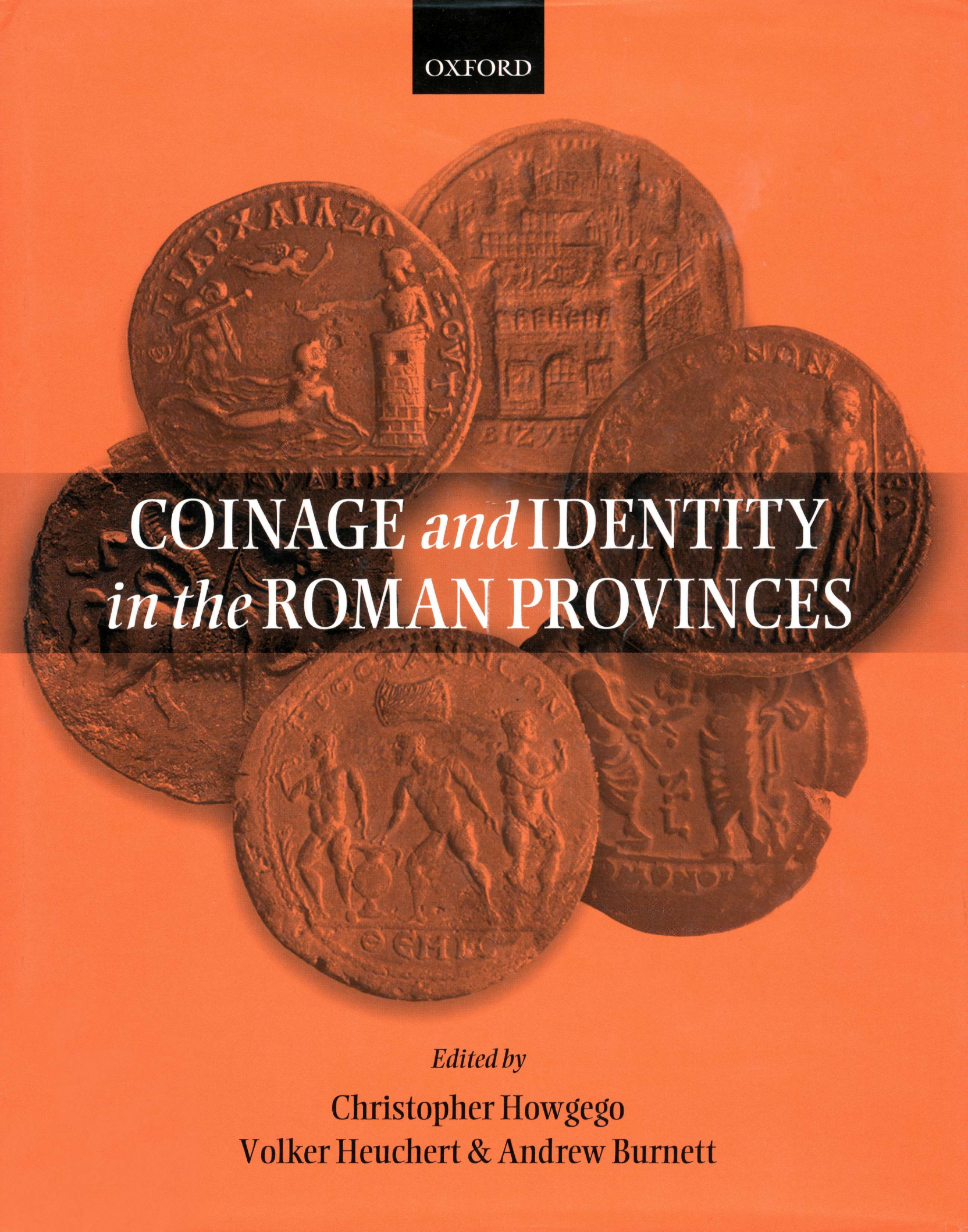


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The background of the cover features several ancient Roman coins, likely aurei or aureliani, scattered across the surface. The coins are dark and show various designs, including figures, architectural structures, and inscriptions in Latin and Greek. One prominent coin in the upper left shows a figure holding a staff and another figure seated on a throne. Another coin in the center shows a building with columns. The coins are set against a warm, orange-brown background.

COINAGE *and* IDENTITY
in the ROMAN PROVINCES

Edited by

Christopher Howgego

Volker Heuchert & Andrew Burnett

*COINAGE AND IDENTITY
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7

‘BELONGING’ TO ROME, ‘REMAINING’ GREEK: COINAGE AND IDENTITY IN ROMAN MACEDONIA

Sophia Kremydi-Sicilianou

DURING A PERIOD WHEN THE WESTERN world, and especially Europe, has been undergoing radical changes, the concept and definition of ‘identity’ has naturally attracted the interest of sociologists, historians, and political scientists alike. This tendency has influenced classical studies and the way we approach ancient civilizations. Archaeologists, for example, tend to become more cautious concerning the connection between material civilization and ethnic identity, and the ‘objectivity’ of the available evidence, whether literary or material, is now often scrutinized.¹ One of the main interests—but also difficulties—of this perspective is that it requires interdisciplinary research:² in order to understand how private individuals, or social groups, perceived ‘themselves’, in other words what they considered as crucial for differentiating themselves from ‘others’, one cannot rely on partial evidence. Can, for example, the adoption of Roman names by members of the provincial elite be conceived as an adoption of Roman cultural identity? Other literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence clearly shows that this was not the case.³

The Roman empire was a state that incorporated many ethnic groups, with different political institutions and various religious beliefs. In this sense it is natural that contemporary studies on cultural identity have, to a large extent, concentrated on the imperial period. And a good many of them are dedicated to the interpretation of literary texts. The contribution of coinage to the understanding of identity under the Roman empire is what this book is about, and Howgego has set the general framework in his introduction. Before trying to explore what coins can contribute to our understanding of the civic identity of Macedonian cities, it is crucial to bear in mind the restrictions imposed by the nature of our material. It is clear that coin types represent deliberate choices made by certain individuals who possessed the authority to act in the name of the civic community they represented. Whose identity therefore do these coins reflect? Under the late Republic and the imperial period provincial cities possessed a restricted autonomy but were always subjected to Roman political authority. Their obligations towards Rome or their special privileges could vary according to the emperor’s will. The ruling elite who governed these cities, therefore, were not only keen on keeping good relations with Roman authorities but often competed against each other in their honours to the imperial

¹ Jones (1997: 106–27); Woolf (1998 125–30).

² Laurence (1998) stresses the importance of collaboration between historians and archaeologists in order to define cultural identity within the Roman empire.

³ Rizakis (forthcoming).

family. It is evident that under these circumstances anything proclaimed by civic issues was chosen with the intention of pleasing or, at least, of not opposing Rome. A very obvious example derives from choices made concerning religious issues. Although coins constitute an especially valuable source in the study of local cults, only 'officially' accepted cults were ever depicted; should coins be our only source we would be totally ignorant, for example, of the rising importance of Christianity under the early Empire, or even of the presence of Jewish communities in many provincial cities of the Roman East.⁴

In 148 BC, twenty years after the defeat of Perseus and the abolition of the monarchy, Macedonia was turned into a large border province.⁵ After the separation from Achaëa, Moesia, and Thrace under the early Empire, Macedonia was limited to its historical borders, as established by Philip II, with the inclusion of Illyria.⁶ These two parts preserved their distinct ethnic and cultural identity, and it is worth noting that both the Macedonian Koinon and the Macedonian era are attested only in Macedonia proper.⁷ Given this diversity and since coin evidence for Illyria is limited to a few issues of the city of Apollonia,⁸ we have decided to concentrate in this paper on the territory of Macedonia, rather than on the province as a whole.

'Belonging' to Rome: Elements of Integration into the Empire

Provincial cities were communities of variable size and importance, which, at least in the East, had existed long before the Romans arrived. Local institutions, cults, traditions, and languages persisted and continued to generate emblems of civic identity under Roman rule. They characterized cities or regions and distinguished them from others. But all these communities, with their differences and similarities, were

⁴ On this issue see Goodman, Chapter 14 below. For Jewish communities in Macedonia see: Tataki (1988: 454–5); Brocke (2001: 214–33); Koukouvou (1999).

⁵ On the formation of the province: Papazoglou (1979: 302–8).

⁶ On the borders of the province of Macedonia: Papazoglou (1979: 328–38) and (1988: 74–98).

⁷ Papazoglou (1998) summarizes all previous discussion on the subject.

⁸ *RPC* I: 1501, 1502. On the late Hellenistic coinage of Apollonia: Gjongecaj and Picard (1998) and *idem* (2000). On the absence of a coinage for Dyrrhachium: *RPC* I, p. 289.

still dependent on, and belonged to, a much larger unity, the Roman state. This double 'belonging' to a local community and to the dominant Roman state formed an essential characteristic of civic identity, which can be traced through many aspects of material culture, not least through coinage. Coins illustrate very vividly the cities' official attitude towards Roman political authority; our research has shown that in Macedonia this differed substantially between Greek cities and Roman colonies, at least under the early Empire. Coins can also contribute to our understanding of whether and to what extent colonists retained their own cultural identity or were assimilated into their new cultural environment; apparently this could vary according to the individual conditions. The relationship between the rulers and the ruled clearly affected both sides and led to a fusion of Roman and local cultures to such an extent that it becomes increasingly difficult to draw a dividing line between them. In practice, elements of Roman and Greek (or other local) identity could coexist within an individual, a city, or even a cult. In this paper we shall attempt to use coin evidence as a medium for defining identity from this perspective.

Roman Denominations and Regional Identity

Before turning to iconography, it might perhaps be appropriate to examine the denominational system of Macedonian coins. This aspect can also contribute to defining identity, since it embraces a deliberate choice on the part of the issuing authority as to which denominational system to follow. Certainly such choices were mostly imposed by practical considerations, such as what denominations were traditional in the region, but differences in the monetary pattern can also be seen as expressions of regional identity. Since the minting of gold was restricted to Roman imperial issues, it is the local bronze⁹ and silver which requires consideration. Provincial issues consisted mainly of bronze coins, which circulated locally. Nevertheless, in certain provinces, silver issues continued to be produced, sometimes down to the third century; these followed local denominations although

⁹ The term has been used generally since the distinction between different alloys such as orichalcum, copper, and brass did not have the same importance for distinguishing between denominations on provincial coinage as it had on Roman.

they had to be exchangeable with Roman denarii. The survival of local silver denominations in the provinces of Asia, Syria, and Egypt was accompanied by the survival of Greek denominations for the bronze.

In mainland Greece the minting of local silver was exceptionally rare. Apart from a small second-century issue on an uncertain standard from Nikopolis,¹⁰ no other silver coins have survived. The use of local denominations (obols) for the bronze is attested at Thessaly under Augustus,¹¹ at Aegion in the Peloponnese,¹² and, probably, at Athens.¹³ No such evidence exists for Macedonia. Hoard evidence and site finds indicate that the only silver currency that circulated in this province was issued in Rome,¹⁴ and epigraphic evidence attests the exclusive use of denarii and assaria.¹⁵ The conclusion, therefore, that Macedonian bronze issues followed the Roman denominational system, from the period of the Triumviri, seems inescapable. Furthermore, these coins were larger and heavier than those produced in both Achaea and Asia Minor and resembled more closely the Roman as. This led the authors of *RPC I* to the conclusion that 'Macedonia looks to Italy, whereas Achaea looks east.'¹⁶ It is interesting to note that the coins of the colony of Philippi, according to all evidence the most 'Roman' city in the region, were the largest and heaviest of all.

Perception of Roman Political Authority: 'Greek' and 'Colonial' Perspectives

In Roman times it was believed that the Greeks had deified Macedonian kings even before the time of Alexander the Great. Aelius Aristides states that when Philip withdrew his garrisons from the city, the Amphipolitans 'sacrificed to him as a god' and the same author mentions that 'the temple of his father (Amyntas)' was erected at Pydna.¹⁷ It is not evident that the Greeks of the fourth century BC shared Aristides' perception and it is debatable whether the

Macedonians themselves had adopted this attitude.¹⁸ But by Hellenistic times the cult of the *hegemones* had spread throughout the Greek East and was a common aspect of civic identity. Despite the substitution of their political authority by the Romans, civic communities continued to honour their rulers in a similar way. As early as the second century BC the Roman state was honoured through the worship of Roma, often combined with that of the *Romaioi euergetai*.

The cult of Roma offers an excellent paradigm of how the Greeks perceived Roman authority. Her deification was a Greek invention that derived from Hellenistic ruler cult.¹⁹ In Macedonia her worship was probably introduced after the defeat of Perseus in 168 BC²⁰ and flourished until at least the second century AD. Epigraphic evidence is spread all over the province; from Eordaia in western Macedonia,²¹ Thessalonike,²² and Kalindoia in the Chalkidike,²³ as well as from Maroneia²⁴ and Abdera²⁵ which were incorporated into the province of Thrace, we find inscriptions naming her cult. She was always worshipped together with other deities such as Zeus Eleutherios, Zeus and Augustus or the *Romaioi euergetai*.

Numismatic evidence completes the picture: the image of Roma was first introduced on Hellenistic issues of Amphipolis, Thessalonike, Pella (pl. 7.1, 1), and the Macedonian Koinon, and persisted under the Empire on coins of Thessalonike, Amphipolis, and Edessa. She is depicted standing in military dress at both Thessalonike²⁶ (pl. 7.1, 2) and Amphipolis,²⁷

¹⁸ For discussion and relevant bibliography: Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1989: 47–8); Hammond (1994: 182–5).

¹⁹ For the cult of Roma, its origin and diffusion see: Mellor (1975); Mellor (1981); and Fayer (1976).

²⁰ Edson (1940: 133–5) proposed a date of 148 BC for the introduction of the cult based on numismatic evidence and following Gaebler's chronology. This was revised by MacKay (1968), also accepted by Mellor (1981: 962).

²¹ Rizakis and Touratsoglou (1985: no. 93): second-century BC inscription from Petres in Eordaia.

²² *IG X*: 2.1, no. 31 (under Augustus); *IG X*: 2.1, no. 32 (first century AD); *IG X*: 2.1, nos. 133 and 226 (second century AD).

²³ Sismanides (1983) for the first edition. *BullÉpigr.* 1987: 688; *SEG* 35 (1985): 744, with text. On this decree see also Koonce (1988) and Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1992: 77–80).

²⁴ *SEG* 24 (1969: no. 636).

²⁵ Avezou and Picard (1913: 138–40).

²⁶ *RPC I*: 1602 (under Nero).

²⁷ *AMNG* 3.2: 39–40, nos. 61, 62, 70. The figure on the obverse of no. 70 is Roma and not Augustus, as described by Gaebler. These are all issues of uncertain date since they do not bear a portrait. No. 70 is possibly second-century, while nos. 61 and 62 are probably third-century issues.

¹⁰ Oeconomidou (1975: 93–4).

¹¹ Helly (1997).

¹² Kroll (1996).

¹³ Kroll (1993: 89–91, 330–1) revised in Kroll (1997b).

¹⁴ Touratsoglou (1993: tables 2a, 2b). A recent find of denarii buried in 42 BC has been published by Adam-Veleni (2000).

¹⁵ The term *δηνάριον* is very common in Macedonian inscriptions. For *ἀσσάριον* see: *CRAI* (1939: 221–30) for Derriopos, and Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos (1998: 101–9, no. 7, l. 32) for Beroia.

¹⁶ *RPC I*, pp. 287–8.

¹⁷ Aristid., *Or.* 38 (*Symmach.* A), 480. 10–15.

whereas at Edessa she is seated on a rock and a shield, holding a statuette of Victory and crowned by the city-goddess²⁸ (pl. 7.1, 3). The seated Roma was introduced at Edessa during the reign of Hadrian and it is possible that the selection of the type reflected the introduction of the cult of 'Roma Aeterna' in Rome.²⁹

The imperial cult replaced earlier hegemonic cults after the establishment of the Principate. Although coins are usually silent on this aspect of civic life, Macedonian issues bear direct evidence for the worship of emperors, sometimes even during their lifetime. The deification of Augustus is attested by a small and somewhat ambiguous issue produced at Thessalonike during his lifetime.³⁰ Epigraphic evidence is more abundant and derives from Kalindoia³¹ and Akanthos,³² two cities with important Roman communities in the Chalkidike. The cult of 'Divus Iulius' was also introduced under Augustus. His temple was erected at Thessalonike³³ and his portrait was accompanied by the inscription $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ on issues of the same city that bore the portrait of Augustus on the reverse (pl. 7.1, 4).³⁴ This should certainly be understood as an indirect way to honour Octavian after his defeat of Antony and the establishment of his authority in the East.³⁵ Both Thessalonike and Amphipolis chose to depict Livia on issues of her son Tiberius and accompanied her image with inscriptions such as $\Theta\epsilon\alpha \Lambda\iota\beta\iota\alpha$ or $\text{IOY\Upsilon\Lambda\text{I}\text{A} \Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\eta \Theta\epsilon\alpha}$ (pl. 7.1, 5).³⁶ Iconographically she was

represented as Juno or Ceres.³⁷ Following Augustus and Livia, Caligula was also given divine honours on Macedonian coins during his lifetime. An issue of Amphipolis depicting the emperor on horseback was accompanied by the unequivocal inscription $\Gamma\text{K}\alpha\iota\sigma\alpha\rho \Gamma\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\text{n}\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma \Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma \Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (pl. 7.1, 6).³⁸

The evidence presented above derives from official documents of Greek cities and mostly from cities which enjoyed the status of *civitas libera*. Amphipolis, Thessalonike, Abdera, and Maroneia were all free cities with special privileges, whereas Edessa was probably a *civitas foederata*. The coinages of Amphipolis and Thessalonike not only offer direct evidence for divine honours attributed to living emperors through their legends, but they also display a variety of types honouring the emperor and his family on their issues. At Amphipolis, especially, reverses often depicted imperial representations, such as that of Augustus being crowned by a male figure (pl. 7.1, 7),³⁹ Caligula or Trajan riding on horseback (pl. 7.1, 6),⁴⁰ the emperor standing in military dress,⁴¹ or even the emperor with his foot on a prow.⁴² These are mostly representations of emperors as military conquerors and could perhaps be understood as copies of imperial statues. These quite exceptional honorary types were dominant during the Julio-Claudian period but still survived in the second century. Thessalonike, on the other hand, displays a great variety of images representing minor members of the imperial family during the same period. References to Livia, Gaius, and Tiberius under Augustus,⁴³ to Germanicus and Antonia under Claudius,⁴⁴ to Antonia and Britannicus under Claudius,⁴⁵ or to Agrippina under Nero,⁴⁶ show that the city was anxious to proclaim her fidelity to the imperial house.

Roman cities in Macedonia adopted a different attitude towards Roman political authority on their coinage and other official documents. Unlike Greek cities their coins and public decrees avoid all reference to the divinity of the ruling emperor. The type of the seated Livia holding a patera and a sceptre on coins of Tiberius

²⁸ AMNG 3.2: 62–3, nos. 1, 2, 4, 5. For discussion of the type: Papaefthymiou (2002: 197–8).

²⁹ On 'Roma Aeterna' in Rome: Mellor (1981: 1016–17).

³⁰ RPC I: 1563. For discussion: RPC I, p. 298 and Touratsoglou (1988: 28, notes 11, 12).

³¹ For the decree of Kalindoia see above, note 23. The city honoured a certain Apollonios, priest of 'Zeus, Rome, and Caesar' for benefactions such as sacrificing to Zeus and the emperor, holding festivals in their honour, and erecting a statue of the living emperor, who in l. 38 is explicitly called $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$. For the identification of the statue: Hatzopoulos Loukopoulou (1992: 80) and especially Karanastassi (1995: 215–21), who discusses the Hellenistic origin of the cuirassed-type statue and its wide dispersion in the Eastern part of the Empire, including numismatic evidence. For the location and status of Kalindoia: Papazoglou (1988: 217–18). A temple of the imperial cult where the statue of Augustus would have been erected has been discovered recently: Sismanides (forthcoming).

³² An altar to the deified Augustus was erected by the city at Akanthos. First published by Tod (1918: 85–6, no. 13). Included in SEG I (1923: no. 282). For further bibliography: SEG 38 (1988: no. 578); BullÉpigr. (1989: no. 466).

³³ IG X: 2.1, no. 31. Edson (1940: 127–9). For recent discussion and bibliography: Voutiras (1999: 1339–40 and notes 51–2).

³⁴ RPC I: 1554–5.

³⁵ An era of Antony is attested on inscriptions from Thessalonike, but Antony's name was sometimes erased after his defeat: IG X: 2.1, nos 83, 109, 124.

³⁶ RPC I: 1634 (Amphipolis); RPC I: 1563 (Thessalonike).

³⁷ RPC I: 1566, 1569 (Thessalonike).

³⁸ RPC I: 1637.

³⁹ RPC I: 1627–8.

⁴⁰ RPC I: 1637 (Caligula) and AMNG 3.2: no. 79 (Trajan).

⁴¹ RPC I: 1639–40 (Claudius) and RPC I: 1641–2 (Nero).

⁴² RPC II: 337 (Vespasian) and AMNG 3.2: no. 67 (probably second century AD).

⁴³ RPC I: 1563–5.

⁴⁴ RPC I: 1572–5.

⁴⁵ RPC I: 1581–8.

⁴⁶ RPC I: 1591, 1604–6.

from the colony of Dium (pl. 7.1, 8), which could perhaps be understood as a deification of the empress, was actually a copy from Roman issues.⁴⁷ Besides, unlike the types at Thessalonike and Amphipolis, it was never accompanied by an explicit legend referring to her worship. The *municipium* of Stobi offers interesting epigraphic evidence on the matter. This includes three Latin inscriptions with the very unusual formula 'Deo Caesari' referring to Augustus, Domitian, and Commodus. But, unlike the inscriptions discussed above, these were private dedications and not civic decrees.⁴⁸ Furthermore, iconographic types honouring the emperor are much rarer on colonial issues. A notable exception is the statuary type of Augustus crowned by Divus Iulius on the coinage of Philippi (pl. 7.1, 9). But it is significant that whereas on issues produced during his lifetime the emperor is named 'Aug(ustus) Divi F(ilius)', after Claudius this is altered to 'Div(us) Aug(ustus)'.⁴⁹ For Roman citizens emperors were deified only after their death. Roman cities in Macedonia seem to have been consistent in following official Roman policy on this matter.

Unlike the Greek cities, Roman colonies in Macedonia often referred to local political authorities on their coins. The founders of Cassandrea and Philippi in the late 40s BC, Quintus Hortensius Hortalus, Proconsul of Macedonia (pl. 7.1, 10), and Quintus Paquius Rufus, Legatus of Antony, respectively, were the first Roman officials to be commemorated on Macedonian coinage of the period under consideration. Their names and titles dominated the colonial issues and were inscribed on all denominations. Both the inscriptions and the iconographic types concentrate on the colonial foundation and its rituals.⁵⁰ Under the Empire, colonial issues bore the names of the supreme local magistrates, the *duumviri quinquennales*. These were very often inscribed on issues of Augustus and Tiberius⁵¹ (pl. 7.1, 11) and

reveal that the *duumviri* mentioned were, with one exception, Romans of Italian origin.⁵² These officials, who were probably also responsible for the issuing of the coins, emphasized their name to the extent of omitting the city-ethnic. The iconography of their issues concentrates on foundation rituals, imperial themes, and the games they organized and sponsored. No references to colonial magistrates appeared on coins struck after the reign of Tiberius.

Roman Cults and Colonial Identity

In Macedonia colonists were settled in pre-existing cities where Roman political institutions were imposed. The simultaneous survival of Greek institutions and the existence therefore of 'double communities' in these cities⁵³ has been challenged on serious grounds, although it cannot be completely ruled out.⁵⁴ *Opinio communis* now tends to accept that apart from a very few nobles of the Greek *polis* that received Roman citizenship and were integrated into the colony at the time of its foundation, the majority of the population continued to live deprived of their political rights. A bilingual dedication found at Dium identifies these people as *incolae* or *πάροικοι*.⁵⁵ But cultural institutions, such as the gymnasium, are known to have survived, for example at Cassandrea,⁵⁶ something that points to the existence of a mixed Graeco-Roman elite in this colony.

Unlike Corinth and Patras in Achaea, which were important ports and cosmopolitan commercial centres, colonies in Macedonia were relatively small towns, with an agricultural economy. At the time of their foundation Roman merchants were already established in other, larger cities, and were organized in communities within the Greek cities.⁵⁷ Colonists

⁵² Lucius Rusticelius Basterna (*RPC* I: 1536–9) bears a cognomen, which reveals a Roman citizen of Germanic origin: Sutherland (1941: 80–1). For the improbable attribution of these coins to Dium: Kremydi-Sicilianou (1996: 155–63 and 286–7). It has been suggested recently that, in some cases, these magistrates belonged to wealthy families of *negotiatores* already established in the province, who were incorporated into the colonies as prominent members of its leading class: Rizakis (2003).

⁵³ Proposed by Edson (1975).

⁵⁴ Mitchell (1979: 437–8); Rizakis (1989: 193); Papazoglou (1990a: 114). For the possibility of an existence of a 'double community' at Cassandrea: Papazoglou (1988: 426 and note 65).

⁵⁵ *SEG* 34 (1984); Panderimalis (1984: 277); Papazoglou (1990a: 123–4). On *incolae* and *πάροικοι* in the Roman East see: Rizakis (1998).

⁵⁶ Samsart's (1987: 426–7). Rizakis (2003). On a *γυμνασίαρχος* of a private cultural association at Philippi in the third century: Lemérle (1935).

⁵⁷ On the *conventus civium Romanorum* in Macedonia: Rizakis (2001); Loukopoulou (1996); Papazoglou (1979: 356–7).

⁴⁷ *RPC* I: 1506. For the Roman prototype: Kremydi-Sicilianou (1996: 41).

⁴⁸ Papazoglou (1990b: 214–17, no. 2); Papazoglou (1988: 315–17) for the status of Stobi as a *municipium* under Augustus.

⁴⁹ *RPC* I: 1650 (Augustus), 1653 (Claudius), 1655 (Nero); *RPC* II: 345 (Domitian); *AMNG* 3.2: 103, no. 18 (Commodus).

⁵⁰ *RPC* I: 1509–11 (Hortensius), 1646–9 (Rufus). For the coinage of Hortensius also see: Kremydi-Sicilianou (1998/9). For Roman quaestores on earlier, Hellenistic, coins: *AMNG* 3.1: 66–70, nos. 202–12 and Bauslaugh (2000).

⁵¹ Issues in the names of the *duumviri* survive from Pella (*RPC* I: 1548–50) and Dium (*RPC* I: 1504–5). Other colonial issues remain of uncertain attribution since they do not bear an ethnic (*RPC* I: 1528–44).

were later settled in towns where land was available for distribution. It cannot be a coincidence that Pella, once the capital of the kingdom, Diium, the cultural capital, and Cassandrea, a foundation of King Cassander, are known to have been surrounded by royal lands, confiscated after the Roman conquest. Philippi, on the other hand, was a very small town surrounded by a large plain on the borders of the province. These four colonies never expanded to rival cities such as Thessalonike, capital of the province, or Beroia, seat of the Koinon.

References to Roman cults on colonial issues provide interesting evidence on the cultural identity of these cities. We have already stressed that numismatic evidence should be interpreted with caution since it does not necessarily reflect an objective picture of the communities' religious beliefs.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, it certainly illustrates deliberate choices made by the city elite, in other words it demonstrates what *they* considered essential for their cities' identity. In Macedonia, numismatic references to Roman cults and mythology are rare. But each city is a different case and, although general trends can certainly be outlined, one should always be aware of individual identities. Philippi, for example, was according to all the evidence the most 'Romanized' city in Macedonia.⁵⁹ This conclusion is also corroborated by numismatic iconography since Roman cults were dominant on its coins. *Victoria Augusta* was the main obverse type for the 'pseudo-autonomous' issues⁶⁰ (pl. 7.1, 12) and *Fortuna*, another Roman military deity, was depicted on third-century issues.⁶¹ Inscriptions and other archaeological evidence also attest the preponderance of these cults at Philippi,⁶² which can probably be related to the fact that the city was not only a military colony in the first place, but continued to provide soldiers for the Roman army during the Empire.⁶³ The same is the case at Stobi, where variations of *Victoria* types were abundant on the city coinage (pl. 7.2, 13).⁶⁴ Numismatic evidence

therefore seems to suggest that these cities were keen on proclaiming their military profile as an aspect of their civic identity. And it is worth noting that apart from the Thracian Hero Avlonites, no other local cult is found on issues of Philippi.

But Philippi was clearly an exception in Macedonia. At Pella numismatic reference to Roman cults was restricted to Augustan issues depicting *Pax* and *Spes*. The female head accompanied by the inscription *PACIS* on the foundation issue of Pella⁶⁵ is clearly copied from the Roman denarii of Octavian.⁶⁶ *Pax*,⁶⁷ the goddess who guaranteed Peace for the Empire, was another conception of Augustan ideology and her importance was underlined by the erection of the monumental *Ara Pacis Augustae* in Rome. Her presence on colonial issues with the ploughing scene on the reverse can be understood as a tribute to the emperor, who by his effective policy permitted Roman expansion through peaceful colonization. If *Pax* was an 'official' cult, *Spes* was originally a 'popular' cult, incorporated into imperial ideology by Augustus.⁶⁸ Her presence on an Augustan issue of Pella⁶⁹ is interesting because it is exceptionally rare. *Spes* is never otherwise encountered on coins, imperial or provincial, before the reign of Claudius,⁷⁰ and the case of Pella remains unique. References to Roman Virtues however were very soon abandoned and the city turned to the representation of local cults as symbols of her identity.

Cassandrea and Diium, on the other hand, never depicted Roman deities on their coins. References to local cults were displayed already on late Republican and Augustan issues, and they became increasingly popular during the second and third centuries. This, corroborated by other evidence, such as the progressive replacement of Latin by Greek, especially on private monuments, indicates that colonial identity was being gradually transformed, and that these originally Roman cities became integrated into

⁵⁸ Levick (1967: 131–2) discusses the 'subjectivity' of this evidence.

⁵⁹ On urban planning: Étienne *et al.* (1994). On onomastics and language: Papazoglou (1990a: 117–18). On cults: Collart (1937: 389 ff.). On weight standard see the section 'Roman Denominations and Regional Identity', above.

⁶⁰ *RPC* I: 1651, 1652; Kremydi-Sicilianou (2002).

⁶¹ *SNG* Cop. 311; Amandry (1998: 26, no. 4; 27, no. 8).

⁶² For dedications to *Victoria* and *Fortuna*: Pilhofer (2000: nos. 224 and 251).

⁶³ Sarikakis (1977); Papazoglou (1979: 338–52).

⁶⁴ *AMNG* 3.2: 112–13, nos. 9, 14, 15; Josifovski (2001).

⁶⁵ *RPC* I: 1529 dated to 25 BC.

⁶⁶ *RIC* I²: 59, no. 253.

⁶⁷ For sources, iconography, and relevant bibliography see: *LIMC* 7.1, s.v. *Pax* by E. Simon.

⁶⁸ Clark (1983). For sources, iconography, and relevant bibliography see: *LIMC* 7.1, s.v. *Spes* (F. W. Hamdorf).

⁶⁹ *RPC* I: 1549; Clark (1983: 84).

⁷⁰ For *Spes* on Roman coins: *LIMC* 7.1, s.v. *Spes*, cat. nos. 8 ff. (F. W. Hamdorf). The earliest representations of *Elpis* in *RPC* is a Claudian issue from Lycia (*RPC* I: 3337) and Neronian issue of Alexandria (*RPC* I: 5212), whereas no other representations of *Spes* are found.

their Greek surroundings.⁷¹ Intermarriage between colonists and natives and the extension of Roman citizenship, and therefore the right to participate in public affairs, to people who were ‘culturally’ Greek had this integrating effect. But still, Roman political institutions persisted and Latin was never abandoned for the legends of colonial coins (contrast the use of Greek by some Severan and later *coloniae* in the Near East).⁷²

‘Remaining’ Greek: Persistent Elements of Local Identity

The sense of ‘belonging’ to the Roman state, a multi-cultural empire unified by political authority, central administration, and military power, was, to a certain extent, expressed on provincial coins and has been discussed in the sections above. The choice of the Macedonian cities and the Macedonian Koinon, on the other hand, to define themselves through their ‘own’ local traditions is also obvious on their coinage. Although these choices depended, to a certain extent, upon the cities’ status, coinage indicates that emphasis on local identity increased between the first and the third centuries, and gradually minimized differences between Greek cities and Roman colonies. In the following sections we shall try to examine how local cults and local institutions were illustrated on Macedonian coinage. Comparison of coins with other, mostly epigraphic, evidence can be revealing: Greek magistrates or local institutions which are known to have existed from other sources were avoided on Macedonian coins. Cities’ honorary titles were also neglected on coin legends before the third century, even though, in some cases, they had been granted earlier.

The Survival and Transformation of Hellenistic Institutions

Macedonian cities had always been subordinate to the King and therefore they were never independent ‘city-states’ as were the Greek *poleis*. But by the end of the fourth century BC at least, they possessed an important degree of autonomy and institutions for

their self-administration, such as a *Boule*, a *Demos*, and a number of elected magistrates.⁷³ Despite their transformations, these institutions survived under the Empire, but they were very rarely mentioned on coins. Unlike colonial issues, which bear the names of the *duumviri quinquennales* at least until the reign of Tiberius, Greek civic issues in Macedonia never bore the names of local magistrates. Such names were often inscribed on provincial issues both in Asia and in Achaia. The most characteristic examples from neighbouring Achaia include the Thessalian League, Chalkis, Thebes, and Sparta, cities where magistrates were often named on Hellenistic issues.⁷⁴ This practice had never existed in Macedonia since coinage had remained under royal supervision, even in the second century BC when Amphipolis, Pella, and Thessalonike were allowed to produce their own coins.⁷⁵ Whether Roman control over provincial issues in Macedonia remained stronger than elsewhere it is impossible to say.

References to local institutions, other than the magistracies, were rare on Macedonian issues as they were all over the Roman East. It is interesting that only at Amphipolis, a free city with a large degree of autonomy, do we find the inscription $\Delta\text{H}\text{M}\text{O}\Sigma$ $\text{A}\text{M}\Phi\text{I}\text{Π}\text{O}\Lambda\text{I}\text{T}\Omega\text{N}$ instead of the usual $\text{A}\text{M}\Phi\text{I}\text{Π}\text{O}\Lambda\text{I}\text{T}\Omega\text{N}$ on the reverse of an Augustan issue (pl. 7.2, 14).⁷⁶ And it can be no coincidence that local cults were already being depicted at Amphipolis during the reign of Augustus, something that was not common on early imperial issues from Macedonia, as will be shown below. More than any other Macedonian city, Amphipolis seems to have emphasized her Greek cultural identity under the Empire. This, at least, is the picture reflected by numismatic evidence but, for the time being, it cannot be corroborated by other sources, since archaeological and epigraphic *testimonia* for Roman Amphipolis remain scarce.

Although coins offer little evidence on the survival, abolition, or transformation of most Hellenistic institutions under the Empire, the bronze coinage of the Macedonian Koinon illustrates the function of an institution that had its roots in Hellenistic Macedonia.

⁷³ Papazoglou (1983) and Hatzopoulos (1996: esp. 127–65) with earlier bibliography.

⁷⁴ RPC I: 1428, 1430–52 (*strategoi* at the Thessalian League); RPC I: 1345–6, 1349–54 (*strategoi* and *epimeletes* at Chalkis); RPC I: 1334–7 (*archiereus* at Thebes); RPC I: 1102–7, 1109–11, 1113 (local rulers at Sparta).

⁷⁵ Touratsoglou (1987). ⁷⁶ RPC I: 1630.

⁷¹ For Greek and Roman influences in Corinth see: König (2001: 146–53) with bibliography. ⁷² Millar (1990).

Coins in the name of the 'Macedonians' (*ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ*) were first issued during the reigns of Philip V and Perseus, and the Macedonian shield and helmet were the main types on the silver (pl. 7.2, 15).⁷⁷ These, together with inscriptions, are important evidence for the existence both of a Koinon of Macedonian cities and of the Macedonian administrative 'districts' (*μερίδες*) before the Roman conquest (pl. 7.2, 16).⁷⁸ It has been proved that the Koinon was not abolished after the settlement of Aemilius Paulus in 167 BC, although its fate after the creation of the Roman province in c.148 BC remains obscure.⁷⁹ Coins in the name of the 'Macedonians' were still produced during this intermediate period and their iconography does not radically depart from that of the earlier issues.⁸⁰ An iconographic break is to be found on the bilingual tetradrachms issued during the first century BC which still bore the inscription *ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ*, but combined with names of Roman officials in Latin.⁸¹

The Macedonian Koinon was reorganized under the early Empire and, as was the case with all the Koina of this period, was transformed into an institution related to the imperial cult. It was administered by members of the local elite who organized and financed festivals and games out of their own resources, and who were always awarded Roman citizenship.⁸² The Koinon resumed its coinage under Claudius, and the Macedonian shield and the winged thunderbolt, traditional Macedonian symbols, were once again depicted on its coins until the end of the second century AD (pl. 7.2, 17–18).⁸³ The Koinon, a pre-Roman institution *par excellence*, used ethnic symbols to describe its present identity. These symbols reflected a 'revival' of ethnic identity that no longer constituted a menace to Rome.

During the third century the iconography of these issues underwent a radical change and a large variety

of iconographic, mostly agonistic, types were introduced (pl. 7.2, 19). In Macedonia, as elsewhere, the Koinon's main preoccupation was to organize annual festivals in honour of the Emperor, which were often accompanied by popular gladiatorial games. Next to these Greek festivals were also celebrated.⁸⁴ Both the coins of the Koinon and the famous Aboukir medallions reveal that *ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ* were held in Beroia,⁸⁵ probably in memory of the famous games once held at Olympia but also at Dium.⁸⁶ Numismatic and epigraphic evidence also indicates that during the third century the *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ* were celebrated,⁸⁷ and when these coincided with the *ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ* they were celebrated as *ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ*.⁸⁸ The earliest epigraphic attestation for the celebration of the *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ* at Beroia can be dated to the reign of Alexander Severus and precisely to AD 229.⁸⁹ It is possible that these games were inaugurated to honour this very emperor whose claim to 'identification' with the Macedonian king is well known. But an Alexander cult had certainly pre-existed, since numerous 'Alexander' types had emerged on the coinage of the Koinon under Elagabalus, at the time when Beroia received her second *νεωκορία*. These coins often bear the head of Alexander with the explicit inscription *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ* as their obverse type. They are combined with numerous reverses with relevant themes such as 'Alexander taming Bukephalos', 'Alexander leading his horse', 'Olympias and snakes', or 'snakes in a basket', the last referring to the mystic rituals Alexander's mother was known to have favoured. Other types such as the 'Lion and club' (pl. 7.2, 20) or the 'quiver, bow, and club' alluded to royal Macedonian issues.⁹⁰ The glorious Macedonian past was revived and there is evidence of an increased emphasis on Macedonian identity⁹¹ during a period

⁸⁴ For a thorough treatment of Games in Roman Macedonia see: Leschhorn (1998b) with extensive references to coins and inscriptions.

⁸⁵ For 'Ολύμπια on coins: *AMNG* 3.1: 93, no. 320; 177–8, nos. 798–800; 191, nos. 869–71; and 194, no. 880.

⁸⁶ Mari (1998); Mari (2002: 51–60).

⁸⁷ Goumaropoulou and Hatzopoulos (1998: nos. 68, 69) for Alexandria held in AD 229 and 240 in Beroia.

⁸⁸ For *Ολύμπια Αλεξάνδρεια* under Gordian III: *AMNG* 3.1: p. 178 no. 801, and p. 21.

⁸⁹ See above, note 87.

⁹⁰ For 'Alexander' types on the coinage of the Koinon see: *AMNG* 3.1: 12 and 89 ff.

⁹¹ The ethnic 'Macedon' is often used as a name in the second and third centuries AD. Tatakis (1988: 323, no. 403), for Beroia; *IG* X 2.1: nos. 309, 440, 456, 890, 931, for Thessalonike.

⁷⁷ Gaebler (1897) and *AMNG* 3.1: 26–52 and pl. 1.

⁷⁸ The much discussed tetradrachm issue with Artemis Tauropolos and the inscription *ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ* (*AMNG* 3.1, pl. 2, no. 1) can now be dated under the Antigonids and before the Roman conquest. For discussion and bibliography: Hatzopoulos (1996: 250–3).

⁷⁹ Papazoglou (1988: 53–66); Hatzopoulos (1996: 219–30).

⁸⁰ MacKay (1968) (bronze coinage); *AMNG* 3.1, pl. 2, nos. 2–4 (silver coinage).

⁸¹ Bauslaugh (2000) with earlier bibliography.

⁸² On the Koinon under the Empire: Kanatsoulis (1953/5); Deininger (1965: 92–6); Tatakis (1988: 447–8 and 456–96); Papazoglou (1998). On Hadrian and the Koinon: *SEG* 35 (1987: no. 593) discussed by Zahrt (1996: 231).

⁸³ *RPC* I: 1610–18; *RPC* II: 333–4, 336; *AMNG* 3.1: 76–86.

of insecurity when the Empire had to face serious threats on its eastern borders. Wars on these frontiers were compared with Alexander's Persian expedition, and already by the second century the Parthians had been, quite unhistorically, identified with the Persians.⁹²

Games were publicized on coins of the Koinon but also of Thessalonike, where the *ΠΥΘΙΑ* (pl. 7.2, 21), the *ΚΑΒΕΙΡΙΑ*,⁹³ but also the *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ*⁹⁴ were held. Beroia and Thessalonike clearly competed through the organization of their local festivals and at the same time proclaimed their special privileges and honorary titles. Although Beroia is known to have received her first *νεωκορία* as early as the first century,⁹⁵ the title was never mentioned on coins of the Koinon before Diadumenian, whereas a second *νεωκορία* was added during the reign of Elagabalus.⁹⁶ In accordance with epigraphic evidence,⁹⁷ the titles *νεωκόρος*, *μητρόπολις*, or *κολωνία* were advertised on the coins of Thessalonike only after the reign of Gordian III⁹⁸ (pl. 7.2, 22). Civic pride was gradually becoming an important element of civic identity and coins were a suitable medium for its promotion.

The Persistence of Local Cults

It has been stated that references to Roman cults were rather rare on Macedonian issues. Most deities illustrated on coins were local, but it is significant that such themes became much more abundant after the second century AD. Nevertheless, both Greek cities and Roman colonies seem, in some cases, to have chosen to depict local deities on their first-century issues. The head of Ammon on a foundation issue of Cassandrea dated to 44/43 BC (pl. 7.3, 23) is the first-type referring to a local deity to appear on colonial coins,⁹⁹ and iconographic variations of this type persisted on the city's coinage down to the third

century (pl. 7.3, 24).¹⁰⁰ The worship of Ammon is known to have existed in the area around Cassandrea since classical times. A temple to the god is attested at Aphytis, a small city within the territory of Cassandrea.¹⁰¹ But why would the colonists who settled in the area so readily choose to depict this specific cult on their city's issues? The popularity of the Egyptian deities around the eastern Mediterranean is very well known and their worship was enthusiastically adopted by Roman merchants. The importance of the cult at the commercial centre of Delos is indicative and it has been suggested that after the decline of Delos in the first century BC Italian merchants moved to the north together with their cults.¹⁰² At Thessalonike, for example, dedications to Isis and Sarapis by Roman *negotiatores* had been especially abundant since the late Republic,¹⁰³ and inscriptions have shown that the peninsula of Chalkidike with its ports leading to the east attracted the interests of such men, who settled there. It is therefore only natural that the pre-existing sanctuary of Ammon at Aphytis would attract the interest of the Romans since it responded to their cultural preferences and would naturally be used as a coin type by the colonists.

Apart from Ammon, Athena is the only local deity depicted on early colonial coins and she is found on Dium's first issues struck under Augustus (pl. 7.3, 25).¹⁰⁴ She remained the main type on the city's coinage down to the third century and served as an emblem of the city's identity.¹⁰⁵ The reason the Romans chose this divinity as protector of their colony is not so evident as in the case discussed above. Dium and Cassandrea were the only colonies that depicted local cults on their early issues. This tendency is further enforced after the reign of Claudius, an emperor who is known to have encouraged the integration of the locals into Roman

⁹² On the identification of Parthians with Persians in the writings of the Macedonian orator Polyainos see the interesting article of Buraselis (1993/4).
⁹³ Leschhorn (1998b: 406–8).

⁹⁴ Velenis (1999: 1319–20).

⁹⁵ Goumaropoulou and Hatzopoulos (1996: no. 117), with bibliography.

⁹⁶ AMNG 3.1: 119 ff.

⁹⁷ The earliest epigraphic evidence for the titles *μητρόπολις* and *κολωνία* can be dated to the reign of Gordian III and precisely to AD 240/1: IG X 2.1: no. 178.

⁹⁸ At Thessalonike the title *νεωκόρος* is mentioned on coins under Gordian III: Touratsoglou (1988: 265 ff.); *μητρόπολις*, *κολωνία*, and *B νεωκόρος* under Valerian I: Touratsoglou (1988: 304 ff.); and *Γ νεωκόρος* during Gallienus' sole reign: Touratsoglou (1988: 314).

⁹⁹ RPC I: 1511.

¹⁰⁰ AMNG 3.2: 52–5, pl. 13 and 4–7 and pl. 1, nos. 10–11.

¹⁰¹ Plutarch, *Lysander* 20. 4–8. Excavations have revealed the temple, dated probably to the time of Philip II: Misaelidou-Despotidou (1999) with bibliography. Aphytis also struck Hellenistic coins with the head of Ammon: AMNG 3.2: 44–5, pl. 11, nos. 13–23.

¹⁰² Rizakis (2001: 120–2) with bibliography.

¹⁰³ IG X 2.1: nos. 113 and 124.

¹⁰⁴ RPC I: 1504. The type is described as Athena/Roma in RPC but the owl and snakes that appear as attributes of the goddess after the reign of Domitian do not support this identification. Furthermore, Roma was very rarely depicted on colonial issues although she is found, for example, on the coinage of Knossos: RPC I: 978.

¹⁰⁵ Kremydi-Sicilianou (1996: 88–9, 94). On the cult of Athena in Macedonia see: Voutiras (1998: and especially 111–15 for Dium).

citizenship and Roman political institutions.¹⁰⁶ It was during his reign that local types began slowly to emerge, and the case of Diana Baphyria on the 'pseudo-autonomous' issues of Dium offers a good example (pl. 7.3, 26).¹⁰⁷ Baphyria, named after the river that flowed around the city walls, was a local goddess, and her Hellenistic sanctuary has been discovered recently. Readiness to incorporate foreign cults is a distinctive feature of Roman culture and the adoption of the cult of Diana Laphria by colonists at Patras during the reign of Augustus offers a parallel case.

But references to local cults were not only rare on early colonial coins, they were also avoided by Greek cities, with the exception of Amphipolis. At Edessa, coins struck under Augustus and Tiberius were iconographically restricted to the imperial portrait and the inscription of the city ethnic.¹⁰⁸ At Thessalonike, references to the imperial family and to imperial themes dominated the coinage until the end of the first century,¹⁰⁹ and only after Claudius did some very 'neutral' local types, such as the horse, appear on the 'pseudo-autonomous' issues.¹¹⁰ Thessalonike was a *civitas libera* but also capital of the province and seat of the Roman governor, and it is this 'quality' that her coinage reflects. Amphipolis, on the other hand, offers a completely different picture. References to local institutions have already been mentioned and her coinage included a large proportion of 'pseudo-autonomous' issues. Both on these and on coins bearing the imperial portrait local cults were already being depicted during the reign of Augustus. Artemis Tauropolos, encountered earlier on the city's Hellenistic bronzes (pl. 7.3, 27) and on the tetradrachms of the first district (pl. 7.3, 28), remained the main theme on the coins of Amphipolis down to the third century (pls. 7.1, 7; 7.3, 29).¹¹¹ She was a deity of Thracian origin, whose worship is also attested through literary sources and inscriptions,¹¹² and the

building of a monumental temple in her honour was amongst the plans of Alexander.¹¹³ Public documents were published in her sanctuary under the Antigonids¹¹⁴ and the inscription *ΔΗΜΟΣ ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ* on Augustan coins bearing her image may imply that this practice was continued under the early Empire.

The Re-emergence of Local Cults

Although references to local cults remained rather rare during the first century, such types were gradually multiplied on civic issues during the second and third centuries. This trend became typical during the reign of Hadrian and was certainly influenced by the cultural background of the 'Second Sophistic'. The 'Greek Renaissance', as it is often called, is a widely discussed phenomenon that can also be traced through coinage.¹¹⁵ It can be connected both to imperial policy and to the way the Graeco-Roman society had developed. Epigraphic studies concerning Macedonia have shown that by the end of the first century organized Roman communities (*conventus civium Romanorum*) were no longer attested within the Greek *poleis*; the Romans had been gradually integrated into cities whose native population had, to an important extent, received the right to Roman citizenship.¹¹⁶ They had adopted local cults¹¹⁷ and inscriptions reveal that, although Latin remained the official language in the colonies, by the second century Greek was dominant in Macedonia.¹¹⁸ In other words the gradual integration of the Romans into a Hellenic cultural environment and their fusion with the local population led to a more unified society, which turned to the past in order to establish its present identity. Over the centuries Hellenic, or rather Hellenistic, culture had retained its shell but completely changed its content.

The adoption of the type of Zeus at the colony of Dium on coins of Hadrian (pl. 7.3, 30) offers an excellent paradigm of this tendency to represent ancient cults.¹¹⁹ The city of Dium had been the

¹⁰⁶ *ILS* 212 preserves the famous discourse of Claudius on this matter. For literary testimonia: Tacitus, *Annales* II. 24.

¹⁰⁷ *RPC*, Suppl. I, s-1507B. For discussion and dating: Kremydi-Sicilianou (1996: 82–4).¹⁰⁸ *RPC* I: 1518–27.

¹⁰⁹ Touratsoglou (1988: 93–4).

¹¹⁰ *RPC* I: 1607–9 tentatively dated to the reign of Nero. Touratsoglou (1988) proposed a date under Claudius.

¹¹¹ *AMNG* 3.2: 34 ff. (on Hellenistic issues of Amphipolis); *AMNG* 3.1: 53 ff. (on coins of the first district); *AMNG* 3.2: 38 ff. and *RPC* I: 1626 ff., *RPC* II: 338–41 (on provincial issues of Amphipolis).

¹¹² On the cult of Artemis Tauropolos at Amphipolis: Papastavru (1936: 38 n. 5, 42, 51–2).

¹¹³ Diodorus Siculus 18. 4. 5.

¹¹⁴ Hatzopoulos (1996: ii, nos. 9 and 29), with bibliography.

¹¹⁵ On Hadrian and Macedonia see: Papaefthymiou (2001).

¹¹⁶ For the development of the society of Beroia under the Romans: Tatakis (1988: 437–513 and esp. 457).

¹¹⁷ For the adoption of the cult of Palaimon by colonists at Corinth: Piérart (1998).

¹¹⁸ Papazoglou (1990a). Rizakis (2003).

¹¹⁹ Kremydi-Sicilianou (1996: 48–51, 279, pl. 6, no. 20).

sanctuary of the Macedonians where Zeus Olympios was worshipped and where the 'Olympia' had once been held under the auspices of the kings.¹²⁰ The colonists, however, avoided this type on their early issues, and it was incorporated into numismatic iconography only under Hadrian. The inscription HADRIANO OLYMPIO on the obverse of these coins, combined with the statue that the colony dedicated to Hadrian Olympios at the Olympieion in Athens,¹²¹ reveal that the city actively honoured the emperor. The decision to depict Zeus was both an allusion to the cities' Hellenic past and a tribute to the emperor who identified himself with the supreme god. Zeus on the coins of Dium is depicted standing, wearing an himation and pouring a libation from a patera held in his right hand. There is no evidence as to whether this type depicted the god as he was once worshipped in the city, but a statue of the same type from the contemporary Nymphaion in Olympia has been identified as Zeus Panhellenios.¹²²

Pella, capital of the Macedonian kingdom since the time of Amyntas, father of Philip and grandfather of Alexander, offers a similar example. After its conversion into a colony under Augustus, the city issued coins bearing Roman themes under the first two emperors. Following a break its coinage was resumed under Hadrian with a completely different iconography: colonial types and references to Roman cults were abandoned and Pan, seated on a rock and holding his syrinx, became the main image on the city's coinage (pl. 7.3, 32).¹²³ This mythological figure had been worshipped at Pella, and his cult was closely related to the Macedonian kings.¹²⁴ He was considered protector of the Antigonids and was a major coin type on their issues,¹²⁵ as well as on the city's Hellenistic bronzes (pl. 7.3, 31).¹²⁶ Both Pella, Macedonia's famous capital, birthplace of Philip and Alexander, and Dium, the kingdom's sacred city, were transformed into Roman colonies, which by the second century emphasized their Hellenic cultural past as an element of their

present identity. It is evident that the numismatic and archaeological material presented should be seen in the cultural context of the creation of the Panhellenion.¹²⁷

If we are allowed to judge from coins, this 'anti-quarianism' that characterized the time of Hadrian became the main trend after the Severi. During the first half of the third century, a large number of new reverse types and varieties were introduced on Macedonian issues. Apart from the numerous agonistic types on the coins of Thessalonike and the Koinon, which have been discussed above, all the rest refer to Greek mythology and to local deities which had been worshipped in Macedonia since her early history. The cities emphasized their ancient and probably 'revived' cults as elements of their present civic identity. The archaic cult of Poseidon is remembered at Cassandrea under Commodus¹²⁸ (pl. 7.3, 33) and Kabeiros emerges as the protector of the city in Thessalonike from the time of the Severi.¹²⁹ Ancient myths such as those of Dionysos raised by the nymph Nysa, or Hades abducting Persephone, are attested at Cassandrea¹³⁰ (pl. 7.3, 34) and Stobi.¹³¹ Although third-century reverse types on Macedonian coins appear at first sight to be of exclusively local significance, a closer look suggests that, in some cases, they could be related to contemporary politics and imperial preferences. The appearance of Asklepios at Dium¹³² (pl. 7.3, 35) and of Dionysos at Edessa¹³³ under the Severi should probably be linked to the emperors' special relation with these deities. It is equally difficult to escape the conclusion that coinage of Stobi under Caracalla with a seated Zeus holding a Victory and a sceptre,¹³⁴ which clearly recalls the type on the famous Alexander tetradrachms, reflects the emperor's predilection for the Macedonian king. In some cases therefore, civic communities chose to depict types which would honour the reigning

¹²⁷ For the Panhellenion see Jones (1996) with earlier bibliography.

¹²⁸ *AMNG* 3.2: 53, 10, pl. 13, no. 9. For the archaic city of Potidaea over which Cassandrea was founded, see Alexander (1963). For coins of Potidaea bearing the type of Poseidon: *AMNG* 3.2: 130–5, pl. 20, nos. 21–5 and Alexander (1953). The worship of Poseidon in Potidaea is also attested by Herodotos 8. 129 and by archaeological research: Vokotopoulou (1993).

¹²⁹ Touratsoglou (1988: 201 ff.). But the type had been used on 'pseudo-autonomous' issues since Domitian: Touratsoglou (1988: 325 ff.).

¹³⁰ *AMNG* 3.2: 54, 12–13, pl. 13, nos. 11–12.

¹³¹ *AMNG* 3.2: 113, 12, pl. 22, no. 5.

¹³² Kremydi-Sicilianou (1996: 91–3) for discussion and archaeological evidence.

¹³³ Papaefthymiou (2002: 181–2); *AMNG* 3.2: 62, 2, pl. 14, no. 5.

¹³⁴ *AMNG* 3.2: 113, 10–11, pl. 21, no. 29; Josifovski (2001: 327 and pl. 45).

¹²⁰ See note 86. ¹²¹ *CIL* III, Suppl. I: 7282 = *CIL* III: 548.

¹²² Bol and Herz (1989). ¹²³ *AMNG* 3.2: 99–100, pl. 19, nos. 23–6.

¹²⁴ Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 35. 62 mentions that Zeuxis had painted a picture of Pan for Archelaos. A statuette of Alexander as Pan has been found and now is held at the museum of Pella: *AD* 18 (1963): *Chronica* 205.

¹²⁵ *AMNG* 3.2: 185–6, 1–3, pl. 34, nos. 1, 3 (tetradrachms of Antigonos Gonatas); 187–8, 6–11, pl. 34, nos. 4, 5, 6 (bronzes of Antigonos Gonatas); 192, 15–16, pl. 34, nos. 27, 28; 194, 29, pl. 35, no. 9 (bronzes of Philip V).

¹²⁶ *AMNG* 3.2: 94, 4, pl. 18, no. 27; 96, 17, pl. 19, no. 17.

emperor, while at the same time preserving the appearance of their civic autonomy.

Conclusion

The kingdom of Macedonia was the first Hellenistic state to become a Roman province. Its occupation was crucial for Roman expansion towards the East, and the Via Egnatia, uniting Italy and Asia, was constructed in the second century BC and continued to be a major route under the Empire. Macedonia never developed to rival provinces such as Asia or Egypt and her coinage was certainly on a more limited scale.

Macedonian cities showed a 'dependence' upon Rome on their early provincial issues by adopting types that honoured the imperial family or reproduced imperial themes. They mostly avoided local elements and often chose 'neutral' images with limited cultural references. Colonists, on the other hand, tended to underline their Italian origins and Roman institutions. It seems that the governing elite in Greek and Roman cities were eager to stress their affinity to Rome. The contrast provided by an exception such as Amphipolis, where local cults and institutions were emphasized at an early date, serves to emphasize the more general pattern.

Within a few generations a new picture started to emerge. Local themes became increasingly abundant, whereas Roman ones were gradually reduced. The first steps towards this evolution can be traced under Claudius when the Macedonian Koinon resumed its

coinage. Local communities started to underline their individual traditions as elements of their civic identity, a tendency that prevailed during the second century and was certainly influenced by contemporary cultural and intellectual trends. The abundance of local themes on Macedonian coinages, especially during the third century, should be understood as a reaction to increasing competition and rivalry between civic communities. Furthermore, iconographic differences between Roman colonies and Greek cities had naturally diminished. In a society where all free people were Roman citizens it is natural that such distinctions had lost much of their validity. And in looking at the evolution of numismatic iconography, one realizes that it is the colonies that tended to depart from their earlier limited choices more than the Greek cities.

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