

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XVIII

MUZEUM NARODOWE W KRAKOWIE
SEKCJA NUMIZMATYCZNA
KOMISJI ARCHEOLOGICZNEJ PAN
ODDZIAŁ W KRAKOWIE

Kraków 2023

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE

Tom XVIII

MUZEUM NARODOWE W KRAKOWIE
SEKCJA NUMIZMATYCZNA
KOMISJI ARCHEOLOGICZNEJ PAN
ODDZIAŁ W KRAKOWIE

Kraków 2023

Komitet naukowy / Scientific Committee:

Prof. Peter van Alfen, Prof. Michael Alram, Prof. Aleksander Bursche, Prof. François de Callataÿ, Dr Karsten Dahmen, Prof. Georges Depeyrot, Dr Haim Gitler, Prof. Wiesław Kaczanowicz, Elżbieta Korczyńska, Prof. Katerini Liampi, Prof. Andrew Meadows, Prof. Mariusz Mielczarek, Dr Hab. Jiří Militký, Prof. Janusz A. Ostrowski, Prof. Maciej Salamon, Prof. Bernhard Weisser

Redakcja / Editorial Board:

Redaktor / Editor in Chief – Jarosław Bodzek
Zastępca redaktora / Associate Editor – Mateusz Woźniak
Sekretarze / Secretaries – Dorota Malarczyk, Anna Bochnak, Barbara Zajac

Redaktor tematyczny / Theme Editor:

Peter van Alfen

Redaktor językowy / Linguistic Editor:

Peter van Alfen

Recenzenci / Reviewers:

Prof. Peter van Alfen, Dr Hab. Bartosz Awianowicz, Dr Joe Cribb, Dr Przemysław Dulęba, Dr Hab. Arkadiusz Dymowski, Dr Wolfgang Fischer-Bossert, Dr Witold Garbaczewski, Dr Helle Horsnaes, Dr Szymon Jellonek, Dr Łukasz Koniarek, Dr Kyrilo Myzgin, Dr Dariusz Niemiec, Dr Przemysław Nocuń, Prof. Johannes Nollé, Prof. Marek Olbrycht, Dr Julien Olivier, Prof. Janusz Pezda, Dr Magdalena Piwocka, Dr Hab. Judyta Rodzińska-Nowak, Dr Grzegorz Śniezko, Dr Ömer Tatar, Dr David Wigg-Wolf, Dr Dmitriy Yanov, Dr Michał Zawadzki

Redaktorzy prowadzący / Managing Editors:

Barbara Zajac, Dorota Malarczyk, Anna Kowalczyk

Tłumaczenia / Translations:

Piotr Godlewski

Korekta / Proofreading:

Aeddan Shaw

Projekt graficzny i typografia / Graphic design and desk top publishing:

Luiza Berdak

Skład i lamanie / Typesetting and page layout:

Wojciech Skrzypiec

Adres redakcji / Address of the Editorial Office:

Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie
ul. Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego 12, 31-109 Kraków
tel. (+48) 12 433 58 50, e-mail: notae@mnk.pl
<http://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>

Wyłączną odpowiedzialność za przestrzeganie praw autorskich dotyczących materiału ilustracyjnego ponoszą autorzy tekstów.
Authors of the texts bear the sole responsibility for observing the copyright illustrations.

Wersją pierwotną *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne* jest wersja elektroniczna.
The electronic edition of the *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne* is treated as its original version.

© Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie i Autorzy, 2023

ISSN 1426-5435

SPIS TREŚCI / CONTENTS

- 11 Od redakcji
12 From the Editors

ARTYKUŁY / ARTICLES

- JAROSŁAW BODZEK
15 A Note on a Satrapal Coin with the Inscription ΔH
Notatka na temat satrapiej monety z legendą ΔH
- MATI JOHANANOFF
31 A Case of Competing Attributions: Small Anepigraphic Levantine Silver Coins with a Female Head and an Eagle on a Thunderbolt
Przypadek konkurencyjnych atrybucji: niewielkie, srebrne, anepigraficzne monety lewantyńskie z kobiecą głową i orłem na błyskawicy
- BARTOSZ AWIANOWICZ
49 An Unknown Coin of Castor of Galatia and a Possible New Dating of Deiotarus' Coins with a Monogram of His Name
Nieznaną monetą Kastora z Galacji i możliwe nowe datowanie monet Deiotarosa z monogramem jego imienia
- JOANNA ZAGÓRSKA-TELEGA, BARBARA ZAJĄC
57 A Roman Republican Denarius from the Early Roman Period Cemetery in Kazimierza Wielka, Świętokrzyskie Province
Denar republikański z cmentarzyska z wczesnego okresu rzymskiego z Kazimierzy Wielkiej, woj. świętokrzyskie
- MARCIN BOHR, DAWID MACIEJCZUK
73 A Hoard of Early Roman Sestertii from the Region of Święta Góra in the Krucze Mountains, Poland
Skarb wczesnorzymskich sesterców z rejonu Świętej Góry w Górach Kruczych
- BORIS STOKLAS
101 Two Interesting Bulk Finds of Roman Denarii from Horovce – Ostrá Hora Hill (Púchov District)
Dwa interesujące kolektywne znaleziska rzymskich denarów z Horovców – Góra Ostrá hora (powiat Púchov)
- MAREK JURKOWSKI
145 On the “Dynastic” Toponymy of Cilicia Pedias in the Roman Empire (until ca. AD 260) with Particular Reference to the Numismatic Evidence
O dynastycznej toponimii Cylicji Pedias w Cesarstwie Rzymskim (do około 260 r. n.e.) ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem świadectw numizmatycznych

- 165 ARKADIUSZ DYMOWSKI
Indian *Putalis* as the Key to Understanding Some Aspects of the Manufacture and Use of Barbarian Imitations of Roman Gold Coins. Some Preliminary Remarks
Indyjskie putali jako klucz do zrozumienia niektórych aspektów wytwarzania i użytkowania barbarzyńskich naśladownictw złotych monet rzymskich. Kilka uwag wstępnych
- 175 JAKUB M. NIEBYLSKI, DARIUSZ ROZMUS,
BARTŁOMIEJ SZ. SZMONIEWSKI
New Finds of Early Medieval Weights and Lead Objects from Dąbrowa Górnicza, Chruszczobród, and Chruszczobród-Piaski, Śląskie Province
Nowe znaleziska wczesnośredniowiecznych ciężarków i wyrobów ołowianych z obszaru pogranicza Dąbrowy Górniczej, Chruszczobrodu i Chruszczobrodu-Piasków, woj. śląskie
- 201 ARTUR BOGUSZEWICZ, BARBARA BUTENT-STEFANIAK
Rogowiec (Hornsberg/Hornschloss) Castle. A New Look at the History of the Stronghold on the Silesian-Bohemian Borderland in Light of Numismatic Material
Zamek Rogowiec (Hornsberg/Hornschloss). Nowe spojrzenie na dzieje warowni ze śląsko-czeskiego pogranicza z perspektywy materiałów numizmatycznych
- 241 ANDRII BOIKO-HAHARIN, SERHII KULESHOV
A Copper Coin with the Princely Sign of Olhovych (?) or Olherdovych (?)
Miedziana moneta z książęcym znakiem Olegowicza (?) lub Olgierdowicza (?)
- 251 AGNIESZKA SMOŁUCHA-SŁADKOWSKA
Giovanni Maria Mosca (Called Padovano) and Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio. A Revision of the *Oeuvre* of Italian Medallists at the Court of the Last Jagiellons
Giovanni Maria Mosca (zwany Padovano) i Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio. Rewizja oeuvre medalierskiego artystów włoskich na dworze ostatnich Jagiellonów
- 285 WITOLD GARBACZEWSKI
Medal “To the Ruthenian Brethren Murdered by the Muscovite Tsar for Their Fidelity to the Church and Poland” (the So-Called Chełm Commemorative Medal) from 1875 Engraved by Ernest Paulin Tasset
Medal „Braciom Rusinom pomordowanym przez carat moskiewski za wierność dla Kościoła i Polski” (tzw. pamiątkowy medal chełmski) dłuta Ernesta Paulina Tasseta z 1875 roku

RECENZJE / REVIEWS

- BARBARA ZAJĄC
317 EVGENI I. PAUNOV, *From Koine to Romanitas: The Numismatic Evidence for Roman Expansion and Settlement in Moesia and Thrace (ca. 146 BC – AD 98/117)*, vols. 1–2, ANTIQUITATES: Archäologische Forschungsergebnisse 76, Verlag Dr. Kovač, Hamburg 2021
- BARBARA ZAJĄC
326 JEROME MAIRAT, MARGUERITE SPOERRI BUTCHER with contributions by MICHEL AMANDRY, ROGER BLAND, KEVIN BUTCHER, JACK NURPETLIAN, and ULRIKE PETER, *Roman Provincial Coinage. Vol. VII.2: From Gordian I to Gordian III (AD 238–244): All Provinces Except Asia. Part I: Introduction and Catalogue. Part II: Indexes and Plates*, British Museum Press, Bibliothèque Nationale, London–Paris 2022
- JAROSŁAW BODZEK
332 MARTIN BAER, WOLFGANG FISCHER-BOSSERT and NIKOLAUS SCHINDEL (eds.), *CISTA MYSTICA. Festschrift für Wolfgang Szaivert*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte der Universität Wien 23, Österreichische Forschungsgesellschaft für Numismatik, Wien 2020

KRONIKI / CHRONICLES

- MATEUSZ WOŹNIAK
341 *Kronika Gabinetu Numizmatycznego Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (2022)*
The Chronicle of the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum in Krakow (2022)
- JAROSŁAW BODZEK
357 *Kronika Sekcji Numizmatycznej Komisji Archeologicznej Polskiej Akademii Nauk Oddział w Krakowie (2020–2023)*
The Chronicle of the Numismatic Section of the Archaeological Commission of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Krakow Branch (2020–2023)
- WIOLETTA PAZOWSKA
365 International Numismatic Conference “NUMISMATICA CENTROEUROPAEA VI” – 18–21 September 2023, Znojmo, Centrum Louka

NEKROLOGI / OBITUARIES

- 373 JOHANNES NOLLÉ
 Wilhelm Müseler – In Memory of a Numismatic ἄωρος
- 375 CLAIRE FRANKLIN WERZ
 Ulrich Werz (January 15, 1964 – June 14, 2023)
 Bibliography of Ulrich Werz



Elżbieta Hutten-Czapska née Meyendorff (1833–1916), autor I. Makarov, 1880

Elżbieta Hutten-Czapska z domu Meyendorff (1833–1916), autor I. Makarow, 1880

Szanowni Państwo,

oddajemy w Państwa ręce tom XVIII *Notae Numismaticae – Zapisków Numizmatycznych*. Zgodnie z przyjętymi przez nas zasadami wszystkie teksty publikujemy w językach kongresowych, z angielskimi i polskimi abstraktami. Zawartość obecnego tomu oraz tomy archiwalne są zamieszczone w formie plików PDF na stronie internetowej Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>). Na stronie dostępne są ponadto wszelkie informacje ogólne o czasopiśmie oraz instrukcje dla autorów i recenzentów.

W roku 2023 przypada 120. rocznica Daru Rodziny Czapskich. Jego autorką była Elżbieta Hutten-Czapska z domu Meyendorff (1833–1916) i jej synowie Jerzy (1861–1930) i Karol (1860–1904) Hutten-Czapscy. Dar hrabiego Emeryka Hutten Czapskiego (1828–1896), obejmujący znakomitą kolekcję numizmatów polskich i z Polską związanych oraz zaprojektowany według jego życzeń i dokończony przez wdowę pawilon muzealny, złożony na rzecz Gminy Miasta Kraków, czyli de facto Narodu Polskiego, miał olbrzymie znaczenie nie tylko dla jakości kolekcji numizmatycznej Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, ale także dla rozwoju całościowo pojmowanej numizmatyki polskiej. Ponad 11 tysięcy polskich monet, medali i pieniędzy papierowych, wśród nich wiele unikatów lub rzadkości, stanowiło, stanowi i będzie stanowić podstawę dla organizowanych przez Muzeum wystaw, dla edukacji numizmatycznej i ekonomicznej szerokich rzesz publiczności i wreszcie dla badań naukowych nad różnymi zagadnieniami z zakresu numizmatyki polskiej i nie tylko. Nie należy również zapominać o społecznym znaczeniu Daru Rodziny Czapskich. Poczynając od 1903 roku, do dziś całe pokolenia zainspirowanych nim darczyńców wzbogacały i wzbogacają kolekcję numizmatyczną Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie w pragnieniu nawiązania do czynu Czapskich czy też chęci uzupełnienia muzealnych zbiorów o obiekty, których hrabia nie posiadał. Zapatrzeni w jakość zbioru zbudowanego przez Emeryka Hutten-Czapskiego nie możemy jednak zapomnieć o rzeczywistej ofiarodawczyni, wdowie po kolekcjonerze – Elżbiecie. Bez niej i jej decyzji fantastyczna, unikatowa kolekcja zapewne uległaby rozproszeniu, jak wiele innych zbiorów, a w każdym razie nie byłaby dostępna dla wszystkich zainteresowanych polską i światową numizmatyką. Dzięki jej decyzji o ofiarowaniu zbiorów męża Narodowi możemy dzisiaj podziwiać zbiory hrabiego w Muzeum jego imienia przy ulicy Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego 12 w Krakowie. Elżbieta poprzez dar realizowała plan zachowania kolekcjonerskiego dziedzictwa męża. Wspierała go zresztą w jego pasji już wcześniej. Pomagała mu przy pracach nad zbiorem, wykonując precyzyjne rysunki monet i medali. Pamięci hrabiny Elżbiety Hutten-Czapskiej pragniemy zadekować obecny tom naszego czasopisma.

Redakcja

Dear Readers,

We are delighted to present you with volume 18 of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*. As is our policy, we publish all texts in the congress languages, with English and Polish abstracts. The contents of the current volume and archive numbers are available as PDF files on the website of the National Museum in Krakow (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>). The website also provides all general information about the journal, along with guidelines for authors and reviewers.

The year 2023 marked the 120th anniversary of the Czapski Family Donation. The donation was made by Elżbieta Hutten-Czapska, née Meyendorff (1833–1916), and her sons Jerzy (1861–1930) and Karol Hutten-Czapski (1860–1904), and comprised Count Emeric Hutten Czapski's (1828–1896) magnificent collection of numismatic items from Poland and connected with Poland, as well as a museum pavilion designed according to his wishes and completed by his widow. It was given to the Municipal Commune of Krakow, i.e. de facto to the Polish Nation, and was of enormous significance not only for the numismatic collection of the National Museum in Krakow, but also for the development of Polish numismatics in general. Including many rare and unique pieces, the more than 11,000 Polish coins, medals, and paper money that comprise the collection have been, and will continue to be, the basis for exhibitions organised by the Museum for the numismatic and economic education of the general public, as well as research into various problems in Polish numismatics and beyond. The social significance of the Czapski Family Donation should not be forgotten either. Since 1903, generations of donors inspired by this act have contributed to the enrichment of the numismatic collection of the National Museum in Krakow in their desire to follow in the footsteps of the Czapski family or to supplement the museum's holdings with objects that the Count did not have. While admiring the quality of the collection assembled by Emeryk Hutten-Czapski, however, we cannot forget the actual donor, his widow Elżbieta. Without her and her decision, this fantastic, unique collection would probably have been dispersed, like many other collections, and in any case would not have been accessible to all those interested in Polish and world numismatics. Thanks to her decision to donate her husband's holdings to the nation, today we can admire the Count's collection in the eponymous museum at 12 Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego Street in Krakow. Through the donation, Elżbieta pursued a plan to preserve her husband's collecting heritage. In fact, she had already supported her husband in his passion previously, assisting him in his work on the collection by making precise drawings of coins and medals. We would like to dedicate the present volume of our journal to the memory of Countess Elżbieta Hutten-Czapska.

The Editors

MAREK JURKOWSKI
University of Silesia, Katowice
ORCID: 0000-0002-8005-5524

On the “Dynastic” Toponymy of Cilicia Pedias in the Roman Empire (until ca. AD 260) with Particular Reference to the Numismatic Evidence*

ABSTRACT: The article focuses on the formation of the “dynastic” toponymy of Cilicia Pedias in the Roman Empire (until ca. AD 260). The occurrence of place names derived from the rulers and individuals associated with them is analysed in the context of factors such as the growing strategic importance of the region, internal power struggles within the Roman state, municipal rivalries or the imperial journeys. Based on changing political and social circumstances, the form in which the emperors were honoured (title or “proper” place name), and the attested duration of the use of these appellations, three stages in the formation of the above-mentioned toponymy have been distinguished: 1. from Augustus to Trajan, 2. from Trajan to Macrinus, 3. from Macrinus to Valerian and Gallienus. A considerable number of the names discussed are attested only on coins, and some of the hypotheses concerning them are important for the study of local dynastic toponymy. The list of East Cilician localities bearing the dynastic appellations in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD is interesting in the light of Cassius Dio’s remark regarding the adoption of such names by the cities of his time.

KEY WORDS: Cilicia Pedias, dynastic names, provincial coinage, cities, Roman Empire

ABSTRAKT: *O dynastycznej toponimii Cylicji Pedias w Cesarstwie Rzymskim (do około 260 r. n.e.) ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem świadectw numizmatycznych*
Przedmiotem artykułu jest kształtowanie się „dynastycznej” toponimii Cylicji Pedias w Cesarstwie Rzymskim do około 260 roku n.e. Występowanie nazw miejs-

cowych wywodzących się od władców i związanych z nimi osób przeanalizowano w kontekście takich czynników, jak wzrastające znaczenie strategiczne regionu, wewnętrzne walki o władzę w państwie rzymskim, rywalizacja ośrodków miejskich czy podróże cesarzy. Na podstawie zmieniających się uwarunkowań politycznych i społecznych, formy, w jakiej honorowano cesarzy (tytuł lub „właściwa” nazwa miejscowa), oraz poświadczonego czasu używania odnośnych nazw, w procesie kształtowania się rozpatrywanej toponimii wyróżniono trzy etapy: 1) od Augusta do Trajana, 2) od Trajana do Makryna, 3) od Makryna do Waleriana i Galiena. Znaczna część omawianych nazw jest poświadczona wyłącznie na monetach, a niektóre związane z nimi hipotezy są istotne w kontekście badań nad dynastyczną toponimią tego regionu. Zestawienie wschodniocylicyjskich miejscowości noszących dynastyczne nazwy w II i III w. n.e. wydaje się interesujące w świetle uwagi Kasjusza Dio dotyczącej przyjmowania odnośnych nazw przez współczesne mu miasta.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: Cylicja Pedias, nazwy dynastyczne, mennictwo prowincjonalne, miasta, Cesarstwo Rzymskie

Cilicia, and especially its eastern part, known as Cilicia Pedias, is one of those areas of the Roman Empire where the custom of naming cities after emperors took on particularly interesting forms.¹ Among the peculiarities of the local “dynastic” toponymy are the elaborate and often modified titulature of certain localities, as well as the place names² derived from the emperors, who were otherwise rarely commemorated as eponyms or city founders.³ Although the originality of the above-mentioned toponymy has been noted,⁴ no comprehensive proposal has yet been made to explain its reasons. Undoubtedly, the legacy of the Hellenistic period alone does not explain it.⁵ Despite the scarcity of sources that shed light on the mechanism of dynastic name creation, it seems worth considering the correlation

¹ In this article, Cilicia Pedias (Piana/Campestris) refers to the lowland region in southeastern Asia Minor, extending to the Taurus Mountains in the north, the Gulf of Issus and the Amanus Mountains in the east, and the Lamus River in the west (cf. BORGIA 2017: 298). Due to the limited scope of this paper, I do not list all the testimonies documenting the toponyms under discussion, sometimes citing merely exemplary evidence.

² The distinction between the dynastic titles/epithets of the cities and the dynastic place names in the text is both formal (the former are adjectives, the latter nouns) and conventional. The titles in question were part of the official appellations of the centres, and a title used alone in the feminine genus in more than one case seems to be an attribute of the word “city” (ἡ πόλις) and thus the equivalent of a dynastic place name.

³ Following a certain historiographical tradition, I use the term “dynastic names” for the proper names (in this case place names) derived from rulers and individuals in their circle. The variously understood “eponym” here means the person from whom a particular name is derived, not a common name derived from a proper name (not to mention an official whose name was used in antiquity to date the year).

⁴ GALSTERER-KRÖLL 1972: 53.

⁵ It is worth mentioning that in the late Republican period, in honour of Pompey, Soli was renamed Πομπητιόπολις (Ptol. *Geog.* 5, 8, 4. Cf. SNG Levante 875–884). We know from Cassius Dio (47, 26, 2) that Tarsus was renamed Ἰουλιόπολις in 42 BC in honour of Caesar and the “young Caesar” (Octavian), but this is otherwise unconfirmed.

between the occurrence of such toponyms in Cilicia Pedias and agents such as municipal competition, the intensification of the internal struggle for power within the Roman state, or the increased strategic importance of the region⁶ (location of the Cilician Gates). This paper aims to examine the formation of the dynastic toponymy of Cilicia Pedias in the Roman Empire (until ca. AD 260), not so much taking into account linguistic (formal) aspects, but rather the political and social context in which the respective names and titles were given. The chronological caesura around AD 260 is closely linked to the role of coinage in the study of Cilician toponymy. In most cases, the appellations in question were not mentioned directly (i.e. in noun form) on the coins, but ethnic legends containing the names of the inhabitants often allow them to be reconstructed. Although the considerations presented here are not only based on numismatic evidence but also, to a certain extent, on epigraphic and literary sources, it must be stressed that the coins issued until the local mints ceased to function (which happened around AD 260) provide the most complete insight into the evolution of the toponymy under study.

Taking into account criteria such as the form (“proper” place name or special title/epithet) and the attested duration of use of the appellations in question, as well as the circumstances under which they were created, it is possible to distinguish certain stages in the formation of dynastic toponymy in Cilicia Pedias between the end of the 1st century BC and the middle of the 3rd century AD. The first, covering the period from Augustus to Trajan, by no means foreshadowed the originality that the custom of naming localities after emperors would later acquire in this corner of the Empire. At that time, cities adopted appellations that either replaced the previous ones or acted as their alternative forms. Apart from some uncertain cases, these toponyms remained in use for a relatively long time. One of the “uncertain cases” is Colonia Iulia, whose name appears on two series of coins with the image of Augustus and the characteristic obverse legend PRINCEPS FELIX.⁷ Andrew Burnett, Michel Amandry and Pere Pau Ripollès, in an attempt to locate the mint where these coins were struck, stated that “the finds and the fabric point to Cilicia, probably Cilicia Pedias (...).”⁸ Henri Seyrig, on the other hand, linked them to the colony at Ninica (Cilicia Trachea).⁹ This is also the attribution adopted in some modern catalogues.¹⁰ Regardless of the validity of this hypothesis, the very honouring of Augustus in the place name of Cilicia Pedias is undeniable. The adoption of the name Caesarea (Καισάρεια) by the city of Anazarbus was probably an expression

⁶ Cf. BORGIA 2017: 311.

⁷ RPC I 4082, 4083.

⁸ RPC I 598.

⁹ See SEYRIG 1969: 49–52.

¹⁰ See SNG France 2 778–779; SNG Levante 597–598.

of Tarkondimotus II's gratitude to this emperor for restoring the dominion of which his family had been deprived after siding with Mark Antony during the Actian War.¹¹ The renaming may have taken place in the second half of 19 BC when the era of the city began.¹² It is thought that this act might have been linked to the visit of Augustus, who was travelling in the East between 22 and 19 BC.¹³ After the state of Tarkondimotus II passed under the direct rule of Rome, the city remained under the name of Caesarea, which began to be replaced on coins by Anazarbus in the second half of the 2nd century AD.¹⁴ The tradition according to which the latter toponym comes from the senator of the time of Nerva¹⁵ is completely unreliable.¹⁶ The 3rd century AD inscription of Shapur I on the so-called Ka'be-ye Zartošt (ŠKZ) seems to indicate that Anazarbus was also called Agrippias (Ἀγριππιάς).¹⁷ Livia was probably commemorated by another Cilician toponym. The era of the city, which is mentioned in modern literature as Augusta, dates back to AD 20.¹⁸ Its coins, issued during the reigns of Tiberius,¹⁹ Nero,²⁰ Trajan,²¹ Hadrian²² and perhaps Trajan Decius²³ and Trebonianus Gallus,²⁴ depict the first empress (*Augusta*) of Rome.²⁵

Other toponyms, which seem to go back to the Julio-Claudian dynasty and refer to Cilicia Pedias, are more problematic. According to Bekircan Tahberer, Mopsuestia was temporarily called Caesarea. Based on the geography of the finds, the similarities of the iconography and the letter forms, and the traces of deliberate erasure of the place name, he proposed that the coins bearing the image of Claudius and minted by an unknown Caesarea²⁶ (in Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria and Palestine there were six cities with this name) "in the third and fifth years" (of the city's era? of the ruler's reign?) should be attributed to the aforementioned Cilician city.²⁷ The

¹¹ Cf. JONES 1971: 204; SAYAR 2001: 375–376; WRIGHT 2012: 78.

¹² RPC I 4059–4060 (year 67 = AD 48/9), 4063 (with the image of Nero, year 86 = AD 67/8). Cf. BMC Cilicia: CII–CIII.

¹³ See GOUGH 1976a: 53.

¹⁴ Cf. LESCHHORN 2009: 46–50 (compilation of ethnic legends of Anazarbus, with dates of issue).

¹⁵ Malal. 10, 53 (267–268); *Suid.* s.v. Ἀνάζαρβος.

¹⁶ The toponym Anazarbus is much older. See BMC Cilicia I (1st century BC); RPC I 4058A (Tiberius). Cf. GOUGH 1952: 92; ZGUSTA 1984: 72 (§ 62–63).

¹⁷ MARICQ 1958: 313, 340. Cf. KETTENHOFEN 1982: 112.

¹⁸ RPC I 4005A. Cf. GOUGH 1956: 169.

¹⁹ RPC I 4006–4011.

²⁰ RPC I 4013–4014.

²¹ RPC III 3318.

²² RPC III 3319A.

²³ RPC IX 1425.

²⁴ RPC IX 1427.

²⁵ Cf. KARBACH 1990: 36–37.

²⁶ RPC I 4084–4086.

²⁷ See TAHBERER 2015: 47–55.

reasons why Mopsuestia adopted the new name, only to abandon it immediately afterwards, were not made clear by the scholar.

The case of Neronias (Νερωνιάς) is also interesting. The Ka‘be-ye Zartošt inscription mentions such a city in eastern Cilicia.²⁸ Written sources attest to the existence of a settlement called Neronias in this region in the 4th century AD, which at some point was renamed Irenopolis (Εἰρηνόπολις).²⁹ Since a homonymous city is also attested for Cilicia Trachea, the attribution of coins issued from Domitian to Gallienus by a certain Irenopolis, whose era certainly predated Nero’s principate (Franz-Bernd Karbach dates its beginning to the autumn of AD 51),³⁰ was a matter of dispute. If one approves the choice of the editors of *Roman Provincial Coinage* catalogue who attribute these issues to the city in Cilicia Pedias, the absence of any mention of Neronias on the coins in question can only be explained by the fact that this city had two different names, customary and official. The name Irenopolis seems to fit well with the promotion of the cult of the goddess Pax during the reign of Claudius, a possible connection considered by Stefan Weinstock.³¹ On the other hand, Eberhardt Faust links the founding of Irenopolis to Antiochus IV Epiphanes of Commagene and the pacification of the Isaurian mountain tribes.³²

From the Flavian period, which saw the reorganisation of the province under Vespasian, merely one example of a dynastic toponym is known in the region, namely Flaviopolis (Φλαουιόπολις). The earliest coins alluding to this name date back to the reign of Domitian, and make it possible to fix the beginning of the municipal era in AD 74.³³ Flaviopolis is attested on coins until the middle of the 3rd century AD.³⁴ This city seems to be identical to Flavias (Φλαβιάς), which is mentioned in the inscription on the Ka‘be-ye Zartošt among the cities conquered by Shapur I in AD 260.³⁵ The toponym Flaviada appears in the *Itinerarium Antonini*,³⁶ while Hierocles mentions Φλαβιάς in Cilicia Pedias.³⁷

The second stage, in which the toponymy under discussion took shape, covers the period from Trajan to Macrinus. For this period there is no known case of an earlier place name being completely replaced by the new dynastic name. Quite frequently, cities added some special (previously unknown) epithets to their official titlature.

²⁸ MARICQ 1958: 313. Cf. KETTENHOFEN 1982: 112.

²⁹ HONIGMANN 1951: 39–41.

³⁰ KARBACH 1992/1993: 87–88.

³¹ WEINSTOCK 1960: 50–51.

³² FAUST 1993: 258.

³³ RPC II 1757–1761. Cf. BMC Cilicia: CVII; GOUGH 1976b: 330.

³⁴ RPC IX 1529–1538.

³⁵ MARICQ 1958: 313. Cf. HILD and HELLENKEMPER 1990: 378.

³⁶ *It. Ant.* 212, 3.

³⁷ Hierocl. 706, 1.

In some cases, they were used at least until the end of local coinage in the mid-3rd century AD. Noteworthy is the elaborate nomenclature of some *poleis*, accumulating epithets derived from various rulers. It seems that the emperors visited the region more frequently during this period, and each visit may have stimulated different forms of their commemoration – including the adoption of the commemorative appellation by the cities. Cilicia Pedias became strategically important in connection with Trajan’s Parthian War (114–117), while Hadrian’s journeys suggest that it may also have attracted his interest. Coins of Epiphanea (Ἐπιφάνεια) issued under Trajan show that the city had adopted the name Traianopolis (Τραϊανόπολις).³⁸ Epiphanea did not give up its old name, however, and the word ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ very rarely appeared on later coins.³⁹ Although there is no clear evidence of a link between the adoption of the dynastic name and the emperor’s visit, the possibility cannot be ruled out. Trajan’s expedition to the East in AD 113 probably involved sailing along the southern coast of Asia Minor, from one of the ports of Lycia-Pamphylia to Seleucia-Pieria (late 113 and early 114).⁴⁰ Trajan likely sailed along the northern coast of the Gulf of Issus,⁴¹ near which Epiphanea lay.⁴² Originally called Oiniandos, the city was named Epiphanea after Antiochus IV Epiphanes of Commagene, to whom it belonged before he was deposed by Vespasian in AD 72.⁴³ The earliest coins alluding to the name Traianopolis date from the 181st year of the city’s era, i.e. AD 113/4, which makes the hypothesis more plausible that the re-foundation may have been linked to Trajan’s expedition.⁴⁴ However, as noted, “nothing is known of any circumstances for services rendered by the city that might have led to the name change.”⁴⁵

As for the “travelling emperor”, it is likely that he visited Cilicia Pedias three times during his reign: in October AD 117, in the late summer/early autumn of AD 129, and at the beginning of AD 131.⁴⁶ No fewer than 5 cities commemorated him in their nomenclature, including Tarsus, the leading centre of the region.

³⁸ RPC III 3392–3393.

³⁹ As far as I know, apart from the reign of Trajan, the word ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ appears on the coinage of Epiphanea solely under Antoninus Pius (RPC IV.3 10304, temporary no.). Cf. MITCHELL 2014: 226.

⁴⁰ Cf. HALFMANN 1986: 185, 188; BENNETT 1997: 194. Wolfgang Leschhorn (2009: 272) lists ΟΥΑΠΙΑΝΟΣ as one of the numismatically attested epithets for Anazarbus. However, this seems to be a mistake. It was the epithet of Anchialus. The latter appears immediately after Anazarbus in his compilation of ethnic legends of provincial coinage (cf. *Ibidem*: 46–50).

⁴¹ Cf. HALFMANN 1986: 188.

⁴² See TALBERT (ed.) 2000: Map no. 67, C3.

⁴³ MITCHELL 2014: 226.

⁴⁴ RPC III 3392. In the case of Epiphanea, the 1st year of the municipal era falls between autumn 68 and autumn 67 BC. See ZIEGLER 1993a: 205.

⁴⁵ MITCHELL 2014: 226.

⁴⁶ Cf. HALFMANN 1986: 190, 193–194, 206, 208; BIRLEY 2003: 429, 431–432. It is possible that Hadrian had already visited the region as *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of Syria.

Coins minted under Hadrian contain the earliest evidence that Tarsus was given the title νεωκόρος.⁴⁷ Until then, Tarsus had mainly boasted the title μητρόπολις, dating back at least to the time of Augustus.⁴⁸ Under Hadrian, the centre adopted the title Ἀδριανή⁴⁹ and its inhabitants called themselves Ἀδριανοί.⁵⁰ Similar names and epithets were also adopted by Adana,⁵¹ Mopsuestia⁵² and two important ports, Zephyrium (renamed Hadrianopolis, Ἀδριανόπολις)⁵³ and Aegeae⁵⁴ (which issued silver coins under Hadrian⁵⁵). Florian Haymann has suggested that a base for the Syrian fleet (*classis Syriaca*) was established in Aegeae at this time. The scholar notes that Aegeae must have played an important role in the withdrawal of troops from the East at the beginning of Hadrian’s reign.⁵⁶

The popularity of dynastic appellations in Cilicia Pedias under Hadrian seems to not only have been linked to its strategic and logistical importance or imperial travels but also to the competition among the cities. The Tarsian Orations of Dio Chrysostom (ca. 40 – ca. 120) show that the neighbouring cities (including Adana and Aegeae) were in sharp conflict with Tarsus.⁵⁷ Although, as far as we know, Anazarbus did not adopt any title in honour of Hadrian, the main rival of Tarsus commemorated the emperor in the name of a new agonistic festival.⁵⁸ The phonetic similarity between the emperor’s *cognomen*, the titles derived from it and the names of the inhabitants provided an opportunity to underline in a peculiar way the bonds that were supposed to unite the emperor and the cities concerned.⁵⁹ Such appellations could also be used as advertisements. The sale of citizenship is said to have taken

⁴⁷ See BURRELL 2004: 212–213.

⁴⁸ See e.g. RPC I 4004–4005; RPC II 1727–1728; RPC III 3258. Cf. BURRELL 2004: 212.

⁴⁹ RPC III 3275–3297. Cf. IGRR III 878–880, 882; BOATWRIGHT 2000: 105.

⁵⁰ RPC III 3271–3274.

⁵¹ RPC III 3311–3313.

⁵² IGRR I 121; IGRR III 915; RPC III 3359–3361; RPC IV.3 6174, 6196, 17290 (temporary nos.).

⁵³ RPC III 3247–3253.

⁵⁴ RPC III 3340–3341, 3350, 3354–3355.

⁵⁵ We are talking about tridrachmas and tetradrachmas, issued in 6 series between AD 117 and 133/4. Since 2005, they have repeatedly appeared on the market. Silver issues from Aegeae and Hadrian’s visit to the city have already been linked by Joseph H. von Eckhel (1737–1798). See HAYMANN 2014: 143–144.

⁵⁶ See IDEM 2007: 47–57. According to the author, the establishment of this base was regarded as the re-founding of the city, which explains the monetary issues linking Hadrian with Alexander the Great, the alleged founder of Aegeae (*Ibidem*: 54). The adoption of a title commemorating the emperor seems to be in line with this idea. The term *ναυαρχίς* is attested on the coins minted for this city under the two Gordians (GERHARDT 2008: 703), but F. Haymann (2007: 54) draws attention to an epitaph from Aegeae (IC 80) which mentions *mil(es) cl(assis) pr(aetoriae) Ravennat(is)* and to the fact that similar tombstones from the time of Hadrian have been found in Seleucia Pieria (cf. IC, p. 126).

⁵⁷ Dio Chrys. *Or.* 33, 51; 34, 7–15. 27. 47–48. Cf. Dio Cass. 47, 31, 1–2.

⁵⁸ ZIEGLER 1985: 32–33, 67.

⁵⁹ See e.g. RPC III 3252 (*obv.*: ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC CΕΒΑCΤΟC ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ), 3278 A (*obv.*: ΑΔΡΙΑΝΗC ΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC CΕΒΑCΤΟC).

place among Greek cities during the Principate.⁶⁰ For instance, the aforementioned Dio Chrysostom suggests that the Tarsian citizenship could be purchased for 500 drachmas.⁶¹ It would have been hard to find a more influential person than the emperor to lend his name to such a “commodity”.

While an indirect link with the commemoration of Trajan and Hadrian in the toponymy of Cilicia Pedias may have had to do with the travels of these emperors, no analogous statement can be made in the case of Lucius Verus who travelled along the Cilician coast on his way to Antioch in the autumn of AD 162.⁶² However, nothing is known of him being honoured in the titulature of local cities. On the other hand, on certain quasi-autonomous coins,⁶³ as well as on coins bearing the image of Commodus,⁶⁴ Tarsus boasts the epithet Κομοδιανή, otherwise unattested.⁶⁵ Although it was under Commodus that the title νεωκόρος was awarded to Tarsus for the second time,⁶⁶ as it was formulated, “Commodus war (...), soweit wir wissen, während seines Prinzipats nie in Tarsos”.⁶⁷ It seems that the designation Κομοδιανοί⁶⁸ used to refer to the citizens of Aegeae was also ephemeral.

Under Septimius Severus and Caracalla, the popularity of dynastic names in Cilicia Pedias seems to have reached a level similar to that under Hadrian. In AD 194, during the civil war, armed hostilities took place in the region, with Severus’ forces defeating Pescennius Niger at Issus (on its eastern edge). According to Ruprecht Ziegler, Anazarbus sided with Severus, while Tarsus was said to be “rather loyal to Niger” (eher Niger-treu).⁶⁹ The victor did grant Anazarbus the title νεωκόρος,⁷⁰ but there is no sign of the punishment that might have befallen Tarsus had it given significant support to Niger.⁷¹ Gravestones of the imperial horse guardsmen have been discovered in Anazarbus. This suggests that the city was, for a time, the headquarters of the *equites singulares Augusti*. Michael Speidel is inclined to link these gravestones with the presence of Septimius Severus in the Orient between AD 197 and 202. This would be further evidence that the city was in the good graces of this emperor.⁷² The epithets Σεπτιμιανή Σεουηριανή Ἀνωθενιανή are epigraphically

⁶⁰ See BERTOLAZZI 2020: 84–85.

⁶¹ Dio Chrys. *Or.* 34, 23. Cf. BERTOLAZZI 2020: 85.

⁶² See HALFMANN 1986: 210.

⁶³ RPC IV.3 10276 (temporary no.).

⁶⁴ BMC Cilicia 168.

⁶⁵ Cf. ZIEGLER 1985: 75.

⁶⁶ See BURRELL 2004: 213–215.

⁶⁷ ZIEGLER 1977: 46.

⁶⁸ RPC IV.3 3412, 4963, 9754, 8640, 10264 (temporary nos.); HAYMANN 2020: 60 (no. 2, AD 186/7).

⁶⁹ ZIEGLER 1999: 143. Cf. IDEM 1985: 79; NOLLÉ and ZELLNER 1995: 39; GERHARDT 2008: 702.

⁷⁰ BURRELL 2004: 220–222.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*: 216.

⁷² See SPEIDEL 1994: 47.

confirmed for Anazarbus.⁷³ At least the last two have been recorded on coins. In 2013, the auction house Gitbud & Naumann offered for sale an interesting (and presumably hitherto unpublished) coin depicting Geta with the reverse legend CEOYP ANT ANAZ ΛΑΜΠΡ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΥ ΕΤ ΖΙC.⁷⁴ The titles Σεπτίμιανή Σεουηριανή may be associated with Severus’ visit to the city, although this is not clearly confirmed. It is alluded to in an anecdote whose protagonist is Agesilaus, father of the poet Oppian,⁷⁵ but its details are not corroborated by other sources.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, Severus may have visited the city in AD 194–195, 197–199, or 201–202.⁷⁷ Some coins minted during his second Parthian campaign (197–199) attest to Anazarbus’ acquisition of the title νεωκόρος, as well as new dynastic appellations, listed as CEYHP ANTΩN.⁷⁸ They seem to confirm the city’s good relations with Severus, as do other titles received up to AD 204–205: νεωκόρος (for the second time), μητρόπολις⁷⁹ and προκαθεζομένη γ’ ἐπαρχειῶν (leading centre of three provincial districts, Cilicia, Lycaonia, and Isauria).⁸⁰ It is sometimes believed that the merits of Anazarbus in favour of the Severans, not only in the struggle with Niger but also against the Parthians, were the reason for these honours and that the secular games (*ludi saeculares*) in AD 204 were the occasion for the reward.⁸¹ At this time the citizens of Aegeae were called Σεουηριανοί,⁸² while under Caracalla their city would take on the additional appellation Antoninopolis (Ἀντωνινόπολις).⁸³ During the reign of Severus and then Caracalla, the inhabitants of Mopsuestia refer to themselves as Σεουηριανοί⁸⁴ and Ἀντων(ε)νιανοί⁸⁵ respectively. The commemoration of Severus in the titulature of Tarsus is evidenced by coins with the inscription ΑΔΡΙΑ CEYHPIANHC ΤΑΡCΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩC Γ Β.⁸⁶ At the time of Caracalla, Tarsus was given the title

⁷³ AE 1954.8.

⁷⁴ <https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=1645309> (accessed on 20 April 2023).

⁷⁵ Because of his philosophical views, Agesilaus is said to have shown indifference to the emperor who came to the city, despite being an important figure in the local community. He was exiled to the island of Melita/Malta in the Adriatic. *Vit. Opp.* (α’), ed. A. WESTERMANN 1845: 63–64. Cf. GASCÓ 1992: 236–237; LEHNEN 1997: 240.

⁷⁶ BURRELL 2004: 220 (She argues that the anecdote does not refer to Oppian of Anazarbus or Corycus, but to Oppian of Apamea).

⁷⁷ NOLLÉ and ZELLNER 1995: 39.

⁷⁸ See ZIEGLER 1993b: 262 (no. 280). Cf. *Ibidem*: 262 (no. 281) and 264 (no. 188).

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*: 267 (nos. 301–305) and 268 (nos. 306–307). Cf. BURRELL 2004: 222–226.

⁸⁰ NOLLÉ and ZELLNER 1995: 39–41.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*: 44–45.

⁸² SNG Levante 1736; HAYMANN 2020: 61 (no. 3).

⁸³ SNG Levante 1738–1739, 1741–1743; HAYMANN 2020: 61 (no. 4).

⁸⁴ SNG PIPS 937, 938.

⁸⁵ SNG Levante 1346. Cf. SNG Levante 1345.

⁸⁶ SNG Levante 1026. Cf. SNG Levante 1023–1025, 1028–1029.

Ἀντων(ειν)ιανή⁸⁷ and the supplementary appellation Antoninopolis.⁸⁸ The sojourn of the above-mentioned ruler in Cilicia Pedias seems fairly certain. According to one view, Caracalla's presence in Tarsus and Aegeae is evidenced by the silver coins minted by these cities during his reign.⁸⁹ In all probability, Cilicia Pedias was on the route of Caracalla's journey to the East in AD 215.⁹⁰ Some Tarsian coins show him as a local magistrate (demiurge)⁹¹ and ships plausibly delivering grain.⁹² Johannes Nollé, taking into account (among other things) some monetary issues, suggests that the main purpose of Caracalla's visit to Aegeae may have been the local temple of Asclepius. This might have been one of the consequences of the alleged healing the emperor was said to have experienced at the sanctuary of Asclepius in Pergamon.⁹³

The third and final stage in the formation of the dynastic toponymy of Cilicia Pedias during the period under discussion covers the years from Macrinus to the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus. The names and titles adopted by the cities during this period did not differ much from those of the previous decades, but unlike them, they were relatively often ephemeral, which cannot be dissociated from the recurrent internal struggles for imperial power and the phenomenon of *damnatio memoriae*. To some extent, the frequency with which new dynastic appellations were taken on can be linked to the relatively large number of emperors who reigned at the time. It should be noted, however, that it is difficult to point to any other area of the Empire with a comparable number of toponyms derived from the emperors of the time. The peculiarities of this period include some rarely encountered eponyms. In the context of the wars in the East, their commemoration in the local toponymy seems to reflect the strategic importance of the region. One of them was Macrinus. Although his son Diadumenian took the name Antoninus,⁹⁴ the citizens of Aegeae are no longer called Ἀντωνεινιοί, and their city was proclaimed Macrinopolis (Μακρινόπολις).⁹⁵ At the same time, Tarsus boasted the title Μακρ(ε)ιανή,⁹⁶ and the citizens of Adana were called Μακρ(ε)ιανιοί.⁹⁷ Anazarbus added the designation Μακρειανή to its

⁸⁷ SNG Levante 1043–1055, 1057–1059, 1062–1069.

⁸⁸ SNG Levante 1034–1036.

⁸⁹ WEISS 2005: 60.

⁹⁰ Cf. ZIEGLER 1977: 39; JOHNSTON 1983: 73, 75; HALFMANN 1986: 224, 228.

⁹¹ SNG Levante 1040, 1057–1069.

⁹² BMC Cilicia 198–200; ZIEGLER 1977: 34–35. The demiurge's duties included looking after the city's grain supply. Presumably, the emperor's provision of free or cheap grain was intended to improve the situation of the inhabitants, who were economically burdened by his visit and the marches of the armies. *Ibidem*: 36–49 (especially pp. 46–47). Cf. ROWAN 2012: 238.

⁹³ See NOLLÉ 2003: 409–417 (especially p. 415).

⁹⁴ KIENAST 2004: 171.

⁹⁵ SNG Levante 1744–1745, 1747, 1749–1754. Cf. SNG Levante 1746, 1748.

⁹⁶ SNG Levante 1076–1077.

⁹⁷ See LEVANTE 1984: 91 (*194–*196).

titulature. There is no doubt that after the death of Macrinus, this epithet was removed from a certain inscription from which his name was also chiselled out.⁹⁸ Nor does the epithet appear on the inscription that the city put up in honour of Elagabalus.⁹⁹ During the reign of the latter, Adana was given the extra appellation Antoninopolis¹⁰⁰ and its inhabitants were named Ἀντων(ε)ινιανοί.¹⁰¹ The same designation was bestowed upon the residents of Mopsuestia.¹⁰² As regards Adana, one has to agree with Ann Johnston, who links the name Antoninopolis with Elagabalus, since it is attested on coins bearing his image.¹⁰³ Certain premises do not allow us to rule out the possibility that this emperor also visited Cilicia Pedias.¹⁰⁴ Elagabalus assumed the office of demiurge in Anazarbus,¹⁰⁵ and a certain agon in that city was named after him.¹⁰⁶ In the reign of Severus Alexander, Mopsuestia once again modified its titulature, this time adopting the name Alexandropolis (Ἀλεξανδρόπολις).¹⁰⁷ The last representative of the Severan dynasty was also commemorated in a particular way in Mallus, the city he raised to the rank of a colony. Some coins of Mallus bear the legend MALLO COLONIA ALEXA FELIX S C.¹⁰⁸ The citizens of Aegeae also had a special reason to honour Severus Alexander. During his reign, their city received the title νεωκόρος¹⁰⁹ and took the name of Alexandropolis.¹¹⁰ The identical appellation was adopted by Tarsus.¹¹¹ The adjective Ἀλεξανδριανή also appears on the coins of this centre,¹¹² and its inhabitants are sometimes referred to as Ἀλεξανδριανοί.¹¹³ Some issues show Severus Alexander as a demiurge in Tarsus¹¹⁴ and vessels probably delivering grain.¹¹⁵ The emperor may have visited the city on

⁹⁸ AE 1954.8 = IvA 11.

⁹⁹ IvA 12.

¹⁰⁰ LEVANTE 1984: 91 (*201), 92 (*206); RPC VI 7147 (temporary no.).

¹⁰¹ LEVANTE 1984: 91 (*202–*204), 92 (*205); RPC VI 7146, 7148 (temporary nos.).

¹⁰² SNG PflPS 943; RPC VI 7163–7167, 30100 (temporary nos.).

¹⁰³ JOHNSTON 1983: 73 (no. 63).

¹⁰⁴ See ROBERT 1964: 80–81.

¹⁰⁵ RPC VI 7266 (temporary no.).

¹⁰⁶ RPC VI 7261 (temporary no.). Cf. SAYAR 2016: 185 (the author draws attention to the favour shown by Elagabalus to Anazarbus and by Severus Alexander to Tarsus).

¹⁰⁷ RPC VI 7168–7169 (temporary nos.).

¹⁰⁸ RPC VI 7157 (temporary no.).

¹⁰⁹ See BURRELL 2004: 230–233.

¹¹⁰ RPC VI 1796–7200, 30452 (temporary nos.); HAYMANN 2020: 62, no. 7 (AD 230/1).

¹¹¹ Cf. RPC VI 7094, 7095 (temporary nos.).

¹¹² WADDINGTON 1883: 282 (no. 2).

¹¹³ RPC VI 7088 (temporary no.).

¹¹⁴ See e.g. RPC VI 7081, 7094–7095 (temporary nos.). Cf. ROWAN 2012: 238.

¹¹⁵ RPC VI 7091–7092; ZIEGLER 1977: 35. Ruprecht Ziegler (1977: 46) is inclined to link the assumption of the office of demiurge at Tarsus by Caracalla and Severus Alexander with their visit to the city in AD 215 and 231 respectively. Although this seems highly likely, it should be noted that the mere assumption of the office of demiurge does not necessarily corroborate the presence of the emperor in a particular place, as the case of Commodus probably demonstrates for Tarsus. Cf. JOHNSTON 1983: 73 (no. 65).

his way to campaign against Ardashir I in AD 231. Barbara Burrell has noted that some coins appear to show Severus Alexander making a sacrifice in front of the temple of Asclepius in Aegeae.¹¹⁶ At that time, combinations of different titles, referring to past and present emperors, appeared on the coins of Tarsus, Aegeae and Mopsuestia. Examples are provided by legends such as ΑΛΕΞΑΝ ΑΝΤΩΝΙ ΓΕΥΗ ΑΔΡΙΑ ΜΗΤΡΟ ΤΑΡΓΕΩΝ Α Μ Κ Β ΠΑΤΡΩΟΣ,¹¹⁷ ΣΕΥ ΑΔΡ ΑΙΓΕΑΙΩΝ ΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥΠΟΛ ΣΟΣ¹¹⁸ or ΑΔΡ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ Π ΜΟΨΕΑΤΩΝ ΓΟΣ.¹¹⁹ For Tarsus the epithets Ἀλεξανδριανή Ἀντωνεινιανή Σεουηριανή Ἄδριανή are also epigraphically attested.¹²⁰ Anazarbus did not want to be inferior to his main rival, even in the number of dynastic titles. This is clear from an inscription mentioning ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος [Α]λεξανδριανῶν Σεπτιμιανῶν Σεουηριανῶν Ἀντωνεινιανῶν Καισαρέων τῶν πρὸς τῷ Ἀναζάρβω.¹²¹

After Maximinus Thrax seized power, the rule of his predecessor was to be wiped from memory (*damnatio memoriae*). The epithet Ἀλεξανδριανή was (as it later turned out, temporarily)¹²² removed from the titulature of Tarsus. This is evidenced by an inscription discovered in 1980 in which this designation had been deliberately obliterated.¹²³ Another inscription found in 2012 bears traces of the martellation of both the title in question and the name of the condemned ruler.¹²⁴ By contrast, on the coins of Adana issued under Maximinus, we find the expressions ΜΑΞΙΜΕΙΝΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ¹²⁵ and ΜΑΞΙΜΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.¹²⁶ The difference between them could suggest that the latter refers to his son Verus Maximus, but it could also be a mistake by the engraver of the die. The inhabitants of Adana stopped calling themselves Μαξιμ(ε)ι(νι)ανοί on their coins when Gordian III took over imperial power.¹²⁷

The combination of titles referring to Gordian III and Hadrian appears on coins minted by Mopsuestia with the reverse legend ΑΔΡΙ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ ΜΟΨΕΑΤΩΝ.¹²⁸

¹¹⁶ See BURRELL 2004: 230–231. Cf. ZIEGLER 1977: 40; GERHARDT 2008: 703.

¹¹⁷ RPC VI 7078 (temporary no.).

¹¹⁸ RPC VI 7196 (temporary no.).

¹¹⁹ RPC VI 7168 (temporary no.).

¹²⁰ See IGRR III 879, 880, 882.

¹²¹ IC 101.

¹²² Tarsus began to use this epithet again after the *renovatio memoriae* and *consecratio* of Severus Alexander under Gordian III. See IGRR I 133 (AD 241–244).

¹²³ IC 30.

¹²⁴ See LAFLI and BRU 2015: 220–222.

¹²⁵ LEVANTE 1984: 92 (*208–*211); RPC VI 7149 (temporary no.).

¹²⁶ LEVANTE 1984: 92 (*213–*214); RPC VI 7150 (temporary no.). Cf. GERHARDT 2008: 692.

¹²⁷ Cf. RPC VII.2 3151–3155.

¹²⁸ RPC VII.2 3164–3167.

The epithet Γορδιανή is epigraphically attested for Tarsus.¹²⁹ Gordian III may have visited the region during his expedition to the East. The base of a statue at Hierapolis-Castabala and an altar at Aegeae were dedicated to him.¹³⁰

In the reign of Philip I, Γορδιανοί were no longer mentioned on the coins of Mopsuestia. On some of them, the citizens of this city are called Φιλιππαιοί.¹³¹ The appellation Philippopolis (Φιλιππόπολις), adopted by Aegeae,¹³² was also related to Philip I. It cannot be ruled out that during his return to Rome in AD 244 he sailed along the Cilician coast.¹³³

By the mid-3rd century AD, Tarsus and Anazarbus were no longer using dynastic titles on their coins as they had previously.¹³⁴ Nevertheless, the numismatic evidence reveals some interesting changes in the titulature of other East Cilician cities at this time. During the reign of Trajan Decius, Aegeae took the name Ἀσκληπιόπολις¹³⁵ and Mallus was mentioned as COLONIA ΔΕΙ ΑΜΠΙΛΟΧΙ.¹³⁶ Though at first glance such designations may appear to have a completely non-dynastic character, they are entirely in keeping with this emperor’s attempt to revive traditional religion.¹³⁷ During this period the epithets of Mopsuestia continued to change rapidly. Under Trajan Decius its inhabitants were called Ἀδριανοὶ Δεκιανοί,¹³⁸ under Trebonianus Gallus Ἀδριανοὶ Γαλλοί,¹³⁹ and under Valerian and Gallienus, *mutatis mutandis*, Ἀδριανοὶ Οὐαλεριανοὶ Γαλλιηνοί.¹⁴⁰ In the course of his journey to the East, Valerian may have arrived in Mopsuestia in AD 253/4. The agonistic festivals in Mopsuestia, Aegeae and Anazarbus were then established or re-established, or given a more grandiose character. It is quite likely that Valerian also assumed the dignity of the gymnasiarch in Anazarbus.¹⁴¹

At the turn of the 6th and 7th decades of the 3rd century AD, the region was devastated by the Persians and the local mints ceased to function. Given the

¹²⁹ IGRR I 133.

¹³⁰ TOBIN 2004: 7; GERHARDT 2008: 703–704. Cf. HALFMANN 1986: 233–234.

¹³¹ RPC VIII 70993 (ID).

¹³² Cf. RPC VIII 21716 (ID), 21719 (ID), 69930 (ID); HAYMANN 2020: 63, no 8.

¹³³ Cf. HALFMANN 1986: 234; GERHARDT 2008: 704.

¹³⁴ In the middle of the 3rd century AD both cities received the title νεωκόρος for the third time – Anazarbus under Trajan Decius and Tarsus under Valerian and Gallienus. See BURRELL 2004: 217–218, 226–228; KLUCZEK 2021: 55–56. As far as I know, there are no coins attesting to the adoption by any of them of the title commemorating the emperor from whom they received this distinction.

¹³⁵ RPC IX 1452.

¹³⁶ RPC IX 1440.

¹³⁷ Cf. ZIEGLER 2003: 214.

¹³⁸ RPC IX 1442–1444.

¹³⁹ RPC IX 1447.

¹⁴⁰ SNG PflPS 945, 949; SNG Levante 1356–1358, 1360–1362.

¹⁴¹ ZIEGLER 1985: 115. For the involvement of the emperors of the 3rd century AD crisis in the agonistic festivals see WALLNER 1997.

importance of numismatic evidence for the study of the appellations discussed, it is not surprising that the chronological caesura of the year 260 seems so important for the dynastic toponymy of Cilicia Pedias. It appears that the Persian invasion put an end to a long period of prosperity for the Cilician cities, and to some extent, their former function was taken over by the centres of Pamphylia.¹⁴²

The occurrence of dynastic toponymy in Cilicia Pedias during the period under study is shown in Table 1. It contains a juxtaposition of eponyms and localities that adopted or received appellations derived from Roman emperors and persons close to them. Cases, where either the identification of the eponym or the location of the city is uncertain, have been marked.

Based on the data in Table 1, there are at least 43 known cases in which emperors or persons close to them were commemorated in the names and titles of localities in Cilicia Pedias during the period in question. The most frequent eponyms were Hadrian (five known cases), Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Macrinus, and Severus Alexander (four cases each). Their sojourn in the region is more or less plausible, and the same can be said for at least some of the other rulers listed in Table 1. In many cases, the emperors' visits to Cilicia Pedias seem to be one of the consequences of the repeated conflicts with the Arsacids and Sassanids since this region lay on the route of troop movements and played a considerable strategic role. Of course, the commemoration of a ruler in the name of a city did not always have to be linked to his visit, nor did a visit have to be linked to such a commemoration. Nevertheless, it seems worth considering the possible link between imperial travels and the adoption of dynastic place names by East Cilician cities. The emperor's presence provided a greater opportunity to seek patronage and privilege. Taking a name in his honour may have been a form of ingratiating as well as an expression of gratitude for imperial favours. The data in Table 1 may suggest that some cities in Cilicia Pedias had a kind of "monopoly" on the use of dynastic names and titles during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. Apart from Epiphanea and Mallus, which received them once, the respective appellations were repeatedly adopted by Tarsus, Anazarbus, Aegeae, Adana, and Mopsuestia. The first three were the leading centres of the region and boasted other honourable titles. Keeping up with them seems to be the ambition of Adana and Mopsuestia (incidentally, if one were to draw up a list of cities with the highest number of titles derived from Roman emperors, the latter would rank surprisingly high). At this point, it is worth recalling a passage from Cassius Dio in which the historian seems somewhat indignant at the adoption of dynastic names by the cities of his time without the permission of the higher authorities.¹⁴³ The available

¹⁴² Cf. NOLLÉ 1993: 94; GERHARDT 2008: 704–705.

¹⁴³ See Dio Cass. 54, 23, 7–8. Cf. GALSTERER-KRÖLL 1972: 48–49.

evidence leads to the conclusion that in Cilicia Pedias, at the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, i.e. at the time of Cassius Dio, the names in question were adopted only by a very limited group of cities, the aforementioned “big five”. It should also be noted that Table 1 does not include all the localities in the region, but only those for which dynastic names and titles are known. Given the political instability and municipal rivalries, it is plausible that cities sometimes boasted titles adopted without any authorisation, and perhaps this is how Cassius Dio’s statement should be understood – as evidence of the violation of some norms rather than their absence.

Finally, it is worth mentioning a problem related to the length of time the toponyms discussed have been in use. The fate of some East Cilician dynastic place names seems to suggest a link not only between the imperial travels and the geography of dynastic appellations but also between the close presence of emperors and the way in which *damnatio memoriae* was applied in practice. At first sight, it is striking that Neronias, the name most likely derived from Nero,¹⁴⁴ is still attested for the 4th century AD, whereas the many names derived from the rulers of the 3rd century AD were ephemeral. Nero reigned longer than many of these emperors, but this, as well as his popularity in the Greek world,¹⁴⁵ does not seem to fully explain this situation. But when Nero was proclaimed *princeps damnatus*,¹⁴⁶ Cilicia Pedias was far from the main political events and, more importantly, the new emperor Galba was far away. In these circumstances, the implementation of *damnatio memoriae*, which affected Nero posthumously, may have been somewhat superficial in this region. The situation changed when the growing problems in the East forced the emperors to pass through the Cilician Gates more often. It was then necessary to ensure that the ruler whose favour the city sought would find no trace of the person on whom the shadow of *damnatio memoriae* had posthumously fallen.

ABBREVIATIONS

AE = R. CAGNAT, A. MERLIN, J. GAGE, M. LE GLAY, H.-G. PFLAUM, P. WUILLEUMIER, A. CHASTAGNOL and M. CORBIER (eds.), *L'Année épigraphique* (Paris 1888–).

BMC Cilicia = G.F. HILL, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia*, A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum 21, London 1900.

IC = G. DAGRON and D. FEISSEL (eds.), *Inscriptions de Cilicie*, Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherche d’histoire et civilisation de Byzance 4, Paris 1987.

¹⁴⁴ This is probably how the eponym of this city was identified in late antiquity. In AD 357, Athanasius of Alexandria (*Fug.* 1), clearly wishing to discredit Narcissus, the Arian bishop of Neronias, called his seat “the city of Nero”. Cf. HONIGMANN 1951: 39.

¹⁴⁵ To some extent, Nero’s popularity after his death was evidenced by the appearance of at least three false Nero’s. Cf. GALLIVAN 1973.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Tac. *Hist.* 1, 16, 2.

- IGRR = R. CAGNAT, J. TOUTAIN, P. JOUGUET and G. LAFAYE (eds.), *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, vols. 1–4, Paris 1906–1927.
- IvA = M.H. SAYAR (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Anazarbos und Umgebung*, vol. 1: *Inschriften aus dem Stadtgebiet und der nächsten Umgebung der Stadt*, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 56, Bonn 2000.
- RPC I = A. BURNETT, M. AMANDRY and P.P. RIPOLLÈS, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. I: *From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)*, London–Paris 1992.
- RPC II = M. AMANDRY, A. BURNETT and I. CARRADICE, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. II: *From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69–96)*, London–Paris 1999.
- RPC III = M. AMANDRY, A. BURNETT, J. MAIRAT, W. METCALF, L. BRICAULT and M. BLET-LEMARQUAND, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. III: *Nerva to Hadrian (AD 98–137)*, parts 1–2, London–Paris 2015.
- RPC IV.3 = V. HEUCHERT, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. IV: *From Antoninus Pius to Commodus (AD 138–192)*, part 3: *Lycia-Pamphylia to Arabia*, [online: <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk>] (accessed on 27 April 2023).
- RPC VI = D. CALOMINO and A. BURNETT, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. VI: *From Elagabalus to Maximinus (AD 218–238)*, *Asia Minor and Egypt (AD 218–238)*, [online: <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk>] (accessed on 27 April 2023).
- RPC VII.2 = J. MAIRAT and M. SPOERRI BUTCHER, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. VII.2: *Gordian I – Gordian III (AD 238–244)*. *All Provinces Except Asia*, [online: <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk>] (accessed on 27 April 2023).
- RPC VIII = J. MAIRAT and M. SPOERRI BUTCHER, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. VIII: *Philip (AD 244–249)*, [online: <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk>] (accessed on 27 April 2023).
- RPC IX = A. HOSTEIN and J. MAIRAT, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. IX: *From Trajan Decius to Uranian Antoninus (AD 249–254)*, London–Paris 2016.
- SNG France 2 = E. LEVANTE (ed.), *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: France 2: Cabinet des Médailles Cilicie*, Paris 1993.
- SNG Levante = E. LEVANTE (ed.), *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Switzerland 1: Levante–Cilicia*, Berne 1986.
- SNG PfPS = R. ZIEGLER (ed.), *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Deutschland: Pfälzer Privatsammlungen*, Bd. 6: *Isaurien und Kilikien*, München 2001.

REFERENCES

- BENNETT, J. 1997. *Trajan Optimus Princeps: A Life and Times*, Roman Imperial Biographies, London–New York.
- BERTOLAZZI, R. 2020. *Septimius Severus and the Cities of the Empire*, Epigrafia e Antichità 47, Faenza.
- BIRLEY, A.R. 2003. “Hadrian’s Travels”. In: L. DE BLOIS, P. ERDKAMP, O. HEKSTER, G. DE KLEIJN and S. MOLS (eds.), *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power: Proceedings of the Third Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, c. 200 B.C. – A.D. 476)*, Rome, March 20–23, 2002, Impact of Empire 3, Amsterdam: 425–441. DOI: 10.1163/9789004401631_033
- BOATWRIGHT, M.T. 2000. *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, Princeton, NJ. DOI: 10.2307/j.ctv346svn
- BORGIA, E. 2017. “Cilicia and the Roman Empire: Reflections on *Provincia Cilicia* and Its Romanisation”, *Studia Europaea Gnesnensia* 16: 295–318. DOI: 10.14746/seg.2017.16.15
- BURRELL, B. 2004. *Neokoroi: Greek Cities and Roman Emperors*, Cincinnati Classical Studies: New Series 9, Leiden–Boston. DOI: 10.1163/9789047401506

- FAUST, E. 1993. *Pax Christi et Pax Caesaris: Religionsgeschichtliche, traditionsgeschichtliche und sozialgeschichtliche Studien zum Epheserbrief*, *Novum Testamentum et orbis antiquus* 24, Freiburg–Göttingen. DOI: 10.13109/9783666539268
- GALLIVAN, P.A. 1973. “The False-Neros: A Re-Examination”, *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 22 (2): 364–365.
- GALSTERER-KRÖLL, B. 1972. “Untersuchungen zu den Beinamen der Städte des Imperium Romanum”, *Epigraphische Studien* 9: 44–145.
- GASCÓ, F. 1992. “Septimio Severo en Anazarbo”, *Emérita* 60 (2): 235–239. DOI: 10.3989/emerita.1992.v60.i2.471
- GERHARDT, T. 2008. “Die Städte”. In: K.-P. JOHNE, U. HARTMANN and T. GERHARDT (eds.), *Die Zeit der Soldatenkaiser: Krise und Transformation des Römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. (235–284)*, Bd. II, Berlin: 691–712.
- GOUGH, M. 1952. “Anazarbus”, *Anatolian Studies* 2: 85–150. DOI: 10.2307/3642367
- GOUGH, M. 1956. “Augusta Ciliciae”, *Anatolian Studies* 6: 165–177. DOI: 10.2307/3642408
- GOUGH, M. 1976a. “Anazarbos”. In: R. STILLWELL, W.L. MACDONALD and M.H. MCALISTER (eds.), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, Princeton, NJ: 53–54.
- GOUGH, M. 1976b. “Flaviopolis”. In: R. STILLWELL, W.L. MACDONALD and M.H. MCALISTER (eds.), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, Princeton, NJ: 330.
- HALFMANN, H. 1986. *Itinera principum: Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im römischen Reich*, Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 2, Stuttgart.
- HAYMANN, F. 2007. “Hadrian und Aigeai: ein neues Tridrachmon”, *Gephyra* 4: 47–57.
- HAYMANN, F. 2014. “The Hadrianic Silver Coinage of Aegeae (Cilicia)”, *American Journal of Numismatics* 26: 143–186.
- HAYMANN, F. 2020. “Additions and Corrections to the Numismatic Corpus of Aegeae (Cilicia)”, *The Numismatic Chronicle* 180: 59–67, Pls. 17–18.
- HILD, F. and HELLENKEMPER, H. 1990. *Kilikien und Isaurien*, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 5, Teil 1–2, Wien.
- HONIGMANN, E. 1951. “Neronias – Irenopolis in Eastern Cilicia”, *Byzantion* 20: 39–61.
- JOHNSTON, A. 1983. “Caracalla’s Path: The Numismatic Evidence”, *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 32 (1): 58–76.
- JONES, A.H.M. 1971. *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Oxford.
- KARBACH, F.-B. 1990. “Die Münzprägung der Stadt Augusta in Kilikien. Teil 1”, *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 40: 35–68.
- KARBACH, F.-D. 1992/1993. “Die Münzprägung der Stadt Eirenopolis in Ostkilikien”, *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 42/43: 83–145.
- KETTENHOFEN, E. 1982. *Die römisch-persischen Kriege des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. nach der Inschrift Šāpuhrs I. an der Ka’be-ye Zartošt (ŠKZ)*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients 55, Wiesbaden.
- KIENAST, D. 2004. *Römische Kaisertabelle: Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie*, Darmstadt.
- KLUCZEK, A.A. 2021. “The ruler in the ‘citizen’s garb’ or the image of dynasts in Trajan Decius’s coinage (249–251)”, *Klio* 58 (2): 43–66. DOI: 10.12775/KLIO.2021.012
- LAFLI, E. and BRU, H. 2015. “Inscriptions gréco-romaines d’Anatolie IV”, *Dialogues d’histoire ancienne* 41 (2): 216–224. DOI: 10.3917/dha.412.0216
- LEHNEN, J. 1997. *Adventus Principis: Untersuchungen zu Sinngehalt und Zeremoniell der Kaiserankunft in den Städten des Imperium Romanum*, *Prismata: Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft* 7, Frankfurt am Main.
- LESCHHORN, W. 2009. *Lexikon der Aufschriften auf griechischen Münzen*, Bd. II: *Ethnika und Beamtennamen*, Veröffentlichungen der Kleinasiatischen Kommission 23, Wien.

- LEVANTE, E. 1984. "Coinage of Adana in Cilicia", *The Numismatic Chronicle* 144: 81–94, Pls. 17–24.
- MARICQ, A. 1958. "Res gestae divi Saporis", *Syria* 35: 295–360. DOI: 10.3406/syria.1958.5332
- MITCHELL, S. 2014. "Trajan and the Cities of the East". In: I. PISO and R. VARGA (eds.), *Trajan und seine Städte: Colloquium Cluj-Napoca, 29. September – 2. Oktober 2013*, Cluj-Napoca: 225–232.
- NOLLÉ, J. 1993. *Side im Altertum: Geschichte und Zeugnisse*, Bd. I: *Geographie, Geschichte, Testimonia, griechische und lateinische Inschriften (1–4)*, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 44, Bonn.
- NOLLÉ, J. 2003. "Caracallas Kur in Pergamon: Krankheit und Heilung eines römischen Kaisers im Spiegel der Münzen", *Antike Welt* 34: 409–417.
- NOLLÉ, J. and ZELLNER, H. 1995. "Von Anazarbos nach Mopsuestia. Historische Anmerkungen zu zwei unpublizierten Stadtprägungen der römischen Kaiserzeit aus Kilikien", *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 45: 39–49.
- ROBERT, L. 1964. "La déesse de Hiéropolis Castabala à l'époque gréco-romaine". In: A. DUPONT-SOMMER and L. ROBERT, *La déesse de Hiéropolis Castabala (Cilicie)*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut français d'archéologie d'Istanbul 16, Paris: 17–99.
- ROWAN, C. 2012. *Under Divine Auspices: Divine Ideology and the Visualisation of Imperial Power in the Severan Period*, Cambridge.
- SAYAR, M.H. 2001. "Tarkondimotos: Seine Dynastie, seine Politik und sein Reich". In: É. JEAN, A.M. DINÇOL and D. DURUGÖNÜL (eds.), *La Cilicie: Espaces et pouvoirs locaux (2^e millénaire av. J.-C. – 4^e siècle ap. J.-C.): Actes de la Table ronde internationale d'Istanbul, 2–5 novembre 1999*, Varia Anatolica 13, Paris: 373–380.
- SAYAR, M.H. 2016. "Tarsos und Severus Alexander", *Epigraphica Anatolica* 49: 177–186.
- SEYRIG, H. 1969. "Monnaies hellénistiques", *Revue numismatique* 11: 36–52, Pls. IV–V. DOI: 10.3406/numi.1969.978
- SPEIDEL, M.P. 1994. *Riding for Caesar: The Roman Emperors' Horse Guards*, London.
- TAHBERER, B. 2015. "A Series of Coins from an Uncertain Caesarea", *The Numismatic Chronicle* 175: 47–55.
- TALBERT, R.J.A. (ed.) 2000. *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, Princeton, NJ.
- TOBIN, J. 2004. *Black Cilicia: A Study of the Plain of Issus During the Roman and Late Roman Periods*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 1275, Oxford.
- WADDINGTON, W.H. 1883. "Inscriptions de Tarse", *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 7: 281–292. DOI: 10.3406/bch.1883.4163
- WALLNER, CH. 1997. *Soldatenkaiser und Sport*, Grazer Altertumskundliche Studien 4, Frankfurt am Main.
- WEINSTOCK, S. 1960. "Pax and the 'Ara Pacis'", *The Journal of Roman Studies* 50 (1–2): 44–58, Pls. V–IX. DOI: 10.2307/298286
- WEISS, P. 2005. "The Cities and Their Money". In: C. HOWGEGO, V. HEUCHERT and A. BURNETT (eds.), *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, Oxford: 57–68. DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780199265268.003.0009
- WRIGHT, N.L. 2012. "The House of Tarkondimotos: A late Hellenistic Dynasty Between Rome and the East", *Anatolian Studies* 62: 69–88. DOI: 10.1017/S006615461200004X
- ZGUSTA, L. 1984. *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen*, Beiträge zur Namenforschung: Beiheft N.F. 21, Heidelberg.
- ZIEGLER, R. 1977. "Münzen Kilikiens als Zeugnis kaiserlicher Getreidespenden", *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 27: 29–67.
- ZIEGLER, R. 1985. *Städtisches Prestige und kaiserliche Politik: Studien zum Festwesen in*

Ostkilikien im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr., Kultur und Erkenntnis 2, Düsseldorf.

ZIEGLER, R. 1993a. “Ären kilikischer Städte und Politik des Pompeius in Südostkleinasien”, *Tyche* 8: 203–219. DOI: 10.15661/tyche.1993.008.26

ZIEGLER, R. 1993b. *Kaiser, Heer und Städtisches Geld. Untersuchungen zur Münzprägung von Anazarbos und anderer ostkilikischer Städte*, Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae minoris 16, Wien.

ZIEGLER, R. 1999. “Das Koinon der drei Eparchien Kilikien, Isaurien und Lykaonien im späten 2. und frühen 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.”. In: K. FUHRMEISTER (ed.), *Studien zum antiken Kleinasien IV*, Asia Minor Studien 34, Bonn: 137–152.

ZIEGLER, R. 2003. “Asklepioskult und Kaiserkult im kilikischen Aigeai um die Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.”, *Olba* 7: 205–217, Pl. 35.

Author’s address:

Marek Jurkowski
University of Silesia
12 Bankowa Street, 40-007 Katowice, Poland
marek.jurkowski@poczta.onet.pl

TABLE 1

Roman emperors and people close to them commemorated in the toponymy of Cilicia Pedias (until ca. AD 260), and the cities that adopted or received the appellations derived from them: ● – dynastic name or title, □ – dynastic name or title where the identification of the eponym or the location of the city is uncertain

Eponym	Cities with dynastic names or titles											
	Adana	Aegeae	Anazarbus	Augusta	Colonia Iulia	Irenopolis	Epiphanea	Flaviopolis	Mallus	Mopsuestia	Tarsus	Zephyrium
Augustus			●		□							
Marcus Agrippa			●									
Julia Augusta (Livia)				●								
eponym of Caesarea (Mopsuestia?)										□		
Nero						□						
Vespasian								●				
Trajan							●					
Hadrian	●	●								●	●	●
Commodus		●									●	
Septimius Severus		●	●							●	●	
Caracalla		●	●							●	●	
Macrinus	●	●	●								●	
Elagabalus	□									□		
Severus Alexander		●							●	●	●	
Maximinus Thrax	●											
Verus Maximus	●											
Gordian III										●	●	
Philip I		●								●		
Trajan Decius										●		
Trebonianus Gallus										●		
Valerian										●		
Gallienus										●		
Total	5	7	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	7	1