

MINTING IDEAS

CIVIC IDENTITY AND RELATIONSHIP WITH ROME



CLAUDIA PAFFEN

Source image front page: *RPC 2207, AR, 27-26 B.C.*

(<https://www.sixbid.com/browse.html?auction=2200&category=44555&lot=1873861>, consulted on 13/02/2018)

Minting IDEas: *Civic Identity and Relationship with Rome in Roman Provincial Coinage*

Name: Claudia Paffen
Student number: 1978942
Course: Master thesis Archaeology
Supervisor: Dr. M.K. Termeer
Specialisation: Classical and Mediterranean Archaeology
Institution: University of Leiden, Faculty of Archaeology

First version: Leiden, 3 April 2018

Second version: Leiden, 14 June 2018

Table of contents

Introduction	5
Chapter 1: History of the cities and their coinage before and after Roman conquest	12
Chapter 2: The coin production and regulation	22
Chapter 3: Iconography and legends	33
Conclusion	56
Bibliography	61
List of figures and tables	65

Introduction

Coins have a strong connection with identity, which is a widely discussed topic in academic literature. However, some aspects of this discussion have caught my attention because I have some slightly different ideas about them. In the article *The Roman Colonies of Greece and Asia Minor* (2008), an example of how this matter is currently interpreted, Katsari demonstrates that cities in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire chose images for their coinage that would distinguish the identity of their community from the identity of the Roman authority. She argues that there was a difference between coins with an imperial ideology and coins with a civic ideology: “Types that represent state themes are those that also appear on the official imperial coinage issued in the name of the Roman authorities. These represent the ideological outlook of the state. Types that are not found in this repertoire, but only in the context of Greek civic coinages represent a different, civic ideology” (Katsari, 2008, 229). I have, however, some problems with this strong dichotomy between civic and imperial themes. I would like to discuss this connection between coins and identity in my thesis by looking at the Roman provincial coinage once more, to see what exactly the identity was that the people of these cities wanted to express, how both Roman and civic themes formed the identity of the people in the cities in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire and how these coins reflect their relationship with Rome. I will do this by means of three cities in the eastern provinces that serve as case-studies. However, before I start with this, I will first briefly say something about Roman provincial coinage and cultural identity in general.

Roman provincial coinage

In general, the coinage of the Roman Empire can be divided in two groups, with on the one hand the ‘Roman imperial coins’ and on the other hand the ‘Roman provincial coins’ (Heuchert, 2005, 29). Initially the coins struck in the east were called ‘Greek imperials’ because they mostly bore Greek instead of Latin legends, but this term was later reconciled with the term ‘provincial coins’ (opted by Butcher, 1988). This way, provincial coins were defined as coins not listed in the *Roman Imperial Coinage* (Amandry, 2012, 392-393). In *Roman Provincial Coinage* (1992) the definition that was therefore formulated for these provincial coins was: “everything which is not included in *Roman Imperial Coinage*” (Burnett, 1992, xiii).

In the eastern part of the Roman Empire, virtually all base-metal coins were struck by local mints and are thus part of the Roman provincial coinage. This operation continued up until the late third century A.D. (Noreña, 2011, 250). The different Roman coins that were minted in the provinces can roughly be divided in four groups:

1. Coins of client kings: these coins circulated in an area that was controlled by a king. It was, however, not uncommon for these coins to bear the portrait of the current emperor as well.
2. Provincial issues: These were heavily influenced by the Roman authority and they lacked ethnic features. They were important because they were struck in large quantities, to provide sufficient coinage for a large part of the eastern half of the Empire.

3. *Koinon* coins: These coins were issued by a number of *koina*, which were federations of cities. The most important function of these coins was the worship of the emperor and they often depicted the imperial cult.
4. Civic coins: These were the most common types of provincial coins, issued by the city-states. These coins, which were mostly made of bronze, circulated locally and provided the biggest part of the small change in the area (Heuchert, 2005, 30).

In this thesis, the focus will mainly lie on the civic coins, because it is on these coins that the features of local identity are displayed most often. They are therefore suitable sources for themes I am interested in. The images and inscriptions on these coins have a very strong public character. They mostly circulated locally, with sometimes evidence that coins had travelled a long way over sea or land. It is not known whether coins of one city were also accepted in a different city (Heuchert, 2005, 31).

Within these civic coins, there were mostly obverse types that depicted the portrait of the emperor or a member of the imperial family, but there were also coins that depicted neither. These so-called 'Pseudo-autonomous coins' had depictions of gods or goddesses, personifications of the Roman Senate or Roma and personifications of the city (the city goddess or founding hero) (Heuchert 2005, 47). The reverse types, however, more often held a local theme, such as the depiction of a local god or building (see chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion) (Amandry, 2012, 399-400).

Cultural identity and its relation to coinage

Cultural identity

Cultural identity is a dynamic and much-discussed subject. It is not my intention to give an extensive definition of what the cultural identity exactly was of the people of the cities that will be discussed. My intention is to look at what the coins of these cities will tell us about the ideas of the cities' identity, displayed on their coinage and what it can add to the discussion, rather than to give a complete picture of what their cultural identity was. In this section I will briefly explain the recent views about cultural identity and some aspects that are important and relevant when discussing the concept of identity in later chapters.

Williamson describes the general consensus of the definition of identity as: "Identity (here) is seen primarily as a socio-psychological term, defined loosely as 'concepts of belonging' and is made up of a series of overlapping domains -language, material culture, and the histories that people tell of themselves" (Williamson, 2005, 20). The definition given by Williamson helps my argument, because it describes identity as a 'concept of belonging'. That 'concept of belonging' is about 'telling your own history' which is primarily what these citizens in the Roman provinces were concerned about when they expressed their identity on their coinage. And having a general idea of what this identity contains, will help me get a better picture of how that identity was displayed in the coinage.

It must be noted, however, that this is just a general definition. Different fields of study all have their own, more extensive view on the concept of identity as well. Below, I will mention some specific theories of Greek and Roman identity that will cover the aspects of identity that are important for this thesis.

The first important theme is religion. Religion and identity are closely related in Greek culture.¹ It served as a way of interaction with the Roman authority, as is argued by Grijalvo: “Religion was used as a way of consolidating the power of elites, whether in their own *poleis* or within the Empire. (...) Their mythical origins were the subject of new rituals, which was both a reaction to Roman rule and also a way to integrate Rome in the life of the city” (Grijalvo, 2017, 28). The local elites of the Greek cities, although they most likely did not lose power, had to renegotiate their position when they came under Roman authority, in which religion can be a powerful tool. Furthermore, religion is also an important theme on local coinage in the eastern cities. And therefore, religion that is used as an expression of identity on local coinage, could function as a tool to renegotiate power. Using Greek religion on local coinage could be a message from the locals that they belonged to the Greek world and it is interesting to see how this works in connection to their relationship with the Roman authority and how that authority looked at this coinage.

Another important aspect of identity is the past. The Greeks and Romans both had a very strong relationship with their past. The Greeks even more so under the power of the Roman Empire, thinking back to the time when they were independent city states: “It was an age that was intensely self-conscious about its relation to history, a consciousness that manifested itself not only in Attic purism and a reverence for antique literary models but also ethnic identities, educational and religious institutions, and political interactions with- and even among- the Romans” (Konstan, 2006, x).² The fact that the Greeks had such a strong relationship with their past is important, because the past is often represented as a theme on coins and will say much about how the cities were still in connection with their past, now that they were under Roman rule.

Goldhill (2001) has a similar argument about keeping the Greek culture and the dealing with other cultures. He argues that: “Since Herodotus (at least) the definition of Greekness (over and against the barbarian other) is a familiar aspect of Greek self-reflection. The Alexandrian community (...) developed further strategies of self-representation and dealt with different dynamics of interaction with, say, the Egyptian population.” He also argues that the Roman Empire has a significant effect on the possibilities of what this concept of Greekness might be or imply (Goldhill, 2001, 13). Goldhill thus argues that other cultures that came into contact with Greek culture affected that culture, such as the Romans did.

This brings us to the topic of Romanisation and the question how both the Greeks and Romans adopted cultural aspects of each other, in order to understand the Roman themes that started appearing on civic coinage. Romanisation is again a dynamic and much discussed subject, but I will point out some of the most important viewpoints regarding the Greeks on this matter. The Romans treated the Greeks and their culture differently than they treated their other subjects. They had more respect for it and allowed it to continue, even though the Romans accused the Greeks of being decadent and having lost their civilization.

¹ In this context, Greek culture means the culture that was alive in the cities that are discussed in this thesis before and during Roman occupation.

² For more on the relationship between Greek identity in connection with its past in Roman times see: Konstan, D. and Saïd, S. *Greeks on Greekness: viewing the Greek past under the Roman Empire*, 2006, Cambridge Philological Society

Woolf (1994) argues that the two cultures, although Hellenism fascinates the Romans, are not completely compatible and differences keep existing up until the third century A.D. Where the Greeks focussed, concerning their identity, on descent and the past, the Romans looked at material culture and morality (Woolf, 1994, 116-135). This difference in focus on cultural aspects also returns in the differences in choices of themes between Roman and civic coin-types. I will argue in this thesis, however, that these differences are not that strict.

It is also argued that identity can be used as a concept of renegotiation in connection with a change in power relations, as Laurence and Berry describe: "There can be no single reading, only multiple readings and re-readings at a later date. Such a view questions the objectivity of the process known as romanisation, since people manipulate images to renegotiate their identity and power relations with strangers through the deployment of the material record. (...) What we see in both archaeological and historical record is a process whereby identity is a negotiable concept" (Laurence and Berry, 1998, 8). What is meant in this citation is that identity is not one fixed idea or concept. It can be changed and adapted (re-negotiated) when a new situation occurs, such as when a city is occupied by the Romans. This theory can help answer the question of how coins can represent civic identity, because the images that are displayed on coins both engage with the local identity and the relationship with the Roman authority.

Relation identity and coins

As a function of coins, one would initially think about its use as money, which is defined by the *OED* as: "Any generally accepted medium of exchange which enables a society to trade goods without the need for barter; any objects or tokens regarded as a store of value and used as a medium of exchange" (<http://www.oed.com>). However, since a coin is such a powerful tool and is used by so many people, it can also serve as a means of communication, especially the communication of certain ideas and representation, such as Howgego argues: "What coinage most obviously provides is an enormous range of self-defined and explicit representations of public/official/communal identity, principally civic in nature" (Howgego, 2005, 1).

When thinking about coins as a means of communication in the ancient world, there are three important points to keep in mind: first, that the designs on the coins not only identified the issuing authority but could also contain a wide range of messages. This way, coins had two different kinds of value, the economic and the symbolic, that also reinforced one another. Secondly that coins were official documents, which meant that, although there are a lot of elements of the coin production that are unknown to us, the state had significant control over the production and over what was to be displayed on the coins. This will have effect on the kind of identity that can be studied through this coinage, since it should be noted that these messages were heavily influenced by a higher authority. And thirdly, because the coins were used for state expenditure, a significant production was necessary, which guaranteed a constant circulation in both the public and private spheres. This way, messages on coins were circulated regularly and extensively under the people. Thus, the combination of official status, of economic and symbolic value and the mass production is what made the coins such a powerful medium for communication (Noreña, 2011, 248-249).

It is therefore obvious that of the different manners that exist to express identity, coins are a very easy and accessible way to do this, because they can so easily convey a message. It is also not surprising that coins and identity are so often connected. That is why coins have been described by Millar as: “the most deliberate of all symbols of public identity” (Millar, 1993, 230). This is also found in the argument of Williamson: “Any minting authority can use coins to send an ideological and iconographical message. Coinages represent both political and economic acts. It also does not directly represent ethnic identities of communities, but the deliberate political choices made by those in control. The iconography also represents a form of accepted political discourse” (Williamson, 2005, 19-20).

Thus coins in antiquity not only served as a tool for the exchange of goods, but also as a way of expressing one’s identity. What we can learn from these coins about local identity and the relationship with Rome, is what will further be discussed.

Introduction to the research question

It will be interesting to see what provincial coins can tell us about the local identity the cities that issued them wanted to express and what the balance was between a focus on their own local identity and on their connections with Rome, especially since these two identities (Greek and Roman) are argued to be expressed in a different way. This thesis will therefore be a study of the production and iconography on early Provincial coinage in the Eastern Roman provinces and the connection of these coins with the political intent and the formation of local identity within these early Roman colonies and eastern cities. I will research whether there was indeed so much difference between civic and imperial types of coinage, and how much they might have influenced each other. To answer this question, I will make use of three case-studies.

This research is relevant because there has still not been much research done on Roman provincial coinage. Although there is already quite some literature available, it is still a very recent field of study, which means that arguments and thought-processes have not yet had to time to develop as far as other fields of study that are older. Furthermore, the question about the connection between provincial coinage identity is interesting, since all these different local mints had different ways of dealing with their identity and relation to the Roman authority, as well as that I have some ideas in this matter that have not been extensively discussed yet in literature. Thus, my research question for this thesis will be: What does the production and iconography of Roman provincial coins of Eastern cities tell us about the (local) identity and their relationship with Rome?

There will be research on locality versus imperialism on locally minted provincial Roman coinage and how this shaped the (local) identity of the colony. The time-range that I will be working in is the late Republic (from the death of Julius Caesar in 44 B.C.) and the early principate (up until Galba). The reason that I chose this period is that it is the beginning of the imperial period and the role of the emperor will be, as we will see on the coinage, of great significance, which is why it will be interesting to look at the upcoming of this phenomenon.

Method

I will focus on three cities, the aforementioned three case-studies, from different eastern provinces to look whether there were any differences between different cities regarding my

research question. These case-studies will help answer the research question, because they each, having all different background histories, dealt with Roman authority in a different way and had different relationships with Rome. The three cities that will serve as case-studies are: Corinth³, that housed one of the most important mints of Achaëa and was a city that experienced significant prosperity after its century-long abandonment just before coming under Roman rule in 44 B.C. (Burnett, 1992, 249). This city is of interest because it had a large coin production throughout the early stages of Roman rule. There are examples of coins with a civic theme and coins with an imperial theme. Secondly, I will look at Pergamum, which is one of the most important mints of Asia minor and issued a lot of imperial as well as civic coins, making it an interesting case to study. And thirdly, Amphipolis, in Macedonia, where there can be found a lot of emphasis on local cults and the Greek cultural identity on the coins, which is an exception from the coins produced in other Macedonians towns, where there seems to be more emphasis on the Roman authority.

I have chosen these three cities because they all have an interesting history before coming under Roman occupation and were occupied by Rome in a different way and time. This means that the relationship with Rome of each of these cities developed in another way, which makes it interesting to study. Another reason for the selection of these cities is that they all have different ways of how they dealt with their local identity on their coinage and how they balanced local and imperial themes in the iconography, as well as that they all have enough available material to make a good case-study.

I already gave a brief introduction on Roman provincial coinage and the relationship between coinage and identity. Hereafter, in chapter 1, I will look at the historical context of the cities, including their relationship with Rome (through literary research and epigraphical evidence), their conquest by the Romans, how their relationship with Rome developed afterwards and how powerful Rome was over the cities. All these factors can have influence on how the city developed and how they dealt with their local identity and coin production. All these events differ per city, thus it is interesting to compare the different situations and whether we can see this return on the coins.

After this, in chapter 2, I will be looking at the known history of money-making in the Roman provinces, why they produced coinage, who the magistrates were that issued these coins and what their intentions and interests were. This will be done by looking at the known history of how the authority worked in these cities and how much their method of coin production changed after Roman occupation (by look at for example the denomination and metal). This will show how these magistrates influenced what is depicted on the coins and in what way this influences the kind of identity that was displayed on the coins. Furthermore, the differences in rate of production in the cities can tell us something about the relationship to Rome. A higher or lower production rate and the kind of metal that is used to mint these coins will inform us of what freedom and possibilities these cities have in their coin production.

In chapter 3 I will, in a qualitative way, look at the iconography of the coins of the three cities and connect this iconography to the local culture of the city and possible Roman influences on this coinage. I will also investigate what it tells us about the local identity and about their relationship with Rome. This will tell what kind of themes each of the cities deemed important to put on their coins and can tell what that means for their identity. I will

³ Corinth was strictly speaking a Roman colony, but I will refer to it as a city, because it has all its aspects, keeping the characteristics of the Roman colony in mind.

also look at whether Roman provincial coins followed the Roman imperials or displayed local themes (mostly derived from Hellenistic culture), by looking at the themes on these coins in comparison to the themes on Roman imperial and Hellenistic coinage. Another important issue that is covered in this chapter is the question of how much the Roman coinage itself was also thematically influenced by Hellenistic culture and whether we should even see these two themes as something separate at all.

And finally, in my conclusion I will lay out the similarities and differences of the three cities and will draw my conclusions about the information found on the coins. I will also make an attempt to answer the research question.

This thesis will therefore have a numismatic approach with in addition some study in ancient history and classical literature, in order to make the research as complete as possible. By combining the study of numismatics with ancient literature and ancient history, I will attempt to get a better picture of what the production of coinage in these eastern cities can tell about their local identity and relationship with Rome.

Chapter 1: History of the cities and their coinage before and after Roman conquest

This chapter aims to discuss the background history of Corinth, Pergamum and Amphipolis before and after they fell into Roman hands, how they were conquered by the Romans and what their situation was at the time that my coin research starts. Research in this background history will give a good basis of what situation these cities were in before the Roman occupation, because this will strongly influence their local identity and how they express this on their coinage. One important aspect of the Greek identity was the past (see introduction), which is why it is important to have a basic outline of the cities' history before Roman occupation.

I will also discuss the history of coin production in the three cities before the Romans, in order to make a good starting point for the analysis of the Roman provincial coins, that were later produced in these cities.

Corinth

Of the foundation of Corinth little is known. We can only look at Pausanias (110-c.180 A.D.) who writes in his *Description of Greece* about the foundation myth of Corinth according to the Corinthians:

“The Corinthian land, that was a part of the Argive, had received the name Corinth. I have known nobody to have said in seriousness that Corinthus was the son of Zeus except for many of the Corinthians. Eumelos, the son of Amphilytus, of the family that is called Bacchidae, who is said to have composed epics, says in his Corinthian writing -if the writing is indeed of Eumelos- that Ephyra, the daughter of Oceanus, lived first on this land, and that later Marathon, son of Epopeus, the son of Aloeus, the son of Helius, fleeing from the lawlessness and *hubris* of his father, moved to the coasts of Attica, that, when Epopeus had died, he came to the Peloponnesus and that he divided his kingdom among his sons and he himself returned again to Attica, and that Asopia was named after Sicyon and Ephyraea after Corinthus.”

(Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 2.1.1)⁴

This, of course, does not tell us anything about the real foundation, only about how the Corinthians themselves saw the foundation of their city, which according to them originated from the son of a deity, showing that mythology was an important part of their past and identity, something that also returns on their coinage.

The city-state of Corinth consisted of the city itself and the countryside that belonged to it. The city owed much of its economic strength to the control over the Isthmus that connected the Corinthian Gulf with the Saronic Gulf. This gave the Corinthians a strategic trading position because the Isthmus provided a transit point between the East and Central Mediterranean. The city had two ports, Lechion and Cendrae (Engels, 1990, 8-11). Thus, Corinth already had a strong economic position before it fell into Roman hands. During the third century B.C., Corinth was part of a political quarrel between Macedonia and the Achaean league. In 243 B.C., Corinth was in hands of a Macedonian garrison, when

⁴ All translations, unless stated otherwise, are my own.

it was taken by Arratus of Sikyon and became a member of the Achaean league, which was a federation of Greek states, that was formed to oppose Macedonian expansion. In 222 B.C., Corinth was back in Macedonian hands, after the battle of Sellasia. Corinth returned to the Achaean league only after the Roman conquest, in 197 B.C. They made Corinth the meeting place of the Aegean league and later the Greek were granted freedom by the general Flaminius. For the upcoming decades, the Corinthians and Romans lived in uneasy co-existence, until the problems with the Aegean league started (Engels, 1990 14; McEvedy, 2011, 121).

In 147 B.C. there was a quarrel between the Achaean league and the Romans. That year, a Roman embassy met with an assembly of the league in Corinth, to solve conflicts they had with Sparta (a member of the Achaean league). The talks ended in a fight, resulting in all the Spartans in the city being arrested. After a second failed meeting, the Romans returned the next year, which also ended in a struggle and resulted into the inhabitants deserting Corinth. Mummius (a Roman general) later entered the city, that was then looted and burnt. He ordered the buildings and walls of Corinth to be demolished and its inhabitants to be sold as slaves. The land fell into Roman hands and was farmed by the Nikonians for the Roman government (Engels, 1990, 14-16). These events show us that Corinth initially did not have a very good relationship with the Romans but started off on bad terms.

Pausanias writes about these events as well:

“No one of the old Corinthians still lives in Corinth, but colonists sent by the Romans. The Achaean league is the cause: for the Corinthians, who were members in this (league), joined in the war against the Romans, which Citoles, who was appointed to be general of the Achaeans, prepared by persuading to revolt both the Achaeans and majority of the rest outside the Peloponnesus. When the Romans won the war, they removed the arms of the other Hellenes and dismantled the walls, as much as the cities were fortified: Corinth was destroyed by Mummius, who was then the leader of the Romans on the field, and they said that later it was re-founded by Caesar, who as the first set down our present constitution in Rome: and Carthage was also re-founded during his reign.” (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 2.1.2)

Thus, Corinth was turned into a *colonia* in 44 B.C. and apparently not on a friendly basis, which could have significant effect on its further relationship with Rome. It will be interesting whether this can be seen in the later coin production as well.

Pausanias states that: “No one of the old Corinthians still lives in Corinth, but colonists sent by the Romans.” There is some discussion about the question of who exactly the people were that lived in Corinth after its destruction by Mummius. What Engels writes about this is that Julius Caesar ordered the colonization of Corinth in order for it to flourish again as a commercial city. The people who became the colonists of Corinth were mostly freedmen, urban plebs and Caesar’s veterans. Because this place was very well fit to prosper as a new colony, Caesar earned loyalty from this group of colonists, especially among the veterans. This would also result in a revival of the economy of Greece, which got him the support of the entire province. This new colony at the place of Corinth was named *Colonia Laus Julia Corinthiensis*. The local Senate had great power. They could authorize the building

of new aqueducts, public buildings, roads and many more things (Engels, 1990, 16-17).

We should, however, be careful in just accepting this theory about whom Julius Caesar sent to this new colony. Millis writes a very strong piece in which he holds onto a somewhat different argument. He explains that early excavations of Corinth used to make a very clear distinction between Greek and Roman phases of Corinth. This distinction was used as more of a chronological indicator and did not tell much about the actual inhabitants of the city. It was assumed that the early colonists of the newly-found Corinth in 44 B.C. were mostly Romans. In the late 20th century, there came the view that Corinth had to be compared not with other Greek cities, but with other Roman colonies. Its population had therefore to be entirely Roman. The literary sources are also unanimous in saying that the population of Roman Corinth was completely Roman.⁵ Millis thinks that we should be very careful with accepting the truth of these texts (Millis, 2010, 13-19). The claim that Corinth is a veteran's colony comes from Plutarch, which means that we have to be careful with this statement, since there is almost no archaeological evidence for this. Strabo, on the other hand, mentions people of the freedmen sent to Corinth by Julius Caesar. Strabo's work is interesting because he wanted to discuss Corinth itself and not Julius Caesar. He even visited the colony himself and his writings correspond with onomastic evidence. In relation to this onomastic evidence Millis argues that: "The presence of large numbers of citizens with Roman *praenomina* and *nomina* but with Greek *cognomina* strongly indicates that these were freedman or at least the descendants of freedman. (...) The literary and onomastic evidence has thus come together to indicate the domination, whether by design or chance, of freedmen within the early colony" (Millis, 2010, 21-22). It is therefore very likely that still people with a Greek background lived in Corinth, which is an important issue for this research, because looking at the identity of a city requires knowing who actually lived there and what their cultural background was.

Millis concludes that through literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence it is clear that these freedmen were of Greek origin, but a group that could easily adjust to the appropriate context. They were part of the Roman world without losing their Greek identity. Corinth was a Roman city to the outside world, that still tried to lay claim to its Greek heritage (Millis, 2010, 30-32). I agree more with Millis than with Engels on this point, because it is a more likely explanation that the authors wanted to create a more ideal picture of Corinth by stating that it consisted only of Romans. Based on the fact that this group of Roman veterans did not leave any traces of archaeological evidence, as well as the onomastic evidence, the more logical explanation would be that the population was a mixture of Roman settlers and Greek freedman, certainly because the numismatic evidence strongly points to Hellenistic influences (this will be discussed in detail in chapter 3).

When the colonists arrived, Corinth ceased to be *ager publicus* of Rome (as it was for almost a century from 146-44 B.C.) and was divided among the colonists. The city experienced economic growth, resulting in a rise of the population. The economy of Corinth depended on attracting merchants and travellers, which is why hospitality was a very important virtue in the city (Engels, 2000, 67-69).

Aphrodite and Poseidon were the most important gods of Corinth. It is, however,

⁵ See for example: Strabo 8.6.23; 17.3.15, Appianus *Pun.* 136, Plutarchus *Caes.* 57.8

quite striking that we find a lot of evidence of Poseidon and Aphrodite on coins, but nearly no epigraphical evidence, which more often refers to Roman Imperial cults (Engels, 2000, 89-96). The myth of Pegasus and Bellerophon was also very special to Corinth, because Bellerophon was the son of Glaucus and the grandson of Sisyphus, who were both kings of Corinth. However, the aristocracy wanted to distinguish themselves from the Greek majority and worshipped the Roman gods as well. Since Corinth was the capital of Achaia, special attention was paid to the imperial cults (Engels, 2000, 99-102). This point is of significance, because this combination of Greek and Roman religion will also return on the provincial coinage.

Amphipolis

Amphipolis was a relatively small town, but was still producing its own coinage, which was not the case for every town in the Roman provinces. They were in Roman times still fascinated with their own past and independence as a free city. That is why it is interesting to look at the history of Amphipolis before it came under Roman occupation.

Amphipolis was situated in Macedonia where, after the death of Alexander the Great, there were several military quarrels concerning the claim to power, until in 276 B.C. the kingdom came under Antigonid rule. Macedonia was a monarchy with its capital at Aigai. The king could execute his power through a council (a *synedrion*), of which he could practically choose his members himself. The economy of Macedonia is, even before the Hellenistic period, described as a 'Royal Economy'. However, Macedonia remained a rural area and did not obtain the splendour some other Hellenistic kingdoms did (Shipley, 2000, 108-115).

The Athenian general Hagon founded Amphipolis in 438/7 B.C. at the mouth of the river Strymon. This was an important strategic location, for it links the Aegean coast with the interior of Thrace. The first population of Amphipolis consisted of Athenian colonists and people from the neighbouring colonies, with many from Argilos. This had much influence on the town's character as an Athenian colony. Hagon allegedly built fortifications and on his acropolis, there were sanctuaries of the patron gods of the city, which included Apollo, Artemis and Athena. Apollo was also on the first coins of Amphipolis, together with a race torch, referring to the Thracian cult of Artemis Bendis in the fifth century B.C. There was a battle in 422 B.C. between Brasidas (a Spartan officer, based in Amphipolis) and Cleon (an Athenian general). They both died, but Amphipolis honoured Brasidas as their hero. They tried to remove all trace of their mother city (Athens) from the town and Amphipolis became an independent city-state in 422 B.C. (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, 2011, 409-413). This is important, because it means that they removed all trace of an earlier higher authority. It will thus be interesting to see what they do with the Roman culture, whether they also oppose to this or not.

The Macedonian garrison of Amyntas III was installed in Amphipolis in 362 B.C. to help the city against Athenian attacks. This, however, resulted in the city being taken by Philip II in 358/357 B.C. (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, 2011, 416), who later gave confiscated land to Macedonian settlers. This was the end of Amphipolis as a free Greek city-state, but many of the Greek inhabitant remained in Amphipolis to live under the control of Philip II

(Hammond, 1989, 154).

There is, however, evidence of a gradual fusion of the local Ionic population with new Macedonian elements. This was the first time that a Greek city-state was incorporated in the Macedonian kingdom. Silver and gold coin production continued after the conquest by Philip II and there was an introduction of bronze coinage. Amphipolis even became the royal mint of Macedonia from 357/6 onwards (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, 2011, 417-18). After the death of Alexander the Great, Amphipolis still flourished in the Antigonid dynasty (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, 2011, 418).

Concerning the Roman conquest, Livy (in *Ab Urbe Condita* 44.45) describes how the Roman Aemilius Paulus enters Amphipolis, after having ravaged Macedonia with his army. He stayed there in 167 B.C. and convened a council to oversee the organization of the kingdom of Macedonia. Macedonia was consequently unified as a Roman province. In the first century B.C., Amphipolis became involved in a series of revolts against Rome and the Civil wars, because it had a strategic position on the Via Egnatia. The city was also taken by Taxilis in the Mithridatic Wars (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, 2011, 428).

After the Civil Wars, Amphipolis got the attention of Augustus and Amphipolis was granted the status of a free city (*Civitas Libera*) after the battle of Philippi in 42 B.C. In the Augustan period, probably the first Roman provincial coinage was minted in Amphipolis, which is relatively late. There is not much knowledge about Amphipolis from the imperial period. There are, however, statues of emperors and honorary inscriptions found, which indicate the special relation between Amphipolis and some Roman emperors. Literary sources talk about the intensive agriculture and fishing in the Strymon, as well as slave trade and metal mines. The mint of Amphipolis was also very successful and continued up until the middle of the third century A.D. (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, 2011, 429-431).

Pergamum

The kind of relationship that is developed between Pergamum and Rome differs from that of Corinth and Amphipolis. This history will also reflect the way we are to understand the kind of coinage that Pergamum issued under Roman occupation.

We find the word *Pergamos* already in Homer, with which the author meant the citadel of Troy (*Il.* 5.432-46). It later became a general word for acropolis or citadel, until one particular city received this name (Evans, 2012, x-xi).

Pergamum was situated at the top of a hill, with an extension down the southern side. On this acropolis the famous Attalid library was located, which is said to have held over 200.000 books, making it a rival to the library of Alexandria (McEvedy, 2011, 252-253). Pergamum was thus already a flourishing city in Hellenistic times before Roman occupation.

The city does not, however, have an elaborate ancient history. The first literary mention of the city comes from Xenophon in 399 B.C. (*Anabasis* 7.8.8; *Hellenica* 3.1.6), in which he describes how Pergamum voluntarily surrendered to the military campaign of Cyrus that Xenophon had joined. Philetairos was the commander of the garrison that was deployed to Pergamum. He was succeeded by Eumenes, who was allegedly the first who called himself king of Pergamum until his death in 241 B.C. His son, Attalus I (r. 241-197) did well because of his friendship with Rome, whom he sided with during the war against Philip

V of Macedonia. Because of their defence of Hellenism in western Asia Minor from, for example, Gallic tribe attacks, Pergamum had won the influence over many Greek cities in the region (Evans, 2011, 22-23). Thus, Pergamum was already on good terms with the Romans before its Roman occupation.

Pergamum was eventually left to the Romans by the will of Attalus III. This, however, caused chaos because of a rebellion against Roman rule, led by Aristonicus. He had much support and even issued coins bearing the name Eumenes III, a title which he had claimed for himself (see below for a more detailed description of the Pre-Roman coin production in Pergamum). He was eventually defeated and ten senators were sent to Pergamum in order to supervise the incorporation of Pergamum under Roman authority. This was called the *Senatus Consultum de agro Pergamo* (Evans, 2011, 23). Initially, Pergamum was named capital of the Roman province, but soon lost this title to Ephesus in 28 B.C., which was a much more convenient place in the eyes of the Romans. It was, however, allowed to keep the ceremonial elements (McEvedy, 2011, 251). Pergamum becomes part of the Roman Empire as a free city.

After it fell in Roman hands, Pergamum first experienced decline because of the Mithridatic Wars and Civil Wars, but the city flourished again under Augustus and onwards for hundreds of years (Evans, 2011, 23). When Octavian was proclaimed emperor Augustus in 27 B.C., Asia Minor became a senatorial province (Radt, 1999, 44). It is clear that Pergamum had a special relationship with Rome. Even more so because the city was one of the *Neokoroi*. These were several Greek cities, who took on this name which means 'temple wardens'. This indicated that they possessed a provincial temple attributed to the cult of the Roman emperor (Burrell, 2004, 1). Pergamum had three such temples, which would, at the end of the first century, grant Pergamum the title *Neokoros*. The first of these temples was erected under Augustus, as is described in the work of Cassius Dio (51.20.6-9). This temple did not originate from a command from above, but from two provinces, who organised it themselves. The site of this temple has not yet been identified, but there is good evidence for its existence. An inscription in Mytilene tells us that the temple was under construction in 27 B.C., being built by "Asia". It was most probably finished by 19 B.C., when the first coin with the temple depicted on it was issued, probably on Roman command by the city (*RPC* 2217/2219). The temple was also depicted on coins that were minted outside of Pergamum, which makes it a symbol of the *koinon* of Asia (Burrell, 2004, 17-19). This temple had major influence on the coin production in Pergamum during Roman occupation, which will be discussed in chapters 2 and 3.

In the Hellenistic East, so also in Pergamum, they were used to see their rulers as deities, and this is also how they treated Augustus. Therefore, Augustus allowed himself to be worshipped in a temple together with Roma. They annually celebrated Augustus' birthday with a festival that continued being celebrated up until the second century A.D. In return for this, the city could send envoys to Rome to appeal for objections, such as Roman officials in the city that abused their function. The increasing prestige of the cities of Asia Minor gave more and more power to the individual cities, priests of imperial cults and envoys. There could even arise the possibility for people of these cities to enter the Roman Senate (Radt, 1999, 44-45). Thus, Pergamum had much cause to be on good terms with the Romans, because it would also give themselves more power.

Coin production in the cities before Rome

To understand the expression of civic identity on Roman provincial coinage, it is important to know what coinage was produced in the cities before Roman occupation, in order to see what the coinage looked like that the Roman provincial coinage of the cities could potentially refer back to. Therefore, there will be an overview of the Hellenistic coin production in general and in our three case studies in particular.

In Hellenistic times some changes occurred in the matter of coin production. Alexander the Great (356-323 B.C.) was the first to decide not to strike coins in his own name, but to continue minting coinage under the name of his father. Since then this practice of posthumous coinage became very popular in Hellenistic coinage and later during Roman times. The purpose of this posthumous coinage was to indicate dynastic continuity, as well as that they would be familiar to the public and therefore widely accepted.

What also happens concerning coinage in the Hellenistic world is that coins are significantly standardized, as well as the appearance of smaller denominations. This uniform currency was promoted by Alexander the Great. Lysimachos was the first one to put the portrait of Alexander on coins. Kings and cities minted the coins that were issued by Alexander the Great for over 200 years. In these times, coins in the name of the cities were regarded as less important. The trend that started was that the successors put their own portrait on the obverse side, whilst retaining Alexander's portrait on the reverse side. This way they wanted to prove that they inherited their kingship (Shipley, 2000, 21-24). Shipley explains what it meant for a city to issue coins: "For a city, to issue coins -not all cities were rich enough to do so, or were permitted to do so- was to claim and, by the very act, to some degree actualize an enlarged status on the world stage and express a real furtive independence" (Shipley, 2000, 26). The people of the Greek cities were already used to propagandistic coinage, as seen on the coinage of Alexander the Great, who promoted his Panhellenic campaign against Persia via his coins. For 250 years after Alexander's death, the iconography on the Hellenistic coinage did not change much. They all stuck to Alexander's model, taken over by almost every Hellenistic king. This was of course because these kings wanted to link themselves to the great conqueror Alexander (Thonemann, 2015, 10-18). This was a general overview of the development of Hellenistic coinage, and we can now look at the three case-studies, starting with Corinth.

In the Archaic period Corinth issued coins in the late sixth and early fifth century B.C. These coins were mostly silver and contained images of a Pegasus (for example *Sear* 1859), a swastika (*Sear* 1860) and the head of Athena with a Corinthian helmet (*Sear* 1866). Corinth continued to mint in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., except for certain periods during the Peloponnesian war. In this period, Corinth minted a larger amount of issues than in the archaic period, although the images and material generally remained the same, with still a heavy emphasis on Pegasus (whose myth is strongly connected to Corinth, as is mentioned above) (*Sear*, 1978, 244-47). Its silver coin production ceased when Corinth was occupied by Ptolemy I of Egypt in the period of 308-306 B.C. Then in the early second century B.C., when there was also economic growth, the Corinthians struck silver coins of the common Achaean League type. After 146 B.C., when the Romans destroyed Corinth, there is a break in the coin production of Corinth up until at least 80 B.C. (Thonemann, 2015,

72-73). There is thus quite a large gap between Corinth producing coins as a Greek city, and Corinth producing coins as a Roman *colonia*, which would suggest that such a major change must have had some influence on what kind of coins they produced.

Amphipolis issued tetradrachms of Thracian standard from the late fifth century B.C. up until 359 B.C. These coins were mainly made of silver with mostly images with the head of Apollo and a race torch in a square (*Sear* 1378-1381), which referred, as is mentioned above, to the Thracian cult of Artemis Bendis (*Sear*, 1978, 140-143). They even issued some gold coins of Attic standard (*Hammond*, 2011, 92). Between 324 and 323 B.C, Amphipolis, at that time the main royal mint of Macedonia, allegedly produced around 6.6 million tetradrachms in this period alone, along with 300.000 gold staters and 150.000 double staters. The reason for this enormous production was probably to pay off decommissioned soldiers returning to Macedonia from the East (*Thonemann*, 2015, 14-15). Amphipolis had thus a very important position in this period. They continued minting in the second century B.C, which was mostly bronze coinage and had the images of several gods on it, with a heavy emphasis on the Macedonian shield (for example *Sear* 1389: Artemis in Macedonian shield or club within oak wreath) (*Sear*, 1978, 140-143). When Philip V installed numismatic reforms, Amphipolis issued its own bronze coinage in 187/6 B.C. (*Koukouli-Chrysanthaki*, 2011, 418), for example *Sear* 1383 or 1384.

In 167 B.C., the Macedonian monarchy was dissolved and replaced by four Macedonian *merides*, of which the first one had Amphipolis as its capital. The coinage that was produced after this event remained to be the same type as in the period before occupation, which implies continuity in the governance of Macedonia. Even the establishment of Macedonia as a Roman province in 148 B.C. does not show any change in the coin production, which could reflect the absence of any serious government interference by the Romans in this time as well as that Roman influence was not immediate. This changes around 100 B.C. when the 'Roman' issue of Macedonian tetradrachms is minted (*Thonemann*, 2015, 171-174). Amphipolis thus had a very important role in Macedonian coin production before Roman occupation. This importance increased after the Romans conquered Macedonia.

In Pergamum minting started in the fourth century B.C., with a large emphasis on depicting serpents in a *cista mystica* (e.g. *Sear* 3944) (*Sear*, 1978, 366-369). Around 300 B.C. the minting of local silver coin types had stopped in western Asia Minor, and from then on the city of Pergamum mostly struck imitations of tetradrachms in the name of Alexander. More cities shifted to this more homogenous Alexander type in this period, because besides being proud of their own *polis*, they also wanted to fit in a wider world with more connection to other *poleis*. They started minting two types of coinage alongside each other: their own civic types and a more common type, overarching multiple cities (*Thonemann*, 2015, 47-54).



Figure 1: Cistophoric tetradrachm, struck in Pergamum around 160-150 B.C. (Thonemann, 2015, 78).

From 167 B.C. up until the age of Augustus, the main silver coinage of western Asia Minor was the *Cistophori*, literally meaning 'basket-bearers'. The name of the coin is derived from the obverse type, which shows basket (*cista*) out of which a snake crawls (a *cista mystica*). These types mainly stayed within the region of western Asia Minor (see figure 1), among whom Pergamum was a major producer. What is unusual is that these coins did not bear a divine or royal portrait, which clearly made them distinctive from the 'Alexander-types' that circulated there in the previous period (Thonemann, 2015, 77-79). These so-called Cistophoric coins were introduced by one of the Attalid kings somewhere between the late 190s and 160s B.C. The uniformity of the issues clearly indicated that the production was centrally organized (Ashton, 2012, 196).

After 133 B.C., Pergamum started minting local coins again as part of the Roman Province of Asia, which is significantly earlier than Amphipolis, perhaps because they were given more privileges because of their better relationship with Rome. The emphasis on serpents was kept in the silver (e.g. *Sear* 3952), as well as in the bronze coinage (e.g. *Sear* 3967) (Sear, 1978, 366-369).

They continued minting these coin types even after the Roman annexation of the Attalid realm in 129 B.C. In 67/66 B.C. the minting of 'civic' *cistophori* stopped and between 58 and 49 B.C. a series of *cistophori* was struck with the names of Roman proconsuls on them. By the time of the late Republic, the *cistophori* were changed into something different (and Roman) altogether (Thonemann, 2015, 177-179). Thus, the coins originated from Hellenistic times and culture and were kept in production by the Romans, but were adapted to the Roman culture. This means that here we have the first sign of a Hellenistic tradition that is taken over by the Romans and turned into something of their own.

Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter has shown that all the three cities have their own history and relationship with Rome. Pergamum and Rome started on relatively friendly terms, because the city was handed over to the Romans through a will. Amphipolis and Corinth have a more complicated relationship with the Roman capital, because they both were incorporated

into the Roman Empire after a series of wars and, in the case of Corinth, destructions. Their status also differs, which affects their relationship with Rome: Both Amphipolis and Pergamum are free cities, whilst Corinth is a *colonia* and therefore more attached to Rome than the other two.

It is also clear that the coin production was already active in all the three cities before the Roman conquest, with a clear aim of depicting cultural elements related to the city on the coins. Besides depicting civic elements however, they also produced coinage with overarching Hellenistic elements, such as Amphipolis that produced coinage for the royal mint and Pergamum that struck imitations of coinage from Alexander the Great. This indicates that already in Hellenistic times there was a combination of local themes and universal themes on the coins of the Greek cities.

During Roman occupation, the religious and cultural relationship between Rome and the provincial cities seems generally positive. We see that in Corinth there is a tendency to maintain the Hellenistic culture, but also support for the imperial cult from groups within the city. In Amphipolis we also see that their support for the Roman Empire seems present through the evidence of statues of several Roman emperors. There is not much known about their relationship, but there is no indication of any fierce resistance or uprising that points to a negative relationship. Pergamum has the clearest indication of support towards Rome, where temples are erected that are directly connected to the Roman state. The provincial coins that will be discussed in the next two chapters, can give a better understanding of this relationship when they are placed in this context.

Chapter 2: The coin production and regulation

To understand the identity that is expressed on coinage it is important to know what the production process was and who had the authority over this process, because these people would also have been able to decide what *kind* of coinage was minted and therefore also what *kind* of identity. Researching the coin production will also help us to understand how this differed or was similar from Roman coin production and between different cities. This will also reflect their relationship with Rome.

In this chapter, the production of coinage in Corinth, Amphipolis and Pergamum will be discussed, as well as the question of how this coin production was regulated and of who had the authority over the coin production. Furthermore, the use of denominations and metals will be discussed and researched in this chapter, to see whether there are any significant differences between the cities and periods and whether they were allowed to choose their own standard or were obliged to follow the Romans. Finally, there will be a discussion about what this information might tell us about the relation of the cities with Rome and their identity.

Who was in charge of coin production?

To have a good idea of who's identity was expressed through the provincial coinage of the cities, it is first of all important to know who was in power over these city states and their mints. Or, what power did the cities have themselves and what decisions came from a higher authority? The person that had power over the coinage that was produced also (indirectly) decided what kind of identity was expressed on this coinage. These questions will be discussed in a brief historical overview. First, I will discuss the power constructions in the Hellenistic age, in general and in coin production, in order to get a clear idea of how these relations in the cities developed from Hellenistic to Roman occupation. Then I will discuss how these matters were in Roman times.

In the Hellenistic period, the number of people in the Greek cities who could make legislative proposals was limited. This is, however, not necessarily a representation of *all* city administrations, the situation was varied on different places, which means that the coin production would also not have been regulated completely the same in every Hellenistic city. But overall, Hellenistic kings did not really meddle in the affairs of the Greek *poleis*, which meant they these *poleis* had relatively much freedom (Thonemann, 2015, 45).

Another theory is that coinage was viewed as a royal affair, where decisions on matters of coin production were made by the king. Evidence for this can be found in the *Oeconomica* by Pseudo-Aristoteles:

“Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν τὴν βασιλικὴν ἴδωμεν. ἔστι δὲ αὕτη δυναμένη μὲν τὸ καθόλου, εἶδη δὲ ἔχουσα τέσσαρα, περὶ νόμισμα, περὶ τὰ ἐξαγώγιμα, περὶ τὰ εἰσαγώγιμα, περὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα.”
(*Oeconomica*, 1345b20-23)

“Therefore we first see to the royal administration. Its power is unlimited, and it is concerned with four departments, namely currency, exports, imports, and expenditure.”

This text confirms, at least theoretically, that coinage, in Hellenistic times, fell under the control of the highest authority, namely the royalty. However, in the second and first centuries B.C., when the power of the Hellenistic kingdoms appeared to decrease, the authority over coin minting seemed to fall into the hands of the individual cities, which led some of these cities, immediately after the shift in power, to produce their own local coinage. Since we saw that the cities did take over more universal themes for their coinage this can perhaps indicate that they did this out of free will instead of being obliged to a universal standard by the higher Hellenistic authority.

This is how the power relations worked in Hellenistic times. This form of authority changed significantly, however, when the cities fell under Roman occupation. During the time of the Roman Republic, already some changes were invoked. Since the people were the highest authority at this time, it is assumed that also the right to produce coinage was by the people conveyed to the *tresviri monetales*, who were moneyers under the authority of the Senate. This means that the actual power over coin production, at least for the imperial coinage produced by the Romans, in this time lay with the Senate. There is no evidence whether this control by the Senate had any effect on the provinces. It is, however, possible that the proconsul of any province had some influence on the coin production. One example for this is the appearance of the name of the proconsul of Syria on a provincial coin (*RPC* 4124), but it is unclear whether this also happened in other provinces. It seems, however, that the Romans in most cases let local coin production continue as it was before Roman occupation (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 1), which implies that the production will have remained varied in different cities.

There is more clarity about the imperial times, during which there seems to be no doubt that the Emperor was in total control of the coin production. In provincial coinage there were, as Burnett argues, three levels of authority: firstly, the highest level of authority, which was the provincial governor or the Emperor himself. Coins were sometimes minted with in the legend the text *PERMISSU*, which meant that the coin was struck with the permission of either the Emperor or provincial governor. Secondly, there was the ruling body of the city. They must give their permission for the issuing of a coin as well. Then, thirdly, there can sometimes be found the name of an individual on a coin, which happened especially in Asia. This can be the case when a specific person (for example a benefactor) paid for the production of the coin (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 1-4). Furthermore, politically, there can be seen some indirect influence on the coinage, such as the introduction of the imperial portrait on the coins, as well as the cessation of provincial coinage in the west (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 52-53).

The ruling body of the city were magistrates who came from the local aristocracy. They had a considerable degree of freedom to choose the designs of their coinage (Heuchert, 2005, 40). Already during Hellenistic times the presence of a magistrate's name on a coin meant enormous pride and advertisement for his patriotism, especially if he helped paying for the production of the coin type (Thonemann, 2015, 131). They were therefore the ones who executed and the Romans were the ones who authorized it.

Katsari argues that the fact that these local authorities ask for permission to mint coins was not seen as something negative or undermining, but as a privilege, as well as that

the city would have profited from the coin production, since small change was for a long time overvalued (Katsari, 2011, 214). This was probably also a motivation for cities to mint coinage, because of the profit that was to be gained. This has a lot of influence on the iconography of the coinage (discussed in chapter 3) and what kind of identity is expressed with this iconography. Magistrates might have the intention to get in favour with the Roman government for their own personal gain, which would affect the level of local culture that is displayed on the coins.

Thus, in conclusion, those in power of the cities were also the ones in power of the coinage. They had, however, good reason to show their loyalty to Rome, either for the good of the city or for personal gain.

Production and circulation of provincial coinage

To further understand the role of the cities in the minting of coinage, it is useful to look at the coin production itself. What metal and denominations were used to produce coinage can tell a lot about what freedom and limitations a city received from the Roman authority, as is explained in this section.

There was, for instance, no gold production and only little silver production in the provinces in the early imperial period. Production of gold coins was restricted to the imperial mint in Lyon from about 15 B.C., until the mint was transferred to Rome in A.D. 64 or 69. The local silver coinage in the western provinces, as far as Achaëa, was gradually being replaced by the *denarius*. The minting of *denarii* was also not a regular activity during the Julio-Claudian period. Only small quantities were minted during the reign of Caligula, Claudius and Nero, and under Augustus and Tiberius minting of *denarii* was only sporadic. This means that the production of precious metals in the provinces was kept very limited by the Roman authority. The eastern provinces, however, for the most part kept their local silver coinage, such as the *cistophori* in Asia Minor, so also in Pergamum, which can be seen as a privilege, perhaps because of their good relationship with Rome (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 6-7).

The story of bronze coinage in the provinces is a more complicated one, certainly because it is hard to make an explicit distinction between 'Roman-themed' and 'civic-themed' issues of bronze coins. The 'Roman' coinage that was issued in the provinces was mostly initiated by the Romans or the Roman Emperor and had the most Roman influence. These coins may have had a military function. The 'civic' issues, that were minted on local initiative, were produced a lot in Achaëa, Macedonia and Asia Minor (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 13-14). They were already in use from the mid-fourth century B.C. and were widely used for small transactions in the Greek world (Thonemann, 2015, 128). The fact that cities only produced bronze coinage and no silver is an indication of Roman influence, because they wanted to keep the production of silver coinage under the control of the governor (Weiss, 2005, 59).

It is hard to tell what the pattern is for issuing provincial coins at certain times. Sometimes it can be explained by looking at the importance of the city and the quantity of output. It can for example be seen that important cities, such as Corinth and Antioch had large outputs. The production of civic coins was also very irregular and not easily connected to historical events, as well as that it is clear that the output of provincial city coinage in the

Julio-Claudian period remained relatively low. Burnett concludes that the initiative for striking coins came from the cities themselves and that they were motivated by pride and profit that was to be gained from minting coins (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 15-17). An inscription in Sestos reveals that these coins were minted in order to let people use money of the type of their own city and in order to let the public treasury profit from the minting of these coins (Katsari, 2011, 212). This is the same interpretation as to motive of pride and profit, which has been to mint coinage:

“(...) and when the people decided to use its own bronze coinage, so that the city’s coin type should be used as a current type / and the people should receive the profit resulting from this source of revenue and appointed men who would safeguard this position of trust piously and justly (...)”

OGIS I. 339: Decree of Sestos in honour of Menas (Austin, 1981, 215).

In the eastern provinces, they used Roman as well as local (small) denominations (for example in Achaëa). These Roman denominations were used as early as the period of Caesar and it is thought that in general Roman denominations were automatically used in Roman colonies, thus also in Corinth. A reason for imposing these denominations could be that the Romans wanted to eventually develop a common currency over the entire Empire (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 32-33). However, there is no indication for any radical transformations. It is rather shown that local denominations were made compatible to the Roman denominations, which was a more practical solution. Therefore, local denominations were kept in place in other cities unless there were any problems, in which case the Roman system was installed. The cities were thus free to produce their own coinage, using their own denominations. They were, however, limited in the use of metal for their coin production.

Now we will look at the coin production of the three cities separately, after which there will be made a comparison between the three and investigated whether and in what way there were differences between the three cities. After this there will be discussion of what this information tells us about their local identity and relationship with Rome.

Corinth

The mint in Roman Corinth was active since its foundation as a Roman *colonia* in 44/43 B.C. until the early third century A.D. This was the only large mint in Achaëa at this time. With the opening of the (new) mint, they also almost immediately started minting bronze coins. The responsibility for the minting lay with the city council and chief magistrates that were elected every year (the *duoviri*). The first coin that was issued by this mint had a Roman obverse (the head of Caesar) and a Corinthian reverse (a Pegasus) (*RPC* 1116) (Friesen and James, 2010, 151-152).

The coinage of Corinth can be divided into two periods: in the first period, from the time of its foundation until A.D. 68/69, coins were issued frequently and the largest coins bore the names of the *duoviri*. This type of coinage ended abruptly in A.D. 68/69, because Vespasian withdrew the right to mint coins from Corinth, which caused the cessation of coin production in this city. This was in combination with a revocation of the freedom of taxation, granted to Greece by Nero. Minting restarted again under Domitian. After the coinage

restarted again, the second period, the emperor's portrait became standard and the names of the *duoviri* in the legends were replaced by the title of the emperor (Friesen and James, 2010, 154).

Together with Patras and the Thessalian league, Corinth stands out as a production centre for coinage in the early imperial period and produced coins in large quantities in comparison to other Achaean cities (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 245). However, the output of Corinth, although the largest of Achaea, was still not of great economic significance in the Empire (Burnett, *et al.*, 2003, 21).

The total amount of coin types that Corinth produced (as listed in the *RPC*) is 122. The distribution of these coins over different Emperors and time periods can be found in table 1. There has been made a distinction between coins that were clearly issued under a magistrate, with his or their names in the legend, and anonymous coin types, where there is no clear indication of the permission of the magistrate or any other authority and shows no name of a magistrate in the legend.

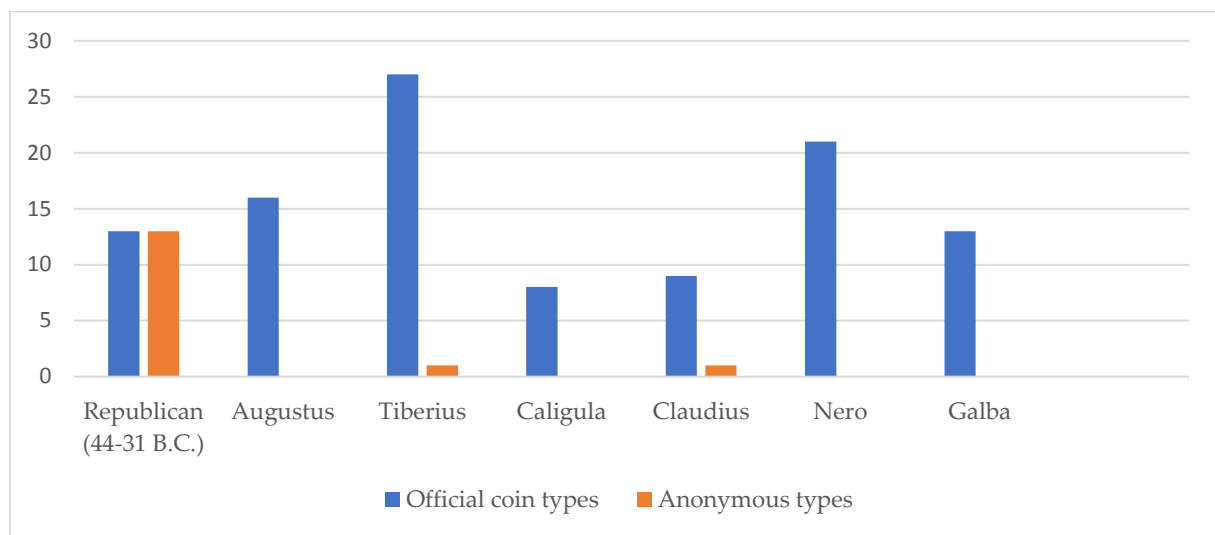


Table 1: Total amount of issued coin types in Corinth from the late Republic to Galba (Data from *RPC*, 2003, 250-257)

Some things that stand out are the fact that Corinth issued most coin types under Tiberius' rule. This is striking, because Augustus reigned for a far longer period (Augustus reigned for 41 years, whereas Tiberius only reigned 23 years). Perhaps this surge in the number of types was because of a change of policy, but this is very uncertain.

Furthermore, it is striking that there have been as many 'official' as anonymous issues in the late Republican period, whilst during the Imperial times, almost no anonymous coins have been issued. This could indicate that the switch from a Republican to an imperial Rome had a significant effect on the (influence on) coin production in Corinth, steering it more towards imperial types, as well as that probably magistrates wanted to make themselves more noted on the coinage.

During this period, no precious metal coins were struck in Corinth and almost all coins were made of bronze. Striking is that one coin has been made of brass (*RPC* 1133). This coin was struck under Augustus in 17 or 16 B.C. It is hard to tell why there was in this case a

choice to mint with brass. Brass is a more expensive metal to mint with, so perhaps it indicated a time of prosperity, or it could point to a specific denomination, of which some in the Roman system were made of brass (this coin will be discussed further in chapter 3).

Of course, there were not only coins in circulation that were locally produced. Also imperial coins sometimes came as far as the provinces. Based on an excavation in Corinth, 66% of the coinage found, spread over time, was of local origin, which means that the other 34% came from somewhere else, and was for example Roman imperial coinage. In the early imperial period the amount of local coinage was still 88% of the total number of coins found in this period. This means that the use of local coinage in Corinth decreased from early imperial times onwards (Kremydi and Iakovidou, 2015, 459). Roman coinage, on the other hand, shows a general increase from the Late Republic onwards and became much more frequent. This could possibly mean that also the Roman influence on Corinth was increased, together with the amount of Roman coinage. Besides Roman imperial coins, there were also provincial issues from other cities that circulated in Corinth (Kremydi and Iakovidou, 2015, 466-467). The presence of these coins can be explained by the fact that Corinth was an administrative and trade centre and would have received many visitors from outside the city, who also brought foreign coins into the city. As far as known, no such research has been done for either Amphipolis or Pergamum.

Denominations

Since Corinth was a *colonia*, which is not the case for every town in the eastern provinces, arrival of the Romans in Corinth also meant the arrival of Roman coin denominations. Denominations that were struck in Corinth, as was the case in most local mints, were mostly of low value. Examples of these are the *semis*, *as* and *quadrans*, which were made in large quantities in the Corinthian mint. The most important denomination that was struck at Corinth was the *as*, being about 22 mm. and weighing 7g (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 246). In table 2, you can see the different denominations that were issued in Corinth:

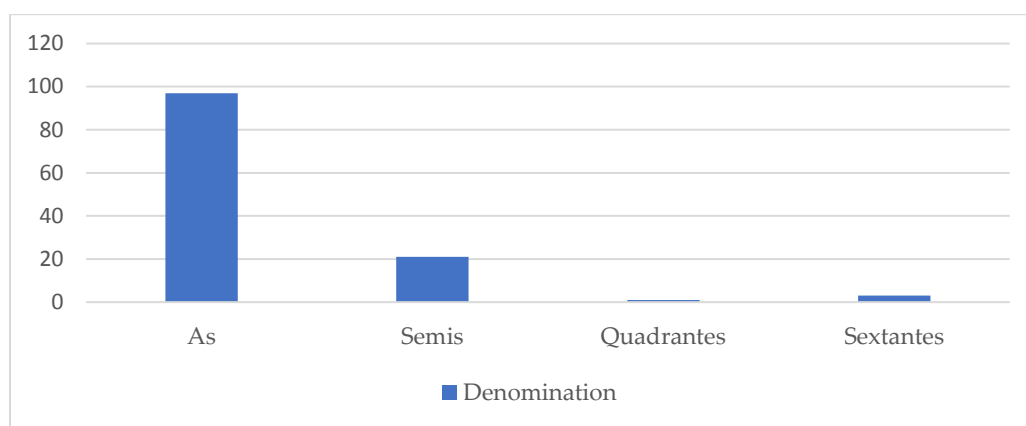


Table 2: Denominations of the coins of Corinth until Galba (Data from RPC, 2003, 250)

The reason why only small denominations were produced in Corinth is probably that the coins were meant for local use (on the market for example) and larger denominations would therefore not have been very useful, as well as that striking precious metal coinage was in Roman times mostly and imperial affair, as is discussed above.

Amphipolis

Amphipolis belongs (together with Thessalonica) to the cities with largest coin-output of the province of Macedonia (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 22).

Under Roman occupation, Amphipolis started minting coins during the reign of Augustus. In this city, a fairly lower amount of coinage has been minted in the early imperial times, in comparison to Corinth. Only 20 issues are listed in the *RPC*. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that, in contrast to Patras and Corinth that were commercial centres, Macedonia consisted of relatively small towns with a more agricultural economy (Kermydi-Sicilianou, 2005, 99).

What is also striking is that on Macedonian coinage there is never any Greek magistrate or local institution mentioned in the legends, although they are known to have existed on other sources (on for examples inscriptions). However, this is not the case for Amphipolis, who is an exception to the province on that point, because they were the only ones who inscribed their city name in the legends of their coinage together with the word 'ΔΗΜΟΣ' (Kermydi-Sicilianou, 2005, 101). This could be an indication that they wanted to express their autonomy and local identity on their coinage.

In table 3 we see the distribution of coins over time and over different emperors:

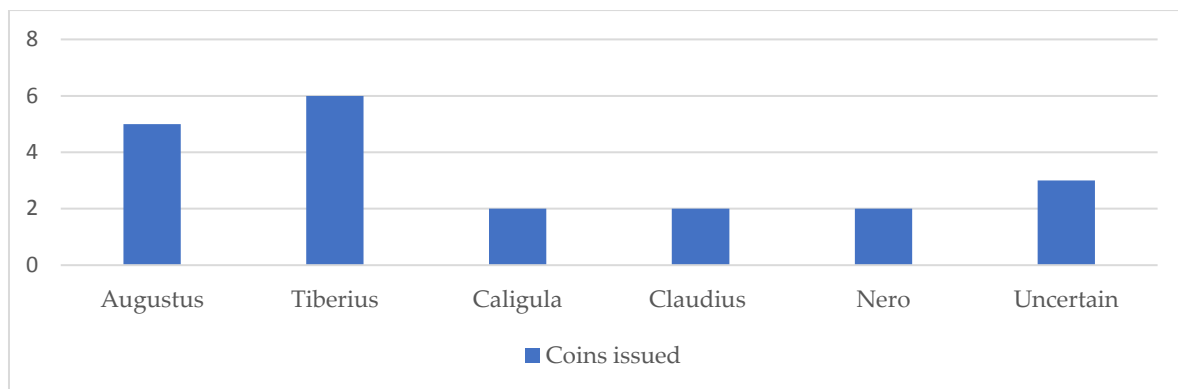


Table 3: Coins issued in Amphipolis per Emperor (Data from *RPC*, 2003, 306-307)

It is notable that, in this city, it is again during Tiberius' reign that the most coins were issued. Here also Augustus issued relatively much coins. After Tiberius, the amount of issued coins decreases significantly.

No gold coins were produced in Macedonia and the only silver coinage that circulated in the province was issued by Rome. The issues that were produced in Amphipolis were only made of bronze and circulated locally (Kermydi-Sicilianou, 2005, 96-97).

Denominations

There is a lot of uncertainty about the denominations in the province of Macedonia and thus as well in Amphipolis. It is assumed, however, that the coins were one way or another linked to Roman denominations as well as that there was no denomination produced that was

higher than an *as* (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 288). It is, however, also argued that the denominations of the coins of Macedonia were linked to the denominations of the coins of Achaia (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 22).

Kremydi-Sicilianou argues that Macedonia most likely followed to Roman system of denominations for bronze coinage. In comparison to Achaia and Asia Minor the coins are heavier and larger and resemble the Roman *as* more (Kremydi-Sicilianou, 2005, 97).

In my opinion it seems most likely, as Kremydi-Sicilianou argues, that the Roman system was used in the province of Macedonia, because the province shows heavy loyalty towards its Roman occupiers and the coinage was themed Roman (Kremydi-Sicilianou, 2005, 104). Amphipolis, however, was an exception in this matter, still using a lot of local themes, which makes it also possible that they did *not* conform to the Roman denomination system.

Pergamum

In contrast to Amphipolis and Corinth, gold and silver coinage was produced in Pergamum by the Romans during Roman occupation. When Metellus Scipio placed his winter camp in Pergamum in 49/48 B.C., he struck his own silver coinage, with his name on it, as payment for his soldiers and during his stay in Asia Minor in 29 B.C., Octavian struck gold and silver coins with his portrait on the obverse, that were also used in later times, which resolved the issue of the lack of money. (Radt, 1999, 43-44).

It is also known that there were minted *Aurei* and *denarii* under Augustus in Pergamum between 19 and 18 B.C. (catalogued as *RIC* 505-26). Other precious metal coins minted at Pergamum were the silver *cistophori*, which is different from the other two cases that were previously discussed, where they issued only bronze coinage. These *cistophori* were the main silver currency for at least the Republican period, but it is hard to establish any link to how these *cistophori* relate to the Roman *denarii*, that began to circulate in the area as well in the forties B.C. (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 368-369). After some interruptions, Octavian restarted production of these coins in imperial times in 28 B.C. (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 376-377). These issues of *cistophori*, originally introduced by the kings of Pergamum in the second century B.C. (as discussed in chapter 1) and after that adopted by the Romans in 133 B.C, made gradual transition from Hellenistic and Roman *cistophori* (also discussed in chapter 1). The circulation of the *cistophori* only took place in the west of Asia Minor, the place where they were also produced. This was probably because of special needs for the market (Katsari, 2011, 55). It is interesting that the Romans took over a Hellenistic coin type and then themselves ordered the restart of the use of this coinage in this area. This means that they took over a Hellenistic coin type and made it into a Roman coin type. Is here Hellenism thus used as a form of Romanisation or perhaps re-Hellenization? What is certainly clear is that Romans were interested in elements of Hellenistic types of coinage.

Besides these *cistophori*, issued by the Roman authorities, there were also civic coins issued at Pergamum. Of these civic coins we find the names of officials on the coins of Augustus and Tiberius, whilst on the coins after that, no magistrates appear on the coins. In table 4 we see an overview of the coins issued under Roman authority versus the civic coinage that was minted:

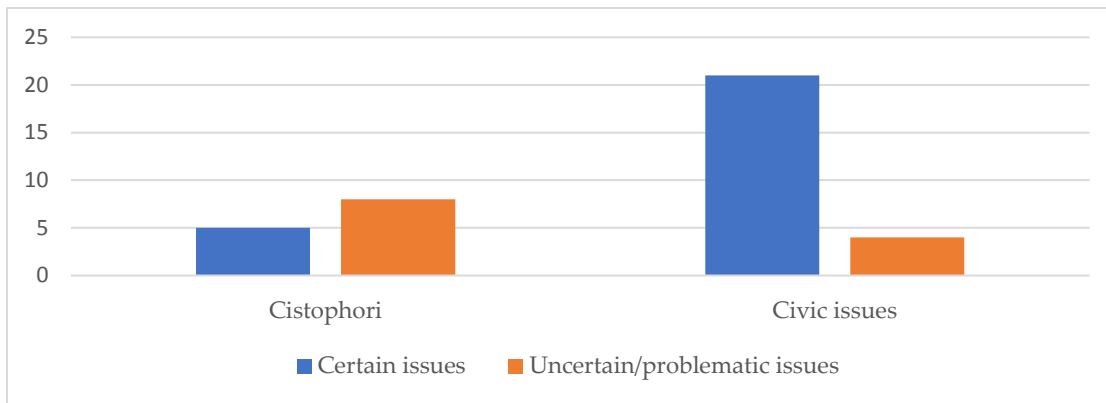


Table 4: Issues of Pergamum in the early Principate (Data from RPC, 2003, 378-404)

It is clear that there is a lot of uncertainty about the *cistophori* coins, especially attributing these coins to the city of origin proves to be a difficult issue.

Under Augustus all civic coins in Pergamum were minted of bronze, whilst all subsequent issues were made of brass. The change in use of metal can possibly be explained by fashion. Brass was a more precious metal than bronze and could have been chosen by the authorities to lift up the prestige of the city (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 372). This shows thus a completely different picture than Corinth and Amphipolis, where there was more a focus on coinage for local use, whilst Pergamum was more focussed on coinage for 'higher classes'.

Denominations

The denominations of coins in Asia, so probably also in Pergamum, were a mixture of Asian and Roman systems. It is, however, hard to apply this system on the coins, because in Asia they used different shapes and metals than in the western Roman Empire. Here, other means to distinguish denominations were used. In Pergamum, a larger denomination usually had a temple of Roma and Augustus depicted, whilst the smaller denominations had a portrait, of either a junior imperial family member, the Senate or Roma (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 371). This system of denominations is interesting, because it is linked to Roman themes, yet they did not adopt the Roman denomination system itself. They wanted to relate to the Romans, but in their own way.

The *cistophori* coins were, according to the RPC, tariffed at three *denarii* during the early Principate (Katsari, 2011, 73).

Comparison between the three cities

If we compare these three cities, we first see that mainly Corinth had a large coin production, which is logical because of the economical position that Corinth had at that time. Also the fact that Corinth was a Roman *colonia* instead of a free city will have possibly affected the coin production in the city. The Roman authorities were perhaps more willing to invest in their own colonies than in free cities that were more independent, as we have seen, for example, with the incorporation of the Roman denominations in the Romans *coloniae*. Such a free city was Amphipolis, which was a rather small town with a more agricultural economy and was probably of far less significance to the Roman government. Therefore its production rate was also much lower than that of Corinth and happened more on local initiative.

In Pergamum, however, the coin production is rather dissimilar from that of Corinth and Amphipolis, because in the city provincial issues of coins were minted, as well as the *cistophori* under the direct authority of the Roman government. Another difference is that at Pergamum also *denarii* were struck until 18 B.C., coin types that were also issued by the Roman authorities (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 10). Corinth and Amphipolis completely focussed on the production of local coinage.

This also means that the relationship with the Roman authorities is in Pergamum rather different than that of Corinth and Amphipolis, since the Roman government decided to put much more influence into this coin production and to even let Pergamum issue governmental coinage. This could have something to do with the history of how Pergamum came into Roman hands, since this happened on much more friendly terms than in Corinth and Amphipolis (as is discussed in chapter 1).

The fact that Rome had far less influence on Amphipolis and Corinth meant that these cities had much more influence of local authority and magistrates in their production, such as we can see in Amphipolis where they put local institutions on their coinage.

Conclusion

Thus, the Romans could have a lot of influence on provincial coinage if they wanted to. However, the Romans did not seem to mind the mints that were already in operation in the eastern provinces and they even encouraged their survival and continuation of coin production, simply because this was the easiest and most practical solution. These mints mainly provided the provinces with a large amount of small change (made of bronze coinage). In this process also local magistrates were involved. The city would have profited from the coin production, since small change was, as well as bronze coinage, for a long time overvalued. This was probably also a motivation for local cities to mint coinage, because of the profit that was to be gained.

This also meant that local authorities that minted coins during Roman occupation would have had a good relationship with the Roman authorities. Therefore, the role of the Roman authority was to approve of minting coinage in a local city, whilst the local power was more in charge of carrying out the process of minting coins. The direct power over the mints and its production mainly lay with the local government itself and the local magistrates who were responsible for issuing coins. Sometimes individuals in a city who had money and power could also issue a coin with their name on it. Thus, in fact the people who had political power and/or money were the ones who decided when coins were produced and what was shown on the coins, which is relevant for the next chapter.

The metal that was mainly used in these three cities was bronze, meant for small change. Augustus introduced, in a reformation of the monetary system, small change that was made of orichalcum or copper (such as the *as*). These coins eventually came to function as money for small transactions on markets. Small change can be found in all social layers of the population, but they were mostly used in the lower classes of society (Katsari, 2011, 209-225). This means that also all layers of the population came in touch with these coins and could have a look at its message. The fact that these civic coins were produced as small change indicates that it was meant for the entire population and that also the possible message on the coins was addressed to all social layers of the population. Especially since the coins were mainly of local production and would also have had a very local circulation

reach, the message on the coins would have been very local.

Thus, it can be concluded that the local coin production was regulated by the local authorities. This has, however, to be approved by the Roman government, which meant that a good relationship with Rome was essential. What has also become clear in this chapter is that coin production in the provinces was varied and there is no fixed pattern of how it was regulated.

There are, however, still some overarching points to be noted. We have seen that profit as well as prestige were two important motivations for the production of coinage in a settlement. This prestige was most likely aimed at the Roman authorities and possibly at neighbouring cities. The right to mint coinage was an honour in the eyes of the local authorities.

This also has a close connection to what the local government thought about the local identity and that they interpreted coinage as a good medium to distribute their ideas about the cities' identity over its inhabitants. This fits in with an argument of Katsari, who compares Roman coinage with modern forms of money, on which we can often find elements of national identity of a country, through which a state could 'ensure its sovereignty in the region where the money circulated'. She claims that:

"Similarly, in the Roman world the feelings of pride and patriotism among the citizens were depicted on coins and they reflected the gradual development of proto-national identities. The strong emphasis on civic pride, though, did not undermine the loyalty of the population towards the imperial authorities. On the contrary, the inhabitants of the eastern provinces were loyal both to their city and to their Emperor." (Katsari, 2011, 213)

Thus, identity is definitely something that played an important role in the provinces and coinage was an important factor in this situation. They could display loyalty to the city where they were minted, as well as to the Roman Emperor. Apparently, coins were a good medium of communication to bring this message to the people and were a way to conduct their pride. How this 'pride and patriotism' is expressed on the coinage itself, through images and legends, will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Iconography and legends

In this chapter, the iconography and legends of the coins will be examined and discussed. The images on coins can tell a lot about the views of the cities in regard to their relationship with Rome, about the expression of their own identity and about the manner in which these views were displayed on the coins. This could also tell us something about a possible agenda that the magistrates who were responsible for this coinage had in mind and in what way this identity was Greek or Roman.

First, there will be an overview of coin designs and legends of the provinces in general, after which a selection of the coin types of Corinth, Amphipolis and Pergamum will be discussed in detail, based on connections with overall themes found on provincial coinage and on themes unique for the city itself, in order to make a good overview of how the identity of the city is expressed on the coinage. In conclusion these findings will be connected to what all this tells us about the cities' relationship with Rome and the expression of their local identity.

Coin design and legends in general

As has already been mentioned in the introduction, images on coins can contain a wide range of messages and can serve as an instrument of communicating these messages, that were often political in nature. This section will be a general overview of the coin designs and legends, which will be compared to the coins of the three case-studies in the next sections.

In Hellenistic times, the times to which the Greek cities often looked back, the mints of the cities mostly produced coins with images of local cults, for example Zeus and Asclepius at Pergamum. The obverse of the coin then usually bore the head of the deity (Burnett, 2011, 2). This system changed slightly in Roman times, when large parts of the old Hellenistic kingdoms became occupied by the Romans. As we discussed earlier, many of the old Hellenistic mints in the cities were allowed to continue their coin production. This time, however, this coin production had Roman influence. Burnett argues that, although the Romans had the supreme authority in the cities of the provinces, they did not intervene much in the designs of the coins. This means that the inspiration for the coin designs came from the cities themselves, most likely from the local aristocracy. This is very interesting, because it implies that they had pretty free range in what they were able to depict on their coinage. This does, however, not take away that there were also Roman influences on the coin iconography and that the local mints were certainly inspired by Roman coin designs, causing major changes in coin iconography from imperial times onwards and possibly also influenced their identity. (Burnett, 2011, 11).

Before we look to the coins of the case-studies in detail, I will discuss the most important topics depicted on provincial coinage in general, both Roman and local, and what impact these topics have on the relationship of the provincial cities with the Roman authority and the expression of their identity. I will then compare this information to what we find in the three case studies to see whether they had a similar iconography or differed from this picture.

Roman obverses

One of the most revolutionary aspects of the provincial coinage in Roman times is that the cities often adopted the portrait of the emperor as the obverse design of their coinage. The adoption of the portrait became standard under the reign of Augustus in over 200 cities (Burnett, 2011, 21). This began to become a regular occurrence around 20-15 B.C. Only of few cities, among which Corinth and Amphipolis, there are already coin issues with portraits known from before this time (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 40). The process of the adoption of the imperial portrait by provincial cities was slow and non-synchronized, which implies that it was not a policy put upon the cities by Augustus. The fact that still about 200 cities adopted his portrait tells us that they responded to the new situation, that they paid tribute to Augustus' power and that they were incorporating him into their world. (Heuchert, 2005, 44).

These obverses, with the imperial portrait on it, held a lot of symbolism, especially in the attributes. An attribute that very commonly accompanied the imperial portrait was, for example, the *lituus*, which is the symbol of the augurate. This is a religious symbol, but it is also of significance because it gives a reference to the word-play augur-Augustus. It is interesting that, although this is a Latin word-play, it also appears in Greek-speaking cities as well, where the word *lituus* is translated into Greek (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 42). This means that they consciously took over something from the Romans, related to Roman culture even translating it in their own language, which indicates that a lot of eastern cities were prepared to incorporate Roman tradition into their own cultural identity. Another example is the Capricorn, which also often occurred on coinage and was a typical symbolisation of Augustus (Heuchert, 2005, 53).

Emperors were not compared to gods on provincial coinage, except for Caligula and Nero (during their lifetime) and the *Divus Augustus*. The deified emperor was marked by a radiate crown and attributes such as a sceptre and a star (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 47). The radiate crown is again an element of Hellenistic origin, representing something like the godlike nature of the king and was taken over by the Romans. This attribute was widely used by the time of Tiberius (Thonemann, 2015, 157).

The deified Augustus was portrayed differently on provincial coinage than on imperial coinage. In the provincial coinage there is not much uniformity and cities were free to portray him as they liked. For this, they based the portrait on pre-existing models, looked at their own traditions for inspiration or introduced a new way to depict the *Divus Augustus*. It seemed therefore, that the production of this type of coinage was not controlled by Rome and originated from local initiative. In Greek cities, for example, they commemorated Augustus for his relationship with their community and they incorporated his commemoration in their own civic traditions (Calomino, 2015, 58-60). Most *Divus Augustus* coins were produced under the reign of Tiberius, probably when the grief about Augustus' death was still fresh (Calomino, 2015, 74). Here we see again that the provincial coinage was very varied and had no uniformity, which is another indication of the fact that they thrived for uniqueness and for emphasis on their own local identity. They really wanted to "do it their own way".

Another example of a Roman theme taken over on provincial coinage was members of the imperial family. The matter of establishing a dynastic succession was especially important in the Julio-Claudian period, which is why there was so much emphasis on this on both the imperial coinage as well as the provincial coinage by the way of portraying the emperor and members of his family. Both Claudius and Caligula had problems with their dynastic succession, which is why they kept emphasizing their dynastic past, present and future on imperial coinage (Papageorgiadou-Bani, 2004, 41-44).

In contrast to the imperial coinage, the male and female members of the imperial family were in the provinces already displayed on coinage from the beginning of the imperial period and were also much more common on obverses of coins. Another contrast is that on imperial coinage, the message that was displayed with the depiction of an imperial family member is mostly (for example) fertility, harmony, or the longevity of the dynasty, but such messages do not seem to appear on the provincial coinage. It is hard to determine what other message these coins might convey or what this means for the relationship of the cities with Rome.

Another difference is that the provincial coinage, in contrast to imperial coinage, made use of multiple portraits of family members on one coin, something which was very unusual on imperial coinage (Horster, 2013, 249-251). There was also a difference between male and female family members on the coins. Where the emperors were only on very few occasions compared to gods on coinage, female imperial family members on the other hand, were more often inscribed as deities, such as with 'θεά' (Burnett, 2011, 19). Female portraits on coinage were also often more individualised because of their unique hairstyles, by which they could be more easily identified (Burnett, 2011, 24).

It is not certain *why* the imperial family was so prominently depicted on provincial coinage, perhaps, because the Greek considered descent an important aspect of their identity and life, did they find the imperial family and the dynastic succession an interesting topic. However, this is just a theory and has not been proven in any way. It is also interesting to see that there are again many differences between the imperial and provincial coinage, which once more emphasizes the fact that the provincial coin production was really focused on doing it their own way.

Roman reverses

Roman reverses were very rare on provincial coinage. Local mints almost never made use of the themes on reverses of the imperial coinage. For example, the Roman reverse legends such as *Pax*, *Virtus* and *Concordia* were never used on provincial coinage (Horster, 2013, 245).

Some themes on reverses, however, can be interpreted as having come from Roman inspiration. The *coloniae* and *municipia*, (re)founded by the Romans, often used themes such as the foundation of the town and military topics (Burnett *et al*, 2003, 15). These were very 'Romanised' themes and shows the loyalty of the colony to Rome. Other examples of colonial themes are *Fortuna* and a depiction of the *Genius* of the colony (The *Genius* was depicted as a young man who is offering libations at an altar, a type that is maybe derived from a Roman type called the *Genius Augusti*, which usually symbolizes the re-foundation of a colony (Papageorgiadou-Bani, 2004, 36)).

There were also military scenes, for example an *aquila*, an arch with a *quadriga* or a Victoria. Other themes are Roman mythological themes, symbols of the rule of the Roman State (for example attributes such as the *praefilicium* and the *lituus* and the combination of rudder and globe), symbols of peace and prosperity, Roman gods and the depiction of the satyr Marsyas (Katsari, 2008, 230). Thus, local mints were not interested in exactly taking over the reverses from the imperial coinage, but rather selected Roman themes to display in their coinage, perhaps because they found this more suitable or more relatable to their identity. There is here another emphasis on the fact that they indeed took over Roman themes, but in their own manner as well as that, this is another indication that the division between different coin types (local or imperial) should not be taken that strict, as for example here they are using *elements* of Roman culture for their coins.

Local themes

Besides taking inspiration from Roman themes, provincial cities, especially in the eastern part of the Empire, also based their coin design on local religious themes and traditions, something that they were already used to in Hellenistic times.

For the reverses, the Hellenistic coins usually referred to one of the principal deities or cults of the particular city. This changed in the first century A.D., when the reverse design of coins became more diverse. They still mainly referred to local themes of the producing city, but they changed designs more often. They also started to display new (local) subjects. One of these innovations that started in Roman times was the display of buildings and structures on coins. This emphasis on 'civic space' is a Roman characteristic and stands in contrast with the Greek predecessors, who preferred depicting images from the natural world. The coin designs were therefore in a way 'Romanised', but most of the reverse designs remained based on local themes (Burnett, 2011, 24-25). Especially religious buildings were frequently used designs for coin reverses. This essentially Roman innovation was also a way to express the collective identity, especially when there was an allusion made to the local cult (Howgego, 2005, 4). For instance, temples on coinage were a popular theme. In the Julio-Claudian period, they often show the imperial cult and Burnett thinks that this design was introduced in the East in the context of this cult. Eastern cities repeatedly issued coins with the same temple, emphasizing them as focal points for local identity, in contrast with imperial coinage, where temples were usually a one-off depiction (Heuchert, 2005, 50). The fact that Greek cities often produced coins with temples could be related to the importance of religion in the Greek culture. Thus, when we have on the one side a theme taken over from the Romans, but on the other hand also a very local theme, it seems that local mints were not afraid to take inspiration from Roman culture as well.

One of the most common civic topics on coin reverses was religion. Religion was also the most common way to express identity on coins, such as Howgego describes: "In the East the primary identities of the Greek cities continued to be focussed on their ancestral gods" (Howgego, 2005, 2). Thus, the cities expressed their identity most obviously by portraying the deities from their local cults, gods that tell something about their past and descent. We will especially see this in Corinth and Amphipolis.

Besides local religious cults, we also find the cult of Roma frequently on the reverses

of the provincial coins, such as on the coins in Pergamum. Kremydi explains what this means: “The cult of Roma offers an excellent paradigm of how the Greeks perceived Roman authority. Her deification was a Greek invention that derived from Hellenistic ruler cult” (Kremydi-Sicilianou, 2005, 97). This is probably one of the reasons why Roma was such a popular topic. She reminded the Greek of habits already in use in Hellenistic culture, which made it easy for the Greek cities to display her on coinage, since it refers to both their own (Hellenistic) traditions, as well as that it shows loyalty to the Roman authority by depicting a deity that was also very important to them. This is also an example of a Roman tradition derived from Greek culture, which shows that the Roman took over Greek traditions as much as that the local cities took over Roman culture.

Other important topics on coinage are myth and history, which are also examples of topics important in the Greek cultural identity (as discussed in the introduction). Descent played a key role on coinage, on which foundation myths and heroes were often depicted. This mythology can also serve as a way to place the local past in a universal mythology or history. There was a clear dichotomy between the Roman present and Greek past, which was matched by a noticeable contrast in the coinage. Under the Principate, the past was emphasized on the civic coinage but not on the imperial coinage (Howgego, 2005, 5-6).

Other themes that were often displayed on civic coinage were for example: athletic and religious festivals, a personification of the *demos* and names of the cities’ magistrates in a wreath (Katsari, 2008, 232).

Williamson comments on the ‘harmlessness’ of these civic topics: “At best provincial coinage provides an idea of those aspects of provincial identities by which Rome did not feel threatened: the religious cults, local heroes and local geography and fauna which did not upset the political status quo” (Williamson, 2005, 26). This questions the theory on whether there was true opposition from the Roman authority against these civic coins and explicit imposition of Romanisation. I will return to this question in the conclusion.

Pseudo-autonomous coinage

As has already been mentioned, the coins from the provinces with no emperor or imperial family member depicted on the obverse are called pseudo-autonomous coins. On these coins we find depictions of gods (derived from Hellenistic coinage), personifications of the Roman Senate and personifications of the city (Heuchert, 2005, 47). The pseudo-autonomous coins were in contrast with the ‘Roman’ coins. The allusion to local gods and myths make the coins very important markers for the expression of identity of a city. The stark contrast with the Roman coinage only enhanced this local identity and individuality (Horster, 2013, 247). However, few cities only minted pseudo-autonomous coins. Most provincial cities minted pseudo-autonomous coin, as well as coins with the portrait of the emperor. The question is therefore how this should be interpreted, since the two themes stand in such a sharp contrast to each other.

Johnston suggests that the pseudo-autonomous coinage had a practical use, in that it could help distinguish denominations or was used in re-cutting dies when there was a change of emperor. Burnett picks up on this by arguing that that pseudo-autonomous coins

can be explained as smaller denominations, since the imperial coinage also did not have portraits on coins lower than an *as* (Johnston, 1985, 89-112). This does not, however, as Burnett argues, take away that is still political intent at play, which is very clearly visibly in the disappearance of the imperial portrait in A.D. 68-9, when there were uncertain political times (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 41), as we see happening very clearly in, for example, Corinth under Galba (as is discussed below).

Legends

Roman provincial coins did not only have images, most of them also have texts, which are called legends. The *coloniae* of the Roman Empire mostly used Latin, whilst the free cities more often used Greek legends. On the obverse side, usually the name of the emperor was inscribed, while the reverse side mostly named the issuing magistrate or city (Burnett, 2011, 2-3). This is interesting because it again emphasizes the balance between on the one hand the highest authority and on the other hand the more local, executing authority.

Especially during the beginning of the reign of Augustus, portraits of him were issued without any indication of a name. This is something that is perhaps taken over from the Hellenistic coins, where heads of rulers were never accompanied by names and was thus how the cities were used to produce coins. Interesting is that these cities gradually took over the Roman custom of adding the name of the emperor to the coins. Coins with no name also became a rarer phenomenon as time moved on (Burnett, 2011, 12). The most common way to describe Augustus was by using the Latin inscription '*Augustus*' or the Greek 'Σεβαστός'. Although this looks like a literal translation of each other, there were also many differences between Greek and Latin inscription. Greek inscription, for example, consisted of fully written out words, while Latin inscription contained many abbreviations.

Furthermore, the Hellenistic coins used to make a lot of use of the genitive case, whereas Roman coins almost only used the nominative case. This is something that Greek coins in Roman times took over and started to make far more use of the nominative case than before (Burnett, 2011, 13-14). Also, obverse legends were something that was invented in Roman times. Hellenistic coins had reverse legends and only had obverse legends in times of major change (Heuchert, 2005, 47). We thus see that here the provinces were inspired by something of Roman origin. Explicit examples of this will be discussed with the individual case-studies.

It has been questioned whether people in the eastern provinces, where they mainly spoke Greek, understood the legends written in Latin. But this argument has been countered by the fact that, even though the legend was not understood, the powerful symbolism of the image would have conveyed the message as well. Certainly since the eastern provinces already had a long history of symbolism on their coinage from Hellenistic times (Papageorgiadou-Bani, 2004, 32-33). Another indication that the messages on the coins were also meant for people of the lower layers of society.

Now that we have a general idea about the iconography and legends of the Roman provincial coinage, we can look at the coins of Corinth, Amphipolis and Pergamum into more detail and see whether they fall into this pattern or have some rare exceptions.

Corinth

As has already been discussed, Corinth had a relatively large coin output in comparison to other Achaean cities. These coins held a wide variety of themes. They adopted the imperial portrait, which occasionally appeared on the obverse, but, despite the fact that Corinth was a Roman *colonia*, they also produced a lot of coins with depictions of local traditions and religion. In table 5 you see how the coins with different thematic combinations were divided under the issues.⁶ These categories are based on my interpretation of the descriptions of the themes on the coinage in the *RPC*. The rough division between Greek and Roman themes is based on what has been discussed above about the themes in general.

We see that in general the coin types with a local obverse and reverse were the most common and that coins with a local obverse and Roman reverse were very rare in Corinth. What is interesting is that there are also quite some coins with a Roman obverse and a reverse with a combination of a local and Roman theme. Examples of these types and of all the other types of coins will be given below.

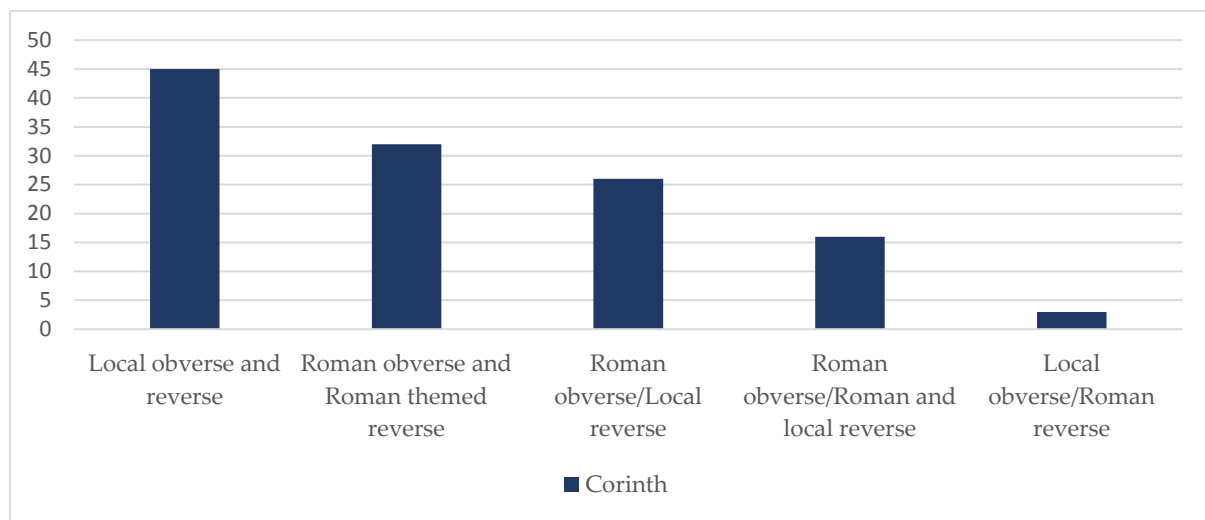


Table 5: Overview of the division of local versus Roman themes on the coinage in Corinth (Data from *RPC*, 2003, 250-257)

The first coin they issued had a Roman obverse and local reverse. Corinth honoured the Romans by placing the head of the colonies' founder, Julius Caesar, on the obverse of this coin (*RPC* 1116, see figure 2). The reverse, however, had a local theme: Bellerophon on Pegasus, which became a common theme on later Corinthian coinage, as well as the most important gods of Corinth: Poseidon, Zeus, Athena, Kronos and Dionysus. It is striking that a foundation of the colony is missing as a type, even though such a type was customarily issued after the foundation of a new colony. Military types (for example an eagle between two standards), which are common for a colony to produce, are also missing. Instead, they depicted local cults, based on earlier Greek types (Hoskins Wal bank, 2010, 152-153). As is discussed in chapter 2, Corinth did still issue relatively many anonymous types in the Republican time. Therefore, Corinthian coin iconography differs from the coin iconography

⁶ This is a general overview that should not be taken as complete truth, but more as a rough view on how frequent different themes were represented on the coins issued by Corinth

of other Roman colonies, because they also focussed as much, perhaps even more, on their Greek past as on their Roman present (this is also visible in table 5), which can be said, in my opinion, to be a part of their 'Greekness'.



Figure 2: RPC 1116, bronze, 44/43 B.C

This first issued coin is also the only issue of Corinth, where the colony is referred to as LAVS IVLI CORINT, based on the name given to the colony by the Romans, *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis*. After this, there are no further mentions and in the legends only several forms of the word 'Corinth' are inscribed (Papageorgiadou-Bani, 2004, 25). It thus gives the feeling that Corinth was not entirely happy with its foundation as a Roman colony. But, as we will see, Roman themes did show up on local Corinthian coinage, such as the imperial portrait, which is discussed in the next section.

Imperial portrait

Relatively many Corinthian coins had a Roman obverse, of which the imperial portrait is the most often-used theme. Corinth pleased the Roman authority by depicting the imperial portrait on their coins. They already did this from very early onwards, for example on RPC 1132. This portrait is very early, since the coin is from 27-26 B.C. (which is interesting because Roman Imperial coinage only started minting with the imperial portrait between 25 and 23 B.C.). Augustus is shown on the obverse with a bear head. On the reverse the head of Caesar is depicted. It is therefore a Roman coin, because it does not have a local reverse. The legend does not say anything about Augustus yet, but instead states the names of the *Duoviri C. Heius Pol* and *C. Heius Pam Iter*, and on the reverse it is inscribed: *IIVIR CORINT*. It is intriguing that a *colonia* like Corinth, with a very violent foundation, would issue a coin with an imperial portrait so early. This stands in contrast to the fact that they did not mint a foundation issue. The Roman themes could, however, be explained by the influence of the local magistrates on the coin designs, who perhaps saw an opportunity to get on good terms with the Roman authority.

Another example, which is a bit later, from the time of Tiberius around A.D. 12-16, is RPC 1145 (see figure 3). This coin shows the laureated head of Tiberius, with on the reverse a

walking Pegasus. This coin does not mention Tiberius but has again the names of the *Duoviri* inscribed: L RVTILIO PLANCO IIVIR on the obverse and A VATRONIO LABEONE IIVIR on the reverse. The fact that the names of the *Duoviri* were inscribed on most of the early Corinthian coins indicates that their involvement in the local coin production was of significance and again point to an agenda to please the Roman authority.



Figure 3: RPC 1145, bronze, A.D. 12/13-15/16

Imperial family

Another Roman theme that occurred on the obverses Corinthian coinage was the imperial family. As is already discussed, the imperial family was heavily represented in the provinces, of which Corinth was no exception. This display of family members on coins was not without reason, because Augustus was, during his reign, occupied with the settling of his dynastic succession, which is also visible on his coinage and which is why quite some issues of Augustus bare portraits of his family. In Corinth, his successor Tiberius is depicted on one of the coins (RPC 1140) as well as Germanicus, another prominent member of the Julio-Claudian dynasty (RPC 1142). On the reverse of both coins, the names of the *Duoviri* are inscribed in a wreath.



Figure 4: RPC 1153, bronze, A.D. 32-3 (?)

Under Tiberius, the imperial family was portrayed as well. The deified Livia especially appears on coins during Tiberius' reign. She is identified with the virtues *Salus* and *Pietas*. For example on *RPC* 1153 (see figure 4), where Livia is identified with *Salus* (the goddess of welfare), which is another example of the fact that women often were identified with deities, more than male family members. It is hard to say what the reason behind this is. What is interesting however, is that she is compared to a Roman god, whilst Corinth was also still grasping back to its Greek gods.

Other Roman themes

As we have seen in table 5, Corinth also issued many coin types with a Roman theme, on the obverse, as well as reverses. I will discuss some examples of such coins and what kind of Roman themes they used.

An example of such a Roman theme is the deity Roma. In Greece, she primarily appears on coins in times of crisis (Papagerogiadou-Bani, 2004, 46). For example, A.D. 68 and 69 were years of uncertainty, which can be seen back in the iconography of the coinage of Galba, who made coinage with Roma and the Senate portrayed, to play it safe with the people (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 21). *RPC* 1213 shows the turreted head of Tyche/Roma on the obverse, with the text *ROMAE ET IMPERIO* (for Rome and the Empire) and two clasping hands on the reverse. The clasping of two hands (the *dextrarum iunctio*), which was depicted on coins under Galba (as we saw on *RPC* 1213, but which is also depicted on other coins of Galba), was a symbol of imperial agreement and concord. The hands on the coins of Galba hold a poppy and an ear of corn. These objects could stand for *Pax*, *Concordia* or *Fides*,



Figure 5: *RPC* 1124, bronze, 39-36 B.C.

according to Amandry, (*BCH*, 1998), but an ear of corn could also represent the interest of the emperor for the grain supply to Corinth (Papagerogiadou-Bani, 2004, 44-45). This shows that in Corinth they were well aware of the current political situation of that time.

Another example is *RPC* 1124 (see figure 5). This coin shows the head of Anthony, which is rather unique in itself, because Republican portraits are very rare. The reverse depicts a prow, also a Roman theme. They were in Corinth thus very early onwards, such as the very early imperial portrait also indicates, working on the incorporation of Roman themes on their coinage and perhaps therefore also with incorporating 'Romaness' into their identity.

Earlier we saw that Corinth apparently did not have much interest in a foundation coin implying their apparent disinterest in their foundation as a *colonia*. RPC 1189 is fascinating, however, because this coin depicts the laureated head of Nero on the obverse and on the reverse the Genius of the colony, holding a *patera* and *cornucopia*, that probably represented the re-foundation of the colony, which was typical for Neronian art (Papageorgiadou-Bani, 2004, 36). This is again a Roman theme on the reverse that was often depicted on coins from Roman colonies. Does this mean that perhaps their attitude towards the Romans had changed over time or their attitude towards another emperor?

The sharp contrast between local themes and Roman themes remains an interesting phenomenon. There can, however, be given a few examples where the two are combined (see also table 5). These examples link to the argument that the lines between Roman and local were rather blurred. Some of the Corinthian coins, namely, have local buildings, thus a localized theme, depicted on them, with imperial family as a central topic.

The coin with the *Gens Julia* temple depicted on it is one of those examples. The temple is a hexastyle, which makes it a very large temple. Scholars have long believed that the woman depicted on the coin, seated in the temple, was Octavia and that it was therefore meant to represent the temple of Octavia, described by Pausanias as “Beyond the Agora.” Scholars have, until recently, interpreted temple E (overlooking the forum) as the archaeological remains of this temple in Corinth. Other interpretations of the temple on this coin, however, also exist. Amandry suggests that it is a commemorative coin for the *domus Augusta*, with multiple anniversaries celebrated, such as the twenty-year anniversary of Augustus’ death, sixty years of *res publica restituta* and fifty years after the *ludi saeculares*. Walbank thinks that it is supposed to represent the archaic temple, dedicated to Apollo in Roman times. This was because Julius Caesar had a special connection with Apollo (Hoskins Walbank, 2010, 156-159). RPC 1151 (see figure 6 and 7) is an example that shows the temple of the *Gens Iulia*, with on the obverse the head of Augustus, inscribed with the names of the *Duoviri* and on the reverse a depiction of the hexastyle temple with the inscription GENT IVLI and COR in exergue.



Figure 6: RPC 1151 obverse, bronze, A.D. 32-33 (?) Figure 7: RPC 1151 reverse, bronze, A.D. 32-33 (?)

Local themes

Corinth was in Roman times still captivated by its past, which becomes visible on their coinage and in this way displayed a part of their cultural identity. Local themes are also the more heavily represented on Corinthian coinage than Roman themes (see table 5), of which some examples will be presented in this section.

For instance, local mythology was a very common topic for Corinthian coin iconography. An example is *RPC 1162*. On this coin, we see Melikertes on the obverse, with a *thyrsus* (staff of fennel) over his shoulder while he is riding a dolphin. Melikertes originates from a myth wherein his lover Ino throws the two of them from a rock between Megara and Corinth, upon which they become marine deities. The body of Melikertes was later carried by a dolphin to the Isthmus of Corinth, where his father Sisyphos brought his body to Corinth and set up the Isthmian games in his honour. On the reverse of the coin, a flying Pegasus is shown. Bellerophon, the rider of Pegasus, was also related to Sisyphos (his grandfather), which is why the reverse of this coin points to local Corinthian mythology.

Greek gods were also a very common theme. *RPC 1185* (see figure 8) shows the bust of Helios on the obverse and Poseidon with a trident and dolphin on the reverse, both deities of local importance. They were both already important in Hellenistic times. Although local deities are widely represented on Corinthian coinage, it is striking is that Demeter and Korè do not appear, although they were very important deities to the city (Hoskins Walbank, 2010, 188-190).

Local events were also represented. *RPC 1135*, for example, shows an athlete running with a palm on his right shoulder on the obverse and a lighted race torch on the reverse. This is a local theme, because it probably refers to local games that were held, perhaps the Isthmian games. This coin is possibly related to the return of these games to Corinth, which were held somewhere between 2 B.C. and A.D. 3 (Kajava, 2002, 168-169). This coin dates from 10/9-4/5 B.C., just a couple of years before the return of the games. Could this be a statement to bring back the Isthmian games? If so, then this would mean that the local authority had in one way or another some influence on decisions of the Roman authority. If this is not the case, then it still shows a very explicit expression of local identity on a coin.



Figure 8: RPC 1185, bronze, A.D. 50/51

On *RPC 1168* there is an image depicted wherein the local geography is symbolically displayed. On the reverse, a personification of the Isthmus is holding a rudder in each hand. The rudders are a representation of the Corinthian harbour (Papageorgiadou, 2004, 57). They

probably wanted to show that they were proud of their successful harbour and strategic position. The rudder, however, is also a Roman symbol for the rule of the Roman State, so perhaps this coin has a double meaning, wanting both to show their own success as well as giving honour to the Empire. Killing two birds with the same stone so to speak.

Coins that represented local themes or events, however, do not necessarily have to derive from Greek tradition. When Nero visited Greece in A.D. 66/7, for example, several Achaean cities, among whom Corinth, produced coinage that referred to his visit as well as the proclamation of the freedom of Greece (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 46). This visit is depicted on a couple of coin issues of Corinth (RPC 1203-1205). RPC 1205 (see figure 9) shows the emperor on the reverse, holding a scroll while he is standing on a *suggestum*. It is clear that he is holding a speech, which is evident from the legend that states ADLO AVG (*Adlocutio Augustus*). This is another example of a coin whereupon Roman and local theme are combined and more evidence that the lines between the two are blurred and should not be so statically divided.



Figure 9: RPC 1205, bronze, A.D. 66/7

Then another strange case is RPC 1133, which is a pseudo-autonomous coin. This coin is not that interesting because of its image, but because it has been made of brass, which is unique for this period in Corinth. It is interesting to note that this is a pseudo-autonomous coin with a local theme. The fact that a pseudo-autonomous has been made of a more precious metal, indicates that it is a local theme where the Corinthian authorities were prepared to put more money into.

Thus, we can conclude that Corinth seemed to want to emphasize its Greek past, but they still made use of Roman themes for their coinage, although these Roman themes were most often on coins combined with local themes as we have also seen in table 5. This questions whether we should separate these two so strictly. As time goes by, Roman themes seem to appear more frequently on coinage, but local themes did not disappear entirely. This could possibly be an indication of Corinth incorporating Roman culture more into their identity.

Amphipolis

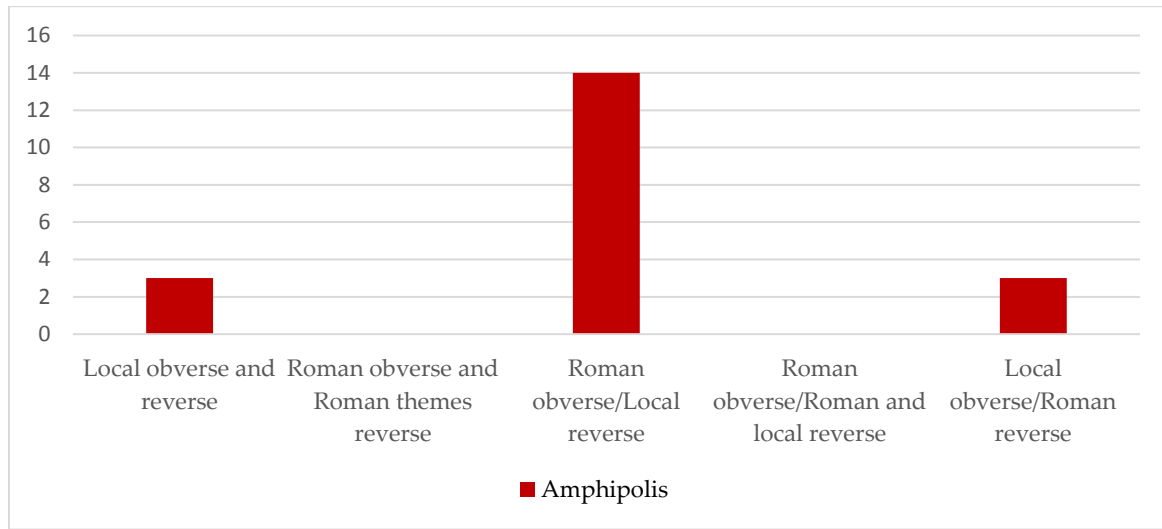


Table 6 : Overview of the division of local versus Roman themes on the coinage in Amphipolis (Data from RPC, 2003, 306-307)

As was discussed in chapter 1, Amphipolis was an exception in the province of Macedonia in the matter of coin production. To see what kind of identity Amphipolis wanted to express, it will be interesting to see what Amphipolis did with its iconography. In table 6 it is shown that in Amphipolis they mainly focussed on coins with a combination of a Roman obverse and local reverse and not so much on only local coins. Amphipolis did not produce any coins that only had Roman themes on them. This is already a major difference in comparison to Corinth (see table 5), because Amphipolis only has coins with a Roman obverse and Roman or local reverse.

Amphipolis also had a different coin attitude than other Macedonian cities. The city did not only offer evidence for divine honours which was attributed to living emperors, as could be seen in the legends, but they also display types of honouring the emperor and his family. Yet still was there no other Macedonian city that put more emphasis on its Greek cultural identity under the Empire. In Thessalonica and Edessa, for example, local cults were not depicted on early imperial coinage they emphasized more on the depiction of the imperial portrait and imperial family (Kremydi-Sicilianou, 2005, 104).

What is also important in Amphipolis is that there is here a sense of 'double belonging', to both the local community and the Roman state. This together was essential to form their civic identity (Kremydi-Sicilianou, 2005, 96-101). This 'sense of double belonging' can possibly explain why most of the coins issued in Amphipolis had a Roman, as well as a local theme.

Amphipolis was exceptional in that it referred to local institutions, something that was not done on other Macedonian coinage. They used the text 'ΔΗΜΟΣ ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ' instead of 'ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ' in their legends, in order to emphasize their Greek cultural identity under the Roman authority (Kremydi-Sicilianou, 2005, 101-104). The earliest coins minted during Roman times bore the earlier used legend 'ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ' which was at the end of the reign of Augustus replaced with 'ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ' (Burnett et al., 2003, 305). The fact that they inscribed the name of their city on every coin they issued in the early Principate this way, tells us that they apparently found this very important and that they definitely had an urge to express their identity on their coinage. It is hard to tell whether this

affected their relationship with Rome, but it must not have been in a very negative way, as they continued doing this throughout the early principate and onwards.

Imperial portrait

As we can see in table 6, did Amphipolis issue a lot coins with a Roman obverse, and especially issues of the deified emperors and family members. This section will give some



Figure 10: RPC 1637, bronze, A.D. 37-41

examples. RPC 1636 is such a coin, where on the obverse of this coin we see the portrait of the *Divus Augustus* with the legend 'ΘΕ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ' and a radiate head. Also RPC 1637 (see figure 10), that depicts Caligula as a deified emperor, with the emperor on the obverse seated on a horse and the legend 'ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ'. The legend is also written in the nominative, which is, as is discussed above, something taken over from the Romans. Furthermore, on RPC 1634 (see figure 11) the veiled head of Livia or Julia is portrayed on the obverse with the legend 'ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΘΕΑ', which means that she is being equalled to a goddess on this coin, which often happened to female members of the imperial family. Thus, again there is the strong local identity being shown, by way of using the legend 'ΔΗΜΟΣ ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ', as well as that there is also a strong tendency to use Roman themes, indicating that they perhaps considered these themes also part of their identity. Of course the *Divus Augustus* is remindful of the posthumous portraits of Alexander the Great, produced in Hellenistic times. Perhaps because they were already familiar with this phenomenon they had not much difficulty taking over the habit of depicting the *Divus Augustus* on their coinage.



Figure 11: RPC 1634, bronze, A.D. 14-37

Local themes

Besides Roman themes depicted on the coins, Amphipolis also depicted a lot of local or traditional iconography on their coinage. In table 6 we can see that there are no coins issued without any local theme.

Their most important deity, Artemis Tauropolos, remained a common theme on the coinage of Amphipolis, which also implies the continuation of her worship in the early imperial time (Kremydi-Sicilianou, 2005, 104). For example *RPC 1626* where she is depicted on a bull on the reverse of a coin of Augustus, with the legend 'ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ', as well as *RPC 1627* (see figure 12). On this coin from the same time, Artemis is depicted with bow and quiver on the obverse with again the legend 'ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ', whilst Augustus is depicted on the reverse, in military attire, being crowned by a man in a toga. This coin therefore deemed the town's deity of greater importance than the Roman emperor.

There is also some pseudo-autonomous coinage, of which the date is uncertain, that does not show an indication of any themes related to the Roman tradition. An example is *RPC 1643*, that has Athena depicted on the obverse and an eagle depicted on the reverse, with only the legend 'ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ' inscribed on the reverse. This coin resembles the iconography of Hellenistic coins. Another example is *RPC 1645*. This pseudo-autonomous coin has a horse on the obverse and a club on the reverse, which is an item that was already depicted on coinage from the Hellenistic period (see chapter 1). There is thus a striking dichotomy of coins where Roman and local themes are combined, such as on *RPC 1626*, and coins where no indication of a Roman theme is present, such as on *RPC 1643*. This indicated perhaps that they saw their Greek culture as a priority, but still wanted to honour their highest authority.



Figure 12: *RPC 1627*, bronze, 27 B.C.-A.D. 14

Pergamum

In the overview in table 7, we can see that especially Roman themes were very popular in Pergamum and that there were no coins with only local topics. We see here that there is a significant amount of coins with a Roman and local combined reverse theme.

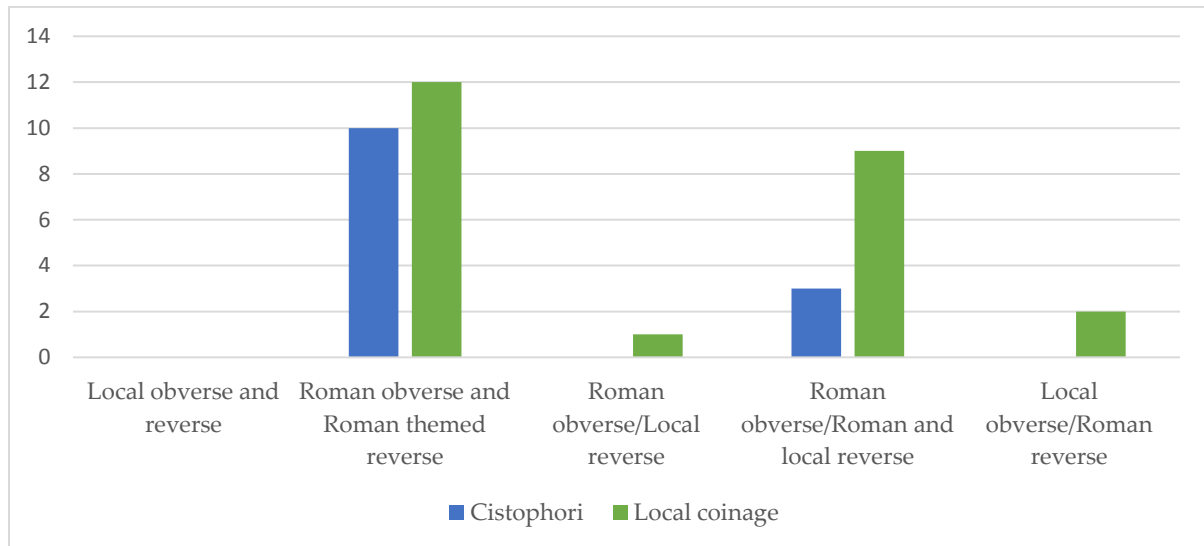


Table 7: Overview of the division of local versus Roman themes on the coinage in Pergamum (Data from RPC, 2003, 378-404)

Roman Cistophori

In comparison to Amphipolis and Corinth, the iconography of the coinage of Pergamum was rather different. During the Julio-Claudian period the coin designs in Pergamum were mostly dominated by the imperial succession and the first neocorate temple of the city, dating from 17 B.C. to A.D. 59 (Weisser, 2005, 135).

The neocorate temple that was built in the city heavily influenced the coinage of Pergamum. The purpose of an imperial cult in a provincial city was to create a relationship between the city and the emperor, because this was seen as an expression of loyalty towards the emperor (Zajac, 2017, 62). This temple of Roma and Augustus, which was granted in 29 B.C., was the centre of the imperial cult of Asia. The temple represented architectural proof of a good relationship with the imperial family. A second century writer from Pergamum, named Telephos, even allegedly wrote a treatise in two volumes about the temple, given that, other than from architects, no Roman books about temples are known, this can be seen as quite extraordinary (Weisser, 2005, 136).

No archaeological remains of the temple have yet been found, only coin designs, which gives us a general idea of what the temple looked like. The coin shows a temple enclosing a statue of Augustus in military attire, wearing a cuirass and a *paludamentum* and carrying a spear in his right hand. This design appears under Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, Domitian and Trajan. Important to know is that depicting this neocorate temple was a deliberate choice of the people responsible for the coin design (Weisser, 2005, 136). This means that, in contrast to Corinth and Amphipolis, Pergamum chose not to use as many

local traditions but was more concentrating on the Roman involvement in their city. Their identity is therefore more aimed at the Roman side than the identity of the other two cities. An example of such a *cistophorus* coin is RPC 2207 (see figure 13). This *cistophorus* coin was probably minted at Pergamum and is interesting because it is completely focussed on Augustus, which is very dissimilar to the original *cistophori* mentioned in chapter 1. On the obverse, his portrait is depicted together with a *lituus*, which attribute is a reference to Augustus, as well as the sphinx that is depicted on the reverse (Burnett, 2003, 377).

Another example, but then with a local reverse, is RPC 2217 (see figure 14). This *cistophorus* coin that was certainly minted in Pergamum again portrays the head of Augustus, with on the reverse the temple of the cult of Roma and Augustus, with the legend COM ASIA. This coin seems to emphasize the important position of Pergamum within the province of Asia. The temple that is depicted is the temple of Roma and Augustus located in Pergamum, which is the local element to these imperial coins.



Figure 13: RPC 2207, AR, 27-26 B.C.



Figure 14: RPC 2217, AR, 19-18 B.C.

Roman themes on civic bronze

Pergamum made a lot of use of Roman themes (see table 7) such as the deified emperor, just like Amphipolis. They also used elements that were originally derived from Hellenistic culture, which could indicate that they wanted to indirectly grasp back to their own culture. An example is RPC 2368 (see figure 15 and 16). This coin, which was minted during the reign of Tiberius, shows the emperor on the obverse together with the *Divus Augustus*. This type of coin especially occurs in the East and is meant to promote continuity of power between rulers, which was already a familiar theme in Hellenistic traditions (Calomino, 2015, 61). Another example is RPC 2372, a coin of Nero, with himself together with Agrippina II on the obverse, depicts the *Divus Augustus* again on the reverse, represented as a statue within a temple. Images of statues on such coins were linked to the perpetuation of the imperial cult (Calomino, 2015, 62).

In Pergamum, we see again the female members of the imperial family are often compared to deities. *RPC 2359*, for instance, shows a draped bust of Livia on the obverse, who is compared to Hera, made clear by the legend 'ΛΙΒΙΑΝ ΗΡΑΝ ΧΑΡΙΝΟΣ' (Charinos being the name of the man who issued the coin), and a bust of Julia on the obverse, who is compared to Aphrodite, as is inscribed in the legend as 'ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΝ' (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 400).



Figure 15: *RPC 2368 obverse, brass, before A.D. 29* Figure 16: *RPC 2368 reverse, brass, before A.D. 29*

The other coin types in Pergamum mainly show Roman themes. For instance, *RPC 2373* (see figure 17) depicts the Senate on the obverse and the turreted head of Roma on the reverse. The Senate is even being deified here in the legend: 'ΘΕΟΝ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΝ'. Furthermore, the most frequently used image that was depicted in Pergamum was the temple of Roma and Augustus. Most of the coin types had this temple depicted on their reverse (Burnett *et al.*, 2003, 400). This is another indication that Pergamum was more focussed on getting a good relationship with Rome than looking back at their own traditions. The identity that they apparently wanted to create was that they were a city loyal to Rome and incorporated in the Roman Empire.



Figure 17: *RPC 2373, brass, A.D. 40-60 (?)*

Local themes on civic bronze

Although in Pergamum they did not really revert to traditional Hellenistic themes, they did depict local events, although these were all themes of 'the present' in contrast to, for example, Corinth, where local themes mostly focussed on 'the past'.

There is for example a coin type on which the proconsul Silvanus is depicted (*RPC* 2364, see figure 18). The obverse depicts the figure of Silvanus dressed in a toga, who is being crowned by a male figure, who could be interpreted as a god or as a personification of the *Demos* of Pergamum.



Figure 18: *RPC* 2364, brass, A.D. 4 or later

On the reverse there is a temple depicted, dedicated to the cult of Augustus and Roma (Zajac, 2017, 64). This is one of the few coins in the early principate with a theme that is not directly related to the Roman occupation of Pergamum. Thus Pergamum *was* interested in its own locality, only they did not (directly) emphasize their Hellenistic past on their coinage, just through the 'Romanised' *cistophori*.

Then there is also an alliance coin between Pergamum and Sardis (*RPC* 2362), where one figure in toga is again crowing another figure. This coin was possibly struck after there was a quarrel between the two cities about receiving the title of *neokoros*. The coin emphasizes the start of a new (positive) relationship (Zajac, 2017, 64). The coin also points to local matters, which have nothing to do with their relationship with Rome. These themes, although they are local, do not refer back to Pergamene traditions but present affairs.

Conclusion

The iconography can tell us a lot about the relationship of the city or colony with Rome and the Roman authority. Both in the way that the cities themselves began to take over Roman themes, as well as that the Romans allowed the cities to make use of local and traditional themes. When we look at a combination of the different themes on coinage of all the three cities (see table 8) we can see that clearly Corinth was the city with the most local types.

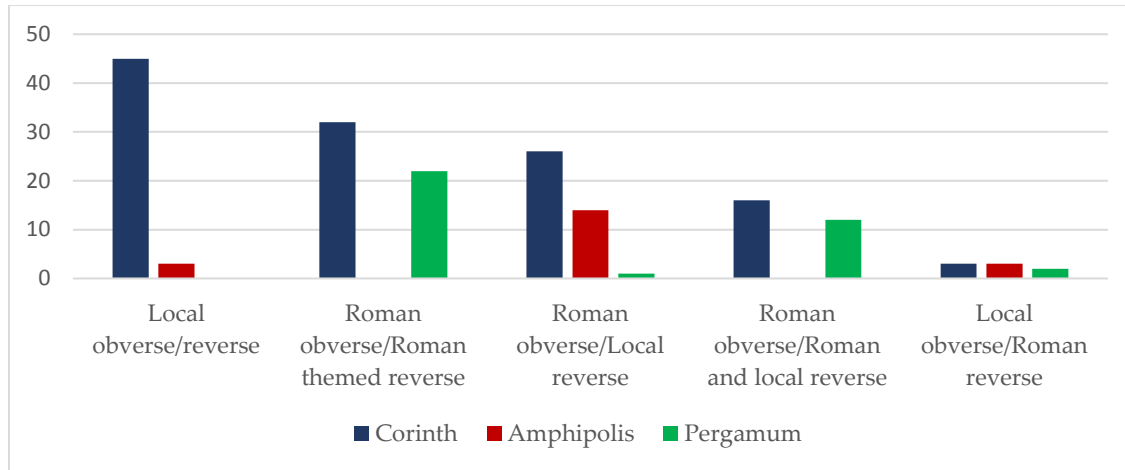


Table 8: Overview of the division of coin themes of all 3 cities combined

This first table, however, is not fit for comparison, because it shows only absolute numbers. If we want to take in mind the differences in production output of the three cities, we have to look at the relative numbers. This is visible in table 9, where the amounts of issued types per city are shown in percentages. This immediately gives a different picture. It shows that Corinth still has relatively the most local types, but it also shows that Pergamum had relatively the most completely Roman types and that Amphipolis had the most coin types with a Roman obverse and local reverse.

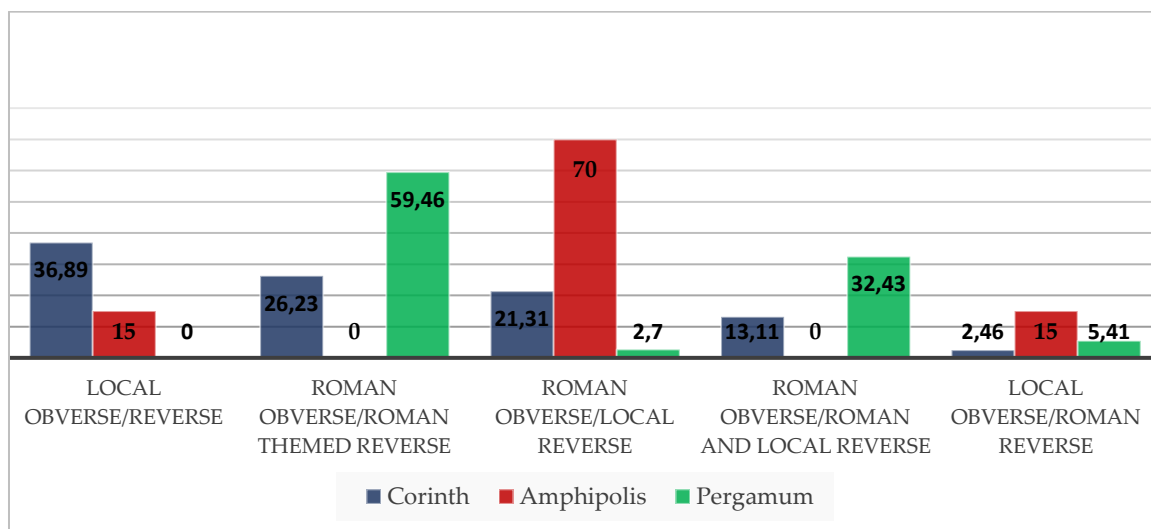


Table 9: Overview of the division of coin themes in percentages

In this chapter we have seen that for Corinth the relationship with the Roman authority, as seen from the coin iconography, is very complex. Corinth was a Roman *colonia* but did not

produce coins with the same iconography as other Roman *coloniae*. They had, for example, no foundation coin. On the one hand, Corinth drew a lot of inspiration from the Roman coin iconography and already adopted the imperial portrait very early into Augustus' reign (which was a rare phenomenon). On the other hand, Corinth looked a lot at their own local traditions and themes for their coin iconography, which is against the expectations of a *colonia*. Local mythology and religion were two of the most important themes of the Corinthian reverses in the early imperial period. There is thus a very good mixture of both Roman and local themes, but these two do not seem to stand in each other's way. The identity that therefore is expressed via this coinage is that they did not want to forget their culture and traditions from before the Roman occupation. This is also why most Corinthian coins have local themes, but also, although there are some hints that they did not entirely agree with the Roman occupation, that they kept the emperor in honour by depicting his portrait from very early onwards.

In Amphipolis, we see the same dichotomy. They make use of Roman as well as local themes. They honoured the deified Roman emperor and at the same time their local deities. What is interesting about Amphipolis, however, is that they are the only city in the province of Macedonia that referred to their city as 'ΔΗΜΟΣ' on their coinage. Therefore, whilst more cases of local identity on coinage in Achaëa make Corinth not unique in this matter, Amphipolis is a real exception in Macedonia. It is interesting to think about the question how this affected Amphipolis in the matter of their relationship with Rome. This strong contrast between Roman and local themes also makes it hard to say what kind of identity they actually wanted to display on their coinage. On the one hand, they clearly wanted to emphasize their local identity by placing the name of their town on every coin, but they also did not mind honouring the deified emperor.

Pergamum is the exception in this case. For this city, we have a completely different picture concerning its coin iconography. Where Amphipolis and Corinth use both their Hellenistic tradition as well as themes from their new rulers, Pergamum almost completely focussed on their loyalty to Rome, which is what is to be expected considering the history of Pergamum (as discussed in chapter 1). The picture that the Pergamene iconography paints about its identity is that they saw themselves as part of the Roman Empire and wanted to show off their pride of being a neocorate city. This was probably also related to the fact that Pergamum had a different kind of relationship with Rome than Corinth and Amphipolis. Rome seemed to have put more effort into Pergamum by giving them the opportunity to mint silver coins. They were also the capital of Asia for a while, making them an important city and perhaps making themselves feel important.

There are two matters that came out of this research that are interesting to discuss (as will be done in detail in the conclusion). First, the fact that there are both a lot of examples of Greek and Roman themes combined on one coin as well as that local topics can have Roman themes as well, for example Nero's visit to Greece, where a Roman emperor is involved in a local event. This brings up the question whether these divisions were as strict as is often explained in academic literature. The second point is the question whether the Roman state truly objected to the local coinage or just allowed the civic themes on coinage because they wanted to encourage the spread of 'Greekness' over their Empire. Something in which they

were themselves very much interested. Moreover, many Roman themes, such as the *cistophori*, even themselves are inspired by Hellenistic tradition.

Analysis and Conclusion

We can surmise that provincial coins can be an interesting addition to the question about how local identity was expressed in the Roman provinces. Before I will go to my answer to this question, I will point out some general conclusions that can be drawn from this thesis.

On the question of how the coin production was regulated, as discussed in chapter two, the conclusion can be drawn is that it is hard to find a fixed pattern in the coin production, which was rather varied and differed between cities. The production rate was not constant and appeared and disappeared without a visible pattern. The same goes for the adoption of the imperial portrait in the provinces, which was slow and non-synchronized. There was no Roman policy for this and the provincial cities did this out of themselves as tribute to the Roman emperor. Since there was much variation between different cities, it is hard to draw just one conclusion of a pattern in relation to my research question. This means that we have to look at other matters and their outcomes to get a better answer to this research question.

Another matter is the question who was in power over the coin production and design. In this thesis, this question is answered by the following conclusion: after Roman occupation coin production was mostly allowed to continue as it was, but the emperor had final control. He did not use his overall power very much, but let cities mostly do their own thing, for example use their own denomination. This was easier than going through the trouble of imposing the same denomination in the entire Empire (although it is argued that this was indeed their eventual goal). Roman influence on coin regulation was mostly noticeable on a large scale and one very clear example is that Vespasian withdrew the right of coin production from Greece. This indicates that the Romans did indeed have the last word. Another matter in which the Roman authority had much influence is the kind of metal that was used. Where the coins of Amphipolis and Corinth were made of bronze, the coins of Pergamum on the other hand, were mostly made of brass and silver, which could indicate that these coins were meant for people of higher layers of society than in Corinth and Amphipolis. The fact that they minted silver could be a direct consequence of their closer relationship to Rome.

There was also some influence on a smaller scale, which is notable in that local or anonymous types became less and less frequent as the Roman occupation continued. In Corinth, for instance, the circulation of local issues decreases over time, while the circulation of imperial coins increases, as discussed in chapter 2.

In short, the regulation was that Rome approved, whilst the local authority carried out. The local magistrates were heavily involved in local coin production and also looked at their own agenda in this matter. They wanted to please the Roman authorities for personal gain. This could perhaps be an explanation for the combination of both Greek and Roman themes (such as in Corinth and Amphipolis), where they wanted to please the locals by still making use of Greek mythology and religion, but also wanted to honour the Romans by taking inspiration from their culture, which could be a way to more power and influence in their rule. A good example, as discussed in chapter 3, is the coin with the athlete from Corinth (*RPC* 1135), issued a couple of years before the Isthmian games. The two events are thus possibly connected. This answers the question of who was in power of the coin

production and who decided what kind of identity was displayed on the coinage. One more matter, from chapter 2, is the question who gets to see these coins, who were their audience? We can answer this question with the following conclusion: The denominations used in especially Corinth and Amphipolis were small and thus meant for market expenditure, whilst in Pergamum they minted mostly coins with a higher value, that were probably meant for people of a higher layer of society. The coin could therefore fall into the hands of people of all layers of society, which means that this influences the meaning of the message on the coin, because this was thus clearly a message to the people. The message also consists of both text and image and it is argued that the symbolism of the image is powerful enough to transfer the message without even reading the text. This undermines the argument often given that Greek people could not read Latin and therefore did not understand the messages on the coins.

This leads us to one of the main questions of this thesis: how was identity expressed on coinage? In the Greek world there are a couple of factors that were deemed of particular importance and that defined their identity. The most important of these factors are: religion, the past and descent. These factors were, as argued in literature, used to renegotiate power under Roman rule. The magistrates of the cities could manipulate images (such as coins), which they then used as a tool to renegotiate their identity and power relations. Coinage was and is very suitable for the expression of identity, because it is a powerful medium of communication. To express their identity, the Greek used themes on their coinage such as their city gods (religion), myths and heroes (past and descent), a clear expression of what they found important factors of their life and culture. A Roman theme in relation to religion that found its way to coinage were temples. Temples were far more popular in the provinces than in Rome, as they saw it as a focal point for their identity, perhaps because of their close connection to religion.

Roma was also a very popular theme, certainly because this theme has two sides of the coin. Roma was originally derived from a Hellenistic tradition and was also popular among Romans. The Greeks therefore, with this theme, both honoured their religious past and also pleased the Roman authority. Perhaps these Roman themes were used to negotiate power with the Romans, using the expression of identity on the coinage as a tool. This was possibly the case because it in this way they could tell the Romans that they were loyal to them and were ready to adapt to their culture, which is particularly visible in Pergamum.

Case-studies

For the research on the expression of local identity, I have, in this thesis, looked at the coinage of the three case-studies (Corinth, Amphipolis and Pergamum) to see in what manner they expressed their identity, what that means for their relationship with Rome and how they each dealt with the expression of their identity and this relationship differently.

In Roman times Corinth was commercially important, had a strategic position and was the capital of Achaëa, which is an explanation for their fairly large production output of coinage. Who the people of Corinth were is under discussion, but most likely a combination of mostly Greek freedman and some Roman settlers, which is why it is not strange that Corinth makes use of many Greek themes on their coinage, such as Pegasus, who is

connected the theme of descent. It is evident that the Corinthians were attracted to their Greek past.

The Romans and Corinthians have an uneasy past together which could affect their relationship during Roman occupation. This is also visible in some aspects of the coinage, given that, although this was customary for a *colonia*, there is no foundation issue known of Corinth. Although they had a complex relationship with Rome, they still took a lot of inspiration from Roman themes on their coinage and very early started adopting the imperial portrait, something that is a rare phenomenon in itself. They also made use of very local themes and the two do not seem to stand in each other's way. I think that this is a good example of Greek and Roman themes that are intermingled in such a way that making a strict division between two cultures is practically impossible.

The next case-study is Amphipolis, who is more focussed on locality in contrast to Roman Macedonia. We see that Amphipolis both looks back to Hellenistic and local traditions, they still honour Artemis Tauropolos and explicitly refer to their town in the legends. They also wanted to pay tribute to the Roman state by depicting the imperial portrait and the deified emperor. There is not much known about the relationship with Rome, but there is no indication that they were on bad terms. The city was granted the status of being a free city by Augustus and there were also statues of emperors found in Amphipolis, which could point to some level of acceptance of the Roman authority. Thus, we can conclude that the relationship between Amphipolis and Rome was probably not very problematic. It can be concluded that Amphipolis wanted to have a 'sense of double belonging', which is why most of their coins have Roman as well as civic themes on them. They considered both cultures as part of their identity.

Pergamum did not focus on local traditions and the past, but only on the local present, and that present was Roman. Most of their local coinage had the imperial cult as a topic for their reverses. The identity that they wanted to express was loyalty to Rome. This city was far more influenced by Rome than the other two cases, because of the production of the *cistophori* in Pergamum. This was originally derived from Hellenistic tradition, which the Romans had taken over and made into something of themselves. Thus, because Roman influence was less on Amphipolis and Corinth, it perhaps meant that they were far more able to express their own local identity than Pergamum and had far more opportunity for local initiative to mint coins.

Pergamum started on good terms by falling into Roman hands by a will. Their relationship remained good, because they were made a *neokoros* by Augustus, which symbolised loyalty to Rome. Their privileges can be seen in the coinage: Rome minted imperial *aurei* and *denarii* in Pergamum between 19 and 18 B.C. They also minted mostly brass coins after Augustus, where Corinth and Amphipolis, on one exception, only minted bronze. This could possibly be because Pergamum was of more importance to Rome and had the possibility and financial means to do this. It seems that the more economical or cultural importance a city had to Rome, the more significant the coin output would be. It is interesting, however, that not only the silver *cistophori*, produced directly under Roman orders had Roman themes, but also the local coins, that were produced directly by Pergamum itself. This means that the Roman influence even infiltrated into the local designs.

We can therefore conclude that Pergamum did not look back at its ‘Greekness’ but more at its present-day identity, as part of the Roman Empire. They only found their ‘Greekness’ again through the themes that the Romans re-introduced (such as the *cistophori*).

Roman Hellenism

We have thus concluded in the last section that there is a strong sense of ‘double belonging’ in the case-studies, and also that Romans were inspired by Hellenism as well. To make this point clearer, the image below (see figure 19) shows a simplistic model of how different traditions inspired the coin iconography of the Greek cities in the Roman Empire and how these different traditions inspired each other:

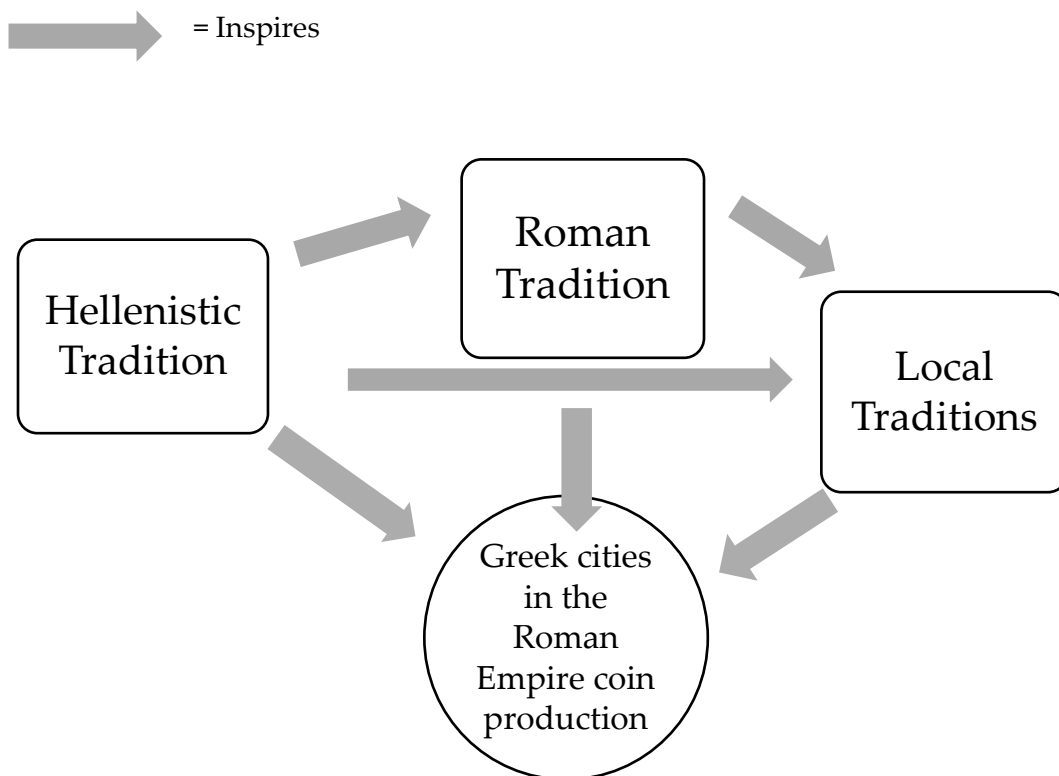


Figure 19: Model of the relation between different cultures and coin-theme inspiration

This model shows that the Greek provincial coin production is inspired by three factors that together form the expression of the Greek identity on their coinage. We see here thus that Hellenistic culture *directly* and *indirectly* (via the Romans) inspired local coin production in the provinces.

Based on this model, I think that there should therefore not be such a static division between Roman and civic themes, because themes that are interpreted as Roman could also be incorporated in the civic identity of a city. This is because, since the city is now part of the Roman Empire, ‘Roman’ is now also part of their identity.

Strong examples of a combination of local and Roman themes combined on the same coin side are buildings on coins. Buildings displayed on coins were a Roman innovation, but it were very local buildings that were depicted on the coins. Locals were thus not afraid to take inspiration from Roman themes as well. For instance, the coin from Corinth with the *Gens Iulia* depicted on it is a very Roman theme (because it involves the imperial family), but

also very local, because the temple allegedly was located in Corinth. It is therefore a combination of Roman and local themes.

The legends on provincial coins also became more and more based on Roman legends and were an inspiration from something with a Roman origin, which is thus an innovation influenced by Roman culture only. The provincial cities took over themes from Roman culture and tradition for their reverses, but almost never literally the Roman reverses. They wanted to do it “their own way”, which was perhaps a way to make it a part of their own culture and identity.

The situation can also be turned around. It is widely known that the Romans were interested in Greek culture as well and were themselves heavily inspired by Hellenism. This could be a reason why local coinage was allowed to continue being produced. Although Woolf argues that Hellenism and Roman culture remain mostly incompatible (as discussed in the introduction), I think that in coin iconography of the provinces there are a couple of strong examples of Roman and Hellenistic culture combined and of Roman themes derived from Hellenistic culture. Even the *cistophori* in Pergamum, perhaps the strongest example of coinage influenced and regulated by Roman authority, were derived from a Hellenistic tradition. In addition, the display of multiple family members on an obverse coin, that symbolizes continuity and power between rulers, is originally a Hellenistic idea.

All these conclusions point to the assumption that there was not a straight division between two different identities on coins (imperial and civic), but that the identity of these cities was both civic *and* Roman.

Final conclusion

If we compare the three cities, we can see that all three took inspiration from Roman culture and incorporated this into the iconography of their coinage. Based on table 9 in chapter 3, we can conclude that Corinth put the most emphasis on the issuing of coins with a local theme, that Pergamum was the city that had the most emphasis on Roman themes and that Amphilopolis wanted to both focus on their local identity and on honouring the Roman emperor. They also differed in their relationship with Rome. Pergamum had a good relationship with Rome, whilst the relationship between Rome and Corinth seems not always to be that good. It is also difficult to tell what the relationship with Amphilopolis with Rome was, but since they honoured the Roman emperors and the *Divus Augustus* on their coins, I see no reason to call their relationship bad.

Thus, what does the production and iconography of Roman provincial coins tell us about the (local) identity and the cities' relationship with Rome? What the coinage of these three cities mainly tells us is that the local identity in the eastern provinces both consisted of their Greek past as well as the Roman present. Apparently, their relationship with Rome was well enough to take over parts of their culture. The fact that this happened in an irregular and varied way between the different cities tells us that this culture was not necessarily imposed on them by the Romans but was used as a source of inspiration out of their own free will. Either because they found parts of the Roman culture intriguing or because they found incorporating Roman culture into their identity a useful tool to negotiate power relations with their new supreme authority.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

- BCH* Amandry, M., 1998. Le monnayage des duovirs corinthiens, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, Suppl.15., vii+269
- OED* Oxford English Dictionary
- OGIS* Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae
- RIC* Roman Imperial Coinage
- RPC* Amandry, M., Burnett A. and P.P. Ripolles, 2003. *Roman Provincial Coinage Volume I*. London: British Museum Press.
- Sear* Sear, D.R., 1978. *Greek Coins and Their Values*. London: Seaby.

Works cited

- Amandry, M., 1998. Le monnayage des duovirs corinthiens, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, Suppl.15., vii+269
- Amandry, M., Burnett A. and P.P. Ripolles, 2003. *Roman Provincial Coinage Volume I*. London: British Museum Press.
- Ashton, R., 2012. The Hellenistic World: The Cities of Mainland Greece and Asia Minor. In: Metcalf, W.E. (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 191-206.
- Austin, M.M., 1981. *The Hellenistic world from Alexander to the Roman conquest: A selection of ancient sources in translation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Burnett, A., 2011. The Augustan Revolution Seen from the mints of the Provinces, *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 101, 1-30.
- Burrell, B., 2004. *Neokoroi: Greek Cities and Roman Emperors*. Leiden: Brill
- Calomino, D., 2015. Emperor or God? The Posthumous Commemoration of Augustus in Rome and the Provinces, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 175, 57-82.
- Engels, D., 1990. *Roman Corinth: An Alternative Model for the Classical City*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Evans, R., 2011. *Roman Conquest: Asia Minor, Syria and Armania*. Bransley: Pen & Sword Military.
- Evans, R., 2012. *A History of Pergamum: Beyond Hellenistic Kingship*. London: Bloomsbury.

Friesen, S. and C. James (eds), 2010. *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society*. Leiden: Brill.

Grijalvo, M. (eds), 2017. *Empire and religion : religious change in Greek cities under Roman rule*. Leiden: Brill.

Goldhill, S., 2010. Introduction: Setting an Agenda: 'Everything is Greek to the Wise. In: Goldhill, S. (eds), *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the second Sophistic and the Development of Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hammond, N.G.L., 1989. *The Macedonian State: Origins, Institutions and History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Heuchert, V., 2005. The Chronological Development of Roman Provincial Coin Iconography. In: Howgego, C., Heuchert, V. and A. Burnett (eds), *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 29-56.

Horster, M., 2013. Coinage and Images of the Imperial Family: Local Identity and Roman Rule, *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 26, 243-261.

Hoskins Walbank M., *Image and Cult: The Coinage of Roman Corinth*. In: Friesen, S. and James, C. (eds), *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society*, Leiden: Brill, 151-197.

Howgego, C., V. Heuchert, V. and A. Burnett (eds), 2005. *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Johnston, A., 1985. The so-called "Pseudo-autonomous" Greek imperials, *Museum Notes (American Numismactic Society)*, 30, 89-112.

Kajava, M., 2002. When Did the Isthmian Games Return to the Isthmus? (Rereading "Corinth" 8.3.153), *Classical Philology*, 97.2, 168-178.

Katsari, C., 2011. *The Roman Monetary System The Eastern Provinces from the First to the Third Century A.D.*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Katsari, C. and S. Mitchell, 2008, The Roman Colonies of Greece and Asia Minor. Questions of State and Civic Identity, *Athenaeum*, 96, 219-247.

Konstan, D. and S. Saïd, 2006. *Greeks on Greekness: viewing the Greek past under the Roman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society

Kremydi-Sicilianou, S., 2005. 'Belonging' to Rome, 'Remaining' Greek: Coinage and Identity in Roman Macedonia. In: Howgego, C. V. Heuchert, V. and A. Burnett (eds), *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 95-106.

Kremydi, S. and A. Iakovidou, 2015. Corinth and Athens: Numismatic Circulation from the

- Late Republic to the High Empire. In: Van Alfen, P.G., Bransbourg G. and Amandry, A. (eds.), *Contributions to Numismatics in Honor of Richard B. Witschonke*, 457-483.
- Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, Ch., 2011. Amphipolis. In: Lane Fox, R. (eds), *Brill's companion to ancient Macedon: studies in the archaeology and history of Macedon*, Leiden: Brill, 409-436.
- Kraay, C.M., 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*. London: Methuen & Co LTD.
- Lane Fox, R. (eds), 2011. *Brill's companion to ancient Macedon: studies in the archaeology and history of Macedon, 650 BC-300 AD*. Leiden: Brill.
- Laurence, R. and J. Berry, J (eds.), 2011. *Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire*. London and New York: Routledge.
- McEvedy, C., 2011. *Cities of the Classical World: An Atlas and Gazetteer of 120 centres of Ancient Civilization*. London: Allen Lane.
- Metcalf, W.E. (eds), 2012. *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Millis, B., 2010. The Social and ethnic origins of the colonists in early Roman Corinth. In: Friesen, S. and C. James (eds), *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society*. Leiden: Brill, 13-35.
- Noreña, C.F., 2011. Coins and Communication. In: Peachin, M. (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Papagerogiadou-Bani, H., 2004. *The Numismatic Iconography of the Roman Colonies in Greece: Local Spirit and the Expression of Imperial Policy*. Athens: ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 39.
- Radt, W., 1999. *Pergamon. Geschichte und Bauten einer antiken Metropole*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Sear, D.R., 1978. *Greek Coins and Their Values*. London: Seaby.
- Shiple, G., 2000. *The Greek World After Alexander 323-30 B.C.*. London: Routledge.
- Thonemann, P.A., 2015. *The Hellenistic World: using coins as sources*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weiss, P., 2005. The Cities and Their Coinage. In: Howgego, C., Heuchert, V. and A. Burnett (eds), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 57-68.
- Weisser, B., 2005. Pergamum as Paradigm. In: Howgego, C., Heuchert, V. and A. Burnett (eds), *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 135-142.
- Williamson, G., 2005. Aspects of identity. In: Howgego, C., Heuchert, V. and A. Burnett (eds), *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 19-27.

Woolf, G., 1994. Becoming Roman, Staying Greek: Culture, Identity and the Civilizing Process in the Roman East, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, 40, 116-143.

Zajac, B., 2017. Neokoroi: Propaganda of the Imperial Cult on the Coins of Pergamum During the Reigns of Augustus, Trajan, and Caracalla. In: Zajac, B., Jurkiewicz, Koczwara, P., and S. Jellonek (eds), *Pecunia Omnes Vincit: The coins as an evidence of propaganda, reorganization and forgery*. Krakow: Conference Proceedings of the Second International Numismatic Conference, 61-69.

Primary literature

Aristotle, *Oeconomica*,. In: *Metaphysics Volume II: Books 10-14: Oeconomica, Magna Moralia*, (trans. Teddenick, H., Loeb Classical Library), Harvard University Press, 1935.

Websites

<http://www.oed.com> (consulted on 12-06-2018)

List of figures and tables

Figures:

- Figure 1 :** Cistophoric tetradrachm, struck in Pergamum around 160-150 B.C. (Thonemann, 2015, 78). 20
- Figure 2 :** RPC 1116, bronze, 44/43 B.C. 40
(http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/imp/julius_caesar/RPC_1116.jpg, consulted on 24/03/2018)
- Figure 3 :** RPC 1145, bronze, A.D. 12/13-15/16 41
(<https://www.coinarchives.com/a/results.php?results=100&search=iivir>, consulted on 13/02/2018)
- Figure 4 :** RPC 1153, bronze, A.D. 32-3 (?) (http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/livia/RPC_1153.jpg, consulted on 24/03/2018) 41
- Figure 5 :** RPC 1124, bronze, 39-36 B.C. 42
(http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/imp/marc_antony/RPC_1124.jpg, consulted on 24/03/2018)
- Figure 6 :** RPC 1151 obverse, bronze, A.D. 32-33 (?) 43
(http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/augustus/RPC_1151-o.jpg, consulted on 24/03/2018)
- Figure 7 :** RPC 1151 reverse, bronze, A.D. 32-33 (?) 43
(http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/augustus/RPC_1151-r.jpg, consulted on 24/03/2018)
- Figure 8 :** RPC 1185, bronze, A.D. 50/51 44
(http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/claudius/RPC_1185_right.jpg, consulted on 24/03/2018)
- Figure 9 :** RPC 1205, bronze, A.D. 66/7 (http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/nero/RPC_1205var.jpg, consulted on 24/03/2018) 45
- Figure 10 :** RPC 1637, bronze, A.D. 37-41 (http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/caligula/RPC_1637.jpg, consulted on 24/03/2018) 47
- Figure 11 :** RPC 1634, bronze, A.D. 14-37 (<https://www.numisbids.com/n.php?p=lot&sid=2409&lot=113>, consulted on 13/02/2018) 47
- Figure 12 :** RPC 1627, bronze, 27 B.C.-A.D. 14 48
(<https://www.coinarchives.com/a/results.php?search=augustus+amphipolis&s=0&results=100>, consulted on 13/02/2018)
- Figure 13 :** RPC 2207, AR, 27-26 B.C. 50
(<https://www.sixbid.com/browse.html?auction=2200&category=44555&lot=1873861>, consulted on 13/02/2018)
- Figure 14 :** RPC 2217, AR, 19-18 B.C. 50
(<https://www.coinarchives.com/a/results.php?results=100&search=pergamum>, consulted on 13/02/2018)
- Figure 15 :** RPC 2368 obverse, brass, before A.D. 29 51
(http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/augustus/RPC_2368-o.jpg, consulted on 24/03/2018)
- Figure 16 :** RPC 2368 reverse, brass, before A.D. 29 51
(http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/augustus/RPC_2368-r.jpg, consulted on 24/03/2018)
- Figure 17 :** RPC 2373, brass, A.D. 40-60 (?) 51
(http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/mysia/pergamon/RPC_2373.jpg, consulted on 24/03/2018)
- Figure 18 :** RPC 2364, brass, A.D. 4 or later, 52
(http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/augustus/RPC_2364.jpg, consulted on 24/03/2018).
- Figure 19:** Model of the relation between different cultures and coin-theme inspiration 59

Tables:

- Table 1:** Total amount of issued coin types in Corinth in the early Principate (Data from *RPC*, 2003, 250-257) 26
- Table 2:** Denominations of the coins of Corinth until Galba (Data from *RPC*, 2003, 250) 27
- Table 3:** Coins issued in Amphipolis per Emperor (Data from *RPC*, 2003, 306-307) 28
- Table 4:** Issues of Pergamum in the early Principate (Data from *RPC*, 2003, 378-404) 30

Table 5: Overview of the division of local versus Roman themes on the coinage in Corinth (Data from <i>RPC</i> , 2003, 250-257)	39
Table 6: Overview of the division of local versus Roman themes on the coinage in Amphipolis (Data from <i>RPC</i> , 2003, 306-307)	46
Table 7: Overview of the division of local versus Roman themes on the coinage in Pergamum (Data from <i>RPC</i> , 2003, 378-404)	49
Table 8: Overview of the division of coin themes of all 3 cities combined	53
Table 9: Overview of the division of coin themes in percentages	53