

THE ROMAN COLONIES OF GREECE AND ASIA MINOR. QUESTIONS OF STATE AND CIVIC IDENTITY

Questions of hellenisation and romanisation in the eastern parts of the Roman Empire have been very widely discussed in modern historiography. Many of these studies have emphasized the divergence of Greek and Roman identities in the provinces. Bowersock in his book *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian* and in other articles implies the subversion of Greek into Roman values during the Principate¹, while other researchers have insisted that the political subordination of Greece was by no means accompanied by its cultural subordination². Debate about the contrast, sometimes the struggle between Greek and Roman identities continued in the 1990s. Swain in his book on *Hellenism and Empire* argued that the educated populations of the eastern provinces were loyal both to the political aspirations of Rome as well as to their Greek heritage, and he placed particular emphasis on the consciousness of being culturally Greek³. Similar ideas had already been developed by Greg Woolf, who has drawn attention to the inability of Rome to romanise the eastern part of the empire in a comprehensive sense⁴. On the other hand, Ando in his *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*⁵ has stressed the extraordinary capacity of the Romans to make Rome the *communis patria* of the world in a single national and political reality. Whether modern scholars take a Greek or Roman stance in their interpretation of the identities of the empire, it is common to most of these discussions that they tend to polarize the notions of Greek and Roman.

There are, nevertheless, problems relevant to the nature as well as the interpretation of evidence. It is obvious that the Hellenic and Roman identities co-existed in the eastern provinces in a less than well defined combination. That is to say the terms may have different connotations in different contexts, and their use is often ambiguous. Fergus Millar has described the identity of colonies in the eastern provinces as Greco-Roman, thus avoiding some of the perils of ambiguous definitions

¹ G.W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1969; G.W. Bowersock, *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian*, Berkeley 1994.

² E.L. Bowie, *Greeks and their Past in the Second Sophistic*, in M.I. Finley (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Society*, London 1974, pp. 166-209; E.L. Bowie, *Hellenes and Hellenism in Writers of the Early Second Sophistic*, in S. Said (ed.), *Ελληνισμός: quelques jalons pour une histoire de l'identité grec*, Leiden 1991, pp. 183-204.

³ S. Swain, *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World AD 50-250*, Oxford 1996.

⁴ G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman, staying Greek: Culture, Identity and the Civilizing Process in the Roman East*, «Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society» 40 (1994), pp. 116-43.

⁵ A. Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*, Berkeley / Los Angeles - London 2000.

of Greek and Roman culture. In a series of articles on the subject he asserts the existence of Greek, Roman and other elements in the identity of individual colonies but finds it extremely difficult to disentangle them⁶, claiming instead that these elements (mostly of a linguistic nature) survive in a 'complex set of inter-relationships'⁷. Tim Whitmarsh in his book on *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire* has also argued powerfully against the polarization of identities, stating that 'the very fact that critics disagree about the degree of which 'Greekness' can be isolated as an identity discrete from (and occasionally opposed to) 'Romanness' shows the extent of the problem: we cannot 'know' how a 'Greek' 'felt' about 'Rome' without engaging in an interpretative exercise that occludes the violence of its own opposition'⁸. Instead Whitmarsh establishes the existence of a double bind of Romano-Greek cultural relations that cannot and should not be disentangled.

If Greek and Roman identities cannot always be clearly defined, it may be valuable to approach the issue of colonial identity from a different angle. **The political ideology of the provincials seems to be less complicated and more clear-cut than their sense of cultural identity.** To be more exact, in the eastern part of the Roman world two different political bodies were responsible for the administration of the vast empire: *a*) the provincial cities and *b*) the centralized state. One of the ways that the eastern colonies chose to advertise this dual political ideology was through the issuing of civic bronze coinages. The local magistrates, on one hand, played a significant role in the governing of the provinces, since they were responsible for the socio-economic stability of their territories, while, on the other hand, they were part of the Roman senate and they obeyed the Roman laws and the authority of Roman governors. **Since these local magistrates were responsible for the types, the language and weight standards of local coinages, their choices certainly reflected their awareness of the priorities of the central state as well as their local pride and civic patriotism. Consequently, by studying these coinages it should be possible to trace the ways in which provincial communities established their identity and common interests with the Roman state while preserving their own traditional civic independence.** The analysis is of particular interest when applied to Roman colonies in the Greek East, since these quite consciously had a stake in both state and civic political ideology⁹.

⁶ F. Millar, *The Roman Coloniae of the Near East: A Study of Cultural Relations*, in H. Solin - M. Kajava (eds.), *Roman Eastern Policy and Other Studies in Roman History*, Finland 1990, pp. 7-58; F. Millar, *The Greek City in the Roman Period*, in M.H. Hansen (ed.), *The Ancient Greek City-State*, Copenhagen 1993, pp. 232-261; F. Millar, *Civitates liberae, coloniae and Provincial Governors under the Empire*, «Mediterraneo Antico» 2/1 (1999), pp. 95-113.

⁷ Millar, *The Roman Coloniae* cit., p. 56.

⁸ T. Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire: The Politics of Imitation*, Oxford 2001.

⁹ For links between sovereignty and currency and the political nature of coinages in modern national

A well-known paragraph, written in the middle of the second century AD by Aulus Gellius, himself a native of a Roman colony, is the most explicit definition to be found in Roman literature of the distinguishing political characteristics of Roman colonies during the imperial period.

*Sed coloniarum alia necessitudo est; non enim veniunt extrinsecus in civitatem nec suis radicibus nituntur, sed ex civitate quasi propagatae sunt et iura institutaque omnia populi Romani, non sui arbitrii, habent. Quae tamen condicio, cum sit magis obnoxia et minus libera, potior tamen praestabilior existimatur propter amplitudinem maiestatemque populi Romani, cuius istae coloniae quasi effigies parvae simulacraque esse quaedam videntur*¹⁰.

Colonies have another relationship (to Rome). They do not come into the Roman *civitas* from the outside and do not draw strength from their own roots, but are in a manner of speaking propagated from the *civitas* and possess all the laws and institutions of the Roman people, not ones of their own choosing. However, this state, although it may be more dependent and less free, is nevertheless regarded as more desirable and prestigious on account of the grandeur and majesty of the Roman people, of which those colonies appear as small effigies and replicas.

Unlike *municipia*, *coloniae* were constituent parts of the Roman state and their inhabitants were elements in the composite entity of the Roman people. If the implications of this definition were taken to their logical conclusion, Roman colonies would have had no independent existence as political or juridical units. However, colonies are to be defined in ancient texts as autonomous communities of Roman citizens¹¹. They had distinctive constitutions with *Iiviri* (or more rarely *IIIiviri*) for magistrates and, to judge from documents such as the *lex coloniae Genetivae*, some of them had elaborate written city constitutions that differed from one to another¹². What they all had in common was the name *colonia* as their official designation, and, with the one exception of issues at Corinth, their coins always identify them by using this term.

The first wave of colonial foundations in the East took place as early as the 40s BC. These settlements must be set in the much wider pattern of Roman and Italian emigration from Italy and settlement in the cities of Greece, the Aegean, western Asia Minor and to a lesser degree in other parts of the eastern Mediterranean world. The late republican period was one of the most extensive episodes of emigration

states see E. Gilbert - E. Helleiner, *Introduction Nation-States and Money*, in E. Gilbert - E. Helleiner (eds.), *Nation-States and Money: The Past, Present and Future of National Currencies*, London-New York 1999, pp. 1-22; and E. Helleiner, *The Making of National Money: Territorial Currencies in Historical Perspective*, Ithaca-London 2003.

¹⁰ Aulus Gellius 16.13.8-9.

¹¹ For ancient definitions see Asconius, *Pis. P.* 3 C, who distinguished colonies of Roman citizens from colonies of Latins; and Hyginus, *Grom. P.* 176.

¹² *FIRA I* (2) 13; *ILS* 6087; M.H. Crawford et. al. (eds.), *Roman Statutes I*, London 1996, no. 25.

and settlement within the Mediterranean during antiquity¹³. However, colonies and their individual inhabitants, *coloni*, form only one part of the wider phenomenon of emigration. Various cords of dependence tied the individuals and communities of this Roman diaspora to their native city, among which were the guarantees provided to them by Roman law. This was the basis of privileges and other rights, which marked out groups of Romans from other inhabitants of the empire, and these were particularly conspicuous when Roman citizens were heavily outnumbered by *peregrini* in the provinces. Individual legal privileges were the most important benefit granted by the Roman senate to its most deserving allies¹⁴. For example, a Roman charged with a capital offence was entitled to trial before a Roman magistrate or promagistrate, and could not be tried by the local court of the city where he had settled. In contrast, doubtless mainly for practical reasons, Roman citizens were in general bound to observe the civil law of the local community¹⁵.

Although the colonies of the eastern provinces were unmistakably marked by their identification with the Roman State during the Principate, at the same time individual colonies also identified themselves by alluding to their character as separate and individual civic units. It was taken for granted that the *coloniae* fitted into the network of Greco-Roman eastern cities, although they were distinguished from the rest by their particular colonial status, which was also subject to change over time¹⁶. Like other cities the colonies were organized around an urban centre and possessed territories containing villages, which were under their jurisdiction. In a well-known passage Pausanias asserts that self-government (or the illusion of it) constituted the essence of a *polis*, even if it might appear to be materially impoverished or decadent:

From Chaironeia it is twenty stades to Panopaeus, a city of the Phocians, if one can give the name of a city to those who possess no government offices, no gymnasium, no theatre, no market-place, no water descending to a fountain, but live in bare shelters just like mountain cabins, right on a ravine. Nevertheless, they have boundaries with their neighbours and even send delegates to the Phocaeen assembly¹⁷.

Autonomy rather than the size of population or magnificent buildings was the

¹³ P.A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower 225 B.C. - A.D. 14*, Oxford 1971, pp. 234-268.

¹⁴ See R.K. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East*, Baltimore 1969, nos. 22, for three naval captains and 58, for Seleucus of Rhodus). For the former see the recent discussion of A. Raggi, *Senatus consultum de Asclepiade Clazomenio sociisque*, «Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik» 135 (2001), pp. 73-116.

¹⁵ For the rights of Roman citizens in capital cases, see J.-L. Ferrary, *Le statut des cités libres dans l'empire romain à la lumière des inscriptions de Claros*, «CRAI» (1991), pp. 557-577, and for civil cases, see A.J. Marshall, *Romans under Chian Law*, «Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies» (1969), pp. 255-277.

¹⁶ Millar, *Civitates liberae* cit., pp. 95-113.

¹⁷ Pausanias 10.4.1 LCL translation.

defining mark of Greco-Roman cities, although certain public buildings might also represent autonomous civic institutions. Self-government, of course, required the existence of bodies such as the *boule* (council), which was composed by the richest citizens, and the *demos* (assembly of the people) whose power diminished over the years. The Romans who promoted independent local administrative structures throughout the empire, incorporated these institutions into the organization of the colonies, using the Latin terminology of *ordo* for the council and *populus* for the assembled citizens.

One of the institutions that had to be established for the effective function of the colonies was a civic mint producing bronze coinage. These coinages do not appear to have behaved differently from those of other civic mints in the eastern provinces. That is, colonies minted sporadically rather than systematically; issues were uneven and unpredictable from reign to reign, and often absent altogether for shorter or longer periods. Greco-Roman cities strenuously advertised their distinctive community identities, by propagating local mythologies and histories, by promoting local religious cults and staging festivals, and by undertaking public building projects. The issuing of local currencies can readily be interpreted as another aspect of this competitive and self-assertive political behaviour. Making sense of the political and historical significance of colonial coinage is part of the wider task of interpreting the civic coinages of the Greek-speaking part of the Roman world as a whole.

Colonial Coinages and the Roman Monetary System

The function and output of different groups of mints that operated during the Imperial era varied according to the different denominations. Specifically, we can distinguish these mints into three categories: *a*) Rome and other ‘mainstream’ mints that follow the denarial standard, *b*) provincial mints issuing silver coins that follow Hellenistic standards and *c*) civic mints issuing only bronze coinages. All the mints responsible for the production of precious metal coinages bear the stamp of the imperial authority, even if at times their localized administration may have been in provincial hands. The reason for such a centralized control was probably the fiscal need for large quantities of *denarii* or *aurei* destined for the payment of the troops by the emperor. The mint of Rome contributed only a very small number of bronze coins to the circulation pools of the eastern Mediterranean. This was probably the outcome of occasional inter-regional movements of traders and soldiers. Since bronze coins were not used regularly as army payments but were required for local retail transactions, the Greco-Roman cities (and occasionally the *koina*, provincial regional organisations) undertook the non-systematic minting of lower denominations. Similarly, most of the colonies produced their own civic

coinages, thus providing local markets in the immediate and neighbouring areas with ready cash¹⁸.

Colonial coinages may be distinguished to an extent from the issues of the other Greek cities by their choice of weight standard. In the speech which supposedly reproduced Maecenas' advice to Augustus about how to govern the empire, but which in fact reflects conditions of the Severan age, Cassius Dio observed that «none of the cities should be allowed to have its own separate coinage or a system of weights and measures; they should all be required to use ours¹⁹». Roman provincial coinages under the empire in general defied standardization and usually followed a local weight standard. It appears, though, that the colonies in Greece and Asia Minor tended to follow the Roman model in their choice of denominations. They minted issues that corresponded to the Roman *semis*, *as*, *dupondius* and *sestertius*, and avoided the 'odd' Greek denominations, such as one and a half or three *assarion*, which occur at many Greek cities, such as Chios²⁰. The uniformity of weight standards in colonial coinages might indicate the regulatory hand of a central authority, or a self-conscious decision by local colonial authorities to conform to the Roman standard. However, there was little economic rationality in the decision, since a range of bronze coinages issued in Greek cities also circulated within the colonies alongside the colonial issues.

There is some evidence that the emperors had a role to play in the decisions taken by the colonies to mint particular issues. This may amount to a small but significant difference at a procedural level between the behaviour of Greek cities and colonies²¹. Inscriptions on some colonial coins include the formula *permissu*

¹⁸ C. Katsari, *The Organization of Roman Mints during the Third Century AD: the View from the Eastern Provinces*, «Classics Ireland» 10 (2003), pp. 27-53.

¹⁹ Dio 52.30.9. According to Maecenas's advice to Augustus about how to govern the empire, 'none of the cities should be allowed to have its own separate coinage or system of weights and measures; they should all be required to use ours'.

²⁰ There are two exceptions to the above rule: a labeled 3-*assarion* at Pisidian Antioch that was issued after 260 AD and b) an unlabeled 3 (?) at Cremna of Maximinus, with Marsyas on the reverse. The Cremna coin seems to be too small for the top denomination, yet too large for the *dupondius*, while the Marsyas type there is unusual for anything but the smallest denomination. For this comment we are indebted to Ann Johnston who is preparing a study of the denominations of bronze currencies in Roman Asia Minor.

²¹ It used to be thought that the formulas *αἰτησάμενου* or *εἰσαγγεῖλαντος* + the name of the person (meaning 'according to the request/promise of so-and-so), which occur occasionally on the coins of Greek cities under the empire, also referred requests for imperial permission to issue coins or to renew their already existing permission to do so (L. Robert, *Αἰτησάμενος sur les monnaies* [«Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques» 11/12], Limoges 1960, pp. 53-62; L. Robert, *Monnaies Grecques, Types, legends, magistrates monétaires et géographie*, Genève-Paris 1967, pp. 53-54). However, J. Nollé and P. Weiss have refuted this interpretation and shown that these Greek formulas refer to internal transactions within the civic body P. Weiss, *Zu Münzprägungen mit den Formeln αἰτησάμενου und εἰσαγγεῖλαντος*, in E. Schwertheim (ed.), *Studien zum antiken Kleinasien II* (Asia Minor Studien VIII), 1992, pp. 167-179; J. Nollé,

Augusti, which clearly referred to the permission of the emperor given to a colony to commence the production of coinage or to restore its minting privileges²². We also encounter the formula *INDVLGENTIA AVGVSTI MONETA INPETRATA*, implying that the right to mint was obtained by the favour of the emperor, or *IVSSU AVGVSTI*, which occurs uniquely on the coinage of Philippi²³. These formulas suggest that at least in certain instances colonies acquired the right to issue money by direct application to the emperor. In the case of Corinth under the Flavians, permission for the issue of colonial coinages was sought after minting had been banned for a considerable period. On other occasions imperial authority is cited when the colony resolved to produce its own currency for the first time. But colonies did not always seek or obtain this permission. The evidence does not suggest that the permission of the emperor or of a provincial governor was necessary in every case; and there is no indication that the entire production of colonial coinage was subject to central regulation. Imperial interference seemed to be sporadic, and the custom of seeking permission may in fact draw attention to the colonies' privileged status in relation to their metropolis, Rome, and to the emperor in person.

Linguistic Aspects of State Identity

The use of Latin on coins and inscriptions on stone was another widespread and distinguishing feature of Roman colonies. The phenomenon can be strikingly illustrated by an epigraphic example from a remote corner of Asia Minor. **The rough stones that were set up to mark the rural boundaries between the territories of the Pisidian city of Prostanna and the small colony of Parlais were inscribed on one side with the Greek letters PR and on the other with the Latin letters PAR²⁴. Precisely at the boundary that divided their territories these two small communities used different scripts to highlight their separate historical origins.** Thus by deliberate choice one of the least conspicuous colonies in Asia Minor, asserted its direct

Städtisches Prägerecht und Römische Kaiser: Suchten die Städte Kleinasiens beim römischen Kaiser um das Recht nach Bronzemünzen zu prägen? Überlegungen zu dem Formular αἰτησάμενου τοῦ δεινός, «*Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*» 95 (1993), pp. 487-504; P. Weiss, *Euergesie oder römische Prägegenehmigung? Αιτησάμενου-Formular auf Städtemünzen der Provinz Asia, Roman Provincial Coinage (RPC) II und persönliche Aufwendungen im Münzwesen*, «*Chiron*» 30 (2000), pp. 235-254.

²² C. Howgego, *Greek Imperial Countermarks*, London 1985, p. 88; A. Burnett, *The Authority to Coin in the Late Republic and Early Empire*, «*Numismatic Chronicle*» 147 (1977), pp. 37-63, esp. pp. 58-59). The same idea is repeated in *RPC* I, 3-4 and II.1, 2-3.

²³ B.E. Levy, *Indulgentiae Augusti Moneta Inpetrata: A Flavian Episode*, in H. Huvelin - M. Christol - G. Gautier (eds.), *Mélanges de Numismatique offerts à Pierre Bastien à l'occasion de son 75^e anniversaire*, Wetteren, Belgium 1987, pp. 39-49; *RPC* II.1, 3.

²⁴ L. Robert, «*CRAI*» (1948), p. 402.

connection to the Roman State against its Pisidian neighbour²⁵. However, the extent to which Latin was used for inscriptions varied considerably between the eastern colonies, as Barbara Levick's showed in her analysis of the proportions of Greek and Latin inscriptions at Pisidian Antioch and the other south southern Asia Minor colonies²⁶. Latin appears to have had a firmer hold at the large city of Antioch than in the smaller settlements. Similar contrasts can be noted in Macedonia and northern Asia Minor. For instance about 80% of the inscriptions of Philippi, including all those datable to the first and second centuries AD, public or private, an astonishingly high proportion, were in Latin, making the city a 'foyer de culture Latine en Macédoine'²⁷. Two documents from Philippi well illustrate the spread of Latin among the local population. Both are Latin epitaphs (one containing Thracian proper names), which had been inscribed in Greek letters. The people who set up these inscriptions were surely primarily Latin speakers²⁸. The picture was quite different in north west Asia Minor. At Apamea, only eleven out of sixty two inscriptions recorded on the territory are in Latin, including three out of five public documents. At Parium nineteen out of sixty seven inscriptions are in Latin, although these include all the major public documents of imperial date²⁹. At the larger colony of Alexandria Troas Latin had a stronger hold. There are forty public inscriptions of imperial date compared to twelve in Greek, contrasting with thirty-one Latin and eighty-nine Greek private texts³⁰. None of this data allows us to draw any firm conclusions about language usage in the colonies. Except at Philippi, where there must be a strong presumption that Latin was the spoken language of choice

²⁵ Of the other thirteen inscriptions reported from Parlais, all but one are in Greek (B. Levick, *RE Suppl.* XII, 990-1006). The exception is a Latin text with Hadrian's name and titles in the nominative, H. Brandt, *Parlais: Eine römische Kolonie in Pisidien*, «*Epigraphica Anatolica*» 24 (1995), pp. 57-60; B. Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor*, Oxford 1967, pp. 159-160, and H. von Aulock, *Kleinasiatische Münzstätten X. Parlais in Pisidien*, «*Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*» 23 (1973), pp. 7-18 both remark that the accuracy of the engraving of the colony's Latin coin legends, from Marcus Aurelius to Caracalla, was very high.

²⁶ Levick, *Roman Colonies* cit., pp. 130-162. The figures for Cremna, where many inscriptions have been recorded since Levick's work, are Latin 34, Greek 46, bilingual 1; see G. Horsley - S. Mitchell, *The Inscriptions of Central Pisidia* (Inchriften Griechischer Städte auf Kleinasien 57), Bonn 2000, p. 209.

²⁷ P. Pilhofer, *Philippi I, die erste christliche Gemeinde Europas I*, Tübingen 1995, pp. 91-92 is citing a remark of Collart. Pilhofer's second volume, *Philippi II. Katalog der Inschriften von Philippi*, collects all the published inscriptions of the colony, which now number 649. Levick, *Roman Colonies* cit., pp. 160-162, cites P. Collart, *Philippes. Ville de Macédoine*, Paris 1937, pp. 232 and 236 for figures of 60 Greek inscriptions out of a total of 421, that is one in seven.

²⁸ Pilhofer, *Philippi* cit., nos. 48 and 614.

²⁹ The Latin texts are T. Corsten, *I. Die Inschriften von Apameia und Pylai* («IGSK» 35), Bonn 1987, nos. 1, 2, 4, 15, 17-19, 21, 23, 49 and 51, and P. Frisch, *I. Die Inschriften von Parion* («IGSK» 25), Bonn 1983, nos. 7-10, 12-14, 54-55, 60-67.

³⁰ Figures from M. Riel, *Inscriptions of Alexandria Troas*, Bonn 1997.

for the majority of the population, the presence of official inscriptions or even private gravestones carved in Latin need not indicate that Latin was widely used on a daily basis. In general, as Levick has argued, one might expect Latin gradually to give way to Greek, as the eastern colonies became more enmeshed in the affairs of their Greek speaking neighbours.

The epigraphic evidence shows that both at an official and at an individual level the inhabitants of the colonies consciously or unconsciously were able to choose which language to use³¹. However, with coins the linguistic position is much more one sided. Without exception all the colonies of Greece and Asia Minor that issued bronze coinage between the first and third centuries AD used Latin for their coin legends, even if, as Levick demonstrated for the Pisidian colonies, the engravers increasingly confused Greek and Latin letters on the later issues. This, however, may simply be evidence for low standards of literacy, or the relative unfamiliarity of engravers with Latin letters³². The only deviation to this rule that occurs in the early period occurs on one issue of Cnossus minted under Tiberius, which has the letters Δ Δ for D D, the standard Latin abbreviation for *decreto decurionum*³³. The strict rule that Latin was used for the legends of all the coins issued by colonies in the Greek East up till the Severan period reflects the fact that coinage presented the official public image of a city to a greater degree than any other medium³⁴. We can also reverse this opposition. No Greek³⁵ city of the Roman East, however large and influential its Roman population, ever minted coins with Latin legends. Coin legends provided a firm linguistic distinction between Greek cities and Roman colonies³⁶.

³¹ See G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman, staying Greek: Culture, Identity and the Civilizing Process in the Roman East*, «Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society» 40 (1994), pp. 116-143; S. Mitchell, *Ethnicity, Acculturation and Empire in Roman and Late Roman Asia Minor*, in S. Mitchell - G. Greatrex (eds.), *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity*, London 2000, pp. 117-150.

³² Levick, *Roman Colonies* cit., pp. 132-133.

³³ RPC I, 234-6 no. 281.

³⁴ Compare J. Nollé, *Münzen als Zeugnisse für die Geschichte der Hellenisierung Kleinasiens*, in *Stephanos Nomismatikos. Edith Schönert-Geiss zum 65. Geburtstag*, Berlin 1998, p. 503: 'Da Münzen von staatlichen Gebilden emittiert werden, sind Bilder und Legenden auf Geldstücken wie auch die Gepräge als solche offizielle Äusserungen, die oft mehr über die sie prägenden Staaten aussagen als noch so viele Einzelzeugnisse von Inschriften: Münzen ist fast immer der Aspekt staatlicher Selbstdarstellung implizit'.

³⁵ The terms 'Greek' and 'Roman' are used within quotation marks in order to emphasize the difference of status between colonies and other Greco-Roman cities.

³⁶ The distinction, however, breaks down when it is applied to the colonies of the Near East during the third century AD. Out of twenty-two identifiable colonies that minted in this period, twelve used exclusively Latin, seven exclusively Greek, and three combined Greek and Latin on their coin issues. For the moment it is hard to see a single explanation for these language choices.

The Symbolic Elements of State and Civic Identity in Colonial Iconography

The central imperial government did not seem to exercise direct influence over the choice of colonial or other civic coin types. Between the first century BC and the second century AD local colonial authorities in Greece and Asia Minor chose images that were particular to them and designed to distinguish their community from other cities. These types varied according to the chronological period and they demonstrate the interaction and development of imperial and local civic elements in the creation of the colonies' communal identities. They illustrate the continuing significance of civic/local political identities within a powerful Roman State. On one hand, the imperial themes indicate the political ideology of the centralized government, which was demonstrated initially on central imperial issues and later also on provincial coins that imitated 'official' issues. On the other hand, the civic themes reveal the identity and politico-cultural aspirations of the individual cities and their magistrates. We do not encounter characteristic civic themes on imperial issues, since they did not manifest the political ideology of the central administration. In a few cases of colonial coins (certainly less than 5% of the coins included in this study) there is a possibility that imperial and local identities intermingled even before the third century. This small percentage of ambiguous types, however, does not substantially alter the overall picture. There is a change during the third century AD, when it becomes significantly harder to disentangle the two strands of state and civic identity. It became commoner at this period for Greek cities to use coin types that were drawn from the repertoire of imperial coinage, especially types associated with military victories. As this factor introduces new problems, we have put a chronological limit to this study at the end of the Antonine period.

The complimentary state and civic identity of the eastern colonies has already been demonstrated by numerous detailed studies relating to the use of coin types in particular colonies³⁷. However, the large number of specimens available also permits a statistical analysis that indicates patterns in the colonial coinage viewed as a whole. The development of these patterns thus provides a broad picture of changing political ideologies in the eastern provinces from the first century BC to the end of the second century AD.

In order to illustrate general ideological trends and political preferences in numerical terms we have adopted a simple statistical presentation of the coin data. The coins themselves comprise the 6500 individual specimens issued by colonies in the

³⁷ An outstanding example is the study of the colonial types of Alexandria Troas by Peter Weiss, *Alexandria Troas. Griechische Traditionen und Mythen in einer römischen Colonia*, in E. Schwertheim - H. Wiegartz (eds.), *Die Troas. Neue Forschungen zu Neandria und Alexandria Troas II* (Asia Minor Studien 22), Bonn 1996, pp. 157-173.

provinces of Greece³⁸ and Asia Minor that have been included in *RPC* I and II (covering the late Republican to the end of the Flavian period), and also those that have been provisionally catalogued for the Antonine period and will be published in *RPC* IV³⁹. These have been divided into different groups according to their types, and these groups have been assigned to two distinct general categories: *a*) imperial/state and *b*) local/civic⁴⁰. Since the published volumes of *Roman Provincial Coinage* include detailed information on the die linking of Corinthian issues from the Republican until the Flavian period, we have been able to test this method by comparing the results for Corinth with a more sophisticated analysis of the colonial material based on die links. The tables for Corinth show the use of state and civic types based both on the raw numbers of coins found in each category (our general procedure), and on the separate dies that have been identified. The figures that resulted from this analysis almost exactly coincided. Consequently, we may assume that whether we count coins or dies, the outcome for the purposes of the present study will be almost identical⁴¹.

Types that represent state themes are those that also appear on the official imperial coinage issued in the name of the Roman authorities. These represent the ideological outlook of the state. Types that are not found in this repertoire, but only in the context of Greek civic coinages represent a different, civic ideology. The only state types that do not fit this categorization are the themes that referred explicitly to the colonies' foundation, especially the common motif of the priest ploughing behind a yoke of oxen. Nevertheless the ploughing oxen types unequivocally reflected state ideology, since they illustrated a specifically Roman religious ritual related to city foundations. In a few cases a single type includes motifs drawn both from the state and the civic repertoire. For example, some coin reverses combine a civic type with an imperial symbol in a single design⁴². These coins have been classified in the civic category.

The Roman State themes themselves fall into seven categories:

a) Colonial themes. These include allusions to land allotment to the new ci-

³⁸ We do not include Knossos mainly because we did not have the lists of the Antonine issues.

³⁹ We are extremely grateful to Dr Volkar Heuchert for making the relevant material from *RPC* IV available to us.

⁴⁰ On the charts Roman State themes are described as 'State', while Local/Civic themes are described as 'Local'. As 'Other' are described the themes whose identity is mixed or not clear to the authors.

⁴¹ Furthermore, the fact that the study of both coins and dies leads to the same conclusions supports the view that the collections include mainly artifacts acquired in a random fashion. A full description of the process followed is published in C. Katsari, *The Statistical Analysis of Stray Coins in Museums: the Roman Provincial Coinage*, «Nomismatika Khronika» 22 (2003), pp. 47-56.

⁴² Such hybrid types become more numerous in the third century AD.

tizens, the depiction of a figure ploughing with a pair of oxen, evoking the ritual ploughing scene characteristic of colonial foundations⁴³, or depictions of the Fortuna or the Genius of the colony. In some cases the name of the colony simply appears in a wreath⁴⁴.

- b) The Imperial House⁴⁵. These types include busts of Julius Caesar, of the emperor, or of other members of the imperial family and they are by far the largest category.
- c) Military scenes, depicting, for instance, a *triumphator*, an *aquila*, military standards⁴⁶, a war galley, an arch and *quadriga*, a captive, Victoria, a figure in a *biga* or *quadriga*. Only in a handful of cases, the *legio* stationed near the colony is mentioned on the coins. Even if some of the soldiers who served in this specific legion came from the nearby city, its depiction probably could only serve to assert the power of the Roman army as a whole.
- d) Roman mythological scenes, such as Roma⁴⁷, the Dioscuri⁴⁸, she-wolf⁴⁹, or Aeneas.
- e) Symbols of the rule of the Roman State, such as the *fascēs* and *sella curulis*,

⁴³ For the ritual of the drawing of the *sulcus primigenius* see A.M. Eckstein, *The Foundation Day of Roman coloniae*, «California Studies in Classical Antiquity» 12 (1979), pp. 85-97; S. Kremydi-Sisilianou, *I Nomismatokopia tes Romaikes Apoikias tou Diou*, Athens 1996, p. 93.

⁴⁴ Although the colonial themes do not appear on imperial coinages, their inclusion to State themes is inevitable, because these cities derived their power and status directly from the Roman political State and could not have existed independently. The citizens of the colonies are also trying to emphasize on their direct links with the metropolis; thus, asserting their superior position in civic hierarchy.

⁴⁵ It is not unusual for colonial coinages to depict the members of the imperial family without referring to their divine status, as mentioned by S. Kremydi. The reason for such a decision could be traced in the fact that there was no tradition of a ruler cult in the West. In this case, the colonies decided to distinguish themselves once more from the rest of the Greco-Roman cities, so they followed a non Hellenistic practice. For more details on the differences between the East and the West regarding the ruler cult see P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, transl. A. Shapiro, Ann Arbor 1988, pp. 302 ss.

⁴⁶ It has also been widely suggested that the representation of military standards and *vexillum* referred to the foundation of a colony, in places where a settlement of veterans is attested. However, F. Rebuffat, *Les enseignes sur les monnaies d'Asie Mineure, Des origins à Sévère Alexandre* («BCH» Suppl. 31), Paris 1997 shows that these types occur in other cities of Asia Minor and were not restricted to colonies. See also E. Dabrowa, *Le vexillum sur les monnaies coloniales (II^e-III^e s. après J.-C.)*, «Latomus» 63/2 (2004), pp. 394-405.

⁴⁷ Although *dea Roma* was derived from Hellenistic ruler ideas, by the Principate it represents the Roman imperial power, as in S. Kremydi, in C. Howgego et al. (eds.), 2005 forthcoming. On iconography and the ideological function of Roma in the imperial coinage see N. Méthy, *Les références à Rome dans le monnayage du Haut-Empire: iconographie et idéologie*, in B. Kluge - B. Weisser (eds.), *XII Internationaler Numismatischer Kongress, Berlin 1997, I. Akten-Proceedings-Actes*, Berlin 2000, pp. 575-596.

⁴⁸ E. Dabrowa, *Roman Military Colonisation in Anatolia and the Near East (2nd-3rd c. AD)*. *The Numismatic Evidence*, in G. Salmeri - A. Raggi - A. Baroni (eds.), *Coloniae romanae nel mondo greco*, Rome 2004, pp. 211-234, esp. p. 213.

⁴⁹ R. Weigel, *Lupa Romana*, in «LIMC» VI (1), 1992, pp. 292-296.

the portraits of imperial administrators in the provinces, Roman State ritual items such as the *praefericulum* or the *lituus*, a rudder and globe indicating imperial domination, or *sol* with torch and globe.

- f) Symbols of peace and prosperity, such as a *cornucopia*, or a figure symbolising *Pax Romana*.
- g) The Roman gods, Saturn, Janus and Salus and their temples or symbols.
- h) The representations of Marsyas⁵⁰. The iconography chosen for this type represents the satyr Marsyas, with his right arm raised and a wine-skin on his shoulder. According to Servius' commentary on Vergil's Aeneid, free cities erected statues of Marsyas, as he was believed to be under the guardianship of Liber Pater, and at Rome a statue of Marsyas was associated with Liber, the Roman counterpart of Dionysus, who himself came to symbolize political freedom (*libertas*). The statue stood in the forum by the tribunal of the *praetor peregrinus*, who adjudicated legal cases between Roman citizens and non-citizens⁵¹. Commentators since Mommsen have seen that this Marsyas type provided a symbolic allusion to the colonies' 'freedom' and the political privileges of their inhabitants⁵². It has been suggested that the type referred to the conferral of the *ius Italicum* on individual colonies, or simply served as a marker of colonial status of the city during the Roman period⁵³. As with the issues of the main Roman Imperial mint, the pictorial and verbal content of this coinage did have a wider audience, but most of the types were clearly chosen to honour and flatter the emperor⁵⁴. The choice of types that presented symbols of the central authority would also help to legitimize the coin and guarantee its value in any market within the empire⁵⁵.

The civic category comprises the types that are related to the cults, mythology and institutions of the city, and represent local iconographic traditions that were

⁵⁰ We decided to include this type in the State category mainly because it represents the symbolic conferment of status to the colony by the imperial authorities.

⁵¹ Servius, on *Aen.* 3.20.

⁵² P. Veyne, *Le Marsyas colonial et l'indépendance des cités*, «Revue Philologique» 35 (1961), pp. 87-98 discusses 27 or 28 communities which featured the type on their coins, including 20 *coloniae*; L. Robert, *Monnaies antiques en Troade*, Paris 1966, pp. 55-56 provides a revised list; M.E. Klimowsky, *The Origin and Meaning of Marsyas in Greek Imperial Coinage*, «Israel Numismatic Journal» 6/7 (1982-3), pp. 88-101; W. Hoskins, *Marsyas at Corinth*, «American Journal of Numismatics» 1 (1989), pp. 79-87.

⁵³ Millar, *The Roman Coloniae* cit., p. 15; Veyne, *Le Marsyas* cit., p. 87; Klimowsky, *The Origin and Meaning of Marsyas* cit., p. 88.

⁵⁴ M.H. Crawford, *Numismatics*, in M.H. Crawford - F. Millar (eds.), *Sources for Ancient History*, New York 1983, p. 60.

⁵⁵ A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Image and Authority in the Coinage of Augustus*, «Journal of Roman Studies» 76 (1986), p. 85.

indigenous to the regions where the colonies were situated. These may be classified into the following groups.

- a) The commonest are mythological scenes that advertised the origins of the city and linked it with the local heroes or gods. It is true that most of these myths were linked to the hellenic past and the stories encountered in the epic tradition of Greek literature. There are also myths specific to particular localities in Asia Minor and Greece.
- b) Religious images such as statues, temples and the depiction of local or Hellenic gods served as symbols of the city's religious life and attest the piety of its citizens⁵⁶.
- c) Athletic and religious festivals (*agones*), although their depiction on coins did not become widespread until the third century AD⁵⁷.
- d) Public buildings, including fountains, bridges and harbours either were also depicted on colonial coinages⁵⁸. Both the buildings and the *agones* were often the product of the *euergesism* of wealthy local elites. *Euergesism* by rich citizens was an inherent part of the civic structure of the eastern colonies and indicated the assertion of civic pride.
- e) A personification of the *demos* appears in the coinage of the colony of Corinth during the Antonine period.
- f) The names of the city magistrates in a wreath.

We have been unable to assign a small number of types definitely to either category, and have classified them as uncertain. However, these numbers are not large enough to affect the overall picture significantly.

We assume that the relative proportions of the two main categories provide a

⁵⁶ However, we cannot exclude the possibility that in some cases the choice of Greek gods corresponded to those that were favoured by the Imperial family. At least in Corinth, the building program followed the established rules of Augustan ideology regarding the foundation or renovation of temples. See C. Böhme, *Princeps und Polis: Untersuchungen zur Herrschaftsform des Augustus über bedeutende Orte in Griechenland*, München 1995, pp. 113 ss.

⁵⁷ For the *agon* as central part of the civic life see S. Mitchell, *Festivals, Games and Civic Life in Roman Asia Minor*, «Journal of Roman Studies» 80 (1990), pp. 183-193.

⁵⁸ According to S. Mitchell, *Imperial Building in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, «Harvard Studies in Classical Philology» 91 (1987), pp. 233-365, several passages of ancient authors illustrate the importance of public buildings to the notion of civic identity, while 'public utility was combined with prestige for the benefactor'. However, it has been suggested by A. Burnett, *Buildings and Monuments on Roman Coins*, in G.M. Paul - M. Ierardi (edd.), *Roman Coins and Public Life under the Empire, E. Togo Salmon Papers II*, Ann Arbor 1999, pp. 137-164, that the depiction of buildings on coins was not necessarily an expression of civic pride but just a part of the normal picture language of the Romans and their die engravers. These buildings may instead be referring to a cult or the achievements of the magistrates or their ancestors. In any case, these constructions remained important ideological parts of each colony, although their significance should not be taken out of the full context or be exaggerated.

broad indication of the political influences and trends that underlay the colonial production of bronze coins, and give an insight into the ideological orientation of the colonial authorities, who were responsible for the choice of obverse and reverse designs. The wide range of types strengthens the conclusion that they were not the product of central interference. Instead the selection would presumably have depended on the decisions of local magistrates.

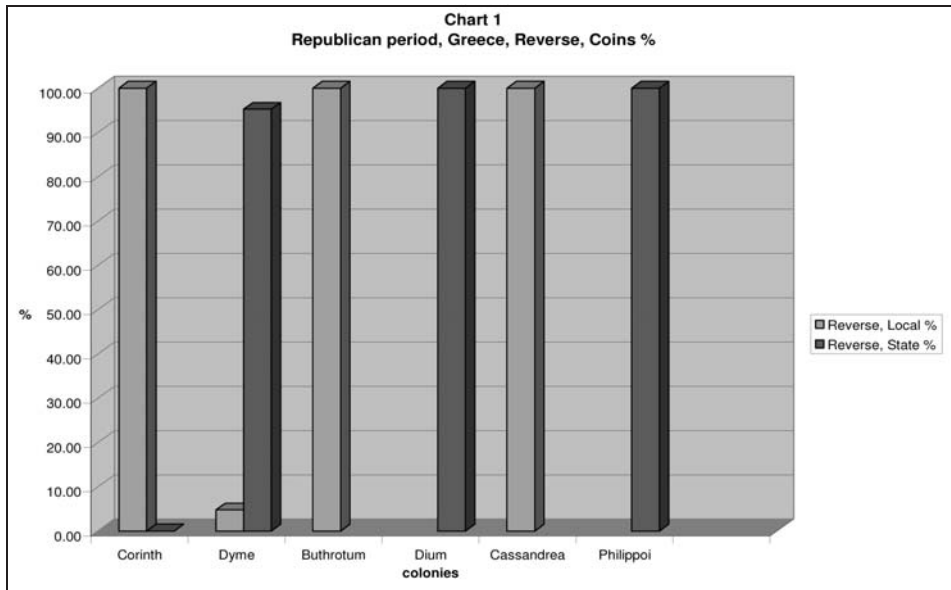
The first group of colonies in the East consisted of the Republican foundations at Dyme in Achaea, Byllis and Dyrrhachium in Epirus, Cnossus in Crete, Dium, Cassandrea, Philippi and probably Pella in Macedonia, Sinope in Pontus, Apamea in Bithynia, Parium, Lampsacus, and Alexandria Troas in Asia⁵⁹. All of these were probably established or planned by Julius Caesar, with the exception of Dium and Cassandrea, founded by Q. Hortensius Hortalus for the Republicans in 43/2 BC, and Philippi founded by Antonius's legate, Quintus Paquius Rufus, after the victory of the Caesarian cause⁶⁰. Two colonies of 44 BC, Corinth and Buthrotum, which were at least planned by Caesar, seem to have included a mixture of military and civilian settlers, in the case of Corinth mainly ex-freedmen⁶¹. The settlement at Lampsacus was short-lived and appears to have been abolished after its Italian population declared for Sextus Pompeius in 35 BC⁶². Not all these colonies issued coinages, and they did not necessarily stress their State identity. Chart 1 indicates that the reverse types of coins produced in European Greek colonies of Corinth, Buthrotum and Cassandrea demonstrate a strong local/civic identity, while those of Dyme, Dium and Philippi strongly emphasized Roman State symbolism. Except to a very minor extent at Corinth and Dyme, the colonies chose either local civic or Roman state types, and did not mix them. The state types in this group consisted of themes relevant to the foundation of the colony, direct allusions to Julius Caesar, and symbols of the central Roman administration.

⁵⁹ A Latin gravestone for a veteran of *legio XXX*, which appears to have been disbanded in 41 BC seems to confirm that Alexandria Troas was a Caesarian foundation. An inscription from Samothrace mentioning the Ioulieis Troadeis appears to preserve its pre-Augustan title. See Riel, *Inscriptions* cit., no. 106 and T117.

⁶⁰ Strabo 7, fr. 41; *RE* XVIII a (1949), 119-120 (Münzer) for Q. Paquius Rufus.

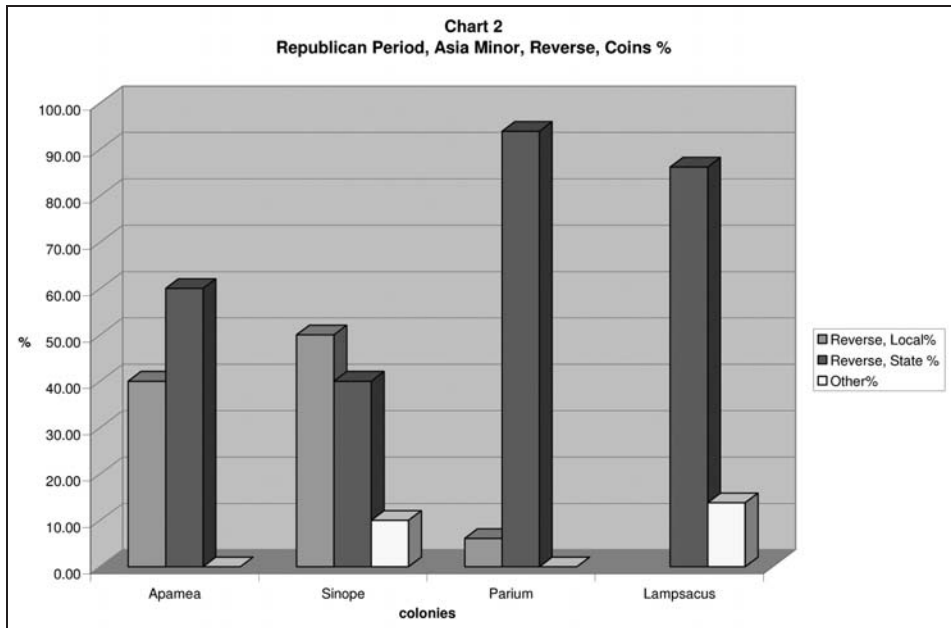
⁶¹ Strabo 8.6.23 indicates that most of the colonists at Corinth were freedmen, but Plutarch, *Caesar* 57 claims that some were veterans.

⁶² Appian *BC* 5.137. See Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* cit., Cambridge 1946, pp. 246-248; L. Robert, *Hellenica* IX (1949), pp. 88-89; P. Frisch, *I. Lampsakos* («IGSK» 6), Bonn 1978, p. 139.



The coinage issued by the Asia Minor colonies at this period seem to be typologically different from that of the other European colonies. From the Republican period the magistrates of the cities of Apamea and Sinope included a blend of state and civic iconographical types, with a slight preference towards local civic themes at Sinope and towards the Roman state ones at Apamea. On the other hand, Parium and Lampsacus used mostly state reverse types [Chart 2]. Reverse types include cornucopia, military standards and Victoria (Parium includes also a number of coins bearing names of local magistrates in wreath on the reverse). The inaugural coin issue from Lampsacus, founded as a twin colony to Parium (both had the titles *colonia Iulia Gemina* or *Gemella*) with diademed head of Julius Caesar on the obverse, was issued in the name of the first pair of *duoviri*, Q. Lucretius and L. Pontius. The remaining Lampsacene types which belong between 45 and 35 BC include a priest ploughing, a head of Janus, and an unusual depiction of a female figure holding a cornucopia, standing over an urn, which has been interpreted as a symbolic reference to the distribution of colonial allotments to the first settlers⁶³.

⁶³ *RPC I*, 386-8 nos. 2268-72.

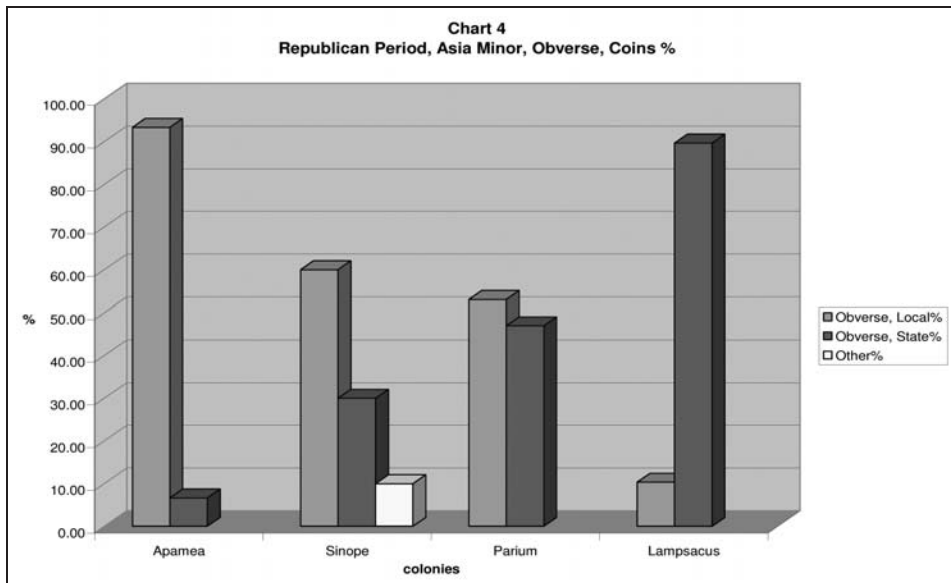
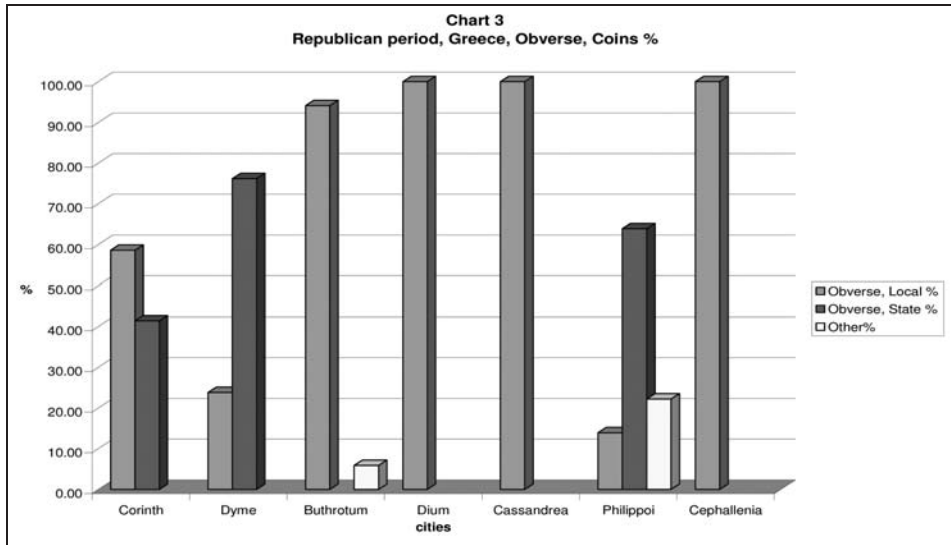


The most surprising results are the patterns emerging from the analysis of the obverse types, which were usually chosen to advertise the political authority that guaranteed the value of the coins. In both Greece and Asia Minor, except at Lampsacus, Philippi and Dyme, the obverses of the colonial issues carried local civic not Roman state types, usually depictions of gods or religious symbols [Charts 3 and 4]. The most likely explanation for this was that the colonial authorities immediately acknowledged the religious authority of the local city gods, and in this respect grafted the new political institutions of the colony onto the Hellenistic religious infrastructure⁶⁴. This limited the potential clash between the newcomers and the indigenous populations to the secular field, while at the same time opening up an area in which common religious beliefs could develop in the future. This aspect of colonial life is even apparent in the environment at Philippi that was strongly influenced by the Roman state. An unpublished Julio-Claudian issue carries a portrait of Augustus and the legend *DIVO AVGVSTO*, and a depiction on the reverse of a mounted Thracian rider god with the legend *R(es) P(ublica) C(oloniae) P(hilippensium) HEROI AVLONITE*. This was an allusion to the dominant local cult of *Heros Auloneites*, which had been rapidly adopted by the Roman settlers⁶⁵. Although there is a clear preference for imperial portraits, there was a considerable

⁶⁴ Of course, this process varied from one colony to another.

⁶⁵ Pilhofer, *Philippoi* cit. I, pp. 93-100.

diversity in the choice of state types, including ploughing scenes, Victoria, Janus, Saturn and the *praefericulum*. This mixed pattern seems typical of the late republican period before the clear-cut imperial ideology of the Augustan age became more popular in the provinces.



After the battle of Actium no more civilian colonies were founded in the East. Augustus created a colony in Achaea at Patrae for veterans of legions X and XII, and this new settlement soon absorbed Dyme. In addition Dium, Cassandrea, Pella, as well as Philippi, were refounded by Augustus with the new titles Iulia Augusta and received supplementary settlements of Augustan veterans⁶⁶. So did Dyrrhachium, henceforth known as Colonia Veneria, and perhaps Buthrotum, which became Colonia Augusta. In Asia the colony at Alexandria Troas received the title Augusta, and new colonial settlements were founded in North Galatia at Germa, and in southern Galatia at Pisidian Antioch, Cremna, Lystra, Iconium, Ninica, Parlais, Olbasa and Comama⁶⁷. It is assumed that all of these were military colonies of veterans, although this is only unambiguously demonstrable at Antioch, which took veterans of legions V and VII, at Ninica, whose rare Augustan coinage carries a monogram to be resolved as VETER(ana)⁶⁸, and at Iconium, where the legend COL E Q ICONIEN should be taken as an allusion to a *deductio* of veterans from *legio X equestris*⁶⁹. Augustus also created a single colony in the Near East, at Berytus in 15 BC for veterans of legions V Macedonica and VIII Augusta⁷⁰. The tradition of creating veteran colonies in the East continued fitfully through the Julio-Claudian period. No new settlements are attested in Achaea, but Claudius founded Ptolemais in Palestine between AD 52 and 54 apparently for veterans of legions III, VI, X and XII or XII⁷¹, Archelais in western Cappadocia⁷², and Apri in Thrace⁷³.

Once the veterans settled permanently in the eastern provinces, the colonies finally started to establish their own individual political identity within the Roman State and attempted to advertise it through their respective civic coinages. The obverse types were virtually restricted to portraits of the emperor or of other members of the imperial family, exemplifying the authority that eventually legitimized pro-

⁶⁶ Specifically attested for Dyrrhachium and Philippi by Cassius Dio 51.4.6.

⁶⁷ See Levick, *Roman Colonies* cit.

⁶⁸ S. Mitchell, *Iconium and Ninica*, «Historia» 28 (1979), pp. 409-438, esp. p. 430.

⁶⁹ Mitchell, *Iconium and Ninica* cit., p. 414 nt. 38. Dr Lawrence Keppie has pointed out to us that there is no evidence that cavalry contingents as such received land in colonies, and that the two Augustan *coloniae* with *Equestris* in their titles, Iconium and Noviodunum (Nyon, Switzerland) probably owe this to the fact that they received veterans from Caesar's *legio X Equestris*. See also Rebuffat, *Les enseignes* cit., p. 50, who adopts the less plausible interpretation *eq(uitata)* proposed by Y. le Bohec.

⁷⁰ See Millar, *The Roman Coloniae* cit., pp. 10-23.

⁷¹ Millar, *The Roman Coloniae* cit., pp. 23-26, citing *AE* 1948, 142 which refers to Col(onia) Ptol(e-mais) Veter(anorum), and a Neronian issue which names its founder as DIVOS CLAVD(ius) and depicts four legionary standards with the numbers III, VI, X?, and XI or XII?; for which see H. Seyrig, *Le monnayage de Ptolemais en Phénicie*, «Revue Numismatique» 4 (1962), p. 29 (= *Scripta Numismatica* [1986], 261), and B. Head, *Historia Nummorum* (2), Oxford 1911, p. 793.

⁷² D. French, *Latin Inscriptions from Aksaray*, «Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik» 27 (1977), pp. 247-249 publishes a Latin inscription referring to duoviri. No coins are known.

⁷³ Eck, ???

vincial currencies. A few exceptional issues from Sinope, Apamea, Corinth, Patras, Buthrotum, Pella, Dium, Cassandrea represent local themes on the obverse. State themes are heavily dominant in the reverse types issued both in Greece and Asia Minor. Exceptions are Cassandrea and Buthrotum, where local themes are predominant, while Corinth and Pella/Dium also present a high number of local types [charts 5 and 6]. The most popular types seem to be the portraits of the emperor or the members of the imperial family, and ploughing scenes. We infer that the settlement of large numbers of veterans in the area in the early first century AD led to a demonstrative emphasis on symbols of state identity at the expense of local symbols of civic identity. It is apparent that the choice of types and legends used by most of the colonies during the Julio-Claudian period suggests that their citizens identified themselves strongly with the collective Roman State. They emphasized their attachment to the imperial household and to the newly forged ideology of Augustan victory, peace and prosperity.

Four clear exceptions to the pattern can be noted and require explanation, Corinth, Buthrotum, Cassandrea and Pella/Dium. In the case of Corinth, A.J. Spawforth has pointed out that the largest group of family names used by members of the local magistrates and ruling class originated with Italian *negotiator* families active in the Aegean region, and this strengthens Strabo's observation that most of the colonists had been freedmen. Such families had a long background of activity in the eastern provinces and would already have absorbed many of its political elements, including the civic identity of the eastern urban centers. Spawforth has also observed that a significant minority of the Corinthian officeholders during the Julio-Claudian period were held by members of the elite from neighbouring Achaean cities, who must have contributed financially and in other ways to the amenities of the Roman provincial capital⁷⁴. Both the magistrates of freedman and of Achaean origin groups increasingly emphasized the Hellenic past looking beyond the recent colonial foundation to Corinth's ancient origins. They show a very strong preference for local mythological themes, including especially types illustrating Bellerophon and Pegasus, in the coin issues⁷⁵. This emphasizing Corinth's civic identity rather than its role as a limb of the Roman State.

As part of this limited, nevertheless existing, ideological trend many of the earlier issues feature the names of the colonial magistrates. Coins which appear to date to the foundation year of Parium in 45 BC, and depict a priest behind a yoke of oxen, the most characteristic of all colonial foundation types, were issued in the names of *MVC PIC IIIIviri iuredicundo D(ecreto) D(ecurionum)*, and of *C. Matui-*

⁷⁴ A.J.S. Spawforth, *Roman Corinth: the Formation of a Colonial Elite*, in A.D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East, Social and Political Aspect*, Athens 1996, pp. 167-182.

⁷⁵ See Head, *Historia Nummorum* cit., p. 404.

nus *T. Anicius aediles*⁷⁶. Augustan issues of Parium continued this tradition, although the legends which mention *M. Barbatius* and *M' Acilius Ilviri* and *P. Vibius sacerdos Caesaris*, indicate that the colonial constitution had been changed, so that *duoviri* replaced *quattuorviri* as the chief magistrates⁷⁷. The largest series of coins featuring *duoviri* occurs at Corinth and runs through the Julio-Claudian period up to a final issue, which named the magistrates of AD 69 under Vitellius⁷⁸. A similar sequence is found at Cnossus, whose coinages feature eight duoviral colleges under Augustus, two each under Tiberius, Gaius and Caligula, and one under Nero⁷⁹. *Duoviri quinquennales* also occur in Julio-Claudian issues of Dyme, Buthrotum, Dium and Pella⁸⁰. In Asia Minor magistrates were rarely mentioned and only occur on issues of special significance. So, coins in Apamea carry the name of Appius Pulcher, proconsul of Pontus and Bithynia in 28-27 BC and the reverse legend *C. Cassius C. f. Ilvir s(enatus) c(onsulto) c(oloniam) r(estituit)*. This should imply that responsibility for the refoundation of the colony lay with a formal decision of the Roman senate, which was executed by one of the colony's magistrates⁸¹. A foundation issue of Sinope bears the legend *Colon. Fel. Sin. P. Sulpl ic(ius) Q.f. Ruff(us) procos. Pontife[x]* distributed across both sides of the coin, with a head of Tyche on the obverse and sacrificial implements on the reverse. A corresponding coin names the *duoviri C. Vibius* and *L. Pontius*, with representations of a head of Ceres, with a wreath and an ear of corn on the obverse, and a crescent moon and plough on the reverse⁸². Finally, the Augustan issues of Ninica mention, but do not name, the *duoviri*.

⁷⁶ *RPC I* 2253-8. The only other evidence from any source for the presence of IIIIviri in an eastern colony is *AE* 1978, 276 which mentions a IIIIviri quinquennalis from Alexandria Troas, who served as an equestrian military officer under Augustus and Tiberius; see Riel, *Inscriptions* cit., T120.

⁷⁷ *RPC I* 384-6 nos. 2261-2.

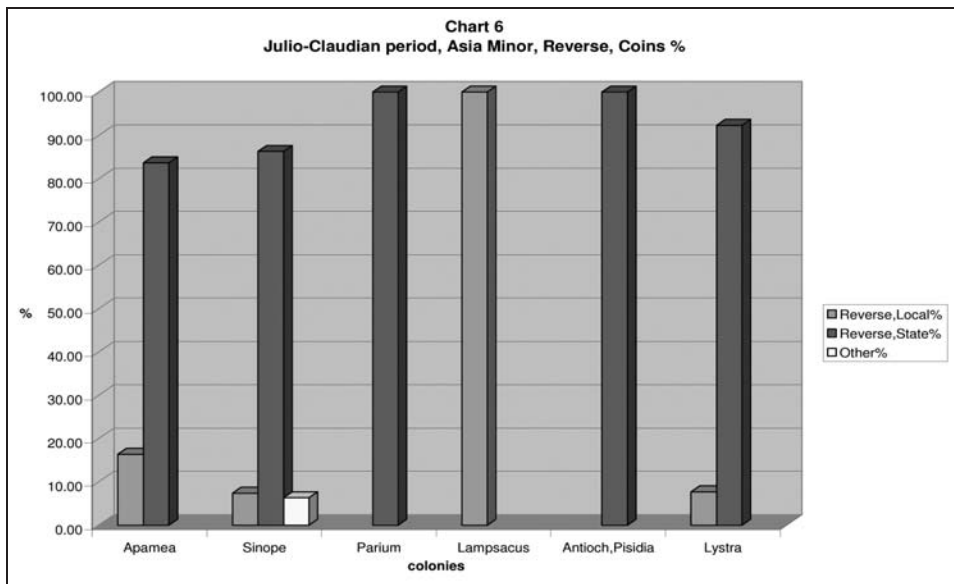
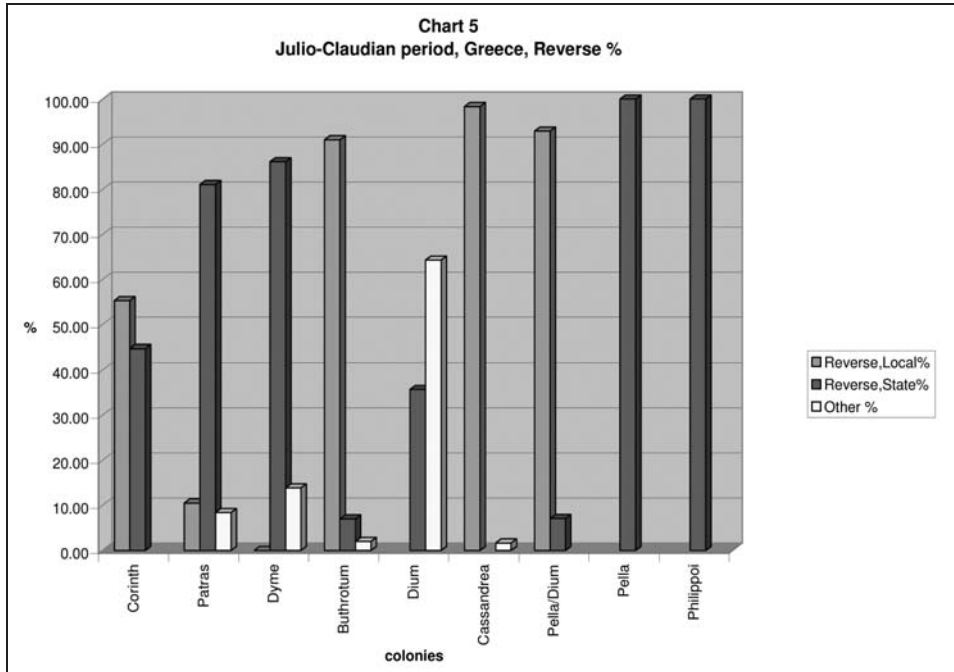
⁷⁸ M. Amandry, *Le monnayage des duovirs corinthiens* («BCH» Suppl. XV), Paris 1988.

⁷⁹ *RPC I* 234-6. J. Svoronos, *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne*, 1890, pp. 89-95, nos. 180-217.

⁸⁰ Noted at *RPC I*, p. 4.

⁸¹ *RPC I*, 2007-9.

⁸² *RPC I*, nos. 2107-8. Sulpicius Rufus was presumably proconsul of Pontus and Bithynia in 46-45 BC (M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, Cambridge 1946, p. 11 and 251 ss.). The editors of *RPC I* suggest that the image of Ceres/Demeter on the second coin (not a Roman motif) may be an allusion to the presence of a double community at Sinope, which is implied in Stabo's description 12.3.11, 546; see Mitchell, *Iconium and Ninica* cit., p. 417.



During the Principate the importance of the council within the cities gradually overtook the importance of the assembly, and relations between members of the elite and other local citizens became more paternalistic⁸³. The majority of them probably originated either from Rome or from Italy. For example, in Corinth only 6-8% were local notables before the reign of Claudius, while in the rest of the colonies of Achaëa the presence of native wealthy individuals in the epigraphic sources is almost non-existent⁸⁴. Nevertheless, we should take into consideration the possibility that many freedmen colonists may have been provincials returning home. The members of the colonial elite would have been aware of the ideological priorities of the emperors and the sensibilities of the Roman citizens who used the coins on a daily basis⁸⁵. The choice of types promoted the rule of the emperor, whose authority gave legitimacy to the coinage but also evoked the historical foundation of the colony by its metropolis, Rome, and advertised the status and privileges of the community⁸⁶.

In some cases, local civic types are commonly used. As colonies took over this iconography they proclaimed the extent to which they had become assimilated into the fabric of 'Greek' civic culture. The similarities between colonial iconography and that of other cities advertised the independent civic character of the individual colonies, even if in name they still represented the Roman State and were inhabited by Roman citizens. Each colony thus established its own individual character within the spectrum of different civic constitutions. The representation of state themes would distinguish the colonies from the rest of the cities, while the representation of local themes would distinguish them from each other. The establishment of differences rather than similarities helped to create particular combinations of state and civic identity in the individual eastern colonies.

The settlement of veterans in eastern cities and the foundation of new colonies were virtually discontinued after the Julio-Claudian period. Vespasian was the only emperor to found a new colony, Colonia Flavia Caesarea in Palestine in the aftermath of his Jewish triumph⁸⁷. Some sixty years after the foundation of Colonia Fla-

⁸³ H. Pleket, *Political Culture and Political Practice in the Cities of Asia Minor in the Roman Empire*, in W. Schuller (ed.), *Politische Theorie und Praxis im Altertum*, Darmstadt 1998, pp. 204-216, esp. 213.

⁸⁴ A. Rizakis, *Achaïe*, I. *Sources textuelles et histoire régionale* («Meletemata» 20), Athens 1995; A. Rizakis, *Achaïe*, II. *La cité de Patras: épigraphie et histoire* («Meletemata» 25), Athens 1998; A. Rizakis, *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 Organised by the Finnish Institute at Athens, May 21-22 1999*, Helsinki 2001, pp. 37-50.

⁸⁵ The tripartite relationship of mint men-emperor-public is described in B. Levick, *Messages on the Roman Coinage: Types and inscriptions*, in G.M. Paul (ed.), *Roman Coins and Public Life under the Empire*, Ann Arbor 1999, pp. 41-60.

⁸⁶ Wallace-Hadrill, *Image and Authority* cit., pp. 66-87.

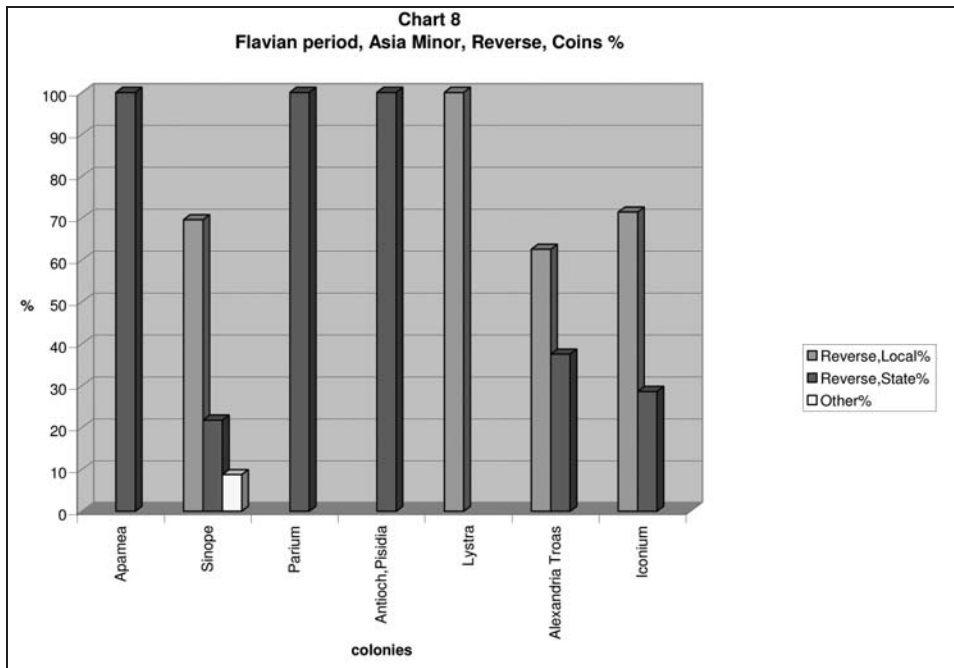
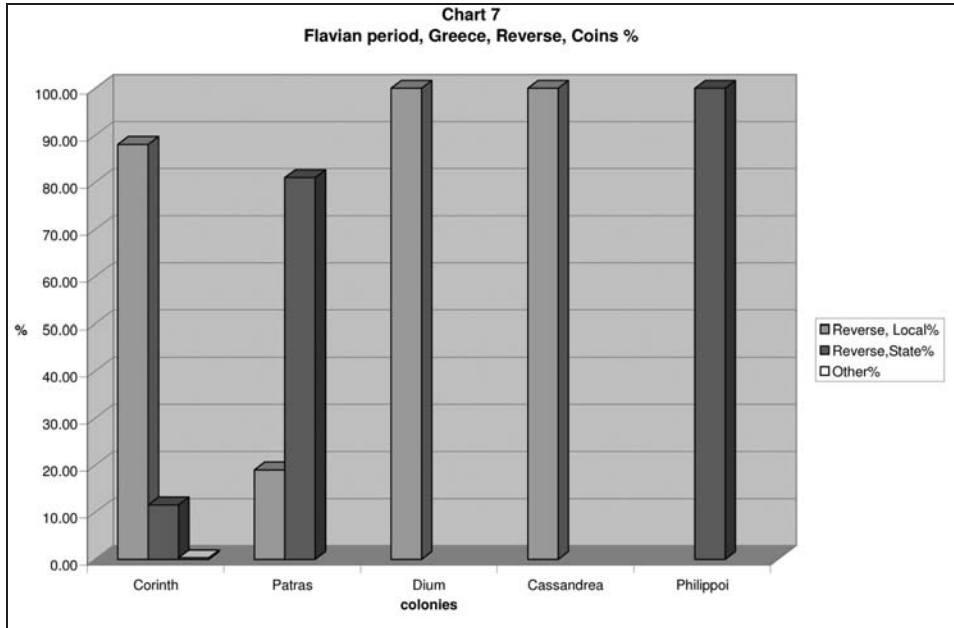
⁸⁷ Millar, *The Roman Coloniae* cit., pp. 26-28.

via Caesarea, Hadrian, whose plans to create a colony at Jerusalem had perhaps provoked the Jewish revolt led by Bar-Kochva, concluded his victory by founding Aelia Capitolina. It may have been settled with veterans from the locally stationed legion X Fretensis, whose name appears on a colonial coin of Aelia depicting a military standard⁸⁸. Aelia may not have been the latest eastern colony to include Roman veterans in the settlement. Marcus Aurelius promoted the village of Halala on the north side of the Cilician Gates in southern Cappadocia, to the rank of Colonia Faustinopolis, in memory of his wife Faustina who had died there⁸⁹. Otherwise, Faustinopolis is to be placed in the third category of titular colonies, which are characteristic of the Severan period until the middle of the third century AD.

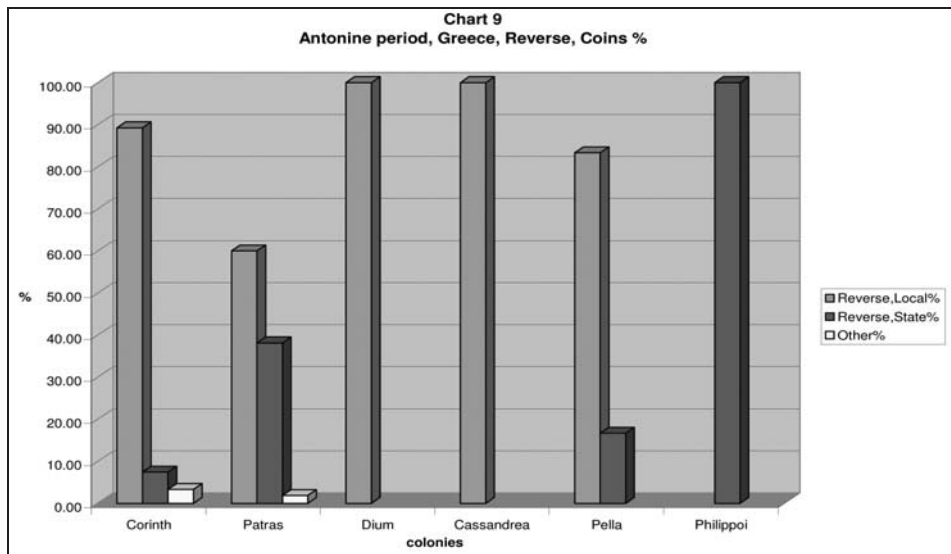
At this time the portraits of the emperors or other members of the imperial family invariably appeared on the obverses of coins in both Greece and Asia Minor, with the unique exception of Corinth, which thus continued the tradition established during the Julio-Claudian period. However, the civic themes became increasingly popular on the reverse types, with more than half of the colonies showing signs of a strong civic identity in this period. In Greece, the colonies of Corinth, Dium and Cassandrea show a strong preference towards civic types, while Patras and Philippi prefer the use of state themes [chart 7]. In Asia Minor, civic themes predominated at Sinope, Lystra, Alexandria Troas and Iconium Roman ones at Apamea, Parium and Antioch in Pisidia [chart 8]. As in the previous period, the most popular state themes remain the emperor's portrait and the ploughing scenes, while the Genius of the colony also appears more frequently. As the colonies no longer received new settlers from Italy, they increasingly consolidated their connections to the network of well-established provincial cities. The emphasis on proclamations of loyalty on local civic institutions became stronger, although it did not supplant their affiliation to the distant Roman state from which most of the colonists originated.

⁸⁸ Millar, *The Roman Coloniae* cit., pp. 28-30.

⁸⁹ For testimonia and inscriptions see J. Nollé, *I. Tyana* («IGSK»), Bonn 2000, nos. 118-124. E. Dabrowa, *Les légions romaines au Proche-Orient: l'apport de la numismatique*, «Electrum» 5 (2001) argues that veterans settled in the colonies of Tyre and Sidon.

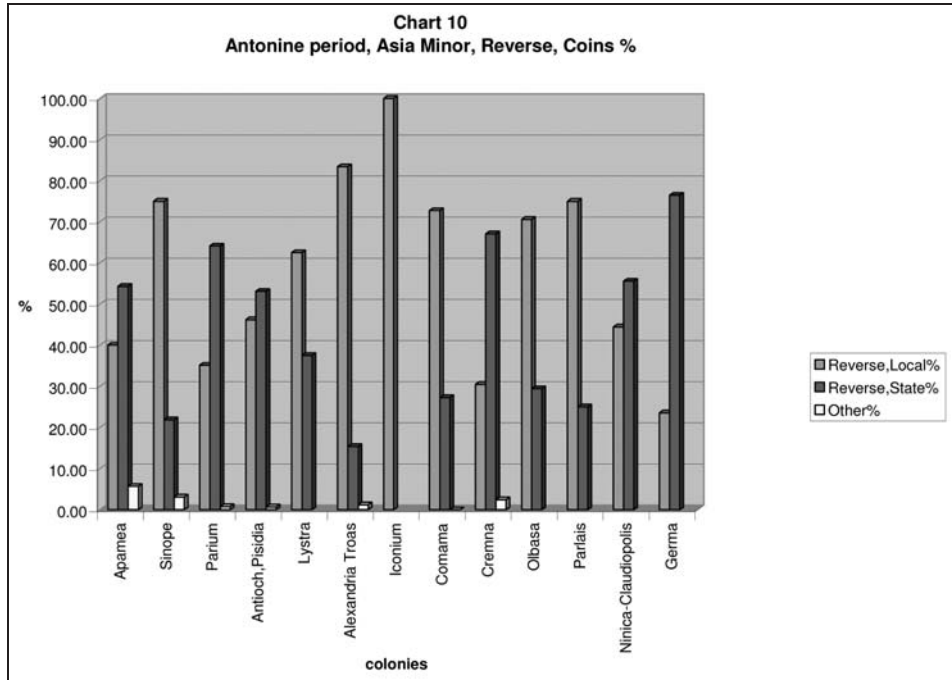


Overall the combination of state and civic characteristics on eastern colonial coinage was well formed by the Antonine period. Imperial portraits were always chosen for the obverses, except notably at Antioch in Pisidia, which used extensively civic themes⁹⁰. Civic themes also feature occasionally on the obverses of Patras, Lystra, Iconium and Ninica-Claudiopolis, but imperial portraits are far more numerous in every one of these cases. The use of the civic themes became the norm on the reverses. This was particularly pronounced in European Greece. The Macedonian colonies of Dium, Pella and Cassandrea issued coins with exclusively civic themes, the Achaean colonies of Corinth and Patras usually chose civic reverse types, while only Macedonian Philippi preferred state themes [chart 9]. On the other hand in Asia Minor, only Iconium, which had been a double community of a local polis and an Augustan colony before it became a single colonial community under Hadrian, opted for the exclusive use of civic themes⁹¹. Sinope, Lystra, Alexandria Troas, Olbasa, Comama and Parlais preferred civic, while Apamea, Parium, Antioch in Pisidia, Cremna, Germa and Ninica-Claudiopolis used mostly state themes [chart 10]. Again the most popular state reverse themes are the imperial portraits and the Genius of the colony, as in the Flavian period, but there was a growing preference towards the use of military standards and the she-wolf. These results show a resurgence of local civic identities mainly in the colonies in European Greece but also evident in the colonies of Roman Asia Minor.



⁹⁰ The preferred types depicted Hermes, Hercules and Men.

⁹¹ Mitchell, *Iconium and Ninica*.



In the second century the Greeks (or rather the inhabitants of the eastern provinces who spoke Greek) turned to their distant classical past in order to reconstruct their distinctly Greek character as opposed to the powerful Roman culture. The strongest evidence of this Greek passion for creating the legendary Greek past is demonstrated by the Panhellenic movement of the second century AD and the foundation of the Panhellenion⁹². Asia Minor cities produced evidence that they belonged to one of the old Greek races, Dorians, Achaeans, etc., established ties of kinship with a specific Greek city (Athens, Sparta, Argos), made claims to cults which were related to Greek legends, or, claimed to have been founded by a Greek god or hero⁹³. This cultural creation of a revitalized Greek identity had its greatest resonance in the proliferation of as-

⁹² For more information on the Panhellenion see A.J. Spawforth - S. Walker, *The World of the Panhellenion, I: Athens and Eleusis*, «Journal of Roman Studies» 75 (1985), pp.78-104; A.J.S. Spawforth, - S. Walker, *The World of the Panhellenion, II: Three Dorian Cities*, «Journal of Roman Studies» 76 (1986), pp. 88-105; S. Alcock, *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece*, Cambridge 1993, pp.166-168; C.P. Jones, *The Panhellenion*, in «Chiron» 26 (1996), pp.29-56; Swain, *Hellenism and Empire* cit., pp. 75-6.

⁹³ S. Mitchell, *The Greek City in the Roman World- the Case of Pontus and Bithynia*, in X. Πελεκίδη κ.α. (εκδ.), *Πρακτικά του Η Συνεδρίου Ελληνικής και Λατινικής Επιγραφικής, Αθήνα 3-9 Οκτ. 1982*, Athens 1984, pp.120-133, esp. p. 131; Spawforth-Walker, *The World of the Panhellenion* cit., 1986.

sociated coin types, representing local gods, myths and other Greek traditions⁹⁴.

Lately, though, it has been successfully argued that it is futile to construct Greek identity as a category opposed to 'Roman' identity. While in the classical period the Greek ethnicity was constructed in opposition to the barbarian Persians through a series of wars, during the Roman empire there has never been an issue of defining oneself against the political authority of the Romans. Gradually, Greek and Roman culture became interlinked with unbreakable ties, probably by the beginning of the third century AD⁹⁵. The increasingly popular notion of Hellenism did not become a political tool in the hands of the opponents to the Roman state but represented an attempt on behalf of the elites to define themselves in contrast to the rest of the 'culturally inferior' population. Being Greek meant only being educated in a way that encompassed Hellenic traditions and promoted Hellenic culture in accordance with the official Roman doctrine which defines status⁹⁶. In fact, the ideal of Hellenism was produced not only by the Greco-Roman cities who sought to construct cultural continuity with their Hellenic past but also by the central government based in Rome who sought to reform its glorious past and link it with the Greek classical tradition (e.g. Aeneas, the hero who came from the Greek city of Troy). The Greek past, thus became a powerful ideological tool in the hands of the elite and the notion of Hellenism was reinvented under the auspices of the Roman State⁹⁷. An example of this process is the Panhellenion itself, which represented 'Greekness' as it was defined by the authoritative power of the central State. It is not a coincidence that the Panhellenion, the symbol of Hellenic identity, was created under the auspices of a Roman State that aimed at the single, centralized administration of the eastern provinces⁹⁸.

The appearance of so many Greek, or more correctly civic types in the eastern colonial coinages is the acknowledgement of the strong participation of the civic communities in the administration of the empire. Greek culture flourished in the Roman colonies inhabited by Roman citizens a century or more after the initial

⁹⁴ P. Weiss, *Kaiserzeitliche Städteprägung und klassische Altertumswissenschaften*, in J. Nollé - B. Overbeck - P. Weiss (edd.), *Nomismata: Internationales Kolloquium zur kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung Kleinasiens, 27-30 Apr. 1994*, Milano 1997, pp. 27-35; P. Weiss, *Alexandria Troas. Griechische Traditionen und Mythen in einer römischen Colonia*, in E. Schwertheim - H. Wiegartz, *Die Troas. Neue Forschungen zu Neandria und Alexandria Troas* (Asia Minor Studien 22) II, Bonn 1996, pp. 158-172.

⁹⁵ This is a reason for not including colonial coins minted during the third century in this study. By this era it becomes almost impossible to disentangle the civic from the state identity.

⁹⁶ Woolf, *Becoming Roman* cit.

⁹⁷ For the idea of 'invented tradition' there are parallels in the formation of modern national states. See E. Hobsbawm, *Inventing Traditions*, in E. Hobsbawm - T. Ranger (eds.) *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge 1983.

⁹⁸ Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature* cit., pp. 1-38.

foundation of these settlements. Roman political ideology promoted the existence of cities and their institutions in order to govern the provinces more effectively; thus the civic identity of the colonies did not undermine the centralized identity of the State. As the central state fostered the spread of Hellenism, ‘Greekness’ became a universal value.

Conclusions

It is evident that the governmental policies of Rome played a key role in the foundation of colonies in the provinces during the republican and the imperial period. It seems that the Roman State aspired to create colonies that shared the economic and political characteristics of Rome; and this is partly reflected on colonial coinages. Consequently, the political as well as ideological trends of the metropolis appear to have influenced the decisions of the local authorities with regard to the minting of civic coins. Three aspects of colonial coinage, which indicate a greater degree of central influence in their production than was the case with minting in other Greek cities, may be highlighted: *a)* the adoption of Roman weight standards, *b)* the occasional permission of the imperial authorities for the production of coins and, finally *c)* the use of Latin instead of Greek legends.

On the other hand, the local magistrates who were probably responsible for the choice of both obverse and reverse types demonstrated considerable individuality in their preferences depending on the chronological period and/or the specific colony. The use of local civic types instead of the ones reflecting the Roman State placed the colonies firmly within the network of Greek cities in the provinces, and this enabled the colonies to promote their distinct identities and advertise their illustrious achievements both in the past and in the present in line with the common practice of their neighbouring Greco-Roman cities. Roman colonies founded in European Greece and Asia Minor almost immediately adopted the religious cults of the region and embraced local mythologies. This paved the way for a wholesale take-over of Hellenistic and Classical conventions in the choice of their coin types. This process can be observed from the late republican and Julio-Claudian eras, but became particularly marked in the second century AD. By this period, although they did not erase all traces of their Roman origins, the colonies followed the same ideological and political trends as the rest of the eastern cities.

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