

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XX

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

Kraków 2025

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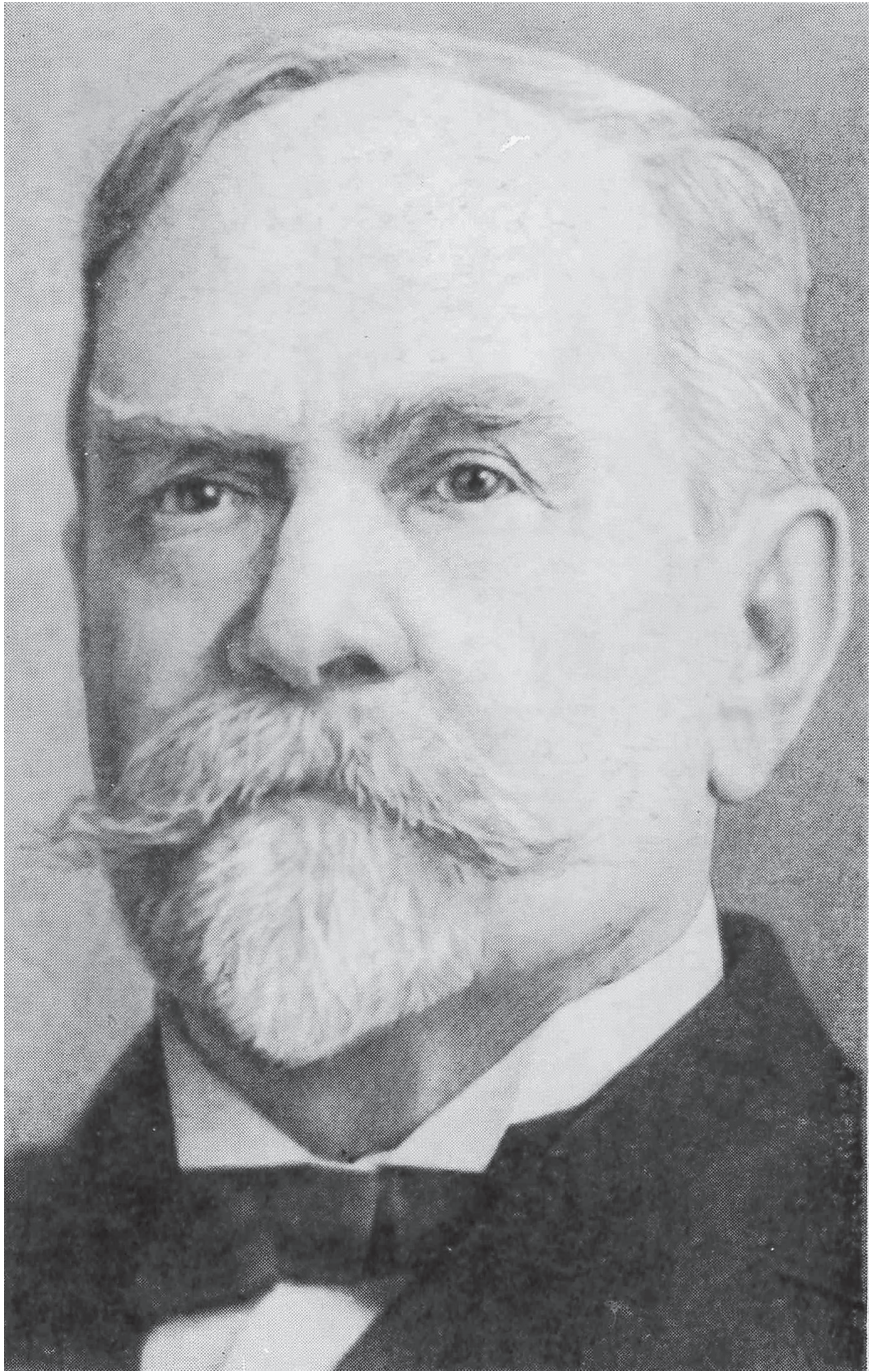
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Zygmunt Mineyko (1840–1925). Fot. Archiwum Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie
Zygmunt Mineyko (1840–1925). Photo: Archives of the National Museum in Krakow

Szanowni Państwo,

oddajemy w Państwa ręce tom XX *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.

Sto lat temu 27 grudnia 1925 roku zmarł w Atenach Zygmunt Mineyko (1840–1925), człowiek o niezwykłym życiorysie, oddany Ojczyźnie patriota, weteran Powstania Styczniowego, emigrant, a jednocześnie filhellen i honorowy obywatel Grecji. Jego zasługi na polu walki z rosyjskim zaborcą, emigracyjna tułaczka i wkład w budowę Państwa Greckiego są dosyć dobrze znane, głównie dzięki spisany przez niego samego pamiętnikom przechowywanym w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej w Krakowie, w części wydanych drukiem w 1971 roku pod tytułem *Z Tajgi pod Akropol*. Dzięki publikacjom polskich i greckich archeologów znane są również dokonania Mineyki na polu archeologii, a w szczególności jego udział w badaniach na terenie położonego w Epirze słynnego sanktuarium Zeusa w Dodonie.

Zygmunt Mineyko interesował się również numizmatyką i nie były to zainteresowania powierzchowne. Spod jego pióra wyszło – niestety nigdy nieopublikowane – dzieło poświęcone jak sam pisał „objawom numizmatyki”. Rękopis tej pracy przechowywany obecnie we Lwowie, w dawnych zbiorach Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, pozwala uznać ją za bardzo nowoczesne i wyprzedzające swe czasy opracowanie. Zygmunt Mineyko jest również ściśle powiązany z historią zbiorów numizmatycznych Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie. W latach 1924 i 1926 do zbiorów krakowskiego Muzeum Narodowego trafiło w dwóch transzach prawie sto antycznych monet podarowanych przez Stanisława Mineykę (1875–1924), syna Zygmunta. Choć formalnie ofiarodawcą był Stanisław najprawdopodobniej inspiratorem daru był jego ojciec, który z powodzeniem realizował ideę wzbogacania polskich instytucji naukowych i muzeów zespołami starożytnych monet. Dary takie zostały lub miały zostać przekazane Muzeum Narodowemu w Warszawie, Uniwersytetowi Wileńskiemu, Uniwersytetowi Jagiellońskiemu oraz jak wspomniano Muzeum Narodowemu w Krakowie. Niniejszy tom naszego czasopisma pragniemy dedykować pamięci Zygmunta i Stanisława Mineyków.

Redakcja

Dear Readers,

We are delighted to present you with volume 20 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 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.

One hundred years ago, on 27 December 1925, Zygmunt Mineyko (1840–1925) died in Athens. He was a man with an extraordinary life story, a devoted patriot, a veteran of the January Uprising, an emigrant, and at the same time a philhellene and honorary citizen of Greece. His achievements in the fight against the Russian invader, his wanderings as an emigrant, and his contribution to the building of the Greek state are quite well known, mainly thanks to his memoirs, stored in the Jagiellonian Library in Krakow, some of which were published in 1971 under the title *Z Tajgi pod Akropol* (From the Taiga to the Acropolis). Thanks to publications by Polish and Greek archaeologists, Mineyko's achievements in the field of archaeology are also well known, in particular his participation in research at the famous sanctuary of Zeus in Dodona, located in Epirus.

Zygmunt Mineyko was also interested in numismatics, and this interest was far from superficial. He wrote a work devoted to what he called “the manifestations of numismatics”, which, unfortunately, was never published. The manuscript of this work, currently stored in Lviv, in the former collections of the Ossoliński National Institute, allows us to consider it a very modern and ahead-of-its-time study. Zygmunt Mineyko is also closely associated with the history of the numismatic collections of the National Museum in Krakow. In 1924 and 1926, almost a hundred ancient coins donated by Stanisław Mineyko (1875–1924), Zygmunt's son, were added in two tranches to the collection of the National Museum in Krakow. Although Stanisław was formally the donor, it was most likely his father who inspired the donation, as he had successfully implemented the idea of enriching Polish scientific institutions and museums with collections of ancient coins. Such donations were or were to be donated to the National Museum in Warsaw, Vilnius University, the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, and, as mentioned, the National Museum in Krakow. We would like to dedicate this volume to the memory of Zygmunt and Stanisław Mineyko.

The Editors

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The Cultural Identity of the “City of the Blind”. Roman Provincial Coinage in Calchedon

ABSTRACT: In the Roman Empire, coins were struck by many different cities, featuring effigies related to local traditions and culture. In places where archaeological research is insufficient, coins become one of the most important sources of information about the life of the local community. In small centres, where coin production was irregular and less abundant, the amount of information available is even more limited. This is the case in Calchedon, now part of Istanbul, where coins are a valuable testimony to the history and culture of the city. Bronze coins were minted there from the time of the Republic until the reign of Gallienus (253–268). The images on well-known coins from the Roman period largely refer to the popular local cult of Apollo. In the 3rd century AD, there was greater diversity in the motifs. Alongside Apollo, we also see Hermes, Nemesis, Tyche, and Elpis on the coins. This text is an attempt to shed light on the cultural identity of this once small city in Bithynia.

KEY WORDS: Bithynia, Calchedon, Roman provincial coinage, Apollo

ABSTRAKT: *Tożsamość kulturowa „miasta ślepców”. Rzymskie mennictwo prowincjonalne Chalcedonu*

W Cesarstwie Rzymskim monety emitowało wiele różnych miast, umieszczając na nich wizerunki nawiązujące do lokalnej tradycji i kultury. W miejscach, gdzie stan badań archeologicznych jest niewystarczający, monety stają się jednym z najważniejszych źródeł informacji o życiu lokalnej społeczności. W małych ośrodkach, gdzie produkcja monet była nieregularna i mniej obfita, zasób tych informacji jest dodatkowo ograniczony. Podobnie jest w przypadku Chalcedonu, dzisiejszej części Stambułu, gdzie emisje stanowią cenne świadectwo historii i kultury miasta. Emitowano tam monety brązowe od czasów Republiki po okres panowania Galiena (253–268). Wizerunki znanych emisji z okresu rzymskiego

w dużej mierze odwołują się do popularnego lokalnego kultu Apolla. W III w. po Chr. pojawia się większe zróżnicowanie motywów. Obok Apolla na monetach widzimy również Hermesa, Nemezis, Tyche czy Elpis. Niniejszy tekst jest próbą przybliżenia tożsamości kulturowej tego niegdyś niewielkiego miasta w Bitynii.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: Bitynia, Chalcedon, rzymskie mennictwo prowincjonalne, Apollo

Within the Roman Empire, coins were struck by many different centres. The images placed on them often referred to traditions and culture important to the local community. In situations where archaeological research is insufficient, and only a few finds from a given region, coins are often a valuable source of information about the cultural identity of its inhabitants. In the case of small towns, and thus irregular coin production, the amount of information available is even more limited. This is also true of Chalcedon, now part of Istanbul, one of the largest cities in the world.

Calchedon was located on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus, within the borders of Bithynia. In ancient sources, the city was referred to as the “city of the blind”, which was interpreted as a reference to its less favorable location compared to Byzantium on the opposite shore. These conditions were conducive to Calchedon maintaining intensive political, economic, and cultural contacts with its immediate neighbor.¹ The city was founded by colonists from Megara ca. 685–680 BC, led by Archias. According to Ctesias of Cnidus, Darius I (522–486 BC) ordered the burning of Calchedon in retaliation for the destruction of the altar of Zeus Diabaterios, which he had erected, and in connection with considerations regarding the demolition of the bridge over the strait.² Ca. 499 BC, like other cities in the region, Calchedon was subject to Ionian rule. After the fall of the uprising, the centre, like Byzantium, was burned down. After the war with Athens, Calchedon was incorporated into the Delian League.³ In 74 BC, near the city, Roman troops commanded by Aurelius Cotta were defeated in battle by the army of Mithridates VI Eupator (120–63 BC), which led to the partial destruction of the city. In the same year, Calchedon was annexed by Rome.⁴ Calchedon was famous primarily for its temple and oracle of Apollo. The city also had a temple of Aphrodite and an Asclepieion.⁵

¹ Plin. *HN* 5.43; Strab. 12.4.2; WADDINGTON, BABELON and REINACH 1908: 288; BEAN 1976: 216; MARINESCU 1996: 398–399; GRAHAM and MITCHELL 1999: 315; YAVUZ 2014: 151–153; LORDOĞLU 2019: 179.

² Strab. 12.3.7; 12.4.2; Ctesias *FGRH* 688 F 13.21; WADDINGTON, BABELON and REINACH 1908: 288; BEAN 1976: 216; GRAHAM and MITCHELL 1999: 315; LORDOĞLU 2019: 180.

³ *Hdt.* 5.103.2; 6.33.1–2; UMAR 2004: 69; YAVUZ 2014: 181, 183–184, 208–209, 217–221.

⁴ *Eutr.* 6.6.3; *App. Mith.* 10.71; WADDINGTON, BABELON and REINACH 1908: 288; MAGIE 1950: 304; BEAN 1976: 216; JONES 1998: 160; UMAR 2004: 69.

⁵ *Dion. Byz.* 111; *Luc. Alex.* 10; Strab. 12.3.7; 12.4.2; IK KALCHEDON 12; BEAN 1976: 216; MARINESCU 1996: 373–374; KONSTANTINOS 2013: 37; TÜRKOĞLU 2014: 597–598.

Today, the area of the former city is located within the boundaries of Istanbul, in the present-day district of Kadıköy. A necropolis used between the 6th century BC and the 3rd century AD was discovered there. Tombs and sarcophagi were found in smaller districts such as Yeldeğirmeni, Hasanağa, Söğütlüçeşme, and Altıyol. Part of the ancient city's buildings were also uncovered. However, due to the limited scope of research and the small number of finds, it is not possible to fully reconstruct the ancient topography of the city or say anything more about the local population during the Roman period.⁶

With regard to the coinage of Calchedon, we currently have two key catalogue studies at our disposal. The first is *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*, published at the beginning of the 20th century.⁷ The second type consists of catalogues prepared as part of the Roman Provincial Coinage project currently underway.⁸ In addition, a database containing information on coins that have not yet been included in the published volumes is available.⁹

Bronze coins were struck in Calchedon from the time of the Republic until the reign of Gallienus (253–268). Some of the earliest issues from the Roman period appeared at the end of the Republic and included denominations corresponding to probably ½ and 1 assarion.¹⁰ The few surviving examples from the Julio-Claudian and Flavian dynasties are coins corresponding in size to 2 assaria.¹¹ During the reigns of Trajan (98–117), Hadrian (117–138), and Antoninus Pius (138–161), the minting of 1 and 2 assaria coins continued, with images directly referring to the cult of Apollo.¹² Unique to this period are large bronze coins measuring 38 mm and weighing 36–43 g, bearing the image of Antinous and struck during the reign of Hadrian.¹³ Due to the slight variation in coin size, it can be assumed that recognizing their value did not pose any major difficulties. In some periods, individual iconographic types could serve as a distinguishing feature of a specific unit, provided that they appeared exclusively on coins of a given size. However, an analysis of repeated motifs on issues from different periods indicates that the depiction was not assigned to a single coin size. During the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161–180), there was a noticeable increase in the variety of denominations and images used on both the obverse and reverse sides of coins. Most likely, the issuance of coins corresponding to 1 and 2

⁶ ATIK 2003; LORDOĞLU 2019: 183–186.

⁷ WADDINGTON, BABELON and REINACH 1908: 288–308.

⁸ BURNETT, AMANDRY and RIPOLLÈS 1992: 323; AMANDRY et AL. 2015: 129–130; MAIRAT et AL. 2022: 345–346.

⁹ Cf. <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/>.

¹⁰ RPC I 1783–1785.

¹¹ RPC I 1786–1788; RPC II 370A.

¹² RPC III 1060–1064; RPC IV.1 11179 (temp.).

¹³ RPC III 1065–1066.

assaria continued, with the simultaneous introduction of a larger denomination, presumably worth 3 or 4 assaria.¹⁴ However, it cannot be stated with certainty whether a larger number of denominations were in circulation during the period in question. In the 2nd century AD, small pseudo-autonomous coins were also issued,¹⁵ which may be interpreted as denominations corresponding to ½ assarion, with portraits on the obverse serving as an additional distinguishing feature of their value. Only a few small coins from the reign of Commodus (177–192) are known to exist.¹⁶ During the reign of Septimius Severus (193–211), coins corresponding to 1, 2, 3, and 4 assaria were presumably minted.¹⁷ However, the existence of a larger number of units or other denominations as understood by the local community cannot be ruled out, although the current state of research does not allow for a definitive conclusion on this issue. Presumably, the same denominations remained in use during the reigns of Caracalla (198–217), Elagabalus (218–222), Severus Alexander (222–235), and Gordian III (238–244).¹⁸ In the case of some motifs placed on coins during this period, a pattern can be observed in the choice of coin size. The Apollo type appears on many coins, but one of the most common are coins measuring 25 mm and weighing 7–9 g. The Tyche motif appeared on coins measuring 29–32 mm, 10–14 g, the tripod on 28–29 mm, 9–12 g, the galley on 20–21 mm, 3–5 g, Hermes on 21–23 mm, 4–6 g, and the lyre mainly on 18–19 mm, 2–4 g. Of course, there are exceptions to these rules. Coins with an estimated value of 2 assaria (23 mm, 6–8 g) have been recorded to date from the reigns of Valerian (253–260) and Gallienus.¹⁹ In summary, it seems that in the 1st century and until the middle of the 2nd century AD, the Calchedon monetary system was based on two or three units. From the reign of Marcus Aurelius onwards, one or two additional denominations were added. However, it should be emphasized that the picture presented here remains incomplete, due to the limited number of Calchedon issues that have been preserved and identified to date.

The obverses of Calchedon coins primarily featured portraits of the emperor, most often wearing a laurel wreath, and less frequently wearing a radiate crown. In imperial coinage, the *corona radiata* served as a marker of a specific denomination, while on provincial coins its use was rather conventional and not clearly linked to

¹⁴ RPC IV.1 3774, 4746–4751, 4753–4755, 17497 (temp.).

¹⁵ RPC IV.1 4757–4758 (temp.).

¹⁶ RPC IV.1 4756 (temp.).

¹⁷ RPC V.2 ID 70524, 70525–70528, 70534, 70546, 70548–70549, 70564–70565, 82409–82410, 86323–86324.

¹⁸ Caracalla RPC V.2 ID 70543–70545, 70547, 70563, 70567, 70569–70571; Elagabalus RPC VI 3501–3515, 10917, 30129, 30380 (temp.); Severus Alexander RPC VI 3516–3524, 30929 (temp.); Gordian III RPC VII.2 1848–1862.

¹⁹ RPC X ID 59941, 92293.

the value of the coin.²⁰ An example of this practice can be seen in the coins struck in Calchedon during the reign of Gordian III, where coins of the same size (28 mm, 12–13 g) with portraits of the emperor wearing both a laurel wreath and a radiate crown.²¹ Coins sometimes also depicted elements of clothing and distinctive physical features, which may indicate that the images were modeled on imperial issues.²² In certain periods, Calchedon coins also feature portraits of women from imperial families.²³ Commemorative coins wearing the image of Antinous were also issued, appearing on coins minted by several other cities in Bithynia and Pontus.²⁴ In the case of legends, the obverse of the coins bore a reference to the name of the emperor or empress with their title in the nominative, while the reverse bore the standard name of the city, ΚΑΛΧΑΔΟΝΙΩΝ in full form, ΚΑΛ, ΚΑΛΧΑ or ΚΑΛΧΑΔΟ in abbreviation, in the genitive plural, which can be translated as “(coin) of the inhabitants of Calchedon”.²⁵ In the 2nd century AD, pseudo-autonomous coins were also issued.²⁶ These were coins with images of Apollo and Artemis on the obverse. The reverses featured complementary motifs, such as a lyre, a serpent, or a laurel tree, associated with the cult of the main deity in the centre.

The images on the Calchedon coins from the Roman period that are known to date largely refer to the popular local cult of Apollo. Both his temple and oracle were located within the city, which is reflected in the selection of iconographic motifs.²⁷ Apollo, brother of Artemis and father of Asclepius, was the patron god of medicine, divination, poetry, and music, among other things. His images have appeared in Greek art since the 7th century BC, most often in the form of a young man, sometimes equipped with attributes such as a bow or lyre. He was often depicted in the company of Artemis, Leto, Dionysus, Hermes, and Athena, and less often with Poseidon. The motif of Apollo with a swan is known from Attic pottery, gems, and seals, as well as from Cyzicus staters issued between 400 and 350 BC.²⁸

²⁰ BUTCHER 1988: 40–44; AMANDRY et AL. 2015: 843.

²¹ RPC VII.2 1848–1852.

²² ZAJAÇ 2019.

²³ Agrippina II RPC I 1788; Domitia RPC II 370A; Sabina RPC III 1064; Faustina II RPC IV.1 3774, 4751 (temp.); Julia Domna RPC V.2 ID 70543–70547, 86323–86324; Julia Paula RPC VI 3506, 3509–3511 (temp.); Julia Mamaea RPC VI 3519 (temp.); Tranquillina RPC VII.2 1854–1855, 1859–1860.

²⁴ RPC III 1065–1066.

²⁵ WADDINGTON, BABELON and REINACH 1908: 298–308; LESCHHORN and FRANKE 2002: 162; LESCHHORN 2009: 131; ZAJAÇ 2023: 65; compiled on the basis of the Roman Provincial Coinage database.

²⁶ RPC IV.1 4757–4759 (temp.). Cf. JOHNSTON 1985.

²⁷ Dion. Byz. 111; Luc. *Alex.* 10; Strab. 12.3.7; 12.4.2; TÜRKOĞLU 2014: 597–598; LORDOĞLU 2019: 179, 182–183.

²⁸ DE FRANCISCIS 1958b: 463–464; LAMBRINUDAKIS et AL. 1984: 183, 227–228; GRAF 1999: 122–123.

The local cult of Apollo was emphasized on numerous coins struck in Calchedon during both the Hellenistic and Roman periods (cf. Tab. 1).²⁹ The figure of the deity appears on coins issued by the city in the 5th and 3rd centuries BC, and then on royal coins from the reigns of Nicomedes I and Prusias I (or Prusias II).³⁰ During the Roman period, coins mainly featured images of deities or objects and attributes associated with them, such as a lyre, laurel tree or tripod (Fig. 1). Depictions of altars can be interpreted in a similar context, although it cannot be ruled out that this motif had a more general function, referring to cult practices also directed towards other deities. Coins from the reigns of Elagabalus and Gordian III also feature an image of the temple with the figure of Apollo (Fig. 2).³¹ This indicates that the cult of this deity was still the most important among others in the town. Coins from the time of Claudius (41–54) and the pseudo-autonomous³² feature references to Apollo's sister, Artemis, the goddess of hunting, forests and animals, also of a chthonic nature.³³

It is known that there was also a temple of Aphrodite in Calchedon, but the cult of this goddess was not as prominent on coins as that of Apollo. Her images appear on coins from the times of Commodus, Septimius Severus and Severus Alexander (Fig. 3).³⁴ Aphrodite was a deity primarily associated with love, fertility and abundance, and at the same time worshipped as the guardian of public offices, social harmony and civic harmony, as well as the patron saint of sailors, especially in harbor centres. She was very often depicted with an apple, flowers, myrtle, a conch shell or a dove.³⁵ In the case of Calchedon, the presence of images of Aphrodite on coins can be interpreted as a reference to the city's coastal location, its natural assets and the fertility of the surrounding area, as well as to the economic nature of the centre, which was conducive to its development. It is also possible that the cult of the goddess was also practiced in the sphere of private religious practices.

The location of the centre, and thus its economic development, can be linked to an effigy of Poseidon, the god of the seas, sailors and earthquakes, as well as the galley motif. Unlike neighboring Byzantium, where the first of these motifs appeared on the coins of Tiberius (14–37), Marcus Aurelius, Elagabalus, Severus

²⁹ WADDINGTON, BABELON and REINACH 1908: 288–308; compiled on the basis of the Roman Provincial Coinage database.

³⁰ Rec Rois de Bithynie 5–7, 16–19; Rec Calchedon 5–6, 28, 31, 33–44.

³¹ Elagabalus RPC VI 3504, 10917 (temp.); Gordian III RPC VII.2 1851–1852.

³² Claudius RPC I 1788; pseudo-autonomous coins RPC IV.1 4759 (temp.).

³³ FLEISCHER 1984: 618–619.

³⁴ Commodus RPC IV.1 4756 (temp.); Septimius Severus RPC V.2 ID 70550; Severus Alexander RPC VI 3520 (temp.).

³⁵ DE FRANCISCIS 1958a: 115; DELIVORRIAS, BERGER-DOER and KOSSATZ-DEISSMANN 1984: 2, 54–57; JENTEL 1984: 154.

Alexander and Gordian III,³⁶ in Calchedon it was only used on the coins of Marcus Aurelius.³⁷ In the case of the galley motif, it appeared on the coins of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Elagabalus, Severus Alexander and Gordian III.³⁸

Among the cults gaining importance in Calchedon in the 3rd century AD, mention should be made of the cult of Hermes, whose image appears on coins from the reigns of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Elagabalus, Severus Alexander and Gordian III (Fig. 4).³⁹ Hermes was the messenger of the gods, protector of travelers and merchants, and a deity associated with prosperity and fertility. His figurines were often treated as talismans to ensure good fortune and happiness. In iconography, he was most often depicted with a caduceus or wearing a petasos.⁴⁰ The caduceus, also a symbol of peace and harmony, was said to have been given to Hermes by Apollo in exchange for a lyre.⁴¹ The presence of images of Hermes on Calchedon coins can be linked to the city's location and its economic and commercial prosperity.⁴² The cult of Hermes was also associated with herms, architectural and decorative details of a religious nature, serving as cult objects, usually topped with the head of a deity, which could also be used as milestones or boundary stones.⁴³ This type of representation is known from coins from the time of Marcus Aurelius.⁴⁴

In the 3rd century, coins minted in the city also began to feature depictions of Tyche (Fig. 5),⁴⁵ the goddess of fortune, prosperity and protector of cities. Her images were quite popular and appeared on coins issued by various provincial centres. The first figurative representations of the goddess date back to the turn of the 5th and 4th centuries BC, and her cult developed more widely during the Hellenistic period, gaining particular popularity in the context of official propaganda since the reign of Augustus (27 BC – AD 14). She was usually depicted with attributes such as a rudder and a cornucopia, referring to prosperity and good fortune in the context of trade and navigation. A characteristic feature of the goddess's image was often a crown made of defensive walls (*corona muralis*). The personification of Tyche

³⁶ Tiberius RPC I 1778; Marcus Aurelius RPC IV.1 8705, 8732 (temp.); Elagabalus RPC VI 887 (temp.); Severus Alexander RPC VI 921–923 (temp.); Gordian III RPC VII.2 643.

³⁷ RPC IV.1 4746 (temp.).

³⁸ Septimius Severus RPC V.2 ID 70565; Caracalla V.2 ID 70567, 70569; Elagabalus RPC VI 3512, 30380 (temp.); Severus Alexander RPC VI 3521, 3523 (temp.); Gordian III RPC VII.2 1859.

³⁹ Septimius Severus RPC V.2 ID 70548; Caracalla V.2 ID 70543; Elagabalus RPC VI 3508, 3511 (temp.); Severus Alexander RPC VI 3522, 30929 (temp.); Gordian III RPC VII.2 1858.

⁴⁰ SICHTERMANN 1961: 2–4; SIEBERT 1990; JOST 1999: 690–691.

⁴¹ STEVENSON, SMITH and MADDEN (eds.) 1889: 149.

⁴² RUSSELL 2016: 181–183, 185.

⁴³ JENDRYCZKO (ed.) 2013: 252.

⁴⁴ RPC IV.1 17497 (temp.).

⁴⁵ Septimius Severus V.2 ID 70526; Caracalla RPC V.2 ID 70563 (temp.); Elagabalus RPC VI 30129 (temp.); Severus Alexander RPC VI 3518 (temp.).

on provincial coins could express universal and fundamental values associated with the successful functioning of the city and its inhabitants.⁴⁶

Among the motifs appearing on Calchedon coins is also the image of Heracles lying on a lion skin. The same depiction was recorded on coins issued during the reigns of Septimius Severus and Elagabalus.⁴⁷ Heracles, the greatest of the Greek heroes and son of Zeus, was distinguished by his extraordinary strength and became famous for, among other things, completing the twelve labors assigned to him by Eurystheus. His depictions in art, dating back to the 7th century BC, were characterized by much greater diversity than those of many other deities. Heracles was often depicted with a club, a lion's scalp, or performing one of his labors. As a warrior hero, he was also the patron of military training, and in a broader context, he was seen as a defender of society against various threats.⁴⁸ Many centres, such as Heraclea Pontica, were named after him. The hero's popularity on the southern coast of the Black Sea was also linked to the tradition of his travels and adventures in these areas.⁴⁹

On the coins of Septimius Severus and Gordian III, Elpis appeared standing, lifting the hem of her dress and holding a flower (Fig. 6).⁵⁰ It was a characteristic representation of the personification of hope. The first mention of it can be found in the works of Hesiod.⁵¹ It was Elpis who remained in Pandora's box after it was opened and all misfortunes were released into the world. This personification was not particularly popular, although she was also depicted as the guardian of the city, crowned with a *corona muralis*.⁵² In the case of Septimius Severus' coins, the image of Elpis was placed on issues bearing the portrait of his wife, Julia Domna.

To date, eight portraits of women from imperial families can be distinguished on Calchedon coins: Agrippina II, Domitia, Sabina, Faustina II, Julia Domna, Julia Paula, Julia Mamaea and Tranquillina. No single motif accompanying all portraits or any specific denomination has been observed. In some cases, the images of empresses accompanied several types of coins, as is the case with Julia Domna, Julia Paula and Tranquillina (cf. Tab. 2). The most popular motif accompanying these coins is Apollo. Coins of this type were issued in one size (25–26 mm), but differed in weight (5–11 g), so it is uncertain whether they can be considered to have

⁴⁶ WILLIAM 1997: 115–125; PURCELL 1999: 606; ROBERTSON and DIETRICH 1999: 1566; ARYA 2002: 52–80, 260–262, 336–338.

⁴⁷ Septimius Severus RPC V.2 ID 70564; Elagabalus RPC VI 3502 (temp.).

⁴⁸ SICHTERMANN 1960: 378–385; BOARDMAN et AL. 1988; SCHACHTER 1999: 684–685.

⁴⁹ MENTESIDOU 2011: 39.

⁵⁰ Septimius Severus RPC V.2 ID 70546, 86323–86324; Gordian III RPC VII.2 1857.

⁵¹ Hes. *Op.* 96.

⁵² COMOTTI 1960: 323–324; HAMDORF 1986: 722–725.

a single denomination. In the case of provincial coins, however, their size may have been the main determinant of their denomination, but possible changes in the monetary system over a longer period of time should not be ruled out.⁵³ Most often, images of women from the imperial dynasty appear on flans measuring 20–23 mm and weighing 5–7 g (Julia Domna/Elpis; Julia Domna/Hermes; Julia Paula/Hermes; Faustina II/Homonioia (?); Julia Domna/Nemesis; Julia Paula/Nemesis; Domita/poppy and corn-ears). Coins that were smaller or weighed less were also minted (Faustina II/lyre; Sabina/tripod; Faustina II/tripod; Tranquillina/galley; Tranquillina/tripod).

The coins bearing the portraits of Faustina II and Julia Paula probably feature the personification of Homonoia,⁵⁴ symbolizing universal harmony in the political and military context and within various groups. The origins of her cult date back to the 4th century BC. During the Empire, the emphasis was mainly on individual agreements between members of imperial families or co-rulers.⁵⁵ Some women of the dynasty were also identified with the allegory of consent. Such references are known from inscriptions from Halasarna on Cos dated AD 37 and from Tyssanus on Rhodes, where Domitian's wife was referred to by this name.⁵⁶ In provincial coinage, the Homonoia motif mainly emphasized agreements between cities or co-rulers, especially during the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, Caracalla and Geta, as well as Septimius Severus.⁵⁷ This effigy can be interpreted as ensuring prosperity and fertility resulting from universal consent.⁵⁸ In the case of Bithynia, Dio Chrysostom called for agreement between individual centres, arguing that cooperation brings greater benefits to both cities and their inhabitants.⁵⁹

The figure of Nemesis appeared on coins bearing the images of Julia Domna and Julia Paula (Fig. 7).⁶⁰ Nemesis was the goddess of vengeance, as well as destiny and justice, usually depicted with a spoked wheel at her feet. Her cult dates back to the 6th century BC, but initially, due to its nature, it was not very popular. Nemesis's importance grew during the Hellenistic period, when she was worshipped as a propitiatory and protective deity, especially by lovers, gladiators and warriors. She was sometimes depicted or identified together with Tyche, Artemis, Isis, Victoria or Psyche. The attributes of Nemesis were wings, a wheel, a griffin, scales, a whip

⁵³ MACDONALD 1976: 28–31; JOHNSTON 1997: 207; KATSARI 2011: 48; AMANDRY et AL. 2015: 814; ZAJĄC 2020: 35.

⁵⁴ Faustina II RPC IV.1 4751 (temp.); Julia Paula RPC VI 3506 (temp.).

⁵⁵ HÖLSCHER 1990: 479; MIKOCKI 1997: 17–18, 21–23, 36.

⁵⁶ MIKOCKI 1997: 26.

⁵⁷ FRANKE 1987; MIKOCKI 1997: 38–39, fn. 93.

⁵⁸ MIKOCKI 1997: 38, fn. 90.

⁵⁹ Dio Chrys. *Or.* XXXVIII. Cf. SZARMACH 1979: 76.

⁶⁰ Julia Domna RPC V.2 ID 70547 (temp.); Julia Paula RPC VI 3510 (temp.).

and even a gladiator's trident.⁶¹ Shrines dedicated to her were located near theatres, amphitheatres and stadiums, and finds of votive figurines and inscriptions indicate links between the cult and fights and games. The cult of Nemesis in the Black Sea basin is mainly attested in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, and its spread in Thrace, Moesia and Dacia was facilitated by the Romans.⁶²

Only one issue of Calchedon coins bearing the portrait of Domitia featured poppy and two crossed corn ears (22 mm, 4–5 g).⁶³ The image also appears on coins from Nicomedia and Tium from the time of Trajan perhaps on the assarion denomination (18–19 mm, 3–5 g).⁶⁴ The motif probably refers to the coins struck in AD 80–82 at the imperial mint in Thrace. At that time, the smallest denominations of imperial coins (17 mm, 4–6 g), possibly semisses, featured a poppy between cornucopias.⁶⁵ During the reigns of Domitian (81–96) and Trajan, images from imperial coins struck in Thrace were often reproduced on coins from Bithynia and Pontus, perhaps in order to make provincial coins more similar to imperial ones.⁶⁶ The motif may have referred to Demeter, fertility and prosperity, one of the most popular effigy in provincial coinage.⁶⁷

Commemorative coins with the portrait of Antinous were also issued in Calchedon.⁶⁸ On the reverse, Hadrian's lover is depicted as Apollo on the back of a griffin flying with the legend ΚΑΛΧΑΔΟΝΙΟΙC, ΙΠΠΙΩΝ (Fig. 8). Griffins were associated with the god, although they are more commonly associated with Nemesis. This type of depiction also appeared on the coins of Alexandria Troas during the reigns of Trebonianus Gallus (251–253) and Valerian.⁶⁹ In the case of coins minted in Chalcedon, the reverse also featured the name of the person who dedicated this issue – Hippon.⁷⁰

Among the individual motifs on Calchedon coins were Cybele, *Magna Mater*, and the agonistic crown (Fig. 9).⁷¹ The latter motif is associated with games, and its iconography was also commonly used on the coins of many provincial cities. During the Roman period, there was a marked revival of festivals and games in the eastern provinces. Cities competed with each other for primacy among other

⁶¹ PARIBENI 1963: 404–406; KARANASTASSI and RAUSA 1992; HORNUM 1993: 7.

⁶² HORNUM 1993: 6–14; ARISTODEMOU 2016: 181.

⁶³ RPC II 370A.

⁶⁴ Nicomedia RPC III 663A (18–19 mm, 3–5 g); Tium RPC III 703A (19 mm, 3–4 g).

⁶⁵ RPC II 510, 543.

⁶⁶ ZAJĄC 2023: 119–124.

⁶⁷ RICHARDSON 1999: 447–448.

⁶⁸ RPC III 1065–1066.

⁶⁹ RPC IX 407, 471; RPC X ID 63958.

⁷⁰ AMANDRY et AL. 2015: 852, 865.

⁷¹ Gordian III RPC VII.2 1856; Valerian and Gallienus RPC X ID 59941.

centres, which also brought them measurable financial benefits. Both the winners of the competitions and the cities hosting them gained popularity and prestige. Festivals were also sometimes linked to the imperial cult. In the case of Calchedon, it is known that the city did not receive the title of *neokoros*. Around AD 180, new agonistic representations, including victory prizes, began to appear on coins. Agonistic crowns were impressive and made of precious materials, replacing the earlier, simpler wreaths. This motif could refer to specific games, festivals, and also to the centre where they were organized. In the 3rd century AD, as part of their policy of clientship and security, emperors funded games on various transit routes in the Balkans and Asia Minor leading to the East. The same applies to the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus and the war against the Sasanians.⁷²

Calchedon coins were also stamped with countermarks, i.e. markings that cities could use to introduce foreign issues to the local market, change their value or commemorate important events.⁷³ These types of marks are known from several Calchedon issues. Tiberius and Claudius coins⁷⁴ were stamped with the monogram PKA (Fig. 10).⁷⁵ This monogram also appears on Byzantine coins. It is currently identified with Rhoemetaces, to whom these lands once belonged.⁷⁶ The obverses of coins issued during the reign of Trajan feature countermarks with the image of Apollo (Fig. 1).⁷⁷ In this case, it is likely that the city itself stamped countermarks on its own coins. Both the images on the coins and the countermark refer to the local cult in the city.⁷⁸ The stamping of countermarks in Trajan's time may have been related to the confirmation or change in the value of coins, or to special occasions such as celebrations in honor of Apollo. A countermark, probably also bearing the image of Apollo, was stamped in the city between 240 and 220 BC on the tetradrachms of Alexander the Great.⁷⁹ During the Roman period, countermarks of this type also appeared on coins issued by other centres, including Thessaloniki during the reign of Claudius and Miletus from the time of Caracalla.⁸⁰ The countermark, unfortunately illegible, also appears on one of the Calchedon coins minted during the reign of Gordian III. In the 3rd century AD, provincial coins were very often countermarked with markings identified as denominational.⁸¹

⁷² Cf. KLOSE 2005; REMIJSEN 2011; HOSTEIN and MAIRAT 2016: 21–22.

⁷³ BAKER 1984; HOWGEGO 2005: 4–7.

⁷⁴ RPC I 1786–1787.

⁷⁵ GIC 611corr., 632.

⁷⁶ PAUNOV 2021: 240; TEVERSON 2022: 55, fn. 32.

⁷⁷ GIC 2. Cf. RPC III 1061.

⁷⁸ HOWGEGO 2005: 104.

⁷⁹ THOMPSON 1954: 18–20; MARINESCU 1996: 388–397; STANCOMB 2007: 27–28.

⁸⁰ GIC I, 3.

⁸¹ E.g. GIC 788, 821. Cf. JOHNSTON 2007; HOSTEIN and MAIRAT 2016; ZAJAĆ 2025: 381.

Attempts to characterize the cultural identity of smaller provincial centres often encounter difficulties due to the fragmentary nature of the sources. In the case of Calchedon, where archaeological research does not provide complete answers, epigraphic and numismatic sources are of particular importance. On the basis of these sources, it can be concluded that the cult of Apollo, present in the city thanks to the temple and the oracle, played an important role not only in the Hellenistic period, but also in the Roman period. The religious world of ancient peoples was very diverse, and individual deities could be worshipped both in official practices and in private cults. Many more types began to appear on coins in the 3rd century AD, emphasizing, among other things, the location of the centre, its economic importance and analogies to trends observed in other regions of northern Anatolia. In the case of Calchedon, we probably cannot speak of a complete source base in terms of numismatics. For individual periods, we only have information about single issues, of which many more were probably struck. Future research and the identification of further specimens may provide new information about the cultural identity of this once small city in Bithynia.

ABBREVIATIONS

GIC = C.J. HOWGEGO, *Greek Imperial Countermarks. Studies in the Provincial Coinage of the Roman Empire*, Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication 17, London 2005.

IK KALCHEDON = R. MERKELBACH, F.K. DÖRNER and S. ŞAHİN, *Die Inschriften von Kalchedon*, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 20, Bonn 1980.

Rec = W.H. WADDINGTON, T. REINACH and E. BABELON, *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*. Vol. I.2: *Bithynie (jusqu'à Juliopolis)*, Paris 1908.

RPC = *Roman Provincial Coinage*, online: <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/> (accessed on 19 April 2026).

SNG vA = G. KLEINER, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Deutschland. Sammlung v. Aulock*. Bd. I–III: *Pontus, Paphlagonien, Bithynien*, Berlin 1957.

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TABLE 1	Iconographic types on the coins of Calchedon during the Roman period
TABLE 2	Iconographic types on the coins of Calchedon with the portraits of empresses during the Roman period
PLATE 1	Fig. 1. Trajan (98–117), Calchedon, AE, 22 mm, 7.78 g; RPC III 1061, Rec 58 corr. © Agora Auctions Numismatic 75, 10 July 2018, lot 145 Fig. 2. Elagabalus (218–222), Calchedon, AE, 29 mm, 13.48 g; RPC VI 3504 (temp.), Rec 91–92 © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Inv. no. 18220934, photo by Dirk Sonnenwald Fig. 3. Septimius Severus (193–211), Calchedon, AE, 25 mm, 9.83 g; RPC V.2 ID 70550 © CNG EA 278, 25 April 2012, lot 198 Fig. 4. Caracalla (198–217), Calchedon, AE, 23 mm, 6.5 g; RPC V.2 ID 70543, Rec 78 © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Inv. no. 18220928, photo by Dirk Sonnenwald Fig. 5. Severus Alexander (222–235), Calchedon, AE, 24 mm, 9.2 g; RPC VI 3518 (temp.) © Hervera 1068, 25 October 2011, lot 2736
PLATE 2	Fig. 6. Septimius Severus (193–211), Calchedon, AE, 22 mm, 4.72 g; RPC V.2 ID 86323, Rec 81 var. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Inv. no. 18220929, photo by Dirk Sonnenwald Fig. 7. Caracalla (198–217), Calchedon, AE, 23.4 mm, 7.66 g; RPC V.2 ID 70547 © The Trustees of the British Museum, SNG vA 6992 Fig. 8. Hadrian (117–138), Calchedon, AE, 39.8 mm, 54.7 g; RPC III 1065, Rec 62 © Bibliothèque nationale de France, Inv. no. 391 Fig. 9. Valerian (253–260), Calchedon, AE, 22 mm, 7.82 g; RPC X ID 59941 © Bibliothèque nationale de France, Inv. no. 1972.1191 Fig. 10. Claudius (41–54), Calchedon, AE, 23 mm, 6.49 g; RPC I 1787 © CNG 135, 16 March 2006, lot 45

[illegible]

Table 1. Iconographic types on the coins of Calchedon during the Roman period

TABLE 2

	Artemis	Apollo	Elpis	Galley	Hermes	Homonoia	Lyre	Nemesis	Poppy and corn-ears	Tripod
Agrippina II	+									
Domitia									+	
Sabina										+
Faustina II						+				+
Julia Domna		+	+		+		+	+		
Julia Paula		+			+	+		+		
Julia Mamaea		+								
Tranquillina		+		+						+

Table 2. Iconographic types on the coins of Calchedon with the portraits of empresses during the Roman period



1



2



3



4



5



6



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