

# **Triggered Identities and Imperial Power? Macedonian label re/use by civic communities in Roman Lydia and Phrygia**

Submitted by Luca Mazzini, to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Classics and Ancient History in April 2020

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## **Abstract**

The present thesis investigates why a number of Lydian and Phrygian communities in Asia Minor used the Macedonian label as tool of self-representation in the Roman Imperial period. This phenomenon developed centuries after Alexander the Great and the Macedonian dynasties, which ruled the Hellenistic kingdoms. The first two chapters present two specific case studies: the Phrygian community of Blaundos and the Lydian centre of Hyrkanis. The analysis draws on the collection of the epigraphic and numismatic evidence related to these archaeological sites, in order to find possible interpretative patterns of the re-appearance of the Macedonian label and symbols during the Roman Imperial period. The hypothesis to be tested is the concept of “triggered identity”. Was the re/use of the Macedonian label triggered by the intervention of the Roman Empire? The fourth chapter presents the wider context, bringing in the practices of other regional communities in order to situate the use of the Macedonian label by the civic communities of Blaundos and Hyrkanis. Did they constitute an exception or a trend in the wider regional context of Lydia and Phrygia? The fifth chapter analyses the meaning of “Being Macedonian” within the Roman Imperial ideology, by drawing on the writings of two ancient authors, who were contemporaries in the second century AD, Polyaeus and Aelius Aristides.

The present study will address four key questions:

- 1) Why did the Macedonian label become important for several local communities under the Roman Empire?
- 2) How was the Macedonian label exploited by Phrygian and Lydian communities?
- 3) Why did several Phrygian and Lydian civic communities use a Macedonian label instead of a different Greek one?
- 4) Was the use of the Macedonian label caused by an external “trigger”? More specifically, could the use of the Macedonian label be the outcome of the ideology of the ruling power, or was it an autonomous construction triggered but not directed by Roman Imperial authority?

The findings of the research show that the interest from Roman emperors in Alexander the Great and the Macedonians might be one of the triggers behind the choice by Blaundos, Hyrkanis and other communities of Asia Minor to re-use

the Macedonian label as part of the civic memory. Another trigger to a change in the self-representations of civic identity was the desire by these provincial elites to be part of a Greek cultural network.

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**Appendix 2 Numismatic evidence of the Macedonian label in Phrygia and Lydia.** The present appendix consists of a table that includes the coins issued by cities of Phrygia and Lydia that have the Macedonian label or Macedonian iconography.

## **Chapter 1: General Introduction.**

My work aims to investigate the meaning of the use of the Macedonian label by communities in ancient Phrygia and Lydia. The matter of interest is the renaissance of Macedonian symbols on civic coins and inscriptions in the Roman Imperial period. Why did “being Macedonian” have a resurgence in Asia Minor, centuries after the conquest by Alexander the Great and the end of the Hellenistic dynasties?

### **1.1 Use of the Macedonian label in Roman Phrygia and Lydia: a case study of “Triggered Identity”?**

My research will address the following specific questions:

- 1) Why did the Macedonian label become important for some local communities under the Roman Empire?
- 2) How was the Macedonian label exploited by Phrygian and Lydian communities?
- 3) Why did several Phrygian and Lydian civic communities use a Macedonian label instead of a Greek one?
- 4) Was the use of the Macedonian label caused by an external “trigger”? More specifically, could the use of the Macedonian label be a local reflection of the ideology of the ruling power, or was it an autonomous construction triggered but not directed by Roman Imperial authority?

The aim of this research is to address these questions on the re-use of the Macedonian label by civic communities during the Roman imperial period. I want to understand the importance of Macedonian ancestry in this historical context. As a wider goal of this study, the hypothesis of “triggered identity” will be tested. By this definition, I mean that the self-perception of a distant provincial community could be stimulated, unintentionally or not, by the cultural narrative of the empire in which it is located. As result of this process, civic identity was expressed by certain labels or symbols particularly in relation to Roman Imperial power. Therefore, part of the local tradition was re-shaped or stressed, following the interests of the civic elite that “made a place for themselves within the overall history of the empire”.<sup>1</sup> Was Roman Imperial ideology the trigger of the re-use of

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<sup>1</sup> Revell 2008, 107.

the Macedonian label at a local level?

A further hypothesis to test is whether the Macedonian label could have been used as an honorific title for a civic community, just as the emperors were given the titles of “Macedonicus” or “Parthicus”. Indeed, the Macedonian label seems to appear mostly associated with the city name, like Hyrkanis and Blaundos. Could it be a title self-assigned by the civic community, intended as proof of allegiance to Rome? Its use could have been unintentionally triggered by Augustan ideology, which associated Augustus with Alexander, a Macedonian conqueror. Galinsky and Zanker show substantial evidence from Rome of this association.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps this symbolic connection was fostered by Rome or represented a spontaneous reply by groups or civic institutions also in the provinces. The local communities in Asia Minor were clearly aware of the Roman Imperial power and interested in pleasing it since the reign of Augustus. One example of this is the copy of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* located in the walls of the temples of Augustus and Rome found in Pisidia and Galatia.<sup>3</sup> In this context, the present research investigates whether civic institutions in Phrygia and Lydia could decide to use part of their local tradition about a memory of Macedonian settlers to emphasise their connection with Roman emperors.

## **1.2 Structure of the thesis.**

My thesis will be structured following the analysis of different types of evidence. This is primarily because of the different voices that each of the evidence types brings into the discourse. I identify literary, epigraphic and numismatic material associated with settlements located in Lydia and Phrygia dating from the Hellenistic period up to the first half of the third century AD. The literary passages, inscriptions and the coins in question have the Macedonian label or a Macedonian symbol, for example a Macedonian helmet or the Argead star or an image of a Macedonian shield. The outcomes of this analysis and the

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<sup>2</sup> Galinsky 1996, 177; 208. Following Menichetti 1986, 565-593, Galinsky believes that the colossus at the culmination of the left porticus of the forum Augusti originally depicted Alexander, and only later, under Claudius, was its head changed to that of Augustus. Further, two paintings of Alexander by Apelles were housed in the Forum Augusti, as well as other artifacts pertaining to that ruler; According to Galinsky, the mausoleum of Augustus was inspired by the configuration of Alexander's tomb at Alexandria, see Galinsky 2012, 154-156. About the use of Alexander's portrait as model for the statues of Augustus, see Zanker 1988, 5-31.

<sup>3</sup> Güven 1998, 30-45.

interpretative patterns will be presented in three different chapters. Following this introduction, the second chapter of the thesis focusses on Blaundos, a settlement located between Phrygia and Lydia. The third chapter focusses on the case study of Hyrkanis, a Lydian centre. These two centres constitute the core of the thesis as they have consistent epigraphic and numismatic evidence running from the late Hellenistic period until the third century AD. The fourth chapter deals with the use of the Macedonian label on coins and inscriptions produced by different communities located in Phrygia and Lydia. This is necessary to evaluate whether Blaundos and Hyrkanis are unique or examples of a wider trend. The fourth chapter will identify whether the Macedonian label was more consistent in a specific historical period, in order to understand if there was a community that led a trend in the interest for Macedonian identity.

Finally, in the fifth chapter I analyse Polyaeus and Aelius Aristides, together with a survey of possible connections between Roman Imperial ideology and Macedonians. What kind of meanings did Polyaeus and Aristides apply to such terms as “Macedonian” or “Macedonians”? The epigraphic and numismatic evidence alone cannot explain why the Macedonian label was culturally relevant, and why it could be a useful tool for the self-representation of a civic community, centuries after the collapse of the last Hellenistic kingdom in Asia Minor. I chose to analyse Polyaeus and Aelius Aristides for two reasons: first, their works focus on events of Greek history that happened before the coming of Rome in the East. They write extensively about the role of kings or generals labelled as Macedonian in the history of Greek *poleis*. The second reason is that they both compare Macedonian past and Macedonian identity with Roman Imperial power at the same time that civic communities in Asia Minor claimed a Macedonian ancestry on coins and inscriptions, during the Antonine dynasty. The fifth chapter focuses on possible connections between Roman Imperial ideology and Macedonians from the reign of Augustus until Caracalla. This will help us to understand why the Macedonian label could be appealing for Roman emperors. Finally, in the conclusion, I compare the use of the Macedonian label by Phrygian and Lydian communities and the perception of Macedonians in the literary tradition analysed in the last chapter. I also address the questions presented in the introduction, offering a possible interpretation.

The thesis includes five chapters and two appendices. An introduction, the two case studies of Blaundos and Hyrkanis, the overall analysis of Macedonian evidence in Roman Phrygia and Lydia, the perspective of Polyaeus and Aristides on the ancient Macedonians and a conclusion. The first appendix consists of all the published inscriptions I have been able to access from Phrygia and Lydia that contain evidence of the Macedonian label from the Early Hellenistic period until the third century AD. This type of evidence includes all the references to the Macedonian ethnonym and possible Macedonian iconography. The original text in Greek and the translation in English are both recorded, with the reference to the original epigraphic editions. The second appendix contains all the civic coinages issued by civic communities from Phrygia and Lydia that have a reference to the Macedonian label or iconography, from the late Hellenistic period until the third century AD. This appendix records the numismatic collection of the coinages and the description of the iconography used.

### **1.3 The evidence of Macedonian presence in Asia Minor during the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods according to modern scholarship.**

Why was the Macedonian label, scarcely used when the Seleucids and Attalids ruled Asia Minor, frequently attested at the time of the Roman Empire, especially during the Antonine and Severan dynasties? The presence of Macedonian settlers in Asia Minor has an historical attestation from the early Hellenistic period. After Alexander's conquest of the Persian empire, many inhabitants from the Greek mainland and the kingdom of Macedonia moved to Asia Minor to take over its fertile lands, located especially in Phrygia and Lydia, as the studies of Cohen and Billows on Hellenistic settlements have shown.<sup>4</sup> A significant proportion of the new settlers was constituted by soldiers who came from Macedonia. This could be argued for example from the inscription found at Thyatira in Lydia, where Macedonian officers and soldiers made a dedication to Seleucus I, the official founder of the settlement. This inscription dates from the end of the fourth century BC, at the very beginning of Seleucid rule in the region.<sup>5</sup>

However, the overall number of settlements inhabited by Macedonians is impossible to identify, because the date of foundation for many of them is still

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<sup>4</sup> Billows 1995, 81-109; Cohen 1995, 36-64; 42-52 for Phrygia and Lydia in detail.

<sup>5</sup> OGIS 211; see Appendix 1.15.1

difficult to define. Cohen and Billows argue that most of the settlements founded by the Seleucids at the end of the fourth century BC have to be called “Macedonian colonies”. Daubner, on the contrary, claims that several “Macedonian colonies” were planned by Eumenes II and Attalos II in the middle of the second century BC.<sup>6</sup> However, the term “colony” may not be the most appropriate for many of the settlements with Macedonian evidence analysed by these scholars. Indeed, Mitchell argues in a recent article that “Macedonian colonization” was primarily a spontaneous movement not directly controlled by a central power such as the Seleucid or the Attalid dynasties, and that it likely occurred immediately after Alexander's conquest of Asia Minor.<sup>7</sup> I will focus more on this problem in the chapter dedicated to the place of Macedonian identity in Phrygia and Lydia.

The scarcity of evidence is not the only problem for understanding whether or not a settlement in Asia Minor was inhabited by residents of Macedonian origins. For instance, Cohen sets the hypothesis of possible fictitious claims by some Phrygian cities at the time of the Roman Empire. He points out that these communities were not founded by Macedonians in the Hellenistic period.<sup>8</sup> To assert this, Cohen has shown that the evidence of Macedonians in Lydia appears steadily from the third century BC until the first half of the third century AD. In contrast, in Phrygia, the label “Macedonian” apparently appears on coins and inscriptions only in the second and third centuries AD.<sup>9</sup> He claims that with the exception of Lydia, there are no civic communities that put a Macedonian label on their civic coinages and funerary inscriptions during the Hellenistic era in Asia Minor, with the relevant exception of the Cilician city of Aigiai. Before introducing the meaning of the terms “label” and “identity”, I will examine briefly the relationship between numismatic evidence and civic identities in the Roman Imperial period. It is necessary to argue why the civic coins play an important role in the construction of civic identities in Roman Asia Minor.

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<sup>6</sup> Daubner 2011, 52-53.

<sup>7</sup> See Mitchell 2018, 26-28.

<sup>8</sup> Cohen 1991, 48-50.

<sup>9</sup> For example, an inscription dated to the Imperial period found at Çorhisar, Phrygia, honours a certain “Alexander the Macedonian” as the founder of the city (IGR IV 692). Ramsay suggests that is the ancient Otrous. According to Cohen this is only a conjecture without further evidence. Drew Bear argues that the inscription was brought from the site of Eukarpeia and referred to the foundation of this city by Alexander the Great. See Ramsay *JHS* 8 (1887), 478; Drew Bear *BCH* 115 (1991), 374-375 no.56; Cohen 1995, 315 and no. 3 p. 317.

#### **1.4 Civic Coins as evidence of civic identities in Roman Asia Minor.**

Howgego notes that not all the cities in the Eastern Mediterranean world claimed a connection with Old Greece and early Greek migrations on their civic coins. He cites as an example the citizens of Blaundos in the Roman period.<sup>10</sup> Blaundos is a settlement located in Phrygia, and it is a key case study of the present research. Blaundos boasted of its Macedonian identity on coins from the Flavian period onwards. However, there is no reference to the inscriptions from Blaundos that have the Macedonian label in Howgego's study. He does not explain why the civic institutions of Blaundos made the choice to identify themselves by the Macedonian label in the Roman Imperial period. There is no analysis of the epigraphic evidence, because his work focuses exclusively on the problem of civic identity in relation to numismatic data. The present thesis will take into consideration the use of the Macedonian label analysing all available evidence. Civic coins, inscriptions and literary sources related to Blaundos and Hyrkanis will be critically compared in the second and third chapters.

The importance of the local issues in the construction of civic identities in Roman Asia Minor at the time of the Roman Empire is evident for two main reasons. The first is that they contain iconography frequently missing in the inscriptions or other types of material evidence. The second is that coins were produced in considerable quantities and they could have been seen by a large audience, even outside the city by which they were minted. About this, Howgego asks to what extent public identities might have been understood as 'covert' resistance to Rome, to what extent they represented a self-definition designed to accommodate Roman attitudes, and to what extent they may have been promoted or inspired by Rome itself.<sup>11</sup> He states that provincial coinage used mythology to claim a position within the wider world with reference to a shared past. For instance, the city of Eumeneia in Phrygia, even though it was founded by the Attalids, claimed on its coins to be Achaean, precisely from the time of Hadrian onwards. Having said this, I want to explain what I mean by the terms "ethnic" and "label". What is the difference between them?

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<sup>10</sup> Howgego 2005, 13.

<sup>11</sup> Howgego 2005, 1-17.



### 1.5 The meaning of label and identity in the study of civic communities in the Greek and Roman worlds.

It is necessary to clarify why I have chosen the term “label” for the study of Macedonian evidence in Asia Minor. To do so, I present a brief summary of my approach to ethnicity and identity in the study of Classical history. As Barth stated, the idea of ancestry is bound to the perception of the historical subject who uses this concept to identify him or herself and to mobilize larger groups of people towards specific goals.<sup>12</sup> It is not the biological relatedness that creates an ethnicity, but the self-ascription, or ascription by other subjects. What are the criteria, or emic categories, which are seen to constitute ethnicity of groups in history? According to Tullio-Altan, we can trace five symbolic complexes as constitutive of the ethnic group as an ideal type:

- 1) *Epos*, a shared past.
- 2) *Ethos*, shared cultural norms and institutions.
- 3) *Logos*, a shared language.
- 4) *Genos*, a shared kinship.
- 5) *Topos*, that is a symbolic fatherland of the group.<sup>13</sup>

Luraghi shows the way in which this type of constructivist approach is useful for understanding the historical process that tends to form the entity of a so-called ethnic group in the Classical World. His work is important for my study because he investigates the case of the ancient Messenians in the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods.<sup>14</sup> He shows how among the communities who claim to be Messenian there were cases of “shifting ethnic subjects”. A case study of the phenomenon is the ancient city of Thouri. This community maintained a claim of Messenian ancestry until the first century BC, when it gradually started to connect itself to the Spartan mythical background. On the civic coinages dated to the Severan period the civic community of Thouri called itself with the “double ethnic” (*polis*) *Thouriaon La(kedaimonion)*, (*the city of*) *the Thourians Spartans*.<sup>15</sup> Thouri claimed to be a Spartan foundation in the Roman Imperial period in order to

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<sup>12</sup> Barth 1994, 12. Cf. Luraghi 2008, 9.

<sup>13</sup> See Tullio-Altan 1995, 19-32, who refines categories first stated by Smith 1986, 22-30. Cf. Luraghi 2008, 9-10.

<sup>14</sup> Luraghi 2008.

<sup>15</sup> Head 1911, 433.

distinguish itself from the Messenian polity.<sup>16</sup> In this context, Luraghi argues that foundation myths explained and justified the presence of a certain group in a certain place or region. The myth also legitimizes the political structure or the function of certain customs chosen by groups.<sup>17</sup> We can see that the so-called “ethnicities” are not crystallized or biologically determined in the Classical world (as they are not nowadays), but they change depending on the historical and political circumstances in which the “ethnic groups” operate. For this reason, when I deal with the presence of groups, communities or individuals who called themselves Macedonian, I prefer to use the term “identity” instead of “ethnicity”, and “label” instead of “ethnic”. This approach allows us to be more flexible in the description of what are cultural rather than biological phenomena.

Furthermore, the term “label” seems more appropriate than “ethnic”, as the meaning of the term “Macedonian” changes over time, especially in relation to the Roman administration. Revell says about the problem of Roman ethnicity in archaeology that “to be Roman is a discourse of possibilities”.<sup>18</sup> The concept of identity cannot be used as a synonym of ethnicity as identities are negotiated on a daily basis through interactions with other groups or individuals. Woolf argues that from Augustus onwards the concept of Romanization and the rigid distinction between “Romans and Natives” have been long dismissed in the relationship between central power and provincials, as it was possible to construct cultural identities that were fluid and permeable.<sup>19</sup> Following this interpretative pattern, I consider the use of the Macedonian label as a mark of self-perception. Being Macedonian is a discourse of possibilities for several communities in Lydia and Phrygia. The communities examined will be placed in the context of both the Roman authorities and surrounding communities. Both levels influence the development of civic identities. In this context, the hypothesis is that “Being Macedonian” was a cultural and political construct, which did not imply an ethnic difference between “being Greek” or “being Roman”. The Macedonian label may sometimes imply a claimed shared ancestry, or a geographic provenance, or even a trending onomastic. The value of the Macedonian label depends on the historical context and on local agents who used it, but it should be analysed in

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<sup>16</sup> Luraghi 2008, 47.

<sup>17</sup> Luraghi 2008, 47.

<sup>18</sup> Revell 2009, *Praef.* p. X.

<sup>19</sup> Woolf 1997, 339-350.

the context of the “global” phenomenon represented by the Roman Empire.<sup>20</sup>

The fluidity of what is considered identity in the Greek classical world is demonstrated by the formation of “micro-identities” in the Hellenistic and Roman periods in Asia Minor. Identity was not associated with a large ethnic group but rather with the history of a civic community. The claim of shared ancestry by Greek civic elites to legitimize themselves in relation to Roman Imperial power and other communities is well articulated in the anthology edited by Tim Whitmarsh in 2010. In one of the contributions, Jones focuses on several Greek cities in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor. For example, he analyses how the citizens of Pergamon celebrated Telephos, son of Herakles, as their common ancestor. At the same time, they claimed that their city had an Argive ancestry. According to the literary and material evidence, Pergamon was probably founded by the Attalid dynasty at the beginning of the third century BC.<sup>21</sup> The past of the city was shaped by the Pergamene community according to their perspective and the cultural background.

According to Jones, the claim of being Argive was for both cities essential to gain a “patent of nobility” and sign of the antiquity of their “Greekness”. This had political implications at a time when Hadrian created the Panhellenion, as we shall see.<sup>22</sup> However, the importance of claims of antiquity of “Greek” ancestry by communities in Asia Minor preceded the arrival of Rome. Jones notes that many cities of Asia Minor tried to gain prestige by claiming descent from notables of the Greek past, mainly but not exclusively from the fifth century BC, already in the Hellenistic period. For example, the city of Lampsacus in the region of Aeolis was still holding a festival in honour of Themistocles in the second century BC. One of his claimed descendants was honoured as benefactor and *proxenos*.<sup>23</sup> Even if these Greek *poleis* invented their origins, the citizens of Lampsacus or Eumeneia believed in the Argive origins of their city as reality. These narrations were the basis of their legitimation as a community. I mean by the term “community” the

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<sup>20</sup> About the reflection on the term “Globalization” and its theoretical applications to the study of Roman Empire, see Pitts and Versluys 2016.

<sup>21</sup> Two inscriptions of the midst century BC for Mithridates son of Menodotos honour him as new founder of the city after Pergamos and Philetairos. Philetairos was the official founder of the Attalid dynasty. See Hepding, *AM* 34 (1909) 330 and Hepding *AM* 35 (1910) 471, no.55.

<sup>22</sup> Jones 2010, 110-124. About the foundation of Pergamon, see Cohen 1995, 168-170.

<sup>23</sup> Jones 2010, 110-124.

civic institutions and the inhabitants who could take part in the political life of the city, that is the citizens. Civic communities shape their own identity actively by the creation of their own memory of the past.

Gehrke speaks of 'Greek Histories instead of Greek History', because each Greek *polis* has a different historical perspective on events in which it is involved.<sup>24</sup> Some communities could claim a shared ancestry or a kinship with other groups with whom they wanted to be associated. According to Gehrke, the so-called Great Colonisation in the Mediterranean area changed Greek ideas about the shared past. Alongside the value of autochthony, the motif of travelling and conquering appeared. In this context the cults of eponymous heroes had great importance. In this mythical narrative the non-Greek populations, like the Romans, were also linked by mythical connections to a Greek shared ancestry.<sup>25</sup> The interactions with other communities led to the gradual creation of a mythical network in which the Greek past was shaped in order to include these new identities in a traditional (and familiar) system.

### **1.6 The use of the past after Alexander's conquest of Asia Minor and the Arcadian case study.**

The Greek use of past and shared ancestry was still in place after Alexander's campaign against the Persian Empire. The conquest of Asia Minor by Macedonian and Greek soldiers had an impact similar to the great wave of Greek Colonization in the Mediterranean Sea and Pontus in the eighth century BC. From the third century BC onwards the diplomatic and cultural connections between civic communities were promoted strongly. As part of the new rhetoric, it was important to find a shared past that could justify current diplomatic relationships. The inter-state connections intensified and found expression in the mutual participation in cults and Panhellenic sports. The Panhellenic competitions as well as the recognition of *asylia* developed along with practices of international arbitration.<sup>26</sup> In this international 'politics of memory', many non-Greek communities aspired to adopt the status of Greek *poleis*. In order to do this, they had to create a Greek past to share with other Greek *poleis*. The relationships

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<sup>24</sup> Gehrke 2010, 17.

<sup>25</sup> Gehrke 2010, 17.

<sup>26</sup> About the international arbitration in the Hellenistic period, see Hamon 2012, 195-222.

between Greek cities were validated by their mythical kinship.<sup>27</sup>

The creation of a shared past was essential to affirm kinship relationships. This would allow access to Panhellenic games and festivals. The Panhellenic achievements were utilised to further legitimise the status of the civic community that took part in these events. The importance of a shared past stressed the active role of poets, historians and especially orators in influencing the self-perception and self-promotion of civic communities. The agency by individuals and groups within the city to shape the history and therefore the civic identity remained a distinctive trait beyond the Hellenistic period. The ancestry claimed by Greek cities was fictitious as it was created by an intentional process by members or groups of the civic community. The fiction of shared ancestries was valorised as an extended network of civic communities recognized its validity. The case-study of the use of the Arcadian label in the Roman Imperial period seems to prove this.

Example of 'fictitious ancestry' in Roman imperial times is provided by Scheer's research on Arcadian foundation myth.<sup>28</sup> The Arcadians are the 'archetypal Greek mountain dwellers, unfamiliar with seafaring, a cultural technique central to colonisation efforts', according to ancient historiographers of Classical Greece.<sup>29</sup> On the contrary, Pausanias, an author living in the Roman Imperial period, reports that Arcadian colonizers settled in Italy, Rome, Phrygia, Bithynia and Cyprus many centuries earlier.<sup>30</sup> Scheer addresses a number of questions similar to the ones in this investigation on the use of Macedonian label in Roman Asia Minor:

1. Who claims to be of Arcadian descent in the second century AD, and by what means?
2. What intention lies behind emphasising Arcadian early origins at the time?
3. Are we dealing with literary, purely antiquarian constructs of the past or are such traditions echoed outside of the rooms of the scholars of antiquity?
4. Are they intentional history in the sense that one can ascribe a political aim to them?

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<sup>27</sup> See Robert 1987,177; Curty 1995, XIII.

<sup>28</sup> Scheer 2010, 275.

<sup>29</sup> Scheer 2010, 275.

<sup>30</sup> Paus. 8.9.7: 8.4.3; 10.32.3.

5. Are there reliable historical reports of early colonisation expeditions?<sup>31</sup>

These five questions will prove to be helpful in investigating the use of the Macedonian label and possible claims of Macedonian ancestry in Roman Asia Minor. The case study of the Arcadian myth foundation is an interesting parallel for the present research because the traditions associated with this claim were staged at a civic level. The memory of Arcadian ancestry was inscribed on inscriptions located in public spaces, reflecting the role of the urban centre in the construction of a civic identity.<sup>32</sup> Civic communities in different regions of Asia Minor showed Arcadian labels on coins and on inscriptions only in Roman Imperial times.<sup>33</sup>

Why was the Arcadian label useful at the time of the Roman Empire? Scheer argues that the claim of Arcadian ancestry was a matter of civic competition, in order to gain prestige over other Hellenic communities in Roman Asia Minor. The connection with the ancient Arcadians granted notable prestige because of the antiquity of this ancestry.<sup>34</sup> In the imperial period, the claim of Arcadian ancestry showed willingness by civic communities to be privileged in relation to the Roman Empire. Indeed, there were myths reported by Roman literary tradition that associated the ancient Arcadians with Aeneas.<sup>35</sup> Phrygian and Mysian communities claimed Arcadian ancestry to have “a special relation” with Rome on one hand, on the other to stress their “Greekness” in relation to surrounding communities in Asia Minor. Phrygians and Mysians, who inhabited Asia Minor before the arrival of Greek or Macedonian settlers, were usually described as barbarians within the ancient Greek literary tradition.<sup>36</sup> When Dio of Prusa criticizes Greek communities of Asia Minor, he claims that they are despised more than the Phrygians and the Thracians.<sup>37</sup> Proof of having Greek ancestry was a central criterion to become part of the Panhellenion founded by Hadrian.<sup>38</sup> This

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<sup>31</sup> Scheer 2010, 276.

<sup>32</sup> Scheer 2010, 280. In the Kaikos valley the local dignitaries decide to foster the myth of Telephos and the hind during the time of the Severan dynasty; Scheer 1993 and Ehling 2001, 135 nos.141, 157, *Die Münzprägung der Mysischen Stadt Germe in der Römischen Zeit*. Bonn 2001.

<sup>33</sup> Scheer 2010, 280.

<sup>34</sup> Scheer 2010, 292. Cf. Spawforth 1999, 51.

<sup>35</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 51-4 and Pictor *FGrHist.* 4B. Cf. Hall 2005, 259-261.

<sup>36</sup> Strabo 12.8.8; Cic. *Flac.*27.

<sup>37</sup> Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.158f and 160.

<sup>38</sup> Scheer 2010, 292.

is important for the present study as it gives credibility to the idea that shared ancestry is a cultural construct influenced by the historical context and different interacting agents, both global and local.

This phenomenon of “intentional history” by local communities in relation to Roman Empire was not exclusively attested in the Greek World. Roymans observes how the Germanic people of Batavians on the lower Rhine front appropriated the myth of Hercules and fused it with local and pre-Roman mythology during the first century AD.<sup>39</sup> The myth of Hercules was used by a part of the Batavian elite to bridge the gaps between indigenous groups and the Roman world. In this perspective, the “Batavian Hercules myth” cannot be viewed separately from the political relationship with Rome at the time. The Batavians built their own ‘intentional history’ in order to be considered a worthy treaty partner of Rome.<sup>40</sup> Like the Phrygian and Mysian communities did by the claim of Arcadian foundation, the myth of Hercules was used to construct a collective self-image. This distinguished the Batavians from the other Germanic tribes and placed them in relation to what was considered culturally attractive for Roman representatives.

### **1.7 The importance of antiquity of Greek ancestry in the civic competition for Roman Imperial favour.**

As the above section shows, there is already a substantial literature about local identities and the use of mythical shared ancestry to foster political prestige and diplomatic connections in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. As concerns the use of mythical past by cities of Roman Asia Minor, another essential contribution is given by Strubbe.<sup>41</sup> This scholar argues that there was a competition of “prestige” among Greek aristocracies of the cities of Asia Minor. Five characteristics could be used to distinguish a civic community from the others:

- 1) A building program.
- 2) Imperial privileges like the status of *Eleutheria* and *Asylia*.
- 3) Being a centre of the imperial cult.
- 4) Being the first city of the *conventus*.

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<sup>39</sup> Roymans 2009, 227.

<sup>40</sup> Roymans 2009, 230-231.

<sup>41</sup> Strubbe 1984-1986, 253-301.

5) Possessing the honorary title of imperial city granted by the emperor.

There is no clear relationship of causality among these different features. However, Strubbe notes that the ability of a civic community to demonstrate the antiquity of its foundation was the most important instrument to assess its prestige. This was testified by cities with myths that associated those with a Greek ancestry. Strubbe's hypothesis is supported by the collection of all the cities of Roman Asia Minor that claimed to be founded by Greek Gods, Greek Heroes and famous Greek historical figures.<sup>42</sup> However, he does not investigate the importance of Macedonian ancestry in this type of civic rivalry. I will take into consideration the five categories he adopted for my own study on the case studies of Blaundos and Hyrkanis, the argument of the second and third chapters respectively.

We should add a sixth category valuable for civic competition in relation to Rome: the presence of a Panhellenic festival in the city. The importance of this type of contest for Greek cities in Asia Minor is stressed by Van Nijf and Williamson. For example, Magnesia on the Meander and Stratonikeia show how the Greek civic communities changed their festival traditions in response to new political circumstances, like the beginning of Roman domination in Asia Minor. These festivals were staged not only to show a distinctive civic identity but also to perform symbolically the strong relationship between the local community and Roman power.<sup>43</sup> Indeed, Roman generals and Emperors were integrated into the festival system of different centres. Van Nijf argues that the festivals combined a horizontal action (Greek cities that connected each other through the Panhellenic network) and vertical action (position of the civic community in its relationship with the Roman power).<sup>44</sup>

The importance of a shared Greek ancestry for the civic communities of Asia Minor in the Roman Imperial period has another of its possible causes in the creation of the Panhellenion by Hadrian in 131/132 AD.<sup>45</sup> This institution was founded by Hadrian with a decree presented in Athens. It originally consisted of a cultic community made up of the cities which could claim a Greek ancestry.

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<sup>42</sup> Strubbe 1984-1986, 260.

<sup>43</sup> Van Nijf and Williamson 2015, 100-101.

<sup>44</sup> Van Nijf and Williamson 2015, 108.

<sup>45</sup> IG 4<sup>2</sup> 1.384



Athenian and Spartan ancestries were considered the most prestigious. Especially under Hadrian's successors, the Panhellenion fostered also relationships between Mediterranean cities through Panhellenic games and festivals.<sup>46</sup> This league, according to Hadrian's project, should have become an Amphictyonic league of the same importance as the Delphic one. Ilaria Romeo shows that according to the Panhellenion's admission criteria, a city could become a member of this league only if it could claim a specific Hellenic *genos*.<sup>47</sup> The Amphictyony was formed by cities that claimed Ionian, Dorians and Aeolians origins.<sup>48</sup> For this reason, it is likely that many of the cities of Asia Minor started to shape their mythical past in order to fit one of these ethnic categories. However, several cities that were considered officially founded by Macedonian dynasties were included in this association. According to Romeo, this can be explained by the fact that Hadrian wished to promote Macedonian identity as part of the Greek ancestry, in order to foster ties between the empire and these strategic centres of Asia Minor.<sup>49</sup> Romeo does not explain further why Macedonian ancestry became valuable or fashionable for the civic communities in question or for Roman imperial ideology.

These views and perspectives underpin the investigation to follow, which aims to gain an understanding of the meaning of the Macedonian label, used by civic communities in Lydia and Phrygia in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Was the Macedonian label a direct consequence of the interactions between local identities and Roman Imperial power? The starting point will be the analysis of the epigraphic and numismatic evidence. Key to this exploration have been the case studies of Hyrkanis and Blaundos.

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<sup>46</sup> Spawforth and Walker 1986, 88-105.

<sup>47</sup> Romeo 2002, 21-40.

<sup>48</sup> Romeo 2002, 21-40.

<sup>49</sup> Romeo 2002, 28.

## **Chapter 2: the case study of Blaundos in Phrygia.**

My analysis of Macedonian evidence in Roman Phrygia focuses on one specific settlement in this chapter: Blaundos. It draws on my collection of the epigraphic and numismatic evidence related to this site. This makes it possible to find possible interpretative patterns of the use and possible resilience of Macedonian identity during the Roman imperial period. The chapter is framed in two sections: the first summarizes the history of the settlement from the Hellenistic foundation until the first half of the third century AD. One turning point in the history of Blaundos were the earthquakes, which occurred in the eastern part of Phrygia in the second half of the first century AD and again in the period of the Flavian dynasty. I describe these events in order to provide the historical context for my research. The second section illustrates the outcome of the evaluation of the epigraphic and numismatic evidence: when the Macedonian identity emerged in the coins and inscriptions and how it was displayed. The intersection of these two types of data shows a clear chronological shift in the presence of the Macedonian label. I conclude the chapter by discussing the meaning of the Macedonian label for the community of Blaundos in the Roman Imperial period, following the questions presented in the introduction of the thesis:

- 1) Did the Macedonian label become a useful tool under the Roman imperial regime for political reasons?
- 2) How was the Macedonian label exploited by this community?
- 3) Why did Blaundos claim a Macedonian ancestry instead of a Greek one, as other Phrygian cities did in the Roman Imperial period?

### **2.1 General History of Blaundos**

#### **2.1.1 The Hellenistic Period**

The archaeological site of Blaundos is located northeast of the modern village of Sülümenli, in the Turkish province of Uşak. The district's main town is Ulubey. Much of the epigraphic and numismatic evidence is provided by the outcomes of three German archaeological surveys made in 1999, 2002 and 2004, edited by Filges in 2006.<sup>50</sup> Uşak corresponds to the ancient Hellenistic settlement of Temenothyrai, 40 km north of Blaundos, in the region of Phrygia.

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<sup>50</sup> See Filges 2006, 30.

Figure 2.1 Western and southern Phrygia.<sup>51</sup>



<sup>51</sup> The image is a section of a map compiled by R.J.A. Talbert, B. Turner, J.A. Becker, R. Horne and R. Twele with the assistance of A. Blackburn. With the permission of the Ancient World Mapping Centre (<http://awmc.unc.edu/wordpress/>).

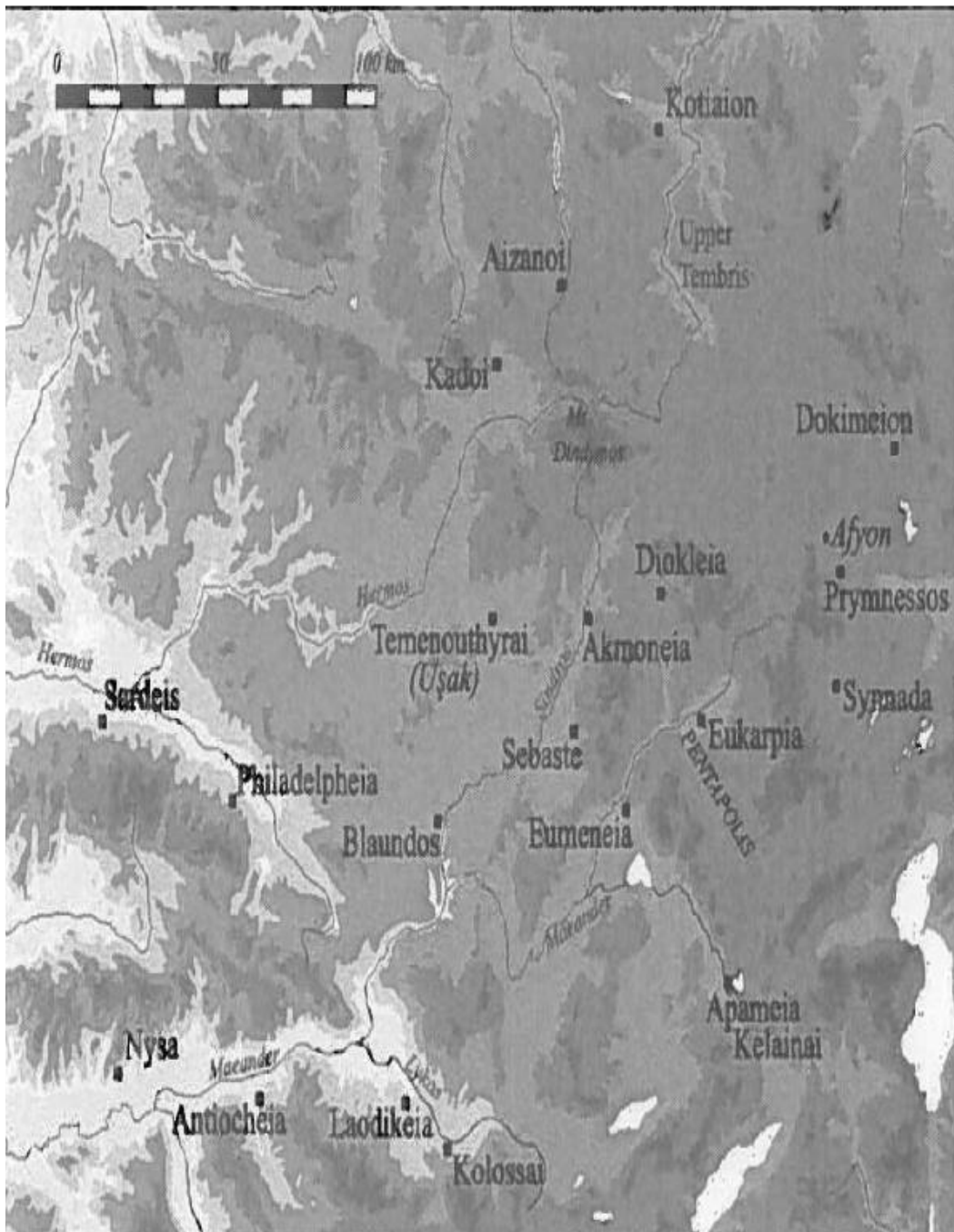


Figure 2.2 (above) – Location of Blaundos.<sup>52</sup>

Temenothyrai is at the north-western borders next to Lydia, while the site of Blaundos is in the far south-eastern corner of the Phrygian region.<sup>53</sup> Blaundos during the Roman period was catalogued as included in the *conventus* of the province of Asia whose centre was Sardis, as we can see in a famous inscription

<sup>52</sup> Map by Thonemann 2013a, xxiii.

<sup>53</sup> Thonemann 2013a, 13.

found at Ephesus and edited by Habicht.<sup>54</sup> However Sardis is quite distant from the small centre of Blaundos. Blaundos was more culturally related to the communities of the Meander and Lycos valleys, as we will see in the second section.

In the Roman Imperial period, Blaundos was probably a productive centre, including also a certain development of manufacturing, with consistent evidence of estate holders.<sup>55</sup> It had all the usual civic institutions at the time, as evidenced by civic coins and public inscriptions: a council (*βουλή*), the magistracies like the archon and the strategoi and juridical courts. The size of the population of the urban centre is difficult to establish for this period. The overall population of Blaundos could have been anywhere between 5,000 and 15,000 people. This calculation is based on the size of the theatre, dated to the end of first century AD, which could hold 1,600 citizens.<sup>56</sup> I will argue in this section that Blaundos was a small settlement inhabited by the combination of Greek and Macedonian soldiers during the third century BC, progressively developing into a *polis* in the first century BC, when there was a significant migration of Italian people into the area. From the late Julio-Claudian period we have evidence also of the building of monumental structures into the urban centre.<sup>57</sup>

The date of the foundation of Blaundos presents the first chronological issue. According to Cohen, Blaundos was a Seleucid colony, founded about the end of fourth century or the beginning of the third century BC. Although Cohen admits that there is no evidence to support his theory,<sup>58</sup> he makes this statement because the inhabitants of Blaundos claimed a Macedonian ancestry in the Roman Imperial period on the civic issues by the use of the Macedonian label. However, this association cannot be used on its own to prove that the colony was Seleucid, because there are other Hellenistic colonies in Phrygia that claim a Macedonian ancestry but do not present a reference to a Seleucid foundation, such as the Hellenistic settlements of Otrous and Peltai, for example.<sup>59</sup> Thonemann argues

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<sup>54</sup> *I. Ephesos* 13 = IGR IV 1276; Pliny, *N.H.*, 5,111. Cf. Habicht 1975, 64-91.

<sup>55</sup> Filges 2006, 312-320.

<sup>56</sup> Filges 2006, 312-320.

<sup>57</sup> Filges 2006, 312-320.

<sup>58</sup> Cohen 1995, 290.

<sup>59</sup> See the inscription *CBP* 702, no. 638 = IGR IV.692 = BCH 17 (1893) 277.

that Blaundos was a military settlement founded by the Seleucids at the end of fourth century BC, but he does not add further evidence to support this theory.<sup>60</sup> It is true that the archaeological site of Blaundos occupies a distinctive natural isolated place with respect to the other urban centres of the region, so it is improbable that it was a rural centre, but this does not help us to understand whether it was a dynastic foundation or not.<sup>61</sup>

The location of the archaeological site, as noted by von Saldern, is in a *cul de sac* and it would have been difficult to reach by big commercial routes. The land was also not suitable for the cultivation of grapevines.<sup>62</sup> However, the position was ideally situated for patrolling the arduous territories north of the river Meander, so the settlement could have been a military garrison placed to guarantee the safety of the commercial routes from Temenothyrai to Philadelphia in the Hellenistic period.<sup>63</sup> Thonemann's hypothesis of a Seleucid foundation is somewhat questionable, because there is no reference to the Seleucid dynasty on the civic coins and on the inscriptions of Blaundos. In other Phrygian settlements the memory of the royal founder is well preserved, centuries after the fall of the Hellenistic kingdoms. For instance, Hierapolis, a Phrygian city located about 60 km south of Blaundos, displayed public memory of both the Attalids and the Seleucids in the Roman Imperial period. The inscriptions found at the theatre of Hierapolis show several civic tribes with the names of the members of the Attalid dynasty.<sup>64</sup> Bases of statues dedicated to Attalos II and Eumenes II have been also found *in situ*, which are dated to the beginning of the third century AD.<sup>65</sup> The Sarcophagus of the Roman citizen Marcus Suillus Antiochus, found in a *heroon* of Hierapolis dedicated to the emperor Claudius, shows a copy of an

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<sup>60</sup> Thonemann 2013a, 17; Thonemann 2011, 173 n.12.

<sup>61</sup> Filges 2006, 14. In this volume, Filges supports the theory of a Macedonian military garrison installed by the Seleucids but admits that the control of this Hellenistic dynasty over the territory of Blaundos was probably weak. Filges 2006, 21.

<sup>62</sup> Filges 2006, 14.

<sup>63</sup> Filges 2006, 19-20.

<sup>64</sup> The names of the civic tribes are carved on the front of the seats of the Hierapolis' ancient theatre, that looks towards the stage, for a length corresponding to the first three or four seats to the left of the row, in the genitive case. See *ZPE* 15 1974, 255-270 pl. VIII = Ritti 2007, 118-22, pls. 18-20 = *ZPE* 81 1990, 203-206.

<sup>65</sup> See Ritti 2007, 120.

Hellenistic portrait of Seleucus I. It seems that the memory of these Hellenistic rulers was object of a local worship.<sup>66</sup>

Mitchell and Daubner, on the other hand, who recently have addressed the problem of Hellenistic colonization in Asia Minor, do not mention directly the site of Blaundos, but they argue that the Seleucids never set a vast plan of colonization in Phrygia and Lydia. They note that there are a few settlements that are Seleucid, because the royal foundations are named after the ruling dynasts. For instance, Seleucia Tralleis, Antioch on by Pisidia, Antiocheia on the Meander and Laodicea on the Lycos took a Seleucid dynastic name.<sup>67</sup> This cannot be said for the site of Blaundos, at least at the present state of the archaeological, numismatic and epigraphic evidence. The existence of a council and a popular assembly that pass civic decrees is attested only from the first century BC onwards, in the Roman period.

Concerning the early Hellenistic foundations of the sites in the region, while Mitchell and Daubner demonstrate indirectly that Blaundos is not a Seleucid royal foundation, they disagree on the possible date of the main wave of Hellenistic colonization in Asia Minor. Mitchell argues that most of the Hellenistic settlements, including Blaundos, would have been dated to the last quarter of the fourth century BC, as an immediate consequence of Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire.<sup>68</sup> Daubner states the opposite, as the majority of the settlements in Phrygia and Lydia were founded by the Attalids after the Apameia treaty of 188 BC. According to Daubner, the Attalids started a colonization program using as settlers the Macedonian population that had run away from the Antigonid kingdom of Macedonia into Asia Minor after the battle of Pydna (168 BC).<sup>69</sup>

As a consequence, Blaundos has two different possible dates of foundation. It could have been founded either in the second half of the fourth century BC, as a spontaneous settlement of Macedonian and Greek soldiers after Alexander's

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<sup>66</sup> See Romeo 2017, 256-265. According to this author, "The artist who designed the Hierapolis sarcophagus in the age of the emperor Claudius probably belonged to a local workshop and therefore had several ways of obtaining reliable, identifiable models of royal Seleucid portraits, Romeo 2017, 263; Romeo, Panariti and Ungaro 2014, 256-258.

<sup>67</sup> Mitchell 2018, 6.; Daubner 2011, 52-3.

<sup>68</sup> Mitchell 2018, 1.

<sup>69</sup> Daubner 2011, 52-3.

conquest, or in the second century BC, as an Attalid military garrison. One argument goes against the hypothesis of an Attalid foundation of Blaundos. The Attalid foundations, apparently mostly dating to the latter years of Eumenes reign (160 -150 BC), were widely distributed across rural Lydia and Phrygia, in non-strategic locations, because they served as new rural centres and more efficient tax collectors.<sup>70</sup> Conversely, the position of Blaundos is strategic and isolated, with no evidence of estate holders for the early Hellenistic period.

The examination of the archaeological and the literary evidence on Blaundos does not sort solve this issue, as we will see. We know from the earliest coinages that the settlement was originally called “Mlaundos”. The name of Blaundos appeared only in the early Roman period in different civic coins, when the province of Asia was established. The term of “Mlaundos” also appears on an inscription found at the city of Tralleis, dated to the late Hellenistic period,<sup>71</sup> and was used on inscriptions and coins until the first century BC, while it never occurred in the Roman Imperial period. Why is this issue so important for the problem of Blaundos’ foundation? As Filges illustrates, “Mlaundos” is a pre-Greek word, but the scholars are divided on its etymology. According to some, it is a Luwian term, and could derive from the word “Amblada”, that means “vineyard”. However, this type of cultivation is not attested in the territory of Blaundos, at least not in the second century BC.<sup>72</sup> Another hypothesis is that “Mlaundos” is a composition of two words derived respectively from an early Greek term and a Luwian one: “mel / melo” would be an early Greek word that means “Elevation/rising”, while –ando should be a Luwian suffix.<sup>73</sup> In any case, this suggests that there was already an ancient Luwian town at the site of Blaundos before the arrival of Macedonian and Greek settlers. For the Hellenistic and Roman Period, the problem of the history of Blaundos is connected to the scarcity of literary sources: Diodorus, Strabo, Ptolemy and Stephen of Byzantium are the authors who refer to this site. They are late sources and they do not give much information about Blaundos.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> See Thonemann 2013a,1-44.

<sup>71</sup> AM 26 1901, 238 nr.2.

<sup>72</sup> Filges 2006, 18; Drew Bear 1978, 57.

<sup>73</sup> Filges 2006, 18.

<sup>74</sup> Filges noted that Diodorus account is more problematic, because in the Hellenistic period Blaundos is called in the inscriptions and in the coins *Mlaundos*. Filges 2006, 19. Ptolemy and Stephanos are Byzantine sources.



Strabo reports that Blaundos is a Phrygian city on the Lydian borders,<sup>75</sup> Ptolemy lists it among the “big cities of Phrygia”,<sup>76</sup> while Stephanos of Byzantium says only that Blaundos is a Phrygian city.<sup>77</sup> The archaeological evidence is also lacking, preventing a reliable estimate of the period of a Hellenistic foundation. There is no numismatic or epigraphic evidence dated to the early Hellenistic period. The earliest coins struck by Blaundos (called Mlaundos at the time) date from the second century BC. The dies used for these coins do not allow the identification of the exact beginning of the first issues.<sup>78</sup> Also the earliest inscriptions cannot be traced earlier than the second century BC. As a consequence, Daubner’s theory about a late colonization of Phrygia by the Attalids could fit for Blaundos. The arrival of the first Macedonian and Greek colonists would date from the fourth/third century BC, but the presence of Greek institutions and the spread of Hellenic funerary habits date from the arrival of the Attalid dynasty in the region, in the second century BC. On the other hand, this does not validate Daubner’s theory about an Attalid foundation, because there are only two inscriptions from the Attalid period and they do not include important information on the civic institutions of the city.<sup>79</sup>

The fact that we have no evidence of inscriptions or coins of Blaundos/Mlaundos celebrating the Attalids as the official founders, could support Mitchell’s theory of a spontaneous migration in this area, at the end of the fourth century BC. The Macedonian soldiers likely chose the Luwian village because of its strategic position and cohabited in apparent peace with the Luwian population. As a consequence, I tend to agree with Filges, who argues that the change from Mlaundos to Blaundos hints at a long-term process of integration of the Hellenistic culture with the Luwian customs. It could be that the Greek and the Macedonian settlers gradually inhabited the ancient Luwian town, without a direct intervention in the urbanistic planning by a central Hellenistic state, like the Seleucids or the

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<sup>75</sup> Strab. XII.5.2

<sup>76</sup> Ptol. V.2.25.

<sup>77</sup> Steph. Byz., Blaundos. The source of Stephanos is a certain Menekrates. According to Jacoby this should be Menekrates of Xanthos, a Lydian historiographer. However, this is difficult to accept, because Menekrates lived during the IV century BC, when Blaundos was a mere village and it was probably called Mlaundos. Filges 2006, 17-20.

<sup>78</sup> Matern 2006, 284.

<sup>79</sup> In one of these inscriptions is cited Ammia, maybe a member of the Theotimides family, issuing magistrates in the Hellenistic period. Von Saldern 2006b p.330 n.15 and Filges 2006, 14-15.

Attalids. It is possible that the name used by the community of settlers was already Blaundos in the second century BC, when the Greek-Macedonian population became prevalent. Still, the institutionalization of this situation was set on coins only in the Roman period, when also the first relevant public buildings were created.

### 2.1.2 The Roman Period

We can imagine Blaundos as an ancient Luwian town presided by a Macedonian military garrison that gradually turned into a Hellenistic urban centre, when it was included in the province of Asia in 130 BC. The first literary contemporary evidence about Blaundos in the Roman era may be the letter by Cicero to his brother Quintus, propraetor of the province of Asia from 61 to 59 BC. In this letter Cicero recommends a certain Zeuxis from Blaundos. In Cicero's account Zeuxis appears to have a high reputation among the "Greeks of Asia".<sup>80</sup> The orator does not mention at all whether this individual had Macedonian ancestry or not.

Roman settlers in the region of Blaundos became conspicuous in the late first century BC, as testified to by the many Latin inscriptions from this period onwards. The earliest evidence of the Roman presence in this centre are two inscriptions dated to the beginning of first century AD: the families of Lollii and Peticii are cited.<sup>81</sup> Other Italic families appearing in the inscriptions are the *gentes* Menenia, Cornelia, Quirina, Claudia and Collia.<sup>82</sup> The flourishing of the civic centre towards the end of this century is demonstrated by the fact that the first civic issues of the Roman period date to the reign of Nero.<sup>83</sup> This peculiarity opens a new problem in the history of Blaundos. Except for Cicero's letter, we have no other references to Blaundos, nor any numismatic evidence from the site in the first century BC and the beginning of the first century AD. This is strange because many Phrygian cities were producing more or less regular bronze issues by the middle of the first century BC.<sup>84</sup> However, if most of the Phrygian ateliers were

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<sup>80</sup> Cicero wanted to persuade his brother that Zeuxis was not guilty of a murder, Cic. *Ad Q. fr.* 1,2,4. Filges 2006, 21.

<sup>81</sup> Von Saldern 2006b, No. 28-29, 336-337.

<sup>82</sup> Von Saldern 2006b, No. 28-29, 336-337.

<sup>83</sup> Matern 2006, 285.

<sup>84</sup> For instance, Aizanoi, Amorion, Apameia, Appia Eumeneia, Hierapolis, Pelta and Synnada. See *BMC Phrygia*, xx-cvi. Cf. Thonemann 2013a, 28-29 and Cohen 1995, 277-326.

active at the time of Augustus, there is no trace of production of civic coinages at Blaundos by that period.

One possible explanation for the lack of numismatic and literary evidence for the early Roman Imperial period comes from the analysis of the other archaeological data: we have coins dated to the Hellenistic period and to the reign of Nero, but nothing remains of the public buildings or public infrastructures such as roads or aqueducts. The gymnasium for example was probably built or totally reconstructed during the years between 50 and 60 AD, or in the Flavian period. The completion of the temple of Ceres dates from around 100 AD, while the so called "Temple 2" is dated to 80s AD, at the time of Domitian.<sup>85</sup> We know also through the literary sources that three relevant earthquakes struck several civic communities during the first century AD in the Phrygian region: one on the west coastline between Laodicea and Hierapolis in AD 47, another near Apameia in 53 AD 53, and the third in Colossae, Laodicea on the Lycus and Hierapolis in AD 60.<sup>86</sup> These cities were completely destroyed and rebuilt thanks to imperial intervention. Hierapolis was reconstructed by the Flavian dynasty.<sup>87</sup> As Filges assumes, it is likely that also Blaundos had suffered considerable damage due to the earthquakes. It could be that the surge of building activity in the Flavian period is a direct consequence of this type of natural disaster. Indeed, the two main temples were erected in this period, including the one dedicated to Ceres/Demeter. Moreover, at the time of the Flavian emperors several surrounding communities were re-founded with imperial titles, such as "Flavia".<sup>88</sup> Having said this, the physical agents cannot explain alone the hiatus that occurred in the numismatic evidence during the Augustan era. The lack of evidence for this period remains an issue difficult to solve.

Why does the trend of the monetary production in Blaundos differ from the other Phrygian cities in the early Roman period? It is not possible to relate this with relevant political events without further evidence. Nevertheless, the elite of Blaundos clearly displayed its economic power through the consistent urban development and the issue of civic coins especially from the second half of the

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<sup>85</sup> Filges 2006, 181.

<sup>86</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.27.

<sup>87</sup> For Hierapolis, see Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.27.

<sup>88</sup> Filges 2006, 23; Johnston 1985, 99.

first century AD. In my opinion, this process was not directly financed by the Roman emperors, or by the provincial governor. The Roman Imperial officials could intervene directly in the process of minting only in specific occasions, as we will see. As for the Hellenistic period, there was not a pre-planned process of urbanization directed by the central State, but a combination of different factors: Roman imperial financial benefits and private initiative.

One of the financiers of the temple of Ceres was Tiberius Claudius Menekrates. Menekrates was probably the son of a provincial Greek freedman, as his name suggests, who became a Roman citizen.<sup>89</sup> A certain political autonomy is also demonstrated by the fact that Blaundos never changed its name as a consequence of a contingent Hellenistic royal foundation or of a Roman Imperial re-foundation. This is significant because in the district of Sardis, which included the community of Blaundos, there are eight cities that changed their original names to dynastic ones during the Roman Imperial period.<sup>90</sup> Filges has assumed that because Blaundos was east of these communities, it could be a sign of the limit of the Roman imperial intervention in the region.<sup>91</sup> He identifies a geographical pattern: the first coins to be issued earlier than Blaundos in the Roman imperial period are located in communities to the south and to the west of Blaundos, while the cities issuing after Blaundos are located to the north. This would be related to the trend of the economic development and the urbanization that came from the coast to the inner regions of Phrygia.<sup>92</sup>

Another hypothesis supposes that this situation mirrors different “layers” of Hellenization: the first cities to issue coins are the ones more “Hellenized”, whilst cities more influenced by native customs started issuing coins later, both in Lydia and Phrygia.<sup>93</sup> It can be stated that the process of urbanization in Blaundos had been ongoing throughout the early Roman period and we can witness the process of integration of newcomers from Rome and Italy as testified by Latin inscriptions.<sup>94</sup> There was a successful gradual process of wilful appropriation of

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<sup>89</sup> Von Saldern 2006a, 196-197.

<sup>90</sup> See for example Philadelphia. 1995, 227; .

<sup>91</sup> Filges 2006, 23.

<sup>92</sup> Filges 2003, 23.

<sup>93</sup> Dräyer 1993 31ff.

<sup>94</sup> See the Catalogue realized by Von Saldern. Von Saldern 2006b, 321-350.

the Italian or Roman incomers' cultural features by the local inhabitants, as it had happened a century earlier with the Greek and Macedonian population. I think that it is necessary a theoretical clarification about my use of the term "Hellenization": it could be necessary to use the term of "Hellenization", because the "Greek" centre of Blaundos was founded at the end of the fourth century BC, in the early Hellenistic period, when the foundation of colonies by the Hellenistic dynasties changed radically the concept of Greek "colonization". Especially the Seleucids and the Attalids bolstered the foundation of settlements made by soldiers and these foundations were strategically important, not only commercial centres inhabited by merchants. I argue indeed that the Hellenistic policy in the foundation of settlements was more similar to the Roman one than the old Greek "spontaneous" network developed during the Iron Age or the archaic and classical period.<sup>95</sup> On the other hand, the settlements in western Phrygia and eastern Lydia were affected by a juxtaposition of direct interventions by Hellenistic kings and spontaneous migrations of Graeco-Macedonians veterans during the fourth and third century BC, as we will see in the fourth chapter. Besides, the adoption of Greek institutions by Phrygian or Lydian settlements does not imply that the indigenous people were not active part of this process. Mitchell argues that indigenous elites of Karia and Lycia adopted Greek civic institutions and Greek terminology at a diplomatic level to assert their own autonomy respect to the Persian empire in the fourth century BC.<sup>96</sup> The agency of the non-Greek populations cannot be overlooked in the process of "Hellenization" of Western Asia Minor.<sup>97</sup> About the problem of "Romanization", the case of Blaundos shows how the Greek-Latin bilingualism was a common practice on funerary and honorary inscriptions since the Republican period.

At Blaundos, different waves of migrations throughout various centuries and private initiative played a more important role in the economic and the cultural changes of the urban centre than the Hellenistic and Roman central authorities.

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<sup>95</sup> About the problem of Hellenization, see Hodos 2014, 24-30. Hodos analyses the Greek network developed in the Mediterranean Sea in the Archaic and the Classical period, making a comparison with the appearance of the Phoenician settlements. In these periods the Greek colonization consisted of a network made by merchants. Hodos prefers to speak of "Mediterraneanization tempered by strongly articulated and localized identities", Hodos 2014, 30.

<sup>96</sup> Mitchell 2017, 22-24.

<sup>97</sup> For example, the city of Skepsis of Troad joined the cause of the Greeks against the Persian empire at the and adopted Greek civic institutions in the political context of the fourth century BC. Xen. Hell. 3.1.21; Mitchell 2017, 24.

The main temple of the city, dedicated to Ceres, was erected by a private benefactor, Claudius Menekrates, during the Flavian period. He recorded his benefaction with two inscriptions, one in Greek and the other in Latin.<sup>98</sup> This shows the importance of the private initiative and the equal importance of the Italian and the Graeco-Macedonian communities in Blaundos. Another Greek inscription dated to the Flavian period, which presents the figure of Gaius Mummius from the tribe Collina, underlines this peculiarity.<sup>99</sup> Gaius Mummius was a Roman citizen living in Blaundos who had been granted the perpetual office of gymnasiarch in order to take care of the revenues of the local gymnasium. He was a member of an association called *Gerousia* in the text.<sup>100</sup> The *Gerousia* was a semi-official civic body that comprised Roman settlers living in civic communities of the province of Asia, quite widespread in the region of Phrygia in the first and second centuries AD, as suggested by Eckhardt.<sup>101</sup> This shows how the community of Blaundos, a Greek speaking community, preserved his traditional institutions and at the same time included new associations that represented the interests of Italian incomers and Roman residents during the Roman Imperial period. The use of the Macedonian label on civic coins from the first century AD until the first half of third century AD is further evidence of this political and cultural peculiarity with respect to the other communities part of the administrative district of Sardis.

## **2.2 Analysis of the epigraphic and numismatic evidence of Blaundos.**

### **2.2.1 General methodology**

Before analysing the evidence collected in this section, I present some considerations on my methodology. About the civic coins of Blaundos, it should be said there is no organic *corpus* which comprises systematically all its monetary issues. As Matern has stated in a study included in the anthology on Blaundos edited in 2006, there are three main collections that record the issues of Blaundos:<sup>102</sup>

- 1) The *Sylloge Nummorum Graecarum*.
- 2) The Imhoof-Blumer collection.

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<sup>98</sup> CIG 3869 + Add. S. 1098 (C, D and E) in Hamilton and IGR IV 1700.

<sup>99</sup> Keil-Premmerstein, *Zweite Reise* 147 no. 270; Von Saldern 2006b no.26, 335.

<sup>100</sup> Von Saldern 2006b no.26 335, ll. 3-4.

<sup>101</sup> Eckhardt 2016, 147-171.

<sup>102</sup> Matern 2006, 284.

### 3) The Catalogue of the British Museum.

Each of these collections have their own way of organising coin assemblages. For example, the catalogue of the British Museum ordered the coins according to the name of the magistrate presented on the legend.<sup>103</sup> With regards to the epigraphic evidence from Blaundos, the German anthology by Filges provides the complete catalogue of inscriptions, including those which have been found by the archaeologists during excavations held at the end of the last century. The epigraphic corpus that relates to my research consists of 37 inscriptions. These are all the inscriptions edited that date from the Hellenistic period until the first half of the third century AD, including those without evidence of the Macedonian label or Macedonian iconography. They do not include those dated to the Christian and the Byzantine era. As for my own research on Blaundos, I analyse the epigraphic and numismatic evidence according to the two criteria used also for the other case studies of my thesis, the first chronological and the second thematic:

- 1) Selection of all the civic coins and inscriptions related to Blaundos since the Hellenistic period until the last emission of Roman coinage dated to the rule of Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 AD).
- 2) Analysis of the coins and the inscriptions that have evidence of
  - a) Macedonian label.
  - b) Macedonian iconography.

The present section analyses first the numismatic and secondly the epigraphic evidence in two separate subsections; then the correlation between the two databases and the possible historical interpretation will be provided in a third and final subsection.

#### **2.2.2 The history of civic coinage of Blaundos**

The exact beginning of the monetary production of Blaundos is not possible to be defined with perfect accuracy. According to Matern, a *terminus post quem* could be 133 BC, when the Roman province of Asia was created.<sup>104</sup> Blaundos probably started to issue coins in the Late Hellenistic era or Early Roman period, between the second half of the second century BC and the beginning of the first century BC. The Julio-Claudian era does not have evidence of coins until the final years

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<sup>103</sup> See BMC *Lydia*, xl ff.

<sup>104</sup> Matern 2006, 284.

of reign of Claudius. The civic issues of Blaundos dated to the Roman Imperial period are classified in the “Laodicea style group” by Matern, because its dies have minting features similar to the one presented in the civic mints of Laodicea and Hierapolis.<sup>105</sup> Therefore, it could be that Blaundos was inserted in the economic network of these two bigger centres since the Attalid period.

The irregularity of the monetary production of Blaundos in the initial stages is testified by the hiatus of 20 years that occurred between the issues made under the last years of the reign of Claudius and the coins issued at the time of Vespasian. They include also two issues with the name of the proconsul of Asia in charge during that period, cited in the legend of the reverse of the coins.<sup>106</sup> It is noteworthy because it means that he might be important for the history of Blaundos as a benefactor. As Katsari and Burnett stated, when there is a proconsul’s name on the coinage, it may reveal his direct intervention in the minting process.<sup>107</sup> Thanks to the legend on the coins we know that the magistrate in question was Catus Asconius Silius Italicus, who is cited also on the civic emissions of Dorylaion and Smyrna and on an honorary inscription found at Aphrodisias in Caria around the same period.<sup>108</sup> This permits us to date the Flavian coinages with more accuracy, because Asconius held the office of proconsul of the province of Asia in 77/78 AD.<sup>109</sup> Unfortunately, the proconsul does not appear in other types of evidence, so that we cannot assume with certainty that he had a role in the building program started around this period at the urban centre of Blaundos.

After Vespasian there are no remaining new civic issues until the reign of Hadrian. These Hellenistic and Early Roman civic coinages consist of small numbers and there is a lack of continuity in the evidence base. Conversely, the issues which

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<sup>105</sup> Matern 2006, 284. See for example RPC I 375 and 497.

<sup>106</sup> RPC II 1346; RPC II 1347.

<sup>107</sup> Katsari 2003, 38-38, 41-42; Burnett 1992, 3.

<sup>108</sup> About the Smirne and Dorylaion coinages, see Kremler 1975, 28-30 and Thonemann 1984, 216, nr.26:68. About the inscription found at Aphrodisias, see MAMA VIII 411 = *I. Aph.* 13.609. It dates from AD 77 and was found at the temple of Aphrodite. Cf. Campbell 1936, 56.

<sup>109</sup> Eck set 77/78 as the probable date of Silius’ proconsulship of Asia. See Eck 1970, pp.82-83. Four known proconsuls are M. Aponius Saturninus (cos. Before 69), ca. 73-74; M. Vettius Bolanus (cos. 66), ca 75/76; Silius Italicus (cos. 68), ca 77/78; Arrius Antoninus (cos.69), ca. 78/79. The consular dates make the date of Silius’ proconsulship almost certain. See McDermott-Orentzel 1977, n.7 24. This proconsul is also cited in a letter of Pliny, *Ep.* 3.1. Cf. McDermott-Orentzel 1977, n. 3 24. See also Syme 1982, 476.



run from the time of Antoninus Pius until the last ones, dated to the rule of Trebonianus Gallus, are more consistent and steadier.<sup>110</sup> The biggest monetary production of the mint of Blaundos corresponds with the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Septimius Severus. Matern notes that this type of trend is similar to the one observed in the monetary series of other cities in Lydia, with only one relevant exception. Blaundos issued its last coins under Trebonianus Gallus, while the Lydian cities did not produce any issue during the reign of this emperor.<sup>111</sup> The total amount of coins studied for this survey consists of 102 different issues: 20 of them date from the late Hellenist and Early Roman periods and run between the second century BC and the first century BC. One issue is of uncertain date. The vast majority of the issues, that is 79% of the collection, dates from the reign of Claudius until the reign of Trebonianus Gallus. It consists of 81 different issues.

### **2.2.3 The cultural identity of Blaundos and the Macedonian label in the numismatic evidence.**

The Macedonian label does not appear on any of the issues dated to the late Hellenistic era and the early Roman period (second century/ first century BC). Conversely, of the 81 Roman Imperial issues, 43 have the Macedonian label, spelled in different ways. The Macedonian label appears on the 53% of the Roman Imperial issues (See Appendix 2.1). As previously stated, there is no allusion to a Macedonian label during the late Hellenistic period, and more importantly, no symbol that can be related to a claim of Macedonian identity, such as the depiction of the Macedonian shield or the portrait of Alexander the great.

On 19 of the 20 issues dated to the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods, the label used to define the city of Blaundos is the Greek plural genitive ΜΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ – (*the city of) the Mlaundeians*, in the extended version or reduced to the first letters. The spelling could be proof of the resilience of the Luwian element in the language of the settlers, as explained in the first section, but we have no further evidence to test this except for these issues. In terms of the iconography, the coins of these periods often have divine figures, hence that cannot be considered a peculiar Macedonian identity trait. Moreover, there is no reference to a Hellenistic dynasty, nor the traditional military features peculiar to

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<sup>110</sup> Matern 2006, 285.

<sup>111</sup> Matern 2006, 285.

the Macedonian military colonists that appear in several Lydian Hellenistic colonies in the same period: for example the Argead star-like shield and the helmet of the Macedonian style.<sup>112</sup> There is rather a sign of the gradual integration of Greek cultural elements into the community. Indeed, the four most traditional gods of the Greek pantheon are on all of the obverse of the 20 emissions: on ten coinages there is the head of Zeus (see Figure 2.3), six coinages present the head of Apollo, two of Herakles and two of Dionysus (see Figure 2.4).<sup>113</sup> Matern comments that this religious iconography lacks of symbols that could testify a syncretism with some pre-Greek cults. The legends related to the Olympian gods do not have native epitaphs and the representative style does not reveal any mark of Luwian or pre-Greek cultural identity.<sup>114</sup> Zeus is depicted with his traditional attributes, the laurel wreath and the eagle (Figure 2.3). Apollo's head has the laurel wreath as well, while on the reverse of the coins there are usually a bow and a quiver. Hermes and Dionysus have all features that can be easily spotted in the civic coinages of the Asia Minor communities in the Hellenistic period and are not particularly distinctive.

Another relevant point for the issues of the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods is the lack of civic magistracies in the legends that could attest the existence of a council or a popular assembly. We know two public authorities whose names are carved on the coins, without any sort of official civic title: Apollonios and Theotimides (Figure 2.3). They are recorded with Greek traditional names. Apollo held the religious epithet of *Theogenes*. It could mean that this figure was a member of a local priesthood, but it is only a conjecture without further evidence.<sup>115</sup> Before the first issue of the Roman Imperial period, dated to the early years of the reign of Nero, half a century passed without any kind of monetary production by the mint of Blaundos. Could it be that the civic community lost the privilege of issuing its own coins? I do not have enough information to answer this question at the moment.

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<sup>112</sup> See for example the Macedonian shield on the civic coins of Philadelphia, *SNG* (von A) 3060; *SNG* (Cop) *Lydia* 342-347. Head is inclined to date these coins to the second and first centuries BC. Cf. Cohen 1995, n.3 228.

<sup>113</sup> See for example *SNG* (Cop) 59-62; *SNG* (Cop) 63-64; *SNG* (Cop) 65.

<sup>114</sup> Matern 2006, 293.

<sup>115</sup> For this epithet, see for example *SNG* 70 and 71.

The two issues produced for the first time in the Roman Imperial period mark a substantial change in the self-presentation of the civic identity of Blaundos: the legend present the label ΒΓΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ – (*the city of*) *the Blaundeians*. On the obverse of both the issues we have the bust of young Nero with the title of Caesar (figure 2.5).<sup>116</sup> They date between 51 and 54 AD, the last years of the reign of Claudius. On the reverse of one issue there is Apollo, while in the other one four altars tied to each other. There is no presence of the Macedonian label, but it is relevant that the community of Blaundos changed the name officially on its civic coins. The presence of a probable pre-Greek influence that characterizes the previous spelling “Mlaundos” has disappeared. Interestingly, the public authority responsible for the issuing of these coins was a certain Tiberius Claudius Kalligenes. This name reveals that he was probably a Greek freedman, or a Greek settler who obtained the Roman citizenship under the Julio-Claudian dynasty.<sup>117</sup> The Greek part of his name reveals a pride of his ancestry, as it literally means “Good ancestry”. It is noteworthy that the definitive abandonment of the legend ΜΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ in the civic coins occurs under this local magistrate. I argue that this could be a sign that the claim of a Hellenic ancestry started to be important for the civic elite of the community of Blaundos.

**Figure 2.3** (BMC Lydia Blaundos 1-3. Second/first century BC).<sup>118</sup>

Obverse: Head of Zeus

Reverse: Eagle with the wings open, caduceus and grain-ear to left and right.

Legend: ΜΛΑΥΝΔ ΘΕΟΤΙΜΙΔΟ (*The city of*) *the(Mlaund(eians) Theotimido(u))*.



**Figure 2.4** (Waddington 4905. Second/first century BC).<sup>119</sup>

Reverse: Head of Dionysus with ivy wreath.

Obverse: Filleted Thyrsus.

<sup>116</sup> RPC I 3059 and 3060.

<sup>117</sup> RPC I 3060.

<sup>118</sup> With permission of wildwinds.com.

<sup>119</sup> With permission of wildwinds.com.

Legend: ΜΛΑΥΝΔΕ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΘΕΟΓΕΝ (the city of) the Mlaunde(eians) (to?)  
Apollonios Theogen(es).



**Figure 2.5** (RPC I 3060. 51-54 AD).<sup>120</sup>

Obverse: Bare-headed, draped bus of Nero.

Legend: ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Nero Caesar

Reverse: Apollo standing, holding lyre.

Legend: ΤΙ ΚΛΑΥ ΚΑΛΛΙΓΕΝΗΣ ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ Ti(berius) Clau(dius) Kalligenes,  
(the city of) the Blaundeians.



To evaluate possible interpretative patterns for the claim of the Macedonian ancestry by Blaundos, it is necessary to apply a further chronological categorization of the civic issues that have the Macedonian label. In order to do this, I present three figures that divide chronologically the issues that have the Macedonian label. I assign then the issues in a subcategory that specifies which emperor was in charge, if it was possible to determine him by the legends or the iconography of the coins. I also record the proportion of civic issues with Macedonian label as a percentage of the overall Roman imperial coinages issued by Blaundos. I record the percentage of each century and of each emperor.

There are also five issues with the Macedonian label that are not included in these figures. One is impossible to date because of the lack of precise information on the legend of the coin, but it belongs to the Roman Imperial period as the iconography shows clearly. The issue presents on the obverse the personification

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<sup>120</sup> With permission of wildwinds.com.

of the Roman Senate, while on the reverse there is the figure of Zeus in front of an altar. The legend on the reverse is the double label ΒΓΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑ.<sup>121</sup> On the other hand, the other four issues date from the end of the second century and the beginning of the third century AD. It is difficult to be more specific about the date because these do not present the imperial portrait on the obverse. Moreover, each one has a different iconography. One presents on the obverse the personification of the Roman Senate, while on the reverse the figure of Dionysus, with his traditional attributes and the spelling ΒΓΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚ.<sup>122</sup> The second presents on the obverse the personification of the demos, as the spelling says ΔΗΜΟC ΒΓΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑ. On the reverse there is the River God Hipporius.<sup>123</sup> The third presents on the obverse the personification of the *Boulé*, and on the reverse the figure of Dionysus with the double label ΒΓΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕ.<sup>124</sup> The last presents on the obverse the head of Herakles, while on the reverse the goddess Demeter with the legend ΒΓΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ Μ.<sup>125</sup> It is possible to date them between the end of the second century AD and the first half of the third century AD because the personifications of the civic institutions, similarly the representation of the Roman Senate and the type of the head of Herakles, do not appear in the coins of Blaundos before the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and they are still used in the coins issued under Trebonianus Gallus.<sup>126</sup> There are four remaining issues without the Macedonian label and without an imperial portrait. They are not counted in the percentages of the century categories, but only in the overall amount of the Roman Imperial Coinages.<sup>127</sup>

### **Figure 2.6. Presence of the Macedonian label in the legend of the Roman Imperial Period Issues.**

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<sup>121</sup> SNG nr. 83; Mionnet 4 nr. 108.

<sup>122</sup> Paris 1972/815. Cf. Matern 2006, 295, n.27.

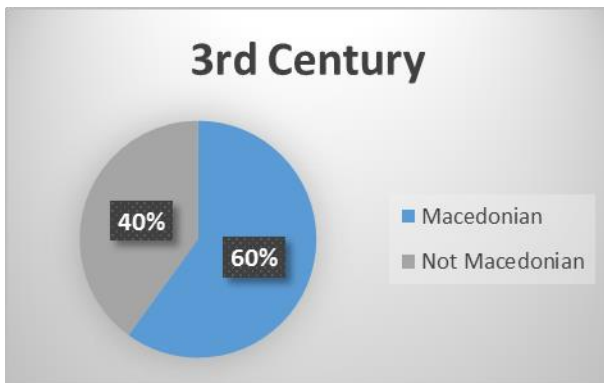
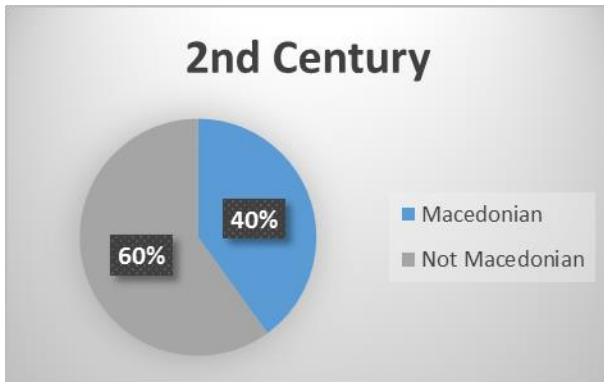
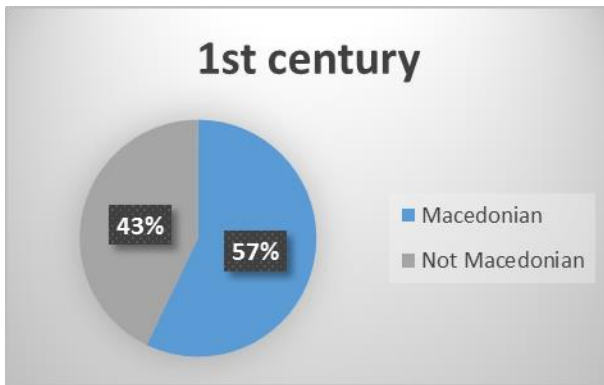
<sup>123</sup> SNG nr. 84.

<sup>124</sup> BMC *Lydia, Blaundos* 58.

<sup>125</sup> BMC *Lydia, Blaundos* 62.

<sup>126</sup> See for example the personification of the Roman Senate under Marcus Aurelius in SNG Aulock 2922 and SNG 85. About Trebonianus Gallus, see the civic coinage with the presence of the personification of Demos in BMC *Lydia, Blaundos* 50, and for the personification of the Roman Senate, see BMC *Lydia, Blaundos* 56-57.

<sup>127</sup> Among these 4 coinages, it is possible to date three to the end of second or the beginning of the third century AD. (SNG 83, SNG Cop 84; BMC *Lydia, Blaundos* 61). The other one belongs to the Roman Imperial period for the presence on the obverse of the personification of the *demos*. This civic institution is attested for Blaundos only since the second half of the first century AD. (SNG Cop. 81-82.)



**First century AD - 4 issues out of a total of 7 (57% of the overall issues).**

Nero (54-68 AD): 0 issues on a total of 2.

Vespasian (69-79 AD): 3 issues on a total of 4 (75% of the overall issues).

First century AD. (not specified): 1 issue.

**Second century AD 10 issues out of a total of 25 (40% of the overall issues).**

Antonine era, not clear under which specific emperor (138-193 AD): 2 issues on a total of 9 (22% of the overall issues).

Antonin Pius (138-161 AD): 2 issues on a total of 2 (100% of the overall issues).

Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD): 6 issues on a total of 13 (46% of the overall issues).

**First half of the third century AD. 24 issues out of a total of 40 (60% of the overall issues).**

Septimius Severus (193-211 AD): 1 issue of 2 (50% of the overall issues).

Caracalla (211-217 AD): 2 issues of 4 (50% of the overall issues).

Philip I and Philip II as coregent (244-249 AD): 9 issues of 9 (100% of the overall issues).

Trebonianus and Volusianus as coregent (251-253 AD): 12 issues of 18 (66% of the overall issues).

It is immediately evident that there is a trend across the centuries: the quantitative presence of the Macedonian label in the coinages increased gradually from the reign of Vespasian until the end of the second century AD. After the end of the Severan dynasty, there is a dramatic quantitative increase during the reigns of Philip the Arab and Trebonianus Gallus. In less than nine years of their rule is concentrated almost 50% of the overall Roman Imperial coinages with the Macedonian label. In the first century there are four issues with the Macedonian label. The second century presents apparently a quantitative increase of the Macedonian label, with ten issues. However, the increase is in the first half of the third century AD, with 24 issues containing in the legend the double label ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ - (*the city of*) the "*Blaundeians Macedonians*, in different forms.<sup>128</sup> If we analyse the percentage of the coins with Macedonian label on the overall monetary production, the table offers further considerations:

- 1) During the first century AD, the issues with the Macedonian label constitute 57% of all the issues. The overall monetary production consisted only of seven issues. The sample is really limited. Interestingly, almost all of the issues with the Macedonian label were made under the reign of Vespasian. They are the earliest evidence of the use of the Macedonian label by the community of Blaundos in a public document attested so far.
- 2) In the second century AD, the issues with the Macedonian label constitute 40% of all the issues, a decrease respect from the previous century. However, the overall sample is much bigger, as it consists of 25 issues. Besides, there are no monetary samples for the period of Trajan and Hadrian. The monetary production of Blaundos seems to have significantly increased after the second half of this century, with a

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<sup>128</sup> For example, Falter 447, BMC *Lydia*, *Blaundos* 81.

peak corresponding with the reign of Marcus Aurelius, when the percentage of issues with the Macedonian label increased up to 46%.

- 3) In the first half of the third century AD, the issues with the Macedonian label constitute 60% of all the issues. The strong inflation that struck the Roman Empire in that period appeared to have influenced the trend of the monetary production in Blaundos. Indeed, it increases above the 40% of the previous century. This category confirms a consistent increase in the use of the Macedonian label, which grows by 20% since the second century.

The evidence indicates that the presence of the Macedonian label on the coins reached its peak in the first half of the third century, as the quantitative and the percentage analysis reveals. The present chart identifies also three turning point in the production of the specific coinages referring to the Macedonian identity, that seem to correspond with important events in the history of Blaundos: the rule of Vespasian, the Antonine era, in particular the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and the reigns of Philip and Trebonianus.

The three issues with the Macedonian label issued under Vespasian from the point of view of the iconography have no sign of discontinuity with respect to the ones issued under the reign of Claudius. On the reverse there are Greek gods usually depicted in the issues of Blaundos: Dionysus, Apollo and Demeter.<sup>129</sup> However, for the first time and uniquely in the monetary history of Blaundos, the local magistrate in charge of these issues, a certain Tiberius Claudius Phoenix, includes the initials of the proconsul of the province of Asia at the time, Asconius Silius Italicus.<sup>130</sup> About him, Pliny the younger says in a letter to his friend Caninius Rufus that he was among the *principes ciuitatis* thanks to the good administration of the province of Asia.<sup>131</sup> Asconius Silius Italicus is cited also on the civic emissions of Dorylaion and Smyrna and on an honorary inscription found at Aphrodisias in Caria around the same period.<sup>132</sup> This permits us to date the

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<sup>129</sup> See respectively RPC II 1347; RPC II 1346; RPC II 1348.

<sup>130</sup> RPC II 1346; 1347. The exact legend reported is ΤΙ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΦΟΙΝΙΞ ΕΠΙ ΙΤΑΛΙΚΟΥ ΒΓΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ.

<sup>131</sup> Pliny, 3.7.1-9.

<sup>132</sup> About the coinages of Smyrna and Dorylaion, see Kreiler 1975, 28-30; Thomasson 1984, 216, no.26:68. About the inscription, see MAMA VIII 411. It was found at the temple of Aphrodite. Cf. Campbell 1936, 56.



Flavian coinages with more accuracy, because Asconius held the office of proconsul of the province of Asia in 77/78 AD.<sup>133</sup>

Burnett notes that the appearance of the proconsul's name in the civic issues in the provinces of Asia Minor and Syria could be related to some historical events of the individual city minting them.<sup>134</sup> I argue that the presence of the governor's name in these three civic coinages of Blaundos testifies to a direct intervention of the proconsul Asconius Silius Italicus in the minting, probably to sustain financially the building program set up in the same period, as mentioned in the first section of the chapter. So, the first use of the double label "Blaundeians Macedonians" by the community of Blaundos might be motivated by an official event. The civic issues were displaying the Blaundeians as Macedonians, perhaps because Asconius Silius Italicus was the first Roman governor who had ever visited or supported financially the settlement of Blaundos. It could have been this type of political event that boosted the settlers to define clearly their Macedonian identity in the public sphere for the first time in their history.

**Figure 2.7** (RPC II 1346 var. 77-78 AD).<sup>135</sup>

Obverse: Laureate head of Vespasian.

Legend: ΟΥΕΣΠΑΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒΑCΤΟC: *Vespasian Caesar Augustus*.

Reverse: Apollo standing facing, head right, resting on a lyre on a column, and holding plectrum.

Legend: ΤΙ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟC ΦΟΙΝΙΞ, ΕΠΙ ΙΤΑΛΙΚΟΥ **ΒΛΑΟΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ**.: *Tiberius Claudius Phoenix, under the (proconsulate) of Italicus, (the city) of the **Blaundeians Macedonians***

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<sup>133</sup> Eck set 77/78 as the probable date of Silius' proconsulship of Asia. See Eck 1970, 82-83. Four known proconsuls are M. Aponius Saturninus (cos. Before 69), ca. 73-74; M. Vettius Bolanus (cos. 66), ca 75/76; Silius Italicus (cos. 68), ca 77/78; Arrius Antoninus (cos.69), ca. 78/79. The consular dates make the date of Silius' proconsulship almost certain. See McDermott-Orentzel 1977, n.7 24. This proconsul is also cited in a letter of Pliny, *Ep.* 3.1. Cf. McDermott-Orentzel 1977, n. 3 24. See also Syme 1982, 476.

<sup>134</sup> Burnett 1999, 3. See for example the coins with the name of the proconsul Marcellus from Sardis, Hierapolis, Laodicea and Syanus: they all lack the imperial portrait. Burnett argues that this peculiarity is caused by the direct influence of this proconsul, the only one that held this magistracy for more than one year.

<sup>135</sup> With the permission of Wildwinds.com



The issues dated to the Antonine era with the Macedonian label that do not present the imperial portrait have other peculiar features. Three of them have on the obverse the personification of the deified Roman Senate, represented as a bust of a young man, while on the reverse the use of the double label “Blaundeians Macedonians”.<sup>136</sup> This type of representation occurred only eight times on the surviving Roman Imperial coinage of Blaundos. More importantly, the coins of the “Senate type” always include the Macedonian label in their legends. There is only one exception, an issue made under the reign of Marcus Aurelius. However also in this case the presence of the Macedonian label cannot be excluded, because the legend on the reverse is heavily damaged and some letters are missing.<sup>137</sup>

All the Senate type coinages date from the second half of the second century AD and the beginning of the third century AD, when this kind of iconography was widespread in other cities of Asia Minor.<sup>138</sup> The cult of the Roman Senate in the civic coins comes most exclusively for the Roman province of Asia, as Forni has demonstrated.<sup>139</sup> Moreover, there is no evidence for this type of cult during the Republican period, but only from the reign of Tiberius onwards.<sup>140</sup> Erskine argues that the cult of the Roman Senate met with the imperial approval, and perhaps some form of imperial authorisation would have been required for its representation on the civic issues of the cities in the province of Asia Minor.<sup>141</sup> In the case of Blaundos, it seems then that the worship of the most important Roman

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<sup>136</sup> BMC *Lydia, Blaundos* 48; BMC *Lydia, Blaundos* 45-47. The spelling of the Macedonian label changes slightly. In the first is ΒΓΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝ; the second and the third present the extended version of ΒΓΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ.

<sup>137</sup> SNG Muller 85. The legend on the reverse records ΒΓΑΥΝΔΕΩ(?)

<sup>138</sup> See Kienast 1985, 253-293; Schörner 2013, 217-242.

<sup>139</sup> Forni 1982, 3-35.

<sup>140</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 4.37.3. See Forni 1982, 3-4; Price 1984, 42. Erskine supposes that this cult was proper to the province of Asia because the governor here was appointed by the Senate. See Erskine 1997, 27.

<sup>141</sup> Erskine 1997, 34.

institution triggered also the use of the Macedonian label by the community of Blaundos. The glorification of the Senate on the civic coins, probably a way to publicly express the allegiance of the small settlement to the Roman authority, is accompanied by the claim of Macedonian ancestry. The Blaundeian civic *elite* accepted the cult of this Roman powerful institution and showcased at the same time its Macedonian identity.

**Figure 2.8** (BMC Lydia Blaundos 48 var. 161-180 AD)

Obverse: Bare headed, draped bust of the Roman Senate right.

Legend: IEPA CYNKΛHTOC, *the Sacred Senate*.

Reverse: Dionysus, loins draped, standing, holding kantharos and thyrsos, panther at foot left.

Legend: ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝ: (*the city of*) *the Blaundeians Macedonians*.



In my opinion the claim of Macedonian ancestry, that was not important at the time of the Hellenistic kingdoms, when the central power did not intervene officially in the public affairs of Blaundos, assumed an important role after the arrival of the Roman State in the region, especially from the Flavian dynasty onwards. In the second half of the second century AD and at the beginning of the third century AD, the military campaigns to restrain the Parthian aggressions on the eastern borders compelled a direct presence of the imperial authority in Asia Minor. Marcus Aurelius, the members of the Severan dynasty, and then Philipp and Trebonianus were directly involved in the Parthian wars, as we will see more in detail in the next chapter and in the fifth chapter. Within the same chronological time frame, the civic institutions of Blaundos seemed to develop and strengthen the need of affirming an identity distinguished from the other communities of Roman Asia Minor. This was expressed by the double label “Blaundeians Macedonians”. As a matter of fact, one of the two issues with the Macedonian label dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius shows the earliest evidence of the civic institution of the archon in Blaundos: the person in question is Claudius

Symmachos, whose initials appear together with the double label ΒΓΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ on the reverse of the coinages.<sup>142</sup>

The representation of the river god Hipporious occurs in the reverse of several Roman Imperial issues, and it constitutes one distinctive type of the territory of Blaundos. Moreover, it does not appear in any of the civic coinages issued in the Hellenistic period. It is another sign of the local identity that emerged only under the Roman rule. The importance of the river god for local identities in Phrygia and Lydia is further analysed in the third chapter, dedicated on the case study of Hyrkanis, and in the fourth chapter.

#### **2.2.4 The cultural identity of Blaundos and the Macedonian label in the epigraphic evidence.**

The overall amount of the Blaundos' epigraphic data base for the analysed period (third century BC – second half of third century AD) consists of 37 inscriptions. It is a small sample and divided into honorary inscriptions and in funerary inscriptions. This is because these two types of evidence served two different purposes. The funerary inscriptions describe how the individuals present themselves for posterity from a personal point of view, not necessarily relating themselves to the civic institutions. The honorary inscriptions represent instead the identity of individuals or the overall civic community in the public space and they have a civic purpose. For this reason, I decided to compare the epigraphic data and the numismatic ones with the honorary inscriptions, because these were the official expression of the civic community of Blaundos, like the issues analysed above.

Before considering the honorary inscriptions, it is interesting to analyse briefly the funerary inscriptions. Do they have a Macedonian label, or at least another type of label that indicates a certain ancestry claimed by individuals living in Blaundos in the Roman Period? Among the eleven funerary inscriptions, there is no reference to the ancestry of the people deceased. The only Latin inscription attested for this category is the earliest evidence of Italian presence in the region of Blaundos. It dates from the beginning of the first century AD. It is important

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<sup>142</sup> Imhoof-Blumer 51, nr.7.

also because the family of Lollii which carved this inscription shows also the name of its civic tribe. The inscription consists of a simple list of the family members, included one freedman of clear Greek origins (maybe part of a native family who traces its past to the Attalid period, given the name?), M. Lollio Philetairos.<sup>143</sup> However, these individuals do not claim to be “Roman” or “Italian”. Thanks to the funerary inscriptions we can assume that the population of Blaundos absorbed relatively peacefully the Latin settlers that came there since the Early Roman Imperial period. Indeed, ten funerary inscriptions out of eleven date from the first century AD until the first half of third century AD.

Only one funerary inscription is dated to the late Hellenistic period. It is located on the grave of a certain Menander, son of Euboulides. He was probably a Greek settler, but he did not feel the need to express his ancestry with a label.<sup>144</sup> Of the nine Roman Imperial period funerary inscriptions written in Greek, six were set by individuals with Latin names. There is a bilingual document, dated to the Early Roman Period: two brothers with the same name, L. Peticius, recorded in both Greek and Latin.<sup>145</sup> It is clear from this sample that the claim of Macedonian ancestry, or of another type of ethnic identity, was not important to define the settlers on private monuments.

Moving to the 26 honorary inscriptions located in the territory of Blaundos or citing this community, I took into consideration only the ones where it is possible to define the dating, the genre and the individual or the community that erected them. The inscriptions that are too fragmentary, that contain only a few words and that are too difficult to reconstruct, are not included.<sup>146</sup> The remaining inscriptions that fulfil all these parameters consist of 17 inscriptions. Figure 5 shows the reference, the date, the genre, the dedicator who presided over the inscription and the alphabet used.

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<sup>143</sup> CIL III 7050.

<sup>144</sup> Von Saldern 2006b no.27.

<sup>145</sup> Von Saldern 2006b no.29. The text says for both the brothers: *L(uci) Petic[i] L(uci)f(ili) --- salve]*  
*Λεύκιε Πετίκιε Λευκί[ο]υ ----χαῖρε]*

<sup>146</sup> See for example see the fragmentary inscription IGR IV 721. It is probably dated to the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty or to the Flavian era, but it is not possible to define who is the author and what the text speaks about. Cf. Cichorius, *Römische Studien*, 432 ff.

**Table 2.1 - Public inscriptions of Blaundos (Hellenistic period – first half of the third century AD).**

Inscription Reference	Date	Genre	Label	Dedicator	Alphabet
SEG 46 1491	I century B.C.	Religious	No	Philetairos	Greek
Von Saldern 2006b n.2	Flavian Era	Miscellanea	No	Gaius Mummius	Latin
CIG 3869a	Flavian Era	Honorary	No	C. Octavian	Latin
CIG 3869b	Flavian Era	Honorary	No	C. Menekrates	Greek
Von Saldern 2006b n.6	70 AD Vespasian	Honorary	No	C. Menekrates	Latin
Keil-Premerstein II nr. 269	Flavian Era	Honorary	No	Gaius Mummius	Latin
IGR IV 1698	Flavian Era	Honorary	No	Gaius Mummius	Greek
IGR IV 716	147/161 or 139/141 A.D.	Honorary	No	Flavia Magna (High Priest)	Greek
Von Saldern 2006b n.15	I century B.C.	Honorary decree	No	Demos	Greek
Ramsay 1883 n. 42	88 A.D. Domitian	Honorary	Roman	The Roman settlers	Greek
IGR IV 1487	Flavian Era	Honorary	No	Servants of Gaius Mummius	Greek
Von Saldern 2006b n.19	I century A.D.	Honorary	No	Slaves of Timotheus	Greek
Keil-Premerstein II nr. 273	II century A.D.	Honorary	No	Philokrates	Greek
CIG 3866	Severe Era After 212 A.D	Honorary decree	Macedonian	Demos and Boule	Greek
SEG 41 1017	227 A.D.	Honorary	No	Marcus Aurelius Timotheus (Archon)	Greek
SEG 41 1015	First half III century A.D.	Honorary	No	(Archon) Tiberius Claudius Alexander	Greek
Keil-Premerstein II 270	Flavian era	Honorary	?	Gerousia/Gaius Mummius?	Greek

We have evidence of only two honorary inscriptions dated to the late Hellenistic period or early Roman period, but they are really important because the civic institution of the *demos* is cited. One inscription was officiated by Philetairos, the priest of the cult of Athena Nikephoros and Homonia. He dedicated the stele to the “Athena, *Homonia* and the People”.<sup>147</sup> Before the word *demos* there is no

<sup>147</sup> *Αθηνᾶ τε καὶ Ὁμονοία ---- καὶ τῶ δήμοι* Lines 5-6. About the cult of Homonia, well attested in the Greek civic communities during the Hellenistic period, see Thériault 1996.

reference to a Macedonian label, and the text in this part of the inscription does not have missing letters.<sup>148</sup> The second Hellenistic/Early Roman inscription is a civic decree voted by the *demos* of Blaundos in honour of Ammia, the granddaughter of Theotimides. In this occasion the *demos* does not claim any type of label to define its ancestry and does not even use the adjective “Blaundeian” to define itself as a community. Interestingly, the name Theotimides also appears in four Hellenistic issues between the end of the second century BC and the beginning of the first century BC. In these coinages the community of Blaundos was still identified with the collective name of *Mlaundeon*.<sup>149</sup>

Of the 17 inscriptions reported in the table, nine date from the Flavian era. This confirms that the building activities increased significantly in that period, because eight of the Flavian honorary inscriptions resulted to be set to celebrate the erection of public buildings, such as the temples and the gymnasium.<sup>150</sup> There is no reference to the Macedonian ancestry or to another type of label in the Flavian inscriptions, except for one case. This apparently goes against the outcomes of the monetary survey. However, there are two facts to consider: first, the coinages made under the reign of Vespasian that present the Macedonian label were only the ones where the name of the proconsul of the province is presented. In the Flavian coinages that do not contain the proconsular initials, there is no trace of the Macedonian label. Was it this extraordinary circumstance that compelled the civic community to claim publicly a Macedonian ancestry? Secondly, most of the Flavian inscriptions appear to be erected by three private citizens: G. Mummius, C. Octavian and C. Menekrates. Only two were not erected by them, but they refer to G. Mummius. This means that these are a form of private benefactions, where there is not a civic community facing a Roman Imperial official authority. In my opinion, this explains the lack of identity claims.

Another interesting point is the presence of benefactors that use a double linguistic register. Gaius Mummius and Caius Menekrates erected public inscriptions both in Latin and in Greek. It is strong evidence of the presence of

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<sup>148</sup> SEG 46 1491 line 6.

<sup>149</sup> BMC *Lydia, Blaundos* 1-3; BMC *Lydia, Blaundos* 4; SNG Cop 65; BMC *Lydia, Blaundos* 5.

<sup>150</sup> See for example Keil-Premerstein II 270. It celebrates Mummius for having rebuilt the gymnasium.

the coexistence and of the mutual acceptance of the Latin and the Greek communities in Blaundos in a public space.

There is only one apparent exception in the use of labels dated to the Flavian era. It consists of an honorary inscription on a base of a statue found at Inay, a modern town very close to the archaeological site of Blaundos, dated to AD 88.<sup>151</sup> However, there are two consistent differences with the rest of the Flavian Public inscriptions reported. First, it was erected by a community that called itself with the name of “The Roman settlers of Nais”. Nais was a settlement which was included in the territory of Blaundos. It is the only evidence of the use of the Roman label to define a community ever discovered in this area. Secondly, two missing pieces of information do not allow a definitive conclusion about the lack of the Macedonian label:

- 1) The name of the person whom the Roman settlers of Nais honoured.
- 2) The other community which contributed to the erection of the inscription.

Indeed, the text of the fifth line, where the dedicators are cited, says: οἱ ἐν Νάει κατοικουντες Ῥωμαῖοί τε καί[.] - “The Roman settlers of Nais and also [vacat].”<sup>152</sup> The word κατοικοῦντες is followed by the two terms τε καί. After that, the rest of the text is missing, but it is highly likely that another community was cited.<sup>153</sup> This could be the Macedonian one, and the individual honoured is a Roman official. This one could be the Roman proconsul of Asia Asconius Italicus or another Roman authority who made benefactions for the two communities located in the territory of Blaundos. Thonemann even argues that the dedication was in honour of the emperor Domitian.<sup>154</sup> This might explain the use of the Roman label on this occasion. It remains a mere conjecture because of the missing part of the text, but the present inscription does not invalidate my theory about the use of the Macedonian label in the honorary inscriptions and in the coinages of the civic community of Blaundos.

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<sup>151</sup> Von Saldern 2006b, no.17, 331.

<sup>152</sup> IGR IV 713, l.5.

<sup>153</sup> Thonemann 2010, 169.

<sup>154</sup> Thonemann 2010, 169; according to this scholar, the other community cited should be Ἕλληνες – *the Greeks*.



According to the list carved on a stone found at Ephesus and reported also by Pliny the Elder, Blaundos was included in the *conventus* of Sardis.<sup>155</sup> This inscription is dated to the Flavian period, probably during the reign of Domitian: here the community is referred to as *Blaundhnoi*, without the reference to the Macedonian label.<sup>156</sup> However, it could be that the Macedonian label was first used in relation to the Roman governor Asconius Italicus just a decade earlier, so it still was not used consistently on the civic issues and on the honorary inscriptions at the time.

From the second century AD, only two public inscriptions survived. In the first case a certain Philokrates was honoured by the community of Blaundos with a statue, because of his patriotism. The text says:

[Φι]λοκράτ[ην] [Ἄν]τωνιανο[ῦ] [τ]ὸν φιλόπατ[ριν] ἡ πατρις. Τὴν ἀνάστασ[ιν] τοῦ ἀνδριάντος πυησαμ[έ]νου παρ'ἑαυτο[ῦ]

*The fatherland honoured the patriot Philokrates, son of Antonianus. The placement of the statue was cured by Philokrates himself.*<sup>157</sup>

We can see that the people of Blaundos honoured their own fellow citizen without referring to his ancestry. It is possible that Philokrates has Greek origins and that his father acquired the Roman citizenship under an Antonine emperor, as the name suggests. Within the public space limited to the members of the community of Blaundos, it seems that the claim of the Macedonian ancestry has no room. Philokrates is honoured because he is a “patriot” – φιλόπατρις, and the word “πατρις – “fatherland” included Greek, Macedonian and Italian settlers alike, without any reference to their ancestry.

The second inscription, dated to the second century AD, was made by the high priest named Flavia Magna. She honours the emperor Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus and Faustina in quality of high priest, but still it is an individual dedication, because she did not put the inscription on behalf of the civic community of Blaundos.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> *I. Ephesos* 13 = IGR IV 1276. Pliny, *N.H.*, 5,111. Cf. Habicht 1975, 64-91.

<sup>156</sup> *I. Ephesos* 13; Pliny, *N.H.*, 5,111; Habicht 1975, 66-67.

<sup>157</sup> Von Saldern 2006b, no.21,333; the first word is restored not as [Φι]λοκράτ[ην] but as [Καλ]λοκράτην according to Keil-Premmerstein, Keil – Premmerstein II, 149 no.273.

<sup>158</sup> IGR IV 716.

If we intersect the numismatic and the epigraphic data collected from Blaundos, it can be noted that there is a quantitative trend similar to the one of the monetary production: in the first half of the second century, during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, there are no numismatic and epigraphic evidence attested. The fourth group of the public inscriptions are all dated to the first half of the third century AD. Two of these inscription were erected again by individuals on their own behalf, although they both held the public office of archon; as a consequence, there is no reference to the overall community of Blaundos or to a claim of Macedonian ancestry.<sup>159</sup> One interesting thing is that the magistrate Marcus Aurelius Timotheus issued a civic coinage under the reign of Caracalla, without any reference to the Macedonian ancestry, while Tiberius Claudius Alexander issued one civic coinage with the double label “Blaundeians Macedonians”.<sup>160</sup>

The third unit of this last chronological group is the only honorary inscription that has the Macedonian label. It is important because it is a further proof of the use of the Macedonian label as a political tool by the civic institutions of Blaundos in relation to an official representative of the Roman Imperial power. It consists of a marble stone found at the modern site of Göbek and allegedly brought there from the nearby Sülümenli, that is the modern site of Blaundos, according to Hamilton (Appendix 1.3).<sup>161</sup> It dates from the Severan period, as we will see.

The text says:

Βλαουνδέων ἰ Μακεδόνων ἰ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ ἰ δῆμος τὸν ἀγνότατον ἰ Γ. Ασίν(ιον)  
 Ἰουλιανόν, τὸν κράτιστον ὕδν Γ. Ασιν(ίου) Προτείμου ἰ Κουρδάτου ἰ ὑπα-  
 τικοῦ, τὸν ἰ ἐν πᾶσιν εὐεργέτην καὶ κτίστην ἰ τῆς πόλεως, ἰ ἐπιμελησαμένου  
 Αὐ[ρ]. Γλύκωνος β' [τ]οῦ Νίγρου.

*The council and the people of the Blaundeians Macedonians (honoured) the most honest C. Asinius Iulianus, the mightiest son of the consul C. Asinius Protimus Quadratus, benefactor in all the things and founder of the city, Aurelius Glykon, son of Glykon, the son of Niger.*

<sup>159</sup> SEG 41 1015; SEG 41 1017.

<sup>160</sup> For the coinage issued by Timotheus, see SNG Cop 96; about the issue under Tiberius Claudius Alexander, the legend of the coin says ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚ ΕΠΙ ΤΙ ΚΛ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΑΡ Α ΤΟ Β. Ph. Ledere 60/1 1925 201 and BMC *Lydia, Blaundos* 81-82.

<sup>161</sup> IGR IV. 717 = CIG 3866 = Ramsay *CP I*, 611 n.514; Hamilton, *Researches*, I: 124, 130 ff.

The inscription cites Asinius Protimus Quadratus, consul during the third century AD.<sup>162</sup> However, the strongest hint of a date is the name of the magistrate who is honoured in the civic decree: his son, Asinius Iulianus. This figure was the proconsul of the province of Asia in the second quarter of the third century AD, between 212 and 235 AD.<sup>163</sup> It appears that the civic institutions of Blaundos explicitly expressed their claim of Macedonian ancestry when a direct intervention of the Roman proconsul was involved in the city, as it happened with the civic coinages issued under the name of the proconsul Asconius Silius Italicus at the time of Vespasian. As a matter of fact, this is the only inscription related to Blaundos where the office of proconsul is cited. The name of Aurelius Glykon appears as the official issuing authority in seven of the nine civic coinages issued under the reign of Philip I (244/249 AD). In the coinages he held the charge of archon, with the name of Aurelius Glykon Niger III.<sup>164</sup>

In this honorary inscription is the celebration of the consul Asinius, “founder and benefactor of the city”, that attests to direct benefactions by this high rank Roman official in favour of Blaundos. The present inscription confirms that the Macedonian label was used in relation to representatives of Roman authority in the region, such as the proconsular governor. In these cases, the civic institutions of Blaundos claimed to be Macedonian. The community of Blaundos recognized and honoured the son of one high rank Roman official who was a benefactor of the city. This seems to have triggered the memory of being Macedonian colonists, despite the civic elite of Blaundos was a mixed community of Greek freedmen, free Greeks and Italian wealthy residents at the time. The name of the archon Glykonis Niger is revealing. All the seven civic issues minted under his son, Glykonis III, have the Macedonian label on the reverse.<sup>165</sup> Despite the fact that only this honorary inscription can be classified as a public document made by the *Demos* and the *Boule* in the Roman Imperial period, it is a strong evidence in support of the interpretative theory assumed in the analysis of the monetary production.

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<sup>162</sup> Pros. Imp. Rom. I, p.168, n. 1029.

<sup>163</sup> Cf. Hermann, 1993, 262 ff.

<sup>164</sup> See for example BMC *Lydia*, *Blaundos* 84-85.

<sup>165</sup> For example, on the reverse of a civic coinage issued under Glykon the legend presents the spelling: ΕΠ ΑΥΡ ΓΛΥΚΩΝΟC Γ ΝΙΓΡ ΑΡΧ ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚ, BMC *Lydia*, *Blaundos* 86.

### **2.3 Conclusion: the use of the Macedonian label in Blaundos in the Roman Imperial period as an example of “triggered identity”.**

We can now answer the three main questions presented in the introduction. Thanks to the epigraphic and numismatic analysis, it can be assumed that the Macedonian label became a useful tool for Blaundos only under the Roman imperial regime and exclusively for political reasons. I mean by this statement that the Macedonian label compares only as a civic self-definition, or self-image, of the community of Blaundos vis-à-vis Roman Empire, probably from the reign of Vespasian onwards. Indeed, there is no trace of Macedonian label nor on honorary inscriptions or civic decrees, nor on civic coins dated to the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods. The Macedonian ancestry seems to be claimed by the civic institutions of Blaundos only in relation to Roman imperial officials that have intervened directly in the administration of the urban settlement. First, this is demonstrated by the civic coins struck under the name of the proconsul Asconios Silius Italicus and by the civic issues with the personification of the Roman Senate. There is always on these issues the double label *Blaundeians Macedonians*. Secondly, the Macedonian label is used in the only civic decree remaining that dates from the Roman Imperial period. There, the council and the popular Assembly of Blaundos claimed to be Macedonian while they are honouring the proconsul of Asia Asinius Protinus, probably responsible for some benefactions to the city.

This permits us to also answer the second question presented in the introduction of the chapter. The civic community of Blaundos used the Macedonian label only in relation to Roman authority. Why did Blaundos claim a Macedonian ancestry instead of a Greek one, as other Phrygian cities did in the Roman Imperial period? This could be explained by the fact that the first Greek speaking settlers arrived at Blaundos were probably Macedonian soldiers. They could have inhabited a garrison placed in the Luwian town called “Mlaundos” at the beginning of the third century BC. The memory of the Macedonian garrison survived the centuries, so I argue that the use of Macedonian label by Blaundos represents not a case of “fictitious or imagined ancestry” but rather of a “triggered identity”.

The claim of Macedonian ancestry cannot be viewed separately from the political relationship with Rome at the time. The intervention of the Roman administration

in the minting and in the public building activity triggered the local authorities to claim ancestry that did not correspond with the components of the civic community of Blaundos in reality. The honorary inscriptions of the Roman period reveal the presence of rich Italian and Greek freedmen as benefactors of the city, who call Blaundos simply “fatherland”, without any ethnic connotation. However, the local civic institutions that represented them chose the status of “Macedonians”, in order to be a worthy treaty partner of Rome.<sup>166</sup> It seems that epigraphic and numismatic evidence reveal that the claim of Macedonian ancestry by Blaundos is a case study of public triggered self-definition in front of a strong external authority. The community of Blaundos became proud of being Macedonian in front of the Roman Imperial power, in order to claim symbolically its local civic autonomy and at the same time to strengthen its cultural and political ties with Rome. Indeed, the Macedonian ancestry was related to the memory of the Macedonian soldiers who once inhabited Blaundos but also to Alexander the Great, a figure strongly admired and respected by Roman Emperors, as we will see in the following chapters.

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<sup>166</sup> An interesting parallel is constituted by the case of the Batavians. See Roymans 2009, 219 – 238.

## Chapter 3: the case study of Hyrkanis in Lydia.

### 3.1 Introduction

The remains of a settlement associated with ancient Hyrkanis are located at the modern town of Halitpaşaköi, Turkey, in the western part of the ancient region of Lydia.<sup>167</sup> The present chapter aims to trace and analyse the presence of the Macedonian label and Macedonian iconography in relation to the civic community of Hyrkanis, from the Hellenistic period until the Roman Imperial period. What historical factors triggered this community located in Lydia, a region in the western part of Asia Minor, to define itself or be defined through the Macedonian label? Why did this phenomenon occur especially from the reign of Tiberius onwards, as the evidence suggests? It will be argued, among the possible interpretations, that the appearance of the Macedonian label on inscriptions from Hyrkanis was probably triggered by the relationship between the Hyrkanian civic institutions and Roman imperial authority, similar to what has been argued for the case of Blaundos in Phrygia. Could it be that the Macedonian label gained a specific political value due to the fascination of several Roman emperors for the figure of Alexander? Or did Hyrkanis use the Macedonian label to define itself in order to be connected to the ancient Macedonians, perceived as its ancestors? The chapter will try to understand why the emergence of the Macedonian label on civic decrees and civic coins issued by the city of Hyrkanis occurred in the same period that many Greek cities of Asia Minor became particularly concerned with being *eugenes* – *well born*. The expression was used on coins of cities of Asia Minor in the Roman Imperial period. For example, Aigiai in Cilicia claims to have “the most noble Macedonian ancestry” on an issue dated to the reign of Caracalla.<sup>168</sup> Did Hyrkanis want to affirm its prominence in the provincial hierarchy among its surrounding communities by using the Macedonian label?

We have seen in the general introduction how the antiquity of ancestry was important for Greek communities in the Roman province of Asia. The hypothesis to test here is whether the settlement of Hyrkanis used the Macedonian label to assert a Macedonian ancestry because it was influenced by the trend that

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<sup>167</sup> Cohen 1995, 210.

<sup>168</sup> For the coin from Aigiai with the legend MAKEΔONIKHC EYΓENΠICTHC, see NYS XIV, 167; *Auktionskatalog G. Kastner* (Munich) Auktion 4, November 1973, no.165; P. Weiss (1979) 552 n.26; Weiss (1982) 198 and n.22.

occurred in the province. If so, would that mean that Hyrkanis wanted to affirm an identity as part of Greek cultural family, within which Macedonian affiliations would have been included at the time? What was the convenience of having a Macedonian ancestry for the civic institutions in the Roman Imperial period? Why did Hyrkanis not choose a label traditionally considered as Greek, for example an Athenian or Achaean one, in comparison with the other neighbouring communities?

The chapter is framed in three different sections, which analyse respectively the numismatic, epigraphic and literary evidence about Hyrkanis. The first section of the chapter is dedicated to the monetary production and how the self-representation of the civic institution of Hyrkanis was reflected on the coinage. Macedonian iconography or legends with the Macedonian label did not appear on coins in the Hellenistic and Roman Republican periods. It will be shown that the Macedonian label on coins of Hyrkanis appeared for the first time in the Roman Imperial period, and it became consistently used during the Antonine and Severan dynasties. The quantitative analysis of the Macedonian label on coins throughout the centuries is expressed in several diagrams and graphs.

The second section of the chapter collects the epigraphic evidence relevant for the analysis of the Macedonian label at Hyrkanis from the Hellenistic period until the Roman Imperial period. The change in the terminology used by the civic community of Hyrkanis for its self-representation in the honorary inscriptions may suggest a coexistence of different triggers. Could one of them be the special circumstances created by the relationship with the Roman Imperial power? Although the epigraphic evidence shows that the Macedonian label was already being used to define some groups within Hyrkanis in the Hellenistic period, it seems that it was related only to specific individuals at that time. Those labelled as Macedonians were usually incomers, and this term was not used to define the civic community of Hyrkanis as a whole. Therefore, did the Macedonian label on the inscriptions of the Hellenistic period have a different meaning in respect to the one revealed by the inscriptions of the Roman Imperial period? All the honorary inscriptions of the Roman Imperial period from Hyrkanis present the Macedonian label to define the city itself or its official representatives. The section provides possible connections between the figure of Alexander the Great, the ancient

Macedonians and the self-promotion by the civic institutions of Hyrkanis in relation to the Roman Imperial power.

The third section of the chapter focusses on how the community of Hyrkanis is presented in the ancient literary tradition in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It will be explored diachronically: what are the terms used by the ancient authors to define Hyrkanis as a whole? Was the community of Hyrkanis associated with the presence of settlers or other individuals and groups labelled as Macedonian? After this, I will investigate why the Macedonian label may have been of interest to Roman emperors and how it could be related with the community of Hyrkanis. This will provide the historical contextualization essential to analyse the importance of the use of the Macedonian label in relation with the Roman imperial authority and why this appears on the numismatic and the epigraphic evidence from the settlement of Hyrkanis. From this section it will be argued that the earliest appearance of the Macedonian label related to the civic community of Hyrkanis is strictly connected to the benefactions granted by Tiberius after the disastrous earthquake of AD 17.

The analysis of the literary tradition along with the numismatic and the epigraphic evidence notes for Hyrkanis a pattern of representation in the Roman Imperial period that is different to previous periods. This is shown by the appearance of a particular use of the Macedonian label on coins, iconography and epigraphic texts. In assessing reasons for this pattern, it will be investigated to what extent this was triggered by links with Rome, or by competition with other cities in the province of Asia, or by other events related to the local tradition of Hyrkanis. As such, the interest of some of the Imperial powers, or emperors in Rome, in Alexander and the Macedonians will be assessed. We may not have enough evidence to conclude whether the use of the Macedonian label was a conscious and strategic decision, but the fact that these trends coalesce is in itself telling.



**Figure 3.1: Map of the region of Hyrkanis.<sup>169</sup>**



### **3.2. The development of the civic coinages of Hyrkanis and the presence of the Macedonian label.**

The present analysis shows how the term used to define the community of Hyrkanis changed in the civic coinages from the Roman Republican period to the Roman Imperial period. In the Republican and early Roman Imperial period (first century BC – first century AD) the evidence shows that the community of Hyrkanis was defined with a Greek term in genitive case: YPKANΩN - “(the city of) the Hyrkanians”.<sup>170</sup> Then, from the second half of the first century AD, with the earliest coinage dated with certainty to the reign of Trajan, the civic issues of Hyrkanis started to present in various forms the double label YPKANΩN MAKEΔONΩN – “(the city of) the Hyrkanians Macedonians” (see Appendix 2.5).<sup>171</sup> From the numismatic evidence it appears that the civic community used this double label

<sup>169</sup> The image is a section of a map compiled by R.J.A. Talbert, B. Turner, J.A. Becker, R. Horne and R. Twele with the assistance of A. Blackburn. With the permission of the Ancient World Mapping Centre (<http://awmc.unc.edu/wordpress/>).

<sup>170</sup> See *BMC Lydia, Hyrkanis* 6-9.

<sup>171</sup> See *RPC III 1951* for the earliest coinage with the Macedonian label. About the issues with the double label, see for example *BMC Lydia, Hyrkanis* 17;18;22.

to define itself quite consistently until the end of the local monetary production, in the first half of the third century AD. The remaining evidence suggests that there was a proportional increase of the use of the double label “Hyrkanians Macedonians” on coins at the time of Commodus and Philip the Arab. As a cautionary statement on the numismatic analysis, it should be said that the sample size examined is not consistent enough for all the chronological periods to make definitive conclusions, but only to make prudent interpretations. New discoveries may change some interpretative patterns, but it is still relevant to test my hypothesis by the analysis of the present evidence.

The sample of the coins analysed consists of 67 issues, all dated to the Roman period. Nine issues date to the period between the first century BC and the first century AD, while the vast majority, 58 issues, date from the reign of Trajan (98-117 AD) to the reign of Philip the Arab (244-249 AD).<sup>172</sup> The pattern of the use of the Macedonian label in the civic coins is similar to the one observed for the city of Blandos for two reasons. First, the Macedonian label is not used at all in the nine civic issues from the first century BC to the first century AD. Second, its use on coins increases together with the inclusion of Macedonian symbols like the shield in the period of the Antonine dynasty and the short rule of Philip the Arab, when the Roman empire was involved in military campaigns against the Parthians and the Sasanians. As for Blandos, the scarcity of coins dated to the early Roman period does not allow to argue with certainty that the Macedonian label was not used at the time. However, it will be shown that the increase of its presence on coins minted in the Roman Imperial period suggests a more systematic (re)use by the civic community of Hyrkanis.

There are no remaining civic coinages from Hyrkanis attested for the early or late Hellenistic period (fourth – second century BC). This is another obstacle for the analysis on the use of the Macedonian label. At least since the middle of the second century BC, Hyrkanis was probably a *polis*, as demonstrated by civic decrees issued at the time and further examined in the epigraphic section. It is likely that the civic community issued its own coins together with the decrees, as

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<sup>172</sup> Most of the coins analysed are recorded in the BMC *Lydia* and the third volume of RPC, available online at <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/search/browse?q=Hyrkanis>. Another site where the coins from Hyrkanis is <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/lydia/hyrkanis/i.html>.

the former are another sign of being a city. Due to the lack of evidence, it is not known what terms could have been used to define the community of Hyrkanis on its coins before the inclusion in the Roman province of Asia (130 BC). I argue that the Macedonian label was not displayed on these issues, also because legends were rare on civic coins minted by other Lydian and Phrygian communities in the Attalid period, apart from a few exceptions.<sup>173</sup> The surviving civic decrees do not show the Macedonian label associated with Hyrkanis. This could be another hint of the fact that it was not displayed on coins in the Hellenistic period, but it remains a simple conjecture without further evidence.

For the first century of Roman domination, there are only three civic issues that could be dated with certainty to the first century BC. Two have on the obverse the helmeted and draped bust of Athena, with the aegis and on the reverse, one has the mythical hero Telephos, while the other has a lion walking on the right. There is no legend on the obverse of these two issues, while on the reverse the label used to define the community of Hyrkanis is in the genitive case: YPKANΩN – (*the city*) of the Hyrkanians.<sup>174</sup> The third issue dated to the first century BC period has similar features apart from one iconographic detail. On the obverse there is the head of a young Herakles instead of Athena. On the reverse there is again Telephos and the legend YPKANΩN.<sup>175</sup> The remaining six issues issued earlier than the second century AD are considered more difficult to date with accuracy. They could date from the first century BC to the first century AD. However, they have iconographic features consistent with the three issues dated to the first century BC. On the obverse there is the head of either Athena or Herakles, on the reverse a lion or a stag. The legend on the reverse is always YPKANΩN.<sup>176</sup> It seems from this scarce evidence that no Macedonian label or Macedonian symbols were associated with the self-representation of Hyrkanis on the earliest coins surviving from the site. They are dated to the Roman Republican period and possibly the Julio-Claudian period. It could be argued that the Macedonian label was not associated with Hyrkanis, at least on the civic coins, but it should be noted that the sample size is quite small.

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<sup>173</sup> See Thonemann 2013b, 30-33.

<sup>174</sup> BMC *Lydia, Hyrkanis* 7, 8.

<sup>175</sup> BMC *Lydia, Hyrkanis* 6.

<sup>176</sup> BMC *Lydia, Hyrkanis* 9; Mionnet IV, 320; SNG Cop 207; SNG Fitz 4863; Waddington 5035, 5038.

Before analysing the presence of the Macedonian label or Macedonian symbols on coins in the Roman Imperial period, we have to divide the remaining 67 issues of Hyrkanis into two different categories, depending on the object depicted on the obverse. The first group is constituted by 27 civic issues without an imperial portrait, called by the modern scholarship “autonomous” civic issues. The second group consists of 40 civic issues that have the portrait of a member of the Imperial dynasty on the obverse. This division is necessary as the autonomous civic issues cannot be always dated with the same precision as the issues presenting a Roman emperor or empress on the obverse.

### **3.2.1 The autonomous civic issues: River god and the Sacred Senate.**

There are 27 civic issues from Hyrkanis without an imperial portrait. Seven “autonomous” issues display the Macedonian label in three different forms, always in Greek genitive plural and combined with the term YPKANΩN, “Hyrkanians”:<sup>177</sup>

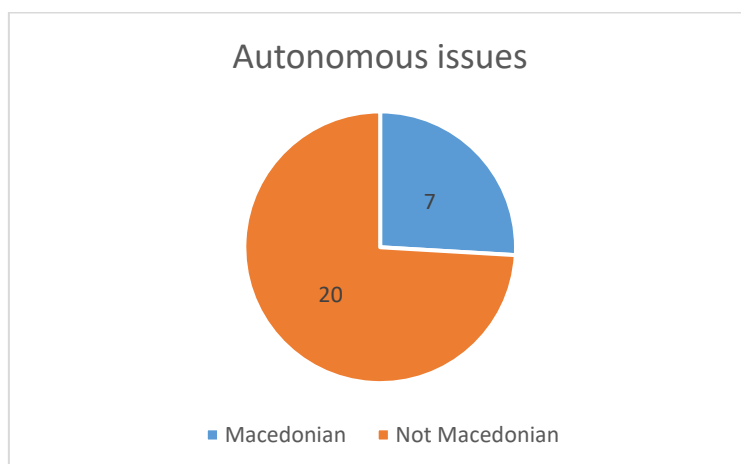
- 1) Greek genitive plural on the obverse of the coin: MAKEΔONΩN. On the reverse there is the Greek genitive plural YPKANΩN.
- 2) Greek genitive plural on the reverse of the coin: YPKANΩN. On the obverse there is the Greek genitive plural MAKEΔONΩN.
- 3) Abbreviated double label on the reverse of the coins: YPKANΩ MAKE.

The proportion of the coins with the Macedonian label in respect of the rest of the autonomous issues is presented in the pie chart (figure 3.2), where the blue segment represents the “Macedonian” type and the orange segment the “Not Macedonian” type.

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<sup>177</sup> BMC *Lydia Hyrkanis* 1-3; Falter 459; Imhoof LS 1; Svoronos 236; Waddington 5039.

**Figure 3.2: the Macedonian and Non-Macedonian autonomous civic issues**



The coins with a Macedonian label consist only of 26% of the autonomous issues. The remaining 76%, composed of issues without the Macedonian label and called “Not Macedonian”, always has the simple label  $\Upsilon\text{ΡΚΑΝΩΝ}$  (“the Hyrkanians”) on the reverse, except for three cases. One “Not Macedonian” issue has the double label  $\Upsilon\text{ΡΚΑΝΩΝ ΠΙΔΑΚΟC}$  (“Hyrkanians Pidasos”) on the reverse and is dated to the second century AD.<sup>178</sup> Pidasos was the name of a local river, probably worshipped as deity patron of Hyrkanis. Two “Not Macedonian” issues have respectively  $\text{ΕΠΙ Α ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΟΥC ΥΡΚΑΝΩΝ}$  (“under the supervision of the archon Ermogenes”) and  $\text{ΕΠ CΤΡΑ ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΟΥC ΥΡΚΑΝΩΝ}$  (“under the supervision of the strategos Ermogenes”) on the reverse.<sup>179</sup> These two issues were minted probably under the authority of this civic magistrate and are dated to 244/249 AD.

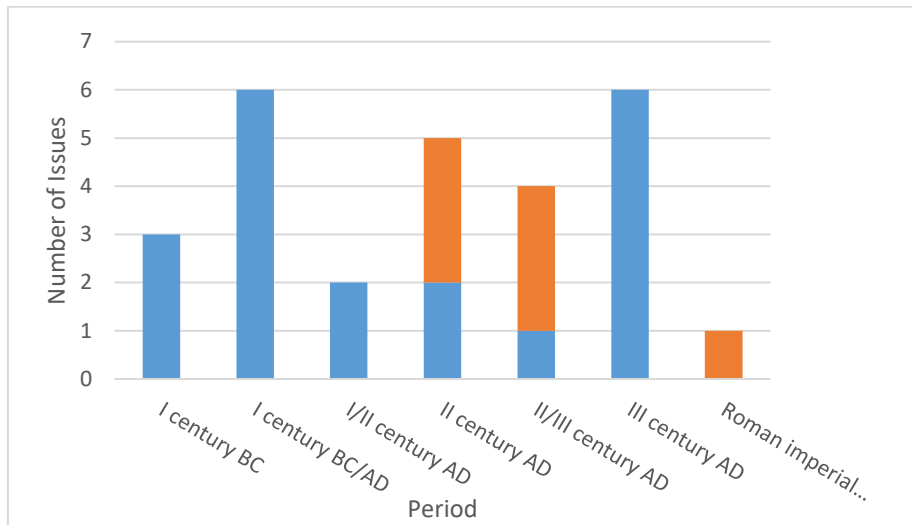
It is necessary to divide the autonomous issues chronologically to conduct a critical analysis. It is better to show the autonomous issues divided by century, with the two subcategories of “Macedonian” and “Not Macedonian”. This following graph (figure 3.3) shows how all the remaining coins with a Macedonian label date from the second century or between the second and early third century AD, except for one issue catalogued by the British Museum as “Roman Imperial” that cannot be dated with more accuracy.<sup>180</sup> The proportions of “Macedonian” are in orange and “not Macedonian” in blue respectively.

<sup>178</sup> Imhoof FG 314.

<sup>179</sup> Waddington 5040; BMC *Lydia Hyrkanis* 10.

<sup>180</sup> BMC *Lydia Hyrkanis* 1.

**Figure 3.3. Macedonian and non-Macedonian issues of Hyrkanis by century.**



**Orange: Macedonian issues**

**Blue: Non-Macedonian issues**

We have already seen that nine autonomous civic issues without the Macedonian label all date from the first century BC or the beginning of the first century AD. In all the autonomous issues of this period the city name carved on the reverse is always YPKANΩN, without any reference to a claim of Macedonian identity, including the iconography. In one case there is carved the short version of the term Hyrkanians: YPKAN.<sup>181</sup> Instead, the two groups of autonomous issues of the second century and early third century AD have the highest percentage of Macedonian issues, with 3 out of 5 and 3 out of 4 respectively. The first century AD and the early second century AD do not have any presence of the Macedonian label. The undated “Macedonian” autonomous issue has the figure of Nike advancing and the legend obliterated (probably YRKANΩN) on the obverse, while on the reverse the legend is MAKEΔONΩN with the Macedonian shield.<sup>182</sup> What kind of iconography was associated with the civic autonomous coinages with the Macedonian label?

The six autonomous coinages with the Macedonian label that date between the second and the early third century AD were plausibly issued under the Antonine and Severan dynasties (98-225 AD). Two of them present the term MAKEΔONΩN

<sup>181</sup> SNG Cop 207 = Imhoof KM 1 = Paris 547. For the other five issues dated before Tiberius, see Mionnet IV, 320; SNG Fitz 4863; Waddington 5035, 5037, 5038.

<sup>182</sup> BMC *Lydia Hyrkanis* 1.

on the obverse and then the word YRKANΩN on the reverse. The iconography of both is Dionysiac. On the obverse there is a mask or a face of Silenus. On the reverse, one has a naked satyr while the other a snake emerging from a basket.<sup>183</sup> The abbreviated form of the double label YPKANΩ MAKE is associated with the reverse of three issues. Those have the personification of the Roman Senate on the obverse, with the Greek legend IEPA CYNKΛHTOC, *the Sacred Senate*. On the reverse, they have the image of the local river god Pidasos (see figure 3.4 on this page).<sup>184</sup> The last issue of the group presents the turreted bust of Tyche on the obverse with the legend YRKANΩN, and on the reverse the legend MAKEΔONΩN with the personification of the city of Hyrkanis itself, wearing a *kalathos*.<sup>185</sup>

**Figure 3.4: the “Senate type” civic issues** (Waddington 5039, I/II century AD).

Obverse: Bare headed, draped bust of the Roman Senate.

Legend: IEPA CYNKΛHTOC *Sacred Senate*

Reverse: River-god reclining left, holding reed, resting arm on urn from which waters flow.

Legend: YPKANΩ MAKE (*the city of the Hyrkani(ans) Mace(donians)*)



It seems that the Macedonian label on the autonomous civic coins appears to be associated with the personification of the Roman Senate, the personification of Nike, the figure of Silenus and finally the personification of the civic community of Hyrkanis. It appears from the graphs that the community of Hyrkanis identified itself on its coins with the simple term YRKANΩN during the Roman republican period and during the first century AD. The Macedonian label appears on the autonomous civic coins that date from the second century AD at the earliest. It is relevant to note here that the Macedonian label is frequently associated with Hyrkanis on the coins that show on the obverse the portrait of the Roman Senate together with the representation of the local river god Pidasos on the reverse.

<sup>183</sup> BMC *Lydia, Hyrkanis* 2; Imhoof LS 1.

<sup>184</sup> Falter 459; Svoronos 236; Waddington 5039.

<sup>185</sup> BMC *Lydia Hyrkanis* 1, 3.

There are seven civic autonomous issues of Hyrkanis that have the personification of the deified Senate on the obverse. Their *terminus post quem* is 23 AD, because we know that the official worship of the Senate was officially established in the province of Asia in this year by Tiberius.<sup>186</sup> Three of the autonomous civic issues of the “Senate type” have the possible earliest attestation on the coins of the double label “Hyrkanians Macedonians” associated with Hyrkanis. They may date from the first half of the second century AD, during the reign of Trajan or Hadrian. On their obverse there is the bare-headed, draped bust of the Senate right; on the reverse, the river-god Pidasos reclining left, holding reed, resting left arm on an overturned urn from which waters flows.<sup>187</sup> The representation of the river-god was common from the second century AD onwards on the civic coins of Lydian and Phrygian communities. At least 22 different centres of those regions have this personification on their issues, including Blaundos and Hyrkanis. The depiction of the river-god looks standardised across Lydia and Phrygia. Indeed, it usually consists of the river god reclining left, holding a reed and resting the left arm on an overturned urn from which water flows. The river-god type coins are attested from the reign of Domitian until the first half of the third century AD, with a peak of this type of iconography in the Antonine-Severan dynasty.<sup>188</sup>

The iconography of the reclining river-god is a creation of the Hellenistic period, probably originating in Alexandria in Egypt in the third century BC.<sup>189</sup> It symbolizes the fertility and life-giving powers of water, through a pose associated with feasting and fertility.<sup>190</sup> In most of the civic issues with a river god on the reverse, the main personifications on the obverse are the Roman Senate, the Tyche that is the personification of the city itself and the Demos. For example, the nine issues of Blaundos with the river god always present on the reverse the personification of the Demos of the city.<sup>191</sup> Hyrkanis follows the trend of associating the iconography of the Roman Senate with the local river god. The

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<sup>186</sup> Tacitus, *Annales* IV.37.3

<sup>187</sup> Falter 459; Waddington 5039; Paris 554. The legend on the obverse says IEP A CYNK AHTOC.

<sup>188</sup> Campbell 2012, 322-329.

<sup>189</sup> Gais 1978, 355-370. Before the river god was usually represented as a bull on the coinages, especially in the issues of the Greek city states in South of Italy made in the fourth century BC.

<sup>190</sup> Gais 1978, 355-370.

<sup>191</sup> See for example BMC *Lydia Blaundos* 50, 51, 53.



five civic autonomous issues with the river-god Pidasos on the reverse have the Roman Senate on the obverse. We have seen that three of them present the legend on the reverse with the double label “Hyrkanians Macedonians”. In another one the legend on the reverse is simply YPKANΩN ΠΙΔΑCOC – (the city of) the Hyrkanians Pidasos. The local river god, like the Macedonian label, seems to be used on the autonomous coins of Hyrkanis to assert the local identity in relation with the most representative Roman institution of the province.<sup>192</sup> Campbell argues that carving the name or the figure of the river god was not only a sign of worship but also a claim of “regional” or local identity. The rivers were important for the cities in the province of Asia because most of the commercial routes such as the fertility of the lands were granted by their presence.<sup>193</sup> Thonemann also demonstrates that the inhabitants of Magnesia on the Meander chose names beginning in Μavδpo- during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, as they “chose or inherited for their epichoric predecessors - a mark of the extent to which Magnesian civic identity was connected to the city's location beside and historical domination over the river Maeander”.<sup>194</sup>

The inhabitants of Blaundos and Hyrkanis, living respectively in the valleys of the rivers Hipporios and Pidasos, could not survive without them. We could say that the city of Hyrkanis was “a gift of the Pidasos” as Alexandria of Egypt was a “gift of the Nile”.<sup>195</sup> The river was a symbol useful to be recognized by neighbouring communities and Roman authorities alike in a defined geographical space. Campbell notes that the civic communities in the province of Asia “had perhaps a greater sense of shared common identity with the river valleys than was usual in parochial Greek city-states. The river name was a significant source of identification for local communities, as well as the name of the city-state”.<sup>196</sup> According to Thonemann, the cities of Western Asia Minor, among which I would

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<sup>192</sup> SNG Munich 175; Righetti Coll. Sale IV, 753 (this coin); RPC III 1960. On the reverse of the coin there is the legend YPKANΩN, with the figure of the river-god Pidasos reclining left, holding cornucopia, resting left arm on overturned urn from which waters flow.

<sup>193</sup> Campbell 2012, 320-326.

<sup>194</sup> Thonemann 2006, 39.

<sup>195</sup> An ideal connection between the Nile and the Meander river is suggested also by the personal name “Neilomandros”, found in a votive inscription at Naucratis, dated to the early sixth century BC. Thonemann argues that this name “unites the two greatest rivers of Archaic Ionia: the Maeander, source of the agricultural wealth of Miletos and Magnesia, and in the pre-Achaemenid era by far the most important route from the Ionian coast to the Anatolian interior, and the Nile, commercial artery of Egypt, and the heart of the Ionian New World of the late seventh and early sixth centuries BC”, Thonemann 2006, 41.

<sup>196</sup> Campbell 2012, 325. Theory also supported by Thonemann. See Thonemann 2006, 36-43.

include Hyrkanis and Blaundos, could define themselves by toponyms proper to a geographical network dominated by rivers rather than by labels implying ethnicities.<sup>197</sup> The river certainly gave a strong sense of spatial identity and belonging: the citizens of Magnesia on the Meander called themselves “Meander dwellers”.<sup>198</sup> In a similar way, the coins of Blaundos dated to the second and third century AD displayed the river god Hipporious as directly related to the civic body of the city. All the civic issues of Blaundos with the river god on the reverse have on the obverse the personification of the *demos*, the local popular assembly.<sup>199</sup>

Campbell argues that this kind of native cult was “unaffected” by the Roman presence. In the cases of Hyrkanis and Blaundos however, this may not be the case. In the first instance, the iconography of the river god is never associated with the civic issues of Hyrkanis and Blaundos in the Hellenistic and Roman republican period. Secondly, it seems that the civic community of Hyrkanis changed the representation of the river god on coins with the portrait of a specific Roman emperor on the obverse. This could suggest a connection between the expression of local identity represented by the river god and the Roman Imperial authority. The present iconographic change was unique to the issued minted on behalf of Hyrkanis, as we will see in the section dedicated to the coins with the imperial portrait.

The appearance of the Macedonian label on the civic autonomous issues of Hyrkanis shows two similarities with the trends also found at Blaundos: the association with the Roman Senate and the personification of the local river god. Like Blaundos, Hyrkanis could issue the “Senate type” coinages only with imperial approval.<sup>200</sup> I suggest that the worship of an institution related to the Roman imperial authority was one of the triggers behind the necessity for the civic institutions of Hyrkanis to claim expressly the Macedonian identity of the city. This was showcased on the Senate type coins with the double label “city of the Hyrkanians Macedonians”. The coins with the Roman Senate and the river god may constitute a way to publicly express the allegiance of Hyrkanis and Blaundos to the Roman Imperial authority, represented by the Senate in the province,

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<sup>197</sup> Thonemann 2006, 41.

<sup>198</sup> Campbell 2012, 324. See also Thonemann 2006, 36-43.

<sup>199</sup> See for example SNG Mü 83-84; BMC Lydia, Blaundos 50-52.

<sup>200</sup> Erskine 1997, 34.

together with the exaltation of their own local identity. The remaining three autonomous civic issues with the Macedonian label from Hyrkanis without the image of the Roman Senate were produced in the Antonine and Severan era (138-235 AD). This was an historical moment when the Macedonian label also appears consistently on the issues with the Roman Imperial portrait.

### 3.2.2 The civic issues with the Roman Imperial portrait

The Roman civic issues with the imperial portrait catalogued are 40 in total.<sup>201</sup> Of these, thirteen have a symbol connected to Macedonian identity, like the label or the shield. Eleven present the Macedonian label associated with the city name on the reverse, usually in the genitive plural and carved in different forms:

- 1) YPKANΩN MAKEΔONΩN - *Hyrkanians Macedonians*
- 2) YPKANΩN MAKEΔ - *Hyrkanians Maced(onians)*
- 3) MAKEΔ, YPKANΩN - *Maced(onians) Hyrkanians*
- 4) MA YPKANΩ – *Ma(cedonians) Hyrkania(ns)*

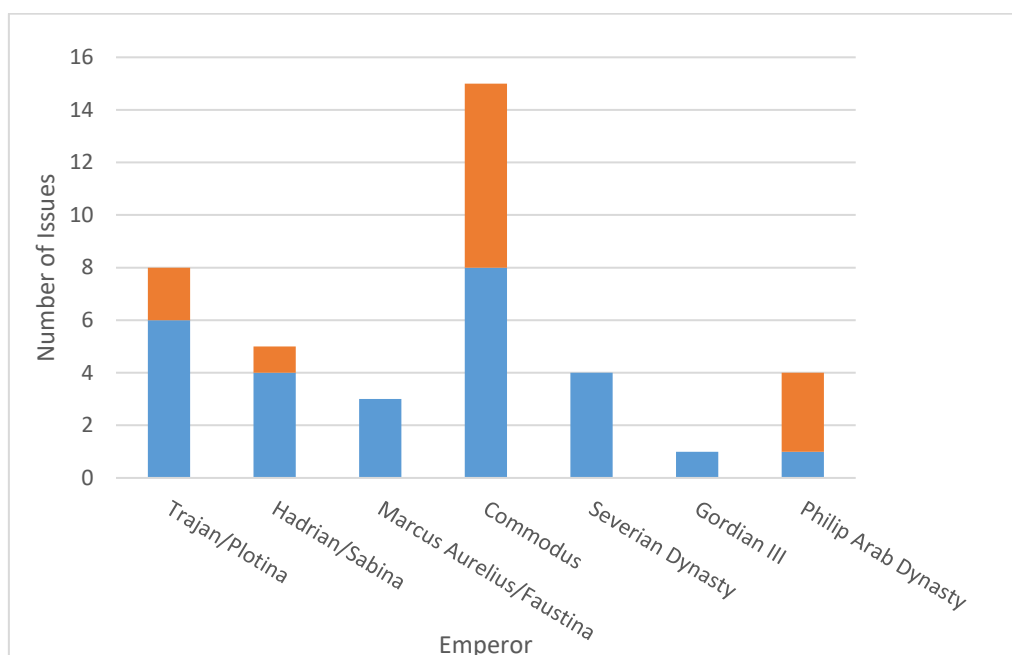
It seems that the order of how the terms “Hyrkanians” and “Macedonians” are presented could change without a meaning attached to it. The remaining two issues without the Macedonian label have on the reverse a clear Macedonian iconographic element: the river-god Pidasos is portrayed reclining on a Macedonian shield.<sup>202</sup> The following graph indicates the number of issues for each emperor, and the presence of a Macedonian label on the legend or an element proper of the Macedonian iconography like the shield. The colour orange indicates the “Macedonian” issues, the colour blue the issues without any Macedonian element:

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<sup>201</sup> See RPC, BMC collections and <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/lydia/hyrkanis/i.html>.

<sup>202</sup> BMC *Lydia, Hyrkanis* 24, 25.

**Figure 3.5: The Macedonian label on the coins with the Roman Imperial portraits**



**Orange: Macedonian issues**

**Blue: non-Macedonian issues**

**Trajan and Plotina** (98-117 AD) – 2 issues with the Macedonian label on the legend of the reverse, in two forms: a) ANΘΥ ΜΑΡΤΙΑ ΜΑ ΥΡΚΑΝΩ; b) ΥΡΚΑΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ.<sup>203</sup>

**Hadrian and Sabina** (117-138 AD) – 1 issue with the Macedonian label on the legend of the reverse: ANΘΥ ΚΥΙΗ[ΤΩ Υ]ΡΚΑΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕ.<sup>204</sup>

**Marcus Aurelius and Faustina Minor** (161-180 AD) – No issues with the Macedonian label.

**Commodus** (177-192 AD) – 7 issues with the Macedonian label on the legend of the reverse, in two forms: a) [CΤΡΑΛΟVET] ANΤΩNEINOV ΜΑΚΕΔ ΥΡΚΑΝΩΝ; b) CΤΡΑ Λ ΟΥΕΤ ANΤΩNEINOY ΥΡΚΑΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ.<sup>205</sup>

**Septimius Severus, Plautilla and Julia Domna** (193-211 AD) – No issues with the Macedonian label.

**Gordian III** (238-244 AD) – No issues with the Macedonian label.

**Philip the Arab, Otacilia and Philip Iunior** (244-249 AD) – 3 issues, one with the Macedonian label on the legend of the reverse (ΕΠ CΤ ΤΟ Β ΑΥ ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΟΥC Β CΤΕΦ ΥΡΚΑΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔ), two with a Macedonian symbol

<sup>203</sup> RPC III 1951;1953.

<sup>204</sup> RPC III 1957.

<sup>205</sup> See for example Mionnet IV.330; Mionnet IV.329.

on the image of the reverse (river god Pidasos with the Macedonian shield).<sup>206</sup>

The earliest civic issue with the Macedonian label that can be dated with accuracy has the portrait of the emperor Trajan on the obverse.<sup>207</sup> On the reverse there is Dionysus and the legend ΑΝΘΥ ΜΑΡΤΙΑ ΜΑ ΥΡΚΑΝΩ – (*under the supervision of*) *the proconsul Martialis, (the city of the) Ma(cedonians) Hyrkanians*.<sup>208</sup> A. Viricius Martialis was proconsular governor of the province of Asia in 113/114 AD, the year when this issue was probably made.<sup>209</sup> The presence of his initials on the coin would mean that it was issued under his authority. It could suggest that the Macedonian label was used by Hyrkanis when a Roman Imperial official, in this case the governor, intervened in the internal affairs of the civic community. The double label ΥΡΚΑΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ “Hyrkanians Macedonians” is associated with a civic issue with the imperial portrait of the wife of Trajan, Plotina Augusta. This issue dates between 112 and 117 AD.<sup>210</sup> The fact that the earliest issue with a Macedonian label was struck at the time of the military campaign by Trajan against the Parthians is matter of interest, but the sample is too small to affirm definitive conclusions.

There is another coin that has on the reverse the initials of a Roman proconsular governor together with the Macedonian label. It is the one issued at the time of Hadrian. The legend on the reverse says ΑΝΘΥ ΚΥΙΗ[ΤΩ Υ]ΡΚΑΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕ – (*under the supervision of*) *the proconsul Quintus, the city of the Hyrkanians Mace(donians)*. Quintus Pompeius Falcus was governor of the province of Asia in 123/124 AD, so the issue was probably minted in that year.<sup>211</sup> It seems that the intervention of Roman governors in the financial affairs of Hyrkanis may be a trigger for the use of the Macedonian label as a tool of civic self-definition. However, the fact that only three issues are dated to the reign of Trajan and Hadrian, and none from the reign of Marcus Aurelius, prevents us from assessing with certainty a direct connection between the use of the Macedonian label and the Roman Imperial intervention in the local minting. Having said this, this

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<sup>206</sup> BMC *Lydia, Hyrkanis* 22 for the issue with the Macedonian label; BMC *Lydia, Hyrkanis* 24, 25 for the image of river god Pidasos with the Macedonian shield.

<sup>207</sup> BMC *Lydia, Hyrkanis* 14 = Waddington 5041; Paris 556; RPC III 1949.

<sup>208</sup> RPC III 1951.

<sup>209</sup> Merkelbach 1977, 150.

<sup>210</sup> RPC III 1953. The legend says on the reverse ΥΡΚΑΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ.

<sup>211</sup> See Eck 1983, 158.

analysis shows that the civic institutions and the magistrates of Hyrkanis probably displayed the Macedonian label on the legend of coins together with the initials of Roman governors.

The personal agency by local magistrates in the minting of Hyrkanis can be seen from the seven issues with a Macedonian label dated to the reign of Commodus. They are all issued by the same magistrate, Lucius Vettius Antoninus. They date from 180/182 AD, at the very beginning of the reign of Commodus. The name of Lucius Vettius is carved in Greek on the reverse of the coin with the initials of the office of strategos (CTPA Λ OYET ANTΩNEINOY).<sup>212</sup> On the reverse of four issues the image associated with the Macedonian label is the rape of Persephone. On another issue there is the iconographic change related to the river god Pidasos and unique to Hyrkanis: on the reverse this civic coin has the image of the river reclining on the Macedonian shield, instead of the usual urn (figure 3.6.).<sup>213</sup> The quantitative analysis shows the monetary production of Hyrkanis reached its peak at the time of Commodus, with a total of fifteen issues. This corresponds with the peak of the presence of the Macedonian label on the civic coins of Hyrkanis. Is there a possible historical explanation or is it just a coincidence derived from the scarcity of numismatic evidence for the earlier periods?

According to Aelius Aristides, a terrible earthquake devastated a large part of Smyrna in 178 AD. Smyrna was the centre of the assize in which Hyrkanis was included at the time and was not far away. Aristides reports that Marcus Aurelius had visited Smyrna during his journey in Asia Minor two years before. After the earthquake, he granted Smyrna exemption from the taxes due to Rome for several years.<sup>214</sup> It is not impossible that the same earthquake struck severely the civic communities near Smyrna, including Hyrkanis. It could be that the tax exemption was also granted for the communities that were part of the assize of Smyrna. The necessity of investing financially in the reconstruction may explain why there was an increase of the monetary production of Hyrkanis. How was the use of the Macedonian label related to this peak? It seems that L. Vettius

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<sup>212</sup> See for example RPC IV 1623.

<sup>213</sup> SNG Munich 177.

<sup>214</sup> Aristid. *Or.* 18.2-3, 19.2-3, 21.14.

Antoninus was the *strategos* of the city in the first years of the reign of Commodus, soon after the earthquake of 178 AD. He appears to have obtained the Roman citizenship under Marcus Aurelius or Antoninus Pius. It could be that in these difficult times he wanted to advertise the Macedonian ancestry of Hyrkanis on the civic coins. Could the trigger of this initiative be a hope for further imperial benefactions, or is it more related to the need of self-reassurance by the civic community in its own existence? Whether the imagery on the surviving coins was chosen in direct response to this natural disaster, we cannot know. Still in light of the discussion of the third section, focused on the imperial interest for Alexander and the Ancient Macedonians, we can say that these symbols are likely to be appealing for Roman Imperial authorities. This would not have been unnoticed by the ruling elites of Hyrkanis and other communities in Asia Minor.

The use of the Macedonian label by Hyrkanis could be effective in gaining imperial attention in the first years of the reign of Commodus for another reason. A sensitive political issue for the Antonine dynasty was the revolt of Avidius Cassius of 176 AD. According to Cassius Dio, Avidius Cassius had a great ascendancy among the legions in the East because he could claim important victories in the Parthian campaign in 166 AD.<sup>215</sup> At the time of Commodus, it could be that Hyrkanis used the Macedonian label on the coins to symbolically re-affirm the military prestige of the Antonine dynasty, ignoring the victories claimed by the usurper Avidius against the Parthians a few years earlier. This hypothesis could be supported by a significant change of the monetary iconography related to the river-god, which occurred at the time of Commodus. We have seen that in the autonomous civic issues dated to the second half of the first century AD and the first half of the second century AD, the river-god Pidasos does not present any military features at all. The earliest issue of the river god with the Macedonian shield dates from the first years of the reign of Commodus (see figure 3.6).<sup>216</sup> The change of a routine symbol in the issues could have been planned by the civic institutions of Hyrkanis, as they were aware of the problems of military legitimation faced by the ruling dynasty after Cassius' revolt. This event is more extensively analysed in the third part of the chapter, dedicated to the literary sources.

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<sup>215</sup> Cassius Dio, LXXII.22.3.

<sup>216</sup> SNG Munich 177.

**Figure 3.6.: The river god Pidasos with the Macedonian shield** (SNG Munich 177. 180-182 AD).

Obverse: Laureate head of Commodus

Legend: AY KAI M AYPH KOMOΔOC *Em(peror) Cae(sar) M(arcus) Aure(lius) Commodos*

Reverse: River-god reclining, resting arm on a Macedonian shield.

Legend: CTPA Λ OYET ANTΩNEINOY YPKANΩN MAKEΔON (*under the Stra(tegos) L(ucius) Vet(tius) Antoninus, (the city of the) Hyrkanians Macedon(ians).*



After the end of the Antonine dynasty, we have evidence of eight issues with the imperial portrait. The use of the Macedonian label on coins should continue at the time of Septimius Severus and Caracalla. Septimius Severus made a victorious military campaign against the Parthians, while Caracalla had a strong admiration for Alexander the Great and the Macedonian army. It could have been beneficial for the city of Hyrkanis to claim Macedonian ancestry under the Severan dynasty. We have two autonomous civic coinages dated probably to the Severan period that have the Macedonian label. They both have the figure of Silenus on the obverse.<sup>217</sup> These two could be dated to the reign of Caracalla in my opinion. Indeed, the satyr on the reverse of these issues is connected to the Dionysiac mythology. According to Cassius Dio, the association between Alexander and Dionysus was greatly fostered by Caracalla, as both were considered conquerors and civilizers of the barbaric East.<sup>218</sup>

Of the four coins issued with portraits of members of the Severan dynasty that

<sup>217</sup> BMC *Lydia, Hyrkanis* 2; Imhoof LS 1.

<sup>218</sup> Cassius Dio says also that "He must call his hero (Alexander) "the Augustus of the East"; and once he actually wrote to the senate that Alexander had come to life again in the person of the Augustus, that he might live on once more in him, having had such a short life before". LXXVIII, 7.



have survived, two have Septimius Severus on the obverse, one his wife Julia Domna, and the other one Plautilla (wife of Caracalla from 202 to 205 AD). The label carved on all the reverses is simply YPKANΩN and there is no trace of the Macedonian label.<sup>219</sup> However, there are two factors to consider: first, the sample again is too small to state that the Macedonian label was not more in use at the time; to make a comparison with the previous period, we have fifteen coinages from the reign of Commodus, that are in quantity more than four times more respect to the Severan period overall. Secondly, the civic issues made under the reign of Caracalla are missing.

It would not be surprising if the civic community of Hyrkanis might have taken the opportunity to boast again its Macedonian ancestry on the civic coinages issued under the rule of Caracalla, by either the use of the double label “Macedonian Hyrkanians” or the Macedonian shield associated with the river-god Pidasos. The Macedonian label could have granted more benefactions and a privileged relationship with Caracalla, in light of the journey of this emperor in the province of Asia during the year 213/214 AD. According to Herodian, Caracalla made this trip as the new incarnation of Alexander.<sup>220</sup>

We know that the Macedonian label was still in use on the coins of Hyrkanis even after the end of the Severan dynasty. The last four civic issues of which we have evidence have the imperial portrait of Philip the Arab, his wife Otacilia and his heir Philip II (244/249 AD). In three of these four imperial issues a clear reference to Macedonian ancestry is present: on the reverse of one there is the double label “Macedonians Hyrkanians”, while on the reverse of the other two issues we can see the river-god Pidasos with the Macedonian shield.<sup>221</sup>

The civic community stressed its Macedonian ancestry until the very end of its civic issues perhaps due to two familiar problems occurring in the province of Asia: earthquakes and Persians. Indeed, there was a catastrophic earthquake in AD 241, during the reign of Gordian III, which damaged Aphrodisias in Caria

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<sup>219</sup> BMC *Lydia, Hyrkanis* 20,21; SNG Cop 212; JA 63.

<sup>220</sup> Herodian IV.8.

<sup>221</sup> BMC *Lydia, Hyrkanis* 22;24;25.

considerably, apparently along with several other civic communities in the area.<sup>222</sup> Secondly, Philip the Arab gained the throne during the military campaign conducted by Gordian III in Mesopotamia against the rise of the Sasanian dynasty. This new ruling power claimed to be the direct descendant of the Persian empire.<sup>223</sup> The Macedonian label could still be used by Hyrkanis on the coins as a sign of allegiance to the Roman rule together with the expression of its own local identity.

In conclusion, it appears that the use of the Macedonian label on the civic coins of Hyrkanis could have found a trigger in the need by its civic institutions for political legitimation. Natural disasters, military-political turmoil and chances to gain imperial favour possibly triggered the civic community of Hyrkanis to re-display the Macedonian label on the civic issues. The use of the double label “Macedonians Hyrkanians/Hyrkanians Macedonians” or the depiction of the river-god Pidasos with the Macedonian shield could have been a tool to pledge allegiance to the Roman Imperial authority, and at the same time to affirm a unique local identity. In order to test further this hypothesis, it is necessary to integrate the numismatic evidence with the analysis of the epigraphic and literary material.

### **3.3 The epigraphic evidence.**

The corpus of inscriptions related to the city of Hyrkanis covers a wider chronological period than that of the numismatic evidence. In total, we have thirty inscriptions, dated from the second century BC until the third century AD. As for the case study of Blaundos, I distinguish here the analysis of the funerary

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<sup>222</sup> “The principal source for this event is Julius Capitolinus, one of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, who dates this event to the reign of Gordian III (AD 238–244) and says that the shocks subsided in the consulship of Praetestatus and Atticus (AD 241). This suggests that the main shock may have been in AD 240, since aftershocks can continue for some months. Julius Capitolinus does not name any particular place as suffering damage; however, Aphrodisias may have been among the casualties on the basis of the evidence of an inscription found there. The inscription is a letter written in AD 243 by Gordian III to the local council (*koinon*) of Aphrodisias, tactfully protesting against their decision to make contributions to earthquake relief compulsory for all citizens (Reynolds 1982, 134). A postscript states that the letter is ‘the divine (imperial) reply in the matter of(?) the Laodiceans’. This might suggest that the Aphrodisians had wanted the Laodiceans to make contributions to the reconstruction of Aphrodisias (which, whenever it suffered earthquake damage, always seems to have been on a grand scale (Reynolds 1982, 109). Since it is less than 30 km from Aphrodisias, it is likely that Laodicea suffered in the same earthquake.”, Ambraseys 2009, 137.

<sup>223</sup> This will be explored in the third part of the fifth chapter, dedicated to the Roman Imperial ideology and the memory of Alexander the Great.

inscriptions from the analysis of the other types of inscriptions, such as the honorary ones and the civic decrees. For this reason, I will focus on the possible presence of Macedonian iconography or the Macedonian label in the honorary inscriptions, the religious inscriptions and the public decrees connected to the city of Hyrkanis, arranged in chronological order. Among these, I took into consideration only the inscriptions for which it is possible to define the dating, the genre and the individual or the community that erected them. As a consequence, the inscriptions that are too fragmentary, contain only a few words or that are too difficult to reconstruct due to lacunae in the text, are not included.<sup>224</sup>

In analysing this material, in line with what has also been observed in the numismatic evidence, I argue that the evolution of the terminology identifying the civic community of Hyrkanis may reflect a change of the public identity of the settlement in relation to the Roman Imperial power. This is the only section where the evidence shows the use of the Macedonian label also in Hellenistic times. However, it is used to define specific individuals or groups who were not official representatives of Hyrkanis at the time, such as new incomers or emigrants. In these cases, the Macedonian label does not refer to a civic institution or to the city of Hyrkanis itself. On the other hand, the Macedonian label contained in the inscriptions dated to the Roman Imperial period is used in a different context. All the honorary inscriptions from Hyrkanis dated to the Roman Imperial period present the double label “Macedonians Hyrkanians”, which defines the city or its official representatives. The section provides further connections between the use of the Macedonian label and the active agency of the civic institutions on the self-representation of Hyrkanis.

### **3.3.1 The Macedonian label in the public inscriptions of Hyrkanis in the Hellenistic and early Roman period.**

In total, we have evidence of fourteen inscriptions dated to the Hellenistic and early Roman periods. Nine of these are honorary inscriptions, four religious and one is catalogued as “miscellanea”. Four of them are dated to the Hellenistic period (third/second century BC) and two to the Republican or early Augustan period (first century BC). We have evidence of the use of the Macedonian label

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<sup>224</sup> See for example the fragmentary funerary inscription TAM V 1315 = Keil-Premmerstein (1906). It consists of a marble ara with few letters remaining.

on two inscriptions of the Hellenistic period. The first one is a civic decree issued by the Greek city of Amphissa, that granted the status of *proxenos* to the physician Menophantos. This text informs us that Amphissa send a copy of the civic decree to the city of Scarphis, as Menophantos requested to do so. It cannot be dated with precision, but it is likely to have been made between 189 and 167 BC, during the reign of Eumenes II of Pergamon (See Appendix 1.11.1 for the full text).<sup>225</sup> The start and the end of the Greek text says:

[ἀγαθ]ᾶι τύχαι.

[Ἀμφισσέ]ων [οἱ ἄρ]χοντες καὶ ἡ πόλις Σκαρφέων τοῖς ἀρχόντ[οις]

[καὶ τᾶ βουλᾶ] καὶ τᾶι πόλει χαίρειν· τῶν δεδομένων τιμίων ὑπὸ

[τᾶς] πό[λι]ο[ς] ἀμῶν **Μηνοφάντῳ Ἀρτεμιδώρου Μακεδόνι Ὑρκανίῳ**

[τὸ ἀ]ντί[γ]ραφον ἐξαπεστάλκαμεν ποτὶ τὰν ὑμετέραν πόλιν,

[καθάπερ] καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Μηνόφαντος ἀμὲ παρεκάλεσε. μηνὸς Ἀμ[ῶ]-

[νο]ς [ἔ]κτα ἐπ' εἰκάδι. νομογράφων· ἐπειδὴ **Μηνόφαντος Ἀρτεμιδ[ώ]-**

**[ρου] Μακεδῶν Ὑρκάνιος** ἰατρὸς **μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τᾶς πόλιο[ς]**

[μ]ετὰ πρεσβείας καὶ ἐργολαβήσας μόνος τὸ ἰατρικὸν ἔργον

[τῶ]ν ἀεὶ ἐμπιπτόντων ἀρρωστημάτων φιλοτέχνως ἐπιμελ[ό]-

[με]νος καὶ σπουδάζ[ω]ν κατὰ δύναμιν ἰδίαν μετὰ τᾶς τῶν θε[ῶ]ν

[εὐν]οίας σώζειν το[ύς] κινδυνεύοντας ἀνέγκλητ<ο>ς ἐγενήθη,

[...]

νν Ἀμφισσεῖς ἔδωκαν Μην[οφ]άντῳ Ἀρτεμ[ι]-

[δ]ώρου Μακεδόνι Ὑρκανίῳ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγγόνοις **προξενίαν, ἰσο-**

**[πολι]τείαν**, γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας ἐγκτησιν, ἐπινομία[ν] καὶ ἀσφάλει-

[αν πολ]έμου καὶ εἰράνας καὶ ἄλλα τίμια πάντα, ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλ-

[λοις] προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις τᾶς πόλιος ὑπάρχει.

*To the Good Fortune.*

*The chief magistrates and the city of the Amphissians greets the chief magistrates and the council of the city of the Scarpheans. We have sent your city the copy of the decree made by our city in honour of **Menophantos, son of Artemidoros, Macedonian from Hyrkanis**, as Menophantos has required us to do: "In the month of Amon, the ... day. Proposition of the nomagraphoi. Because of the fact that **Menophantos, son of Artemidoros, Macedonian from Hyrkanis**, healer, has been sent to our city by an embassy, **he has settled here**, and he held his*

<sup>225</sup> BCH 25 1901 234-35 = AE 1908 pp.159-66; IG IX,1<sup>2</sup> 3:750.

*own responsibility of his medicaments; because of the fact that, when really severe disease appeared, he has taken care of us and after the gods, he is the one who, thanks to his efforts and his individual strength, saved our citizens who were in danger. [...]*

*The Amphissans have granted Menophantos, son of Artemidoros, Macedonian from Hyrkanis, him and his own descendants, **the proxeny, the isopoliteia**, the right of acquiring real estates, the right of pasturage, the safety in times of war as in peace, and all the other privileges equally granted to the other proxenoi and benefactors of the city”.*

We can see that a certain Menophantos, son of Artemidoros, is granted by the civic institutions of Amphissa the status of proxenos, for the benefactions made to this city as “healer”. This person is said to be a Μακεδῶν Ὑρκάνιος, a “Macedonian Hyrkanian” literally. However, the inscription informs us that Menophantos has been living at Amphissa for years after he was sent there by Hyrkanis. Therefore, I conclude that “Hyrkanios” indicates the geographical origin of Menophantos and the better translation would be “Macedonian from Hyrkanis”.

The present inscription supports the hypothesis that the settlement of Hyrkanis was inhabited by settlers called Macedonian at least from the beginning of the second century BC, probably before the arrival in the region of the Attalid administration. Consequently, it could be that Hyrkanis was inhabited by Macedonian settlers under the Seleucids, maybe from the beginning of the third century BC. The text suggests that the civic community of Hyrkanis already existed at the time and it had diplomatic relations with the other Greek cities in the Mediterranean East. Indeed, Menophantos could have been initially settled in Amphissa because Hyrkanis, his homeland, was on good terms with the city located in central Greece and sent an embassy there. This is relevant given the lack of numismatic evidence from this period and the fact that the ancient literary sources do not mention a settlement or city called Hyrkanis, as we will see. It appears also that the Macedonian label was used to define a specific individual, not the civic community of Hyrkanis. The double label “Macedonian from Hyrkanis” was necessary to define an newcomer, someone who came from outside the city of Amphissa and only recently acquired various civic rights, thanks to his long-standing record of benefactions.

There is a clear difference between this use of the Macedonian label and the one analysed in Roman Imperial issues associated with Hyrkanis. The text of the inscription says “healer, a Macedonian from Hyrkanis/Macedonian Hyrkanian”, not “healer from the city of the Hyrkanians Macedonians or Macedonians Hyrkanians”. This honorary inscription of the Hellenistic period does not present the Macedonian label associated with the civic community of Hyrkanis as a whole. Even if Menophantos could be considered an official representative of Hyrkanis, the Macedonian label is used to define him in a foreign context: he is member of an embassy from Hyrkanis arrived at Amphissa years before. Besides, Menophantos should be considered in this case a representative of the interests of the city of Amphissa. The *isopoliteia* did not necessarily grant individuals a double citizenship like the *sympoliteia*: taking up citizenship in a new city via *isopoliteia* always means renouncing one’s citizenship in the old city.<sup>226</sup> Indeed, the Amphissans decreed to grant Menophantos the *proxenia* and the citizenship, with all the rights of property attached, after years of good service for their own city. Therefore, Menophantos acquired civic rights proper to an Amphissan citizen and he was officially responsible for hosting foreigners or ambassadors from other cities, perhaps the ones coming from Scarphis, city located in Locris and cited in the text of the decree.<sup>227</sup> This could be the first sign of the use of the Macedonian label by a citizen of Hyrkanis as tool of self-definition in relation to other political entities.

The second honorary inscription of the Hellenistic period in which the Macedonian label is used refers to a group and not an individual. It is carved on a marble stone found in the town of Halitpasakoy (the ancient site of Hyrkanis). It dates from the reign of the Attalid king Eumenes II (188 – 159 BC). The text, despite being fragmentary, is understandable (Appendix 1.11.2).<sup>228</sup> It says:

[B]ασιλεύοντος Εὐμένο[υ]ς ἔτους]

**οἱ ἐξ Ἀγαθείρων Μακεδ[ό]νες**

<sup>226</sup> Ellis-Evans 2019, 205-208. Ellis-Evans shows the difference between *sympoliteia* and *isopoliteia* analysing the case study of the Lesbian *koinon* in the third century BC. The latter does not involve a double citizenship and it is granted only when the individual coming from another city has been registered with the city’s magistrate, is resident in the city and is taking active part in the civic life. We can see analogies with Menophantos, who was granted the *isopoliteia* after he was resident in Amphissa for several years and beneficial for the civic community. Ellis-Evans 2019, 206. Szántó 1892, 67–104.

<sup>227</sup> Vollgraff, BCH 25 1901, 238.

<sup>228</sup> J and L. Robert, Hellenica 6 22-24 = EA 7 1986 17-18 = TAM V.2.1307.

Σέλευκον Μενεκρά[τ]ο[υ]ς.....ΤΟ [...?]

..... καὶ ἀγαθὸν γενόμεν[ον ]

*During the reign of Eumenes, the Macedonians from Agatheira (honoured) Seleucos, son of Menekrates, and because he has been good...*

It appears that a group of Macedonians settled there came from Agatheira, likely another Lydian centre close to Hyrkanis. We still do not know its precise location.<sup>229</sup> This honorary inscription shows that the “Macedonian network” was well developed in the region of Lydia, and the change of residence from one settlement to another was a practice established and “institutionalised”. However, there is no trace of a double label “Macedonians Hyrkanians” or “Hyrkanians Macedonians” connected to the community of Hyrkanis itself. In this case the Macedonian label is connected to a group of incomers, not to the local civic institutions. We read “the Macedonians from Agatheira” and this would suggest that the so-called Macedonians were a group of former inhabitants of Agatheira recently settled in Hyrkanis. Why did this group decide to use the Macedonian label to define itself?

It may be argued that the memory of a migration of Macedonian settlers from the kingdom of Macedonia to Asia Minor, occurred at the end of the fourth century BC, was still fresh and vivid. However, the Macedonian label used in the Hellenistic period was probably not a simple mark of ethnicity, but rather a sign of social prestige, as it was connected to the memory of the conquerors and the ruling dynasties of Asia. The meaning of the use of the Macedonian label by groups of incomers during the Attalid period will be analysed in detail in the fourth chapter, dedicated to Phrygia and Lydia. For now, it is possible that Menophantos and the Macedonian immigrants from Agatheira claimed to be descendants of the veterans that fought in the army of Alexander the Great in order to obtain social distinction, even if it could be an invented tradition. On the other hand, it seems that the *poleis* of Hyrkanis and Agatheira did not use the Macedonian label to define their civic collective identities in the Hellenistic period. Only individuals, like Menophantos, or groups of incomers migrating from another city or settlement

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<sup>229</sup> See Cohen 1995, 195 and no.3 196 and J and L. Robert 1948, *Hellenica* 6 (1948) 22-23. According to Cohen Agatheira was a Seleucid foundation like Hyrkanis, but there is no concrete evidence, epigraphic, literary or numismatic, that points at this dynasty. This inscription is the only evidence of its existence.

like the Macedonians from Agatheira, use the Macedonian label to define themselves in the new cities of residence.

It will be argued in the literary section that Hyrkanis hosted a military garrison due to its strategic position in the Hellenistic period. There is a religious inscription that may confirm this. It consists of a fragmentary text carved on the right part of a marble stele. In a rectangular field there is a representation of a standing woman on the left, raising her right hand, and a standing naked man on the right holding a spear in his left hand. This suggests that the religious inscription was dedicated by a soldier or a military official. On the left of the stele there are traces of the left foot of a third person, possibly a servant. The inscription was found in Mütevelli, west of the archaeological site of Hyrkanis, and now it is located in the museum in Manisa.<sup>230</sup> It was dated by the editors to the third or early second century BC, based on the letter-form.

The text states:

[ - - - - M]αχάτου στρατηγῶν καὶ διυγι| [αίνων πᾶσι? θε]οῖς χαριστήριον vacat  
[[Name]], son of Machatas, being strategos and enjoying throughout good health  
(offers this stele) as a sign of gratitude to [all the?] gods.

The name of the father of the dedicator, Machatas, originated in Northern Greece and spread from Macedonia to Asia Minor, as recent studies have suggested. According to the on-line database Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, the name was particularly popular at Beroea, Elimeia and Macedonia between the fourth and third century BC.<sup>231</sup> So it could be further evidence of the presence of Macedonian settlers at Hyrkanis that migrated from their homeland here in the early Hellenistic period.<sup>232</sup> The office of general (*strategos*) at the time handled the main military activities in the Greek cities in Asia Minor, but also religious sacrifices together with sacral officials. The strategos probably controlled the management of religious funds.<sup>233</sup> This explains the presence of the general son of Machetas in a religious inscription. We do not know if some sacral officials

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<sup>230</sup> SEG 57 1169 = Edd.pr. Herrmann-Malay, *New Documents* 35 no. 20.

<sup>231</sup> [http://clas.lgpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/lgpn\\_search.cgi?name=%CE%9C%CE%B1%CF%87%CE%AC%CF%84%CE%1%CF%82#lgpn\\_tabs\\_content\\_gmap](http://clas.lgpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/lgpn_search.cgi?name=%CE%9C%CE%B1%CF%87%CE%AC%CF%84%CE%1%CF%82#lgpn_tabs_content_gmap)

<sup>232</sup> See Habicht *Arch.Class.* 25-26, 1973/74, 315; O. Masson *ZPE* 21 1976, 157 note 10 and Tatakis, *Macedonians Abroad*, 515.

<sup>233</sup> On the sacrifices, see for example I. *Iliou* 32.29-30 (280 BC); about management of religious fund, see I. *Lampsakos* 9.15-16 (II century BC). Cf. Dmitriev 2005, 27-28 and no.67, 28.



participated due to the fragmentary nature of the inscription.<sup>234</sup> The onomastic cannot be the only evidence to state the Macedonian origins of Machatas. On the other hand, the present inscription seems to confirm that Hyrkanis was inhabited by Greek or Macedonian soldiers since the early Hellenistic period. It could be that the settlement of Hyrkanis gathered around a military garrison of Greek and Macedonian veterans. This military post could have been established at the time of the Seleucids. An intriguing hypothesis is that the garrison of Greek and Macedonian soldiers constitutes the core of the future city of Hyrkanis, but this remains a conjecture without further material evidence.

The latest inscription that can be ascribed to the Hellenistic period is a religious one: it is a dedication to an unknown divinity called “Mater”, made by a certain Moschion son of Diodorus.<sup>235</sup> The date should be between the second and early first century BC. Because of the importance of the figure of Demeter for Hyrkanis in the civic coins until the imperial Roman period, I tend to think that the divinity honoured in this inscription is strictly connected to her cult, maybe in a local adaptation. We know that Demeter was associated in Phrygia and Lydia with Cybele, also called “Magna Mater”, the Great Mother.<sup>236</sup> There is no use of the Macedonian label or Macedonian symbols.

If we pass to the two public inscriptions dated to the early Roman period (130-31 BC), there are two honorary inscriptions remaining. Those show the arrival of Italian incomers in the region of Hyrkanis and the reception of their presence. How did this phenomenon affect the local inhabitants? Was it a trigger for the use of the Macedonian label? It seems from the numismatic analysis that the Macedonian label was not used in the few remaining coins of Hyrkanis dated to this period. The analysis of these inscriptions could provide evidence of the use of the double label “Macedonians Hyrkanians/Hyrkanians Macedonians” as a definition of the city of Hyrkanis before the Roman Imperial period.

The earliest evidence of Roman presence in the surroundings of Hyrkanis is a

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<sup>234</sup> Habicht has argued that not far from the find-spot of the stele there must have been a sanctuary of *pantes theoi* which gave the name to a town whose citizens were called *Pantheotai*. However, this remains a pure speculation. Habicht 1975, 79.

<sup>235</sup> TAM V.2. 1305.

<sup>236</sup> About the worship of Cybele in Lidia and Phrygia, see Roller 1999.

text on a marble altar moulded above and below. It dates from the early Roman period, in the middle of the first century BC.<sup>237</sup>

The text, recorded both in Latin and Greek, says:

lunoni Atratinae

n(ostrae) Mopsus l(ibertus) [et]

procurator

Τύχη Ἀτρατεΐνας

ἡμέτερας Μόψος

ἀπελεύθερος

καὶ ἐπίτροπος

*To the guardian spirit of our Atratina, (her) freedman and administrator Mopsos.*

It consists of an individual dedication made by a certain Mopsos to Atratina. The Latin term *luno*, that refers in this case to the guardian spirit of Atratina and not to the eponymous goddess, is translated Τύχη in Greek. Mopsos was likely a Greek-speaking freedman, previously owned by Atratina. She was probably related to L.Sempronius Atratinus, consul in 34 BC, a Roman aristocrat. He owned land estates near Hyrkanis, with Mopsos as manager, as attested in two other inscriptions.<sup>238</sup> This inscription records the strict relationship between a freedman and his Roman mistress. It is also evidence of the presence of wealthy Roman incomers who take over part of the fertile lands around Hyrkanis. As in Blaundos, the freedmen appeared to have an important role in the building activity, thanks to their skills in the administrative field and financial wealth. Moreover, it is sign of cultural interaction between Greek speaking individuals and Latin speaking ones, as the text of the dedication is bilingual. We do not know whether Mopsos was a freedman born in Lydia or came with his mistress from Rome, but it is interesting to note that the text was set both in Greek and Latin. Evidence of the relationship between the civic community of Hyrkanis and the Roman incomers before the Roman Imperial period is found in another honorary inscription.

The most important inscription of the early Roman period is the only civic decree

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<sup>237</sup> SEG 49 1581 = Ed. Princ. Malay, Researches 71 no.67.

<sup>238</sup> See Malay, *Researches* 71 no.67; Cf. SEG 30 433 and TAM V 2 1031, where one of Atratinus' freedmen appears as γραμματεὺς.

whose *terminus ante quem* is the reign of Augustus. It consists of an inscription carved on the basis of a statue dedicated to a Roman citizen by the people of Hyrkanis.<sup>239</sup> The text says:

[ὁ δ]ῆμος ἐτείμησεν  
[Λε]ύκιον Οὐείβιον Λευκί-  
[ου] υἰὸν Ῥωμιλία Οὐᾶ[ρ]ον  
[.]υφιανόν, · τὸν εὐερ[γ]έ-  
[την] καὶ πάτρωνα διὰ τε [τ]ῆν  
[....]Ε..ΤΟΥΣΕΚΤΟΥ  
[....] αὐτοῦ στεφανηφο-  
[ρίαν κ]αὶ διὰ τὸ σεμνὸν κα[ι]  
[τὸ ἀνέ]γκλητον τῆς ΓΕΙ-  
[c.5.] αὐτοῦ κοινῆ καὶ καθ’  
[ἕνα, δια]φυλ[ά]ξαντα καὶ ἐν τῷ  
[καιρῷ τῆς] σειποδῆας κριθῶν  
[— — — — —]ισιγ ἡμῶν [— — π]ωλη-  
[— — ἀρετ]ῆς ἔνεκεν [καὶ — — —]  
[— — — — —]νε[— — — — —]  
[ἐπιμ]εληθέντος [τῆς ἀναστάσε]-  
[ως — — — Φι]λοστρά[του — — —]  
[— — — — —]ΥΚ.ΝΑΟΥΑΥ[— — —]

*The people decreed that Lucius Vibius Varus from the tribe Romilia, son of Lucius [...]; benefactor and patron during [...] his stephanephoria and thanks to the nobility and glory of his [...] and without giving cause for complaint he took care of the common good and when there was scarcity of food for the city, wheat [.....]*

The name of the individual honoured is Lucius Vibius Varus. His membership of the tribe Romilia suggests that he is a Roman citizen. He is called “benefactor and patron” of the community. Although the text is fragmentary in the second part, the benefactions made by Lucius Vibius for Hyrkanis are cited. It is likely that his financial support was necessary to obtain the wheat desperately needed by the civic community of Hyrkanis due to scarcity of food. This civic decree confirms

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<sup>239</sup> TAM V 1309.

that Hyrkanis was organized as a city in the first century BC, as the numismatic evidence has suggested. How is the civic community of Hyrkanis defined in the present text? There is no use of the Macedonian label. Hyrkanis is recorded simply as “the people” - ὁ δῆμος, without any other connotation. Vibius Varus is a Roman citizen and it seems that he was integrated in the local institutions of Hyrkanis, as he held the office of *stephanephoros*. However, Dmitriev notes that this office could be granted to Roman citizens who did not have political rights in several cities of Asia Minor.<sup>240</sup> Money and prestige were the two most important considerations for appointing such officials.<sup>241</sup> Nevertheless, in this case the relation between Hyrkanis and a prominent Roman citizen consists of a mutual benefaction, economical for the former and social for the latter. The interaction with a Roman citizen did not trigger the use of the Macedonian label by the civic community of Hyrkanis. This would challenge the ethnic value of the term Macedonian, as it is not used to mark a distinction between the citizens of Hyrkanis and a Roman resident.

To conclude this section, the epigraphic evidence suggests that during the Hellenistic and the early Roman period, before the rule of Augustus, the Macedonian label was not associated with the civic institutions of Hyrkanis. In the Hellenistic period, we have no evidence of civic decrees by Hyrkanis. However, the inscription from Amphissa and the honorary stele from the Macedonians of Agatheira suggest that the civic community of Hyrkanis was not recorded by the other communities in the region and beyond with the double label “Hyrkanian and Macedonian”. Indeed, the Macedonian label appears to define here individuals or external groups who were not described as part of the civic community of Hyrkanis when these inscriptions were erected. The physician Menophantos and the “Macedonians from Agatheira” are newcomers and not official representative of Hyrkanis at that time.

In the early Roman period (first century BC), the Macedonian label does not appear in the honorary decree issued by the people of Hyrkanis for the Roman citizen Lucius Vibius. Vibius was not an official representative of the Roman

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<sup>240</sup> Dmitriev 2005, 222. For example, two Aelii Claudiani established the *stephanephoria* in perpetuity in Magnesia by the Sypilos. See IGR IV 1342.

<sup>241</sup> Dmitriev 2005, 158-159.

administration, like a governor. His citizenship could mean that he migrated in Hyrkanis with his family from Italy or Rome itself during the first century BC. The inscription seems to confirm that the Macedonian label was not used by the civic institution of Hyrkanis during the Roman Republican period. However, we do not have inscriptions of the period with representatives of the Roman provincial administration. This could mean that the Roman state still had not interacted directly with the civic community of Hyrkanis, or rather that there is a lack of evidence. Still, I argue that the event that changed the relationship between Rome and Hyrkanis and may have triggered the use of the Macedonian label on inscriptions to define this civic community was the catastrophic earthquake of AD 17 in addition to the Roman Imperial power.

### **3.3.2 The use of the Macedonian label in the inscriptions of Hyrkanis in the Roman Imperial Period.**

We have eight public inscriptions dated to the Roman Imperial period related to the city of Hyrkanis: five are honorary, two religious and one “miscellaneous”.<sup>242</sup> All five honorary inscriptions have the double label “Macedonian Hyrkanian” or “Macedonians Hyrkanians” associated with the city of Hyrkanis. These five inscriptions are all dedications to a Roman Emperor made by the civic community of Hyrkanis as a whole or by a federation of Greek communities located in the Roman province of Asia, the *koinon*, as we will see.

The earliest honorary inscription dated with certainty to the Roman Imperial period could be also the earliest attestation of the use of the Macedonian label associated with the community of Hyrkanis. We have seen that the earliest surviving coins with the Macedonian label date from the reign of Trajan. Instead, the present inscription dates from the reign of Tiberius, few years after the earthquake of AD 17 AD that affected several cities in Lydia. This event was reported extensively by Tacitus and recorded by Pliny the Elder.<sup>243</sup> The inscription consists of the final lines of a civic decree recording the list of the ambassadors chosen by the damaged communities and sent to Rome in order to seek an imperial intervention. Unfortunately, the main part of the text is missing.<sup>244</sup> The

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<sup>242</sup> BCH VI 1882; IGR IV 1514 = CIG 3450 = Sardis VII 1; IGR IV.1354; TAM V.2.1306; TAM V.1.426; IGR IV 1487; SEG XLIX 1543.

<sup>243</sup> Tacitus, Ann. II.47-48; Plin. *NH* II 52.

<sup>244</sup> Herrmann 2016, 152-153.

name of each ambassador is recorded in what seems to be a decree issued by the *koinon*, the common federation of the Greek cities of the province of Asia. The ambassadors were the official representatives of each civic community sent in front of the imperial court and gave their official consent for a deliberation.<sup>245</sup> It dates from 25 AD. The inscription is carved onto the south wall of the acropolis of Sardis, one of the main centres of the *koinon* of Asia.<sup>246</sup> The end of the fragmentary text says (Appendix 1.11.3):

Σαβεῖνος Μοστηνός· ἔδοξ[εν.] Σέλευκος Νεάρχου Κιβυράτ[ης]· ἔδοξεν. {<sup>2</sup>ὁ δεῖνα}<sup>2</sup>  
 Αἰγαιεύς(?)· ἔδοξεν]. Κλαυδιαν[ὸς] Μάγνης· ἔδοξεν. Χαρμίδης Ἀπολλωνίου·  
 ἔδοξεν· [{<sup>2</sup>ὁ δεῖνα}<sup>2</sup> Φιλαδελφεύς(?)· ἔδοξεν. {<sup>2</sup>ὁ δεῖνα}<sup>2</sup> Ἴεροκαί]σαρευς· ἔδοξεν.  
 Μακεδῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἰ]ορκούνδου Ἀπ[ο]λλωνιδεύς· [ἔδοξεν. {<sup>2</sup>ὁ δεῖνα}<sup>2</sup>  
 Κυμαῖος(?)· ἔδοξεν. {<sup>2</sup>ὁ δεῖνα **Μακεδων**}<sup>2</sup>] Ὑρκάνι[ο]ς· ἔδοξεν.

*Sabinus Mostenos decreed. Seleucos son of Nearcos Kiburates decreed. That Aigeiaeus decreed. Klaudianus Magnes decreed. Karmides Apollonios decreed. That Philadelphus decreed. That Ierokaesareus decreed. That Kumaios decreed. Macedon son of Alexander Ioucundus, citizen of Apollonis decreed. That **Macedonian** Hyrkanian decreed.*

Thanks to the passage by Tacitus we know that these ambassadors travelled to Rome after the earthquake, where they were successful in gaining benefactions for their native communities.<sup>247</sup> The surviving part of the civic decree seems to confirm the event, as it lists six of the twelve communities recorded by Tacitus: Mostene, Philadelphia, Aigiai, Ierocaesaera, Apollonis and Hyrkanis. The inscription reveals that the communities struck by the earthquake probably had to request first the formal approval from the *koinon* before sending their ambassadors to Rome. The name of the ambassador of Hyrkanis is missing, but from the stone it can be presumed that the term “Hyrkanian” was preceded by the label “Macedonian”, as Robert suggests.<sup>248</sup> I support the hypothesis that one term included in the missing part is “Macedonian” because of two factors. The first is the reports from the ancient literary sources like Pliny and Tacitus, who

<sup>245</sup> IGR IV 1514 = CIG 3450 = *Sardis* VII 1,9.

<sup>246</sup> Burrell 2004, 100-103

<sup>247</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* II.47-48.

<sup>248</sup> J and L. Robert 1948, *Hellenica* VI, 17-18. Cohen also supports the restoration of the double ethnic Μακεδων Ὑρκάνιος. Cohen 1995 nr.3, 210.

both said that the Hyrkanians are called “Macedonian” in relation to the event of the earthquake of AD 17. Secondly, it could be that the ambassador of Hyrkanis chose to be defined by the same label used once by the public physician Menophantos who had settled in the Hellenistic Amphissa. The interaction with Greek communities members of the *koinon* at Sardis and the importance for this Hyrkanian representative to be noticed by the Roman emperor Tiberius as distinctive from the other delegates could have triggered the official use of the Macedonian label. So, it is possible that the ambassador of the city of Hyrkanis, on the earliest official record of an encounter with a Roman emperor and the regional *koinon*, decided to use the double label “Macedonian Hyrkanian” to identify himself. In the context of this decree, the ambassador of Hyrkanis is the only one who publicly stressed its Macedonian origins, despite the fact that the community of Apollonis sent an ambassador of likely Macedonian ancestry, called “Macedon son of Alexander”. We will see in the fourth chapter that Apollonis was founded in the Attalid period. At the time, Apollonis was inhabited by soldiers or veterans who claimed to be Macedonian, as testified by the civic issues displaying the Macedonian shield.<sup>249</sup> However, the ambassador from Apollonis is not labelled as “Macedonian” in the civic decree issued by the *koinon* at Sardis.

One could argue that the Macedonian label is not included in the missing part of the decree and I admit that this alternative restoration cannot be excluded.<sup>250</sup> However, the accounts of Pliny the Elder and Tacitus, argument of the following section, together with a monument in honour of Tiberius erected a few years earlier in Rome by the communities cited in the decree from Sardis, suggest that the Macedonian label or Macedonian iconography was officially showcased by the Hyrkanian civic community just in the immediate aftermath of the 17 AD earthquake. It could be that the civic authorities of Hyrkanis thought that the Macedonian label was useful to distinguish themselves from the other cities affected by the earthquake. An ambassador called “Macedonian Hyrkanian” could have been more remembered by the Roman emperor Tiberius when he was going to give financial benefactions. As I have argued above in the analysis of the numismatic evidence, it seems that the Macedonian label was associated

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<sup>249</sup> SNG Munich 32.

<sup>250</sup> For example, Herrmann does not include the term “Macedonian” in the integration of the missing part of the civic decree. Herrmann 2016, l.3 p. 153.

with the civic community of Hyrkanis when the city faced the possible intervention of Roman emperors in its affairs.

This supposition can be supported by fact that in AD 23, two years earlier before the decree of the *koinon* of Asia, the twelve cities devastated by the earthquake, Hyrkanis included, were represented on a monument surrounded by statues of themselves personified in the forum of Julius Caesar in Rome. According to a certain Apollonius Grammaticus, reported by Phlegon of Tralleis, the monument included a colossal statue of Tiberius and was placed near the temple of Venus genetrix.<sup>251</sup> The monument in Rome has not survived but a copy of it is located at Puteoli. Here, the sequence of the statues of each city goes from left to right, starting with Sardis at the left front corner and ending with Hierocaesareia next to her on the left short side. More importantly, as argued in the literary section, the bas relief believed to be the personification of Hyrkanis appears in the dress of a short-skirted, conservative Artemis of the fourth century BC. Her headgear has been identified by a succession of authorities as the Macedonian *kausia* (see figure 3.7., 97).<sup>252</sup> Again, Hyrkanis is the only city that stressed its Macedonian ancestry in this iconographic representation. One purpose could be the connection of Hyrkanis with the figure of Alexander the Great. The *kausia* and the goddess Artemis are associated with Alexander by the literary tradition that will be examined later in the chapter.<sup>253</sup>

As for the case of Blaundos, it seems that the Macedonian label was used by Hyrkanis to express a collective or rather *civic* identity before an external political superstructure, incarnated by the Roman imperial authority and the provincial *koinon*. This is shown in another honorary inscription, dated to the reign of Domitian (81-96 AD). The text is on a stele of white marble in good preservation, found at the castle of Ephesos (Appendix 1.11.4).<sup>254</sup>

It says:

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<sup>251</sup> Phlegon, περι θαυμασιών (FgrHist 257 F 36 XIII): Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ὁ γραμματικὸς ἱστορεῖ ἐπὶ Τιβερίου Νέρωνος σεισμὸν γεγενῆσθαι καὶ πολλὰς καὶ ὀνομαστὰς πόλεις τῆς Ἀσίας ἄρδην ἀφανισθῆναι, ἃς ὕστερον ὁ Τιβέριος οἰκεία δαπάνη πάλιν ἀνῴρθωσεν. ἀνθ' ὧν κολοσσόν τε αὐτῶν κατασκευάσαντες ἀνέθεσαν παρὰ τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερῷ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἰρωμαίων ἀγορᾷ, καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἐκάστης ἐφεξῆς ἀνδριάντας παρέστησαν. Herrmann 2016, 152.

<sup>252</sup> See Vermeule 1981, 85-101.

<sup>253</sup> FGrH 126 F 5 = Athen. 12.537 E – 538B. Translation by Fredricksmeyer 1986, 216.

<sup>254</sup> Presented by Mr. Purser of Smyrna, 1870. H., 3ft. 11 in; w. 2 ft.; *Ed. Princ.*: Journal of Philology 1876 p.145 = BCH VI 1882, 286. Cf. GIBM 498.7-8.



Αύτοκράτορ[ι θεῶ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ Ούεσπασιανῶ ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Μάρκου Φουλουίου Γίλλωνος ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καισαρέων Μακεδόνων Ἵρκανίων, ναῶ τῶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῶν Σεβαστῶν κοινῶ τῆς Ἀσίας, διὰ Τειμοθέου τοῦ Τειμοθέου καὶ Μητροδώρου τοῦ Μητροδώρου ἀρχόντων καὶ διὰ Μηνοφίλου τοῦ Ἀπολλονίου καὶ Μηνογένεους Μητροφάνου καὶ Μενεκράτους Ἰουκούνδου ἐπιμελητῶν. Ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως τῆς Ἀσίας Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Ἀριστίωνος.

*To the God Emperor Caesar Augustus Vespasian, under the proconsuls Marcus Fulvius Gillus, **the people of the Caesareans Macedonians Hyrkanians**, in the temple of the Augusti of the koinon of Asia at Ephesos, under the archontes Timotheos son of Timotheos and Metrodoros son of Metrodoros and the officials Menophilos, Apollonios, Menogenes son of Metrophanes and Menekrates son of Ioukoundos. Under the archiereus of Asia Tiberius Claudius Aristion.*

It consists of a dedication in honour of the deified emperor Vespasian, in the temple of the Augusti located in Ephesus. We know that the *koinon* was a confederation of the cities of the province of Asia that also superintended the local organization of the Imperial cult, whose chief priest was the *archiereus*, since the reign of Augustus.<sup>255</sup> This dedication was made during the proconsulship of M. Fulvius Gillo.<sup>256</sup> Timoteus and Metrodorus (lines 11-13) are magistrates of the dedicating city, while Menophilos, Menogenes and Menekrates are commissioners for the erection of the monument. The city of Hyrkanis is cited as “people of the *Caesareans Macedonians Hyrkanians*”. We have the confirmation that the double label “Macedonians Hyrkanians” identified the civic community of Hyrkanis when there was an interrelation with the Roman Imperial rule. The inscription also served the purpose to identify the community of Hyrkanis before the other cities of the provincial *koinon*. The Macedonian label then is not only used before the Roman Imperial authority but also in relation to the other communities of the province of Asia.

From the inscription of Ephesos it seems that Hyrkanis was one of the Lydian

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<sup>255</sup> See Burrell 2004, 275-276 and 361-363. However, Madsen has recently argues that the initiative of the Koinon of Asia to offer the cult to Augustus came from the cities individually and that Rome, or the people around the emperor, was heavily involved in how the cults were organised and where they were located. Madsen 2016, 21-35.

<sup>256</sup> Cf. *GIBM* III, 62-163. This figure is also mentioned in an Ephesian inscription edited by M Waddington in 1880,180 (Smyrna vol.4).

centres where the Imperial cult had spread. It could be that Timotheus and Metrodorus, *archontes* of Hyrkanis, were also the chief priests of the cult in the city. The Macedonian label marks Hyrkanis clearly as different in respect to other cities of the *koinon*. The use of the Macedonian label could have been triggered at two levels of confrontation, because of the diffusion of the Roman Imperial cult. One trigger was at a horizontal level, e.g. the relationship with the other cities of the *koinon*, while the other was at a vertical level, e.g. the relationship with the Roman Imperial figure. The “regionalization” of this worship will be analysed in detail in the following chapter.

Interestingly, there is a sign of a third label associated with the community of the Hyrkanians: *Καίσαρέων*, “Caesareans”. This new “identity label” could support the hypothesis of a sort of re-foundation of the settlement under the rule of Domitian, perhaps as the outcome of a financial benefaction. I argue that Hyrkanis could not have been labelled earlier as “Caesarean”, because this title was not used in the inscription citing Hyrkanis that was dated to the reign of Tiberius. Besides, the title could not be added after the intervention of Tiberius due to the earthquake of AD 17. Indeed, Pliny the Elder, who was writing during the reign of Vespasian, does not associate the term “Caesarean” with Hyrkanis. The addition of the “imperial” label at the time of Domitian would not be surprising because many Phrygian and Lydian cities were officially re-founded with dynastic names just under the Flavian dynasty.<sup>257</sup> If Hyrkanis was “re-founded” by Domitian, why did Tacitus, who was probably writing at the time of Trajan, present the community of Hyrkanis with only the Macedonian label? The disappearance of the “Imperial” label occurred probably just a few years after the death of Domitian, as we will see in the analysis of one later inscription from Hyrkanis.

The present honorary inscription dates from the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD).<sup>258</sup> It consists of a colossal statue made in honour of this emperor by the city of Hyrkanis (Appendix 1.11.5). The text says:

[Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Ἰαντωνεῖνον Εὐσεβεῖ Ἰ [Σεβαστόν τῆς οἰκ]οιμένης Ἰ  
[δεσπότην καὶ] κτίστην καὶ σ[ω]τήρα ..... ἡ Μακεδόνων Ὑ[ρκ]ανῶν πόλις Ἰ  
τῆς τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος Ἰαντωνεῖνου καθιερώσεως Ἰ προνοησαμένων Λ. Βετ-

<sup>257</sup> See Filges 2006, 312-320.

<sup>258</sup> IGR IV.1354 = BCH 1887 91 no.11 = TAM V.2.1308.

τίου | Φαυστείνου καὶ Κ. Βεπτίου | Κρισπείνου, καὶ Μενεκράτου[ς] | τοῦ  
Μηνοφίλου στρατηγοῦν|τος τὸ β' καὶ ἐπιμεληθέντος | τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ  
Κολοσσοῦ.

*To the emperor Caesar Antoninus Pius Augustus, lord of the world, **founder and saviour, the city of the Macedonians Hyrkanians**, dedication of emperor Antoninus, under the supervision of L. Vettius Faustinus and K. Vettius Krispinus<sup>259</sup> and during the second year of the strategy of Menecrates son of Menophiles, was managed the construction of the colossal statue.*

We see here that Hyrkanis presented itself as “city of the Macedonians Hyrkanians”, without the imperial label “Caesareans”, which was recorded in the honorary inscription made under Domitian. Antoninus Pius is granted with the erection of a colossal statue by the civic community and two private citizens, L. Vettius Faustinus and K. Vettius Krispinus. These could be exponents of the same family whose member was also the strategos (general) who supervised most of civic issues under Commodus with the Macedonian label, L. Vettius Antoninus.<sup>260</sup> The expression *κτίστην καὶ σωτήρα*, founder and saviour, usually implies that the emperor was responsible for some direct benefactions to the city. It is possible that the direct intervention of Antoninus Pius led also to a formal re-foundation of the city of Hyrkanis.

The disappearance of the imperial label “Caesareans” has a possible historical explanation. We know thanks to Suetonius that the Roman senators took immediate legislative action after the death of Domitian to erase him from the public records:

*scalas etiam inferri clipeosque et imagines eius coram detrahi **et ibidem solo affligi iuberet, novissime eradendos ubique titulos abolendamque omnem memoriam decerneret.***

*They even had ladders brought and his shields and images torn down before their eyes and dashed upon the ground; **finally, they passed a decree that his inscriptions should everywhere be erased, and all record of him obliterated.***<sup>261</sup>

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<sup>259</sup> See coins edited by V. Head, *Greek Coins in the British Museum: Lydia*, Hyrkanis 16-17.

<sup>260</sup> See for example BMC 17, 18.

<sup>261</sup> Suet. *Dom.* XXII. English translation by Loeb.

From the passage it seems that it was decreed by the Senate the *damnatio memoriae* of the last member of the Flavian dynasty throughout all the Roman Empire. The province of Asia was formally under the jurisdiction of the Senate and it is possible that the decree had an immediate application in the region. Therefore, it could be that the city of Hyrkanis did not want to be more closely associated with a title from this infamous “founder”, and Antoninus Pius formally agreed to the change of name. As for Tacitus, I suggest that this historiographer avoided mentioning a title associated with an emperor who was personally despised. We do not know if in the civic coins of Hyrkanis issued with the imperial portrait of Domitian there was an obliteration of his name, because we have no more evidence of them. However, it is relevant that the civic issues made with the portrait of Trajan do not present the “imperial” label, but only the prior double label “Macedonians Hyrkanians” or the simple “Hyrkanians”.<sup>262</sup>

The inscription could be a testimony of the official change of “civic identity” by Hyrkanis. Antoninus Pius, through an imperial decree, could have granted the re-foundation of Hyrkanis and the present civic honorary decree was an homage for this type of imperial intervention. It could be that through this act Antoninus Pius allowed the erasing from the records of the city of the “imperial” title, too closely connected with the figure of Domitian. Consequently, the name of Hyrkanis probably returned in the registers of the Roman Imperial administration and in the public inscriptions to the expression “City/people of the Macedonians Hyrkanians”. It remains a mere conjecture, because we have no evidence of public inscriptions made by the city at the time of Trajan or Hadrian. However, it is interesting that the title of “Caesareans” is attested only for the reign of Domitian, while the double label “Macedonians Hyrkanians” is attested both before and after the reign of the last Flavian emperor.

To conclude the part about the honorary inscriptions dated to the Roman Imperial period, we analyse the latest evidence of the double label “Macedonians Hyrkanians” attested in Hyrkanis, including the numismatic evidence. Indeed, the latest civic issue, which also has the Macedonian label, dates from the reign of

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<sup>262</sup> See for example RPC III 1950 and RPC III 1951 for the double label.

Philip the Arab (241-244 AD).<sup>263</sup> This honorary inscription dates from the co-reign of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus (November 251 – August 253 AD).<sup>264</sup>

The text, fragmentary in nature, says (Appendix 1.11.6):

[Αυτοκράτορι] Καίσα[ρ]ι Βειβίῳ | [Τρεβωνιανῶ] Γάλλῳ Εύσεβεῖ | Εύτυχεῖ Σεβαστῶ  
| και] Αυτοκράτορι [Καίσαρι Βειβίῳ] | Ούολουσιανῶ.. || [Εύσεβ]ε[ι] Εύτυχεῖ  
Σεβα[στῶ] ἢ **Μακεδόνων**<sup>265</sup> | Ὑρκανῶν πόλις ἐπεσκεύασεν | ..... ς εκ τοῦ κατ  
...|..... του.

*To the emperor Caesar healthy Trebonianus Gallus Pius Blessed Augustus and to the emperor Caesar healthy Volusianus Pius Blessed Augustus. To the Blessed Augustus **the city of the Macedonians Hyrkanians** restored/repared.*

As it can be seen, the double label “Macedonians and Hyrkanians” was still used in association with the civic community of Hyrkanis in the middle of the third century AD. Unfortunately, it is not possible to understand what the type of public building would be restored by the community of Hyrkanis in honour of the two emperors. It could have been a temple devoted to the Imperial cult, but there is no certainty without further material evidence. The Macedonian label seems to be associated again with the Roman Imperial power to define the community of Hyrkanis. There was a precarious military situation at the eastern borders of the empire at the time of Trebonianus. According to the account of the late historiographer Zosimus, the Persian king Shapur I attacked the eastern frontiers of the Roman Empire in AD 251.<sup>266</sup> Advancing up the Euphrates, Shapur quickly defeated the Roman forces at the battle of Barbalissos and soon controlled most of the province of Syria, even if temporarily. In AD 253, he completed the triumph over the Roman province of Syria with the capture of its capital city of Antioch.<sup>267</sup> This inscription was carved in the same period as the Persian invasion of the province of Syria. It is not unlikely that the echo of the Persian aggression also arrived in the Roman province of Asia. It could be that the Hyrkanians wanted to stress again their connection with the ancient Macedonians to remind the

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<sup>263</sup> BMC *Lydia, Hyrkanis* 22.

<sup>264</sup> IGR IV.1487 = CIG 3181.

<sup>265</sup> J and L. Robert in *Hellenica* VI 1948, 18-19, rightly suggest that the missing letters in the space of the stele have to be ἢ Μακεδόνων, because there is too much space left to suppose the only presence of the end of the word Σεβα[στῶ], as presumed in IGR IV.1487. See also Cohen 1995, no.3 p.210.

<sup>266</sup> Zosimus I.27

<sup>267</sup> Zosimus I.27.

Romans rulers of the prestige obtained by this people over the Persian empire. Even if Hyrkanis had not been a military garrison for centuries, the Macedonian label may still have been politically useful to obtain consideration (and financial support) from Trebonianus, an emperor occupied in a military campaign against “the New Persians”.

Before passing to the literary section, I analyse two religious inscriptions, both dated to the first half of the third century AD. They do not present the Macedonian label, but a strong reference to the Hellenistic past of Hyrkanis. One is a marble stele now located at the museum of Manisa<sup>268</sup>

The text says:

Ἀρτεμίδωρος Μενελάου Μητρὶ Θεοῦ καὶ **Διὶ Σελευκέω** ἑπακούσασι [εὐχ]ήν, ἔτους.

*Artemidoros son of Menelaus made this ex voto to the mother of god and to Zeus Seleukeios who have given ear, year.*

The stele is dedicated by a certain Artemidoros as *ex voto* in honour of Zeus Seleukeios and a divinity called mother of god. Robert notes that the appellative *mother of god* is rare. I suppose that this is a local adaptation of the figure of the goddess Cybele-Demeter, goddess frequently attested on the imperial civic issues of Hyrkanis until the reign of Philip the Arab.<sup>269</sup> This religious inscription demonstrates that a divinity with an epithet recalling the Seleucids was still worshipped in the third century AD. According to Robert, the antiquity of this dynastic cult proves that settlers of Macedonian ethnicity were still prominent landowners in the region of Hyrkanis in the Roman Imperial period.<sup>270</sup> This theory is supported according to Robert by another religious inscription related to Hyrkanis, found near Maonia. It dates from 228/229 AD.<sup>271</sup>

The text says:

**[Δ]ιὶ Σ[ε]λ[ε]υκίω** καὶ Νύμφαις Καρποδοτείραις ἡ Νισυρέω[ν] Κατοικία ὑ[π]ὲρ τῆς ἀθλαθείας [κ]αὶ τελεσφορίας τῶν καρπῶ[ν] κατ'ἐπιταγήν. Ἔτους τγί', μ[ηνός] Πανήμου γί'.

*The village of the Niserians dedicated this to Zeus Seleukeios and the Nymphas.*

<sup>268</sup> SEG XV.740 = TAM V.2.1306: J and L. Robert, *Hellenica* VI 1948, 24.

<sup>269</sup> See for example BMC 22.

<sup>270</sup> J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* VI 1948, 25-26.

<sup>271</sup> TAM V.1.426 = KP II.200 = J and L. Robert, *Hellenica* VI 1948, 25.

Here it seems that a village under the jurisdiction of Hyrkanis practiced the same cult found in the inscription of Artemidoros. Is this enough to say that the settlers of Hyrkanis were in the majority Macedonians? I tend to disagree with Robert. I argue instead that at the time of the Roman Empire the population of Hyrkanis was mixed and it included people of Greek, perhaps Persian, Macedonian and Italian ancestry without any official internal distinction between them. Indeed, we have seen in the section dedicated to the inscriptions of the early Roman period that wealthy Roman citizens, Greek freedmen and local inhabitants did not use specific ethnic labels to identify themselves. It is true that the persistence of a Hellenistic cult in the Roman period is the proof that communities living in the area of Hyrkanis maintained their local traditions and customs. However, the fact that the “Seleucid past” was religiously preserved does not imply that the Hyrkanians were direct descendants of Macedonian colonists. The cult of Zeus Seleukeios could be a way to preserve, or rather re-create, a specific cultural identity by the local elites in an historical context where Hyrkanis was frequently placed in the context of other communities of Lydia and Asia Minor under Roman Imperial rule. The Macedonian label is not associated with the city of Hyrkanis by the literary sources until the Flavian period, as we will see.

### 3.4 The literary evidence

#### 3.4.1 The settlement of Hyrkanis in the Hellenistic period according to the ancient literary tradition: a Persian past?

The earliest literary evidence that refers to the area where Hyrkanis is located is the geographer Strabo, who writes during the Augustan period. His account says:

εἶτα τὸ Ὑρκάνιον πεδῖον, Περσῶν ἐπονομασάντων καὶ ἐποίκους ἀγαγόντων ἐκεῖθεν (ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ Κύρου πεδῖον Πέρσαι κατωνόμασαν).

*Then comes the Hyrkanian plain, a name given to it by the Persians, who brought Hyrkanian settlers/colonizers from there (the Plain of Cyrus, likewise, was given its name by the Persians).*<sup>272</sup>

Strabo does not make any reference to the presence of Macedonian settlers at Hyrkanis in the above passage. He instead refers to “the Hyrkanian plain” as a

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<sup>272</sup> Strabo XIII.4.13

place that takes its name from settlers brought from an eponymous place by the Persians. Indeed, Hyrkania was a historical region composed of the land south-east of the Caspian Sea in modern-day Iran.<sup>273</sup> So, the region of the settlement of Hyrkanis seems to be associated with the Persians, not the Macedonians. The Greek word *ἐποίκοις* used by Strabo can be translated both as “settlers” and “colonizers”. Strabo, writing during the first part of the Augustan age (31 BC- 4 BC), ignores the presence of Macedonian settlers and he does not refer to the existence of any city on the Hyrkanian plain. This could mean that the settlement of Hyrkanis was not granted the status of city at the time of Strabo. It is strange that Strabo, Greek citizen from the region of Pontus, could not know a city located in the province of Asia. However, we know that Hyrkanis already existed at his times, thanks to the numismatic and epigraphic evidence. This would suggest that Strabo is using a source that does not mention the civic community of Hyrkanis in this case. His source could be a Roman administrative record of the province of Asia, or a Hellenistic author living at a time when the civic centre was not developed into a urban centre, but it consisted of a system of rural villages occupying the Hyrkanian plain. From the account of Strabo, it is revealed that the settlement of Hyrkanis may have Persian origins, not Greek or Macedonian.

The settlement of Hyrkanis is not labelled as Macedonian nor remembered at all as a civic community in another author of the Augustan period: Livy. The Latin historian notes the geographical importance of a plain called “Hyrkanian”. The region is cited in the passage dedicated to the military campaign held by the consul Publius Scipio against Antiochus III, held at the beginning of the second century BC:

Consul circa Thyatiram esse regem ratus, continuis itineribus quinto die ad **Hyrcaanium campum** descendit.

*Supposing the king to be in the vicinity of Thyatira, the consul came down to the **Hyrkanian plain** by forced marches four days later.*<sup>274</sup>

Livy cites the Hyrkanian plain as it was on the strategic route that led to an important Seleucid colony located in Lydia, the city of Thyatira (see figure 3.1 at page 54). Again, the region of Hyrkanis is not connected to any kind of Macedonian presence. Livy does not cite any city or settlement, but just the

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<sup>273</sup> Sherwin-White & Kuhrt 1993, 81.

<sup>274</sup> Livy XXXVII.38,1-2.



geographical area where Hyrkanis may be located. The so called Hyrkanian plain has no trace of a city or a Macedonian presence according the two Augustan authors: the Greek term used by Strabo, *Ἰγκάνιον πεδῖον*, perfectly matches the Latin word *Hyrcanium campum* that we found in Livy passage. Strabo even suggests that the name of the plain where Hyrkanis was probably located has Persian origins. This is in contrast with the epigraphic and numismatic evidence analysed in the previous sections. A *polis* called Hyrkanis was already issuing civic coins and decrees in the second and first centuries BC. Groups labelled Macedonians were inhabiting the area of Hyrkanis.<sup>275</sup> The hypothesis of a Persian foundation for Hyrkanis has been debated by the modern scholarship and it is necessary to review it before moving onto the later ancient literary sources. Epigraphic evidence from other Lydian communities could help us to understand why the Macedonian label gained relevance for Hyrkanis in the Roman Imperial period.

The hypothesis that Hyrkanis was originally a Persian settlement is supported by Roller. He argues that Cyrus founded this centre after a military campaign around the 520s BC, as reported by Xenophon.<sup>276</sup> The source of Strabo about Persian settlers coming from Hyrkania could have been the historiographer Xanthos of Lydia, a contemporary of Herodotus.<sup>277</sup> Sekunda is more cautious, as he notes that the only evidence for the presence of Persian settlers is Strabo's work.<sup>278</sup> Nevertheless, Sekunda argues that some Persian incomers could have settled in the Hyrkanian plain in scattered villages during the Achaemenid era. This system of villages would persist until the Hellenistic period, when the Macedonian veterans arrived in the region and dispossessed the Persian settlers from the lands. The inscription of the strategos son of Machetas could testify to this phenomenon.<sup>279</sup>

The presence of Persian settlers in the region of Lydia is not archaeologically attested in the Hyrkanian plain, but we have sources that related Persian landowners to sites close to it. For example, Xenophon recalls the demesne of

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<sup>275</sup> J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* VI 1948, 22-24 = EA 7 1986 17-18 = TAM V.2.1307.

<sup>276</sup> See also Xen. *Cyr.* 8.4.28.

<sup>277</sup> Cf. Roller 2018, 783.

<sup>278</sup> Sekunda 1985, 26.

<sup>279</sup> Sekunda 1985, 25. SEG 57 1169.

Asidates in the Kaikos valley east of Pergamum, an estate centred on a *tyrsis*, a fortified manor and integrated in the satrapy of Sardis in the fourth century BC.<sup>280</sup> An inscription from Smyrna, a centre not far from Hyrkanis, records that some Persian soldiers under a particular commander, Omanes, living at the time of Seleucus II (246-225 BC) were granted a tax exemption by this city.<sup>281</sup> They are described in this civic decree as “settlers”, *katoikoi*, who held a garrison close to Magnesia at Syphilos, a city of the Hermos valley, next to the Hyrkanian region. However, Sekunda suggests that these settlers may have been installed there by the Seleucids, and they are not old-established settlers brought there by the Achaemenids.<sup>282</sup> A possible evidence of the presence of Persian settlers at Hyrkanis before the arrival of Greek or Macedonian veterans is given by a passage of Diodorus. According to this author, a unit of Hyrkanian cavalry took part to the battle of Granicus commanded by the satrap of Ionia, Spithrobates.<sup>283</sup> Domaszewski notices that these Hyrkanian soldiers were probably recruited by the Persian satrap in the Hyrkanian region located in Lydia.<sup>284</sup> This account would confirm the presence of Persian landowners in the Hyrkanian plain.

Despite the scarcity of evidence, it suggests that when the Macedonian settlers arrived in the area of Hyrkanis, they coexisted relatively peacefully with the Persian settlers. This would explain why in the Attalid period the Iranian name of Hyrkanis was chosen by the civic community to define itself. Mitchell speaks of Hyrkanis as formed by a “hybrid population” of Macedonian soldiers and Achaemenid settlers in the Hellenistic period.<sup>285</sup> This may also explain why Strabo and Livy do not mention the presence of Macedonians, but it does not clarify the lack of reference to a civic community. When did the Macedonians possibly arrive at the Hyrkanian plain according to the archaeological evidence?

Sekunda and Cohen suggest that Macedonian settlers took over the Hyrkanian plain probably during the early Seleucid period (end of fourth century/ beginning

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<sup>280</sup> Xen. An. 7.8.7–22; Mitchell 2017, 21.

<sup>281</sup> *I. Smyrna 573*, See Fingerson 2007, 107-120.

<sup>282</sup> *I. Smyrna 573*, ll.104-145. ὑπάρχειν δὲ καὶ Ὀμάνει καὶ τοῖς Πέρσαις τοῖς ὑπὸ Ὀμάνην καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Σμύρνης ἀποσταλείσιν ἐπὶ τὴν [φ]υλακὴν τοῦ χωρίου Sekunda 1985, 23-25.

<sup>283</sup> Diod. XVII.19.4.

<sup>284</sup> The satrap of Ionia is actually the satrap of Sardis. See Domaszewski, *SB Heidelberg 1925/26* 1 Abh., 53.

<sup>285</sup> Mitchell 2018, 8. See also Coloru 2013, 50.

of third century BC).<sup>286</sup> However, we have seen that the earliest archaeological evidence of the presence of Macedonians at Hyrkanis dates from the Attalid period. This consists of two inscriptions. The one found at Hyrkanis and commissioned by οἱ ἐξ Ἀγαθείρων Μακεδ[ό]νες – “The Macedonians from Agatheira”, dates from the reign of Eumenes II, probably after the Apameia treaty (188 – 159 BC).<sup>287</sup> The second is the civic decree in honour of the physician Philodemos, a *Μακεδῶν Ὑρκάνιος* - “Macedonian from Hyrkanys”. It dates from the reign of Eumenes II.<sup>288</sup> It implies that Hyrkanis was a civic community recognized by other Greek centres at the time. Moreover, the funerary inscription with the son of Machetas dated around the same period proves that the community of Hyrkanis had civic magistracies.<sup>289</sup> This would suggest that Hyrkanis existed as a civic community and contained groups of Macedonian settlers at least since the early Attalid period, if not earlier. The hypothesis of a first arrival of Greek or Macedonian settlers at the time of the Seleucids may be supported by the two dedications in honour of “Zeus Seleukeios”, dated to the Roman Imperial period.<sup>290</sup> The persistence of the worship of this Hellenistic dynasty could mean that the settlement of Hyrkanis hosted a military post garrisoned by Macedonians in the Seleucid period. Like Blaundos, Hyrkanis is placed in a strategic position. The site is at the top of a raised plateau, ideally placed to watch over the fertile valley of the river Pidasos and well connected to the settlement of Thyatira, as reported by Livy. At Thyatira, soldiers labelled as Macedonians dedicated a stele to Seleucos I at the end of the fourth century BC, as we will see in the fourth chapter.<sup>291</sup>

In conclusion, although the area of Hyrkanis was probably inhabited by groups of Macedonians in the Hellenistic period, the testimonies of Livy and Strabo do not mention a Macedonian presence and even the existence of a civic community is omitted. Despite this, the epigraphic material confirms the presence of Macedonian settlers within a community organized as a Greek city whose name

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<sup>286</sup> Sekunda 1985, 20-21, Cohen 1995, 209.

<sup>287</sup> J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6 1948, 22-24 = EA 7 1986 17-18 = TAM V.2.1307. There is also a laureate wreath above the inscription.

<sup>288</sup> BCH 1901, 25, 234-235.

<sup>289</sup> SEG 57 1169 = Edd.pr. Herrmann-Malay, *New Documents* 35 no. 20. In this stele a son of a strategos (general) of Hyrkanis is commemorated.

<sup>290</sup> SEG XV.740; TAM V.1.426.

<sup>291</sup> OGIS 211.

is Hyrkanis. One hypothesis may be that Strabo and Livy use a Hellenistic source who ignores the presence of a civic community at Hyrkanis because it still did not exist, or it was not important at the time. It has been suggested that the Persian settlers mentioned by Strabo probably lived in scattered villages or estates, and the organization of Hyrkanis as a civic community may be dated to the Attalid period, at the end of the third century BC. This would explain also the lack of epigraphic and numismatic evidence for the Seleucid period. The area of Hyrkanis is considered to have a Persian background by Strabo. The turning point for the change of the perception of Hyrkanis by the ancient historians seems to be a natural disaster that triggered the intervention of the Roman imperial authority in the region. The earthquake of 17 AD severely damaged some Lydian communities, including Hyrkanis. This is reported by Pliny and Tacitus, the first historians to cite the civic community of Hyrkanis in their accounts.

### **3.4.2 The appearance of the community of the “Macedonians called Hyrkanians” in Roman accounts.**

The first ancient author who refers to the existence of Hyrkanis is Pliny the Elder. Pliny wrote the *Natural History* probably at the time of Vespasian (69-79 AD). He reports that:

Smyrnaeum conventum magna pars et Aeoliae quae mox dicitur frequentat, praeterque **Macedones Hyrcani cognominati** et Magnetes a Sipylo.

*The jurisdiction of Smyrna is also the centre resorted to by a large part of Aeolia which will now be described, and also by **the Macedonians called Hyrkanians** and the Magnesians from Sipylos.*<sup>292</sup>

In this passage, the community of Hyrkanis is assigned to the *conventus* of Smyrna at the time. The problem of the term *conventus* and its different meanings will be analysed more thoroughly in the fourth chapter, dedicated to Lydia and Phrygia in general. What is important here is the definition used by Pliny to define Hyrkanis. Its inhabitants are said to be *the Macedonians called Hyrkanians*. Pliny used the verb *cognomino*, which means “give a name, an epithet”, and “call”. It is not clear in the passage of Pliny whether the civic community of Hyrkanis was

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<sup>292</sup> Pliny, N.H. V.31.120.

labelled as “the Macedonians who are called Hyrkanians” by the Romans or whether the locals used the double label by themselves. I consider the second hypothesis more likely. We have seen in the numismatic and epigraphic sections that the civic institutions of Hyrkanis issued coins and civic decrees where they defined themselves as “city of the Macedonians and Hyrkanians” or “city of the Hyrkanians and Macedonians” in the Roman Imperial period. The difference between the version of the double label reported in the epigraphic and numismatic material from Hyrkanis and the account of Pliny is noteworthy. According to the Roman author, Hyrkanis is a community of “Macedonians called Hyrkanians”, not “Macedonians and Hyrkanians”. It seems that from a Roman point of view the Macedonian label was the part that caught more attention than the Hyrkanian one. Or it could be an intentional choice by the Hyrkanians in relation to the Roman authorities? Pliny represents the earliest Roman literary source that associates the term Hyrkanis with a civic community labelled as Macedonian.

What is the source of the passage of Pliny on Hyrkanis? According to Habicht and Robert, Pliny uses a catalogue of the region commissioned by Agrippa, but they do not provide solid evidence to support his conjecture.<sup>293</sup> I tend to disagree, for two reasons. First, Strabo and Livy, contemporary sources of Augustus, do not cite the presence of a community of “Macedonians called Hyrkanians” but just the Hyrkanian plain. It would be odd that these two authors, who probably used the Imperial archives for their research, would not be aware of an administrative catalogue of Asia made by the most trusted general of Augustus. Secondly, I argue that the community of Hyrkanis was relatively unknown to the central imperial administration until the devastating earthquake of AD 17. Roman officials may have redacted such a record, when they encountered the representatives of the communities affected by the earthquake. This could cause the creation of a catalogue used later by Pliny the Elder to describe the administration of the province of Asia. In this catalogue, Hyrkanis was probably recorded as a city. Indeed, the Flavian scholar reports in the second book of the *Naturalis Historia* that

maximus terrae memoria mortalium exstitit motus Tiberii Caesaris

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<sup>293</sup> J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica VI* 1948, 15; Habicht 1975, 66.

principatu, XII urbibus Asiae una nocte prostratis.

*The greatest earthquake in human memory occurred **when Tiberius Caesar was emperor, twelve cities of the province of Asia being overthrown in one night.***

Pliny is referring here to earthquake that occurred in AD 17, at the beginning of the reign of Tiberius. He uses the term *urbes* to define the centres struck by the earthquake. It was this calamity that prompted the Imperial intervention in the province of Asia. It is likely that among the “twelve cities of Asia” there was also Hyrkanis. The hypothesis that the first catalogue including a civic community labelled as Macedonian and Hyrkanian dating from the time of this earthquake finds indirect confirmation in Tacitus.

According to Tacitus, the province of Asia suffered from a major earthquake in AD 17. The new emperor Tiberius appears to have contributed directly to the rebuilding of the damaged cities. It is important to report fully the passage to compare the definition of Hyrkanis given in the *Annales* with the account of Pliny:

**Eodem anno duodecim celebres Asiae urbes conlapsae nocturno motu terrae**, quo inprovisior graviorque pestis fuit. Asperrima in Sardianos lues plurimum in eosdem misericordiae traxit: nam centies sestertium pollicitus Caesar, et quantum aerario aut fisco pendebant in quinquennium remisit. Magnetes a Sipylo proximi damno ac remedio habiti. Temnios, Philadelphenos, Aegeatas, Apollonidenses, quique Mosteni aut **Macedones Hyrcani vocantur**, et Hierocaesariam, Myrinam, Cymen, Tmolium levare idem in tempus **tributis mittique ex senatu placuit, qui praesentia spectaret refoveretque**. Delectus est M. Ateius e praetoriis, ne consulari obtinente Asiam aemulatio inter pares et ex eo impedimentum oreretur. Magnificam in publicum largitionem auxit Caesar haud minus grata liberalitate,

*In the same year (AD 17), twelve important cities of Asia collapsed in an earthquake, the time being night, so that the havoc was the less foreseen and the more devastating. [...] As the disaster fell heaviest on the Sardians, it brought them the largest measure of sympathy, the Caesar promising ten million sesterces, and remitting for five years their payments to the national and imperial exchequers. The Magnesians of Sipylyus were*

*ranked second in the extent of their losses and their indemnity. In the case of the Temnians, Philadelphenes, Aegeates, Apollonideans, those called Mostenians and **the Macedonians Hyrkanians**, and the cities of Hierocaesareia, Myrina, Cyme, and Tmolus, it was decided to exempt them from tribute for the same term and to **send a senatorial commissioner to view the state of affairs and administer relief**. Since Asia was held by a consular governor, an *ex-praetor*—Marcus Ateius—was selected, so as to avoid the difficulties which might arise from the jealousy of two officials of similar standing. The emperor supplemented his imposing benefaction on behalf of the state by an equally popular display of private liberality.<sup>294</sup>*

Tacitus like Pliny says that twelve cities were affected by the earthquake of AD 17. Moreover, he cites explicitly “the Macedonians Hyrkanians” among these. The size of the Lydian settlement should have been a city of a medium size at the time of Tiberius, if Tacitus lists Hyrkanis among *celebres Asiae urbes*. In this occasion, Tacitus uses like Pliny the Macedonian label to define the community of Hyrkanis: *Macedones Hyrcani vocantur – those who are called Macedonians Hyrkanians*. Moreover, in this passage Tacitus uses the expression *vocantur*. It can be argued that the use of the Macedonian label to define the civic community of Hyrkanis by the Romans dates from the aftermath of the earthquake that occurred in the reign of Tiberius. One hypothesis is that both Pliny and Tacitus used a catalogue of the city redacted by the senatorial commissioner sent by the emperor Tiberius at the time. Indeed, Tacitus says that this official, named Marcus Ateius, had the task to “view the state of affairs and administer relief”. I argue that the citizens of Hyrkanis, negotiating the financial issues with this representative of Rome, chose to be called “Macedonians”.

Was it the first time that the civic community of Hyrkanis used the Macedonian label? It could be considered that Hyrkanis may have referred to itself as that before, but until the earthquake the authorities in Rome were unaware of its existence. This is suggested by the accounts of Strabo and Livy. However, we have no epigraphic or numismatic evidence of the use of the Macedonian label

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<sup>294</sup> Tacit, *Ann.* II.47-48.

by the city of Hyrkanis before the Roman Imperial period. Besides, there is a difference between the double label “Macedonians and Hyrkanians” and the definition “Macedonians called Hyrkanians” used by Pliny. Was this an intentional change, reflecting Roman interest in Macedonian ancestry? It is difficult to determine. Why the Macedonian label could be particularly important when Hyrkanis interacted with Roman imperial officials is discussed in the following section.

To conclude, the surviving literary evidence shows how the Macedonian label was associated officially with Hyrkanis by the Roman authorities after the earthquake of AD 17. This event caused the Roman Imperial intervention in the region and the creation of an administrative catalogue to facilitate financial benefactions for the local communities, Hyrkanis included. Neither Strabo nor Livy, living at the time of Augustus, refer to a civic community called Hyrkanis or to Macedonians living in that area. Strabo even speaks of a Persian presence in the Hyrkanian plane. Having said this, why did the civic authorities of Hyrkanis choose the self-definition of “Macedonians Hyrkanians” in relation to the Senatorial commissioner sent by Tiberius? It could be that the Macedonian label was already in use before the earthquake to define the Hyrkanian community, but my hypothesis is that the Macedonian label was essential to stress an identity “opposed” to the Persian past of Hyrkanis. Could the use of the Macedonian label be a way to distinguish Hyrkanis from the other communities struck by the earthquake? Also, was the Macedonian label instrumentalised to appeal to the Roman rulers? To address these questions, it is necessary to comprehend why the Macedonian label may be considered important for the Roman emperors.

### **3.4.3 The importance of the Macedonian label and the *kausia* for Hyrkanis and the Roman Emperors.**

As Tacitus notes about the earthquake that struck Hyrkanis in AD 17, the province of Asia was entrusted with a proconsular governor. It means that the governor was chosen by the Senate, with the approval of the emperor. It was the only province to have this administrative asset together with Africa and Sardinia since the reign of Augustus.<sup>295</sup> The fact that the Senate was perceived as the most

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<sup>295</sup> See Faoro 2011, 41-9.



representative entity of the Roman power together with the Augustan dynasty in the province of Asia is testified by another passage of the *Annales*. Shortly after the earthquake, the cities of Asia decreed a temple to Tiberius, Livia and the Senate for having handled the corruption of the Roman administration, in AD 23.<sup>296</sup> Tacitus reports that there was a competition between the cities of the province to gain the right to build the temple. According to Erskine, there was a political interest by the Greek *poleis* around the host of this official worship: the imperial concession of building a temple in favour of the Senate and the living dynasty might lead to further financial benefactions and political prestige.<sup>297</sup> Tacitus claims that eleven cities of the province tried to win this competition. More specifically, the ambassadors of each community stressed two elements in order to obtain a positive judgment of the Roman authority. According to Tacitus,

Neque multum distantia inter se memorabant de **vetustate generis, studio in populum Romanum** per bella Persi et Aristonici aliorumque regum.

*With no great variety each pleaded **antiquity of ancestry, and zeal for the Roman people** in the wars with Perseus, Aristonikos, and other kings.*<sup>298</sup>

It seems here that the antiquity of foundation and the long-lasting allegiance with Rome are the two key elements to obtain the Imperial favour from the local perspective. I argue that these two factors could have been equally important for the Lydian communities in the rush for Imperial attention after the earthquake of AD 17. Hyrkanis could not claim the antiquity of its foundation as city, because it was probably connected to the relatively recent Attalid period. How could Hyrkanis show its zeal for the Romans, that is the Roman Imperial power, and at the same time distinguish itself from the other eleven cities struck by the earthquake of AD 17? The use of a specific iconography revealed by archaeological evidence may explain the association of the Macedonian label with Hyrkanis by Tacitus and Pliny and the potential prestige derived by a claim of Macedonian ancestry in relation to Rome.

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<sup>296</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 4.15. See Forni 1982, 3-4; Price 1984, 42.

<sup>297</sup> Erskine 1997, 28.

<sup>298</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 4.55.

In the same year of the competition for the temple in honour of Tiberius, Livia and the Roman Senate, the twelve cities devastated by the earthquake of AD 17 decided to set up a collective monument. This would consist of an equestrian statue of Tiberius surrounded by a frieze with the personifications of the twelve cities that were helped after the calamity. The location was the forum of Julius Caesar in Rome.<sup>299</sup> There is no archaeological evidence of this monument in its original location. However, the priests of the corporation of Augustus at Puteoli decided to reproduce a copy of the monument in Rome a few years after, in 29/30 AD.<sup>300</sup> It seems that Puteoli had at the time extensive commercial links with the cities of Asia Minor affected by the earthquake. Therefore, it is possible that the finance of the Campanian centre had a strong stake in their recovery. The bas-reliefs of the frieze have different features that exhibit the distinctive identifiers associated with each city, including Hyrkanis. I argue that the monument was probably commissioned by these communities as a form of gratitude but also in order to remain in the memory of the Roman emperors, in the hope of future benefactions. Therefore, it was important to choose iconography that could appeal to Roman and Greek historiography and at the same time display what was characteristic of each civic community.

The personification of Hyrkanis appears in the dress of a short-skirted, conservative Artemis of the fourth century BC. More importantly, her headgear has been identified by a succession of authorities as the Macedonian *kausia* (see figure 3.7).<sup>301</sup> Other attributes, except for the boots, have vanished. It appears that there is only a bas-relief of the monument that wears a type of dress expressly that was Macedonian. In light of the epigraphic and numismatic evidence analysed in the previous sections, it would make sense that this figure was the personification of Hyrkanis. My hypothesis is that the Macedonian *kausia* and the goddess Artemis are precise references to a Macedonian conqueror: Alexander the Great. Sekunda explains that “the *kausia* was a kind of felt beret; usually white, this was occasionally dyed as ‘sea-purple’ when worn by important individuals or units”.<sup>302</sup> The use of the *kausia* by Alexander and other famous

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<sup>299</sup> Vermeule 1981, 85-101.

<sup>300</sup> Vermeule 1981, 85-101.

<sup>301</sup> See CIL X.1624. The inscription is carved on a rectangular base of Aegean marble found at Pozzuoli, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

<sup>302</sup> Sekunda 2012, 9.

kings labelled as Macedonian is consistently attested in Greek and Roman historiography. The first literary evidence is Ehippos of Olynthus, a contemporary of Alexander.



Fig. 3. Puteoli base, rear. Left to right: Temnus, Cibyra, Myrina, Ephesus, Apollonis, Hyrkanis. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

**Figure 3.7: personification of Hyrkanis with the *kausia* (above, the last on the right).<sup>303</sup>**

According to Ehippos of Olynthus, Alexander during his Persian campaign dressed on some occasions in the custom of Artemis, wearing a *kausia* ornated with a royal diadem:

τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σχεδὸν καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, χλαμύδα τε πορφυρᾶν καὶ χιτῶνα μεσόλευκον καὶ τὴν **καυσίαν ἔχουσαν τὸ διάδημα τὸ βασιλικόν** *in fact, just about every day, (Alexander wore) a purple chlamys and a chiton with a white central stripe and a **kausia with the royal diadem.***<sup>304</sup>

The association of the *kausia* with Alexander and his royal custom was well known at the time of the Roman Empire. The passage of Ehippos is cited by Athenaeus, a Greek scholar who lived during the reign of Commodus. This

<sup>303</sup> Image from Vermeule 1981, 91. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

<sup>304</sup> FGrH 126 F 5 = Athen. 12.537 E – 538B. Translation by Fredricksmeier 1986, 216.

military feature was also attested among the veterans of the Macedonian army who remained in Asia Minor after the death of Alexander. According to Plutarch, Krateros was particularly loved by his soldiers and distinguished from the others due to his loyalty to the traditional Macedonian life style. Interestingly, he was easily recognisable as he used to wear a *kausia*:

**κἂν μόνον ἴδωσι τὴν καυσίαν αὐτοῦ** καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἀκούσωσι, μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων ἤξειν φερομένου καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὄντως ὄνομα τοῦ Κρατεροῦ μέγα, καὶ μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν τοῦτον ἐπόθησαν οἱ πολλοί, μνημονεύοντες ὅτι καὶ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνεδέξατο πολλάκις ἀπεχθείας πολλάς, ὑποφερομένου πρὸς τὸν Περσικὸν ζῆλον ἀντιλαμβανόμενος, καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις ἀμύνων διὰ τρυφὴν καὶ ὄγκον ἤδη περιυβριζόμενοις.

*if they should only see his kausia and hear his voice, they would come to him with a rush, arms and all. And indeed, the name of Krateros was really great among them, and after the death of Alexander most of them had longed for him as their commander. They remembered that he had many times incurred the strong displeasure of Alexander himself in their behalf by opposing his gradually increasing desire to adopt Persian customs, and by defending the manners of their country, which, thanks to the spread of luxury and pomp, were already being treated with contempt.*<sup>305</sup>

This indicates that the *kausia* was an evocative symbol for the Macedonian soldiers and it was typically associated with Macedonian identity, in contrast with the luxury of Persian customs, by authors living under the Roman Imperial rule like Plutarch.

The importance of *kausia* not only as typical trait of Macedonian identity but also of royal legitimation is suggested by another passage of Plutarch. In 321/20 BC, Eumenes, one of the pretenders to Alexander's succession wintered in upper Phrygia, not far from where the city of Hyrkanis would be founded. Before a decisive battle with Antigonos Monophthalmos, Macedonian officers loyal to Eumenes' cause

καὶ τιμὰς ἡγάπων παρ' αὐτοῦ λαμβάνοντες ὅς οἱ φίλοι παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων.

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<sup>305</sup> Plutarch, *Life of Eumenes*, 6. English translation provided by Loeb Edition.

ἐξῆν γὰρ Εὐμένει καὶ **καυσίας ἀλουργεῖς** καὶ χλαμύδας διανέμειν, ἧτις ἦν **δωρεὰ βασιλικωτάτη παρὰ Μακεδόσι.**

*were delighted to receive from Eumenes such honours as kings bestow upon their friends. For he was empowered to distribute **purple kausiai** and military cloaks, and this was a **special gift of royalty among Macedonians.***<sup>306</sup>

We see how the *kausia* was connected in the ancient tradition dated to the Roman Imperial period to traits proper to the Macedonian kingship, specifically with the deeds of Alexander and the Macedonian generals who tried to emulate him in the fight for the succession in Asia Minor during the early Hellenistic period.<sup>307</sup> At the time of Alexander, Hyrkanis probably consisted of small rural settlements inhabited by Persians, Lydians and groups of Macedonian soldiers recently arrived there. It could be possible that the “Macedonian fashion” incarnated by the *kausia* started to spread at the time in the Hyrkanian plain, or soon after with the beginning of the Seleucid rule. This may explain why the citizens of Hyrkanis knew the *kausia* and adopted it as mark of their own civic identity in the monument dedicated to Tiberius. The community of Hyrkanis claimed symbolically with the *kausia* to keep ancient Macedonian customs, even if it was a mixed community with different cultural traits at the time. This visual element was not only an expression of local pride but also a reconnection with Alexander and the royal symbols of Macedon. This could appeal to the interest of the emperor Tiberius, as the *kausia* was known as a typical Macedonian hat used also by kings in the Roman historiography.

The *kausia* was well known by the Romans as a Macedonian head dress of Hellenistic kings already at the beginning of the third century BC. According Valerius Maximus, who lived at the time of Tiberius, In 272 BC, Pyrrhus was slain fighting against Antigonos Gonatas in the streets of Argos. When his severed head was brought before Antigonos as a trophy, Gonatas humo caput sublatum **causea**, qua velatum caput suum **more Macedonum habebat**

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<sup>306</sup> Plutarch, *Life of Eumenes*, 8. English Translation provided by Loeb Edition.

<sup>307</sup> Also, Demetrius Poliorcetes in 288 BC was wearing a *kausia* when he was escaping from Pyrrhus advancing in Beroea, in 288 BC. Plutarch, *Life of Pyrrhus* 11.

*lifted the head from the ground and covered it with his kausia, which he was wearing according to Macedonian custom*<sup>308</sup>.

Antigonos Gonatas was the king of Macedon. It seems that the Antigonid dynasty kept the *kausia* as distinctive feature at the royal court until the very end of the military confrontation with the Romans. In a passage of Plutarch it is remembered that the Macedonian pages who served Philip V wore the *krepides* and the “Macedonian *kausia*”.<sup>309</sup> In this context, we may argue that the Hyrkanians had the advantage of having a local memory connected to the ancient Macedonians, and indirectly to Alexander. The Roman Imperial interest in Macedon provided the appropriate context to showcase their own Macedonian links.

The Macedonian *kausia*, along with other symbols like the Macedonian label that link the community of Hyrkanis to a Macedonian past (invented or not) seems to serve two purposes: first, it was a useful tool to distinguish Hyrkanis from the personifications of the other civic communities struck by the earthquake in AD 17. Secondly, it bolstered the local pride of Hyrkanis in front of the Roman emperor, because the Macedonian iconography reminded him of the powerful conqueror Alexander, well known in the Latin tradition at this time. Last but not least, the connection to a Macedonian past was convenient to a settlement known in the ancient tradition as originally Persian. My hypothesis is that the problem of “Persian past” and the need of Hyrkanis to publicly assert a “non-barbaric” identity did not end with the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Indeed, the dichotomy Macedonians/Persians will acquire renewed relevance at the eyes of the Roman emperors one century later, during the Antonine and Severan dynasties.

#### **3.4.4 The importance of Macedonians and Persians for the Antonine and Severan dynasties and the implications for Hyrkanis.**

A trigger of the use of the Macedonian label by Hyrkanis in relation to the Roman imperial authorities may be the Persian origins associated with the history of the settlement. According to Strabo, the Hyrkanian plain was associated with the arrival of Persian settlers at the time of the Achaemenids. This could have become a political issue when the Parthians constituted the biggest geopolitical

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<sup>308</sup> Val. Max. 5.1. ext.4. English translation provided by Fredricksmeyer 1986, 22.

<sup>309</sup> Plutarch. *Mor.* 760B. Cf. Fredricksmeyer 1986, 223.

problem for the Roman Empire at the Eastern borders, especially in the second century and at the beginning of the third century AD. The Parthians were assimilated to the Persians in the literary tradition from the time of Augustus, as we will see in the fifth chapter of the thesis. This identification was especially exploited by ancient authors at the time of the military campaign led by Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in 161-166 AD.

An author who builds the identification between Persians and Parthians in the context of this Parthian campaign is Polyaeus, who wrote the *Strategika* between 161 and 163 AD. The analysis of his work will be matter of the last chapter of the present thesis. For now, it is important to note that Polyaeus in the preface of the first books of the *Strategika* claims:

Ἐγὼ δὲ Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ, πάτριον ἔχων τὸ χρατεῖν Περσῶν πολεμούντων  
δύνασθαι, οὐκ ἀσύμβολος ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ γενέσθαι βούλομαι.  
Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν μοι τὸ σῶμα καὶ στρατιώτης προθυμος ἀνέγενόμην Μακεδονικῆ  
ρῶμη χρώμενος

*I, a Macedonian who has inherited the ability to conquer the Persians in war, want to do my part at the present critical time. If my body were in its prime, I would be an enthusiastic soldier using Macedonian strength.*<sup>310</sup>

Polyaeus uses the term “Persians” to refer to the Parthians against whom the Roman emperors Marcus Aurelius and Verus would fight. Besides, he affirms that his Macedonian strength could be a useful tool to defeat the Persian/Parthian aggression. This passage shows that the labels of “Persian” and “Macedonian” were considered culturally opposed at the time. My hypothesis is that the community of Hyrkanis chose to use the Macedonian label in relation to the Roman Empire to publicly assert his allegiance, despite a past possibly related with a Persian element. This was necessary as the Roman emperor was not always a distant figure for the region where Hyrkanis is placed. A few years after the campaign against the Parthians cited by Polyaeus, the imperial family itself arrived in Lydia and it showed his generosity after a terrible earthquake.

According to the orator Aelius Aristides, a terrible earthquake devastated a large

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<sup>310</sup> Polyaeus, praef. 1.1.

part of Smyrna in AD 178. Marcus Aurelius, who had visited this city during his journey in Asia Minor two years earlier, exempted Smyrna from paying taxes for several years.<sup>311</sup> I argue that the earthquake also struck severely the communities of Lydia under the *conventus* of Smyrna, including Hyrkanis. It could be that the tax exemption was granted by Marcus Aurelius also for the entire *conventus*. The financial intervention of the Roman Imperial administration after the earthquake of AD 17 triggered the need of the civic authorities of Hyrkanis to affirm in a public space a Macedonian identity. It is not unlikely that the same claim could regain a political importance when financial benefactions were granted by Marcus Aurelius to Smyrna and possibly the neighbouring cities after the earthquake of AD 178. We have seen that the numismatic evidence shows a consistent use of the double label “Macedonians and Hyrkanians” on coins during the first years of Commodus, soon after the earthquake and the revolt of Avidius Cassius. The second event, which occurred in AD 175, is important because it is related to the aftermath of the Parthian campaign and prompted the visit of the imperial family at Smyrna in AD 176.

The Parthian campaign was still a sensitive political issue for Marcus Aurelius in the years around Smyrna’s earthquake due to the revolt of Avidius Cassius. According to Cassius Dio, Avidius Cassius had a great ascendance among the legions in the East because he could claim important victories against the Parthians during the war fought from 161 to 166.<sup>312</sup> Frascchetti observes that Marcus Aurelius remained at Rome during this campaign, while Verus and Avidius Cassius were the real authors of the victory over the Parthians.<sup>313</sup> When the revolt broke out in AD 175, Marcus Aurelius declaimed a speech before his soldiers in order to strengthen their allegiance to him. It is reported by Cassius Dio, an author certainly not in favour of Avidius. Here the political importance of the victory over the Parthians for the Roman Imperial prestige and its legitimation in the East is clear. During the speech addressed to the legions of Pannonia, Marcus Aurelius claims that

οὔτε γὰρ ἀετὸς κολοιῶν ἢ καὶ λέων νεβρῶν ἡγησάμενος ἀξιόμαχος  
γίγνεται, καὶ τὸν Ἀραβικὸν τὸν τε Παρθικὸν ἐκεῖνον πόλεμον οὐ

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<sup>311</sup> Aristid. *Or.* 18.2-3, 19.2-3, 21.14.

<sup>312</sup> See Dio, LXXII 22,3 and 23,1.2.

<sup>313</sup> Frascchetti 2008, 153-162.



Κάσσιος ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς κατειργάσασθε. ἄλλως τε, εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Πάρθους πραχθέντων εὐδόκιμός ἐστιν, ἔχετε καὶ ὑμεῖς Οὐῆρον, ὃς οὐδὲν ἦπτον ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνίκησε πλεῖστα καὶ κατεκτήσατο.

*“For an eagle is not formidable when in command of an army of doves nor a lion when in command of fawns; and as **for those Arabian and Parthian wars, it was not Cassius, but you, that brought them to an end. Again, even though he is renowned because of his achievements against the Parthians, yet you have Verus, who has been no less successful than he, but, on the contrary, more successful, in winning many victories and in acquiring much territory.***<sup>314</sup>

It appears that Avidius Cassius could have become a legitimate adversary to Marcus' rule because of his military achievements against the Parthians. Therefore, the narration probably publicized by the Antonine emperor tried to give the credit to the legions and to the commander who was part of his family, Verus. The journey of Marcus Aurelius in the province of Asia in AD 176 was made immediately after the suppression of the rebellion of Avidius Cassius. The political importance of the imperial visit is marked by the fact that all the members of the dynasty followed Marcus Aurelius to Smyrna. The emperor was accompanied by Faustina, Commodus, his daughters, a relevant retinue and an expeditionary force. Gasco argues that the journey was essential to restore the prestige of the Antonine dynasty in the East. Despite the death of Avidius Cassius, his followers were still powerful and influential. From the *Historia Augusta* it seems that the capital of the province of Syria, Antioch, sided with the usurper. Avidius Cassius was the governor of this province and had strong connections also in the province of Asia. His daughter was married to an important Lycian aristocratic family. From Cassius Dio we also know that one of the first steps taken by Cassius in his revolt was to “win over the whole region south of the Tauros”, that is the entire province of Cilicia, part of Asia Minor and next to the province of Asia proper.

In this context, the visit of ambassadors from the local communities under the administrative district of Smyrna at the time of the visit by Marcus Aurelius and

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<sup>314</sup> Cassius Dio, *Epitome of Book LXXII*, 25. English translation by Loeb edition.

the imperial family, including delegates from Hyrkanis, cannot be excluded. The use of the Macedonian label by Hyrkanian representatives before the emperor might have symbolically reaffirmed the commitment of this community against the Parthian aggression and at the same time its allegiance to the Antonine dynasty. With the renewed claim of a Macedonian identity, the city of Hyrkanis assured his loyalty towards the central power. That meant ignoring the responsibility of Avidius Cassius of the victories over the Parthians and denying potential allusions to a Persian past that could be perceived as sign of a potential defection from the imperial authority.

The problem of the Parthian presence in the East was not solved by the campaign of Lucius Verus and it remains a constant source of political concern at the time of the Severan dynasty (193-235 AD). It could be that this fostered the explicit use of the Macedonian label and symbols by Hyrkanis on coins and on honorary inscriptions, as it has been seen in the epigraphic and numismatic analysis. Indeed, the ancient literary tradition shows that the Macedonian label and iconography continued to have a political relevance for the imperial power, along with admiration for Alexander the Great. Examples of this are recorded in the accounts of Cassius Dio and Herodian on the emperor Caracalla.

Caracalla was an emperor famous for his admiration for Alexander the Great and the ancient Macedonian army, as Cassius Dio and Herodian claim in their works. From several passages of Cassius Dio is clear that Caracalla interpreted the office of Roman emperor and the Roman army as a sort of historical re-enactment of the figure of Alexander and his Macedonian army. In a passage, Dio says that in the first days of his sole rule (AD 212)

**Περὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὕτω** τι ἐπτόρητο ὥστε καὶ ὄπλοις τισὶ καὶ ποτηρίοις ὡς καὶ ἐκείνου γεγονόσι χρῆσθαι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ πολλὰς καὶ ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἰώμῃ στήσαι, **φάλαγγά τε τινα ἐκ μόνων τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐς μυρίους καὶ ἑξακισχιλίους συντάξαι, καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τε ἐπινομάσαι** καὶ τοῖς ὄπλοις οἷς ποτὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνου ἐκέχρητο ὀπλίται.

***Caracalla was so enthusiastic about Alexander that used certain weapons and cups which he believed had once been his, and he also set up many likenesses of him both in the camps and in Rome itself. He***

*organized a phalanx, composed entirely of Macedonians, sixteen thousand strong, named it “Alexander’s phalanx,” and equipped it with the arms that warriors had used in his day.*<sup>315</sup>

Caracalla pushes further this identification between Romans and Alexander. Further in Dio’s passage, it is said that

καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα μέντοι αὐτῷ ἐξήρκεσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐῷον Αὐγούστον ἐπεκαλεῖτο, καὶ ποτε καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἔγραψεν, ὅτι ἐς τὸ σῶμα αὐθις τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐσῆλθεν, ἵνα, ἐπειδὴ ὀλίγον τότε χρόνον ἐβίω, πλείονα αὐθις δι’ ἐκείνου ζήσῃ.

*Not even this, however, satisfied him, but he must call his hero “the Augustus of the East”; and once he actually wrote to the senate that Alexander had come to life again in the person of the Augustus, that he might live on once more in him, having had such a short life before.*<sup>316</sup>

Caracalla put his adoration of Alexander at the same level of the worship of the imperial persona, represented by Augustus. The figure of Alexander is identified with the founder of the Roman Empire. Therefore, the Macedonian label acquired renewed importance in the eyes of the Roman Imperial authority. It could be interpreted as a sign of political legitimation. According to Cassius Dio, Caracalla organized a personal phalanx “composed entirely of Macedonians”. How this could really influence the history of Hyrkanis is suggested by the fact that Caracalla immediately after this “Alexandrication” made a journey through Asia Minor, in 213/214 AD.<sup>317</sup> This event could have been a unique opportunity for the cities of the region to gain imperial benefactions. Herodian reveals important details about the travel of Caracalla in the eastern provinces.

Herodian was a subordinate official in Rome early in the third century AD. He was

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<sup>315</sup> Cassius Dio Epitome of Book LXXVIII.7. English Translation provided by Loeb. Caracalla was not actually the first emperor to feel admiration for the Macedonian phalanx; Suetonius about the emperor Nero narrates that “He also prepared for an expedition to the Caspian Gates, after enrolling a new legion of raw recruits of Italian birth, each six feet tall, which he called the “phalanx of Alexander the Great.” *Nero*, 29.3. However, we can see that the Macedonian ancestry was not important, but rather the figure of Alexander the Great. The soldiers recruited are “of Italian birth” and they were not instructed to be armed according the Macedonian fashion. Instead, Caracalla took in great consideration also the claim of this specific ancestry, as it will be seen in the section.

<sup>316</sup> Cassius Dio, Epitome of Book LXXVIII, 7. English Translation provided by Loeb.

<sup>317</sup> Herodian, IV.8 Cf. Magie 1950, 1551-1553.

probably an imperial freedman.<sup>318</sup> His “Greek History of the Empire after Marcus” consists of eight books, which describe the events from the death of Marcus Aurelius until the access to the throne by Gordian III (180–238 AD).<sup>319</sup> About the journey of Caracalla in the East, the historiographer says that the Severan emperor travelled through the rest of Asia and Bithynia, making the administrative decisions that were necessary.<sup>320</sup> There is an important detail here. The journey of the imperial entourage had a direct impact on the provinces visited, including the one where Hyrkanis was located. Moreover, Caracalla had already undergone the transformation of his court and personal army into a Macedonian company. About this, Herodian adds that it happened while Caracalla was passing through the province of Thrace, in the late winter of 213. There, εὐθύς Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν, καὶ τὴν τε μνήμην αὐτοῦ παντοίως ἀνενεώσατο- “he (Caracalla) suddenly became Alexander and commemorated him afresh in all sorts of ways”.<sup>321</sup> After this, Herodian adds an intriguing iconographic detail to the account of Cassius Dio:

**προῆει δὲ αὐτὸς ἐν Μακεδονικῷ σχήματι, καυσίαν τε ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν φέρων** καὶ κρηπίδας ὑποδούμενος ἐπιλεξάμενός τε νεανίας καὶ στρατεύσας Μακεδονικὴν ἐκάλει φάλαγγα, τοὺς τε ἡγουμένους αὐτῆς φέρειν τὰ τῶν ἐκείνου στρατηγῶν ὀνόματα

***The emperor himself used to go out wearing Macedonian dress, including the kausia on his head and crepidae for shoes. He enrolled some specially selected young men and called them the Macedonian phalanx, whose commanders were told to adopt the names of Alexander’s generals.***<sup>322</sup>

We have seen that the *kausia* was the Macedonian bonnet worn also by the figure representing the city of Hyrkanis in the monument erected at Rome and Puteoli in honour of Tiberius. This creates not only a fascinating correspondence between the self-representation of Hyrkanis and the new emperor, but also a potential opportunity for financial benefactions and political legitimation for the Lydian community.

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<sup>318</sup> PIR I, II, III2 H 160.

<sup>319</sup> Hidber 2006.

<sup>320</sup> Herodian, IV.8.

<sup>321</sup> Herodian IV.8

<sup>322</sup> Herodian, IV.8. Translation by C. R. Whittaker, Loeb Edition, Cambridge University Press.

The claim of Macedonian ancestry was so important for Caracalla that it could pave the way to a promotion in the Roman Imperial hierarchy. Cassius Dio remembers that Caracalla was very fond of Macedonians because of their connection with Alexander the Great:

Οὕτω δ' οὖν διὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐφίλει, ποτὲ χιλιάρχον Μακεδόνα ἐπαινέσας ὅτι κούφως ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνεπήδησεν, ἐπύθετο αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον “πόθεν εἶ;” ἔπειτα μαθὼν ὅτι Μακεδῶν εἶη, ἐπανήρητο “τίς δὲ ὀνομάζει;” καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀκούσας ὅτι Ἀντίγονος, προσεπανήρητο “τίς δέ σου ὁ πατήρ ἐκαλεῖτο;” ὡς δὲ καὶ οὗτος Φίλιππος ὦν εὐρέθη, “πάντ' ἔχω,” φησὶν, “ὅσα ἤθελον,” καὶ εὐθύς τε αὐτὸν ταῖς λοιπαῖς στρατείαις ἐσέμνυνε, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐς τοὺς βουλευτὰς τοὺς ἐστρατηγηκότας κατέταξεν

*Then because of Alexander, he was so fond of the Macedonians that once, after commending a Macedonian tribune for the agility with which he had leaped upon his horse, he asked him first: “From what country are you?” Then, learning that he was a Macedonian, he asked again: “What is your name?” And hearing that it was Antigonos, he further inquired: “And what was your father’s name?” When the father’s name was found to be Philip, he declared: “I have all my desire,” and promptly advanced him through all the other grades of the military career, and before long appointed him a senator with the rank of an ex-praetor.<sup>323</sup>*

The emperor here wanted to test if the origins of the military official were truly Macedonian for generations, in order to be sure of his “patent of nobility”. It is likely that the importance of Macedonian ancestry acquired increased relevance in the contest of the civic competition in the Greek city states of the East, including the province of Asia. The connection with a Macedonian past, stressed since the time of Tiberius, could grant to the civic elite of Hyrkanis more financial benefactions. The claim of Macedonian ancestry might have been seen by the

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<sup>323</sup> Cassius Dio, Epitome of Book LXXVIII.8. Always in this passage, the Severian historiographer noted, with a pinch of sarcasm, that “Again, there is the incident of a certain man who had no connection with Macedonia but had committed many crimes and for this reason was being tried by the emperor on an appeal. His name changed to be Alexander, and when the orator who was accusing him kept saying, “the bloodthirsty Alexander, the god-detested Alexander,” Antoninus became angry, as if he himself were being called these bad names, and said: “If you cannot be satisfied with plain “Alexander,’ you may consider yourself dismissed.”

Hyrkanians as a hope of a privileged relationship with this specific emperor, perhaps in the occurrence of his visit of the province of Asia during the year 213/214 AD.<sup>324</sup>

It seems from the literary evidence that that the community of Hyrkanis was associated with the Macedonian label not earlier than the Roman Imperial period, specifically at the time of the terrible earthquake of AD 17. The Macedonian label was not associated with a community called Hyrkanis in the previous period, as the accounts of Livy and Strabo show. The disastrous earthquake triggered the attention of the Roman Imperial administration and the ancient historiography for Hyrkanis. In this context, the Macedonian label became an important tool of self-definition for the civic community. It permits Hyrkanis to be distinguished from the other cities affected by the earthquake and at the same time to be ideally connected with figure of Alexander the great, in contrast to its Persian past. These two elements also played an important role during the Antonine and Severan dynasties. The dichotomy Macedonians/Persians remained culturally vivid even after the end of the Parthian rule. The military campaign conducted by Gordian III in Mesopotamia saw the rise of the Sasanians. This new royal dynasty found its political legitimation from the claim of being the true successor of the Persian Empire. In this context, the Macedonian label could be still a useful political tool for the community of Hyrkanis. The claim of being Macedonian may be seen as an act of allegiance to Rome against the new Persians in the East, either Parthians or Sasanians. At the same time, Hyrkanis with the monument at Puteoli creates the historic claim of being an ancient colony founded by the Macedonian soldiers of Alexander the Great, not by the Persian settlers sent by Cyrus as recorded by Strabo.

### **3.5 Conclusion: The use of the Macedonian label by Hyrkanis in the Roman Imperial period as tool to re-emphasize its civic identity.**

The results of the combined epigraphic, literary and numismatic analysis show a common thread in the use of the Macedonian label by the civic community of Hyrkanis. The Macedonian label, or a type of iconography typical of the Macedonian identity like the *kausia* or the shield, seems not to have been used

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<sup>324</sup> Herodian IV.8.

to define the community of Hyrkanis throughout the whole of the Hellenistic and early Roman periods (early second century BC – first century BC). Strabo, living in the first phase of the Augustan era, does not mention a community named Hyrkanis, but only an “Hyrkanian plain once inhabited by Persian settlers”. Livy also ignores the presence of Macedonian settlers there.

The inscriptions analysed show that a community called Hyrkanis already existed at the time of Attalid king Eumenes II, in the early second century BC. Here Hyrkanis is not mentioned as “city of the Hyrkanians and Macedonians”. A relevant exception is represented by the civic decree of Amphissa in honour of the healer Menophantos, “Macedonian from Hyrkanis”, or “Macedonian Hyrkanian”. He was part of an embassy and he could be considered an official representative of Hyrkanis. However, there is a difference between the use of the Macedonian label on the inscriptions dated to the Hellenistic period and the ones dated to the Roman Imperial period. Menophantos and the Macedonian settlers from Agatheira are newcomers, and the term “Macedonian” is instrumental to this peculiar condition. Instead, we have seen the Macedonian label was used to exalt the ancestry of the civic institutions of Hyrkanis itself during the Roman Imperial period.

There is also a point to note that supports the theory of the use of the Macedonian label as symptom of “triggered identity”. Menophantos is called “Macedonian from Hyrkanis/Macedonian Hyrkanian” in relation to the city of Amphissa, a political entity external to his former civic community. Menophantos was a foreigner in Amphissa until the concession of the rights proper to citizenship. Therefore, we could say that the claim of Macedonian ancestry by Menophantos was triggered by his relationship with Amphissa. However, this could hint that the Macedonian ancestry was prestigious and considered sign of Greekness already in the second century BC, well before the Roman Imperial period.

As for the numismatic evidence, the few civic issues of the Roman Republican showcase the city name as simply “(city of) the Hyrkanians” and their iconography has no allusion to a claim of Macedonian ancestry. Still there is enough evidence to indicate that Hyrkanis was organized as a city, as the two honorary inscriptions dated to the early Attalid period demonstrate.

It appears that the civic community of Hyrkanis was not interested in determining its identity in the public space as “Macedonian” before the Roman Imperial period. However, because of the relative scarcity of numismatic and epigraphic material dated to the Hellenistic and Roman republican period, this cannot be stated with certainty. Nevertheless, the evidence analysed shows that Hyrkanis shares some characteristics with the Phrygian city of Blaundos. These civic communities were probably inhabited by Macedonian settlers in the Hellenistic period, but those were mixed with the local population and other incomers from Greece. The Macedonian label seems not to be used to define the cities of Hyrkanis and Blaundos where they interacted with a private Roman citizen. In the case of Hyrkanis, the civic decree dated to the first century BC in honour of Vibius Varus does not show the Macedonian label associated with the civic institution of the “people”.<sup>325</sup> What could have triggered a more consistent use of the Macedonian label and symbols by the Hyrkanian civic institutions? I suggest that one of the unintentional triggers was the direct intervention of Roman Imperial authority in the area.

If the turning point for Blaundos was the earthquake that occurred during the reign of Nero, the starting point in the use of the Macedonian label by the civic community of Hyrkanis was the earthquake of AD 17, at the beginning of the reign of Tiberius. This catastrophic event compelled the reconstruction of the city of Hyrkanis. The “Macedonians called Hyrkanians” travelled to Rome to ask for imperial intervention along with other representatives of twelve Lydian communities, according to Tacitus and Pliny. This would imply that there was persistent competition for the imperial benefactions in the province of Asia. In this context, the civic institutions could stress the claim of Macedonian ancestry as a motif of distinction among the other provincial cities. We have seen that the Macedonian label could be appealing to the Roman Imperial entourage. The double label “Macedonian Hyrkanian”, whose earliest evidence may be the inscription found at Sardis, is (unintentionally?) turned into “the Macedonians called Hyrkanians” in the Roman records. Macedonian symbols like the *kausia* or the shield could have been used by Hyrkanis to strongly deny a supposed

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<sup>325</sup> TAM V 1309, l. 1.



Persian past, suggested by the passage of Strabo. At the same time, the Macedonian label coincidentally is fascinating for its allusion to Alexander the Great, a figure admired by several Roman emperors. The iconography of the figure of Hyrkanis in the monument of Puteoli seems to suggest a connection between the Macedonian custom and Alexander. The monument was a clear show of allegiance to the Roman Imperial authority, as it included a colossal statue of Tiberius and was placed in the core of the Forum of Rome. To be remembered as a Macedonian community at Rome does not necessarily imply a hope by Hyrkanis for future financial help from the imperial power. The Macedonian label was also a tool to be distinguished from the embassies of other Greek communities of the *koinon* of Asia who had gathered at Sardis, as shown in the civic decree dated to AD 25.<sup>326</sup> Still, the choice by Hyrkanis to be expressly labelled as Macedonian in relation to imperial Rome is relevant.

The use of the Macedonian label in relation to the imperial appears to have been consistent during the second half of the second century AD and the beginning of the following century. After the successful outcome of the first “Macedonian” embassy of Hyrkanis, the Macedonian label continued to be used by the Hyrkanian civic elites in relation to Rome and the provincial *koinon*. It appears that the civic institutions used the double label “Macedonians Hyrkanians/Hyrkanians Macedonians” on coins and inscriptions related to Roman Imperial authorities or specific events. This is demonstrated by the fact that all the honorary inscriptions dedicated to the Roman emperors from Tiberius onwards present the definition “city/people of the Macedonians Hyrkanians” associated with the city of Hyrkanis. Possible events that led to an encounter between Roman officials and Hyrkanian representatives could be the earthquake in AD 178, the visit of Marcus Aurelius of Smyrna after the rebellion of Avidius Cassius in AD 176, or the various Parthian campaigns made by Antonine and Severan emperors. The revolt of Avidius Cassius and the earthquake were dramatic events that prompted the intervention of the Roman Imperial power in Asia Minor. They could be one explanation for the “renaissance” of the use of Macedonian label by the civic institutions of Hyrkanis. The visit of the emperor and his designated successor to the province of Asia in AD 177 displayed before

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<sup>326</sup> Sardis VII.1.9, I.3

the provincial elites the strength of the Antonine dynasty. Marcus Aurelius contacted important personalities in the cities he passed through. For example, he listened to a declamation by Aelius Aristides in Smyrna and visited the city personally. The aim of the Roman emperor was to win the loyalty of influential people in the Lydian community, perhaps because Avidius Cassius had enjoyed considerable support there, Aelius Aristides included. In this historical context Hyrkanis, a centre of medium size whose administrative capital was Smyrna, could have reaffirmed powerfully its allegiance to the Antonine dynasty through the dramatic increase of coinages dedicated to Marcus Aurelius, the empress Faustina Minor and Commodus. Almost 50% of the remaining coinages with an imperial portrait have these three figures on the obverse. There is a caveat though. The small amount of coins surviving dated to the Julio-Claudian dynasty prevents us to assert with certainty that the Macedonian label was not used steadily on coins at that time. Having said this, even if the Macedonian label was used consistently since the time of Tiberius, it could become particularly appealing for the Roman Imperial power in the second and third century AD as related to the identification between Romans and Macedonians asserted by a part of the ancient tradition writing at the time of the Parthian wars, as shown by Polyaeus.

To conclude the chapter, the use of the Macedonian label on coins and inscriptions could be related to the need by Hyrkanis to stress its loyalty to the Roman Imperial authority but at the same time to stand out in showing the prestige of its local identity respect to other Greek communities part of the Asian *koinon*. The Macedonian identity connected Hyrkanis with Alexander the Great, the great defeater of the Persians. The Persians were seen in the Roman tradition as the direct ancestors of the Parthians and the Sasanians. The Macedonian label was a powerful political tool at the time of Caracalla, who claimed to be a second Alexander. The Persian past could still be a sensitive issue for Hyrkanis still at the time of Philip the Arab and Trebonianus Gallus, emperors who faced the danger of the Sassanid incursions in Syria and Mesopotamia, not far from the province of Asia. I argue that the Lydian city intended to wipe out publicly the memory of its Persian identity, still vivid at the time of Strabo. The Hyrkanians wanted to be perceived as the inhabitants of a city founded by Macedonian soldiers, the conquerors of the Persian Empire and mortal enemies of the

reincarnation of the Persians at the time of the Roman Empire, that is the Parthians.

## Chapter 4: The place of Macedonian identity in the context of Roman Phrygia and Lydia.

### 4.1 Introduction: Macedonian identity expressed by labels.

The specific circumstances of the establishment of Graeco-Macedonian settlements in Phrygia and Lydia is for the modern scholarship a *vexata quaestio*. Were these settlements inhabited originally by veterans from Alexander's army, or by garrisons installed there later by the Seleucids? Alternatively, were new foundations inhabited by soldiers of Macedonian descent sent into the region by the Attalids in the middle of the second century BC? A further interpretative issue is the meaning of the term "Macedonian" in relation with these settlers. Did these "Macedonians" come from Macedonia proper or were they Macedonian, Greek and Thracian soldiers who fought all together under the Macedonian banner, which then started to be used as a label to identify mixed groups of soldiers centuries later? According to Ma, the phenomenon of the emergence of Macedonian "ethnonyms" in some cities of Lydia under the Attalid kingdom could be conceived as proof of the formation of an "ethno-class".<sup>327</sup> This concept would imply according to Ma a "single dominant *ethnic* group, the Macedonians and the Greeks who monopolized the ruling positions".<sup>328</sup> The ancient Macedonians were "landlord colonists installed in foundations on royal land [...] mostly the descendants of the conquest group which under Alexander had taken over the Achaemenid dominion".<sup>329</sup> I argue that this definition could be misleading to understand the use of Macedonian labels and it cannot be applied to the regions examined in the present chapter.

Cohen notes that soldiers who were part of the Hellenistic armies were called "Macedonians" if they were using weapons of Macedonian fashion, but this would not necessarily mean that they were of Macedonian ancestry.<sup>330</sup> For example, Macedonians or men armed in Macedonian fashion served in the army of Antiochos III at the battle of Raphia in 217 BC and in the army of Antiochos IV at the procession of Daphne in 167/6 BC, according to Polybius.<sup>331</sup> The term "Macedonian" did not necessarily coincide with a real ancestry, but rather it could

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<sup>327</sup> Ma 2013a, 50-82.

<sup>328</sup> Ma 2003, 197. Cf. Briant 1982 for the Achaemenid Empire.

<sup>329</sup> Ma 2003, 197.

<sup>330</sup> Coloru 2013, 42; Capdetrey 2012, 335-336.

<sup>331</sup> Polyb. 5.79.4, 82.2-11 for Raphia and Polyb. 30.25.5 for Daphne; Cohen 1995, 224.

be a label used by collective groups to identify themselves as distinguished by other entities and with their own identity. About the Seleucid settlements in Asia Minor and Syria, Coloru states that “one must not forget that nor did all the individuals labelled as ‘Macedonian’ actually belong to that geographical area or ethnic group, but they could have been soldiers who served in the Macedonian style, so that this term became a sort of supranational ethnic”.<sup>332</sup> For this reason, I think that the term “ethnicity” is not appropriate in this context. I will use the term “label” rather than “ethnic” to refer to the expression of Macedonian signifiers in the epigraphic and numismatic evidence. For example, Macedonian symbols such as the Argead shield are labels which build a sense of identity and allegiance to a central power, e.g. Hellenistic dynast or Rome, for some of the Graeco-Macedonian groups installed in the Phrygian and Lydian settlements.

There was already a plurality of definitions of what it meant to be Macedonian in the Hellenistic literary tradition and the ambiguity of the term may not be resolved in a definitive way. An exploration of who the Macedonians were ethnically is beyond the scope of this chapter. The purpose of this chapter is to examine why and how Macedonian labels could have been used by certain groups in Lydia and Phrygia and why they were triggered in response to the Attalid and Roman Imperial authorities.

In the previous chapter, I argued that the civic institutions of Hyrkanis stressed the connection between the memory of Alexander the Great and their claim of being Macedonian mostly during the Roman Imperial period, not when the Macedonian garrison was probably installed there by the Seleucids or during the development of its civic community under the Attalids. In the second chapter, the analysis showed that the civic institutions of Blaundos claimed their Macedonian ancestry by putting the Macedonian label on coins and inscriptions when they interacted with the Roman Imperial administration from the Flavian period onwards. It was not possible to find evidence of civic decrees that contained symbols related to Macedonian identity in Blaundos, either at the time of Alexander or under the Hellenistic dynasties, or in the Roman Republican period. The present chapter tries to identify other settlements in Phrygia and Lydia that show the use of Macedonian symbols on civic coins or inscriptions. The analysis

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<sup>332</sup> Coloru 2013, 42. Cf. Capdetrey 2012, 335-336; Billows 1995, 208.

includes both the Hellenistic and the Roman period. The theory of “triggered identity” tested for Blaundos and Hyrkanis is here evaluated at a regional level. The two key questions of the chapter are: did some Phrygian and Lydian communities use Macedonian labels in relation to a strong external authority? Furthermore, did some settlements start to claim explicitly a specific ancestry by displaying particular labels on coins or inscriptions, whether they were Macedonian or not, when they interacted with Roman Imperial officials?

The chronological framework of the investigation runs from the early Hellenistic period (end of fourth century BC) until the second half of the third century AD. The chapter begins with an overview of the hypothesis concerning the presence of Macedonian settlers in Phrygia and Lydia after Alexander’s conquest and during the Early Hellenistic period. The following section analyses the relationship between the groups in Lydia that referred to themselves as Macedonian and the Attalid power. The hypothesis of the formation of a Macedonian “ethno-class” is evaluated at the light of epigraphic and numismatic evidence. I mean by “ethno-class” a dominant social group who shared an ethnic identity and used the ethnicity to assert his privileged position in the social hierarchy. After this, I outline the Roman administration of Phrygia and Lydia in the Republican and Early Roman Imperial period (first century BC – second half of third century AD). An examination of the epigraphic and numismatic evidence reveals that the labels which civic communities used to define themselves changed from the Hellenistic and Republican period to the Roman Imperial period. In this context, the appearance of the Roman Senate on civic issues of various Phrygian and Lydian communities suggests a connection between the transformation of civic identities and the Imperial cult. The latter may have triggered the production of labels that harked back to a Macedonian, Dorian or Ionian past as different expressions of “Greekness” and triggered the renewed importance of the concept of ancestry in the local narrative.

The communities examined do not include all the archaeological sites in Phrygia or Lydia that present Macedonian evidence. For the region of Lydia, six specific civic communities have been chosen: Thyatira, Nakrason, Apollonis, Mostene, Stratonikeia and Philadelphia. Another six have been chosen for the region of Phrygia: Apollonia-Mordiaem, Dokimeion, Eumeneia, Otrous, Peltai and Synnada. These Lydian and Phrygian communities are in the same geographical

area. They are all located in south-central or western Phrygia and on the eastern and northern borders of Lydia. Nevertheless, they present different claims of civic identity on coins and on inscriptions throughout the history of their civic institutions. Blaundos and Hyrkanis have been chosen as main case studies because they present a consistent pattern of epigraphic and numismatic evidence for the whole chronological period examined. In contrast, some of these Lydian and Phrygian communities present scarce or no epigraphic and numismatic evidence for the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods, such as Nakrason or Dokimeion.

#### **4.2 The settlements in Hellenistic Phrygia and Lydia.**

As stated in the introduction, the earliest epigraphic evidence of Macedonian settlers in Lydia and Phrygia is from the settlement of Thyatira, dating from soon after the expedition of Alexander the Great, in the last decades of the fourth century BC. The territory of these regions was ideal for new settlements. Mitchell points out that Phrygia and Lydia were “the agricultural and economic heartland of western Turkey”.<sup>333</sup> On the potential land acquisitions for the new Macedonian incomers the modern scholarship seems unanimous. Cohen stresses that the settlers were organized primarily in “smaller, mainly rural” centres, usually located on the main commercial routes that connected Lydia and Phrygia to the Aegean shores.<sup>334</sup>

Thonemann observes that Phrygia was affected by “large scale colonial settlements” in the immediate aftermath of Alexander’s expedition, with Greek and Macedonian incomers gathering especially in the south east and central part of this region.<sup>335</sup> However, it is impossible in the present chapter to have a detailed overview of all centres affected by the arrival of the Greco-Macedonian population. The contiguities of these micro-areas form a passage zone of different peoples and important commercial routes. The boundaries between the two macro-regions of Lydia and Phrygia are poorly defined here.<sup>336</sup> Blaundos for example is identified both as Lydian and Phrygian in the ancient tradition. The Flavian *conventus* list puts Blaundos in the district of Sardis and then as part of

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<sup>333</sup> Mitchell 2018, 11.

<sup>334</sup> Cohen 1995, 42-47.

<sup>335</sup> Thonemann 2013a, 17,

<sup>336</sup> Mitchell 2018, 15-16.

Lydia, but an inscription found at the city of Tralleis lists it in the same administrative group of several Phrygian cities.<sup>337</sup>

**Figure 4.1: settlements in Lydia (first century AD).**<sup>338</sup>



There are four Lydian sites directly north of Hyrkanis: Apollonis, Thyatira, Nakrason and Stratonikeia. On the east of Hyrkanis there is the city of Philadelphia, while in the south there is Mostene (Figure 4.1). To the east of Blaundos there are the Phrygian centres of Eumeneia, Apollonia, Synnada, Dokimeion and Peltai. A commonality between these places is their strategic position: most of them are near a river and on an upland, dominating a valley. What was the typology of these settlements, and what role do the Macedonian incomers play in their foundation or organization? Were the incomers initially gathered in simple military garrisons or proper royal foundations, created by a Hellenistic dynast like Seleucos or Antigonos? Were the settlements populated mainly by soldiers from actual Macedon or simply native towns controlled by small

<sup>337</sup> See Habicht 1975, 65, col.27 for the list of *conventus* in the Flavian period; see Cohen 1995 n.3 292 for the inscription from Tralleis. This modern scholar chose to catalogue Blaundos under the settlements located in Phrygia, but he also admits that “Blaundos was located very near the Lydian-Phrygian border”, Cohen 1995, 290.

<sup>338</sup> [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lydia\\_circa\\_50\\_AD\\_-\\_English\\_legend.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lydia_circa_50_AD_-_English_legend.jpg)



groups or leaders who fought in the name of a Macedonian authority? On the role of the Macedonian settlers in the Hellenistic period, the ancient literary tradition uses two terms that do nothing to resolve the issue: the Greek word *katoikia*, which means settlement, or village, but also *phourion*, which simply means military garrison, or stronghold. Besides, the remaining literary sources do not connect Alexander's expedition explicitly with the people installed in the settlements of Phrygia and Lydia which claimed to be Macedonian or were labelled as Macedonian in the Attalid and Roman periods.

#### 4.3 The Early Hellenistic period: a Macedonian colonization?

From the ancient sources it seems that there is no official royal foundation or civic community labelled as Macedonian. Besides, none of the settlements associated with people identified as Macedonian are defined by the term πόλις -"city". The presence of the Macedonian label in Lydia and Phrygia seems strictly connected to the field of war and military operations but also to a strong sense of political autonomy in relation to the central power, that was embodied by different Hellenistic kings and dynasts. Therefore, the term "colony" is not easily applicable to describe the sites related to Macedonian settlements in the Early Hellenistic period.<sup>339</sup> They seemed not to be under the stable control of a Hellenistic ruler and his royal administration, with the exception of Thyatira.<sup>340</sup> This could be considered as the only Macedonian colony, as officers and soldiers labelled as Macedonian dedicated a stele in honour of Seleucos I, an act usually made for official founders.<sup>341</sup> The settlements associated with people labelled as Macedonian are rather described as "garrisons" or "strong hills", *ὀχυρῶμα* and *φρούριον* in the ancient sources like Diodorus and Polyaeus.<sup>342</sup> These military garrisons frequently changed allegiance in the wars between Diadochi like Antigonos and Seleucos. I first take into examination the literary evidence, then the analysis will focus on the epigraphic material that contains Macedonian labels or symbology in the Early Hellenistic period.

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<sup>339</sup> For a discussion on the idea of *polis* applied to the Hellenistic colonisation, see Grainger 1990, 63-66.

<sup>340</sup> About the concept of colony in relation with the Hellenistic powers in Asia Minor, see Mileta 2002, 166-167.

<sup>341</sup> OGIS 211. See Cohen 1995, 238-240, and Mileta 2002, 166-167.

<sup>342</sup> See for example Diod. XX.107.4; Polyaeus., IV.6.15.

### 4.3.1 The ancient literary sources

The main literary sources that refer to the presence of Macedonians in Phrygia and Lydia in the Early Hellenistic period are Polyaeus, Arrian and Diodorus Siculus. It is necessary to contextualize historically these three authors and check the sources that they could have used for the account on Alexander's expedition and its immediate aftermath. They lived centuries after the events narrated and it is important to understand how this could affect their reports. It is worth noting that both Arrian and Polyaeus lived under the Antonine dynasty. This is important because it shows how the memory of kings and generals related to the region of Macedonia was still a matter of debate centuries later. The fame of the Macedonians as people of warriors and conquerors continued to hold a strong fascination in certain areas of Roman Imperial historiography. This will be matter of further discussion in the next chapter, focused on the relationship between Roman Imperial ideology and the memory of Alexander the Great and the ancient Macedonians.

Our earliest source is Diodorus Siculus, author of the first century BC, who writes centuries after the events narrated. Diodorus speaks of the operations by Macedonian armies and generals in the region of Phrygia and Lydia especially in the twentieth of his *Bibliotheca Historica*. This volume is dedicated mainly to Antigonos Monophthalmos and his campaigns in Syria, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor between 311 and 301 BC.<sup>343</sup> According to the modern scholarship, Hieronymus of Cardia, historiographer living at the court of Antigonos and Demetrios Poliorcetes, is one of the main sources used by Diodorus.<sup>344</sup> Diodorus' account is therefore relatively trustworthy for the terminology used about the Graeco-Macedonian settlements in Asia Minor.<sup>345</sup> Besides, Diodorus appears to have reported in his work several decrees issued by the city of Rhodes at the time. This proves that he knows the terminology used by civic institutions on inscriptions in the Early Hellenistic period. For example, he summarizes the text

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<sup>343</sup> Durvy 2018, *Diodore de Sicile, Bibliothèque Historique. Livre XX, Notice VIII*.

<sup>344</sup> Durvy 2018, LX.

<sup>345</sup> Other possible sources used by Diodorus are military traits popular from the third century BC in the Hellenistic world. See Durvy 2018, LXVIII.

of a Rhodian decree issued at the beginning of the siege by Demetrius, in 305 BC.<sup>346</sup>

A later work of Arrian, the *Anabasis*, written between 130 and 137 AD, focusses on Alexander's expedition.<sup>347</sup> In the preface Arrian claims that all statements of fact resulted from his own critical comparison between the accounts of Ptolemy and Aristobulos, the two Macedonian generals who took part in Alexander's expedition in Asia.<sup>348</sup> According to Brunt, his account is usually detailed and his sources omitted the more absurd stories about Alexander.<sup>349</sup> Hammond argues that Arrian "reproduced faithfully the substance of what he did select and provide".<sup>350</sup> On the other hand, Bosworth believes that many of the speeches by Alexander and his generals reported in the *Anabasis* were fabricated and therefore historical fiction.<sup>351</sup> Bowden stresses this second interpretation in a study on the description of the battle of Granicus: "Arrian's interest is in the presentation of Alexander as a heroic individual, not in accurately reporting the details of the engagement".<sup>352</sup> Arrian has been criticised because he may have reproduced only one of his two main sources and at the same time have been influenced by the other version.<sup>353</sup> Brunt also notices that he did not use epigraphic sources to the same extent as Diodorus or Plutarch.<sup>354</sup> Arrian was certainly a great admirer of Alexander and some of the passages of the *Anabasis* sound apologetic. In the second preface of the *Anabasis* he claims that he has the right to be considered as a new Homer, and Alexander as Achilles.<sup>355</sup> However, there are reliable accounts of the administration of Asia Minor under Alexander, as Kholod shows in a recent analysis of two *Anabasis*' passages.<sup>356</sup> It

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<sup>346</sup> Cf. Diod. XX.93.6. Polybius (Book XVI 14, 2-3) refers to two Rhodian historiographers lived between the third and the second century BC, Zeno and Antisthenes, but it is not certain that they are the source of Diodorus for the military campaign of Demetrius against the island. Cf. Lenfant 2005, 183-204.

<sup>347</sup> See *History of Alexander and Indica*, vol.2, *Appendix XXVIII*, 534-535, edited by Brunt, Loeb, Harvard University Press 1983.

<sup>348</sup> Arr. *Anabasis of Alexander*, Pref.1-2: Wherever Ptolemy, son of Lagos and Aristobulos son of Aristobulos have both given the same account of Alexander son of Philip, it is my practice to record what they say as completely true, but where they differ, to select the version I regard as more trustworthy". English translation by Brunt, Loeb, Harvard University Press 1983.

<sup>349</sup> Brunt 1983, p. xxxiv.

<sup>350</sup> Hammond 1999, 241.

<sup>351</sup> See Bosworth 1988, 94-134.

<sup>352</sup> Bowden 2018, 172.

<sup>353</sup> See Bosworth 1976, 125.

<sup>354</sup> Brunt, *History of Alexander and Indica*, vol 1, introduction, xxxiv.

<sup>355</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 1.12.1. Cf. Bowden 2018, 163-180.

<sup>356</sup> Kholod 2017, 136-148.

has been suggested that either Arrian had direct access to the Royal Journals issued by Alexander's court, or was citing these second-hand from Aristobulos and Ptolemy.<sup>357</sup>

The third author to be examined is Polyaeus, contemporary of Arrian. We know that he edited the first books of his *Stratagems* when the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus started the expedition against the Parthians in AD 161-163. In the preface of the sixth book he promises to celebrate the victory over the Parthians with a new collection of stratagems which would have recorded the emperors' deeds.<sup>358</sup> However he never published them, so it is likely that he died shortly after the end of the Parthian wars, circa AD 166/67.<sup>359</sup> Significantly Polyaeus identifies the Persians fought by Alexander with the Parthians, the biggest threat for the eastern part of Roman empire in the second century AD. This is a bias in the narrative of Polyaeus, whose sources are not recorded explicitly, so that it is difficult to test the reliability of information without a critical comparison with other ancient authors.

According to Diodorus, after the battle of Granicus in 334 BC,

Αὐτὸς δὲ μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως μετὰ στρατηγῶν ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς τὴν μεσόγειον, προστάξας τὰ συνεχῆ τῶν ἐθνῶν χειροῦσθαι

*He (Alexander) sent a part of his army in the interior of the country (Anatolia), led by generals whom he orders to subdue the neighbouring peoples.*<sup>360</sup>

Diodorus said that those Macedonian generals conquered all of Great Phrygia through many battles on Alexander's behalf. Besides, he claims:

Οὔτοι μὲν οὖν ἐνεργῶς πολεμήσαντες πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας καταστρεψάμενοι, **διέθρεψαν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας**

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<sup>357</sup> Anson 1996, 501-504; According to Anson, Arrian directly consult the Royal Journals. See also Hammond 1988, 129-150. *Contra* Bosworth, who believes that Arrian just got information contained into the Royal Journal through the accounts by Ptolemy and Aristobulos, Bosworth 1988, 157-184.

<sup>358</sup> Polyaeus. *praef.* 6.

<sup>359</sup> See Schettino 1998, 24.

<sup>360</sup> Diod. XVII.27.6.

*These commanders, campaigning vigorously, subdued the whole region as far as greater Phrygia, **maintaining their men with the lands/goods of the enemies.***<sup>361</sup>

The Sicilian historiographer does not explain in detail the events and how the Macedonian army occupied the area, but he notes that Alexander did not personally make this expedition and that the army was sent there to ravage rather than to colonize. Unfortunately, he does not identify the generals who led the Macedonian army. According to Arrian, the supreme commander of the operations in Phrygia was Parmenion.<sup>362</sup> The situation in the region one year later is better illustrated by this author. In 333 BC Alexander was personally in Phrygia:

μείνας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας δέκα καὶ **σατράπην ἀποδείξας Φρυγίας Ἀντίγονον τὸν Φιλίππου**, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς συμμάχους ἀντ' ἐκείνου στρατηγὸν Βάλακρον τὸν Ἀμύντου ἐπιτάξας, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Γορδίου ἐστέλλετο. καὶ Παρμενίῳ ἐπέστειλεν, ἄγοντα ἅμα οἷ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκεῖσε ἀπαντᾶν· καὶ ἀπήντα ξὺν τῇ 4δυνάμει Παρμενίων. καὶ οἱ νεόγαμοι **δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας σταλέντες εἰς Γόρδιον** ἦκον καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἄλλη στρατιὰ καταλεχθεῖσα, ἣν ἤγε Πτολεμαῖός τε ὁ Σελεύκου καὶ Κοῖνος ὁ Πολεμοκράτους καὶ Μελέαγρος ὁ Νεοπτολέμου, **πεζοὶ μὲν Μακεδόνες τρισχίλιοι**, ἵππεῖς δὲ ἑξ τριακοσίους καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἵππεῖς διακόσιοι, Ἑλείων δὲ ἑκατὸν καὶ πενήκοντα, ὧν ἠγεῖτο Ἀλκίας Ἑλεῖος.

*After waiting there ten days and **appointing Antigonos son of Philip satrap of Phrygia**, and replacing him as commander of the allies by Balacrus son of Amyntas, he (Alexander) in person set out for Gordium, ordering Parmenion to meet him there bringing his force with him, as he did. **The recently married Macedonians who had gone to Macedonia also came to Gordion**, and with them a freshly levied army, led by Ptolemy son of Seleucos, Coenus son of Polemocrates and Meleager son of Neoptolemus; there were **3,000 Macedonian foot**, 300 horse, 200 Thessalian horse, 150 Eleians under Alcias of Elis.*<sup>363</sup>

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<sup>361</sup> Diod. XVII.27.6.

<sup>362</sup> Arr. *Anab.* I.24.3.

<sup>363</sup> Arr. *Anabasis* I.29.2.

Arrian does not specify how many of the Macedonian soldiers remained in Gordion after Alexander had left the region. However, it is likely that the new satrap Antigonos was appointed with some of the new Macedonian levy to secure the area. We could presume that this was one of the earliest stable settlements of a group associated with the Macedonian label in Phrygia. It is notable that the figure who presided over the conquered Phrygia was Antigonos Monophthalmos. Antigonos was one of the Macedonian generals most involved in the history of Asia Minor in the early Hellenistic period.

We have no evidence from Diodorus or Arrian on the creation by Alexander or Antigonos himself of Graeco-Macedonian “foundations”, “settlements”, or “garrisons” in Phrygia and Lydia at the time. The only famous reference that connects explicitly a Phrygian settlement to Alexander is the story of the Gordian knot, cut by Alexander in 333 BC, shortly before his departure to Syria. According to Arrian and Plutarch, Alexander desired to reach Gordion as he wanted to see the royal palace of Midas, mythical king of the city, and to fulfil the prophecy related to untie the chariot with the knot. According to Manoledakis, the prophecy of the knot points to a Macedonian origins for the Phrygians and Alexander the Great was aware of the relationship between the Macedonians and the Phrygians, “which would have made him even more eager, as a member of the Macedonian royal family, both to cut the knot and to visit the palace of the Phrygian kings”.<sup>364</sup> This theory is intriguing but our sources do not imply that Alexander re-founded Gordion as “successor” of Midas and for now there is no concrete evidence of Macedonian settlers.<sup>365</sup>

Around thirty years after the conquest of Phrygia by Alexander, one of the most important wars between the diadochi ended at Ipsos, in 301 BC. The place of the battle between Antigonos and the coalition of the diadochi who had united against him was in upper Phrygia, as reported by Diodorus. One of the diadochi, the Macedonian general Lysimachus, coming from the Hellespont,

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<sup>364</sup> Arrian. *Anabasis* 2.3; Plutarch, *Alexander* 18.1-4; Justin 11.7.; Manoledakis 2016, 60. There is also a later version of the legend that states that the chariot was used by Midas to lead the migration of the Phrygians from Macedonia to Anatolia, see *FGrHist* 135-136 F4.

<sup>365</sup> At the site of Gordion, Greek fine wares and transport amphorae in large quantities were found, dated to the early Hellenistic period (330-275 BC), “sign of spontaneous adoption of Greek cultural artefacts by a Phrygian population” Thonemann 2013a, 20. This evidence does not point to the arrival of Greeks and Macedonian newcomers organized in new civic institutions at the time.

*Δόκιμον τὸν Ἀντιγόνου στρατηγὸν πείσας κοινοπραγεῖν τὰ τε Σύνναδα παρέλαβε διὰ τούτου καὶ τῶν ὀχυρωμάτων ἕνια τῶν ἐχόντων τὰ βασιλικά χρήματα*

*[..]persuaded Dokimos, the general of Antigonos, to make common cause with him, and by his aid he took Synnada and also **some of the strongholds** that held the royal wealth.<sup>366</sup>*

The action of Lysimachos in Phrygia seemed to cause the defection of one of the Macedonian generals loyal to Antigonos, Dokimos. Dokimos was proclaimed official founder by the city of Dokimeion in three epigrams dated to the Roman Imperial period as the same time as the appearance of the Macedonian label on the civic coins. The centre of Dokimeion was strategic because it was located near significant marble quarries.<sup>367</sup> However, I question the assumption of a “foundation by a Macedonian independent dynast” in the Early Hellenistic period for Dokimeion.<sup>368</sup> The passages by Diodorus only make it clear that this general was in charge of several military garrisons in Phrygia. The garrisons could have been disposed by other Macedonian generals at the time of Alexander or even by Antigonos when he was appointed satrap of the region some decades earlier. Secondly, the double label “Dokimeians Macedonians” appears on civic coinages and inscriptions from Dokimeion in the Roman Imperial period only, and especially in the second and the third centuries AD.<sup>369</sup> Thonemann claims that Dokimeion is “the earliest (Macedonian) settlement in south-central Phrygia”,<sup>370</sup> but it is impossible to understand the precise extent of the Macedonian presence in the region. As Mitchell notes, “very little work has been done to identify archaeological traces of Macedonian settlements in Asia Minor”.<sup>371</sup>

The report by Diodorus is important because it confirms that there were probably strongholds garrisoned by Macedonian soldiers in Phrygia, called *ὀχυρώματα*, been controlled by Macedonian generals like Dokimos. The city of Synnada is only 49 km south of the ancient city of Dokimeion, and the defection of Dokimos was decisive in its conquest and the garrisons around. In Roman times a direct

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<sup>366</sup> Diod. XX.107.4.

<sup>367</sup> Thonemann 2013a, 17-18; Cohen 1995, 295-298.

<sup>368</sup> Mitchell 2018, 13. Cf. Merkelbach and Stauber 2001, 382 ff and Cohen 1995, 195-6.

<sup>369</sup> Mitchell 1993, 85; Robert 1980, 240-3

<sup>370</sup> Thonemann 2013b, 17. Mitchell also suggests that Dokimeion is “one of the oldest Macedonian settlements of Asia Minor”, Mitchell 2018, 13.

<sup>371</sup> Mitchell 2018, 11.

road connected Synnada and Dokimeion as indicated by a Latin milestone dated to the second/third century AD.<sup>372</sup> The presence of settlements controlled by Macedonian soldiers in Phrygia under Antigonos is alluded to in another passage of Diodorus, always with Dokimos as protagonist. The historiographer says that in an earlier period, probably 316/315 BC, Antigonos defeated and captured Dokimos in Phrygia or Pisidia, because he was an important military officer loyal to Alcetas, brother of the rival Perdikkas.

Ἄμα δὲ τούτοις πραπτομένοις Ἄτταλος καὶ Πολέμων καὶ Δόκιμος, ἔτι δὲ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Φιλώτας, οἱ μετὰ τῆς Ἀλκέτου δυνάμεως ἀλόντες ἡγεμόνες, ἐφυλάττοντο μὲν ἔν τινι φρουρίῳ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὄχυρῳ  
*Attalos, Polemon, and Dokimos, together with Antipater and Philotas, the commanders who had been captured along with the army of Alcetas, were being kept under guard in a certain exceedingly strong fortress.*<sup>373</sup>

It seems that the Macedonian generals gathered their armies in military garrisons in the region of Phrygia. The terminology chosen by Diodorus seems to correspond with the local documented material. The word *φρούριον* is found in a civic decree issued by Pergamon in 133 BC. This decree, following the instructions given by the will of Attalos III, granted the citizenship to Μακεδόσιν καὶ Μυσοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀναφερομένοις ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ – “Macedonians and Mysians who are appointed as soldiers in a fortress”. This fortress was located around Pergamon.<sup>374</sup>

The military character of the Macedonian presence in Asia Minor during the Hellenistic period is also confirmed by the account of Polyaeus. When the war between Antigonos Monophthalmos and Eumenes was fought around the 320s BC, Polyaeus reports that:

Ἀντίγονος ὅτε περὶ Καππαδοκίαν ἐχείμαζεν, ἀπέστησαν αὐτοῦ  
**Μακεδόνες ὀπλίται** τρισχίλιοι. **οὔτοι καταλαβόμενοι λόφους καρτεροῦς Λυκαονίαν ἐπόρθουν, ἤδη δὲ καὶ Φρυγίαν**

<sup>372</sup> MAMA IV.60.9 – 10: [*a Sy]jnnā[dis Docij]mio*. The road is drawn also in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. Cf. Cohen 1995 n.4, 298; Zawadzki 1960, 84-89.

<sup>373</sup> Diod. XIX.16.1.

<sup>374</sup> OGIS 338, ll.14-15 Canali De Rossi 1999, 89.



*While Antigonos was wintering in Cappadocia, 3,000 Macedonian hoplites revolted from him. After seizing strong hills, they ravaged Lycaonia and then Phrygia*.<sup>375</sup>

As in the account of Diodorus, the Macedonians in Phrygia seems to be related to the presence of military garrisons and this seems to be a steady feature in the area after the short rule of Antigonos. The “Macedonians” of the early Hellenistic period appear to be remembered as soldiers who were ravaging the region of Phrygia from fortified positions called λόφους καρτερούς, “strong hills”. They seemed not to be particularly loyal to Antigonos, and they could also threaten his political authority. I tend not to use the term colony for these garrisons, because it suggests a stricter control by the Hellenistic dynasts. This was not the case, as it is shown in another passage of Polyaeus. The following could be read as a memory of self-settlement carried out by Macedonian troops in this region. The author of the Antonine era himself admits that there is no evidence of these foundations in his days, but the terminology adopted to describe these settlements is the same used by Diodorus:

Ἀντίγονος τοὺς ἀργυράσπιδας, οἳ τὸν Εὐμένην δεσμώτην αὐτῷ παρέδωκαν, ἐτίμησε δωρεαῖς· τὸ δὲ ἄπιστον αὐτῶν φυλαττόμενος χιλίους μὲν αὐτῶν ἔδωκε συμμάχους εἶναι Σιβυρτίῳ τῷ σατράπῃ τῆς Ἀραχωσίας, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους εἰς ἄλλα χωρία φρουροὺς διέπεμψεν ἐχυρὰ καὶ δύσβατα, ἵνα φρουρὰν αὐτὴν τὴν χώραν ἔχοιεν. διὸ ταχέως ἀφανεῖς πάντες ἐγένοντο

*Antigonos rewarded the Silver Shields, who handed Eumenes over to him in chains, with gifts. But to guard against their untrustworthiness, he gave 1,000 of them to be allies to Sibyrtius, the satrap of Arachosia, and he sent the other as garrisons to other places, strong and impassable, so that they might have the countryside itself as a guard. Therefore, all of them quickly disappeared.*<sup>376</sup>

Polyaeus here used the word φρουροὺς to indicate military garrisons, where Antigonos sent 9 000 soldiers of the Macedonian elite corps known as “the Silver

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<sup>375</sup> Polyaeus., IV.6.6.

<sup>376</sup> Polyaeus., IV.6.15.

Shields”.<sup>377</sup> This could be catalogued as further evidence of Macedonian military settlers in the last quarter of the fourth century BC in Lydia and Phrygia, at the time of Antigonos’ rule. The fact that Antigonos seems not to be fully in control of the movements of the soldiers labelled as Macedonian could explain why none of the settlements inhabited by their presumed descendants have names connected to the Antigonid dynasty or claimed other Hellenistic dynasts as their official founder, with the exception of Dokimeon.<sup>378</sup> These strongholds established by Macedonians soldiers were only partially controlled by the Hellenistic diadochi at the time and the Macedonian officials frequently changed political sides, as noted in Diodorus and Polyaeus for the case of Dokimos. In another passage, Polyaeus says that Seleucos Nikator used a great number of Macedonians that were stationed in Asia Minor in his campaign against Demetrios Poliorcetes in 286/285 BC.<sup>379</sup>

Unfortunately, Diodorus and Polyaeus do not give the exact locations of these first settlements. The term “Macedonian” could refer to the armour or dress of the army, not the actual ancestry of the soldiers, since the early Hellenistic period.<sup>380</sup> However, it is plausible that the Macedonian soldiers located in Phrygia and in eastern Lydia rallied to the new Seleucid power as they did with Eumenes and Lysimachos a few decades before. What is important is the terminology used by Diodorus and Polyaeus. The few, unspecified Macedonian settlements are called “fortresses” or “strongholds” and they started to appear in Phrygia and Lydia from the time of Antigonos’ rule, in the last quarter of the fourth century BC. The Macedonian generals who were in charge of these military garrisons chose frequently to defect with their armies from the supposed royal authority, such as Dokimos with Antigonos.<sup>381</sup> The connection between incomers called Macedonian and the military sphere is suggested also by epigraphic evidence from Thyatira and Dorylaion, located respectively in Lydia and Phrygia.

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<sup>377</sup> About the Silver Shields, see Sekunda 2012, 6-7. Sekunda notices that “In his description of Flaminius’ triumph in Rome, Livy (34.52.5) mentions ten silver shields, presumably badges of rank limited to a small group of senior military officers”, 7.

<sup>378</sup> Mitchell 2018, 13-16.

<sup>379</sup> Polyaeus 4.9.5. See also 7.39.

<sup>380</sup> About this see Polyb. 5.79.4f., 82.2-11 (battle at Raphia) and Livy 37.40.1. Cohen 1995, 224.

<sup>381</sup> Diod. XX.107.4.

### 4.3.2 The Epigraphic evidence: Thyatira and Dorylaion.

Thyatira is the only Lydian settlement labelled explicitly as “Macedonian” by the ancient tradition at the time. About Thyatira, Strabo says:

Προϊόντι δ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ πεδίου καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ πρὸς ἕω μέρη πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀπολλωνία, μετεώροις ἐπικειμένη τόποις· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν νότον ὄρεινὴ ράχις ἐστίν, ἣν ὑπερβάσι καὶ βαδίζουσιν ἐπὶ Σάρδεων πόλις ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Θυάτειρα, **κατοικία Μακεδόνων, ἣν Μυσῶν ἐσχάτην τινές φασι.**

*As one proceeds from the plain and the city towards the east, one comes to a city called Apollonia, which lies on an elevated site, and also, towards the south, to a mountain range, on crossing which, on the road to Sardis, one comes to Thyatira, on the left-hand side, **a settlement of the Macedonians, which by some is called the farthest (settlement) of the Mysians.***<sup>382</sup>

According to Strabo, Thyatira was a *κατοικία* of the Macedonians, situated at the edge of the territory of the Mysians. The account of Strabo seems to be trustworthy thanks to an honorary inscription found at Thyatira, dated to the end of the fourth century BC, in honour of Seleucos I (Appendix 1.15.1):<sup>383</sup>

βασιλεῖ Σελεύκω<ι>

τῶν ἐν Θυατείροις

**Μακεδόνων οἱ ἡ-**

**γεμόνες καὶ οἱ στ-**

**ρατιῶται.**

*To the king Seleucos, **the Macedonian commanders and soldiers at Thyatira.***

The present inscription suggests that the earliest presence of Macedonian inhabitants at Thyatira was prominently military: the “commanders and soldiers” identified themselves as Macedonian and pledged their loyalty to Seleucos, the founder of the dynasty of the same name. The region came under the control of

<sup>382</sup> Strabo XIII.4.4.625. English Translation provided by Loeb Edition.

<sup>383</sup> OGIS 211 = TAM V.2.881.

Seleucos a few years after the battle of Ipsos in 301 BC. It is possible that the Macedonian officers and soldiers beforementioned had been loyal to another dynast before the arrival of Seleucos, in a similar way to Dokimos and his army in Phrygia. It cannot be concluded with certainty that a Macedonian settlement was installed there by Seleucos himself, but it likely became a Seleucid military colony. Even if Cohen has suggested that Thyatira is a Seleucid foundation, Mitchell has argued that the Macedonian presence was pre-Seleucid.<sup>384</sup> This is corroborated by a fragmented stone found in a private house of the town of Akhisar, the modern site of Thyatira. It is dated to the end of fourth century BC, but Radet argues from the form of the letters that it dates from Alexander's conquest period (Appendix 1.15.2). The text says:

[Οἱ π]ερί Θυάτειρ[α]

### **[M]ακεδόνες**

*The Macedonians who live around/in Thyatira.*

It was likely another honorary inscription, but the two lines that have survived do not allow the identification of the individual honoured. The Strabonian account and these two honorary inscriptions suggest that the presence of Macedonian settlers in Thyatira dates from the Early Hellenistic period, but the Macedonian label did not re-appear at all on the civic coinages and inscriptions dated to the Roman imperial period. Indeed, the label on the reverse of the Roman civic issues is simply ΘΥΑΤΕΙΡΗΝΩΝ, (*the city*) of the *Thyatereans*. The civic identity is expressed on the Roman Imperial coins by the figure of Apollo Tyrimneos, deity patron of the city who is not related to a Macedonian past.<sup>385</sup> In my opinion, the fact that the community was an ancient Lydian town inhabited before the Hellenistic period could have prompted the new Macedonian settlers to stress initially their ancestry.<sup>386</sup> Thyatira was shaped as a military garrison on contested borders with the native people of the Mysians, so that Strabo even says that in an alternative tradition the site is considered “city of the Mysians”.<sup>387</sup> In regards to the people of Mysians, a further discussion is necessary later in the chapter,

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<sup>384</sup> Mitchell 2018, 20.

<sup>385</sup> See for example Mionnet 4 912.

<sup>386</sup> The name Thyatira is probably Lydian. “Theira, which is found in other place names, is apparently a Lydian term for fortress or town. This suggests that Thyatira was an old Lydian town predated to the arrival of the Seleucids.”, Cohen 1995, 238.

<sup>387</sup> Strabo XIII.4.4.625.

but the epigraphic evidence shows that this label was frequently associated with military settlers like the Macedonians. Both peoples appeared as groups of soldiers sharing a fortress near Pergamon in the civic decree issued in 133 BC.<sup>388</sup>

There is another Phrygian settlement with evidence of Macedonian inhabitants, and more specifically soldiers, in the Early Hellenistic period: Dorylaion, a centre located in the central and arid part of Phrygia. The position was strategic: according to Diodorus, Lysimachus after having seized Synnada and another Macedonian garrison former controlled by Antigonos in 302 BC,

κατεστρατοπέδευσαν **περὶ Δορύλαιον**· εἶχε γὰρ τὸ χωρίον σίτου τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης χορηγίας πλῆθος καὶ ποταμὸν παραρρέοντα δυνάμενον ἀσφάλειαν παρέχεσθαι τοῖς παρ' αὐτὸν στρατοπεδεύουσι.

*He camped near **Dorylaion**; for the stronghold had an ample store of grain and other supplies, and a river ran by it that could give protection to those who camped beside it.*<sup>389</sup>

A funerary inscription was found here recently on a marble pedimental stele. It dates from the first half of the third century BC (Appendix 1.4). The text says<sup>390</sup>:

ν **Φίλιππος** vacat

ν **Μακεδῶν** vacat

Ἔνθα με γαῖα ἐκάλυψε | Φίλιππον Σωρία υἰόν

μητρὸς δὲ Ἀντιγόνης | κρύπτομ' ὑποχθόνιος ·

ἄλλοτρίας δὲ ἔλαχον χώρας καὶ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐμαυτοῦ ·

εἶμι δὲ Ἐλημιώτης | ἐκ πόλεως ΔΕΤΕΛΑ

*Philip, Macedonian. There the earth covered me, Philippos son of Soria and the mother Antigone. I am buried in the underground. I obtained by chance a foreign land and not my own. I am an Elimiotas, from the city of...*

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<sup>388</sup> OGIS 338, ll.15-16. Ma argues that “Mysians are present among the military population of Pergamon in 133 BC (along with another ethnic group, the Masdyenoi, perhaps a subgroup of Mysians or a local non-Greek community). These Mysians probably served as levies rather than as mercenaries (even if they fought alongside mercenaries, such as Cretans)” Ma 2013a, 66. For the other two inscriptions related to Mysian soldiers, see Malay 1983 and Roberts, *BE* 1984, 385; Petzl 1991, 83-85.

<sup>389</sup> Diod. XX.108.7.

<sup>390</sup> SEG 43 937 = Ed. Princ. MAMA X (cf. SEG 43 930).

Philip probably was a Macedonian settler that came to inhabit Phrygia from the Macedonian region of Elymia at the time of Antigonos or Seleucos, or even earlier, as member of the army commanded by Alexander.<sup>391</sup> Although his social status is not expressed, he was likely a soldier, not a farmer or a merchant. The position of Dorylaion is not ideal for commerce or land cultivation: “the arid plain of Dorylaion [...] is a different world from the fertile wooded valleys (of Phrygia) to the north and the west”.<sup>392</sup> This Macedonian soldier appeared to feel more connected to his fatherland, due to the fact that he calls the place he was buried in the “foreign land”. Philippos could have been another representative of the Macedonian soldiers that inhabited garrisons installed in Phrygia and Lydia in the Early Hellenistic period. The text suggests that a part of soldiers coming from Macedonia at the time of Alexander settled in Phrygia. The presence of Macedonian troops in Phrygia in 333 BC is reported by Diodorus and Arrian.<sup>393</sup> It is not clear though if they planned to stay permanently, as Philip declares “*I obtained by chance a foreign land and not my own*”. Nevertheless, it seems that Dorylaion, like Dokimeion and Thyatira, could be a stronghold inhabited by Macedonian veterans soon after the conquest of Phrygia by Alexander.<sup>394</sup>

To conclude this section, it seems from the literary and epigraphic evidence that the Macedonian label was explicitly used by a collective group to define itself only at the settlement of Thyatira in the Early Hellenistic period. In another case, the Macedonian label is associated with an individual, the soldier named Philippos, placed in the strategic fortress of Dorylaion in Phrygia. In this period, the ancient tradition generally associates soldiers and military officers of Alexander’s army with the presence of Macedonians in parts of Phrygia and Lydia. It could be that they settled in garrisons placed in strategic position of these regions. Thyatira, Dokimeion and Dorylaion controlled access to fertile lands, quarries and important commercial routes. The connection between the Macedonian label and the military sphere in Lydia and Phrygia is testified by the passages of Diodorus,

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<sup>391</sup> See SEG 49 937.

<sup>392</sup> Thonemann 2013b, 4. However, Thonemann thinks that the inscription comes from the modern village of Sülümenli, between Synnada and Dokimeion. That is actually the site of Blaundos! Thonemann 2013b, 17.

<sup>393</sup> Diod. XVII.27.6. Arr. *Anab.* I.29.2.

<sup>394</sup> According to Radet, Dorylaion may be founded by Antigonos. See Radet 1890 509-510. *Contra* Mitchell, who argues that it consists of another spontaneous settlements of Macedonian veterans at the time of Alexander’s expedition, see Mitchell 2018, 13. Cohen was dubious about the presence of Macedonian colonists in the area, but the present inscription from Dorylaion was edited after his publication on the Hellenistic settlements in Asia Minor. See Cohen 1995, 299.

Polyaenus and Arrian. On the other hand, these garrisons cannot be defined at the moment as cities or royal foundations, or as “Macedonian colonies”. For example, Lydian and Phrygian settlements have no evidence of Macedonian institutions such as the *peliganes*, the elder council, attested at Hellenistic colonies like Seleucia on the Tigris, Laodicea by the Sea, Babylon, and quite probably Susa.<sup>395</sup>

The fact that the Macedonian label is associated with soldiers or generals since the Early Hellenistic period in Lydia and Phrygia might have an impact on the development of some civic communities after the Attalids took over these regions in 188 BC. Especially in the middle of the second century BC, this dynasty created new urban settlements in the central part of Phrygia and in north-eastern Lydia. These civic foundations present a group of incomers that use a Macedonian label to define themselves on the inscriptions, or alternatively civic coins with the depiction of the Macedonian shield. These groups could have been interested in claiming a connection with the Macedonian soldiers who arrived with Alexander and who had fought alongside with the diadochi, or they may have had different motives for using this label, as the following section argues. What is important to note for now is how the Macedonian label was associated with the memory of groups of soldiers and veterans who settled in Phrygia and Lydia after the conquest of Alexander and his generals. The perception of Macedonians as people of warriors seemed to be traced to the early Hellenistic period, before the establishment of Roman rule in Asia Minor.

#### **4.4 The Attalid period: the formation of a Macedonian ethno-class?**

Between 188 and 133 BC, after the retreat of the Seleucid Empire and before the establishment of Roman administration, the Attalid state was the sovereign authority in Phrygia and Lydia.<sup>396</sup> In this context, the administrative power in the new acquired territories seemed to be devolved to pre-existing local decision makers, usually co-opted into the Attalid administration as “regional officials”.<sup>397</sup> How could the Graeco-Macedonian settlers in the Phrygian and Lydian

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<sup>395</sup> Polyb. 5.48.8-12 for Seleucia and *IGLS* IV 1261, l.22 for Laodicea. For Babylon see Van der Spek 2006, 272. About the presence of *peliganes* as sign of Macedonian identity, see Coloru 2012, 41. The *peliganes* were probably a group of city officials in charge of the civic and political administration of the city on Seleucid kings' behalf, see Sarakinski 2010, 31-46.

<sup>396</sup> See account of Polybius, XXI.22.14. Cf. Thonemann 2013b, 2-48.

<sup>397</sup> See Thonemann 2013b, 4-5.

communities have been involved in this period of “institutional devolution”?<sup>398</sup> Were there Phrygian and Lydian centres that started to claim to be Macedonian in relation to the Attalid state? In the area of Western Phrygia and the Lydian eastern borders there were the valleys of the river Hermos and the river Meander: those territories were mainly agricultural and potentially the source of allocations of land estates. They could be exploited both for strategic and economic reasons, and attractive to new settlers.<sup>399</sup> According to Thonemann, we have at least four examples of transfer of royal land to Greek *poleis* and *katoikiai* during the Attalid period. However, only two cases are attested from Lydia, and none from Phrygia: Apollonioucharax and Toriaion.

Apollonioucharax was granted by the king Eumenes II a piece of royal land in 165/164 BC.<sup>400</sup> This community, located south west of Thyatira, was a small military settlement founded perhaps in the Seleucid period, in a strategical position for the commercial routes. The nature of the centre is suggested by the term *charax*, which means fort, like *phourion*. According to Thonemann, this could suggest that part of the settlers consisted of Greek and Macedonian soldiers.<sup>401</sup>

Eumenes' response to a petition from this community is relevant because the “ethno-group” of the “Mysians at Kadoi” is cited. These Mysians had been granted a tax exemption a few years earlier.<sup>402</sup> According to Ma, the Mysians were organized in a sort of military class, similarly to the groups of Macedonian veterans in the Hellenistic period.<sup>403</sup> However, while the Mysians label was used by Eumenes to define a specific community on the inscription, it seems that the Macedonian label was not perceived as necessary to define the settlers of Apollonioucharax. The fact that the beginning of the text is missing on both sides of the stone could suggest that Eumenes II referred to the inhabitants of Apollonioucharax as the “Macedonians”, but this remains mere speculation in my

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<sup>398</sup> Thonemann 2013a 4-5.

<sup>399</sup> Thonemann 2013b, 17.

<sup>400</sup> Hopkins 2002 [1995/6]: 209, 216-217; Aperghis 2005; Thonemann 2013b, 19.

<sup>401</sup> The town is also cited in the inscription from Ephesos dated to the Flavian period (*I. Ephesos* 13. L.13). See Habicht 1975: 74 and Robert 1987, 296-335. Cf. Thonemann 2013b, 20.

<sup>402</sup> Thonemann 2013b, 21.

<sup>403</sup> Since the aftermath of the Galatian war (168-165 BC) settlers who were defined as “Mysians” were placed by the Attalids in strategic sites and along major routes, in military settlements rather than in proper cities, as the epigraphic evidence let suppose. See Ma 2013a 68-71. Cf. SEG 44 867.



opinion. Also Toriaion consists of a military settlement, which was elevated to the status of *polis* thanks to a royal decree made by Eumenes II in 188 BC, after the acquisition of the region from the Seleucids.<sup>404</sup> This would suppose the presence of Macedonian or Greek veterans at Toriaion, but its ambassadors are recorded in the text of the royal decree with no ethnic connotation. In the texts, king Eumenes addresses simply *Τοριαίων τοῖς κατοικοῦσι*, to the settlers of Toriaion.<sup>405</sup> It appears in both cases that the royal authority was not interested in defining as Macedonian or Greek the groups of soldiers who inhabited the sites. Therefore, the lack of ethnic definition of the inhabitants by the central power makes it difficult to assess the existence of a Macedonian ethno-class. These two cases suggest consistency in the policy of the Attalid state throughout the time and geographical space. The inscription from Apollonioucharax was erected in 165/164 BC, around twenty years after the one built at Toriaion (188 BC).

The Macedonian label does not appear at Toriaion and Apollonioucharax, but it started to be used on honorary inscriptions by groups of soldiers attracted to the urban centres that were developing under the Attalid dynasty. The groups labelled as Macedonians are present at the same time and in the same geographic area where groups of soldiers called Mysian were granted lands. These two labels appear only in a limited chronological span and in a specific geographical area in relation to the Attalid domination, that is northern Lydia. The Macedonian label is recorded in six inscriptions located mainly in this region and they date from the 160s to the 150s BC, in the last years of the reign of Eumenes II and the beginning of the rule of Attalos II.<sup>406</sup> From the epigraphic evidence it seems that the Macedonian label was used not to define the local civic institutions but rather specific groups of new incomers or individuals, generally soldiers, that once were external to the communities where the inscriptions were erected.

The first case I analyse regards a claim of ancestry by an individual person, not by a civic community or collective group. A certain Korrhagos, strategos of the district of Hellespont Phrygia, is honoured by an unknown community during the reign of Eumenes II as *Κόρραγος Ἀριστομάχου Μακεδών* - "Korrhagos son of

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<sup>404</sup> Jonnes and Riel 1997 (SEG 47, 1745); Bencivenni 2003: 333-356; Müller 2005. Cf. Thonemann 2013b, 5-6.

<sup>405</sup> SEG 47 1745, l.2.

<sup>406</sup> SEG 2, 663; TAM V.1.221; OGIS 314; TAM V.2.1307; TAM V.2.1190; OGIS 290. See Thonemann 2013b, 29.

Aristomachos, Macedonian”.<sup>407</sup> This major local land owner provides the unknown Phrygian town with sacrificial animals for public sacrifices at his own expense.<sup>408</sup> The claim was not connected to collective groups but only to an individual who was not resident in the community honouring him.<sup>409</sup> This may explain the specification of his ancestry. The Macedonian label was explicitly used by collective entities in the Attalid period only in five cases, always during the reign of Eumenes II or Attalos II:<sup>410</sup>

- 1) Honorary inscription found near Kastollos commissioned by “The Macedonians from Kobedylo” - *οἱ ἐκ Κοβηδύλης Μακεδόνες* in honour of “Philo[...], son of Polemaios, their fellow citizen”. From southeastern Lydia. It is dated to 163/162 BC (Appendix 1.12).<sup>411</sup>
- 2) Honorary inscription found in the ancient city of Apollonis, commissioned by “The Macedonians from Doidye” - *Οἱ ἐκ Δοιδύης Μακεδόν[ες]* in honour of an unknown individual. From northern Lydia. It is dated to 161-160 BC (Appendix 1.9).<sup>412</sup>
- 3) Honorary inscription found near the city of Apollonis, commissioned by “The Macedonians from (?)espoura” - *Οἱ ἐκ [ε]σπούρων Μακεδόνες* in honour of their strategos Derdas. From northern Lydia. It is dated to 153–152 BC (Appendix 1.10).<sup>413</sup>
- 4) Honorary inscription found at Hyrkamis, commissioned by “The Macedonians from Agatheira” - *οἱ ἐξ Ἀγαθείρων Μακεδ[ό]νες* in honour of “Seleukos son of Menekrates”. From northern Lydia. It is dated to the reign

<sup>407</sup> SEG 2, 663; II.2-3 I. Prusa ad Olympon 1001; English translation in Austin 2006: no .235. Thonemann argues that the community could be perhaps Apollonia on the Rhyndakos, but it is only a conjecture, 2013b, 15.

<sup>408</sup> SEG 2, 663, II.10-15; Savalli-Lestrade 2001, 86-89.

<sup>409</sup> See Thonemann 2013b, 28-29.

<sup>410</sup> See Mitchell 2018, 2. Thonemann 2013b, “However, the late 160s and 150s see a very striking cluster of honorific monuments set up by Macedonian and Mysian military *katoikiai* in northern and eastern Lydia both for royal officials and members of their own communities”, 29. However, the small sample would not allow to think of a rise of an “ethno class” as argued by the author.

<sup>411</sup> TAM V.1.221 = KP II.223 = TAM V.3.1423: it is on a marble stele split into two fragments. There is a relief laurel wreath in a square field above the inscription, now missing.

<sup>412</sup> OGIS 314 = TAM V.2.1188: this inscription is carved on a fragmented marble stele. It was found in a room of a private house at Palamut, that it the ancient Apollonis of Lydia.

<sup>413</sup> KP I.95 = TAM V.2.1190: the inscription is carved on a marble stele. There are no extant references to this colony except the following inscription. Cohen argues that is a Seleucid colony, but it remains a conjecture.

of Eumenes II after the Apameia treaty, between 188 and 159 BC (Appendix 1.11.2).<sup>414</sup>

- 5) Honorary inscription found in the old citadel of Pergamon, commissioned by [οἱ περὶ Νά]κρασον Μακεδόνες – “the Macedonians around (N)akrason” in honour of Μηνογένην Μηνοφάντου, συγγενῆ βασιλέως Εὐμένου - “Menogenes son of Menophantos, akin to the king Eumenes (II)”.<sup>415</sup> From Mysia, but Pergamon is adjacent to the communities of Apollonis and Apollonia in northern Lydia. It is dated to the reign of Eumenes II after the Apameia treaty, between 188 and 159 BC (Appendix 1.13.1).<sup>416</sup>

The analysis of the use of Macedonian label in these inscriptions reveals two common traits: first, similarly to the case of Korrhagos, the Macedonian label is claimed by people who were once external to the civic communities where they seemed to have settled recently. The term “Macedonians” is always followed by a proper noun in the genitive case preceded by the Greek preposition *ek*, indicating the settlements from which these groups came. Indeed, the Macedonians were not the original settlers of Apollonis or Kastollos for example, but they were new residents that had come from Espoura and Kobedyle respectively. Secondly, the epigraphic evidence shows that these groups of Macedonian newcomers honoured a private citizen or a military official who might have been their representative in their new civic community. I think that in the case of Attalid Lydia the cause of the appearance of the Macedonian label was contingent to the phenomenon of migration of people located previously in old strong hills inhabited by Macedonian soldiers, such as for example Agatheira and Doidye. The inhabitants of the old military garrisons decided to move to the urban centres in the area where the inscriptions were set up. In these cases, we can say that the Macedonian label is used to indicate the ancestry, but it does not imply that the veterans come from Macedonia proper, because they were settled originally in garrisons located in Lydia. It is also possible that veterans armed in Macedonian fashion from these garrisons decided to adopt the Macedonian label, so they were not ethnically Macedonian.

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<sup>414</sup> Robert, *Hellenica* 6, 22-24 = EA 7 1986 17-18 = TAM V.2.1307. There is also a laureate wreath above the inscription.

<sup>415</sup> OGIS 290, ll.1-3.

<sup>416</sup> Ma 2013, no.40 81.

Thonemann argues that there was probably a synoecism of pre-existing local villages and military garrisons into cities like Apollonis and Philadelphia.<sup>417</sup> The contingency of the use of the Macedonian label is demonstrated by the fact that the civic issues and inscriptions from Philadelphia do not present any evidence of Macedonian symbols or ethnonyms in the Republican and Roman Imperial periods. Apollonis constitutes an exception, as we have evidence of two inscriptions with the Macedonian label dated to the third century AD.<sup>418</sup> However, the Macedonian label or Macedonian iconography does not appear on civic coins or other honorary inscriptions of Apollonis dated to the Roman Imperial period.

The case study of Hyrkanis conversely, as seen in the previous chapter, shows no evidence of the Macedonian label on coinages or inscriptions defining its community until the reign of the Roman emperor Tiberius. The urban drift of Macedonian veterans may have not been a form of synoecism, controlled by the central authority, but it could lead to a better economical exploitation by the Attalid administration.<sup>419</sup> The fact that the appearance of Macedonian labels in some Lydian communities was caused by the arrival of soldiers of Macedonian descent, or who fought in Macedonian fashion into urban centres during the second century BC finds further elements in the three cities founded by the king Eumenes II and his brother Attalos II: Apollonis and Philadelphia in Lydia, and Eumeneia in Phrygia. The epigraphic and numismatic evidence shows that these communities changed their self-definition on the public stage from the Attalid to the Roman Imperial period, by using multiple labels.

Apollonis was probably founded by Eumenes II: a fragmentary decree records that the city was established by this king through a synoecism.<sup>420</sup> Apollonis and Philadelphia are both located in the middle of fertile valleys, crossed respectively by the rivers Lycos and Kagamos. Apollonis was labelled as *polis* from the beginning of its foundation, dated between 183 and 159 BC.<sup>421</sup> This is proved by fragmentary texts that record the presence of civic magistracies. In the lists of ephebes several Macedonian names are included, like “Attalos son of Areidaos”

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<sup>417</sup> Thonemann 2013b, 28-31.

<sup>418</sup> Malay and Petzl 2017, 31-33 n.3; SEG 49 1543.

<sup>419</sup> Thonemann 2013b, 15.

<sup>420</sup> KP II.113. Cf. Cohen 1995, 201. Strabo says that Apollonis was named after the Attalid queen Apollonis, mother of Eumenes II, *Geography* XIII.4.4.

<sup>421</sup> The date depends on the occurrence of the death of Apollonis. See Robert, 260 n.1

and “Propelaos”.<sup>422</sup> The important role played by soldiers or veterans who defined themselves as Macedonian is testified by the issues made by the local mint of Apollonis at the time (Appendix 2.4).<sup>423</sup> The iconography presented in two of the earliest known issues is a depiction of the Macedonian shield with the Argead star at the centre (figure 4.2).<sup>424</sup> The same iconographic element is shown on the obverse of several civic issues made by the mint of Philadelphia in the same chronological period (Appendix 2.7).<sup>425</sup>

Philadelphia was founded according to Stephanos of Byzantium by the brother of Eumenes II, Attalos II Philadelphos (159-138 BC). The presence of the Macedonian shields on the coins dated to the Attalid period (figure 4.3) indicate that many of the citizens of Philadelphia may have been soldiers that came from pre-existing military garrisons, like the ones of Agatheira and Doidye.<sup>426</sup> It is possible that their pride in being soldiers from old Macedonian fortresses is expressed by the incomers who had arrived at these new royal foundations: the civic identity of the cities would change significantly in the Roman Imperial period, as we will see in the next section.

On the other hand, Eumeneia, another city founded in the middle of the second century BC and located in the central part of Phrygia, was actually in a strategic position from the military point of view. It was founded by Attalos II and named after his brother, according to Stephanos.<sup>427</sup> The iconography presented on the civic issues of Eumeneia in the Attalid period is not related to symbols of the Macedonian army like the shield depicted on the coins of Apollonis and Philadelphia. A certain allusion to Macedonian symbology seems to be suggested by the star depicted on three issues dated to the early first century BC, in the Roman Republican period (figure 4.3).<sup>428</sup> The latest civic coin with the Argead

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<sup>422</sup> See BCH 1887, 86, no.6.14 and KP I 96 col.I.6.

<sup>423</sup> For fragments of ephobic lists from Apollonis see KP I.96 = TAM V.2.1203. Cf. Cohen 1995 n.3 203.

<sup>424</sup> SNG Cop 16. On the reverse the legend presents the label ΑΠΟΛΛΩ-ΝΙΔΕΩΝ, (*the city of the Apollonideans*).

<sup>425</sup> BMC *Lydia, Philadelphia* 1-2-3. On the reverse of these issues there is the depiction of a winged thunderbolt within wreath. This kind of iconography is also strictly connected to the Macedonian army of the Antigonid dynasty in the third century BC. See Sekunda 2012, 18-19. ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛ-ΦΕΩΝ

<sup>426</sup> BMC *Lydia, Philadelphia* 1-2-3

<sup>427</sup> See Cohen 1995, 301-302 and Thonemann 2011, 133-177. Eutropios attributes the founding of Eumeneia to Eumenes II, 4.4.2.

<sup>428</sup> BMC *Phrygia, Eumeneia* 13;15;17;19.

star on a coin from Eumeneia dates from the pre-Augustan era.<sup>429</sup> Eumeneia also changed the representation of its own civic identity in the Roman Imperial period. The Macedonian label or other symbols connected to the Macedonian identity apparently disappeared from the public memory and they were replaced by another type of label on civic coins, implying the Achaean ancestry for Eumeneia.

**Figure 4.2 Cistophoric coinage of Apollonis (SNG Cop 16, II century BC)**

Obverse: Macedonian shield ornamented with five stars.

Reverse: Club.

Legend: ΑΠΟΛΛΩ-ΝΙΔΕΩΝ, (*the city of the Apollonideans*).



**Figure 4.3 Cistophoric coinage of Philadelphia (BMC Lydia, Philadelphia 1. Before 133 BC).**

Obverse: Macedonian shield, star in centre.

Reverse: Winged thunderbolt, NK monogram above, all within wreath

Legend: ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛ-ΦΕΩΝ (*the city of the Philadelphians*)



**Figure 4.4 Cistophoric coinage of Eumeneia (Denizli Museum 8863. I century BC).<sup>430</sup>**

Obverse: Bust of Mên, wearing Phrygian cap.

Reverse: Eight-rayed star (Argead?).

Legend: ΕΥΜ-ΕΝΕΩΝ (*the city of the Eumeneians*)

<sup>429</sup> Denizli Museum 8863.

<sup>430</sup> The three images used have been uploaded with the permission of Wildwinds.com.



In summing up the observations so far, it is possible to propose the following hypothesis about the meaning of the “surge” of Macedonian evidence in the Attalid period in Lydia, but its relative absence in Phrygia. Thonemann argues that an extensive program of city foundations occurred in the northern part of Lydia and that the synoecism of Macedonian military settlements could serve the Attalid authority well, because the urban centres allowed an easier collection of the tributes from the land assigned to the citizens and a better catalogue of tax revenues.<sup>431</sup> He argues that the Macedonian label is related to the concept of ethnicity. The consequence of the synoecism of pre-existing local villages in structured civic communities and the official recognition of several military *katoikiai* by the Attalid state caused the rise of a “Macedonian ethno-class”. Ma describes this concept: “a dominant ethno-class is bound to the king by shared ethnic identity as well as self-interest and the combination of centralized bureaucracy, with remarkably flexible discourses of negotiation in dealing with local communities”.<sup>432</sup>

However, as I have tried to show above the Macedonian label did not indicate a group with a precise ethnicity or a “shared ethnic identity” at origin, at least in the Attalid Phrygia and Lydia. Those groups of soldiers used the Macedonian label to identify themselves, but they probably included two sub-groups at their side not bound though a shared ancestry. A part of them may perceived itself as the descendants of the Macedonians arrived with Alexander. On the other hand, these soldiers with supposed Macedonian ancestors were entrenched in garrisons together with veterans led by Macedonian generals and dressed in Macedonian fashion but with non-Macedonian origins. Therefore, it is difficult to apply the concept of Macedonian ethnicity for all the inhabitants of the military garrisons scattered around Phrygia and Lydia installed at the time of the early Hellenistic dynasts, like Espoura, Doidye and Agatheira. The Macedonian label

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<sup>431</sup> Thonemann 2013b, 28-31.

<sup>432</sup> Ma 2013b, 333.

identified both the groups at the time of the intervention of the Attalid kingdom in the area.

The soldiers who inhabited old garrisons under Macedonian generals were integrated into a new civic system like Apollonis or Philadelphia, where it was necessary to be recorded in the civic tribes. This may have fostered the need to create a social network that gathered the veterans from the garrisons of Espoura and Doidye under the Macedonian label. They define themselves as “Macedonians”, even if that was not their ethnicity, because it was a label necessary to obtain recognition as a distinctive group in the new civic community. A similar pattern also interested the Mysians. These groups of military settlers interacted with the Attalid power and organize themselves under the Mysian label, in order to obtain privileges or defend their own rights in relation to a civic community, as it has been seen in the case of Apollonioucharax.<sup>433</sup> On the other hand, the phenomenon of synoecism could have made the ethnic differences more nuanced. For example, Mausolus, the dynast of Caria from 377/6 to 353/2 BCE, promoted synoecism, which “fused smaller indigenous communities into Greek civic centres”.<sup>434</sup> Mitchell thinks that the effect was the strengthening of the Greek “way of life” but at the same time the blurring of the ethnic differences between Greeks and Karians.<sup>435</sup> It could be that the synoecism promoted by the Attalids in Phrygia and Lydia in the second century BC had a similar outcome. Macedonian veterans, Greek settlers and Lydian or Phrygian villagers were incorporated in Greek political organizations that set aside the perception of ethnic differences as they all were members of the same the civic community.

It is not possible to argue with certainty that the settlements like Toriaion or Apollonioucharax were turned into military colonies by the Attalids and there needs to be caution about the hypothesis of a Macedonian “ethno-class”. First, all the civic communities analysed (Apollonis, Eumeneia, Philadelphia) did not use the Macedonian label on coins or civic decrees in the Attalid period, nor later in the Roman Imperial period. Philadelphia and Apollonis displayed Macedonian symbology like the Argead shield on civic coins only in the middle of the second century BC, during the arrival of Macedonian soldiers from the surrounding

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<sup>433</sup> Thonemann 2013b, 21.

<sup>434</sup> Mitchell 2017, 25

<sup>435</sup> Mitchell 2017, 25.



garrisons. The soldiers who identified themselves as Macedonian on the inscriptions could have had an important role in the civic institutions of these cities just at the time, as suggested by the fact that the ephebic lists of Apollonis contain several Macedonian names.<sup>436</sup> Secondly, the term “ethno-class” would suppose a phenomenon of *longue durée*, that should have evidence also at the institutional level. Instead we have no trace of “Macedonian style” institutions such as the council of *peliganes* from Lydia and Phrygia. These institutions are attested in other Hellenistic cities at the time, like Seleucia on the Tigris in Mesopotamia.<sup>437</sup> The use of the Macedonian label occurred among groups of military incomers that honoured specific individuals, usually officials, for a very limited period, in the years 160s – 150s BC. Afterwards there is no evidence that show these groups still united under “a Macedonian banner”. The only exception is Apollonis, but the two inscriptions that have the Macedonian label date from the third century AD, as we will see later in the chapter.

We have no trace of Macedonian symbology like the shield on the coins and on the inscriptions at Eumeneia, Philadelphia and Apollonis during the Roman Imperial period, probably because the soldiers called Macedonian were perfectly integrated in the aforementioned civic communities at the time, and they would no longer required to be organized in distinctive groups to protect their interests. It is true that the citizens of Apollonis are labelled as “Macedonians” once again in the Roman Imperial period, but it is important to note the time and the context in which this term was used. The two “Macedonian” inscriptions from Roman Imperial Apollonis consist of a religious text and a civic decree, dated to the third century and beginning of the fourth century AD respectively, almost five centuries after the end of the use of the Macedonian shield on the coins. In the religious inscription, a cultic institution calls the inhabitants of Apollonis “Macedonians” (Appendix 1.8.1). The citizens of Apollonis are not defining themselves as Macedonians, but an external entity decides to call them in that way. In the civic decree, the council and the people of “the Macedonians Caesareans Apollonideans” honour an unidentified Roman emperor (Appendix 1.8.2).<sup>438</sup> The latter is the only evidence of the use of the Macedonian label by the city of

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<sup>436</sup> Ephebic lists of Apollonis dated to the second century BC include Macedonian names like “Attalos son of Areidaos” in BCH (1887) 86 no. 6.14, “Propelaos” in KP I 96. Col. I.6, and Botres in SEG XIX.709.7. See Cohen 1995, no.2, 203.

<sup>437</sup> See Coloru 2013, no.27, 41.

<sup>438</sup> Malay and Petzl 2017, 31-33 n.3; SEG 49 1543.

Apollonis as tool of self-definition in the Roman Imperial period. The reasons behind this choice will be analysed further in the section focussed on the Roman Imperial period. What is important to note here is the fact that the civic community of Apollonis used the Macedonian label as honorific title rather than a proper ethnic, and it did so only in specific circumstances to claim a shared ancestry for its citizens.

Last but not least, the concept of a dominant ethno-class is misleading because it could suggest the idea that non-Greek populations lived segregated from the Greek or Macedonian settlers and deprived of any civic rights. As Coloru states, there is no evidence for indigenous people being prevented from having access to the same rights as Graeco-Macedonian settlers, or Macedonian incomers.<sup>439</sup> Even in Thyatira, the Lydians and Mysians formed a part of the population and seemed not be confined in “ghettos” distinguished by the parts inhabited by the Greeks or Macedonian settlers. Strabo calls Thyatira both a “settlement of the Macedonians” and a “city of the Mysians”, attesting the multiple identities coexisting in the town.<sup>440</sup> A sort of ethnic division between Greeks and native inhabitants of the city may be attested in Babylonia in the Seleucid period, but there is criticism even in that case.<sup>441</sup> Because of this, I tend to avoid the term of “ethno-class” to define the groups who were labelled as Macedonian and inhabited several Phrygian and Lydian cities in the Hellenistic period. As Gray observes, “it became much easier for outsiders, including those without a long Greek ancestry, to participate in *polis* life, whether in a newly founded Hellenistic *polis* (especially in Asia Minor) or in a long-established *polis* which had become more open to outsiders. Partly because of federalism, double or even multiple citizenship became more common, and accepted, across the Greek world by the later Hellenistic period.”<sup>442</sup>

Thonemann proposes another hypothesis about the relation between the Greek civic communities and the Attalid power. The intervention of the Attalid state into the organization of the civic communities of Phrygia and Lydia could lead to the creation of local mints at Apollonis, Philadelphia and Eumeneia. It seems that the

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<sup>439</sup> Coloru 2013, 44-50.

<sup>440</sup> Strabo XIII.4.4.

<sup>441</sup> The term of Apartheid was employed by Van der Speck (2004) about the conditions of Babylonians under Seleucid rule. *Contra* Clancier 2012, who shows that the Sumer-Akkadian elite enjoyed a privileged position under the Seleucids. Cf. Coloru, 2013, 51-52.

<sup>442</sup> Gray 2018, 80. See also Heller and Pont 2012.

Attalid state fostered the use of these civic issues, called *cistophoroi*, that gave birth to a sort of “pseudo-regional ideology”: “the only inscriptions to appear on the earliest *cistophoroi* are abbreviated city-ethnics, which are placed on the reverse of the coins at centre left”.<sup>443</sup> Thonemann calls these numismatic inscriptions “city-ethnics”, but I prefer to call them “city names”. The evidence of the “regional ideology” is suggested by the diffusion of a similar iconography on the *cistophoric* coins struck by cities in Phrygia and Lydia. This consists of a club draped with a lionskin on the obverse, again encircled by an ivy wreath, while on reverse a bunch of grapes on an ivy wreath.<sup>444</sup> Examples of this have been found at the centres of Philadelphia, Eumeneia, Apollonis and Blaundos. The civic coins issued by these communities in the late Attalid period and early Roman period present the simple genitive plural case related to the name of the city, without any Macedonian label: for example ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛ-ΦΕΩΝ -(the city of) the Philadelphians, ΑΠΟΛΛΩ-ΝΙΔΕΩΝ – (the city of) the Apollonideans, and ΕΥΜΕ-ΝΕΩΝ – (the city of) the Eumeneians.<sup>445</sup> Because of the standardization of the iconography on civic coins of these different cities and lack of symbols related to the Attalid dynasty, Thonemann argues that the king Eumenes tried through the *cistophoric* coinage “to project a federal ideology of free and equal alliance, not a *basileia* (kingdom) or an *arche* (dominion) but a *koinon* (federal alliance)”.<sup>446</sup> A formal federalism that comprised these communities, called the “*koinon* of the Greeks of Asia” developed with the establishment of Roman administration.<sup>447</sup> This is supported by the fact that there is epigraphic and literary evidence on the league only from the Roman Republican period, argument of the following section.

#### **4.5 The establishment of Roman administration in Asia before Augustus: *koinon* and *dioikesis* versus *conventus* and *regio*.**

The end of the Attalid dynasty coincided with the death of Attalos III in 133 BC. This king decided in his will to leave the royal treasure and the royal lands to the Roman people and the Senate, while the Greek cities of the reign were

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<sup>443</sup> “In neither case is there any explicit reference to the Attalid royal house, and only by means of some rather tortuous arguments can the iconography of the coinage be connected to the dynasty at all.”, op.cit. Thonemann 2013b, 31. Cf. Kosmetatou 1998.

<sup>444</sup> Thonemann 2013b, 31.

<sup>445</sup> See BMC Lydia 1-4 for Philadelphia, SNG Cop 16 for Apollonis; SNG Cop 377 for Eumeneia.

<sup>446</sup> Thonemann 2013b, 33. About the term *basileia* used to define the Attalid kingdom, see SEG 39 1244, civic decree for Menippos of Kolophon.

<sup>447</sup> Ando 2010, 33.

proclaimed autonomous and free.<sup>448</sup> It was the first step of a long-term process that led to the creation of the Roman province of Asia. At the beginning, the Roman Senate apparently agreed with the conditions requested by Attalos III: the main cities in the region of Ionia, Lydia and Mysia, like Ephesos, Tralleis and Pergamon, remained formally free and autonomous, while various communities of Phrygia were not incorporated into the new province.<sup>449</sup> This is confirmed by public inscriptions found at Pergamon and Ephesos and by the literary tradition on the city of Tralleis.<sup>450</sup> The first Roman army arrived in the region only in 131 BC, initially in order to help the Greek cities of the coast in Asia Minor against the revolt of Aristonicos, who unsuccessfully made a claim to the Attalid throne.<sup>451</sup> After the end of this revolt, no other Roman military forces were sent to Asia until the campaign of Sulla against Mithridates of Pontus in 87 BC.<sup>452</sup> Part of the region of Phrygia had been handed to the same king in 130 BC, to testify the apparent reluctance of the Roman Republican state to impose immediate direct rule over the former Attalid kingdom, at least in the less urbanized and controllable areas.<sup>453</sup>

The development of the direct rule of Rome had an impact on the communication routes of the region: the Roman general Manlius Aquilius, first proconsular governor of Roman Asia, financed the construction of the main roads in the province between 129 and 126 BC.<sup>454</sup> At the beginning, the province was a sort of a central triangle, with the cities of Pergamum, Ephesos and Laodicea as corners, and extensions from Pergamum to Adramyttium and from Laodicea to Side.<sup>455</sup> The region called Greater Phrygia, that included Synnada, Apameia, and the other Phrygian centres analysed in this chapter, was incorporated into the province of Asia only ten years later, between 119 and 116 BC.<sup>456</sup> Strabo is the

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<sup>448</sup> See Flor. I.35 *Attalus rex Pergamenorum, regis Eumenis filius, socii quondam commilitionisque nostri, testamentu reliquit: "Populus Romanus bonorum meorum heres esto. In bonis regiis haec fuerunt."* About the debate on the Royal will of this king, see Daubner 2003 and Mackowiak 2007, 23-46. The interpretation of the will of Attalus as granting formal freedom for the Greek cities is almost unanimously accepted in the modern scholarship.

<sup>449</sup> About the gradual process of "province formation", See Kallet-Marx 1995 and Mitchell 1993. *Contra* Harris 1979, who supported the theory of an immediate creation of the provincial institutions, 147-149.

<sup>450</sup> Cf. Kallet-Marx 1995. See honorary decree by the city of Pergamon in honour of Aquilius, IGR IV 292. For Tralleis and Ephesos, see Magie 1950 and Tacitus IV.55.2.

<sup>451</sup> See Coarelli 2015, 215; Daubner 2003.

<sup>452</sup> Mitchell 1993, 29.

<sup>453</sup> See Appian, *Mithr.* 11,12,15,56,57 and Sherwin-White 1977, 68-69.

<sup>454</sup> See French 1998.

<sup>455</sup> Mitchell 1999, 17-46.

<sup>456</sup> *Ibidem*.

main literary source for the provincial organisation of the Greek communities of Asia in the Augustan period: the Greek geographer called the administrative division in place at his own time the *διοικησις* system.<sup>457</sup> However, according to Habicht and Mitchell the *διοικησις* system, described by Strabo as a geographic and administrative organization, was fully implemented only at the time of Augustus.<sup>458</sup>

What sort of response by the local communities could have been triggered by the Roman intervention? Anne Heller argues that there was a dichotomy in Asia Minor in the behaviour of the Greek cities before Roman power and the new Italian settlers: resistance together with acceptance expressed by allegiance to the new rulers.<sup>459</sup> Lozano proposes recently to go further and not to think only according to the dichotomic model imposition/spontaneity, for example in relation to the Roman Imperial cult in Asia.<sup>460</sup> I argue that the synthesis of the complex nature of the attitude of the local communities included in the Roman province of Asia was the development of the “federation of Greek cities, villages and peoples”, the *koinon*. This political entity represented the interests of the local elites against the abuses of Italian and Roman *publicani*, people responsible for tax collection until the fiscal reform by Caesar.<sup>461</sup> On the other hand, the Greek city-members of the *koinon* recognized the Romans as legitimate rulers using the definition of “common benefactors” in the civic decrees honouring them.<sup>462</sup> This expression represents an innovation with respect to the Seleucid and Attalid periods, stressing the superiority of Roman officials to these former Hellenistic dynasts.<sup>463</sup> The *koinon* was the vehicle to the provincial worship of Roman emperors from the time of Augustus. If the *koinon* was the expression of Greek policy in relation with Rome, the *conventus* could represent the interests of Roman settlers in relation to Greeks in Asia.

It is necessary to understand the meaning of the Latin term *conventus* and its use in the context of the Roman Republican province of Asia, because it reflects how the Roman settlers like the *publicani* or *negotiatores* were organized and

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<sup>457</sup> Strabo, *Geography* XIII.4.11-12.

<sup>458</sup> Mitchell 1999. Cf. Habicht 1975, 64-91.

<sup>459</sup> See Heller 2014, 217.

<sup>460</sup> See Lozano 2011, 475-519.

<sup>461</sup> App. *Bellum Civile*, V.4.19. Cf. Heller 2013, 219.

<sup>462</sup> See Gauthier 1985.

<sup>463</sup> See Heller 2014, 221. Cf. Erskine 1994; Ferrary 1988, 124-132.

perceived themselves, in relation to the local communities in the first century BC.<sup>464</sup> Besides, it is important to define the role played by the *conventus* in the self-definition of Roman and Italian new settlers of Asia Minor. The *koinon* and the *conventus* are two faces of the same coin, which is the establishment of Roman administration in the former Attalid kingdom. The Greek side of the coin, that is the *koinon*, is analysed first.

The system of a “free and autonomous federation” that included the Greek communities of Asia Minor was formally affirmed and developed throughout the Roman Republican period. Earlier example of a federation of Greek cities in Asia Minor is provided by the Hellenistic *koinon* of the Lesbians, that was formally re-founded in 200 BC.<sup>465</sup> The former civic communities of the Attalid kingdom were organized in a sort of Greek federation. This appears to be defined for the first time with the Greek term of *koinon* on public inscriptions dated after the creation of the Roman province of Asia in 130 BC.<sup>466</sup> The Greek cities and villages of the province of Asia were labelled in the face of Roman power as “the *koinon* of the Greeks of Asia”.<sup>467</sup> The earliest epigraphic evidence is one honorary inscription found at the city of Aphrodisias, dated to the beginning of the first century BC: the *κοινόν των επί της Ἀσίας Ἑλλήνων* honoured two citizens of Aphrodisias for their merits in relation with the federation.<sup>468</sup> Those two were responsible for diplomatic missions on behalf of the Greek communities before the Roman Senate, dispatched in order to protect their rights from the mistreatments of Roman entrepreneurs, the *publicani*.<sup>469</sup>

From this text it appears that the *koinon* included not only the Greek cities proper, called *πόλεις*, like Ephesos, Aphrodisias and Tralleis, but also other centres catalogued as “οἱ δήμοι και τα ἔθνη - “the peoples and villages”<sup>470</sup> According to Drew Bear the collocation of ‘peoples’ and ‘tribes’, together with the implicit contrast between them, can be read as embracing but also differentiating Hellenised populations living in cities, in *poleis*, on the one hand, and the

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<sup>464</sup> See Isayev 2017, 60-61; Burton 1975, 92-106.

<sup>465</sup> See Ellis-Evans 2019, 200-248.

<sup>466</sup> Thonemann 2013b,33-34. Cf. Drew-Bear 1972, 443-450; Wörrle 2000, 569-571; Mitchell 2008,183-187.

<sup>467</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>468</sup> Drew Bear 1972, II.24-25, 444.

<sup>469</sup> About the complex relation between the Greek cities of Asia and the Roman *publicani* during the Republican and early Roman imperial period, see Heller 2014, 217-232.

<sup>470</sup> Drew Bear 1972, II.24-28, 444.

inhabitants of the less Hellenised interior, who did not live in recognisably Greek cities.<sup>471</sup> However, I challenge the assumption of a “Hellenicity” criterion for the Greek label of the *koinon*. The hypothesis of Ferrary, supported by Ando, sounds more convincing: the ‘Greek’ label came to be used by the league for all its constituents, villages such as cities, but that in doing so Greek usage gradually aligned with Roman practice, in which by the Augustan period ‘Greek’ was used of the eastern provinces to refer broadly to aliens, without any specific ethnic distinction.<sup>472</sup> This is supported also by the fact that also the Karians, non-Greek people inhabiting villages and towns in southwestern Asia Minor, were organized in a confederation called *koinon* by Strabo and already known in the classical period.<sup>473</sup> The distinction between “cities”, “villages” and “peoples”, all labelled as “Greek” in relation to the Roman authority, persisted during the early Roman Imperial period according to the accounts of Strabo and then Pliny the Elder.<sup>474</sup>

Evidence of a “federal system” is the maintenance of the habit of issuing local civic coinages according to the cistophoric style in Lydia and Phrygia. This was not abolished by the Roman provincial authorities and Phrygian and Lydian cities kept on issuing cistophoric coins until the first half of the third century AD. The persistence of a regional system in the organization of local mints is proved also by the iconography used on the *cistophoroi* in the Roman Republican period. On the tetradrachms issued by the local mints of from 160s BC until the late first century BC there is on the obverse a snake emerging from a basket and on the reverse a club encircled by an ivy wreath;<sup>475</sup> this kind of depiction is well attested also for the Roman Republican period on the civic issues of Eumeneia and Apollonis.<sup>476</sup> As Thonemann stated, “the inhabitants of the new Roman province of Asia were already well accustomed to seeing themselves (or being encouraged to see themselves) as members of a quasi-federal alliance”.<sup>477</sup> The perception of

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<sup>471</sup> Drew Bear 1972, 448-9. Cf. Ando 2010, 36.

<sup>472</sup> Ferrary 2001; Ando 2010.

<sup>473</sup> Strabo 14.2.25. Mitchell notes that “The Karians developed forms of local or regional political organization which were distinct both from the model of dynastic rule by local strongmen, such as we find in Kilikia or Lykia, and from the city-state organization represented by Greek colonies and coastal settlements”. Mitchell 2017, 19.

<sup>474</sup> Strabo XIII.4.12 and Pliny *N.H.* V.31.

<sup>475</sup> Kosmetatou 1998, 11-19.

<sup>476</sup> BMC *Phrygia, Eumeneia* 15-17; BMC *Lydia, Apollonis* 4.

<sup>477</sup> Thonemann 2013a, 34.

Roman rule together with the self-perception of Roman settlers in the province is testified instead by the appearance of the term *conventus*.

The word *conventus*, deriving from the Latin verb *convenire*, to meet, has two different technical meanings in the context of the province of Asia: one is “association”, while the other is provincial assize. In the context of the first century BC it indicates a community of Romans living abroad.<sup>478</sup> Van Nijf states that “traditionally it has been suggested that they (the Roman settlers in Asia) operated in the form of a *conventus* which was supposedly a formal body instituted in each city by the Roman state under a kind of state appointed direction, the *curatores*.”<sup>479</sup> There are some texts that support this view, such as the inscription from Hierapolis in Phrygia where some Roman citizens honour a conventarch and the inscription from Thyatira where there is a *curator* of the Roman *conventus*.<sup>480</sup> However Van Nijf argues that the scarce evidence does not allow us to think that Roman settlers universally adopted this system.<sup>481</sup> As Isayev notes, the *conventus* “was not the same as a colony, nor was it necessarily a state-initiated enterprise, but an official recognition of a community of Roman citizens, probably at their own request or by their own designation.”<sup>482</sup>

According to Burton instead *conventus* meant assize centre in relation to the duties of Roman governors in the province of Asia in the late Republican period. These were confined precisely to the juridical circuit, as Cicero seems to intend in one of his letters as proconsul of Cilicia in the mid-first century BC.<sup>483</sup> However, Burton notes that this meaning of *conventus* is not consistently testified until the first century AD. Before then, the meaning of “association” is preferable. Indeed, Caesars and Cicero used to design the communities of Romans abroad with the term *conventus*.<sup>484</sup> Besides, the role of the assize centre in the Republican period

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<sup>478</sup> See Isayev 2017, 60-61.

<sup>479</sup> Van Nijf 2009, 10.

<sup>480</sup> See Judeich 32 for the inscription from Hierapolis; for the inscription from Thyatira, see TAM V.2.1002 Cf. Van Nijf 2009, 9-10.

<sup>481</sup> Van Nijf 2009, 9-10.

<sup>482</sup> Isayev 2017, 60. Isayev adds that “In the writings of Plautus and Varro the different forms of *convenire* generally mean to meet or to agree”, 60. Cf. Plautus, *Mil. Glor.* 1138; *Stichus*, 127; *Trinnumus*, 1174; *Cistellaria* 74, *Curculio*, 302; 321; 466–7. Varro uses it to mean either meeting or agreement – as in the meeting of minds: Varro, *De lingua latina*, 6.9.87–88.

<sup>483</sup> Cic. *Q. 1.1.17.M.*

<sup>484</sup> See Isayev 2017, 60-61 and no.231 61 “Caesar BC 2.19.3, in regards to the *conventus* at Corduba – *conventus Cordubae*; Caesar *BC* 3.32.6, in regards to Asia Minor; Cicero ad *Fam.* 4.1.1; Cicero *Verr.* 2.5.10; 2.5.16; 2.5.94; Sallust *Jug.* 21.2f, in reference to traders resident in Cirta in Numidia. Festus Lindsay 36 = P29 (41), his second definition of *conventus* is: *multitudo ex conpluribus generibus hominum contracta in unum locum.*”



did not coincide with an administrative district and reflected the “itinerant” and limited power of the Roman provincial authority. Cicero, as governor of Cilicia, followed a flexible scheme when he held assizes, or *conventus*, for the province of Cilicia: he says in a letter that he held the assizes (*conventus*) for the city of Apameia together with the ones of Laodicea.<sup>485</sup> Both cities were capital districts and separate assize centres in the Roman Imperial period. The bulk of justice was executed by local courts and dependent on the authority of Greek communities without the intervention of Roman governor, except for the cases when Roman citizens were involved.

The *conventus* was initially intended to define not an administrative and geographic district, like the Strabonian *dioikesis*, but a status granted to the Roman citizens abroad or to a specific city because it was chosen as the place where the provincial governor held the assizes. The first meaning of *conventus* is similar to the *koinon* of the Greeks of Asia. On the other hand, the Greek word *dioikesis* appeared to refer to an administrative and geographic area for which the assizes were held in certain cities of the province of Asia in the Roman Republican period. This may lead to the change of meaning of *conventus* in the Flavian era, when this Latin term identified by natural extension in the province of Asia not only the city where the assize was held but also an administrative and geographic district dependent on the assize centre.<sup>486</sup>

An example of the use of the term *dioikesis* in the Roman republican period is a civic decree issued by the *koinon* of the Greeks of Asia that records a letter from the Roman governor, dated to 56 BC: the letter of the republican proconsul says that seven cities, Miletus, Tralleis, Alabanda, Mylasa, Smyrna, Pergamon and Adramyttium had “their own *dioikesis* instructions.”<sup>487</sup> Those cities were the assize centres, whose jurisdiction extended to an area called by the Roman official with the term *dioikesis*. It seems in conclusion that the province of Asia in the Roman Republican period did not have a clear administrative and geographical division, but that there were already several cities granted with the status of assize centres, where the Roman governor employed juridical powers. The term *conventus* probably changed gradually until when it became synonym

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<sup>485</sup> Cic. *Ad Att.* 5.21.9.

<sup>486</sup> See Festus, epitome 41. Cf. Burton 1975, 93.

<sup>487</sup> R. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East*, 1969, no.52., ll.42.

of *dioikesis* only in the Flavian period at earliest, when Pliny the Elder used to define the assize districts of Asia with the term *conventus*.<sup>488</sup>

Despite the reluctance of Roman Republican administration to impose direct rule on the territories once controlled by the Attalid state, Erskine argues that the acquisition of the province of Asia had an important role in the change of foreign policy by Rome in the East, which passed from an indirect rule to a more aggressive and “imperialistic” posture.<sup>489</sup> In 123 BC a law issued by T. Gracchus with the consent of the Senate allowed the Roman *equites* to collect taxes from the communities in Asia Minor.<sup>490</sup> Those figures, called by the name of *publicani*, would become deeply involved in the financial activities of the Greek communities of the province of Asia. This kind of economic exploitation should have had a negative impact, because the propraetor Mucius Scaevola disposed several measures to protect the native communities from exaggerated taxation in the 90s BC.<sup>491</sup>

The phenomenon of the arrival of Roman and Italian residents, called “imperial diaspora” by Eberle,<sup>492</sup> was one of the factors that led to the revolt of several Greek cities against the Roman administration and to the massacres of Italian and Roman *publicani* in Asia Minor by the locals, when the war with king of Pontus Mithridates broke out in 88 BC. After the campaign of Sulla against Mithridates ended in 85 BC, the economical exploitation by these new immigrants continued and it is considered one of the “leading edge of Roman imperialism”.<sup>493</sup> Between 85 and 71 BC, the *koinon* of Asia decided to send a diplomatic mission to the Roman Senate to demand protection from the abuses of some *publicani*.<sup>494</sup> The Romans and Italians who held public contracts to collect taxes in Asia moved to the new province and soon became estate holders, either in default of debt payments, or by direct purchase from the former landowners who could not pay the taxes in other ways.<sup>495</sup>

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<sup>488</sup> Pliny, *NH* 5.95 ff. According to Burton the system of *conventus* as administrative and geographic used by Pliny was drawn by an Augustan source though, Burton 1975, 93. Cf. Jones 1971, Appendix I 503 f. at 506.

<sup>489</sup> Erskine 2010, 28.

<sup>490</sup> Magie, *RRI*, 173-174.

<sup>491</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>492</sup> Eberle 2016, 51-52.

<sup>493</sup> Eberle 2016, 52.

<sup>494</sup> Heller 2014, 218. Cf. Reynolds 1982 n.5.

<sup>495</sup> See Isayev 2017, 53-54. Mitchell 1993, 30. Cf. Zehnacker 1979, 42-52.

On the other hand, the protection of Roman interests in the region was delegated to military units furnished by the local communities, as it appears from the account of Plutarch on the campaign of Sulla against Mithridates V started in 87 BC.<sup>496</sup> We know from the chronography of Cassiodorus that in 84/5 BC Sulla divided Asia into forty-four regions. Magie and Gray argued that each *regio* was instituted as an extraordinary collective centre imposed by Sulla in order to extort the huge indemnity owed by the Asian communities after the Mithridatic war. It was then a kind of fiscal division, but temporary and not probably based on stable administrative districts.<sup>497</sup> Still at the imperial time, some imperial estates were described as *regiones*.<sup>498</sup> At the time though, the term *regio* persisted to indicate only a substantial rural territory which was not dominated by a major urban centre.<sup>499</sup> The *regiones* did not follow probably a pre-existing scheme dated to the Attalid period, nor they were based on the assize centres.<sup>500</sup>

Overall, the existence of “ethnic” divisions in the province of Asia is difficult to determine as they were not clearly defined in the administrative sphere by the local institutions or by Roman officials in the Roman Republican period. In my opinion, this goes against the hypothesis of a Macedonian “ethno-class” presented by a part of the modern scholarship for the Attalid period and for the Roman Republican period. The *διοικησις* system did not categorize the assize centres in “Macedonian” or “Greek” cities and the *regiones* created by Sulla did not distinguish between Greek and Macedonian territories. The *koinon* presents the Greek label but it included “cities, villages and peoples” alike without an ethnic distinction between Greek, Macedonian and indigenous settlers like the Mysians and the Lydians, and it could include all the settlers that were considered alien by the Roman authority.<sup>501</sup>

However, “if the Senate was reluctant to become too deeply involved in Asiatic affairs, this was not clearly true of other sections of Roman society”.<sup>502</sup> The *conventus* was an organization that aimed to safeguard the interests of the Italian

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<sup>496</sup> Plut. *Sylla* 5.7.

<sup>497</sup> Magie, *RR* II, 1116-1117 and Gray, Tenth Congress 1978 Ankara, 972-973.

<sup>498</sup> Mitchell 1999, 29.

<sup>499</sup> See for example Jones 1970, 65, 144, 165-166, 168, 184-190.

<sup>500</sup> For the development and organization of the provincial system in Asia Minor, see Burton 1975, 92-106.

<sup>501</sup> Ferrary 2001 and Ando 2010.

<sup>502</sup> Mitchell 1993, 29.

and Roman residents against the local elites.<sup>503</sup> The members of this “Roman diaspora” tried to take advantage by putting pressure also on provincial governors and Roman jurists, in order to take possession of provincial land formally under the jurisdiction of the free Greek cities of Asia.<sup>504</sup> One example is provided by Cicero’s account on a property dispute between Gaius Appuleius Decianus, a Roman citizen resident in the province of Asia, and Amyntas, a citizen of Apollonis, on a plain about fifty kilometres southeast of Pergamon.<sup>505</sup> The economic exploitation by the *publicani* caused a constant tension between the Roman residents and Greek communities until Julius Caesar. After the battle of Pharsalus (48 BC), Caesar decreed the taxation should have been collected directly by the local authorities of Greek cities of Asia and not more by the *publicani*.<sup>506</sup> It is necessary to consider how the interactions between Roman residents and Greek communities were expressed in Lydia and Phrygia up to that point.

#### **4.5.1 The impact of Roman residents and the disappearance of “Macedonian” groups in the Republican period.**

The initial disinterest of Roman administration in a direct intervention in the financial activities of the local institutions is testified by ongoing use of the cistophoric coinage by several Lydian and Phrygian cities without any substantial change in respect to the Attalid period. At the same time the growing presence of Roman estate holders made necessary the expression of a label that could identify the groups of new residents. After all, even if the number of 80 000 Italian and Roman citizens killed by Mithridates is exaggerated, it is still probable that the incomers from Italy represented a new reality to deal with.<sup>507</sup> These settlers were not only tax collectors or merchants, but also land owners and money-lenders.<sup>508</sup> They frequently had an autonomous agenda respect to the central power in the province of Asia during the Republican period, as Eberle shows in the legal dispute between Flaccus and Amyntas of Apollonis. In this case, the Roman governor as other Roman *iurisconsulti* sided with the citizen of this Greek

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<sup>503</sup> See also the case of Delos, Isayev 2017, 56-60.

<sup>504</sup> See Eberle 2016, 65-69.

<sup>505</sup> Cic. *Flac.* 79-80; Eberle 2016, 54-55.

<sup>506</sup> App. *Bellum Civile*, V.4.19. Cf. Heller 2013, 219.

<sup>507</sup> See Isayev 2017, 18 and no.1 18. The figure of 80 000 is reported by Valerius Maximus 9.2.3 and Memnon of Heracleia Pontica 31.9 (= FGH III B, p352, lines 16–21).

<sup>508</sup> Van Nijf 2009, p.4.

civic community and guaranteed his land rights against the Roman resident.<sup>509</sup> It is likely that the relationship between Roman officials and the Roman diaspora in Asia was complex and these differences could have been used by local communities to claim more effectively their rights.

The divergence of interests between Roman republican authority and the Roman residents in the dealing with the civic communities of Asia is testified also by the legislation issued by Roman officials dated to the first century BC. Lucullus decreed for the province of Asia a maximum interest loan of 12% during the war against Mithridates in 71/70 BC, to avoid that the Italian money-lenders turned their loans into usury.<sup>510</sup> We have seen that they were probably organized in associations called *conventus*.<sup>511</sup> How were the new Roman residents labelled by the Greek communities in Lydia and Phrygia in which they had settled? Was the Macedonian label still present at the time? From the epigraphic and numismatic evidence, two trends appear:

1) Absence of the Macedonian label and any kind of other label implying a specific ancestry (Lydian, Dorian, Achaean, Mysian) on coins and inscriptions issued by Phrygian and Lydian communities.

2) Limited presence of public institutions representative of the Roman power on civic decrees issued by the local civic administrations. A Roman official like the proconsular governor was cited when he made some benefactions for Greek cities, with the title of “saviour” or “benefactor”.<sup>512</sup> His benefactions could be in relation to the resolution of legal arbitrations between local communities and the Italian incomers, usually catalogued in Latin as entrepreneurs, or *negotiatores*, or in Greek as οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι, “the resident Romans/Roman settlers.”<sup>513</sup>

If we have a record of Roman label in the Republican period in relation to the settlers from Italy, there is no evidence of the use of the Macedonian label by groups of settlers or local civic institutions in Lydia and Phrygia. We have indeed

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<sup>509</sup> Eberle 2016, 55; Cic. *Flacc.* 79-80.

<sup>510</sup> See Plut. *Lucullus*, 20.2-4.

<sup>511</sup> “There was a much broader spectrum of occupations and reasons why individuals chose to go abroad, including banking, investment in land or industry, agriculture and mining, craftsmanship, wool trade and animal husbandry – all professions that may not have differed substantially from those practised by the local residents or other foreigners”, Isayev 2017, 54.

<sup>512</sup> See Erkelenz 2002; Heller 2014, 221.

<sup>513</sup> See Burton 1975, 102-105. For an example for the Greek term, see IGR IV 632. Cf. Thonemann 2010, 169. About the Latin word *negotiatores*, that indicates not only bankers and traders but also landowners, see also Eberle and Le Quéré 2017, 28.

for this period only one example of a “Macedonian” individual, Antipatros of Derbe.<sup>514</sup> However his Macedonian identity can be inferred just by the onomastic, because the name of Antipatros is not followed or preceded by explicit Macedonian label in the text, unlike the case of Khorragos.<sup>515</sup> My hypothesis is that the groups of Macedonians who had been settled in the midst of the second century BC into the Lydian or Phrygian cities like Apollonia and Philadelphia were integral part of the civic elite in the Roman republican period. It is not a coincidence that the Roman label was used in the Republican period in a way similar to the Macedonian one in the late Attalid period. The label “Roman” was instrumental for groups of Italian people, likely organized into the *conventus*, that had recently settled into the urban centres and tried to safeguard their specific interests together with their own identity. Ferrary argues that Roman businessmen would have been particularly attracted to cities where Roman magistrates and pro-magistrates were based.<sup>516</sup> Van Nijf observes that the absence of a system of international law would have made it attractive for Roman traders to have easy access to a Roman official, who could guarantee the security of personnel and property.<sup>517</sup> This could explain also the need by Greek communities to regulate the interactions with the Roman settlers by legislative acts, recorded in the epigraphic material.

During the first century BC there is an important cluster of decrees produced by civic institutions, as it is confirmed by the inscriptions that have been located in northern Phrygia and inner Anatolia.<sup>518</sup> Indeed we have for this period the earliest surviving civic decrees issued at Synnada, Apollonia and Peltaï.<sup>519</sup> Before the time of Augustus, Eumeneia also re-started to issue civic coins after a long period of inactivity. There seems to be a regional phenomenon of development of civic institutions, partially started with the cistophoric coinages introduced by the Attalid king Eumenes one century earlier. According to Thonemann, the arrival of Italian and Roman *negotiatores* may have contributed to the development of the civic

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<sup>514</sup> Thonemann 2013b and Mitchell 2018, 14-15. Cf. Keil and Premerstein 1911: 135–6, no. 248; Robert 1980: 243–4.

<sup>515</sup> Interestingly, this Macedonian dynasty is suspected to have connived with the Parthian invaders commanded by the Roman defector Labienus in 38 BC. See Mitchell 1993, 38.

<sup>516</sup> Ferrary 2001, 19-36.

<sup>517</sup> Van Nijf 2009, 4. See also Eberle 2016, 60-63.

<sup>518</sup> See Thonemann 2013b, 27-30.

<sup>519</sup> For Synnada, see SEG 54 1879. Apollonia, MAMA IV 136, 141, 158-9. Thonemann 2013b, 27.

institutions of the cities of western Phrygia.<sup>520</sup> This could be explained by the fact that Phrygian and Lydian cities, until the third century AD, legislated to control the villages within their territory and regulated the ownership and cultivation of their public lands.<sup>521</sup> The Roman and Italian settlers were acquiring part of these lands thanks to their earning in commerce, tax collection and money-landing.<sup>522</sup> This growing economic power triggered intervention from the local authorities and the need to issue civic decrees to exert a form of public regulation on the activities of these new residents: from Phrygia we have the first samples of bilingual inscriptions where the presence of “Roman residents/settlers - οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι” is related to civic legislation.<sup>523</sup> This could also foster the self-awareness of the local communities as “Greek cities”. Mitchell argues that there is a strong connection between the presence of these new settlers and the economic exploitation of the province of Asia.<sup>524</sup>

Nevertheless, the case study of Blaundos, where we have seen the presence of Italian freedmen as main benefactors of the civic community was not unique.<sup>525</sup> At Dorylaion, the earliest known inscription issued by the civic institutions is a bilingual stele erected in honour of Claudia, high priestess of Asia, set up by “the *boule* and the *demos* and the Roman businessmen (*pragmateuomenoi*)”.<sup>526</sup>

At Akmoneia, another Phrygian settlement located about 70 km north east of Blaundos, we find further epigraphic evidence of a group of prominent Italian women who honoured an individual together with the Greek civic institutions of the city. Here, an honorific stele dedicated to a local high priestess (dated to AD 6/7), was erected by ‘the wives, both Greek and Roman’: this body, probably modelled on the Augustan *ordo matronarum* at Rome, acted according to Thonemann as a female equivalent to the town’s male decision-making bodies, recorded in another contemporary inscription like - ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος [ὁ Ἄκμονέων] καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι – “the Akmoneian *boule* and the *demos*

<sup>520</sup> Thonemann 2013a, 29-30.

<sup>521</sup> See for example the inscription found at Hierapolis in Phrygia, OGIS 527, and for the public lands J.L.Ferrary and D. Rousset, BCH 122, 1998, 277-342. Cf. Burton 2004, 313.

<sup>522</sup> Van Nijf notes that “as all entrepreneurs in pre-industrial economies, they would invest their money as soon as possible in the only stable source of income, land”, 2009, 3.

<sup>523</sup> IGR IV 675; SEG 36 1200. Cf. Campanile 1994:150 no 184.

<sup>524</sup> Mitchell 1993, 30; Eberle and Le Quéré 2017, 52.

<sup>525</sup> See Chapter 2 of the present thesis.

<sup>526</sup> See Thonemann 2013a, 31; “IGR IV 675 (SEG 36, 1200; Kearsley 2001: no. 135): A member of the same gens, L. Arruntius Tertius, was honoured by the *demos* and the resident Romans at Synnada: MAMA VI 372”, Thonemann 2013a, 30.

and the resident Romans”.<sup>527</sup> Eckhardt adds that the appearance of Roman residents in the more important Phrygian cities had a profound impact of new patterns of social organization, with the development of new institutions next to civic bodies that could represent at best the interests, like the *gerousia*.<sup>528</sup>

Groups of “resident Romans” are known in many cities of inland Asia Minor in the Late Republican and early Imperial period<sup>529</sup>, but “very little is known about the role played by these communities in the civic government of their host cities”.<sup>530</sup> At Akmoneia, the presence of Italian businessmen is likely related to the existence of a slave market (*statarion*), officially established by the Roman legate Lucullus in Asia Minor in the late 70s or early 60s BC.<sup>531</sup> In a dedicatory inscription from a village in the territory of Akmoneia, dated to the reign of Tiberius, a group of Romans is catalogued as *κατοικοῦντες*, “residents/settlers”, by a term with which also the new Macedonian settlers were categorized by the cities of Philadelphia and Apollonis around one century before.<sup>532</sup> How were these settlers organized in the Roman period? The *conventus* was not the only organization that gathered Roman and Italian newcomers, according to a recent study by Eckhardt.

This scholar argues that in Phrygia, a sign of “Romanization” is represented by introduction of the institution of the *Gerousia*, an association attested epigraphically in the cities of Hierapolis and Akmoneia in the Roman Imperial period.<sup>533</sup> According to Eckhardt, this would be a sort of “an institution at the border between public and private” that safeguarded the interest of the Roman residents within the community but also uses its prestige to do benefactions in favour of the Greek city.<sup>534</sup> The *Gerousia* generally was associated with the local gymnasium, together with civic institutions proper to a Greek city like the council and the popular assembly. Eckhardt’s hypothesis can be supported by the case of Mummius Macer of Blaundos. In the second chapter of the present thesis, we have seen that this Roman citizen was honoured by the local gymnasium for his

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<sup>527</sup> IGR IV 632; Thonemann 2010, 169.

<sup>528</sup> Eckhardt 2016, 149-152.

<sup>529</sup> See for example MAMA VI 177; IGR IV 779,790; MAMA VI 180; IGR IV 785 and MAMA VI 183. Cf. Thonemann 2010, n.23, 169.

<sup>530</sup> Thonemann 2010, 169.

<sup>531</sup> MAMA VI 260. Cf. Thonemann 2010,173.

<sup>532</sup> SEG 28 1080 = Drew Bear 1968, 12-14; Thonemann 2010, 169.

<sup>533</sup> Ritti 2003, 198; Eckhardt 2016, 150.

<sup>534</sup> Eckhardt 2016, 151.



financial benefactions. He is recorded as γερουσιαστής - “member of the Gerousia”, at the time of Nero or Vespasian.<sup>535</sup>

These examples show a certain tendency of geographical mobility in the region both in the Attalid and the Republican periods but also a rapid integration of new incomers into the civic communities, independently from their geographical origins, if they were operating at high levels of society. It seems that the new Roman residents had a complex impact on the life of some civic communities of Lydia and Phrygia. On the one hand there was certainly a process of exploitation and drifting of financial resources and land estates from the local inhabitants to the powerful Italian and Roman immigrants, the *publicani* or *negotiatores*. The benefactions granted by Roman associations like the *Gerousia* towards local institutions, incarnated for example by the gymnasium, were also a way to legitimize the position of power of the Italian and Roman settlers alike within the civic communities of Asia.<sup>536</sup> The local institutions had to rely on the provincial governor or the Roman Senate to prevent the “land grabbing” by a part of this Roman diaspora. Even in this case, Heller notes that the enactment of the regulation of the financial abuses by the *publicani* was extremely difficult and it triggered the direct action of eminent Roman officials in extraordinary circumstances.<sup>537</sup>

On the other hand, the migration of Italian and Roman merchants provided new economic opportunities and benefactions in favour of the Greco-Macedonian urban population. This served as stimulus for the local economy. Furthermore, the interactions between the new incomers and the local authorities triggered also an increasing civic legislation. The development of the communities in Phrygia and Lydia fostered a stronger sense of civic identity and at the same time the awareness of the existence of an external power: Rome. The dispute between Roman residents and Greek cities about the transfer of land holding shows the active role played by these latter in the diplomatic relationship with Rome. In 63 BC, the city of Apollonis sent an embassy to Rome to complain about Decianus’ illegal acquirements of lands and obtained a *senatus consultum* on the matter.<sup>538</sup> It is possible that members of Italian families owned land in Phrygia in that period

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<sup>535</sup> Keil-Premmerstein, *Zweite Reise* 147 nr. 270 = Von Saldern 2006b no 26, 335, ll.2-4.

<sup>536</sup> See Van Nijf 2009.

<sup>537</sup> Heller 2014, 219.

<sup>538</sup> Eberle 2016, 65. *Cic. Flac.* 78 (on the *senatus consultum*), 79 (on the embassy).

and triggered similar disputes, although there is still no material evidence.<sup>539</sup> This phenomenon constitutes a premise to the rise of diplomatic embassies to Rome organized by the civic communities of the *koinon* of Asia, individually or together, in the Roman Imperial period.

To conclude the section, it seems that the use of Macedonian or Roman labels in the Attalid and Republican periods has a different meaning with respect to the Roman Imperial era. In the late Hellenistic and Roman republican period, the label “Macedonian” or “Roman” seemed to identify groups of people who came from outside the city and negotiate their social position with the local civic institutions. About the Roman settlers in Asia in the Republican period, Van Nijf says that “Roman traders, and even Roman residents, were still relatively marginal to the Greek cities. They lived *in* the cities, but they were not a fully integral part of the cities”.<sup>540</sup> The groups of Roman *publicani* consisted of new powerful settlers, such as the groups of Macedonian soldiers and veterans one century earlier. In the Roman imperial period instead, the Macedonian label and other types of labels started to imply a claim of ancestry. Besides, they were used to define not the new residents, but the local elites who represented the community in front of external political actors, such as Rome and other Greek cities. It might be that the memory of a Macedonian past was instrumental in the Roman Imperial period to the construction of distinctive civic identity for some Phrygian and Lydian civic institutions.

The Roman Imperial period saw the explosion of civic competition between local identities, expressed not only by new “identity labels”, but also by the depiction of the river god and the Roman Senate on civic coins. The Macedonian identity became important because of the great admiration by Roman emperors of Alexander the Great and the victories of the Macedonian army over the Persians. The major financial intervention of the Roman Imperial power in the local administration in respect to the Republican era led to the fulfilment of new political priorities by the local communities. The more capillary intervention of representatives of the imperial authority in the province of Asia, especially in the

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<sup>539</sup> Thonemann 2010, 73; According to Eberle and Le Quéré, “the coincidence of change in local textile production with Italian presence and possible landownership in the area suggests that the origins of the Lycus-valley region as the most important centre for textile production in the eastern Mediterranean quite possibly lay with the particular economic and socio-political strategies that members of Rome’s imperial diaspora regularly pursued” Eberle and Le Quéré 2017, 51.

<sup>540</sup> Van Nijf 2009, 9.

judiciary and financial fields, triggered the need to seek the favour of the Roman rulers. The loyalty to Roman representatives together with the claim of local pride were expressed publicly on civic coins and on honorary inscriptions. The appearance of the personification of the Roman Senate on Phrygian and Lydian civic coins from the first century AD onwards was related to the establishment of the Imperial cult in the province of Asia, one of the arguments of the next section.

#### **4.6 The sacred Senate, City Gods and “double labels” on coins and inscriptions: patterns of civic identities and regional competition in the Roman Imperial period.**

In the analysis of the civic issues and the inscriptions issued by Blaundos and Hyrkanis during the Roman Imperial period, three common features have emerged: the presence of a double label associated with the community, resulting from the union of the city name and the Macedonian label (e.g. “Hyrkanians Macedonians”), the representation of the local river as patron deity and the personification of the Roman Senate. The present section does not focus on all the expressions of civic identity in Phrygia and Lydia in the Roman Imperial period. The intention is rather to see if the twelve communities selected follow trends similar to the ones identified for the case studies of Blaundos and Hyrkanis.

From the literary evidence it seems that the establishment of the imperial cult was a corollary to the creation of the worship of the Roman Senate, peculiar to the province of Asia. Then, the analysis deals with which communities present the personification of this Roman institution on their civic coins. This is a sign of the Roman penetration into the life of the civic communities and it shows how the latter integrated Roman symbols and responded locally to an external form of power. Secondly, it is investigated whether the worship of the Roman Senate is related to the appearance of a double label (e.g. “Mostenians Lydians”) and the depiction of the local river god on civic coins. Did the civic coins of those communities of Phrygia and Lydia exhibit these features at the same time and were they expressed in the same way? The hypothesis to test is whether the Phrygian and Lydian communities chose symbols such as the Roman Senate and the river God especially in the Antonine and Severian periods, as we saw in Blaundos and Hyrkanis (second – early third century AD).

#### 4.6.1 The social and cultural impact on the perception of Roman rule by the Lydian and Phrygian communities under Augustus.

The importance of the Strabonian passage to understand the emergence of local civic identities in the Roman imperial period in Phrygia and Lydia is relevant enough to report it fully:

Τὰ δ' ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τὰ νότια μέρη τοῖς τόποις τούτοις ἐμπλοκὰς ἔχει μέχρι πρὸς τὸν Ταῦρον, ὥστε καὶ τὰ Φρύγια καὶ τὰ Καρικὰ καὶ τὰ Λύδια καὶ ἔτι τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν δυσδιάκριτα εἶναι, παραπίπτοντα εἰς ἄλληλα· εἰς δὲ τὴν σύγχυσιν ταύτην οὐ μικρὰ συλλαμβάνει τὸ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μὴ κατὰ φύλα διελεῖν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ ἕτερον τρόπον διατάξαι τὰς διοικήσεις, ἐν αἷς τὰς ἀγοραίους ποιοῦνται καὶ τὰς δικαιοδοσίας.

*The parts situated next to this region towards the south as far as the Taurus are so in woven with one another that **the Phrygian and the Carian and the Lydian parts, as also those of the Mysians, since they merge into one another, are hard to distinguish.** To this confusion not little has been contributed by the fact that **the Romans did not divide them according to tribes, but in another way organised their jurisdictions, within which they hold their popular assemblies and their courts.***<sup>541</sup>

According to Strabo, who wrote his *Bibliography* at the end of the first century BC during the rule of Augustus, the “Phrygian and the Lydian parts are hard to distinguish”. It seems that the communities in these regions were not interested in claiming specific labels that could distinguish one from the other on the public stage, and the Roman administration was not interested in such distinctions either. The cultural, political and religious distinctions between the communities of Phrygia and Lydia were blurred and not well established in the early Roman period. Strabo says that the Roman administration organized these regions not according to tribal divisions, “*μὴ κατὰ φύλα*”, but according to the places where the juridical courts were held by the Roman officials like the proconsular governor, that were the *ἀγοραία*.<sup>542</sup> This term is the equivalent of the Latin word *conventus*. That is why the opportunity to host an assize, that is the *conventus*, was so hotly

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<sup>541</sup> Strabo XIII.4.12.

<sup>542</sup> Burton 2004, 311-342.

contested, according to Ando.<sup>543</sup> The division between *conventus* did not follow the geographic distribution of Phrygian, Carian and Lydian peoples.

For example, Apollonis, Thyatira and Nakrason are supposed to be Lydian according to the ancient tradition reported by Strabo,<sup>544</sup> but they were catalogued under the *conventus* of Pergamon, in the region of Mysia, during the Flavian era.<sup>545</sup> The city of Hyrkanis is under the *conventus* of Smyrna but it is closer to Apollonis.<sup>546</sup> Blaundos is called by different ancient authors with the label “Phrygian”,<sup>547</sup> but it was gathered together with the cities of Philadelphia, Stratonikeia and Mostene under the *conventus* of Sardis, traditionally considered Lydian, at least from the Flavian dynasty.<sup>548</sup> Hypothetically, Blaundos should be under the closer *conventus* of Apameia, under which the Phrygian cities of Apollonia Mordiaem, Peltai, Eumeneia and Otrous are gathered. Synnada is the centre of the only *conventus* of Phrygia, under which there is the community of Dokimeion.<sup>549</sup> In the late first century BC these Lydian and Phrygian communities are entrenched and interconnected through the juridical system developed by the Roman administration.

The term *conventus* was also indicating the assize centre itself, a civic community granted with the privileged of holding the courts of the provincial governor in the territory around.<sup>550</sup> This could be one of the causes behind the civic competition between the Greek communities in Asia: to be granted the status of assize centre and then be honoured by the presence of the most important representative of Roman emperors, the proconsular governor.<sup>551</sup> The system of the *conventus*, because of its judicial nature, could not express entirely the cultural and political ties between the Greek communities and the Roman emperor. The imperial cult and the attached worship of the Roman Senate were the instruments of an effective cultural and political exchange. Price states that “the establishment of

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<sup>543</sup> See Ando 2010, 33.

<sup>544</sup> See Strabo XII.

<sup>545</sup> Pliny *NH* 5.126.

<sup>546</sup> Pliny *NH* 5..

<sup>547</sup> Strab. XII.5.2; Ptol. V.2.25; Steph. Byz., Blaundos.

<sup>548</sup> See *I. Ephesos* 3653; Habicht 1975, 67-71.

<sup>549</sup> Pliny *NH* 5.95; *I. Ephesos* 3653. Habicht 1975, 70.

<sup>550</sup> Burton 1975, 92.

<sup>551</sup> See Burton 2013, 314-315, 340 on this kind of competition.

imperial cult formed a system linking not only Greek to Greek but also the Greeks to Rome, as the case of the temple to Tiberius, Livia and the Senate shows”.<sup>552</sup>

#### **4.6.2 The introduction of the imperial cult, a system of exchange and mutual recognition between local elites and Roman emperors.**

The reign of Augustus put an end to divine cults for Roman officials who were not part of the imperial family. The political situation had changed: there was no more political turmoil caused by the civil wars in the first century BC and extraordinary civic honours for individuals outside the Julio-Claudian dynasty could not be tolerated longer. Augustus banned honours for the provincial governors in charge.<sup>553</sup> The installation of the Roman Imperial authority involved cultural and political transformations that are important for the relation between the local communities and Roman rule, with consequences also on the civic identity. The direct relationship between Roman emperors and local communities became crucial to obtain privileges and benefactions, and at the same time an opportunity to claim the importance of native traditions.<sup>554</sup> One of the expressions of this relation was the imperial Cult, an “event of accommodation of external authority within the traditions of the local community”.<sup>555</sup>

The diffusion of the Roman imperial cult was the first important cultural and political change for the region of Asia Minor that was introduced at the time of Augustus and was handled by the provincial *koinon* together with the Roman officials. In my opinion, Heller and Lozano rightly argue that the move was a mix of political acceptance of a Roman request and a Greek initiative.<sup>556</sup> In 9 BC the Asian *koinon* passed a decree that presumed the existence of a *Caesareum* (imperial sanctuary) where it had to be announced that the new Year would begin on Augustus’s birthday.<sup>557</sup> The law was passed by the *koinon* of Asia but the Roman governor proposed the change. However, the cult of Augustus was different to the ones dedicated to the Hellenistic kings by various cities of Asia Minor, according to Price. The institution of the Roman imperial cult was the outcome of an imperial benefaction to the Asian civic communities, while under

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<sup>552</sup> Price 1984, 65.

<sup>553</sup> Dio. LVI.25.6. Cf. Price 1984, 46.

<sup>554</sup> See Ando 2010, 17-45.

<sup>555</sup> Price 1984, 238.

<sup>556</sup> Heller 2014, 217-232; Lozano 2011, 474-5192.

<sup>557</sup> Sherk *RDGE* no.65D, l.61.

the Hellenistic rule it was quite the opposite: “the Greek diplomatic advance to Rome with offers of cult are seen as elaborate ploys intended to gain Roman favour; the fact that the emperor might decline the honours did not discourage the Greeks and shows that there were no Roman pressures on the cults”.<sup>558</sup>

The statues or the shrines dedicated to the Roman emperors, both by individuals and by communities, were expressions of gratitude of benefactions received. Price shows that the highest rate of building of imperial temples is in the second century AD.<sup>559</sup> The imperial priests were usually members of the local elites and they were interested in promoting the cult in their cities or communities to obtain financial and political privileges from the emperor.<sup>560</sup> The priests who celebrated the cult of Augustus are attested at least in thirty four Asian cities.<sup>561</sup> Among those, a civic cult in honour of Augustus and Rome was active at Thyatira before 2 BC.<sup>562</sup> The cult was organized by the provincial *koinon*. The “regionalization” of the imperial cult is testified by archaeological or numismatic evidence attested in both Phrygia and Lydia, at the centres of Blaundos, Nakrason, Philadelphia and Synnada, all members of “the common federation of the Greeks of Asia”.<sup>563</sup> The Phrygian and Lydian communities were divided in different administrative units like the *dioikesis* but united in this sort of religious federation, expressed by the *koinon*, that conveys the imperial ideology.

On the other hand, the Imperial cult was not instilled by Augustus and it was not a total innovation. It inserts itself in the tradition of the civic honours granted by Greek communities of Asia for the external powers, embodied this time by Rome. The first attestation of cult of Roman power dates from 188 BC, when the city of Smyrna decreed the instauration of a cult in honour of Rome *Euergetis*, the benefactress, after the defeat of Antiochos III.<sup>564</sup> The installation of this kind of civic cults was a Greek habit well established during the Hellenistic period for monarchic figures.<sup>565</sup> The active role played by the local communities into the introduction of cults of members of Augustan family is clear from epigraphic

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<sup>558</sup> Price 1984, 65.

<sup>559</sup> Price 1984, 55.

<sup>560</sup> Id., 66-67.

<sup>561</sup> See Price 1984, p.58 and Price 1986, 300.

<sup>562</sup> Fayer 1976, 169-170.

<sup>563</sup> See Appendix on the cities that have temples or shrines dedicated to the Imperial cult in Asia Minor in Price 1984, 249-274.

<sup>564</sup> Heller 2014, 220.

<sup>565</sup> Price 1984, 23-40; Heller 2014, 226.

evidence. For example, the city of Sardis in commemoration of Gaius, the adopted son of Augustus, decided on its own initiative to decree a festival and a cult statue.<sup>566</sup> Only afterwards was this decree conveyed to Augustus at Rome by an embassy to be ratified.

Another sign of the active role played by the provincial elites of Asia in supporting the personal cult of Augustus is the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. This consists of his deeds made public in form of a will in AD 14, the year of his death and put at the entrance of his mausoleum. The designation of Augustus as *restitutor rei publicae* in the text of *Res Gestae* could be what identified the Senate as a powerful institution in the eyes of the inhabitants of the communities in Asia. Unfortunately, there is no epigraphic evidence of *Res Gestae* from the province of Asia proper, but the sources for its content all come from the Roman province of Galatia in Asia Minor, which was created by Augustus in 25 BC. The region of Galatia is next to the province of Asia and is characterized by mountain regions and with a varied demographic profile.<sup>567</sup> This conformation, described also in Strabo, is similar to Phrygian and Lydian territories.<sup>568</sup> What is important to note is that the Latin and Greek copies of *Res Gestae* were put in the temples of Rome and Augustus by the citizens of Ankara, Pisidia and Apollonia.<sup>569</sup> As Güven notes, “the small Galatian cities of Ankara, Antioch in Pisidia, and Apollonia, which had little in common otherwise, became ideologically linked, no matter how tenuously, because each was endowed with a temple of the imperial cult and a copy of the same *Res Gestae*”.<sup>570</sup> The provincial elites of Galatia chose to associate Augustus and Rome with an official religious cult without a direct input of Roman Imperial authority, in order to show their political allegiance.<sup>571</sup>

As we can see, the local communities were not passive agents in the widespread of the imperial ideology. On the contrary, they were active actors who sought to gain privileges by the Roman administration using religious symbols that granted a political legitimation. For example, the decision of the proconsul to establish Augustus’ birthday as start of the New Year of Asia was an idea of this Roman

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<sup>566</sup> IGR IV 1756.

<sup>567</sup> Sherk 1980, 954-1052.

<sup>568</sup> Strabo, 12.4.4.

<sup>569</sup> Mitchell 1993, 100-117.

<sup>570</sup> Güven 1998, 31.

<sup>571</sup> Güven 1998, 31. There is a Latin copy in Antioch in Pisidia and a Greek one in Apollonia, both near the modern city of Ankara.



official, but it had to be ratified officially by the Greek *koinon* of Asia. Besides, this administrative reform is the result of negotiation between local communities and the representative of Roman Imperial administration. The new calendar is presented as a “honour” in the civic decree and it is granted because Augustus was beneficial for the communities involved.<sup>572</sup> We see that terms are carefully chosen to stress the not imposing nature of the change in the system. Price properly called the imperial cult “a system of exchange”.<sup>573</sup>

The Roman emperor was recognized as legitimate ruler by divine rights claimed through the cult, while the civic communities were recognized as part of a provincial federation, the *koinon*, worth of benefactions, both financial and political. The imperial cult was also a moment that united each civic community around its local elite and strengthen its local traditions.<sup>574</sup> This is also shown by how the Greek communities changed their religious festivals in response to the beginning of Roman domination in Asia Minor. At Stratonikeia of Karia the festivals in honour of Hekate, the goddess patron of the city, changed their name into the “Hekatesia-Romaia”, the festival of Hekate and the Goddess Rome.<sup>575</sup> This was caused by the “benefactions” of Sulla, who saved the city from the tax levy in 85 BC due to its allegiance to Rome during the Mithridatic war.<sup>576</sup> The festival became a demonstration of the Greek identity of the city together with its strong relationship with Rome and the Roman power.<sup>577</sup> Cults in honour of Roman Emperors was integrated into the festival system as well. For example, Ephesos celebrated at least three different festivals dedicated to deified Roman emperors by the end of the second century AD: the *Koina Asia*, the *Balbilleia* and the *Hadrianeia*.<sup>578</sup> Van der Linde shows that epigraphic evidence for the festival in honour of Artemis at Ephesos, traditionally thought of as pre-Roman, dates mainly from the second century AD.<sup>579</sup>

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<sup>572</sup> Heller 2014, 225; Heller 2006, 149-162.

<sup>573</sup> Price 1984, 68.

<sup>574</sup> Price 1984, 114.

<sup>575</sup> *I. Stratonikeia* 505.

<sup>576</sup> Van Nijf and Williamson 2015, 102.

<sup>577</sup> Van Nijf and Williamson 2015, 108.

<sup>578</sup> Van der Linde 2016, 180. Cf. Lehner 2004.

<sup>579</sup> Van der Linde 2016, 181.

The traditional religious festivals were adapted to the time of the new Roman rulers and renovated.<sup>580</sup> Another effect was the rise of competition between civic communities for the recognition of “Panhellenic” status of local festivals, and the need to be perceived as distinctive in the eyes of Rome and the communities included in this federal system.<sup>581</sup> The establishment of the provincial imperial cult granted the celebration of imperial festivals that attracted the delegations of the major and minor centres included in the koinon of Asia: the participation at provincial festivals in honour of the emperor was accompanied by a financial levy on all the cities of the province, with the financial officials of the koinon administering the funds. The erections of the imperial temples could also imply the award of substantial sums by the koinon of Asia, like the 1.5 million drachmae that financed the temple erected at Cyzicus in honour of Augustus, according to a civic decree. Ando argues that “local identity and local knowledge under the Roman empire were thus crafted through constant negotiation and regular reference to the superordinate structures of the empire itself”.<sup>582</sup> These traits are common to the worship of the Roman Senate, that developed in the Roman imperial period together with the imperial cult.

The competition to be recognized as centres for the provincial imperial cult by Roman officials between the Phrygian and Lydian communities triggered civic rivalries that are beyond the scope of this thesis.<sup>583</sup> What it is relevant is the connection between the imperial cult and the cult of Roman Senate that widespread in Asia in the Roman Imperial period. This is peculiar to the communities of the province of Asia for two reasons. First, the Senate in the Roman Imperial period remained official embodiment of the Roman power, due to the fact that the governor of this province was appointed by the Senate rather than directly by the emperor.<sup>584</sup> Secondly, the image of the Senate as the most prestigious Roman institution was revitalised by the first emperor, Augustus, who highly publicised his role as *restitutor rei publicae*, the restorer of the Republic.<sup>585</sup>

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<sup>580</sup> See the case study of the festival of Hekateisa-Romaia at Stratonikeia, Van Nijf and Williamson 2015, 101-104.

<sup>581</sup> See Van Nijf 1999, 176-200.

<sup>582</sup> Ando 2010, 45.

<sup>583</sup> On the competition between Phrygian and Lydian cities to obtain the title of “neokoros”, that is possessing a provincial temple to the cult of the Roman emperor, see Burrell 2004, 343-358.

<sup>584</sup> On the distinction between “Senatorial” and “Imperial” provinces see Millar 1989, 93-97.

<sup>585</sup> Erskine 1997, 34. Cf. Brunt 1984, 423-444.

Evidence of the relationship between the Imperial cult and the importance of the Roman Senate are the monuments displaying the *Res Gestae divi Augusti* in several provincial cities in Asia Minor, a precursor to the official establishment of the worship of the Roman Senate, as the following section will explain.

#### **4.6.3 The institution of the cult of the Roman Senate in the province of Asia, symbol of imperial ideology and matter of civic competition.**

In the bilingual text of *Res Gestae* found in temple of Augustus and Rome at Ankara, the emperor publicly affirms toward the end of this will that:

*Quo pro merito meo **senatus consulto** Augustus appellatus sum*

*Ἐξ ἧς αἰτίας **δόγματι συνκλήτου** Σεβαστὸς προσηγορεύθην.*

*I was named Augustus **by decree of the Senate.***<sup>586</sup>

The title of Augustus was granted by the Senate and this act was made public before the provincial communities. The text of the *Res Gestae* associates implicitly the Imperial ideology with the institution of the Roman Senate. As a result, the Senate could be perceived as part of the imperial cult by the local elites. It is not a coincidence that copies of *Res Gestae* were put on the walls of the temple dedicated to Augustus and Rome in a centre of the new province of Galatia.<sup>587</sup> The reverence for the Roman Senate, in Greek *synkletos*, would develop eventually into a religious cult that was expression of the relation between the Roman power and the local communities in Asia Minor. It was strictly connected with the Roman Imperial cult, as reported by the Roman historiographer Tacitus a few decades later.

Tacitus, in a passage of the *Annales*, reports that in AD 23, the cities of the *koinon*, the federation that gathered the Greek communities of Asia, decreed a temple to the living emperor Tiberius, his mother Livia Augusta and the Senate in gratitude for the actions made by Tiberius against the corruption in the province:

Undecim urbes certabant, pari ambitione, viribus diversae. Neque multum distantia inter se memorabant **de vetustate generis, studio in populum Romanum** per bella Persi et Aristonici aliorumque regum.

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<sup>586</sup> *Res Gestae* 34.2.

<sup>587</sup> See Mitchell 1993, 100-102.

*Eleven cities competed, with equal ambition but disparate resources. With no great variety each pleaded **antiquity of ancestry and zeal for the Roman people** in the wars with Perseus, Aristonicus, and other kings.*<sup>588</sup>

As we have seen in the chapters on Hyrkanis and Blaundos, the worship of the Roman Senate met with the imperial approval and the appearance of its bust on the civic coins required some form of imperial authorisation.<sup>589</sup> From the passage of Tacitus it appears that the cult of the Senate emerged together with the cult of the imperial dynasty from the reign of Tiberius. Its worship was probably regulated like the imperial one by the provincial organization of the Greek communities of Asia, the *koinon*.<sup>590</sup> To obtain the authorisation for a temple in honour of the Senate was as sign of political prestige and could have imperial benefactions as outcome.<sup>591</sup> The passage by Tacitus is relevant because it shows a system of exchange, already operative with the introduction of the imperial cult at the time of Augustus. The requirements to obtain the temple in honour of the emperor Tiberius and the Senate were two: one is the “zeal for the Roman people”, while the other was “the antiquity of ancestry”. It seems that the concept of ancestry became important in the relationship between Roman Imperial power and Graeco-Macedonian communities of the province of Asia. The phenomenon is testified by the appearance of labels related to claim of ancestries, like the Macedonian one, on civic coins with the personification of the Roman Senate issued by several Phrygian and Lydian communities in the Antonine and Severan periods.

#### **4.6.3.1 The relationship between Roman Senate and civic identities on coins**

The question that underpin the following section are: how is the Roman Senate presented on the civic coins issued by the Phrygian and Lydian communities? Are there differences in its iconography or in the legends on the coins of each city? On a total of forty-one issues with the representation of the Roman Senate, the iconography is always the same for the nine Phrygian and Lydian

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<sup>588</sup> Tac. *Ann.*, IV.55.

<sup>589</sup> See Erskine 1997, 35.

<sup>590</sup> About the organization of the imperial cult by the *koinon* of Asia, see Burrell 2004, 343-358; Madsen 2016, 21-35.

<sup>591</sup> *Ibidem*.

communities under examination. The Senate is represented on the obverse of the civic coin as a draped man who stands to the right (see figure 4.5).

**Figure 4.5** (BMC Lydia Blaundos 48 var. 161-180 AD).<sup>592</sup>

Obverse: Bare headed, draped bust of the Roman Senate right.

Legend: IEPA CYNKΛHTOC *Sacred Senate*.

Reverse: ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝ (*city of*) *the Blaundeians Macedonians*. Dionysus, loins draped, standing left, holding kantharos and thyrsus, panther at foot left.



The legend on the obverse usually has the Greek words in nominative case IEPA CYNKΛHTOC, *the sacred Senate*. Only in the cases of Mostene and Nakrason the two terms are in the accusative case, ΘΕΟΝ CYNKΛHTON, *the divine Senate*. In both cases, the legend had a didactic function, in the same way as the titles of the Roman emperors. The version in the accusative implies the Greek verb ἐτίμησαν, “to worship”.<sup>593</sup> Almost all the forty-one issues date from the second century AD or the beginning of the third century AD, during the Antonine and Severan dynasties. The only exception is constituted by two issues made by the city of Mostene, dated to the reign of Vespasian (69-79 AD).<sup>594</sup> These two issues are the earliest evidence of the worship of Roman Senate for the Lydian and Phrygian communities examined, including Blaundos and Hyrkanis. Forni noted that two or more cities had used the same die or some dies were reused from the same city: this would suggest that the number of mints were roughly a set of ten and they could be itinerant.<sup>595</sup> This would imply a regional network of the Senate type coins.<sup>596</sup> The fact that the phenomenon is peculiar to the province of Asia and is not related to other areas of the Roman Empire hints at an active agency by the local communities in the development of this cult.

<sup>592</sup> With the permission of wildwinds.com.

<sup>593</sup> See Forni 1982, 4-5.

<sup>594</sup> RPC 988 and Paris 759.

<sup>595</sup> Forni 1982, 11-12.

<sup>596</sup> See also Johnston 1985, 95.

According to Forni, the civic elites of the province of Asia may have chosen the Senate as a fashionable symbol, or even re-used an old die of this type throughout the centuries for technical motives, without a political purpose behind it.<sup>597</sup> If this is true, there may be a “standardization” of the type of iconography used on the reverse of the Senate type coins too. It could be that the dies were under the direct supervision of the provincial *koinon*. However, the reverse of these civic coins has a significant variety of types from city to city. I argue that this is a sign of the need by each individual community to stress its own local symbology. The purpose was to be perceived as distinguished from each other in relation to the worship of the Roman Senate.<sup>598</sup> This cult, like the Roman Imperial one, united the Lydian and Phrygian communities in a sort of regional network, but this same interconnectivity fostered the self-awareness of their own civic identity.<sup>599</sup> From the passage of Tacitus on the temple in honour of Tiberius and the Senate it could be supposed that the worship of the Roman Senate gave political legitimation and was an opportunity of financial benefactions like the imperial cult.

The only recurring figure on the reverse of coins issued by three different civic cities, Dokimeion, Synnada and Nakrason, is the goddess Athena holding a patera and resting one arm on a shield. The personification of Tyche is common on the coins issued by Dokimeion and Philadelphia, while the goddess Artemis is found on the reverse of the Senate type coins from Eumeneia and Philadelphia. There are also relevant personifications associated with the Roman Senate that embodied the Roman power: on the reverse of five Senate type issues from Nakrason and Stratonikeia we have the Goddess Rome, depicted as a turreted bust of a woman.<sup>600</sup> Philadelphia in one of its Senate type issues decided to depict on the reverse the She-wolf nurturing Romulus and Remus.<sup>601</sup> The choice to use these symbols could mean a wilful appropriation of parts of Roman mythical traditions by the collective memory of the local communities. The symbolism associated with the Goddess Rome, the Roman Senate and the Roman people proliferated from the Antonine Age on the civic coins.<sup>602</sup> On the

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<sup>597</sup> Forni 1982, 30-31

<sup>598</sup> See Harl 1987, 74-75.

<sup>599</sup> See Ando 2010, 33-34.

<sup>600</sup> See for example RPC III 1814.

<sup>601</sup> See Paris 921.

<sup>602</sup> Harl 1987, 71.

reverse of the Senate type coins though, most of the communities chose to depict symbols of their own local tradition, like the patron deities. Hyrkanis, Blaundos and Mostene have the river gods depicted on the reverse of the coins.<sup>603</sup> Artemis is the most represented deity in the Senate type coins from Eumeneia and Philadelphia, while Apollo-Men is the god patron of Eumeneia. Phrygian and Lydian communities seem to seek to express their sense of *Romanitas* together with pride in their own local traditions.<sup>604</sup> In this context, the depictions of rivers with their name on coins were instrumental to affirm the spatial identity of various communities in Lydia, Phrygia and Ionia. For example, the name of the river Meander identified the inhabitants of Magnesia probably since the classical period, as attested by myths and epigraphic evidence.<sup>605</sup> The citizens of Hyrkanis are labelled as “Hyrkanians Pidasos” on one of the issues dated to the Roman Imperial period.<sup>606</sup> The river like the Macedonian label was a tool aimed to affirm the civic identity of a city in relation not only to Rome but also to the regional network expressed by the provincial *koinon*.

In all the eight communities examined that have the Senate type issues, there is always expressed the city name on the reverse of the coins. However, four cities added to the city name a specific label that expresses a claim of ancestry or alternatively a title in honour of Roman imperial dynasties: Dokimeion, Eumeneia, Mostene and Philadelphia. The “antiquity of ancestry” and the “zeal for the Romans” were the two key factors to gain the Roman imperial favour according to the passage of Tacitus analysed before. The antiquity of ancestry is expressed by the Senate type coins from Dokimeion, Eumeneia and Mostene by an additional label on the reverse. The citizens of Dokimeion are “Dokimeians and Macedonians” ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ (Appendix 2.2).<sup>607</sup> The ones from Eumeneia claimed an Achaean ancestry with the double label ΕΥΜΕΝΕΩΝ ΑΧΑΙΩΝ.<sup>608</sup> Finally, the Mostenians claim to be of Lydian ancestry, one of the most ancient ancestry of Asia according to the tradition, by the double label ΜΟΨΘΗΝΩΝ ΛΥΔΩΝ (figure 4.6).<sup>609</sup> On the other hand, the zeal for the Romans is expressed by Philadelphia with a “dynastic” title added to the city name: ΦΛ

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<sup>603</sup> Falter Collection 483.

<sup>604</sup> Cf. Harl 1987, 72-73.

<sup>605</sup> Thonemann 2006, 39; no 103, 40.

<sup>606</sup> Imhoof FG 314; Appendix 2.5.

<sup>607</sup> See BMC *Phrygia, Dokimeion* 5 var.

<sup>608</sup> See BMC *Phrygia, Eumeneia* 24-25.

<sup>609</sup> See Paris 759.

ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ, where the ΦΛ is the abbreviation for *Flavians* (figure 4.7). Also Mostene has a Senate type issue with a dynastic title added to the city name: ΜΟCΤΗΝΩΝ ΚΑΙCΑΡΕΩΝ, the *Mostenians and Caesareans*.<sup>610</sup> The chronology of these issues coincides with the rule of the Antonine and Severan dynasties: they were all issued during the second century AD or early third century AD, apart from the two issues from Mostene, dated to the reign of Vespasian.<sup>611</sup> This last exception is motivated by a precise historical event that it has been analysed in the chapter dedicated to Hyrkanis. Tacitus reports that the city of Mostene was aided by Tiberius after the great earthquake occurred in AD 17, the same that struck Hyrkanis. It is possible that the inhabitants of Mostene added the dynastic title *Caesareans* on their coins as a sign of gratitude for the financial help after the earthquake.<sup>612</sup>

**Figure 4.6** (BMC *Phrygia, Dokimeion* 5 var. 138-192 AD)

Obverse: Draped bust of the senate.

Legend: ΙΕΡΑ CΥΝΚΛΗΤΟC *the sacred Senate*

Reverse: Tyche standing, holding rudder and cornucopiae.

Legend: ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ *the city of the Dokimeians Macedonians*



**Figure 4.7** (Waddington 5105. 69-79 AD)

Obverse: Bare Head of the Senate.

Legend: CΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΝ (*the divine?*) Senate

Reverse: River-god Phrygius reclining, holding reed and cornucopiae.

Legend: ΜΟCΤΗΝΩΝ ΛΥΔΩΝ *the city of the Mostenians Lydians*

<sup>610</sup> See RPC 988.

<sup>611</sup> See Missere 1990, 75-128.

<sup>612</sup> The hypothesis on the dynastic title shown in Mostene's civic coins is supported by Johnston, who recalls also the similar case of Tralleis after the earthquake of AD 17, see no.19 19, Johnston 1985.





**Figure 4.8** (Waddington 5133. 193-250 AD)<sup>613</sup>

Obverse: Bare Head of the Senate.

Legend: ΙΕΡΑ CYNΚΛΗΤΟC *the sacred Senate*

Reverse: Artemis walking, holding bow and reaching for an arrow from quiver at her shoulder.

Legend: ΦΛ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ (*the city of the Fl(avians) Philadelphians Neokoroi*)



To conclude the analysis of the coins with the Roman Senate, it seems that the claim of a specific ancestry by adding a second label to the city name was not limited to Blaundos and Hyrkanis. This habit was a widespread trend among the Phrygian and Lydian communities examined during the second and early third century AD. For example, a Macedonian ancestry was claimed by Dokimeion in relation to the cult of the Roman Senate. This worship triggered different claims of ancestry, like the Achaean and the Lydian for the cities of Eumeneia and Mostene respectively. According to the numismatic evidence, the Senate type coins come almost exclusively from the province of Asia; the only exception is the city of Mallus in Cilicia.<sup>614</sup> In similar way the coins bearing the portrait of the Goddess Roma are very common in Lydia during the late first and early second century AD.<sup>615</sup> This could be historically motivated by the fact some Hellenic notables entered the Roman Senate in this period.<sup>616</sup> To worship the Senate

<sup>613</sup> Figures 4.5;4.6;4.7 have been uploaded with the permission of wildwinds.com.

<sup>614</sup> Johnston 1985, no.6, 91.

<sup>615</sup> Johnston 1985, 93-94.

<sup>616</sup> See Harl 1987, 74-75.

meant also self-legitimation for the local elites. To better understand the phenomenon of the claim of ancestry is necessary to analyse the coins of all the civic communities where there is the presence of a claim of a specific ancestry through a label added to (or instead of) the city name.

#### **4.6.4 The presence of double labels on the civic coins and inscriptions from Lydia and Phrygia.**

Of the twelve cities chosen to be analysed in the chapter, eight present a double label or change of the city name with addition of a dynastic title on the civic coins: Apollonia-Mordiaon, Dokimeion, Eumeneia, Peltai, Synnada for the region of Phrygia; Mostene, Philadelphia and Stratonikeia for the region of Lydia. The ancestries claimed by a second label on the coins are at least five. Apollonis does not have double labels on the coins, but only on two inscriptions dated to the third century and beginning of the fourth century AD. This proves that the use of the double label to claim an ancient ancestry was not limited to the case studies of Blaundos and Hyrkanis, but they were widespread at a regional level. The vast majority of these civic coins with a double label dates from the second and early third century AD, during the Antonine and Severian dynasties. The cultural environment that led to the explosion of this phenomenon is analysed in the next chapter, dedicated to the meaning of claim of Macedonian identity in the Roman Imperial period and the importance of Hellenic ancestry in the Second Sophistic.

Two cities present the claim of Macedonian ancestry by the Macedonian label on the civic coins dated to the second and third century AD. The Phrygian communities of Dokimeion and Peltai had on the reverse of the civic coins respectively ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ and ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ (Appendix 2.2 and Appendix 2.3). The earliest civic issues with the double label of both cities date from the reign of Antoninus Pius. Dokimeion claimed to be founded by the Macedonian general Dokimos in the literary sources at that time, as seen earlier in the chapter.<sup>617</sup> Peltai claimed a Macedonian ancestry at the same time of Dokimeion but there is no evidence of a Macedonian presence in the Hellenistic times. The only hint is the name itself. Peltai is a Graeco-Macedonian military dress, that could allude to the existence of a military colony

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<sup>617</sup> See Cohen 1995, no.2 296.

at the time of the Seleucids.<sup>618</sup> The numismatic evidence from Nakrason does not have presence of the Macedonian label, but we know that this city claimed a Macedonian ancestry since the time of Hadrian as *terminus ante quem*, thanks to an honorary inscription. This dates from 129 AD or soon after (Appendix 1.13.3) The text says:<sup>619</sup>

[Αύ]τοκράτορα [Καίσαρα]

ν καὶ **κτίστην** *vacat*

[Τρ]αιανὸν Ἀδρια[νὸν]

[Να]κρασιτῶν **Μακε[δόνων]**

Σεβαστὸν Ὀλύμ[πιον]

[ἡ β]ουλή ν καὶ ὁ δ[ῆ]μος]

τὸν τῆς πόλεως **σωτήρα]**

*The council and the people of the **Macedonian** Nakraseitans (honoured) the emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian, and **founder**...., Augustus Olympios, **savior** of the city.*

The inscription shows that the civic institutions of Nakrason claimed a Macedonian ancestry in relation to the emperor Hadrian. This epigraphic evidence records a direct benefaction from the Roman Imperial power, as Hadrian is called “founder and saviour of the city”. This could have triggered the city of Nakrason to express publicly its Macedonian ancestry, similarly to the cases of Hyrkanis and Blaundos. This claim could be traced back to the Hellenistic period, as we saw that some “Macedonians of Nakrason” settled at Pergamon at the time of King Eumenes II, in the middle of the second century BC (Appendix 1.13.1).<sup>620</sup> The memory of Alexander the Great and the recent Parthian campaigns could make fashionable and worthy of attention by Roman emperors this kind of ancestry, as the civic institutions of Hyrkanis and Blaundos perceived. This could also be the case of Apollonis, a settlement that “rediscovered” its Macedonian past in the third century AD.

We have seen that Apollonis used the Macedonian shield as symbol of civic identity in the Attalid period, as many incomers of the settlements were groups of

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<sup>618</sup> See Michel *Recueil* 542, evidence of a decree issued by the council of Peltai in the second century BC. Cf. Cohen 1995, 318.

<sup>619</sup> SEG 49 1765.

<sup>620</sup> OGIS 290.

Macedonian soldiers or people who claimed to be descendants of Macedonian veterans. However, the Macedonian shield or any kind of Macedonian label do not appear on the civic issues of Apollonis during the Roman Imperial period. There is no trace of the Macedonian label on inscriptions until the third century AD. A religious inscription found west of Apollonis contains the oracles of the Didymaeen Apollo. Here, the oracle calls the inhabitants of Apollonis Μακηδόνες – poetic form of “Macedonians” (Appendix 1.8.1).<sup>621</sup> Unfortunately, we do not know the precise dating of this inscription, but it is relevant that Apollonis was considered as Macedonian in the third century AD, centuries after the disappearance of Macedonian symbols on its civic coins. In this case, the inhabitants of Apollonis had provoked the Moon-Goddess and other gods and were consequently suffering from pains and evil. The sanctuary of Didymaeen Apollo prescribed offerings to be performed in an old-fashioned style, and this could be the reason behind the reference to the Macedonian past of the city. The prestige of the oracle required a reference to the antiquity of ancestry of Apollonis, inhabited by Macedonian veterans in the Attalid period.

It seems that the civic institutions of Apollonis chose to use the Macedonian label as tool of self-definition when they dedicated a monument to the Roman emperors even later. In a civic decree in honour of an unspecified Roman emperor that dates from around 300 AD, the text says (Appendix 1.8.2):<sup>622</sup>

**[Μακεδ]όνων Καισαρέων Ἀ[πολλωνι]**

**[δέων]** ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος [ἀνέθη]-

[κα]ν ἐκ τῶν τῆς πόλεως χ[ρημάτων]

[ἐπι] ἀρχόντων Εἰρην[α]ίου [τοῦ - -]

[.]ου καὶ Σωκράτου τοῦ [- - - - -]

*The council and the people of the **Macedonians Caesareans Apollonideans** dedicated from the wealth of the city under the archontes Eirenaois, son of... and Socrates, son of...*

Here, the Macedonian label is used in relation to the Roman Imperial authority. It is interesting that Apollonis, like Philadelphia, chose to define itself with an imperial title. According to Malay, the label “Caesareans” was added after the

<sup>621</sup> Malay and Petzl 2017, 32-33, n.3.

<sup>622</sup> SEG 49 1543.

earthquake of 17 AD and Tiberius' financial support to the city.<sup>623</sup> We see that the trigger for the use of the Imperial label could be the Roman Imperial intervention in the aftermath of a natural disaster like the earthquake of 17 AD, but it seems that the civic community of Apollonis used the Macedonian label much later in his history. The renaissance of the claims of Macedonian ancestry could be triggered by specific events in the history of the individual city. The Macedonian ancestry acquired relevance for Apollonis in specific circumstances while it was omitted in others.

However, the claim of Macedonian ancestry could not be branded as the most ancient or the most "related" to the Roman rulers. Other Phrygian and Lydian communities chose other labels on their civic coins that could show a Hellenic past considered at the time more prestigious than the Macedonian one. The cultural reason for these different perspectives will be more thoroughly explored in the following chapter, dedicated to Polyaeus and the authors of the Second Sophistic from Asia Minor who compared Macedonian and Greek identities in the Roman Imperial period.

One of these communities is Apollonia-Mordiaion. Its civic institutions claim officially the Lycian ancestry, with the legend on the reverse of its coins saying ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ ΛΥΚΙΩΝ, *the Apollonians and Lycians*. Apollonia has even a triple label on some issues, claiming at the same time a Lycian and a Thracian ancestry with the legend ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤ-ΩΝ ΛΥΚΙΩΝ ΘΡΑ[ΚΩΝ] ΚΟΛΩΝΩΝ, *the Apollonians, Lycians and Thracians colonists*. There are also a number of honorific inscriptions of the third century AD drawn up by "*the council and the people of the Apollonians and Lycians and Thracians colonists*".<sup>624</sup> The claim of a Lycian ancestry fulfils both the requirements to gain prestige in the regional context: the antiquity and the zeal for the Romans. Indeed Philostratos, Greek author living between the second and the third century AD, wrote that there was a *symmachia palaia* - "alliance from earliest times" between the Lycians and the city of Rome.<sup>625</sup> The claim of Thracian ancestry could be related to the memory

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<sup>623</sup> Malay 1999, 52-53, n. 45.

<sup>624</sup> IGR III.314 = MAMA IV.147; IGR IV 317 = MAMA IV 150 = IGR IV 318; LW III.1195

<sup>625</sup> Philostr. VS 2.26.613.

of the Thracians mercenaries used by Alexander to pass through the nearby mountains of Perge, as Arrian reports in the *Anabasis*.<sup>626</sup>

The Eumeneians and the Mosteniens claim respectively Achaean and Lydian ancestries on their civic coins. Synnada claimed both the Ionian and the Dorian ancestry, with the coins having on the reverse either CYNNAΔΕΩΝ ΙΩΝΩΝ or CYNNAΔΕΩΝ ΔΩΠΙΕΩΝ, or even the triple label ΔΩΠΙΕΩΝ ΙΩΝΩΝ CYNNAΔΕΩΝ.<sup>627</sup> Stratonikeia instead chose like Mostene to add a dynastic title at the time of Hadrian: all the issues made from Hadrian to the reign of Gallienus have on the reverse the legend ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΕΩ, the *Stratoniceans and Hadrianopolites*.<sup>628</sup>

The claim of Ionian, Dorian and Achaean ancestry makes sense in the light of the interests of Roman emperors living in the second and early third century AD: Hadrian organized the Panhellenion around Athens accepting as members of the league the cities that could prove a Ionian, Doric or Achaean ancestry in 134 AD.<sup>629</sup> This federation was active until the reign of Gallienus. The claim of Lydian ancestry was not included in this pool, but Spawforth has a likely hypothesis for its appearance. According to this scholar, the Atticism fostered by Hadrian with the creation of the Panhellenion was broadly an aspect of Romanization.<sup>630</sup> The claim of Lydian ancestry by some communities of western Asia Minor has to be intended as a claim of “Greekness” in this historical context, triggered by the civic competition for the Imperial attention in the province of Asia: “Local rivalries with nearby communities of Persian and Macedonian extraction may help to explain the addition of the ethnic term 'Lydian' to the official name of the small cities of Mostene and Hermocapelia in the imperial age.”<sup>631</sup>

When were such labels, expressing ancestry or a special relation with the Imperial dynasty, claimed by these Phrygian and Lydian communities? The use of the Macedonian label on the civic coins of Peltai and Dokimeion started in the same period: under the rule of Antonius Pius (138-161 AD). The last civic issue made by the mint of Dokimeion coincided with the end of the local monetary

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<sup>626</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 1.26.1.

<sup>627</sup> KM 294, no. 15; Waddington 6538; RPC VII.1, 795.

<sup>628</sup> See for example BMC *Lydia Stratonikeia* 14.

<sup>629</sup> See Romeo 2002, 21-22.

<sup>630</sup> See Spawforth 2001, 375-400.

<sup>631</sup> Spawforth 2001, 400.

production, under the reign of Gordian III (241-244 AD). Peltai produced coins with the Macedonian label until the reign of Trebonianus the Gaul (251-253 AD). This city has a name that explicitly recalls a military feature of the Macedonian armies during the Hellenistic period: the *pelte* is a name of a shield, usually made of leather or wood, used by the Macedonian armies at least until the end of the Antigonid dynasty.<sup>632</sup> Nakrason is a particular case: it does not present the use of Macedonian label on the civic coins, but in two honorary decrees both dated to the reign of Hadrian.

If we pass to the other cases of double label or change of city name in the Roman Imperial period, we found similarities with the chronology observed for the use of the Macedonian label. Apollonia, Synnada, Eumeneia and Stratonikeia started to claim different city name or dynastic titles on the civic coins from the time of Hadrian (117-138 AD) until the 250s AD. The civic coins from Synnada presents the Ionian label, alternate with the Dorian label, from the reign of Antoninus Pius until the end of the civic coinages at the time of Gallienus. These two label result even combined with the city name on two issues dated to the third century AD, at the time of Gordian III: the legend on the reverse says ΔΩΠΙΕΩΝ ΙΩΝΩΝ CYNNAΔΕΩΝ (Figure 4.8).<sup>633</sup> The importance of claiming a Greek ancestry for the civic community of Synnada is exalted by the fact that the Ionian and Dorian labels both occurred on Roman imperial coins. Those labels strengthened the “Greekness” of the Phrygian Synnada and they are used as if they were honorific titles rather than real ethnics.

**Figure 4.9 (RPC VII.1 795, 241-244 AD)**

Obverse: Bust of Gordian III

Legend: ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΝ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC, *Emp(peror) C(aesar) M(arcus) An(toninus) Gordianus*

Reverse: Arched shrine with two columns enclosing shield between two branches

Legend: ΔΩΠΙΕΩΝ ΙΩΝΩΝ CYNNAΔΕΩΝ (*the city of the Dorians Ionians Synnadeans*)

<sup>632</sup> Sekunda 2013, 18. See Asclepiodotus fragment 498, ed. Rose.

<sup>633</sup> RPC VII.1 795.



In this context, the Macedonian label served two purposes: not only to stress the connection with Alexander the Great, but also to be accepted as part of the “Hellenic family” of the *koinon* of Asia. However, there was still a strong cultural debate about the acceptance of the Macedonian identity as expression of “Greekness” at the time, as the next chapter on Aelius Aristides and Polyaeus will show.

The only two exceptions for this chronological pattern seem to be Mostene and Philadelphia. Mostene started to claim the dynastic title “Caesareans” for its inhabitants on issues dated to the reign of Vespasian. This title was probably added due to the intervention of Tiberius in the reconstruction of the city after the earthquake in AD 17. The civic issues from Philadelphia have on the legend the dynastic title “NeoCaesarean” during the reign of Tiberius and then the dynastic title “Flavian” from the time of Vespasian onwards.

As for the cases of Mostene and Hyrkanis, it cannot be excluded that the addition of both dynastic titles by Philadelphia is a consequence of a disastrous natural event that triggered the imperial intervention. According to Tacitus, Philadelphia is among the twelve cities in Asia, including Mostene and Hyrkanis, that suffered a great earthquake in AD 17 and asked for imperial intervention through an embassy to Rome.<sup>634</sup> It is possible that Philadelphia added the “NeoCaesarean” term on the civic coins to honour Tiberius for his financial benefactions after the earthquake. The Flavian dynastic title could have the same explanation, due to the fact that Tacitus always said that another series of terrible earthquakes struck the west coastline of Asia Minor in the midst of the first century AD.<sup>635</sup>

From this first sketch it seems that the importance of double labels, including the Macedonian one, is connected especially with the Antonine and Severan dynasty. At the time the need to have a strong civic identity together with the desire for

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<sup>634</sup> Tac., *Ann.* II.47-48.

<sup>635</sup> For example, the earthquake that struck Apameia in Phrygia in AD 53, or Hierapolis and Laodicea on the Lycus in AD 60. Tacitus, *Ann.*12.58; *Ann.* 14.27.



attention by the Roman Imperial authority could have triggered the use of many different symbols resembling local memories on coins by Phrygian and Lydian communities.

#### **4.7 Conclusion.**

The chapter presents a regional pattern for the appearance of three different expressions of local identity. One is the change of labels that define Phrygian and Lydian communities on civic coins and inscriptions in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In more detail, these labels expressed how groups of settlers or civic institutions created and display on the public stage the image of their own identity in relation to external authorities, such as the Attalid kingdom and the Roman Empire. The groups of Macedonian veterans and the *koinon* of the Greeks of Asia labelled themselves with specific terminology in relation to these agents. The second is the symbolic insertion of an external power into the memory of Phrygian and Lydian communities as shown by the appearance of the Roman Senate on civic coins and inscriptions. The worship of the Roman Senate was attached to the introduction and development of the Roman Imperial cult in the province. This could express how the external authority of Rome was integrated in the religious system in which the local communities were organized at a regional level by the *koinon*. The third expression is the diffusion of double labels and local deities on civic coins, that could be symptom of the need to assert peculiar identities by civic communities in the context of the regional network embodied by the *koinon* of Asia. The development of the provincial *koinon* was favoured also by the fact that this federation was responsible for the organization of the imperial cult from the time of Augustus.

It seems that double labels were used neither in Lydia nor Phrygia, nor depiction of the Roman Senate in the Hellenistic and Roman Republican period. Why? For the Roman Senate, the answer could be found in the strict relation between the cult of the Roman Senate and the cult of the Roman emperor, introduced at the time of Augustus and developed further from Tiberius onwards. The Senate was the representative of the Roman Imperial power in the region of Asia until the late third century AD. Its importance was perceived and officially recognized by the local elites, as it shows the carving of the *Res Gestae divi Augusti* on the walls of the temples of Augustus and Roma. Phrygian and Lydian communities legitimized politically the Roman imperial administration with the worship of the Senate.

The appearance of Ionian, Dorian and Achaean labels in the same chronological span of the Macedonian label is motivated by the interest in the antiquity of ancestry by the centres members of the *koinon* of Asia, especially since when Hadrian founded the Panhellenion. The antiquity of ancestry together with the “zeal for the Romans” were already important at the time of Tiberius to catch the imperial attention, according to Tacitus. The claims of Macedonian label by Hyrkani and Blaundos are to be inserted into this broader regional context of multiple civic identities. The Macedonian label became a way of expressing “Greekness” together with the pride in being different from other Greek ancestries, thanks to the figure of Alexander the Great. The connection between the *koinon* and the provincial imperial cult triggered the importance of being perceived as “more Greek” than the neighbouring communities. A comparison could be drawn between the *koinon* of Asia and the Hellenistic *koinon* of the Lesbian cities. Ellis-Evans shows that the development of the Lesbian *koinon* in the third century BC gave birth to a series of civic issues that show no convergence on a common iconography of island identity, but even a more pronounced difference between each other.<sup>636</sup> She observes that “for the cities of Lesbos, privileging a common Lesbian identity meant competing over ownership of ‘Lesbianness’ and viewing one another as the set of peers they would most like to be superior to”.<sup>637</sup>

In the context of the *koinon* of Asia, Synnada and Eumeneia tried to seek the Imperial benefactions not by the use of the memory of Alexander the Great and his army but by claims of “more” Greek ancestries, like the Ionian, the Dorian and the Achaean. Mostene and Apollonia claimed ancestries that were even more ancient than the Greeks themselves, or more connected to the Romans thanks to mythical boundaries, by employing Lydian and Lycian ancestries respectively. Philadelphia chose a different route. Its zeal for the Romans was shown by adding to the city name dynastic titles like “Flavian” or “Caesareans”, sign of allegiance to the imperial rule. Apollonis, Mostene and Stratonikeia added dynastic titles to their names on coins too.

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<sup>636</sup> Ellis-Evans analyses the civic issues of Mytilene and notes that they display a different iconography, related to the cult of Dionysus Phallen, in order to lay claim to Antissa’s cult, just throughout the period when the re-founded Lesbian *koinon* was in operation. Ellis Evans 2019, 236-240.

<sup>637</sup> Ellis-Evans 2019, 243.

It is difficult to understand “who started first”, but the evidence shows that the peak of the use of these specific labels by Lydian and Phrygian communities occurred under the Antonine and Severan dynasties. Hyrkanis and Blaundos seemed to be part of a regional trend that went beyond the blurred boundaries between Lydia, Phrygia and Mysia and was incarnated by the imperial cult organized through the provincial *koinon* of Asia. As Strabo states, the system organized according to the assize centres was a Roman administrative innovation that did not follow local criteria. This could cause a sense of “deterritorialization” in the civic communities of these regions, where a sense of shared identity and belonging risked to be lost.<sup>638</sup> The Imperial cult, introduced by Augustus and developed under Tiberius was an useful expedient to legitimize the power of Rome and at the same time to give a stronger sense of regional identity to the Greek communities of Asia, that played as active agents in its diffusion. Ando suggested that the Imperial cult fostered the creation of “Imperial identities”.<sup>639</sup> The imperial framework could give a sense of stability and an established hierarchy, officially affirmed by the fact that the Imperial cult was organized by the *koinon*, the federation that gathered the “Greeks of Asia”. The Macedonian label that appears on the civic coins and honorary inscriptions in this historical context was used to claim an ancestry that guaranteed that cities like Hyrkanis and Blaundos were part of a Greek regional network devoted to the Roman Empire. At the same time, the Macedonian label, like the Achaean or the Lycian reaffirmed a cultural tradition that positioned each city in a fixed place in the memory of the regional network of the provincial *koinon*.

The introduction of the provincial imperial cult is not a direct consequence of Roman imposition, but rather a cultural translation of the Roman Imperial regime into the traditions and customs of the local communities of Asia represented by the *koinon*. The Roman Imperial administration found itself inserted into a context of vivid civic competition that started to develop already in the Attalid period. The imperial cult and the worship of the Roman Senate are probably part of a cultural process of reciprocal recognition between Rome and Phrygian and Lydian cities. They acted as triggers of the expression of local identities that competed with each other in a system of cultural, political and social exchange with the Roman

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<sup>638</sup> For this concept see Hales and Hodos 2010.

<sup>639</sup> Ando 2010, 43-45.

power. As Luraghi points out for the case of the Messenians in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the Lydian and the Phrygian communities tried to build a regional history where their own civic identity was challenged, but also strengthened, by the contact both with Rome and neighbouring cities. The use of the Achaean, Lydian and Macedonian labels on civic coins or honorary inscriptions are symbols of the active agency by local communities in confronting both the Roman Imperial system and the multiple political entities that operated within it. The double labels were instrumental to each civic community to assert a special relationship with the Roman imperial authority together with the memory of a prestigious and unique past.

## **Chapter 5: The perspective on Macedonian identity in Polyaeus, Aelius Aristides and Roman Imperial ideology.**

### **5.1 Introduction**

In the previous chapters the focus of analysis was the epigraphic and numismatic evidence from several centres in Phrygia and Lydia. The aim was to identify traces of Macedonian “labels” used by individuals, groups and civic institutions throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The meaning of Macedonian symbols was investigated in the context of changing relations between local identities and the central power, such as the Hellenistic kingdoms or the Roman Empire. The present chapter investigates the meaning of ‘Macedonian’ as a label in the instances that it appears in the ancient literary tradition in the Roman Imperial period, especially under the Antonine and Severan dynasties. Hence from the external perspective, and to gain an understanding of the underlying perceptions of why the claim of Macedonian ancestry would matter at that time. In order to answer this question, it is necessary to analyse the perspective of Polyaeus and Aelius Aristides on the meaning of being Macedonian. These two authors are both considered part of the cultural movement referred to as the Second Sophistic, with great importance placed on the connection between the past and identity in the Greek world.

The choice of Polyaeus and Aristides is motivated by two factors. First, they are contemporaries who write about the role played by figures of Greek history whom they label as “Macedonian”. Their works were produced at the time of Marcus Aurelius, in the same period when Lydian and Phrygian communities examined in the previous chapters used the Macedonian label more and more consistently on coins and inscriptions.<sup>640</sup> Without implying that the interest of these authors in Macedonian identity is necessarily related to this material phenomenon, the analysis allow us to understand the use of the Macedonian label in a wider context and how this could be related to the concept of “ethnicity” and “identity” in the Roman Imperial culture, beyond the archaeological evidence from Lydia and Phrygia. Secondly, the remaining works of Aristides and Polyaeus focus on the comparison between Macedonians and Romans, and their respective role in the history of the Greek world. The comparison between the material evidence

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<sup>640</sup> See Chapter 4.

and literary sources is essential to understand the cultural, political, and social meaning of the Macedonian label at the time of the Roman Empire. Further, this would allow us to understand to what extent the Macedonian label also signified “Greekness”. More specifically, were the Macedonians perceived as part of the Greek family by Polyaeus and Aelius Aristides? How do these authors relate the Macedonians to the Romans?

Polyaeus is the only contemporary author who claims proudly to have Macedonian ancestry. In the preface of the fourth book of his *Strategika*, he states that

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ ἥδιον τῶν ἄλλων συγγράψας, ἐν ᾧ καταμάθοιτε ἂν τὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων, οἱ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐβασίλευσαν  
*I especially enjoy writing this book more than the rest, in which you can learn the excellence of my ancestors, who ruled Macedonia.*<sup>641</sup>

It is the only time that the Macedonian label could have been used to mean a geographic origin, as we will see. The use of the Macedonian label as sign of personal prestige by Polyaeus shines in stark contrast with the view on Macedonians by Aelius Aristides, one of the most representative writers of the Second Sophistic. This author comes from the city of Pergamon, one of the main centres in the province of Asia. His view on Ancient Macedonia is clear in the Panathenaic Oration, when he is talking about the two main cities of this region. In this context, he declares that Πέλλα μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἂν φιλοτιμοῖτο πατρίδι οὐδὲ Αἰγαῖς – “No one would show patriotic fervour for Pella or Aegae, if they were their homeland.”<sup>642</sup> Pella and Aegae are among the most important cities of Macedonian history. Pella was the capital of the Macedonian kingdom at the time of Philip II and Alexander the Great, while Aegae was the site where the Argead kings were traditionally buried.<sup>643</sup> It seems from this passage that Aelius Aristides shows a negative perception of someone who may claim a Macedonian ancestry or come from the region of Macedonia. The statement is significant given the fact that Pergamon is close to the city of Hyrkanis. This community was issuing coins with a Macedonian label claiming a Macedonian ancestry at the same time that

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<sup>641</sup> Polyaeus. *praef.* 1., Book IV.

<sup>642</sup> Ael. Aristides, *Panathenaic Oration* 334. Translation by Asirvatham 2008, 208.

<sup>643</sup> Paus. 1.6.3; Diod. 16.91-92.

Aristides shows contempt for the most important cities of the ancient Macedonian kingdom.

The first part will be analysis of how the Macedonian past is attested in Polyaeus' main work, the *Strategika*, and whether there is a model of "being a Macedonian" in this period. The works of Polyaeus are related to the reigns of Antoninus Pius and the co-emperorship of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. The *Strategika*, an account of historical stratagems, was composed and published between 162 and 166 AD, when the Eastern frontiers became a pressing issue due to the aggressive military actions of the Parthian king Vologaeses.<sup>644</sup> The analysis addresses the meaning of being Macedonian for Polyaeus and the way he positions the Macedonians in relation to the Roman and the Greek worlds. More specifically, how Polyaeus relates the Macedonian identity to the Romans and the way he portrays the role played by the ancient Macedonians in the history of the Greek *poleis*. The analysis of Polyaeus could help us to understand further why the Macedonian label was used by cities like Hyrkanis and Blaundos in relation to Roman Imperial authority.

The second part investigates the perspective of Aelius Aristides on the Greek past and his positioning of Macedonian identity, within it. Being Macedonian seems not to be considered a synonym of being Greek by the rhetor of Pergamon. The analysis will try to draw out why Aristides distanced the Macedonians and their history from the Greek world in his speeches *To the Thebans*, *To Rome* and *The Panathenaic Oration*. It will be argued that Aristides builds the rhetorical dichotomy between Macedonians and Greeks in order to associate the democratic Athens of the fifth century BC with the Roman Imperial rule of his days. The section also contextualizes Aristides in his local background. The rhetor opened a school of rhetoric in the city of Smyrna. This is important because Smyrna is the centre of the *conventus* of Hyrkanis, which used the Macedonian label on coins and inscriptions more consistently under the Antonine dynasty. Did the relationship between Aristides and the city of Smyrna have some impact on his view of the Macedonians? The analysis of Aelius Aristides' works could explain why cities in the same region of Hyrkanis did not use the Macedonian

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<sup>644</sup> Wheeler 2010, 8.

label to define themselves in relation to Roman Imperial power.

The final section will focus on the relationship between Roman Imperial ideology, Alexander the Great and ancient Macedonians from the time of Augustus until the Severan dynasty. In this way, it will be possible to contextualize historically the perspective of Polyaeus and Aelius Aristides in relation to the Roman Imperial narrative on Macedonian past and identity. The chapter addresses the problematic concept of “identity” in ancient tradition, as the Macedonian label could be used either negatively or positively by two contemporary authors to build a historical connection between Rome and the Greek world.

## **5.2. The meaning of being Macedonian in Polyaeus**

### **5.2.1 The life of Polyaeus: a writer from Macedonia or a “Macedonian” from Bithynia?**

About Polyaeus, we have very few biographical details. The only ancient literary sources that provide some information are the following: the Byzantine Epitome *Suda*, three fragments recorded by the Byzantine author Stobaeus and some autobiographical passages in the *Strategika*, or “Stratagems of War”. The geographical origin of Polyaeus is matter of debate within modern scholarship. According to Schettino, Polyaeus was born in the province of Macedonia in the first half of the second century AD. Schettino and Buraselis argue that he gained the reputation of being a good forensic orator in the main centre of the province at the time, Beroea.<sup>645</sup> Krentz and Wheeler, however, argue that Polyaeus was probably born around AD 100 in Bithynia to a family of Macedonian descent.<sup>646</sup> Wheeler calls the claim of ancestry by Polyaeus a “Macedonian masquerade”, implying that it is fictitious.<sup>647</sup> He grounds the hypothesis of a Bithynian origin with an argument *ex silentio*. Wheeler supposes that the ancient author is Bithynian, “given the rarity of name Polyaeus outside Bithynia in the early Imperial period”.<sup>648</sup> However, this is a weak connection, as Schettino has noted that the name Polyaeus was also attested in other regions of the eastern part of the Roman empire.<sup>649</sup> It is worth noting here that, whether fictitious or not, Polyaeus

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<sup>645</sup> See Buraselis 1993/4, 135-136; Schettino 1998, 22-23.

<sup>646</sup> Krent –Wheeler 1994, IX.

<sup>647</sup> Wheeler 2010, 13.

<sup>648</sup> Krent –Wheeler 1994, IX.

<sup>649</sup> See Schettino 1998 n.14, 23.



wanted to claim this ancestry explicitly in the first preface of his main work, the *Strategika*, dedicated to the Roman Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. My hypothesis is that the meaning of being Macedonian had considerable relevance for Polyaeus.

What do the ancient literary sources tell us about the origins of Polyaeus? My analysis focuses on the account of the *Suda* and the passages by Stobaeus, comparing them with the autobiographical account given by Polyaeus in the *Strategika*. The critical comparison between these literary sources are essential to understand the application of the Macedonian label in relation to the life of Polyaeus. Was he a Macedonian because he came from the province of Macedonia or did he come from elsewhere but claim nevertheless a Macedonian ancestry? Is the Macedonian label applied to Polyaeus in all the accounts or fragments related to him? If so, what was its meaning in that context? Analysing briefly the career of Polyaeus in the Roman Imperial administration will also help address these questions.

According to the *Suda* Polyaeus was a Μακεδών ῥήτωρ, a “Macedonian rhetor”.<sup>650</sup> The epitome does not provide further details about his life. The second term indicates that Polyaeus was likely a forensic orator. It is not specified whether Polyaeus was a Macedonian because he came from the province of Macedonia or because he was born elsewhere to a family who claimed to have Macedonian ancestry. Nevertheless, the Macedonian label is used to define this author. This could be motivated by the fact that the only surviving fragments of an oration attributed to Polyaeus are entitled “On behalf of the Macedonian council”. Was Polyaeus called a Macedonian in this record? Why is this work important for the relation between Polyaeus and Macedonian identity?

The only evidence of the activity of Polyaeus as a forensic orator is provided by three fragments cited by the Byzantine compiler Stobaeus. Those were probably part of a forensic oration held by Polyaeus on behalf of the Macedonian council, called in the text *synedrion*.<sup>651</sup> Unfortunately the matter discussed in the oration is not clear. It was entitled, according to Stobaeus, ὑπὲρ τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν

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<sup>650</sup> *Suda*.

<sup>651</sup> Jacoby *FGrHist* 639 F 4, 5, 6.

*Μακεκεδόνων*: on behalf/in defence of the council of the Macedonians. The importance of Macedonian identity for Polyaeus can be assumed by the fact that through this speech Polyaeus aimed to defend the ‘national’ interests of the provincial Macedonian assembly. This is shown in the analysis of the three fragments. The first fragment of the oration starts *in medias res*:

Πολυαίνου ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ συνεδρίου· «οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖς, ὡς ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς κὰν τοῦλάχιστόν τις παρέλθῃ, ἀφορμὴ τῆς τῶν πλειόνων ἀπωλείας γίνεται

*From Polyaeus in the speech “On behalf of the Council”*: ‘You are not unaware that in common matters, if anyone takes away even the smallest thing, it becomes the catalyst for the loss of a good deal more’<sup>.652</sup>

The passage states that Polyaeus wanted to prevent a sort of change in things related to the “common matters - *τοῖς κοινοῖς*” of the Macedonian council. Stobaeus here does not use the Macedonian label to define Polyaeus, unlike the Suda. Buraselis is uncertain on the topic of the fragment. He argues that the change cited may involve just the structure of the Macedonian *koinon*, which was the federation that included the Macedonian communities, or the whole province. As Burliga notes, “The careful analysis made by Buraselis of the Roman documents sent to the Macedonian *municipia* has shown that during the second and third century AD Macedonia was a province of interest for the Roman administration and several imperial letters concerning financial matters were addressed to the Macedonian councils or assemblies”.<sup>653</sup> As a consequence, the Roman Imperial administration might have modified both the council and the *koinon*, but it is difficult to assess from Polyaeus’ fragments. The external intervention of the Roman authority probably prompted a local reaction. This oration shows how Polyaeus tried to guarantee the local interests in relation to Rome. This involvement in a local financial/administrative dispute may have been motivated by the fact that Polyaeus came from the province of Macedonia. He may be the representative of the local elite before the Roman authority. Otherwise, being associated with the Macedonian assembly was considered a sign of prestige from Polyaeus’ perspective if he decided to defend the prerogatives of this political entity.

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<sup>652</sup> Jacoby *FGrHist* 639 F 4 English translation by Burliga 2012, .

<sup>653</sup> Burliga commentary, Cf. Buraselis,138. One text is cited by Oliver 1989, no. 167. Here the Beroians congratulate the new emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, therefore the inscription is dated to AD 161.

Where did Polyaeus pronounce this oration? The most important centre of the Macedonian province at that time was Beroea.<sup>654</sup> According to Burliga, it is likely that Polyaeus pledged the case at this city, not in the imperial court at Rome, as he does not refer to the Senate in his speech. He uses the second person singular, so that the addressee is likely to be the Roman emperor in charge at that moment.<sup>655</sup> However, he never uses the Macedonian label to define himself in the remaining passages, so the fragments of this oration do not provide a definitive answer on whether or not he comes from the province of Macedonia. Wheeler argues that he may have visited Macedonia at the time of the composition of the oration, but he is not certain whether Polyaeus pledged this case at Beroea or Rome.<sup>656</sup>

Wherever this may have been delivered, and whichever understanding may be plausible, still at the very least the oration “On behalf of the Macedonian council” proves that Polyaeus spent the initial stage of his career involved in the internal affairs of the province of Macedonia. His concern for the maintaining of native Macedonian customs is provided in the second fragment. Here, Polyaeus appears to be a strong advocate of the traditional privileges of the local communities:<sup>657</sup>

πρὸς μὲν δὴ τὸ μικρὸν τέλος, φήμ’ ἔγωγε ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔθος μέγα. ἔστι δὲ ὁ λόγος οὐ περὶ τῆς ποσότητος ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου· καὶ πρόδηλον, ὡς αἰεὶ τὰ πονηρὰ τῶν ἐθῶν ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ μικρῶν, ἀμελούμενα δὲ τὴν ἰσχὺν μείζω λαμβάνει

*In the face of the small scale of the tax, what I say is ‘Yes, but the change in custom is huge.’ On the other hand, the argument is not about the scale of the tax but on what is lawful. And it is perfectly clear that what is worst in customs always begins from small things, which, if neglected, acquire greater strength.*<sup>658</sup>

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<sup>654</sup> Schettino 1998, 23.

<sup>655</sup> Burliga 2012. *Contra* Geus, who thinks that Polyaeus made this oration at Rome, for the imperial court. See Geus 2010, 55-68.

<sup>656</sup> Krent –Wheeler 1994, X.

<sup>657</sup> Buraselis 1993/4, 138.

<sup>658</sup> Jacoby, *FgrHist* 639 F 5.

When was this oration pronounced? Buraselis argues that Polyaeus appealed to the Roman emperor, probably Hadrian, in order to avoid a financial change that could threaten the functioning of the Macedonian assembly, even if it is not clear whether this tax increase would have interested only the assembly itself or the entire province, and why a small financial issue could become bigger with the passing of time.<sup>659</sup>

In the third fragment preserved of this speech Polyaeus appeared to be very concerned about the traditional laws that could be affected by the innovations fostered probably by the Roman administration:

οὐκ εἰδῶς ὅτι πᾶν τὸ νεωτεριζόμενον ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις ἀρχὴ δυνάμεως  
μείζονος γίνεται· ἄνδρας δὲ γεωργοὺς οὐκ ὀξεῖα τῶν κοινῶν ἀδικημάτων ἢ  
αἴσθησις εἰσέρχεται

*Unaware that everything revolutionary in states becomes a starting point for greater violence; and the perception of public injustices does not impact acutely on men who are farmers”.*<sup>660</sup>

It is possible that this was the core of Polyaeus' speech before the emperor.<sup>661</sup> The Macedonians are here called “farmers”, implying their simple way of living. Polyaeus is ambiguous about his supposed Macedonian ancestry in the passage. On one hand, he states clearly that a change in the local administration caused by Rome is a negative outcome – the starting point for great violence – and should be avoided. On the other hand, the Macedonians seem not to be sufficiently educated to understand the deep implications of such changes. Therefore, Polyaeus seems to distance himself from the Macedonians, because he is surely not an uneducated farmer. To conclude, from the analysis of these three fragments it cannot be stated whether Polyaeus comes from Macedonia or not. However, two main points seem to emerge:

- 1) Interest shown by Polyaeus in Macedonian identity in relation to Rome.
- 2) Macedonians as a people of farmers.

The idea that the Macedonians are farmers is a rhetorical device, as Polyaeus

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<sup>659</sup> Buraselis 1993/4, 138.

<sup>660</sup> Jacoby, FGrHist 639 F 6.

<sup>661</sup> Buraselis 1993/4, 139.

is defending a council whose meeting place was an urban centre like Beroia. This is motivated by the fact that farmers are depicted in the ancient tradition as frugal and simple, not corrupted. The common place of frugality as a proper quality of Macedonians occurs in another work of Polyaeus: the *Strategika*. The argument will be analysed in the next section. The *Strategika* were probably written after the oration in defence of the Macedonian council, when Polyaeus was working as *causidicus* at Rome. It is here that Polyaeus finally claims explicitly a Macedonian ancestry.

### 5.2.2 Macedonian label as sign of ancestry and geographic provenance.

Thanks to the prestige achieved by his forensic activity, it is likely that Polyaeus could move from Macedonia to Rome, according to Schettino. This possibility is also contemplated by Wheeler, who cites a second/third century Greek inscription from Rome that records the name of a Claudius Polyaeus, perhaps the son of this ancient author.<sup>662</sup> At Rome it is possible that Polyaeus dedicated himself to the private legal cases (δίκας) as *causidicus* in front of the imperial courts during the reign of Antoninus Pius.<sup>663</sup> He probably held Roman citizenship at the time because he could pledge cases in the Roman tribunals, perhaps with the status of *eques*. He was still a lawyer when he edited the second book of the *Strategika*. He was likely 65-70 years old, during the years AD 161/63. Indeed in the preface of the second book he claims that “I am busy speaking before you in lawsuits”.<sup>664</sup> In the preface of the sixth book he promises to celebrate the victory over the Parthians with a new collection of stratagems which would have recorded the deeds in the expeditions by the new emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.<sup>665</sup> However he never published them, so it is likely that he died shortly before the end of the Parthian campaign, around AD 166.<sup>666</sup>

In the *Strategika*, the Macedonian label is used by Polyaeus to define himself in the two prefaces introducing the first and the fourth books. In the first preface, Polyaeus claims:

Ἐγὼ δὲ **Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ, πατριὸν ἔχων τὸ χρατεῖν Περσῶν πολεμούντων**

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<sup>662</sup> Krentz –Wheeler 1994, p. XI.

<sup>663</sup> Schettino 1998, 23.

<sup>664</sup> Polyaeus, *praef.* 2.

<sup>665</sup> Polyaeus, *praef.* 6.

<sup>666</sup> Schettino 1998, 23-24.

δύνασθαι, οὐκ ἀσύμβολος ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ γενέσθαι βούλομαι.  
Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν μοι τὸ σῶμα καὶ στρατιώτης προθυμος ἂν ἐγενόμην  
**Μακεδονικῇ ρώμῃ** χρώμενος

*I, a Macedonian who has inherited the ability to conquer the Persians in war, want to do my part at the present critical time. If my body were in its prime, I would be an enthusiastic soldier using **Macedonian strength**.*<sup>667</sup>

The word *πάτριον* related to the Macedonian label would suggest that Polyaeus considers his fatherland as Macedonian. Schettino consequently argues that the author comes from Macedonia proper. The Macedonian label is used here as sign of geographic provenance. On the other hand, Wheeler insists that Polyaeus was born in Bithynia from a family of Macedonian descent. The Macedonian label has in this hypothesis an ethnic value. The claim of having a Macedonian homeland is a “masquerade”. “Exploiting the second century’s fetish for Alexander the Great, a theme particularly apropos for any Parthian war, Polyaeus presents himself as Macedonian”.<sup>668</sup>

I think that both interpretations can be challenged. The claim by Polyaeus of having a “Macedonian” fatherland is not enough to prove that Polyaeus was referring to Macedonia proper. The Macedonian label does not indicate necessarily the geographic origins the author. The previous chapters have shown that several Phrygian and Lydian communities begin to refer to themselves as Macedonian on coins and inscriptions at the time.<sup>669</sup> The Macedonian label was not used to indicate a geographic origin but a claim of ancestry. Did Polyaeus use the Macedonian label to define his ancestry? Wheeler implies that the claim of Macedonian ancestry could be fictitious, and may reflect “the Second Sophistic’s search for its classical roots, as individuals, even whole cities, unabashedly contrived descent from famous Sparta and Athens of the fifth and fourth century BC and from Alexander as well”.<sup>670</sup> Despite this, the claim of a Macedonian ancestry cannot be explained by the figure of Alexander the Great alone. He is distinguished from the Macedonians themselves by Polyaeus in

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<sup>667</sup> Polyaeus. *praef.* 1 Book I.

<sup>668</sup> Krentz –Wheeler 1994, xii.

<sup>669</sup> See chapter 4.

<sup>670</sup> Krentz –Wheeler 1994, xii.

several passages of the *Strategika*.<sup>671</sup> The pride of being Macedonian is explained by the fact that the Macedonian people are considered by this author as strong and frugal. These are the qualities that make the Macedonian label a prestigious title, rather than a real ethnic. I think that the hypothesis by Wheeler on a Bithynian origin of Polyaeus finds no grounds in the literary evidence, as is shown in the following analysis of the second preface of the *Strategika*.

In the second preface that introduces the fourth book of the *Strategika*, dedicated to the military deeds of Macedonian kings and dynasts, Polyaeus writes:

Καὶ τόδε ὑμῖν τέταρτον βιβλίον, ἱερώτατοι βασιλεῖς Ἀντωνῖνε καὶ Οὐῆρε, προσφέρω τῶν Στρατηγημάτων· τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ ἥδιον τῶν ἄλλων συγγράψας, ἐν ᾧ καταμάθοιτε ἂν τὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων, οἱ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐβασίλευσαν

*I also offer you this fourth book of Stratagems, most sacred emperors Antoninus and Verus. More than the others, I enjoy writing this book, in which you can learn the excellences of my ancestors, who ruled Macedonia.*<sup>672</sup>

The second preface is a stronger hint of the real geographical provenance of Polyaeus. Where he claims that “his ancestors ruled Macedonia”, he probably refers to the Argead and the Antigonid dynasties. The Macedonian label is used to indicate both Polyaeus’ geographic origins and ancestry. This is suggested by the fact that most of the stratagems collected in the fourth book are about Philip II, Alexander, Antigonos and his son Demetrios.<sup>673</sup> These were members of royal dynasties that mainly ruled the geographic region of Macedonia. To prove this, I make a quantitative analysis of the label “Macedonian” or “Macedonians” in the fourth book of the *Strategika* and in which stratagems they are used.

1) In the 55 stratagems attributed to the Argead dynasty, the Macedonian label is used 46 times.

2) In the 35 stratagems of the Antigonid dynasty, the Macedonian label is used 12 times.

3) The Macedonian label is used 10 times in the stratagems of the Diadochi who

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<sup>671</sup> See later in the section “The Macedonians in the *Strategika*. A Greek paragon for the Romans?”

<sup>672</sup> Polyaeus. *praef.* 4.

<sup>673</sup> Schettino 1998, 223-224.

did not rule Macedonia.

4) There is no association of the Macedonian label with the three Seleucid kings or for Attalus, the founder of the Pergamene dynasty.

It is likely from the quantitative analysis of the use of the Macedonian label that Polyaeus was born in Macedonia proper. Indeed, the term Macedonian is associated most of the time with the Argead dynasty and the Antigonid dynasty, the rulers of the kingdom of Macedon. If Polyaeus calls himself Macedonian and uses the Macedonian label mainly for the kings who ruled Macedonia proper, I argue that the latter are the ones to whom he is referring as his ancestors. To support this, it is useful to make a comparison with the historiographer Appian, a contemporary of Polyaeus. Appian describes the Ptolemies as “my kings” – *εμοι βασιλεις* in his work because he comes from the city of Alexandria of Egypt.<sup>674</sup> Polyaeus, like Appian, shows local pride in claiming the kings of the region called Macedonia as his real ancestors. At this point, I argue that the hypothesis of Bithynian origins cannot stand. Polyaeus never cites the region of Bithynia or any Bithynian city in the fourth book of the *Strategika*. The Hellenistic kings who ruled Bithynia, like Prusias or Nicomedes, are not recalled or celebrated. This undermines the hypothesis by Wheeler of Bithynian origins for Polyaeus, because the ancient author would have stressed the connection with a royal family connected to the past of this region. Also, the hypothesis that sees Polyaeus coming from other parts of Asia Minor is unlikely to be correct. The Hellenistic dynasties who ruled this region after Alexander have a minor role in the fourth book of the *Strategika*. Seleucus I appears only in six stratagems and Attalus I in just one. They are never associated with the Macedonian label by Polyaeus.

Concluding the analysis of the fragments from the forensic speech and the *Strategika* about Polyaeus' life, it cannot be assumed that he was member of a family from Bithynia that claimed a Macedonian ancestry. He was probably born at the beginning of Trajan's reign and started his career during Hadrian's rule in the province of Macedonia, where he wrote his oration on behalf of the Macedonian council. It is noteworthy that Polyaeus defended the traditional

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<sup>674</sup> App. *Civ. Pref.* 10.39. Geus 2010, 59; Buraselis 1993/4, 122 n.7



asset of the Macedonian assembly in front of the Roman State. This is proof of the interest developed by Polyaeus in the Macedonian communities and their administrative organization and local traditions. He shows concern for the political role played by the Macedonian institutions in relation to the Roman Empire. Furthermore, Polyaeus shows a form of local pride in two prefaces of the *Strategika*, where his Macedonian ancestry is asserted. He is the only author living at the time of the Roman Empire who claims expressly that Hellenistic rulers from Macedonia are “my ancestors”. Even if he was a Bithynian who claimed to be a Macedonian, this does not undermine the argument. Polyaeus was a Roman citizen who wrote in Greek, loyal to the Imperial authority. The Macedonian label was not intended to assert an identity alternative or opposite to the Roman rule. It is not meant as a proper ethnic but rather as a sign of specific qualities. Macedonian ancestry was claimed by Polyaeus as an instrument to better present himself before the Roman Imperial power. Buraselis and Wheeler grasp the historical significance of this. They both assume that the use of Macedonian label by Polyaeus in a work dedicated to the new Roman emperors Marcus and Verus is a direct consequence of the renewed military struggle between Romans and Parthians.<sup>675</sup> How and why the historical context triggered the need for Polyaeus to claim his Macedonian pedigree in relation to the Roman expedition against the Parthians is illustrated in the following section, dedicated to the *Strategika*.

### **5.2.3 The *Strategika***

#### **5.2.3.1 The genre of the stratagem collections.**

Polyaeus' *Strategika* is classified formally in the genre of the stratagem collections. This is considered part of technical military literature.<sup>676</sup> The first precursors of the genre are the Homeric epic and Herodotus' *Histories*.<sup>677</sup> Homer was seen as the first military historian by Polyaeus' contemporaries like Arrian, Aristides and Pausanias.<sup>678</sup> Not by chance, Polyaeus cites a Homeric aphorism

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<sup>675</sup> Krentz –Wheeler 1994, xii; Buraselis 1993/4, 126. See also Schettino 1998, 41.

<sup>676</sup> Wheeler 2010, 20.

<sup>677</sup> Wheeler comments that “Herodotus’ attention to stratagems has prompted some to see him as the forerunner of the stratagem collection”, see Wheeler 2010, 19. Cf. Säid 1980-1981, 96; Camerer 1965.

<sup>678</sup> Arrian *Tactica* 31.5-6, Aristides *Or.* 2.413-425 and Pausanias 4.28.7.-8. Aristides cited Homer as proof that oratory improved generalship, while Pausanias digresses on Homer as an inventor of stratagems. See Wheeler 2010, 26.

at the beginning of the *Strategika*.<sup>679</sup> However, the military literature assumed a status independent of general historiography in the second half of the fourth century BC. The earliest instance may be the work *Strategika* by Aeneas Tacticus, whose only one fragment has survived.<sup>680</sup> Even if the genre already emerged in the fourth century BC, it is assumed that was definitely codified as τέχνη, art/discipline, in the Hellenistic period, under the strong influence of the Stoic thought.<sup>681</sup> According to Schettino and Wheeler, there are two types of stratagem collections that had been firmly established in the literary tradition at the time of Polyaeus. The first type consists of lists assembled in the rhetorical schools that show examples of brilliant deeds by men and women.<sup>682</sup> Roman interest in these kinds of examples is testified by Cornelius Nepos' works and Valerius Maximus' *Facta et dicta memorabilia*.<sup>683</sup> On the Greek side, a large section of Plutarch's *Moralia* (172B-263C) consists of *exempla* collections, of which many anecdotes qualify as stratagems.<sup>684</sup> The second type consist of military treaties, that contain practical works for military instruction. These treaties were part of a larger work usually dedicated to the art of war. The earliest independent collection of stratagems is the one published in Latin by Fronto at the end of the first century AD, entitled *Strategemata*.<sup>685</sup> Polyaeus' *Strategika* were written in the "golden age" of stratagems collections. In less than one century three different authors produced works related to the genre: Fronto, Polyaeus and Hermogenes of Smyrna. Hermogenes wrote two books of *Strategemata* at the beginning of the second century AD.<sup>686</sup> I argue that this revived interest in military knowledge in the ancient tradition could have been fostered by Trajan's expansionist approach and the military activities of the Antonine dynasty in the East.

How can Polyaeus' *Strategika* be categorized? According to Schettino, the work belongs to the category of rhetorical collections of examples. His work was not a real military treatise with practical implications, as he never had military

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<sup>679</sup> Polyen. *Strat.* I, praef. 4.

<sup>680</sup> Wheeler 2010, 20.

<sup>681</sup> Krentz-Wheeler 1994, vii; Schettino 1998, 18-19.

<sup>682</sup> Schettino 1998, 20-21; Krentz-Wheeler 1994, vii.

<sup>683</sup> Wheeler 2010, 22.

<sup>684</sup> See Wheeler 2010, 21.

<sup>685</sup> Wheeler 2010, 21. However, Wheeler points out that Fronto intended his *Stratagemata* as an appendix to "his now lost comprehensive study of warfare", 21. *Contra* Campbell 1987, 13-29.

<sup>686</sup> Wheeler 2010, 19.

experience, unlike Fronto.<sup>687</sup> Besides, several stratagems do not include military deeds but episodes with a moralistic purpose. Seel questions whether Polyaeus' stratagems are useful because they often lack accuracy or are repetitive, therefore they are a literary invention.<sup>688</sup> However, Wheeler notes that the treatise of Polyaeus aimed to have a didactic purpose as a real guidebook of military knowledge. This is shown in the first preface of the first book. Here Polyaeus says that

ἀνδρεία μὲν γὰρ, ὅστις ἀλκῇ χρησάμενος πολεμίων μαχομένων ἐκράτησεν, εὐβουλία δὲ, ἀμαχεὶ τέχνη καὶ δόλῳ περιγίγνεσθαι [...] σοφία κτᾶσθαι τὴν νίκην ἀκίνδυνον.

*For it is courage whenever one conquers an enemy in battle with strength, but it is **good planning to win a fight by art and trickery, so that it is the first wisdom of clever generals to achieve victory without risk.** [...] **intelligence**, having anticipated the outcome of the battle, **may induce victory.***<sup>689</sup>

Planning, foresight, and timing formed the trinity of strategic doctrine. The passage reflects more a military than a rhetorical stratagem collection.<sup>690</sup> The “military knowledge” not only implied a good experience of war technicalities but also a broader approach that encourages the general to act wisely in both war and peace. In this perspective, the art of war is a τέχνη that can be learnt and taught by the study of historical examples. Pretzler rightly argues that Polyaeus did not need to claim any personal military experience to establish credibility. Polyaeus based the value of his work on his knowledge of history and the relevant literature.<sup>691</sup> This view is influenced by the cultural background of the time. The Greek elites defined their place in the Roman Imperial hierarchy through their παιδεία, the Greek education.<sup>692</sup> Only this sense of cultural superiority could allow Polyaeus, a rhetor, to teach military warfare to Roman Emperors. Polyaeus mentions explicitly the didactic purpose of his work in all the prefaces except for the one introducing the second book.<sup>693</sup>

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<sup>687</sup> Schettino 1998, 281- 292.

<sup>688</sup> Seel 1960, 250-270.

<sup>689</sup> Polyaeus. *Strat.* I, praef. 3.

<sup>690</sup> Wheeler 2010, 29.

<sup>691</sup> See also Pretzler 2010, 106.

<sup>692</sup> Pretzler 2010, 90.

<sup>693</sup> Wheeler 2010, 30.

I agree with Wheeler's view on Polyaeus as military author according to the cultural background of his time. Polyaeus is an example of how the military theory also involved moral teachings, in the context of the Greek and Roman traditions of the second century AD. Polyaeus uses the Macedonian label but considers himself culturally Greek. Indeed, Polyaeus followed the conventions of several authors belonging to the Second Sophistic. For example, Morton notes that Polyaeus, like Plutarch, saw Greek culture as the "default" culture of civilization and humanity. The first stratagem recorded is a reference to a Homeric passage.<sup>694</sup> Aristides cites Homer as proof that oratory improved generalship.<sup>695</sup> Then any kind of art, including that of military science, can be learnt by the superior cultural education embodied by the Greek tradition. Furthermore, a common topic that Polyaeus shares with authors of the Second Sophistic is the focus on the history of Classical Greece, and the omission of Roman history after Augustus' rule. The relevant exception that makes Polyaeus different from other Second Sophistic authors is his interest in Hellenistic history, shown by his pride of having Macedonian ancestors who lived after Alexander the Great. Proof of this are the stratagems dedicated to the Antigonids and the Diadochi.

The distinction between rhetoric and military treaty does not work for Polyaeus' *Strategika*, because it is a modern interpretation that does not take into account the cultural context of the period. It has to be said that this is a modern distinction, as also Wheeler observes.<sup>696</sup> Polyaeus' *Strategika* is a synthesis of both and it shows a literary knowledge of the Classical past in order to respond to urgent needs posed by the specific circumstances of the time. For example, another author both "moral and technical" and contemporary of Polyaeus is Galen. Galen did not see the teaching of "technical" medicine as distinguished from an ethical approach.<sup>697</sup>

Polyaeus could claim a Macedonian ancestry boasting at the same time his Greek culture and his loyalty to the Roman power. The following section indeed shows how the Parthian campaign initiated by Verus and Marcus Aurelius

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<sup>694</sup> Plut. *Vit. Marc.* 3.6. See Morton 2010, 110.

<sup>695</sup> Aristides *Or.* 2.413-425.

<sup>696</sup> Wheeler 2010, 40-41.

<sup>697</sup> About Galen's reflection on Hippocratic ethics for example, see Jouanna 2012, 261-285.

triggered the claim of Macedonian ancestry by Polyaeus in the *Strategika* and the thematic choices of his main work.

### 5.2.3.2 The historical context of the *Strategika*

Why could the Macedonian label be considered useful by Polyaeus at the time of the publication of the *Strategika*? The *Strategika* consists of eight books, published when the author lived in Rome, close to the Imperial court. Each book contains its own preface, with a dedication to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.

The aim of the work is explained by Polyaeus in the first preface:

ὑμῖν τε αὐτοῖς πολλὴν ἐμπειρίαν παλαιῶν ἔργων, τοῖς τε ὑπὸ ὑμῶν πεμπομένοις πολεμάρχοις ἢ στρατηγοῖς ἢ μυριάρχοις ἢ χιλιάρχοις ἢ ἑξακοσιάρχοις ἢ ὅσαι ἄλλαι ὄπλων ἀρχαί, διδασκομένοις ἀρχαίων κατορθωμάτων ἀρετὰς καὶ τέχνα.

*I offer this guidebook of military knowledge, all the stratagems of earlier generals, all the stratagems of earlier generals, both to you as a collection of past experiences and to those sent by you, polemarches, generals, legates of legions.*<sup>698</sup>

Polyaeus states that his work consists of a “guidebook of military knowledge”, useful for the two Roman Emperors in the incumbent expedition against “the Persians and the Parthians”. If this helps to frame the *Strategika* at the time of Verus’ Parthian Campaign (AD 162-166), the time of publication of the entire work remains matter of debate. While Schettino and Geus support a unitary publication probably before 166, Wheeler thinks that they were edited separately, with the first six books edited in 163. Schettino argues that the setting of the *Strategika* collection was probably a long-term process. She thinks that all the books were written between 161 and 163, but it is likely that the author developed the methodology and the structure of the collection several years before.<sup>699</sup> To reconstruct the chronology behind the *Strategika* it is necessary to contextualize them historically.

What happened in AD 161 at the Eastern borders of the Roman Empire?

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<sup>698</sup> Polyaeus. Book I Praef. 2.

<sup>699</sup> Schettino 1998, 34-35. *Contra* Wheeler 2010, 7-10, who argues that Polyaeus’ collection is the direct outcome of the Parthian war of 161/166 AD.

Vologaeses, the king of the Parthians at the time, had invaded the kingdom of Armenia and deposed the philo-Roman king.<sup>700</sup> The Roman governor of Cappadocia had been killed with his legion near the Armenian city of Elegeia.<sup>701</sup> Between autumn 161 and spring 162, the Syrian governor had also been defeated. As a consequence, all the Eastern Roman territories, including the province of Syria and Asia, were potentially threatened by Parthian incursions. When did the news arrive in Rome? The co-emperor Lucius Verus departed from Rome with his legions for the East only in the summer of 162, so that the seriousness of the situation had probably become clear in the early spring of the year.<sup>702</sup> The publication of the first book by Polyaeus cannot be dated before the first part of 162, because he uses the future tense about the victories of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus against the Parthians: “You will surely win the victory against the Persians and Parthians, most sacred emperors Antoninus and Verus [..]”.<sup>703</sup> Besides, he excuses himself for not being able to take part in the expedition, so Verus was probably still present in Rome.<sup>704</sup> There are no other chronological hints in the *Strategika*, except for the preface of book six, where Polyaeus says that he offers this “with a vow, *after you* (Antoninus and Verus) *win your wars*”.<sup>705</sup> It could imply, as Wheeler notes, that the book was published after the departure of Verus, in the late summer or fall of 162.<sup>706</sup> Books seven and eight have no other information about the time frame. There is no mention of the end of the Parthian expedition or its successful conclusion. It would be strange if Polyaeus did not mention the triumph of Verus. Therefore, it is likely that Polyaeus published the last book before the end of AD 166. Due to the fact that book eight ends abruptly, it is possible that the author died that very year.

I agree with Wheeler on the chronological sequence of publication. The first six books were probably published in the first nine months of 162. Schettino argues that the first book was published in autumn 161, but this is less probable.<sup>707</sup> The news of the Roman defeat in Armenia and Syria had just arrived and the situation

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<sup>700</sup> *Historia Augusta*, *Marc.* 8.6-8.

<sup>701</sup> Champlin 1974, 148. Cf. Wheeler 2010, 8.

<sup>702</sup> Wheeler 2010, 8.

<sup>703</sup> Polyaeus. *Strat.* I *praef.* 1

<sup>704</sup> Polyaeus. *Strat.* I *praef.* 1

<sup>705</sup> Polyaeus. *Strat.* VI *praef.* 1

<sup>706</sup> Wheeler 2010, 8. Polyaeus dedicated his books to both the co-emperors, but Marcus Aurelius remained in Rome throughout all the expedition.

<sup>707</sup> Schettino 1998, 34 n.6.

was considered serious enough to trigger Imperial intervention only in the following year. Therefore, I do not think that Polyaeus would have been compelled to publish a military guidebook to the emperors “to win against the Persians and the Parthians”. The last two books could instead have been published between 163 and early 166, but the lack of references to contemporary events does not allow a more precise chronology. What it is important to note here is the connection between the publication of the *Strategika* and the military campaign in the East against the Parthians. The Parthians are considered as equal to the Persians by the author. The latter were defeated by the Macedonians led by Alexander the Great. It is in this context then that Polyaeus chose to use the Macedonian label to refer to himself. He wants to remind the Roman Emperors, concerned by an incumbent difficult campaign, of the only people except for the Romans to succeed in defeating the Persians/Parthians. The qualities of the ancient Macedonians would be revealed as essential for Roman power, and consequently for the individual prestige of Polyaeus. The use of the Macedonian label in the *Strategika* is the outcome of specific historical circumstances, that influenced its application and meaning. Polyaeus claimed Macedonian ancestry in a military guidebook precisely when Roman Imperial power was challenged by the other *imperium* in the East, that of the Parthians.

### **5.2.3.3 The structure of the *Strategika***

To understand the importance of the Macedonian label in the *Strategika*, it is necessary to analyse the structure of the work. The eight books contain in total 900 stratagems, chronologically dated from the mythical period of the Greek gods like Dionysus, until the latest one, dated to AD 65. However, the last one is an exception, as almost all the stratagems are anterior to the Augustan period. It seems that only the Greek history of the Classical and Hellenistic periods is matter of interest for Polyaeus. There is apparently no consistency in the organization of the eight books. Krentz and Wheeler note that “the author’s rush to publish marred his original plan and the confused thematic and chronological order of some books reveal his haste”.<sup>708</sup> This is shown by the fact that Polyaeus organized his work chronologically in some parts, but in others ethnographically, even using the two formats randomly in the same book. However, there are

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<sup>708</sup> Krentz-Wheeler 1994, xiv.

several considerations that show Polyaeus had a sort of pre-planned structure to his work.

It is true that the first book follows a clear chronological order, without an ethnographic criterion. Here the stratagems date from the mythical times narrated by Homer to the expedition in Asia Minor whose witness was Xenophon, in the fourth century BC. Athenians, Spartans and Sicilians appear in this book without internal distinctions. The second book initially follows the chronological criterion, with the record of stratagems by fourth century BC Spartan and Theban commanders. The second part records various Dorian stratagems, abandoning the chronological structure for an ethnographic approach. Despite the apparent lack of consistency between the first and second book, there is a common trait: all the stratagems are dedicated to peoples traditionally considered of Greek ancestry.

Books three and four treat Athenians and Macedonians respectively. The decision to write two entire books just about these two peoples puts is evidence for their importance for Greek history according to Polyaeus. The fourth book is at the core of the *Strategika* not by chance. Indeed, it consists of the stratagems played by the Macedonians, the ancestors of the author. Books five and six display the least organization because they are probably the least important for Polyaeus. Book five apparently aimed to treat Sicilian history, but there are also several stratagems by Athenian and Arcadian generals that had nothing to do with this region. The sixth book is largely ethnographical and collects stratagems of people in the abstract, like Corinthians and Carthaginians, without a chronological order.<sup>709</sup> The seventh book is dedicated to the stratagems of the so-called Barbarians, with a prevalence of episodes focused on the Persians. The structure here regains the consistency followed in the books dedicated to the Athenians and the Macedonians. This reveals again the precise scope of Polyaeus in the light of contemporary events. The sixth book is important because it focusses on the barbarians whom the Roman Emperors would fight in the Eastern campaign in AD 161/163.

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<sup>709</sup> Krentz-Wheeler 1994, xiv.



The final book again follows the ethnographic parameter in the first part but contains a “gender” criterion in the second half. If the first part collects the stratagems by the Romans, the second, which was not finished, records the stratagems by women of different ethnicities, or civilizations. It seems that the lack of interest in this part corresponds with a lack of accuracy in the structure. Roman military history was probably known better by the Roman Emperors themselves than by Polyaeus. To conclude, the structure of the *Strategika* reflects the importance for Polyaeus of Macedonian ancestry, which he considered part of the Greek family, in contrast with the Persians/Parthians. The books dedicated to the Macedonians and Athenians are the better framed and are placed next to each other, as if Polyaeus chose to connect them together. The other book that is more carefully structured is the seventh, dedicated to the Persians/Parthians. Polyaeus structured best the books he considered worthy of Roman Imperial attention in the context of the Parthian wars. It was important to show a thorough knowledge of the enemy’s tactics. At the same time, the core of the work exalts the individual prestige of Polyaeus by the military qualities shown by his Macedonian ancestors.

#### **5.2.3.4 The Macedonians in the *Strategika*: a paragon for the Romans?**

In my analysis of the *Strategika*, the main focus will be on the fourth book, expressly dedicated to the military role of the Macedonians in Greek history. However, for Polyaeus the importance of the Macedonian label in relation to the Romans is clear from the preface of the first book. As explained above, Polyaeus legitimizes himself before the emperors with the prestige of the Macedonian past. The use of the past to create a strong sense of identity in relation to the classical culture puts him in common with other Greek speaking authors of the Second Sophistic like Aristides and Plutarch.<sup>710</sup> Moreover, he introduces in the first book a historical parallel that is key to the interpretation of his consideration for the Macedonians. Polyaeus’ view on Macedonians is filtered by the memory of Alexander’s expedition in the East against the Persians. For Polyaeus, the Macedonians are part of the Hellenic family but at the same time they are distinguished from them by their superior military skills.

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<sup>710</sup> See Pretzler 2010, 85-107; Wheeler 2010, 7-54. See also Asirvatham 2010, 111-114.

### 5.2.3.5 The First Book: Macedonian Rome, Dionysus and Alexander

In the preface of the first book Polyaeus immediately introduces a historical parallel. The Macedonians here are associated with the Romans, while the Persians are associated with the Parthians:

Τὴν μὲν κατὰ Περσῶν καὶ Παρθυαίων νίκην, ἱερώτατοι βασιλεῖς Ἄντωνίνε καὶ Οὐήρη, παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἔξετε καὶ παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρετῆς καὶ παρὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀνδρείας [...]: ἔγὼ δὲ Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ, πάτριον ἔχων τὸ κρατεῖν Περσῶν πολεμούντων δύνασθαι, οὐκ ἀσύμβολος ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ γενέσθαι βούλομαι. ἀλλ', εἰ μὲν ἤκμαζέ μοι τὸ σῶμα καὶ στρατιώτης πρόθυμος ἂν ἐγενόμην **Μακεδονικῆ ῥώμῃ** χρώμενος

*You will surely win the victory against the Persians and the Parthians, oh most sacred emperors Antoninus and Verus, due to the gods, your own excellence and the **Romans' courage**. [...] I, a **Macedonian man who has inherited the ability to conquer the Persians in war**, want to do my part at the present critical time. I would be an enthusiastic soldier using **Macedonian strength**.*<sup>711</sup>

Here there is a juxtaposition of past and present. In Polyaeus' perspective Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus are going to war not only with the Parthians, but with the Persians themselves. Buraselis notices that Polyaeus never uses the term "Parthians" alone in the *Strategika*, but he always associates it with the term "Persians".<sup>712</sup> This apparent anachronism supports the importance of the Macedonian claim by Polyaeus. Indeed, if the Parthians are Persians, who but the Macedonians could defeat them and conquer their empire? The Macedonians led by Alexander the Great were the ones that defeated the Persian king Darius and conquered the Achaemenid Empire. The identification between Parthians and Persians is instrumental for a further rhetorical passage on the parallels between Romans and Macedonians. Polyaeus himself uses a linguistic device to suggest that Romans and Macedonians are two faces of the same coin. Indeed, the term Ῥωμαίων ἀνδρείας, Roman courage, is shortly followed by the sentence Ἐγὼ δὲ Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ, "I am a Macedonian man". There is a verbal assonance between ἀνδρείας and ἀνὴρ: both Roman courage and Macedonian

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<sup>711</sup> Polyaeus. *praef.* 1

<sup>712</sup> Buraselis 1993/4,126.

virility can lead to the victory over Persians/Parthians. Although, Polyaeus creates an even stronger allusion on identification between Romans and the Macedonians in the expression Μακεδονικῆ ρώμῃ. Here the Macedonian label is associated with a word that in Greek means both “Rome” and “strength”, so an alternative translation would be “Macedonian Rome”. Polyaeus would be a valorous soldier against the barbarians because he is both Roman and Macedonian. Morton cites this play on words as example of cultural interaction between Greek culture and Roman tradition.<sup>713</sup>

Polyaeus plays with the concept of identity and the issue of being Greek or Roman with an original approach. For him, being Macedonian is different from being Greek. At the same time, these two labels do not define two different ethnicities, but rather two different qualities of one individual like Polyaeus, who considers himself Macedonian, Greek and Roman. The “Greekness” of Polyaeus is shown in his cultural education. Pretzler considers Polyaeus part of the Second Sophistic trend for his use of the Greek classical past. Polyaeus puts Greece, and specifically the cities of Athens and Sparta, at centre stage in many of the stratagems of the first three books of the *Strategika*.<sup>714</sup> Wheeler observes that the Athenian stratagems are the most numerous in the *Strategika* (95), due “to Athenian bias of the Second Sophistic”.<sup>715</sup> On the other hand, the use of the Macedonian label by Polyaeus to define his own ancestry is an original device to assert his own way of being Greek and something distinguished from it at the same time. In Polyaeus’ view the Macedonians are an ideal parallel for the Romans because they managed to conquer the Persian Empire, a synonym of the Parthians, thanks to their military strength and moral discipline. The author can claim to share a Macedonian and Roman pedigree as he is strong and skilled in military tactics. Besides, Macedonians constitute a useful paragon for Roman Imperial power because they achieved their victories thanks to a king, unlike the other Greeks. It is not by chance that Polyaeus hints at Alexander the Great from the first book of the *Strategika*.

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<sup>713</sup> Morton 2010, 109.

<sup>714</sup> Pretzler 2010, 99.

<sup>715</sup> Wheeler 2010, 38.

The parallel between the eastern campaign of Alexander the Great and the Parthian campaign can be perceived from the first book of the *Strategika* through a specific myth. The first three stratagems recorded are about the expedition of the god Dionysus in India and Bactria. Polyaeus introduces the figure of Dionysus as the first “general” of the *Strategika* for two reasons: he was the first Greek god who defeated the barbarians of the far East and he was used as a divine personification of Alexander in the ancient tradition from the early Hellenistic period onwards.<sup>716</sup> This reference is a mythical legitimation of the ancient Macedonian leader in front of the two Roman emperors to whom Polyaeus dedicated his work. The connection between Alexander and Dionysus' campaign in India was probably elaborated by the literary tradition that originated in the Seleucid court at the beginning of the third century BC. Nock and Tondriau argue that the deification of Alexander through association with this god was a way to legitimate the royal claim of the first Seleucids in the East.<sup>717</sup> This hypothesis is confirmed by the famous record of Megasthenes, legate of Seleucus I in the Indian region, who affirms that Dionysus and Alexander were the only ones who managed to conquer India.<sup>718</sup> This Seleucid intellectual explicitly connects the Dionysiac expedition in India with the Alexander campaign, in a work called *Indika*.<sup>719</sup> Seleucus I also issued coins with the portrait of Alexander identified as Dionysus. These issues date from around 300 BC, soon after the (unsuccessful) attempt by the former Diadochus to regain parts of Indian territories lost after the death of Alexander.<sup>720</sup>

The myth of Dionysus conqueror of India had a renewed fortune at the time of Polyaeus. Arrian, Aelius Aristides and Lucian recall it in their own works.<sup>721</sup> The main cause for the renaissance of the Dionysiac myth in the writings of Second Sophistic authors was political. Several Roman campaigns in the East began with Trajan and lasted until the middle of the third century AD, and this triggered renewed interest for in regions in the “Far East” like Persia and India. Arrian in the *Indika* mentions the expedition of Nearchus, one of the generals of Alexander, after the description of Dionysus' campaign in India. Pausanias in his Indian

<sup>716</sup> See Megasthenes, *FGrHist* 715 F 11a; Nock 1928, 21-43; Tondriau 1957, 148-152; Hogemann 1985, 124-126 and 137-138.

<sup>717</sup> Nock 1928, 21-43; Tondriau 1957, 148-152.

<sup>718</sup> Jacoby, *FgrHist* 175 F 110.

<sup>719</sup> Megasthenes, *FGrHist* 715 F 11a.

<sup>720</sup> Matelli 1987, 131-148. For the images of the coins, see Houghton and Lorber 2002, 51-52.

<sup>721</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 6.4.; Ael. Arist. *Or.* 41, 8-9, Luc. *Bacch.* I-3.

excursus cites both Alexander and Dionysus as figures who visited the region.<sup>722</sup> In this cultural and historical context, Polyaeus uses the Dionysiac myth to stress the importance of the Macedonians, led by Alexander, as the first to defeat the Indians, barbarians of the East, after the mythical expedition of Dionysus. Indeed, India appears only in the stratagems of Dionysus and in some stratagems of Alexander in the fourth book of the *Strategika*. Given the fact that Augustus boasts of the arrival of an Indian delegation which pledged allegiance to him in his *Res Gestae*,<sup>723</sup> the conquest of regions further east of the Parthian empire was probably a topic that was politically sensitive for the Roman Imperial power from its very beginning. This may explain why the conquest of India by Alexander is only subtly alluded to by Polyaeus. India is the only region that had never been reached and conquered by the Romans. The comparison with Alexander could diminish Roman Imperial prestige in this context. Alexander has to appear equal to, not superior to, the Caesars.

#### **5.2.3.6 The Fourth Book: Philip II and Alexander, model of Macedonian virtues against the Barbaric *τροφή*.**

The fourth book of the *Strategika* is completely dedicated by Polyaeus to his “Macedonian ancestors”. Here, the Macedonians who were commanded by the Argead and the Hellenistic dynasties, especially the Antigonid one, provide the perfect model of moral discipline, military training and frugality. This puts Polyaeus in sharp contrast with a part of the ancient historiography contemporary of Philip II, Alexander and Demetrius Poliorcetes, the co-founder of the Antigonid dynasty. For example, Theopompus remembers Philip for being a heavy drinker and prone to excess. He was a brilliant ruler but was corrupted by luxury, in Greek *τροφή*.<sup>724</sup> Ehippos of Olynth, considered one of the “historians” of Alexander, mocks this king because of his aspiration to be considered a god by wearing luxurious Persian dresses.<sup>725</sup> On the son of Antigonos, his contemporary Duris criticizes him because of his love for luxury and the extravagant dressing, proper of tyranny rather than monarchy.<sup>726</sup> On the contrary, Polyaeus presents the opposite picture of these Macedonian kings, as

<sup>722</sup> Pausanias, 3.12.4.

<sup>723</sup> Aug. *Res Gestae*, 31. See Bosworth 1999, 1-18.

<sup>724</sup> See Theop. *FrGrHist*. 27=Pol. VIII.11.1; Athen. VI 76°. X. Cf. Cozzoli 1980, n.51, 144.

<sup>725</sup> Ehipp. *FgrHist* 126 F5 = Athen. XII.537. Cf. Touloumakos 2006, 113-114.

<sup>726</sup> Athen. VI 253a-254b; XIII 577 c-f; XII 535e – 536a.

paragons for Roman generals in their discipline and contempt for excess.

The fourth book contains more anecdotes (eight) on discipline than all the other seven books, with one relevant exception. Six of the eight stratagems have Philip II and Alexander as protagonists. The only book with more examples on discipline and military training (18) is the first half of the eighth book, dedicated to the Romans.<sup>727</sup> Again, Polyaeus traces an ideal parallel between the Macedonians, associated especially with the members of the Argead and Antigonid dynasties, and the Romans. Wheeler notes that this thematic choice is “surely significant”.<sup>728</sup> In contrast, the seventh book of the *Strategika*, dedicated to the stratagems of the barbarians (mainly Persians), lacks any anecdote on discipline or frugality. Polyaeus seems to categorize military anecdotes according to an ethnographic criterion.<sup>729</sup> The distinction between the Macedonians/Romans and barbarians is based on their respective military conduct. In the *Strategika*, Polyaeus matches frugality and military discipline with being civilized, while luxury, *τροφή*, is associated almost exclusively with barbaric people like the Persians or the Thracians.<sup>730</sup> Polyaeus accomplishes a historical reevaluation of the figures of Alexander, Philip II and Demetrios Poliorcetes in this regard, as the analysis of the stratagems of the fourth book will show.

Which Macedonian kings did Polyaeus choose? The fourth book contains 122 stratagems by 21 different historical characters. The first are three representatives of the Argead dynasty: Argaeus, the founder of the dynasty, Philip II and Alexander. Then we find stratagems about nine Diadochi, four representatives of the Antigonid dynasty, the first three Seleucid kings, and Attalus I, founder of the homonymous dynasty. In total, most of the historical figures cited in the *Strategika* lived at the end of the fourth century BC or in the first half of the third century BC. Polyaeus seems particularly interested in the Early Hellenistic period, when the hopes about a creation of a universal empire

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<sup>727</sup> Wheeler 2010, 45.

<sup>728</sup> Wheeler 2010, 46.

<sup>729</sup> Wheeler 2010, 54. Wheeler adds that “Polyaeus distinction of barbarians as a distinctive type of enemy marks him as forerunner as not direct ancestor of Byzantine military ethnography”, 54. Cf. Wheeler 1993, 23.

<sup>730</sup> *Contra* Pretzler 2010, 101. She argues that the Barbarians are not presented in a negative way, because they were capable of good generalship and clever stratagems. However, the stratagems in the seventh book, dedicated to the “barbarians”, lack of any victory achieved by valour. See further in the following sections.

led by a Macedonian dynasty were still fresh. There are only four Macedonian kings who were not directly involved in the history of Macedonia proper: the three Seleucid kings following the founder Seleucus, and Attalus.<sup>731</sup> Still, they were kings during the golden age of the respective Hellenistic monarchies.

The ruler protagonist of the first stratagem of the fourth book is Argaeus, founder of the Argead dynasty. This king is relatively obscure. Polyaeus cites only him before Philip II, ignoring important Argead kings like Alexander I Philhellenes or Perdiccas I. In the stratagem, Argaeus with a group of young women scare off the Illyrians by rushing down a mountain wielding *thyrsai*, a ceremonial stick used generally by the Bacchants. For this reason, after the victory he dedicated a temple to Dionysus Pseudanor.<sup>732</sup> The stratagem is almost identical to the first one that has Dionysus as protagonist in the first book of the *Strategika*.<sup>733</sup> As Asirvatham speculates, this motif may be intended to connect the founder of this Macedonian dynasty with Dionysus, further stressing the association between this god and Alexander.<sup>734</sup>

After Argaeus, Polyaeus reports in the fourth book the stratagems by Alexander's father, Philip II. Philip II is characterized by three main aspects:

- 1) A loathing of luxury.
- 2) Military deeds against Thracians and Illyrians, peoples who were considered as barbarians at the time.
- 3) Relations with Greek city states, especially Athens.<sup>735</sup>

About the first aspect, Polyaeus records in a stratagem that

Φίλιππος ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου Δόκιμον Ταραντῖνον λουτρῶ θερμῶ  
χρησάμενον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀφείλετο, φήσας ἄγνοεῖν μοι δοκεῖς τὰ τῶν  
**Μακεδόνων, παρ' οἷς οὐδὲ γυνὴ τεκοῦσα θερμῶ λούεται**

*At his camp Philip stripped Decimus the Tarentine in the army because he used warm bath water, saying "You seem to me ignorant of **the ways of***

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<sup>731</sup> Polyaeus, IV.19. There is no mention about the Ptolemaic kings except for the founder of this dynasty; however Ptolemy I has to be classified as Diadochus, because the only stratagem reported by Polyaeus which refers to the Lago's son is dated to the war against Perdiccas, before his self-proclamation as king, happened in or soon after 305 BC.

<sup>732</sup> Polyaeus, *Strat.* IV.1.1.

<sup>733</sup> Polyaeus, *Strat.* I.1.

<sup>734</sup> Asirvatham 2017, 287.

<sup>735</sup> Schettino 1998, 224-225.

***the Macedonians, among whom not even a woman who has given birth bathes with warm water”***.<sup>736</sup>

Polyaenus considers not only Philip, but also the ancient Macedonian people as good fighters with modest customs.<sup>737</sup> Polyaenus stresses further the stereotype of the ancient Macedonians as good and disciplined warriors describing the military training:

Φίλιππος ἤσκει τοὺς Μακεδόνας πρὸ τῶν κινδύνων, ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὄπλα τριακόσια στάδια πολλάκις ὀδεύειν φέροντας ὁμοῦ κράνη, πέλτας, κνημίδας, σαρίσας καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὀπλων ἐπισιτισμὸν καὶ ὅσα σκεύη καθημερινῆς διαίτης

*Philip used to train the Macedonians before battles, making them take their arms and march for 300 stades carrying their helmets, shields, greaves, sarissas, plus – in addition to their arms – a stock of provisions and all the utensils for daily life.*<sup>738</sup>

Philip makes the Macedonians a “moral army” in Polyaenus’ account. In another stratagem, when two Thebans brought women into the military camps, they were expelled immediately by the Argead king. There is no reference to excessive indulgence in wine or other bad habits of Philip in the *Strategika*. This is noteworthy because one of the main sources for the fourth book of the *Strategika* is Theopompus. The historiographer from Chios recalls Philip as a heavy drinker and prone to luxury, despite his admiration for this Macedonian king.<sup>739</sup> Therefore, Polyaenus makes an intentional thematic choice by omitting the negative anecdotes about Philip II.

On the second characteristic of Philip’s stratagems, the military operations against the Thracians and the Illyrians highlight the role of Philip as supreme warden of the Greek city states in the face of the barbarian threat, according to Schettino.<sup>740</sup> In my opinion, the contrast between Macedonians and barbaric Thracians is also stressed by the fact that Philip is depicted by Polyaenus almost

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<sup>736</sup> Polyaen. IV.2.1.

<sup>737</sup> Schettino 1998, 225.

<sup>738</sup> Polyaen., IV.2.10.

<sup>739</sup> Theop. *FrGrHist.* 27.

<sup>740</sup> See Schettino 1998, 224-226.



as if he were a Greek rhetor. In one stratagem, Polyaeus affirms that

**Φίλιππος οὐκ ἐλάττω δι' ὀμιλίας ἢ διὰ μάχης κατειργάζεται.** καὶ νῆ Δία μεῖζον ἐφρόνει ἐφ' οἷς διὰ τῶν λόγων ἐκτάτο ἢ διὰ τῶν ὄπλων· τῶν μὲν γὰρ κοινωνεῖν αὐτῷ τοὺς στρατιώτας, τῶν δὲ αὐτῷ μόνῳ μετεῖναι.

***Philip achieved no less through conversation than through battle.***  
*And, by Zeus, he prided himself more on what he acquired through words than on what he acquired through arms, for the soldiers shared the credit for the latter, while the formers were due to him alone.*<sup>741</sup>

However, the fact that Philip combines military strength with intellectual skilfulness puts him not only above the barbarians, but also above the Macedonians and the Greek city-states, specifically the Athenians. Polyaeus shows this view clearly in the narrative of the battle of Chaeronea, when the Macedonian king, before this decisive battle, utters: οὐκ ἐπίστανται νικᾶν Ἀθηναῖοι - “The Athenians do not understand how to win”.<sup>742</sup>

From this overview, it appears that Philip and the ancient Macedonians played a positive role in the history of the Greek world. The Macedonians are distinguished from the barbarians, whom they fight constantly. They seem to be part of the same cultural family of the Greeks, according to Polyaeus. However, they are not assimilated with the Greeks as far as the intellectual activities like oratory are concerned. As in the speech on behalf the Macedonian council, Polyaeus presents the Macedonians as simple people. The Macedonian label is synonymous with frugality and military training, an antonym to luxury and weakness, elements associated with barbaric people like the Thracians or the Persians. Despite this, Philip II seems to be distinguished from his own Macedonian people. The art of oratory puts him on a superior level for Polyaeus. The distinction between Macedonians and Philip, depicted as an entity who could rule over both Greeks and Macedonians on account of his military strength and rhetoric skills, is also repeated in the stratagems on Alexander.

If Philip II had the role of warden of the Greeks against the barbaric Thracians and Illyrians, Alexander is seen in the *Strategika* as a civilizing force of the

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<sup>741</sup> Polyaeus., IV.2.9.

<sup>742</sup> Polyaeus., IV.2.2.

barbaric East, represented by the Persians and the Indians. Polyaeus introduces Alexander as the first figure in history who built a universal empire, without any sort of division within mankind:

Ἀλέξανδρος ἐστρατήγει πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐς εὖνοιαν ὑπάγεσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔγνω πάντας ἀντὶ βροτῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ φωτῶν καὶ μερόπων καὶ ἀνθρώπων Ἀλεξάνδρους καλεῖν.

*As a general, Alexander acted to lead all human beings to feel goodwill, and in particular he determined to call all men “Alexanders” instead of “mortals”, “men”, “speakers” and “human beings”.*<sup>743</sup>

However, this does not imply that the distinctions between different cultural identities cease to exist in a sort of “melting pot”. Polyaeus always calls the son of Philip “the Macedonian”. Besides, the stratagems collected always use the distinction between Macedonian soldiers and Greek mercenaries who took part in Alexander’s campaign by using the respective labels.<sup>744</sup> I suggest that it is a sign of Polyaeus’ claim of the peculiarity of the ancient Macedonians, who have to be distinguished from the Greeks, even if they are part of the same family. What associates the Macedonians with the Greeks and distinguishes them from the barbarians like the Thracians and the Persians is their military training, but more importantly their disdain for luxury. Alexander is considered by Polyaeus as a unifying figure, but he did not ignore the distinction between Macedonian (and Greek) morality and the Persian love of luxury. He constitutes in a certain way the archetype of a Roman Emperor, who reunited different local identities under the same political and social order.

In Polyaeus, Alexander, like his father, takes care of his Macedonian soldiers by maintaining discipline and a sense of morality. The longest stratagem of the entire *Strategika* is focused on Alexander’s contempt for Persian luxury. The episode takes place in a “Persian palace” whose exact location is not specified. Alexander reads there the ingredients for the royal meals, reportedly written by Cyrus himself. Polyaeus records the list in its entirety, filled with extravagant dishes, before concluding the stratagem by saying that

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<sup>743</sup> Polyaeus, IV.3.1.

<sup>744</sup> Schettino 1998, 228. Schettino thinks that this distinction has to be attributed to the fact that the Greeks under Alexander’s army were mainly mercenaries and not levies like the Macedonian soldiers. See Polyaeus, IV.3.24.

ταύτην τοῦ δείπνου τὴν παρασκευὴν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Μακεδόνες ἀναγνόντες ἐθαύμασαν ὡς εὐδαίμονα· **Ἀλέξανδρος** δὲ κατεγέλασεν ὡς κακοδαίμονος καὶ μακρὰς ἀσχολίας ἐχούσης, ὥστε καὶ τὸν κίονα, ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα ἐγγράπτο, καθελεῖν προσέταξεν **εἰπὼν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους**· 'οὐδαμῶς συμφέρει τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὕτως ἀσώτως δεῖπνεῖν διδάσκεσθαι· **ἀνάγκη γὰρ τῇ πολλῇ ἀσωτίᾳ καὶ τρυφῇ πολλὴν ἀνανδρίαν ἔπεσθαι· ὁρᾶτε δὲ καὶ τοὺς τηλικούτων δείπνων πιμπλαμένους ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ταχέως ἠττωμένους.**'

*When the other Macedonians read the list of preparations for dinner, they admired how prosperous it was. **Alexander**, however, mocked it as unfortunate and causing a great deal of work, and he even gave orders to take down the pillar on which it was written, **saying to his friends**, "In no way did it benefit the kings to be taught to dine so wastefully, **for great cowardice must follow such wastefulness and luxuriousness, and you see those who eat such large dinners quickly defeated in battles**".<sup>745</sup>*

The contempt for luxury, considered barbarian and a cause of military weakness, distinguishes Alexander from the Persian kings. Alexander and his Macedonians are successful in war because they are virtuous. The moral distinction between Persians and Macedonians is stressed in another stratagem. Alexander before a decisive battle in India sets fire to Persian booty, in order to make the Macedonians eager for new conquests.<sup>746</sup> The dichotomy of frugality/luxury that marks the relationship between Macedonians and Persians is recalled again by Polyaeus in a stratagem about the royal ceremonial. Alexander used to have a "modest and common courtroom" in front of the Greek and the Macedonian soldiers, whilst he preferred to receive the Persians, the Bactrians and the Indians in a "brilliant courtroom" full of gold furniture, in order to astonish them.<sup>747</sup> According to Polyaeus, Alexander used luxury as a stratagem because he knew the different cultural approach to this feature, which distinguished the Macedonians (and the Romans) from the Persians (and the Parthians).

With regard to the history of Macedonia following Alexander's death, Antigonos and the Antigonid dynasty are granted most of the remaining stratagems of the

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<sup>745</sup> Polyaeus., IV.3.32.

<sup>746</sup> Polyaeus., IV.3.10

<sup>747</sup> Polyaeus., IV.3.24.

book. The founder Antigonos Monophthalmos is shown as respected by the Macedonian soldiers due to his generosity and bravery in the battlefield.<sup>748</sup> The Antigonids are seen as a positive factor in the history of the Greek *poieis*. According to Polyaeus, Demetrios Poliorcetes was admitted by the Athenians because he freed them by the tyranny of Cassander.<sup>749</sup> Again, this puts Polyaeus in contrast with the perspective of most of ancient historiography. In the fragments of Duris and in Plutarch's life Demetrios is described as prone to excess and keen on luxury.<sup>750</sup> Instead, Polyaeus hints that the cultural heritage of Athens could be preserved only by the military and political strength of the Antigonid dynasty.<sup>751</sup> It is not by chance that the fourth book ends with the figure of Perseus, the last legitimate king of Macedonia before its annexation by the Roman Empire following the battle of Pydna in 168 BC.

Polyaeus' perspective on the Macedonian way of life is in stark contrast with a substantial part of Roman and Greek historiography. Among them, Ephippos of Olynth and Caristius of Pergamon in the Hellenistic tradition, and Plutarch, Justin-Trogus and Arrian in the Roman Imperial tradition, remember Philip and Alexander as heavy drinkers and lovers of luxurious orgies.<sup>752</sup> The Macedonian soldiers were considered in the same way, if not worse.<sup>753</sup> Instead, Polyaeus presents the figure of Alexander as the ideal model for moral conduct. He and Philip II show Roman virtues in their stratagems such as *frugalitas* and *austeritas*. These portraits cannot be historically reliable, and the author ignores several authors contemporary of the Argeads or Antigonids, who present a different picture. The loathing of luxury and the exaltation of discipline as essential virtues are cultural traits that we find first in the tradition of Republican Rome, not in the Hellenistic courts.<sup>754</sup> Polyaeus seems to apply a process of Romanization to these figures of the Macedonian past. Polyaeus presents to us a "Roman Alexander" as he presents himself like a soldier equipped with "Macedonian

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<sup>748</sup> Polyaeus. IV.6.4-5. Polyaeus reports that he even rescued Antipater from a revolt of veterans after the death of Alexander.

<sup>749</sup> Polyaeus. IV.7.6.

<sup>750</sup> Athen. VI 253a-254b; XIII 577 c-f; XII 535e – 536a; Plut. *Dem.* 19.4 and 52.4.

<sup>751</sup> Schettino 1998, 231.

<sup>752</sup> Caristhos from Pergamon, *FgrHist* IV 357=Athen. X. 434f., Plut. *Alex.* IV.7; 67; *Mor.* 623d-624a; Arr. IV.8.2; Iust. XI.10.1.2 [*luxuriosa convivium e magnificentia epularum*]; XII.3.11. See Touloumakos 2006, especially pp.112-119. Cf. Bernhardt 2003, n.22, 242.

<sup>753</sup> See Asirvatham 2010, 107-109.

<sup>754</sup> About the concept of *virtus* as synonym of discipline and virility, see McDonnell 2006.

strength/Rome” at the beginning of the *Strategika*. This was part of a cultural process happening at the time. Asirvatham notes that Alexander undergoes a process of “Romanization” also in Plutarch and Arrian.<sup>755</sup> However, Alexander serves in the works of Plutarch and Arrian as a link between Rome and Greece, while the moral virtues of the Macedonians as a people are overlooked. Instead, Polyaeus stresses that Alexander’s qualities are proper to the Macedonians themselves. The Argead king serves as a link between Rome and ancient Macedon.

In the *Strategika*, Macedonian soldiers are identified with Roman soldiers because of their military discipline and their clear superiority over the Greeks in the field of warfare. In Polyaeus the Macedonians, like the Romans, are distinguished from the Greeks but at the same time they are the stronghold of the Hellenic civilization against the barbarians from the East, that is, the Persians. Polyaeus claims a Macedonian label for Roman qualities like discipline and frugality in order to catch the attention of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, who were due to leave Rome to fight against the new Persians, the Parthians. The historical context in which Polyaeus lives is essential to an understanding of the use of the Macedonian label in relation to warlike features. This perspective on the Macedonians as a paragon for the Romans and guardians of “Greekness” against barbarism from the East is completely overturned by Aelius Aristides in the same chronological period.

### **5.3 The meaning of being Macedonian in Aelius Aristides**

Aristides was born at Hadriani in Mysia in AD 117, and later moved to the capital of the assize district, Pergamon.<sup>756</sup> According to Philostratus, he went to Athens to study oratory.<sup>757</sup> Aelius Aristides in his *Panathenaic Oration* affirms that any Greek would wish they had been born a citizen of Athens instead of his own city.<sup>758</sup> This statement seems to put all other local Hellenic identities in the shadow of the Attic city. According to this author, Athens constitutes the supreme civilizing force of the world.<sup>759</sup> What was the place of Macedonians in Greek

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<sup>755</sup> Asirvatham 2008, 210.

<sup>756</sup> Papalas 1979, 88.

<sup>757</sup> Phil. VS 2.9.581.

<sup>758</sup> Ael. Aristides, *Panath.* 334.

<sup>759</sup> Asirvatham 2008, 208.

history, and within this work, and how did Aristides consider Alexander?

Asirvatham argues that in “strictly Hellenocentric classicizing terms”, a Second Sophistic writer like Aristides should not have considered a Macedonian king as Greek. In the fifth century BC, Athens interacted with Alexander I, a Macedonian king who was a subject of the Persian Empire. The Greekness of this Macedonian dynast was considered doubtful by the ancient tradition even if he sided with the Attic city during the war with Xerxes.<sup>760</sup> More importantly, the model of rhetoric privileged by Aristides was Demosthenes, who considered the Macedonians led by Philip II simply as barbarians. On the other hand, prominent authors of the Second Sophistic saw Alexander as a “Greek cultural hero”.<sup>761</sup> Plutarch linked Alexander genealogically to Greek demigods like Achilles and Heracles and stressed the Hellenic education provided by Aristotle.<sup>762</sup> Arrian uses Alexander’s connection to Achilles to promote the king as a warrior and himself as an analogue to Homer.<sup>763</sup> Dio Chrysostom in one of his discourses lists Alexander together with great Athenian politicians such as Alcibiades and Pericles.<sup>764</sup> Again, Alexander in Arrian and Plutarch is compared to the Romans, as he was in the work of Polyaeus. Aristides’ view on Alexander and the Macedonians should be considered as opposite to that of Arrian and Polyaeus, as Asirvatham has successfully shown. Philip II in the orations *To the Thebans* and *The Panathenaic Oration* is presented as a barbarian, not as a Hellenic king. In the speech *To Rome* Alexander’s empire is seen as merely as equal to that of the Persian Empire. On the other hand, the relationship between Aristides and the city of Smyrna will reveal a further aspect on the matter, where Alexander and Lysimachus, two Macedonian leaders, are cited by Aristides as founder of the city and guarantors of its “Greekness”.

### **5.3.1 The vision on the Macedonians in the orations *To the Thebans*, *the Panathenaic Oration* and *To Rome*.**

In Aristides’ works the Macedonians are seen as natural successors of the

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<sup>760</sup> On the Hellenicity of the Ancient Macedonians as part of Greek identity, see especially Badian 1982 and Hall 2001.

<sup>761</sup> For the expression see Asirvatham 2010,112.

<sup>762</sup> Achilles: Plut. *Alexander* 5.8; Heracles: Plut., *Alexander* 2.1; Aristotle: Plut., *Alexander* 7-8, 17.9.

<sup>763</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 1.12.1-2. Cf. Asirvatham 2010,112.

<sup>764</sup> Dio, *Discourse* 25.

Persians, and not as the liberators of the Greeks from the Achaemenid rule. This is evident from two fictitious display-pieces both entitled “*To the Thebans*”, composed by Aristides in at an uncertain date.<sup>765</sup> They are fictitious display speeches freely inspired by the oration of the same name held by Demosthenes in 338 BCE before the battle of Chaeronea. Here Philip is presented as a barbarian, a true enemy of Greek freedom.<sup>766</sup> In this display, Philip II is called by Demosthenes-Aristides τύραννον καὶ ἀλάστορα τῆς Ἑλλάδος - “a tyrant and a plague upon Greece”.<sup>767</sup> Philip is presented as a barbarian who is naturally divided from the Thebans, “pure Greeks”.<sup>768</sup> Indeed, the Thebans are called “kinsmen”, ὁμόφυλοι, of the Greeks, especially the Athenians. This Greek term was used by Demosthenes in *de Corona* oration to affirm that Philip II was *not* a kinsman of the Athenians.<sup>769</sup> Aristides demonstrates a precise erudition of the phraseology used by this classical orator.

Asirvatham notes that Aristides’ Philip could be king of the Macedonians, but not of the Greeks, ἡ μόνη τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον οὐδένα πώποτ’ ἔσχεν ἐαυτῆς κύριον - “the only people on earth who had never been anyone’s ward”.<sup>770</sup> The conquests in Greece by Philip are the outcome of deceit and treachery, not valour. The treacherous nature of Philip II is connected explicitly with the habits of his own people, the Macedonians.<sup>771</sup> In this case, it has been suggested that Aristides’ depictions of the historical rivalry between Athens and Philip II may reflect the present-day rivalry between the Romans and the Parthians.<sup>772</sup> We saw previously in the chapter how the Persians are identified in Polyaeus’ *Strategika* with the Parthians. Spawforth shows in an iconographic study how the images of the Parthians are an archaising imitation of the images of ancient Persians in the Roman Imperial tradition.<sup>773</sup> From this evidence, Asirvatham argues that in the Theban orations Aristides builds a dichotomy where on one side are Classical Athens and Rome, paragons of the civilized world, while on the other there are

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<sup>765</sup> Asirvatham 2008, 211.

<sup>766</sup> Asirvatham 2008, 211-213.

<sup>767</sup> Ael. Arist. *To the Thebans* I, 44. Translated by Asirvatham 2008, 212.

<sup>768</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>769</sup> See Asirvatham 2008, 213.

<sup>770</sup> Ael. Arist. *To the Thebans* II, 5. Translated by Asirvatham 2008, 214.

<sup>771</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>772</sup> See Behr 1981, 487.

<sup>773</sup> Spawforth 1994, 233-247.

Persians and Macedonians, both considered barbaric and tyrannical people.<sup>774</sup> This parallel is developed further in *The Panathenaic Oration* and *To Rome*.

*The Panathenaic oration* and *To Rome* are contemporary panegyrics, delivered to Athenians and Romans respectively. The Panathenaic Oration is inspired by the Panegyric of Isocrates. Athens is the idealized Panhellenic identity upon which all the Greeks depend in the conflict with the Macedonian Philip.<sup>775</sup> Aristides claims that Athens was the only Greek city that was not corrupted by Philip. For this reason, she is superior to all the other Greek cities, including Sparta. Aristides remembers in this oration another member of the Argead dynasty, Alexander I. He is cited for his cooperation with Mardonios, the Persian satrap at the time of the war between Xerxes and the Greek cities. Alexander is mentioned for his philhellenism but at the same time for his collusion with the Persians. The Macedonians as people are considered inferior by Aristides, because they lack rhetorical skills in comparison with the Athenians. Here the Pergamene rhetor modifies history, or rather he ignores an important source on the figure of Alexander I. Herodotus reports that this king was descended from the Greek city of Argos and that he was renowned as a skilful speaker.<sup>776</sup>

In the oration that Aristides composed in AD 144, entitled significantly *To Rome*, the eponymous city appears as the perfect state which has created a world-harmony comparable with the creation of the cosmos. This oration also glorifies the military achievements of the Roman Empire. On the contrary, the Macedonians are ranked among the barbaric empires that preceded Rome unsuccessfully. The figure of Alexander is not associated with the Macedonians. Indeed, he is praised briefly by Aristides not for his military victories and the defeat of the Persian Empire, but for having founded the city of Alexandria in Egypt, that was considered the “second Athens” of the Hellenistic world. The Macedonians are not included in the history of the world considered free by Aristides. Addressing to the Romans, Aristides claims that

οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι οἱ πρὸ ὑμῶν δυναστεύσαντες δεσπότες καὶ δοῦλοι  
ἀλλήλων ἐν τῷ μέρει γιγνόμενοι καὶ νόθοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄντες οὕτω διεξῆλθον,

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<sup>774</sup> Asirvatham 2008, 216.

<sup>775</sup> Asirvatham 2008, 216-220.

<sup>776</sup> Herod. 8.136-144.



ὥσπερ ἐν σφαίρᾳ τὴν τάξιν μεταλαμβάνοντες, καὶ **ἐδούλευσαν Μακεδόνες Πέρσαις, Πέρσαι Μήδοις, Μῆδοι Σύροις;**

*The others who ruled before you were despots and slaves of one another, each in turn, and thus each came to power as bastards of empire, changing positions as if in a ball game: **Macedonians were slave to Persians, Persians to Medes, Medes to Assyrians.***<sup>777</sup>

We can see that Aristides, like Polyaeus, uses a historical conceptualization known by the name of *translatio imperii*, or “change of empire”. Polyaeus in the *Strategika* starts with three books containing the military deeds of the Athenian and Spartan generals of the fifth and fourth centuries, then he dedicated the fourth to the most powerful rulers connected to the Macedonian polity, and finally he cites the Roman generals in the eighth book, concluding his work. However, in Aristides' *translatio imperii*, the Macedonians look like the barbaric Persians. The Macedonians appear as slaves of the Persians. Besides, they built, like the other barbarians, only a “bastard empire”. Aristides refuses totally the comparison between Macedonian rule and the Roman Empire. The Macedonian kings like the Antigonids, who were Alexander's successors to the Macedonian throne, are not even mentioned. He states in *To Rome* only that Alexander's successors (referred to as the 'Macedonians') were incapable of holding onto their kingdoms when the Alexandrian empire broke up:

ὥσπερ φρουροὶ μᾶλλον τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν χωρίων ὄντες ἢ ἄρχοντες, σατράπαι ἔρημοι βασιλέως, ληστεία μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλεία προσεοικέναι.

*They garrisoned their cities and district rather than governing them, they appointed themselves as satrap without a Great King and they were more like robber-chieftains than kings.*<sup>778</sup>

According to Aristides, the Macedonian kings who followed Alexander could only appear as equivalents of the Persian despots in their oppression of Greek cities. They are treated like barbarians, not as *Hellenes*.<sup>779</sup> Aristides dissociates Alexander from the Macedonians. He never used the Macedonian label to define this king, as if he were not the son of Philip II. We should conclude that historical

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<sup>777</sup> Aristides, *To Rome* 91, translated by Asirvatham 2008, 221-222.

<sup>778</sup> Aristides, *To Rome* 27, translated by Asirvatham 2008, no 33 222.

<sup>779</sup> Asirvatham 2008, 221-222.

figures associated with the Macedonian label cannot play a positive role in Greek history, because they are not considered Greek by Aristides. The memory of two Macedonian figures like Alexander and Lysimachus, one of the Diadochi, are shaped in a positive manner by Aristides on a specific occasion because their Macedonian ancestry is omitted. These two figures become “Greek”, when Aristides has to legitimise the Greekness of the city of Smyrna in a letter addressed to the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius.

### **5.3.2 The importance of “Greek” Alexander and Lysimachus for Aristides in the Smyrnean perspective.**

Aristides wrote a letter to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus after Smyrna was struck by a devastating earthquake, probably in AD 178.<sup>780</sup> The rhetor wanted to attract the attention of the Roman Emperor in order to gain benefactions for urban reconstruction. Although Aristides was from Pergamon, Smyrna became his adoptive homeland due to the fact that he ran a school of rhetoric there.<sup>781</sup> At Smyrna there was also a meeting between Marcus and Aristides two years earlier, after the end of Avidius Cassius’ revolt.<sup>782</sup> As Franco notes, Aristides in this letter shapes the local identity of Smyrna considering the external power he is addressing.<sup>783</sup> He “performs” the history of the city, which is adapted to the circumstances. In *To Rome* and *The Panathenaic Oration* Aristides stresses the conceptual opposition between Macedonians and Romans/Athenians. The Macedonian label was associated with barbarism and lack of cultural education. Alexander, if not a negative figure, is remembered only to have founded the city that contained the most important library for the Greek culture. On the contrary, Aristides in the letter on behalf of Smyrna changes this historical perspective. Alexander is not associated with the Macedonians and all their negative characteristics listed in the other orations. This is because the civic identity of Smyrna differs from the civic identity of Rome and Athens. Therefore, the memory of Smyrna about its own past changes the historical narrative of Aristides. In order to legitimise the specific civic identity, Aristides exalts as Greek the figures of Alexander and Lysimachus, considered from a local perspective as the founders of Smyrna.

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<sup>780</sup> Franco 2004, 382.

<sup>781</sup> Franco 2004, 382.

<sup>782</sup> About Avidius Cassius’ rebellion, see Astarita 1983.

<sup>783</sup> Franco 2004, 428.

In the letter addressed to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, Aristides aims to exalt the nobility of Smyrna. As we saw in a passage from Tacitus analysed in the previous chapter, there were two criteria taken into consideration by the Roman power to judge a Greek city in the province of Asia to grant the Imperial cult: the antiquity of ancestry and the zeal for the Romans. This seems to remain valid at the time of Aristides. In the letter to Marcus Aurelius, Aristides chooses to focus on the moment of foundation of Smyrna and on several historical events when the Smyrneans helped the Romans against their enemies.

Aristides cites three different founders of Smyrna: Lysimachus, Alexander and Theseus. However, Pliny claims that Smyrna was not founded by Alexander, but was simply granted the status of city (*restituta*).<sup>784</sup> The legend of the foundation of Smyrna by Alexander is reported in Pausanias, contemporary of Aristides. The Argead king decided to establish a new city after having a dream. In the dream, some nymphs suggest that he create a new settlement next to a Sanctuary dedicated to them by the Smyrneans. After that, the Smyrneans sent a sacred ambassador to Claros to ask the oracle what to do. The oracle confirmed the veracity of the dream, so Alexander moved the Smyrneans to a new foundation.<sup>785</sup> The story of Alexandrian foundation reported by Pausanias was part of Smyranean tradition in the Roman Imperial period. A local festival, called *Alexandreia*, was celebrated regularly at the time of Aristides and there are Roman Imperial coins from Smyrna dated to the second century AD that have the representation of the dream of Alexander.<sup>786</sup> As for Blaundos, the legend of a foundation by Alexander was apparently widespread in Smyrna only during the Roman Imperial period. Franco notes that Strabo, who wrote at the time of Augustus, ignores any kind of intervention of Alexander at Smyrna.<sup>787</sup> Besides, the inscription that records the text of the “Alexandrian” oracle dates from the middle of the second century AD.<sup>788</sup>

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<sup>784</sup> Pliny, *NH* 5.118.

<sup>785</sup> Paus., 7.5.1-2.

<sup>786</sup> Franco 2004, 441. For the inscriptions recording the festival, see Habicht 2000, 126; About the coins, see Leschorn 1994, 217 ff.

<sup>787</sup> Franco 2004, 443.

<sup>788</sup> *IvSmyrna* 647.

Aristides was probably aware of this local tradition and he adapted his perspective on Alexander to the circumstances. The Argead king is no longer the builder of an evanescent empire held by barbaric people like the Macedonians, as was shown in the orations addressed to the cities of Rome and Athens. Instead, he is the noble father of Smyrna, who remains legitimately next to Theseus, founder of Athens. Aristides does not define Alexander with any kind of Macedonian label. He is listed together with Theseus, as if there were no ethnic or cultural distinction between the two figures. The characters of both Alexander and Theseus serve to assert the Greekness of Smyrna. Alexander is a Greek local hero, not a Macedonian dynast. The same works for Lysimachus, listed as the third founder of Smyrna.

The tradition of a foundation by Lysimachus is reported in Strabo, who also cites Antigonos.<sup>789</sup> Aristides decides to cite in the letter the former and not the latter because Lysimachus was more beneficial from the perspective of Smyrna. Indeed, this king granted Smyrna access to the Ionic *koinon* in 289/8 BC.<sup>790</sup> Franco argues that the mention of Lysimachus by Aristides reflects the patriotic interest for a local tradition on a secondary figure in Hellenistic history.<sup>791</sup> Antigonos is not mentioned because he does not belong to the local memory, despite of his longer and more significant rule in Asia respect to Lysimachus. The Macedonian ancestry of Lysimachus is omitted by Aristides, who lists him next to Theseus and Alexander. Therefore, the real difference between the speeches analysed and the letter on behalf of Smyrna is the greater relevance given to Alexander by Aristides. This is possible because the Macedonian ancestry of Alexander is overlooked. In a local perspective, the son of Philip II is considered Greek. The Macedonian label is associated with barbarism by Aristides and it could not be used to legitimise Greek cities in relation to Roman Imperial power.

#### **5.4 Differences and similarities between Polyaeus and Aelius Aristides.**

There are several differences and common points between Polyaeus and Aelius Aristides. Polyaeus, like Aristides, seems to think that Athens and Sparta are the only protagonists in the Greek history of the fifth and the fourth centuries BC.

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<sup>789</sup> Strab. 14.1.37.

<sup>790</sup> *Syll<sup>3</sup>* 368. Franco 2004, 446.

<sup>791</sup> Franco 2004, 447.

For example, Thebes is given little space in the *Strategika* except for the figure of Epaminondas. This is typical of the Second Sophistic obsession with Classical Athens and Sparta, seen as the forge of Hellenic identity. The Greek past is the key to understanding and living in the present. Schettino has noted that Polyaeus had a particular interest for some aspects of the old fashioned Greek military traditions, not proper of the Roman ones, like the recovery of dead soldiers from the battlefield, or the musical march played by the armies before the fight.<sup>792</sup> Therefore, both Polyaeus and Aristides share the view on Greek cultural superiority in respect of other peoples. They are the representatives of this Greekness. They both identify the Parthians fought against by the Antonine emperors with the ancient Persians. In the preface of the seventh book of the *Strategika*, dedicated to the stratagems of the Persians, Polyaeus literally identifies himself with the Romans who are fighting in the Parthian campaign at the time.<sup>793</sup> Aristides in one of his orations calls the king of the Parthians Μηδοϛ, an adjective used for the ancient Persian kings.<sup>794</sup> It appears also that Aristides and Polyaeus considered the confrontation with the Parthians an important means to create a feeling of unity in the Greek world under Roman Imperial rule.<sup>795</sup>

However, while Aristides thought that the Golden Age of the Greek *poleis* ended with Athens' defeat in 338 BC at Chaeronea, Polyaeus sees the fall of the Macedonian kingdom in 168 BC at Pydna as the turning point for Greek history. Most of the stratagems in the *Strategika* are dated before this event. This shows how Polyaeus considers the history of the Macedonian kingdom played a positive role in the history of the Hellenic world, although the Macedonians seem to be distinguished from the other Greeks as people in Alexander's campaigns. The Macedonians appear as the true direct predecessors of the Romans in the dominance of the world that was considered non barbarian. If the Romans inherited from Athens the extraordinary Greek culture, they acquired through the Macedonians the political and military power necessary to overcome barbarians like the Persians/Parthians. Unlike Aristides, Polyaeus writes a history in which the Macedonian kings preserved Greek freedom and allowed Hellenic culture to

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<sup>792</sup> Schettino 1998, 286-288.

<sup>793</sup> Polyaeus. *Strat.* VI preaf.1.

<sup>794</sup> Ael. Arist. *Or.* 46.36-7.

<sup>795</sup> Buraselis 1993/4, 129.

spread in the East. This was possible because of Alexander and his successors such as Antigonos and his son Demetrios Poliorcetes. Polyaeus also overturns the negative stereotypes of Macedonian soldiery. In the Hellenistic tradition they were considered as heavy drinkers and drinkers of unmixed wine, like their neighbours, the Thracians, people labelled as barbaric. Plutarch and Dio Chrysostom distinguish Alexander, a Greek-Roman hybrid, from the Macedonians who ruled.<sup>796</sup> Polyaeus instead associates the idea of being a Macedonian soldier with moral virtues and moderation. The ancient Macedonians are the archetype of the Roman legionaries, who fought barbarians like the Thracians and the Persians.

Aristides follows a narrative different from that of Polyaeus in three speeches. Philip II is a tyrant in *To the Thebans*. In the oration *To Rome*, Aristides portrays the Macedonians as barbarians like the Persians. They are not the ideal connection between Rome and the Greeks, but rather a dystopian model that must not be followed by the new rulers. Classical Athens is the real paragon for the Romans because it provides a cultural framework and the art of oratory.<sup>797</sup> The superiority of Rome is not granted by military strength, but by the *paideia*, whose primordial source was Athens, as illustrated in *The Panathenaic Oration*. So, the confrontation with the Parthians is played on the ground of cultural education, not military confrontation. The Macedonian label cannot be used in a positive way, as it is not sign of true Greekness. Only people educated in the classical Athenian way can be considered Greek. The Romans are on the good side of history with the Athenians, while the Macedonians are on the bad, together with the Persians and the Parthians.

Finally, there are two different perceptions on the meaning of being Macedonian at the time of the Roman Empire. Both are cultural constructions that tried to link the Greek communities with Roman Imperial power. The Macedonian label is perhaps not a “masquerade”, but it cannot be treated as a label defining an ethnicity in either Polyaeus or Aristides. The Macedonian label seems to be associated with different moral qualities. Indeed, the memory of Macedonians could be shaped in different forms and with different rhetorical results. They

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<sup>796</sup> See Asirvatham 2010, especially 110-113.

<sup>797</sup> See Asirvatham 2008, 225.

appear as barbaric people in the oration *To the Thebans* for example. Their leader Alexander is the founder of Smyrna in Aristides' letter to Marcus Aurelius, but the Pergamene orator dismisses his Macedonian ancestry because he wants Smyrna to be considered part of the Greek family. On the other hand, Polyaeus could claim naturally to be Macedonian and exalt Greek generals at the same time. In his perspective being Macedonian does not exclude his Greek cultural identity. His Macedonian military strength is complementary to his Greek education and his Roman citizenship. The Macedonian label is not associated with an antagonizing ethnic pride but with a distinctive moral quality useful for being noticed by the Roman Emperors.

“Sophistic declamations did not merely manipulate a somehow pre-existing tradition. They rather created a heritage and thus fabricated a past that tied the speaker and the audience to a community”.<sup>798</sup> Polyaeus and Aristides can both be considered sophists in this regard. They adapt their own vision of Macedonians to the audience they are addressing, in order to strengthen the sense of identity of an individual or a community. Polyaeus makes his Macedonian origins fascinating by building an idyllic image of the armies led by Philip II and Alexander. The identification between the moral qualities of ancient Macedonian soldiers and Romans helps Polyaeus to create a sense of community between him and the Roman Emperors. Aristides instead fabricates a negative image of the Macedonians in order to create a link between Rome and Greece against barbarism. This is evident in the *Panathenaic Oration* and *To Rome*, when his audience is in Athens and Rome respectively. However, to create a sense of community between Smyrna and the Roman Emperor, the Pergamene rhetor praises Alexander, hero of that local tradition. In order to do this, he omits his Macedonian ancestry and depicts him next to Theseus, an Athenian hero. It seems that there is a common point between Polyaeus and Aristides and the communities in Asia that used the Macedonian label on their inscriptions and their coins. In both cases, the fabrication, the omittance or manipulation of the Macedonian label is triggered by the need of personal or collective legitimation in relation with the Roman Imperial authority. For this reason, the final part of the chapter analyses whether and why Roman Imperial

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<sup>798</sup> Schmitz 1999, 91.

ideology could be interested in Alexander the Great and the ancient Macedonians.

### **5.5 Roman Imperial ideology and the contested memory of Alexander and the Macedonians.**

We begin with the question of why the Macedonian label could be politically useful for Roman Imperial ideology in the first three centuries AD. A possible answer is found in the geopolitical context in which Rome was operating at the time. The Roman Empire had no static borders along the provinces of Syria and Asia Minor between the first century BC and the third century AD. They had blurred frontiers with nearby ancient Mesopotamia, the modern Iraq. From there, the Parthians under the Arsacid dynasty challenged the hegemony of Rome in the East, both militarily and politically. "The Parthian problem" emerges already in the first century BC, before the reign of Augustus. Crassus was defeated and killed together with his legions by one of the generals of the Arsacid king Vologaeses, Surena, during the battle of Carrae in 53 BC.<sup>799</sup> According to Plutarch, Caesar was preparing a military campaign against the Parthians to avenge Crassus before being assassinated.<sup>800</sup> Mark Antony failed in retrieving the standards lost by Crassus and other two legions were annihilated in the military confrontation with Parthia.<sup>801</sup> Augustus was the first to claim a symbolic victory over this enemy, with an official peace treaty in 21 BC. This guaranteed the return of the standards lost in the previous campaigns and the delivery of Parthian princes as hostages to Rome.<sup>802</sup> However, as Spawforth observes, a diplomatic success was not enough to legitimise the new ruler of Roman world in the eyes of his subjects.<sup>803</sup> The Roman Imperial ideology aimed to associate Augustus with the ancient Greek cities that had been victorious against the Persian Empire, considered by many as the ancestor of the Parthians. Here the figure of Alexander the Great and the memory of the Persian wars fought in the fifth century BC played an essential part.

The tradition of the Persian wars and the military victory obtained by the Greeks

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<sup>799</sup> Plut. *Crassus*, 30.

<sup>800</sup> Plut. *Caesar*, 58.3.

<sup>801</sup> Plut. *Antony*, 50.

<sup>802</sup> Aug. *Res Gestae* 29;32.

<sup>803</sup> Spawforth 1994, 240-241.



led by Athens and Sparta in the fifth century BC may constitute a sensitive political issue for Augustus in relation to the Greek speaking elites. The same could be said for the memory of the ancient Macedonians lead successfully by Alexander against the Persian Empire. Rome could not claim the same military successes against the Parthians, considered in the tradition as the successors of the Persians. Livy, a contemporary of Augustus, writes that at his times there were

levissimi ex Graecis, qui Parthorum quoque contra nomen Romanum gloriae favent, dictitare solent, ne maiestatem nominis Alexandri, quem ne fama quidem illis notum arbitror fuisse, sustinere non potuerit populus Romanus

*The silliest of the Greeks, who exalt the reputation even of the Parthians against the Romans, are fond of alleging that the Roman People would have been unable to withstand the majesty of Alexander's name, though I think that they had not so much as heard of him.*<sup>804</sup>

It is not known to whom Livy is addressing this harsh critique, but it seems that members of Greek intelligentsia at Rome, perhaps even representatives from provincial communities in Asia Minor and Syria, saw Alexander the Great as superior to the Romans. "The silliest of the Greeks" even considered the Parthians superior to the Romans. This perception of Alexander's figure could potentially be used to delegitimise the Roman Imperial regime in favour of his adversaries in relation with the Greek communities in the East. According to Tacitus, the Parthian king Artabanus III sent a diplomatic mission to the imperial court in Rome in AD 35, when Tiberius was in charge. There,

veteres Persarum ac Macedonum terminos, seque invasurum possessa primum Cyro et post Alexandro per vaniloquentiam ac minas iaciebat.

*He referred in boastful and menacing terms to the old boundaries of the Persian and Macedonian empires, and to his intention of seizing the territories held first by Cyrus and afterwards by Alexander.*<sup>805</sup>

On an "international stage", the Parthian king claimed to be successor of both the Achaemenids and Alexander and professes the ambition to recover the territories of the "Persian and Macedonian empires". From the Parthian perspective, there

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<sup>804</sup> Liv. *History of Rome*, Book IX.6.

<sup>805</sup> Tac. *Ann.* VI.31.

is no opposition between ancient Macedonians and Persians but rather a natural succession. Moreover, Alexander is associated with Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire. Spawforth comments that this kind of claim were probably a part of Parthian Royal ideology already in the first century BC, if not earlier.<sup>806</sup>

The memory of Alexander and the Macedonians is integrated in Parthian Imperial narrative. Alexander and the Macedonians are depicted as the successors and not the enemies of the Persians. This is motivated also by the fact the several Graeco-Macedonian cities were under Parthian royal administration, like Seleucia on the Tigris.<sup>807</sup> From the point of view of the Parthians, it seems that there was not a dichotomy between Macedonians and Persians, which is frequently claimed by Greek and Roman authors. The use of the Macedonian label could be a double-edged sword for Roman Imperial ideology, as the Parthians could exploit the memory of Alexander to their advantage.

In this political context, Augustus or part of his entourage could perceive the potential threat coming from the memory of Alexander. The soft power of Rome that lead to the diplomatic success in 21 BC might be considered not enough to appeal to the Greek speaking communities of the provinces in the East. This is suggested by a Roman narrative that displayed the treaty signed with the Parthians as a military success, comparable and identified with the ones achieved by the ancient Athenians or the Macedonians in the past. One example of this is the famous statue of Augustus at Prima Porta. Here, Augustus is portrayed as a military general. Most of modern scholarship has identified the central scene depicted on his cuirass with the act of handing over the legionary standards lost to the Parthians.<sup>808</sup> The importance of this gesture is stressed also in a passage of the *Res Gestae*, where Augustus claims that

Parthos trium exercitum Romanorum et signa reddere mihi supplicesque amicitiam populi Romani petere coegi.

*I compelled the Parthians to restore to me the spoils and standards of*

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<sup>806</sup> Spawforth 1994, 241.

<sup>807</sup> See for example Gregoratti 2012, 129-136.

<sup>808</sup> Among the others, Zanker 1988,189; Galinsky 1996,157; Rich 1998, 71-129. The only alternative interpretation is provided by Chr. Simpson, who believes that the statue should not be associated exclusively with the diplomatic event involving the Parthians, but it is rather a commemoration "of all the victories claimed by Augustus in *Res Gestae* XXIX.", Simpson 2005, 89.

*three Roman armies and to ask as suppliants for the friendship of the Roman People.*<sup>809</sup>

The Parthians according to the text of the *Res Gestae* “are compelled (*coegi*)” to give back the Roman standards lost by Crassus and Mark Antony’s generals. The reality of diplomatic manoeuvres with the Parthians is presented as a fictitious military victory. This narrative may be instrumental to make Augustus’ achievements “withstand the majesty of Alexander’s name” also at the eyes of the Greeks criticized by Livy.

If the Parthians claimed to be the “new Persians”, the figure of Alexander was associated with Augustus on different occasions. At the same time, he organized imperial spectacles where the Athenian victories over the Persians in fifth century BC were associated with the Roman struggle against the Parthians. This is evident from diverse material and literary sources.

The first one is the association between Roman campaigns in the east and the ancient Persian wars displayed in a spectacle, remembered in Cassius Dio and the text of the *Res Gestae*.<sup>810</sup> In 2 BC Augustus staged a mock sea battle in an arena nearby the Tiber. It was a re-enactment of the battle of Salamis. Cassius Dio reports that the opposite sides were called respectively “Athenians” and “Persians”.<sup>811</sup> Spawforth notes that this spectacle was linked with the incumbent campaign by Gaius Caesar against the Parthian king Phraates V.<sup>812</sup> Evidence of the association of Augustus with Alexander’s victories over the Persians is one of the most important urban adjustments made by the first emperor in Rome: the porticus of Octavia, realized between 33 and 23 BC.<sup>813</sup> It was a rebuilding of the *Porticus Metelli*, originally built in honour of Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus and his triumph over Andriscos in 148 BC in the fourth Macedonian war.<sup>814</sup> Metellus had set up a bronze equestrian group depicting Alexander’s victory on Darius III at Granicus. Galinsky and Zanker observe that Augustus intentionally rebuilt the

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<sup>809</sup> Aug. *Res Gestae* 29.2.

<sup>810</sup> *Res Gestae* 22.

<sup>811</sup> Cass. Dio. LV.10.7.

<sup>812</sup> See Ovid. *Ars Amat.* 1.171-2. Spawforth 1994, 238.

<sup>813</sup> Gorrie 2007, 1.

<sup>814</sup> Senseney 2011, 425.

mid-Republican complex to associate Alexander's victories on the Persians with his own. He adorned many of his other monuments, such as his Forum, with images and references to Alexander.<sup>815</sup>

It seems that the Roman Imperial ideology used both the memory of Athenian victories and Alexander to legitimize the figure of Augustus. The first Roman emperor wanted to be perceived as the successors of both Greeks and Macedonians in the fight against the Persians, who were embodied in the Parthians. Augustus and his entourage used the memory of Athenian and Macedonian victories over the Persians without apparent distinction. The Macedonian label could be used by the Roman Imperial ideology at the same time when Augustus put on stage the Athenian victory of Salamis. The ancient Macedonians were not considered a counter to the Greeks and the Romans as in the Republican period. They were all part of the same imperial construct as a contrast to the image of the Persians/Parthians.

The use of the memory of the victories of the Athenians and Alexander over the Persians by Roman emperors remains an important theme until the third century AD. Spawforth puts in chronological order the evidence of the official representation of "Rome's Parthian adversaries as the reincarnation of the Persians".<sup>816</sup> I would add that the Romans embodied in this confrontation both the ancient Macedonians and Athenians. According to Suetonius and Cassius Dio, Caligula tried to impress some Parthian princes who were his hostages with the reproduction of the bridge of boats built by Xerxes during the second Persian war. He allegedly paraded Alexander's breastplate while he was crossing the bridge in AD 39. In this occasion, Caligula presented the son of the Parthian king Artabanus II as his captive.<sup>817</sup>

The association of the Persian wars with Parthian campaigns was made again in 57/58 AD, when Nero staged a naval battle in Rome. Like Augustus, he displayed the Athenian fleet against the Persian one.<sup>818</sup> Spawforth associates this spectacle

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<sup>815</sup> Galinsky 1996, 333; Zanker 1988, 145.

<sup>816</sup> Spawforth 1994, 237.

<sup>817</sup> Suet. *Gaius* 19. Cassius Dio LIX.17.

<sup>818</sup> Cassius Dio LXI.9.6; Suet. *Nero* 12.

with the launching of Nero's expedition in Armenia in the winter of 57/8.<sup>819</sup> Nero created also "the phalanx of Alexander" during his trip towards Greece.<sup>820</sup>

After the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, the Flavian period (69-79 AD) seems not to have literary evidence of a particular imperial interest in Alexander the Great and the Macedonians. This could be motivated by the fact that the Parthian kingdom was on the defensive by this time, while the biggest problem in the East for Rome was constituted by the political turmoil in Judaea and its consequences.<sup>821</sup> The renewed fascination for Alexander by Roman emperors seems to coincide with Trajan's expedition in Mesopotamia, an event that triggered again the parallels Romans/Macedonians and Parthians/Persians.

According to the *Historia Augusta*, many contemporaries said that Trajan did not want to appoint a successor *ut exemplo Alexandri Macedoni* – "following the example of Alexander the Macedonian".<sup>822</sup> However controversial the source is, the passage suggests that Trajan and his entourage drew on the memory of Alexander during his attempt to take control of Mesopotamia and gaining a decisive victory over the Parthians. Buraselis notes that the *Parthika* and *Alexander's Anabasis* were written not coincidentally by Arrian in the Antonine period, probably under Antoninus Pius.<sup>823</sup> This ancient author implicitly associates the deeds of Alexander against the Persians with the military expeditions of Trajan against the Parthians.<sup>824</sup> Use of the Macedonian label was once more instrumental for Roman Imperial ideology.

It seems clear that at the time of the Antonine dynasty there was no longer a cultural contrast between the use of the Macedonian label and other labels that were considered part of the Classical Greek family, like the Athenian or the Spartan. The Macedonians were integrated in the Roman imperial system together with the Greeks. This is shown by the fact that the province of Macedonia was included for the first time among the members of the Delphic Amphictyony in

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<sup>819</sup> Spawforth 1994, 238.

<sup>820</sup> Suet. *Nero* 29.3.

<sup>821</sup> Spawforth 1994, 242.

<sup>822</sup> *H.A., Hadr.* 4,8-10. *Et multi quidem dicunt Traianum in animo id habuisse, ut exemplo Alexandri Macedoni sine certo successore moriretur.*

<sup>823</sup> Buraselis 1993/4, 29.

<sup>824</sup> Bowie 1970, 193; Wirth 1974, 169-209.

the second century AD.<sup>825</sup> Pausanias informs us that the Macedonians had his representatives in this Panhellenic league together with all the other communities from “Classical Greece”, like the Dorians and the Ionians.<sup>826</sup> The claim of Macedonian ancestry was considered a sign of Greekness at the time. This is attested also by the creation of the Panhellenion, created by Hadrian in 131/2 AD.<sup>827</sup> The Panhellenion comprised cities who could claim Spartan or Athenian ancestry together with cities with a Macedonian past like Thyatira or Ptolemais-Barke.<sup>828</sup>

The expedition of AD 161 by the emperor Lucius Verus against the Parthians shows again the unifying factor constituted by the memory of the Persian wars. At the same time in which Polyaeus claims proudly his Macedonian ancestry, Lucius Verus was accompanied on his Parthian expedition by a contingent of Spartan auxiliaries.<sup>829</sup> This was a symbolic gesture that associated the military campaign against the Parthians with the Persian wars fought by the ancient Spartans.

The use of the Macedonian label and the memory of Greek victories against the Persians was still displayed under Severan emperors, and beyond. A probable explanation is the continuous military confrontation between Roman emperors and Parthians from the end of the second century until the midst of the third century AD. Septimius Severus, the founder of the Severan dynasty, conducted two expeditions against the Parthians (194 -195 AD, 197-199 AD).<sup>830</sup> This emperor together with his heir Caracalla promoted the restoration of the Porticus of Octavia in AD 203.<sup>831</sup> Gorrie argues that this event could be reconnected to the imperial policy of the Severan dynasty.<sup>832</sup> Septimius Severus, by rebuilding the Porticus, associated himself with Augustus’s urban renovation of Rome. As noted earlier, the Porticus hosted a bronze equestrian group depicting Alexander’s

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<sup>825</sup> Romeo 2002, 28.

<sup>826</sup> Pausanias 10.8.4-5,

<sup>827</sup> Romeo 2002, 21.

<sup>828</sup> For Thyatira, see TAM V.2.1180; for Ptolemais Barke, founded by the Ptolemies, see Oliver 1979. Cf. Romeo 2002, 25-27.

<sup>829</sup> See Buraselis 1993/4,127-128. IG V.1, 116, 17-8.

<sup>830</sup> Cass. Dio 55.24.4; Buraselis 1993/4, 128.

<sup>831</sup> CIL 6.1034.

<sup>832</sup> Gorrie 2007,1-17.

victory at Granicus.<sup>833</sup> Gorrie suggests that Septimius Severus and Caracalla wanted to associate their recent victory over the Parthians with Alexander's conquest of the East and Augustus' accomplishments.<sup>834</sup>

The interpretation by Gorrie seems to fit well within other forms of evidence outlined here. We have seen in the chapter dedicated to Hyrkanis that Caracalla recruited a levy of provincial Macedonians armed in the style of Alexander the Great's phalanx. He paired it with a Spartan levy, called symbolically "Laconian and Pitane *lochos*".<sup>835</sup> According to Cassius Dio, Caracalla from the beginning of his sole regency stressed his admiration for both the Macedonian conqueror and the founder of imperial regime, by calling Alexander "Augustus of the East".<sup>836</sup> Caracalla considered Alexander as the ideal ancestor of Roman Emperors in the fight against what was considered the eastern barbarism, the Persians/Parthians, such as the Athenians and Spartans did in the fifth century BC. Alexander and Augustus are part of a pantheon that legitimized the Severan dynasty. The last emperor belonging to Septimius Severus' family, Severus Alexander, reveals by his name that the parallel was exploited until the end of this dynasty.

The Roman imperial interest in using the memory of the Persian wars as unifying factor and way of political legitimation is attested even later. Gordian III staged a Greek agonistic festival at Rome in honour of the protectress of the Athenian army at Marathon, Athena Promachus, in AD 235. The celebration preceded a campaign against the Sassanian Persians, the "successor-state of Parthia".<sup>837</sup>

To conclude, the Macedonian label acquired a "patent of nobility" as opposed to a specific ethnic value in the Roman Imperial period. The cultural distinction between Macedonians and Greeks, still vivid and matter of debate in the Hellenistic and Roman republican periods, lost its relevance in the eyes of the first emperor, Augustus. He exploited the memory of "Alexander the Macedonian" together with the commemoration of the Athenians who fought at Salamis. In this,

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<sup>833</sup> The Granicus group seems to have survived into the Severan period, as there is epigraphic evidence of its existence in the Porticus Octaviae in the fifth century AD. See M. Guarducci *RPAA* 42 (1969-70).

<sup>834</sup> Gorrie 2007, 11.

<sup>835</sup> Cartledge and Spawforth 1989, 118-119.

<sup>836</sup> Cassius Dio LXXVII, 7.

<sup>837</sup> Spawforth 1994, 240. Cf. L. Robert 1970, 11-17.

Augustus paved the way to his successors, particularly the representatives of the Antonine and Severan dynasties, who were frequently dealing with military expeditions in the East. The terms “Macedonian”, “Spartan” or “Athenian” were all labels useful for the Imperial narrative in the fight against the Parthians in the second century AD. The Parthians were perceived as the real political and military threat menacing the Roman authority in the eastern part of the empire. Alexander was a universal symbol who gave legitimacy to the claims of Roman Emperors on the rule of Asia, Syria and beyond.

This explains why Polyaeus could praise both Alexander and the ancient Athenians in his work dedicated to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. To be Macedonian was sign of Greekness at the time. Indeed, the province of Macedonia had representatives in the Panhellenion and the Delphic Amphictyony, Panhellenic leagues designed to admit only communities that could claim a Greek ancestry. On the other hand, Aelius Aristides seems to consider Macedonian identity as inferior to the Athenian one. The Macedonians are considered barbarians by Aristides. It is still not possible to understand to what extent this was a simple rhetorical device, or a reflection of real grudge towards the memory of Alexander and the Macedonians by Greek communities in the East.



## **Chapter 6: Conclusion**

### **6.1 The Macedonian label, a symptom of triggered identities under Roman Imperial rule?**

The aim of the present research has been to understand the meaning of the use of the Macedonian label by civic communities in Lydia and Phrygia in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Key to this exploration have been the two case studies of Hyrkanis and Blaundos. The epigraphic and numismatic evidence show that this label was chosen following a consistent pattern by both civic communities during the Roman Imperial period. The fourth chapter investigated Hyrkanis and Blaundos in the context of other centres in Phrygia and Lydia. The last chapter analysed what kind of meaning Polyaeus and Aristides applied to such terms as “Macedonian” or “Macedonians” and whether the Macedonian label was important for Roman Imperial ideology in the first three centuries AD. These chapters addressed three of the questions presented in the introduction:

- 1) Why did the Macedonian label become a useful tool for civic communities under the Roman imperial regime?
- 2) How was the Macedonian label exploited by Phrygian and Lydian communities, considering the legends of the foundations related to the Hellenistic period, especially at the time of the Antonine and the Severan emperors?
- 3) Why did several Phrygian and Lydian civic communities use a Macedonian label instead of a Greek one, as other places in these same regions did in the Roman Imperial period?

The combined surveys of epigraphic, numismatic and literary sources show that Hyrkanis and Blaundos used the Macedonian label almost exclusively as a tool of self-representation at a civic level. This means that their inhabitants did not use the term “Macedonian” within their community or to identify themselves as individuals. It seems that the Macedonian label was chosen by Hyrkanis and Blaundos when their civic institutions were associated with representatives of Roman Imperial rule in the region, such as the proconsular governor, the Senate or the emperor. This label could consist of symbols on coins like the river god with the Macedonian shield or the eagle between two crossed bones, which mark respectively the association of Hyrkanis and Blaundos with the military skills proper of the Ancient Macedonians and the figure of Alexander the Great. These

two characteristics may indicate that the claim of Macedonian ancestry was fashionable for several Phrygian and Lydian communities in the second and third century AD. However, the case Hyrkanis leaves space for uncertainty. The inscription from Amphissa honouring Menophantos “Macedonian from Hyrkanis” dates from the second century BC, in the Hellenistic period. It could be that the Macedonian ancestry was already considered worth to mention by Hyrkanian representatives before the arrival of Rome in the Lydian region. As for the numismatic evidence, the coins issued in the Hellenistic and early Roman periods are considerably less than the Antonine and Severan eras. As Burrell observes in her work on the use of the title of *neokoros* by Greek cities in the Roman Imperial period, “even one new coin can overturn an hypothesized chronology”.<sup>838</sup> As for now, it seems from the remaining evidence that use of the Macedonian label was mainly triggered by the relationship between representatives of Blaundos and Hyrkanis and Roman Imperial authorities. Besides, the case of Menophantos supports the idea that the use of Macedonian label was used mainly by group of incomers or new residents in the Hellenistic period, not by civic institutions. More importantly, the evidence dated to the Hellenistic period shows again that the display of Macedonian identity by groups or individuals was triggered by the relationship with the “other”, e.g. cities where they recently had settled.

Even if the Macedonian ancestry could have been seen as a sign of social distinction before the Roman Imperial period, the evidence shows that the Macedonian label was a medium to connect civic communities to a prestigious past and at the same time assert their allegiance to Rome from the time of Tiberius at the earliest. The ancient Macedonians were perceived as the conquerors of the Persians, who were considered barbarians in the ancient tradition. Roman literature and Greek cities like Athens represented the Parthians as if they were the Persians of the Roman Empire.<sup>839</sup> In this historical context, the Macedonian label constitutes more an “honorific title” than a proper ethnic for the Phrygian and Lydian communities analysed in the thesis. The existence of what could be called Macedonian ethnicity at the time of Roman Empire is dubious. Being Macedonian is associated with moral qualities, which could be positive or

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<sup>838</sup> Burrell 2004, 10.

<sup>839</sup> Spawforth 1994, 234-237.

negative, but not with a real ethnicity, as has been proven with the analysis of Polyaeus and Aelius Aristides. Dench observes that the criteria of defining Roman citizenship differed clearly from the *polis*-based concept of Greekness whose model was classical Athens. Due to the “cultural revolution” started by Augustus, “Roman cultural identity is heavily moral in its focus: that is to say that our own categories of culture and morality blur nicely within the Roman formula of ‘the ways of our ancestors’, the *mores maiorum*”.<sup>840</sup> We can find here why the value of the Macedonian label during the Hellenistic period seems to differ substantially from the one possessed in the Roman Imperial period. The civic communities or individuals (Polyaeus) who claimed a Macedonian ancestry considered themselves legitimate members of the cultural Hellenic family (the Greek *koinon* of Asia for Hyrkanis and Blaundos or the Greek speaking writers for Polyaeus) and at the same time bound to Roman values or Roman citizens respectively. At the time of Augustus, there was no longer the cultural contraposition Macedonians/Greeks/Romans that may be observed in the works of Polybius. To be fair, the author from Megalopolis shows already that “being Greek” consisted more of a series of moral qualities that could be acquired or lost by a socio-political process, rather than a fixed category based on ethnicity.<sup>841</sup> Nicholson argues how in Polybius’ narrative, the Romans from barbaric origins have developed into a community closer to the polities of the *Hellenes* thanks to their republican constitution, while the Macedonian King Philip V became a barbaric tyrant due to his degenerating policy, after have been the “darling of the Greeks” at the beginning of his reign.<sup>842</sup>

The cultural distinctions between Greeks, Macedonians and Romans seems to be more and more nuanced once they are institutionalised as a series of official titles in the imperial system. The transformation of these categories from “ethnicities” to honorific labels that could overlap is shown by the phenomenon of the imperial cult introduced at the time of Augustus. The provincial *koinon* of Asia that worshipped the Roman emperors as “founders” and “common benefactors” included the Macedonian Hyrkanis together with the Achaean Eumeneia and the Lydian Mostene. It should be said that Aristides constitutes a relevant exception,

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<sup>840</sup> Dench 2005, 139.

<sup>841</sup> Nicholson 2020, 46-50.

<sup>842</sup> See Nicholson 2020, 50-58.

as he identified the Macedonians with the Persians, while the ancient Athenians are the only ideal paragon for the Roman Imperial power. However, this further supports the idea that Macedonian identity is a cultural construct, as much as the Roman one, with which it overlaps. The memory of the ancient Macedonians could be used by different groups, individuals or ruling powers with different purposes at the same time.<sup>843</sup>

This conclusion is an attempt to answer the last and broader set of questions presented in the introduction:

Was the use of the Macedonian label a symptom of civic identities triggered by the coming of Rome in the region of Phrygia and Lydia? More specifically, could the use of the Macedonian label by local communities be reflection of the ideology of the Roman Imperial power? Or was it rather an autonomous construct that could have been triggered, but not fostered intentionally by the Roman Imperial authority?

## **6.2 Triggers for re-shaping civic memory: the relationship between Roman Imperial power and local identities.**

The phenomenon of the use of the Macedonian label seems to reveal a complex interaction between the central power and the communities subjected to it. To what extent the Roman Imperial ideology could have been influenced by the local traditions that drew on the memory of Alexander and the Macedonians in Asia Minor is difficult to determine. Rome needed legitimation to assert its power in the region. The Imperial cult was shaped following in part the models provided by the Hellenistic dynasties, as observed by Price.<sup>844</sup> The power of Rome had to be associated with something that was part of the local tradition in order to be accepted by the local elites. However, the local elites also had to be recognized by Rome, in order to obtain major financial benefactions and diplomatic consideration by the central state. This mutual relationship affected both sides and was one of the possible triggers of the re-use of the Macedonian label by Rome and civic communities in Asia.

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<sup>843</sup> The Arsacids recalled the figure of Alexander to claim back the territories of Asia Minor and Syria. See Tac. Ann. VI.31.

<sup>844</sup> Price 1984, 23-40. However, Price also that the imperial cult cannot seen as mere continuation of the worship of Hellenistic kings. Prince 1984, 24.

To be the trigger in the construction of a civic identity does not imply a direct causality. Augustus intended to be associated with Alexander the Great to claim his uncontested rule over the Greek world against the Parthians, but not only because he was interested in appealing to an audience of provincial communities placed in the East. The Porticus of Octavia with the statue of Alexander was at Rome, visible to its inhabitants and all the provincial subjects of the Roman Empire who visited the capital, including those from western regions. Alexander was a model useful to convey a universal idea of Empire, not one that was exclusively Greek. Caracalla, one of the strongest admirers of Alexander,<sup>845</sup> was the emperor who extended the Roman citizenship to all the freemen of the empire. Polyaeus says that “Alexander acted to lead all human beings to feel goodwill, and in particular he determined to call all men 'Alexanders' instead of 'mortals', 'men', 'speakers' and 'human beings.’<sup>846</sup> This universal aspect was probably historical fiction, but it could prove to be a paragon for Roman Imperial ideology.

At the same time, the Phrygian and Lydian communities may have intended the use of the Macedonian label as proof of allegiance to Rome and their special connection with Alexander the Great. Its use could have been unintentionally triggered by the Roman imperial ideology, which started to associate several emperors with Alexander, a Macedonian conqueror. There were local traditions that had the memory of Macedonian veterans settled after the expedition of Alexander in Phrygia and Lydia, mainly in military garrisons. However, it cannot be stated that Augustus prompted the claims of Macedonian ancestries by the civic communities. We have no evidence of the use of the Macedonian label on coins and inscription by civic institutions of Hyrkanis and Blaundos at the time of Augustus. The same can be said for other Phrygian and Lydian communities. Does it mean that the provincial elites could decide to publicly re-use a local memory of Macedonian settlers independently from the influence of Roman Imperial ideology and Roman emperors? Not necessarily. I think that the use of the Macedonian label might be a matter of possibilities, or rather opportunities within the global network created by Rome. The trigger for its use could be the association of Alexander with Roman Imperial power, but it acquires relevance

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<sup>845</sup> See third part of the chapter on Hyrkanis.

<sup>846</sup> Polyaeus., IV.3.1.

together with other triggers.

The Macedonian label was no longer an ethnic, but a symbol of imperial virtues, as it was also perceived by a part of the literary tradition represented by Polyaeus. It distinguished cities like Blaundos and Hyrkanis from the barbarians in the East. A possible trigger for the use of the Macedonian label could have been the Roman confrontation with the Parthians. The Arsacid power was the only political entity known to the Romans that could claim to be an empire, contesting the universality of Rome. Roman emperors, especially from the military expedition of Trajan in Mesopotamia, were more and more personally involved in the affairs of the eastern provinces, including Asia. This does not mean that the Roman imperial entourage was increasingly prompting the local communities to use certain symbols instead of others. The civic communities of Hyrkanis and Blaundos chose on their own terms to call themselves Macedonian without direct pressure from Roman authority. One of the triggers for its use could be the willingness to show allegiance to Rome against the Parthians, but this was not a top-down imposition. For example, institutions of Hyrkanis could choose the Macedonian label due to the past of the settlement, associated by Strabo with Persian colonists. Other Lydian communities did not have a "Persian tradition" and could choose labels that did not imply a reference to the dichotomy Romans/Parthians. Mostene, a city not far from Hyrkanis and struck by the earthquake of AD 17, claimed to have Lydian ancestry on coins and inscriptions dating from the Flavian period. This civic community chose to show its allegiance to Rome in a different way. The Lydian ancestry was not even considered Greek, but it was prestigious for its antiquity. The "moral aspect" was considered more important than the ethnic one. The civic institutions of Mostene decided to exalt the connection with Roman Imperial rule with a different label. This is shown by the title "Caesareans" added to the city name on some civic issues that have been dated to the reign of Claudius.<sup>847</sup>

Was the first use of Macedonian label directly connected to Roman Imperial intervention in the region? Perhaps there is no such direct link. The claim of Macedonian ancestry on civic coins or inscriptions from Blaundos and Hyrkanis

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<sup>847</sup> See RPC I 1461.

appears at the time of terrible earthquakes. The Macedonian label could have been displayed in order to demonstrate the importance of these two centres at regional level, in the *koinon* of Asia. For Blaundos and Hyrkanis, another trigger of the use of the Macedonian label was assuring the “Greekness” of their civic community in relation to other Phrygian and Lydian communities included in this regional federation. In this case, the Macedonian label was a tool to be recognized as legitimate in an exclusive circle. This dynamic follows a regional pattern, where the intervention of Roman officials was subtle and perhaps not intentional in causing some actions by local communities.

The dialectic also involved the perception of the civic institutions of the surrounding cities. Hyrkanis sent the diplomatic mission together with the other cities struck by the earthquake of AD 17. The civic decree at Sardis suggests that the earliest use of the Macedonian label by a representative of Hyrkanis was triggered by the encounter of the other Greek communities of the Asian *koinon*. It could be that the Macedonian label was “negotiated” within the *koinon*, before any interaction with Roman Imperial officials. Besides, the inscription from Amphissa about Menophantos, the “Macedonian from Hyrkanis/Macedonian Hyrkanian”, could suggest that the Macedonian identity was triggered usually by the relationship with an external political entity, that could be either the Roman Imperial authority or another Greek community. Still, it is noteworthy that the statue of Hyrkanis in the monument dedicated to Tiberius is the only one showcasing a Macedonian custom, the *kausia*. The increase of the use of the Macedonian label on coins and inscriptions in Phrygia and Lydia is mostly in association with Roman Imperial symbols. Moreover, we have a peak in the use of Macedonian label contemporarily with the military campaigns of Roman emperors against the Parthians in the second and third centuries AD.

There are some *caveat* though. The increase in the use of the Macedonian label by Phrygian and Lydian communities in the Antonine and Severan period could be just a coincidence and not the outcome of specific historical events. The evidence dated to the second and third centuries AD is much more consistent than the documents attested from earlier periods. For example, it could be argued that Hyrkanis used to claim officially a Macedonian ancestry in relation to other Greek communities already in the late Hellenistic period and in Julio-Claudian

period, based on the civic decree from Amphissa and the accounts of Tacitus and Pliny. However, even if the Macedonian label started to be used officially by Phrygian and Lydian communities before the beginning of the Roman Imperial period, my research still proves two points.

The first point is that the Macedonian label was used consistently as tool of legitimation by civic communities in the province of Asia at least until the middle of the third century AD, so that being Macedonian was considered important in relation to Roman Imperial authorities. The claim of Macedonian ancestry could have gained strength in the second and third century AD also because of civic rivalries related to the provincial imperial cult officiated by the *koinon* of Asia.<sup>848</sup> Indeed, the evidence analysed in the fourth chapter shows that the cluster of the use of the Macedonian label on civic issues is contemporary to the phenomenon of “double labels” indicating claim of ancestries by other Phrygian and Lydian communities in the province. From this larger sample size, it is shown that most of the coins with a label expressing a claim of ancestry dates from the second or the third century AD, with the relevant exception of Mostene. I argue that this cannot be a coincidence, but it is symptom of an increasing regional competition between the communities of the province of Asia to acquire prestige and possibly benefactions from the central state. Still, the difference between the Julio-Claudian and Antonine-Severan periods in the use of the Macedonian label is perhaps more nuanced. The figure of Alexander was important for the Roman Imperial ideology since the time of Augustus, as stated in the final part of the fifth chapter. It could be that the Parthian expeditions by Antonine and Severan emperors fostered the continuation of the use of Macedonian labels on coins and inscriptions in Lydia and Phrygia, rather than a substantial difference of its use respect to the Julio-Claudian and Flavian dynasties.

The second point that has been proved is that the Macedonian label seems always to be used when a group, a community or an individual interacted with external entities, both in the Hellenistic and the Roman period. Therefore, the use of the Macedonian label on coins and inscriptions is a case study of “triggered identities”. The construction of the self, both collective and individual, depends on

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<sup>848</sup> About the competition to obtain the title of *neokoros* between the cites of the *koinon* of Asia, see Burrell 2004, 331-342.



the political and cultural circumstances in which it operates. This does not imply a deterministic assumption though. The external triggers lead to a wide range of different responses by local agents, that chose on their own terms, unintentionally or not, how to represent themselves in relation to the “other”, e.g. a nearby city, a Roman Imperial official, or a civic community in which the beforementioned agents have settled.

I have argued that the interest from Roman emperors in Alexander the Great and the Macedonians might be one of the triggers behind the choice by Blaundos, Hyrkanis and other Phrygian and Lydian communities of Asia to take the opportunity to re-shape the civic memory. Another trigger to a change in the self-representations of civic identity was the desire to be part of a Greek cultural network. The importance of the claim of Greek ancestry is expressed by Panhellenic institutions like the *koinon* of Asia and the Panhellenion created by Hadrian. The Roman Imperial power was not the direct cause of the renewed importance for a civic community to use specific labels. However, it probably empowered the “network of shared memories” where claims of Macedonian, Athenian or Spartan ancestry could be considered convenient by different local communities throughout the eastern part of the Roman Empire thank to the introduction of the Imperial cult by Augustus.

According to Assmann, every substantial break in continuity or tradition can produce the past whenever the break is meant to create a new beginning for a collective entity. A Renaissance or a Reformation will always be shaped by a recourse to the past. This recourse is used to establish a sense of continuity, legitimacy, authority, and self-confidence.<sup>849</sup> In this case, the break in the tradition was constituted by the manifestation of Roman imperial rule in the *koinon* of Asia whose members were various centres of Phrygia and Lydia, including Hyrkanis and Blaundos. The outcome of this event was the re-use of the Macedonian label on coins and inscriptions associated with symbols of Roman Imperial power. Being Macedonian was consequence of a civic identity that asserted allegiance to the Imperial ruling power and at the same time sought its own self confidence and legitimacy at a local level, incarnated by a provincial federation of cities that

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<sup>849</sup> Assmann 2011, 18-19.

perceived themselves as Greek by ancestry, with some exceptions. The triggers of this phenomenon were multiple and show how the impact of an imperial construction could shape indirectly the public memory of local communities and change the cultural criteria of a region integrated in its system. At the same time, the civic communities performed their own version of being closer to Rome, by being more Greek than the others or instead more ancient than the others, acting autonomously in a regional network. This included ancestries like the Macedonian, the Thracian and the Lydian, considered “barbaric” just few centuries before. To what extent this was intentionally fostered by the Roman Imperial power is difficult to say.

Another example of the development of a regional network especially in the Antonine and Severan periods is the depiction of the river gods on civic issues by many Phrygian and Lydian communities. Blaundos, Hyrkanis and Mostene and other dozens of cities show their own rivers associated with roman institutions or local civic bodies like the council or the popular assembly on coins mainly dated to the second and third century AD. As Thonemann and Campbell observes, the rivers played a major role in defining civic identities in Western Asia Minor, since the Hellenistic period.<sup>850</sup> The rivers were “labels” useful to define a community as much as the claims of Macedonian or Lydian ancestry. However, it could be that creation of the *koinon* of Asia in the Roman period and the introduction of the Imperial cult at the time of Augustus compelled the local civic institutions to affirm their prestige in relation to Rome and the neighbouring communities not only by the antiquity of ancestry. The river god was also a powerful symbol of belonging to a certain space and implied a divine legitimation of territorial possession by the deity impersonating the local landscape.

The present study shows only a fraction of the province of Asia and the present hypothesis needs to be tested on a larger scale, including also other provinces in Asia Minor, and the regions of Syria. It would be interesting to see whether and where the Macedonian label was used consistently on coins and inscriptions in the second and third centuries AD. This will allow a critical comparison of the data examined for the regions of Phrygia and Lydia in a broader geographical context.

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<sup>850</sup> Thonemann 2006, 38-41; Campbell 2012, 325.

Many cities were re-founded by Macedonian kings and generals in the Early Hellenistic period in Anatolia, Syria and Mesopotamia. A larger-scale study will facilitate also a deeper understanding of how different civic communities outside the province of Macedonia perceived (and exploited) the memory of Alexander the Great and the Macedonians in relation to Rome. In conclusion, the concept of triggered identity could be applied not only to the relationship between civic communities and Roman Imperial power, but also to the interactions between local identities and imperial structures in other chronological periods. An historic phenomenon that sees an external authority being involved in a regional network, or in an interaction with a subjected community, could be the start of “triggers” for the re-construction of local identities.

## Appendix 1 Epigraphic evidence of the Macedonian label in Phrygia and Lydia.

The present appendix includes the inscriptions from the regions of Phrygia and Lydia that have the Macedonian label. This could consist of

- 1) A personal name, for example a man called “Aurelius Macedonian”.
- 2) A title related to a civic community, e.g. “(the city of) the Macedonians Hyrkanians”.
- 3) The geographical origin or the claimed ancestry of an individual, e.g. “Philip, Macedonian”.

The chronological period examined runs from the early Hellenistic period until the middle of the third century AD, according to the dating provided by SEG or other epigraphic collections cited in the description of each inscription. The English translations are my own, except for two inscriptions: Ed. Pr. Malay and Petzl 2017, 31-33 n.3 (Apollonis) and IGR 4 1514 (Hyrkanis).

### Phrygia

#### 1.1 Akmoneia

SEG 15 806.

This dedicatory inscription is on a small ara. The monument was found in Akmoneia. The inscription now is in the museum of Smyrna.

It dates from AD 221.

The text within the wreath says:

Ἔτους τϜ´.

In front of the ara: Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μακεδῶν σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς Ἔρωτι κὲ Τερτύλλῳ Μακεδόνι πατρὶ κὲ μητρὶ Τερτύλλῃ μνήμης χάριν.

*Aurelius Macedonian together with his brothers, to the god Eros, their father Tertullos Macedonian, their mother Tertulla, for the grace of memory.*

#### 1.2 Appia (area of Keçiller)

SEG 28 1108 = Ed. pr. E. Gibson, CFCIP 18-19 no. 7.

The religious inscription is on a white marble funerary altar with relief representing a wreath; the inscription is inserted in a *tabula ansata*; under the tabula a panel with reliefs of spindle and distaff and an effaced plough.

It dates from the third century AD.

The text says:

Εὐτύχης Ἀμμια νύν-  
φη κὲ Τατια ἐγγόνῃ κὲ Μα-  
κεδῶν υἱῷ ἑαυτοῦ κὲ τῆ  
ἑαυτοῦ συμβίῳ Ἀμμι-  
α κὲ Εὐτύχης υἱὸς αὐτ-  
ῶν ζῶντες ἐπ[οί]ησαν  
Χριστια[νοὶ Χριστι]ανοῖς

*Eutyches, to his wife Ammia and his niece Tatia, and Macedon to his son and to Ammia, the wife of himself, Eutyches son of those, we the living made this dedication. Christians for the Christians.*

### 1.3 Blaundos

CIG 3866, IGR IV 717, Ramsay 1895 611, nr.514.

The inscription consists of a text of a civic decree carved on a white marble base of a statue. It was found at Ulubey (Gobek) in a cemetery. It is now at the right entrance of the Mosque in Nolu Carsi, inserted in the wall on the right side of the staircase.

It dates from the Severan period, after the issue of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, between 212 and 235 AD.

The text says:

Βλαουνδέων Μακεδόνων ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος τὸν ἀγνότατον Γ. Ασίν(ιον)  
Ἰουλιανὸν, τὸν κράτιστον υἱὸν Γ. Ασιν(ίου) Προτείμου Κουρδάτου ὑπα-  
τικοῦ, τὸν ἐν πᾶσιν εὐεργέτην καὶ κτίστην τῆς πόλεως, ἐπιμελησαμένου  
Αὐ[ρ]. Γλύκωνος β' [τ]οῦ Νίγρου.

*The council and the people of the Macedonians Blaundeians (honoured) the most honest C. Asinius Iulianus, the mightiest son of the consul C. Asinius Protimus Quadratus, benefactor in all the things and founder of the city, under Aurelius Glycon son of Niger.*

### 1.4 Dorylaion

SEG 43 937 = *Ed. Princ.* MAMA X (cf. SEG 43 930) in their commentary on no. 220 = P.Nigdelis, *Tekmeria* 1 (1995) 173-179.

This funerary inscription is on a marble stele found in the surroundings of Afyon and now in the Museum in Afyon.

It dates from the third century BC.

The text says:

ν Φίλιππος vacat

ν Μακεδών vacat

Ἔνθα με γαῖα ἐκάλυψε

Φίλιππον Σωρία[ς] υἰόν

μητρὸς δὲ Ἀντιγόνης

κρύπτομ' ὑποχθόνιος ·

ἀλλοτρίας δὲ ἔλαχον χώ|ρας καὶ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐμαυτοῦ ·

εἰμι δὲ Ἐλημιώτης

ἐκ πόλεως ΔΕΤΕΛΑ

*Philip, Macedonian. There the earth covered me, Philip son of Soria and the mother Antigone. I am buried in the underground. I obtained by chance a foreign land and not my own. I am an Elimiotas, from the city of (Tela?)*

### 1.5 Otrous/Eukarpeia?

CBP 702, no. 638 = IGR 4.692 = BCH 17 (1893) p.277.

This inscription is an honorary decree and was found in the site of Çorhisar.

It dates from the second/third century AD.

The text says:

Ἀλέξανδρον Μακεδόνα κτίστην τῆς πόλεως.

*(the council and the people of the Otreans/Eukarpeians honoured?) Alexander the Macedonian, founder of the city.*

### 1.6 Temenothyrai

SEG 6.117 It is a marble funerary stele. It was found in a cemetery.

It probably dates from the third century AD.

The text says:

Σραρονικῆς ἀνδρὶ Ἀλεξάνδρ-

ω κὲ ἐαυτῆ ζῶσα κὲ τέκνοις

Ἀλεξάν-

δρω κὲ Τροφίμω κὲ Ζωτικῶ

κὲ Μακ[ε]δόν<ι>

κὲ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν Τα-

ράξις κὲ Δόμν<α> πατρὶ κὲ μητρὶ μνήμης

χάριν.

*Stratonikes to her husband Alexandros, and the living to herself and to their sons Alexandros, Trophimos, Zotiko, Macedon and to their daughters Tarazis, Domna, for the grace of memory.*

## Lydia

### 1.7 Adrouta.

Hellenica 6 (1948) 23 = TAM V.3.1669 = KP III.47 and Magie, RRAM, 982-83.

H.: 0.68; W. 0.31; thick 0.10; letters from 0.03 to 0.015.

This funerary inscription is carved on a marble stele.

It was found in the vicinity of Mahmud Ağa.

It dates from the early Hellenistic period.

The text says:

Ἀριστοκλῆς

Εἰκαδίου,

Μηνογένης,

Ἀριστοκλέους

Μακεδόνε[ς].

*Here lie Aristokles, son of Eikadios, and Menogenes, son of Aristokles, Macedonians.*

### 1.8 Apollonis.

1.8.1 Ed. Pr. Malay and Petzl 2017, 31-33 n.3.

113×73× 66, L 1.2 to 2.5.

The religious inscription consists of a marble base which was found in a field south of Dereköy, a village located near the ancient city of Apollonis (see TAM V, 2, Caput XXII). For later use the stone was turned over, so it lay on its rear surface, while the inscribed front became the upper face from which four small rectangular and a bigger circular hole were chiselled out. The base is now in the local museum in Akhisar.

It is probably dated to the third century AD.

The text says:

Ἀγαθῆ τύχη

Χρησμοὶ Διδυμαίου Ἀπόλλω-

νος

Μήνην μειλίξεσθε, Μακηδόνες, Ἡέλιόν τε ἠδ' Ἐκά-

την Ἑρμῆν τε καὶ Ἥρωας Προπυλαίους |

[ἐ]ξαίτιοισι θυηπολῆς, εἵπερ λελίθησθε ἐξ ἀχέ-

ων καὶ σμερδαλέης κακότητος ἀλύξαι ἄσ-

τει κῆρ δὲ ἐπήρηται κερησσί μέλαινα

ΣΥΝΠΟΛΟ[....]ΗΤΑΣ αὐτὸς ὑ[περφ]ιάλοισι πα-

λαίσας [.....] ἱερεὺς προέηκ[εν, ἄ]ναξ ἐνέρων

Ἄιδωνεύ[ς] ζωσάμενος πρ[οπ]άτορσιν Ο[ ]

ΤΗΝΤΕΟΙ [ . ]Σ τέκεά σφων [ σ]εῦνται δ ἠ-

ύτε καπνὸς Α[.] [.....]Σ ἠερόφοιτοι [ ]

ἀνδράσι ἄλγε[-.....ἄπ]ηχεῖην τε φέ-

ρουσαι νωλ[εμέσ.....] ἐπὶ δάκρυσιν

ἰαίνωνται [.....πο]λυήρατοί τε-

θυηλαί Ο[.....] ἀείσαιτ ἄθα-

νάτοισιν [.....] ποτνίην τε-

τάνυνται [.....] εἰσὶν βροτὸν

ἦτορ ἔχο[.....] ἀμυσσομέ-

νας γενετ[.....]ΣΙΝ ἀκηδέα

κωκύοντα[.....]ΔΟΣ ἐνὶ σφισι κο[ρ]-

θύνονται ΑΠΛ[.....] κορυσσόμενος λι-

βρὸς αἰθήρ καὶ ΔΕ[.....] ἔργα διεσσύμε-

ναι μινύθουσι ΚΑ[.....]ΟΝ vac.

*Good luck! Oracles of the Didymaeen Apollon: Macedonians, you will (i.e. should) propitiate Mene (the Moon-Goddess), Helios, Hekate, Hermes and the Heroes Before the Gate with excellent offerings if you are eager to escape from pains and terrible evil. For the city a deadly fate (?) is fixed, black with cases of death. The priest himself, having struggled (?) with arrogant men, sent forth ...; Aidoneus, master of those beneath the earth, having girded himself to the forefathers ... their children. Walking in darkness the ... rush like smoke bringing men ... pains and discord (?), and unceasingly they take delight in tears. ... and the much-loved (parts of) sacrifices ... you should sing for the immortals ... they are stretched out [over the ?] revered [earth ?]. They are ... having a human heart ... lacerated ... they lament over the neglected ... they rise amongst them ... the*



*dark air which rears ... darting through the works they fade away (/ curtail) ...*

**1.8.2** SEG 49 1543 = Ed.pr. Malay, Researches 52/53 no. 45 A/B (ph.).

The inscription is a civic decree on a re-used marble block.

It dates from around 300 AD.

The text says:

[Μακεδ]όνων Καισαρέων Ἀ[πολλωνι]

[δέων] ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος [ἀνέθη]-

[κα]ν ἐκ τῶν τῆς πόλεως χ[ρημάτων]

[ἐπι] ἀρχόντων Εἰρηναίου [τοῦ - -]

[.]ου καὶ Σωκράτου τοῦ [- - - - -]

*The council and the people of the Macedonians Caesareans Apollonideans dedicated from the wealth of the city under the archontes Eirenaois, son of... and Socrates, son of...*

### **1.9 Doidye**

OGIS 314 = TAM V.2.1188

H., 0.445 m., w., 0.415 +10 m. thick.

This inscription is carved on a fragmented marble stele. It was found in a room of a private house at Palamut, that is the ancient city of Apollonis. It is the only inscription that refers to Doidye.

It dates from 161/60 BC, during the reign of Eumenes II.

The text says:

Βασιλεύοντος Εὐμένου

ἔτους ζλ', μηνὸς Περιτίου.

Οἱ ἐκ Δοιδύης Μακεδόν[ες]

-----  
*During the thirty-seventh year of the reign of king Eumenes, in the month of Peritios (January), the Macedonians from Doidye...*

### **1.10 Espoura**

KP I.95 = TAM V.2.1190

H., 0.57 m., w., 0.57 m.; thick 0.07 m.

The inscription is carved on a marble stele. It was discovered in an alley near to

the mosque of Dereköi.

It dates from 153/52 BC, during the reign of Attalos II.

The text says:

Βασιλεύ[ον]τος Ἀττάλου  
ἔτους ζ´, μηνὸς Ξανδικο[ῦ].  
Οἱ ἐκ...]εσπούρων Μακεδό-  
νες ὑπὲρ Δέρδου τοῦ Δερ-κ[υλί]  
δου τοῦ αὐτῶν στρα-  
τη]γο[ῦ] ἀρητῆς ἔνεκεν κα[ί]  
εδό[ξ]ου ἀν[δ]ραγαθίας, ἧς  
ἔχων διατελεῖ εἷς τε  
[τ]ὸ[ν βασιλ]ία καὶ ἑαυτοῦ[ς]

*In the seventh year of the reign of king Attalos, in the month of Xandikos. The Macedonians from (?), espoura in honour of Derdas, son of Derkulides, their commander, for his valour and he shows up for his bravery, that he continues to have towards the king and them.*

## 1.11 Hyrkanis

1.11.1 BCH 25 (1901) 234-35 = AE (1908) 159-66.

It is a civic decree issued by the Greek city of Amphissa in honour of the physician Menophantos.

It is likely to have been issued between 189 and 167 BC, during the reign of Eumenes II of Pergamon.

The text says:

[ἀγαθ]ᾶι τύχαι.  
[Ἀμφισσέ]ων [οἱ ἄρ]χοντες καὶ ἡ πόλις Σκαρφέων τοῖς ἀρχόντ[οις]  
[καὶ τᾶ βουλᾶ] καὶ τᾶι πόλει χαίρειν· τῶν δεδομένων τιμίων ὑπὸ  
[τᾶς] πό[λι]ο[ς] ἀμῶν Μηνοφάντῳ Ἀρτεμιδώρου Μακεδόνι Ὑρκανίῳ  
[τὸ ἀ]ντί[γ]ραφον ἐξαπεστάλκαμεν ποτὶ τὰν ὑμετέραν πόλιν,  
[καθάπερ] καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Μηνόφαντος ἀμὲ παρεκάλεσε. μηνὸς Ἀμ[ῶ]-  
[νο]ς [ἔ]κτα ἐπ' εἰκάδι. νομογράφων· ἐπειδὴ Μηνόφαντος Ἀρτεμιδ[ῶ]-  
[ρου] Μακεδῶν Ὑρκάνιος ἰατρὸς μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τᾶς πόλιο[ς]  
[μ]ετὰ πρεσβείας καὶ ἐργολαβήσας μόνος τὸ ἰατρικὸν ἔργον  
[τῶ]ν ἀεὶ ἐμπιπτόντων ἀρρωστημάτων φιλοτέχνως ἐπιμελ[ό]-  
[με]νος καὶ σπουδάζ[ω]ν κατὰ δύναμιν ἰδίαν μετὰ τᾶς τῶν θε[ῶ]ν

[εὐν]οίας σώζειν το[ύς] κινδυνεύοντας ἀνέγκλητ<ο>ς ἐγενήθη, τ[ὰν]  
 [ἐγχει]ρισθεῖσαν αὐτῷ πίστιν περὶ τᾶς κοινᾶς σωτηρίας ἐφ' ἴσου καὶ πο[θ']  
 [ἄπ]αντας εὐνοϊκῶς διαφυλάξας τάν τε κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀναστροφὰν  
 [πά]ντα τὸν τᾶς παρεπιδαμίας χρόνον εὐτακτον καὶ σώφρονα παρέσχ[ε]  
 [κα]τὰ ἀξίαν τᾶς τε πόλιος καὶ τοῦ ἐπιταδεύματος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τᾶς  
 [καθ'] ἑαυτὸν ἀλικίας, εἴνεκεν δὲ τῶν ποτιπεπτωκότων αὐτῷ π[αρά]  
 [τῶν] ο[ἰκεί]ων(?) χωρι[ζ]όμενος ἐκ τᾶς πόλιος ἀμῶν ἐποίησατο πόθ[οδον]  
 [ποτὶ τὸ]ν δᾶμον ἀσπαζόμενος κοινῶς πάντας διελέγη τ[ε]  
 [μετὰ] πάσας εὐνοίας αὐτοῦ φροντίδα ποιήσασθαι τὰν κ[αθή]-  
 [κουσ]αν, δεδόχθαι τῷ δάμῳ· ἐπαινεῖσαι τε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τ[ῷ] .c.6..  
 [τῷ] ἐς δύ[ναμιν] καὶ δόμεν αὐτῷ συμπαραπομ[πο]ύς ἀσ[τούς],  
 [ἵνα] κομισθῆ(?) μ]ετ' ἀσ[φ]α[λ]είας, ἐν οὔς κα προαι[ρ]ῆται τόπους·  
 [ἐξαποστει]λαὶ δὲ καὶ τᾶς δεδομένας αὐτῷ προξενίας τὸ ἀντίγρ[α]-  
 [φον] τύχ[αι] ἀγαθᾶ ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν τῶν Σκαρφέων, ἔ[τι] δὲ καὶ ποτὶ τὰ[v]  
 τῶν Ὀπουντίων. νν Ἀμφισσεῖς ἔδωκαν Μην[οφ]άντῳ Ἄρτεμ[ι]-  
 [δ]ώρου Μακεδόνι Ὑρκανίῳ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγγόνις προξενίαν, ἴσο-  
 [πολι]τείαν, γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν, ἐπινομία[v] καὶ ἀσφάλει-  
 [αν] πολ]έμου καὶ εἰράνας καὶ ἄλλα τίμια πάντα, ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλ-  
 [λοις] προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις τᾶς πόλιος ὑπάρχει. βουλαρχέοντος  
 [Ἀ]ντιγένεος τοῦ Βίωνος. ἔ[γγυος] .c.5.]τος ..άσω[νο]ς. {<sup>2</sup>vac.?<sup>2</sup>}

*To the Good Fortune. The chief magistrates and the city of the Amphissans greets the chief magistrates and the council of the city of the Scarfenians. We have sent your city the copy of the decree made by our city in honour of Menophantos, son of Artemidoros, Macedonian from Hyrkanis, as Menophantos has required us to do: "In the month of Amon, the ... day. Proposition of the nomagrophoi. Considering that Menophantos, son of Artemidoros, Macedonian from Hyrkanis, healer, has been sent to our city with an embassy, he has settled here, and having exercised the profession of physician, holding the responsibility of his medicaments on his own; Considering that, when really severe disease appeared, he has taken care of us and after the gods, he is the one who, thanks to his efforts and his individual strength, saved our citizens who were in danger; considering that he was judged irreproachable as he took care of everyone indiscriminately, with continuous honesty and perfect equality and for having watched over all the affairs with benevolence; considering that in our judgement*

*he has behaved for all the duration of his residence with modesty and wisdom, and he has kept a behaviour perfectly worthy of his own city and profession; considering also that, despite his old age and the accidents happened to him, he has done, leaving our city, ..... healing all the diseases and at the same time giving public consultations. (It has been agreed by the Amphissans) to grant Menophantos the proxeny and to allow him.....to award him praises because of his good cares and his benevolence and to donate him..... In order to leave a visible account of the proxeny granted to Menophantos, a copy of the decree will be sent to the Scarpheans, and the following declaration will be made (before the assembly of the people):*

*The Amphissans have granted Menophantos, son of Artemidoros, Macedonian from Hyrkanis, him and his own descendants, the proxeny, the isopoliteia, the right of acquiring real estates, the right of pasturage, the safety in times of war as in peace, and all the other privileges equally granted to the other proxenoi and benefactors of the city. During the presidency of the council of Antigenes son of Bion.*

**1.11.2** Hellenica 6 22-24 = EA 7 1986 17-18 = TAM V.2.1307.

H., 1.29 m; w. 0.43. Letters 0.012.

This honorary inscription was carved on a marble stone, found in the town of Halitpasakoy (the ancient Hyrkanis). There is a laureate wreath above the inscription.

It dates from the reign of Eumenes II (188 –159 BC).

The text says:

[B]ασιλεύοντος Εὐμένου[υς ἔτους]

οἱ ἐξ Ἀγαθείρων Μακεδ[ό]νες

Σέλευκον Μενεκρά[τ]ο[υ]ς.....ΤΟ [...?]

..... καὶ ἀγαθὸν γενόμεν[ον ]

*During the reign of Eumenes, the Macedonians from Agatheira (honoured) Seleucos, son of Menekrates, and because he has been good...*

**1.11.3** IGR 4 1514 = CIG 3450 = Sardis VII 1.9.

H., 0.29 m; w. 1.35; th. 0.59 m; letters 0.02 m.

The inscription, a civic decree, is carved on a block of bluish marble built into the south wall of the acropolis of Sardis, on the west side of the present entrance.

It dates from 25 AD.

The fragmentary text says:

Σαβεῖνος Μοστηνός· ἔδοξ[εν.] Σέλευκος Νεάρχου Κιβυράτ[ης]· ἔδοξεν. {<sup>2</sup>ὀ δεῖνα}<sup>2</sup>  
Αἰγαιεύς(?)· ἔδοξεν]. Κλαυδιαν[ὸ]ς Μάγνης· ἔδοξεν. Χαρμίδης Ἀπολλωνίου·  
ἔδοξεν· [{<sup>2</sup>ὀ δεῖνα}<sup>2</sup> Φιλαδελφεύς(?)· ἔδοξεν. {<sup>2</sup>ὀ δεῖνα}<sup>2</sup> Ἱεροκαί]σαρεύς· ἔδοξεν.  
Μακεδῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἰ]ορκούνδου Ἀπ[ο]λλωνιδεύς· [ἔδοξεν. {<sup>2</sup>ὀ δεῖνα}<sup>2</sup>  
Κυμαῖος(?)· ἔδοξεν. {<sup>2</sup>ὀ δεῖνα Μακεδων}<sup>2</sup>] Ὑρκάνι[ο]ς· ἔδοξεν.

*Sabinus Mostenos decreed. Seleucos son of Nearcos Kiburates decreed. That Aigeiaeus decreed. Klaudianus Magnes decreed. Karmides Apollonios decreed. That Philadelphus decreed. That Ierokaesareus decreed. That Kumaios decreed. Macedon son of Alexander Ioucundus, citizen of Apollonis decreed. [...]that Hyrkanian (Macedonian) decreed. Serapion Mureinaios son of Philodemos decreed. That Tmoleites decreed. Diogenes Temneites son of Diogenes decreed.*

#### 1.11.4 GIBM 498.7/8 (Part III, Oxford 1890).

This inscription is on a stele of white marble in good preservation. It was found at the castle of Ephesos.

It dates from the period of Domitian (81- 96 AD).

The text says:

Αὐ]τοκράτορ[ι

θεῶ

Καίσαρι

Σεβαστῶ Οὐεσπασιανῶ

ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Μάρκου

Φουλουίου Γίλλωνος

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καισαρέων

Μακεδόνων Ὑρκανίων,

ναῶ τῶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῶν Σεβα-

στῶν κοινῶ τῆς Ἀσίας, διὰ

Τειμοθέου τοῦ Τειμοθέου κα[ὶ]

Μητροδώρου τοῦ Μητροδώρου

ἀρχόντων καὶ διὰ Μηνοφίλου τοῦ

Ἀπολλονίου καὶ Μηνογένεους

Μητροφάνου καὶ Μενεκράτους

Ἰουκοῦνδου ἐπιμελητῶν.

Ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως τῆς

Ἀσίας Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου

Ἀριστίωνος.

*To the God Emperor Caesar Augustus Vespasian, under the proconsuls Marcus Fulvius Gillus, the people of the Caesareans Macedonians Hyrkanians, in the temple of the Augusti of the koinon of Asia at Ephesos, under the archontes Timotheos son of Timotheos and Metrodoros son of Metrodoros and the officials Menophilos, Apollonios, Menogenes son of Metrophanes and Menekrates son of Ioukoundos. Under the archiereus of Asia Tiberius Claudius Aristion.*

**1.11.5** IGR 4.1354 = BCH (1887) no.11, 91. = TAM V.2.1308.

This civic decree is dated to the principate of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD).

The text says:

[Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Ἄντων]νεῖνον Εὐσεβῆ [Σεβαστόν τῆς οἴκουμένης [δεσπότην καὶ] κτίστην καὶ σ[ω]τῆρα ..ν ἡ Μακεδόνων Ὑ[ρκ]ανῶν πόλις τῆς τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος Ἄντωννεῖνου καθιερώσεως προνοησαμένων Λ. Βεττίου Φαυστεῖνου καὶ Κ. Βεττίου Κρισπείνου, καὶ Μενεκράτου[ς] τοῦ Μηνοφίλου στρατηγοῦντος τὸ β' καὶ ἐπιμεληθέντος τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Κολοσσοῦ.

*To the emperor Caesar Antoninus Pius Augustus, lord of the world, founder and saviour, the city of the Macedonians Hyrkanians, dedication of emperor Antoninus, under the supervision of L. Bettius Faustinus and K. Bettius Krispinus, and during the second year of the strategy of Menekrates son of Menophiles, was set up the construction of the colossal statue.*

**1.11.6** IGR 4.1487 = CIG 3181.

This civic decree dates from the co-reign of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus (November 251 – August 253 AD).

The text, fragmentary in nature, says:

[Αυτοκράτορι] Καίσα[ρ]ι Βειβίῳ [Τρεβωνιανῶ] Γάλλῳ Εὐσεβεῖ Εὐτυχεῖ Σεβαστῶ καὶ] Αυτοκράτορι [Καίσαρι Βειβίῳ] Οὐλοουσιανῶ..  
[Εὐσεβ]ε[τ] Εὐτυχεῖ Σεβα[στῶ] ἡ Μακεδόνων] Ὑρκανῶν πόλις ἐπεσκεύασεν..... ς  
ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤ ..... ΤΟΥ.

*To the emperor Caesar healthy Trebonianus Gallus Pius Blessed Augustus and*



*Menophantes, akin to the king Eumenes and guardian of the laws, for his virtue and bravery and goodwill towards the king and themselves.*

**1.13.2** IGR 4 1160 = CIG 3522.

This civic decree was found at Bakir.

It dates from the reign of Hadrian (117-138 AD)

Αὐτοκράτορα θεοῦ Νέ-

ρουα υ[ι]ωνὸν θεοῦ

Τραιανοῦ υἱὸν

Τραιανὸν Ἀδριανὸν

Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν ἢ Μα-

κεδόνων Νακρασειτῶν

βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος

*The council and the people of the Macedonian Nakraseitans (honoured) the emperor Caesar Augustus Hadrian Trajan, son of the divine Trajan, grandson of the divine Nerva.*

**1.13.3** SEG 49 1765 = Ed.pr. Malay, Researches 31 no. 14.

This civic decree is on the upper part of a marble base found in Yatağan.

It dates from AD 129, or later, during the reign of Hadrian.

The text says:

[Αὐ]τοκράτορα [Καίσαρα]

ν καὶ κτίστην vacat

[Τρ]αιανὸν Ἀδρια[νὸν]

[Να]κρασιτῶν Μακε[δόνων]

Σεβαστὸν Ὀλύμ[πιον]

[ἢ β]ουλή ν καὶ ὁ δ[ῆ]μος]

τὸν τῆς πόλεως σ[ωτῆ]ρα]

*The council and the people honoured the emperor Caesar.... And founder...Trajan Hadrian, Augustus Olympian, saviour of the city.*

**1.14 Philadelphia**

**1.14.1** TAM V.3.1714.

H. 0.57; w. 2.25; thick 0.70; letters 0.02.

This funerary inscription is carved on a marble sarcophagus. It is not known



exactly where it was found, but now it is at the site of the Saint John's church.

It dates from 27/8 AD.

The text says:

Ἔτους νη΄, μη[νὸς] Αὐδναίου θ΄ ἀπ[ιόντος].

Μᾶρκος Τίτιος ... Μακεδονικός

*In the year 58, in the ninth day of the month Audnaaios: Marcus Titius Makedonikos.*

**1.14.2** TAM V.3.1442 = IGR IV 1638.

H., 0.98: w., 0.60; thick, 0.40; letters 0.025-0.03.

It is an inscription carved on two marble fragments of a base. It was found in Alaşehir. Whereabouts unknown.

It dates perhaps from the reign of Caligula (38 – 41 AD).

The text says:

Γ. Ἰούλιον Μακεδόνα

Αὐρηλιανόν, ἄνδρα καλόν

καὶ ἀγαθόν περὶ τε τὴν

πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἱερῶν - [ΩΤΑ]

τάτην βουλήν ἐν τε ἀρ-

χαῖς καὶ λειτουργίαις

δοκιμώτατον, χρεοφυ-

λάξαντα, ταμιατεύσαντα

ἐν ἀγοραΐᾳ, πανηγυριαρχή-

σαντα ἐν κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας

ἀγῶνι, σειπωνήσαντα, πέψαν-

τα παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, εἰσαγωγέ[α γε]-

νόμενον καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πλείο-

σιν εὐχρηστον γενόμενον

καὶ ὑπηρετήσαντα τῇ πατρ[ί]-

δι, ἀναστ[ή]σαντα δὲ τὸν

ἀνδρ[ί]άντα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων.

*To G. Iulius Macedonian Aurelianus, honourable and valiant man, the most trustworthy about the fatherland and the consecrated objects, the council and in the magistracies and in the public services, keeper of the register of public debtors, curator, treasurer of the agorà, president of the general assembly during*

*the common festival of Asia, public buyer of corn, distributor of largess of cooked food at his own expense, elected importer of corn and serviceable in many other things and he has served the fatherland, a statue built up from private resources.*

### **1.15 Thyatira**

#### **1.15.1** OGIS 211 = TAM V.2.881.

This is an honorary inscription.

It dates from the end of the fourth century BC.

The text says:

βασιλεῖ Σελεύκῳ<ι>  
τῶν ἐν Θυατείροις  
Μακεδόνων οἱ ἡ-  
γεμόνες καὶ οἱ στ-  
ρατιῶται.

*To the king Seleucos, the Macedonian generals and soldiers of Thyatira.*

#### **1.15.2** BCH (1887) 11 466 no.32 = TAM V.2.1166.

The inscription is carved on a fragmented stone and found in a private house of the town of Akhisar.

It dates from the time of Alexander's conquest (second half of fourth century BC).

The text says:

[Οἱ π]ερὶ Θυάτειρ[α]  
[Μ]ακεδόνες

*The Macedonians who live around/in Thyateira.*

#### **1.15.3** BCH 10 (1886) 398 no.1 = TAM V.2.1109.

H., 0.60 m.; w. 0.51 m., thick 0.18 m; letters 0.026 m.

It consists of a marble stele broken in the lower part. It was found in a private house of Arkhisar.

The text dates from the final decades of the fourth century BC, maybe to the Alexander's period.

The text says:

Μενέδημος  
Νεοππολέμου

Μακεδών

*Menedemos, son of Neoptolemos, Macedonian.*

## **Appendix 2 Numismatic evidence of the Macedonian label in Phrygia and Lydia.**

The present appendix consists of a table that includes the coins issued by cities of Phrygia and Lydia that have the Macedonian label or Macedonian iconography.

This could consist of

- 1) A personal name, for example a magistrate called “Aurelius Macedonian”.
- 2) A title related to a civic community, e.g. “(the city of) the Macedonians Hyrkanians”.
- 3) Iconography related to the Macedonian identity, e.g. the Macedonian shield or the Argead star.

The chronological period examined runs from the late Hellenistic period until the middle of the third century AD. The dating is provided by the collections cited in the first category of the table.

### **Phrygia**

#### **2.1 Blaundos**

Coin	Date	Obverse	Legend O.	Reverse	Legend R.
SNG Cop 83.	24-250 AD.	Bust of Young Roman Senate	ΙΕΡΑ CΥΝΚΛΗΤΟC	Naked Zeus standing, with patera.	ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑ
SNG Leypold I 917.	1-99 AD.	Head of Young Demos	ΔΗΜΟC ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ	Tyche standing holding rudder.	ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
Paris 1972/815.	180 - 212 AD	Bust of Roman Senate	ΙΕΡΑ CΥΝΚΛΗΤΟC	Naked Dionysus standing with thyrsos.	ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ Μ[ΑΚ]
SNG Mü 84.	100-250 AD.	Head of Young Demos	ΔΗΜΟC ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑ	River Hippiuros reclining, holding reed.	ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΙΠΠΟΥΡΙΟC
BMC Lydia 58.	100-250 AD.	Laureate, veiled and draped bust of Boule right	[ΙΕΡΑ] ΒΟΥΛΗ	Naked Dionysus standing with thyrsos.	ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕ
BMC Lydia 62.	100-250 AD	Head of Herakles		Demeter with corn horn and poppy.	ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ Μ
RPC II 1347.	76/77 AD	Vespasian	ΟΥΕCΠΑCΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒΑCΤΟC	Dionysus in Himation, standing.	ΤΙ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟC ΦΟΙΝΙΞ, ΕΠΙ ΙΤΑΛΙΚΟΥ ΒΛΑΟΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC II 1346.	76/77 AD.	Vespasian	ΟΥΕCΠΑCΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ	Apollo standing facing, resting on a lyre.	ΤΙ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟC ΦΟΙΝΙΞ, ΕΠΙ ΙΤΑΛΙΚΟΥ ΒΛΑΟΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC II 1348.	76/77 AD.	Titus Caesar	ΤΙΤΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ	Demeter standing, veiled.	ΤΙ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟC ΦΟΙΝΙΞ, ΕΠΙ ΙΤΑΛΙΚΟΥ ΒΛΑΟΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ

BMC Lydia 48.	138-192 AD.	Bust of Young Roman Senate	ΙΕΡΑ CYNΚΛΗΤΟC	Dionysus standing, with thyrsos.	ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝ
BMC Lydia 45 -47.	138-192 AD.	Bust of Young Roman Senate	ΙΕΡΑ CYNΚΛΗΤΟC	Naked Zeus standing, with patera.	ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
BMC Lydia 74.	138-161 AD.	Antoninus Pius with cuirass.	ΑΥ ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC	Apollo, radiate, as Helios, standing.	ΑΡΧ ΚΑ CΥΜΜΑΧΟΥ ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕ
Imhoof LS 7.	138-161 AD.	Antoninus Pius with cuirass.	ΑΥ ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC		ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
BMC Lydia 75.	147 - 161 AD	Beardless Marcus Aurelius Caesar with paludamentum	Μ ΑΥΡΗΛΙ ΟΥΗΡΟC ΚΑΙ	Naked Zeus standing, with patera.	ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑ[ΚΕΔ]
Imhoof-Blumer 51 nr.9.	161 - 180 AD	Head of Marcus Aurelius	ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC	Naked Herakles with club fighting with Lion	ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝ ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ C ΚΑ Β
Waddington 4921.	161-180 AD.	Head of Marcus Aurelius	ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC	Apollo, radiate, standing, holding plectrum.	CΤΡ ΚΑ ΒΑΛΕΡΙΑ(ΝΟ[V]) ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔ
SNG Aulock 2922.	161-180 AD.	Bust of Young Roman Senate	ΙΕΡΑ CYNΚΛΗΤΟC	Herakles and Gerion.	ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
Paris 170.	161-180 AD.	Head of Young Demos	ΔΗΜΟC ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ	River Hipporios reclining, holding reed.	ΙΠΠΟΥΡΙΟC ΜΑΚΕΔ C ΚΑ ΒΑ
Paris 168.	161-180 AD.	Head of Young Demos.	ΔΗΜΟC ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ	River Hipporios reclining left, holding reed.	ΙΠΠΟΥΡΙΟC ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕ

BMC Lydia 80.	193-211 AD.	Septimius Severus with cuirass.	ΑΥ Κ Λ ΣΕΠ ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΣ	Tyche standing, polos on head, holding rudder.	ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟ
BMC Lydia 79.	193-211 AD	Head of Septimius Severus.	ΑΥ ΚΑΙ Λ ΣΕΥ ΠΕΡ	Apollo Kitharoidos, radiate, holding lyre.	ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
SNG Righetti 1014 var.	211 AD.	Caracalla and Geta.	ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ ΑΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΟ ΣΕΠ ΓΕΤΑΣ	Tetrastyle temple with shield in pediment and Apollo.	ΕΠΙ ΤΙ ΚΛ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΑΡΧ Α ΤΟ Β around, ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕ-
BMC Lydia 81 – 82.	211-217 AD.	Caracalla with laureate cuirassed bust, gorgon on cuirass.	ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟ	Herakles, naked, standing, holding lionskin.	ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚ ΕΠΙ ΤΙ ΚΛ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΑΡ Α ΤΟ Β
BMC 81.	218-222 AD.	Elagabalus, cuirassed.	ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝ	Herakles lunging brandishing club.	ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚ, ΕΠΙ ΤΙ ΚΛ ΑΛΕΞΑ-ΝΔΡΟΥ ΑΡ Α-ΤΟ Β
Righetti Coll. Sale 22	222-235 AD.	Julia Mamaea	ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΜΑΜΑΙΑ	Apollo Kitharoedus in long robe, standing.	ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔ ΕΠΙ ΙΟΥΛ(?) ΜΑΡΚΟ-Υ
Matern 2006, nr.73 p.300.	222-235 AD.	Julia Mamaea	ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΜΑΜΑΙΑ ΣΕΒ	Apollo Kitharoedus in long robe, standing.	ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΙ ΚΛ ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΑΡΧ Α ΤΟ Β
SNG Righetti 1014.	244-249 AD.	Philip the Arab cuirassed	ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΙΟΥΛ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΑΥΓ	Tetrastyle temple with Apollo standing.	ΕΠ ΑΥΡ ΓΛΥΚΩΝΟΣ Γ ΝΙΓΡ ΑΡΧ Α ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕ
BMC Lydia 85.	244-249 AD.	Philip the Arab cuirassed	ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΙΟΥΛ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΑΥΓ	Apollo Lairbenos on horse with double axe.	ΕΠ ΑΥΡ ΓΛΥΚΩΝΟΣ Γ ΝΙΓΡ ΑΡΧ Α ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚ
BMC Lydia 84.	244-249 AD.	Philip the Arab cuirassed	ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΙΟΥΛ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΑΥΓ	Herakles and Gerion.	ΕΠ ΑΥΡ ΓΛΥΚΩΝΟΣ Γ ΝΙΓΡ ΑΡΧ Α ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ Μ

Kraft p. 143 and plate 35, 49a.	244-249 AD.	Philip the Arab cuirassed	ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΙΟΥΛ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΑΥΓ	Tyche seated, holding sceptre.	ΕΠ ΑΥΡ ΓΛΥΚΩΝΟΣ Γ ΝΙΓΡ ΑΡΧ Α ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕ
BMC 86.	244-248 AD.	Otacilia Severa draped bust right on crescent	Μ ΩΤΑΚΙΛΙΑ ΣΕΟΥΗΡΑ ΣΕΒ	Apollo Lairbenos on horseback, bipennis.	ΕΠ ΑΥΡ ΓΛΥΚΩΝΟΣ Γ ΝΙΓΡ ΑΡΧ Α ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚ
SNG vA 2931.	244-248 AD.	Otacilia Severa draped bust right on crescent	Μ ΩΤΑΚΙΛΙΑ ΣΕΟΥΗΡΑ ΣΕΒ	Apollo, radiate, standing, holding lyre.	ΕΠ ΑΥΡ Γ ΛΥΚΩΝΟΣ Γ ΝΙΓΡ ΑΡΧΑ ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕ
SNG Mü 95.	244-248 AD.	Otacilia Severa draped bust right on crescent	Μ ΩΤΑΚ ΣΕΒΗΡΑ ΣΕΒ		ΕΠ ΑΥΡ Γ ΛΥΚΩΝΟΣ Γ ΝΙΓΡ ΑΡΧΑ ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚ
SNG Cop 97.	244-249 AD.	Philip II	Μ ΙΟΥΛ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ	Tyche standing, polos on head.	ΒΛΑΥΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚ
BMC Lydia 87 var.	244-249 AD.	Philip II	Μ ΙΟΥΛ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ	River Hipporios reclining, holding reed.	ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕ, ΙΠΠΟΥΡΙΟΣ
BMC Lydia 89.	251-253 AD.	Trebonianus Gallus	Α Κ Γ Ο Τ ΓΑΛΛΟΣ Σ	Roma, unhelmeted, standing, foot on rock.	ΣΤΡ ΑΥΡ ΠΑΠΙΑ ΕΡΜΟ ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑ ΡΟΜΗ
BMC Lydia 90.	251-253 AD.	Trebonianus Gallus	Α Κ Γ Ο ΤΡ ΓΑΛΛΟΣ Σ	Herakles, naked, standing, holding club.	ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟ ΑΡΧ Α ΑΥ ΠΑΠΙΟΥ
SNG Aulock 8222.	251-253 AD.	Trebonianus Gallus	Α Κ Γ Ο Τ ΓΑΛΛΟΣ Σ	Apollo Laierbenos riding with bipennis.	ΕΠΙ ΑΡ Α ΑΥ ΠΑΠΙΟΥ ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚ
Waddington 4928.	251-253 AD.	Volusianus	Α Κ ΟΥΟΛΟΥΣΣΙΑΝΟΣ	Apollo Laierbenos riding with bipennis.	ΕΠΙ ΑΡ Α ΑΥ ΠΑΠΙΑ ΕΡ ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑ
SNG Cop 99.	251-253 AD.	Volusianus	Α Κ ΟΥΟΛΟΥΣΙΑΝΟΣ	Apollo Laierbenos riding with bipennis.	ΣΤΡ ΑΡ Α ΑΥ ΠΑΠΙΑ ΕΡ ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑ



SNG Aulock 2932.	251-253 AD.	Volusianus	A K ΟΥΟΛΟΥCCΙΑΝΟC	Apollo Laierbenos riding with bipennis.	Ε? ΑΡ Α ΑΥ ΠΑΠΙΟΥ ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕ
BMC Lydia 92.	251-253 AD.	Volusianus	A Κ Γ Ο Τ ΟΥΟΛΟΥCΙΑΝΟC C	Apollo Laierbenos riding with bipennis.	Ε ΑΡ Α ΠΑΠΙΟΥ ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕ
BMC Lydia 93.	251-253 AD.	Volusianus	A K ΟΥΟΛΟΥCCΙΑΝΟC	Apollo, radiate, standing, holding lyre.	CΤΡ ΑΥ ΠΑΠΙΑ ΕΡ ΜΑΚ ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ
BMC Lydia 50.	251-253 AD.	Head of Young Demos	ΔΗΜΟC ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑ	River-god Hipporios reclining, holding reed.	CΤΡ ΑΥ ΠΑΠΙΑ ΕΡ ΙΠΠΟΥΡΙΟC
SNG Lewis 1522.	251-253 AD.	Head of Young Demos	ΔΗΜΟC ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝ	River Hipporios reclining, holding reed.	ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΙΠΠΟΥΡΙΟC
BMC Lydia 55.	251-253 AD.	Bust of Young Roman Senate	ΙΕΡΑ CΥΝΚΛΗΤΟC	Naked Zeus with patera before an altar.	ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑ
BMC Lydia 56-57.	251-253 AD.	Bust of Young Roman Senate	ΙΕΡΑ CΥΝΚΛΗΤΟC	Eagle standing right on two crossed bones.	ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑ

## 2.2 Dokimeion.

Coin	Date	Obverse	Legend O.	Reverse	Legend R.
BMC 5 var.	100-200 AD	Draped bust of the senate.	ΙΕΡΑ CΥΝΚΛΗΤΟC	Tyche standing facing, head, holding rudder.	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
BMC 1.	193-200 AD	Veiled, laureate-headed and draped bust of the Boule.	ΙΕΡΑ ΒΟΥΛΗ	Naked Apollo standing, facing.	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕ(Δ[ )

BMC 2	193-200 AD	Veiled, laureate-headed and draped bust of the Boule.	ΙΕΡΑ ΒΟΥΛΗ	Temple with six columns	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC 2963	IV 193-200 AD	Veiled, laureate-headed and draped bust of the Boule.	ΙΕΡΑ ΒΟΥΛΗ	Zeus seated , holding long sceptre.	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC 9788	IV 138-161 AD	Antoninus Pius	ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ ΑΔΡ[Ι] ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC	Naked Zeus seated, holding long sceptre.	ΔΟΚΙΜΕ[ΩΝ] ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
BMC 19	138-161 AD	Antoninus Pius	ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ ΑΔΡΙ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC	Temple with six columns	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC 1974.	IV 161-180 AD	Marcus Aurelius	ΑΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΥΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC	Turreted Cybele seated on lion, holding sceptre and tympanum	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC 1688.	IV 161-175 AD	Faustina Minor	ΦΑΥCΤΕΙΝΑ CΕΒΑCΤΗ	Naked Apollo standing, facing.	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕ(ΔΟ)
RPC 1978	IV 161-175 AD	Faustina Minor	ΦΑΥCΤΕΙΝΑ CΕΒΑCΤΗ	Zeus seated, holding long sceptre.	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC 1975.	IV 161-175 AD	Faustina Minor	ΦΑΥCΤΕΙΝΑ CΕΒΑCΤΗ	Temple with six columns.	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC	IV 161-	Lucius Verus	ΑΥ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΥΡ ΟΥΗΡΟC	Turreted Cybele seated on lion,	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ

1979	166 AD			holding sceptre.	ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC IV 1980.	161-180 AD.	Lucilla	ΛΟΥΚΙΛΛΑ ΣΕΒΑΧΤΗ	Zeus seated, holding long sceptre.	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
BMC 26.	211- 217 AD	Caracalla	ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΥ ΟΥΗΡΟΣ	Kybele turreted and veiled riding on back of lion.	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
BMC 27.	217-218 AD.	Macrinus	ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΟΤΕΛ ΣεΟΥΕΡ ΜΑ....	Athena enthroned, helmeted holding Nike and spear.	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
BMC 28.	217-218 AD	Macrinus	ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΟΤΕΛ ΣεΟΥΗΡ ΜΑΚΡΙΝΟΣ ΑΥΓ	Temple with six columns in front and seven at side.	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
BMC 29.	217-218 AD	Macrinus	ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΟΤΕΛ ΣεΟΥΗΡ ΜΑΚΡΙΝΟΣ ΑΥΓ	Kybele turreted, standing holding phiale and tympanum.	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
Burstein 772.	217-218 AD.	Diadumenianus	Μ ΟΠΕΛ ΜΑΚΡ ΑΝΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΔΟΥΜΕΝΙΑΝΟΣ Κ	Nemesis standing front, altar at foot right.	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
Burstein 772 var (altar).	217-218 AD.	Diadumenianus	Μ ΟΠΕΛ ΜΑΚΡ ΑΝΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΔΟΥΜΕΝΙΑΝΟΣ Κ	Nemesis standing, holding rod.	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
BMC 30	217-218 AD.	Diadumenianus	Μ ΟΠΕΛ ΜΑΚΡ ΑΝΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΔΟΥΜΕΝΙΑΝΟΣ Κ	Nike, with spread wings, running towards.	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
BMC 31	217-218 AD.	Diadumenianus	Μ ΟΠΕΛ ΜΑΚΡ ΑΝΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΔΟΥΜΕΝΙΑΝΟΣ Κ	Tyche, wearing kalathos, standing, holding rudder.	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ

BMC 32	217-218 AD.	Diadumenianus	Μ ΟΠΕΛ ΜΑΚΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙ ΔΙΑΔΟΥΜΕΝΙΑΝΟΣ Κ	Zeus enthroned, himation over lower limbs.	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC VII.1 744	238-244 AD.	Gordian III	Μ ΑΝΤ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΥΓ	Athena standing r., brandishing spear and holding shield	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC VII.1 745	238-244 AD.	Gordian III	Μ ΑΝΤ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΥΓ	Cybele seated on throne, holding patera and sceptre.	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC VII.1 746	238-244 AD.	Gordian III	Μ ΑΝΤ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΥΓ	Cybele seated on lion, holding sceptre and tympanum.	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC VII.1 747	238-244 AD.	Gordian III	Μ ΑΝΤ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΥΓ	Hygieia standing, , facing Asclepius standing.	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC VII.1 748	238-244 AD.	Gordian III	Μ ΑΝΤ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΥΓ	Eagle perched on vexillum, between two military signs.	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC VII.1 749	241-244 AD.	Tranquillina	СΑΒ ΤΡΑΝΚΥΛΛΕΙΝΑ С	Cybele seated on lion, holding sceptre.	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC VII.1 750	241-244 AD.	Tranquillina	СΑΒ ΤΡΑΝΚΥΛΛΕΙΝΑ С	Tyche of Dokimeon seated on rocks.	ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ

### 2.3 Peltai.

Coin	Date	Obverse	Legend O.	Reverse	Legend R.
BMC	138-192 AD	Helmeted,	ΜΑΚΕΔ	Stag standing	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ

16.		draped bust of Athena.		right	
BMC 20.	138-192 AD.	Head of the Demos as Heracles.	ΔΗΜΟΣ ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ	Emperor on horseback, holding spear.	ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC IV 11100.	138- 192 AD	Head of the Demos as Heracles.	ΔΗΜΟΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ	Emperor on horseback, holding spear.	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ
RPC IV 9984.	138-192 AD	Head of the Demos as Heracles.	[ΔΗΜΟΣ] ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ	Naked Apollo standing, drawing arrow.	ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC IV 2155.	138-192 AD.	Veiled and draped bust of the Boule.	ΒΟΥΛΗ ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ	Winged Nemesis standing.	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
BMC 19.	138-192 AD.	Head of Heracles with club		Asclepius standing, holding serpent-staff	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝ(Ω)
BMC 18.	138-192 AD.	Head of Heracles.	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ	River Maeandros	ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ

				reclining, holding reed.	
RPC IV 2152.	138-192 AD.	Head of Dionysus wearing ivy wreath.		Naked Aphrodite standing, facing.	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝ
BMC 12-14.	138-192 AD.	Turreted and draped bust of the Tyche.		Bucranium surmounted by crescent.	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝ
BMC 15.	192- 217 AD	Draped bust of Asclepius.	ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩ	Hygieia standing, feeding serpent.	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ
RPC IV 1714.	138- 161 AD.	Antoninus Pius	ΤΙ ΑΙ ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC	Athena standing, holding olive- branch, Macedonian shield.	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC IV	138- 161 AD.	Antoninus	ΑΥ ΚΑΙCΑΡ	Cybele	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ

2142.		Pius	ANTΩNЄINOC	standing, between two lions.	
RPC IV 2978.	138- 161 AD.	Antoninus Pius	AV KAICAP ANTΩNЄINOC	Tyche standing, holding rudder.	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC IV 2143.	138-161 AD.	Antoninus Pius	[AV] KAICAP ANTΩ[NЄI]NOC	Zeus seated, holding patera and long sceptre.	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC IV 2492.	161-180 AD	Marcus Aurelius	M AVPHAI OVHPOC KAIC	Athena standing, holding Nike, Macedonian shield	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC IV 2144.	162-180 AD.	Marcus Aurelius	M AVPHAI OVHPOC KAIC	Temple enclosing statue of Artemis of Ephesus	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ

				standing.	
BMC 24.	193- 211 AD	Septimius Severus	Λ ΣΕΠ ΣΕΥΗΡΟΣ Π ΑΥΓΟ	Tyche standing , holding rudder and cornucopiae.	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΑΡΧ ΙΟΥΝΙΟΥ ΤΟ Α
CNG 78, 1346.	193-211 AD.	Septimius Severus	Λ ΣΕΠ ΣΕΥΗΡΟΣ Π ΑΥΓΟ	Tyche standing , holding rudder on globe and cornucopiae.	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ Μ ΣΤΡ ΤΑΤ ΑΡΙΩΝΟC
BMC 26.	198-217 AD.	Caracalla	Μ ΑΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC	Tyche standing, polos on head, holding rudder.	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ Μ ΤΡ ΤΑΤ ΑΡΙΩΝΟC
CNG 64942.	198-212 AD.	Caracalla and Geta		Hexastyle temple with serpent; Macedonian shield.	ΑΡC ΙΟΥΝΙΟΥ ΤΟ Δ ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚ



SNG Munich 429.	198-217 AD	Caracalla	Μ ΑΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC	Tyche standing, holding rudder on globe.	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑ ΑΡΧ ΙΟΥΝΙΟΥ ΤΟ Β
BMC 28.	202-211 AD.	Plautilla	ΠΛΑΥΤΙΛΛΑ CΕΒ	Tyche standing, holding rudder and cornucopiae.	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ Μ CΤΡ ΤΑΤ ΑΡΙΩΝΟC
SNG Cop. 642.	198-209 AD.	Geta	ΠΟ CΕΠΤ ΓΕΤΑC ΚΑΙ	Tyche standing, holding rudder.	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑ CΤΡ ΜΗΤΡΟΒΙΟΥ
RPC VI 5636.	222-235 AD.	Severus Alexander	ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ CΕΒ ΑΛΞΑΝΔΡΟC	Artemis standing on biga of stags.	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC VI 5637.	222-235 AD.	Severus Alexander	ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ CΕΒ ΑΛΞΑΝΔΡΟC	Tyche standing, wearing kalathos.	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC VI	222-235 AD.	Severus	ΑΥΤ Κ Μ ΑΥΡ	Zeus seated	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ

5638.		Alexander	ΑΛΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ	on throne, holding patera.	
RPC VI 5639.	222-235 AD.	Severus Alexander	ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥ ΣΕΥ ΑΛΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ	Tyche standing, wearing kalathos.	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚ ΕΠΙ ΑΛΞΑ ΣΚΥΘ Β
RPC VI 5640.	222-235 AD.	Julia Mamaea	ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΜΑΜΕΑ ΣΕΒ	Eagle facing, spreading wings	ΠΕΛΤΗ Μ ΑΡΧ ΝΙΓΡΟΥ
RPC VI 5644.	222-235 AD.	Julia Mamaea	ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΜΑΜΕΑ ΣΕ	Emperor on horseback, holding spear.	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚ ΑΡ ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΟΥ
RPC VI 5641.	222-235 AD.	Severus Alexander	ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥ ΣΕΥ ΑΛΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ	Nike advancing, holding palm branch.	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚ ΑΡΧ ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΟΥ
RPC VI 5642.	222- 235 AD.	Severus Alexander	ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥ ΣΕΥ ΑΛΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ	Nike advancing, holding palm branch.	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚ ΑΡΧ ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΟΥ

RPC VI 5643.	222-235 AD.	Severus Alexander	ΑΥ Κ Μ ΑΥ ΣΕΥ ΑΛΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ	Emperor on horseback, holding spear.	ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚ ΑΡΧ ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΟΥ
BMC 32.	251-253 AD.	Trebonianu s Gallus	Α Κ Γ Ο ΤΡΕ ΓΑΛΛΟΣ Σ	Herakles, naked, standing, with Lion.	ΕΠΙ ΑΥΡ ΡΟΥΦΕΙΝΟΥ ΓΑΙΟΥ ΑΡΧ Α ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC IX 803.	251- 53 AD.	Trebonianu s Gallus	Α Κ Γ Ο ΤΡΕ ΓΑΛΛΟΣ Σ	Temple with Artemis of Ephesus.	ΕΠΙ ΓΡΑΜ ΑΥΡ ΤΑΤΙΑΝΟΥ, Σ-Ο-Κ-Ε, ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC IX 802.	251-253 AD.	Volusian	Γ Ο Α Γ ΟΟΥΟΛΟΥΣΣΙΑΝΟ Σ Σ	Artemis running, drawing arrow.	ΕΠΙ ΑΥΡ ΡΟΥΦΕΙΝΟΥ ΓΑΙΟΥ ΑΡΧ Α ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC IX 804.	251-253 AD	Volusian	Γ Ο Α Γ ΟΟΥΟΛΟΥΣΣΙΑΝΟ Σ Σ	Tyche standing, holding rudder.	ΕΠΙ ΓΡΑΜ ΑΥΡ ΤΑΤΙΑΝΟΥ ΣΟΚ ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ

## Lydia

### 2.4 Apollonis

Coin	Date	Obverse	Legend O.	Reverse	Legend R.
SNG Cop 16.	II/I century BC.	Macedonian shield ornamented with five stars		Club	ΑΠΟΛΛΩ-ΝΙΔΕΩΝ
Winterthur 3682- 3683.	II/I century BC.	Macedonian shield ornamented with five stars, eagle		Club	ΑΠΟΛΛΩ-ΝΙΔΕΩΝ
BMC Lydia 3	II/I century BC.	Head of young Herakles in lion's skin.		Winged Thunderbolt	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΕΩΝ
BMC Lydia 4	II/I century BC.	Head of young Herakles in lion's skin.		Winged Thunderbolt	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΕΩΝ
BMC Lydia 5-6-7.	81-190 AD.	Young Male bust of the Roman Senate	ΘΕΟΝ CYNΚΛΗ[Τ]ΟΝ	Eagle, wings open, standing on bone	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ-ΙΔΕΩΝ

## 2.5 Hyrkanis

Coin	Date	Obverse	Legend O.	Reverse	Legend R.
BMC 1	Roman Imperial period	Nike advancing	Obliterated	Macedonian shield	ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
BMC 2	176-225 AD.	Mask of Silenos	ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ	Naked satyr	ΥΡΚΑΝΩΝ
BMC 3	150-200 AD.	Turreted bust of Tyche	ΥΡΚΑΝΩΝ	Tyche, wearing kalathos	ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
Falter 459	176-276 AD.	Bust of the Senate	ΙΕΡΑ CYNΚΛΗΤΟC	River god Pidasos	ΥΡΚΑΝΩ ΜΑΚΕ
Imhoof LS 1	II/III century AD.	Head of Silenos	ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ	Serpent emerging from basket	ΥΡΚΑΝΩΝ
Svoronos 236	176-276 AD.	Bare head of the Senate	ΙΕΡΑ CYNΚΛΗΤΟC	River god Pidasos	ΥΡΚΑΝΩ ΜΑΚΕ
Waddington 5039	II/III century AD.	Bust of the Senate	ΙΕΡΑ CYNΚΛΗΤΟC	River god Pidasos	ΥΡΚΑΝΩ ΜΑΚΕ
RPC III 1951	98-117 AD.	Trajan		Dionysus standing l., holding cantharus.	ΑΝΘΥ ΜΑΡΤΙΑ ΜΑ ΥΡΚΑΝΩ
RPC III 1953	112/117	Plotina	ΠΛΩΤΙΝΑ	Serpent staff	ΥΡΚΑΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ

	AD.		CEBACTH	(Asklepios)	
RPC III 1957	117-138 AD.	Hadrian	AY KAI TPAI ADPIANOC CEB	Rape of Persephone	ANΘY KYIH[TΩ Y]PKANΩN MAKE
BMC 17	180-192 AD.	Commodus	AVTO KAI M AV PH K[OMO]ΔO C	Rape of Persephone	[CTPAΛOVET] ANTΩNEINOY MAKEΔ YRKANΩN
BMC 18	180-192 AD.	Commodus	AVTO KAI M AV PH K[OMO]ΔO C	Rape of Persephone	[CTPAΛOVET] ANTΩNEINOY MAKEΔ YRKANΩN
Mionnet IV, 329	177-192 AD.	Commodus	AYTO KAI M AYPH KOMOΔO	Head of Herakles r.	CTPA Λ OYET ANTΩNEINOY YPKANΩN MAKEΔ
RPC IV 1293	177-192 AD.	Commodus	AYTO KAI M AVPH KOMOΔOC	Rape of Persephone	CTPA Λ OYET ANTΩNEINOY YPKANΩN MAKEΔ
Mionnet IV, 330	177-192 AD.	Commodus	AYTO KAI M AYPH KOMOΔOC	Rape of Persephone	CTPA Λ OYET ANTΩNEINOY YPKANΩN MAKEΔN
Paris 562	177-192 AD.	Commodus	AYTO KAI M AYPH KOMOΔOC	Rape of Persephone	CTPA Λ OYET ANTΩNEINOY MAKEΔ, YPKANΩN
SNG Munich 177	177-192 AD.	Commodus	AY KAI M AYPH KOMOΔOC	River god Pidasos with the Macedonian shield	CTPA Λ OYET ANTΩNEINOY YPKANΩN MAKEΔON

BMC 22	244-249 AD.	Philip Senior	ΑΥ Κ Μ ΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ	Demeter, veil billowing over head	ΕΠ ΣΤ ΤΟ Β ΑΥ ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ Β ΣΤΕΦ ΥΡΚΑΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔ
BMC 24	244-249 AD.	Otacilia Severa	Μ ΩΤΑΚΙΛΙΑ ΣΕΟΥΗΡΑ ΣΕ	River god Pidasos with the Macedonian shield	ΕΠ ΣΤ ΤΟ Β ΑΥ ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΟΥ Β ΣΤΕΦ ΥΡΚΑΝΩΝ
BMC 25	247-249 AD.	Philip Junior	Μ ΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΙΣ	River god Pidasos with the Macedonian shield	ΕΠ ΣΤ ΤΟ Β ΑΥ ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΟΥ Β ΣΤΕΦ ΥΡΚΑΝΩΝ

## 2.6 Mysomakedones

Coin	Date	Obverse	Legend O.	Reverse	Legend R.
RPC I 2567.1.	14-37 AD.	Tiberius		Zeus standing left, holding eagle and sceptre.	ΜΥΣΟΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
RPC I Supp. 2568.3.	14-29 AD	Livia	ΣΕΒΑΚΤΗ	Cult image of Artemis Ephesia facing.	ΜΥΣΟΜΑΚΕΔΟΝ-ΩΝ

## 2.7 Philadelphia

Coin	Date	Obverse	Legend O.	Reverse	Legend R.
BMC 1.	Before 133 BC.	Macedonian shield,		Winged thunderbolt, NK	ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛ-ΦΕΩΝ

		star in centre		monogram, all within wreath.	
BMC 2-3.	I century BC.	Macedonian shield, star in centre		Winged thunderbolt, ΡΠΜΕ monogram above, within wreath.	ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛ-ΦΕΩΝ
BMC 4.	I century BC.	Macedonian shield		Thunderbolt and ΔΙ monogram within laurel wreath.	ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛ-ΦΕΩΝ
Michael Brandt 130762.	I century BC.	Macedonian shield with star in centre		Thunderbolt and ΑΡ monogram within laurel wreath.	ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ
Imhoof LS 9.	I century BC.	Macedonian shield		Thunderbolt within laurel wreath	ΕΡ-ΜΙΠ, ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛ- ΦΕΩΝ
Mionnet IV.	I century BC.	Macedonian shield		Thunderbolt and ΩΜΕ monogram within laurel wreath.	ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ
Pecunem 16, 396.	I century BC.	Macedonian shield with star in centre		Thunderbolt and ΩΠΑ monogram within laurel wreath.	ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛ-ΦΕΩΝ
SNG Cop 343.	300-200 BC.	Macedonian shield		Thunderbolt within wreath, ΔΙΟ monogram above.	ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛ-ΦΕΩΝ
SNG Tuebingen 3741	I century BC.	Macedonian shield		Thunderbolt and ΗΦΑ monogram within laurel wreath.	ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ
SNG v. Aulock 3060.	I century BC.	Macedonian shield		Thunderbolt within laurel wreath.	ΕΡΜΙΠ-ΠΟΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ
Winterthur 3843.	I century BC.	Macedonian shield		Thunderbolt and ΜΕ monogram	ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ



		with star in centre		within laurel wreath	
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*OGIS = Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones selectae.* 2 vols, edited by W. Dittenberg, Leipzig 1903-1905.

*RPC: A. Burnett, M. Amandry and P. Ripolles, Roman provincial coinage*, I. London and Paris, 1991.

*SEG: Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.*

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