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39

HARIKLEIA PAPAGEORGIADOU-BANI

THE NUMISMATIC ICONOGRAPHY OF THE ROMAN COLONIES IN GREECE
LOCAL SPIRIT AND THE EXPRESSION OF IMPERIAL POLICY

DIFFUSION DE BOCCARD - 11, RUE DE MEDICIS, 75006 PARIS
ATHENS 2004

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A. D. Rizakis, *Achaïe I. Sources textuelles et histoire régionale* (ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 20; Athens 1995)

A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East: Social and Political Aspects, Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Roman Onomastics, Athens, 7-9 September 1993* (ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 21; Athens 1996)

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For Kostas, Yiorgos and Alexandros -
for the time I did not dedicate to them.

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PREFACE

One of the first scholars to grasp the importance of the coinage of the Greek cities during the Roman period was the distinguished nineteenth-century numismatist F.W. Imhoof-Blumer. The result of his insight was the publication, in collaboration with his eminent British colleague, Percy Gardner, of an extremely valuable handbook, the *Numismatic commentary on Pausanias.* This book lucidly demonstrates that the subjection of the Greek cities to Rome did not prevent Greek engravers from depicting on the bronze coinage that was widely used in daily life, a whole range of ancient Greek sculptures, buildings, gods, heroes and mythological scenes, remnants of a glorious past. Indeed these coins have provided valuable evidence to students of ancient sculpture, architecture and mythology.

The extent to which the ancient civilisation of the Greeks survived the Roman conquest varied widely from one place to another, according to their degree of dependence on the central authority – on Rome, in other words. The iconography of the coins was influenced, up to a point, by political developments. But in general the Romans did not intervene excessively in the traditions of the conquered Greek cities, including their coinage.

Harikleia Papageorgiadou's book, *The numismatic iconography of the Roman colonies in Greece,* successfully and penetratingly fills a gap that existed in both the Greek and the international bibliography. During recent decades a number of important studies have been devoted to the coinage of the Greek cities after the Roman conquest. What was lacking was an investigation specifically of the numismatic iconography of the Roman colonies that were founded in Greece, comparable to that devoted to the cities of Asia Minor by Professor Peter Franke, *Kleinasien zur Römerzeit. Griechisches Leben im Spiegel der Münzen.*

The author has produced a well-rounded treatment of her subject, and a lucid presentation of the political, economic, social and in general the historical characteristics of the period. She knows well the epoch she has chosen, and she provides us also with a rich bibliography. She offers a convincing interpretation of the colonial coinages in the light both of the events of the period and of iconographical considerations. She also analyses the legends that accompany each image, in order to offer as complete an interpretation of it as possible.

Dr Papageorgiadou's thorough research has in many cases revealed the Greek character of the coinages in question, despite the contrary impression that prevailed until now. We can now see that the Hellenistic heritage is preserved not only in the coinage of settlements that were not colonies (such as Athens, Sparta, Amphipolis and so on), but also in that of the colonies, which in the nature of things were more dependent on Rome. Special attention is rightly given to the coinage of Corinth, and especially to the depiction on it of various buildings in the city, as well as the mythological and divine representations, which are equally significant.

Extensive treatment is also accorded to the Patrae mint, which compared to that of Corinth was more dependent on Rome. The Greek images on the coinage of Patrae were never as rich and varied as those on Corinth's. Both cities contributed substantially to the establishment of Roman imperial control in the Peloponnese.

Dr Papageorgiadou also notes the difference between the mints of Achaea (Corinth, Patrae) and those of the Macedonian colonies, whose iconography is less varied. And she rightly draws attention to the important developments that occurred over a period of about two-and-a-half centuries, in addition to the influence exercised by the common Hellenistic substrate of historical, artistic and religious tradition.

In general we can say that this is a comprehensively researched study that convincingly demonstrates the power of the Greek spirit, which managed to prevail even under adverse circumstances.

Mando Oeconomides

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book is part of a wider study of the foundation of colonies as a means of imposing Roman control in Greece, in the light of the numismatic evidence. This research was funded during the period from 1996 to 1998 by the PENED programme of the General Secretariat for Research and Technology, Greece.

For their part in bringing the PENED project to completion, for the interest and outstanding commitment they displayed, and for their fresh and perceptive contributions, I would like to thank three postgraduate students from the Departments of Archaeology at the Universities of Athens and Ioannina, namely Efi Yiannakapani, Marianthi Mika and Athina Iakovidou whose contribution to this book was invaluable.

An important contribution was also made by the former director of the Numismatic Museum in Athens, Dr Ioannis Touratsoglou, who participated in the programme as an external collaborator and whose patience we frequently tried. We were also enormously assisted by the concurrent research, in Roman history, of Professor Athanasios Rizakis.

I would like to give my warmest thanks to Dr Andrew Burnett and Michel Amandry, who kindly allowed me to use photographs from their valuable work on the Roman Provincial Coins (*RPC*).

I would like to offer special thanks to the Director of the Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, Professor Miltiades Hatzopoulos, who approved the project, improved with his corrections the final version of the text, and provided for its publication.

I am also obliged to colleagues who supported me, each in different ways, during the whole period of this research, especially Eos Tsourti, who has for many years honoured me with her friendship and Anni Michailidou, with whom I share much more than just an office.

Finally I would like to express gratitude to my mother, who taught me that even in what seems small and insignificant you can find a lot that is important, if you have the patience to look at it closely and the good fortune to love it. A lesson that continued at the hands of Mando Oeconomides, who initiated me into the beauty even of the very least things.

ABBREVIATIONS

Achaïe I:	A.D. Rizakis, *Achaïe I. Sources textuelles et histoire regionale,* ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 20 (Athens 1995)
Achaïe II:	A.D. Rizakis, *Achaïe II. La cité de Patras: epigraphie et histoire,* ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 25 (Athens 1998)
Anniversary issues:	M. Grant, *Roman anniversary issues* (New York 1977)
Civic coins:	K. Harl, *Civic Coins and civic politics in the Roman East, AD 180-275* (Berkeley 1987)
Δίον:	S. Kremydi-Sisilianou, *Η νομισματοκοπία της ρωμαϊκής αποικίας του Δίου* (Athens 1996)
Duovirs:	M. Amandry, "Le monnayage des duovirs corinthiens", *BCH* Suppl. 15, 1998
Hunter:	A.S. Robertson, *Roman Imperial coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet University of Glasgow* I. *Augustus to Nerva* (London 1962) II. *Trajan to Commodus* (London 1971) III. *Pertinax to Aemilian* (London 1977)
Price-Trell:	M.J. Price, B. Trell, *Coins and their cities. Architecture on the ancient coins of Greece, Rome and Palestine* (London 1977)
Roman art:	N. Hannestad, *Roman art and Imperial policy* (Aarhus 1988)
"Roman Greece":	J.A.O. Larsen, "Roman Greece", in T. Frank (ed.) *An Economic survey of ancient Rome,* vol. I (New York 1975)
***RPC* I:**	A. Burnett, M. Amandry, P.P. Ripollès, *Roman provincial coins.* vol. I.: *From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius* (44 BC-AD 69) (London 1992)
***RPC* II:**	A. Burnett, M. Amandry, P.P. Ripollès, *Roman provincial Coins.* vol. II. *From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69-96)* (London 1999)
Trade-routes:	M.P. Charlesworth, *Trade-routes and commerce of the Roman Empire* (Chicago 1974)

INTRODUCTION

It can, by now, be taken for granted that in antiquity coins were one of the principal means by which the central authority disseminated all kinds of messages. Their role as a substantial vehicle of propaganda attained its fullest flowering in the Roman period, when the imperial elite used them in every conceivable way, alongside literature and architecture, as an effective means of publicizing and articulating the official point of view about a variety of matters. The coinage was always under the absolute control of the central imperial authority and subordinate to its purposes, notably to convey information in a subtle form to the citizenry of the entire Roman Empire[1].

In the form of images and legends on coins that quickly reached even the furthest-flung corners of the empire, Rome's subjects were daily exposed to imperial virtues, abilities, martial achievements, benefactions, policies and programmes, not to mention the divine favour that made all these things possible. And to those who dwelt far from the capital, especially to the soldiery, the coins communicated information about political developments at the centre, especially about the demise or fall of emperors, or the accession of some new occupant of the imperial throne. To reflect the changing needs of political propaganda, numismatic types changed and displayed an extraordinary variety[2].

Images and legends were of great significance both for the issuing authority and for the public. Guidelines for the choice of types were in all probability issued either by the emperor or his immediate environment, or else by local authorities in the case of provincial mints, and they were intended to convey certain messages, but also to flatter the ruler. This was true both of Rome's own issues, and of those that emanated from western mints, which may have been provincial, but faithfully imitated metropolitan prototypes[3].

In the East, by contrast, where Hellenistic tradition was still influential, local mints seem to have revived in the imperial period[4]. The Greek cities kept alive the Hellenistic aesthetic, which they enhanced with the iconographical variety of Republican coinage[5].

[1] C.H.V. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman imperial policy, 31 BC-AD 68* (London 1984).

[2] I. Touratsoglou, "Power and force", in D. Vassilikou, M. Lykiardopoulou (eds) *Coinage and religion, Proceedings of an one day colloquium , Athens, 11/5/1996, Obolos* 2 (Athens 1997) 100-2.

[3] This may be attributable to the fact that there had been no earlier numismatic tradition in these regions.

[4] *Civic coins*, 12.

[5] For a general, but in depth survey of Greeks Imperials, see C.J. Howgego, *Greek Imperial countermarks. Studies in the provincial coinage of the Roman Empire, RNS* Special Publication 17 (London 1985) 83-99.

Among perhaps the most distinctive features of Rome's administration was its flexibility in forging a common, broadly based and easily recognizable policy towards its "friends", "allies", "clients", and other subjects, that could be moulded, though, to fit particular circumstances. The same differentiation is observable in the right to mint coins, dependent upon the particular civil status that had been allotted to the conquered cities[6]. As has been noted already by M. Oeconomides[7] this period saw the emergence of the "provincial mints", some of which were directly dependent on Rome. The so-called "Greek Imperial mints"; the "autonomous" of the "free" cities; and the "colonial" mints.

The coins of the Roman colonies stand apart as a separate group because of their distinctive character. The colonies were basically Rome in miniature transplanted in a distant land, and this is the way they were understood at the time. Roman organization, language, institutions and of course the Roman inhabitants, all played a part in protecting Roman interests amidst the local, subject population[8].

The coins express a complex reality that in turn reflects the varied human environments that produced them. The Roman citizens, in other words, the recently established colonists, proudly expressed the privileged status they enjoyed compared to the other cities and their satisfaction with the new lands that they had acquired, often after a long period of military service. The central government emphasized the emperor's concern for the organization of the Roman colonies[9], the repayment for services rendered by the loyal soldiers, and his goodwill toward a particular city. Finally, the native populations, whenever they got the chance,

6 W.T. Arnold, *The Roman system of provincial administration to the accession of Constantine the Great* (Chicago 1974^3). G.H. Stevenson, *Roman provincial administration till the age of the Antonines* (Oxford 1939). J. Richardson, *Roman provincial administration, 227 BC to AD 117* (Bristol 1994), where special importance is given to the meaning of provincia. For Greece, see especially the studies by S. E. Alcock: "Roman imperialism in the Greek landscape", *JRA* 2 (1989) 5-34; "Archaeology and imperialism: Roman expansion and the Greek city", *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 2.1 (1989) 87-135; *Graecia Capta. The landscapes of Roman Greece* (Cambridge 1993).

7 M. Oeconomides,. «Ελληνικά Νομισματοκοπεία στα Ρωμαϊκά Χρόνια», *Νομισματικά Χρονικά,* 3 (1974) 9-19.

8 P.L. MacKendrick, "Roman colonization", *Phoenix* 6 (1972) 139-46. P. Brennan, "A Rome away from Rome: Veteran colonies and post-Augustan Roman colonization", in J.-P.Descoeudres (ed.) *Greek colonists and native populations, Proceedings of the first Australian congress of classical archaeology held in honour of Emeritus Professor A.D. Trendall, Camberra 9-14/7/1985* (Oxford 1990) 491. On the more general characteristics of colonization, see also L. Keppie, *Colonisation and veteran settlement in Italy, 47-14 BC* (London 1983).

9 The complexity of Augustus' enterprise is explored in the old, but still insightful A.D. Winspear, L. Kramp Geweke, *Augustus and the reconstruction of Roman government and society* (New York 1970^2).

resurrected images from their glorious past[10] in order to express their own ethnic pride. At the same time, they did not forego the opportunity to join in the new political order by heaping praise on the emperor and his family.

These three groups determined the numismatic iconography, responding to imperial politics and developments, both local and of wider scope, that shook the region and the empire, and to the particular colony's evolution. In this way a distinctive iconographical conjunction arises, springing from the specific circumstances of the colonies. On the obverse the imperial portrait always appears, on the model emanating from Rome. Simple busts, crowned or diademed, sometimes in military attire, other times not – in an age without mass media – these images helped make familiar not just the emperor's appearance, but the nature of his authority[11]. In contrast, the reverse of coins from the Roman colonies in Greece were left, by and large, to the inventiveness of the local authorities. With due sensitivity to current affairs, these coins present an extraordinary diversity of subjects, their imaginativeness often drawing inspiration from the deep wells of their region's tradition[12].

The present study is primarily concerned with the discussion of these two dominant forces in colonial iconography: the local spirit and the expression of imperial policy. What also emerges clearly is the differentiation - both at the city and the provincial level - that was evident in the planning process behind the colonies' foundation.

[10] F. Millar, *The emperor in the Roman world* (London 1977) 409.

[11] Compare, for example, the simple (by Republican standards) portrait of Octavian from his first years in power with that of the absolute emperor crowned with laurel. See also Z. Yavetz, "The Res Gestae and Augustus' public image", in F. Millar, E. Segal (eds) *Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects* (Oxford 1984) 1-37, "This was not intended to portray the real physical appearance of Augustus, as described by Suetonius... but an Augustus whose physique embodied a new political ideal".

[12] This is a good point to draw attention to the occasional appearance of limited, "pseudoautonomous" issues, usually of small denominations, that didn't carry the imperial portrait; see A. Johnston, "The so-called pseudoautonomous greek imperials", *ANSMN* 30 (1985) 89-112. In most cases, it is not possible to date them precisely, nor can they be understood within the context of the colony's numismatic production. For this reason we shall not discuss them at any length. Attempts have been made to analyse isolated mints, for example by P. Agallopoulou, "COLONIA AUGUSTA ACHAICA PATRENSIS 'Ψευδο-αυτόνομα' νομίσματα της Πάτρας από τις ανασκαφές", in A.D. Rizakis (ed.) *Achaia und Elis in der Antike , Akten des 1. Internationalen Symposiums, Athen, 19-21/5/1989,* ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 13 (Athens 1991) 211-5. Even if their contribution to colonial coinage is rather limited, their iconography is, nevertheless, exceptionally interesting. This in itself may point to how they were used. Particularly characteristic are some examples from Dium depicting agonistic themes, a fact that may be linked to the organization of some games. But, of course, only a study of these coins in the context of a corpus can establish how they actually fit into the coinage of a city as a whole.

This differentiation is evident already in the first part where the history of their foundation and evolution is discussed using evidence from coin inscriptions. The clear distinction between the levels of city and province is affirmed again in Appendix I, where we attempt a general discussion of the distribution and economic relevance of the colonial coins.

Even though numismatic iconography can be shown to aid significantly our efforts to understand many dimensions of, in our case, Roman political life, nevertheless it has not attracted scholarly attention. Exceptions exist, such as the monograph *Dea Roma* by R. Mellor, or B. Licocka's work on the personifications of ideas, or virtues of the emperor. In most cases, however, iconography is confined to a single chapter in monographs on individual mints. The Orient, with its rich numismatic traditions, did capture the interest of P.R. Franke, who studied the cities of Asia Minor, but without casting his net any further. It is precisely such an extension toward Roman Greece that the present study attempts, though the task proved trying at times.

It should be noted that in this book the area covered by the term Greece corresponds to that of the modern state of Greece. However, in the cause of presenting a more homogenous treatment of the subject, we were not able to avoid a few violations of this definition. Buthrotum, which lies outside the boundaries of the Republic of Greece, has been included among the colonies studied in order to paint a more complete picture of the province of Achaea. By contrast, the colony of Knossos has been left out, on the grounds that Crete was always on the margins of Hellenism, possessed its own, idiosyncratic "coinage", and in this period belonged anyway to the province of Cyrenaica[13].

[13] B. Levick, *Roman colonies in southern Asia Minor* (Oxford 1967). M. Oeconomides, «Η κρητική νομισματοκοπία στα ρωμαϊκά χρόνια: Τύποι, συμβολισμός» in *Creta Romana e Protobyzatina, Iraklio 23-30/9/2000* (forthcoming).

THE NUMISMATIC ICONOGRAPHY OF THE COLONIES

I. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The foundation of colonies constituted part of a broader political development whose beginnings reach back into the Republican period[14]. In various ways the extension of the Roman state to include more viable space met an insurmountable need. In some cases expansion served to safeguard Roman rule against hostile neighbours in regions with strategic importance[15]; in other cases it was an effort to relax the acute social problems the Roman state confronted by granting new lands to the economically weaker classes; or expansion was even used as a way of removing undesirable individuals from the centre of power. Consequently, by founding colonies in remote provinces the Roman administration effectively solved problems of this sort that raised their head from time to time.

The colonies founded in Italy before the end of the second century BC served primarily strategic purposes and were in practice fortified settlements that contributed to the supervision of subject areas and adjacent lands. Those created by Gracchus were designed to ease the plight of the lower classes by granting new lands to Rome's poor and landless, thereby alleviating social friction and safeguarding the rising urban class.

The foundation of colonies as a basic political strategem was inaugurated by Julius Caesar and continued by his successors, Mark Antony and Octavian[16]. Caesar, who had espoused the colonial plan of Gaius Gracchus, conceived of the foundation of colonies as part of the broader political organization of newly conquered regions, and derived several advantages from it. For example, he acquired in this way direct military control over local populations often recalcitrant to Roman rule, and of the neighbouring frontiers. He secured new

[14] For a discussion of the politics of Roman imperialism, see R. Peter, "Cicero and the rhetoric of imperialism: Putting the politics back into political rhetoric", *Rhetorica* 13.4 (1995) 359-94.

[15] Many centuries later Niccolo Macchiavelli, in *The Prince, The Harvard Classics* (New York, c. 1938, trans. N.H. Thomson) 10-11, offered the following advice to Lorenzo the Magnificent: "Another excellent expedient is to send colonies into one or two places, so that these may become, as it were, the keys of the Province; for you must either do this, or else keep up a numerous force of men-at-arms and foot soldiers. A Prince need not spend much on colonies. He can send them out and support them at little or no charge to himself... In few words, these colonies cost less than soldiers, are more faithful, and give less offence.....".

[16] G.W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek world* (Oxford 1965) 62-72.

lands that could be exploited by Rome's lower social classes, and by the economically weaker inhabitants of Italy. At the same time he found himself in a position to establish or maintain trading stations in advantageous localities, and to open new roads[17]. And he now had a new way of compensating – for life – the soldiers who had fought for him, while at the same time settling them well away from Rome, to which their substantial numbers offered a threat the authorities were hardly in a position to deal with effectively[18]. For these reasons Caesar for the first time extended the foundation of Roman colonies to regions outside the Italian peninsula, and in this Augustus followed the example he had set[19].

Octavian seems to have been fully aware of the necessity and value of colonies, and he often alluded to his achievements in this sphere. In the *Res Gestae* he frequently recurs to the initiatives he had undertaken, as for example with regard to the compensation of his veterans, more than 300,000 men, whom Augustus either settled in colonies at the end of their service, or repatriated, with gifts of land or cash. Elsewhere he records that in his fifth consulate he gave 1,000 sesterces from the war spoils to each of his men who settled in a colony, a total of 120,000 by his own reckoning. Of special interest is another passage that reveals certain details pertaining to colonization not known from other sources. According to this passage, the emperor granted cash at intervals to the cities in order to acquire properties to be shared out among his soldiers. The amount he had invested in this plan was 600,000,000 sesterces for land in Italy and as high as 260,000,000 in the provinces. Augustus adds that among those who had established military colonies in Italy or the provinces, he was the first and, for his time, only leader to have introduced such a level of organization[20].

In practice, Augustus made use of the colonies to settle his war veterans, but also soldiers who had fought with Mark Antony and could be considered a hostile force,

[17] This is a possible interpretation of the despatch of colonists to certain locations, such as Carthage or Corinth, that were major trading centres.

[18] P.A. Brunt, *Italian manpower 225 BC-AD 14* (Oxford 1971) 255, quoting Suetonius, who attributes an enormous number of colonists to Caesar's initiatives: *"octoginta* (80.000) *autem civium milibus in transmarinas colonias distributis".*

[19] Fr. Vittinghoff, *Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus* (Wiesbaden 1952). After Augustus, this policy was abandoned, and later emperors granted certain cities the title of colony purely as an honour. A characteristic example in Greece under Trajan Decius was Thessalonica, which for its coins chose the colonial type of Marsyas and the Roman type of Janus: I. Touratsoglou, *Die Münzstätte von Thessaloniki in der Römischen Kaiserzeit (32/31 v. Chr. bis 268 n. Chr.) (Berlin 1988) 17-8, n.85.*

[20] H. Volkmann, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti, Das Monumentun Ancyranum* (Berlin 1969) II. 3-7: VIII. 10-15, 19-25; IX. 1-3; XV. 18-22.

though they were still Roman citizens[21]. He took these problems into consideration alongside those he encountered in each province, on a case by case basis. In some places he employed the colonies as a means of organizing the provincial economies, establishing Roman citizens at critical points along the trade routes and creating new cities more or less from scratch since the original inhabitants had previously been driven out to a man. In other cases he simply settled the new colonists near the pre-existing population[22], a tactic continued by later emperors[23], though they reverted to the practice of settling veteran colonists in Italy only.

Only Caesar and Augustus established colonies in Greece[24] and it seems that besides their military character these settlements served yet another purpose, namely, to safeguard important stages along the commercial routes linking the West with the East[25]. Positioned along the Via Egnatia to the North and to the South along the sea lane that followed the northern Peloponnesian coast, the colonies secured the two basic commercial arteries used by Roman merchants. In addition to these, the colonies of Macedonia were transparently military in character and provided considerable protection as pockets of Roman authority backing up the forces whose task was the defence of Moesia[26].

[21] It is suggestive that coins of Mark Antony's legions have been found in large numbers in northern Europe, where it seems they had been forced to resettle; see P.A. Brunt, op.cit. 332-3. Also, L. Keppie, op. cit.

[22] These new settlements were entirely Roman, while it is not certain who from the original population (where it existed) was able to become part of the new body. These and related problems have been investigated extensively by A.D. Rizakis in various studies, such as, "Incolae-Paroikoi: Populations et communautés dépendantes dans les cités et les colonies romaines de l' orient", *REA* 100. 3-4 (1998) 599-617; "Les cités péloponnésiennes entre l'époque hellénistique et l'Empire: le paysage économique et social", in R. Frei-Stolba and K. Gex (eds) *Recherches récentes sur le monde hellénistique, Actes du colloque international organisé à l'occasion du 60e anniversaire de Pierre Ducrey, Lausanne, 20-21/11/1998* (Bern 2001) 75-96 and "La constitution des élites municipales dans les colonies romaines de la province d'Achaïe" in O. Salomies (ed.) *The Greek East in the Roman context, Proceedings of a colloquium organized by the Finnish Institute at Athens, 21-22/5/ 1999* (Helsinki 2001) 37-49.

[23] P. Brennan, "A Rome away from Rome: Veteran colonies and post-Augustan Roman colonization", op.cit., 491-502.

[24] On the institution and the privileges they enjoyed, see G.I. Luzzato, "Appunti sul Jus Italicum", *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité,* 4 (Bruxelles 1950) 79-110. Also, A. Berger, "Encyclopedic dictionary of Roman law", *TAPS,* 43.2 (1953) 397, 549. A.D. Rizakis, op. cit., *REA* 100 (1998) 612-14.

[25] A.D. Rizakis, "Modèles gromatiques et constitution des territoires des colonies romaines de l' Orient" in *Colonie romane nel mondo greco. Universita degli Studi di Pisa, Giornate di Studio, 3-4/11/2000* (forthcoming).

[26] A.D. Rizakis, "Recrutement et formation des élites dans les colonies romaines de la province de Macédoine", in M. Cébeillac-Cervasoni, L. Lamoine (eds) *Les élites et leurs facettes, Colloque International, Clermont-Ferrand 24-26/11/2000* (Rome 2003).

Caesar's colonizing programme for Achaea included the more or less contemporary foundation, in 44, of three colonies: Corinth and Dyme in the Peloponnese and Buthrotum in Epirus.

To begin with, the Romans treated Corinth[27] with extreme harshness. After their victory over the Achaean League and the city's destruction at the hands of Leucius Mummius in 146 BC, part of Corinth's territory was seized as public land while the rest fell subject to neighbouring Sicyon, which was given the responsibility for the city's administration[28]. After its destruction, Corinth was left in a state of near abandonment for a century, until 44 BC when Caesar founded the *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis.* He made use of a pre-existing plan that had been drawn up by Gaius Gracchus, who had worked to realize the foundation of colonies in Carthage and Corinth[29]. Almost a century later, when Caesar found he did not have at his disposal enough land for allotment in Italy, he too was forced to look beyond the Adriatic to Corinth, whose land was *ager publicus,* and, according to Strabo (VIII.6.3), "he sent mostly colonists who were from the stock of freedmen"[30]. Corinth was later to play an important role in the struggle for the East between Octavian and Mark Antony, the latter of whom established one of his naval bases

[27] On the colony of Corinth, see in general J. Wiseman, "Corinth and Rome I", *ANRW* II 7.1 (New York 1979) 438-548 and *Duovirs.*

[28] Sicyon had been proclaimed a free city, though it is not known whether it was also granted exemption from taxation. The city also undertook the organization of the panhellenic Isthmian games that were transferred there – a privilege that enjoyed until the reign of Augustus: see O. Broneer, Isthmia, *Topography and Architecture,* vol. II (1973) 67, n.2. Recently E.R. Gebhard, "The Isthmian games and the sanctuary of Poseidon in the early empire", in T.E. Gregory (ed.) *The Corinthia in the Roman Period, JRA* Suppl. 8 (1993) 78-94, has, on the basis of coin types, revised the exact chronology of the games' return to the city and the previous views about the place where they were conducted.

[29] As tribune in 123 BC, Gaius Gracchus had promulgated an agricultural law that followed the basic outlines of the *lex Sempronia* of Tiberius Gracchus with additional provision for the foundation of colonies, particularly colonies of Roman citizens beyond the Adriatic Sea at important commercial centres such as Carthage and Corinth. When in 121 BC he failed to be re-elected to the office of tribune, these laws were abolished. The colony of Carthage had been created in 122 or 121. Its foundation was cancelled, but the colonists were not recalled. By contrast, the settlement of colonists at Corinth was still in the planning stage and was therefore abandoned. H. Scullard, *From the Gracchi to Nero. A history of Rome from 132 BC to AD 68* (London 1977[3]) 34-7. D. Stockton, *The Gracchi* (Oxford 1979) 132-6.

[30] The sources also refer to the settlement of poor farmers and veterans: Appian, *Punica* 136; Plutarch, *Caesar* 57.5; Dio Cassius 43.50.3-5.

there[31]. Despite this military activity, Corinth still did not regain its former economic significance until at least 29 BC, when Strabo paid a visit[32]. But when in 27 BC provincial reorganization took place under Augustus, the seat of the Roman proconsul, the administrator for all Achaea, was established in Corinth[33]. This fact alone reveals how, thanks to its critical geographical position, the city managed to preserve its importance[34].

Part of the colony's historical development shows up also on its coins. The issue of 44/43, which was probably also the foundational issue, signed by *the duovir L. Aeficius Certus C. Iulius,* represents the single example where Corinth is refered to as LAVS IVLI CORINT. Subsequently, all mention of the colony's founder, Julius Caesar, disappears. Inscribed instead are various forms of the ethnic: CORINTHVM and CORINT or CORINTHI, COR. The only variation appears under Domitian when, with the reassignment of its minting

[31] The failure of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi in 42 BC left Octavian and Antony the sole rulers of the Roman Empire, which they divided between themselves in 40 BC. Antony took the East, including Greece. But in 39 BC Octavian signed a treaty with Sextus Pompey according to which the former acquired control over Achaea. Antony refused to accept this arrangement and established a force at Corinth. Until the Battle of Actium, the city served as one of his military bases. Antony maintained an extraordinarily strong network of patronage in Achaea - in Corinth, Patrae and Dyme – upon which he could call for support, see A.D. Rizakis, «Ηγετική τάξη και κοινωνική διαστρωμάτωση στις πόλεις της Πελοποννήσου κατά την αυτοκρατορική εποχή», in V. Mitsopoulos-Leon (ed.) *Forschungen in der Peloponnes, Akten des Symposions anlässlich der Feier 100 Jahre Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Athen 5-7/3 1998* (Athens 2001) 181-2. On the strength of the patronage network more generally, see E. Déniaux, *Clientèles et pouvoir à l époque de Cicéron* (Rome 1993).

[32] The *diolkos* by which boats were hauled overland between the Corinthian Gulf and the Saronic Gulf from the end of the seventh century BC was gradually abandonned due to the increased capacity of the ships, a fact that contributed significantly to the delayed recovery of the Corinthian economy. The city was conquered by Agrippa slightly before Actium and quickly allied itself with the empire's new ruler.

[33] On colonial society, A. Spawforth, "Roman Corinth: the formation of a colonial elite", in A.D. Rizakis (ed.) *Roman onomastics in the Greek East. Social and political aspects, Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Roman Onomastics, Athens 7-9/9/1993,* MELETHMATA 21 (Athens 1996) 174-5. A.D. Rizakis, "La constitution des élites municipales dans les colonies romaines de la province de l' Achaïe", op.cit., 37-49. Also D. Engels, *Roman Corinth. An alternative model for the classical city* (Chicago 1990) for other aspects of local life.

[34] M. Walbank, "The foundation and planning of early Roman Corinth", *JRA* 10 (1997) 95-130. Also D. Engels, op.cit. 33-9, who considers Corinth a city that facilitated commercial exchange between East and West. For this reason it was peopled chiefly with freedmen who assured the unhampered movement of trade in the name of the Roman aristocracy. The same view is espoused by C.K. Williams II, "Roman Corinth as a commercial center", in T.E. Gregory, (ed.) *The Corinthia in the Roman period, JRA* Suppl. Series 8 (1993) 31-46.

rights, the colony was renamed COL IVL FLAV AVG CORINT. The fact that this appellation is not maintained on all the coins, but on only a very few series (as is the case in other colonies as well, where the new title soon disappears), raises the question to what extent this renaming was associated with an actual re-foundation, with all that implied constitutionally; or whether it was in fact simply an honorary dedication made on the part of the colony in honour of its new benefactor[35].

The foundation of the colony at Dyme was also part of Caesar's colonizing programme[36]. The region was hardly unfamiliar to the Romans. Pompey had already settled what opponents remained from his wars against piracy in the deserted Greek city located on the northern shore of the Peloponnese[37]. Later Dyme was again chosen, this time by Caesar in 44 BC, as the destination for colonial settlers, though the sources do not reveal their place of origin[38]. The reason for this site's selection, close to the sea but without a harbour worthy of the name, must be sought rather in its fertile territory. Productive land would have exercised a considerable pull on the indigent of Rome, whose departure relieved both the city and Caesar of dire political and social problems.

The area appears to have captured Roman interest for some time, as is clear from its successive refoundations as recorded in coin legends. After its first foundation in 44 BC under Caesar, when it appeared as C I D, *Colonia Iulia Dumaeorum*[39], it became known as C I A DVM, *Colonia Iulia Antonia*

[35] Engels, op.cit. 20, understands the colony's renaming as a gesture of gratitude towards Vespasian, who provided for the city's reconstruction and revival after the earthquake of 77.

[36] On the colony of Dyme in general, as well as for the other colonies in the province of Achaea, see *Achaïe I* and A.D. Rizakis, "Roman colonies in the province of Achaea: Territories, land and population", in S.E. Alcock (ed.) *The early Roman Empire in the East* (Oxford 1997) 15-36. For its numismatic history, see M. Amandry, "Le monnayage de Dymé (Colonia Dumaeorum) en Achaïe. Corpus", *RN* 23 (1981) 45-67.

[37] This settlement does not seem to have been long-lived since, as far as the evidence relates, Dyme was again deserted after the civil wars.

[38] In all probabilitiy these colonists belonged to one of the social groups that were traditionally chosen for deportation, in other words the economically weaker stratum of the population of the city of Rome, the disinherited inhabitants of Italy and the veterans. We know that the colonists of Buthrotum came from the lower social classes of Rome and Strabo relates that the same held true for Corinth, though there freedmen too played a role. It is most likely that Dyme's colonists claimed the same background. A.D. Rizakis, "Les colonies romaines des côtes occidentales grecques. Populations et territoires", *DialHistAnc* 22.1 (1996) 255-324 and idem, "La constitution des élites municipales dans les colonies romaines de la province de l' Achaïe", op.cit.

[39] *Duovirs,* 55.

Dumaeorum[40], consequent to its refoundation by Antony. The same initials were preserved upon its next refoundation, by Augustus between 30 and 27 BC, but this time they stood for *Colonia Iulia Augusta Dumaeorum,* a title that continued to be used under Tiberius (C I A D).

Far removed from the Peloponnesian colonies, but commanding a position of outstanding importance, Buthrotum was founded on the west coast of Epirus. This area linked fertile lands with the sea's wealth and lay at the intersection of commercial routes. From an early date the region had attracted Roman interest, most notably that of Atticus. His wealth and presence in the region is thrown into high relief in the correspondence of Cicero[41]. From the same source we learn that Caesar, alleging that the colonists of Buthrotum had refused to pay a certain tax, proceeded to inflict severe retribution on them and seize their lands. These actions encroached directly upon the interests of Atticus. Cicero's intervention probably managed to reverse the situation, but the murder of Caesar activated the decision that had already been taken and in 44 BC the colony was founded by *L. Plotius Plancus.*

At Buthrotum the colony's title accompanies the earliest issues that refer to its foundation, as is also the case in Corinth: C I BVT, *Colonia Iulia Buthrotum* and C A BVT, *Colonia Augusta Buthrotum,* an inscription that supports the conjectured refoundation by Augustus, or BVTHR. At Claudius' time the title *Colonia Campestris Iulia Buthrotum appears.*

Besides these colonies that were designed as part of Caesar's programme for improving provincial organization, one other colony was founded in Achaea, namely, Patrae in 14 BC by Augustus[42]. Its harbour, located on the established sea lane between the shores of the Greek mainland and the Peloponnese, had already proved itself to be an important port of call on the shipping route linking West and East. The influx of Italian merchants signals the harbour's

[40] *RPC* I, no. 1285.

[41] E. Déniaux, "Un exemple d' intervention politique: Cicéron et le dossier de Buthrote en 44 av. J. C.", *Bull. Ass. G. Budé* 2 (1975) 283-96; "Atticus et l' Epire", in P. Cabanes (ed.) *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Epire dans l'Antiquité* I, *Clermont-Ferrand 1984* (Adosa 1987) 245-53; "Cicéron et les hommes d'affaires Romains d'Illyrie et d'Epire", in P. Cabanes (ed.) *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Epire dans l'Antiquité* II, *Clermont-Ferrand 1990* (Paris 1993) 263-70. On the Roman presence in Epirus from the economic and numismatic standpoint, see Ch. Papageorgiadou-Banis, "La diffusion du monnayage romain dans l'Epire", in P. Cabanes (ed.) *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Epire dans l'Antiquité*-III, *Chantilly, 16-19/10/1996* (Paris 1999) 115-8.

[42] S.E. Alcock, *Graecia Capta. The landscapes of Roman Greece* (Cambridge 1993) passim and recently, *Achaïe II.*

importance, as do Cicero's letters in which he several times mentions its convenience[43]. Patrae had also served as a naval base during the struggle between Antony and Octavian - a fact that did not pass unnoticed by the latter when, as sole emperor, he grasped its significance for the swift transfer of forces from Italy to Greece and established veterans from the X and XII legions there as an effective means of monitoring the Peloponnese, the Ionian islands and central Greece. The colony was granted special privileges and, at the same time, its *territorium* expanded with the annexation of neighbouring land. Consequently, Patrae grew into the main economic and commercial centre for the whole of southern Greece[44].

The abbreviated inscriptions on the coins of Patrae pose the problem of the colony's formal name. The traditional reading is C*(olonia)* A*(ugusta)* A*(roe)* P*(atrensis),* which confirms the colony's foundation by Augustus, but has been the subject of controversy as regards its geographical interpretation, for which the term Achaica has been proposed[45]. Equally problematic is the restitution of a specific issue that presumably marked the foundation of the colony in 14 BC. The problem is that the earliest surely dated issue that bears the type showing the establishment of the colony's boundaries is dated after 2 BC on the basis of the title of PATER PATRIAE that was accorded to Augustus and in this way leaves a gap of a decade between the foundation of the colony and the earliest numismatic evidence[46].

The strategy of using new colonies as a way of impressing organization on conquered provinces was repeated in Macedonia with the foundation of Dium, Cassandrea, Pella and Philippi, as well as the *municipium* of Stobi[47].

[43] For Cicero's relationship to Patrae and the clients he had cultivated there, see A.D. Rizakis, "Le port de Patras et les communications avec l'Italie sous la République", *CH* 33, 3-4 (1988) 453-72.

[44] The reorganization of Patrae's harbour installations, which could also be used as a permanent naval base, was inevitable and brought in to the colony's further development. The harbour's importance is highlighted in its frequent appearance in the iconography on coins of later periods, such as under Commodus and Geta.

[45] The foundation of Patrae clearly belongs to the ambitious colonization programme pursued by Augustus and is variously dated: Dio Cassius places it around 15 BC, Augustus himself in the *Res Gestae* gives 14 BC, while Eusebius in his various accounts associates the foundation of Patrae with that of Berytus, which can be dated during Agrippa's sojourn in the East (16-13 BC). For other forms of the ethnic, see P. Agallopoulou, "Two unpublished coins from Patras and the name of the Roman colony", *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 445 - 6, and *Achaïe II,* 21.

[46] *Achaïe II,* 24-8, adopts the view that envisions two colonial waves, the first after Actium and the second in 23-21 or 16-14 BC.

[47] See in general F. Papazoglou, Les villes de Macedoine à l'époque romaine, *BCH* Suppl. 16 (1988); on Stobi see eadem, "Oppidum Stobi civium Romanorum et municipium Stobiensium", *Chiron* 16 (1986) 213-37; and recently on the mint, see P. Josifoski, *Roman mint of Stobi* (Skopje 2001).

In contrast with the evidence for colonies in Achaea, that for Macedonia is often contradictory and in many respects disputed. Questions remain unanswered concerning the fundamental issues of their foundation, and to which of them certain coins are to be attributed[48].

The only thing that can be said for certain is that all were refounded by Augustus in 30 BC, immediately after Actium. As for the date of their original foundation, obscurity prevails, though the context seems to have been that of the wider colonization programme undertaken by Caesar and continued by his successors. But for some, at least, a foundation by Mark Antony seems extremely attractive[49] and would explain Octavian's hasty refoundation of them on the morrow of Actium. This device had the double advantage of maintaining the momentum of Caesar's colonization programme, while at the same time imposing a sort of *damnatio memoriae* on Antony's policies, and expunging any allusion to his achievements in the region[50].

It seems that Augustus' settlers were mainly veterans of Antony's army[51], in compensation for the Italian lands that he confiscated from them and assigned to his own soldiers. This offered a respectable pretext for removing them from Rome, while at the same time, by making them subject to the *Jus Italicum*[52] reserved for colonists of Macedonia[53], he guaranteed their civic equality with the Romans[54].

[48] There is a sequence of issues originating from the area, but without any particular ethnic to distinguish them. Some are signed by the *prefectus coloniae deducendae, Q. Hortensius Procus* and are attributed to Dium or Cassandrea, and others to the *duumviri quinquennales, M. Fictorius M. Septimius, C. Herrenius L. Titucius, P. Baebius, C. Baebius P. f L. Rusticelius and L. Rusticelius Cordus,* all of which issues are attributed to either Dium or Pella. Equally controversial are the issues under Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius that lack an ethnic and are attributed to Philippi.

[49] An analogous view is espoused in M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (London 1978^2) 245-7, 264: "There is always a presumption that the dictator's colonisation plans were left for Antony to accomplish", where he is referring to the colonies of Alexandria, Lampsakos and Dyme.

[50] On the ideological clash and its projection, see R. Newman, "A dialogue of power in the coinage of Antony and Octavian (44-30 BC)", *AJN* 2 (1990) 37-63.

[51] *Res gestae divi Augusti,* V, 35-36. In the enumeration of the colonies founded by Augustus, above all in Macedonia, only military colonies are mentioned, a fact that does not exclude the possibility that Italian residents were settled along with the veteran soldiers. The coins of Cassandrea that carry on the reverse a vexillum between two standards, illustrate that there at least the colonists were in part veterans.

[52] P. Ørsted, Roman Imperial economy and romanization (Copenhagen 1985) 37-8.

[53] In all likelihood only Pella was exempt. See *Digesta,* 50.15.8.8.

[54] It appears that the plan for the compulsory settlement of Italians in colonies was a wider phenomenon effecting more than just Macedonian cities. This is hinted in a passage of Dio Cassius at *Dio's Roman history,* (Harvard, Mass. 1968) (tr. Earnest Cary), LI.4.6.

The foundation of the colony of Dium deserves special study, since the historical sources at our disposal lead us to different conclusions that involve Cassandrea as well[55]. According to the epigraphic and numismatic testimonia, the colony of Dium was founded by Augustus. On the other hand the reference on Augustus' coins to the *duumviri quinquennales* who were charged with the issue suggests that Dium was in fact founded before Augustus, since this title is encountered only in Caesar's colonies. The hypothesis that a first foundation was made at the initiative of Julius Caesar finds significant support in the legends on Augustus' issues, which bear the abbreviated legend CIAD *(Colonia Iulia Augusta Diensis).*

Conjectures have fixed the foundation of Cassandrea, between 43 and 42 BC by Hortensius. But our evidence is hardly sufficient. In all probability it was among those founded by Augustus in the year 30, when it received the title COL IVL AVG CASSANDRE(nsis)[56].

The colony of Pella on the Via Egnatia, was also refounded by Augustus, after Actium. As with the other Macedonian colonies, there were installed not only veterans of the Roman army and Italians, but also citizens from Pella and the surrounding settlements[57]. Although the evidence for its first foundation is extremely controversial[58], the iconography of its coins reveals unmistakably the influence of Mark Antony, although it does not demonstrate the foundation of a colony. The numismatic types of Eleutheria/Nike[59] and Zeus/Aetos are purely Greek, and the *ethnikon* ΠΕΛΛΑΙΩΝ or ΠΕΛΛΗΣ continues to be written in Greek characters. On the other hand, the numismatic types employed after Augustus' refoundation of the colony, which showed the emperor in a heroic pose on a ship's prow[60], as well as the legend COLONIA PELLA, leave no room for doubt about the city's status[61].

[55] Note particularly the limited coin sequence of *Hortensius Hortalus,* dated 44-42, which Kremydi dissociates with Dium, given the available evidence. See Δίον, 145-54.

[56] *RPC* I, 291-2.

[57] P. Chrysostomou, «Η τοπογραφία της Βόρειας Βοττιαίας. Η Πέλλα, η αποικία της Πέλλας και οι χώρες τους», in Χ. Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη, Ο. Picard (eds) *Πόλις και Χώρα στην αρχαία Μακεδονία και Θράκη, Μνήμη Δ. Λαζαρίδη, Καβάλα, 9-11/5/1986* (Thessaloniki 1990) 205-31, esp. 226-8.

[58] Some scholars consider it a colony founded by Caesar in 45 BC (as perhaps Corinth was too), or after the monarch's death by the continuators of his programme, Brutus and Cassius; P.A. Brunt, *Italian manpower 225 BC-AD 14* (Oxford 1971) 6, n. 6; 236 and 598. See also *RPC* I, 296.

[59] See the parallel issues of Thessalonica, *RPC* I, no. 1545, cp. no. 1551.

[60] This type appears on coins from Rome dating to 29 BC. This particular *comparandum* could constitute a *terminus post quem* for the chronology of the colony's foundation.

[61] The representation of *Spes*, *RPC* I, no. 1549, is a unique example in the colonial minting of Greece. It is very likely that for some special reason prototypes from Rome lie behind the entire conception of foundation iconography.

The history of the colony of Philippi has been more thoroughly studied thanks to the large number of inscriptions the site has yielded[62]. The first insertion of colonists into the city is dated, with a high degree of probability, to the year 42, perhaps straight after the battle that was fought nearby. It is attributed to Mark Antony, represented by the legate *Q. Paquius Rufus.* The relevant coin legends, *Antoni Iussu Colonia Victrix Philippensis,* clearly allude to this first foundation, while the refoundation by Augustus in 30 BC, is hailed in corresponding fashion and with the official renaming of the colony as COL AVG IVL PHIL*(ippensis)*[63]. The colonists were veterans of the Roman army[64], but also Roman citizens who had been chased from their lands, as was probably the case in most if not all Augustus' Macedonian colonies.

Apart from the historical information they provide, the refoundation issues of the Macedonian colonies under Augustus are a typical example of the propaganda power of inscriptions on coins. The colonies, such as Dium and Cassandrea which had in all probability been founded by Julius Caesar, continued to make honourable mention on their coins of their founder, who was also the founder of the reigning dynasty and the emperor's honoured ancestor: COL IVL AVG CASSANDRE*(nsis)* or DIENSIS. But at Philippi, which was well known to have been founded as a colony by Mark Antony, all reference to him was suppressed while, conversely, Augustus' continuation of Julius Caesar's dynasty was emphasized - given that the battle of Philippi had avenged his assassination - with the legend COL AVG IVL PHIL*(ippensis).* At Mark Antony's other (probable) colony, Pella, convention is violated and the other titles are suppressed, so that all that is left is the ethnic COLONIA PELLA or PELLENSIS. In other words, Mark Antony is subjected to *damnatio memoriae,* by imperial command.

[62] P. Collart, *Philippes. Ville de Macédoine, depuis ses origines jusqu' à la fin de l' époque romaine* (Paris 1937) 223 – 42.

[63] The names *Augusta* and *Iulia* cease to be used around the mid third century AD.

[64] Particularly among the coins of Philippi we find the commemoration of the settlement under Augustus of a COHOR(s) PRAE(toria): Collart, op.cit. 232-5. It would be interesting to pursue whether it was the case that Macedonians who had served in the Roman army were resettled in their homeland and were recompensed for their service by grants of land there. On the enlistment of Macedonians in the Roman army during later periods, see T. Sarikakis, *Ρωμαίοι Άρχοντες της Επαρχίας της Μακεδονίας,* Μέρος Β'. *Από του Αυγούστου μέχρι του Διοκλητιανού, 27 π.Χ.-284 μ.Χ.* (Thessaloniki 1977) 19. On the institution generally, see M. Durry, *Les cohortes prétoriennes* (Paris 1968) esp. 76, where he notes: "Après Actium Octavien se trouvait en présence de nombreuses cohortes prétoriennes. Il dut en licencier; il s'en servit pour fonder des colonies...". Finally, also E.K. Sverkos, Συμβολή στην ιστορία της *Άνω Μακεδονίας των ρωμαϊκών χρόνων. Πολιτική Οργάνωση, Κοινωνία, Ανθρωπωνυμία* (Thessaloniki 2000) 98-102.

Deeply rooted in the consciousness of the rulers was the conviction that the symbolic means offered by the iconography of coins were sufficiently strong to communicate to the people messages that the central authority wished to convey - regardless of the actual impact enjoyed by Latin inscriptions. The extent of popular knowledge of Latin seems not to have exercised much influence over the final selection of legends, which instead reflected the constitutional status of the colonies and the need to strengthen the Latin element and the progress of Romanisation[65]. In any case, the mass installation of Roman populations[66] in the colonies contributed to the rapid dissemination of Latin and its imposition as the official language. Nevertheless, the numerical superiority of the native element and the intensification of its influence eventually confined Latin to a narrow circle of Roman office holders, who continued to use it as the official language until the fourth century AD, even though Greek prevailed in daily life, regardless of nationality, already from the second century AD. This linguistic "confusion" is apparent in the Latin legends of the official coinages, which often have oversights and mistakes that can be attributed to cohabitation with and everyday use of the Greek language and alphabet.

The gap between official Latin and the Greek used in everyday speech in the eastern provinces gave rise to a general scepticism about the effectiveness at least of the epigraphical aspect of imperial propaganda.

A.H.M. Jones[67], for example, maintained that the coins of the imperial period, though intended to bear propaganda messages[68], cannot have done so with much success, since their legends were not widely understood in the East,

[65] Regardless of the constitutional position, it appears that the Latin element in the population never exceeded the Greek in terms of numbers, even though the actual ethnic composition of the colonists is difficult to determine with much precision. In all likelihood, the single exception was Philippi where the Roman colonisation seems to have been more intense and, consequently, Latin inscriptions significantly exceeded Greek throughout the colony's existence. In the remaining colonies, however, Latin inscriptions outnumber Greek only during the first century following the colony's foundation, decreasing gradually in subsequent centuries and tailing off in the third century AD. A.D. Rizakis, "Le grec face au latin. Le paysage linguistique dans la peninsule balkanique sous l' Empire", op.cit.

[66] A.D. Rizakis, "Les cités péloponnésiennes entre l'époque hellénistique et l'Empire: le paysage économique et social", op.cit., 77-9 and 85.

[67] A.H.M. Jones, "Numismatics and history", in R.A.G. Carson, C.H.V. Sutherland (eds) *Essays presented to Harold Mattingly* (London 1956) 14.

[68] In this particular period, the term "propaganda" must be used with extreme economy. Perhaps it is preferable to speak of a means of informing the largely illiterate masses, particularly those in marginal areas, who were, after all, the critical mass of the empire's population.

where only the educated could read Latin. The same, argued Jones, must have been true in the Western provinces too, whose populations spoke Celtic, Iberian, Punic or various Illyrian dialects. "The educated classes had something better to read than two or three words on a denarius." Against this position, C.H.V. Sutherland[69] conceded that Greek was dominant in the East, but maintained that its inhabitants often came into contact with Latin and easily understood simple numismatic legends, even if few had any profound knowledge of the language.

What is certain is that, even where Latin was not understood, as must indeed often have been the case, still it was hard to miss the symbolism of Roman power. Especially among populations which had a long tradition of symbolic representations on their coinage, the visual depiction of a given idea remained much the same, whether it was a question of an emperor's virtues and his succession, or the beneficence he displayed toward a particular city, or whatever else[70]. The coded coin legends, in conjunction with easily understood images, will have been reasonably acceptable even to the least educated. Even in later periods this was one of the functions of coinage, when illiterate populations were showered with a mass of information about the central government[71]. Rome exhibited its power by imposing on the whole empire not just a common coinage but a single language and a single set of symbols too. Her subjects had to get used to that, whether they understood or not.

There are further conclusions that can be drawn from the coin legends, with regard to the organization of the Roman colonial mints. The issues deriving from the colonies initiated by Julius Caesar are signed by the *duumviri quinquennales*. In certain cases, such as Corinth, their activity continues to be attested until the reign of Galba, in others, as Pella, they appear under Augustus. At others, such as Dium, they disappear soon after Octavian's refoundation, under Tiberius to be precise, and are replaced by decurions. But on the coins of Patrae, the only colony founded by Augustus, none of these officials is attested. If the substitution of decurions for *duumviri* as officials in control of the mints was indeed associated with some political change, then the decurions

[69] C.H.V. Sutherland, "The intelligibility of Roman imperial coin types", *JRS* 49 (1959) 50-5.

[70] The portrayal of *Pax* and *Ειρήνη, Salus* and *Υγεία, Victoria* and *Νίκη,* and many other personifications as well, was nearly identical in both the East and the West.

[71] It is well known that the royal family of France, having escaped from the Revolutionaries, was betrayed and recaptured when a peasant recognized the king from his portrait on coins.

ought to be attested in Patrae too. The fact that such a change is not attested at Patrae obliges us to seek some other explanation. In all probability the organization of mints in colonies founded by Caesar required officials specifically responsible for the mint, the *duumviri* in other words, who either survived under Augustus or were replaced a little later by decurions. But in those colonies founded by Augustus it seems that the organization of the mint did not require the presence of such officials, or at least they lacked the authority to sign the mint's various issues[72].

[72] A.D. Rizakis, "La constitution des élites municipales dans les colonies romaines de la province d'Achaïe", op.cit., who also notes the same problem, but without offering a solution. A similar difficulty exists with the *tresviri monetales* who are attested up to Severus Alexander, but seem not to have had any responsibility. C. Howgego, *Ancient history from coins* (London1995) 70, considers that these officials selected the numismatic types.

II. ICONOGRAPHY

FOUNDATION ISSUES AND COLONIAL TYPES

In the provinces of Greece with which we are concerned, the foundation of a colony seems to have been marked by the striking of a commemorative series of coins, always with Latin legends and as a general rule adorned with the so-called colonial iconographical types that alluded to the foundation ceremony: for example the colonist or the priest who draws the colony's boundaries[73] or, by way of exception, the plough as at Dyme, Dium and Pella. Representations of the drawing of a colony's boundaries usually reproduce the same typology derived, in all probability, from some original, shared prototype. This evocatively symbolic way of depicting a city's colonial status continued to feature with regularity throughout the history of that city's coin production. A characteristic example is provided by Patrae [fig. 1], where the establishment of the colony's boundaries is a staple in numismatic iconography from the time of its first appearance on coins under Augustus until the reign of Marcus Aurelius[74].

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A rarer type, present on some of Antony's issues at Philippi [fig. 2], vividly represents the ceremony by which allotments were assigned[75].

[73] Fr. Vittinghoff, *Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus* (Wiesbaden 1952); P.L. MacKendrick, "Roman colonization", *Phoenix* 6 (1972) 139-46; M. Sartre, "Les colonies romaines dans le monde grec", *Electrum* 5 (2001) 111-52.

[74] Probably as an anniversary issue of the colony's foundation, at least under Augustus and Tiberius, see P. Agallopoulou, *Θέματα νομισματοκοπίας και νομισματικής κυκλοφορίας των Πατρών*, unpublished dissertation (Ioannina 1994) 2, 4.

[75] According to H. Gaebler, "Die erste Colonialprägung in Philippi", *ZfN* 39 (1929) 260-9, the whole process by which the territory belonging to a colony was divided involved a specific sequence of acts, a convention which does not appear to have been altered in the case of the colonies in Greece. The land that was to be shared out was measured in advance by the *agrimensores* and divided into square plots called *centuriae*, which in turn were divided into lots (*sortes, acceptae*) whose size differed in each colony, sometimes according to the extent and fertility of cultivable land, other times – as in the military colonies – according to the landowner's rank in the military hierarchy. The colonists, on the other hand, were initially divided into *decuriae* or *conternationes*, after which was determined the order in which these groups (*consortia*) were to participate in the draw, and finally the allotment, or *sortitio centuriarum*, took place. All this was written down in a catalogue (*codex*) consisting of lists (*tabulae, cerae*), on the basis of which the final allocation was made. See also A.D. Rizakis, "Modèles gromatiques et constitution des territoires des colonies romaines de l'Orient" *in Colonie romane nel mondo greco, Universita degli Studi di Pisa, Giornate di Studio 3-4/11/2000* (forthcoming).

The colony's founder, the *legatus coloniae deducendae,* dressed in a *toga,* is seated on the *sella curulis* that denotes his authority[76] and holds the lists required for the draw by which the land will be allotted (*sortitio*). The urn (*urna*) containing the lots (*sorticulae, pittacia*) is placed in front of him. At other mints, such as Corinth, Dyme, or Buthrotum, only the priestly vessels and symbols are shown, the *praefericulum* for example, or the *sella curulis.*

In the colonies founded for veterans of the Roman army, the images on the coins addressed their military allegiance and showed the emblems of their legions. This symbolism could easily be revived whenever the army needed to be praised, or deployed. Once more, Patrae provides a good illustration [fig. 3], its original colonists belonged to the X and XII legions, and their emblems and numbers first appeared on the coinage under Claudius, being frequently repeated thereafter throughout the history of its coin production.

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In Macedonia, legionary emblems occur on the coins of Cassandrea and Philippi, where the role of veterans is attested in other sources. It seems certain that at Philippi the colonists were members of the Praetorian Guard: the legend COHOR PRAE PHIL occurs on a limited series of coins [fig. 4], that represents, on the obverse, VIC*toria* AVG*usti*, Victory bearing a crown and a palm branch.

A distinctive later type connected with the foundation of colonies is the *Genius*, the colony's guardian spirit[77] and, in the Roman tradition, protector god. This type of image is common to both the colonial and the Roman coinages. The Genius is usually represented as a young man offering libations on an altar where fire is burning. In all probability this type is derived, with minor variations, from some specific original, perhaps the Roman *Genius Augusti*[78]. It is characteristic of the refined spirit of Neronian art, and was normally deployed when a colony was refounded during an imperial visit to Achaea. This type is

[76] S.W. Stevenson, *A dictionary of roman coins* (London 1964) s.v. *Sella Curulis* and, in general, O. Wansher, *Sella Curulis. The folding stool: An ancient symbol of dignity* (Copenhagen 1980).

[77] G.C. Brauer, "The Genius figure on roman coins", *SAN* 13, 4 (1982-1983) 48-51.

[78] *Hunter* I, 129, no. 72, pl. 22.

known from Buthrotum[79]; from Patrae (as GEN COL NER PAT), where it is connected *inter alia* with the presumed refoundation of the colony when Nero visited it [fig. 5]; and from Corinth, where the *Genius* holds a *patera* and a *cornucopia*[80]. It recurred under Domitian, in whose reign is supposed to have occurred an honorary refoundation – here the Genius is pictured offering sacrifices or libations to the local god Melikertes. From that time, it appears that this representation was consecrated as a symbol of the foundation or refoundation of a colony.

It should be stressed that the Latin inscriptions accompanying all of the aforementioned scenes constituted an inseparable part of the whole, since they explain the image, while serving at the same time as reminders and advertisements of the founder or re-founder of the colony in question, or drawing attention to such changes as may have taken in the colony's regime.

Often, however, the foundation issues depart from the usual "speaking" representations and, in a paradoxical way, cling daringly to the Greek tradition. A characteristic example is Dyme where alongside the colony's foundation issue depicting Caesar and the plough, another series was in circulation that showed Pallas Athena and on the reverse, either the ethnic encircled by a crown, or the emblematic representations of the *fasces* and the *sella curulis*.

[79] Papageorgiadou-Banis, Ch.Gjongecaj, Sh., "La circulation monétaire à Bouthrotos et sa région", in Bouthrotos I, Mission archéologique hellènique à Boutrhotos, Fondation National de la Recherche Scientifique (forthcoming)

[80] This representation was repeated on later issues as well, as a reminder of the colony's foundation and its constitutional status.

ROMAN THEMES

Unadulterated Roman subject matter, usually based on prototypes drawn directly from Rome, constitute a second, clearly distinct and important iconographical category. This was, of course, a fact to be expected since the colonies were in fact Roman territory and those responsible for the coinage were Roman officials[81].

The ancient sources reveal little about who bore the ultimate responsibility in the choice of numismatic types, either at Rome or in the provinces[82]. Most scholars agree that the official who was formally assigned the task of determining the coin types must have been the imperial secretary of the economy, the *procurator a rationibus*, who would, of course, have been at the disposal of the emperor himself. M.G. Abramzon[83] argues that the empire's mints were supervised not only by the *procurator a rationibus*, or the triumvirate responsible for coin production, the *tres viri monetales*, but also by the emperor himself. In order to arrive at a particular type, those responsible for the coin issues had to take into account the political, ideological and religious elements of the official message they wanted to convey - or the emperor's personal ambitions - as well as the character of the local population. Most scholars believe that the officials in this position of responsibility, in its initial

[81] In the beginning the officials responsible were *duumviri quinquennales* and later *decuriones*. The imperial coins of the Roman colony of Dium, for example, and also of Corinth and Dyme, have the initials carved on the background. These initials correspond to the expression *Decreto Decurionum* and indicate that the bronze coins of a city were cut with the approval of the local senate. They are the equivalent to the initials S(*enatus*) C(*onsulto*) found on the bronze lower denominations of the mint at Rome.

[82] We know that the Senate preserved the formal inspection of bronze emissions, which usually bore the initials "S.C." (*Senatus Consulto*), while the emperor oversaw those in the precious metals, gold and silver. But from the time of the Flavians, the Senate's involvement seems to have slackened and ceased to enjoy any real autonomy in the selection of types. This is the period that saw a trend toward the homogenization of iconography on bronze, silver and gold coins, a trend that would continue with even greater impetus in the following dynasties. On this subject, see also C. Ando, *Imperial ideology and provincial loyalty in the Roman Empire* (University of California Press, 2000[2]). On Greece, see A. Bellinger, "Greek mints under the Roman Empire", in R.A.G. Carson, C.H.V. Sutherland (eds) *Essays in Roman coinage presented to Harold Mattingly* (Oxford 1956) 147-8 and A.M. Burnett, "The authority to coin in the late Republic and early Empire", *NC* (1977) 37-63, on the question of who was the official authority behind the coins; and at the level of politics, see F. Millar, "The Emperor, the Senate and the Provinces", *JRS* 56 (1966) 156-66.

[83] M.G. Abramzon, Propaganda and *Roman Imperial coin types* (Moscow 1995) 592.

stages at least, must have been individuals very close to the emperor with a vested interest both in projecting the emperor's image and ensuring their own personal survival in the environment of the *princeps*. B. Levick[84] inclines in a similar direction when she argues that those employed to oversee coin production used numismatic types not only as a means to flatter the emperor, but also to present reality as the sovereign wished to see it – or as he imagined it to be.

In contrast, A. Burnett[85] has espoused the view that, on the one hand, the emperor did give special importance to the manner in which he was represented and by which a particular message was conveyed to his subjects though, on the other hand, no strict central control existed for provincial issues. As a result, local workshops were given free rein to produce even the imperial portrait, though they remained as true to the official model as possible[86]. To the same lack of central control Burnett attributes the appearance of "pseudo-autonomous" issues in some cities, although he cannot explain their absence from other mints.

Recently, C. Howgego[87] has given open support to a view that seems to be gaining ground. The fact that we do not know the identity of those responsible for choosing the types has, according to Howgego, little significance since it does not affect the fact that the coins were interpreted in much the same way across the whole of the empire's wide expanse. He maintains that this issue became heavily loaded when it was associated with modern notions that transformed the coins into bearers of political propaganda with a particular message. Inspired by the total absence of relevant references in the literary sources of the period that might indicate that the imperial coins were systematically and deliberately employed as a means of political persuasion, Howgego opposes the use of the term propaganda. He does not deny, though, that in many cases the numismatic types were politically charged, even if in appearance they were benign.

Thinking along the same lines, C. Ando[88] considers that what should be of greatest concern to us is not who actually was in charge of the iconography, but

[84] B. M. Levick, "Propaganda and the Imperial coinage", *Antichthon* 16 (1982) 108.

[85] A. Burnett, *Coinage in the Roman world* (London 1987), especially 70-85.

[86] See also, L.A. Riccardi, "Uncanonical Imperial portraits in the eastern Roman provinces: The case of the Kanellopoulos emperor", *Hesperia*, 69.1 (2000) 129. This conclusion is not confirmed by the Greek examples which are amazingly true to the Roman issues.

[87] Ch. Howgego, *Ancient history from coins* (London 1995) 70-2.

[88] C. Ando, op.cit., 209-28.

instead who did contemporaries believe possessed this prerogative. According to Statius and Suetonius, the selection of both types and the accompanying inscriptions was attributed to the emperor, a view which is most certainly linked with the conviction that the imperial portrait guaranteed the coin's authenticity. At the same time the simplicity and clarity of the iconographical types served as a common symbolic language that unified the inhabitants of the immense empire.

It is possible, by stepping back to get an overview of the above-mentioned theories[89] and making a synthesis, to arrive at a more flexible model that may perhaps more closely approximate imperial reality.

Most likely the choice of numismatic iconography at Rome was closely linked to the emperor's intimate circle and its idiosyncrasies. But the officials belonging to this narrow imperial environment at Rome played no role in the provincial mints. Here, independent of the constitutional status of each locality, a variety of types coexisted - sometimes on the model of Rome's coins, sometimes focussed on the emperor and his family, or other times with an emphasis on local subjects. Consequently, the attribution of these choices to any particular official or influential group is hazardous at best. We would argue that at least the evidence from the numismatic iconography of the Greek provinces clearly indicates that responsibility had shifted onto some sort of high-ranking local official who would have possessed the ability and perceptiveness required to coordinate the various manifestations of Roman politics and local tradition. This official would most likely have been the provincial governor or someone drawn from his immediate environment, and might also have enjoyed the emperor's authorization, which would thus provide a satisfying explanation of the close connections that exist among the types produced in the mints of neighbouring areas, especially in the East[90].

[89] Similar views have been expressed, but without resulting in unanimity, by A.H.M. Jones, "Numismatics and history", in P.A. Brunt (ed.) *The Roman economy* (London 1974)13-33; M.H. Crawford, "Roman Imperial coin types and the formation of public opinion", in C.N.L. Brooke, B.H.I.H. Stewart, J.G. Pollard, T.R. Volk (eds) *Studies in numismatic method presented to Philip Grierson* (Cambridge 1983) 47-64; A.W. Wallace-Hadrill, "Image and authority in the coinage of Augustus", *JRS* 76 (1986) 66-87; C.H.V. Sutherland, "Compliment or complement? Dr Levick on Imperial coin types", *NC* 146 (1986) 85-93.

[90] K. Kraft, *Das System der kaisertlichen Münzprägung in Kleinasien* (Berlin 1972) 95-6. On the western mints, for instance from Claudius' reign, see H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, vol. I, *Augustus to Vitellius* (London 1923).

To a cycle inspired by ideological themes relating to the city of Rome and the central government belongs one series of representations (not, it must be said, a very common one) that elevates Rome's foundation. This series begins to appear in the colonial mints from the age of Marcus Aurelius and afterwards and is associated with a more widespread promotion of the spirit of the empire. Dominant are two themes associated in the cycle of mythological traditions relating to the foundation of Rome[91]: the she-wolf with the twins Romulus and Remus[92] [fig. 6] and the flight of Aeneas from Troy [fig. 7]. These appear to a limited extent at Patrae.


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An event of special significance for Rome, but with relevance for all the empire, was depicted on a memorial issue of 204 from Patrae, namely the *Ludi Saeculares* [fig. 8] celebrations in honour of the deities who guarded the prosperity and longevity of the whole empire[93].

Rome was most likely the source of the representations that referred not exactly to the foundation or refoundation of a colony, but to the events that led to it, that is to the sea battle of Actium, and appeared in a very limited category of coins belonging to a period not only contemporary with, but also appearing later than, the event it commemorates.

DYNASTIC THEMES AND THE EMPEROR

Among the pre-eminently Roman themes, those involving dynastic concerns stand apart. The usual representation shows the emperor himself or members of his family, transforming these coins into bearers of imperial propaganda whose purpose was to pave the way for dynastic succession.

[91] G.K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome* (Princeton 1969) also assembles related material in artistic representations. See also, B. Davison, "Homer's epic poetry on Roman coins", *SAN* 4.2 (1972-1973) 27-9. On the connection between the two myths concerning the foundation of Rome, see A. Lintott, *Imperium Romanum. Politics and administration* (London 1993) 176-7.

[92] R.D. Weigel, "The Lupa Romana theme on Roman coins", *SAN* 8.2 (1977) 25-6 and 34 "it was the most common symbol which the Romans used to depict their origins".

[93] W.A. Carlson, "Ludi Saeculares rites of the Roman imperial coinage", *SAN* 3 (1971-1972) 1, 9-11; 2, 27-8.

The need for such ground-laying was felt especially in the early years of the newly established empire, at the time of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. In this way, the right of succession was secured, certain individuals were promoted to power, either blood relations of the imperial family or others whom the emperor had selected as his heirs. The master of dynastic politics was Augustus[94], who essentially claimed direct succession from Julius Caesar, and whose family tree was illustrated not only on the coins of the colonies, but also of the free cities[95]. A parallel issue from Amphipolis [fig. 9] and Philippi [fig. 10], for example, illustrates a statue group in which Caesar is shown crowning Augustus[96]. The scene later became the unique type at Philippi until Commodus. Usually, these types either faithfully copy Roman prototypes, or simply keep pace with Rome by producing similar issues, an example of a far-reaching imperial policy in this period[97]. Augustus' intense interest in the succession question[98] was manifest in a series of acts and related coin issues both in Rome and in the provinces. That the legitimacy of his succession from Julius Caesar was a persistent concern for Augustus is clearly discernable in similar representations on coins from Corinth (27 BC), Dyme (31/27 BC), Thessalonica (27 BC), on which Octavian and Caesar are shown together. The iconography of the provincial mints was undoubtedly influenced by the *denarii* and *aureii* issued by Octavian already in 43 BC that highlighted the legitimacy of his position as Caesar's son and heir. Augustus was likewise concerned to secure the continuation of his dynasty, and indeed the busts of his projected

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[94] Iconography constituted a significant factor in propaganda of the Augustan age, especially the iconography of images and commemorative architecture; see P. Zanker, *The power of images in the age of Augustus* (University of Michigan, 1988) and J. de Rose Evans, *The art of persuasion: Political propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus* (University of Michigan, 1992). Also, A. Burnett, op. cit. 71-73; C.J. Howgego, op. cit. 69, 84.

[95] Examples are coins under Augustus from Sparta (Livia, Agrippa), the Thessalian League (head of Livia, head of Tiberias), Thessalonica (Caesar crowned) and Amphipolis (statue of Augustus in armour crowned by Caesar), as well as from other free cities.

[96] *RPC* I, 306, where the identification of the second figure on the coins of Amphipolis remains uncertain.

[97] See also, A.D. Winspear, L. Kramp Geweke, *Augustus and the reconstruction of the Roman government and society* (New York 1970[2]) 77-85.

[98] W.H. Gross, "Ways and roundabout ways in the propaganda of an unpopular ideology in the age of Augustus, in R. Winkes (ed.) *Conference held at Brown University, 30/4-1/5/1982, Archaeologia Transatlantica* 5 (Belgium 1985) 29-50 and especially 42-4.

successors, Gaius, Lucius, Tiberius, Agrippa, Germanicus and Drusus, appear on coins from Corinth.

Subsequent emperors also tried to secure the continuation of the ruling house. Augustus' eventual successor, Tiberius, was dedicated to the memory of his predecessor, as is attested by the abundance of posthumous issues struck in the first emperor's honour. Most of the well-known series that show the portrait of the empire's founder are posthumous, dating to the reign of Tiberius[99], while the general iconographical tendency of the period points to Augustus' achievements, such as the victory at Actium and the foundation of colonies.

Representations of the deified Livia, inspired chiefly by Roman models, commanded a special position in the iconography of Tiberius' reign[100]. In Corinth she is identified to the personified virtues *Salus* and *Pietas*, while Livia herself is portrayed holding an ear of corn and sceptre, associated with the goddess Demeter, whose cult was already established in the city; or with a *patera* and sceptre, as at Dium too, modelled on a Roman issue of Tiberius in honour of Augustus.

Tiberius' own reign could not help but be dwarfed by the charismatic personality of Augustus. The provinces were no longer a priority for the emperor, a fact that signalled the beginning of a period of economic constriction[101] that would continue under Gaius Caligula. A result seems to have been the shrinkage of local coin production. In Achaea, only Corinth issued coins under Caligula, while in Macedonia remissions are preserved only from Amphipolis and Thessalonica. In both provinces it appears that portraits of the imperial family featured prominently on the coins, part of Caligula's concerted efforts to impress their images on the consciousness of his subjects[102].

[99] Posthumous issues also circulated under Gaius and Claudius, see E.A. Sydenham, "Divus Augustus", *NC* (1917) 258-76 and id., *Historical references to coins of the Roman Empire. From Augustus to Gallienus* (London 1968) 30-1 and B.E. Levy, "INDULGENTIAE AUCUSTI MONETA INPETRATA. A Flavian episode", in H. Huvelin, M. Christol, G. Gautier (eds) *Mélanges de numismatique offerts à Pierre Bastien* (Wetteren 1987) 39-49. Also, P. Bastien, "Couronne radié et buste monétaire impériale. Problèmes d'interpretation", in S. Sheers, J. Quaegebeur (eds) *Studia Paulo Naster Oblata, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 12 (Louvain 1982) 263-72.

[100] In this case the coins imitated the asses of Rome, dated 15/16, a type adopted particularly in Africa and Asia: *RPC* I, p. 46. See also the aurei depicting Livia as *Pax* or *Justitia*, *Hunter* I, 66, no. 10, pl. 10. On the deification of the empresses, see, T. Mikocki, "Les imperatrices et les princesses en déesses dans l'art romain", *Eos* 78 (1990) 209-18.

[101] R. Seager, *Tiberius* (London 1972) 172-4.

[102] W. Trillmich, *Familienpropaganda der Caiser Caligula und Claudius. Agrippina Maior und Antonia Augusta auf Münze* (Berlin 1978).

Claudius took an interest in stabilizing the state's finances and creating a climate of confidence in the provinces[103]. Nevertheless, dynastic problems persisted with striking intensity and similar types appeared frequently as the emperor attempted to shore up his own dynasty[104]. Corinthian coins depicted busts of Agrippa the Younger and the successors Nero and Britannicus, while at Patrae portraits of Britannicus, Octavian and Antonia were used[105] [fig. 11]. The same tendency is discernable in issues of free cities, such as Amphipolis and Thessalonica.

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There is no question that both Caligula and Claudius were caught up in a sequence of conspiracies that fuelled their forebodings of a violent overthrow of the Julio-Claudian house. As a result, the coins continued to portray the members of the ruling family, its forefathers and its rightful successors. The generations of emperors to follow appear to have possessed more self-confidence about their successors. Representations of members of the imperial family recur, but are more closely linked to emperor cult, and limited mainly to depictions of empresses, usually deified. An example of this appears on coins from Corinth under Septimius Severus and portrays a female figure, identified as Julia Domna, seated between a trophy and censer.

Another delicately suggested dynastic theme, this one concerned with the internal harmony of the imperial house, is the *dextrarum junctio,* the clasping of the right hands, which symbolizes imperial agreement and concord. In Greece, this rather rare representation is known from Corinth on the coins of Galba, where the two hands clasp a poppy and an ear of corn [fig. 12]. M. Amandry maintains that these objects symbolize *Pax*, *Concordia* or *Fides*[106]. However, the appearance of an

[103] Indicative of this interest is the preservation of Augustus' features on the numismatic portraiture of Claudius. On mints from Patrae, for example, even the arrangement of the inscription mirrors Augustan parallels, causing some confusion: CLAVDIVS as opposed to DIVVS. See also, H.M. von Kaenel, "Augustus, Caligula oder Claudius?", *SM* (1978-1979) 39-44. On politics and coinage of Claudius in general, see V.M. Scramuzza, *The emperor Claudius* (Cambridge 1940) 157-8. Also, J.B. Giard, "Pouvoir central et liberté locale. Le monnayage en bronze de Claude après 50 JC", *RN* (1970) 33-61; H.M. von Kaenel, *Münzprägung und Münzbildnis des Claudius* (Berlin 1986).

[104] J.E. Blamberg, *The public image projected by the Roman emperors (AD 69-117) as reflected in contemporary imperial coinage* (Indiana University 1976) 12.

[105] The impetus for these coins was the birth of Britannicus in 41 or 40, an event that was honoured also in Rome with the issues commemorating SPES AVGVSTA, see *Anniversary issues*, 74.

[106] *Duovirs*, 76.

ear of corn on the coins of Corinth might also be considered a direct reference to the emperor's known interest in grain supply for the cities (*Ceres Augusta*)[107]. The representation of the *dextrarum junctio* enjoyed great popularity in Rome not just on coins but also on metalwork and in relief sculpture, especially after the murder of Commodus (AD 176-192), when confirmation of the emperor's legitimacy and dynastic stability was a growing imperative[108]. This nervous climate was nonetheless rendered a particular gracefulness by the handshake between the two young caesars, Caracalla and Geta, as portrayed on the coins of Rome where they appear as either triumphant generals or senators[109].

In addition to iconography that focussed strictly on dynastic themes, another series of representations appeared that is also imperial in character, but which lays special emphasis on the emperor's virtues and military successes[110]. The same idea also underlies the representations of the mounted emperor in a heroic gallop that inspired numerous later issues and was reflected in a whole genre of heroic tradition and literature.

The first, limited examples of this heroic iconography appear in Corinth already from the time of Domitian. His reign is marked by two great events, namely the end of the Jewish War and the campaigns against the Germans. At Corinth, the emperor's military successes were very frequently depicted on the city's coins. A galloping horseman [fig. 13], the emperor in a chariot[111], and a series of representations of Nike, standing

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[107] J.E. Blamberg, op.cit. 17.

[108] Even though the domination of the strongest ultimately determined who would succeed, cooperation between the ruling fratriae was indispensable if transfers of imperial power were to be without bloodshed. This iconography proved to be extremely popular from the second to the fourth centuries, especially under Septimius Severus, who successfully perpetuated his own dynasty.

[109] *Civic coins,* 38-51; *Hunter* III, 75, no. 45, pl. 23.

[110] What is of primary interest in the scenes that refer to succession or to the emperor's virtues is the personality of the emperor himself, in other words the source from which the government's glory and authority is drawn. For this reason, those who dared to attempt this sort of representation, even somehow disguised, were very few and did so for very specific reasons. Tiberius, for example, preferred to cultivate the posthumous cult of his predecessor, others focussed on the younger members of their house and the women, who did not attract direct opposition to their persons. Only when the empire was threatened on all sides, and the only link still intact was the emperor, did they hazard an explicit projection of the emperor as the sole salvation against surrounding menace.

[111] For the medallion-like issues PERM IMP that accompanied the re-opening of the mint, see *Civic Coins,* 45-47.

on an orb with a crown and palm branch as on Roman prototypes[112], or holding an orb while standing on a ship's prow - references to Actium but also symbolic representations suitable for the times.

The taste for highlighting the martial character of the emperor and his empire stretched from the period of Marcus Aurelius onward and sought not only to advertise the emperor's military prowess, but also to invigorate the civic spirit that was put under stress by the barbarian invasions. The emperor himself was increasingly portrayed in military dress[113]. Older types reappeared in the iconographical repertoire, such as Nike holding a sphere, a reference to Rome's heroic past, though now Greeks were involved as well and brought to the project their own, parallel symbolic language of images. Indicative of this development are the representations of Nike, Ares Tropaiophoros, or Athena Nikephoros, armed with spear and shield. At the same time, Roma Nikephoros[114] is shown crowned by a youthful figure. Even though syncretism between Roma and the Greek goddess Athena is already attested much earlier, we consider that in this period its interest lay mainly in the accentuation of the martial qualities both deities possessed. It is suggestive that representations of the goddess Roma, who, generally speaking, stands for the imperial cult and trust in the official government when depicted in the East, appear in Greece primarily in times of crisis. At Patrae, for example, depictions of Roma are restricted to Domitian [fig. 14] and Commodus[115].

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During the latter's reign there is also an observable turn toward representations of the emperor himself and the virtues[116] that engender him with the power to protect

[112] *Hunter* III, 291, no. 56, pl. 50 and 313, no. 143, pl. 54. Perhaps the golden Victory of Tarentum, installed in the Curia Julia, see A.R. Bellinger, M.A. Berlincourt, Victory as a coin type, *NNM* 149 (1962) 53 and A. Burnett, "The iconography of Roman coin types in the third century BC", *NC* (1986) 67-75, especially 75 and P.V. Hill, "Buildings and monuments of Rome as coin-types. Addenda", *NC* (1987) 54-5, for the Roman prototypes of Victory.

[113] D. Whitehead, "Criteri stilistici nei ritratti imperiali su monete: corazze e drappezzi", *QTicNumAntClas* (1974) 171-6.

[114] R. Mellor, "ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ: The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek world", *Hypomnemata* 47 (Göttingen 1975) and id., "The Goddess Roma", *ANRW* II, 17.2 (Berlin, 1981) 950-1030; C. Fayer, "La Dea Roma sulle monete greche", *StRom* 23 (1975) 273-88 and id., *Il culto della Dea Roma. Origine e diffusione nell'Impero, Collana di Saggi e Ricerche* 9 (Pescara 1976). *Civic Coins*, 72-75.

[115] Patran issues under Hadrian are probably meant to refer to Roman glory.

[116] M.P. Charlesworth, "The virtues of the Roman Emperor. Propaganda and the creation of belief", in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 23 (1937) 105-34.

his subjects from external dangers. Now for the first time the equestrian emperor crowned by Nike enters, the familiar heroic iconographical tradition exalting the emperor for his military virtues and triumphs[117].

Especially common in Rome are also allegorical scenes related to virtues possessed by the emperor himself, such as *Pietas*, or some ideal qualities characteristic of the administration and imperial power, such as *Concordia*, *Moderatio*, etc[118]. The majority of these made little impression on Greek mints, with perhaps the exception of *Fortuna*[119] and *Abundantia*, which were more or less continuations of Hellenistic forms. Only sporadically did *Abundantia* appear in Patrae under Commodus [fig. 15] and *Fortuna* in Philippi under Gallienus[120].

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The types that convey the emperor's concern about how to articulate and make known these principles begin to appear in Greece under Domitian and strengthen the impression that a particular iconographical pattern is emerging that was to be characteristic of the whole of the colonial coinage and contained types that alluded to the manifold aspects of colonial life: the already established foundation types, the local gods and certain local monuments, together with just a few representations that underlined the greatness and continuity of Rome itself. Given their particular civic status, it was predictable that the colonies often chose subjects alluding to the empire's majesty, though not all prototypes came from Rome.

As regards the coin production of the "free" Greek cities[121], however, the use of Roman iconographical types can be interpreted either as a sign of harmonious relations between provincial cities and the imperial capital, or as

[117] J.B. Campbell, *The Emperor and the Roman army, 31 BC-AD 235* (Oxford 1984) 120-1.

[118] J.R. Fears, "The cult of virtues and Roman Imperial ideology", *ANRW* II, 17.2 (Berlin, 1981) 827-948. Similar cults were transfered to Greek cities as well, though they did not enjoy widespread recognition. Well-known is the example from Corinth where *Providentia Augusti* and *Salus Publica* were worshipped together: see *CIL* III, 399.

[119] B. Lichocka, *L'iconographie de Fortuna dans l' Empire Romain. Ier s. av. n.è.- IVes. du n.è.*, (Warsaw 1997).

[120] Characteristic of this same pattern, *Spes* appeared at Pella under Augustus, and also *Salus* and *Concordia* at Buthrotum, while under Caracalla we find *Bonus Eventus* at Corinth.

[121] We encounter a great variety of Roman themes, at least from the Julio-Claudian dynasty, in most of the free cities of Greece, the most characteristic examples coming from Thessalonica and Amphipolis.

a means of achieving and maintaining exemplary relations with the centre of power, as a guarantee of Rome's goodwill[122].

The Roman and foundation types together constitute the main group of purely "propagandistic" iconography that was directed toward the indigenous population of the colonies. For this reason these images were often repeated in local iconography, as at Patrae, for example, where the emblems of the legions represent one of the commonest types. Often, however, it appears that they were also used on issues designed to commemorate the anniversary of the colony's foundation, or honour the emperor whenever he performed some act of benefaction for the colony[123].

ROMAN THEMES OF LOCAL INTEREST

Besides the more widespread agitations that plagued the empire from time to time and were echoed in the coinage of both Rome and the provincial cities, the various convulsions in the life of the Greek colonies that disrupted these small local communities also generated a whole series of numismatic images.

The first, of course, was the Battle of Actium[124] where the character of Roman power changed and the foundation was laid for the establishment of empire. At the same time, Actium was also a significant stage in the transformation of Greece. The policy of Octavian-Augustus in the East, especially the reorganization of the colonial system – with the establishment of new colonies or refoundation of those made by Caesar – left a pronounced impression that is discernable mainly in the issues commemorating the colonial foundations that we have already discussed. Representations related to the event

[122] Of special concern were the cities' tax obligations and the emperor's intervention in solving specific problems. We know that most of the "free" cities retained their own laws and institutions under the empire, though they were not exempt from tax obligation to the Roman state. It was also the case that emperors often came to the assistance of cities that found themselves in dire straits, but also to help them meet more everyday demands.

[123] At Patrae the colonial types were also reproduced in issues by later emperors. Ch. Papageorgiadou, «Η νομισματοκοπία της COLONIA PATRENSIS: Παρατηρήσεις στην εικονογραφία», in A.D. Rizakis (ed.) *Achaia und Elis in der Antike*, ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 13 (Athens 1991) 205-8.

[124] Later emperors were fastidious in their celebration of the anniversary of Actium: Tiberius in AD 20 commemorated the fiftieth; Claudius in AD 45, the seventieth; Vespasian in AD 70, the one hundredth. Hadrian in AD 119 celebrated the one hundred fiftieth anniversary with an issue showing the Zeus Nikephoros of Pheidias, see *Anniversary Issues*, 58, 76, 88, 100.

in question had a special relevance to the Greek provinces and appear in both Achaea and Macedonia. Nike on a prow[125], was illustrated in the coinage of Dyme [fig. 16], while at Philippi we find the type of *Victoria Augusti*, which shows Nike holding a crown and palm branch, a scene well-known from the Republican period[126]. At Pella, commemoration of Actium was made explicit as the emperor himself is shown standing in military dress on the prow of a ship[127].

A second, later, event considered to be of great, if local, significance was Nero's visit to southern Greece[128] and the proclamation at the Isthmus of the freedom of Achaea (AD 66-67), accompanied by honorary and official celebrations and the revival of local games[129]. This act still further invigorated the pride of the Greek population and this is variously reflected – not without a disposition to flatter the emperor, but also echoing the ruler's own propaganda – in the numismatic iconography of the cities. It is also worth remarking that Nero's elevation to the

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[125] This is essentially a variation on a similiar representation from the coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes, *SNG Deutschland*, Munich, pl. 44, no. 1038-42.

[126] The type with Nike holding a crown and palm branch was used on coins from Republican Rome, but derives from Hellenistic prototypes. Corresponding designs adorn the coins of the Syracusans, of Agathocles, but the closest prototype appears to be the Nike on the coins of Pyrrhus in which Nike holds a palm branch instead of a trophy. The coins of Epirus have both trophies and palm branches. See A. Bellinger, M. Berlincourt, *Victory as a coin type*, *ANS NNM*, 149 (1962) and L. Breglia, *Roman imperial coins. Their art and technique* (London 1968) 78. This motif passed into other art forms as is clear, for example, on the relief from Macedonia with Nike, see Ch. Papageorgiadou-Bani, E. Giannikapani, A. Iakovidou, M. Mika, «Οι ρωμαϊκές αποικίες στην ελληνική Μακεδονία», in P. Adam-Veleni (ed.) *Το νόμισμα στο μακεδονικό χώρο, Πρακτικά Β' Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης, Θεσσαλονίκη 15-17/5/1998, Οβολός* 4 (Thessaloniki 2000) 157-69.

[127] Similar issues circulated in Rome as well, though they were rather limited in number, perhaps as a precaution against the incitement of Antony's supporters and possible agitation of the climate of unity that Augustus was labouring to create across the empire. The representation was in any case highly stylized. By contrast, in Greece the Hellenistic prototypes are faithfully copied, despite the obvious influence of formal Roman art. See also E.A. Sydenham, *Historical references to coins of the Roman empire from Augustus to Gallienus* (London 1968) 14.

[128] K.R. Bradley, "Nero's retinue in Greece", *Illinois Classical Studies* 4 (1979) 152-7. On the political dimensions of Nero's rule in general, and in relation to the empire's Greek populations, see B.H. Warmington, *Nero, reality and legend* (London 1969); M. Grant, *Nero* (London 1970); E. Cizek, *L'époque de Néron et ses controverses idéologiques* (Leiden 1972) and id., *Néron* (Paris 1982). V. Rudich, *Political dissidence under Nero. The price of dissimulation* (London 1992).

[129] J.H. Oliver, *Greek constitutions of early Roman Emperors from inscriptions and papyri* (Philadelphia 1989) 572, n. 296.

throne brought about a real economic flowering across the empire that was shared by the Greek provinces too.

On the occasion of Nero's memorably triumphal arrival, the Achaean colonies, especially Corinth and Patrae, issued a series of coins that referred to the emperor's progress and illustrated a Roman ship accompanied by the inscription ADVENTVS AVGVSTI [fig. 17] and also to the colonies' refoundation, when most of them were renamed COLONIAE NERONIANAE. The iconography lays particular emphasis on the latter, picturing the legions' emblems and the *Genius* of the colony holding a *patera* and a horn of plenty. We are simply not in a position to determine whether this change indicates an actual refoundation, or whether it was imposed by the central authority, or it was simply a gesture of thanksgiving[130] and flattery on the part of the colonies for the emperor's benefit.

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In Corinth this important episode, which took place largely on its territory[131], provided the impetus for a series of related issues. The actual events were reflected in scenes showing the emperor himself: at the moment of the *adlocutio* [fig. 18] standing on a rostrum with his right hand raised[132]; or offering libations, crowned by Tyche; or simply standing inside a temple.

Most Greek cities also promoted that cult of the emperor in which he took especial delight: Nero as the "New God Helios who illuminates the Greeks"[133]. Nero's attempt to be identified with Helios more generally manifested itself across all his policies, in the gigantic statue dedicated in Rome and in his coinage where he appears

[130] B. Levy, "Nero's Apollonia series: the Achaean context", *NC* (1989) 67, adopts the view that the reason for this numismatic celebration is the fact that in this period Patrae became the centre of the Achaean League, stretching its influence northward as the league's influence also extended in that direction.

[131] Even the season when the Isthmian games were celebrated was shifted from spring to autumn in AD 67 to coincide with Nero's visit.

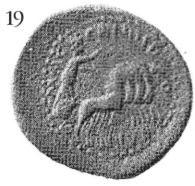
[132] This hand gesture, which derives from the iconography of solar deities, particularly oriental gods such as Sarapis and *Sol Invictus*, was part of the imperial *adventus* ceremonial in which the raised hand was considered a sign of the invincible emperor's super-physical powers and of his sovereignty over the world.; *Civic Coins*, 40. See also, *Hunter* I, 123, no. 52, pl. 21 for a roman issue dating from 64-66 AD.

[133] Statues of this representation existed in temples of Zeus Eleutherios and Ptoan Apollo. See also J. Ferguson, *The religions of the Roman Empire* (London 1970) 46. Under the influence of oriental religions, Roman emperors were often identified with the god Helios and his cult, as leaders in the East had been.

wearing the radiate solar diadem of the *divus*, after AD 63 or 64[134]. Corinth, where the cult of Helios was already especially widespread thanks to a local myth[135], offered particularly fertile ground for Nero's deification as Helios[136]. For this reason the depiction of the solar chariot [fig. 19] - one of the basic motifs employed to manifest the emperor's arrival or departure, in parallel with the sun's rising and setting - was an image replete with multiple meanings for the citizens of Corinth[137].

This same propensity to flatter the emperor on the part of the local aristocracy manifested itself also in the coin series of Patrae, Nicopolis[138], Thessalonica, Amphipolis and the Thessalian League, where the emperor was again portrayed as Helios or Apollo[139] [fig. 20], based on prototypes from Rome.

Though less dramatic in its after effect, yet another imperial journey, that of Hadrian this time, provided the opportunity for the issuing of a small series in Corinth, dated 124, that was adorned by a ship and the inscription ADV AVG. Of special importance, however, is the city's coin that shows Marsyas. It is the Roman type of Marsyas known from the Forum, where he is associated with *Liber Pater* and understood by extension as a personification of freedom. His appearance in the iconography of this particular period may be linked with Hadrian's conferment of tax exemption on the city, probably during the course of his visit to Greece[140].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[134] C.H.V. Sutherland, *Roman history and coinage 44 BC-AD 69* (Oxford 1987) 94, argues in favour of the earlier date, while AD 64, which also links up with the numismatic reformation of that time, is prefered by P. Bastien, "Couronne radiée et buste monétaire imperial. Problèmes d'interprétation", op. cit., 263-4.

[135] Pausanias II.1,6 και II. 5,1

[136] Other emperors would follow suit: Domitian, Antoninus Pius and Lucius Verus. At Patrae, a corresponding syncretism fused Elagabalus and Helios.

[137] *Civic Coins*, 47.

[138] A. Burnett, "Nero's Visit to Greece: Two numismatic notes", *SM* 136 (1984) 81-5; B.E. Levy, "Nero at the Actian Games: A different view", *SM* 138 (1985) 37-41.

[139] On Patran coins the emperor appears as Apollo Kitharodos, based on a Roman prototype, see *Hunter* I, 130, no. 75, pl. 22. See also, C.H.V. Sutherland, op.cit., 92.

[140] M.E. Hoskins Walbank, "Marsyas at Corinth", *AJN* 1 (1989) 79-87. Three coins depicting Marsyas, issued by Patrae, otherwise unknown, were found during excavations in the city, for them see P. Agallopoulou, *Θέματα νομισματοκοπίας και νομισματικής κυκλοφορίας των Πατρών* (Ioannina 1994) 46-7. The author ascribes these coins to the issues of Commodus commemorating the two hundred years from the foundation of the colony and also the emperor's first *decennalia*.

Another significant event of a different sort, but which left its mark on the local coinage, was Vespasian's suspension of the mints and his retraction of the cities' rights to issue their own coins. The lifting of this ban and the reopening of the mints by Domitian, in 85/86, was celebrated with impressive medallion-like issues in the size of *sestertii*.

In Corinth were issued series carrying the inscription PERM(*issu*) IMP(*eratori*), or PERM IMP COR, accompanied by various scenes. In some cases it appeared inside a crown in place of the usual ethnic [fig. 21]; in other cases the inscriptions were joined by a triumphant rendering of the emperor drawn by a four-horse chariot[141], or even shown together with local divinities, such as Ino, Melikertes

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and Isthmos [fig. 22]. Moreover, in some of the coins dating from this period the colony is rebaptised COL IVL FLAV AVG CORINT, a fact that suggests a moment of civic flowering in the colony, if not exactly a refoundation, which is symbolized by the *Genius* shown offering sacrifice, or libations, to Melikertes. Characteristic of the Corinthian mint in this period is its enormous variety of types, especially those with local colour[142]. In this variety we can see the continuation of a vibrant tradition that had begun under Nero, and perhaps also in part an attempt to compensate for time lost when local mints were suspended.

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In Patrae too, this new period welcomed the issue of sestertius size coins in the shape of medallions, which bore on the obverse a female portrait with the inscription INDVLGENTIAE AVGVSTI MONETA INPETRATA[143] and on the reverse the emperor [fig. 23]. These coins were also commemorative of the colony's jubilee[144]. At the same time, already well-known types

[141] See the medallions issued at Patrae at the same time.

[142] See below, in the section on local types.

[143] B.E. Levy, "INDULGENTIAE AUGUSTI MONETA INPETRATA: A Flavian episode", op.cit., 39-49, interprets the portrait as Livia, while in *RPC* is understood as a representation of I*ndulgentia*.

[144] P. Agallopoulou , op.cit., 17.

illustrating the whole range of colonial themes were put into circulation again, such as boundary fixing and the Genius of the colony, as well as the legionary emblems. These types were supplemented, as at Corinth, by subject matter drawn from local tradition, even though the latter were much more limited in number at Patrae.

Both these more local and the purely Roman depictions that we have seen above reflect the choices of the Roman administration, stemming either from the imperial capital itself, or from its local representatives, as the expected response to imperial policies[145]. Within this context we can also place the representations of monuments and buildings associated with the emperor's cultural and architectural activity, which contributed in turn to the colonies' prestige and helped maintain a balance between their Roman and local character. In fact, besides the Panhellenic gods and local traditions that will be discussed below, one more source of pride for the Greek cities and colonies existed and that was the erection of impressive buildings or the restoration and renovation of pre-existing monuments[146], constructions that were usually initiated after the emperor had taken a personal interest as is revealed by a whole sequence of sources covering a wide spectrum of imperial involvement in the development of cities[147].

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Representations of buildings and other architectural constructions always constituted an important - and often substantial – part of the iconographical repertoire of Corinthian issues. A typical example of this tendency, taken from the coins of Tiberius, is the hexastyle temple dedicated to the cult of the Julian house, as is noted on an accompanying inscription: GENT IVLI[148] [fig. 24]. The issue of this series can best be considered as commemorative, in the first place of the original dedication of the temple, but also of a whole series of important events, such as for example the twentieth anniversary of the death of Augustus and the elevation to the throne of Tiberius, the sixtieth anniversary of the *respublica*

[145] C. Gilliland, "Coins: mirrors of art and reflections of taste", in S.B. Needleman (ed.) *Perspectives in Numismatics. Studies presented to the Chicago Coin Club* (Chicago 1986) 269-312.

[146] Unfortunately, the lack of sufficient material evidence often prohibits us from identifying many buildings securely and augments the confusion between new structures erected at a particular moment in time and pre-existing structures. See also, N. Papachatzis, *Παυσανίου Ελλάδος Περιήγησις, Κορινθιακά* (Athens 1976).

[147] R. MacMullen, "Roman Imperial building in the provinces", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* 64 (1959) 207-35.

[148] *Duovirs,* 59-62.

restituta in 27, or the fiftieth anniversary of the *Ludi Saeculares* in 17[149].

Another temple, this time tetrastyle and dedicated in all probability to Octavia, the sister of Augustus, is shown on issues of Galba[150] [fig. 25]. In addition to picturing the Roman-style platform temple[151] that was erected in Acrocorinth [fig. 26], the coins of Domitian also carried an exceptionally important depiction of a fountain with relief decoration [fig. 27], which is probably an illustration of an actual structure that adorned the city[152]. Of equal importance is the Capitolium of Corinth, within which the three cult figures are clearly visible[153]. Another structure represented on coins is the famous circular temple of Melikertes that was most likely part of the building program begun by Hadrian and supported by the financial resources of Herodes Atticus[154]. Another aspect of the program of urban embellishment undertaken at that period is indicated by the symbolic representation of the nymph Peirene whose fountain was rebuilt, likewise at the expense of Herodes[155]. We also know that Herodes had dedicated a statue group in the temple of Isthmian Poseidon[156] that was renovated in the imperial period and was pictured, crowned by Tritons, on coins from the reign of Lucius Verus.

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[149] M.E. Hoskins Walbank, "Evidence for the imperial cult in Julio-Claudian Corinth", in A. Small (ed.) *Subject and ruler: The cult of the ruling power in classical antiquity*, *JRA* Supplementary Series 17 (1996) 201-14, especially, 203-4.

[150] Pausanias II, 3, 1.

[151] This first appears on the coins of Claudius, who one may plausibly conjecture was also its builder; see Walbank, op. cit., 207.

[152] The view espoused in *Price - Trell*, 62, fig. 113, that this fountain is a reproduction of the fountain at Rome known as the *Meta Sudans*, rather than some local monument, is not especially persuasive in the Greek context. It should be noted that an analogous representation of a fountain can be seen on Patran coins of the same period, suggesting that both examples most likely refer to some programme of beautification in those cities. See also M. Amandry, *RPC* I, 60 no. 160, who interprets the image as a conical fountain.

[153] M. Walbank, "Pausanias, Octavia and temple E at Corinth", *BSA* 84 (1989) 384-5 and 393-4.

[154] Pausanias II 2,1. J. Tobin, *The monuments of Herodes Atticus* (University of Pensylvania PhD 1991) 208-14.

[155] Pausanias II 3,2

[156] Pausanias II 1,8 and Price-Trell, 82, fig. 145.

One series of representations refers to works executed under Commodus for the city's beautification. Examples include a lighthouse, probably from the harbour of Lechaion[157], Apollo on a pedestal[158], and Poseidon holding a trident or with dolphins at his feet, a representation of the imposing bronze fountain thought to have once stood at the west end of the agora before it was moved at the end of the second century in order to make room for two new temples[159].

The spring of Peirene and the embellishment of the fountain there seem to have been among the chief concerns of the authorities, and one of the most important works to grace Corinth. A series of representations based on the fountain of Peirene were illustrated on issues from the time of Hadrian[160]. Of the most important representations is that of the nymph Peirene giving water to Pegasus who, according to tradition, was tamed by Bellerophon the moment when he drank water; other scenes picture the same spring, in connection to the "Scylla fountain". It is most probable that these issues illustrate the archaeologically attested programme of embellishment of the water source. The archaeological and numismatic evidence points to a date during the reign of Septimius Severus[161].

In contrast with Corinth, architectural representations on the coins of Patrae[162] are limited. We find a fountain [fig. 28] that appears to have been erected under Domitian and is depicted surmounted by the statue of a male figure[163]. This image recurs on the coins of Commodus and later of Elagabalus, all impressively faithful in their reproduction of certain details, such as the lion-headed water spouts from which water gushes forth. Another example is

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[157] Price - Trell, 85, fig. 147.

[158] Pausanias II 2,8, describes the bronze statue of Clarian Apollo in a temple founded by the *duovir Babbius Philinus*.

[159] Price-Trell, 82, fig.141. This fountain should probably be identified with that mentioned by Pausanias (II 3,8), as a work of the Julio-Claudian Age.

[160] Similar types reappear under Commodus, Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Plautilla.

[161] Price-Trell, 80, fig. 136-139a.

[162] The colonial coinage of Patrae is the subject of a forthcoming publication. For this reason, we discuss here some still unpublished devices, which are not included in Appendix II.

[163] C.S. Berkowitz, "An Imperial fountain at Patrae: The numismatic evidence", *AJA* 77 (1973) 206; Price-Trell, 44-45, fig. 74. For its possible construction as part of a nymphaion erected at Patras, P. Agallopoulou, *Θέματα νομισματοκοπίας και νομισματικής κυκλοφορίας των Πατρών* (Ioannina 1994) 16-17. The figure is difficult to identify, though its stance resembles that of the colony's *Genius* on coins of the same period. Either the figure follows a stylistic convention of that time, or it is indeed the colony's *Genius* and the fountain was erected on the occasion of the colony's refoundation.

the representation of an imposing temple from the time of Hadrian, whose identification remains uncertain [fig. 29]. It is quite likely that this is a copy of a Roman coin from the same era[164], though it is not impossible that the temple is either a direct, or possibly indirect, reference to the foundation of the Panhellenion[165], or to the erection of some local temple[166]. Especially problematic is the interpretation of a corresponding type in an issue of Julia Domna [fig. 30]. Here we have an octastyle temple illustrated in great detail, with ornate capitals, enormous acroteria in the shape of female figures who hold an ear of corn or a flower, and a *quadriga* as the central acroterion. In the tympanum of the pediment appears another female figure, who is in all likelihood Julia Domna herself. In this instance we cannot be sure whether this representation depicts an actual temple dedicated to the cult of the deified empress that was erected in Rome, or in Patrae; or whether it is in fact an iconographical convention standing symbolically for the imperial cult.

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At Buthrotum the aqueduct, whose arched colonnade appears on issues already from the time of Augustus, became the characteristic emblem of the city

[164] A. Banti, *I grandi bronzi imperiali* (Florence 1984) 160-1.

[165] On the architectural remains of the Panhellenion, see J. Travlos, *Pictorial dictionary of ancient Athens* (New York 1980) 429-.31. If we do not know the exact architectural form of the temple that was erected in the agora of the Athenians, how then can we assert that the building that appears on the coins of Rome is precisely that one? Given the fact that this period witnessed the incorportation of Greek subject matter into the Roman iconographical repertoire, the conjecture that the temple illustrated on these coins is the Panhellenion seems to take too great a risk, despite the significant place given to that building's foundation in Hadrian's wider political programme. A.J.S. Spawforth, S. Walker, "The world of the Panhellenion I", *JRS* 75 (1985) 78-104 and "The world of the Panhellenion II", *JRS* 76 (1986) 88 -105.

[166] Even though we do not possess specific evidence to prove that such a building was built, it is helpful to collate the information from Patrae, see *Achaïe II*, 102-3, no. 24, which refers to the honorary inscription in which Hadrian is *"σωτῆρι και κτίστηι"*, dating to 128/9-132. Of interest is the view of L. Robert as described by Rizakis, "L. Robert, certes, a montré que le titre κτίστης n'est pas attribué à la légère, mais dans ce cas précis on peut difficilement confirmer qu'il soit associé à une éventuelle visite ou à la fondation d'un ou de plusieurs édifices de la ville."

on Neronian issues [fig. 31]. Of special interest is the depiction of a disk within a temple that appears on issues of the *duoviri* and has been interpreted as evidence for the existence of a mint. Together with another coin that shows the *sella curulis*, this image may perhaps offer some indication of the colony's administrative organization, its constitutional status and its significance in the region[167].

A limited series of representations depicts the harbours of the colonies, important commercial stations in the contemporary economy that were at the same time sources of wealth, prosperity and pride for the coastal cities of the provinces. Likewise, the fact that they were maintained in such good condition, and their general vitality, confirm that they benefited from the sustained interest of the authorities in the provisioning of these cities and the replenishment of their markets.

The representations are often symbolic, as, for example, at Corinth where the iconographic style was highly varied. Under Tiberius the type showing the local divinity Isthmos[168] was issued, in which the harbour is represented as a man holding two rudders [fig. 32]: in other words, as the personification of the Corinth *bimaris*, a type that would be repeated in later years. Under Caligula another scene is introduced that shows the rudder with an orb [fig. 33], which combines the abstractive representation of Isthmos with the cosmic orb, usually found at the feet of the Roman Nike. In Nero's reign we find a bust of Aphrodite above a ship [fig. 34], or a dolphin, inscribed CENCHREAE and LECHAVM; while under Domitian, the city's two harbours take the form of nymphs holding rudders. In a similar way, on coins of Antoninus Pius the harbour of Cenchreae is depicted with striking faithfulness to its actual shape as it has been revealed through excavation[169].

At Buthrotum too, coins of Claudius show a swimming bullock, the evocative symbol of the city that alludes to its opportune position on the coast of

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[167] H. Papageorgiadou, Sh. Gjongecaj, "La circulation monétaire à Bouthrotos et sa région" *Bouthrotos I, Mission archéologique héllènique à Boutrhotos*, Fondation National de la Recherche Scientifique (forthcoming).

[168] *LIMC*, Isthmos, 803-4.

[169] An analogous depiction appears on a glass panel from a house at Cenchreae from the end of the fourth century AD; L. Ibrahim, et al., *Kenchreai* 2 (Leiden 1976) 96.

Chaonia; while in other issues the harbour is shown personified as a standing male figure who holds a cornucopia and an anchor or *patera*.

At Patrae a more realistic rendering of harbours was preferred, to judge at least by the relative precision with which her reproductions approximate the original. Given the fact that this sort of realistic portrayal is quite rare in Roman iconography – perhaps with the exception of the famous harbour of Ostia – we may suggest that the interest in a more detailed visual delineation of the harbours was connected with some restoration project or expansion of the facilities at a particular point in time.

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Indeed, the very few representations of the harbour[170] at Patrae that exist, from the reigns of Commodus [fig. 35] and Geta [fig. 36], are extraordinarily detailed, providing us with important information about the harbour's shape and the buildings that surrounded it[171]. Also clearly visible on the coins of Commodus is a male figure who stands at the entrance to the harbour – the same figure also appears alone in issues from the same period. Though its identification is uncertain, the young male figure is depicted holding a Nike in one hand and possibly a branch in the other. Perhaps the figure was a statue that adorned the harbour, or even acted as a lighthouse[172]. Those depictions of Patrae's harbour are more faithful to the prototypes of realism that was distinctive to Italian wall painting[173].

[170] G.E. Rickmann, "Towards a study of Roman ports", in A. Raban (ed.) *Harbour Archaeology, BAR* 257 (London 1985) 105-14. On the numismatic iconography of harbours, see B.A. Boyce, "The harbour of Pompeiopolis. A study in Roman Imperial ports and dated coins", *AJA* 62 (1958) 67-78. On the harbour of Ostia in particular, see C.H.V. Sutherland, *Roman history and coinage 44 BC-AD 69* (Oxford 1987) 80-3 and M.K. Thornton, "Nero's Quinquennium: the Ostian connection", *Historia* 38.1 (1989) 117-9.

[171] On the reworking of the harbour at Patrae in the second century AD, see I. Papapostolou, «Θέματα τοπογραφίας και πολεοδομίας των Πατρών», in A.D. Rizakis (ed.) *Achaia und Elis in der Antike*, ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 13 (Athens 1991) 315.

[172] We might perhaps conjecture that the figure depicted was the statue of Apollo said by Pausanias (VII,21.10) to have been found very near the harbour. An analogous figure that has been identified as a lighthouse was also erected at Ostia's harbour, see W. Carlton, "The Harbour at Ostia as portrayed on a sestertius of Nero", *SAN* 17. 1 (1986) 17-8 and H. Papageorgiadou, «Η Νομισματοκοπία της Colonia Patrensis: παρατηρήσεις στην εικονογραφία», in A. Rizakis (ed.) *Achaia und Elis in der Antike*, *ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ* 13 (Athens 1991) 208.

[173] See for example, the wall painting from Stabiae with its view of a commercial harbour, dated to AD 79; *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, vol. 6 (Athens 1976) 79. The lack of relevant material from excavation or other topographical evidence from Patrae hinders us from establishing the harbour's actual form.

LOCAL GODS AND TRADITIONS

What emerges from our discussion of colonial iconography on coins thus far is that it may either adopt purely Roman iconography, or content itself with a more generally Romanising tendency, covering a wide range of imperial propaganda from images concerned with succession to those focussed on local matters. Nevertheless, the majority of the devices on coins emanating from the colonies are in a general way Greek, or even austerely local, in character[174], depending on the circumstances of time and place – factors which often elude modern researchers.

Indeed, it appears that the mints of the Greek colonies demonstrated an exceptional resistance to iconographical influence from Rome and retained subjects of local interest where possible. This stance was probably not a sign of the colonies' desire for and expression of autonomy. Instead, their interpretation should be sought it would seem, in the very nature of the coins as bearers of particular messages directed at particular audiences.

The coins conveyed two different sorts of messages. The first and more wide- ranging concerned the whole empire, or the general principles of imperial rule. They were addressed to all the empire's inhabitants, and the central authority was responsible for the types used. The second sort of message had as its purpose the conveying of "information" to the inhabitants of particular provinces and, consequently, the iconography needed to be familiar to the local population. It is most likely that the choice of types was made by local officials since they were in the best position to effect such decisions, given their knowledge of the local community, its needs and its mentality[175].

On the coins of the colonies, but often of the free cities as well, two distinct tendencies are discernable. With regard to local iconography, the coexistence of these two currents is a result of the already long tradition of Greek coin-making. The one remains closer to prototypes drawn from classical art and focuses on the main deities of the Greeks: Zeus or Athena, for example, who often assume the form in which they were worshipped in particular areas, such as Athena Panachaia in Patrae[176]. The second tendency is more intimately linked to the later Hellenistic

[174] Types using architectural monuments are an interesting exception since they balance between the two categories of "Roman" and "local".

[175] For an excellent example, see the proclamation of Achaea's liberation and its tax free status by Nero in AD 67, which did not apply to other parts of the empire. See also the issues of Domitian with the inscription PERMISSV AVGVSTI, refering to the resumption of the Greek cities' right to mint coins.

[176] Pausanias VII, 20,2.

iconography which focussed on local traditions whose subject matter was of rather limited interest to those outside a particular city. Of course there are instances in which it is very difficult to decide into which category a particular type fits. This is due to the fact that, as we shall see below, often the Panhellenic and local elements, but also the Roman and the Greek, are artfully harmonized with one another[177].

Throughout the course of its existence, the workshop of Corinth was characterized by a vast range of scenes for which it drew mainly on local divinities and traditions for its subject matter. Typical of this pattern is the fact that even from the first years after the colony's foundation we do not find the standard "colonial" types, but instead scenes were chosen from local tradition and the Greek pantheon, such as Bellerophon, Pegasus [fig. 37], the Chimaera or Zeus, Dionysos, Aphrodite and Pallas Athena, while in only two issues does Nike and the *praefericulum* appear.

Except for previously established representations such as Pegasus or the *praefericulum* and those referring to the issue of succession[178], coins minted under Augustus also placed special emphasis on agonistic themes, showing an agonistike trapeza [fig. 38], an athlete, torch, or the ethnic inscribed in the middle of a crown of pine or parsley that was bestowed on victors at Isthmia[179].

Equally important and impressive was the colony's activity under Tiberius when local iconographic themes, such as Pegasus, recurred. New types also appeared that would be frequently repeated in years to come, such as Melikertes

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[177] A similar situation existed in the mints of the East, see *Civic Coins*.

[178] The plethora of issues by the *duovirs C. Mussius Priscus* and *C. Heius Pollio* in AD 4-5 has been interpreted by M. Grant, *Anniversary Issues*, 24-5, as commemorative of the twentieth anniversary of the *respublica restituta*, or of the half century since the colony's foundation. But the iconographical choices – the portraits of Augustus successors, Agrippa, Drusus, Germanicus and Tiberius – suggest rather a projection of dynastic continuity as the motivating force.

[179] These scenes appear chiefly on the so-called "pseudo-autonomous" coins that were minted in different periods (see *Duovirs*, 77-80) and constitute a large part of Corinthian coin production. In all likelihood their issuing was related to the re-establishment of the Isthmian games after they had been moved to Sicyon from 146 BC and were periodically celebrated at Corinth. See also, O. Broneer, "The Isthmian victory crown", *AJA* 66 (1962) 263 and D.G. Geagan, "Notes on the agonistic institutions of Roman Corinth", *GRBS 9* (1968) 69.

riding on a dolphin [fig. 39], an image drawn from local myth[180]. Among the few coin series from Caligula's reign we continue to discern the same characteristic movement between local tradition and imperial themes.

Nero's accession to power was characterized already from the start by a general trend toward revival that rapidly crossed over into the provinces, even before his much-discussed visit to Greece. In Corinth particularly, numismatic activity burgeoned with a display of imagination that often borders on great art. Now for the first time appeared scenes such as Poseidon in a hippocampus-drawn chariot [fig. 40]; or Aphrodite "Pelagia", holding a mirror[181] and drawn in a chariot by Tritons [fig. 41], Bellerophon who with an impressive show of strength (and in a fine naturalistic rendering) seizes Pegasus by the reins; or the god Helios in quadriga.

The reign of Domitian proved to be one of the richest phases for Corinthian iconography with local subject matter serving as the main source of inspiration for the steady production of new types. Innovative and often highly inventive representations draw deeply from local tradition, such as Ino with Melikertes, Poseidon bearing various symbols, or on a chariot harnessed to Tritons or hippocamps as in earlier issues, or leaning on a rock. In this same period, a type known already from the coins of Rome under Vespasian appears in Corinth and becomes established there. In this type Poseidon is shown with one foot on the prow of a ship, while in his hands he holds a dolphin and a trident[182] [fig. 42]; in another variation the sea god

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[180] M. Oeconomides, «Ο μύθος του Μελικέρτη-Παλαίμονα στα κορινθιακά νομίσματα», *Πρακτικά Δ' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών, Κόρινθος 9-16/9/1990* (Athens 1992-1993) 135-40.

[181] For the interpretation of this type and the change in the meaning of the cult of Aphrodite, see C.K. Williams II, "The refounding of Corinth: Some roman religious attitudes", in S. Macready, F.H. Thompson (eds), *Roman architecture in the Greek world* (London 1987) 32. Analogous types appeared also under Caracalla.

[182] See L. Breglia, *Roman imperial coins-Their art and technique* (London 1968) 96 where the type is traced back to a Greek prototype of the fourth century BC that was copied in many variations, in sculpture, the minor arts and on coins. The prototype was derived from a Macedonian tetradrachm of Demetrius Poliorcetes and was minted in commemoration of his victory over Ptolemy in Cyprus (306 BC). On these coins Poseidon rests his hand on his bent leg, while on the Roman copies he holds a dolphin. As a numismatic type it was considered suitable for countless colonial issues from both Greece and the eastern Mediterranean.

sits enthroned, again with a dolphin and a trident, essentially a copy of the enthroned, sceptre-holding Zeus Nikephoros as he is pictured on coins of Rome dating to AD 86[183]. Also attested are Zeus with a sceptre, eagle or thunderbolt, Aphrodite standing on a column or holding a shield, Athena Nikephoros with a spear, Triptolemus in battle [fig. 43], Helios in his chariot, Hygeia, the Chimaera, Pegasus and Eros with Aphrodite. Of special interest is also the view of the Propylaea at the entrance to the Lechaion road[184], on which appear the chariots of Helios and Phaethon [fig. 44]; while other issues allude to Corinth's harbours. Scenes from the games also belong to Corinth's iconographical repertoire, with ISTHMIA in a wreath [fig. 45], a torch-bearing athlete, or one with both torch and palm branch being also particular favourites in the "pseudo-autonomous" coins of the period.

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The reign of Hadrian saw a new age of flowering that touched all the Greek cities and on many different levels. A primary feature of Corinthian coin production during this period is the increase of the variety of local types. This fact should perhaps be linked with the view that this trend coincided with the time when Greek was recognized, with the emperor's consent[185], as the colony's official language. To the previously known Greek themes were added for the first time depictions of Dionysos with a thyrsus and kantharos, and a panther by his side[186],

[183] *Hunter* II, no. 140. In any case, the cult of the sea god was a given in a city that owed its existence to the sea. A large bronze statue of Poseidon adorned the harbour of Cenchreae (Pausanias II 2,3), though we are ignorant of its exact appearance. See also *LIMC* VII, Poseidon and Poseidon/Neptunus.

[184] Pausanias II 3,2. R. Stillwell, "The Propylaea", in H.N. Fowler, R. Stillwell (eds) *Corinth* I. *Introduction. Topography. Architecture* (Cambridge 1932) 159-92. For the monument's identification and dating, see also C.M. Edwards, "The arch over the Lechaion road at Corinth and its sculpture", *Hesperia* 63 (1994) 266- 95.

[185] J.H. Oliver, "Panachaeans and Panhellenes", *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 191. Hadrian granted many privileges to Corinth, as Nero had done before him, see A.J.S. Spawforth, "Corinth, Argos, and the Imperial cult:Pseudo-Iulian letters", *Hesperia* 63 (1994) 221-30.

[186] Perhaps this was an older cult image of the god (such as described by Pausanias II 2.6) that had escaped the ransacking led by Mummius.

a satyr and a figure identified as Asklepios, which probably belonged to the same iconographic cycle that had first appeared on coins from the time of Domitian[187]. Scenes relating to Asklepios, who had a temple in Corinth from the fourth century BC, were commonly depicted on coins for a variety of reasons, from that time forth[188]. These coins most likely alluded to a revival in the cult, or a restoration of the sanctuary, which is dated with near certainty to the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

The same principle of iconographical types continued to supply material under Antoninus Pius. Corinthian cultural life was clearly reaching a high water mark – her coins depict old, but also more recent cult images, as well as architectural structures that adorned the city's streets and agora.

It needs to be emphasized here that at this period Roman prototypes went on being copied (as one would expect), but that at the same time there was a development of the iconographic conventions that had matured under Hadrian, based on borrowings into Roman iconography from the Greek tradition[189]. Characteristic examples of the Greek-influenced trend are the Artemis or Herakles who appeared on issues from Rome in this period[190].

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Besides well-established scenes such as Asklepios/*Aesculapius*[191] standing in front of a tetrastyle temple, we also find images such as Kronos with a sickle, possibly a unique representation, and Artemis the Huntress, with bow, hound and stag, as she is also pictured on the coins of Patrae, as Laphria [fig. 46]. Athena appears with Nike, spear and shield, a copy of the bronze statue of Athena described by Pausanias in the middle of the Corinthian agora[192].

Within the more general political context of the empire, the approach to particular Roman prototypes, the appropriation of the symbolism of various Greek themes and the parallel use of images in issues from Rome as well as the provinces becomes even more striking during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Athena Nikephoros/Roma, Ares with a spear and trophy, next to a boukranion, or Nike bearing crown and palm branch, are some of the most comprehensible messages[193].

[187] See above for the representation of Hygeia(?).

[188] See Antoninus Pius, p. 83.

[189] See for example, the Roman Tyche, whose temple stood in the agora of Corinth: Pausanias II 7,8.

[190] *Hunter* II, 233, no. 312, pl. 61 (Antoninus Pius); II, 298, no. 19, pl. 82 (Faustina II, under Pius).

[191] At this time Rome celebrated the 450th anniversary of the cult of *Aesculapius*, see *Anniversary Issues*, 119.

[192] Pausanias II 3,1.

[193] *Hunter* II, 318, no. 66, pl. 87; 318, no. 67, pl. 87; 314, no. 38, pl. 86.

Also at this time a type known from the Antonine age reappears, namely the statue of a lion on base - a perhaps defective copy of the tomb of Lais that was surmounted by a lioness holding a ram in her fore-paws, as described by Pausanias on the road between Cenchreae and Corinth[194].

As should be clear by now, Corinth attracted a large number of foreigners, bankers, merchants, seamen, travellers, officials and other, and proudly projected its artistic treasures on its coins. We should perhaps imagine her coins fulfilling a similar role as today's postcards, serving to remind us of places and monuments we have visited, while at the same time inspiring others to travel to those same places.

It is possible that the depiction of Asklepios and Hygeia on the coins of Lucius Verus mirrors the cult images of the two divinities that stood in the Asklepeeion[195]; the Hermes seated on a rock is perhaps a copy of the bronze Hermes with a ram that adorned the Lechaion road[196]. Likewise, the Aphrodite who holds a shield and is accompanied by Eros is a numismatic representation of the cult images at her temple on Acrocorinth, where she is shown armed, together with Helios and bow-clad Eros[197]. Also in this period there appears the image of Tyche with a wheel, identified with Nemesis[198]. Among the local monuments, the temple of Poseidon was pictured crowned with Tritons, as has already been mentioned above. Of special interest is a coin now in Copenhagen[199] which the catalogue describes as a standing Helios who holds a club and a head with a turreted crown. The coin's state of preservation as well as the quality of the photograph does little to enhance our understanding of the scene. The club resembles a torch, which would anyway be more natural, while the turreted diadem is not clearly distinguishable. Perhaps the figure represents the emperor as Helios, who controls and enlightens the Tyche of the city. Whatever the interpretation, the scene on this coin is exceptionally peculiar, one at odds with the Greek aesthetic. Most likely it must be understood as a copy of some other, Roman prototype[200].

[194] Pausanias II 2, 4 και Price-Trell, 85, fig. 149. The same type recurs in later periods too.

[195] For the remple, Pausanias II 4, 5. According to Papachatzis, *Κορινθιακά* (Athens 1976) 80, the temple is dated to the fourth century BC, though it had been restored in the early imperial period.

[196] Pausanias II 3,4.

[197] Pausanias II 5,1.

[198] C.M. Edwards, "Tyche at Corinth", *Hesperia* 59 (1990) 529-42, esp. 541 n. 66, dates this identification to the second century AD and associates it with the return of soldiers from Dacia.

[199] *SNG Cop*, no. 337.

[200] For a similar, but later, device, see *Hunter* V, 105, no. 93, pl. 30 and 106, no. 106, pl. 31; where, Genius holding head of Sol and cornucopiae, and Sol holding head of Serapis are depicted on coins of Maximinus Daza (AD 305-316).

The numismatic types issued during the reign of Septimius Severus maintain an admirable balance. From the above-mentioned Roman *dextrarum junctio* and the bellicose Athena Nikephoros we also find Artemis the Huntress within temple[201] and the fountain of Peirene. The issues of Caracalla and Plautilla are the last known from Corinth[202]. In this period, recourse is often made to the (as ever) rich panoply of representations of Aphrodite, perhaps in an attempt to associate the empress Plautilla with the goddess. Aphrodite holding a shield and a mirror[203], in addition to a representation of her temple on Acrocorinth, whose surroundings are depicted in great detail, were some of the types chosen for this period's coins. The heroic types which are by now deemed essential are represented in this period by the city's Tyche holding a sceptre as she stands before a trophy.

The fact that the majority of images appearing on Corinthian coins were purely local in inspiration clearly suggests that the Roman authorities had, to a significant degree, acquiesced in the iconographic choices made by the Greek colonial mints. Corinth's peculiarity among Roman colonies should perhaps be written down, among other things, to the city's status as an entrepôt or commercial hub, but the level of iconographical freedom exercised there was not unique and, as we shall see below, was enjoyed by other colonies as well.

In Achaea's other great colony, Patrae, an analogous situation prevailed, though there at least the types commemorating the colonial foundation did recur with great frequency. The proliferation of numismatic iconography that was associated with the inception of Nero's reign is discernable in Patrae[204] as well, though more limited in extent. Amidst this veritable tempest of images that shook the Greek iconographical tradition to its roots and altered the course of its development for centuries to come, we find only one of the older types still appearing with regularity, namely, the legionary emblems, a fitting image with which to represent the colony's refoundation. The most prominent figures to appear on Patrae's coins come from the Greek pantheon: Zeus, Artemis and Herakles [fig. 47][205].

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[201] This image may have adorned the baths of Eurycles: Pausanias II, 2.6.

[202] The highly limited series of Geta and Julia Domna do not stray from the already well-established type repertoire.

[203] See also Patrae. Pausanias II 2,3 mentions a stone statue of Aphrodite at Cenchreae.

[204] B.E. Levy, "When did Nero liberate Achaea and why?" in A.D. Rizakis (ed.) *Achaia und Elis in der Antike*, ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 13 (Athens 1991) 189-94.

[205] The Herakles who appears is of the "Farnese" type.


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Chief among the characteristics of the Patrae mint at this time is the use of explanatory inscriptions to identify the images. These may be divinities of local origin such as DEANA AVGVSTA, DIANA LAPHR[206], or panhellenic gods such as APOLLO AVGVST, HERCVLI AVGVSTO, many of which are linked with the emperor himself, while in the same cycle honouring the liberation of Achaea we find the type of IVPPITER LIBERATOR[207] [fig. 48]. In addition, we find symbolic representations, such as the PORTVS FRVGIFERA, a standing male figure who holds an oar and a horn of plenty – a reference to the city's harbour. There was room too for the well-known ADVENTVS AVGVSTI type. The detailed explanatory inscriptions of the Patrae coins also inform us of the putative refoundation of the colony[208], as is suggested by the appearance of GEN COL NER PAT along with the city's Genius offering libations on an altar.

It should be stressed that the scenes on Patrae's coins that evinced a distinctly Greek character never approximated either the number and variety known from Corinth, or the degree of creative freedom known there. To the contrary, they always hung in a balance with the Roman and colonial types, the latter of which never disappeared completely from Patrae's coin production.

In stark contrast with Corinth, Patrae under Domitian saw her coins dominated by Roman subjects, with the lone exceptions being Artemis Laphria and Poseidon, both after Corinthian prototypes, and the representation of a fountain. And, strangely, the Hadrianic mint of Patrae is not as rich as one would have expected. Pride of place was given, however, to local deities, such as Artemis Laphria, one of the most common types, or Artemis Triklaria[209], Athena Panachaia[210], Hera enthroned and Poseidon, in the type well-known from

[206] This type appears for the first time in the coins of Nero and continues to be used in later issues of Domitian, Hadrian, Sabina, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Commodus and Caracalla. Very likely it represents the goddess' cult image (Pausanias VII, 18, 8-13) that was transferred from Calydon to Patrae and shows her holding a bow and accompanied by her hound, near an altar. On the ideological meaning of this transfer, see S.E. Alcock, *Graecia Capta. The landscapes of Roman Greece* (Cambridge 1993) 140-1.

[207] B.E. Levy, "Nero's liberation of Achaea: Some numismatic evidence from Patrae", *Nickle Numismatic Papers* (Ontario 1984) 165-85, and "Jupiter Liberator at Patrae and the Boy Zeus of Aigion", *Proceedings of the XIIth international congress of classical archaeology, Athens 4-10/9/1983*, vol. 2 (Athens 1988) 131-5.

[208] Was this perhaps an honorary act on the Patrans' part by which they insinuated that Nero was the city's real patron?

[209] Pausanias VII, 19, 1-6. The goddess, accompanied by a stag, is portrayed running with lighted torches in her hands.

[210] Pausanias VII, 20, 2. Her portrait suggests slight movement by the gentle bending of her body.

Corinth[211]. In the coins of Sabina too, we see the standing Hermes[212] accompanied by his ram, and the city's Tyche[213], both after Hellenistic prototypes.

Local themes absorb the greater part of the iconographical repertoire also under Marcus Aurelius[214], especially scenes drawn from the Artemis cycle[215]. Of outstanding interest is the depiction of the priestess of Artemis Triclaria riding in her deer-drawn chariot [fig. 49], a scene that harmonizes with Pausanias' description (VII, 18.7) and that was perhaps associated with a revival of the ceremony in the goddess' honour. Most of the types seem to copy statuary, and this is underlined by the habit that grew up, of representing the main subject as enclosed by a simple distyle temple. Later, this iconographic formulation is developed in the parallel rendering of the god's image – either freestanding or inside a temple.


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A second important flowering of Patrae's mint can be pinpointed to the reign of Commodus, which saw a large number of issues and a variety of types from all categories[216]. Athena Panachaia[217], familiar from Hadrian's reign, appears again but is now rendered with the solemn immovability of a cult statue and is pictured standing inside a distyle temple. At her feet sits an owl. Hermes undergoes the same transformation, now framed by a distyle temple. Artemis, Cybele [fig. 50], the Hellenistic goddess Tyche with her turreted crown, Asklepios, Herakles, Zeus

[211] Pausanias VII, 21, 7 and A. Banti, *I grandi bronzi imperiali* (Florence 1984) 88-91.

[212] B. Combet-Farnoux, *Mercure Romain*, *BEFAR* 238 (1980) 424-31.

[213] F. Allègre, *Étude sur la déesse grecque Tyché*, *Bibliothèque de la faculté des Lettres de Lyon*, 14 (Paris 1989). Also, I. Kajanto, "Fortuna", *ANRW* II, 17.1 (Berlin 1981) 502-58. On the association of local divinities with emperors more generally, see T. Mikocki, "Les imperatrices et les princesses en déesses dans l'art romain", *Eos* 78 (1990) 209-18. However, in this case no such association is obvious, unless it was highly subtle.

[214] Colonial types did, of course, continue to be used, though they represented a minute proportion of numismatic output; and Roman types such as the she-wolf with the twins as well as the portrait of Faustina are known to have existed. Exactly the opposite tendency is discernible under Lucius Verus when, by and large, colonial and Roman types predominated. Might this difference be indicative of a different political stance, which Lucius Verus simply did not in the end have the time to impose – or was it simply a matter of different iconographical tastes?

[215] Y. Lafond, "Artemis en Achaie", *REG* 104 (1991) 410-33.

[216] This period witnessed the addition, for the first time, of Roma pictured seated while crowned by a youth.

[217] Pausanias VII, 20.2.

Nikephoros are but a few of the divinities who appear on the coins of Commodus. The foremost characteristic of this burst of activity is the freedom to select unique iconographical types, often demonstrating exceptional creative inspiration[218] that would leave their mark on the numismatic issues of later periods, types such as the representation of the protecting goddesses Artemis of Patrae and the Aphrodite of Corinth facing one another[219]. Another example from this exceptionally interesting category of types is a representation of Cupid and Psyche [fig. 51]. The Greek myth enjoyed especial popularity in Hellenistic times both in literature and in other media, and was revived by Apuleius in his Latin novel the *Metamorphoses*[220].

By contrast, iconography seems to have frozen in the time of Septimius Severus, with the repetition of just a few older types, such as Poseidon and Hermes[221]. At the same time, the quantity of the coins that were issued declined a tendency that would only grow in strength during the few remaining years of coin production in Patrae.

The picture of coin production at Patrae under Caracalla is different, though equally peculiar. We find a large number of coins that carry mainly local subject matter, except for the she-wolf, and are repeated in both smaller and larger denominations. The seated Hermes, either alone against a plain background or in a distyle temple, Zeus Aetophoros, and Artemis Laphria are the only images to appear – as well the familiar Poseidon, preserved on only a single coin. Production at Patrae's mint[222] continued to

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[218] Examples of exceptional images are the city's harbour whose entrance is guarded by the statue of a male figure, or Aeneas fleeing Troy, both referred to above, p. 41.

[219] In all probability, this particular representation alludes to some actual event that stimulated closer relations between the two colonies, though no other evidence of this survives.

[220] D. Raios, *Λατινικό Μυθιστόρημα. Πετρώνιος-Απουλήιος*, (Ioannina 1994) 227-84 with bibliography.

[221] A unique coin is reported from McClean Collection, S.W. Grose, *Fitzwilliam Museum. Catalogue of the McClean collection of Greek coins*, vol. II (Chicago 1979) no. 6344, depicting a group of three figures; Artemis Laphria with hound, Genius of the colony and Nike advancing to crown Genius. From 193 to 195, mainly subjects of local interest prevailed, while from 197 onward we observe a tendency to prefer Roman types, such as *Fortuna* and *Abundantia*, or the emperor on horseback.

[222] It should be noted that only under Caracalla was the mint organised in a different way so that coins were issued in a very few iconographical types: Artemis, Hermes (sometimes in a temple, other times not), as well as the she-wolf, all of which were issued in various denominations. Differentiation between the denominations is clear, however, thanks to the studious distinction in coin size. This practice of producing parallel issues using the same types for different denominations does not appear to have been repeated in any other provincial mint.

dwindle in both quality[223] and quantity until its final cessation in the time of Elagabalus. Then, of course, Helios was only to be expected from the emperor who was devoted to the cult of that god[224].

The course taken by the mint at more remote Buthrotum was in many ways analogous to that of the colonies further south, though it did take some distinctive turnings. Its first issues were signed by the *duoviri* and still bore Greek types – an ox, for example, the eloquent symbol of the city that continued to be pictured in many variants down to the city's last coins; but also popular were the club or the sceptre of Asklepios. The same types recurred in the coins under Augustus, at which time a few other types also appeared, such as Zeus, trident and tripod[225]. The numismatic types remain almost entirely Greek under Claudius as well, when we also find the ethnic inscribed within a crown, a palm tree, and a bull, images repeated under Nero [fig. 52] but to which were added Asklepios, Nike and two fishes[226].

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Dyme's numismatic productivity was short-lived, lasting only until the reign of Tiberius when the colony was attached to Patrae. Its iconographical range was characterized by an adherence to the standard, received types, because its minting coincide with a period of extreme romanisation[227]. The plethora of scenes – which we have described as "colonial", "Roman" and "Greek" - was the result of the high level of productivity and artistic creativity attested, among the Achaean mints, only at Corinth, Patrae and to a lesser extent Buthrotum.

[223] Note the realistic, if cack-handed, depiction of the area around an altar, which dates from the time of Geta: see N. Papachatzis, *Παυσανίου Ελλάδος Περιήγησις. Αχαϊκά, Αρκαδικά* (Athens 1980) 104, who associates the image with the cult of Magna Mater.

[224] For a similar issue from 221 AD, see *Hunter* III, 117, no. 48, pl. 36.

[225] The extremely few colonial issues naturally referred to the colony's refoundation under Augustus.

[226] The latter, as well as the swimming ox, is likely an allusion to the city's important Roman harbour. The mint of Buthrotum operated sporadically and within limited terms, since in all likelihood there was no real local demand given that the city's vitality sprang from its function as a commercial emporium for goods in transit. See H. Papageorgiadou, Sh. Gjongecaj, "*La circulation monétaire à Bouthrotos et sa région*", in *Bouthrotos I, Mission archéologique héllènique à Bouthrotos*, Fondation National des Recherches Scientifiques (forthcoming).

[227] On Dyme, see in general M. Amandry, "Le monnayage de Dymé (colonia Dumaeorum) en Achaïe. Corpus", *RN* 23 (1981) 45-67 and "Une nouvelle émission dyméenne", *RN* 25 (1983) 53-6.

In contrast, the colonies of Macedonia selected for their coins a very small number of invariable types of mainly local character[228], which remained constant from their foundation to their end, often without any sign of interest in producing parallel representations of Roman subject matter – a striking contrast with the free cities. There is in other words a marked difference between the Achaean and the Macedonian colonies, which was closely connected to the role they played in the organization of their respective provinces.

From Dium's refoundation by Augustus, the spear-bearing Athena who offers a libation [fig. 53] is introduced and became the leading iconographical type from the reign of Claudius; from Domitian's reign onward an owl and/or snake appear/s at her feet. The iconographical repertoire was enriched, relatively speaking, with the addition under Hadrian of Zeus with a *patera*, as well as the first appearance of the two deities, Athena and Zeus, together under Marcus Aurelius. At their feet appear a variety of symbols in alternation. Another series shows Asklepios [fig. 54] in a temple and was issued for the first time under Septimius Severus, possibly in connection with the celebration of 500 year anniversary of that god's worship in Rome[229], then repeated until the last years the mint was in operation. The perpetual repetition of the same types, with only the slightest, insignificant variations, is truly remarkable. Asklepios either inside or outside a temple, Athena and Zeus, either standing or sitting[230], represent the limit of iconographical experimentation.

The iconographical choices behind the "pseudoautonomous" coins, on the other hand, betrayed greater eloquence, if not always greater intelligibility, and alluded most likely to local festivals or games, though these issues do not appear to have left a lasting impression on our overall picture of Dium's coin production.

In Cassandrea the chief iconographical type was the head of Zeus Ammon [fig. 55], which appeared on her coins from Claudius to Macrinus. Under

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[228] The unique exception is Philippi, where a statue of Augustus being crowned by a statue of Caesar is depicted. Under Gallienus a representation of *Fortuna* is added.

[229] *Anniversary Issues*, 119.

[230] Under Hadrian we find Olympian Zeus; *Δίον*, 48-51.

Commodus two new types were introduced, that of Poseidon on a ship's prow, which continued in coins of Caracalla and Philip I and of a nymph (Nyssa?) holding infant Dionysos and *cornucopia*. Under Caracalla another new type appeared that of the bearded Dionysos.

Following the purely Roman foundational issues under Augustus, the next issues deriving from Pella are dated to Hadrian[231], at which time was also introduced the type showing Pan seated on a rock. This scene recurs in subsequent years, from Marcus Aurelius to Philip the Arab. From the time of Iulia Paula until Philip I another type was also used, that of the City enthroned and wearing a turreted diadem.

[231] This is considered by M. Grant, *Anniversary Issues*, 104 n.5, to be a commemorative issue for the 150 years after the colony's foundation in 30.

THE COLONIAL MINTS

IMPERIAL POLICY AND LOCAL PECULIARITIES

The study of numismatic iconography allows us to approach the principles that govern the operation of the colonial mints of Greece. These mints may have been on the periphery of imperial production[232], but they constituted, nevertheless, a significant part of it. These principles were determined by the choices of the Roman authorities, on the one hand, and by the ideological aspirations of the local communities on the other.

That the Roman state allowed local mints to continue to function proves, among other things[233], the importance it assigned to the existing urban framework as a means of securing the efficient government of the eastern provinces[234]. For their part, the Greek populations with time "imposed" their own peculiarities[235], even though the degree of their direct participation in the central government was limited. The result of this engagement of two such different trends was the development of a rich, but uneven Greek coinage, whose fluctuating character was clearly reflected in the iconography.

The mints of the Greek colonies continued along their own course, sometimes coinciding with those of the "free" cities, other times straying further apart. For all concerned, three basic factors contributed to the development of an iconographical "koine" intelligible to all involved: the common foundation of Hellenistic numismatic tradition, the distinctive character imposed by a shared political regime and the nature of the colonies' population, and most of all the exercise of Roman authority and imperial power, which was displayed in a variety of ways.

[232] For an overall approach to the roman imperial coinage, R.A.G. Carson, *Coins of the Roman Empire* (London 1990).

[233] It also needed, of course, to cover the immediate demand for bronze coinage.

[234] Of great interest is the view clearly espoused by P. Ørsted, *Roman imperial economy and romanization* (Copenhagen 1985) 42-3: "The Romans did not regard themselves as a master race with a civilization which they were obliged to spread. It does little to regard them as inspired by some native imperialistic spirit. The causes must rather be sought in the political and economic *quid pro quo*". In this *ad hoc* formulation and application of policy, an important role was played by the empire's maintenance of existing constitutional arrangements in the subject states.

[235] But we should not overlook the fact that from at least the first part of the second century, the local aristocracies were playing a dynamic role in the prosperity of their cities, while from the middle of the same century many of their members were involved in Roman political life, see for example, M. Goodman, *The Roman world, 44 BC-AD 180* (London 1997) 234-5.

The colonies and quite a few "free" cities adopted the imperial portrait as their obverse. The former did so out of obligation, by analogy with Rome, and the latter as an attempt to flatter the emperor and ensure good relations in imperial circles[236].

The reverse often carried subject matter that was Roman in origin, images that portrayed the various aspects of Roman power and were mainly encountered on emissions from the colonies, whereas on coins of the "free" cities such iconography is relatively limited. However, scenes derived from the Greek repertoire and based on Hellenistic models were many and varied, in both the colonies and the "free" cities. In the final analysis, the only vitally important difference between the two types of Greek cities under Roman rule, a difference that, indeed lent each a distinctive character, was the language of their inscriptions. In the free cities Greek was retained; whereas the colonies, as a consequence of their particular constitutional status, used only Latin.

There is no reason to reiterate here the nature of this common Hellenistic foundation, hammered out as it was on a matrix of shared historical and religious traditions. We know for certain that in imperial times, the Greek cities exploited the toleration granted them under Roman rule in order to apply themselves with particular zeal to the production of coins on the Hellenistic model, even though this activity no longer expressed the sense of possessing the right to political sovereignty that had characterized it previously. Indeed, in many cases the often impressive iconographical renaissance of these years betrays precisely the opposite reality.

In fact, the "free" cities continued to operate within the framework of the iconography known from the Hellenistic period, with its emphasis on local gods and traditions, without, of course, hesitating to include (even if in small doses) subject matter reflecting the new political circumstances. At the same time, the iconographical repertoire of the colonies was enriched with subjects that were intruded by the new regime.

It is not known, as we have already noted, to what extent the Greek population participated in or influenced provincial government, though a reasonable estimation of their involvement would be from nil to extremely low[237]. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that the presence of indigenous

[236] Of course, there are coins without the imperial portrait, on which see A. Johnston, "The so-called Pseudoautonomous Greek Imperials", *ANSMN* 30 (1985) 89-112.

[237] A.D. Rizakis, "La constitution des élites municipales dans les colonies romaines de la province d' Achaie", in O. Salomies (ed). *The Greek East in the Roman context, Proceedings of a colloquium organized by the Finnish Institute at Athens, 21-22/5/1999* (Helsinki 2001) 37-49.

elements in the numismatic iconography of Roman Greece is more than obvious, it appears frequently and can even be said to predominate. Obviously, the penetration of Greek iconographical elements has more to do with the tolerance and receptivity of Roman rule than with the actual social position of the Greeks. Indeed, there is a discernable connection between the significant fluctuation in the degree of influence exerted by Greek iconographical preferences on colonial coins and the sense of security possessed by the Roman regime. Accordingly, we observe that during the first difficult and uncertain years of imperial rule the colonies chose subject matter that was mainly colonial or Roman in colour. With the passing of time and the strengthening of Rome's confidence, those in power no longer hesitated to accept and incorporate into Roman tradition many elements from the cultures of their eastern subjects. This process was of course facilitated by the coexistence of the different populations and probably also by the evolution of the Greek communities and their integration into the Roman regime. In the later empire, we see the reverse of this pattern as the accumulated problems and evident decline are accompanied by the empire's retraction in all spheres. Iconography again focuses on Roman themes and especially on the emperor as saviour, and it acquires an austerity that will become distinctive of the later Roman Empire. It thus grows apparent that besides political assimilation, both general policies and more widespread realignments within the empire caused a further levelling of particular differences. A fundamental example of this tendency is provided by the restrictions that from time to time were imposed on the production of local coinages, or indeed by its complete cessation.

Also worthy of note is the fact that fluctuations in coin production were often due to variations originating from the central government that impacted all Greek cities, regardless of their political status; while, in parallel, purely local factors pertaining exclusively to the free cities also had a strong affect in their production. In all likelihood, the mints of the free cities continued to operate according to previously established rules, so that they issued coins when a need for liquidity arose and, naturally, when the economic conditions were favourable.

It appears that imperial policy with regard to the provinces differed according to the prevailing circumstances in each region, the degree to which each city depended on the central government, as well as the distinctive role each maintained and both their position and economic involvement within the regional context.

There is no doubt at all that constitutional developments in the reign of Octavian/Augustus were a milestone in the development of numismatic iconography. The generalized scenes dedicated to the heroic family tradition of

the *monetales* that had already given way partially to the propagandistic iconography of the dictator and his successors are now clearly a thing of the past. The coin types of Augustus are clear, intelligible and direct - straightforward praise of the new leader. Augustus had a knack for exploiting every sort of image in order to lead the *populus* by the hand. Monumental works of art and architecture, the *Res Gestae* by which he publicized his vast projects, impressed imperial policy into the consciousness of the citizenry[238].

The eastern provinces, like the foundation of colonies at critical geographical positions, constituted one of Augustus' highest priorities after the unification and organization of the empire[239]. It seems that this policy was not only prominent[240], but was one in which Augustus showed immediate and continuous interest[241]. We can therefore conjecture that the court directly supervised numismatic production in the provincial cities, where there prevailed a pronounced iconographical preference for allusions to Actium [fig. 56] - an event that had changed the course of history - followed by dynastic themes, even in the free cities such as Thessalonica and Nicopolis. In the colonies the iconographic repertoire was naturally supplemented by the foundation issues. Types with a local character are virtually unknown, with only very few exceptions. How could it have been otherwise during this period of consolidation for Roman world rule?

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The situation under Augustus' successor was the diametrical opposite. Tiberius[242] seemed hesitant to advance radical solutions, choosing instead to

[238] On similar manifestations in numismatic iconography, see A. Burnett, *Coinage in the Roman world* (London 1987) 71-4 and 77, on the rendering and symbolism of Augustus' portrait.

[239] Of course an opening into eastern markets already existed with the establishment of the *negotiatores* at crucial commercial hubs, and thanks to the policies of Caesar.

[240] This is clear from his constant references to the eastern provinces in the *Res Gestae*.

[241] His sojourn from 22 to 19 BC is proof of this, as are the continuous inspections by Agrippa in 23 and in 18-13 BC. See A.D. Winspear, L. Kramp Geweke, *Augustus and the reconstruction of Roman government and society* (New York, 1970^2). His decision to divide the provinces into imperial and consular possessions granted him virtual sovereignty over the armed forces and full control of the empire's foreign policy, while the eastern provinces constituted one of his primary concerns.

[242] C.E. Smith, *Tiberius and the Roman Empire* (Louisiana 1942) 200, 213. R. Seager, *Tiberius* (London 1972) 172-3.

confine himself within a limited arena[243]. His tight-fisted economic policies and the dramatic reduction of government expenditure together with the resulting contraction of employment and his intervention in local mints, all combined to bring about the opposite outcome from what had no doubt been expected: namely, a severe economic crisis[244]. This result is evident, for example, in the dwindling of local coin production.

Tiberius' reign was marked in many fields by a dearth of imagination and freedom of expression; this was compounded by the emperor's over-enthusiastic devotion to the cult of Augustus. This general atmosphere is manifest as well in the iconography of the colonial mints, whose choices of imagery either directly reflected those made by the imperial house, or at least were entirely consistent with them. We should not forget that most issues bearing the portrait of Augustus are actually posthumous [fig. 57], published in the time of Tiberius. Amidst this rather prickly ideological environment there was, of course, no room to develop the iconographical tradition in a different direction. But it must be acknowledged that this was, generally speaking, a period which saw the consolidation of the empire's framework. It was now that the Greek provinces were integrated systematically into the organization and administration of the empire as a whole, though at the same time the provinces did not monopolize the interest of the central government.

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The great iconographical explosion that burst across Achaea came with Nero's elevation to power[245], as the dating of the imperial portrait on the colonies' coins[246] makes clear. In all likelihood, the liberation experienced within the iconographical sphere was a reflection of the different political spirit that was forged during Nero's reign. Nero's economic policy was in essence based on Augustan principles and was in many ways ingenious. He abolished indirect taxation by encouraging free trade, while the monetary reform of AD 60-62, which continued until

[243] In AD 15, the provinces of Achaea and Macedonia complained of the heavy tax burden that had been imposed upon them, with the result that the emperor himself intervened. Nevertheless, criticism of Tiberius' provincial policy may be blunted by the fact that in an age of stabilization there was no real need for his engagement with the provinces and their inhabitants. Moreover, there is also evidence to suggest that the provincials themselves were grateful for the emperor's dealings with them. When in AD 33, Caligula undertook the economic blood-letting of the provinces, with obligatory loans or gifts to the emperor and with the imposition of heavy taxation, the situation deteriorated.

[244] C. Rodewald, *Money in the age of Tiberius* (Manchester 1976).

[245] B.W. Henderson, *The life and principate of the Emperor Nero* (London 1905) 80-5. T.M. Griffin, *Nero. The end of a dynasty* (London 1984).

[246] See for example, those of Patrae.

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Caracalla, greatly facilitated the distribution and circulation of coins[247]. The result was relief for the provincials who had been labouring under dire economic conditions. In addition, the emperor's visit to Greece[248] gave real impetus to the local economy and coin production, and served to spark a still greater freeing up of iconography, which now drew inspiration from the cult of Nero [fig. 58].

Certainly the Greek population was under no delusion about the symbolic act of liberating the province of Achaea – it brought with it no tangible guarantees. But at the same time everyone lived in hope. Lower taxes, greater freedom, economic assistance, recognition - all these could help lighten the burden of the subject populace. Amidst this conflux of realism, hope and desire, the Greek cities found the opportunity to display and advance their own iconographic tradition with an impressive and imaginative variety of types, and to honour their own heroic past by reviving local traditions.

It is terribly difficult to discern which of the types derived from imperial initiative and which were the choice of local officials. Most likely to the first category belonged the more widespread issues of *Adventus Augusti* which were issued in both Corinth and Patrae and perhaps betray an official origin. The *Adlocutio* too could have been one of the imperial initiatives, but might, on the other hand, have been a swaggering provincial copy of the Roman type. Certainly the impressive picture of the provincial mints that remains from this period was ephemeral, entirely focussed on a specific moment in time. The mints' activity was closely intertwined with the celebrations in honour of Nero [fig. 59], preparations for which had presumably begun somewhat ahead of the emperor's arrival. This notion is strengthened by the fact that the increase in numismatic activity is observable only in the colonies of Achaea, whereas the free cities by and large do not seem to have been influenced by the event. Perhaps only fleeting allusions are detectable in the equestrian figure of Sicyon, or the Apollo of the Thessalian League. In Macedonia, the cities did not participate in any significant way in an event which to them seemed more or less irrelevant. The colonies did not alter their iconography in the slightest, and only Thessalonica issued coins with Roma and the emperor as Apollo Kitharodos[249].

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[247] M.K. Thornton, "The Augustan tradition and Neronian economics", *ANRW* II,2 (Berlin 1975) 149-75.

[248] P.A. Gallivan. "Nero's liberation of Greece", *Hermes* 101 (1973) 230-4; K.R. Bradley, "The chronology of Nero's visit to Greece AD 66/67", *Latomus* 37 (1978) 61-72.

[249] I. Touratsoglou, *Die Münzstätte von Thessaloniki in der römischen Kaiserzeit (32/31 v. Chr. bis 268 n. Chr.)* (Berlin 1988) 38-9.

The iconographical exuberance that was so characteristic of coins minted in the Achaean colonies during Nero's reign turned out to be only superficial and ephemeral. Already from the time of Galba this short-lived artistic springtime was followed by a return to the assimilation of images dictated from the imperial centre[250]. The legionary emblems [fig. 60], become the main though not exclusive, type for a series of issues whose source was Rome herself[251]. Strictly military subject matter, though still limited in quantity, grows more popular in the free cities as well, such as Thebes where the well-known depiction of Nike with an orb appears[252]. In most cases, though, the representations preserve their Greek character.

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Coinage under Otho and Vitellius proved to be equally limited. The civil wars shook the empire during this period, as emperors quickly came and went. These tempestuous developments made life difficult for the provincial mints, which either failed to keep up with the political changes, or hesitated to risk taking a position amidst the turmoil of dynastic reprisals.

But gaps existed during times of peace as well, such as under Caligula when only a few cities were minting coins. According to S. Kremydi[253], this fact may have been due to the brevity of his reign, which lasted only five years (AD 37-41); or, most likely, the absence of coins of this particular emperor signals the prescription of a *damnatio memoriae* by his successors and led to the withdrawal from circulation and destruction of coins bearing his name.

Traces of similar treatment are discernable on coins of Nero, whose portrait or name was often tampered with, or more simply defaced or erased. Furthermore, the second considerable and relatively prolonged closure of many mints is traditionally ascribed to Nero's successor Vespasian, as a sign of the latter's animosity toward his predecessor[254].

[250] A. Kessisoglou, *Πλουτάρχου Γάλβας* (Athens 1984) 49; C.M. Kraay, *The aes coinage of Galba*, *ANS NNM* 133 (1956); I. Soucini, "Note sulla monetazione di Galba", *RIN* (1971) 63-76.

[251] During Galba's short reign and the dynastic struggles that shook the empire, production continued at the provincial mints, though greatly diminished.

[252] H. Mattingly, "Victoria Imperii Romani and some posthumous issues of Galba", *NC* (1922) 186.

[253] *Δίον*, 29.

[254] On the turbulent three year period from 67 to 70, see E.P. Nicolas, *De Neron à Vespasien* (Paris 1979).

We know that Vespasian made a tremendous effort to revive the empire's economy, which was based to a great extent on the provincial revenues. These were called to cover the emperor's new requirements through tax increases and the removal of all tax exemptions[255]. For Greece, this meant the reorganization of the provinces, but also the closure of the mints in almost all cities. The only exceptions were Cassandrea, Stobi, Thessalonica and the Macedonian Koinon. The fact that all of the exempted mints belonged to the province of Macedonia, combined with the fact that Achaea was also attached to Macedonia at the same period, suggest that the area possessed a special significance within Vespasian's scheme and, consequently, his policy choices should not be understood only as a reaction against Nero. They should instead be seen as responses to purely political criteria[256].

The restoration of the mints by Domitian[257] - which was hailed, as major event, from the colonies, in the honorary issues of PERMISSV AVGVSTI and INDVLGENTIA AVGVSTI [fig. 61] - does not, though, appear to have had the same effect in the free cities. Only the Thessalian League and Thespiae ventured to resume their activities, employing types associated with the empress, though even these were extremely limited. The fact that in both these cases the mint did not continue after Domitian implies that the particular issues were *ad hoc* productions, made in order to honour Domitia, probably on the occasion of being accorded the title *Augusta* in 83[258]. On the other hand, apart from Thessalonica, which enjoyed an uninterrupted

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[255] W.T. Arnold, *The Roman system of provincial administration to the accession of Constantine the Great* (Chicago 1974[3]) 156-7.

[256] According to the more commonly held view, espoused also by Kremydi, *Δίον* 27-29, the withdrawal of the right to mint coins pertained in all likelihood only to the cities that had been closely associated with Nero, namely, Corinth and Patrae. But the overall picture suggests instead a different, more austere, economic and numismatic policy - and a less philhellenic one – rather than a petty fixation on punishment.

[257] A. Garzetti, *From Tiberius to the Antonines. A history of the Roman Empire, AD 14-192* (London 1974) 265-95. Domitian managed to stabilize the absolute monarchy, adopted a special relationship with the provincial world and was particularly concerned with the defense of the frontiers. A series of acts show him to have been a philhellene in his policies; see B.W. Jones, *The Emperor Domitian* (London 1992) 111-2; also I. Carradice, *Coinage and finances in the reign of Domitian, AD 81-96*, *BAR* 178 (London 1983).

[258] The same explanation could also be applied to issues from Thessalonica and Amphipolis that depict Domitia as well.

flow of coin production and had established its character and role in the regional context, the other Macedonian cities to continue numismatic production were Amphipolis, the *municipium* of Stobi and the Macedonian Koinon. Generally speaking, it appears that the cities were under pressure from both accumulating economic problems and the rapacity of the Roman officials, and so did not leap at the opportunity to enter into the whole process of extensive coin production and simply agreed to offer instead an honorary issue as part of a limited series in order to flatter the Roman authorities.

What is most interesting is how under Domitian we begin to discern more clearly a differentiation in coin production between the provinces of Macedonia and Achaea, but also between the cities that derived in all probability from real, thought constantly evolving differences in their economic participation in the empire's affairs.

In describing Euboea in roughly AD 100, Dio Chrysostom offers a perspicacious sketch of the dire economic and social conditions that prevailed in Achaea. This situation was reversed by economic measures taken by Trajan[259], who displayed a special interest in the way the provinces were administered. Trajan's Parthian Wars brought security to the empire's frontiers and at the same time pushed the eastern provinces to the forefront after they had been overshadowed by the West. This new interest in the East served in turn to open them up as new arenas for trade and economic activity. Nevertheless, this economic revival was not mirrored in the mints of the Greek cities, as only a few of which were active. Equally circumscribed were the varieties of numismatic types that appeared. The lone exception was Nicopolis, whose types included not only the familiar representation of Apollo Leukates, but also iconography similar to that appearing in Rome, such as the city's Tyche with rudder and horn, and Nike[260]. There seems to have been a general tendency for Greek mints to be influenced by Roman types, especially in Macedonia, a trend most likely connected with the military engagements conducted on the empire's frontier. It is most likely that this picture of the Romanisation of iconography stemmed from the imposition of a strong central authority that left little room for freedom of expression, combined with exacting imperial inspection.

[259] B.W. Henderson, *Five Roman Emperors. Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, AD 69-117, Studia Historica* 57 (Roma 1968) 200-5 and E. Cizek, *L'époque de Trajan. Circonstances politiques et problèmes idéologiques* (Bucarest 1983) 258-64.

[260] *Hunter* I, 313, no. 144, pl. 54 and 303, no. 104, pl. 52.

Trajan's successor, Hadrian, preferred a different policy, which aimed to consolidate the empire by confining it to the existing frontiers. This policy did indeed produce the desired result, as peace prevailed and the economy recovered across the empire, though first and foremost in the East. The reign of Hadrian witnessed a sweeping change in numismatic iconography that was second only to that under Nero, grounded on a more weighty foundation; his own policy, inspired by the ideological despotism of Hellenistic rulers, which nourished a general efflorescence in the eastern provinces[261]. The evidence from coins confirms that many more cities were producing coins, with a wide variety of coin types, particularly in Achaea, where Corinth and Patrae led the way. Free cities like Delphi, Elike, Lacedaemon, Argos and the Thessalian League depict on their coins scenes of local deities and symbols.

The coins of Nicopolis reveal an impressive degree of iconographical variety. They allude not only to the sea battle and the Actian Games, to Greek and oriental divinities, but to various buildings as well[262]. Also commonly encountered is the mounted emperor with the legend "Augustus", the only representation closely linked with the imperial office; likewise contemporary types known from the coinage of Rome, include Tyche with rudder and horn, Athena/Roma with Nike and spear[263]. These confirm the exceptionally close iconographical links enjoyed by the two cities.

As usual, Macedonia reveals a much smaller variety of numismatic types. But in the colonies we observe the introduction of new themes destined to endure in the years to come. At Dium we find for the first time the type of Zeus pouring a libation. Beyond a doubt this is Olympian Zeus, whose worship was of great importance already in the earliest times, though it seems to have been neglected, on the coins, before the reign of Hadrian[264]. The Pella mint was reactivated - after a long gap since Augustus - after 128, when Hadrian took the

[261] M.K. Thornton, "Hadrian and his reign", *ANRW* II.2, (Berlin 1975) 446; M. Goodman, *The Roman world, 44 BC-AD 180* (London 1997) 155-6; M.T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the cities of the Roman empire* (Princeton 2000). Of particular interest is the view espoused by A.R.R. Sheppard, "Homonoia in the Greek cities of the Roman empire", *Anc.Soc.* 15-17 (1984-1986) 238-9, that the Panhellenion served to channel Greek ethnic sentiment into activities of a religious and cultural nature.

[262] In general on Nicopolis see M. Oeconomides, *Η νομισματοκοπία της Νικοπόλεως* (Athens 1975), especially 55, mentioning a gateway with three arches, in all probability the main gate of Nicopolis; a round structure with columns, in all probability a temple of Aphrodite; and a conical structure, almost certainly a lighthouse in one of the city's three harbours.

[263] *Hunter* II, 118, no. 308, pl. 27 and 122, no. 331, pl. 28.

[264] Δίον, 49-51, on Hadrian's connection with Olympian Zeus.

title *Pater Patriae,* with Pan seated on a rock. Thenceforth this became almost the city's only iconographical type. At Philippi the already familiar types continued to be used, and seem to be virtually the city's last coins, since after Hadrian all we have is a few issues under Commodus and Gallienus. Amphipolis also continued to issue coins, with emphasis on a type showing the city seated and holding a *patera*, which continues until Elagabalus. Like various cities of Achaea[265], it also produced coins for the Empress Sabina, with a type showing Artemis Tauropolos.

A distinctive feature of Hadrian's reign is the worship and apotheosis of his favourite Antinoous. His early death and his divinization made a deep impression in the Greek world, as is revealed by the issuing of coins in his honour not just for example at Nicopolis, but also in Arcadia where, at Mantineia, there is also attested a cult in his honour[266].

But the most important development that we can observe in the numismatic iconography of this period – which echoes also the empire's more general attitude to Hellenism – is the appearance of unambiguously Greek themes on coins of Rome itself. Representations of Poseidon with dolphin and trident[267], for example, or of Artemis and Pegasus[268], are indicative of a growing reapprochement between the Greek and Roman traditions. The long-term intermixture of the Greek and Roman elements reaches its apex under Hadrian, and becomes firmly lodged in the consciousness of both parties.

With the exception perhaps of Corinth, the Greek colonies' numismatic productivity decreases markedly under Antoninus Pius, though specific reasons for this are hard to find. Perhaps we may speak of some sort of "internal correction" of the system, whose inner workings we still do not fully understand. It is a fact, though, that after periods of exceptional activity, as under Nero or Hadrian, we find a sudden weakening of the provincial mints, not always with evident economic justification.

Nevertheless the Greek communities maintained their position under the Antonines[269], though their coins began to lose their variety and inventiveness.

[265] E.g. Argos, with an image of Hecate.

[266] S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and power. The Roman Imperial cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 1984) 68.

[267] This appears regularly from the time of Domitian.

[268] J.M.C. Toynbee, "Picture language in Roman art and coinage", in R.A.G. Carson, C.H.V. Sutherland (eds) *Essays presented to Harold Mattingly* (London 1956) 212, argues that this was a symbol of resurrection, at least on the mosaic floor of a fourth-century basilica at Aquileia. This redeployment of myths, with new meanings and symbolisms designed to serve new historical contexts, is truly remarkable.

[269] M. Grant, *The Antonines. The Roman Empire in transition* (London 1994).

Delphi issued coins showing Apollo, who at the same period also appears on coins of Rome, along with Artemis, Tyche with *patera* and horn, and Herakles. Nicopolis too continued to use types identical with those on the Roman coinage[270], and also Hermes' symbol the *caduceus* is depicted on coins for Faustina I, the wife of Antoninus, a clear hint at the commercial take-off experienced by this major entrepôt between Central Greece and Italy. Oddly, though, there is only one coin known from Patrae at the same period.

Unfortunately this crosspollination, which in more auspicious circumstances would have been full of promise, did not enjoy the most favourable environment. Neither the gathering storm clouds on the frontiers nor the deteriorating economy in the provinces favoured exchange of ideas and images. In the turbulent years that followed the Golden Age of the Antonines, provincial coinages dwindled, and their imagery was impoverished. Not only was the currency devalued, and the circulation of provincial bronzes reduced[271], but also the populations of the harassed provinces no longer had the heart to make a display of their hereditary virtues. In any case, the need to rally round and defend the empire left little room to develop themes other than the military engagements of emperors.

The new state of affairs, combined with the brief reign and co-reign of Lucius Verus, were also mirrored in the coin production of the Greek cities. Coins minted for the emperor are relatively meagre in both number and variety. It is notable that no Macedonian colony minted coins in the emperor's name, while only the mints of Amphipolis and Thessalonica among the "free cities" were active, producing types familiar from earlier issues. In Achaea, Corinth stands apart from the prevailing tendency and continues to exhibit iconographical exuberance, whereas the Patraean mint produces fewer types and those are mostly colonial or Roman in character. Nicopolis maintains only a single type and that is related to the Actian games.

[270] Types similar to those of the Roman mint include Tyche with rudder and horn (Hunter II, 203, no. 127, pl. 52); Nike with crown and palm branch (*Hunter* II, 186, no. 10, pl. 186); Athena holding Nike, with shield and spear (*Hunter* II, 185, no. 1, pl. 49); and the winged thunderbolt, symbol of Zeus (*Hunter* II, 191, no. 44, pl. 50).

[271] *Roman art*, 286-8.

The pronounced martial climate and the struggle to determine Rome's fate is even more obtrusive in the coins of Marcus Aurelius[272], the founder of a dynasty of rulers who would be chosen exclusively for their military prowess[273]. Rome minted the so-called legionary coins[274] that acclaimed the emperor's heroic campaigns and the army's devotion to their leader, summoning up a notion of *Pietas* toward emperor and empire[275]. Similar themes that promoted and bolstered the emperor's martial prowess and his victories were favourites in the provinces too[276]. As we have observed already, any sort of heroic scene was deemed suitable for the job of boosting the citizens' morale. Ares Tropaiophoros appears on issues from Rome, as does Nike[277], which is featured during the same period on the coins of Corinth as well.

The first signs of a change in numismatic policy that would peak under Septimius Severus begin now to emerge. Many mints appear for the first time, such as Megara, others that had ceased production reappear[278] and many introduce new types, as Dium.

[272] Marcus was positively disposed toward the provinces and willing to make tax exemptions and reductions where required. Unfortunately, his reign witnessed the beginning of a crisis, both internal and external, that would drag on for over a century. During this time the empire acquired an austerely military character. The third-century crisis impinged on the economy as well and brought about the devaluation of the denarius, see K.W. Harl, *Coinage in the Roman economy, 300 BC to AD 700* (Baltimore 1996) 125-57.

[273] W.T. Arnold, *The Roman system of provincial administration to the accession of Constantine the Great* (Chicago 1974^3).

[274] These were intended for the payment of the soldiers and were struck in mobile mints.

[275] The series "*Fides Militum*" and "*Concordia Exercitum*" could be described as propaganda used to install harmony into the soldiery, a sense of unity between the army and their commander, and reverence for the sacred character of imperial authority. The "Exercitus" series, in turn, was designed to strengthen a sense of importance among the provincial armies. See also, M.G. Abramzon, *Propaganda and Roman imperial coin types* (Moscow 1995) 593.

[276] The scenes represented by Greek mints were probably more closely connected to the incursion of the Costoboci into central Greece. On the barbarian invasions of this period, see P. Oliva, *Pannonia and the onset of crisis in the Roman Empire* (Prague 1962) esp. 275-7 for Greece.

[277] *Hunter* II, 324, no. 99, pl. 88 and 325, no. 103, pl. 88.

[278] Typical is the example of Edessa, whose mint was inactive from the reign of Tiberius, but produced at this time the type showing Roma seated on a breast plate and crowned by the city of Edessa personified. The city's persistence in using this Roman type throughout the imperial period no doubt suggests an attempt to maintain good relations with the central power. See *RPC* I, II at the relevant sections.

Many sectors of life were shaken by the unpredictable character of Commodus, whose regime was coloured by the strained climate created by his oppressive despotism. This same period was fraught with religious and philosophical preoccupations[279] which, together with social unrest[280], provided exceptionally fertile ground for the cultivation of original iconography[281].

It is once again in Achaea that we can observe this outburst of iconographical variety and especially so at Patrae where Rome's influence is so apparent. The enthroned Zeus Nikephoros is a type common in both mints[282]. The club, symbol of Herakles, commonly appeared on the coins of Lacedaemon was also used at Rome in the same period[283]. Herakles was among the most beloved heroes of the age and imperial victories were often compared with his labours[284]. Not surprisingly, the emperor Commodus liked to be called the "New Herakles"[285].

The general atmosphere of exuberance, both ideological and artistic, that we have noted in Achaea also found fertile ground in the Macedonian colonies where Cassandrea, not to be left behind, adopted new types showing Nyssa, and Poseidon with dolphin and trident.

The economic and political crisis that had been smouldering since the time of Marcus Aurelius weakened both Rome and the provinces, and under Septimius Severus[286] the economic problems became seriously intensified.

[279] Commodus was the first Roman emperor to accept the worship of oriental gods. Magna Mater, Sarapis, the Syrian Baal, Jupiter Dolichenus, Mithras, the Cappadocian Ma-Bellona were incorporated into Roman religion. By encouraging the cult of Herakles, much favoured by Cynic and Stoic intellectuals, the emperor Commodus perpetuated the Antonine tradition of enlightened monarchy. At the same time, though, he offended educated people by identifying himself with their divinized hero.

[280] Imperial policy in Commodus' reign evinced an anti-aristocratic spirit that alienated from the central authority those social groups that had until that time served as a crucial support for Roman rule in the East more generally, and in Greece in particular.

[281] M.R. Kaiser-Raiss, *Die Stadtrömische Münzprägung wahrend der Alleinherrschaft des Commodus* (Frankfurt am Main 1980).

[282] *Hunter* II, 429, no. 98, pl. 117.

[283] *Hunter* II, 447, no. 184, pl. 122.

[284] *Civic coins* 78.

[285] R. Stoll, *Herakles auf römischen Münzen* (Trier 1999) esp. 158-62. For a coin depicting Herakles with the features of Commodus, see *Hunter* II, 447, no. 181, pl. 122.

[286] H. Mattingly, "The coinage of Septimius Severus and his times. Mints and chronology", *NC* 12 (1932) 177-8; P.V. Hill, "Notes on the coinage of Septimius Severus and his family, AD 193-217", *NC* (1964) 169-88. The preference for mainly Roman types from 197 onward may have been linked with the struggles of Septimius Severus against rivals to the throne and his acquired confidence after Albinus' defeat at the time of the eastern conflicts. See M. Grant, *The Severans. The changed Roman empire* (London 1996) 7-9.

Pausanias, who travelled in the Peloponnese in around AD 170, describes scenes of cities in ruins and abandoned sanctuaries. The rural economy had passed by and large into the hands of the powerful Roman landowners, who had transformed the fertile tracts into private *fundi*, thereby excluding the Greek inhabitants from their land and turning them into serfs[287]. The colonists, on the other hand, seem to have been in a better position and most even prospered. The images on coins do not betray these violent upheavals. Whatever their economic potential or political vitality, and even if they had never before issued coins, most Greek cities competed to see which could display the most imaginative iconography on their coins, often choosing types that were known from the Roman mint[288].

The empire's economic problems expanded under Caracalla[289], forcing the emperor to push forward changes in the numismatic system and to introduce a new coin, the *antoninianus*, that was initially equal in value to two denarii of a purer alloy[290]. This change, however, rendered the cities' exchange of their own bronze coins with Rome's devalued silver ones disadvantageous and obliged the provincial mints to increase production in order to try to meet their tax requirements and the augmented economic burden that had been heaped upon them[291]. At this time, the iconography on coinage[292], especially that of Patrae, undergoes a striking diminution in the variety of its subject matter, clearly a result of the more generalized economic crisis[293].

[287] S. Grunauer-Von Hoerschelmann, "The Severan emissions of the Peloponnesus", *INJ* 6-7 (1982-1983) 39-46.

[288] It is notable that this period witnesses extensive coin production for Julia Domna with a variety of scenes richer than that used for the emperor himself.

[289] The grant of Roman citizenship to all the empire's inhabitants, except for the *dediticii,* was designed essentially to widen the base for newly imposed taxes, thereby helping to alleviate economic crisis. See W.T. Arnold, *The Roman system of provincial administration to the accesion of Constantine the Great* (Chicago 1974[3]) 169-71.

[290] T.B. Jones, "A numismatic riddle: the so-called Greek Imperials", *ProcPhilAs* 107 (1963) 308-44.

[291] See M. Crawford, "Finance, coinage and money from the Severans to Constantine", *ANRW* II.2. (Berlin 1975) 572-5 on this period. For the continuation of Augustus' numismatic policy, see G.C. Haines, "The decline and fall of the monetary system of Augustus", NC (1941) 17-47; also, *Roman art,* 286-8.

[292] C.C. Lorber, "Greek Imperial coins and Roman propaganda. Some issues from the sole reign of Caracalla", *SAN* 16.3 (1985) 45-50 and 4 (1986) 71-7.

[293] At the same time it seems that the mode of production was adjusted so that only a limited number of types was constantly repeated on coins of different value. Henceforth it is no longer the imagery but the size of the coin that manifests its value. Perhaps the most typical example of this is Patrae.

Running counter to this overall trend, Nicopolis was producing an outstanding and perhaps unprecedented variety of types with themes related to the foundation of the Actian Games and the Greek pantheon. Asklepios, Tyche, the equestrian emperor and Helios drawn by a *quadriga*[294] make their appearance too, all subjects found also in emissions from Rome. In Cassandrea during this period, Dionysos is used for the first time on that city's coins.

At the time when the empire's economic tribulations were most insurmountable, the mints took on a more Romanocentric colour, which we shall meet again in later years. Local workshops were forced to close and the striking of coins was restricted to official mints that supplied the market[295]. Corinth now issues her last coins and Patrae follows suit a few years later with scant emissions in the reign of Elagabalus. Among her last is a representation of Helios, or of the emperor himself, with a radiate diadem, on the reverse. Similar coins were issued in Rome in AD 220[296]. Of Achaea's "free cities" only Nicopolis managed to retain her mint, even into the reign of Gallienus, though much diminished and indebted to Rome. The rest of the cities are wiped from the map of provincial mints. Obviously, the continuous and irreversible economic slump, combined with ever-present pressures from foreign invaders, culminating in the disastrous Herulian invasion of 267, as well as the transposition of the empire's centre of gravity (for yet another time), were all deterrents for the local coin production which had by then lost its raison d'être. The Greek mints, now in a state of utter decline, as most of the cities themselves, existed only in Macedonia where they would carry on into the reign of Gallienus (253-68)[297].

[294] This scene probably refers once more to the association between the emperor and the god Helios, an identification that seems to have been introduced along with the cult of various oriental divinities.

[295] See *Roman art*, 286-8; Hannestad underscores the return to an economy based on the exchange of goods.

[296] *Hunter* III, 122, no. 85, pl. 37. We know that before he ascended the imperial throne, Elagabalus was a high priest in Emessa. He frequently shocked the Romans, who were nonetheless spellbound by exotic mystery cults and the salvific beliefs of oriental religions.

[297] For the last years of the empire, see D.L. Vagi, *Coinage and history of the Roman Empire c. 82 BC-AD 480* (Sidney, Ohio 1999). For Gallienus, see L. de Blois, *The policy of the emperor Gallienus* (Leiden 1976). On the end of the Greek Imperials, as a natural consequence of continual devaluation, see C.J. Howgego, *Greek Imperial countermarks* (London 1985) 60-8.

Throughout their roughly two and a half century history, the Greek colonial mints were distinguished by significant differences that sprang from the character of the provinces of Achaea and Macedonia, but also from the individual colonies founded there. In both provinces, colonization was based on the plan laid out by Caesar that had as its aim the facilitation of military engagements, both present and projected. His primary concern seems to have been unimpeded provision for his soldiers, but also for the city of Rome itself. The colonies of Achaea were designed to safeguard the sea lane between East and West, for both commercial and military activity[298]. Most of the colonies of Macedonia[299] were situated along the Via Egnatia, one of the empire's primary arteries leading eastward. They were secure military positions that could offer defence in the case of invasions from the North, while acting simultaneously as important operational bases for Roman troops in their campaigns against those same northern tribes. Their foundation in the fertile plain ensured the provision of the Roman army, while the development of a highway carefully controlled by the colonies guaranteed the prompt and unimpeded transport of both men and provisions[300].

It was really when Octavian became absolute lord over the empire that the colonies began to vary significantly in their organization. In the case of Achaea it is possible to reconstruct his colonial plan, both at its inception and in its final form. The administrative centre of the province was located in one colony, Corinth, and another colony was created, Patrae, to which was appended the territory of the pre-existing colony of Dyme, which became progressively reduced in size and significance. To these Achaean colonies was added Nicopolis, founded immediately after the victory at Actium as a free city, though it bore many characteristics of a colony[301]. The next step was to strengthen these urban centres with the annexation of territory belonging to neighbouring cities,

[298] The particular role played by Achaea is confirmed by both excavation and survey, as has been stressed by S.E. Alcock in a series of studies: "Archaeology and Imperialism: Roman expansion and the Greek city", *JMA* 2.1 (1989) 87-135, esp. 96-105; "Roman imperialism in the Greek landscape", *JRA* 2 (1989) 5-34, esp. 33-4; *Graecia Capta. The landscapes of roman Greece* (Cambridge 1993) esp. 132, 143, 168-9, 221-3.

[299] F. Papazoglou, "La population des colonies romaines en Macedoine", *ZA* 40 (1990) 111-24.

[300] In general, see P. Garnsey and R. Saller, *The Roman Empire: Economy, society and culture* (London 1987) esp. 83-103.

[301] T. Sarikakis, "Nicopolis d'Epire était-elle une colonie romaine ou une ville grecque?", *Balkan Studies* 11.1 (1970) 91-6, especially 93-5 for the reason why Takitus referred to Nicopolis as a colony.

an action that resulted in the creation of a huge *territorium*[302], far greater than the precedents of Hellenistic cities, but more closely resembling the great tracts of royal land in the East and analogous to the size of the Roman Empire itself.

The mints of the Achaean colonies experienced a robust efflorescence; the impressive variety of images they used bears witness to the freedom the mints enjoyed. Indeed, these colonies most closely resembled commercial centres that were free to operate as they saw fit. The general climate was open, cosmopolitan, maintained by wealthy merchants and the social classes with economic clout.

In Macedonia, by contrast, Augustus pursued a fundamentally different policy. The capital of the province was established in "free" Thessalonica[303] which served as the seat of the entire administration, but also the economic powerhouse of the region as the city was transformed into a hub not only for the whole province, but also for the whole of the southern Balkans. The colonies, on the other hand, did not play an important role in the province's government or organization, as is suggested by the lack of significant sources (possibly with the exception of the abundant inscriptions of Philippi), but also by the fragmentary numismatic evidence, such as the nearly non-existent circulation of coins, limited iconography, and the defective and sporadic minting of coins.

And so it was that two provinces were created with different structures and organization. In Achaea, the "free" cities were confined to less important urban centres, while the colonies and their world flourished, with greater territory and better links to the commercial network of the East, operating as they did as commercial extensions of Rome. Widespread peace and satisfaction were significant factors in the creation of this climate, which continued until the first incursions by Germanic tribes during the reign of Philip the Arab (244-249). By that time the empire had already plunged into the vortex that pulled it ever downward. By contrast, the centralized character of Macedonia prevailed in the end, built on the traces of the Hellenistic kingdom that had left a pronounced impression on the organization of the Roman province. The problems created by incursions from the North rendered this strictly Romanocentric organization even more indispensable. Thessalonica becomes a strong administrative centre while the "free" cities prosper. The colonies, on the other hand, grow considerably weaker and most are reduced to rural centres whose main purpose is to supply the surrounding region.

[302] U. Kahrstedt, "Die Territorien von Patrai und Nikopolis in der Kaiserzeit", *Historia* 1 (1950) 549-61.
[303] T. Mommsen, The Provinces of the Roman Empire. The European Provinces (Chicago 1968) 317.

The devices the two provinces chose to put on their coins faithfully recorded these differences in organization. In Achaea, as we have seen, it was the colonies that spearheaded numismatic production. Their mints were exceptionally rich and the iconography drew on the whole range of influences available, with a certain emphasis on the colonial and Roman types. In contrast, the "free" cities - with the exception of Nicopolis - were typified by a limited and sporadic production that tended to fall back on commemorative types. Consequently, their participation in the province's coin production was negligible. Precisely the opposite pattern is observed in Macedonia, where it is the colonies – except for Dium – that mint coins in isolated and brief periods, while remaining close to the familiar types, mainly local and a very few colonial/Roman, which remain stable throughout all the phases of the mints' activity.

We may conclude that the common, political foundation on which the numismatic iconography of the Greek colonies was built was Romanocentric. This shared base supported all coin production and provided the principles by which the entire numismatic system operated. This arrangement was sufficiently flexible to accommodate the conflicts and convergences – whether historical, political, economic or social – that were part and parcel of the experience of Roman Greece. The result was a coinage that knew many changes and developments, while at the same time remaining faithful to the original principles on which it was based. It is possible, then, to speak of numismatic iconography distinctive to the Greek colonies of the Roman Empire, but without implying that each mint had surrendered its own particular character that, indeed, still retained the power to surprise and perplex.

APPENDIX I

THE NUMISMATIC DISTRIBUTION AND ECONOMIC RANGE OF COLONIAL COINS

The flexibility that characterized Roman policy on many levels is clearly distinguishable in the choices made with regard to the economic status and coinage of Rome's subjects in Greece[304]. The Greek mainland had little to offer in terms of previously unexploited mineral resources or any other significant sources of wealth, nor was there a large market[305]. It did, though, have one important advantage in its favour. Greece was the inevitable crossroads for men and goods travelling from West to East and vice versa. Upon the incorporation of the Greek mainland into imperial territory, this crossroads was now formally transformed into the basic route of communication between the two great markets. One result of these developments was the demotion of the Hellenistic Greek cities, as their economic centre of gravity shifted to two new poles – Rome and the cities of the East.

The organization of the new imperial structures left little freedom of choice to the subject Greeks. Roman coins constituted the basic monetary unit and their use in exchange made an impact across the entire provincial numismatic system. Coinage crises, imperial policy[306] and problems beyond the empire's frontiers all had immediate repercussions in the marginal provinces.

The production of coinage in particular cities, where it continued to exist, was reduced to only a shadow of its former self. In even the best cases, the value and circulation of local issues did not reach beyond the provincial boundaries. For the colonies, as we have seen, the situation was somewhat different. Their more direct, political link with Rome did yield some advantages. For example, coin production was more organized and stable in the colonies, though they, like the other cities, halted production when under imperial orders, and also suffered decline during economic slumps and other financial fluctuations.

The discovery of a few colonial issues outside the Greek frontier cannot be

[304] On the Roman economy in general, the work of R.P. Duncan Jones is of great interest: see for example, *The Economy of the Roman Empire. Quantitative studies* (Cambridge 1982^2); *Structure and scale in the Roman economy* (Cambridge 1990); *Money and government in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge 1994).

[305] H. Hill, "Roman revenues from Greece after 146 BC", *Classical Philology* 41 (1946) 35-42.

[306] A. Wassink, "Inflations and financial policy under the Roman Empire to the Price Edict of 301 AD", *Historia* 40 (1991) 465-93.

interpreted to suggest actual economic expansion, or as indication of wide circulation. These isolated coin finds point only to the presence in remote areas of people from the Greek colonies, something which is to be expected. The only instance in which a large quantity of coins from Peloponnesian cities – especially Patrae and Corinth – was found in Syria can be linked to the pressing demand for money and resources to fund Caracalla's oriental campaigns[307]. This episode was part of a broader policy that strove to meet the empire's economic needs on an *ad hoc* basis.

The establishment of a clear economic policy for the provinces that would take into account the prevailing circumstances and needs certainly left clear traces in Greece[308]. Given that finds from excavation are not always accessible and the number of coins found is anyway relatively small, except for in the major excavated centres such as Corinth and Dium, coin hoards provide a basic yardstick for the economic importance and influence of the provincial workshops.

ACHAEA

The main cities that joined the Italian coast with the harbours of the Aegean and the Orient are to be found in the territory of Achaea[309]. The region was known to the Romans since many of the Greek cities, such as Gytheion and Argos, had been used as commercial stop-overs for the *negotiatores*. During the campaigns against Pompey and Mark Antony respectively, Caesar and later Augustus had appreciated the potential the position of these settlements offered for the transport of armies. The attractive combination of military and commercial profit led to the foundation of colonies, first by Caesar and later by Augustus[310].

Even though the literary sources[311] tell of economic decline in the Peloponnese during Roman rule, that view does not fully correspond to the reality on the ground as represented by archaeological and numismatic[312]

[307] C.J. Howgego, *Greek Imperial countermarks* (London 1985) 26-7.

[308] C.J. Howgego, "The Supply and use of money in the Roman world, 200 BC to AD 300", *JRS* 82 (1992) 1-30.

[309] On Achaea, see A.D. Rizakis, *Achaïe I* and on Patrae in particular, see id. *Achaïe II*

[310] Buthrotum commanded a similarly favourable position, see H. Papageorgiadou, Sh. Gjongecaj, "La circulation monétaire à Bouthrotos et sa région", in *Bouthrotos* I, *Mission archéologique héllenique à Bouthrotos*, Fondation National de la Recherche Scientifique (forthcoming).

[311] Assembled in "Roman Greece" 466 and *Trade-routes*, 121.

[312] See for example, the unique Balkan hoard of aurei dating to the first century AD and found in Patrae: I. Touratsoglou, «Θησαυρός *aurei* του 1ου μ.Χ. αι. από την Πάτρα (1976)», *Νομισματικά Χρονικά* 5-6 (1978) 41-52.

evidence. Many of the cities seem to have developed into important centres of activity[313], with Corinth and Patrae both acting as great banking hubs until the third century[314]. Certainly this relative prosperity will have spilled over to the rest of the province. The tranquillity the cities enjoyed with the advent of the *Pax Romana* was cut short by the Herulian invasion of AD 267[315]. The destruction inflicted at that time is confirmed both by archaeological excavation and the increased number of coin hoards[316] found, especially in Attica where coins were buried for safekeeping during this period of instability. No doubt life carried on in the cities after the incursions, though it seems never to have recovered its former dynamism.

Corinth[317], being the wealthiest and perhaps the most important city, was chosen as the provincial capital. The city's main advantage was its two harbours to which Corinth owed its status as a major commercial centre[318]. Even though systematic excavation has been ongoing at Corinth since the nineteenth century, coin finds from the imperial period have been remarkably few, only three hoards[319] from the city and one from its hinterland[320], buried in the third and second century AD, sometime in the reign of Gallienus (AD 253-268). Nonetheless, these finds are indicative since, besides coins of Corinth, they include a great range from other Achaean mints: Argos, Sicyon, Aegae, Heraea,

[313] "Roman Greece" 471 and *Trade-routes*, 125. Patrae is the only city for which industrial activity is attested. Its textile industry used the flax that was cultivated in Elis and attracted people from the neighbouring region to the city.

[314] "Roman Greece", 491-2.

[315] The Herulian hordes invaded by sea, pillaging Lemnos and Scyros before descending to capture and burn Athens. They went on to seize the main cities of the Peloponnese: Corinth, Argos and Sparta until, with tremendous effort, they were checked at Olympia.

[316] For permission to study material in the Archive of coin circulation at the Numismatic Museum, we would like to thank I. Touratsoglou, the museum's former director, and the numismatist Eos Tsourti.

[317] On the mint of Roman Corinth, see *Duovirs* and C. Howgego, "After the colt has bolted: a review of Amandry on Roman Corinth", *NC* 149 (1989) 200-8.

[318] C.K. Williams II, "Roman Corinth as a commercial centre", in T.E. Gregory (ed.), *The Corinthia in the Roman period, Proceedings of the Symposium. The Ohio State University, 7-9/3/1991*, *JRA* Suppl. 8 (1993) 31-46.

[319] These three "finds" came to light during the excavations of the American School, see J.P. Shear, "Excavations in the Theatre district and tombs in Corinth in 1928", *AJA* 32 (1928), 477; idem, "A hoard of coins found in the theatre district of Corinth in 1930", *AJA* 35 (1931), 139-151, pl. V, and J. M. Harris, "Coins found at Corinth", *Hesperia* 10 (1941), 145.

[320] See the Archive of coin circulation at the Numismatic Museum of Athens, and also A. Varoucha, «Νομισματική Συλλογή», *ΑΔ* 18 (1963), Β1, Χρονικά (1965) 5-6.

Lacedaemon, Phigaleia, Orchomenos, Nicopolis. Naturally, coins from Rome are also included. The hoard found in Corinth's hinterland is related to the Herulian invasion of 167 and contains coins of Athens and Rome exclusively.

Augustus' decision to found the colony of Patrae[321] in that particular situation was not random, as it commanded the entire coastline[322] from Dyme to Aigion on the southern side of the Corinthian Gulf, and to the north, Aetolia and Locris Ozolis. This choice brought economic revival to the regions of Acarnania, Aetolia and Achaea, which had all suffered from the period of civil wars[323].

In all, six hoards[324] from the imperial period have come to light during systematic excavations at Patrae. None of these contain coins from other cities. They are all composed exclusively of coins from Rome. One of them can be linked to the Herulian invasions, while the rest of the hoards, can be explained on economic grounds: the serious devaluation of the denarius under Septimius Severus (AD 193-211) and the devaluation of the *antoninianus*. The devalued coins were simply put out of circulation. A similar interpretation may help us to understand the burial of the unique hoard among them that contains two coins of Patrae[325], which was in all probability part of the general tendency in the mid third century to hide away bronze coins as a result of the increasing devaluation of silver coinage[326].

It is evident that the image projected by the hoards does not reflect the actual circulation of coinage; a hypothesis which is strengthened by the evidence of the isolated finds that have been turned up in excavation. These do suggest, as is to be expected, that most[327] of the local coins in use were first and foremost from Patrae, but also from Corinth and a few from Dyme[328]. Consequently, we may conclude that everyday transactions were made in the

[321] On the mint of Roman Patrae, see P. Agallopoulou, *Θέματα νομισματοκοπίας και νομισματικής κυκλοφορίας των Πατρών 14 π.Χ.-268 μ.Χ.* (Ioannina 1994).

[322] J. Rougé, *Recherches sur l' organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerrannée sous l' Empire Romain* (Paris 1966).

[323] "Roman Greece" 469.

[324] P. Agallopoulou, op.cit. 53-72, pls 77-9.

[325] P. Agallopoulou, op.cit. 64-6 and 190-203, pls 29-33.

[326] See M.H. Crawford, "Ancient devaluations: a general theory", in *Les "dévaluations" à Rome. Epoque républicaine et impériale, Rome 13-15/11/1975.* Collection de l' École Française de Rome, 37 (Rome 1978) 147-58.

[327] P. Agallopoulou, op.cit. 73-6, pls, 80-7.

[328] The shortage of coins from Dyme can be attributed to its limited phase of economic vigour and the brief lifespan of its mint, until the reign of Tiberius, which left few traces in the coin circulation of the region.

local bronze coins, including those from Corinth. Coins from other Peloponnesian mints, as well as from the rest of Greece and Asia Minor, appear with much less frequency.

The amount of Roman coinage in circulation always remained significant reflecting the falling curve of Greek numismatic emissions which were progressively replaced by the Roman issues.

Though its administration fell to the province of Achaea, the region we know today as Epirus was considered in antiquity as a distinct region, a fact also indicated by the hoards[329] that have been found in the region. These hoards constitute a separate group, though, once more hardly an indication of actual circulation. Four hoards are known and contain issues of Nicopolis exclusively. They are thought to have been buried during the reign of Gallienus (AD 253-268).

Our picture of the province of Achaea can be still further sketched out with evidence from Attica where a significant number of finds have come to light that are intimately linked to the devastations brought by the Heruls, and are made up of coins from Athens and Rome.

Hoards from imperial times are very few, a sign of the calm which had settled on the provincial world thanks to the *Pax Romana*. With the exception of those coins that were hurriedly buried during invasions as this of the Heruls, most of the ensembles found had been hidden away for economic reasons – one could call them savings, tucked away in days of devaluation in the hope of a future upswing. What they definitely show is that the local bronze denominations for which the Greek cities were so famous were destined to cover only local needs and barely circulated beyond the region in which they were produced. And when they do appear further afield, it is because someone from that area happened to find himself there, or for some other incidental reason.

On the other hand, the some 180 coins from Rome distributed across almost all of Achaea (with the exception of Nicopolis) cannot be said to represent actual circulation, which clearly depended on official imperial issues.

[329] For most of the finds, see P. Lemerle, Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques dans l' Orient hellénique en 1934, *BCH* 59 (1935) 243 no. 13; M. Oeconomides, «Εύρημα Νικοπόλεως», *AE* (1971) Χρονικά, 42-51, pls ΚΓ-ΚΗ and ead., *Η Νομισματοκοπία της Νικοπόλεως* (Athens 1975) 169-78 and ead., «Συμβολή εις την μελέτην της νομισματοκοπίας της Νικοπόλεως. Περιγραφή δύο θησαυρών», *AE* (1967) 91-114, pls 7-14.

MACEDONIA

The sites selected in Macedonia[330] for the foundation of Roman colonies were not randomly chosen and certainly were not designed simply as a way to exploit the region's wealth. Pella and Philippi were located on the Via Egnatia, while Dium lay on the route linking Thessalonica with southern Greece that passed through the Peneus valley[331].

In parallel, a second network of cities developed along this road, including settlements such as Berrhoea[332], Edessa[333], Amphipolis[334] and Thessalonica[335], where conditions favoured the growth of a new urban class that included Roman aristocrats, bankers and middlemen, who emerged from the merchants and craftsmen now freed up to operate in the budding markets.

In Macedonia not only the colonies, but also the Greek cities and the Macedonian Koinon[336] had the right to mint coins and they exercised this right until the reign of Gallienus (AD 253-268), when the Greek mints ceased to operate.

The Macedonian Koinon, with its capital at Berrhoea, is a highly unusual example of political organization under Roman rule. Entrusted with the imperial cult[337] and its related games, the Koinon also enjoyed political and especially

[330] In general, on the economy of Greece in the Roman period, see M. Rostovtzeff, *The social and economic history of the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1936) and "Roman Greece". On the economy of the province of Macedonia, see F. Papazoglou, "Macedonia under the Romans. Economy and society" in M. B. Sakellariou (ed.) *Macedonia 4000 years of Greek history and civilization* (Athens 1983) 199-202. On numismatic circulation, we have referred to I. Touratsoglou, *Νομισματική κυκλοφορία στην αρχαία Μακεδονία. Η μαρτυρία των «θησαυρών»* (Athens 1993).

[331] *Trade-routes*, 117-18.

[332] J. Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants Italiens dans l'Orient Grec* (Paris 1919) 55-6.

[333] J. Hatzfeld, op.cit. 148.

[334] J. Hatzfeld, op.cit. 56 and nn. 2-5.

[335] A.D. Rizakis, «Η κοινότητα των "συμπραγματευομένων Ρωμαίων" της Θεσσαλονίκης και η ρωμαϊκή οικονομική διείσδυση στη Μακεδονία», *Πρακτικά του 4ου Διεθνούς Συμποσίου, Θεσσαλονίκη 21-25/9/1983, Αρχαία Μακεδονία* IV (Thessaloniki 1986) 511- 24.

[336] On the Macedonian Koinon generally, see D. Kanatsoulis, «Το Κοινόν των Μακεδόνων», *Μακεδονικά* 3 (1953-1955) (Thessaloniki 1956) 27-102. For the Koinon emissions, H. Gaebler, "Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens, IV. Makedonien in der Kaizerzeit", *ZNum* 24 (1904) 245-338 and *ZNum* 25 (1906) 1-38, as well as id., *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands* III. 1 (Berlin 1906) 75-191; III. 2 (Berlin 1935) 9-18.

[337] From the third century AD, Alexander the Great was worshipped too, see the "pseudoautonomous" coins: H. Gaebler, op. cit. III.1, 89.

economic importance[338]. It was probably involved in the province's tax affairs, overseeing the collection of taxes, or their regular and prompt payment. Its political authority included the right to mint coins. Finds suggest that its issues covered a significant part of everyday exchanges within the provincial context. The number of coins from the Koinon that have been found in hoards of the imperial period surpasses twenty percent of the total.

Besides the Koinon's coins, we possess examples from almost every other Macedonian city regardless of their constitutional status. Almost half of them are issues from the provincial capital, Thessalonica, followed by coins from the Macedonian Koinon, Amphipolis, Pella, Dium and Edessa. Finds representing Cassandrea, Stobi and Philippi in particular are quite sparse.

It is obvious that coins from the colonies appeared in much lower quantities that those of Thessalonica and the Koinon. Their coinage was designed to cover the commercial exchanges within the closely defined context of the cities, while exchanges across the province employed coins of Thessalonica and the Koinon[339]. To give specific examples: the coins of Dium did not circulate in eastern Macedonia; issues of Cassandrea were limited to the region of Chalkidiki; and issues of Amphipolis did not appear west of the Strymon. Pella seems to have been an exception, as Pellan coins did circulate beyond Pellan territory.

The coin hoards of Macedonia were buried at various times from the reign of Claudius (AD 41-54) to the first years of the fourth century (306-307, tetrarchic period). Most have been found in central Macedonia, the region of the second *meris*, while their appearance in the third *meris* is slight and in the fourth, even less[340].

Comparison with the situation in Achaea may, indeed, highlight similarities that were the result of widespread economic developments on the empire's

[338] See for example, the case of the high priest and agonothete of the Koinon, Popillius Python, "Révue de publications épigraphiques relatives à l' antiquité romaine", *RA* 37 (1900) 489, no. 131 and L. Robert, "Hellenica", *RPhil* 65 (1939) 131-2 – who, during his tenure as high priest defrayed at his own expense the cost of the entire *tributum capitis* for the province, which must have been an otherwise impossible burden because of a grain shortage.

[339] Coins from the Macedonian Koinon have been found mainly in hoards from central (second *meris*) and eastern (first *meris*) Macedonia.

[340] Up to a certain date, that is the publication of I. Touratsoglou, *Νομισματική κυκλοφορία στην αρχαία Μακεδονία*, op. cit., the hoards have produced a total of 968 coins, of which 1 dates to the second century BC, 22 are Hellenistic, 913 are imperial, 10 late Roman and 22 uncertain. Since then new finds came to light without altering the percentage already established.

peripheries; but serious differences also emerged from their contrasting forms of organization. In both, coin circulation did not transgress the narrow confines of the individual cities and their territories, and they certainly did not cross provincial boundaries. The sole exception is the one "pseudoautonomous" coin of Thessalonica under Commodus that was found in the Eleusis/1902 hoard, which can by no means be considered to be indicative of normal relations between the two provinces.

In essence, what distinguishes the Macedonian situation from that which prevailed in Achaea is the fact that in the former it was the free cities that seem to have produced the bulk of the coins in circulation, surpassing even the Roman issues, whereas in Achaea, the colonies performed that role.

It is a point worth noting that, despite the radical re-organization of Greece brought about by the imposition of Roman rule, that sector which seems to have escaped undisturbed was the circulation of coins, as it had developed from Hellenistic times. Larger transactions were always made using one basic coin that might be issued either by the most powerful city, the ruler, or the Roman authority while the needs of everyday life were met by the small bronze low denominations that did not circulate outside the boundaries of their issuing authority. Consequently it was the real requirements of the economy, which had not changed significantly, that ultimately, determined the way in which coins were used in the imperial period as well.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF COLONIAL NUMISMATIC ICONOGRAPHY

In Appendix II we present a list of the numismatic types of each colony, even if they are not mentioned in the text, in order to provide the reader with as thorough an image of the iconographic variety as possible. For the period up to Hadrian, we have used the catalogue in the two first volumes of *RPC*. Otherwise our material has been culled from museum or collection publications. In each case, we cite the most accessible bibliography, such as *SNG* for instance. For Dium, we have relied on S. Kremydi, *Η νομισματοκοπία της ρωμαϊκής αποικίας του Δίου* (Athens 1996).

ABBREVIATIONS

Bellinger	A.R. Bellinger, *Catalogue of the coins found at Corinth, 1925* (London 1930)
BMC	*Catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum* *Macedonia* (London 1879) *Peloponnesus* (London 1887) *Corinth* (London 1889)
Δίον	S. Kremydi-Sisilianou, *Η νομισματοκοπία της ρωμαϊκής αποικίας του Δίου* (Athens 1996)
Edwards	K.M. Edwards, *Corinth. Results of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens,* vol. VI, *Coins 1896-1929* (Cambridge 1933)
Gaebler	Gaebler, H., *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands Makedonia und Paionia* (Berlin 1906)
Glaux	*Collana di Studi e Ricerche di Numismatica* 8 R. Martini, *Monetazione Provinciale Romana* II.*Collezione Winsemann Falghera, 2. Vespasianus – Commodus* (Milano 1992)
***Hesperia* 55**	O.H. Zervos, "Coins excavated at Corinth 1978-1986", *Hesperia* 55 (1986) 183-205
***Hesperia* 56**	C.K. Willliams, O.H. Zervos, "Corinth 1986: Temple E and east of the theater", *Hesperia* 56 (1987) 1-46
Hunter	A.S. Robertson, *Roman Imperial coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet, University of Glasgow* I. *Augustus to Nerva* (London 1962) II. *Trajan to Commodus* (London 1971) III. *Pertinax to Aemilian* (London 1977)

Hunterian	G. MacDonald, *Catalogue of Greek coins in the Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow* *Italy, Sicily,Macedon, Thrace and Thessaly* (Glasgow 1899) *North western Greece, Central Greece and Asia Minor* (Glasgow 1901)
McClean	S.W. Grose, *Fitzwilliam Museum: Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek coins* *The Greek mainland, the Aegean islands, Crete* (Cambridge 1926)
Pozzi	*Catalogue de monnaies grecques antiques provenant de la collection de feu le professeur S. Pozzi, vente Naville,* Geneve (4/4/1921)
***RPC* I**	A. Burnett, M. Amandry, P.P. Ripollès, *Roman provincial coins.* vol. I: *From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC-AD 69)* (London 1992)
***RPC* II**	A. Burnett, M. Amandry, P.P. Ripollès, *Roman provincial coins.* vol. II: *From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69-96)* (London 1999)
SNGANS	*Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, The Collection of the American Numismatic Society* *Macedonia* I (New York 1987)
SNGCop	*Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum* *Macedonia* (Copenhagen 1943) *Corinth, Laconie* (Copenhagen 1943)
SNGFitzwilliam	*Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Fitzwilliam Museum: Leake and General Collections,*vol. IV (London 1940-58)
SNGEvelpidis	*Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum,Collection R.H. Evelpidis* (Louvain 1970)
SNGLewis	*Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, The Lewis Collection in Corpus Christi College, The Greek Imperial Coins,* vol. VI, part II (Oxford 1992)
SNGSchweiz II	*Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Münzen der Antike, Sammlung J.P. Righetti* (Wien 1993)
Weber	L. Forrer, *Descriptive catalogue of the collection of Greek coins formed by Sir Hermann Weber,* vol. II (London 1924)
Winterthur	H. Bloesch, *Griechishe Münzen in Winterthur* (Winterthur1987).

ACHAEA

CORINTH

44-31 BC.

Inscriptions: LAVS IVLI CORINT, CORINTHVM, CORINT, and names of magistrates.
Obv. Antony, or Caesar
Rev. Prow, or Bellerophon, mounted on flying Pegasus, striking with spear (*RPC* I, 1124, 1116)
Without emperor's head
Obv. Bellerophon, striding, seizing Pegasus by the bridle
Rev. Poseidon, seated on rock, resting on trident (*RPC* I, 1117)
Obv. Head of Zeus
Rev. Athena-Pallas, holding thunderbolt and shield (*RPC* I, 1118)
Obv. Nike, holding palm
Rev. Chimaera (*RPC* I, 1119)
Obv. INTS CAS II VIR, in wreath
Rev. Dolphin and trident (*RPC* I, 1120)
Obv. Trident
Rev. Pegasus flying (*RPC* I, 1121)
Obv. Head of Saturn
Rev. Dionysus, holding kantharos and thyrsos (*RPC* I, 1122)
Obv. Preafericulum
Rev. CORIN, in wreath (*RPC* I, 1123)
Obv. Head of Poseidon
Rev. Chimaera (*RPC* I, 1125) or P AEBVTIO C PINNIO IIVIR, in wreath of pine (*RPC* I, 1126)
Obv. Head of Aphrodite
Rev. Pegasus flying (*RPC* I, 1127) or, Bellerophon, mounted on Pegasus, striking with spear at Chimaera (*RPC* I, 1128)

Anonymous
Obv. Head of Poseidon
Rev. Dolphin or, hippocamp or, Pegasus or, COR, in wreath (*RPC* I, 1223, 1225, 1226, 1234)
Obv. Pegasus or, dolphin
Rev. Trident (*RPC* I, 1224, 1229)
Obv. Bust of Helios or, Chimaera
Rev. Pegasus (*RPC* I, 1227, 1233)
Obv. Dolphin
Rev. Wreath (*RPC* I, 1230)
Obv. Rudder
Rev. Dolphin or, trident (*RPC* I, 1231-2)

Augustus

Inscriptions: CORINT, CORINTHI, and names of magistrates
Obv. Augustus
Rev. Caesar (*RPC* I, 1132)
Rev. Gaius and Lucius (*RPC* I, 1136)
Rev. Tiberius (*RPC* I, 1144)
Rev. P AEBVT SP F IVLIO HERA IIVIR QVINTER, in wreath (*RPC* I, 1138)
Obv. Augustus or, Tiberius or, Agrippa or, Germanicus or, Drusus Minor
Rev. C MVSSIO PRISCO IIVIR HEIO POLLIONE ITER or, C HEIO POLLIONE ITER C MVSSIO PRISCO IIVIR, in parsley wreath (*RPC* I, 1139-43)
Without emperor's head
Obv. Agonistiki trapeza or, bucranium
Rev. Praefericulum (*RPC* I, 1129-30)
Obv. Athlete, a palm on the shoulder
Rev. Race torch (*RPC* I, 1135)
Obv. Dolphin
Rev. Trident (*RPC* I, 1131)
Obv. Pegasus flying
Rev. P AEBVTIO SP FF C HEIO PAMPHILO, in wreath (*RPC* I, 1133)
Obv. Head of Poseidon
Rev. C SERVILIO C F PRIMO M ANTONIO HIPPARCHO, in wreath (*RPC* I, 1137)

Tiberius

Inscriptions: COR, and names of magistrates
Obv. Tiberius
Rev. Pegasus (*RPC* I, 1145)
Rev. Victory, on globe, holding wreath and palm (*RPC* I, 1146)
Obv. Drusus Minor (?)
Rev. Livia, veiled, seated, holding patera and sceptre, or ears of corn and sceptre (*RPC* I, 1149)
Obv. Augustus or, Livia/Salus or, Livia/Pietas. Or, Tiberius
Rev. Hexastyle temple, inscribed GENT IVLI (*RPC* I, 1151-61)

Without emperor's head

Obv. Melikertes, riding on dolphin or, Pegasus flying or, Isthmus, holding rudder in each hand
Rev. Pegasus (*RPC* I, 1162-4)
Rev. LABE PEREG IIVIR, in a wreath or, Isthmus, holding rudder in each hand or, Melikertes on dolphin (*RPC* I, 1165-70)
Obv. Pegasus
Rev. Busts of Gaius and Tiberius Gemellus (?)(*RPC* I, 1171)

Anonymous

Obv. Pegasus
Rev. SE COR; dolphin (?) (*RPC* I, 1236)

Gaius

Inscriptions: COR and names of magistrates.
Obv. Gaius
Rev. Pegasus (*RPC* I, 1172)
Obv. Agrippina
Rev. Nero Caesar and Drusus Caesar (*RPC* I, 1174)
Obv. Antonia Minor
Rev. Two cornucopiae (*RPC* I, 1176)
Obv. Germanicus
Rev. Rudder and globe (*RPC* I, 1178)

Claudius

Inscriptions: COR, COR SE and names of magistrates.
Obv. Claudius
Rev. Hexastyle temple on Acrocorinth (*RPC* I, 1180)
Rev. Pegasus, on rocks (*RPC* I, 1181)
Rev. Nero and Britannicus, standing face to face (*RPC* I, 1182)
Obv. Agrippina Minor
Rev. Nero and Britannicus, standing face to face (*RPC* I, 1183)

Without emperor's head

Obv. Radiate bust of Helios or, Melikertes, lying on one or two dolphins
Rev. Poseidon, standing, holding dolphin and trident (*RPC* I, 1185, 1187, 1188)
Rev. Melikertes, lying on dolphin (*RPC* I, 1186)

Anonymous

Obv. Pegasus
Rev. SE COR; dolphin (*RPC* I, 1237)

Nero

Inscriptions: COR and names of magistrates.
Obv. Nero, Agrippina Minor or, Octavia
Rev. GEN COL; Genius, holding patera and cornucopia (*RPC* I, 1189-91)
Rev. Nero, holding patera; behind, Tyche, crowning him and holding cornucopia (*RPC* I,1207)
Rev. ADVE AVG; galley (*RPC* I,1203-4)
Rev. ADLO AVG; Emperor, r. hand raised, holding scroll, standing on suggestum (*RPC* I,1205-6)
Rev. TI CLAV ANAXILAO IIVIR COR or, P VENTI DIO FRONTONE IIVIR COR, in wreath (*RPC* I,1209)
Rev. Tetrastyle temple, within which Nero, standing, facing (*RPC* I,1208)
Rev. Poseidon, in biga drawn by hippocamps (*RPC* I, 1192-4)
Rev. Helios, in quadriga (*RPC* I, 1195-6)
Rev. Aphrodite, holding mirror in biga of Tritons (*RPC* I, 1197-9)
Rev. Bust of Aphrodite; beneath, galley, inscribed CENCRHEAE; or, dolphin inscribed LECHAVM (*RPC* I,1200)
Rev. Bellerophon, seizing Pegasus (*RPC* I,1201)
Rev. ISTHMIA, in wreath of parsley (*RPC* I,1202)

Galba

Inscriptions: CORINT, COR and names of magistrates
Obv. Galba
Rev. Two hands joined, holding poppy head between two ears of corn (*RPC* I,1210)
Rev. Victory, holding wreath and palm (*RPC* I,1214-7)
Rev. Tetrastyle temple, seen from corner (*RPC* I,1218-9)
Without emperor's head
Obv. NEPTVNO AVG; Head of Poseidon
Rev. Isthmus, holding rudder in each hand (*RPC* I, 1222)
Obv. NEPTVNO AVG; Head of Poseidon or, ROMAE ET IMPERIO; turreted head of Tyche/Roma
Rev. Two hands joined, holding poppy head between two ears of corn (*RPC* I,1212- 3)
Rev. Tetrastyle temple, seen from corner (*RPC* I,1220-1)

Domitian

Inscriptions: PERM IMP, PERM IMP COR, COL IVL FLAV AVG CORINT, COL IVL AVG COR VICT AVG COR
Obv. Domitian
Rev. Genius sacrificing (*RPC* II, 109) or, standing l., holding out object over Melikertes on dolphin (*RPC* II, 166)
Rev. PERM IMP; Ino, holding Melikertes in her arms; facing her, Isthmus, seated on rock; dolphin at feet (*RPC* II, 101)
Rev. COR PERM IMP; Emperor (?) in quadriga (*RPC* II, 106)
Rev. PERM IMP COR, within wreath (*RPC* II, 104)
Rev. VICT AVG COR; Victory, standing l., crowning trophy; at its base, seated captive (*RPC* II, 110) or, advancing (*RPC* II, 122) or, holding wreath and palm; or, standing on globe (*RPC* II, 145) or, facing, holding globe on prow and rudder (*RPC* II, 146)
Rev. Horseman, galloping (*RPC* II, 105)
Rev. Tetrastyle temple on Acrocorinth, seen from corner (*RPC* II, 151)
Rev. Tetrastyle, or hexastyle temple seen from front, within which a cult-statue, on Acrocorinth (*RPC* II, 195, 199)
Rev. Tetrastyle temple with steps; inside, two figures (*RPC* II, 144)
Rev. The two harbours, Lechaeum and Cenchreae, as nymphs, turned opposite ways, each holding a rudder (*RPC* II, 168)

Rev. Arch, surmounted by quadriga (*RPC* II, 107)
Rev. Conical fountain, decorated with sculptures (*RPC* II, 160)
Rev. Athena, standing, holding Victory and spear (*RPC* II, 156)
Rev. Zeus, standing, holding eagle and thunderbolt (*RPC* II, 206), or seated, holding thunderbolt and sceptre (*RPC* II, 147)
Rev. Poseidon, standing, holding dolphin and trident (*RPC* II, 138); l. foot on rock (*RPC* II 148); l. foot on dolphin; holding trident (*RPC* II, 149)
Rev. Poseidon, seated, holding dolphin and transverse trident (*RPC* II, 139)
Rev. Poseidon, in biga of hippocamps (*RPC* II 143), or Tritons (*RPC* II, 142)
Rev. Aphrodite (?) standing, leaning on column, (*RPC* II, 125); holding unidentified object in r. hand (*RPC* II, 153)
Rev. Aphrodite, holding shield as mirror, on column; l., Eros (*RPC* II, 154)
Rev. Female (?) figure, standing, holding trident (*RPC* II, 164)
Rev. Female figure, standing, holding jug; in field, snake entwined around staff (*RPC* II, 165) or, holding jug and sceptre with snake (?) twisted around (*RPC* II, 132)
Rev. Heracles, standing, holding club on rock (*RPC* II, 173)
Rev. Triptolemos, fighting against serpent (*RPC* II, 200) or, with billowing chlamys, r. arm extended; l., holding sceptre (?) (*RPC* II, 203)
Rev. Ino, running, with Melikertes in arms (*RPC* II, 114)
Rev. Bellerephon, with Pegasus (*RPC* II 116); riding Pegasus over Chimaera (*RPC* II, 113), or, striking downwards at Chimaera (*RPC* II, 115)
Rev. Chimaera (*RPC* II, 127)
Rev. Pegasus (*RPC* II, 136); flying (*RPC* II, 178)
Rev. ISTHMIA, in wreath (*RPC* II, 108)
Rev. Athlete, running, holding torch (*RPC* II, 157), or, walking, holding palm and torch (*RPC* II, 126)
Rev. Helios, in quadriga (*RPC* II, 170)
Rev. Isthmus, standing (*RPC* II, 133); holding two rudders (*RPC* II 174)

Without emperor's head

Obv. COL; head of Poseidon, wearing taenia; trident, behind neck
Rev. COR; Zeus, striding, hurling thunderbolt and holding eagle (?) on extended l. arm (*RPC* II, 207)
Rev. COR; two athletes, naked; one standing, his l. arm over the head of the other, seated, r. (*RPC* II, 208)
Rev. COR; athlete, naked, running; r. hand outstretched; holding palm in l. hand (*RPC* II, 209)
Rev. COR; athlete, naked, walking l.; r. hand outstretched; shield on l. arm (*RPC* II, 210), or holding club (*RPC* II, 213)

Rev. COR; athlete, naked, standing; holding discus in r.; l., raised (*RPC* II, 211) or, holding palm (?) over r. shoulder; in front, naked runner crouched, r., for start (*RPC* II, 217)
Rev. COR; two boxers, naked, face to face; the one to r., with r. foot raised (*RPC* II, 212) or, striking at each other (*RPC* II, 214)
Rev. COR; boxer, naked, r., sinking on one knee; behind him, another boxer, seizing his head with l. hand and raising r. hand to strike him (*RPC* II, 215)
Rev. COR; two wrestlers, naked, grappling as if about to close (*RPC* II, 216)
Obv. Head of Heracles, r.; club behind neck, lion's skin knotted around neck
Rev. COL COR; Perseus, standing, holding head of Gorgon in outstretched r. hand; harpa in l. (*RPC* II, 218)

Trajan

Inscriptions: COL IVL (F)LAV COR
Obv. Trajan
Rev. Poseidon, seated, holding dolphin and trident (*SNGCop,* 282)

Hadrian

Inscriptions: COL L I VL COR, COL IV L COR, IVL COR, COL L I, COL IΛ, COL L IVL CO, COLLAV IVLCOR, COLI CORA, COR
Obv. Hadrian
Rev. Genius, standing, holding patera over lighted altar and cornucopia (Edwards, 123)
Rev. Emperor, standing, holding simpulum over lighted altar (Edwards, 124)
Rev. The Emperor, seated on horse, in l. holds long sceptre (Bellinger, 58)
Rev. Triumphal arch, surmounted by quadriga facing; at either side, trophy (*Hunterian,* 134)
Rev. LECH CENCH; Lechaeum and Cenchrae, as nymphs, standing, facing, each holding rudder (*SNGCop,* 290)
Rev. Round temple; within, Melikertes on dolphin (*SNGCop,* 291)
Rev. Hexastyle (*BMC,* 596) or, tetrastyle temple, on Acrocorinth (*BMC,* 597)
Rev. Hexastyle temple (*Glaux,* 785)
Rev. Athena, standing, holding Nike and spear (Edwards, 116)
Rev. Zeus, standing, holding thunderbolt and eagle (Edwards, 120)
Rev. Head of Poseidon, wearing taenia; behind, trident (*SNGCop,* 286)

Rev. Poseidon, standing, holding dolphin and trident (*SNGCop,* 285)
Rev. Poseidon, seated on throne, holding dolphin and leaning on long sceptre (Bellinger, 56)
Rev. Asclepius, holding serpent staff (*SNGCop,* 287)
Rev. Young Dionysus, standing, holding thyrsos and cantharus; at his feet, panther (*SNGCop,* 288)
Rev. Heracles, holding bull from horns (*Pozzi,* 3858)
Rev. Nymph Peirene (?), resting on amphora, holding branch (*SNGCop,* 289)
Rev. Isis, holding sistrum (*SNGSchweiz* II, 456)
Rev. Statue of Aphrodite of the Acrocorinth, standing, holding shield as mirror; behind; Eros (*BMC,* 592)
Rev. Melikertes, lying on dolphin, under pine tree (*BMC,* 594)
Rev. Ino, running, holding Melikertes in arms (Edwards, 110)
Rev. Bellerephon on Pegasus, striking at Chimaera (*SNGCop,* 284)
Rev. Chimaera (Edwards, 119)
Rev. Pegasus (*SNGCop,* 283)
Rev. Tyche, standing, holding patera and cornucopia (Edwards, 121)
Rev. Nike, standing, holding wreath and palm (Edwards, 122)
Rev. Satyr, standing, holding pedum and carrying wineskin over shoulder (Edwards, 126)
Rev. Head of Helios, radiate (Edwards, 127)
Rev. Isthmus, seated on rock, holding inverted rudder (*BMC,* 590)
Rev. Cornucopia and globe (*SNGCop,* 292)
Rev. Galley, propelled by rowers (*Hunterian,* 135)
Rev. ISTHMIA, within pine wreath (*SNGCop,* 293)

Sabina

Inscriptions: COL L IVL C(OR)
Obv. Sabina
Rev. Athena Chalinitis, resting on spear and holding bridle (*BMC,* 598)

Antoninus Pius

Inscriptions: CLI COR, CO LI CO(R)
Obv. Antoninus Pius
Rev. Harbour of Cenchreae, with temple at each side; colossus of Poseidon in

centre and three ships at entrance (Edwards, 149)
Rev. Lion (Edwards, 148)
Rev. Head of Athena (*SNGCop,* 315)
Rev. Pallas, standing, holding Nike and spear beside shield; l., owl (Bellinger, 59)
Rev. Asclepius (?) seated in front of tetrastyle temple (*SNGCop,* 306)
Rev. Aphrodite, in tetrastyle temple, on Acrocorinth (*SNGCop,* 307)
Rev. Hermes, standing, holding caduceus, resting l. arm on column (*BMC,* 602)
Rev. Helios, in quadriga (*SNGCop,* 302)
Rev. Artemis, holding torch and bow; at feet stag and dog (*SNGCop,* 303)
Rev. Poseidon, seated, holding dolphin and trident (*SNGCop,* 309)
Rev. Dionysus, seated, holding thyrsos (*SNGCop,* 310)
Rev. Dionysus, standing, holding kantharos and thyrsos; in front, panther (Edwards, 141)
Rev. Kronos, standing, holding sickle (*SNGCop,* 304)
Rev. Heracles, standing, resting on club (*SNGCop,* 311)
Rev. Tyche, standing, holding patera and cornucopia (*SNGCop,* 312)
Rev. Nike, holding wreath and palm (Edwards, 146)
Rev. Melikertes, standing on dolphin; r. arm raised (*SNGCop,* 313) or, lying on dolphin, under pine tree (Edwards, 137)
Rev. Ino, running, holding veil and child; at feet, sea-deity (Edwards, 135)
Rev. Bellerephon, on Pegasus, striking at Chimaera (Edwards, 133)
Rev. Pegasus (Edwards, 134)
Rev. Chimaera (*SNGCop,* 305)
Rev. Palm tree, within inclosure (*SNGCop,* 314)
Rev. ISTHMIA, within pine wreath (*SNGCop,* 308)

Marcus Aurelius

Inscriptions: CLI COR, CLI C OR
Obv. Marcus Aurelius
Rev. Genius, standing, holding patera and cornucopia (Edwards, 161)
Rev. Charioteer, standing in quadriga, holding standard (*McClean* 6193)
Rev. Circular temple of Melikertes, in front, bull; beneath, pine tree (*BMC,* 614)
Rev. Small shrine, within which, seated figure (Poseidon with dolphin?); in front, priest (or emperor) (Edwards, 153)
Rev. Tetrastyle temple of Aphrodite, on Acrocorinth (*BMC,* 616)
Rev. Lion, on base (*SNGCop,* 324)
Rev. Garlanded altar of Melikertes, under a pine tree; upon it, Melikertes on

dolphin; in front, Isthmus, standing, holding rudder and touching branch of the tree (*BMC,* 612)
Rev. Melikertes, riding (*BMC,* 610) or, standing on dolphin (*SNGCop,* 330)
Rev. Melikertes, lying on dolphin; behind, two trees (*SNGCop,* 328); behind, tree; on l., athlete, holding palm and race-torch (*SNGCop,* 327)
Rev. Bellerephon, on Pegasus, holding spear (*SNGCop,* 316) or, on Pegasus striking at Chimaera (*SNGCop,* 317)
Rev. Pegasus (*Hunterian,* 140)
Rev. Chimaera (*BMC,* 604)
Rev. Zeus, seated on throne, resting on sceptre, holding Nike (*BMC,* 606)
Rev. Aphrodite, in long chiton and peplos, standing, resting on sceptre and holding apple (*BMC,* 607) or, holding shield as mirror (Edwards, 158)
Rev. Hermes, wearing chlamys and petasos, seated on rock, holding caduceus and extending r. over ram (*BMC,* 608)
Rev. Artemis, holding torch and bow; at feet, stag and dog (*SNGCop,* 331)
Rev. Asclepius, standing, facing, holding serpent staff (Edwards, 159)
Rev. Poseidon, laureate, leaning on trident, r. foot on rock (*McClean,* 6192)
Rev. Poseidon, seated, holding dolphin and trident (*SNGCop,* 318)
Rev. Poseidon, holding trident and patera in front of altar, on which, Melikertes on dolphin; behind, tree (*SNGCop,* 326)
Rev. Athena, standing, holding Nike and spear (*SNGCop,* 319)
Rev. Ares, holding spear and trophy; in front, bucranium (?) (*SNGCop,* 320)
Rev. Nike, holding palm and wreath (*SNGCop,* 321)
Rev. Tyche, standing, holding patera and cornucopia (*SNGCop,* 322). On l., altar (*SNGCop,* 323)
Rev. Tyche, seated, holding patera and cornucopia (*SNGCop,* 332)
Rev. Isthmus, standing (Edwards, 155)
Rev. Palm tree, within enclosure (*SNGCop,* 333)
Rev. ISTHMIA, within wreath (*SNGCop,* 325)

Lucius Verus

Inscriptions: CLI COR, CIL COR
Obv. Lucius Verus
Rev. Emperor on horse, raising r. hand (Edwards, 170)
Rev. Temple of Poseidon, surmounted by Tritons (*SNGCop,* 345)
Rev. Tetrastyle temple of Aphrodite, on Acrocorinth; within, statue of the goddess, holding shield (*BMC,* 627)

Rev. Upper part of date-palm, above altar or enclosure, with door or opening in the centre (*BMC,* 628)
Rev. Circular temple, flanked by two dolphins; within, Melikertes, lying on dolphin; behind, tree (*SNGCop,* 342)
Rev. Melikertes, lying on dolphin; the whole within wreath (*SNGCop,* 343) or, behind, tree (*SNGCop,* 347) or, riding on dolphin; all within wreath of pine (*Hunterian,* 152)
Rev. Ino, running, holding veil above head; at feet, hippocamp (Edwards, 164)
Rev. Poseidon, seated, holding dolphin and trident (SNGCop, 335)
Rev. Poseidon, naked, standing, foot resting on rock; leaning on trident and holding dolphin (*Hunterian,* 154)
Rev. Athena, standing, holding Nike, spear and shield (*SNGCop,* 336); holding spear, sacrificing over altar; r., shield (*Hesperia* 56, n. 68)
Rev. Helios, standing, holding club (?) and turreted head (*SNGCop,* 337)
Rev. Helios, in quadriga of galloping horses (*BMC,* 621)
Rev. Zeus, standing, holding sceptre and eagle (*SNGCop,* 339)
Rev. Heracles, standing, resting on club; on r., low altar (*SNGCop,* 340)
Rev. Artemis, wearing short chiton, running l.; holding torch and bow; in front, stag (*BMC,* 619)
Rev. Asclepius, holding serpent staff and Hygeia, feeding serpent from patera (*BMC,* 620)
Rev. Hermes, seated on rock; beside, ram (*SNGCop,* 344)
Rev. Aphrodite, holding shield; in front, Eros (*SNGCop,* 346)
Rev. Dionysus, standing, holding kantharos and thyrsos (Edwards, 167), or bunch of grapes (Edwards, 168)
Rev. Bellerephon on Pegasus, striking at Chimaera (*SNGCop,* 334)
Rev. Chimaera (*SNGCop,* 338)
Rev. Pegasus (Edwards, 163)
Rev. Isthmus, standing, holding rudder (*SNGSchweiz* II, 458)
Rev. Tyche, standing, holding rudder and cornucopia (Edwards, 169)
Rev. ISTHMIA, within wreath of pine (*BMC,* 625) or celery (*SNGLewis,* 1269)

Commodus

Inscriptions: CLI COR, COR
Obv. Commodus
Rev. Emperor on horseback, crowned by Nike (*SNGCop,* 348) or, raising r. hand (Edwards, 180)

Rev. Temple of Aphrodite on Acrocorinth; Pegasus flying (Edwards, 181)
Rev. Lion (*SNGCop,* 350)
Rev. Pharos; on l., vessel under sail (*SNGCop,* 357)
Rev. Fountain, surmounted by Scylla (Bellinger, 64)
Rev. Isthmus, standing, facing, holding rudder in each hand (Edwards, 173)
Rev. Melikertes, riding on dolphin (*SNGCop,* 354) or, lying on dolphin; behind, tree; (*SNGCop,* 352); in front, athlete holding palm and race -torch (*SNGCop,* 351)
Rev. Poseidon, naked, standing, holding dolphin and resting on trident; at feet, dolphin (*BMC,* 630)
Rev. Poseidon, seated, holding trident and dolphin (*SNGCop,* 355) or, holding dolphin and resting on trident; in front, Pallas with helmet, spear and shield, holding patera; above, between them, bucranium (*BMC,* 633)
Rev. Artemis, holding bow (?) and Aphrodite holding shield; between them, altar (*SNGCop,* 349)
Rev. Athena, standing, holding Nike and spear; at feet, owl; behind, shield (Edwards, 174)
Rev. Asclepius, holding serpent staff (*BMC,* 638)
Rev. Nike, holding wreath and palm (*BMC,* 640); in field, prow and rudder (*BMC,* 639)
Rev. Apollo, standing on base, elbow resting on term; r., below, basin (*SNGCop,* 356)
Rev. Hermes, seated on rock, with ram; all in a square cippus (*McClean,* 6199)
Rev. Statue of Aphrodite of Acrocorinth, standing, holding the shield of Ares as mirror (*BMC,* 637)
Rev. Tyche, standing, holding patera over altar and cornucopia (Edwards, 179)
Rev. Tyche; l., rudder; r. globe and prow (*Hesperia* 56, no. 72)
Rev. Pegasus (*BMC,* 629)

Septimius Severus

Inscriptions: CLI COR, COR CLI, ROC ILC
Obv. Septimius Severus
Rev. Victory, in biga (*SNGFitzwilliam,* 3471)
Rev. Pallas/Roma, seated on throne, holding Nike; behind, shield (*Hunterian,*158)
Rev. Upper part of date-palm above an enclosure; door or opening in centre (*BMC,* 650)
Rev. Lion, standing over ram, on doric capital (Edwards, 193)
Rev. Tetrastyle temple of Aphrodite on Acrocorinth (*BMC,* 651) or, distyle

temple, seen from the front; inside, statue of Aphrodite, holding shield as mirror; at feet, Eros. (*SNGSchweiz* II, 462)
Rev. Scylla fountain, with dogs' heads and basin within square building, above which arcade of three arches and statues; steps below (Edwards, 192)
Rev. Fountain-nymph Peirene, seated, pouring water from vase; in front, Pegasus drinking; in background, Acrocorinth, surmounted by temple of Aphrodite (*BMC,* 654)
Rev. Fountain-nymph Peirene, seated on rock, holding vase and resting l. hand on rock (*BMC,* 656); or, holding vase upon her knee; in front, Scylla fountain; between them, crater (*BMC,* 655)
Rev. Round temple with two columns at each side and dolphin acroteria; within Melikertes, lying on dolphin under pine tree; at each side of temple, a tree (Edwards, 186)
Rev. Round temple of Melikertes; l., ox approaching for sacrifice; behind, tree (*SNGCop,* 360)
Rev. Pine tree, below, Melikertes on dolphin; l., athlete holding palm and torch (*Hesperia* 56, no. 77)
Rev. Melikertes, lying on dolphin; behind, tree (*SNGCop,* 363)
Rev. Ino holding Melikertes in arms, throwing herself into sea; in front of her, Isthmus, naked, seated on rock and placing his l. hand on rudder; in the sea, between the figures, a dolphin (*BMC,* 646)
Rev. Bellerephon on Pegasus, striking at Chimaera (*SNGCop,* 358)
Rev. Bellerephon, watering Pegasus at fountain Peirene; on summit of Acrocorinth, temple of Aphrodite (*BMC,* 653)
Rev. Pegasus (*McClean,* 6201)
Rev. Helios, driving quadriga (*Hesperia* 56, no. 76)
Rev. Athena, holding spear and Nike; at feet, owl and shield (*SNGCop,* 359)
Rev. Artemis, huntress, within temple; on either side, tree (*SNGCop,* 361)
Rev. Artemis, running, r. and l., stag and hound (*BMC,* 643)
Rev. Poseidon, seated on throne, holding dolphin and trident (*BMC,* 642)
Rev. Isthmus, naked, seated on rock, r. hand on head; l. resting on rudder (*BMC,* 646)
Rev. Statue of Aphrodite, on Acrocorinth, holding up shield as mirror; at foot of the rock, fountain Peirene; on either side, a recumbent male figure (the two ports of Corinth), l., holding rudder, r., anchor (*BMC,* 652)
Rev. Hermes, standing, holding purse and caduceus (*Weber,* 3801)
Rev. Hermes, seated on rock, holding out r. towards head of ram (Edwards, 188)
Rev. Female figure, seated, between trophy and thymiaterion (?) (*SNGCop,* 362) or, holding patera and cornucopia over flaming altar (*Weber,* 3802)

Rev. Heracles, standing, leaning on club (Edwards, 189)
Rev. Nike, holding wreath and palm (Edwards, 190)
Rev. ISTHMIA, within pine wreath (*Weber,* 3797)

Julia Domna

Inscriptions: CLI COR
Obv. Julia Domna
Rev. Two figures joining hands (*SNGCop,* 364)
Rev. Tetrastyle temple of Aphrodite on Acrocorinth (Edwards, 201)
Rev. Nike, in biga, holding wreath (*Hesperia* 56, n. 81)
Rev. Poseidon, standing, holding dolphin and trident; r. foot on rock (*SNGSchweiz* II, 463)
Rev. Tyche, seated on throne (*BMC,* 658); or, seated on rock, holding patera and cornucopia (*BMC,* 657) or, standing, holding patera and cornucopia; in front of her, altar (Edwards, 199)
Rev. Isthmus, standing, holding rudder in each hand (Edwards, 194)
Rev. Athena, standing, facing, holding Nike and spear; shield, on ground (Edwards, 195)
Rev. Athena, seating on throne, holding Nike and spear; shield, resting behind throne (Edwards, 196)
Rev. Hermes, standing, holding caduceus (Edwards, 197)
Rev. Heracles, standing, holding club (*Hesperia* 55, no. 71)
Rev. Hygieia, standing, resting on pillar, feeding snake (*Hesperia* 56, no. 79)
Rev. ISTHMIA; below, branch; the whole, within pine wreath (*SNGCop,* 365)

Caracalla

Inscriptions: CLI COR
Obv. Caracalla
Rev. Bonus Eventus, in l., rudder, in r., branch over altar (*SNGFitzwilliam,* 3474)
Rev. Emperor on horseback holding spear (*Winterthur,* 2115); or, galloping, striking downwards with spear at fallen enemy (Edwards, 213)
Rev. Temple on Acrocorinth; at foot, buildings and trees (*SNGCop,* 369)
Rev. Round temple of Melikertes; three columns at each side (Edwards, 205)
Rev. Scylla fountain; to l., basin (Edwards, 214)
Rev. Lion (*Weber,* 3806)

Rev. Athena Nikephoros, over altar (*Winterthur,* 2116)
Rev. Hermes, seated on rock; behind caduceus; on l., ram (*SNGCop,* 366)
Rev. Hermes, standing, holding wreath; r., Aphrodite, holding shield as mirror (Edwards, 208)
Rev. Aphrodite, clad in long chiton and peplos, standing, resting on sceptre and holding apple (*BMC,* 661)
Rev. Artemis, huntress (*SNGCop,* 367)
Rev. Artemis, seated on rock, holding bow; in front of her, Bellerophon, on Pegasus, striking downwards with spear at Chimaera (*BMC,* 660)
Rev. Zeus, standing; r. arm raised (*Weber,* 3804) or, seated on throne, holding Nike and spear (Edwards, 207)
Rev. Poseidon, seated, holding dolphin and trident (Edwards, 206) or, standing, holding trident and dolphin; facing him, Aphrodite, holding shield as mirror in both hands and wearing turreted crown (Edwards, 218)
Rev. Herakles, naked, standing, with lion's skin hanging over shoulder; resting on club (*BMC,* 662)
Rev. Helios, in quadriga of galloping horses (*BMC,* 663)
Rev. Nymph Peirene seated on rock, holding pitcher, resting on rock; behind her, serpent (Edwards, 220), or, holding branch and amphora (*SNGCop,* 371)
Rev. Ino holding Melikertes in arms, running (Edwards, 204)
Rev. Melikertes, lying on dolphin; behind, tree (*SNGFitzwilliam,* 3472)
Rev. Bellerephon, taming Pegasus (*BMC,* 659)
Rev. Pegasus (*SNGFitzwilliam,* 3473)
Rev. Tyche, standing in front of trophy, holding sceptre (*SNGCop,* 368)
Rev. Isthmus, standing; holding rudders (*SNGCop,* 370)
Rev. Nike, facing, holding purse in r.; in l., palm (Edwards, 224)
Rev. Nike, standing on globe, holding disk on head with both hands (Edwards, 212)
Rev. Nike, standing, writing on shield which rests on pillar (Edwards, 211) or, holding wreath and palm (Edwards, 210)
Rev. Tyche, seated, holding patera and cornucopia (*Weber,* 3807)

Plautilla

Inscriptions: CLI COR
Obv. Plautilla
Rev. Nymph Peirene on Acrocorinth, serpent around l. arm; on r., pitcher (*SNGFitzwilliam,* 3475)
Rev. Statue of Athena (*SNGCop,* 373)

Rev. Athena, standing, holding sceptre and shield; on l., altar (*SNGCop,* 372)
Rev. Pallas standing, holding Nike, and resting on spear; at feet, shield (*BMC,* 667)
Rev. Aphrodite, standing, on summit of rock (*BMC,* 665); or, holding apple and resting on sceptre (*SNGCop,* 374) or, holding shield as mirror (*SNGCop,* 375) ; at feet, two Erotes, one holding wreath, the other, cup (*BMC,* 664); in front, Eros (*BMC,* 666)
Rev. Aphrodite, holding up hair with r. hand; l., resting on hip (*Weber* 3809)
Rev. Artemis, huntress, holding torch and bow; in front, stag (*Hunterian* 160)
Rev. Poseidon, holding dolphin, standing in quadriga of horses (*BMC,* 670)
Rev. Asclepius and Hygeia, standing face to face (*BMC,* 671)
Rev. Hygieia, seated on rock, holding patera and feeding snake (*Hunterian* 162), or, standing, feeding serpent; at feet, flaming altar (*Weber* 3810)
Rev. Isis Pharia, standing, holding wind-filled sail (*Weber* 3811)
Rev. Tyche, seated, holding patera and cornucopia (*SNGCop,* 376)
Rev. Tyche, standing, holding rudder and cornucopia (*BMC,* 672); in front of lighted altar (*BMC,* 673)
Rev. Nike, advancing, holding wreath and palm (*BMC,* 675) or, in biga (*SNGCop,* 377)

Geta

Inscriptions: CLI COR
Obv. Geta
Rev. Lion, standing over ram, on Doric capital (*SNGFitzwilliam,* 3476)
Rev. Tetrastyle temple, with podium; in front, tree (*SNGSchweiz II,* 468)
Rev. Circular temple of Melikertes, flanked by two dolphins; in front, a bull approaching; behind it, pine tree (*BMC,* 676)
Rev. Aphrodite, standing, holding sceptre and apple (Edwards, 226)
Rev. Poseidon, standing, r. foot on rock, holding dolphin and sceptre (Bellinger, 70)
Rev. Nike, standing, holding purse and palm (Edwards, 227) or, wreath and palm (Bellinger, 69)

PATRAE

Without emperor's head
Inscriptions: COL AUG ACH PAT, or CAAP or COL AA PATR
Obv. Bust of Artemis
Rev. Arrow and quiver (*RPC* I, 1246) or, tripod (*RPC* I, 1247)
Obv. Boar's head
Rev. Cista with phrygian cap, between pedum and syrinx (*RPC* I, 1248) or, galley (*RPC* I, 1249)
Obv. Cista, grapes and thyrsos
Rev. Club (*RPC* I, 1250)
Obv. Arrow, quiver and bow
Rev. Lyre (*RPC* I, 1251)

Augustus

Inscriptions: CAAP
Obv. Augustus
Rev. Man ploughing with two oxen (*RPC* I, 1252)

Tiberius

Inscriptions: COL AA PATRENS
Obv. Augustus
Rev. Togate man, holding measuring rod (?) and vexillum, with two oxen (*RPC* I, 1253-1254)

Claudius

Inscriptions: COL AA P, COL AA PATR
Obv. Claudius
Rev. Aquila between two standards (*RPC* I, 1256)
Rev. LIBERIS AVG; crossed cornucopiae; between them, busts of the three children of Claudius. (*RPC* I, 1255)

Nero

Inscriptions: COL AA PATR, COL NER PAT, C P
Obv. Nero
Rev. GEN COL NER PAT; Genius, holding patera and cornucopia, over altar (*RPC* I, 1258)
Rev. Aquila between two standards (*RPC* I, 1257)
Rev. ADVENTVS AVGVSTI; galley (*RPC* I, 1264)
Rev. PORTVS FRVGIFERA; Portus, holding rudder and cornucopia (*RPC* I, 1263)
Rev. APOLLO AVGVST; Apollo, playing lyre (*RPC* I, 1275)
Rev. DEANAI AVGVSTAI; dog, bow and quiver (*RPC* I, 1276)
Rev. DIANA LAPHR; Diana, standing, holding bow (*RPC* I, 1277)
Rev. LAPHRIA GAC DIAN AVG; tripod (*RPC* I, 1281)
Rev. HERCVLI AVGVSTO; Hercules, leaning r., holding club and lion skin (*RPC* I, 1278)
Rev. IVPPITER LIBERATOR; Jupiter, standing, holding eagle and sceptre (*RPC* I, 1279)

Galba

Inscriptions: COL AA PATR
Obv. Galba
Rev. Aquila between two standards (*RPC* I, 1282)

Domitian

Inscriptions: X XII PATR, COL A A PATR X XII, COL A A PATRENS, COL PATRAE
Obv. Domitian
Rev. GEN COL A PATRENS; Genius, standing, holding patera over altar and cornucopia (*RPC* II, 236)
Rev. Priest, with vexillum, ploughing with two oxen (*RPC* II, 253)
Rev. Two figures standing, each holding a standard; between, aquila (*RPC* II, 220)
Rev. Roma, seated, holding standard, l. arm resting on shield; crowned by warrior, holding spear (*RPC* II, 247)
Rev. Aquila between two standards (*RPC* II, 221)

Rev. Fountain, water cascading from lion-head spouts; upon it, male statue (*RPC* II, 234)
Rev. DEAN AVG LAPHR (or DEAN AV PATR); Artemis Laphria, wearing short chiton and chlamys, holding bow over altar; on l., dog looking up (*RPC* II, 227)
Rev. NEPT AVG COL PATR; Poseidon, standing, holding trident, r. foot on rock; dolphin on rock (*RPC* II, 244)
Without emperor's head
Obv. INDVLGENTIAE AVG MONETA INPERATA; bust of Indulgentia, draped, veiled, wearing stephane
Rev. CAESARI AVGVSTO COL A A P; quadriga, driven by the emperor, holding sceptre (*RPC* II, 219)

Hadrian

Inscriptions: COL AA PATRENS, P ATR EN SIS
Obv. Hadrian
Rev. Aquila between two standards (*BMC,* 30)
Rev. Minerva or Roma, l., shield, r., spear (*SNGFitzwilliam,* 3565)
Rev. Turreted female head (*SNGCop,* 182)
Rev. Hera, seated on throne, holding Nike and pomegranate (*BMC,* 31)

Sabina

Inscriptions: COL AA PATRENS
Obv. Sabina
Rev. Male figure, in short chiton, standing l. on pillar, in circular enclosure; r. arm extended (Edwards, 332)
Rev. Man (Eurypylos?) holding vase, running towards altar (*SNGSchweiz* II, 475)
Rev. Athena Pallas (*BMC,* 32)

Aelius

Inscriptions: COL AA PATRENS
Obv. Aelius
Rev. Aquila between two standards (*SNGCop,* 183)

Antoninus Pius

Inscriptions: CO AA P
Obv. Antoninus Pius
Rev. Tyche, standing, holding patera and cornucopia (Edwards, 333)

Marcus Aurelius

Inscriptions: COL AA PATRENS, COL AA PATR, COL PAT AA
Obv. Marcus Aurelius
Rev. Aquila between two standards (*SNGCop,* 185)
Rev. Colonist, holding standard, ploughing with two oxen (*SNGCop,* 186)
Rev. Genius, holding patera over flaming altar (*Hunterian,* 17)
Rev. She-wolf, suckling Romulus and Remus (*BMC,* 36)
Rev. Heracles, holding club in both hands (*SNGCop,* 184) or, leaning on club which rests on rock (*BMC,* 33)
Rev. Chariot, drawn by two stags, seated in it, priestess of Artemis Laphria (*BMC,* 34)
Rev. Artemis Laphria, clad in short chiton and endromides, holding bow in l.; r. hand rests on hip; l., hound; r., altar (*McClean,* 6342)
Rev. Zeus, seated, holding in r. patera; resting l. on sceptre; in front of him, eagle (*Weber,* 3965)
Rev. Athena, in distyle temple, holding patera in r. and spear in l.; resting on shield; in front of her, owl; crescent in upper part of temple (*Weber,* 3966)
Rev. Asclepius, standing; r., serpent-staff (Edwards, 334)

Lucius Verus

Inscriptions: COL AA PATR
Obv. Lucius Verus
Rev. Genius, standing, holding patera above altar and resting on column (*Weber,* 3967)
Rev. Artemis Laphria, facing, between dog and altar (*BMC,* 38)
Rev. Artemis, running, holding torch and spear; beside her, dog (*BMC,* 39)

Commodus

Inscriptions: COL AA PATR, COL AA PTAR, COL A UG PA, ATR, O A PTAR, CO L A A
Obv. Commodus
Rev. Aquila between two standards (*BMC,* 40)
Rev. Genius, sacrificing over altar; behind, conical box on pedestal (*SNGCop,* 198)
Rev. Aeneas fleeing, bearing Anchises on shoulder and leading Julus by hand (*SNGCop,* 195)
Rev. She-wolf, suckling Romulus and Remus (*SNGCop,* 197)
Rev. Roma, seated, crowned by youth, standing behind her (*SNGCop,* 189)
Rev. Two figures, in quadriga (*SNGCop,* 190)
Rev. Female head, turreted (*SNGCop,* 188)
Rev. View of the port (*Pozzi,* 4039)
Rev. Zeus, seated, holding Nike (*SNGCop,* 191)
Rev. Tyche, turreted, standing, holding patera and cornucopia; l., altar (*SNGCop,* 192)
Rev. Asclepius (*SNGCop,* 193)
Rev. Mars, helmeted, holding spear (?) (*SNGCop,* 194)
Rev. Artemis Laphria, standing in front of altar; Aphrodite, facing her, holding shield in both hands (*BMC,* 41)
Rev. Artemis Laphria, standing, wearing short chiton and endromides, quiver at shoulder; with l. she grasps bow on small pedestal; behind, dog (*Hunterian,* 20)
Rev. Hermes, seated, holding purse and caduceus, at feet, ram; all in distyle temple (*SNGCop,* 199)
Rev. Hermes, standing, hand on head of ram, caduceus in l.,which rests on pillar (Edwards, 339)
Rev. Athena Panachaia, standing, holding lance and patera; at feet, owl and shield; the whole in distyle temple, in its pediment, crescent (*SNGCop,* 200)
Rev. Poseidon, standing, foot on rock, holding dolphin and trident (Edwards, 337)
Rev. Statue of Apollon (?), holding little Nike; l., branch (Edwards, 338)

Septimius Severus

Inscriptions: COL AA PATR, COL A A, PATR
Obv. Septimius Severus
Rev. Priestess (?), standing, in high two-wheeled cart, drawn by two oxen (Edwards, 343)

Rev. Aquila between two standards (Edwards, 342)
Rev. Bust of Tyche, with cornucopia at shoulder (Edwards, 344)
Rev. Dionysus, naked, r. arm raised, resting l. on young satyr; on l., maenad crowning herself and leading panthress (*SNGCop,* 201)
Rev. Group of three figures; Artemis Laphria with hound; Genius or founder of the colony, holding patera over flaming altar and sceptre; Nike advancing, to crown central figure (*McClean,* 6344)

Caracalla

Inscriptions: COL AA PATR, PATR COL AA
Obv. Caracalla
Rev. She-wolf, looking straight forward (*SNGCop,* 208) or, suckling Romulus and Remus (*SNGCop,* 207)
Rev. Artemis Laphria, standing between hound and altar (*SNGCop,* 202)
Rev. Hermes, seated on rock, holding caduceus; at feet, ram looking back (*Hunterian,* 21) or, holding purse and caduceus, at feet, ram; all in distyle temple; in pediment, wreath (*SNGCop,* 205)

Geta

Inscriptions: COL AA PATR
Obv. Geta
Rev. Aquila between two standards (*Winterthur,* 2149)
Rev. Athena, standing, holding spear and patera (Edwards, 346)

DYME

44-31 B.C.

Inscriptions: C I A DVM and names of magistrates
Obv. Caesar
Rev. Plough (*RPC* I, 1283)
Without emperor's head
Obv. Head of Pallas Athena
Rev. Fasces and sella curulis (*RPC* I, 1284) or, C I A DVM, in wreath (*RPC* I, 1285)

Augustus

Inscriptions: C I A DVM, names of magistrates
Obv. Octavian
Rev. Caesar (*RPC* I, 1286)
Obv. Augustus
Rev. Victory, holding wreath and palm, on prow (*RPC* I, 1287)
Rev. Prow (*RPC* I, 1288)

Tiberius

Inscriptions: C I A D
Obv. Augustus
Rev. Tiberius (*RPC* I, 1289)

BUTHROTUM

Triumviral period
Inscriptions: C I BVT and names of magistrates
Obv. Head of Zeus, laureate
Rev. Bull (*RPC* I, 1378)
Obv. Veiled head
Rev. Club and staff of Asclepius (*RPC* I, 1379)

Augustus

Inscriptions: C I B, C I BVT, C A BVT BVTHR, names of magistrates
Obv. Augustus
Rev. Genius (*RPC* I, 1380) or, bridge (*RPC* I, 1381)
Without emperor's head
Obv. Crossed cornucopiae
Rev. T POMPONIVS A COCCEIVS IIVIR ITER EX D D, in two lines (*RPC* I, 1382)
Obv. AVGVST; in laurel wreath
Rev. Disc, within distyle temple (*RPC* I, 1383)
Obv. Head of Zeus, veiled or laureate
Rev. Bull (*RPC* I, 1384-1385)
Obv. Dolphin and trident
Rev. Head of bull (*RPC* I, 1386)
Obv. Head of Concordia, veiled
Rev. Staff of Asclepius (*RPC* I, 1387)
Obv. Head of Salus
Rev. Snake (*RPC* I, 1389)
Obv. AVGVST; in laurel wreath
Rev. Sella curulis (*RPC* I, 1390)
Obv. CAESAR AVGVSTVS; in wreath
Rev. Lituus (*RPC* I, 1391)
Obv. Dolphin
Rev. Trident (*RPC* I, 1392)
Obv. Bull's head, facing
Rev. Tripod (*RPC* I, 1393)

Augustan period (?)
Inscriptions: BVTHR
Obv. Bull
Rev. BVTHR (*RPC* I, 1394)

Claudius

Inscriptions: C I B
Obv. Claudius
Rev. C C I B D D PVBL; in oak wreath (*RPC* I, 1395)
Rev. Male figure, seated on rock, holding cornucopia and anchor; r., cippus (?) (*RPC* I, 1396)
Rev. Figure, standing, holding cornuopia and patera (*RPC* I, 1397)
Rev. Palm tree (*RPC* I, 1398)
Rev. Swimming ox (*RPC* I, 1399)

Nero

Inscriptions: C I B
Obv. Nero
Rev. Victory (*RPC* I, 1415)
Rev. Bridge (*RPC* I, 1400)
Rev. Butting bull (*RPC* I, 1401)
Rev. Bust of Asclepius, in front, staff (*RPC* I, 1411)
Rev. Palm tree (*RPC* I, 1412)
Rev. Two fishes (*RPC* I, 1416)

MACEDONIA

DIUM

Augustus

Inscriptions: CIAD and names of magistrates
Obv. Augustus
Rev. Athena, standing, leaning on spear, holding patera (*Δίον*, 171.1)
Rev. Plough (*Δίον*, 172.6)

Tiberius

Inscriptions: COLONIA IUL DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Tiberius
Rev. Livia, seated on diphrus, leaning on sceptre and holding patera (*Δίον*, 172.1)

Claudius

Inscriptions: COL AUG DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Claudius
Rev. Athena, standing, leaning on spear and holding patera (*Δίον*, 175.1)

Nero

Inscriptions: COL IUL DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Nero
Rev. Athena (*Δίον*, 176.1)

Domitian

Inscriptions: COL IUL AUG DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Domitian
Rev. Athena; at feet, owl (*Δίον*, 179.1)

Trajan

Inscriptions: COL IUL AUG DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Trajan
Rev. Athena; at feet, owl and snake (*Δίον*, 179.1)

Hadrian

Inscriptions: COL IUL AUG DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Hadrian
Rev. Athena; at feet, owl and snake (*Δίον*, 184.1)
Rev. Zeus, standing, leaning on sceptre and holding patera; at feet, eagle (*Δίον*, 186.15)

Antoninus Pius

Inscriptions: COL IUL AUG DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Antoninus Pius
Rev. Athena (*Δίον*, 188.6); at feet, owl (*Δίον*, 187.1)
Rev. Zeus; at feet, eagle (*Δίον*, 190.22)

Marcus Aurelius

Inscriptions: COL IULI AUG DIENSIS, COL IUL DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Marcus Aurelius
Rev. Athena; at feet, owl (*Δίον*, 191.3)
Rev. Zeus (*Δίον*, 191.1); at feet, eagle (*Δίον*, 192.8)
Rev. Zeus standing, leaning on sceptre and holding patera; l, Athena, standing, leaning on spear, offering libation. (*Δίον*, 194.17)
Rev. Zeus standing, leaning on sceptre and holding patera; l,. Athena, standing, leaning on spear, offering libation on Zeus' patera. (*Δίον*, 194.18)

Faustina

Inscriptions: COL IUL AUG DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Faustina
Rev. Athena; at feet, snake (*Δίον*, 194.20)
Rev. Zeus; at feet, eagle (*Δίον*, 196.25)

Commodus

Inscriptions: COL IUL DIENSIS, Δ/Δ, D/D
Obv. Commodus
Rev. Athena (*Δίον*, 197.1)
Rev. Zeus; at feet, eagle (*Δίον*, 198.5)
Rev. Zeus, standing, leaning on sceptre and holding patera; l., Athena, standing, leaning on spear, holding patera (*Δίον*, 200.18)

Septimius Severus

Inscriptions: COL IUL DIENSIS, D/D, COLO IULI DIENSIS
Obv. Septimius Severus
Rev. Athena; at feet, two snakes (*Δίον*, 201.1)
Rev. Zeus; at feet, eagle (*Δίον*, 202.7)
Rev. Zeus, standing, leaning on sceptre and holding patera; l., Athena, standing, leaning on spear, holding patera; l., snake; between Athena and Zeus, eagle (*Δίον*, 203.10)
Rev. Asclepius, standing, leaning on staff; in distyle temple (*Δίον*, 203.12)

Julia Domna

Inscriptions: COL IUL DIENSIS, D/D, COL IUL DIENSIUM
Obv. Julia Domna
Rev. Athena; at feet, two snakes (*Δίον*, 204.16)
Rev. Zeus; at feet, eagle (*Δίον*, 204.19)

Geta

Inscriptions: COL IUL DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Geta
Rev. Athena; at feet, two snakes (*Δίον*, 213.60)
Rev. Zeus; at feet, eagle (*Δίον*, 214.67)
Rev. Zeus, standing, leaning on sceptre and holding patera; l., Athena, standing, leaning on spear and holding patera; l., snake; between Athena and Zeus, eagle (*Δίον*, 214.69)
Rev. Asclepius; in distyle temple (*Δίον*, 215.72)

Caracalla

Inscriptions: COL IUL DIENSIS, D/D, COLO IULI DIENSIS, COL IU AU DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Caracalla
Rev. Zeus; at feet, eagle (*Δίον*, 205.22)
Rev. Athena; at feet, two snakes (*Δίον*, 206.23)
Rev. Zeus; at feet, eagle (*Δίον*, 206.25)
Rev. Zeus, standing, leaning on sceptre and holding patera; at his feet, eagle; l., Athena, standing, leaning on spear, holding patera (*Δίον*, 209.39)
Rev. Asclepius (*Δίον*, 212.58); in distyle temple (*Δίον*, 209.42)
Rev. Zeus; at feet, eagle (*Δίον*, 216.1)
Rev. Athena; at feet, two snakes (*Δίον*, 216.2)
Rev. Asclepius; in distyle temple (*Δίον*, 216.3)

Macrinus

Inscriptions: COLO IULI DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Macrinus
Rev. Athena; at feet, two snakes (*Δίον*, 217.1)
Rev. Zeus; at feet, eagle (*Δίον*, 217.4)

Elagabalus

Inscriptions: COLO IULI DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Elagabalus
Rev. Athena; at feet, two snakes (*Δίον*, 218.1)
Rev. Zeus; at feet, eagle (*Δίον*, 218.5)
Rev. Asclepius (*Δίον*, 219.8); in distyle temple (*Δίον*, 219.10)

Julia Soaemias

Inscriptions: COL IUL DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Julia Soaemias
Rev. Athena; at feet, two snakes (*Δίον*, 223.24)
Rev. Zeus; at feet, eagle (*Δίον*, 223.25)
Rev. Asclepius (*Δίον*, 223.26); in distyle temple (*Δίον*, 223.27)

Aquileia Severa

Inscriptions: COL IUL DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Aquileia Severa
Rev. Zeus; at feet, eagle (*Δίον*, 224.29)
Rev. Asclepius; in distyle temple (*Δίον*, 224.30)

Alexander Severus

Inscriptions: COL IUL DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Alexander Severus
Rev. Athena; at feet, two snakes (*Δίον*, 222.21)
Rev. Asclepius (*Δίον*, 222.22)
Rev. Athena; at feet, two snakes (*Δίον*, 225.2)
Rev. Zeus; at feet, eagle (*Δίον*, 225.1)
Rev. Asclepius (*Δίον*, 226.6); in distyle temple (*Δίον*, 227.10)

Julia Maesa

Inscriptions: COL IUL DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Julia Maesa
Rev. Athena; at feet, two snakes (*Δίον*, 225.32)

Julia Mamaea

Inscriptions: COL IUL DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Julia Mamaea
Rev. Athena; at feet, two snakes (*Δίον*, 228.12)
Rev. Zeus; at feet, eagle (*Δίον*, 228.13)

Maximinus

Inscriptions: COL IUL O DIENSIS, COL IUL DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Maximinus
Rev. Athena; at feet, two snakes (*Δίον*, 229.1)
Rev. Zeus; at feet, eagle (*Δίον*, 229.4)
Rev. Asclepius (*Δίον*, 230.7); in distyle temple (*Δίον*, 231.10)
Rev. Zeus, standing, leaning on sceptre and holding patera; l., Athena standing, leaning on spear; r. hand on shield (*Δίον*, 230.6)

Maximus

Inscriptions: COL IUL O DIENSIS, COL IUL DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Maximus
Rev. Athena; at feet, two snakes (*Δίον*, 231.11)
Rev. Zeus; at feet, eagle (*Δίον*, 232.14)
Rev. Asclepius (*Δίον*, 233.20)
Rev. Zeus, standing, leaning on sceptre and holding patera; at feet, eagle; l. Athena, standing, leaning on spear and holding patera; at feet, shield (*Δίον*, 232.17)

Gordian III

Inscriptions: COL IUL DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Gordian III
Rev. Athena; at feet, two snakes (*Δίον*, 233.2).
Rev. Zeus; at feet, eagle. (*Δίον*, 234.4)
Rev. Asclepius (*Δίον*, 234.7); on serpent staff (*Δίον*, 233.1); in distyle temple (*Δίον*, 237.17)

Philip I

Inscriptions: COL IUL DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Philip I
Rev. Athena; at feet, two snakes (*Δίον*, 237.1)
Rev. Zeus; at feet, eagle (*Δίον*, 238.3)
Rev. Asclepius (*Δίον*, 238.4)

Otacilia Severa

Inscriptions: COL IUL DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Otacilia Severa
Rev. Athena; at feet, two snakes (*Δίον*, 238.5)

Philip II

Inscriptions: COL IUL DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Philip II
Rev. Athena; at feet, two snakes (*Δίον*, 239.7)
Rev. Zeus; at feet, eagle (*Δίον*, 239.8)
Rev. Asclepius (*Δίον*, 239.9); in distyle temple (*Δίον*, 240.12)

Gallienus

Inscriptions: COL IUL DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Gallienus
Rev. Athena; at feet, two snakes (*Δίον*, 241.3)
Rev. Zeus; at feet, eagle (*Δίον*, 240.1)
Rev. Asclepius (*Δίον*, 244.22); in distyle temple (*Δίον*, 245.25)
Rev. Zeus, seating on throne, leaning on sceptre and holding patera; l., Athena, standing, leaning on spear; offering libation on Zeus' patera. (*Δίον*, 245.27)

Salonina

Inscriptions: COL IUL DIENSIS, D/D
Obv. Salonina
Rev. Athena; at feet, two snakes (*Δίον*, 246.32)
Rev. Zeus; at feet, eagle (*Δίον*, 248.43)
Rev. Asclepius (*Δίον*, 250.52); in distyle temple (*Δίον*, 250.54)
Rev. Zeus, seating on throne, leaning on sceptre and holding patera; l., Athena, standing, leaning on spear, offering libation on Zeus' patera; between them, altar (*Δίον*, 251.55)

Pseudoautonomous

Obv. COL IUL AUG DIEN; jug between two scrapers
Rev. CI AD, in a laurel wreath (*Δίον*, 253.1)
Obv. COL IUL DIENSIS; jug
Rev. D/D; two scrapers (*Δίον*, 253.2)
Obv. COL DIENSIS; bust of horse
Rev. Cradle and hanging vessel (*Δίον*, 254.5)
Obv. COL DIENSIS; plough
Rev. DEANA BAPHYRIA; Artemis, standing, shooting with bow (*Δίον*, 253.3) or, DIANA BAPHYRA; Artemis, running, holding bow and arrow; on her back, quiver (*Δίον*, 254.6) or, DIANA BAPHYRA; Artemis, running, holding bow with r. hand; l. takes arrow off the quiver (*Δίον*, 255.7) or, DIANA BAPHYRA; Artemis, holding bow and arrow (*Δίον*, 255.10) or, D/D; Athena standing, leaning on spear and holding patera; at feet, two snakes (*Δίον*, 256.12)

CASSANDREA

Pre-Claudian?

Inscriptions: CASANDRE
Obv. Horse, or AVG on vexillum between two standards
Rev. CASANDRE, in three lines; in wreath (*RPC* I, 1512-1514)

Claudius

Inscriptions: COL IVL AVG CASANDR
Obv. Claudius
Rev. Head of Zeus Ammon (*RPC* I, 1515)

Nero

Inscriptions: COL IVL AVG CASANDREN
Obv. Nero
Rev. Head of Zeus Ammon (*RPC* I, 1517)

Vespasian

Inscriptions: COL IVL AVG CASSANDRENS
Obv. Vespasian
Rev. Head of Zeus Ammon (*RPC* II, 314)
Obv. Titus, facing Domitian
Rev. Head of Zeus Ammon (*RPC* II, 316)

Domitian

Inscriptions: COL IVL AVG CASSANDRENS
Obv. Domitian
Rev. Head of Zeus Ammon (*RPC* II, 317)

Trajan

Inscriptions: COL IVL AVG CASSANDRENS
Obv. Trajan
Rev. Head of Zeus Ammon (*SNGCop,* 149)

Antoninus Pius

Inscriptions: COL IVL AVG CASSANDRENS
Obv. Antoninus Pius
Rev. Head of Zeus Ammon (*SNGCop,* 150)

Marcus Aurelius

Inscriptions: CASSANDRENSIUM
Obv. Marcus Aurelius
Rev. Head of Zeus Ammon (*SNGCop,* 151)

Commodus

Inscriptions: COL CA, COL IVL SS, COL IVL CAS
Obv. Commodus
Rev. Head of Zeus Ammon (*SNGCop,* 152)
Rev. Poseidon, standing, resting l. foot on prow, holding trident and dolphin (*SNGCop,* 153)
Rev. Nymph (Nyssa?) holding infant Dionysus and cornucopia (*Winterthur,* 1373)

Septimius Severus

Inscriptions: COLIVLI AVGCAS
Obv. Septimius Severus
Rev. Head of Zeus Ammon (*SNGEvelpidis,* 1212)

Caracalla

Inscriptions: COL IVL AVG CAS, IVLCO AVG CAS, COL IVLIA AVG CAS
Obv. Caracalla
Rev. Head of Zeus Ammon (*McClean*, 3196)
Rev. Dionysus, bearded (*SNGCop,* 154)
Rev. Poseidon, standing, resting l. foot on prow, holding trident and dolphin (*BMC,* 7)

Geta

Inscriptions: COL IVLIA AVG CASS
Obv. Geta
Rev. Head of Zeus Ammon (*SNGANS,* 239)

Macrinus

Inscriptions: COLIVLA VGCSSAN, COL IVLIA AVG CASSAN
Obv. Macrinus
Rev. Zeus Ammon standing; behind, eagle (*SNGEvelpidis*, 1213)
Rev. Tyche (?) standing; holding cornucopia (*SNGANS*, 240)

Philip I

Inscriptions: COL IVL AVG CASSANDRENS
Obv. Philip I
Rev. Poseidon, standing, l. foot on prow, holding trident and dolphin (*SNGCop,* 155)
Rev. Nymph, holding infant Dionysus and cornucopia (Gaebler, 18)

PELLA

Antony, 42 BC

Inscriptions: ΠΕΛΛΑΙΩΝ, ΠΕΛΛΗΣ
Obv. Bust of Eleutheria
Rev. Nike, holding wreath (*RPC* I, 1545) or, ΠΕΛΛΗΣ, within laurel wreath (*RPC* I, 1546)

42-32 BC.

Inscriptions: ΠΕΛΛΗΣ
Obv. Head of Zeus, laureate
Rev. Eagle (*RPC* I, 1547)

Augustus

Inscriptions: COLONIA PELLENSIS, COLONIA PELLA and names of magistrates
Obv. Augustus, on military dress, holding spear; foot on prow
Rev. Wreath on sella curulis (*RPC* I, 1548)
Obv. Augustus
Rev. Spes, holding wreath (*RPC* I, 1549)
Without emperor's head
Obv. Sella curulis
Rev. Plough (*RPC* I, 1550)

Hadrian

Inscriptions: COL IVL AVG PELL
Obv. Hadrian
Rev. Pan, seated on rock; r. arm raised to head; l. resting on syrinx (*SNGCop,* 278)

Marcus Aurelius

Inscriptions: COL IVL AV G PELL
Obv. Marcus Aurelius
Rev. Pan, seated on rock; r. arm raised to head; l. resting on syrinx (*BMC,* 37)

Commodus

Inscriptions: C IVL AVG PELL
Obv. Commodus
Rev. C IVL AVG PELL, within wreath (*SNGANS,* 627)

Caracalla

Inscriptions: COL IVL AVG PELL
Obv. Caracalla
Rev. Pan, seated on rock; r. arm raised to head; l. resting on syrinx (*SNGCop,* 279)

Geta

Inscriptions: COL IVL AVG PELL
Obv. Geta
Rev. Pan, seated on rock; r. arm raised to head; l. resting on syrinx (*SNGCop,* 280)

Macrinus

Inscriptions: COL IVL AVG PELLA
Obv. Macrinus
Rev. Pan, seated on rock; r. arm raised to head; l. resting on syrinx (*SNGANS,* 628)

Elagabalus

Inscriptions: COL IVL AVG PELLA
Obv. Elagabalus
Rev. Pan, seated on rock; r. arm raised to head; l. resting on syrinx (*SNGANS*, 629)

Julia Paula

Inscriptions: COL IVL AVG PELLA
Obv. Julia Paula
Rev. The City, turreted, seated on throne (*SNGCop,* 281)

Julia Mamaea

Inscriptions: COL IVL AVG PELLA
Obv. Julia Mamaea
Rev. Pan; l., syrinx (*SNGCop,* 282)
Rev. The City, turreted, seated on throne (*SNGANS* 634)

Alexander Severus

Inscriptions: COL IVL AVG PELLA
Obv. Alexander Severus
Rev. Pan; l., syrinx (*SNGCop,* 284)
Rev. The City, turreted, seated on throne (*SNGEvelpidis*, 1268)
Rev. Female figure, seated on throne (*SNGEvelpidis*, 1267)

Maximinus

Inscriptions: COL IVL AVG PELLA
Obv. Maximinus
Rev. Pan; l., syrinx (*SNGCop,* 285)
Rev. The City, turreted, seated on throne (*SNGANS*, 636)
Rev. Female figure, seated on throne (Gaebler, 34)

Maximus

Inscriptions: COL IVL AVG PELLA
Obv. Maximus
Rev. The City, turreted, seated on throne (*SNGANS,* 637)
Rev. Pan; l., syrinx (*SNGANS,* 638)

Gordian III

Inscriptions: COL IVL AVG PELLA
Obv. Gordian III
Rev. Pan; l., syrinx (*SNGCop,* 286)
Rev. Pan, seated on rock; r. arm raised to head; l. resting on syrinx (*SNGANS,* 639)
Rev. The City, turreted, seated on throne (*SNGCop,* 287)
Rev. Female figure, seated on throne (*Hunterian,* 25)

Philip I

Inscriptions: COL IVL AVG PELLA
Obv. Philip I
Rev. Pan; l., syrinx (*SNGCop,* 288)
Rev. The City, turreted, seated on throne (*SNGCop,* 289)

Philip II

Inscriptions: VTOPCC
Obv. Philip II
Rev. Pan; l., syrinx (*SNGANS,* 644)

PHILIPPI

Antony

Inscriptions: A I C V P; names of magistrates
Obv. Antony
Rev. Man, ploughing with two oxen (*RPC* I, 1646)
Rev. Togate figure, seated, holding up writing board; at feet, urn (*RPC* I, 1647)
Without emperor's head
Obv. Facing head
Rev. Plough (*RPC* I, 1648)
Obv. Urn
Rev. Q PACI RVF LED C D, in wreath (*RPC* I, 1649)

Augustus

Inscriptions: COL AVG IVL PHIL
Obv. Augustus
Rev. Three bases; on middle one, statue of Divus Augustus, in military dress, crowned by statue of Divus Iulius, wearing toga (*RPC* I, 1650)

Claudian or Neronian?

Inscriptions: COL PHIL, COHOR PRAE PHIL
Obv. VIC AVG; Victory, on base
Rev. Three standards (*RPC* I, 1651)
Obv. Plough
Rev. VIC AVG; two modii (*RPC* I, 1652)

Claudius

Inscriptions: COL AVG IVL PHIL
Obv. Claudius
Rev. Three bases: on middle one, statue of Divus Augustus, in military dress, crowned by statue of Divus Iulius, wearing toga (*RPC* I, 1653)

Nero

Inscriptions: COL IVL AVG PHIL
Obv. Nero
Rev. Divus Augustus, crowned by Divus Iulius; on base, DIVVS AVG (*RPC* I, 1655)

Vespasian

Inscriptions: COL AVG IVL PHILIPP
Obv. Titus or Domitian
Rev. Divus Augustus, crowned by Divus Iulius (*RPC* II, 343-344)

Domitian

Inscriptions: COL AVG IVL PHILIPP
Obv. Domitian
Rev. Divus Augustus, crowned by Divus Iulius; on base, DIVVS AVG (*RPC* II, 345)

Hadrian

Inscriptions: COL AVG IVL PHILIP
Obv. Hadrian
Rev. Augustus; a man, standing on cippus, crowning him; on either side, altar (*SNGCop,* 310)

Commodus

Inscriptions: COL IVLI AVG PHILIP
Obv. Commodus
Rev. Augustus; a man, standing on cippus, crowning him; on either side, altar (Gaebler, 18)

Gallienus

Inscriptions: COL PHILIP
Obv. Gallienus
Rev. Fortuna, standing (*SNGCop*, 311)

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