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COINAGE OF THE CILICIAN CITIES
AS A MIRROR OF HISTORICAL
AND CULTURAL CHANGES
(V c. BCE – III c. CE)

Abstract: In antiquity Cilicia was a small but important area. The geographical setting, between the Taurus Mountains, the Mediterranean Sea and Anatolia, and the fact that territory of Cilicia was crossed by several routes connecting Anatolia with the Mediterranean sea shore and Syria determined its strategic significance. The geography of the area held importance for its cultural development as well. The northern part of Cilicia, Cilicia Aspera, was mountainous, sparsely populated and poorly urbanized; cities were few and located mainly on the seashore. The southern part, Cilicia Pedias, was much more prosperous and intensively urbanized. Its location made it a bridge for various cultural and religious influences coming from neighboring countries, but also an object of their expansion. Both parts of Cilicia experienced governance of many powers: Achaemenid Persia, local rulers, Hellenistic kings, and the Romans. Each of them left own political and cultural imprint on the area. Effects of this cultural mixture are clearly visible in archaeological excavations and in many types of artefacts. Another type of evidence which reflects the complicated past of Cilicia is also available: numismatic evidence. There are a few Cilician cities in which coins were minted from the Achaemenid times to the Roman Empire. This paper attempts to look into the iconography of their coinage and analyze political and religious symbols and their subjects of depiction. The aim is to find out how specific powers ruling over cities influenced local traditions,

what were the remnants of those, and how they eventually evolved over time.

Keywords: Cilicia; numismatics; mints; ancient coinage

Introduction

The geographical setting of ancient Cilicia (Pl. 1) between the Mediterranean Sea and the Taurus Mountains made this small area extremely important. The territory of Cilicia was crossed by a road that was the shortest and most important land connection between the interior of Anatolia and the coast of the Mediterranean Sea as well as the Middle East, thus every regional political power sought to assure itself control over the region.

The territory of Cilicia was comprised of two geographically separate areas: the mountainous northern part, known as Cilicia Tracheia or Cilicia Aspera, and the flat southern part, Cilicia Pedias or Cilicia Campestris, divided by the River Melas (today the Manavgat). The mountainous nature of the northern part of Cilicia led to more difficult living conditions which hampered economic development, resulting in weak and non-intensive urbanization. The majority of the urban centers in the territory were small, mostly located on the Mediterranean coast, but the poor development of the coastline in this part of Cilicia meant that none of them had a safe, major port. Inland cities were located either in mountain valleys or alongside rivers. The southern part was entirely different. Its flatness and abundance of water created favorable conditions for agriculture and were conducive to urbanization. The cities in Cilicia Pedias were larger and played a greater economic role. Unlike in Cilicia Tracheia, the most important cities of Cilicia Pedias lay inland at river mouths, making them safe ports. Not only were the histories of the two parts of Cilicia different – something which depended, to varying degrees, on the rule of the local dynasties – but they also varied in cultural terms. The influences of the major civilizations took much longer to permeate the mountainous regions of Cilicia Tracheia, and were considerably more intensive in Cilicia Pedias.

Various types of sources are available to enable us to track the cultural and political changes that took place in Cilicia over time: literary, linguistic, archaeological, epigraphical and numismatic. Numismatic sources occupy an important place in reflections on the political fortunes of Cilicia and transformations of its political status, since they combine two important elements: epigraphical, in the form of the legends they bear, and iconographic,

in the guise of the images on their obverses and reverses. The issue of every coin was subject, to a lesser or greater extent, to the supervision of the issuer. The images placed on the obverses and reverses and the legends that accompany them are of an official nature, transmitting ideological, religious and cultural contents addressed to specific groups of recipients. The size of an issue depended on who the issuer was. The main recipient of coins minted by cities were the inhabitants of its territory, whereas local striking coins in city mints would aim the contents at all of their subjects. Although every coin is a historical source, interpreting and understanding them is not always an easy and straightforward task. This is reflected in an analysis of the coinage of the cities of Cilicia. In total, almost 50 city mints operated in this territory, some of which, active for several centuries, issued many hundreds of types of coins. Others, however, operated only periodically, and the results of their activity are limited to a small number of issues. In the latter case, in practice it is impossible to draw more general historical conclusions on the basis of such a modest amount of evidence. However, the coinage of cities where mints were in operation over the course of several historical epochs allows us to track the changes to which the iconography of these coins was subject and identify the factors that determined them. The functioning of city mints in the two parts of Cilicia also invites the question of whether their production in any way reflects the cultural differences between the two areas.

Numerous attempts have been made to examine the past of Cilicia from the point of view of numismatic sources. Scholars have most frequently studied the minting of individual cities in the region: autonomous issues of local rulers and Roman provincial coinage. On the other hand, only a few studies have concentrated on how coinage of Cilician cities reflects the cultural transformations resulting from the political changes experienced by the two parts of the territory over history (Capecchi 1991). This subject is an interesting one, if only because local coinage constitutes the only type of source in which every change of political rule over Cilicia was immediately confirmed. This minting began in the period of Achaemenid rule in the region, and came to an end in the second half of the 3rd century CE. Given the sheer number of numismatic sources, it is impossible to analyze them all in detail in a short study, and therefore only a general outline of the subject of the title is presented here.

The Persian period

Cilicia was within the sphere of influence of the Achaemenid state from the mid-6th century BCE until 337 BCE, when it came under the dominion of Alexander the Great. For a large part of this period it was ruled by the local dynasty, which in return for close collaboration with the Persians achieved significant autonomy. Cilicia owed this specific political order to its geographical location. Maintaining direct rule would have demanded significant administrative effort and military engagement from the Persian rulers, and by working together with a local dynasty loyal to them this burden was relieved (Desideri-Jasink 1990, 177-188). A change in Cilicia's status probably ensued at the beginning of the 4th century BCE, when, as a result of the ambiguous attitude of Syennesis, King of Cilicia, towards his rival to the throne Cyrus the Younger, King Artaxerxes decided to entrust his own satrap with administration of the region (cf. Xen.*An.*1.2,12; 1.2.21-27; cf. 1.4.4; Ctes., FGrH 688, F 16.63=Phot.Bibl.72.43b; Diod. Sic.14.20.2). This model of government survived right up until the time of Alexander the Great.

The earliest issues of coins in Cilicia appeared in the 5th century. They differ in character, and scholars therefore divide them into satrapal and city coinage (Capecchi 1991, 67). The first type was issued by the Persian satraps and the *karanoi*, another high-ranking group of officials of the Persian territorial administration (Bodzek 2014, 62-74) on which their names featured in either Greek or Aramaic or both. The satrapal issues were characterized by rich iconography (Desideri-Jasink 1990, 195-198; Capecchi 1991, 85-95; Bodzek 2011). They come from several local mints (cf. Pl. 1) operating in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE (until the time of Alexander the Great's expedition) in Issus (Pl. 2: 1), Mallus (Pl. 2: 2), Tarsus (Pl. 2: 3-5), Soli (Pl. 2: 6, 9), Nagidus (Pl. 2: 7), Celenderis (Pl. 2: 8) and Myriandros. The most common reason for the satraps to mint coins was their military expenditures: payments to Greek mercenaries and covering the costs of their military campaigns (Capecchi 1991, 86-87; Bodzek 2014, 69 and 73). Satrapal minting differs from that of the cities of Cilicia in terms of the iconography and contents of the legends on the coins. They are characterized by a certain unity of style resulting from the fact that almost the same type of images were depicted both on the obverse and the reverse. The legends of coins mostly contain the names of Persian dignitaries, and only occasionally also the name of the city in whose mint they were struck. The iconography of these coins is dominated by images connected to

the Iranian world, its religion and political symbolism, although sometimes local elements also appear in the form of images of the deities of the cities where the mints in question were located. However, these can scarcely be treated as a manifestation of local traditions, whether deliberately or otherwise. Although the presence of images of other deities can be perceived in the context of Persian religious policy, one cannot rule out another interpretation, according to which this was a sign of the progressing Hellenization of satrapal minting characteristic of the 4th century BCE (to which most of the coins with such images are dated). This is expressed in the introduction of the Greek language to the legends, as well as use of Greek iconography (Capecchi 1991, 88-95). In the 5th century, Aramaic was dominant in the legends of coins, while standard images of the religious and political Iranian iconography were the norm. Owing to the particular character and functions of satrapal minting, it mostly served the economic and propaganda needs of the Persian state, expressing the Achaemenids' rule over the two parts of Cilicia.

The situation in city coinage, serving the needs of the local market, presented itself rather differently (Capecchi 1991, 72-73). This function meant that over time, the content of legends and iconography of the images featuring on coins gained a distinct local flavor, helping to emphasize the distinctness of the individual cities and to shape the identity of their communities. Over the course of the 5th century BCE, the language used in the legends on the coins of Cilician cities gradually underwent a change from Aramaic to Greek. Since these cities lacked full autonomy at the time, the Greek legends on the coins used the genitive plural form of their names, suggesting at least a certain degree of autonomy (Capecchi 1991, 73-74). The individual nature of every city's minting is expressed in its iconography, which alludes to their histories, founding myths, pantheons of deities, and characteristic agricultural products (Capecchi 1991, 74-75). A certain number of these images are derived from local and Iranian traditions about which we do not know enough to interpret them correctly. The remainder refer to the traditions of the Greek world, with whose gods and heroes the founding myths of some cities are associated (Capecchi 1991, 74-75). Despite the progress of Hellenization of the minting of Cilician cities, it still displays elements pointing to their dependence on Persia.

The Hellenistic period

The brief rule of Alexander the Great was not reflected in the minting of the cities of Cilicia. The first city issues reappeared only after the Seleucids took control of Cilicia. The highly tempestuous history of Cilicia in the 3rd century BCE was a result of the competition for dominance over the territory between the Ptolemaic Dynasty and the Seleucids. For the rulers of both these dynasties, Cilicia was of key importance in the struggle to maintain and reinforce their influences in Anatolia and the Aegean Sea basin. The Ptolemies conquered the main coastal part of Cilicia Tracheia, while the Seleucids took control of Cilicia Pedias. The rulers of the two dynasties promoted the development of urban life in the regions under their rule both by supporting already existing cities and by founding new ones (Desideri 1991, 141-146; Tempesta 2013, 27-38). Nevertheless, none of the Cilician cities under Ptolemaic rule obtained the right to mint its own money. It was a different situation in the area governed by the Syrian rulers. A number of mints operated in their territory, which, as was the case under Achaemenid rule, struck both city and royal coins. The nature of the latter type of coinage means it is of no interest here¹. In the case of city minting, a new political situation was at play, since all the power throughout the Seleucid state belonged to the king. This meant that in order to strike their own coinage, cities first had to obtain the consent of the king, regarded as a prestigious privilege, one which only a few of the cities of Cilicia Pedias under Seleucid rule were granted² (cf. Pl. 1). The earliest city issues, dating to the rule of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, are from Adana³, Aegeae⁴, Epiphaneia⁵, Hierapolis–Castabala⁶, Issos (Alexandreia kat’Isson)⁷, Mopsus⁸, and Tarsus⁹

¹ Royal coins were struck from silver, and were characterised by their standard iconography and legends.

² Adana, Aegeae, Celenderis, Hierapolis–Castabala, Issos, Mopsus, Seleucia on the Calycadnus, Soli and Tarsus.

³ Levante 1984, 83; 85, nos. 1-7; *SNG France* 2, nos. 1838-1939.

⁴ Bloesch 1982, 55-56, nos. 9-14 and Pl. 17.11; *SNG Switzerland* 1, nos. 1630-1632; *SNG France* 2, nos. 2278-2279.

⁵ *SNG Switzerland* 1, nos. 1805-1806.

⁶ *SNG Switzerland* 1, nos. 1561-1562; *SNG Deutschland*, no. 525.

⁷ Levante 1971, 94; 96, nos. 1-7; *SNG Switzerland* 1, nos. 1831-1832; *SNG France* 2, no. 2405; *SNG Deutschland*, no. 81.

⁸ *SNG Switzerland* 1, nos. 1299-1302.

⁹ Although the obverses of this city's coins do not contain any allusions to Antiochus IV,

(Pl. 2: 10, 3: 1-2). Overall, there were few such issues, and only some of the cities in question carried out significant minting. A characteristic image used for identifying these city issues is that of the head of Tyche (or a head personifying the city) with a crown in the shape of the city walls featuring on their obverses. Sometimes, as in the case of the cities founded by Alexander the Great, the obverses also bear his head¹⁰. Their reverses usually featured the name of the issuing city, and the images of various Greek gods. Only in the case of certain cities are the images of deities on their coins more closely connected to former cults, testifying to their popularity, which sometimes exceeded the local context. This is the case of Tarsus, whose coins for many centuries regularly bore images of Sandan¹¹, whom the Greeks identified with Heracles, the legendary founder of the city, as well as the pyramid-shaped monument associated with his cult¹². According to scholars, the cult of this god had oriental origins and a history stretching far back into the past. Images of other deities also often appearing on the coins of Tarsus – Perseus¹³, Apollo Lykeios with a trident¹⁴, and Zeus¹⁵ – are, despite their Greek names and personages, closely related to the traditions of the cult of deities long venerated in the eastern part of Anatolia (Callander 1914, 63-64).

It is surprising that the minting of Cilician cities under Seleucid rule contained relatively few references to the political contexts in which these cities functioned. The exception is the issues of the aforementioned five cities of Cilicia, which were the first to receive the privilege to mint their own coins and placed a portrait of Antiochus IV Epiphanes on the obverses of their largest-denomination coins. On the issues of other cities, meanwhile, only the presence of certain iconographic elements hints at a trace of the Seleucids' authority over them (cf. Meyer 2001, 509-511). More

there are reasons to believe that Tarsus began to mint its own coins under his rule: *SNG Switzerland* 1, nos. 909-916; Meyer 2001, 508-509.

¹⁰ Cf. Aegeae: *SNG Deutschland*, no. 53; Issos (Alexandria kat'Isson): *SNG Switzerland* 1, nos. 1834-1939; *SNG Deutschland*, no. 81; Hierapolis – Castabala: *SNG France* 2, nos. 1307-1343, 1433-1434, 1451. Cf. also below note 62.

¹¹ Cf. *SNG France* 2, nos. 1295-1353, 1407-1408, 1432.

¹² Cf. *SNG Switzerland* 1, nos. 910-912, 925-970; *SNG France* 2, nos. 2226-2227.

¹³ Perseus was the mythological founder of Tarsus: *SNG France* 2, nos. 1410-1411, 1437-1441, 1478, 1539, 1573-1574, 1611, 1614, 1627, 1637, 1644, 1710, 1716-1717, 1757-1758, 1767, 1789-1790, 1809.

¹⁴ Cf. *SNG France* 2, nos. 1454, 1540, 1559, 1575-1576, 1590-1591, 1623-1624, 1777.

¹⁵ Cf. *SNG France* 2, nos. 1277-1278, 1285-1294, 1354-1387, 1389, 1424-1431, 1449-1450, 1554, 1569, 1817-1818.

meaningful evidence of the attitude of city authorities towards the rulers of Syria is their practice of changing the cities' traditional names to dynastic ones (Meyer 2001, 506-507). Apart from the few cases known to us, it is hard to find in the iconography explicit references to local traditions from the period preceding the emergence of a Greek population in the region. These are all concealed beneath a Hellenized veil. Without narrative sources, we are unable to determine to what extent and in what form these former traditions were preserved and endured in Hellenistic times. The fact of their operation in the new guise demonstrates solely that, as the Greeks did everywhere they appeared, in Cilicia they too had no difficulty with adapting the local cults to their own religious needs (cf. Meyer 2001, 511).

The Roman period

Cilicia's inclusion under the Roman sphere of influence took place in the late 2nd century BCE, but part of the region gained its status as a province only in 64 BCE. Cilicia's history as a Roman province is too complicated to receive any more attention here. It suffices to note that both parts of Cilicia came under one administrative structure only under Vespasian's rule (Suet. *Vesp.* 8.4)¹⁶. One of the significant aspects of Roman policy within Cilicia was the formation either of vassal mini-states governed by rulers of local origin, or subordination of some of its regions to vassal kings whose capitals lay far outside the borders of Cilicia. This practice was initiated by Caesar and continued by Mark Antony, Augustus and his successors. The decisions of Mark Antony proved to have particularly long-lasting effects, since they were mostly confirmed by Augustus. As a result, control over part of Cilicia Tracheia was assumed by the Teucrids, a priestly dynasty entrusted with hereditary custody of the sanctuary of Olba (cf. Strabo 14.5.10; Gotter 2001, 297-301; Trampedach 2001, 269-276). Only Ajax, the last of them, minted coins in his own name, of which several series are known¹⁷ (Pl. 3: 4). With the exception of three of them – two from the time of Augustus¹⁸ and one

¹⁶ On Rome's policy towards Cilicia, see Gotter 2001; Wesch-Klein 2008, 284-290; Rosamilia 2015, 209-210.

¹⁷ Hill 1900, 119-120, nos. 2-6; *SNG France* 2, nos. 798-913; *RPC I*, nos. 3725-3726, 3728-3730, 3732-3734; *SNG Deutschland*, nos. 982-985, 989-995, 997.

¹⁸ Hill 1900, 120-121, nos. 7-11; *SNG Switzerland* 1, nos. 635-636; *SNG France* 2, nos. 814-819; *RPC I*, no. 3724 (with the date year 1 = ca. 10/11 CE.); *SNG France* 2, nos. 820-822; *RPC I*, no. 3727; *SNG Deutschland*, nos. 986-988 (with the date year 2 = c. 11/12 CE).

from the period of Tiberius' rule¹⁹ – bearing the portraits of these emperors as well as an accompanying legend on the obverse, all the rest feature the head of Ajax stylized as Hermes as well as a legend (on certain series, one part of this is on the obverse, and the other on the reverse) containing his name as well as the full titulature of his functions. The most popular types of reverses include an image of a triskele and a cluster of lightning bolts. This second type of reverse, as well as another with an image of a throne also appears in the coinage of M. Antonius Polemo II, made King of Olba on the wishes of Emperor Tiberius after Ajax's death. The obverses of the coins he had minted display his head and a legend containing his name²⁰.

It was also to Mark Antony that the Tarcondimotids, a local dynasty who governed from c. 64 BCE to 17 CE, owed their rule over part of Cilicia Pedias (Cic.*Fam.* 15.1.2; Strabo 14.5.18; Tac.*Ann.* 2.42; Cass. Dio. 41.63.1; Flor. 2.13.5)²¹. The capital of their dominion was first Hierapolis-Castabala, and later Anazarbus²². In the Tarcondimotids' coinage, the obverses of all the series of their Anazarbus' coins feature only the head of Zeus, while on the reverses, apart from the name ANAZAPBEΩN, the figure of a sitting Zeus Nikephoros (Ziegler 1993, 218-219; Wright 2009, 75, 79-80). (Pl. 3: 3), Tyche (Ziegler 1993, 217), and an image of a plough (Ziegler 1993, 217, no. 1; 218, no. 5) can usually be seen. The only allusion to this dynasty's rule over Anazarbus is probably concealed in the monograms TAP (= *Ταρκονδιμοτου*) and ΦΙΛΟΠ (= *Φιλοπατορου*) on the coins (Ziegler 1993, 219; Wright 2009, 76-77).

Certain areas of Cilicia Tracheia first fell within the borders of the Commagene Kingdom, ruled by Antiochus IV Epiphanes, during Caligula's rule. The subsequent changes to the borders of his dominion in Cilicia took place in 41 CE. This king's rule in Cilicia lasted until 72 CE, when he was removed from the throne by Vespasian and his kingdom was annexed

¹⁹ Hill 1900, 122-123, nos. 12-17; *SNG* Switzerland 1, nos. 640-643; *SNG* France 2, nos. 834-838; *RPC* I, no. 3731; *SNG* Deutschland, no. 996 (with the date year 5 = c. 15/16 CE).

²⁰ Hill 1900, 123-124, nos. 18-20; *SNG* Switzerland 1, nos. 640-643; *SNG* France 2, nos. 834-838; *RPC* I, nos. 3735-3739. Cf. Gotter 2001, 301-302.

²¹ cf. *SNG* Switzerland 1, nos. 1257-1258; *SNG* France 2, nos. 1913-1916. Regarding the history of this dynasty and state, see Sayar 2001, 373-378; Tobin 2001, 381-385; Wesch-Klein 2008, 287-288 and note 282; Wright 2012, 69-86.

²² The significant role of these two cities in the Tarcondimotids state is suggested by the presence of several inscriptions found in them dedicated to the members of the dynasty: Sayar 2003, 376-377; Wright 2009, 74-80; 2012, 84-86, no. 1-4, 6-10.

by Rome²³. From the time of his reign in Cilicia, we know of a number of issues with his name (and that of his wife Jotape) struck in Anemurium²⁴ (Pl. 3: 6), Celenderis²⁵, Corycus²⁶, Eirenopolis, Elaeusa–Sebaste²⁷, and Selinus²⁸ (Pl. 3: 5), as well as for Cietis and Lacanatis²⁹. There were also several issues of Selinus on which the names of his sons appear³⁰. The iconography of the coins of Antiochus IV (with the exception of those with his sons' names) is almost identical for all the issues. The obverse usually features the ruler's head crowned with a diadem as well as a legend with his name and royal title: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΣ. On the reverses is an image of Greek deities and the name of the issuing city. On the reverses of the coins on whose obverses only the name and portrait of his wife Jotape appears, the queen is depicted in a sitting position holding a *patera* and a scepter. The obverses of all these issues were used to exhibit the political position of the ruler and his wife, while the fact that these coins were struck in many mints indicates that they were intended to promote his suzerainty over the area under his control³¹. There is no local flavor at

²³ The circumstances surrounding this event are known mostly from Josephus (*BJ* 7.219-243). See also *ILS* 9200.

²⁴ Antiochus IV: *SNG* Switzerland 1, no. 483; *RPC* I, nos. 3704-3705, 3707-3708; Antiochus IV and Jotape: *SNG* Switzerland 1, nos. 484-485; *RPC* I, no. 3706; Jotape: *RPC* S, no. 3704A.

²⁵ *SNG* Switzerland 1, nos. 540-544; *RPC* I, nos. 3709-3710; *SNG* Deutschland, no. 729.

²⁶ Antiochus IV: *SNG* Switzerland 1, no. 805; *RPC* I, no. 3712; Antiochus IV and Jotape: *RPC* S 3712A; Jotape: *SNG* Switzerland 1, no. 806; *RPC* I, no. 3713.

²⁷ Antiochus IV: *SNG* Switzerland 1, no. 842; *RPC* I, nos. 3721-3722; Antiochus IV and Jotape: *SNG* Switzerland 1, no. 843; *RPC* I, nos. 3717-3720.

²⁸ Levante 1990, 227; 228-229, nos. 1-18. Antiochus IV: *SNG* Switzerland 1, no. 456; *RPC* I, no. 3701; *RPC* S 3712A; *SNG* Deutschland, no. 1091; Jotape: *SNG* Switzerland 1, nos. 457-458; *RPC* I, no. 3702; *SNG* Deutschland, nos. 1092-106.

²⁹ Antiochus IV: *SNG* Switzerland 1, nos. 561, 565-566; Jotape: *SNG* Switzerland 1, no. 567; *RPC* I, no. 3703.

³⁰ All these issues come from the mint in Selinus: Levante 1990, 229, nos. 19-22; *SNG* Switzerland 1, nos. 568-571; *SNG* Deutschland, nos. 1097-1098; *RPC* S 3702A. On one of the series of coins struck in Selinus as well as for Cietis and Lacanatis containing the names of the sons of Aniochus IV, they are depicted as the Dioscuri, cf. Wroth 1899, 111, no. 9; *SNG* Switzerland 1, no. 571. Unique is the issue with the name of the grandson of Antiochus IV, Philioappas: Levante 1990, 229, no. 23; *RPC* S 3702B.

³¹ The inscription with his name found several years ago in Elaeusa–Sebaste demonstrates that his rule in Cilicia left material traces behind. Evidence of these is in the remains of the imposing building he erected, the shape and function of which it is impossible to ascertain today: Borgia 2013, 87-95.

all to speak of on the reverses of the coins with images of the members of the royal family. However, their iconography is not significantly different from that known from the coins of Cilician cities in the Hellenistic period. The list of vassal rulers to whom Rome entrusted rule over the various regions of Cilicia is much longer, but only in the cases of those mentioned above do we know that they minted coins with their own portraits and own names in several cities of Cilicia³².

The establishment of the Principate as a new form of government led both Augustus and his successors to devote considerably more attention to the place and role of the vassal states in Rome's policy. Striving to defend the eastern border of the Roman Empire more effectively, the emperors gradually began to abandon the system of client states in Anatolia and the Middle East, removing their rulers and annexing the territories belonging to them. One result of this policy came in 72 CE, when Vespasian established a province of Cilicia containing all the remains previously belonging to various vassal rulers.

The period of Augustus' rule ushered in a new phase in the development of minting in the cities of Cilicia, although until 72 CE only some of them were under the administration of the Roman officials. As was the case under the reign of the Seleucids, the authorities of individual cities had to request permission from the Roman administration to mint their own coins. The favorable attitude of the Roman authorities meant that in the second half of the 1st century CE there were some 17 city mints in Roman Cilicia³³ (cf. Pl. 1, Pl. 3: 7-8). Six of them began operation after 72 CE in the cities incorporated into Cilicia Tracheia³⁴. The map of city mints in Cilicia in

³² We know of two types of coins from Elaeusa–Sebaste from the period when this city was subject to the rule of Archelaus, King of Cappadocia (cf. *RPC* I, nos. 3714-3715), but these do not contain any allusions to his suzerainty in the iconography either on the obverse or the reverse.

³³ These were Pompeiopolis, Tarsus, Augusta, Mallus, Mopsus, Anazarbus, Flaviopolis, Irenopolis, Aegeae, Hierapolis and Epiphaneia. The mint in Tarsus began to operate during Augustus' rule, albeit only striking silver coinage on behalf of the emperor, as it also did when Domitian was in power; cf. *RPC* II, pp. 252-253. The attribution to this mint of issues of bronze coins in the 1st century CE is a matter of debate; cf. *RPC* II, p. 253. From the time of the rule of Tiberius, we know of the first issues of Augusta, Mallus, Mopsus, and Epiphaneia, and from the rule of other emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty and Flavius Pompeiopolis we know of Anazarbus, Flaviopolis, Irenopolis, Hierapolis–Castabala. The activity of some of these mints during the 1st century CE was confined to a few issues. They became considerably more active only starting with the rule of Domitian; see *RPC* II, pp. 247-260.

³⁴ Anemurium, Celenderis, Coropissus, Diocaesarea, Olbia, and Titopolis.

the 2nd century and first half of the 3rd century CE confirms that following the establishment of the province of Cilicia, the development of city minting became even more dynamic. This is illustrated not only by the long list of mints active at the time, but also by the large number of series of coins struck by the various cities. It is not hard to account for this phenomenon. Owing to its geographical location and the frequent changes to the military situation in Syria and Mesopotamia, Cilicia became a province through which numerous units of the Roman army often travelled either on their way towards or returning from the front line of battles with the Parthians. The emperors would frequently accompany these detachments themselves. As a result, there was a need for local coinage favoring the development of the cities of Cilicia, both those located along the soldiers' marching routes and those on the coast, through whose ports supplies were delivered to the army.

The city coinage of Cilicia during the imperial period was typical of the practice in cities throughout the Roman Empire. Throughout the period of this type of minting, from Augustus' time to the second half of the 3rd century CE, the obverses of city coins take a standard iconography: a portrait of the ruling emperor along with a legend containing his name and titulature. Apart from the emperor's image, the obverses of coins also feature portraits of his wife or other members of the ruler's family, complete with appropriate legends. There is no doubt that the inclusion of the images of emperors on city coins indicated their rule over the whole empire. The use of images of members of the imperial family, meanwhile, can be regarded as a manifestation of dynastical propaganda. Compared to the Hellenistic period, the iconography of the reverses of city coinage contains an unprecedented abundance of content. Without any doubt, this can be attributed not only to the lengthy activity of individual mints and the intensiveness of their production, but also the political realities of the times in which they functioned. An excellent example illustrating this problem is the coinage of Anazarbus³⁵. Thanks to the studies of Ruprecht Ziegler, this is today well-known and well-described. The iconography of the reverses of this city's coins can be divided into a series of thematic groups³⁶. These are dominated by those associated with the religious sphere: images of numerous Greek deities with their various attributes. An important place is also occupied by reverses featuring the figures of emperors and

³⁵ An other example is the coinage of Aegeae catalogued and elaborated recently by F. Haymann (2014).

³⁶ See Ziegler 1993, 372-374 (*Die Anazarbischen Münztypen - Reverse*).

symbolism related to their military activity, as well as those referring to Roman Empire symbolism in the broadest terms. The next group of reverses is those containing content and images devoted to the urban Tyche, the city authorities, its administrative status, public and sacral buildings, honors and privileges received from emperors, sporting games organized there, etc. This group of reverses also includes those types depicting characteristic elements of local topography (cf. Tekin 2001, 527-530 and 537-540). The coins of many cities of Cilicia also feature symbolism related to the rivers on which these cities lay (Tekin 2001, 519-546). Reverses commonly had symbols associated with a local deity popular among residents and boasting a long tradition of a cult³⁷, or paid homage to the cities' mythological³⁸ or historical³⁹ founders.

³⁷ A specific example is the popularity of the cult of the god Sandan (identified with Heracles) in Tarsus. The image of this deity and the iconography associated with him is present on the coins of this city from Persian times right up to the mid-3rd century CE; cf. *RPC* IX, nos. 1382, 1385, 1387; see also above notes 24-25. Particularly numerous are issues with his image in the period from Hadrian (when Tarsus began issuing city coinage) to Decius. Another, similar example is provided by the minting of Selinus; on the reverses of these coins, from Trajan until Decius, there often appeared "two veiled female divinities stg. on basis, r. hand on breast, holding ear of corn and poppy-flower": Levante 1990, 229-233, nos. 24-29, 35, 37-39, 47-50, 64, 68, 70-71, 75, 83. Undoubtedly, these were deities who enjoyed considerable popularity among the local community, although their names are the subject of speculation; cf. Levante 1990, 227.

³⁸ An example might be one of the coins of Adana from the imperial period, which features an image of Adanos, the city's mythological founder: Levante 1984, 89, no. 160 (= *SNG* Switzerland 1, no. 1224). Amphilochoi, the legendary founder of Mallos, was many times depicted on the coins of this city: *SNG* Switzerland 1, nos. 1273, 1279, 1288, 1291-1294, 1298; *SNG* France 2, nos. 1927, 1929, 1931-1936; *SNG* Deutschland, nos. 907, 911.

³⁹ Aegeae (*SNG* Switzerland 1, nos. 1691-1692, 1747, 1750, 1752, 1788, 1791; *SNG* France 2, nos. 2315, 2326, 2347-2350, 2380, 2387; *SNG* Deutschland, no. 55; Haymann 2014, 287, no. 1; 290 - 91, n. 9a - b; 301, no. 36, 39a - b; 317-18, no. 98; 323, no. 121; 326-27, no. 139; 328, no. 144; 355, no. 232; 360, no. 252; cf. also Haymann 2014, 17 - 24), Hierapolis - Castabala (*SNG* France 2, nos. 2226-2227) and Issos (*SNG* Switzerland 1, nos. 1834-1839, 1841-1842, 1844-1845; *SNG* France 2, no. 2418) boasted Alexander the Great as their founder. In the coinage of Issos, the image of Alexander as Heracles was frequently included on the obverses of coins both in the Hellenistic period (Levante 1971, 96-98, nos. 11-58; *SNG* Switzerland 1, nos. 1834-1939) and Roman (Levante 1971, 98, no. 59; 99, nos. 62-63; cf. 99, nos. 64-70 (Obv. Alexander diademed); *SNG* Switzerland 1, nos. 1841-1842, 1847, 1851; *SNG* Deutschland, no. 83), until he was dislodged by the portraits of emperors. Aegeae paid homage to Julius Caesar, its second founder, with the same coin with which it honoured Alexander (*SNG* Switzerland 1, nos. 1691-1692; Haymann 2014, 287, no. 1; 290, no. 9a - b; see also Haymann 2014, 39 - 40). Soli, meanwhile, commemorated Pompey as its founder: *SNG* Switzerland 1, nos. 875-884; *SNG* France 2, nos. 1212-1217, 1223-1225, 1231-1232; *SNG* Deutschland, nos. 1126-1127.

Owing to the enormous diversity of types of reverses, it is impossible to classify and analyze them all systematically here. In fact, this would be a difficult challenge without detailed studies on each of the mints, which would be unnecessary for the subject in hand. Regardless of the iconography of the various types of reverses, we can say that most of them, excluding those of a religious theme, refer exclusively to contemporary events and social practices characteristic of the lives of the provincial cities in the imperial period. As a result, the minting of the cities of Cilicia indeed reflects the cultural transformations of the time, in which the process of Romanization was clearly visible.

Conclusion

The general nature of coinage of the cities of Cilicia in various historical periods – from its appearance until its decline – leads to rather obvious conclusions. There is no doubt that each of these eras left a lasting mark in the region. The obverses of coins retained the images and names of the rulers in power over Cilicia, thus allowing us to assess, with varying degrees of precision, the duration and scope of their rule. On their reverses, meanwhile, a picture of the religious traditions and political and social life of each city striking its own coinage was immortalized. This picture, although fragmentary, is an extremely interesting one. With regard to the Persian and Hellenistic periods, it is rather schematic and lacking in details. However, it does have the extremely valuable attribute of demonstrating the continuing process of the Hellenization of Cilicia. In the Persian era, the iconography of reverses contains allusions to local, pre-Greek religious traditions, concealed under a Greek costume. In the iconography of the reverses of the Hellenistic period, it is hard to discern such allusions. Under Roman rule, memory of the distant past is treated selectively. The subject matter and iconography of the reverses from this period mostly concern the present day, and are a record of the cultural changes taking place in Cilicia under Roman rule. In the iconography of the reverses of coins minted in the cities of Cilicia Tracheia and Cilicia Pedias, there are no major ideological differences, even when each of these territories was ruled over by different centres of power.

The question remains: how accurate is the picture of cultural changes painted by the reverses of the coins of Cilicia? This question is legitimate because archaeological evidence gives an impression of these transformations starkly different from that suggested by numismatic sources. Analysis of various types of material relics leaves no doubt that in the sphere

of material culture and artistic traditions these changes were considerably slower. Many changes survived several historical eras, and the shifts that occurred over time were more superficial than one might suspect.⁴⁰ Which picture is correct? Both are, but they differ in their nature. The story told by numismatic sources is the official one, in accordance with the issuer's interests and point of view. The coins they struck were a propaganda tool and sign of the loyalty manifested in acceptance of the system of values promoted by the ruler under whose authority they fell. It is evident, however, that this picture is only one of the possible ways of perceiving political and cultural phenomena that took place in Cilicia over time. An undoubted virtue of this view is that the elements forming it are easy to interpret, classify and assign to one of the known models. Meanwhile, the picture of cultural phenomena that emerges from archaeological evidence shows different details and permits us to follow the evolution of cultural phenomena over a long historical perspective. The artistic traditions and ideological contents contained in artefacts differ considerably depending on the region of Cilicia from which they come. They also demonstrate that the sphere of individual practices and customs of the inhabitants of this region strongly resisted external cultural models by cultivating the old local traditions preserved for generations.

The coinage of the cities of Cilicia certainly holds up a mirror to the political and cultural changes this territory faced over time, yet it only depicts those which it served to disseminate.

⁴⁰ Cf. Er 1991, 105-140, esp. 128-130; Lafli 2017, esp. 173-175.

Abbreviations:

- RPC I** – A. Burnett, M. Amandry, P. P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. I: *From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC – AD 69)*; Part 1: *Introduction and Catalogue*, London- Paris 1992.
- RPC II** – A. Burnett, M. Amandry, I. Carradice, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. II: *From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69–96)*; Part 1: *Introduction and Catalogue*, London-Paris 1999.
- RPC III** – M. Amandry, A. Burnett et al., *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. III: *Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian (AD 69-138)*, Part 1: *Catalogue*, London-Paris 2015.
- RPC IX** – A. Hostein, J. Mairat, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. IX: *Trajan Decius to Uranius Antoninus (AD 245– 254)*, London-Paris 2016
- RPC S** – P. P. Ripollès, A. Burnett, M. Amandry, I. Carradice, M. Spoeri Butcher, *Roman Provincial Coinage. Consolidated Supplements I–III (1992-2015)* http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/supp/rpc_cons_supp_1-3/pdf
- SNG Deutschland** – *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Deutschland: Pfälzer Privatsammlungen*. Bd. 6: *Isaurien und Kilikien*, München 2001.
- SNG France 2** – *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: France 2: Cabinet des Médailles. Cilicie*, Paris – Zürich 1993.
- SNG Switzerland 1** – *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Switzerland 1: Levante – Cilicia*, Berne 1986.

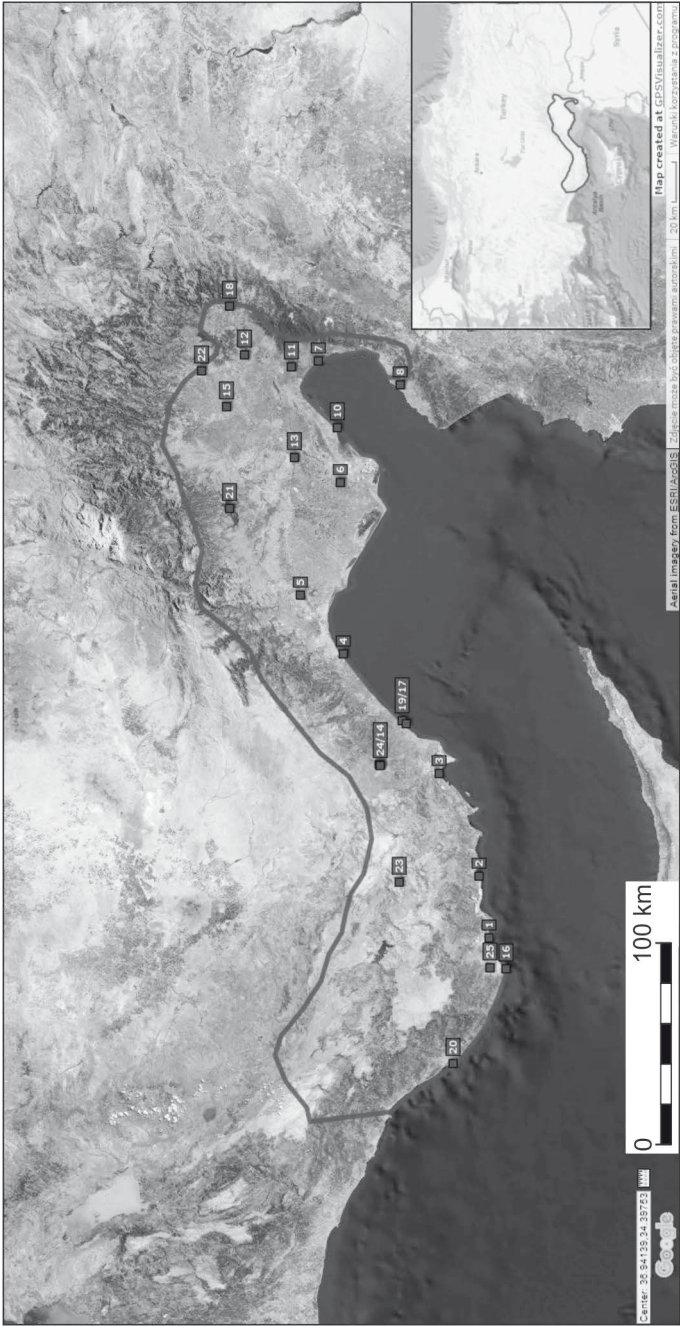
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Pl. 1 – Cilicia in the times of Trajan (early 2nd century CE) with marked mints mentioned in the text. 1. Nagidos, 2. Celenderis, 3. Holmoi, 4. Soloi-Pompeiopolis, 5. Tarsus, 6. Mallos, 7. Issos, 8. Myriandros, 9. Adana, 10. Aegeae, 11. Epiphaneia, 12. Castabala, 13. Mopsus, 14. Olba, 15. Anazarbus, 16. Anemurium, 17. Corycus, 18. Eirenopolis, 19. Elaeusa-Sebaste, 20. Selinus, 21. Augusta, 22. Flaviopolis, 23. Coropissus, 24. Diocaesarea, 25. Titiopolis. Map created at gpsvisualizer.com with the use of Google Maps and ESRI/ArcGIS.



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- Pl. 2: 1 – CILICIA, Issos. *Tiribazos*. Satrap of Lydia, 388-380 BC. AR Stater, © CNG <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=369181>
- Pl. 2: 2 – CILICIA, Mallos. *Tiribazos*. Satrap of Lydia, 388-380 BC. AR Stater, © CNG <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=343116>
- Pl. 2: 3 – CILICIA, Tarsos. *Tarkumuwa (Datames)*. Satrap of Cilicia and Cappadocia, 384-361/0 BC. AR Stater, © CNG <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=110027>
- Pl. 2: 4 – CILICIA, Tarsos. *Pharnabazos*. Persian military commander, 380-374/3 BC. AR Stater, © CNG <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=106193>
- Pl. 2: 5 – CILICIA, Tarsos. *Mazaïos*. Satrap of Cilicia, 361/0-334 BC. AR Stater, © CNG <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=207517>
- Pl. 2: 6 – CILICIA, Soloi. *Balakros*. Satrap of Cilicia, 333-323 BC. AR Stater, © CNG <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=389635>
- Pl. 2: 7 – CILICIA, Nagidos. Circa 400-385/4 BC. AR Stater, © CNG <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=200627#>
- Pl. 2: 8 – CILICIA, Kelenderis. Circa 410-375 BC. AR Stater, © CNG <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=389632>
- Pl. 2: 9 – CILICIA, Soloi. Circa 410-375 BC. AR Stater, © CNG <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=335181>
- Pl. 2: 10 – CILICIA, Tarsos. 164-27 BC. AR Drachm, © CNG <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=225829>



0 5 cm



- Pl. 3: 1 – CILICIA, Tarsos. 164-27 BC. Æ, © CNG <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=287731>
- Pl. 3: 2 – CILICIA, Tarsos. 164-27 BC. Æ, © CNG <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=275608>
- Pl. 3: 3 – CILICIA, Anazarbos. *Tarkondimotos I Philantonios.*, circa 39-31 BC. Æ, © CNG <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=302209>
- Pl. 3: 4 – CILICIA, Olba. *Ajax*. High Priest, AD 10-15. Æ; © CNG <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=157531>
- Pl. 3: 5 – KINGS of COMMAGENE. Iotape. AD 38-72. Æ, Selinos, © CNG <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=157535>
- Pl. 3: 6 – KINGS of COMMAGENE. Antiochos IV Epiphanes, with Iotape. AD 38-72. Æ Dichalkon. Anemurion, © CNG <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=350969#>
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- Pl. 3: 8 – CILICIA, Tarsus. *Hadrian*. AD 117-138. AR Tridrachm, © CNG <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=371683#>