Pecunia Omnes Vincit

Pecunia Omnes Vincit

COIN AS A MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE THROUGHOUT CENTURIES

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Introduction

We would like to present six articles by young researchers from Poland and Great Britain concerning particular aspects of numismatics. The present publication is a summary of the Third International Numismatic Conference, '*Pecunia Omnes Vincit. Coin as a medium of exchange throughout centuries*', held at the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum and Institute of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland, 20–21 May 2016.

The articles direct the reader's attention to various issues involving aspects of numismatics such as propaganda, the circulation of coins in certain territories, and economics. The subject matter of this publication focuses mostly on aspects of antiquity and the mediaeval period.

The first category of papers concerns circulation within and the influx of coins into particular territories. An article about Massalian imitations and small denominations in Pompeii between the third and first centuries BC includes an analysis of their circulation and function within this region. The next paper is an analysis of the Roman hoard found in 1942 in Bedriacum, a settlement in northern Italy, consisting of 16 coins, 2 denarii, and 14 bronze exemplars, dated between the Late Republic and the Early Roman Empire periods, struck by a mint in the capital.

The second group features articles about propaganda and iconographic motives placed on coins. Effigies of animals emphasised the importance of certain centres with regard to economic, political, and religious aspects of the international arena in the Mediterranean world.

The next group of articles is focused on the Hellenistic tradition and later Roman provincial coinage. An inquiring article presents foundation scenes, which constituted a very popular motive in the coinage of Roman colonies. The topic of local pseudo-autonomous coins from Bithynia and Pontus, reflecting their regional aspects and relationship to the earlier Hellenistic tradition, is taken up by the next author.

The final topic included in the publication is a study of mediaeval transactions involving real property in fourteenth-century Krakow, based on social and topographical research on historical sources. The analysis emphasises the social relations, status, professions, and wealth of particular individuals.

The articles presented here constitute careful analysis of various numismatic aspects of the ancient and mediaeval periods. We are certain that these papers offer an opportunity to expand and supplement existing knowledge, as well as to draw attention to

and to stimulate discussion on certain issues. We would like to express our gratitude to Dr hab. Jarosław Bodzek for academic mentoring, as well as to our reviewers, Prof. Dr hab. Katarzyna Balbuza, Dr Arkadiusz Dymowski, Dr Dariusz Niemiec, Dr Kamil Kopij, Dr Piotr Jaworski, and Dr Krzysztof Jarzęcki, for substantive correction of individual papers.

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IMITATIONS OF MASSALIAN BRONZES AND CIRCULATION OF SMALL CHANGE IN POMPEII

Abstract: *This paper examines the phenomena of so-called pseudomints and the role of local bronze imitations in the economy of Central Italy in late second and beginnings of first century BC basing on the example of Massalian bronze imitations issued in Pompeian pseudomint.*

Whilst Pompeian pseudomint (wide-spread imitations or adaptations of foreign coins issued by several poleis in Central Italy and Sicily in the Roman Republic period) was not the only one functioning in Italy, its role in the local monetary circulation is relatively easy to examine. the vast majority of coins were found in their original archaeological context. The Pompeii example seems to be, however, representative other poleis.

The paper aims also to examine the function of pseudomints and the role of local small currency in the coin circulation of Central Italy.

Keywords: *pseudomints, Pompeii, Ebusus, Massalia, small change*

While finds of imitations of Massalian coins were not common in central and southern Italy, they occurred both in hoards and in single finds from the third century BC onwards.[1] Therefore, when Attilio Stazio drew attention to a large number of coins similar to the Ebusian and Massalian small change found in Pompeii and Central Italy, he came to the conclusion that their presence was probably the result of trade relations.[2] Crawford described bronzes from the hoard of the bathhouse in Pompeii (VIII.5.36) as Massalian and 'Gaulish',[3] as did Arslan in his summary of finds of Celtic coins in Italy.[4] What seemed unusual about the finds of Celtic currency in this area was the number of coins and the fact that they had obviously been issued by the same mint:[5] the existence of so many die-linked coins was rather uncommon for

[1] Hoards from Capitoline Hill, Rome (Pautasso 1966: 77-79); Civita Castellana (Forrer 1908: 87); Consenza (Calabria 1995: 267-268; Piana Agostinetti 1995: 313); single finds known from Sicily: Butera (Arslan 2010: 19, no. 5670; Manganaro 1992: 202); Monte Iato (Isler 2006: 111); Lipari (Calabria 1995: 268).

[2] Stazio 1955: 33-57.

[3] Crawford 1969 (RRCH) no. 245.

[4] Arslan 2010: 3.

[5] Frey-Kupper, Stannard 2010: 133.

imported foreign currency. This led some scholars[6] to the conclusion that the origins of the so-called 'Celtic' coins known from central and southern Italy might be different than those previously assumed.

Imitations of foreign coins were not limited Ebusian and Massalian bronzes. This paper will mention them briefly, as the main purpose is to show the role of 'Gaulish' coins in the circulation of Pompeii: coins from excavations, including the House of Amarantus (Insula I.9.11–12), as well as those known from single finds and from smaller excavations in the forum area and the bathhouse (Insula VIII.5.36).

The great number of imitations of Ebusian and Massalian bronzes, along with the lack of similar coins in finds of collections of pre-Roman coins in northern Italy, present-day France, and Spain,[7] constitutes evidence for the Italian character of these coins. As they imitated (albeit in rather clumsy style) the original bronzes of Ebusus and Massalia, but were issued in rather large quantities by the local authorities, they are called pseudomints (and consequently pseudo-Ebusian or pseudo-Massalian),[8] or Campanian-Ebusian/Campanian-Massalian.[9] Moreover, as the circulation pattern of both pseudo-Ebusian and pseudo-Massalian bronzes is almost identical, die links appear to exist between Ebusian and Massalian imitations. Most probably, they were issued by the same pseudomint located in Pompeii or in the nearby area.[10] This phenomenon differs from widespread copying, as it seems to be a result of intentional decisions by local government rather than of illegal forgeries. There were too many bronze imitations in the circulation in Pompeii to identify them as anything other than local coinage. The reasons behind these actions will be discussed later.

As imitations of coins from Ebusus and Massalia were not recorded beyond central Italy (with several specimens known from Sicily),[11] they can be called an entirely Italian phenomenon. The finds of bronze coins in Pompeii shows that pseudo-Ebusian and pseudo-Massalian issues were predominant in the circulation of small change in this area.[12] These coins are recorded much less frequently in other central Italian sites.[13] Moreover, the greatest number of imitations of Ebusian and Massalian bronzes was

[6] Stannard 2002; Hobbs 2005.

[7] Hobbs 2013: 32-33.

[8] Stannard 2002: 120.

[9] Hobbs 2013: 32.

[10] Stannard, Frey-Kupper 2008: 354.

[11] Marsala, Monte Iato, Rocca d'Entella, Camarina. Stannard, Frey-Kupper 2008: 370.

[12] According to Hobbs (2013: 32) almost 45% of all Pompeian coinage were imitations of Massalia/Ebusus.

[13] Other sites where Massalia/Ebusus were recorded: Mirabella Eclano/Aeclanum. Rocca San Felice, Irpino, Pietracatella, Ordona Foggia, Sarno, Velia, Salerno, Rome, Ostia, Cosa, Monte Li Santi-Le Rote/Narce, Gragnano. Stannard, Frey-Kupper 2008: 373.

found in Pompeii and the nearby area, which shows that their circulation pattern was very limited.[14]

There are two informative groups of coins: single finds and the bathhouse hoard. For the single finds, imitations of the coins Ebusian/Massalian coins represent 57.5% of the total.[15] The hoard is a sample of the circulating medium in Pompeii, probably from the early 80s of the first century BC. It contains almost exclusively bronze coins (bronzes of Massalia and Roman semises, trienses, and quadrantes). Nearly 33% of the coins from VI Insula from Pompeii were imitations of Ebusian bronzes. There is also quite a large group (about 22% or more) of imitations of Massalian bronzes.[16]

Iconography and dating of pseudo-Massalian/Ebusian coins

Almost all Campanian-Ebusian coins are imitations of the 'canonical' Ebusian issue featuring a nude (or wearing a tunic) Bes with a hammer in his raised right hand and a snake on his left on the obverse. Most Pseudo-Ebusian issues imitate the canonical Ebusian image on the reverse, that of Bes facing a charging bull on the left,[17] sometimes with additional elements such as a caduceus. There are no legends on either the obverse or reverse of these coins.

Campanian-Massalian bronzes, on the other hand, imitate a common Massalian type, with the head of Apollo on the obverse and a charging bull on the reverse, usually bearing the legend MAΣΣALIA. However, there are also a number of unusual types depicting a walking horse, heads of Apollo, Mars, and Diana, a horse's head, or a toad.[18] Characteristic of pseudo-Massalian coins are legends written in both the Greek and Latin alphabets (AMSS, AOM..., LOSS, MOSS, MLL, AOMΣ).[19]

There are many die links between the two types,[20] which is clear evidence that both types were struck at the same time in the same mint, and therefore were not imported from Massalia/Gaul or Ebusus. Obverse and reverse dies are mixed between the groups; moreover, legends similar to those of Massalian types appear on Ebusian types as well. Legends written in the Latin alphabet, present in the Celtic coinage, were absent from Massalian coinage and its Celtic imitations. This also seems to be an argument for the local character of pseudo-Massalian bronzes, and therefore pseudo-Ebusian as well.

[14] Stannard 2005: 49.
[15] Stannard 2002: 120-121.
[16] Hobbs 2005: 378.
[17] Stannard 2005: 63–64, 71-72.
[18] *Ibid*.: 65-68.
[19] *Ibid*.: 133-134.
[20] Reverse type of no. 32 (a toad) is identical with no. 35 with Massalian bull on obverse. No. 35; Massalian legends on Ebusian types no. 33 and 36 which shares its reverse die (Bes) with type no 37 and obverse die (bull lepping right which is not known from both Massalian nor Ebusian coinage) and type no. 40. Vide Stannard, Frey-Kupper 2008: 359-360.

Although Campanian-Ebusian bronzes were significantly heavier than Campanian-Massalian (1.14–1.60 g for pseudo-Massalian in comparison to 1.50–2.83 g for pseudo-Ebusian),[21] this was not the result of one type being struck earlier than the other.

The Ebusian prototypes can be dated back to the period of the Second Punic War (ca 218-201 BC) and first century BC.[22] The wide range of dates gives us a rather uncertain *terminus post quem* for the pseudo-Ebusian issues. The dating of Ebusian coins does give us, however, a *terminus ante quem*, as type no. XIX, issued ca 90 BC (struck in the Roman semiuncial standard introduced by the Lex Papiria, hence the precise date), is almost absent in Italy, while very popular in Spain.[23] Campo (1994: 48) derives the *terminus ante quem* for group XIX from its use of the Roman semiuncial standard, introduced by the Lex Papiria.

The dating of Massalian small bronzes is also problematic, as these coins were produced in many types, issued between the end of the second and the middle of the first century BC.[24] Because the circulation of those types was rather limited it is difficult to identify the prototype of pseudo-Massalian coins (apart from the fact that they bore the legends MAΣΣA and LIA in the exergue). We seem to have, however, a *terminus post quem*, as the bronzes with the head of Apollo on the left on the obverse and a bull facing right on the reverse, dated by Py to a period between 80/70 and 60/50 BC, are not recorded in Pompeii.[25]

For now, it seems clear that pseudo-Ebusian and pseudo-Massalian coins were issued by the same mint at the same time: not only are there many die links between them, but they are also found together in the bathhouse (VIII.5.36), a find dated back to the early 80s of the first century BC.[26] There is no clear evidence concerning when the production of Ebusian/Massalian imitations ceased.

The circulation of pseudo-Massalian/Ebusian coins

Before the Pompeian authorities decided to strike their own imitations of the bronzes of Massalia and Ebusus, there must have been some factor which led them to such decision. While Ebusian and Massalian prototypes are not numerous in Pompeian finds, they are nevertheless represented. Considering numismatic material from other sites, it is evident that both original coins and their imitations circulated together.[27]

[21] Hobbs 2013: 50-51.

[22] Campo 1993: 154–155.

[23] *Ibid*.: 155. Costa Ribas (2007: 98) argues that the bronzes were rather struck after the *foedus* between the Rome and Ebusus were established, i.e. around 80 BC.

[24] Depeyrot 1999; Py 2006: 177–349.

[25] *Ibid*.: 243.

[26] Hobbs 2005: 377-381; Stannard 2005: 122.

[27] Stannard, Frey-Kupper 2008: 373.

The question is whether the reason behind the presence of Ebusian and Massalian bronzes was Pompeii's trade relations with those cities, or whether the coins were imported, and, if so, for what purpose. Frey-Kupper and Stannard claim that there is no evidence of any trade relations or military events that would result in a greater influx of foreign coinage into Pompeii.[28] They suggest that Ebusian and Massalian bronzes might have come to Central Italy as a single block transfer rather than a result of sporadic transactions. In the case of Ebusus, the transfer of bronze coins to Pompeii was supposed to have taken place in the second century BC due to the lack of small change in circulation.[29] As the influx of Massalian coins was smaller and consisted of at least two phases, it is more likely that the bronzes came to Pompeii via trade. The hypothesis of importing foreign currency seems to be somewhat controversial, as coins were not objects of trade in antiquity.

It is now impossible to establish whether Ebusian and Massalian bronzes circulated together in Central Italy. Trade relations existed between the two cities, and so their coins have been found together in the area of present-day Spain and France.[30] It seems quite probable that, due to the intensity of Roman contacts with southern France, Massalian coins came to Italy earlier than Ebusian. Whereas both late Ebusian and Massalian bronzes are almost entirely absent from Pompeii, the latter have been found in Minturnae.[31] Moreover, the ratio of Massalian imitations to original coins appears to be higher in Pompeii than in Minturnae. This would suggest that we should consider different circulation patterns not only for Ebusian and Massalian coins, but also for Pompeii and Minturnae. The presence of Massalian coins in central Italy constitutes important evidence for contacts with southern France in the early first century BC, but the intensity of those relations is difficult to investigate.[32]

The phenomenon of imitations of Ebusian and Massalian bronze coins, as well as the presence of the original coins in central Italy, seems to be the result of a growing need for small change, which was not provided by Rome as of the second half of the second century BC.[33] As the economy of the cities of central and southern Italy became more developed, they required more bronze currency in circulation. The supply of small change was deficient, and, excluding the Lex Papiria, which represented an attempt to re-establish Roman bronze currency by introducing a semiuncial standard, and the Sullan attempt to reintroduce bronze coins,[34] Rome issued exclusively silver coins. In

[28] *Ibid*.: 375.
[29] *Ibid*.: 378.
[30] Campo 1976: 63–83; Py 2006: 684–688.
[31] Stannard, Frey-Kupper 2008: 374-375.
[32] Stannard 2015: 185.
[33] Crawford 1974 (RRC) vol. 2: 628.
[34] Mattingly 2004: 266.

central Italy, some deliberately halved and quartered asses were found at this time,[35] but this was not enough to satisfy the need for small change. Bronzes of Massalia and Ebusus, as well as their imitations, produced in huge numbers, were used for this purpose.

The bathhouse hoard from Pompeii gives us a picture of the small change in circulation there, including Ebusian and Massalian bronzes, their imitations, Roman asses, and, occasionally, Greek coins. The foreign coins were most probably valued based on their diameter rather than their value in their home market.[36] It is possible that the local bronzes of Pompeii had the values of the smallest contemporary Roman coin, the quadrans,[37] though it is also probable that significantly heavier imitations of Ebusian coins served as semises.

The question is: why did Pompeian authorities decide to imitate foreign bronzes rather than strike their own currency? It is possible, of course, that Rome was able, to some extent, to forbid such activities. After all, the same thing happened to the Celts of northern Italy following creation of the Cisalpine Gaul province. However, it is also possible that the imitations were made when Pompeii was relatively independent from Rome. Ebusian and Massalian bronzes were already in circulation and their value was well known, which might be the reason they were chosen as models for the creation of a new currency. Perhaps they were more reliable or practical than old worn Roman asses, especially if the denomination required was small.

Another interesting question is the size of the market in central Italy. While small change was most probably local, it circulated to a certain extent to other locations. Therefore, Ebusian and Massalian imitations were quite popular in Minturnae, but not in Rome or Paestum. On the other hands, the Italo-Baetican coins issued in Paestum might have been present in Rome and Minturnae, but were almost completely absent in Pompeii,[38] which may reflect the diminution of trade relations with Latium after the Social War.

The last item to consider is whether the creation of imitations of bronze currency was caused only by economic factors, or whether it represented a political statement. It is doubtful that we will ever discover the reason behind the choice of the model of a coin to imitate. However, an analogy can be drawn between Pompeian imitations of Greek coins and the currency struck by Celts who also used Greek (often Massalian coins) as a model. Whatever the reasons may have been for this decision, they were not political, especially in light of the fact that the bronze coins issued by Pompeii were not considered as prestigious as silver currency. There is also the rather slight possibility that

[35] Stannard, Frey-Kupper 2008: 375.
[36] *Ibid*.: 379.
[37] Stannard 2005: 142.
[38] Stannard, Frey-Kupper 2008: 381.

the coins were issued in order to pay soldiers for the campaign against Sulla, since such coins were unlikely to be imitations of foreign currency. Therefore, the most probable reason for minting bronze coins was to solve the problem of a lack of small change in circulation. After all, Rome had stopped issuing bronze coins, as such issues were not as profitable as silver currency; hence presumably local bronze production was not in the interest of the Roman government.[39]

Conclusions

In the second half of the second century and at the beginning of the first century BC, Pompeii issued its own bronze coins that were imitations of the coinage of Ebusus and Massalia. The style of the coins is a clear indication that they were not intended as exact copies of their models, but rather as coins inspired by Massalian and Ebusian bronzes. While the reason for choosing these specific coins remains unclear, it seems quite evident that they were issued for economic purposes, i.e. to solve the problem of the lack of bronze currency in circulation. While they were issued in rather large quantities, the coins were intended almost exclusively for the needs of the local market and thus were not circulated more widely.

Although the production of Roman silver currency had been expanded significantly, the same trend did not apply to bronze currency.[40] Rome struck several bronze issues according to the new semiuncial standard in the late 90s and early 80s of the first century BC, but this was discontinued following the Sullan war. Prior to that, bronze currency had not been produced for several decades. This may have caused an influx of foreign bronzes from other parts of Greek world (Athens, Cos, Thasos, and even Bithynia) as is attested by coin finds in Italy and Sicily (Cosa, Viterbo, Rome, Saepinum, Leucos Monte Vairano, Giannutri).[41]

The Pompeian pseudomint is not unique (a similar practice can be also observed in Paestum[42]); it was a common Italian phenomenon. What is unique about Pompeii is that we can observe the circulation of small change and the economy of a medium-sized city in Italy and examine the true importance of bronze coinage in everyday life. An interesting analogy can be made with the autonomous mints of Roman colonies (Ariminum, Iguvium, Tuder, Ausculum, Firmum, Hatria, Luceria, and Venusia) in Italy in the third century BC. For several decades, some cities produced their own bronze coins, of various weights, but all based on the Roman *aes grave*. The first issues were cast, but the subsequent struck bronzes show an iconographical similarity to Roman bronzes. These

[39] Stannard 2013: 255.
[40] Crawford 1985: 177.
[41] *Ibid*.: 319-320.
[42] Stannard 2007: 7.

coins were produced at a time when Rome did not mint its own small change. As Rome began to strike large quantities of bronze coins at the beginning of the second century BC, local coin production ceased.[43]

An interesting question that still needs to be answered is the relationship between Rome and local currency in Italy. It seems that local currency was more welcome there than in the case of the Celtic tribes, but this should not be considered unusual, since the Romans treated the Celts as enemies to be conquered. However, this question requires further research.

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[43] Gorini 2010: 316-323.

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RECONSIDERING THE CALVATONE HOARD 1942: A NUMISMATIC CASE STUDY OF THE ROMAN VICUS OF BEDRIACUM (CREMONA, ITALY)

Abstract: *Having defeated the Celts in northern Italy, the Romans built the Via Postumia, a vital road connecting Aquileia (east) and Genova (Genoa, west), in 148 BC. On that occasion, the Romans founded Bedriacum, a small vicus close to the present town of Calvatone (Cremona), which past and current excavations by the University of Milan are revealing as a vital centre of Roman Gallia Cisalpina (Cisalpine Gaul). Recent investigations have shed new light on coin circulation and offer fresh data to be compared with hoarding trends and old finds.*

The aim of this paper is to analyse the Calvatone Hoard 1942, a significant reserve of 16 Roman coins. First, the paper assesses the discovery of the hoard and its coins, dated from the second century BC to the early age of Augustus, which offer a great deal of information concerning hoarding trends in Gallia Cisalpina and contribute to greater knowledge of the history and archaeology of northern Italy. Then the essay compares the Calvatone hoard with the circulation of the coins of Bedriacum and new archaeological data from excavations.

Keywords: *hoard, coins, archaeology, Bedriacum, Via Postumia*

Introduction

Recent archaeological investigations at Bedriacum, a small Roman *vicus* close to the ancient Via Postumia and the modern village of Calvatone in the province of Cremona (Italy) (Maps 1–2), have revealed a great deal of information concerning the history of the site. The substantial record of excavations and research results has testified to the economic role of Bedriacum in the area during the Republican and Imperial periods. In particular, numismatic finds have been crucial in obtaining a clear picture of coin circulation at the site. However, hoarding trends – the study of which now benefits from new data on monetary distribution – need to be investigated in detail in order to reassess data concerning past discoveries.

The scope of this paper is to present the discovery of the so-called Calvatone Hoard 1942, a small coin treasure found in Calvatone during the Second World War. Following a preliminary publication by Novella Vismara (Vismara 1992b), the hoard requires further analysis and is worth studying for the following reasons. Firstly, the published data need to be compared with the most recent information on coin circulation at the site, shedding new light on the hoard's composition and potential function. Secondly, the hoard offers new, interesting research hints and can be perfectly contextualised in the history of twentieth-century Italian archaeology.

The paper initially provides a general overview of Bedriacum's historical and archaeological contexts, highlighting potential links between these frameworks and the hoard. The following part is crucial for the examination of past research on numismatics at Calvatone and for understanding how coin circulation can offer remarkable data to analyse the hoard on a comparative scale. Section 4 is relevant to the coin deposit's discovery and composition, which are also interpreted and analysed. Lastly, we review and summarise all data in the final conclusions.

An overview of the history and archaeology of Bedriacum

As reported above, Bedriacum was a Roman *vicus* located in the lower Po Valley. The archaeological site is approximately two kilometres southeast of the small modern village of Calvatone (population 1,200) (Ill. 1), close to the Oglio River. The site, which is accessible only in May and June during the season of archaeological excavations, can be reached from the Strada Provinciale 10 and Vicolo Gorghi, which runs along a narrow rural canal (Ill. 2).

The site has been constantly explored by antiquarians and local diggers at least since the nineteenth century, when local historians, such as Luchini in 1878, reported the discovery of statues, inscriptions, and coins. The Victory of Calvatone, a bronze Roman statue representing a winged Victory, was found in 1836. The Superintendence of Lombardy investigated the site in the 1950s; later, the University of Milan (Università degli Studi di Milano) acquired a substantial portion of the ancient site in Località Costa Sant'Andrea, which has undergone constant excavation since 1986 (Map 3).[1]

Regarding the history of the site, it is evident that Bedriacum markedly benefitted from its strategic position during ancient times. The Romans cleverly chose the site of foundation for two main reasons. First of all, the Oglio represented a valuable commercial route for inland navigation, linking the site to the entire Po Valley. Secondly, Bedriacum was well connected with the extensive road system of northern Italy. In fact, scholars argue that the Romans founded the *vicus* during (or after) the construc-

[1] Luchini 1878; Pontiroli 1972: 89–101; Tomasoni 1990: 139; Sena Chiesa 2007: 217–241; Crisà 2013: 480–481.

tion of the Via Postumia, a long and vital road (W–E) joining Genova (Genoa) and Aquileia (Map 2), promoted and built by the Roman consul Spurius Postumius Albinus in 148 BC. Archaeological evidence proves that the site has been frequented since the second half of the second century BC. While historical sources offer no substantial data on the Republican period of the *vicus*, we have a good archaeological record regarding private housing and productive and commercial activity at the site.[2]

Subsequently, as reported by historians, two important battles occurred in the vicinity of Bedriacum between 68 and 69 AD, the so-called dramatic *longus et unus annus*, when Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and finally Vespasian ruled the Roman Empire one after another. In particular, Tacitus says that the *vicus* is well known (*notus*) and unfortunate (*infaustus*) due to two Roman massacres (*duabus* […] *Romanis cladibus*). We know neither exactly where these battles took place nor how much destruction they caused in the town. Other historical sources mention Bedriacum as a small town (*polichne*) close to Cremona or as a minor centre in northern Italy.[3]

Nevertheless, archaeological evidence testifies to how prosperous and rich Bedriacum was in the early Imperial era. In particular, recent (2001–06) excavations at the so-called Domus del Labirinto (House of the Labyrinth) (Ill. 3), an extended private house discovered in 1959, have brought to light substantial finds (coins, ceramics, building materials, etc.) and a considerable set of architectural decorations (especially mosaics and *opus signinum* floors), which demonstrate the high status of the owners and the general prosperity of the *vicus*. In addition to this, a new Roman house – designated Domus del Kantharos for its well-preserved mosaic showing a typical Greek drinking cup (first century AD) – was discovered between the House of the Labyrinth and the Craftsmen's Quarter in 2008 and 2009.[4]

Excavations in the Craftsmen's Quarter – which can be considered a manufacturing area – have proved crucial in the exploration of the Imperial phases of the site, especially areas dating from the second and third centuries AD, when some of the productive structures were still used by the inhabitants. Subsequently, 'Ambiente C' underwent a slow, constant spoliation of building materials from the third to the fifth century. Archaeological finds and some late Roman coins help to date this process.[5]

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[2] Sena Chiesa 2007: 220–221; Ravasi 2013: 41–75.

[3] Plu. *Oth*. 8.1, 11.1, 13.10; Tac. *Hist*. II, 23: '[…] *Ubi pulsum Caecinam pergere Cremonam accepit, aegre coercitam legionem et pugnandi ardore usque ad seditionem progressam Bedriaci sistit. Inter Veronam Cremonamque situs est vicus, duabus iam Romanis cladibus notus infaustusque*'; Corsano 1991: 51–59; Sena Chiesa 2007: 217.

[4] Bacchetta 2010: 97–106; Grassi, Palmieri 2011: 114–120; Grassi 2013; Grassi, Zenoni, Palmieri 2014: 143–159.

[5] Bacchetta, Grassi 2010: 27–54.

Results of research on numismatics

Recent research on numismatic finds has shed new light on coin circulation at Bedriacum. Coins help to date archaeological layers, offering substantial data to contextualise historical phases. Since the University of Milan began to investigate the site in the 1980s, coins have been constantly studied and the findings published in scientific articles.[6] In addition, remarkable excavations at other sites in Lombardy, such as the explorations along the MM3 underground line in Milan (Mediolanum) (1980s–early 1990s), revealed a substantial numismatic record which can be compared with Bedriacum's monetary circulation.[7]

Beginning with the Republican period of Bedriacum, a significant *as* of C. Maianus (153 BC) fits perfectly into the early phases of the site. Discovered at the House of the Labyrinth, the *as* confirms the immediate use of money in circulation at the time of the site's foundation. Numerous bronze *asses* poured into Bedriacum between the second and first centuries BC testify to a good record of potential commercial transactions in the Po Valley area. We also report the significant presence of silver *denarii* of Mark Antony, which circulated at the site until the first and second centuries AD. Civil wars, economic crises and the dearth of money in circulation had real effects on Bedriacum's economy, as clearly proven by many fragmentary *asses*.[8]

As reported above, the Julio-Claudian period was truly prosperous for the site. Coin circulation was therefore very dynamic. In particular, we note the impressive distribution and local use of *asses* issued by *tresviri* appointed by Augustus. This phenomenon clearly testifies to the effective impact of Augustus' monetary reform at Bedriacum, since the *asses* replaced all previous money in circulation, with the exception of some *denarii* of Mark Antony.[9]

Subsequently, the widespread use of *sestertii*, also confirmed at Mediolanum, may be related to high-level transactions and incomes of local landowners, especially between the second and third centuries AD. Numismatic finds from the late Roman period are lacking, indicating the state of local coin circulation in Bedriacum until the end of the fourth and in the early fifth century. At that time, many small coins, especially AE3–AE4, often barely legible, were used in the *vicus*. Finally, once Bedriacum was abandoned, farmers frequented the archaeological area, sacking building material, planting trees, and sometimes losing some coins dating from the medieval to the contemporary period.[10]

[6] Arslan 1991b: 187–195; Arslan 1996, vol. 1.1: 101–118; vol. 1.2: 245–258; Valenti 1996: 305–307; Arslan 1997: 205–225; Crisà 2010: 56–59; Crisà 2013: 476–496.

[7] Arslan 1991a: 71–130; Arslan 2000: 141–179.

[8] Arslan 1996: 102–104; Crisà 2013: 482–484.

[9] Crisà 2013: 485–489.

[10] Arslan 1991a: 82; Arslan 2000: 145–149; Crisà 2013: 491–493.

The Calvatone Hoard 1942 in context

At present, we possess little information on the discovery of the hoard, and archival data are scant. We know that the hoard was found in 1942 in the vicinity of Calvatone, as reported by Vismara. The identification label was probably the work of Lodovico Laffranchi (1875–1952) on the occasion of the hoard's relocation to the Coin Cabinet at Castello Sforzesco in Milan. A well-known scholar and numismatist, Laffranchi was director of the *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini* in 1918–19 and became curator of numismatics at Castello Sforzesco in 1927; a few days after his death, the Royal Numismatic Society awarded him the prestigious Annual Medal of Numismatics (18 June 1952).[11]

The acquisition of the hoard was recorded in 1942 by Laffranchi, but no data currently clarify the reasons the coins were moved from Calvatone to Milan. They are now preserved at the Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche e Numismatiche (Castello Sforzesco). We can only suppose that the hoard was found in Calvatone without being reported to local safeguarding authorities (e.g. the Royal Superintendence), who consequently alerted the local police force. The latter finally opted for a judicial requisition and a move to Milan. Similar scenarios occurred at Pandino (Cremona, 1910), Calvatone (1911), and Mello (Sondrio, 1914), where other coin hoards were seized by the police and transferred to Milan.[12]

The hoard composition (Table 1) clearly shows a substantial prevalence of Republican bronze and silver coins (mostly Janus/prow *asses* and *denarii*), which were evidently collected from the money currently in circulation at Bedriacum and placed in the deposit. In terms of composition, the hoard clearly reflects the site's coin circulation during the Republican age. For instance, it contains two fragmentary Republican *asses* (nos. 7–8), which were commonly in use in Bedriacum in the second half of the first century BC. Only two bronze *asses* of the monetary *tresviri* Cn. Piso and Plotius Rufus refer to the age of Augustus, thus marking the hoard's closing date.

It is useful to compare the Calvatone Hoard (1942) with similar finds in Lombardy. First of all, the Calvatone Hoard (1911), a more substantial coin deposit discovered at the site few years before the First World War, shows a different composition and slightly dissimilar dating. However, the hoard originally included 327 silver *denarii* – only 22 of which (66–6 BC) have been acquired by the Coin Cabinet in Milan – with no bronze coins, which are, however, present in the 1942 hoard. The Cergnago Hoard (1941), found in the province of Pavia, comprises 654 Roman silver coins dating from 211 to 74 BC.[13]

[11] RRCH: 124, no. 434 (wrongly reporting 44–27 BC as the closing date); Vismara 1992b: 7: the author read 'Tesoretto di Calvatone' on the inventory/identification tag and recognised Laffranchi's handwriting; Chiaravalle 1998: 393. On Laffranchi's biography, see Cahn 1949–53: 47.

[12] Chiaravalle 1992; Vismara 1992a; Martini 2000.

[13] Perassi 1988; Vismara 1992a.

Bronze *asses*, which are plentiful in the Calvatone Hoard (1911), may be related to various hoarding trends and local economic needs in Bedriacum, as discussed below.

Conclusion

As stated, the archaeological excavations at Bedriacum offer substantial data which help us to understand the historical phases of the site, as well as numismatic finds revealing valuable information regarding the local economy. In particular, the Calvatone Hoard (1942) can be considered a significant case study because it reflects many aspects of Bedriacum's history and coin circulation.

We can speculate on the reasons why only scant information has been available on the discovery to date. It is possible that the hoard was acquired by the Coin Cabinet in Milan within the framework of an emergency situation (e.g. following a quick judicial requisition), which could have been exacerbated by the historical period, i.e. the Second World War. Thus, the curator(s) did not accurately report the acquisition, resulting in a lack of suitable documentation. Nevertheless, further archival research may contradict this hypothesis and shed new light on the hoard's discovery.

The Calvatone Hoard (1942) can certainly be defined as a Republican hoard *stricto sensu* on the basis of its coin composition, which is a clear reflection of the local circulation of bronze *asses* and silver *denarii* from the second century BC to the early Augustan age. As previously outlined, it can be argued that the association between (even fragmentary) bronze *asses* and silver *denarii* is evidence of the dynamic coin circulation in Bedriacum during the Republican period. Small and medium-sized transactions would have represented the most frequent economic deals in the small *vicus*. However, the two *asses* issued by Cn. Piso and Plotius Rufus, monetary *tresviri* designated by Augustus, represent the hoard's closing date and denote a crucial aspect of Bedriacum's historical context and local coin circulation. *Asses* of monetary *tresviri*, often found in archaeological layers, show the positive impact of Augustan monetary reform at Bedriacum.[14]

As stated earlier, the archaeological context of the Calvatone Hoard (1942) is still unknown. The lack of such information is undeniable; therefore, we do not possess enough data to fully understand some crucial aspects of the deposition of the hoard. For instance, it is not clear whether the hoard was buried in the urban area of Bedriacum or outside the ancient city. Moreover, who was the hoard's owner? Perhaps it was someone coming to the *vicus* for economic purposes by way of the Via Postumia, or, most likely, a local inhabitant of Bedriacum who had gathered a fair-sized treasure which ultimately could not be spent. Presumably, the owner may have collected coins currently circulating at the site at the end of the first century BC. The hoard is certainly less substantial than that of 1911, which originally contained more than 200 *denarii*. Therefore, the

[14] Crisà 2013: 485–486: we also have an essential numismatic record of these *asses* in Mediolanum.

formation and deposition of the two Calvatone hoards were evidently different, even if they occurred at the same archaeological site.

Finally, it must be stressed that further archival and numismatic research might improve our knowledge of the Calvatone Hoard (1942), which presents itself as a significant case study of hoarding trends in northern Italy during the Republican age. A thorough archival investigation would be beneficial in order to obtain new data on the context of the discovery, clarifying how the hoard was found and then acquired by the Coin Cabinet in Milan.

Abbreviations

RIC I – Sutherland C.H.V. 1984. *The Roman Imperial Coinage. Vol. 1. From 31 BC to AD 69*. London.

RRCH – Crawford M.H. 1969. *Roman Republican Coin Hoards*. London.

RRC – Crawford M.H. 1974. *Roman Republican Coinage* (2 vols.). Cambridge.

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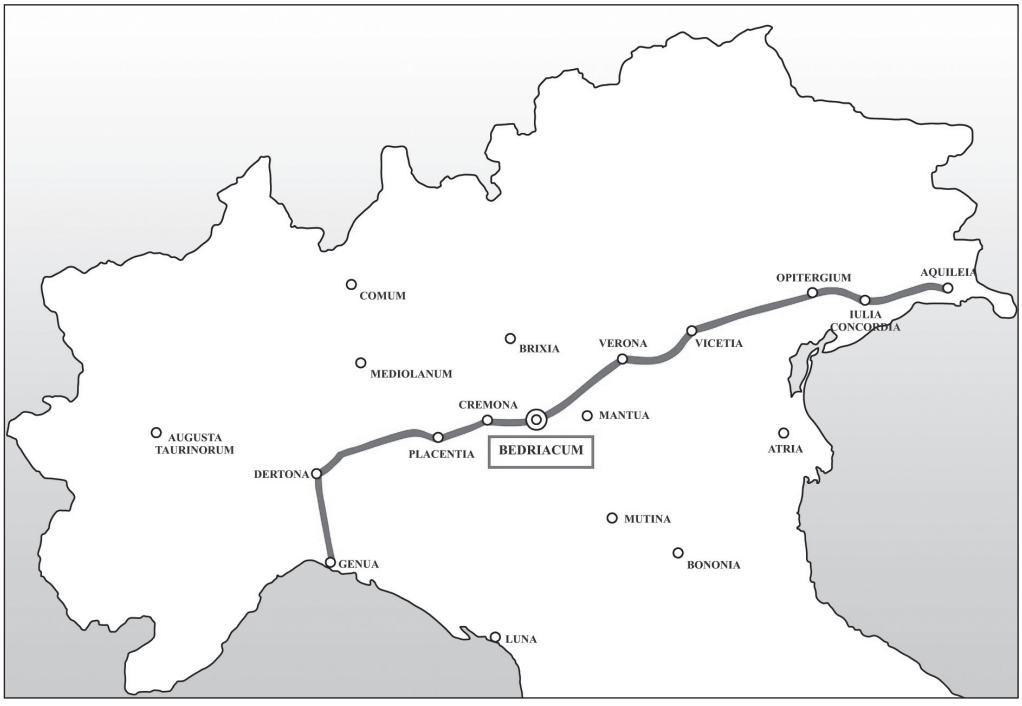
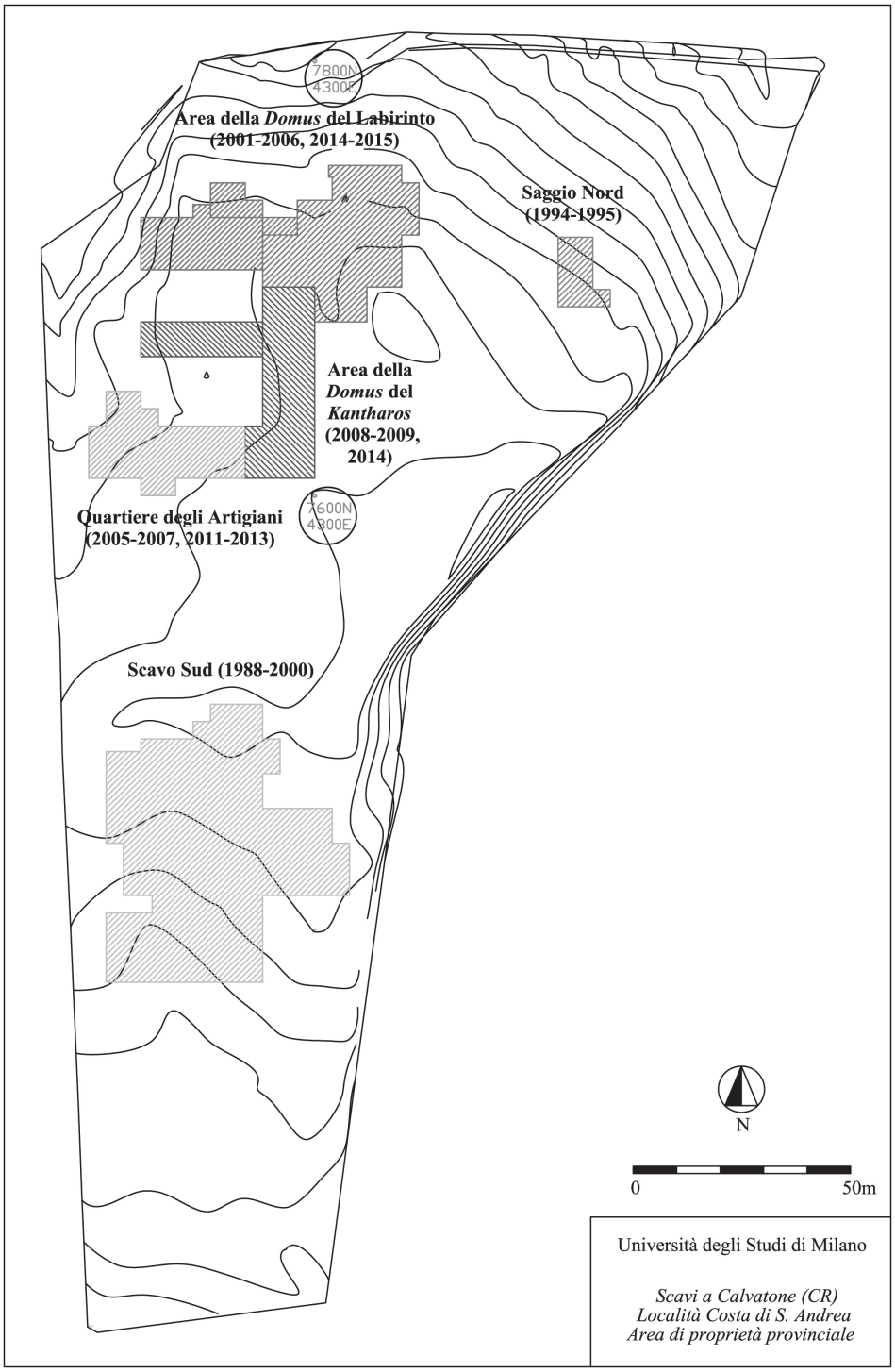
Illustrations

Map 1. Map showing Calvatone (Lombardy, Italy) (modified from http://www.d-maps.com/carte.php?num_car=8188&lang=it).



Map 2. Map of the *Via Postumia*, showing the small *vicus* of *Bedriacum* (map: L. Palmieri, 2016).



Map 3. Costa S. Andrea (Calvatone, Cremona): excavation areas (Università degli Studi di Milano, 1988-2015) (map: L. Palmieri, 2016).

Ill. 1. A view of the town centre of Calvatone (Cremona, Italy) (photograph: A. Crisà, 2016).

Ill. 2. General view of the countryside canal running near the archaeological site of *Bedriacum* (photograph: A. Crisà, 2016).

Ill. 3. The *Domus* of Labyrinth (area of excavation) at Calvatone-*Bedriacum* (photograph: A. Crisà, 2006).

Table 1. Scheme showing the Calvatone Hoard 1942 composition (from Vismara 1992b)

N.	Authority	Denomination	Material	Mint	Date	Reference
1	Rome	*as*	Æ	Rome	169–45 BC	RRC 173–200
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9	Rome	*as*	Æ	Rome	after 92 BC	
10	*T. Carisius tresvir*	*denarius*	AR	Rome	46 BC	RRC 464/2
11						
12	*L. Papius Celsus*	*denarius*	AR	Rome	45 BC	RRC 472/1
13						
14	*Octavianus*	*as*	Æ	Rome	36–35 BC?	
15	*Cn. Piso* (*Augustus*)	*as*	Æ	Rome	15 BC	RIC I, 382
16	*C. Plotius Rufus* (*Augustus*)	*as*	Æ	Rome	15 BC	RIC I, 387

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PROPAGANDA OF THE ANIMAL DEPICTIONS ON LYDIAN AND GREEK COINS

Abstract: *The subject of this paper encompasses features of propaganda in animal depictions on Lydian and Greek coins from the beginning of the coinage to the Hellenistic period. The paper presents the changes in the coinage reflected in the development of trade, their influence on later coinage, and various functions performed by the images of animals. Every more substantial polis wanted to issue its own coins, and each of them tried to adapt its propaganda methods to its own abilities. Some cities took as their symbol animals which were the canting arms, i.e. a kind of pun making it possible to understand an underlying message. Other cities decided to place religious animal symbols on their coins. In other situations, animals could signify the power and wealth of the city. Still others symbolised some political changes which can be connected with great historical events. The most unusual instance occurred on the northern shore of the Black Sea, where Olbian coins took the shape of a dolphin. In the Hellenistic period, completely new types of animal depictions appeared – for example, Alexander the Great wore a lion's-skin headdress, which may have had both political and mythological significance. Other coins bore portraits of rulers with bull's or ram's horns. Thus, the coins were supposed to help to identify a city and to manifest its identity, independence and distinctiveness, its power and wealth, or the favour of the gods. The Hellenistic coinage served the rulers, showing their power, divinity and triumphs. The huge amount of representations testifies to the ingenuity of the Greeks in searching for the means of expression of their economic and political need to be rich, resourceful, and brave, and to enjoy the goodness of the gods. Similarly, the huge number of types enforces the limitation of this paper to only a portion of the topic; accordingly, no all aspects of the subject are presented here.*

Keywords: *animal depictions, Croesus, Greek coinage, Greek poleis, Lydian coinage, propaganda features*

The Greeks left us a huge number of coin types. Among them are the animal depictions. This paper presents the different functions fulfilled by these depictions. A very intriguing aspect of this topic is that the same purpose could be presented using various animal depictions, while each animal could have different symbolical meanings. Thus, contrary to appearances, there were many possibilities to choose from. Similarly, one animal could be seen as well suited to several different types of the depictions men-

tioned above. The paper shows only a part of the whole multifarious world of the animal depictions of Greek coinage from its beginning to the Hellenistic period.

The coinage was a matter of state; it bore the ideological text of the state.[1] There was no statebadge without arbitrary testing of the weight and purity of the coins;[2] but not only the value and content of the non-ferrous metal determined the value of the coin. There was the issuer – the ruler or the officials.[3] He, or they, protected the worth of the coins emitted in the state. It is evident that forgery altered this situation, especially when initiated by these rulers and officials themselves, but the idea was the same every time.

The images, e.g. the 'canting badges', could refer to the goods exported by the cities, to their names,[4] or to tutelary deities, and other gods. While virtually all of the images on the coins may have had religious roots, they could also be connected with trade and wealth, e.g. two fish, each positioned with its tail at the other's mouth, resemble two ships, one leaving, the other entering the city.[5]

As Tuttle Ross wrote, the word 'propaganda' meant at first the spread of the Christianity.[6] But it seems clear that it existed and appeared in human societies even earlier. The use of propaganda on the coins of the Greek *poleis* almost always possessed a political character, but that was rather another kind of expression than that found in modern history. Our experiences of the last two centuries have shaped a contemporary definition of propaganda.[7] For the Greeks, propaganda was associated with a different kind of ideology, and probably bore fewer negative connotations. It referred mostly to the aspirations of the *poleis* or rulers, presenting the features and abilities of the issuer, encouraging others to complete a transaction or discouraging potential opponents.

I. Lion and bull

The chapter refers to both animals because of their frequent co-occurrence in the coinage of the Lydian and Greek world. For the people a lion was always a symbol of power. Also for the Lydians the lion became the symbol of their rulers. The most common Greek lion is the Nemean lion, killed cleverly by Heracles. A bull could have in Greek coinage associations with power and wealth, as well as a possible religious meaning, too. Borrell[8] states, that the Lydiatis gave the bull to Cybele as an offering, and quotes Stephanus writing about the city called Mastaura – 'Mastaura, urbs Lydiae, a Ma,

[1] Mielczarek 2015: 14.
[2] Sutherland 1940: 66.
[3] Wallace 1987: 393.
[4] Balmuth 1957-58: 19.
[5] Borrell 1843-44: 47.
[6] Tuttle Ross 2002: 16.
[7] www.freecollocation.com/ [accessed 08 April 2018]
[8] Borrell AN INQUIRY… 1839-40: 223.

quae Rheam sequebatur, cui Jupiter Bacchum nutriendum dedit. Rhea etiam vocabatur Ma; et ipsi apud Lydos taurus sacrificabatur, aqua urbi nomen'.

The Lydian coins bore a depiction of a lion's head or forepart of the animal (Ill. 1). One of these coins is that found in Gordion, the Phrygian capital city. It may have been coined by the Lydian king Alyattes *ca* 610-560 BC. The evidence connecting it to Alyattes may be the inscription VALVEL or VALVET. The second one reads KUKALIM, which seems to connect the coin with Kukash. Some scholars suppose that Kukash was Gyges, the founder of the Mermnad dynasty, and ancestor of Alyattes and Croesus, the best-known Lydian king. But most probably the coins with the KUKALIM inscription were struck not by Gyges, but by Alyattes who was thus attempting to identify his own rule with the length of the reign of his great ancestor whereas two of Gyges' successors, Ardys and Sadyattes, ruled for a very short time.[9]

Croesus struck his coins *ca* 561-546 BC.[10] They bore a depiction of the opposed foreparts of a lion and bull.[11] The continuity of the feline motif used by the royal family during this period is evident. We might think that Croesus was not likely to be the last king to feature the lion on Lydian coins, but Cyrus the Great, the king of Persia, had defeated him, and his descendants had no opportunity to continue the minting tradition. But more probably the Persians did not stop minting Lydian coinage, which was continued even in the last years of the sixth century BC and, according to a theory dating from the 1930s, the ruler who replaced it with Persian coinage was Darius I.[12]

We should remember that the motif of the lion appeared many times in Assyrian art. The kings of the Near East, manifesting the same features as Croesus, hunted lions, showing thereby that their power was sufficient to tame all wildlife.[13] The popular motif may have been adapted by the Lydian kings from Assyrian-Babylonian propaganda art.

In Lydia, the lion was used in propaganda due to its connections with the king.[14] It was the outstanding symbol of the Lydian kings' most valuable attributes on the battlefield, in the hunt, and in times of peace, although Lydia was also the land of horses.[15] The lion was attributed to Cybele, then a local goddess with her temple at Sardis.[16] Herodotus[17] states, that the Lydian lion's ancestor was Metes, a member of the Heraclidaean dynasty ruling over Lydia.

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[9] Dale 2015: 157, 160.
[10] Verneule 1950: 52.
[11] Cahill, Kroll 2005: 589.
[12] *Ibid.*: 610.
[13] Biedermann 2005: 189.
[14] Dale 2015: 162.
[15] Ratté 1989: 379.
[16] Borrell AN INQUIRY… 1839-40: 221.
[17] Herodotus I, 84; *Ibid.*: 222.

Even today understanding the information contained in the depictions of Croesus' coins is quite simple. The lion symbolised strength, power and fearlessness, the features of the great king, on whom everyone must count. The king hunts, gains strength, and always gets what he wants. The bull is strong and dangerous, as well, but it has no chance against the lion. Perhaps the bull represents anyone who wants to overthrow the king, someone who must lose. Croesus showed everyone that he, as the lion, always defeats the bull.

Without the use of words or sophisticated symbols, Croesus used propaganda to manifest his power and legitimise his reign. The clear connection with the Eastern empires, which characterised the depictions on his coinage, confirmed and even sanctified his reign and the validity of his coins.

That is the beginning of the use of coins to support ideas, the propaganda tools, i.e. as propaganda tools. We do not know today the exact extent to which Lydian coinage had an influence on the Greek coinage, but there is rather little doubt that the Greeks were able to adopt the pattern of Croesus' cleverness. We must remember, that the *poleis* from the eastern Aegean used electrum coinage, prolonging the tradition initiated by the Lydians.[18] Probably the beginnings of coinage around the Aegean date to the end of the seventh century BC. This electrum and silver coinage followed the Greek roads of trade and colonisation to ever more distant regions of the Mediterranean world.[19] The Near East, dominated by Persian gold coinage as far back as the times of Croesus, had to wait.

The coins of the people of Miletus presented a crouched (recumbent or reclining[20]) lion looking backward.[21] This city of Asia Minor, being under the influence of Lydia, may have adopted the lion as its own symbol. Perhaps the crouching of the lion should be understood as the shadow of the Lydian king hanging over the Greek city. The lion is not completely free, it is looking back at a stronger neighbour. Maybe the oppressed Greek Miletus tried to represent its situation, but on the other hand this was no cause for pride. Therefore, Miletus might have tried to imitate the Lydian symbol of power, intending to show its own strength, even if only by means of an imitation. On the other hand, reclining lion may signify submission to Lydia, whereas a recumbent lion could be merely relaxing.

On the reverse are three incuses, on the left is a square punch mark with a head of a stag turned right within it. The central punch mark contains a fox running leftward and downwards, and the right – a star of five dots connected by lines. Perhaps there is a distant connection between the stag and the Milesian cult of Apollo – a stag was a symbol of his sister, Artemis.

[18] L. D. C. 1912: 40.
[19] Scheidel 2010: 2.
[20] Konuk 2012: 45, 54.
[21] Gardner 1913: 158.

Thompson[22] states, that the lion was quite often seen as a symbol of the sun, thereby being also the symbol of Apollo.[23] There appears to be some connection with Apollo, whose presumed presence could be seen on some reverses, as well.

The lion on the reverse of the coinage of Leontini is an example of canting arms in Greek coinage. It is evidently derived from the name of the city. The Greek word ὁ λέων, easily visible in the name Leontinoi, means *the lion*.

In Sybaris, the *nomos* (stater), coined since *ca* 550 BC, was used. Each side present a bull.[24] One is convex, and the other – concave, like the shape of the coin itself. The name of the coin is derived from the Greek word ὁ νόμος, meaning *the law*. Accordingly, there are two ways to explain the meaning of the bull. Perhaps it oversaw the law; but it might also have been a symbol of the wealth of Sybaris. Its coin had the support of the law, so that the city could develop and become rich.

The didrachm of Gela presents a rider, and, on the other side, Gelas, the god of the river Gelas who takes the form of the bull's forepart with a human head. We do not know exactly what kind of connection joined the river and the bull. The colonists of Gela came from Rhodes and Crete. Perhaps the latter's influenced on the coinage resulted in the motif of the Cretan bull. However, there may be another, more correct explanation. In the power of the surging river the Greeks saw the strength of a raging bull[25] which cares for the city, and transfers its power to it. These explanations can be referred to every depiction of the river-god.

Some tetradrachms coined at Catania present the depiction of the river-god Amenanos, a man-headed bull.[26] The similarity of the depictions on the coins of Catania and Gela is clear. Perhaps these Sicilian cities preserved in their coins a trace of a Sicilian belief in which an important or even the main role was played by the bull.

The obverse of the coins of Cyzicus depicted the forepart of a running boar and a tunny swimming upwards behind it. The reverse showed the head of a roaring lion (Ill. 12). Although in the example of Cyzicus the tunny seems to be incomparably more important, as mentioned below, the lion could be understood as an impact of the Lydian one.

There are also coins featuring the bull's forepart. In the Aegean, the bull was connected with rivers, and even more, with the river-gods. The bull of Cyzicus may be the symbol of the river Pactolus,[27] from which electrum was taken. If so, coins with the

[22] Thompson 1982: 16.
[23] Robinson 1946: 16.
[24] Rutter 2012: 129.
[25] www.forumancientcoins.com/moonmoth/river_coins.html [accessed 02 October 2016]
[26] Fischer-Bossert 2012: 149.
[27] Borrell AN INQUIRY… 1839-40: 223.

symbol of Pactolus were minted from the electrum ores born by the river. Its god was honoured as the benefactor and sentinel of the ore beds.

Some coins of Samos presented a scalp of the lion and a head of the bull, facing one another.[28] The silver drachm of Samos, cited by Barron as a Lydo-Milesian 1/4 stater minted at Miletus around 530-520 BC, presented the winged boar's forepart on the obverse, the facing scalp of the lion on the reverse, and was the largest coin of that time.[29]

Alexander the Great struck coins with the head of young Heracles in lion-skin headdress on the obverse, and with Zeus Aetophoros, holding an eagle, on the reverse. Alexander tried to identify himself with the hero, and deify his achievements.

Demetrios I Poliorcetes, the king of Macedonia, struck coins depicting his own head with bull's horns and a diadem. These were the attributes of a god, and a very good method of self-deification.

II. Dog and wolf

The canines depicted on the coins of Argos and Segesta may have a religious, and/or mythological meaning. There is even evidence of the perception of the dog by the ancient Greeks as a faithful animal.

At Argos, starting at the beginning of the fifth century BC, coins were minted depicting of a wolf's forepart.[30] The character A was set in the incuse square (Ill. 2). As of the fourth century BC a depiction of a wolf between two dolphins was used. The depiction of the wolf, a stronger kind of dog, (Greek ὁ κύων), is derived from Argos, the fast, strong, and faithful dog of Odysseus. At the same time the wolf (ὁ λύκος) is present here as the animal of Apollo Lycius. The king of the city, Danaus, built a temple for this god after the help provided to him by Apollo in the form of a wolf. Pausanius[31] wrote about the wolf's resolution of the dispute for rule over Argos in the form of an attack on the bull leading the herd. The bull was identified with Gelanor, the opponent of Danaus, who was in turn perceived as the wolf.[32] The dolphins around the wolf also were the symbols of Apollo.

Some scholars see a dog, not a wolf, on the coins of Argos. This dog may be a greyhound, and may be surrounded by two fish.[33] The forepart of a dog ready to attack was

[28] Dodd 1908: 66.

[29] Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum www.sylloge-nummorum-graecorum.org/ [accessed 29 November 2017]; Barron 1964: 215.

[30] Psoma 2012: 167.

[31] Pausanius 2.19.3–4.

[32] Borrell 1843-44: 48.

[33] Hulme 1877: 336.

depicted ca 480–470 BC on Argive triobols. The first dogs appeared in the first half of the fifth century BC.[34] The message is clear – Argos was ready for war.

At Segesta, autochthonic coins were minted, presenting a dog.[35] This animal symbolised Artemis, Hermes, Asclepius, and Hekate.[36] We do not know to whom the temple at Segesta was dedicated; perhaps it was to some of these gods. Irrespective of this, the dog was probably supposed to protect the city.

III. Ram

Lysimachus, the king of Thrace, struck the coins with the head of the deified Alexander the Great, with the horns of Amun on the obverse (Ill. 3). As the ruler of Egypt, Alexander was deified there as a god with ram's horns. As the successor of the god, Lysimachus, in his own opinion, was a very special ruler.

IV. Goat, satyr, and sylen

It seems to be that in the Pangaion region the motif of a goat was apparently popular. Aenus used the he-goat, and Thasos – the satyr, which was partly a goat. The satyr is not an animal, but its partly animal nature provides some basis for a discussion of this being. Some coins, minted from ca 525 BC, featured a satyr with a nymph on the obverse. The other variants present a running satyr, and a satyr or silenus with a *kantharos*. The silver tritartemorion struck ca 411–404 BC featured the head of a satyr on the obverse and dolphins on the reverse; by 390 BC the standard had changed, and the satyr appeared no more.

After 461 BC the Sicilian city of Naxos minted tetradrachms and drachms. Some of them bore the head of Dionysus, and a nude seated satyr or silen with *kantharos*, the attribute of Dionysus, and the inscription ΝΑΞΙΟΝ on the other side (Ill. 4).

Some coins of Himera present a winged being with a goat's head on the obverse; and Pan or he-goat on the reverse. A third type of the coins of Himera featured a team and, on the other side, the nymph Himera holding a tablet with the inscription MEI and a satyr. The bronze coins of Himera were coined or cast. They present the *gorgoneion* on one side and, on the other three balls (3 *onkia*) and thus were tetras.

Antigonus II Gonatas, king of Macedonia, struck coins with the head of Pan with a goat's horns and goat's skin on the obverse. Since Pan was his own symbol, it is no wonder that Antigonus used this image on his coins to show his power as king and issuer.

[34] Heinrichs 2011: 24.
[35] Fischer-Bossert 2012: 150.
[36] Biedermann 2005: 283.

V. Horse

The tetradrachm of Gela presents a *quadriga*,[37] with Nike above it, on the obverse; and Gelas on the reverse. Some tetradrachms and drachms of Catania feature a *biga* or *quadriga* with Nike above it, on the obverse.

The didrachms of Leontini present a nude rider on the horseback on the obverse, and a lion's forepart and grains on the reverse. The tetradrachms present a *quadriga* or *biga* and Nike or a head of Apollo on the obverse. A *quadriga* was a symbol of victory. The rich tyrants of the Sicilian cities used to fund a chariot for each Olympic game, as the *gamoroi*[38] had done previously. This was a matter of the highest prestige. The sponsorship symbolised the wealth of the donor and his respect for tradition. These donations were neither more or less than strategic moves. Probably no particular chariot was depicted following victory in a race, but only a sign that the tyrant was able to fund it and obtain everything he wanted. The coins of Leontini, which look like those of Syracuse and Gela, were minted by Hippocrates of Gela, a member of the ruling family ruling of Gela and Syracuse. Polyzelus, the tyrant of Gela and sponsor of the Delphic *auriga*, was a relative of the tyrants of Syracuse.

The obverse of the coins of Syracuse depicts a naked rider with an additional horse. On the reverse is the head of Arethusa encircled by four dolphins (Ill. 5). On the obverse of the tetradrachm is a *biga*. The obverse of the 15 *litrai* silver or Attic tridrachm depicts a bucranium behind the head of Kore-Persephone. On the reverse is a galloping *quadriga* driven by Nike. The coins of Syracuse set an example for the other coinage systems of Sicily,[39] themselves probably patterned after the coinage of a city from Northern Greece, possibly Olynthus.[40]

The coins of Kamarina present a *quadriga*[41] driven by Athena and Nike above it on the obverse, and the head of a young Heracles in a lion's skin headdress. Heracles killed the Nemean lion with its own claws and was depicted in art wearing its skin. Bronze tetras depicted a *gorgoneion* or the head of Athena on the obverse, and an owl clutching a lizard on the reverse. In some cases the wings of the owl are open. Killing the near immortal lion could be a symbol for the care of the city provided by clever, strong and brave Heracles.

At Maroneia coins were minted with the forepart of a prancing horse, and later with the horse and a bunch of grapes in the incuse square. Perhaps the motif of the horse is caused by Maroneia's proximity to Macedonia, which was always more close associated with horses than Greece. But a more probable explanation is that Maroneia was well

[37] Fischer-Bossert 2012: 148.
[38] *Ibid.*: 146.
[39] Rutter 2012: 135.
[40] Fischer-Bossert 2012: 145.
[41] *Ibid.*: 149.

known for its horse trade. Maroneia and all of Thrace had something, the other Greeks lacked: vast plains for horses and cattle.[42] Rabadjiev[43] reminds the myth about Mares of Diomedes. Incidentally, the second most important area of the city's economy was wine production, and the bunch of grapes is a symbol of their success in this area.

With regard to the above arguments, it is no wonder that the horse was a frequent Thracian motif, accompanied by a naked man with a broad-brimmed hat. Sometimes the horse pulled a chariot; sometimes there was an ox. Thus, the horse was one of the religious-political images derived from Pelasgian times and connected with the cult of the Thracian kings.[44] The other motifs, satyrs and centaurs with nymphs, show the links between farmers not ruled by the kings of the Thracians and the cult of Dionysus.

A Scythian tribe, Sindi, used, among others, coins with the head of Heracles wearing a lion skin on the obverse and the head of a horse on the reverse.[45] The hero was the ancestor of the Scythes, and thus of the Sindi as well.

VI. Pegasus

The coinage of Corinth is characterised by its depiction of Pegasus on the obverse[46] (Ill. 6), referring to the myth of Bellerophon, who received the winged horse from Athena and bridled it with the golden bridle in Corinth. However, Jenks[47] suggests a connection with the spring and the Citadel at Corinth.

The coins of Corinth were used in its colonies, as well. Corinthian coins present, next to Pegasus, the archaic character Ϙ. In Leukas the character Λ, in Locroi the *ethnikon* ΛOKPΩN, and in Syracuse the *ethnikon* ΣYPA were used. Corinth's western business areas were dominated by Athens; thus, this issue was directed against the latter city.[48] Thanks to Corinth's extensive trade contacts, its coins were used in many parts of the Greek world. They were certainly easily recognisable thanks to their depiction of Pegasus from the well-known myth.

Among the coins excavated at Corinth were the silver trihemiobols with Pegasus flying to the right and the head of a Gorgon with tongue out and hair close. They were minted in the period 450–420 BC.[49] Locri also used the coins featuring Pegasus.[50]

[42] Davies 2002: 80.
[43] Rabadjiev 2007: 509.
[44] Tačeva 1992: 64.
[45] Gorončarovskij, Terešenko 2016: 165.
[46] Milne 1944: 47.
[47] Jenks 1965: 100.
[48] Sutherland 1940: 69.
[49] Zervos 1986: 183.
[50] Rutter 2012: 137.

Lampsacus minted ca 480 BC a stater with Pegasus.[51] It is not clear why the people of Lampsacus decided to feature this symbol on their coins. The city's previous coins had no depiction on the obverse. Maybe a decision was made to pattern coins after those of Corinth, as a sign of opposition to the emerging power of Athens.

VII. Elephant

One of the coins of Alexander the Great presents a rider using a *sarissa*, attacking an elephant with two riders. The scene depicts the Battle of the Hydaspes, 326 BC.

Ptolemy I Soter, the king of Egypt, issued, in his role as a satrap, coins with the head of Alexander the Great dressed in the elephant's skin (Ill. 7). The connection with the Battle of the Hydaspes is obvious. By issuing coins with the image of Alexander, Ptolemy showed himself to be the successor of the great king.

VIII. Panther

Seleucus I Nicator, ruler of the Seleucid Empire, struck a coin depicting the helmeted head of a hero – himself or Alexander's. The helmet is covered with a skin, probably of a panther, but the ears and horns are from a bull (Ill. 8). Panthers accompanied Aphrodite, Dionysus, Circe, and Cybele. Antenor, Jason, and Orpheus each wore a panther's skin. At Pella, in the House of Dionysus, there is a mosaic showing the god riding a panther.[52] Irrespective of the interpretation, it seems clear that the aspirations of Seleucus were no less than those of other Hellenistic kings. Even if the head was Alexander's, Seleucus gained prestige as his successor.

IX. Stag and bee: the Ephesian cult

One of the most ingenious examples of the propaganda of animal depictions was devised by the people of Ephesus. Their coins are characterised by the religious background of their depictions. The patroness of the city was Artemis, the goddess of hunting, whose symbols were placed on these coins (ill. 9).[53] One of the animals was the stag or fallow-deer (four immortal deers with golden horns drew the chariot of the goddess mentioned above). The other animal, the bee, has a more sophisticated significance. Bees in Greek were called *melitai*. This name also referred to the priestesses of Artemis. There could be one more explanation – the queen bee as the symbol of the mother goddess,[54] who might have been e.g. Artemis, as the patroness of motherhood.

[51] Gardner 1913: 157.
[52] Biedermann 2005: 264.
[53] Borrell RESTITUTION… 1839-40: 175.
[54] Biedermann 2005: 298.

The stag was depicted e.g. on the 1/4 stater, the bees on the electrum 1/24 stater. It is possible that the stag was more important than the bees from a religious viewpoint, as shown by the relative value of the coins.

X. Seal and squid: the coinage of Phocaea

Phocaean coinage is characterised by the image of a seal. This is an ingenious pun, which L. D. C.[55] calls *the badge*. The Greek word for *seal* is ἡ φώκη. The connection with the name of the city is evident. Furthermore, the vicinity of Phocaea was probably one of the last places in the Mediterranean inhabited by seals.

In terms of details, the seal holds a squid in its mouth (Ill. 10). Understanding the meaning of this symbol is not quite as simple. Perhaps the image of a seal seal eating a squid showed the courage and resourcefulness of the Phocaeans at sea. A cephalopod being devoured by a seal is unique in Greek coinage, but may be connected with Minoan and subsequent vase painting. Of course, the squid may be only an additional aspect of the image as a whole.

The coins of Phocaea depicting the seal eating the squid were coined from the third quarter of the seventh century to the beginning of the sixth century BC. Their early minting dates seem to confirm the interpretation of the seal as being connected with courage, as seen in its eating the squid, thus showing the courage of the Phocaeans and the naval successes of the city, which ay a very early date initiated maritime expeditions into the western Mediterranean. On the other hand, the short interval during which the squid motif was used suggests another interpretation. The squid may be only a supplement, e.g. the symbol of the series, as mentioned above.

The Phocaeans also used coins depicting the head of a griffin, with a seal behind it, on the obverse. These were coined in the late sixth century BC. Probably the seal accompanying the griffin symbolises the property of Phocaea; without it, these coins may have been made by Teos as diobols. Furthermore, the coins minted at Lesbos present the seal turned to the right, which helps to distinguish them from the Phocaean seals.[56]

The electrum hecte coined in the period ca 625–522 BC presents the head of a griffin with a seal behind it, swimming upwards. Another hecte depicts the head of a roaring lion with a small seal, also behind it, swimming upwards. Still another hecte shows a kneeling ram with a seal above it. Some hecte coins present a half-kneeling he-goat with a small seal above its back.

The number of coins depicting a seal over decades shows the importance of this motif for the Phocaeans and their identity and economy. This testifies that the idea was

[55] L. D. C. 1912: 41.
[56] Gardner 1913: 163.

good, that the force of habit was stronger than the tendency to make bold changes and improvements, and that the confirmed quality was respected.

XI. Dolphin and sturgeon

Olbian coins, from the end of the sixth to the beginning of the fourth century BC, depicted dolphins[57] and sturgeons. These coins were cast. The origin of the dolphin-shaped coins (Ill. 11) may have been the tokens given to Apollo Delphinios, whose symbol was the dolphin, in his temple as offerings. Sometimes someone was helped by Apollo in the form of a dolphin.[58]

One coin of Olbia found in the city of Borysthenes and dated 330–250 BC, presents the head of a river-god with horns, an animal element. Other examples of this kind of depiction are mentioned above. Perhaps the river-god motif indicates the existence of trade contacts between Olbia and the Sicilian *poleis*.

Silver staters, of the kind called Eminako, were also used. The reverse depicts dolphins around a circle with spokes. The coins were minted ca the mid-fifth century BC. The name Eminakos, probably Iranian, and figure of Heracles presented on the obverse may show that the coins were minted in the name of the Scythian Olbian superior official. Heracles was the forefather of the Scythes.

In the fourth century BC were issued coins with the head of Demeter or Apollo on the obverse and an eagle with a dolphin in its claws on the reverse. The dolphins were probably intended as a reminder of the old currency. The eagle could be understood as the symbol of Zeus or of the change in coinage.

The so-called Olbian asses were the bronze coins with a maximum diameter of 7 cm, and over 100 grammes in weight. There are four series depicting dolphin(s) and the head of Athena on the obverse or with the *gorgoneion*, an eagle flying with a dolphin or sitting upon it, and another series bearing a frontal head of Demeter and an eagle with wings spread.

The sturgeon was also depicted on the coins of Panticapaeum, where it accompanied a griffin. The latter could be understood as the result of Near Eastern influence, the former as the symbol of the trade and development of a city doing business with the distant regions of the known world by sea. An interesting aspect of the matter is that the Greeks called the Kuban river Hypanis or Antikeites, meaning 'the sturgeon-river'.[59]

[57] Milne 1945: 231.
[58] Biedermann 2005: 65.
[59] Hind 2008: 3.

XII. Tunny

Cyzicus minted electrum staters weighing more than 14 grammes each. Their characteristic feature was a tunny.[60] The fish was present irrespective of the issue. The obverse depicted the forepart of a running boar with a tunny behind, swimming upwards; the reverse showed the head of a roaring lion (Ill. 12).

The cyzicenus, worth 28 drachms, was international currency[61] remaining in use until the times of Alexander the Great, although Cyzicus, using the Thracian mines of gold in the times of Philip II, suspended its minting.[62] The beginning of the city's fame, and of its prosperity as well, was trade, which probably developed primarily in the Black Sea area.[63] The location of Cyzicus was very important for commercial activity in the region as well as in the whole Greek world. The tunny was probably one of the main goods in this process,[64] and within a short period of time became a local symbol of wealth. From the sixth to the middle of the fourth century BC, the coins of Cyzicus were emitted with the tunny each time. In view of the wide range of the currency[65] it had to be recognisable and trustworthy, with a proven value.

The people of Kerkinitis used flat arrowhead-shaped and cast fish-shaped coins. The fish may have been the beluga, a kind of sturgeon. These arrowheads and fish may represent a remnant of the commodity money from the former trade.

XIII. Symphalian birds

Many birds are depicted in Greek coinage. Among them are Stymphalian birds. According to the myth about the Stymphalian birds. The people of Symphalia minted coins with their image (Ill. 13). Accorgin to a myth, these man-eating birds were armed with brazen beaks, claws, and wings.[66] Using clappers called *krotala*, Heracles lured them from a lake, and shot many of them with arrows.

XIV. Dove

The political situation of a city could be represented in Greek coinage as a dove. Even today, this creature is associated with peace. As it seems, it used to be similar in the past.

The coins of Sybaris bore an image of a dove (Ill. 14). It was always the symbol of peace[67] and may symbolise the peace bestowed by Poseidonia, represented by Poseidon,

[60] Wallace 1987: 393.
[61] Gardner 1913: 154.
[62] L. D. C. 1912: 40.
[63] Alram 2012: 69.
[64] Burgon 1836-37: 100.
[65] L. D. C. 1912: 40.
[66] Hulme 1877: 335.
[67] Biedermann 2005: 93.

on Sybaris. Poseidonia took part in the refounding of Sybaris in 452/451 BC, following siege in 476 BC.

The people of Sicyon used coins with a chimera on the obverse and a dove on the reverse,[68] just as on the staters used by the Aeginetans in the fifth century BC. These coins were minted from the end of the sixth century BC. Following the Persian Wars, battles with the Athenians, the Peloponnesian War, and its capturing by Thebes in the fifth century BC, Sicyon enjoyed a short period of peace in the fourth century. This was a good occasion for minting coins with a dove, the symbol of Aphrodite, the goddess of love. From love to peace, the way is not very long, and symbolically is even shorter. Another short distance was that from Sicyon to Corinth, whose connection with the chimera is presented below.

XV. Swan

On the coins of Argos a swan is depicted behind Diomedes. The last one was a local hero who brought the Palladium, the image of Athena, from Troy to the city (Ill. 15). The swan may be only the symbol of this series, but, as the symbol of Apollo, may also be understood as evidence of his tutelage.[69] The swan appears on the silver drachm of 421–350 BC.[70]

XVI. Eagle

The obverse of the coins of Elis depicted a flying eagle with a snake or the eagle and the head of Zeus. The eagle was the symbol of Zeus. The snake may be an enemy of Elis, which was protected by the god. Lightning, another symbol of Zeus, next to the flying eagle, confirms this protection.

At Histria, in the period 380–330 BC silver coins were minted depicting an eagle holding a dolphin. The eagle was the symbol of Zeus Polieus, the protector of the city; hence the bird was connected with the power, strength, and victory of the god.[71] Histria was trusted to Zeus, and therefore the city issued coins with his symbol.

At Sinope, as of the end of the fifth century BC, silver coins were minted depicting an eagle holding a dolphin (Ill. 16). The last examples of this type date from the end of the fourth century BC. The same sign was imprinted on amphorae and roof tiles produced in Sinope. It should be noted that Sinope was not the only colony of Miletus to mint coins with an eagle holding a dolphin. Others included Histria, mentioned above, and Olbia.[72] The use of the symbol to mark products shows its importance for the develop-

[68] Psoma 2012: 167.
[69] Hulme 1877: 334.
[70] Balmuth 1957-58: 19.
[71] Biedermann 2005: 254.
[72] Mielczarek 2015: 14.

ment and prosperity of the city. The similarity to the coins of the above-mentioned cities can be understood as a manifestation of the historical ties connecting them.

The coins of Samos, minted ca 600–570 BC, presented an eagle. Perhaps Zeus was present on the coin in the form of the eagle as the husband of Hera whose giant temple was set on the island of Samos. The birthplace of Hera venerated at Samos was under the 'chaste-tree' (*Vitex agnus-castus*, which the Greeks called ἡ or ὁ λύγος[73]). Electrum coins were issued until the crucifixion of Polycrates by the Persians, an event dated to the first 30 years of the sixth century BC. Later, coins with a half-bull were issued.[74]

XVII. Owl

The Athenians decided to use religious symbol on their coins. Their patroness was Athena; the name of their city is derived from hers. We can say that the certificate of identity and the pride of their city were, as they still are today, visible in almost every word connected with the city under the Acropolis. No wonder that the animal depicted on the Athenian coins' reverses was an owl,[75] the symbol of Athena, the goddess of wisdom. The renown of these coins led them to be called, simply, owls (Ill. 17). Another result of this renown was the many imitations minted in the Mediterranean world.

Jongkees translates the words γλαυκ' Ἀθηναζε, used by Aristophanes in his comedy *The Birds*, lines 300–305,[76] as 'to carry water to the sea' or 'to carry coals to Newcastle'. This ancient phrase shows us that in Athens, the owl was one of the fundamental aspects of the life of the citizens and the city.[77]

The beginning of Athenian coinage date back to ca 545 BC, the times of Peisistratus, although Jenks[78] cites the year 566 BC. Glyn Davies[79] credits Peisistratus with the discovery of the mines at Laurion, which were very important for the Athenian silver coinage initiated by him in 546 BC. The Wappenmünzen [English: blazon money] coined at that time bore various depictions in 14 changing series, featuring e.g. an owl, a horse, or the protome of a bull.[80] The meaning of the animal depictions on these coins is unknown. They may have been the symbols of the Athenian families emitting these series as a form of compensation for the offices bestowed upon them.[81] Following the reform of Cleisthenes the Wappenmünzen were replaced by the owls. Some scholars state that owls were introduced by Hippias, but a more probable date for the owls is

[73] Liddell, Scott 1883: 905.
[74] Gardner 1911: 155.
[75] Hulme 1877: 335; Jenks 1965: 102.
[76] Felton 1890: 25.
[77] Jongkees 1952: 28.
[78] Jenks 1965: 102.
[79] Davies 2002: 70.
[80] Mielczarek 2015: 25.
[81] Aperghis 2013: 14.

after 510 BC, which marked the fall of the Peisistratids. The old coins were associated with these rulers, the tyrants, whereas the new coins, the owls, constituted a symbol of hope for a better future.[82]

The bird looks to the right, although its head is frontally, nearby are an olive twig and the *ethnikon* AΘE. The latter was set initially along the owl's body, later along the edge of the incuse square. This was the archaic type of these coins; however, as regard the obverses, the classical type was the same, even in the fourth century BC, when other, new coins were entered into circulation. Only the hemidrachms bear a frontal depiction of the owl with folded wings; the decadrachms minted in the 60s of the fifth century BC bear a frontal depiction of an owl with spread wings. By virtue of an Athenian monetary decree, the owls became international currency. The effect is as mentioned above – the imitations and counterfeits, coined from the end of the fifth century until the middle of the fourth century.[83]

As long as the Athenian Empire retained its power, the owls were true works of art. In the third century BC we notice a decline in the quality of the owls. The coins minted at that time are smaller and less well made.

Jongkees offered the interesting theory that the owl, alone among the huge number of symbols of Athena cited by Homer or popular in other *poleis*, e.g. the crow, falcon, pigeon, raven, a kind of a sea-gull called αἴθυια, swallow, and vulture, became popular as the symbol of the goddess thanks to the Athenian drachm.[84] Homer in *The Odyssey* called Athena γλαυκῶπις, meaning 'with gleaming eyes' or 'sparkling-eyed'.[85] Probably such frightening, sparkling eyes suited the warlike Athena.[86] The result of the value, popularity, and widespread use of the Athenian drachm was that the owl became the symbol of the goddess.[87] Jongkees[88] cites M. Nilsson, *Minoan Myc. Religion*, 425, and *Die Anfaenge der Goettin Athene*, Kgl. Danske Vid. Selsk. Hist.-Filol. Meddelelser IV, 7, 1921, p. 15, hearing the small owls dwelling in the fissures of the acropolis at Lindos. Jongkees supposed also, that the first coins of Athens were the Aeginetan turtles.[89]

The bronze tetras of Kamarina mentioned above present an owl clutching a lizard. In some cases the owl's has wings are open. Clutching the lizard could be a symbol of the victory over evil and protection for the city as provided by Athena and by Athens, as an effect of an alliance in 427 BC.

[82] *Ibid.*: 19.
[83] Engen 2005: 370.
[84] Jongkees 1952: 28.
[85] Fagles 2014: 3.
[86] Wissowa 1907: 1070.
[87] Jongkees 1952: 32.
[88] *Ibid.*: 37.
[89] *Idem* 1944: 82.

XVIII. Rooster

A rooster could have the religious significance, as at Selymbria, but it may also be connected to the name of the city as a canting type, as at Himera. This is another example of the ingenuity of the Greeks.

At Selymbria coins were minted with a rooster on the obverse. It was a solar symbol and the animal of Apollo,[90] but it was also connected with vigilance and safety by virtue of its courage and crowing, which drove away demons.[91] These features connect the rooster with Hermes.[92] Socrates, when he was at death's door, named the bird as a symbol of Asclepius.

The coinage of Himera is characterised by the depiction of a rooster[93] on the obverse (Ill. 18). This depiction is very special because the Greek word for 'the day' was ἡ ἡμέρα, and the animal most connected with the day and the sun is the rooster; hence the ingenious concept of how to give the name of the city, since ἡμέρα sounds like Himera. On the reverse was an incuse or a crab; the latter was the symbol of Acragas. Theron of Acragas, who ruled over Himera from ca 482 BC, issued of coins this kind there.[94]

XIX. Turtle/tortoise

Aeginetan coinage is a very interesting example of the way coins can reflect the changing situation of the issuer. As of 555 or 550 BC, the symbol of Aegina was the turtle (Greek ἡ χελώνη); the interesting aspect of the matter is that, as Kroll (2008) observed, the same word is used today to mean 'ingot'.[95] The sea turtle, sacred to Poseidon,[96] was placed on the obverses until the fourth century BC,[97] as it was readily associated with the sea,[98] the sea trade, and the naval fleet.[99] In the period 550–480 BC the turtle was depicted with five bumps on its shell; around 470 BC two bumps were added. It is very possible that the turtle of that time was the loggerhead turtle, *Caretta caretta*.[100]

Aegina, always closer to the open sea, than to the small area of the infertile land,[101] was defeated by Athens in 456 BC, showing this figuratively in its subsequent use of new

[90] Hulme 1877: 334.
[91] Biedermann 2005: 148.
[92] Hulme 1877: 334.
[93] Fischer-Bossert 2012: 150.
[94] Sutherland 1940: 70.
[95] Sheedy 2012: 106.
[96] Jenks 1965: 99.
[97] Ashton 2012: 193.
[98] Richter 1970: 334.
[99] Figueira 1983: 9.
[100] Sheedy 2012: 106.
[101] Borrell 1843-44: 44.

coins, drachms.[102] Growing strong on the sea, Athens stifled the sea turtle, which was replaced ca 445 BC by the land tortoise,[103] probably *Testudo graeca*, the common Greek tortoise[104] (Ill. 19). Theoretically, at first glance, everything was the same as before, but a change had taken place. The strong bond with the symbol did not allow the abandonment of the turtle with which the Aeginetans had identified themselves for a hundred years, but the defeat was such a great blow that they had to show it on their coins by means of the land tortoise with the segmented shell. On the other hand, however, this change could be understood in an other way, as an attempt to divide the old emissions from the (superior) new.[105]

Certainly this was not the end of Aegina and its coinage. From 405/404 BC when Sparta terminated the power of Athens[106] as a result of having blocked its access to the mines of Laurion in 407 BC,[107] to the fourth century BC, a dolphin, the symbol of the series, was placed in the incuse square of the reverse, along with an inscription. The presence of the *ethnikon* AIΓI shows that the Aeginetan identity was not confined to the past.

The use of the turtle or tortoise could be understood as a remnant of the silver ingots in circulation before coins, which resembled turtles (Welter 1954). But the animal may have also been a symbol of Aphrodite, a goddess possessing her own temple in Aegina.[108] On the other hand, perhaps the Aeginetans were trying to show that they were long-lived, tough, and persistent like turtles. In any case, the sustained use of the turtle shows us that these coins had value, at least for the Aeginetans themselves.

From the fifth century BC, the Aeginetan staters featured a chimera and a dove in a wreath. As is mentioned below in case of Sicyon, a political connection with Corinth is very probable, the more so because Corinth contributed to bringing peace to Aegina.

XX. Chimaera

As stated above, Sicyon used coins featuring a chimera on the obverse and a dove on the reverse[109] (Ill. 20). The chimera, connected in myth with Bellerophon and Corinth, may have signified resistance against Athens. Even today, a dove with a wreath is associated with peace. Perhaps in those days the Sicyonians desired peace as well.

[102] Davies 2002: 77.
[103] Balmuth 1957-58: 19.
[104] Sheedy 2012: 107.
[105] *Ibid*.: 108.
[106] Richter 1970: 334; *Ibid*.: 109.
[107] Davies 2002: 77.
[108] Sheedy 2012: 106.
[109] Psoma 2012: 168.

XXI. Sphinx

A sphinx[110] was a mythical being, half-animal, half-human. As so Eastern being, the sphinx was characteristic for the Ionian League. Chios, one of the League's most important members, depicted a sphinx on its coins (Ill. 21).[111] A sphinx was also present on the coins of Samothrace in the early years of the fifth century BC.[112] The animal could be understood as representing the influence of Near-Eastern trends in Greek art. Of course, as mentioned above, other animals, e.g. the lion, might also be included in this group; however, beings such as sphinxes and griffins possess a more specifically Eastern character.

XXII. Griffin

A griffin could be understood as a foreign trend in Greek art. Philip II coined silver octodrachms with a griffin on the obverse (Ill. 22) at Abdera. The animal was placed as well on the coins of Teos.[113] The griffin may be one of the translations of the Turkic word *kerkenez* connected probably with Kerkinitis, now Lake Tachinos, in the vicinity of Ennea-Hodoi, the earliest Athenian colony in the Pangaion region.[114] Furthermore, the griffin may have symbolisd strength and vigilance.

Conclusion

Today we can note that some of the depictions placed on the coins have possibly the propagandistic features. Some of them signified the power and wealth of the issuing city. The animals could be identified with strength, a source of income, or with luxurious expenses. In some cases animal depictions symbolised political changes, which can sometimes be connected with great historical events. By using them, cities could manifest their political identity and independence, or conversely, as it seems, represent an adverse situation. One very common purpose of the use of animal depictions was to manifest the faith of the citizens or favour of the gods. Their symbols known from myths were used. Probably the most sophisticated depictions on Greek coins are the so-called badges or canting arms. These were symbols referring to the meaning of similar words. The rose of Rhodes is not the only example. Canting arms identified the city's coins with the city itself. For Greek speakers, the semantic transfer was clear, but today the ability to understand the message and thus identify the city in question may be at times counterintuitive. Some half-animal beings on Greek coins are derived from Eastern beliefs and legends. Obviously, though, they must have been intelligible, even

[110] Gardner 1911: 154.
[111] *Idem* 1920: 164.
[112] Psoma 2012: 157.
[113] Chrisholm 1911: 33.
[114] Tačeva 1992: 71.

familiar, to the Greeks who used the coins. These foreign trends found a place in Greek mythology and became inherent elements thereof. Contrary to the cases mentioned above, the purpose of deification of the ruler is rare among the Greeks, as this practice was useless in democratic *poleis*. Even if some of the animals used by Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic kings were the same as those discussed above, their depictions were of a completely new type. The animals served rulers, not cities, and their depictions involved mostly skins, horns, and ears rather than living beings; thus they constituted trophies of a sort with both political and mythological significance, showing the power, divinity, and triumphs of the person who wore them. On one hand the deification of rulers using animal features is sometimes the effect of the foreign influences that appeared with Alexander's invasions; on the other hand, it sometimes derived from Greek mythology.

We must remember that certain animal depictions were probably no more than obvious motifs taken from the environment and every-day life. Sometimes we do not know exactly whether a given image constitutes propaganda or not. But the variety of possibilities in the choice of the type of representation and fruits of human ingenuity afford us an interesting way to view monetary policy and the status of Greek coinage through the centuries.

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THE FOUNDATION SCENE ON ROMAN COLONIAL COINS

Abstract: *The founder with two oxen was frequent motive struck on coins of Roman colonies from the decline of the Republic till the end of the provincial coinage in late third century. They were widespread in Roman Empire. Such issues were struck among others in Emerita and Caesaraugusta on the Iberian Peninsula, Patras and Philippi in Greece, Sinope in Bithynia, Parium in Mysia Lampsacus in Troad, Pisidian Antioch and Lystra in Galatia, Princeps Felix in Cilicia, and Berytus in Syria. Such scene presents aratrum ritual which was symbolic foundation of colony. The ritual was based on mythical founding of Rome by Romulus. Therefore such issues commemorated the birth of colonies and the strong ties with the capital. Together with the aquillae type, these motives were the most widespread in the Roman colonies.*

Keywords: *Roman provincial coins, Roman colonies, bronze coins, foundation scene*

A scene presenting a founder/priest ploughing with two oxen was commonly depicted on Roman colonial coins. The origin of this type was the famous myth of Romulus tracing the original furrow (Latin: *sulcus primigenius*), thereby founding Rome. This ritual was reproduced in the establishment of colonies. Later, when towns gained the privilege of striking coins, many of them decided to place this scene on their emissions. Various examples from all over the Roman world will be provided in this paper as part of an analysis of the phenomenon of the 'foundation type'.

The Roman colonies were inspired by Rome itself. The Eternal City was the model for colonies located in distant parts of the empire, which constituted imitations of Rome transferred to various geographical and cultural environments. The design of the cities, their hierarchies, festivals, and laws, all corresponded to their counterparts in Rome. One of the most important festivals in Rome was the Parilia, celebrated on 21 April in the common belief that it marked the day Rome was founded.[1] The boundaries of the town had been marked out by Romulus himself in accordance with Etruscan ritual (*Etrusca disciplina*):

> *He ploughed a furrow around the proposed town site, using a plough with a special bronze blade, a plough drawn by a white steer and a white cow; where*

[1] Eckstein 1979: 87; Ovid. *Fast.* 4.806.

> *a gate was planned, he lifted the plough out of its furrow and carried it; in all this he acted under the advice of Etruscan priests, who were present.*[2]

This ritual was presented in detail by ancient authors such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plutarch,[3] and Tacitus.[4] Furthermore, the act of the foundation of a colony was described by the ancient author Varro:

> *The act of founding the colony was done in this way: When the colones had arrived and the auspices were obtained, the legatus coloniae deducendae, his head covered with a part of his toga applied in a special way (ritu Gabino), with a part of it tied around his waist as a belt, ploughed a furrow (sulcus primigenius) in the area which was provided for distribution. This was done counterclockwise with a dyad, which had to include a bull on the right side (outwards) and a cow on the left. In doing this he held the bent handle of the plough so that the clod fell inwards. At those places where the gates were to be built, he lifted the plough so that the furrow was interrupted.*[5]

This kind of ritual is called the *aratrum* (which means ard or plough), and *sulcus primigenius* can be translated as the very first furrow. Later, when Rome was expanding, acts of *aratrum* were repeated. This ritual was believed to mark the 'anniversary' of Rome, and therefore the anniversaries of the colonies were the reflections of those of the Capital.[6] Of course, there were other acts that could compete with this ritual, such as the performance of the first colonial *lustrum* (purification ceremony)[7] or the presentation of *lex colonia*, a kind of constitution, at the colonial forum.[8] One such constitution was discovered in the Spanish town of Urso.[9] The duties of the *duoviri*, *augures*, and *pontifices* of *Colonia Genetiva Iulia* are clearly described (ILS 6087, 64–67). However, the frequency of the images presenting the *aratrum* ritual on colonial coins is decisive.

The ritual performed by Romulus was repeated by newly-established colonies in Republican times. Therefore we would expect the scene to be reproduced in various media: coins, reliefs, gems, paintings. Many coins struck in colonies of the Late Republican and Imperial Periods bore this scene. However, it is a bit puzzling that there is only one published example of another medium (relief) with this scene. This was discovered in Aquileia, a Republican colony founded in 181 BC.[10] Therefore, in considering the foundation scene, we need to base our assumptions on coins and literary sources.

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[2] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.88; English translation by Earnest Cary 1937.
[3] Plut. *Rom.* 11.
[4] Tac. *Ann.* 12.24.
[5] Varro. *Ling.* 5.14: English translation by R. G. Kent, Harvard 1937.
[6] Beard, North, Price 1998a: 329; MacMullen 2000: 127.
[7] Mommsen 1887: 636–638.
[8] Salmon 1969: 26.
[9] Beard, North, Price 1998b: 242–243.
[10] Beard, North, Price 1998b: 244; Sisani 2014: 357–358.

The act of ploughing the *sulcus primigenius* was repeated for traditional, religious, urban, and formal purposes. The reproduction of the ritual was a manifestation of loyalty to Rome. Colonists referred to the mythical 'birth' of the capital and followed the ritual of *aratrum* strictly. The event was conducted by a veiled priest, who used a pair of oxen. He lifted the plough in the places designated for the gates. The boundaries replicated the *pomerium* of Rome.[11] The borders thus formed showed the range of the planned colony; however, they were not strictly respected. The *aratrum* ritual was sometimes carried out not at the very beginning of the establishment of a colony, but at some subsequent point.[12] Furthermore, in the Late Republic, the *pomerium* was not always identical with the *sulcus primigenius*.[13] Ultimately, the act of *aratrum* was a formal manifestation of the establishment of a colony.[14]

The act of foundation was presented on coins in one popular manner in particular, in which the priest/founder advances to the right or left, guiding the yoke behind the pair of oxen, with the plough mounted between them. This model appeared on late Roman Republican coins. In 81 BC C. Marius struck a *denarius serratus* (RRC 378/1c) (Ill.1) with an image of Ceres on the obverse and the ploughing scene on the reverse. This model was continued in Rome after the Battle of Actium. On a denarius struck in 28 BC (RIC² 272) (Ill. 2), the Apollo of Actium on the obverse is juxtaposed with the *aratrum* ritual on the reverse. The message was clear: the victory at Actium was the new foundation of Rome. This type was part of a more extensive visual programme, introduced by Octavian following the civil war, which included a rostral column representing victory over Mark Antony's fleet (RIC² 271), Victory with a globe (RIC² 268), and military trophies decorating a temple (RIC² 273). The most significant gods, such as Diana, Apollo, and Mars, were depicted on the obverses of this series.[15] Following the restoration of the Republic in 27 BC, the foundation scene was rare on imperial coins; however, it became a distinctive motive on colonial coins.

Two motives were typical of colonial coins. One, featuring the legionary standards and the *aquillae*, was a reminder of the colonists' military past.[16] The other commemorated the foundation of the colony. The act of ploughing the *sulcus primigenius* was placed on colonial coins (no matter whether they gained the *ius italicum* or not) frequently from the Late Republic until the crisis in the third century.[17] Merely to highlight the universal range of these phenomena, we can list some towns where such coins

[11] Beard, North, Price 1998a: 329.
[12] Eckstein 1979: 88.
[13] Sisani 2014: 365.
[14] Eckstein 1979: 90.
[15] Sutherland 1976: 129–157.
[16] Katsari, Mitchel 2008: 230.
[17] Filges 2015: 243–250.

emerged: Emerita and Caesaraugusta on the Iberian Peninsula, Patras and Philippi in Greece, Sinope in Bithynia, Parium in Mysia, Lampsacus in Troad, Pisidian Antioch and Lystra in Galatia, Princeps Felix in Cilicia, and Akko-Ptolemais and Berytus in Syria. This list is, of course, incomplete; however, the absence of African colonies can be noted. Other colonies with firmly established pre-Roman positions (Knossos, Corinth) never decided to feature the *aratrum* ritual on their emissions. The foundation scene was the most widespread motive of colonial coins. Newly-founded mints based their coinage on existing patterns. The common design for this type remained nearly unchanged until the termination of provincial coinage.[18] Roles that could be played by archetypes were recalled by a few silver coins bearing similar types (the *denarius serratus* of C. Marius and the post-Actium denarius of Octavian).

As was previously mentioned, the *aratrum* ritual was widespread in the Roman state from the second half of the first century BC. The only pre-Augustan colony striking coins in Hispania Tarraconensis was Lepida, located on the left bank of the Ebro River, which obtained colonial status under M. Aemilius Lepidus in the late 40s of the first century AD.[19] The town, renamed *Colonia Victrix Iulia Lepida*, struck *asses* (RPC I 261) with the *aratrum* ritual on the reverse. The veiled founder is shown ploughing to the right with a yoke of oxen. The legend M FVL C OTAC PR QVIN identified the colonial *duoviri*, who were the major colonial officials responsible e.g. for striking coins. This type was used on a single emission and later discontinued and replaced by the popular Hispanic symbol of a bull.[20] The designs of the obverses (Victory) and reverses (yoke of oxen, bull) were inspired by late Roman Republican coins.[21]

Another pre-Augustan example comes from Macedonian Philippi. This place, famous for the great battle between the assassins of Caesar and his supporters, was granted colonial status by Mark Antony in 42 BC,[22] as supported by the first colonial emission (RPC I 1646), a coin bearing the head of Antony on the obverse and the legend AICVP, which is read as *Antoni iussu colonia victrix Philippensis*.[23] The town was located in the Greek-speaking part of the Roman Empire; nevertheless, the legend is in Latin. It is important at this point to emphasise that the overwhelming majority of colonial legends were presented in the Latin style.[24] The reverse contained the foundation scene with a veiled priest and a yoke of oxen ploughing to the right. The scene was abandoned after the defeat of Antony and, significantly, never returned to Philippian coins. The

[18] Dąbrowa 2012: 33.
[19] Grant 1946: 211.
[20] *Ibid*.
[21] Amandry, Burnett et al. 1992: 110.
[22] Papageorgiadou-Bani 2004: 31.
[23] Amandry, Burnett et al. 1992: 306.
[24] Papageorgiadou-Bani 2004: 35; Howgego 2005: 12.

colony was renamed *Colonia Augusta Iulia Philippensis* and a new type (RPC I 1650), depicting Julius Caesar crowning Augustus, was introduced. The abandonment of this extremely popular type may signify the colonists' reluctance to depict their relations with an enemy of Augustus.

The turning point was the restoration of the Republic in 27 BC, when Augustus became the *de facto* sole ruler of the Roman Empire. After long years of civil war, many veterans found themselves no longer needed; Augustus established colonies outside Italy for them. The colonies of Berytus, Patras, Pisidian Antioch, Knossos, Caesaraugusta, Emerita, and Alexandria Troas were founded. Twelve more, including Babba, were established in Mauretania.[25] In addition, all of the colonies set up by Antony were re-established. The foundation scene type was introduced into the coinages of a majority of Roman colonies in the times of Augustus.[26]

Depictions of the *aratrum* ritual dominated the reverses of Augustan coins. There are thirteen different emissions in the times of Augustus; nine are *asses*, two *dupondii*. There are no *semisses* or *quadranses* with this design. The use of the foundation scene exclusively on heavier and wider coins indicates its great significance. The situation was similar in Emerita, where this type occurred on all *asses* produced under Augustus. The production of colonial and broader provincial coins on the Iberian Peninsula was stopped during the reign of Caligula,[27] and thus we are not able to analyse them on a larger scale.

From Patras there was only one emission (of which we can be sure) of the first emperor; this (RPC I 1252) featured the foundation scene.[28] The choice of this scene shows the bonds of the colonists with the past, especially if we agree with Michael Grant that the emission was struck to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the colony.[29] The legend C A A P, an abbreviation of *Colonia Augusta Achaica Patrensis*,[30] is complemented with the title PATER PATRIAE, which is a clever play on words: the *ethnikon* and title of Augustus adopted in 2 BC.[31] Under Tiberius, a commemorative coin of divine Augustus was struck (RPC I 1253) (Ill. 3). The radiate head of the consecrated emperor is shown on the obverse with the legend DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER. This obverse was a copy taken from imperial asses struck in 15/16 AD.[32] The juxtaposition of Divus Augustus and the *aratrum* ritual on the reverse is an obvious manifestation of

[25] Mackie 1983: 332–358.
[26] Burnett 2011: 4.
[27] Weiss 2005: 59.
[28] Grant 1946: 265.
[29] *Ibid*.
[30] Agalopoullou 1991: 211–216.
[31] Papageorgiadou-Bani 2004: 28.
[32] Sajkowski 2001: 154–165.

thanksgiving to the founder of the colony. Moreover, the ploughing priest can be identified as Divus Augustus. The type was discontinued until the reign of Domitian (RPC II 1253–1262). If Grant was correct about the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the colony presented on Augustan coins, we can assume that the same type struck under Domitian commemorated the centenary. One element of the emperor's titles is presented in the legend TR P V, with a date of 85 AD.[33] The most probable date of the colony's foundation is 14 BC.[34] The time between these two dates is around 100 years, which strengthens the theory of the commemorative type of this issue. This type was struck again during the reign of Hadrian (128–138 AD). These series of *dupondii* (RPC III 272) and *asses* (RPC III 280) are difficult to identify with any anniversary. The issue was repeated under Marcus Aurelius (RPC IV 7666) and Lucius Verus (RPC IV 8398) and later abandoned.[35]

In Paphlagonian Sinope, in the times of Augustus, no coins with foundation scenes were produced. However, there were some issues (RPC I 2112–2114) with a single plough. This type could be an attempt at simplification of the *aratrum* ritual by presenting a plough as the ceremony's key implement. The foundation scene appeared in full on coins under Caligula (RPC I 2129) and Nero (RPC I 2140). The depiction is modified in comparison to those mentioned before: two founders/priests are presented instead of one. The colony of Paphlagonian Sinope was established under Julius Caesar at some point after 47 BC.[36] However, the initial name, *Colonia Felix Iulia Sinope*, was changed slightly under Augustus about 26 BC to *Colonia Iulia Felix Sinope*. Possibly, the depiction of two founders is an allusion to Julius Caesar and Augustus. After Nero the *aratrum* ritual was never placed on coins again.[37]

Lystra in Lycaonia produced only three issues under Augustus, of which two (RPC I 3538, 3539) bear the *aratrum* ritual on the reverse (Ill. 4). Barbara Levick identified them as foundation coins of 25 BC;[38] however, the RPC authors pointed out that Augustus appears much more mature in this portrait than in those characteristic of the twenties of the first century BC.[39] The next such type was used on coins much later, under Marcus Aurelius (RPC IV 7266). Therefore we can assume that the occasion of striking this issue was the bicentennial anniversary of *Colonia Iulia Felix Gemelia Lystra*.

[33] Amandry, Burnett et al. 1999: 63.
[34] Papageorgiadou-Bani 2004: 27; Agalopoullou 1989: 445.
[35] Papageorgiadou-Bani 2004: 35; Rizakis 2009: 21.
[36] Doonan 2004: 93.
[37] Filges 2015: 61.
[38] Levick 1967: 37.
[39] Amandry, Burnett et al. 1992: 542.

Something similar may have occurred in Pisidian Antioch. The exact date of the colony's foundation is unknown, but the probable date is soon after 25 BC.[40] However, the coins depicting the *aratrum* ritual struck under Vespasian in 76 AD (RPC II 1604–1605) seem to be centenary issues.[41] The ploughing priest is holding the *vexillum*, which indicates an attempt at associating the military past of veterans of the Fifth Legion (*Gallica*)[42] with the foundation of the colony. A foundation scene without the *vexillum* reappeared on issues of Septimius Severus (SNG France 1107) (Ill. 5), Geta (Lindgren A680e var), Severus Alexander (RPC VI 6578), and Gordian III (SNG France 1199). A variation with two *vexilla* was depicted on issues of Caracalla (SNG France 1146) and Gordian III (SNG France 1202). Later this variation became the most common type of Antiochian coinage until the discontinuation of provincial coins.[43]

Another colony founded in 25 BC, *Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Cremnensium,*[44] began to strike coins later than Lystra, under Hadrian.[45] The emperor, who was under the influence of the 'Second Sophistic' and who gave special support to the 'Greek Renaissance' in local coinages,[46] gave Cremna permission to strike coins with typical colonial motives. Four issues were produced under this emperor; the most extensive (20 g) bears a depiction of Augustus as the founder with two oxen (RPC III 2805). The type was later repeated on coins of Marcus Aurelius (RPC IV 7763), Commodus (RPC IV 7796), Septimius Severus, Philip I, Valerian, and Aurelian. The military character of the settlers was signified (as in Pisidian Antioch) by *vexilla* and *signa* juxtaposed with an image of the founder ploughing with two oxen, introduced under Septimius Severus.[47]

The colony in Berytus, founded by M. Agrippa in 15/14 BC,[48] struck its first issue with the foundation scene (RPC I 4540) in 12–14 AD under the legate Silanus.[49] In this case, celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the colony cannot be excluded. The type was continued under Tiberius (RPC I 4543) and Claudius (RPC I 4545, 4546). These issues were the heaviest at the time in Berytus, therefore their significance was greatest. Colonial coinage was reintroduced under Vespasian. Three issues (RPC II 2044–2046) were produced, all of which bore a depiction of the *aratrum* ritual. Although under Trajan two new types were introduced (the 'temple of Tyche' and a naked Poseidon), the foundation type was frequently issued. However, it lost its status

[40] Krzyżanowska 1959: 240–241.
[41] Levick 1967: 35.
[42] Bru 2009: 264–266.
[43] Krzyżanowska 1959: 249.
[44] Burnett, Amandry et al. 2015: 355
[45] Levick 1967: 36.
[46] Kremidy-Sicilianou 2005: 104.
[47] Fliges 2015: 84.
[48] Jones Hall 2004: 46.
[49] Amandry, Burnett et al. 1992: 648.

as the colony's heaviest coin (10–13 g, compared to 'temple of Tyche' issues at about 22 g). Two commemorative issues struck for Divus Augustus (RPC III 3833) and Divus Nerva (RPC III 3834) bore the foundation scene on the reverse. The next coins with this motive were produced under Hadrian (RPC III 3853), Antoninus Pius (RPC IV 5311), and Caracalla (Lindgren 2266). Heliopolis, adjacent to Berytus, was established as a separate colony in order to punish Berytus for taking the side of Pescennius Niger during the civil war of 193–94 AD.[50] On the coin struck under Philip I, a priest tracing out the *sulcus primigenius* is being presented with two standards (V MACED and VIII AVG).[51] The same legionary numbers are presented on issues of Claudius (RPC I 4547), Trajan (RPC III 3836), and Hadrian (RPC III 3854). Although Heliopolis became an independent colony, it had shared a common history with Berytus from the times of Augustus, which was presented on local coins.

Another Syrian colony, Ptolemais, was set up by Claudius around 50/51 AD.[52] The first colonial issues struck under Nero (RPC I 4749, 4750) featured a depiction of a ploughing founder and four *vexilla* inscribed III VI X XI. The full legend of the reverse, DIVOS CLAVD STAB GER FELIX P COL CLA, identified Claudius as benefactor and founder. The colony was named after him, as was common practice (as mentioned above in regard to colonies established by Augustus or Julius). Therefore the abbreviation on the coin (COL CLA STAB GER FELIX P) can be read as *Colonia Claudia Stabilis Germanicia Felix Ptolemais*,[53] and the veiled figure can be identified as Divus Claudius himself. A similar design (RPC III 3912) was minted under Hadrian. Another colony in the same region, named Aelia Capitolina, was set up by Hadrian at Jerusalem after the defeat of the Bar Kochba revolt.[54] The earliest issues emphatically manifested a Roman character and the new order in the region. The heaviest (RPC III 3963, 17 g) depicted the temple of the Capitoline triad, Minerva, Jupiter, and Juno; another heavy issue (RPC III 3964, 10 g) bore the *aratrum* ritual, with the *vexillum*, which, in this case, indicated the *Legio X Fretensis* stationed at Aelia Capitolina,[55] depicted on the reverse. A much heavier coin of the same type was struck under Marcus Aurelius (RPC IV 9269, 28 g). This type, though rare, was continued until the reign of Hostilian (RPC IX 2195).[56]

Significant colonisation was carried out under Septimius Severus and his successors. According to most scholars, the colonies thus established were only titular; no colonists

[50] Jones Hall 2004: 49.
[51] Okamura 1988:127–128.
[52] Kindler 1978: 54.
[53] Amandry, Burnett et al. 1992: 659.
[54] Goodman 2005: 166.
[55] Meshorer 1989: 22.
[56] Hostein, Mairat 2015: 389.

settled in these cities.[57] However, the coins struck in colonies such as Rhesaena, Caesarea ad Libanum, Tyre, Sidon, and Damascus seem to testify otherwise.[58] Tyre, which supported Septimius Severus during the war against Pescennius Niger, was granted colonial and metropolitan status.[59] The foundation type was an infrequent motive on the coins of Tyre (the traditional types of Tyche/Astarte remained the most common).[60] A veiled priest is presented with two oxen and a legionary standard bearing the legend LEG III GAL. This type (BMC 394) was repeated several times until the reign of Elagabalus.[61] As of the times of Volusian, a coin (RPC IX 2014) depicting a bull (the symbol of *Legio III Gallica*[62]) and a legionary standard was probably inspired by the foundation type. Another Severan colony, Rhesaena, struck a variation on foundation-type coins (e.g. RPC IX 1576) until the reign of Trajan Decius. A priest holding a sceptre is ploughing with two oxen, while in the background an eagle is perched on a palm. The legend is written in Greek instead of Latin; in fact, all of the legends from Rhesaenian coins are Greek, excluding the Latin name of L(egio) III P(athrensis).[63] Starting in the third century AD, Greek legends gradually superseded Latin in the colonies of the Near East.

Issues of the foundation type are still being discussed. A new issue of Commodus from Alexandria Troas emerged recently.[64] The colony, which struck hundreds of issues, placed the *aratrum* ritual on its coins only twice (as far as we know; the other example dated from the times of Antoninus Pius).[65] In contrast to such coins from other colonies, these were extremely light (2.9 g), indicating the minor significance of this issue. Heavier and more numerous were issues depicting the local deity Apollo Smintheus, the tripod, or other Roman motives, such as the she-wolf and Marsyas.[66]

The appearance of the foundation type in colonial coinage suggests several circumstances. First of all, this design was reminiscent of an event from the past: the *aratrum* ritual. The ceremony was strictly influenced by the mythical foundation of Rome. The colonies were imitations of the capital. Therefore the use of this type (along with the *aquila* and Marsyas types) indicated the Roman character of the colonies. Although some additions were introduced (*vexilla* in Aelia Capitolina, etc., legionary standards in Heliopolis, the eagle in Rhesaena), the design of this type remained almost unchanged until the discontinuation of provincial coinage. The design was often placed on heavier

[57] Watkins 1983: 321; Butcher 2003: 232; Howgego 2005: 12; Millar 2006: 165.
[58] Dąbrowa 2004: 217–220.
[59] Millar 2006: 195.
[60] Hirt 2015: 193.
[61] *Ibid.*: 195–196.
[62] Hostein, Mairat 2015: 365.
[63] Dąbrowa 2004: 217.
[64] Lucchelli 2017: 56.
[65] *Ibid.*: 64.
[66] Filges 2015: 85–89.

coins, hardly ever on the lightest (as in Alexandria Troas). This confirms the great importance of the 'foundation type'. The emitted issues were often, though not necessarily, used as the media of anniversary celebrations (Patras, and perhaps Lystra, Pisidian Antioch, and Berytus). In colonies such as Pisidian Antioch, Cremna, Berytus, and Patras, the *aratrum* ritual was popular until the middle of the second century ad and the so-called 'Greek Renaissance'. Later, designs related to local history or myths gained an advantage, as an effect of integration between the Roman colonists and autochthons. In the Severan period, the so-called 'titular' colonies placed this motive along with legionary standards on their coins, making their 'titular' status arguable. The *aratrum* type disappeared in the middle of the third century ad (in Spain under the Julio-Claudians) shortly before provincial coinage was ultimately abandoned.

Abbreviations

BMC = *British Museum Catalogue.*

Lindgren = Kovacs F. 1985. *Ancient Bronze Coins Of Asia Minor And The Levant From The Lindgren Collection.* San Mateo.

ILS = Dessau H. 1892-1916. *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. Berlin.

RIC² = Sutherland C.H.V. 1984. *Roman Imperial Coinage, vol. I.* London.

RPC I = Amandry M., Burnett A. et al. 1992. *The Roman Provincial Coinage, vol. I: From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC -AD 69).* London/Paris.

RPC II = Amandry M., Burnett A. et al. 1999. *Roman Provincial Coinage, vol. II: From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69-96).* London/Paris.

RPC III = Amandry M., Burnett A. et al. 2015. *Roman Provincial Coinage, vol. III: Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian (AD 96-138).* London/Paris.

RPC IX = Hostein A., Mairat J. 2016. *Roman Provincial Coinage, vol. IX: From Trajan Decius to Uranius Antoninus (AD 249-254).* London/Paris.

RRC = Crawford M.H. 1974. *Roman Republican Coinage*. Cambridge.

SNG France = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Cabinet des Médailles, Banque Nationale de Paris*. Paris.

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Illustrations

1. C. Marius, 81 BC, *denarius serratus* (RRC 378/1c)

2. Octavianus, 28 BC, denarius (RIC² 272)

3. Tiberius, 14-37 AD, AE, Patras (RPC I 1253)

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All of the presented photos were acquired from: http://www.wildwinds.com/.

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WHO, WHY, AND WHEN? PSEUDO-AUTONOMOUS COINS OF BITHYNIA AND PONTUS DATED TO THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND CENTURY AD

Abstract: *When an inconsistency is found within the context of an accepted rule, generally an unusual reason for its existence is sought. However, sometimes there are no such exceptions to explain an uncommon situation. Many researchers have assumed a special role for the production of pseudo-autonomous coins, but perhaps these coins were unexceptional among currency circulating in the provinces. Such coins were struck, in greater or lesser numbers depending on the relevant authority, by many centres in all of the Roman provinces. According to earlier theories, pseudo-autonomous coins, or, more accurately, coins without imperial portraits, were expressions of the status of a city and its independence; however, this was never confirmed in reality. The centres had some freedom to choose the images on the coins; these images were related on one hand to the city's history and tradition and on the other to Roman authority and adherence to the Roman Empire. But might they entail a modest proclamation of civic independence without necessarily involving the status of the city? Coins without imperial heads are recorded mostly in cities in the Roman provinces. In Bithynia and Pontus these coins were struck by four centres, namely Byzantium, Amastris, Sinope, and Amisus, emphasising some traditions and cults in this region.*

Keywords: *Roman provincial coinage, Bithynia and Pontus, the pseudo-autonomous coins, Byzantium, Amastris, Sinope, Amisus*

Introduction: coins without imperial heads

One enigmatic category of Roman provincial coins encompasses so-called pseudo- or quasi-autonomous coins, which, perhaps, should be called 'coins without imperial heads' instead.[1] Perhaps this alternative name, after Ann Johnston, is more fitting than 'pseudo-autonomous', which may suggest the autonomy of a city and also of its minting

[1] Johnston 1985: 106.

activity, which is unconfirmed in reality. Not only free cities emitted these exemplars; they were struck by Greek cities as well as by Roman colonies. The main questions concerning this coinage focus on their chronology and significance in connection with certain places or citizens.

Pseudo-autonomous coins of the Roman Empire were struck from the reign of Augustus to the third century AD.[2] Accurate dating of these coins without portraits or detailed legends is extremely problematic[3] and impedes any understanding of their pattern of production or significance in particular regions. Very helpful in proper attribution is a comparison of some mint features, styles of portraiture, or changes in inscriptions or legends as well as, in some exceptional cases, in the names of magistrates.[4]

These coins were struck mostly in the territories of Greece, Asia Minor, and Palestine. Today, the existence of ca 10,000 types from cities in the Roman period is estimated. In terms of the coin production of Asian provinces, only 29 of 163 mints did not strike pseudo-autonomous coins.[5] At the beginning of the second century AD, coins without imperial heads were struck by cities in Roman provinces – 60 centers,[6] Cilicia – 12,[7]

[2] Ibidem: 89.

[3] Exceptions inter alia: Chios – without imperial heads, but with very detailed datation on the coins (see Mavrogordato 1918, Lagos 1998); Amisus – in this article.

[4] Johnston 1985: 89; Bennett 2014: 19-40; Bennett 2017: 193.

[5] Johnston 1985: 89, 97-100; Bennett 2017: 185.

[6] Cyzicus (RPC III 1497, 1529-1532); Ilium (RPC III 1576-1577); Hadrianeia (RPC III 1623); Hadrianotherae (RPC III 1635); Pionia (RPC III 1665-1666); Adramyteum (RPC III 1671-1672, 1675-1676); Mytilene (RPC III 1684, 1696); Pergamum (RPC III 1725, 1739-1741, 1748-1751); Germe (RPC III 1770-1771); Stratonicea-Indeipediatae-Hadrianopolis (RPC III 1774-1775); Nacrasa (RPC III 1811-1814); Thyatira (RPC III 1833-1838); Hierocaesarea (RPC III 1848-1869); Hermocapelia (RPC III 1877-1879); Pitane (RPC III 1881-1882); Elaea (RPC III 1890-1891); Chios (RPC III 1892-1914); Cyme (RPC III 1938-1939); Hyrcanis (RPC III 1960); Clazomenae (RPC III 1989-1990); Erythrae (RPC III 1997); Hypaepa (RPC III 2016-2018, 2023, 2026-2027, 2030); Samos (RPC III 2100-2103); Magnesia ad Meandrum (RPC III 2130-2131); Cos (RPC III 2173-2175); Rhodes (RPC III 2185-2191); Ceramus (RPC III 2195-2196); Euromus (RPC III 2210-2214); Harpasa (RPC III 2228-2229); Napolis ad Harpasum (RPC III 2232-2235); Bargasa (RPC III 2238-2239); Antioch ad Meandrum (RPC III 2243-2245); Aphrodisias (RPC III 2249-2255); Attuda (RPC III 2260-2261); Trapezopolis (RPC III 2263-2265); Heraclea Salbace (RPC III 2275); Apollonia Salbace (RPC III 2278-2283); Colossae (RPC III 2313-2317); Hierapolis (RPC III 2348-2352); Hydrela (RPC III 2362-2365); Philadelphia (RPC III 2385); Sardis (RPC III 2391, 2393, 2409-2413); Maeonia (RPC III 2419-2422, 2426-2428); Sala (RPC III 2430-2433; 2435-2439, 2443-2444, 2448); Bagis (RPC III 2453-2454, 2457, 2459); Trajanopolis (RPC III 2466-2468, 2472-2480); Grimenothyrae (RPC III 2482-2488, 2493-2496); Cadi (RPC III 2502); Aezani (RPC III 2510); Tiberiopolis (RPC III 2512-2514, 2520-2524); Synaus (RPC III 2526-2527, 2529-2530); Ancyra (RPC III 2537, 2542); Iulia Gordus (RPC III 2556); Tripolis (RPC III 2557-2572); Dionyspolis (RPC III 2576); Eucarpia (RPC III 2588, 2590-2593); Bruzus (RPC III 2595); Sebaste (RPC III 2597-2603); Alia (RPC III 2614-2615); Appia (RPC III 2627-2629).

[7] Philadelphia (RPC III 3214); Seleucia ad Calycadnum (RPC III 3234, 3237); Pompeiopolis (RPC III 3246); Tarsus (RPC III 3298-3310); Adana (RPC III 3311-3313); Augusta (RPC III 3317-3318); Aegeae (RPC III 3330-3331, 3339, 3342); Mopsus (RPC III 3362); Anazarbus (RPC III 3367-3368, 3372-3375); Epiphanea (RPC III 3392); Alexandria ad Issum (RPC III 3400-3401); Rhosus (RPC III 3404-3406).

Achaea – 8,[8] Syria – 8,[9] Bithynia and Pontus – 4,[10] and single cities in Macedonia,[11] Thrace,[12] Moesia,[13] Lycia,[14] Cappadocia,[15] Judea[16] and Arabia.[17] Most of these were produced in Asia. During the first two centuries AD their importance may have increased. In the Antonine period, pseudo-autonomous coins constituted more than 30% of all coin types in the provinces.[18]

Roman bronze provincial coinage, which constituted the basic local currency in the Roman provinces, presents problems, due to its lack of uniformity, in terms of any explanation of the monetary system and values of coins.[19] Based on metrological data, a variety of denominations and types have been distinguished in the Eastern provinces. Pseudo-autonomous coins are represented by all denominations: small, medium, and large. A hypothesis was put forward that these coins represented only smaller denominations in line with Roman practice: Roman coins did not use portraits on coins smaller than an as. But denominations of coins denied this practice.[20] In Carthago Nova, Spain, most of coins were pseudo-autonomous and included both smaller (ca 2.81 g, 15 mm) and larger denominations (ca 7.32 g, 23 mm).[21] In some cities pseudo-autonomous coins and coins with portraits occurred in the same denominations. In Pergamum, Asia, imperial portraits and Roma and the Senate were depicted on the smaller denominations (equivalent of semisses).[22] Between the 98-138 AD,[23] denominations were issued with diameter between 11 mm (ca 1.65 g) in Laodicea, Syria[24] to 34 mm (ca 23 g) in Rhodes or Chios.[25]

[8] Corinth (RPC III 243-259); Epidauros (RPC III 396-399); Athens (RPC III 406-407); Megara (RPC III 408-411); Delphi (RPC III 447-449); Anticyra (RPC III 450); Koinon of Thessaly (RPC III 455-464); Nicopolis (RPC III 579-584).

[9] Antioch (RPC III 3729-3755); Seleucia (RPC III 3789-3794); Ladicea (RPC III 3800-3802); Aradus (RPC III 3823-3824); Marathus (RPC III 3825-3827); Berytus (RPC III 3857-3864); Sidon (RPC III 3865, 3871-3874, 3877-3878); Tyre (RPC III 3879-3910).

[10] Byzantium (RPC III 1088); Amastris (RPC III 1209-1210); Sinope (RPC III 1230); Amisus (RPC III 1231-1233, 1235, 1239, 1259-1261, 1297).

[11] Dium (RPC III 614); Thessalonica (RPC III 621-625; 627-630); Heraclea Sintica (RPC III 667).

[12] Perinthus (RPC III 720-727); Bizya (RPC III 736-738).

[13] Tomi (RPC III 785-786).

[14] Syedra (RPC III 2771).

[15] Caesarea (RPC III 3129-3131, 3133-3136, 3139-3142, 3144); Cybistra (RPC III 3180).

[16] Gaba (RPC III 3945, 3953); Ascalon (RPC III 3998, 4014, 4018); Gaza (RPC III 4027, 4038, 4042, 4049).

[17] Philadelphia (RPC III 4097-4098).

[18] Heuchert 2005: 47; Bennett 2017: 189.

[19] Excepts: coins of Chios (RPC III 1892-1914) and Rhodes (RPC III 2177-2187), but without certain chronology. Butcher 2003-2005: 19-22; Carradice 2012: 380-381, 387.

[20] Johnston 1985: 97.

[21] RPC I 146-161, 174-178.

[22] RPC I 2373-2378.

[23] Johnston 1985: 97.

[24] RPC II 2033.

[25] RPC III 1901.

Not all cities with free status issued autonomous coins. Some cities struck these coins very frequently (Hierapolis in Phrygia or Smyrna), but some centers never did (Ephesus or Nicomedia).[26] Visible in the later second and third centuries AD is the phenomenon of obverse dies, both with imperial heads and without, being shared between many cities. Reverse types were characteristic of particular regions. Die sharing was necessitated by a smaller number of working mints at this time as well as the expression of a kind of integration of Greek East.[27] Some sharing of obverse dies, both with imperial heads and without, suggests that these types were accepted and still showed some relationship to past tradition, to Hellenistic motifs, and to Roman authority at that time. Circulation of pseudo-autonomous coins was local, like other Greek Imperial coins, and such coins have also been discovered outside their own city.[28]

The significance of these coins is uncertain. Earlier researchers very often assigned special meanings to them. Some coins suggested the political importance[29] or independence of a city, along with certain special privileges. A free city in the Hellenistic and Roman period was a self-governed city, with its own laws. This status was conferred by the emperor, who, however, supervised the city's issues through his official. This was a great honour for the city. Autonomous cities had the right to issue civic coinage bearing the name of the city, for example, but referring to this coinage as pseudo- or quasi-autonomous might indicate the less than completely independent character of these cities. Some of them sometimes, but not always, issued coins without imperial heads.[30] Bellinger attempted to indicate some reasons for this, associated with the economy and profit of the city which struck these coins.[31] Another explanation could be connected with the individuality of given centres. Johnston showed the weak points in these theories and proposed her own, emphasising the advantages of placing different images on the obverse, such as denomination markers, and practical features enabling prolonged use of the dies, such as not producing a new die for each new emperor (especially in the third century AD). According to this theory, pseudo-autonomous coins were enabled to become more universal, like the currency in the provinces.[32] Robert Bennett, in his revision, after thirty years, of an article by Ann Johnston, suggested a proclamation of civic independence irrespective of the status of the city.[33] Coin was a pride for the city[34] thus coins without imperial heads could be a modest manifestation against Roman authority.

[26] Johnston 1985: 95; Bennett 2017: 189.

[27] Kraft 1972: 26-29; Johnston 1974: 203-207; Johnston 1985: 95-96; Butcher 2003-2005: 67; Watson 2017: 200-209.

[28] Johnston 1985: 96, 104.

[29] Lenormant 1878: 166-177; Regling 1927: 13 and MacDonald 1904: 105-135.

[30] Sartre 1997.

[31] Bellinger 1956: 148.

[32] Johnston 1985: 101-106.

[33] Bennett 2017: 193.

[34] According to inscription from Sestus, Butcher 1988: 25.

Countermarks can be used to obtain a better understanding of the chronology, function, or circulation of these coins. Countermarks could be applied by the mint which struck a particular coin or by another mint. In the general view, they might be related e.g. to a local or imperial occasion, a change in value, a confirmation of validity, or the renovation of a worn coin. In the territory of Bithynia and Pontus, coins were countermarked during the Hellenistic and Roman period. Hoards deposited in Nicomedia and Tium during the Hellenistic period are recorded as containing countermarked coins. Some coins countermarked in Byzantium and Calchedon may be linked with demonetisation.[35] In relation to this aspect, pseudo-autonomous coins should be better consider. Unfortunately, the coins analysed in this article did not receive countermarks (according to currently accessible data; however, new discoveries may provide a better explanation).

Bithynia and Pontus: iconography on the obverse of pseudo-autonomous coins

In Bithynia and Pontus, coins without imperial heads constitute 70 of 1,731 types emitted during the Roman Empire period (according to estimation of Bennett, this represents 4.04% of all types of pseudo-autonomous coin types struck in provinces).[36] In the first half of the second century AD, four cities could be distinguished as striking coins without imperial heads. One was Byzantium,[37] which struck coins with the head of Byzas, founder of the city.[38] The remaining three centres were located in the eastern part of Pontus. Amastris emitted examples with the heads of Dionysus[39] and Helios,[40] Sinope struck coins with the head of Diogenes,[41] and Amisus placed various images on its emissions, such as a Nike,[42] Dionysus,[43] Athena (or Rome),[44] or Tyche.[45]

The iconography on the obverse of pseudo-autonomous coins includes the heads of deities or personifications. These images are often indistinguishable from Hellenistic motifs which exhibited a relationship to history and tradition that was immediately recognisable by citizens using these coins. The iconography also included symbols of the city. It must be remember that during the year, people in cities celebrated festivals, games, and contests, associated with the worship of gods, which testified to the glory,

[35] Howgego 1985: 4-16; Introduction to SNG Aul.
[36] Bennett 2017: 189.
[37] Amandry, Burnett et al. 2015: 118; Remy 1986: 65; Sartre 1997: 263.
[38] RPC III 1088; Arnold-Biucchi 1986: 174.
[39] RPC III 1209.
[40] RPC III 1210.
[41] RPC III 1230.
[42] RPC III 1231-1233.
[43] RPC III 1235.
[44] RPC III 1239, 1261, 1297.
[45] RPC III 1259.

wealth, and importance of the centre in question. The major types of coins without imperial heads featured mostly personifications, among them very often the Tyche of a city wearing a mural crown,[46] or certain institutions such as a bearded man as the Demos, a veiled woman as the Boule, a mature woman as the Gerousia, or a young man or woman as the Senate. The occurrence of some types was related to a local cult and tradition.[47] For example, a personification of the Senate appeared on the coins mostly on coins from Asia[48]. In some senatorial provinces such as Bithynia, this image did not appear. Another type represented was the goddess Roma in military dress. In catalogues, this is sometimes described as Athena, but Johnston suggests that there is no basis for confirmation of this hypothesis and identification with Roma is proper (of course, with the exception of a local cult indicating the goddess of war). This type again is characteristic for the province of Asia,[49] but coins struck in Amisus featured some images of Athena as well.[50]

Byzantium: the foundation tradition of Byzas

Byzantium struck bronze coins, ca 7.07 g, 22–24 mm in diameter, with a helmeted and bearded head of Byzas with a legend identifying the image on the obverse, and prow with the legend ΕΠΙ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟC TO B on the reverse.[51] The same denomination, with the image of a prow on the reverse, was struck with an imperial portrait of Trajan.[52]

Byzas, son of the nymph Keroessa, the daughter of Poseidon, founded the city in the seventh century BC.[53] For citizens of Byzantium, his image was very distinctive, reminding them of local legend and history. This was very typical exertions presented on the coins. Moreover, the emphasis in the second century BC is visibly on historical roots and on certain mythological and historical personages.[54] The prow was associated with the maritime orientation of the city. Byzantium was located on a major sailing route between Marmara and the Black Sea.[55] The prow was a typical popular symbol placed on the reverse of coins struck in this city.[56] Moreover, this image was typical of this denomination (ca 6.65 g and 22-4 mm). In this period, the city struck three main

[46] Johnston 1985: 89, 91; Sartre 1997: 503-504.

[47] Johnston 1985: 89, 91; Martin 2013.

[48] Inter alia: Hadrianeia RPC III 1623; Pionia RPC III 1665; Pergamum RPC III 1725, 1748-1751; Germe RPC III 1770-1771.

[49] Johnston 1985: 92-94.

[50] RPC III 1239, 1261, 1297.

[51] RPC III 1088, Sch 2032-40.

[52] RPC III 1069, Sch 1334-40, 1342; RPC III 1077, Sch 1353-4; RPC III 1078, Sch 1357; RPC III 1079, Sch 1358.

[53] Arnold-Biucchi 1986: 174; Kazhdan 2005.

[54] Heuchert 2005: 51-52.

[55] Zakrzewski 2007: 7.

[56] RPC I 1781 ; RPC III 1069, 1077-1079; RPC IV 8684, 8680.

denominations,[57] among which this one bore a special meaning associated with the relationship between Byzas and the tradition of the famous harbour.

Most of the pseudo-autonomous coins struck in Byzantium were attributed by researchers to a later period, during the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD).[58] Byzas was still a very popular type accompanied by a prow or galley (Ill. 1),[59] but on the obverse bore images of Hermes,[60] Poseidon,[61] Artemis,[62] Dionysus[63] as well. The denomination with the head of the founder of the city remained the same; the other coins without imperial heads represented smaller denominations, ca 4.3 g and 19-22 mm diameter.

Amastris: a *koinon* involved in the imperial cult

Amastris struck two series of pseudo-autonomous coins at the beginning of the second century AD. Bronze coins, ca 5.37 g, 20 mm in diameter, were struck with a bust of Dionysus crowned with ivy on the obverse and a vinestock on the reverse (Ill. 2). The legend relate to ΔIONYCOC CEBACTOC and ethnic AMACTPIANΩN MHTPOΠOΛEITΩN, emphasizing the status of the city.[64]

The cult of Dionysus was very popular in the Roman provinces; his bust was placed on many coins.[65] The importance of the cult, as one of the basic cults offering some guarantee of a better life, was related to the abundance of the region,[66] which was characterised by fertile soils and ample rainfall. Agriculture focused on ship timber, nuts, and the production of wine and olives.[67] Moreover, the Dionysus cult spread to the territory of Thrace. The provinces of Thrace and Bithynia were very closely related, with some connections visible on their coins. The cult of Dionysus is no different in this respect; however, it is not depicted on any other coins from the territory of historical Bithynia, but only on those from Pontus.[68] Sometimes the emperor was identified as a god – Zeus, Dionysus, or Helios, more rarely Asclepius or Apollo. This is emphasised especially by the *koinon*, an administrative structure that was involved in religion and

[57] Amandry, Burnett et al. 2015: 130.
[58] Amandry, Burnett et al. 2015: 130; RPC IV 8720-8731.
[59] RPC IV 8720-8731.
[60] RPC IV 1932.
[61] RPC IV 3909, 3911.
[62] RPC IV 3908.
[63] RPC IV 10363.
[64] RPC III 1209, Rec 28; Dalaison 2017: 265-267 (no. 1).
[65] Thrace: Perinthus RPC III 721; Bizya RPC III 736; Asia: Adramyteum RPC III 1672, 1676; Smyrna RPC III 1968; Aphrodisias RPC III 2253-2254; Sardis RPC III 2393; Tripolis RPC III 2561; Sebaste RPC III 2597-2600; Cilicia: Epiphanea RPC III 3392; Syria: Laodicea RPC III 3801; Sidon RPC III 3865, 3873.
[66] Gasparri 1986: 496-497; Shlesier 1997: 651-660; Sartre 1997: 501, 512-515.
[67] Madsen 2009: 21-22.
[68] Sartre 1997: 514.

cultural organisation. Amastris was one city in Pontus where a *koinon* was present.[69] Coins without imperial heads could be another method of representing the emperor in the form of a popular local god.

Another emission consisted of bronze coins, ca 4.28 g and 18 mm in diameter, with a radiate and draped bust of Helios on the obverse, a star with eight rays within a crescent on the reverse, and an ethnic on both sides (obv: MHTPO AMACTPIANΩN, rev: MHTPO, AMA) (Ill. 3).[70] Helios was related to the cult of the sun; similarly, the stars and crescent are symbols of the sky, the cosmos, or Luna, and complemented the effigy of Helios, just as on the coins with Dionysus, the vinestock on the reverse supplemented the representation. The emperor could be identified with Helios, as a symbol of authority, and the imperial cult related to the coming of the emperor. The accompaniment of Luna was very often interpreted as a symbol of eternity.[71] Bust of Helios was depicted on the obverse of coins of Rhodes,[72] Apollonia Salbace,[73] Colossae,[74] Tripolis,[75] and Aradus.[76] In this period Amastris struck mostly larger denominations, whereas these emissions represented smaller denominations. They correspond only to the coins struck in 116/17 AD with the imperial head of Trajan and with Asclepius on the reverse (ca 5.49 g and 20-1 mm).[77]

Amastris, in a later period, struck some coins with busts of Tyche,[78] Zeus Strategos[79] and Homer.[80] Coins with the head of the goddess of city were of the same denomination as those with the head of Dionysus (ca 5.13 g and 21 mm). Coins with the bust of Zeus corresponded to the denomination with the head of Helios (ca 4 g and 18 mm diameter). Exemplars with head of Homer represented other denominations (ca 13 g and 21-23 mm). The city changed the images on the coins without imperial heads.

Sinope: a colony emphasising the origin of Diogenes

Sinope, a Roman colony, struck bronze coins, ca 2.35 g and 13–14 mm in diameter, with a bust of Diogenes and his name on the obverse and a legend referring to the name of the colony in a laurel wreath (Ill. 4).[81]

[69] Marek 1996: 574; Sartre 1997: 130.
[70] RPC III 1210, Rec 29; Dalaison 2017: 265-267 (no. 2).
[71] Sichtermann 1960: 1140-1142; Letta 1988: 592-625; Sartre 1997: 130.
[72] RPC III 2186-2191.
[73] RPC III 2281-2283.
[74] RPC III 2313-2314; 2317.
[75] RPC III 2562.
[76] RPC III 3817, 3823.
[77] RPC III 1207.
[78] RPC I 2105, RPC IV 4911
[79] RPC IV 4895-4900.
[80] RPC IV 4902-4913, 5477, 10200
[81] RPC III 1230; Dalaison 2017: 282-284 (no. 7).

The Greek philosopher, Diogenes, born in Sinope in the fifth century BC, was famous for his radicalism: he renounced the pleasures of life. He and his father were banished from the city.[82] This was a period concerning which historians renewed their interest in the local history of cities and their well-known citizens.[83]

In this period the city colony struck five denominations; the coin with the head of Diogenes represented the smallest. Another type, represented next to the Diogenes type, is an image of Priapus, the god of fertility and plants, with cantharus and thyrsus on the obverse and Hermes, accompanied by someone who may have been his son or father, on the reverse.[84] According to Lucian, Priapus was worshiped in Bithynia as a warlike god and tutor of Ares.[85] His importance was related to Roman colonists.

Amisus: Nike and Athena as a sign of the tradition of Mithridates VI

Amisus was given the privilege of independence.[86] In the city, coins with various effigies were struck, largely without imperial heads. At the beginning of the reign of Trajan, in the year 129 in the era of liberty of the city (98 AD), they struck bronze coins in two denominations (ca 8.73 g and 22-3 mm, 6 g and 19-21 mm) Nike walking while holding a palm branch and wreath, referring to the name of emperor, ΘEOY CEBACTOY TPAIANOY, on the obverse and depicting a temple (Ill. 5), personifications of Amisus and Roma, and a helmeted Athena with an ethnic denoting the city and year, AMICOY ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑC ΕΤΟΥC ΡΚΘ, on the reverse.[87]

Nike is the common element on these three emissions, which may have symbolised the victory of a new emperor associated with military conquests. Perhaps the city placed these images on coins because they had no portraits of Trajan. The city emphasised the new reign in the legends on the coins. Nike was depicted on other coins of the Roman provinces.[88] For this city, this was a traditional motive that was still reflected on coins.[89] Perhaps this could be read on one hand as emphasising the city's freedom and independence; on the other, however, the iconographical types were related to an earlier tradition from the period of Mithridates VI. On the reverse, a local temple was depicted along with some trees; this image may be more helpful in the proper identification of the temple. Moreover, it must be the good recognisable for the citizens of Amisus. The reverse of the second emission depicted two personifications, interpreted as Roma

[82] Goulet-Caze 1997: 598-600.
[83] Heuchert 2005: 52.
[84] Manisse 2015: no. 243; Dalaison 2017: 282-184.
[85] Luc. Salt.
[86] Plin., HN, V, 108.
[87] RPC III 1231-1233, Rec 75-77; Dalaison 2017: 292-298 (no. 8-10).
[88] Thessalonica RPC III 622, 629; Syria: Berytus RPC III 3859, 3861.
[89] RPC I 2145, 2154; RPC II 729.

and Amisus, emphasising good relations between the capital and provincial city. These personifications had occurred earlier on coins.[90] The reverse of the third emission depicted the helmeted head of Athena (or possibly Roma?[91]). Nike is very closely related to Athena, very often accompanying her; together, they guaranteed military success.[92]

In the next year, the city struck coins, ca 6.34 g and 24–25 mm in diameter, with an imperial portrait and the head of Dionysus crowned with ivy on the obverse and a cista containing serpent and thyrsus with an ethnic behind them, ΑΜΙΣΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΡΛ, on the reverse (Ill. 6).[93] The cista was related to the cult of Dionysus and used in the associated festivals and mysteries.[94]

In the year 138 of the independence of the city (106/7 AD), the city struck mostly coins with an imperial portrait and a single emission, 19 mm in diameter, with a standing Aphrodite and an ethnic on the obverse and a helmeted bust of Athena with the year on the reverse.[95]

During the reign of Hadrian, the city struck silver and bronze coins. Pseudo-autonomous coins were struck only in bronze denominations. In the year 165 of the liberty of the city (133/4 AD) they struck coins ca 5.49 g and 23 mm in diameter, with a bust of Tyche and an ethnic on the obverse and Asclepius and Hygieia with the year on the reverse (Ill. 7).[96] Tyche, as the city's divine protector and equivalent of Fortuna, was very important and popular in provincial centres during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[97] The appearance of healing gods could be attested in healing sites, such as Epidaurus, and their images were put on the coins.[98] From the fifth century BC this cult became more popular and spread to other regions (Cos, Pergamum).[99]

The city struck a smaller denomination as well, ca 2.47 g and 16 mm in diameter, with a helmeted bust of Athena and an ethnic on the obverse and a river god and the

[90] RPC I 2143.

[91] Johnston 1985: 92-94.

[92] De Franciscin 758; Sherf 2000: 907.

[93] RPC III 1235, Rec 51; Dalaison 2017: 292-298 (no. 11).

[94] Hurschmann 1997: 1222; Shlesier 1997: 651-660; Sartre 1997: 513-515.

[95] RPC III 1239, Rec 52; Dalaison 2017: 292-298 (no. 12).

[96] RPC III 1259, Rec 53a and 54a.

[97] Szilagyi 1038; Johannsen 2002: 936-937; Thessalonica RPC III 621, 627; Asia: Pionia RPC III 1660, 1666; Hierocaesarea RPC III 1848-1850; Magnesia ad Maeandrum RPC III 2130-2131; Cos RPC III 2174-2175; Rhodes RPC III 2185; Antioch ad Maeandrum RPC III 2245; Attuda RPC III 2260; Iulia Gordus RPC III 2551, 2556; Tripolis RPC III 2570; Cappadocia: Caesarea RPC III 3129-3131, 3133-3136, 3139-3142, 3144; Cybistra RPC III 3180; Cilicia: Tarsus RPC III 3305, 3309; Anazarbus RPC III 3367; Rhosus RPC III 3406; Syria: Antioch RPC III 3729-3736; Seleucia RPC III 3789-3794; Aradus RPC III 3818, 3824; Berytus RPC III 3860, 3862; Sidon RPC III 3871-3872, 3874, 3877-3878; Tyre RPC III 3880-3887, 3889-3892, 3894-3903, 3905, 3907-3908, 3910; Judaea: Ascalon RPC III 3998, 4004, 4014, 4018.

[98] Epidauros: RPC III 394, 396-399.

[99] Sartre 1997: 508-510.

year on the reverse (Ill. 8).[100] In the following year, the city struck coins with imperial portraits only. A bust of Athena appeared on other emissions in Roman provinces.[101] The identity of the river god on the reverse is uncertain. Amisus lay between two rivers – Halys[102] and Iris.[103] thus the river god may have represented one of them. In a later period they struck one coin, ca 5.86 g and 16 mm in diameter, with the helmeted head of Athena with an ethnic on the obverse and a standing Nike holding a wreath and cornucopia and the legend CEBACTOY on the reverse.[104]

In the second half of the second century AD, only one emission with a bust of Tyche is recorded;[105] motives focus mostly on the caduceus, the goddess of the city, Dionysus, and an altar.[106]

The occurrence of some iconographical types in this city may be interpreted as being related to earlier tradition. During the reign of Mithridates VI, the Pontic cities, such as Amisus, Amastris, and Sinope, struck certain common types on the coins. Among the motives were Nike, Zeus, an eagle, Ares, Athena, and Dionysus.[107] Coins with the head of Dionysus and the cista were struck as well in this period.[108] In the light of earlier history, this could represent a repetition of some earlier, well-known types.

Conclusions: pseudo-autonomous among the other Roman provincial coinage

The main aim of this paper was to examine coins without imperial heads from the Roman province Bithynia and Pontus, and to answer three main questions related to dating, authority, and reasons for production.

Dating of pseudo-autonomous coins is problematic, but a study of the mint and style, and comparison with other coins, may serve to date particular coins. Some types of images appeared in particular periods, or changed over time. The reasons for striking these coins are neither clear nor simple. They may represent a proclamation of civic independence regardless of the status of the city, constituting a small manifestation of

[100] RPC III 1261, Rec 53 corr.

[101] Asia: Ilium RPC III 1576-1577; Pionia RPC III 1661; Adramyteum RPC III 1671, 1675; Pergamum RPC III 1741; Pitane RPC III 1882; Elaea RPC III 1890-1891; Cyme RPC III 1938-1939; Smyrna RPC III 1967; Hypaepa RPC III 2018; Harpasa RPC III 2228; Bargasa RPC III 2238; Attuda RPC III 2261; Trapezopolis RPC III 2265; Apollonia Salbace RPC III 2279-2280; Hydrela RPC III 2364-2365; Maeonia RPC III 2422, 2427; Sala RPC III 2431, 2435, 2438, 2443; Trajanopolis RPC III 2468, 2478-2479; Tripolis RPC III 2559; Cilicia: Philadelphia RPC III 3214; Aegeae RPC III 3330-3331, 3339, 3342; Mopsus RPC III 3362; Rhosus RPC III 3404-3405; Syria: Laodicaea RPC III 3800; Arabia: Philadelphia RPC III 4097-4098.

[102] Hdt. 1.72; Strab. XII.

[103] Strab. 12.3.15.

[104] RPC III 1297, Rec 68.

[105] RPC IV 5331.

[106] RPC IV 5322, 5329, 5326, 5449.

[107] Erciyas 2006: 116.

[108] SNG BM 1205, SNG Cop. 145; BMC 1208, SNG Cop. 146.

submission to Roman authority and emphasising the citizens' pride in their province. Another hypothesis suggests that there was nothing remarkable about the absence of a portrait of an imperial figure and that this was linked with Roman practice with respect to smaller denominations, but the material contradicts this theory. Johnston suggested that pseudo-autonomous coins were put to practical use in distinguishing denominations or in saving the costs required for re-cutting dies following every change of emperors. Greek Imperial coins had no marks of value, so these coins would be recognised. In Johnston's opinion, pseudo-autonomous coins are no different from other Greek Imperials, nor are their types connected with the autonomy of particular cities. The present author agrees. Another explanation for the issue of a particular group of coins could be associated with political reasons, e.g. coins struck during Vespasian's reign by his proconsul Marcellus.[109] Dräger emphasises that Marcellus was an important person in Asia, and some of the pseudo-autonomous coins may be indicated for *homonoia* between other cities such as Hierapolis and Laodicea.[110] These assumptions remain incomplete.

In examining coins without imperial heads from the province of Bithynia and Pontus, several local roles and meanings can be distinguished. Some of these, related to a style typical of the beginning of the second century AD, refer to historical or mythological personages (Byzantium, Sinope). Some of these coins were associated with popular cults in Roman provinces (Amastris, Amisus), or related to the earlier traditions (Amisus). Some images may represent an alternative way of presenting an emperor by referring to the imperial cult (Amastris).

Coins without imperial heads are no different from coins with imperial portraits. This was merely an expression of choice and a decision among very diagnostic iconography, simply recognisable by local users. This is indicated by the various types of images on the coins in the provincial cities. Pseudo-autonomous coins have no common pattern that might be related to a specific area or funds in the province. The cities struck such coins because they were able to do so. The images on the coins were symbols and emblems of cities and communicated information about cults and traditions in particular cities.

[109] Amandry, Burnett et al. 1999: 32; RPC II 970-971, 1271, 1305-1307, 1371-1373.
[110] Dräger 1993: 44-50.

Abbreviations

BMC = *British Museum Catalog of Greek Coins. Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia and Kingdom of Bosporus.* In. W. Wroth (ed.). London 1889. [Reprints: Forni, 1960s; Elibron 2002]

Rec = Waddington W., Babelon E., and Reinach T. 1904-1912. *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie mineure.* Paris.

RPC I = Amandry M., Burnett A. et al. 1992. *The Roman Provincial Coinage, vol. I: From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC -AD 69).* London/Paris.

RPC II = Amandry M., Burnett, A. et al. 1999. *The Roman Provincial Coinage, vol. II: From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69-96).* London/Paris.

RPC III = Amandry M., Burnett, A. et al. 2015. *The Roman Provincial Coinage, vol. III: Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian (AD 96-138).* London/Paris.

RPC IV = Heuchert V., Howgego C. 2006. *The Roman Provincial Coinage, vol. IV: The Antonines (AD 138–192).* Online: 2006 (with temporary numbers) [access 13.02.2018] www.rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/volumes/

Sch = Schönert-Geiss E. 1972. *Die Münzprägung von Byzantion.* Berlin.

SNG Aul = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland, Sammlung Hans Von Aulock. Vol. 1: Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Mysia, Troas, Aiolis, Lesbos, Ionia.* Berlin 1957.

SNG BM = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Great Britain, Volume IX, British Museum, Part 1: The Black Sea.* London 1993

SNG Cop. = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Denmark, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum. Part 18: Bosporus-Bithynia.* Copenhagen, 1944.

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Illustrations

1. Byzantium, AE 23 mm, Time of Marcus Aurelius, 161-180 AD
SNG Cop 508, BMC 57v.
Obv: ΒΥΖΑΣ, helmeted and bearded head right.
Rev: ΕΠ ΑΙ ΠΟΝΤΙΚΟΥ, horse-headed prow of war galley left; waves & dolphin below; HP monogram behind.
(www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/thrace/byzantium/Moushmov_3220v.jpg)

2. Amastris, AE 5.37 g, 20 mm, First half of the second century AD
RPC III 1209, Rec 28
Obv: ΔΙΟΝ[ΥCO]C CEBACTOC, bust of Dionysos, r., crowned with ivy.
Rev: AMACTPIANΩN MHTPOΠΟΛΕΙΤΩN, vinestock with 6 grapes.
(www.rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/3/1209/)[111]

3. Amastris, AE 4.28 g, 18 mm, First half of the second century AD
RPC III 1210, Rec 29
Obv: MHTPO AMACTPIANΩN, radiate and draped bust of Helios, right.
Rev: MHTPO, AMA (below), eight rays star within crescent.
(www.rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/3/1210/)

4. Sinope, AE 2.35 g, 13-14 mm, First half of the second century AD
RPC III 1230
Obv: DIOGENES, bare-headed and draped bust of Diogenes, right.
Rev: CIF in a laurel wreath.
(www.rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/3/1230/)

5. Amisus, AE 8.73 g, 22-3 mm, Year 129 (ΡΚΘ) – 98 AD
RPC III 1231, Rec 76-76a
Obv: ΘΕΟΥ CEBACTOΥ TPAIANOΥ, Nike walking left, holding wreath in right hand and palm on left shoulder.
Rev: AMICOΥ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑC ΕΤΟΥC ΡΚΘ, lighted altar left and distyle temple right; behind, trees.
(www.rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/3/1231/)

6. Amisus, AE 6.34 g, 24-6 mm, Year 130 (ΡΛ) – 98/9 AD
RPC III 1235, Rec 51
Obv: Head of Dionysos, crowned with ivy, right.
Rev: AMIΣOΥ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΡΛ, cista with half-open lid, from which a serpent issues to right; behind, thyrsus in saltire.
(www.rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/3/1235/)

7. Amisus, AE 5.49 g, 23 mm, Year 165 (ΡΞΕ) – 133/4 AD
RPC III 1259, Rec 53a corr. and 54a
Obv: AMICOΥ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑC turreted bust of Tyche, right.
Rev: ΕΤΟΥC ΡΞΕ, Asclepius standing facing, his right hand resting on staff, looking left at Hygieia standing left.
(www.rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/3/1259/)

8. Amisus, AE 2.47 g, 16 mm, Year 165 (ΡΞΕ) – 133/4AD
RPC III 1261, Rec 53 corr.
Obv: AMICOΥ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑC, helmeted bust of Pallas/Athena, right.
Rev: ΕΤΟΥC ΡΞΕ, river-god reclining, left.
(www.rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/3/1261/)

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REAL PROPERTY TRANSACTIONS AMONG CITIZENS OF KRAKOW IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY: SOME PRELIMINARY ISSUES

Abstract: *Analysis of real property transactions among fourteenth-century citizens of Krakow, a multi-layered issue closely related to the economy of the mediaeval city, is also the basis for social-topographical research. Knowledge derived from the Krakow assessors' and council books enables us to evaluate, with a high degree of accuracy, the financial status of particular owners and also affords a great deal of valuable information about the circulation of property within the city, as well the dynamics of this phenomenon, which can be associated with a given economy and trade, especially since the price of particular properties was calculated with the use of a monetary unit and a system of measurement related to trade. Various trade arrangements also inform us about participants on both sides of a given transaction, the neighbourhood of the property being sold, family relationships, the professions of citizens, and a great deal of other information. In the context of the economy, the stratification of urban space was dependent on several factors, one of them marked by the discussed real property transactions. The financial status of individual citizens was closely associated with their position in the hierarchy, which was closely linked in turn to the town's topography.*

Keywords: *social-topographical research, the Krakow assessors' and council books, property, transactions, trade*

Real property transactions between fourteenth-century citizens of Krakow constitute a very interesting and multi-layered issue, one which is closely related to the economy of the mediaeval town. The reason for analysing this problem in the context of a conference which deals with coins as payment and trade itself is the fact that information about real property, their location within the city, and, consequently, knowledge about amounts paid in rent, enable us, to some extent, to estimate their value. At the same time, this knowledge enables us to evaluate, with a high degree of accuracy even if only approximately, the financial status of particular owners. The real property transactions themselves afford a great deal of valuable information about the circulation of a property within the city and the dynamics of this phenomenon. Therefore they can be associated with the economy and trade, especially since the price of the particular

properties was calculated using a monetary unit and a system of measurement related to trade.

The problem is very extensive and requires additional studies and even more comprehensive publications. However, in the present paper, I wish only to highlight the importance of this problem and point out several of its aspects. In a broader context, real property transactions are interesting because of their effects on research on the social topography of mediaeval Krakow. In this area, some correlations can be observed between the social economy and the urban space of the fourteenth-century *civitas*. This topic follows more extended research on the social stratigraphy of mediaeval citizens and the correlation of its results with the topography of Polish mediaeval cities. Moreover, the topic is, to a great extent, based on my master's thesis, which concerns a social topographical analysis of St Florian Street in fourteenth-century Krakow.[1]

The sources that I used to prepare the topic are mostly fourteenth-century court records from the Krakow assessors' and council books documenting various kinds of transactions made between particular citizens and serving as a kind of mortgage record, as well as including a great deal of information about the shape of the building being sold.[2] Additionally, to write this paper, I used some documents from preservation departments as well as archaeological research on city parcels from all over Poland. Authority over transactions on properties located within the jurisdiction of municipal law belonged in fact to the assessors' court, and so they were made via registration in the assessor's books. The transactions encompassed various commercial arrangements regarding property, mainly sales, payments, exchanges, purchases, or transfers of property; as such they often took the form of a testament; sometimes they constituted repayment of debts. It is impossible to discuss all possible cases here.[3]

The medium of economic exchange in mediaeval times (apart from the most common, which involved coins and their normative equivalents) comprised various types of real property and similar goods belonging to particular citizens of mediaeval Krakow.[4] The transactions took the form of exchanges of various kinds, often without the use of money, as an exchange economy prevailed, which repeatedly resulted in various charges being incurred by one of the trading parties. Mediaeval coins of this time are closely associated with this phenomenon. Coins constituted a measure of value and were them-

[1] Rosowska 2012.

[2] Komorowski 2014: 67–68.

[3] See, e.g. *Najstarsze księgi i rachunki miasta Krakowa od roku 1300 do 1400*, eds. F. Piekosiński and J. Szujski, Krakow 1878; *Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa*, vol. 1, ed. F. Piekosiński, Krakow 1879–82; *Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa*, vol. 2, ed. F. Piekosiński, Krakow 1879–82; *Parcelacja lokacyjna bloku przy ulicach: Sławkowskiej i św. Tomasza*, MS, PKZ Kraków.

[4] Not including the Kazimierz and Podgórze districts.

selves a means of exchanging goods.[5] The economics of the mediaeval city consisted of coins. The value of a particular property and various taxes and rents was also calculated in terms of coins.[6] In this period in Krakow, the *grosz* was valid and constituted the basic monetary unit.[7] A Prague *groschen* could be converted to 12 denars; following a devaluation during the reign of Casimir III the Great, it could be converted to 16 denars (it is also possible that the devaluation took place during the reign of Casimir's father, Władysław I the Elbow-high, in 1316). Casimir attempted to mint a Krakow *grosz* (in 1365–67; average weight, 3.20 g) and thereafter this unit became part of the Polish system of *grzywna*.[8] In this system – the *grosz* system – the *grzywna* was equal to 48 of *grosz*, and thus 576, 768, and, until the end of the fourteenth century, 864 denars, as the *grosz* was equal to 12, 16, and ultimately 18 denars. In this way, the *grzywna* functioned until the early seventeenth century. As a measure of weight, the *grzywna* was equal to 4 *wiardunki*, 24 *skojce*, and 96 *kwarty*. Various types of *grzywna* differed in weight (196–213 g of silver). Their name derives from the town or region where it functioned and where it was valid.[9]

Below are three examples of the above-mentioned assessor's records, derived from the first pages of the Krakow assessors' books for the years 1365–76 and 1390–97. In presenting these three transactions, I would like to give the reader a sense of the whole problem, from which additional issues will emerge. My intention is to present some examples; subsequently I would like to present the problem of circulation of real property and movables within the city. I will also attempt to present the dynamics of changes in the property of particular citizens.

As we read at the beginning of one of the assessors' books: the assessors' registry starts on Friday on the day before St Nicholas' Day, who was the honourable votary. More precisely, this was 5 December 1365:

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[5] Szymański 2001: 562.

[6] In discussing mediaeval coinage and urban properties, we touch on an important issue common to both problems: the system of measurement used in mediaeval times. Monetary systems determined the weighing and accounting systems. The monetary system in Poland does not differ essentially from those used in Europe. From the fourteenth century on, we have the *grosz* system. Previously, we are dealing with the *marka* (*grzywna*) system, modelled on the Carolinian system. In Poland this system functioned as of the second half of the eleventh century. The *grosz* appeared after 1300, when Wenceslaus II of Bohemia ordered a great monetary reform. The *grzywna* was also a unit of weight. This name appeared as a result of Ruthenian influence in the second half of the eleventh century. According to this system: 1 *grzywna* → 4 *wiardunki* → 8 *uncji* → 16 *łuty* → 24 *skojce* → 96 *kwarty* (cf. Szymański 2001: 171, 570–577).

[7] This was an effect of a great monetary reform in Bohemia, introduced in 1300 by Wenceslaus II of Bohemia, which influenced changes in the Kingdom of Poland. It was originally a Czech system (cf. Szymański 2001: 570).

[8] Szymański 2001: 566–567, 570; *grzywna*: a measure of weight, mainly for silver.

[9] *Ibid*.: 567.

Istud registrum scabinorum est inchoatum feria [1 sexta ante diem sancti Nicolai confessoris gloriosi (5 Decembris 1365).

This is followed by the records of individual transactions. I have chosen the first three records:

1. Coram quo iudicio honoranda matrona domina Manetha Niczconis Gallici relicta cum duabus filiabus suis, videlicet Magdalena et Hela, Johanne Petermanni pro tutore electo, terciam partem brasiatorii, cuius due partes Hermanni Crancz fuerant, prope Cruciferus (s) situati, dicto Hermanno resignaverunt.
2. C. q. i. Nicolaus Wirsingi presencialiter constitutus quatuor marcas annui census terrestris super domo penes eundem Nicolaum situa(ta) cum medietate muri ab una acie ad aliam transeuntis liberaliter resignavit, in qua quidem domo Walpurg nunc moratur; predictus vero census in singulis quatuortemporibus una marca penes penam debet erogari.
3. C. q. i. domina Agnes presencialiter constituta, marito eius Henrico Schoff pro tutore electo, aream suam in platea Castrensi situatam Franczconi de Praga liberaliter resignavit.[10]

In the first record we read: In the presence of the court an honourable woman, the lady Manetha, widowed through the death of her husband Miczcon Gallicus, together with their two daughters, Magdalena and Hela, having chosen Johann Petermann as their legal guardian, her third part of the brewery, of which the two remaining parts belong to Hermann Crancz, located near the cross, is transferred to the said Hermann.

The second reads as follows: In the presence of the court, Nicholas Wierzynek personally transfers four *grzywny* of perpetual annual rent of the house standing next to this Nicholas's plot, together with the half of a wall, running from one corner to the other, wherein said home however at present Walpurg stays; to the above-mentioned rent in every dry days[11] however must one *grzywna* be paid, towards the penalty imposed .

[10] KŁK 1–3.

[11] Fasting days: Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, on which, four times a year, tax was collected in those times.

In the third and last example we read: In the presence of the court, the lady Agnes, having chosen her husband Henryk Schoff as her legal guardian, personally transfers her lot located in Castrensi Street[12] free of charge to Franczco de Praga.[13]

The subject and nature of the transaction itself are defined by the repeated expressions *resignaverunt* and *liberaliter resignavit*. According to a dictionary of mediaeval Latin, the word means 'to give' or 'to donate', 'the act of transfer of ownership'.[14]

But in addition to this, the records contain a great deal of other information. We read about participants on both sides of the transaction, the neighbourhood of the property being sold, family relationships, and the professions of citizens. The subjects of the transactions were houses (sometimes we also learn whether they were made of wood or brick), plots, sites, land areas, walls, debts, and pledges. Moreover, the records sometimes document the contents of testaments or register the cancellation of a transaction. Mainly, the records relate to sales and purchases, the amount of rents, and divisions and aggregations of property. Furthermore, the records contain information about transactions made involving other goods, such as: clothing stalls, craft workshops, malt houses and breweries, slaughterhouses and butcher shops, gardens, fields, mills, fish ponds, and many others of this type.

The records described here refer to transactions made on properties located in St Florian Street (*platea sancti Floriani*) during the fourteenth century. About these records, given in chronological order, we can point out some significant aspects. Most of all, the first records were written in German, at the time of the Rebellion of Mayor Albert (1311/12). Over time, progressively more precise descriptions of the location of each property can be noted. Probably this is an effect of the increasing density of town buildings, and also of the greater attention paid to the preparation of the record – similar records, over time, become longer and more abundant in terms of information. The number of records also increases, but this is mitigated by unequal states of preservation of the source material. To a certain extent it can be assumed that the increasing number of records is the result of an increasing number of properties and other goods within the city, and that more attention was applied to documenting such transactions. But these are only assumptions.

Importantly, the property of individual citizens was often situated in various areas of the city. This is another significant aspect to which attention should be paid in analysis of the records. An example of this distribution of wealth is visible in the case of Jan Salomon, showing how individual property was placed within and outside of the city

[12] i.e. Grodzka Street.

[13] Author's translation.

[14] i.e. to transfer an ownership (pl. *wzdaje*) (cf. Sondel 1997: Resignatio –onis: 2) Śr.: *wzdanie, akt przeniesienia własności*; Linde 1854: 814: *rozprzedawać, wyprzedawać, powyprzedawać*).

proper. The existence of the above-mentioned citizen is confirmed by sources dated from 1368 to 1392. He held various civil and legal positions as a tutor, prosecutor, and arbitrator. He also had a one brother, Nicholas, to whom he donated one of his houses (he owned at least two). One record says that Jan Salomon lent, under a pledge, 36 *grzywny* to Lupek and his wife. As we read from his 1392 testament, he owned a large tenement house worth 460 *grzywny* in St Florian Street, opposite the church of St Mary's, as well as a house and stall in St John Street. Throughout the period when Jan Salomon is mentioned in the assessors' registry, he also owned a brewery, an area in the market hall in the marketplace, a cloth stall, two gardens, a fish pond with four huts, and one other stall worth 160 *grzywny*. His property was thus distributed throughout the city.[15]

An urban plot is an essential element not only of the topography of the city but also of any understanding of social and economy structures (e.g. in connection with its circulation as a property). This is confirmed by social-topographical research results from various cities of Poland, among which some similarities can be observed. For Krakow, the results of such research can easily be questioned because of the deficiencies of the sources, without making an analogy to other cities. The similarities visible between Krakow and other cities fortunately help to some extent to establish differences in the wealth and status of certain groups of society without estimating their assets as a whole.

Therefore, by reversing the process and focusing on estimates of individual wealth, in accordance with the research results and general conclusions based on data from other cities, it seems likely that the estimates of individual wealth made from Krakow property reflect to a great extent the value and financial status of the individual citizens. Individual wealth is likely to be one of the elements that reflect hierarchy and social status within fourteenth-century Krakow society.[16]

The example of a single building area in Krakow shows how it may have changed over time from the studied period to the mid-nineteenth century. This is an important aspect of mediaeval economy, in which we can see how the division of property was carried out. We can compare our theoretical model to actual examples resulting from the sale or trade of plots. Until the sixteenth century, divisions of full-sized plots seem to have remained unchanged to a large degree. But it is important to remember that this example cannot show trends for the entire city. There were generally more plots at the end of the Middle Ages than at the beginning, and consequently these plots were also smaller. It should be added that the transactions could also apply to the buildings themselves which were placed on someone else's property, not including the surrounding area. Clearly,

[15] Ptaśnik 1914: 1–90. The above information about Jan Salomon is not consistent with the descriptions given by Jan Ptaśnik, and was derived directly from assessors' and council books.

[16] My research relating to mediaeval Krakow citizens in the context of social topography studies did not include the entire city and still awaits completion. I support my partial results with more comprehensive research on other Polish cities: Poznań and Wrocław (cf. Goliński 1997; Wiesiołowski 1982).

the outlines of foundations do not differ substantially from the layout made during city location. There were also some city zones in which plots grew larger, and some characterised by increasing fragmentation.[17] Moreover, it is possible that, as early as the fifteenth century, the area of a given plot could be expanded at the expense of an adjacent one. Furthermore, plots were also distorted in other various ways, e.g. as a result of the *willkür* (a kind of town statute) from 1367, which dealt with boundary walls.[18]

The issue discussed here is closely linked to the question of urban space; thus, in order to make it more complete, we referred it to the results of archaeological research and urban planning, as well as knowledge of mediaeval law, social realities, and, last but not least, the system of measurement in use at that time.

In elaborating the issue of the social topography of St Florian Street, one can reach the conclusion that stratification of urban space depended on several factors, one of which is marked by the discussed real property transactions. The wealth of individual citizens, based on real properties, mainly those located within the city, bears significance within the whole picture of social stratification. Their financial status was closely associated with their position in the hierarchy. It shows that the more someone possessed, the higher his position was in the society.[19] Real property transactions themselves also offer us a great deal of valuable information concerning the circulation of property within the city and the dynamics of this phenomenon, which increased during the fourteenth century. It is important to take this kind of research into account in studies of social topography.

Abbreviations

K – Piekosiński F., Szujski J. (ed.) 1878. *Najstarsze księgi i rachunki miasta Krakowa od roku 1300 do 1400*. Kraków.

KŁK – Krzyżanowski S. (ed.) 1904. *Księgi ławnicze krakowskie 1365-1376 i 1390-1397*. Kraków.

PKZ – Pracownia Konserwacji Zabytków (Studio for Conservation of Cultural Property).

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[17] cf. Komorowski 2014: ill. 74–76.

[18] Estreicher 1936.

[19] Rosowska 2012: 66–67.

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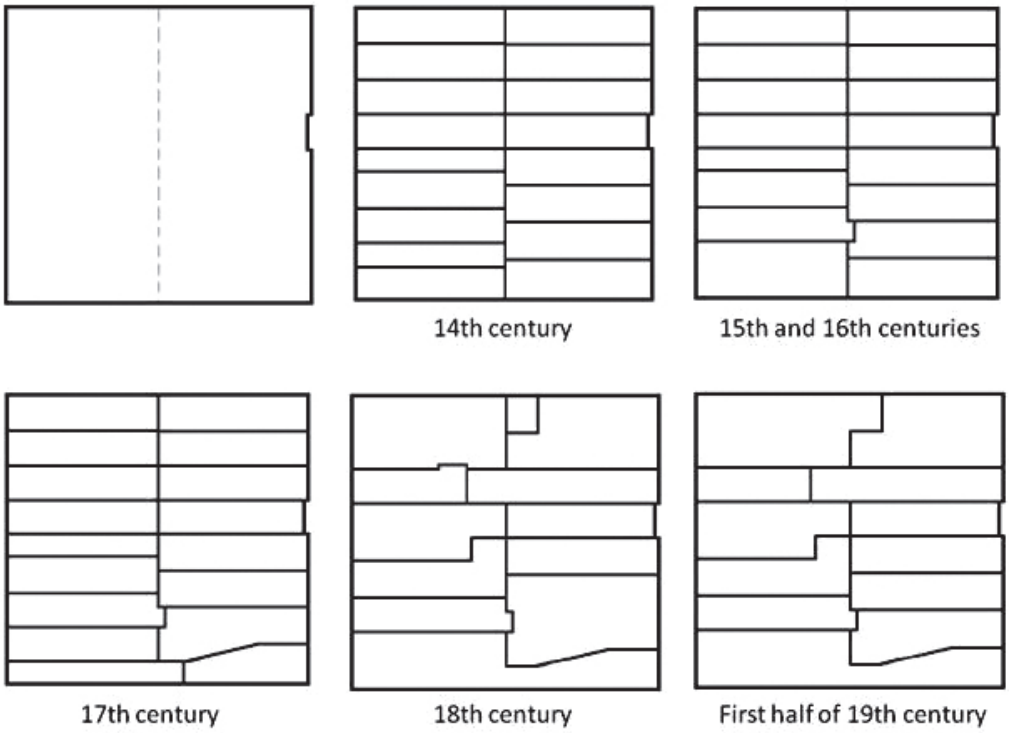
Illustrations

1. Copy of the *Plan senacki* (Senate scheme prepared in 1802–05 by Ignatius Enderle on a scale of 1:5000. The copy was elaborated and completed at the Department of Conservation of Monuments of the Krakow University of Technology by J. Jamroz in 1965 (Jamroz 1983: 31).
2. The dynamic of divisions of individual plots according to the example of a building area located at the intersection of Sławkowska and St Thomas Streets in Krakow. The copy is based on a description known as *Parcelacja lokacyjna* (a division of an area in the foundation charter) made by Miejskie Biuro Projektów w Krakowie (Municipal Design Office in Krakow), and is currently located in the ARKONA Archives in Krakow (*Parcelacja lokacyjna bloku przy ulicach: Sławkowskiej i św. Tomasza*. MS, PKZ Kraków)

1


14th century
15th and 16th centuries
17th century
18th century
First half of 19th century

2