II: 1337–9 with pp. 4 and 202. The suggestion there that *ἐπί* might therefore be an abbreviation for *ἐπιμεληθέντος* cannot be right: the same would have to apply in theory to all *ἐπί* formulae, which may be ruled out.

rank and particularly associated with the imperial cult), no doubt on a voluntary basis, saw to the execution; here too we have the same formula with ἐπιμεληθέντος. In (iv), honouring the son of consular parents, once again the city *grammateus* was in charge. However, there is a variation in the formula, προνοησαμένου.

These samples clearly illustrate that this variable system must also have underlain minting. The evidence may be applied directly to the typology of coin-legends. There too certain ἀρχαί frequently appear, mostly holders of high offices, but also *grammateis*; there too we sometimes find a college, τῶν περὶ... (of *strategoï*, archons, or *grammateis*); there too priests and archpriests are often found; and there too ἐπιμεληθέντος is not at all rare, once indeed προνοη(σαμένου).³⁷ The general tendency on coins, however, was to name those responsible with ἐπί.

To revert once more to the formulaic parallels between the erection of honorific statues and the minting of coins: besides the variations just mentioned there are others that named only the initiator and 'sponsor' (we have seen an example from Ephesus/Thyatira: ἐξ ὑποσχέσεως ...). On an honorific statue in Ephesus only the initiator and donor is mentioned, in the nominative, ... (name) αἰτησάμενος ἀνέστησεν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων.³⁸ Likewise, a statue restoration in Miletus does not name a city functionary; the formulation runs: ... (name) ἐπισκευάσας ἀποκατέστησε αἰτησάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ψήφισμα περὶ τούτου.³⁹ Those are some of the instances that lay behind our discussion of the αἰτησαμένου formula above. This is where the circle closes.

Into these considerations we must now, as explained at the outset, bring in the city weights of the eastern *poleis*. They too exhibit names of functionaries, sometimes even in the Hellenistic period (especially in the area of Syria and Phoenicia), but with greater frequency in imperial times, and indeed particularly in Asia Minor.⁴⁰ Take first the weights with

governors' names already considered on pp. 60–1. Three officials are mentioned on them, the *legatus Augusti*, the *logistes*, and the man who actually had the weights made, the *agoranomos*, but never an eponymous magistrate of the city. This basic state of affairs can be observed generally: on the (mostly lead, sometimes bronze) weights there is no unambiguous reference to an eponymous high official. The only supposed examples with *hipparchoi*, which Robert, with Seyrig, wished to assign to Cyzicus, where the office was eponymous, in all probability do not belong there.⁴¹ The officials named are always those who had a direct involvement with the manufacture and inspection of weights. There too, as with coins, there is quite a broad spectrum. In most cases they were *agoranomoi*, who by contrast and significantly never appear on coins. But there are also *panegyriarchai* (with parallels on coins in Apameia in Phrygia), the *hipparchoi* already mentioned, and on some weights *paraphylakes* too.⁴² Like coins, weights too show a wide range in formulae:

- name in nominative or genitive
- name + office in nominative or genitive
- ἐπὶ (name)
- ἐπὶ (name) ἀγορανόμου / ἀγορανόμων
- ἀγορανομούντος (name) / ἀγορανομούντων (name).

As on coins, there are also filiations and references to other offices. Two examples: on a weight from Ephesus: Αὐρ. Στατιλιανοῦ φιλοσεβ. παραφύλαξ, λιμενάρχης, ἀγορανόμου;⁴³ on a weight from Smyrna: Μ. Αὐ. Ἐρασ<εί>νου, ὑοῦ ἀσιάρχου, ἱππάρχου.⁴⁴ Here the parallel with coin-legends is particularly clear. In one case besides the two *agoranomoi* (ἐπὶ... ἀγορανόμων) a woman may have been named (in the genitive).⁴⁵

⁴¹ Weiss 1990a: 127–37; 2002a: 146–7. Some are certainly from Smyrna; for others, other possibilities such as Attaleia or Thyateira (Lydia), which also had hipparchies, should be considered.

⁴² References for weights with *panegyriarchai* and *paraphylakes* in Weiss 1990a: 128 nn. 23–4 (cf. also n. 21). The *panegyriarches* Minion mentioned there (whom Robert assigned to Miletus) is also described as *prophetes* and *stephanephoros*, that is a holder of eponymous offices (in Miletus, significantly, both appear with an eponymous function). But he must have passed the weight in his capacity as *panegyriarches*.

⁴³ *IK Ephesos* 558, with inconsistent use of cases. See also previous note.

⁴⁴ Weiss 1990a: 130 no. 3 (Smyrna). The weight is in the shape of a pelta, the attribute of the eponymous Amazon, who at the time is very often encountered on coins as well.

⁴⁵ Weiss 1994: 377–9 (early 2nd c.). The weight is especially lavish in design, with an imperial portrait on one side and a Nike on the other.

³⁷ On the coins of the high-priest M. Claudius Fronto, on which the Koinon of the thirteen Ionian cities is mentioned, see most recently Herrmann 2002 (on the coins 229 ff.).³⁸ *IK Ephesos* 738.

³⁹ P. Herrmann, *MDAI(I)* 44 (1994), 206–7.

⁴⁰ On the weights from the Levant see the excellent study by Seyrig 1946–8, with a detailed account of the *agoranomoi* as producers of the official weights (often labelled *δημόσιον*). Further literature e.g. in Weiss 1990a, 1994. I know of numerous other weights in private possession and auction catalogues.

The production costs of the weights were doubtless underwritten by the functionaries themselves, giving them the opportunity for different degrees of engagement and self-promotion. Particularly munificent *agoranomoi* also paraded as benefactors, mostly within their sphere of duty. Thus in Tralles a pair of *agoranomoi*, father and son, had an *agoranomion* built (*ἀγορανομήσαντες ἀνέθηκαν ... καὶ τὸ ἀγορανόμιον*).⁴⁶ They carried out other building works besides, dedicating the profits to ‘the emperors and the demos’ (*... καὶ τὰς ἐπ’ αὐτῶν προσόδους καθιέρωσαν τοῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ τῷ δήμῳ*).⁴⁷ In Selge an *agoranomos* erected at his own expense a building for the official scales (*[--ἀγορα]νομήσας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ... κατασκευάσας ἀνέθηκε*); the foundation included the weights (and presumably the scales themselves). The building and equipment were likewise dedicated to the emperors and the city.⁴⁸ Such dedications could also, in special cases, be inscribed by *agoranomoi* on the weights themselves, as in the following three examples:

- *Θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ τῷ δάμῳ, / ἀγορανομούντων Π. Κλωδίου Ρούφου καὶ Τερτίου Βεκιλίου* (Herakleia / Bithynia).⁴⁹ This is an exceptionally large weight in bronze, with a bust of Heracles (the eponymous founder) in the most refined style, presumably a city standard weight.
- *Ἀγαθῇ Τύχη βουλῆς δήμου Τιανῶν / name and formula largely illegible* (Tios/Bithynia). 10-mina lead weight, with busts of city deities on both sides.⁵⁰
- *Ἔτους θξρ’, (name) / ἀγορανομήσας τῷ (ethnikon in the genitive) δήμῳ*. Smaller bronze weight without images, attribution still uncertain.⁵¹

⁴⁶ The aorist participle, *ἀγορανομήσαντες* cannot either here or in numerous other instances mean that the endowment took place only after demission from office (as is quite often assumed). By its inner logic it was tied to the exercise of office. Comparable instances also in coinage, in Keramos: (name) *ἄρξας* or *ἄρξ(ας)* (Münsterberg 1911–27: 115; the earliest under Nero is RPC I: 2774).⁴⁷ *IK Tralles* I 146.

⁴⁸ *IK Selge* 62, with J. Nollé’s notes citing studies by L. Robert on endowments of *agoranomoi* and on scales and weights.

⁴⁹ *IK Herakleia* 79, with bibliography; London, British Museum.

⁵⁰ Auction cat. Triton VI, New York, 14–15 Jan. 2003, Lot no. 293, where the inscription has been misread. The item is the largest in a related set of five weights all appearing to carry similar inscriptions. It is urgently to be hoped that this important group of finds will be published in a scholarly fashion.

⁵¹ Private possession (from the Gorny auction catalogue, Munich, 102 (2000), 654; some letters were still partly covered over). The piece will be published elsewhere.

The wording on this last weight, above all, is again closely related to similar formulae on coins.

The comparable findings from city weights and *agoranomoi* show that coinage was firmly linked to the regular norms of public life. These were obviously the basis for the processes leading to each issue, and the legends, especially in the cities of Provincia Asia, are entirely drawn from the usual repertoire. This was variable in imperial times, and developed further. On so small a product as a coin one had to be very brief and decide in favour of this or that possibility, or else confine oneself in the old way to the truly central fact, the city name. The contemporary users through whose hands coins with such wording passed must have been able to reconstruct the sense intended in each case, familiar as they were with these formulae in all manner of contexts; and we must bear in mind that here too the matters discussed in the *βουλή* were directly known to the *politai*. New money will always attract attention; so would the activity of particular members of the city elite, and above all an act of munificence by a prominent individual. The honours attested in their thousands for deserving men and women from the elite families by *βουλή* and *demos* speak a comprehensible language. To mention them on coins was, moreover, not only a formality but a perpetuation of their names and public activity. It left a testimony to an exemplary *πολιτεύεσθαι καλῶς, πολιτεύεσθαι ἄριστα*, as had long since been formulated in inscriptions.

For the older Latin, mainly western, issues, matters are essentially the same; at any rate there appears to be no indication to the contrary. There too, as we have seen, there are sometimes endowments, even one by a woman, and there too persons of priestly function (*flamines*) might be involved in minting; we also find *f(aciendum) c(uravit)* or the participle *c(urante)*, exactly corresponding to *ἐπιμεληθέντος*. In *coloniae* and *municipia* procedures were far more regulated: coins mostly bear the names of the *II viri* or persons from the circle of the *III viri* (aediles included). Later on individuals cease to be named, as in the cities of most eastern provinces except for Asia.

Summary

If the cities’ coinages were created in the manner suggested by these considerations and observations,

an even more compelling conclusion presents itself: the coins are, in their images and inscriptions, a representation of the notions entertained by the cities, or more precisely by their upper class. Louis Robert emphatically asserted that, against Kraft's relativizing objections.⁵² Since then no one has called it into fundamental doubt,⁵³ and that is the premise of this book. Coins are thus in fact best suited to being questioned on notions of identity, as here; from Augustus' time onwards text and image had reflected, in a new fashion and on a widening front, the notions typical of the time and most important for the cities, with especial clarity in many eastern *poleis*.

However, besides this level of identity there are others. One is, in the peregrine provincial cities as elsewhere, the support, massively increasing and strengthening from Augustus' time onwards, for the *principes* and Roman rule. This is represented above all by the obverses with the now regular images of the emperors and members of the *domus Augusta*; in many places this theme increasingly influenced the design of the reverse also. Coins illustrate with especial clarity the fundamental process of mental integration in the provincial cities, whose governing

class was increasingly composed of *cives Romani*. Another level of identity, as should have become clear, is that of the local elite.⁵⁴ In some cities, this elite identifies itself on coins by individual names; in others, where that was not the custom, it appears indirectly as the group upholding both the traditional and the new values, concerned for the city's well-being and its appropriate self-representation, and strengthening civic identity at the same time as the sense of belonging to the Imperium Romanum and of loyalty to the emperors. In this way, city coins, at every level and especially in the combination of levels, had a very strong stabilizing effect. If one asks why the emperors allowed city coinages in the east to survive until overall monetary developments caused them to disappear of their own accord, this aspect too must be kept clearly before our eyes. The political gain was immense, from beginning to end. In every respect, city coins supported imperial intentions. Simply by meeting the aspirations of the local elites, emperors could intervene and regulate whenever needed. Augustus did not follow the advice that the fictitious Maecenas gives him in Dio—with good reason.

⁵² L. Robert, *Journal des Savants*, 1975, 188–92. On Kraft's observations see also above, n. 24.

⁵³ But see the reservations that H. Brandt (basing himself on Kraft) continues to hold against inferring real city cults from representations of deities (*Historia* 51 (2002), 406 with the long n. 124).

⁵⁴ See now Stephan 2002.

5

COINAGE AND IDENTITY IN PRE-CONQUEST BRITAIN: 50 BC–AD 50

Jonathan Williams

THIS CHAPTER LOOKS AT COINS MADE AND used by peoples on the edge of the Roman world in Britain just before and just after their conquest.¹ In it I want to ask what the evidence of the coinage, its inscriptions, designs, and findspots, can say about various kinds of collective identity in Britain in the late pre-Roman Iron Age and early Roman periods, how they were constituted, and how they changed.

The reason for focusing on Britain in this period is not merely that I know more about it than anywhere else. It provides a well-attested external case for comparison with contemporary developments within the Roman empire discussed elsewhere in this volume, especially with regard to such overarching and perhaps overused narrative themes as ‘Romanization’. It also allows us to explore certain current propositions about how to exploit coins as a source for understanding ancient identities.

In recent scholarship in ancient history and archaeology, particularly English-language scholarship, ‘identity’ and its kindred concepts have become a major focus of thought and debate, particularly with regard to questions of ‘ethnic identity’, or ‘ethnicity’.² So intense has been the focus and so absorbing the debate, however, that certain important aspects of human identity often tend to be left out

of the picture. As an instance of this, I might cite the notion of ‘identity’ underlying this very volume, which seems essentially restricted in range to those aspects of identity which we think Roman provincial coin-types are able to tell us about—ethnic, civic, and political. These are important, of course, but they aren’t by any means the whole story. There is perhaps also a general presumption that provincial coin-types take us straightforwardly into the shared symbolic world of the civic communities in whose names they were made. The possibility that the coins and their designs might rather be selectively representing symbols associated with certain groups, the sponsors or adherents of a particular local temple depicted on a city’s coins, or the wealthy participants in a festival whose prize-crowns were adopted as a civic coin-type, is not generally taken into account.³ Whether everyone inside, let alone anyone outside, the cities understood or identified closely with these symbols is a point for discussion, and it should perhaps not be automatically assumed that they did.

Especially when viewed through the distorting prism of the coinage, the map of the Roman empire, particularly in the East, can look very city-focused. While provinces may have been divided up administratively among the cities, the extent to which, and the ways in which, the average antique peasant identified with the civic community to which he belonged must be at least debatable. Indeed, whether

¹ I am grateful to J. D. Hill and to the editors of this volume for their comments.

² e.g. Dench 1995; Hall 1997; Laurence and Berry 1998; Woolf 1998; Williams 2001a. See also Williamson’s chapter in this volume.

³ This possibility is discussed further by Weiss and Weisser in this volume.

the notion of civic identity really reached very far, socially and geographically, beyond the small minority of the population that was at all politically engaged must also be open to question. The language of the provincial coins is that of the traditional free *polis*, alleging that the coins were made by and for the whole community of free citizens. The reality of civic politics and identity under the Roman empire was surely very different.

Human identity is not just about ethnicity, city, or polity. There are the personal and social aspects of identity too: who am I, what group or groups do I belong to within my society, what roles do they perform, and what status do they occupy within it? For most people most of the time, these are the really important issues about their identity, simply because most people do not spend most of their time interacting with people from different societies, and therefore do not go about constantly thinking of themselves as British, Roman, German, or whatever. Issues of ethnic or political identity are not necessarily always at the top of people's priorities when posed the question 'What are you?' Other important categories such as religion, occupation, kinship, gender, legal or social status, can be just as, if not much more, salient, particularly so in pre-industrial societies where many of these now independently variable elements so often came together as a package.

Questions of identity need not always produce simple answers, and there may be a choice to be made between different, sometimes apparently conflicting, self-designations. The answer you give may depend on the question asked, the situation you are in at the time, and whom you are talking to. To take the classic example, also cited by Williamson elsewhere in this volume, St Paul was a Jew, and more particularly a Pharisee of a rigorist school. He was a Roman citizen, and was also presumably a citizen of his birthplace, Tarsus. He became one of the leaders of a new group which called themselves the Christians, and he was a tent-maker. What makes his instance so informative is that we know from his own letters (and from Acts) that he foregrounded different aspects of his complex and changing identity in different contexts.⁴

⁴ See Saunders 1991 and Wright 1997 for two recent, authoritative, and brief introductions to Paul.

Paul is one particularly familiar instance from the Roman world. But he will have been far from unique. Indeed anyone who did not simply live in the same village all their lives where everyone talked the same language, worshipped the same gods, and came from the same families—and admittedly a fairly large proportion of the population of the Roman empire must have lived lives just like that—will have had occasion to express different facets of their identity in exactly the same way as Paul.

My first general point on the subject of coins and identity is that we need to be careful to remember that what we are probably talking about are the political and civic aspects of identity, and that these are merely two elements in the range of different kinds of collectivities with reference to which people in and on the edge of the Roman world described themselves. Coins can take us into the symbolic worlds of some people in and on the edge of the Roman provinces. But probably not all of them. And not straightforwardly.

Coins and New Identities in Late Pre-Roman Southern Britain

Numismatics as a subject is more marginal than it used to be in most areas of ancient studies. This is especially the case in the area of late iron-age Britain, in part because it has shifted from being 'ancient history' to being 'prehistory' over the past thirty years. And, rightly or wrongly, iron-age prehistorians are not very interested in the kind of military and political history that numismatists tended to write from their coins. What I want to do in the first part of this chapter is to reintegrate some of the 'historical' aspects of the evidence of the coins with the newer archaeological approach, in an attempt to persuade numismatists of all periods that coin evidence can fruitfully be interpreted within a wider range of contexts than just literary and epigraphic texts, and to convince archaeologists that not quite all history is bunk.

Iron-age Britain provides an interesting methodological case-study within the context of a volume such as this. The study of late iron-age Britain is in some senses suspended between an old tradition that was heavily influenced by literary and numismatic evidence and was primarily historical in orientation,

and a newer archaeological approach that rejects history (in the sense of the history of events), and seeks instead to trace the history of social and cultural change.⁵

We are still living with the legacy of what is now recognized as misguided history that was once written about late iron-age Britain on the insufficient basis of the evidence of the coins and the literary texts. One major aim of those who composed this account was to bridge the gap between Caesar's invasion of Britain in 55 and 54 BC, and the definitive Roman invasion of AD 43. The coins seemed to provide datable evidence for the names of British kings and their dynastic succession, find-spot and coin distribution evidence tracing the rise and fall of tribal kingdoms, as well as art-historical evidence, in the development of coin-designs, for invasions of rulers and peoples from the continent.

Most of this has now been abandoned. The style of current writing on pre-conquest Britain could not be more different. Gone is the connected historical narrative based on the coins. What we have instead is a powerful, and regionally varied, account of social change in the second and first centuries BC in southern England, derived from an interpretation of the archaeological record as a whole. The current consensus among prehistorians argues that various processes of internal differentiation were under way in this period, consequent upon, or at least coincidental with, demographic expansion into marginal areas of previously uncultivated land.⁶ New features appear in the landscape and in the archaeological record. Sites identifiable as sanctuaries or shrines come into existence, suggestive of the distillation of at least some ritual activities out of the domestic context of the house or settlement where most previous evidence of ritual activity is found. There is also evidence of new kinds of ritual activity involving the deposition of metalwork and coins, often in gold and silver but also bronze and iron, associated with places in the landscape, both dry and wet (the latter beginning earlier than c.200 BC), not otherwise marked by buildings or archaeological features. The appearance of cemeteries in some regions belongs to the same shift towards the demarcation of special ritual

locations, separated from the world of the everyday.⁷ Second, new kinds of aggregated settlement, often grouped together under the loose collective term *oppida* (the word used by Caesar to describe the fortified places he encountered in Gaul) appear in the landscape.⁸ They are neither urban nor proto-urban centres, and in fact comprise a heterogeneous group of sites sharing variously in a range of characteristics including fortified enclosures, elite residence, evidence for ritual and metalworking, and nucleated settlement. The three best known, together called 'territorial *oppida*' from their presumed role as tribal centres deduced in part from the appearance of their respective names on coins, are Silchester (Calleva), Colchester (Camulodunum), and St Albans (Ver[u]lamium). They all seem to begin in the late first century BC, and develop in differing directions thereafter. Third, a new kind of individual seems to be separating itself out in the late British Iron Age, the kind whose name eventually appears written on coins and, in some cases, is given the Latin title *rex*, usually translated into English as 'king'. By analogy with the *oppida*, it would be wrong to presume that all these named individuals held the same kind of pre-eminent status within their societies, or that they had no predecessors before the adoption of writing on coins in the late first century BC reveals their existence to us. Caesar's account in the *De Bello Gallico* of his invasions of Britain in the 50s BC does not give the impression that the societies he encountered were entirely acephalous.

Various features of these changes manifest themselves in ways similar to, or imitative of, what was happening on the continent in northern France and Belgium, both pre- and post-conquest, in new burial rites, depositional practices, technologies (including writing), and objects of personal adornment that appear in southern Britain in the first century BC. One interpretation of these developments is that some of the newly emergent elite groups in southern England were looking to external inspiration, in the creation of new cultures, both material and symbolic, that served to distinguish them both from what had gone before, and from what was going on elsewhere in Britain, geographically and socially.

⁵ See further Collis 1994; Williams 2003.

⁶ This account draws on Haselgrove 1999a.

⁷ See the excellent stick-figure diagram in Hill 1995a: 125, fig. 12.1.

⁸ Millett 1990: 24 provides a handy list and typology.

Taken together, the archaeological evidence gives the impression of a group of expanding societies, some of which were becoming more internally diversified, with different social roles crystallizing out conceptually and spatially, both vertically (certain roles and specializations becoming more obviously distinct from one another) and horizontally (these different roles also becoming more palpably demarcated from one another in terms of social status). So as not to give the impression of homogeneous evolution from simplicity towards social complexity across southern Britain, it is important to stress here that neighbouring areas tended to develop in markedly different directions. Not all areas of southern England witness the rise of cemeteries, or *oppida*, or the use of coinage, in the same ways. This local variability is not thought to be accidental or a consequence of parochial separation, but to indicate that the conscious representation of diversity from adjacent groups was an important aspect in the formation of late iron-age societies.⁹

In an account such as this, which focuses on processes of change and regional variability, there is little room for the old historical narrative that concentrated on individuals, invasions, and conquests, nor, it seems, for the coin-evidence that gave substance to it. What, then, can we do with it? The archaeological consensus presupposes considerable change in social identities, indeed it is all about the rise of a whole range of different kinds of new identities. Coins are admitted as having played an important role in new ritual practices of deposition. But what about the words and images on the coins? Is there a way in which they can be exploited as a source without falling back into the discredited approaches of the past? I think there may be.

First, some background information on the coins is required.¹⁰ To sketch the material in brief, coins in gold probably start to be produced in a variety of different areas within temperate north-western Europe in the third century BC, and in Britain perhaps in the mid- to late second century BC. The earliest coins are of struck gold. In the second century BC, cast coins made from a tin-rich bronze called *potin* began to be produced. Coins of silver and struck bronze also

appear over the course of the second and first centuries BC. Distribution of coinages in these different metals is not even. Some areas lack bronze, others silver, others gold. Some lack coinage entirely, for instance the whole of Britain north-west of a line from about Scarborough to the Severn. Though widespread, the production of coinage is patchy and highly regionalized, as for the most part is its circulation. Specific coin types tend to be found within particular regions, and not to be found outside them, though gold coins sometimes travel further afield.

The consequent temptation to attribute different types, and different coinage traditions, to tribes mentioned in the literary sources has been as irresistible as it has been misguided. It rests on a presumption that coinage is always a product of centralized polities, be they tribal or civic, of a kind whose existence has still to be demonstrated within pre-Roman northern Europe. This is perhaps the first, most obvious point to make about coinage and identity in the Iron Age, that we cannot simply plot the different indigenous coinage traditions onto the *civitas* map of Roman Gaul and Britain. They are not necessarily ‘tribal’ coinages made by and for one of Caesar’s or Ptolemy’s tribes in Gaul and Britain, though in some instances they may have been.¹¹ This is not a point I can pursue here, but the status of the ‘tribe’ either as issuing authority, or in defining the boundaries of coin circulation areas or regional stylistic traditions, is one that needs careful reassessment.

One change that takes place on the coinages of northern Gaul and southern Britain in the period between the late second and late first century BC is the appearance of brief inscriptions.¹² They mostly seem to represent personal names. Ethnic names are relatively unusual though not unknown.¹³ Greek and Latin scripts are used variably in different areas, and on some coins the same name is written out in both, showing that they were concurrent in some areas. A regional variant of Latin script, called Gallo-Latin, was also developed to deal with certain special Gaulish phonetic requirements. On British coins,

¹¹ See Williams 2003 for the history of tribal attributions in Britain; and Delestrée and Tache 2002: 10–12 for a recent reformulation of the method in the French tradition.

¹² On Gaulish coin inscriptions, see Colbert de Beaulieu and Fischer 1998; Williams 2001b on ancient British coins and writing.

¹³ Gruel 2002: 207 for a list.

⁹ Hill 1995b.

¹⁰ For recent surveys, see Haselgrove 1993 and 1999b.

more orthodox Roman scripts predominated, reflecting among other things the fact that the earliest inscriptions date some years after the Roman invasion of Gaul. There is however some evidence that non-Roman Gallo-Latin forms were also in use, for instance the use of the Greek letter *theta* to write the British name *Aθθedomaros* on coins which circulated in south-eastern England in the Essex–Hertfordshire region (pl. 5.1, 1).¹⁴

Between about 10 BC and the mid-first century AD, gold and silver coins in the names of three different individuals circulated in south-central England, focusing on Hampshire. Their names, derived from the coins (the spellings could vary), are now conventionally rendered as Tincomarus, Eppillus, and Verica (pl. 5.1, 2–4).¹⁵ What they have in common apart from the general circulation area of their coinages is that they are all called, in Latin, the ‘son of Commius’ on their coins, usually abbreviated as COM F, COMMI F, or COM FILI, and they all use a wide range of recognizably Roman-style imagery. Three things are noteworthy here: the use of writing in itself which at this time was relatively new on coins in Britain, the correct use of Latin and of a Roman epigraphic abbreviation in the legends, and the rise of Roman-style iconography to accompany these newly inscribed coins, displacing local traditions.

Features such as these have long encouraged commentators to talk of the Romanization of Britain before the invasion. Scholars have pointed to the amphora evidence for the importation of wine, olive oil, *garum*, and *defrutum*, not to mention tablewares in precious metal, bronze, and fineware ceramic, and new vessels for food preparation such as *mortaria*, as demonstration of the adoption of Roman ways and of the reorientation of at least southern Britain towards the Roman continent in the last 150 years or so before the conquest of AD 43.¹⁶

Most recently, an important book by John Creighton has argued that the emergence of Graeco-Roman and specifically Augustan motifs on British coins in the late first century BC was due to the cultural influence of young British princes sent as

hostages to Rome, where they so imbibed the new empire style that they brought it back with them on their accession to their various native thrones.¹⁷

Even were that likely to be the case, which might be doubted, Creighton does not explain the equally significant phenomenon that the coins are more or less unique among local British products for their knowledgeable use of Roman imagery and references to Roman cultural practices, let alone their displays of Latin language and lettering. If British princes did spend their youth in the palaces and pleasure gardens of the Roman world, they rather failed to reproduce the whole Mediterranean lifestyle for themselves on their return to the north.¹⁸ There is evidence of rectangular domestic structures possibly modelled on Roman styles that pre-date the invasion, and iron-age Silchester is revealed as having had an orthogonal street plan, at least in part, but there are no marble-clad buildings, and no stone inscriptions.¹⁹ There are clear suggestions on British coins of Roman-style temples and altars, and people, perhaps kings or gods, sporting wreaths, drinking from wine-cups, and maybe even wearing togas. But to what extent these images corresponded to reality is an open question as, of course, is what their meaning within the British context was.²⁰ Whether or not the early villa at Fishbourne near Chichester is the palace of Cogidubnus, there is nothing resembling it from pre-Roman Britain, and there is certainly nothing like the famous Purbeck marble inscription from Chichester itself that bears most of his name.²¹

Taking all this into account, the ‘Romanization before the conquest’ thesis, to which the coins have made no small contribution over the years, begins to look a little weaker. Far from fitting into a pattern in late pre-Roman Britain, the coins, their legends, and their iconography actually stand out as rather exceptional and untypical. Indigenous pre-conquest art in Britain is otherwise non-figurative, with only a few exceptions.²² Despite the flowering of figurative

¹⁷ Creighton 2000: 89–125.

¹⁸ Pace Creighton 2000: 214.

¹⁹ Rodwell 1978; Fulford and Timby 2000: 8–16 on the street-plan of pre-conquest Silchester.

²⁰ See Williams 2004.

²¹ *RIB* 91. Cogidubnus is mentioned by Tacitus (*Agr.* 14) as the appointed king of certain *civitates* in Britain after the Roman conquest. For Fishbourne as the palace of Cogidubnus, see Cunliffe 1971: 13–14; id. 1991*b* for a response to his critics. On marble in early Roman Britain, see Isserlin 1998.

²² See Jope 2000: 92–120 for a recent (but dated) survey of representational art in the British Iron Age.

¹⁴ Williams 2001*b*: 6–7.

¹⁵ On Tincomarus, the king formerly known as Tincommius, see Cheesman 1998. For an exhaustive account of the coins of these kings, see Bean 2000.

¹⁶ Cf. Cunliffe 1988: 145–57, and 1991*a*: 107–58, 434–43.

art on the coins, it seems to have made little impact on other media.

If it is not obvious that these various continental innovations were solely or even primarily adopted for the sake of their exotic and prestigious Roman-ness, perhaps we should look instead at what their significance within the changing indigenous context might have been. Here the coins and the inscriptions I have referred to can provide a way in. For however Roman they look (though in many respects British coins remained very different from Roman ones as regards fabric, weights, and metal standards), the initial point of reference of all these coins is, I would suggest, parochial rather than imperial.²³

There are no explicit references, in the legends at least, to the personage of the emperor as appear on other coinages issued by the kings around the edges of the Roman world, in the Crimean Bosphorus, north Africa, and the Near East. Though some portrait heads on British coins are clearly modelled on that of Augustus, they seem rather to be named for the local rulers (pl. 5.1, 5). This is not to say that the Roman world did not make an impact on the mental horizons of British rulers. We know from the *Res Gestae* that two of them fled to Augustus as suppliants, and a figure called *Berikos* by Dio (probably the same as the Verica of the coins) ran to Claudius in time of civil war, prompting the invasion of AD 43.²⁴ But it does at least suggest that they were not just orientating themselves around the Roman world in quite the way that Creighton's hostage hypothesis presupposes.

It is clear that *Berikos*/Verica knew all about the Roman emperor and his power to tip the balance in his favour within Britain. But it is not clear from his coinage that closeness to the imperial personage was exploited as a major factor in legitimating his power beforehand. There is not merely an absence of references to Augustus and his successors on the coins of Verica and those of his putative siblings, there is positive evidence of something *else* going on. The focus suggested by the *words* on his coinage, perhaps in contrast to the language they are written in, and the largely Roman-style imagery, is on a non-Roman dynastic history, that of descent from Commius.

Assertions of descent are prominent features on pre-Roman British coins. Verica's northern neighbours Cunobelin and Epaticcus similarly advertised their descent in Roman style from someone conventionally known as Tasciovanus whose name had also appeared on coins, and is not known from any other ancient source (pl. 5.1, 6–7). But Verica's adoption of Roman-style filiation is the most interesting case, in that it reveals that he might actually be doing something rather un-Roman.

It was recognized long ago that Verica's claim to be the son of Commius was somewhat problematic if the former was alive in AD 43 and the latter is to be identified with the famous Gallic leader of the 50s BC who appears in Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*. The identification itself is based on circumstantial ancient evidence (see below) and, though not provable beyond all doubt, seems reasonable on the balance of probabilities.²⁵ If this is right, what then do we make of Verica's assertion that he was the son of Commius? It might simply be interpreted as a pure imposture. If so, he was not the only one to make it, which should perhaps raise some doubts about the claims of Tincomarus and Eppillus. It certainly raises the question 'Why Commius?' Why had he become such an important figure that Verica seems to have adopted him posthumously as his father?

We can say something about the career of Commius, though the evidence is more fragmentary than is often realized. In his day he was an important figure in both Gaul and Britain with widespread connections in both areas. He was recognized as king of the Atrebatas by Caesar, and used by him as an ambassador to the peoples of Britain in advance of and during his cross-Channel invasions of 55–54 BC.²⁶ But he turned against Caesar, taking part in Vercingetorix' revolt in 52 and that of the Bellovaci in 51. He eventually agreed to surrender, on condition that he would never have to set eyes on a Roman.²⁷ The next chapter in his story, the bridge between the Commius of the *De Bello Gallico* and the Commius of the coins, is thought to be preserved in a story in

²³ Williams 2001b: 11–12.

²⁴ *Res Gestae* 32; Dio 60. 19. 1

²⁵ See Williams 2003. The name Commius appears elsewhere on a rare issue of north Gaulish silver coins (also attributed to Caesar's Commius: see Colbert de Beaulieu and Fischer 1998: 180–1, no. 99). It is also attested in later inscriptions from Roman Gaul.

²⁶ Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 4. 21, 27, 35; 5. 22.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 8. 47–8.

Frontinus which mentions that he fled to Britain after he had been defeated by Caesar.²⁸

The next we hear of him, or rather of his name, is that it appears on a series of gold coins from south-central Britain in the form COMMIOS (pl. 5.1, 8), and then on the coins of Tincomarus, Verica, and Eppillus, as their alleged father. From all of which it has commonly been concluded that once he came to Britain, Commius established himself as a ruler and founded a dynasty in the area later occupied by the post-conquest British *civitas* of the Atrebates focused on Hampshire, even founding Silchester. Much of this is not able to be substantiated and should be treated with caution. Whether Commius did actually come to Britain and found a kingdom is not as clear as is usually assumed and, as will become apparent, is for my purposes irrelevant.²⁹ I am assuming that the Commius on British coins is Caesar's Commius, but am not committed to any narrative reconstruction of his career as founder of the Atrebatian kingdom.

There are analogies to Commius' attributed role as a powerful leader from Belgic Gaul who also had a prestigious reputation within Britain. From Caesar we know that there was a previous reported instance of a Gaulish ruler who 'in recent memory' had exercised power within Britain, one Diviciacus, king of the Belgic Suessiones, the most powerful king of his time in all Gaul.³⁰ Elsewhere Caesar mentions that the maritime areas of Britain had been once invaded and were now inhabited by Belgae, who came to pillage and stayed to farm, and brought their tribal names with them.³¹

For a long time this brief notice in Caesar's text formed the basis for the aforementioned historical narrative of late iron-age Britain. A mixture of Caesar, archaeology, and numismatics, not dissimilar to that which also created the story of Commius, gave rise to the Belgic invasion hypothesis (or invasions: Allen

thought he could see six different ones from the coins).³² This was once thought to explain almost all the important changes observed in the archaeology of late pre-Roman southern Britain. It is now just as widely denied any explanatory significance. Indeed, the invasion is widely thought not to have happened, or at least not to have been a single cataclysmic event visible in the archaeology, and the whole affair is nowadays generally downplayed.³³

So what about the passage of Caesar? It is of course possible that he just made up the Belgic invasion as historical precedent for his own crossing of the Channel, in the same way as he is alleged to have invented the boundary between Gauls and Germans on the Rhine in order to maximize the extent of his achievements (Gaul stops at the Rhine, therefore I have conquered all Gaul).³⁴ Alternatively, and attractively, the story of the Belgic invasion and the cross-Channel empire of Diviciacus may be genuine reports of indigenous traditions which Caesar came upon in either Britain or Gaul. Whether they testify to anything that actually happened in history is another matter and, for my purposes here, is not important. What is interesting about them is their overlooked potential as sources for historical traditions current in northern Gaul and Britain in the mid-first century BC.

What these stories have in common is that they highlight political and ethnic affinities between Britain and northern Gaul, especially Belgica, characterizing them in terms of invasion and settlement into Britain, and of an empire based on the continent that once stretched across the Channel. Both stories locate the source of invasion and empire on the continent. They look as though they represent stories of ethnic origin, circulating perhaps in Gaul, but more likely in Britain, among those who, rightly or falsely, wished either to claim for themselves an extraneous ancestry, or to emphasise their connections to the contemporary world of the continent.

Interpreted in this manner, these stories can be taken together with the evidence for the story of Belgic Commius and his posthumous exploitation at the hands of Verica, Tincomarus, and Eppillus, to identify a group of traditions in late iron-age Britain in which, for certain elite groups and individuals,

²⁸ Frontinus, *Strategemata* 2. 13. II.

²⁹ See Cunliffe 1991a: 123–4 for the widely accepted version of Commius' career. For a more recent treatment, see Creighton 2000: 59–64, who, while critical of earlier treatments, goes on to suggest that Commius was sent to Britain by Caesar to rule as a client king.

³⁰ Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 2. 4: 'apud eos fuisse regem nostra etiam memoria Diviciacum, totius Galliae potentissimum, qui cum magna partis harum regionum tum etiam Britanniae imperium obtinuerit'.

³¹ *Ibid.* 5. 12: 'Britanniae pars interior ab eis incolitur quos natos in insula ipsi memoria proditum dicunt, maritima pars ab eis qui praedae et belli inferendi causa ex Belgio transierant, qui omnes fere eis nominibus civitatum appelluntur quibus orti ex civitatibus eo pervenerunt, et bello inlato ibi permanserunt atque agros colere coeperunt.'

³² Williams 2003 on the history of the Belgic invasion hypothesis.

³³ Cf. e.g. Millett 1990: 9–10.

³⁴ On Caesar and Germany, see Rives 1999: 24–7.

continental orientations were expressed in terms of historical narratives about ethnic origins, past invasions, and lost kingdoms. The creation of self-serving myths of this sort, that attribute to leading groups or lineages a prestigious, sometimes divine, and often foreign, ancestry, distinct from those of other subordinate groups and lineages, is a common enough phenomenon in human history.³⁵ Here, I suggest, is another example.

But there is a question we have not yet addressed. Why was the figure of Commius so important to at least three different individuals in late iron-age south-central England? Is there anything about his story, as reconstructed, that might explain his special status in the minds and traditions of later generations? Perhaps we need to look at what happened to the world of cross-Channel elite connections that seems to have linked southern Britain and northern Gaul in the early first century BC.

The Roman conquest must have profoundly disrupted, if not necessarily abolished, the world in which a figure like Commius and, if he existed, Diviciacus of the Suessiones, were able to thrive in Britain as well as on the continent. After Caesar, no chance of another Belgic invasion, in other words. Commius was remembered as the last of his kind, the final representative of an old world which had been very important for the self-understanding of certain groups and individuals in southern England. The recurrence of his name on coins of later rulers down to the early first century AD seems to indicate that the traditions and orientations with which I am arguing he was associated, those of continental links and kinship or ethnic affinities, survived the Roman conquest of Gaul. If so, they can increasingly have done so only as a reflection of a past, and perhaps longed-for, history, not as mythologized reflections of current reality, because that reality had changed with the advent of the Romans.

This is not to say that cross-Channel links with post-conquest Gaul did not continue to be important to the elites of southern Britain. The imports of various sorts mentioned above testify to this in many

³⁵ Three comparative examples: the Ethiopian royal myth of descent from Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (Marcus 2002: 16–19); the claim of the early modern Polish nobility to descent from the Sarmatians (Ascherson 1996: 229–33; Wilson 2002: 30–I, 49–50, 61); Aztec myths of migratory invasion from outside and claims to Toltec descent (Townsend 2000: ch. 3).

different ways. But the evidence of the coins suggests that a distinction was drawn by some at least between the Belgic past and the Roman present. The influence of the Roman world is supremely apparent on British coins from the late first century BC onwards—its artefacts, its language and writing, its artistic styles. As already mentioned, some of the rulers are even endowed with a Roman title. But the other words used in association with their names—the filiations and the local place-names—suggest an enduring indigenous focus, and the perpetuation within Britain into the first century AD of the kind of ethnic, genealogical, and historical traditions relating to a world of cross-Channel connections to which Caesar attests in an earlier generation.

It is as though in this aspect of the public expression of power within south-central England, the preference was for a presentation that maintained the notion of an autonomous history and of separateness, possibly, given Commius' reputation, even resistance, rather than concede peripheral dependency, a position into which British rulers were nevertheless inevitably slipping. In short, Verica appealed to Commius on his coins, but to Claudius when it came to the crunch.

This interpretation combines coins and texts in a new way, not in order to reconstruct an historical narrative, nor to impose a single historical schema upon ambivalent archaeological evidence, but as a means of getting at indigenous British notions of the past, by reading them as evidence for the invention of traditions about cultural origins and ethnic genealogies on the part of emerging aristocracies, for want of a better word, in late iron-age Britain. Looking at Caesar and the coins as evidence not for historical fact but for discursive tradition, aspects of the archaeological record can now be viewed as telling the same sort of story, a story in which the selective use of historical tradition, genealogy, and material culture together represented a preference among certain individuals and groups for creating and accentuating affinities with the world of the pre- (and post-) conquest continent, in order to distance themselves from previous indigenous practice and traditions, and from others still current elsewhere.³⁶ The advertising of

³⁶ See Hill *et al.* forthcoming, for more reflections in this vein on archaeology and history.

genealogy on the coins also seems to be of a piece with the new phenomenon of archaeologically visible cremation burials, as a locus for the commemoration of individuals and the creation and perpetuation of lineage groups. John Creighton has argued persuasively for a similar connection between the rise of sanctuaries and the rise of dynastic ancestor worship with particular reference to the temple at Hayling Island which, he argues, was a temple of the Divine Commius, whose heavenly persona was modelled on that of the Divine Julius.³⁷ The mobilization of historical tradition in concert with material culture and social practice to demarcate new identities makes sense in the context of a world in which, as indicated by the archaeology, social and spatial boundaries were being drawn with increasing definition between different groups and activities. However elusive Commius remains as a historical figure, as a symbol of the past for the 'kings' of pre-conquest Britain he starts to become rather more meaningful.

Coins and Continuity

This chapter has so far mainly addressed the question of identities of the higher-order sort, and the contribution that coin types and legends can make to our understanding of how they changed in late iron-age Britain. But I began by complaining about restricting the use of coins to typological studies alone, and I want to end by widening the scope to show how studies of coin *use* can help us in getting at other issues relating to identity. Not label-fixing questions of the kind, 'Can we tell from their material remains whether the anonymous peoples of this area at this time thought they were Britons or Romans?' but rather, 'Do changing patterns of coin use, loss, and deposition in the period concerned tell us anything about change and continuity in local or personal identities?'

The places to look for answers to this question are classic *lieux de mémoire* in reference to which we may suspect such identities were structured and perpetuated, such as sanctuary sites. Evidence for changing ritual practice and for what archaeologists call 'structured deposition' rather than casual loss is also

going to be important here.³⁸ Can changes in patterns of coin deposition of this kind and/or in these places tell us anything about how identities were articulated during an apparently disruptive period like the Roman invasion in the mid-first century AD? The answer, is, I think, yes, with the important caveat that the evidence has always to be integrated with studies of other kinds of artefacts (though I am not going to attempt it here). I want here merely to draw attention briefly to a few details in the history of coin deposition in first-century AD Britain in what look like culturally resonant, ritual contexts, and discuss how they might be interpreted in relation to the question of identity.

There are a handful of sanctuary sites in southern England where coin-deposition clearly begins some time before the conquest and continues as an important aspect of the local rite well into the Roman period in association with a Roman temple, probably also preceded by an iron-age sanctuary of some kind. Wanborough, Harlow, and Hayling Island temples are perhaps the best known.³⁹ There are now also a number of sites across southern England, otherwise unassociated with structures or temples, where coins are found deposited from the late Iron Age well into the Roman period, often with other kinds of high-status metalwork. I am referring here to sites like Essendon and Shillington in Hertfordshire, Frensham in Surrey, and now a new site in East Leicestershire near Market Harborough.⁴⁰ On these sites, the pre-Roman coins will usually be gold and/or silver, with an admixture of plated forgeries and some Gaulish imports, while the Roman coins will usually be of silver and base metal. Gold virtually disappears from the hoarding or depositional record after the conquest. These sites suggest that some locations in the lowland south associated with rituals of coin-deposition experienced continuity across the temporal boundary of the conquest period. Much else

³⁸ See Hill 1995a: 95–101. For a recent collection of essays on the theme of the archaeology of memory, see Van Dycke and Alcock 2003. See also Mack 2003.

³⁹ Wanborough: O'Connell and Bird 1994; Harlow: France and Gobel 1985; Hayling Island: Briggs *et al.* 1992; Creighton 2000: 192–7.

⁴⁰ Shillington: Curteis and Burleigh 2002; Essendon: brief notices in Esmond Cleary 1994: 276; and *id.* 1995: 354; Bland 1996c; Frensham: summary of first group of coin finds in Leins 2000; E. Leics.: some preliminary speculations in Williams 2002b; Hobbs 2003; Williams and Hobbs 2003.

³⁷ Creighton 2000: 188–97.

may have changed in the way coins were used in other contexts and in the kinds of coins that circulated, or at least were deposited, within Britain after the conquest. But in the area of ritual deposition, Roman coins were it seems often used in substantially the same ways, and in at least some of the same places, as their pre-Roman predecessors.

All that can legitimately be deduced from this archaeological evidence is the uninterrupted transmission across the conquest watershed of knowledge about the appropriate sites for ritual acts of coin-deposition, and of confidence in their efficacy however understood. Such continuity of ritual does not necessarily imply ethnic continuity in the community or individuals enacting it (Britons as opposed to Romans, say), nor stability of understanding or interpretation, much less the 'survival of Celtic religion'. What it does imply is that successive groups or individuals continued to identify with the importance of performing the ritual in traditional locations.

Continuity of rituals like coin-deposition in changing times, such as the decades after the Roman invasion presumably were for many in Britain, will have offered a channel through which to compare the present with the past, providing both a means of constructing historical continuity, real or imagined ('we've always done this here'), as well as an index of how things were supposed to have changed ('they did it differently in the old days'). These are general

theoretical suppositions which cannot be specifically documented for Roman Britain. But neither are they implausible as an interpretation of ritual continuity in the area of coin deposition: as evidence not so much of ethnic or religious stability across the conquest, as of the uninterrupted perpetuation of the memory of a ritual tradition in relation to a specific place, and of its repeated (though not necessarily continuous) enactment there. The potential significance of this species of continuity becomes clear if ritual activity is not anachronistically siphoned off into the discrete world of 'religion', but is properly acknowledged as the primary medium through which social identities in pre-modern societies are reproduced, challenged, and changed over time.⁴¹

To conclude, I hope to have shown how the coins of north-western Europe, and particularly Britain, can provide much stimulus for thought about changing identities around the time of the Roman conquests. Identity is a complex and many-sided concept. In order to exploit coins as a source for interpreting Roman provincial identities, we need to look at where they are found and how they were used, and what their types and legends omit or deny as well as what they claim and assert. 'Coinage', according to Fergus Millar and quoted by Chris Howgego as the epigraph to this volume, was 'the most *deliberate* of all symbols of public identity' in the Roman world. Quite so.

⁴¹ Drawing on Hill 1995a: 95–101, 115–24.

6

COINAGE AND IDENTITY IN THE ROMAN PROVINCES: SPAIN

Pere P. Ripollès

Iberia Before the Romans

THE ETHNIC AND CULTURAL COMPOSITION of Iberia¹ was not uniform before the Romans arrived; literary sources and archaeological research provide evidence of different influences over several Late Bronze Age strata. An account of the groups there previously is an essential first step before assessing the impact of Roman intervention, so that we can determine the extent to which the arrival and dominion of the Romans modified existing traditions.

Before the coming of the Romans, the foreign peoples who principally influenced native Iberians were Phoenicians and Greeks (Map 6.1). The Greek colonies at Emporion and Rhode in north-east Iberia played an important role in the trade of commodities and the spread of ideas along the Mediterranean coast.²

In the south, the Phoenicians had settled early on, and created the great centralized settlements in this area, which includes part of what is now Portugal, and several villages commercially attached to the coast.³

The south and Mediterranean coast included the most Hellenized native towns, villages, and peoples; the Late Bronze Age populations evolved towards

a culture that is generally speaking labelled as Iberian, and owed many features to their contacts with Greeks and Phoenicians. However, important variations in settlement patterns, religion, artistic traditions, and social organization can be recognized.⁴ Some of the most important settlements developed urban models. The inhabitants spoke a pre-Indo-European language and had their own writing.⁵

The eastern part of the inner Iberian Peninsula was inhabited by Celtiberians, throughout a wide territory that extended over the lands located south of the river Ebro and on the eastern part of both Mesetas. They had been developing a form of urban organization since the fourth century BC, and their material culture shows some indirect Greek influences from contacts with coastal Iberians.⁶ Their language belongs to the Indo-European family.⁷

The central and western parts of Iberia were inhabited by peoples with few Mediterranean influences, and with a strong presence of their own Late Bronze Age traditions. There are no signs of urban development, as seen in the Greek, and later Roman, worlds, until the Late Republican period.⁸

Before the arrival of the Romans, coinages in Iberia were scarce. Native peoples did not use coins, except in a few individual towns located on the coast with contacts with maritime traders; it may also be the

¹ 'Iberia' is used to refer to the whole of the Iberian Peninsula (modern-day Spain and Portugal) before the Romans arrived, and Spain and Spanish to refer to the same area for later periods.

² Cabrera and Sánchez (2000); Domínguez Monedero (2002) 65–95.

³ Schubart (1982) 207–31; Aubet (1993).

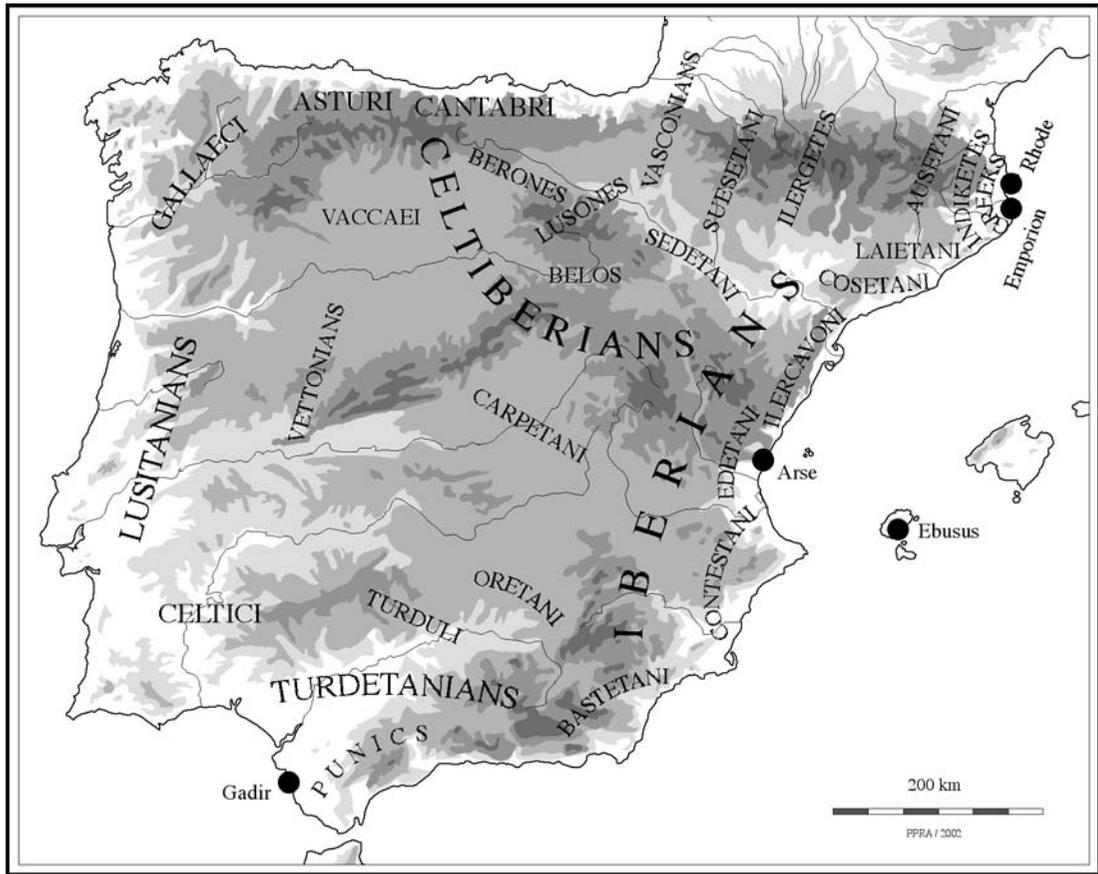
⁴ Ruiz and Molinos (1993); *Los iberos: Principes de Occidente*. Barcelona: Fundación «La caixa» (Exhibition catalogue, 1998).

⁵ Velaza (1996).

⁶ Burillo (1998).

⁷ Villar (1995; 2000).

⁸ Martins (1996) 143–57; Fernández Posse (1998); Keay (2001) 125–6.



Map 6.1. Pre-Roman peoples and mints in the Iberian Peninsula

case that those Iberians who had served in the armies in Sicily transmitted the idea of coinage to their native land. The issues in Iberia before the Romans were struck in Emporion,⁹ Rhode, Ebusus,¹⁰ Gades,¹¹ and Arse.¹² The script was the most obvious reflection of differing cultural identities, variously Greek, Punic, or Iberian. The designs were drawn mainly from Greek iconography.¹³

The Second Punic War: The Start of a New Era

The arrival of the Romans and the outbreak of the Second Punic War saw the start of a new era in the social and cultural evolution of Iberia. However, the consequences became apparent only progressively

over the next two centuries. During the war, the payment of both Roman and Carthaginian armies required the production of a greater quantity of coin than had been seen before. This made coinage fairly common, mainly on the Mediterranean coastal strip and in the lower reaches of the Guadalquivir.

The war prompted new issues of coinage, such as the drachms from Emporion, the substantial increase in the production of which can be explained only by Roman manipulation. We may infer that the increase in output was to cover war expenses,¹⁴ since the domestic needs of the colony hardly justified the amount of drachms struck. Similarly, much of the substantial quantity of coins minted by the Carthaginians during their presence in Iberia can be explained in this way,¹⁵ being the best known and most used coinage in the south.

⁹ Villaronga (1997; 2000).

¹⁰ Campo (1976).

¹¹ Alfaro (1988).

¹² Ripollès and Llorens (2002).

¹³ Chaves (1991) 38–9.

¹⁴ Villaronga (1984).

¹⁵ Villaronga (1983).

Apart from these two groups of coinages, other cities that had minted previously, such as Gades, Ebusus, and Arse, resumed their coinage. During the Second Punic War, other cities and ethnic groups minted for the first time, such as Saitabi or the producers of Iberian imitations of Emporitan drachms. The latter were struck hurriedly and in a military context.

In spite of the fact that the Romans had only very recently arrived in the Iberian Peninsula, it is possible to detect some influence of Roman iconography on coins issued by Arse and Saitabi. As Arse had a tradition of using Hellenistic images, very few iconographic elements can be related to Roman influence; the prow on bronze fractions¹⁶ is the most obvious (pl. 6.I, 1). Roman influence on the other city, Saitabi, is clearer, since an eagle copied from Roman gold issues of 211–208 BC was chosen for the reverse of its unique silver issue (pl. 6.I, 2). Perhaps we should also consider the possibility of Roman influence on the metrology of the silver coins minted by both these cities, since the average weight of their drachms, c.3.32g, is three-quarters of the weight of a denarius.¹⁷ The same influence may be postulated on Emporitan drachms,¹⁸ since their average weight was lowered from 4.70g to c.4.25g at the end of the third century BC and at the beginning of the second century BC, bringing it closer to the denarius.

The Roman Presence

The Roman presence and dominion interrupted the autonomous development of the native communities, and generated irreversible legal changes as the conquest went on.¹⁹ A long, slow, process of cultural assimilation started, embracing many aspects, such as the economy, language, urbanism, dress, eating habits, religion, and art.

The rhythm and intensity of Roman influence varied in different parts of the Iberian Peninsula, according to the nature of the existing communities; only a few areas could be considered to be already an integral part of the Mediterranean cultural *koiné*, in as far as they were able to emulate the *polis* organization. For them, Roman cultural impact was slight, but for the other communities, the speed of assimilation

depended on the extent and rhythm of the conquest, and on the impact of Italo-Roman society.

Early on the Romans took very little part in the internal development of the native cultures, since their interests lay mainly in maintaining political control, collecting taxes, and exploiting resources.²⁰ In fact, native peoples developed some of their discrete identities during the second century BC. The Romans maintained political dominion not only by means of the threat of an omnipresent army, but also by strengthening civic organization, and employing a diplomatic approach to the native elites by means of oaths and treaties.²¹

An important consequence of the Roman conquest was the disruption of the independence in which the natives had lived, and the increase in relations between them. With the Romans, the economy of Spain slowly became more integrated.

The strengthening of urban life by the Romans²² accelerated the trend towards a monetized economy. Since coin-use is a practice that goes hand in hand with the process of urbanization, and given the tendency of the native societies to become organized as civic communities, one can suppose that even without the Roman presence other native cities would have adopted coinage during the second century BC. But the Roman preference for civic organization also fostered the spread of coin-use.

The presence of the army, necessary to conquer and rule the territory, also encouraged the spread of a monetized economy, because the army (*milites*, allied, and *auxilia*) used coinage. The arrival of colonists, craftsmen, and businessmen was an additional factor that contributed to the spread of the use of coinage, although their impact became important only from the mid-second century BC onwards.²³

The Iberian Peninsula Divided by Rome

In 197 BC the Iberian Peninsula was divided into two provinces, Citerior and Ulterior, each ruled by a praetor.²⁴ The establishment of these provinces constitutes

²⁰ Keay (1995b) 37.

²¹ Badian (1958); Salinas de Frias (1995) 33; Keay (1995b) 39; Olesti (1995) 55; Keay (2001) 129; Chaves (2000) 17; Campo (2000) 60.

²² Abascal and Espinosa (1989) 20–2.

²³ Marín (1988); Tsirkin (1993) 312; Blázquez (1996) 186; Arévalo (2000) 42.

²⁴ Livy 32. 28. 11–12.

¹⁶ Ripollès and Llorens (2002) nos. 68–70.

¹⁷ Ripollès and Llorens (2002) 157–61.

¹⁸ CNH pp. 26–30.

¹⁹ Naco del Hoyo and Prieto (1999) 209.

the most reliable indication of Roman intentions to remain in Iberia, although there is no certainty that the division was effective at this point, because the two praetors do not appear to have had the time to be very concerned with the actual division of the peninsula.²⁵ The decision to remain in Iberia provoked strong reactions which the Roman praetors were unable to quell until Cato brought in a consular army.

We do not know the criteria by which the peninsula was divided into the two provinces, Citerior and Ulterior, but the former included peoples such as Celtiberians, Vascons, Pyrenean peoples, and Iberians, and the latter embraced Iberians from the south-east, Turdetanians, Punics, Lusitanians, and peoples from southern Portugal. This territorial distribution had different effects on the population administered in each of them.

The destiny of each province was to a great extent at the mercy of the praetors, who might intervene in domestic political organization, as in the case of L. Aemilius Paulus' decree (189 BC) about Hasta Regia and Turris Lascutana.²⁶ Their powers must also have included civic coinages and this may perhaps account for some of the differences observed in coinages struck in both provinces (such as the absence of silver coinages in Ulterior). Other differences may have been a consequence of the different cultural histories of the issuing cities.

The Development of a Retail Trade Economy (Second–First Century BC)

The cities that issued coins were located irregularly in the Peninsula: most of them were distributed on the Mediterranean coastal strip and along the Ebro and Guadalquivir valleys. In many cases mints were sited in strategic places, such as main routes or places with outstanding commercial or productive activities. In the hinterland of the Peninsula, . . . the western part of both Mesetas, and the north of Portugal and Galicia, there were no mints, and their native peoples remained likewise unaffected by writing and other Roman influences (Map 6.2).

Most Spanish coinages were linked with urbanization and with areas of economic activity, such as

mines (Castulo),²⁷ extensive farming areas (Obulco),²⁸ or trading ports (Arse-Saguntum, Carteia, Malaca, Gades).²⁹ Other issues, particularly some silver coinages from cities in the upper Ebro valley and in the head of the Duero valley, may have come about in a military context, in order to finance the Sertorian army. As far as the silver coinages are concerned, the possibility that they were struck to pay regular taxes to the Romans is nowadays rejected, since during the second century BC there were not enough coinages to do so.³⁰ Not all cities that had the capability to issue coins did in fact produce them. Some cities that never struck coins, or did so only later, were nevertheless clearly very important. This was the case, for example, at Carthago Nova, which began to issue only from mid-first century BC, when its mines, the main support of its economy, had been worked out.³¹ But coin finds show that coins had been present previously, and that the population had used Roman and native coinages.³²

Authority

There is little evidence for reconstructing the different levels of authority that played a role in Spanish coinage. It seems quite reasonable to think that issues of coinage must have been authorized by the Roman governors, since coinage has generally been a privilege of power; the general framework of coinages from both provinces suggests the existence of some set of basic rules, at least concerning the metals struck.

The initiative to strike was a decision made by the city authorities, since there is no reason to think that Spanish coinages were promoted by the Roman state, except for some particular issues, e.g. from Urso and Corduba, on which some members of the Roman administration were named (pl. 6.I, 3). On the rest, the legends always mention the city, by means of a place-name (*saltauie, kесе, . . .*) or the name of an ethnic group (*arsesken, untikesken, . . .*), and sometimes also personal

²⁷ García-Bellido (1982); Arévalo (2000) 39–46.

²⁸ Arévalo (1993) and (2000) 45–51.

²⁹ Ripollès and Llorens (2002) 321–46; Chaves (1979) 104–9; Campo and Mora (1995); Alfaro (1988).

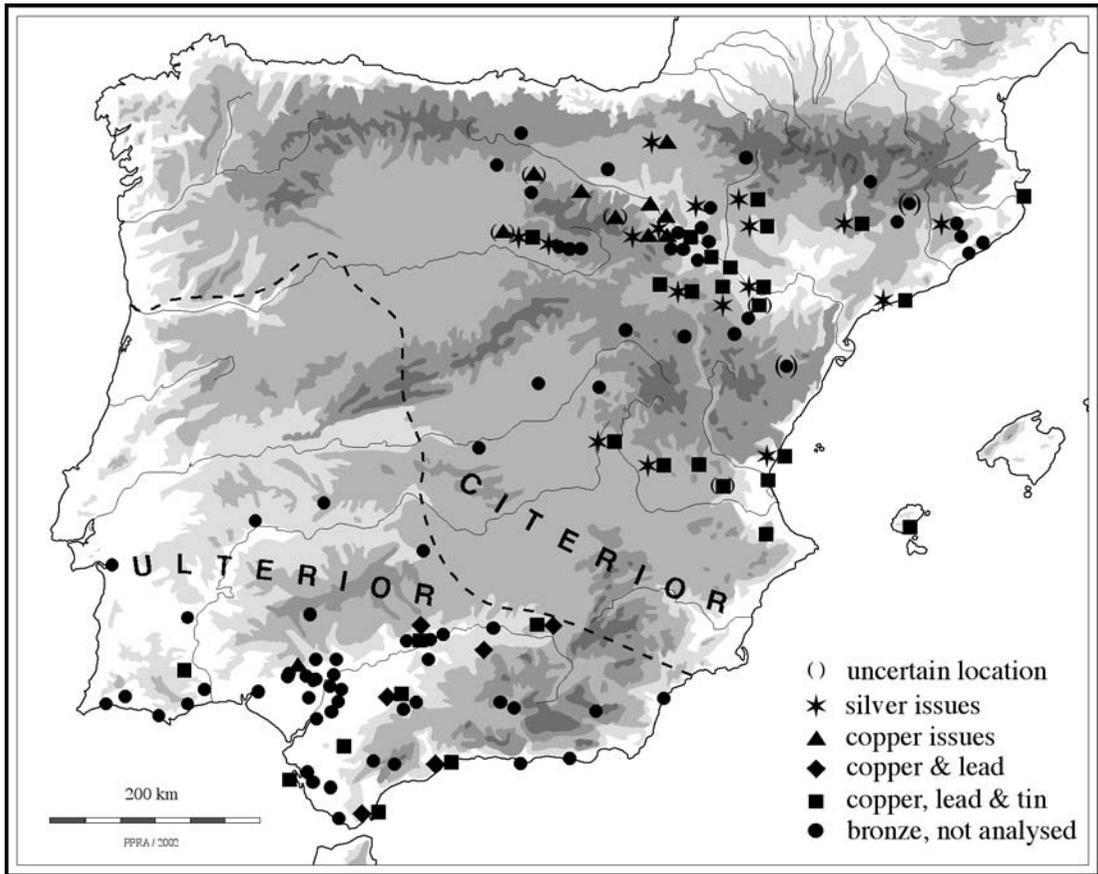
³⁰ Naco del Hoyo and Prieto (1999) 197 and 208; Howgego (1994) 17; Volk (1996) 111; Ripollès (2000) 338–40.

³¹ Llorens (1994); Domergue (1987) 362–405; Domergue (1990).

³² M. Lechuga Galindo (1986a) and (1986b) 437–67; Ripollès (1982) 434–6.

²⁵ Richardson (1986) 75–9.

²⁶ González (1990) 181–3.



Map 6.2. Mints and metals coined in Spain during the second first centuries BC

names of members of the civic elite. The coins themselves suggest that cities had wide powers over the coinage, as can be deduced from the fact that most cities chose specific types and maintained their own script (if they had one, and if they used it). This contrasts, for instance, with several issues minted in Turdetania, where Latin was used from the beginning.

The third level of authority which sometimes appears on coin legends is the magistrates, though often without any clear indication of the magistracy held. Legends started to record them only from the mid-second century BC, and later did so only gradually, sporadically, and in very few cities (see more *infra*, under the heading 'Personal Names and Magistracies').

Chronology

Discussions of the chronology of native coinages of Roman Spain have not been especially productive,

because they have started from excessively rigid schemes, and have not taken into account the way that native coinages started gradually throughout the second and first centuries BC. As some scholars³³ have pointed out, discussions have been focused almost obsessively on fixing the starting date of the silver issues, leaving aside the general chronological development. All this has led to great confusion, since sometimes a chronology has been derived from a hypothesis about function, without distinguishing either the number of mints that might have been working at the time or their volume of production, even according to the rarity or abundance of known coins.

The profile of Spanish coin production shows very few mints issuing silver denarii during the first half of the second century BC, and their output can be

³³ Volk (1996) 108–13; Ñaco del Hoyo and Prieto (1999) 197; Ripollès (2000) 335–7.

estimated as small from the economic point of view.³⁴ Only from the last third of the second century BC did they start to be significant, reaching their peak at dates around the Sertorian wars. During this period, cities stopped minting denarii, as can be seen from the fact that later hoards did not include types different from those found in hoards buried c.80–72 BC.

The picture for bronze seems quite similar. From the late third century or the beginning of the second century BC the first native bronze issues appeared; they increased gradually as the second century BC progressed, reaching their peak at the end of the second century and the beginning of the first century BC. Later, output decreased drastically until the second triumvirate, when the last important period of civic coinages started, coming to an end during the reign of Caligula or Claudius.

Metals

Apart from some issues of gold and electrum made by the Carthaginians³⁵ at the end of the third century BC, coinages from the Iberian Peninsula were struck in silver and bronze (Map 6.2). Gold was also struck by the Romans during Augustus' reign, if the traditional attribution to mints at Patricia and Caesar-augusta³⁶ is correct (and other attributions, such as somewhere in Gaul,³⁷ are also possible).

Issues of ternary alloyed bronze (copper, tin, and lead) were struck at cities located in both provinces following the trend of the Hellenistic period.³⁸ The only exceptions are the use of pure copper in some Celtiberian mints, and an alloy of copper and lead for some issues of Kelin, Castulo, Obulco, and Ikale(n)sken.³⁹

With regard to silver (the so-called 'Iberian denarius' had the weight of the Roman denarius), we find substantial variations between the two provinces. All silver coinages of the Roman period were struck in Citerior, this being one of the most noticeable differences between the two. The distribution of mints issuing silver coinages has led scholars to think

of the existence of a Roman administrative provision that allowed silver to be issued in Citerior but not in Ulterior. This surprising difference is one of the objections which must be addressed by those who believe that the creation and production of Iberian denarii were related to the payment of taxes. No satisfactory explanation for the absence of silver coinages from Ulterior has been found.

The Development of a Wide Range of Designs on Native Coinages

The designs are the element of the coinage that can best define the identity of their issuers and reveal the influences on them. Despite the high output of coins during the Barcid period in Spain,⁴⁰ and the fact that these Carthaginian coinages were well known to the native people of the south, they had only very little typological influence on native coinages. Their most characteristic designs, such as horses, palm trees, or elephants, did not reappear on Spanish coins.⁴¹ The same is true for Emporitan coinages, since, despite their important output, their wide and long period of circulation, and their imitation by several Iberian peoples, the Pegasus was used only on bronze fractions from the Ebro valley mints (Kelse, Belikio, Bolskan, Sesars, and Turiasu),⁴² apart from issues with the Iberian legend *untikesken*. But it is also interesting to point out that Roman types did not represent a significant source of inspiration for native coinages either, or at least not until the end of the second century or the beginning of the first century BC. This limited Roman influence can be explained partly by the autonomy enjoyed by the Spanish communities, but also by the lack of an imperial ideology that could be voiced through a visual language of standardized cultural symbols.⁴³

Iconographic models for native coinages must therefore be sought in Hellenistic designs, and were not always derived from coins. Moreover, from the point of view of their designs, Spanish coinages did not behave uniformly. There were significant divergences between the two provinces.

³⁴ Villaronga (1993) 65–9.

³⁵ CNH 66, nos. 20–4, and 67–8, nos. 29–34.

³⁶ RIC I² 26a–32, 50a and ff. ³⁷ RPC I, p. 9.

³⁸ Craddock, Burnett, and Preston (1980) 53–64.

³⁹ Ripollès and Abascal (1995) 131–55; the most recent analyses have been gathered by Bouyon, Depeyrot, and Desnier (2000) 110–30.

⁴⁰ Barceló (1988). ⁴¹ Chaves (1991) 45.

⁴² CNH 209, no. 6; 210, no. 7; 211, no. 5; 212, no. 9; 214, no. 6; 222, nos. 3–4; 265, no. 24; although without head in form of small crouching figure.

⁴³ Keay (2001) 129.

Types on coinages from Citerior are characterized by a certain uniformity, but it is by no means complete. Bronze units and denarii used mostly a male head on the obverse and a horseman with spear, palm, or other objects on the reverse (pl. 6.I, 4); bronze halves employed a horse or a Pegasus, and quarters a half Pegasus or sometimes a dolphin. The extensive use of the same designs, with minor changes, by numerous communities from Citerior, and the common use of the Iberian script, suggest the possibility of a degree of centralized coordination (though not of production). It could have come from the Roman administration, although it might perhaps seem surprising if it was the Romans who encouraged the development of specific native types and the use of Iberian script.⁴⁴ Bearing in mind that the male portrait and horseman types took time in spreading, that they were not chosen by all mints, and that they were first of all used by Kese and neighbouring cities, it is possible that, influenced by these cities, the natives or the Roman administration observed the convenience of having relatively standardized coins. A voluntary adoption seems more likely than a compulsory use of the male portrait and horseman types. Perhaps in many places the concept of coinage was strongly associated with the more common types. Anyway, uniformity is a feature that embraces a large number of mints in Citerior.⁴⁵

In marked contrast, in Ulterior there was a great variety of designs. In Phoenic-Punic cities the types reflect the continuance of Semitic cults, with their main divinities (Ba'al Hammon, Tanit, Melkart, Chusor, Eshmun), and animals and plants associated with them (pl. 6.I, 5).⁴⁶ On issues with Latin and southern Iberian script, the types included a wide variety of portraits (male, female, helmeted, laureate, diademed, bare) on the obverse, and animals (eagles, boars, tuna fish, river fish, horses with or without horseman, sphinxes), vegetables (ears of corn, pine cones, bunches of grapes, palms), and other objects (cornucopiae, altars, ships, stars, triskeles, lyres, and rudders) on the reverses (pl. 6.I, 6). These designs have been explained either as a reflection of the economic wealth of the mints or as symbols of a

divinity or a religious cult. Both interpretations may be compatible.

Legends

Coin legends are another element that allows us to discern the identity of the communities which struck them, although in the case of Roman Spain this has only a partial validity, since the script used did not always have a direct relation to the language of the minting community.

In the long term, Roman power in the Iberian Peninsula resulted in the replacement of different pre-Roman languages and scripts by Latin. Its privileged position as the language of conquerors and administrators tempted native elites into using it in order to integrate and maintain their privileged position. So they had a need to learn Latin in order to communicate with the Romans. This change of language and script naturally did not take place either regularly or uniformly.⁴⁷

Before Latin prevailed over native languages, a significant spread of indigenous epigraphy took place, not only on coinages but also on other sorts of artefacts.⁴⁸ The Romans indirectly favoured native languages by encouraging civic life, with which epigraphy was closely linked. It is easy to understand that the Roman presence was initially limited to a small number of people and that, although militarily dominant, they did not want either to interrupt the Spanish way of life or to interfere suddenly in the evolution of native society.

The scripts attested on the coinages of Roman Spain are varied. In some cases they reflect earlier cultural identities, in others they do not. Greek, Punic, and Neo-Punic were used in cities that had these origins. The eastern Iberian script was employed in the Iberian area, where it originated, and was borrowed to write the Celtiberian language (pl. 6.I, 4). This loan seems odd, since the first evidence of the use of writing among the Celtiberians was quite late, about the mid-second century BC, and they could have adapted the Latin script, which was more suitable for reproducing the phonetic chains of

⁴⁴ Burnett (2002c) 33–40.

⁴⁵ Almagro-Gorbea (1995) 53–73.

⁴⁶ Chaves and Marín Ceballos (1992) 167–94; García-Bellido (1992) 153–66; Chic García (2000) 145–56.

⁴⁷ García Bellido (1967) 10; Mariner (1989) 333–43; Panosa (1996) 217–46; Arasa (1994/5) 83–107.

⁴⁸ J. de Hoz (1999) 433–70; J. de Hoz (1995a) 68.

their language.⁴⁹ Untermann attributes the choice of eastern Iberian to the contacts with emporia located in Catalonia and Valencia, which could have driven the first experiments in the use of the Iberian script. The southern Iberian script was used in an area located to the south-east of the peninsula, in both Citerior and Ulterior. The Tartesian script, also called South Lusitanian, a much-discussed variety of language, is recorded only at Salacia. Finally, Latin was used in many Turdetanian cities from their first issues (pl. 6.I, 6); this rapid adoption, mainly used for place-names, can be explained by an ignorance of Iberian script. Untermann⁵⁰ suggests that Latin was employed in a restricted way, and for official purposes, and that this use does not prove that any substantial part of the population knew Latin at an early date. That is why he concludes that in this case, as happened with Celtiberian coinages, epigraphy did not reflect the spoken language in these communities.

Personal Names and Magistracies

Legends with personal names provide interesting information on the identity of civic elites, although the unofficial practice by native clients of using the names of their Roman patrons disguises this.⁵¹ The first names to appear on Spanish coins were natives and we do not know what sort of magistracy they held; nor is it possible to suggest any. When the magistracy is mentioned then some diversity can be observed, as is the case for colonies and stipendiary cities from the second century BC.

As has been proposed,⁵² it is possible that the mention of personal names on the legends should be understood, in the second century BC, as a reflection of Roman practice. Nevertheless, it is relevant to point out that at Arse (pl. 6.I, 8), before the Roman presence in Iberia, and on Iberian imitations of Emporion coinages, some personal names have been identified, and they may perhaps indicate some sort of control.⁵³ Native issues giving personal names were scarce, and most of them are dated quite late, at the end of the second century and first half of the first century BC. When they started to appear it was often

in association with the aedileship (e.g. Obulco, Acinipo, and Bailo),⁵⁴ so we may perhaps think that this magistracy was the one which native cities tended to adopt when they began to organize their institutions. In Saguntum, the aediles also appear on some issues, but only after the city had become a Latin colony,⁵⁵ in about the middle of the first century BC.

The evidence of some cities allows us to see something of the evolution of the use and the identity of magistracies recorded on coins, and the nature of personal names, in regard to their origin and linguistic features. At Arse-Saguntum,⁵⁶ at the end of the second century BC, the first individuals named on legends are natives with a *nomen unicum* (pl. 6.I, 7); afterwards there are personal names in Latin, with *duo nomina*; after c. 72 BC people with Iberian personal names are still recorded, and in the case of Latin names the cognomen is added to the onomastic formula; finally, from the end of the first century BC and until the reign of Tiberius, all had *tria nomina*. Although the general trend was towards the gradual Latinization of personal names, the sequence at Arse shows that this process took time, and that the responsibilities of city administration were managed by people with different types of personal names and probably varied origin.

Obulco is one of the Iberian cities that has an extensive list of personal names,⁵⁷ most of them being native names written in southern Iberian script (pl. 6.I, 9). The change from Iberian to the early use of Latin is reflected in the existence of pre-Roman personal names written in the Latin alphabet and in contemporary legends in both Latin and Iberian script. At the very end of the second century BC a few magistrates with Roman personal names are attested (*L. Aimil.* and *M. Iuni. aid.*, and *Nig.*).⁵⁸

Other cities that minted many coins with personal names were Untikesken and Castulo, but they did so to a lesser extent. At Untikesken only two pairs of magistrates are recorded (*iskerbeles* and *iltirarker*, and *atabels* and *tiberi*) on different issues⁵⁹ dated in the second half of the second century BC, but the city

⁵⁴ CNH 347–9, nos. 44–58; 393, no. 12; 124, no. 6.

⁵⁵ Ripollès and Velaza (2002) 285–91; Ripollès and Llorens (2002) 339–40.

⁵⁶ Velaza (2002) 134–44.

⁵⁷ Untermann (1975) 336–9; Arévalo (1993) 88–93.

⁵⁸ Arévalo (1993) 81.

⁵⁹ CNH 145, no. 28; 147, nos. 43 and 46; Untermann (1975) 170–1; the identification of *luki* (CNH 145, no. 28) as a personal name is far from certain, see Velaza (1998) 72.

⁴⁹ Untermann (1995b) 197–200. ⁵⁰ Untermann (1995a) 313–15.

⁵¹ Dyson (1980–1) 257–99. ⁵² Pena (2000) 98.

⁵³ J. de Hoz (1995b) 317–24; Velaza (2002) 134–6.

never again repeated the practice. The name *Tiberi* stands out not only because it is a Roman name, but because it is a *praenomen*, which was not frequent.⁶⁰ At Castulo, the earliest issues do not include any personal names⁶¹ and only from the first century BC do they begin to appear, but always in Latin script and, as in the case of Obulco, some of them are native names (pl. 6.1, 10).⁶²

Issues from the colonies give more information about personal names and magistracies, distinguishing them in this respect from native cities. From this point of view the most important was Carteia, founded in 171 BC, since we know about twenty nomina of Latin, Oscan, and unclassifiable origin. These reflect the variety of origins of its elite population.⁶³ Most exceptional, however, is the variety of magistracies attested on the legends. From c.125 BC to Tiberius' reign, *quaestores* (Q), *censores* (CES), *aediles* (AID/AED) (pl. 6.1, 11), and *quattuorviri* (IIIVIR) are recorded. Pena points out that we can find parallels for these magistracies in Italy, precisely in the places where the people who initially settled at Carteia came from; that is why she is persuaded that they are the highest magistracies of the city and not specific appointments for the control of the coinage.⁶⁴

The colony of Valentia, founded in 138 BC, also provides interesting data, although less extensive than at Carteia. Three issues were struck by three pairs of magistrates, identified as *quaestores* (Q). The personal names reveal important information on the provenance of the colony's civic elite, because their nomina (Lucienus, Munius, Numius, Coranius, Trinius, and Ahius) may be referred without doubt to Oscan, Campanian, and Samnite areas of Italy, reflecting the Italic origin of veterans settled in the colony by D. Iunius Brutus.⁶⁵

Cultural Assimilation in Progress

From the late second century and the beginning of the first century BC some signs of Roman influence were visible. But this concerned only a limited

number of native cities, such as Arse-Saguntum, Castulo, or Obulco, in which Latin started to be introduced for place or personal names, and designs were taken from Roman models. In most cities, located in both provinces and belonging to several cultural groups, very few variations occurred until the mid-first century BC, or even later, and then the changes seem to have happened quickly. The continuation of types and Iberian script on some issues during the first third of the first century BC has been connected with the Sertorian wars in which coinages were revitalized. The increase in issues of denarii in Citerior, mainly in the eastern part of the north Meseta and in the upper Ebro valley, showing the typical designs of this province, the male portrait and the horseman, has been attributed to Sertorius.

The consequences of the Sertorian war are difficult to assess, because the situation in later years is not well documented. A hiatus in issues has been proposed, especially for silver, which is very possible, but in the case of bronze it is not so evident. Some issues, such as the bilingual ones (from Kili, Saitabi (pl. 6.1, 12), Osicerda, or Kelse)⁶⁶ must be dated within the period from the end of the Sertorian war to the second triumvirate, and are a clear witness to the development of Latin in the native communities. Future studies will probably give more continuity to Spanish coin production and ascribe new issues to those years, although there is no doubt that there was a remarkable decrease compared with the Sertorian period, since the main purpose of minting had disappeared: namely the financing of the army. However, we should not presume that, even with this decrease in output, Spanish cities suffered a shortage of coins, because demand could have been satisfied by the coinage already in circulation.

Coinage as a Reflection of the Legal Promotion of Cities (44 BC–AD 54)

An important stage in the evolution of native customs and habits started from the mid-first century BC. During this period urbanization was encouraged by the creation of colonies and municipia, because this model was the best adapted to the administrative

⁶⁰ Pena (2000) 98; nevertheless Velaza (1998) 72 is not confident about this possibility. ⁶¹ García-Bellido (1982).

⁶² CNH 332, 338–9, nos. 14, 57, and 70; Untermann (1995a) 311.

⁶³ Hernández Fernández (1994) 83–109; Pena (2000) 99–100.

⁶⁴ Pena (2000) 100–1.

⁶⁵ Ripollès (1988) 13–21 and (2002) 335–48; Pena (2002) 267–78.

⁶⁶ CNH 184, nos. 1–2; 224, no. 17; 316, no. 15; 318, no. 3.

needs of the authorities.⁶⁷ Recent research puts back by some years the foundation of the first colonies in the late Republican period; thus Carthago Nova⁶⁸ and Saguntum⁶⁹ are dated to about mid-first century BC, and were probably founded by Pompey. These foundations, and those made by Caesar and Augustus, enabled the native aristocracy to obtain Roman citizenship, and brought about important changes in the political geography of Roman Spain and in the citizens' lives.

The promotion of native cities was made possible by the demands of Spanish society itself, which throughout the first century BC had been incorporating Roman characteristics. A part of native society had adopted Latin, and there was a drastic fall in the number of non-Roman or bilingual epigraphic finds.⁷⁰ A variety of evidence illustrates this development. In the year 74 BC, Metellus surrounded himself in Corduba with local poets⁷¹ and, in the year 87 BC, the Senate of Contrebia drafted and engraved a legal document in Latin in which water litigation between Saltaie and Alaun was settled.⁷² An uncertain number of natives had obtained Roman citizenship *virtutis causa*, as was the case of the Turma Salluitana in 89 BC.⁷³ With regard to other fields, the consumption of wine had become general, and Italian fine tableware was in widespread use. Italian building techniques and architectural models had been introduced (temples from Caravaca and Cerro de los Santos).⁷⁴ We find *domus* following Hellenistic models with peristyle and floors made with *opus signinum* (e.g. La Caridad, Andelos, and Saltaie)⁷⁵ and baths (Azaila, Arcobriga, Ca l'Arnau, and Valentia).⁷⁶ Italian and Roman settlers who lived integrated with natives probably also contributed to the claim for legal promotion to municipal status.

The legal promotion of native cities brought about important external changes. One of the most visible was the complete Latinization of place-names, to the extent that this process adhered strictly to the

grammatical rules of Latin, as in the paradigmatic case of Iltirta/Ilerda.⁷⁷ But other aspects such as urbanism, personal names, magistracies, and coin designs were also involved.

The foundation of colonies was also an event that contributed to the spread of the distinguishing features of Italo-Roman identity, as could obviously be expected from the origin of the new settlers. In addition, it explains the extinction of native cultural features of a public nature in those colonies established in indigenous towns, as was the case at Tarraco and Ilici. In spite of the fact that the Italo-Roman population that settled in Spain during the late Republic was limited in number,⁷⁸ it had a qualitative importance because, along with the native elites, its members occupied the main positions of authority in the cities.

From Augustus' reign a remarkable effervescence took place in the cities⁷⁹ of Roman Spain. The emulation of the Roman way of life in a provincial context saw a gradual transformation of urban centres, especially in cities recently promoted or founded *ex novo*. The colonies and *municipia* started to be endowed from an early date with the basic buildings that defined the Roman city. Some examples⁸⁰ offer an idea of the importance of this. In the forum complex of Bilbilis, the temple and the square were in service towards AD 28. In Tarraco, the forum and the theatre were erected in Augustus' reign and under Tiberius another temple was built. In Emerita, a forum complex, an amphitheatre, and a theatre were built. In Conimbriga, the forum was designed in Augustus' time. In Segobriga the forum was built during Augustus' reign.⁸¹ Many other important buildings are dated within the Julio-Claudian period.

The provincial elites played an important role in the transformation of Spanish cities, especially the *municipia*,⁸² because they not only reproduced the Roman town-planning pattern, but also embodied the ideas and external traits of the Roman way of life. The effect of these transformations was important for

⁶⁷ Abascal and Espinosa (1989) 29–41; Keay (1995b) 41.

⁶⁸ Abascal (2002) 32. ⁶⁹ Ripollès and Velaza (2002) 285–91.

⁷⁰ J. de Hoz (1995a) 68; Untermann (1999) 349–57.

⁷¹ Cicero, *pro Arch.* 26. ⁷² Fatás (1980); Richardson (1983) 33–41.

⁷³ *CIL* VI, 37045; Criniti (1970).

⁷⁴ Ramallo (1992) 39–65; Chapa (1984) 109–20; Ruano (1988) 253–73.

⁷⁵ Vicente Redón *et al.* (1991) 81–129; Galve Izquierdo (1996); Mezquíriz (1992) 347–9.

⁷⁶ Beltrán Lloris (1976) 147–50; Beltrán, Mostalac, and Lasheras (1987); Martín (2000) 157–62; Ribera (2002) 307–11.

⁷⁷ Untermann (1995a) 307.

⁷⁸ Tsirkin (1993) 311, it is estimated that it could amount to 10%.

⁷⁹ MacMullen (2000); Le Roux (1995).

⁸⁰ Trillmich and Zanker (1990); Bendala (1993); Keay (1995a) 305–22; Jiménez Salvador (1998) 11–30.

⁸¹ This information has been kindly given by J. M. Abascal.

⁸² Abascal and Espinosa (1989) 40–2. A complete discussion about this topic in Alföldy (1987).

the development of the social and political cohesion of the Spanish native people.⁸³ But there were still areas that shared little in this process because colonization and municipalization affected the Spanish territory in different ways, being more intense in Baetica and the eastern part of Citerior. The extent of this process is clearly shown in the large number of *res publicae* established, as Caesar and Augustus created a minimum of twenty-three colonies and granted the status of municipium to seventy-seven native cities.⁸⁴

Therefore, from the last third of the first century BC, the disappearance of native cultural elements of a public nature in privileged cities became almost total. This is confirmed by the way that many different aspects of native Spanish life (pottery, language, script, ...) become extremely scarce. In this context, Roman iconography and Roman symbols clearly dominated the civic coinages,⁸⁵ while the differences between colonies and municipia were rather tenuous.

The Greater Information Given in the Legends of Roman Provincial Coinages

One of the most important changes to affect provincial coinages during the imperial period was the increase in information in their legends. From this period on they tended to have more words, generally abbreviated.⁸⁶ Once again, Roman coins inspired the pattern.

The language and script of coin legends everywhere was Latin, except at Abdera (pl. 6.1, 13) and Ebusus, where the place-name is shown bilingually, in Latin and Punic, and Saguntum with a rare issue in Greek.⁸⁷ The disappearance of native and foreign languages and scripts did not imply more than the loss of their official role within a gradual process of Latinization. It did not, of course, mean the complete extinction of these languages, since a part of the population continued to use them during the imperial period, as is confirmed by pottery and stone

inscriptions.⁸⁸ They show that the process of Latinization was slower than official uses lead one to believe.

In the triumviral period there was no established model for the placing and nature of the information given on coins; the place-name could appear on the obverse (pl. 6.2, 16) or on the reverse. The general appearance of the emperors' portraits on the obverse with a legend to identify them (with name and titles) drove the particular information chosen by each city onto the reverse: mainly the place-name and sometimes the names of the magistrates that controlled the issue.

The name of the issuing city was normally accompanied by a reference to its current legal status (colony: C, COL; municipium: MVN, MVNICIP). One of the reasons why legends are so important is that they give indications about communal status and help to define the date at which legal charters were granted.

Some legends give information of great significance for the identity of the civic elite that held the magistracies, although this was restricted to Tarracensis, where it was a distinctive feature. On Baetican and Lusitanian issues personal names were never mentioned (except for an issue⁸⁹ of Carteia that records an honorific quattuorvirate of Drusus and Germanicus). The most frequent magistracy on Roman provincial coinages of Roman Spain was the duumvirate (pl. 6.2, 17–18), although sometimes the aediles (pl. 6.1, 14), *quinquennales*, and *praefecti* were also recorded. The fact that *duumviri* minted all denominations from sestertii to quadrantes and that aediles struck only fractions (semisses and quadrantes) symbolizes the fact that the duumvirate was more important than the aedileship. The individual names of magistrates were given in very different ways; depending on the space available and the degree of abbreviation, we find them named with the abbreviated *tria nomina*, with cognomen only, or with praenomen and nomen/cognomen.

The legends occasionally give information about the designs. Normally they label people, divinities, personifications, or monuments, and so help with the identification of some of the figures which appear

⁸³ Untermann (1995a) 315; Keay (2001) 131–7.

⁸⁴ Galsterer (1971); Bonneville *et al.* (1982) 11–23.

⁸⁵ Ripollès (1998) 375–82. ⁸⁶ Burnett (2002c) 33–40.

⁸⁷ Ripollès and Llorens (2002) 478, nos. 412–15.

⁸⁸ Siles (1981) 97–113; Martínez Valle (1993) 247–51; Mayer and Velaza (1996) 107–10; Velaza (2000) 131–4. ⁸⁹ RPC I, 123.

(e.g. *Iulia Augusta* in Emerita, Italica, Romula (pl. 6.2, 15), and *Caesaraugusta*)⁹⁰ and with the meaning and purpose of monuments (e.g. the temple dedicated to *Aeternitas Augusta* in Emerita and in Tarraco).⁹¹

The Copying of Roman Imperial Issues on Provincial Coinages

The types and messages transmitted by the Spanish provincial coinages were a clear reflection of the new imperial ideology conceived for legitimizing the monarchy of Augustus and his successors.⁹² Elites from chartered cities used them with the purpose of proclaiming their loyalty to the emperor and to the Roman state. Thus provincial elites displayed and secured their *Romanitas*, and raised their personal status within their community and in regard to the Roman administration.⁹³

Both colonial and municipal issues developed like those of Rome, since they adopted the imperial pattern of coinage. As far as the obverse is concerned, the battle of Actium was a turning point. Before Actium, the obverse of coinages from chartered cities showed divinities or personifications, such as Mars (pl. 6.2, 16), Victory, the Sun, or Minerva. After Actium, the emperor's portrait and at times those of the imperial family were mainly used, following the model of how Hellenistic rulers had represented their power.⁹⁴ In this way, as with Roman imperial cities elsewhere, the emperor's portrait became one of the most characteristic symbols marking the transformation from Republic to the Empire.

The imperial portrait on obverses is the element that allows us to appreciate the unity of the Roman world most clearly and widely, since it was voluntarily chosen for the obverse of most of the Roman provincial coinages.⁹⁵ The date when the portrait was introduced on Roman provincial coinages of Spain is uncertain for most mints. Only a few portraits can be dated with certainty before 20 BC (*Moneta Castrensis* and P. Carisius, both imperial coinages).⁹⁶ Other possible early portraits have been attributed to the

twenties BC on the basis of the lack of a relevant legend, or of a laurel wreath, but their dates are uncertain (pl. 6.2, 18). In Spain, unlike Rome, once the emperor's portrait was introduced, it was employed for denominations down to the as.

Almost all cities of Roman Spain minted with imperial portraits on the obverse, except for Emporiae, Carteia, and some issues of Saguntum, Carthago Nova, and Gades. These exceptions had parallels in other provinces. In the case of Roman Spain, Emporiae was a municipium and Carteia a colony, which proves that the adoption of Augustus' portrait was voluntary, because if any directive to use it had existed then these exceptions would hardly be explicable. The emperor's laureate portrait was the most common obverse on imperial Spanish coinages. Only in very exceptional cases was the imperial portrait accompanied by some symbol, in front or behind it, as was the case with the *lituus* and *simpulum* (*Caesaraugusta*)⁹⁷ or the star and thunderbolt with *Diuus Augustus*' portrait (Emerita, Italica, and Romula)⁹⁸ (pl. 6.2, 15).

Members of the imperial family were also portrayed on the obverse, but only sporadically. In this way, the cities expressed a vivid interest in them. In these cases coins were not much different from the honorific inscriptions dedicated by the cities to the emperor and their relatives, especially his heirs.⁹⁹

The widespread use of the emperor's portrait on the obverse meant that the designs on the reverses were generally restricted to ones with a local meaning. The variety of designs on the provincial reverses is a function of the great diversity of cities in the Roman empire, since it was they who decided which designs were to be engraved on their reverse dies. On Roman provincial coinages minted in Spain we now find a wider choice of types than in the preceding period, especially in Citerior. As Burnett¹⁰⁰ pointed out, cities copied the steady change visible on Roman imperial coinages, since previous native coinages used to continue the same types without any substantial modification throughout several issues. This diversity of reverse designs, together with the legends, has

⁹⁰ RPC I, 39, 66–7, 73, 341.

⁹¹ RPC I, 29, 47–8 and RPC I, 219, 222, 224, 226.

⁹² Zanker (1988); Keay (2001) 133. ⁹³ Keay (2001) 134.

⁹⁴ Walker and Burnett (1981). ⁹⁵ RPC I, pp. 39–40.

⁹⁶ *Moneta castrensis*: RPC I, 1–4; P. Carisius coinages: *RIC* I², 1–25.

⁹⁷ RPC I, 322.

⁹⁸ RPC I, 21–2 (Emerita), 66–7 (Italica), 73 (Romula).

⁹⁹ Wallace-Hadrill (1986) 73. ¹⁰⁰ Burnett (2002c) 33–40.

made it possible to obtain useful information about a city's origin and its social and religious life.

Thus the designs on imperial civic coinages were fairly 'Roman' since most of them had their origin in chartered cities, both municipia and colonies. Nevertheless, the origin of the population of each city, defined by their legal status (municipium: native Romanized people; colony: foreign people, army veterans, and some others, settled in new or existing towns), explains the continuation of some native types in municipia and the use of designs with a wholly Roman symbolism in the colonies.

The Continuation of Traditional Designs at Some Municipia

Although designs in colonies and municipia were broadly similar, some municipia struck coins with particular designs that refer to their native past, although most were dropped during Tiberius' reign. The Iberian horseman, commonly used for silver and bronze units in Citerior, was continued on some issues from the municipia of Bilbilis,¹⁰¹ Osca,¹⁰² and Segobriga (pl. 6.2, 19)¹⁰³ (also in Segovia,¹⁰⁴ a peregrine city), proving that they still had a link with their native roots. Emporiae is another city in which coinages allow us to glimpse a Greek and Iberian past; the Latinized Greek place-name (EMPORIAE) emphasizes the municipium's connection with the former Phocaean colony, and the designs (helmeted female head and Pegasus) are reminiscent of the Greek and Iberian community (pl. 6.2, 20). The same can be said of Arse, Ebusus, Gades, and Abdera, since they continued to employ the iconography of previous issues. But these are rare exceptions, and the most usual types were bulls and wreaths.

Designs related to religion were scarce in municipia, leaving aside those connected to the imperial cult. Although religion has been thought very important in the process of Romanization, in fact it became important only later.¹⁰⁵

Romanitas in Colonies

By contrast, colonies chose reverse types which were Roman and had nothing to do with native iconography, as was to be expected. Sometimes they alluded to the origin of the people settled there, by means of the legionary *signa* (*aquilae*, *vexilla*, and *signa* in Acci (pl. 6.2, 21), Carthago Nova, Ilici, Emerita, and Patricia¹⁰⁶). In three mints, army *signa* give the number of the legions from which their veterans were drawn (Caesaraugusta: IV, VI, and X; Emerita: V and X; Acci: I and II).¹⁰⁷

Other designs alluded to the Roman religious ritual of founding a new city. We find the priest, who *capite velato* used a yoke of oxen to plough the *sulcus primigenius* around the area that would form the city, as can be seen at Emerita or Caesaraugusta.

Symbols of Roman religion were also fairly specific to colonies, such as the *apex*, *simpulum*, *patera*, *lituus*, and other designs related to the imperial cult and dynastic themes (pl. 6.2, 22). Notable examples are altars (pl. 6.2, 23) and temples, which sometimes may have been imaginary; at other times it is possible to believe they existed.¹⁰⁸ These types were mostly inspired by Roman issues, and they presumably referred to the same religious rituals, or transmitted similar ideas.

Members of the imperial family sometimes appear on coins. On issues of Augustus and Tiberius all the heirs to the imperial throne were shown. Their choice was influenced by the appearance of dynastic themes on imperial issues; some of them were copied even to the smallest detail (e.g. the bronze fractions of Tarraco which copy the aurei and denarii of Gaius and Lucius from Lugdunum). Wallace-Hadrill¹⁰⁹ has pointed out that cities were also dedicating inscriptions to the imperial family, and that portraits on civic coinages were simply another way of honouring them.

¹⁰⁶ The municipium of Italica also chose *signa*, but A. T. Fear has proposed the existence of an army settlement at the beginning of the Empire (Fear 1991: 213–15).

¹⁰⁷ RPC I, 319, 325–6, 346 (Caesaraugusta), 14–18, 37, 49 (Emerita), 133–5, 139, 143–4 (Acci).

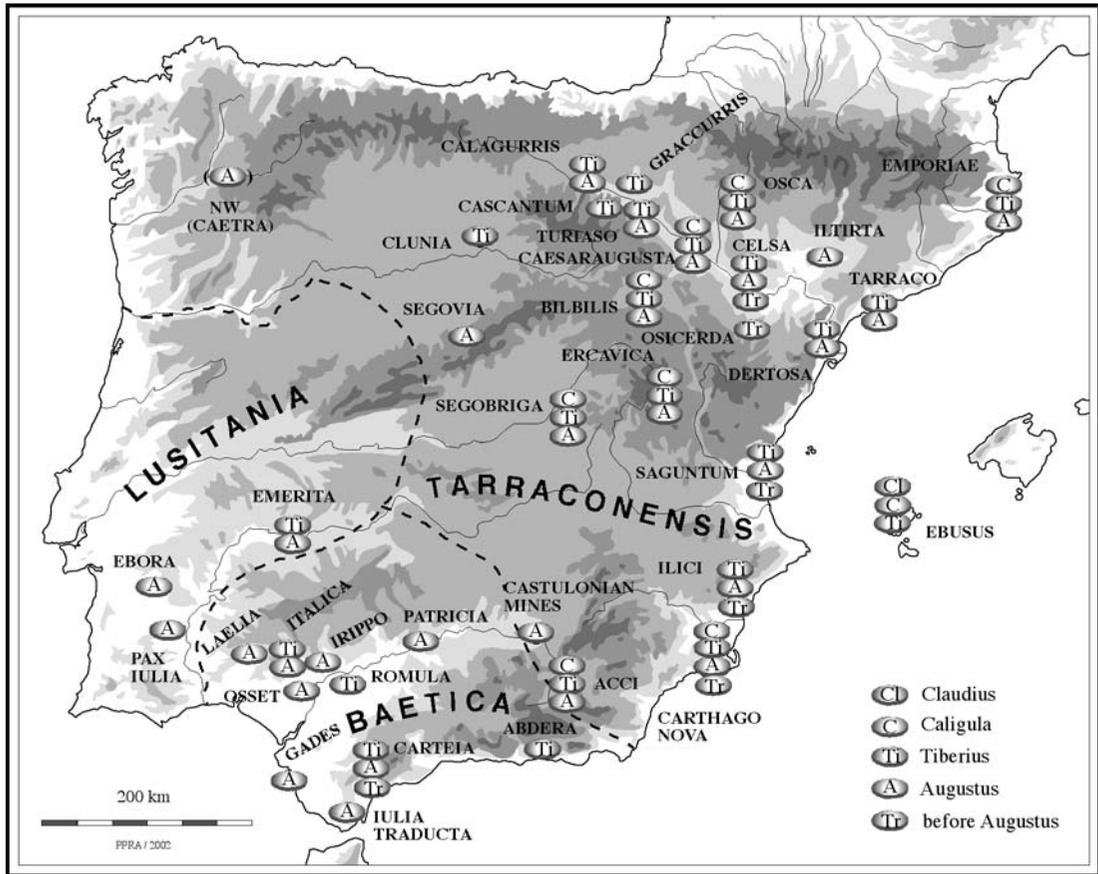
¹⁰⁸ Escudero (1981) 153–203; Fishwick (1984) 263–70; Mierse (1993) 37–57; Chaves *et al.* (2000) 287–317. ¹⁰⁹ Wallace-Hadrill (1986) 73.

¹⁰¹ RPC I, 387–91.

¹⁰² RPC I, 281, 283–5, 287, 289, 291, 295–7, 300–2.

¹⁰³ RPC I, 470, 472. ¹⁰⁴ RPC I, 478.

¹⁰⁵ Étienne (1958); Fishwick (1987 and 2002); Mayer (1993); Keay (1995b)



Map 6.3. Roman provincial coinages of Spain (from c.44 BC)

Types Used by Both Colonies and Municipia

Although it is possible to see a stronger Roman emphasis on the coinages of colonies than of municipia, both sorts of cities frequently used other designs derived from imperial issues, such as the wreath offered to Augustus by the Senate¹¹⁰ in gratitude for protection given to the citizens (*ob cives servatos*). The wreath was used on local imperial coinages, even on Tiberius' issues (pl. 6.2, 24), in spite of his refusal of the honour reported by Suetonius.¹¹¹

The typology of civic coinages differed from Roman imperial issues in that there are few references to historical events. There are rare exceptions, although they are difficult to identify. It does not seem that the civic coinages of the Roman provinces

of Spain made any reference to the battle of Actium. The trophies shown at Carthago Nova on reverses minted by L. Bennius and Q. Varius Hiberus, *praefecti* of Augustus and Agrippa, may have referred to the Cantabrian war.¹¹² In this context, the issue from Bilbilis in the name of Tiberius and Seianus stands out, because, uniquely in the whole Empire, it recorded their joint consulship held in AD 31.¹¹³

The bull was one of the most characteristic types on provincial coinages from Tarraconensis. It was shown standing or walking (running in Lepida) and with or without a pediment on its horns. This feature, also known on Republican coins¹¹⁴ and on Roman reliefs (e.g. *Ara Pietatis*, Boscoreale cup), can be identified with a gold yoke in which, according to some representations, bulls were being, or were about to be, sacrificed,¹¹⁵ thereby connecting the

¹¹⁰ Res. Ges. Diu. Aug. 34. 2.

¹¹¹ Tiberius 26.

¹¹² RPC I, 162–4.

¹¹³ RPC I, 398.

¹¹⁴ RRC I, 455/4.

¹¹⁵ Ryberg (1955) 67 ff.

bulls on the Spanish reverses with bulls prepared for sacrifice. The appearance of a triangular ornament on some bulls (Caesaraugusta (pl. 6.2, 25), Graccurreis, Ercavica, and Tarraco)¹¹⁶ makes one think that most of the reverses with a bull standing without pediment may also have had a religious meaning. It is difficult to explain why this type enjoyed such wide acceptance in the Tarraconensis. Nevertheless, part of Spanish native society used the bull as a coin type and as a sculptural motif, although the area in which it was most frequently used during the imperial period was not where it had been most represented previously.

The End of Coinage in Spain

The Roman provincial coinages of Spain were minted during a short period. Most of the cities started production during Augustus' reign, when they received a legal statute, and finished with Claudius, under whom Ebusus struck two small issues (Map 6.3).¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ *RPC I*, 327–8, 333–7, 367 (Caesaraugusta), 429 (Graccurreis), 462, 465–6 (Ercavica), and 231 (Tarraco).

¹¹⁷ *RPC I*, 482 and 482A.

Henceforth, all the new coinages used in Spanish provincial cities would come from imperial mints, thus removing a medium for differentiating between different identities.

The end of minting must be assessed in the wider context of the whole western part of the Empire, since the pattern in the Roman provinces of Spain was part of a more general trend towards the progressive replacement of bronze provincial coinages by those minted in imperial mints.¹¹⁸

The precise time when civic mints in Roman Spain closed is open to discussion. The last issues in the Iberian Peninsula were struck during Caligula's reign, but, bearing in mind that their rhythm of production was intermittent and that we do not have precise dates, it is difficult to be sure whether closure took place during the reign of Caligula or of Claudius. The fact that Ebusus was still minting during Claudius' reign suggests the possibility that it was with this emperor that the Roman provincial coinages of Spain formally ended.

¹¹⁸ *RPC I*, pp. 18–19; see Burnett, Chapter 16 below.

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7

‘BELONGING’ TO ROME, ‘REMAINING’ GREEK: COINAGE AND IDENTITY IN ROMAN MACEDONIA

Sophia Kremydi-Sicilianou

DURING A PERIOD WHEN THE WESTERN world, and especially Europe, has been undergoing radical changes, the concept and definition of ‘identity’ has naturally attracted the interest of sociologists, historians, and political scientists alike. This tendency has influenced classical studies and the way we approach ancient civilizations. Archaeologists, for example, tend to become more cautious concerning the connection between material civilization and ethnic identity, and the ‘objectivity’ of the available evidence, whether literary or material, is now often scrutinized.¹ One of the main interests—but also difficulties—of this perspective is that it requires interdisciplinary research:² in order to understand how private individuals, or social groups, perceived ‘themselves’, in other words what they considered as crucial for differentiating themselves from ‘others’, one cannot rely on partial evidence. Can, for example, the adoption of Roman names by members of the provincial elite be conceived as an adoption of Roman cultural identity? Other literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence clearly shows that this was not the case.³

The Roman empire was a state that incorporated many ethnic groups, with different political institutions and various religious beliefs. In this sense it is natural that contemporary studies on cultural identity have, to a large extent, concentrated on the imperial period. And a good many of them are dedicated to the interpretation of literary texts. The contribution of coinage to the understanding of identity under the Roman empire is what this book is about, and Howgego has set the general framework in his introduction. Before trying to explore what coins can contribute to our understanding of the civic identity of Macedonian cities, it is crucial to bear in mind the restrictions imposed by the nature of our material. It is clear that coin types represent deliberate choices made by certain individuals who possessed the authority to act in the name of the civic community they represented. Whose identity therefore do these coins reflect? Under the late Republic and the imperial period provincial cities possessed a restricted autonomy but were always subjected to Roman political authority. Their obligations towards Rome or their special privileges could vary according to the emperor’s will. The ruling elite who governed these cities, therefore, were not only keen on keeping good relations with Roman authorities but often competed against each other in their honours to the imperial

¹ Jones (1997: 106–27); Woolf (1998 125–30).

² Laurence (1998) stresses the importance of collaboration between historians and archaeologists in order to define cultural identity within the Roman empire.

³ Rizakis (forthcoming).

family. It is evident that under these circumstances anything proclaimed by civic issues was chosen with the intention of pleasing or, at least, of not opposing Rome. A very obvious example derives from choices made concerning religious issues. Although coins constitute an especially valuable source in the study of local cults, only 'officially' accepted cults were ever depicted; should coins be our only source we would be totally ignorant, for example, of the rising importance of Christianity under the early Empire, or even of the presence of Jewish communities in many provincial cities of the Roman East.⁴

In 148 BC, twenty years after the defeat of Perseus and the abolition of the monarchy, Macedonia was turned into a large border province.⁵ After the separation from Achaëa, Moesia, and Thrace under the early Empire, Macedonia was limited to its historical borders, as established by Philip II, with the inclusion of Illyria.⁶ These two parts preserved their distinct ethnic and cultural identity, and it is worth noting that both the Macedonian Koinon and the Macedonian era are attested only in Macedonia proper.⁷ Given this diversity and since coin evidence for Illyria is limited to a few issues of the city of Apollonia,⁸ we have decided to concentrate in this paper on the territory of Macedonia, rather than on the province as a whole.

'Belonging' to Rome: Elements of Integration into the Empire

Provincial cities were communities of variable size and importance, which, at least in the East, had existed long before the Romans arrived. Local institutions, cults, traditions, and languages persisted and continued to generate emblems of civic identity under Roman rule. They characterized cities or regions and distinguished them from others. But all these communities, with their differences and similarities, were

⁴ On this issue see Goodman, Chapter 14 below. For Jewish communities in Macedonia see: Tataki (1988: 454–5); Brocke (2001: 214–33); Koukouvou (1999).

⁵ On the formation of the province: Papazoglou (1979: 302–8).

⁶ On the borders of the province of Macedonia: Papazoglou (1979: 328–38) and (1988: 74–98).

⁷ Papazoglou (1998) summarizes all previous discussion on the subject.

⁸ RPC I: 1501, 1502. On the late Hellenistic coinage of Apollonia: Gjongecaj and Picard (1998) and *idem* (2000). On the absence of a coinage for Dyrrhachium: RPC I, p. 289.

still dependent on, and belonged to, a much larger unity, the Roman state. This double 'belonging' to a local community and to the dominant Roman state formed an essential characteristic of civic identity, which can be traced through many aspects of material culture, not least through coinage. Coins illustrate very vividly the cities' official attitude towards Roman political authority; our research has shown that in Macedonia this differed substantially between Greek cities and Roman colonies, at least under the early Empire. Coins can also contribute to our understanding of whether and to what extent colonists retained their own cultural identity or were assimilated into their new cultural environment; apparently this could vary according to the individual conditions. The relationship between the rulers and the ruled clearly affected both sides and led to a fusion of Roman and local cultures to such an extent that it becomes increasingly difficult to draw a dividing line between them. In practice, elements of Roman and Greek (or other local) identity could coexist within an individual, a city, or even a cult. In this paper we shall attempt to use coin evidence as a medium for defining identity from this perspective.

Roman Denominations and Regional Identity

Before turning to iconography, it might perhaps be appropriate to examine the denominational system of Macedonian coins. This aspect can also contribute to defining identity, since it embraces a deliberate choice on the part of the issuing authority as to which denominational system to follow. Certainly such choices were mostly imposed by practical considerations, such as what denominations were traditional in the region, but differences in the monetary pattern can also be seen as expressions of regional identity. Since the minting of gold was restricted to Roman imperial issues, it is the local bronze⁹ and silver which requires consideration. Provincial issues consisted mainly of bronze coins, which circulated locally. Nevertheless, in certain provinces, silver issues continued to be produced, sometimes down to the third century; these followed local denominations although

⁹ The term has been used generally since the distinction between different alloys such as orichalcum, copper, and brass did not have the same importance for distinguishing between denominations on provincial coinage as it had on Roman.

they had to be exchangeable with Roman denarii. The survival of local silver denominations in the provinces of Asia, Syria, and Egypt was accompanied by the survival of Greek denominations for the bronze.

In mainland Greece the minting of local silver was exceptionally rare. Apart from a small second-century issue on an uncertain standard from Nikopolis,¹⁰ no other silver coins have survived. The use of local denominations (obols) for the bronze is attested at Thessaly under Augustus,¹¹ at Aegion in the Peloponnese,¹² and, probably, at Athens.¹³ No such evidence exists for Macedonia. Hoard evidence and site finds indicate that the only silver currency that circulated in this province was issued in Rome,¹⁴ and epigraphic evidence attests the exclusive use of denarii and assaria.¹⁵ The conclusion, therefore, that Macedonian bronze issues followed the Roman denominational system, from the period of the Triumviri, seems inescapable. Furthermore, these coins were larger and heavier than those produced in both Achaea and Asia Minor and resembled more closely the Roman as. This led the authors of *RPC I* to the conclusion that ‘Macedonia looks to Italy, whereas Achaea looks east.’¹⁶ It is interesting to note that the coins of the colony of Philippi, according to all evidence the most ‘Roman’ city in the region, were the largest and heaviest of all.

Perception of Roman Political Authority: ‘Greek’ and ‘Colonial’ Perspectives

In Roman times it was believed that the Greeks had deified Macedonian kings even before the time of Alexander the Great. Aelius Aristides states that when Philip withdrew his garrisons from the city, the Amphipolitans ‘sacrificed to him as a god’ and the same author mentions that ‘the temple of his father (Amyntas)’ was erected at Pydna.¹⁷ It is not evident that the Greeks of the fourth century BC shared Aristides’ perception and it is debatable whether the

Macedonians themselves had adopted this attitude.¹⁸ But by Hellenistic times the cult of the *hegemones* had spread throughout the Greek East and was a common aspect of civic identity. Despite the substitution of their political authority by the Romans, civic communities continued to honour their rulers in a similar way. As early as the second century BC the Roman state was honoured through the worship of Roma, often combined with that of the *Romaioi euergetai*.

The cult of Roma offers an excellent paradigm of how the Greeks perceived Roman authority. Her deification was a Greek invention that derived from Hellenistic ruler cult.¹⁹ In Macedonia her worship was probably introduced after the defeat of Perseus in 168 BC²⁰ and flourished until at least the second century AD. Epigraphic evidence is spread all over the province; from Eordaia in western Macedonia,²¹ Thessalonike,²² and Kalindoia in the Chalkidike,²³ as well as from Maroneia²⁴ and Abdera²⁵ which were incorporated into the province of Thrace, we find inscriptions naming her cult. She was always worshipped together with other deities such as Zeus Eleutherios, Zeus and Augustus or the *Romaioi euergetai*.

Numismatic evidence completes the picture: the image of Roma was first introduced on Hellenistic issues of Amphipolis, Thessalonike, Pella (pl. 7.1, 1), and the Macedonian Koinon, and persisted under the Empire on coins of Thessalonike, Amphipolis, and Edessa. She is depicted standing in military dress at both Thessalonike²⁶ (pl. 7.1, 2) and Amphipolis,²⁷

¹⁸ For discussion and relevant bibliography: Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1989: 47–8); Hammond (1994: 182–5).

¹⁹ For the cult of Roma, its origin and diffusion see: Mellor (1975); Mellor (1981); and Fayer (1976).

²⁰ Edson (1940: 133–5) proposed a date of 148 BC for the introduction of the cult based on numismatic evidence and following Gaebler’s chronology. This was revised by MacKay (1968), also accepted by Mellor (1981: 962).

²¹ Rizakis and Touratsoglou (1985: no. 93): second-century BC inscription from Petres in Eordaia.

²² *IG X: 2.1*, no. 31 (under Augustus); *IG X: 2.1*, no. 32 (first century AD); *IG X: 2.1*, nos. 133 and 226 (second century AD).

²³ Sismanides (1983) for the first edition. *BullÉpig.* 1987: 688; *SEG 35* (1985): 744, with text. On this decree see also Koonce (1988) and Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1992: 77–80).

²⁴ *SEG 24* (1969: no. 636).

²⁵ Avezou and Picard (1913: 138–40).

²⁶ *RPC I: 1602* (under Nero).

²⁷ *AMNG 3.2: 39–40*, nos. 61, 62, 70. The figure on the obverse of no. 70 is Roma and not Augustus, as described by Gaebler. These are all issues of uncertain date since they do not bear a portrait. No. 70 is possibly second-century, while nos. 61 and 62 are probably third-century issues.

¹⁰ Oeconomidou (1975: 93–4).

¹¹ Helly (1997).

¹² Kroll (1996).

¹³ Kroll (1993: 89–91, 330–1) revised in Kroll (1997b).

¹⁴ Touratsoglou (1993: tables 2a, 2b). A recent find of denarii buried in 42 BC has been published by Adam-Veleni (2000).

¹⁵ The term *δηράριον* is very common in Macedonian inscriptions. For *ἀσσάριον* see: CRAI (1939: 221–30) for Derriopos, and Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos (1998: 101–9, no. 7, l. 32) for Beroia.

¹⁶ *RPC I*, pp. 287–8.

¹⁷ Aristid., *Or. 38* (*Symmach. A*), 480. 10–15.

whereas at Edessa she is seated on a rock and a shield, holding a statuette of Victory and crowned by the city-goddess²⁸ (pl. 7.I, 3). The seated Roma was introduced at Edessa during the reign of Hadrian and it is possible that the selection of the type reflected the introduction of the cult of 'Roma Aeterna' in Rome.²⁹

The imperial cult replaced earlier hegemonic cults after the establishment of the Principate. Although coins are usually silent on this aspect of civic life, Macedonian issues bear direct evidence for the worship of emperors, sometimes even during their lifetime. The deification of Augustus is attested by a small and somewhat ambiguous issue produced at Thessalonike during his lifetime.³⁰ Epigraphic evidence is more abundant and derives from Kalindoia³¹ and Akanthos,³² two cities with important Roman communities in the Chalkidike. The cult of 'Divus Iulius' was also introduced under Augustus. His temple was erected at Thessalonike³³ and his portrait was accompanied by the inscription *ΘΕΟΣ* on issues of the same city that bore the portrait of Augustus on the reverse (pl. 7.I, 4).³⁴ This should certainly be understood as an indirect way to honour Octavian after his defeat of Antony and the establishment of his authority in the East.³⁵ Both Thessalonike and Amphipolis chose to depict Livia on issues of her son Tiberius and accompanied her image with inscriptions such as *ΘΕΑ ΛΙΒΙΑ* or *ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΘΕΑ* (pl. 7.I, 5).³⁶ Iconographically she was

represented as Juno or Ceres.³⁷ Following Augustus and Livia, Caligula was also given divine honours on Macedonian coins during his lifetime. An issue of Amphipolis depicting the emperor on horseback was accompanied by the unequivocal inscription *Γ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ* (pl. 7.I, 6).³⁸

The evidence presented above derives from official documents of Greek cities and mostly from cities which enjoyed the status of *civitas libera*. Amphipolis, Thessalonike, Abdera, and Maroneia were all free cities with special privileges, whereas Edessa was probably a *civitas foederata*. The coinages of Amphipolis and Thessalonike not only offer direct evidence for divine honours attributed to living emperors through their legends, but they also display a variety of types honouring the emperor and his family on their issues. At Amphipolis, especially, reverses often depicted imperial representations, such as that of Augustus being crowned by a male figure (pl. 7.I, 7),³⁹ Caligula or Trajan riding on horseback (pl. 7.I, 6),⁴⁰ the emperor standing in military dress,⁴¹ or even the emperor with his foot on a prow.⁴² These are mostly representations of emperors as military conquerors and could perhaps be understood as copies of imperial statues. These quite exceptional honorary types were dominant during the Julio-Claudian period but still survived in the second century. Thessalonike, on the other hand, displays a great variety of images representing minor members of the imperial family during the same period. References to Livia, Gaius, and Tiberius under Augustus,⁴³ to Germanicus and Antonia under Caligula,⁴⁴ to Antonia and Britannicus under Claudius,⁴⁵ or to Agrippina under Nero,⁴⁶ show that the city was anxious to proclaim her fidelity to the imperial house.

Roman cities in Macedonia adopted a different attitude towards Roman political authority on their coinage and other official documents. Unlike Greek cities their coins and public decrees avoid all reference to the divinity of the ruling emperor. The type of the seated Livia holding a patera and a sceptre on coins of Tiberius

²⁸ AMNG 3.2: 62–3, nos. 1, 2, 4, 5. For discussion of the type: Papaefthymiou (2002: 197–8).

²⁹ On 'Roma Aeterna' in Rome: Mellor (1981: 1016–17).

³⁰ RPC I: 1563. For discussion: RPC I, p. 298 and Touratsoglou (1988: 28, notes II, 12).

³¹ For the decree of Kalindoia see above, note 23. The city honoured a certain Apollonios, priest of 'Zeus, Rome, and Caesar' for benefactions such as sacrificing to Zeus and the emperor, holding festivals in their honour, and erecting a statue of the living emperor, who in l. 38 is explicitly called *ΘΕΟΣ*. For the identification of the statue: Hatzopoulos Loukopoulou (1992: 80) and especially Karanastassi (1995: 215–21), who discusses the Hellenistic origin of the cuirassed-type statue and its wide dispersion in the Eastern part of the Empire, including numismatic evidence. For the location and status of Kalindoia: Papazoglou (1988: 217–18). A temple of the imperial cult where the statue of Augustus would have been erected has been discovered recently: Sismanides (forthcoming).

³² An altar to the deified Augustus was erected by the city at Akanthos. First published by Tod (1918: 85–6, no. 13). Included in *SEG I* (1923: no. 282). For further bibliography: *SEG 38* (1988: no. 578); *BullÉpigr.* (1989: no. 466).

³³ *IG X*: 2.1, no. 31. Edson (1940: 127–9). For recent discussion and bibliography: Voutiras (1999: 1339–40 and notes 51–2).

³⁴ RPC I: 1554–5.

³⁵ An era of Antony is attested on inscriptions from Thessalonike, but Antony's name was sometimes erased after his defeat: *IG X*: 2.1, nos 83, 109, 124.

³⁶ RPC I: 1634 (Amphipolis); RPC I: 1563 (Thessalonike).

³⁷ RPC I: 1566, 1569 (Thessalonike).

³⁸ RPC I: 1637.

³⁹ RPC I: 1627–8.

⁴⁰ RPC I: 1637 (Caligula) and AMNG 3.2: no. 79 (Trajan).

⁴¹ RPC I: 1639–40 (Claudius) and RPC I: 1641–2 (Nero).

⁴² RPC II: 337 (Vespasian) and AMNG 3.2: no. 67 (probably second century AD).

⁴³ RPC I: 1563–5.

⁴⁴ RPC I: 1572–5.

⁴⁵ RPC I: 1581–8.

⁴⁶ RPC I: 1591, 1604–6.

from the colony of Dium (pl. 7.1, 8), which could perhaps be understood as a deification of the empress, was actually a copy from Roman issues.⁴⁷ Besides, unlike the types at Thessalonike and Amphipolis, it was never accompanied by an explicit legend referring to her worship. The *municipium* of Stobi offers interesting epigraphic evidence on the matter. This includes three Latin inscriptions with the very unusual formula 'Deo Caesari' referring to Augustus, Domitian, and Commodus. But, unlike the inscriptions discussed above, these were private dedications and not civic decrees.⁴⁸ Furthermore, iconographic types honouring the emperor are much rarer on colonial issues. A notable exception is the statuary type of Augustus crowned by Divus Iulius on the coinage of Philippi (pl. 7.1, 9). But it is significant that whereas on issues produced during his lifetime the emperor is named 'Aug(ustus) Divi F(ilius)', after Claudius this is altered to 'Div(us) Aug(ustus)'.⁴⁹ For Roman citizens emperors were deified only after their death. Roman cities in Macedonia seem to have been consistent in following official Roman policy on this matter.

Unlike the Greek cities, Roman colonies in Macedonia often referred to local political authorities on their coins. The founders of Cassandrea and Philippi in the late 40s BC, Quintus Hortensius Hortalus, Proconsul of Macedonia (pl. 7.1, 10), and Quintus Paquius Rufus, Legatus of Antony, respectively, were the first Roman officials to be commemorated on Macedonian coinage of the period under consideration. Their names and titles dominated the colonial issues and were inscribed on all denominations. Both the inscriptions and the iconographic types concentrate on the colonial foundation and its rituals.⁵⁰ Under the Empire, colonial issues bore the names of the supreme local magistrates, the *duumviri quinquennales*. These were very often inscribed on issues of Augustus and Tiberius⁵¹ (pl. 7.1, 11) and

reveal that the *duumviri* mentioned were, with one exception, Romans of Italian origin.⁵² These officials, who were probably also responsible for the issuing of the coins, emphasized their name to the extent of omitting the city-ethnic. The iconography of their issues concentrates on foundation rituals, imperial themes, and the games they organized and sponsored. No references to colonial magistrates appeared on coins struck after the reign of Tiberius.

Roman Cults and Colonial Identity

In Macedonia colonists were settled in pre-existing cities where Roman political institutions were imposed. The simultaneous survival of Greek institutions and the existence therefore of 'double communities' in these cities⁵³ has been challenged on serious grounds, although it cannot be completely ruled out.⁵⁴ *Opinio communis* now tends to accept that apart from a very few nobles of the Greek *polis* that received Roman citizenship and were integrated into the colony at the time of its foundation, the majority of the population continued to live deprived of their political rights. A bilingual dedication found at Dium identifies these people as *incolae* or *πάροικοι*.⁵⁵ But cultural institutions, such as the gymnasium, are known to have survived, for example at Cassandrea,⁵⁶ something that points to the existence of a mixed Graeco-Roman elite in this colony.

Unlike Corinth and Patras in Achaea, which were important ports and cosmopolitan commercial centres, colonies in Macedonia were relatively small towns, with an agricultural economy. At the time of their foundation Roman merchants were already established in other, larger cities, and were organized in communities within the Greek cities.⁵⁷ Colonists

⁵² Lucius Rusticelius Basterna (*RPC* I: 1536–9) bears a cognomen, which reveals a Roman citizen of Germanic origin: Sutherland (1941: 80–1). For the improbable attribution of these coins to Dium: Kremydi-Sicilianou (1996: 155–63 and 286–7). It has been suggested recently that, in some cases, these magistrates belonged to wealthy families of *negotiatores* already established in the province, who were incorporated into the colonies as prominent members of its leading class: Rizakis (2003).

⁵³ Proposed by Edson (1975).

⁵⁴ Mitchell (1979: 437–8); Rizakis (1989: 193); Papazoglou (1990a: 114). For the possibility of an existence of a 'double community' at Cassandrea: Papazoglou (1988: 426 and note 65).

⁵⁵ *SEG* 34 (1984); Panderimalis (1984: 277); Papazoglou (1990a: 123–4). On *incolae* and *πάροικοι* in the Roman East see: Rizakis (1998).

⁵⁶ Samsaris (1987: 426–7). Rizakis (2003). On a *γυμνασίον* of a private cultural association at Philippi in the third century: Lemérle (1935).

⁵⁷ On the *conventus civium Romanorum* in Macedonia: Rizakis (2001); Loukopoulou (1996); Papazoglou (1979: 356–7).

⁴⁷ *RPC* I: 1506. For the Roman prototype: Kremydi-Sicilianou (1996: 41).

⁴⁸ Papazoglou (1990b: 214–17, no. 2); Papazoglou (1988: 315–17) for the status of Stobi as a *municipium* under Augustus.

⁴⁹ *RPC* I: 1650 (Augustus), 1653 (Claudius), 1655 (Nero); *RPC* II: 345 (Domitian); *AMNG* 3.2: 103, no. 18 (Commodus).

⁵⁰ *RPC* I: 1509–11 (Hortensius), 1646–9 (Rufus). For the coinage of Hortensius also see: Kremydi-Sicilianou (1998/9). For Roman quaestores on earlier, Hellenistic, coins: *AMNG* 3.1: 66–70, nos. 202–12 and Bauslaugh (2000).

⁵¹ Issues in the names of the *duumviri* survive from Pella (*RPC* I: 1548–50) and Dium (*RPC* I: 1504–5). Other colonial issues remain of uncertain attribution since they do not bear an ethnic (*RPC* I: 1528–44).

were later settled in towns where land was available for distribution. It cannot be a coincidence that Pella, once the capital of the kingdom, Dium, the cultural capital, and Cassandrea, a foundation of King Cassander, are known to have been surrounded by royal lands, confiscated after the Roman conquest. Philippi, on the other hand, was a very small town surrounded by a large plain on the borders of the province. These four colonies never expanded to rival cities such as Thessalonike, capital of the province, or Beroia, seat of the Koinon.

References to Roman cults on colonial issues provide interesting evidence on the cultural identity of these cities. We have already stressed that numismatic evidence should be interpreted with caution since it does not necessarily reflect an objective picture of the communities' religious beliefs.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, it certainly illustrates deliberate choices made by the city elite, in other words it demonstrates what *they* considered essential for their cities' identity. In Macedonia, numismatic references to Roman cults and mythology are rare. But each city is a different case and, although general trends can certainly be outlined, one should always be aware of individual identities. Philippi, for example, was according to all the evidence the most 'Romanized' city in Macedonia.⁵⁹ This conclusion is also corroborated by numismatic iconography since Roman cults were dominant on its coins. *Victoria Augusta* was the main obverse type for the 'pseudo-autonomous' issues⁶⁰ (pl. 7.1, 12) and *Fortuna*, another Roman military deity, was depicted on third-century issues.⁶¹ Inscriptions and other archaeological evidence also attest the preponderance of these cults at Philippi,⁶² which can probably be related to the fact that the city was not only a military colony in the first place, but continued to provide soldiers for the Roman army during the Empire.⁶³ The same is the case at Stobi, where variations of Victory types were abundant on the city coinage (pl. 7.2, 13).⁶⁴ Numismatic evidence

therefore seems to suggest that these cities were keen on proclaiming their military profile as an aspect of their civic identity. And it is worth noting that apart from the Thracian Hero Avlonites, no other local cult is found on issues of Philippi.

But Philippi was clearly an exception in Macedonia. At Pella numismatic reference to Roman cults was restricted to Augustan issues depicting Pax and Spes. The female head accompanied by the inscription PACIS on the foundation issue of Pella⁶⁵ is clearly copied from the Roman denarii of Octavian.⁶⁶ Pax,⁶⁷ the goddess who guaranteed Peace for the Empire, was another conception of Augustan ideology and her importance was underlined by the erection of the monumental *Ara Pacis Augustae* in Rome. Her presence on colonial issues with the ploughing scene on the reverse can be understood as a tribute to the emperor, who by his effective policy permitted Roman expansion through peaceful colonization. If Pax was an 'official' cult, Spes was originally a 'popular' cult, incorporated into imperial ideology by Augustus.⁶⁸ Her presence on an Augustan issue of Pella⁶⁹ is interesting because it is exceptionally rare. Spes is never otherwise encountered on coins, imperial or provincial, before the reign of Claudius,⁷⁰ and the case of Pella remains unique. References to Roman Virtues however were very soon abandoned and the city turned to the representation of local cults as symbols of her identity.

Cassandrea and Dium, on the other hand, never depicted Roman deities on their coins. References to local cults were displayed already on late Republican and Augustan issues, and they became increasingly popular during the second and third centuries. This, corroborated by other evidence, such as the progressive replacement of Latin by Greek, especially on private monuments, indicates that colonial identity was being gradually transformed, and that these originally Roman cities became integrated into

⁵⁸ Levick (1967: 131–2) discusses the 'subjectivity' of this evidence.

⁵⁹ On urban planning: Étienne *et al.* (1994). On onomastics and language: Papazoglou (1990a: 117–18). On cults: Collart (1937: 389 ff.). On weight standard see the section 'Roman Denominations and Regional Identity', above.

⁶⁰ RPC I: 1651, 1652; Kremydi-Sicilianou (2002).

⁶¹ SNG Cop. 311; Amandry (1998: 26, no. 4; 27, no. 8).

⁶² For dedications to *Victoria* and *Fortuna*: Pilhofer (2000: nos. 224 and 251).

⁶³ Sarikakis (1977); Papazoglou (1979: 338–52).

⁶⁴ AMNG 3.2: 112–13, nos. 9, 14, 15; Josifovski (2001).

⁶⁵ RPC I: 1529 dated to 25 BC.

⁶⁶ RIC I²: 59, no. 253.

⁶⁷ For sources, iconography, and relevant bibliography see: LIMC 7.1, s.v. Pax by E. Simon.

⁶⁸ Clark (1983). For sources, iconography, and relevant bibliography see: LIMC 7.1, s.v. Spes (F. W. Hamdorf).

⁶⁹ RPC I: 1549; Clark (1983: 84).

⁷⁰ For Spes on Roman coins: LIMC 7.1, s.v. Spes, cat. nos. 8 ff. (F. W. Hamdorf). The earliest representations of *Elpis* in RPC is a Claudian issue from Lycia (RPC I: 3337) and Neronian issue of Alexandria (RPC I: 5212), whereas no other representations of Spes are found.

their Greek surroundings.⁷¹ Intermarriage between colonists and natives and the extension of Roman citizenship, and therefore the right to participate in public affairs, to people who were ‘culturally’ Greek had this integrating effect. But still, Roman political institutions persisted and Latin was never abandoned for the legends of colonial coins (contrast the use of Greek by some Severan and later *coloniae* in the Near East).⁷²

‘Remaining’ Greek: Persistent Elements of Local Identity

The sense of ‘belonging’ to the Roman state, a multi-cultural empire unified by political authority, central administration, and military power, was, to a certain extent, expressed on provincial coins and has been discussed in the sections above. The choice of the Macedonian cities and the Macedonian Koinon, on the other hand, to define themselves through their ‘own’ local traditions is also obvious on their coinage. Although these choices depended, to a certain extent, upon the cities’ status, coinage indicates that emphasis on local identity increased between the first and the third centuries, and gradually minimized differences between Greek cities and Roman colonies. In the following sections we shall try to examine how local cults and local institutions were illustrated on Macedonian coinage. Comparison of coins with other, mostly epigraphic, evidence can be revealing: Greek magistrates or local institutions which are known to have existed from other sources were avoided on Macedonian coins. Cities’ honorary titles were also neglected on coin legends before the third century, even though, in some cases, they had been granted earlier.

The Survival and Transformation of Hellenistic Institutions

Macedonian cities had always been subordinate to the King and therefore they were never independent ‘city-states’ as were the Greek *poleis*. But by the end of the fourth century BC at least, they possessed an important degree of autonomy and institutions for

their self-administration, such as a *Boule*, a *Demos*, and a number of elected magistrates.⁷³ Despite their transformations, these institutions survived under the Empire, but they were very rarely mentioned on coins. Unlike colonial issues, which bear the names of the *duumviri quinquennales* at least until the reign of Tiberius, Greek civic issues in Macedonia never bore the names of local magistrates. Such names were often inscribed on provincial issues both in Asia and in Achaëa. The most characteristic examples from neighbouring Achaëa include the Thessalian League, Chalkis, Thebes, and Sparta, cities where magistrates were often named on Hellenistic issues.⁷⁴ This practice had never existed in Macedonia since coinage had remained under royal supervision, even in the second century BC when Amphipolis, Pella, and Thessalonike were allowed to produce their own coins.⁷⁵ Whether Roman control over provincial issues in Macedonia remained stronger than elsewhere it is impossible to say.

References to local institutions, other than the magistracies, were rare on Macedonian issues as they were all over the Roman East. It is interesting that only at Amphipolis, a free city with a large degree of autonomy, do we find the inscription ΔΗΜΟΣ ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ instead of the usual ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ on the reverse of an Augustan issue (pl. 7.2, 14).⁷⁶ And it can be no coincidence that local cults were already being depicted at Amphipolis during the reign of Augustus, something that was not common on early imperial issues from Macedonia, as will be shown below. More than any other Macedonian city, Amphipolis seems to have emphasized her Greek cultural identity under the Empire. This, at least, is the picture reflected by numismatic evidence but, for the time being, it cannot be corroborated by other sources, since archaeological and epigraphic *testimonia* for Roman Amphipolis remain scarce.

Although coins offer little evidence on the survival, abolition, or transformation of most Hellenistic institutions under the Empire, the bronze coinage of the Macedonian Koinon illustrates the function of an institution that had its roots in Hellenistic Macedonia.

⁷³ Papazoglou (1983) and Hatzopoulos (1996: esp. 127–65) with earlier bibliography.

⁷⁴ RPC I: 1428, 1430–52 (*strategoï* at the Thessalian League); RPC I: 1345–6, 1349–54 (*strategoï* and *epimeletes* at Chalkis); RPC I: 1334–7 (*archiereus* at Thebes); RPC I: 1102–7, 1109–11, 1113 (local rulers at Sparta).

⁷⁵ Touratsoglou (1987). ⁷⁶ RPC I: 1630.

⁷¹ For Greek and Roman influences in Corinth see: König (2001: 146–53) with bibliography. ⁷² Millar (1990).

Coins in the name of the 'Macedonians' (*ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ*) were first issued during the reigns of Philip V and Perseus, and the Macedonian shield and helmet were the main types on the silver (pl. 7.2, 15).⁷⁷ These, together with inscriptions, are important evidence for the existence both of a Koinon of Macedonian cities and of the Macedonian administrative 'districts' (*μερίδες*) before the Roman conquest (pl. 7.2, 16).⁷⁸ It has been proved that the Koinon was not abolished after the settlement of Aemilius Paulus in 167 BC, although its fate after the creation of the Roman province in c.148 BC remains obscure.⁷⁹ Coins in the name of the 'Macedonians' were still produced during this intermediate period and their iconography does not radically depart from that of the earlier issues.⁸⁰ An iconographic break is to be found on the bilingual tetradrachms issued during the first century BC which still bore the inscription *ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ*, but combined with names of Roman officials in Latin.⁸¹

The Macedonian Koinon was reorganized under the early Empire and, as was the case with all the Koina of this period, was transformed into an institution related to the imperial cult. It was administered by members of the local elite who organized and financed festivals and games out of their own resources, and who were always awarded Roman citizenship.⁸² The Koinon resumed its coinage under Claudius, and the Macedonian shield and the winged thunderbolt, traditional Macedonian symbols, were once again depicted on its coins until the end of the second century AD (pl. 7.2, 17–18).⁸³ The Koinon, a pre-Roman institution *par excellence*, used ethnic symbols to describe its present identity. These symbols reflected a 'revival' of ethnic identity that no longer constituted a menace to Rome.

During the third century the iconography of these issues underwent a radical change and a large variety

of iconographic, mostly agonistic, types were introduced (pl. 7.2, 19). In Macedonia, as elsewhere, the Koinon's main preoccupation was to organize annual festivals in honour of the Emperor, which were often accompanied by popular gladiatorial games. Next to these Greek festivals were also celebrated.⁸⁴ Both the coins of the Koinon and the famous Aboukir medallions reveal that *ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ* were held in Beroia,⁸⁵ probably in memory of the famous games once held at Olympia but also at Diium.⁸⁶ Numismatic and epigraphic evidence also indicates that during the third century the *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ* were celebrated,⁸⁷ and when these coincided with the *ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ* they were celebrated as *ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ*.⁸⁸ The earliest epigraphic attestation for the celebration of the *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ* at Beroia can be dated to the reign of Alexander Severus and precisely to AD 229.⁸⁹ It is possible that these games were inaugurated to honour this very emperor whose claim to 'identification' with the Macedonian king is well known. But an Alexander cult had certainly pre-existed, since numerous 'Alexander' types had emerged on the coinage of the Koinon under Elagabalus, at the time when Beroia received her second *νεωκορία*. These coins often bear the head of Alexander with the explicit inscription *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ* as their obverse type. They are combined with numerous reverses with relevant themes such as 'Alexander taming Bukephalus', 'Alexander leading his horse', 'Olympias and snakes', or 'snakes in a basket', the last referring to the mystic rituals Alexander's mother was known to have favoured. Other types such as the 'Lion and club' (pl. 7.2, 20) or the 'quiver, bow, and club' alluded to royal Macedonian issues.⁹⁰ The glorious Macedonian past was revived and there is evidence of an increased emphasis on Macedonian identity⁹¹ during a period

⁸⁴ For a thorough treatment of Games in Roman Macedonia see: Leschhorn (1998b) with extensive references to coins and inscriptions.

⁸⁵ For 'Ολύμπια on coins: AMNG 3.1: 93, no. 320; 177–8, nos. 798–800; 191, nos. 869–71; and 194, no. 880.

⁸⁶ Mari (1998); Mari (2002: 51–60).

⁸⁷ Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos (1998: nos. 68, 69) for Alexandria held in AD 229 and 240 in Beroia.

⁸⁸ For *Ολύμπια Αλεξάνδρεια* under Gordian III: AMNG 3.1: p. 178 no. 801, and p. 21.

⁸⁹ See above, note 87.

⁹⁰ For 'Alexander' types on the coinage of the Koinon see: AMNG 3.1: 12 and 89 ff.

⁹¹ The ethnic 'Macedon' is often used as a name in the second and third centuries AD. Tatakis (1988: 323, no. 403), for Beroia; IG X 2.1: nos. 309, 440, 456, 890, 931, for Thessalonike.

⁷⁷ Gaebler (1897) and AMNG 3.1: 26–52 and pl. 1.

⁷⁸ The much discussed tetradrachm issue with Artemis Tauropolos and the inscription *ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ* (AMNG 3.1, pl. 2, no. 1) can now be dated under the Antigonids and before the Roman conquest. For discussion and bibliography: Hatzopoulos (1996: 250–3).

⁷⁹ Papazoglou (1988: 53–66); Hatzopoulos (1996: 219–30).

⁸⁰ MacKay (1968) (bronze coinage); AMNG 3.1, pl. 2, nos. 2–4 (silver coinage).

⁸¹ Bauslaugh (2000) with earlier bibliography.

⁸² On the Koinon under the Empire: Kanatsoulis (1953/5); Deininger (1965: 92–6); Tatakis (1988: 447–8 and 456–96); Papazoglou (1998). On Hadrian and the Koinon: SEG 35 (1987: no. 592) discussed by Zahmt (1996: 231).

⁸³ RPC I: 1610–18; RPC II: 333–4, 336; AMNG 3.1: 76–86.

of insecurity when the Empire had to face serious threats on its eastern borders. Wars on these frontiers were compared with Alexander's Persian expedition, and already by the second century the Parthians had been, quite unhistorically, identified with the Persians.⁹²

Games were publicized on coins of the Koinon but also of Thessalonike, where the *ΠΥΘΙΑ* (pl. 7.2, 21), the *ΚΑΒΕΙΡΙΑ*,⁹³ but also the *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ*⁹⁴ were held. Beroia and Thessalonike clearly competed through the organization of their local festivals and at the same time proclaimed their special privileges and honorary titles. Although Beroia is known to have received her first *νεωκορία* as early as the first century,⁹⁵ the title was never mentioned on coins of the Koinon before Diadumenian, whereas a second *νεωκορία* was added during the reign of Elagabalus.⁹⁶ In accordance with epigraphic evidence,⁹⁷ the titles *νεωκόρος*, *μητρόπολις*, or *κολωνία* were advertised on the coins of Thessalonike only after the reign of Gordian III⁹⁸ (pl. 7.2, 22). Civic pride was gradually becoming an important element of civic identity and coins were a suitable medium for its promotion.

The Persistence of Local Cults

It has been stated that references to Roman cults were rather rare on Macedonian issues. Most deities illustrated on coins were local, but it is significant that such themes became much more abundant after the second century AD. Nevertheless, both Greek cities and Roman colonies seem, in some cases, to have chosen to depict local deities on their first-century issues. The head of Ammon on a foundation issue of Cassandrea dated to 44/43 BC (pl. 7.3, 23) is the first-type referring to a local deity to appear on colonial coins,⁹⁹ and iconographic variations of this type persisted on the city's coinage down to the third

century (pl. 7.3, 24).¹⁰⁰ The worship of Ammon is known to have existed in the area around Cassandrea since classical times. A temple to the god is attested at Aphytis, a small city within the territory of Cassandrea.¹⁰¹ But why would the colonists who settled in the area so readily choose to depict this specific cult on their city's issues? The popularity of the Egyptian deities around the eastern Mediterranean is very well known and their worship was enthusiastically adopted by Roman merchants. The importance of the cult at the commercial centre of Delos is indicative and it has been suggested that after the decline of Delos in the first century BC Italian merchants moved to the north together with their cults.¹⁰² At Thessalonike, for example, dedications to Isis and Sarapis by Roman *negotiatores* had been especially abundant since the late Republic,¹⁰³ and inscriptions have shown that the peninsula of Chalkidike with its ports leading to the east attracted the interests of such men, who settled there. It is therefore only natural that the pre-existing sanctuary of Ammon at Aphytis would attract the interest of the Romans since it responded to their cultural preferences and would naturally be used as a coin type by the colonists.

Apart from Ammon, Athena is the only local deity depicted on early colonial coins and she is found on Dium's first issues struck under Augustus (pl. 7.3, 25).¹⁰⁴ She remained the main type on the city's coinage down to the third century and served as an emblem of the city's identity.¹⁰⁵ The reason the Romans chose this divinity as protector of their colony is not so evident as in the case discussed above. Dium and Cassandrea were the only colonies that depicted local cults on their early issues. This tendency is further enforced after the reign of Claudius, an emperor who is known to have encouraged the integration of the locals into Roman

⁹² On the identification of Parthians with Persians in the writings of the Macedonian orator Polyainos see the interesting article of Buraselis (1993/4).

⁹³ Leschhorn (1998b: 406–8).

⁹⁴ Velenis (1999: 1319–20).

⁹⁵ Goumaropoulou and Hatzopoulos (1996: no. 117), with bibliography.

⁹⁶ AMNG 3.1: 119 ff.

⁹⁷ The earliest epigraphic evidence for the titles *μητρόπολις* and *κολωνία* can be dated to the reign of Gordian III and precisely to AD 240/1: IG X 2.1: no. 178.

⁹⁸ At Thessalonike the title *νεωκόρος* is mentioned on coins under Gordian III: Touratsoglou (1988: 265 ff.); *μητρόπολις*, *κολωνία*, and *Β νεωκόρος* under Valerian I: Touratsoglou (1988: 304 ff.); and *Γ νεωκόρος* during Gallienus' sole reign: Touratsoglou (1988: 314).

⁹⁹ RPC I: 1511.

¹⁰⁰ AMNG 3.2: 52–5, pl. 13 and 4–7 and pl. 1, nos. 10–11.

¹⁰¹ Plutarch, *Lysander* 20. 4–8. Excavations have revealed the temple, dated probably to the time of Philip II: Misaelidou-Despotidou (1999) with bibliography. Aphytis also struck Hellenistic coins with the head of Ammon: AMNG 3.2: 44–5, pl. 11, nos. 13–23.

¹⁰² Rizakis (2001: 120–2) with bibliography.

¹⁰³ IG X 2.1: nos. 113 and 124.

¹⁰⁴ RPC I: 1504. The type is described as Athena/Roma in RPC but the owl and snakes that appear as attributes of the goddess after the reign of Domitian do not support this identification. Furthermore, Roma was very rarely depicted on colonial issues although she is found, for example, on the coinage of Knossos: RPC I: 978.

¹⁰⁵ Kremydi-Sicilianou (1996: 88–9, 94). On the cult of Athena in Macedonia see: Voutiras (1998: and especially 111–15 for Dium).

citizenship and Roman political institutions.¹⁰⁶ It was during his reign that local types began slowly to emerge, and the case of Diana Baphyria on the 'pseudo-autonomous' issues of Diium offers a good example (pl. 7.3, 26).¹⁰⁷ Baphyria, named after the river that flowed around the city walls, was a local goddess, and her Hellenistic sanctuary has been discovered recently. Readiness to incorporate foreign cults is a distinctive feature of Roman culture and the adoption of the cult of Diana Laphria by colonists at Patras during the reign of Augustus offers a parallel case.

But references to local cults were not only rare on early colonial coins, they were also avoided by Greek cities, with the exception of Amphipolis. At Edessa, coins struck under Augustus and Tiberius were iconographically restricted to the imperial portrait and the inscription of the city ethnic.¹⁰⁸ At Thessalonike, references to the imperial family and to imperial themes dominated the coinage until the end of the first century,¹⁰⁹ and only after Claudius did some very 'neutral' local types, such as the horse, appear on the 'pseudo-autonomous' issues.¹¹⁰ Thessalonike was a *civitas libera* but also capital of the province and seat of the Roman governor, and it is this 'quality' that her coinage reflects. Amphipolis, on the other hand, offers a completely different picture. References to local institutions have already been mentioned and her coinage included a large proportion of 'pseudo-autonomous' issues. Both on these and on coins bearing the imperial portrait local cults were already being depicted during the reign of Augustus. Artemis Tauropolos, encountered earlier on the city's Hellenistic bronzes (pl. 7.3, 27) and on the tetradrachms of the first district (pl. 7.3, 28), remained the main theme on the coins of Amphipolis down to the third century (pls. 7.1, 7; 7.3, 29).¹¹¹ She was a deity of Thracian origin, whose worship is also attested through literary sources and inscriptions,¹¹² and the

building of a monumental temple in her honour was amongst the plans of Alexander.¹¹³ Public documents were published in her sanctuary under the Antigonids¹¹⁴ and the inscription ΔΗΜΟΣ ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ on Augustan coins bearing her image may imply that this practice was continued under the early Empire.

The Re-emergence of Local Cults

Although references to local cults remained rather rare during the first century, such types were gradually multiplied on civic issues during the second and third centuries. This trend became typical during the reign of Hadrian and was certainly influenced by the cultural background of the 'Second Sophistic'. The 'Greek Renaissance', as it is often called, is a widely discussed phenomenon that can also be traced through coinage.¹¹⁵ It can be connected both to imperial policy and to the way the Graeco-Roman society had developed. Epigraphic studies concerning Macedonia have shown that by the end of the first century organized Roman communities (*conventus civium Romanorum*) were no longer attested within the Greek *poleis*; the Romans had been gradually integrated into cities whose native population had, to an important extent, received the right to Roman citizenship.¹¹⁶ They had adopted local cults¹¹⁷ and inscriptions reveal that, although Latin remained the official language in the colonies, by the second century Greek was dominant in Macedonia.¹¹⁸ In other words the gradual integration of the Romans into a Hellenic cultural environment and their fusion with the local population led to a more unified society, which turned to the past in order to establish its present identity. Over the centuries Hellenic, or rather Hellenistic, culture had retained its shell but completely changed its content.

The adoption of the type of Zeus at the colony of Diium on coins of Hadrian (pl. 7.3, 30) offers an excellent paradigm of this tendency to represent ancient cults.¹¹⁹ The city of Diium had been the

¹⁰⁶ *ILS* 212 preserves the famous discourse of Claudius on this matter. For literary testimonia: Tacitus, *Annales* II. 24.

¹⁰⁷ *RPC*, Suppl. I, s-1507b. For discussion and dating: Kremydi-Sicilianou (1996: 82–4).

¹⁰⁹ Touratsoglou (1988: 93–4).

¹¹⁰ *RPC* I: 1607–9 tentatively dated to the reign of Nero. Touratsoglou (1988) proposed a date under Claudius.

¹¹¹ *AMNG* 3.2: 34 ff. (on Hellenistic issues of Amphipolis); *AMNG* 3.1: 53 ff. (on coins of the first district); *AMNG* 3.2: 38 ff. and *RPC* I: 1626 ff., *RPC* II: 338–41 (on provincial issues of Amphipolis).

¹¹² On the cult of Artemis Tauropolos at Amphipolis: Papastavru (1936: 38 n. 5, 42, 51–2).

¹¹³ Diodorus Siculus 18. 4. 5.

¹¹⁴ Hatzopoulos (1996: ii, nos. 9 and 29), with bibliography.

¹¹⁵ On Hadrian and Macedonia see: Papaefthymiou (2001).

¹¹⁶ For the development of the society of Beroia under the Romans: Tatakis (1988: 437–513 and esp. 457).

¹¹⁷ For the adoption of the cult of Palaimon by colonists at Corinth: Piérart (1998).

¹¹⁸ Papazoglou (1990a). Rizakis (2003).

¹¹⁹ Kremydi-Sicilianou (1996: 48–51, 279, pl. 6, no. 20).

sanctuary of the Macedonians where Zeus Olympios was worshipped and where the 'Olympia' had once been held under the auspices of the kings.¹²⁰ The colonists, however, avoided this type on their early issues, and it was incorporated into numismatic iconography only under Hadrian. The inscription HADRIANO OLYMPIO on the obverse of these coins, combined with the statue that the colony dedicated to Hadrian Olympios at the Olympieion in Athens,¹²¹ reveal that the city actively honoured the emperor. The decision to depict Zeus was both an allusion to the cities' Hellenic past and a tribute to the emperor who identified himself with the supreme god. Zeus on the coins of Dium is depicted standing, wearing an himation and pouring a libation from a patera held in his right hand. There is no evidence as to whether this type depicted the god as he was once worshipped in the city, but a statue of the same type from the contemporary Nymphaion in Olympia has been identified as Zeus Panhellenios.¹²²

Pella, capital of the Macedonian kingdom since the time of Amyntas, father of Philip and grandfather of Alexander, offers a similar example. After its conversion into a colony under Augustus, the city issued coins bearing Roman themes under the first two emperors. Following a break its coinage was resumed under Hadrian with a completely different iconography: colonial types and references to Roman cults were abandoned and Pan, seated on a rock and holding his syrinx, became the main image on the city's coinage (pl. 7.3, 32).¹²³ This mythological figure had been worshipped at Pella, and his cult was closely related to the Macedonian kings.¹²⁴ He was considered protector of the Antigonids and was a major coin type on their issues,¹²⁵ as well as on the city's Hellenistic bronzes (pl. 7.3, 31).¹²⁶ Both Pella, Macedonia's famous capital, birthplace of Philip and Alexander, and Dium, the kingdom's sacred city, were transformed into Roman colonies, which by the second century emphasized their Hellenic cultural past as an element of their

present identity. It is evident that the numismatic and archaeological material presented should be seen in the cultural context of the creation of the Panhellenion.¹²⁷

If we are allowed to judge from coins, this 'anti-quarianism' that characterized the time of Hadrian became the main trend after the Severi. During the first half of the third century, a large number of new reverse types and varieties were introduced on Macedonian issues. Apart from the numerous agnostic types on the coins of Thessalonike and the Koinon, which have been discussed above, all the rest refer to Greek mythology and to local deities which had been worshipped in Macedonia since her early history. The cities emphasized their ancient and probably 'revived' cults as elements of their present civic identity. The archaic cult of Poseidon is remembered at Cassandrea under Commodus¹²⁸ (pl. 7.3, 33) and Kabeiros emerges as the protector of the city in Thessalonike from the time of the Severi.¹²⁹ Ancient myths such as those of Dionysos raised by the nymph Nysa, or Hades abducting Persephone, are attested at Cassandrea¹³⁰ (pl. 7.3, 34) and Stobi.¹³¹ Although third-century reverse types on Macedonian coins appear at first sight to be of exclusively local significance, a closer look suggests that, in some cases, they could be related to contemporary politics and imperial preferences. The appearance of Asklepios at Dium¹³² (pl. 7.3, 35) and of Dionysos at Edessa¹³³ under the Severi should probably be linked to the emperors' special relation with these deities. It is equally difficult to escape the conclusion that coinage of Stobi under Caracalla with a seated Zeus holding a Victory and a sceptre,¹³⁴ which clearly recalls the type on the famous Alexander tetradrachms, reflects the emperor's predilection for the Macedonian king. In some cases therefore, civic communities chose to depict types which would honour the reigning

¹²⁷ For the Panhellenion see Jones (1996) with earlier bibliography.

¹²⁸ AMNG 3.2: 53, 10, pl. 13, no. 9. For the archaic city of Potidaea over which Cassandrea was founded, see Alexander (1963). For coins of Potidaea bearing the type of Poseidon: AMNG 3.2: 130–5, pl. 20, nos. 21–5 and Alexander (1953). The worship of Poseidon in Potidaea is also attested by Herodotos 8. 129 and by archaeological research: Vokotopoulou (1993).

¹²⁹ Touratsoglou (1988: 201 ff.). But the type had been used on 'pseudo-autonomous' issues since Domitian: Touratsoglou (1988: 325 ff.).

¹³⁰ AMNG 3.2: 54, 12–13, pl. 13, nos. 11–12.

¹³¹ AMNG 3.2: 113, 12, pl. 22, no. 5.

¹³² Kremydi-Sicilianou (1996: 91–3) for discussion and archaeological evidence.

¹³³ Papaefthymiou (2002: 181–2); AMNG 3.2: 62, 2, pl. 14, no. 5.

¹³⁴ AMNG 3.2: 113, 10–11, pl. 21, no. 29; Josifovski (2001: 327 and pl. 45).

¹²⁰ See note 86. ¹²¹ *CIL* III, Suppl. I: 7282 = *CIL* III: 548.

¹²² Bol and Herz (1989). ¹²³ AMNG 3.2: 99–100, pl. 19, nos. 23–6.

¹²⁴ Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 35. 62 mentions that Zeuxis had painted a picture of Pan for Archelaos. A statuette of Alexander as Pan has been found and now is held at the museum of Pella: *AD* 18 (1963): *Chronica* 205.

¹²⁵ AMNG 3.2: 185–6, 1–3, pl. 34, nos. 1, 3 (tetradrachms of Antigonos Gonatas); 187–8, 6–11, pl. 34, nos. 4, 5, 6 (bronzes of Antigonos Gonatas); 192, 15–16, pl. 34, nos. 27, 28; 194, 29, pl. 35, no. 9 (bronzes of Philip V).

¹²⁶ AMNG 3.2: 94, 4, pl. 18, no. 27; 96, 17, pl. 19, no. 17.

emperor, while at the same time preserving the appearance of their civic autonomy.

Conclusion

The kingdom of Macedonia was the first Hellenistic state to become a Roman province. Its occupation was crucial for Roman expansion towards the East, and the Via Egnatia, uniting Italy and Asia, was constructed in the second century BC and continued to be a major route under the Empire. Macedonia never developed to rival provinces such as Asia or Egypt and her coinage was certainly on a more limited scale.

Macedonian cities showed a 'dependence' upon Rome on their early provincial issues by adopting types that honoured the imperial family or reproduced imperial themes. They mostly avoided local elements and often chose 'neutral' images with limited cultural references. Colonists, on the other hand, tended to underline their Italian origins and Roman institutions. It seems that the governing elite in Greek and Roman cities were eager to stress their affinity to Rome. The contrast provided by an exception such as Amphipolis, where local cults and institutions were emphasized at an early date, serves to emphasize the more general pattern.

Within a few generations a new picture started to emerge. Local themes became increasingly abundant, whereas Roman ones were gradually reduced. The first steps towards this evolution can be traced under Claudius when the Macedonian Koinon resumed its

coinage. Local communities started to underline their individual traditions as elements of their civic identity, a tendency that prevailed during the second century and was certainly influenced by contemporary cultural and intellectual trends. The abundance of local themes on Macedonian coinages, especially during the third century, should be understood as a reaction to increasing competition and rivalry between civic communities. Furthermore, iconographic differences between Roman colonies and Greek cities had naturally diminished. In a society where all free people were Roman citizens it is natural that such distinctions had lost much of their validity. And in looking at the evolution of numismatic iconography, one realizes that it is the colonies that tended to depart from their earlier limited choices more than the Greek cities.

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8

RELIGIOUS-CULTURAL
IDENTITY IN THRACE AND
MOESIA INFERIOR

Ulrike Peter

Heracles: Do you see two ranges, Hermes and Philosophy, the highest and most beautiful of all mountains (the higher is Haemus, the one opposite is Rhodope), and a plain of great fertility outspread beneath them, beginning at the very foothills of each? Also, three very beautiful eminences standing up, not so rough as to be shapeless? They look like multiple citadels belonging to the city beneath them. For the city, too, is now in sight.

Hermes: Yes, by Zeus, Heracles, the greatest and loveliest of all cities! In fact the beauty is radiant from afar. And also, a very large river flows past it, coming quite close to it.

Heracles: That is the Hebrus, and the city was built by the famous Philip. . . .¹

THE BEAUTY AND ATTRACTIONS OF Philippopolis,² named after Philip II, king of Macedonia, praised in this poetical manner by Lucian, were also celebrated on its coinage in Roman times. Hence the river Hebrus, navigable up to Philippopolis in antiquity, was often depicted on coins; on Hadrianic coins it was even named (pl. 8.I, 1).³ Its great importance for the city is further reflected in the

common illustrations of the river-god and the city-goddess (pl. 8.I, 2).⁴ And one coin with the river-god also shows other sources of wealth for the city: little genii are depicted representing agriculture and mining (pl. 8.I, 3).⁵ While the *AIMOS*, depicted only on coins of Nicopolis ad Istrum, is shown as a male personification (in the form of a young hunter),⁶ the smaller mountains of Rhodope, situated near Philippopolis, are depicted as a charming female figure with an explanatory legend (*POΔΟΠΗ*) on coins of Philippopolis

and Moesian coins are the following: *ΙΣΤΡΟΣ*, *ΜΕΣΤΟΣ*, *ΣΤΡΥΜΩΝ* and *ΤΟΝΖΟΣ* (for a survey see LAGM 401, 409–10).

⁴ For example RPC II 351; Gerasimov (1950). In general on the cities' pride in their rivers and on rivers as symbols for cities see Nollé and Nollé (1994) 45–8. For Thrace and Moesia Inferior note also Pautalia, which was famous in ancient times because of its medicinal springs. Hence we often meet on coins river-gods and nymphs, as well as Asclepius, Hygieia, and snakes; see Ruzicka (1933) 29–33, 37–40 with reference to the veneration of Asclepius as a local deity. For Ruzicka (1933) 27 the representation on coins of statues, reliefs, monuments, etc. should be explained by Pautalia's prominence as a city of swimming baths. See also Ruseva-Slokoska (1990).

⁵ Mušmov (1924) no. 291; Kolev (1966) 65; Kolev (1968) 96, fig. 2. Gerasimov (1972a) 44 speaks of agriculture, and the mining of gold and silver. On coins of Pautalia, too, the wealth of the city is celebrated: the coins belong to the reign of the Severans and show on the reverse a nymph in the vicinity of Pautalia putting her arm on the mountain ridge; behind her we see a vineyard. The children symbolize (as is clear by lettering) the gifts of the region: grain and wine, gold and silver; see Imhoof-Blumer (1908) no. 459; Ruzicka (1933) nos. 473, 634 and pp. 33–4. To a similar context may belong coins (of the Roman period) of Byzantium which show on the reverse a dolphin between two tunas—a type taken over from the autonomous coinage of the city which, of course, refers to the importance of the sea to the economic life of the city (Schönert-Geiss (1972) 34 with precise indications of the coin-numbers in notes 1 and 2).

⁶ AMNG I.1 nos. 1315, 1699 (see also p. 342); compare also LAGM p. 31.

¹ Lucian, *Fug.* 25 (English translation by A. M. Harmon, Cambridge/London 1936, reprint 1962).

² Velkova (1976) with further references. For ancient Philippopolis see Danov (1980) 245–67; in Bulgarian now: Kesjakova (1999).

³ Imhoof-Blumer (1923) no. 175; LAGM 101; Kolev (1998) 364 and fig. 2a p. 367, in general on river-gods 362–3. Other rivers mentioned on Thracian

(pl. 8.I, 4).⁷ In addition, the three hills which formed the acropolis of the city (which, as a consequence, was called Trimontium in Roman times), and are known today as Nebet-, Džambaz-, and Taximtepe,⁸ were depicted (singly or all together) on coins of Philippopolis (pl. 8.I, 5).⁹ Sometimes even the other hills of the city (which are said to have been seven in all) can be seen on the coins. So a statue of Heracles, situated on a hill, supposedly represented the second highest elevation of the city, the Bundardžika (pl. 8.I, 6).¹⁰ The pictures of these hills are combined with appropriate buildings—temples, statues, aqueducts—on the coins (pl. 8.I, 7).

It is clear that such illustrations conveyed a specific image of the city and the landscape, and were intended to show essential aspects of the common identity of the Philippopolites. As a consequence they give a good insight into the processes of acculturation which led to the formation or change of identities. They show how indigenous, local, or regional traditions, myths, and stories of origins were conserved or changed. They also inform us about the adaptation of foreign influences (for example, the taking over and/or integration of foreign deities in the local pantheon) or the resistance against such influences. Such central aspects of 'Coinage and Identity' will be studied in detail in this chapter, with special regard to Thrace and Moesia Inferior.

Architectural representations can be found in great number on coins of Thrace and Moesia Inferior. Mainly temples are depicted, some with an effigy of a god, and also city walls. Without any parallel is the townscape of Bizye from a bird's-eye view on medallions of Philip I (pl. 8.I, 8).¹¹ It is beyond doubt that such a unique city-view expresses the pride of the inhabitants, identifying themselves with their home town, and, distinguishing them from others. Coin illustrations may frequently be explained by city riv-

alries. Every city wanted to be the first and the most attractive, and to be adorned with privileges granted by the emperors. In this context, special importance was attached to the representation of distinctive characteristics of its own identity. In the case of the city-view of Bizye it is most likely that the horseman shown in the archway on the left is indicative of an indigenous element, if the common interpretation of the rider as the so-called 'Thracian horseman' is accepted. This horseman-hero, whom we find on thousands of votive tablets and who therefore is said to be the most prominent deity in Thrace, is hardly depicted at all on coins.¹² A different case is the representation of the nymphs which we find in the archway on the right. Their cult is one of the most prominent in the whole Roman province of Thrace and combines indigenous Thracian elements with Graeco-Roman aspects.¹³ But the coin illustrations with nymphs are very standardized, as F. Imhoof-Blumer was able to demonstrate with regard not only to nymphs but also to Charites,¹⁴ and in such cases of pictorial standardization it is very difficult to draw any conclusions as far as specific intentions of an individual polis are concerned.

But let us come back to Philippopolis, where there is an interesting representation of Eumolpos, the mythical king, on coins from the Severan period.¹⁵ The singer is shown, according to Thracian tradition, with coat and high boots, holding in his right hand the patera, in his left a lighted torch (pl. 8.I, 9). One coin legend even gives us the name of the king.¹⁶ The

¹² Cf. Jurukova (1981) 32, 37–8, 42–5; Jurukova (1974) 48: In the small works of art we meet a style which was strongly influenced by religious thoughts imported by Roman soldiers and heavily influenced by the East. As the Thracian horseman on the votive tablets adopts the guise of Apollo, Asclepius, Pluto, Zeus, Silvanus, and changes to a 'general god', so on the coins Victoria and Fortuna take over the functions of several other goddesses such as Nemesis, Demeter, Artemis, Isis, etc., and change to 'general goddesses'. See also Jurukova (1999) 19–22: The Thracian horseman is found on coins of cities south of the Haemus: in Pautalia, Serdica, Philippopolis, Augusta Traiana, Hadrianopolis, and Bizye.

¹³ See Karadimitrova (1992) 189, on such votive plates.

¹⁴ Imhoof-Blumer (1908) for example p. 185 on no. 491 Apollonia at Pontos: 'Nymphengruppe wie Anchialos N. 489'; p. 187 on no. 497 Pautalia: 'Gruppe der drei bekleideten Nymphen wie Hadrianopolis N. 495.'; p. 186 on no. 496 Hadrianopolis: 'Gruppe der drei nackten Nymphen, wie Marcianopolis N. 485'. Recently a specimen with the dressed Charites has become known from Marcianopolis; see Gorny Mosch, Auktion 108, 03.04.2001 no. 1421: coin of Iulia Domna.

¹⁵ Gerasimov (1972a) and Gerasimov (1935) 176–8. See also, briefly, Kolve (1966) 62; Kolve (1998) 362; and Jurukova (1999) 26.

¹⁶ Gerasimov (1972a) 43 no. 1 *ΕΥΜΟΛΠΙΟΣ*, not in nos. 2 and 3—coins of Septimius Severus. In the opinion of Gerasimov (1972a p. 44) the

⁷ Imhoof-Blumer (1908) no. 471 thinks that the 'flower, the scent of which Rhodope appears to be smelling', is 'the rose which alludes to the nymph's name' (translation); see also Mušmov (1924) no. 53; LAGM p. 260.

⁸ Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 4. 41; Ptolemy 3. 11. 12: *Τριμόντιον*.

⁹ Kolve (1998): coins from the reign of Antoninus Pius show a panorama of the three hills; coins from the time of Commodus show the Džambaztepe crowned by a statue of Apollo Kendrisos, while halfway to the top we see the temple of Bendis-Artemis with her statue; coins issued in the time of Caracalla show the Taximtepe with the sanctuary of Dionysos and the final section of the aqueduct at the bottom of the hill. See also Kolve (1966) 71–9; Danov (1980) 245–6.

¹⁰ Kolve (1998) 352 with note 6 and fig. 5, p. 367.

¹¹ Jurukova (1981) nos. 135, 137; Nollé and Nollé (1994) 80–3, fig. 88.

western hill of the acropolis of Philippopolis, the Taximtepe, was also named (up to the Middle Ages) ‘Hill of Eumolpos’.¹⁷ And one of the ancient phyles was also named after him (*φυλή Εὔμολπος*).¹⁸ In late antiquity Ammianus Marcellinus mentions ‘Philippopolis, Eumolpias uetus’.¹⁹ Finally, it is certainly not without interest that another Thracian singer is represented on the coins of Philippopolis, Orpheus, playing the lyre, surrounded by animals listening to him (pl. 8.I, 10).²⁰

The name of a second phyle derives from the main deity of Philippopolis—Apollo Kendrisos.²¹ Hence, it is reasonable to infer that the coins of Philippopolis with pictures of Apollo Kendrisos were intended as an expression of local identity.²² In this context the pure Thracian epithet of the god—which is, however, attested only on inscriptions—is of special importance. The iconographic details on these relatively numerous coins (lyre, patera, bow, column with a male statue) certainly give only indirect hints of the special kind of relations between the inhabitants of the city and the deity (pl. 8.I, 11).

Other coins show in a direct and explicit manner the great relevance of indigenous elements. The legend *KOINON ΘΡΑΚΩΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΑ ΠΥΘΙΑ ΕΝ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΙ* testifies to Pythian games (with the epithet ‘Alexandria’), organized by the Thracian League (koinon) in Philippopolis

depiction is of the statue of the god, and for Philippopolis he postulates a temple for the god erected in Roman times. A cult statue and a temple are postulated on the basis of only the representation of an altar in front of the god on a coin from the time of Geta (1972a 43 no. 4). Whether coins with Eumolpos, produced under Septimius Severus and Geta, were issued on the occasion of visits of the Severans at Philippopolis—as Gerasimov (1972a 44) is convinced—must remain still open.

¹⁷ Gerasimov (1972a) 44.

¹⁸ *IG Bulg.* III 1023. See also Danov (1980) 257.

¹⁹ *Amm. Marc.* 22. 2. 2; 26. 10. 4; 27. 4. 12. See also Gerasimov (1972a) 44 with n. 8. Bredow (2000) thinks (like the translator and editor of Ammianus, W. Seyfarth), that Eumolpias in Ammianus supposedly is only the name of a phyle of Philippopolis.

²⁰ As Boteva (2003) 383 emphasizes, all Greek authors agree in naming Thrace as the native country of Orpheus and in speaking of him as a Thracian. Up to now, however, he has not been documented in Thrace either archaeologically or epigraphically.

²¹ *IG Bulg.* III 886. For the local phyle *Κενδρῖσεις*, see also Danov (1980) 257, 266; Bredow (2000): Kendresos (syncretism: Apollo and ‘Thracian horseman’ with this epithet). The temple was situated on the Džendemtepe. For the cult, the sanctuary, and different aspects of Apollo on the coins of Philippopolis see Gočeva (1988) 50–5.

²² Gočeva (1988) 57 emphasizes that local religious traditions of the Thracian population were preserved in Roman times in Philippopolis although the city was the centre of the province. The first place in the hierarchy of cults was held by the local hero Kendrisos, in syncretistic connection with Apollo.

(pl. 8.I, 12).²³ ‘It cannot be determined, however, whether Caracalla himself introduced this epithet to express his admiration for Alexander, or whether the citizens of Philippopolis gave this name to their Pythian games on their own account in order to honour Caracalla’ (translation).²⁴ During the reign of Elagabalus the city obtained the neokoria, and the festivals of the imperial cult, celebrated as Pythia, were combined with those of the indigenous deity Kendrisos.²⁵ Now the games were called, as documented by the coins, *KENΔPEICEIA ΠΥΘΙΑ ΕΝ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΙ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩ* (pl. 8.I, 13).²⁶

In the Moesian city of Tomis, too, there were festivals in the first half of the third century AD, named after a local deity, *ΔΑΡΖΑΛΕΙΑ* (for further information on the ‘Darzaleia’ see below) (pl. 8.2, 14). Strack argued that a festival celebrated at Anchialos, *CEBHPIA ΝΥΜΦΙΑ*, also goes back to an old local tradition.²⁷

As already noted, religion is of decisive importance for the genesis and conservation of cultural identity, and in this context coin-types are very often relevant documents. We now turn to Thracian and Moesian

²³ Perhaps these coins are to be connected with the journey of Caracalla which brought him to Philippopolis in the year 214 (Herodian, *Historia* 4. 8. 1); see Schönert-Geiss (1967) 221. For the games in Philippopolis see Gerasimov (1958); Kolev (1966) 68–70.

²⁴ Schönert-Geiss (1967) 221 thinks that the city of Philippopolis organized the games, but the coin legend ascribes the games to the Thracian Koinon with its headquarters at Philippopolis. Haensch (1997) 331 considers Perinthos to have been the headquarters of the Koinon. The Caracalla coins of Philippopolis ‘could also be taken to imply that only the games of the Koinon in honour of Caracalla took place in Philippopolis’ (translation). For Philippopolis as headquarters of the Koinon see Danov (1980) 258. For the Thracian Koinon: Deininger (1965) 96–8. In this context a coin with the portrait of Caracalla (on the obverse) is of special interest, which shows on the reverse the city-goddess, the legend of which, however, reads only *KOINON ΘΡΑΚΩΝ ΠΥΘΙΑ*—hence without the city’s name (private coll. O. Gavrilov, Sofia; for another type with such legend see Mušimov 1924 no. 424).

²⁵ For the god Kendrisos or Kendreiros see Beševliev (1992) 401–2: Originally it is a local name, but whether one of the hills was called Kendrisos must remain open. On the highest hill, however, the remains of a temple have been discovered, which presumably was devoted to Apollo Kendrisos. The temple is mentioned in some inscriptions and is represented on coins of Philippopolis.

²⁶ Gerasimov (1958) 298 dates them to AD 218 when the temple of Apollo Kendrisos became the neocorate temple for Elagabalus; cf. coins which show Apollo and the emperor together with the temple (Gerasimov (1958) 299 no. 2 and pl. II 3) and the agonistic crown as symbol of the games.

²⁷ *AMNG* II.1: p. 208 with n. 1: ‘Given the great reverence paid to the nymphs particularly in Thrace, it is quite likely that in Anchialos also the Greeks borrowed the cult from the indigenous population’ (translation). See nos. 491–3, 541–4, 562.

coin-types with Egyptian deities²⁸ in order to test the hypothesis of an increasing influence of indigenous elements, which was based on our observations on coins of Philippopolis with agonistic legends and motifs. It has often been noted that oriental and Egyptian deities were widespread in Roman imperial times and hence were often mentioned on the provincial coinage.²⁹ Thus we find on Roman coins from both provinces several types with standardized representations of Isis and Sarapis. But it is also possible to identify local peculiarities and—a factor which is of special importance with regard to the problem of local identity—one can observe syncretistic phenomena.

It is mainly Sarapis who is combined with local deities. In Odessos for example, situated in the Black Sea region, the ‘Great God’—the *Θεὸς Μέγας*—had been venerated since Hellenistic times as a chthonian deity.³⁰ Tetradrachms of the second and first century BC show the bearded head of the Great God on the obverse and on the reverse the standing figure of the god with patera and cornucopia.³¹ In the whole Roman imperial period, too, this representation of the (lying, standing, or riding) god with patera and cornucopia was a prominent motif on coins (pl. 8.2, 15).³² Inscriptions from the first half of the third century AD give the Great God the epithet *Δερζέλας* or *Δερζάλας*.³³ In these inscriptions, lists of ephebes in the context of local festivals, the ‘Theos

Megas-Darzalas’ appears himself as eponym of the games, which underlines the great importance of this god for the festival.³⁴ The coins give us the name of the games given in honour of the god: *Δαρζάλευα* (pl. 8.2, 14).³⁵ Zl. Gočeva saw in the connection between the ‘Theos Megas’ and the local hero Darzalas a political phenomenon which ‘shows the increasing importance of the local population and their religion’.³⁶ This *Θεὸς Μέγας*, obviously in the beginning a Greek god of the underworld who in part adopted a Thracian name, was later equated with Sarapis, as the coins demonstrate. On coins from Severan times onwards the god is depicted wearing a kalathos, an attribute of Sarapis (pl. 8.2, 16).³⁷ In the reign of Gordian III every coin shows Theos Megas with a kalathos. This syncretism of Theos Megas-Darzalas with Sarapis³⁸ was, presumably, made easier because of the iconographic similarities between both deities.³⁹

century AD. The syncretism of both deities was favoured by similar epithets: Gočeva (1981) 232 mentions two monuments with Darzalas in the Thracian interior: On the first he is shown as Thracian horseman, while on the monument from Tãrgovište the god is ‘depicted with patera and cornucopia in the iconographic style typical for Theos Megas’ (translation). The majority of scholars has identified the Theos Megas with other deities because of the iconography, see Żelazowski (1994) 918–19.

²⁸ Cf. Gočeva (1981) 232.

²⁹ AMNG I.2 nos. 2370–2 and see p. 525. Pick even sees in the games a potential indication of a visit of Gordian III to the city (pp. 521 and 528). Similarly Gočeva (1981) 233 thinks that on the occasion of the visit the city received the title of ‘neokoros’, which was—as follows from IG Bulg. I 230—given to the priest of Theos Megas-Darzalas. For the games see also Żelazowski (1992) 40–1; Żelazowski (1994) 919 no. 4. Oppermann (2002) 54 emphasizes that the mention of Darzaleia on the coins of Odessos ‘also stresses the official character of the cult’ (translation).

³⁰ Gočeva (1986) 192.

³¹ AMNG I.2 nos. 2263–4, 2271, 2281–6, 2289–302, 2308–11, 2314, 2318–20, 2360, 2404 and see p. 527. But there remain quite controversial positions: some (for example Condurachi (1940) 13–19; Condurachi (1938) 33–7; Tran Tam Tinh (1998) 182; Clerc and Leclant (1994) 686 no. 204 and 670 no. 23) say that the deity with cornucopia and kalathos must be Sarapis—who in the Balkans was worshipped as god of the dead—while others (like AMNG I.2 524, 527; Pick (1931a) 26, 32, 37) still speak of *Θεὸς Μέγας*. For the whole problem see also—with further references—Żelazowski (1992) 48.

³² In the eyes of Gerasimov (1951) the Theos Megas is identical with the indigenous Darzalas. Tetradrachms of Odessos from the second century BC testify to—as Gerasimov thinks—the existence of a cult statue of the god (to be dated to the fourth century BC) in the city. According to the coins of Roman times this statue still existed in the imperial period. As a consequence of the syncretism with Sarapis, Darzalas now has a kalathos. Gerasimov wants to explain this by the influence of Egyptian merchants and artists. Oppermann (2002) 50, referring to G. Tončeva, emphasizes that small terracottas even in Hellenistic times show syncretistic tendencies in worshipping Theos Megas. With the beginning of the Severan period the syncretism of the god with Sarapis is clearly visible (2002: 55). See also Pick (1931b) 10; Jurukova (1993) 354; Jurukova (1999) 29; Tran Tam Tinh (1998) 182; Żelazowski (1992) 43, 49.

³³ Gerasimov (1951) 70; Oppermann (2002) 55.

²⁸ A main part of the coins I was able to study in the year 1999 in the Heberden Coin Room of Ashmolean Museum at Oxford thanks to the ‘Kraay Travel Scholarship’.

²⁹ A type catalogue—a *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Isiacae et Sarapiacae*—will be drawn up by an international team.

³⁰ Kazarow (1931); Pick (1931b) 10. For the dominant role of the cult of Theos Megas at Odessos see Gočeva (1981); Żelazowski (1992); Schwabl (1986) 18; Oppermann (1978) 912.

At Istros this god received a temple in the third century BC. Suceveanu (1999) interprets the ‘Theos Megas’ in the temple inscription of Istros as Sarapis or Helios or Helios-Sarapis, while Oppermann (2002) 52 assumes that Dionysos is called Theos Megas here.

³¹ AMNG I.2 nos. 2214–15; Pick (1931a) 24–5. With reference to Pick Oppermann (2002) 53 emphasizes that the coin illustrations of the second century AD show a direct tradition-line back to Hellenistic times. Cf. also Condurachi (1940); Venedikov (1963) 165; Żelazowski (1992) 35–8.

³² AMNG I.2 nos. 2227, 2232–3, 2239–40, 2244–44a, 2246–7, 2250–1, 2259–62 and see pp. 523–4; Pick (1931a) 25–7. See also Jurukova (1993) 352.

³³ IG Bulg. I 47–8 and 230bis. Cf. also Pick (1931a) 26. For the connection between Theos Megas and Darzalas see also Gočeva (1998) 30–1 and Salač (1928) 395–6; Żelazowski (1992) 40–2. According to the opinion of Oppermann (2002) 54–5 the Theos Megas Darzalas possibly existed at Odessos since Hellenistic times; at the latest in the later second century AD the connection between the two deities must have existed. Schwabl (1986) 18 notices that the identification of Theos Megas with the Thracian god Darzalas, worshipped in the hinterland, took place only in the third

Apart from representations which were widespread in Thrace and Moesia—including Odessos—of Hades-Sarapis sitting enthroned and of Sarapis standing with raised right hand and sceptre, we find in Odessos also the representation of the god with cornucopia and patera.⁴⁰ This iconographic variant of Sarapis, according to the standard archaeological classification the so-called type III of standing Sarapis,⁴¹ is known also at Perinthos, Anchialos, and Deultum.⁴² In Deultum, a Roman colony, this iconography certainly does not go back to an indigenous deity. As a logical consequence we can call the syncretistic deity Sarapis in Odessos also. The attributes of cornucopia and patera were, as we have seen, characteristic for *Θεὸς Μέγας*, and this similarity—as already argued—made easier the syncretism of this local deity with the now very prominent Sarapis.

Similar phenomena can be observed on coin-designs from Istros and Dionysopolis. In Dionysopolis, a city neighbouring Odessos, Theos Megas is shown on the reverse also with cornucopia and patera, and both with⁴³ and without a kalathos.⁴⁴ But the Sarapis represented on the obverse, together with Gordian III, does not have the cornucopia as an attribute, and therefore it has never been doubted that this god must be Sarapis.⁴⁵ But the cornucopia, which we meet on the obverse as an additional attribute of

Sarapis only in Odessos under Gordian III (see pl. 8.2, 14), could in my opinion be interpreted as an iconographic borrowing from Theos Megas, and therefore as an indication of the clear emphasis on indigenous elements in the first half of the third century AD.

In Istros it is the Thracian rider god, who—again under Septimius Severus—also adopts the kalathos of Sarapis.⁴⁶ Here we can observe a further syncretistic aspect: the unification of Sarapis and Helios-Sol, well documented by several sources,⁴⁷ also appears on coins.⁴⁸ From the reign of Severus onwards, the (originally) Thracian rider god has not only the kalathos of Sarapis, but, on several coins, the crown of rays of Helios as well (pl. 8.2, 17).⁴⁹

Hence we can make a significant observation: on Thracian and Moesian coins of the first and second centuries AD indigenous deities are represented quite rarely—especially in comparison with the votive tablets, which, admittedly, had different functions. By contrast, the beginning of the third century AD saw two new developments: first, these deities tend to be combined step by step with highly prominent gods like Sarapis, worshipped in the whole empire, and secondly there is an increase in the occurrence of local elements on coins. The above mentioned festivals, the *Δαρζάλεια* on coins from Odessos under Gordian III and the *Κενδρεισεια* under Elagabalus in Philippopolis, are instructive examples of this tendency, although such local names for festivals are mentioned only rarely on coins.⁵⁰

I have illustrated only a few numismatic examples which cannot reflect the whole complex of processes of acculturation in Thrace and Moesia Inferior. In particular, the rich emissions of Marcianopolis, Nicopolis ad Istrum, Pautalia, and Philippopolis,

⁴⁰ AMNG I.2 nos. 2329–33; Pick (1931a) 26: ‘However, even after the adoption of the kalathos, which was certainly due to the influence of the cult of Sarapis, the two deities retained their separate identities. The coins of Gordian demonstrate this particularly well. Among the large number of new coin types the widely used image of the Alexandrian Sarapis (with his right hand raised and a sceptre in left hand) occurs, while at the same time other coins depict the indigenous type of the Great God (with patera and cornucopia). The latter image is hardly ever found on the coins of other cities; the only town where it features as a regular type is neighbouring Dionysopolis, which has to be regarded—partly for this reason—as a colony of Odessus. The god did not lose his local significance’ (translation).

⁴¹ Tran Tam Tinh (1983) 54–61, 149–64, esp. 162 no. III 31 and table on p. 70.

⁴² Schönert (1965) no. 606; AMNG II.1 nos. 512, 574, 650; Jurukova (1973) no. 385. We also know from these cities the typical representation of Sarapis with sceptre and raised right hand: Schönert (1965) nos. 602–5, 749, 783, 860, 896; AMNG II.1 nos. 482, 573, 651; Jurukova (1973) nos. 207, 262, 270, 351, 367, 375, 431, 457.

⁴³ AMNG I.1 nos. 381, 384. Oppermann (2002) 54 emphasizes that the coin illustration was adopted ‘offenbar direkt aus Odessos’. Żelazowski (1992) 38 takes the similar coin illustrations as an indication that in the Roman imperial period smaller cities obtained their coins from the mints of the larger provincial cities. ⁴⁴ AMNG I.1 no. 376.

⁴⁵ AMNG I.1 nos. 385–404. Also on coins from Marcianopolis Gordian III is shown together with Sarapis on the obverse (AMNG I.1 nos. 1121–71) just as the Caesar Philip II is depicted with Sarapis on coin obverses in

Marcianopolis (AMNG I.1 nos. 1207–16), in Mesembria (*BMC Thrace* 135 nos. 20–3; *SNG Copenhagen* nos. 666–8), and in Tomis (AMNG I.2 nos. 3590–616). Such double busts of an emperor and Sarapis on the obverses—here: Gordian III or Philip II on the left and Sarapis with kalathos on the right—are never represented on any other Roman provincial coins.

⁴⁶ AMNG I.1 nos. 492–4, 503, 504 (?), 509–510 (?), 516, 524–6; see also Pick (1931a) 36–7, who points to the different figure of the rider god: before getting the kalathos in the time of Septimius Severus the god had a cornucopia.

⁴⁷ Clerc and Leclant (1994) nos. 212–18. See also Tacheva-Hitova (1983) 66. Tran Tam Tinh (1984) 1721 calls the Sarapis of the Roman period ‘le dieu solaire par excellence’.

⁴⁸ See pl. III 9 in AMNG I.1 (no. 516). Tacheva-Hitova (1983) nos. I 1 (= Vidman (1969) 702) and I 2: other sources for Thrace and Moesia show the association of Sarapis and Helios especially for Oescus.

⁴⁹ AMNG I.1 no. 516 and p. 157 n. 4 denies the crown of rays.

⁵⁰ See Leschhorn (1998a) 41 and now the list in LAGM.

which show a wide range of types, urgently need to be collected in corpora for the purposes of acculturation studies. The provincial coinage of Thrace and Moesia Inferior seen as a whole shows, apart from the architectural representations and illustrations of landscapes noted above, mainly Greek and Roman gods, conventional personifications, animals, and objects without any observable deeper relation to local individualities. Perhaps this phenomenon may be explained in the context of the prominent role of provincial governors in the legends of these coins (if that is an indication of who was in fact in control of the coin production), but this is still an open question.⁵¹ It was rather the pseudo-autonomous coins which preserved and continued indigenous and local traditions by means of images adopted from earlier Greek coins.⁵²

There are several other specifically local coin designs in the emissions of both provinces, mainly foundation heroes; examples include Byzas with his name *ΒΥΖΑΣ* in the legend on coins of Byzantium,⁵³ the head of the hero Perinthos *ΠΕΡΙΝΘΟΣ* at Perinthos,⁵⁴ Tomos with the various legends *ΤΟΜΟΥ ΗΡΩΟΣ*,⁵⁵ *ΚΤΙCΤΗC ΤΟΜΟC*,⁵⁶ or only *ΤΟΜΟΣ*⁵⁷ at Tomis, the half-length portrait of the youthful Anchialos *ΑΝΧΙΑΛΟΣ* at Anchialos,⁵⁸ Dionysos as *ΔΙΟΝΥCΩ ΚΤΙCΤΗ* at Bizye,⁵⁹ and Heracles as city-founder on coins of Hadrianopolis,⁶⁰ Perinthos,⁶¹ and Kallatis.⁶² Even the *ΒΟΥΑΗ* and the *ΔΗΜΟΣ* appear on coins of Philippopolis, and show the 'self-confidence of the inhabitants' (pl. 8.2, 18).⁶³

⁵¹ Of thirty cities minting—on a greater or lesser level—in the Roman period there are fifteen which show the names of provincial governors: Anchialos, Augusta Traiana, Bizye, Byzantion, Hadrianopolis, Marcianopolis, Nicopolis ad Istrum, Pautalia, Perinthos, Philippopolis, Plotinopolis, Serdica, Tomis, Topeiros, and Traianopolis.

⁵² For example Pautalia: Head of Asclepius/snake—Ruzicka (1933) no. 1.

⁵³ Schönert-Geiss (1972) nos. 2032–74.

⁵⁴ Schönert (1965) no. 203.

⁵⁵ AMNG I.2 nos. 2547–53.

⁵⁶ AMNG I.2 nos. 2554–70.

⁵⁷ AMNG I.2 nos. 2571–75.

⁵⁸ AMNG II.1 no. 407.

⁵⁹ Jurukova (1981) no. 165; cf. LAGM 95, 181.

⁶⁰ Jurukova (1987) nos. 705–13 partly with the legend *ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙCΤΗΝ*; LAGM 180 with n. 20.

⁶¹ Schönert (1965) nos. 197–202, 204–21 var.: with the legend *ΗΡΑΚΛΗC ΚΤΙCΤΗC* or *ΙΩΝΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙCΤΗΝ*, see also p. 53. LAGM 181 with n. 4.

⁶² AMNG I.1 nos. 290–6 with the legend *ΚΤΙCΤΗC* LAGM 179 with n. 12.

⁶³ Pick (1931b) 7 ('Selbstbewußtsein der Bewohner'). See Mušmov (1924) 453; LAGM 72, 88.

In general one has to consider the impact of methods of coin production on the choice of images. An increasing number of examples of obverse dies being shared between coins of different cities in Thrace and Moesia Inferior has been noticed. In the case of Egyptian deities, for example, coins of Dionysopolis, which show Gordian III and Sarapis on the obverse (pl. 8.2, 19), were produced with the same die as coins of Marcianopolis (pl. 8.2, 20).⁶⁴ The images on the reverse require careful examination too. On coins of Perinthos and Tomis, for example, we notice the iconographic variety and specific arrangement of Egyptian motifs. This hints at an unusually high prominence of Egyptian deities in these cities. And in the same vein we may speculate about the prominence and variety of representations of Egyptian deities on coins of Serdica, Philippopolis, Bizye, and Nicopolis ad Istrum. But what are we to make of Isis and Sarapis on coins of, for example, Dionysopolis, Odessos, Mesembria, and Anchialos? Here we invariably see the same standardized reverse-images of Egyptian gods. Even the smallest details, such as the styling of the garment and the shaping of the sceptre of the standing Sarapis, are very similar on coins of Tomis (pl. 8.2, 21), Kallatis (pl. 8.2, 22), Mesembria (pl. 8.2, 23), Odessos (pl. 8.2, 24), Nicopolis ad Istrum (pl. 8.2, 25), and Marcianopolis (pl. 8.2, 26). At Anchialos and Mesembria we find coin illustrations with the sceptre of Sarapis directed to the right. The image of Sarapis with cornucopia, too, shows striking similarities on coins of Odessos and Dionysopolis. When E. Schönert-Geiss studied Thracian coin-types and especially examined the reverse images with regard to local historical events she noticed that 'cities copied and adopted each other's coin types—especially the conventional ones' (translation).⁶⁵ Hence we have to think again of the

⁶⁴ We have further examples of obverse die-sharing, for example from Marcianopolis, Odessos, and Tomis (time of Gordian III), from Perinthos and Bizye (with Caracalla as Caesar), from Hadrianopolis and Plotinopolis (Faustina the Younger), see Schultz (1999) with references, and—under Septimius Severus—from Marcianopolis and Anchialos (in the private collection of M. Simon, Erfurt).

⁶⁵ Schönert-Geiss (1967) 227 n. 1. AMNG II.1 p. 216 commented on the illustration of gods on coins from Anchialos as follows: 'Here it becomes difficult, or indeed impossible, to decide whether we should imagine all the gods as having their own cults, perhaps even their own temples, in Anchialos, or whether the majority of images of deities on the city's coinage were due to the iconographic enthusiasm and the imitative behaviour of the magistrates in charge of coin production'

controversy over the hypotheses of Konrad Kraft, who supposed the existence of mobile mints or itinerant engravers, the central sending out of dies, and the existence of workshops for die production.⁶⁶

In Thrace and Moesia Inferior the cities which struck coins were mainly those of political, economic, or strategic importance. An increase in the number of troops was matched by an intensified coin production in several cities in the region, which was of great importance as a military route to and from the east.⁶⁷ This context may help to explain why the principal emphasis of the numismatic iconography in the region is on the imperial cult rather than on more local themes.⁶⁸

Beside the usual illustrations we meet in our regions explicit formulas for the veneration of Roman emperors on coins: *IC ΕΩΝΑ ΤΟΥC ΚΥΡΙΟΥC ΕΠΙ ΑΓΑΘΩ ΤΗ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟ ΠΟΛΙ*. J. Nollé was able to discover the reasons which led the cities to create such illustrations and formulas: the victorious Parthian war and the promotion of Caracalla and Geta to become Augusti. Furthermore Philippopolis did have 'every reason to acclaim the Severan emperors: under Septimius Severus it had become the Metropolis of Thrace' (translation).⁶⁹ An unknown, still unpublished, type affirms Nollé's observations because it shows such a legend on its reverse precisely under Septimius Severus (pl. 8.2, 27). Up to now similar coins were known from Philippopolis⁷⁰ only from the time of Geta and from Pautalia (in the reign of Septimius

Severus).⁷¹ On coins of Nicopolis ad Istrum—likewise under Septimius Severus—we read the formula: *EVTVXΩC ΤΟΙC ΚΥΡΙΟΙC*.⁷²

The coinage of Nicopolis ad Mestum, recently studied and published as a 'Stadtcorpus' by H. Komnick, does not show any architectural representations; moreover we find only the conventional canon of Greek and Roman gods. The city's two emissions circulated mainly north and north-east of the mint's locality and hardly, as far as we can tell, at Nicopolis itself. In such a case it is not surprising that we do not see on the coins any expression of a specifically Nicopolitan identity (apart from the banal fact that the supplement 'ad Mestum' makes a distinction between these Nicopolites and citizens of poleis with the same name).

Hence not every coin is a document of a specific local identity. Only a part of all Thracian and Moesian coins known to us have designs which we can interpret as meaningful indications of local identity. Further examples from our provinces are coins from Elaios (minted at the time of Commodus) which show the local but more widely known sanctuary of the Trojan hero Protesilaos,⁷³ coins of Hadrianopolis with the return of Eurydike (pl. 8.2, 28),⁷⁴ the myth of Hero (and Leander) on coins of Sestos,⁷⁵ and coins from the municipium of Coela, which promoted its harbour by placing a prow on its coins.⁷⁶

To sum up: our short survey of the provincial coinage in Thrace and Moesia Inferior has demonstrated that from both provinces we have indicative examples showing Thracian or even local identities and—to a certain degree—the preservation of indigenous traditions. We can observe syncretistic tendencies, partly an adaptation to 'imperial' cultural

(translation). Or, to cite Pick in *AMNG* I.1 p. 82: 'At this time, however, the great majority of types lack any local relevance: they are the conventional depictions of gods and their attributes (the latter primarily on the small coins), of Roman personifications like Concordia etc., and of the emperor. For the most part these images were borrowed from the Roman imperial coinage, of which gold and silver coins were circulating all over the country' (translation). Cf. also pp. 190–1 for Marcianopolis.

⁶⁶ For the controversial discussion of Kraft's observations and hypotheses see recently Brandt (2002) 406–7 with n. 124.

⁶⁷ Schönert-Geiss (1968) 252.

⁶⁸ And, as the city corpora show, coin types referring to the emperor always have the first position in the hierarchy of all types. Cf. Schönert (1965) 40.

⁶⁹ Nollé (1998a) 328–39, quotation p. 338 with n. 58. He supposes that the coins were connected with Epinikia. The honorific addresses of the Nicopolites to the emperors are recorded also in an imperial letter, and archaeologists have been able to find a number of statue bases for the Severans.

⁷⁰ Regling (1902) 190 on Caracalla (see also *LAGM* 23, 103, III, 154, 183, 307).

⁷¹ Ruzicka (1933) nos. 288, 714 (see also *LAGM* 23, 103, III, 154, 183, 239): *ΕΩΝΑ ΤΟΥC ΚΥΡΙΟΥC ΕΠΙ ΑΓΑΘΩ ΠΑΥΤΑΛΙΩΤΑΙC*.

⁷² *AMNG* I.1 nos. 1344, 1625 (see also *LAGM* 12I, 182). Nollé (1998a) 336 summarizes: 'The coin, however, serves as a reminder of a complete programme of enthusiastic honours for the Severan family; Nicopolis did not shy away from emphasizing its zeal with this coin' (translation). In this context we have to remember the coins of Abdera: cf. *RPC* I and II and the legend *ΝΕΩ ΔΙΙ* as an expression of veneration for Trajan or Hadrian (*AMNG* II.1 no. 252), cf. *LAGM* 93, 209. Here also belongs the dedication to the deified Severus on a coin from Odessos: *ΔΙΒΟ CΕΥΗΡΩ ΠΙΕΙΩ*—transcription of the Latin formula *Divo Severo Pio* (*AMNG* I.2 no. 2271).

⁷³ Imhoof-Blumer (1910) 26 nos. 1–2.

⁷⁴ Jurukova (1987) nos. 449–52.

⁷⁵ Schönert-Geiss (1997b) 21 with further references.

⁷⁶ *BMC Thrace* 191–2 nos. 2–6, 8–9.

patterns, and partly a demonstration of local conservatism. This was, of course, not the only symbolic function of those coins—civic coinage was certainly a political instrument and a political medium. It could be used for demonstrating loyalty to Rome, for

expressing gratitude towards Rome and the emperors, but also for emphasizing a city's prominence in comparison to other cities: the rivalry between different cities was practised especially on the numismatic 'battlefield'.

9

LOCAL MYTHOLOGIES IN THE GREEK EAST

Simon Price

THE OVERALL ISSUE OF THIS CHAPTER IS THE articulation of local identities within the broader context of the Greek and Roman world. The development of mythologies, that is, a shared sense of the past, is one of the key ways that this was achieved in the ancient world.¹ Other people and places have done things differently. For example, in the Middle Ages struggles over the possession of the relics of saints was part of the jostling for ecclesiastical and political prominence.² This chapter will focus on the High Empire, though it will look back to the Classical and Hellenistic periods. It aims to show the importance of joining up studies of *Classical* Greek religion with those of later periods. It aims also to illustrate the virtues of being aware of material of different types: not only texts, but also coins, sculpture, and buildings. One theme is that the sculpture and the coins be seen as ‘memory theatres’ in which communities represented to themselves and others images of their past and hence their identities.³

First, some remarks on the definition of ‘mythology’. Here, the word simply refers to stories about the gods and heroes. The term ‘histories’ would have been equally good, because there was and is a perfectly good case for seeing these stories as actual events, taking place in specific places and at specific

times. Upholders of that view naturally believed in the possibility of a continuous narrative, from stories about the gods and heroes down to the present. Such a position was of course debatable and debated, from the fifth century onwards. So Diodorus, writing his *Universal History*, noted that earlier historians had excluded mythology on the grounds that it contained self-contradictions and confusions (so on evidential, not ontological grounds). He himself, however, proposed to include the deeds of gods and heroes, such as Dionysus and Heracles, who were benefactors of the human race.⁴ Such inclusiveness, however, remained controversial: Dionysius of Halicarnassus commended Thucydides’ exclusion of the mythical from his narrative, while noting that local historians did not live up to Thucydidean standards.⁵ Such debates continued through the imperial period, and we must imagine that the proponents of local mythology whom we shall meet also had their local critics.⁶ The normal claim of Tarsus to have as founders heroes and demigods (Perseus and Heracles) was rejected by Dio of Prusa in the first of his speeches to the Tarsians.⁷ But the view of a continuous narrative was the mainstream position.

We must start with the classical period. Let us take as an example the famous sculptural group on the east pediment of the temple at Olympia showing the contest between Pelops and Oenomaos, founders of

¹ Fundamental general work in this area: Veyne 1988; Bowersock 1990; Curty 1995, 1999; C. P. Jones 1999; Lücke 2000; cf. Erskine 2002. On Asia Minor mythologies see Strubbe 1984–6; Weiss 1984, 1990b; Scheer 1993; Lindner 1994; Weiss 1995, 1996, 2000a.

² Geary 1978. Cf. MacCormack 1990 for changing traditional and Christian attitudes to holy places.

³ Cf. Alcock 2002.

⁴ 1. 3. 2; 4. 8. 5. Cf. in general Graf 1993: 121–41. ⁵ *Thucydides* 6–7.

⁶ There were also intellectual critics: Babut 1974; Price 1999: 126–42.

⁷ *Oration* 33. 1; cf. 33. 45 and 47. Cf. Chuvin 1981.

the Olympic games. As Richard Buxton has shown, the context in which a myth is told matters: myths are not archetypal and fixed entities, but malleable stories, constantly recreated in each telling and reworking.⁸ And as Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood showed twenty-five years ago, we need to think not only about Panhellenic myths, but also about local versions of those myths.⁹ So at Olympia this telling of the myth, often seen simply as a masterpiece of classical art (which it no doubt is), can also be seen as the local telling of a tale for obvious local reasons. Or to take another example, whereas the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* stressed the loss of Demeter in the seizure of Kore/Persephone, votive plaques of the fifth century BC from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Locri stressed rather the marriage of Kore and Pluton, and the role of Kore as a goddess of marriage and childbirth.¹⁰ Though subsequently there have been fine studies of for example local Athenian mythology,¹¹ Sourvinou-Inwood's ideas have been too little followed up, and studies of mythology remain too focused at the pan-Hellenic level.¹²

If we think instead about the telling of local versions of myths, then we will see how local myths can situate a community in common narratives of the past. There were at least three different ways of so situating a community: (1) the place was founded by a figure known to general Greek mythology (e.g. Corinth was founded by Sisyphus); we should perhaps distinguish between founders who are merely eponyms and founders who are also ancestors, though this distinction is often blurred by the Greeks themselves; (2) wandering figures made their way to a particular place, and in some cases founded it (e.g. Perseus and Tarsus; Heracles and Rome¹³); this is a particular form of the first strategy; (3) particular events of common Greek mythology happened right *here*, and not somewhere else (the births of Zeus, Artemis, or Dionysus, or the Rape of Persephone; or at the microscopic level the Attic deme of Thorikos made the most of the claim that the story of Kephalos and Procris happened right at

Thorikos).¹⁴ These are of course competitive claims, much stronger than the other, centripetal claims. These variants on pan-Hellenic myths in some cases, as at Locri, also express sets of values which were of particular local importance.

Local mythologies are easy to misunderstand. It is tempting, even for experts, to look at the creation of new local mythologies and to make patronizing remarks which imply that the creators of such myths were cynical manipulators, as against the tellers of 'real' myths. In fact, of course, mythologies were perpetually being created in Greece. Those interested in the creation of mythologies for new or newly Hellenized communities in the Hellenistic and Roman East should remember the earlier creation of such mythologies for colonial foundations such as Cyrene or Syracuse. So much that is going on in the second century AD is not novel, but rather part of a long-term phenomenon. But there is a danger of treating the whole period from (say) the third century BC up to the fifth century AD synchronically, as if nothing changed over those 800 years.

We should identify at least three different phases. First, in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, there was much networking by both major and minor cities; in the Hellenistic period, they attempted to draw the kings into their world, sometimes by use of mythological arguments which they hoped would appeal to the ruling powers. Secondly, in the High Empire, tableaux and texts claimed the Hellenic high ground for their communities. The dynamic behind this were members of local elites, who sought to promote their positions along with those of their cities;¹⁵ we need to see this in relation to the fact that many, perhaps most local elites in this period were very fluid. Thirdly, in the late empire at least major cities, such as Aphrodisias and Ephesus, continued to monumentalize their mythical pasts.¹⁶ Major literary works were still composed in the fifth century, notably the massive epic on the life of Dionysus by Nonnus, written in Egypt in the 460s AD. This is the longest surviving Greek epic, and perhaps the least read. But as Robert and Chuvin have demonstrated, Nonnus is

⁸ Buxton 1994. ⁹ Sourvinou-Inwood 1978.

¹⁰ Sourvinou-Inwood 1978; Price 1999: 24–7. ¹¹ Parker 1987.

¹² Graf 1993, for example, includes only a few pages (101–20) on this subject.

¹³ Note that Hellanicus (in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 1. 35. 2 = FGH 4F111) already claims that 'Italia' was derived from 'vitulus' (one of Heracles' cattle that ran away all down the Italic peninsula); he thus shows a remarkable awareness of Italic languages.

¹⁴ Price 1999: 29.

¹⁵ C. P. Jones 1999: 116 claims that aristocrats of Aegeae in Cilicia 'traced their ultimate origin to Argos', but there is no explicit evidence in support of this claim.

¹⁶ On the frieze on the temple of Artemis and Hadrian at Ephesus, see Fleischer in Bammer 1974: 78–82; Price 1999: 23.

fascinating both as a fifth-century text, and as a palimpsest to be read against earlier mythical material.¹⁷ Finally, in the sixth century Stephanus of Byzantium put together his list of cities, with rich citations concerning their mythical pasts. In all three phases, cities had much the same strategy, of attempting to position themselves successfully within a wider world with reference to a shared past. Over time, their specific aims differed, as did the media that they employed.

The difficulty about operating with these three different phases (Classical-Hellenistic; Roman; Late Roman) is that the evidence is patchy and not directly comparable over time. For the early Hellenistic period, we have (some) Callimachus and Apollonius, but we lack Apollonius' foundation poetry, and other major poets such as Euphorion are very fragmentary.¹⁸ We also lack most of the visual evidence. For the High Empire we have titles of works that seem to have been important: for example, the work on legends of Dionysus, the *Bassarika*, by one Dionysius, written in the early second century. Occasionally, we have the actual works. For example, the section of a poem written in the early third century AD by a Syrian from Apamea on the mythical past of that city.¹⁹ One important development of the period was the production of scholarly handbooks of mythology, composed mainly between c. 250 BC and AD 150.²⁰ One type of them took particular themes, such as mythical genealogies; the principal extant example of this type is the *Library* ascribed to Apollodorus (in fact dating to the first or second century AD). There were also local historical works, as had been written for some places since the later fifth century BC.²¹ The prose and poetry written in these years could be performed at civic festivals throughout the Greek world, again something that goes back at least to the Hellenistic period. Advice on the composition of such encomia is given in the late third century by the treatise ascribed to Menander Rhetor. Unfortunately, though we hear of poets and historians receiving

local honours for their works, most of their writings on local mythologies are lost to us.

Though much of the textual evidence does not survive, what we do have for the High Empire is a very rich and diverse set of local iconographies (pl. 9.1, 1). The types on local bronze coinages issued by hundreds of cities in the course of the imperial period feature matters of local interest—local buildings, or local festivals and the like—and include many different local gods, heroes, and their myths. Our problem is in knowing how to interpret individual scenes, which often come to us divorced from their narrative context. If we are lucky, as Robert showed in some fundamental articles, we can use epigraphic or literary evidence to unlock the story.²²

The other source of local iconographies is relief friezes, though there may also have been painted versions of which no traces survive. Whereas in the classical period temple pediments and metopes were a common place for parading mythologies, in the High Empire temples were not so decorated, and instead theatres and other public buildings received complex decoration. For example, the South Portico leading up to the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias was decorated with a series of reliefs of mythological scenes, selected from the general Greek repertoire in order to suit both the location of Aphrodisias and its links with Rome (pl. 9.2, 14).²³

What follows in this chapter has three main sections, concerning: local mythologies in the high empire; the role of such mythologies in the construction of ties between cities; and the claims of these mythologies on the ruling power.

Local Mythologies in the High Empire

An image on two coins from Acmonia in Phrygia will serve as a starting point. The type was of some local stability: it appears both in the mid-second century and again with similar iconography in the third century (pl. 9.1, 2–3). Such stability of type suggests that locally it could be read with ease, though at first sight it is to us baffling. Acmonia was a fairly minor town, which took over Hellenic culture in the course

¹⁷ Robert 1962: 273–8, 297–317; 1975; Chuvin 1991, 1994. For possible borrowings from Nonnus in a mosaic epigram at Halicarnassus, see Poulsen and Isager 1995 (*SEG* 44. 886; cf. 45. 1512). On the structure of Nonnus, see Shorrock 2001.

¹⁸ Alan Cameron 1995: 295–301; Ehrhardt 1995.

¹⁹ Cf. Hollis 1994, arguing for the possibility of Euphorion as a source, and Bernard 1995, arguing instead for the geographic underpinning of the myth.

²⁰ Henrichs 1987.

²¹ Chaniotis 1988.

²² Robert 1937: 155–9; 1975, 1977b, 1984.

²³ Smith 1990. See below, p. 119 on Nysa.

of the Hellenistic period. How was it to situate itself in the wider Greek world? One way was through its origins. Its name must have suggested to some that it was founded by one Acmon. In a list given by Nonnus (13. 143–5) three of the seven Corybantes who protected the infant Dionysus have names related to Asia Minor toponyms: Mimas (a mountain in the territory of Erythrae), Prymneus (related to Prymnessos in Pisidia), and Acmon. Nonnus refers to Acmon specifically as *oridromos*, ‘who runs in the mountains’. This led Robert (1975) to make a connection with the coin type. The horseman is Acmon, the mountain is Dindymus, 2312 m (high above the plain of Acmonia lying at only 900 m). The other figures are a river, two nymphs, and an eagle. The full local story we cannot reconstruct, but it presumably related to the foundation of the city by Acmon.

Claims like that by Acmonia, that they were founded by a figure known (just) in general Greek mythology, were taken a step further in some cases. Some communities claimed that specific events occurred not in (say) mainland Greece, but right here in X.²⁴

These points are well illustrated by a theatrical frieze from Hierapolis in Phrygia (pl. 9.3, 15).²⁵ The decoration of the theatre is dated by an inscription to the early third century (AD 205–10). We do not know what lay behind the creation of this frieze, but it may be relevant that it was just at this time that the famous sophist Antipater of Hierapolis was high in imperial favour, as *ab epistulis Graecis* of Septimius Severus and tutor to Severus’ sons.²⁶

There are two cycles: Artemis on the left, and Apollo on the right, and three phases of each cycle: birth; affirmation of power, vs chaos (giants), or over nature; punishment of offenders (Niobe; Marsyas); cult of gods (Apollo purificatory; Artemis of Ephesus).

²⁴ Ovid, *Metamorphoses* presents the counterpart of such claims. In writing from the centre he notes the location of the stories of Arachne in Hypaepa in Lydia (6. 1–102), of Niobe from Maenonia (6. 147 ff.), of Hera at Xanthos (6. 319–81), of Marsyas in Phrygia (6. 382–400), and of Tereus in Attica (6. 424–674). I owe this point to Dr A. Feldherr.

²⁵ Ritti 1985; D’Andria and Ritti 1985; Chuvin 1987; Bejor 1991: 38–46; Ritti 1989–90 on local cults and 2001 on the urban context. For parallels, see Sturgeon 1977: esp. 124–9; D’Andria and Ritti 1985: 175–81; Lindner 1994 (on Nysa).

²⁶ Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* 2. 24 (Loeb, pp. 268–71); Millar 1977: 92. In 204 his son was selected to be in the choir of senatorial boys reciting a poem at the Saecular games. At some point (after 202) he was legate of Bithynia. He fell out with Caracalla in AD 212, after Caracalla’s assassination of his brother Geta.

Apollo was the principal deity of the city, referred to on an inscription as Apollo Archegetes, Apollo the Founder, an allusion to the foundation of the city. There was also a cult of Apollo Kareios, a local deity aligned with Apollo, within the main sanctuary of Apollo.

The pair of birth scenes, either side of the central axis of the theatre, is very revealing (pl. 9.4, 17–18). All classicists ‘know’ that Apollo and Artemis were born on the island of Delos. As with Eleusinian traditions about Demeter and Kore, we tend to privilege that version. Indeed it is easy for those interested in the classical period to remember that the Delian claim was not uncontested. The Ephesians also claimed that the divine pair was born right there at Ephesus. The iconography of the two scenes avoids any pointers to Delos as the setting, which may mean that the frieze sides with the Ephesian claims. However, the principal topographical feature in both scenes is the rocky ground, which is not very explicit.

The regional interest of the frieze is picked up in the story of Marsyas. The story is that Athena invented the pipes, but threw them away because she did not like the way they distorted her face (which she could see reflected in water). Marsyas picked them up, and played them, despite Athena’s protests. He even dared to challenge Apollo to a competition: the prize was that the victor could do what he wished to the loser. Apollo in fact chose to flay Marsyas alive. This is a widespread story, but it was given local roots near Hierapolis. The spying on Athena took place at Kelainai (a town renamed Apamea in the Hellenistic period). And the skin of Marsyas was displayed in a cave at the source of the river Marsyas, which flowed through Apamea.²⁷ The Hierapolis frieze features stages from the whole story, from Marsyas watching Athena play the pipes (pl. 9.5, 19) to his flaying by Apollo. The scene of Marsyas entranced by the playing of Athena appears on a coin of Apamea (pl. 9.5, 20), and it is quite likely that the Marsyas cycle as a whole was featured at Apamea. The Hierapolis relief was indeed probably inspired by the Apamea cycle.

Niobe too was a local myth. When Pausanias describes a representation of Apollo and Artemis slaying Niobe’s children, he remarks: ‘This Niobe

²⁷ Herodotus 7. 26; Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1. 2. 8. Cf. Pausanias 10. 30. 9. For discussion of myths and topography see Chuvin 1991: 112–25.

I myself saw when I went up Mount Sipylus. When you are near, it is a beetling crag, with not the slightest resemblance to a woman, mourning or otherwise; but if you go further away, you will think you see a woman in tears, with head bowed down.²⁸

A further local reference occurs with the statues in the niches, of Hades and the Rape of Kore. They allude to the Plutonium, a mysterious place sited within the sanctuary of Apollo, beside the temple of Apollo. This place, with its eerie vapours that were said to be deadly to almost anyone who entered,²⁹ was thought of as an entrance to the underworld, and presumably as the place where Kore was seized by Hades.

The Plutonium at Hierapolis was in competition with the sanctuary at Nysa 90 kilometres to the west down the Maeander valley, which also laid claim to this myth. Turkish excavations of 1982–3 turned up an amazing frieze from the theatre, which dates probably to the Severan period. It has not yet been fully published, but Lindner (1994) was given most generous permission to discuss and illustrate it. Nysa was not a town of great note in the wider world. The city's foundation (or more precisely its synoikism) dates to the third century BC, and it may have been named after a member of the Seleucid royal family. But it was sited 5 kilometres east of an earlier sanctuary marking the entry to the underworld; a letter of Seleucus I and his son Antiochus to the Athymbrians confirmed privileges of what is probably this sanctuary.³⁰ Even if the name of the city was chosen for dynastic reasons, joining a dozen and more other Nysas in the Greek world, the city certainly came to capitalize on the mythological associations of the name. We all 'know' that the Rape of Persephone, which occurred in the Nysian plain according to the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (line 17), happened at Eleusis. But this claim was not uncontested, and we should not be snooty about competing claims. The Sicilians had long claimed that it happened in Sicily.³¹ Why shouldn't it have happened at our Nysa, or at the mysterious Plutonium of Hierapolis? As it happens, Nysa was also famous

in another mythic cycle, that of Dionysus. According to the common story, the baby Dionysus was rescued from mortal danger and placed in the care of the Nymphs of mount Nysa, who duly reared him. Evidence predating the discovery of this frieze showed that Nysa made much of the first of these mythic cycles, the Rape of Persephone, but scholars had been surprised that the association with Dionysus was not drawn. The frieze now shows that *both* were available at Nysa; it is a complex interweaving of the two stories: the Rape of Persephone and the birth of Dionysus. What is interesting about the Persephone story is the divergence from the *Homeric Hymn* tradition. That focuses on the mother–daughter relationship, the desperate grieving of the mother, and the partial recovery of the daughter. Here Demeter does give chase, but catches up with a married couple: the emphasis seems rather to be on the marriage between Kore and Pluto. This makes perfect sense at a place whose main festival, recorded on local coins, and on inscriptions, was the Theogamia (pl. 9.1, 4). The cult at Nysa has taken over and relocated an ancient myth, and as at Locri, shifted its emphasis to suit local preoccupations.

The relocation of myths, from Eleusis to Hierapolis or Nysa, or from Delos to Ephesus, raises the question of the limits of the possible in such mythical elaborations. The answer will vary, depending on the logic of the particular myth. Wandering heroes could be associated with almost anywhere. There were dozens of Nysas, scattered across the Greek world, and Dionysus could be said to have been born at almost any of them. Perseus and Heracles too had a wide geographical range in their travels. But there were limits: Perseus could not be claimed to have gone to Spain, while Heracles' return journey from Spain could not be said to have been via North Africa. Some elements were too fixed in the tradition to be readily altered. As for the contested claims concerning the location of particular events (the birth of Artemis, the Rape of Persephone), the constraints were the need to offer evidence in support of the claim: the name of the place (Nysa); the nature of the place (the Plutonium at Hierapolis); the antiquity of the cult (Ephesus, with her special image of Artemis that had fallen from heaven); surviving evidence (the skin of Marsyas; the lithic form of Niobe; the

²⁸ I. 21. 3; cf. Quintus Smyrnaeus I. 291–306.

²⁹ Strabo 13. 4. 14 (629–30 C), Cassius Dio 68. 27. 3; Damascius, *The Philosophical History*, fr. 87A Athanassiadi. ³⁰ RC 9.

³¹ Diodorus Siculus 5. 3–4 (probably from Timaeus of Tauromenium: FGH 566 F 164). Cf. Cicero, *Verrines* 4. 107; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 5. 346–571.

fertility of the soil, for Demeter and Persephone).³² Competing claims had to be plausible within the logic of the myths (otherwise they would carry no weight with other Greek communities), and they had to rest on evidence (such as old oracles, decrees, and the writings of poets and historians), but there was no external authority (oracular or other) that could adjudicate between such claims.

The limits of the creation of local mythologies also need consideration in terms of other local religious traditions. The rooting of pan-Hellenic stories in local settings was a successful and widespread strategy, but it was not universal. Outside the world of the Greek cities of Asia Minor other cults claimed authority and prestige on different grounds. In the villages and countryside of Lydia and Phrygia were dozens of rural sanctuaries of gods that did not form part of the old Olympian pantheon.³³ In Lydia *Mên* and *Mêtêr* are the most commonly attested gods; they are associated with other gods, or are rooted locally by means of local epithets (e.g. *Aliane* or *Plastene* for *Mêtêr*; *Axiottenos* for *Mên*). These gods lay claim to the religious high ground by virtue of their names: *Mêtêr* was a 'mother' of universal power. But it is striking that these gods remain remote from the types of links forged by the cities. They are never associated with the emperor,³⁴ and they do not relate to the stories of Panhellenic mythology.

It might seem as if this were a purely 'mythological' phenomenon, one that called only on the remote Hellenic past. In fact civic uses of the past are more complicated than this. Some cities had not just a mythical founder to be proud of. Smyrna, for example, was proud of its mythical association with the birth of Zeus and with Pelops, and its foundation by Theseus, but it was also proud of its foundation by Alexander the Great. This is clear in Aelius Aristides' five speeches about the city.³⁵ The city's coinage also features three sets of figures associated with the

foundations of Smyrna: the Amazon Smyrna, and the *Nemeseis* (who allegedly inspired Alexander's foundation) are the most common, but Pelops and Alexander himself also appear (pl. 9.1, 5–7).³⁶ The claim to foundation by Alexander, rather than by one of his less illustrious successors, is found elsewhere, but some cities did commemorate their foundations by Hellenistic kings.³⁷ In addition, some cities also had a Roman foundation, and some of these *coloniae* chose to incorporate their earlier pasts. The most complicated such community was *Alexandria Troas*, whose rich coinage elaborates a triple identity for the community: Roman *colonia*; its early Hellenistic foundation; and the ancient cult of *Apollo Smintheus* (which related the city to the Trojan cycle).³⁸ When Aelius Aristides appealed to the emperor Marcus Aurelius for his help for Smyrna devastated by an earthquake he had no problem in placing Marcus Aurelius as the new founder of the city.³⁹ It is surely not an accident that coins of Smyrna featuring the Dream of Alexander also appear from this point onwards.

The material seen so far can be paralleled from many other communities in western Asia Minor, and mainland Greece. There is, however, a question as to how typical these uses of mythology were for other parts of the Greek world, particularly eastern Asia Minor and Syria. Some cities in those areas certainly did play this game (for example *Apamea* on the *Orontes*), but it seems that the game was less played here.⁴⁰ Numismatic evidence, which alone offers a systematic view of this subject, is crucial here. The civic coins of Syria do include monuments of local importance, and sometimes refer to civic foundations, but seem not to draw on Greek mythological themes.⁴¹ If this regional difference really existed, it needs explanation. This might be in terms of the different position of Hellenic culture in Syria, where the past that was recalled most was not a Greek past. For example, *Philon of Byblus* in the second century AD composed a treatise on Phoenician religion, which

³² Pausanias includes many examples of the transfer of the bones of heroes (e.g. 8. 9. 3; 8. 36. 8 (Arcas); 2. 22. 2–3 (Tantalus, a contested claim between Argos and Mount Sipylus, which Pausanias reconciles in terms of two Tantaluses). Cf. in general Pfister 1909–12.

³³ M. P. de Hoz 1999; Drew-Bear *et al.* 1999. ³⁴ Price 1984: 94–8.

³⁵ *Oration* 17. 2–5; 18. 2; 21. 3–4, 10. Reference to the dream of Alexander evades the point that Alexander may never have been to Smyrna and the actual (re-)founders were the less famous Antigonus and Lysimachus. Cf. also Tacitus, *Annals* 4. 56. Other sources stress the Amazon Smyrna: Strabo II. 5. 4 (505 C); 12. 3. 21 (550 C), 14. 1. 4 (633 C); Pliny, *Natural History* 5. 118.

³⁶ Klose 1987: 27–8 (Smyrna), 28–30 (Nemeseis), 36 (Pelops and Alexander).

³⁷ Ziegler 1998 for Alexander; below, p. 124 on Hierapolis, and Butcher, Chapter 12 below, p. 149 for Seleucus and Antioch.

³⁸ Weiss 1996. Cf. Price 1999: 157–8. ³⁹ *Oration* 19. 4; 20. 5, 20.

⁴⁰ *Apamea*: Hollis 1994; Bernard 1995.

⁴¹ Cf. Butcher, Chapter 12 below.

he claimed was translated from the archaic Phoenician author Sanchuniathon.⁴²

Mythologies and Inter-City Relationships

Something of the importance of the ways that mythology articulated relationships between Greek cities has already been seen for Hierapolis in relation to Nysa. The regional positioning of Hierapolis is even clearer in the scenes at the (left-hand) end of the Artemis cycle (pl. 9.5, 21). Finding here a scene of the worship of Ephesian Artemis is not all that surprising. The extremely distinctive image of Ephesian Artemis crops up in cities all over Asia Minor (and beyond). From an Ephesian point of view this served to glorify the city of Ephesus, which prided itself in this period as the native city of Artemis, from which her cult has spread over the whole world.⁴³ From the point of view of Hierapolis, the city aligned itself with the prestige of arguably the most famous cult of Asia: one wing of the frieze culminated with Artemis of Ephesus, while the other ended with what is surely the local cult of Apollo. Local coinage also proclaimed the firm and friendly ties between the two cities, by juxtaposing images of the principal gods of Hierapolis and Ephesus (pl. 9.5, 22).⁴⁴

So regional positioning occurred: allusions to myths located in the region (the births of Apollo and Artemis; punishments of Marsyas and the children of Niobe). There was also ranking of cults: the local cult of Apollo was put on a par with that of Ephesian Artemis. The importance of the local cult of Apollo is more evident if we raise our gaze from the podium to the architrave of the theatre. There we find a second, slightly later, frieze, which featured scenes related to the local festival of Apollo, the Pythia (pl. 9.3, 16).

⁴² Iamblichus, also from Syria, stresses the superiority of Chaldaean and Egyptian theologies in his so-called *De mysteriis* (esp. 1.1–2 and 7–8). On him see Athanassiadi 1993.

⁴³ In the words of an Ephesian decree of the mid-second century AD, 'Since the goddess Artemis, defender of our city, is honoured not only in her native city, which she has made more famous than all other cities through her own divinity, but also by Greek and barbarians, so that everywhere sanctuaries and precincts are consecrated for her, temples are dedicated and altars are set up on account of her manifest epiphanies . . . ' (*I.Ephesos* 1a 24, translated Price 1999: 181). Cf. Price 1984: 131 on images of Artemis.

⁴⁴ Cf. Price 1984: 126 on 'homonoia' coinage; Franke and Nollé 1997 present the evidence.

The correlate of Hierapolis' mythical positioning in relation to other cities was that she claimed that other cities should participate in her Pythian festival. One of the statues on the frieze was labelled *synthysia*, the joint sacrifice of neighbouring states.⁴⁵

The use of mythology to construct relationships between cities was something that ran all through Greek history. A splendid inscription of the late third-century BC gives a decree from Xanthos discussing the presentation on behalf of the Aetolian league by some ambassadors.⁴⁶ The text, 110 lines long, is the fullest single account we have of the deployment of mythology in a diplomatic context. The ambassadors were going round asking for help in rebuilding the walls of Kytinion in Aetolia (damaged in earthquake and destroyed by Antigonos Dason). The basis for the claim was mythological. The ambassadors seem to have gone out with a basic mythology of their city to present: Asklepios, Chrysaor and the Heraclidai. These figures get duly pushed in the speech, but they have no particular relevance to Xanthos. In addition, the ambassadors also tried to put a spin on Apollo, who with Artemis was bathed by their mother at the Letoon. The link turns out to be that Apollo fathered (on Cononis, daughter of Doros) Asclepius, who was born in Doris. The ambassadors also were sent out to the kings descended from Heracles, Ptolemy and Antiochus. In reply, the city of Xanthos expressed great sympathy with the case, partly because of the relationship between the two cities, and partly because of Ptolemy, descendant of Heracles (and at this time master of the region). There is some interesting linguistic fencing going on here: the ambassadors had claimed the close tie of kinship, *syngeneia*, while the Xanthians accepted only *oikeiotes*, a much less close relationship (here with the Dorians in general).⁴⁷ The outcome was that the Xanthians declined to help, on grounds of bankruptcy, but they were clearly not embarrassed by the whole episode. After all they chose to have the negative decision inscribed in the sanctuary.

It is helpful to juxtapose with this case one from 400 years later. An Argive decree of probably the second century AD records a rather different

⁴⁵ Cf. Price 1984: 128–30, for this practice. ⁴⁶ SEG 38. 1476.

⁴⁷ Curty 1995 denies this, but see C. P. Jones 1999: 14, 31, 44, 57, 89, 101, 104; cf. Erskine 2002: 99–100.

diplomatic exchange.⁴⁸ The famous sophist Publius Anteius Antiochus of Aegeae in Cilicia had gone to Argos to seek a renewal of the ancient friendship between the two cities. The Argive decree accepting the sophist's request was published, at his request, in the sanctuary of Apollo Lykaios. The surviving part of the decree includes a summary of part of Anteius' speech: Perseus, son of Danae, in his expedition against the Gorgones, had reached Cilicia, carrying a copy of the cult statue of his ancestral goddess. The loss of the rest of the stone means that we cannot follow exactly how Anteius made his case, but Perseus was the ideal link between the two cities. Perseus, like Heracles and Dionysus, could be said to have travelled almost anywhere, and in fact he was well known in the myths and cults of several Cilician cities. On the other side, Perseus was the famous Argive hero, and it had been believed for centuries that the Argives were susceptible to claims about him. After all, Herodotus recorded that Xerxes had tried to bring the Argives over to him on the ground of their common descent from Perseus.⁴⁹

What has changed here, between Xanthos and Kytinion in 206–205 BC and Argos and Aegeae in the second century AD? Mythological ties permitted the relatively powerless to club together. The objectives varied over time. Kytinion wanted something very specific and practical from Xanthos—financial help for rebuilding their walls. Aegeae, on the other hand, was engaged in cultural networking with one of the most prestigious players of old Greece. Those differences are symptomatic of shifts in the nature of inter-city relations between the high Hellenistic and the high Roman periods.

The case of relations between Aegeae and Argos also reminds us that the Panhellenion was not the central issue in inter-city Greek relations that scholars sometimes suggest. Founded in AD 131–2 by Hadrian, the Panhellenion was supposed to be a major focus for Greek cities. Prospective members had to demonstrate both long-term loyalty to Rome, and at the same time Greekness of cultural heritage. This latter point was argued on the basis of some now familiar mythological arguments. Eumeneia claimed Achaean origins (pl. 9.1, 8),⁵⁰ while Cibyra argued

successfully that it was both a Spartan colony and related by kin to the Athenians.⁵¹ Cibyra's second-century claim contrasts strikingly with a view of the city a century earlier, when Strabo viewed its heritage as basically Lydian.⁵² In this version the brothers Cibyras and Marsyas founded the neighbouring cities of Cibyra and Tabae. But whatever the arguments of Cibyra, membership of the Panhellenion by Asian cities was very patchy. Second-rankers joined up, places which were or became assize centres, or which were the origin of one or in the case of Cibyra two senatorial families. But there is no sign that the three major cities of the province, Pergamum, Ephesus, and Smyrna, were members of the Panhellenion (something which cannot be a result of the accidents of evidential survival).⁵³ For them the Panhellenion was an irrelevancy. Even for the lesser-ranking cities, joining the Panhellenion was only one option: many preferred to forge their own mythological ties with individual cities. The patterns of networking remained fluid and varied.

Mythologies and the Ruling Power

This third and final section moves on from networking between Greek cities to the issue of the relationship between those cities and the ruling power.

Greek cities had long taken for granted that rulers would share their cultural horizons. Recall how the Aetolians and the Xanthians had known the effectiveness of appeal to the descent of the Ptolemies from Heracles.⁵⁴ The Greeks were lucky that the Romans bought into the system. As far back as the sixth century BC when the Romans founded a sanctuary on the Aventine to Diana, the cult statue was modelled on that worshipped at the Greek colony of Massilia, and that cult statue was itself derived from the image of Artemis at Ephesus. Or to jump a few centuries, there is the assumption on the part of the ambassadors from Lampsakos of 196–195 BC that Rome would help her because of her Trojan

⁵¹ IGR I 418 = OGIS 497; IGR III 500 for Spartan foundation. Curty 1995: no. 81; Swain 1996: 75. ⁵² 13. 4. 17 (631 C).

⁵³ Spawforth and Walker 1985: 81 claim evidential survival.

⁵⁴ Of course, the extent to which ruling powers accepted such arguments varied. Athens in the Hellenistic period was reluctant to acknowledge ties of kinship (C. P. Jones 1999: 44, 57, 60).

⁴⁸ SEG 26. 426, with 31. 308; Robert 1977b: 120–32; Chaniotis 1988: 85–6, 116, 322–5; Curty 1995: no. 5.

⁴⁹ 7. 150.

⁵⁰ Weiss 2000a.

past (again involving Massilia as an intermediary).⁵⁵ This Trojan past was naturally evoked in the imperial period by Ilion (pl. 9.1, 9), in a manner which recalled both Ilion's own proud past, and also her relation to Rome (pl. 9.1, 10). This second image alludes of course to the historic role of Troy as the origin of Rome, and its deployment in Rome and Italy is well known. But it is also worth noting that Roman *coloniae* in Asia Minor could display the same image, this time in a double take—as the new Romes in a Greek world (pl. 9.1, 11). Or there is the success of Aphrodisias in playing on the different interests of both Sulla and Augustus in their Aphrodite (pl. 9.1, 12).

That Romans were not merely passive recipients of such requests for favours, but rather were active participants in the scheme of Greek mythological culture, is illustrated nicely in a story in Suetonius.⁵⁶ When Tiberius first entered the senate house after the death of Augustus, he 'offered sacrifice after the example of Minos with incense and wine, but without a flute player, as Minos had done in ancient times on the death of his son'. According to the myth, Minos had been sacrificing on Paros to the Graces when he heard of the death of his son; he did not stop the sacrifice, but finished it off without garlands or flutes (a practice apparently 'still' maintained by the Parians). This is all very unfamiliar material, unless one is, like Tiberius, familiar with the *Aetia* of Callimachus (and Suetonius also tells us that Tiberius was fond of the learned Hellenistic poets Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius). Though it is obscure what twist is given to the Tiberian story by the fact that he was sacrificing after the death of his father (who had famously not wished Tiberius to be his heir), the intertwining of Roman and Greek consciousness could hardly be clearer.

This point perhaps sets a familiar episode later in the reign of Tiberius in a slightly different light. In AD 22 Tiberius was disquieted by accounts that there was widespread abuse in the Greek world of asylum rights at sanctuaries: bankrupts and murder suspects were taking refuge in such sanctuaries, resulting in possible civic disturbances.⁵⁷ The senate, to which Tiberius referred the affair, then heard deputations from

numerous Greek cities, each claiming the defence of antiquity for their particular right of asylum. For example, the Ephesians claimed that Artemis and Apollo had been born not on Delos but at Ephesus (as we have already seen); Apollo himself had avoided there the wrath of Zeus for the murder of the Cyclops; Dionysus had pardoned some Amazons who were suppliants at the altar there; Heracles had further extended the sanctity of the temple, privileges which had been respected by the Persians, the Macedonians, and the Romans. We often treat such appeals rather patronizingly: the Romans must have been yawning (or laughing) behind their togas. But it is quite wrong so to do. The arguments presented to the senate drew on common local claims about the relation of individual cities to the gods, and did in fact serve to convince the senate that asylum rights of genuine antiquity should, though circumscribed, be preserved. Greek mythology might thus be the subject of public debate, and might determine public policy.

Claims on Rome were not limited to the preservation of existing rights. Artemis of Ephesus was granted by Hadrian the exceptional privilege of receiving legacies.⁵⁸ And under the Empire the system of neokorates offered a new privilege for which cities could compete. Neokorate titles began life in the province of Asia when it was decided that there could be more than one city at which the provincial council and festival would be held; the title was granted by senate or emperor.⁵⁹ The title starts off in relation to the imperial temple in a city which was the centre for the provincial festival; the city itself was given the title of neokoros, or temple warden, which was a mark of especial privilege. The system was extended under Elagabalus to include temples of the traditional gods: Kore of Sardis, Artemis of Ephesus, Demeter of Nicomedia, and Apollo of Hierapolis. This last case is interesting in the light of the theatrical reliefs from Hierapolis discussed above. They date to AD 205–10, and the neokorate to a decade later, but it is tempting to see the acquisition of the neokorate as the culmination of a process of self-promotion going back some years. The emperor will have passed through Hierapolis on his way from Syria to Rome, and a local bronze coin shows the emperor sacrificing

⁵⁵ Curty 1995: no. 39 (translated Austin 1981: no. 155).

⁵⁶ *Tiberius* 70. Dr A. Hollis drew this passage to my attention. Cf. Hollis 2003.

⁵⁷ Tacitus, *Annals* 3. 60–3. Cf. Dignas 2002: 288–99.

⁵⁸ *I.Ephesos* II 274; *Tituli ex corpore Ulpiani* 22. 6 (in *FIRA* 2. 285). Cf. Dignas 2002: 145–6.

⁵⁹ Price 1984: 64–5.

in front of the temple of Apollo (pl. 9.1, 13). He was duly impressed with the magnificence of Hierapolis and the antiquity of its cults. In turn the city issued a huge series of coins, the major issue for the city in the whole period from 180–245.⁶⁰ The series commemorated both the cult of Apollo and the cult of Demeter, associated with major sanctuaries of Hierapolis.

So for Hierapolis Rome was not something alien, to be kept at arm's length: Rome was the supreme power and was clearly recognized as such. But Rome was also a part of that world, not cold-shouldered or put to one side. Rome was seen as the successor to the Hellenistic kings, not as an alien usurper. The Hierapolis theatre featured, probably either side of the central axis, two clypeate (generic) portraits of two Pergamene kings labelled as Attalus and Eumenes, who were regarded at this time as the founders of the city.⁶¹ Rome was also integrated into the picture, as we see in the upper level of the Hierapolis theatre decoration (cf. pl. 9.3, 16). The central figure of the frieze is Septimius Severus enthroned, with the rest of the imperial family

round him, to the left a personification of Hierapolis. The emperor was a central figure of the whole iconographic package, a present focus of the city whose identity was also derived from its mythical past. However, the identity of Hierapolis rested not on Roman fiat, but on much more ancient traditions, and Rome herself could be brought to respect and even to enhance the status of the city. Local mythologies changed over time, but continued to articulate for cities their most fundamental concerns. Coins may be seen as a major medium for the expression of local mythologies, but, as we have seen, it is often only with the aid of epigraphic, literary, or sculptural evidence that we can approach an understanding of how such mythologies are being used.

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⁶⁰ Johnston 1984a.

⁶¹ Ritti 1985: 119–20; D'Andria and Ritti 1985: 4–7, 178, 180; Queyrel 2003: 185–93

IO

FESTIVALS AND GAMES IN THE CITIES OF THE EAST DURING THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Dietrich O. A. Klose

UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE THE EASTERN provinces witnessed a revival of festivals and games, after a considerable period of interruption by war, both external and civil.¹ The Olympic games, which had lost much of their splendour in the second and first centuries BC, won back their former prestige and became 'the pride of hellenism in the East'.² The character of the festivals changed more and more towards a form of 'showbusiness'. The sporting contests were the main elements of these festivals, and in many inscriptions 'Agon' not only means the contests, but stands for the whole festival. Thus on coins agonistic types symbolize the whole festival.

Besides the revival of traditional festivals, many of which had not been celebrated for a long time, new ones were founded in great numbers.

In a period of limited political autonomy—especially as far as foreign relations were concerned—the cities had few possibilities left to compete with others and to distinguish themselves. A matter for vehement quarrel was the competition for pompous honorary titles and the rank of 'first city' of the province. Especially severe was the conflict between Ephesus, Pergamum, and Smyrna over the position of first city, *Proté*, of the province of Asia, about

which the emperors themselves had to conciliate on several occasions.³ More thoughtful people like Dio Chrysostom warned in vain of such quarrels about 'empty words'.⁴

Closely linked to the contest for honorary titles and rank was the rivalry over festivals and games. The cities wanted to celebrate the most splendid festivals possible.⁵ A high rank for the city and its games not only satisfied their self-image and the feeling of superiority over their neighbours, but also brought real economic benefits. Many participants, envoys, and visitors joined the splendid festivals of high-ranking cities, and, as at similar occasions today, they left a lot of money behind. Dio Chrysostom, who himself had warned the cities of quarrels about 'empty words', hit the mark: 'Where the greatest crowd is assembled, there also the most money will flow together.'⁶ The more a festival surpassed those of other cities, the better it was for the economy of the city.

³ On this conflict see Klose 1987: 51 f. Quite a lot of recent literature deals with the quarrels of cities over questions of rank, see Ziegler 1985: 71 f. notes 32, 34; 86 note 129.

⁴ Dio Chrysostom 38. 17, 22–3, 28–30, 38; Aelius Aristides *Or.* 16. 400–42. 790 f.; Cassius Dio 52. 37. 10; 76. 39. 5; Herodianus 3. 2. 7–9; Philostratus, *Soph.* 1. 25 (531); inscription MAMA VI 6, line 5.

⁵ Aelius Aristides, *Or.* 1. 249–50; compare Oliver 1968: 1–223, especially 86.

⁶ Dio Chrysostom 35. 16; compare also Cassius Dio 52. 30. 3 and Herodianus 8. 3. 3–8. 3. 6.

¹ Aelius Aristides, *Or.* 26. 97–9: the peace brought by Rome 'permitted a perpetual holiday of the gods throughout the cities of the civilized world'.
² Gardiner 1930: 50.

As for the cities themselves, so for their festivals and games, splendid honorary titles emphasized special rank. So Smyrna titled its koinon games as the 'first', Side named its festival (*inter alia*) as 'in the whole inhabited world', 'for evermore' and 'first of Pamphylia'.

As far as their rank is concerned, the games of the Imperial period may be divided into two main groups. One group were the contests called *thematikoi*, *themis*, or *chrématitai*. Such games are commemorated on a coin of Geta from Aspendus in Pamphylia (pl. 10.1, 1) and by means of the personification Themis on a coin of Elagabalus from Claudioseleucia in Pisidia (pl. 10.1, 2). In these contests material values and prizes of money were a significant factor,⁷ and they were normally of only local importance. The city could decide whether only locals or also competitors from abroad were allowed to participate.

The rank of these games was much lower than that of the second group, the pan-Hellenic festivals,⁸ which were always held to a fixed periodic rhythm and were connected with *agónes hieroi kai stephanitai*, 'holy wreath-games'. In these games there were originally only simple wreaths and other honorary prizes to be won (like apples at Delphi). It was the glory that mattered.

During the Roman empire—although beginning much earlier—in these contests the prizes were of higher and higher material value, as the coins show by the many and precious prizes presented. Only the emperor himself had the right to grant such a 'holy' festival. As examples are illustrated the Olympia of Attaleia in Pamphylia (pl. 10.1, 3) and the Asylia of Perge (pl. 10.1, 4).

The highest rank among all these 'holy' contests was still held by the four classical pan-Hellenic festivals, in the first place the Olympic games of Elis. Great crowds of people gathered there from afar,⁹ and the victories still aroused real enthusiasm. To the group of the highest-ranking pan-Hellenic festivals in

imperial times the Actia in Nicopolis, the Heraia in Argos, and the Capitolia in Rome¹⁰ were added. The great esteem especially of the Olympic and the Pythian games can be seen also from the fact that many cities celebrating a 'holy' agon sought to partake in the splendour of these classical games. They tried to obtain the right to call their games Olympia and Pythia (or *Isolympia* and *Isopythia* respectively, 'the same as' *Olympia* and *Pythia*, a strict distinction seems not to have been made). The decision belonged to the emperor;¹¹ Elis and Delphi had only formally to give their consent. From coins and inscriptions today we know 38 imitations of the Olympic games and 33 of the Pythian, 15 of the Actia, and 9 of the Capitolia.¹² Part of taking possession of such a great pan-Hellenic festival was—at least to a certain degree—an assimilation in programme, organization, and prizes (on the connection of these festivals with the imperial cult, see below).

The 'holy' festivals were *oikoumenikoi*, worldwide (see pl. 10.1, 3), which means that the circle of participants was not limited by region or nationality. That was a significant difference from the panhellenic games of earlier times, which were open only to Greeks (or to those who were defined as 'Greek', like Macedonians and Romans). During the Roman empire, the Olympic games were 'ecumenical' in the new way. Among the winners we find Syrians, Phoenicians, Africans, Illyrians, and also one Babylonian. An 'ecumenical' festival had to be announced 'worldwide'; other cities were invited to send official envoys. These envoys, the *synthytai* or *theóroi*, participated in the sacrificial feast, the *synthysia*. These *synthysiai* formed an important part of the installation of a festival and were especially emphasized in that context.¹³ The personification of *Synthysia*, a female figure with a double axe and a bull, appears on coins of Anazarbus in Cilicia (pl. 10.1, 5,¹⁴ see also pl. 10.3, 56: the *synthysia* on the second-century frieze in the theatre of Hierapolis in Phrygia).

⁷ See Gaebler 1929: 286–303; Harl 1987: 176 note 102; in detail Pleket 1975: 56–62. *To Thema* can mean a deposited sum of money and also something proposed as a prize (*SIG* 867, line 67: Ephesus, second century AD; Bilabel 1926/7: no. 6222 lines 27 ff.: Alexandria in Egypt, third century AD, linen dress and money). *Thema* is translated as a bag of money by Harl 1987: 65 and a sum of money by Gaebler 1929: 288.

⁸ See Pollux 3. 153; *IGR* 1432 line 20; *IGR* 1442 line 8.

⁹ Philostratus, *Apoll.* 8. 18.

¹⁰ Caldelli 1993; Rieger 1999.

¹¹ The strict control by the emperor is supposed by Jones 1966: 232–3. He relied on an inscription from Sardis from the period of Caracalla (*IGR* IV 1519 = Moretti 1953: 89). See also below on subject of the *iselastelia*.

¹² Figures according to Leschhorn 1998a: 46–57.

¹³ In detail Weiss 1998. For epigraphic evidence and bibliography see Ziegler 1985: 44 note 143. In addition Wörrle 1988: 198–202; Weiss 1991: 362 ff., 371 f.

¹⁴ Ziegler 1985: nos. B20, 41, 44, 48. Compare Price 1984: 130.

A festival might obtain a still higher rank by becoming *iselastic*. The winner of such a contest had the right to a special entry and other privileges in his hometown. A further honour conferred on a festival was the *ekecheiria*, originally the 'truce of God' of the pan-Hellenic festivals. In pre-Roman times this meant that for a certain time the sanctuary was inviolable and that all Greeks could travel to a festival and back again freely and unharmed. In Roman times, this 'truce of God' had lost its practical meaning, as Rome now guaranteed this safety. Henceforth *ekecheiria* meant only that during the time of the festival public activities like trials had to be suspended.¹⁵

The numerous names a festival collected in course of time—as indications of its special rank and privileges, and of the different gods and emperors worshipped—have caused some confusion in modern research. One, or only a few, of a festival's many titles might be given, particularly on coins. This means that the different names of a single festival might appear on different coins. On larger coins several names may be mentioned. Whether we are confronted with different festivals or just a single one with many different names, whether several festivals were combined in a common celebration, or whether one festival consisted of several components, are questions which must be considered separately in each case. A clear case of such ambiguity is provided by a coin of Tarsus from the time of Valerian with three prize-crowns, mentioning the Severia Olympia Hadriana Caesaria Actia (pl. 10.1, 6).

An example of the variety of the cults connected to a single festival, reflected in its many names, is provided by the *Kaisareia* of Gythium in Peloponnesus, which were founded in the time of Tiberius and are recorded in a long inscription.¹⁶ This festival lasted five days; the first day was dedicated to Augustus, the second to Tiberius, the third to Livia as the Tyche of the city, the fourth to the Nike of Germanicus, and the fifth to the Aphrodite of Drusus. In other places different festivals without any connection might have been combined into a large complex of festivals simply for organizational reasons.¹⁷

The new 'holy' festivals of the imperial period were normally connected with the imperial cult.

Often older festivals were enriched with elements of the imperial cult and thereby elevated.¹⁸ That is expressed by the names of many festivals: *Augustia*, *Vespasiana*, *Traiana*, *Hadriana*, *Kommodia* (pl. 10.1, 7 on a coin of Nicaea), *Severia*, *Philadelphia*,¹⁹ *Antonina*, *Gordiana*, etc. For the celebration of such festivals of the imperial cult, official permission from the emperor himself was needed.

The most important festivals of the imperial cult were connected with an official temple of the cult, for which the city bore the title of *neokoros*, temple-warden. This highly esteemed title was again granted only by the emperor himself, and became a focus for inter-city rivalry. So in the time of Tiberius eleven cities competed for the second temple of the imperial cult in the province of Asia. The decision was referred to the Roman Senate, the sessions—presided over by the emperor—lasted several days.²⁰ From the second century AD cities proudly mentioned the title on their coins, indicating multiples if they had been awarded more than one temple. The connection of the neocorate with festivals is often expressed on coins, on which the neocorate temples are shown together with the prizes of the contests. The legends also mention both festivals and neocorates. As examples are shown a coin of the Macedonian koinon from the time of Gordian, depicting the two neocorate temples of the koinon in connection with two prize-crowns (pl. 10.1, 8), and the temples with prize-crowns on a coin of Perinthus from the period of Elagabalus (pl. 10.1, 9).

As already mentioned, only the emperor himself had the right to grant—and to withdraw—'holy' festivals and all the privileges connected with them. But the emperors did still more: they presented themselves as active patrons of festivals and games in the Greek East. One reason for this patronage was their philhellenism, typical of much of the Roman elite.

The greatest philhellene was the emperor Hadrian, who, during his travels, overwhelmed the Greek cities with his favours. Besides an extensive building policy, these favours consisted above all in founding or reviving festivals and games. Mostly this happened

¹⁵ Compare Ziegler 1985: 29 f., with evidence.

¹⁶ Freis 1984: no. 20 = SEG XI 922 f. = AE 1929, 99–100 = Seyrig 1929: 85–8 = Seyrig 1929: 672–5.

¹⁷ See Lämmer 1974: 103.

¹⁸ Price 1984: 101 ff.; Harl 1987: 63–70.

¹⁹ A festival in honour of the harmony between Caracalla and his brother Geta, compare IGR IV 1762 from Philadelphia in Lydia and coins of several cities, for example Perinthus.

²⁰ Tacitus, *Ann.* 3. 66–9.

on the occasion of a visit by the much-travelled emperor. Aelius Aristides speaks of a real 'festival-ecstasy' aroused by Hadrian in the eastern cities.²¹ Other emperors as well expressed their philhellenism by promoting games, beginning with Augustus,²² whose relatives Tiberius and Germanicus won the chariot-races at Olympia.²³ Olympia and Delphi in particular were promoted by the emperors, and by other prominent Romans, as is shown by many new or restored buildings, statues, and votive offerings.²⁴

The promotion of festivals and games also had clear political motives. The emperors deliberately promoted Greek culture and Hellenization in the eastern parts of the Empire. They founded new cities and enlarged existing ones, which were provided with all the public buildings and institutions characteristic of a real 'Greek' city, including festivals and games. Cities were of great importance for the provincial administration as the level below the provincial government itself.

As far as the coins are concerned, the time of the emperor Commodus marks a clear turning-point. Festivals and games had flourished earlier, but they had had little influence on coin iconography, even though a great deal of the coinage had presumably been minted to satisfy the increased need for money during the festivals.

Acmonea in Phrygia provides a good example. There in the time of Nero the priestess Julia Severa and her son dedicated the buildings they had donated to the city by celebrating a festival in honour of the emperor. The coins they minted—certainly on that occasion—show totally conventional types without any reference to the festival. There are only a few examples of numismatic references to games from Asia Minor before the reign of Commodus—a coin of Pergamum from AD 136–8 referring to the festivals for the city's neocorate temples (pl. 10.1, 10)—and the coinages for the great festivals in Greece, Elis, Delphi (pl. 10.1, 11; Faustina the Elder), Corinth (Isthmia; pl. 10.1, 12, Domitian), Argos (Nemea), Nicopolis (Actia), and Athens (Panathenaea), which are all rare.²⁵

²¹ Aelius Aristides *Or.* 1. 304D; compare *Historia Augusta Hadr.* 19. 2: 'In nearly every city he built something and installed games'; Cassius Dio 69. 10. 1. Leschhorn 1998a: 44 n. 40 notes 19 cities with a festival called *Hadrianeia*.

²² See Suetonius, *Aug.* 45.

²³ *IvO* nos. 220 f. = Moretti 1957: nos. 738; 750.

²⁴ See Herrmann 1972: 183–93. ²⁵ Leschhorn 1998a: 35–6.

From AD 180, new agonistic types appear suddenly, and an extensive range develops within a short time, in the Balkans, Greece, Asia Minor, and Syria-Phoenicia.²⁶ Kenneth Harl assigns this 'to the artistic creativity of provincial engravers and to the efficiency of the network of workshops described by Konrad Kraft'.²⁷ Let us look at some of these characteristic coin types.

The representations of the prizes of victory were the most common agonistic types. Often the prizes are presented on a special table. Besides valuable prizes—on the coins mostly money purses and amphoras with oil—the most frequent representations on coins are of honorific wreaths and prize-crowns. We see them, for example, on coins from Byzantium (pl. 10.1, 13) and Ankyra (pl. 10.1, 14), on a table from Thyatira in Lydia (pl. 10.1, 15), and at Byzantium (pl. 10.1, 16).

The prizes of highest repute were those of the *agones hieroi kai stephanitai*, the 'holy wreath-games', as contrasted with the *agones thematikoi* of lower rank, where prizes in the form of money were given. Nevertheless, in the case of many newly founded 'wreath-games' it was necessary to attract participants by offering valuable prizes as well. That happened already in the Hellenistic period: thus a golden wreath of leaves was substituted for a simple one in 207/206 BC at the Leucophryena in Magnesia on Maeander.²⁸ The inscription of the pantomime artist Tib. Iulius Apolaustus from Ephesus, dating from the late second to early third century AD, records the honorific award of the silver wreath at the Actian games at Nicopolis.²⁹ During the Roman empire the prize-crowns were very splendid and made from precious materials.

These remarkable large prize-crowns³⁰ appear on coins for the first time in the period of

²⁶ See Leschhorn 1998a; Harl 1987: 63–70.

²⁷ Harl 1987: 63.

²⁸ *RE* XII. 2 (1925) col. 2288 s.v. Leucophryene (W. Kroll).

²⁹ *I. Ephesos* VI: nos. 2070/1, lines 14–16.

³⁰ Rumscheid 2000; Klose 1997; Salzmann 1998. Specht 2000 wants to explain the prize-crowns as chests for material prizes for the winners ('Behälter für materielle Siegespreise'), but in my opinion the numismatic evidence does not support this view. (1) The development of the Actian crown with its intermediate stages and its peculiarities is noted below. (2) Where several prizes are shown on or below a table, the other prizes are shown beside, not within, the prize-crown (see pls. 10.1-2, 15, 16, 20, 22, 23, 27, 28, 30). (3) The prize-crown would be either too large or too small for some prizes, such as money purses and amphoras (see figs. as before). (4) Often the athletes put the prize-crowns on their heads, which is a clear indication that they were crowns (pl. 10.2, 44). (5) Where the athletes are

Commodus.³¹ In his reign we see them on coins of Nicaea in Bithynia and of Tarsus in Cilicia.³² These prize-crowns must have spread very quickly. From the time of Septimius Severus onwards they are the most common prizes represented on coins and the most usual symbols for festivals and games. In this role they mostly displaced the older simple wreaths, from which they had developed. As far as the crowns of the Actian games are concerned, this development can be traced from the coins.³³ The development begins with a simple wreath or a broad wreath for the Actia on coins from Nicopolis from the time of Antoninus Pius and Hadrian (pl. 10.1, 17–18), may be traced through an intermediate stage of a still broader wreath for the local Actia from Neocaesarea in Pontus on a coin of Gordian III (pl. 10.1, 19), and ends with a prize-crown proper for the Actia from the same city (pl. 10.1, 20).

The coins may show one prize-crown or several. Multiple crowns may symbolize different festivals or the different components of one festival, which had been added at various times. On a coin of Valerian from Anazarbus the crowns were shown very schematically (pl. 10.1, 21). Sometimes an attempt was made to differentiate the crowns, to show their real appearance, as on a coin from Laodicea in Phrygia. This city celebrated two festivals, the *Dia Commodia* and the *Antoninia Asklepia Pythia* (pl. 10.1, 22).

On coins the prize-crown might represent not only the games and the whole festival, but in some cases also the whole city. On *homonoia*-coins,

holding prize-crowns in their hands, it is obvious that they are empty (Specht 2000: fig. 6, mosaic from Capsa; certainly also Klose 1997: fig. 17).

³¹ Rumscheid 2000: 88, referring to H. Dressel, *ZfN* 24 (1904), 36 note 3, writes that the earliest representation of a prize-crown on coins appears on a coin of Marcus Aurelius from Nicaea. The coin to which Dressel refers is from Mionnet suppl. V, p. 97 no. 511. Mionnet accepted it without having seen it himself from Vaillant. No other record exists. In fact, this must have been a coin of Commodus, as *Rec nos.* 303–10.—In glyptics, Rumscheid mentions two examples with representations of prize-crowns before Commodus, a late Hadrianic to early Antonine head in Berkeley, and the lid of an Antonine sarcophagus in Haifa (pl. 58, 3–4; Cat. no. 154, no plate). As far as the head is concerned, I doubt whether the crown is a prize-crown. I have not seen the lid.

³² *Rec nos.* 303–10; Ziegler 1985: nos. A3–A4 (pl. 1, 2–3).

³³ Klose 1997. Rumscheid 2000 distinguishes between blossom-crowns ('Blütenkronen') and prize-crowns, reckoning the crowns adorned with objects like prickles among the blossom-crowns (as on coins from Perinthus), which in my opinion is a misinterpretation. These objects should be recognized as having developed from pointed reeds typical for crowns of the Actian games.

emphasizing the harmony between two cities, two city-goddesses normally represented their cities, but Philadelphia in Lydia and Hierapolis in Phrygia chose the main festivals of their own and of their partner-city, and these were represented by two prize-crowns naming the festivals (pl. 10.1, 23, Philadelphia; 24, Hierapolis). The occasion for these coinages certainly lay in the field of the festivals. It may be that the partner-city acknowledged the rank of the minting city's festival (and vice versa) and sent envoys, *theoroi*, to the inauguration.³⁴ In the time of Valerianus Side and its rival Perge minted coins for *homonoia* with Delphi after they had been granted Pythian games. On the coins of Side two victories hold a prize-crown, but the Pythia are not mentioned (pl. 10.2, 25); at Perge, together with Artemis of Perge and Apollo of Delphi, we read *Pythia* (pl. 10.2, 26).

The older simple wreath remained the symbol for the Olympia in some places, alongside prize-crowns for other festivals or other components of the same festival, as at Pergamum (pl. 10.2, 27) and Tralles (pl. 10.2, 28). Five apples formed the prize for the Pythia at Delphi and at other places, as seen on a coin of Thessalonike (pl. 10.2, 29). Apples also often appear together with a prize-crown and other prizes, as on a coin from Perinthus (pl. 10.2, 30). That not only shows that the festivals consisted of several parts, but also underlines the importance of the apples in relation to the more precious prizes.

The prize-crowns and wreaths may be shown together with the temples for the god or emperor in whose honour the festival was held, as on a coin from the koinon of Macedonia (pl. 10.1, 8); with symbols of the city like Tyche, as on an example from Ankyra (pl. 10.2, 31); with victories, as in Pergamum (pl. 10.2, 32); with Mount Argaeus in Caesarea (pl. 10.2, 33); with the goddesses and their symbols, like the torches of Artemis at Hierapolis-Castabala in Cilicia (pl. 10.2, 34), where the festival in honour of the Severan dynasty was connected with the festival of Artemis Perasia.

Alternatively, we may see the prize-crown together with the emperor. At Byzantium, where in the reign of Septimius Severus the *Philadelphia* were celebrated in honour of the harmony between the emperor's sons Caracalla and Geta, coins show the two brothers clasping hands (pl. 10.2, 35).

³⁴ See Weiss 1998.

Not so common, but no less interesting, are the coin types relating to other aspects of the contests.

Before a contest could begin, the participants were grouped by lot. Lucian has given us an exact description of the allotment for wrestling and pankration. The same procedure may be assumed for boxing, and also, in a somewhat modified form, for foot-, horse-, and chariot-races.³⁵ According to Lucian a number of lots corresponding to the number of participants was thrown into a vessel.³⁶ The lots were marked with letters, each letter being used twice. One after the other the athletes came to the vessel, spoke a short prayer to Zeus, and drew their lots, a representation often found on coins. The contestants who drew the same letters fought against each other. The allotment was closely supervised by a magistrate and his ushers in order to prevent cheating. On coins from Perge (pl. 10.2, 36) and from Prostanna in Pisidia (pl. 10.2, 37) we see an athlete who has just drawn his lot from the agonistic urn, with a prize-crown over his head and, on both sides, athletes who had already drawn their lots.

Representations of sport itself are not very common: most often we see wrestlers (pl. 10.2, 38, Syedra in Cilicia)—or a standing boxer. On a coin of Philippopolis it is even possible to recognize the boxing straps which covered the arms nearly up to the shoulders (pl. 10.2, 39). Two boxers beside a high table with a prize-crown are depicted at Tarsus (pl. 10.2, 40). Scenes of throwing the javelin and the discus appear only once, on coins from Philippopolis (pl. 10.2, 41–2). By analogy with the predilection for representing prizes, in several towns we see the winner with his prizes: crown or wreath and palm-branch. Sometimes the moment is chosen when the winner puts on his crown or wreath, as at Anchialus in Thrace (pl. 10.2, 43) and at Tarsus (pl. 10.2, 44).

The *luter*, the great water basin, in which the athletes washed themselves after contests, can be

seen on classical vases.³⁷ It went out of use already in the fifth century BC (it had to be filled from a bucket), but in imperial times we see this archaic basin again on coins from Asia Minor, from Pergamum in the time of Augustus (pl. 10.2, 45) and from several cities in Pamphylia and Cilicia in the time of Valerian and Gallienus (for example, Syedra, pl. 10.2, 46). Always—indeed already on the coin from the time of Augustus—the *luter* is connected with the *gymnasium* or the office of the *gymnasiarchos*, and is used as an iconographic symbol for this office. The three jugs of different sizes have been interpreted by Edoardo Levante as symbolizing the contests for adults, youths, and boys.

On coins of Anazarbus the emperor himself stands beside the *luter* (pl. 10.3, 47).³⁸ It is possible that Valerian, who during his journey through Cilicia had promoted local games, had himself taken on the honorific office of *gymnasiarchos*.³⁹ This office required the incumbent, *inter alia*, to bear the cost of training the athletes, of which the heaviest expense was the oil for anointing. In the case of Syedra, Johannes Nollé has argued against connecting such coins with a *gymnasiarchia* on the part of the emperor.⁴⁰ He is certainly right, as the same coin type had appeared there already in the time of Maximinus Thrax.⁴¹

It remains to investigate why these agonistic types appeared suddenly on coins in the time of Commodus. Two observations seem pertinent. First, another theme appeared at the same time: the emperor, his visits, his piety, and his benefits to the city.⁴² Secondly, to a considerable extent these coinages—and that means the festivals and games themselves—were connected with the great campaigns against the Parthians and Sasanians, and in particular with the visit of the emperor on his way to the theatre of war.⁴³ In this connection are illustrated two coins from the time of Elagabalus referring to the presence of the emperor: from Thyatira in Lydia, with Apollo Tyrimnaeus handing a prize-crown to the emperor (pl. 10.3, 48), and from Anazarbus in Cilicia (pl. 10.3, 49), which Elagabalus preferred to its rival Tarsus,

³⁵ Lucian, *Hermot.* 40. For the horse- and chariot-races compare Sophocles, *El.* 709 f.; Statius, *Theb.* 6. 389 f.; Pausanias 6. 20. 11; Tertullian, *Spect.* 16. For the foot-races see Pausanias 6. 13. 4; Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 4. 3. 1.

³⁶ The common designation of the vessel for the lots is 'urn'; according to the representations on coins and elsewhere a designation as amphora would fit better. Bibliography: Gaebler 1929; Gaebler designates many vessels as 'agonistic urns', which are certainly something different. The amphoras represented on or below the prize-tables were not 'agonistic urns', they were filled with oil as a prize for the winner.

³⁷ For example Yalouris 1976: ill. 50 (London, British Mus.); Bernhard 1929: 87 ill. 4.

³⁸ SNG Levante 1515 = Ziegler 1985: pl. 7. 59.

³⁹ Ziegler 1985: 50. ⁴⁰ Nollé 1992/3: 71f.

⁴¹ SNG Paris 654. ⁴² Harl 1987: 65.

⁴³ Ziegler 1985, *passim*; Harl 1987: 65.

with the city-goddess handing a prize-crown to the emperor, who sits on a *sella curulis*.⁴⁴

These coins show that the meaning of the festivals shifted as the cities came to have a closer connection with the emperor,⁴⁵ his politics, and his campaigns, although we should ask also whether this process did not start much earlier (see below). Nevertheless, despite the ever closer association of the festivals with the emperor, they never lost their central meaning as an expression of a city's special relationship with its gods and also with its autonomy as a polis. For Kenneth Harl, 'These coins and ceremonies upheld the religious symbols of the polis and its autonomy rather than the universal majesty of the Roman emperor', and: 'Though municipal authorities focused at least some of the powerful emotional and religious forces of their civic celebrations upon loyalty to the Roman emperor on the bronze coins of the third century, the festivals and games remained primarily civic events, intimately bound up with the social and religious life of each polis.'⁴⁶

As for the coins, the greater part of inscriptions referring to festivals and games belongs to the period after Commodus. The total number of festivals recorded from the Roman imperial east continues to grow: Leschhorn lists more than 500 festivals known from inscriptions and coins, and 94 cities which minted coins with agonistic types during the Empire.⁴⁷

I think it is evident that the reason that the emperors became more and more liberal in granting 'holy' festivals from the late second century is that during the disturbed third century festivals and games became more important as a means of rule by comparison with the two peaceful centuries before. To grant and to withdraw privileges—and festivals and games were such—became a means to reward or to punish cities for their partisanship in the numerous civil wars. Another consideration was the great importance of the cities for the external wars of the emperors. The emperors tried to win the sympathy of the cities by granting new privileges, not least because the passage of the army imposed heavy burdens on the cities.⁴⁸

The grant and foundation of games as a means of the imperial policy of clientship and security was a particular feature of the reigns of Septimius Severus (civil war, war against the Parthians; fifteen cities celebrating *Severia*), of Gordian III (war against the Sasanians; twenty-six cities minting coins with agonistic types), and of Valerian and Gallienus (war against the Sasanians; forty-eight cities minting coins with agonistic types).⁴⁹ The geographical distribution of newly granted and newly founded games in the third century also reflects this imperial policy: they appear mostly along the great transit routes passing through the Balkans and Asia Minor to the East, and finally concentrate in Cilicia, the 'marshalling area' behind the theatre of war.⁵⁰ Apart from the emperors, the cities themselves also took the initiative in founding new festivals and games and then tried to obtain the permission from the emperor, and from Delphi and Olympia.

It would be possible to examine a plethora of cities in order to trace connections between their festivals and the emperor, investigating in detail their religious and political background, the contests themselves, the evidence for a visit of the emperor, and for promotion and grants. Here a few examples must suffice.

Elagabalus during his passage through Thyatira in Lydia granted the city a Pythian festival, as is demonstrated by coin types depicting the emperor clasping hands with the city's god Apollo Tyrimnaeus. The god greets the emperor and above him is a prize-crown inscribed '*Pythia*' (pl. 10.3, 48).⁵¹

When Gordian III during his campaign against the Sasanians stayed in the Pamphylian city of Side, he granted the rank of Isopythia to the city's festival in honour of Apollo and Artemis (pl. 10.3, 50). The first of these 'sacred, ecumenical, Gordianian, Antoninian, Isopythian games to Apollo' were, according to two inscriptions, celebrated in AD 242/3.⁵² The numerous coins with agonistic types minted on this occasion with the legend $\Delta\Omega\text{P}\epsilon\text{A}$ ⁵³ emphasize the grant by the emperor, and an inscription mentions the *theia doreia*. In another place we find an agon with the epithet $\Sigma\text{E}\text{B}\alpha\text{S}\text{T}\text{O}\Delta\Omega\text{P}\text{H}\text{T}\text{O}\text{N}$.⁵⁴ The Roman

⁴⁹ See Leschhorn 1998a; the figures taken from there, 46–57.

⁵⁰ See Leschhorn 1998a: 36–9; Ziegler 1985: 71 ff. *passim*; Harl 1987: 65–9.

⁵¹ Harl 1987: pl. 27, 8. ⁵² Weiss 1981: 331–4.

⁵³ The same phenomenon may be found on coins of Mopsus (Cilicia).

⁵⁴ See *IvO* 56 and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11–12: 361 (Neapolis and Ancyra).

⁴⁴ SNG Levante 1420 = Ziegler 1985: pl. 5, 43. ⁴⁵ Harl 1987: 65.

⁴⁶ Harl 1987: 70 66f. ⁴⁷ Leschhorn 1998a: 46–57.

⁴⁸ See Ziegler 1985: 71 ff. *passim*.

colony of Cremna in Pisidia in the time of Aurelian laid stress upon the foundation of a 'holy' festival by the emperor. We see a prize-crown bearing the inscription *IEPOC* and, in Latin, *DONATIO* (pl. 10.3, 51). Coin types may also refer to an imperial grant of a festival: at Byzantium, Anazarbus, Mopsus, and Perge the city-goddess receives a prize-crown from the hands of the emperor.⁵⁵

The Phrygian city of Laodicea stressed on its coins that both of its 'ecumenical' festivals, one in honour of Commodus, the other of Caracalla, had been granted by decree of the Roman Senate. This is recorded on the face of the table bearing the four prize-crowns. The festival in honour of Commodus had started from an older festival for Zeus, the one in honour of Caracalla from an Isopythian festival for Asclepius. Possibly for that reason there are four rather than two prize-crowns on the table. Each festival was in honour of a god and an emperor as his *synnaos*.⁵⁶

Still more than the Olympia and Pythia, the later pan-Hellenic festivals, the Actia of Augustus and the Capitolia of Domitian, founded by the emperors themselves to celebrate their victories, were closely connected to the emperors and their policy. In 207 Perinthus, which during the civil war of 193–5 had been loyal to Septimius Severus, was granted as first city the right to elevate its Isopythian games to the rank of Actia. Henceforth, the coins of the city show, besides the temples for the imperial cult, agonistic types celebrating the local Pythia, Actia, and Philadelphia—the latter a festival in honour of the harmony of the emperor's sons Caracalla and Geta (pl. 10.1, 9).

Actia and Capitolia on coins often appear in connection with a campaign of the emperor against the Parthians or Sasanians. Often these festivals were granted personally by the emperor when passing through a city. The celebrations of Actia and Capitolia in the cities of the East express the cities' hope for the success of the emperor, and for victory in war. Caracalla during his journey to the war in the East granted Actia to Sardis in Lydia and to Tyre in Phoenicia. The

coins of both cities now emphasize their festivals as Actia.

In the time of Gordian III Neocaesarea in Pontus minted an extensive series for its Actia, certainly in 242 during a visit of the emperor (pl. 10.1, 19). After a long interruption the city renewed its Actia coinage in the time of Valerian, in relation to the first and the second campaign of the emperor against the Sasanians in 255 and 259/260. The penteterical rhythm of the festival seems to have been adapted to the visits of the emperor. Aphrodisias in Caria in the time of Gordian III and Gallienus minted coins for its Capitolia. On the occasion of Valerian's Sasanian campaigns, Ancyra, Tarsus, and Syrian Heliopolis minted coins referring to their festivals, now bearing the rank of Actia or Capitolia (pl. 10.3, 52).⁵⁷

On the coins of Tarsus a special connection between the city and the emperor can be seen. Tarsus—in rivalry with Anazarbus—claimed leadership in Cilicia and thus control of the festival of the Cilician koinon, which the city stressed on its coins. The wreath of the demiourgos, the official who presided over the festival, is shown several times, on one coin in connection with the wreath of the ciliciarchus, the leading official of the koinon (pl. 10.3, 53). Obverse portraits of Commodus, Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Severus Alexander bear the robe and the wreath of the demiourgos (pl. 10.3, 54).⁵⁸ It seems that by granting this honour the city not only bound the emperor to the festival, but also secured imperial legitimization of its own claim to leadership in the province. Caracalla, who during his campaign against the Parthians in 214/15 passed through Tarsus, held this office in person. A coin shows the personification of Demiurgia putting the wreath on the emperor's head, symbolizing his entry into this office (pl. 10.3, 55).⁵⁹ In the time of Elagabalus, Anazarbus, the rival of Tarsus, seems to have obtained the leadership of the festival of the koinon, as now this city shows the emperor as demiourgos on its coins. The

⁵⁵ Schönert-Geiss 1972: nos. 1537; 1742; Ziegler 1985: B35, B42, D6, pl. 8, 65. Of course these coin-types could be interpreted the other way round: the emperor is receiving the prize-crown from the city-goddess, i.e. the festival has been dedicated to the emperor by the city.

⁵⁶ Klose and Stumpf 1996: 125. Harl 1987 in the description of pl. 28, 3 assumes a grant by Elagabalus, which cannot be right; see Klose and Stumpf 1996: no. 244: the coin is of Caracalla. Accordingly this festival must have been granted by a decree of the Senate in the time of Caracalla.

⁵⁷ Elagabalus granted the Actia to Hierapolis in Phrygia for personal reasons. The emperor seems to have regarded the ancient city-god Apollo Lairbenus as another manifestation of his preferred sun deity, the Helios of Emesa (Harl 1987: 68 f). Philip the Arab granted Actia to his native city Bostra, on the coins of which the festival in honour of the holy meteoric stone of Dusares was henceforth called Aktia Dousaria.

⁵⁸ In detail see Ziegler 1977: 39–49; Ziegler 1985: 69–71, 82–5, 89–90, 93.
⁵⁹ SNG Levante no. 1173 = Ziegler 1977: pl. 4, 4 = Ziegler 1985: pl. 9, 78.

next emperor, Severus Alexander, wears the insignia of the demiourgos on Tarsian coins again.

In the second half of the third century AD the autonomous city coinage in the East ceased to exist. In Late Antiquity festivals, sports, and agonistics for various reasons increasingly lost their importance: a consequence not only of economic decline, but also of general changes in society and in the general view of life, of which the triumph of Christianity was the main expression.

From the late fourth century we still have some reports of the flourishing of sporting contests, but the prohibition of pagan cults by the emperor Theodosius in AD 393 brought the end for the most venerable festival, the Olympia of Elis. The Olympia of Antiochia in Syria survived until AD 508. Sports and agonistics, which for more than a thousand years had played such an important role in life, disappeared for more than a thousand years.

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II

PERGAMUM AS PARADIGM

Bernhard Weisser

Introduction

THE EDITORS OF THIS BOOK REQUESTED a study of an individual city to contrast with the broader regional surveys. This contribution attempts to demonstrate the advantages of a fuller exploration of the specific context of a civic coinage by focusing on selected issues from the coinage of Pergamum—alongside Ephesus and Smyrna one of the three largest cities in the Western part of Asia Minor.¹

In the Julio-Claudian period Pergamum's coin designs were dominated by the imperial succession and the city's first *neocorate* temple (17 BC–AD 59). In AD 59 Pergamum's coinage stopped for more than two decades. When it resumed under Domitian (AD 83) new topics were continuously introduced until the reign of Caracalla (AD 211–17). These included gods, cults, heroes, personifications, architecture, sculpture, games, and civic titles. After Caracalla the city concentrated on a few key images, such as Asclepius or the emperor. At the same time, coin legends—especially civic titles—gained greater importance. This trend continued until the city's coinage came to an end under Gallienus (AD 253–68). The overall range of Pergamum's coin iconography was broadly similar to that of other cities in the East of the Roman empire.

Coins of Pergamum from the imperial period fall into (at least) sixty-four issues, the most diverse of which employed twenty different coin types. In all, around 340 different types are currently known. They

provide a solid base from which to explore various relationships. These include the relationship between coin obverses and reverses, as well as the place of an individual coin type within its own issue, and within the city's coinage as a whole. Coin designs could allude to objects and events within Pergamum itself, or focus on the city's connections with the outside world: with small neighbouring cities, with the other great cities within the province of Asia, or with Rome and the imperial family.

Communication via the medium of civic coinage was in the first instance presumably directed towards the citizens of Pergamum. At the same time coinage also reflected developments outside the city. Social and geographical mobility was encouraged by an imperial system which allowed distinguished members of local elites access to the highest military and administrative posts. Thus someone like Aulus Iulius Quadratus, citizen of Pergamum and proconsul of Asia under Trajan, established multiple connections not only in a civic context, but also on a provincial and imperial level. It is intended to investigate some of these connections in this chapter.

Self-Representation of Pergamum: The Temple of Augustus

When the city of Pergamum decided to issue new coins, those in charge of their production had to decide whether to employ well-established designs or to create new ones. A good example of an Augustan design frequently reused during the early imperial

¹ For the Roman provincial coinage of Pergamum: Fritze 1910; Weisser 1995.

period is Pergamum's temple of Roma and Augustus. Granted in 29 BC, it was the centre of the imperial cult for the province of Asia and the first of its kind. For the city this *neocorate* temple was monumental architectural proof of its good relationship with the imperial family. Telephos, a second-century writer from Pergamum, is supposed to have written a treatise on the temple in two volumes.² Given that there are virtually no books about temples other than by architects, Telephos' work may be interpreted as an indication of the extraordinary importance of the temple for Pergamum.³ So far, no architectural remains of the temple of Roma and Augustus have been found. Coin designs, often carrying explanatory coin inscriptions such as 'ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ' or 'ΘΕΟΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ', provide a general idea of how it looked. Reducing the number of frontal columns and omitting the walls of the cella, the coins depict a temple with two columns enclosing the statue of Augustus. He is shown as a military leader wearing a cuirass and a paludamentum, with a spear in his right hand.

This particular coin design occurs under Augustus himself, Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, Domitian, and Trajan (pl. II.1, I–II). It is important to stress that the decision to display the *neocorate* temple represented a deliberate choice on behalf of those responsible for the coinage against a large number of other (potential) coin images.

A second example of a popular coin design at Pergamum was Asclepius. From the reign of Domitian (AD 83–96) onwards, Asclepius and the deities associated with him frequently occurred on the city's coinage, thus emphasizing the god's importance for Pergamum.

Issues Reflecting Events: *Homonoia* and an Imperial Visit

Apart from its regular coin designs Pergamum also issued coins with images relating to specific events, many of which represented new designs for the city. By way of example we may cite coins reflecting agreements of *homonoia* between cities, and a spectacular issue marking an imperial visit.

Homonoia coins expressed—by means of images and legends—the formal establishment of some kind of positive relationship with another city.⁴ Of seven known *homonoia* issues the one of Publius Aelius Pius from the reign of Commodus reveals the greatest iconographic variety.⁵ Ten different reverse designs praise the close relationship between Ephesus and Pergamum.

The visit of Caracalla to Pergamum in AD 216 is reflected in an issue in the name of Marcus Caerelius Attalus.⁶ Three coin types depict the imperial entrance into the city on horseback (*adventus*). On the first one (pl. II.1, 12) Caracalla raises his arm in a gesture of greeting (*adlocutio*) towards Asclepius and a male figure in a long himation holding a small statue of Asclepius. The latter represents either the eponymous *strategos* (Marcus Caerelius Attalus himself?) or the chief priest of the temple of Asclepius at Pergamum. Behind him there are two additional figures from the imperial entourage.⁷ While the reverse image of this particular coin type is probably unique among the provincial coinages of Asia Minor, the two other *adventus* types of the same issue are more conventional in their design (pl. II.1, 13–14). They depict the emperor on horseback in front of a statue of Asclepius on a short column. The emperor turns backwards and raises his hand towards a soldier walking behind him. Here the statue of Asclepius represents the city of Pergamum.⁸

Other coin types from the issue in the name of Marcus Caerelius Attalus focus on imperial reverence towards the god. On three of them (pl. II.2, 15–17) the emperor, clad in a toga and holding a patera, watches the sacrifice of a hump-backed bull in front of the temple of Asclepius. Inside the temple, the cult statue of the god is depicted either seated (pl. II.2, 15 and 17) or standing (pl. II.2, 16). Two other reverses (pl. II.2, 18–19) show Caracalla with his right arm raised in a pose of adoration. The subjects of his reverence are Asclepius and Telesphorus (pl. II.2, 18) or

⁴ Kampmann 1996; Franke and Nollé 1997: 152–66.

⁵ Kampmann 1996: 35–41, 102–6, pls. 1–3. For a different interpretation of this issue see Kienast 1996: 214–15. ⁶ Harl 1987: 55–8, pls. 23–4.

⁷ From the known specimens of this type only the coin from Cambridge (pl. II.1, 12) is well preserved. Its reverse reveals that the two background figures are turning away from the *adventus* scene. One of them is wearing military dress and holding a standard.

⁸ A statue of Asclepius also represents the city of Pergamum on one of the coins from the issue in the name of Attalus (pl. II.3, 22) where the statue is held by the city-goddess.

² FGH 505 11 (Suda).

³ Price 1984: 133.

Telesphorus and a serpent coiling around a tree, the latter representing Asclepius (pl. II.2, 19). Another coin design belonging to the same context depicts the emperor sacrificing over a flaming altar and looking towards a standing Asclepius who is facing the viewer (pl. II.2, 20). These images do not depict Asclepius merely as representative of the city of Pergamum. Rather they reflect Caracalla's actual adoration of the healing god during his stay at the Asclepieion in order to improve his health.⁹ An interesting variation of the last type occurs on another coin (pl. II.3, 21), where the god and the emperor are looking at each other with a bull standing between them. This image goes beyond a mere depiction of imperial piety, and Asclepius and Caracalla appear as equals.

This depiction leads to a third group of coins which focus on the emperor as Asclepius' *synnaos*—a role in which Caracalla himself becomes the subject of adoration. On one reverse (pl. II.3, 22) he is on a platform and in the centre of the composition, thus emphasizing his importance. On the left the city-goddess presents a small statue of Asclepius to him, while on the right a small Nike, held by Virtus, crowns the emperor in recognition of his military deeds. Caracalla had given Pergamum its third *neorate* temple in which he was worshipped jointly with Asclepius. The reverse under consideration (pl. II.3, 22) might depict the emperor's speech on the occasion of the granting of the new privilege to the city. Two other coins allude to the same grant by depicting all three of Pergamum's *neorate* temples (pl. II.3, 23–4). On (23) the temples are aligned side by side, and each of them is surmounted by a wreath. Abbreviations of imperial names in each tympanum make it possible to identify the individual temples as those of 'ΑΥΓ(ΟΥΣΤΟΣ)' on the left, of 'ΤΡΑ(ΙΑΝΟΣ)' on the right, and 'ΑΝΤ(ΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ)' (i.e. Caracalla) in the centre. All three temples contain cult statues on round bases. The statues in the outer temples depict Augustus and Trajan, both standing and in military dress. The central cult image is a seated Asclepius. For this particular design, the die-cutter was inspired by the famous statue of Zeus of Olympia. He replaced the small Nike in the hand of Zeus with a serpent in order to allow for the identification of the seated figure as Asclepius.

Elite Mobility at Pergamum: The case of Aulus Iulius Quadratus

The analysis of the coins of Marcus Caerilius Attalus reflecting Caracalla's visit demonstrates the advantages of looking at issues where the background is clear. Such cases are comparatively rare, and more usually the context becomes clear only through detailed research. The coinage in the name of Aulus Iulius Quadratus provides a good case in point, and merits detailed discussion as his coinage may be intimately connected with his career. Quadratus himself provides a good example of elite mobility at Pergamum, and he had widespread interests. His career was clearly exceptional but he will have acted as a model for his peers.

Aulus Iulius Quadratus traced his ancestry back to the Attalids and the Kings of Galatia.¹⁰ His family had belonged to those leading aristocrats in Asia Minor to whom Augustus gave the Roman citizenship to integrate them into the 'Roman order'.¹¹ Quadratus himself was very rich. From inscriptions we know that he held properties in Pergamum, in Lycaonia, and in Egypt.¹² He also possessed land in Fidenae and Messana, because as a Senator he was obliged to own a certain amount of land in Italy.¹³ All these holdings were probably in the hands of administrators. However, it is quite likely that he paid a certain amount of personal attention to them and might have visited them on occasion.

Quadratus' official positions imply a restless life spent between Rome and the Greek East. This becomes clear from the acts of the *Fratres Arvales*,¹⁴ which reveal his regular presence in Rome between AD 72, when Quadratus joined the brotherhood, and

¹⁰ Halfmann 1979: 43–50 with additional examples of the aristocratic background of Eastern senators.

¹¹ Halfmann 1979: 43: 'Man erkennt hier besonders deutlich den politischen Zweck, der mit der Verleihung des Bürgerrechts verfolgt wurde: An der Spitze der fremden Völkerschaften stand ein Bürger Roms, der nicht mehr durch die Präsenz römischer Waffen zum Gehorsam angehalten werden mußte, sondern in seiner Eigenschaft als römischer Bürger moralisch verpflichtet war, die Interessen Roms zu wahren.'

¹² Lycaonia: Halfmann 1979: II4, nos. 42–4. Egypt: in Hermopolis, where his sister Iulia Polla owned property: Halfmann 1979: 62; Rostovzeff 1957: 674 n. 48.

¹³ Halfmann 1979: 62, 67, and II4.
¹⁴ Eck 1970: 30 ff.; Pasoli 1950: 128, no. 36: AD 72; 129, no. 39: AD 78; 133, no. 45: AD 86; 135–6, no. 45: AD 87; 137–8, no. 47: AD 89; 146–7, no. 56: AD 105. For Quadratus' presence in Rome in AD III at a meeting of the *Fratres Arvales* see Halfmann 1979: II4.

⁹ Cassius Dio 78. 16. 7–8; Herodian 4. 8. 3.; Harl 1987: 55–8.

AD III. Under Vespasian he became a Senator by *adlectio*, which was seen as a special form of distinction.¹⁵ This was only the beginning of his career.¹⁶ As a legate Quadratus was probably sent repeatedly to Asia Minor. This included a stay in Ephesus in AD 79/80 as legate to the proconsul Marcus Ulpius Traianus, the father of the future emperor Trajan.¹⁷ On that occasion, if not earlier, Quadratus forged a close relationship with the family of Trajan, which would be important for his future career. Around the year AD 85/6 Quadratus became proconsul of the province of Crete and Cyrene. From 1 May to the end of August AD 94 he was *consul suffectus*. In this capacity he supported the eighteen-year-old Hadrian, Trajan's adoptive son and future emperor, in his bid to gain his first official position as *praefectus feriarum Latinarum*.¹⁸ A few years later Quadratus is also supposed to have helped Hadrian to become a member of the distinguished college of the *septemviri epulones*.¹⁹ Furthermore, in AD 105 he was the first Eastern Senator to become *consul ordinarius*.²⁰ The governorship of Syria followed in AD 105. As mentioned before, in AD 109/10 he became proconsul of his native province of Asia. During his time in Rome Quadratus witnessed the reigns of the emperors from Vespasian to Trajan.²¹ It is not certain whether Quadratus outlived Trajan. He held his most important posts under Domitian and Trajan, the latter of whom honoured him as *amicus clarissimus*.²²

¹⁵ Halfmann 1979: 82–4; Devreker 1980: 70–87; Levick 1999a: 172–3.

¹⁶ Halfmann correctly emphasized: 'Die Aufnahme von Provinzialen in den Senat bildete bereits den Höhepunkt des Integrationsprozesses in die römische Gesellschaft, sie ist also Endpunkt einer Entwicklung' (Halfmann 1979: 16). Up to the end of the second century AD Pergamum provided the largest number of senators from the Roman province of Asia. According to the state of research in 1978 nine senators from six families came from there. Ephesus, Aphrodisias, and Cibyra, by contrast, produced only three senators from two families. At the same time there were no senators from Smyrna (Halfmann 1979: 68).

¹⁷ ILS nos. 8819 and 8819a; AE 1966, no. 463; PIR² J 507.

¹⁸ Athenian inscription naming Hadrian's office: ILS no. 308; A. Iulius Quadratus as *consul suffectus*: PIR² J 507; Syme 1984: 31–60; Birley 1997: 30.

¹⁹ For the composition of the *septemviri epulones*: Birley 1997: 45.

²⁰ Halfmann 1979: 87.

²¹ The inscription in which he was honoured was dated by Habicht to the Hadrianic period, but is probably Trajanic (as H. Müller kindly informs me).

²² Halfmann 1979: 48 stressing the long friendship between the two men.

The Issue in the Name of Aulus Iulius Quadratus

During the reign of Trajan the name of C. Antius Aulus Iulius Quadratus occurs on an issue consisting of four coin types (pl. II.3, 25–8). As the coin inscriptions explicitly name him as proconsul (*ΕΠΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ ΚΟΥΑΔΡΑΤΟΥ*), the issue must fall into the year when Quadratus was proconsul of Asia (AD 109/10). All four coin types share a number of features which indicate that they were produced by the same die-cutter, for example the distinctive shape of Trajan's bust, the spacing of the legends, and the fact that the bottom line never extends beyond the figures towards the edge of the image. The largest coin type in the name of Quadratus is 31 mm in diameter and displays two facing deities, Artemis of Ephesus and Asclepius of Pergamum, on the reverse. Two medium-sized coin types of 25 mm in diameter depict Hygieia and Asclepius, and Dionysus on his own. Finally, the river-god Kaikos appears on the smallest type, which is 21 mm in diameter. The question is how to interpret these images.

The issue in the name of Aulus Iulius Quadratus has three unusual characteristics: (1) the depiction of Dionysus as a standing figure who holds a cantharus over a panther and a thyrsus is unique for Pergamum; (2) the image of the reclining river-god Kaikos with a cornucopia in his right hand occurs here for the first time; and (3) after the Julio-Claudian period there are no other reverse legends naming an individual as proconsul rather than as a civic office holder.²³

The latter feature may be explained by the career of Aulus Iulius Quadratus. Every inhabitant of Pergamum knew that he was a prominent citizen. The reference to his proconsulship (*ἀνθύπατος*) was an expression of pride on behalf of the citizens of Pergamum that one of their own was holding such a distinguished post. His achievements set Pergamum apart from other cities.

²³ Cities in Asia Minor could choose to date an issue by the current proconsul rather than by the eponymous civic magistrate, thus giving the provincial dating system priority over the local one. G. R. Stumpf has produced a corpus of the coins with the names of proconsuls from the provinces of Asia, Cilicia, Pontus-Bithynia, Galatia, and Cappadocia in the imperial period: Stumpf 1991. Many of the 464 civic coin types exclusively carry the name of a Roman proconsul: Stumpf 1991: 85–301 and 306.

Quadratus' career may also hold the key to the interpretation of the images of the issue with his name. Let us start with the unusual Dionysus design (pl. II.3, 27). We know that in AD 105 Quadratus had been made hereditary priest of Dionysus Kathegemon,²⁴ which might explain the choice of this particular image. The design of the large coin depicting the facing deities Artemis of Ephesus and Asclepius of Pergamum on the reverse (pl. II.3, 25) closely resembles a *homonoia* coin. The particular example illustrated here is in a bad state and it is not clear whether the reverse legend contains the typical 'OMONOIA' formula. Scholars have treated this particular type as an *homonoia* coin,²⁵ but this might be—strictly speaking—incorrect. As in the previous case it might be preferable to seek a biographical explanation. The most obvious connection between Quadratus and the city of Ephesus is that he was residing there during his term of office. Furthermore, the coin type also emphasizes—as a 'proper' *homonoia* coin would do—the good relationship between Pergamum and Ephesus, which was due to the activities of Quadratus himself.²⁶ That Quadratus had an excellent and long-standing relationship with the city of Ephesus may be seen also from an honorary statue erected by the Ephesians during his proconsulship of Asia.²⁷ The use of the 'homonoia coin' format by an individual for the purpose of self-promotion is not an isolated incident. A well-known parallel case is an issue of coins from Smyrna struck by the sophist Attalus in honour of Smyrna and Laodicea.²⁸

The final coin type in this issue depicts the river-god Kaikos (pl. II.3, 28) reclining to the right, holding a cornucopia in his right hand, with his left arm resting on an urn from which water flows. The cornucopia symbolizes the fertility brought to the territory of Pergamum by the water of the Kaikos river. The obvious question is whether there was a link between this coin type and Aulus Iulius Quadratus whose name occurs on it. Water-related building activities, especially the building of an aqueduct, could leave traces on civic coin designs; some of the known examples

come from the city of Pergamum itself.²⁹ It might therefore be possible that the coin type under discussion commemorates water-related building activities undertaken by Quadratus. He was certainly responsible for many building and restoration activities in Pergamum, the most important of which was the construction of the *Trajaneum*. An indirect link between Quadratus and water is provided by the inscription Fränkel 1895: no. 440. Dating from the time after he had become proconsul, it refers to Quadratus as *gymnasiarchos* for life. One of the responsibilities of this office was the supply of the *gymnasia* with fresh water. The building of the substantial Kaikos aqueducts is indeed dated to the years after AD 100.

Looking at the issue with the name of Aulus Iulius Quadratus as a whole, it becomes apparent that it reflects aspects of his relationship with Pergamum in very much the same way as do honorary statues or inscriptions. Coinage could express this relationship with a relatively limited vocabulary consisting of (reasonably simple) images and short legends. Like the imperial coinage, civic coins were directed at recipients with varying degrees of understanding.³⁰ For some Dionysus was a popular civic deity and Kaikos the river which was responsible for the fertility of much of the city's territory. Others, however, might well have understood the subtle honours for Quadratus implied in these coin types. These examples demonstrate very clearly the difficulties involved in trying to interpret the civic coins struck nearly two thousand years ago.³¹ Knowledge of their context is required, and even with such information original intentions cannot be reconstructed with any certainty.

Pergamum's Second *Neocorate* Temple: The *Trajaneum*

During his lifetime Aulus Iulius Quadratus retained close links with Pergamum, for which he undertook

²⁹ Jones 1991: 115–17; Weisser 1995: 144–5 with an additional coin type that supports Jones's arguments. Architecture and inscriptions reveal intense water-related building activities in Ephesus during the Trajanic period.

³⁰ For the various layers of understanding regarding the imperial coinage see for example Alföldi 1999: 10–12.

³¹ Recently D. Kienast has drawn attention to the poor sources and methodological difficulties in interpreting coin images from Pergamum: Kienast 1996: 216. He restricts his comments to the 'alliance' coinage, but the same is true for the city's other issues.

²⁴ Fränkel 1895: no. 486; Ohlemutz 1940: 108–9.

²⁵ Franke und Nollé 1997: no. 1511; Kampmann 1996: no. 3.

²⁶ It is wrong to assume that the award of the second *neocorate* to Pergamum formed the background for these 'alliance' celebrations with Ephesus, as Pergamum received its second *neocorate* after the proconsulship of Aulus Iulius Quadratus; *contra* Kampmann 1996: 29.

²⁷ *I.Ephesos* V: 61 (no. 1538).

²⁸ Klose 1987: 328–30, nos. 1–14.

a number of expensive tasks. He used his influence with Trajan to gain favours for his native city. After his proconsulship in AD 109/110 he persuaded the emperor to agree to the proposal of the *Koinon of Asia* to grant Pergamum a second *neocorate* temple, which was to be dedicated jointly to Trajan himself and to Zeus Philios. The exact date of this grant is not known. It might have been in AD 114/115, the year in which Quadratus instituted a festival in honour of Trajan and Zeus Philios.³² As a consequence of the imperial grant Pergamum became the first city in the Greek East to possess two *neocorates*.

This extraordinary honour is reflected by a coin issue from late in the reign of Trajan consisting of four coin types in three denominations (pl. 11.4, 29–32). The largest denomination is represented by two coin types. One depicts the bust of Trajan on the obverse and the new temple of Trajan and Zeus Philios with its cult statues on the reverse. The second shares the same reverse design. Its obverse, however, rather unusually, does not display an imperial portrait but carries the image of the first *neocorate* temple of Roma and Augustus. The other two coin types of this issue depict the emperor on the obverse and Zeus Philios on the reverse. On the larger of the two Zeus is shown seated, whereas the smaller one displays his bearded head only.

The two reverses of the largest denomination provide a clue as to the appearance of the two cult statues: Zeus Philios sat on his throne, whereas Trajan stood next to him in the guise of a military leader wearing a cuirass, paludamentum, and military boots. Archaeological excavations have recently confirmed the accuracy of the coin designs.³³ They revealed, in addition to a well-known head of Trajan, parts of the head and torso of Zeus Philios. Scholars who had previously doubted the correctness of the coin images were proven wrong.³⁴ When comparing the archaeological remains with the coins it becomes

clear, however, that the die-cutter exaggerated the size of the cult statues relative to the temple in order to emphasize their importance. In this way he could also show some of the attributes of the statues. In addition, the die-cutter drew attention to a key difference between Pergamum's first *neocorate* temple and the *Trajaneum*: the latter stood on a podium, which was a feature of a Roman-style temple, and was surmounted by a figure of Victoria Romana, the symbol of Roman power.³⁵

In architectural terms the *Trajaneum* was a splendid display of Graeco-Roman engineering and taste. The complex substructure consisted of Roman-style cement (*opus caementicium*). The temple itself was built from marble from the imperial quarries at Marmara.³⁶ Situated above the temple of Athena, the new *Trajaneum* dominated Pergamum's skyline.³⁷ It outshone the famous altar of Pergamum, the only other marble-clad building on the acropolis at this time. It seems clear that such a building could be erected only because of Quadratus' overwhelming influence in his native city. Anthony Birley expressed the idea that Zeus's epithet *Philios* (*Jupiter Amicalis*) was chosen to symbolize the close relationship between Trajan and his *amicus clarissimus*, Aulus Iulius Quadratus.³⁸ Some contemporary observers might also have noted this association. We have to ask whether Pergamum's second *neocorate* temple should not be interpreted also as a personal architectural monument to the friendship between the city's most distinguished citizen and Trajan. In its monumentality and style it introduced elements of Roman architecture to Pergamum—mediated through the *homo novus* Quadratus.

The *Trajaneum* was completed under Hadrian, probably in the year AD 129.³⁹ There appear to have been changes to the original design. Given Hadrian's interest in architectural matters in general and in this

³² Radt 1999: 212; Ohlemutz 1940: 79 with further references. H. Müller is preparing an article for *Chiron* on, the dating of the inscription according to newly discovered fragments.

³³ Raeck 1993: 381–7.

³⁴ Ohlemutz 1940: 80–1 n. 57; followed by Price 1984: 252; the latter was also sceptical about von Fritze's emphatic plea to regard coin images as a serious historical source (Fritze 1910: 54 n. 1); now correctly Radt 1999: 211–12. For other sculptural remains which secure the restoration of Trajan's statue as a standing figure in military dress: Radt 1999: 211, pls. 152–4; Winter 1908: 2, 231–4 with Beiblatt 31 (fragments of imperial statues). Similar statues are known from Utica (Niemeyer 1968: no. 48, pl. 17.1) and Ostia (Niemeyer 1968: no. 49, pl. 16).

³⁵ On Victoria Romana, Hölscher 1985: 84.

³⁶ For the terraces and substructure Radt 1999: 213–15. Vann 1976: 107–10 with a list of similar substructures at the temple of Hadrian in Cyzicus, the Hadrianic temple of Zeus in Aezani and the 'lower circular building' in the *Asklepieion* in Pergamum.

³⁷ Today, after the recent partial reconstruction of the temple of Trajan (Nohlen 1982/3: 163–230), the building dominates the Acropolis in Pergamum to a greater extent than in antiquity. However, the monumental building must have impressed ancient citizens and visitors alike.

³⁸ Birley 1997: 166, who also includes Trajan's general Iulius Quadratus Bassus in his considerations. There is, however, no evidence for his role in Pergamum being awarded a second *neocorate*.

³⁹ Radt 1999: 212.

building in particular, he might have been personally involved in those changes. It has also been suggested that Hadrian, who generally favoured the renovation of old cults, preferred the *Asklepieion* to the *Trajaneum*. Whatever Hadrian's architectural preferences regarding those two buildings and his (possible) personal involvement in their design, it is worth pointing out that a statue of him was put up in the *Trajaneum* next to the group of Zeus Philios and Trajan. During Hadrian's reign Pergamum struck only a single, small-sized, coin type relating to the new building (pl. II.4, 33). It formed part of an issue in the name of Iulius Pollio. For this type many die-variants exist, which suggests that it was produced in large numbers. Recalling a type mentioned earlier (pl. II.4, 30), the obverse depicts the first *neocorate* temple, while the reverse shows the *Trajaneum*. Owing to the small size of the coin, however, the die-cutter illustrated only the statues of Augustus and Trajan inside their respective temples, and not—as in the previous case—also the statues of the associated deities Roma and Zeus Philios. This deliberate choice indicates the dominance of the imperial element in the two joint cults. On the coin type concerned, obverse and reverse legends identify the two emperors as 'ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟC ΠΕΡΓΑ' and 'ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC'. In addition, the temple of Augustus on the obverse is characterized by a capricorn in the tympanum.

Inter-City Rivalry: Games during the Reign of Hadrian

From late in the reign of Trajan onwards inscriptions from Pergamum regularly included a reference to the two *neocorate* temples as part of the city's titulature. By contrast, 'ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΔΙΣ' became part of coin legends only during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, at a time when other cities were also referring to *neocorates* on their coins. References to temples of the imperial cult subsequently developed into a standard feature of provincial coin legends. We do not know the reasons why Pergamum did not exploit this opportunity to draw attention to its privileged status on its coins at an earlier stage.

The only other Hadrianic coin type from Pergamum which contains a reference to the city's two *neocorate* temples did so by referring to the games associated

with them (pl. II.4, 34). The obverse depicts the portrait of Lucius Aelius, thus allowing it to be dated to the period between AD 136 and 138. The reverse shows an agonistic table with an amphora between two wreaths. The basic design recalls earlier Roman imperial coins, the first of which were minted under Nero (pl. II.4, 35).⁴⁰ The coin type from Pergamum differs from its Roman imperial model in that it contains two wreaths rather than one. The two wreaths stand for the two sets of games which were celebrated every five years in connection with Pergamum's two *neocorate* temples, namely the 'Romaia Sebasta' or 'Augusteia' in honour of Roma and Augustus and the 'Traianeia Deiphilia' for Trajan and Zeus Philios.⁴¹

Roman imperial coins such as the one from the reign of Nero mentioned above (pl. II.4, 35) inspired agonistic coin designs in other Greek cities, for example, from Elis referring to the Olympic games from the reign of Hadrian (pl. II.4, 36),⁴² or an Antonine coin from Athens relating to the Panathenaic games (pl. II.4, 37).⁴³ These three provincial coin types from Elis, Athens, and Pergamum reflect a renewed interest in games—a trend very much encouraged by the emperor Hadrian. Pergamum's games could not compete in repute with the four major ones, held at Olympia, Delphi, Corinth, and Argos. However, in Asia Minor Pergamum's games

⁴⁰ 1. Obverse: NERO CAES-AVG IMP; laureate head of Nero. Reverse: CERT QVINQ ROM CON; agonistic table with wreath and amphora; beneath, discus. Reference: *RIC* I, 2nd edn., no. 241. The coin celebrates the establishment of quinquennial games in Rome by Nero. As indicated by the discus, they followed the model of the Olympic games. 2. Obverse: IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AVG; laureate head of Trajan. Reverse: SC (in exergue); agonistic table with amphora and wreath. Reference: *RIC* II, no. 686. ⁴¹ See also Klose 1987: 115.

⁴² See Klose in this volume. Mint: Elis. Obverse: Hadrian. Reference: Liegle 1952: pls. 5–6. The coin is around five years older than the similar type from Pergamum. The table is decorated with a table-cloth and surmounted by a wreath, amphora, and palm-branch, which represent attributes of the games. Klose and Stumpf 1996: 36–7 consider the table to be the one of Kolotes, but the coin image is different from the literary description. Anyway, it probably refers to a specific table the large size of which is indicated by the unusual choice of image and perspective. The vine-decorations at the sides represent an additional deviation from the imperial model.

⁴³ Mint: Athens. Obverse: head of Athena. Reference: Svoronos 1923–6: pl. 88, 60. Overall the agonistic table looks similar to the imperial model. The deviations from it are used deliberately to characterize the games. Next to the wreath on the table are a head of Athena and an owl, while an amphora is placed underneath it. To the right next to the table there is a palm-branch. Occasionally one finds explanatory inscriptions: *Panathenea*, *Panhellenia*, or *Hadrianeia*. They referred to the games renewed in AD 132 by Hadrian.

were important even before the reign of Hadrian. It is possible that Pergamum's coin type was intended to draw attention to this very fact. There appear to be no contemporary parallels from Asia Minor, suggesting that in this case Pergamum obtained inspiration for its coin designs not from neighbouring cities but from Rome, Olympia, and Athens.

Conclusions

1. The example of the coin type of Asclepius and Ephesian Artemis from the issue in the name of Aulus Iulius Quadratus has, with other examples, demonstrated how important it is to analyse coin types both in the context of their issues and with regard to other coin types from the same city. With regard to the issue of Quadratus a case can be made that it represents a neglected historical source for the relationship between Pergamum and its most distinguished citizen of the time.
2. We should obviously like to know how typical is the coinage with the name of Quadratus in the degree to which it reflects the achievements and honours of an individual. Quadratus was, after all, an unusually important citizen. The problem is that it has been possible to trace that influence only through exceptionally strong contextual evidence, in this case principally from epigraphy and archaeology, and even then the conclusions are necessarily tentative. In most cases such supporting material is missing. It would be even

harder to trace such influences over the majority of coinage which does not bear the name of an individual. But the question may at least be posed. The demonstration of a degree of individual influence in no way undermines the interpretation of civic coin types as expressions of civic identity, because such influence was manifested by making relevant choices from within the repertoire of imagery of communal identity. Rather it demonstrates one of the ways in which such identities were mediated.

3. There are lessons to be learned also by comparing coin types from different cities with each other—a task made easier by the *RPC* project. Epigraphists have drawn attention to the extent of the social and geographical mobility of members of the elite of Pergamum. The author believes that this mobility lay behind the diversity of the city's coin designs, which may be explained only by some degree of awareness of the sculpture, buildings, and honours in Rome, Athens, and Asia.

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INFORMATION, LEGITIMATION, OR SELF-LEGITIMATION? POPULAR AND ELITE DESIGNS ON THE COIN TYPES OF SYRIA

Kevin Butcher

Introduction

IN A FAMOUS ESSAY 'NUMISMATICS AND HISTORY', A. H. M. Jones suggested that Roman imperial coin types could be compared to the designs on modern postage stamps. The purpose of this analogy was to demonstrate the relative insignificance of types and legends for the study of imperial policy. In doing so, however, he addressed a fundamental problem which is of particular relevance here: What are the meaning(s) of coin types, and who chose the designs? Jones's comparison was perhaps offered with a slight hint of facetiousness, as a way of debunking the notion that imperial history could be reconstructed from the coin designs alone, yet the analogy does have some merit when considering the meanings of types on Roman *provincial* coins. These do indeed depict 'famous men of the country concerned, its artistic monuments . . . fairs . . . or . . . great events in national history',¹ among other things. The analogy is not intended to mean that the designs were empty or frivolous, or that people could not construct a sense of identity from them. This chapter examines some

of the coin types of cities in Syria, to show that not only the more unusual types, but also some of the designs that we might consider generic *could* have been seen as specific and generated a sense of identity among members of the issuing community. Whether individuals within a community found the *same* meanings in the designs is a question addressed here. What people understood is crucial to any search for identities. It is suggested that whilst people from outside the community might have understood the types, these designs were not generally intended to convey 'information' to outsiders. Some of the types may remain unexplained today because they were perhaps equally obscure to many non-citizens in antiquity. However, unless the issuing authorities and the audience can be clearly identified it will be very difficult to say very much about how the coin types generated a sense of identity, and what sort of identities were generated.

Authority and Audience

In leaked memoranda of 1999 and 2000, the British Prime Minister Tony Blair outlined to his aides issues

¹ Jones 1974: 63.

which he believed would persuade the public that his party was 'Standing Up for Britain'. The 'touchstone issues' were a show of strength on defence matters and toughness in dealing with asylum seekers and crime. 'I should be personally associated with as much of this as possible,' the Prime Minister allegedly added.² Earlier scholarship imagined Roman emperors orchestrating 'propaganda' for their coinage in much the same way, so that they were personally associated with policy: 'It was planned for an audience of countless thousands, all of whom, in greater or lesser degree, looked to the princeps as the apex of a political system on which depended the peace and stability of the civilized world; and it furnished world opinion with a miniature but strictly official commentary upon the man and his administration'.³ Emperors or their aides were envisaged directing mint officials to produce designs with an eye to informing or persuading the public of the regime's legitimacy and achievements. A dichotomy of authority (those who chose the messages) and audience (those who got the messages) was defined. Opponents of this view accepted the dichotomy but questioned whether emperors themselves were the authorities responsible for choosing the designs, and whether the public took much notice of messages on coins.⁴ Chief among these critics was A. H. M. Jones, who drew the analogy between Roman coin types and modern postage stamps: 'They throw a sidelight on the history of the period, but they mainly reflect the mentality of the post-office officials. No serious historian would use them as a clue which revealed changes of government policy, even if other evidence were totally lacking.'⁵ Others have suggested that the types *were* noticed and that the programmatic nature of *some* issues implies intent, and meaning could therefore be deduced by identifying the authorities responsible and the recipients of the messages.⁶ The debate continues, and the questions of authority and audience remain unsolved.⁷ This is perhaps hardly surprising, given that we are

delving into the meanings of signs. One interesting view, developed by Barbara Levick, stressed that the emperors themselves were the audience, and that they were 'public tribute to a great individual'.⁸ While accepting this approach, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill artfully modified it by arguing that the aim of the types was nonetheless to persuade a wider public as well as paying tribute.⁹

Levick's approach bears some similarity to a view about state legitimacy expressed long ago by Max Weber, although his approach drew a distinction between the public ascribing legitimacy to a government, and the acts of legitimation which governments pursue.¹⁰ The British public's association of the 'touchstone issues' with a particular Prime Minister (or even paying tribute to him because of his association with the issues) is not the same as that Prime Minister's desire to be identified with those issues, just as the Roman public's association of *Liberalitas* with a particular emperor is distinct from the emperor's desire to be identified with *Liberalitas*. A characteristic of all governments is the activity of legitimation, and the fact that governments and elites persist in legitimating themselves in their own eyes makes this activity an important (and often time-consuming and expensive) feature of government.¹¹ Proponents of this view argue that public mandate is far less important to the ruler than the ruler's self-perception; the public generally acquiesce and only in times of crisis do they question the symbols of legitimacy or need persuasion. Continuing this line of reasoning leads to an argument that imperial types could have been persuasive but reflexive—they were *by emperors for emperors*, and issuing coin types was simply one of a range of activities by the rulers aimed at persuading the same rulers that they were legitimate.¹² The dichotomy of 'authority' and 'message' is dissolved by conflating the two, although this means accepting that the types *were* meaningful, but were not really messages designed to convey information, and that the emperor and his aides had some influence over the range and selection of designs.¹³

² Memoranda published by *The Times*, July 2000, quoted in Ali (2002: 151–2).

³ Sutherland (1951: 184) envisaged provincial coinage being supervised by the 'keen eyes of imperial subordinates'.⁴ Crawford 1983.

⁵ Jones 1974: 63. Jones's appreciation of semiotics can be summed up by another comment on the same page, where he opines in support of his claim that Roman coin types had no complex meanings that medieval symbolism 'was simple to the point of crudity'.⁶ Cheung 1998.

⁷ See in particular Levick 1999b (asking whether they really are messages). For an approach to coin types which seems to hold great promise, see Meadows and Williams 2001.

⁸ Levick 1982. ⁹ Wallace-Hadrill 1986.

¹⁰ Weber 1948: 78–9; 1978: 213. ¹¹ Barker 2001.

¹² I use the term reflexive here in a slightly different way to Cheung 1998, who refers to Levick's (1982) concept of coin types paying tribute to the emperor.

¹³ Possession of requisite symbols (which might derive from non-numismatic sources) was necessary for self-legitimation. This does not

This line of argument could be taken further, and it does inform a portion of what follows, particularly when dealing with 'authority'. But imperial coinage is not the subject here. In general provincial coin types would seem to present us with a different set of problems, but they raise the same questions of authority and audience, albeit on a smaller scale. The identification of authority and audience is of course crucial here because it is central to the search for identities on provincial coins. The identities likely to be expressed on these coins are those of institutions or communities which the Roman authorities tolerated or encouraged, which in most cases in the eastern Mediterranean means the Greek-style city state. The likely sorts of community can therefore be defined in broad terms, but to conclude merely that the types symbolize some unspecified aspects of these communal identities is clearly unsatisfactory. And it does not follow that types should be interpreted as the public face of communal identities, an advertisement to the outside world conveying information about Who We Are.

There can be little doubt that provincial coins *were* an expression of identity: the ethnics used on the coins were in themselves markers of different communities. Technical differences such as the sizes and shapes of flans could have generated a feeling of distinction among the users, and in certain areas of the Roman east there is growing evidence for discrete patterns of circulation which suggest that at least some civic coinages may have been legal tender only in the territory of the issuing city. Provincial coin use may have been embedded in social relations far more than has hitherto been suspected, so that society and identity were linked to circulation and notions of value. If so, then this has a direct bearing on our search for an audience.¹⁴

Which authorities chose the types? The civic 'elites' would be a common response, but this response raises further questions. Were they acting collectively, choosing types which they thought

have to mean that emperors personally selected designs; responsible officials could attune themselves to imperial desires in the same way that a British Prime Minister's aides could, through general instructions. We might take the progressively increasing 'banality' of imperial types during the second and third centuries to mean increasing standardization of those necessary symbols of self-legitimation, and less need for instructions.

¹⁴ See Butcher 2001–2; 2002; 2003; 2004; also Burnett, Chapter 16 this volume, and my concluding comments in this paper.

represented the community as a whole, or only those that represented the elites of the community? Were they acting as individuals, choosing personal types (Weisser, Chapter 11, this volume)? Could these designs too be seen as 'reflexive', legitimating the person(s) responsible for issuing the coins? Were the types chosen independently of the Roman authorities? Who understood these choices, and what did they understand? Is what *we* understand what was both intended and understood?

If 'elites' chose the types, they were perhaps (as suggested above) mainly intended to legitimate those elites in their own eyes, and were not messages or acts of legitimation aimed at social inferiors.¹⁵ In any society the elites are likely to have greater access to and control over symbols than the lower classes, because this is a part of what makes them elite. Symbols are more meaningful to those that wield them than those who passively accept them. Statements about identity always occur within a context, and that context might be the entirety of a specific city state, but equally it might be one of a small group of peers. If the issuing elites themselves were the intended audience, then there is a difference between the meanings these elites gave to the types and the understandings of an incidental audience of coin-users. The latter may have found significance and a sense of identity in the types but they perhaps gave different meanings to them than those intended by the issuing authorities. It would, after all, be impossible to control the meanings that other people might ascribe to types, particularly for those issues that circulated for a long time. There may be no direct link between the meanings the bulk of users ascribed to provincial coin types and the meanings given to them by the authorities, and thus no single, 'correct' interpretation of the types.

Symbols, Meanings, and Identities

Arguments about the relationship between symbols and meanings are nothing new. However, the

¹⁵ L. Robert noted that certain civic coin types of Asia Minor reflected the personal interests of the magistrates whose names appear on coins. More recently J. Kroll has drawn a connection between some of the types used on Athenian civic coinage and their 'personal or family associations' (Kroll 1997a). Were these types, which refer to the ancestry of two leading families of Athens, intended to affirm the legitimacy of the great families in their own eyes?

difference between symbol and meaning, and between denotation and connotation, is not always appreciated when discussing ancient coin types.¹⁶ The poverty of our evidence may lead us to avoid searching for meanings other than the literal or obvious because they seem too speculative. Instead attention is often drawn to structure and form ('purely Greek style Apollo', 'non Graeco-Roman temple', etc.) as if they *were* meaning, when clearly they are not. Structure and form may be imported from one community to another but the meanings can be changed completely. The corollary of this, unfortunately for us, is that different communities can use the same symbol as a marker of identity. It is in the differences between meanings given to a symbol that the boundaries between different identities lie, and not solely in differences between the symbols themselves, or in our interpretation of those symbols ('Greek', 'indigenous', etc.). More will be said about this below.

The view taken here is that identity, culture, and ethnicity are distinct concepts, although they are easily confused because they frequently share symbols.¹⁷ For the purposes of this chapter I will define identity as the feeling of similarity or sameness, or of difference, by reference to communal symbols.¹⁸ Identities are expressed by endowing things with particular meanings, but this is precisely the problem for us when we seek to relate coin types to feelings of identity: often all we have are the symbols (the types), not their meanings to members of the community. The symbols are seen as objective (or can be objectively described: 'Athena standing'; 'altar in temple'), and we might be able to agree on what they denote to us ('this is the statue described by Pausanias'), but the meanings given to them by members of the community were *subjective* and the product of individual experiences—hardly good raw materials for objective analysis when the individuals

are no longer with us. In addition, for the symbols to generate a sense of identity outsiders cannot share all of their meanings with insiders. Outsiders might recognize symbols as signifiers of a particular community (which is effectively what numismatists do when they identify civic coin types with the issuing city), but this simplified external symbolic face of the community may bear little resemblance to the symbolic complexity of internal discourse. A list of typically British symbols drawn up by non-Britons would probably include many items that Britons would recognize but consider crude stereotypes and not really representative of Britons at all, whereas a list compiled by Britons would probably contain items which were unintelligible to outsiders as symbols of Britain. Furthermore, the meanings of those items among insiders, and thus the ways in which they constructed a sense of identity, would differ depending on personal experience. Put simply, the symbol is the thing the people share in common, not its meanings. The meanings are not inherent in the symbol (otherwise the symbol would be superfluous); people *give* meanings to it. Thus we may be able to identify symbols of communities on provincial coins, but remain unable to say exactly how these symbols created a sense of identity. In keeping with the facetious analogy of A. H. M. Jones, I illustrate these points not with a Roman provincial coin, but with a British postage stamp issued in the 1990s (pl. 12.1, 1).

The mentalities of post office officials have changed since the days when A. H. M. Jones was writing, in that British postage stamps now resemble those of other countries in their variety. However, we should not be deceived by the ephemeral nature of postage stamps into thinking that the symbols deployed are equally ephemeral. The image in question, which formed part of a series of postage stamps celebrating British television, has been familiar to Britons for almost forty years, and shows a Dalek, a member of a fearsome alien species of cybernetic monsters from the long-running BBC TV science fiction series *Dr Who*. Images of the Daleks are sufficiently recognizable to most adult Britons not to need any accompanying description and may be considered part of 'popular culture'. Indeed, one could argue that being able to identify such unnamed images, and then to respond to them in appropriate ways, would be a test of Britishness. The Dalek is a shared communal

¹⁶ Modern confusion about these differences may explain why it is sometimes believed that the ancients were occasionally confused about the meanings of coin types. In these cases, it is assumed that there was a 'correct' reading of a 'message' (being that intended by the authorities), and that the successful audience was composed of those who got the messages *right*.

¹⁷ Culture is often defined as a symbolic domain, and one may speak of cultural identity or ethnic identity, but there are clearly other sorts of social institutions and groups with identities which cannot easily be made synonymous with culture or ethnicity (Jenks 1996).

¹⁸ My approach here is particularly influenced by Cohen (1985).

symbol among the British, baffling to most outsiders, from which individual Britons draw different meanings that form part of a British identity.¹⁹ None of those meanings are wrong, but they may be unrelated to the personal meanings the post office officials ascribed to their choice of symbol (and no post office authority has ever implied that there might be wrong interpretations—at least not to my knowledge).

Numismatists interested in provincial coins are perhaps better placed to identify many of the symbols found on their objects of study than might be future philatelists. Indeed, many types are intelligible to us in that we can objectively describe them and comment on their relevance to a particular community: for example, the principal reverse type found on civic bronze coins of Zeugma on the Euphrates (pl. 12.1, 2). Zeugma means ‘The Bridge’, and there was a bridge across the Euphrates at some point in Zeugma’s history, but the coins fail to utilize the eponymous edifice. What they do depict has often been misinterpreted. The image is that of a temple on a hill, with staircases up either side and buildings at its base, and not a sanctuary containing a grove of sacred trees.²⁰ This particular symbol is easy to interpret correctly because a temple on a prominent hill dominates the site of Zeugma and the surrounding countryside. But a correct identification of the symbol does not tell us anything about what it meant to the citizens of Zeugma, and why this particular image was chosen to the exclusion of others. So at the point where the interpretation ought to become interesting for answering questions of identity our ability to make any real sense of the type breaks down.

This would seem to place us forever in the position of outsiders with regard to provincial coin types and identities, being able at times to recognize and describe but never really to understand. If coin types represented the identity of a community as a whole then it is likely that the meanings of those types were more complex than outsiders would have imagined.

¹⁹ *Dr Who* is broadcast outside the UK, and thus Daleks also form a potential symbol of identity for a separate community of fans, many of whom are non-British, but when shown at the Symposium the image was indeed fully recognizable only to the British and thoroughly unintelligible to the non-British members of the audience. Appropriate responses to this test of Britishness were ‘I remember hiding behind the sofa whenever they appeared’ and ‘I preferred the Cybermen’. Inappropriate responses ranged from ‘Is it a toy?’; ‘Oh, it’s a robot. It was always telling jokes, I suppose’ to ‘I can’t see any garlic!’

²⁰ On the interpretations, see Butcher 2004.

To claim knowledge of the significance of symbols is to claim an extraordinarily detailed knowledge of the community in question and the context(s) of the symbols, a rather bold claim to make even in the case of modern societies, let alone past ones.

Symbols of identity tend to be addressed to those who are best equipped to understand their nuances. If coin types were an expression of identity, be it that of individuals, groups, or whole communities, then it is less likely that they were intended primarily to represent the public face of that community among other communities, deploying a simple symbolism of stereotypes and caricatures for outside consumption, and that instead they were chosen to represent the community to itself, or individuals to themselves, etc., so that the symbols affirm rather than provide information. There is, then, the possibility that provincial and imperial coinages have at least this self-referential aspect in common (if one accepts the reflexive argument as a feature of Roman imperial coinage). If this is so, then some of the more important meanings of the types can be sought by trying to identify the issuing authorities.

Syrian Coins²¹

For the purposes of analysis Syrian provincial coinage can be regarded as having two principal components: civic and what is sometimes referred to as ‘imperial’ but which might be better described as provincial or, as a compromise, provincial imperial (with the caveat that it might not be provincial and might not be imperial).²² We do not know whether the coinage was regarded as being divided in this way by users in antiquity, although in general their patterns of distribution in the region suggest that civic and provincial imperial coins were being used in different ways.²³ Provincial imperial coins were issued in silver and bronze. For the most part their types were unchanging (eagles commonly on the reverses of

²¹ For the purposes of this chapter ‘Syria’ constitutes the northern half of the ‘Near East’, including the Phoenician cities but excluding Arabia and Palestine.

²² Provincial imperial is the term adopted in Butcher 2004. This coinage circulated widely in the provinces of Syria and some of it circulated in Mesopotamia and Arabia; but whether it was financed by the imperial authorities as a coinage for the provinces of Syria or the ‘Near East’ cannot be determined from the evidence.

²³ Butcher 2003; 2004.

silver coins, the letters SC in a wreath on the bronzes), and the majority of issues were associated with Antioch, the foremost city of Syria. It is not really very clear what the eagles were meant to signify in this context, nor is it certain what SC stands for in Syria.²⁴ As the identity of the issuing authorities is uncertain, it is difficult to use the evidence of provincial imperial coins for pursuing identities, but one can assume that they do appeal to some kind of social or political entity or entities.

As noted above, civic elites are generally held to be responsible for issues of civic coins, and so the quest for identities on civic coins is a little easier to pursue than it is with provincial imperial. The civic coins of Syria share many features in common with civic coinages elsewhere: the number of cities issuing coins increases between the first and third centuries; there is an apparent expansion in the variety of coin types during the same period, with a growing 'antiquarian' interest in cults and myths; and civic festivals become prominent on coins of several cities in the third century. But there are also differences which might be important: neocorates are never advertised; there are no explicit *homonoia* coins; some civic personifications like Demos never appear; and there are no explicit references to magistrates by name and title. The latter point might suggest that in Syria civic coinages were frequently produced from communal funds rather than those of individual magistrates, but that need not have been so. It does however mean that we cannot explicitly identify any individuals responsible for issues of coin.

There are occasional references on civic coins to geographical entities other than the city state, which might indicate some sort of regional affiliation. In the first century AD coins issued by Antiochus IV of Commagene bore the ethnic 'of the Commagenians' on the reverses. This is rather unusual for the coinage of a 'client' king; however, rather than meaning that these issues were somehow the collective property of the Commagenians it might be understood as a continuation of the obverse legend, making Antiochus king 'of the Commagenians'. Nevertheless it does accord some sort of recognition to an entity called the Commagenians, and the abbreviation *KOM* or *KOMMAI* occurs on civic provincial coins

of Samosata and Germanicia in the second and third centuries. In the case of Samosata it occurs in conjunction with the title metropolis, suggesting that there continued to be an entity called Commagene or the Commagenians of which Samosata was the mother city.²⁵ Phoenice is mentioned on some second- and third-century civic coinages of Tyre in conjunction with the word koinon, and there are coins of some Decapolis cities which refer to an entity called Koile Syria.²⁶ The meaning of the latter has never been satisfactorily resolved, though in the case of all three, Commagene, Phoenice, and Koile Syria, a connection with an eparchy of the imperial cult seems likely.²⁷ Coins of Caesarea ad Libanum at the northern end of the Lebanon range refer in the third century to the Ituraeans, which looks like an ethnic affiliation (the city being Ituraean, at least in earlier times) or, at any rate, an attempt by the issuers to distinguish an Ituraean Colonia Caesarea from any other Colonia Caesarea.²⁸ For the most part, however, civic coins refer to the citizen body and the issuing city only.

Specific in the Generic

It would be impossible to present a survey of Syrian civic coin types here, let alone speculate on their symbolism and meanings.²⁹ The cities and types are

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Tyre: *BMC* 361–6, 381–2; Koile Syria: Spijkerman 1978: 300–3.

²⁷ Butcher 2004. If this interpretation of the use of these three terms is correct, then the imperial cult was an important institution for organizing identities in Syria (there was an issue on behalf of the Koinon of Syria under Trajan: Butcher 2004). In the third century Laodicea describes itself as 'Metropolis of the four provinces', presumably here referring to the four eparchies of the imperial cult in Syria, attested from other sources. The abbreviation *ΔΕ* found on coins of Laodicea and Antioch has been interpreted as a shorthand for 'of the four eparchies' (Meyer 1987–8). Whilst relevant to the subject of this volume these interpretations remain too insecure to draw any firm conclusions with regard to identities.

²⁸ It occurs as the abbreviation *ITVR*: *BMC* 9–10. Some other cities distinguish themselves by referring to geographical entities: e.g. 'Pieria' in the case of Seleucia (*BMC* pp. 269–77), 'Seleucis' in the case of Nicopolis (*BMC* 1–3) or 'Libanus' in the case of Laodicea on the Orontes. These labels could also be considered signifiers of regional identities, or simply as geographical qualifications intended to distinguish these cities from others with the same names elsewhere. See Butcher 2004.

²⁹ I will consider only reverse types here. Much could be said about obverses, both with and without imperial portraits. Some have suggested that in using the imperial portrait the community honours and flatters the emperor. Might it not be the inverse, that use of the emperor's portrait (the emperor being the highest source of honour) or other members of his family honours the issuing authority?

²⁴ Butcher 2004.

simply too numerous, and the sources which might allow for interpretation are generally too poor. It would not be too difficult to select unusual types from Syrian cities, several of which, like images on modern postage stamps, appear only once—the ‘temple of the springs’ at Damascus,³⁰ or the ‘temple of the obelisk’ at Byblus,³¹ or which appear infrequently—the deity with a double axe at Ptolemais,³² or Dido and the walls of Carthage at Tyre,³³ and present these as interesting examples of difference. These unique or rare types no doubt were of considerable importance for the identity of someone. In general it is the rarer types that present us with what appear to us to be the most obvious, and therefore most informative, statements about identity. The unusual is given precedence over the commonplace and apparently generic.

Perhaps more focus needs to be brought to bear on the commonplace, for people can find identity in common forms as much as in what is singular, and as stated earlier common forms do not have to signify common meanings—or even that the audience perceived the symbols as common. Many of the commoner coin types appear to us to bear what might be thought of as generic or nondescript images (Tyche, altar, etc.), but it would be unwise to assume that if we cannot see a more specific symbolism, then neither could the audiences in antiquity. It may be the case that many apparently generic or repetitive types were signifiers of communal identities whereas rarer and unusual types better represented the interests of groups or individuals, or were issued for specific occasions. For example, there are common civic coins of Antioch (pl. 12.1, 3) showing a bust of Tyche on the obverse, accompanied by an inscription ‘of the Antiochenes’ which may or may not be interpreted as a specific label to what might otherwise be considered a generic type. Indeed, few would dispute the identification of the obverse as specific: the Tyche of Antioch. What about the reverse? It shows a garlanded altar with its fire lit, a type found on civic coins of other cities. However, there is just enough evidence from various sources to suggest a profound and particular symbolism at work here, for other coins of Antioch show an eagle standing on a garlanded

altar, or in other cases an eagle holding the thigh of a sacrificial animal in its talons.³⁴ It is likely that the eagle types refer to the foundation of the city; there is the story in Malalas of Seleucus Nicator founding Antioch by offering a sacrifice, an eagle snatching up part of the sacrifice and the king deciding to build the city where the eagle alighted.³⁵ It is therefore possible that the altar without the eagle refers to the same episode, or a symbolic celebration of that episode. The combination of head of city-goddess/moment of foundation suggests a coherent symbolic programme for these issues. It would also suggest that the Antiochenes did not necessarily look at the reverse type and conclude simply (as we might do) ‘that is an altar’; rather, they saw it as a *specific* altar with a specific role in the history and memory of the community, even though it resembles the altars found on coins of other cities. The form was generic, but the citizens saw a particular symbol. Beyond that were the meanings that groups and individuals gave to the symbol they saw, for which no evidence survives.

This interpretation is admittedly speculative, but perhaps not wildly so, given that interest in the origins of the community is a theme manifest on many Syrian civic coins of the second and third centuries, as it is elsewhere. Reference to the origins of Antioch occurs again as a type (pl. 12.1, 4) issued only under Severus Alexander (AD 222–35). Once again, however, evidence from other sources is necessary in order to appreciate this.³⁶ The central figures are easily recognized: the Tyche of Antioch and the river Orontes swimming at her feet. The figure on the left appears to be a ‘generic’ Tyche, standing holding a rudder and cornucopiae. The figure on the right is a male in military dress, crowning the Tyche of Antioch. The design occurs in media other than Antiochene coins and Alfred Bellinger drew a parallel between this type and a relief from Dura Europus showing a man making an offering before the Gad or Fortune of Dura. On the relief we find a similar figure in military attire specifically labelled as Seleucus Nicator, who founded Dura. Bellinger suggested that the figure on the Antiochene coins was also Seleucus,

³⁴ Butcher 2004, nos. 314–24, 388, 442.

³⁵ Malalas 199–200 (Bonn edition).

³⁶ Alfred Bellinger assembled the evidence for this interpretation (1939: 2–8).

³⁰ Possibly occurring twice (de Saulcy 1874: 42, 47).

³¹ BMC 37–8.

³² BMC 41, 50.

³³ BMC 409, 447, 470.

crowning the city that was his creation. Indeed, on well-preserved specimens the figure does appear to have long hair more suited to a Macedonian monarch than a Roman emperor. The other Tyche was seen as symbolizing the fortune of the citizens who had offered a dedication, so that there could be a distinction between the fortune of the city and that of its citizens (or a group of dedicants), or at any rate, the Tyche of the Antiochenes could be represented in different modes.

If this interpretation has any merit, what does it mean for the other generic Tychai and city-goddesses commonly encountered on civic coins? These are usually accompanied by a specific ethnic. Where we see a generic figure the citizens of the communities concerned might have seen the particular, a symbol specific to them and no others (pl. 12.1, 5). Perhaps popular identities were invested in the common types more so than in the unusual designs, and generic images could have been as meaningful as those strikingly different types that we see as being symbolic of communal identities. I have suggested above that the social boundaries that make up identities (both individual and communal) are to be located between a symbol and its different meanings, which in many cases will require attempts to find specific meanings in what appears to us to be generic.

Specific versus Generic

The problem of locating the particular in what seems to us generic is nowhere more apparent than in the study of cult images on coins, which are usually interpreted as evidence for 'Greek' or 'indigenous' identities on the basis of form. Curiously, even when deities seem to be specific they are often interpreted as local manifestations of something more generic. The reverses of coins of Cyrrhus (pl. 12.1, 6) show a 'Greek' seated figure of Zeus, sometimes in a temple, holding a thunderbolt and sceptre and with an eagle at his feet. The only thing that distinguishes him in our eyes from many other representations of Zeus is that he sits on a rock or mountain. But the accompanying inscription is fairly specific: 'of Zeus Kataibates, of the Cyrrhestians'. The legend affirms the particular. It employs a generic image but is

nonetheless a *specific* Zeus with connections to a specific community. Without the label, the least speculative approach would be to see it as the Greek deity, thereby discarding relations with place or people. In the cases of what are perceived to be 'indigenous' or 'non-Greek' images, there is also a tendency to look for the generic in specific individual instances. A few examples will suffice. Coins of Hierapolis, Beroea, and Rhosus all depict a male cult statue (pl. 12.1, 7–9). The Hierapolis type shows the male deity with a female consort, and has the inscription 'of the gods of Syria, of the Hierapolitans'. The other two have a male cult statue who is not named, but the attributes appear to be specific. Such figures are sometimes seen as local manifestations of the Aramaean god Hadad. In the case of Hierapolis this identification seems certain, and the coins accord him recognition as a god 'of Syria'; but this identification is less certain for the other two. What is certain is that the representations are specific. Thus they *may* all be Hadad, but they are also differentiated. In such cases the interest in finding a generic deity behind a specific cult image seems to be driven by the belief that the assumed origin of a form is an adequate explanation of its meaning, so that Greek origin equates solely to a feeling of Greekness, and indigenous origin to a feeling of 'Syrianness' or some other broad non-Greek identity. Whilst some meanings can be derived from the origins of symbols, origin need not be the key to signification, which can be better grasped through usage (in these cases, as symbols of specific communities). The same observations apply to the deity found on coins of Chalcis ad Belum, who is accompanied by the legend 'Helioseiros, of the Flavia Chalcidians' (pl. 12.1, 10). He bears a striking resemblance to the depictions of warrior deities found on reliefs from Palmyra and its territory, but once again, should formal resemblance be given precedence? The deity is named and associated with a particular place. Did contemporaries see Helioseiros as a member of a category of 'warrior gods' or was he a symbol unique to the community of citizens of Flavia Chalcis? And would our knowing that he was originally a warrior god of the steppe bring us closer to understanding what he meant to the citizens?

The dominance of Greek culture in the region is a major theme that has been explored in various recent

works.³⁷ Any use of non-Greek symbols in such an environment ought to be significant, and 'indigenous' types could be seen as lending legitimation to the issuing authorities, although it does not follow that it made these authorities feel non-Greek. The appearance of Greek-style deities on civic coins might seem to tell us something about the degree of Hellenization of those communities, but once again it would be prudent to tread carefully. Such designs might tell us something about the identity of a small group, or of individual magistrates within the community who issued the coins, or they might not have been seen as especially Greek symbols. Indigenous deities might also have been chosen for quite specific reasons. For us to understand these types as evidence for either collective 'Hellenized' or 'indigenous' identities on the basis of our own comprehension of the symbolism is to caricature the nature of social identities and hardly does justice to an extremely complex subject. Again, questions of authority and audience, and whether coin types are to be seen as the deliberate public face of the community, projected outwards, or destined for internal consumption, are relevant here. What emerges from an analysis of Syrian civic coin types is an insistence on the local and particular, which the discourses of opposition, between generalized identities like 'Greek' and 'indigenous', or the categories of 'East' and 'West', obscure rather than illuminate.

Monotony and Variety

Unusual types sometimes present us with more difficult problems of interpretation, particularly when they were issued by obscure cities that figure but rarely in the sources. A reverse type occasionally employed at Nicopolis Seleucidis, a small city north of Antioch, shows two figures (gender not absolutely certain, but one seems to be female), Eros flying with a torch, and a river-god below (pl. 12.1, 11). No one has yet been able to suggest a precise parallel, and perhaps the scene is unique to these coins. A scene connected with the city's past, perhaps its foundation, seems possible, and perhaps one day evidence from another source will turn up to help explain the scene.

But did anyone apart from people in Nicopolis *really* grasp its significance? And whose identity was being affirmed?

The 'historical' scenes found on coins are of course not what historians would recognize as history. On civic coins the past has become a symbolic resource used to legitimate the activities of individuals and communities in the present, and, if one adopts the 'reflexive' argument, used mainly to legitimate and represent the individuals and communities to themselves. The past may be recalled through repetitive use of a traditional type, or through a gallery of different images. At Seleucia the type depicting the thunderbolt of Zeus Keraunios was used from the early Seleucid period to the city's last issues under Severus Alexander. The only other type commonly employed was the baetyl of Zeus Kasios in a shrine, a type introduced under Trajan. Seleucia's self-image, or the self-image of its elites, does not seem to have relied on a wide array of symbols—at least not where its coinage was concerned. On coinages of other cities, however, a wide variety of images is employed, particularly in the third century. It is precisely these coinages which numismatists and historians find most informative about identities, local myths, cults, etc. The array of types did not necessarily correlate to the numbers of coins produced. Some cities (e.g. Antioch) produced large quantities of coins, but very few types. Others produced smaller quantities of coins sometimes with a very wide variety of types (e.g. Gabala, a small coastal city south of Laodicea). It is not unusual to find cities that go from producing a limited number of types (say, one or two per denomination) to a large number of designs (Tyre being a good example). If the citizens' recognition of their own coinage depended on recognition of the types, and a sense of identity was drawn from them, then the citizens of third-century Tyre or Gabala had more mental work to do than the citizens of Antioch. Again, questions of audience and representation or self-representation raise themselves.

The third-century coinage of Tyre is a particularly rich source of information for scholars seeking evidence of identities. Unlike Nicopolis there is a wealth of textual evidence for Tyre, providing much more background to the types. Conveniently for us a number of the human figures found on the types are labelled, rather like those on wall paintings or

³⁷ Most notably by Millar 1993.

mosaics, so there can be no doubt about the identifications. It is interesting to find various images looking back to a pre-Greek past, and some scholars have taken these to be evidence of 'Phoenician' identity: Dido supervising the building of Carthage, Kadmos giving letters to the Greeks or founding Thebes, and the curious figure with stags labelled Pygmalion in Phoenician script (pls. I.1, 22–3; I.4, 40–2). These images can be used to support the 'native' claim in the discourse of 'Greek' and 'indigenous' but at the same time some locate themselves firmly within the framework of a Greek understanding of the past, by stressing the debt owed by Greece. In general they seem to recall the great antiquity of Tyre, and perhaps its superiority by virtue of being a source of culture (without Kadmos Greek and Latin literature would not have existed; and without Dido there would have been no Carthage, and Virgil's *Aeneid* would have been all the poorer). The use of Phoenician letters on the Pygmalion and Dido coins seems to mark these types as representing a specifically Phoenician, Tyrian past without any obvious reference to Greece (and indeed, the significance of the Pygmalion type may remain obscure to us precisely because he formed part of a local story).³⁸ Whether very many coin users in third-century Tyre could read Phoenician inscriptions is debatable, but it is possible that they recognized the script as something proper to Tyre's past, even if they were not literate in any language. Whether the issuing authorities cared whether coin users could read the inscriptions or not is another matter.

All of this could be seen as evidence for a general 'Phoenician' identity or culture, but perhaps we should be cautious, because that argument appeals to the generic rather than the specific. These third-century colonial coins of Tyre contain some of the boldest statements of an 'indigenous' identity from the region in question, but it might be safest to see it as one that was consciously Tyrian over one that was consciously Phoenician (Iron Age Phoenicia had, after all, been a collection of independent city states).³⁹

³⁸ Though the name Pygmalion is the Greek version of the Phoenician Pumiathon, so the image can hardly be used as evidence of a pre-Greek survival.

³⁹ There are hints that Tyrian identity manifested itself in other ways: coins from Tyre and its hinterland tend to be exclusively Tyrian from the Hellenistic to Roman periods, although the evidence remains limited. See Butcher 2003. The Tyrian amphora was of an archaic form, a tradition

The types may have been even more specific. It is not impossible that the Dido types were symbols of a particular family in third-century Tyre that claimed a connection with or descent from her or her brother Pygmalion, and that another family claimed a connection with Kadmos, making these images personal or family badges rather than public symbols of the community. The citizens as a whole might identify with famous personalities of a Tyrian past, but the motives that prompted the elites to put these images on the coins were personal and designed to legitimate (or self-legitimate) the individuals that issued them. Of course that does not explain why prominent individuals or families did not use Tyrian coinage in quite the same way during the first and second centuries. There may be something to the argument introduced by Kenneth Harl that the act of issuing coins became more important to the civic elites in the third century.⁴⁰

The increase in the number of designs utilized by certain city coinages in the third century may therefore be part of a growing desire by elites to legitimate themselves through the medium of coinage. But it would also appear as if the nature of internal symbolic discourse expressed through the medium of coinage could differ from city to city, or change from one issue to another within a city. Some authorities may have taken their cue from neighbours who were producing a wide variety of types. The sudden explosion of types on the coinage of Sidon under Elagabalus (who honoured the city and gave it the status of metropolis and colony) may have been inspired by the proliferation of designs at its rival Tyre.⁴¹ Kadmos and Dido occur at Sidon too, though perhaps their meanings there were different. The increase in the variety of types over time may have been driven by rivalries between elites in the different cities, but equally a desire by elites to differentiate themselves from the mass of citizens in a city could

(and probably a deliberate choice) extending back to the early Iron Age, which contrasted with the amphoras being produced in neighbouring cities, which were of a form associated with the Greek and Roman worlds. The distribution of Tyrian amphoras seems to be closely connected with the city's territory (Berlin 1997).

⁴⁰ Harl 1987.

⁴¹ In the case of Tyre the increase in types coincides with a change in status: its coinage changes significantly after its elevation to colonial status under Septimius Severus. The same happens at Sidon. But elsewhere changes in status did not result in a proliferation of types.

have provided inspiration for many 'historical' types. A concurrence of both motives is not unlikely.

Coinage was not essential to civic identity. The great city of Apamea issued no civic coins after the reign of Claudius. At most cities the issues were intermittent, and in the intervals old issues might become heavily worn. But the increase over time in the number of communities issuing coins, like the increase in the diversity of types, implies that the elites of an increasing number of communities chose to adopt this form of expression to express diversity and difference. Are there larger-scale social processes at work here than mere rivalries between civic elites and cities? Does the proliferation of civic coinages and types tell us something about the discourse between Roman imperialism and local communities? Is there a significant imperial context to this diversity?

We tend to equate diversity and difference with values like cultural independence or freedom of expression, or indeed of resistance. But the sort of diversity and difference expressed on civic coins is not necessarily of this kind. Indeed, these expressions might be construed as an integral part of an imperial social 'management strategy'. This model owes something to Michel Foucault's contention that power creates resistance, and resistance new forms of power, except that here homogeneity creates a desire for differentiation, and this leads to differentiation being used as a tool for managing societies. These processes have been perceived in the contemporary world where identity politics, a corollary of globalization, is manipulated by 'hegemonic powers' not as a strategy of divide and rule, but rather as an imperative to incorporate, differentiate, and then manage.⁴² Like many social processes such a strategy need not be explicitly expressed, but instead forms part of a society's 'practical consciousness' where people know what they are doing without necessarily being able to write or talk about it (e.g. the ancients consciously undertaking economic activities without knowing about the discourse of economics).⁴³ Rather than deliberately creating divisions the hegemonic powers allow safe differences to persist, and even

encourage the development of new ones, a process of social structuring or restructuring which permits greater control, not by forcing divisions on social groups, but by encouraging them to differentiate themselves. Hellenization provided elites with a means of distinguishing themselves from their social inferiors, but within that increasingly homogenized framework it became important for elites and communities to find ways of stressing their differences symbolically. Curious cults, famous ancestors, different pasts, or simple statements ('of the Laodiceans'): coins provided an ideal (though not essential) medium for the dissemination of signifiers of particularity.⁴⁴ Rather than representing the universalizing tendencies of empire, the coins were a manifestation of its opposite—a social process which the Roman authorities were able to accommodate and manipulate.

Mediating Meanings

Provincial coin types provide us with information. We can be fairly certain, however, that this is unintended; or at least, that those who chose the types did not anticipate addressing societies so far removed in time as our own. In spite of this it is easy to confuse the information they convey to us with any meanings they might have conveyed to the coin-using public of antiquity, or with the intentions of the 'elites'. It is usually easy enough to say something about what the coin types tell us, but very difficult to know what they meant to *them*—whoever *they* were. The difference between us and them is, of course, one of identity.

It is also easy enough to conclude on a note of despair: we cannot pursue identities through coin types because we have nothing but the symbols, and if we simply describe the symbols as markers of identity without saying how they operated we are stating the obvious without saying anything interesting. We do not know for certain who the authorities and audiences were. Worse still, each coin type

⁴² On this process see in particular Hardt and Negri 2000: 198–201.

⁴³ For a definition of the 'practical', as opposed to 'discursive', consciousness see Giddens 1984: xxii–xxiii. I therefore use the anachronistic-sounding term 'management strategy' without implying that the Roman authorities perceived the concept or were able to articulate it.

⁴⁴ Perhaps the difference between the western Roman empire (where civic coinage died out in the first century) and the eastern empire (where it thrived until the middle of the third century) is not only a manifestation of differences in the ways civic identities were constructed in the two halves, but also a reflection of the way those identities were managed.

is not necessarily the repository of a single meaning or even of a single identity; and we interpret or make sense of what we see without knowing whether these interpretations coincide with those whose identities we are seeking. Since the rise of historical consciousness the science of hermeneutics, which encompasses the art of understanding not merely old texts but 'everything that... is estranged from its original meaning',⁴⁵ has tried to grapple with these problems. It might be considered successful inasmuch as it has abandoned the attempt to fully recover original meanings and recognizes that interpretation, understanding, and application by present-day agents are a fundamental part of the process of that recovery. Much of the foregoing might seem like an exercise in the application of my own interpretation of coin types to my understanding of the ancient world, and I cannot deny that it is. But whilst I have pointed to ways in which the types *could* have generated a sense of identity, the pursuit of ancient identities would seem to require a fuller recovery than this, because it requires reconstructing what signs meant to the individuals in past societies, irrespective of modern judgements. A full understanding must recover not only the meanings given to signs by the issuing authorities, but those given by other members of the community, if we are to understand what civic coin types meant for communal identities (and not merely the identity of the issuing authority). Symbols of community provide a common link between individuals with different understandings and interests, but do not constitute identity in themselves.

Rather than offering despair I will try to offer a tentative way forward, though I suspect that some of the obstacles are insurmountable. The hermeneutic approach does stress the importance of trying to understand the original contexts when interpreting works, even if the agent cannot escape his or her own historicity. The contexts provide a guide to possible readings. Aside from the general context(s) of the culture(s) that generated the coins, the issuing authority and the audience of coin users form the basic contexts. If identity is an activity or performance rather than something one merely possesses, then two principal activities seem relevant

here: choosing designs and using designs. The nebulous concept of 'elites' forms the starting point for an examination of the authorities that did the choosing. A general context of users might be defined through archaeological evidence for circulation, through which the question of whether the coins were destined for use outside as well as within the issuing community might be best addressed. If, as some have suggested, there were no restrictions on the circulation of civic coins and they could move freely between cities, motives other than self-representation of the community present themselves. As we have seen, there is no reason to assume a single, correct reading of a type when many individuals are involved in giving meanings to it, and if an audience of users extended well beyond the issuing community all sorts of alternative non-civic identities (regional, federal, ethnic, religious, cultural, moral, etc.) might have been projected onto the types by a variety of individuals and groups. The more meanings a symbol has, the more powerful it is; but the wider the audience, the less constraint the authority can exercise over meaning. On the other hand, if issues can be shown to have been restricted in their patterns of circulation, there is no reason to suppose that the types addressed an audience outside this restriction. In that way a general overall circumscription of contexts could be defined. As yet the insufficient evidence for circulation does not allow us to resolve the contexts of audience, but if different issues were used in different ways, strict generalizations will be impossible. Nevertheless, placing statements of identity in context is absolutely necessary.

Even so, the difficult task of interpretation would remain. Whilst much can be read into coin types, the danger of overly ambitious exegesis threatens any interpreter who moves away from the obvious and objective. In an attempt to wrestle with the problem of illegitimate or unlimited interpretation, the semi-otician Umberto Eco has proposed that readers recognize an *intentio operis* which lies between the intention of the author and the intention of the reader, and through which overinterpretation can be constrained by the standard hermeneutic practice of checking to see if the interpretations cohere with the whole of a text, on the understanding that the context(s) of the text rather than that of the author is

⁴⁵ Gadamer 1989: 165.

more important to understanding.⁴⁶ The author's intentions are constrained by a sense of audience: 'When a text . . . is produced not for a single addressee but for a community of readers . . . the author knows that he or she will be interpreted not according to his or her intentions but according to a complex strategy of interactions which also involves the readers, along with their competence in language as a social treasury.'⁴⁷ As I hope is clear from this chapter I am not certain that all civic coin types were addressing a community, even if the coins were used by that community. If coin types were mainly reflexive acts of legitimation by civic elites it would seem that *intentio auctoris* has a major part to play in any understanding, and the interpretations that their social inferiors gave to the types may have been left relatively unchecked because they were not especially relevant.

This might seem to dismiss the relevance of Eco's proposal, but one advantage with the concept of *intentio operis* is that it allows for interpretation even when the author is unknown (and indeed, Eco maintains that the intention of the author is secondary to the interplay between the intentions of the work and the reader). Meaning and identity are achieved through some form of consensus, and patterns of choice may reveal socially shared principles of interpretation among elites and/or the masses through which an understanding of the meanings of types might be attained. Uncovering coherent patterns of *choices made* among the body of provincial coinage types as a whole (i.e. what does the genre of civic coins show and what does it *not* show) might prove easier than trying to discover *who* did the choosing, if one can justify reading civic coin types collectively or in groups as if they were a single text, rather than multiple texts by many authors. In other words, within the context of authority the agents doing the choosing are substituted by the choices made. The aim of the exercise is not to produce a single correct interpretation, but to weed out impossible or highly unlikely interpretations. Many interpretations remain possible. One might be able to infer some basic trends, such as that some types appear to be aimed at a specific audience and others

at a more general audience, for example. Syria, however, would not seem to be a very good starting point for such an investigation. We have too little information about civic elites of the Syrian cities and their connections with the types, or even what many of the designs represent. But if patterns can be discerned in regions where we are better informed (e.g. Greece), then it is possible that similar patterns in Syria will prove to be the product of similar motives. Such an approach would allow us to glimpse the mentalities and identities of the elites, but would not necessarily be a guide to the identities of their social inferiors.⁴⁸

The hermeneutic process requires testing prejudices and assumptions against the work and its contexts to see whether they produce dissonance or not, and if they do, revising those prejudices and assumptions. All I can offer here is a small set of alternative assumptions to be tested, which might then allow the search for identities to advance with greater confidence once they are resolved: whether types were mainly chosen by elites to legitimate themselves, or by whole communities to legitimate themselves; whether different issues were aimed at different audiences or users; and whether coin types are a manifestation of a complex internal symbolic discourse within a community or a symbolically simplified presentation to an audience of outsiders. The fact that these alternatives are mainly concerned with matters of context rather than content indicates how much work remains to be done. This does not mean that work on content is impossible without a full understanding of contexts. If one assumes as a starting point that the intention of a type was not to address anyone apart from the people issuing the coins and such an assumption can be shown to cohere with a significant body of the symbolism then that is a considerable step forward from our present position: the field on which the range of interpretations is imposed narrows considerably and the search is reduced to the identities of particular individuals or groups; the identity of all the inhabitants of the state

⁴⁸ To different coin users some types may have been more meaningful to their sense of identity than other types. It is possible that unique or unusual types that appear to us as bold expressions of communal identities and difference are in fact highly specific symbols of elite identities, whereas generic types like Tyche are evidence of popular identities. In which case one might try to ask not 'What did the type mean?' but 'How intelligible was it?'

⁴⁶ Eco 1992: 23–88.

⁴⁷ Eco 1992: 67.

is secondary. Not all civic coin types would necessarily fit this assumption, and those that do not would perhaps be the best evidence for communal identities. Such are some of the fundamentals awaiting definition. Without knowing exactly how provincial coinages functioned or what they were for (the response 'for money' scarcely resolves the matter) it

is hard to determine what their designs meant for those who made and used them. The communication theorist Marshall McLuhan famously declared, 'the medium is the message'.⁴⁹ Provincial coin types may not have been conceived as messages, but we would do well to ponder the medium if we want to discover the meaning.

⁴⁹ McLuhan 1969: 23.

13

CITY ERAS ON PALESTINIAN COINAGE

Alla Kushnir-Stein

THIRTY-EIGHT PALESTINIAN CITIES MINTED coins at various times during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The vast majority of these coins bear dates, with the bulk of the dates involving individual city eras.

During the third century BC, royal Ptolemaic silver was struck in several urban centres on the Palestinian coast. The coinage from Ptolemais, Joppe, and Gaza was fairly substantial and most of it was dated by the regnal years of the kings. One undated silver coin has also been attributed to Dora.¹ On these Ptolemaic issues the cities are represented only by monograms.

Palestine came under Seleucid control c.200 BC, after its final conquest by Antiochus III. From the reign of Antiochus IV (175–164) onwards, there are both royal and city coinages, the latter mostly of bronze. The dates which appear on many of these coins use the Seleucid era of 312 BC. As in the preceding century, only coastal cities were involved: Ptolemais, Ascalon, Gaza, and Demetrias. The location of the last city is not known for certain, but an identification with Strato's Tower, later rebuilt by Herod as Caesarea, seems possible.²

There is more information about the cities themselves on these second-century coins. Royal issues often bear the names of cities as well as specific symbols, like the dove in Ascalon or the Phoenician *mem* in Gaza. City-coinage proper further mentions

Seleucid dynastic names, like that of Seleucia for Gaza or Antioch for Ptolemais; we would not have known about these dynastic names if not for their appearance on these coins. In the last quarter of the second century, new titles, 'sacred and inviolable', appear on coins of Ptolemais, Ascalon, and Gaza.

The first individual city eras were established in this region at the very end of the second century BC, with the earliest material evidence belonging to the beginning of the first century: Ascalon, coin of year 6 (99/98 BC); Gaza, coins of years 13 and 14 (96/95, 95/94 or slightly later); Ptolemais, coin of year 9 (apparently from the first decade of the first century BC). In Ascalon and Ptolemais the new era appears together with the addition of the title 'autonomous'. Further coin evidence connecting autonomy and individual eras comes from the Syrian and Phoenician cities of Seleucia in Pieria (era of 109 BC), Sidon (III BC), Tripolis (between 104 and 95) and Laodicea (82 or 81 BC). Thus, as far as our evidence goes, individual city eras of the late Hellenistic period seem to have been inaugurated exclusively upon the acquisition of the status of autonomy. The introduction of the eras of autonomy was accompanied by the adoption of an individual calendar by each city.

With the arrival of the Romans in the late 60s BC, city eras were also inaugurated by ordinary *poleis*. The eras of a fairly large group (sixteen cities) fall between 64 and 59 BC. These cities were concentrated in two regions: the coastal area (Dora, Demetrias, Joppe, Gaza, Raphia, with Gaba and Marisa further inland), and the Decapolis (Gadara, Abila, Dium,

¹ Meshorer 1986–7: 66, pl. 18, 1.

² Kushnir-Stein 1995; Seyrig 1950; Lampinen 1999.

Hippos, Pella, Gerasa, Philadelphia, Canatha, Nysa-Scythopolis). Josephus, our main literary source for this period, mentions most of these cities as having been conquered by the rulers of the Hasmonean dynasty and then a few decades later detached from the Hasmonean kingdom and restored to their former inhabitants by Pompey (*AJ* 13. 395–7; 14. 74–6; *BJ* 1. 155–6).

We have evidence for about a half of these restored cities that they were already *poleis* in Hellenistic times. From Gadara of the Decapolis comes an inscription confirming that it was a *polis* bearing the Seleucid dynastic name of Seleucia.³ 2 Maccabees 12 implies that Joppe was a *polis* by the 160s BC. Josephus mentions 500 members of the *boule* in Gaza during its capture by Alexander Jannaeus (*AJ* 13. 364); furthermore, Gaza minted its own coinage in the second part of the second century BC, as did Demetrias (Straton's Tower?). Less direct evidence concerns dynastic names and the existence of the magistracy of *agoranomos*. The dynastic name of Antioch is attested for Hippos and Gerasa (both in the Decapolis) and of Seleucia for Abila (also in the Decapolis).⁴ Hellenistic weights mentioning an *agoranomos* are known for Marisa (in Idumaea) and Nysa-Scythopolis (in the Decapolis). Thus it looks as if the Romans did not create any new *poleis* in Palestine at this time: all they did was to give this status back to the majority of cities that possessed it under the Seleucids.

Of the three Hellenistic eras of Palestine, only the era of Ascalon survived into the Roman and Byzantine periods. As has been mentioned, Gaza had its own era of autonomy before it was captured and destroyed by the Hasmoneans in 95/94 BC or slightly later. On its restoration by the Romans, the city inaugurated a new era of 61 BC. There are two possible explanations for this abandonment of the old era of autonomy. It may be that the more than thirty years during which the city was virtually wiped off the map led to the loss of a sense of continuity. Alternatively, it is possible that the restored city did not enjoy any special privileges as compared with other *poleis* revived in the same period. Pliny the

Elder mentions Ascalon as the only *oppidum liberum* in the area in the first century AD (*NH* 5. 68). Ascalon was also the only city, apart from Ptolemais,⁵ which was not conquered by the Hasmoneans, and it seems that its privileged position in Roman times was in some way connected to its status in the late Hellenistic period. The abandonment by Gaza of its old era may thus possibly be explained by the loss of some privileges which went with the status of autonomy.

It is possible that Ptolemais suffered a similar loss at the beginning of Roman domination. Henry Seyrig ascribed a certain group of this city's coins to the era falling in the 60s BC.⁶ If this suggestion is correct, then the abandonment of the era of autonomy by Ptolemais may be explained along similar lines to that of Gaza, although Ptolemais was not captured and physically destroyed by the Hasmoneans. The era of the 60s, if it really existed, did not last long, and a new one falling in 49 BC was soon inaugurated. The date is the same as that adopted by Syrian Antioch, where it was due to the autonomy granted by Julius Caesar. The era of 49 BC in Ptolemais may thus possibly be explained by the restoration of its autonomy by the dictator.

The idea that each *polis* could inaugurate its own era took root. A few cities were founded by the members of the Herodian dynasty: Sebaste (former Samaria) by Herod in 28/27 BC, Caesarea Paneas by Philip in 3/2 BC, and Tiberias by Antipas between 17 and 20 AD. All these three later show city eras based on the year of their actual foundation. Whether this may be taken as a sign that these cities were organized as *poleis* from the very beginning is not entirely clear. Antipatris, a town at the edge of the hill country also founded by Herod, seems to have become a *polis* only in the third century AD: we do not know whether it had its own individual city era. Yet another of Herod's foundations, Caesarea Maritima, seems to have had no era of its own.

A few cities which were later granted the status of *polis* by Roman emperors also inaugurated their own eras. Two city eras, that of Neapolis in Samaria and Capitolias in the region of the Decapolis, belong to the first century AD. On the annexation of the Nabataean kingdom by Trajan, seven cities of this

³ Wörrle 2000.

⁴ The evidence for Gerasa comes from a lead weight of the second century BC, for Hippos and Abila from these cities' coinage of the Roman period.

⁵ Ptolemais was a colony by the time of Pliny's writing. Its status under the late Republic is discussed below.

⁶ Seyrig 1962: 31–2.

area became *poleis*. All seven used the era of the establishment of the province of Arabia (March 106 AD) and the same calendar, so whether the new reckoning was perceived as marking the dates of these *poleis*' foundations remains unclear.

The last Palestinian city eras involve the Severan dynasty. Diospolis and Eleutheropolis were made *poleis* simultaneously by Septimius Severus in 199/200; this resulted in the identical era of 199. Anthedon probably and Nicopolis certainly became *poleis* under Elagabalus. Both cities introduced their own individual eras. The inauguration of new eras by Palestinian *poleis*, from the time of Pompey to that of Elagabalus, also involved the adoption of their own individual calendars, as was the case earlier with the eras of autonomy.

Thus it appears that all city eras of Palestine marked turning points in the histories of their cities. Three Hellenistic eras were inaugurated upon a grant of autonomy, while the Roman era of Ptolemais may well have been due to the renewal of its autonomous status by Julius Caesar. The eras of 64–59 BC marked the restoration of sixteen cities as *poleis* at the beginning of Roman domination; the majority of urban centres in this group were also physically rebuilt, probably from scratch. Two out of the three Herodian foundations with individual eras, Tiberias and Caesarea Paneas, were entirely new cities, while Sebaste, refounded by Herod on the site of the existing city of Samaria, underwent profound changes, involving an influx of new inhabitants, much physical rebuilding and a new constitution.⁷ Six remaining cities adopted their individual eras upon becoming *poleis*; four of these changed their Semitic names for Greek ones (Neapolis, Diospolis, Eleutheropolis, Nicopolis), and one for a name referring to Rome (Capitolias).

All Palestinian cities that were in possession of individual eras issued coins, with the overwhelming majority already dated on their earliest emissions. The date 'year one' appears on coins of Dora, Demetrias, and Canatha, 'year two' on coins of Nicopolis and Marisa, 'year three' on those of Eleutheropolis and Anthedon. Slightly later dates come from Ptolemais (5), Gaza (10), Neapolis (11), Joppe (14), Gadara (18), etc. All these cities thus seem to

have adopted their eras immediately, or very shortly after the event they marked. Others began to strike coins only much later, so it is impossible to tell from coin evidence alone whether their eras were adopted at once or in a retroactive manner. However, the individual era, if there was one, almost always appears on the earliest emission.

City eras inaugurated under the Principate seem to have continued the tradition established at the end of the Republican period, while the latter were most certainly modelled on the earlier eras of autonomy. Thus in order to understand the meaning of the individual Palestinian eras under the Principate, we have to address the meaning of the eras of the Late Hellenistic period. We do not have much evidence on the internal workings of Hellenistic autonomy. Some scholars define it as full freedom, using such expressions as 'complete liberation from Seleucid domination', 'proclamation of independence', or the like.⁸ The actual situation, however, seems to have been somewhat more complicated.

'Proclamation of independence' presumes unilateral action, at least in some cases. It also presumes underlying feelings of hostility. Our evidence, however, does not seem to support either scenario. Thus we know that autonomy was conferred by a king in an orderly fashion and by mutual agreement, and that it was the Seleucid king who informed other contemporary Hellenistic monarchs about the grant.⁹ Autonomy also never stood alone, being conferred either after the city was already 'sacred and inviolable' for some time, or simultaneously with the latter status. It was thus the highest in the hierarchy of privileges, and privileges imply dependence, rather than the contrary. Autonomous Ascalon continued to display the portrait of Antiochus VIII Grypus on its silver coins well into the Roman period. This squares badly with the idea of hostility. Finally, the timing of the appearance of Hellenistic titles seems to show that the privileges which these titles signified were extracted from the kings in their moments of need. At the same time, Josephus' descriptions make it clear that all Palestinian cities were in a precarious situation vis-à-vis local ethnic groups and could only get the protection they needed from neighbouring

⁷ Josephus, *BJ* 1. 403; *AJ* 15. 296–8.

⁸ Bikerman 1938: 235; Mørkholm 1984: 103; Kasher 1990: 150; Kanael 1950/1: 172–3; etc.

⁹ Welles 1934: 288–94.

kings.¹⁰ Thus, not only did the kings need the cities, but the cities also needed the kings. Therefore, Hellenistic autonomy could hardly have meant total independence.

The absolute freedom which most Greek cities enjoyed during the Classical period was substantially curtailed by the Hellenistic monarchs. However, the ideal of a *polis* as a unique and independent entity lived on. In order to boost their self-image, the cities subjected to Hellenistic monarchs often applied the terms 'freedom' and 'autonomy' to various partial manifestations of independence and self-government.¹¹ The enlargement of privileges that went with the grant of autonomy under the late Seleucids¹² could thus have been interpreted in the same vein; an individual era would have consequently involved the manifestation of being unique and free, whatever the actual degree of freedom.

If this was indeed the case, then the individual eras adopted by the majority of *poleis* in our region during the Roman period would have implied the same, namely an expression of local pride at being a unique entity governed by its own laws. As the eras of the third century AD testify, the idea survived for all the duration of the Principate. Consequently, even though most of the Palestinian city eras were inaugurated in Roman times, they would reflect more on the Greek cultural heritage of their cities than on these cities' relationship with the Roman authorities.

In fact, there seems to be no evidence that the Romans ever intervened in these matters, by either encouraging or discouraging cities in introducing their own chronological systems.¹³ One of the signs of this is the lack of uniformity. Although the majority of cities in the Syro-Palestinian region did have their own individual eras, some used other chronological systems. Caesarea Maritima, Sepphoris, and Joppe in Palestine dated their coins and weights by the regnal years of emperors, while a

few cities in Syria and Phoenicia (Apamea, Damascus, Tripolis, Orthosia, Caesarea ad Libanum) chose to reckon by the Seleucid era. As has been mentioned, the new *poleis* of *provincia Arabia* commonly used the era of the establishment of this province although the older *poleis* incorporated into the same province (Gerasa, Philadelphia, Canatha) retained their earlier city eras.

Nor do the cities seem to have had Roman affairs in mind when introducing their eras. Although the eras of Palestine falling between 64 and 59 BC are often called by the collective name 'Pompeian', they most certainly had no connection to the military exploits of this general. Their spread over six years clearly shows that each city had in mind a specific time point, which could hardly have been anything other than the moment of each city's restoration as a *polis*. The eras of 64 BC marked the restorations of *poleis* made by Pompey himself; later eras were due to the acts of subsequent Roman governors of Syria. Nor did the so-called Caesarean eras have anything to do with the military achievements of Julius Caesar. These eras are also spread out in time (between 49 and 46 BC),¹⁴ and in at least one case, that of Syrian Antioch, the era was certainly that of autonomy.

A series of anonymous coins inscribed 'year 1 of Rome' has been attributed by Henry Seyrig to Gadara of the Decapolis.¹⁵ If this attribution is ever proved correct, it will be the one and only case of a city era referring to the beginning of Roman control, rather than to the affairs of the city itself. However, there is more than a good chance that Gadara was not the place where the series was struck. The differences in minting technique and also in types between the series under discussion and the coins which Gadara minted some two decades later, make Seyrig's attribution fairly unlikely.¹⁶

As far as Palestine is concerned, we have only three clear cases of dating with symbolic meaning related to the Romans; all three are connected to Hadrian's visit to the area in the spring of AD 130. Two coastal cities, Gaza and Ascalon, introduced new eras based on the year of the imperial visit, the purpose evidently being commemorative.¹⁷ These new eras, which did not replace the traditional ones but appear

¹⁰ Josephus, *AJ* 13. 276–80 (Samaria), 327–8 (Ptolemais), 360 (Gaza).

¹¹ Rostovtzeff 1941: 524–30; Ehrenberg 1960: 94, 191–200.

¹² It most probably signified more elements of self-government and less fiscal and other obligations. Before they became autonomous, Tyre and Sidon minted silver coins on both the Ptolemaic and Attic standards. The area seems to have used the Ptolemaic standard only, so the coins of the Attic standard might have been minted in order to fulfil some obligations towards the royal authority. After both cities became autonomous, there were no more issues of the Attic standard.

¹³ For a similar conclusion about Roman non-interference: Leschhorn 1993: 434.

¹⁴ Antioch, Ptolemais (49 BC), Laodicea (48), Aegeae (47), Gabala (46).

¹⁵ Seyrig 1959: 71–5. ¹⁶ Kushnir-Stein 2000–2: 82–3.

¹⁷ On coins of Gaza this era is explicitly defined as that of 'epidemia'.

alongside them, were employed on coins under Hadrian, but dropped after his death. The third case concerns the exceptional use of the Seleucid era on coins of Philadelphia in the Decapolis. Since this evocation of the earliest days of the Macedonian conquest was most probably intended to back Philadelphia's claim of being a Greek city already for many centuries, it would reflect the reaction of its inhabitants to Hadrian's pan-Hellenic message. The phenomenon was confined to the years 129/30 and 130/1, and never repeated itself.

When it comes to the actual use of individual city eras on Palestinian coinage, it would be difficult to point out a specific instance, or instances, where this could have carried a symbolic meaning. Although this use was intermittent here or there, it was most consistent in the majority of places. Thus, the coinages of many cities of the interior (Gaba, Tiberias, Sebaste, Diospolis, Eleutheropolis, Caesarea Paneas) are dated throughout. Dora and Raphia on the coast also dated their coins most regularly, and so, too, Ascalon and Gaza, especially under the Principate. A large part of coins issued by the cities of the Decapolis bear dates, although undated coins also appear occasionally.

There seem to be only two cases where the dating on coins could have been intended not just as a pure indication of time. Neither of these involve city eras. In AD 67/8, during the First Jewish Revolt, Caesarea Maritima and Sepphoris issued series of coins dated by the year 14 of Nero, which mentioned Vespasian, the commander of the Roman forces sent to suppress the insurgency. Caesarea was the main base of Vespasian's military operations in the area. The city did not have an era of its own and before the war it had dated its weights by the regnal years of emperors, except for a short interlude under Agrippa I (41-4) when it switched to the regnal years of this king on both weights and coins. There are, however, also some coins with Greek legends issued by the Roman administration which have been attributed to Caesarea and which are undated. The city became a Roman colony shortly after the war and its subsequent coins bore Latin legends and were undated. Sepphoris went over to the Roman side at a very

early stage of the revolt; on the series under discussion the city has the additional names of Eirenopolis and Neronias, as well as the Latin letters SC, all of which were certainly intended to confirm Sepphoris' loyalty to the Romans. Whether the city possessed its own era is unknown, since no dates appear on its later coins; a weight found in the excavations at the site is also undated. The series from year 14 of Nero was thus exceptional for Sepphoris, and its dating may have been part of the overall pro-Roman content of these coins' legends. Since there seems to be no consistency in dating of the coins originating from Caesarea, this may be true for this city as well.

Dating on coins was distributed unevenly throughout the Greek parts of the Empire. In the western parts of Asia Minor, for all the numerous *poleis* there, dated coins are in the minority, while in the area west of the Euphrates, as far as Pontus to the north, Palestine and Egypt to the south, and Cilicia Pedias to the west, the overwhelming majority of coins were dated. This may well have reflected local traditions going back to Hellenistic times. Royal Ptolemaic silver struck in Phoenicia and Palestine in the third century BC was for the most part dated, and many silver coins of the second century BC from Alexandria and Cyprus also bear dates. Coins of the late Seleucid period, especially those of the second part of the second century BC, tended to be dated as well. However, as far as the issues of the Hellenistic rulers from the western part of the Greek world are concerned, only a few exceptional cases of dates are known.

Thus it is probably no coincidence that the area where dated coinage was concentrated in the Roman period covers mainly the territories of the former Ptolemaic kingdom and of the Seleucid kingdom during its closing decades. The reasons for coin dating by both the Ptolemies and the Seleucids could have been purely bureaucratic. Almost all inscribed Palestinian weights from the second century BC are dated, all by the Seleucid era of 312 BC; this dating also appears on stamps on a few locally produced amphorae. Thus the widespread dating of the local coinage in general, and by city eras in particular, under the Principate could have been due simply to continuation of previous Hellenistic practice.

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I4

COINAGE AND IDENTITY: THE JEWISH EVIDENCE

Martin Goodman

WHEN POMPEY CONQUERED JERUSALEM in 63 BC, the Jews of Judaea were just one among many peoples in the Levant to fall under Roman sway, but by AD 135, two centuries later, after two great revolts in AD 66–70 and AD 132–5, the Jews had been singled out for exceptional hostility: not only were they forbidden to live in their sacred city and its environs but even the name of Judaea was expunged by Rome from the political map of the region. The question on which I hope to shed some new light in this study is whether this disastrous history was the product only of Roman attitudes and the vicissitudes of international politics, or, at least in part, the product of the political and cultural self-representation of the Jews.¹

The question is not as often posed in this fashion as might be expected, since many ancient historians simply take for granted the peculiar nature of the Jews and their nationalistic hopes and expectations.² Such certainty is not wholly warranted, however, since the apparent oddness of the Jews may be something of a mirage if it is, at least in part, a product of the chance survival of so much more evidence about this provincial society than others. Writings by and about Jews in the early Roman empire were preserved in such great quantities not because Jews were especially important either culturally or politically, but because their history was, and is, of religious significance for two great religious traditions

which have survived continuously since antiquity, rabbinic Judaism and Christianity.³ The apparently special nature of the Jews may thus reflect only our special capacity to say more about their cultural horizons and political aspirations than we can about (for instance) those of Gauls or Dacians, who also rebelled against Rome more than once in the early imperial period.⁴

One test of the hypothesis that Jews were not in fact all that strange is to try, as an exercise, to examine what would be known about the Jews if all this religious literature had not survived. We would have a very different picture of Jewish history if the only literary sources to survive from antiquity had been those written by pagan Greeks and Romans.⁵ If we constructed a picture of Jewish history in the land of Israel in the second and third centuries AD from archaeology and epigraphy alone, we would deduce that Jews had lost any distinctive identity following defeat in the Bar Kochba war.⁶ An even better control on our understanding of Jewish cultural and political self-representation is the evidence of the surviving coins, and especially those minted during the periods of particularly fraught self-definition in times of revolt against Rome, and that is what will be attempted here.

What, then, would we be able to say about Jewish history in Judaea in the early Roman period if only the coins survived? The question cannot of course be

¹ On the history, see Schürer 1973–87: i. 243–557; Smallwood 1976.

² This is the underlying premise of the arguments in Brunt 1990: 517–31.

³ See Goodman 1998: 3–14.

⁴ See Goodman 1991 and, more generally, Goodman 1997: 159–64.

⁵ Goodman 1998: 5–14.

⁶ See Schwartz 2001: 129–61.

answered without at least some ‘cheating’, since the dating of coins and much of their interpretation must itself depend on knowledge of the archaeological contexts in which some of them were found and the historical background (known from the literary texts) against which they are to be understood—for instance, it was still debated in the 1930s whether the coins of the First Revolt of AD 66–70 belonged to the first century AD, since the palaeo-Hebrew script on the coins suggested to some a much earlier date.⁷ Nonetheless, something at least can surely be said, such as that the avoidance of human and animal images on the coins of the procurators of Judaea from AD 6–41 and 41–66, and their production of small bronze perutot similar to those found in the region under the previous regimes of the Herodians and Hasmonaeans, suggests a distinctive local culture of which the Roman governors were well aware and whose susceptibilities they were willing to take into account.⁸ More specifically—and this will be the subject of the rest of this chapter—the coins reveal a great deal about the extent and ideology of Jewish rebelliousness against Rome both in AD 66 and in AD 135.

The abundant coinage produced by the rebels of AD 66–70 says much about the nature of the revolt. Most striking is precisely its abundance: although, according to Josephus, the rebels had access to Roman coinage, including *aurei*,⁹ they began to mint from early in the war, and certainly within the first year, both bronze perutot and a silver coinage of shekels and fractions of shekels.¹⁰ There are other peculiarities. The silver content of the rather thick silver coins was exceptionally pure. The legends on all the coins were in Hebrew rather than in Greek or Aramaic, the two languages most commonly found on inscriptions in Jerusalem in this period,¹¹ and the palaeo-Hebrew script used will have been unfamiliar to most first-century Jews. The slogans selected by the minting authorities proclaimed the years of a new

era and the freedom, redemption, and holiness of a political entity variously identified as Jerusalem or Israel (pl. 14.1, 1) or, on the bronze coins from the second to the fourth year of the revolt, as Zion (pl. 14.1, 2). On many coins the denomination was stated as part of the legend (for example, ‘shekel of Israel’, or, more simply, ‘half’). The predominant images were a chalice and a branch with three pomegranates (as in pl. 14.1, 1), but there were also some other types frequently reproduced, notably the lulav and ethrog (the palm branch and citron carried in the celebration of the festival of Tabernacles; see pl. 14.1, 2) and a date palm (pl. 14.1, 3), and there was in general a remarkable degree of variation in types over the five-year period of the revolt.

Knowledge of these extraordinary coins, even if we knew nothing of their historical context, would permit quite considerable historical deductions just from their peculiar nature. It would be clear that the minting authorities wished to produce distinctive issues and that they were prepared to put effort into ensuring the purity of the metal content of the silver issues. It would be evident that they were self-conscious that they stood at the beginning of a new era: that in itself would hardly surprise, given the well-established penchant of cities in this region to commence new local eras at dates they designated significant (see the chapter in this volume by Alla Kushnir-Stein), but less common are the catchwords of this era, ‘freedom’ and ‘holiness’. Much more difficult to interpret would be the significance of the images depicted on the coins. Both the chalice image and the pomegranate would be wholly obscure. It may indeed be that they were obscure in reality, since the chalice image does not seem to have caught on in other types of Jewish art despite its frequent use on these coins, and the pomegranate image is rare, although it does appear occasionally on gems.¹²

Rather more can be said about the significance of the revolt coins when they are compared to the coin types in use in the Jerusalem region in earlier periods, since both continuities and discontinuities may be informative. The bronze perutot coins continue a local tradition stretching uninterrupted from the Hasmonaean period through the era of Herodian

⁷ See Hill 1938, countering the traditional attribution to Simon Maccabee on the basis of Tyrian coins found in a hoard alongside Revolt coins. I owe this reference to Haim Gitler.

⁸ Meshorer 2001: 167–76.

⁹ On the availability in besieged Jerusalem of gold coins, presumably Roman *aurei*, see Josephus, *BJ* 5. 421, 550–2.

¹⁰ See in general Meshorer 2001: 115–34.

¹¹ On the languages in common use, see, for example, Schürer 1973–87: ii. 20–8, 72–80.

¹² For an example, see the photograph of a gemstone in Meshorer 2001: 119. I am grateful to Haim Gitler for bringing this to my attention.

rule and that of the procurators.¹³ Since no such low-denomination coins seem to have been minted in the first year of the revolt, it is reasonable to surmise that existing stocks of perutot were used but that by the second year it was felt desirable to produce such coins with suitable messages: it is striking that the name 'Zion' is found exclusively on these bronze issues of years two to four.¹⁴ The silver coinage, by contrast, seems to have commenced with the beginning of the revolt and is similar in its value and metallic purity to the Tyrian shekels found in use in Jerusalem over the whole previous century (pl. 14.I, 4),¹⁵ in contrast to the more debased metallic content of Roman denarii. The regular record of the new era ('Year One', 'Year Two', and so on) is quite different from the haphazard references to regnal years on the coins of Herod and his descendants.¹⁶ The use of Hebrew is the same as on the coins of the Hasmonaeans, the last of which had been minted over a century earlier, and is in marked contrast to the use of Greek by the Herodians and the procurators.¹⁷ Similarly reminiscent of Hasmonaeon coinage is the palaeo-Hebrew script, but the rebel coinage differs from the Hasmonaeans in its *exclusive* use of Hebrew, in contrast to the occasional use of Aramaic, and the frequent use of Greek as well as Hebrew, on Hasmonaeon issues.¹⁸

Most strikingly novel are the slogans and images. There are no obvious precedents for the proclamation of freedom and redemption, although it is possible that the slogan 'Jerusalem the Holy' was a reaction to the regular description of Tyre as *hieros* on Tyrian shekels (see pl. 14.I, 4). Most of the motifs found on earlier Jewish coins are unrepresented on the revolt coins:¹⁹ the palm branch and palm tree, found on the bronze coins of the Herodian tetrarch Antipas and popular on rebel bronze coins (see pl. 14.I, 3), are the exception.²⁰ No image is to be found reminiscent of Rome, even in antagonistic opposition.

Instead, the chalice and the stem with three pomegranates, motifs without known precedents. And finally, the political entities proclaimed by the coins are all new. Where the coins of the Hasmonaeans and Herodians had advertised the names of the rulers, described as 'King' (*basileus*) or 'tetrarch' or 'priest' (HaCohen), and the nation was named as 'Yehud', 'Yehudah' or 'Hever heYehudim',²¹ the rebel coins named no one as leader and claimed to represent Jerusalem, Israel, and Zion.

From the coins alone, when compared to those which preceded them, it would thus be evident that the minting authority responsible for the new coins was itself not only new but also trying to establish a new identity for the political group it represented. There is no apparent claim to continuity with the authority of either the Hasmonaeans or the Herodians, let alone the power of the Roman state. The use of a palaeo-Hebrew script and ancient biblical names ('Israel', 'Zion') seem to hark back instead to a mythical distant past. The exceptional purity of the silver content of the shekel issues is only easily explained if these coins had a religious function for offerings by worshippers to the Temple in place of the Tyrian shekels used for this purpose during the past century. Purity of silver content was indeed the only quality of the Tyrian coinage that fitted it for payments of this kind in the Jerusalem shrine, since in respect of its images and slogans, which advertised the holiness of Tyre and the power of its local god Melkart, it was deeply inappropriate. Hence the images on the new coinage, claiming the sanctity of Jerusalem, are likely to represent the Jewish Temple cult, although the rationale for the choice of the specific images of a chalice, pomegranates, and the festival bundle of Sukkot (the lulav and ethrog), is obscure. And finally the anonymity of the minting authority, which said nothing on the coins about any king, priest, council, assembly, or any other political leadership, may perhaps be taken to reflect a claim to national unity.

With the failure of the revolt and the destruction of the independent Judaeon state in AD 70, the coinage of the region underwent a dramatic change. The long tradition of the minting of small-denomination bronze coins came to an abrupt end. Both the Roman

¹³ RPC I: 679, 682–3; cf. II: 302.

¹⁴ See Goodblatt 2001.

¹⁵ On the coins of Tyre, see RPC I: 655–8.

¹⁶ On the coins of the Herodian dynasty, see Meshorer 2001: 61–114; Kokkinos 1998: 136.

¹⁷ Meshorer 2001: 48, 115–17, 131–2.

¹⁸ Meshorer 2001: 39–40 (coins of Alexander Jannaeus with Aramaic and Greek inscriptions).

¹⁹ For instance, the bearded male divinity, seated on a winged wheel, found on a silver drachma of the Persian period (Meshorer 2001: fig. 1); the falcon (*ibid.*); the lily flower, depicted on a coin of John Hyrcanus (Meshorer 2001: fig. c1); the menorah on a bronze coin of Antigonos in 40–37 BC (Meshorer 2001: fig. 41).

²⁰ For the motif on the coins of Antipas, see Meshorer 2001: figs. 79, 91.

²¹ See e.g. Schürer 1973–87: i. 211, 217, 227, 280.

provincial administration in Judaea and the Herodian king Agrippa II stamped Roman imperial images on all their coinage, trumpeting in Greek the victory over the Jews.²² The only element of continuity was the depiction of the palm tree, used to signify the province of Judaea both on coins recording *Judaea Capta* and on the coins issued by Nerva in Rome in AD 96 to celebrate either a change in the collection of the special Jewish tax imposed on all Jews after AD 70 or its abolition.²³

Even that continuity was broken in the coinage of Hadrian in AD 130 which recorded his *adventus* to Judaea and depicted Judaea as a woman.²⁴ If, as I have argued elsewhere,²⁵ it was during this visit that Hadrian planned to change Jerusalem from the holy city of the Jews into the Roman *colonia* of Aelia Capitolina, the change of image will have been deliberate and the new Roman policy the cause of the outbreak two years later of the revolt led by Bar Kochba.²⁶

In any case, the coins produced by Bar Kochba's administration reveal a clear desire to link their uprising with the revolt which had ended in AD 70. Many of the same slogans ('freedom', 'redemption', 'Jerusalem') and the same images (palm trees, lulavim) were found in the new coins (pl. 14.1, 5 and 6), although the coins started a new era with the new leadership, and there were some other changes which are quite striking in contrast to the earlier types: thus Bar Kochba's coins make no reference to Zion (only Israel and Jerusalem), but they do give the names of leaders, most importantly 'Shimon, *nasi* ("Prince") of Israel' in reference to Bar Kochba himself (see pl. 14.1, 5) and 'Eleazar HaKohen ("the Priest")', an individual about whom nothing at all is known (except his name as given on the coins). Even more than the coins of AD 66–70, the issues of AD 132–5 are remarkable for the extraordinary variety of types chosen, which include many images of buildings, some of them presumably idealized versions of part of the destroyed, and much missed, Temple in Jerusalem (see pl. 14.1, 6). It is an interesting question (but unanswerable) whether the choice of images of

buildings was influenced by the depiction of buildings and monuments on Roman coins in this period.²⁷

The defeat of Bar Kochba saw a complete cessation of coins with Jewish images of any kind. Roman coins after AD 135 eschewed proclamations of victory and the coins of Bar Kochba's own government were withdrawn from circulation, to be found only in hoards (presumably kept for the bullion value of the metal) or with holes drilled through the coins for use as jewellery.²⁸ The images on the coins of the new *colonia* of Aelia Capitolina built on the site of Jerusalem were entirely Roman.²⁹ There seems little doubt that if only the coins survived we could still deduce something of the history of the Jewish revolts of the early Roman empire (although the dating of these events would be entirely dependent on finds of overstruck coins, such as the Bar Kochba coin types struck over coins of Hadrian,³⁰ or the archaeological contexts in which the coins were found,³¹ since the coins themselves make no reference to externally datable events). We would know, at the very least, that the group which produced these coins preferred to portray itself in a way wholly divergent from surrounding Greek or Hellenized peoples, and that religious images were paramount in the assertion of communal identity. What is peculiar is that the link between the fiercely independent and idiosyncratic communities which styled themselves 'Israel' and 'Jerusalem' and 'Zion' in the Roman period, and the 'Yehud' and 'Yehudim' of the Persian and Hellenistic periods, would rest largely on the common use of an archaic palaeo-Hebrew script. It is tempting to think that the rebels must have had a reason for avoiding designating themselves on their coins as 'Judaeans'. Perhaps the very fact that 'Judaea' was the name used by Rome to refer to the province they ruled sullied the name in the eyes of Jews. If so, the decision of the Roman state to stop using the name 'Judaea' after AD 135, and to use instead the name 'Syria Palaestina', will have been less traumatic for the Jews than has often been assumed,³² which may help to explain why no ancient Jewish source ever refers to it.

²² RPC II: 303; Meshorer 2001: 185–91.

²³ Meshorer 2001: figs. 382; RIC II: figs. 58, 82.

²⁴ Meshorer 2001: 135.

²⁵ Goodman 2003.

²⁶ See Cassius Dio 69. 12. 1–2.

²⁷ See Burnett 1999: 137–64.

²⁸ Cf. Meshorer 2001: 162.

²⁹ See Belayche 2001: 108–70.

³⁰ Mildenberg 1984: 84–9.

³¹ See Mildenberg 1984: 54–7, on finds of coins of Bar Kochba in mixed hoards in which the other coins are datable.

³² See, for instance, Feldman 1990.

15

THE NOME COINS OF ROMAN EGYPT

Angelo Geissen

WHEN OCTAVIAN-AUGUSTUS GAINED CONTROL of Egypt in 30 BC he inherited the administration which had been installed by his Ptolemaic predecessors, but added the *Praefectus Aegypti*, a Roman *Eques*, as the new head of the government of Roman Egypt.¹ Augustus retained the Egyptian closed currency system, and struck only bronze denominations (those early in the reign were a continuation of those from towards the end of the reign of Cleopatra VII). Regnal years appeared from year 28 (L *KH* = 3/2 BC) to year 42 (L *MB* = AD 12/13).² After a gap of about fifty years new debased silver (billon) tetradrachms were issued by Tiberius in his seventh year (L *Z* = AD 20/1). The tetradrachm, normally called *statér* in papyri, survived as a denomination, with a decrease in its weight and silver content, until the reform of Diocletian in Egypt in AD 296/7, when the new Latin *nummus* replaced the old 'Greek' system. The bronze coinage reached its peak in the first half of the second century when it consisted of a range of denominations of the drachma and its fractions, and when the output especially of bronze drachmas became very extensive; some last examples of bronze coins appear under Gallienus and Claudius II.³

The typology of this coinage includes a great variety of individual reverse designs. We find Greek, Roman, and Egyptian topics. As may be expected, Egyptian religious and cultural life is represented in a wide range of images; Roman ideas and types, like

images of members of the imperial family, personifications, events in Rome and elsewhere in the empire, are copied or reflected by the Alexandrian mint; finally, Greek types occur in the form of representations of deities of the traditional Graeco-Roman pantheon, or as pictorial scenes from mythology. There are some remarkable series of bronze coins preserved;⁴ among them are the so-called nome coins (or coins of the nomes of Roman Egypt).⁵

Since pharaonic times Egypt had been divided into forty-two administrative districts, which the Greeks later called *nomoi* (singular *nomós*).⁶ Classical authors give different numbers of nomes and so do the coins in question.⁷ This sort of coin was without any doubt produced by the mint of Alexandria and formed part of the normal Alexandrian series,⁸ though with the difference that on the reverse it showed a legend recording the name of the nome or city (*metropolis*) (or even region) besides the regnal year of the respective emperor. Both older and recent studies consider the representation on the reverse to be that of the main tutelary deity of the nome or city.⁹

The nome coins first appeared in year 11 of Domitian (L *IA* = AD 91/2) as hemidrachms. Six (or eight ?) nomes depicting Greek and Egyptian gods are

¹ On the administrative changes initiated by Augustus and continued by his successors see Bowman and Rathbone (1992).

² See RPC I 688–93; Burnett on denominations and dates.

³ See in general BMC Alexandria ix ff. (Poole); Vogt (1924a); Milne (1971) xv ff.; Christiansen (1988); Burnett (1991); Howgego (1995) 122 and (2000) 140.

⁴ Cf. the Labours of Hercules, various individual mythological pictures, and the zodiacal types in the reign of Antoninus Pius.

⁵ Cooperation between numismatists and Egyptologists is essential to further research in this special field; see Geissen and Weber (2003).

⁶ Helck (1974) and (1977).

⁷ e.g. Diodorus I. 54. 3 and Strabo 17. 1. 3: 36 nomes; Pliny NH 5. 9. 49–50: 46 nomes; Ptolemy 4. 5. 18: 47 nomes. See Gauthier (1935).

⁸ Sheridan (1988) 107–10, publishing a die link between a Hadrianic nome coin and a 'normal' obol.

⁹ Vogt (1924a) 57–64; Milne (1932); Schwartz (1954); Jungfleisch (1955); Skowronek (2000). For studies before 1820 see Tôchon (1822).

attested.¹⁰ Then we have drachmas of Trajan's reign from year 12 (L *IB* = AD 108/9) to year 15 (L *IE* = AD 111/12), ending with one example of year 20 (L *K* = AD 116/17), the emperor's last year in Egypt.¹¹ At least thirty-three nomes are attested. Under Hadrian some rare drachmas of years 6 (L *S* = AD 121/2), 7 (L *Z* = AD 122/3) and 8 (L *H* = AD 123/4) are found, but the highest number of nomes, about fifty, is preserved on obols and hemiobols of his eleventh year (L *IA* = AD 126/7). This sort of coinage comes to an end in year 8 of Antoninus Pius (including some pieces in the name of Marcus Aurelius Caesar) (L *H* = AD 144/5), when eighteen nomes are attested.

It has been argued that these coins must have been struck on the occasion of some special event at the imperial court which was to be proclaimed to the subjects. As far as Domitian, Trajan, and Hadrian are concerned, the occasion may well have been the celebration of their *decennalia*,¹² but in Antoninus Pius' eighth year, there were no *decennalia* at all, and here we seem to be slightly lost. But reviewing the important events of this period we discover the marriage of Marcus Caesar and Faustina the Younger, the emperor's daughter, celebrated in that very year AD 145—beyond all doubt a suitable motive for a special coin issue.¹³ The marriage of the young high-ranked couple was the symbol of the rise of a new era, the beginning of a new *saeculum aureum* for the whole empire and all subjects under Roman rule. The continued existence of the Roman empire seemed to be guaranteed.¹⁴ It should be admitted that the connection of nome coinages with events at the imperial court is not explicit on the coins, so that

¹⁰ *RPC* II, pp. 339–41. From Domitian's year 11 onwards we generally see an increase in Egyptian and Greek types showing elaborate fabric and style.

¹¹ See list of Trajan's nome coins in collections in Christiansen (1988) i: 227–36.

¹² Pace Schwartz (1954) 19; see already Schwabe (1896) 43–6. Grenier (1998) most recently proposed a hypothesis regarding the *census* under Vespasian as starting point for the nome coinage. This is not the place to comment on this theory in detail, but fuller discussion will be necessary.

¹³ It is exactly this year of Antoninus Pius that—on this festive occasion—saw the issue of the zodiacal coin types, thus strengthening the argument for the new era being a motive for this series, too; this particular series has nothing to do with the Sothis cycle of AD 139, nor has the nome series.

¹⁴ This explanation is supported by the fact that from year 8 of Pius onwards bronze drachmas were also issued in the 'normal' Alexandrian coinage in the name of Marcus Caesar, ever since he participated in power as a co-ruler.

interpretation along these lines is likely to remain controversial.

A closer look at the iconography of the reverses shows that the various districts in the *chora*, some far away from Alexandria, were represented through their local cults, that is by depicting the deities with whose worship the nomes were particularly associated. We shall now discuss some examples.¹⁵

Herakleopolites

Coins with the name of the Heracleopolite nome are preserved for all four emperors. The reverse legend reads *HPAKAEΠΠOΛ(E)ITHC* (*NOMOC*), abbreviated *HPAK* or *HPA*. On hemidrachms of Domitian we see Herakles standing, nude, holding with his left hand a club and lion's skin, and on his right hand a griffin facing left (pl. 15.1, 1). The same type of Greek, or rather Hellenistic, statue then occurs on drachmas of Trajan (pl. 15.1, 2), but in addition and parallel to it the main god of the nome is also represented as the Egyptian Harpokrates-Herakles, standing, wearing a *kalathos*, an *himation* round his lower limbs, with the finger of his right hand touching his lips, and holding with his left hand a club with a falcon on top (pl. 15.1, 3). The Greek statue is repeated again on the obol of Hadrian, but in addition the bust of the statue is also represented (pl. 15.1, 4–5). On the Hadrianic hemiobol we find the accompanying animal which is held by the Hellenistic statue of Herakles, the griffin (pl. 15.1, 6). The Egyptians called it *Petbe*, 'revenger'; its equation with the Greek Nemesis seems to be clear.¹⁶ It is this animal which indicates that this statue represents the deity of the nome, and distinguishes it from the 'traditional' one of the normal coin issues (which sometimes holds a Nike or the Apples of the Hesperides in place of the griffin). Finally, on drachmas of Antoninus Pius the Hellenistic statue with the griffin is repeated (pl. 15.1, 7). According to recent scholarship, the main god on the coins of the Herakleopolites should be called Eseph-Herakles.¹⁷

¹⁵ I confine the description to the essentials; details may be found in the catalogues.

¹⁶ Frankfurter (1998) 116–19; Lichočka (1998).
¹⁷ Hitherto also known as Harsaphes (Egypt. *Herishef*); see Falivene (1998) 3 nn. 1 and 2 (with bibliography).

Koptites

We find coins with the legend *KOIT(E)ITHC* or *KOIT* for Trajan and Hadrian only. The same schema mentioned above is found also for the Koptites: the Hadrianic hemiobol shows the animal, here a gazelle (pl. 15.1, 8), held by the deity depicted on the drachma of Trajan (pl. 15.1, 9). This statue here, however, is not a representation of the main deity of the Koptites. One would expect the ancient Egyptian ithyphallic god Min,¹⁸ but we are confronted with a bearded figure standing to the right, *capite velato*, wearing a *chiton* and an *himation*, crowned with ram's horns and a solar disk, holding in his right hand a sceptre, on his left hand a gazelle, sometimes standing above a crocodile: this is the iconography of Geb/Kronos, who was worshipped in Koptos as Sobek-Geb. The god Sobek, whom the Greeks called Souchos, is represented as a crocodile;¹⁹ the animal is not, however, to be seen on the smaller obols of Hadrian, where the gazelle appears alone (pl. 15.1, 10). This gazelle is to be identified as a female dorcas gazelle and does not represent any aspect of Sobek-Geb/Kronos, but is to be connected with Isis, the main goddess of Koptos: it was her toy, as the inhabitants believed.²⁰ The reason for the appearance of Sobek-Geb/Kronos in place of Min on the coins might be that the cult of Sobek-Geb/Kronos gained greater importance in Roman times, still manifest in his only surviving temple called 'The Southern Sanctuary'.²¹ In contrast to this, the main god, Min, does not occur on any of the nome coins.²²

Hermopolites

Coins with the name of the Hermopolites (*EPMOΠOΛ(E)ITHC (NOMOC)* or *EPMO*) exist from the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius.²³ The figures are similar to those of the Herakleopolites. Under Trajan, the main deity—Thot/Hermes—is depicted on the one hand as an Hellenistic

statue of the young Hermes, wearing an *Atef*-crown, holding an ibis on his right hand, a *kerykeion* in his left hand, with a cynocephalus standing in front of him (pl. 15.1, 11); we also find a bearded statue, again wearing an *Atef*-crown, but with the places of the animals changed (pl. 15.1, 12). A distinction from the 'pure' Hellenistic model is again effected by the, in this case two, accompanying sacred animals, the ibis and baboon of the Egyptian god Thot. The bust of the bearded statue portraying the older Thot/Hermes occurs on obols of Hadrian, with an ibis in front of it (pl. 15.2, 13). The baboon has not been forgotten: it appears—as expected—on the smallest denomination, both sitting and standing (adoring) (pl. 15.2, 14–15). Finally, we find Thot/Hermes on drachmas of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius Caesar (pl. 15.2, 16–17).

The City of Thebes

The last example concerns a town in Upper Egypt, ancient Hundred-gated Thebes.²⁴ Here we find two different subjects on coins of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius: first (pl. 15.2, 18), a young male standing deity of Hellenistic style with plumes on his head, holding a sceptre with his right hand, and a ram with plumes on his left hand, and with a ram at his feet with the same headdress; the legend reads *ΔΙΟCΠOΛΙC Η ΜΕΓΑΛΗ*, the name of the city.²⁵ Obviously, the main deity Amun of Thebes, who was worshipped in the great temple of Karnak, is represented together with his sacred animal. Secondly (pl. 15.2, 19), a male figure in military dress (with nimbus/aureole) is shown riding on horseback to the right, holding a *patera*; behind is a tree with a coiled serpent; the legend is identical. This horseman has sometimes been described by numismatists as Helios, but he should be named 'Heron'. He is well known from sources especially from the Fayum, and was probably imported from Thrace and worshipped by soldiers.²⁶ So we should not be surprised to find him here, since Thebes, a centre of rebellions and revolts, was garrisoned or 'must have been occupied by Roman troops'.²⁷ Both coin types, Amun and Heron, are then

¹⁸ See e.g. Bonnet (1952) 461–7 s.v. Min, and 32 (fig. 11) s.v. Amun; Gundlach (1982).

¹⁹ Bonnet (1952) 755 ff. s.v. Souchos; Sobek/Geb/Kronos later appears on a drachma of year 4 (AD 140/1) of Antoninus Pius: Dattari (1901) 2685; Geissen ii. 1354.

²⁰ Aelian, *Nat. 10. 23*: ἄθρυμα Ἰσιδος.

²¹ Evidence published by Traunecker (1992).

²² For more detailed discussion of this and the following see Geissen and Weber (2003).

²³ On this nome see Drew-Bear (1979).

²⁴ Juvenal, *Sat. 15. 6*: *atque vetus Thebe centum iacet opruta portis.*

²⁵ Pliny, *NH 5. 60*: *Diospolis Magna eadem Thebe.*

²⁶ See e.g. Myśliwiec (1977); Mulin (2000).

²⁷ See Vandorpe (1995) 236.

repeated on obols of Hadrian (pl. 15.2, 20–1), complemented yet again by the accompanying animals, ram and serpent, on his hemiobols (pl. 15.2, 22–3). Finally, only Heron is depicted on a drachma of year 8 of Antoninus Pius (AD 144/5), but now with legend $\Delta\text{ΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΗC}$ (pl. 15.2, 24). This new version points to a change in administration of the nome to which Thebes as a city belonged: apparently in AD 145 at the latest it became the *metropolis* of the new Diopolite nome.²⁸

What can we conclude from an examination of these few examples of nome coinage?

We find Egyptian and Greek gods side-by-side in a ‘bilingual’ iconography obviously representing two aspects of one and the same divinity.²⁹ The god may be accompanied by his sacred animal(s), for example the ibis and baboon, or the deity may be replaced by the animal or by a symbol on the smallest denomination, the hemiobol. However, the divinity shown need not be the main traditional deity of the nome in question (Koptites). The older view that the main tutelary deity was invariably depicted³⁰ is no longer tenable: we are confronted with a much more differentiated picture. Or rather, the term ‘main god’ should not be taken to refer to the principal deity of the nome in the narrow sense, but should be extended to include all important divinities of the nome. Obviously, those responsible for the Alexandrian mint endeavoured not only to present the traditional Egyptian deities of the nomes, but tried also to reflect the peculiar facts of the local cult in Roman times. This elaborate planning shows a specific knowledge of these fervent local cults, which at least points to the participation of a competent Egyptian priest in the choice of types for coin production, maybe someone as high-ranking as the *archiereus Alexandreias kai Aigyptou* at the court of the *Praefectus Aegypti*.³¹ Of

²⁸ See the profound treatment of the sources by Thomas (1964) and the remarks on his interpretation of the Diopolite coins by Geissen and Weber (2003): 293 n. 110.

²⁹ This double style—Greek and Egyptian—is documented also in tombs of Roman Alexandria, for example in the Persephone tombs from the so-called Hall of Caracalla in Kom el-Shoqafa; see Guimier-Sorbets and Seif el-Din (1997) and (2001); Venit (2001) 145 f. For an explanation of the interplay between Roman and local designs in the coinage, see most recently Bland (1996b).

³⁰ Vogt (1924a) i. 59. Similarly Gerin (1997) 72 and RPC II 340 (Burnett).

³¹ We may think of an educated man with a background like L. Julius Vestinus, who acted not only as High Priest of Alexandria and Egypt, but after that also as a *bibliothecis, a studiosis*, and probably *ab epistulis* of Hadrian in Rome; see *PIR* II 220 no. 409; *PIR*² J 623; Birley (1997) 142.

course, to the mixed population the representations of these gods will have been well known from other monuments, since from pharaonic times onwards the deities of the nomes were presented to the people among other things during processions in the traditional manner. This was the case also in Roman times, when the images/statues of the gods were carried around in Alexandria (as in the description by Philostratos of Vespasian’s welcome outside the city).³² It seems more than probable that there existed a sanctuary where the gods of the nomes were gathered, representing the unity of the country.³³

Thus we find an integration of Greek with Egyptian conceptions and practices, which parallels the individual cultural identities of the population. We may now see as misplaced comments on the nome coins that they presented ‘ideas that were by no means correct’ and that ‘the nome coins have no genuine connection with the nomes whose names they bear’.³⁴ On the contrary, their ‘ideas’ may be seen as perfectly correct, as long as one does not expect a focus upon the main god alone. It seems to be probable that, to an Alexandrian/Egyptian of the time, the Hellenized appearance of the gods did not give rise to any difficulty in recognition.³⁵ On the contrary, it is due only to our ignorance that nowadays we find it difficult to ‘read’ these coins.

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I am indebted to Andrew Burnett, Chris Howgego, and Volker Heuchert who invited me to participate in the symposium and to present a paper. The lecture was followed by a stimulating discussion leading me, while preparing the present printed version, to concentrate on the examination of the nome coins. I also feel obliged to Wolfgang Blümel who supported me especially by preparing the reproductions of the photographs for the plates.

³² *Vita Apoll.* 5. 27.

³⁴ Milne (1932) 78.

³³ Cf. Vogt (1924b) 24.

³⁵ Schwartz (1954) 26.

I6

THE ROMAN WEST AND THE ROMAN EAST

Andrew Burnett

Coins as Cultural Indicators

MANY ASPECTS OF DIFFERENT CULTURES can help to throw light on their differing identities—language,¹ architecture, religion,² and many other things, such as the ‘range of landscapes, ways of thought, racial groups, roof-tops and cheeses’.³ In fact, almost anything. A particular category is provided by the institutions people observe, a category which might embrace an enormous range of different things, from burial practices to legal systems, or from different calendars to different systems of weights and measures. The link between coins, weights, and measures was clear to the Greeks and Romans, and that coins could be regarded as an expression of some at least of the values characteristic of a particular society is evident from an anecdote reported by Pliny as taking place in the reign of Claudius.⁴ He relates how a Roman was forced by a storm to Sri Lanka (ancient Taprobane), and how he told the local king about Rome:

A freedman of Annius Plocamus, who had brought the tax collection for the Red Sea from the Treasury, was sailing

round Arabia. He was carried along by winds from the north past Carmania and, on the fifteenth day, made harbour at Hippuros in the island; and in consequence of the kind hospitality of the king he learned the local language thoroughly over a period of six months, and afterwards in reply to his questions described the Romans and Caesar. In what he heard the king got a remarkably good idea of their honesty, because among the captured money there were denarii which were of equal weight, even though their various types indicated that they were issued by several persons.

The Modern Classification of Coinage in the Roman World

I want to apply this approach to the Roman world, and use coins in a way that may throw light on some of the ways that Romans regarded themselves, having a special look at the differences between the western and eastern parts of the empire. I want to suggest that we can use this sort of approach to help explain the fundamental change that took place in the currency of the Iberian peninsula, Gaul, Italy, Sicily, and Africa in the first century AD—how people there stopped using locally made coins and started to use coins imported from Rome, coins which might otherwise have been regarded in some sense as almost ‘foreign’.

Modern numismatists have divided the coinage of the Roman empire into two main categories, those minted centrally and those minted in the provinces. All the gold and much of the silver in circulation

¹ For a recent example see Cooley (2002).

² See, for example, the way that architecture and religion (and indeed language) are used in Millar (1993).

³ Cited by Aumoine and Dangeau (1965: 297), in the search for the cultural diversity of France, and quoted by Braudel (1988: 40), with the comment ‘a good start though the list is not quite complete’!

⁴ Pliny, *NH* 6. 84.

throughout the empire was made centrally at Rome, as was—after about AD 45—all the bronze coinage for the western empire. But it was supplemented by many local coinages made by many cities in the provinces, generally known as ‘Greek imperial’ or, more recently, ‘Roman provincial’. Conventionally only the coins minted at Rome were included in standard reference works like *Roman Imperial Coinage* and *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, and as a result these centrally produced issues seem to have acquired a greater status than those produced in the provinces. In modern literature we find contrasts between *Reichsmünzen* and *Provinzialprägung*; official and local;⁵ or (much the same thing with different terminology) imperial and civic. Slightly different is the contrast between coins with Latin legends and those with others, principally Greek.⁶

Traditionally the coinage of the Roman empire has been divided on the assumption that one of these contrasts, or a similar one, is valid, even though we know there are difficulties in applying them. There have been three different approaches or criteria: of language, self-definition, or function. Language has effectively been the criterion for inclusion (Latin) and exclusion (Greek) by *Roman Imperial Coinage*,⁷ but if we want to use it then we have the difficulty of how to bend this rule to exclude the early imperial city coinage of Spain, Africa, and indeed colonies in the east. These all use Latin legends, but we don’t really want to treat them as different from those of the Greek-speaking cities of Greece and Asia.

With self-definition, we can look at what the coins themselves declare, and let the mute coins speak: do their inscriptions announce that they are from a particular city? Usually provincial coins announce a city, but some do not, and so, it is thought, they must be ‘official’ or ‘league’ coinages, or at any rate have some status greater than that of a city.⁸

But this does not always work. First, the fact that a coinage does not have a city name does not mean that it is some sort of ‘imperial’ issue.⁹ One can cite two examples. One concerns the so-called ‘Apollonia’ series of Nero, which I would attribute to the city of Nicopolis, or rather Nerononicopolis as it was renamed after its refoundation in Nero’s reign. It has been argued by Levy¹⁰ that because many of these coins lack a city name they were an Achaean federal issue, perhaps produced by the Amphictyonic League. But it still seems to me that traditional numismatic arguments suggest that they are all issues of Nicopolis. They all have a very similar fabric and weight standard, not like anything else in contemporary Achaëa. There are many die links between them and, more importantly, with coins with the name of the city of Nerononicopolis. These are a single group of coins issued by that city, some of which just happen to lack the city’s name.

There are a few other cases, where city coinages ‘lack the ethnic habit’.¹¹ The coins of Pergamum in the Julio-Claudian period were produced in two denominations: a larger one which usually depicted a temple and a smaller one which usually had a head on both obverse and reverse. Because there was more space, the larger denomination usually included the city’s name in the inscription, but the smaller did not. The inscriptions might also sometimes include the name of a ‘magistrate’, and where they do there is no difficulty in accepting an attribution to Pergamum. But there are several instances where neither denomination includes a magistrate’s name, and in those cases the smaller denomination might not obviously seem to be a coin of Pergamum. This is why large numbers of three groups of coins depicting Germanikos Kaiser/Drousos Kaiser, Britannikos Kaiser/Neron Kaiser and Theon Synkletos/Thean Romen can still today be found among the Uncertain trays of many museums. Yet find-spots, fabric, and die-axis tie them closely to Pergamum, and I think that it is clear that these common coins are smaller denominations of Pergamum.

⁵ Grant (1956).

⁶ There are, of course, also coins with Iberian, neo-Punic, and Aramaic inscriptions, but these are rarely considered in general discussions. For Iberian, see Ripollès, Chapter 6 above.

⁷ And explicitly so by e.g. Robertson (1977: ix). The fact that coins like cistophori ‘have been so long and closely connected [sc. with imperial coinage]’ (Sutherland in *RIC I*: 10) can only derive from their use of Latin. See Burnett (1978).

⁸ For example, Grant (1956). A number of other studies use a similar approach, e.g. (a relatively modern example) Levy (1989).

⁹ Contrast: ‘The complete absence of any town of origin suggests that the issue was intended to pass as an official general coinage’ (MacDowall 1960: 109) on coins for which see now *RPC I*: pp. 318–19.

¹⁰ Levy (1989).

¹¹ Numismatists use the word ‘ethnic’ to mean the name of the issuing city.

The opposite is also true, that a coinage issue is not necessarily civic just because it has a city's name. We can again take two examples, both of which concern coinages which are apparently civic coinages, but which actually seem to be something rather different. The first example is a familiar one, the Augustus coinage from Nemausus, with the heads of Augustus and Agrippa and the palm-tree with a crocodile. The types and the inscription COL NEM would indicate that it was a local issue of the colony, but Michael Grant drew attention to the enormous mintage and circulation of such coins throughout Gaul, and rightly insisted on a functional definition of the coinage as one of the 'six main aes coinages of Augustus': though labelled a colonial issue it was manipulated for imperial purposes.¹² A second and less well-known example concerns the silver and bronze coinage of Crete under Tiberius and Caligula. Under Tiberius silver coinages were struck with the names of the cities of Axos, Cydonia, Eleutherna, Gortyn, Hierapytna, and Polyrrhenium;¹³ under Caligula bronze coinages were struck with the names of Gortyn, Hierapytna, Lato, Lyttos, and Polyrrhenium.¹⁴ In both cases the coordinated use of types strongly suggests that they are some sort of *koinon* issue.

If then we cannot always accept at face-value what the coins do (or do not) themselves say, then we might look for another approach. A third way of approaching the material was the functional one applied in his writings by Michael Grant.¹⁵ He argued that we should define the importance of a coinage, and hence its status, in terms of its volume and circulation. I have just mentioned the case of Nemausus, the classic case of this approach, but it too has its limitations. For example, the fact that a bronze issue from the mint of Rome was very rare would not necessarily imply that it was conceptually different from a more common one. And, on the other hand, the criterion excludes the possibility of a large-scale coinage produced on a local initiative by a local authority; by definition such a category could not exist, even though there is no obvious reason why as a matter of fact it should not.

I have discussed three sets of criteria, and we can see that they all have difficulties. One could probably

think of other approaches, but I am sure that they would encounter similar difficulties. One reaction to this conclusion would be to say that the whole exercise of classifying coinages in these and similar ways is pointless, a futile and inappropriate attempt to impose a modern system of classification. All these approaches have two things in common: first, they all operate with two categories (or at any rate two main categories); and, secondly, despite the fact that their terminology and approach are different, they somehow manage in practice to divide the coinage of the Roman world in more or less the same way.

The fact that all these approaches produce similar results might suggest that there really is some basic division of material, even though we have difficulty in defining it. Even though all coinages cannot be fitted into neat categories, this does not mean that such categories do not exist, only that they are difficult to define.

Ancient Attitudes to Coinage in the Roman World

However, I want to suggest that there is some evidence to show that people in the ancient world also thought about the empire's coinage as similarly divided into two categories.¹⁶ It is interesting that ancient and modern views seem to coincide, and the ancient attitude is, of course, far more important than the modern, since if we can have a good idea about contemporary attitudes to these coinages we may be in a better position to discover why certain changes did or did not take place.

The ancient evidence is not extensive, but some of it deserves more attention. It seems that at the time people operated with a fairly loose set of two categories, to which the terms Roman and civic seem most appropriate, although I would not press the labels too far.

The clearest source for this view is the passage of Dio in which a hypothetical debate takes place between Maecenas and Agrippa.¹⁷ Set in 29 BC, but

¹² The quotation is, of course, the title of his book (Grant 1953).

¹³ See *RPC* I: p. 229. ¹⁴ See *RPC* I: p. 233.

¹⁵ Grant (1953: xi).

¹⁶ This view may seem to contradict the wish to abandon the 'partial . . . and old-fashioned [view]' of Roman numismatics which does not approach the coinage of the empire as a whole (Burnett 1978). I would, however, still advocate this view, while recognizing that there was a difference in its different parts. ¹⁷ Dio 52. 30. 9.

written in the third century AD, Dio has Maecenas say, 'none of them should use their own coins, weights or measures, but they all should use ours'. 'Them' in this passage refers to the cities of the empire, which are the subjects under discussion; exactly who 'we' are is not clear. The attitudes implied by Dio recall another passage, which is relevant even though it deals with a very different historical context. This is the letter from the Syrian King Antiochus VII to the Jewish leader Simon Maccabaeus, where the king gives Simon permission 'to make your own coinage as currency for your country'.¹⁸ Here we have the same ideas of otherness, in this case not 'them' but 'you' and 'your own' (*idion*). These distinctions, or similar ones, can be found elsewhere in the Roman period. 'Their' could, I think, be defined or described in different ways and indeed cover a number of different things, not just the coinage of cities, but also specific coinages or weight standards. In this context a Flavian inscription from Cibyra seems relevant, with its contrast between the 'Rhodian drachma' and the 'Roman denarius' (*romaikon denarion*).¹⁹ Partly because of this inscription I would suggest that the term 'Roman' is an alternative to 'us', but other terms also occur, particularly 'Italian' in the phrase 'Italian as' which we find on the silver coinage of Cappadocia under Nero²⁰ or the letter of Germanicus from Palmyra insisting on the use of 'Italian asses' in the calculation of taxes.²¹ I take it here that 'Italian' and 'Roman' mean more or less the same thing.

Something similar can be found in a passage from one of the metrological writers, Maecianus, who wrote in the second century AD and who seems to describe 'the tetradrachm and the drachm', presumably the silver coinage of Syria, as 'peregrinus nummus' or 'foreign coin'. 'Peregrinus' seems a very strong term, but can be explained in this context. To understand it better, we should go back to the text of Dio and recall that he is not just talking about coins, but about coins, weights, and measures. The association of these three is a recurrent and important theme in classical thought. It occurs in the passage on the Parian marble which attributes to Pheidon of Argos the establishment of public weights and

measures as well as the introduction of silver coinage in Aegina.²² We get the same three things in the so-called Athenian coinage or standards decree, both in the original inscription and in Aristophanes' parody.²³ The association of weights, measures, and coins is a theme which recurs in later texts, such as Polybius on the Achaean League: 'they [sc. the Achaeans] use the same laws, weights and coins'.²⁴ All these texts suggest that the use of the same weights, measures, and coins could be thought of as at least one important way of defining political unity, and it is interesting to note that the contrast with using the same ones is not with using 'other' ones but with using 'foreign' (*xenon*) ones. The phrase is used, for instance in the Athenian coinage decree and recurs in the fourth-century 'Dokimastes decree' of 375/374, where the alternative to coins of 'Attic stamp' is probably *xenon*;²⁵ similarly phrases like *chsenikon argurion* occur regularly in Greek inventories, in contrast to the term *dokimon*, even as far east as Ai-Khanoum.²⁶

All these instances help to explain Maecianus' use of the same concept in Latin, *peregrinus*. The associated contrast in the passages we have just considered between the same weights, measures, and coins and foreign ones shows that Maecianus and Dio are really saying similar things, that there is a contrast between us/Roman/Italian and them/cities/foreigners. Just like our review of modern classifications, we find a basic contrast between two things, and we find that, similarly, these two things are not very precisely defined but can be described by a series of rather different, but overlapping terms.

Practical Differences between 'Our' and 'Foreign' Coins

This point is important in two different ways. At one level the contrast between the two sorts of coinage had certain practical consequences, while secondly,

²² IG XII: 5. 444, ll. 45-7.

²³ For the standards decree see e.g. Meiggs and Lewis (1988: no. 45). The parody has weights, measures, and votes (*Birds* 1038-41).

²⁴ 2. 37. 10. The context shows the importance of this type of consideration as Polybius goes on to comment that the whole Peloponnese fails to be a single city only through the absence of a single city wall.

²⁵ See e.g. Buttrey (1979) for the law.

²⁶ For *dokimon* see Picard (1984: 683-4). The phrase *dokima chrêmata* occurs as early as the sixth century BC: IG XII: 9. 1273, 1274 (Eretria).

¹⁸ 1 Maccabees 15: 6-7.

¹⁹ IGR IV: 915.

²⁰ RPC I: 3635-6, 3643.

²¹ IGR III: 1056 = OGIS 629.

and at a more theoretical level, it has implications for the cultural identity of the Roman world. So let us now look at these aspects.

First, the practical effects. The most obvious one is the fact that a traveller would have been regularly confronted by the need to pay commission to change his coins into the locally valid ones. The orthodox opinion seems to be that for the most part the coins of one ancient state were interchangeable with those of another state, although there were exceptions. This seems to me to be the wrong way round. I think the 'exceptions' which are usually quoted, most notably classical Olbia and Ptolemaic Egypt, are in fact the typical cases, and I would support this view from passages like those of Xenophon in the *Poroi* who takes it for granted that normally one state's coinage is not valid elsewhere.²⁷ Thus, when the inhabitants of Magnesia became citizens of Smyrna in the second century BC, it was decided that they would use Smyrnan law and so would accept in Magnesia 'the legitimate coinage of the city'.²⁸ The exception was indeed the reverse, the acceptability of a single coinage in a wide area, as we can see from the second-century inscription of the Amphictyonic Council establishing that the Attic tetradrachm was worth 4 drachmas throughout Greece;²⁹ the language used and the need for such a decree imply that it was something quite exceptional.

Latin sources tell much the same story, in particular Cicero. As is well known, he was desperate to be paid in denarii and to avoid payment in 'Pompeian cistophori',³⁰ because of the need to pay commission: 'sed certe in collybo est detrimenti satis'.³¹ One of the most helpful passages in this context is Cicero's complaint against Verres, that he made deductions of payments for 'spectatio' and 'collybus'. 'For how can there be a commission when everyone uses the same kind of coins?' asks Cicero ('nam collybus esse qui potest cum utuntur omnes uno genere nummorum?').³² This

²⁷ *Poroi* 3. 2. 'In the majority of cities, traders have to bring back a cargo, since they do not use coinage which is valid elsewhere' (*nomismasi gar ou chresimois exo chrontai*). Cf. Plato, *Laws* 742 (a city's coinage valid only in the city *tois de allois anthrôpous adokimon*).

²⁸ OGIS 229, ll. 54–5. *Dechesthosan de kai em Magnesiaï to nomisma to tes poleos [em]jomon*.²⁹ SEG III: 729.

³⁰ *Ecquae spes sit denari an cistophoro Pompeiano iacemus?* (*Att.* 2. 7. 2, 59 BC).

³¹ *Att.* 12. 6. 1, 45 BC. Although the context is a payment made in gold (not clear whether gold coins or bullion), the sentiment would be more general.³² II *Verr.* 3. 181.

shows that the opposite was true, that a commission was payable where everyone did not use the same type or genus of coins, i.e. where people used peregrini nummi, in other words throughout most of the Roman world.

It might be thought that, even if this system did exist for silver coinages like those of Ptolemaic Egypt, it would be impracticable to apply it to coins of the lowest values and most restricted circulation. But we should recall that the Olbia inscription does specify bronze as well as silver coinage,³³ and the circulation of bronze Ptolemaic coinage seems restricted in much the same way as its silver was. A traveller in the Roman empire, I would suggest, would often have to use the coinage of the city at which he happened to arrive (or some authorized coinage in the case of cities with no coinage of their own³⁴). The occurrence of groups in hoards does not prove the contrary, any more than the mixed finds from excavations. Indeed it has been pointed out that a city's own coins frequently predominate in the finds of modern excavators.³⁵ The others would be a mixture of casual losses by travellers, money-changers and so on.³⁶

Other restrictions might also have existed, for example to regulate a provincial silver coinage such as that of the cistophori in Asia. I take the view that the restricted circulation of such coins is more likely to have been the result of regulation rather than market forces. The leading proponent of the 'market forces theory' was the late D. R. Walker, whose general theory of the restricted circulation of provincial silver depended on the fact that they were more debased or overvalued compared with the denarius. But this theory won't work, partly because sometimes provincial silver did leave its area of circulation (e.g. Lycian drachms) and partly because provincial silver remained in its area even on the rare occasions where it apparently contained more silver and so was 'undervalued' against the denarius (e.g. Flavian cistophori or Cyrenaican drachms).³⁷

³³ SIG³ 218.

³⁴ As pointed out by Burnett (1987a: 60–1), something like half the cities of the empire never made any coinage at all.

³⁵ See the discussion by MacDonald (1976: 44–6). The principal adopted by L. Robert, of identifying a city by the bronze coins found there, points in the same direction.

³⁶ See also Butcher, Chapter 12 above.

³⁷ See the remarks by Butcher 1992.

Moreover, quite apart from this sort of objection, even on Walker's theory there would have to have been some regulations establishing the value of, say, Syrian tetradrachms, even in Syria: otherwise how would they have circulated except as bullion? And a regulation giving a Syrian tetradrachm a certain value in Syria is much the same thing as a regulation restricting its circulation to that area.

It may also be the case that the movement of coinage across provincial boundaries attracted taxation. The evidence for this is in the Ephesus tax law, although it must be admitted that the sense of the relevant passage is not clear.³⁸ However, it seems to me that the likeliest interpretation is that coinage carried on official business was exempt, the implication being that otherwise it was taxable. This would also have acted as a disincentive to the export of coins and hence helped to keep them in their own restricted area of circulation. This all seems to me to be part of a plausible picture of the use of coinage hedged round with regulations and forms of taxation, whether crossing provincial boundaries, when entering a different city, or when changing coins of one metal into another.

A second practical effect was the need to set up systems to make different denominations compatible with each other. The Roman system of coin denominations, the silver denarius and its bronze parts, the sestertius, dupondius and as, was used at Rome and, in the imperial period, throughout the West. In the pre-Roman east there had been different systems based on the silver tetradrachm, drachm, and its part, the obol in turn divided up into a variable number of *chalcoi*. These pre-Roman denominations survived the Roman conquest and continue to be attested as late as the third century AD, although there was a general transition to Roman ones.³⁹ Inevitably the need to translate from one system to another arose, and we know of instances of the intervention of the Roman authorities insisting on the use of Roman denominations. Examples are the *diorthoma* of Augustus in Thessaly according to which the denarius was introduced (in place of the drachm), or

the case already mentioned which we know of from the letter of Germanicus that reckoning should be made *pros italikon assarion*. In the province of Asia, we can establish that there existed a system whereby a drachm was worth two-thirds of a denarius, an obol was worth two asses and so on. I would infer that this system was introduced, at some uncertain time, by the Roman government; this seems to me to be implied by the language used in the Salutaris inscriptions from Ephesus of the early second century AD.⁴⁰ There, for example, we find the words *tokon drachmaion assariaion* = 'the interest of a drachm payable in the as', which seems to me to be an echo of some provision such as that made by Germanicus in Syria. And even when we find Roman denominations in the east, there are differences; for example, although *denaria* and *assararia* are found in inscriptions, sestertii and dupondii are almost completely absent. This is especially significant in the case of the sestertius, because it was the main unit of account in the west—sums of money were expressed in terms of so many sestertii, but this way of reckoning was absent in the east.

Different Attitudes to Coinage and Different Cultural Outlooks in the Western and Eastern Parts of the Roman World

The distinctions between, on the one hand, our/Roman/Italian/valid coins and, on the other, other/their/civic/foreign—as well as having some real practical effects—also have implications for the cultural identity of different parts of the Roman world, and in particular the different outlook of people in the western and eastern parts of the empire.

As we have seen the coins which a political or social unit makes or uses can be one way of defining its identity, and I think that the profound difference between the coins in use in the western and in the eastern parts of the Roman empire is a symptom of a very different idea of self-identity in the two different parts.⁴¹ The differences between 'Roman' and 'other' coins are, and were, obvious enough in the east and

³⁸ *Epigraphica Anatolica* 14 (1989), sections 25–6 (lines 58–66). I am grateful to C. Howgego for discussion of this text, though he disagrees with the interpretation followed here.

³⁹ The whole question of denominations will be addressed in a forthcoming work by A. Johnston.

⁴⁰ On Salutaris, see Rogers (1991).

⁴¹ See Woolf (1994a, 1998).

there for all to see: the coins were different sizes, they had different sorts of designs, sometimes different denominations, and they used different languages, Greek for the most part rather than Latin. But just because the material is so familiar to us, we should not, of course, pass lightly over these differences and their importance, particularly the use of different languages. Speaking Latin, for instance, was not just a cultural phenomenon but was originally perhaps also relevant to political power: we can recall that the emperor Claudius would not allow citizenship to those who could not speak it (*Latini sermonis ignari*).⁴²

These considerations are relevant to questions of 'Romanization'. Provincial coinage provides a good opportunity to assess one way in which the Roman empire was 'romanized'. We can use coinage, both in the sense of the physical coins themselves and their denominational systems, as a test of one sort of Romanization; since, in the context of coinage, there was a reasonably clear idea of the Roman as opposed to otherness or foreignness, the fact that the non-Roman survived tells us something about the unwillingness of 'the Romans' to impose it. This is especially so, when we recall that the Romans were able to impose their own systems if they wanted, but chose only very occasionally to do so. Actual cases of political intervention in the coinage or currency of the empire were very rare (e.g. the demonetization of Punic coinage after the sack of Carthage in 146, or the cessation of minting in Achaëa under Vespasian⁴³). And indeed there seem even to be cases where the Roman authorities intervened to set up or perpetuate local coinages (as has been argued for Iberian denarii, the coinage of Roman Sicily, or even, on one interpretation, the atelier system for the production of coinage in Asia Minor and Syria⁴⁴).

The other side of this picture, and to my mind even more interesting aspect, is the unwillingness of local elites in the east to embrace what was in this context Roman. This would not have been difficult to do (copying 'Roman' coins), and it seems surprising that the obvious differences in their coins continued more or less without modification. This is all the more true when we recall that there was a distinct hierarchy between the Roman and the inferior

non-Roman. This inferiority stemmed from lesser political rights and can be seen, to give one example, in the writings of Aelius Aristides, who can distinguish between 'Romans' and 'their subjects'⁴⁵: there is no *xenos*, as he says, who is of value (*axios*).⁴⁶

This way of looking at the provincial coinage in the Greek east leads to a discussion of the end of local coinage in the west, in the decade before AD 50.⁴⁷ This is not otherwise easy to explain. The production of local coinage throughout the western empire (Britain, Gaul, Spain, Sicily, and Africa) ceased in the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius. It is clear that it does not end as a result of a direct political act (in which case it would have happened simultaneously everywhere) and that it cannot easily be explained by economic causes (there is no evidence for an impoverishment of civic finances in the west as opposed to the east; and anyway it is arguable that the cost of making civic coinage cannot have been so very great).

Given the difficulty of finding a satisfactory political or economic explanation for this phenomenon, we could instead see the change as a cultural phenomenon, an inclination by the communities in the west to use Roman rather than their own coinage.

Some evidence to support this view can be found in the nature of the latest examples of local coinage in the west, which have a clear tendency to resemble coins minted at Rome. The same denominations are used at Rome and in the west (*sestertii*, *dupondii*, etc.). In addition, the weight standards used in Spain, for example, were more similar to those in use at Rome, and there are communities that use the new coinage metal, brass, introduced at Rome under Augustus.⁴⁸ It was adopted by several cities in Spain under Tiberius and Caligula and there are a number of examples of brass *sestertii*, in shape and colour looking very much like coins minted at Rome. Coins like these were never made in the eastern empire, where weight standards were different and the use of different metals apparently indiscriminate.

A similar tendency can be observed in the designs used on the coinage. In the west, these not infrequently copy Roman coins, such as the seated figure

⁴⁵ *Eis Romanen 100: exarkei Romaion einai against hena ton huph' humin.*

⁴⁶ *ibid.* 60.

⁴⁷ Burnett (2002b). See also Ripollès, Chapter 6 above.

⁴⁸ *RPC I*: ch. 3.

⁴² Suetonius, *Divus Claudius* 16; cf. Dio 60. 17. 4.

⁴³ Burnett (2002d).

⁴⁴ Burnett (2002d).

of Livia from Roman coins of Tiberius, and some of the latest Spanish issues under Caligula are quite astonishingly similar. For example at Rome coins were made with the portraits of the emperor, of Divus Augustus, of the emperor's father and mother, Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder, and of his grandfather Agrippa. Coins were minted at Caesar-augusta for all the same five imperial personages; not only that, but most of the coins are close copies of the Roman issues.⁴⁹ A second example of the same phenomenon comes from a more recent discovery, a coin minted at Ercavica (modern Cuenca), and found in excavations at the city in 1992.⁵⁰ It is an extraordinarily close copy of the similar coin minted at Rome depicting Caligula and his three sisters.

Western coinage shows a tendency to look like Roman coinage; communities preferred to use coins that looked like Roman ones. It was not a big step to stop making their own and to start to use Roman coinage, which was already circulating in the area, and indeed, from this date when coinage was made in the provinces it would closely copy the products of Rome.⁵¹ Both were expressions of a preference for using 'Roman' coinage. On this view, the cessation of the western provincial coinage was an indication that people in the west had a different attitude to their place in the Roman empire from that held by people in the east. In the west they wanted to use coins like those minted in Rome; in the east they did not.

This difference might derive, in part at least, from the use of Latin, and perhaps be related to other things like the aspirations of those in the western part of the empire as opposed to the eastern part. One discussion of this question has highlighted how 'in the western and northern provinces the provincials literally became part of the Roman state':⁵² whole communities or areas sought political privileges like citizenship, the status of colonies, or the *Latium maius*. In the east, aspirations were different. Cities competed for status amongst each other: to be the first city of a province or the metropolis of a province, and especially to have imperial recognition by the award of a neocorate temple. These were not

expressions of a desire to become Romanized in the same way as the west, and this different ambition may well mirror and help to explain the different nature of city coinage in the west and east.

I have already mentioned the more 'Romanized' appearance and designs of western provincial coinage. The designs used in the east are different. Every now and then they refer to Rome, but almost as if it were some foreign power. For example, in the third century AD coins of Anazarbus in Cilicia record how the city was 'adorned with Roman trophies',⁵³ and those of Side in Pamphylia record that the city is an 'ally of the Romans'.⁵⁴ The designs used in the east, in general, reflect the way that they competed with each other: they emphasize the superiority of their mythological origins, their architectural achievements, the splendour of the games they held, and so on. In this way their designs contrast with those of 'client-kings' in the east, such as those of Agrippa I and II of Judaea, both of whose coinages directly copy Roman coins in much the same way, and, I would suggest, for much the same reason, as the Spanish cities. Those of Agrippa II also, exceptionally, use Latin legends. 'Client kings' even in the east wanted to emphasize their close connections to the imperial house and thereby shared some of the same cultural aspirations as cities in the western empire, a similarity that brought about the similarity of their coins to those of cities in the western empire.

We can touch here on another debate, the one about the difference between the cult of the emperor in the west and that in the east. The old picture of this difference was that the cult in the west was imposed from the centre whereas in the east it was allowed to develop spontaneously. And this is like the old notion that civic coinage was stopped in the west but allowed to develop in the east. But now we can see, I think, that the pictures of both phenomena need to be modified in similar ways. Today we would not accept that the imperial cult was imposed in the west;⁵⁵ our present picture is that it may have developed at least partly as a result of the aspirations of the cities. The different form that it took in the east

⁵³ *rômaïkois tropaïois kekosmênênês*, often abbreviated, e.g. to *rôm tro*: see Ziegler (1993: nos. 339–40, Macrinus and Diadumenian, AD 217/18, no doubt referring to the Parthian victory of 217), repeated later (e.g. no. 444, Julia Maesa, where the phrase is spelled out in full).

⁵⁴ SNG von Aulock 4583.

⁵⁵ Price (1984: 74–5).

⁴⁹ RPC I: 383–6. ⁵⁰ RPC Supplement I: 467A.

⁵¹ Whether the 'Claudian copies' found throughout the western empire (Britain, France, Spain, Africa) or the newly opened mint of Lugdunum, in the reign of Nero. ⁵² Sherwin-White (1973: 402).

was the result of the different aspirations of cities in the east; this is why some specifically Roman aspects of the imperial cult are rare in the east (e.g. the existence of *augustales* or *flamines*, or the restriction of the cult of the emperor to after his lifetime).⁵⁶ This is what I want to say also of the coinage; the initiative for ending the coinage in the west came from the cities themselves, not from the 'Roman authorities'. They had a similar power to affect civic coinage in the west, just as in the east. That the result was so different is a reflection of differing attitudes in east and west and shows how coinage, just like political status or the imperial cult, can be used as a way of characterizing a difference between east and west.

I quoted earlier from the letter of Antiochus giving Simon permission to make his own coins, and it may be that the idea of asking for permission to make coinage could be the mechanism which enabled the difference between the two halves of the empire to emerge. I don't want here to go into the question of whether any sort of permission was always needed to produce coinage. But we know that at least sometimes such permission was asked for and granted, and if a local coinage could be regarded in some sense as 'foreign' then it can hardly be a surprise that one would have to ask permission to make it and that those who aspired after Romanness would be less enthusiastic for permission to make it. In an atmosphere where it would have been thought to be inappropriate or indeed undesirable to ask for it, the production of western coinage would have gradually declined.

Other Contrasts

It seems to me that these concepts of foreignness, permission, and 'sovereignty'⁵⁷ are all related, and I hope to have been able to link them in such a way that may help our understanding of some of the differences between the eastern and western parts of the empire. But in concluding this investigation we should remember again that it has used only one type of object to look at one aspect of the Roman empire. And I should also stress that even this is only one way

of looking at this particular aspect. We all know that the Roman empire was one entity comprising a more or less infinite number of different parts, and the parts can be defined or looked at in different ways. This is what the debate about Romanization is all about: how can we talk sensibly about this 'diversity of Romanization'⁵⁸ and at the same time avoid the unhelpful conclusion that the Roman empire was diversity, a conclusion that is unhelpful in that it would seem to be true of almost any culture that one might choose to examine. One way in which we can make progress is by making comparisons about different parts, although the dangers of what I have been trying to do along these lines should be apparent. It is a very common mode of argument both in antiquity and today to examine a phenomenon as a series of contrasts or similarities,⁵⁹ and we must obviously acknowledge that, although contrasts of the type described above may have a validity, they are not the whole story.

It is, indeed, not difficult to deconstruct them, and one can do this in different ways:

1. For example, the picture given above exaggerates the contrast between east and west. City coinage was not produced in some parts of the east, for example Lycia (except for a brief period in the third century AD), and local coinage died out in some parts of the east, for example Cyprus during the second century. Latin is found on some eastern coins, especially those of Roman colonies, like Berytus or Antioch in Pisidia. City coinages of Spain do sometimes represent famous buildings of the cities that produced them; Alexandrian coins sometimes copy designs used at Rome, as do coins from the kingdom of Judaea.

2. Or one could point out that one can look at the coinage of the Roman empire as a series of different contrasts. For example one might contrast north with south. In the northern empire we find a survival of Iron Age 'Celtic' coinage with a different physical appearance. It went on being produced into the first century AD, and circulated in some places until the second century. The same areas also had an absence of small change in the first century AD.

⁵⁶ Price (1984: 88–9).

⁵⁷ For this anachronistic term, see Martin (1985).

⁵⁸ For emphasis on the lack of a uniform Roman culture, see e.g. Freeman (1993).

⁵⁹ Lloyd (1987).

3. Or one might contrast frontier regions with the centre. We know of more precious metal coin hoards from frontier provinces like Britain than from inner regions like Africa or Italy.⁶⁰ Only a single precious metal hoard is known for the whole of the first century AD from the province of Asia. In both cases, even allowing for the accidents of modern recording, we can infer that there was a difference in the pattern of deposition or recovery.

4. Or we can avoid polarization altogether and insist on the diversity of each different area or aspect. In the east we find different patterns in different regions: for example, we have a lot of separate individual cities issuing coinage in Asia, but minting was centralized in Egypt at Alexandria alone.⁶¹ In Asia or Egypt one finds numerous representations of members of the imperial family on city coins, but these are almost unknown in Syria, where sculptural imperial portraits are also almost unknown. Syrian coins usually have a date, but Syria itself divides into several different patterns.⁶² Similarly, Asian cities produced a number of coins without the emperor's portrait and with other representations such as the personification of Roma or the Roman Senate; but these are completely absent from the adjacent (and senatorial) province of Bithynia and Pontus. Personal names

occur frequently and extensively on the coinage of the province of Asia, but rarely elsewhere.

In ways such as this, we could insist on the plurality rather than the duality of the coinage of the Roman empire. Or one could even stress its unity; however diverse its different manifestations it was still recognizably Roman rather than, say, Nabataean or Parthian. But to take these different approaches would not, I think, invalidate the picture of a broad contrast between west and east, or the way that the concept of foreign coin is one which can help to explain the fundamental change in the pattern of currency that took place in the Roman west in the first century AD.

Thus it may be argued that the fundamental cultural division between the west and the east of the Roman empire was reflected not only in the imagery and the inscriptions on the coins, as this book richly demonstrates, but also in the very existence of coinage itself. That is a theme that can be applied to many other cultures and periods, such as Rome before 300 BC or Asia before Alexander: if coinage had both an economic and a political aspect, we should recall that it has not been used in many places or at many times. The reasons will be complex, but for every society a choice must first be made whether or not to express its cultural identity through coinage, and only then to determine in what form this choice will be expressed.

⁶⁰ Duncan-Jones (1994: 72–6).

⁶¹ Egypt, of course, had no other cities, but there is no *a priori* reason why the 'nome coins', minted under Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, should have been minted there rather than locally.

⁶² Burnett (2002a).

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Geographical Index

The geographical index includes only those places, peoples, and regions mentioned as producing coins. Other geographical entities may be found under the General Index. References to the plates are given in bold at the end of the relevant entry. Most places may be located on the maps listed at the beginning of the book.

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Key to Plates

1.1–4. Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces (Christopher Howgego)

All coins are in the Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, except where otherwise indicated. B = Berlin (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin), L = London (British Museum), NY = New York (American Numismatic Society), P = Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale de France), V = Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum). All coins are bronze, except where stated.

1. Apamea, Elagabalus. Scene of Noah's 'ark', labelled 'NQE'. SNG von Aulock 3506.
2. Laodicea, Marcus Aurelius. Zeus Laodiceus on a base between Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. L 1924 10–15–3.
3. Laodicea, Domitian. Zeus Laodiceus as one of the Capitoline triad. L 1979 1–1–2764.
4. Egypt, Antoninus Pius, AD 144/5. Horus of the Sethroite nome.
5. Ephesus, Commodus Caesar. Artemis Ephesia. L 1897 1–4–89.
6. Anemurium, Philip I. Artemis. L 1979 1–1–2558 = SNG von Aulock 5523.
7. Byblus, Macrinus. Cultic stone within open air cult-place. L = BMC *Phoenicia* 38.
8. Egypt, Hadrian, AD 134/5. Apis bull.
9. Egypt, Antoninus Pius, AD 159/60. Sarapis-headed serpent on horse.
10. Juba I of Numidia at Utica (?), silver denarius. Bust of Juba. Temple. In a form of cultural chiasmus, the 'barbarian' portrait is paired with a Latin inscription and the 'classical' temple with a neo-Punic inscription.
11. Imperial sestertius, Tiberius. Temple of Concord (restored by Tiberius). Inscription around SC.
12. Byblus, Elagabalus. Temple of Astarte.
13. Imperial sestertius, restoration issue by Nerva. Head of Divus Augustus. IMP NERVA CAESAR AVGVSTVS REST S. C.
14. Imperial silver 'radiate', Consecratio series, c. AD 250. Divus Commodus. Eagle.
15. Imperial As, Antoninus Pius. Mars and Rhea Silvia.
16. Eumeneia, Salonina. Tyche, 'of the Achaean Eumeneians'.
17. Synnada. Bearded head, 'Of the Synnadans'. Temple, 'Dorians, Ionians'. L 1979 1–1–2320 = SNG von Aulock 8447.
18. Ionopolis (Abonuteichus), Lucius Verus. Bust of Sarapis.
19. Blaundus, Septimius Severus. Tyche. 'Of the Macedonian Blaundians.'
20. Aegae in Cilicia, silver tridrachm, Hadrian. Head of Alexander.
21. Ilium, Marcus Aurelius. Aeneas carrying Anchises and leading Ascanius. P 737.
22. Tyre, Gallienus. Kadmos the founder of Thebes (*ΘΗΒΕ*) in Boeotia. L = BMC *Phoenicia* 487.
23. Tyre, Gallienus. Kadmos the bringer of letters to the Greeks (*ΕΛΛΗ[ΝΕΣ]* and *ΚΑΔΜΟΣ*). L = BMC *Phoenicia* 488.
24. Egypt, Antoninus Pius, AD 141/2. Judgement of Paris. B 1030/1892.
25. Laodicea, Caracalla. Winged Tyche. Dated year 88 (*ΤΟ ΠΗ*). L = BMC *Phrygia* 234.
26. Uncertain mint. Head of Roma. 'Year 1 of Rome'. Spijkerman 1978: pl. 26, 2.
27. Koinon of Macedonia. Head of Alexander. Lion and club. Dated year 275 (*ΕΟΣ*). L = BMC *Macedonia* 112.
28. Imperial sestertius, Hadrian. Cappadocia holding Mount Argaeus and military standard.
29. Provincia Dacia, Otacilia Severa. Dacia with legionary standards numbered V and XIII and legionary emblems (eagle and lion). Dated year 2 (AN II).
30. Koinon of Ionia, Antoninus Pius. Heracles and Auge, parents of Telephus, the 'founder' of Pergamum. P 1111 (85) (medaillon).
31. Laodicea, Caracalla. City-goddess between personifications of Phrygia and Caria. Dated year 88 (*ΤΟ ΠΗ*). L 1979 1–1–2270 = SNG von Aulock 3856.
32. Tralles, Valerian. Table with wreath and prize crown labelled Olympia and Pythia respectively. The people of Tralles are described as 'first of Hellas'. L 1979 1–1–2081 = SNG von Aulock 3297.
33. Side, Domitian. City-goddess holding a Nike and ship's stern, accompanied by a vexillum and a pomegranate. *RPC* II: 1523. L 1988 5–16–11.
34. Egypt, Antoninus Pius, AD 141/2. The Tiber and Nile. V 24607.
35. Caesarea in Cappadocia, silver didrachm, Antoninus Pius. Mount Argaeus. NY 1944.100.59452.
36. Minted at Rome for Cappadocia, silver drachm. Vespasian. Nike.

37. Lexovio. Floral motif, PVBLICOS LIXOVIO SIMISSOS. Eagle, CISIAMBOS CATTOS VERCOBRETO.
38. Philippopolis, Domitian. City goddess and river-god (Hebrus). Bilingual issue in Latin and Greek.
39. Sabratha. Head of Sarapis, SBRT'N and ZY.MŞ in neo-Punic. Head of Augustus, CAESAR in Latin. RPC I: 815.
40. Tyre, Gordian III. Pygmalion and four stags, his name is written in Phoenician (PGMLYON). Robinson 1997a: 200.
41. Tyre, Gordian III. Dido founding Carthage, named 'Dido' in Greek and 'Elishar' or 'Elishr' in Phoenician. L 1970 9–9–242.
42. Tyre, Gordian III. Dido founding Carthage, named 'Dido' in Greek and 'Elishar' or 'Elishr' in Phoenician. Robinson 1999: 43.
43. Chios. Sphinx. Hero (Egertios?).
44. Judaea, Agrippa II. Titus. Nike. L = *BMC Palestine* 23.
45. Nysa, Domitian. 'Nike of the emperor Domitian', who is depicted as a winged Minerva. Hirsch 183 (20. 9. 1994), 104I = RPC II: 1110.
46. Imperial base-silver nummus, mint of Alexandria. Diocletian. Genius, GENIO POPVLI ROMANI.
47. Palmyra. Radiate bust. Radiate bust on crescent. L 1925 1–5–136.
48. Palmyra. Head of city-goddess ΠΑΑΜ[ΥΡΑ?]. Lion. L = *BMC Galatia etc.* 7.

3.1–5. The Chronological Development of Roman Provincial Coin Iconography (Volker Heuchert)

- i. Bosphoran Kingdom: draped bust of Sauromates II wearing diadem, r./laureate heads of Septimius Severus (on l.) and Caracalla (on r., youthful), facing each other; AD 194; gold, 19mm, 7.69g; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. 15219.
2. Alexandria (Egypt): laureate-headed bust of Diocletian wearing cuirass and paludamentum, r./eagle standing, l., supporting wreath; in wreath (year) 12; AD 295/6; *billon tetradrachm*, 18mm, 8.56g; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (ex. collection J. G. Milne = Milne 1971: no. 5243).
3. Koinon of Ionia (Asia): bare-headed and draped bust of Faustina I, r./temple with six columns enclosing statue of standing emperor; c. AD 141–4; bronze, 35mm, 27.71g; London, British Museum, Inv. 1979 1–1–1975 (= SNG von Aulock 7814).
4. Laodicea (Asia, *conventus* of Cibyra): bare head of Antoninus Pius, r./cult statue of Zeus Laodiceus; AD 138–61; bronze, 23mm, 6.09g; Berlin, Staatliche Museen (ex private collection Imhoof-Blumer).
5. Perga (Pamphylia): laureate-headed bust of Tacitus wearing cuirass and paludamentum, r./to l., city-goddess standing, r., holding cornucopia; to l., emperor in military dress standing, facing, head, l., holding short sceptre(?) and spear; AD 275/6; bronze, 34mm, 20.17g; London, British Museum, Inv. 1979 1–1–2397 (= SNG von Aulock 8530).
6. Ephesus (Asia, *conventus* of Ephesus): laureate head of Antoninus Pius, r./Zeus (Hyetios) seated on top of rock, r., holding thunderbolt, pouring rain on mountain-god Pion reclining, r., holding cornucopia; on rock, temple with two columns, three other buildings and cypress; AD 138–61; bronze, 36mm, 26.57g; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. 687.
7. Cyzicus: (Asia, *conventus* of Cyzicus): bare-headed bust of Marcus Aurelius wearing cuirass and paludamentum, r./emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus standing, facing each other, clasping hands over tripod, each wearing toga; AD 161–9; bronze, 34mm, 20.23g; London, British Museum, Inv. 1924 10–15–6.
8. Cyzicus: (Asia, *conventus* of Cyzicus): bare-headed bust of Lucius Verus wearing cuirass and paludamentum, r./emperor on horseback, r., raising arm; bronze, 35mm, 23.55g; London, British Museum, Inv. 1979 1–1–1561 (ex private collection H. von Aulock, not catalogued in SNG von Aulock).
9. Cyzicus: (Asia, *conventus* of Cyzicus): bare-headed bust of Lucius Verus wearing cuirass and paludamentum, r./temple of the imperial cult at Cyzicus with eight columns; bronze, 32mm, 22.92g; London, British Museum, Inv. 1893 4–5–2.
10. Cyzicus: (Asia, *conventus* of Cyzicus): laureate-headed bust of Antoninus Pius wearing cuirass and paludamentum, r./two decorated altars surmounted by baskets on bars; in baskets, branches and stick surmounted with crescent and star; each basket supported by three men handling bars; two men standing on bars, holding torches; bronze, 34mm, 25.95g; Berlin, Staatliche Museen (ex private collection Imhoof-Blumer).
11. Aphrodisias (Asia, *conventus* of Alabanda): laureate-headed bust of Lucius Verus wearing cuirass and paludamentum, r./to l., cult statue of Aphrodite of Aphrodisias standing, r., wearing kalathos; to r., emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus standing, l., each raising hand; AD 161–9; bronze, 35mm, 29.39g; Copenhagen, Danish National Museum (= SNG Caria: no. 120, cast at the Griechisches Münzwerk, Berlin = MacDonald 1992: 84, type 62, O125 R207, a).
12. Aphrodisias (Asia, *conventus* of Alabanda): laureate-headed bust of Marcus Aurelius wearing cuirass and paludamentum, l./to l., cult statue of Aphrodite of Aphrodisias standing, r., wearing kalathos; to r., emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus standing, l., each raising hand; AD 161–9; bronze, 36mm, 22.34g;

- Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. 272 (= MacDonald 1992: 83, type 60, *0124 R205*, b).
13. Aphrodisias (Asia, *conventus* of Alabanda): bare-headed and draped bust of Faustina II, r./in centre, cult statue of Aphrodite of Aphrodisias standing, r., wearing kalathos; to l., priestess seated, r.; to r., fountain(?); AD 161–9; bronze, 30mm, 14.34g; London, British Museum, *BMC Caria*: 42, no. 108 (= MacDonald 1992: 85, type 64, *0126 R209*).
 14. Aphrodisias (Asia, *conventus* of Alabanda): draped bust of the Senate (youthful), r./three leafless branches arising from lattice enclosure; AD 161–9; bronze, 26mm, 11.03g; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. 257 (= MacDonald 1992: type 68, *0127 R217*, a).
 15. Aphrodisias (Asia, *conventus* of Alabanda): laureate-headed and draped bust of the Demos (youthful), r./cult statue of Aphrodite of Aphrodisias standing, r., wearing kalathos; AD 161–9; bronze, 24mm, 8.18g; Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. 251A (= MacDonald 1992: 86, type 69, *0129 R219*, b).
 16. Attalea (Asia, *conventus* of Pergamum): head of Heracles (bearded) with traces of lion-skin(?), r./lion walking, r.; first half of 3rd cent. AD; bronze, 13mm, 1.80g; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (ex collection J. G. Milne).
 17. Pergamum (Asia, *conventus* of Pergamum): laureate-headed bust of Commodus (short beard) wearing cuirass and paludamentum, r./Asclepius standing on base, facing, holding serpent-staff; between two centaurs moving outwards, heads inwards, each centaur holding long torch; c. AD 180–2; bronze, 44mm, 48.38g; London, British Museum, Inv. 1979 1–1–1604 (= SNG von Aulock 7508 = Kraft 1972: 187, pl. 88.14a).
 18. Mytilene (Asia, *conventus* of Pergamum): laureate-headed bust of Commodus (short beard) wearing cuirass and paludamentum, r./emperor (Commodus) standing in quadriga, l., holding palm-branch; to l., quadriga led by Roma(?); behind, on base, trophy with two captives; c. AD 180–2; bronze, 42mm, 44.01g; Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung (= SNG Aeolis—Lesbos: no. 799 = Kraft 1972: 187, pl. 88.14b).
 19. Assos (Asia, *conventus* of Adramyteum): laureate-headed bust of Commodus (short beard) wearing cuirass and paludamentum, r./emperor (Commodus) standing in quadriga, l., holding palm-branch; to l., quadriga led by Roma(?); behind, on base, trophy with two captives; c. AD 180–2; bronze, 42mm, 40.12g; London, British Museum, Inv. 1897 5–3–2 (= Kraft 1972: 187, pl. 88.14c).
 20. Athens (Achaëa): helmeted head of Athena, r./owl standing, r.; to l., olive-branch and crescent; c. 2nd half of 5th cent. BC; silver *tetradrachm*, 25mm, 16.94g; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (gift of E. S. G. Robinson).
 21. Alexandria (Egypt): head of Ptolemy I wearing diadem, r; with traces of aegis/eagle standing, l., on thunderbolt; c. BC 305–282; silver *tetradrachm*, 28mm, 14.76g; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (Balliol College collection).
 22. Rome: head of Caesar, r.; to l., lituus and culullus/Venus standing, l., holding Nike and transverse sceptre; resting l. arm on globe; 44 BC; silver *denarius*, 19mm, 3.67g; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (Christ Church collection = RRC, no. 480/3).
 23. Seleucia (Syria): laureate head of Augustus, r./thunderbolt on throne; all in wreath; AD 6; silver *tetradrachm*, 26 mm, 15.52g; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (= RPC I, no. 4328).
 24. Antioch-ad-Maeandrum (Asia, *conventus* of Alabanda): radiate and helmeted bust of Gallienus, wearing cuirass, l.; with shield and spear/bridge over the Maeander; to l., gate surmounted by stork; in background, reclining river-god; c. AD 253–68; bronze, 38mm, 21.67g; London, British Museum, Inv. 1979 1–1–1839 (= SNG von Aulock 2430).
 25. Cyzicus (Asia, *conventus* of Cyzicus): laureate-headed bust of Commodus as Roman Heracles wearing lion-skin, l./nude youthful hero (Kyzikos) standing, facing, head, l., holding spear and chlamys, placing r. hand on head of horse advancing, r.; AD 192; bronze, 44mm, 39.68g; London, British Museum, *BMC Mysia*: 51, no. 238, pl. XIII.II.
 26. Thyatira (Asia, *conventus* of Pergamum): draped bust of Sarapis (head assimilated to portrait of mature Marcus Aurelius) wearing taenia and kalathos decorated with floral ornament, r./Athena standing, l., holding Nike and spear; beside, shield; c. AD 184–8; bronze, 31mm, 14.51g (pierced); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. 1441.
 27. Tarsus (Cilicia): bust of Commodus wearing crown and garment of a *demiourgos*, r./radiate crown with ties; AD 180–92; bronze, 37mm, 20.21g; London, British Museum, *BMC Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia*: 192, no. 170, pl. xxxv.2 (rev.).
 28. Smyrna (Asia, *conventus* of Smyrna): bare-headed and draped bust of Salonina, r./helmeted Roma seated, l., holding temple and spear; leaning against seat, shield; AD 260–8; bronze, 23mm, 7.34g; Berlin, Staatliche Museen (ex private collection Imhoof-Blumer = Klose 1987: 326, no. 7/3).
 29. Stratonicea (Asia, *conventus* of Alabanda): to l., laureate-headed bust of Antoninus Pius, r.; to r., bare-headed bust of Marcus Aurelius (youthful—lightly bearded), l.; both wearing paludamentum/Zeus Panamaros on horseback, r., holding patera, carrying transverse sceptre over shoulder; to r., lighted altar; AD 138–61; bronze, 35mm, 29.77g; Berlin, Staatliche Museen (collection Bernhard-Imhoof).
 30. Seleucia-ad-Calycadnum (Cilicia): laureate head of Antoninus Pius, r./bare-headed bust of Marcus Aurelius as Caesar (lightly bearded—short beard) wearing paludamentum, l.; c. AD 147–61; bronze, 20mm, 6.41g; Berlin, Staatliche Museen (collection Bernhard-Imhoof).

31. Nicopolis (Achaea): laureate head of Augustus, r./battle of Actium: two galleys fighting each other; 2nd cent. AD (?); bronze, 27mm, 13.11g; Glasgow, Hunterian Cabinet = MacDonald 1901: II, no. 2, pl. xxxi.15.
32. Smyrna (Asia, *conventus* of Smyrna): bare head of Antinous, l./bull standing, r.; body decorated with crescent; c. AD 134–5; 39mm; 33.03g; Berlin, Staatliche Museen (ex collection Sandez = Klose 1987: 251, no. 1/1).
33. Claudiconium (Galatia, Lycaonia): bare head of Annius Afrinus, r./Perseus standing, l., holding harpa and head of Medusa; 49–54 AD; bronze, 17mm, 4.35g; London, British Museum, Inv. 1978 9–17–14 (= SNG von Aulock 8645 = RPC I, no. 3543/1).
34. Elaea (Asia, *conventus* of Pergamum): draped bust of founder Menestheus (youthful) wearing cuirass, r.; to l., (olive?)-branch/Asclepius standing, facing, head, l.(?), holding serpent-staff; c. AD 161–75; bronze, 22mm, 6.58g; London, British Museum, Inv. 1980 10–23–1.
35. Antioch-ad-Orontem (Syria): laureate-headed and draped bust of Apollo, r./lyre; AD 145/6; bronze, 14mm, 1.80g; private collection PRF.
36. Ephesus (Asia, *conventus* of Ephesus): laureate-headed bust of Marcus Aurelius wearing cuirass and paludamentum, r./to l., cult statue of Artemis of Ephesus standing, facing, wearing kalathos, having supports; between two stags; to r., cult statue of Kore of Sardis standing, facing, wearing tall crown surmounted by crescent; c. AD 161–5; bronze, 37mm, 27.38g; London, British Museum, BMC Ionia: II2, no. 416, pl. xxxviii.3 (rev.).
37. Ephesus (Asia, *conventus* of Ephesus): laureate-headed bust of Marcus Aurelius wearing cuirass and paludamentum, r./Artemis standing, facing, head, l., having quiver at shoulder, holding staff over stag and long torch; to r., rock with tree and bucranium; c. AD 161–5; bronze, 36mm, 30.18g; Berlin, Staatliche Museen (ex collection Fox).
38. Nysa (Asia, *conventus* of Ephesus): emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus standing, facing each other, clasping hands, each wearing toga/Mên standing, l., wearing Phrygian cap, holding patera and long sceptre; behind his shoulders, crescent; c. AD 161–9; bronze, 27mm, 25.08g; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. 866.
39. Corinth (Achaea): laureate head of Antoninus Pius, r./circular harbour-colonnade (of Kenchreai) with temple on each side; in centre, statue of Neptune/Poseidon, standing, l., holding dolphin and trident; in foreground, three ships; c. AD 138–61; bronze, 28mm, 13.81g; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. 13646.
40. Pergamum (Asia *conventus* of Pergamum): laureate-headed bust of Commodus (short beard) wearing cuirass and paludamentum, r./to l., nude Heracles standing, r., leaning against tree, resting arm on club covered with lion-skin; to r. in background, stag standing, r., head, l., feeding Telephos; above on rock, eagle standing, l., spreading wings; c. AD 180–2; bronze, 45mm; private collection PRF.
41. Aezani (Asia, *conventus* of Sardis): laureate-headed bust of Commodus wearing cuirass and paludamentum, r./goat standing, r., head, l., feeding infant Zeus; c. AD 182–4; bronze, 28mm, 11.22g; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. 235.
42. Abydus (Asia, *conventus* of Adramyteum): laureate-headed bust of Commodus (youthful) wearing cuirass and paludamentum, r./in centre, Leander swimming, r.; below, fish; above, Eros flying, r., holding torch; to l., rock with helmet, cloak, sword and shield; to r., Hero standing on top of tower, holding lamp; c. AD 177–80; bronze, 37mm, 22.25g; London, British Museum, Inv. 1969 6–8–1.
43. Phocaea (Asia, *conventus* of Smyrna): draped bust of Faustina II, l./Faustina II as Fecunditas standing, facing, head, r., carrying twins; on either side, her four other children; soon after AD 161; bronze, 38mm, 33.23g; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. 2015/2 (medal, pierced).
44. Mytilene on Lesbos (Asia, *conventus* of Pergamum): laureate-headed bust of Commodus (youthful) wearing cuirass and paludamentum, r./in centre, emperor (Commodus) on horseback, r., wearing military dress, holding spear; to l., Nike advancing, r., crowning emperor; to r., trophy and two bound captives; c. AD 177–80; bronze, 36mm, 27.48g; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Inv. 340.
45. Silandus (Asia, *conventus* of Sardis): laureate-headed bust of Commodus (youthful) wearing cuirass and paludamentum, r./bearded emperor (Marcus Aurelius) galloping over foe, r., wearing military dress, brandishing thunderbolt; c. AD 177–80; bronze, 40mm, 36.10g; London, British Museum, Inv. 1979 1–1–2047 (= SNG von Aulock 3175).

5.1 Coinage and Identity in Pre-conquest Britain: 50 BC–AD 50 (Jonathan Williams)

(BM = R. Hobbs *British Iron Age coins in the British Museum*, London 1996)

1. Gold stater in the name of Aθθedomaros, inscribed AθθIII[DOMAROS] (reverse) (BM 2397).
2. Gold stater in the name of Tincomarus, inscribed COM F (obverse), TIN (reverse) (BM 770).
3. Gold quarter stater in the name of Eppillus, inscribed EPPIL/COM F (reverse) (BM 1010).
4. Gold stater in the name of Verica, inscribed COM F (obverse), VIR/REX (reverse) (BM 1146).
5. Bronze coin in the name of Tasciovanus, inscribed TASCIO (obverse), TASCIO (reverse) (BM 1736).

6. Bronze coin in the name of Cunobelin, inscribed CVNOBELINI (obverse), TASCIOVANI F (reverse) (BM 1968).
7. Gold stater in the name of Epaticcus, inscribed TASCII F (obverse), EPATI (reverse) (BM 2021).
8. Gold stater in the name of Commios, inscribed [CO]MMIO[S] (BM 724).

6.1–2. Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces: Spain (Pere P. Ripollès)

1. AE coin of Arse. Priv. coll.
2. AR didrachm of Saitabi. Priv. coll.
3. AE coin of Urso, minted by L. Ap. Dec. q. ANE 7–9/3/1989, lot 496.
4. AE coin of Konterbia Karbika. MAN 3226.
5. AE coin of Gades. BnF Luynes 1342.
6. AE coin of Carmo. CNG 24/9/1997, lot 2.
7. AE coin of Arse, with native names *ikorbeles* and *balkakaltur*. Priv. coll.
8. AR drachm of Arse. Priv. coll.
9. AE coin of Obulco, with native names. BnF 1011.
10. AE coin of Castulo, with Latinized native names. Aureo 16/5/1995 lot 2157.
11. AE coin of Carteia. BnF 1185.
12. AE bilingual coin of Saitabi-SAETABI. Priv. coll.
13. AE bilingual as of Abdera, reign of Tiberius. BM 1594.
14. AE semis of Turiaso, reign of Tiberius. BnF 501. (RPC I no. 414/8)
15. AE dupondius of Romula, reign of Tiberius. BnF 1492.
16. AE as of Colonia Lepida. MAN 9652.
17. AE as of Calagurris, reign of Augustus. BnF 355.
18. AE as of Calagurris. BnF 348.
19. AE as of Segobriga, reign of Augustus. MAN 212.569.
20. AE as of Emporiae. BnF Luynes 97.
21. AE as of Acci, reign of Augustus. BM 1330.
22. AE as of Carthago Nova, reign of Augustus. MAN 9225.
23. AE as of Emerita, reign of Tiberius. Berlin, Löbb.
24. AE as of Segobriga, reign of Tiberius. MAN 12592.
25. AE as of Caesaraugusta, reign of Augustus. MAN 8180.

7.1–3. ‘Belonging’ to Rome, ‘Remaining’ Greek: Coinage and Identity in Roman Macedonia (Sophia Kremydi-Sicilianou)

Roma

1. Pella, Hellenistic issue. Helmeted head of Roma to the r./ΠΕΛΛΗΣ within oak wreath. Monograms. AE, 11.77g, axis 6. Alpha Bank 7883.

2. Thessalonike. Bare head of Nero l. ΝΕΡΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ./Roma standing facing holding spear and parazonium. ΡΩΜΗ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ AE, 13.76g, axis 6. Alpha Bank 7659.
3. Edessa. Laureate and cuirassed bust of Macrinus to the r. ΑΥΤ Μ ΟΠΕΛ ΣΕΟΥ—ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟΣ./Roma seated on rock holding statuette of Victory and parazonium. She is crowned by the city-goddess standing behind her. ΕΔΕΣΣ—ΑΙΩ—Ν. AE, 12.63g, axis 11. Alpha Bank 8407.

Emperors and Members of their Family

4. Thessalonike. Crowned head of Caesar r. ΘΕΟΣ/Bare head of Augustus r. ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ, below head: Δ. AE, 11.61g, axis 11. Alpha Bank 7618.
5. Amphipolis. Veiled head of Livia r. ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΘΕΑ/Artemis Tauropolos on bull r. ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ. AE, 8.72g, axis 5. Alpha Bank 4198.
6. Amphipolis. Emperor with raised hand on horse, r. Γ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ/Artemis Tauropolos, r. ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ. AE, 9.21g, axis 10. Alpha Bank 7983.
7. Amphipolis. Bust of Artemis Tauropolos, r. ΑΜΦΙΠΟ—ΛΕΙΤΩΝ/Statue group of Augustus in military dress, raising hand, and being crowned by male figure wearing toga; all on basis decorated with three bucrania. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ—ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ. AE, 11.51g, axis 1. Alpha Bank 3977.
8. Dium. Head of Tiberius, r. TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVSTVS/Livia seated, r., holding patera and spear. COLONIA IVL DIENSIS. AE, 8.7g, axis 6. Dion.
9. Philippi. Bare head of Claudius, l. TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG P M TR P IMP PP/Statue of Augustus in military dress crowned by statue of Caesar wearing toga. COL AVG IVL PHIL. On base: DIVVS AVG. AE, 12.58g, axis 7. Alpha Bank 9684.

Roman Magistrates

10. Cassandrea (?). Head of Hortensius, r. Q HORTENSI PROCOS/ox-yoke, plough and measuring rod with vexillum. PRAEF COLON DEDVC. AE, 16.18g, axis 6. Athens. From the Dion excavations.
11. Uncertain colony, perhaps Pella. Bare head of Tiberius, r. TI CAESAR AVG F AVGVSTVS/C BAEBIVS P F—L RVSTICELIVS—BASTERNA—II VIR QVINQ—D D. AE, 10.01g, axis 12. Berlin, *Beschr.* 78. 6.

Roman Cults

12. Philippi. Victory holding palm and wreath, standing on a base to the l. VIC—AVG./Three vexilla. COHOR PRAE PHIL. AE, 4.02g, axis 7. Alpha Bank 8638.

13. Stobi. Draped bust of Julia Domna, r. *IVLIA AVGVSTA/Victory*, advancing l., holding palm and wreath. *MVNICI—STOBENSIS*. AE, 12.06g, axis 12. Alpha Bank 3989.

Institutions and Games

14. Amphipolis. Bare head of Augustus, r. *ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ*/Artemis Tauropolos on bull, r. *ΔΗΜΟΥ ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ*. AE, 8.95g, axis 1. Alpha Bank 2568.
15. Macedonian Koinon, Hellenistic issue. Macedonian shield. In the centre: club and *ΜΑ—ΚΕ*/Helmet. Monograms, thunderbolt. AR, tetrobol. 2.40g, axis 7. Alpha Bank 5691.
16. Macedonian Koinon, Hellenistic issue. Head of Zeus with oak wreath, r./Artemis Tauropolos on bull, l. *ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ*, monograms. AR, tetradrachm. 14.87g, axis 12. Alpha Bank 5700. From the 'Larissa 1968' hoard.
17. Macedonian Koinon. Laureate head of Domitian, r. *ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ*/Macedonian shield, around: *ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ*. AE, 8.66g. Alpha Bank 9455.
18. Macedonian Koinon. Laureate and draped bust of Antoninus Pius, r. *ΚΑΙΣΑΡ—ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ*/Winged thunderbolt. *ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ*. AE, 11.80g. Alpha Bank 8456.
19. Macedonian Koinon. Head of Alexander in lion's skin, r. *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ*/Table with two prizes *ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ Β ΝΕΩΚ*. AE, 10.44g, axis 1. Alpha Bank 8452.
20. Macedonian Koinon. Helmeted head of Alexander, l. *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ*/Lion, r., above: club. *ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ Β ΝΕΩΚ*. AE, 10.42g, axis 1. Alpha Bank 9714.
21. Thessalonica. Laureate and draped bust of Gordian, r. *ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΝΤΩ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ*/Tripod with prize. *ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΕΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩ*. In field: *ΠΥΘΙΑ*. AE, 11.54g, axis 1. Alpha Bank 7673.
22. Thessalonica. Laureate and draped bust of Gordian, r. *ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΝΤΝΙΟΣ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ*/Apollo standing naked l. resting his l. hand on a bow and holding a laurel branch in his r. At his feet a cylindrical container with five apples. *ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡ*. AE, 8.86g, axis 7. Alpha Bank 7694.
- Head of Ammon, l. *COL IVL AVG CASSANDREN*. AE, 7.51g, axis 6. Alpha Bank 8632.
25. Dium. Bare head of Augustus, r. *AVGVSTVS—CAESAR*. Countermark on neck (PV)/Athena standing facing, leaning her l. hand on a spear and holding a patera in her r. *C VRMIVS M HERENNIVS IIVIR QVINQ*. AE, 8.73g, axis 12. Collection PV.
26. Dium. Diana standing facing, holding bow. *DEANA BAPHVRIA*/Plough, l. *COL DIENSIS*. AE, 4.8g, axis 11. Dion.
27. Amphipolis, Hellenistic issue. Diademed head of Artemis with quiver and bow behind her shoulder/Two stags *ΑΜΦΙ—ΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ*, monograms. AE, 6.62g, axis 11. Alpha Bank 2509.
28. First 'meris', struck at Amphipolis. Diademed and draped bust of Artemis with quiver and bow behind her shoulder, as an episema of a Macedonian shield/Club in oak wreath. Above: *ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ* below: *ΠΡΩΤΗΣ*. Thunderbolt outside wreath, monograms. AR, tetradrachm, 16.73g, axis 11. Alpha Bank 5702.
29. Amphipolis. Head of Augustus, r. *ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ*/Artemis Tauropolos on bull, r. *ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ*. AE, 7.72g, axis 11. Alpha Bank 4196.
30. Dium. Bust of Hadrian, laureate, r. *IMP CAES HADRIANO AVG OLVMPIO*/Zeus Olympius standing, l. holding patera and sceptre. At his feet eagle. *COL IVL AVG DIENSIS*. AE, 7.9g, axis 6. From the 'Dion 1999' hoard.
31. Pella, Hellenistic issue. Head of Pan, r./Helmeted Athena advancing to the r., holding a shield and brandishing a spear. *ΠΕΛΛΗΣ*, monograms. AE, 6.96g, axis 9. Alpha Bank 36.
32. Pella. Draped bust of Julia Mamaea wearing stephane, r. *IVLIA MAMAEA AVG*/Pan naked, seated on a rock l., holding a lagobolon. In the field a syrinx. *COL IVL AVG PELLA*. AE, 9.72g, axis 9. Alpha Bank 9889.
33. Cassandrea. Laureate and draped bust of Philip Arab, r. *IMP CAES M IVL PHILIPPS*/Poseidon standing naked to the l., holding a dolphin in his r., a trident in his l., and mounting his r. leg on a prow. *COL IVL AVG CASSANDRINS*. AE, 5.49g, axis 7. Alpha Bank 8564.
34. Cassandrea. Laureate and draped bust of Philip Arab, r. *IMP CAES M IVL PHILIPPS*/Nymph Nysa standing facing, holding young Dionysos and a cornucopia in her l. and a bunch of grapes in her r. *COLON CA CASSAND[RENS]*. AE, 10.90g, axis 1. Alpha Bank 8667.

Local Cults

23. Cassandrea (?). Head of Ammon, r. *HAMMO*/Two corn-ears. *HORT—COL D*. AE, 4.5g, axis 12. Dion.
24. Cassandrea. Laureate and draped busts of Domitian and Titus, facing. *T CAES IMP DOMITIA CAES/*
35. Dium. Bust of Caracalla, draped, cuirassed, r. *IMP C M AVR ANTONINVS*/Asklepius in temple. *COL IVL DIENSIS*. In field: *D /D*. AE, 11.45g, axis 8. Berlin 516/1912.

8.1–2. Religious-Cultural Identity in Thrace and Moesia Inferior (Ulrike Peter)

All coins are bronze:

1. Philippopolis: *ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ—CΕΒΑCΤΟC* laureate bust of Hadrian, r./*ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ* river-god reclining l. holding reed, water flowing from urn, in exergue: *ΕΒΡΟC*—Gipsabgußsammlung des Griechischen Münzwerkes der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin: St. Florian-Stift, Vienna.
2. Philippopolis: *Α ΑΙΛΙΟC—ΚΑΙCΑΡ* bust of Aelius r./*ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ* female figure wearing polos (city-goddess?) standing, l.; on l., river god reclining—Plovdiv, Archaeological Museum 1853; 23.15 g.
3. Philippopolis: *ΑΥΤ Κ Α CΕΠΤ—CΕΥΗΡΟC Π* laureate bust of Septimius Severus, r./*ΜΗΤ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΕΩC* river-god reclining l. on prow; in exergue three genii—private coll. R. Falter, Munich; 16.09g.
4. Philippopolis: [...] *ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙ-ΝΟC CΕΒ*[...] laureate bust of Antoninus Pius, l./*ΗΓΓΕΜ Μ ΠΟΝΤ CΑΒΕΙΝΟV ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟ* female figure (nymph Rhodope) on rock, r. *ΡΟ-ΔΟΠΗ*—Paris; 18.69g.
5. Philippopolis: [...]—*ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC* cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r./*ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟ-ΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ* hill (modern Taximtepe?) of the acropolis with a temple—private coll. J. Georgiev, Plovdiv; 7.45g.
6. Philippopolis: *ΑΥΤ Κ Π CΕΠΤΙ-ΜΙΟC ΓΕΤΑC* laureate bust of Geta, r./*ΜΗΤΡ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΕΩ* hill (modern Bundardžika?) with a statue of Heracles—Sofia, Archaeological Museum 4785; 16.90g.
7. Philippopolis: *ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡΗ—ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC* laureate bust of Caracalla, r./*ΦΙ-ΛΙΠΠΟ-ΠΟΛΕΩC* hill (modern Džendemepe?) with two temples on the top and one at the foot, r. aqueduct—Plovdiv, Archaeological Museum 2390; 14.20g.
8. Bizye: *ΑΥΤ Μ ΙΟΥΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟC ΑΥΤ* laureate and cuirassed bust of Philip I, l./*ΒΙΖΥΗΝΩΝ* view of the city with city-wall, towers, arch and temples inside—Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Münzkabinett, Slg. Löbbecke; 40.65g (Jurukova 1981, no. 137).
9. Philippopolis: *ΑΥΤ Κ Α CΕΠ - CΕΥΗΡΟ[C Π]* laureate and cuirassed bust of Septimius Severus, r./*ΜΗΤΡΟ·ΦΙΛΙ-ΠΠΟΠΟΛΕΩC* Eumolpos standing l. with torch and patera—private coll. O. Gavrilov, Sofia; 13.31g.
10. Philippopolis: *ΑΥΤ Κ·Π CΕ-ΠΤΙ ΓΕΤΑC* laureate bust of Geta, r./*ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟ-ΛΕΙΤΩΝ* Orpheus—Plovdiv, Archaeological Museum 470; 16.02g.
11. Philippopolis: *ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡΗ—ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC* laureate and cuirassed bust of Elagabalus, l./*ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩC ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΕΩC ΝΕΩΚΟ-Ρ-Ο-Υ* Apollo with lyre on tripod—private coll. J. Georgiev, Plovdiv; 14.51g.
12. Philippopolis: *ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ CΕΥΗ—ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC* laureate and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r./*ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΘΡΑΚΩΝ ΑΛΕΖΑΝ ΕΝ ΦΙΛΙΠ-Π-ΟΠ* prize crown inscribed *ΠΥΘΙΑ* with five apples on a table, beneath which amphora—private coll. O. Gavrilov, Sofia; 26.06g.
13. Philippopolis: *ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡΗΛ—ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC CΕΒ* laureate and cuirassed bust of Elagabalus, r./*ΚΕΝΔΡΕΙCΕΙΑ ΠΥΘΙΑ ΕΝ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟ-ΠΟΛΙ ΝΕΩ-ΚΟΡΩ* prize crown with five apples on a table, beneath which amphora—private coll. J. Georgiev, Plovdiv; 25.74g.
14. Odessos: *ΑΥΤ Κ Μ Α ΑΝΤΩΝΙ·ΓΟΡΔΙΑ-ΝΟC* laureate bust of Gordian III, l. facing bust of Sarapis, r.; cornucopia r./*ΟΔΗC-C-ΕΙΤΩΝ* prize crown inscribed *ΔΑΡΖΑΛΕΙΑ*, containing two palms, in exergue *Ε*—Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Münzkabinett, Slg. Löbbecke; 16.48g, (AMNG 1.2, no. 2370).
15. Odessos: *ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥ—ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC* laureate and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r./*ΟΔΗC-C-ΕΙΤΩΝ* Theos Megas with patera and cornucopia standing l.; to l., altar—Gipsabgußsammlung des Griechischen Münzwerkes der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin (see AMNG 1.2, no. 2281).
16. Odessos: *ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ CΕΥΗΡΟC—ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC* laureate and cuirassed bust of Caracalla, r./*ΟΔΗC-C-ΕΙΤΩΝ* Sarapis with kalathos, patera and cornucopia standing l.; to l., lighted altar—Gipsabgußsammlung des Griechischen Münzwerkes der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin (see AMNG 1.2, no. 2285).
17. Istros: *ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡΗ—ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC* laureate and cuirassed bust of Elagabalus, r./*ΙCΤ-ΠΙ-ΗΝΩΝ* Sarapis with radiate kalathos as rider-god r.; in front, altar, behind, bird on pillar; in exergue *Ε*—Oxford, Ashmolean Museum; 19.43 g (see AMNG 1.1, no. 506).
18. Philippopolis: *ΑΥΤ Κ Π CΕ - ΠΤΙ ΓΕΤΑC* laureate and cuirassed bust of Geta, r./*ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟ-ΠΟ-ΛΕΙΤΩΝ* personifications of *ΒΟΥΛΗ* and *ΔΗΜΟC* shaking hands—Gipsabgußsammlung des Griechischen Münzwerkes der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin: Gotha.
19. Dionysopolis: *ΑΥΤ Κ·Μ·ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟC ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC ΑΥ* laureate bust of Gordian III, l. facing bust of Sarapis, r./*ΔΙΟΝΥCΟ-ΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ* Demeter standing l.; to r. *Ε*—Oxford, Ashmolean Museum; 11.50g (see AMNG 1.1, no. 387).

20. Marcianopolis: as last/*VII MHNO[ΦΙΛΟ]V MAPKIANOΠΟΛΙ-T-Ω* Zeus, standing l., below eagle; to l. above *E*—Oxford, Ashmolean Museum; 12.51 g (see *AMNG* 1.1, no. 1121).
21. Tomis: [*AVT K·M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟϚ AV*] laureate and cuirassed bust of Gordian III, r./*MHTPO Π-O-NTOV TOMEΩC* Sarapis standing l., r. hand raised; on l. arm sceptre; to l. Δ —Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (Milne Coll.); 7.89 g (see *AMNG* 1.2, no. 3386).
22. Kallatis: *AVT M IOVA ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟϚ AVT* laureate and cuirassed bust of Philip I, r./*KΑΛΛΑ-T-I-ANΩN* as last, to l. *E*—London, British Museum 1975 4-11-13; 13.69g (see *AMNG* 1.1, no. 349).
23. Mesembria: *AVT·K M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟϚ [AVT CEB] TPANKVΛAI-NA* laureate and cuirassed bust of Gordian III, l. facing bust of Tranquillina/*MEϚAMB-PIANΩN* as last—Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi 123-60/31-91; 11.21 g.
24. Odessos: *AVT K M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟϚ AV CEB TPANKVA-ΛEINA* as last/*ΟΔΗC-C-Ε-ITΩN* as last, to l. *E*—Oxford, Ashmolean Museum; 11.59g (see *AMNG* 1.2, no. 2376).
25. Nicopolis ad Istrum (reverse only): *AVT·K·M·ANT·Γ-ΟΡΔΙΑΝΟϚ AVT* laureate and cuirassed bust of Gordian III, r./*VII CAB MOΔECT-OV—NIKOΠOΛEITΩN IPOC IC-T-P-O-N* as last—Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Münzkabinett, Slg. Löbbecke (*AMNG* 1.1, no. 2043.1).
26. Marcianopolis (reverse only): *AVT K Q M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟϚ AVT* as last/*VII MHNOΦΙ-ΛΟ-V MAPKIANOΠΟΛΙ-T-Ω-N* as last, to l. *E*—Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Münzkabinett, Slg. Löbbecke (*AMNG* 1.1, no. 1126.2).
27. Philippopolis: *AVT K Λ C E Π—C E V H P O C Π* laureate bust of Septimius Severus, r./*IC E-ΩNA TOVC KVPIOVC EΠ A-ΓAΘΩ TH MHTPOΠOΛI ΦΙΛΙΠΠOΠO-A-I* in wreath—private coll., Varna; 16.19g.
28. Hadrianopolis (reverse only): *AVT K M ANT—ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC AV* radiate and cuirassed bust of Gordian III, r./*A-ΔΠI-ANOΠ-O-ΛEITΩN* Hermes, Eurydike, Orpheus standing; below l. river-god; in exergue two river-gods—Wien (Jurukova 1987, no. 450).
- ‘Androklos of the Ephesians’. Von Aulock 7867 (now BM 1979 1-1-1718).
2. Coin of Acmonia. Head of Caracalla. Hero on horseback, with whip. To right, a rock with two female figures; below a recumbent river-god; above, an eagle flying. Von Aulock 3377 (now BM 1979 1-1-2104).
3. Coin of Acmonia. Head of Volusianus. Very similar composition to 2 above. Von Aulock 3380 (now BM 1979 1-1-2106).
4. Coin of Nysa. Head of Valerian. Agonistic wreath, inside which is written ‘Theogamia’. *BMC Lydia* 184, no. 71.
5. Coin of Smyrna. Head of Marcus Aurelius. The Amazon Smyrna wearing a crown of walls (indicating her civic status), enthroned, with temple in right hand, double axe in left. Paris, BN 2573 (= Klose 1987: 258, no. 15, 2).
6. Coin of Smyrna. Head of Antoninus Pius. Pelops and Hippodameia in chariot. Pelops has his left hand on sceptre, and gives his right hand to Hippodameia. ‘Pelops’ in field. The coin refers to the contest for the hand of Hippodameia, which Olympia had claimed happened at Olympia (above, p. 115-16). Ashmolean, formerly Milne Collection (= Klose 1987: 256, no. 11).
7. Coin of Smyrna. Head of Marcus Aurelius. Dream of Alexander the Great (cf. Pausanias 7. 5. 1-3). Alexander sleeping under plane tree, resting his torso on a shield (sword and bucrania beside him). Behind are the two Nemeseis of Smyrna, the left with a rein, the right with measuring stick, who appeared to Alexander in the dream and told him to found Smyrna. Berlin, a. B. (= Klose 1987: 258, XLIX A a 4, pl. 39 (R 4)).
8. Coin of Eumeneia. Head of Marcus Aurelius when Caesar. Rider god on horseback, wearing Greek chiton and chlamys, holding double axe over left shoulder. Legend reads: ‘Of the Eumeneian Achaeans’. *BMC Phrygia* 220, no. 59.
9. Coin of Ilion. Head of Gordian III. Hektor in his chariot, labelled ‘Hektor of the Ilians’. Von Aulock 1543 (now BM 1979 1-1-1657).
10. Coin of Ilion. Bust of Athena. Aeneas carrying Anchises and leading Askanios (2nd-3rd century). Von Aulock 1524 (now BM 1979 1-1-1643).
11. Coin of Apameia Myrleia. Head of Macrinus. Aeneas carrying Anchises (who holds a vase), and leading Ascanius (who holds a torch). Labelled in Latin (as was usual for *coloniae*): Col(onia) Iul(ia) Conc(ordia) Apam(ea) Aug(usta), D(ecreto) D(ecurionum), which gives the full official name of the city, and indicates that the issue was struck on the order of the city council. Von Aulock 6921.
12. Coin of Aphrodisias. Head of Gordian III. Standard representation of cult statue of Aphrodite; small seated statue left, altar right, two Erotes flying above. Von Aulock 2461 (now BM 1979 1-1-1848).

9.1-5. Local Mythologies in the Greek East (Simon Price)

1. Coin of Ephesos, Head of Antinous. Androklos, with Greek chlamys on his back, otherwise naked, spear on shoulder, and carrying the boar he has slain (only the front part being visible); tree on left. Labelled

13. Coin of Hierapolis. Head of Elagabalus. Elagabalus (in Roman toga) sacrificing over altar in front of temple, within which is visible cult statue of Apollo with lyre. *Waddington* 6160 (now Paris, BN).
14. Relief from south portico, Aphrodisias. Nysa with Dionysus. The local interest lies in the proximity of the town Nysa to Aphrodisias. Photographer: M. Ali Doğenci. I am most grateful to Prof. R. R. R. Smith for permission to publish this photograph.
15. Detail of stage buildings of theatre, Hierapolis. A key to the imagery has been added. Starting from the centre, the left half concerns Artemis and the right Apollo. Adapted from D'Andria and Ritti 1985: 179, fig. 11.
16. Central section of Hierapolis theatre agonistic frieze. On left, seated male, leaning on tripod. Personification of Agonothesia (the giving of games). Personification of Hierapolis. (Huge) Pythian prize crown on table, with Chrysorhoas below. Caracalla. Septimius Severus, enthroned, with flying Nike above. Geta. Julia Domna. Tyche. Roma, seated with shield. All these figures were originally labelled, and most of the texts survive. 90 × 370 cm. From Ritti 1985: pl. 1b. Photo courtesy G. Bretschneider.
17. Relief (Ap 1b) from Hierapolis theatre. Birth of Apollo. Lato reclines on a couch, placed on rocky ground. An attendant in the foreground washes the new-born Apollo. 73 × 94 cm. From D'Andria and Ritti 1985: pl. 10.1. Photo courtesy G. Bretschneider.
18. Relief (Ar 1b) from Hierapolis theatre. Birth of Artemis. The composition echoes that of the Birth of Apollo (17 above). Again, an attendant in the foreground washes the new-born baby. 87 × 83 cm. From D'Andria and Ritti 1985: pl. 28.1. Photo courtesy G. Bretschneider.
19. Relief (Ap 11a) from Hierapolis theatre. On left, naked Apollo holding lyre. In centre, Athena, playing pipes, looking down at Water god below. Marsyas is behind a rock at far right. 78 × 104 cm. On this type see Chuvin 1987: 104–5; *LIMC* 6.1: 369 (A. Weis). From D'Andria and Ritti 1985: pl. 16.1. Photo courtesy G. Bretschneider.
20. Coin of Apamea. Head of Septimius Severus. Athena helmeted, on rock, blowing a double flute, and looking at reflection in water. At rear is rocky outcrop, behind which is Marsyas, extending both arms in amazement at the goddess and her playing. *BMC Phrygia* 97, no. 164.
21. Relief (Ar 1va–c) from Hierapolis theatre. On left, two women worship Artemis. A woman with head covered makes an offering at an altar with columns round it. The statue of Artemis of Ephesus (in absolutely standard form), flanked by the usual two deer, is cleaned by a woman. To the right, a servant leads a bull for sacrifice. 89 cm high. From D'Andria and Ritti 1985: pl. 38.1. Photo courtesy G. Bretschneider.
22. Coin of Hierapolis. Head of Commodus. On left, Apollo standing, facing right, holding plectrum and lyre; on right, cult statue of Artemis of Ephesus standing, facing, wearing kalathos, having supports, between two stags. Legend reads: 'Homonoia of Hierapolitans and Ephesians'. Paris, BN 1326 (= *Waddington* 6158, pl. xvi.25 (rev.); L. Weber, *JIAN* 14 (1912), 67, A.1.b, pl. 1'2 (rev.)).

10.1–3. Festivals and Games in the Cities of the East during the Roman Empire (Dietrich O. A. Klose)

1. Frank L. Kovacs Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 246).
2. Frank L. Kovacs Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 253).
3. Frank L. Kovacs Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 247).
4. *SNG von Aulock* 4757.
5. Ziegler 1985: pl. 43, 1.
6. P.R.F. Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 262).
7. *SNG von Aulock* 7030.
8. Frank L. Kovacs Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 196).
9. Frank L. Kovacs Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 193).
10. Staatliche Münzsammlung München (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 216).
11. Staatliche Münzsammlung München (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 49).
12. Frank L. Kovacs Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 51).
13. Frank L. Kovacs Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 190).
14. Frank L. Kovacs Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 264).
15. Staatliche Münzsammlung München (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 232).
16. Staatliche Münzsammlung München (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 189).
17. Staatliche Münzsammlung München (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 204).
18. Staatliche Münzsammlung München (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 203).
19. Staatliche Münzsammlung München (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 207).
20. Frank L. Kovacs Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 206).
21. Staatliche Münzsammlung München (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 256).
22. *SNG von Aulock* 8414 (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 245).
23. Frank L. Kovacs Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 228).
24. P.R.F. Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 241).
25. *SNG von Aulock* 4839.
26. *SNG von Aulock* 4717.
27. Frank L. Kovacs Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 218).
28. Frank L. Kovacs Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 235).
29. Staatliche Münzsammlung München (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 200).

30. Frank L. Kovacs Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 191).
31. Staatliche Münzsammlung München (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 263).
32. Frank L. Kovacs Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 217).
33. P.R.F. Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 265).
34. P.R.F. Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 258).
35. Staatliche Münzsammlung München (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 188).
36. Staatliche Münzsammlung München (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 62).
37. *SNG von Aulock* 8619 (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 63).
38. Frank L. Kovacs Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 93).
39. Frank L. Kovacs Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 102).
40. Frank L. Kovacs Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 107).
41. P.R.F. Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 87).
42. Frank L. Kovacs Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 79).
43. Staatliche Münzsammlung München (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 169).
44. Frank L. Kovacs Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 177).
45. Staatliche Münzsammlung München (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 276).
46. Frank L. Kovacs Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 277).
47. *SNG Levante* 1515.
48. *BMC Lydia* no. 112, pl. xxxii.2.
49. *SNG Levante* 1420.
50. *SNG von Aulock* 4856.
51. Staatliche Münzsammlung München (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 254).
52. Frank L. Kovacs Collection (Klose and Stumpf 1996: 271).
53. *SNG von Aulock* 6023.
54. Staatliche Münzsammlung München.
55. *SNG Levante* 1173.
56. The synthysia on the second-century frieze in the theatre of Hierapolis in Phrygia (Photo: Dietrich Klose).
57. The stadium of Aphrodisias in Caria (Photo: Dietrich Klose).

II.1–4. Pergamum as Paradigm (Bernhard Weisser)

Pergamum: The First Neocorate Temple

1. Augustus, issue of Charinus. 19mm, 3.52g, private coll. P. *RPC* I, no. 2358.
2. Augustus, issue of Kephalion. 19mm, private coll. Kagan. *RPC* I, no. 2362.

3. Augustus, issue of Demophon. 20mm, 4.75g, Cambridge, McClean no. 7716. *RPC* I, no. 2364.
4. Tiberius, under governor Petronius. 20mm, 4.13g, Munich 115. *RPC* I, no. 2369.
5. Claudius, 18mm, 5.13g, private coll. P. *RPC* I, no. 2370.
6. Augustus (under Claudius?), 20mm, 6.54g, Munich 110. *RPC* I, no. 2355.
7. Augustus (under Claudius?), 20mm, 5.27g, Berlin old collection. *RPC* I, no. 2356.
8. Nero, 20mm, 5.11g, Berlin 1882/118.
9. Domitian, 19mm, 5.18g, Berlin von Knobelsdorf.
10. Trajan, 20mm, 5.56g, Paris 1221. *SNG* Paris no. 2065.
11. Augustus (under Trajan), 20mm, 4.03g. Vienna 16411.

Pergamum: The Issue of Marcus Caerelius Attalus: Carcalla's Visit of AD 216

12. Caracalla is greeted outside Pergamum by the citizens, 45mm, 46.43g, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 248.
13. The imperial arrival in the city, 43mm, 46.16g, Berlin von Knobelsdorf.
14. The imperial arrival in the city, 33mm, private coll. R.
15. Sacrifice scene, 43mm, 40.19g, Milan, Brera 5864.
16. Sacrifice scene, 45mm, 47.51g, Milan, Brera 5861.
17. Sacrifice scene, 44mm, 48.68g, London *BMC Mysia*, p. 155, no. 324.
18. Sacrifice scene with Asclepius and Telesphorus, 42mm, Bergama Museum 48.
19. Sacrifice scene with serpent and Telesphorus, 45mm, 49.91g, *BMC Mysia*, p. 156, no. 326.
20. Sacrifice scene with Asclepius and altar, 43mm, 38.78g, *BMC Mysia*, p. 155, no. 322.
21. Sacrifice scene with Asclepius and hump-backed bull, 33mm, 20.35g, Vienna 16500.
22. Paying of honours to the emperor and his address, 44mm, 46.69g, Basle, Historical Museum 1918/4967.
23. The third *neocorate* temple, Berlin, cast collection (in trade Kraus 1928).
24. The third *neocorate* temple, 42mm, 36.10g, Oxford.

Pergamum: The Issue of Aulus Iulius Quadratus

25. Artemis and Asclepius, 31mm, 14.15g, Munich 121–41.
26. Hygieia and Asclepius, 26mm, 9.07g, Berlin 1905/1366.
27. Dionysus, 26mm, 11.43g, Paris 1239.
28. River-god Kaikos, 22mm, 6.90g, London *BMC Mysia*, p. 143, no. 268.

Pergamum: The Second Neocorate Temple

29. Trajan/*Trajanicum*, 28mm, Bergama Museum 1069.
30. Temple of Augustus/*Trajanicum*, 25mm, 9.61g, Berlin Pergamum finds 1912/979.

31. Trajan/Zeus Philios on throne, 21mm, 4.91g, Berlin 1900 Imhoof-Blumer.
32. Trajan/head of Zeus Philios, 16mm, 2.89g, Munich 121–51.
33. Hadrian, issue of Iulius Pollio, Temple of Augustus/*Trajanicum*, 17mm, 4.07g, Berlin 10297.

Iconographic Comparison of Agonistic Types

34. Pergamum, Lucius Aelius, 21mm, 5.00g, Berlin 1928 Imhoof-Blumer.
35. Rome, Nero, 18mm, 4.06g, Berlin old collection.
36. Elis (for Olympia), Hadrian, 22m, 7.72g, Berlin old collection.
37. Athens, 2nd century AD, 21mm, 7.91g, Berlin 1906 Löbbecke.

12.I. Information, Legitimation or Self-Legitimation? Popular and Elite Designs on the Coin Types of Syria (Kevin Butcher)

1. Royal Mail postage stamp celebrating British television, late 1990s.
2. Reverse of a civic bronze coin of Zeugma of Philip II (AD 246–9). Temple on a hill; capricorn in exergue (Ashmolean).
3. Obverse and reverse of a civic bronze coin of Antioch, dated year 125 of the Caesarean era of the city. Head of Tyche of Antioch/Altar (Ashmolean).
4. Reverse of a civic bronze coin of Antioch of Severus Alexander (AD 218–22). Tyche of Antioch crowned by figure in military attire; second Tyche to left (author's cast collection).
5. Reverse of a civic bronze coin of Gabala of Elagabalus (AD 218–22). Standing Tyche (author's cast collection).
6. Reverse of a civic bronze coin of Cyrrhus from the reign of Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61). Zeus Kataibates seated left on rock (Ashmolean).
7. Reverse of a civic bronze coin of Hierapolis, of the reign of Severus Alexander (AD 222–35). The gods of Syria (Hadad on left, Atargatis on right) seated facing, a cult ensign in a shrine between, lion in exergue (author's cast collection, taken from specimen in Berlin).
8. Reverse of a civic bronze coin of Beroea of Trajan (AD 98–117). Cult statue of male deity (author's cast collection, taken from specimen in Paris).
9. Reverse of a civic bronze coin of Rhosus, Julio-Claudian period. Cult statue of a male deity (private collection).
10. Reverse of a civic bronze of Chalcis of Lucius Verus (AD 161–9). Cult statue of Helioseiros holding palm, spear, and small shield (author's cast collection).

11. Reverse of a civic bronze of Nicopolis of the reign of Philip I (AD 244–9). Two figures, Eros and a river-god before. The large *H* in the field is probably a value mark (author's cast collection, taken from specimen in the British Museum).

14.I. Coinage and Identity: The Jewish Evidence (Martin Goodman)

1. First Jewish Revolt, silver shekel, year 3 = AD 68/9. Chalice. 'Shekel of Israel'. Stem with three pomegranates. 'Jerusalem the holy'. As Meshorer 2001: no. 202. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
2. First Jewish Revolt, bronze, year 4 = AD 69/70. Chalice. 'For the redemption of Zion'. Bundle of lulav between two ethrogs. 'Year four'. As Meshorer 2001: no. 214. *BMC Palestine*, p. 187, no. 28.
3. First Jewish Revolt, bronze, year 4 = AD 69/70. Palm tree with seven branches and two baskets of dates. 'For the redemption of Zion'. Two bundles of lulavs, with ethrog in between. 'Year four, half'. As Meshorer 2001: no. 211. *BMC Palestine*, p. 184, no. 2.
4. Tyre, silver shekel, AD 51/2. Head of Melkart. Eagle on prow of galley, with palm on wing; club to left. 'Of Tyre the holy and inviolate'. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
5. Bar-Kokhba, bronze, year 1 = AD 132. Palm tree with seven branches and two clusters of fruit. 'Shimon, Prince of Israel'. Vine leaf. 'Year one of the Redemption of Israel'. As Meshorer 2001: no. 222. *BMC Palestine*, p. 305, no. 21.
6. Bar-Kokhba, silver tetradrachm, year 1 = AD 132. Façade of Temple at Jerusalem; in centre, ark (?). 'Jerusalem'. Bundle of lulav with ethrog. 'Year one of the Redemption of Israel'. As Meshorer 2001: no. 218. *BMC Palestine*, p. 284, no. 1.

15.I–2. The Nome Coins of Roman Egypt (Angelo Geissen)

All coins are issued by the mint of Alexandria:

Herakleopolites

1. Domitian, AE hemidrachm: Geissen 3371.
2. Trajan, AE drachma (year 12, reverse only): Michel Dürr/Roland Michel, Geneva, *Monnaies antiques*, 16 Nov. 1998, 749.
3. Trajan, AE drachma (year 13): Karel de Geus, Eindhoven, Auction 10, 16/17 Oct. 2000, 2365.
4. Hadrian, AE obol (reverse only): Michel Dürr/Roland Michel, Geneva, *Monnaies antiques*, 16 Nov. 1998, 751.

5. Hadrian, AE obol: Michel Dürr/Roland Michel, Geneva, Monnaies antiques, 16 Nov. 1998, 750.
6. Hadrian, AE hemiobol: Michel Dürr/Roland Michel, Geneva, Monnaies antiques, 16 Nov. 1998, 752.
7. Pius, AE drachma: MM Deutschland, Auction 12, 11 Apr. 2003, 721.

Koptites

8. Hadrian, AE hemiobol: Geissen 3404.
9. Trajan, AE drachma: Kölner Münzkabinett, Auction 66, 21/2 April 1997, 516.
10. Hadrian, AE obol: Karel de Geus, Eindhoven, Auction 10, 16/17 Oct. 2000, 2356.

Hermopolites

11. Trajan, AE drachma (year 13): Michel Dürr/Roland Michel, Geneva, Monnaies antiques, 16 Nov. 1998, 755.
12. Trajan, AE drachma (year 12): MMAG Basel, Auction 46, 28 Apr. 1972, 183.
13. Hadrian, AE obol: Karel de Geus, Eindhoven, Auction 10, 16/17 Oct. 2000, 2372.

14. Hadrian, AE hemiobol: Karel de Geus, Eindhoven, Auction 10, 16/17 Oct. 2000, 2374.
15. Hadrian, AE hemiobol: Karel de Geus, Eindhoven, Auction 10, 16/17 Oct. 2000, 2375.
16. Pius, AE drachma: Karel de Geus, Eindhoven, Auction 10, 16/17 Oct. 2000, 2376.
17. Marcus Caesar, AE drachma: MMAG Basel, Auction 46, 28 Apr. 1972, 215.

Thebes

18. Trajan, AE drachma (year 12): MM Deutschland, Auction 1, 16/17 Sept. 1997, 584.
19. Trajan, AE drachma (year 12): *BMC Suppl.* N.149.
20. Hadrian, AE obol: P.-F. Jacquier, Numismatique Antique, Kehl, Münzliste 18, Autumn 1996, 418.
21. Hadrian, AE obol: MM Deutschland, Auction 12, 11 Apr. 2003, 718.
22. Hadrian, AE hemiobol: Athens, Numismatic Museum (by courtesy of I. Touratsoglou; photo: H. R. Goette).
23. Hadrian, AE hemiobol: Geissen 3389.
24. Pius, AE drachma: Karel de Geus, Eindhoven, Auction 10, 16/17 Oct. 2000, 2362.



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The chronological development of Roman provincial coin iconography (Volker Heuchert)



II



I2



I3



I4



I5



I6



I7



I8



I9



The chronological development of Roman provincial coin iconography (Volker Heuchert)



The chronological development of Roman provincial coin iconography (Volker Heuchert)



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The chronological development of Roman provincial coin iconography (Volker Heuchert)



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The chronological development of Roman provincial coin iconography (Volker Heuchert)



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1x1.5



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2x1.5



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3x1.5



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4x1.5



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5x1.5



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6x1.5



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7x1.5



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8x1.5





Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces: Spain (Pere P. Ripollès)



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Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces: Spain (Pere P. Ripollès)



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'Belonging' to Rome, 'Remaining' Greek: Coinage and Identity in Roman Macedonia (Sophia Kremydi-Sicilianou)



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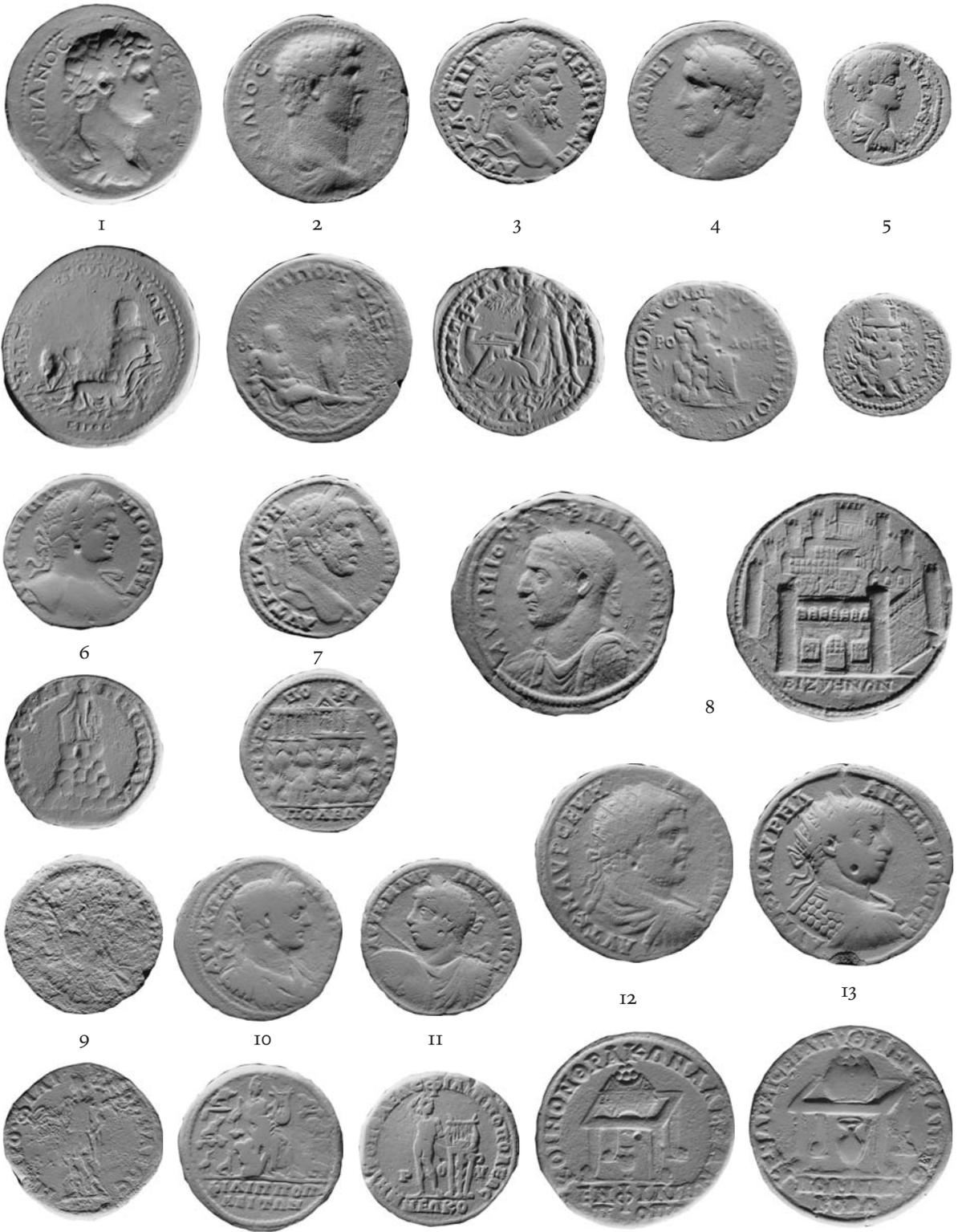


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Religious-cultural Identity in Thrace and Moesia Inferior (Ulrike Peter)



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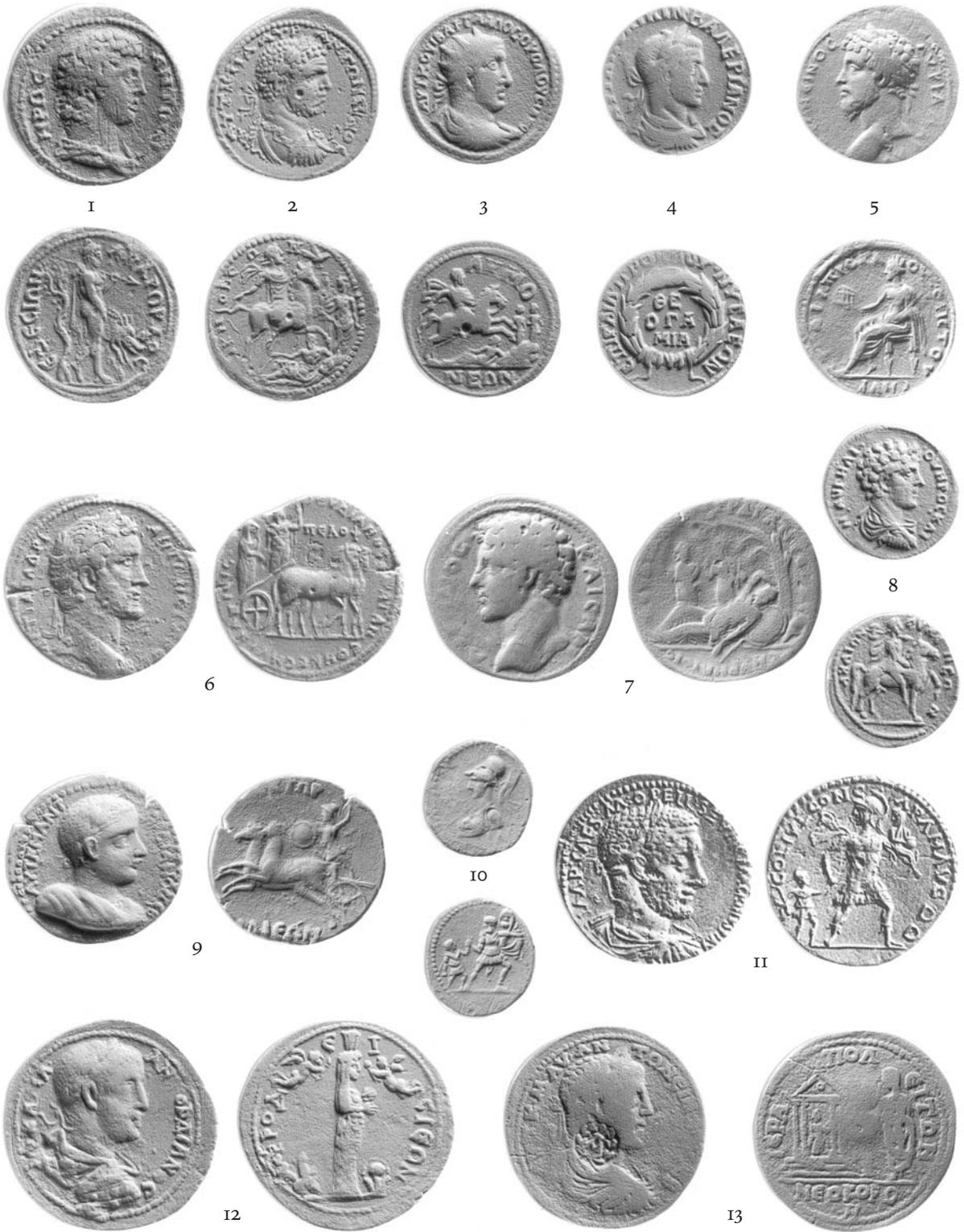
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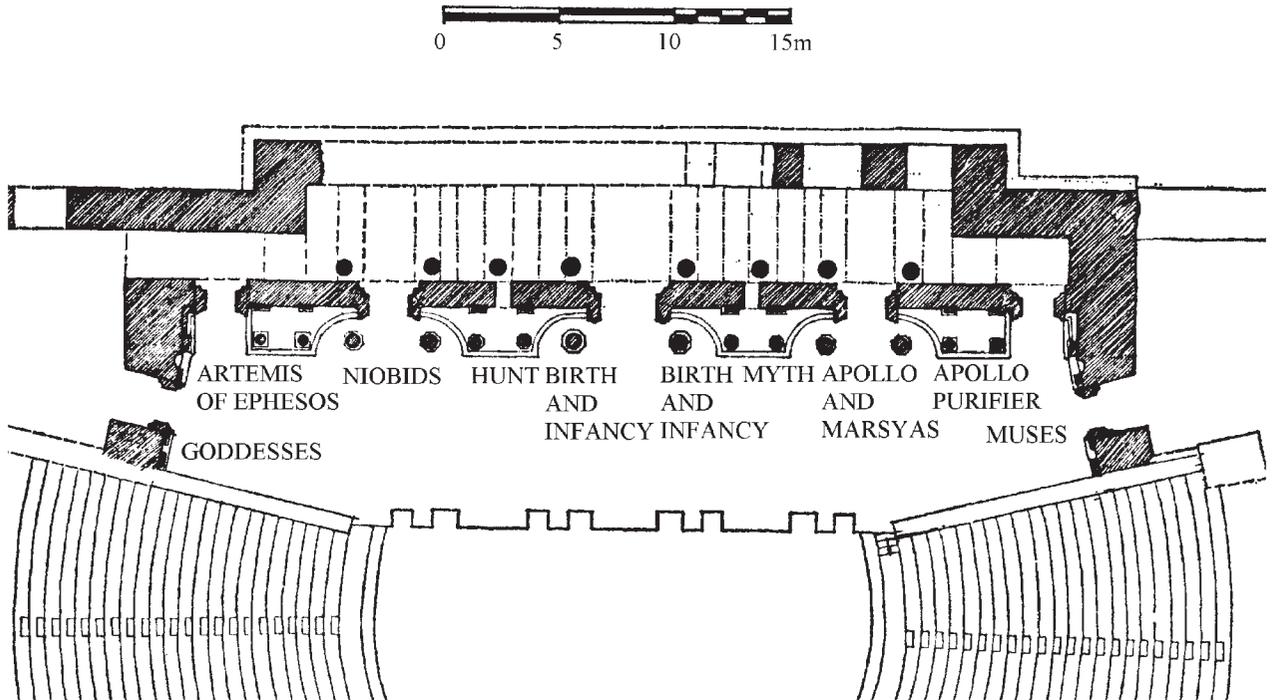
Religious-cultural Identity in Thrace and Moesia Inferior (Ulrike Peter)



Local Mythologies in the Greek East (Simon Price)



14. Relief from South Portico, Aphrodisias. Nysa with Dionysus.
Local Mythologies in the Greek East (Simon Price)



15. Detail of stage buildings of theatre, Hierapolis



16. Central section of Hierapolis theatre agonistic frieze.
Local Mythologies in the Greek East (Simon Price)



17. Relief from Hierapolis theatre. Birth of Apollo



18. Relief from Hierapolis theatre. Birth of Artemis.
Local Mythologies in the Greek East (Simon Price)



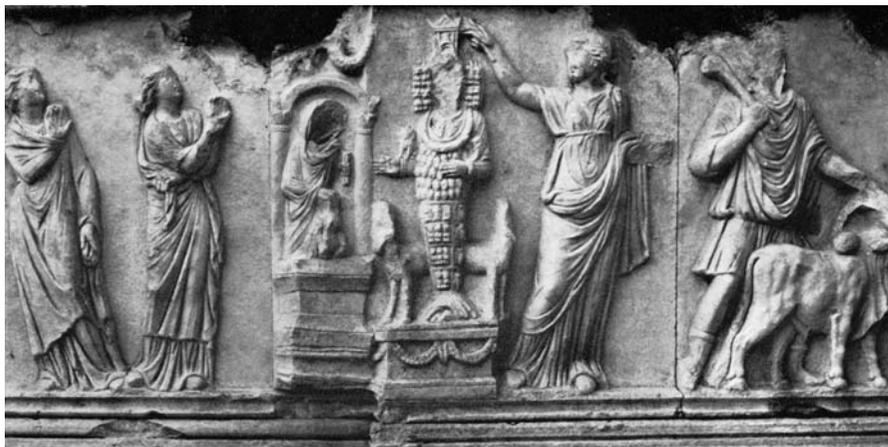
19. Relief from Hierapolis theatre. Apollo, Athena and Marsyas.



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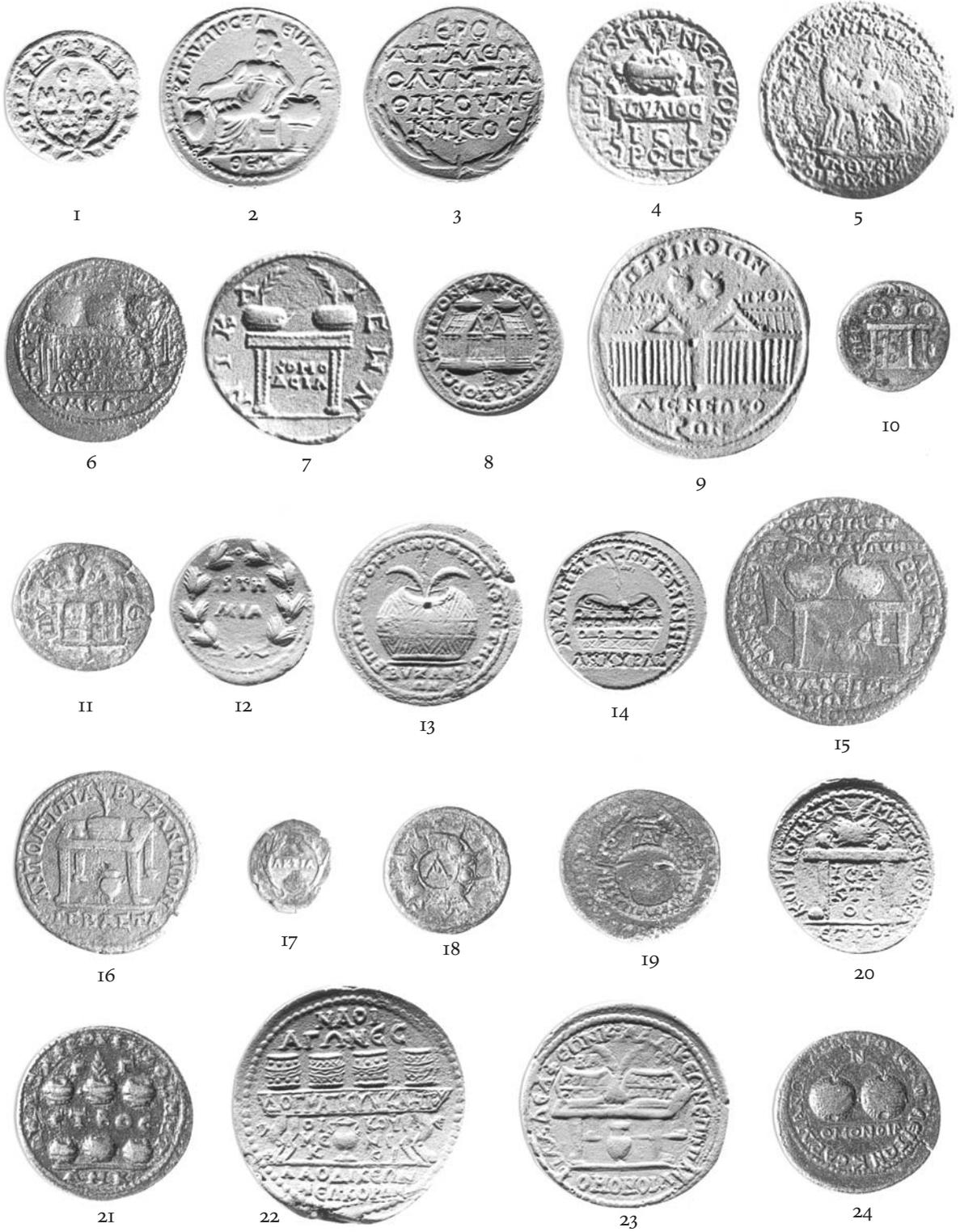


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21. Relief from Hierapolis theatre. Artemis of Ephesos.

Local Mythologies in the Greek East (Simon Price)



Festivals and Games in the Cities of the East during the Roman Empire (Dietrich O. A. Klose)



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Festivals and Games in the Cities of the East during the Roman Empire (Dietrich O. A. Klose)



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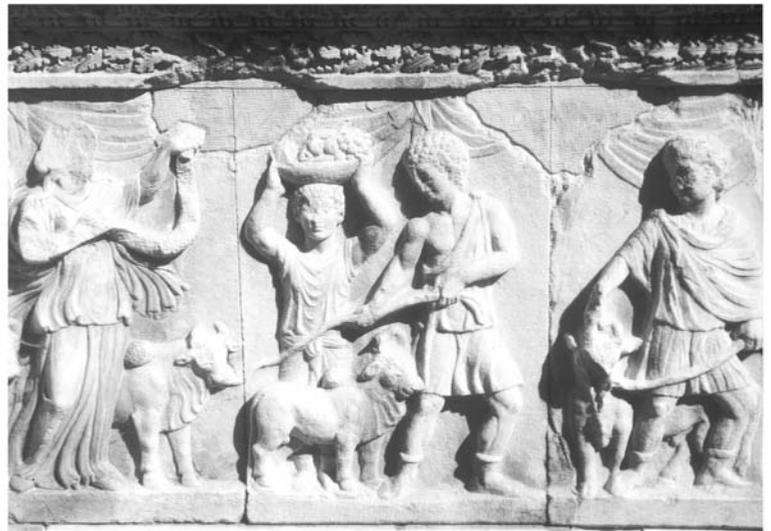
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Pergamum as Paradigm (Bernhard Weisser)



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Pergamum as Paradigm (Bernhard Weisser)



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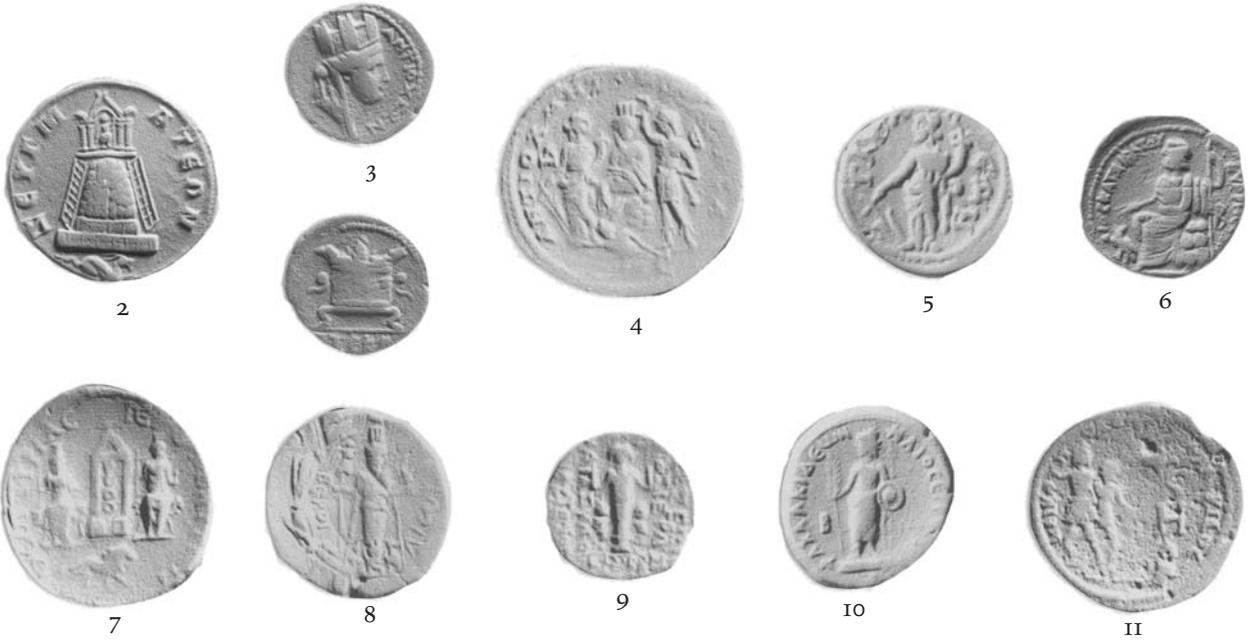
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Pergamum as Paradigm (Bernhard Weisser)



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Information, legitimization or self-legitimation? Popular and elite designs on the coin types of Syria (Kevin Butcher)



Coinage and Identity: the Jewish evidence (Martin Goodman)



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6x1.5



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The Nome Coins of Roman Egypt (Angelo Geissen)



The Nome Coins of Roman Egypt (Angelo Geissen)