

ROMAN PHRYGIA: Cities and their Coinage

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Abstract of Thesis

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The principal focus of this thesis is the Upper Maeander Valley in Phrygia, which is now part of modern Turkey, and in particular three cities situated in that region, namely Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae.

The main source used is the coinage produced by these cities with the aim of determining how they viewed their place within the Roman Empire and how they reacted to the realities of Roman rule. Inscriptional, architectural and narrative sources are also used as well as comparative material from other Phrygian and Asian cities.

In order to achieve its aim, the thesis is divided into two parts. Part One details the history of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae and explains the coinage system in use within the province of Asia on a regional and a civic level. The final chapter in the first part of the thesis introduces the theme of the interaction between city, region and empire which is developed more fully in Part Two.

Part Two discusses the types used on the coins of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley in the context of the cultural and religious circumstances of Rome and also in reaction to the organisational and political changes affecting the province of Asia as well as the Empire as a whole.

The main conclusions of the thesis are that the cities of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae were very aware of Rome and of their own status, as well as that of their province, within the Roman Empire especially in the context of ongoing circumstances and developments within the Empire. As a whole, the thesis clearly highlights the ways in which city, region and empire interacted together and shows that studies of particular regions and their coinage deserve more attention than they have hitherto received.

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The Nature of the Problem

The growth of Rome into the greatest power in the Mediterranean was perhaps the most important phenomenon of the Greco-Roman world. It is therefore not surprising that much of the study of the Roman Empire has centred on Rome and its political, social and economic growth and development. For example, after giving a very brief description of the rise of Rome, Appian, in the preface to his *Roman History*, says that such things were described by many writers, both Greek and Roman: καὶ τὰδε πολλοὶ μὲν Ἑλληνῶν πολλοὶ δὲ Ῥωμαίων συνέγραψαν.¹ Appian is among these writers as he starts his work by stating that it is his intention to write a Roman history, τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἱστορίαν.

It is clear that ancient authors freely admitted their interest in Rome and her empire as Polybius' comments also show. In the first book of his *Histories*, he asks what kind of man would not want to know how the Romans brought the Mediterranean world under their sole government and he cannot believe that anyone would regard any other event in history as greater than this.²

This is not to be wondered at or unusual since the lives of both these ancient authors were closely bound up with Rome. Polybius was an Arcadian born in Megalopolis around 208 B.C. In 167, after the defeat of Perseus of Macedon at Pydna, about one thousand Achaeans were shipped to Italy, Polybius among them. Freedom was eventually granted in 151 but by this time the Greek historian had already become acquainted with the influential Romans of the time, for example, Aemilius Paullus, with the result that he became tutor to Paullus' two sons. This heralded the beginning of his famous friendship with Publius Scipio Aemilianus. Polybius is reputed to have been present when Carthage was destroyed in 146 B.C. and to have joined the

¹ Preface, 12.

² I, 5-6.

Roman commander at the siege of Numantia in Spain between 134 and 132.

Appian, a native of Alexandria in Egypt who lived between c A.D. 95 and 165, says that he reached a high social position in his own city and that he pleaded cases before the emperors and was made procurator: 'Αππιανὸς Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἦκων ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ δίκαις ἐν Ῥώμῃ συναγορεύσας ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων, μέχρι με σφῶν ἐπιτροπεῦν ἠξίωσαν.³ To be qualified for the latter status, he must have been a Roman citizen of equestrian rank. The lives of both Polybius and Appian were, in some way, shaped by Rome and it would be only natural that, under such circumstances, ancient authors would concentrate their energies on compiling Roman histories.

The interest in Rome and her empire has continued in the work of modern authors, not least because of the Romanocentric nature of the ancient sources. Of course, the areas which made up the Empire have not been neglected in modern study. For instance, D. Magie, in his work *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* which was published in 1958, says that "the purpose of the book is to present what is known of the expansion of Rome's empire in Asia Minor and the lands adjacent on the East and of her rule over the Asiatic provinces in a study continued to the end of the third century after Christ."⁴ S. Mitchell in his book, *Anatolia*, attempts a comprehensive study of a particular area, this time centring on Galatia and not Asia Minor in general like Magie. The work is divided into three sections dealing separately with the Celts, the Romans and finally the later Roman and Byzantine periods.⁵ Most recently, M. Sartre has returned to a general account of Asia Minor in his book which deals with the history of Asia from the time of Alexander the Great in the fourth century B.C. until the

³ Preface, 15.

⁴ *RRAM*, p. vii.

⁵ This work was published in 1993.

reign of the emperor Diocletian in the third century A.D.⁶

However, the emphasis seems to be on the actions of Rome and the effects these had on the cities which formed part of the Empire. Although Magie claims to present "what is known of the expansion of Rome's empire in Asia Minor", his book concentrates on what the ruling authorities did in the area for both the Republican and Imperial periods and not on the actions of the cities in response to the rule of Rome. This is even though the latter would also form part of the processes involved in the spread of the Roman Empire. The same can be said about Sartre who has produced a book which provides a good starting point for the study of the province as it deals with its organization, its civic and rural life which includes the cultural, religious and economic aspects.

Mitchell touches upon the reactions of the cities as he points out that "as autonomy and independence from external rule became increasingly irrelevant during the late Hellenistic and early imperial periods, public buildings emerged as the dominant and essential characteristic of cities. Such buildings were, and are, the most conspicuous evidence for the material culture of civic life. The use of a cultural, rather than a political criterion to define a civic community was a characteristic of the Roman period."⁷ However, the second part of *Anatolia* as a whole, which chronicles the impact of Roman rule, again has a Roman focus concentrating on, for the most part, the physical changes wrought on the urban and rural landscape by the Roman presence in the area.

This is not to say that the view point of the periphery has been completely ignored. The vast corpus of L. Robert shows how both numismatic and epigraphical sources can be used to build up a picture of the life of

⁶ See *L'Asie Mineure et l'Anatolie d'Alexandre à Dioclétien* which was published in 1995.

⁷ *Anatolia*, p.198. These aspects are examined in Chapter 12, pp. 198-226.

the Greek cities within the Roman Empire. This is aptly illustrated by the volume *La Carie* produced in collaboration with J. Robert and his work on the inscriptions of Laodicea included in *Laodicée du Lycos*.⁸

S. Price also focuses on the Greek cities of the Empire in his work *Rituals and Power*. Unlike Robert, he concentrates on a specific aspect of the cities' life, namely their religious history and the importance of the Imperial cult within that.⁹ He illustrates how the emperor, through the practice of this form of worship, was taken into not only the religious lives but also the civic lives of the Greek cities which worshipped him.

These different types of publication show that the expansion of the Roman Empire consisted of two interlocking developments. The first, which has been amply studied, is the way in which the cities of the Mediterranean world under Roman rule became part of the empire of Rome through the actions of Rome herself. The second is the way in which the emperor and aspects of Imperial authority were incorporated in the civic lives of these cities through their reactions to Roman rule. The latter of these processes has received less attention than the former and it is a balance which needs to be redressed.

To do this, three communities of the province of Asia will be studied. These are Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae which were all situated in the Upper Maeander Valley in Phrygia, a region which is now part of modern Turkey.

There are problems in attempting a study like this as the ancient literary sources fail when one is trying to examine the development of the Roman Empire from the point of view of the periphery and not the centre. There are no

⁸ *La Carie Tome II: Le plateau de Tabai et ses environs*, Paris, 1954; L Robert in J. Des Gagniers, *Laodicée du Lycos: Campagnes 1961-1963*, Quebec-Paris, 1969.

⁹ S. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge, 1984.

surviving written histories of the cities either individually or from the area of Phrygia as a whole. Jacoby has collected fragments of history concerning the area together but in no way can they be seen as forming a complete historical narrative.¹⁰ The literary sources which do survive concentrate on Rome and so information concerning the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley has to be gleaned from brief notices in these sources. In some cases, the cities only appear in connection with the wider themes and subjects the author wishes to convey. For example, Cicero, in his speeches illustrating the corrupt nature of the governor Verres, mentions Laodicea as the place where a certain Philodamus of Lampsacus and his son were scandalously tried and executed after a lictor of Verres was killed in an altercation in defence of Philodamus' daughter.¹¹

At other times, the cities are mentioned because of interesting information about them. Hierapolis found fame, in part, because of its Plutonium, which was literally a hole in the ground from which poisonous vapours were emitted. Strabo gives a description of this hole, mentioning its size and the dangerous effects of the gases it produced on all living creatures. The hot springs of the city are also described, the waters of which calcify and turn to stone.¹²

All three cities were noted in the ancient sources for the quality of their wool and cloth. Laodicea was famed for the softness and raven-black colour of its fleeces, while the waters at Hierapolis were particularly good for the dyeing of wool and Colossae gave its name to a

¹⁰ Jacoby, *FGH*, pp. 833-839.

¹¹ *Verr.*, 2, 1, 76.

¹² See below pp. 40-41 and Strabo, 13, 4, 14.

particular purple dye.¹³

These snippets of information are invaluable in building up a picture of Laodicea's, Hierapolis' and Colossae's history, sketchy though it may be, but they shed little or no light on how this group of cities perceived its relationship with Rome. Sources are needed which are intrinsically connected to the workings of the cities' civic lives, namely their inscriptions and coinage.

The setting up of inscriptions was carried out by the cities as a whole, groups within them and also by individuals, but there are problems linked to the use of inscriptions. The principal disadvantage is that not all the inscriptions relevant to the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley, their territories and their citizens survive.

The forces of nature and the re-use of inscribed stone by successive inhabitants of the area have taken their toll. Weathering of the stone means that it is sometimes impossible or at least very difficult to read the inscriptions once contained on the surface. This in turn means that different scholars offer different readings, and consequently divergent meanings are attached to the surviving inscriptions. Re-use of the stone has similar results, making some inscriptions difficult or impossible to read and even moving stones out of their original locations and contexts. Many of the inscriptions from the Upper Maeander Valley have therefore been inevitably lost in these ways.

Also, different categories of inscriptions survive in different proportions. Funerary epitaphs seem to be the most abundant because they were perhaps the most numerous in antiquity. It may be that those who could not afford to or did not wish to advertise their accomplishments on stone during their lifetime wanted to mark or commemorate their

¹³ See below pp. 37-38, 42, 47; Strabo, 12, 8, 16 and 13, 4, 14 and also Pliny, *N.H.*, 21, 51 respectively.

deaths in some way. Less abundant are career and honorific inscriptions and dedications.

The erection of inscriptions obviously required an expense for the individuals or groups who commissioned them, and so only those who could afford this outlay are brought to the attention of modern historians. There is no way of knowing the people and events of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley which remain unknown today through the loss of material evidence.

Despite these drawbacks, the surviving inscriptions do contain and convey to the historian information thought important by those who erected them: "[i]t is epigraphy which provides our most direct access to ancient society and culture."¹⁴ Funerary epitaphs, the most common type of inscription, vary in length. They range from simply indicating to whom the burial place belonged, for example τοῦτο τὸ ἡρώδων ἔσταιν Ἀντωνίας Ἀμμίας, to longer, more elaborate inscriptions stating who was buried in the tomb and who could be buried there at a future date as well as prescribing financial penalties if the clauses of the epitaph were contravened.¹⁵

For the purposes of elucidating the Upper Maeander Valley cities' relationship with Rome, this type of inscription can tell us the names of the inhabitants of the cities of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae and consequently the ones who had been awarded Roman citizenship. On rare occasions they can identify those holding an Imperial position, for example, one inscription concerns Aurelius Heliodorus, an Imperial freedman, and his family.¹⁶

The less common types of inscription, honorary, dedicatory and career inscriptions, build upon the information contained in funerary epitaphs. There is a

¹⁴ Millar, "Epigraphy", p. 136.

¹⁵ *MAMA*, VI, 23 and *MAMA*, VI, 19 respectively.

¹⁶ *MAMA*, VI, 18.

certain amount of overlap between these types of inscription. For example, an inscription honouring Quintus Pomponius features a full catalogue of posts held during his political career.¹⁷ As with funerary epitaphs, these inscriptions can tell us which inhabitants of the Upper Maeander Valley had received the Roman citizenship. In addition, they can also reveal who held Imperial posts and positions and who conducted Imperial business on behalf of their cities. For example, marble blocks found in the theatre of Laodicea show that a certain Pauleinus was of consular rank and the inscription honouring Quintus Pomponius informs us that he went on an embassy to Rome on behalf of his city.¹⁸ These inscriptions can also tell us about the Upper Maeander Valley's relationship with the Romans by showing us which emperors were honoured and highlighting the presence of Romans in the area.

However, the main basis of the study is the coinage of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae. The coinage of the cities falls into various categories. Laodicea minted silver *cistophori* from 189 B.C. onwards and also bronze coinage from the same period. Hierapolis minted bronze from the second century B.C. and Colossae had a few issues from the second to the first century B.C. The coinage of most importance for the present study are the bronze issues minted during the Imperial period from the reign of Augustus, whose rule began in 31 B.C. after he defeated the forces of Antony at the battle of Actium, until the reign of Gallienus who is the latest attested emperor under whom any of the three cities minted coins. No silver civic issues were minted by Laodicea, Hierapolis or Colossae during the Imperial period. From the reverse types, Metcalfe has identified Laodicea and Hierapolis as two of the Asian mints which produced silver *cistophori* under

¹⁷ Robert, *LdL*, p. 265 ff.

¹⁸ *MAMA*, VI, 7 and Robert, *LdL*, p. 265 ff. respectively.

Hadrian.¹⁹ However, these *cistophori* are to be regarded as "provincial" issues rather than civic ones as the legends are in Latin and the ethnics, which identify the coins as civic issues, are missing.

For all the cities, the bronze coinage can be divided into two further groups: those with portraits of the Imperial family on the obverse and those without. Portraits of the Imperial family naturally included depictions of the emperor but also heirs and empresses of the ruling house. Coins without portraits carried instead heads and busts of deities and also personifications such as the various civic institutions of the city or even the city itself.

As with the inscriptions, there are problems involved with the use of coins as a historical source. Firstly, because of their size, the information contained on them is very limited and has to be used with caution. Those concerned with the production of coins have left little or no trace of the reasons behind why a particular type was used or why a particular issue of coins was minted. This means that historians can never be sure of the motivation which lay behind the production of coins. However, an inscription from Sestus, a city in Hellespontic Thrace, does give an insight into this. The inscription concerns a certain Menas, one of the officials responsible for an issue of bronze coins, and states that the main reason the city minted coins was so that the citizens of Sestus could benefit from the resulting profit.²⁰ Such a reason is also applicable to the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley even though there is no direct evidence from the cities confirming that this was so.

A Pergamene inscription set up in the reign of Hadrian shows that some goods were priced and had to be bought in

¹⁹ *The Cistophori of Hadrian*, pp. 64-71.

²⁰ On this inscription see pp. 83-84 and *OGIS* 339, ll. 43-46.

silver and others in bronze.²¹ Those with the wrong denominations would then have to change their coins at a money-lender's who leased the right to change coins from city authorities. Both would profit from the activity. The inscription also states that silver denarii were bought at seventeen assaria and sold at eighteen and so, with coins repeatedly being changed, it is easy to see how profit would accrue to both the city and the money-changers.²²

There were many other factors which might have affected a city's decision to mint an issue of coins at a particular time.²³ These might included the availability and the cost of the metal, the condition of the coins already in circulation and the fact whether a special issue of coins was necessary to commemorate games, festivals and other civic events. Imperial events might also warrant an issue of coins, such as accessions and victories. Coins might also be struck to replenish the existing supply or in response to a specific financial need, for example, a building programme. On rarer occasions, coins would be issued to meet the demands of an Imperial visit or the stationing of Imperial troops on the territory of a city.²⁴

Minting was a sporadic affair and certainly not carried out under every emperor. If it was, not all the coins have survived. Earlier coins were liable to be melted down and re-used for later issues as were coins of more unpopular emperors and those who had their memory damned. Coins from all periods could be lost through every day use and, in exceptional circumstances, hoarded and not

²¹ Pp. 74-75 and *OGIS*, 484; Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, pp. 208-215, no. 84.

²² Butcher, *Roman Provincial Coins*, pp. 25-26.

²³ See Howgego, "Why did Ancient States Strike Coins?", pp. 1-25.

²⁴ On these reasons for the issuing of coins, see Harl, *Civic Coins*, p. 19.

recovered.²⁵ As a result, the coins of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae do not provide a consistent chronological record of the period from Augustus to Gallienus.

Dating is also problematic. The coins with Imperial portraits can be broadly dated to the reign of the emperor depicted on them even if they cannot be dated more closely to a particular year because the detailed lists of titles, which appear on coins from the mint of Rome, for example, are missing. Coins without Imperial portraits are naturally harder to date. They can be assigned to a particular emperor if their legends contain a magistrate's name or a civic title which is comparable to those which appear on coins with an Imperial portrait obverse. If not, dating is very difficult and the periods to which the coins are assigned can be very broad indeed.

Features of these coins can be used as dating aids, for example the thickness of the flans, the diameter, the lettering used on the legends and the directions in which the legends run.²⁶ However, the periods to which the coins are attributed can still be general and narrowed only to the century in which they were produced and not the emperor's reign.

The issuing of coins, as well as the erection of inscriptions, was a fundamental aspect of a city's existence and so can be assumed to reflect the local concerns of the cities which minted them. Common designs on the coins of Laodicea are the boar and the wolf which are either depicted sitting alone or together back to back. These animals represented the Caprus and Lycus rivers which were important waterways to the city as they helped define

²⁵ Butcher, *Roman Provincial Coins*, p. 19.

²⁶ On these methods, see Johnston, "Greek Imperials", pp. 97-100.

its territory.²⁷

An interesting coin of Caracalla shows the turreted city goddess, Laodicea, along with the female personifications of Phrygia and Caria.²⁸ This illustrates the geographical position of Laodicea as a Phrygian city near the borders of Caria.²⁹

Similarly, at Hierapolis, the depiction of the rape of Persephone by Hades was an important type as it recalled the myths of the Underworld, the doorway to which the Plutonium was believed to be. The coin designs usually show Hades in a flying chlamys and holding a sceptre riding a quadriga of galloping horses clutching the struggling Persephone.³⁰ It can be taken that the coins of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae would also reflect wider political changes in the same way because, as has been stated, "coins are best approached ... as a medium whereby Greek notables expressed their internal values and assumptions."³¹

As with the inscriptions, coins with legends containing magistrates' names can show us which of the inhabitants of the Upper Maeander Valley used a Roman name and hence had received the Roman citizenship. On a few occasions such coins can also inform us about the civic or Imperial office held by the particular magistrate named in the legend.

It is not only the legends which help broaden our understanding of the relationship between Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae and Rome. The types used on the coins of these cities can highlight the different perceptions which were held on certain aspects of Imperial

²⁷ See pp. 206 and Catalogue B 82 for the lone boar, Catalogue B 83 for the wolf and Catalogue A 140-142 for the two animals together.

²⁸ Catalogue A 143.

²⁹ P. 205 and Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 37.

³⁰ For example, see Catalogue E 60.

³¹ Harl, *Civic Coins*, p. 31.

rule. One notable example is the depiction of the senate which appears on the coins of the Upper Maeander Valley not as an elderly, togate man, as it does on the coins produced at the mint of Rome, but as the bust of a young man. There has to be a reason for this striking difference in the portraiture of the senate and the most plausible explanation is that it lies in the different perceptions held about the senate in Rome and in Asia Minor³².

The final problem with the sources concerns both the numismatic and epigraphic evidence. From the coins and inscriptions which have been catalogued, it is clear that less material evidence survives from Colossae than from Laodicea and Hierapolis. While Colossae may also have been as prolific as Laodicea and Hierapolis in producing coins and inscriptions, this is not apparent from the evidence which survives today. However, this is unlikely. It can be safely assumed that the more coins and inscriptions which survive today, the more were produced in antiquity and of, course, the converse is true. As so little survives from Colossae in comparison with its neighbours, the obvious conclusion is that it was never as productive. This is perhaps not surprising as it was the smallest of the cities in the Upper Maeander Valley. As a result, less can be said about it than Laodicea and Hierapolis.

Despite these problems, it is clear that the inscriptions and the coins of the cities in the Upper Maeander Valley, Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae, can be used to elucidate the relationship of this group of cities with Rome and to give an insight into the way they perceived aspects of the Empire and its emperors. Such a methodology can also show the ways in which the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley and their inhabitants viewed their own status within the Empire and that of the province in which they were situated as well as highlighting their anxieties and reactions to changing Imperial circumstances.

³² See below Chapter Seven, pp. 179-219.

By studying this two-way process in the limited area of the Upper Maeander Valley, a greater insight will be gained not only into the expansion of the Roman Empire but also into the development of the province of Asia within that empire.

The thesis is divided into two sections. Part One discusses the historical background of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley and the coinage system of Asia Minor. Part Two examines more closely the typology of the coins minted by Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae.

PART ONE: Introduction

The first part of this thesis will examine various aspects of the background of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley. Chapter One discusses the historical background of Laodicea, Colossae and Hierapolis, their different origins and the reasons for their prosperity and continued growth during the Imperial period set in the context of the geography, history and economy of Asia Minor as a whole. Chapters Two and Three examine the nature of the coinage system of the province of Asia on a regional and a civic level. Chapter Two details the currency system in use within Asia and determines whether it was influenced by the Roman system. Chapter Three examines the authority under which the cities of the province, including Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae, produced coins and chose the types employed on their issues. The final chapter in this section, Chapter Four, deals with the Graeco-Roman background of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley using a comparative approach with other cities in the province of Asia. It introduces and examines the relationship and interaction between city, region and empire, themes which will be further investigated in Part Two.

CHAPTER ONE: The Cities of the Upper Maeander Valley

In 133 B.C., the Pergamene King Attalus III died naming the people of Rome as the heir to all his possessions. This did not just consist of his personal belongings and fortunes but also his royal lands as well as the cities subject to the monarchy which, under the terms of the will, now became subject to Rome. The bequest did not include the lands which belonged to the temples which lay within the boundaries of the kingdom or the territories of the independent Greek cities on the coast. Neither did it include the city of Pergamum, the seat of Attalus' kingdom, which was left free with the condition that this particular clause in the will was to be ratified by the Romans.

This inheritance formed the basis of the Roman province of Asia which also included the southern district of Caria. The province extended along the west coast of the Anatolian peninsula from the Propontis and the range of Mount Olympus in the north to the Straits of Marmaris in the south. As well as the coastal region, also included were the islands of the eastern Aegean which were connected to the mainland geographically, economically and culturally.¹ It is also certain that the province of Asia also included Pamphylia. Manlius Aquillius, who created the province between 129 and 126 B.C., built a road linking this region to the Upper Maeander Valley and it is unlikely that Roman control extended far beyond the line of this road.²

The geography of the province, which now roughly speaking forms part of modern Turkey, is diverse consisting of mountain ranges, plains and river valleys. Towards the east, the land extends upwards on a series of broad tablelands which varies in height. This area occupies the centre of the Anatolian peninsula and is broken not only by

¹ Magie, *RRAM*, pp. 32-34. For a map of Asia,
see inside front cover

² Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 72.

mountain ranges and single peaks but also by narrow river valleys. It was on the slopes of these mountain chains and peaks, which surround the central plateau, that the streams which formed the great rivers of Asia originated. They flowed into the Propontis and the Aegean, making their way through plains and limestone gorges. The mountain ranges followed a similar path reaching from the central plateau to the sea and reappearing again as the islands which lay off the coast.³

Phrygia, in which were situated the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley, lay inland to the east and high up on the central plateau. It was separated from the western areas by rough, mountainous terrain while a high lying steppe formed the district to the north, which was broken by mountain peaks and scattered fertile areas. Towards the east, the land formed a relatively depressed basin in which several minor streams joined to form the river Sangarius. Its main affluent was the Tembris which flowed to the east. It joined the Sangarius near the ancient city of Gordium and the water flowed west before flowing north to the Euxine. These rivers formed the northern boundaries of Phrygia. Along the southern side is the great range of Sultan Dağ which separates Phrygia from the region of great lakes in northern and eastern Pisidia. On the south-west, the territory breaks up into mountainous country which is cut by the Lycus and the upper course of the Maeander. Along the eastern boundary was the temple-state of Pessinus, the seat of the temple of the Great Mother.⁴

As well as the Tembris and the Sangarius, other rivers watered the lands of Phrygia. The area's south-eastern corner was drained by the Phrygian Caÿster which ran through a fertile plain to a lake near the border of Lycaonia.

³ For the geography, see Magie, *RRAM*, p. 34; Broughton, "Roman Asia", pp. 599 ff. See also Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*.

⁴ Magie, *RRAM*, pp. 34-39.

The Messogis range was the northern watershed of the Meander River. This was the range which formed the conspicuous headland of Mycale and, beyond the coast, the island of Samos. The river flowed to a plain in front of the city of Apamea and then through the gorges of the mountains of south-eastern Phrygia to the plain of Hierapolis where it was joined by the Lycus. The main stream of the latter river originated from a marsh to the north of Mount Cadmus and it flowed through deep ravines to its junction with the Maeander. In antiquity, the river emptied into one arm of the Gulf of Miletus.⁵

Phrygia contributed to the overall wealth of Asia which made the province a great economic asset to the Roman authorities and which also rendered it liable to exploitation at the hands of avaricious officials.⁶ Herodotus refers to the natural richness of the area: "Λυδῶν δὲ" ἔφη λέγων ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης "οἶδε ἔχονται φρύγες οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ, πολυπροβατώτατοί τε ἔοντες πάντων τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα καὶ πολυκαρπώτατοι."⁷

The basis of Phrygia's wealth was obviously its agriculture but the marble of the area and the subsequent trade were also of considerable importance in this respect. From the quarries of Docimium a white, slightly translucent marble with rich purple veins, also known as *pavonazzetto*, was obtained.

Strabo says that the village of Docimium produced marble which was called "Synnadic" marble by the Romans even though it was locally known as "Docimite" or "Docimaeian" marble. Furthermore, he says that it was due to the extravagance of the Romans that large and beautiful marble pillars and slabs were quarried and transported to

⁵ On these waterways see Magie, *RRAM*, pp. 34-39.

⁶ See below pp. 26-28.

⁷ Herodotus, 5, 49.

Rome despite the heavy costs.⁸

This passage shows that administration was carried on, at least in the Roman period, at Synnada to the south-west because the stone took its name from that city. The date of Strabo's words, which Clayton-Fant believes are no later than A.D. 18, provides a *terminus ante quem* for Roman control of the quarries since the only reason for the label "Synnadic" was a reference to the Roman administration centre of Phrygia, namely Synnada.⁹

The quarries were subject to a complex organization which governed their workings and blocks have been found bearing inscriptions which give details of this organization. The stones are dated between A.D. 69 and 164 and list the *officina* or workshop of the foreman under whom the block was quarried, the number of the *braccium* or vein of marble in which it was found and the *locus* or number of the block in the vein. Sometimes the name of the official who supervised the *caesura* or the actual quarrying is also recorded.

Columns made of this marble have also been found at Rome in the *emporium* or wharf on the Tiber below the west side of the Aventine Hill where the stone was landed. These are not only inscribed with the *officina*, *locus* and *caesura* but also a number and the name of the Imperial procurator under whose *cura* the columns were mined. They sometimes mention the *ratio urbica* which is the branch of the city administration which received the marbles.¹⁰

Waelkens has also advanced our knowledge of the organization of the quarries at Docimium in an article centred on the discovery of a statue of a Dacian prisoner

⁸ Strabo, 12, 8, 14.

⁹ Clayton-Fant, *Cacum Antrum Phrygiae*, p. 7.

¹⁰ On this marble, see Magie, *RRAM* p. 50 and p. 815, n. 96. For a more recent and up to date review of the markings see Clayton-Fant, *Cacum Antrum Phrygiae* and "Seven Unedited Quarry Inscriptions from Docimium".

in 1926 at the quarries. He believes that even if the statue does not add to our understanding of the morphology and function of Dacian prisoners decorating Trajan's Forum, it proves that statues and the like were carved at Asian quarries and not in Rome. It would be reasonable to assume that Imperial orders for a certain number of statues, together with a description of what was required would reach various quarries via Synnada. This in turn implies that those administering the quarries had access to local and skilled sculptors.

There were obvious advantages to this system, namely the reduction of transport costs as a finished piece would be lighter than a raw block and it avoided the unnecessary expense of transporting and replacing blocks with invisible flaws which would only be discovered when the stone had already arrived at its destination and work had started on it there.

As the Empire progressed, Imperial building programmes entailed an increasing need for statuary for architectural purposes and so it made good economic sense to produce what was required at Imperially exploited quarries and the workshops which would be required provide a parallel to the Imperially owned brickyards which produced the material with which many Imperial building at Rome were faced.¹¹

The marble was used for sarcophagi in Asia but the main market was Rome where monoliths and huge slabs were exported and where the stone became one of the city's most sumptuous and decorative marbles. Strabo reinforces the view that the marble was introduced into Rome at the end of the Republic or during the early Imperial period and stone from Asia proved popular for Imperial building projects. In the Forum of Augustus, *pavonazzetto* was used as paving for the temple of Mars Ultor and the marble was also used

¹¹ On this see Waelkens, "The Provenance of the Statues of the Dacian Prisoners", pp. 650-653. See also Clayton-Fant, "Four Unfinished Sarcophagus Lids", pp. 655-662 on production at quarries.

in the Basilica Aemilia, the columns of which Pliny singled out when mentioning the building as one of the wonders of the world. *Pavonazzetto* was also used as the flooring for the Basilica Julia and by the death of Augustus, if not before, it was established as one of the most prized coloured marbles and was used in many major Imperial buildings after that time. Its most notable use was in the Hadrianic Pantheon where it formed the columns, niches and pilasters.¹²

Another type of marble was also produced in Phrygia. This was found in the mountains near Thiunta on the Upper Maeander not far from Hierapolis. It too was used for sarcophagi but did not attain to the popularity and prominence of the marble from Docimium.¹³

The slopes of the mountains of Phrygia were covered with oaks, pines and cedars and this timber also proved to be a valuable source of income. The lower slopes provided grazing where horses could be reared and it was not for nothing that Phrygia was called *ἰππόβατος*. Grapes were the last major financial resource and a type was grown around the city of Apamea which was particularly important in the making of a highly rated honey-wine as Pliny says: *Apamenum mulso praecipue convenire dicitur*.¹⁴

Phrygia was not only important because of its natural resources. It was also of great strategic importance because it lay on the main routes running from east to west and north to south through Asia. These routes were decided by nature and, by necessity, ran through mountain passes and river valleys. For example, one of the main routes,

¹² Clayton-Fant, *Cacum Antrum Phrygiae*. pp. 7-8 and "Seven Unedited Quarry Inscriptions from Docimium", p. 171; Strabo, 12, 8, 14.

¹³ Magie, *RRAM*, p. 50 and p. 815, n. 97; Broughton, "Roman Asia Minor", p. 624. On the marble trade see, for example, Ward-Perkins, "Nicomedia and the Marble Trade", pp. 23-69.

¹⁴ Magie, *RRAM*, p. 50 and p. 816, n. 98; Broughton, "Roman Asia Minor", pp. 617 and 610; Pliny, *N.H.*, 14, 9, 77.

the so-called Royal Road, followed the valley of the Hermus. Two branches of this road, one leading from Smyrna and the other from Ephesus, converged at Sardis. From Sardis, the road followed the Hermus past its junction with the Cogamis and after leaving the river it crossed the mountains into Phrygia. In the Persian and the Greco-Roman periods it probably then ran along the Phrygian Caÿster to the Lycaonian steppe. This was the route the Lydian king, Croesus, marched along to meet the Persian Cyrus in battle and it was the one by which he returned home after his disastrous defeat.

A more important route was the Southern Highway which followed the Maeander and carried the bulk of the trade between the port at Ephesus and the interior. This road was later in origin than the Royal Road and provided a more direct route of communication with the East. From Ephesus, this route led to and up the Maeander and along to the plain of Hierapolis. It then turned southward along the Lycus which it followed to its source veering to the north to Celaenae, which was renamed Apamea. It ascended the central plateau and went northwards and then south-eastward along the course of the Phrygian Caÿster to Lycaonia and Cappodocia or Cilicia. The route from Celaenae to the plain of Hierapolis was the way Xerxes led his troops on his invasion of Greece and it was in the reverse direction that the younger Cyrus took his forces in his ill-fated attempt to win the Persian throne from his brother. It was clearly an important road. For example, in the Hellenistic period it was the principal thoroughfare of the Seleucid kings between Syria and the Aegean as the names of the cities founded or refounded along its course testifies.¹⁵

These routes from west to east were very important for trade and communication with Asia but of equal importance were the roads which led north to south. One route started at Cyzicus and reached Sardis and the Royal Road. It

¹⁵ On these two roads, see Magie, *RRAM*, pp. 39-40.

crossed mountains to lead to the Plain of Hierapolis and made a connection with the Southern Highway. This again was an ancient route as Xerxes used it from the Plain of Hierapolis to Sardis at least.

Further to the north-east, routes connected the south-east corner of the Propontis with Dorylaeum on the Tembris in northern Phrygia. From this area many roads led to the east, south-east and south-west. One ran to Pessinus and onward to Lycaonia while another crossed central Phrygia to Apamea. Philidelphia was reached by a road which ran up the Tembris and continued to the south-west.¹⁶

The importance of the road network is highlighted by Magie who says that "a network of roads extended over the country that was to become the Roman province of Asia. The two great river valleys carried trade between the Aegean and the Euphrates, making possible the exchange of the manufactured goods of the West for the produce of the East. By the transverse routes the distant parts on the Propontis and the south-east corner of the Aegean were brought into communication not only with one another, but also with the thoroughfares leading to the Orient."¹⁷

Certainly, the road system was extended and developed under the administration of Rome and this development included the roads built by the Romans in the newly acquired province. The evidence consists of the milestones of Manlius Aquillius which shows that the administrative centre of Asia was Ephesus. The high numbers on the milestones demonstrate that paved roads radiated outwards from that city and that was where the mileages were measured from. The road system was adapted for the military and administrative needs of the province. French believes that the network was conceived as a whole because

¹⁶ See Magie, *RRAM*, p. 42; Broughton, "Roman Asia Minor", pp. 860-868.

¹⁷ Magie, *RRAM*, p. 42.

all the Republican milestones are of Aquillius.¹⁸

Under the Empire, the emperors were also concerned with developing the road network of Asia which was vital for communications and the transport of goods and personnel. From Augustus to Nero, roads were built linking colony to colony. For example, the Via Sebaste linked Comana, Antiochia, Iconium and Lystra. Under the Flavians, a frontier line was established near the Euphrates and so this too was incorporated into the road system, again serving the military and administrative needs of the province. Certainly, the network of roads would provide logistic support to the *limes*.¹⁹

Obviously, it was in the best interests of the emperor to maintain the roads they themselves built and also those constructed by their Imperial and Republican predecessors. Roads could and did fall into disrepair and a well maintained network of roads was vital for the smooth running of the province of Asia.²⁰

The cities on or near these routes could not do anything but benefit from the influx of goods and people into their territories and it was in the south-west corner of this fertile, strategic and economically important area of Phrygia that the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley were to be found.

Laodicea itself was situated on the Lycus River in the Upper Maeander Valley in Phrygia: *imposita est Lyco flumini*.²¹ It was a Seleucid colony founded by Antiochus II who ruled between 261 and 246 B.C. and named after his

¹⁸ French, "The Road System of Asia Minor", p. 707.

¹⁹ French, "The Road System of Asia Minor", pp. 708-711.

²⁰ On the road system in general, see French, "The Road System of Asia Minor", pp. 698-729 and *RRMAM*.

²¹ Pliny, *NH*, 5, 105.

sister-wife, the queen Laodice.²² However, Laodice was later divorced and so the foundation must have taken place before then.²³ An alternative founder is identified with Antiochus I who is said to have named the city after a sister allegedly called Laodice. Although this view has been defended, the existence of such a woman remains doubtful and the general opinion is that Laodicea was a foundation of Antiochus II.²⁴ The foundation of the city is therefore dated to the reign of Antiochus II and it was probably built on the site of an earlier settlement as Pliny tells us that its former names were Diospolis and then Rhoas: *Laodicea ... appellata primo Diospolis, dein Rhoas.*²⁵

The former of these ancient names highlights the city's links with the god Zeus who is portrayed on the reverses of its coins minted during the Imperial period. He is normally depicted as a fully draped male figure holding an eagle on one hand and a sceptre in the other. The surviving specimens of this type suggest the importance of Zeus to the Laodiceans.²⁶

Laodicea's first appearance in history was in 220 B.C. when Achaeus, rebelling against his nephew Antiochus III, proclaimed himself king at the city: παραγενόμενος δ' εἰς Λαοδίκειαν τὴν ἐν Φρυγίᾳ τε περιέθετο καὶ βασιλεὺς τότε πρῶτον ἐτόλμησε χρηματίζειν καὶ γράφειν πρὸς τὰς πόλεις ...²⁷

²² Magie, *RRAM*, p. 127; *RE*, XII, I, col. 722.

²³ There are differing opinions on the date of the divorce. Magie, *RRAM*, p. 986, n. 23 suggests 253 B.C. and Honigmann, *RE*, 1924, XII, I, 722 proposes 240.

²⁴ Magie, *RRAM*, p. 986, n. 23.

²⁵ Pliny, *NH*, 5, 105. On these names, see Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 35.

²⁶ See Ramsay, *C and B*, pp. 33 and 35 and Catalogue A, B and C in general.

²⁷ Magie, *RRAM*, p. 127; Polybius, 5, 57, 5.

Since then the city's history was mixed. During the First Mithridatic War which lasted from 88 B.C. until Sulla concluded a peace treaty with Mithridates VI (121-63) in 85, Laodicea was besieged by the Pontic monarch. The king, according to Appian, only promised to spare the city if the inhabitants surrendered Quintus Oppius, one of the generals in charge of the Roman army sent out to meet the threat. As a result of this, his troops were dismissed unharmed by the Laodiceans but Oppius and his lictors were led to Mithridates.²⁸

Appian gives no idea of the timescale involved in these events and it seems from his narrative that the surrender of Oppius took place almost immediately after Mithridates issued his ultimatum to the city. However, an inscription from Aphrodisias shows that when Oppius was besieged at Laodicea, he had the opportunity to write letters appealing for aid and receive replies. A longer time must have elapsed between Mithridates' proclamation and the surrender of Oppius and his lictors than is conveyed in Appian's account of the affair. The document shows that the city of Aphrodisias subsequently decided to help the Roman general by sending him men.²⁹ Another inscription from the city records the thanks given by Oppius to the Aphrodisians for the help that they sent. This letter is dated to after Sulla's victory over Mithridates in 85 B.C. as lines 13-14 refer to Oppius' release from the captivity into which he had been surrendered.³⁰

During the late Republic and the turbulence after Julius Caesar's assassination, the "liberators" were seeking to strengthen their cause by entering into negotiations with Rome's enemy, the Parthians. Quintus Labienus was sent as an envoy to Orodes and the Parthian

²⁸ Appian, *Mith. Wars*, 20.

²⁹ Reynolds, *A and R*, doc. 2, pp. 11-16.

³⁰ Reynolds, *A and R*, doc. 3, pp. 16-20.

king was eventually persuaded to undertake a war against Rome. An army was sent across the Euphrates under the joint leadership of Labienus and Prince Pacorus and Roman territory was invaded. As Labienus proceeded along the Southern Highway, various unarmed cities yielded to him and it was only Laodicea (and Mylasa under Hybreas) which offered any resistance under the leadership of Zenon the orator: Ζήνων δ' ὁ Λαοδικεὺς καὶ Ὑβρέας οὐκ εἶξαν, ἀμφοτέρω ῥήτορες, ἀλλὰ ἀπέστησαν τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις. However, it is not known whether this resistance was successful or not and this episode must have disrupted the running of Laodicea's civic life.³¹

Financial problems have been connected to the Sullan settlement of Asia Minor after the conclusion of the war with Mithridates in 85 B.C.³² Sulla ordered that five years unpaid taxes had to be paid at once along with the costs of the war and the reorganization of the province. Appian, in his narrative of the war, makes Sulla explain these payments and that they will be apportioned city by city with a fixed period for payment and that those cities which do not pay will be punished. Even though Appian also makes the Roman general explain that he was acting out of a desire to spare the Greeks and to maintain the Romans' reputation for fairness, the result of these financial measures seem to have had the opposite effect. The cities were overcome by poverty, borrowed money at high interest rates and eventually had to mortgage their public buildings.³³

Cicero also talks of the financial sufferings of Laodicea and other cities. In 51 B.C., he wrote to his friend Atticus about the economic problems he encountered when he visited Laodicea and also Apamea and Synnada. He tells his friend that his arrival in the province which, in

³¹ Strabo, 14, 2, 24; Magie, *RRAM*, p. 430.

³² Chapot, *La province romaine*, p. 36 and n. 7.

³³ Appian, *Mith. Wars*, 62-63.

his opinion, was in a state of ruin was eagerly awaited and everywhere he saw the same problems, namely that people could not pay their poll tax and so were forced to sell their investments: *Maxima expectatione in perditam et plane eversam in perpetuum provinciam nos venisse scito pridie Kal. Sextiles moratos triduum Laodiceae, triduum Apameae, totidem dies Synnade. Audivimus nihil aliud nisi imperata ἐπικεφάλια solvere non posse, ὧνδς omnium venditas, civitatum gemitas, ploratus, monstra quaedam non hominis, sed ferae nescio cuius immanis. Quid quaeris? Taedet omnino eos vitae.*³⁴

It seems unlikely that this was connected to Sulla's settlement of Asia. Plutarch, in his *Life of Lucullus*, reports that the people of the province of Asia were reduced to slavery by the actions of the tax collectors and that families were forced not only to sell their material possessions but also their children. He also says that these were the problems Lucullus, a successor of Sulla, found in Asia and that he freed the inhabitants of the province from them all. This was done by Lucullus when he instigated various financial reforms concerning interest rates and the repayment of debts which resulted in the clearance of debts, which had originated because of the Sullan settlement, within four years.³⁵

With action like this being taken to ease the economic burden of the Sullan settlement, it seems that Cicero's comments in his letter to Atticus are concerned with more general on-going financial difficulties from which Laodicea and its neighbours, Hierapolis and Colossae would not be exempt. However, letters such as these of Cicero have to be used with caution. He is writing about his own governorship of Cilicia and obviously wants to highlight his success as a governor. The easiest and best way to achieve this is to exaggerate the problems resulting from

³⁴ *Ad Att.*, 5, 16.

³⁵ Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 20, 3-4.

the term of office of his predecessor, Appius Claudius. This is perhaps why Claudius is referred to as a "savage beast" in the letter to Atticus.³⁶

This is confirmed by another letter to Atticus written at Laodicea and dated to May, 50 B.C. where Cicero tells his friend that many states have been freed from debt or have had their financial burdens lightened because of the miracles he worked during the assizes he held at Laodicea: *Atque hoc foro, quod egi ex Idibus Februariis Laodiceae ad Kal. Maias omnium diocesium praeter Cilicia, mirabilia quaedam effecimus. Ita multae civitates omni aere alieno liberatae, multae valde levatae sunt ...*³⁷

There were undoubtedly economic problems suffered by Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae and the other cities of Asia during the governorship of Cicero but because of the nature of his letters on the subject concerning the role of his predecessor and his own role in alleviating some of the problems, it would be hard to determine how serious they were from the letters he writes.

Obviously, the general vulnerability of the province under Roman rule contributed to the economic distress of the cities in the province, including those of the Upper Maeander Valley. Asia was a very rich and productive area of the Eastern world and as such it was liable to exploitation at the hands of unscrupulous Roman officials and businessmen who carried on their duties and business there.

Strabo gives a good example of the types of problems faced by provincial inhabitants and their cities at the hands of the *publicani*. In 104 B.C., the city of Ephesus sent the geographer Artemidorus as an ambassador to Rome to complain about the *publicani* who were converting revenues from sacred lakes, which had previously been declared immune, for their own use. His embassy resulted in a

³⁶ *Ad Att.*, 5, 16.

³⁷ Cicero, *Ad Att.*, 6, 11.

successful outcome for the Ephesians as the immunity of the sacred lakes and the revenues derived from them was upheld. Rogers believes that this clearly illustrates the efforts of the agents of the *publicani* in Asia to tax all the land to which they could conceivably lay a claim.³⁸ It also shows the lengths to which provincial citizens were prepared to go to protect their lands and the incomes which could be derived from them.

Of course this was not the only action taken by the provincial citizens. An inscription from the city of Aphrodisias in Caria and dated to the first century B.C. records a decision of the *koinon* of Asia. It had met at Ephesus and decided to send ambassadors to the senate because the cities of the province were being oppressed by the *publicani*. The document further tells us that citizens of Aphrodisias, namely Dionysius and Hierocles, formed part of the embassy. The outcome was so successful that gold crowns and bronze statues were voted to the men.³⁹ The honours which Dionysius and Hierocles received seems to indicate the importance attached to the embassy and its result.

Also dated to the first century is a round stone base which was found at Ilium. The *demos* of the city had dedicated a statue to Lucius Julius Caesar, the son of Lucius Caesar, because he had restored the sacred land to the goddess Athena Ilias and removed it from the revenue contract. Lucius Julius Caesar was censor in 89 B.C. and came from the same *gens* as Julius Caesar, the later dictator. It seems that the *publicani* had again encroached on sacred territory.⁴⁰

Asia was not the only area to suffer such

³⁸ On this incident, see Strabo, 14, 1, 26 and Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, p. 4.

³⁹ Reynolds, *A and R*, doc. 5, pp. 26-32.

⁴⁰ *IGRP* IV, 194; Sherk, *Rome and the Greek East*, doc. 59, p. 70 (trans).

depredations. Oropos in Boeotia, like Ephesus and Ilium, were in dispute with the *publicani* over sacred territory. A stele of white marble from the Amphiarraion records the details of the argument. It centres on land sacred to the god Amphiarraos. The Oropians stated that these lands should not be subject to the actions of the *publicani* because they formed part of the precincts of the "immortal gods" which were exempted by Sulla. Naturally, the *publicani* argued the opposite and their central point is that Amphiarraos was not a god but presumably a hero. A decision was made by the senate to exempt the territory under dispute because they had been exempted by Sulla so forbidding the *publicani* from taxing the land.⁴¹

Natural disasters added to Laodicea's misery. Strabo in his *Geography* suggests that the city was susceptible to earthquakes because the country around it was full of holes as shown by the underground course of the Lycus.⁴²

The city suffered an earthquake in the 20s B.C. during Augustus' reign because, as Suetonius reports, Tiberius made a plea to the senate on behalf of Laodicea, Thyatira and Chios which had all asked for help after they were hit by an earthquake: *pro Laodicenis Thyatirenis Chiis terrae motu afflictis opemque implorantibus senatum deprecatus est.*⁴³ During the reign of Nero another earthquake was suffered and perhaps also under Gordian III, as a letter from that emperor to Aphrodisias urges the Aphrodisians to give aid to the "victims of misfortune". The letter was an Imperial reply concerning "the matter of the Laodiceans", and the disaster was presumably an earthquake and the Laodiceans referred to would, in connection with Aphrodisias, be taken to mean those inhabiting Laodicea on

⁴¹ Sherk, *RDGE*, doc. 23, pp. 133-138.

⁴² Strabo, 12, 8, 16.

⁴³ Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 8.

the Lycus.⁴⁴

That earthquakes were an influence on the lives of the inhabitants of Asia Minor is shown by the epigraphy of the area. For example, they provide evidence of individuals who had died in these disasters. For example, a relief from Nicomedia shows a bearded man standing with two young children while the accompanying inscription tells us that Thrason, son of Diogenes, had erected the monument to his two sons, Thrason, aged four, and Dexiphanes, aged five, and also to a twenty-five year old man called Hermes who had tried to protect the two young boys during an earthquake. Hermes' actions were in vain as all three had died and it is these deaths that Thrason was commemorating.⁴⁵

After earthquakes where there were numerous victims, mass burials were possible. This inscription from Rhodes was inscribed on an altar: τῶν κατὰ τὸν σεισμόν τελευτασάντων. Robert says that the nature of the catastrophe justified the anonymous mass burial.⁴⁶

Dedications were also made by the fortunate survivors of earthquakes. At Rhodes, a dedication was made to Helios, the principal deity, by two brothers who had been given the Roman citizenship by one of the Flavians, in execution of a vow they made if they escaped the earthquake.⁴⁷

Earthquakes would also provide an explanation for cults of Poseidon in inland areas. He is normally thought of as the god of the sea but he is also a god of the earth and spouse of Ghê and can be seen as the "shaker of the

⁴⁴ For the earthquake under Nero see Tacitus, *Annales*, 14, 27; for the letter of Gordian see Reynolds, *A and R*, doc. 21, pp. 133-135.

⁴⁵ *CIG* 3293; Robert, "Documents d'Asie Mineure", pp. 395-6.

⁴⁶ *IG* XII, I, 708; *SIG*³ 505; Robert, "Documents d'Asie Mineure", p. 399.

⁴⁷ *IGRP* IV, 1121; Robert, "Documents d'Asie Mineure", p. 399.

earth" from his epithets.⁴⁸ A stele found in Mysia south of lake Manyas tells us that an altar was dedicated to Poseidon by a certain Claudianus, son of Asclepiades. The dedicant erected this after an earthquake and the mention of such a disaster is the reason for a dedication to Poseidon in this inland area. Claudianus established the cult and was its first priest.⁴⁹ Strabo tells us that Apamea suffered a great many earthquakes and this was the reason why Poseidon was worshipped even though the city was situated in the interior of Asia.⁵⁰

This is also the reason why the god appears as a coin type on issues of inland cities, for example Aezani. Robert says that Poseidon appears on the coins of this city because he was the god responsible for earthquakes.⁵¹ This may also explain his appearance on a coin of Hierpaolis.⁵²

Despite these problems, Laodicea developed into a prosperous, important and famous city. Pliny tells us that the city was the most famous in the Cibyratic *conventus*, one of the judicial districts into which Asia Minor was divided: *conveniunt eo XXV civitates celeberrima urbe Laodicea*.⁵³ Strabo reckons Laodicea as one of the largest cities in Phrygia along with Apamea: 'Απάμεια ἡ Κιβωτὸς λεγομένη καὶ Λαοδίκεια, αἵπερ εἰσὶ μέγιστα τῶν κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν πόλεων. He also says the city grew in size and prospered during the late Republican and early Imperial periods despite the siege of Mithridates: 'Η δὲ Λαοδίκεια, μικρὰ πρότερον οὔσα, αὐξήσιν ἔλαβεν ἐφ' ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων πατέρω, καὶ τοι κακωθεῖσα ἐκ πολιορκίας ἐπὶ

⁴⁸ Helly, "La Grecia antica e i terremoti", pp. 75-76.

⁴⁹ Robert, "Documents d'Asie Mineure", pp. 399-400.

⁵⁰ Strabo, 12, 8, 18.

⁵¹ Robert, *BE*, 1982, 95, p. 407, no. 399.

⁵² See Catalogue E 94. On earthquakes in antiquity generally see Guidoboni (ed), *I terremoti*.

⁵³ Pliny, *NH*, 105.

Μιθριδάτου τοῦ Εὐπάτορος.⁵⁴

Cicero confirms the importance of Laodicea at this time as it was one of the cities in which he held his assizes. For example, in a letter to Atticus, dated to 13 February, 50 B.C., he says that he is to try cases from Cibyra, Apamea, Synnada and Pamphylia, Lycaonia and Isaurum at the city: *Idibus Februariis, quo die has litteras dedi, forum institueram agere Laodiceae Cybyraticum et Apamense, ex Idibus Martiis ibidem Synnadense, Pamphylium ... Lycaonium, Isauricum ...*⁵⁵

Laodicea would have been visited by government officials during the Imperial period as well as during the Republic even though there is less evidence to suggest so because no other magistrate wrote as prolifically as Cicero. A letter of Hadrian to the *archons, boule* and *demos* of Astypalaea shows that imperial visitors could be very important indeed. The letter, dated to A.D. 129, was written at Laodicea, [ἀπὸ Λαοδ]ικείας τῆς ἐπὶ Λύκῳ, while the emperor was travelling through Asia, Lycia and Syria.⁵⁶

By the reign of Nero, Laodicea, one of the famous Asiatic cities, was wealthy enough not to need Imperial help after an earthquake in A.D. 60: *Eodem anno ex inlustribus Asiae urbibus Laodicea tremore terra motu prolapsa, nullo a nobis remedio, propriis opibus revaluit.*⁵⁷

After an earthquake, Imperial aid was expected and normal. Two measures were considered normal after such a disaster, namely the remittance of tax for a certain period and also the setting up of a commission to oversee work in the disaster zone. Dio Cassius tells us that when cities

⁵⁴ Strabo, 12, 8, 13 and 12, 8, 16 respectively.

⁵⁵ Cicero, *ad Att.*, 5, 21, 9.

⁵⁶ *IGRP*, IV, 1033 and notes 1 and 4; Magie, *RRAM*, p. 619 and p. 1481, n. 35; Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, pp. 165-166, no. 68.

⁵⁷ Tacitus, *Annales*, 14, 27.

in Asia were damaged by an earthquake, Tiberius sent out an ex-praetor with five lictors to the area and he also remitted large sums from their taxes as well as giving them certain sums of money. When Apamea was destroyed by an earthquake in A.D. 53, the city was relieved from tribute for five years: *tributumque Apamensibus terrae moti convolsis in quinquennium remissum*.⁵⁸

Ordinary benefactors could also give aid after an earthquake. At Telos, the walls and buildings were knocked down and a certain Aristomenes made the necessary arrangements for the repairs and generously gave silver to fund the reconstructions. Towards A.D. 100 at Lindos, a certain Tiberius Claudius Antipater was among the numerous benefactors who helped the city after an earthquake and, with the help of his son, he rebuilt the sanctuary of Asclepius which had been destroyed.⁵⁹ It may be that when Imperial help was refused by Nero, Laodicea had to rely on the richer of its citizens to help fund any restorations that were needed.

The wealth and prosperity of Laodicea was due to various factors such as its situation, the richer of its citizens and its wool industry. Laodicea was situated on the south bank of the Lycus river at the junction of the Southern Highway with the route which leads over a pass in the range of Mount Salbace, south east of the city, to Cibyratis and Pisidia and on to the Pamphylian coast. The Southern Highway, called the Eastern Highway by Ramsay, was a major route of communication leading to Lycaonia and Cappadocia or Cilicia from Ephesus.⁶⁰ The position of Laodicea near these major routes would ensure that both

⁵⁸ Dio Cassius, 57, 17; Tacitus, *Ann.*, 12, 58; Palumbo, "Orientamenti di riposta di terremoti nel mondo antico", p. 126.

⁵⁹ Robert, "Documents d'Asie Mineure", pp. 403-404.

⁶⁰ For the situation of Laodicea see Magie, *RRAM*, p. 127. For the Southern Highway, see Magie, *RRAM*, p. 40 and p. 789, n. 18 and see above p. 22.

goods and personnel would pass by in the vicinity of the city and in turn this would ensure the city's growth and development.

Also important in the city's development were the richer of its citizens. These were needed to undertake various magistracies and liturgies and other voluntary contributions which would ensure the continuation of Laodicea as a civic unit and aid its growth. Without them, the survival of the city's civic life and its development was doubtful. One such citizen was Hiero who left the city an inheritance of two thousand talents and adorned the city with many dedicated offerings: 'Ιέρων μὲν πρότερον, ὃς πλειόνων ἢ διοχιλίῳ ταλάντων κληρονομίαν κατέλιπε τῷ δήμῳ πολλοῖς τ' ἀναθήμασιν ἐκόσμησε τὴν πόλιν.⁶¹

Epigraphic evidence attests to the building programmes and foundations of the inhabitants of Laodicea which helped to enrich and adorn the city. These include a marble stadium and amphitheatre by Nicostratus and his heir (A.D. 79), towers and works, a triple gate and adornment by Ti. Cl. Trypho, an Imperial freedman during the time of Domitian, marble paving before the temple of Zeus by Q. Pomponius Flaccus, a large gymnasium by the *boule* and *demos* (A.D. 123-4), an aqueduct of Septimius Severus, three theatres and several small temples of uncertain date as well as a gift of statuary by Aur. Chryseros dated to third century. Among the foundations were 3000d given as garland money by Pythodorus and other sums and properties for the same purpose donated by Menander and Domitia.⁶²

Although the wealth of Phrygia was derived mainly from products of the soil and marble, the basis of the city's economic success were its wool and textile industries. Strabo tells us that the country-side around Laodicea produced sheep with wool of an exceptional softness and

⁶¹ Strabo, 12, 8, 16.

⁶² See Broughton, "Roman Asia Minor", p. 769; Corsten and Drew-Bear, "Inscripfen", pp. 31-40 and Appendix IIa.

raven black colour from which the city derived a great revenue. Laodicea, along with its neighbours Hierapolis and Colossae came to rival the Lydian and Ionian cities in the textile trade and the quality of Laodicean wool was even better than that of Miletus, one of the greatest and most important wool centres in Asia Minor.⁶³

Pliny too comments on the reputation Laodicea gained for itself from its wool. He talks of Laodicean fleeces along with Apulian fleeces saying that both have a high reputation in certain areas: *Apulae breves villo nec nisi paenulis celebres; circa Tarentum Canusiumque summam nobilitatem habent in Asia vero eodem genere Laodiceae.*⁶⁴

Items of clothing are listed in the Price Edict of Diocletian. These include *birri* which were heavy cloaks, *chlamydes* or mantles, *chlanides* which were fine outer cloaks, one piece cloaks fastened with clasps known as *fibulatoria*, plain underclothes with a triple weave called *delmaticae* and plain tunics or *paragaudes* to which a purple border was added. This has been said, by Broughton, to attest to the vitality of the Laodicean cloth trade during the late Imperial period.⁶⁵

However, in the Price Edict, it is not clear whether the clothes referred to are those which were made in the city of Laodicea itself or in the fashion typical of the city. The edict refers to *byhrrum Laodicenum*, *asema Laodicensa* and *paragaudae Laodicensae.*⁶⁶ Broughton takes this to mean clothes made in Laodicea but it could also refer to clothes originally produced by the city but later copied by other manufacturing centres and so it could be that the latter were regulated in the Edict. If the former, the cloth trade of Laodicea can still be seen as

⁶³ Strabo, 12, 8, 16; Magie, *RRAM*, p. 48; Broughton, "Roman Asia", p. 619.

⁶⁴ Pliny, *NH*, 8, 73, 190.

⁶⁵ See Broughton, "Roman Asia Minor", p. 819.

⁶⁶ See Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, pp. 283-284.

prospering during the later Empire but if the latter view applies, as is more likely, it would mean that the products made at Laodicea were popular enough to be copied by other cloth centres.

This vitality is also apparent in an inscription which mentions the guilds of fullers and purple dyers which were obviously connected to the textile industry involving the setting up of a statue.⁶⁷ Industry in the city must have been such that the workers connected to the cloth trade were numerous enough to form themselves into bodies and undertake common forms of action as suggested by the inscription.

There is little trace of the individuals involved in the Laodicean wool and cloth trade. However, one funerary inscription does preserve the memory of a certain Papias Klexos who was a shepherd presumably over the black sheep for which the city was famous: Παπίας Κλέξος ποιμὴν ἤρωσ χρησιτὸς παροδείταις χαίρειν.⁶⁸

The wealth so gained by Laodicea resulted in criticism by the author of *Apocolypse*, 3, 17: *Because thou sayest "I am rich and increased in goods, and have need of nothing" and knowest not that thou art wretched, and poor, and blind, and naked; I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich; and white raiment that thou mayest be clothed ...*

A similar picture can be seen in the development of Laodicea's neighbour, Hierapolis. Hierapolis was situated about six or seven miles north of Laodicea on the opposite side of the Lycus on its north bank.⁶⁹ It seems that from its name, the city was some kind of "holy city". The transformation of temple-villages into cities suggests a possible origin for places whose names contain the word "sacred", ἱερά, as well as those whose names are derived

⁶⁷ See Appendix IIa.

⁶⁸ *MAMA*, VI, 21 and see Appendix IIa.

⁶⁹ Magie, *RRAM*, p. 127; Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 84.

from the names of gods. This process may apply to Hierapolis, a town positioned near the junction of the Maeander and Lycus rivers where there was a cave sacred to the Great Mother and perhaps a sanctuary dedicated to the goddess.⁷⁰ However, during the Imperial period, as the coins of the city of Hierapolis show, the principal deity was Apollo who appeared in two different guises. Apollo Lairbenos was portrayed by a radiate male head while Apollo Archegetes took the form either of a draped male figure who held in his hands a plectrum and a lyre or of a male bust with a lyre.⁷¹

Hardly anything is known of the history of Hierapolis during the Hellenistic and Republican periods. As a city, Hierapolis was first known under Eumenes II who perhaps transformed a sanctuary settlement into something resembling a *polis* similar to the foundations established by the king and his brother throughout their kingdom. However it happened, during the reign of Eumenes, the city developed its municipal organization and civic administration.⁷²

Like its neighbour Laodicea, Hierapolis grew into a rich and prosperous city. Philostratus, in his life of Antipater the sophist, counts the city, the birthplace of the philosopher, as among the flourishing cities of Asia and this is confirmed by the ruined buildings and other remains, such as the tombs which line the roads leading in and out of the city, which can still be seen today. During the August-September 1987 archaeological season, the north necropolis was worked on. A census of the sarcophagi was accomplished and in this area alone, one thousand, six hundred and fifty sarcophagi or fragments were classified. The site excavated during this period was the last area of the necropolis along the road to Tripolis and was used

⁷⁰ Magie, *RRAM*, p. 987, n. 24.

⁷¹ See Catalogue D, E and F in general.

⁷² Magie, *RRAM*, p. 128 and p. 142.

during the second and third centuries A. D. The use of marble and the decorations on the tombs underline the importance and the richness of the area.⁷³

Hierapolis could boast various reasons for its prosperity, the most interesting and most famous of which were its Plutonium and hot springs. The Plutonium was a hole in the ground from which poisonous gases were emitted. Strabo describes this hole and tells us that any living creature which goes near the gases dies which he himself confirmed by throwing sparrows into the enclosure which surrounded the fissure. He lastly comments on the fact that the Galli, eunuch priests of Cybele, are immune to the effects of the gases. However he does not know whether such immunity arises from their castrated state, divine providence or from some kind of antidote which can be administered to individuals.⁷⁴

Other ancient writers have also commented on the Plutonium. Pliny, like Strabo, notes that only the priests of the Great Mother were immune: *Simili modo Hierapoli in Asia, matris tantum magnae sacerdoti innoxium*. Ammianus Marcellinus also describes the destructive nature of the gases which came from the Plutonium and also the immunity of eunuchs, a fact which seems to have been a well known one in antiquity: *Cuius simile foramen apud Hierapolim Phrygiae antehac (ut asserunt aliqui), videbatur unde emergens itidem noxius spiritus, perseveranti odore quidquid prope venerat corrumpebat, qua causa eveniat, rationibus physicis permittatur*.⁷⁵ Cassius Dio writes about the Plutonium of Hierapolis stating that he saw the hole and the effects of the gases for himself. Like Strabo, he tested the effects of the vapours on birds. As

⁷³ Philostratus, *VS*, 2, 24; Broughton, "Roman Asia Minor", p. 769; *AS: Recent Research*, 38, 1988, p. 198.

⁷⁴ Strabo, 13, 4, 14.

⁷⁵ See Pliny, *NH*, 2, 208; Ammianus Marcellinus, 23, 6, 18; Magie, *RRAM*, p. 987, n. 24.

with the other ancient authors who commented on this curiosity, Dio concludes his account of it by saying that only those who have been emasculated are immune from the poisonous gases.⁷⁶ As implied by Ammianus, the hole disappeared and this has been attributed to the actions of the Christians in the fourth century who may have connected it with the Devil.⁷⁷

Hierapolis also possessed hot springs, the waters of which calcified and turned into stone. These calcified falls, which provide a spectacular setting for the city, can still be seen today. Strabo, in his *Geography*, again comments on the waters of the city saying they easily turn into stone and that the inhabitants are easily able to run the water into channels and so form fences: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὕδωρ οὕτω ῥαδίως εἰς πῶρον μεταβάλλει πητιόμενον, ὥστ' ὄχειτοὺς ἐπάγοντες φραγμοὺς ἀπεργάζονται μονολίθους.⁷⁸

Vitruvius also remarked upon this use of the water in Hierapolis. He says that the water is channelled around vineyards and orchards and eventually enclosures are built around them: *Ad eundem modum Hierapoli Phrygiae effervet aquae caldae multitudo, e quibus circum hortos et vineas fossis ductis immittitur; ita quotannis dextra et sinistra margines ex terra faciundo inducent eam et efficiunt in his crustis in agris saepta.*⁷⁹

These two natural features ensured visitors to the city. The Plutonium would attract those who wanted to satisfy their curiosity about the hole and the fatal effect of the gases it gave out. The hot springs would act as a magnet to those wishing to bathe in the waters for health purposes. Strabo believed Hierapolis was the ideal place

⁷⁶ Cassius Dio, 68, 27, 3.

⁷⁷ Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 86.

⁷⁸ Strabo, 13, 4, 14.

⁷⁹ Vitruvius, 8, 3, 10.

for this because, as the water was so plentiful, the city as a consequence was full of natural baths: οὕτω δ' ἐστὶν ἄφθονον τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ὕδατος, ὥστε ἡ πόλις μεστὴ τῶν αὐτομάτων βαλανείων ἐστί.⁸⁰ With them, the visitors would bring money which would be spent in Hierapolis for the duration of their stay which would, in turn, raise revenue to enrich the city.

The revenue raised from visitors to the city would be added to by the income derived from Hierapolis' wool trade. Hierapolis, along with its two neighbours, had become one of the most important cities in the cloth trade and this was in part due to the waters of the city. As well as attracting numerous visitors who wanted to take the waters and see the calcified falls, the water of Hierapolis was excellent for dyeing wool as Strabo tells us.⁸¹

Hierapolis gives less evidence than Laodicea regarding the materials it produced but does give more information connected to the workers and the guilds involved in the textile trade centred in the city. For example, there were wool washers, purple-dyers and the makers of tapestries.⁸² This clearly shows the importance of the wool trade within the city and its vitality.

As with Laodicea, there is epigraphic evidence of the actions of citizens which helped to adorn and enrich the city. There are a few building programmes attested in the inscriptions including a theatre and its decoration by several people one of whom gave contributions in money, a reservoir, a large gymnasium and stoa, alterations to the council chambers, a theatre at the Plutonium, a portico,

⁸⁰ Strabo, 13, 4, 14; Magie, *RRAM*, p. 128; Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 107.

⁸¹ Strabo, 13, 4, 14; Magie, *RRAM*, p. 128.

⁸² See Appendix IIb and Broughton, "Roman Asia Minor", p. 820 and Magie, *RRAM*, p. 813, n. 83.

north gate and towers and some large baths.

Gifts and foundations would also aid the city's development but in contrast to Laodicea, those of Hierapolis are small and mostly private in character and mostly involve money for garlands. Such sums include money given to the guild of nailsmiths by Aurelius Zoticus, a sum given to the guild of dyers by P. Aelius Hermogenes and a donation to the purple-dyers given by M Aurelius Diodorus for an annual burnt offering of poppies.⁸³

It is clear that along with its natural phenomena, the trade of the city was important for Hierapolis' growth and development. One final factor in the success of the city was again the Southern Highway. This road led from Ephesus to the interior of Asia Minor and on its route followed the Maeander river to the plain of Hierapolis.⁸⁴ As with Laodicea and Colossae, the city would benefit from the traffic of goods and personnel which the Highway brought to the city's territory.

This development and growth was in spite of the disasters which afflicted the Upper Maeander Valley and Asia as a whole. Like many other cities in the East, Hierapolis suffered its share of earthquakes. In A.D. 60, the city was troubled along with its neighbours Laodicea and Colossae and there is evidence that at least two other earthquakes were suffered before and after this time.⁸⁵

The financial difficulties which beset Asia are also known and although there is little evidence relating to Hierapolis directly, it seems that the city would have been unlikely to escape the economic pressures affecting the rest of the province.

Colossae is the last city in the group which occupies

⁸³ On the buildings and foundations, see Broughton, "Roman Asia Minor", pp. 769-770 and Appendix IIb.

⁸⁴ Magie, *RRAM*, p. 40.

⁸⁵ See Broughton, "Roman Asia", p. 601 where references are cited for all the earthquakes suffered by Hierapolis.

the Upper Maeander Valley. Much less can be said about it in comparison to its two neighbours as the numismatic and epigraphic evidence is less abundant and if the literary references are scanty for Laodicea and Hierapolis, they are even more so for Colossae. The material remains of Colossae are also scanty which adds to the dearth of evidence concerning the history of this city.⁸⁶

Colossae was situated on the south bank of the River Lycus and eleven miles below it was its neighbour, Laodicea. It was positioned at the beginning of a gorge into which the River Lycus ran on its course from its upper to its lower valley. The fortified acropolis of the city was built on an isolated hill on the south bank of the river but its buildings and tombs extended to the north bank.⁸⁷

The origins of Colossae are different to those of its neighbours Laodicea and Hierapolis. Magie distinguishes it from Laodicea, its nearest neighbour in the Upper Maeander Valley, by describing Colossae as an "ancient town" while terming Laodicea a "Seleucid colony". Hierapolis is always described as a "holy city".⁸⁸ The antiquity of the city is noted in the ancient sources as both Herodotus, writing in the fifth century B.C. and Xenophon, who lived in a period covering the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the fourth century B.C., mention the city.⁸⁹ There is no evidence of the foundation or the earliest constitution of the city and the process by which a Phrygian city became a Greek one is also unknown. However, it may be due to a refoundation or colonization by a Greek king.⁹⁰ The city

⁸⁶ Broughton, "Roman Asia Minor", p. 725.

⁸⁷ On the position of Colossae see Ramsay, *C and B*, pp. 208-209; Magie, *RRAM*, p. 126.

⁸⁸ Magie, *RRAM*, p. 126; Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 84.

⁸⁹ See p. 45

⁹⁰ Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 212.

could also have been self-Hellenised.

Colossae had, at some point in its history, been considered a great and important city. Herodotus tells us that the Persian King Xerxes, who ruled from 486 B.C., came to Colossae which is described by the fifth century Greek historian as a great city in Phrygia: ἀπικετο ἐς Κολοσσᾶς πόλιν μεγάλην Φρυγίης.⁹¹

Xenophon, in his *Anabasis*, also comments on the prosperity of Colossae. He recalls that Cyrus, the brother of the Persian king, was planning to seize the Persian throne and marched through Phrygia to Colossae which is described as prosperous and large: τοῦτον διαβάς ἐξελαύνει διὰ Φρυγίας σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας ὀκτὼ εἰς Κολοσσᾶς, πόλιν οἰκουμένην καὶ εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην.⁹²

It has been suggested that the foundation of Laodicea in the third century B.C. led to Colossae's downfall and ruin. It has been argued that Laodicea had a more advantageous position and that the trade of the Southern Highway could not support both Colossae and its neighbour. Unlike Hierapolis, Colossae had no natural phenomena to draw visitors to it and ensure its prosperity.⁹³

This argument has been strengthened by the ancient sources. For example, Strabo lists the city as a small town: περικεῖται δὲ ταύταις πολίσματα καὶ ... Ἀφροδισιάς, Κολοσσαί, Θεμισίονιον, Σαναός, Μητρόπολις, Ἀπολλωνιάς.⁹⁴

For this passage of Strabo, a more convincing argument is given which suggests that it is inaccurate to include Colossae among the πολίσματα he lists and so infer that the city had greatly diminished in size and importance. There is a lacuna in the text after the word and it cannot be

⁹¹ Herodotus, 7, 30; Ruge, *RE*, 1921, XI, I, 1119; Magie, *RRAM*, p. 985, n. 22. See above.

⁹² Xenophon, 24*Anabasis*, 1,2,6; Ruge, *RE*, 1921, XI,I, 1119; Magie, *RRAM*, p. 986, n. 22.

⁹³ Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 209.

⁹⁴ Strabo, 12, 8, 16; Ruge, *RE*, XI, I, 1119.

assumed that the term applies to the cities, including Colossae, which are listed afterwards.⁹⁵

This is especially so when considering the coins and inscriptions of the city. The numismatic and epigraphic evidence of the Imperial period show the usual city officials and Colossae can still be seen as functioning as a city under the emperors. One inscription from the city concerns the Nea Olympia, games which were held at Colossae: ἡ πατρις Μ. Αὐρ. Ζήνωνα Διομᾶ δίκ, νικήσαντα δευτέραν τ[ε]τραετηρίδα Νέα Ὀλύμπια Ἀπολλωνίη ἀγῶλοθετοῦντος διὰ βίου Αὐ[ρ.] Τατιανοῦ ΓΑΥ.⁹⁶ This contributes to the picture of Colossae actively enjoying a healthy civic life during the Imperial period. There is no doubt that the foundation of Laodicea and the commercial importance it gained affected to some degree the development of its neighbour yet this was not as damaging as previously believed for Colossae still continued to enjoy the rights of a city during the Imperial period and should not be dismissed as minor and of little importance.⁹⁷

Along with its neighbours, Laodicea and Hierapolis, Colossae suffered its share of natural disasters. For example, in 60 A.D. all three cities were hit by an earthquake: *In Asia tres urbes, hoc est Laodicea, Hierapolis, Colossae terrae motu conciderunt.*⁹⁸ It would not have been immune either to the same financial predicaments outlined by Appian and in Cicero's letters.

Despite these problems, Colossae flourished in the same way as its two neighbours even though it never became as large or quite as important as either of them. Along

⁹⁵ Magie, *RRAM*, p. 986, n. 22.

⁹⁶ *MAMA*, VI, 40.

⁹⁷ Magie, *RRAM*, p. 986, n. 22 and see Appendix IIc and Catalogue G and H.

⁹⁸ Orosius, 7, 7, 12; Broughton, "Roman Asia Minor", p. 601.

with Laodicea and Hierapolis, Colossae also became an important centre for the manufacturing of cloth. Strabo tells us how Laodicea derived great revenue from its wool trade and he says that the same happened with Colossae. The trade of the city was such that its name was connected with a purple dye.⁹⁹ Pliny describes how the flower of the cyclamen is called Colossae and used to dye chaplets: *in vepribus nascitur cyclaminum, de quo plura alias. flos eius Colossinus in coronas admittitur.*¹⁰⁰

As well as its textile trade, Colossae also owed its development, in part, to its position on the Southern Highway. After leaving the plain around Apamea, the Highway followed the Lycus valley to its junction with the Maeander. In this valley was the ancient city of Colossae.¹⁰¹ As with Laodicea, the use of this road as a major route of communication which transported both goods and personnel within the vicinity of Colossae would ensure the city's growth and development.

Although there is less evidence for Colossae than for its neighbour Laodicea, foundations from inhabitants of this small city must also have contributed to its wealth. An inscription records that a young man's mother paid for a crown to be given on the seventh day of the eighth month while his father paid for a statue.¹⁰²

Even though there is no surviving continuous history of the cities of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae or even of the area of Phrygia itself, an insight into the growth and development of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley can be gained from the brief notices in the extant literary

⁹⁹ Strabo, 12, 5, 16; Broughton, "Roman Asia Minor", p. 819.

¹⁰⁰ Pliny, *NH*, 21, 51; Broughton, "Roman Asia Minor", p. 819.

¹⁰¹ Magie, *RRAM*, p. 126 and see above pp. 22, 35-36 and 43.

¹⁰² See Appendix IIc.

sources and from the epigraphic and numismatic evidence. The overall impression of this group of cities despite the political, natural and financial disasters which beset Asia and the neighbourhood of the Upper Maeander Valley, is one of gradual growth in the wealth and importance of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae especially during the late Republican and Imperial periods. This was due to the cities' close proximity to the Southern Highway, a major roadway in Asia Minor, and the prominence in the cloth trade which they all enjoyed.

CHAPTER TWO: The Coinage System of Asia Minor

When the kingdom of Pergamum, which formed the basis of the Roman province of Asia, was bequeathed to Rome in 133 B.C. by its last king, Attalus III, the Roman authorities inherited the coinage system already in existence in the area. A closed currency system had been introduced into the kingdom during the second century B.C. just as had been done in Egypt under the Ptolemies a century previously. The basis of the coinage was a coin called the *cistophorus* which was also the main silver coin in use within the kingdom. It had a lower intrinsic value than the other silver coins which circulated in neighbouring kingdoms and localities which meant that it did not leave Pergamum since it was worth less beyond the borders of the kingdom than within it.¹ Despite the fact that the Roman government continued to make use of the coinage system already in existence in the province of Asia, it was possible that Roman coins and units of reckoning would influence that monetary system.

During the late Republic, little gold coinage was produced in Asia Minor and in fact, little of this precious metal was coined in the Roman Empire as a whole. At Rome itself, gold was only introduced as a regular part of the coinage quite late in the state's monetary history. This was done by Julius Caesar in 46 B.C. but after his assassination two years later in 44 B.C., the minting of gold and also the silver *denarius* was spread throughout the Mediterranean as it was undertaken by the various factions which fought for control of the empire. The production of gold was eventually confined to the issues of Augustus after he emerged victorious in the struggle for the rule of Rome and her domains when he won the battle of Actium in 31 B.C. These issues were first produced at the so-called "Spanish" mints which were two mints whose identity is uncertain but in any case, from 15 B.C. their role was

¹ Burnett, *CRW*, p. 41; Crawford, *CMRR*, p. 158.



taken over by the mint at Lyons which was the only mint to strike gold until either A.D. 64 or 69 when its operations were moved to Rome.²

No other gold was minted within the Empire although some coins were minted from this metal by the Bosporan client kingdom under the dynast Koson and other kings. It was also minted by the Bosporan cities of Chersonesus and Olbia. Only a few examples of this coinage survive but there seems to have been no attempt to integrate the circulation of Roman and Bosporan gold. This is not to be expected anyway as the Bosporan gold formed a completely different monetary system even though it was influenced by Roman gold. This is emphasised by the fact that although the early Bosporan gold was minted on a similar standard to the Roman *aureus*, the closeness of the standards was not maintained. In the west, under Juba and Ptolemaeus, gold was struck on various occasions at an uncertain standard in the African kingdom of Mauretania but this was done on a very small scale.³

It was probably during the late Republican and early Imperial periods that the *aureus* of Rome replaced the gold coinage minted at Ephesus. This city had been responsible for some insubstantial issues during the late Hellenistic period but they did not last into the Imperial age.⁴ The *aurei* seem to have been struck at a higher standard than the Asian gold and they began to circulate in the province from the beginning of their production in the 40s B.C. *Aurei* have been found in what was the eastern part of the Empire. In Turkey, a hoard of seven of the coins were found dating from Antoninus Pius to Commodus while a much larger hoard contained over two hundred coins depicting

² *RPC*, p. 6; Burnett, *CRW*, pp. 49-50.

³ *RPC*, p. 6.

⁴ *RPC*, pp. 6, 369, 431.

Nero and Crispina.⁵ This shows that the *aureus* reached and circulated in that part of the Imperial domains.

A number of *aurei* were struck at Ephesus during the period of the civil wars and also during the emperor Augustus' reign down to 19/18 B.C. A unique *aureus* bearing the image of Octavia, the wife of Antony, dated to 39 B.C., may have been produced at the city as there is a marked similarity between this portrait and those found on a *cistophorus* and the bronzes of the city.⁶

Brutus and Cassius also may have produced some gold within the province of Asia in 43-42 B.C. while the city of Pergamum also struck *aurei* under Augustus in 19-18 B.C. However, no more gold was minted in Asia until the reign of Vespasian.⁷

The gold coins produced during this time are dated to A.D. 70 and 71 because these were the years in which Vespasian held his second and third consulships which are referred to in the legends. *Aurei* struck in 70 show the portrait of the emperor on the obverse and are marked "BY" while coins minted the following year depict both Vespasian and Titus as Caesar and are marked "EPA". The latter mark, it has been argued, can only be interpreted as "Ephesus" but "BY" has been resolved as "Byzantium". However, the monogram also appears with a third character and can be read as "ABY" or "BYA". Metcalf believes that this makes it less likely that Byzantium is referred to and he thinks that these coins were also minted at the city of Ephesus.⁸

Just as the gold coin of Rome was minted in Asia, so too was the *denarius*, which constituted the main silver

⁵ CH 2, 236 and CH 3, 156.

⁶ RPC, pp. 368-9, 431. See below pp. 57-58 for this *cistophorus*.

⁷ RPC, p. 368.

⁸ Metcalf, "The Flavians", pp. 328 and 330; RIC, II, pp. 54-55, nos. 334, 339-340. See below pp. 53-54 for similar marks on the silver coinage produced during this period.

coinage of the Roman Empire. From the period of the civil wars during the late Republic, *denarii* were produced in the province. The minting of the coin was sporadic and not a regular occurrence but was undertaken on several occasions within the province of Asia. In 49 B.C. *denarii* were struck by L. Lentulus, the proconsul of Asia at the time. As part of the issue featured the type of Artemis Ephesia, the whole issue is attributed to the city of Ephesus. Both gold and silver was produced under the auspices of Brutus and Cassius and it is likely that most of their issues were struck in Asia and Lycia.⁹ In 42-41 B.C. another issue, that of Murcus, was perhaps made in Asia and it is also likely that the coinage of Sextus Pompey was produced there in 35 B.C.. A great quantity of silver coinage was produced in the East by Mark Antony some of which may well have been minted in Asia. However, it is not possible to distinguish between issues made in Greece, Bithynia or Asia or to identify the mints responsible for the coins within these areas.¹⁰

The sporadic minting of the *denarius* was also continued during the Imperial period. During the early part of Augustus' reign in 19-18 B.C., *denarii* were struck at Pergamum on what seems to be a very high standard which was not untypical. Only two coins were analyzed weighing 3.81g and 3.69g. The weight of silver was 3.74g and 3.60g giving a silver content of 98.25% and 97.50% respectively.¹¹ There were no more subsequent issues of *denarii* until those produced under Vespasian at the city of Ephesus.¹²

The *denarii* of Vespasian highlight the problems of interpreting the monograms and marks made on coins of the

⁹ See p. 51 for the gold issues.

¹⁰ On all these Republican issues of *denarii*, see *RPC*, pp. 10 and 368 and see also Kinns, "Asia Minor", p. 112.

¹¹ Walker, *Metrology*, I, pp. 12 and 24.

¹² *RPC*, p. 368.

ancient world. The coins depict on the obverses not only the portrait of Vespasian but also those of Titus and Domitian. Some of the coins are undated but others refer to the emperor's second, third and fifth consulships in their legends. Only part of the issue is unmarked but some of the *denarii* have "Φ", "P", "BY" and "EPA" engraved on them. The latter of these marks is found on the gold coinage. Other coins are marked with a star and a later series is marked with a small "o".¹³

Formerly, these series of coins have been classified according to their markings and treated as if they were struck at a number of mints which were producing contemporary issues or from a travelling mint. However, it has been suggested, from the evidence of die-links, the unity of style and the fact that all the issues of Vespasian's *denarii* share common types, that the coins were struck at a single mint which was in continuous production for the first three years of the emperor's reign. Minting operations were suspended for a while but it resumed in A.D. 74.¹⁴

Attempts at solving the question of where the mint was situated has revolved around the interpretation of the marks which appear on the coins. "BY" has been deciphered as Byzantium, as had been done for the gold coins, but other forms of the ligature can be read as "ABY" or "BYA" which, it has been argued, makes it less likely to be connected with Byzantium.¹⁵

"Φ" is harder to interpret and readings which have resolved the mark into Philippi, Bithynia and Ionia all seem to be unlikely both as meanings for the mark and as

¹³ Metcalf, "The Flavians", p. 326. See also *RIC*, II, pp. 54-56 and Woodward, "Cistophoric Series", p. 156. See below p. 51 for the gold coins of Vespasian.

¹⁴ Metcalf, "The Flavians", pp. 328-329.

¹⁵ See p. 51 for this mark and Metcalf, "The Flavians", p. 329.

mint sites.¹⁶

The issues of A.D. 71 are attributed to Ephesus as this is the only way " " can be read and the city itself was an obvious choice for a mint, being a large and important city in the province of Asia. This issue of coins is not die-linked with the earlier marked and unmarked issues but it does share the same similarity of style. Other evidence which has been cited to support the theory that the *denarii* of Vespasian were produced at the single mint of Ephesus is the appearance of the type of a turreted female bust with the legend *PACI ORB TERR AVG* which is depicted throughout the series from the beginning. The identity of this bust is uncertain but Roma and Pax have been suggested. Identity aside, the female portrait is only otherwise known from the municipal coinage of Ephesus. The conclusion is that Ephesus was the mint responsible for the *denarii* of Vespasian as it has been identified as the mint for the *aurei*.¹⁷

If the unmarked coins and those marked with "Φ", "BY" and "ΕΡ" can be attributed to the single mint of Ephesus, the same cannot be said of those marked with a small "o". Metcalf believes that this is a mint mark and not a magistrate's name but he knows of no mint which identified itself in this way. It forms a different series to the other *denarii* but the mint which struck these coins cannot be easily determined.¹⁸

Denarii were also struck under Hadrian in the East and those dated to A.D. 125 are attributed to the *provincia Asia* by Walker.¹⁹

It is clear within the Empire that the *denarius* of Rome was the most important silver coin. It had gradually

¹⁶ Metcalf, "The Flavians", pp. 329-330.

¹⁷ P. 51 and Metcalf, "The Flavians", pp. 328-330.

¹⁸ Metcalf, "The Flavians", pp. 330-332.

¹⁹ Walker, *Metrology*, II, pp. 24 and 57.

replaced local civic coinages made of this metal and this growth in production was a consequence of the minting which had taken place during the troubles of the late Republic. In some places of the Empire, namely Italy, Sicily, Africa, Achaea and perhaps also Cyrenaica, the *denarius* constituted the only silver currency while in other parts it was certainly dominant at least. The residue of Iberian *denarii* circulated with Roman *denarii* until the reign of Augustus and in the western part of the province of Macedonia, the silver of Dyrrachium and Apollonia supplemented the *denarii*. In Britain, the surviving local issues continued to circulate alongside the Roman coin in Norfolk and the region south of the River Thames. Gallic silver was important down to the age of Augustus in Gaul.²⁰

However, even though the *denarius* of Rome was the most important silver coinage as far east as Greece and probably Cyrenaica, its role even further east was more restricted due to the existence of other main local silver currencies. These were the *drachms* and *didrachms* of Caesarea in Cappadocia, the *tetradrachms* of Antioch in Syria and those of Alexandria in Egypt and the silver issues of Pontis under Polemo II. The same was true in the west where silver issues were produced in the client kingdom of Mauretania under Juba II and Ptolemaeus. This is borne out by the archaeological evidence. For example, coin hoards from Caesarea in Cappadocia show that the *denarius* and the *drachms* and *didrachms* did not circulate together. In one hoard, one *denarius* of Tiberius was found among sixty-one Caesarean silver coins while another contained *didrachms* and *hemidrachms* along with nine coins of Archelaus which date from the reign of Tiberius to that of Hadrian.²¹ Likewise, in Asia the role of the *denarius* was restricted

²⁰ *RPC*, p. 6.

²¹ *CH* 1975, 116.

by the continued minting of the *cistophorus*.²²

The minting of the *denarius* at certain mints within Asia did not preclude the production of the *cistophorus*. As with the *denarius*, and also the *aureus*, the striking of this coin was carried out on an irregular basis and was certainly not undertaken for all periods under all emperors. This was the norm for the minting of Imperial silver be it produced at Rome or elsewhere. For example, the *denarius* was not minted regularly throughout the Julio-Claudian period. Small quantities only were produced under the emperors Claudius and Caligula and also from the beginning of Nero's reign until A.D. 64. There were also periods when no *denarii* were minted at all. Under Augustus, between 27-19 B.C., no *denarii* were minted.²³

It was the same for the minting of the *cistophorus* as there were periods of little or no production as well as the minting of quite large quantities. When the Roman authorities took over control of the former kingdom of the Pergamene king, Attalus, the production of the *cistophorus* was continued at several mints from that time until 68/67 B.C. when minting ceased. It was not until 58 B.C. that the minting of the cistophoric silver coinage was resumed. This break has been connected to the enormous commands of Pompey in the east and his control of the revenues there.²⁴ When production did start again, it was done with the so-called "proconsular" *cistophori* struck with the names of various Roman officials stationed in the provinces of Asia and Cilicia. A number of issues are known and the latest ones were issued from Phrygian and Lydian mints for Cilician proconsuls. This was because Phrygia was for a time detached from the province of Asia and added to that of Cilicia. The latest proconsul named on the coinage was

²² *RPC*, p. 6.

²³ *RPC*, p. 7.

²⁴ Burnett, *CRW*, p. 41.

the famous Marcus Tullius Cicero who was proconsul of Cilicia in 51 B.C, but there was also an issue from Pergamum dated to 49 B.C. in the name of Q. Metellus Scipio who was the proconsul of Syria. Other issues were signed by different Roman officials. These include the issues signed *C. Fannius Pont. Pr.* and *Fimbria Imper.* as well as the coins bearing the names of Lepidus and a quaestor whose name is in the form of a monogram and can be read as being either L. Antonius or Atratinus. The *cistophori* in the name of these magistrates of Rome are undated but the editors of *Roman Provincial Coinage* have suggested that they probably belong to the same general period as the "proconsular" *cistophori* or perhaps even to the 40s B.C. given the similarity between the series.²⁵ This is perhaps confirmed by the fact that later *cistophori* are dominated by the portraits of Antony, Augustus and successive emperors and other members of the Imperial family. The coinage of the proconsuls was minted by five mints only sited at Ephesus, Pergamum, Tralles, Apamea and Laodicea. There was continuity in the standard of these coins and the *cistophori* which had been minted previously as the "proconsular" *cistophori* were only slightly reduced in weight compared to their predecessors.²⁶

After the early 40s B.C. no more *cistophori* were issued until those of Antony which were produced in connection with his struggle against Octavian.²⁷ Two very large issues of *cistophori* were struck by him and they are both attributed to the mint at Ephesus. There is a similarity between both issues in the range of larger and smaller heads which they portray. The attribution to Ephesus is further supported by similarities between the depiction of a bust of Octavia which is portrayed on a

²⁵ For the "proconsular" *cistophori* see *RPC*, p. 374.

²⁶ Woodward, "Cistophoric Series", pp. 150-151.

²⁷ Burnett, *RPC*, p. 42.

single *cistophorus* and that used on some rare bronzes of the city bearing Octavia. Placing both issues at the mint of Ephesus is more likely than believing the issues were produced at two different mints located at both Ephesus and Pergamum because of these reasons.²⁸

These two issues have been dated to the period after the marriage of Antony and Octavia in 40 B.C.. This is because the portrait of Octavia appears on the single *cistophorus* and it is unlikely that her portrait would have figured among the coins of Antony unless she were formally connected to him. The issues also must be before 38 B.C. since Antony is titled *COS DESIG ITER ET TERT*. The most likely date is when both Antony and Octavia were in the east in 39.²⁹

The next series of *cistophori* was produced under Augustus at the mint at Pergamum. These were issued until 19-18 B.C. and the last issue was accompanied by an issue of *aurei* and *denarii*.³⁰ If it is correct to identify Pergamum as a mint of the *denarii* of Augustus and his last issue of *cistophori*, then in this case we have a mint striking two different silver denominations at the same time but producing them at their own standards and finenesses.³¹

The same situation occurred during the reign of Hadrian. A very rare series of *denarii* were struck in the *provincia Asia* under this emperor and because of the style of the coins, it appears they were produced at the same mints and at the same time as the *cistophori*. These *denarii* correspond with those minted at Rome with respect to their silver content while at the same time overvalued

²⁸ *RPC*, p. 374. On the coins bearing Octavia see p. 51.

²⁹ *RPC*, p. 374.

³⁰ *RPC*, p. 374.

³¹ Walker, *Metrology*, I, p. 24.

cistophori were being produced.³²

During the reign of Claudius, two brief issues of *cistophori* were struck. It could be suggested for the first issue that two mints were responsible for its production. This issue was struck in the name of the emperor only but there were two reverse types, one depicting the temple of Roma and Augustus which was situated at Pergamum and the other showing the temple of Diana Ephesia situated at Ephesus. This implies that the coins were minted at two mints at Pergamum and Ephesus. However, Ephesus may be the sole mint of this issue as die links connect the two types. Ephesus is perhaps more securely identified as the mint for these Claudian *cistophori* as a second issue was struck at the city. This issue is loosely dated to between A.D. 50 and 54 but more precision is not possible. On this series of coins, Claudius appears with Agrippina II as well as with the young Nero. The only non-Imperial reverse type is that of Diana Ephesia which suggests Ephesus was the mint for these coins and so perhaps also the first issue.³³

The sporadic nature of the production of the *cistophorus* is confirmed by the fact that there were no more issues until a tiny series was struck under Vespasian. Generally during the Flavian period *cistophori* were comparatively rare and are almost entirely confined to the reign of Titus and the early years of the reign of Domitian apart from the coins struck by Vespasian.³⁴

Cistophori were again minted soon after the accession of the emperor Nerva. From A.D. 96-99, the coins were under continuous and considerable production in a period covering the two years of Nerva's short reign and the first

³² Walker, *Metrology*, II, p. 64.

³³ *RPC*, p. 379.

³⁴ Burnett, *CRW*, p. 42; *RPC*, p. 374; Walker, *Metrology*, II, p. 122.

year of Trajan's rule.³⁵

A major recoinage of the *cistophorus* was undertaken during the reign of Hadrian and this took the form of the restriking of the coins produced by Antony and Augustus although many of these pieces dating to the late Republic and the early Empire would have been very worn after about a century and a half in circulation. Woodward has concluded that there was no compulsory recall of earlier *cistophori* and that the coins minted by both Antony and Augustus were still circulating when Hadrian recoinced them. There is no evidence to suggest that the *cistophori* of the Flavians or those of Nerva and Trajan were restruck.³⁶

After the activities of Hadrian, the next series of *cistophori* to be minted were those produced under Septimius Severus and these were the only *cistophori* to be produced from the short reign of Pertinax onwards. The issue falls into two groups. The first of these has been dated to c. 195 by Walker but Woodward previously dated them to 198 on the basis that Severus is referred to as holding tribunician power for the sixth time. However, both date the second issue to c. 205, Woodward because Caracalla's second consulship is mentioned.³⁷ This series of *cistophori* was small and the only certain information which can be given about the mints is that one or perhaps more were responsible for the coins and that they remain unidentified.³⁸

It seems there was a close relationship between the *cistophorus* and the *denarius*. The former has often been

³⁵ Walker, *Metrology*, II, p. 63.

³⁶ Woodward, "Cistophoric Series", p. 170; Harl, *Coinage*, pp. 101-102.

³⁷ Walker, *Metrology*, III, p. 72; Woodward, "Cistophoric Series", p. 170; Burnett, *CRW*, p. 42.

³⁸ Woodward, "Cistophoric Series", p. 170; Walker, *Metrology*, III, pp. 72f has not identified the mints. On the minting *cistophori*, see also Harl, *Coinage*, pp. 69-72, 98-100.

regarded as worth the equivalent of three of the latter. The literary evidence for this is Festus who says *Talentorum non unum genus. Atticus est sex milium denarium, Rhodium et cistophorum quattuor milium et quingentorum denarium.*³⁹ The bulk of Festus' work was an epitome of Verrius Flaccus who was the tutor to Augustus' grandchildren. Walker has pointed out that it can be assumed that the ratio of one *cistophorus* to three *denarii* existed in the time of Augustus but it need not have applied in every period nor need it have been the only exchange rate under Augustus.⁴⁰ However, from his analyses there is no doubt that the *cistophorus* was intended to pass at three *denarii* because of their silver content.⁴¹

It is more difficult to determine when this relationship was introduced between the two different types of silver coinage. It can obviously be argued that no such ratio existed in the Republican period when the *cistophorus* circulated alone in the closed currency area of the kingdom of Pergamum. The relationship between the *cistophorus* and the *denarius* would then presumably date from the time when the *denarius* began to be struck and within the province of Asia during the troubled period of the civil wars at the end of the Republican era.⁴²

The overstriking of the *cistophori* minted by Antony and Augustus during the reign of Hadrian was a unique event. It has been suggested that the overstriking was carried out to save time and money. To import bullion and to prepare dies and mint apparatus was a slow and costly process.⁴³ However, this must have been done for all the other issues of *cistophori* which were not overstruck and

³⁹ p. 492 ed. Lindsay, Walker, *Metrology*, I, p. 35.

⁴⁰ Walker, *Metrology*, I, p. 35.

⁴¹ Walker, *Metrology*, I, pp. 26ff; *RPC*, p. 28.

⁴² *RPC*, p. 28; Kinns, "Asia Minor", p. 112.

⁴³ Woodward, "Cistophoric series", p. 170.

there is no reason to suggest why this process should have proved more untimely or more expensive for Hadrian than for any other emperor who produced *cistophori*.

The overstiking of Antonine and Augustan *cistophori* has also been explained in terms of the relationship between the *cistophorus* and the *denarius*. According to Walker, the point of the whole operation was to make the *cistophorus* a coin worth four *denarii* rather than three. He also believes that this hypothesis provides a neat explanation for the emperor's actions as it would be inconceivable that it was undertaken merely to improve the appearance of the coins, some of which would have been very worn indeed. If the revaluation had been done in a normal manner, then the coins would have been recalled, melted down and base metal added all for the profit of the state. Walker has argued that the profit accruing to the state would be all the greater if the cost of melting the coins down could be avoided.⁴⁴

The revaluation of the coin under Hadrian seems to be confirmed by the coinage struck during the reign of Septimius Severus. The Severan *cistophori* have a standard mean of 73.44% silver and one specimen is 93% fine which is considerably higher than the Severan *denarii*. In Walker's opinion, this analysis tends to confirm the view that from the reign of the emperor Hadrian the *cistophorus* was valued at four and not three *denarii*.⁴⁵

Despite this relationship, the *denarius* and the *cistophorus* did not circulate together and the *denarius* does not figure greatly in the currency of the province of Asia. For example, at Aphrodisias, single *denarii* have been found which were minted under Domitian, Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus, Commodus, Julia Domna and Geta while two bear the name of Trajan. Fourré *denarii* bear the

⁴⁴ Walker, *Metrology*, II, p. 64.

⁴⁵ Walker, *Metrology*, III, p. 72.

portraits of Domitian, Trajan, and Septimius Severus.⁴⁶

The fact that *denarii* were a rarity within Asian cities is confirmed by the overview of the Imperial silver found at the city of Sardis. Three *denarii* dating to the first century A.D. were discovered which were minted during the reigns of the emperors Tiberius, Nero and lastly Vespasian. The latter two coins are attributed to the mint of Rome while the Tiberian coin has conventionally been listed as a product of the mint of Lugudunum. The type was struck in very large quantities and it may well have come from a number of mints, possibly even from some in the east. Ten *denarii* dating to the second century A.D. have been found. Four are dated to the reign of Trajan and two to Hadrian's. The coin of Antoninus Pius is a posthumous issue and there is one *denarius* struck under Lucius Verus, Commodus and lastly Septimius Severus. All have been assigned to the mint of Rome. A few *denarii* of the first half of the third century have been excavated from the city of Sardis with various Imperial portraits. One portrays Caracalla and was minted at Rome, two portray Elagabalus and one was struck for Julia Mamaea. The last three again were all produced at the mint of Rome.⁴⁷ This shows that the *denarius* was not a common coin within the city.

This was so even though the *denarius* formed the major silver currency within the Empire as a whole not least because it was the coinage of the Roman government. The *cistophorus* on the other hand was certainly not used for inter-provincial transactions and it did not circulate outside the province of Asia.⁴⁸ Few hoards of silver *cistophori* coinage have been found within Asia. A hoard was deposited in c18 B.C. containing thirty-eight Antonine

⁴⁶ Macdonald, *Greek and Roman Coins from Aphrodisias*, pp. 13-14.

⁴⁷ Buttrey, "Roman Coins", p. 92 and pp. 129-131.

⁴⁸ Walker, *Metrology*, I, p. 35.

pieces and two hundred and fifty five Augustan coins while another hoard is composed of forty-seven coins of Antony and ninety-nine of Augustus. Another hoard contained *cistophori* of the Flavian emperors as well as *denarii* of Nero, Othello and Vitellius. Two other hoards are less well known but one discovered in the 1940s ended with issues of Claudius and the other passed into trade in the 1960s but probably terminated with issues of Hadrian. Excavations have not added to the finds of *cistophori*. Four *cistophori*, two Antonine, one Augustan and one Claudian, were found during the American excavations at Sardis and a plated coin was found by German excavators at Pergamum, the specimen now being at Berlin.⁴⁹

From this brief overview of the find evidence, it is clear that the *cistophorus* was a very important coin within the province of Asia and the negative evidence against their use outside the area serves only to strengthen this picture. Few *cistophori* are found outside Asia. For example, a *cistophorus* minted at Laodicea was found during the dredging of the harbour at Tass on the Danube and it has been suggested that it was lost or buried by a soldier returning from the East who had kept one in his possession. Austrian excavations at Carnuntum found a coin of Augustus and a single Augustan *cistophorus* formed part of the 1920 Vico Pisano hoard. Generally though, *cistophori* are never found in hoards which come from further east. Of the major finds of eastern silver, such as the Gerzeul and Tokat hoards, *cistophori* do not figure. A hoard from Pisidian Antioch is the only hoard outside the province of Asia to contain *cistophori* in significant numbers but the city was very close to the borders of the province and this cannot be cited as firm evidence for the circulation of the coin outside of Asia. According to Metcalf, this bears out the view that the *cistophorus* only circulated within the

⁴⁹ Metcalf, *Cistophori of Hadrian*, pp. 110-111.

province of Asia and not outside it.⁵⁰

This may have been because the *cistophorus*, especially when compared to the *denarius*, was an overvalued currency, like it had been when the closed monetary system had been introduced, and this overvaluation ensured its restricted circulation. For example, Walker has calculated that the coin was overvalued by between six and eleven percent from 70-68 B.C. and during the reign of Claudius. While this enabled the state to derive some revenue from the striking of *cistophori*, it equally meant that the coin did not circulate outside the area in which it was minted.⁵¹ This overvaluation fluctuated during the Imperial period but it was maintained. Under Hadrian, as coins worth four denarii, *cistophori* were overvalued against contemporary *denarii* by about nineteen percent and under Severus this figure was ten percent. The small Severan issue of *cistophori* is very worn suggesting that it was in circulation for a considerable period and this is expected of an overvalued currency and not an undervalued one.⁵²

It was presumably because of this overvaluation that the *denarius* was the preferred coinage in some quarters. In a letter to his friend Atticus written about April 59 B.C., Cicero urges him to try and get the treasury in Rome to make payments in the Roman coin and not the Asian: *Sed ut ad rem, scripsi ad quaestores urbanos de Quinti fratris negotio. Vide, quid narrant, ecquae spes sit denarii, an cistophoro Pompeiano iacemus.*⁵³ The Pompeian *cistophori* were no doubt the money Pompey had brought back with him when he returned from Asia, presumably, Walker believes, in the most recent and most debased coins of Ephesus but he

⁵⁰ Metcalf, *Cistophori of Hadrian*, pp. 111-112.

⁵¹ Walker, *Metrology*, I, p. 35.

⁵² Walker, *Metrology*, II, p. 64 and III, pp. 72-73.

⁵³ Cicero, *Ad Att.*, 2. 6. 2; Metcalf, *Cistophori of Hadrian*, p. 112.

does not say why this should be so especially since earlier, more valuable *cistophori* might still have been circulating when Pompey was in the East.⁵⁴ The *cistophorus* was less favoured than the *denarius* by Cicero because he presumably believed he was going to get paid in the less valuable coin and not able to buy as much with it as if he had been paid with the equivalent amount of *denarii*.⁵⁵

There is no doubt though that the influence of Rome can be seen quite clearly to have affected the *cistophorus*. When the kingdom of Attalus III was first taken over by the Roman authorities, the coin was continued in its normal form employing the type of the *cista mystica*. The issuing of the *cistophorus* remained unaltered during the period 133-67 B.C.. When the coinage was resumed in 58 B.C., it was minted until 49 but appeared to be more "Romanized" in form. The *cistophori* minted during this time were the "proconsular" *cistophori* and the names of Roman officials were added in Latin, along with the title of *PROCOS* or *IMPER*, but the traditional design of the coin was maintained. When Mark Antony revived the coinage in the early 30s B.C. his portrait, and not the *cista mystica*, dominated the design and the legends continued to be in Latin. With the rule of the emperors, Imperial portraits and other Imperial themes figured on the coins and it can be said that they were thoroughly "Roman" with Greek legends and types ceasing to be important.⁵⁶ However, the most important change regarding the *cistophorus* was that it was no longer the coinage of a Hellenistic kingdom but rather it became part of the Roman coinage of a Roman province.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Walker, *Metrology*, I, pp. 35-36.

⁵⁵ Walker, *Metrology*, I, pp. 35-36; Harl, *Coinage*, p. 241.

⁵⁶ See Burnett, *CRW*, pp. 41-42; *RPC*, p. 374; see also Appendix III.

⁵⁷ Crawford, *CMRR*, p. 160 and see Appendix III.

As well as the *denarius* and the *cistophorus*, a limited amount of local civic silver was struck by a few cities in the first part of the Imperial period. The cities which produced these issues were Stratonicea, Tabae and Mylasa and also the islands of Rhodes and Chios. It is very difficult to put a precise date to these very late Hellenistic coinages and to determine whether they were struck before Augustus became emperor or after. Silver was also minted elsewhere in the East, for example, Galatia, the Lycian League and Armenia during the Triumviral and Augustan periods. Some of these local silver coinages may have been quite large, such as those produced by Rhodes, the Lycian League and also Aphrodisias-Plarasa, but most are known only from a small number of examples. It therefore seems probable that while these coins were important in the immediate area in which they were produced, they would not have added a great deal to the silver currency of the province of Asia which consisted mainly of the *cistophorus*.⁵⁸

It is clear that the Roman *aureus* and its silver counterpart, the *denarius*, were produced in Asia but the role they played in the monetary system of the province differed. The *aureus* was important because it formed the only major gold coin of the Empire. In contrast, the circulation of the *denarius* within Asia was greatly restricted by the continued production of the *cistophorus* which was the traditional currency of the area even though the *denarius* formed part of the currency of the Imperial government.

The same can also be said of Imperial bronze. Like the precious metal coinage of Rome, bronze did not circulate in the eastern part of the Empire during the Republican era. However, while the silver of Rome, and also the gold, were produced at mints within Asia during the period of the civil wars at the end of the Republic,

⁵⁸ *RPC*, pp. 369-370; Kinns, "Asia Minor", p. 113.

the same did not happen with the bronze denominations of Rome.⁵⁹ At Aphrodisias in Caria, it has been estimated that Imperial bronze constituted only one and a half percent of the base coinage circulating within the territory of the city. This shows that although the bronze of Rome was present to a small extent in the city, it was by no means important.⁶⁰

The same is true of Sardis. At the city, for example, few Roman bronzes have been found at the excavations carried out there. A pierced Roman *as* was discovered during the earlier excavations which means that it was used as jewellery rather than as a form of currency while an *aes grave triens* was found at Priene.⁶¹ The earliest coins of the Imperial period which have been excavated date to the late first century B.C. and consist of a number of *asses* and one *sesterce* struck in the East at an uncertain mint. They must date to after 27 B.C. because they carry the name of Augustus. Apart from these coins, the only other Roman bronze coin dating to the first century B.C. was an *as* produced by one of the moneymakers of Augustus. Only one bronze coin was found dating to the first century A.D. and this was a *quadrans* of the emperor Claudius minted at Rome. An *as* was also unearthed dating to the third century A.D. and this is a coin of Caracalla again issued from the mint at Rome. The coin is dated to 213 and Buttrey is tempted to connect the coin with Caracalla's tour of the East. He may have visited Sardis while following the itinerary of Alexander the Great and the coin may have been dropped by a member of the Imperial entourage or perhaps even the emperor himself.⁶² However, this solitary third century

⁵⁹ Burnett, *CRW*, p. 52.

⁶⁰ MacDonald, *Greek and Roman coins from Aphrodisias*, pp. 45-46; Howgego, *GIC*, p. 84.

⁶¹ Buttrey, "Roman Coins", p. 91.

⁶² On this and the other bronzes found at Sardis, see Buttrey, "Roman Coins", p. 92 and pp. 129-130.

coin found its way to Sardis, it is clear that during the first two and a half centuries of the Empire, Roman bronzes were a rarity in the city. As with the Imperial silver, the fact that a coin bearing the portrait of a particular emperor does not mean the coin was present in the city during his reign. Coins produced in Rome would certainly take some time to reach Asia.

The exception to the very strong conclusion that the bronze coinage of Rome did not circulate and was not produced in any great quantity within the province of Asia is provided by the so-called "CA" coinage. This was minted during the 20s B.C and found in appreciable quantities from all over the province as the editors of *Roman Provincial Coinage* have pointed out.⁶³ It was produced in varying denominations, such as the *as* and also its multiples and fractions, either in brass or bronze. It has been argued that this coinage represented an attempt by the Imperial government to impose a unified currency on the province of Asia which was based on a Roman model. However, this system was abandoned and there were no further efforts made to reproduce the size, weight and metal of Roman coinage in Asia.⁶⁴

Despite the presence of the CA coinage and the various finds of Roman Imperial bronze within Asia, it is clear that the needs of the province for base metal coinage were met by the many issues of numerous provincial cities and that in the East, civic, rather than Imperial, bronze coinage predominated.⁶⁵ More than one hundred cities which minted coins during the reign of Augustus are known but after this period there was a decline in the numbers of city mints. This was reversed during the second century A.D. the third century when a peak was reached which saw

⁶³ *RPC*, p. 369.

⁶⁴ *RPC*, pp. 23 and 371; Burnett, *CRW*, p. 53.

⁶⁵ MacDonald, *Greek and Roman Coins from Aphrodisias*, p. 32.

about two hundred cities were under production. This was not just an increase in the number of cities which minted base metal coinage, but also the spread of coin production into areas where there had been none before, such as the more remote inland areas of Asia Minor.⁶⁶ The fluctuation in the number of cities which minted civic issues highlights the generally sporadic nature of coin production in the ancient world.

In Asia, bronze civic issues were produced on quite a large scale for such a relatively small area. One estimate has suggested that about one thousand varieties were produced from about one hundred cities. Smyrna, judging from the number of coins which survive today, produced the largest civic coinage but those issued by Pergamum, Ephesus, Laodicea, Hierapolis and Aezani were also very large as were the coinages of Rhodes, Tralles, Aphrodisias and Magnesia ad Sipylum. There were obviously geographical variations which governed coin production. The coinage was on a very small scale in the north western area of the province while the middle coastal area from Pergamum to Ephesus produced the great bulk of the coinage as this was one of the areas in which the principal mints were located. The biggest concentration of coin production was to be found in the south central regions of the province which roughly comprised the areas of the river valleys of the Hermus and the Cayster and also the Upper Maeander Valley, where Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae were situated.⁶⁷

These civic bronzes pose a number of problems, for example, why a particular type was used at a certain time and the dating of coins without Imperial portrait obverses.⁶⁸ Another problem is that the coins rarely carry marks indicating their value so it is very hard to determine what denominations they represented and whether

⁶⁶ Burnett, *CRW*, p. 58.

⁶⁷ On all of this, see *RPC*, p. 23.

⁶⁸ See p. 10-11.

they were compatible with Roman denominations as the silver *cistophorus* was. There must have been a coherent systems of denominations connected to the size and weight of the coins because without value marks there must have been a way for the people using them to distinguish between the denominations they possessed.⁶⁹

However, it seems that in Asia denominations were not distinguished by the use of different metals. This contrasts with the West where different non-precious metal coins were made from various base metals. For example, the *sestertius* was composed of brass while the *as* was minted from copper or, more rarely, brass. This was not the case for denominations in Asia. At Pergamum under Augustus, issues were made in two denominations but both were struck in bronze. Later brass was used. Similarly at Smyrna, four issues of coins were minted during the reign of Augustus employing three different denominations. All of these were made from bronze. Under Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius, four denominations over three issues were struck but this time from brass and not bronze. During the emperor Nero's reign, two issues were produced ranging over five denominations and all of these were made in bronze.⁷⁰

It has been suggested that the use of different metals at different times, if not to distinguish denominations, was simply dictated by fashion. Brass was the more expensive metal and perhaps contributed more to the prestige of the city or an individual depending on whether the issue was a civic one or had been paid for as a liturgy.⁷¹

Weights and diameters then have to be used to determine denominations but this is problematic. There is a danger of forcing unrelated measurements into a convenient scheme and precision cannot be guaranteed as the

⁶⁹ *RPC*, p. 372.

⁷⁰ *RPC*, pp. 371-372.

⁷¹ *RPC*, p. 372.

number of specimens available to work with are small and the boundaries between different denominations are not always clear. Despite these problems, the editors of *Roman Provincial Coinage* have seen a great consistency in the weights and diameters of coins produced in Asia except the areas of Mysia, Troas and south west Caria. The values range from 11mm and 1.75g to 29mm and 17g. A range of denominations has been suggested covering a quarter of an *as* for the smallest coins to four *asses* for the largest. The Greek denominations proposed range from two *chalkoi* to two *obols*. As the editors themselves say, this is very tentative and by no means certain.⁷²

Without apparent indications of value for these base metal coinages, it is very hard to identify the denominations the different diameters and weights of the coins were supposed to represent but more work has been undertaken in this area. Johnston has recently researched the coins of Chios, Smyrna and Sardis with the aim of determining what denominations certain coins represented and how these denominations changed during different periods of the Empire. She believes it is usually quite easy to distinguish the denominations of coins minted during the second and third centuries even though a city might strike as many as eight different denominations ranging in size from fifteen to fifty millimetres. Types must also have been utilised. For example, some reverse types seem to have been used on coins of the same size for quite long periods while obverses alternate the Imperial portraits with non-Imperial portrait types. From her work it can be seen that it is possible to assign values to coins which are not marked and to show that they were compatible with Roman denominations as the values given by the editors of *Roman Provincial Coinage* also show. For the first century, the coins of Sardis and Smyrna have been assigned values expressed as *obols*, *chalkoi* and *assaria* and

⁷² *RPC*, pp. 372-374.

their multiples but for the second and third centuries values are only given in *assararia*.⁷³ The Greek *assarion* was technically the same denomination as the Roman *as*.⁷⁴

It is only natural to assume that these civic issues would be compatible with Roman denominations in the same way as the *cistophorus* was with the Roman *denarius*. It would aid the smooth-running of the Empire if the coinage systems in use in the province of Asia, and the other eastern provinces where traditional coins were still being produced, were compatible with the Roman system.

However, the *cistophorus* was produced within the province of Asia under the auspices of the Roman authorities and they may have consciously decided that a relationship should exist between that coin and the *denarius* which was also minted within the province. The base metal coins were issued by civic mints and there is always the possibility that, despite the similarity in the range of the dimensions of the coins, some of these may have produced issues on their own civic standards which may or may not have been compatible with the denominations of Rome.

The coinage system of any area not only consists of the coins circulating within it, but also the systems of reckoning used. Evidence for the units of reckoning current within Asia fall into two categories, epigraphic and numismatic and there are drawbacks connected with both. Inscriptions may reflect the point of view of the person or people responsible for it. Roman officials, for example, may naturally use Roman terms and this may conceal the existence of local systems of reckoning but the numismatic evidence is no less problematic. Value marks on coins are rare and in most cases there are none. The coins of Chios are a notable exception.⁷⁵

⁷³ "Greek Imperial Denominations".

⁷⁴ Melville-Jones, "*Denarii*", p. 104.

⁷⁵ *RPC*, p. 30 and Appendix IV.

Various inscriptions from the East refer to the *denarius* and other Roman denominations in their texts. From Ephesus comes the so-called Salutaris inscription. This, to be more precise, is a series of documents relating to the foundation set up in the city of Ephesus by Caius Vibius Salutaris, a Roman knight and naturalised citizen of the city. The date of the document is 104 A.D. as it is fixed by the mention of the consuls in lines 318-319 and the whole series falls within a three month period. The first document is a decree of the *boule* and *demos* of Ephesus in acknowledgement of Salutaris' generosity towards the city while the second and seventh detail the gifts of statuary and money made to the city and its organizations. The other documents in the series are decrees concerning the gifts and one is a letter from the proconsul T. Aquilius Proculus approving the fixing of fines for the transgression of the conditions contained in the Ephesian decrees. The amount of the monetary gifts in these documents and the interest earned from them are in Roman denominations. A sum of twenty one thousand *denarii* was bequeathed along with a number of statues and the interest on the money went towards paying the upkeep of the statues and to pay *honoraria* to certain recipients. In a number of instances, interest payments of nine or thirteen and a half *assaria* are suggested.⁷⁶

Official decrees are also written in terms of *denarii* and *asses*. At Pergamum, a rescript of Hadrian concerns complaints made against the money-changers operating in the city because of their recent activities. They sold silver *denarii* at eighteen *asses* and bought them at seventeen if anyone wanted to change the currency they had. However, it was when purchases were made and could be paid for without recourse to the money-changers that problems started. This would occur when the total of the sale was more than one

⁷⁶ On this series of inscriptions see *IBM*, III, pp. 127ff; Melville-Jones, "Denarii", p. 100; *RPC*, p. 31 and most recently, Rogers, *Sacred Identity of Ephesos*.

denarius and the purchasers were in possession of the correct denomination. The money-changers naturally lost the profit they gained when they changed money and in an attempt to rectify this, they still insisted that they received a payment of one *assarion* per *denarius* even when they had no part in the transaction. In addition to this, they invented several new payments they thought they were entitled to receive and as a result, the emperor was called upon to intervene and it was ruled that the money-changers at Pergamum could not receive payments to which they had no right.⁷⁷

An inscription from Mylasa dated to about 210 A.D. also concerns the exchange of money. It lays down penalties for the illicit exchange of money and the fines involved are quoted in Roman denominations. For example, one clause of the decree states that if a freeman is convicted of buying and selling currency and he has charged a commission, he has to pay five hundred *denarii* to the Imperial treasury, two hundred and fifty to the *demos* and the informer who secured the conviction receives one hundred *denarii*. Furthermore, if the magistrates fail to fulfil any of the conditions contained in the decree they have to pay three hundred *denarii* into the Imperial treasury.⁷⁸

Inscriptions from outside Asia are also written in terms of Roman denominations. An inscription from Sagalassus in the province of Galatia concerns requisitioned transport. This bilingual inscription is said to have been found near Burdur railway station and was taken to Burdur Archaeological Museum in southern Turkey. It is dated to the beginning of Tiberius' reign and gives the rates of remuneration in terms of *asses* per *schoenus*,

⁷⁷ On this inscription see *OGIS*, 484; *IGRP*, IV, 352; trans. Broughton, "Roman Asia Minor", pp. 892-895; Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, no. 84, pp. 208-215; Melville-Jones, "Denarii", p. 101.

⁷⁸ *OGIS*, 515; trans. Broughton, "Roman Asia", pp. 895-896.

translated as *aeris* in the Latin text and ἀσοῦρια in the Greek. For example, the inscription says that the people of Sagalassus must provide a service consisting of ten waggons and as many mules for the use of the people passing through the city and its territory and that they should receive ten *asses* per *schoenus* for a waggon and four for a mule: *Sagalassos {o} ministerium carrorum decem et mulorum totidem praestare debent ad usus necessarios transeuntium, et accipere in singula carra et in singulos schoenos ab iis qui utentur aeris denos, in mulos autem singulos et schoenos singulos aeris quaternos ...* Σαγαλασσεῖς λειτουργεῖν δεῖ μέχρι δέκα κάρρων ἕως Κορμάσων καὶ Κονάνης, νωτοφόροις δὲ ἴσοις ἐπὶ τῷ λαμβάνειν ὑπὲρ μὲν κάρρου (*vac*) κατὰ σχοῖνον ἀσοῦρια δέκα, ὑπὲρ δὲ νωτοφόρου κατὰ σχοῖνον ἀσοῦρια τέσσαρα⁷⁹

From Palmyra an inscription records the amounts of various taxes in Roman denominations. It is dated to the reign of the emperor Hadrian in A.D. 137 and refers to a letter of Germanicus written in A.D. 18-19 to a certain Statilius, who may have been the Roman procurator in Syria, which stipulated that taxes were to be reckoned in Italian *asses*.⁸⁰

It may seem that only Roman citizens or Roman officials referred to Roman denominations but ordinary provincial citizens did as well as shown by various funerary texts for which fines are recorded. At Eumenia, an inscription found in a courtyard of a house states that a fine of five hundred *denarii* was payable to the Imperial treasury. Apollonius, the son of Menphilus, had built a tomb for himself and his wife, Tatia. He stipulates that if anyone else is buried in the tomb, five hundred *denarii*

⁷⁹ ll. 8-10 and 31-33. For the whole inscription see *RPC*, p. 31; Mitchell, *JRS*, 66, 1976, pp. 106-131.

⁸⁰ *OGIS*, 629; *IGRP*, III, 1056; Matthews, *JRS* 74, 1984, pp. 157-80; *RPC*, p. 31.

had to be paid $\epsilon\varsigma$ τὸν Καίσαρος φίσκον.⁸¹ Payments in *denarii* are perhaps expected if they were to be paid into the Imperial treasury but another inscription from same the city shows that such a fine was payable to the *boule* and the treasury. The inscription does not say whether this was the civic or the Imperial treasury but presumably it was the former. The prescriptions lay down that fifteen hundred *denarii* had to be paid to the treasury and one thousand to the *boule*.⁸²

Fines in other cities of the province of Asia were also payable in *denarii*. At Acmonia, for example, an inscription engraved on a limestone doorstone shows that a fine of five hundred *denarii* was payable to the treasury, presumably for the violation of a tomb as the clause is now lost.⁸³ At Apamea, fines of fifteen hundred, one thousand and also five hundred *denarii*, were payable to the treasury, presumably that of the city, concerning the violation of the tombs of an unknown person and a certain Diophantes and a certain Epaphras respectively.⁸⁴

Other inscriptions, however, mention Greek units of reckoning. At Ephesus a series of inscriptions were erected which recorded the low price of bread during the periods of office of the *agoranomoi*. These prices are given in *obols* and in one inscription, white bread, whole wheat bread, speckled bread and bread made from siligo are priced at between two and three *obols* and in another inscription, one pound of bread was priced at two *obols*. Examples of these inscriptions have been dated from the

⁸¹ *NIP*, p. 15, no. 15.

⁸² *NIP*, p. 90, no. 23.

⁸³ *MAMA*, VI, 286.

⁸⁴ *MAMA*, VI, 199, 187 and 193.

first to the third centuries.⁸⁵

Not all prices were given in Greek units though. An inscription from Sebastopolis gives prices for wheat and oil in *denarii* and money gifts for the citizens of the city and members of the *boule* are also given in Roman denominations. A benefactor, who had held the gymnasiarchy and whose name is now lost, gave members of the *boule* one *denarius* and three *asses* while members of the citizen body were given one *denarius*. Furthermore, he supplied oil to the city when it was being bought and sold at one *denarius* a liquid measure and he sold wheat at two *denarii* when the going rate was four.⁸⁶

In some inscriptions, both Roman and Greek units of reckoning appear side by side. A Flavian inscription dated to A.D. 74 from Cibyra records the perpetual gymnasiarchy established by Q. Veranius Philagrus when he gave the city four hundred thousand Rhodian *drachmae*. This inscription gives the value of the *denarius* as sixteen *assaria* and the *drachma* as ten. The text not only points to other forms of reckoning apart from the Roman but also shows that they could be converted into Roman values: τοῦ Ῥωμαικοῦ δηναρίου ἰσχύοντος ἡσάρια δεκαεξ' ἢ Ῥοδία δραχμὴ τοῦτου τοῦ δηναρίου ἰσχύει ἐν Κιβύρα ἡσάρια δέκα, ἐν ᾗ δραχμῇ Ῥοδία δέδοται ἢ δωρεά.⁸⁷

Another Flavian inscription, this time from Ephesus, mentions both the *denarius* and the *tetrachalkion*. The inscription lists the cities of the province of Asia which are grouped under their assize districts and associates them with small sums of money. The silver denomination mentioned is the *denarius* and the bronze is the

⁸⁵ *IvE*, III, 938 and 934 respectively. See also nos. 923, 924, 929. On the dating see Broughton, "Roman Asia Minor", pp. 879-88; Howgego, *GIC*, p. 56.

⁸⁶ Robert, *La Carie*, pp. 320ff, no. 172.

⁸⁷ *IGRP*, IV, 915; *RPC*, pp. 31 and 370; Howgego, *GIC*, pp. 52 and 59.

tetrachalkion, the latter is given in multiples of five. It is assumed that the *tetrachalkion* is equivalent in value to the *assarion*.⁸⁸

The coins of Chios also have a mixture of Roman and Greek denominations inscribed on them. These are the *obol*, the *assarion* and *chalkion* and their multiples.⁸⁹

It has been suggested that these Greek units of reckoning were obsolete or were becoming so. Regarding the inscriptions of bread prices in Ephesus, it has been argued that the *obol* was used and not the *assarion* because of conservatism and to enable a comparison with earlier prices, implying that at the city, the *obol* was an obsolete form.⁹⁰

This has also been suggested for the city of Smyrna. A fragmentary inscription from the city, which is dated to either the first or the second century A.D., apparently lays down prices for the ferry across the Hermus river. Howgego believes that it is clear from this inscription that *assaria* were the coins in current use as the decree was directed against a cartel who were charging two *assaria* rather than two *obols*. Such an abuse, Howgego argues, could easily have been brought about if the *assaria* was in use at the time and the *obol* obsolete. Two *assaria* would be less than two *obols* and the abuse lay in the undercutting of the official rate to the detriment of competitors or the civic treasury if the running of the ferry involved a civic monopoly.⁹¹

However, it is possible that this could happen even if the term "obol" was not an obsolete form or coin. People concerned with operating and using the ferry would have to

⁸⁸ *RPC*, p. 32; Howgego, *GIC*, p. 57; Habicht, *JRS*, 65, 1975, pp. 64-91.

⁸⁹ *RPC*, p. 370; Howgego, *GIC*, p. 57 and see Appendix IV.

⁹⁰ Howgego, *GIC*, p. 56; Harl, *Coinage*, p. 116.

⁹¹ *IGRP*, IV, 1427; *IBM*, IV, 2, pp. 162-163, no. 1021; *IvS*, II, 1, pp. 209-210, no. 712. Howgego, *GIC*, p. 56.

know the value of both *obols* and *assaria* to then calculate which fare would be the cheapest. The fares given in *assaria*, and not *obols*, would be the cheapest whether the latter were in circulation or not and so this interpretation of the inscription cannot be used as evidence for the discontinued use of the *obol*.

A similar thing is suggested for the coins of Chios. A process of gradual replacement of the Greek values as expressed on the coins by the Roman values which are also marked on the coins has been argued for by Howgego, a process which he believes was complete by the end of the second century.⁹² An alternative view is that the value marks on the Chian coins show that at least Greek names for denominations were used and retained alongside values in *assaria* into the second century and that the Greek and Roman systems were compatible. The coins show which Roman denominations were "normal" at Chios and struck regularly.⁹³

It would only be natural that Roman terms would be used regularly. Roman citizens and officials would refer to them and the compatibility of Greek coins with the Roman system would also ensure that Roman denominations would gradually be accepted into common usage. However, the use of Greek units of reckoning should not be dismissed as mere "conservatism". For example, the inscriptions would be erected in a prominent area of the city and it would be hard to believe that those looking at them and reading them would find the values expressed in their texts incomprehensible. A similar thing applies to the value marks on the coins of Chios. These would be used on a daily basis by numerous people and again it would be absurd to suppose they did not understand the marks they contained when they referred to Greek denominations. It is therefore

⁹² Howgego, *GIC*, p. 57; Harl *Coinage*, p. 115 and pp. 106-117 in general. For the marks on these coins, see above p. 79.

⁹³ Johnston, "Greek Imperial Denominations".

plausible to assume that the Greek terms of reckoning were understood whether they were obsolete or not and that they were used because they still had a place in the vocabulary and the understanding of the cities of Asia and their citizens.

The coinage system in use within the province of Asia was predominantly an "Asian" one. The importance of the *aurei* was ensured as it was the only gold coin produced within the Empire but the same cannot be said of the *denarius* and the Roman bronze coinage. Even though the *denarius* was the most important silver coin within the Empire as a whole and although it was produced at Asian mints, its role and circulation was restricted by the continued minting of the *cistophorus*, the traditional silver coin of the area. Roman bronze reflects the situation of the Roman silver as it formed no significant part of the base metal coinage of a province in which needs for base metal coin were met by city mints.

However, the coinage system, although predominantly "Asian", was compatible with the Roman as can be seen from the value marks on the coins of Chios and the values assigned to other civic issues. This compatibility is also confirmed by the use of Roman terms for denominations alongside the continued use of Greek denominations in the inscriptions and of the coins of the province.

It is within this coinage system, one that was predominantly "Asian" yet compatible with the Roman system, that the coins of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae should be placed.

CHAPTER THREE: The Authority to Coin

It is clear from the account of the coinage system in use in the province of Asia that the Romans had a conservative attitude to the monetary system in use in the area. Although the silver *denarius* and the gold *aureus* of Rome were produced periodically throughout the Imperial period at mints situated in Asia, the main coinage of the province consisted of the silver *cistophorus* which had formed the basis of the closed currency of the Attalid kings while the need for base metal coinage was met by the civic issues of the cities themselves.

There are traces of Imperial intervention in the monetary affairs of the cities under the rule of the emperor. For example, a rescript of Hadrian answers a complaint made to him about the money-changers operating in the city of Pergamum and lays down regulations for their future conduct. Another inscription, this time from Mylasa and dated to the Severan period, shows the Imperial authorities laying down penalties for the exchange of money carried on by people other than money-changers. These inscriptions show that the emperors could, if called upon to do so, intervene in the financial affairs of the cities under their rule. However, in both of these cases, although money is the subject, what concerns the emperor is the treatment of coins which have already been produced rather than the circumstances surrounding the actual production of money.¹

Although the inscriptions from Pergamum and Mylasa highlight the fact that Imperial intervention was possible in some financial aspects of the Eastern cities, it is less clear to what extent the actual production of civic bronzes and the choice of types depicted on them was guided by the authority of the emperor and his representatives. This is a problem which needs to be addressed because any Imperial action regarding the issues of the Eastern cities would,

¹ On these inscriptions see pp. 74-75.

quite naturally, not only affect the way the cities of the East viewed their coinages but it would also limit the extent to which the coins could be used as a source to determine the way cities, such as Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae, viewed themselves and their situation within the Empire.

The evidence for the production of coins and the authority under which they were struck is very sparse. Perhaps the best known and most discussed inscription on this matter is the inscription from Sestus which honours a certain Menas who was a great benefactor of the city. This document, relating to his role in the production of money, is dated to after the end of the Attalid era to 129 B.C.²

The text can be translated to mean that the *demos* of Sestus decided to institute a bronze coinage for the city for two reasons. Firstly, the coins were struck so that the inhabitants of Sestus could use the city's own coinage which had its own types depicted on them and secondly, so that the *demos* would benefit from the profit resulting from the production of bronze.³

However, the $\mu\epsilon\nu$ and $\delta\epsilon$ clauses need not be describing two contrasting reasons for the production of the coinage. The reasons for minting were more closely linked and the inscription rather tells us that the city of Sestus was putting a local coinage into use as a precondition to securing a new source of revenue. Given the situation of a city in which an honorand had to pay for his own statue, the coinage was not used as a symbol of civic pride but instead brought into existence in order to raise much

² For this inscription see Krauss, *Die Inschriften von Sestos*, no. 1, pp. 14-63; on the date see *SEG*, XXXVII, 1986, no. 622.

³ ll. 43-46. For this interpretation see Robert, "Les monétaires", p. 49.

needed funds.⁴

Menas is mentioned in connection with the production of this issue of bronze coinage. He was appointed along with a colleague and as a result of their justice and care, the citizens of Sestus had the use of their own coins.⁵ However, it is the exact nature of Menas' role has caused a certain amount of dispute. Jones has argued that his role can be seen in terms of a liturgy and this implies financial expenditure on Menas' part.⁶

Monetary liturgies have been argued for several other Hellenistic coinages and it appears Jones' views follow this trend. For example, Thompson suggests that a liturgy is the only explanation which provides an answer to the anomalous pattern of the so-called "new style silver coinage" of Athens. It has been suggested that men undertaking this duty did not necessarily have to bear the full cost of the coinage because comparison with the triararchy shows that triararchs only had to equip the ships and not provide the ship as well. The contribution to the coinage may have been fixed or may have varied with the amount of coinage needed. Thompson further argues that the active role of the state may have been limited to selecting men who were willing to undertake the liturgy while the names on the coins varied with the number of men involved in the liturgy. The repetition of names shows that some men were more keen on bearing this burden than others who were only named once or twice. As a reward for their services, the men who undertook a liturgy to provide a coinage for Athens saw their names engraved on the coins as opposed to other magistracies and liturgies which rewarded those who undertook them with an inscription. This would explain the absence of references to a monetary

⁴ Martin, *Sovereignty and Coinage*, pp. 238-241; Martin, *Historia*, p. 263.

⁵ ll. 46-50 and see p. 79.

⁶ Jones, "Wreathed Tetradrachms", pp. 84ff.

liturgy in other ancient sources. However, Thompson states that given the nature of the evidence the arguments for a monetary liturgy can only be conjecture.⁷

A similar argument is made by Kroll who discusses the late Hellenistic tetrobols of Cos. One explanation of the names which appear on the coins is that they identify men who had undertaken a monetary liturgy to provide for the coinage. In Kroll's mind, this is even more likely given the importance of liturgies as a source of financing during the Hellenistic period and by the existence of a large number of inscriptions relating to liturgies which survive from the island of Cos. The names on the coins relate to the men who contributed money to furnish the Coan coinage and the order in which they are listed in issues bearing more than one name relates to the size of the contribution they made. In conclusion, Kroll concludes that Cos relied heavily on its wealthier citizens to finance public undertakings and he states "with a considerable amount of confidence" that in the second half of the second century B.C., the state also relied on its inhabitants to finance its coinage.⁸

Robert, however, believes that this interpretation of Hellenistic coinage does not give an authentic picture of the life of the Greek cities during the period.⁹ He states that "dans l'inscription de Sestos, rien ne fait la plus lointaine allusion aux dépenses qu'auraient assumées de leur poche les deux monétaires, à leurs frais et à leur générosité. Ce ne sont pas des liturgies que l'on pressure, ni de vaniteux donateurs. Ce sont des commissaires chargés d'une mission qui requiert exactitude et justice intègre dans le maniement du métal et des

⁷ "New Style Silver Coinage of Athens", pp. 593-599.

⁸ "Late Hellenistic Tetrobols of Kos", pp. 94- 99.

⁹ "Les monétaires", p. 49.

ouvriers et entrepreneurs."¹⁰ Robert's argument is that no city-state would have solicited funds from its citizens to finance the production of its coinage which was a symbol of its identity and its autonomy. Furthermore, a citizen would not need the enticement of seeing his name engraved on the coins he financed but would give his assistance freely without the expectation of a reward.¹¹

Jones, in response to this, says that other liturgies permeated the life of the Hellenistic city-state and were just as much, or even more so, bound up with its ideals and its identity than the suggested monetary liturgy. Jones quotes as an example the *choregeia* of Athens and says that no Greek state would regard itself as compromising its dignity, if in the absence of funds, it decided to issue coins with the financial support of the wealthier of its citizens. There is also no reason to object to the appearance of names on the coins in an age which saw the increase of honorary inscriptions which contained, in some cases, very detailed lists of a person's offices and benefactions. It can be seen that the names of public benefactors were appropriately displayed whether in an inscription or on coins depending on the services rendered.¹²

The theory of a monetary liturgy seems to be confirmed in Jones' mind by the fact that the inscription is full of examples of Menas' generosity towards his city and fellow citizens and as a wealthy individual, he had made large donations to his city on numerous occasions as the inscription testifies. Also clear from the inscription is the city's instability. Regarding the issue of coins, it is the *demos* which is credited with the contemplation of the profit which would accrue from the production of bronze

¹⁰ "Les monétaires", pp. 51-52.

¹¹ Robert, "Les monétaires", pp. 43-53; Jones, "Wreathed Tetradrachms", p. 88.

¹² Jones, "Wreathed Tetradrachms", p. 88.

and on this occasion, Menas' generosity may again have been needed. Jones believes that in the onerous undertaking of a new coinage, it perhaps goes without saying that Menas and his colleague would have to bear some of the expenses. A man who undertook the cost of a bronze statue which the city had voted in his honour was also able to supply bullion for Sestian coins. Jones also believes that nothing in the text rules out such a reconstruction least of all the vague τὴν καθήκουσαν ... ἐπιμέλειαν. He therefore concludes that whatever form Menas activities with respect to his city's coinage took, "their identification as a *leitourgia* may be taken as assured".¹³

However, the inscription is very explicit when it deals with the benefactions of Menas. For example, in lines 26-28, we are told that during his priesthood he bore the expenses which fell to him: ἱερεὺς τε ἀποδειχθεὶς το[ῦ] βασιλέως Ἀττάλου ἀξίως ἀνεστράφη τοῦ δήμου, πᾶσαν ὑπομείνας φιλαγάθω[ς] τὴν ἐν τοῖς δαπανωμένοις χορηγίαν. Later on in the inscription, in lines 33-35, the acts of Menas while he was *gymnasiarch* are related. Among other things, he built a bathing-room and dedicated a statue of white stone. When he was crowned by the *ephebes* and the *neoi*, he made a dedication of weapons at his own expense, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων.¹⁴ Finally, at the end of the text, as Jones has already mentioned, Menas assumed the expenses of a statue dedicated in his honour out of his own funds and was responsible for the engraving of the present decree in the gymnasium.¹⁵

All these actions which Menas carried out imply or consisted of expenditure on his part. His role with respect to the coinage of the city of Sestus is written in different terms. It centres on the nature of the way he acted and not on what he provided: καὶ προχειρισμένου τοῦς

¹³ Jones, "Wreathed Tetradrachms", p. 87.

¹⁴ 11. 41-43.

¹⁵ 11. 102-106.

τὴν πίστιν εὐσεβῶς τε καὶ δικαίως τηρήσοντας, Μηνᾶς αἰρεθεὶς μετὰ τοῦ συναποδειχθέντος τὴν καθήκουσαν εἰσηνέγκατο ἐπιμέλειαν, ἐξ ᾧ ὁ δῆμος διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν δικαιοσύνην τε καὶ φιλοτιμίαν χρήται τῷ ἰδίῳ νομίματι.¹⁶

It would seem from the internal evidence of the Sestos inscription itself that an interpretation, such as the one Jones proposes, is not as strong as the arguments given by Robert. On this basis, the role of Menas was to provide some kind of control and care over the minting of the Sestian bronze rather than to supply the bullion or bear the expenses of the issue.

The idea of a monetary liturgy is not assured for other Hellenistic coinages and the use of signatures of magistrates on coins is not always evidence for such a liturgy. As Robert has shown, the names on the coins of Ilium cannot be connected to a monetary liturgy operating within the city. He has argued that the coins concerned are not civic issues but the coinage of the Confederation of Athena Ilias. The men are named on the coins by virtue of their prominent position within this organization rather than because of their supposed contribution to a monetary liturgy. In response to arguments that a monetary liturgy is plausible in the Hellenistic era because such acts of generosity are well attested in the Imperial epoch, Robert says "les institutions et la vie civique des citiées grecques au début du II^e siècle ne peuvent être interprétés sans autre par la pratique de l'époque impériale ... [L]es pratiques de l'*honorarium* municipal à l'époque impériale, ne peut raisonnablement nous donner la clé des tétradrachmes frappés à Ilion ou à Érétrie après 188 a.C. avec les noms de personnages."¹⁷

Apart from the arguments given by Robert, the main reason why the Hellenistic and Imperial ages, and also the

¹⁶ 11. 46-49.

¹⁷ For Robert's arguments, see *Monnaies antique en Troade*, pp. 83-93.

coinages, cannot be compared is that the presence of the emperor radically changed the nature of the world in which the Greek cities existed. With much of the Mediterranean world under the rule of an emperor, the possibility of a coinage controlled by Rome and the Imperial authorities was a real one.

Imperial control has been, as Howgego has pointed out, implied by the suggestion which the historian Dio puts into the mouth of Maecenas, an advisor of the emperor Augustus. He is made to say that the cities should not be able to have their own coinages or even their own systems of weights and measures but use that of Rome: *Μήτε δὲ νομίσματα ἢ καὶ σταθμὰ ἢ μέτρα ἰδία τις αὐτῶν ἐχέτω, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες χρήσθωσαν*. Howgego takes this statement to mean that local coinages should be abolished and he further believes that the possibility of doing this was valid for Dio's time if not for that of Augustus.¹⁸

However, this passage of Dio's can be interpreted in a different way. Rather than implying the abolishment of local coinages in general, it advocates that monetary systems which were incompatible with the Roman one should be abandoned.¹⁹ The fact that local coinages in Asia Minor continued to be minted bears out this interpretation.

The enigmatic CA coinage has been seen as attempt to impose a unified coinage onto the East. However, this series was only produced at the beginning of the Empire and it was never reproduced on any subsequent occasion.²⁰ As Burnett has stated, there was no attempt by the Roman authorities to suppress or unify the Eastern civic coinages which continued to be issued by a large number of cities.²¹

¹⁸ Dio, 52, 30, 9; Howgego, *GIC*, p. 89.

¹⁹ Crawford, "Finance, Coinage and Money", p. 561, n. 2.

²⁰ *RPC*, pp. 23 and 371; Burnett, *CRW*, p. 53. See above p. 69.

²¹ *CRW*, p. 64.

This again suggests that the Roman authorities were not concerned to abolish local coinages as Howgego believes.

The cities of Asia Minor, including those of the Upper Maeander Valley, were still able to strike their own coins but it has been suggested that permission from the emperor was required.

The appearance of the word ΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ as part of the legends of some of the coins minted in the East has been used to advance a theory that Imperial authority was needed for the minting of civic issues. Robert has made a catalogue of these issues and examples have been listed for Mylasa in Caria under Titus and Domitian and Stratonicea on the Caicus in Lydia-Mysia under Hadrian. All the other coins bearing ΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ come from Phrygia, namely Ancyra under Nero, Appia under Trajan, Alia which also minted the coins during the reign of the emperor Trajan, and Stectorium under Marcus Aurelius. Eucarpeia, and also Alia, produced some issues with no Imperial portraits.²² All of these cities produced coins with ΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ in the legends, either in the nominative or in the genitive, along with the name of a person in the appropriate case.

It has been suggested that this particular formula shows that the city concerned asked the emperor for permission to strike coins and that even if not all of the coins minted in the East carried ΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ in some form in their legends, the seeking of permission to mint occurred more often than not. This is because even though only a few cities advertised the fact that they sought and received permission to issue coins, it made it a requirement for all cities to do so.²³ Furthermore, it has also been said that there is no evidence to suggest that examples of coins with ΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ are untypical and it is possible to defend the view that permission to mint was

²² Robert, "ΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ", pp. 56-58. See below, p. 98 for a different interpretation of the coins of Mylasa which has been accepted by Robert.

²³ *RPC*, p. 3.

regularly required by reference to other matters with which the emperor and his provincial governors might concern themselves.²⁴

Such matters are amply illustrated by the letters which the younger Pliny wrote to the emperor Trajan while the former was a *legatus* in the province of Bithynia. As Burnett points out, this shows that the Roman authorities were closely involved in even fairly minor civic matters.²⁵ Pliny writes concerning civil and criminal cases, queries about rights and privileges and requests for individual and communal *beneficia*. He even sends letters to Trajan about building projects which have been undertaken and then abandoned by some of the cities in Bithynia.²⁶ This has led Burnett to conclude that it was therefore likely that petitioning and receiving permission took place frequently even if not on every occasion.²⁷

It might be suggested that there is one major drawback to this argument. Even though Pliny's letters do refer to the examination of the finances of certain Bithynian cities, coinage as such is not mentioned. The type of financial matters he is interested in shown by his actions at Prusa. The Roman magistrate informs the emperor of financial irregularities at the city and voices the opinion that an investigation is increasingly necessary the more he studies the city's accounts: *Nunc rei publicae Prusensium impendia, reditus, debitores excutio, quod ex ipso tractatu magis ac magis necessarium intellego. Multae enim pecuniae varis ex causis a privatis detinentur, praeterea quaedam minime legitimis sumptibus erogantur. Haec tibi domine ingressu meo scripsi.*²⁸ If, as Burnett has stated,

²⁴ *RPC*, pp. 2-3.

²⁵ Burnett, *CRW*, p. 20.

²⁶ See Millar, *ERW*, p. 325 and Pliny, *Ep.*, Bk. 10.

²⁷ Burnett, *CRW*, p. 20.

²⁸ *Ep.*, 10, 17A.

permission was required to mint more often than not then it is to be expected that there would have been some mention of it, no matter how brief, in the letters of Pliny who wrote so prolifically on such a wide range of civic and provincial matters.

However, coins and matters concerning coinage rarely find their way into the ancient sources and therefore Pliny would not necessarily have mentioned coinage at all whether permission was required on a regular basis or not.

Robert not only believes that the word ΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ refers to the asking and granting of permission to mint but that there were special circumstances surrounding its use. Issues from Ancyra are not known in the Imperial period before those with ΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ minted under Nero. The coins of Trajan were the first to be struck at Appia during the Empire and it was again under Trajan that Frugi inaugurated the coinage of Alia. The city then minted sporadically under Marcus Aurelius, Caracalla and Gordian. The issues of Stectorium were begun by Flavius Sestulianus during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. From the accounts of the monetary histories of the cities which used ΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ in the legends on their coins, Robert has concluded that the formula was used to mark either the start of a city's coinage during the Imperial period or after a considerable absence of coinage and showed which citizen had acted as an ambassador to the Roman authorities to obtain permission to issue coins on the city's behalf.²⁹

Again, it can be argued that permission was not sought and granted for every instance of a situation such as the one Robert envisages. The city of Colossae produced coins in the second to the first century B.C. and then the next surviving issue was produced during the reign of Hadrian after a very considerable period of time. None of the coins produced under Hadrian or any of the following emperors bear the word ΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ. It may be that tiny

²⁹ Robert, "ΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ", p. 61.

issues were made after the first century B.C. and before the reign of Hadrian which are now lost. This would mean, following Robert's hypothesis, that the city need not have applied to the Roman authorities for permission to strike coins. This could also be argued for the other cities which Robert cites. However, it would be very hard to prove that they produced small issues dating to before the ΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ issues because even if they once existed, there are no traces of them now. Alternatively, because there are no traces of issues from Colossae before the reign of Hadrian, it is possible that the city, and perhaps others under the same circumstances, did not feel the need to resume minting after a long break by formally asking the emperor or his representatives for leave to do so.³⁰

From this it appears that not every city felt the need to ask the emperor for permission to mint coins although some did. It has been suggested that Greek sycophancy had long asked unnecessarily for permission to strike.³¹ Asking for permission to coin may have been one way for the cities of the East to organize their relationship with the emperor rather than a necessary part of the minting process as Burnett and Robert believe.

Weiß has also studied the formula ΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΥ on coins and, by contrast, has concluded that it refers to permission to mint obtained from local authorities.³² However, it would not be impossible to envisage a scenario whereby some cities would advertise local permission and others the sanction of the emperor on their coins. It still does not follow that Imperial permission was a compulsory requirement for the minting of issues.

Robert has noted that αἰτησις, and hence αἰτησάμενος,

³⁰ For the coins of Colossae, see Catalogue G, H and I.

³¹ Crawford, "Finance, Coinage and Money", p. 575.

³² Weiß, "Zu Münzprägung", pp. 167-180.

was normally used in connection with requests of favours or authorization by the emperor.³³ This would benefit either a single person or a whole community. The word is used in an inscription concerning a certain Asclepiades from Prusa ad Hypium who requested and obtained the purple from Caracalla: αἰτήσαντα αὐτὸν τὴν πορφύραν καὶ λαβόντα.³⁴ The same verb is used concerning the request of a *temenos* in an inscription from Rome which honours the athlete M. Ulpus Domesticus.³⁵

An inscription from Cibra dated to the first century A.D. honours a certain Quintus Veranius Philagrus for various services he gave to his city. One of these services was the request he had made to the emperor to have Tiberius Nicophorus, presumably a Roman official, removed from his post. This would have been a great benefit to the city as Nicophorus had exacted three thousand *denarii* annually and had possibly taken them for his own benefit as the word λαμβάνοντα perhaps implies. Philagrus also asked to have the corn levy conducted in the *agora*: ἤτημένον ἀπὸ Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος ἀπεσκευάσθαι Τιβέριον Νεικηφόρον πάσ<σ>οντα τὴν πόλιν καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος δηνάρια τρισχίλια καὶ λαμβάνοντα καὶ τὴν τοῦ σείτου πρᾶξιν γείνεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κατὰ ξεῦ[γ]ος μοδίων ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε ἐκ πάσης τῆς χώρας.³⁶

Another inscription, this time from Ephesus, honours the person, a certain Tiberius Claudius Piso Diophantes, who had obtained from the emperor Hadrian the right to erect a temple and he was also the person under whom the temple was eventually consecrated.³⁷ One final example is

³³ Robert, "ΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ", pp. 58 and 60.

³⁴ *IGRP*, IV, 1422, ll. 1-8; *IvP*, 11; Robert, "ΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ", pp. 59-60.

³⁵ *IGRP*, I, 150; Robert, "ΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ", p. 58.

³⁶ *IGRP*, IV, 914; *SEG*, XXXII, 1982, no. 1306, ll. 11-15.

³⁷ *BE*, 74, 1961, no. 535; *IvE*, II, 428.

a letter from Antoninus Pius to Ephesus dated to c A.D. 145. The emperor granted the request of Vedius Antonius who was obviously feeling unappreciated by his city. Vedius Antonius had promised to construct certain buildings and then found he could not do so. Alternatives were proposed by others and Antonius appealed to the emperor. The emperor criticised the city for its lack of support for its potential benefactor and gave him financial aid, granting him everything that he had asked for. In all these cases the verb αἰτέω was for the request of privileges from the emperor.³⁸

The verb was also used in formal requests for markets. An inscription found about thirty kilometres north of Sardis records a dossier of six documents, including a Greek and a Latin version of an edict of the future emperor Antoninus Pius. Metras, son of Metrodorus, had asked Antoninus, as proconsul, for permission to institute a market: αἰτησόμενος πανήγυριν. Antoninus replied that permission for a market had been asked of him and allowed for other interested parties to submit their objections within a period of thirty days.³⁹ It may be that permission was required for things which might have upset the smooth running of the Empire. Markets were essential but problems were possible if a new one affected the commercial viability of others in the same neighbourhood. This may be why Antoninus asked for objections to be raised and why the inhabitants of Mandrogoreis, in 209 A.D., supported their request for a market with a statement that others in the immediate area would not be affected.⁴⁰

Despite the historical context for the use of the verb αἰτέω in requests for honours, privileges or something

³⁸ Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, no. 38, pp. 300-303.

³⁹ On this dossier and the establishment of markets, see de Ligt, "*Ius Nundinarum*", pp. 37-54.

⁴⁰ de Ligt, "*Ius Nundinarum*", p. 43; MacMullen, *Roman Government's Response to Crisis*, p. 124.

which held a potential danger to the Empire, it would be wrong to see the request for the minting of coins during the Empire as a request for any of these. There is no reason why a city of the Greek East would see their coinage in these ways. Greek cities had a long history of minting and the production of coins was closely bound up with their identity and what it was to be a city-state. Far from being a potential danger, under the hegemony of the emperors coinage still formed an integral part of the civic life of these cities in the East.

Naturally the role of the cities had changed as a consequence of Roman rule. As Plutarch tells us, the cities were no longer leaders in war or the overthrowers of tyrannies. Instead, the political ambitions of young men could be satisfied by participation and involvement in imperial business.⁴¹ This was especially so in the administration of the Empire. The cities of Asia can be seen as forming part of the administrative structure of the Empire and they were ruled by civic magistrates who acted, in effect, on behalf of the Roman authorities. Roman rule was indirect and to the end of antiquity local magistrates ruled most of the cities of the Empire and their surrounding territories and certainly many domestic decisions were made as if the cities and their elites were independent.⁴² Of course these cities were not independent and it seems that Plutarch needs to remind his audience that those who ruled the cities ruled states ultimately under the control of the emperor: ἀρχόμενος ἄρχεις, ὑποτεταγμένης πόλεως ἀνθυπάτοις, ἐπιτρόποις Καίσαρος.⁴³

The city magistrates were concerned with the day to day running of the cities, something they did on behalf of the Roman government. The production of coinage of the city can be seen as forming part of the duties carried out

⁴¹ Plutarch, *Praec. Ger. Rei.*, 805 A-B, chap. 10.

⁴² Purcell, "The Arts of Government", p. 156.

⁴³ *Praec. Ger. Rei.*, 813 D-F, chap. 17.

by city officials in this context. To ensure the smooth running of the city they would have to make certain of, among other things, an adequate and reasonable supply of coin to be used by the inhabitants and mint new coins as necessary. Far from being an honour or a privilege, the minting of coin can quite plausibly be seen as part of the duties city officials carried out to ensure the smooth running of the cities they oversaw on behalf of the Roman authorities.

Much has been made of the fact that cities sought permission to mint coins and that they advertised the fact that it was successfully obtained by including ΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ on the legends of their coins.⁴⁴ However, it must be remembered that a decision would have been made to mint the coins in the first place before any subsequent action is taken to apply to the emperor for permission for the minting to go ahead.

As already mentioned, at Sestus, during the Hellenistic period, it was the *demos* which decided to produce an issue of coins.⁴⁵ Under the Empire it cannot be said that the *demos* still had this influential and active role. Rome ruled its Empire through oligarchies and as Mitchell has stated, in Asia and the East, the *boule* dominated the political life of the city and the relation between the city and the emperor while an inner circle of aristocrats within the governing class shared in this control.⁴⁶ If anyone within a city of Asia Minor or of the East was to make a decision to mint coins it would be the aristocratic governing classes and the magistrates of that city. Once they had decided that they were going to produce a coinage, then, and only then, could steps be taken to ask the Roman authorities for permission to do so. The impetus for coinage would come from within the city

⁴⁴ See below pp. 90-95.

⁴⁵ See below p. 83.

⁴⁶ "The Greek City in the Roman World", p. 120.

itself and not the emperor although, as can be seen from the coins catalogued by Robert, some cities, for whatever reason, would apply for Imperial permission to actually mint the coins. There is no way of knowing what happened if this permission was denied. If the impetus came from the emperor and there was some Imperial policy regarding civic issues there would be no need to ask for permission in the first place.

If there is little evidence concerning the impetus for the decision to mint coins, then there is even less relating to the processes by which such a decision would be made. There are many reasons why a city would decide to issue coins, for example, to replace worn coins in circulation or to celebrate games being held and to ensure an adequate supply of change for the subsequent visitors but there must have been a formal process which had to be followed in order for the decision to coin to be made.

The coins of Mylasa have already been alluded to as one of the cities which include ΑΙΘΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ in the legends on their coins. Such a reading has not been considered suspect as it is attested on other coins.⁴⁷ However, a different formula for the Mylasan coins has been read by G. le Rider. For a bronze minted under Domitian, in place of ΑΙΘΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΜΕΛΑΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ on the reverse, ΨΗΦΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΜΕΛΑΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ has been read instead. This means that the role of Melas in connection with the coinage of Mylasa did not involve his membership of an embassy asking for Imperial permission to mint but consisted of introducing a motion whereby the issue, of which he was bearing the expense, was voted on by the city.⁴⁸

A coin from Stratonicea in Caria also contains this particular formula in its legend. It is a non Imperial portrait issue and has as its reverse legend ΨΗΦΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΥ

⁴⁷ Robert, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 53.

⁴⁸ Robert, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 54.

ΦΛΑΒΙΟΥ ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥΣ.⁴⁹ Head has stated that the coin had been issued in pursuance of a decree voted by the council on the motion of the magistrate named on the coin.⁵⁰

The role of other magistrates and officials which may have had a part to play in the minting of civic coinages is not so easy to determine. An inscription of the Imperial age with a reference to the production of coins comes from Magnesia on the Maeander. The *boule* and the *gerousia* of the city honoured a certain Moschion, son of Moschion, who had carried out many duties and services on behalf of his city. Towards the end of the inscription we are told *κατασταθεις δε και επι της χαραξεως του λεπτιου χαλκου*. In this case it has been argued that the city appointed Moschion as an official whose duty it was to execute a small issue of bronze coins. The inscription gives us no idea of how he did this and as he is not listed among other names which appear on the coins of the city, it is reasonable to suggest that he made an issue which carried no names. The issue then would be dated to any of the reigns of Tiberius, Nero, Trajan or Hadrian.⁵¹

It is not clear from this inscription whether Moschion bore the cost of the minting. If he was appointed by the city, it may suggest that the city undertook the expenses of the production of coins and Moschion's role was then to ensure that the minting was carried out properly. Robert makes a comparison between this inscription and that concerning Menas from Sestus. In the inscription from Sestus, Menas was appointed as an officer in order to execute an issue of bronze coinage. The same role is

⁴⁹ Robert, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 55; *BMC Caria*, p. 153, no. 42.

⁵⁰ Head, *HN*², p. lxx; *BMC Caria*, p. lxxiii. See also Howgego, *GIC*, p. 87 on the issues from Stratonicea and also Mylasa.

⁵¹ Robert, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 104; *OGIS*, 485; Kern, *IvM*, 164.

envisaged for Moschion who was named in a similar way.⁵²

However, the possibility that he paid for the issue as well as overseeing its production is one which cannot be ruled out. Robert's objection to a monetary liturgy in the Hellenistic period was that it was incompatible with the autonomy of city-states and also with the role of a city's coinage as a symbol of that autonomy.⁵³ Under the Empire, the cities were no longer autonomous and even if the cities themselves viewed their coinages as a sign of their being independent, they clearly were not. There is therefore no objection to the idea that wealthy citizens could contribute to the expenses of the coins their cities issued.

The possibility that a citizen could bear the expenses of his city's coins can also be suggested for another inscription. This document, which has tentatively been assigned to Lounda, was erected during the reign of the emperor Antoninus Pius and concerns a certain Apollodotus, son of Diodorus, who was *strategos* of his city. The last two lines of the inscription tell us *κόψας καὶ [νομ]ίσημα[τα]*.⁵⁴ This means that he had struck the current coins of his city but the inscription does not tell us in what capacity Apollodotus acted. As he was a magistrate it seems certain that he was not involved in the actual physical act of producing the coins and therefore his role must have been one which enabled the coins to be produced in the first place, such as bearing the expense of the minting or even one similar to that suggested for Menas.⁵⁵

The inscriptions from Lounda and Magnesia form the little epigraphic evidence regarding the roles of citizens with respect to their city's civic issues. The only other

⁵² *Monnaies grecques*, p. 104 and see above p. 75ff.

⁵³ See above pp. 85-86 and 88.

⁵⁴ *IGRP*, IV, 769, ll. 8-9; Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 246, no. 86; Ramsay, *JHS*, IV, 1883, p.396, no. 16.

⁵⁵ Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 238.

pieces of evidence are the legends of the coins themselves but as with Hellenistic issues, not every coin legend can be seen as referring to a monetary liturgy.

For example, a few coins minted under Caracalla and Julia Domna from Laodicea have ΕΠΙ and a name in the genitive as part of their legends. This formula also occurs on issues of Augustus, Vespasian, Domitian and Marcus Aurelius. ΕΠΙ and the name of a person or magistrate in the genitive has been viewed as a form of dating using an eponymous magistrate.⁵⁶

One of the key words of the inscription from Sestus is ἐπιμέλεια. This verb also appears on coins of the Imperial period. The legends of coins minted at Stratonicea during the reign of Septimius Severus, if read correctly, say ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗ(ΘΕΝΤΟΣ).⁵⁷

One possible way of determining whether this word can be used in connection with a liturgy is to look at other contexts in which it was used. The inscriptions of the Imperial period show that ἐπιμελήθεις could be used in a wide variety of contexts. In one inscription honouring a certain Gaius Claudius Firmus, one of his posts is described as ἐπιμ[εληθ]έντι(α) ὁδῶν ἐν Ἰταλία Τραιανῆς Ἀ[δρι]ανῆς Αὐρηλιανῆς Ἀντωνεινι[α]νῆ(ς).⁵⁸ This is a reference to Firmus' post as *curator viarum in Italia Traianae Hadrianae Aurelianae Antoniniana*. These names do not occur elsewhere and they seem to refer to minor roads which were perhaps in the vicinity of Rome. This in turn suggests that Firmus held a junior equestrian post rather than a senatorial one which would have been concerned with

⁵⁶ See for example Head, *HN*², p. lxxvii.

⁵⁷ *SNG SvA* 2670.

⁵⁸ *IGRP*, III, 181; *SEG*, XXVII, 1977, no. 846. See Appendix V.

the upkeep of the major roadways in Italy.⁵⁹

In another inscription, this time from Palaiapolis, a man whose name is now lost is honoured but it appears that he was a Roman senator from the posts he has held which are listed in the inscription. One of the duties he carried out in the course of his career is given as [ἐπιμελη]τὴν ὁδῶν [Αύρηλίας Κορνηλί]ας Τριουμ[φαλίας ...].⁶⁰ Again, the post of *curator viarum* is referred to and it is clear that ἐπιμελήθεις could be used to render Roman posts and offices in the Greek language.⁶¹ However, this is far from saying that the word was specifically connected to a magistrate whose prime concern was the production of a civic coinage.

The word could also be used in connection with religious duties. In an inscription which details a list of priests a certain Marcus Aurelius, whose complete name is now lost, is referred to as follows: ἐπι[μεληθέντων τῶ]ν μυστήρ[ιων Μ] Αύρ. [---]. Similar terms are used in connection with a certain Antonius Drusus and Satorneilus.⁶² It seems that here ἐπιμελήθεις is being used for the undertaking of a religious office connected to the Mysteries.

Specific civic posts are perhaps also implied in an inscription from Colossae which honours a man whose name again is lost. In a detailed list of magistracies, these duties are given: [ἐπιμεληθεῖς τ]ῆς τοῦ ἐλαίου θέσεως ... [ἐπιμελ]ηθεῖς χωρίων δημοσίων.⁶³ The second undertaking here can be seen in terms of the man being *curator* of the

⁵⁹ Mitchell, "Inscriptions of Ancyra", pp. 69-70, no. 4.

⁶⁰ *IvE*, VII, 2, 3707. See Appendix V.

⁶¹ See for example, Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions*, p. 46.

⁶² *IvE*, V, 1600, ll. 10-11; *IvE*, II, 275, ll. 10-11 and *IvE*, V, 1595, ll. 9-12.

⁶³ Robert, *LdL*, pp. 277-278, ll. 6-7.

public lands.

However, it would be rash to conclude from these examples that the noun ἐπιμελεία and the verb related to it necessarily implied that there was a specific civic post which dealt with the production of civic coinage during the Empire or even in Hellenistic Sestos. The sporadic use of the formula on coins such as those from Stratonicea also points to the same conclusion. If a specific post concerning the civic coinages was referred to then one would expect it to be used on a lot more issues than it seems to have been.

The great number of inscriptions show that the word was used in connection with honorary dedications both for members of the imperial family and also for ordinary citizens of the cities issuing the decrees.⁶⁴ A typical example of its usage is seen in an inscription honouring Cn. Pompeius Hermippus Aelianus, the proconsul of Lycia and Pamphylia: ἐπιμεληθέντων τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ ἀνδριέντιος Τι. Κλ. Οὐλ. Ἀλαέρδεως καὶ Μάρωνος Καλλιμάχου τῶν πρεσβευτῶν.⁶⁵ With slight variations, most of the inscriptions roughly follow the same formula.

However, it cannot be certain that the role of the persons named as "having the care/management of the dedication" necessarily involved a monetary contribution. For example, two inscriptions from Apamea show that Claudius Piso was honoured by his city's *boule* and *demos* as well as the resident Romans. It is not clear whether the Romans were those living within the city and its territory or within Asia as a whole. Given that the city authorities of Apamea honour Piso, it seems likely that the Romans concerned are those who were also connected to the city.

In the inscriptions we are told that the dedications were made ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων of those ἐν τῇ Σκυτικῇ Πλατείᾳ τεχνειτῶν and τῇ Θερρμαίᾳ Πλατείᾳ and that the "care" or

⁶⁴ See Appendix V.

⁶⁵ *IvE*, VII, 1, 3036, ll. 19-23.

"management" of the statue was entrusted to a number of men named in a clause with the word ἐπιμεληθέντων.⁶⁶

It seems that the money for the dedications came from the associations named in the inscriptions while the men named in conjunction with ἐπιμεληθέντων would then have had to ensure the dedication was carried out and that it was done properly. This may also have involved buying the stone from which it was to have been made and employing the craftsmen who were going to make and erect it. It is possible that they may have had to bear part of the cost in the event that the money already given was not sufficient but this need not be the case and the inscriptions themselves do not make this point clear.

In another inscription, this time from Acmonia, the *patris* honoured T. Flavius Priscus: τὴν ἀνάστασιν ποιησομένης φυλῆς Ἀσκληπιδόου ἐπιμεληθέντος Γαίου Ἰουλίου Λευκιλίου.⁶⁷ Again it seems that Gaius Julius Lucilius need not have been the one to bear the financial cost of the dedication.

From a bequest made by Apollonius to the city of Heraclea, the *demos* and *boule* honoured his wife, Heronis in accordance with arrangements by him. τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν of the dedication was made by certain men named in the inscription.⁶⁸ The role of the men named at the end of the inscription may just have been limited to ensuring that the arrangements made by Apollonius were carried out. Apollonius himself was also honoured by the city in the same way and under the same terms.⁶⁹

It appears that in this series of inscriptions,

⁶⁶ Ramsay, *C and B*, pp.461-462, no. 295 cf. *MAMA*, VI, 180 I; Ramsay, *C and B*, pp. 461-462, no. 296. See also *IGRP*, IV, 789 and 790.

⁶⁷ *MAMA*, VI, 266; Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 640, no. 531; *IGRP*, IV, 653.

⁶⁸ Robert, *La Carie*, p. 182, no. 80. See also no. 79.

⁶⁹ Robert, *La Carie*, p. 183-184, no. 82. See also p. 183, no. 81.

Apollonius set some money aside in his will in order to set up statues of his wife and of himself. The "care" of these dedications was entrusted to the men named at the end of the inscriptions but no expenditure on their part is implied by the context of these texts.

At Colossae, M. Larcus Priscus was honoured by the *boule* and the *demos* ἐκ διατάξεως made by his father, M. Larcus Papius, with T. Asinius Epaphroditus having the "care" of the honour, ἐπιμεληθέντος τῆς τιμῆς.⁷⁰ Here it is to be assumed that the financial burden of the honour was undertaken by Papius. It is unlikely that such an arrangement would have been made by him without the provision of funds to ensure that it was carried out.

In all these inscriptions it appears that financial arrangements were made to provide for the statues and dedications. The role of those men named as having the "care" or "management" of them would then naturally be to see that the task was carried out and ensure that the money was spent in connection with the particular honour for which it was raised. The possibility that these men would be asked to contribute funds if the expenditure was greater than the sum provided cannot be ruled out.

Financial responsibility is easier to understand in some instances than in others where monetary arrangements for the provision of an honour are not alluded to in the text of an inscription. This would be so in cases where a relationship with the person being honoured is stated. An inscription from Heraclea honours Adrastus who had been the victor at some games. It says: ἐπιμεληθέντος τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ ἀνδριάντος Ἀδράστου τοῦ (Ἀδράστου) τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.⁷¹

Similarly at Acmonia, when Nicias Lucias was honoured by the *boule* and *demos*, the ἐπιμέλεια of the ἀνάστασις was undertaken by his brother and at Colossae, a similar

⁷⁰ MAMA, VI, 39.

⁷¹ Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 190, 73; Robert, *La Carie*, p. 185.

situation again occurred.⁷² In these circumstances, it is very easy to imagine that the men named in the inscriptions would quite willingly spend their wealth on dedications erected to members of their families. Honours to these men would reflect on their relatives and the prestige would be all the more increased if these relatives had paid for them.

It is also easy to understand the donation of money to pay for statues and other honours when the recipient is the emperor or other members of the Imperial household. At Apamea, three inscriptions record honours to three different empresses, Mattidia, Plotina and Marcia, and all three show that the same man was involved, namely Marcus Attalus, the ἀργυροταμίος of the city.⁷³ A great deal of prestige would follow from such an act of munificence and it is natural to suppose that people like Marcus Attalus would want to bear the costs of such honours to the emperor and his family.

This is much harder to understand when the recipient was a fellow citizen. A man, or even a woman, would naturally want to spend his wealth on increasing the prestige of his own family rather than that of somebody else's.

From this it is clear that the words ἐπιμέλεια and ἐπιμελήθεις do not necessarily imply a contribution of money on the part of the persons named in conjunction with them. The words themselves are used in a wide variety of contexts some of which can be seen as clearly involving a prior financial arrangement for honours and dedications and some of which can not.⁷⁴ Consequently, the same conclusion

⁷² Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 637, no. 530; *MAMA*, VI, 265; *IGRP*, IV, 654 cf. Robert, *LdL*, pp. 277-278.

⁷³ Ramsay, *C and B*, no. pp. 457-458, 281-283; *MAMA*, VI, 179; *IGRP*, IV, 773-775.

⁷⁴ Howgego, *GIC*, p. 87 has stated that ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΘΕΝΤΟΣ does not imply expenditure and this has been borne out by the study of these inscriptions.

can be drawn when these terms are applied to the civic coinages of the Empire. They did not necessarily imply financial benefaction but rather that the person involved had "care" over the production of the issue.

This is not to say that none of the legends of the coins of the eastern cities imply benefaction. Robert says "des évergètes peuvent alors faire à leur patrie, ou même à d'autres villes, le cadeau d'une émission de bronzes, ce qui peut être indiqué par la formule παρὰ Πολέμωνος ou διὰ Πολέμωνος, soit, bien mieux encore, par des formules au datif, du type ἀνέθηκε Φωκαιεύσιν Ἔπιταλος, ou ταῖς πατρίσι Ἔπιταλος σοφιστής ou Στ(ατιλίου) Ἔπιταλος ἀρχίατρος Ἡρακλεωτῶν νέοις."⁷⁵

The picture of benefaction as indicated by the coins themselves is complicated by the fact that the legends on the coins and whether they contained names or not varied chronologically and geographically. This has been argued for formulae such as ANEΘHKEN, ΔΙΑ, ΠΑΡΑ and ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΘΕΝΤΟΣ and the same can perhaps also be suggested for the way names vary between the nominative and genitive at Laodicea. Names in the genitive occur under Claudius and Nero.⁷⁶ It could be that a preposition such as ΔΙΑ has been omitted and is to be understood as part of the legend. This is dubious though as the abbreviation of names, and not the omission of prepositions is more normal if there is a lack of space on a coin for a full legend.

As Robert has suggested, the preposition ΔΙΑ and a name in the genitive implies expenditure on the part of the person named. This word means "arising from", "through" or "by the means of" and is used on coins of Laodicea which were minted under Domitian and Domitia in the name of Cornelius Dioscourides. The impression is that these particular issues were minted because Dioscourides bore

⁷⁵ Robert, *Monnaies antique en Troade*, p. 86.

⁷⁶ See Howgego, *GIC*, p. 87 and Appendix VIa and VIb.

their expenses.⁷⁷

The word ANEΘHKEN is inscribed on the reverses of many issues of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley.⁷⁸ At Colossae, the word appears on the majority of coins minted during the period from the reign of Hadrian to that of Trebonianus Gallus. The verb ἀνατίθημι means "to dedicate" and when it is engraved on a coin it is normally taken to mean that the person named dedicated an issue of coins to his or her city by providing the bullion from which the coinage was struck or by bearing the expenses of the minting. Not all of the coins from Colossae have ANEΘHKEN engraved on them as part of their legend. At least three issues from the city only have names in the nominative. Given the wide use of the verb on this city's coinage, it is to be understood for these coins also. The same can be said about legends with names in the nominative on coins from Laodicea and Hierapolis. It is not unusual to find that if the complete formula could not be placed on a coin, only the name was engraved and the verb omitted.⁷⁹

However, it cannot be ruled out that any statue or building depicted on the coin was dedicated rather than the coinage itself.⁸⁰ It is still plausible to suggest though that the coinage itself may have been the object of the verb.

On some issues men are named along with the appellations ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ and ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ. This occurs, for example, at Laodicea on issues signed by Polemon under Gaius Caesar and also issues signed by Julius Andronicus which were minted during the reigns of Nero and Vespasian. At Hierapolis, Zosimus and Cocus Pollidus are also known as

⁷⁷ On ΔΙΑ see Howgego, *GIC*, pp. 86-87. For the coins of Dioscourides see Appendix VIa.

⁷⁸ See Appendix VIa, VIb and VIc.

⁷⁹ Howgego, *GIC*, p. 86 and see Appendix VIa.

⁸⁰ Howgego, *GIC*, p. 86.

philopatris.⁸¹ It may be that these men earned these names because of the services and benefactions they provided for their city and the possibility cannot be ruled out that one such deed was the provision of the coinage on which they are named.

If it is correct to suppose that some of those named on civic issues contributed in some way to the production of the coins on which they are named, then it can be seen that the contributions undertaken by them were very large indeed. At Laodicea, Cornelius Dioscourides signed his name on a very substantial issue of coins which was minted during the reign of Domitian. At Hierapolis, Suillius Antiochus signed his name on coins minted under Claudius, Britannicus Caesar and Nero which again would have involved considerable expense on his part while the repetition of names at Colossae also points to the same suggestion.⁸²

The same can be said about families. At Laodicea, the name of Zenon occurs very frequently and it is hard to escape the conclusion that those signing coins of the city using that name were members of the same family. If that is true, then the family of Zenon contributed greatly to the coinage of Laodicea.⁸³

Some issues contain no names of magistrates. For example, at Hierapolis, these coins were minted under Germanicus and Drusus, Trajan and also from the reign of Hadrian onwards. At Laodicea, issues without names were produced under Augustus, Vespasian, Domitian and more generally from the reign of Trajan onwards.⁸⁴ Presumably, the citizens of Hierapolis and Laodicea were still involved in the production of coins but their contributions were no longer honoured in the same way as before. They may have

⁸¹ See Appendix VIb and VIa.

⁸² See Appendix VIa, VIb and VIc.

⁸³ See Appendix and also Ramsay, *C and B*, pp. 42ff where he discusses the Zenonid family and gives a stemma.

⁸⁴ See Appendix VIa, VIb and VIc.

been honoured in some other way but it would seem this was not done via inscriptions as there are virtually none recording the provision of coinage.

An inscription from Laodicea honours Anicius Asper as a reward for the many benefits the city had received from him: 'Ανίκιον Ἄσπερον τὸ[ν] ὑπατικὸν καὶ κτίστην ἀνθ' ὧν εὐεργέτηται ἀνέθ(ηκεν).⁸⁵ As can be seen, the services rendered are not listed or detailed. It may be that people who contributed money to an issue of coinage in periods when their names were not recorded on the coins themselves were commemorated instead with inscriptions like this one which referred to their good deeds without giving a detailed list of them. However, this would be impossible to prove but it might also explain the absence of the provision of coinage from the epigraphic record.

What is clear from the legends of the coins is that no one magistrate was responsible for the production of coins. At Colossae, the *archon*, *grammateus* and *stephanephorus* are mentioned in the legends. This would imply that these magistrates also happened to be involved in some way in the minting of coins and not that their involvement came about by virtue of their magistracy. The same is true of Laodicea where the offices of *nomothetes* and *asiarch* appear on the coins and also Hierapolis where the *grammateus* and *archon* are included in legends. Alternatively, it also means, for example at Colossae, that different magistrates were responsible for the coinage at different periods. For example, *grammateus* is attested under Antoninus Pius, *archon* under Marcus Aurelius, *strategus* under Commodus and *stephanephorus* under the Severans and Trebonianus Gallus. However, this still means that no one magistrate was concerned with the production of civic issues.

If one magistrate was responsible for the issue of coins, either an existing office or one which was inaugurated and designated to deal with coinage, then it is

⁸⁵ Robert, *LdL*, p. 338, no. 14.

to be expected that the name of the office would appear regularly and consistently on the coins but this is not the case. Conversely, it is impossible to determine the magistracies held, if any, by persons whose offices are not given.⁸⁶ It also has to be said that given the sporadic nature of coin production it would be pointless to appoint a regular magistrate as his role would be redundant in years in which no issues were minted.

Just as Imperial intervention has been suggested for the authority to mint coins, the same is true concerning the types depicted on the coins. This is because of the actions of a certain Alexander of Abonouteichos who is recorded by Lucian as asking the emperor M. Aurelius if his city could have new coins with the types of Glykon the snake and Alexander himself.⁸⁷

This has been seen by Burnett as one aspect of Imperial sovereignty over coinage.⁸⁸ Robert believes that the request here was a double one and that Alexander had not only asked the emperor about the coin types but also to change the name of the city.⁸⁹

However, it would seem that this was a unique situation which is why it has attracted the attention of ancient and modern historians. If it was a regular occurrence to go and ask the emperor about specific types to be used on civic coinages then there would have been no need to pass any comment on it. Just as there was nothing preventing representatives of a city seeking Imperial permission to mint coins once they had decided to produce an issue, then the same is true concerning the coin types. Again an initial decision must have been made to use a particular type before permission could be sought from the

⁸⁶ See Appendix VIc.

⁸⁷ Lucian, *Alex.*, 58.

⁸⁸ *CRW*, pp. 17-18.

⁸⁹ Robert, "ΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ", p. 62.

emperor.

Civic freedom or a lack of systematic Imperial control is a possible explanation for some provincial issues which did not bear the image of the emperor. These types instead featured gods, heroes and personifications of the city and its institutions. Some cities hardly ever struck non-Imperial portrait issues such as Ephesus and Nicomedia while others such as Hierapolis produced a great quantity of coins which did not employ the image of the emperor and members of his household. Likewise, the coinage of Smyrna was almost entirely composed of non-Imperial portrait issues. If there was any Imperial enactment concerning the types used on civic coinage it would be to ensure that the type of the emperor proliferated but given the variations from city to city on the choice of types they used, it appears that this was clearly not the case.⁹⁰

Concerning the actual image of the emperor which was used on the coins, it seems that the official portrait was widely available and could be obtained by provincial cities as is shown by an inscription from Termessus dated to A.D. 253. A show was held in the amphitheatre on the day the statue of the emperor Valerian was brought to the city.⁹¹ Some of these images were better than others as Arrian found out when he visited Trapezus. He wrote to the emperor Hadrian and told him that the statue the city had of him was not at all attractive.⁹² Whatever the exact mechanisms employed for the dissemination of the imperial image for coin portraiture, Burnett believes that there was no official system of regulation and that cities and groups of cities were reasonably free to produce their own depictions of the emperor. He also says that cities would obviously try and produce portraits as close to the

⁹⁰ See Johnston, "Greek Imperials", p. 95; Burnett, *CRW*, p. 83.

⁹¹ *ILS*, 8870; Burnett, *CRW*, p.82.

⁹² *Periplus*, 1.3; Burnett, *CRW*, pp. 82-83.

official one as possible.⁹³ It is only natural that this would be so. However, the inscription from Termessus and the comments of Arrian perhaps show that there was some concern to provide provincial cities with good likenesses of the emperor even if there was no legal requirement that this should be so.

It seems that magistrates did have a part to play in the choice of types depicted on the coins their cities produced. A certain Damas had been involved in legislation concerning the two large cults of the city of Miletus, those of the Delphic Apollo and the Apollo of Didyma. He had issued coins with the types of Apollo and also his sister, Artemis Pythia. Robert believes that the types of coinage dating to Damas give a good example of the relationship which exists between the eponymous magistrate or the magistrate who had responsibility for an issue and the choice of types.⁹⁴

Robert also cites another example, this time from Philadelphia in Lydia. The Olympic athlete, Hermogenes, who advertised his achievements on coins dating to the time of Caligula, used the type of a palm behind the busts of two divinities. The palm recalled his victories and this is an interesting example of an official responsible for an issue of coins who was also an athlete.⁹⁵

A coin minted at Ephesus portrays the laureate emperor Trajan wearing a cuirass on the obverse. On the reverse, the captive Parthia is shown seated to the left on a round shield. Behind her is a trophy of arms at the foot of which are two hexagonal shields. The legend reads O [NE]Ω ΕΦΕ ΑΗ ΕΠΙΕΧΑΡ. This has been taken to mean that the people of Ephesus caused to be engraved on the coin a group of a trophy and a captive in commemoration of Trajan's conquest

⁹³ CRW, p. 83. On the Imperial image, see Pekary, *Das römische Kaiserbildnis*.

⁹⁴ Robert, *MG*, pp. 50-51.

⁹⁵ Robert, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 51.

of Parthia. The verb ἐπιχαρασσεῖν as applied to coin types appears in Plutarch: καὶ τῶν νομισμάτων τοῖς παλαιοτάτοις βούν ἐπεχάραττον ἢ πρόβατον ἢ οὖν.⁹⁶ This was the normal usage for the word.

From the evidence presented here, it seems that the impetus to coin came from the cities themselves even though some subsequently sought Imperial permission to mint. The choice of coin types was also made by the cities. Obviously they were restrained by the ever present threat of Roman might if they offended the emperor or acted in a way which would upset the smooth running of the Empire. If anything controlled the minting processes of the Eastern cities, it was this threat and not any specific piece of legislation or Imperial enactment. Despite this, it would appear that the cities had a relative amount of freedom concerning what they minted and when.

However, this seems to have changed under the Severans. This period saw a great increase both in the number of Greek cities minting coins and in the volume of production. This development has been seen as a result of Imperial pressure and the coins minted as a consequence were produced to meet the fiscal burdens imposed by the central authority at the expense of the cities.⁹⁷

Crawford believes that it is possible to give examples of the minting of these coins to serve Imperial purposes and he says that such evidence is cumulatively decisive. For example, he believes that the sudden but brief influx of Pontic coins into Dura-Europus is hard to explain in terms of normal economic forces. Under Severus Alexander and Gordian III, coins minted at Nicaea in Bithynia were dominant in the Balkans and this again is seen in terms of Imperial use of the coinage. This seems especially so considering that the coins are not at all common in Mysia

⁹⁶ *Poplic.*, 11. On all of this see *BMC Ionia*, p. 76, no. 223 and note.

⁹⁷ Crawford, "Finance, Coinage and Money", p. 572; see in general Ziegler, *Kaiser, Heer und Städtisches Geld*.

which lies close to Bithynia.

Military types are seen as evidence of coins being used to meet the expenses of Roman troops while die-sharing, which became common under and after the Severans, reflects the response of cities which produced coinage to Imperial order. Finally, the large number of Greek mints and their great production is not interpreted as a sign on the continued prosperity of cities in the East but as a sign of the extra burdens imposed on them.⁹⁸

If this is so, then there were far-reaching consequences for the role of the emperor in the minting processes of the cities of Asia Minor and the Upper Maeander Valley.

It has been suggested that Imperial control of the Eastern civic coinages is shown by the alleged actions of the emperor Septimius Severus towards the city of Athens. The Severan period was one which saw an unprecedented amount of minting activity in which every city in the East which is known to have minted coins did so under Septimius Severus and his sons.⁹⁹ A most obvious exception to this is Athens and the lack of minting by the city has been attributed to Septimius Severus who took away the Athenians' right to coin money. One view is that he took revenge for some wrong he suffered when he visited the city early in his career while another connects the emperor's actions to the fact that Athens did not support him during the civil wars which preceded his reign.¹⁰⁰

However, the coinage of the city need not have been affected. Day believes that the restrictions imposed on the Athenians involved the appointment of a "corrector", as

⁹⁸ For all these arguments see Crawford, "Finance, Coinage and Money", pp.572-574.

⁹⁹ Kroll, "The Eleusis Hoard", p. 323.

¹⁰⁰ Kroll, "The Eleusis Hoard", p. 323 cf. Howgego, *GIC*, p. 89.

he puts it, or some other similar official.¹⁰¹ Day further believes that a reconciliation with the Severan house is suggested by the celebration of the Severeia at Athens in A.D. 199/200 in honour of Severus.¹⁰²

The Crawford scheme of things would support Day's views. If the coinage of the Eastern cities was used for Imperial financial burdens then the lack of minting at Athens can be seen as a privilege and the fact that the city did not mint under Severus shows that this privilege remained intact and that the Athenian coinage was not the object of Severus' actions.

If it was a privilege not to mint coins, then permission could be sought to stop minting rather than to mint as earlier in the Empire. Lastly, if Crawford's interpretation is correct, then the freedom of the cities of Asia Minor and, as a result, those of the Upper Maeander Valley, to mint when they wanted and when would have been restricted. From the Severan period onwards, they would have to mint in accordance with Imperial needs as well as for their own civic needs. For example, Septimius Severus had managed to annexe northern Meopotamia and extend Roman territory to the Tigris as a result of his conflicts against the Parthians and his successors had also campaigned in the East. The financing of these campaigns can perhaps be seen as one of the reasons for the minting of issues by the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley and other cities in the East during the Severan period.

Under the Empire, the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley, and indeed those of Asia minor as a whole, had considerable freedom to mint civic issues. The governing bodies of the cities decided what issues to produce and when and the types depicted on them. As the legends show, an issue could be proposed by the citizens of the city concerned while the numismatic and epigraphic evidence

¹⁰¹ Day, *Economic History of Athens*, pp. 201-202.

¹⁰² Day, *Economic History of Athens*, p. 202.

tentatively suggests that others could supply the bullion or bear the expenses of an issues or provide the "care" under which the coinage was produced. Under the Severans this changed and coins were issued in relation to the needs of the Imperial authorities which naturally implied a restriction on the cities' own freedom of action concerning when and for what reasons coins were minted but not necessarily the types.

It can still be said that just as the Roman authorities continued the monetary system they found in use in Asia, so too with the various processes by which civic coinages were produced. It is not for nothing that "the most astonishing feature of the monetary history of Asia under Roman rule is the evidence it provides of the absence of an interventionist approach on the part of the Romans."¹⁰³

¹⁰³ Crawford, *CMRR*, p. 160.

CHAPTER FOUR: City, Region and Empire

It will be clear to anyone who studies the history of Rome that the expansion of the Roman Empire depended in part on the incorporation of cities within that empire. By the very act of the annexation of Asia, cities within the province came under the authority of Rome. This meant that henceforth the cities were part of the economic and administrative systems which ran the Empire.

One economic model sees the Roman Empire as three distinct yet overlapping areas. There was an outer ring of frontier provinces in which armies were situated, an inner ring of relatively rich tax-exporting provinces of which Asia was one and at the centre was Rome and Italy, the seat of government. Taxes would move from Asia and other areas to the frontier provinces and Rome where they would be consumed.¹

There is a critique against this line of reasoning, but whatever model is used to explain the financial workings of the Empire, the cities of Asia inevitably became part of the Imperial fiscal system and Brunt has suggested ways in which this might work.²

It seems that Imperial practices regarding taxation developed out of Republican ones. Rome simply used whatever had been in existence. For example, tithes had been levied in some areas under Persian rule and perhaps also under the Attalids and Gaius Gracchus may have done no more than entrust their collection to *publicani*. In the same way, during the Republic, *tributum* referred to a tax which was levied by a city on its citizens but under the Principate, it became a tax imposed by the Imperial power and the Roman government retained the difference between the two different types of *tributum*, namely *tributum*

¹ Hopkins, "Taxes and Trade", p. 101.

² For the counter-argument to Hopkins, see Duncan-Jones, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy*, pp. 30-47.

capitis and *tributum soli*.³

There had to be a way for assessing the amount of tax to be paid and this was the census. Censuses had been used by communities for assessing local taxes and for determining property qualifications for office. They were now ordained by Rome and Brunt believes that the greatest innovation of the Principate, due to Augustus, was the institution of the provincial census. The reference to the *tributum capitis* in an inscription from Lampsacus clearly implies the registration of people within Asia: [ἐκ τῶν] ἰδίῳν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ πρὸς πολλοῖς ἐπιτεύγμασιν κατορθόσαντα τὸ ἡμισυ τοῦ ἐπικεφαλίου τῆς πόλεως κουφισθῆναι, ἀναθείσης τὸν ἀδριάντα τῆς Περικλειδῶν φυλῆς τοῦ ἑαυτῆς φυλάρχου. It seems that the person concerned here bore some or all of the expenses of the *tributum capitis*.⁴

An Asian testament of the early Principate assumes that the owner of an estate owes the *fiscus* a fixed payment *per iugerum* which was paid to the city of Nacrassa. It seems then that the individual was liable to the city for taxes and the city was then liable to the Roman government. Communal liability explains why the Roman authorities granted the remission of tribute to cities and communities which had suffered from natural disasters and the like.⁵

Collection within the city was normally entrusted to local magistrates or officials but they could not collect money from the property and lands of the Roman people or the emperor. It is possible, or so Brunt thinks, that the Roman government in these instances relied on tax-farmers or *publicani*. The *pecunia phorica* which was collected in Asia during the reign of Augustus by *publicani* was perhaps

³ Brunt, "Revenues of Rome", pp. 325 and 335.

⁴ *IGRP*, IV, 181; *IvL*, 10; Brunt, "Revenues of Rome", pp. 325, 329, 331 and 346.

⁵ See above pp. 34-35.

money from rents on public or Imperial lands.⁶

By these means the cities of Asia, and also their citizens, became incorporated into the economic system of the Roman Empire. The same cities also became an integral part of the administrative structure of the Empire. Roman rule was largely indirect and for the most part it was left to the local magistrates and the upper classes to govern the cities on a day to day basis.

The emperor could become involved in the financial affairs of the cities as shown by an Imperial letter from Caracalla to the city of Apollonia. The document is addressed to the Apollonians but reference is made to their neighbours, the Heracleotes. The latter would be mentioned only if the former had made some complaint about them to the Imperial ruler. The text is fragmentary but the complaint seems to regard a financial burden which ought to have been shared. Robert suggests that this might be the supply of provisions for Caracalla's troops. The decision was made in Apollonia's favour.⁷ On the whole, however, the everyday business of the cities was carried out by the local elites.

For this system to be effective, the interests of these elites and those of Rome had to be closely identified. In the case of Britain, it has been stated that "the constitutions of the *civitates* aimed at securing the agreement of the tribal aristocracies and incorporating them into the new system ... The aim with both existing and newly promoted tribal leaders was to encourage the identity of interest between the conquered and the conqueror."⁸ The interests of the two parties coincided because the tribal leaders maintained the government of Britain on behalf of

⁶ On liability and collection see Brunt, "Revenues of Rome", pp. 339-341.

⁷ Robert, *La Carie*, pp. 274-276; Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, no. 268, pp. 519-520.

⁸ Millett, *Romanization of Britain*, p. 68.

the Romans and the social position of these leaders rested in part on the fact that they did this. As a result, under the new circumstances of defeat and incorporation into the Empire, the social status of those at the top of the tribal hierarchy was defined not only by dominance within the tribe but also in relation to Roman power.⁹

Even though the political situation of Asia was different from that of Britain, the same processes can be seen. The local elites of this eastern province administered the cities for Rome and their own position within their society can be seen as being defined not only by their high standing but also their close connection to Rome.

The cities of Asia also became part of the administrative structure of the Empire on a provincial level because the province as a whole was subject to the authority of a governor, a Roman official of proconsular status who was sent out on a tour of duty normally lasting a year. Governors of Asia and their legates did not administer justice from one city but travelled around the area holding sessions at certain privileged towns and cities which were the assize centres of the province.¹⁰

In the late Republic, Cicero speaks of the assizes he held his province when he was the governor of Cilicia. In a letter to M. Cato, written at Tarsus in January, 50 B.C., he says that he spent time at various cities holding assizes and solving the financial problems of many communities: *Cum in provinciam pridie Kal. Sext. venissem, et propter anni tempus ad exercitum mihi confestim esse eundum viderem, biduum Laodiceae fui, deinde Apameae quatrimum, triduum Synnadis, totidem dies Philomeli. Quibus multas civitates acerbissimis tributis et gravissimi*

⁹ Millett, *Romanization of Britain*, p. 68.

¹⁰ On this see Burton, "Proconsuls, Assizes and the Administration of Justice", pp. 92-106.

*usuris et falso aere alieno liberavi.*¹¹

Under the emperor Trajan, Pliny also toured the cities in the province of Bithynia when he was sent there in order to solve problems as he found them or when they were brought to his attention. This was the normal and established mode of administration of a province.¹²

In these ways Asia and the cities within it were adapted into the fiscal and administrative systems of the Roman Empire. The natural consequence of this was the erosion of the autonomy of the cities of this part of the Greek East, and indeed the Empire as a whole, over time. For example, in the regime of the ancient city, if there was a conflict, usually of a territorial nature, and the cities involved could not agree on a solution, war was one possible way of resolving the problem. As a result, Greek history is strewn with accounts of conflicts concerning pieces of land which were taken, lost and then retaken.¹³

One early example was the Lelantine War which broke out between Chalcis and Eretria in the eighth century B.C. and was so-called because the two cities were fighting for possession of the Lelantine Plain. Thucydides believes it differed from other border wars as other areas of Greece were involved in supporting one side or the other. However, the evidence points to a series of limited border wars centred on the Lelantine Plain rather than a complex system of alliances and joint expeditions. The origin of the conflict was a struggle for territory between two neighbouring aristocratic communities.¹⁴

An alternative solution to the resort to arms was an appeal to foreign cities who would act as arbitrators and

¹¹ Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, 15, 4, 2.

¹² Pliny, *Ep.*, Bk., 10; Burton, "Proconsuls, Assizes and the Administration of Justice", p. 105.

¹³ Robert, "Les juges", p. 141.

¹⁴ On this see Thucydides, 1, 15 and Murray, *Early Greece*, pp. 76-77.

judges. When called to make judgements concerning territorial disputes, tribunals could make quite detailed decisions involving the courses of rivers, positions of valleys and even trees which would act as points of reference for the disputed land.¹⁵

Internal problems could also be resolved by appeals to foreign judges. A decree of Malla, a small city in Crete, shows that an appeal was made to three neighbouring communities "les propriétés et tous les contrats mutuels étant dans le trouble et la discorde la plus grande." The cities sending the judges were declared to be the saviours and champions of Malla.¹⁶

Inevitably, as Roman rule spread throughout the Mediterranean world, appeals to Greek cities were replaced by arbitration by the city of Rome. This begins on a large scale after the defeat of Macedon in 167 B.C. and one such example is highlighted by an inscription from Magnesia dated to the middle of the second century B.C. or perhaps a little earlier. It contains a letter of the praetor M. Aemilius and a decree of the senate relating to a dispute between the cities of Magnesia and Priene. The dispute, like earlier conflicts, seems to have been of a territorial nature and Aemilius was approached in order to provide a solution. He did this by entrusting the matter to a free city, either one which was mutually acceptable to the parties concerned or chosen by him if such could not be found.

Other documents were also inscribed on the same block of marble. One was a decree honouring the Magnesian public advocates. This also ordered the engraving of all other documents which were relevant to the dispute with Priene. The dossier tells us that Mylasa was the arbitrating state and that Magnesia had won the dispute. The decision of the

¹⁵ Robert, "Les juges", p. 141.

¹⁶ Robert, "Les juges", p. 147.

Mylasan tribunal is also given as well as the names of the Magnesian advocates who had successfully pleaded their city's cause.¹⁷

Here the role of Rome can be clearly seen. In this case, Roman officials were appealed to for a decision on a territorial dispute and the matter was referred to a third Greek city for judgement. A Greek city could only assume its traditional role as a foreign judge after an appeal to Rome had been made.

Under the Empire, it was the emperor who now assumed the role of "foreign judge" which had once been held by the Greek cities themselves. This is shown in a series of documents concerning a dispute between the Coronaeans and the Thisbeans over some undemarcated grazing land which had been the subject of an ongoing argument during the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. During the reign of Hadrian, it was ordered that some territory of the Coronaeans was to be measured off and handed to the Thisbeans. In Antoninus' reign, this had still not been done and each side was blaming the other for impeding a speedy conclusion. However, it was under Antoninus Pius that a solution was eventually reached and a decision was made that the orders given by Hadrian were to be carried out. The land was to be turned over to the Thisbeans and if they grazed their animals on land outside of this, they were to pay pasturage. If they paid what was owed from previous times, the Coronaeans were to return their pledges to them.

These documents show how the autonomy of the cities was restricted by the intervention of the emperor and this was done in two ways. Firstly, the cities' freedom was curtailed by Imperial control of their external political activities. Plutarch reveals the extent to which this was so and his sentiments presumably apply to all cities within the Empire: Τὰ πράγματα τῶν πόλεων οὐχ ἔχει πολέμων

¹⁷ See Sherk, *RDGE*, no. 7, pp. 44-47.

ἡγεμονίας οὐδὲ τυραννίδων καταλύσεις οὐδὲ συμμαχικὰς πράξεις.¹⁸

Secondly, the autonomy of the cities was further restricted because of the appeals which were made by the cities and their citizens to involve him in the affairs of the city. This is shown by the dispute between the Coronaeans and the Thisbeans and the involvement of the emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.

The emperor could also act on requests made by individuals. For example, a letter of Hadrian to the Ephesians was presumably written after an appeal by Lucius Erastus. He claims to be a citizen of Ephesus and wants to become a councillor. Hadrian leaves it up to the city to examine the matter and is prepared to pay the money necessary for the election. He does not ask for any disqualification to be disregarded and the epistle again illustrates the intervention of the emperor in the civic matters of a community.¹⁹ In fact, Plutarch says that it is when those who are mightier are called in that the entire local government loses its authority.²⁰ ✓

The emperor, when he acted in response to requests and appeals from cities and their citizens, was brought firmly within the sphere of the cities' civic lives. The expansion of the Roman Empire, therefore, not only entailed the adaption of the cities into the empire but also the incorporation of the emperor and things Imperial within the cities of that empire.

There were many ways in which this was done, for example, the participation of the cities in the Imperial cult. One aspect of this was the pursuance of neocorate temples. The word *neocoros* actually refers to the official responsible for the upkeep and care of a temple but in the first century A.D. it was applied to the cities of the East

¹⁸ Plutarch, *Praec. ger. reip.*, 805 A-B, chap. 10.

¹⁹ Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, no. 82 A-B, pp. 205-207.

²⁰ Plutarch, *Praec. ger. reip.*, 815 A, chap. 19.

as an honorific title. The temple involved in this honour was a provincial temple dedicated to the emperor possessed by a city. The institution began with the provincial temples of Augustus built in the provinces of Bithynia and Asia and certainly at this time there could only be one temple dedicated to the emperor in the province and certainly only one in any city. Inevitably, temples and titles were detached from their provincial status and cities could collect a number of neocorate temples and titles. Under Hadrian, three cities in Asia, namely Cyzicus, Ephesus and Smyrna, were granted neocorate temples and two of these already had existing temples.²¹

A letter of Caracalla to the Ephesians concerns the granting of a third neocorate temple to Ephesus. The epistle, presumably addressed to the *koinon* of Asia because the Ephesians are referred to in the third person, shows how the emperor grants the petition of the city to be "thrice *neocoros*". Ephesus already had two temples, one dedicated to Vespasian, which had formerly been dedicated to Domitian, and the other to Hadrian. Caracalla granted a third temple but declined it for himself. Instead, he allowed the city to count the temple of Artemis.²²

Neocorate temples enabled the cities to express themselves in terms closely connected to the emperor and gave the emperor a prominent position within their religious lives. This was also done through the celebration of games and festivals in honour of the emperor and his family. Some of these would be connected to neocorate temples if a city had been awarded one, but not all celebrations were.

Games and festivals were an integral part of the Greek city and can be traced to its earliest history. With Roman Imperial rule and the spread of the Imperial cult, games celebrating the emperor and his household were held

²¹ Burrell, "Neokoroi", pp. 301-302.

²² Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, no. 266, pp. 512-515.

alongside the traditional games of a city.

Certainly the games and festivals could take a variety of forms and Imperial celebrations could be organized on both a regular and an irregular basis. The accession of a new emperor or good news received about the Imperial house could result in rejoicing. Along with these rather sporadic celebrations went a regular cycle of games. One way the emperor was brought into the civic and religious life of a city was by the adaption of a traditional festival honouring the chief local deity to incorporate the emperor. This meant that traditional celebrations had an Imperial title added to them. For example, the Heraea of Samos became the Sebasta Heraea.²³

However, the significance of double titles is not always clear. Some did not necessarily illustrate a close relationship between the emperor and the deity concerned. It may just have signified Imperial authorization for expenditure or a change of status. Sometimes the double title referred to two distinct festivals held at the same time such as the Caesarea and the Isthmia at Corinth. Double titles, though, could and did refer to one cult and represent joint cults which showed devotion to both the emperor and the god. This is the case with the Dionysia Caesarea at Teos.²⁴

As well as joint cults, there were also festivals celebrated for the emperor alone. The most prominent of these were the major Imperial festivals with athletics and music competitions. There were a variety of these but the Sebasteia, Caesarea, Hadrianea, Antonineia and Severeia were the most common. Major civic festivals would be held on a regular cycle. For example, the games at Acmonia, Aezani, Attaleia, Chios and Selge were held every four years. Held along with these civic celebrations were provincial games and festivals. These took place in

²³ Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 103.

²⁴ Price, *Rituals and Power*, pp. 103-104.

different cities of the province and Cyzicus, Ephesus, Laodicea, Pergamum, Philadelphia, Sardis, Smyrna and Tralles are all known to have celebrated provincial games.²⁵

Annual celebrations were also a possibility. Competitions with prizes were held every four years at Mytilene but annual sacrifices in the temple of Zeus and Augustus were also made. The emperor's birthday was the most common day on which more frequent celebrations took place.

It must be remembered that these festivals could last for several days and would have a big impact on the religious and civic life of the cities which held them. The games at Ephesus honouring the birthday of Antoninus Pius lasted for five days and on each day there were shows and a distribution of money to the citizens for sacrifices. At Termessus Minor, birthday celebrations ran to three days.²⁶

As can be seen, the religious calendar of the city was adapted and extended to incorporate Imperial festivals and games. It was, in part, by these means that the cities of Asia Minor made the emperor a part of the religious life of the city. As Price has shown, Imperial festivals were certainly not casual, half-hearted occasions. Some celebrations were attached to festivals of local deities while others were carefully organized on a regular basis. The festivals lasted a significant period of time and at the festivals as well as local celebrations, the city would be thronged with visitors. The Imperial cult was clearly an important part of the religious and civic life of any city.²⁷

It was not just the religious life of the city which was extended to incorporate the emperor. The physical

²⁵ Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 104.

²⁶ Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 105.

²⁷ Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 107.

setting of the city itself was as well and the emperor was found a very conspicuous role in the urban landscape. At Laertes on the south coast of Asia Minor, fifteen hundred metres above the modern town of Alânya, seven Imperial statue bases dating from the first to the third century have been found. Also excavated were an Imperial arch, a semi-circular monument in honour of the Severans and a Caesareum. From such a seemingly insignificant city, as Price has pointed out, there was an extraordinary Imperial presence in stone.²⁸

Certainly Imperial cult buildings were an effective way of finding the emperor a place in the geography of the city. At Cibyra Minor, the Caesareum overlooks the centre of the town while at Castrus, two Imperial temples face each other across the main square. At Pergamum, the temple of Trajan and Zeus Philios was situated at almost the highest point of the acropolis and at Miletus, an Imperial altar was built in the courtyard of the council house sometime during the Augustan period. As Price remarks, a more vivid picture of the incorporation of the Imperial cult within the institutions of the city could not be given.²⁹

The presence of the emperor within the physical setting of the city is perhaps nowhere more clearly seen than at Ephesus. In the area of the Upper Agora were temples and buildings dedicated to the emperor, his family and other prominent Romans. For example, C. Sestilius Pollio, along with his wife and children, dedicated a basilica to Augustus, Tiberius, Artemis and the *demos* and there was a temple dedicated originally to Domitian and then rededicated to Vespasian and the Flavian *gens*. Monuments were dedicated to Memmius, the grandson of Sulla, which dates to the earlier Republican period, and Pollio, the builder of the basilica. It seems that Imperial art

²⁸ Price, *Rituals and Power*, p. 135.

²⁹ Price, *Rituals and Power*, pp. 137-138.

dominated the architecture of the Upper Agora and it is clear that Roman citizens and Ephesians with strong Roman connections, such as Tiberius Claudius Aristo, C. Laecinius Bassus and C. Sextilius Pollio, who were the leaders of the Ephesian aristocracy, completely transformed the architectural and visual character of the city through their numerous building projects.³⁰

Just as the cities of the Greek East were adapted into the Roman Empire and the emperor was incorporated into their civic lives, so too with the citizens of those cities. This was done by the granting of Roman citizenship and through the holding of Imperial offices. The spread of Roman citizenship was a natural consequence of Roman rule. This resulted in the appearance on thousands of inscriptions and coins of hybrid Roman and Greek names which predominantly borrow the *praenomen* and *nomen* from successive Roman dynasties while retaining a Greek *cognomen*. Citizenship was awarded on a different scale in the East to the West. In the western half of the Empire, whole communities were granted citizenship, whereas in the East it was individually awarded as a reward or favour. It was something to be displayed as a privilege until the *Constitutio Antoniniana* extended the franchise to all free inhabitants of the Empire.³¹

At Apamea on the Maeander, the *demos* of Apollonia honoured Tiberius Claudius Mithridates, son of Tiberius, who was a high-priest of Asia. His son was Tiberius Claudius Piso Mithridates who was, among other things, the priest of Zeus Celenus for life, gymnasiarch, ephedarch and *evergetes* of Apamea. Mithridates' nephew was Tiberius Claudius Granianus who was also the gymnasiarch and benefactor of the city. It is clear that there were at least three generations of this family with the Roman

³⁰ Rogers, *Sacred Identity of Ephesos*, pp. 86-90 and p. 141.

³¹ See Sherwin-White, *Roman Citizenship*, esp pp. 214 and 220.

citizenship.³²

A similar thing can be seen at Aphrodisias. L. Antonius Claudius Dometinus Diogenes lived at the time of Septimius Severus and he was a high-priest as well as being stephanephorus, nomothetes, gymnasiarch and a benefactor of Aphrodisias. His father was Claudius Hermias Diogenes who was also stephanephorus of the city. Diogenes' sons were L. Claudius Attalus and Tiberius Claudius Diogenes. In the first century A.D. a Tiberius Claudius Diogenes, the son of Diogenes and Attalis, is known who was also a high-priest of Asia. It seems he was the first to obtain Roman citizenship and Campanile believes that it is possible to suppose that L. Antonius Claudius Dometinus Diogenes was his descendant.³³ If this is so, then there was a family of long-standing Roman citizenship at Aphrodisias.

Roman positions were also sought as well as the citizenship. Plutarch asks about the opportunities for young men in a public career and concludes that they would consist of lawsuits and embassies to the emperor: τίς ἄν τις ἀρχὴν ἐπιφάνους λάβοι καὶ λαμπρὰς πολιτείας; αἱ δίκαι τε λείπονται αἱ δημόσιαι καὶ πρεσβεῖαι πρὸς αὐτοκράτορα ἀνδρὸς διαπύρου καὶ θάρσος ἄμα καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντες δεόμεναι.³⁴

This is certainly the case with sophists. Domitian had decreed that there should be no vines in Asia because, as Philostratus believes, the people there plotted revolutions when they were drunk. Scopelianus was sent on an embassy to the emperor and as a result permission to plant was obtained and accompanying it was the threat of punishment for the failure to plant. Evidently, it was his talent and learning which swayed the emperor because he was chosen for his ability to "charm his hearer" and through

³² See Campanile, *I sacerdoti*, no. 73, p. 86.

³³ Campanile, *I sacerdoti*, no. 15, pp. 40-41 and no. 40, p. 60.

³⁴ Plutarch, *Praec. ger. reip.*, 805 A-B, chap. 10.

his oration, he also won benefits for himself.³⁵

Positions could also be found for sophists within the Imperial court and entourage. In the second and third centuries A.D. the office of *ab epistulis* for Greek correspondence was monopolized by Greek rhetors and men of intellect and the position was sometimes the first step in an equestrian or senatorial career.

For example, two of the Greek *ab epistulis* from the time of Hadrian went on to hold the prefecture of Egypt. These were C. Avidius Heliodorus and Valerius Eudaemon. Heliodorus was a Syrian rhetor, father of the rebel Avidius Cassius and a friend of Aelius Aristides. He was *ab epistulis* before becoming the prefect of Egypt. His career was spoilt only by reports that the emperor attacked him in a letter. Eudaemon's prefecture dates to the early part of Pius' reign and Bowersock has concluded from this that he did not reach this position under Hadrian because he had some difficulty with that emperor.³⁶

A certain Celer, known from Philostratus as a τεχνόγραφος and identified as a lifelong enemy of Dionysius of Miletus, was himself an imperial secretary: ὁ δὲ Κέλερ βασιλικῶν μὲν ἐπιστολῶν ἀγαθὸς προστάτης, μελέτη δὲ οὐκ ἀποχρῶν, Διονυσίῳ δὲ τὸν ἐκ μειρακίου χρόνον διάφορος. Alexander the Clay-Plato from Cilician Seleucia was summoned by the emperor to Pannonia and given an imperial post: ἐβάδιζε μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὰ Παιονικὰ ἔθνη μετακληθεὶς ὑπὸ Μάρκου βασιλέως ἐκεῖ στρατεύοντος καὶ δεδωκότος αὐτῷ τὸ ἐπιστελλεῖν Ἕλλησιν.³⁷

The Imperial cult also provided positions for provincial inhabitants which were connected to the emperor. For example, T. Flavius Montanus, son of Hieron, was

³⁵ Philostratus, *V.S.*, 1, 25; Bowersock, *Greek Sophists*, p. 44.

³⁶ Bowersock, *Greek Sophists*, pp. 50-51.

³⁷ Philostratus, *V.S.*, 1, 22 and 2, 5; Bowersock, *Greek Sophists*, pp. 50-53.

honoured at Acmonia. He was twice *praefectus fabrum* as well as being the high-priest of Asia of the temple in Ephesus. Mention has already been made of high-priests from Aphrodisias and Apamea.³⁸ Campanile, in her work on the priests of Asia, collects together an extensive list of men who were high-priests of the Imperial cult.³⁹

Priests of Asia are not the only ones attested. An inscription from Kidrama mentions that Philotas, son of Artemidorus, and Posidonius, son of Attalus, were priests of the Augusti.⁴⁰ At Eumenea, the *demos* honoured a certain Epigonus, the son of Menecratus, who was a priest τῆς Ἑρώμης.⁴¹

The Greek Tiberius Claudius Paterculianus was the proconsul of Crete and Cyrene and the procurator of Thrace and Cyprus. His son C. Claudius Attalus Paterculianus was consul suffect under Caracalla. With all probability they were part of the same family as L. Antonius Claudius Dometinus Diogenes, the high-priest from Aphrodisias.⁴²

Certainly, it is not always easy to determine the origin of some of the men in the service of Rome and it is hard to be sure that they came from Asia. An inscription from Heraclea lists the posts held for a certain Lucius Aburnius. These include *praefectus fabrum Romae*, *tribunis legionis III Augustae* and *praefectus cohortis III Augustae Thracum equitatae*. However, it is not certain that he was a local and it is possible that he was recruited into the army from elsewhere and settled in Heraclea where an inscription was put up for him.⁴³

³⁸ Campanile, *I sacerdoti*, no. 90, p. 96 and see above pp. 118-119.

³⁹ See Campanile, *I sacerdoti*.

⁴⁰ Robert, *La Carie*, no. 184, p. 363.

⁴¹ Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 377, no. 199.

⁴² Campanile, *I Sacerdoti*, p. 60.

⁴³ Robert, *La Carie*, no. 78.

As can be seen, there was a variety of ways which were utilised by the cities of the province of Asia, and also their citizens, in order to incorporate the emperor and aspects of his rule into their civic lives. This also enabled the cities and their inhabitants to define their relationship with the emperor by referring to themselves in Roman terms through neocorate titles, citizenship and Roman offices, and to express this relationship in a visual and physical way as is shown by the buildings and dedications to the emperors and other Romans and the inscriptions on which were advertised Roman statuses.

As a result, the cities of the Greek East acquired an increasingly Roman character. This is not to say that the Greek nature of the cities of the East became totally submerged. The Greek language was still spoken and written, traditional Greek gods were still worshipped and Greek temples and festivals were still celebrated within Greek temples and buildings. What did happen was that aspects of the Roman world were given a striking prominence by virtue of Greek involvement within it.

This Roman character was reinforced by the adoption of Roman habits, of which the most illustrative examples are gladiatorial games and bathing. Gladiatorial games and wild beast shows were specifically a Roman invention and entailed gladiators fighting each other or wild beasts and also the exposure of human victims to animals. Such spectacles became quite popular in Greek cities as Robert's book about gladiators in the Greek East shows.

Evidence for gladiatorial contests has been collected by Robert and consists of reliefs and inscriptions which not only identify the gladiators themselves but also those wealthy citizens who had financed and given gladiatorial spectacles. They are attested in many cities of Asia such as Ancyra, Ephesus, Heraclea, Miletus, Mylasa, Smyrna and Tralles. For example at Heraclea Salbace, an altar has an epitaph engraved upon it. It was erected by a wife to her husband who has been identified as a gladiator because of

the relief which depicts a gladiator: Νεικοφόρω πά(λφ) α΄
Μαρκελλείνα ή γυνή τὸ μνημεῖον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων κατεσκεύασεν.⁴⁴

At Ephesus, a relief shows two gladiators fighting hand to hand. They are described as "deux gladiateurs en corps à corps. Celui de droite est un Thrace; dans la dr(oite), le poignard recourbé, la *sica*; aux deux jambes, cnémides et bandes jusqu'au genou; ceinture, protégeant le haut des cuisses; casque à cimier, à larges bords, avec visière à trous, cachant le visage. Celui de gauche a même casque, même ceinture; seule la jambe g(auche) est conservée; elle est entourée de bandes jusqu'au genou; le bras droit est entièrement entouré de bandes; le gladiateur enfonce son poignard (droit) sous l'aisselle de son adversaire. Pas de boucliers; c'est qu'on en est au corps à corps final, les boucliers ayant été arrachés." Along with this relief is the inscription Ἀστεροπαῖος Δράκων. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the relief depicts the two gladiators named in the inscription.⁴⁵

It was not only contests between men which were depicted in the epigraphic and sculptural evidence for gladiators. A relief from Smyrna shows five different scenes of ταυροκῦθαπται. For example, the second scene shows a man on a galloping horse grabbing hold of a bull by its horns and immobilising it while the third pictures a man on a galloping horse. Along with the scenes is the inscription Ταυροκαθαψίων ἡμέρα β΄. The relief seems to be depicting events from a particular day of the contests.⁴⁶

Another relief from Smyrna shows a scene from a wild beast show. The fragment of marble relief was found in the garden of the french Consulate and depicts a fight between wild beasts.⁴⁷ As Robert points out, this impressive

⁴⁴ Robert, *Les gladiateurs*, no. 153, p. 169.

⁴⁵ Robert, *Les gladiateurs*, no. 209, p. 198.

⁴⁶ Robert, *Les gladiateurs*, no. 234, pp. 206-207.

⁴⁷ Robert, *Les gladiateurs*, no. 236, p. 207.

series of documents attests the widespread diffusion of gladiatorial competitions in Greece and Asia Minor.⁴⁸

Aqueducts and baths also strengthened the growing Roman character of the Greek cities in Asia. Most Greek cities before the Roman period relied on hot springs within the city or some other water supply within close proximity of the city walls. However, in the first three centuries A.D. external water supplies were built often involving elaborate aqueducts. The earliest aqueduct in Asia Minor was that built by Sextilius Pollio in Ephesus between A.D. 4 and 14. Over the next couple of centuries aqueducts spread to both large and small cities and they could vary in size. At Oenoanda, the water supply was taken by a single pipeline which ran for five kilometres from the springs. The springs supplying Side were thirty kilometres away and at least fifteen aqueducts were built to bring the water to the city. At Pergamum, the Hellenistic pipelines were supplemented by three major supply channels. The longest of these was fifty-five kilometres with thirty-five separate aqueducts. By, contrast, Phaesalis in Lycia was only half a kilometre away from its springs but an arched aqueduct was needed nearly all the way to bring the water to the city.⁴⁹

At first sight it might seem that the Greeks were simply imitating Rome but a variety of factors were at work. The architecture of the Hellenistic Greek world shows that the Greeks did not lack the technical knowledge to build structures resembling Roman aqueducts. However, in an age where conflict and strife was a reality, there were obvious dangers to an external water supply and, once damaged, aqueducts would be extremely hard to repair. Aqueducts also had to cross city walls which affected their defensive value. It was the peace afforded by the *pax Romana* which gave the Greeks the confidence to build

⁴⁸ Robert, *Les gladiateurs*, p. 240.

⁴⁹ Coulton, "Roman Aqueducts", pp. 72-76.

aqueducts and external pipelines.

It could be suggested that better water supplies would result in a higher standard of living, but, as Vitruvius points out, water was not only essential for daily use but also for pleasure. The construction of aqueducts was therefore made possible not only by the conditions of peace but also by the spread and adoption of the Roman bathing habit in Greek cities.⁵⁰

Obviously closely connected with aqueducts were baths and during the course of the Empire, modest Greek establishments were replaced by increasingly elaborate ones. Perhaps the earliest example in Asia Minor is the bath-house built in Miletus by Vergilius Capito who was a local resident with Italian roots. Between A.D. 70 and 150 a profusion of bath-buildings was established in numerous cities. Their importance can be seen at Sardis where the bath-gymnasium complex covered an immense area measuring 120 by 170 metres. At Ephesus, there were three bathing establishments which took up over twenty acres of the urban landscape. Even in Lydia, baths were built throughout the area's small towns and village communities.⁵¹

It has been said of Ephesus that "the Upper Agora ... had become the centre of a small Roman city with all the basic amenities of Italian urban life."⁵² Baths and aqueducts not only added to the Roman character of a Greek city but also showed that Roman habits were adopted and carried on within the city alongside traditional Greek activities.

The citizen body of Greek cities was also coloured by Roman influence not least because of the grant of Roman citizenship to provincial inhabitants.⁵³ However, this was

⁵⁰ Coulton, "Roman Aqueducts", pp. 81-82 and Vitruvius 8.1.1. See also Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 216.

⁵¹ Mitchell, *Anatolia*, pp. 216-217.

⁵² Rogers, *Sacred Identity of Ephesos*, p. 91.

⁵³ See above pp. 130-131.

also the result of the settling of Roman and Italian immigrants within Greek communities which had begun in the Republican age from the second century onwards.⁵⁴ Appian refers to various Roman communities in his account of the Mithridatic Wars. The Pontic king wrote to his governors ordering them to massacre all Romans and Italians along with their wives and children. In Ephesus, fugitives were torn away from the temple of Artemis, where they had taken refuge, and killed. A similar thing happened at Pergamum where Italians and Romans were shot with arrows when they fled to the temple of Asclepius. Similar massacres are recorded in Adramyttium, Caunus and Tralles.⁵⁵

A community of Romans is also known at Chios through a letter Mithridates is supposed to have sent to the island: 'Επιστολή δὲ ἦκε Μιθριδάτου τάδε λέγουσα "εἶνοι καὶ νῦν ἐστὲ Ῥωμαῖοις, ὧν ἔτι πολλοὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις εἰσὶ, καὶ τὰ ἐγκτήματα Ῥωμαίων καρποῦσθε, ἡμῖν οὐκ ἀναφέροντες."⁵⁶ In 74 B.C. at the same time as the siege of Cyzicus, Eumachus, one of Mithridates' generals, overran Phrygia and killed many Romans living there along with their wives and children.⁵⁷

Cicero refers to the communities of Romans at Pergamum, Smyrna and Tralles when he asks Decianus why he does not trade there: *Verum esto, negotiari libet, cur non Pergami, Smyrnae, Trallibus, ubi et multi cives Romani sunt et ius a nostro magistrati dicitur?*⁵⁸

Romans resident in Greek cities are also attested under the Empire and became an integral part of the city in which they had settled. For example, at Apamea, the Romans

⁵⁴ On this phenomenon see Wilson *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome* and Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants Italiens dans L'Orient Hellenique*.

⁵⁵ Appian, *Mith.*, 4, 22-23.

⁵⁶ Appian, *Mith.*, 7, 47.

⁵⁷ Appian, *Mith.*, 11, 75.

⁵⁸ Cicero, *pro Flacco*, 29, 71.

resident there seem to have been particularly active and were involved in dedications to Tiberius Claudius Granianus, Proclus Manneius Ruso, Julius Ligus, Marcus Aurelius Ariston Euclianus and Marcus Aurelius, who was an Imperial freedman. Those Roman citizens living at Acmonia, along with the *boule* and the *demos*, honoured Tiberius Claudius Asclepiades.⁵⁹

The growth of the Roman character of the cities in Asia had its own consequences for at least one city, that of Ephesus, and it was this development which seems to have been part of the reasoning behind the foundation C. Vibius Salutaris made in A.D. 104. Salutaris was a Roman who became a naturalized citizen of Ephesus. During his lifetime, he established a procession of images and statuary based on Roman and Greek themes which was carried out on numerous occasions throughout the Ephesian religious year. The main aspect of the procession was the connection between the city and the legends surrounding the birth of the goddess Artemis, the patron deity of Ephesus.

One reason behind the foundation was the education of the youths of the city in the traditions and institutions of the city but this was not the only reason. The character of the city had been transformed by the many building projects undertaken between the reigns of Augustus and Domitian and so it has been suggested that the Ephesians answered the social challenge of what amounted to the Roman reformation of their city by the affirmation of their sacred, and very Greek, identity.⁶⁰

The cities of the Upper Maeander Valley were also subject to the same processes which have been described for other cities of the province of Asia. Even though there is

⁵⁹ For Apamea, see Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 462, no. 294-297; pp. 464-465, no. 299; p. 466, no. 301; p. 466, no. 300; *MAMA*, VI, 183. For Acmonia, Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 641, no. 533.

⁶⁰ On this foundation see Rogers, *Sacred Identity of Ephesos*, esp. pp. 140-143, in conjunction with van Bremen's review, *JRS*, 1993, pp. 245-246.

no direct evidence, it goes without saying that the cities of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae also became part of the financial and administrative systems of the Roman Empire. They were liable to the same forms of registration and taxation and the upper and ruling classes of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae would be responsible for the everyday running and business of this group of cities. Cicero's letters show that Laodicea was one of cities in which he held his assizes, so it is clear that the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley were subject to the authority of the governor, and ultimately the emperor, like others in Asia.⁶¹

Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae were incorporated into the infra-structure of the Roman Empire and it was by these means that the emperor defined his relationship with them. He ruled them, collected taxes from them, made them subject to the authority of his governors and the inhabitants of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae ruled their cities on his behalf. As with the other cities of Asia Minor, the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley also incorporated the emperor into their civic lives and again one way this was done was by the possession of a neocorate temple.

Of the three cities in the Upper Maeander Valley, Laodicea and Hierapolis were granted neocorate temples. There is no evidence that Colossae possessed one. Laodicea's title was advertised on coins from the reign of Caracalla onwards and it appears on issues minted under Elagabalus, Severus Alexander and Philip Junior. It is also included in the legends of coins bearing the image of other members of the Imperial family namely Annia Faustina, Julia Maesa and Otacilia Severa.⁶² It seems from these coins that Laodicea's neocorate title was awarded during the reign of Caracalla.

⁶¹ See note 10.

⁶² See Catalogue A and B.

However, Robert argues convincingly, using evidence for the games of the city, that the neocorate status was awarded to the city for a provincial temple dedicated to Commodus. The title then disappeared when the emperor was assassinated and his memory damned. The title was therefore regranted by Caracalla and reckoned as the city's first.⁶³

The dating of Hierapolis' neocorate also poses problems. One view is that the status was connected to Antipater of Hierapolis. During Caracalla's travels in the East, it is supposed that he visited the city by which time Antipater was again in residence and the Imperial visit and the grant of the title were a consequence of his presence.⁶⁴

Another opinion is that the status was granted during the reign of Caracalla and confirmed during that of Elagabalus. This is based on two coins of the city one of which is believed to show the laureate bust of Caracalla wearing a cuirass with an aegis from which two serpents are rising. The reverse depicts the same emperor with a radiate head and dressed in military costume. He is shown standing right and leaning on a sceptre with his left hand. With his right hand he is holding a patera over a lighted altar. Opposite him, wearing a mural crown, is the city goddess of Hierapolis who is offering a wreath to the emperor with her right hand. She too is resting her left hand on a sceptre.

The second coin is believed to show Elagabalus on the obverse but to have the same reverse as the coin which purports to depict Caracalla on the obverse. It has been suggested that this reverse was struck in connection with an important event of the city, namely the granting of the neocorate temple and that the two different obverses show

⁶³ On Robert's arguments and evidence, see *LdL*, pp. 283-286.

⁶⁴ *XAPITEΣ*, p. 466. This is the view of Cichorius.

that it was granted by Caracalla and confirmed by Elagabalus.⁶⁵

Von Papen states that Caracalla rarely gave cities neocorate titles and, when he did, the honour was permanent. Elagabalus granted more titles but these disappeared with the *damnatio*. In his view Hierapolis received the title from Elagabalus as it was dropped from coins after his reign and coins assigned to Caracalla with this title should be reassigned to Elagabalus.⁶⁶

The most recent argument concerning the matter supports this last view. Johnston believes that the notion of a visit by Caracalla to Hierapolis is "fanciful". The only evidence is the neocorate status and its dating to that emperor is not certain. The study of the portraiture of both Caracalla and Elagabalus shows that the two coins with the same reverse but different obverses can both be attributed to the latter. Johnston says that the idea of the confirmation of the neocory is also "fanciful".

It seems then that the neocorate temple granted to Hierapolis can be identified with the actions of the emperor Elagabalus and not Caracalla. This is confirmed, as Johnston shows, by the numismatic evidence. The title appears on coins of Elagabalus and his wives, Annia Faustina and Aquilia Severa. They also appear on those bearing the portrait of Severus Alexander but this was during the time he was Caesar under Elagabalus and not when he was Augustus. The title disappears on coins minted after this time. Its appearance on the so-called homonoia coins refers to the statuses of the "foreign" cities in each case and not Hierapolis since non-homonoia coins do not bear the title. This means that Hierapolis had lost its own neocorate title which would mean it was given by Elagabalus and disappeared with his *damnatio*.

At the end of the city's series of independent

⁶⁵ *NC*, 1913, pp. 158-159.

⁶⁶ von Papen, p. 179.

coinage, *homonoia* coins with the portraits of Valerian and Gallienus again refer to a neocorate status. Johnston believes this could either refer to the status of the "partner" cities named or it could refer to that of Hierapolis. In her view, it is not impossible that Hierapolis regained its title in the 250s because Nicomedia, Ephesus and Sardis all regained titles lost with the demise of Elagabalus. On the basis of these arguments, the city of Hierapolis was granted its neocorate title by Elagabalus and when this was lost with his death, it may have been regranted later in the third century A.D.⁶⁷

These neocorate temples would have allowed the cities of Laodicea and Hierapolis to refer to themselves in terms connected to the emperor and it would have entailed the incorporation of the emperor into their religious lives and the latter is confirmed by the celebration of Imperial games within these cities. For example, the games celebrated at Laodicea took on an Imperial character. In the city, the games in honour of Zeus, the Deia, were also called the Deia Sebastia and the Deia Commodeia.⁶⁸

The same can be seen at Hierapolis where the religious calendar was extended to accommodate Imperial games. In a dedication to Caesar Augustus and the people, made by a certain Theophilus, mention is made of the ἀγῶνες τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ: Σεβαστιῶι Καίσαρι καὶ τῶι Δήμῳ Θεόφιλος Φιλαδέλφου δημόσιος, ὁ καιεσιτάμενος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιμελήας τῶν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀγῶνων, τὸ ἀνάθεμα καὶ τὸν βωμὸν παρ' ἑατοῦ. These games are not otherwise attested for Hierapolis and the problems with this inscription concern the role of Theophilus and the games named.⁶⁹

Pleket has also studied this inscription. At first glance, Theophilus seems to be a public slave of the city

⁶⁷ On these arguments, see Johnston, "Hierapolis Revisited", pp. 52-55.

⁶⁸ On the games of Laodicea, see Robert, *LdL*, pp. 283-286.

⁶⁹ Ritti, *Hierapolis*, I, p. 78.

of Hierapolis because he is termed δημόσιος. However, he has a patronymic and Pleket argues that the use of the patronymic designates this man as free because the examples of slaves using patronymics are rare. He is termed δημόσιος because he carried out the tasks of a public slave. A passage from the edict of P. Fabius Persicus, issued under the reign of Claudius, forbids free people from carrying out the duties of public slaves so it is clear that the practice occurred. Pleket does not discuss the games but says that they were the city contests which celebrated the emperor.

Pleket states that the correct translation would be *Theophilus, son of Philadelphos, fulfilling the tasks of a public slave and in that capacity entrusted with the care of the contests in honour of the Emperor.*⁷⁰

Other Imperial games are also attested at Hierapolis and these are the Actia. This set of games is mentioned on the coins of the city minted in the third century A.D. and are closely connected with the Pythia, games celebrating Apollo, the chief deity of the city. This suggests that the two sets of games were celebrated alongside each other. It has been said that the Actia were held on a four yearly cycle and consisted of athletic and artistic contests. It is likely that these games were connected to the grant of neocorate status to Hierapolis and celebrated its institution. This agrees with the much earlier view of von Papen who argued that the appearance of the Actia on the coins of Elagabalus should be seen as being connected with the honour. Ritti has supposed that the Actia absorbed the ἀγῶνες τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ attested in the Augustan age.⁷¹

There is no evidence of regular Imperial games being established in Colossae as there is for Laodicea and Hierapolis but it is possible that this city also

⁷⁰ On this inscription see Pleket, "A Free ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΣ", pp. 167-170.

⁷¹ See Ritti, *Hierapolis*, I, pp. 83-84; von Papen, p. 179.

celebrated the Imperial house, if not with regular celebrations then with those commemorating significant events in the lives of the emperor and his family.

The physical setting of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley was also extended to incorporate the emperor. Within the regimen of the Greek city, the provision of buildings and also dedications to prominent members of the citizen body was an important activity. It was only natural with Imperial rule that the emperor would become the recipient for some of these buildings and honours and this seems to be the case with Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae.

In Laodicea, the family of Nicostratus was responsible for at least two dedications to the family of the emperor Vespasian. A marble base of a dedication to Titus was found in the city among the ruins and was paid for by Nicostratus Theogenes, son of Nicostratus, himself the son of Nicostratus. He seems to be related to the Nicostratus, who built a stone stadium dedicated to Titus. This latter Nicostratus was the son of Lucius who, in turn, was the son of Nicostratus. If the grandfather named in both of these inscriptions is the same person, then the two men making these dedications to Titus would be first cousins. Both dedications are dated to A.D. 79.⁷²

A dedication to Hadrian and his wife was found in the ruins of the gymnasium in Laodicea and it was engraved on an epistyle block: Αὐτοκράτορι Τρα]ιανῶ Ἀδριανῶ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ καὶ Σαβείνῃ Σεβ[αστῆ Λαοδικέων τῶν ἐπὶ Λύκῳ ἢ Βουλῆ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ?? ἐ]πὶ ἀνθυπάτου Γαργιλίου Ἀντιε[ί]κου καθιέρωσαν [τὸ γυμνάσιον?].⁷³

It was not only citizens of the city who could dedicate to the emperor. Other inhabitants could as well. Tiberius Claudius Tryphon, an Imperial freedman, dedicated a triple gateway and its decorations to Zeus and an

⁷² See above p. 36.

⁷³ Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 72, no. 1.

emperor. The emperor is believed to have Domitian but the name has been erased which would have happened with the *damnatio memoriae* of Domitian.⁷⁴

Dedications have also been found at Hierapolis. Zosimus, son of Menophantes, dedicated an altar to Gaius Caesar and the goddess Roma after he was the victor at some games, the name of which is not fully recorded. This inscription is probably dated from 1 B.C. to A.D. 4. The identity of the games mentioned here is uncertain and they have not been recorded before at Hierapolis. It is possible that the dedication followed a victory at the games of another city or they could be new, local games in honour of Gaius and Roma. At Side, games for Roma and Augustus are mentioned without a specific name but such an identification at Hierapolis remains uncertain.⁷⁵

There were at least two dedications to the Severan house at Hierapolis. The first is a dedication to Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Geta and Julia Domna which also includes Apollo Archegetes and the other gods of the city. Some building work in the theatre had been dedicated. The other dedication is again to Apollo and the city gods but the members of the imperial house being honoured were Caracalla and Julia Domna.⁷⁶

Also found at Hierapolis, and now in the Archaeological Museum of the city, was a fine grained white marble bearded head. It is not well preserved but Bejor has identified it as a head of the emperor Hadrian. It is not certain whether it was part of a dedication made in the city or a statue imported into Hierapolis but if the identification is correct, then it would show that the imperial image was present in the city.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ See above p. 36.

⁷⁵ Ritti, *Hierapolis*, I, pp. 77-78 and notes 34 and 35.

⁷⁶ Ritti, *Hierapolis*, I, pp. 108 and 113.

⁷⁷ Bejor, *Hierapolis*, III, no. 15, pp. 27ff.

Even Colossae, the smallest city of the Upper Maeander Valley, made dedications to the emperor. For example, one was made by Apphia, a priestess of the city, and another by Lucius Macedon, a military tribune: [Αὐτοκράτ]ορι Νέρουα Τραινω̄ Καίσαρι Ἄριστῳ Σεβαστῳ Ἄφια Ἡρακλεῦ τοῦ Διὸς Κο[λοσσηνοῦ] ἰέ[ρ]εια and Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσα[ρ]ι Τραιανῳ Ἀδριανῳ Σε[β]αστῳ Ὀλ[υμ]πίῳ Λ. Μακεδῶν χειλιάρχο[ς]. Again, Macedon need not be a native of the city but might have settled in Colossae when he was discharged from the army.⁷⁸

These dedications show that the presence of the emperor was very conspicuous within the area of the Upper Maeander Valley and they also illustrate the extent to which the urban landscape of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae incorporated the emperor and his family. Two coins from the Upper Maeander Valley show temples. A Claudian coin minted at Hierapolis shows a temple front of six columns on the reverse with the legend ΓΕΝΕΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ. The other coin, which was issued at Laodicea under Domitian, depicts a temple front of four columns raised on four steps. Inside are the emperor and his wife. If these coins represent cultic buildings for the emperor, then they contribute to the very visual presence of the Imperial ruler within the Upper Maeander Valley.

Just as the citizens of the other cities in Asia were part of these developments, so too the inhabitants of the Upper Maeander Valley. The citizens of this area were further made a part of the Empire through the grant of Roman citizenship and this is amply seen with respect to the Zenonid family of Laodicea. Zenon is best known for his resistance to Labienus and the Parthians but he also received the Roman citizenship from Marcus Antonius and this legacy can be seen in the name of Antonius Polemon, the famous rhetor of the family.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Robert, *LdL*, p. 278 and *IGRP*, IV, 869.

⁷⁹ Robert, *LdL*, pp. 306-307.

The coins of Laodicea also shows citizens with Roman names and hence the Roman citizenship. From the Zenonid family is Claudia Zenonis and Julia Zenonis. Other Laodiceans with Roman citizenship include Gaius Julius Cotys, Cornelius Dioscurides, Gaius Postomus, Cornelius Aeneas and Julius Andronicus.⁸⁰

Other citizens as well as Zenon received the citizenship from Antonius and the name is well known at Laodicea. The recurrence of Marcus Antonius, Lucius Antonius and Antonia, and other Roman names, in the lists from Claros show that the leading families from Laodicea had all received the Roman citizenship.⁸¹ The coins of Hierapolis and Colossae also show which of their citizens had received the Roman citizenship.⁸²

The emperor was also incorporated into the lives of the inhabitants of the Upper Maeander Valley through the possession of positions and offices closely connected to the Imperial ruler and again the sophists of the area and involvement in the Imperial cult provide a good examples.

Antipater the Sophist came from Hierapolis and became an important figure in the court of Septimius Severus. He was appointed Imperial secretary by that emperor and after his service as *ab epistulis*, he was given consular rank and sent to Bithynia as a legate. However, it seems he was relieved of his office because of his severity, as Philostratus tells us: Ὑπάτοις δὲ ἐγγραφεῖς ἦρξε μὲν τοῦ τῶν Βιθυνῶν ἔθνους, δόξας δὲ ἐτοιμότερον χρῆσθαι τῷ ξίφει τὴν ἀρχὴν παρελύθη.

His biographer also tells us that he had been appointed tutor to the sons of Severus: διδάσκαλος μὲν γὰρ τῶν Σεβήρου παίδων ἐνομίσθη. Epigraphy confirms his

⁸⁰ See Appendix VIIa.

⁸¹ Robert, *LdL*, no. 7, pp. 299-300 and p. 308. For the Claros inscriptions, see Robert, *LdL*, pp. 298 ff and Şahin, *EA*, 9, 1987, pp. 61-72.

⁸² See Appendix VIIb and VIIc.

importance in the court of Severus' sons. An inscription from Ephesus dated to A.d. 200-205 is a reply from Caracalla to a legation from the city and Antipater is identified as a member of his *consilium*. He is described as the friend, teacher and *ab epistulis Graecis* of the future emperor: Αἴλ. Ἀντίπατρος ὁ φίλος μου καὶ διδάσκαλος κ[αὶ τὴν τά]ξιιν τῶν Ἑλλη[νι]κῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐπιτετραμμένος.⁸³

The best known sophist from the area, and perhaps one of the most famous in Asia, was Polemon. He had been born in Laodicea but had adopted Smyrna as his second city. He shows the role an educated man from the provinces could play within the Empire and the type of influence which could be held over the emperor himself. He went on many embassies to the emperor to defend his community and through his influence with the emperor, he was able to obtain benefits for his city. Perhaps the greatest of these was turning Hadrian's attention away from Ephesus and towards Smyrna. The emperor was so converted to the cause of the latter city that he gave it one million *drachmae* with which a corn-market, gymnasium and temple was built.

The reputation and influence of Polemon even survived his death. Smyrna had decided to send an embassy to the emperor to defend its temple rights. Polemon had been chosen to participate but his death meant others were entrusted to the task. When the case came before the emperor, he adjourned the case in order to search for any speech the sophist might have written on the matter because, as Philostratus tells us, the delegation had done so badly. When the speech was found and read out before the emperor, the matter was decided in favour of Smyrna.⁸⁴

Positions connected to the Imperial cult also shows

⁸³ Philostratus, *V.S.*, 2, 24; Bowersock, *Greek Sophists*, pp. 55-56; Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, no. 244, pp. 469-474.

⁸⁴ Philostratus, *V.S.*, 1, 25.; Bowersock, *Greek Sophists*, pp. 47-49.

how the emperor became incorporated into the lives of the inhabitants of the Upper Maeander Valley. Both Laodicea and Hierapolis could boast high-priests. L. Antonius Zeno, son of Antonius Polemo was not only high-priest of the *koinon* of Asia but also a military tribune. Augustus honoured him by allowing him to wear the purple. His name suggests that he received the citizenship from Lucius Antonius, *proquaestor* of Asia in 49 B.C. and the brother of the *triumvir*. P. Aelius Zeuxidemus Cassianus was the high-priest from Hierapolis. He also had strong connections with the city of Aezani and he received the citizenship from the emperor Hadrian. His son P. Aelius Aristius Zeno was the *advocatus fisci* of Phrygia and also Asia.⁸⁵

As with the other cities of Asia Minor, those of the Upper Maeander Valley also assumed an increasing Roman character as a result of these developments. This was again reinforced by the adoption of Roman habits such as bathing and this is shown by the bath-buildings at Laodicea and Hierapolis. The "Gymnasium of Hadrian" at the former has been dated to the c. 129 while the "Thermae Extra Muros" at the latter has been dated to the third century. They seem to be similar in design with a plan set symmetrically around the short axis of a rectangle.⁸⁶

The performance of gladiatorial contests within the Upper Maeander Valley also emphasised its Roman character. Cicero, in his letters, mentions the games held at Laodicea when he complains about the behaviour of a certain Hortensius to Atticus: *Hoertensius filius fuit Laodiceae gladiatoribus flagitiose et turpiter.*⁸⁷

An inscription engraved beneath the image of a gladiator records a dedication of a wife to her husband who is presumably the gladiator in the relief: 'Αμμία τῷ [ἀνδρὶ

⁸⁵ Campanile, *I sacerdoti*, no. 11, p. 36 and no. 34, pp. 54-55.

⁸⁶ Farrington, "Imperial Bath Buildings", p. 51.

⁸⁷ Cicero, *Ad Att.*, 6, 3, 9.

Σω]ζομέν[φ Συρυ- ?]ναίφ μν[είας χάριν].⁸⁸

A stele from the city also depicts a gladiator: "sous un cintre gladiateur debout, de face (ceinture à plusieurs bandes). Appuie la main g(auche) sur le casque, posé sur le bouclier. L'object qu'il tient dans la main dr(oite) est un palme."⁸⁹

Similar evidence for gladiatorial games is to be found at Hierapolis. An epitaph from the city contains prescriptions concerning the sarcophagus and the area surrounding it. At the beginning it reads: 'Η σορὸς κα(ι) ὁ βωμὸς καὶ ὁ περίβο(λ)ο[ς π]ᾶς ἔστιν Ἀπολλωνίου β' τοῦ Μενάνδρου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου σεκουνδαρούδου, ἐν ἧ κεκήδευται ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Ζηνοδό[τη - - -] κηδευθήσεται ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς κ(αὶ) ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ. The care of the tomb was undertaken by gymnasiarchs and a crown offered each year. Ritti believes this refers to a gladiator of local descent.⁹⁰

Other epitaphs from the city refer to Stephanus, a gladiator who had died as a result of his tenth or eleventh combat, and a man whose name is now lost who was a *therotrophes*, a caretaker of wild beasts destined for the *venationes* in the theatre of Hierapolis.⁹¹

The presence of Roman and Italian immigrants within the citizen bodies of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley also contributed to their growing Roman nature. A bilingual inscription from Laodicea reads *L. Terentius Philodespotus* Λεύκιος Τερέντιος Φιλοδέσποτος. The name "Philodespotus" is not rare in Greek and Latin epigraphy and it is usually the name of a slave or freedman. The freedman concerned was that of a certain Terentius who was

⁸⁸ Robert, *Les gladiateurs*, no. 118, p. 152.

⁸⁹ Robert, *Les gladiateurs*, no. 120, p. 152.

⁹⁰ Ritti, *Hierapolis*, I, pp. 98-99; Robert, *Les gladiateurs*, no. 126, p. 156.

⁹¹ Ritti, *Hierapolis*, I, pp. 97-98; Robert, *Les gladiateurs*, nos. 124-125, pp. 155-156. For the evidence of gladiators at Laodicea and Hierapolis, see Robert, *Les gladiateurs*, nos. 116-126, pp. 151-156.

one of the Romans who went to Phrygia from Italy or who had ancestors who did. This inscription does not concern a Greek who was given the Roman citizenship as a Roman from Italy would explain the attachment to Latin and the fact the inscription is bilingual. Another Terentius is known and this time he is Terentius Longinus. Robert believes that these two men continued the community of Italians established at Laodicea.⁹²

Hierapolis also had its Roman citizens. An honorific inscription from the city shows that it was not only the *boule*, *demos*, *gerousia*, and *neoi* which were involved in the dedication but also τὸ συνέδριον τῶν Ῥωμαίων. This is a rather unusual term as the normal designation for Romans living in an Asia city was οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι.⁹³

These Romans were not just suffered to live in the city. They formed an active part of it as the inscription from Hierapolis shows. The same can be said about Laodicea. In an inscription honoring a certain Quintus Pomponius Flaccus, the *demos* of Laodicea was involved as were the Romans and Greeks who lived in Asia.⁹⁴ Claudius Terentius Longinus, a member of the Italian community at Laodicea, went on embassies to Pannonia and Rome to see Lucius Verus and the emperor Hadrian.⁹⁵

The changes which resulted in the growing Roman character of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley, and other cities in Asia, were very visible. The inhabitants of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae would know people with Roman offices or statuses or may even hold them themselves, they would see Roman citizens from Italy and Rome walking the streets, they would watch rites being performed for the emperor by priests of the Imperial cult and admire

⁹² Robert, *LdL*, no. 18, pp. 357-358.

⁹³ Magie, *RRAM*, p. 1615; *IGRP*, IV, 818.

⁹⁴ Robert, *LdL*, p. 265.

⁹⁵ *MAMA*, VI, 3; *IGRP*, IV, 862.

buildings and statues erected in honour of the emperor and the Imperial house.

The expansion of the Roman Empire can be seen as consisting of two parallel developments, namely the adaptation of cities into the structure of the Empire on the one hand and the incorporation of the emperor and aspects of his rule into the civic lives of the cities and citizens of Asia, including those of the Upper Meander Valley on the other. The former would enable the emperor to formalise his relationship with the cities under his rule while the latter allowed the cities and their citizens to define their own relationship with the emperor by expressing themselves in Roman and Imperial terms. It would also allow them to express that relationship in a physical and visual way.

It also shows the relationship and interaction between the individual cities and their citizens, the province of Asia and the Empire as whole. The legends of the coins minted at Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae, along with the architecture and epigraphy, show the ways in which this was done. For example, issues which celebrate neocorate statuses and which name which of the cities' inhabitants had been granted Roman citizenship highlight the interaction between the Upper Maeander Valley and the Empire via a highly conspicuous medium.

The consequence of these developments was the growing Roman character of the Greek cities involved. The Greek nature of the cities of Asia Minor and the Upper Maeander Valley was by no means lost but it was tempered by the influences of Roman rule so much so that it can be said of these cities that they "were unmistakably different from the hellenistic cities which they supplanted. The cities of Anatolia, for all their claims to kinship with famous Greek prototypes were products of a radically different culture" and the coins of these cities, as has been shown, played no little part in the processes by which this took

place.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Mitchell, *Anatolia*, p. 217.

PART TWO: Introduction

The final chapter of Part One introduced themes concerning the relationship and interaction between city, region and empire and these will be developed in Part Two of the thesis. As can be seen from Chapter Four, the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley, and of course others within the province of Asia, were alert to Rome as well as to their own civic statuses and that of the province as a whole.¹ This alertness to city, region and empire can also be seen in the typology employed on the coins issued by Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae. Concern for city status in response to the cultural context of Roman rule is the subject matter of Chapter Five which examines an unusual Neronian issue produced by the city of Laodicea. Chapter Six explores the links between city and empire further by examining the type of the Capitoline triad which highlights the connections between civic religion and that of Rome. The type of the senate is the focus of Chapter Seven, a type which embodies concerns for the status of the city and the region of Asia in relation to changes in provincial organization. The final chapter, Chapter Eight, deals with the type of the goddess Roma which voices anxieties about Imperial issues and the situation of the Empire as a whole.

¹ See also Howgego's review of *Roman Provincial Coinage*, *JRS*, 83, 1993, pp. 199-203, esp. p. 201.

CHAPTER FIVE: The Cultural Pretensions of Laodicea

During the reign of Nero, an interesting issue was minted at Laodicea. The obverse shows the laureate head of the emperor Nero facing to the right with the legend ΝΕΡΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ. The reverse depicts two male figures, standing face to face with their hands joined. Each figure wears a long chiton and himation and holds a sceptre. The legend runs ΑΝΤΩ (as a monogram) ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ ΖΗΝΩΝ ΥΙΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΟΜΗΡΟΣ.¹ It is the interpretation of this reverse legend and the identification of the two figures which are problematic but which can ultimately tell us a great deal about the way Laodicea saw itself during the early Imperial period.

The layout of the reverse legend must be explained in detail before any attempt is made to clarify its meaning. Starting beneath the feet of the figure on the left, it begins with ΑΝΤΩ (as a monogram) and continues in an anti-clockwise direction with ΖΗΝΩΝΟC ΖΗΝΩΝ ΥΙΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΣΜΥΡ. In the field to the left of the figure on the left is ΝΑΙΩΝ running downwards and between the two figures is ΟΜΗΡΟΣ, again running downwards. The legend, at first glance, seems to be composed of three separate elements, ΟΜΗΡΟΣ, the ethnics of Laodicea and Smyrna and what appears to be the name of a certain Zenon, son of Antonius Zenon. It is clear from the ethnics used that this issue commemorates some sort of connection between Laodicea and Smyrna.

The explanations offered so far concerning the coin and the relationship it celebrates focus, in the main, on the word ΟΜΗΡΟΣ which, according to Pera, is attested for the first time on this coin.² In the *British Museum Catalogue* it is interpreted as "union", a closer relationship than *homonoia*, a word which characterises the legends of issues commemorating relations between cities in Asia Minor. The figures are described as the *demoi* of

¹ Catalogue C 25. Plate 2, 1.

² Pera, *Homonoia*, p. 26.

Laodicea and Smyrna.³

As the exact nature of *homonoia* is unknown to us, it is hard to see on what grounds the compiler of the catalogue believes ΟΜΗΡΟΣ to be a closer relationship. In any case, coins with the term ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ date to the reign of Hadrian onwards and are much later than this Neronian issue.

Klose also identifies the figures shown on the reverse as the *demoi* of Laodicea and Smyrna. He, like the editor of the *British Museum Catalogue*, believes that the word ΟΜΗΡΟΣ governs the relationship between the two cities which was strengthened by an oath. He says "auf den Münzen mit Kaiserkopf erscheinen die beiden *Demoi* in ganzer Figur stehend im Handschlag, dazwischen die Legende ΟΜΗΡΟΣ, Sicherheit, Pfand. Sie weist auf eine zwischen beiden Städten getroffene Vereinbarung hin, die durch Eid bekräftigt wurde."⁴

The idea of a pledge is developed in another interpretation of the coin. As the meaning of ΟΜΗΡΟΣ is "pledge, surety, hostage", the editors of *Roman Provincial Coinage* offer the suggestion that ΟΜΗΡΟΣ refers personally to Zenon who might have acted as surety in a dispute of some kind between the cities rather than to ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ.⁵ However, one may doubt whether Laodicea would have wished to advertise this on its coins especially as it could portray the city to a disadvantage.

Peru says that the verb ὀμῶ means "to agree" or "to unite, join" but in the context of the coin, it assumes the sense of "pledge" or "guarantee". She also says that the term is frequently used in the realm of "Staatsverträge" and as such is testified between 338 and 200 B.C. For example, δίδωμι ὀμῶν or ὀμῶν is used to describe the

³ *BMC Phrygia*, p.325, n.2.

⁴ Klose, *Die Münzprägung von Smyrna*, p. 53.

⁵ *RPC*, p.480.

relationship between Demetrius Poliocertes and the Nabataeans in 313/1 B.C. and also that between Antigonus Doson and the Achaean League in 224. However, it is hard to clarify the motive for this use of the word at a time when it remained isolated among the issues of the age of Nero Augustus and in the world of the Roman Empire which was certainly very different to that of the Hellenistic Greek East.⁶

Instead, the motive for this coin is seen in the circumstances surrounding the reign of Nero and is connected to the earthquake of 60 A.D. The city of Laodicea was not given any Imperial aid after this disaster and Pera suggests that the city of Smyrna intervened and helped perhaps through the influence of the family of Zenon which formed a close link between the two cities despite the distance between them. For her, under these circumstances, the use of this particular type was understandable. She says "in questa circostanza diventerebbe pertanto comprensibile sia la scelta del tipo, che rappresenta tradizionalmente i due Demoi, sia l'adozione della scritta ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΖΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΟΜΗΡΟΣ per far risaltare i rapporti sempre più saldi e quanto mai duranti fra le due città."⁷

However, Laodicea was a very wealthy city by the time the earthquake struck during the reign of Nero. Even though it received no financial aid from the emperor, it is possible that the city relied on its own citizens to bear the expenses of reconstruction rather than those of Smyrna and the ΟΜΗΡΟΣ issue need not have been connected to the earthquake.⁸

There is another possible explanation. The issue is connected to some sort of relationship between Laodicea and

⁶ Pera, *Homonoia*, p. 26 and pp. 145-146, n. 22.

⁷ Pera, *Homonoia*, p. 26.

⁸ For the wealth of Laodicea at the time of the earthquake see p. 34 above.

Smyrna which the surviving ancient sources are too inadequate to explain. It can be suggested that rather than defining a relationship, the nature of which we have no knowledge, ΟΜΗΡΟΣ names one of the figures, depicted on the coin, which symbolises that relationship, namely the poet Homer.

ΟΜΗΡΟΣ, Homer, was closely associated with Smyrna and the inhabitants themselves believed the city to be his birth-place. Cicero in his *pro Archia* states that many cities, such as Colophon, Chios and Salamis, all assert that Homer was one of their citizens. He goes on to say that Smyrna was so sure he was one of theirs that a shrine was dedicated to him in the city: *Homerum Colophonii civem esse dicunt suum, Chii suum vindicant, Salaminii repetunt, Smyrnaei vero esse confirmant, itaque etiam delubrum eius in oppido dedicaverunt.*⁹

Strabo mentions Smyrna as Homer's birth-place and like Cicero, tells of the shrine and also the fact that a bronze coin of the city was called the Ὀμήρειον: ἔστι δὲ καὶ βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ Ὀμήριον, σιτὰ τετράγωνος, ἔχουσα νεῶν Ὀμήρου καὶ ξόανον· μεταποιοῦνται γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι διαφερόνως τοῦ ποιητοῦ, καὶ δὴ καὶ νόμισμά τι χαλκοῦν παρ'αὐτοῖς Ὀμήρειον λέγεται.¹⁰ Plutarch states simply that of Ios and Smyrna, one was said to be the poet's birthplace and the other the city in which he died.¹¹

In fact, Heyman believes that Smyrna can lay the strongest claim to Homer out of all the Ionic cities. He believes that wherever the epigrams speak of the seven cities which claimed Homer as their citizen, Smyrna occupies the leading place and indeed other cities sought points of contact with Smyrna in order to strengthen their own claims while in legends, Smyrna is the poet's primary

⁹ Cicero, *pro Archia*, 8, 19.

¹⁰ Strabo, 14, 1, 37.

¹¹ *Sert.*, 1.

place of residence.¹²

Certainly those commissioning the issue or engraving the dies would be acquainted with these claims and so, might have used Homer to represent Smyrna on this coin. ΟΜΗΡΟΣ, therefore, does not describe the relationship between Laodicea and Smyrna but names one of the figures depicted on the reverse, the poet Homer. Heyman has made this identification, which Klose has criticised as being "unsinnig" but the former has suggested that the figure with the poet is a Muse. There are precedents for Homer being pictured with a muse. For example, on a Hellenistic relief, he is portrayed as standing opposite a muse and on sarcophagi under the Empire, he is pictured with female figures.¹³

However, in the context of the coin, which contains the ethnics of both Smyrna and Laodicea, it would seem that the figure standing with Homer should be identified as being closely connected to the city of Laodicea. The identification of this figure, though, is dependent on the interpretation of part of the reverse legend.

The part of the legend which runs ΑΝΤΩ ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ ΖΗΝΩΝ ΥΙΟΣ is difficult to interpret. ΑΝΤΩ is expressed as a monogram and so it is not clear whether it is an abbreviation for the nominative ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ or the genitive ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ. If nominative, the legend would run ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ ΖΗΝΩΝ ΥΙΟΣ and so, could refer to Antonius Zenon, son of Zenon. If genitive, the legend would read ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ ΖΗΝΩΝ ΥΙΟΣ and could be interpreted as Zenon, son of Antonius Zenon.

The main argument against these two interpretations is the word order. One would expect ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΖΗΝΩΝ ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ ΥΙΟΣ if the monogram is nominative or ΖΗΝΩΝ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ ΥΙΟΣ if it is genitive. An inscription from

¹² Heyman, "Homer on coins from Smyrna", p. 161.

¹³ Heyman, "Homer on the coins of Smyrna", p. 169; Klose, *Die Münzprägung von Smyrna*, pp. 35 and 53, n. 310.

Laodicea honours a certain Quintus Pomponius, son of Quintus and the expected word order is found: Κόιντιον Πομπώνιον Κοίντιου υἱόν.¹⁴ Although this is not an exact parallel, it does suggest that some inhabitants of Laodicea knew the complexities of Roman nomenclature but as the Romans in Asia as well as the *demos* of Laodicea commissioned the inscription, those engraving it might have had help with the grammar from the Romans concerned. At any rate, some of those reading the inscription after it had been put up may well have understood Roman nomenclature.

An alternative interpretation is that ANTΩ ZHNΩNOΣ forms a separate element in the legend, identifying the magistrate responsible for the issue in the normal way. ZHNΩN YIOΣ then goes with ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ and is to be translated as Zenon, son of the Laodiceans. Coins of Aphrodisias in Caria provide a parallel for this. During the early Principate during the reign of either Augustus or Tiberius, a certain Apollonius is referred to as ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΟΣ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΕΩΝ ΥΙΟΣ.¹⁵

ΟΜΗΡΟΣ can then be taken with ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ. The evidence does suggest strong enough links between Homer and Smyrna for the former to be termed as son of the latter.

The reverse of the coin can be read as ANTΩ ZHNΩNOΣ ZHNΩN YIOΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΟΜΗΡΟΣ (ΥΙΟΣ understood) ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ. The figures rather than representing the *demoi* of Laodicea and Smyrna, in fact depict Zenon and Homer. However, no parallels to this coin have been found as yet.

Although not a common type, Homer does appear on a few coins from the East. At Amastris in Paphlagonia, the bust and head of the poet appears as an obverse type dating to the Imperial period. In all cases the poet is named,

¹⁴ Robert, *LdL*, p.265, 11.2-3.

¹⁵ *BMC Caria*, p.39, no.85, p.46, nos.94-95; *RPC*, nos. 2839-2843.

either by the legend ΟΜΗΡΟΣ¹⁶ or ΟΜΗΡΟΣ ΑΜΑΣΤΡΙΑΝ.¹⁷ Robert believes the last legend is incomplete and rather than indicating the ethnic of the city, ΑΜΑΣΤΡΙΑΝΩΝ, which appears on the reverse of this coin, it should read ΟΜΗΡΟΣ ΑΜΑΣΤΡΙΑΝΟΣ, Homer of Amastris.¹⁸

Homer also appears at Smyrna. The bronze *Homerea*, which Strabo talks about, were minted abundantly between 190 and 30 B.C. and between 190 and 85, silver copies of these coins were produced. The poet is represented as seated to the left with a staff resting on his shoulder. He holds a scroll in his left hand and his head is bent slightly. Homer also appears on some silver *drachms* which date to 190-170. Again, he is seated and turned towards the left. In his right hand he holds a scroll and in his left hand he holds a long upright sceptre.¹⁹

The poet also appears on coins of the Imperial period. Here, he is again depicted as sitting and holding a scroll and the legend reads ΟΜΗΡΟΣ.²⁰ Examples date from the time of Domitian and the second half of the second century and the beginning of the third.²¹

Even though Homer is normally depicted seated, there are precedents for a standing representation such as appears on this issue.²² However, none show Homer as ΥΙΟΣ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ or as representing the city on issues commemorating relationships with other cities because in the latter case, Smyrna is normally represented by

¹⁶ SNG SvA, nos.159 and 6806.

¹⁷ SNG SvA, 160.

¹⁸ Robert, *Monnaies grecques*, pp.125-127.

¹⁹ Heyman, "Homer on the Coins of Smyrna", pp. 162-169; Klose, *Die Münzprägung von Smyrna*, pp. 34-35.

²⁰ SNG SvA, nos.2189 and 7989.

²¹ Heyman, "Homer on the Coins of Smyrna", p. 170 and Klose, *Die Münzprägung von Smyrna*, p. 35.

²² See above p. 160.

Nemesis.

Nor are there any parallels for a provincial city representing itself on its coinage with one of its citizens. Nevertheless, despite this lack of parallels, the interpretation of the coin given here seems to be the most plausible explanation; and the coin then says a great deal about the way Laodicea saw itself during Nero's reign. The reverse of the "OMHPOΣ" issue celebrates a relationship between the cities of Laodicea and Smyrna and rather than the *demoi* of the cities representing this relationship, it is symbolised by Homer and Zenon who are named as "sons" of their respective cities.

The Zenonids were a very wealthy and important family in Laodicea. Strabo mentions Zenon, a rhetor, who urged the city to resist the Parthians led by Pacorus and Labienus during the latter years of the Republic and his son Polemon who was made king of Pontus for services rendered to Rome. Philostratus describes the life of another member of the family, Polemon, who, under Trajan and Hadrian, received many Imperial honours. The family, however, held less importance in the wider Imperial world.²³

The issue, it can be argued, shows a Hellenistic foundation of Antiochus II (261-246 B.C.), represented by Zenon, an important person within the city of Laodicea but of little consequence in larger political and cultural spheres, presenting itself as an equal to Smyrna, one of the oldest and greatest Ionian cities, represented by Homer, perhaps the most famous poet in the Greek world. By doing this, Laodicea was also emphasising and reaffirming its Greek identity and past by drawing upon the antiquity and traditions of another, much older city of Asia Minor. The two cities were in fact to remain closely connected through the dual citizenship of Polemon.²⁴

²³ See above pp. 148-149.

²⁴ For Polemon see above p. 149.

That the coin was minted under Nero need not cause any surprise for the emperor, as he himself was an ardent supporter of philhellenism. He even took part in musical competitions and had ambitions to rival, and indeed, surpass Nonnus Dionysius, who was a renowned epic composer by writing the ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ in four hundred books.²⁵ In reaction to the cultural circumstances surrounding the reign of Nero, the city of Laodicea felt a need to make a definitive statement about its own Hellenism and cultural importance and minted the "ΟΜΗΡΟΣ". The issue, therefore, amply demonstrates Laodicea's concern for its own status and its preoccupation as to how it presented itself and how it was perceived by other cities within the province of Asia.

²⁵ Heyman, "Homer on the coins of Smyrna", pp. 169-170.

CHAPTER SIX: The Capitoline Triad

Among the types which feature on the issues of Laodicea is that of a group of three deities. A coin bearing the busts of the emperor Domitian and the empress Domitia on the obverse shows on the reverse Zeus, holding an eagle and sceptre, standing between Hera, who is holding a sceptre and a pomegranate, and Athena, whose attributes are a shield, spear and olive branch. The same reverse appears on a coin showing Faustina Junior on the obverse. A slightly different variant appears on a coin of Hadrian. Zeus is again depicted as holding an eagle and a sceptre and standing between Hera and Athena but the former has a high head-dress and is holding a sceptre only and no pomegranate while the latter only has her spear and shield and no olive branch. The same group of deities appears on a coin of Sabina.¹

There is no doubt that this is a Greek representation of the Capitoline triad of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno and Minerva.² The triad had a long history at Rome and its origins are to be found in the period covering the end of the monarchy and the beginning of the Republic. The Capitoline Temple was vowed by Tarquinius Priscus during the Sabine War and the foundations were laid during his reign as Livy tells us: *et aream ad aedem in Capitolio Iovis, quam voverat bello Sabino, iam praesagiente animo futuram olim amplitudinem loci occupat fundamentis.*³ The temple was not finished by Priscus. Instead it was completed by his son, Tarquinius Superbus: *Tarquinius reges ambos patrem vovisse, filium perfecisse.*⁴ Superbus was expelled from his position of power before the temple was dedicated and this was done by the consul Marcus Horatius

¹ See Catalogue A 35, 50, 57 and 79. *Plate 2, 4.*

² *BMC Phrygia* p. 308.

³ Livy, 1, 38, 7.

⁴ Livy, 1, 55, 1; Cicero, *Rep.*, 2, 24, 44.

Pulvillus at the beginning of the Republic. Lots were drawn to determine which magistrate should receive the privilege of undertaking the dedication: *Nondum dedicata erat in Capitolio Iovis aedes. Valerius Horatiusque consules sortiti uter dedicaret. Horatio sorte evenit. Publicola ad Veientium bellum profectus.*⁵

The literary sources are unanimous about the roles of Tarquinius Priscus, Tarquinius Superbus and Horatius but the date of the dedication of the temple is less clear. Tacitus dates it to the second consulship of Horatius while Livy says the building was dedicated in the year after the expulsion of the kings: *M Horatius consul ... templum Iovis optimi maximi dedicavit anno post reges exactos.*⁶ If the dedication took place during the year immediately after the end of the monarchy, as Livy tells us, then Horatius could not have been in his second consulship as Tacitus asserts. It may be that one or other of the historians has confused their sources but there is no doubt that the Capitoline temple was dedicated after the end of the monarchy by Marcus Horatius Pulvillus.⁷

The temple and its occupants played an important role in the political and religious life of Rome. Radke, in his article which attempts to determine the political and religious value of the Capitoline Triad, emphasises the Latin and Sabine origins of Hera and Minerva and believes that the two goddesses represent two different populations

⁵ Livy, 2, 8, 6; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 5, 35, 3. See also Plutarch, *Pub.*, 14.

⁶ Tacitus, *Hist.*, 3, 72; cf. Livy, 7, 3, 8.

⁷ Livy, 2, 8, 6; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 5, 35, 3. See Fears, "Cult of Jupiter", pp. 9-10; Bianchi, "Disegno storico", pp. 354-361; Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, pp. 297-302 gives a complete history of the temple. See also Steinby, *Lexicon Topographicum*, pp. 226-234. On the origins of the Capitoline Triad, see also Simonelli, "La tradizione classica"; North, "Religion in Republican Rome", pp. 613-614; Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, pp. 283-284.

which were united "nelle mura di Roma."⁸ Jupiter Optimus Maximus, he believes, does not have the same range of duties as other gods as his main concern is the safety of the Roman people.⁹ He concludes "vediamo sul Campidoglio romano un dio di cui l'unico compito si comprende nella protezione della Repubblica romana, da lui rappresentata unicamente in una funzione esclusivamente politica, un dio allora seduto nel mezzo di due dee che provvedono dalla loro parte alle forze vitali e politiche delle loro comunità: ecco la triade Capitolina!"¹⁰ The standard view of the Capitoline triad is that it replaces the archaic triad of Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus.¹¹

However, it was Jupiter who was "paramount on the Capitol, and he alone was the patron of the Roman community."¹² This can clearly be seen in some of the traditions of Rome. For instance, it was Jupiter who was seen as the guardian and guarantor of treaties. For example, in the first half of the second century B.C., a treaty was established between Rome and Cibyra, one of the clauses of which was to provide mutual aid against their respective enemies. The treaty itself was to be engraved on bronze tablets and set up in the temple described as that of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome and also on the base of a gold statue of Roma which had already been decreed at Cibyra: ταύτας δὲ τὰς συνθήκας εἰς χ[άλ]κωμα ἀναγραψάτωσαν καὶ ἀναθέτωσαν ἐμ μ[ἐν] 'Ρώμηι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπετωλίου, ἐν δὲ [Κιβύραι] ἐπὶ τῆς βάσεως τῆς 'Ρώμης, ἦν

⁸ Radke, "Il valore religioso e politico delle divinità del Campidoglio", p. 248.

⁹ Radke, "Il valore religioso e politico delle divinità del Campidoglio", p. 250.

¹⁰ Radke, "Il valore religioso e politico delle divinità del Campidoglio", p. 250.

¹¹ See Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, pp. 141-310 on both of these triads.

¹² Fears, "The Cult of Jupiter", p. 17.

ἐψηφίσαντο χρυσο[ῆν].¹³

Also dating to the second century B.C. was the treaty between Rome and Maroneia, a copy of which was placed not only in the temple of Dionysus in the latter city but also the temple described as that of Jupiter Optimus Maximus at Rome.¹⁴

During the Republic, magistrates were elected by the people but only took office after confirmation by Jupiter Optimus Maximus through auspices; and acts of war also needed the consent of Jupiter through auspices which were interpreted by augurs. Furthermore, the destination of the triumphs of successful generals, who bore the insignia of Jupiter, was the temple described as that of Jupiter Optimus Maximus where *spolia* were dedicated to the god. Jupiter was also the source of *auspicia* upon which rested the city of Rome's relationship with the gods.¹⁵

The deity obviously remained important during the Imperial period. For example, he clearly played a central role in the ideology surrounding the reign of the emperor Trajan. This is shown in the panegyric dedicated to Trajan which was delivered by the younger Pliny in the Senate in A.D. 100 when the latter assumed the office of *consul suffectus*. The oration opens with the assertion that Jupiter selected Trajan himself and revealed his choice of ruler to the Romans in his Capitoline sanctuary. Furthermore, in 96 when, under Nerva, Trajan went to the Capitoline temple to take up his military command as a legate in Upper Germany, he was mistaken for the god himself. Trajan was adopted by Nerva at the request of Jupiter and the adoption ceremony did not take place in Nerva's home but rather in Jupiter's Capitoline temple.

¹³ OGIS 762, ll. 12-15; trans Sherk, *Rome and the Greek East*, no. 25, pp. 24-25; Magie, *RRAM*, pp. 241-2, 967-8; Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ*, pp. 39-41.

¹⁴ *SEG*, XXXV, 1985, no. 823.

¹⁵ Fears, "The Cult of Jupiter", pp. 12-13; North, "Religion in Republican Rome", p. 614.

Trajan even used the epithet "Optimus", the god's own title.¹⁶

Juno and Minerva do not figure in any of this and the temple described as that of Jupiter in these contexts is that of the Capitoline triad. However, their importance within the religious and civic life of the Romans was sufficient to ensure their association with Jupiter even though Jupiter was "the sole master of the Capitol and the sole patron of the Roman Republic."¹⁷

It is hard to determine why the Capitoline triad was depicted on the coins of the Greek East because the type is not a common one. Of the three cities of the Upper Maeander Valley, Laodicea is the only one which depicts Zeus, Hera and Athena as a group. Hierapolis and Colossae have no surviving specimens. In Asia Minor as a whole, the type also seems to be rare. In the collection of von Aulock only three cities apart from Laodicea show Zeus as a member of a triad. At Adramyttium in Mysia, a coin of Caracalla shows Zeus holding a sceptre and with an eagle at his feet standing with two goddesses, one with a sceptre and a bird and the other with a branch or a short torch. It is not certain that these female deities are Hera and Athena.¹⁸

On a coin of Trebonianus Gallus minted at Cadoi in Phrygia, Zeus is portrayed on the reverse holding a sceptre and a phiale standing between Hera, who also holds a sceptre, and Athena who holds a lance.¹⁹

At Apollonia Salbace in Caria, a coin depicting the personification of the Senate on the obverse shows Zeus on

¹⁶ On this see Kleiner, "The Trajanic Gateway", pp. 149-150; Fears, "The Cult of Jupiter", pp. 80-85; Pliny, *Panegyricus*, 1, 4-5; 5, 2-4; 8, 1-2; 52, 3; 88, 4-8.

¹⁷ Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, p. 310; and for Juno and Minerva see pp. 291-306.

¹⁸ *SNG SvA* 1057.

¹⁹ *SNG SvA* 3692.

the reverse holding an eagle and a sceptre standing between Athena, who holds a sceptre, and a draped female figure holding a sceptre and perhaps an apple with an altar at her feet.²⁰

The type of the Capitoline triad, as depicted on the coins of Laodicea and elsewhere, may be connected with a cult of the Capitoline triad in Asia. However, at Laodicea and even the Upper Maeander Valley, there is no evidence to suggest that such a cult was the object of worship. In the province of Asia as a whole, it does not seem to have been as popular as it was in some of the western provinces, especially Africa. Few Roman cities of Africa were succeeded by medieval or modern cities on the same sites and even though the ruins were quarried for building materials, a great number have survived. This has resulted in an abundance of archaeological and epigraphical material regarding *capitolia* and cults of the Capitoline triad in the African provinces. In Barton's article, seventeen sites are listed as temples definitely or probably identified as *capitolia*, eighteen as having definite evidence for *capitolia* but no identifiable remains, fifteen as temples lacking identification which may be *capitolia* and nine as sites with possible evidence for the existence of *capitolia*.²¹

There is nowhere near this wealth of evidence for the cult of the Capitoline triad in Asia Minor. Priests of Zeus Capitolius are recorded at Smyrna, Stratonicea and Nysa which suggests that there were public cults at least but not necessarily *capitolia*, temples with three *cella* dedicated to the worship of Jupiter, Juno and Athena or their counterparts. Rites and altars devoted to the god could easily have been established in temples dedicated to

²⁰ SNG SvA 2481.

²¹ On Capitoline temples, see Barton, "Capitoline Temples", pp. 259-342, esp. pp. 270-342; Cagianò de Azevedo, "I "Capitolia" ", pp. 1-76; Bianchi, "I Capitolia", pp. 63-76; Bianchi, "Disegno storico", pp. 349-415.

other deities.²² At Teos, a dedication was made to Zeus Capitolius and other deities, including Roma: Διὸς Κησίου, Διὸς Καπιτωλίου, Ἑρώμης, Ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος.²³

Capitoline games are attested in inscriptions of eastern cities, such as Cyzicus, Sardes and Philadelphia, which detail victors and the contests in which they were successful.²⁴ Games are perhaps also attested on a coin of Antiochia ad Maeandrum minted under Gallienus which shows Jupiter Capitolinus seated left and holding a statuette of Nike. Before him is an agonistic table on which stands an urn containing a palm.²⁵ The institution of Capitoline games was late in comparison to the long history of the triad itself and they only appeared in Rome during the late first century A.D. when they were established by the emperor Domitian. Greek cities which also held Capitoline games may have followed the lead of Rome but such games were certainly nowhere near as popular as similar celebrations for the goddess Roma during the Republic or the emperor during the Imperial period.²⁶

On the strength of these inscriptions and coin types, *capitolia* have been suggested for Asia Minor. For example, at Smyrna, a coin showing the type of a statue of Jupiter and the inscriptions detailing Capitoline priests are taken for the documentation of a *capitolium* at the city.

At Antiochia ad Maeandrum, coins depict various types of Zeus Capitolius. Under Trajan and Severus Alexander,

²² See *IvS*, II, 1, nos. 774 and 776; *BCH*, XII, 1888, p. 88; *CIG* 2943.

²³ *IGRP* IV, 1556.

²⁴ *IGRP* IV, 160; 1519; 1636.

²⁵ *BMC Caria*, p. 23, no. 58. On the evidence for cults and games, see Bianchi, "Disegno storico", pp. 377; 390, no. 6; 399; 400.

²⁶ On the Capitoline games see Caldelli, *L'agon Capitolinus*.

coins were minted showing Zeus Capitolius sitting holding Nike and resting on a sceptre. Under Commodus, a tetrastyle temple is shown with a statue of Zeus Capitolius. The legend on all these coins reads ANTIOXEΩN ZEYΣ KAIETΩΛIOΣ. Under Gordian III, a type of a temple and a statue similar to that on the coin of Commodus is depicted except that the legend merely reads ANTIOXEΩN. Evidence like this has also been used to propose a *capitolium* at Antiochia.²⁷ However, none of these identifications of temples of the Capitoline triad are certain. The coin reference for Smyrna given by Cagiano de Azevedo in fact refers to Zeus Acraius and not Zeus Capitolius and inscriptions mentioning priests do not necessarily imply temples and as Bianchi says of Antiochia "non è necessario vedere un "Capitolium" ".²⁸

Various reasons have been put forward for the difference in geographical distribution of the cult of the Capitoline triad in the various provinces and the overall consensus seems to link the cult with the level of "Romanization" of the particular area concerned. *Capitolia* were built in Roman colonies when they were founded and this is to be expected.

One view is that these temples were found in areas along the coast of the Mediterranean and frontier zones, areas which were ideally placed to absorb the various influences from Rome. In Greece and the East, attachment to native deities and the peoples' artistic and philosophical superiority over the Romans meant that Capitoline cults were much rarer. In Asia Minor, it has been suggested that the cult of Augustus and Roma made the cult of the triad superfluous.²⁹

²⁷ Cagiano de Azevedo, "I "Capitolia" ", p. 44; *BMC Caria*, pp. 19, 20, 21, nos. 32, 43, 46, 47.

²⁸ See p. 155 above and Bianchi, "Disegno storico", p. 390, n. 3.

²⁹ Cagiano de Azevedo, "I "Capitolia" ", p. 67.

A similar conclusion is reached by Bianchi. He believes that the cult of the Capitoline triad spread across Africa with the expansion of Roman citizenship and the diffusion of Roman institutions. However, in the East, the culture, language and religion remained unchanging despite the rule of Rome. Only the Imperial cult and that of Roma, which had a long tradition in the area, were followed and gradually diffused. This happened to the cult of Zeus Capitolius to a much lesser degree. Where it was followed, it had a different character to western cults. In the west, Jupiter Optimus Maximus was the highest of deities and a measure of the extent of assimilation of Roman citizenship and institutions. In the east, he was honoured as the principal deity of the Romans and as the god responsible for the safety of the Roman state and as such he entered the Greek pantheon. However, he remained a fundamentally foreign deity.³⁰

Fears also reaches the same conclusions and he believes that the adoption of the cult of the Capitoline Triad, the national cult of the Romans, was a mark of Romanization. This assimilation to Roman civil and religious institutions was lacking in the cities of the East with the exception of Roman colonies founded there. The worship of the cult of Zeus Capitolinus lacked the patriotic intensity which was a hallmark of the worship of the Capitoline temple in the West. Fears further believes that by building a *capitolium* a city demonstrated its loyalty to the institutions of the empire and to the emperor himself.³¹

The cities of the West were better placed to adopt and absorb the institutions and influences from Rome and hence the popularity of the Capitoline triad. Such influences would be slower in reaching Asia Minor and the East and the Greek culture of the cities in Greece and other eastern

³⁰ Bianchi, "I Capitolia", pp. 407-408.

³¹ Fears, "The Cult of Jupiter", pp. 106-107.

areas meant that the cults of the Capitoline Triad and Zeus Capitolinus had a different role to play than their western counterparts.

Turning to Laodicea, the fact that the Capitoline triad was portrayed on its coins meant that the city was also showing its loyalty to Imperial institutions and to the emperor but the fact that the triad's Greek counterparts were depicted shows that other factors were present in the choice of the coin type. The rarity of the triad as a coin type within the province of Asia and as an object of cult makes its appearance on the issues of Laodicea all the more striking. The choice of Zeus Capitolinus as a coin type or as the recipient of various honours was idiosyncratic enough; the fact that Zeus had a range of guises which were more readily available and pertinent to the Greek cities of Asia emphasises the striking nature of the triad's appearance on the coins of Laodicea.

The importance of the Capitoline triad at Rome may have been reason enough for Laodicea to place it on its coinage and certainly this particular group of deities was portrayed in a wide range of media from which the city could take its inspiration. Various marble reliefs and sarcophagi depict the trio. For example, a fragmented marble relief at the archaeological institute of Kiel shows Jupiter seated between Juno and Minerva and a cippus dated to the Severan age again portrays Jupiter seated between his two companion goddesses.³² However, the coinage of Rome was the most immediate model for the coins of Laodicea. The appearance of the Capitoline temple on the coins of Vespasian has been linked to its rebuilding by the emperor after it was destroyed by fire in 69 A.D. The emperor himself helped by removing debris: *Ipse restitutionem Capitolii adgressus ruderibus purgandis manus*

³² On these representations and other similar ones, see *LIMC*, II, 1, pp. 1094 ff, nos. 281-294; Sauer, "Die kapitolische Trias", 73-84.

*primus admovit ac suo collo quaedam extulit.*³³

A silver tetradrachm minted in Asia and dated to 82, portraying the laureate and bearded head of Domitian on the obverse, shows a temple with four columns on a podium of four steps on the reverse. Jupiter is seated in the centre and holds a sceptre and Juno and Minerva stand on either side of him. The legend reads CAPIT RESTIT and is a reference to the emperor's contribution to the restoration of the temple. He restored many buildings destroyed by fire including the Capitolium: *Plurima et amplissima opera incendio absumpta restituit, in quis et Capitolium, quod rursus arserat.*³⁴ This may have been the impetus for Laodicea to put its version of the triad on its coins dating to the reign of Domitian.

The triad appeared on the issues of other emperors and not just Vespasian and Domitian. For example, under Trajan, a coin depicts Jupiter with a thunderbolt and a sceptre between Minerva, who holds a spear and a shield, and Juno who is holding a phiale and sceptre.³⁵ A medallion of Hadrian shows Jupiter holding a sceptre and a thunderbolt with an eagle at his feet standing between Minerva holding a spear and shield and Juno with a phiale and sceptre. The two goddesses are turned towards the god.³⁶ On medallions showing the busts of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, Jupiter is depicted as holding a sceptre and sitting between Juno and Minerva, the former holding a phiale and a sceptre and the latter a spear.³⁷ Another

³³ Suetonius, *Vesp.*, 8, 5; cf. Tacitus, *Hist.*, 3, 72.

³⁴ Suetonius, *Dom.*, 5, 1. For the coins of the two emperors and Titus as well, see *BMCRE*, II, pp. xlix; lii; lxxxviii; xcvi; 351, no. 251; 123; 133, no. 614; 144, no. 647; 155; 158; 160; 168, no. 721; 173; 175; 178; 210; 216, no. 877; 261.

³⁵ Gnechi, *I medaglioni*, III, p. 14, no. 4.

³⁶ Gnechi, *I medaglioni*, II, p. 6, no. 35.

³⁷ Gnechi, *I medaglioni*, II, p. 43, nos 6 and 7.

medallion, this time of Antoninus Pius, shows Jupiter seated between Minerva and Juno. Jupiter has a thunderbolt and sceptre, Juno a phiale and sceptre and Minerva a spear.³⁸

The Capitoline triad only appear on the coins of Rome during a specific time period. Despite being the pre-eminent cult of the Romans, it is not a coin type which appears on official Roman coinage throughout the Imperial period. Representations of the three deities are absent from the coinage of the Julio-Claudian period and the first appearance comes in 68-69 and the beginning of Vespasian's reign and they cease with the end of the Antonine period.³⁹ There is a coin of Julia Domna, a silver cistophoric tetradrachm, which shows a temple with four columns. Jupiter is seated in the centre with Juno and Minerva standing on either side of him. The legend reads I O M TRI. This has not been linked to the triad of Rome but rather to a replica of it at the religious centre of a legion.⁴⁰

The coins minted at Laodicea showing the Greek version of the Capitoline triad can also be dated to the period from the reign of Vespasian to the end of the Antonine dynasty. As with portraits of the emperor, which the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley copied closely, the appearance of the triad on the issues of the city of Laodicea again suggests that it was following current trends in official Roman coinage.⁴¹

However, as with representations of personifications of the senate, there are subtle differences. The coins of

³⁸ Gnechi, *I medaglioni*, II, p. 16, no. 66. On the coins of Rome showing the Capitoline triad, see also *LIMC*, II, 1, nos. 295-300; Sauer, "Die kapitolinische Trias", col. 80.

³⁹ Fears, "The Cult of Jupiter", p. 106; See in general *BMCRE*, Vols I-V.

⁴⁰ *BMCRE* V, pp. clxix, 305.

⁴¹ For Imperial portraiture on coins of the Upper Maeander Valley, see pp. 209-210.

Rome do show the Capitoline triad but nearly always in the setting of the Capitoline temple and the temple is also depicted without the deities. Naturally, under Vespasian and Domitian, the temple was in the forefront owing to the restoration programmes of these emperors. On the coins of Laodicea, however, the triad is shown without a temple and so it seems that the gods and their identity, and not their temple, were of the greatest importance.

It is clear that Hera represented Juno and that Athena represented Minerva, but Jupiter Optimus Maximus was not merely represented by the Greek Zeus but by Zeus Laodiceus, the principal deity of the city of Laodicea.⁴² He is traditionally depicted as a standing male figure standing to the left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand, attributes he is carrying on coins showing the triad. He appears consistently on the coins of the city and even makes an appearance on the coins of Hierapolis and Colossae, where he is still recognisable as the Zeus of Laodicea.

On the *homonoia* coins of the city, he regularly represents Laodicea. For example, on coins celebrating *homonoia* with Ephesus minted with the portraits of Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Caracalla, Philip II and Otacilia Severa, Zeus Laodiceus is shown with the cult statue of Artemis Ephesia. Under Commodus, he is depicted holding an eagle and a sceptre and standing with the veiled Demeter of Nicomedia.⁴³

By depicting Zeus Laodiceus, Hera and Athena, the Laodiceans were not merely showing the Capitoline Triad of Rome in a Greek form. By using Zeus Laodiceus to represent Jupiter Optimus Maximus, they were identifying their own principle civic deity with that of Rome and the Roman Empire and giving the former as much importance as the latter by such an association. This type makes it clear

⁴² See p. 25.

⁴³ See Catalogue A, B, and C in general.

that the Laodiceans were finding common elements between the Greek, Roman and its own civic religious systems and portraying these elements on their coinage.

The type of the Capitoline triad was a rare one in the province of Asia and the Upper Maeander Valley. Very few coins show Zeus as part of a triad and at Laodicea, where the type does appear, it is not as common as other designs. Despite its rarity, it can tell us quite a lot about Laodicea's attitude to Rome. The official Imperial coinage surprisingly only depicts the Capitoline triad within a very narrow time span and the coins of Laodicea can also be dated to this period. It seems then that the city was following the coinage trends of Rome quite closely. Just as cities in the west demonstrated their loyalty to Imperial institutions and the emperor by building *capitolia*, so did Laodicea by portraying the triad on its coins. More importantly, however, the Laodiceans were consciously seeking common elements between the Greek and Roman religious systems. The city not only depicted the Roman triad in a Greek form and associated Greek deities with the Roman but also viewed its own civic deities as comparable and equal to those of Rome. By using Zeus Laodiceus, Laodicea was identifying its own principal civic deity with the most important god of Rome and the Empire, Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The city of Laodicea was clearly developing links between itself and the centre of the Empire and advertising a unique connection between its own religion and that of Rome.

CHAPTER SEVEN: ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΑΗΤΟΣ

Legends on the coins of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley show the interaction between these cities and their citizens and the emperor and his empire. The types depicted on the same coins also contribute to the wider understanding of this relationship as shown by the use of the Capitoline triad on the coins of Laodicea. Among the obverses depicted on the coins of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley is the personification of the Roman senate. It is pictured as the bust of a beardless young man usually with its shoulders draped. The legend accompanying the type for the majority of the examples reads ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΑΗΤΟΣ but also occasionally ΘΕΟΝ ΣΥΝΚΑΗΤΟΝ.¹ There are two problems associated with the choice and the use of this obverse type, namely why was it included among the designs used on the coins of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae, and other cities in the province of Asia, and why the personification of the Roman senate took the form that it did.²

It could be suggested that the appearance of the senate as a coin type might be connected with the fact that Asia, the province in which the area of the Upper Maeander Valley was situated, is normally considered to be a "senatorial" province. The normal interpretation of the Augustan settlement of 27 B.C. is that while Augustus maintained control of some of the provinces of the Empire, others passed into the administration of the senate. For example, Wells, in his account of this settlement, narrates that in that year Augustus resigned all his extraordinary powers and placed the provinces under his control at the disposal of the senate. He then reluctantly accepted back certain provinces such as Syria, Gaul, Spain, Cilicia and

¹ See Appendix VIIIA, VIIIB and VIIIC. *Plate 1, 3.*

² On the senate see also Kienast, "Der heilige Senat" and Forni, "ΙΕΡΑ e ΘΕΟΣ ΣΥΝΚΑΗΤΟΣ".

Cyprus.³ This account highlights the general view that some provinces of the Empire were in the hands of the emperor and hence, called "Imperial provinces" and others were administered by the senate and so referred to as "senatorial provinces".

Under this interpretation of the organization of the Roman Empire, Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae, as cities in Asia, were part of a senatorial province and consequently knew and wanted to advertise this status and also wanted to display this aspect of their relationship with the Roman senate by placing representations of the personified senate on some of their coins.

However, it can be seen that some ancient and modern historians do not consider this division of the empire as being between "Imperial" and "senatorial" provinces. Strabo, in his *Geography*, states that Augustus, when he became ruler of the Empire, divided it into two parts, one part he retained for himself and the other he gave not to the Roman senate but to the people of Rome: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ πατρις ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ τὴν προσημασίαν τὴν ἡγεμονίας καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης κατέστη κύριος διὰ βίου, δίχα διείλε πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀπέδειξεν ἑαυτῷ τὴν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ.⁴ Strabo goes on to say that each of the two portions of the Empire were divided into several provinces, some of which were called "Provinces of Caesar", the Imperial provinces, while others were called "Provinces of the Roman People": ἑκατέραν δὲ τὴν μερίδα εἰς ἐπαρχίας διένειμε πλείους, ὧν αἱ μὲν καλοῦνται Καίσαρος, αἱ δὲ τοῦ δήμου.⁵ Nowhere in this account does this ancient Greek writer mention the senate or provinces of the senate.⁶

Wells, before describing the settlement of 27 B.C.,

³ Wells, *Roman Empire*, p. 54.

⁴ Strabo, 17, 3, 25.

⁵ Strabo, 17, 3, 25.

⁶ Millar, " "Senatorial" Provinces", p. 94.

says that Dio, 53, 11-19 is our chief source for this.⁷ As Wells explains the Augustan settlement in terms of Imperial and senatorial provinces, and not in terms of provinces of the emperor and the Roman people, his words imply that Dio also sees it in the same way. However, unlike Strabo, Dio seems to be confused on the issue and mentions both the people and the senate when talking about provinces which did not belong to the emperor. He says that Augustus gave the more peaceful provinces to the senate: ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἄσθενέστερα ὡς καὶ εἰρηναῖα καὶ ἀπόλεμα ἀπέδωκε τῇ βουλῇ.⁸ Yet when listing the provinces, he informs us that Africa, Numidia, Asia, Greece with Epirus, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Crete, Bithynia and Pontus, Sardinia and Baetica were held as belonging to the people and the senate, τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τῆς γερουσίας.⁹ Later when talking of the system of government in the provinces, he uses the same distinction as Strabo, namely that there were provinces of the people and Imperial provinces, τὰ τοῦ δήμου ἔθνη on the one hand and τὰ τοῦ τε αὐτοκράτορος ἐνομαζόμενα on the other.¹⁰

Both the passages from Strabo and Dio form part of the arguments of Millar's article which attempts to show that senatorial provinces were in fact provinces of the Roman people.¹¹ It is clear though that Dio is a more problematical source than the geographer Strabo but it is also clear from Millar's comments on Dio's account that he does not see it as invalidating his theory. For example, Millar points out that Dio says the more peaceful provinces were given back without clarifying whether the recipient was the senate or not because τ βου appears in the versions of Xiphilinus and Zonaras but not in the

⁷ Wells, *Roman Empire*, p. 54.

⁸ Dio, 53, 12, 2.

⁹ Dio, 53, 12, 4-5.

¹⁰ Dio, 53, 15, 1.

¹¹ Millar, " "Senatorial" Provinces", pp. 93-97.

transmitted text of Dio.¹² The reasons, as Dio sees them, for Augustus giving back the provinces was so that the senate might have the benefit of the most peaceful parts of the empire. Lastly, when Dio narrates that some provinces were given to the people and the senate, Millar takes this as an allusion to *SPQR, Senatus Populusque Romanus* and which has a different meaning and sense from a phrase which would indicate the administrative or constitutional role of the senate in its own right.¹³ Elsewhere, in passages concerning the reign of Augustus, Millar sees Dio as being consistent in his terminology when referring to non-Imperial provinces as being of the people.¹⁴ From Millar's arguments it is obvious that he does not see Dio as referring to the Empire as being divided into Imperial and senatorial provinces.

As well as the evidence of the ancient historians there are the texts of the ancient jurists. Writing in the mid-second century A.D., Gaius perceives some of the provinces as being *provinciae populi Romani*, provinces of the Roman people, and others as *provinciae Caesaris*, provinces of Caesar or the emperor.¹⁵

As a consequence, according to Millar, there is no text known to him which mentions the proconsular provinces as being "senatorial" or provinces "of the senate".¹⁶ There are ambiguities though. When Suetonius reports that Achaëa and Macedonia were made proconsular provinces again during the reign of Claudius after being Imperial provinces under Tiberius, "he does so in language which fits the

¹² Millar, " "Senatorial" Provinces", p. 95 with note 4.

¹³ For Millar's treatment of Dio, see " "Senatorial" Provinces", p. 95 and note 4.

¹⁴ Millar, " "Senatorial" Provinces", p. 95 and note 5.

¹⁵ Millar, " "Senatorial" Provinces", pp. 95-96.

¹⁶ Millar, " "Senatorial" Provinces", p. 95.

traditional presuppositions very well."¹⁷ Suetonius says that the two provinces, which Tiberius had transferred into his own care, were given back to the senate: *Provincias Achaïam et Macedoniam, quas Tiberius as suam curam transtulerat, senatui reddidit.*¹⁸

Dio also uses the same language. In Book 69, he says that when C. Iulius Severus was sent as a legate to the previously public province of Pontus-Bithynia in c134, Lycia-Pamphylia was transferred to the senate and the lot: τῆ δὲ δὴ Βουλῆ καὶ τῷ κλήρῳ ἡ Παμφυλία ἀντὶ τῆς Βιθυνίας ἐδόθη.¹⁹

Although there are some ambiguities in the ancient sources, Millar argues there is very little evidence to support and confirm the popular conception that the Empire was composed of Imperial and senatorial provinces. He believes that in his article enough evidence has been given to demonstrate the fragility of any textual justification for the expression "senatorial province".²⁰ He goes on to say that if modern historians talked about the provinces in the same terms as the ancient sources do, they would be reminded that the organization of the Empire, which Augustus and subsequent emperors adjusted themselves to, did not just involve the senate but the whole of the *res publica*, the *Senatus populusque Romanus*.²¹ As a result, Millar proposes that the wholly illegitimate expression "senatorial provinces" should be abandoned and replaced with *provinciae populi Romani*.²²

¹⁷ Millar, " "Senatorial" Provinces", p. 95.

¹⁸ Suetonius, *Claudius*, 25, 3.

¹⁹ Dio, 69, 14, 4 and Millar, " "Senatorial" Provinces", p.95.

²⁰ Millar, " "Senatorial" Provinces", p. 96.

²¹ Millar, " "Senatorial" Provinces", p.96.

²² Millar, " "Senatorial" Provinces", p. 97.

However, it must be noted that there was no rigid division in the control of the Empire even though the provinces which constituted it were, and are, known under two different terms. There is no evidence to support a situation whereby the emperor only had effective control in the Imperial provinces and that the people of Rome and their representatives administered the public provinces without recourse to the ruling emperor. It is clear that the emperor could act in all provinces whatever their formal designation and that he could, and subsequently did, intervene in all aspects of their administration.

For example, an inscription from Cyrene, a non-Imperial province, contains four edicts of the emperor Augustus dated to 7-6 B.C. and a fifth edict promulgating a decree of the Senate dated a little later to 4 B.C. The first four edicts are concerned with the tensions which arose in the province between the provincial inhabitants and the Roman citizens present there. Of these, two regulate the composition of juries and rule that any Greek under indictment could have the choice of either a jury composed solely of Romans or alternatively, a jury with Greeks forming half of its members. Another states that citizens of Cyrene who had received the Roman citizenship were still required to perform any local liturgies and duties for which they were liable while the senatorial decree concerns the procedure involved for the hearing of extortion cases.²³ As can be seen from these edicts, Augustus was able to make binding decisions for provinces which were not formally designated as being "Imperial". What is significant, as Wells states, is that Augustus legislates in the public province, or the "senatorial province", as Wells terms it, of Crete and Cyrene and that this shows the extent of the emperor's power over the whole

²³ Wells, *Roman Empire*, p. 143; Sherk, *RDGE*, no. 31; Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, nos 8-12, pp. 40-55.

empire including the "senatorial provinces".²⁴

The extent of the emperor's power is confirmed by an inscription discovered in the Troad in 1959. It reads *C(ai) f(ilio) Ani(ensi) Tusco Iivir(o), augur(i), praef(ecto) cohort(is) Apulae et operumque in colonia iussu Augusti facta sunt, trib(un)o mil(itum) leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae) VIII, trib(un)o dilectus ingenuorum quam Romae habuit Augustus et Ti(berius) Caesar, praef(ecto) fabr(um) IIII, praef(ecto) equit(um) alae praet(oriae) IIII, hasta pura et corona aurea donatus est a Germanico Caesare imp(erato) bello Germanico, d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*²⁵

Brunt has suggested that a Latin inscription like this one must come from Alexandria, the colony which is assumed to have been mentioned in the text.²⁶ The inscription itself concerns a certain Gaius Fabricius Tuscus, who is otherwise unknown, and it was presumably at Alexandria that he held the magistracies of duovir and augur and so he was honoured with a dedication by the local council of that colony.²⁷

The most important feature of the inscription, as it concerns the emperor's authority in all areas of the Empire, is the fact that Caius Fabricius held the post *trib ... dilectus ingenuorum quem Romae habuit Augustus et Ti(berius) Caesar*, that is tribune of the levy held at Rome by Augustus and Tiberius.

Discussion concerning levies raised by the emperor within Italy revolve around the question whether he needed senatorial permission or approval to act. At one point, Mommsen suggested that it was only in Imperial provinces that the emperor was free to recruit soldiers as he wished but in Italy and non-Imperial provinces he needed

²⁴ Wells, *Roman Empire*, p. 144.

²⁵ On this inscription see Brunt, "An Augustan Dilectus", pp. 161-185.

²⁶ Brunt, "An Augustan Dilectus", p. 173.

²⁷ Brunt, "An Augustan Dilectus", p.173.

senatorial sanction except that in these places too he could enlist volunteers.²⁸ However, in this inscription there is no mention of the senate or of senatorial permission for the levy.

Brunt in his article concerning this inscription, concludes that it had been normal to conduct levies only under the authority of the senate in the Republic and during the Principate, this role was not lost to the senate as proconsuls continued to need its sanction if they needed to raise troops. This prerogative of the senate fell into abeyance once there were no proconsuls in command of armies. Brunt continues by saying that the emperor did not require the senate's permission for his levies or those conducted under his orders because the people had given him an independent right to raise troops under the law granting him his *provincia*, the terms of which resemble the laws granting the great commands held during the late Republic. Brunt admits though that this hypothesis cannot be proved.²⁹

Nevertheless, the inscription does show the emperor acting in a military capacity elsewhere than in the provinces marked as Imperial and confirms that the authority of the emperors extended over the whole Empire and was not just confined to the areas known as "Imperial provinces".

This is confirmed by the literary sources. Dio recounts that Augustus travelled to Asia "to settle things there" and also in Bithynia. Even though Dio had said these areas belonged to the people, he states that the emperor gave them careful attention and treated them as if they were Imperial provinces. As a result of this, Augustus was able to institute various financial

²⁸ Brunt, "An Augustan Dilectus", p. 167 for a summary of Mommsen's arguments.

²⁹ Brunt, "An Augustan Dilectus", p.170.

measures.³⁰

The only real difference between the Imperial and non-Imperial provinces, if not the extent of the emperor's authority within them, was the way in which the governors of each of these provinces were chosen. Strabo tells us that the Imperial provinces were governed by legates and procurators while praetors and proconsuls were sent to the *provinciae populi Romani*: καὶ εἰς μὲν τὰς Καίσαρος ἡγεμόνας καὶ διοικητὰς Καίσαρ πέμπει, ... εἰς δὲ τὰς δημοσίας ὁ δῆμος στρατηγούς ἢ ὑπάτους.³¹

This is confirmed by Dio who says that Augustus decreed that the governors of public provinces should be annual magistrates chosen by lot: ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς μὲν καὶ ἐπειρησίους καὶ ἄλλω τοὺς εἶναι.³² The governors of the other provinces were to be chosen by the emperor himself and known as his legates and propraetors: τοὺς δὲ ἐτέρους ὑπὲρ τε ἑαυτοῦ ἀρεῦσθα καὶ πρεσβευτὰς αὐτοῦ ἀντιστρατήγους τε ὀνομάζεσθαι.³³

It is clear that in Imperial provinces, the governors were *legati Augusti pro praetore* selected by the emperor while in the public provinces, or provinces of the Roman people, the governors were proconsuls accompanied by quaestors, both appointed by lot in the traditional Republican manner to carry out their duties in the provinces after their term of office had been completed.³⁴ Even so, a situation can be envisaged where no office holder would have the opportunity of governing the two greatest public provinces, those of Asia and Africa, without the approval and favour of the reigning emperor.³⁵

³⁰ Dio, 54 7, 4-5.

³¹ Strabo, 17, 3, 25.

³² Dio, 53, 13, 2.

³³ Dio, 53, 13, 5.

³⁴ Millar, " "Senatorial" Provinces", p. 97.

³⁵ Wells, *Roman Empire*, pp. 142-3.

If, then, non-Imperial provinces are no longer to be thought of as "senatorial" provinces but as public provinces or provinces of the Roman people, it seems interesting that Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae, and other cities of Asia, put the personification of the Roman senate on their coins. One would expect representations of the personification of the Roman people but these do not figure on the coins of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley as a type. It would seem, judging from the coin types, that this group of cities did not view the organization of the Empire in the same way as historians like Strabo or jurists like Gaius who understood the nominal division of the Empire as being between the emperor on the one hand and the *populus Romanus* on the other. Even though it was the people of Rome and not the senate which formed the sovereign body of the Roman Empire, it seems that Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae did not see the allocation of the provinces in strict constitutional terms. Rather, as shown by the appearance of the senate on their coins, they perceived the Empire to be organized in a different way, with the division of the provinces being between the emperor and the senate and not between the emperor and the Roman people.

This is not to be wondered at. Year after year, inhabitants of the province of Asia would see Roman citizens of proconsular status take up their positions as governor with quaestors to help them in their administrative duties. These men were senators, members of the senate, as indeed all governors were, but the citizens of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley would see these men as being sent to the province after being chosen in the old Republican manner which was a procedure dating to a time when the senate had a lot more authority and power as opposed to being chosen by the emperor. These men would perhaps be seen as representatives of the senate. They would naturally, in this context, think of the senate and not the people of Rome. It is perhaps for this reason that

personifications of the Roman senate, and not depictions of the people of Rome, appear as obverse types on the coins of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae.

There is inscriptional evidence showing the way inhabitants of the Empire saw the authority of the senate. The following inscription is fragmented at the beginning but runs: *viacure* [*tr. p*]l., *pr. leg. [imp c]aesaris Augusti [i]ter. per commendation. Ti. Caesaris Augusti ab senatu cos. dest., patrono.*³⁶ This inscription is problematic. It is not at all clear which magistracy is referred to here and there are two different interpretations. Either the post referred to is the consul *destinatus*, in which case the equites have been omitted or the office is that of the consul *designatus* which would mean the wrong abbreviation has been inscribed. In either case, those erecting this inscription believe the consulship has been appointed by the senate, *ab senatu*, and not the people of Rome.

There were other ways in which the citizens of the provinces would be reminded of the authority of the senate. Decrees of the senate, *senatus consulta*, passed from the early Empire up until the early third century A.D. were, unless they related specifically to particular areas, valid for the entire Empire and did not just affect public or "senatorial" provinces. Even after these senatorial decrees ceased being the means by which new legislation was passed, the provisions of previous ones were still quoted as sources of law and they were still considered as such by provincial inhabitants. For example, an inscription of Ephesus, which is not dated earlier than the third century A.D. refers to the ancient precedence of the city. The Ephesians declared it to be based on Imperial laws and decrees passed by the sacred senate.³⁷

In religious matters too, the authority of the senate

³⁶ *ILS*, 944.

³⁷ Millar, *ERW*, p. 342 and note 6.

would be called to the minds of the provinces' inhabitants whatever the political reality. Until a very late date, emperors still continued to put certain requests for neocorate temples, provincial temples dedicated to the Roman emperors, before the senate. For example, at Laodicea, a coin of Commodus shows that the city was honoured in this way by a decree of the senate.³⁸ The neocorate status as granted by a decree of the senate is further celebrated on the coins of the city minted during the reigns of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander.³⁹ Legends of coins minted under Elagabalus read ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΔΟΓΜΑΤΙ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΥ, showing that the city received its neocorate status "by decree of the senate". The same legend can be found on coins bearing the obverse of Severus Alexander.⁴⁰

Inscriptions from the city of Smyrna record that it too gained its neocorate status by decrees of the senate.⁴¹ The epigraphy of the city records that it was three times neocoros of the emperors by a decree of the most holy senate: γ' νεωκόρος τῶν Σεβαστῶν κατὰ τὰ δόγματα τῆς ἱερωτάτης συνκλήτου.⁴²

From evidence such as this for the authority of the senate, it is not surprising that the cities of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae thought of the senate as the sovereign body of the Empire and not the people of Rome. As a result of this, and their governors' positions as senators, they believed themselves to be part of a senatorial province and not a province of the Roman people

³⁸ Talbert, *Senate of Imperial Rome*, p. 421.

³⁹ Talbert, *Senate of Imperial Rome*, p. 422.

⁴⁰ For example see Catalogue A 165-168, 170-172 and 173-174.

⁴¹ Talbert, *Senate of Imperial Rome*, p. 422.

⁴² *IGRP*, IV, no. 1421; *IvS*, II, 1, no. 665. See also *IGRP* nos. 1419, 1420, 1424-1426.

and so depicted personifications of the Roman senate on their coins and not representations of the people of Rome. Millar regards the term "senatorial province" as an "illegitimate expression" but it seems it was not considered so in the cities of Asia, including those of the Upper Maeander Valley.

There are other possible reasons why personifications of the Roman senate were used as coin types. For example, there is also the possibility that the appearance of the senate as an obverse coin type on the issues of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae is a result of the fact that these cities regarded the senate as one of their own civic institutions. The civic bodies were personified and depicted on the coins of the Upper Maeander Valley as was the senate. The *demos*, the assembly of people, was normally pictured as a beardless young man with usually a laurel wreath adorning his head.⁴³ The *boule*, or council, is shown as a veiled bust.⁴⁴ The *gerousia*, or council of elders, is shown suitably mature and veiled while the *neoi* were personified naturally as a youthful male bust with its short hair bound by a taenia and drapery on the shoulders.⁴⁵

The personification of the Roman senate can be taken to form part of this series. By placing depictions of the senate of Rome on coins alongside personifications of the *demos*, *boule*, *gerousia* and *neoi*, Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae were counting the senate among its own civic institutions, perhaps because they thought themselves to be part of a senatorial province.

However, a subtle distinction was maintained between the civic institutions and the senate. The usual epithet

⁴³ See Catalogue E 35.

⁴⁴ See Catalogue E 45-48.

⁴⁵ See Catalogue B 65-66 and E 53-54 respectively.

for the senate was normally *IEPA* or more rarely *ΘΕΟΣ*.⁴⁶ These words are hardly used in connection with the *demos*, *gerousia* or *boule*. The legends accompanying these types normally consist of the title of the institution either with or without the ethnics of the cities. For example, the *demos* of Laodicea either appears with the legend *ΔΗΜΟΣ* or *ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ*.⁴⁷ The epithet *IEPA* does occasionally occur in these legends. At Colossae, the *boule*, is referred to with the title *IEPA BOYΛH* and at Laodicea, the personification of the *demos* is accompanied by the legend *IEΠΟΣ ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΝ*.⁴⁸ Normally though, this type of epithet is not applied to the civic institutions of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae.

It seems then that while the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley were reckoning the senate as one of their own governing bodies, a subtle distinction was made between them with the senate being accorded slightly more reverence.

There were also other ways in which the senate would be brought to the attention of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae and, of course, other provincial citizens. This is shown in the edict from Cyrene. In 7/6 B.C. an embassy came to Rome carrying complaints of judicial oppression at the hands of the Roman citizens resident in the province. It seems that the embassy approached Augustus directly but he issued an edict which was to be binding until he himself found a better solution or the senate itself had held a debate on the matter: ἄχρι ἂν ἡ σύνκλητος βουλευῆται περὶ τούτου ἢ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς ἄμεινον εὕρω τι.⁴⁹ It appears that in the Augustan age, embassies from the provinces had recourse

⁴⁶ See p. 179, note 1.

⁴⁷ See Catalogue B 14-15 for example.

⁴⁸ See Catalogue B 73-74 and also H 26.

⁴⁹ *SEG*, IX, 1944, no. 8, ll. 12-13; Millar, *ERW*, p. 344 and note 18.

to either the emperor or the senate.⁵⁰

During the early Empire at least, provincial embassies still had access to the senate. Obviously with the coming of the Principate and the establishment of the rule of Augustus and his successors, many embassies would naturally focus on the emperor and certainly this would continue throughout the Imperial period. Nevertheless, the senate could still find itself the destination for some embassies either with or without the collaboration of the emperor.⁵¹

The fifth Cyrene edict highlights clearly the co-operation of the emperor and the senate. In form, it is an edict of Augustus introducing a decree of the senate or a *senatus consultum* which was based on a recommendation of both Augustus and his senatorial *consilium*. It makes provisions for the appearance of provincial citizens before the senate who wanted to reclaim any money they believed to have been improperly acquired by the provincial governors in the course of their duties. It records that part of the senate's duties was to form a panel from its members to decide the case or at the very least to work out the amount of money which had to be repaid.⁵²

In 22 A.D. Tacitus narrates that Tiberius allowed the senate some of its former importance by submitting the claims of the provinces to the discussion of its members: *Sed Tiberius, vim principatus sibi firmans imaginem antiquitatis senatui praebebat, postulata provinciarum ad disquisitionem patrum mittendo.*⁵³ The senate was to hold a hearing, in this instance of the asylum rights of the sanctuaries of Greek cities but the senate referred the matter to the consuls after growing weary of the arguments and it was then the responsibility of the consuls to

⁵⁰ Millar, *ERW*, p.344.

⁵¹ Millar, *ERW*, pp. 343-344.

⁵² Millar, *ERW*, p. 345. On these edicts see above p. 184.

⁵³ Tacitus, *Ann.*, 3, 60; Millar, *ERW*, p. 346.

investigate the rights and report back to the senate with their findings: *Auditae aliarum quoque civitatum legationes. Quorum copia fessi patres, et quia studias certabatur, consulibus permisere ut, persecto iure et si qua iniquitas involveretur, rem integram rursus ad senatum referent.*⁵⁴

Embassies could apply for a senatorial hearing or have their case transferred to the senate even if they had applied for a hearing from the emperor in the first place. Members of an embassy from Africa presented themselves before the consuls complaining that although they had originally been sent to the emperor, he had been wasting their time: *certa quoque non nisi per magistratus et iure ordinario agebatur, tanta consulum auctoritate, ut legati ex Africa adierint eos querentes, trahi se a Caesare ad quem missi forent.*⁵⁵

Inscriptional evidence also records contact between the senate and provincial inhabitants or, at least, the responses of the senate to requests from the provinces during the second century A.D. For example, an inscription from Gaulos in Sicily honours a man who had been part of an embassy to the emperor Hadrian and the senate at his own expense for the purpose of reclaiming local revenues.⁵⁶

A damaged inscription from Pergamum dated to the last years of Trajan's reign shows that there was both an Imperial *constitutio* and a *senatus consultum* responding to the city's request to establish a second set of quinquennial games.⁵⁷

Another fragmentary inscription, this time from Cyzicus, records that under Antoninus Pius, a *consultum* was passed by the senate after a request by the Cyzicenes

⁵⁴ Tacitus, *Ann.*, 3, 63.

⁵⁵ Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 31, 2; Millar, *ERW*, p. 346.

⁵⁶ Millar, *ERW*, p. 349; *ILS*, 6772.

⁵⁷ Millar, *ERW*, p.349; *CIL*, III, 7086; *IGRP*, IV, 336.

confirming their right to have an association of young men or νεοί. The emperor is mentioned as having given this particular piece of provincial business a place on the agenda and his adoptive son, Marcus Aurelius, Caesar and heir presumptive, is listed first among the senatorial witnesses of the text of the *senatus consultum*.⁵⁸

It seems clear from these pieces of evidence that Greek cities had access to the senate and could see the senate actively handling provincial business in conjunction with the emperor. During the early Empire at least, there was contact between the senate and cities in the provinces whether this came about through the agency of the emperor or not. This may have contributed to the decision of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley to place the personification of the Roman senate on its coins.

Another important factor in the way Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae may have thought about the senate of Rome, is the presence in Asia of a cult dedicated to it. In A.D. 22 the province of Asia accused its former governor, Gaius Silanus, of extortion and the trial was subsequently held before the senate. The prosecution was a successful one and Silanus was found guilty.⁵⁹ In the following year, 23 A.D., charges were again brought by Asia but this time against the procurator in charge of Imperial holdings in the province, Lucilius Capito. He was accused of usurping the responsibilities of the praetor and using military force against the inhabitants of the province. Again the prosecution was successful.⁶⁰ As Tacitus tells us, it was in response to these two successful prosecutions that the cities of Asia decided to decree a temple dedicated to the reigning emperor, Tiberius, his mother, Livia, the widow of Augustus and the senate. Permission to construct such a temple was subsequently granted: *ob quam*

⁵⁸ Millar, *ERW*, p. 349; *CIL*, III, 7060; *ILS*, 7190.

⁵⁹ Tacitus, *Ann.*, 3, 66-69; Frieson, *Twice Neokoros*, p. 15.

⁶⁰ Tacitus, *Ann.*, 4, 15; Friesen, *Twice Neokoros*, p. 16.

*ultionem, et quia priore anno in C. Silanum vindicatum erat, decrevere Asiae urbes templum Tiberio matrique eius ac senatui. Et permissum statuere.*⁶¹

However building did not start on the temple straight away as the cities disputed among themselves as to which one of them would have the prestigious honour of housing the sanctuary. As Tacitus reports, the temple then came to the attention of the senate again because eleven cities argued over where the temple should be situated, three years after approval for the sanctuary had first been given. The cities involved put their cases forward in front of the senate: *Sed Caesar quo famam averteret, adesse frequens senatui legatosque Asiae, ambigentis quam in civitate templum statueretur pluris per dies audivit. Undecim urbes certabant pari ambitione, viribus diversae.*⁶²

One of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley was closely involved in this dispute. Laodicea was one of the cities arguing to be chosen as the site for the new temple but was considered as being too insignificant for such a great honour: *Verum Hypaepeni, Trallianique Laodicensis ac Magnetibus simul tramissi ut parum validi.*⁶³ In the event, Smyrna was chosen as the site of the new provincial temple.⁶⁴

Priests of the senate are attested in inscriptions from Greek cities. An inscription from the city of Tmōlos engraved at the provincial temple of Domitian at Ephesus reads: ἐπιμεληθέντος Αὔλου Λειβίου Ἄγρωνος ... ἱερέως ... καὶ τῆς Συνκλήτου διὰ βίου.⁶⁵ Similarly, at Tralles

⁶¹ Tacitus, *Ann.*, 4, 15.

⁶² Tacitus, *Ann.*, 4, 55; Friesen, *Twice Neokoros*, p. 17.

⁶³ Tacitus, *Ann.*, 4, 55; Friesen, *Twice Neokoros*, p.18.

⁶⁴ See Friesen, *Twice Neokoros*, pp. 17-20 for the arguments put forward by the cities of Asia and the eventual outcome of the dispute.

⁶⁵ Robert, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 76.

another priest of the senate is known and recorded.⁶⁶

Priests of the senate are also recorded outside Asia Minor. At Athens, an inscription of Eleusis again attests to a priest of the senate: τὸν ἱερέα Συνκλή[του Ῥώμης].⁶⁷ However Robert believes that this should be amended to Συνκλή[του Ῥωμαίων].⁶⁸

Coin evidence also identifies a priest of the senate. Among the coins of Lydia is a bronze with the laureate portrait of the emperor Domitian on the obverse with the legend ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ. The reverse shows Nike walking holding a palm and crown with the legend [ΕΠΙ ΦΑ] ΠΡΑΞΕΟΥ ΑΡΧ ΠΡ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΙΕΡΩΣΥΝΝ ... ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ.⁶⁹ The name of this moneyer appears in Münsterberg's work on magistrates' names as they feature on coins under the formula [ΕΠΙ ΦΑ] ΠΡΑΞΕΟΥ ΑΡΧ ΠΡ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ... ΔΙΑ ΒΙΟΥ.⁷⁰ The name of Praxeas appears on other issues under Domitian. Both have an obverse depicting the emperor but one has a reverse of Victory with the legend ΠΡΑΞΕΟΥ ΑΡΧ ΠΡ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ and the other shows Cybele but the legend is slightly different as ΔΙΑ ΒΙΟΥ is added.⁷¹ It has been suggested that after the title ΙΕΡΕΥΣ on the latter coin is the name of the goddess, ΤΗΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ, ΘΕΑΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ or something similar but Robert believes that Praxeas is not necessarily a priest of Cybele as a similar title appears on the coin with the reverse of Victory. He thinks that there is no relationship between the priesthood of Praxeas and the

⁶⁶ Robert, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 76, note 4.

⁶⁷ Robert, *Monnaies grecques*, p.76, note 2; *IG*, II², 3547.

⁶⁸ Robert, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 76, note 2; *BE*, 90, 1977, no. 76.

⁶⁹ *SNG SvA*, no. 3074; Robert, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 73.

⁷⁰ Münsterberg, *Die Beamtennamen*, p. 145; Robert, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 73.

⁷¹ Robert, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 73.

reverse types of the coins his name appears on.⁷² Robert has restored the legend of the coin in the collection of Hans von Aulock to include ΣΥΝ[ΚΑΗΤΟΥ] and believes Praxeas was a priest of the personified and divinised Roman senate.⁷³

However, there are chronological problems in connecting the appearance of the senate as a coin type with any of these various ways in which the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley thought about the senate of Rome as coins with this type appear in the second half of the empire. At Laodicea the first appearance of this type is dated to the time of Marcus Aurelius because the magistrate's name, Π ΚΑ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ, which appears in various forms, is found on coins showing the portrait of M. Aurelius Caesar.⁷⁴ Coins with ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ can be dated to Caracalla. Laodicea was accorded a neocorate by Commodus but the title disappears when his memory was damned. The status was regranted by Caracalla and reckoned as the first.⁷⁵ Very few coins of Commodus survive and as the title appears on coins with Caracalla's portrait, it is reasonable to date non-portrait issues with this formula to the time of Caracalla and later. Hierapolis' neocorate status seems to have been granted by Elagabalus.⁷⁶ Coins showing the senate and ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ in the reverse legend should be dated to his reign but coins without reference to this status could date before and after as Elagabalus' memory was damned and the title removed. At Colossae, the issue with the senate is dated to the time of Gallienus.⁷⁷ The type dates from the middle of the second century onwards for all three cities.

⁷² Robert, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 75.

⁷³ Robert, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 75.

⁷⁴ For example, see Appendix VIIIa.

⁷⁵ See pp. 140-141.

⁷⁶ See pp. 141-143.

⁷⁷ See Appendix VIIIc.

The province of Asia had been under Roman control since it was bequeathed to the Roman people by the last Pergamene king in 133 B.C. but representations of the senate do not appear on the coins of the Upper Maeander Valley of the pre-Imperial period. When it does appear, it does not date to Augustus' reign and the beginning of the Principate but occurs much later.

The personification of the senate also post-dates the depictions of the civic institutions of Laodicea, and Colossae. At Laodicea, types portraying the *demos* are dated from the time of Augustus while at Colossae, it is dated from the reign of Hadrian. In both cases this is because of the occurrence of the same magistrates' names on portrait and non-portrait issues. For Hierapolis, personifications of the civic institutions are dated to the same time as the depictions of the senate are except two coins showing the *demos* which are dated to the time of Trajan and later.⁷⁸

A similar thing can be said about the cult of the senate. It has been suggested that the appearance of the senate as a type follows the establishment of the temple dedicated to Tiberius, Livia and the senate.⁷⁹ The temple was erected in A.D. 26 but no coins of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley with the senate as a type date to this time. Other coins were minted at this time. A bronze issued during the proconsulship of Publius Petronius (29-35 A.D.) shows on the obverse two draped heads believed to be Livia and the senate with the legend ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ ΖΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΙΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΣ. The reverse pictures a temple with four columns with a statue of Tiberius in the centre. He is togate with his head draped in a priestly fashion. The accompanying inscription reads ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΕΠΙ

⁷⁸ See Catalogue E.

⁷⁹ Talbert, *Senate of Imperial Rome*, p. 97.

PETPΩNIOY.⁸⁰ The issue confirms the unusual combination of Tiberius, Livia and the senate as recipients of cultic honours as recorded by Tacitus.⁸¹ This is not surprising as the coins come from Smyrna, the site of the temple but there are no comparable coins from Laodicea, Hierapolis or Colossae. There is no evidence, however, of priests or cults of the senate from the Upper Maeander Valley but this cult may explain why the senate is always referred to with the epithets IEPA or ΘEOΣ. The major problem with the use of the personified senate as a coin type is that it becomes more common after the influence and the importance of the senate had begun to wane at Rome. Generally the designs reach a peak in the late second and early third centuries so there is no question that the issues increased as the role of the senate diminished.⁸² For the early part of the Empire, contact between the senate and provincial embassies was still possible, as has been shown. However, this does not seem to be the case for the later Empire.

Polybius tells us that the reception of embassies was a prerogative of the senate in the Republican period.⁸³ In the third century A.D., Dio still thought that embassies should be introduced before the senate to impress them.⁸⁴ Dio says the reasoning behind this action is so that the impression is given that the senate still has full authority which in itself implies that it did not.

During Dio's time, there is little to suggest that this role of the senate, as envisaged in this passage, remained to the senate. From the middle of the second century onwards, there is hardly any evidence to show that

⁸⁰ *BMC Ionia*, p. 268, nos. 266-268; Friesen, *Twice Neokoros*, pp. 19-20.

⁸¹ Friesen, *Twice Neokoros*, p. 20.

⁸² Talbert, *Senate of Imperial Rome*, p. 97.

⁸³ Polybius, 6, 13, 7.

⁸⁴ Dio, 52, 31, 1; Talbert, *Senate of Imperial Rome*, p. 424.

embassies still continued to approach the senate. This may be in fact the result of a lack of evidence but may also be due to the fact that the functions of the senate were taken over by the emperor.⁸⁵

The latest evidence, which can be approximately dated, of an embassy appearing before the senate comes from Ephesus. An inscription from this Asian city honours a certain P. Vedius Antoninus who had a member of embassies to both the senate and the emperor. He had been gymnasiarch during the 160s A.D. at the time of the visits of the emperor, Lucius Verus.⁸⁶ The actions of Cn. Pompeius Hermippus, who was also involved in embassies to the emperor and the senate, seems to be no later than this.⁸⁷

An inscription from Laodicea recording embassies during the reign of Hadrian shows the ambassador as only approaching the emperor and not the senate: [Γ] Τερέντιος Λουγείνος ... πεπρεσβευκῶς καὶ δις προῖκα πρὸς τε Λούκιον Καίσαρα εἰς Παννονίαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν μέγιστον αὐτοκράτορα Τί Αἰλίον Ἀδριανὸν Ἀντωνε[ί]νον ... εἰς Ῥώμην.⁸⁸

The appearance of embassies before the senate may have kept the minds of the provincial inhabitants focused on that institution during the first part of the Empire but it does not realistically explain the proliferation of the personified senate as a type or its appearance on the coins of the Upper Maeander Valley from the second century onwards when this role had been lost to it.

However, it seems that the way the cities of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae thought of themselves as part of a "senatorial" province provides the best explanation for the appearance of the senate as a type. Even after the time

⁸⁵ Talbert, *Senate of Imperial Rome*, p. 424.

⁸⁶ Millar, *ERW*, p. 343.

⁸⁷ Millar, *ERW*, p. 343 and note 9.

⁸⁸ *IGRP*, IV, 862.

when the role of the senate had diminished, senators chosen in the old Republican manner would still come to Asia and take up their position as governor and so, the appearance of the personified senate as a type for the coins of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae arose due to the fact that these cities considered themselves to be part of the "senatorial" province of Asia and because, perhaps as a result of this, they counted the Roman senate as one of their own civic institutions.

Given that the coins depicting the senate date from the second and third centuries, the political situation of the latter part of the Empire may also have played a role in the cities' choice of the personified Roman senate as a coin type. In reaction to the view that Diocletian's reforms involved the rationalizing and systematising of changes which had already taken place before his reign, an argument has been put forward that the joint province of Phrygia and Caria, which was to be administered by senatorial governors, was not created in 284 under Diocletian but much earlier in the 250s.⁸⁹

Roueché makes the basis of her arguments inscriptions which mention the governors of Phrygia-Caria. The most telling of these refer to a certain Asclepiodotus and an *anonymus*. The former was honoured at Aphrodisias as "the most splendid consular, governor of Caria-Phrygia, proconsul and corrector of Asia": Ἡ πατρίς ... Τ(ίτου) Ὀππ(ιον) Αἰλιανὸν Ἀσκληπιόδοτον τὸν λαμπρότατον ὑπατικὸν ἡγεμόνα Καρίας καὶ Φρυγίας ἀνθύπατον καὶ ἐπανορθωτὴν Ἀσίας. Asclepiodotus seems to have been a local man who had risen from relatively humble origins as his name is rare in the inscriptions of Aphrodisias.⁹⁰ The dating of the inscription rests on the letter forms and Roueché believes that this inscription honouring Asclepiodotus was

⁸⁹ Roueché, "Aphrodisias in the Third Century", pp. 103-117.

⁹⁰ Roueché, "Aphrodisias in the Third Century", p. 108, no. 6.

engraved earlier than a dedication to the Tetrarchs, perhaps by several decades.⁹¹

The *anonymus* is referred to in inscriptions from Hierapolis and Laodicea and his name has been carefully erased from both documents. However, he is referred to as ἡγεμόνα Φρυγίας καὶ Καρίας in the inscription from Hierapolis as well as that from Laodicea. This term is strikingly similar to the one applied to Asclepiodotus.⁹²

It seems that the creation of the province of Phrygia-Caria was not undertaken by the emperor Diocletian but by his predecessors earlier in the third century. Senatorial governors are rare under Diocletian and the ones which are attested seem to have been active in provinces, notably Syria, which had already been governed by men of that rank before 284. As a result, Roueché believes that the presence of senatorial governors in Phrygia-Caria is easily explained if the creation of the province is attributed to one of Diocletian's predecessors. The explicitly attested governors of the province are Asclepiodotus and the *anonymus* whose inscriptions are far more appropriately dated to the mid-third century than to the period of the tetrarchy.⁹³

After these changes had taken place, the cities involved would have to refind their position within the Empire. This is true of Aphrodisias, from where much of the evidence for the creation of the new province was taken. This city later became the metropolis of the province of Caria even though it was not particularly suited to the role, either geographically or historically. It was not centrally located and had a long history of being a free city. The case would be different in the province of Phrygia and Caria where the city was more centrally situated and government officials are recorded as

⁹¹ Roueché, "Aphrodisias in the Third Century", p. 109.

⁹² Roueché, "Aphrodisias in the Third Century", p. 110.

⁹³ Roueché, "Aphrodisias in the Third Century", p. 111.

having made Aphrodisias a base for their duties. It is natural to suppose that once the city became the metropolis of the province of Caria, it would continue to be so in a smaller province created later.⁹⁴

This would not be the case before such a reorganization was completed and it is conceivable that the cities involved would be well aware of the uncertainty of their own position and status at this time. It is possible that the senate appeared on the coins of the Upper Maeander Valley during the third century to reinforce their belief in their status as part of the "senatorial" province of Asia and to reinforce the senate's role as one of the civic institutions. It also highlights the cities' anxiety concerning the status of the province itself. This is highlighted by the changing status of governors in neighbouring areas. In the mid-third century, Lycia-Pamphylia was brought under direct Imperial control but later it was governed by an equestrian *praeses*. This would serve to underline the senatorial status of the province of Asia, its governor and the cities within it including Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae.

While Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae placed the senate on their coins because they believed themselves to be part of a "senatorial" province and as a result counted the senate as one of their own institutions, the need to portray and use this type may have been strengthened by the uncertain situation surrounding the changes of the third century and the changing status of governors of the neighbouring provinces.

The uncertainty of this period of the Empire is perhaps also reflected in the inscriptions found on the "Archive Wall" of the city of Aphrodisias. The theatre of the city was built in the second half of the first century B.C. with work continuing into the reign of Augustus. A subsequent reorganization took place in the middle and

⁹⁴ Roueché, "Aphrodisias in the Third Century", p. 118.

second half of the second century A.D. when the orchestra and stage were remodelled to allow the exhibition of wild beast fights. After this, Republican and Imperial documents were reinscribed in the second and third centuries. These are invaluable in showing the relationship between the city of Aphrodisias and the Roman government, especially the emperors.⁹⁵

The Imperial documents seem to emphasize the privileges granted to the city and the fact that these were continually confirmed by successive rulers. The most importance of these privileges was the maintenance of the city's freedom.⁹⁶ It would appear that the city of Aphrodisias, in a period of political uncertainty such as would accompany a reorganization of the provinces, constantly reaffirmed its autonomy and its close relationship with the emperors of Rome.

This type of anxiety can also be seen in the Upper Maeander Valley. An interesting coin of Caracalla shows the turreted city goddess, Laodicea, enthroned to the left and holding on her extended right hand a statuette of Zeus Laodiceus and on her left arm a cornucopiae. Before her stands a female figure, "Phrygia", holding in her right hand two upright ears of corn and in her left a sceptre. Behind the throne stands another female figure, "Caria", holding a branch and a cornucopiae.⁹⁷ It has been suggested that this coin illustrates the geographical position of Laodicea as a Phrygian city near the borders of Caria.⁹⁸ However, it is also possible that the disturbed conditions surrounding the creation of the province of Phrygia-Caria in the middle of the third century prompted the city to issue this coin. If a new province was being

⁹⁵ See Reynolds, *A and R*, p. xv.

⁹⁶ Reynolds, *A and R*, pp. 107ff.

⁹⁷ See Catalogue A 143.

⁹⁸ Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 37.

created, competition would be prompted among the cities concerned to vie for various titles such as "metropolis" of the province. Laodicea may have been advertising its suitability for such a status by depicting its geographical relation to the areas concerned. A similar coin shows Zeus Laodiceus standing between the female personifications of Phrygia and Caria.⁹⁹

Such political uncertainty could even have been part of the reasoning behind a series of issues again mainly minted at Laodicea under Caracalla and Philip II even though the type is first known under Faustina Junior. They show on the reverse a boar and a wolf which were representations of the Lycus and Caprus rivers which marked the territory of the city. If a reorganization was going to take place, Laodicea may have been fearful for its land and depicted its claim to the territory bounded by these two rivers in pictorial form.¹⁰⁰

A problem connected with the use of the senate as a coin type for the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley and other cities in the province of Asia, is the question of why it does not seem to have been as common for cities in other "senatorial" provinces. A comparison is normally drawn between Asia and the province of Bithynia-Pontus. It has been remarked that the senate is a common type in Asia but that it does not appear in other "senatorial" provinces such as Bithynia-Pontus.¹⁰¹

Under the Augustan settlement of 27 B.C., Bithynia-Pontus, like Asia, became a non-Imperial province. However, unlike Asia, its status changed. Between A.D. 111 and 113, the emperor and the senate agreed to send Pliny to Bithynia as a *legatus Augusti consulari potestate*. He was followed by C. Julius Cornutus Tertullus, an Imperial *legatus*, while under Hadrian, C. Julius Severus was sent to

⁹⁹ See Catalogue A 144-145.

¹⁰⁰ See Catalogue A 80, 186-187; B 64, 82-83.

¹⁰¹ *RPC*, p. 41; Johnston, "Greek Imperials", pp. 91-92.

the province as an extraordinary commissioner. In 165 at the latest, the province was transferred to Imperial administration with a *legatus pro pretore* in charge.¹⁰² It is clear that the province of Bithynia-Pontus did not have an unbroken history of being a non-Imperial province and would see its governors as coming from both the senate, in the sense that its governors were still chosen in the old Republican manner, and the emperor and so, have no real compunction to place images of the senate on its coins.

The cities of the Upper Maeander Valley and the rest of Asia were not the only ones to place personifications of the senate on their coins. Axos and Cydonia, on the island of Crete, minted silver issues during the reign of Tiberius representing the senate with a bearded and veiled head.¹⁰³ These are the only examples of this type known from the island. Crete was annexed in 67 B.C. after its conquest by Q. Caecilius Metellus and was made into a Roman province with Cyrenaica which had come into Roman possession through the will of its last king in 96 B.C. Under Augustus, this union was restored after it had broken down during the civil wars at the end of the Republic. In c34 B.C., Antony, one of the protagonists, had given Cyrenaica along with Libya to Cleopatra Selene, his daughter by Cleopatra the queen of Egypt.¹⁰⁴ The senate did not proliferate as a type in Crete and Cyrenaica because its experience as a non-Imperial province was quite recent compared to that of the province of Asia.

Corinth, in the province of Achaëa, also produced some issues with the bust of what seems to be the senate. Coins dated to the reign of Galba show a veiled and diademed bust accompanied by the legend SENATV P Q R.¹⁰⁵ It seems

¹⁰² CAH, XI, p. 575.

¹⁰³ RPC, nos. 950, 951, 960.

¹⁰⁴ On this province see CAH, X, p. 80; CAH, XI, pp. 659-660 and p. 669 and RPC, p. 221.

¹⁰⁵ RPC, nos. 1210, 1214 and 1218.

though, that rather than depicting the senate *per se*, this representation, as suggested by the legend, is of the *Senatus Populusque Romanus*. Again, this province had no real motive to place the senate on its coins because, like Bithynia-Pontus, it did not have an unbroken history of being a non-Imperial province. In 27 B.C., Achaea was designated a "senatorial" province but in A.D. 15, it was combined with the Imperial province of Moesia by Tiberius. In A.D. 44, Claudius reverted it back to its original status while in 66 or 67, Nero declared the province free and immune from tribute. Under Vespasian, however, this freedom was revoked and Achaea once again became a "senatorial" province. From this, it does not seem surprising that the senate as type was not a common one in the cities of Achaea.

The widespread use of the personified Roman senate as a type on the coins of the cities of Asia, including those of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae, was perhaps due to the province's long and unbroken history of senatorial government. It was administered by proconsuls during the Imperial period as it had been in the Republic after the Pergamene kingdom had been willed to Rome in 133 B.C. by its last king.¹⁰⁶ Other so-called "senatorial" provinces did not have the same type of history. Both Bithynia-Pontus and Achaea were at different times Imperial and non-Imperial provinces while Crete and Cyrenaica only became a "senatorial" province relatively recently when compared to Asia. Therefore, none of these provinces felt the same need to place representations of the senate on their coins in the same way as Asia did.

Another problem regarding the use of the Roman senate as a coin type by the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley is why it took the form that it did. On the coins of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae, the senate is depicted as a young male bust but at Rome, the senate had a

¹⁰⁶ Johnston, "Greek Imperials", p. 91.

different image. Dio tells us that Trajan saw the senate as an old man wearing a purple bordered toga and a crown in a dream he had before he was made emperor.¹⁰⁷ The imagery of the senate on coins from the mint of Rome match this description. On a coin of Galba, the senate is depicted on the reverse as an elderly togate man. He is holding a branch in his left hand and placing a wreath on the emperor's head with his left.¹⁰⁸ On a coin of Vespasian, the senate is again shown as an elderly man wearing a toga, holding a branch in his left hand and placing a wreath on the emperor's head with his right.¹⁰⁹ On an exceptional five denarius piece, the senate is pictured togate supporting a globe with the emperor Trajan.¹¹⁰

Nor is the personification of the senate, as it appears on the coins of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae, based on representations of the *genius senatus*. This personification is also depicted in a very similar fashion to the senate as a togate male figure. For example, on coins of Antoninus Pius and Commodus, the *genius senatus* is shown as a male figure wearing a toga, holding a branch in his right hand and a short sceptre in his left.¹¹¹

This is surprising as the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley follow Roman models fairly closely. The coins of Colossae show a laureate bust of Septimius Severus, cuirassed and wearing a paludamentum.¹¹² There is a striking resemblance between the curled style of the emperor's hair and beard and also the armour he is wearing

¹⁰⁷ Dio, 68, 5; Talbert, *Senate of Imperial Rome*, p. 217.

¹⁰⁸ *BMCRE*, I, no. 260a.

¹⁰⁹ *BMCRE*, III, p. 113, pl. 20, 3.

¹¹⁰ *BMCRE*, IV, p.38, pl. 10, 4.

¹¹¹ *BMCRE*, IV, pp, 31-32, nos. 204-206; p. 200 nos. 1241-1246; p. 732, no.237; p. 814, no. 607; p. 822, no. 634A.

¹¹² See Catalogue G 20-21.

between the coins from Colossae and those from the mint of Rome. Exact dating is difficult because laureate heads and armoured busts are used as types throughout nearly the whole of Severus' reign along with bare-headed and unarmoured representations. The facial features of the emperor on the issues from Colossae are rather unique as the nose is slightly exaggerated and while the Roman coins are very similar, there are no exact matches. There is another way of broadly dating the image of Severus, which is to look at a specific feature of the emperor and that is his beard. There is a tendency for the beard of the emperor, as shown on coins from the mint of Rome, to get longer as the reign progresses until by the end, it is quite long and flowing. On the coin from Colossae it is short and so the models used for its own portrait of Severus came from the first part of his reign when the beard length on Roman coins was also quite short.

Caracalla, Septimius Severus' son, is shown laureate and either draped or armoured.¹¹³ Draped and armoured busts of Caracalla feature from the earliest time he was depicted on Roman coins, dated to 196-7 when he was Caesar. These examples are not laureate and the first examples of laureate busts date to 198. The coins from the mint of Rome, show Caracalla progressively getting older with time shown by the facial features and the appearance of slight and full beards. Beards become the norm on coins dated to c206. It is also around this time that laureate heads become more common as a coin type than draped and armoured busts. The coins from the mint of Rome show laureate and draped busts of Caracalla during different stages during his youth between the years c198-206. The coins of Colossae also depict younger and slightly older portraits of Caracalla. As with Severus, there are no exact matches regarding facial features but it is clear that, for Severus and Caracalla at least, Colossae attempted to follow Roman

¹¹³ See Catalogue G 22-24.

models closely and that they were models presumably picked up quickly and quite early in the reign of Septimius.

This was not the case with representations of the Roman senate as the imagery used on the coins of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley and those of Rome seem to be complete opposites. This can be viewed in a different way.

Greek cities of the Roman Empire had a long history of personifying their institutions. On a stele from the Athenian *agora*, dated to about 336 B.C., the *demos* is shown as being crowned by *demokratia*. The *demos* is shown as a bearded male figure, draped except for his chest and shoulder. On the right stands *demokratia* represented by a fully draped female figure holding a crown above the head of the personified *demos*.¹¹⁴ This has been connected to the political situation in Athens. Lycurgus, until his death in 324 B.C. was attempting to restore Athenian military power after the disastrous defeat at the hands of Philip of Macedon. Personifications such as these on contemporary stele show the city's mood at this time.¹¹⁵

The *demos* is again personified on a relief above a treaty between Athens and Corcyra, a city of Corfu. This is dated by the *archon* to 375/4 B.C. and shows the seated figure of the *demos* of Corcyra.¹¹⁶

Many personifications of the *boule* survive from antiquity. The earliest is perhaps an Athenian votive relief of the late fifth century B.C. It bears no name but the context suggests its identity. On a relief of not more than fifty years later, the name BOYAH is inscribed against a figure and there are several other uninscribed but mostly certain examples of around the same date.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, II, pl. 523.

¹¹⁵ Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, I, pp. 191 and 192. In Vol. II, pl. 523, the relief is associated with a law against tyranny.

¹¹⁶ Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, p. 13.

¹¹⁷ Ashmole, "A Lost Statue", pp. 195-196.

Reading through the vast corpus of Cicero's writings, there is no mention of a personified senate, neither in his various philosophical treatises nor in his letters. This late Republican figure talks of the characteristics of the senate, for example, Cicero calls the senate a wise, deliberative body (*sapiens enim est consilium*), but such characteristics are not taken one stage further and personified.¹¹⁸ If any sort of imagery concerning the Roman senate was in current usage during the Republican era, perhaps some reference to it would survive in the extant works of Cicero.

As there is no reference to the personification of the senate, the only conclusion is that it was not a done thing for the Romans to personify their institutions. As the Greeks have a longer habit of doing so, it seems that the Romans followed the Greek trend of representing their civic bodies in anthropomorphic forms. The problem of the different ways in which the senate was represented by the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley and Rome should not necessarily be seen only in terms of why Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae portrayed the Roman senate as a young man but also why the authorities at Rome should want to represent it as an old one.

It may be that the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley and Rome had different depictions of the senate because they perceived it in different ways. It seems that the cities of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae saw the Roman senate as still being a vital part both in the political lives of the cities as whole and also on an individual level. For the cities, the senate was still seen as administering the province of Asia even though it was a province of the Roman people. As far as the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley were concerned, the governors came with the authority of the senate and they were part of a "senatorial" province.

¹¹⁸ *De Oratore*, 2, 333, 8.

On an individual level, the Empire occupied a central place in the political aspirations of the citizens of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae, and of course, of the citizens of other cities in the province of Asia. Plutarch quite clearly saw the effects of Imperial rule upon the cities which made up the Empire. He tells us that the affairs of the city no longer include leadership in wars or the making of alliances and that the ambitions of the young men in the city are to be satisfied with lawsuits and embassies to the emperor.¹¹⁹ It is clear that the political role of the city and the individuals within them had changed. Some provincial citizens clearly did as Plutarch envisaged and went on embassies to the emperor. This was certainly the role of C. Terentius Longinus who had been a member of embassies to both Hadrian and Lucius Caesar.¹²⁰

The senate might also find itself the focus of provincial ambition in a similar way with citizens of the province becoming part of the senate's membership in increasing numbers as the Empire progressed.¹²¹ Membership of the senate or senatorial status was something to be advertised no matter how tenuous the link. A certain Lucius Sestius, a citizen of Laodicea, describes himself on an inscription as the father, uncle and brother of men of senatorial rank before listing his own magistracies.¹²² Clearly he thought his relationship to men of senatorial rank more important than his own offices as the latter were listed second.

Pride of relatives, such as Lucius Sestius, seems most intense and men and women are commonly found on inscriptions advertising their familial connections to

¹¹⁹ Plutarch, *Prae. Ger. Rei.*, 805, A-B and see above pp. 124-125 and 152.

¹²⁰ *IGRP*, IV, 862.

¹²¹ Talbert, *Senate of Imperial Rome*, p. 31.

¹²² *IGRP*, IV, 858.

senators and people of senatorial rank. For example, at Cibyra, a certain Claudia is recorded on an inscription as being the daughter, sister, wife and mother of men of senatorial rank.¹²³ Also from Cibyra in Asia, an honorary inscription shows that the *boule* and the *demos* honoured a man who was the son of consular parents.¹²⁴

Naturally persons who had attained to such ranks were also keen to advertise their status. A statue base from Ephesus records: Τ Φλ Δολλιανὸν Ἀριστόβουλον συγκλητικὸν.¹²⁵ The same city also honoured P. Vedius Papianos Antonius συγκλητικός.¹²⁶ At Pergamum, an inscription reads Γ Ἰούλιος Νάβος συγκλητικός.¹²⁷

From the inscriptional evidence, it seems that provincial citizens from the East were eager to take up senatorial positions and statuses and that this continued to be the focus of the ambitions of Greeks of suitable background, wealth and education whatever the political reality at Rome.¹²⁸

Other parts of the Empire, namely those in the West, did not have either the same intense desire to obtain membership of the senate or senatorial rank or to advertise such statuses once they had been attained.¹²⁹ Inscriptions comparable to those found in the East are known in the West. At Hispalis, in Baetica, during the Antonine period a certain Fabia is referred to as the daughter of a consular and the wife, sister and mother of senators: *Fabiae Q. f. H[adriani]lae consularis [f. senatoris uxori]*

¹²³ *IGRP*, IV, 910.

¹²⁴ *IGRP*, IV, 911.

¹²⁵ *BE*, 90, 1977, no.421.

¹²⁶ *BE*, 72, 1959, no. 381.

¹²⁷ *BE*, 84, 1971, no. 547.

¹²⁸ Talbert, *Senate of Imperial Rome*, p. 94.

¹²⁹ Talbert, *Senate of Imperial Rome*, p. 95.

*senatoris soror senatoris matri.*¹³⁰

A second century inscription found in Italy records Sosia Falconilla's relationship with three generations of consulars: *Sosaiae Falconillae, Q. Pompei Sosi Prisci cos. fil., Q. Pompei Falconis cos. nep., Q. Sosi Senecionis cos. II pro.*¹³¹

Even though senators are known from the West, relevant examples concerning their senatorial status are few and seldom reach the flamboyance of the East. It seems that western senators and their relatives did not have the same desire to advertise their position as their eastern counterparts. However, in the East, leading citizens were eager to pursue a senatorial career and the Roman senate "came to stand as a symbol and an inspiration in a manner hardly to be expected when the scope and nature of its authority in affairs were really much reduced."¹³² It is because the senate still played a vital role in the political lives of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley and their citizens, and indeed for other cities of Asia and their inhabitants, that the senate was given a different image to the one used at Rome and certainly its personification as a young man would indicate the vitality the cities of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae attributed to it.

The mint at Rome could definitely not attribute the same sort of characterization to the Roman senate. With the advent of Imperial rule, it was inevitable that the emperor would come to absorb the roles and duties previously belonging to the senate. For example, in the third edict of Cyrene, Augustus refers to provincial inhabitants who had been given the Roman citizenship and immunity from taxation by *lex, senatus consultum*, or the

¹³⁰ *CIL*, 11, 1174, ll. 1-3; Talbert, *Senate of Imperial Rome*, p. 95.

¹³¹ *ILS* 1105; Talbert, *Senate of Imperial Rome*, p. 95.

¹³² Talbert, *Senate of Imperial Rome*, p. 98.

decretum of Julius Caesar or by Augustus himself. However, over the next two centuries, the granting of Roman citizenship become one of the most common acts of Imperial benefaction and there is no evidence that such grants were conferred by other persons or by the civic institutions of the Empire.¹³³

The law-making role of the senate was also taken over by the emperor. Aphrodisias in Caria had been given particular privileges, including freedom and immunity from taxation, by Julius Caesar, Octavian and Antonius and this grant was confirmed a *senatus consultum* passed in 39 B.C. Hadrian, in 119/20 A.D., writes in response to an embassy, without further reference to the senate, to confirm the privileges granted by the senate and previous emperors. In 250, Decius and Herennius, again replying to an embassy from Aphrodisias, state that they confirm all the privileges granted by emperors before them.¹³⁴

As Millar concludes, as far as the evidence allows, *senatus consulta* embodying legislation, embassies to the senate as well as decisions made by the senate on the affairs of provincial communities came to an end in the second half of the second or the first half of the third century.¹³⁵

In the light of this, it would be surprising if Roman coins embodied the political and authoritative vitality of the senate considering that its position within the Empire was slowly being eroded by the presence of the emperor. However, from the most ancient times, the senate was an institution which had been an integral part of the *res publica*.¹³⁶ This fact could hardly be ignored. As a

¹³³ Millar, *ERW*, pp. 344-345.

¹³⁴ Millar, *ERW*, pp. 342-343; Reynolds, *A and R*, docs. 8, 15 and 25, pp. 54-92, 115-118, 140-148 respectively.

¹³⁵ Millar, *ERW*, p. 350.

¹³⁶ Talbert, *Senate of Imperial Rome*, p. 80.

result, on the rare occasions when the senate did make its appearance as a Roman coin type, different characteristics were appealed to by the mint of Rome than by the cities of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae.

On Roman coins, stress seems to have been placed on the senate's role concerning the stability and the continuity of the state.¹³⁷ On a coin of Trajan, showing on the obverse the laureate head of the emperor, the reverse depicts both the senate and the emperor togate supporting a globe between them. This type is interpreted as showing the senate admitting the emperor to a share in the government of the Empire, symbolised by the supporting of the globe.¹³⁸ The senate is portrayed on Roman coins as entrusting the Empire to different emperors.¹³⁹ Certainly, the form of an old man would best convey the senate's antiquity, wisdom and its role in the stability and continuity of the *res publica*.

This is also confirmed by sculpture. A statue found during the excavations of the so-called "Temple of Diana" in Merida, Spain, depicts a bearded male figure wearing a toga and also possibly the distinctive senatorial sandals. It has been plausibly identified as the *genius senatus* which symbolises and embodies the age and wisdom with which the senate was popularly connected.¹⁴⁰

The Roman senate is personified in vastly different forms on the coins of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley and on those of Rome. On the issues of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae it is a young man while at Rome, it is depicted as an aged one. It appears that the Asian cities and Rome were appealing to different aspects of the senate because they formed different conceptions of it.

¹³⁷ Talbert, *Senate of Imperial Rome*, p. 82.

¹³⁸ *BMCRE*, III, p. 38 and p. lxxvii.

¹³⁹ Talbert, *Senate of Imperial Rome*, p. 82.

¹⁴⁰ Talbert, *Senate of Imperial Rome*, pp. 100-101.

For Laodicea, Hierapolis Colossae and the other cities in Asia, the senate still held an important position in the province. It was viewed as still being the focus of the political ambitions of the provincial inhabitants and seen as the source of authority for the governors who served in Asia, hence its personification as a youthful bust. Such a view of the senate could not be held at Rome because of the diminishing authority of the senate due to the presence of the emperor. The history of the senate and its past importance could not be ignored and its role in ensuring the continuity and stability of the state was referred to, leading to a totally different personification than the one seen in Asia.

The two main problems concerning the choice of the personified senate as a coin type for the cities of the province of Asia, including the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley are why it was used in the first place and why it took the form that it did. It was placed on the coins of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae because these cities thought of themselves as being part of a "senatorial" province and as a result counted the senate as one of their own civic institutions even though in strict constitutional terms the division of the Empire was between the emperor and the Roman people. It also highlights these cities' anxiety, and of others in Asia, regarding their own status and that of the province in a period of political uncertainty and transformation. It took the form that it did because the senate still played a vital role in the political life of the cities and their inhabitants. It contrasts with the way the authorities at Rome pictured the senate because they were appealing to different aspects of the Roman senate. As a result, the personification of the Roman senate not only shows the way the cities in the Upper Maeander Valley and their citizens perceived their place and ambitions within the Empire, it also highlights the different ways in which the senate of Rome was viewed, firstly by the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley and in

total contrast, by the Romans themselves.

CHAPTER EIGHT: ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ

Closely connected to the type of the senate is that of the goddess Roma. In fact, so close is this connection that the two appeared as the obverse and reverse types on the same coins in some cities such as Pergamum.¹ Like the depictions of ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΑΗΤΟΣ, those of Roma could reasonably be supposed to express the ways in which cities in the Greek East, including those of the Upper Maeander Valley, viewed aspects of Roman Imperial rule. As with the type of the senate, representations of Roma also pose certain, but radically different, problems. Firstly, the identity of the goddess is not always certain and she can be confused with other warlike female deities, such as Athena. Secondly, it has to be determined more precisely what her appearance on the coins of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley, and other cities of the Greek East, signified.

The main problem surrounding the identification of the goddess Roma is that she is easily confused with the Greek Athena. Such a confusion has been seen with regards to the Gemma Augustea and Mellor believes that here Roma is modelled on the type of Athena Nicephorus.² On this cameo, the goddess is seated next to Augustus who has taken on the guise of Jupiter. The emperor is draped from the waist down and holds an augur's staff instead of the thunderbolt and an eagle stands beneath his chair. Although enthroned beside Roma, he is actually looking at Tiberius who is stepping down from a chariot driven by Victoria. Augustus holds a *lituus* in his right hand which shows that Tiberius' victory was won under his auspices. Germanicus stands next to Roma. Italia sits on the ground beside Augustus' throne and wears the *bullae* around her neck which is the token of a freeborn youth. She holds a cornucopia in her left hand and is surrounded by children. Behind her are two figures,

¹ *BMC Mysia*, pp. 134f, nos. 205-221. Roma: Plate 1, 2;
Athena: Plate 1, 3.
² Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ*, p. 164.

one male and the other female. The former is Oceanus and the latter is Oikoumene, who is crowning Augustus. Below this whole group is another scene containing more figures representing armies, troops and barbarians.³

However, the most significant thing about this cameo are the Imperial themes it contains rather than the supposed model for Roma. For example, Zanker believes that Tiberius and Germanicus are "emissaries of the universal ruler; his invincibility is transferred to them like a discreet entity. This is why Roma looks admiringly at Augustus and not the actual victors. Victory is as predictable as the movement of the stars through the heavens". The representation of the troops and barbarians signify Tiberius' victory over the Illyrians and his future defeats over the Germanic tribes. The inclusion of Oikoumene and the personification of troops in provincial costumes show that political imagery not only extended to Rome but now reached across the Empire.⁴

On some civic issues, the types of Roma and Athena are clearly distinguishable, such as is the case for the coins of Pergamum. Helmeted goddesses had been appearing on the coins of this city from the end of the fourth century B.C. until the end of the Attalid dynasty. On gold and silver coins dated to 310-283 B.C., female heads wearing crested helmets and facing both to the left and to the right are used as an obverse type. This obverse type also appears on the bronze coins produced under Philetarus, who was a governor of Seleucus Nicator, Eumenes I, who ruled between 263 and 241, and Attalus I, whose reign dates from 241 to 197.⁵ Furthermore, the helmeted female head is used as an obverse type on the bronze issues of Eumenes II, king from

³ On this cameo see Zanker, *The Power of Images*, pp. 230-232; Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Romans*, p. 104, no. 501.

⁴ Zanker, *The Power of Images*, pp. 231-232.

⁵ *BMC Mysia*, p. 110, no. 4; p. 111, nos. 11-16; p. 112, nos. 17-21, 25 and 24; p. 119, nos. 54-59; p. 120, nos. 60-62.

197-159, and Attalus II, who ruled from 159-138.⁶

A helmeted female figure also appears as a reverse type. On coins dated from 281 B.C. until the reign of Attalus II, a female figure in a crested helmet and wearing a chiton and peplos is depicted seated to the left.⁷ These heads and seated figures can be securely identified as Athena because all predate 133 B.C., when the kingdom of Attalus was bequeathed to the Roman people, and 129, the year in which the revolt of Aristonicus was suppressed. It was about this time that the cult of Roma was established in the former Attalid possessions. The city of Pergamum was still under Attalid control before this period and it would not be likely that the city would even have a cult of Roma or portray her on their coins.⁸

Athena also appears on issues of the Imperial period wearing a helmet and standing left with a patera, shield and spear. There is no confusion with Roma because she and Roma have different iconographies. On the coins with the obverse type of the Senate, Roma appears in the guise of a turreted and draped bust facing to the right with the legend ΘΕΑΝ ΡΩΜΗΝ. On a coin of Vespasian on which the proconsul of c.A.D. 77 is named, Roma is again depicted as a turreted and draped bust facing to the right with the same legend.⁹ The only possible confusion concerns the types of helmeted heads and busts which appear on bronze coins minted from 133 B.C. to the reign of Augustus. It was during this time that the cult of Roma was established and portrayals of this goddess are to be expected. However, considering the long history of the use of a

⁶ *BMC Mysia*, p. 120, nos. 63 and 64; p. 121, nos. 70-77; p. 122, nos. 78-83.

⁷ *BMC Mysia*, p. 114, nos. 27-29; p. 115, nos. 30-34; p. 116, nos. 35-37; p. 117, nos. 39-46; p. 118, nos. 48-53.

⁸ See Le Glay, "Le culte de Rome et de Salus", pp. 49-50; Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ*, p. 57 and pp. 77-78.

⁹ *BMC Mysia*, pp. 134f., nos. 205-221.

warlike bust to depict Athena as a coin type and given the turreted iconography of Roma during the Imperial period, it seems that these types are to be identified as Athena as well and not Roma.¹⁰

On other issues from cities in the Greek East, including those of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley, however, there is a very real problem over the identity of various warlike goddesses, as the type of the helmeted Roma and the helmeted Athena can be confused and without an explicit legend, it is hard to establish the identity of these deities with certainty. This has been pointed out by Fayer who has studied some of the issues depicting Roma. However, she has limited her work to coins on which the goddess can easily be identified by the legends ΡΩΜΗ or ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ.¹¹

Following Fayer, one possible solution to the problem is to look at the legends of certain issues and to see which ones identify Roma. There are drawbacks to this method though. Not all deities are identified by a legend and when they are, it may not involve consistent labelling. For example, a coin of Lucius Aelius Caesar minted at Laodicea shows on the reverse a male god standing to the left with his right hand extended over the head of a goat which stands at his feet. The legend reads ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΑΣΕΙΣ and so identifies the deity as Zeus Aseis. On a coin of Otacilia Severa, the same group is portrayed on the reverse with the addition of a child. There is no legend mentioning the name of the male figure but he can still be identified as Zeus Aseis because of the presence of the goat.¹²

A similar thing can be seen on the coins of Hierapolis. One of the obverse types of this city was a draped male bust with a lyre. The legend, ΑΡΧΗΓΕΤΗΣ,

¹⁰ *BMC Mysia*, pp. 127 ff. and nos. 129 ff.

¹¹ Fayer, "Monete greche", pp. 273-288 and esp. p. 279.

¹² See Catalogue A 59 cf. A 181.

identified the bust as Apollo Archegetes. Some coins show a similar bust without the legend. However, a secure identification can be made if a lyre is also depicted.¹³

As can be seen, attributes as well as legends can be used to identify the types used on particular issues of coins. As with legends, there are drawbacks as attributes can be borrowed between deities. For example, Tyche-Pantheia is shown on the reverse of a coin bearing the portrait of Caracalla on the obverse. She is shown holding a rudder, two ears of corn and a cornucopiae. At her feet rests a wheel which is an attribute of Nemesis. On a coin of Julia Domna, for example, Nemesis is shown holding a cubit rule and plucking her chiton. At her feet is her wheel.¹⁴

These examples highlight the problems surrounding the types of Roma and Athena. Roma is not consistently labelled and it would be too simplistic to confine her types to labelled issues especially as other deities, such as Zeus Aseis and Apollo Archegetes, are not always referred to in the legends of the coins on which they appear. Also, the attributes of both Roma and Athena are remarkably similar as both are portrayed with helmets and armour. Despite these facts, it is possible to attempt to define which issues were meant to portray Roma and which ones depicted Athena.

On the coins of Colossae, identification is a little easier than for Laodicea and Hierapolis. Neither Roma nor Athena has a long history of use on the coins of this city. Athena appears on a coin of Hadrian. She is shown on the reverse standing left with an owl to her left and a shield on the ground. The Greek goddess is again depicted in the same way on the reverse of a coin of Marcus Aurelius. No reverse types at Colossae depict Roma. A coin, dated to

¹³ See Catalogue E 11 cf. E 15.

¹⁴ For both these types, see Catalogue A 135 cf. A 105.

the time of Antoninus Pius, has as its obverse a female bust wearing an aegis and a Corinthian helmet. This could plausibly be identified as Roma but seeing as Athena, and not Roma, is known as a reverse type used by the city, this type of a helmeted head would be more logically identified as the former and not the latter.¹⁵ For Colossae at least, Athena appears as an obverse and reverse type but Roma probably does not.

Athena can also be definitely identified on some issues produced by Laodicea which show her in association with other deities. On the coins of Domitian and Domitia, Hera is shown fully draped and holding a sceptre and a pomegranate standing before Zeus Laodiceus who holds an eagle and sceptre. With them stands a helmeted female figure standing left and holding a shield and spear with an olive branch. She has to be identified as Athena because she, and not Roma, would complete the trio of Zeus, Hera and Athena which represents a Greek version of the Capitoline triad of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva revered at Rome. The same group appears on a coin of Faustina Junior.¹⁶

A coin of Matidia shows a helmeted female figure standing left and holding an olive branch in her lowered right hand and a shield and a spear in her left. Again, this can be identified as Athena because she appears with the same attributes which she has when she is pictured with Hera and Zeus. The same can perhaps be said of a similar figure which appears on the reverse of a coin which shows the draped bust of the Senate on the obverse.¹⁷

On another issue minted under Hadrian, Zeus, Hera and Athena are again portrayed but this time Athena is pictured as holding a shield and a spear only and no olive branch.

¹⁵ See Catalogue G 3 and 10 and H 10.

¹⁶ See Chapter Six for this type and Catalogue A 35 and 79.

¹⁷ See Catalogue A 45 and 51.

A female figure, which appears on a coin bearing Zeus Aseis on the obverse also holds a shield and a spear and again can plausibly be identified as Athena because of her similarity with the Athena which appears as a part of the Hadrianic triad. A coin attributed to Sabina, the wife of Hadrian, also shows Athena as a member of the same triad.¹⁸

A coin minted during the reign of Commodus shows the draped bust of his empress on the obverse while on the reverse is a depiction of a standing female figure holding a shield and a sceptre in her left hand. She is to be identified as Athena because she is also holding an owl in her right hand. Another coin, this time with the *boule* on the obverse, and dated to the second or third century A.D., also shows a similar figure on the reverse and she is also identified as the Greek goddess because of the presence of an owl.

Athena can also be securely identified on certain issues produced at Hierapolis, especially ones where she is connected with Hermes. The two deities had a long association going back to the Trojan War, where they supported the same side. On many pieces of archaic art dating to the sixth century B.C., the two Greek deities are pictured near or next to each other. For example, on one piece which depicts various gods and goddesses at the apotheosis of Heracles, Athena is pictured presenting Hermes with a lotus flower.¹⁹

On an issue of Trajan, she appears on the reverse, helmeted and holding a spear and a shield, standing before Hermes who is naked apart from a chlamys and who holds a purse and caduceus. This is a recurring type and is also used on coins issued during the reign of Elagabalus. The

¹⁸ See Catalogue A 50, 53 and 92.

¹⁹ See *LIMC*, II, 1, p. 996, no. 445. See also p. 992, nos. 406-407; p. 994, no. 428; p. 996, nos. 446, 447, 449 and 451.

two divinities are sometimes joined by a third, a river god. For example, on the reverse of a coin of Marcus Aurelius, a river god, holding a poppy, reclines and leans on an overturned vase between the standing figures of Athena and Hermes. The deities appear on coins with non-Imperial obverses and so are to be seen on an issue with a senate obverse.²⁰

Certainly, Athena can also be identified on coins with either a Hermes reverse or obverse. A helmeted female bust is the obverse type of a coin showing the reverse type of Hermes naked to the front and holding a chlamys, purse and caduceus. This has to be Athena. Given that she appears with Hermes on the reverses of certain coins, it is only natural that she should form the obverse if he is shown on the reverse.²¹

This is so if Hermes appears on the obverse. A coin showing a draped bust of Hermes with a caduceus has on the reverse a portrait of Athena Promachus who is holding a shield and a spear and walking to the right. An issue showing the obverse type of the bust of Heracles with a club and a lion's skin knotted around his neck, depicts on the obverse a helmeted female figure wielding a thunderbolt or a spear who is also holding a shield and walking to the right. This is similar to the figure shown on the coin with the Hermes obverse and may also be identified as Athena.²²

Another coin of Trajan shows Athena helmeted and standing to the left. She holds a phiale in her right hand and rests her left on a shield while behind her is an upright spear. She is securely identified by an owl at her feet. Standing female figures on coins with senate obverses are also shown holding phiales but they have no owls but still may be identified as Athena. The same

²⁰ See Catalogue D 55, 96 and 68; E 30.

²¹ See Catalogue E 57 for example.

²² See Catalogue E 95 and 73.

identification may be made of the female deity shown on a coin dating to the reign of Marcus Aurelius minted at Laodicea.²³

On one of the coins of Elagabalus showing Athena with Hermes, the goddess is shown holding a statuette of Nike. This may mean that coins of Hadrian and Trajan showing a helmeted female figure with a shield and spear and holding a statuette of Nike may also be the Greek goddess, especially as Nike was one of her traditional attributes. The Phidian type of Athena Nicephorus was one which was well known.²⁴

Roma can also be securely identified on the coins of Laodicea and Hierapolis. At Laodicea, coins dated to the second and third centuries show on the obverses the helmeted and cuirassed busts of a female. These are identified by the legend ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ.²⁵ This allows the identification of similar first century busts. The labelled busts of Roma do not wear the aegis, so those female busts without the aegis which appear as obverses on coins dated to the reign of Domitian and the late first century can be identified as Roma. The busts dating to the reigns of Titus and Domitian and wearing the aegis can be identified as Athena.²⁶ The appearance of Athena during the reign of Domitian can be seen in the sense of Minerva, his patron goddess, and would show that the provincial cities were aware of the religious preferences of the emperor.²⁷ Similarly at Hierapolis, helmeted female busts wearing the aegis can also be identified as Athena for the

²³ See Catalogue D 53; E 32 and 110; A 75.

²⁴ See Catalogue D 97, 59 and 54.

²⁵ See Catalogue B 75 and 76.

²⁶ See Catalogue B 20, 18 and 19.

²⁷ *RPC* II, p. 26.

same reasons.²⁸

Roma can also be identified by a legend on an issue from Hierapolis. It shows Roma seated to the left on a cuirass and shield holding Nike on her extended right hand and a dagger in her left hand.²⁹ These resemble the coins the city minted during the second and first centuries B.C. which show a female figure wearing a long chiton and peplos seated to the left on three shields. She holds Nike Stephanephorus on her extended right hand and rests her left arm on a sceptre.³⁰ This type has been identified as Roma Nicephorus sitting on a pile of shields.³¹

Similar seated female figures are found on the coins of Laodicea. These appear during the time of Julia Domna, Annia Faustina, Julia Maesa and Otacilia Severa. It is because of their similarity with the coins of Hierapolis that they can be identified as Roma.³²

As can be seen, it is on the whole possible to distinguish between the types of Roma and Athena. It seems that two different iconographies were used, because while both goddesses can appear as helmeted busts, Roma was usually depicted as a seated female figure and Athena as a standing one. It seems then, if legends and attributes did not distinguish between types, attitudes did. It may be that the similarity of design between Roma and Athena was an intentional one. The Greeks living in the Upper Maeander Valley would be reminded of Athena and the Romans would recall Roma and it may have been a way of honouring the two together as has been suggested for Athenian silver

²⁸ See Catalogue E 55-58.

²⁹ See Catalogue E 15.

³⁰ *BMC Phrygia*, p. 228, nos 1-3.

³¹ Robert, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 69.

³² See Catalogue B 106-7, 168, 172 and 180.

coinage.³³

The other problem concerning Roma as a coin type is the reason why she was depicted on the issues of the Upper Maeander Valley in the first place. There is no doubt that the cult of the goddess Roma had its heyday during the Republican period when the power of Rome spread out from Italy to Greece and Asia Minor. In fact, the beginnings of the cult have been seen in the circumstances which overtook Smyrna at the beginning of the second century B.C. By this time, the city was in a difficult position after it, and other cities including Lampsacus, had sworn allegiance to Attalus I of Pergamum thirty years earlier. Antiochus III had been prevented from exercising his hereditary rights over these cities because Seleucid power was waning in western Asia Minor as a result of dynastic rebellions and his involvement in eastern wars. In 197, he came to the city of Ephesus after his Egyptian successes and demanded the allegiance which had been promised. Most of the cities concerned, not surprisingly, submitted to these claims. However, two, Smyrna and Lampsacus, refused to recognise Antiochus' demands at the instigation of Eumenes and the former was forced to invest the cities which had appealed to Rome.

Lampsacus based its appeal on kinship, as Rome was taken to have been founded by nearby Troy. Smyrna could not lay claims to such connections of kinship and so had to invent another plausible reason by which it could link itself to Rome. The Smyrnaeans did this by deifying the city of Rome as θεὸν Ῥώμην.³⁴

The temple erected to Roma as a result of these events is mentioned by Tacitus when recounting the events of A.D. 26 when the *koinon* of Asia decreed a temple to Tiberius, Livia and the Senate and envoys from eleven cities,

³³ See Thompson, "New Style Silver Coinage", pp. 359f, nos. 1110f and Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ*, pp. 147-148 and p. 163.

³⁴ Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ*, p. 15; Fayer, *Il culto*, pp. 31-32.

including Smyrna, went to Rome to argue their cases for the privilege of building it. He says *se primos templum urbis Romae statuisset, M Porcio consule, magnis quidem iam populi Roman rebus, nondum tamen ad summum elatis, stante adhuc Punica urbe et validis per Asiam regibus*.³⁵ The temple is dated to 195 by consular dating.³⁶

This new cult, it seems, did not force Rome to give an immediate response to the predicament Smyrna found itself in as Seleucid control of the Greek cities in Asia was tolerated as long as Antiochus withdrew from his European bases in Thrace. War did eventually break out between Rome and the eastern monarch and at the peace conference of Apamea in 188 B.C. both Smyrna and Lampsacus were freed. As Mellor has pointed out, these grants of freedom were probably due more to Roman *Realpolitik* than to the cult and temple of Roma but this new divinity was witness to Smyrna's liberation and triumph and as a consequence her worship flourished elsewhere.³⁷

The development and the progress of the cult of Roma has received a fair amount of attention and the consensus is that the worship of the goddess spread out from Smyrna throughout Asia and Greece. From the east, the cult gradually moved west and was only established at Rome during the second century A.D when the emperor Hadrian built a temple to Venus and Roma situated on the Velia. Brick stamps from the temple date to 123-124 while numismatic evidence shows that it was dedicated near the end of Hadrian's reign. It was rebuilt in A.D. 307 after it was destroyed by fire. Venus, of course, was of long standing importance to the Romans as she was connected not only to the origins of the Roman race but also the Imperial house. Important political figures of the late Republic, Sulla, Pompey and Julius Caesar, cultivated personal cults

³⁵ Tacitus, *Ann.*, 4, 56.

³⁶ See Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ*, p. 15.

³⁷ Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ*, p. 16.

to the goddess, while Augustus and his successors could claim to trace their ancestry to her through Aeneas. The coins of Hadrian show that his preoccupation seems to have been with Roma rather than with Venus and the latter's role seems to have been forgotten when later fourth century writers referred to *templum urbis*, *templum Romae* or *fanum urbis*.³⁸

However, this view on the development of the cult of Roma has been challenged. For Mellor, the first cult of Roma was established at Smyrna which was the first city to build a temple to the city of Rome.³⁹ However, Jones points out that Mellor's own qualifications on this bring his own hypothesis into question. For example, Mellor allows for the possibility that the idea of the goddess may have been circulating before 195 B.C. and that she may have been the object of dedications and sacrifices. For example, he says: "I continue on the assumption that the Smyrneans were the first to establish a cult to Roma, though the idea of the goddess Roma may well have been circulating in the East by the late third century".⁴⁰

The crux of Jones' argument against Mellor are some didrachms minted in Magna Graeca. Mellor says that the first deification of Roma occurs on coins produced at Locri Epizephyrii which show a female figure wearing a long chiton seated to the right on a chair or a throne. She rests her right arm on a shield which leans against her seat. In front of her, stands another female figure also wearing a long chiton. Behind the seated figure is the legend ΡΩΜΗ while behind the other is ΠΙΣΤΙΣ and in the exergue is ΑΟΚΡΩΝ. The coins depict the coronation of

³⁸ See Fayer, *Il culto*; Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ*; Mellor, "The Goddess Roma", pp. 952-1028, esp. 1021-1023 on the temple of Venus and Roma.

³⁹ See above pp. 230-231.

⁴⁰ Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ*, p. 16, n. 19 cf. p. 45, n. 106 and p. 109; Jones, *Phoenix*, 31, 1977, p. 78.

Roma by Fides.⁴¹

Mellor dates this issue to 204 B.C. and the aftermath of the First Punic War but it seems that from Mommsen down to Crawford, the weight of opinion favours a date c270.⁴² During the Pyrrhic War, Locri struck tetradrachms of Attic weight for Pyrrhus and after this issue, the last of the city's own silver issues, didrachms of a reduced weight standard with Pistis crowning Roma as a reverse type were produced. Only Tarentum produced silver coinage after the war, first as an ally of Rome during the First Punic War and again, in the course of her revolt from Rome, during the second Punic War.⁴³ It was not Locri which produced coins, let alone those depicting Roma, during the First Punic War.

Jones believes that these coins do not prove that Locri already had a cult of Roma but he would not be surprised if this cult had originated in cities of Magna Graeca or Sicily, archaeologically much less well known than those of Greece itself or Asia Minor and that the worship of Roma, like the worship of benefactors, is indigenously Greek, and not an Asian importation. Jones thinks it is more logical to believe that the cult of Roma grew as Rome's expanding power brought the city into contact with the cities of the west first, then Greece and lastly with the communities of Asia Minor.⁴⁴

Following this argument, there is no conflict with Tacitus who does not say that Smyrna had been the first city to establish a cult to Roma. The ancient historian says that the Smyrnaeans were the first to build a temple to the new goddess. Temples were the most expensive

⁴¹ *BMC Italy*, p. 365, no. 15; Fayer, "Monete greche", p. 275.

⁴² Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ*, p. 109; Jones, *Phoenix*, 31, 1977, p. 78.

⁴³ Crawford, *CMRR*, p. 33 and fig. 8.

⁴⁴ Jones, *Phoenix*, 31, 1977, pp. 78-79.

expression of cult worship and therefore often the last.⁴⁵

However, the most important factor, which seems to have been overlooked by Jones, is the very Greek nature of the beginnings of the cult of Roma. He differentiates between the Greek cities in Italy and those in Asia and argues against an "Asian" origin for the cult. It must be said though that neither the Greek character of Smyrna nor the part the city played in the development of the worship of Roma can be doubted.⁴⁶

The political nature of the cult has always been remarked upon. Regarding Asia itself, Adriani pointed out that the cult of Roma was established at a time when Roman policy began to increasingly turn to the East.⁴⁷ This has also been said by Fayer who also says that the cult not only had a religious significance but also a political one.⁴⁸

The development of the cult of the goddess Roma in Asia and Greece has been linked to significant episodes in the history of the relationship between Rome and the Greek East. One event which not only consolidated Roman influence in Asia Minor but also seems to have led to a great increase in the diffusion of the cult of Roma in the East was the defeat of Antiochus II by Roman forces in the Battle of Magnesia and the subsequent peace of Apamea in 188 B.C. After the defeat of the Eastern king, the cities of Asia sent ambassadors to the Roman authorities to plead their various causes and assure more favourable treatment depending on their actions during the war itself. It was also the best time to announce the institution of a cult of

⁴⁵ Jones, *Phoenix*, 31, 1977, p. 79.

⁴⁶ The use of personifications was usual for the Greeks. On this see above p. 211. For another possible early reference to Rome, see Derow and Forrest, "An Inscription from Chios", pp 79-91.

⁴⁷ "Dea Roma", p. 382.

⁴⁸ Fayer, "Monete greche", pp. 273-274.

Roma in the cities concerned.⁴⁹

The defeat of the Macedonian king in 168 B.C. also saw the establishment of cults of Roma due to the liberation of cities once under Rhodian control. Stratonicea was an early Seleucid colony and the Rhodians had regarded it as their special possession. Envoys from the island told the Senate in 167 B.C. that the city had been given to them by Antiochus and Seleucus. Stratonicea remained under Rhodian control during and after the war with Antiochus III until it was freed by a senatorial decree in 167. Mellor believes that there was no reason to institute a cult of Roma in the city before that time. By the middle of the second century, Stratonicea was staging musical competitions in honour of the goddess.⁵⁰

However, it would be too simplistic to speak of the cult in purely political terms even though it is clear from these few examples that the cult of Roma was established in Greek and Asiatic cities to deal with the growing influence of Rome in these areas. The cult of Roma formed an important part of the religious lives of the cities in which it was found even though it also served the political purpose of formalising a relationship with Rome. The same can be seen in the case of the Imperial cult. The cult allowed the cities in the Greek East to express their feelings towards a more powerful entity, namely the emperor, while also constituting a major factor in the religious activities of the same cities.⁵¹

Phrygia, too, had its cults of Roma and the evidence points to priesthoods and some dedications. However, it is sparse and it seems that the cult did not penetrate the highlands until the end of the Republic. At Apamea, a priest of Roma, who was also *grammateus*, was honoured by

⁴⁹ See Fayer, *Il culto*, p. 37.

⁵⁰ Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ*, pp. 48-49.

⁵¹ On the Imperial cult in general, see Price, *Rituals and Power*.

the city and the Romans resident there: ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτείμησαν Μύταν Διοκλέους ἱερεῖα Ῥώμης καὶ γραμματεῖα δῆμου γυμνασιαρχήσαντα καλῶς καὶ φιλοδόξως.⁵² Ramsay has argued that as the Roman calendar was put up in the city, the temple of Roma was the most appropriate home for such a text.⁵³ Neither the priesthood of Roma nor the Roman calendar implies a temple specifically dedicated to the goddess. A priest need not serve at a temple and could just as easily perform his functions at an altar dedicated to Roma which might have been set up in the *temenos* of another deity. There is then no specific evidence for a temple of Roma at Apamea.⁵⁴

At Eumeneia, Epigonus Philopatris was honoured by the *demos* in a dedicatory inscription erected by the city. He too was a priest of Roma.⁵⁵ This inscription is dated to the reign of Augustus since coins were minted at that time bearing the same name.⁵⁶

A copy of the *Res Gestae* was set up at Apollonia but the city was also noted for its cult of Roma. Two priests are known from this city. They were Olympichus and Demetrius, father and son. Olympichus was part of an embassy sent to Germanicus when the latter was in the East in A.D. 18. Dating is not precise or certain but it seems that the son, Demetrius, served as a priest of Roma during Claudius' reign.⁵⁷

Lastly, at Dorylaeum, an inscription was erected during the first century A.D. honouring Roma in a dedication along with deified emperors and empresses, the

⁵² Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 467, no. 302; *IGRP*, IV, 793.

⁵³ Ramsay, *C and B*, pp. 377 and 479.

⁵⁴ Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ*, pp. 74-75.

⁵⁵ Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 377, no. 199; *IGRP*, IV, 741; see above p. 133.

⁵⁶ *RPC*, 3142; Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ*, p. 75.

⁵⁷ Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ*, p. 75.

Senate and the Roman people.⁵⁸

Evidence also exists for cults of Roma in the Upper Maeander Valley. At Hierapolis an inscription, inscribed on a cylindrical altar, was found in the theatre of the city and contains a dedication to Gaius and Roma. The most interesting part of this text, in this context, is the mention of the goddess Roma which as Ritti says "costituisce per quest'epoca l'unica ad essa relativa in Hierapolis."⁵⁹ Ritti therefore believes that a cult of Roma was established at the city during the Hellenistic period, perhaps in 133 B.C. when the kingdom of Pergamum was bequeathed to the Romans. This is confirmed by the minting of coins in the second century B.C. depicting Roma which were identified by Robert. The persistence of the cult at Hierapolis has been suggested by the production of coins dating to the second and third centuries A.D. which show the seated goddess identified by the legend ΘEA ΡΩΜΗ.⁶⁰

However, if the coins of the Imperial period depicting Roma are to be linked to the cult, then one would expect them to be more common than they are. For example, Apollo was the principal deity of the city and so presumably an object of cult. He appears on coins consistently throughout the Imperial period and his importance is further underlined by the fact that his games are also celebrated on coins from the time of Caracalla onwards through legends and agonistic types.⁶¹ The cult of Roma does not receive this attention on the coins of Hierapolis. She is a rare type and no coins celebrate games dedicated to her. If the Roma had been the object of a major cult, a similar situation to that of Apollo can be envisaged with

⁵⁸ *OGIS*, 479; Mellor, *ΘEA ΡΩΜΗ*, p. 75.

⁵⁹ Ritti, "Due iscrizioni", pp. 183-184.

⁶⁰ Ritti, "Due iscrizioni", p. 185; for these coins see p. 146 above and on this inscription, see p. 229 above.

⁶¹ See in general Catalogue A, B and C.

the goddess figuring consistently as a coin type. Given the cult's connection to Rome, rather than being a minor cult which did not figure greatly on coins, it is more likely that she did not receive cult worship at all during the later Imperial period.

The evidence for Laodicea revolves around the dedication of a statue which the city made on the Capitoline. It reads *Populis Laodicensis a f(lumine) Lyco populum Romanum, quei sibi salutei fecit, benefici(orum) ergo, quae sibi benigne fecit* ὁ δῆμος ὁ Λαοδικέων τῶν πρὸς τῷ Λύκῳ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ῥωμαίων, γερονότα ἑαυτῷ σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὸν. This bilingual text is problematic for two reasons, namely, its date and its suitability as a piece of evidence for a cult of Roma.⁶²

The Laodicean dedication was one of many by eastern monarchs, cities and other communities but they were not inscribed on the walls of the Capitoline temple of Jupiter. Instead, they formed a large monument near it. A date in the first century B.C. could plausibly be suggested for the dedication because of the material used for the dedications and the letter forms contained on them. The texts are inscribed on travertine blocks of similar size with nearly identical mouldings. Travertine is not well attested for inscriptions before the first century and the letter forms are all in the style of the first century.⁶³

The inscription has been dated more closely to the Sullan period on the grounds that the Laodiceans, who had surrendered a Roman general to the Pontic king during the Mithridatic War could have finally regarded the victorious Romans as their "saviours" and given thanks for a pardon.⁶⁴

However, not all the dedications may have originally

⁶² *CIL*, I², 728; *CIG*, III, 5881.

⁶³ Mellor, "Dedications on the Capitoline Hill", p. 319.

⁶⁴ Mommsen and Hülsen in Magie, *RRAM*, p. 655, n. 67; see above p. 26.

dated to this time. This seems to be true of the dedication made by king Mithridates Philopator Philadelphus. A Sullan date has been justified by identifying this monarch as a little known son of Mithridates Eupator who may have assumed the epithets "Philopater" and "Philadelphus". The physical similarities of all the texts which date them to the age of Sulla has led to this kind of speculation about the identity of the Mithridates concerned. However, numismatic evidence shows that Mithridates IV of Pontus used the two epithets and his reign is to be dated not during the late Republic but to c. 169-150. After the victory over the Macedonian king, Perseus, and the freeing of the Lycians from Rhodes, the Senate also had to deal with embassies sent by rival claimants to the throne of Cappadocia. Mithridates IV was also one such claimant who could have sent a statue and a dedication to the Capitol during this earlier period.⁶⁵

If this is so then there is a contradiction between the physical appearance of this group of dedications and the date of their erection. A possible solution to the problem is the damage done to the Capitoline temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in 83 B.C. The fire which destroyed the building might also have damaged any statues and dedications deposited in and around the sanctuary. It has been suggested that inscriptions which were destroyed in this way were inscribed on a new monument along with new dedications inspired by Sulla's pacification of Asia. This would explain the first century appearance of dedications whose history suggests a much earlier date.⁶⁶

This means that the dedication made by the city of Laodicea need not be dated to the first century B.C. One date which has been suggested is 167. This is the date

⁶⁵ Mellor, "Dedications on the Capitoline Hill", pp. 326-327.

⁶⁶ Mellor, "Dedications on the Capitoline Hill", pp. 329-330; *EA POMH*, pp. 203 ff; Lintott, "The Capitoline Dedications", pp. 137-144.

assigned to similar Lycian dedications which are assumed to have been made soon after their liberation from the Rhodians after the conclusion of the war with Perseus of Macedon and the subsequent peace treaty. It is therefore supposed that the Laodiceans also received some kind of favour at this time which they then commemorated with their dedication on the Capitoline Hill.⁶⁷

It is clear that Laodicea dedicated a statue of the Roman people in gratitude for Roman benefactions but it is not known what they specifically were and the inscription itself unfortunately leaves no clue as to what they could be and dates after Pydna and in the Sullan period can be disputed. Laodicea was taken from the Seleucids after Magnesia and remained under Attalid control for much of the second century B.C and there is no evidence for a Roman benefaction after the defeat of Perseus. There is also no evidence for a pardon after the city's action during the conflict against the Pontic king, Mithridates; certainly the city was subject to the financial penalties Sulla inflicted on the province of Asia when the war was concluded.⁶⁸ Therefore, another, more likely, date has been proposed in the period following the bequest Attalus III made to the Romans of his kingdom, perhaps during the aftermath of the revolt of Aristonicus. The text of the Laodicean dedication contains what has been described as a rather clumsy Latin translation of Greek formulae which is more likely at a time earlier in the second century, for example, c133 when Asia first became a Roman province, than during the age of Sulla which marks nearly half a century of Roman domination. Although the lettering has a Sullan appearance, the content of the inscription seems to belong to the second century B.C.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Magie, *RRAM*, p. 655, no. 67.

⁶⁸ See above p. 27.

⁶⁹ Mellor, "Dedications on the Capitoline Hill", pp. 323-324.

The other problem connected to the Laodicean dedication concerns its use as evidence for a cult of Roma within the city. The dedication is of a statue of the *populus Romanus* and it has been argued that statues depicting the *demos* of the Romans were indistinguishable from that representing Roma and so the dedication of a statue of the Roman people made by the Laodiceans is taken to imply that a cult of Roma was already in existence at the city during the late second century.⁷⁰

A similar thing is said about one of the statues given by Vibius Salutaris to the city of Ephesus in his second century A.D. foundation. Among the benefactions were three silver statuettes dedicated to Artemis and the Ephesian *gerousia*. Two represented Artemis and the *gerousia* while the third was that of the *demos* of the Romans. This last statue is referred to as ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ῥωμαίων, ἡγεμὼν Ῥώμῃ and *urbs Romana*. It is believed that the figure must be feminine and the potential for confusion between Roma and the personification of the Roman people is shown by examples such as these.⁷¹

Another alleged example of this confusion is the statue of the Roman *demos* which was erected in the temple of Athena at Rhodes. This statue is described by Polybius and again it is said that this must have been a statue of Roma.⁷²

There are specific reasons why representations of the Roman *demos* should be thought to be the same as those of Roma. Mellor believes that there is no evidence for masculine personifications of the Roman people and so references to personifications of the *demos* of Rome must

⁷⁰ Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗΣ*, p. 76; Fears, "Genius Populi Romani", p. 274.

⁷¹ Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗΣ*, p. 152; Fears, "Genius Populi Romani", pp. 274-275. On the foundation of Salutaris, see p. 139 above.

⁷² Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗΣ*, p. 35; Fears, "Genius Populi Romani", p. 274; Polybius, 31, 4, 4.

instead refer to Roma.⁷³

However, it seems hard to believe that Greek cities of the East would confuse personifications of the city or the collective state, such as Roma was, and representations of the Roman people given their awareness of the "city" and its organization. Under the Empire, cities in the province of Asia personified their civic institutions. At Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae, for example, the *demos*, *boule*, *gerousia* and, more rarely, the *neoi*, as well as the city itself, were all personified and featured as coin types.⁷⁴ Greek cities were quite clear then in their conceptions of their civic institutions during the Imperial period and it seems strange to think that they would be confused about those of Rome during the Republican period.

Fears believes the solution lies in the recognition that there was a convenient representation of the Roman people which was masculine, namely the *Genius Populi Romani*. This was a common figure in Roman Imperial art typically portrayed as a youthful and semi-nude male who carries a *cornucopiae*. Certainly the male representation of the Roman people seems to have had a long history because a cult of the *Genius Publicus* existed at Rome since at least 218-217 B.C.

The labelled bust of the *Genius Populi Romani* first appears on the *denarii* of Cn Lentulus struck in the mid-seventies B.C.⁷⁵ On these coins, the *Genius* has the appearance of a mature and bearded male, while towards the end of the Republic, the representation was that of a youthful male if the bust on the obverse of the *denarii* of

⁷³ Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ*, pp. 25-26; Fears, *Genius Populi Romani*, p. 275.

⁷⁴ See Catalogue B, E and H in general; Fears, "*Genius Populi Romani*", pp. 276-277, n. 7.

⁷⁵ Crawford, *RRC*, no. 393.

Q Cassius can be interpreted in this way.⁷⁶

The earliest representations of the *Genius Populi Romani* followed Athenian iconographic tradition which portrayed the personification of the Roman people as a bearded and mature male. The cornucopiae was a Roman adaptation because on Attic reliefs, a staff was normally carried. It seems then that it was the image of the *Genius Populi Romani* which provided the personification of the Roman people which could be assimilated into the conventional Hellenistic representations of personified *demos*.⁷⁷

It seems that with different representations for Roma and the Roman people, the Greeks would not have been confused about representing the two by statues and other artistic forms. The two different forms are aptly shown by the types used on the Imperial coinage of Synnada. One reverse type shows a youthful male figure wearing a toga holding a phiale in his right hand and a roll in his left. The legend reads ΔΗΜΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ. It is believed that this type was meant to portray an actual statue of the Roman *demos* erected after a decree in favour of the city was issued. The roll in his hand is taken to refer to this same decree. If the city wanted to portray Roma, a turreted or helmeted female bust with the legend ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ was used. There was then no confusion in the ancient sources regarding statues of Roma and the Roman people and the two were not indistinguishable from each other. Female representations were used for Roma and male for the Roman people.⁷⁸

On the basis of these arguments, the statue of the

⁷⁶ Crawford, *RRC*, no. 428.

⁷⁷ On all of this see Fears, "*Genius Populi Romani*", pp. 277-279 and on the *demos* in general as an object of cult see pp. 281 ff.

⁷⁸ Fears, "*Genius Populi Romani*", pp. 279 and 278; *BMC Phrygia*, p. 394, no. 15; p. 395, no. 20 and 21; p. 398, no. 31.

Roman people dedicated by the city of Laodicea on the Capitoline Hill was a masculine one and not a feminine one which could be interpreted as Roma. The Capitoline dedication, therefore, provides no evidence for the cult of Roma within the city during the second century B.C. and can only be used as evidence for a possible cult of the Roman *demos*.

This is not the place for a complete and thorough overview of the cult of Roma and its implications but it must be said that by the Imperial period, the goddess had a long history as a religious and political mediator between the Greek cities and Rome. However, it is believed that "in the Empire, the Greek Roma - Θεὸς Ῥώμη - was a fossil; no longer living, but excellent evidence of the past" and this has been seen as due to the spread and the growth of the worship of the emperor, both living and deified embodied in the Imperial cult.⁷⁹

This view has been challenged by Balland who has studied the cult of Roma within Lycia using various inscriptions which concern the priesthood and games connected to the goddess. He concludes that the cult of Roma in Lycia during the Imperial period was not a "fossil" fortuitously preserved. Although the Lycian people have been described by him as "conservative", this conservatism does not explain the persistence of the cult. The cult was a living institution which recalled, every four years, the time when Lycia had been, not an independent power, but a political partner of Republican Rome.⁸⁰

That the goddess Roma still had a place within the Empire is shown by her appearance as a coin type on various issues minted by cities in the Greek East, the coins of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley included. These coins

⁷⁹ Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ*, p. 26; Balland, "Le culte de la déesse Rome en Lycie", p. 31 and n. 8.

⁸⁰ Balland, "Le culte de la déesse Rome en Lycie", pp. 30-43, esp. p. 43.

do not prove that she was still an object of cult during the Imperial period but do show that she had a role to play in the thinking of the cities whose coins portrayed her. What is more difficult to determine is what this role was.

The use of Roma as a coin type during the Empire has been linked to developments within the cult of Roma. For example, Fayer has said that the image of Roma was rarely used on Greek coins of the Republican age but was a frequent type on issues dating to the Imperial period. Its diffusion was motivated by the fact that the presence of Roma was a condition of the Imperial cult and the worship of Augustus in the East.⁸¹

In 29 B.C., the cities of Asia and Bithynia requested permission to dedicate temples to Augustus. It is clear that this request was initiated by the cities themselves and in response Augustus allowed one temple in each province to be devoted to the cult of Divus Julius and Roma at Ephesus and Nicaea for Roman citizens and another to be dedicated to the worship of himself and Roma in the cities of Pergamum and Nicomedia. When a Spanish embassy approached Tiberius requesting that they be allowed to dedicate a temple to him, he, according to Tacitus, refers to the provision made by his predecessor.⁸²

This provision is referred to on some issues produced by cities in the province of Asia. For example, the temple of Roma and Augustus forms the reverse type of a coin minted at Pergamum under Trajan. A tetrastyle temple is depicted within which stands Roma and Augustus. Roma is holding a cornucopiae in her left hand while crowning the emperor who is wearing military dress and carrying a spear in his right hand. The legend reads ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΩ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ.⁸³

⁸¹ Fayer, "Monete greche", p. 277.

⁸² Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ*, pp. 79-80; Dio Cassius, 51, 20, 6-9; Tacitus, *Ann.*, 4, 37.

⁸³ *BMC Mysia*, p. 142, nos. 263-266.

It has also been suggested, again by Fayer, that coins depicting the type of Roma were also minted in connection with the Cult of Venus and Roma introduced into the city of Rome by the emperor Hadrian. She says that this religious reform of Hadrian gave new life to the cult of Roma and provided the motive for the minting of coins with the type of Roma and the legend PΩMH or ΘEA PΩMH in many areas of Asia especially during the Antonine era.⁸⁴

However, the coins of the Upper Maeander Valley which depict Roma date neither from the beginning of the Imperial period. They instead date to the later first century and also the second and third centuries. Therefore, they cannot be connected to the establishment of a joint cult of Roma and Augustus within Asia.

Regarding Hadrianic developments, if the coins of Laodicea and Hierapolis did not commemorate developments within the cult of Roma which had a direct bearing the province of Asia, of which they were a part, then it is not so certain that these cities would have marked the establishment of the worship of the goddess at Rome.

It seems then that the use of the goddess Roma as a coin type has to be connected to the events of the late first century as well as the second and third centuries. These were the times at which the goddess was portrayed on the coins of Laodicea and Hierapolis.

As the epithet Germanicus on the coins of Laodicea shows, Domitian was successful in some of his western campaigns. His first campaign was in Germany where he successfully broke the power of the Chatti beyond the middle Rhine. As a result, he took possession of the Taunus region, so giving the Empire a stronger frontier in the middle Rhine region. He was no less successful against the Dacians. After initial failures, when a campaign against them in 86 resulted in the death of the commander of the expedition, the Roman invasion of Dacia in 88 avenged the

⁸⁴ Fayer, *Il culto*, p. 177.

defeat and peace was concluded in 89. It may be that some of the helmeted female heads of the late first century, which have been identified as Roma, made their appearance on coins of the Upper Maeander Valley as a symbol of the power of Rome and the emperor and marked the success of these Imperial campaigns. Nike carrying a wreath and a palm are used as a reverse type on some of these coins and she too may be a symbol of Imperial victory. Statuettes of Nike were certainly a way of symbolising victory and invincibility.

Other helmeted, female heads, which have been identified as Athena, in the sense of Minerva were also apt types at this time. There would be no better way for the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley to celebrate the victories of Domitian than to depict his patron goddess on their civic issues.⁸⁵

Certainly Roma could be used to mark the successes of the emperors in the campaigns which they undertook. On a coin of Trajan, Roma appears seated to the left wearing a crested helmet and a short tunic. She rests her left foot on a head of a Dacian which faces to the left. This must be a reference to Trajan's Dacian victories.⁸⁶

Roma also appears on coins dated to the late second and third centuries. She is depicted seated and holding Nike on the reverses of coins minted at Laodicea which portray on the obverses Julia Domna, the mother of Caracalla, Annia Faustina and Julia Maesa, the latter two wives of Elagabalus, and Otacilia Severa, the wife of Philip I. She also appears on non-Imperial portrait issues as a labelled bust at Laodicea and a labelled seated figure at Hierapolis on coins dated generally to the second and third centuries.

If Roma's appearance on coins dating to the first

⁸⁵ See above p. 228.

⁸⁶ Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma*, pp. 32-33; *BMCRE* III, pl. 28, no. 4; p. 114, no. 5.

century was used as a symbol of Imperial victory, then in the later Empire there seems to have been less to celebrate. A reverse type used at Laodicea shows Septimius Severus holding a lance and riding over two fallen enemy while coin of Hierapolis minted under Elagabalus shows the emperor on the reverse riding over a captive Parthian.⁸⁷

These types seem to refer to Imperial success. On the whole though, the period was an unsettled one. Caracalla had campaigned on the Danube and Rhine frontiers and set out in 216 on a Parthian expedition. However, a year later he was killed in Syria by the supporters of Macrinus, his praetorian prefect. Another conspiracy in the East led to the rule of Elagabalus but he was murdered in 222 and replaced by Severus Alexander. He too set out on a Parthian campaign in 231 but was forced to turn his attentions to the Rhine frontier. Four years later, both he and his mother, Julia Mamaea, were murdered by soldiers at Mainz and a new emperor was proclaimed. In 244, Philip made an ignominious peace with Shapur, the ruler of the Persian empire in the east.⁸⁸ This set the pattern until the reign of Diocletian in 284 provided some stability.

There were problems not only with the high turnover of emperors but also with the frontier regions and the Parthians and Persians in the East. The latter especially would have been of immediate concern for cities in the east such as those of the Upper Maeander Valley. The worry was a real one because Asia Minor was eventually invaded by the Goths and the Heruli reached Attica. Local resistance, led by the historian Dexippus, repelled the latter.⁸⁹

The cities of the Upper Maeander Valley would certainly be aware of these events and it is into this period that the coins portraying Roma were perhaps minted.

⁸⁷ See Catalogue A 88 and D 114.

⁸⁸ On this and Philip's journey back to Rome see Peachin, "Philip's Progress", pp. 331-342.

⁸⁹ See Millar, "P. Herennius Dexippus", pp. 12-29.

It has been suggested that the goddess was just one manifestation of the uneasiness in the present and part of a search for something better.⁹⁰ Laodicea and Hierapolis would certainly be aware that a solution was needed to the present problems and in the current climate of political instability appeals to the emperor and Imperial authorities to provide a solution can easily be envisaged. In this context, Roma was perhaps forefront in the thinking of the civic authorities as a coin type.

The problems concerning Roma as a coin type are twofold. Firstly, she is easily confused with the Greek Athena as both goddesses have the same attributes and appearance. Despite these similarities, it is possible to distinguish the two deities by using legends and differences in the attitudes of the two types. It seems that in the Upper Maeander Valley, different iconographies were used to portray Athena and Roma. Athena was a standing figure while Roma was a seated one. On busts, both labelled and unlabelled, Athena was pictured wearing the aegis and Roma a cuirass.

The second problem is to determine what Roma's presence on the coins of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley signified. During the first century A.D. she was one of the symbols used to commemorate the Imperial successes of Domitian. When she next appears during the later second and third centuries A.D., the conditions of the Empire were more unsettled and she can be seen in the context of appeals to the Roman authorities to provide a solution to the very real problems affecting the East. Far from being a "fossil", as Mellor has suggested, she embodied the reactions of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley to the military successes, or otherwise, of their Imperial rulers and shows the awareness and anxiety of the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley to the changing events and circumstances which overtook the Empire as a whole.

⁹⁰ MacMullen, *Roman Government's Response to Crisis*, p. 41.

Conclusion

The cities of the Upper Maeander Valley owed their origins to completely different circumstances. Laodicea and Hierapolis were a Seleucid colony and a "holy" city respectively, while Colossae, the smallest city, was a community of great antiquity. However, all of their flourishing civic lives were dependent on two main factors, namely their strategic position within the road network of Asia and their successful participation in the wool and textile industries. All, with the exception of Colossae, possessed ample coinage, epigraphy and architecture and it is only natural that these sources, especially coinage for the purpose of this thesis, should be used to determine the relationship of these cities and their citizens with the Roman Empire and how they viewed their position within that empire.

It has been shown that the Roman authorities had a conservative attitude to both the coinage system already in use within Asia and also the authority under which the coins were produced. The coinage system based on the silver *cistophorus* and the base-metal issues of individual cities remained in use after the Attalid kingdom became the Roman province of Asia and during the first three centuries of the Empire. Civic authorities minted coins under their own auspices and even though coinages produced by the cities of Asia Minor were no longer issues of independent civic states but rather an integral part of the coinage of a Roman province, and hence the Roman Empire, the coins produced by these cities can legitimately be seen as reflecting the concerns of the cities which issued them. They can, therefore, be used as evidence for the way Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae, and other Asian cities viewed the Empire and their place within it.

This can firstly be seen through the legends employed on the coins. The legends show which privileges and titles were sought and obtained by the cities and the citizens of the Upper Maeander Valley. For example, the display of

neocorate status and Roman nomenclature demonstrates, on a civic and individual level, how a niche was found for the cities and their citizens within the Imperial order. They can also show how the emperor was incorporated into the civic lives of the cities which made up his empire. One way this was done was the celebration of various games which were also advertised on the coinage through the legends. The issues of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae followed trends also apparent in the epigraphy and the architecture of the area of the Upper Maeander Valley and the province of Asia as a whole and so contributed to the growing Roman character of the cities in the Greek East. As such they also show the interaction and relationship between cities, the province in which they were situated and the Empire.

These themes are further developed and demonstrated by the types which were used on the coins of the Upper Maeander Valley. One of the most interesting issues is the "OMHPOΣ" issue produced by Laodicea during the reign of Nero. This shows how the city portrayed itself as an equal to Smyrna, one of the oldest cities of Asia. The issue highlights Laodicea's concern with its own status and how it presented itself to other cities in the province.

Concern for status underlies the use of the Capitoline triad as a type through which the Laodiceans identified their principal civic deity, Zeus Laodiceus, with the Roman Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The iconography is also revealing of the relative importance attributed to these deities by the Laodiceans and shows that they believed their own Zeus to be comparable to the Roman Jupiter. The type highlights the way cities could actively seek out and display their connections to Rome.

The personification of the senate also shows the ways in which cities could emphasize their links with Roman institutions. The use of this particular type demonstrates that Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae, and other cities in Asia, viewed themselves as part of a "senatorial" province

whatever the realities of the organization of the Empire. This was a status which was subsequently emphasised during the changing political circumstances of the third century. It shows the cities' concern not only for their own "senatorial" status but also that of their province.

The difference in iconography between the Roman and provincial representations of the senate highlights the different ways in which one of the fundamental institutions of Rome was viewed. The former symbolised tradition and stability while the latter showed how vital the senate was in the political thinking of the cities in Asia.

Likewise, the use of the goddess Roma as a type also highlights anxieties facing the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley during the unsettled third century. The portrayal of Roma shows the cities' concerns for the situation of the Empire as a whole as well as emphasising the fact that this deity still had a place in the consciousness of the inhabitants of the Greek East even though she was no longer as important as she had been during the Republic.

As can be seen, the information contained in coin types and legends can highlight the various ways in which the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley viewed the Roman Empire and their place within it. The coins show which aspects of Imperial rule these cities particularly associated themselves with. They further demonstrate that the cities of the Upper Maeander Valley, especially Laodicea, were alert to Rome and the changing circumstances of the Empire as well as their own status and that of the province of Asia. By showing the interaction between city, region and empire, the study of a certain region and its coinage is invaluable in building up a deeper picture not only of the history of the Roman Empire but also of the relationships between Rome and the provincial cities and between the provincial cities themselves. As such, they both deserve more attention than they have hitherto received.

CATALOGUE: Introduction

The core for this catalogue is the collection held by the British Museum in London and obviously includes coins listed in the catalogue of Greek coins of Phrygia and those acquired since the catalogue was published in 1906.

Also of vital importance was *Roman Provincial Coinage*, edited by Burnett, Amandry and Ripolles. Entries from the forthcoming volume were kindly given to me by Dr. Burnett and the numbering which appears in this catalogue as "RPC II" are the provisional ones which appear in these entries.

Also consulted were various other published catalogues, especially the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* which includes the collections of von Aulock and museums such as Copenhagen and Munich. Entries from Mionnet are also included here although caution must be used as some of the descriptions and attributions are dubious. The partially published collection held in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford was also studied and included in this catalogue. Sale catalogues were also consulted but they do not add greatly to the coins which have already been published. Neither does the recently published article in *Epigraphica Anatolica*.

The coins contained in this catalogue are listed by city and are grouped in the three broad categories corresponding to the different types of issues minted, namely coins with Imperial portraits and symbols, coins without Imperial portraits and symbols and the so-called OMONOIA coinages. Further to this, the coins are listed chronologically and not by type even though types are grouped together wherever possible within the chronological groupings.

The Catalogue attempts to give a comprehensive list of the types produced at Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae. It is possible that some types have been omitted but this will not affect the overall conclusions of this thesis. Comparative material for other cities in the province of Asia can be found in relevant chapters.

A LAODICEA: Coins with Imperial Portraits¹

AUGUSTUS

Zeuxis Philaletes

1 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Laureate head of Augustus to the right.
rev: ΖΕΥΞΙΣ ΦΑ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
RPC 2893.

2 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Laureate head of Augustus to the right and in front of him is a lituus.
rev: ΖΕΥΞΙΣ ΦΙΛΑΛΗΘΗΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
RPC 2894.

3 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Bare head of Augustus to the right and in front of him is a lituus.
rev: ΖΕΥΞΙΣ ΦΙΛΑΛΗΘΗΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Asclepian serpent staff.
RPC 2895.

Sosthenes

4 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Bare head of Augustus to the right.
rev: ΣΩΣΘΕΝΗΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand and in front a wreath bound with taenia enclosing Z and flanked by N and Ω.
RPC 2896.

5 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Capricorn with cornucopiae to the right.
rev: ΣΩΣΘΕΝΗΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Three ears of corn.
RPC 2897.

Anto Polemon Philopatris

6 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Bare head of Augustus to the right.
rev: ΑΝΤΩ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
RPC 2898.

GAIUS CAESAR The reign of Augustus

Anto Polemon Philopatris

7 obv: ΓΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare head of Gaius to the right.
rev: ΑΝΤΩ ΠΟΛΕ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤ Eagle standing with its wings open.
BMC 158; *RPC* 2899.

¹ Underlined words represent monograms.

8 obv: ΓΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare head of Gaius to the right.
rev: ΠΟΛΕ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Eagle standing with its wings open.
RPC 2900.

CLAUDIUS²

Pythes Pythou

9 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Bare head of Tiberius to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΠΥΘΗΣ ΠΥΘΟΥ Zeus Laodiceus standing left holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand and in the field to the left and right, the pilei of the Dioscouri each surmounted by a star.
RPC 2901.

Dioskourides

10 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Bare head of Tiberius to the right.
rev: ΚΟΡ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΑΔΗΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing to the left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
RPC 2906.

Pythes Pythou to deutron

11 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Bare head of Tiberius to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΠΥΘΗΣ ΠΥΘΟΥ ΤΟ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand and in field to the left, the pilei of the Dioscouri.
RPC 2908.

Dioskourides to deutron

12 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Bare head of Tiberius to the right.
rev: ΚΟΡ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΑΔΗΣ ΤΟ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing to the left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and sceptre in his left hand.
RPC 2911.

Anto Polemon, son of Zenon

13 obv: ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare head of Claudius to the right.
rev: ΑΝΤΩ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝΟΣ ΥΙΟΥ ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing to the left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
RPC 2913.

² *RPC* p. 723, 2913A shows that ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ was a variant of ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ and it is suggested that coins signed by Pythes and Dioscourides, *RPC* 2901-11, and dated to the reign of Tiberius should be reattributed to Claudius instead.

14 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Bare head of Claudius to the right.
rev: ΑΝΤΩ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝΟΣ ΥΙΟΥ ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing to the left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
RPC p. 723, 2913A

BRITANNICUS The reign of Claudius

Polemon, son of Zenon

15 obv: ΒΡΕΤΑΝΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Δραπιδωτο βουστο του Βριταννικου πρὸς δεξιά.
rev: ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝΟΣ ΥΙΟΥ ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Tripod entwined by a serpent.
RPC 2915.

NERO CAESAR The reign of Claudius

Polemon, son of Zenon

16 obv: ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Βαρε-κεφαλο και δραπιδωτο βουστο του Νερω πρὸς δεξιά.
rev: ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝΟΣ ΥΙΟΥ ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Tripod entwined by a serpent.
RPC 2916.

NERO

Gaius Postomos

17 obv: ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Βαρε-κεφαλο και δραπιδωτο βουστο του Νερω πρὸς δεξιά.
rev: ΓΑΙΟΥ ΠΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing to the left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand and in front of him, a wreath bound with taenia with Β within it.
RPC 2917.

Krateros Nomothetes

18 obv: ΝΕΡΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Bare head of Nero to the right.
rev: ΚΡΑΤΕΡΟΣ ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΗΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
RPC 2919.

Ioulios Andronikos Euergetes

19 obv: ΝΕΡΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ Bare head of Nero to the right.
rev: ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
RPC 2923.

Aineias

20 obv: ΝΕΡΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Laureate head of Nero to the right.
rev: ΚΟΡ ΑΙΝΕΙΑΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
RPC 2926.

AGRIPPINA JUNIOR The reign of Nero

Gaios Postomos

21 obv: ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Agrippina to the right.
rev: ΓΑΙΟΥ ΠΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Eagle standing on an altar with its wings open.
RPC 2918.

POPPAEA The reign of Nero

Ioulia Zenonis

22 obv: ΠΟΠΠΑΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Poppaea to the right.
rev: ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΖΗΝΩΝΙΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Aphrodite standing right and holding a sceptre and a dove.
RPC 2924.

VESPASIAN

23 obv: ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Laureate head of Vespasian to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
RPC II, 64.

Ioulios Andronikos Euergetes

24 obv: ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Laureate head of Vespasian to the right.
rev: ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
RPC II, 65.

25 obv: ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Laureate head of Vespasian to the right.
rev: ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
RPC II, 66.

TITUS

Gaios Ioulios Kotys

26 obv: ΤΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Laureate head of Titus to the right.
rev: ΓΑΙΟΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΚΟΤΥΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ on five lines within a laurel wreath.
RPC II, 68.

Klaudia Zenonis

27 obv: ΤΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Laureate head of Titus to the right.
rev: ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑ ΖΗΝΩΝΙΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Half-naked figure standing to the left holding a phiale in his right hand and a palm-branch in his left hand with an urn containing a staff and a flag to the left.
RPC II, 69.

DOMITIAN CAESAR The reign of Titus

Gaios Ioulios Kotys

28 obv: ΔΟΜΗΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Laureate and cuirassed bust of Domitian to the right.
rev: ΓΑΙΟΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΚΟΤΥΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ within a laurel wreath on five lines.
RPC II, 70.

Klaudia Zenonis

29 obv: ΔΟΜΗΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Laureate and cuirassed bust of Domitian to the right.
rev: ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑ ΖΗΝΩΝΙΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Half-naked male figure standing to the left holding a phiale in his right hand and a palm in his left hand with an urn containing a flag and staff to the left.
RPC II, 71.

DOMITIAN

Kornelios Dioskourides

30 obv: ΔΟΜΗΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Laureate head of Domitian to the right.
rev: ΔΙΑ ΚΟΡ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΑΔΟΥ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Temple front with four columns raised on three steps enclosing a figure of the emperor in military dress holding a trophy (or Nike?) in his right hand and resting his left hand on a spear.
RPC II 82.

31 obv: [ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣ]ΤΟΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ Laureate head of Domitian to the right.

rev: ΔΙΑ ΚΟΡ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Temple with four columns raised on three steps enclosing a figure of the emperor in military dress holding a trophy (or Nike?) in his right hand and a spear in his left hand.

RPC II, 83.

32 obv: ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ Laureate head of Domitian to the right.

rev: ΔΙΑ ΚΟΡ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.

RPC II, 85.

33 obv: ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ Laureate head of Domitian to the right.

rev: ΔΙΑ ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΟΥ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.

RPC II, 84.

DOMITIAN AND DOMITIA The reign of Domitian

Kornelius Dioskourides

34 obv: ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Laureate and cuirassed bust of Domitian right facing the draped bust of Domitia left.

rev: ΔΙΑ ΚΡ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Temple front of four columns raised on four steps with a frieze inscribed ΕΠΙΝΕΙΚΙΟΣ enclosing a male figure in military dress holding a spear and a female figure resting on a sceptre holding a trophy between them.

RPC II 80.

35 obv: ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Laureate and cuirassed bust of the emperor right facing the draped bust of Domitia left.

rev: ΔΙΑ ΚΡ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Hera standing right, holding a sceptre and a pomegranate and facing Zeus Laodiceus standing left with an eagle and a sceptre, helmeted Athena stands left holding an olive branch and a shield and a spear.

RPC II, 79.

36 obv: ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Laureate and cuirassed bust of Domitian right facing draped bust of Domitia left.

rev: ΔΙΑ ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΟΥ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Hera standing right, holding a sceptre and a pomegranate and facing Zeus Laodiceus standing left with an eagle and a sceptre, helmeted Athena stands left holding an olive branch, a spear and a shield.

RPC II, 78.

37 obv: ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ

Laureate and cuirassed bust of Domitian right facing the draped bust of Domitia left.

rev: ΔΙΑ ΚΡ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Female figure standing left and holding a phiale? and resting her right arm on a column.

RPC II, 81.

DOMITIA The reign of Domitian

Kornelius Dioskourides

38 obv: ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Domitia to the right.

rev: ΔΙΑ ΚΟΡ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Temple front with six columns raised on three steps.

RPC II, 77.

39 obv: ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Domitia to the right.

rev: ΔΙΑ ΚΟΡ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Temple front raised on three steps.

RPC II, 86.

40 obv: ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Domitia to the right.

rev: ΔΙΑ ΚΡ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.

RPC II, 88.

TRAJAN

41 obv: ΑΥ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΙ ΣΕ ΓΕΡ ΔΑ ΠΑΡΘΙ Laureate head of Trajan to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.

BMC 192; *Inv Wadd* 6280; "Münzen aus Laodikeia", no. 25.

42 obv: ΑΥ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΙ ΣΕ ΓΕΡ ΔΑ ΠΑΡΘΙ Laureate head of Trajan to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Temple front within which stands a statue of the emperor in military dress holding a trophy and spear.

Cop 573; *SNG SvA München* 385; *Mionnet, Suppl.* 448.

PLOTINA The reign of Trajan

43 obv: ΠΛΩΤΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Plotina to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Hera standing right and resting her right hand on a sceptre and holding a pomegranate in her extended left hand.

BMC 193; *Inv Wadd* 6281; *KM* p. 267, no. 25.

44 obv: ΠΛΩΤΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Plotina to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Hexastyle temple.
Weber 7144.

MATIDIA The reign of Trajan

45 obv: ΜΑΤΙΔΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Matidia to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Helmeted Athena standing left and holding in her lowered right hand an olive branch and in her left hand a shield and a spear.
BMC 194.

HADRIAN

46 obv: ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Laureate and draped bust of Hadrian to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus holding Nike on his extended right hand and resting left arm on a sceptre while an eagle on an altar stands at his feet.
Cop 574.

47 obv: ΑΥ(Τ) ΚΑΙ ΤΡΑ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ Laureate and draped bust of Hadrian to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus holding Nike on his extended right hand and resting left arm on a sceptre while an eagle on an altar stands at his feet.
BMC 196, 197, 198; *SNG München* 386; Mionnet, IV, 733.

48 obv: ΑΥ ΚΑ ΤΡ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ Laureate bust of Hadrian to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus sitting left holding a small Nike in his right hand and a sceptre in left hand.
SNG SvA 3847; *SNG Fitz* 4983, 4984.

49 obv: ΑΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΑ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΣ Laureate head of Hadrian to the left with drapery on the left shoulder.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
BMC 195; *Cop* 575; *SNG München* 387; Mionnet, IV, 735; Lanz, 32, 526.

50 obv: ΑΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΑ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΣ Laureate head of Hadrian to the right.
rev: ----- ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus holding an eagle and a sceptre standing left with Hera in high head-dress holding a sceptre and Athena who holds a spear and a shield.
Hunt Coll 10; Mionnet, IV, 736; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 449.

SABINA The reign of Hadrian

51 obv: ΣΑΒΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Sabina to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Tyche standing left and holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.
BMC 199; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 451; Mionnet, IV, 739.

52 obv: Draped bust of Sabina to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Nike walking left.
Inv Wadd 6282.

53 obv: Draped bust of Sabina to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left with an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
Mionnet, IV, 738.

Agrippinos

54 obv: ΣΑΒΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ Draped bust of Sabina to the right.
rev: ΑΓΙΨΙΝΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Cybele standing between two lions.
Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 450; Mionnet, IV, 737.

55 obv: Draped bust of Sabina to the right.
rev: ΑΓΙΨΙΝΟΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Cybele standing between two lions.
Mionnet, IV, 740.

56 obv: ΣΑΒΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ Draped bust of Sabina to the right.
rev: ΑΓΙΨΙΝΟΣ ΣΤΡΑ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Cybele standing between two lions.
Mionnet, IV, 741.

57 obv: ΣΑΒΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ Draped bust of Sabina to the right.
rev: ΑΓΙΨΙΝΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus holding an eagle and a sceptre with Hera in a turreted crown and Athena standing on either side of him.
Mionnet, IV, 742.

LUCIUS AELIUS CAESAR The reign of Hadrian

58 obv: ΛΟΥΚΙΟΣ ΑΙΛΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare head of Lucius to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Tyche standing to the left and holding a rudder and two ears of corn with a poppy in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.
BMC 200; *Cop* 576; *BM Hecht*.

59 obv: ΛΟΥΚΙΟΣ ΑΙΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare head of Lucius to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΑΣΕΙΣ Zeus Aseis standing left and extending his right hand over the head of a goat which stands beside him.

BMC 201; *BM=SNG SvA* 3848; *MG*, p. 407, no. 130; *Inv Wadd* 6283.

60 obv: ΛΟΥΚΙΟΣ ΑΙΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare head of Lucius to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Hygeia feeding a snake standing with Asclepius who holds a serpent staff.

BM; *Mionnet*, IV, 743.

ANTONINUS PIUS

61 obv: ΑΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Bare head of Antoninus to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.

Cop 577; *Mionnet*, IV, 744.

62 obv: ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Head of Antoninus to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Tyche standing left and holding an ear of corn, a poppy and a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.

AGM p. 72, no. 204.

63 obv: ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Head of Antoninus to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΙΑ ΛΥΚΟΣ ΚΑΠΡΟΣ Turreted city goddess sitting left and holding a statuette of Zeus Laodiceus in her right hand and resting her left hand on a sceptre with two river gods sitting at her feet.

KM p. 268, no 26; *Inv Wadd* 6284.

Alios Dionysios

64 obv: ΑΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΙ ΑΙ ΑΔΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate head of Antoninus to the right.

rev: ΠΟ ΑΙΔΙΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ within laurel wreath adorned with berries.

BMC 202, 203; *SNG München* 388; *Weber* 7145; *Inv Wadd* 6285; *BM Hecht*; "Münzen aus Laodikeia", no. 26.

65 obv: ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Laureate head of Antoninus to the right.

rev: Π ΑΙΔΙΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ within laurel wreath.

Mionnet, IV, 745.

66 obv: AY KAI TI AI AΔP ANTΩNEINOS Laureate head of Antoninus to the right.

rev: ΔIONΥΣΙΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Hades-Sarapis enthroned to the left resting his left arm on a sceptre and holding a phiale in his right hand over Cerberus sitting at his feet.
BMC 204; Cop 578; Ox; Inv Wadd 6286; Mionnet, IV, 734.

MARCUS AURELIUS

Dionysios

67 obv: M AYPHAI BHPOΣ KAIΣAP Bare-headed bust of Aurelius to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev ΔIONΥΣΙΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Tyche standing left and holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.
BMC 205.

68 obv: AYPHAI BHPOΣ KAI Draped bust of Aurelius to the right.

rev ΔIONΥΣΙΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.

KM p. 268, no. 27.

P Kl Attalos

69 obv: M AYPHAIΟΣ BHPOΣ KAIΣAP Bare head of Aurelius to the right.

rev: Π ΚΑ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Aphrodite standing naked to the front holding long tresses of hair in her raised hands with Eros holding a bow and arrow behind her and a dolphin before her.

BMC 206; KM p. 271, no. 41; Mionnet, IV, 747.

70 obv: M AYPHAIΟΣ BHPOΣ KAIΣAP Bare head of Aurelius to the right.

rev: Π ΚΑ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Cybele standing to the front and reaching her hands to two lions sitting on either side of her.

KM p. 272, no. 42; Inv Wadd 6287.

71 obv: M AYPHAIΟΣ BHPOΣ KAIΣAP Bare head of Aurelius to the right.

rev: Π ΚΑ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΕΠΙΝΙΚ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Cybele seated left with a lion seated beside her and holding a phiale in her right hand and resting her left arm on a tympanum.

KM p. 271, no. 43.

72 obv: M AYPHAIΟΣ BHPOΣ KAIΣAP Bare head of Aurelius to the right.

rev: Π ΚΑ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Sarapis seated to the left with Cerberus sitting at his feet.

SNG Lewis 1606.

73 obv: M AYΦHAIIOΣ BHPOΣ KAIΣAP Bare head of Aurelius to the right.

rev: Π KΛ ATTAΔOΣ ANEΘHK(E)N AAOΔIKEΩN Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.

Cop 579.

74 obv: M AYΦHAIIOΣ BHPOΣ KAIΣAP Bust of Aurelius to the right.

rev: Π KΛ ATTAΔOΣ ANEΘHK(E)N AAOΔIKEΩN Zeus Aseis standing to the front and holding the infant Dionysus on his left arm and extending his right hand over a goat at his feet.

Cop 580; BM=SNG SvA 3849.

75 obv: M AYΦHAIIOΣ BHPOΣ KAIΣAP Youthful head of Aurelius to the right.

rev: Π KΛ ATTAΔOΣ ANEΘH AAOΔIKEΩN Athena holding a lance in her left hand and an owl in her right hand standing left with a shield at her feet.

SNG München 389; *Inv Wadd* 6288; *Mionnet*, IV, 746.³

76 obv: M AYΦHAIIOΣ BHPOΣ KAIΣAP Bare head of Aurelius to the right.

rev: Π KΛ ATTAΔOΣ ANEΘHK(E)N AAOΔIKEΩN EΠI Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.

BMC 207; *Mionnet*, IV, 748.

Po(pi) Pedon

77 obv: ---- OYHPOΣ KAIΣAP Bearded and laureate head of Aurelius to the right.

rev: EΠI ANΘY ΠO ΠEΔΩNOΣ AAOΔIKEΩN Tyche standing left and holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.

BMC 208.

78 obv: MA AY ANTΩNINOΣ KAIΣAP Laureate bust of Aurelius to the right in a cuirass.

rev: EΠI ANΘY ΠOΠI ΠEΔΩNOΣ AAOΔIKEΩN Statue of Zeus Laodiceus on a garlanded pedestal. Marcus Aurelius standing right with his right hand extended towards the statue and holding a scroll in his left hand and Lucius Verus standing behind the statue holding a phiale in his right hand.

MG pp. 408-409, no. 135; *MZ* 59, 1113; BM.

³ "Münzen aus Laodikeia", no. 27 shows a coin with this obverse but Tyche-Pantheia on the reverse. For the reverse see *Catalogue B* 58.

FAUSTINA JUNIOR The reign of Marcus Aurelius

79 obv: ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Faustina to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Hera holding a pomegranate and a sceptre stands right before Zeus who holds an eagle and a sceptre. Helmeted Athena stands behind Zeus and holds an olive branch, a spear and a shield.

BMC 209; *KM* p. 272, no. 44.

80 obv: ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Faustina to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ City goddess standing to the front and holding a phiale in her right hand and a statuette of Zeus Laodiceus in her left hand and at her feet are a wolf and boar which represent the Lycus and Caprus rivers.

GRM p. 161, no. 7; Lindgren I 993.

LUCIUS VERUS The reign of Marcus Aurelius

Popillios Pedon

81 obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Λ ΑΥΡΗΑ ΟΥΗΡΟΣ Laureate bust of Lucius Verus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΠΟΠΙΛΛΙΟΥ ΠΕΔΩΝΟΣ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΥ Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus both wearing togas and standing together with their hands joined.

GM p. 742, no. 714.

LUCILLA The reign of Marcus Aurelius

82 obv: Lucilla (?)

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and sceptre in his left hand.

BM Hecht.

COMMODUS

83 obv: ΑΥ ΚΑ Λ ΑΥΡ ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΣ Laureate and draped bust of Commodus to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΙΑ ΛΥΚΟΣ ΚΑΠΡΟΣ City goddess sitting left and holding a statuette of Zeus Laodiceus in her right hand with a river god lying beneath her on either side.

Mionnet, IV, 754.

CRISPINA The reign of Commodus

84 obv: ΚΡΙΣΠΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Crispina to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Tyche standing left and holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.

Cop 581; *SNG München* 390.

85 obv: ΚΡΙΣΠΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Crispina to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Athena standing and holding an owl in her right hand and a sceptre and shield in her left hand.
Mionnet, Suppl. VII, 454; Inv Wadd 6291.

86 obv: ΚΡΙΣΠΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Crispina to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Standing and veiled female figure holding a phiale in her right hand and sceptre in her left hand.
BMC 210, 211, 212; Cop 582; SNG Lewis 1607; GRM p. 161, no. 8; Lindgren I 994; Ox, Ox; Weber 7146; Inv Wadd 6294.

87 obv: Draped bust of Crispina to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Hecate standing and holding a torch in her extended right hand with a crescent on her shoulders.
Inv Wadd 6292.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

88 obv: ΑΥ Κ Λ ΣΕΠ ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΠΕ Laureate bust of Severus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΑΥ Κ Λ ΣΕΠ ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Severus holding a lance and riding over two fallen enemy.
SNG SvA 3850; Inv Wadd 6300.

89 obv: Laureate bust of Septimius in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΔΕΙΑ ΚΟΜΟΔΙΑ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Urn on a table.
Inv Wadd 6295.

JULIA DOMNA The reign of Caracalla

90 obv: ΙΟΥΛΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ ΣΕΒ Draped bust of Domna to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Winged Nemesis standing to the front plucking her chiton from her breast with her right hand and holding a bridle in her lowered left hand with a wheel at her feet.
BMC 220; Cop 585, 586; Ox.

91 obv: ΙΟΥΛΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ ΣΕΒ Draped bust of Domna to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Veiled Demeter standing to the left and holding an ear of corn in her right hand and resting her left arm on a torch.
BMC 219; SNG Bern 1198, 1199; Mionnet, IV, 760, 765.

92 obv: ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤ Draped bust of Domna to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ prize crown on a table beneath which is ΑΣΙΑΣ ΚΟΜΟΔΕΙΑ.
Ox; BM Hecht.

(P) Ael Pigres

93 obv: IOYΑ ΔOMNA ΣEB Draped bust of Domna to the right.
rev: ΕΠΙ ΑΙΑ ΠΙΓ[PHTOΣ AP?]X ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Three charities.
BMC 221; Ox.

94 obv: IOYΑ ΔOMNA ΣEBΑΣ Draped bust of Domna to the right.
rev: ΕΠΙ Π ΑΙΑ ΠΙΓΡΗΤΟΣ ΑΣΙΑΡ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Asclepius and
Hygeia standing together.
SNG SvA 8417.

Neocorate dating

95 obv: IOYΑ ΔOMNA ΣEB Draped bust of Domna to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Harpocrates standing left and
placing his right index finger to his lips with a
cornucopiae behind his shoulder.
Ox.

96 obv: IOYΑΙΑ ΔOMNA ΣEB Draped bust of Domna to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Hecate Triformis.
BMC 218; *Cop* 583; *Inv Wadd* 6298; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 455,
456.

97 obv: IOYΑ ΔOMN ΣEB Draped bust of Domna to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Roma seated left and holding Nike
on her right hand and resting her left on a sceptre with an
altar before her.
Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 457.

98 obv: IOYΑ ΔOMNA ΣEB Draped bust of Domna to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Roma seated left and holding a
phiale on her right hand and resting her left on a sceptre.
Mionnet, IV, 759.

99 obv: IOYΑ ΔOMNA ΣEB Draped bust of Domna to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Nemesis standing left plucking her
chiton with her right hand and holding a bridle in her
right hand with a wheel at her feet.
Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 459.

100 obv: Draped bust of Domna to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Three Furies.
Mionnet, IV, 762.

101 obv: Draped bust of Domna to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Female figure sitting right holding
a phiale in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left
arm.
Mionnet, IV, 763.

102 obv: Draped bust of Domna to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Female figure holding a statuette
of Zeus Laodiceus in her right hand standing between a stag
and a lion (wolf and boar?).
Mionnet, IV, 764.

TO ΠH Year 88 A.D. 211/2

103 obv: IOYΛ(IA) ΔOMNA ΣEB Draped bust of Domna to the right.

rev: ΛAOΔIKEΩN NEΩKOPΩN TO ΠH Tyche standing left and holding in her right hand a rudder and two ears of corn with a poppy and a cornucopiae on her left arm.
BMC 217; *SNG SvA* 3852, 3853; Ox.

104 obv: IOYΛIA ΔOMNA ΣEB Draped bust of Domna to the right.

rev: ΛAOΔIKEΩN NEΩKOPΩN TO ΠH Cybele standing to the front and reaching her hands to two lions on either side of her.
BM=*SNG SvA* 3851.

105 obv: IOYΛ(IA) ΔOMNA ΣEB Draped bust of Domna to the right.

rev: ΛAOΔIKEΩN NEΩKOPΩN TO ΠH Nemesis standing left with a wheel at her feet and plucking her chiton with her right hand and holding a cubit rule in her left hand.
SNG München, 391; *SNG SvA* 3854; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 458; Mionnet, IV, 761; BM.

106 obv: IOYΛ(IA) ΔOMNA ΣE(B) Draped bust of Domna to the right.

rev: ΛAOΔIKEΩN NEΩKO(PΩN) TO ΠH Helmeted Roma enthroned to the left holding Nike on her right hand and resting her left hand on a spear while a shield is placed behind the throne.
BMC 213, 214; *Cop* 584; Lindgren I 995; Weber, 7147, 7148; BM Hecht, BM Hecht; Mionnet, IV, 757; *MZ* 82, 349.

107 obv: IOYΛ ΔOMNA ΣEB Draped bust of Domna to the right.

rev: ΛAOΔIKEΩN NEΩKOPΩN TO ΠH Helmeted Roma sitting to the left with a shield at her feet and armour behind the throne and holding a statuette of Nike in her right hand and resting her left arm on a sceptre.
SNG München 392; Mionnet, IV, 758.

108 obv: IOYΛIA ΔOMNA ΣEB Draped bust of Domna to the right.

rev: ΛAOΔI NEΩK TO ΠH Zeus Aseis holding the infant Dionysus on his left arm and reaching his right hand to a goat standing at his feet.
SNG München 393; *MG* p. 407, no. 131; *Inv Wadd* 6299.

109 obv: IOYΛIA ΔOMNA ΣE(B) Draped bust of Domna to the right.

rev: ΛAOΔIKEΩN NEΩKOPΩN TO ΠH City goddess standing to the front and holding a phiale in her right hand and a statuette of Zeus Laodiceus in her left hand while at her feet are a wolf and a boar, representing the Lycus and Caprus rivers.
BMC 215, 216; *SNG Lewis* 1608; *SNG Bern* 1197; *Inv Wadd* 6297.

110 obv: IOYΔΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ ΣΕΒ Draped bust of Domna to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ ΛΥΚΟΣ ΚΑΠΡΟΣ City goddess standing to the front and holding a phiale in her right hand and a statuette of Zeus Laodiceus in her left while at her feet are a wolf and a boar, representing the Lycus and Caprus rivers.

BM; *Inv Wadd* 6296; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 460.

CARACALLA

111 obv: ΑΥ Κ Μ Α ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙ Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.

BM=*SNG SvA* 3855; Lindgren I 996.

112 obv: ΑΥ Κ Μ (Α) ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙ Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Tyche standing left and holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.

BMC 222, 223, 224; *Cop* 587, 588; Ox, Ox; Weber 7149; *Inv Wadd* 6301.

P Ai(1) Pigres

113 obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΕΠΙ Π ΑΙ ΠΙΓΡΗΤΟ ΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ Γ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Helios in a radiate crown standing in a quadriga of elephants and holding a phiale and sceptre.

SNG SvA 3857.

114 obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΕΠΙ Π ΑΙΑ ΠΙΓΡΗΤΟΣ ΑΣΙΑΡ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Caracalla (?) standing in a quadriga of elephants holding a globe surmounted by Nike with a wreath in his right hand and a sceptre surmounted by an eagle with open wings in his left hand.

BMC 225.

115 obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΕΠΙ Π ΑΙΑ ΠΙΓΡΗΤΟ ΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ Γ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Ge, right, and Thalassa, left, supporting a statue of a radiate Caracalla which holds a phiale and a sceptre. Beneath the statue is an eagle with open wings standing on a wreath. Ge wears a long chiton and peplos and a veil and carries a cornucopiae with two ears of corn springing from the ground behind her. Thalassa wears a long chiton and crab-shell head-dress and holds an oar in her left hand and a dolphin dives into waves behind her.

BMC 226; Mionnet, IV, 768.

116 obv: AYT K M AYP ANTΩNEINOS ΣEB Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΕΠΙ ΑΙΑ ΠΙΓΡΗΤΟΣ ΑΣΙΑΡ Γ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Two temples with four columns each with a statue in the entrance with the emperor(?) standing to the left in the centre.
Lindgren I 997.

117 obv: AYT KAI M AYP ANTΩNEINOS ΣEB Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: Π ΑΙΑ ΠΙΓΡΗΣ ΑΣΙΑΡΧΗΣ Γ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Oblong enclosure with a temple front of two columns at the far end before which stands a military figure (the emperor?) haranguing a group of citizens between two ranks of soldiers armed with shields. The front of the enclosure consists of a portico of six columns. In the central intercolumniation two figures stand and in each of end ones, a single figure apparently attaching garlands to the second column from each end.
BMC 227; Ox; Inv Wadd 7072.

118 obv: AYT KAI M AYP ANTΩNEINOS Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΕΠΙ Α(?) ΑΙΑ ΠΙΓΡΗΤΟΣ ΑΣΙΑΡ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Asclepius holding a serpent-staff standing with Zeus Laodiceus holding an eagle and sceptre. Between them is a draped figure.
BM (coin worn).

119 obv: AYT KAI M AYP ANTΩNEINOS ΣEB Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΕΠΙ Α ΑΙΑ ΠΙΓΡΗΤΟΣ ΑΣΙΑΡ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Dionysus riding in a chariot pulled by a panther and a goat while nearby is a Satyr and a Bacchant.
Mionnet, IV, 767.

Neocorate dating

120 obv: AYT KAI M AYP ANTΩNEINOS Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Turreted Cybele enthroned to the left between two lions holding a phiale in her right hand and resting her left arm on a tympanum.
BMC 236; Mionnet, IV, 774.

121 obv: AYT KAI M AYP ANTΩNEINOS Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing with Asclepius.
Mionnet, IV, 773.

122 obv: Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚ ΝΕΩ[ΚΟΡΩΝ] Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
Inv Wadd 6302.

123 obv: Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Aeneas standing on the prow of a ship inviting his companions to join him.
Inv Wadd 6306.

124 obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Rhea with the infant Zeus surrounded by four Corybantes each holding a shield. On the left is a standing figure and on the right a recumbent figure representing the river gods Caprus and Lycus.
Cop 589; Mionnet, IV, 781;

125 obv: ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Cupid lying asleep on the ground with his head resting on his left hand.
Mionnet, Suppl. VII, 463; Inv Wadd 6307.

126 obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΕΥΤΥΧΕΙΣ ΚΑΡΟΙ Four children representing the four seasons.
Mionnet, Suppl. VII, 461; Mionnet, IV, 776.

127 obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Radiate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Tyche standing left and holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.
Cop 590; SNG München 394.

128 obv: ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥ ΑΝΤΩ Radiate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum?
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Three urns placed on a table.
Mionnet, Suppl. VII, 466.

129 obv: [ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ] ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Winged Tyche-Pantheia standing left and holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.
Fitz McClean 8832; Inv Wadd 6303.

130 obv: Caracalla.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Female standing left and holding a rudder and two ears of corn with a poppy in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm with a dolphin at her feet.

Mionnet, IV, 780.

131 obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ Laureate bust of Caracalla in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Female standing in a diastyle temple and holding a cornucopiae crowning the emperor (?) who leans on a sceptre.

Mionnet, IV, 766.

TO ΠΗ Year 88 A.D. 211/2

132 obv: ...ΑΥΡ Α...ΟΣ Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ...ΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Τ ΠΗ Three children with a bull with a disk placed between its horns.

Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 462; Mionnet, IV, 779.

133 obv: ΑΥ(Τ) Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ Winged Tyche-Pantheia standing left and holding a rudder and two ears of corn in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm with the wheel of Nemesis resting at her feet.

BMC 233; Ox; *KM* p. 272, no. 46; "Münzen aus Laodikeia", nos. 29-30.

134 obv: ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ Tyche-Pantheia holding a rudder and a caduceus in her right hand and on her left arm a cornucopiae with the wheel of Nemesis resting at her feet to the left and a dolphin on the right.

SNG München 396.

135 obv: ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Radiate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ Winged and radiate Tyche-Pantheia standing left and holding a rudder ending in a caduceus in her right hand and on her left arm a cornucopiae with the wheel of Nemesis resting at her feet.

BMC 234; *KM* p. 273, no. 47.

136 obv: ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ Tyche standing with a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm with a wheel at her feet and two ears of corn in the field.

Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 464; Mionnet, IV, 777.

137 obv: AY K M AY ANTΩNEINOS Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ Νaked man in flight.
Mionnet, IV, 778.

138 obv: AY K M AY ANTΩNEINOS Laureate bust of Caracalla in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ ΛΥΚΟΣ ΚΑΠΡΟΣ Enthroned city goddess holding a cornucopiae and a statuette of Zeus (?) with Lycus reclining on the left and holding reeds and Caprus reclining on the right with a cornucopiae and some reeds.
SNG SvA 8419=BM.

139 obv: AY(T) K M AY ANTΩNEINOS Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ ΛΥΚΟΣ ΚΑΠΡΟΣ City goddess enthroned to the left holding a cornucopiae and statuette of Zeus Laodiceus with Lycus on the left recumbent on a water urn and Caprus on the right with a cornucopiae and reeds also recumbent on a water urn.
BMC 229; KM p. 274, no. 51a.

140 obv: AYT K M AYP ANTΩNEINOS Laureate bust Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ Wolf and boar sitting opposite each other.
SNG SvA 3860.

141 obv: AYT K M AYP ANTΩNEINOS Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ Wolf and boar sitting back to back with their heads turned to face each other.
SNG SvA 3861.

142 obv: AY K M AY ANTΩNEINOS Radiate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ Wolf and boar sitting back to back with their heads turned to face each other.
Cop 591; SNG SvA 3862; BMC 235; Mionnet, IV, 783; Mionnet, Suppl. VII, 465; KM p. 273, no. 48.

143 obv: AYT K M AYP ANTΩNEINOS Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ ΦΡΥΓΙΑ on left and ΚΑΡΙΑ on right. Turreted city goddess Laodicea enthroned to the left holding a statuette of Zeus Laodiceus and a cornucopiae. Before her stands "Phrygia" holding two ears of corn and a sceptre and "Caria" stands behind the throne holding a branch and a cornucopiae.
BMC 228; BM=SNG SvA 3856; Ox; SNG Bern 1200.

144 obv: AYT K M AYP ANTΩNEINOS Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ ΦΡΥΓΙΑ ΚΑΡΙΑ. Phrygia holding two statuettes in her right hand and Caria holding an ear of corn in her right hand and a cornucopiae in her left hand.

Mionnet, IV, 775.

145 obv: AYT KAI M AYP ANTΩNEINOS Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ ΦΡΥΓΙΑ ΚΑΡΙΑ. Zeus Laodiceus with an eagle and sceptre standing between Phrygia holding two ears of corn and Caria holding a cornucopiae.

Lanz, 30, 664.

146 obv: AY K M AY ANTΩNEINOS Laureate bust of Caracalla in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ Naked youth with garment or animal skin on his left arm seems to be standing in a waterfall with the river gods Lycus and Caprus represented as animal heads to the left and right.

AGM pp. 72-73, no. 205 and 206.

147 obv: AY(T) K M AY(P) ANTΩNEINOS Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass adorned with gorgoneion and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle with open wings on his extended right arm and a long sceptre in his left hand.

BMC 231, 232; Ox; Mionnet, IV, 772; SNG Bern 1201.

148 obv: AY K M AYP ANTΩNEINOS Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ Asclepius stands facing right and rests his right arm on a serpent-staff.

Cop 592, 593.

149 obv: AYT K M AYP ANTΩNEINOS Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ Three temples with cult representations in each.

SNG SvA 3858=BM.

150 obv: AYT K M AYP ANTΩNEINOS Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ Temple with six columns with a representation of the emperor standing left holding a phiale in his right hand and leaning his left hand on a sceptre.

KM p. 273, no. 49; Inv Wadd 6305.

151 obv: AY KAI M AYP ANTΩNEINOS ΣEB Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ Agonistic table on which is a prize crown between two purses containing palms inscribed ANTΩΝ and ΚΟΜΟΔΕΙΑ and beneath the table is an amphora and two palms.
BMC 230.

152 obv: Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ Agonistic table on which is a prize urn inscribed ΚΟΜΟΔΕΙΑ.
Inv Wadd 6310.

153 obv: Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΑ ΑΣΚΛΗΠΕΙΑ ΠΥΘΙΑ Agonistic table on which is a prize urn.
Inv Wadd 6311.

154 obv: ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ Garlanded base on which stands Panthea with a cornucopiae and a phiale from which a snake feeds and before her is a statue of Athena with a lance and a shield while behind her is a griffin.
SNG SvA 8418.

155 obv: ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ Winged Nemesis (Panthea?) standing on a platform with a cornucopiae and a phiale from which a snake feeds and at her feet is a statue of Athena on a base while to the left is a griffin and a small building containing a statue.
Mionnet, IV, 769.

156 obv: Laureate bust of Caracalla in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ. Rhea and Zeus with three Corybantes. Above is an eagle while below are the recumbent figures of the Lycus and Caprus and a small figure holding a rudder nearby.
Mionnet, IV, 782.

157 obv: ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ Two hands in a handshake.
KM p. 273, no. 50.

158 obv: ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ Two hands in a handshake.
KM p. 273, no. 51.

GETA CAESAR Before his death in 212 A.D.

159 obv: Α ΣΕΠ ΓΕΤΑΣ Κ Bare-headed bust of Geta to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΑΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Eagle with open wings standing to the front, head to the left and a wreath in its beak.
BMC 237; Cop 594; Inv Wadd 6315.

160 obv: Α ΣΕΠΤ ΓΕΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ Bare-headed bust of Geta to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΔΕΙΑ ΚΟΜΟΔΙΑ Prize crown with two palm branches standing between two purses on a table under which is an urn.
SNG München 397.

161 obv: Α ΣΕΠΤ ΓΕΤΑΣ ΚΑ Bare-headed bust of Geta to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΔΟΓΜΑΤΙ ΣΥΝ ΚΟΜΟΔΙΑ ΑΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ A large urn standing between two vases on a table with a diota under the table.
Mionnet, IV, 786.

ELAGABALUS

162 obv: ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΑΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Winged Tyche-Pantheia standing to the left and holding two ears of corn and a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm while at her feet is the wheel of Nemesis.
BMC 243, 244, 245; Ox, Ox, Ox; Cop 597; SNG SvA 3859.

163 obv: ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΑΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Winged Tyche-Pantheia standing to the left and holding two ears of corn and a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm while at her feet is the wheel of Nemesis and a dolphin?
SNG München 399.

164 obv: ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Σ Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΑΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Winged Eros sitting to the left on the ground.
KM p. 274, no. 55.

165 obv: ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΑΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΔΟΓΜΑΤΙ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΥ Two right hands clasped.
BMC 238, 239, 240, 241; Cop 595, 596; SNG München 398; SNG Fitz 4985; Fitz McClean 8833; BM; Ox; Mionnet, IV, 771; Inv Wadd 6308; "Münzen aus Laodikeia", no. 31.

166 obv: AYT K M AYP ANTΩNEINOS Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΔΟΓΜΑΤΙ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΥ Two temples facing each other and a statue within each.
Inv Wadd 6309; BMC 242.

167 obv: AYT K M AY ANTΩNEINOS ΣΕΒ Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΔΟΓΜΑΤΙ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΥ ΚΟΜΟΔΟΥ ΚΕ ANTΩNEINOY The emperor in military dress holding a statuette of Zeus in his right hand and resting his left arm on a sceptre with a captive on either side of him at his feet; above an eagle and a crown.
Mionnet, IV, 770.

ANNIA FAUSTINA The reign of Elagabalus

168 obv: ANNIA ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ ΑΥΓ ΣΕΒ Draped bust of Annia to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΔΟΓΜΑΤΙ ΣΥΝΚΛΗ(ΤΟΥ) Helmeted Roma enthroned to the left holding Nike on her extended right hand and resting her left elbow on a shield behind the seat.
BMC 246; SNG SvA 3863; Lindgren III 602; SNG Bern 1202; Cop 598.

JULIA MAESA The reign of Elagabalus

169 obv: (E)ΙΟΥΔΙΑ ΜΑΙΣΑ ΣΕΒ Draped bust of Maesa to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Winged Nemesis standing left and plucking her chiton with her right hand and holding a bridle in her lowered left hand with a wheel at her feet.
BMC 250; SNG München 401; Fitz McClean 8834; Ox, Ox; Mionnet, IV, 789; Inv Wadd 6320.

170 obv: ΙΟΥΔΙΑ ΜΑΙΣΑ ΣΕΒ Draped bust of Maesa to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΔΟΓΜΑΤΙ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΥ ΚΟΙΝΑ ΑΣΙΑΣ Prize crown on an agonistic table.
BMC 249.

171 obv: ΙΟΥΔΙΑ ΜΑΙΣΑ ΣΕΒ Draped bust of Maesa to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΔΟΓΜΑΤΙ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΥ ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙ Prize crown on an agonistic table.
KM p. 275, no. 56; Inv Wadd 6319.

172 obv: (E)ΙΟΥΔΙΑ ΜΑΙΣΑ ΣΕ(B) Draped bust of Maesa to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΔΟΓΜΑΤΙ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤ(ΟΥ) Helmeted Roma enthroned left holding Nike on her extended right hand and resting her left elbow on a shield.
Cop 599; Ox.; Mionnet, IV, 788; SNG Lewis 1609; BMC 247, 248; SNG München 400; SNG SvA 8420=BM; BM.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER

173 obv: M AYP AΛEΞANΔPOΣ Bust of Alexander to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: AAOΔIKEΩN NEΩKOPΩN Winged Tyche-Pantheia standing left and holding two ears of corn and a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm while the wheel of Nemesis rests at her feet.

BMC 252; 253; *Cop* 601; *Inv Wadd* 6318; "Münzen aus Laodikeia", no. 32.

174 obv: M AYP AΛEΞANΔPOΣ KAIΣAP Bust of Alexander to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: AAOΔIKEΩN NEΩKOPΩN ΔOΓMATI ΣYNKΛHTOY Two right hands clasped.

BMC 251; *Inv Wadd* 6317.

PHILIP I

175 obv: AY (K?) M IOYA ΦIAIΠΠOΣ AYΓ Laureate bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: AAOΔIKEΩN NEΩKOPΩN Female figure standing with a statuette of Nike on a globe and a cornucopiae.

Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 468; Ox (coin worn).

OTACILIA SEVERA The reign of Philip I

176 obv: M ΩTAKIA ΣEBHPA ΣE Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.

rev: AAOΔIKEΩN NEΩKOPΩN The Dioscuri holding their horses by the bridles in one hand and holding sceptres in their other hands.

Mionnet, IV, 790.

177 obv: M(APK) ΩTAKIA ΣEBHPA ΣE(B) Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.

rev: AAOΔIKEΩN NEΩKOPΩN Hecate Triformis holding in her six hands torches, dagger, whip, serpent etc.

BMC 255; *Inv Wadd* 6321; Ox; *Cop* 602; *SNG München* 402; Mionnet, IV, 791; *Hunt Coll* 11.

178 obv: (M) ΩTA(KIA) ΣEBHPA ΣE Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.

rev: AAOΔIKEΩN NEΩKOPΩN Nemesis with a wheel at her feet standing left and plucking her chiton with her right hand and holding a cubit rule in her left hand.

BMC 256; *Cop* 603; *Inv Wadd* 6322, 6323, 6324; Weber, 7150; BM; *Cop* 605.

179 obv: ΩTA ΣEBHPA ΣEB Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.

rev: AAOΔIKEΩN NEΩKOPΩN Winged Nemesis-Dikaiosyne with a wheel at her feet holding scales in her right hand and a cubit rule in her left hand.

BMC 257; Ox; *Cop* 604.

180 obv: Μ ΩΤΑΚΙΑΙΑ ΣΕΥΗΡΑ Σ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Roma seated left holding Nike with her shield behind her seat.

Lindgren III 603.

181 obv: (Μ) ΩΤΑ(Κ) ΣΕΥΗΡΑ ΣΕ(Β) Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩ(ΚΟ) Zeus Aseis extending his right hand over a goat at his feet and holding the infant Dionysus on his left arm.

BMC 258; Ox; *MG* p. 407, no. 132; *SNG SvA* 3866; *Inv Wadd* 6325; *SNG Fitz* 4986.

182 obv: ΩΤΑ ΣΕΥΗΡΑ ΣΕΒΑΣ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right with crescent behind her shoulders.

rev: ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΤΟΥΣΙΑΝΟΥ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟ Zeus Laodiceus standing face to face with Nemesis who is holding a bridle with a wheel at her feet with their right hands joined.

BMC 254; *Fitz McClean* 8835.

PHILIP II The reign of Philip I

183 obv: Μ ΙΟΥΔΙ(ΟΣ) ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ Κ Bare-headed bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Goddess (Tyche-Selene?) standing left with a phiale in her right hand which she gives to a snake entwined around her left arm holding a cornucopiae in her left hand with a griffin at her feet to her left.

MG p. 409, no. 136; *SNG Lewis* 1611.

184 obv: Μ ΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΙΣ Bare-headed bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Tyche standing left and holding two ears of corn and a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.

BMC 259; *Cop* 609; *SNG München* 404; Lindgren I 999; Mionnet, IV, 793.

185 obv: Μ ΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΙΣ Bare-headed bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Homonoia (Tyche?) standing and holding a phiale over a flaming altar with her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.

Cop 608; Ox.

186 obv: Μ ΙΟΥΔΙ(ΟΣ) ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ Κ(ΑΙΣ) Bare-headed bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ A wolf and a boar seated back to back with their heads turned to face each other.

BMC 260, 261; Ox, Ox; Weber, 7151; *Cop* 607.

187 obv: M IOYAI[O]Σ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ K Bare-headed bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ A wolf and a boar seated on their haunches facing each other.
Lindgren I 998; Inv Wadd 6326.

188 obv: M IOYΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare-headed bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Asclepius holding a serpent-staff standing with Hygeia feeding a snake.
SNG München 403; SNG SvA 8421.

189 obv: M IOYΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare-headed bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Two temples with a cult representation in each.
SNG SvA 3864; KM p. 275, no.57.

190 obv: M IOYΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare-headed bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΔΕΙΑ ΚΟΜΟΔΕΙΑ ΚΟΙΝΑ ΑΣΙΑΣ Table with two prize crowns.
Cop 606; SNG SvA 8422.

191 obv: M IOYΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ (ΚΑΙΣΑΡ) Bare-headed bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus holding an eagle and a sceptre standing opposite Tyche who is holding a rudder and cornucopiae.
Hunt Coll 12; SNG SvA 3865=BM; Mionnet, IV, 794, 795.

192 obv: M IOYΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare-headed bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Female figure holding her right hand to Tyche who is also standing.
Mionnet, IV, 797.

193 obv: M IOYΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare-headed bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Female figure holding a phiale and cornucopiae standing before an altar.
Mionnet, IV, 798.

TRAJAN DECIUS

194 obv: ΑΥΤ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ ΔΕΚΙΟΣ Laureate bust of Decius to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Two right hands clasped.
BMC 262; Cop 610.

B LAODICEA: Coins without Imperial Portraits

Late first century B.C.

Seitalkas

1 obv: ΣΕΙΤΑΛΚΑΣ Bare head to the right.
rev: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Laureate head of the Demos to the right with drapery on his shoulder.
RPC 2892.

Time of Claudius¹

Pythes Pythou

2 obv: ΠΥΘΗΣ Bare head to the right.
rev: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Head of the Demos to the right bound with taenia.
RPC 2902.

3 obv: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Laureate bust of Apollo with a lyre to the right.
rev: ΠΥΘΗΣ ΠΥΘΟΥ Altar entwined by snake surmounted by head-dress of Isis.
RPC 2903.

4 obv: Wolf (?) seated left with a double-axe within a wreath.
rev: ΠΥΘΗΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Aphrodite standing left and holding a dove.
RPC 2904.

5 obv: ΠΥΘΗΣ Laureate head of Apollo with a lyre to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Head-dress of Isis.
RPC 2905.

6 obv: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Bust of Mên wearing a Phrygian cap to the right.
rev: ΚΟΡ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΑΔΗΣ Eagle standing to the front with its wings open.
RPC 2907.

7 obv: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Laureate bust of Apollo with a lyre to the right.
rev: ΠΥΘΗΣ ΠΥΘΟΥ ΔΙΣ Altar entwined by snake surmounted by head-dress of Isis.
RPC 2909.

¹ See p. 255, n. 2.

8 obv: Wolf (?) seated left with a double-axe within a wreath.

rev: ΠΥΘ B ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Aphrodite standing left and holding a dove.

RPC 2910.

Anto Polemon, son of Zenon

9 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Laureate head of Demos to the right.

rev: ΕΠΙ ΙΕ ΖΗΝΩΝΙΣ ΠΟ ΥΙ ΤΟ Δ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.

RPC 2914.

Time of Nero

Ioulios Andronikos Euergetes

10 obv: ΒΟΥΛΗ ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Veiled bust of the Boule face to face with the laureate head of the Demos.

rev: ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.

RPC 2920.

11 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Laureate head of the Demos to the right.

rev: ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.

RPC 2921, 2922.

Ioulia Zenonis

12 obv: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΑ Turreted bust of the City Goddess to the right.

rev: ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΖΗΝΩΝΙΣ Aphrodite in long chiton and peplos holding a dove and sceptre.

RPC 2925.

Aineas or Aineias

13 obv: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Bust of Mên wearing a Phrygian cap to the right.

rev: ΚΟΡ ΑΙΝΗΑΣ or ΑΙΝΕΙΑΣ Eagle standing with its wings open.

RPC 2927.

Time of Vespasian

Markellos

14 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Laureate head of the Demos to the right.

rev: ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΕΠΙ ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΟΥ ΑΝΘΥ within a laurel wreath.

RPC II 67.

Time of Titus

Gaius Ioulios Kotys

15 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ Diademed bust of the Demos to the right.
rev: ΓΑΙΟΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΚΟΤΥΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ within laurel wreath.
RPC II 72.

16 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ Diademed bust of the Demos to the right.
rev: ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΚΟΤΥΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Head-dress of Isis on an altar.
RPC II 74.

Claudia Zenonis

17 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ Diademed and draped bust of the Demos to the right.
rev: Κ ΖΗΝΩΝΙΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Male figure holding a phiale in his right hand and a palm in his left hand while a one-handled vase from which a small vexillum rises stands at his feet.
RPC II 73.

18 obv: ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑ ΖΗΝΩΝΙΣ Helmeted bust of Athena to the right with aegis at her breast.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Cornucopiae with fruit and to the left a star.
RPC II 75.

19 obv: ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑ ΖΗΝΩΝΙΣ Helmeted bust of Athena to the left with aegis at her breast.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Cornucopiae with fruit and to the left a star.
RPC II 76.

Time of Domitian

Kornelios Dioskourides

20 obv: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Helmeted and draped bust of Athena to the right with aegis at her breast.
rev: ΔΙΑ ΚΟΡ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΑΔΟΥ Nike walking left carrying a wreath and a palm.
RPC II 89.

21 obv: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Helmeted and draped bust of Roma to the right.
rev: ΔΙΑ ΚΟΡ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΑΔΟΥ Apollo seated left and playing the lyre.
RPC II 90.

22 obv: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Helmeted and draped bust of Roma to the right.
rev: ΔΙΑ ΚΟΡ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΑΔΟΥ Wolf suckling twins.
RPC II 91.

23 obv: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Turreted bust of the City Goddess to the right.
rev: ΔΙΑ ΚΟΡ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΑΔΟΥ within a laurel wreath.
RPC II 92.

Late first century A.D.

24 obv: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Helmeted and draped bust of Roma to the right.
rev: Nike walking left and carrying a wreath and a palm.
RPC II 93; 94.

25 obv: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΙΑ Turreted bust of the City goddess to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Nike walking left and carrying a wreath and a palm.
RPC II 95.

Time of Antoninus Pius

Po Ailios Dionysios Sabinianos

26 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Draped and laureate bust of the bearded Demos to the right.
rev: ΠΟ ΑΙΑΙΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΣΑΒΙΝΙΑΝΟΣ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his right hand.
BMC 94; *Cop* 530; *SNG SvA* 3820; Lindgren I 985; Ox; BM; *Inv Wadd* 6244; *KM*, p. 268, no. 28; Mionnet, IV, 699; "Münzen aus Laodikeia", no. 41.

27 obv: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Bust of Mên wearing a Phrygian cap to the right with a crescent behind his shoulders.
rev: ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ Eagle standing to the front with its wings open.
BMC 97; *Cop* 534; *SNG München* 359; Ox; *Inv Wadd* 6232; *KM* p. 269, no. 32.

28 obv: Radiate bust of Helios to the right.
rev: ΔΙΟΝΥ ΛΑΟΔΙ Cornucopiae containing fruit on which sits the infant Ploutos reaching towards a hanging ear of corn.
BMC 98; *Cop* 535; *MG* p. 403, no. 116; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 418.

29 obv: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Bust of the youthful Dionysus to the right in an ivy wreath.
rev: ΑΙΑΙΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ Demeter standing to the left and holding two ears of corn in her right hand and a torch in her left hand.
Cop 531; *SNG München* 358; *SNG SVA* 3819; *Inv Wadd* 6229; *KM* p. 269, no. 30.

30 obv: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Bust of the youthful Dionysus to the right in an ivy wreath.
rev: ΑΙΑΙΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣ Αφροδίτη standing left and holding a dove on her right arm and a sceptre in her left hand.
MG p. 403, no. 115.

31 obv: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Bust of the youthful Dionysus to the right in an ivy wreath.
rev: ΑΙΑ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ Mask of Silenus crowned with ivy lying on a cista mystica around which a serpent coils and a pair of cymbals.
BMC 96; *Cop* 532; *Lindgren I* 986; *SNG Bern* 1194; *Ox*; *KM* p. 268, no. 29; *Mionnet*, IV, 688; *MZ* 56, 278.

32 obv: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Bust of Mên in a Phrygian cap to the right with a crescent behind his shoulders.
rev: ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ Asclepius standing and holding a serpent-staff.
Cop 533; *KM* p. 269, no. 31.

Time of Marcus Aurelius

P K1 Attalos

33 obv: ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.
rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚ(ΕΩΝ) Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
SNG SvA 3824; *SNG Fitz* 4982.

34 obv: ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.
rev: Π ΚΑ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ [ΑΝΕΘΗ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ] Eagle with open wings standing on two pieces of wood from a burning altar.
SNG München 363.

35 obv: ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.
rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ (ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ) ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕ(ΕΩΝ) Eagle flying left over an altar.
Ox; *Mionnet*, IV, 702.

36 obv: ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.
rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Asclepius standing and holding a serpent-staff.
SNG SvA 3825.

37 obv: ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.
rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Dionysus standing right with his right arm above his head and left hand on the shoulders of a satyr looking up at him while a panther at his feet jumps to the left.
SNG München 361.

- 38 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
 rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Cybele seated left between two lions resting her left hand on a tympanum.
 Mionnet, IV, 701.
- 39 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
 rev: (Π Κ) ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ (ΑΝΕ) ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Hades-Sarapis enthroned to the left extending his right hand over Cerberus sitting at his feet and resting his left arm on a sceptre.
 BMC 104, 105.
- 40 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.
 rev: ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Hades-Sarapis enthroned to the left extending his right hand over Cerberus sitting at his feet and resting his left arm on a sceptre.
 Inv Wadd 6248.
- 41 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.
 rev: Π ΚΑ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Aphrodite standing naked to the front holding her long hair in her hands with a dolphin to her left.
 KM p. 269, no. 34.
- 42 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.
 rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Mên holding a pine-cone in his left hand and a sceptre in his right hand standing with his left foot on a bucranium.
 KM p. 269, no. 34a.
- 43 obv: IEPAN ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΝ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.
 rev: ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΛΑΟΔΙΚ A tree beside an altar on two steps entwined by a snake.
 KM p. 270, 35; GRM p. 160, no. 3.
- 44 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.
 rev: ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Temple front with eight columns.
 SNG München 362; Inv Wadd 6251; Mionnet, Suppl. VII, 435.
- 45 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.
 rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Temple front with eight columns.
 Mionnet, IV, 704.

46 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.
rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Winged Nemesis standing left.
Inv Wadd 6250.

47 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.
rev: ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΝ ΑΝΕΘΗ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Triformis Hecate.
Inv Wadd 6249.

48 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.
rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
BMC 101; SNG SvA 3823; Mionnet, IV, 703.

49 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.
rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
BMC 102; Mionnet, IV, 705.

50 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.
rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Tyche standing left and holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.
SNG SvA 3826.

51 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.
rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Athena helmeted and standing to the left holding an olive branch in her right hand and resting her left hand on a spear with her shield on the ground behind her.
BMC 103.

52 obv: ΒΟΥΛΗ ΛΟΑΔΙΚΕΩΝ Veiled bust of the Boule with a stephane to the right.
rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑ[ΤΕΥΩΝ Α]ΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Tyche standing left and holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.
AGM p. 71, no. 200; MZ 56, 277.

53 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΟΑΔΙΚΕΩΝ Draped and bearded bust of the Demos to the right in taenia.
rev: Π ΚΑ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
SNG München 360; SNG SvA 3821; Mionnet, Suppl. VII, 434.

54 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΟΑΔΙΚΕΩΝ Draped and bearded bust of the Demos to the right in taenia.
rev: Π ΚΑ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Aseis standing and holding the infant Dionysus on his left arm and reaching his right hand to a goat standing at his feet.
BM.

55 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΟΑΔΙΚΕΩΝ Draped and bearded bust of the Demos to the right in taenia.
rev: Π ΚΑ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ (ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ) Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia with its usual supports standing between two stags.
BMC 106; *KM*, p. 270, no 39; *MZ*, 71, 370; Lanz, 52, 241; "Münzen aus Laodikeia", no. 42.

56 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΟΑΔΙΚΕΩΝ Bearded bust of the Demos to the right in taenia.
rev: Π ΚΑ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Winged Nemesis plucking her chiton with her right hand and holding a bridle in her left hand.
BMC 107.

57 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΟΑΔΙΚΕΩΝ Draped and bearded bust of the Demos to the right in taenia.
rev: Π ΚΑ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Aphrodite standing naked and holding her long hair in her hands with winged Eros behind her and a dolphin.
KM p. 271, 40.

58 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΟΑΔΙΚΕΩΝ Draped and bearded bust of the Demos to the right in taenia.
rev: Π ΚΑ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Tyche standing left and holding two ears of corn, a poppy and a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.
SNG SvA 3822; *GRM* p. 160, no. 4; *Inv Wadd* 6245; *KM* p. 270, 37.

59 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΟΑΔΙΚΕΩΝ Draped and bearded bust of the Demos to the right in taenia.
rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΡΕΥΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Hades-Sarapis enthroned to the left extending his right hand over Cerberus sitting at his feet and resting his left hand on a sceptre.
BM; *KM* p. 270, no. 36.

60 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΟΑΔΙΚΕΩΝ Draped and bearded bust of the Demos to the right in taenia.
rev: Π ΚΑ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΡ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Athena standing left holding a phiale in her right hand over a flaming altar and resting her left hand on a spear which her shield leans against.
KM p. 270, no. 38.

Time of Caracalla

61 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡ City goddess holding a statue of Zeus Laodiceus in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.

Cop 541.

62 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Winged Tyche-Pantheia standing left holding a serpent and a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm with the wheel of Nemesis at her feet and an ear of corn growing behind her.

BMC 126; *GRM* p. 161, no. 6; *Ox*; *Inv Wadd* 6252, 6253.

63 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Tyche holding a cornucopiae on her left arm and a phiale in her right hand with a burning altar at her feet.

Mionnet, IV, 706; *Kress*, 171, 492.

64 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ A boar and a wolf seated back to back with their heads turned to face each other.

BMC 127, 128, 129; *Cop* 540; *SNG München* 370; *SNG SvA* 3832; *Fitz McClean* 8831; *Ox*; *Inv Wadd* 6254; *Mionnet*, IV, 700.

65 obv: ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΝ ΝΕΩΝ Youthful and draped bust of the Synedrion

Neon to the left with taenia and two spears or staffs over the left shoulder.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Tyche holding a phiale and two ears of corn and a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm with a wheel at her feet.

GRM p. 161, no. 5; *SNG Bern* 1195.

66 obv: ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΝ ΝΕΩΝ Youthful and draped bust of the Synedrion Neon to the left with taenia and two spears or staffs over his left shoulder.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Winged Eros lying left on the ground with his left arm resting on some rocks and holding an arrow in his right hand with a torch at his feet and a bow between the rocks and himself.

BMC 130, 131, 132; *SNG Lewis* 1610; *KM* p. 274, no. 52, p. 275, no. 53 and 54.

TO ΠΗ Year 88 A.D. 211/2

67 obv: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΙΑ Veiled, draped and turreted bust of the City goddess to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ Hermes naked standing front and holding a purse in his right hand and a caduceus in his

left hand.
BMC 117; Ox.

68 obv: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΙΑ Veiled, draped and turreted bust of the City Goddess to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ Asclepius standing and holding a serpent-staff.
BMC 115, 116; Lindgren I 987; Ox.

69 obv: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΙΑ Veiled, draped and turreted bust of the City Goddess to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ Cornucopiae.
BMC 118, 119; Ox; *GM* p. 742, no. 715; *Inv Wadd* 6234.

70 obv: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΙΑ Veiled, draped and turreted bust of the City Goddess to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
BMC 114; Ox; *KM* p. 272, no. 45.

71 obv: Draped bust of Sarapis wearing a modius to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΗ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
BMC 109.

P Ailios Pigres

72 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Draped and laureate bust of the Demos to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΕΠΙ Λ ΑΙΑ ΠΙΓΡΗΤΟΣ ΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ Γ Aphrodite seated left with Eros.
Ox.

Time of Elagabalus onwards

73 obv: ΙΕΡΟΣ ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Draped and laureate bust of the youthful Demos to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΔΟΓΜΑΤΙ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΥ ΝΑΟΙ ΑΓΩΝΕΣ Table with lion legs with four prize crowns on it and a lot urn under it.
SNG SvA 8414.

74 obv: ΙΕΡΑ ΒΟΥΛΗ Veiled bust of the Boule to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ with ΔΟΓΜΑΤΙ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΥ within a wreath.
AGM p. 71, no. 201.

Second and third centuries A.D.

75 obv: ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ Helmeted and cuirassed bust of Roma to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Cornucopiae.
SNG München 364; Mionnet, IV, 707.

76 obv: ΘEA ΡΩΜΗ Helmeted and cuirassed bust of Roma to the left.

rev: ΑΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Two right hands clasped.

BMC 121, 122, 123; *Cop* 544; *Inv Wadd* 6239.

77 obv: ΑΑΟΔΙΚ(Ε)ΙΑ Veiled and turreted bust of the City goddess to the right.

rev: ΑΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Cornucopiae.

SNG München 366; *Mionnet*, IV, 681; *Cop* 546.

78 obv: ΑΑΟΔΙΚΕΙΑ Veiled and turreted bust of the City goddess to the right.

rev: ΑΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Two right hands clasped.

BMC 120; *Cop* 546; *SNG SvA* 3833; *Inv Wadd* 6235, 6236; *Mionnet*, *Suppl.* VII, 423.

79 obv: ΑΑΟΔΙΚΕΙΑ Veiled and turreted bust of the City Goddess to the right.

rev: ΑΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Asclepius standing with serpent staff.

Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 422.

80 obv: ΑΑΟΔΙΚΕΙΑ Veiled and turreted bust of the City Goddess to the right.

rev: ΑΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Nike walking left holding a wreath in her right hand and a palm in her left hand.

Inv Wadd 6233; *Mionnet*, IV, 682; *Mionnet*, *Suppl.* VII, 410.

81 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ Youthful diademed head of the Demos to the right.

rev: ΑΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.

BMC 95; *Cop* 538; *SNG München* 365; *SNG SvA* 3830.

82 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ Youthful head of the Demos to the right bound with taenia.

rev: ΑΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ The River Caprus as a boar seated left with fore-paw on an inverted vase from which water flows.

BMC 111; *Ox*.

83 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ Youthful head of the Demos to the right bound with taenia.

rev: ΑΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ The River Lycus as a wolf seated right with fore-paw on an inverted vase from which water flows.

BMC 112, 113; *SNG München* 368; *Ox*.

84 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ Youthful head of the Demos to the right bound with taenia.

rev: ΑΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ A griffin standing right with a paw raised over an inverted kantharos.

Lindgren I 600.

85 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ Laureate head of the Demos to the right with drapery on his neck.

rev: ΑΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Aseis standing and holding the infant Dionysus on his left arm and reaching his right hand to a

goat standing at his feet.

BMC 124; 125; *Cop* 542; *SNG München* 369; *SNG SvA* 3831; *MG* p. 407, no. 129; *Inv Wadd* 6247; Mionnet, IV, 694; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 432; *MZ* 61; *KMk* 56, 114.

86 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Laureate and bearded bust of the Demos to the right.

rev: ΑΥΚΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Recumbent river god holding a flower or a branch in his right hand and a reed in his left hand and resting his left arm on an inverted vase from which water flows.

Cop 539; Lindgren I 599.

87 obv: ΒΟΥΛΗ Veiled head of the Boule.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Athena standing left leaning her left hand on a sceptre next to which is her shield and holding an owl in her right hand.

Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 436.

88 obv: Draped bust of Sarapis wearing a modius to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Cornucopiae.

BMC 110; *Cop* 543; *SNG München* 367; *SNG SvA* 3828; *Fitz McClean* 8830; Ox, Ox, Ox, Ox; *Inv Wadd* 6222; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 409; "Münzen aus Laodikeia", no. 43.

89 obv: Draped bust of Sarapis wearing a modius to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Tyche standing left and holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.

BMC 108; Ox.

90 obv: Draped bust of Sarapis wearing a modius to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Eagle standing to the front with its wings open.

BMC 99, 100; *Cop* 537; *SNG SvA* 8413; Ox.

91 obv: ΖΕΥΣ ΑΣΕΙΣ Draped bust of Zeus Aseis with taenia to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Goat standing right.

BMC 135, 136, 137; *SNG München* 371; *SNG SvA* 3829; *MG* p. 407, no. 128; Mionnet, IV, 6237, 6238.

92 obv: ΖΕΥΣ ΑΣΕΙΣ Draped bust of Zeus Aseis with taenia to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Athena standing left and placing her right hand on a shield which stands at her feet and resting her left hand on a spear.

BMC 133, 134; *KM* p. 275, no. 58.

93 obv: Radiate and draped bust of Helios to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Flaming altar.

Cop 536; *SNG SvA* 3827; *KM* p. 269, 33; Mionnet, IV, 684.

C LAODICEA: *Homonoia* Coins

ADRAMYTTIUM

Marcus Aurelius

1 obv: Head of Aurelius.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΑΔΡΑΜΥΤΤΗΝΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Zeus Laodiceus standing and holding the right hand of a female figure holding a sceptre.

Mionnet, IV, 749; von Fritze, *Die antike Münzen mysiens*, p. 48.

ANTIOCHIA AD MAEANDRUM

Commodus

2 obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡ ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΣ Laureate and bearded bust of Commodus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two city goddesses joining hands and holding sceptres.

Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 453; Pera, *Homonoia*, pp. 95-96.¹

EPHESUS

Commodus

3 obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡ ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΣ Laureate and bearded bust of Commodus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Zeus Laodiceus holding an eagle and a sceptre standing with the cult statue of Artemis Ephesia which is standing between two stags.

BMC 278; *SNG München* 405; *SNG SvA* 3868; *Hunt Coll* 13; *Inv Wadd* 6290; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 452; Mionnet, IV, 755; Pera, *Homonoia*, pp. 100-103.

Marcus Aurelius

4 obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Head of Marcus Aurelius.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Zeus Laodiceus holding an eagle and a sceptre standing with the cult statue of Artemis Ephesia which is standing between two stags.

Mionnet, IV, 751.

Caracalla

5 obv: ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΤΟ ΠΗ Zeus Laodiceus holding an eagle and a sceptre standing with a cult statue of Artemis Ephesia.

SNG München 406; BM Hecht.

¹ As Pera says the coin is of dubious authenticity.

6 obv: AY KAI MAP AYP ANTΩNEINOS ΣE Bearded and laureate head of Caracalla to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΤΟ ΠΗ Zeus Laodiceus holding an eagle and a sceptre stands right before a cult statue of Artemis Ephesia with its usual supports which stands to the front between two stags with their heads turned back.

BMC 281; *Inv Wadd* 6312; Mionnet, IV, 785.

Time of Caracalla

7 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ Laureate head of the youthful Demos to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two turreted city goddesses standing face to face leaning on sceptres with their left hands and joining right hands.

BMC 280; *Cop* 612; *SNG SvA* 3867; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 437.

"Münzen aus Laodikeia", no. 44.

Philip II Caesar

8 obv: Μ ΙΟΥΑ ΦΙΑΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare-headed bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Zeus Laodiceus holding an eagle and a sceptre standing with a cult statue of Artemis Ephesia.

BMC 285; *SNG SvA* 3869.

Otacilia Severa

9 obv: ΩΤΑ ΣΕΥΗΡΑ ΣΕΒΑΣ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Zeus Laodiceus holding an eagle and a sceptre standing with a cult statue of Artemis Ephesia which stands between two stags.

SNG SvA 3870; *SNG Bern* 1203; Mionnet, IV, 792; BM Hecht.

HERACLEA

Time of Marcus Aurelius

10 obv: ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΑΗΤΟΣ Youthful bust of the Senate to the right.

rev: ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΩΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two city goddesses leaning on sceptres with their left hands and joining their right hands.

SNG Lewis 1657.

11 obv: Commodus

rev: ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Zeus Laodiceus standing in front of an enthroned Asclepius.

Inv Wadd p. 435, 2424; Pera, *Homonoia*, pp. 97-98.

HIERAPOLIS

Hadrian

12 obv: ΑΥΤΟΚΡ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ Bare-headed bust of Hadrian in a cuirass and paludamentum to the left.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus holding an eagle and a sceptre standing beside Apollo of Hierapolis who holds a lyre and a plectrum.

BMC 270; 162 (Hierapolis); *Inv Wadd* 6152; Pera, *Homonoia*, pp. 40-43, nos. 1-2; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 92, nos. H a, b and I.

13 obv: ΑΥΤΟΚΡ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ Draped bust of Hadrian to the left.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Two turreted city goddesses and holding sceptres standing opposite each other and joining hands.

SNG München 252; *SNG Lewis* 1624; Mionnet, IV, 619.

Commodus

14 obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡ ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΣ Laureate bust of Commodus to the right in a paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ -----ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Zeus Laodiceus standing before the enthroned Apollo of Hierapolis sitting down holding his lyre with a serpent erect at his feet.

Mionnet, IV, 756.

NICOMEDIA²

Commodus

15 obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡ ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΣ ΣΕ Young laureate bust of Commodus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΙΚΟΜΗΔΕΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Zeus Laodiceus holding an eagle and a sceptre standing before the veiled Demeter of Nicomedia who holds two ears of corn and a poppy in her right hand and rests her left hand on a long torch. Between the two figures is a lighted altar.

BMC 277; Pera, *Homonoia*, p. 77, no. 1.

Crispina

16 obv: ΚΡΙΣΠΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Crispina to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΙΚΟΜΗΔΕΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two city goddesses standing opposite each other leaning on sceptres with their left hands and joining their right hands.

SNG SvA 3875; *Inv Wadd* 6293; Pera, *Homonoia*, p. 77, no. 2.

² See also Pera, *Homonoia*, pp. 77-79.

PERGAMUM³

Marcus Aurelius

17 obv: AY KAI M AYP ANTΩNINOC Laureate head of Aurelius to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Zeus Laodiceus holding an eagle and a sceptre stands facing Asclepius of Pergamum who holds a serpent-staff.

BMC 271, 272; *Cop* 611; Ox, Ox; Weber, 7154; *Inv Wadd* 6289; Pera, *Homonoia*, pp. 79-80, no. 1.

Faustina Junior

18 obv: ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Faustina to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two city goddesses standing face to face leaning on sceptres with their left hands and joining their right hands.

BMC 273, 274; *SNG München* 407; Pera, *Homonoia*, p. 80, no. 2.

19 obv: ... Draped bust of Faustina to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Zeus Laodiceus standing with Asclepius.

Mionnet, IV, 753 (misdescription of the above coin?).

Caracalla

20 obv: AYT KAI M AYP ANTΩNEINOC Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ The turreted city goddess of Laodicea carrying a sceptre and statuette of Zeus Laodiceus standing opposite that of Pergamum who is also turreted and carrying a sceptre and a statuette of Asclepius. Between them is a burning altar.

SNG SvA 3874; BM Hecht; *MZ* 68, 287.

21 obv: AY(T) K M AYP ANTΩNEINOC Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ (ΤΟ ΠΗ) Zeus Laodiceus holding an eagle and a sceptre stands facing Asclepius of Pergamum who holds a snake-staff.

BMC 279; BM; *SNG München* 408; *SNG SvA* 3872, 3873; Ox; Weber 7155; *Inv Wadd* 6313; *Fitz McClean* 8836; Mionnet, IV, 784.

³ See Pera, *Homonoia*, pp. 79-81.

Time of Caracalla

22 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Bust of the youthful Senate to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΤΟ ΠΗ Zeus Laodiceus holding an eagle and a sceptre stands facing Asclepius of Pergamum (holding a snake-staff?).

SNG SvA 3871.

PERINTHUS

Marcus Aurelius

23 obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙΣ Μ ΑΥΡΗΑΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ Laureate bust of Aurelius in a paludamentum.

rev: ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΑΙΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Μ Aurelius and Lucius Verus joining right hands.

Mionnet, IV, 752; Pera, *Homonoia*, p. 87.⁴

SMYRNA⁵

Claudius

24 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ Laureate and beardless heads of the Demoi face to face.

rev: ΕΠΙ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ ΠΟ ΥΙΟΥ ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right hand and leaning on a sceptre with his left arm.

RPC 2912.

Nero

25 obv: ΝΕΡΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Laureate head of Nero to the right.

rev: ΑΝΤΩ ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ ΖΗΝΩΝ ΥΙΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΟΜΗΡΟΣ Bearded "Demoi" standing face to face with their hands joined and each resting on a sceptre.

RPC 2928

⁴ Pera believes this coin is also of dubious authenticity. Schönert does not record this coin in *Die Münzprägung von Perinthus* and the only recorded *homonoia* issues for Perinthus are those with Ephesus, Nicomedia and Smyrna under Gordian III.

⁵ Pera, *Homonoia*, pp. 20-29; Klose, *Die Münzprägung von Smyrna*, pp. 53, 328-330.

Marcus Aurelius

26 obv: AY KAI M(AP) AY(P) ANTΩN(E)INOΣ Laureate head of Aurelius to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Zeus Laodiceus holding an eagle and a sceptre standing between two Nemeses of Smyrna each plucking their chitons.

BMC 275, 276; *Ox*; *Mionnet*, IV, 750; *Lanz*, 56, 526; *Hunt Coll* 14; *Lindgren III* 604; *SNG Bern* 1205; *Pera, Homonoia*, p. 21, no. 4.

Caracalla

27 obv: A ---KAI M AYP ANTΩNEINOΣ Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Σ-ΥΡ[ΝΑΙΩΝ] ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ The city goddess of Laodicea holding a sceptre over her left shoulder and a statuette of Zeus Laodiceus in her left hand stands facing the city goddess of Smyrna who holds a double axe over her left shoulder and a statuette of Nemesis in her right hand. Between the two figures is an altar.

BMC 284.

28 obv: AY(T) K M AYP ANTΩNEINOΣ Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ (ΤΟ ΙΙΙ) Zeus Laodiceus holding an eagle and a sceptre standing opposite Nemesis of Smyrna who is plucking her chiton and holding a cubit rule and has a wheel at her feet.

BMC 282, 283; *SNG SvA* 3878; *Weber*, 7153; *Fitz McClean* 8837; *SNG Lewis* 1613; *Inv Wadd* 6314.

Otacilia Severa

29 obv: ΩΤΑ ΣΕΥΗΡΑ ΣΕΒΑΣ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Zeus Laodiceus holding an eagle and a sceptre standing before Nemesis of Smyrna who is plucking her chiton.

MZ 66, 452.

Philip Junior

30 obv: Μ ΙΟΥΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare-headed bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Zeus Laodiceus holding an eagle and a sceptre standing before Nemesis of Smyrna who has a wheel at her feet and is plucking her chiton and holding a cubit rule.

BMC 286, 287, 288, 289; *Mionnet*, IV, 796; *BM Hecht*.

TRIPOLIS

Septimius Severus

31 obv: AY KAI A ΣEΠ ΣEOYHPOΣ ΠEP Laureate bust of Severus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: TPITΠOΔEITΩN KAI AAOΔIKEΩN OMONOIA Zeus Laodiceus holding a statuette of Nike and a sceptre standing with Leto who is running and carrying her twins, one on each arm.

BMC Lydia p. 378, no. 80.

The time of Severus and later?

32 obv: IEPA ΣYNKΛHTOΣ Laureate and draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.

rev: TPITΠOΔEITΩN KAI AAOΔIKEΩN OMONOIA Zeus Laodiceus holding a sceptre and extending his right hand standing with Leto who is running and carrying her twins, one on each arm.

BMC Lydia p. 378, no. 79.

D HIERAPOLIS: Coins with Imperial Portraits

AUGUSTUS

Zosimos Philopatris and Charax

1 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Bare head of Augustus to the right.
rev: ΖΩΣΙΜΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΧΑΡΑΞ Lyre.
RPC 2929.

Chares Charetos and Kokos

2 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Bare head of Augustus to the right.
rev: ΧΑΡΗΣ ΧΑΡΗΤΟΣ ΚΩΚΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo standing right
and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and
carrying a lyre on his left arm.
RPC 2931.

Bryon Bryonos

3 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Bare head of Augustus to the right.
rev: ΒΡΥΩΝ ΒΡΥΩΝΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo standing right and
carrying a plectrum in his lowered right hand and carrying
a lyre on his left arm.
RPC 2933.

Dorykanos Dioskouridou

4 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Bare head of Augustus to the right.
rev: ΔΟΡΥΚΑΝΟΣ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo standing
right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and
carrying a lyre on his left arm.
RPC 2935.

Artemon Kodrou

5 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Bare head of Augustus to the right.
rev: ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝ ΚΟΔΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo standing right and
holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and carrying
a lyre on his left arm.
RPC 2937.

Theokritos Theokritou

6 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Bare head of Augustus to the right.
rev: ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo standing right
and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and
carrying a lyre on his left arm.
RPC 2938.

Dryas Grammateus Demou

7 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Bare head of Augustus to the right.
rev: ΔΡΥΑΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ ΔΗΜΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo standing
right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and
carrying a lyre on his left arm.
RPC 2940.

Papias Apelliodou

8 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Bare head of Augustus to the right.
rev: ΠΑΠΙΑΣ ΑΠΕΛΛΙΔΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Tripod bound with taenia
with a laurel branch in the bowl.
RPC 2943.

Lynkeus Philopatris

9 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Bare head of Augustus to the right.
rev: ΛΥΓΚΕΥΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Tripod bound with
taenia with a laurel branch in the bowl.
RPC 2945.

Kokos Pollidos Philopatris

10 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Bare head to the right.
rev: ΚΩΚΟΣ ΠΟΛΛΙΔΟΣ ΦΙΛ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Tripod bound with
taenia with a laurel branch in the bowl.
RPC 2947.

Diphilos Philopatris

11 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Bare head of Augustus to the right.
rev: ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Tripod.
RPC 2949.

Heras Epainitou

12 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Bare head of Augustus to the right.
rev: ΗΡΑΣ ΕΠΑΙΝΕΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Tripod.
RPC 2951.

Attalos Meilichios

13 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Bare head of Augustus to the right.
rev: ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΜΕΙΛΙΧΙΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Tripod.
RPC 2953.

Iollas Iollou

14 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Bare head of Augustus to the right.
rev: ΙΟΛΛΑΣ ΙΟΛΛΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ Lyre.
RPC 2954.

Diphilos Diphilou

15 obv: ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Bare head of Augustus to the right.
rev: ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ ΔΙΦΙΛΟΥ ΑΡΧΩΝ ΤΟ Β ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo

standing right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and carrying a lyre on his left arm.
RPC 2955.

Meniskos Diphilou

16 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Laureate head of Augustus to the right.
rev: ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ ΔΙΦΙΛΟΥ ΤΟ Γ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo (?) naked except for a mantle hanging behind him stands to the front and holds a phiale in his right hand and a double-axe in his left hand.
RPC 2956.

Charopides Sostratou

17 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Laureate head of Augustus to the right.
rev: ΧΑΡΟΠΙΔΗΣ ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Rider carrying a double-axe rides a horse walking to the right.
RPC 2957.

Matron Apolloniou

18 obv: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Laureate head of Augustus to the right.
rev: ΜΑΤΡΩΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Double-axe surmounted by a radiate head with a serpent coiling around the handle.
RPC 2958.

GAIUS CAESAR The reign of Augustus

Papias

19 obv: ΓΑΙΟΣ Bare head of Gaius to the right.
rev: ΠΑΠΙΑΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Laurel branch.
RPC 2944.

Lynkeus

20 obv: ΓΑΙΟΣ Bare head of Gaius to the right.
rev: ΛΥΝΚΕΥΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Laurel branch.
RPC 2946.

Kokos

21 obv: ΓΑΙΟΣ Bare head of Gaius to the right.
rev: ΚΩΚΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Laurel branch.
RPC 2948.

Diphilos

22 obv: ΓΑΙΟΣ Bare head of Gaius to the right.
rev: ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Laurel branch.
RPC 2950.

Heras

23 obv: ΓΑΙΟΣ Bare head of Gaius to the right.
rev: ΗΡΑΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Laurel branch.
RPC 2952.

TIBERIUS

Asclepiades

24 obv: ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare head of Tiberius to the right.
rev: ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Lyre.
RPC 2959.

25 obv: ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Laureate head of Tiberius to the right.
rev: ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo standing right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and carrying a lyre on his left arm.
RPC 2960.

Haplos

26 obv: ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Laureate head of Tiberius to the right.
rev: ΑΠΛΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Lyre.
RPC 2961.

27 obv: ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Laureate head of Tiberius to the right.
rev: ΑΠΛΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo standing right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and a lyre on his right arm.
RPC 2962.

Menandros

28 obv: ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Laureate head of Tiberius to the right.
rev: ΜΕΝΑΝ[ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Lyre.
RPC 2963.

29 obv: ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Laureate head of Tiberius to the right.
rev: ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo standing right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and carrying a lyre on his left arm.
RPC 2964.

Zosimos

30 obv: ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Laureate head of Tiberius to the right.
rev: ΖΩΣΙΜΟΣ ΙΕΡΟΝΕΙΚ[ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Lyre.
RPC 2965.

31 obv: ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Laureate head of Tiberius to the right.
rev: ΖΩΣΙΜΟΣ []ΝΕΙ[ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo standing right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and carrying a lyre on his left arm.
RPC 2966.

Theotimos Lykotou

32 obv: ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Laureate head of Tiberius to the right.
rev: ΘΕΟΤΕΙΜΟΣ ΛΥΚΩΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo standing right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and carrying a lyre on his left arm.
RPC 2967.

GERMANICUS AND DRUSUS The reign of Tiberius

33 obv: ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ Laureate head of Germanicus to the right.
rev: ΔΡΟΥΣΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Bare head of Drusus to the right.
RPC 2968.

CLAUDIUS

M Suillios Antiochos Grammateus

34 obv: ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Laureate head of Claudius to the right.
rev: Μ ΣΥΙΛΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ ΓΡΑ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo standing right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and carrying a lyre on his left arm.
RPC 2969.

35 obv: ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Laureate head of Claudius to the right.
rev: Μ ΣΥΙΛΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ ΓΡΑ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Rider wearing a short chiton and chlamys holding a double-axe over his left shoulder and riding a horse stepping to the right.
RPC 2970.

BRITANNICUS CAESAR The reign of Claudius

Suillios Antiochos

36 obv: ΒΡΙΤΑΝΝΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Draped bust of Britannicus to the right.
rev: ΣΥΙΛΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Table with two crowns and a palm branch to the right.
RPC 2971.

NERO The reign of Claudius

Suillios Antiochos

37 obv: ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare-headed and draped bust of Nero to the right.

rev: ΣΥΓΓΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ ΙΕΡΠΠΟΑ Double-axe with a serpent coiling around the handle.

RPC 2972.

NERO

Pereitas B Grammateus

38 obv: ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare-headed and draped bust of Nero to the right.

rev: ΠΕΡΕΙΤΑΣ Β ΓΡ ΙΕΡΑΠΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Rider wearing a short chiton and chlamys holding a double-axe over his shoulder and riding a horse stepping to the right.

RPC 2974.

Ti Dionysios

39 obv: ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare-headed and draped bust of Nero to the right.

rev: ΤΙ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Rider wearing a short chiton and chlamys holding a double-axe over his shoulder and riding a horse stepping to the right.

RPC 2975.

Chares B Papias

40 obv: ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare-headed and draped bust of Nero to the right.

rev: ΧΑΡΑΣ Β ΠΑΠΙΑΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Rider wearing a short chiton and chlamys holding a double-axe over his shoulder and riding a horse stepping to the right.

RPC 2976.

M Antonios Kalos

41 obv: ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare-headed and draped bust of Nero to the right.

rev: Μ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΙΕΡΠΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left holding an eagle on his right hand and a sceptre in his left hand.

RPC 2978.

Lo Elouios Optomos

42 obv: ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare-headed and draped bust of Nero to the right.

rev: ΛΟ ΕΛΟΥΙΟΣ ΟΠΤΟΜΟΣ ΙΕΡΠΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Cornucopiae with double-axe to the left.

RPC 2980.

Magutes Neoteros

43 obv: ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare-headed and draped bust of Nero to the right.

rev: ΜΑΓΥΤΗΣ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ The rape of Persephone by Pluto in chariot of horses.

RPC 2982.

AGRIPPINA JUNIOR The reign of Nero

Chares B Papias

44 obv: ΑΓΡΙΠΠΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Agrippina to the right.

rev: ΧΑΡΑΣ Β ΠΑΠΙΑΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Cup between two branches.

RPC 2977.

M Antonios Kalos

45 obv: ΑΓΡΙΠΠΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Agrippina to the right.

rev: Μ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Staff entwined by a serpent.

RPC 2979.

Elouios Optomos

46 obv: ΑΓΡΙΠΠΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Agrippina to the right.

rev: ΕΛΟΥΙΟΣ ΟΠΤΟΜΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Thyrsos bound with taenia.

RPC 2981.

Magutes Neoteros

47 obv: ΑΓΡΙΠΠΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Agrippina to the right.

rev: ΜΑΓΥΤΗΣ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Demeter enthroned to the left holding ears of corn and a poppy in her right hand.

RPC 2983.

VESPASIAN

M N Haplos

48 obv: ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Laureate head of Vespasian to the right.

rev: Μ Ν ΑΠΛΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Tyche standing left holding ears of corn, a poppy and a cornucopiae with a snake at her feet.

RPC II 61.

Kointos Kornelios Roufos

49 obv: ΟΥΕΣ ΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Laureate head of Vespasian to the right.

rev: ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ ΚΟΡ ΡΟΥΦΟΣ ΙΕΡΑ ΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo standing right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and carrying a lyre on his left arm.

RPC II 59.

TITUS

50 obv: ΤΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Draped and laureate head of Titus to the right.

rev: [ΙΕΡ]Α ΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Tyche standing left holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.

RPC II 62.

51 obv: ΤΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Draped and laureate head of Titus to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑ Π[]Ν Apollo standing right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and carrying a lyre on his left arm.

RPC II 63.

TRAJAN

52 obv: ΑΥ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΡ ΤΡΑΙΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ ΓΕΡ ΔΑΚΙΚΟΣ Laureate head of Trajan to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑ ΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo standing right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and carrying a plectrum on his left arm.

NC 1913, p. 8, no. 15; *GRM* p. 152, no. 7.

53 obv: ΑΥ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΡ ΤΡΑΙΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ ΓΕΡ Δ Laureate head of Trajan to the right.

rev: ΕΠΙ ΜΕ ΠΟ ΙΕΡΑ ΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Helmeted Athena standing left holding a phiale in her right hand and resting her left hand on a shield placed on the ground beside her while behind her is an upright spear and an owl at her feet.

BMC 128; *XAPITEΣ* p. 489.

54 obv: Trajan (?).

rev: ΙΕΡΑ ΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Helmeted Athena standing right holding a statue of Nike Stephanephorus in her right hand and resting her left hand on a spear.

NC 1913, p. 15, no. 8.

55 obv: ΑΥ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΩΝ ΥΩΝ ΝΕΡΒΑ ΤΡΑΙΝΟΣ ΓΕΡΜΑ Laureate bust of Trajan to the left in cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΙΕΡΑ ΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Helmeted Athena standing right with a shield and a spear face to face with Hermes who is naked except for a chlamys on his left arm and is holding a purse and caduceus.

BMC 129; *NC* 1913, p. 16, no. 11; *Inv Wadd* 6151.

56 obv: AY KAI NEP TPAINOS ΣEB ΓEP ΔAKIKOS Laureate head of Trajan to the right.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia with its usual supports standing between two stags.
BMC 130; *NC* 1913, p. 10, no. 3; *BM Hecht*; *Mionnet*, IV, 617; *Mionnet*, *Suppl VII*, 387.

57 obv: AY KAI NEP TPAINOS ΣEB ΓEP ΔAKIKOS Laureate head of Trajan to the right.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN Cybele enthroned left and holding a phiale in her right hand and resting her left arm on a tympanum with a lion seated beside her.
BMC 131; *Cop* 457; *NC* 1913, p. 137, nos 1 and 2; *KM* p. 241, no. 30.

MARCIANA The reign of Trajan

58 obv: Draped bust of Marciana to the right?
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia with its usual supports standing between two stags.
Mionnet, IV, 618.

HADRIAN

59 obv: AY KAI TP AΔPIANOΣ Laureate bust of Hadrian to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN Helmeted Athena standing left holding a statuette of Nike Stephanephorus in her right hand and resting her left hand on a shield placed on the ground while behind her is an upright spear.
BMC 132; *SNG SvA* 3651.

ANTINOOS The reign of Hadrian

60 obv: ANTINOON ΘEON Bust of Antinoos.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN Crescent with a star.
Mionnet, IV, 620.

ANTONINUS PIUS

61 obv: AY TOKPA KAI SAP ANTΩNEINOS Bare head of Antoninus to the right.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN Apollo standing right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and carrying a lyre on his left arm.
BMC 134; *SNG SvA* 3653; *NC* 1913, p. 8, no. 16; *Weber* 7115; *Inv Wadd* 6153, 6154; *BM Hecht*.

62 obv: AY KAI AΔPIA ANTΩNEINOS Laureate head of Antoninus to the right.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN Apollo standing right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and carrying a lyre on his left arm.
BMC 135; *SNG SvA* 3654; *NC* 1913, p. 8, no. 17.

63 obv: ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Bare head of Antoninus to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Divinity standing left in cuirass or short chiton and boots and holding a branch or wreath in his right hand and a double-axe and chlamys in his left.
BMC 133; *Cop* 458; *NC* 1913, p. 27, no. 11.

64 obv: ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Bare head of Antoninus to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Tyche standing left and holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.
BM=SNG SvA 3652.

65 obv: ΑΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΔΡΙΑ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate head of Antoninus to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia with usual supports standing between two stags.
BMC 136.

66 obv: ΑΥΤ ΑΙΑΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate head of Antoninus to the right.

rev: ΕΠΙ ... ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Dionysus holding a kantharos in his left hand and a thyrsos in his right hand.
NC 1913, p. 22, no. 3; Mionnet, IV, 621.

MARCUS AURELIUS

67 obv: (M) ΑΥΡΗΑΙΟΣ ΒΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ(ΣΑΡ) Bare-headed bust of Aurelius to the right in cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ A rider naked except for chlamys holding a double-axe and riding a horse stepping to the right.
BMC 137; BM=SNG SvA 3656; *NC* 1913, p. 30, nos. 9 and 10; BM Hecht; Mionnet, IV, 622.

68 obv: Μ ΑΥΡΗΑΙΟΣ ΒΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare head of Aurelius to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Athena holding a shield and a spear standing with Hermes who holds a chlamys, a purse and a caduceus. Between them, a river god holding a poppy lies with his left elbow on an overturned vase from which water flows.
BM=SNG SvA 3655; *NC* 1913, p. 16, no. 13.

69 obv: Μ ΑΥΡΗΑΙΟΣ ΒΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare-headed bust of Aurelius in a cuirass and paludamentum to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo wearing a fluttering chlamys and a quiver on his shoulder standing with a snake before him.
XAPITEΣ p. 482, no. 2.

70 obv: Μ ΑΥΡΗΑΙΟΣ ΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare-headed bust of Aurelius in a cuirass and paludamentum to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Cybele standing to the front with her hands reaching to two lions sitting on either side of her.
SNG SvA 3657; *NC* 1913, p. 137, no. 3; *GRM* p. 153, no. 8.

71 obv: Marcus Aurelius
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia with taenia hanging from its hands.
NC 1913, p. 10, no. 4; *Inv Wadd* 6155.

72 obv: Μ ΑΥΡΗΑΙΟΣ [ΒΗΡΟΣ ΚΑ] Bare-headed bust of Aurelius to the right in cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Rape of Persephone by Hades in a flying quadriga.
Ox.

FAUSTINA JUNIOR The reign of Marcus Aurelius

73 obv: ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Faustina to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia with taenia hanging from its hands.
Cop 460; NC 1913, p. 10, no. 5.

74 obv: ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Faustina to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his right hand and resting his left hand on a sceptre.
BMC 138; *Cop* 459; NC 1913, p. 157, nos. 6 and 7; *Hunt Coll* 9; Lindgren I 971; Ox; Weber 7116; *Inv Wadd* 6157; BM Hecht; Mionnet, IV, 624.

75 obv: ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒ[ΑΣΤΗ] Draped bust of Faustina to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Mên (?) standing right with his head turned to the left wearing a short chiton and mantle and holding a sceptre.
Ox.

76 obv: Draped bust of Faustina to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Radiate head.
Mionnet, IV, 623.

LUCILLA The reign of Marcus Aurelius

77 obv: ΛΟΥΚΙΛΛΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Lucilla right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Veiled head of Demeter with a torch.
Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 390.

COMMODUS

78 obv: ΑΥΤΟΚ ΑΙΑ ΑΥΡ (?) ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΣ Laureate head of Commodus to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Rider holding a double-axe and wearing a chamlys (?) on a horse stepping to the right.
BM.

79 obv: ... KOMMOΔΟΣ Laureate head of Commodus with paludamentum.
rev: ΕΠΙ ΚΑΠΙΤ ΑΝΤΩ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΡΩΝ Apollo holding a lyre which he supports on a small column while behind him is a tree around which a snake is curling.
Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 391; *XAPITEΣ* p. 483, no. 5.

CRISPINA The reign of Commodus

80 obv: ΚΡΙΣΠΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤ Draped bust of Crispina to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Asclepius standing and holding a serpent-staff.
SNG SvA 8380; *NC* 1913, p. 12, no. 8.

81 obv: Crispina.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Hygeia standing right and feeding a serpent.
NC 1913, p. 136, no. 16.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

82 obv: ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Α ΣΕΠ ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΣ Laureate bust of Severus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo holding a lyre and a plectrum standing before a table with a prize crown, the inscription on which is illegible, while Nike flies with a wreath to crown him.
SNG SvA 8381; *HR* p. 63.

83 obv: Head Of Septimius Severus?
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Head of Julia Domna?
Mionnet, IV, 626.

CARACALLA

84 obv: ΜΑΡ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo holding a lyre and a plectrum and standing with a table before him on which is a prize crown inscribed Α ΠΥΘΙΑ.
SNG SvA 8382; *HR* p. 63.

85 obv: ΜΑΡ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo holding a lyre and a plectrum standing before a table on which is a prize crown between two purses and above him is Nike flying with a wreath.
XAPITEΣ pp. 483-484, no. 6; von Pape, p. 162, no. 1.

86 obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑ ΜΑΡ ΑΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Cybele seated between two lions and holding a phiale in her right hand and resting her left arm on a tympanum.
NC 1913, p. 137, no 5.

87 obv: AYT MAP AYP ANTΩNINOS Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN Female figure with a scroll in each hand standing beside a table with a large and two smaller urns sitting upon it with Nike holding a crown in her right hand flying through the air.
Mionnet, IV, 628.

88 obv: M AYP ANTΩNINOS AYTOY Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN Sarapis enthroned left holding his right hand over Cerberus seated at his feet and resting his left arm on a sceptre.
Mionnet, IV, 633.

89 obv: M AYP ANTΩNINOS AYTOY Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN Hygeia feeding a snake with Telesphorus behind her.
Mionnet, IV, 634.

90 obv: M AYP ANTΩNINOS AYTOY Laureate bust of Caracalla to the right in cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN with AKTIA within a wreath.
Mionnet, IV, 635.

PLAUTILLA The reign of Caracalla

91 obv: Draped bust of Plautilla to the right.
rev: EΠI ΣTP AYP ANTIPATPOY IEPAΠOΛEITΩN Caracalla and Plautilla joining hands.
Mionnet, IV, 630; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 80.

ELAGABALUS

92 obv: A K M A ANTΩNEINOS Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN River god lying to the left and holding ears of corn and resting on an inverted vase from which a stream flows.
BMC 141, 142; *HR* 32, 33; *NC* 1913, p. 19, no. 6; *KM* p. 242, no. 33.

93 obv: AYT KAI M AYP ANTΩNEINOS ΣE Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the right in a cuirass and aegis.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Apollo wearing a chlamys shoots at a serpent erect in front of him.
HR 2; *XAPITEΣ* pp. 482-483, no. 3; Weber 7117; BM Hecht.

94 obv: AY(T) K M AYP ANTΩNEINOS (ΣE) Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Apollo sitting behind a tripod around which a snake coils and which is surmounted by a prize crown.
HR 1; von Papen p. 162, no. 2; *XAPITEΣ* p. 483, no. 4.

95 obv: Draped laureate bust of Elagabalus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Two prize crowns on a table with ΠΥΘΙΑ and ΑΚΤΙΑ.
BM Hecht.

96 obv: ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ ΣΕ Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Athena holding a lance and a shield standing opposite Hermes who holds a caduceus and a purse.
SNG SvA 3658; HR 16.

97 obv: ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ ΣΕ Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Athena Nikephorus holding a lance and standing opposite Hermes who holds a caduceus and a purse. Between them is a river god leaning on an upturned urn.
SNG SvA 8384; HR 15.

98 obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the front in a cuirass with a star and aegis.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Demeter riding in a biga of serpents holding torches in each hand and wearing a flowing veil.
HR 14; NC 1913, p. 21, no. 8; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 393.

99 obv: Α Κ Μ ΑΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the front in a cuirass and aegis.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Demeter standing left holding an ear of corn in her right hand and resting her left hand on a torch.
SNG München 244; HR 18, 19; NC 1913, p. 20, no. 6, p. 21, no. 7; *Inv Wadd* 6163; Mionnet, IV, 629; 636.

100 obv: ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Veiled Demeter walking to the right and carrying a torch in either hand.
HR 20; NC 1913, p. 20, no. 5; *KM* p. 242, no. 34.

101 obv: ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Rape of Persephone by Hades riding in a quadriga with a serpent and upturned basket below the horses.
SNG SvA 8383; HR 13; NC 1913, p. 145, no. 8.

102 obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the front in a cuirass and aegis.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Rape of Persephone by Hades riding in a quadriga with a serpent, upturned basket and flowers below the horses.
Cop 461; HR 12; NC 1913, p. 145, no. 9; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 394.

103 obv: A K M A ANTΩNEINΟΣ Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: IEPAΠOAEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Coiling serpent.
HR 34; *NC* 1913, p. 13, no. 10; *Inv Wadd* 6165.

105 obv: AY K M AYP ANTΩNEINΟΣ Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the right in a cuirass.
rev: IEPAΠOAEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Octostyle temple in which stands a statue of Heracles with a club.
HR Corrigenda a; *NC* 1913, p. 24; no. 5; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 395.

106 obv: AY K M AY ANTΩNEINΟΣ Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the front in a cuirass and aegis.
rev: IEPAΠOAEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN HPAKΔHΣ (?) Naked Heracles standing right and holding a club and lionskin.
BMC 140; *HR* 17.

107 obv: AYT K M AYP ANTΩNEINΟΣ ΣE(B) Laureate bust of Elagabalus in cuirass and paludamentum to the right.
rev: IEPAΠOAEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Dionysus standing to the front and holding a kantharos and a thyrsos.
HR 30, 31; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 396; *NC* 1913, p. 22, no. 4.

108 obv: AY K M AY ANTΩNEINΟΣ ΣEB Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: IEPAΠOAEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Tyche-Euposia standing left holding in her right hand ears of corn, poppy and rudder and on her left arm a cornucopiae on the side of which sits the infant Ploutos.
BMC 139; *HR* 21, 24; *NC* 1913, p. 152 nos 10 and 11; *Inv Wadd* 6164.

109 obv: AY K M AY ANTΩNEINΟΣ Laureate bust of Elagabalus in aegis to the front.
rev: IEPAΠOAEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Tyche-Euposia standing left holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.
BM; *HR* 22, 23.

110 obv: AYT K M AYP ANTΩNEINΟΣ ΣE Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: IEPAΠOAEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Mên wearing a long chiton and a Phrygian cap standing left and holding a pine-cone and a sceptre.
BMC 143, 144; *HR* 26, 27, 28; *NC* 1913, p. 139, nos. 6 and 7.

111 obv: AY K M AY ANTΩNEINΟΣ Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the front in a cuirass.
rev: IEPAΠOAEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Mên wearing a long chiton and a Phrygian cap standing left and holding a pine-cone and a sceptre.
HR 25.

112 obv: AYT K M AYP ANTΩNEINOS ΣE Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN River god right holding a labrys.
HR 29.

113 obv: Elagabalus.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Hero naked except for a cloak standing left and holding fruits in his right hand and a double axe in his right hand.
NC 1913, p. 27, no. 12.

114 obv: AYT K M AY ANTΩNEINOS ΣEB Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the right in a cuirass.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Emperor riding left with a star below his horse holding a short spear in raised right hand with a captive Parthian below.
HR 4; BM Hecht?

115 obv: AYT K M AY ANTΩNEINOS ΣEB Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the right in a cuirass.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Emperor sacrificing in a tetrastyle temple with a statue of Apollo Citharoedes within it.
HR 5; XAPITEΣ p. 485, no. 10; Inv Wadd 6160.

116 obv: AYT K M AY ANTΩNEINOS ΣEB Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the right in a cuirass.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Emperor wearing military dress sacrificing within a hexastyle temple with bust in pediment (?).
HR 6.

117 obv: AY K M AYP ANTΩNEINOS ΣE Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the front in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Peristyle temple within which stands a statue of the emperor in military dress making a sacrifice.
HR 7; Mionnet, IV, 631.

118 obv: AY K M AYP ANTΩNEINOS Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the front in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Three temples with the middle one containing a statue of the sacrificing emperor.
HR 8; KM p. 241, no. 32.

119 obv: AY K M AYP ANTΩNEINOS Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the front in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Radiate emperor wearing military dress standing to the right opposite the city Tyche who holds a wreath in her raised right hand about to crown Elagabalus. Both figures carry sceptres and between them is an altar.
HR 9.

120 obv: AYT KAI M AYP ANTΩNEINOS ΣΕ Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the front in a cuirass and aegis.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Radiate emperor wearing military dress and standing to the right opposite the city Tyche who holds a wreath in her raised right hand about to crown Elagabalus. Both figures carry sceptres and between them is an altar.
HR 10; Mionnet, IV, 627.

121 obv: AYT KAI M AYP ANTΩNEINOS ΣΕ Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the front in a cuirass and aegis.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Laureate emperor wearing military dress stands left opposite the city Tyche standing right. Both figures carry sceptres and are either sacrificing over an altar or joining hands.
HR 11.

122 obv: ANTΩN _ _ _ Bust of Elagabalus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Standing male figure holding a sceptre and palm branch.
Ox.

The type of Hecate Triformis attributed to Hierapolis (*NC* 1913, p. 23; Mionnet, IV, 632) is not otherwise known at Hierapolis and is probably a misreading of another mint, perhaps Laodicea (*HR* *Corrigenda* e).

A coin of Elagabalus showing Cybele enthroned with a lion at her feet on the reverse attributed to Hierapolis (*NC* 1913, p. 137, no. 4) has been reattributed to Hierapolis (*HR* *Corrigenda* c).

JULIA MAESA The reign of Elagabalus

The coin of Maesa with the reverse depicting Sarapis, Isis and Cerberus attributed to Hierapolis (*NC* 1913, p. 149, no. 10) has been reattributed to Hierapolis (*HR* *Corrigenda* g).

ANNIA FAUSTINA The reign of Elagabalus

123 obv: ANNIA ΦAYΣTEINA ΣEB Draped bust of Annia to the right wearing a stephane.
rev: IEΠOΛEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Tyche-Euposia standing left holding a cornucopiae on the side of which is the infant Ploutos on her left arm and sacrificing over altar.
BMC 146; *HR* 35, 36, 37; *NC* 1913, p. 152, 8 and 9; *Inv Wadd* 6166.

124 obv: ANNIA ΦAYΣTEINA ΣEB Draped bust of Annia to the right wearing a stephane.
rev: IEΠOΛEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Tyche-Euposia standing left holding a cornucopiae on the side of which is the infant Ploutos on her left arm and phiale in her raised right hand.
BMC 147; *HR* 38.

125 obv: ANNIA ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒ Draped bust of Annia to the right wearing a stephane.
rev: ΙΕΡΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Wreath within which AKTIA.
BMC 148; *SNG München* 245; *HR* 39, 40; von Papen p. 177, no. 31; Ox; *KM* p. 242, no. 35; Mionnet, IV, 638.

126 obv: ANNIA ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒ Draped bust of Annia to the right wearing a stephane.
rev: ΙΕΡΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Wreath within which ΠΥΘΙΑ.
HR 41, 42; von Papen p. 164, no. 5; *Inv Wadd* 6167.

127 obv: ANNIA ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒ Draped bust of Annia to the right wearing a stephane.
rev: ΙΕΡΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Wreath within which ΤΑ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩ ΧΡΥΣΟΡΟΑ.
HR 43; von Papen p. 181.

AQUILIA SEVERA The reign of Elagabalus

128 obv: AKYA ΣΕΒΗΡΑ ΣΕΒ Draped bust of Aquilia to the right wearing a stephane.
rev: ΙΕΡΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Apollo holding a lyre and plectrum standing beside a tree and a tripod.
HR 45; *XAPITEΣ* p. 484, no. 7; *Inv Wadd* 6168.

129 obv: AKYA ΣΕΒΗΡΑ ΣΕΒ Draped bust of Aquilia to the right wearing a stephane.
rev: ΙΕΡΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Wolf suckling twins.
BMC 145; *HR* 44; *NC* 1913, p. 155, no. 4; *Inv Wadd* 6169.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER

130 obv: M AYP ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΣ Bare-headed bust of Alexander to the right wearing a cuirass.
rev: ΙΕΡΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Tyche holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.
HR 48; *NC* 1913, p. 152, no. 12.

131 obv: M AY ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΣ Bare-headed bust of Alexander to the right wearing a paludamentum.
rev: ΙΕΡΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Prize crown with AKTIA above.
HR 46; von Papen p. 177, no. 32. (See BM Hecht for an example similar to this and the following coin.)

132 obv: M AYP ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΣ Bare-headed bust of Alexander to the right wearing a cuirass.
rev: ΙΕΡΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Prize crown with ΠΥΘΙΑ above.
HR 47; von Papen p. 166, no. 6; *Inv Wadd* 6170; Mionnet, IV, 640.

A coin of Severus Alexander showing Cybele enthroned between two lions and attributed to Hierapolis (*NC* 1913, p. 138, no. 6; Mionnet, IV, 639) has been reattributed to Hierapolis (*HR* Corrigenda f).

PHILIP I

133 obv: ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ Laureate bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΙΕΡΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Temple in which stands a cult statue of Apollo holding a lyre and plectrum with a laurel tree behind him.

SNG SvA 3659; *XAPITEΣ* p. 485, no. 11; *Inv Wadd* 6171.

134 obv: ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ Laureate bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΙΕΡΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Two figures with spears holding phiales over a lighted altar between them.

BMC 149.

135 obv: ΑΥΤ Κ ΙΟΥΔ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΑΥΓ Laureate bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΙΕΡΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Demeter standing in biga of winged serpents and holding torches in both hands.

NC 1913, p. 21, no. 9; *Inv Wadd* 6172; *KM* p. 242, no. 36.

136 obv: Laureate bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum?

rev: ΙΕΡΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia with its usual supports between two stags.

Mionnet, IV, 641.

137 obv: Laureate bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum?

rev: ΙΕΡΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Hygeia feeding a serpent from a phiale with Telesphorus behind her.

Mionnet, IV, 642.

OTACILIA SEVERA The reign of Philip I

138 obv: Μ ΩΤ ΣΕΥΗΡΑ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo holding a lyre and plectrum standing next to a laurel tree.

NC 1913, p. 8, no. 18; *Mionnet*, IV, 645.

139 obv: Μ ΩΤ ΣΕΥΗΡΑ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Rape of Persephone by Hades with flying chlamys and sceptre riding in a quadriga of horses galloping to the right.

BMC 155; *NC* 1913, p. 145, no. 10.

140 obv: Μ ΩΤ ΣΕΥΗΡΑ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Wreath within which ΑΚΤΙΑ.

BMC 156; *SNG München* 246; von Papen p. 180, no. 37.

141 obv: Μ ΩΤ ΣΕΥΗΡΑ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Wreath within which ΠΥΘΙΑ.

BMC 157, 158; von Papen, p. 167, no. 9 and 10; *Inv Wadd* 6179.

142 obv: ΜΑΡΚ ΩΤΑΚΙΑ ΣΕΒΗΡΑ ΣΕΒ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right wearing a stephane.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Table with an agonistic crown inscribed with ΠΥΘΙΑ.
Cop 463.

143 obv: Otacilia Severa.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Wreath within which ΟΛΜΠΙΑ.
von Papen p. 181, no. 40.

144 obv: ΜΑΡΚ ΩΤΑΚΙΑ ΣΕΒΗΡΑ ΣΕΒ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Agonistic crown on a three legged table.
BMC 152; von Papen p. 167, no. 11; Mionnet, IV, 643.

145 obv: ΜΑΡΚ ΩΤΑΚΙΑ ΣΕΒΗΡΑ ΣΕΒ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Winged Tyche-Pantheia holding ears of corn and a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.
NC 1913, p. 153, 14; *KM* p. 243, no. 39.

146 obv: Otacilia Severa.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Winged Nemesis standing and plucking her chiton with her right hand and holding a bridle in her left hand.
NC 1913, p. 142, no. 10.

147 obv: Μ ΩΤ ΣΕΥΗΡΑ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Hygeia enthroned left feeding a serpent from phiale in her right hand and resting her left arm on a cushion which resembles a tympanum. Behind the throne is a small Telesphorus.
BMC 153, 154; *NC* 1913, p. 136, nos 13, 14 and 15; Weber 7118; Mionnet, IV, 644.

148 obv: ΜΑΡΚ ΩΤΑΚΙΑ ΣΕΒΗΡΑ ΣΕΒ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia with its usual supports standing between two stags.
BMC 150, 151; *Cop* 462; *NC* 1913, p. 11, no. 6.

149 obv: Otacilia Severa.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Standing male figure naked except for a chlamys holding fruits in his right hand and a double-axe in his left hand.
NC 1913, p. 27, no. 13; *Inv Wadd* 6180.

150 obv: Μ ΩΤ ΣΕΥΗΡΑ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Wolf suckling twins.
NC 1913, p. 155, nos 5 and 6; Lindgren I 974.

PHILIP II The reign of Philip I

151 obv: M IOYΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΙ Bare-headed bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΙΕΡΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo holding a lyre and plectrum standing beneath a tree.

BMC 161; *Cop* 465; *NC* 1913, p. 9, no. 19; *XAPITEΣ* p 484, no 8.

152 obv: Philip Junior.

rev: ΙΕΡΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo standing right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and carrying a lyre on his left arm.

NC 1913, p 9, no 20; *Inv Wadd* 6181.

153 obv: M IOYΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ Κ(ΑΙ) Bare-headed bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΙΕΡΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Winged Nemesis holding scales and a cubit rule with a wheel at her feet.

SNG SvA 3661; Lindgren I 973; *NC* 1913, p. 142, no. 11.

154 obv: M IOYΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΙ Bare-headed bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΙΕΡΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Tyche-Euposia holding two ears of corn and a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.

BMC 159, 160; *Cop* 464; *SNG SvA* 3660; *NC* 1913, pp. 152-3, no. 13.

Mionnet, IV, 649.

155 obv: M IOYΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΙ Bare-headed bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΙΕΡΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia standing between two stags.

NC 1913, p. 11, 7; Mionnet, IV, 648.

156 obv: Philip Junior.

rev: ΙΕΡΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Wreath within which ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ.

von Papen p. 181, no. 39; *Inv Wadd* 6183.

GORDIANUS

A coin of Gordian with a river god on the reverse and the legend ΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ is believed to be a misreading of Tripolis Lydiae in *HR* Corrigenda j.

E HIERAPOLIS: Coins without Imperial Portraits

FABIUS MAXIMUS The time of Augustus

Zosimos Philopatris

1 obv: ΦΑΒΙΟΣ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΣ Bare head of Maximus to the right.
rev: ΖΩΣΙΜΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΧΑΡΑΞ Double-axe bound
with taenia.
RPC 2930.

Chares Kokos

2 obv: ΦΑΒΙΟΣ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΣ Bare head of Maximus to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΧΑΡΗΣ ΚΩ.
RPC 2932.

Bryon

3 obv: ΦΑΒΙΟΣ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΣ Bare head of Maximus to the right.
rev: ΒΡΥΩΝ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ.
RPC 2934.

Dorykanos

4 obv: ΦΑΒΙΟΣ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΣ Bare head of Maximus to the right.
rev: ΔΟΡΥΚΑΝΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ.
RPC 2936.

Theokritos

5 obv: ΦΑΒΙΟΣ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΣ Bare head of Maximus to the right.
rev: ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ.
RPC 2939.

Dryas

6 obv: ΦΑΒΙΟΣ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΣ Bare head of Maximus to the right.
rev: ΔΡΥΑΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ within a wreath.
RPC 2941.

Tryphon

7 obv: ΦΑΒΙΟΣ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΣ Bare head of Maximus to the right.
rev: ΤΡΥΦΩΝ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ.
RPC 2942.

Time of Claudius onwards

M Suillios Antiochos

8 obv: Μ ΣΥΙΛΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Draped bust of
Dionysus or Apollo to the right.
rev: ΓΕΝΕΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ Temple front with six columns.
RPC 2973.

Time of Vespasian

Markellos

9 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Head of the youthful Demos to the right.

rev: ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΜΑΡΚΕΑ ΑΝΘΥ on four lines within a laurel wreath.

RPC 60.

Time of Marcus Aurelius?

M Au Kallikles Kalou

10 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Bust of the Demos to the right with head bound in taenia.

rev: ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Μ ΑΥ ΚΑΛΛΙΚΛΗΣ ΚΑΛΟΥ Eirene seated and holding a sceptre in her left hand and three ears of corn in her right.

SNG Fitz 4975; *SNG Lewis* 1616.

Time of Trajan to Severus/Caracalla onwards

11 obv: ΑΡΧΗΓΕΤΗΣ Radiate and draped bust of Apollo to the right with a lyre at his breast.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Divinity standing left wearing a short chiton or cuirass and holding a double-axe.

BMC 23; *NC* 1913, p. 25, no. 1, 2, 3, 4; *Mionnet*, IV, 585.

12 obv: ΑΡΧΗΓΕΤΗΣ Draped bust of Apollo to the right with a lyre at his breast.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia with usual supports standing between two stags.

BMC 34; *NC* 1913, p. 10, no. 2; *Inv Wadd* 6103; *Mionnet*, *Suppl.* VII, 380.

13 obv: ΑΡΧΗΓΕΤΗΣ Draped bust of Apollo to the right with a lyre at his breast.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Hygeia seated left on high-backed throne holding a phiale to a serpent erect before her with her right hand and resting her left arm on a round cushion.

NC 1913, p. 135, no. 12; *Inv Wadd* 6104.

14 obv: ΑΡΧΗΓΕΤΗΣ Radiate bust of Apollo to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Artemis standing left and holding a bow with her left hand and drawing an arrow from a quiver with her right.

NC 1913, p. 9, 1A; *Mionnet*, *Suppl.* VII, 381.

15 obv: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Draped bust of Apollo to the right with a lyre at his shoulders.

rev: ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ Roma helmeted seated left on a cuirass and shield and holding Nike on her extended right hand and a dagger in her left hand.

BMC 33; *NC* 1913, p. 147; *Inv Wadd* 6115.

16 obv: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Draped bust of Apollo to the right with a lyre at his shoulders.
rev: ΜΟΥΟΣ ΤΟΡΡΗΒΟΣ Two figures standing face to face naked except for a mantle. Mopsos holding a laurel branch and a bow and Torrebos holding a statuette and a lyre.
BMC 32; *NC* 1913, p. 140; *Ox*; *Inv Wadd* 6114; *KM* p. 235, no. 5.

17 obv: Radiate and draped bust of Apollo to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Bull's head, crescent and two stars joined by a vertical line.
NC 1913, p. 17, no. 1; *MG* p. 401, no. 109.

18 obv: Radiate and draped bust of Apollo to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Bull.
NC 1913, p. 16; *Inv Wadd* 6106.

19 obv: Radiate and draped bust of Apollo to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Winged Nemesis holding a bridle in her left hand and plucking her chiton with her right hand.
BMC 18; *Cop* 421. *SNG SvA* 3625; *NC* 1913, p. 141, no. 1; *Ox*; *Inv Wadd* 6105; *MZ* 71, 366; *Kress*, 187, 668.

20 obv: Bust of Apollo to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Tyche standing left holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.
XAPITHΣ p. 484, no. 9.

21 obv: ΑΑΙΡΒΗΝΟΣ Radiate and draped bust of Apollo to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo standing right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and carrying a lyre on his left arm.
BMC 54; *NC* 1913, p. 6, no. 5; *MG* p. 401, no. 108 (laurel wreath behind Apollo); *Lindgren* I 968; *Weber*, 7107; *Inv Wadd* 6107.

22 obv: ΑΑΙΡΒΗΝΟΣ Radiate and draped bust of Apollo to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Winged Nemesis standing left and holding scales in her right hand and cubit-rule in her left hand with a wheel behind her on the ground.
BMC 62; *NC* 1913, p. 142, no. 9.

23 obv: ΑΑΙΡΒΗΝΟΣ Radiate and draped bust of Apollo to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Demeter riding in a biga and holding a flaming torch in each hand.
BMC 55, 56; *NC* 1913, p. 19, no. 1; *MG* p. 401, no. 107; *Weber*, 7108.

24 obv: ΑΑΙΡΒΗΝΟΣ Radiate and draped bust of Apollo to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Wolf suckling twins.
BMC 63, 64; *SNG München* 234; *SNG SvA* 3628; *HR* 53; *NC* 1914, p. 155, no. 3; *Mionnet*, IV, 587.

25 obv: ΑΑΙΡΒΗΝΟΣ Radiate and draped bust of Apollo to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Hygeia enthroned holding a phiale in her right hand towards a serpent erect before her and resting her left arm on a cushion resembling a tympanum. Telesphorus behind the throne.

BMC 57; *BM*; *Cop* 435; *SNG München* 233; *SNG SvA* 3627; *HR* 51; *NC* 1913, p. 133, no. 1; p. 134, nos 5-7; *Weber*, 7109; *KM* p. 237, no. 9; *Mionnet*, IV, 588, 589.

26 obv: ΑΑΙΡΒΗΝΟΣ Radiate and draped bust of Apollo to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Hygeia enthroned holding a phiale in her right hand towards a serpent erect before her and resting her left arm on a cushion resembling a tympanum. Telesphorus behind the throne on a stool.

BMC 58; *SNG SvA* 3626; *NC* 1913, p. 133, no. 2; *KM* p. 236, no. 8.

27 obv: ΑΑΙΡΒΗΝΟΣ Radiate and draped bust of Apollo to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Hygeia enthroned holding a phiale towards serpent erect before her. With her, Telesphorus resembling a mummy.

BMC 59; *NC* 1913, p. 133, no. 3, p. 134, no. 4; *Fitz McClean* 8817, 8818; *Ox*.

28 obv: ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo standing right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and carrying a lyre on his left arm.

Ox.

29 obv: ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Tyche standing left and holding an ear of corn, poppy and rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.

BMC 83; *Cop* 412; *BM=SNG SvA* 3630; *NC* 1913, p. 151, nos 4 and 5; *Mionnet*, IV, 598.

30 obv: ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Athena holding a shield and a spear standing with Hermes who holds a purse, caduceus and chlamys.

Cop 413; *NC* 1913, p. 15, no. 10; *GRM* pp. 151-152, no. 3; *KM* p. 236, no. 6; *MZ* 71, 368; *MZ* 68, 283.

31 obv: ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Demeter standing left wearing a veil and holding an ear of corn in her right hand and a torch in her left hand.

Cop 414; *NC* 1913, p. 20, no. 4; *Inv Wadd* 6128; Mionnet, IV, 599.

32 obv: ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Athena standing left with a shield and a phiale (?) in her right hand.

BM.

33 obv: ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Heracles standing with a club and the pelt of a lion sacrificing at an altar.

Lanz, 44, 241.

34 obv: ΘΕΟΝ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΝ Senate.

rev: Τ Α ΜΑΙΑΝΔΡΙΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Ares wearing a short chiton and cuirass holding a spear and Nike Stephanephorus.

NC 1913, p. 9; *Inv Wadd* 6127.

35 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ Young laureate head of the Demos to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo standing right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and carrying a lyre on his left arm.

BMC 67, 68; *Cop* 436, 437; BM=SNG SvA 3634; *NC* 1913, p. 7, nos 8-11; Weber, 7110; *Inv Wadd* 6118; Lanz, 64, 262.

36 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ Young laureate head of the Demos to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Rider naked except for a chlamys holding a double-axe sitting on a horse stepping to the right.

BMC 69; BM=SNG SvA 3635; *NC* 1913, p. 28, nos 3 and 4; *Inv Wadd* 6117.

37 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ Young bare-headed bust of the Demos to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΧΡΥΣΟΡΟΑΣ Reclining river god resting on inverted vase and holding a poppy and an ear of corn.

BMC 43, 44, 45; *SNG München* 224; *NC* 1913, pp. 17-18, nos. 1-3A; Mionnet, IV, 595.

38 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ Youthful head of the Demos to the right bound with taenia.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Mên standing with his left foot on a rock and holding a pine-cone and a sceptre.

Mionnet, IV, 594.

39 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ Youthful head of the Demos to the right bound with taenia.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Two naked children sitting on the ground playing astragali.
NC 1913, p. 149, no. 1; AGM p. 68, no. 189.

40 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ Youthful head of the Demos bound with taenia.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Isis standing and holding a sistrum and sistula.
NC 1913, p. 136; Ox.

41 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ Demos.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Male figure standing left wearing a cuirass and holding branch and double-axe.
NC 1913, p. 26, no. 9; *Inv Wadd* 6121.

42 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ Bare-head of the Demos.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Poseidon naked to the waist holding a trident and dolphin and resting on the prow of a ship.
NC 1913, p. 145, no. 1; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 372.

43 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ Laureate head of the Demos to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Tyche standing left and holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.
Ox; *Inv Wadd* 6119, 6120; NC, 1913, pp. 150-151, nos. 2-3.

44 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ Bare-head of the Demos.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ with ΑΗΤΩΕΙΑ ΠΥΘΙΑ within a crown.
Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 373.

45 obv: ΒΟΥΛΗ Veiled bust of the Boule.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Rape of Pesephone by Hades driving a quadriga of horses.
Cop 433; NC 1913; p, 143, no. 1.

46 obv: ΒΟΥΛΗ Veiled bust of the Boule.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo standing right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and carrying a lyre on his left arm.
NC 1913, p. 8, nos. 13 and 14; *Inv Wadd* 6125; *KM* p. 235, no. 4; *MZL* II, 1995, 94.

47 obv: ΒΟΥΛΗ Veiled and laureate bust of the Boule to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Rider naked except for chlamys holding a double-axe and sitting on a horse stepping to the right.
BMC 77, 78; *Cop* 432; *SNG SvA* 3638; NC 1913, p. 28, no. 5; Lindgren III 594; *Inv Wadd* 6123; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 374.

48 obv: ΒΟΥΛΗ Veiled and laureate bust of the Boule to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Nike advancing to the left holding a wreath and a palm.
BMC 76; *SNG München* 225; NC 1913, p. 143, nos. 1-2; *Inv Wadd* 6122; Mionnet, IV, 602; BM=SNG SvA3640.

- 49 obv: BOYΛΗ Boule.
 rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Heracles standing right and holding a club covered with a lion's skin.
NC 1913, p. 24, no. 3; *Inv Wadd* 6124.
- 50 obv: ΙΕΡΑ BOYΛΗ Veiled and laureate bust of the Boule to the right.
 rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo standing right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and a lyre on his left arm.
MZ 75, 815.
- 51 obv: ΙΕΡΑ BOYΛΗ Veiled and laureate bust of the Boule to the right.
 rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Rider naked except for chlamys holds a double-axe and sits on a horse stepping to the right.
SNG SvA 3639.
- 52 obv: ΙΕΡΑ BOYΛΗ Veiled and laureate bust of the Boule to the right.
 rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Mên wearing a Phrygian cap holding a pine-cone in his right hand and a sceptre in his left hand and resting his right foot on bucranium.
BMC 90, 91; *SNG SvA* 3641; *NC* 1913, p. 138, nos 2 and 3; *Fitz McClean* 8822; Lindgren III 593.
- 53 obv: ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑ Laureate and veiled bust of the Gerousia to the right.
 rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
BMC 82; *NC* 1913, p. 157, no. 4; *Inv Wadd* 6126; *MZ* 75, 818.
- 54 obv: ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑ Laureate and veiled bust of the Gerousia to the right.
 rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Rider naked except for chlamys holding a double-axe and sitting on a horse stepping to the right.
BMC 79, 80, 81; *Cop* 434; *SNG Lewis* 1619, 1620; *Fitz McClean* 8821; *NC* 1913, p. 26, nos. 6, 7, 8; Ox; Lindgren I 969; Weber, 7111; BM Hecht; Mionnet, IV, 592.
- 55 obv: Bust of Athena wearing a crested Corinthian helmet and aegis.
 rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
NC 1913, p. 14, no. 29; *Hunt Coll* 5; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 360.
- 56 obv: Bust of Athena wearing a crested Corinthian helmet and aegis.
 rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ Nike advancing left holding a palm in her left hand and a wreath in her right hand.
BMC 22.

57 obv: Bust of Athena wearing a crested Athenian helmet to the right.

rev: $\text{IEPA}\Pi\text{O}\Lambda\text{EIT}\Omega\text{N}$ Hermes naked standing to the front holding a purse in his right hand and a chlamys and a caduceus in his left hand.

BMC 21, 49; *Cop* 416, 431; *SNG München* 216; *SNG SvA* 3621; *NC* 1913, p. 14, nos. 3-5; *Ox*; *Inv Wadd* 6094; *KM* p. 234, no. 2; *MZ* 66, 447.

58 obv: Bust of Athena to the right wearing a crested Corinthian helmet and aegis.

rev: $\text{IEPA}\Pi\text{O}\Lambda\text{EIT}\Omega\text{N}$ Nemesis standing left and plucking chiton from her breast with her right hand and holding a bridle in her left hand.

BMC 12, 13, 14, 15; *Cop* 418, 417; *SNG München* 217, 218; *SNG SvA* 8377; 3620; *SNG Lewis* 1617; *Fitz McClean* 8814; *Hunt Coll* 6; *NC* 1913, p. 13, nos. 1 and 2; *Lindgren I* 966; *Ox*; *Weber*, 7100.

Inv Wadd 6095; *Mionnet*, IV, 583; *Mionnet*, *Suppl.* VII, 361, 362.

59 obv: $\text{IEPA}\Pi\text{O}\Lambda\text{I}\Sigma$ Draped bust of the City Goddess.

rev: $\text{IEPA}\Pi\text{O}\Lambda\text{EIT}\Omega\text{N}$ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.

NC 1913, p. 156, no. 1; *Mionnet*, *Suppl.* VII, 370.

60 obv: $\text{IEPA}\Pi\text{O}\Lambda\text{I}\Sigma$ Draped bust of the City Goddess.

rev: $\text{IEPA}\Pi\text{O}\Lambda\text{EIT}\Omega\text{N}$ Rape of Pesephone by Hades driving a quadriga of horses.

NC 1913, p. 143, no. 2.

61 obv: $\text{IEPA}\Pi\text{O}\Lambda\text{I}\Sigma$ Draped bust of the City Goddess.

rev: $\text{IEPA}\Pi\text{O}\Lambda\text{EIT}\Omega\text{N}$ Heracles standing right and holding a club covered with a lion's skin.

NC 1913, p. 24, no. 1; *GRM* p. 152, no. 4.

62 obv: $\text{IEPA}\Pi\text{O}\Lambda\text{I}\Sigma$ Draped bust of the City Goddess to the right.

rev: $\text{IEPA}\Pi\text{O}\Lambda\text{EIT}\Omega\text{N}$ Winged Nemesis standing left plucking her chiton with her right hand and holding a bridle in her left hand.

BMC 20; *NC* 1913, p. 141, no. 6, p. 142, no. 7; *Ox*; *Inv Wadd* 6116; *GM* p. 738, no. 692.

63 obv: $\text{IEPA}\Pi\text{O}\Lambda\text{I}\Sigma$ Draped bust of the City Goddess.

rev: $\text{IEPA}\Pi\text{O}\Lambda\text{EIT}\Omega\text{N}?$ (Inscription illegible) Asclepius with serpent staff standing with Hygeia who is feeding a snake.

NC 1913, p. 12, no. 6.

64 obv: Draped bust of the City Goddess to the right.

rev: $\text{IEPA}\Pi\text{O}\Lambda\text{EIT}\Omega\text{N}$ Heracles standing right and holding a club covered with a lion's skin.

BM?; *NC* 1913, p. 24, nos. 2 and 4; *KM* p. 236, no. 7.

65 obv: Draped bust of the City Goddess to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΠΟΛΑΕΙΤΩΝ Dionysus naked except for chlamys standing left and holding a kantharos in his right hand and leaning on a thyrsos with his left arm with a panther at his feet.

Hunt Coll 2; Mionnet, Suppl. VII, 371.

66 obv: ΖΕΥΣ ΤΡΩΙΟΣ Head of Zeus to the right bound with taenia.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΠΟΛΑΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo standing right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and carrying a lyre on his left arm.

BMC 39, 40; SNG SvA 3617; NC 1913, p. 158; Inv Wadd 6089; BM Hecht; GM p. 738, no. 693.

67 obv: ΖΕΥΣ ΤΡΩΙΟΣ Head of Zeus to the right bound with taenia.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΠΟΛΑΕΙΤΩΝ Male figure standing to the left in a cuirass holding a branch or a wreath in his right hand and a chlamys and double-axe in his left hand.

BMC 41; Inv Wadd 6090.

68 obv: ΖΕΥΣ ΤΡΩΙΟΣ Head of Zeus to the right bound with taenia.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΠΟΛΑΕΙΤΩΝ Mên wearing a Phrygian cap holding a pine-cone in his right hand and a sceptre in his left hand resting his right foot on a bucranium.

NC 1913, p. 138, no. 1; HR 83.

69 obv: ΖΕΥΣ ΒΩΣΙΟΣ Head of Zeus to the right bound with taenia.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΠΟΛΑΕΙΤΩΝ Rider in short chiton and chlamys holding a double-axe and sitting on a horse stepping to the right.
BMC 42; Cop 429; SNG München 223; NC 1913, p. 28, nos. 1 and 2; MG p. 401, no. 106a; Lindgren III 592; Ox; Weber, 7106; Inv Wadd 6088; Mionnet, Suppl VII, 375.

70 obv: Head of Zeus to the right bound with taenia.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΠΟΛΑΕΙΤΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.

Fitz McClean 8816.

71 obv: Draped bust of Artemis with a quiver.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΠΟΛΑΕΙΤΩΝ Hygeia seated left and holding a phiale in her right hand towards a snake erect before her and leaning her left arm on a cushion with Telesphorus behind her.

NC 1913, p. 135, no. 11; Inv Wadd 6101.

72 obv: ΙΕΡΑΠΙΟΛΑΕΙΤΩΝ Draped bust of Artemis to the left with a bow and a quiver.

rev: ΧΡΥΣΟΡΟΑΣ Bearded river god with a naked upper body sitting left on the ground holding a corn ear and poppy in his right hand and his left hand over an urn from which a river flows.

BM=*SNG SvA* 3619; *SNG Lewis* 1621; *NC* 1913, p. 18, no. 5; *AGM* p. 68, no. 188; *MG* p. 403, no. 111; *Inv Wadd* 6100.

73 obv: Bust of Heracles to the right with a club and a lion skin knotted around his neck.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΙΟΛΑΕΙΤΩΝ Helmeted Athena wielding a thunderbolt or spear and holding a shield walking to the right.

BMC 24; *NC* 1913, p. 14, no. 6; *Ox*.

74 obv: Head of Heracles to the right with a club and a lion skin knotted around his neck.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΙΟΛΑΕΙΤΩΝ Hygeia standing towards the right and feeding a snake.

BMC 50.

75 obv: Head of Heracles to the right with a club.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΙΟΛΑΕΙΤΩΝ Asclepius with serpent-staff standing with Hygeia who is feeding a snake.

BMC 51; *Cop* 430; *SNG München* 219; *SNG SvA* 3622; *NC* 1913, p. 12, no. 5; *Hunt Coll* 1; *SNG Bern* 1185; *BM Hecht*; *Mionnet*, IV, 582.

76 obv: Head of Heracles to the right with a club.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΙΟΛΑΕΙΤΩΝ Lion walking right.

BMC 52; *Ox*.

77 obv: Head of Heracles to the right with a club.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΙΟΛΑΕΙΤΩΝ Eagle to the front with its wings open.

BMC 53; *NC* 1913, p. 157, no. 8; *Inv Wadd* 6096.

78 obv: Head of Heracles to the right with a lion's skin.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΙΟΛΑΕΙΤΩΝ Bull's head, crescent and two stars joined by a vertical line.

NC 1913, p. 17, 2.

79 obv: Head of Heracles to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΙΟΛΑΕΙΤΩΝ Winged Nemesis plucking her chiton with her right hand and holding a bridle in her left hand.

Cop 422; *NC* 1913, p. 142, no. 8; *Ox*; *Mionnet*, IV, 581.

80 obv: Bare head of the bearded Heracles.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΙΟΛΑΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo standing right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and a lyre on his left arm with a stag standing beside him.

Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 369.

81 obv: IEPAΠOAEITΩN Head of Dionysus to the right crowned with ivy.

rev: Rape of Persephone by Hades in chlamys with a sceptre in quadriga of horses galloping to the right.

BMC 38; *Cop* 428; *SNG München* 222; *NC* 1913, p. 144, no. 3; Lindgren I 967; Ox; Weber, 7105; Mionnet, IV, 586; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 368.

82 obv: IEPAΠOAEITΩN Head of Dionysus to the right crowned with ivy.

rev: EYPOΣIA Tyche-Euposia standing left and holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm on bend of which sits the infant Ploutos or Dionysus.

BMC 35, 36, 37; *SNG München* 221; *SNG SvA* 3618; *NC* 1913, p. 153, no. 16; *MG* p. 401, no. 110.

83 obv: Draped bust of Dionysus to the right crowned with ivy.

rev: IEPAΠOAEITΩN Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.

BMC 25, 26; *Cop* 423; *Fitz McClean* 8815; *NC* 1913, p. 156, no. 2; Mionnet, IV, 580; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 366; *MZ* 71, 367.

84 obv: Head of Dionysus to the right crowned with ivy with a thyrsos in front.

rev: IEPAΠOAEITΩN Dionysus naked except for chlamys holding a kantharos in his right hand over a panther at his feet and resting his left hand on a thyrsos.

BMC 48; *NC* 1913, p. 22, nos 1 and 2.

85 obv: Head of Dionysus to the right crowned with ivy with a thyrsos in front.

rev: IEPAΠOAEITΩN Demeter standing to the left holding an ear of corn in her right hand and a torch in her left hand.

NC 1913, p. 20, no. 3; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 367.

86 obv: Head of Dionysus to the right crowned with ivy with a thyrsos in front.

rev: IEPAΠOAEITΩN Asclepius with serpent-staff standing with Hygeia who is feeding a snake.

NC 1913, p. 12, no. 7; Ox; *Inv Wadd* 6098.

87 obv: Head of Dionysus to the right crowned with ivy with a thyrsos in front.

rev: IEPAΠOAEITΩN Artemis wearing a short chiton and fluttering chlamys stands right holding a bow and drawing an arrow from a quiver.

NC 1913, p. 9, no. 1.

88 obv: Draped bust of the bearded Sarapis to the right wearing a modius.

rev: IEPAΠOAEITΩN Tyche standing left and holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae in her left hand.

NC 1913, p. 149, no. 11; Ox, Ox.

89 obv: Draped bust of Sarapis wearing a modius to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.

BMC 27; 28; *Cop* 424, 425; *SNG SvA* 8378; *NC* 1913, p. 147, no. 1-5; *Hunt Coll* 4; Weber, 7102; Mionnet, IV, 578.

90 obv: Draped bust of Sarapis wearing a modius to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Isis standing to the left and holding a sistrum in her right hand and a sistula in her left hand.

BMC 29, 30, 31; *Cop* 426, 427; *SNG SvA* 3623, 3624; *SNG Lewis* 1618; 1622; *NC* 1913, p. 148, nos, 6-9; *SNG Bern* 1183; Weber, 7103, 7104; Mionnet, IV, 579; Kress, 185, 406.

91 obv: Bust of Sarapis wearing a modius to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΧΡΥΣΟΡΟΑΣ River god recumbent to the left and resting on an inverted vase holding ears of corn and a poppy.

BM; *NC* 1913, p. 149, no. 12; *Inv Wadd* 6091.

92 obv: Bust of Asclepius to the right with a serpent-staff.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Nemesis standing left and plucking her chiton with her right hand and holding a bridle in her left hand.

BMC 16, 17; *Cop* 415; *NC* 1913, p. 11, nos 1-3; *Hunt Coll* 3; Ox; Weber, 7101; *Inv Wadd* 6092; *MG* p. 400, no. 106; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 365.

93 obv: Bust of Asclepius to the right with a serpent-staff.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Hygeia standing right and feeding a serpent.

NC 1913, p. 12, no. 4; *Inv Wadd* 6093.

94 obv: Bearded and laureate head of Neptune to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛ Neptune standing with a dolphin and trident.
NC 1913, p. 146, no. 3.

95 obv: Draped bust of young Hermes with a caduceus to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Athena Promachus with a shield and a spear stepping to the right.

NC 1813; p. 15, no. 7; *SNG Bern* 1184; *Inv Wadd* 6097.

96 obv: Bust of Selene/Hecate to the right rising from a crescent.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Winged Nemesis standing left and plucking her chiton with her right hand and holding a bridle in her left.

BMC 19; *Cop* 419, 420; *SNG München* 220; *NC* 1913, p.141, nos. 2-5; Ox, Ox; *Inv Wadd* 6099; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 364.

Time of Elagabalus

97 obv: APXHΓETHΣ Bust of Apollo to the right.
rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Tyche standing left holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae in her left hand.

BMC 46; *HR* 49; BM Hecht.

98 obv: ΔAIPBHNOΣ Radiate and draped bust of Apollo to the right.

rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Tyche standing left holding scales in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm on the bend of which sits the infant Ploutos.

NC 1913, p. 151, no. 7; Ox; *Inv Wadd* 6108.

99 obv: ΔAIPBHNOΣ Radiate and draped bust of Apollo to the right.

rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Apollo standing right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and carrying a lyre on his left arm.

BMC 60, 61; *Cop* 441; *SNG SvA* 8379; *SNG Fitz* 4976; *NC* 1913, p. 7, nos. 6 and 7; Mionnet, IV, 590.

100 obv: ΔAIPBHNOΣ Radiate and draped bust of Apollo to the right.

rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN with AKTIA within a laurel-wreath.

BMC 65; *Cop* 443; *SNG München* 232; *SNG SvA* 3629; *Fitz McClean* 8819; *HR* 54; *Inv Wadd* 6111; Mionnet, IV, 591.

101 obv: ΔAIPBHNOΣ Radiate and draped bust of Apollo to the right.

rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN with ΠYΘIA within a laurel-wreath.

BMC 66; *Cop* 442; *SNG München* 231; *HR* 55; von Papen p. 166, no. 7, p. 167, no. 12; *Inv Wadd* 611; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 377.

102 obv: ΔAIPBHNOΣ Radiate and draped bust of Apollo to the right.

rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN She-wolf standing left and suckling twins.

NC 1913, p. 155, nos 1 and 2; Ox; *Inv Wadd* 6109.

103 obv: ΔAIPBHNOΣ Head of Apollo to the right.

rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Neptune holding a dolphin in his right hand and a trident in his left.

NC 1913, p. 146, no. 2; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 376.

104 obv: ΔAIPBHNOΣ Radiate and draped bust of Apollo to the right.

rev: IEPAΠOΛEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Hygeia enthroned to the left holding a phiale in her right hand which she feeds to a snake before her and resting her left arm on a cushion. Telesphorus behind the throne.

KM p. 237, no. 10.

105 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Bare-headed and draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: IEΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Apollo standing right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and carrying a lyre on his left arm.
BMC 85; *NC* 1913, p. 8, no. 12; *HR* 67.

106 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Bare-headed and draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: IEΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Rape of Persephone by Hades wearing a flying chlamys and holding a sceptre in a quadriga of galloping horses.
BMC 87, 88; *SNG SvA* 3633; *SNG Lewis* 1628; *NC* 1913, p. 144, no. 4; *HR* 72; *KMk* 54.

107 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Head of the youthful Senate.
rev: IEΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Demeter standing with an ear of corn in her right hand and a torch in her left hand.
Mionnet, Suppl. VII, 382.

108 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Bare-headed and draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: IEΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ with AKTIA within a laurel-wreath.
BMC 89; *Cop* 444; *HR* 74, 75; von Papen p. 178, no. 34; Ox; *Inv Wadd* 6129; *Mionnet, Suppl.* VII, 383.

109 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: IEΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ with ΠΥΘΙΑ within a laurel-wreath.
BM Hecht.

110 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Laureate and draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: IEΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Helmeted Athena wearing a long chiton standing left and holding a phiale in her right hand and resting her left hand on a spear against which a shield leans.
BM; *SNG München* 227; *HR* 68; *NC* 1913, p. 15, no. 9; *Mionnet, IV*, 596.

111 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Bare-headed and draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: IEΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Hygeia enthroned left feeding a snake from a phiale in her right hand and resting her left arm on a cushion resembling the tympanum of Cybele. Telesphorus is behind the throne.
BMC 86; *Cop* 445; *SNG München* 228; *HR* 70, 71; *NC* 1913, pp. 134-135, nos 8-10; Ox; *Mionnet, IV*, 597.

112 obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: IEΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Male figure wearing a cuirass and boots holding a branch and a double-axe.
BM=*SNG SvA* 3631; *Inv Wadd* 6130; *KM* p. 237, no. 11.

113 obv: ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΑΗΤΟΣ Laureate and draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ She-wolf suckling twins.
SNG München 230; HR 73.

114 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ Laureate head of the youthful Demos to the right with drapery at his shoulder.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Agonistic table on which two prize crowns are placed each containing palms and inscribed ΠΥΘΙΑ and ΑΚΤΙΑ respectively. Two prize amphorae are beneath the table.
BMC 71; BM=SNG SvA 3637; HR 65; von Papen pp. 166-167, no. 8; Ox; BM Hecht.

115 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ Laureate head of the youthful Demos to the right with drapery at his shoulder.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Tyche standing left and holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.
BMC 73, 74, 75; Cop 438; SNG München 226; HR 57, 58, 59, 60; NC 1913, pp. 150-151, no. 1; BM Hecht; Mionnet, IV, 593.

116 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ Laureate head of the youthful Demos to the right with drapery at his shoulder.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Athlete naked to the front supports an agonistic crown upon his head with his right hand and holds a palm in his left and in the field to the left is ΑΚΤΙΑ.
BMC 72; Cop 440; SNG SvA 3636; HR 61; NC 1913, p. 3, no. 1; von Papen p. 178, no. 36.

117 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ Laureate head of the youthful Demos to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ River god Chrysoroas lying to the left holding a poppy and ears of corn in his right hand and a branch (?) on left arm while behind him is an inverted vase from which a stream flows.
BMC 70; Cop 439; Fitz McClean 8820; HR 62, 63; NC 1913, p. 18, no. 4; Sng Bern 1186.

118 obv: ΙΕΡΑ ΒΟΥΛΗ Draped and veiled bust of the Boule to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Male figure wearing military dress and holding a labrys in his left hand and a phiale in his right hand.
HR 56.

119 obv: ΖΕΥΣ ΤΡΩΙΟΣ Head of Zeus to the right bound with taenia.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Male figure wearing a cuirass and boots holding in his right hand a poppy and ears of corn and in his left hand a double-axe and chlamys.
BMC 47; HR 80; NC 1913, p. 26, no. 6; KM p. 237, no. 12.

120 obv: ZEYΣ TPΩIOΣ Laureate head of Zeus to the right.
rev: IEPAΠOAEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN with AKTIA within a laurel-wreath.
HR 81; *NC* 1913, p. 3, no. 2; von Papen p. 178, no. 35; *KM* p. 237, no. 13.

121 obv: ZEYΣ TPΩIOΣ Laureate head of Zeus to the right.
rev: IEPAΠOAEITΩN NEΩKOPΩN Mên in a long chiton standing left with his foot on a bucranium.
HR 82; Weber, 7112.

122 obv: NEΩKOPΩN Turreted and veiled bust of the City Goddess to the right.
rev: IEPAΠOAEITΩN Mên wearing a Phrygian cap, chiton and mantle standing left with his right foot on bucranium and holding a pine cone in his right hand and resting his left on a sceptre.
BMC 92; *Cop* 446; *SNG SvA* 3542; *HR* 78, 79; *NC* 1913, p. 139, nos. 4 and 5; Ox; Mionnet, IV, 603.

123 obv: NEΩKOPΩN Turreted and draped bust of the City Goddess to the right.
rev: IEPAΠOAEITΩN Coiling bearded serpent.
HR 77; *NC* 1913, p. 13, no. 9; *AGM* p. 68, no. 191.

124 obv: NEΩKOPΩN Bearded head of Heracles to the right.
rev: IEPAΠOAEITΩN Winged griffin standing right with its fore-paw on a wheel.
HR 66; *NC* 1913, p. 154, no. 17; *AGM* p. 69, no. 192.

125 obv: NEΩKOPΩN Bust of Sarapis wearing a modius to the right.
rev: IEPAΠOAEITΩN Two children sitting on the ground playing astragali.
HR 76; *NC* 1913, p. 150, no. 2; *AGM* p. 68, no. 190.

F HIERAPOLIS: *Homonoia* Coins

APHRODISIAS

Commodus

1 obv: AY KAI M AYP KOMMOΔΟΣ Laureate bust of Commodus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΕΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Apollo of Hierapolis holding a lyre and a plectrum standing before a veiled cult statue of Aphrodite of Aphrodisias which has its hands projecting from its sides.

BMC 166; BM Hecht; Mionnet, IV, 625; MacDonald, *Coinage of Aphrodisias*, p. 156; Pera, *Homonoia*, pp. 98-99; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 94, no. M.

CERETAPA

Commodus

2 obv: Commodus

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΚΕΡΕΤΑΪΕΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Heracles standing and holding in his right hand a club and a lion's skin in his left.

JIAN, XIV p. 96, no. O; Pera, *Homonoia*, p. 99.

CIBYRA¹

Marcus Aurelius

3 obv: AY KAI M AY ANTΩNINOS Laureate bust of Aurelius in a cuirass to the right.

rev: ΚΙΒΥΡΑΤΩΝ Κ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Ε(ΠΙ) ΚΑ ΦΙΛΟΚΛΕ(Σ) City goddess of Cibyra supporting a basket on her head joins hands with Apollo of Hierapolis who carries a lyre and plectrum.

BMC Phrygia p. 149, no. 95; *Inv Wadd* 7069; 7070; *JIAN*, XIV, pp. 94-95, nos. N I a-c; BM=SNG SvA 3757; Pera, *Homonoia*, p. 61, no. 1.

Faustina Junior

4 obv: ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Faustina to the right.

rev: ΚΙΒΥΡΑΤΩΝ Κ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΕΠΙ ΦΙΛΟΚΛΕ---Cult statue of a veiled goddess standing right before Zeus who is enthroned to the left and resting his left arm on a sceptre and extending his right hand.

BMC Phrygia p. 149, no. 96; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 95, no. N II; Pera *Homonoia*, p. 61, no. 2.

¹ See also Pera, *Homonoia*, pp. 61-63.

CYZICUS

Time of the Philips

5 obv: ΑΑΙΡΒΗΝΟΣ Radiate and draped bust of Apollo to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΚΥΖΙΚΝΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two right hands clasped.

BMC 185; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 92, no. G.

EPHESUS²

Lucius Verus

6 obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Α ΑΥΡΗ ΟΥΗΡΟΣ Laureate bust of Verus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Apollo of Hierapolis holding a lyre and a plectrum standing before a cult statue of Artemis Ephesia which has its usual supports.

BMC 164; *KM* p. 241, no. 31; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 67, no. A I a; Pera, *Homonoia*, p. 70, no. 1.

Marcus Aurelius

7 obv: (ΑΥ) Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ Laureate bust of Aurelius to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Apollo of Hierapolis holding a lyre and a plectrum standing before a cult statue of Artemis Ephesia.

SNG SvA 3664; Lindgren III 595; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 388; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 79, nos. B I a-c; Pera, *Homonoia*, p. 70, no. 2.

Commodus

8 obv: ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥ(Ρ) ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΣ Laureate bust of Commodus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ (ΚΑΙ) ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Apollo of Hierapolis holding a lyre and a plectrum standing before a cult statue of Artemis Ephesia.

BM=SNG SvA 3665; *BMC* 165; *Inv Wadd* 6158; Kricheldorf, 32, 114; *JIAN*, p. 67, nos. A I b-d; p. 80, no. B I d; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 392; Pera, *Homonoia*, pp. 70-71, no. 3.

Elagabalus

9 obv: ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ Laureate bust of Elagabalus to the right in a cuirass.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ Α ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Apollo of Hierapolis holding a lyre and a plectrum standing before a cult statue of Artemis Ephesia.

HR 3; *Inv Wadd* 6161; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 68, no. A I e.

² See also Pera, *Homonoia*, pp. 70-72.

Philip I

10 obv: ΑΥΤ Κ ΙΟΥΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΑΥΓ Laureate bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ Κ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Apollo of Hierapolis holding a lyre and a plectrum standing right before a cult statue of Artemis Ephesia which has fillets hanging from its hands which project from its sides.

BMC 168, 169; *Cop* 471; *Fitz McClean* 8824 (reverse type worn and uncertain); von Papen p. 180, no. 38; *KM* p. 243, no. 38; *Inv Wadd* 6173, 6174; *JIAN*, XIV, pp. 68-69, nos. A I f, 1, n.

11 obv: ΑΥΤ Κ ΙΟΥΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΑΥΓ Laureate bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ Κ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two city goddesses joining right hands and holding sceptres in their left hands.

MZ 47, 155; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 70, no. A II a; *Inv Wadd* 6175.

Otacilia Severa

12 obv: ΜΑΡΚ ΟΤΑΚΙΑ ΣΕΒΗΡΑ ΣΕΒ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Apollo of Hierapolis holding a lyre and a plectrum standing before a cult statue of Artemis Ephesia with fillets hanging from its arms.

JIAN, XIV, p. 69, no. A I m.

13 obv: Μ ΩΤ ΣΕΥΗΡΑ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ Κ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two prize wreaths one with Π(ΥΘΙΑ) and the other Ε(ΦΕΣΙΑ).

BMC 172, 173; *BM*; *Cop* 472; *SNG München* 250; von Papen p. 170, no. 19; *GRM* p. 41, no. 9; Weber 7120; Mionnet, IV, 646; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 76, nos. A VIII α 1 a-c.

14 obv: Μ ΩΤ ΣΕΥΗΡΑ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two prize wreaths one with Π(ΥΘΙΑ) and the other Ο(ΛΥΜΠΙΑ).

von Papen, p. 170, no. 20; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 399; *JIAN*, XIV, pp. 77-78, nos. A VIII β a-b.

15 obv: Μ ΩΤ ΣΕΥΗΡΑ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two prize wreaths without inscription.

von Papen p. 171, no. 21; Lindgren I 975; *SNG Bern* 118; *Inv Wadd* 6177; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 76, no. A VIII α 1 d.

Philip II

16 obv: AY(T) K M IOYA ΦΙΑΙΠΠΟΣ Laureate bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and aegis from which two snakes rise.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ Κ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Apollo of Hierapolis holding a lyre and a plectrum standing right before a cult statue of Artemis Ephesia which has a stag on either side of it.

BMC 170; *Cop* 473; *SNG Lewis* 1625; *GM* pp. 739-740, no. 699; *JIAN*, XIV, pp. 68-69, nos. A I g-k.

17 obv: M IOYA ΦΙΑΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΙ Bare-headed bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ Κ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two turreted city goddesses with sceptres and holding hands.

JIAN, XIV, p. 71, no. A II b.

Time of the Philips

18 obv: ΛΑΙΡΒΗΝΟΣ Radiate and draped bust of Apollo to the right. rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ Κ(ΑΙ) ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two right hands clasped.

BMC 177, 178, 179, 180; *Cop* 467; *SNG SvA* 3662; *Inv Wadd* 6112; *Mionnet, Suppl.* VII, 378, 379; *SNG München* 247; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 78, nos. A IX a-g; p. 80, nos. B II a-b.

19 obv: ΛΑΙΡΒΗΝΟΣ Head of Apollo to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ Κ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two empty wreaths.

von Papen p. 171, no. 24.

20 obv: ΛΑΙΡΒΗΝΟΣ Radiate bust of Apollo to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ Κ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two wreaths one with Π and the other E.

JIAN, XIV, p. 77, no. A VIII a 3.

21 obv: ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Head of the youthful Senate to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ Κ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two empty wreaths.

von Papen p. 171, 23; *Mionnet*, IV, 600, 601; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 77, nos. A VIII a 2 c-d.

22 obv: ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the Senate bound with taenia to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ Κ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two prize wreaths one with Π and the other E.

BMC 186; *Cop* 468; *SNG München* 248; von Papen p. 171, 22; *JIAN*, XIV, pp. 76-77, nos. A VIII a 2 a-b.

23 obv: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ Laureate and veiled female bust to the right.

rev: ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Athena standing and holding in her right hand a spear and resting her left on shield.

Cop 469; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 73, no. A IV a.

24 obv: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ Κ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ Laureate and veiled female bust to the right.
rev: ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Male figure standing left with a double-axe and chlamys and in his right hand a wreath?
BM; *JIAN*, XIV, pp. 75-76.

25 obv: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ Κ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ Laureate and veiled female bust to the right.
rev: ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Mên wearing a Phrygian cap, short chiton and a mantle standing to the left with his right foot on a bucranium and holding a pine-cone in his right hand and resting his left hand on a sceptre.
BMC 187; *Cop* 470; *SNG München* 249; *SNG SvA* 3663; Weber 7119; *MZ* 65, 218; *JIAN*, XIV, pp. 74-75, nos. A VI a-b.

26 obv: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ Κ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ Veiled female bust to the right.
rev: ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Winged Nike (?) standing to the left.
BM.

27 obv: Κ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ (ΟΜΟΝΥΑ) Laureate and veiled female bust to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Winged Nike standing to the left and holding a wreath in her right hand and a palm in her left hand.
Ox, Ox; Mionnet, IV, 605; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 74, nos. A V a-d.

28 obv: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ Κ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ Laureate and veiled female bust to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Rider carrying a double-axe sitting on a horse stepping to the right.
Ox; *JIAN*, XIV, pp. 75-76, no. A VII 2.

29 obv: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ Κ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ Laureate and veiled female bust to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Hero standing right and carrying a double-axe and chlamys in his left hand and a phiale in his right hand.
JIAN, XIV, pp. 75-76, nos. A VII 1 a-b.

Valerian

30 obv: Α(Υ) Κ(Ε) Π(ΟΥ) Λ(ΙΚ) ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΣ Laureate bust Valerian to the right in a cuirass and aegis from which two snakes rise.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ Κ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ (ΟΜΟΝΥΑ) Sarapis wearing a modius and long chiton with a sceptre over his left shoulder standing right before a cult statue of Artemis Ephesia which stands between two stags with its usual supports.
BMC 188, 189; *Hunt Coll* 10; *JIAN*, XIV, pp. 71-72, nos A III a-g.

31 obv: Π Λ ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΣ Laureate head of Valerian.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΑ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΥΑ Turreted city goddess holding on her extended right hand a statue of Artemis Ephesia and resting her left hand on a sceptre.
JIAN, XIV, p. 72, no. A III h.

Gallienus

32 obv: ΑΥ Κ Π ΔΙ [Γ]ΑΛΛΙΗΝΟΣ Radiate bust of Gallienus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΑΙΤΩΝ Κ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Apollo of Hierapolis holding a lyre and a plectrum standing with a cult statue of Artemis Ephesia.
Ox (coin worn); *JIAN*, XIV, p. 70, no. A I o.

LAODICEA see C LAODICEA: *Homonoia* Coins

PERGAMUM

Philip I

33 obv: ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΙΟΥΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΑΥΓ Laureate bust of Philip in a cuirass and paludamentum to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΑΙΤΩΝ Κ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Apollo of Hierapolis holding a lyre and a plectrum standing with Asclepius of Pergamum who has a snake-staff.
BMC 171; *Cop* 466; *Inv Wadd* 6176; *KM* p. 242, no. 37; *JIAN* XIV, p. 91, nos. F a-d.

SARDIS

Commodus

34 obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥΡ ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΣ Laureate bust of Commodus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΑΙΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Apollo of Hierapolis holding a lyre and a plectrum stands right before the seated and draped Kore of Sardis who wears a polos surmounted by a crescent. On the left, is an upright stalk of corn and on the right, a poppy.
BMC 167; *JIAN*, XIV, pp. 86-87, no. E I a; *Pera*, *Homonoia*, pp. 72-74.

Philip I

35 obv: ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ Laureate bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΑΙΤΩΝ (Κ) ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Apollo of Hierapolis holding a lyre and a plectrum standing opposite a cult representation of the city goddess of Sardis.
SNG SvA 3666; *Mionnet*, *Suppl.* VII, 397; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 87, nos. E I b-c.

Otacilia Severa

36 obv: ΜΑΡΚΩΤΑΚΙΑ ΣΕΒΗΡΑ ΣΕΒ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two prize crowns each containing two palms.

BMC 174 (Inscriptions on crowns illegible); *SNG Lewis* 1626; *Inv Wadd* 6178; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII, 398; Mionnet, IV, 647; *JIAN* XIV, p. 89, nos. E V a-b.

37 obv: ΜΩΤ ΣΕΒΗΡΑ ΣΕΒ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two prize wreaths one with ΧΡΥΣΑΝ and the other ΠΥΘΙΑ.

BMC 176; von Papen p. 168, no. 13; Lindgren I 976; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 90, nos. E VII a-b.

Philip II

38 obv: ΜΙΟΥΛΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΙ Bare-headed bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two prize crowns both with palms in. On left one ΠΥΘΙΑ (?) and on right ΧΡΥΣΑΝΘΙΝΑ (?).

SNG SvA 3667; Weber 7123.

39 obv: ΜΙΟΥΛΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare-headed bust of Philip to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two prize crowns both with palms in.

BM; von Papen p. 169, no. 16; *Inv Wadd* 6182; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 89, no. E V c.

Time of the Philips

40 obv: ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Youthful bust of the Senate to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two prize wreaths one with X and the other Π.

BM; von Papen p. 169, no. 14; Weber 7122; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 90, no. E VII c.

41 obv: ΛΑΙΡΒΗΝΟΣ Radiate and draped bust of Apollo to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two right hands clasped.

BMC 184; *Inv Wadd* 6113; *JIAN* XIV, pp. 90-91, nos. E VIII a-b.

42 obv: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ Youthful head of Dionysus to the right with thyrsos on his left shoulder.

rev: ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Athlete holding a palm branch in left hand and a prize crown in his outstretched right hand.

von Papen p. 170, no. 18.

43 obv: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ Bust of Artemis with quiver.

rev: ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Hero standing left holding a phiale in his right hand and a double-axe and chlamys in his left hand.

JIAN, XIV, p. 89, no. E IV.³

44 obv: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ Youthful male head to the right (Dionysus or Apollo?).

rev: ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Rider with a chlamys and a double-axe sitting on a horse stepping to the right.

BM; Weber 7121.

45 obv: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ Bust of Artemis to the right with a quiver.

rev: ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Mên standing left holding a sceptre in his left hand and resting his right foot on a bull's head.

Ox; Mionnet, IV, 604; *JIAN* XIV, p. 88, nos. E III a-b.

46 obv: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ Laureate, veiled and draped female bust (Homonoia?).

rev: ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Winged Nike standing left and holding a palm in her left hand and a wreath in her right hand.

JIAN, XIV, p. 88, no. E II a.

Gallienus

47 obv: ΑΥ Κ ΙΙ ΓΑΛΛΙΗΝΟΣ Draped bust of Gallienus in a cuirass.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΥΑ Table with two prize crowns On one ΠΥΘΙΑ and on the other ΧΡΥΣΑΝΤΙΝΑ.

von Papen p. 169, no. 17; *MG* p. 403, no. 114; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 90, no. E VI.

Valerian

48 obv: ΑΥ Κ ΠΟΥ ΛΙΚ ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΣ Draped and armoured bust of Valerian to the right in a radiate crown.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΚΕ ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΥΑ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Apollo of Hierapolis holding a lyre and a plectrum standing with a cult representation of the city goddess of Sardis.

SNG SvA 3668; Ox; Lindgren III 596; *Inv Wadd* 6184; *JIAN*, XIV, pp. 87-88, nos. E I d-e.

³ The author of the catalogue believes that the preceding coin is a misdescription of this one.

SMYRNA⁴

Otacilia Severa

49 obv: ΜΑΡΚ ΩΤΑΚΙΑ ΣΕΒΗΡΑ ΣΕΒ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΣΜΥΡ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Winged Nike holding a palm standing with Tyche who holds a cornucopiae and a rudder.

SNG München 254; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 81, no. C II.

50 obv: ΜΑΡΚ ΩΤΑΚΙΑ ΣΕΒΗΡΑ ΣΕΒ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two prize crowns each with two palms. On one ΠΥΘΙΑ and on the other ΚΟΙΝΑ ΑΣΙΑΣ.

BMC 174 (inscriptions on crowns illegible); von Papen p. 172, no. 26; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 82, no. C IV A b.

51 obv: ΜΑΡΚ ΩΤΑ(ΚΙΑ) ΣΕΒΗΡΑ ΣΕ(B) Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two prize crowns each with two palms.

Cop 475; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 82, no. C IV c.

52 obv: Μ ΩΤ ΣΕΥΗΡΑ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two prize wreaths between which is a palm branch.

Cop 476; Weber 7124; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 85, no. C V b.

53 obv: Μ ΩΤ ΣΕΒΗΡΑ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two prize wreaths one with Π and the other Κ.

JIAN, XIV, p. 84, no. C V a.

54 obv: Μ ΩΤ ΣΕΥΗΡΑ Draped bust of Otacilia to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two prize wreaths.

BM, von Papen p. 172, no. 27.

Philip II

55 obv: ΑΥΤΟΚ Κ Μ ΙΟΥΛ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΣΕ Radiate head of Philip.

rev: ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ Κ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two urns with palms.

von Papen p. 173, no. 28; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 83, no. C IV A d.

Time of the Philips

⁴ See Klose, *Die Münzprägung von Smyrna*, pp. 53-54.

56 obv: ΑΑΙΡΒΗΝΟΣ Draped and radiate bust of Apollo to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two hands in a handshake.
BMC 181, 182, 183; *Cop* 474; *SNG München* 253; *MZ* 68, 282; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 85, no. C VI a-c.

Gallienus

57 obv: ΑΥ Κ Π ΔΙ ΓΑΛΛΙΗΝΟΣ Draped and armoured bust of Gallienus to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ (ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ) Two prize crowns with palm branch on a table-top. The inscriptions on the crowns are illegible.
SNG SvA 3669; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 83, nos. C IV A e, h and C IV B c.

58 obv: ΑΥ(Τ) Κ Π(Ο) ΔΙ(ΚΙΝ) ΓΑΛΛΙΗΝΟΣ Draped and armoured bust of Gallienus to the right.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ (Κ) ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ (ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ) Two prize crowns with palm branch on a table-top. The inscriptions on the crowns ΠΥΘΙΑ and ΚΟΙΝΑ ΑΣΙΑΣ.
JIAN, XIV, pp. 83-85, nos. C IV A f-g, IV B a-b, D a-b; von Papen p. 173, nos 29, 30; *Inv Wadd* 6185.

Valerian

59 obv: ΑΥ Κ(Ε) Π(ΟΥ) ΔΙΚ ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΣ Laureate bust of Valerian to the right in a cuirass and aegis from which two snakes rise.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ (ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ) Sarapis holding a sceptre stands facing winged Nemesis. Between them a lighted altar and wheel.
BMC 190, 191, 192; Lindgren III 597; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 81, no. C III a-d.

60 obv: Α Κ Π Α ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΣ Laureate bust of Valerian to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two turreted city goddesses standing together and joining their right hands and holding sceptres in their left hands.
KM p. 243, no. 40; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 80, no. C I.

Tranquillina

61 obv: ΦΟΥΡΙΑ ΤΡΑΝΚΥΛΛΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒ Head of Tranquillina.
rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ Γ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two urns with four palms.
von Papen p. 172, no. 25; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 82, no. IV A a.

SYNNADA⁵

Lucius Verus

62 obv: AY KAI A AYP OYHPOΣ Laureate bust of Verus to the right in a cuirass.

rev: ΣΥΝΝΑΔΕΩΝ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Apollo of Hierapolis holding a lyre and a plectrum stands before Zeus Laodiceus who is seated and holds a phiale in his right hand while resting his left arm on a sceptre.

BMC 163; *JIAN*, XIV, p. 93, no. L a; Pera, *Homonoia*, p. 74, no. 1.

Marcus Aurelius

63 obv: AY KAI M AY ANTΩNINOC Lauretae bust of Aurelius in a cuirass.

rev: ΣΥΝΝΑΔΕΩΝ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Apollo of Hierapolis holding a lyre and a plectrum stands before Zeus Laodicea who is seated and holds a statuette of Nike in his right hand while resting his left arm on a sceptre.

JIAN, XIV, p. 93, no. L b; Pera *Homonoia*, p. 74, no. 2.

Elagabalus?

64 obv: A K M AY ANTΩNEINOC Laureate head.

rev: ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΣΥΝΝΑΔΩΝ A turreted female standing and holding ears of corn in her right hand.

JIAN, XIV, p. 93, no. K.

⁵ See Pera, *Homonoia*, pp. 74-77.

G COLOSSAE: Coins with Imperial Portraits

CALIGULA

The coin minted under Caligula (*RPC* 2981) should be deleted as a forgery. The first coins of this city were produced under Hadrian (*RPC* II p. 11).

HADRIAN

Hieronymos

1 obv: ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Hadrian bare-headed to the left.

rev: [ΙΕΡ]ΩΝΥΜΟΣ [ΑΝΕΘΗΚ]ΕΝ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Helios in a quadriga.

MSP 546.

2 Obv: ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΣ Draped and bare-headed bust of Hadrian to the left.

rev: ΙΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.

MSP 547.

K1 Eugenetorians

3 obv: ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Draped and bare-headed bust of Hadrian to the right.

rev: ΚΑ ΕΥΓΕΝΕΤΟΡΙΑΝΗ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Athena standing left with an owl to her left and a shield on the ground.

MSP 548.

SABINA The reign of Hadrian

Hieronymos

4 obv: ΣΑΒΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Sabina wearing a diadem to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Artemis the huntress dressed in a short chiton and boots and holding a bow in her left hand and quiver on her right arm.

MSP 549; Lindgren III 574; *Inv Wadd* 5874.

Okt Apollonios

5 obv: ΣΑΒΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Draped bust of Sabina wearing a diadem to the right.

rev: ΟΚΤ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Artemis the huntress standing in short chiton and boots holding a bow in her left hand and a quiver on her right arm.

MSP 550; *KM* p. 260, no. 2.

LUCIUS AELIUS CAESAR The reign of Hadrian

Okt Apollonios

6 obv: ΛΟΥΚΙΟΣ ΑΙΛΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare-headed bust of Lucius Aelius Caesar to the left in cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: [OKT?] ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΟΥΑ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia with its usual supports standing between two stags.
BMC 12; MSP 551, 552; Inv Wadd 5875.

ANTONINUS PIUS

Ti Asinios Philopappos

7 obv: ΑΥΤΟ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΤΙΤΟΣ ΑΙΛΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ Laureate head of Pius to the right.
rev: ΤΙ ΑΣΙΝΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΠΠΟΣ Ο ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Artemis the huntress standing to the right in a short chiton holding a quiver and a bow and a stag by its antlers.
MSP 553, 554; Inv Wadd 5873; Ox.

MARCUS AURELIUS CAESAR The reign of Antoninus Pius

T Sakerdos

8 obv: Μ ΑΥΡΗΑΙΟΣ ΒΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare head of a youthful Aurelius to the right.
rev: Τ ΣΑΚΕΡΔΩΣ ΑΡΧΩΝ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Artemis as a huntress walking to the right and holding a bow in her left hand and drawing an arrow from a quiver with her right.
BMC 13; MSP 555, 556, 557, 558; KM p. 260, no. 3.

K1 Sakerdos

9 obv: Μ ΑΥΡΗΑΙΟΣ ΒΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare head of a youthful Aurelius to the right.
rev: ΚΑ ΣΑΚΕΡΔΩΣ ΑΡΧΩΝ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Artemis in short chiton holding a bow in her left hand and drawing an arrow from a quiver with her right.
BM; MSP 559, 560, 561, 562; SNG SvA 3768; Inv Wadd 5876.

10 obv: Μ ΑΥΡΗΑΙΟΣ ΒΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Bare head of a youthful Aurelius to the right.
rev: ΚΑ ΣΑΚΕΡΔΩΣ ΑΡΧΩ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Athena standing left with an owl on her right hand and a shield leaning on her lance.
MSP 563; KM p. 261, no. 4.

MARCUS AURELIUS

Ekleton

11 obv: AYT K M AYP ANTΩN Laureate head of Aurelius to the right.

rev: EKΛHTΩN APXΩN KOΛOCCΣHNΩN Leto standing left in a long robe holding an infant.

MSP 564; KM p. 261, no. 5.

COMMODUS The reign of Marcus Aurelius

P Ail Ktesikles

12 obv: AYT KAI Λ AYP KOMMOΔOC Bare head of a youthful Commodus to the right.

rev: Π AIA KTHCIKΛHC ANEΘHKC KOΛOCCΣHNΩN Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia standing between two stags.

MSP 565.

COMMODUS

Strateg ton peri Zosimon

13 obv: AYT KAI Λ AYP KOMMOΔOC Laureate and bearded bust of Commodus to the right in cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: CTPATHΓ TΩN ΠEPI ZΩCIMON Δ ΦIΔOΠATOPA KOΛOCCΣHNΩN Artemis the huntress in biga of galloping stags holding a strung bow in her right hand and drawing an arrow from a quiver with her left hand.

BMC 14; BM; MSP 566-574; SNG München 310; SNG SvA 3769; Hunt Coll 2; GRM p. 158, no. 1; Mionnet, IV, 426.

14 obv: AYT KAI Λ AYP KOMMOΔOC Laureate and bearded bust of Commodus to the right in cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: CTPATHFO TΩN ΠEPI ZΩCIMON Δ ΦIΔOΠATOPA KOΛOCCΣHNΩN Artemis the huntress standing right with quiver on her shoulder and bow in lowered right hand and holding a stag standing behind her by its antlers with her left hand.

BM; MSP 575, 576, 577; GM p. 733, no. 670.

Apollonios

15 obv: AYT KAI Λ AYP KOMMOΔOC Laureate and bearded bust of Commodus to the right in cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: AΠOΛΛΩNIOC B TOY ZΩCIMOY ΔIOKPATOYC ANEΘHKEN KOΛOCCΣH Artemis the huntress with a quiver on her shoulder and bow in lowered right hand and holding a stag standing behind by its antlers.

MSP 578; Inv Wadd 5877.

Unsigned

16 obv: AY K M AYP KOMMOΔOΣ Laureate and bearded bust of Commodus to the right in cuirass and paludamentum.
rev: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Nike (?) holding in her lowered right hand a palm and in her extended left a wreath stands in biga drawn by walking horses.
BMC 15; MSP 579.

CRISPINA The reign of Commodus

Ktesikles

17 obv: ΚΡΙΣΠΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤ Draped bust of Crispina to the right.
rev: ΚΤΗΣΙΚΛΗΣ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing to the left holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
MSP 580; KM p. 261, no. 6.

Unsigned

18 obv: ΚΡΙΣΠΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤ Draped bust of Crispina to the right.
rev: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ ΛΥΚΟΣ River god Lycus lying down and holding a reed in his right hand and a cornucopiae in his left with an overturned vessel, the source of his river, below him.
BM; MSP 581, 582, 583, 584; Inv Wadd, 5878; GRM p. 159, no. 2.

19 obv: ΚΡΙΣΠΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤ Draped bust of Crispina to the right.
rev: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Tyche holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.
MSP 585.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

Menekles

20 obv: AY KAI Λ ΣΕΠ ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΠΕΡ Laureate and bearded bust of Septimius Severus in cuirass and paludamentum to the right.
rev: ΜΕΝΕΚΛΗΣ Β ΣΤΕΦΑΝΕΦΟΡΟΣ ΑΝΕΘ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Artemis the huntress in short chiton holding a bow and drawing an arrow from a quiver while standing in biga of stags under which is a wild pig with an arrow in its back.
BM: MSP 586, 587; SNG SvA 3770; BM Hecht.

Nigres

21 obv: Laureate and bearded bust of Septimius Severus in cuirass and paludamentum to the right (legend not legible).
rev: ΝΙΓΡΟΣ Γ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΕΦΟΡΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his

extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
MSP 588.

CARACALLA

Nigres

22 obv: AYT KAI M AYP ANTΩNEINOS Youthful and laureate bust of Caracalla in cuirass and paludamentum to the right.
rev: ΝΙΓΡΟΣ Γ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΕΦΟΡΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing to the left holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
MSP 590; *KM* p. 526, no. 2.

23 obv: AYT KAI M AYP ANTΩNEINOS Laureate and youthful bust of Caracalla in cuirass and paludamentum to the right.
rev: ΝΙΓΡΟΣ Γ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΕΦΟΡΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Tyche holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.
MSP 589.

Menekles

24 obv: AY KAI M AY ANTΩNEINOS Laureate bust of Caracalla in cuirass and paludamentum to the right.
rev: ΜΕΝΕΚΛΗΣ ΔΙΣ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΕΦΟΡΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Mên standing to the front wearing a Phrygian cap, short chiton and long mantle and holding in his right hand a phiale and resting his left on a sceptre placed on a bucranium at his feet.
BMC 16; *MSP* 591.

ELAGABALUS

25 obv: AYT KAI M AY ANTΩNEINOS ΣΕΒ Laureate bust of Elagabalus in cuirass and paludamentum to the right.
rev: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ ΟΤΘ Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia between two stags placed next to Tyche holding a cournucopiae and rudder.
MSP 592, 593; *SNG SvA* 3771.

TREBONIANUS GALLUS

Au Makrianos

26 obv: Α Κ Γ Ο ΤΡΡ ΓΑΛΛΟΣ Σ Laureate bust of Gallus in cuirass and paludamentum to the right.
rev: ΑΥ ΜΑΚΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΠΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΩΝ ΦΡΑ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Artemis the huntress in short chiton holding a bow and drawing an arrow from a quiver while standing in biga of stags under which is a wild pig with an arrow in its back.
BM; *MSP* 594, 595; *BM Hecht*.

H COLOSSAE: Coins without Imperial Portraits

Time of Hadrian

Okt Apollonios

1 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Draped bust of the youthful Demos to the right.

rev: OKT ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΟΥΑ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ Demeter standing left in veil and long chiton and holding a sceptre in her left hand and ears of corn in her right hand.

MSP 447.

2 obv: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Radiate bust of Helios to the left.

rev: OKT ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΟΥΑ ΑΝΕ River god lying down and leaning on a vessel which is the source of his river.

MSP 452; Inv Wadd 5862.

Hieronimos

3 obv: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Radiate bust of Helios to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗ River god lying down and holding reeds in his right hand and reeds/spear in his left hand.

MSP 448, 449, 450; Ox; Inv Wadd 5861.

4 obv: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Radiate bust of Helios to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗ River god lying down and holding a reed pipe

while resting on vessel which is the source of his river.

MSP 451.

5 obv: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Bust of Mên wearing a Phrygian cap with a crescent moon behind his shoulders to the right.

rev: ΙΕΡΩ ΑΝΕ Stag standing left.

MSP 453; Inv Wadd 5859.

6 obv: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Veiled bust of the Boule to the right.

rev: (Illegible magistrate's name ΑΝΕ)ΘΗΚΕΝ Dionysus with thyrsos and kantharos and a panther at his feet.

MSP 454 (Dating to the reign of Hadrian is not certain but this is a coin of the second century in any case); SNG München 309.

Time of Antoninus Pius

Philopappos

7 obv: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΟΙΣ Head of the youthful Demos bound with taenia to the right.

rev: ΦΙΛΟΠΑΠΠΟΣ Ο ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ ΚΟΛ Demeter in long chiton, peplos and veil standing left and holding a poppy and corn ears in her right hand and resting her left hand on a sceptre.

BMC 1; MSP 455, 456, 457; Inv Wadd 5865.

8 obv: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Radiate bust of Helios to the right.
rev: ΦΙΛΟΠΑΪΙΟΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ Zeus standing left and holding
a sceptre in his left hand and Nike (or an eagle?) in his
right hand.
MSP 458, 459, 460; *Inv Wadd* 5863, 5864.

9 obv: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Draped bust of Serapis to the right
wearing a modius.
rev: ΦΙΛΟΠΑΪΙΟΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ Hygeia in long chiton and peplos
standing to the right and feeding a serpent from a phiale.
BMC 2; *MSP* 461, 462, 463, 464; *Cop* 309.

10 obv: ΦΙΛΟΠΑΪΙΟΣ Bust of Athena wearing an aegis and a
Corinthian helmet to the right.
rev: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Wolf.
BM; *MSP* 465, 466, 467, 468; *Inv Wadd* 5860; *KM* p. 260, no.
1.

11 obv: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Head of Dionysus in an ivy wreath to the
right.
rev: ΦΙΛΟΠΑΪΙΟΣ Stag standing right.
MSP 469.

Kl Sakerdos

12 obv: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Head of Zeus bound with taenia to the
right.
rev: ΚΑ ΣΑΚΕΡΔΩΣ ΑΡΧΩΝ Tyche holding a cornucopiae in her
left hand and a rudder in her right hand.
MSP 470; *SNG SvA* 3764.

Ti Kl Sakerdos

13 obv: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Bust of Serapis to the right wearing a
modius.
rev: ΤΙ ΚΑ ΣΑΚΕΡΔΩΣ ΑΡΧΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and
holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in
his left hand.
MSP 471-482; *SNG SvA* 3763; *Inv Wadd* 5857, 5858; *Ox*.

Sakerdos

14 obv: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Radiate bust of Helios to the right.
rev: ΣΑΚΕΡΔΩΣ Stag standing right.
MSP 483.

Time of Commodus

P Ail Ktesikles

15 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Laureate and youthful bust of the
Demos to the right.
rev: Π ΑΙΑ ΚΤΗΣΙΚΛΗΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ Helios wearing a radiate
crown and standing to the front and holding a torch in his
right hand and a globe in his left hand.
MSP 484, 485, 486; *Inv Wadd* 5870; *KM* p. 261, no. 7.

Apollonios

16 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Laureate and youthful bust of the Demos to the right.

rev: ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ Β ΖΩΣΙΜΟΥ ΔΙΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ Helios wearing a radiate crown, holding a globe in his left hand and a torch in his right hand and standing in a galloping quadriga.

BMC 4; *MSP* 487-493; *Cop* 310; *Inv Wadd* 5867, 5868; *MZ* 36, 64.

17 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Laureate and draped bust of the youthful Demos to the right.

rev: ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ Β ΖΩΣΙΜΟΥ ΔΙΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia standing between two stags.

BMC 3; *MSP* 494, 495; *Inv Wadd* 5869.

18 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Laureate and draped bust of youthful Demos to the right.

rev: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Helios wearing a radiate crown, holding a globe in his left hand and a torch in his right hand and standing in a quadriga.

BMC 5; *BM*; *MSP* 496-505; *SNG München* 307; *SNG SvA* 3765; *Fitz McClean* 8789; *Hunt Coll* 1.

19 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Laureate and draped bust of the youthful Demos to the right.

rev: Helios wearing a radiate crown, holding a globe in his left hand and a torch in his right hand and standing in a quadriga.

MSP 506; *BM Hecht*.

20 obv: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Laureate and youthful bust of the Demos to the right.

rev: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Cult statue of Artemis Ephesia standing between two stags.

BM; *MSP* 507-512; *SNG München* 308; *SNG SvA* 3766.

Second half of the second century

21 obv: Bust of Artemis with a bow to the right.

rev: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Stag standing right.

BMC 9; *MSP* 513, 514; *KM* p. 525, no. 1.

22 obv: Radiate bust of Helios to the right.

rev: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Asclepius holding a snake-staff standing with Hygeia.

MSP 515, 516, 517.

23 obv: Bust of Sarapis wearing a modius to the right.

rev: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Isis standing in long chiton with a lotus flower on her head and holding a sistrum and sistula.

BMC 8; *MSP* 518, 519.

Second half of the second century, perhaps time of Severus.

24 obv: Bust of Sarapis wearing a modius to the right.
rev: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Isis standing left wearing a long chiton with a lotus flower on her head and holding a sistrum and sistula.
BMC 6, 7; *MSP* 520-533; *Cop* 311; *SNG SvA* 3767; Lindren I 929.

Time of Severus

25 obv: ΒΟΥΛΗ Laureate and draped bust of the veiled Boule to the right.
rev: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing to the left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.
MSP 534, 535, 536; *GM* p. 733, no. 668.

Third century

26 obv: ΙΕΡΑ ΒΟΥΛΗ Laureate and draped bust of the veiled Boule to the right.
rev: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Tyche standing left and holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.
BMC 11; *MSP* 537, 538, 539, 540; *Inv Wadd* 5866.

27 obv: Bust of Sarapis wearing a to the right.
rev: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Isis standing with a lotus flower on her head and holding a sistrum and sistula.
MSP 541, 542; *Cop* 312. (For other coins showing Sarapis and Isis see *Inv Wadd* 5856; *GM* p. 733, no. 669 and *BM Hecht*).

Time of Gallienus

28 obv: ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Young male bust of the Senate to the right with draped shoulders.
rev: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Artemis the huntress in short chiton walking to the right holding a bow in her right hand and drawing an arrow from a quiver with her left.
BMC 10; *MSP* 543, 544; *Inv Wadd* 5871.

I COLOSSAE: *Homonio* Coins

APHRODISIAS

Commodus

obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Α ΑΡ ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΣ Laureate bust of Commodus to the right in a cuirass and paludamentum.

rev: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩ[N] ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΣΙΕΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΕΠΙ ΚΑ ΠΡΕΙΣΚΟΥ Two city goddesses each holding a sceptre standing face to face and clasping hands.

MacDonald, *The Coinage of Aphrodisias*, p. 155; MacDonald, "The Homonoia of Colossae and Aphrodisias", pp. 25-27.¹

¹ This is the only known *homonioia* coin of Colossae.

APPENDIX I: The Emperors of the Roman Empire

Augustus	31(27) B.C.-A.D. 14	
Tiberius	14-37	
Gaius	37-41	The Julio-Claudians
Claudius	41-54	
Nero	54-68	
Galba	68	
Otho	69	
Vitellius	69	
Vespasian	69-79	
Titus	79-81	The Flavians
Domitian	81-96	
Nerva	96-98	
Trajan	98-117	
Hadrian	117-38	
Antoninus Pius	139-61	The Antonines
Marcus Aurelius	161-80	
Lucius Verus	161-69	
Commodus	180-92	
Pertinax	193	
Didius Julianus	193	
Septimius Severus	193-211	
Caracalla	211-17	The Severans (except
Macrinus	217-18	Macrinus)
Elagabalus	218-22	
Severus Alexander	222-35	
Maximinus	235-38	
Gordian I and II	238	
Balbinus and Pupienus	238	
Gordian III	238-44	
Philip	244-49	
Decius	249-51	
Gallus	251-53	
Aemilianus	253	
Valerian	253-60	
Gallienus	253-68	

APPENDIX II: Sources for the Upper Maeander Valley¹
a: LAODICEA

Letters of Quintus Oppius to Aphrodisias:

Reynolds, *A and R*, doc. 2, pp. 11-16.
Reynolds, *A and R*, doc. 3, pp. 16-20.

Letter of the Emperor Hadrian:

IGRP, IV, 1033.

Buildings:

IGRP, IV, 845; Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 73, no. 4.
IGRP, IV, 847; *MAMA*, VI, 2; Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 74, no. 5;
CIG, 3949
IGRP, IV, 860; Robert, *L d L*, p. 265
IGRP, IV, 848; Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 72, no. 1.
IGRP, IV, 863; *CIG*, 3938; Ramsay, *C and B*, pp. 74-75, no.
8.
AM, XXI, 1896, 471.
CIG, 3946.

Foundations:

AM, XVI, 1891, 146.
CIG, 3937.

Diocletian's Price Edict:

Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity, no. 231, pp. 265ff.

Guilds:

IGRP, IV, 863; Ramsay, *C and B*, pp. 74-75, no. 8; *CIG*,
3938.

Wool Trade:

MAMA, VI, 21.

¹ This Appendix contains a list of the epigraphical material for Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae referred to in Chapter One.

b: HIERAPOLIS

Buildings:

IGRP, IV, 808.

AvH 15; 70, nos 6-7; 72, no9; 70, no5; 10-12.

Foundations:

AvH, 133, 153, 195, 209, 227, 270, 278, 293, 336, 342.

Guilds:

IGRP, IV, 821; *AvH*, 40; Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 118, no. 26
(woolwashers).

AvH, 50, 195 (dyers).

IGRP, IV, 816, 822; *AvH*, 133b, 227, 342 (purple-dyers).

AvH, 342 (tapestry makers)

c: COLOSSAE

Foundations:

MAMA, VI, 42; Robert, *LdL*, p 328.

Magistrates:

Robert, *LdL*, p. 277; *IGRP*, IV, 870.

MAMA, VI, 40 (agonothetes).

IGRP, IV, 869 (xeiliarchos).

IGRP, IV, 868; Robert, *LdL*, p. 278 (priest).

Catalogue G 7; H 7-9 (grammateus).

Catalogue G 8-11; H 12-13 (archon).

Catalogue G 13-14 (strategos).

Catalogue G 20-24, 26 (stephanephorus).

Games:

MAMA, VI, 40.

APPENDIX III: The Romanization of the *Cistophorus*

Cistophori minted at Laodicea c189-133 B.C:

Obv: Cista mystica with half open lid from which a snake issues to the left; the whole type is circled by an ivy wreath with berries.

Rev: Two coiled snakes with their heads erect; between them a bow case ornamented with a floral scroll and containing a strung bow. In the field to the left, ΛΑΟ, and to the right, a wolf above the turreted head of the city goddess.
BMC 1.

Obv: As above.

Rev: As above but the wolf is above a lyre.
BMC 2.

Obv: As above.

Rev: As above but there is a female head, Aphrodite ?, with her hair rolled and wearing a stephane to the right instead of the wolf.
BMC 3.

Cistophori minted at Laodicea after 133 B.C:

Obv: Cista mystica from which snake issues left, the whole type in an ivy wreath with berries.

Rev: Two coiled snakes with their heads face to face; between them an ornamented bow case containing a strung bow. In the field left, ΛΑΟ and in the field right, a winged caduceus. In the centre, ΖΕΥΣΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ.
BMC 4.

Obv: As above.

Rev: As above but in the centre ΑΦΟΒΗΤΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.
BMC 5.

Obv: As above.

Rev: As above but in the centre ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΟΥ.
BMC 6.

Obv: As above.

Rev: As above but in the centre ΙΠΠΟΧΑΙΤΗΣ ΔΕΙΝΟΜΑΧΟΥ.
BMC 7.

Obv: As above.

Rev: As above but in the centre ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ.
BMC 8; BMC 9 has B above the caduceus.

Proconsular cistophori minted at Laodicea for P. Lentulus, proconsul of Cilicia, 56-53 B.C:

Obv: Cista mystica with half open lid from which a serpent issues to the left. The whole design is in an ivy wreath with berries.

Rev: Two coiled snakes facing each other; between them a bow case ornamented with a floral scroll; strung bow behind snake on the left. In field left, ΛΑΟ and in field right, a caduceus. Across, P LENTVLVS PF IMP. Below, ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΡΟΣ ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΟΥ.

BMC 15.

Obv: As above.

Rev: As above but below ΗΡΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ ΗΡΟΦΑΝΤ[ΟΥ].

BMC 16.

Obv: As above.

Rev: As above but below ΚΡΑΤΙΠΠΟ[Σ].

BMC 17.

Obv: As above.

Rev: As above but below ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΟΣ ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΟΥ [ΖΩΣΙΜΟΣ]?

BMC 18.

Cistophori of Antony:

Obv: M ANTONIVS IMP COS DESIG ITER ET TERT Head of Antony wearing ivy wreath right, below lituus, the whole design enclosed in a wreath of ivy leaves and flowers.

Rev: III VIR R P C Draped bust of Octavia right, above cista flanked by twisting snakes.

RPC 2201.

Obv: M ANTONIVS IMP COS DESIG ITER ET TERT Head of Antony and bust of Octavia jugate right.

Rev: III VIR R P C Dionysus standing left on cista between twisting snakes.

RPC 2202.

Cistophori of Augustus:

Obv: IMP CAESAR DIVI F COS VI LIBERATATIS P R VINDE X Laureate head of Augustus right.

Rev: PAX Pax standing left on parazonium, holding a caduceus, cista mystica from which snake issues; the whole type within a laurel wreath.

RPC 2203.

Obv: IMP CAESAR Bare head of Augustus right.

Rev: AVGVSTVS Sphinx seated right.

RPC 2204.

Obv: IMP CAESAR Bare head left, before lituus.
Rev: AVGVSTVS Capricorn right with cornucopia; the whole
type within a laurel wreath.
RPC 2205.

Obv: IMP CAESAR Bare head of Augustus left, before lituus.
Rev: AVGVSTVS Bunch of six ears of corn.
RPC 2206.

Obv: IMP CAESAR Bare head of Augustus right.
Rev: AVGVSTVS Garlanded altar with two hinds.
RPC, 2215.

APPENDIX IV: The Value Marks on the Coins of Chios

Obol:

BMC Caria, p. 340, nos. 107-109; *RPC*, 2421.

Tetrachalkon:

BMC Caria, p. 340, nos. 110 and 111.

Trichalkon:

BMC Caria, p. 340, no. 112; *RPC*, 2422.

Dichalkon:

BMC Caria, p. 341, nos. 113-114.

3 Assaria:

BMC Caria, p. 341, nos. 115-117; p. 342, nos. 118-119, 122; p. 343, nos. 123-125, 128; p. 344, no. 129-130; p. 345, no. 134; *RPC*, 2419.

2 Assaria:

BMC Caria, p. 342, nos. 120-121; p. 344, nos. 131-133; p. 345, no. 135.

1 1/2 Assaria:

BMC Caria, p. 343, no. 126; p. 345, nos. 136-138; *RPC*, 2420.

Assarion:

BMC Caria, p. 343, no. 127; *RPC*, 2417.

APPENDIX V: The Uses of ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΘΕΙΣ

Civic positions:

IGR, III, 181; *SEG*, XXVII, 1977, 846 cf. *IvE*, 3707.
IvE, V, 1600 cf. *IvE*, II, 275 and V, 1595.
Robert, *LdL*, pp. 277-278.

Honorary inscriptions for the emperor:

IvS, II, 1, 622.
MAMA, VI, 179; Ramsay, *C and B*, pp. 457-458, nos. 281-283;
IGRP, IV, 773-774.
IGRP, IV, 623.
IGRP, IV, 625.
IGRP, IV, 626.
IGRP, IV, 723.
IGRP, IV, 900.
IGRP, IV, 934.
IGRP, IV, 1333.
IGRP, IV, 1563.
IvE, VII, 1, 3412.
IvE, VI, 2050.

Honorary inscriptions for others:

BE, 90, 1977, 459.
Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 466, no. 301; *IGRP*, IV, 786.
IGRP, IV, 594.
IGRP, IV, 706.
IGRP, IV, 1223.
IGRP, IV, 1246 and 1269.
IGRP, 1509.
IGRP, 1544.
IvE, III, 686.
IvE, VII, 1, 3036.
IvE, VII, 1, 3055.
IvE, VII, 1, 3080.
IvE, VII, 2, 3707.

Inscriptions with financial arrangements:

Ramsay, *C and B*, pp. 461-462, no. 295; *IGRP*, IV, 789-790;
MAMA, VI, 180 I.
MAMA, VI, 266; Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 640, no. 531; *IGRP*, IV,
653.
MAMA, VI, 74.
Robert, *La Carie*, pp. 182-184, nos. 79-82.
MAMA, VI, 39.
IGRP, IV, 567.
IGRP, IV, 578.
IGRP, IV, 1012.

IGRP, IV, 1244.
IGRP, IV, 1355.
IGRP, IV, 1535.
IvE, II, 412.

Relatives:

Robert, *C and B*, p. 190, no. 73; Robert, *la Carie*, p. 185.
Ramsay, *C and B*, p. 637, no. 530; *MAMA*, VI, 265; *IGRP*, IV, 654.
Robert, *LdL*, pp. 277-278.
IGRP, IV, 1011.

APPENDIX VI: Coin Legends of the Upper Maeander Valley
a: LAODICEA

ANEΘHKEN + Name:

M. Aurelius: Π ΚΛ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ
Π ΚΛ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚ(Ε)Ν
Π ΚΛ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗ
[Π ΚΛ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΕΠΙ(ΝΙΚΙΟΝ)]

Time of M. Aurelius: ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕ
Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ
Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ [ΑΝΕΘΗ
Π ΚΛ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
Π ΚΛ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕ[ΘΗΚΕΝ]
Π ΚΛ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑ
Π ΚΛ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑ[ΤΕΥΩΝ Α]ΝΕΘΗΚΕ
Π Κ (Α)ΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗ[ΚΕΝ]

ΕΠΙ + Name:

Time of Claudius: ΕΠΙ ΙΕ ΖΗΝΩΝΙΣ ΠΟ ΤΙ ΤΟ Δ
Time of Vespasian: ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΕΠΙ ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΟΥ ΑΝΘΥ
M. Aurelius: ΕΠΙ ΑΝΘΥ ΠΟ ΠΕΔΩΝΟΣ
ΕΠΙ ΑΝΘΥ ΠΟΠΙ ΠΕΔΩΝΟΣ
Caracalla: ΕΠΙ Π ΑΙ ΠΙΓΡΗΤΟ ΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ Γ
ΕΠΙ ΑΙΑ ΠΙΓΡΗΤΟΣ ΑΣΙΑΡ

ΔΙΑ + Name:

Domitian: ΔΙΑ ΚΟΡ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ
ΔΙΑ ΚΟΡΝΗΛΟΥ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ
Domitian/Domitia: ΔΙΑ ΚΡ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ
Domitia: ΔΙΑ ΚΟΡ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ
ΔΙΑ ΚΡ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ

Office + Name(see also ANEΘHKEN and ΕΠΙ):

Nero Augustus: ΑΜΑΞΕΙΟΣ ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΗΣ
ΚΡΑΤΕΡΟΣ ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΗΣ

ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ + Name:

Augustus: ΑΝΤΩ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ
Gaius Caesar: ΑΝΤΩ ΠΟΛΕ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤ
ΠΟΛΕ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤ

ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ + Name:

Nero Augustus: ΙΟΥΔΙΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ
Time of Nero: ΙΟΥΔΙΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ
Vespasian: ΙΟΥΠΙΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ

Name only:

Late first century: ΣΕΙΤΑΛΚΑΣ

Augustus: ΣΩΣΘΕΝΗΣ
ΖΕΥΞΙΣ ΦΙΛΑΛΗΘΗΣ

Claudius: ΠΥΘ
ΠΥΘΗΣ ΠΥΘΟΥ ΔΙΣ
ΠΥΘΗΣ ΠΥΘΟΥ ΤΟ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ
ΚΟΡ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ
ΚΟΡ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ ΤΟ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ
ΑΝΤΩ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝΟΣ ΥΙΟΥ ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ
ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝΟΣ ΥΙΟΥ ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ

Nero: ΓΑΙΟΥ ΠΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ
ΚΟΡ ΑΙΝΕΙΑΣ
ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΖΗΝΩΝΙΣ

Titus: ΓΑΙΟΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΚΟΤΥΣ
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑ ΖΗΝΩΝΙΣ
Κ ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ

Antoninus Pius: ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ
ΑΙΛΙΟΣ ΔΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ
ΠΟ ΑΙΛΙΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ
ΠΟ ΑΙΛΙΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΣΑΒΙΝΙΑΝΟΣ

Marcus Aurelius: ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ
Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ
Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΝ
ΑΤΤΑΠΟΣ ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΝ

Ethnic only:

Late first century; Trajan; Plotina; Matidia; Hadrian;
Sabina; L. Aelius Caesar; Antoninus Pius; Faustina Junior;
Lucilla; Commodus; Crispina; Septimius Severus; Julia
Domna; Caracalla; Geta Caesar; Elagabalus; Annia Faustina;
Julia Maesa; Severus Alexander; Otacilia Severa; Philip II;
Trajan Decius.

b: HIERAPOLIS

ΕΠΙ + Name:

Trajan: ΕΠΙ ΜΕ ΠΟ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ
Antoninus Pius: ΕΠΙ ... ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ

ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ + Name:

Augustus: ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ
ΖΩΣΙΜΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ
ΛΥΓΚΕΥΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙ
ΣΚΩΚΟΣ ΠΟΛΛΙΔΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ

Office + Name:

Augustus: ΙΟΛΛΑΣ ΙΟΛΛΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ
ΔΡΥΑΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ
ΔΡΥΑΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ ΔΗΜΟΥ
ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ ΔΙΦΙΛΟΥ ΑΡΧΩΝ ΤΟ Β

Nero: ΠΕΡΕΙΤΑΣ Β ΓΡ

Name only:

Augustus: ΤΡΥΦΩΝ
ΒΡΥΩΝ
ΔΟΥΚΑΝΟΣ
ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ
ΔΡΥΑΣ
ΜΑΤΡΩΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ
ΧΑΡΟΠΙΔΗΣ ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ
ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΜΕΙΔΙΧΙΟΣ
ΗΡΑΣ ΕΠΑΙΝΕΤΟΥ
ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ
ΒΡΥΩΝ ΒΡΥΩΝΟΣ
ΧΑΡΗΣ ΧΑΡΗΤΟΣ ΚΩΚΟΣ
ΠΑΠΙΑΣ ΑΠΕΛΛΙΟΥ
ΔΟΥΚΑΝΟΣ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ
ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝ ΚΟΔΡΟΥ
ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ ΔΙΦΙΛΥ ΤΟ Γ
ΠΑΠΙΑΣ
ΛΥΝΓΕΥΣ
ΚΩΚΟΣ
ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ

Tiberius: ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ
ΑΠΛΟΣ
ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ
ΖΩΣΙΜΟΣ ΙΕΡΟΝΕΙΚ[
ΘΕΟΤΕΙΜΟΣ ΛΥΚΩΤΟΥ

Claudius: Μ. ΣΥΙΛΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ

Nero: ΣΥΙΛΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ
ΜΑΓΥΤΗΣ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΣ
ΛΑΕΡΤΗΣ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΣ
ΛΟ ΕΛΟΥΙΟΣ ΟΠΤΟΜΟΣ
Μ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ
ΠΕΡΕΙΤΑΣ Β
ΤΙ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ
ΧΑΡΗΣ Β ΠΑΠΙΑΣ

Vespasian: ΜΝ ΑΠΛΟΣ
ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ ΚΟΡ ΡΟΥΦΟΣ

Time of M. Aurelius?: Μ. ΑΥ Κ[ΑΛΛΙΚΛΗΣ] ΚΑΛΟΥ

Ethnic only:

Germanicus/Drusus; Titus; Trajan; Marciana; Hadrian;
Antinoos; Antoninus Pius; M. Aurelius; Faustina Junior;
Lucilla; Commodus; Crispina; Septimius Severus; Caracalla;
Plautilla; Elagabalus; Annia Faustina; Aquillia Severa;
Severus Alexander; Philip I; Otacilia Severa; Philip II.

c: COLOSSAE

ANEΘHKEN + Name:

Hadrian: ΙΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
ΟΚΤ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΟΥΑ ΑΝΕΘΗ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΟΥΑ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΟΥΑ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
ΙΕΡΩ ΑΝΕ
ΙΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗ
ΕΡΩΝΥ ΑΝΕΘ
ΟΚΤ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΟΥΑ ΑΝΕ
ΟΚΤ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΟΥΑ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ
Commodus: Π ΑΙΑ ΚΤΗΣΙΚΛΗΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ Β ΤΟΥ ΖΩΣΙΜΟΥ ΔΙΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ Β ΖΩΣΙΜΟΥ ΔΙΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
Septimius Severus: ΝΙΓΡΟΣ Γ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗ
Second century-Severi: [... ΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦ?] ΟΡΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
Caracalla: ΝΙΓΡΟΣ Γ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
ΜΕΝΕΚΛΗΣ ΔΙΣ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
Trebonius Gallus: ΑΥ ΜΑΚΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΠΑ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΩΝ ΦΡΑ
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ

Office + Name (see ANEΘHKEN):

Antoninus Pius: ΤΙ ΑΣΙΝΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΠΠΟΣ Ο ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ
ΦΙΛΟΠΑΠΠΟΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ
ΦΙΛΟΠΑΠΠΟΣ Ο ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ
ΚΑ ΣΑΚΕΡΔΩΣ ΑΡΧΩΝ
ΤΙ ΚΑ ΣΑΚΕΡΔΩΣ ΑΡΧΩΝ
M. Aurelius: ΚΑ ΣΑΚΕΡΔΩΣ ΑΡΧΩ
ΚΑ ΣΑΚΕΡΔΩΣ ΑΡΧΩΝ
ΣΑΚΕΡΔΩΣ ΑΡΧΩΝ
Τ ΣΑΚΕΡΔΩΣ ΑΡΧΩΝ
ΕΚΛΕΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΩΝ
Commodus: ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΖΩΣΙΜΟΝ Δ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΑ
Septimius Severus: ΜΕΝΕΚΛΗΣ Β ΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΣ

Name only:

Hadrian: ΚΑ ΕΥΓΕΝΕΤΟΡΙΑΝΗ
ΣΤΗΣΙΚΛΗΣ
Time of Antoninus Pius: ΦΙΛΟΠΑΠΠΟΣ

Ethnic only:

Commodus; Crispina; Time of Antoninus Pius; second half of second century; time of Severus; Elagabalus; time of Gallienus.

APPENDIX VII: Greeks of the Upper Maeander Valley with
Roman Citizenship¹
a: LAODICEA

Augustus: ΚΟΡ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ
Claudius: ΑΝΤΩ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝΟΣ
Nero: ΓΑΙΟΥ ΠΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ
ΚΟΡ ΑΙΝΕΙΑΣ
ΙΟΥΔΙΑ ΖΗΝΩΝΙΣ
Vespasian: ΙΟΥΔΙΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ
Titus: ΓΑΙΟΣ ΙΟΥΔΙΟΣ ΚΟΤΥΣ
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑ ΖΗΝΩΝΙΣ
Domitian: ΔΙΑ ΚΟΡ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ
Antoninus Pius: ΠΟ ΑΙΔΙΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ
M. Aurelius: Π ΚΑ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ
Caracalla: ΕΠΙ Π ΑΙΑ ΠΙΓΡΗΤΟΣ

b: HIERAPOLIS

Claudius: Μ ΣΥΙΛΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ
Nero: Μ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ
ΤΙ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ
Vespasian: ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ ΚΟΡ ΡΟΥΦΟΣ
Μ Ν ΑΠΛΟΣ

c: COLOSSAE

Hadrian: ΚΑ ΕΥΓΕΝΕΤΟΡΙΑΝΗ
ΟΚΤ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΟΥΑ
Antoninus Pius: ΤΙ ΑΣΙΝΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΠΠΟΣ
ΚΑ ΣΑΚΕΡΔΩΣ
M. Aurelius: ΚΑ ΣΑΚΕΡΔΩΣ
Τ ΣΑΚΕΡΔΩΣ
Commodus as co-Augustus: Π ΑΙΑ ΚΤΗΣΙΚΛΗΣ

¹ These names are taken from the coins and not the inscriptions as they represent a finite group.

APPENDIX VIII: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ
a: LAODICEA

Time of Marcus Aurelius:

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.

rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.

Catalogue B 33.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.

rev: Π ΚΛ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ [ΑΝΕΘΗ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ] Eagle with open wings standing on two pieces of wood from a burning altar.

Catalogue B 34.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.

rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ (ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ) ΛΑΟΔΙΚ(ΕΩΝ) Eagle flying left over an altar.

Catalogue B 35.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.

rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Asclepius standing and holding a serpent-staff.

Catalogue B 36.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.

rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Dionysus standing right with his right arm above his head and his left hand on the shoulders of a satyr looking up at him while a panther at his feet jumps to the left.

Catalogue B 37.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.

rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Cybele seated left between two lions resting her left hand on a tympanum.

Catalogue B 38.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.

rev: (Π Κ) ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ (ΑΝΕ) ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Hades-Sarapis enthroned to the left extending his right hand over Cerberus sitting at his feet and resting his left arm on a sceptre.

Catalogue B 39.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.

rev: ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Hades-Sarapis enthroned to the left extending his right hand over Cerberus sitting at his feet and resting his left arm on a sceptre.

Catalogue B 40.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.

rev: Π ΚΑ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Aphrodite standing naked to the front holding her long hair in her hands with a dolphin to the left.

Catalogue B 41.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.

rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Mên holding a pine cone in his left hand and a sceptre in his right hand standing with his left foot on a bucranium.

Catalogue B 42.

obv: IEPAN ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΝ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.

rev: ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΛΑΟΔΙΚ Α tree beside an altar on two steps entwined by a snake.

Catalogue B 43.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.

rev: ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Temple front with eight columns.

Catalogue B 44.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.

rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Temple front with eight columns.

Catalogue B 45.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.

rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Winged Nemesis standing left.

Catalogue B 46.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.

rev: ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΝ ΑΝΕΘΗ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Triformis Hecate.

Catalogue B 47.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.

rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.

Catalogue B 48.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.

rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Zeus Laodiceus standing left and holding an eagle on his extended right arm and a sceptre in his left hand.

Catalogue B 49.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.

rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Tyche standing left and holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.

Catalogue B 50.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.

rev: Π Κ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Athena helmeted and standing to the left holding an olive branch in her right hand and resting her left hand on a spear with her shield on the ground behind her.

Catalogue B 51.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the left.

rev: ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΩΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ City goddesses of Laodicea and Heraclea leaning on sceptres with their left hands and joining their right hands.

Catalogue C 10.

Time of Caracalla:

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΟΚΟΡΩΝ City goddess holding a statue of Zeus Laodiceus in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.

Catalogue B 61.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΟΚΟΡΩΝ Winged Tyche-Pantheia standing left holding a serpent and a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm with the wheel of Nemesis at her feet and an ear of corn growing behind her.

Catalogue B 62.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.

rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΟΚΟΡΩΝ Tyche holding a cornucopiae on her left arm and a phiale in her right hand with a burning altar at her feet.

Catalogue B 63.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΟΚΟΡΩΝ A boar and wolf seated back to back with their heads turned to face each other.
Catalogue B 64.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΤΟ ΠΗ Zeus Laodiceus holding an eagle and a sceptre stands facing Asclepius (holding a serpent -staff?).
Catalogue C 22.

Time of Severus and later:

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Laureate and draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: ΤΡΙΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Zeus Laodiceus holding a sceptre standing with Leto who is running and carrying her twins, one on each arm.
Catalogue C 32.

b: HIERAPOLIS

Time of Trajan to Severus/Caracalla onwards:

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: IEΠΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Apollo standing right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and a lyre on his left arm.
Catalogue E 28.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: IEΠΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Tyche standing left and holding an ear of corn, poppy and a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm.
Catalogue E 29.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: IEΠΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Athena holding a shield and a spear standing with Hermes who holds a purse, caduceus and chlamys.
Catalogue E 30.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: IEΠΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Demeter standing left wearing a veil and holding an ear of corn and a torch.
Catalogue E 31.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: IEΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Athena standing left with a shield and a phiale (?) in her right hand.
Catalogue E 32.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: IEΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Heracles standing with a club and the pelt of a lion sacrificing at an altar.
Catalogue E 33.

obv: ΘΕΟΝ ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΝ Senate.
rev: Τ Α ΜΑΙΑΝΔΡΙΟΣ IEΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Ares wearing a short chiton and cuirass holding a spear and Nike Stephanephorus.
Catalogue E 34.

Time of Elagabalus:

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Bare-headed and draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: IEΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Apollo standing right and holding a plectrum in his lowered right hand and carrying a lyre on his left arm.
Catalogue E 105.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Bare-headed and draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: IEΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Rape of Persephone by Hades wearing a flying chlamys and holding a sceptre in a quadriga of galloping horses.
Catalogue E 106.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Head of the youthful Senate.
rev: IEΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Demeter standing with an ear of corn in her right hand and a torch in her left hand.
Catalogue E 107.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Bare-headed and draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: IEΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ with ΑΚΤΙΑ within a wreath.
Catalogue E 108.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: IEΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ with ΠΥΘΙΑ within a wreath.
Catalogue E 109.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Laureate and draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: IEΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Athena helmeted and wearing a long chiton stands left and holds a phiale in her right hand and rests her left hand on a spear against which a shield leans.
Catalogue E 110.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Bare-headed and draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: IEΡΑΠΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Hygeia enthroned left feeding a snake from a phiale in her right hand and resting her left arm on a cushion resembling the tympanum of Cybele. Telesphorus is behind the throne.
Catalogue E 111.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: IEΡΑΠΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Male figure wearing a cuirass and boots and holding a branch and a double-axe.
Catalogue E 112.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Laureate and draped bust of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: IEΡΑΠΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ She-wolf suckling twins.
Catalogue E 113.

Time of the Philips:

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Head of the youthful Senate to the right.
rev: IEΡΑΠΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two empty wreaths.
Catalogue F 21.

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Draped bust of the youthful Senate bound with taenia to the right.
rev: IEΡΑΠΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Κ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Two prize wreaths one with Π and the other E.
Catalogue F 22.

c: COLOSSAE

Time of Gallienus:

obv: IEPA ΣΥΝΚΑΤΟΣ Young male bust of the Senate to the right with draped shoulders.
rev: ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ Artemis the huntress in short chiton walks to the right and holds a bow in her right hand and draws an arrow from a quiver with her left.
Catalogue H 28.

Abbreviations and Bibliography

This list is arranged by chapter and abbreviations appear here as they do in the footnotes. Where possible, references to inscriptions and coins appear in separate sections at the end of this bibliography.

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PLATE 1: 1



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PLATE 1