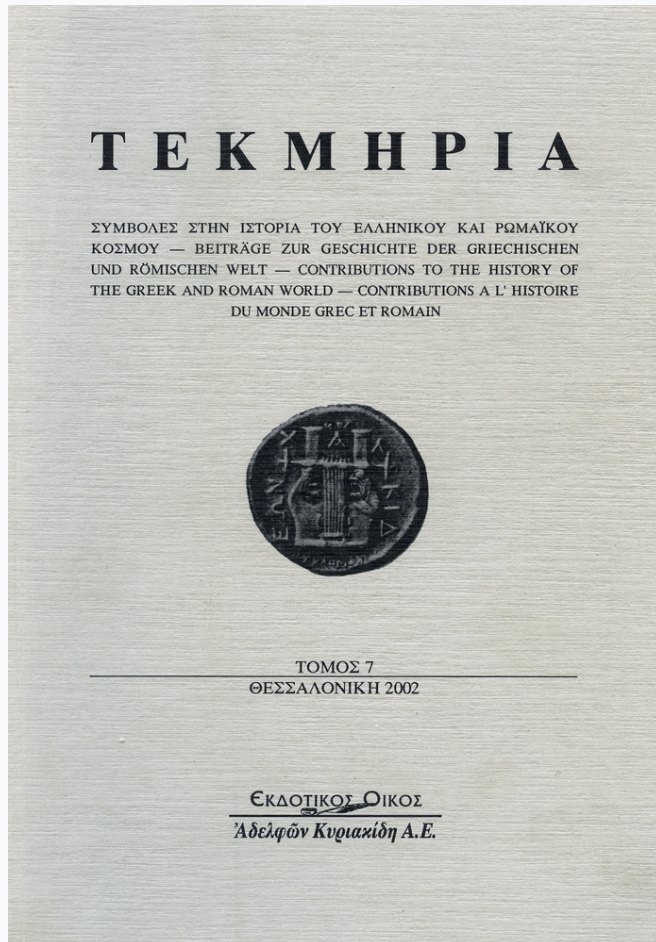


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S. KREMYDI-SICILIANOU

VICTORIA AUGUSTA ON MACEDONIAN COINS
REMARKS ON DATING AND INTERPRETATION*

1. New archaeological 'finds': Starting point for reconsidering accepted dates.

The significance of hoards for dating coin issues for which there are limited chronological indications is known and acknowledged. Their contribution to the dating of 'pseudo-autonomous' issues of the imperial period can prove definitive, as demonstrated by the present study, in which pseudo-autonomous issues of Philippi and the Macedonian Koinon are discussed.

a) Victoria / Vexilla issues of Philippi

The coins of Philippi with representation of Victoria and the legend *VIC(toria) AVG(usta)* on the obverse, and military vexilla accompanied by the inscription *COHOR(s) PRAE (toria) PHIL (ippiensis)* on the reverse are well known and encountered frequently both in museum collections and in excavations (figs 1-2). For many years it was taken for granted that they were minted in the reign of Augustus, a view reiterated in the relevant publications¹. The dating of the coins was the outcome of the hypothesis that the obverse type commemorates Octavian's victory at Actium; the reverse type was, consequently, considered evidence of the settlement of soldiers of a praetorian cohort at Philippi in the course of Augustus' refoundation of the colony.

This date was questioned by the compilers of the *RPC* (= *Roman Provincial Coinage*) corpus, who ascertained that these coins were minted from pure

* A first version of this article was presented to my colleagues in KERA/EIE whom I all thank for their comments and contribution. Special thanks are due to Prof. A. Rizakis for our long discussions from which I have profited a lot and to Dr. Michel Amandry for reading and commenting on the manuscript. I clearly hold all responsibility for the views expressed in this paper.

1. For the dating of the issues in the reign of Augustus see: P. Collart, *Philippes. Ville de Macédoine*, Paris 1937, 232-235, with earlier bibliography. This date is also followed in the later *Sylloge: SNG Evelp.*, 1275-1277; *SNG ANS*, 641-681; *SNG Cop.*, 305-206; *SNG Tüb.*, 1031.

copper, a phenomenon not observed in Macedonian issues before Claudius, and who therefore tentatively dated them to the years of Claudius or Nero².

Recent archaeological finds bring new evidence that has bearing on the date of these issues. In October 1999, a hoard of 1,590 bronze coins of the imperial period was discovered at Dion; among the contents of the hoard were seven coins of Philippi, all of the Victoria / Vexilla type and in quite good condition. The hoard can be dated securely *circa* AD 160 and includes, apart from 'pseudo-autonomous' issues, 1,186 coins of Antoninus Pius, 192 of Hadrian, 74 of Trajan and just 11 coins of the first century AD, six of which were struck in the local Dion mint, one in Thessaloniki, one by the Macedonian Koinon and three in Rome³. The exceptionally high proportion of the latest issues indicates that this is a circulation hoard and not a saving hoard. The presence of seven well-preserved coins of Philippi in this find leads us to reconsider their dating in the period of the Julian-Claudian dynasty. This is confirmed by two burial hoards that have come to light in recent years. The first was found in the Roman cemetery of Amphipolis⁴ and includes a coin of the Victoria / Vexilla type together with an Amphipolis issue from the reign of Trajan, while the second⁵ comes from Ierissos in the Chalcidice and includes, in addition to the coin of Philippi, an issue of Cassandrea from the reign of Antoninus Pius and one of the Macedonian Koinon from the reign of Vespasian.

The above finds demonstrate that the Victoria / Vexilla issues of Philippi should be dated in the first half of the second century AD and specifically between the reigns of Trajan and Antoninus Pius. It is not possible to document their more precise dating without the overall study of the mint. Nevertheless, the above observations can be amplified. First of all, specimens of these issues occur in very large numbers. The *RPC* catalogue, in which the material from the main museums and collections is recorded, includes 85 examples of this type, whereas in very few other cases does the number of examples exceed 20 and is

2. *RPC* I, 1651 and p. 308.

3. For a preliminary presentation of the find see S. Kremydi-Sicilianou, «Ένας νομισματικός θησαυρός από το ιερό του Διός στο Δίον», *ΑΕΜΘ* 14 (2000) 367ff. For the final publication see *eadem*, *Multiple Concealments from the Sanctuary of Zeus Olympios at Dion*, ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 35, Athens 2004 (forthcoming).

4. D. Amoiridou – D. Malamidou, «Άνασκαφική έρευνα στο ρωμαϊκό νεκροταφείο της Ἀμφίπολης», *ΑΕΜΘ* 12 (1998) 80-81.

5. J. Touratsoglou, *Ἡ νομισματική κυκλοφορία στην ἀρχαία Μακεδονία*, Athens 1993, 60, no. 14 (Ierissos/1976, grave 589).

usually appreciably smaller. The excavation evidence corroborates the above ascertainments, as is apparent from the coin finds in the city of Abdera, for example, from where 45 of the 64 coins of the colony of Philippi recorded are of the issues discussed here⁶. We can, therefore, document our claim that the coins of the Victoria / Vexilla type from Philippi were minted in unusually large numbers for a 'pseudo-autonomous' issue struck under only one emperor. Furthermore, the numerous surviving examples display notable differentiations in iconography, style, size and weight. The combination of the above factors leads to the thought that at Philippi the issues of *semisses* with Victoria must have been successive and accompanied the *asses* bearing the portrait of the appropriate emperor⁷. The general picture of the numismatic output of Philippi is consistent with this argument. The city minted *asses* with the effigy of most of the emperors from Augustus to Commodus and all with a unique reverse type: the sculptural group of Augustus being crowned by the deified Caesar⁸. The monotonous reproduction of the same iconographic types on the repeated issues of the 'pseudo-autonomous' *semisses* is in accordance with this practice.

In our view, the most important iconographic differentiation in the obverse type of the coins discussed here, which has not been commented upon hitherto, concerns the type of Victoria. On the coins of Philippi, Victoria is represented standing left upon a base and holding a laurel wreath and a palm branch. In some cases, however, Victoria stands upon a globe (fig. 1)⁹. The coins with globe, which are not encountered in the hoards of the second century AD, are particularly carefully engraved and the iconographic parallels – which will be

6. K. Chryssanthaki, *L'histoire monétaire d'Abdère du VIe avant J. -C. au IIe siècle après J. -C.* (Paris IV, Sorbonne, 2000), 795-798. Coins of Philippi with these types are the only ones from the colony found in the Agora of Athens: J. H. Kroll, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. 26, *The Greek Coins*, Princeton 1993, 184, no. 476.

7. It is pertinent to recall here the perspicacious observations of M. E. M. Cousinéry, *Voyage dans la Macédoine*, Paris 1831, vol. 2, 41-42, who wrote: 'Eckhel pense que ses médailles en été frappées sous le règne d'Auguste. J'ajoute que les coins en furent renouvelés sous tous les empereurs, jusqu' à Gallien ... J'ai pu reconnaître combien ces médailles sont communes, et combien elles varient par le style et par le poids ... Il n'y a aucun exemple d'une aussi grande quantité de pièces autonomes pour une colonie.' For the differentiations in the inscription on the revers see: Collart, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 232, n. 4.

8. M. Amandry, «Le monnayage de la Res Publica Coloniae Philippensium», in: U. Peter (ed.), *Stephanos Nomismatikos*, Berlin 1998, 23-31 and especially 28-29.

9. *SNG Evelt.*, 1277; *SNG ANS*, 677.

analysed in the second part of this article – lead us to suggest that they belong to the earlier issues. What, however, is the date of the first Victoria issues of Philippi and what, consequently, is their significance? We shall return to this question in part three of our article.

b) Victoria / Shield issues of the Macedonian Koinon

The *semisses* of the Macedonian Koinon, with Victoria on the obverse and Macedonian shield on the reverse, always bear the legend ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ. On the basis of the known material, four issues with similar iconography can be identified and their description, in the order of entry in the *RPC*, is as follows:

— *RPC* 1620: Victoria upon globe with wreath and palm. ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ / Macedonian shield (**fig. 3**).

— *RPC* 1621: Victoria with wreath and palm, standing left / Macedonian shield ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ (**fig. 4**).

— *RPC* 1622: As above but the shield is small and surrounded by an oak wreath

— *RPC* 1623: As 1621 but Victoria standing right (**fig. 5**).

Gaebler, noting the stylistic similarity between these issues and the corresponding ones of the Macedonian Koinon bearing an imperial portrait, had proposed that they be dated to the mid-first century AD, and specifically to the period between Nero and Vespasian¹⁰. The compilers of the *RPC* adopt this date, justifying it by an additional argument relating to the form of the legend. Securely dated coins of the Koinon until the reign of Vespasian bear the name of the emperor on the obverse and the legend ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ on the reverse. After Domitian, the inscription changes to ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ, which form prevails on all the later issues. The absence of the word ΚΟΙΝΟΝ from the early coins bearing the imperial portrait has been paralleled with the legend (ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ) on the ‘pseudo-autonomous’ *semisses*, with the resultant proposal that they be dated prior to Domitian¹¹.

In the aforesaid Dion hoard, there were 39 coins of the Macedonian Koinon, one of which is from the reign of Domitian, 14 are of Hadrian, 20 of Antoninus Pius, while four are ‘pseudo-autonomous’ issues featuring Victoria and in very good condition. Of these coins, three belong to the *RPC* 1621 issue (**fig. 4**) and

10. H. Gaebler, *ZfN* 24 (1904), 282-283; idem, *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands*, 3, 1, Berlin 1906, 11.

11. *RPC* 1, p. 303-304.

one to the *RPC* 1623 (fig. 5). These data, in conjunction with the overall composition of the hoard – on which we have commented above– oblige us to reconsider the proposed dating of at least two of the four Victoria issues and to propose their dating to the time of Hadrian or, more probably, of Antoninus Pius. Their earlier dating to the reign of Trajan, even though possibly compatible with the context of the hoard, does not seem likely, on account of the particularly good condition of the specific specimens.

In our opinion, the argument concerning the form of the legend cannot override the archaeological evidence. The use of abbreviated legends on coins of small denomination was already established practice, for which there are parallels in contemporary issues of the Macedonian colonies. The legends *COL DIENSIS* on coins of the colony of Dion¹², as well as the legend *CASSANDRE*, in which even the title of the colony at Cassandrea is omitted¹³, occur on *semisses*, whereas the fuller onomatological types are the rule for larger denominations.

The dating of the issues *RPC* 1621 and 1623 of the Macedonian Koinon to around the mid-second century AD leaves open the question of the date of the other two issues with comparable iconography. Iconographic parallels for the development of the Victoria type – which will be discussed below – lead us to maintain that the issue *RPC* 1620, with Victoria upon globe (fig. 3), is the earliest, and that consequently the succession of issues, as proposed in *RPC*, is most probably correct. This view is reinforced not only by the absence of the specific variation from the Dion hoard, but also by the placement of the legend on the obverse, a practice abandoned in the later issues.

(II) The distribution of the Victoria upon globe type

The type of the winged Victoria holding palm and wreath and ‘flying’ upon a globe was established by Octavian¹⁴ as one of the symbols *par excellence* of the *Imperium Romanum*. The use of the type in the iconography of Roman coinage, its gradual replacement by the simpler representation of Victoria

12. *RPC* I, 1503; *RPC Suppl.* 1, S-1507B, S-1508B.

13. *RPC* I, 1512-1514.

14. The Hellenistic provenance of the type from Southern Italy was documented by Tonio Hölscher, *Victoria Romana*, Mainz 1967, 12-17. See also *LIMC*, VI, 1, s. v. Nike, nos 383-384.

holding wreath and palm, as well as its spread to the provincial mints will be discussed below.

a) 'Victoria upon globe' in the numismatic iconography of Rome

This type first appeared in coin iconography in a series of *denarii* and *aurei* of Octavian, whose date and mint attribution are contentious matters¹⁵ (figs. 6, 7). The alternative use of the legends *CAESAR DIVI F* and *IMP CAESAR* has been taken as a basic criterion for dividing the series into two chronologically successive 'groups', which, however, are linked by common types and common dies. This view was upheld by Sutherland, who considered that the first 'group' should be dated to the period 32-29 BC, that is before Octavian acquired the right to use the title Imperator as praenomen, while the second should be dated to the years 29-27 BC, when Augustus obtained the title¹⁶. According to the chronological classification attempted by Sutherland, the coins with Victoria holding wreath and palm frond and 'flying' upon globe should be dated after Actium but before 29 BC. This view has been challenged by numismatic, iconographic and epigraphic arguments, on the basis of which it was maintained that the series is a uniform ensemble of single conception and execution that should be associated with Octavian's triumphant return to Rome in the summer of 29 BC¹⁷.

15. *BMCRE*, I, 590-646. The representation of Victoria upon globe also occurs in a series of *denarii* and *quinarii* minted in the name of Scarpus, Governor of the Cyrenaica: *BMCRE*, I, 687-688, 690 (31-28 BC) (fig. 8), as well as in later issues of Spain: *BMCRE*, I, pl. 9, nos 18-29 (19-16 or 15 BC).

16. H. Sutherland, «Octavian's gold and silver coinage from c. 32 to 27 BC», *QT* 1976, 129-157. The same dating is followed in the volume *RIC I* (1984²), 30-31, 59-61. Later bibliography subscribing to this view has been assembled by W. Trillmich, «Münzpropaganda», in the volume: *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republic* (Ausstellung, Berlin 1988), Mainz 1988, 507, lemma 323. The successive issue of coins of this series, in the period 34-29 BC, has been advocated inter alia by M. Crawford, *RRCH*, 41-42 and *JRS* 64 (1974), 246-247, with the hoard evidence as central argument.

17. This view has been supported by Hölscher, *op. cit.* (n. 14), 8 and n. 29, and — with numismatic arguments — by K. Kraft, *Zur Münzprägung der Augustus*, Sitzungsbericht Frankfurt, 8, 5 (1968), 206-225. Their opinion has been adopted also by Trillmich, *op. cit.* (n. 16), 482-485 and *lemmata* 323-332.

The acceptance of this dating makes the hypothesis that the numismatic representations of Victoria upon globe reproduce the famous statue of Victoria that Octavian set up in the Curia highly plausible¹⁸. His triumphal return to Rome in the summer of 29 BC, after the triple victory in Dalmatia, Actium and Egypt, was celebrated with festivals lasting several days¹⁹, during which the renovated building of the Senate, the renowned *Curia Iulia*, was inaugurated²⁰. In this building, according to the testimony of Dio Cassius, Octavian erected a statue of Victoria transported from Tarentum and adorned with booty from Egypt²¹. The *Victoria quae est in curia* or the *Victoria Romana*, as it is mentioned in the ancient sources²², became a symbol of the world dominium of Rome and it became customary for the senators to offer libations before it, on entering the Curia²³. In a period when the Senate was still a body with considerable power and influence, the victory-bringing deity could not possibly have been identified with Victoria Augusta²⁴, worship of whom spread gradually²⁵.

18. It is characteristic that for the two-dimensional surface of coins variations alluding to a transfer of a three-dimensional work were adopted, such as the representation of the goddess sometimes facing right (*BMCRE*, I, 604, pl. 15, no. 1), sometimes left (*BMCRE*, I, 602-603, pl. 14, nos 18-19) and sometimes frontal (*BMCRE*, I, 622, pl. 14, no. 4). The earlier theory is documented by Hölscher, *op. cit.* (n. 14), 8-9, where the earlier bibliography is to be found. Objections to the identification of the numismatic type with the statue in the Curia were expressed by A. Bellinger-M. A. Berlincourt, «Victoria as a Coin Type», *ANSMN* 149 (1962), 52-53. For this subject G. Hafner, «Die 'Romana Victoria' in der Curia Iulia», *AA* 4 (1989), 553-558, argues that the Victoria in the Curia was a 'pastiche' of Augustus, who combined the statue from Taras with a globe from Egypt and created a seemingly innovative composition.

19. Dio Cassius 51. 21.

20. For the conversion of the Forum Romanum by Augustus: P. Zanker, *The Power and Images in the Age of Augustus*, Ann Arbor 1984 (transl. A. Shapiro), 79-85.

21. Dio Cassius, 51. 22. 1-22.

22. The sources have been collated by Hölscher, *op. cit.* (n. 14), 7 n. 15.

23. Herodian, 5. 5. 7; 7. 11. 3.

24. In the private monuments in the minor arts, in contrast to the official iconography of Roman coin issues, the representation of the winged Victoria upon a globe was associated with the person of Augustus and his victory at Actium. For the interpretation of the statue and its contradistinction to the iconographic type see the excellent analysis by Hölscher, *op. cit.* (n. 14), 9-11 and 181-182.

25. Roscher, *Lexicon*, s. v. Victoria, 296-298 [Latte].

The numismatic type of Victoria upon globe was abandoned by the successors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty²⁶, and reappeared on issues of the 'pro-senatorial' Galbas, with the legend: *VICTORIA PR.*²⁷ The first and last time in Roman numismatic iconography that the representation of the winged Victoria upon globe was associated with the cult of Victoria Augusta is in a series of impressive *aurei* of the reign of Vespasian, which copy with remarkable accuracy the early issues of Augustus but have the legend *VIC AVG* in the field²⁸, exactly as on the coins of Philippi discussed above. After Vespasian, the type was virtually abandoned – except for some very limited bronze issues in Trajan's day²⁹ – and the much more 'neutral' type of Victoria holding palm and wreath held sway. This fairly common Victoria, which is ubiquitous in the provincial mints too, was already known from coinage of the Republican era³⁰, reappeared in imperial times with Claudius³¹ and constituted one of the 'commonplaces' of Roman coin iconography, particularly after Vespasian.

26. The more pacific representation of Victoria sitting upon a globe was used both in the later issues of Augustus himself (*BMCRE*, I, 496-97, pl. 12, nos 16-17; 504-505, pl. 12, nos 20-21) and the issues of Tiberius (*BMCRE*, I, pl. 22, nos 4-18), Caligula (*BMCRE*, I, pl. 27, nos 5, 17, 25), Claudius (*BMCRE*, I, pl. 33, no. 24) and Nero (*BMCRE*, I, pl. 46, no. 19). Characteristic too is the Victoria stepping on a globe and writing on a shield (Brescia type), which was established by Claudius (*BMCRE*, I, pl. 33, no. 23) and used in the reign of Nero (*BMCRE*, I, pl. 40, no. 18) as well as later emperors too.

27. *BMCRE*, I, 46-48, pl. 52, nos 22-24.

28. *BMCRE*, II, 63, 72 and 81, pl. 2, nos 1, 7 and 13: *aurei* of the Rome mint. The type is also reproduced on denarii of the mint of Hispania (*BMCRE*, II, 761, pl. 11, no. 13) and of Gaul (*BMCRE*, II, 407, pl. 14, no. 4).

29. *BMCRE*, III, 765, pl. 27, no. 9.

30. *RRC* 454, 494/25, 502, 545, 546.

31. *BMCRE*, I, pl. 32, no. 10 (Claudius, with the inscription *VICTORIA PR*) and *BMCRE*, I, pl. 44, nos 1-3 and pl. 46, no. 8, pl. 47, no. 1 (Nero, with the inscription *VICTORIA AVGVSTI*).

b) The spread of the type to the Provinces

The representation of the winged Victoria upon globe occurs occasionally in mints of Asia³², Bithynia³³, Moesia³⁴, Galatia³⁵ and Cyprus³⁶, while it is employed more systematically in Macedonia and Achaëa, regions that were more receptive to iconographic influences from the West³⁷. The earliest appearance of the type in the provinces is in the coinage of Cyprus. Immediately after the conquest of Egypt, Octavian sped to ratify his domination of the island by replacing Ptolemaic symbols on the local coins with his own. The Cypriot coins are also the only provincial issues of Augustus' reign in which the type of Victoria upon globe is used.

In Greece, this representation is encountered for the first time on *asses* of Tiberius' from Corinth³⁸ (fig. 10). The Corinthian issues copy faithfully the Roman prototype, since they represent Victoria with raised wings, a very characteristic detail, which appears identical on the *denarii* to render the

32. *RPC I*, 2698: Magnesia on the Meander, under Tiberius. *RPC I*, 2759, 2765-2766: Rhodes, 31 BC-AD 60.

33. *RPC I*, 2004: Apameia, 'pseudo-autonomous' coins. Their dating to the period of the Triumvirate is not confirmed by other so early parallels for the type.

34. *RPC I*, 1828: Tomi in Moesia, possibly under Claudius.

35. *RPC I*, 3569: Tabion in Galatia, 'pseudo-autonomous' issues of the mid-1st c. AD.

36. *RPC I*, 3904, 26 BC. For the Cypriot issues of Augustus' reign: M. Amandry, *Centre d'Etudes Chypriotes*, 7 (1987-1), 17-32.

37. R. Vollkommer, in his article «Aspekte der Victoriadarstellungen auf römischen Provinzialprägungen des Ostens in iulisch-claudischer Zeit mit einem Excurs zur Rekonstruktion der Nike von Samothrake», *CIN* 12 (Berlin 1997), 735-743, argues that the numismatic representations of Victoria in the eastern provinces draw on Hellenistic rather than Roman prototypes. This does not apply, however, to the representation of Victoria upon globe, neither to the other variations of Victoria (Brescia type) that feature on later issues. In any case Vollkommer focuses his research on Asia Minor, where the picture is considerably different from that occurring in Greece.

38. *RPC I*, 1146, 1148. M. Amandry, *Le monnayage des duovirs corinthiens*, *BCH Suppl.* 15, Athènes – Paris 1988, 156-165, ém. 14 (catalogue) had dated these issues to the last years of Augustus' reign, mainly on account of the 'parallel' of Philippi, a view he reconsidered, however, in the *RPC* publication. For coins of Corinth with the type of Victoria upon globe see also: Numismatic Lanz München, Auktion 105, Münzen von Korinth, Sammlung BCD. November 2001, nos 364-366, 369-373. The type, much distanced from the Roman prototype, was repeated in the reign of Domitian: *RPC II*, 145, 152, 204-205 and Numismatic Lanze, *op. cit.*, 539, 564.

'flying' goddess. Less sophisticated in style and less close to the Roman model in iconography are the issues of Thessalonike³⁹ (fig. 11), the 'pseudo-autonomous' issue of the Macedonian Koinon referred to above⁴⁰ (fig. 3), the Neronian issues of the Thessalian Koinon⁴¹ (fig. 12), as well as those of Thebes in the reign of Galba⁴². 'Pseudo-autonomous' issues of Stobi, dating from the time of the Flavii, have similar obverse type, though on these the goddess holds a trophy instead of a wreath⁴³ (fig. 13). In none of the above cases, however, is Victoria upon globe encountered after the reign of Domitian, and since the Victoria type continues to be used, it is replaced by the simpler representation of Victoria walking or running and holding palm and wreath. Thessalonike is a case in point: the city's iconographic programme, which had an intensely 'Roman' orientation during the first century AD, also includes the representation of Victoria upon globe. After Domitian, and especially after Trajan, Victoria is established as the iconographic choice *par excellence* and functions as the city's 'type parlant'. In the second and third centuries, Victoria no longer stands upon the globe, but is shown in a more generalized and 'neutral' representation, in which she walks holding palm and wreath⁴⁴. Strikingly similar to Thessalonike is Stobi, where, after the foundation issue of the Flavians already mentioned, the type was abandoned and different versions of the goddess were adopted, all of them without globe⁴⁵. This iconographic succession, which is observed both in Rome and the provincial mints, documents our hypothesis that the issues of Victoria upon globe in the 'pseudo-autonomous' coinages of the Macedonian Koinon and Philippi, discussed above, are also the earliest in the respective series.

39. *RPC* I, 1582-1584 (under Claudius), 1593, 1595, 1597-1598, 1604 (under Nero), *RPC* II, 318, 326 (under Vespasian).

40. *RPC* I, 1620.

41. *RPC* I and *RPC* Suppl. I, 1445, 1446, 1451, 1452.

42. *RPC* I, 1330, 1334.

43. *RPC* II, 301-302. P. Josifovska, *Roman Mint of Stobi*, Skopje 2001, 328-29, pl. 46.

44. For the development of the Victoria type in Thessalonike see: I. Touratsoglou, *Die Münzstätte von Thessaloniki in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Berlin 1988, 94. It should nevertheless be noted that on Thessalonike's 'pseudoautonomous' issues the Victory upon globe continues to be sporadically used until the reign of Commodus when it is finally abandoned: Touratsoglou, *op. cit.*, 318-23, pl. 49, issues IIA - IIF.

45. H. Gaebler, *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands*, 3, 2, Berlin 1935, 112-113, nos 9, 14-15; *SNG*. Fitzw., 1284; P. Josifovska, *op. cit.* (n. 43), *passim*.

How was this *par excellence* Roman type perceived in the provinces? The conclusion that seems to emerge easily from the above is that in the provinces the type was not used as a symbol of Roman propaganda in Augustus' reign⁴⁶, as was the case in Rome. However, this does not mean, as Vollkommer had concluded⁴⁷, that Augustus' triumph was not depicted in the East. Coins of Nikopolis, Thessalonike and especially Pella commemorate the specific event either by different representations of Victoria or by depicting the emperor himself⁴⁸. The representation of Victoria upon globe seems to have been disseminated to the provinces from the moment Victoria could be associated with the person of the emperor. It is indicative that in Rome the inscription *Victoria Augusta* is not found on coins, nor does it accompany any representation of Victoria whatsoever until the reign of Claudius. The same is observed in the provinces too, where the earliest appearances of the inscription on coins are on issues of Cnossus from the reign of Claudius⁴⁹ and of Apameia from the reign of

46. Sole exception to the rule is Cyprus, because of the island's special relationship with Antony and Egypt.

47. Vollkommer, *op. cit.* (n. 37), 738 notes: 'Wir müssen also festhalten, dass die im Westen von Augustus propagierte Siegesideologie, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Darstellung der Victoria als ihrer Vergöttlichung, auf östlichen Provinzialmünzen kaum einen Niederschlag gefunden hat ...'.

48. At Nikopolis (*RPC I*, 1364) on issues of the reign of Augustus, the goddess is shown standing and holding a wreath, in a representation that strongly recalls the *sestertii* of Flaminius as well as those of Alexander, which the Roman general copied. In Thessalonike (*RPC I*, 1556), on issues of the same period which very probably commemorate Actium, Victoria stands on a prow. The reference to Actium is far more direct on coins of Pella (*RPC I*, 1548) bearing a representation of the emperor stepping on a prow and accompanied by the inscription: *IMP DIVI F ACTIO*.

One of Augustus' triumphal monuments was Victoria upon globe, the colossal statue from the Athenian Agora. This statue has been linked with Augustus' return from the campaign against the Parthians (18 BC), when he sojourned in Athens for a while and financed the construction of the city's Agora: A. Spetsieri-Choremi, 'Eine überlebensgrosse Victoria-Statue in Athen', *AM* 111 (1996), 363-390 and in particular for the dating and interpretation 387ff.

49. *RPC I*, 1003. For the ascription to Cnossus and the dating of the coins, on which the inscription *VICTORIA AVG* accompanies a representation of Victoria with a wreath and a palm, see: M. Amandry, «Les duoviro Capito et Cytherus à Cnossos», *BCH* 101 (1977), 241-247.

Nero⁵⁰, both of which were, like Philippi, Roman colonies. The inscriptions ΝΙΚΗ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ and ΝΙΚΗ ΝΕΡΩΝΟΣ occur, moreover, on the corresponding coins of Abdera in Thrace⁵¹.

In conclusion, we could say that in the eastern provinces of the empire the representation of Victoria upon globe was perceived as a reference to the worldwide sovereignty of the emperor and not necessarily as a reference to a particular military victory. This type spread and was used widely both in the Greek cities and the colonies, in the period from Claudius to Vespasian.

III. Dating and interpretation of the Victoria / Vexilla issues of Philippi

a) On the beginning of the Victoria / Vexilla issues at Philippi

In the first part of this article we contended that the ‘pseudo-autonomous’ *semisses* of Philippi with the Victoria / Vexilla types belong to successive issues and we documented the dating of some of these to the mid-second century AD. The presence of the earliest iconographic variant of Victoria standing upon a globe, as well as the particularly large volume of surviving material, which displays significant stylistic and metrological differentiations, led us to the hypothesis that production of the coins of Philippi began earlier than the hoards document. Even though the secure date of these successive issues is predicated on the overall study of the numismatic material of the colony, we shall endeavour to posit some hypotheses concerning the beginning of their minting.

The view that the issues with Victoria / Vexilla types date to the reign of Augustus was based on two assumptions: first, that the ‘pseudo-autonomous’ issues with colonial types are, as a rule, founding issues of the reign of Augustus, and second that the Victoria depicted is a reference to a specific military victory, namely the victory of Octavian at Actium. Analytical studies of individual mints have shown, however, that colonial types could be reproduced

50. *RPC* I, 2016. On the coins of Apameia bearing the inscription *VIC AVG*, Victoria is represented standing and holding a shield, whereas on ‘pseudo-autonomous’ issues of the same city (*RPC* I, 2003, see also n. 34) the type of Victoria upon globe is encountered.

51. *RPC* I, 1729, 1731. The inscriptions accompany the type of Victoria standing and holding a wreath and a palm. Chryssanthaki, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 591ff.

in stereotype for several decades after the founding of a colony⁵². As far as the 'reference to Actium' is concerned, we have already shown that the iconographic type of Victoria upon globe was neither used in provincial issues of the reign of Augustus nor associated with the monarch's triumph, the sole exception being Cyprus. The prevailing opinion that dates the issues of Philippi to the time of Augustus has in any case been doubted for reasons linked with the composition of their metal⁵³.

The iconographic and epigraphic evidence analysed in the second part of this article lead to a *terminus post quem* for dating these issues, in the reign of Claudius. It seems that in this period the cult of Victoria⁵⁴ was disseminated widely in the provinces too, as is deduced from the numismatic evidence discussed above. It is, moreover, telling that the inscription *Victoria Augusta* is encountered for the first time on both provincial and Roman coins of the reign of Claudius. Claudius' conquest of Britain was utilized by imperial propaganda and contributed to the spread of the cult of the victory-bringing goddess. The worship of Victoria Britannica is attested epigraphically at Corinth⁵⁵ and Emperor Claudius bears the epithet 'Britannicus' in issues of Thessalonike⁵⁶.

However, the sole Roman issues that combine the type of Victoria upon globe with the inscription *VIC AVG* are the *aurei* minted by Vespasian in Rome⁵⁷. He, like Augustus, was founder of a dynasty after a civil war, and his iconographic programme copies that of Augustus in many respects. The repetition of the type of Victoria upon globe on coins of Vespasian is a very

52. For the dating of the Dion issue with the plough (*RPC* I, 1503) under the Antonines see: S. Kremydi-Sicilianou, *Η Νομισματοκοπία της ρωμαϊκής αποικίας του Δίου*, Athens 1996, 93-85. The 'Dion 1999' hoard mentioned above (n.3) contains 100 coins of this issue, which definitely proves their dating to the reign of Antoninus Pius. The type with military vexilla was used in Patras during the reigns of Claudius (*RPC* I, 1256), Nero (*RPC* I, 1257), Galbas (*RPC* I, 1282), Domitian (*RPC* II, 221, 224-261), Hadrian (*BMC* 40), while the ploughing type was used in the reigns of Augustus (*RPC* I, 1252), Tiberius (*RPC* I, 1253-1254) and Domitian (*RPC* II, 253-261).

53. Cf. n. 2 above.

54. For the cult of Victoria Augusta see *RE* VIII A2 (1958) s. v. Victoria, 2518-2521 [St. Weinstock]. W. H. Roscher, *Lexicon der Griechischen und Romischen Mythologie*, s. v. Victoria, 297-302.

55. *Corinth*, 8, 3, 158-163 [J. Harvey-Kent].

56. *RPC* I, 1588.

57. Cf. n. 28 above.

characteristic example of this revival⁵⁸. The similarity between the issues of Philippi and those of Vespasian, mainly with regard to the inscription and its placement in the field, lead us to put forward an hypothesis, according to which the issues of Philippi began to be minted in the reign of the founder of the Flavian dynasty.

b) On the interpretation of the Victoria / Vexilla issues of Philippi

The reconsideration of the view that the 'pseudo-autonomous' issues of Philippi were produced in the reign of Augustus, their dating after Claudius and possibly in the reign of Vespasian, poses a question which is of importance for the history of the colony: when were the praetorians mentioned on the reverse settled in the colony and why are they commemorated on the coins?

At the time of the refounding of the colony of Philippi by Octavian in 30 BC, new civilian colonists were added to the pre-existing body of citizens, and specifically supporters of Antony who were removed from their allotments in Italy⁵⁹. The concurrent settlement of praetorians at Philippi is not mentioned in the literary sources or in inscriptions, but has been deduced from the monetary evidence⁶⁰. But how is this hypothesis affected by the reconsideration of the dating of the colony's coins? To which praetorians do the coins refer, to those putatively settled by Augustus or possibly to some who settled later? And if this subsequent settlement existed, was it of such significance that it was commemorated on successive issues of a city that was particularly parsimonious in its choice of iconographic types?

In order to approach these questions we consider it pertinent to resort to the epigraphic testimonia that document the presence of praetorians at Philippi. The first dated inscriptions from the city coincide with the end of the civil war and

58. K. Scott, *The Imperial Cult Under the Flavians*, New York 1975, 25, writes: «With this insistence on the idea of a new dynasty Vespasian apparently copied the general program of the founder of the great Julio-Claudian dynasty, Augustus», and elsewhere (p. 28) states: «... another abstraction which shows that Vespasian was modelling his religious and dynastic program on that of Augustus is Victoria ... most strikingly manifested on the coinage».

59. Dio Cassius 51. 4. 6.

60. Collart, *op. cit* (n. 1), 232-236.

the rise to power of Vespasian (AD 70/71)⁶¹, while praetorians from Philippi occur after AD 119 in the lists of Rome⁶². The period of civil strife (AD 68/69), from which Vespasian emerged as emperor, was one of intensive and often unruly enlistments and the military diplomas of the two Thracians (most probably inhabitants of the territory of Philippi), in which eminent Philippian appear as witnesses, are honorary demobilizations for supporters of Vespasian⁶³. The city's participation in Vespasian's victorious campaigns also emerges from other epigraphic testimonia: in a now fragmentary inscription of a priest of the deified Vespasian, the city is given the epithet *Victrix*⁶⁴, an epithet which is revived for the first time after the battle of Philippi and the colonization by Antony in 42 BC⁶⁵. The *Legio II Adiutrix* was possibly honoured too for its

61. P. Pilhofer, *Philippi. Band II. Katalog der Inschriften von Philippi*, Tübingen 2000, no. 030A (= Th. Sarikakis, «Des soldats macédoniens dans l'armée romaine», *Ἀρχαία Μακεδονία II*, Thessaloniki 1977, 181); Caius Sallustius Crescentius, soldier of the IV praetorian cohort, witness on a military diploma (AD 71); Pilhofer 202 (= Sarikakis 188): Lucius Tatinius Cnosus, soldier of the same cohort who reached the rank of centurion (honorary decree from the reign of Domitian). For the same cf. Pilhofer 203; Pilhofer 705 (= Sarikakis 157); Publius Lucretius Apulius, soldier of the IX praetorian cohort, witness on a military diploma (AD 70). Praetorians undated inscriptions: Pilhofer 628: Quintus Petronius Firmus, soldier of the V praetorian cohort (no tribe and origin is mentioned), votive plaque in the sanctuary of the hero Auloneites. Pilhofer 323a (= Sarikakis 241): soldier of the X praetorian cohort from the Voltinia tribe of Philippi, whose name is not preserved.

62. Pilhofer 759 = Sarikakis 235 (AD 119), Pilhofer 760 = Sarikakis 15 (AD 126), Pilhofer 761 = Sarikakis 216 (AD 136), Pilhofer 762 = Sarikakis 203 (AD 144), Pilhofer 763 = Sarikakis 38, 46, 52, 223, 228 (c. AD 200), Pilhofer 764 = Sarikakis 59 (c. AD 200).

63. These are the inscriptions *CIL XVI*, 12 (AD 70, diploma for Ezvenis) and *CIL XVI*, 10 (AD 71, diploma from Doules), in which are also the earliest references to Philippian praetorians. For bibliography see Pilhofer 30 and 705 respectively. Of particular interest for our subject are the observations made by S. Dusanic, «The Witnesses to the Early 'Diplomata militaria', in: *Sodalitas. Scritti in Onore di Antonio Guarino*, vol. 1, Naples 1984, 285.

64. *CIL III*, 1, 660. The completion *Victricis*, made by L. Heuzey, H. Daumet, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*, Paris 1876, 17, no. 4, was doubted by Mommsen, «... cum nusquam praeterea colonia haec appelletur *Victrix* ...». For bibliography see Pilhofer 4.

65. Foundation issues of Antony (*RPC I*, 1645-1649) bore the initials AICVP, for the analysis of which as *Antoni iussu colonia victrix Philippiensium* see: H. Gaebler, *ZfN* 1929, 260-269.

contribution to Vespasians' campaigns, in an inscription from the Forum⁶⁶.

The epigraphic data thus document that citizens of Philippi, as well as *peregrini* who were recruited from the area and subsequently became titular Roman citizens, fought on Vespasian's side and that the city linked its name with the emperor's victorious campaigns. After all, it was he who arranged the settlement of veteran legionaries from Philippi both in his birthplace at Reatum in Italy⁶⁷ and at Paestum⁶⁸.

It is, however, very difficult to accept that the recruitment of praetorians from Philippi in the reign of Vespasian, or possibly a new settlement of veterans of the imperial guard by him or some other emperor after Augustus, could have such symbolic gravitas that it was not only referred to on the city's coinage but was also virtually the unique type for the 'pseudo-autonomous' issues for at least one hundred years.

To whom do the coins of Philippi refer? There is no mention in any source to the colonization of Philippi with praetorians during the reign of Augustus, although this could well have happened. Appian refers often to the praetorians of Augustus and notes specifically (V. 1. 3) that after the battle of Philippi the two victors demobilized those who had completed their military service, except for 8,000 volunteers whom they promoted as members of their bodyguard. Thus, Augustus may have settled these veterans of the battle of Philippi in the homonymous city after the end of the civil wars. Their association with the heroic victory to which the colony owed its very existence would make them a symbol for their city.

Why, however, should they be commemorated on later issues and which period is most likely to have favoured a memorial reference of this kind? We have already said that Vespasian's ascent to the throne took place in

66. P. Collat, *BCH* 57 (1933) 368ff. , who consider that the inscription should be associated with Caracalla's campaign in Asia. Contra: Papazoglou, *ANRW*, 7, 1, 2, 344, n. 189, who links it with Vespasian as well as with the military diploma of Doules (see n. 62 above). For collected bibliography: Pihofier 210. For the *Legio II Adiutrix* and Vespasian: *RE* XII, 2, s. v. *Legio*, 1438-1440 [Ritterling].

67. *CIL* IX, 4682, veteran of the *VII Cohors Praetoria*, from the Voltinia tribe of Philippi, and 4684, veteran of the *Legio VIII Augusta* from Philippi. For the *Legio VIII Augusta*'s support of Vespasian in Moesia: *RE* XII, 2 s. v. *Legio*, 1650 [Ritterling]. Suet., *Vespas.* 6; Tac., *Hist.* 2, 85. Vespasian also settled veterans from the same legion in the colony of Deultum in Thrace: Ch. Danov, *ANRW*, II. 7, 1, 162.

68. *CIL* XVI, 12 (cf. also n. 62 above).

circumstances that could be paralleled with those in which Augustus came to power, a comparison which the founder of the Flavian dynasty was solicitous to stress by reviving many elements of his predecessor's propaganda. We have also said that many Philippians distinguished themselves in the civil war of AD 68/69, fighting on the side of Vespasian, and that the city linked her name with the victory and predominance of the Flavian emperor, just as had happened – *mutatis mutandis* – after the battle of Philippi in 42 BC. If to these coincidences we add the observation that the prevailing of Vespasian in AD 70 coincides with the centennial anniversary of the founding of the colony of Philippi by Augustus (30 BC), then we have, I believe, sufficient arguments to posit the hypothesis that the coins of Philippi with Victoria upon globe may indeed copy the *aurei* of Vespasian that were minted in Rome. The conjuncture of historical circumstances was most propitious for a commemorative issue, a practice frequently adopted in Rome and in the provinces. On the later issues of the second century AD, the simpler type of Victoria upon base and holding palm frond and wreath held sway.

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KEY TO PLATE

PHILIPPI

Obv.: Victoria holding palm and wreath standing on globe to the l. VIC-AVG

Rev.: Three vexilla. COHOR PRAE PHIL

1) AE. 4.30 gms -12 h. *SNG* Evelp., 1277.

Obv.: Victoria holding palm and wreath standing on globe to the l. VIC-AVG

Rev.: Three vexilla. COHOR PRAE PHIL

2) AE. 4.7 gms -6 h. From the "Dion 1999" hoard. Type as in *RPC I*, 1651.

MACEDONIAN KOINON

Obv.: Victoria holding palm and wreath standing on globe to the l.

MAKEΔONΩN

Rev.: Macedonian Shield

3) AE. 4.02 gms. *SNG* Cop. 1331. Type as in *RPC I*, 1620.

Obv.: Victoria holding palm and wreath advancing to the l.

Rev.: Macedonian Shield. Around: MAKEΔONΩN

4) AE. 3.2 gms, 7h. From the "Dion 1999" hoard. Type as in *RPC I*, 1621.

Obv.: Victoria holding palm and wreath advancing to the r.

Rev.: Macedonian Shield. Around: MAKEΔONΩN

5) AE. 2.5 gms, 12h. From the "Dion 1999" hoard. Type as in *RPC I*, 1623.

MINT OF ROME OR ASIA MINOR

Obv.: Head of Octavian to the l.

Rev.: Victoria holding palm and wreath, standing on globe to the l. CAESAR-DIV F

6) AR. denarius, 3.86 gms, 7h. A. Heuss-Bank Leu, Auktion 49, April 1971, no. 325. Type as in *BMCRE I*, 603, pl. 14, no. 19.

Obv.: Head of Octavian to the r.

Rev.: Victoria standing facing on globe, holding wreath and trophy.

7) AV. aureus. 7.94 gms, 8h. Bank Leu, Auktion 7, Mai 1973, no. 319.

Type as in *BMCRE* I, 622, pl. 14, no. 4.

CYRENAICA

Obv.: Open r. hand. Above IMP CAESARI, below: SCARPVS IMP

Rev.: Victoria on globe r. holding palm and wreath. On r. DIVI F downwards, on l. AVG PONT downwards.

8) AR. denarius. 3.63 gms, 12h. Bank Leu, Auktion 25, April 1980, no. 227.

Type as in *RRC* 546/6.

ROME

Obv.: Laureate head of Vespasian r. IMP CAES VESP AVG P M COS IIII(?)

Rev.: Victory holding palm and wreath, standing on globe to the r. VIC-AVG

9) AV. aureus. 7.33 gms, 6h. Bank leu, Auktion 71, Oktober 1977, no. 334.

Type as in *BMCRE* II, 63, 72 and 81, pl. 2 nos 1, 7, 13.

CORINTH

Obv.: Laureate head of Tiberius r. L RVTILIO PLANCO IIVIR

Rev.: Victory holding palm and wreath, standing on globe l. A VATRONIO LABEONE IIVIR. In field: COR

10) AE. 6.93 gms, 2h. Numismatik Lanz, Auktion 105, November 2001, (Sammlung BCD), no. 364. Type as in *RPC* I, 1148.

THESSALONIKE

Obv.: Bare head of Nero l. ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ

Rev.: Victory holding palm and wreath, standing on globe to the ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟ-ΝΙΚΗ

11) AE. 3.05 gms, 6h. Alpha Bank 8547. Type as in *RPC* I, 1593.

THESSALIAN KOINON

Obv.: Wreathed bust of Eirene r. ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΣΕΒΑΤΗ (sic) ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ

Rev.: Victory holding wreath and palm, standing on globe to the l. ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥ ΛΑΟΥΧΟΥ

12) AE. 8.76 gms. British Museum, inv. no. 1920-3-2-5, published in *RPC* I, 1451.

STOBI

Obv.: Victory standing, l., on globe holding wreath and trophy. M-V

Rev.: Ox to the r. STOBENSIVM

13) AE. Turin, Museo Civico. Published in *RPC* II, 301.

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

VICTORIA AUGUSTA ΣΕ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΕΣ ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ ΤΗΣ
ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑΣ: ΧΡΟΝΟΛΟΓΙΚΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΤΙΚΕΣ
ΕΠΙΣΗΜΑΝΣΕΙΣ

Για τις «ψευδοαυτόνομες» κοπές τῶν Φιλίππων μὲ τοὺς τύπους Νίκη/*vexilla* (*RPC I*, 1651) ἔχουν προταθεῖ χρονολογήσεις μεταξὺ Αὐγούστου καὶ Κλαυδίου, ἐνῶ οἱ κοπές τοῦ Κοινοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων μὲ τοὺς τύπους Νίκη/*μακεδονική ἀσπίδα* (*RPC I*, 1621, 1623) ἔχει ἐπικρατήσει νὰ τοποθετοῦνται μέσα στὸν 1^ο αἰῶνα μ.Χ. καὶ πάντως πρὶν ἀπὸ τὴ βασιλεία τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ. Νέα ἀρχαιολογικὰ εὐρήματα, ὅπως, μεταξὺ ἄλλων, καὶ ἓνας μεγάλος θησαυρὸς ποὺ βρέθηκε στὸ Δῖον τὸ 1999, ὀδηγοῦν μὲ βεβαιότητα στὴ χρονολόγησή τους κατὰ τὸ πρῶτο ἡμῖσι τοῦ 2^{ου} αἰῶνα μ.Χ.

Στὶς παραπάνω ἐκδόσεις ἡ Νίκη ἀπεικονίζεται ὄρθια νὰ κρατᾶ κλαδί φοῖνικα καὶ στεφάνι, ἀλλὰ σὲ ὀρισμένες, πῶς σπάνιες παραλλαγές —ποὺ δὲν ἀπαντοῦν στοὺς θησαυροὺς— ἡ Νίκη πατᾶ πάνω σὲ σφαίρα. Ὅλες οἱ νομισματικὲς ἀπεικονίσεις τοῦ τύπου τῆς Νίκης σὲ σφαίρα παρουσιάζονται διεξοδικὰ καὶ συνάγεται πῶς, ἐνῶ στὴ Ρώμη ὁ τύπος καθιερώθηκε ἀπὸ τὸν Αὐγουστο γιὰ νὰ ἀναβιώσει στὰ χρόνια τοῦ Βεσπασιανοῦ, στὶς ἐπαρχίες ἐπικράτησε μετὰ τὸν Κλαύδιο καὶ συνέχισε νὰ χρησιμοποιεῖται ἕως τὸ τέλος τοῦ 1^{ου} αἰῶνα μ.Χ., ὅποτε καὶ ἐγκαταλείφθηκε. Ἡ διάδοση τοῦ καθαρὰ ρωμαϊκοῦ αὐτοῦ τύπου στὶς ἐπαρχίες θὰ πρέπει νὰ συνδέεται καὶ μὲ τὴν ἐξάπλωση τῆς λατρείας τῆς *Victoria Augusta* ἀπὸ τὰ χρόνια τοῦ Κλαυδίου. Σὲ *aurei* τοῦ νομισματοκοπέιου τῆς Ρώμης τῆς ἐποχῆς τοῦ Βεσπασιανοῦ, ἡ Νίκη πάνω σὲ σφαίρα συνοδεύεται γιὰ πρώτη καὶ τελευταία φορὰ ἀπὸ τὴν ἐπιγραφή *VIC(toria) AVG(usta)*, κάτι ποὺ συναντᾶται καὶ στὶς ἐκδόσεις τῆς ἀποικίας τῶν Φιλίππων.

Τὰ εἰκονογραφικὰ παράλληλα ποὺ ἐξετάζονται, ὀδηγοῦν στὸ συμπέρασμα πῶς τὰ νομίσματα τῶν Φιλίππων καὶ τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ Κοινοῦ, ὅπου ἡ Νίκη πατᾶ πάνω σὲ σφαίρα πρέπει νὰ χρονολογηθοῦν μεταξὺ Κλαυδίου καὶ Βεσπασιανοῦ καὶ πῶς ἡ παράσταση αὐτὴ ἀντικαταστάθηκε ἀπὸ τὴ Νίκη ποὺ στέκεται στὸ ἔδαφος ἢ πάνω σὲ βάση στὶς μεταγενέστερες ἐκδόσεις τοῦ 2^{ου} αἰῶνα μ.Χ. ποὺ ἀπαντοῦν στοὺς θησαυροὺς.

Τὰ νομίσματα τῶν Φιλίππων μὲ τὴ Νίκη φέρουν στὴν ὀπίσθια ὄψη τρία vexilla καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφή COHOR(s) PRAE(toria) PHIL(ippiensis) ποὺ ἀποτελεῖ καὶ τὸ μοναδικὸ τεκμήριο γιὰ τὸν ἀποικισμό τῆς πόλης ἀπὸ βετεράνους τῆς αὐτοκρατορικῆς φρουρᾶς. Μετὰ ἀπὸ ἐξέταση καὶ τῶν ἐπιγραφικῶν τεκμηρίων ποὺ ἀφοροῦν τὴν παρουσία πραιτωριανῶν στοὺς Φιλίππους, προτείνεται ἡ χρονολόγηση τῶν κοπῶν μὲ τοὺς τύπους Νίκη σὲ σφαίρα/ vexilla τὴν περίοδο τοῦ Βεσπασιανοῦ, τὸν ὁποῖο ἡ πόλη στήριξε ἐνεργητικὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐμφύλια διαμάχη ποὺ προηγήθηκε τῆς ἐπικράτησής του προμηθεύοντας στρατιῶτες ποὺ πολέμησαν στὸ πλευρὸ του.

Παρότι τὰ ἀνασκαφικὰ εὐρήματα καὶ τὰ εἰκονογραφικὰ παράλληλα ἐπιβάλλουν τὴν ἀναθεώρηση τῆς καθιερωμένης χρονολόγησης τῶν κοπῶν τῶν Φιλίππων, πιστεύουμε ὅτι οἱ πραιτωριανοὶ ποὺ ἀναφέρονται στὰ νομίσματα εἶναι ἐκεῖνοι ποὺ ἐγκατέστησε ὁ Αὐγουστος κατὰ τὴν ἐπανίδρυση τῆς ἀποικίας τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὸ 30 π.Χ. Ἐάν ἡ πρότασή μας εἶναι ὀρθή, ἡ ἔκδοση αὐτὴ θὰ πρέπει νὰ κόπηκε γύρω στὸ 70 μ.Χ. , δηλαδὴ ἑκατὸ χρόνια ἀπὸ τὴν ἐπανίδρυση τῆς ἀποικίας (30 π.Χ.). Ἡ στιγμή ἦταν εὐνοϊκὴ γιὰ τὴν ἀναφορὰ στοὺς ἐνδοξοὺς ἰδρυτὲς ποὺ ἔγιναν ἓνα σύμβολο γιὰ τὴν πόλη καὶ συνέχισαν νὰ μνημονεύονται καὶ στὶς μεταγενέστερες ἐκδόσεις.



S. Kremydi-Sicilianou, Pl. 1