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MARTIN HALLMANNSECKER

The Ionian Koinon and the Koinon of the 13 Cities at Sardis

The publication of the second volume of Greek and Latin inscriptions from Sardis by GEORG PETZL in 2019 has yielded further testimonies for a Koinon of the 13 Cities in western Asia Minor during the Imperial period, which is generally identified with the Ionian Koinon with its traditional 13 member cities. In this paper, I wish to challenge this identification and – after providing a brief overview of the history of the Ionian Koinon – examine the testimonies for the Koinon of the 13 Cities at Sardis in their entirety for the first time to offer a new interpretation for the nature and history of this koinon.

I. The Ionian Koinon: A brief overview

Due to its longstanding tradition spanning almost 1,000 years, the Ionian Koinon has been labelled by PETER HERRMANN «eine(r) der langlebigsten Organisationen der griechischen Geschichte, [...] als solche vielleicht nur den Olympischen Spielen der Antike vergleichbar».¹ The first explicit mention of the koinon can be found in Herodotus in a discussion of events of the mid 6th c. BC.² The latest extant testimony

I would like to thank ANGELOS CHANIOTIS, VOLKER HEUCHERT, CHRISTOPHER P. JONES, GEORG PETZL, PETER THONEMANN, and the anonymous reviewer as well as the audiences of the Papyrologisch-epigraphische Werkstatt at the University of Vienna, the Epigraphy Workshop at the University of Oxford, and the Ancient History Seminar at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton for their helpful comments and criticism. My warmest thanks go further to ANGELOS CHANIOTIS who gave me the opportunity to finalise this paper during my stay at the IAS in January/February 2020. PETER THONEMANN first introduced me to the Koinon of the 13 Cities. SUPRATIK BARALAY, ELIZABETH FOLEY, and FELIPE SOZA from the Epigraphic Jamboree have been a constant source of inspiration and support, not only for this paper.

¹ HERRMANN 2002, 223f., who provides the only study of the Ionian Koinon in the Roman Imperial period. The bibliography on the pre-Roman Ionian Koinon is vast, the most recent overview can be found in LEFÈVRE 2019.

² Hdt. 1. 141 (under the threat of Cyrus I the Ionians assemble in the Panionion and resolve to ask Sparta for help), 1. 170 (Thales of Miletos and Bias of Priene give advice to the Ionians gathered in the Panionion). For discussions of the archaeological evidence of the Archaic period, see KLEINER – HOMMEL – MÜLLER-WIENER 1967; LOHMANN 2005 and 2017; HERDA 2006.



Fig. 1: RPC IX 600.1; reverse: the 13 delegates of the Ionian cities sacrificing in front of the temple of Apollo Klarios.

is a wonderful series of bronze coins from Kolophon under Trebonianus Gallus and Valerian from the mid 3rd c. AD (Fig. 1).³

On the reverse, these coins show 13 figures assisting at a sacrifice in front of the temple of Apollo Klarios and they are identified unambiguously by an inscription as the Ionian Koinon with its 13 traditional members Miletos, Myous⁴, Priene, Samos, Ephesos, Kolophon, Lebedos, Teos, Chios, Erythrai, Klazomenai, Smyrna, and Phokaia. The relevant literary testimonies consistently highlight the fact that the koinon initially consisted of 12 members and that Smyrna, originally an Aeolic settlement, was admitted only later on.⁵ The first secure testimony for Smyrna as a member and for the koinon as a league of 13 cities is an honorific inscription from Smyrna issued by the Ionian Koinon for the Milesian citizen Hippostratos son of Hippodemos from 289/288 BC, where the koinon is called Ἰώνων τὸ κοινὸν τῶν τρεῖςκαίδεκα πόλεων (the Koinon of the Ionians of the 13 cities).⁶ Two further copies of the same text survive from Miletos and Chios,⁷ interestingly without the explicit reference to the number of members. Thus, the inclusion of this in the text at Smyrna is most plausibly to be ascribed to the Smyrnaeans' pride in being admitted to the koinon as 13th member.

³ Trebonianus Gallus: RPC IX 600, 13 specimens currently documented, average diameter 34mm; Valerian: BMC IONIA 45 n. 60 with pl. VIII n. 16. The coinage of Kolophon of the mid 3rd c. AD is discussed by HOSTEIN – MAIRAT 2019, esp. 366–369 on the coins of the Ionian Koinon. Whenever I quote the numbers of documented specimens of coins, they are taken from RPC ONLINE, which is constantly updated.

⁴ The discrepancy arising between the abandoning of Myous and its incorporation into Miletos in the Hellenistic period (on which see MACKIL 2004, 494–497 and GÜNTHER 2009, 173–177) and the continued use of the number 13 in the title of the Ionian Koinon has not been resolved satisfactorily; LEFÈVRE 2019, 370f.

⁵ 12 cities: Hdt. 1. 142; 7. 95; Strab. 14. 1. 3; Ail. var. 8. 5; IG XII 5, 444 l. 27; Vell. 1. 4; Suda s.v. Ἰωνία. On Smyrna's subsequent addition: Strab. 14. 1. 4; Paus. 7. 5. 1; Vittr. 4. 1. 4; LEFÈVRE 2019, 367.

⁶ I.Smyrna 577 ll. 1–2.

⁷ Milet I 2, 10; SEG 35, 926 and 56, 999 (Chios).

The only other attestations mentioning the number 13 in the title of the Ionian Koinon are three inscriptions from the Imperial period, where it is called [τοῦ τρισκα]ιδεκαπολειτικοῦ τῶν Ἰώνων | [κοινοῦ],⁸ τῆς τρισκαίδε[καπό]λιδος τῶν Ἰώνων,⁹ and τῆς τρισκαίδε[από]λεως Ἰωνίας.¹⁰ The majority of the extant testimonies simply speak of the «Koinon of the Ionians/of Ionia» without mentioning the number of members.

In the Classical period most of the attestations for the Ionian Koinon refer to the festival of the Panionia; in the Hellenistic period the koinon also engaged in ruler worship: we know of koinon festivals in honour of Alexander the Great and of Antiochos I as well as honorific measures by the koinon for Eumenes II and for Nikomedes II Epiphanes of Bithynia and his priest.¹¹ In the Roman period the testimonies consist primarily of mentions of koinon offices in honorific inscriptions mostly issued by one of its member cities.¹² Attested koinon offices are: βασιλεύς/βασίλισσα, which in pre-Roman times was the title for the delegates from the member cities to the Panionia, but in the Imperial period seems to have been a proper koinon office with cultic responsibilities;¹³ ἀρχιερεύς/ἀρχιέρεια, which was most likely created under Augustus modelled on the provincial ἀρχιερατεία;¹⁴ ἀγωνοθέτης, which is only attested in the Imperial period;¹⁵ ἱερεύς, which appears to be a late development as it is attested in the 3rd c. AD only – if it is not a mere abbreviation for ἀρχιερεύς.¹⁶ From the Roman Imperial period, we only have two fragmentary koinon decrees, both from Miletos,¹⁷ but we can conjecture the existence of further decrees on the basis of two inscriptions

⁸ SEG 15, 532 ll. 7–8, Chios, 1st c. AD.

⁹ I.Didyma 356 ll. 6–8, AD 129.

¹⁰ IG XII 6, 1, 326 ll. 7–8, Samos, 3rd c. AD.

¹¹ LEFÈVRE 2019, 359–365 gives a good historical overview. Alexandria: Strab. 14. 1. 31; I.Erythrai 504 (268–262 BC), 30 (ca. 260 BC), 87 (3rd/2nd c. BC), and probably 89A (Augustan); SEG 46, 422 ll. 8–10 (Messene, second half of the 2nd/first half of the 1st c. BC). Festival for Antiochos I: I.Erythrai 504, 268–262 BC. Eumenes II: Milet VI 1, 306 (167/166 BC). Nikomedes II Epiphanes: I.Priene² 43 (before 128/127 BC).

¹² HERRMANN 2002 provides all of the evidence, to which can now be added a statue base from Klaros from 63 BC (SEG 60, 1247) and an honorific inscription from Ephesos from the 1st c. AD (ENGELMANN 2000, 86 n. 19).

¹³ MOMIGLIANO 1934; HERRMANN 2002, 232–235; LEFÈVRE 2019, 373–375.

¹⁴ HERRMANN 1994 and 2002, 235–239.

¹⁵ I.Didyma 339 ll. 12–14, 1st c. AD; I.Didyma 252, 3rd c. AD. Games during a koinon festival are first attested in the late Hellenistic period: SEG 46, 422 ll. 8–10: Ἀλεξάνδρεια τὰ ἐν | [Σμ]ύρνηι τὰ συντελούμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ Κοινοῦ τῶν | [Ἰών]ων («the Alexandria, which are celebrated in Smyrna by the Koinon of the Ionians»; second half of the 2nd/first half of the 1st c. BC, victory list from Messene).

¹⁶ I.Erythrai 64 l. 9, 3rd c. AD; RPC IX 600 from Kolophon, AD 251–253.

¹⁷ Milet I 3, 120, 1st c. BC or later; Milet VI 3, 1045, Augustan, most likely an honorific decree for C. Iulius Epikrates.

from Ephesos,¹⁸ a dedication to Tiberius from Priene,¹⁹ as well as a passage from Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*.²⁰ It is thus clear that the Ionian Koinon continued its assemblies in Roman times in order to celebrate the festivals of the Panionia as well as the Alexandria, and it is further very likely that the koinon also engaged in imperial cult.

II. The Koinon of the 13 Cities at Sardis

In the light of this remarkable continuity, it is understandable that scholars have ascribed the mention of two ἀρχιερείς of the Koinon of the 13 Cities from Sardis dating to the Antonine period unanimously to the Ionian Koinon as well.²¹ The first of them is M. Claudius Fronto, who is attested as πρῶτος στρατηγός of the city on civic coins,²² and as ἀρχιερεύς of the 13 Cities and ἀσιάρχης on a series of bronze coins from the early reign of Antoninus Pius (AD 141–144).²³ These coins are marked explicitly as issues of the Koinon of the 13 Cities bearing on the reverse the inscription ΠΡΟΝΟΗ(ΘΕΝΤΟΣ) Μ ΚΛ ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟΣ ΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΙΓ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ, ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΙΓ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ («provided for by M. Claudius Fronto, ἀσιάρχης and ἀρχιερεύς of the 13 Cities, the Koinon of the 13 Cities»). In total, 60 specimens of these issues with nine different reverse types are currently documented.²⁴ From the imperial portraits, these coins can be divided into three groups: those with Antoninus Pius on the obverse, of which 46 specimens are known, exist with five different reverse types and are of considerable size with an average diameter of 43 mm; we have six specimens with Faustina I on the obverse, attested with two different reverse types and an average diameter of 35 mm; and, finally, eight coins are currently documented

¹⁸ ENGELMANN 2000, 86 n. 19, dated to the 1st c. AD based on letter forms: [ἡ βουλὴ] καὶ ὁ δῆμος | [καὶ ἡ γε]ρουσία καὶ τὸ ξυ|[νὸν τῶ]ν Ἰώνων ἐτείμ|[ησαν] Ὀκταβίαν Καπε|[τ]ωλ[εῖ] γαν σωφροσύ|νης καὶ φιλανδρίας | χάριν («The βουλή, the δῆμος, the γερουσία, and the Koinon of the Ionians honoured Octavia Capitolina because of her prudence and the love for her husband»); I.Ephesos 3069, late 2nd/early 3rd c. AD: [- -] Ποντικὸν | Στρατόνεικος | λόγων ἔνεκα | Ἐφεσίων | καὶ τῶν ἄλλων | Ἰώνων γνώμη («Stratonikos [honoured] [- -] Pontikos because of his oratory on the basis of a resolution of the Ephesians and the other Ionians»).

¹⁹ I.Priene² 215, AD 14–37: [τὸ κ]οινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων | [Τιβε]ρίω[ι] Κ[α]ίσαρι Σε|[βαστ]οῦ νύϊω Σεβαστῶι | [καθιέ]ρω[σε] γ.

²⁰ Philostr. VA 4. 5: ἀναγνοὺς δὲ καὶ ψήφισμα Ἰωνικόν, ἐν ᾧ ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ κοινωνῆσαι σφισι τοῦ ξυλλόγου («He also read a decree of the Ionians in which they asked him to join their conference», transl. C. P. JONES, Loeb).

²¹ Most recently LEFÈVRE 2019, 371 fn. 63: «indubitablement celles du koinon ionien»; see also GILLESPIE 1956; LACROIX 1956, 24–30; ENGELMANN 1972; PRICE 1984, 260; LINDNER 1994, 144–149; KAMPMANN 1997; HERRMANN 2002, 229–231; BENNETT 2014, 77 f.

²² RPC IV 2, 1426, 1490, 1937.

²³ RPC IV 2, 948, 949, 951–956, 958, 1019, 2296, 2297, 2318, 7773, 11105; for the dating, see HEUCHERT 2014, 299.

²⁴ HEUCHERT 2014 is the most recent study providing a crucial re-evaluation of the coin series.

which bear the portrait of a youthful Marcus Aurelius as Caesar on the obverse, paired with two different reverse types and with an average diameter of 37.9mm. The reverse types only occur with one of the three imperial portraits respectively. In the most recent study of the coin series, VOLKERT HEUCHERT has eliminated a problematic mention of Pergamon and Ephesos on one of the coins as due to tooling in the early modern period, and has shown that this coin series is firmly linked to the city of Sardis.²⁵ In addition to the fact that M. Claudius Fronto is attested as a Sardian civic magistrate, this is based in particular on the analysis of the reverse types of the koinon coins, the vast majority of which is in fact characteristic for the civic coinage of Sardis (see Figs 2–5).²⁶



Fig. 2: RPC IV 2, 2296.1; reverse: Pluto abducting Persephone, koinon issue.



Fig. 3: RPC IV 2, 1937.1; reverse: Pluto abducting Persephone, civic issue.

²⁵ HEUCHERT 2014, 301–304; the tooled coin is RPC IV 2, 1019.3 = P 1111 (85) = GILLESPIE 1956, n. 12 with the inscription ΑΣΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΤΩΝ (sic!) ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΠΕΡΤΑΜΗΝΩΝ.

²⁶ The recent coin finds from Sardis are published in DEROSE EVANS 2018.



Fig. 4: RPC IV 2, 953.1; reverse: temple of Sardian Kore, koinon issue.



Fig. 5: RPC IV 2, 1431.2; reverse: cult statue of Sardian Kore, civic issue.

The reverse types show Pluto abducting Persephone (Fig. 2), the temple of Sardian Kore (Fig. 4), Demeter in a serpent biga, the head of Mount Tmolos, a reclining river god with Tmolos (?) and infant Dionysos, the Sardian temple of the imperial cult, as well as the more generic Roman Imperial motives Dionysos and Apollo in cart, and a standing Tyche with cornucopia.²⁷

Heracles and a female figure on the coins of the Koinon of the 13 Cities

The interpretation of all of these is unproblematic, but the ninth reverse type requires a more detailed re-examination. Attested in two slightly different versions (RPC IV 2, 955 and 1019, Figs 6 and 7), it depicts on the right a seated Heracles, clearly identified by the club and lion skin, leaning on his left arm and reaching out to a female figure with his right. She is half-naked, her breasts are exposed and her legs are partially covered by her dress. On RPC IV 2, 955 they stand closer together, Heracles touches her on her left shoulder and her right hand is raised towards her head in a gesture that might indicate coquetry or rejection, possibly trying to free herself from his grasp.²⁸ On RPC IV 2, 1019, there is more space between them and Heracles holds her by the left wrist. In both cases her head is turned towards him meeting his gaze directly and her left foot is slightly cocked.

²⁷ HEUCHERT 2014, 300f.

²⁸ Very similar to Venus in a wall painting from the House of Mars and Venus in Pompeii, ca. AD 50–60; LIMC II (1984) s.v. Ares/Mars n. 376, where the raised hand is interpreted as draping her veil.



Fig. 6: RPC IV 2, 955.2; reverse: Omphale and Heracles.



Fig. 7: RPC IV 2, 1019.1; reverse: Omphale and Heracles.

Following the suggestion of DÉsirÉ RAOUL-ROCHETTE, LÉON LACROIX was the first to make a strong case for interpreting the female figure as the Pergamene princess Auge, and most modern scholarship has accepted this identification uncritically.²⁹ He bases his theory on mostly much earlier iconographic evidence from the 5th–3rd c. BC, largely displaying the violent seizure of Auge by Heracles, who in most instances is standing, although none of these is similar to the Antonine coin types from Sardis.³⁰ Aware of this discrepancy, he postulates an «image idéalisée du couple formé par le héros et sa compagne»³¹ for the coins, for which he is unable to give any iconographic or even literary parallels.

As the figure of Auge has strong and significant connections with the foundation myth of Pergamon, LÉON LACROIX uses RPC IV 2, 1019.3 with the reverse inscription mentioning Pergamon and Ephesos as his crucial piece of evidence. This coin

²⁹ RAOUL-ROCHETTE 1842, 291 with fn. 3; LACROIX 1956.

³⁰ LACROIX 1956, 17–19. The similarities in layout and composition that he adduces may also be accounted for as stereotypical features found in other mythological sexual constellations as well, LACROIX 1956, 22 fn. 1.

³¹ LACROIX 1956, 22.

has however been shown to have been tooled in the early modern period, and can no longer be used as evidence.³² There remain three coin types of assured Pergamene origin showing imagery similar to RPC IV 2, 955.³³ With the tooled specimen dismissed, and given that these Pergamene coins were struck under Lucius Verus and thus after the coins of the Koinon of the 13 Cities, they should no longer be used as the main argument for identifying the female figure as Auge.³⁴ Furthermore, there is one iconographic detail that has been neglected in the discussion so far:³⁵ on most of the coins, prominently on RPC IV 2, 1019.1 and 1019.3, there is a quiver (with bow) clearly visible left of the female figure (Fig. 7), which creates a compositional counterweight to Heracles' club on the right. None of the parallel evidence collected by LÉON LACROIX features Auge in connection with either a bow or quiver, and there are no instances in the surviving mythical tradition associating this weapon with her.³⁶

Dismissing a Pergamene connection and searching instead for a link between the Heracles coins and the other koinon coins, it seems reasonable to try to locate them as well within a Sardian iconographic context.³⁷ The most famous and obvious link between Heracles and Sardis is the Lydian queen Omphale for whom the hero is said to have laboured as a slave.³⁸ In addition to the popular comical depictions of the couple changing clothes – Heracles in female dress and often holding a spindle, Omphale wearing the lion skin and yielding the hero's club³⁹ – there exists also a more serious tradition which portrays them as the ancestors of the ancient Lydian-Sardian ruling dynasties. One strand of this tradition presents them as parents of Agelaos, the ancestor of the most famous Lydian king Kroisos.⁴⁰ According to another one, Sardis was ruled by the descendants of Heracles and a slave of Iardanos, that is Omphale, before the Mermnads, the dynasty of which Kroisos was the last king, assumed power.⁴¹ In Strabo we also encounter them as the forefathers of Lydos, the eponym of the Lydi-

³² RPC IV 2, 1019.3 = P 1111 (85) = GILLESPIE 1956, n. 12: ΑΣΙΑΣ ΠΙΠΟΤΩΝ (sic!) ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΠΕΡΤΑΜΗΝΩΝ; HEUCHERT 2014, 301–304.

³³ RPC IV 2, 3099, 3217, and MIONNET 1830, 444 n. 1023.

³⁴ LACROIX 1956, 30 himself stated that «le motif qui orne les médallions du Koinon n'est pas exactement identique à celui qui figure sur la monnaie de Pergame». In addition to this, identifying the female figure as Auge on the sole basis that the coins are Pergamene is not sustainable and different solutions have indeed been offered: Aphrodite (MAZZOLENI 1740, pl. 24, 3; MIONNET 1830, 444 n. 1023; BABELON 1898, n. 7039); a nymph (FRITZE 1910, 70; OHLEMUTZ 1940, 243); Artemis (VOEGTLI 1977, 74).

³⁵ The only one to remark upon it is VOEGTLI 1977, 74, taken up by LINDNER 1994, 148.

³⁶ E.g. in LIMC or Roscher s.v. Auge.

³⁷ LINDNER 1994, 146: «Zu all diesen Rückseitentypen mit sardisch-lydischen Themen paßt nur das Paar <Herakles und Auge> nicht».

³⁸ RE XXXV (1939) s.v. Omphale; PEDLEY 1972, 6f. collected all the references in literary works.

³⁹ LIMC VII (1994) s.v. Omphale nn. 14–42.

⁴⁰ Apollod. 2. 7. 8.

⁴¹ Hdt. 1. 7; Dion Chrys. or. 15. 5; cf. ASHERI – LLOYD – CORCELLA 2007, 79; Iardanos is traditionally the father of Omphale, e.g. Apollod. 2. 6. 3; Diod. 4. 31. 5.

ans.⁴² In a late 2nd c. AD inscription from the famous oracular sanctuary of Apollo in Klaros, a θεσπιφδός proudly highlights his descent from the Heraclid-Mermnad dynasty, thus attesting to the survival and vitality of this Sardian-Lyidian mythological tradition into the Imperial period.⁴³ That Omphale was still an important mythical figure in Roman Lydia is attested through a number of coins from Sardis and Maionia from the 2nd c. AD.⁴⁴ One strand of the mythical tradition depicts their love affair as a mutually shared relationship, whereby the hero's surrender to his feelings is symbolised by her stripping him of his weapons.⁴⁵ It is precisely this strand which I suggest is represented by the iconography of the coins of the Koinon of the 13 Cities.⁴⁶ Supporting evidence for identifying the female figure as the Lyidian Omphale comes from a contemporary marble relief now stored in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples,⁴⁷ where the queen, identified by an inscription, stands half-naked next to Heracles, her dress very similarly held to cover only her genitals, and below her sit the hero's quiver and bow.⁴⁸ That these two weapons, next to his ubiquitous club and lion skin, were seen as Heracleian symbols in Sardis and elsewhere in the province of Asia in the 2nd c. AD is securely attested through a number of coins, the popularity and wide circulation of which is demonstrated by the high number of documented specimens.⁴⁹ Furthermore, Ovid in his narration of the Omphale episode relates that she took the hero's lion skin, his club, as well as his darts blackened with Lernaean venom.⁵⁰

Accepting the identification of the female figure on the koinon coins as Omphale leaves us with the question of how to explain the similarity with the Pergamene coins

⁴² Strab. 5. 2. 2.

⁴³ SEG 15, 715 ll. 2–3: θεσπιφδοῦντος Τι(βερίου) Κλ(αυδίου) Ἄρδυος τῶν ἀπὸ Ἄρδυος | Ἡρακλειδῶν πατρογενίδου («θεσπιφδός was Tiberius Claudius Ardys, a descendant of the Heraclids from Ardys»); THONEMANN 2020 in his interpretation of the new inscriptions I.Sardis 577 and 578 highlights the importance of Sardis' Lyidian past in the Imperial period.

⁴⁴ RPC III 2411, 2419–2421; IV 2, 1325–1327, 9330.

⁴⁵ Diod. 4. 31; Palaiphatos, Περὶ ἀπίστων ἱστοριῶν 44; in some instances, the figure of a little winged Eros is added to the pair (LIMC VII [1994] s.v. Omphale nn. 30–31; very similar also on the Pergamene coin MAZZOLENI 1740, pl. 24, 3), and in LIMC s.v. Omphale nn. 27–29 several Erotes take away Heracles' armour and play with it.

⁴⁶ The only scholars who briefly considered this identification are LINDNER 1994, 148 and HEUCHERT 2014, 303.

⁴⁷ Heracles and Omphale are mythologically linked to the Italian peninsula as the grandparents of Tyrrhenos, the forefathers of the Etruscans/Tyrrhenoi, Strab. 5. 2. 2; Tac. ann. 4. 55.

⁴⁸ Inv. n. 6683 = LIMC VII (1994) s.v. Omphale n. 10; there are of course also clear differences in the composition (Heracles is standing, she is touching him with her left on his right shoulder, there are a spindle and κάλαθος below him), but the depiction of Omphale is still very close to the one on the coins and she is unmistakably associated with quiver and bow.

⁴⁹ E.g. RPC III 2027 (Hypaipa, 6 specimens); III 2412 (Sardis, 6 specimens); III 2428 (Maionia/conventus of Sardis, 14 specimens); IV 2, 349 (Smyrna, 43 specimens); IV 2, 1848 (Keretapa Diokaisareia/Phrygia, 10 specimens); IV 2, 1401 (Saitta/conventus of Sardis, 2 specimens).

⁵⁰ Ov. epist. 9. 111–118; 115: *femina tela tulit Lernaëis atra venenis*.

under Lucius Verus. I would argue that the latter depict not Auge, but Omphale as well and might thus have been modelled on the koinon coins or derived from the same (sculptural?) model.⁵¹ The bow behind the female figure, which has no iconographic connection with Auge, is clearly discernible on most of the Pergamene coins as well. Furthermore, as stated above, traditional depictions of Auge focus more on her violent seizure, and less on a moment of gentle intimacy. It should also be noted that the Omphale motif was not alien at all to 2nd c. AD Mysia: it is attested by two coin types from Lampsakos depicting another rather intimate scene between Heracles and the Lydian queen.⁵² From the extant evidence, it seems thus most plausible to identify the female figure as Omphale and to locate this iconography together with the other eight coin types attested on issues of the Koinon of the 13 Cities within the civic sphere of Sardis.

Most scholars working on the coins of the Koinon of the 13 Cities struggled to find a satisfying explanation for the facts that a Sardian citizen could have discharged the ἀρχιερατεία, i.e. the highest office, of the Ionian Koinon and that the Ionian Koinon, which until then had never minted its own coins,⁵³ should have done so in Sardis of all cities. The majority of scholars postulated that this was an extraordinary assumption of the office which was connected with a festival of the Ionian Koinon celebrated in Sardis in the Antonine period, at the occasion of which the coins would have been minted; others highlighted the individual agency of the Sardian M. Claudius Fronto, who supposedly had special relations to the Ionian Koinon unknown to us.⁵⁴ Despite the comparatively great size of the coins with Antoninus Pius on the obverse, it would be misguided and anachronistic to conceive of these coins as 'commemorative medallions' produced for collectors or as mere objects of prestige, as the majority of scholars has done.⁵⁵ The koinon coins show normal traces of wear and must have been used for regular transactions.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, we do not have any information on findspots or archaeological contexts, so it is impossible to reconstruct their geographic spread with certainty.

The very same difficulties arise for the second attested ἀρχιερεύς of the Koinon of the 13 Cities from Sardis: L. Iulius Libonianus. He was honoured in Sardis with an inscription mentioning that he had discharged the provincial office of the ἀρχιερεύς of Asia, as well as a number of civic offices in Sardis: the priesthood of Zeus Polieus, the στεφανηφορία, the priesthood of Tiberius (!), the first στρατηγία, the ἀγωνοθεσία

⁵¹ HEUCHERT 2014, 303 fn. 43.

⁵² RPC IV 2, 10150 and 2924; a similar composition might also be seen on a Pergamene clay relief mug from the 1st c. BC/AD, LIMC VII (1994) s.v. Omphale n. 35.

⁵³ There is, however, an ongoing debate whether the coinage of the Ionian Revolt might have been a koinon issue, LEFÈVRE 2019, 358f.

⁵⁴ HERRMANN 2002, 230f. summarises the hypotheses brought forward.

⁵⁵ E.g. GILLESPIE 1956, 32; LACROIX 1956, 24; HERRMANN 2002, 229.

⁵⁶ I am very grateful to VOLKER HEUCHERT for pointing this detail out to me.

for life, as well as the ἀρχιεπατεία of the 13 Cities.⁵⁷ The inscription is dated to the end of his career in the Antonine period, but he is attested as στρατηγός of Sardis on coins under Trajan already.⁵⁸ Even PETER HERRMANN remained rather aporetic concerning L. Iulius Libonianus: «Man sieht nicht recht, wie dieser Mann aus einer von Ionien entfernten Stadt zu dem Oberpriestertum des Bundes gekommen sein kann».⁵⁹

New epigraphic evidence

The recent excavations in Sardis have now yielded six further attestations of ἀρχιερεῖς of the Koinon of the 13 Cities. GEORG PETZL published them in 2019 in his corpus of the inscriptions found in Sardis from 1958 to 2017.⁶⁰ The increased number of Sardian ἀρχιερεῖς of the 13 Cities as well as the dating of the new texts have complicated the evaluation of this office in the city of Sardis. Based on letter forms and prosopography, one of the new inscriptions, I.Sardis 350, can be dated to the mid 1st c. AD. I give the Greek text as published by GEORG PETZL:

[. .] ΛΑΣΙΟ[]
 [τ]ῆν δις ἀρχιέρει[αν τῆς Ἀσί]-
 ας καὶ ἀρχιέρειαν τῶν τρις-
 καίδεκα πόλεων καὶ στεφανη-
 5 φόρον τῆς πόλεως, θυγατέραν
 Ἰουλίου Μηνογένους τοῦ δις
 ἀρχιέρως τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ δις στε-
 φανηφόρου τῆς πόλεως, γυναι-
 10 κα δὲ Ἰουλίου Μαχαιρίωνος, τοῦ
 [ἀρ]χιέρως τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ ἀρχιέρ-
 ως τῆς τρισκαίδεκαπόλεω<ς>, στεφα-
 νηφόρου καὶ ἀγνω<ς>|θέτου, μη-
 15 τέρα δὲ Ἰουλίου Μαχαιρίωνος τοῦ
 ἀρχιέρως καὶ ἐκδίκου τῆς Ἀσίας
 καὶ ἀποδεδειγμένου στεφανηφό-
 ρου καὶ ἀγνωθέτου καὶ ἀρχιέρως
 τῆς τρισκαίδεκαπόλεως καὶ ἱε-
 ρέως τοῦ Πολιέως Διὸς καὶ πανη-

⁵⁷ I.Sardis 47 ll. 1–7: Λεύκιον Ἰούλ. ☞ <Λι>β<ω>ν<ι>α<ν>δὸν | ἄνδρα ἐκ προγόνων μέγαν καὶ φιλόπατριν, | ἀρχιέρεα τῆς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Λυδία Σαρδιανῶν | καὶ ἱερέα μεγίστου Πολιέος Διὸς δῖς, ἀρχιέρεα | τῶν τρεῖς καὶ ἑπτά πόλεων καὶ στεφανηφόρον καὶ ἱερέα | Τιβερίου Καίσαρος καὶ στρατηγὸν πρῶτον δις | καὶ ἀγνωθέτην διὰ <β>ίου; possibly also in the fragmentary I.Sardis 48.

⁵⁸ RPC III 2392 and 2393.

⁵⁹ HERRMANN 2002, 236.

⁶⁰ PETZL 2019. I am very grateful to GEORG PETZL for sending me the proofs of the book before publication.

- 20 γυριάρχου, ὡς πολλὰ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ
 βίου τὴν ἑαυτῆς εὐεργετήσασα⁶¹
 πατρίδαν καὶ ταῖς κατὰ καιρὸν ἐν-
 δείαις εὐωνύαις, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ δω-
 ρεαῖς θρέψασαν τὴν πόλιν· ὡς ἀνα-
 θεΐσεως τὴν τιμὴν τῆς Τιμωρί-
 25 δος φυλῆς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὡς ἐπιμε-
 ληθέντος τῆς ἀναστάσεως Γλύκω-
 νος τοῦ Περσέως, Ἡπίου τοῦ
 [Πρ]οσόχου.

This text honours an ἀρχιέρεια of the Koinon of the 13 Cities (ll. 3–4), whose name is unfortunately not preserved; her husband and her son also discharged the same office (ll. 10–11 and 16–17). GEORG PETZL dated this new text to the 1st–2nd c. AD. I think this range can be further refined through prosopographic considerations.

The honorand's father Iulius Menogenes, mentioned here as twice ἀρχιερεύς of Asia and twice στεφανήφορος of the city (ll. 6–8), is likely to be identical with the στεφανήφορος Menogenes, son of the νομοθέτης Demetrios, mentioned on a Sardinian *cinerarium* from the first half of the 1st c. AD.⁶² This man is also attested as twice ἀρχιερεύς with his full name Tiberius Iulius Menogenes, son of the νομοθέτης Demetrios, in I.Didyma 148, which is securely dated to the last years of the reign of Caligula (AD 40/41).⁶³ Given his *nomen gentilicium* and the parallelism of his attested offices (especially that he was twice ἀρχιερεύς of Asia), it seems most plausible indeed to understand all three attestations as referring to the same person who lived in the first half of the 1st c. AD.⁶⁴ The name of the husband and son of the ἀρχιέρεια honoured in I.Sardis 350 can further corroborate this assumption. Machairion is a very rare name, and next to our two Iulii here we only know of five other individuals bearing this name:

- 1) It is mentioned in Paus. 8. 11. 5–6 as the name of the slayer of Epameinondas at Mantinea 362 BC, but this is apparently a nickname only (‘sword-man’);⁶⁵
- 2) a Claudius Machairion, ἄρχων of Saittai in Lydia under Hadrian, attested on civic coins;⁶⁶

⁶¹ This should be emended to εὐεργετήσασα<ν>.

⁶² I.Manisa 438 = I.Sardis 591: Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Μηνογένου τοῦ Δημητρίου νομοθέτου, μηνὸς Ξανθικοῦ η΄ | Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀρτεμιδώρου Σκορδεῖς | ἐτῶν νδ΄, now in the courtyard of the Museum in Manisa; dating by HERRMANN 1996, 57–61.

⁶³ I.Didyma 148 ll. 6–8: Τιβερίου Ἰουλίου Δημητρίου νομοθέτου υἱοῦ Μηνογένης ἀρχιερέως | τὸ δεύτερον καὶ νεωκόρου τοῦ ἐν Μειλήτῳ ναοῦ. ROBERT 1949, 206–238 is still the seminal study of this inscription.

⁶⁴ This is cautiously suggested by GEORG PETZL in his commentary on I.Sardis 350.

⁶⁵ THONEMANN 2017, 190 fn. 14.

⁶⁶ RPC III 2543, 2543A, 2543B.

- 3) a Machairion and
- 4) his son Gaius Iulius Machairion, who was ἀρχιερεύς and στεφανήφορος of Maionia in Lydia in the 1st c. AD;⁶⁷
- 5) Gaius Iulius Quadratus Machairion, attested in three new inscriptions from Sardis.⁶⁸

Given the overall rareness of the name, it is likely that all the Iulii Machairiones from Roman Lydia belonged to the same family in the 1st c. AD. I.Sardis 350 dates thus most likely to around the mid 1st c. AD.

One of the other new texts from Sardis mentioning an ἀρχιερεύς of the 13 Cities is an honorific inscription for Tiberius Claudius Stlaccius Niger by the Sardinian φυλή Pelopis.⁶⁹ This man had served as ἀρχιερεύς of the 13 Cities, twice as ἀγωνοθέτης, thrice as στεφανήφορος, and as priest of Zeus Polieus.⁷⁰ Based on letter forms, GEORG PETZL dated the text to the 2nd c. AD albeit with a question mark. The two further attestations of ἀρχιερείς of the Koinon of the 13 Cities from Sardis are very fragmentary and dated to the 1st–2nd and the 2nd c. AD respectively, again based on letter forms.⁷¹

Taken together, these new finds make it clear that the ἀρχιερατεία of the 13 Cities in Sardis can by no means be regarded as solitary cases or exceptions any longer. The assumption of this office in Sardis emerges rather as an institutionalised civic liturgy, which was discharged over a span of ca. 100 years by members of at least six different Sardinian families. These families must have belonged to the highest echelons of society in Sardis, as all of the ἀρχιερείς of the 13 Cities attested in Sardis also discharged the highest civic offices. I argue that it is therefore cogent to deduce that Sardis must have been a member of this Koinon of the 13 Cities mentioned in the inscriptions and on the coins. Initially, I had entertained the hypothesis that Sardis might have been admitted into the ranks of the Ionian Koinon in the 2nd c. AD in the context of the

⁶⁷ TAM V 1, 544, from Maionia: [Ἔτους . . . , μη]γὸς Δεῖ[ου . . . Οἱ ἐν Μαι]ονία τῇ πό[λει κατ-
οικ]οῦντες ἐ[τείμησαν] Γάϊον Ἰούλι[ον Μαχαιρί]ωνος υἱὸν | [. . .] Μαχαιρίω[ι]να τὸν ἀρχιερεῖ
καὶ | [στεφανη]φόρον διὰ | [ἀδι]αλίπτ[ως (?)] | [. . .]δημ[. . .].

⁶⁸ I.Sardis 339–341.

⁶⁹ I.Sardis 384 ll. 1–9: Φυλὴ Πελοπίς ἐτείμη|σεν ἐκ τῶν ιδίων Τιβέριο[ν] | Κλαύδιον Στλάκ-
κιον Νίγρο[ν], | ἀρχιερέα τῶν τρισκαίδεκα π[ό]λεων καὶ ἀγωνοθέ[τ]ην δις πε[ν]ταετηρικῶν
ἀγώνω[ν] καὶ στε[φ]ανήφορον τρίς ἐφεξ[ῆ]ς μετὰ τ[ῶν] | υἱῶν Ἰουλιανοῦ τε καὶ Στλακκί[ου] |
καὶ ἱερέα Πολιέως Διὸς . . .].

⁷⁰ The honorand is very likely to be the same person as the one in I.Sardis 61 (Στλάκκιος Νίγρος). Tiberius Claudius Stlaccius in I.Sardis 43 (here misread as Silanius, corrected by HASAN MALAY in his commentary on I.Manisa 39) might be the son of Stlaccius Niger mentioned in I.Sardis 384 l. 8 and in I.Sardis 61 as φιλοσέβαστος, φιλόπατρις, and φιλοπάτωρ, PETZL 2016, 240; on the *gens Stlaccia* in Sardis, see PETZL 2016 and the commentary on I.Sardis 477.

⁷¹ I.Sardis 352 col. II ll. 4–6: Π. Αἴλ. Γελλ[ca. 6 ἀρχι]ερέα τῶν τ[ρισκαίδεκα] | πόλεων,
1st–2nd c. AD; however, the name seems to point to a (post-)Hadrianic date; and I.Sardis 379
ll. 8–9: δὲ καὶ ἀρχι[ε]ρ- τρισκαί]δεκαπολ[ε- . . .], 2nd c. AD, based on letter forms.

intercity rivalries and the foundation of Hadrian's Panhellenion. However, the new inscriptions and their dating render this idea moot by all indications. What is more, in the chapter on the Ionian Koinon of my DPhil thesis I elucidated that it remained an exclusive club of cities, with all the attestations for it being limited to the traditional member cities and all the known koinon officials stemming from there as well.⁷² There are further no attestations of Sardis capitalising on its potential membership of the Ionian Koinon, as should be expected if they had indeed been allowed to become a member. Other cities such as Isinda, Synnada, and Perinthos, which were never even close to become members of the Ionian Koinon, claimed Ionianness on civic coins in the 2nd and 3rd c. AD.⁷³ Also, Pausanias in his long excursus on Ionia (7. 1–5) and other authors such as Aelius Aristides and Philostratus would probably not have left it uncommented if Sardis had indeed become a member of the Ionian Koinon.

If we take the inscriptions and coins from Sardis at their word, another solution imposes itself: the Sardian testimonies always speak of the 'Koinon of the 13 Cities' only, but never of the Ionians or Ionia. And, as mentioned above, the Ionian Koinon is always explicitly labelled as Ionian, whenever it is circumscribed as τρεῖσκαίδεκάπολις in the surviving evidence. Mainly on the basis of the new inscriptions from Sardis, the Sardian Koinon of the 13 Cities can no longer be identified with the Ionian Koinon. To my knowledge, VOLKERT HEUCHERT was the first and only scholar who considered this possibility, and questioned the traditional identification.⁷⁴

III. Towards a new interpretation of the Koinon of the 13 Cities at Sardis

I would like to develop this thought further and investigate what the Koinon of the 13 Cities in Sardis could have been. One possibility is that it was a mere circumscription for the Koinon of Asia with its precisely 13 *conventus* capitals,⁷⁵ and this would indeed be a very elegant solution. However, four of the eight Sardian ἀρχιερεῖς of the 13 Cities are also attested as ἀρχιερεῖς of Asia in the very same testimony.⁷⁶ An identification with the Koinon of Asia must therefore be excluded. Another possibility is that it could have been a koinon of the *conventus* district of Sardis. But we do not have any further indications supporting this notion, nor is it possible to create a potential

⁷² Expressions of Ionianness in the Roman Period, DPhil, University of Oxford 2019.

⁷³ ἸΣΙΝΔΕΩΝ ἸΩΝΩΝ: AULOCK 1977, nn. 868–889, 911, 912, 931–934. ΣΥΝΝΑΔΕΩΝ ἸΩΝΩΝ: first attested under Antoninus Pius (RPC IV 2, 2986), last under Gallienus (BMC PHRYGIA Synnada nn. 67, 70–73). ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ ἸΩΝΩΝ: SCHÖNERT 1965, nn. 736, 738, 747, 766, 767, 773, 778–781, 784, 788, 789 (Severus Alexander), 860 and 861 (Gordian III), also nn. 207–221: ἸΩΝΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝ.

⁷⁴ HEUCHERT 2014, 297, upon the suggestion of PETER THONEMANN.

⁷⁵ This was suggested to me by PETER THONEMANN.

⁷⁶ L. Iulius Libonianus (I.Sardis 47 ll. 3–5); the daughter of Iulius Menogenes (I.Sardis 350 ll. 2–4); Iulius Machairion sen. (I.Sardis 350 ll. 10–11); Iulius Machairion jun. (I.Sardis 350 ll. 14–17).

list of exactly 13 cities within this district. The *conventus* districts of the province of Asia never seem to have developed any identificatory potential.⁷⁷ Thus, the squabbles for titles and privileges for example only took place on the level of the province (first/*metropolis* of Asia ...) as well as, secondarily, on the level of the traditional cultural regions (first/*metropolis*/κόσμος of Ionia, Lydia, Caria ...), but never on the level of the *conventus* districts. Furthermore, there are no attested parallels for a *conventus* koinon or even a *conventus* priesthood in the Greek East.

As a new solution, I suggest that there is enough evidence to postulate the existence of a koinon of cities in connection to Tiberius' generous support of 13 cities of Asia which had been destroyed by earthquakes during his reign. This affair is well attested in literary sources, most elaborately in Tacitus' *Annals*.⁷⁸ Here we find a list of 12 cities which were destroyed by the devastating earthquake of AD 17: Sardis, Magnesia on Sipylus, Temnos, Philadelphia, Aigai, Apollonis, Mostene, Hyrkanis, Hierokaisareia (Hierakome), Myrina, Kyme, and Tmolos. These cities are all located in the Hermos Valley and adjacent areas. According to Tacitus, Tiberius decided to exempt them all from tribute for a period of five years and to send a senatorial commissioner to supervise the measures in the cities. Sardis was even promised ten million sesterces of Roman aid payments. That the cities greatly appreciated Tiberius' support and commemorated it in the long term is attested in a number of cases. Several of them changed their name to Kaisareia afterwards or added this title to their city's name.⁷⁹ This is attested for Sardis, Kyme, Mostene, Hyrkanis, Apollonis, Philadelphia, and Hierakome.⁸⁰ Further, in many of these cities Tiberius was honoured with the epithet

⁷⁷ These are the findings of the relevant chapter of my DPhil thesis (see fn. 72 above), which I hope to publish as a monograph soon.

⁷⁸ Tac. ann. 2. 47: *Eodem anno duodecim celebres Asiae urbes conlapsae nocturno motu terrae [...] Asperissima in Sardianos lues plurimum in eosdem misericordiae traxit: nam centies sestertium pollicitus Caesar, et quantum aerario aut fisco pendebant in quinquennium remisit. Magnetes a Sipylis proximi damno ac remedio habiti. Temnios, Philadelphenos, Aegeatas, Apollonidenses, quique Mosteni aut Macedones Hyrcani vocantur, et Hierocaesariam, Myrinam, Cymen, Tmolus levare idem in tempus tributis mittique ex senatu placuit, qui praesentia spectaret refoveretque* («In the same year, twelve important cities of Asia collapsed in an earthquake, the time being night [...] As the disaster fell heaviest on the Sardians, it brought them the largest measure of sympathy, the Caesar promising ten million sesterces, and remitting for five years their payments to the national and imperial exchequers. The Magnesians of Sipylus were ranked second in the extent of their losses and their indemnity. In the case of the Temnians, Philadelphenes, Aegeates, Apollonideans, the so-called Mostenians and Hyrcanian Macedonians, and the cities of Hierocaesarea, Myrina, Cyme, and Tmolus, it was decided to exempt them from tribute for the same term and to send a senatorial commissioner to view the state of affairs and administer relief», transl. Loeb); see also Strab. 12. 8. 18, 13. 3. 5, 13. 4. 8; Sen. nat. 6. 1. 13; Plin. nat. 2. 86; Suet. Tib. 48; Cass. Dio 57. 17. 7–8; WALDHERR 1997, 165–168.

⁷⁹ ROBERT 1946, 77f.; WEISSER 2018, 130f.

⁸⁰ Sardis: RPC I 2991 and 2992; I.Sardis 38 ll. 1–2 (where it was erased) and I.Sardis 39 ll. 2–3 (under Claudius). Kyme: BMC TROAS, AEOLIS, AND LESBOS 117 nn. 126–127 (under Nero); RPC III 1927 (under Nerva). Mostene: RPC I 2461 (under Claudius), II 987, 987A, 987B, 988,

κτίστης, which was taken seriously and not attributed inconsiderately in the early Imperial period.⁸¹ Explicit reference to the help granted by Tiberius after the earthquake is made in Mostene and Aigai, where the κτίστης title is even specified as κτίστης ἐνὶ καιρῷ δώδεκα πόλεων («founder of 12 cities in one instant»);⁸² And it has been plausibly restored in texts from Kyme.⁸³ These inscriptions all date to ca. AD 30/31, thus 14 years after the earthquake, which suggests that the cities were eager to maintain their connection to Tiberius by continuing to showcase their gratefulness and loyalty.⁸⁴ As we have seen above, Sardis even established a civic cult for Tiberius, the existence of which still in the Antonine period is remarkable indeed.⁸⁵ Another testimony which has been connected to the emperor's support after the earthquake of AD 17 is a type of small bronze coins from Sardis on the obverse of which Tiberius is depicted as raising the city's Tyche kneeling in front of him (Fig. 8).⁸⁶ It is even possible that Sardis created a *φυλή Kaisareios* in honour of Tiberius.⁸⁷ The moving epigram on the destruction of Sardis by the poet Bianor, who was a contemporary of the events, further underlines that the earthquake remained a crucial event for the city's collective identity.⁸⁸



Fig. 8: RPC I 2991.14; obverse: Tiberius raising kneeling Tyche of Sardis.

991, 992A (under Vespasian). Hyrkanis: I.Ephesos 1498 ll. 7–8 (under Domitian). Apollonis: SEG 49, 1543A ll. 1–2. Philadelphia called itself Neokaisareia: e.g. RPC I 3017 (under Caligula). Hierakome even changed its name permanently to Hierokaisareia: RE XVI (1913) s.v. Hiera Kome, Hierokaisareia.

⁸¹ FERRARY 2000, 360–364; see also PONT 2007. Tiberius as κτίστης e.g. in I.Sardis 333 l. 11; RPC I 2451 (Magnesia on Sipylus).

⁸² Mostene: OGIS 471 = IGR IV 1351 = ILS 8785: [Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ,] | Θεο[ῦ Σεβασ]|το[ῦ υἱός, Θεοῦ] | 'Ιουλί[ου νιωνός,] || Σεβ[αστός, ἀρχιερ]ε[ῦς] μέγιστος, δημαρχι|κῆ[ς] ἐξουσίας | λγ', αὐτο[κράτ]ωρ | η', ὑπατος [ε',] || κτίστης ἐνὶ καιρῷ δώδεκα πόλεων, τὴν πόλιν | ἔκτισεν; Aigai: Altertümer von Aegae 50, 1: [Ti. Caesar divi A|ug(usti) f(i)lius, divi Iuli n(epos), Au]g(us-tus), p(ontifex)] m(aximus), tr(ibunica) p(ot(estate) XXXVI, | imp(erator) VIII, c]o(n)s(ul) V, con]ditor uno tem[pore XII urbium | t]errae motu ve[l]xatarum temp[or]um restituit]; HERRMANN 1995, 28f.

⁸³ I.Kyme 20–21.

⁸⁴ HERRMANN 1995, 29.

⁸⁵ I.Sardis 47 ll. 5–6; we have now two further testimonies with the new inscriptions I.Sardis 373 ll. 12–13 (AD 117–138) and I.Sardis 384 ll. 9–10 (2nd c. AD?). Note that both in I.Sardis 47 and 384 the same person held the priesthood of Tiberius and served as ἀρχιερεὺς of the 13 Cities.

⁸⁶ RPC I 2991, 28 documented specimens, average diameter 19 mm.

⁸⁷ I.Sardis 574 with commentary.

⁸⁸ AP IX 423; I.Sardis 440 l. 5 mentions the restoration of a statue of Hera μετὰ τὸν σεισμόν. On Sardis and Tiberius, see HERRMANN 1995, 24–31. For an overview of the broader context of seismicity in the Mediterranean, see AMBRASEYS 2009.

That these cities expressed their gratitude not only individually, but also united to form a decision-making body is suggested by I.Sardis 9:⁸⁹

Σαβεῖνος Μοστηνός· ἔδοξ[εν. ♡] Σέλευκος Νεάρχου Κιβυράτ[ης]· ἔδοξεν. ὁ
δεῖνα Αἰγαιεύς(?)· ἔδοξεν.]
Κλαυδιαν[ὸ]ς Μάγνης· ἔδοξεν. ♡ Χαρμίδης Ἀπολλωνίου· ἔδοξεν. ♡ [ὁ δεῖνα
Φιλαδελεύς(?)· ἔδοξεν. ὁ δεῖνα Ἱεροκαί-]
σαρεύς· ἔδοξεν. ♡ Μακεδὼν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἰ[σ]οκούνδου Ἀπ[ο]λλωνιδεύς·
[ἔδοξεν. ὁ δεῖνα Κυμαῖος(?)· ἔδοξεν. ὁ δεῖνα]
Ἵρκάνι[ο]ς· ἔδοξεν. ♡ Σεραπίων Φιλο[δ]ήμου Μυρειαῖος· ἔδοξεν. ♡ [ὁ δεῖνα
Τμωλείτης(?)· ἔδοξεν.]
Διογένης Διογένους Τημνείτης· ἔ[δοξε]ν.

The stone on which the inscription is engraved was reused in the southern wall of the acropolis of Sardis where I examined it together with PETER THONEMANN and CHARLES CROWTHER in September 2018. The block is intact on the top, bottom, and left side, so the text must have continued on another block on the right. The inscription lists citizens of nine cities in Asia Minor with their respective ethnic and the addition ἔδοξεν (‘he voted aye’, as the editors of I.Sardis 9 translated it). Seven of the ethnics of the delegates preserved on the stone correspond precisely to Tacitus’ list of the cities devastated by the earthquake in AD 17: Mostene, Magnesia, Hierokaisareia, Apollonis, Hyrkanis, Myrina, Temnos. The one individual without an ethnic (Charmides son of Apollonios in l. 2) is surely to be ascribed to Sardis as the meeting place of the delegates and the place of erection of the inscription. All this makes it highly plausible that this list of delegates is in fact to be connected with the aftermath of the earthquake of AD 17, and the four missing cities Aigai, Philadelphia, Kyme, and Tmolos have been restored accordingly by the editors. It is most likely that this ‘list of signatures’ was preceded by the resolution passed by the delegates which would have been inscribed on another block above I.Sardis 9. Interestingly, the city of Kibyra features here as well (l. 1).⁹⁰ We know that Kibyra had also received support from Tiberius after a severe earthquake in AD 23, as reported again by Tacitus.⁹¹

⁸⁹ = CIG 3450; LeBas – Waddington n. 620; IGR IV 1514.

⁹⁰ This led Weisser 2008, 111 fn. 50 to exclude the possibility that I.Sardis 9 could be the decision of a ‘Lydian Koinon’: «Das phrygische Kibyra gehörte nie einem Koinon lydischer Städte an». To my knowledge, he is the only scholar to mention the potential existence of a koinon in this context, even if the notion of a ‘Lydian Koinon’ is misguided here, see below.

⁹¹ Tac. ann. 4. 13: *At Tiberius nihil intermissa rerum cura, negotia pro solaciis accipiens, ius civium, preces sociorum tractabat; factaque auctore eo senatus consulta, ut civitati Cibyrticae apud Asiam, Aegiensi apud Achaïam, motu terrae labefactis, subveniretur remissione tributi in triennium* (‘Meanwhile Tiberius had in no way relaxed his attention to public business, but, accepting work as a consolation, was dealing with judicial cases at Rome and petitions from the provinces. On his proposal, senatorial resolutions were passed to relieve the towns of Cibra in

Several scholars connected this list of delegates from Sardis – and with good reason I think – to an honorific monument for Tiberius, which was erected for him in Rome by the affected cities.⁹² The main source for this is a passage from Phlegon of Tralleis in which he paraphrases the grammarian Apollonios: «Apollonios the grammarian reports that in the time of Tiberius Nero there was an earthquake in which many notable cities of Asia Minor utterly disappeared, which Tiberius subsequently rebuilt at his own expense. On account of this the people constructed and dedicated to him a colossus beside the temple of Aphrodite, which is in the Roman forum, and also set up statues in a row next to it from each of the cities.»⁹³ This colossal statue is very likely represented on Roman Imperial *sestertii*, which bear on the obverse the inscription CIVITATIBVS ASIAE RESTITVTIS and depict Tiberius on a *sella curulis* holding a patera.⁹⁴ A modified replica of this monument in smaller scale has in fact survived from the ancient city of Puteoli (modern Pozzuoli).⁹⁵ This so-called «Base of Puteoli» is a statue base decorated on all four sides with reliefs showing personifications, conveniently identified by inscriptions, of 14 cities of Asia Minor:⁹⁶ the 12 mentioned by Tacitus plus Kibyra and Ephesos.⁹⁷ The erection of the monument can be dated to AD 30,

Asia and Aegium in Achaia, both damaged by earthquake, by remitting their tribute for three years», transl. Loeb).

⁹² E.g. the editors of I.Sardis 9; HERRMANN 1995, 25f.; WEISSER 2018, 131.

⁹³ Transl. HANSEN 1996; Phlegon of Tralleis, *De mirabilibus* 13 (= FGrH 257 F 36 XIII): Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ὁ γραμματικὸς ἱστορεῖ ἐπὶ Τιβερίου Νέρωνος σεισμὸν γεγενῆσθαι καὶ πολλὰς καὶ ὀνομαστάς πόλεις τῆς Ἀσίας ἄρδην ἀφανισθῆναι, ἃς ὕστερον ὁ Τιβέριος οἰκεῖα δαπάνη πάλιν ἀνῶρθωσεν. ἀνθ' ὧν κολοσσὸν τε αὐτῷ κατασκευάσαντες ἀνέθεσαν παρὰ τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερῷ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀγορᾷ, καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἐκάστης ἐφεξῆς ἀνδριάντας παρέστησαν.

⁹⁴ RIC I² Tiberius n. 48, where it is not interpreted as a statue, however.

⁹⁵ Now kept in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples, inv. n. 6780; already THEODOR MOMMSEN in CIL X 1, 1624 identified the monument mentioned by Phlegon with the model for the «Base of Puteoli». Important studies of it are SPINAZZOLA 1902; MINGAZZINI 1976; VERMEULE 1981; WEISSER 2008 and 2018.

⁹⁶ CIL X 1, 1624 = ILS 156. WEISSER 2008, 118 renders the measurements as 1.22m high, 1.75m wide, and 1.24m deep, and provides excellent photographs of the base. The inscription below the figure of Sardis (///IHENIA SARdeS VLLORON) has caused some difficulties of interpretation, for which SPINAZZOLA 1902, 146–153 offered the convincing solution [TYRR]HENIA [SARDES PE]LOPON[NESOS] interpreting the two children next to Sardis as personifications of Italy and Greece represented by Tyrrhenos and Pelops, which he links to Tac. ann. 4. 55–56. He was followed by WEISSER 2008, 139–142, who adduces as an interesting iconographic parallel the coin BMC LYDIA 274 n. 211 (under Gallienus), see also RPC VI 4485 (under Elagabalus). WEISSER 2008 has further shown that even in the copy from Puteoli it is still clear that the respective civic iconographies were firmly embedded in the traditions of the Asian cities, thus attesting to their agency in the process.

⁹⁷ To my knowledge, there are no further secure testimonies that Ephesos was hit by an earthquake at this time, Tacitus is silent about this. The entry under the year AD 18 in the Chronicon of Eusebius/Jerome seems to conflate two events: «Thirteen cities were levelled in an earthquake: Ephesos, Magnesia, Sardis, Mostene, Aigai, Hierokaisareia, Philadelphia, Tmolos, Temnos, Kyme, Myrina, Apollonia Dia, and Hyrkamis».

when Tiberius held the 32nd *tribunicia potestas* mentioned in the inscription. The last two lines of the inscription (*res publica restituit*) seem to indicate that the monument was repaired at a later stage. As there are no traces of reworking on the base itself, it is most likely that it was only the statue which was repaired later on and that the base is in fact the original from AD 30.⁹⁸ Through the 'Base of Puteoli' we know that the monument in Rome had indeed been realised and that it must have been perceived as quite impressive and remarkable if it was even copied in another city.⁹⁹

It has been shown that such imperial support after earthquake destructions was far from being a standard or automatic reaction.¹⁰⁰ In the majority of the cases, only big important cities with the necessary connections to Roman magistrates managed to secure it. Thus, it is remarkable that in the case of the earthquake of AD 17, so many small towns received support from the emperor, which might be another indication of the severity of the event.¹⁰¹

Returning to the question of who the 13th city in the Koinon of the 13 Cities was, it needs to be stressed that the 'Base of Puteoli' is the only potential testimony for Ephesos receiving support from Tiberius after the earthquake of around AD 29. Tacitus does not mention anything in this regard. Furthermore, Ephesos was a member of the prestigious Ionian Koinon as well as the capital of the province of Asia and would thus have had no motivation to join another koinon with so many small towns lacking the cultural prestige of old Greek ancestry. A possible explanation for its presence on the 'Base of Puteoli' could be that the Koinon of the 13 Cities, the foundation of which should be located between AD 26 and AD 29 (see Chronology below), approached Ephesos with its excellent contacts to the Roman rulers to join in honouring Tiberius and to help facilitating the realisation of the monument in Rome. Kibyra on the other hand incorporated Tiberius' support after the earthquake of AD 23 permanently in its collective memory, which is apparent through several indications: Tiberius is honoured as *κτίστης τῆς πόλεως*, the city assumed the name *Kaisareia*, and, most remarkably, the city changed its way of time reckoning from the traditional Greek eponymous magistrates to an era system, counting from the epoch year AD 24/25, which proved

⁹⁸ Based on stylistic criteria, MINGAZZINI 1976 tried to push the date of the 'Base of Puteoli' to the Flavian period, which failed to convince e.g. HÖLSCHER 1988 and WEISSER 2008, 116f.

⁹⁹ See WEISSER 2008, 117 on the possible reasons for the *augustales* of Puteoli deciding to copy the monument from Rome – an interesting question, but not relevant for the purpose of the present article.

¹⁰⁰ JONES 2014 against ROBERT 1978, 401 («Sous l'Empire, l'intervention de l'empereur est attendue et normale») and WALDHERR 1997, 169; on imperial benefactions after earthquake destructions, see also SONNABEND 1999, 215–230; CONTI 2008; DELRIEUX 2012. DEEG 2019, 55–72 provides a good overview of Tiberius' reactions to natural catastrophes in the Roman Empire.

¹⁰¹ That they did in fact receive it, is suggested not only by the passages in Tacitus, but also by the name changes and Tiberius' *κτίστης* title, especially in Mostene and Aigai, see above.

to be very successful and is still attested in the 3rd c. AD.¹⁰² It is true that the 12 cities destroyed in AD 17 according to Tacitus form a geographically coherent group in the Hermos Valley and adjacent areas. But it is precisely the remarkable presence of the more distant Kibyra in I.Sardis 9 and on the «Base of Puteoli» which supports the notion of a close and special relationship with this group of cities. It is difficult to come up with a better explanation for the appearance of Kibyra amongst all those Lydian and Aeolic cities. The Koinon of the 13 Cities was never called «Lydian»: ethnicity or geography did not play a role in its foundation.¹⁰³ These 13 cities had one thing in common, namely that they all could consider Tiberius as their new founding father, and united to perpetuate the memory to this special relation.

Two further testimonies from Sardis, fragmentary as they are, are likely to belong to this context as well: I.Sardis 205 consists of the letters KIBYP only and seems to have been part of a moulding. Its editors dated it to the 2nd c. AD and suggested that it could have been part of a monument erected by or for the city of Kibyra at Sardis. The other fragment, which is more interesting for our purpose, is I.Sardis 201:

- - - -
 [-]ιας ἔδωκα [-]
 [-]ν τοῖς ἀρ[-]
 [- τ]ρισκαίδε[κα -]
 - - - -

This inscription has recently been identified as part of the Sardian copy of Augustus' *Res Gestae*,¹⁰⁴ but given the now increased number of testimonies for the Koinon of the 13 Cities in Sardis, it is tempting to connect also this fragment to the koinon.¹⁰⁵ While the fragmentary state of the inscription only allows us to speculate, it is possible that this is indeed the letter of an emperor as the first editors suggested,¹⁰⁶ mainly based on

¹⁰² Tiberius as κτίστης: I.Kibyra 3 l. 5 (AD 31/32), 36 ll. 15–16 (AD 43/44–47/48). Kibyra Kaisareia: CORSTEN – DREW-BEAR – ÖZSAIT 1998, 49; I.Kibyra 11 l. 11 (AD 137), 12 ll. 5–6 (under Antoninus Pius), 63 ll. 4–5 (mid 2nd c. AD), 45 l. 1 (AD 182/183), 46 l. 1 (AD 185/186), 62 l. 12 (ca. AD 200); on coins first under Elagabalus (RPC VI 5406–5409, 5411). The era of Kibyra: LESCHHORN 1993, 353f. and I.Kibyra Index 7. Datumangaben s.v. nach der kib. Ära, see esp. I.Kibyra 42A ll. 8–9, B ll. 8–10, C ll. 9–11, D ll. 7–9, E ll. 7–8: ἡ δὲ αἰώνιος γυμνασιαρχία ἤρξατο ἔτους ἐνάτου τεσσαρακοστοῦ τῆς κτίσεως. See also I.Kibyra 41 l. 5: τὸν κτισμὸν τῆς πόλεως.

¹⁰³ Note that also Hadrian's Panhellenion forms in no way a geographically coherent body; the most important studies include OLIVER 1970; SPAWFORTH – WALKER 1985 and 1986; JONES 1996 and 1999; SPAWFORTH 1999; WEISS 2000; ROMEO 2002; GORDILLO HERVÁS 2012.

¹⁰⁴ THONEMANN 2012, refuted by NOLLÉ 2010.

¹⁰⁵ KOKKINIA forthcoming reaches the same conclusion.

¹⁰⁶ «Apparently from the letter of an emperor or proconsul, or from the will of a benefactor, mentioning gifts made by him about the 1st century A.D.»

the first person singular verb ἔδωκα.¹⁰⁷ As its dating in the 1st c. AD is generally agreed upon,¹⁰⁸ one might speculate whether this could be a fragment of the very letter of Tiberius with which he acknowledged the honours granted to him by the Koinon of the 13 Cities and/or even the foundation of the koinon itself.

Sardis was the largest and most important of these 13 cities and according to Tacitus it was also the one suffering the greatest damage.¹⁰⁹ This fits well with the fact that the Koinon of the 13 Cities is only attested there and that the 13 cities assembled there to pass a decree. Sardis can thus be regarded as the focal point and driving force behind the establishment and perpetuation of the Koinon of the 13 Cities at least until the Antonine period. The archaeological evidence can further corroborate this assumption. In the years after AD 17, Sardis experienced a building boom of great scale with major (re)constructions of temples, the theatre, the stadium, and houses; no collapse layer was found, so the Sardians seem to have put a lot of effort and money into cleaning up the city after the earthquake, which is attested mainly through clean-up deposits and deep fills consisting of late Hellenistic/Augustan pottery and wall plaster from destroyed buildings.¹¹⁰ The so-called Wadi B temple on the slopes north of the acropolis is firmly dated to the Julio-Claudian period and has been connected with the imperial cult.¹¹¹ As all of the new testimonies of ἀρχιερεῖς of the 13 Cities were found in its immediate vicinity, it is tempting to speculate whether it could have been dedicated to the worship of Tiberius under the purview of the Koinon of the 13 Cities.¹¹²

In this context, it is also important to mention that in AD 26 Sardis got the short end of the stick in the competition for the second provincial imperial cult temple in

¹⁰⁷ Theoretically it could have been the second person singular ἔδωκας as well, but there are no attested parallels in Greek civic epigraphy, the only instances I could find stem from a Christian context (I.Mylasa 946 l. 4; MAMA III 490 l. 1) or the unique Isis aretologies (SEG 8, 550 l. 4; I.Thrac.Aeg E205 l. 29).

¹⁰⁸ The objection of NOLLÉ 2010, 144 that it must be from the late 1st or the 2nd c. AD because of its marked apices is based on the comparison with only one other inscription. Relevant parallel texts from the early or mid 1st c. AD are e.g. I.Sardis 333, 350, 592.

¹⁰⁹ Tac. ann. 2. 47: *Asperima in Sardonios lues plurimum in eosdem misericordiae traxit.*

¹¹⁰ I am very grateful to NICK CAHILL for advice on the Sardonian archaeological material; on the morphotectonics around Sardis, see SEYİTOĞLU et al. 2019, esp. 502f. on AD 17. CAHILL – GREENEWALT 2016, 501f. date the restructuring of the famous temple of Artemis to the early Imperial period and connect it to the aftermath of the earthquake as well, possibly in relation to the civic worship of Tiberius.

¹¹¹ CAHILL – GREENEWALT 2016, 502 with further bibliographic references in fn. 75.

¹¹² Its size and prominence suggest that (later on?) it also housed the provincial imperial cult, on which see BURRELL 2004, 100–103. Findspots of the inscriptions: I.Sardis 350: «From Sardis, Field 55, east side of Wadi B Temple terrace, marble collapse in area of late antique Spolia Wall, F55 13.1 Locus 3, E776.9/S186 *129.318»; I.Sardis 352: «From Sardis, Field 55, east side of Wadi B Temple terrace, marble collapse in area of late antique Spolia Wall, F55 13.1 Locus 3, E778.7/S180.5 *128.408»; I.Sardis 379: «From Sardis, near Building A, ca. E700/S50»; I.Sardis 384: «From Sardis, Field 55, east side of Wadi B Temple terrace, built into late antique Spolia Wall, F55 13.1 Locus 3, E770.95/S184.55 *128.20».

Asia, this privilege being granted to Smyrna in the end.¹¹³ The establishment of its own koinon, the *raison d'être* of which seems to have been the veneration of Tiberius, would surely have been a plausible reaction to that.¹¹⁴ The office of the ἀρχιερεύς seems to indicate that it was indeed trying to emulate the Koinon of Asia on a smaller scale.

If my new interpretation of the Koinon of the 13 Cities at Sardis is correct, it would be one of the very rare cases where we can locate the foundation of a koinon of cities within a precise historical context.¹¹⁵ Sardis' and the other cities' interests in the creation of the koinon were probably also of economic nature, they tried to perpetuate their special relationship with Tiberius in the form of cultic veneration originally based on their gratitude for a specific benefaction, while at the same time insinuating and hoping for potential future benefactions. Whereas the foundation of the Koinon of the 13 Cities is a unique case in the Imperial period, the religious aspect just mentioned is characteristic of both Greek religion and the imperial cult in general.¹¹⁶ The introduction and continuation of this koinon on a level transgressing provincial boundaries – in addition to the civic and the provincial imperial cult – is clear testimony for the continuing importance of Greek koina in the Roman Imperial period as instruments for Greek cities to embed themselves within the larger framework of the Roman Empire.¹¹⁷ The Koinon of the Ionians is in fact a good parallel case in this regard, and the fact that it is referred to as 'Koinon of the Ionians of the 13 Cities' mostly in the Imperial period finds a nice explanation through the existence of an almost homonymous koinon within the same province.

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¹¹³ Tac. ann. 4. 55–56.

¹¹⁴ The cultic nature of the koinon is indicated by the fact that the only extant office is the ἀρχιερεύς.

¹¹⁵ ANGELOS CHANIOTIS pointed out to me the Koinon of the Hellenes at Plataiai commemorating the famous battle of 479 BC as a possible earlier parallel, on which see e.g. ÉTIENNE – PIÉRART 1975, esp. 68.

¹¹⁶ PRICE 1984.

¹¹⁷ Largely neglected in scholarship, but see e.g. GETTEL 2019 on the koina of the Greek mainland in the Imperial period. See also DENCH 2018 on local experiences of the Roman Empire.

Chronology

- AD 17 Earthquake in the Hermos Valley.
 AD 23 Earthquake around Kibyra.
 AD 26 Competition for the second imperial cult temple in the province of Asia, Smyrna wins over Sardis.
 Foundation of the Koinon of the 13 Cities at Sardis.
 The koinon assembles at Sardis and decrees honours for Tiberius (I.Sardis 9).
 Tiberius acknowledges these honours and/or the foundation of the koinon (I.Sardis 201).
 Earthquake around Ephesos (?).
 Erection of the monument in Rome mentioned by Phlegon of Tralleis.
 AD 30 Erection of the «Base of Puteoli».
 AD 141–144 M. Claudius Fronto is ἀρχιερεύς of the koinon and mints coins.

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Figures

- Fig. 1: RPC IX 600.1; Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques, Fonds général 338; reverse inscription: ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡ ΚΑ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΙΩΝΩΝ, ΚΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΩ[N], ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΙΩΝΩΝ; Kolophon, under Trebonianus Gallus; © gallica.bnf.fr (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8517530m>).
- Fig. 2: RPC IV 2, 2296.1; Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, inv. n. GR 17015 (Medaillon); reverse inscription: ΠΡΟ(ΝΟΗΘΕΝΤΟΣ) (Μ) ΚΑ ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟΣ ΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΕ(ΡΕΩΣ) ΙΓ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ, ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΙΓ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ; Koinon of the 13 Cities, under Antoninus Pius; © Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien.
- Fig. 3: RPC IV 2, 1937.1; Staatliche Münzsammlung München, no inv. n.; reverse inscription: ΕΠΙ [Μ] [Κ]Α ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟΣ ΑΣΙΑΡΧ[] ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ; Sardis, under Antoninus Pius; © RPC ONLINE (<https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coin/184610>).
- Fig. 4: RPC IV 2, 953.1; Bibliothèque nationale de France, inv. n. 1111 (87) (Medaillon); reverse inscription: ΠΡΟ(ΝΟΗΘΕΝΤΟΣ) ΜΚΑ ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝ(ΟΣ) ΑΣΙΑΡΧ(ΟΥ) ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙ(ΕΡΕΩΣ) ΙΓ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ, ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΙΓ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ; Koinon of the 13 Cities, under Antoninus Pius; © gallica.bnf.fr (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b85549320.r>).
- Fig. 5: RPC IV 2, 1431.2; London, British Museum, inv. n. 1915,0603.56; reverse inscription: ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ; Sardis, under Antoninus Pius; © RPC ONLINE (<https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coin/172123>).
- Fig. 6: RPC IV 2, 955.2; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, inv. n. 1111 (86) (Medaillon); reverse inscription: ΠΡΟΝΟΗ(ΘΕΝΤΟΣ) Μ ΚΑ ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟΣ ΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΙΓ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ, ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΙΓ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ; Koinon of the 13 Cities, under Antoninus Pius; © gallica.bnf.fr (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8554931k.r>).

Fig. 7: RPC IV 2, 1019.1; London, British Museum, inv. n. 1979,0101.1703; reverse inscription: ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΙΓ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΠΡΟ(ΝΟΗΘΕΝΤΟΣ) Μ ΚΛ ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝ(ΟΣ) ΑΣΙΑΡΧ(ΟΥ) ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙ(ΕΡΕΩΣ) ΙΓ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ; Koinon of the 13 Cities, under Antoninus Pius; © The Trustees of the British Museum, London.

Fig. 8: RPC I 2991.14; Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, inv. n. 18203430; obverse inscription: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ; Sardis, under Tiberius; © Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin.

Figures 1–8: scale 1 : 1.