

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XVII

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

Kraków 2022

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SPIS TREŚCI / CONTENTS

- 9 Od redakcji
10 From the Editors

ARTYKUŁY / ARTICLES

- 13 WILHELM MÜSELER
“Out of Area” : The Involvement of Non-Local Powers in Lycian Affairs between the 5th and the 4th Centuries BC
„Poza obszarem”. Zaangażowanie zewnętrznych potęg w sprawy Licji między V a IV w. p.n.e.
- 43 ŁUKASZ BUL
The Development of Krakow Type Staters
Ewolucja staterów typu krakowskiego
- 75 ADAM JEGLIŃSKI
The Imperial Eastern Bronze Coinage of CA/AVGVSTVS, SC, OB CIVIS SERVATOS Types Issued under Augustus. Chronology and Political, Economic, Propaganda Contexts
Wschodni cesarski pieniądz brązowy typu CA/AVGVSTVS, SC, OB CIVIS SERVATOS za panowania Augusta. Chronologia oraz konteksty polityczny, gospodarczy i propagandowy
- 115 JAROSŁAW BODZEK
A Note on the Cypriote GIC 603 and GIC 38 Countermarks
Notatka na temat cypryjskich kontramarek GIC 603 i GIC 38
- 127 JAROSŁAW BODZEK, IWONA LEWOC, KYRYŁO MYZGIN
A Coin in the Name of the Bosporan Ruler Cotys Found in the Suburbs of Augustów
Znalezisko monety z imieniem władcy Królestwa Bosporańskiego Kotysa w Augustowie
- 145 DAWID MACIEJCZUK, KRZYSZTOF JAWORSKI
Votive Offering or Accidental Loss? Finds of Roman Coins in the Sudetes in the Context of Medicinal Springs: A Case Study of Recent Finds from Stare Rochowice (Bolków-Zdrój)
Dary wotywnie czy przypadkowe zguby? Sudeckie znaleziska monet rzymskich w kontekście źródeł leczniczych – studium przypadku na tle najnowszych znalezisk ze Starych Rochowic (Bolkowa-Zdroju)

- 159 SZYMON JELLONEK
Final Chapter of Roman Colonial Coinage (AD 235–275): Reminiscence of *Romanitas*
Końcowy rozdział rzymskiego mennictwa kolonialnego (235–275). Reminiscencja Romanitas
- 199 KYRYŁO MYZGIN
New Finds of Gold Coins of Magnentius from Ukraine: The Short Report
Nowe znaleziska złotych monet Magnencjusza z Ukrainy. Krótkie doniesienie
- 221 VITAL SIDAROVICH
A Solidus of Valentinian III Found near the Village of Roŭnaje Pole in Belarus: An Unusual Find from the Belarusian-Lithuanian Borderland
Solid Walentyniana III znaleziony w pobliżu wsi Roŭnaje Pole na Białorusi – niezwyčajne znalezisko z białorusko-litewskiego pogranicza
- 235 YURIY ZAYONCHKOVSKIY, ANDREI BOIKO-HAHARIN
The Silver Coins of “Prince Simeon’s People”: An Unknown Part of the Numismatics of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania
Srebrne monety „ludu księcia Symeona” – nieznaną część numizmatyki Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego
- 247 ARKADIUSZ DYMOWSKI
A Graphical Method for Analysing Chronological Patterns of Coin Sets
Graficzna metoda analizy profili chronologicznych zestawów monet

POLEMIKI / POLEMICS

- 261 ANDREW M. CHUGG, ELENA VAROTTO, MICHAEL E. HABICHT, FRANCESCO M. GALASSI
Holt’s Fourth Porus Chariot-Type Medallion: A Point-by-Point Rebuttal
Czwarty „medallion Porusa z rydwanem” Holta. Odpowiedź punkt po punkcie

RECENZJE / REVIEWS

- 269 SZYMON JELLONEK
JIŘI MILITKÝ, MICHAL MAŠEK, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Czech Republic. Vol. I, part 10: Bactria and India (Early Bactria, Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek Coins, Imitations, Indo-Scythians)*, National Museum, Prague 2019

- BARBARA ZAJĄC
- 272 SVITLANA A. BULATOVICH, EVGENIA F. REDINA, *Elektrovyye monety Kizika v sobranii Odesskogo arkeologicheskogo muzeya NAN Ukrainy. Katalog / Electrum Coins of Cyzicus in the Collection of the Odessa Archaeological Museum. Catalogue*, edited by M. MIELCZAREK and J. BODZEK, TEC, Odessa 2021
- GRZEGORZ SOCHACKI
- 277 JIŘI MILITKÝ, LUBOŠ KRÁL, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Czech Republic. Vol. IV: The Luboš Král Collection. Egypt: Roman Provincial Coinage*, National Museum, Prague 2021

KRONIKA / CHRONICLE

- MATEUSZ WOŹNIAK
- 285 Kronika Gabinetu Numizmatycznego Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (2021)
- 290 *The Chronicle of the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum in Krakow (2021)*

Szanowni Państwo,

oddajemy w Państwa ręce tom XVII *Notae Numismaticae – Zapisków Numizmatycznych*. Zgodnie z przyjętymi przez nas zasadami wszystkie teksty publikujemy w językach kongresowych, z angielskimi i polskimi abstraktami. Zawartość całego 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.

Rok 2022 był wyjątkowy dla całego środowiska numizmatyków w Polsce. Pierwszy raz w historii naszego kraju, a ujmując rzecz szerzej – w krajach Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej – odbył się XVI Międzynarodowy Kongres Numizmatyczny, najważniejsze spotkanie numizmatyków z całego świata, organizowane co sześć lat pod auspicjami International Numismatic Council. Wybór Polski, jako miejsca organizacji Kongresu traktujemy jako wielkie wyróżnienie. Głównym organizatorem tego wydarzenia był Uniwersytet Warszawski, a w przygotowaniach uczestniczyły również Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, Polskie Towarzystwo Numizmatyczne, Narodowy Bank Polski oraz Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie. W tym ostatnim przypadku szczególnie zaangażowani w prace nad XVI INC byli pracownicy Gabinetu Numizmatycznego. Całością działań kierował profesor Aleksander Bursche z Wydziału Archeologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, pomysłodawca organizacji Kongresu w Polsce, którego wspierał Komitet Organizacyjny reprezentujący wszystkie najważniejsze polskie ośrodki numizmatyczne. Obrady kongresowe — które zgromadziły ponad 600 uczestników, czy to na miejscu w Warszawie, czy też w mniej licznych przypadkach, dzięki transmisji na żywo, w miejscach ich zamieszkania — uzupełniały liczne wydarzenia towarzyszące: wystawy, koncerty i spotkania.

Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie przygotowało z tej okazji specjalną wystawę: „Medal prywatnie. Medale w I Rzeczypospolitej (od XVI do XVIII wieku)”, której kuratorem była Agnieszka Smołucha-Sładkowska. Jednocześnie we współpracy z Uniwersytetem Jagiellońskim, krakowskim oddziałem Polskiego Towarzystwa Numizmatycznego, Królewską Biblioteką w Brukseli i Królewskim Towarzystwem Numizmatycznym w Belgii zorganizowano poprzedzającą właściwe obrady Kongresu międzynarodową sesję „Joachim Lelewel and Numismatics in the Nineteenth Century”. W ramach kongresu tradycyjnie opracowany został również Survey of Numismatic Research za lata 2014–2020, w prace nad którym aktywnie zaangażowani byli pracownicy Gabinetu Numizmatycznego: Jarosław Bodzek, Dorota Malarczyk i Barbara Zając. Co więcej, Gabinet Numizmatyczny Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie był silnie reprezentowany w obradach Kongresu, w czasie których wymienione powyżej osoby wygłosiły referaty. Kongres zakończył się wielkim sukcesem i stanowił znakomitą wizytówkę polskiej numizmatyki.

Redakcja

Dear Readers,

It is with great pleasure that we present volume 17 of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne* to you. In accordance with the principles that we have adopted, our texts are published in the conference languages with English and Polish abstracts. The whole of the present volume can be found as PDF's on the website of the National Museum in Krakow (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>), as are previously published volumes of the journal. The website also contains general information about the journal as well as information for prospective authors and reviewers.

2022 was a special year for the entire numismatic community in Poland. It saw the XVI International Numismatic Congress being held in Warsaw, marking the first time that this most important meeting of numismatists from all over the world, organised every six years under the auspices of the International Numismatic Council, had been held in our country, or more generally in a country from Central and Eastern Europe. The choice of Poland as the venue for the Congress was a great honour. The main organiser of the event was the University of Warsaw, and also involved in its organisation were the National Museum in Warsaw, the Royal Castle in Warsaw, the Polish Numismatic Society, the National Bank of Poland, and the National Museum in Krakow. In this last case, the staff of the Museum's Numismatic Cabinet were particularly active in the work on the INC 2022. In charge of all activities was Professor Aleksander Bursche of the Faculty of Archaeology at the University of Warsaw, who was the driving force behind the organisation of the Congress in Poland, and who was supported in his role by the Organising Committee, representing all major Polish numismatic centres. The congress proceedings, which attracted more than 600 participants, either on-site in Warsaw or, in lesser numbers, thanks to live streaming, were complemented by a wide range of accompanying events, including exhibitions, concerts, and meetings.

The National Museum in Krakow organised a special exhibition for the occasion: "Private medal. Private medals in the 1st Republic of Poland (from the 16th to the 18th century)", curated by Agnieszka Smołucha-Sładkowska. At the same time, an international session on "Joachim Lelewel and Numismatics in the Nineteenth Century", preceding the Congress proper, was organised in cooperation with the Jagiellonian University, the Krakow Branch of the Polish Numismatic Society, the Royal Library of Brussels, and the Royal Numismatic Society of Belgium. As part of the Congress, the Survey of Numismatic Research for the years 2014–2020 was traditionally produced, with Jarosław Bodzek, Dorota Malarczyk and Barbara Zajac of the Numismatic Cabinet actively involved in its preparation. The Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum in Krakow was also strongly represented in the proceedings of the Congress, where the abovementioned staff delivered papers. The congress was a great success and a real showcase for Poland.

The Editors

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Final Chapter of Roman Colonial Coinage (AD 235–275): Reminiscence of *Romanitas*¹

ABSTRACT: Between AD 235–275, 36 Roman colonies emitted their final coins, with more than five hundred iconographic motifs represented. On the one hand, “veteran” colonies, having a long tradition of colonial coinages, maintained the Roman character of their issues. On the other hand, most colonies created in the 3rd century, recognised by scholars as “titular”, since no colonists were supposed to be settled there, also decided to follow the pattern of universal colonial coinage. The use of Latin, the exposure of status and typical colonial motifs such as a “foundation scene”, military emblems and Marsyas were exploited in the final issues of the Roman colonies. Even though the *Romanitas* of many colonies was merely superficial, coins performed the role of a medium which manifested the Roman nature of the colonies.

KEY WORDS: Roman Provincial Coinage, Roman Colonies, Roman Identity

ABSTRAKT: *Końcowy rozdział rzymskiego mennictwa kolonialnego (235–275). Reminiscencja Romanitas*

Pomiędzy 235 a 275 r. n.e. 36 rzymskich kolonii wypuściło ostatnie emisje swoich monet, przedstawiające ponad 500 motywów ikonograficznych. Z jednej strony kolonie „weteranów” kontynuowały długą tradycję rzymskiego mennictwa kolonialnego, z drugiej – większość kolonii założonych w III w. n.e. jest przez badaczy określana mianem „kolonii tytularnych”, a więc pozbawionych osadników rzymskich. Kolonie te również zdecydowały się podążać za wzorcami mennictwa kolonialnego. Użycie języka łacińskiego, podkreślanie statusu kolonii, a także

¹ The presented research is financed by the National Science Centre of Poland, project 2018/29/N/HS3/01502 “The Roman Colonial Coins as a Manifest of Cultural Identity 235–275 AD”.

typowe kolonialne motywy ikonograficzne, takie jak „scena fundacyjna”, znaki legionowe oraz Marsjasz, były wykorzystywane w ostatnim etapie mennictwa kolonialnego. Mimo że *Romanitas* kolonii w wielu przypadkach była jedynie powierzchowna, to przez monety manifestowały one swój rzymski charakter.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: rzymskie mennictwo prowincjonalne, kolonie rzymskie, rzymska tożsamość kulturowa

INTRODUCTION

According to F. Millar, coins are the symbols of a city's identity and status.² This assumption has been developed by S. Kremydi, "...coins can also contribute to our understanding of whether and to what extent colonists retained their own cultural identity or were assimilated into their new cultural environment."³ The main goal of this paper is to investigate the Roman identity in the East in the light of the final chapter of Roman colonial coinage.

One of the few signs of *Romanitas* in the eastern part of the Roman Empire is the coinage of the Roman colonies. Generally, they were inscribed in Latin, in contrast to other provincial coins in the East.⁴ Furthermore, iconographic motifs such as a "foundation scene", military signs, *Lupa Romana* and Marsyas clearly indicate their bonds with Rome. The newly established colonies followed conventions and patterns developed in the 1st century BC. Therefore, the coinage of colonies established in the Late Republic and those which gained colonial titles in the 3rd century AD distinguish themselves from the provincial coinage. In this paper, the very final chapter of colonial coinage is analysed. The author argues that Roman colonies gladly highlighted their colonial status and Roman identity even though the level of "Romanization" was no more than superficial in many cases. Furthermore, the coinages of "real" settler colonies will be compared with the so-called "titular" foundations from the 3rd century AD. Regardless of whether the colonies obtained their status hundreds of years earlier, or if it had been recently bestowed, their coinage manifested their identities.

The final stage of colonial coinage's development occurred during a dynamic period (AD 235–275). Over the course of 40 years, 20 emperors had ruled the Roman state,⁵ whilst other leaders had failed in their attempts to seize power but still struck

² MILLAR 1993: 257.

³ KREMYDI-SICILIANOU 2005: 96.

⁴ There are ten late Roman colonies that struck coins with Greek inscriptions: Thessalonica, Carrhae, Edessa, Nisibis, Rhaesaena, Singara, Tyana, Antioch ad Orontem, Emesa, Philippopolis.

⁵ Maximinus, Gordian I, Gordian II, Papienus, Balbinus, Gordian III, Philip I, Philip II, Trajan Decius, Herennius Etruscus, Trebonianus Gallus, Hostilian, Volusianus, Aemilian, Valerian, Gallienus, Saloninus, Claudius II, Quintillus, Aurelianus.

their own coins in the Roman colonies (e.g. Uranius Antoninus in Emesa⁶). The colonies in question ceased to strike coins because of the mid-third-century crisis. The reasons for the end of provincial coinage are numerous and the problem is complex and multifaceted.⁷ For instance Alexandria Troas was invaded by the Goths who might have abducted the mint's workers and stolen their tools and stamps.⁸ The final colonial issues were struck in Pisidian Cremna under Aurelian,⁹ which is not surprising since Cremna was safely guarded by the Pisidian mountains.¹⁰

In total, 36 Roman colonies struck coins between AD 235–275 (Fig. 1), a figure constituting more than half of the total number of Roman colonial mints (67) producing coins between the 1st century BC and the 3rd century AD. More than five hundred iconographic motifs were represented on coins minted by the colonies (Table 1). 19 colonies are recognized by scholars as regular colonies (group A), as places where Roman colonists had settled between the 1st century BC and the 3rd century AD. Eleven colonies were established during the Severan period and they are usually called “titular”. An individual case is Heliopolis which was inhabited by Roman veterans and belonged to Berytus until Septimius Severus emancipated it as an independent colony.¹¹ Five new colonies were established between AD 235–275. Viminacium became a colony under Gordian III.¹² Next, Philip I elevated Philippopolis, Damascus and Neapolis to colonial rank.¹³ Finally, Thessalonica obtained this status under Trajan Decius.¹⁴ Thus, the background of the cities is diverse; however, the coins of colonial coins bear a few universal features. The colonies of Septimius Severus and later will be divided into two groups: colonies striking coins with Latin inscriptions (B1) and others striking coins with Greek inscriptions (B2).

First of all, most of the coins were inscribed in Latin, which remained the sole language on colonial coinage from the 1st century BC up to the 2nd century AD. However, in the 3rd century AD, a dozen of the newly established colonies decided to strike bilingual,¹⁵ trilingual¹⁶ or Greek coins.¹⁷ Secondly, the status of the colony

⁶ REY-COQUAIS 1978: 61; ANDRADE 2013: 327–328.

⁷ HEUCHERT 2005: 33; ELKINS 2015: 162–163.

⁸ BURSCHE and MYZGIN 2015: 237–257.

⁹ ZIEGLER 1978: 89–92; SNG von Aulock 1697.

¹⁰ FILGES 2012: 144.

¹¹ JONES 1971: 287; MILLAR 2006: 193; ISAAC 2009: 49.

¹² DUŠANIĆ 1976: 58; BORIĆ-BRESKOVIĆ and VOJVODA 2018: 74.

¹³ BUTCHER 2003: 223; DARROUS and ROHMER 2004: 22–26; MILLAR 2006: 168, 216; SANDBERG 2019: 141.

¹⁴ BURRELL 2004: 198–203.

¹⁵ On the problem of bilingual coins: WOYTEK 2011; CALOMINO 2014; AWIANOWICZ 2021.

¹⁶ Tyre – RPC VII.2 3571.

¹⁷ Thessalonica, Tyana, Antioch ad Orontem, Emesa, Philippopolis, Carrhae, Edessa, Nisibis, Rhaesaena and Singara.

was almost always highlighted on the coins, sometimes as a full name (COLONIA, ΚΟΛΩΝΙΑ) but more often as an abbreviation (C, COL, KOA). Other titles such as Iulia, Augusta, Flavia, Aelia, etc. were also frequently placed on the coins. Thirdly, there were motifs reserved exclusively for the Roman colonies. The so-called “foundation scene” presents a priest/founder ploughing a sacred furrow (*sulcus primigenius*) with yoked oxen. This is an obvious reminder of Romulus founding Rome and the colonies, which were imitations of Rome, were symbolically established in the same way. The scene commemorated the colony’s foundation and highlighted its bonds with Rome.¹⁸ Another group of colonial motifs containing military standards (*vexilla*, *signa* and *aquilae*) indicates the legions from which the veterans came. The third typical colonial theme was the figure of Maryas, which symbolizes civic liberty (*signum libertatis*)¹⁹ and probably *ius Italicum*.²⁰

The iconographic motifs of the 3rd century colonial coins can be divided into three categories. First, the aforementioned universal colonial themes clearly indicating the Roman heritage. Next, myths, gods, temples, and other motifs highlighting the local tradition. Finally, there are themes borrowed from imperial coinage. One could assume that “colonial” motifs would be a trait of “veteran” colonies, while local cities that merely gained the title of *colonia* continued to strike coins with local, traditional motifs. However, in the final chapter of colonial coinage, such an assumption is incorrect. A “foundation scene” and military signs can be found on the coins of colonies of a purely “titular” nature. The iconographic programmes of colonial coins are far more complex and thus the author decided to reinvestigate the topic.

SETTLER COLONIES (GROUP A)²¹

Colonies set up in the Late Republic and Early Empire were scattered around the Roman world. Generally, they were established for Roman citizens from overpopulated Italy. Great leaders such as Caesar, M. Antonius or Augustus compensated their loyal legionary veterans for their service by settling them in such colonies. According to P. Brunt, between 46 BC – AD 14, the greatest migration of Roman citizens in history took place.²² Conversely, in the 1st–2nd centuries, colonisation was conducted only sporadically and usually no new waves of colonists were resettled in the existing colonies. The veterans were rather paid off than

¹⁸ ECKSTEIN 1979: 90–96.

¹⁹ KATSARI and MITCHELL 2008: 231; BASSO and BUONOPANE 2008: 151–152.

²⁰ SANDBERG 2019: 147.

²¹ Deultum, Dium, Cassandrea, Pella, Philippi, Apamea, Sinope, Parium, Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Cremona, Ninica, Comama, Olbasa, Alexandria Troas, Berytus, Ptolemais, Caesarea Maritima, Aelia Capitolina.

²² BRUNT 1971: 234.

compensated with land. In general, scholars perceived Aelia Capitolina to be the last eastern colony inhabited by veterans.²³

One might think that Romanization was an important factor in colonization but, on the contrary, colonies deprived of the influx of new settlers from Italy became gradually integrated with the autochthonous culture. Actually, only a few colonies are recognized as the “isles of Romanization”: Philippi, Aelia Capitolina and Berytus,²⁴ while others gradually abandoned their initially Roman nature. For instance, the language of private dedications of Pisidian Antioch switched from Latin to Greek in the 2nd century.²⁵ A similar decline of Latin has been observed in other colonies in Greece and Asia Minor,²⁶ yet public inscriptions and coin legends remained in Latin. Even though the inhabitants of colonies became integrated with the local culture, the government officially manifested a Roman nature. The significant indication of this commitment to Roman tradition are the last coins of the “veteran” colonies in the East.

In the beginning (1st century BC – 1st century AD), the coins of the Roman colonies were struck in opposition to the local traditions and neighbouring *peregrine* cities. The coins manifested *Romanitas* by using language and iconographic programmes. Later (2nd century AD), for the reasons stated above, the Roman colonies adopted the local traditions and introduced indigenous motifs to the coins. However, Latin and typical colonial motifs endured until the end of provincial coinage.

An obvious indicator of the colonial coins are Latin inscriptions, with every veteran colony using this language until the end of colonial coinage. According to C. Howgego, the choice of language on the colonial coins is purely symbolic; therefore, the colonies manifested their “privileged” status rather than *Romanitas*.²⁷ Nevertheless, keeping Latin on coins for almost three hundred years in “veteran” colonies indicates their pride in their Roman heritage and a sort of conservatism. Similarly, Byzantine coins bear mainly Latin legends until the eight century AD, even though Greek was the primary language.²⁸ Although Latin was no longer in use, Latin inscriptions endured indicating the tradition of *Imperium Romanum*.

Although the inscriptions remained Latin, there are numerous errors which are testament to the poor language skills of the engravers. In Pella, under Philip I, issues

²³ KATSARI and MITCHELL 2008: 242.

²⁴ Philippi – MACMULLEN 2000: 13; Aelia Capitolina – WEKSLER-BDOLAH 2019: 142, 204; Berytus – MILLAR 2006: 221.

²⁵ LEVICK 1967: 130–144.

²⁶ *Ibidem*: 145–162; RIZAKIS 1995: 383; BLANCO-PEREZ 2015: 626–627.

²⁷ HOWGEGO 2005: 12.

²⁸ WROTH 1908: CIV; GRIERSON 1982: 38–40.

are inscribed with COLΩ AVTO PELLA.²⁹ The Latin letters are substituted with Greek equivalents. Furthermore, it seems that in Pisidian Antioch, the engravers were barely literate in the times of Gallienus, since the name of the emperor is inscribed in a number of improper ways.³⁰ However, the Greek nature of the engravers is revealed by the version of the colony's name: ANTIOCHI COLONEIA (*colonia-κολωνεία*).³¹ Phonetic transcription became common in the Roman east from the times of Pescenius Niger and Septimius Severus.³² Clearly, the engravers suffered from an insufficient acquaintance with Latin, yet their attempts to continue engraving Latin inscriptions indicate a desire to maintain *Romanitas*. Latin legends are the most striking distinctive feature of colonial coinage.

The title of *colonia* is almost always presented on the issues of “veteran” colonies. The only colony that barely highlighted its colonial status was Corinth. Others proudly emphasized their privileged status, usually in abbreviated forms (C/CO/COL/COLO etc.) until the very last issues. In Philippi, the nomenclature was developed even more under Gallienus, when the mint was reopened after 80 years.³³ Traditional COL AVG IVL PHILIP was substituted by R P C P which can be explained as *Res Publicae Coloniae Philippensis* (or *Philippensium*).³⁴ Similarly, on the 3rd century coins of Pisidian Antioch and Iconium, the letters S R are located in the exergue. There are a few interpretations of this abbreviation, with B. Levick assuming that it is a shorter version of SPQR (*Senatus Romanus*) because the cities were located in the senatorial province of Asia, and they wanted to highlight their connection with the Roman senate.³⁵ A. Krzyżanowska agrees that SR stands for *Senatus Romanus*, but the Polish scholar argues that *Senatus Romanus* was a government in Antioch that was responsible for striking coins (imitating the Roman senate and bronze (SC) coins).³⁶ Another possibility has been proposed by J. Nollé, who explains SR as *socio Romanorum*.³⁷ The titles were supposed given to Antioch under Septimius Severus and to Iconium under Gordian III for the promotion of Roman culture. Likewise, Sinope added the title *Romana* to the nomenclature, and Comama defined itself as *prima fida* on the late coins. Aside from the solution to the SR puzzle, it seems that the Roman colonies in the 3rd century did not cease in

²⁹ RPC VIII unassigned ID 68788.

³⁰ CALIHNVS – Krzyżanowska XV; GALLIENO – Krzyżanowska VIII; CVLIENO – Krzyżanowska IX.

³¹ Krzyżanowska – Gallienus – 53.

³² AWIANOWICZ 2013: 125–135.

³³ AMANDRY 1998: 23–31; IDEM 2015: 495–507.

³⁴ PAPAZOGLU 1982: 106; AMANDRY 1998: 25.

³⁵ LEVICK 1967: 171–172.

³⁶ KRZYŻANOWSKA 1970: 39.

³⁷ NOLLÉ 1995: 359.

manifesting their *Romanitas*. Conversely, new aspects were developed to highlight their colonial status and Roman heritage.

Typical colonial motifs constitute a minority in the iconographic programme of settler colonies in AD 235–275. Military signs were present on coins from ten mints.³⁸ The colonial liberty was manifested by the figure of Marsyas in nine cities.³⁹ A “Foundation scene” appeared in eight colonies.⁴⁰ The military signs are in three settler colonies juxtaposed with the *aratrum* ritual to intensify a message.⁴¹ Comana, Caesarea Maritima, Berytus abandoned the use of a “foundation scene” under the Severi. Conversely, military signs were repeated in many cases until the very end of colonial coinage. The memory of the military founders of colonies was preserved whilst the use of *aquilae*, *vexilla* and *signa* commemorated past glories of the Roman army in a time of chaos and war.

Inversely, the popularity of *Lupa Romana* increased in the 3rd century AD.⁴² However, in contrast to colonial motifs, *Lupa Romana* was also used by the *peregrine* cities manifesting their loyalty to Rome.⁴³ Eight settler colonies struck coins with a depiction of a she-wolf feeding twins.⁴⁴ *Lupa Romana*, similarly to the *aratrum* ritual and the flight of Aeneas, which appeared on coins of Apamea⁴⁵ and Parium,⁴⁶ performed the role of a foundation myth imported directly from Rome. Especially interesting are pseudo-autonomous issues struck under Gallienus from Parium.⁴⁷ The eponymous founder Parios (PARIO CONDIT) presented on the obverse is juxtaposed with *Lupa Romana* on the reverse.⁴⁸ Two foundation myths on a single coin manifests the integration of a local and an imperial identity.

The connection with Rome was obviously manifested by the goddess Roma, who was depicted on coins of four colonies.⁴⁹ A peak in the popularity of both motifs occurred in the mid-3rd century. The presence of the motifs in times of Philip I can be related to the celebration of the millennium of Rome in AD 248. Both

³⁸ Deultum, Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Cremna, Comama, Alexandria Troas, Ninica, Berytus, Caesarea Maritima, Aelia Capitolina.

³⁹ Deultum, Parium, Iconium, Cremna, Alexandria Troas, Ninica, Berytus, Ptolemais, Caesarea Maritima.

⁴⁰ Deultum, Parium, Pisidian Antioch, Cremna, Iconium, Ninica, Ptolemais and Aelia Capitolina.

⁴¹ Iconium, Cremna, Ninica.

⁴² DĄBROWA 2004a: 481.

⁴³ Alexandria – RPC IV.4 14280 temp.; Philipopolis – RPC IV.1 7475; Nicopolis ad Istrum – RPC IV.1 4721 temp.; Nicomedia – RPC IV.1 6112 temp.; Philadelphia – RPC IX 721B; Ephesus – RPC IX 663; Cyzicus – RPC IV.2 9164 temp.; Ilium – RPC IV.2 90 temp.; Ancyra RPC IV.3 10469 temp.; Hierapolis – RPC VI 5452 temp.; Anazarbus – RPC VI 7287 temp.

⁴⁴ Deultum, Apamea, Parium, Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Cremna, Alexandria Troas, Ninica.

⁴⁵ CNG 245, 269.

⁴⁶ Voegtli 25n.

⁴⁷ KLUCZEK 2021: 149–157.

⁴⁸ SNG von Aulock 1331.

⁴⁹ Philippi, Cremna, Iconium, Pisidian Antioch, Caesarea Maritima.

motifs were in use in imperial coinage to commemorate *ludi saeculares*.⁵⁰ Since settler colonies were recognized as *effigies parvae simulacraque (Romae)*,⁵¹ they manifested a common descent with the Eternal City (She-wolf; *aratum* ritual) and the goddess Roma who was also a patron of the colonies in a way. Furthermore the popularity of Roma on coins is also related to the uncertainty of mid-3rd century, of which a particularly meaningful example comes from Philippi during the time of Gallienus (Fig. 3).⁵² Roma is represented with a spear, patera and a shield surrounded by the city walls and towers. Such compositions were supposed to convince citizens of their security.

The memory of the founders in settler colonies in the 3rd century is demonstrated by a few issues. A bust of Augustus, who refounded the colony in Philippi, is presented in coins issued under Gallienus.⁵³ Furthermore, the emperors who had set up colonies were sometimes commemorated on issues containing the *aratum* ritual. Augustus, who also established the colony in Cremna, is inscribed as DIVO AVG driving oxen on coins struck under Philip I⁵⁴ and Aurelianus (Fig. 5).⁵⁵ In Ptolemais, the inscription of DIVOS CLAVDIOS identified Claudius as a founder conducting a foundation ceremony during the times of Nero⁵⁶ and Hadrian,⁵⁷ therefore he was a natural presence on coins issued under Philip I.⁵⁸ Similarly Vespasian used to be presented in a foundation scene in Caesarea Maritima⁵⁹ and Hadrian in Aelia Capitolina.⁶⁰ However the priest/founder were not usually inscribed on coins in AD 235–275, therefore we should remain cautious about the identification, especially since on specific issue struck under Philip I in Caesarea it seems that the emperor from Arabia is depicted.⁶¹ Nevertheless, founders could also be referenced in a metaphorical way. In Parium, the most frequent motif was the Capricorn, which was in use until Gallienus.⁶² According to Suetonius, Capricorn was a sign that Augustus chose to place on his coins.⁶³ Similarly, there is a specimen from Iconium under Gordian III bearing a composition of a mourning female figure sitting on a shield,

⁵⁰ BALBUZA 2013: 413; EADEM 2014: 189–190; KLUCZEK 2019: 226–234.

⁵¹ Gell. *NA* 16. 13. 9.

⁵² AMANDRY 1998: 27–28, no. 10.

⁵³ *Ibidem*: 25–26. No. 1–2; IDEM 2015: 502.

⁵⁴ RPC VIII 20908 temp.

⁵⁵ SNG von Aulock, 1697.

⁵⁶ RPC I 4749–4750.

⁵⁷ RPC III 3912.

⁵⁸ RPC VIII 6490, 66933 temp.

⁵⁹ RPC II 2300.

⁶⁰ RPC III 3964.

⁶¹ RPC VIII 2143 temp.

⁶² SNG von Aulock 1346.

⁶³ Suet. *Aug.* 94.12.

a palm, and standing bound captive (Fig. 6).⁶⁴ The similarity to IVDEA CAPTA coins seems striking, perhaps indicating that Vespasian's veterans had settled in Iconium. Nevertheless, until the end of their coinages, settler colonies remembered their founders and occasionally commemorated them.

A puzzling question is the cooperation between colonies. *Homonoia* coins are a known phenomenon among Greek cities, however only two *Concordia* issues were struck in the colonies.⁶⁵ In the times of Philip I, Pisidian Antioch and Iconium manifested their concord by minting coins bearing the Fortunes of the colonies clasping hands (Fig. 4). The personification of Antioch is holding a *vexillum* while the Fortune of Iconium bears a cornucopia. The legend ANTI COL ET ICO COL is supported by SR in field and CONCORD in exergue. As mentioned above, both colonies used SR (*Senatus Romanus* / *Socio Romanorum*) on its coins, therefore they shared common values manifested by such a collaboration.⁶⁶ Furthermore there was a great significance of the emission, since the specimens can be perceived as a medallion since it is double the weight (23.5 g) of regular issues (8–9 g) from Antioch in the times of Philip I. This unique cooperation, together with an issue of Corinth and Patras under Hadrian,⁶⁷ proves that colonies could perceive one another as allies. Furthermore, there are no such *homonoia* issues between colonies and non-colonies suggesting that such cooperation would not been possible.

Generally, settler colonies between AD 235–275 continued their iconographic programme. The colonies in Macedonia were reluctant to introduce new motifs and continued with their local traditions (Zeus Ammon and Nysa in Cassandrea, Pan in Pella, Jupiter, Aesclepius and Athena in Dium).⁶⁸ Aelia Capitolina manifested *Romanitas* (*aquila*, she-wolf, foundation scene, Jupiter) until the last emissions under Traian Decius.⁶⁹ Conversely, colonial (Marsyas, *aratrum* ritula, eagle, *vexilla*) and Roman motifs (*Lupa Romana*) in Deultum were overshadowed by an almost complete Graeco-Roman pantheon.⁷⁰ The only mints that became more creative were those of Caesarea Maritima and Ptolemais which introduced more than 20 new motifs.

⁶⁴ RPC VII.2 2496 temp.

⁶⁵ Corinth and Patras – RPC III 163; Pisidian Antioch and Iconium – RPC VIII 3490 temp.

⁶⁶ FILGES 2015: 166.

⁶⁷ HOSKINS WALBANK 2003: 342.

⁶⁸ PAPAGEORGIADOU-BANI 2004: 70; KREMYDI-SICILIANOU 2005: 99–101.

⁶⁹ BELAYCHE 2009: 173–174.

⁷⁰ DRAGANOV 2007: 108.

“TITULAR” COLONIES

The colonies founded under Septimius Severus and later are referred to as “titular” colonies.⁷¹ Scholars have maintained that no colonists were introduced and that they never really adopted Roman culture, but some of them transformed their coinage totally by introducing colonial patterns. Eight of them continued coin production between AD 235–275 (group B1⁷²). Their issues are inscribed in Latin, their status as a *colonia* is continuously presented, and typical colonial motifs also appeared. Based on numismatic data there are no significant difference between the colonies of group A and B1. Even if no settlers were located there, the Roman nature after the transformation was manifested.⁷³ Conversely, other cities that gained the status of a colony never switched to a colonial coinage system. Nine colonies striking coins between AD 235–275 (group B2⁷⁴) continued to use the Greek language to inscribe legends and to present local traditional motifs on the reverses. Actually, a new status (inscribed in the Greek – ΚΟΛ, ΚΟΛΩΝ) and few colonial motifs were the only signs of *Romanitas*. As a result, it should be assumed that the transformation was no better than symbolic.

Since the differences between these two groups are significant, they will be analysed separately.

COINS OF THE “TITULAR” COLONIES WITH LATIN INSCRIPTIONS (GROUP B1)

As already mentioned, nine Roman colonies established from the time of Septimius Severus struck coins with Latin inscriptions between AD 235–275. Despite sharing some of the common features of colonial coinage there are some differences. For example, Viminacium is the only colony located in Moesia, producing coins for the army and the whole Balkan Peninsula,⁷⁵ while other colonies were founded in the Near East and their coins circulated locally. Mallus in Cilicia showed an ambivalent approach to Roman culture by mixing Latin and Greek legends, as well as colonial and local iconographic themes. Heliopolis, which had belonged to colony of Berytus, was emancipated by Septimius Severus as a sovereign colony.⁷⁶ The numismatic data suggest that it was inhabited by original veterans of legions *V Macedonica* and

⁷¹ WATKINS 1983: 321; HOWGEGO 2005: 12; MILLAR 2006: 165; KATSARI and MITCHELL 2008: 243–244; ISAAC 2009: 49.

⁷² Viminacium, Mallus, Laodicea Maritima, Heliopolis, Damascus, Tyre, Neapolis and Bostra.

⁷³ ANDRADE 2013: 319–321.

⁷⁴ Thessalonica, Antiochia ad Orontem, Carrhae, Edessa, Rhessaena, Nisibis, Singara, Emesa and Philippopolis.

⁷⁵ GÄZDAC 2010: 103; GÄZDAC and GÄZDAC-ALFÖLDY 2015: 27; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ and VOJVODA 2018: 86.

⁷⁶ JONES 1971: 287; JONES HALL 2004: 49–50; MILLAR 2006: 193; SAWAYA 2009: 229–230.

VII Augusta.⁷⁷ Tyre also became a Roman colony under Septimius Severus and was presenting a whole range of local and colonial motifs. Conversely, coin production of another Severan foundation of Laodicea Maritima was very limited in years AD 235–275. Damascus and Neapolis established by Philip I expressed their new status by various types combined of local, imperial and colonial motifs, while the colony of Bostra continued to employ pre-colonial motifs.

Despite the functions and location of the aforementioned mints, they all produced coins bearing Latin legends and their colonial status was always highlighted. Yet, similarly to “settler” colonies, some lingual discrepancies appeared. Damascus was usually inscribed as COL ΔAMAS. Furthermore, the *ethnikon* of Mallus under Gordian III was presented in Greek: ΚΟΛΩΝΙ ΜΑΛΛΩΤΩΝ.⁷⁸ Another colony with bilingual coins was Laodicea Maritima, which produced under Philip I and Trebonianus issues with Greek obverses and Latin reverses.⁷⁹ Local deities were sometimes described in Greek in Tyre and Damascus, with the river god Chrysoroas (ΧΡΥCΟΡΑ) in Damascus,⁸⁰ Dido (ΔΙΔΩ),⁸¹ Cadmus (ΚΑΔΜΟC) and the Greeks (ΕΛΛΗ)⁸² in Tyre. Furthermore, the depiction of Pygmalion is also inscribed in Phoenician in the latter colony.⁸³ However, the most striking example is a trilingual issue under Gordian III, where Dido is described in Greek (ΔΙΔΩ) and in Phoenician (Elishah).⁸⁴ The phenomenon of bilingual or trilingual coinage is an aspect of code-switching used to express a double / triple identity.⁸⁵ Therefore it should be perceived as another symptom of integration between Roman and local cultures.

Another aspect of lingual complexity on colonial coins are the games organized by the colonies between AD 235–275. Agonistic prizes presented on colonial coins were usually inscribed in Greek, while games sacrificed to Amphilochus (the mythical founder of Mallus) were inscribed on coins ΔΕΙ ΑΜΠΙΛΟΧΙ,⁸⁶ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ – CΕΒΑCΜΙΑ in Damascus,⁸⁷ ΑΚΤΙΑ ΔΟΥCΑΡΙΑ in Bostra.⁸⁸ The games of Hercules in Tyre were sometimes inscribed in Latin – (ΑCΤΙΑ ΗΕΡΑCΛ⁸⁹),

⁷⁷ OKAMURA 1988: 126–128; PAUTREL 2019: 74, 270.

⁷⁸ RPC VII.2 2390, 2469.

⁷⁹ RPC VIII 8008, 8011, 8012, 8015, 8018, 8016, 8019, 8020 temp.; RPC IX 1854–1858.

⁸⁰ RPC VIII 15978 temp.

⁸¹ RPC VIII 58993 temp.

⁸² RPC VIII 27531, 6505 temp.; RPC IX 2019.

⁸³ RPC VIII 6489 temp.

⁸⁴ RPC VII. 2 3571.

⁸⁵ HOWGEGO 2005: 13–14; WOYTEK 2011: 433; CALOMINO 2015: 200; AWIANOWICZ 2021: 8.

⁸⁶ RPC IX 1440.

⁸⁷ RPC IX 1948, 1962, 1963.

⁸⁸ RPC VIII 2072 temp.

⁸⁹ RPC VII.2 6470 temp.

or in Greek (HPAAKT⁹⁰ or AKT KOM⁹¹). Conversely, the *Certamina Sacra Capitolia Oecumenica Periodica Iselastica* held in Heliopolis used to be transliterated in Latin (CAP OEC ICE HEL⁹²). Coins bearing the depictions of prizes and agonistic crowns seem not only to have been struck for the local population but also for the participants of the games, therefore they were usually inscribed in Greek which performed the role of a *lingua franca* of the Near East.

Colonial motifs appeared sporadically on the coins of analysed colonies, with a foundation scene presented on issues struck by Damascus, Neapolis and Heliopolis under Philip I.⁹³ The connection with the 1000th anniversary of Rome seems plausible since these colonies did not repeat the *aratrum* ritual later. Furthermore, an issue released by Heliopolis might have been related to the 50th anniversary of the emancipation of the city and a foundation scene appeared as a part of a complex composition on the medals of Mallus (Fig. 7).⁹⁴ In Tyre under Trebonian Gallus, an ox with a *vexillum* is presented, something which can also be recognized as reference to “the foundation scene”.⁹⁵

This brings us to a more popular colonial motif, that of military signs. Among the coins analysed in this chapter, only colonies of Bostra and Laodicea Maritima did not depict them on coins. The mint of Viminacium produced coins presenting a personification of Moesia or the emperor himself surrounded by two *vexilla* symbolizing the III and VII legions.⁹⁶ The aforementioned Tyre also presented an eagle with one or two *vexilla*.⁹⁷ The standards are inscribed LEG III GAL (Fig. 8), therefore we can assume that the veterans of *legio III Gallica* settled in Tyre.⁹⁸ However, another issue has a *vexillum* inscribed LEG VI F juxtaposed with the *Lupa Romana*⁹⁹ (Fig. 9), which was the emblem of *legio VI Ferrata*,¹⁰⁰ might suggest that other veterans also inhabited Tyre.¹⁰¹ The same composition was depicted also under Philip I in Damascus.¹⁰² Therefore at least *vexillationes*

⁹⁰ RPC VIII 6480 temp.

⁹¹ RPC IX 1979, 2012, 2013.

⁹² Rouvier 848.

⁹³ Damascus – RPC VIII 26792 temp.; Neapolis – RPC VIII 2312, 2364 temp.; Heliopolis – RPC VIII 6466 temp.

⁹⁴ RPC IX 1431–1433.

⁹⁵ RPC IX 1982–1983.

⁹⁶ Gordian III – RPC VII.2 2466 temp.; Moesia – RPC VII.2 2307 temp., 2399 temp., RPC IX 10, 24, 44, 50, 53.

⁹⁷ RPC IX 1994–1995.

⁹⁸ DĄBROWA 2000a: 314; IDEM 2005: 40; HIRT 2015: 196.

⁹⁹ RPC VIII 26725 temp.

¹⁰⁰ RISSANEN 2014: 338.

¹⁰¹ DĄBROWA 2004c: 219.

¹⁰² RPC VIII 69783 temp.

of *legio VI Ferrata*, if not real settlers, were deployed in Damascus and Tyre.¹⁰³ A less traditional approach came from Mallus, where Fortuna is juxtaposed with two military standards.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, a bust of Fortuna-Astarte of Heliopolis is surrounded by two *signa*.¹⁰⁵ On another issue of Heliopolis, a facing bust of Fortuna-Astarte is flanked by two geniuses holding *vexilla*.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, another coin has two *aquilae* facing each other and containing the legend COL HEL¹⁰⁷ (Fig. 10). It is actually a reproduction of the design presented on the coins of Berytus from the time of Augustus until Gordian III.¹⁰⁸ In Neapolis under Trebonian Gallus, Neptune is juxtaposed with a boar with a *signum* (Fig. 11).¹⁰⁹ In fact, the boar and Neptune, along with a galley and a bull, were the emblems of *legio X Fretensis*.¹¹⁰ While the Tenth legion was actually located in Aelia Capitolina,¹¹¹ the numismatic evidence suggests however some sort of legionary presence in Neapolis under Gallus.¹¹² It is striking that military standards appear almost exclusively on the coins of Roman colonies, no matter if they are perceived as “regular” or “titular”. Therefore, some kind of presence of Roman veterans or *vexillationes* in cities with colonial status is highly likely.¹¹³

Another exclusive motif of Roman colonies (and the municipium of Coela)¹¹⁴ is a statue of Marsyas.¹¹⁵ A signification of Marsyas as a symbol of colonial status is proven by a comment in the *Aeneid* made by Servius¹¹⁶ and by coins. On the aforementioned medal of Mallus (Fig. 7) a small figure of Marsyas is given by an emperor to city goddess-Fortuna as a colonial grant.¹¹⁷ Furthermore when Tyre and Laodicea Maritima had lost their colonial titles for a short period under Elagabalus, the figure of Marsyas disappeared from coins and reappeared after the status was

¹⁰³ POLLARD 2000: 63; DAŹBROWA 2004c: 219–220; IDEM 2005: 40.

¹⁰⁴ RPC IX 1437.

¹⁰⁵ RPC VIII 6570 temp.

¹⁰⁶ RPC VIII 6565 temp.

¹⁰⁷ RPC VIII 6564.

¹⁰⁸ Augustus – RPC I 4554; Tiberius – RPC I 4544; Claudius – RPC I 4547; Trajan – RPC III 3835; Hadrian RPC III 3855–3856; Antoninus Pius – Sawaya 1171–1174; Commodus – Sawaya 1309–1318; Caracalla – Sawaya 1418; Geta – Sawaya 1419–1420; Elagabalus – RPC VI 8532 temp.; Gordian III – RPC VII.2 6545, 6551 temp.

¹⁰⁹ RPC IX 2169.

¹¹⁰ D’AMATO 2018: 28.

¹¹¹ DAŹBROWA 1993: 21; KEPPIE 1998: 121; DAŹBROWA 2004a: 324.

¹¹² HARL 1984: 68.

¹¹³ REY-COQUAIS 1978: 57.

¹¹⁴ RPC IX 171.

¹¹⁵ PAOLI 1938: 96–130; VEYNE 1961: 87–98; SMALL 1982; KLIMOWSKY 1983: 88–101; BASSO and BUONOPANE 2008: 139–159.

¹¹⁶ Servius, *Ad Aen* 3.20.

¹¹⁷ RPC IX 1431–1433; JELLONEK 2018b: 39–41.

restored.¹¹⁸ Seven colonies struck coins with a depiction of Marsyas. Yet Heliopolitan pseudo-autonomic emissions are dated back to early 200's by Z. Sawaya.¹¹⁹ Marsyas as main motif appeared on coins of Mallus,¹²⁰ Laodicea Maritima,¹²¹ Neapolis¹²² and Damascus.¹²³ However it was more frequently used as an emblem manifesting colonial status in composite scenes. The figure of the small satyr was often juxtaposed with that of the city goddess – Fortuna-Astarte, with such depictions appearing in Bostra¹²⁴ (Fig. 12), Damascus¹²⁵ and Neapolis.¹²⁶

Other Roman motifs are limited to Roma¹²⁷ and *Lupa Romana*.¹²⁸ Generally, local motifs were the most popular in the colonies established under Septimius Severus and later and a similar situation has already been mentioned in the case of the settler colonies. Furthermore, late colonies which inscribed coins with Latin legends followed the pattern developed in 1st–2nd centuries AD, with no significant changes introduced. Local motifs such as foundation myths and heroes were supplemented by a “foundation scene” or military emblems which were incorporated by the local communities as their own.¹²⁹ For instance, the mythical founder of Mallus, Amphilocheus, is seen crowning an emperor conducting the founding ritual and offering Marsyas to Fortuna (Fig. 7).¹³⁰ As with Parium, an original founder is juxtaposed with the Roman foundation myth. Concluding, the integration of Roman and local traditional motifs was advanced among colonies of group B1 in the final stage of the issue of provincial coinage.

COINS OF THE “TITULAR” COLONIES WITH GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (GROUP B2)

There were ten Roman colonies manifesting their colonial status without converting to using Latin,¹³¹ and all except Tyana struck coins between

¹¹⁸ SAWAYA 2009: 234; JELLONEK 2020: 65; Laodicea Maritima – RPC VI 8173–8177 temp.; Tyre – RPC VI 8604–8610.

¹¹⁹ SAWAYA 2009: 233.

¹²⁰ RPC VII.2 2469 temp.

¹²¹ RPC IX 1855.

¹²² RPC VIII 2442 temp.

¹²³ RPC VIII 26851 temp.

¹²⁴ RPC IX 2215, 2217, 2219.

¹²⁵ RPC VIII 26801, 26824, 26825 temp.

¹²⁶ RPC VIII 2451 temp.

¹²⁷ Tyre – RPC IX 2000, 2005, 2035; Neapolis – RPC VIII 2350 temp.; Laodicea Maritima – RPC VIII 8015, 8024 temp.

¹²⁸ Mallus – RPC IX 1441; Tyre – RPC VIII 26725 temp.; Damascus – RPC VIII 69783 temp.; Neapolis – RPC VIII 2289, 2336, 2347 temp.

¹²⁹ JELLONEK 2018a: 101–121.

¹³⁰ RPC IX 1431–1433; JELLONEK 2018b: 33–44.

¹³¹ Thessalonica, Antioch ad Orontem, Tyana, Carrhae, Emesa, Edessa, Nisibis, Rhesaena, Singara and Philippopolis.

AD 235–275.¹³² Thessalonica gain the status of Roman colony and fourth *nekorate* under Trajan Decius for not entirely known reasons.¹³³ Chahba, the village of Philip I's birthplace, was promoted to the status of a Roman colony as *colonia Philippopolis*.¹³⁴ The seven remaining colonies were located in the Northern Levant on the border with Parthia, performing the role of watchtowers.¹³⁵ The impact of Roman culture on them seems to be extremely superficial, yet some colonial motifs appeared.

Thessalonica proudly presented all the titles on the reverses (ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ ΚΟΛ ΜΗΤΡ Δ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟC).¹³⁶ According to I. Touratsoglou on a very poorly preserved specimen, an enthroned Fortuna is holding statues of Marsyas and Janus (Fig. 13).¹³⁷ This could be the only relation to the colonial identity of Thessalonica.

Philippopolis, along with Damascus and Neapolis, was a colony created by Philip I. The ephemerid coins presented three variations of the goddess Roma¹³⁸ which had been copied from imperial coins.¹³⁹ Since this newly established city did not have a foundation myth, Philip's father, Marinus, was summoned for this purpose as ΘΕΩ ΜΑΡΙΝΩ on the obverse.¹⁴⁰ Since there are die-links with Antioch ad Orontem the coins inscribed ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΚΟΛΩΝΙΑC might have been produced there.¹⁴¹

Syrian Antioch never introduced any Roman or colonial themes, limiting colonial production to issues containing the motifs of Apollo and Fortuna-Tyche.¹⁴² The "SC" mark were used on coins struck in Antioch from the times of Augustus until AD 253, therefore their appearance on colonial issues is not connected with the new status of the city, but rather the continued tradition of manifesting imperial control.¹⁴³

Emesa became the headquarters of the usurper Uranius Antoninus and the local mint produced colonial coins bearing an image of a temple and a baetyl of Elagabalus.¹⁴⁴ Yet among the colonies of the Northern Levant, some colonial themes

¹³² Tyana struck colonial coins only during the reign of Caracalla e.g. SNG von Aulock 6550.

¹³³ ZIEGLER 1988: 385–414; BURRELL 2004: 199–202.

¹³⁴ BUTCHER 2003: 223; DARROUS and ROHMER 2004: 22–26; MILLAR 2006: 168.

¹³⁵ CASTELIN 1946: 5; JONES 1971: 220.

¹³⁶ RPC IX 145.

¹³⁷ Touratsoglou 4.

¹³⁸ Roma sitting – RPC VIII 2269, 2279, 2286, 2375, 2409, 2417, 2439, 2449, 6067 temp; Roma, standing – RPC VIII 2196, 2243 temp.; bust of Roma – RPC VIII 2196, 2243 temp.

¹³⁹ Eg. RIC IV.3 Philip I – 44, 45; BALBUZA 2013: 413; EADEM 2014: 189–190.

¹⁴⁰ RPC VIII 2417 temp.

¹⁴¹ BUTCHER 1988: 70–71.

¹⁴² *Ibidem*: 63–75.

¹⁴³ WOYTEK 2011: 429–430; AWIANOWICZ 2021: 22.

¹⁴⁴ RPC IX 1926–1930.

appeared. In Nisibis¹⁴⁵ and Singara¹⁴⁶ a legionary *vexillum* is present in an issue under Gordian III, with the issue of Singara bearing standards inscribed ΛΕΓ Α Π (*Legio I Parthica*) being especially peculiar (Fig. 14),¹⁴⁷ since legionary standards are usually inscribed in Latin.¹⁴⁸ On another coin an emblem of the legion, a centaur, is highlighted,¹⁴⁹ and so a garrison of *legio I Parthica* was probably located in Singara.¹⁵⁰ The next issues containing *vexillum* were struck in Rhesaena under the reign of Trajan Decius.¹⁵¹ The legionary standard inscribed in Latin L III P indicates *legio III Parthica*.¹⁵² In fact, only Rhesaena among this group of colonies used a “foundation scene” on its coins (Fig. 15),¹⁵³ and this also happened under Trajan Decius. According to K. Harl, the introduction of new types was connected with the installation of new Roman workmen in the mint at that time.¹⁵⁴ In contrast, E. Dąbrowa argues that veterans of *legio III Parthica* actually settled in Rhesaena.¹⁵⁵ Nevertheless the legends remain mostly Greek, with only the name of legion is inscribed with the Latin (L III P) and thus the nature of the last coins of Rhesaena is purely syncretic.

The remaining motif that occurred on the coins of colonies in the Northern Levant is a statue of Marsyas. A small figure holding a wine/waterskin juxtaposed with a bust of Tyche-Fortuna appeared on coins of Carrhae¹⁵⁶ and Edessa¹⁵⁷ under Gordian III. Compared to the standard depiction of Marsyas, in this case the figure is far slimmer and straighter. Therefore, the identification as Aquarius (another Zodiac sign) or a local deity (Nebo, Bel, Sîn) seems more accurate.¹⁵⁸

CONCLUSION

To conclude, more than five hundred iconographic motifs have been analysed for the purpose of this paper, with most representing local sanctuaries, gods, heroes, games etc. Among them there is a group of colonial motifs that endured to a limited degree until the end of the Roman provincial coinage. Generally, Roman authorities

¹⁴⁵ RPC VII.2 3466.

¹⁴⁶ RPC VII.2 3483, 3484.

¹⁴⁷ RPC VII.2 3484.

¹⁴⁸ STOLL 2009: 324.

¹⁴⁹ RPC VII.2 3483.

¹⁵⁰ CASTELIN 1946: 30; DĄBROWA 2004a: 402–403; STOLL 2009: 324.

¹⁵¹ RPC IX 1601.

¹⁵² CASTELIN 1946: 45.

¹⁵³ RPC IX 1576, 1581.

¹⁵⁴ CASTELIN 1946: 71–72.

¹⁵⁵ DĄBROWA 2004c: 217–218; DĄBROWA 2012: 33–34.

¹⁵⁶ RPC VII.2 3439–3445.

¹⁵⁷ RPC VII.2 3428–3431.

¹⁵⁸ BMC Arabia: XCIII–XCIV; LE BLANC 2020: 157–175.

did not plan to overwhelm Eastern cultures and, in fact, Roman and Greek culture became interlinked with unbreakable ties.¹⁵⁹ The Graeco-Roman pantheon was supplemented with an autochthonic tradition indicating local patriotism and thus settler colonies (A) proudly presented pre-colonial motifs while “titular” colonies (B1) gladly introduced colonial features on their coins.

Active Roman colonial mints in the violent and unstable times between AD 235–275 managed to continue expressing Roman traditions. Despite the fact that universal colonial motifs became less frequently presented, they did not completely disappear from coins until the end of civic coinages. The best example is one of the very last emissions from Cremna depicting a “foundation scene” commemorating the colony’s birthday three hundred years earlier. The settler colonies clearly remembered their Roman roots while the so-called “titular” colonies of group B1 adapted the colonial coin tradition. The exceptions came from colonies located in Northern Syria and Mesopotamia (B2) which had marginally (beside Rhesaena) used colonial motifs and never converted to the use of Latin.¹⁶⁰ Thessalonica is a similar case, having simply added KOL to its legends without any further transformations.

All the coins containing iconographic motifs and inscriptions were intended for their receivers. Apart from Viminacium, which produced coins on a much larger scale, they were released for local communities, especially for the inhabitants of the colonies. They probably defined a denomination and realized the meaning of the presented depiction. To some extent, they might have also understood the message behind a legend as a result the colonies manifested important values for their local communities on their coins, presenting colonial motifs and local traditional myths simultaneously. A syncretic approach, such as the issue from Parium bearing *Parios* on obverse and *Lupa Romana* on reverse, or the medal from Mallus on which the emperor is conducting the *aratrum* ritual, offering colonial rank to the city-goddess of Mallus, and at the same being crowned by the original founder, the hero Amphilochus, shows the cooperation of the local and colonial traditions. Consequently, paraphrasing G. Woolf,¹⁶¹ the coins of colonies between AD 235–275 proves that the colonies stayed Roman by becoming Greek.

¹⁵⁹ KATSARI and MITCHELL 2008: 246.

¹⁶⁰ As E. Dandrow has argued, Edessa actually struck coins with the Latin inscriptions for a short period under Caracalla; DANDROW 2016: 183–205.

¹⁶¹ *Becoming Roman, Staying Greek*. WOOLF 1994: 117–143.

ABBREVIATIONS

BMC Arabia = G. HILL, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia*, London 1922.

CNG = Classical Numismatic Group

Krzyżanowska = A. KRZYŻANOWSKA, *Monnaies coloniales d'Antioche de Pisidie*, Warszawa 1970.

RIC IV.3 = H. MATTINGLY, E. SYDENHAM and C. SUTHERLAND, *The Imperial Coinage* vol. IV, part 3: *Gordian III–Uranus Antoninus*, London 1949.

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 et AL, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. III: *Nerva to Hadrian (AD 98–137)*, parts I–II, London–Paris 2015.

RPC IV = V. HEUCHERT, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. IV: *The Antonines (AD 138–192)*, [online: <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk>]

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>]

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>]

RPC VIII = J. MAIRAT and M. SPOERRI BUTCHER, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. VIII: *Philip (AD 244–249)*, [online: <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk>]

RPC IX = A. HOSTEIN and J. MAIRAT, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. IX: *From Trajan Decius to Uranus Antoninus (AD 249–254)*, London–Paris 2016.

Rouvier = J. ROUVIER, *Numismatique des villes de la Phénicie (extraits de la Revue numismatique, du Journal asiatique, de la Revue des Études grecques, du Journal international d'archéologie numismatique)*, 1896–1903.

Sawaya = Z. SAWAYA, *Histoire de Berytos et Héliopolis d'après leurs monnaies (Ier siècle av. J.-C. – IIIe siècle apr. J.-C.)*, Beyrouth 2009.

SNG von Aulock = P.R. FRANKE et AL (eds), *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland, Sammlung Hans Von Aulock*, Berlin 1957–1967.

Touratsoglou = I. TOURATSOGLU, *Die Münzstätte von Thessaloniki in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, AMUGS XII, Berlin 1988.

Voegtli = H. VOEGTLI, *Bilder der Heldenepen in der Kaiserzeitlichen Griechischen Münzprägung*, Aesch 1977.

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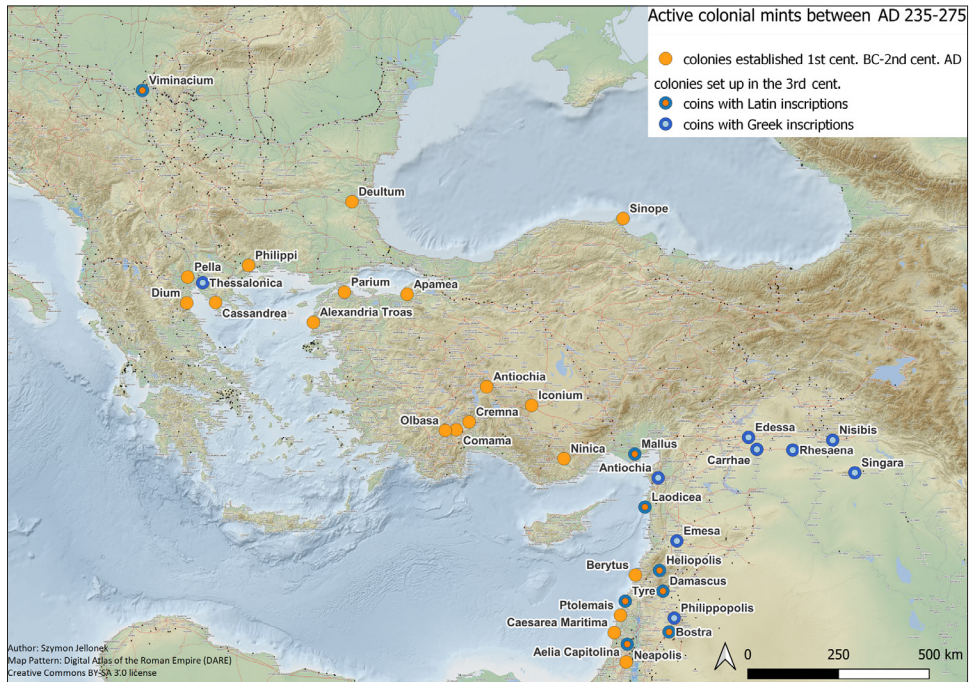
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MAP 1	Active colonial mints between AD 235–275 Author: S. Jellonek
PLATE 1	Fig. 1. Philip I, Pella, RPC VIII unassigned: ID 68788, 25 mm, 7.55 g Fig. 2. Gallienus, Philippi, Amandry D3/R6, 24 mm, 9.52 g; CNG 108, lot 448 [https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=357929] Fig. 3. Philip I, Pisidian Antioch, RPC VIII unassigned: ID 3490, 33 mm, 23.35 g Fig. 4. Aurelianus, Cremna, SNG von Aulock, 1697, 30 mm, 13.37 g; CNG 60, lot 1247 [https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=20715] Fig. 5. Gordian III, Iconium, RPC VII.2 2769, 34 mm, 17.72 g Fig. 6. Trajan Decius, Mallus, RPC IX 1431, 38 mm, 33.51 g
PLATE 2	Fig. 7. Trajan Decius, Tyre, RPC IX 1993, 27 mm, 14.88 g Fig. 8. Philip I, Tyre, RPC VIII unassigned: ID 26725, 30 mm, 19.14 g Fig. 9. Philip II, Heliopolis, RPC VIII unassigned: ID 6564, 18 mm, 4.90 g Fig. 10. Trebonian Gallus, Neapolis, RPC IX 2169, 26 mm, 11.06 g Fig. 11. Etruscus and Hostillian, Bostra, RPC IX 2219, 22 mm, 8.01 g Fig. 12. Trajan Decius, Thessalonica RPC IX 141, 26 mm, 7.95 g Fig. 13. Tranquillina, Singara, RPC VII.2 3484, 17 mm, 2.20 g Fig. 14. Trajan Decius, Rhesaena, RPC IX 1576, 26 mm, 12.12 g
TABLE 1	Iconographic motifs of Roman colonies (AD 235–275)



Map 1. Active colonial mints between AD 235–275. Author: Szymon Jellonek



1



2



3



4



5



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8



9



10



11



12



13



14

Iconographic motifs of Roman colonies (AD 235–275)

1. Viminacium – *Colonia Viminacium*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Gordian III	P M S COL VIM	Emperor + <i>vexillum</i> + altar; Moesia + 2 <i>vexilla</i> + bull + lion; Moesia + bull + lion; Moesia + hare + <i>vexillum</i>
Philip	P M S COL VIM	Emperor? + bull + lion; Moesia + bull + lion; Victoria with a wreath and palm + bull + lion
Trajan Decius	P M S COL VIM	Moesia + 2 <i>vexilla</i> + bull + lion; Moesia + bull + lion
Trebonianus Gallus	P M S COL VIM	Moesia + 2 <i>vexilla</i> + bull + lion; Moesia + bull + lion; Trebonianus + Volusianus
Valerian	P M S COL VIM	Moesia + 2 <i>vexilla</i> + bull + lion; Moesia + bull + lion
Gallienus	P M S COL VIM	Moesia + bull + lion

2. Deultum – *Colonia Flavia Pacis Deultum*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Maximinus	C F P D; COL FL PAC DEVLT	Aesculapius; Aequitas; Apollo; Apollo + altar; river god; Concordia; dolphin + trident; Diana; Emperor- equestrian; Eros on a dolphin; <i>ethnikon</i> in a wreath; Fortuna; Hercules; Jupiter; Cybele; lion; <i>Lupa Romana</i> ; ox head; Mercury; Minerva; Nemesis; eagle; Perseus + Andromeda; Pluto; prow; Salus; Serapis; Telesphoros; tetrastyle + Concordia?; Venus Pudica
Gordian III	C F P D; COL FL PAC DEVLT	Aequitas; Apollo; Apollo + altar; Bacchus; baetyl; river god; river god + Thalassa; Ceres; Concordia; Cybele; dolphin; dolphin + trident; Diana; Emperor; Emperor- equestrian; Eros on a dolphin; Aesculapius; <i>ethnikon</i> in a wreath; Fortuna; galley; genius; Harpocrates; Hercules; Hercules on lion; Hercules + Cretean bull; Juno; Jupiter; <i>Lupa Romana</i> ; ox head; Marsyas; Mercury; Minerva; Nemesis; eagle; eagle + 2 <i>vexilla</i> ; Perseus + Andromeda; prow; Salus; foundation scene; Serapis; temple + Apollo; temple + Serapis; Telesphoros; tetrastyle + Apollo; tetrastyle + Emperor; tetrastyle + Aesculapius; tetrastyle + Fortuna; tetrastyle + genius; Venus; Venus Pudica; Victoria with a wreath and a palm; <i>Lupa Romana</i> ; 2 <i>vexilla</i> ; 3 Graces
Philip	C F P D; COL FL PAC DEVLT	Aesculapius; Apollo; Bacchus; baetyl; Capitoline Triad Ceres; Concordia; Diana; dolphin; Emperor; Fortuna; foundation scene; genius; Jupiter; Cybele; Marsyas; Mercury; Minerva; Nemesis; <i>Lupa Romana</i> ; ox head; Perseus + Andromeda; eagle; prow; river god; Salus; Serapis; Sol; Thanatos; 3 Graces

3. Dium – *Colonia Iulia Augusta Diensis*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Maximinus	COL IVL DIENSIS	Minerva; Jupiter; Minerva + Jupiter; distyle + Aesculapius
Gordian III	COL IVL DIENSIS	Aesculapius; Minerva; Jupiter; distyle + Aesculapius
Philip	COL IVL DIENSIS	Minerva; Jupiter; distyle + Aesculapius
Gallienus	COL IVL DIENSIS	Minerva; Jupiter; Minerva + Jupiter; distyle + Aesculapius

4. Cassandrea – *Colonia Iulia Augusta Cassandrensis*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Maximinus	–	–
Gordian III	COLΩΝΕΙΑ CASSANDR	H. Ammon; distyle + Ammon; Neptune with a dolphin and a trident; Nymph – Nysa with infant Bacchus
Philip	COL IVL AVG CASSAN- DRENS	Neptune with a dolphin and a trident; Nymph – Nysa with infant Bacchus

5. Pella – *Colonia Pellensis*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Maximinus	COL IVL AVG PELLA	Pan + syrinx; Fortuna enthroned
Gordian III	COL IVL AVG PELLA; COL IVL AVG PILLA; COL IVL AVS PGLLA	Pan + syrinx; Fortuna enthroned
Philip	COLΩ AVTO PELLA	Pan + syrinx; Fortuna enthroned

6. Philippi – *Colonia Iulia Augusta Philippensis; Res Publica Colonia Philippensis*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Gallienus	COL PHILIP; R P C P	Emperor-equestrian; Concordia; Fortuna; Heroi Aulonites; Liber Pater; Fortuna; Roma in a city gate; Victoria with a wreath and a palm

7. Thessalonica – *Colonia Thessalonica*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Trajan Decius	ΘΕCΑΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ ΚΟΛ Δ ΝΕΩΚ	Janus + Marsyas; female figure + 4 prizes; Fortuna sitting; 2 prizes on a table + 2 prizes; 4 prizes; 4 temples
Valerian	ΘΕCΑΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ ΜΗΤ ΚΟ Β ΝΕ	<i>Ethnikon</i> in a wreath; Fortuna; Victoria with a wreath and palm; 2 prizes on a table
Gallienus	ΘΕCΑΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ ΜΗΤΡΟ ΚΟΛ	Athlete + 2 prizes; Fortuna; tripod + 5 apples; 2 prizes on a table; 2 wrestlers

8. Apamea – *Colonia Iulia Concordia Augusta Apamea*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Maximinus	COL IVL CONC APA AVG; COL IVL CONC AVG APAM	Bacchus; Diana Lucifera; <i>Lupa Romana</i> ; Fortuna
Gordian III	COL IVL CONC AVG APAM	Galley; Minerva
Philip	COL IVL CONC APAM AVG	Fortuna; galley
Trajan Decius	C I C A AP; COL IVL AVG APAM	Bacchus; galley
Trebonianus Gallus	COL IVL CONC AVG APAM	Bacchus; galley
Valerian	COL IVL CONC AVG APAM	Aeneas + Ascanius + Anchises; Bacchus; galley; Fortuna
Gallienus	COL IVL CONC AVG APA; C I CONC APAM AVG; COL IVL CONC AVG APAM	Aeneas + Ascanius + Anchises; Diana Lucifera; Founda- tion scene; Fortuna; Bacchus; genius; Emperor + Victoria; Serapis + altar; Venus on a dolphin

9. Sinope – *Colonia Romana Iulia Felix Sinope*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Maximinus	C R I F S	Aesculapius + Hygieia; distyle Nemesis; H. Serapis; Sera- pis; Serapis reclining; Nemesis; Fortuna; fish; h. Fortuna
Gordian III	C R I F S; C I F S	Distyle + Nemesis; h. Serapis; Neptune with a dolphin and a trident; Serapis; Serapis reclining
Philip	C R I F S	Distyle Nemesis; h. Serapis; Serapis; Serapis reclining; Serapis enthroned; Bacchus; Neptune with a dolphin and a trident
Trajan Decius	C R I F S	Distyle Nemesis; H. Serapis
Trebonianus Gallus	–	–
Valerian	C I F S	Bacchus; h. archaic Bacchus; h. Serapis; Serapis reclining; Minerva
Gallienus	C I F S	Distyle Nemesis; Bacchus; Bacchus in a temple; h. Serapis; Serapis reclining; Serapis + altar; Serapis enthroned; Nep- tune; Fortuna; Emperor; galley

10. Parium – *Colonia Gemella Iulia Hadriana Pariana*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Maximinus	C G I H P; C G I H PA	Foundation scene; Diana Lucifera
Gordian III	C G I H PA; C G I H PAR	<i>Lupa Romana</i> ; Aesculapius + bull; Capricorn + Cornucopia; Diana Lucifera
Philip	C G I H P	Aesculapius + bull; Capricorn + Cornucopia + globe; Cupid; Diana Lucifera; Gate/ arch; <i>Lupa Romana</i> ; genius; Victoria + globe; genius
Trajan Decius		Foundation scene
Aemilian	C G I H P	Aesculapius + bull; Capricorn + rudder + globe; Capricorn + Cornucopia + globe; genius; Gate/ arch; <i>Lupa Romana</i>
Trebonianus Gallus	–	–
Valerian	C G I H P; COL G IVL H PAR	Aesculapius + bull; Capricorn + Cornucopia + globe; <i>Lupa Romana</i> ; Victoria + globe; genius; Hercules
Gallienus	C G I H P; COL IVL HAD PAR	Aeneas + Ascanius + Anchises; Aesculapius + bull; Chart with elephants; Capricorn + Cornucopia + globe; Cupid; Emperor-equestrian; Foundation scene; Gate/ arch; h. Parios; Hercules; <i>Lupa Romana</i> ; Marsyas; Victoria + globe; genius

11. Pisidian Antioch – *Colonia Caesarea; Colonia Caesarea Antiochia*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Maximinus	–	–
Gordian III	COL CAES ANTIOCH; CAES ANTIOCH CL; COL C CES ANTIOC IEA; COLONIA AN TIOCHIA; ANTIOCHIA COLONIA CAESAR; ANTIOCHIA COLONIA CAESARIA	Eagle; Men; Apollo; Cybele; Sol in a quadriga; hexastyle with Victory; temple of Men; tetrastyle with Fortuna; 2 Victoriae + shield; Fortuna + Anthios; Fortuna + altar; Fortuna + <i>vexillum</i> ; Emperor + altar; Emperor; Emperor-equestrian; Emperor in a quadriga; Emperor + Liberalitas; Emperor + Victoria; Emperor + 3 <i>signa</i> ; Personification + 6 <i>signa</i> ; sitting goddess; caduceus + 2 Cornucopiae; <i>Lupa Romana</i> ; <i>vexillum</i> + 2 <i>signa</i> ; Victoria with a palm branch; Victoria with a trophy; Victoria with a shield
Philip	CAES ANTIOCH COL	Eagle; Emperor in a quadriga; Emperor + <i>signa</i> ; <i>vexillum</i> + 2 <i>signa</i> ; 3 <i>signa</i> ; Fortuna of Antioch + Fortuna of Iconium; h. Men; Men; Anthios–river god; Providentia; Pax; <i>lituus</i> + knife + <i>simpulum</i> + jug; caduceus + 2 Cornucopiae
Trajan Decius	ANTIOCHI COL CA; ANTIOCH CE COLO	H. Men; Anthios–river god; Felicitas; <i>vexillum</i> +2 <i>signa</i> ; <i>lituus</i> + knife + <i>simpulum</i> + jug
Aemilian	ANTIOCH LCO; ANTIOCHI OCLA	<i>Vexillum</i> + 2 <i>signa</i>
Trebonianus Gallus	ANTIOCHI OCL; ANTIOCH LCO; ANTIOCHI OCL A ANTIOCHI COLO	Men; Anthios–river god; Roma; Roma enthroned; Spes; Pax; h. Gallus + h. Volusianus + 2 Cornucopiae; Emperor in quadriga; Emperor + <i>signa</i> ; <i>vexillum</i> +2 <i>signa</i>

Valerian	ANTIOCHI OCLA; ANTIOCCH LCO; ANTIOCH OC; ANTIOCHOI CL	Anthios, river god; genius; equestrian; <i>Lupa Romana</i> ; <i>vexillum</i> + 2 <i>signa</i>
Gallienus	ANTIOCH COL; ANTIOCHI CLA; ANTIOCHI COL; ANTIOCH CCL; ANTIOSH CO; ANTIOSH COL; ANTIOCHI COLONEIA	Anthios, river god; goddess; goddess + 2 <i>signa</i> ; genius; <i>Lupa Romana</i> ; foundation scene; <i>vexillum</i> + 2 <i>signa</i> ; 2 Cornucopiae
Claudius II	ANTIOCHI CL; ANTIOCHI COLON	<i>Vexillum</i> + 2 <i>signa</i>

12. Iconium – *Colonia Aelia Hadriana Iconiensium*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Gordian III	ICONIENIS COLO; COLO AEL ADR ICONIENSI; COL AEL HAD ICONIES	Goddess with a scale; Emperor-equestrian; Fortuna; Fortuna + river god; Hercules; Cybele; <i>Lupa Romana</i> ; female figure + palm tree + captive; Roma sitting; foundation scene + <i>signa</i> ; Venus
Philip	–	–
Trajan Decius	–	–
Trebonianus Gallus	–	–
Valerian	ICONIENSIVM COL	Fortuna; <i>Lupa Romana</i> ; Roma sitting; foundation scene + 2 <i>vexilla</i>
Gallienus	ICONIEN COL; ICONIEI COL; ICONIEN COLO; ICONIENSIVM	Minerva; Emperor in a quadriga; Fortuna; Hercules; <i>Lupa Romana</i> ; Marsyas; Perseus; Roma sitting; foundation scene + 2 <i>vexilla</i>

13. Cremna – *Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Cremnensium*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Maximinus	COL IVL AVG F CREM; COL IVL AVG CREM	Apollo Propylaeus; Emperor in a quadriga; Maron; Minerva; Victoria with a palm branch and a wreath
Gordian III	COL CREMNENSIVM; COL IVL AVG FELICIS CREMNENSIVM	Bacchus; Pluto; Roma sitting; 3 Graces
Philip	COL CR; COL CRE	Apollo Propylaeus; Diana; Hercules; Nemesis; Mida; Foundation scene + 3 <i>signa</i>
Trajan Decius	COL CR; COL IVL AVG CREM; COL CREM- NENSIVM	Apollo Propylaeus; Genius; Hostilianus + Decius + Etruscus + eagle; <i>Lupa Romana</i> ; Maron; Mars; Nemesis; Silvanus
Trebonianus Gallus	COL CR	Apollo Propylaeus; Fortuna; Nemesis; 3 <i>signa</i>
Valerian	COL CRE	Apollo Propylaeus; Fortuna

Gallienus		Apollo Propylaeus; Fortuna
Aurelian	COL CREMNA: COL IL F CREMNE; COL IVLI AV CREMNE	Apollo Propylaeus; Ephesian Artemis; Aesculapius + Hygieia; Female figure + 2 vessels; Fortuna + river god; Pluto; Leto + twins; Maron; prize; foundation scene + 3 <i>signa</i> + <i>vexillum</i> ; Silvanus; temple; table + prizes

14. Comama – *Colonia Iulia Augusta Prima Fida Comamenorum*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Maximinus	COL AVG COMAMECN	Iuno Pronuba; Jupiter sitting; 3 <i>signa</i>
Gordian III	COL COMANEN	Iuno Pronuba
Philip	COL COMANEN	Fortuna; Iuno Pronuba; 3 <i>signa</i>
Trajan Decius	COL COMANEN	Fortuna; Iuno Pronuba; 3 <i>signa</i>

15. Olbasa – *Colonia Iulia Augusta Olbasenorum*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Maximinus	COL IVL AVGI ¹ OLBASENORVM; COL IVL AVGV OLBASHNH; COL OLBASHNH	Minerva; Concordia; distyle of Venus
Gordian III	–	–
Philip	–	–
Trajan Decius	–	–
Trebonianus Gallus	COL IVL AVG F OLBASENORVM	Bacchus; Men-equestrian

16. Alexandria – *Colonia Augusta Troadensis*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Maximinus	COL TRO; COL A TRO; COL AV TRO; COL AVG TR	Horse; Marsyas; Neptune; Orodes? + horse; eagle + bucranium; statue of Apollo Smintheus; tetrastyle of Apollo Smintheus; tripod; Victoria with a shield; Victoria with a shield + 2 trophies on an arch; cart driven over a bridge + <i>signa</i> + <i>aquila</i>
Gordian III	COL AVG TR; COL AVG TROAD	Apollo Smintheus; tripod
Philip	COL AVGO TROA	Apollo; horse; <i>Lupa Romana</i> ; eagle + bucranium
Trajan Decius	COL AV TRO; COL AVGV TRO; COL AVG TROAD	Apollo Smintheus; horse; tripod

Trebonianus Gallus	COL AV TROA; COL AVG TRO	Apollo; Apollo + Krinis + Orodes; Apollo Smintheus; Apollo on a griffin; Fortuna; genius; hexastyle of Apollo Smintheus; Hercules; Hercules+ Antaeus; horse; horse + Orodes; <i>Lupa Romana</i> ; Marsyas; Orodes; eagle + bucranium; tripod; Statue of Apollo Smintheus + Alexander Statue of Apollo Smintheus + Alexander-equestrian; Statue of Apollo Smintheus + priest; Statue of Apollo Smintheus + Orodes; tetrastyle of Apollo Smintheus; 12 decuriones
Valerian	COL AV TRO; COL AVG TROA; COL AVG TROAD	Apollo; Apollo Smintheus; genius; horse; horse + Orodes; <i>Lupa Romana</i> ; Marsyas; eagle + bucranium; tripod
Gallienus	COL A TRO; COL AVG TROA	Apollo Smintheus; genius; h. Fortuna; h. Fortuna + <i>vexillum</i> ; horse; horse + Orodes; <i>Lupa Romana</i> ; Marsyas; eagle+ bucranium; tripod

17. Ninica – *Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Ninica Claudiopolis*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Maximinus	NINICA; NINI CLΩΩΔ; NINIC CLAVA; NINIC COL CLVΔ; NINIC CLAVΔIOP; COL NINC CLAVΔ; COL NINIC CLAVΔ; NIN COL CLAVΔIOPOL	Minerva; <i>Ethnikon</i> in a wreath; h. Maximinus; h. Fortuna; altar; <i>Lupa Romana</i> ; Marsyas; foundation scene + <i>vexillum</i> ; tetrastyle + Emperor; 2 <i>vexilla</i>

18. Mallus – *Colonia Felix Mallothon*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Gordian III	KOΛΩΝΙ ΜΑΛΛΩΤΩΝ	Marsyas; Gordian III + Tranquillina
Philip	MAL COL; FEL MAL COL	h. Otacilia Severa; Fortuna sitting + 2 river gods
Trajan Decius	MALLO COLONIA; MALLO COLONIA; FELIX; COLONIA MAL- LOTON FELIX	Minerva Magarsis + Amphilochnus; Emperor + Fortuna + Amphilochnus; prize; Fortuna sitting + 2 river gods + 2 <i>vexilla</i> ; <i>Lupa Romana</i>
Trebonianus Gallus	–	–
Valerian	MALLO COLONIA	Amphilochnus + tripod; Emperor + Fortuna + Amphilochnus; Fortuna + Minerva Magarsis + Amphilochnus
Gallienus		Temple Nemesis

19. Antioch ad Orontem – *Colonia Metropolis Antiochia*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Philip	ANTIOXEΩN MHTPO KOΛΩN	Apollo; H. Fortuna
Trajan Decius	ANTIOXEΩN MHTPO KOΛΩN	Apollo; H. Fortuna; Fortuna; Fortuna in a temple
Trebonianus Gallus	ANTIOXEΩN MHTPO KOΛΩN	Apollo; Fortuna in a temple
Valerian	ANTIOXEΩN MHTPO KOΛΩN	Fortuna in a temple

20. Berytus – *Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Berytus*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Maximinus	–	–
Gordian III	COL BER; COL IVL AVG FEL BER	Bacchus; Bacchus + Satyr; Neptune with a dolphin and a trident; 2 <i>aquilae</i> ; tetrastyle + Astarte
Philip	–	–
Trajan Decius	–	–
Aemilian	–	–
Trebonianus Gallus	–	–
Valerian	COL IVL AVG FEL BER	Astarte + Victoria; lion
Gallienus	COL IVL AVG FEL BER	Astarte + Victoria; lion

21. Heliopolis – *Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Heliopolitana*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Maximinus	–	–
Gordian III	–	–
Philip	COL HEL; COL IVL FEL AVG	Astarte; h. Astarte; h. Astarte + 2 <i>vexilla</i> ; h. Philip I and II; Mercury; propylaeum of sanctuary of Jupiter; tetrastyle of Astarte; foundation scene + 2 <i>vexilla</i> ; statue of Astarte + 2 <i>vexilla</i> ; temple of Mercury; decastyle of Jupiter; 2 <i>aquilae</i>
Trajan Decius	–	–
Trebonianus Gallus	–	–
Valerian	COL HEL; COL IVL FEL AVG	Athlete + urn; h. Astarte + h. Mercury; H. Astarte + 2 female figures; prize on a table; prize + 2 Victoriae; prize + 2 palms; 2 athletes; 2 temples; 3 prizes
Gallienus	COL HEL; COL IVL FEL AVG; COL IVL AVG FEL HELOPOL	Athlete, rewarded; Athlete + urn; h. Astarte + 2 <i>signa</i> ; h. Astarte; h. Astarte + h. Mercury; Caduceus + 2 Cornucopiae; prize; decastyle of Jupiter; 2 athletes sitting; 3 prizes; 3 prizes on a table

22. Tyre – *Colonia Septimia Tyrus Metropolis*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Maximinus	–	–
Gordian III	COL TVR METR; COL TVR METRO	Astarte + trophy + Marsyas; baetyl + serpent; Dido on a galley; Dido + Carthage construction; h. Hercules-Melqart; Harpocrates; hexastyle; hexastyle + Astarte; Hercules + trophy; Cadmus + serpent; Ambrosiac rocks; Pygmalion; table with prize
Philip	COL TVR MET; COL TVR METR; TVRIORVM	Astarte + trophy + Marsyas; Astarte-Fortuna + 4 Fortunae + Marsyas; Dido; Dido + Carthage construction; distyle Hercules + Dido; Harpocrates Hercules; Hermes; Cadmus + alphabet + 4 figures; Cadmus + Harmonia; Cadmus + Thebes; Cadmus + prow; <i>Lupa Romana</i> + <i>vexillum</i> ; personification of Cendeian Marshes/water spring; 2 prizes
Trajan Decius	–	–
Trebonianus Gallus	COL TVRO MET; COL TVRO METRO	Astarte + trophy + Marsyas; Astarte + 4 Fortuna + Marsyas; Astarte + Roma + Marsyas; baetyl + serpent; Diomedes; distyle of Hercules + Dido; Europe; Gallus + Volusianus + altar; h. Astarte; hexastyle + Astarte + Marsyas; Hercules; Hercules + Apollo; Hermes; hero + female figure; Cadmus + alphabet + 4 figures; Cadmus + Thebes; Ambrosiac rocks; shrine of Astarte; eagle + <i>vexillum</i> ; eagle + 2 <i>vexilla</i> ; personification Cendeian Marshes/water spring; Pygmalion; ox + <i>vexillum</i> ; 2 athletes + 2 prizes; 2 prizes
Valerian	COL TVRO MET; COL TVRO MET RO	Astarte + trophy + Marsyas; Dido + galley; Dido + Carthage construction; Europe; Hercules; Cadmus + prow; Cadmus + Thebes; Ambrosiac rocks; shrine + Astarte; Okeanos reclining; eagle + <i>vexillum</i> ; Pygmalion; female figure; Roma sitting; hexastyle of Phoenician <i>koinon</i> ; tetrastyle + Astarte; Victoria with a wreath and palm
Gallienus	COL TVRO MET; COL TVRO METROP	Astarte + trophy + Marsyas; baetyl; baetyl on galley; Diomedes; distyle Hercules + Dido; Dido; Dido + Carthage construction; Europe; H. Astarte; Hercules; Hermes; Cadmus; Cadmus + Thebes; Ambrosiac rocks; Okeanos reclining; personification of Cendeian Marshes/water spring; Pygmalion; Roma sitting; tripod; Victoria with a wreath and palm; 2 prizes on a table; 2 prizes on a tripod; 2 figures + altar

23. Laodicea Maritima – *Colonia Septimia Laodicea Severiana Metropolis; Colonia Septimia Laodicea Severiana Aurelia Metropolis*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Philip	COL LAOD METROPO- LEOS	Artemis Brauronia; eagle in a shrine; Fortuna; Fortuna of Laodicea + 4 Fortuna; Roma sitting
Trajan Decius	–	–
Trebonianus Gallus	COL LAOD METROPO- LEOS	Artemis Brauronia; eagle in a shrine; Fortuna; Marsyas

24. Ptolemais – *Colonia Claudia Germanica Stabilis Ptolemais*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Philip	COL PTOL	Acropolis; Emperor + Concordia; Hercules sitting + river god; Isis + Harpocrates; shrine, portable + deity; Marsyas; Pluto + Proserpina; Pluto + Proserpina in a quadriga; foundation scene; feet + caduceus; tetrastyle + Fortuna; tetrastyle + Fortuna + river god; Fortuna; Fortuna sitting; Fortuna + Marsyas; Fortuna + Marsyas + Emperor + figure + altar; Venus under arch; Victoria + trophy; 2 altars + tree; 2 female figures
Trajan Decius	–	–
Valerian	COL PTOL; COLONIA PTOLEMAIDENS	Artemis; distyle + Artemis; distyle + Fortuna + river god; distyle + Jupiter + 12 signs of Zodiac; Isis sitting; Nemesis, winged + griffon; altar + 2 serpents; Pluto + Proserpina; Pluto + Proserpina in a quadriga; Fortuna; 2 altars + tree; 2 female figures
Gallienus	COL PTOL; COLONIA PTOLEMAIDENS	Distyle + Artemis; h. Serapis; Marsyas; Nemesis, winged + griffon; altar + 2 serpents; feet + caduceus; tetrastyle + Artemis; Fortuna; Venus under arch

25. Caesarea Maritima – *Colonia Prima Flavia Augusta Felix Concordia Caesarensis Metropolis Provinciae Syriae Palaestinae*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Philip	COL PR FL AVG F C CAES METR	Bacchus on panther; Ceres + Bacchus; Ceres + Bacchus + Fortuna; Ceres + Bacchus + Fortuna + eagle; Dioscuri + eagle; Philip + Roma sitting; h. Serapis + eagle; h. Fortuna + eagle; foundation scene
Trajan Decius	COL PR F AVG F C CAES METR P S P; COL P F AVG F C CAES METROP	Apollo + tripod; Bacchus; Ceres; Emperor-equestrian; Emperor + Victoria; cista; Decius + Etruscus + Etruscilla; boar + 2 vexilla; <i>ethnikon</i> in a wreath; galley + 2 vexilla; H. Fortuna + eagle; Jupiter sitting; Cybele sitting; Mars; Neptune; altar; eagle + 2 vexilla; Roma sitting; Salus sitting; Serapis; Sol; tetrastyle + Astarte/Fortuna; Fortuna; Fortuna + 2 Fortuna; Victoria with a wreath and palm; Victoria + 2 vexilla; 2 eagles + vexillum
Aemilian	–	–

Trebonianus Gallus	COL P F AVG F C CAES METR S PAL	Bacchus; Bacchus on panther; Ceres; Emperor-equestrian; genius; h. Fortuna; Jupiter sitting; Cybele; altar; eagle + h. Fortuna; Serapis; Fortuna; Roma sitting; Victoria with a wreath and palm; 2 eagles + <i>vexillum</i>
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26. Neapolis – *Colonia Iulia Sergia Neapolis*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Philip	COL IVL NEAPOL; COL SERG NEAPOL; COL NEAPOLI NEOCORO	Abraham sacrificing Isaac?; Abraham + Isaac + 2 angels?; Aesculapius; Aesculapius + Hygieia; Aesculapius sitting + Hygieia; Minerva + Hercules; Emperor + altar; Emperor-equestrian; Dekanos; <i>ethnikon</i> in a wreath; Philip I + Philip II + altar; quadriga + Philip I + Philip II + Otacilia; Cybele sitting + 2 lions; <i>Lupa Romana</i> + Mt. Gerizim; Marsyas; Marsyas + Victoria + Mt. Gerizim; Marsyas + eagle + Mt. Gerizim; Eagle + Mt. Gerizim; eagle + h. Serapis; male figure + female figure sitting + spear; Roma; Roma + altar; foundation scene; Serapis; Triptolemos + serpent; Fortuna; Jupiter; Jupiter + Minerva + Hera; 2 Fortunae + Marsyas
Trajan Decius	–	–
Trebonianus Gallus	COL NEAPOL; COL NEAPOLI	boar with <i>signum</i> + Neptune + Mt. Gerizim; Marsyas + eagle + Mt. Gerizim; Eagle + Mt. Gerizim; Serapis + ram + <i>aquila</i> + Mt. Gerizim; Fortuna + 2 cags with birds + Mt. Gerizim

27. Aelia Capitolina – *Colonia Aelia Kapitolina; Colonia Aelia Capitolinea; Colonia Aelia Commodiana Capitolinea*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Trajan Decius	COL AEL KAP COMM	<i>Aquila</i> ; Concordia sitting; Decius + Etruscus; boar + <i>aquila</i> ; <i>ethnikon</i> in a wreath; Fortuna; h. Etruscus + Hostilianus; h. Fortuna; Jupiter; <i>Lupa Romana</i> + eagle; Salus; foundation scene; Serapis sitting

28. Bostra – *Colonia Bostrenorum*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Philip	COLONIA METROPOLIS BOSTRA	Agonistic wreath; h. Jupiter Ammon; h. Dusares
Trajan Decius	COL METROPOL BOSTRON; CONCORDIA BOSTRENV; COL METR BOSTRENORVM	Platform + 3 baetyls; Fortuna + Marsyas; Jupiter Ammon; Jupiter Ammon + Fortuna

29. Damascus – *Colonia Damascenorum*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Philip	COL DAMAS METRO; COL ΔΑΜΑ ΜΕΤΡΟ; COL ΔΑΜΑΣ ΜΕΤΡΟ; COL DAMASCO ΜΕΤΡΟΠΟ	Ram; River god (Chrysoras); Ambrosia + male figure; Ambrosia; h. Otacillia; h. Fortuna + Marsyas; Hercules; <i>Lupa Romana</i> + <i>vexillum</i> ; doe + Telephos; Marsyas; Marsyas + Cypress tree; prize; foundation scene; foundation scene + <i>vexillum</i> , Fortuna in a shrine + 2 Fortunae holding cages with birds; Fortuna sitting in a grotto + temple; tetrastyle + Fortuna; Fortuna sitting; Fortuna + 4 Fortunae; Fortuna + Emperor?; wreath; 2 figures + altar
Trebonianus Gallus	COL ΔΑΜΑΣ ΜΕΤΡΟ	Attis; Ambrosia; Horse + bull + Cypress tree; doe + Telephos; prize; Fortuna sitting; Fortuna in a shrine; wreath; 2 eagles + <i>vexillum</i>
Valerian	COL ΔΑΜΑΣ ΜΕΤΡΟ	Aesculapius + Hygieia; wreath; 2 eagles + <i>vexillum</i>
Gallienus	COL ΔΑΜΑΣ ΜΕΤΡΟ	Prize on a table; wreath; 2 eagles + <i>vexillum</i>

30. Philippopolis – *Colonia Philippopolis*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Philip	ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΚΟΛΩΝΙΑΚ	H. Roma; Roma; Roma sitting

31. Emesa – *Colonia Emesa*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Uranus Antoninus	ΕΜΙCΩΝ ΚΟΛΩΝ	Hexastyle + baetyl of Heliogabalus; tetrastyle on a podium

32. Singara – *Colonia Aurelia Septimia Singara*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Gordian III	ΑΥΡ CΕΠ ΚΟΛ CΙΝΓΑΡΑ	Centaur + <i>vexillum</i> ; H. Fortuna; Fortuna sitting on rocks; <i>vexillum</i>

33. Nisibis – *Colonia Aurelia Septimia Nesibis Metropolis*; *Colonia Iulia Aurelia Septimia Nesibis Metropolis*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Gordian III	CΕΠ ΚΟΛΩ ΝΕCΙΒΙ ΜΗΤ; CΕΠ ΚΟΛΩΝ ΝΕCΙΒΙ ΜΗΤΡΟ	<i>Ethnikon</i> in a wreath; H. Fortuna; Fortuna sitting; <i>vexillum</i>
Philip I	ΙΟΥ ΑΥΡ CΕΠ ΚΟΛΩ ΝΕCΙΒΙ ΜΗΤ	Ram in a wreath; Tetrastyle + Fortuna

34. Carrhae – *Colonia Antoniniana Aurelia Karrais Metropolis Mesopotoamias*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Gordian III	MHTP KOA KAPPHNQN	H. Fortuna + 2 stars; H. Fortuna + Marsyas/Aquarius; crescent + star; crescent + 2 stars

35. Edessa – *Colonia Metropolis Antoniniana Aurelia Alexandria; Colonia Metropolis Edessororum*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Gordian III	MHT KOAΩ EΔECCNQN	H. Fortuna; h. Fortuna + 2 stars; Fortuna sitting; Fortuna sitting + Marsyas/Aquarius
Philip	–	–
Trajan Decius	KOA EΔECCA	H. Fortuna

36. Rhesaena – *Colonia Septimia Rezaina*

Emperor:	Colonial titles:	Iconographic motifs:
Trajan Decius	CEΠ PHCAINHCIΩN; CEΠ KOA PHCAINHCIΩN	Foundation scene + eagle; distyle + eagle; Fortuna sitting + eagle; Fortuna + eagle; <i>vexillum</i> + eagle; 2 Fortunae + eagle; 2 h. Fortunae

