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THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE OF GREEK AND ROMAN COINS

By C. H. V. SUTHERLAND

THE historical evidence yielded by the coins of Greece and Rome is abundant, concise, essentially practical, and easily assimilated. Comparison of this evidence with what is provided by other branches of historical research is out of place, and seldom profitable: it is enough to point out the fundamental difference between coin-evidence and that which is furnished, for example, by works of art or inscriptions. A people's artistic or literary achievement is mainly a free expression of individual tendencies: though Phrynichus offended an influential section of public opinion with his play on the Sack of Miletus, and though Pericles was able to yoke Pheidias to his imperialist policy, it is true to say that such achievement was generally the result of free minds working their will. Artistic evidence for history is therefore 'unofficial', or informal. It is, of course, all the better for that; yet it must lack the precision which we look for in inscriptions—let us say, in an Athenian list of tribute-payments, or in a municipal charter under the Roman Empire. Inscriptions, indeed, are very often the product of private enterprise—the wish to record family honours, to mourn the dead parent, wife, or child, or to bless the emperor of the day; but they include a large class in which the information given is official in its purpose, and therefore full and accurate.

In contrast to works of art and inscriptions, Greek and Roman coins are wholly official in the information which they impart, for the simple reason (not sufficiently often realized) that they were almost always produced under state prerogative. They therefore embodied the authority of the state, clear and unmistakable. The 'types', i.e. devices, of a coin are not

the result of chance selection, or of a die-engraver's roaming, unfettered fancy: his fancy is there, but it is controlled, and his designs must unequivocally announce the identity of the city or state, for this makes it possible for the coin to bear a legal face-value at home, and similarly secures its credited acceptance abroad. Again, who shall fix the weight of a coin? This too is no matter for passing fancy: a state wishing to issue coin has first to buy or mine the raw metal, and must be certain that the additional costs of transport and minting shall not exceed the market-value of the coins once they are released. The city, then, or its delegated officers, must approve the types as well as fix the weight, of any coins which are issued.

With coinage a prerogative of the state, the cost of coinage must be governed by the market-price of raw metal: at the same time the coinage of each issuing state must be sufficiently reliable in purity and weight to allow the distinctive state-badge (e.g. turtle of Aegina, Pegasus of Corinth, owl of Athens) (Plate I, 1–3) to dispense with the formality of weighing and testing each individual coin. It followed that, if metal was dear, a state must limit the amount of metal in each coin: if it was cheap, it could afford that its coins should contain more metal; and in each case the metal must be pure to secure general acceptance. For Greek coinage these axioms were of paramount importance. For, whereas in the Roman world one authority exercised a uniform monetary control over most civilized areas (leading finally to a debasement of coinage to token-standard), and whereas to-day the various national currencies are linked and equated by artificial means, in Greece there were—by contrast—large numbers of issuing states, each autonomous, each competitive, and each partially dependent for income on the profitable exchange of their coins. Let us take three leading states in Greece—Aegina, Corinth, and Athens. Aegina seems to have been able to buy her silver cheaply, coining pieces (valued at home at 2 drachmae) which weighed just over or about 12 gm. (Plate I, 1). Corinth, however, which very soon imitated Pheidon's epoch-making silver-mint at Aegina, clearly had to pay much more for her silver, for her standard coin (στάτηρ), weighing *c.* 8.50 gm. (Plate I, 2), was

tariffed as 3 drachmae: i.e. the Aeginetan drachma weighed about 6 gm., and the Corinthian not quite 3 gm. An obvious corollary is that if a Corinthian merchant wished to trade in an area accustomed to Aeginetan 'turtles' or to coins struck on the Aeginetan standard, he would have to pay double the Corinthian price in 'staters' to buy what he wanted. Needless to say, this seldom happened: apart from the Peloponnese, the areas in which Aeginetan coins are most often found are in the southern and south-eastern Aegean, including Crete and Egypt, whereas Corinthian 'colts' flowed almost always to the west—Acarnania and Ambracia, south and west Italy, Sicily, and even Gaul and Spain: overlapping meant a wasteful economic system. At Athens, the first age of silver coinage is also a time of debt and enslavement: money was at a high premium, due to Aeginetan monopoly of raw metal. Solon, however, found a cheaper source of silver (possibly by re-export from Euboea) for his early Attic coinage (Plate I, 4); and later, with the opening up of the Laureium mines, Athens enjoyed a monopoly of cheap silver which revolutionized her fortunes. The drachma which she adopted, *c.* 4·25 gm., was indeed lighter than that of Aegina; but from Peisistratus' time onward her 4-drachma pieces of 17 gm., of fine silver and steady weight, and coined in great numbers (Plate I, 3), won a reputation which steadily usurped Aegina's place in the southern Aegean (hence the antagonism between them in its acute form, *c.* 550–480 B.C.) and threatened finally to break Corinthian monopoly in the west—a threat not unconnected with the Peloponnesian War.

The evidence furnished by Greek coins is, then, primarily commercial: the emphasis on politics proper is slighter. Owing to their purity they circulated abroad as bullion, whatever their fixed legal value in the state which minted them. And if a city could control the market price of metal within a certain 'foreign' area in which her influence was secured (either by political ties, or by naval or military strength), certain profit was bound to follow. This is the radical meaning of Greek coinage. Aegina, monopolizing Aegean silver, stabilizing its market price, exchanging it for corn or manufactured goods in areas dominated

by her powerful navy, grows rich in the persons of every individual Aeginetan merchant who handles her coins. Corinthian silver, drawn perhaps from Illyria and Paeonia, costs more: once coined, however, it monopolizes the Corinthian Gulf, and powerfully influences Italy and Sicily, where most towns, even if they did not use Corinthian coins proper, seem often to have restruck them with their own types. Monopoly is the keynote of fifth-century history. From 480 B.C. the Athenian navy and Athenian influence grew swiftly, while Aegina's fortunes sank. Soon, we may suppose, Athens absorbed the source of Aeginetan silver (? Siphnos), thus reinforcing her monopoly of Laureium. But some effort must also be made to extend the monopoly to the north coasts of the Aegean, where there were rich silver-producing areas from which the coined metal frequently reached Egypt. The revolt of Thasos in 465 was quelled with a severity appropriate to so dangerous a movement: the Athenian itch for colonization around the Strymon valley never ceased: the foundation of Amphipolis was a signal and a short-lived triumph—a long step nearer the monopoly of the Aegean, suddenly cut short in the late twenties when Amphipolis, after her defection, started a coinage (of which that of the Chalcidic Olynthians was a parallel) on a non-Athenian weight-standard (Plate I, 5): here was the end of the Thracian dream, and a severe blow at Attic prestige. As early, perhaps, as 449 B.C. Athens had promulgated her famous decree restricting the production of coined silver among her subject-allies, and forbidding their use of any save the Athenian weight-system—an incidental means of calling in, at a profit, the old coins of Aegina, recently humbled. And, even after the Thracian calamity, the screws could still be tightened further south. Melos, for years stubborn and recalcitrant against incorporation in the Delian League, may have been rash enough to produce a silver coinage approximating to the old Aeginetan standard, with a variety of reverse-types hinting at a new anti-Athenian commercial *bloc* formed in association with numerous other states in the Aegean (Pl. I, 6, shows on the reverse the fig-leaf usually associated with Camirus). These coins are known from one hoard alone, found in Melos, and doubtless

buried during the blockade of 416 B.C., of which they were probably a prominent cause.[1] Melos destroyed made up for an alienated Thrace; and there was still the chance to meddle in Corinth's western sphere of influence, long toyed with in the imperialist imaginations of Athens. So followed the Sicilian expedition.

It is not hard to imagine the effect of Athenian monopoly of raw and coined silver, for with it there was associated a parallel monopoly of most Pontic and much Egyptian corn. This corn Athens purchased at a discount with her currency, which was at a premium in those areas: she would then proceed to re-export the corn to her subject-allies at prices fixed by herself and paid for in coin received at a rate also fixed by herself: only when her strength was failing did she find it politic to grant exemption in this respect, as the Methone decree shows.[2] Control of corn-marketing alone was profitable: with that of silver it must have been enormously lucrative. Research has not yet thrown much light on the activities of Athenian merchant ships: it may be that the 'Old Oligarch', with his νῆές μοί εἰσι, was in fact one of the large mercantile class which Athenian policy persistently enriched; and hence, perhaps, his avowed toleration of the rule of the δῆμος.[3]

Such, then, is the primary evidence of Greek coins. Other coinages there were, of course, in great abundance and of different kinds: the purely self-advertising coinage of the little south Italian town of Terina, with its varied and beautiful types (Plate I, 7); the superbly lovely coins of the priestly mint at Olympia, which must have been produced for tourist appeal and bought by 'foreigners' as souvenirs of the Festivals (Plate I, 8); the coinages of semi-Greek or barbarian communities in Paeonia or Thrace, struck almost as bullion, expressly for export to Greek communities elsewhere (Plate I, 9); the electrum coinages of Ionia, and chiefly of Cyzicus (Plate I, 10), allowed

[1] Cf. J. G. Milne, *The Melos Hoard of 1907* (American Numismatic Society's *Notes and Monographs*, no. 62, 1934).

[2] See M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1933), no. 61.

[3] [Xenophon], Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία, probably the work of an Athenian with oligarchic tendencies in the last quarter of the fifth century.

by Athens for the very good reason that they served as payment for purchases made in the Pontic area, where familiarity with gold was not an exaggeration of legend: these illustrate varying aspects of Greek coinages, chosen from among hundreds of individual city-issues. Important evidence is drawn from imitations of Greek coins by half-Greek or barbarian peoples by whom the Greek models, pure in metal and regular in weight, came to be regarded as worthy of perpetuation. Thus the large class of Arabian or Levantine copies of Athenian tetradrachms, reduced in size and crude in style, eloquently attest the stream of Attic silver flowing south and east, and the distress caused by its interruption or cessation (Plate I, 11). The popularity of Aeginetan coins in the south-eastern Aegean down to *c.* 450 B.C. is seen in their frequent imitation in Crete—an island closely linked with Aegina. Along the Danube the spread of Greek coins and Greek ideas is traced in the many copies of coins of Philip II of Macedon (Plate II, 1) and his successors, in whose coins were later found the prototypes of the coins of the British Kings in the florescence of Celtic culture preceding Claudius' invasion (Plate II, 2, 3). Further evidence is to be found in weights, which often indicate clearly the individual commercial groups of Greece; and hoards are obviously valuable as first-hand evidence of the commercial routes along which Greek coins travelled, and of the mutual company in which they travelled.

Nor are there lacking concrete instances of historical evidence: the anti-Athenian alliance of Chalcis and Boeotia in 506 B.C., heralded by a special alliance-coinage; the domination of Theron of Acragas over Himera from *c.* 482 B.C. onwards, shown by the crab of Acragas on the coins of Himera (Plate II, 4); the vicissitudes of Zancle-Messana, echoed in a changing coinage; Themistocles' lordship over Magnesia, recalled by four very rare coins (Plate II, 5), struck curiously enough on the Attic standard, of which two are official forgeries! We might add the changing fortunes of sixth-century party-politics in Athens, shown by the family badges of Alcmaeonids and others which appear on the coins of the times (Plate II, 6); and, finally and appropriately, the Athenian rout in Sicily in

413 B.C., recorded by the magnificent, if florid, 10-drachma pieces of Syracuse, showing their victorious charioteer, and the set of armour contemptuously labelled ΑΘΛΑ (Plate II, 7).

In coinage as in all else, the contrast between Greece and Rome is clear and instructive. The great land-empire, painfully and often wastefully built up under the Republic, and consolidated under the Principate, made a world-power out of a single central authority, which brought with it a single central coinage that eventually absorbed or stifled most of the old autonomous silver mints of Greek states. The staple metal of Greek currency had been silver: so too it was eventually of the Roman; and the Greek drachma and the Roman denarius were roughly equated. Here the resemblances end. Rome, with a virtually complete monopoly of metals, had no need to compete in the world-market which she controlled; and, except for the period of serious economic stress caused by the Second Punic War, the story of the Republican coinage is even and uneventful in its external features. Trade was easy and unfettered by international animosities: the silver denarius was worth the same in Africa as in Asia, in Greece as in Gaul; and its weight and fineness varied little. Economically, therefore, the coinage of the Republic furnishes only limited evidence for history. From the point of view of politics, however, the information is varied and vivid. Even to a casual observer, the abandonment of the hallowed coin-types, the head of Roma and Diana driving in a *biga*, in favour of personal or abstract references is significant: allusions to the family history of the senatorial moneyers, and personifications such as Honour, Virtue and Piety—increasingly emphasized in a world of increasing ideological friction, underline for us the process of political change. And early in the first century B.C. the germ of the later Imperial coinage is seen, when Sulla (Plate II, 9) and Pompey, in virtue of their command over field-armies serving abroad, strike coins for the payment of their troops. In an earlier age, they would have repeated the types of the coins struck at Rome itself: now they omitted all reference to Rome, choosing instead types and legends (i.e. inscriptions) referring only to their own history or achievements—an

important advance for the uncritical legionary who looks at his coins to see their source of issue. After such powerful precedents, it is not surprising to find Caesar reserving to himself the right of coining in gold and silver, and receiving the right—the first of all Romans—in the last year of his life to have his portrait placed on the coinage (Plate II, 10). The transition from this to the coinage of Octavian and Antony, and to the more mature and full series of Octavian as Augustus, was thus well prepared and easily effected.

With Augustus in power, a radical and permanent change came over the whole tenor of the Roman coinage, due partly to his own unique position in public estimation, and partly to the shrewd wisdom which he brought to the problem of propaganda and self-advertisement. For propaganda was now to be as important a function of coinage as its very economic activity. From the very first a system of eloquent and often-changing types was adopted: the frequent changing of types (unpopular in the leading commercial states of Greece, where the retention of a traditional design was as vital for overseas trade as the faithful reproduction of the Maria Theresa dollar is necessary for some backward regions to-day) came to be a regular feature of the imperial coinage. The victory at Actium, the restoration of peace, and the acquisition of Egypt (Plate II, 11), are all emphasized in the years immediately following 31 B.C.: in 28, Octavian prepared eastern sentiment for the coming administrative changes by styling himself 'Libertatis Populi Romani Vindex'—'Champion of Constitutional Liberties for Romans' (Plate II, 8). The constitutional settlement once effected, coins were struck showing the honours conferred upon Augustus—the shield, the laurels, the title (Plate II, 12). A few years pass: Armenia is settled, and the lost standards restored from there and elsewhere; the Secular Games herald a new age (Plate III, 1); new roads are built at Augustus' expense; the Emperor falls ill, and recovers, and makes his various plans for dynastic succession (Plate III, 2)—these and many other events are commemorated by type or legend. It may be observed, too, that though Augustus left to the Senate a more than nominal control of part of the coinage (some gold

and silver from 19 to 12 B.C., and virtually all bronze from 23 B.C. onwards), the propagandist content of the senatorial coin-types is scarcely less than that of the coins issued under direct imperial control in Spain, Gaul, and the East.

We may pause, and with justification, to estimate the potency of this change in the coinage, and to reflect how strong an instrument in state-inspired enlightenment the imperial coinage was soon to become. The student of history who casts his eye over the lists of coins of each reign (arranged in scientifically dated groups as they now are) will see precisely, as every citizen in Rome and Italy and every provincial—eastern or western—could see, what were the achievements for which the Princeps claimed credit. At this point, too, he will observe the beginning of a new idea of development. An Emperor may well claim particular credit for a particular achievement: why should he not also claim a more general credit for the whole general tone of his administrative record, past and present? The transition was not a difficult one; and it was successfully effected during the Julio-Claudian period. Under Tiberius (whose emphasis in his own imperial coins of gold and silver is upon the continuity of the Augustan house and the Augustan régime) the bronze coinage of the Senate, apart from explicit references to the earthquake in Asia, Livia's illness and recovery, and the exploits of Germanicus, dwells on ideas of purposely general significance—'Iustitia' (Plate III, 3), 'Pietas', 'Clementia', 'Moderatio'—which appear to sum up the spirit of the age according to official requirements.

Caligula used the coinage almost entirely to advertise his direct descent from Augustus; and it remained for Claudius to do in this field what he did in so many others, that is, to combine a striking element of novelty with what was old and traditional.[1] He honours his relatives assiduously: he is at pains to remind the public that, as Emperor, he is the personal choice and protégé of the Praetorian Guards, flower of the army: he stresses military success in Britain and Frisia. With this, however, there is a new phenomenon. Instead of the plain

[1] Cf. A. Momigliano, *Claudius: the Emperor and his Achievement* (Oxford, 1934).

and unqualified Justice, Piety, Clemency, and Moderation of Tiberius, we now find 'Constantia Augusti', 'Pax Augusta', 'Victoria Augusti', 'Spes Augusta', 'Ceres Augusta' (Plate III, 4), 'Libertas Augusta'. The addition of the particular epithet 'Augusti', or of the more generic 'Augusta', in effect raises the Emperor to the level of a symbol typifying, in a more than earthly capacity, the blessings which the more humble of the earth may enjoy: through Claudius' personal steadfastness, and through the Peace by Victory, the Hope of offspring, the Corn Supply, and the Constitutional Government which he brings, men may live their lives in peace, plenty, and contentment.

If, too, these qualities were perhaps not always present in a reign, might they not be hoped for? Hence, indeed, came the second great development in the technique of coin-propaganda, by which an Emperor might express, not his record, but his future programme. Nero, indeed, was something of a reactionary in this respect: his coins have a concrete propaganda-content—his lineage, Armenia, the closing of the Temple of Janus (Plate III, 6), the harbour at Ostia, his largesses and public buildings, and his new Quinquennial Games—with some others (more abstract but not less important) like 'Roma', the new Rome arising after the Fire, and 'Annona Augusti Ceres', 'Ceres, harvest-goddess, in her guise as the Imperial Corn Supply'. The new development is seen more clearly in the coins issued by various temporary authorities in the provinces during the months of threatening chaos in A.D. 68–9,—'Bonus Eventus' (Plate III, 7), the happy outcome implicit in Nero's fall, which is to restore the world to health again ('Salus Generis Humani'): there are many other legends of a similar nature. Vespasian followed, faced with the necessity of creating, almost overnight, imperial precedent and 'atmosphere'. He thus produced a series of genuine programme-types in an attempt to bolster up the accumulation of offices which he and Titus so conspicuously assumed: 'Fides Publica'—National Credit—appeared at once, with 'Securitas P(opuli) R(omani)'; 'Concordia Augusti' spelt Vespasian's efforts to heal divisions in the state; 'Fortuna Augusti' emphasized bright hopes for

the future, justified by the 'Aeternitas' of Rome, sustained materially by 'Ceres Augusta', and secured by 'Victoria Augusti': this is in fact the New Deal—'Aequitas Augusti' (Plate III, 5); and 'Felicitas Publica' was bound to follow.

Domitian's reign shows an interesting variation from those of Vespasian and Titus. For the imperial series of gold and silver bears few propaganda-types: the justification of the reign, by advertisement or promise, is left—ironically—to that Senate which he so persistently threatened and humiliated. Under Nerva the programme-types are tinged with desperate insecurity: 'Concordia Exercituum', 'Salus Publica', and 'Pax Augusti' hang precariously in the balance, even when they are recommended by such concrete achievements as a Largesse, a Corn Dole, the abolishing of abuses in connexion with the Jewish poll-tax (Plate III, 8), reliefs in the system of Postal Services, and the development of the Alimentary system for the upkeep of poor children. It remained for Trajan to make the Principate strong again, and he returned to the Augustan practice of recording little except definite achievements, of which there were plenty. Only in the drowsy summer of Hadrian's reign do we find types of 'Tranquillitas', 'Patientia', or 'Indulgentia', paying honour to the 'Locupletator Orbis Terrarum', vice-gerent of God on earth by 'Providentia Deorum'; and from this system of suggestive (and often false) idealism the Roman Imperial coinage was not afterwards destined to depart.

Here, then, is the principal evidence drawn from the coinage of the early Empire: it was an official gazette of past acts or future programme. As such, it provides an invaluable commentary, especially where historical texts are few and inferior.[1] But there is, indirectly, much other evidence as well. The gradual lightening and debasement of silver and gold, as the economic fortunes of Rome declined; the circulation of money within the empire, with its problems (so familiar in English history) of insufficient small change for daily needs; the export of gold and silver to the east—and notably to India—in the earliest and latest periods of the Empire; the systematic study of buried coin-hoards as a means of reconstructing and dating

[1] See, for example, *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. xii.

periods of unrest or danger, as in Gaul or Britain;[1] the influence of Roman commerce on non-Roman areas, as seen in the adoption, by the native kings of Britain, of Roman coin-types for their own gold, silver, and bronze[2] (especially by Cunobeline (Plate III, 9), the dangerous nationalist who had learned too much from Rome)—these are only instances of the varied evidence that Roman coins will yield.

For the Greeks, then, coinage was an end in itself, as a commercial necessity in an epoch of international competition. For the Romans, it was not only an end in itself, as an economic necessity in a unified world: it was also a shrewd and adroit means to another end, namely, the formation of public opinion on matters of Imperial policy. Many later coinages have possessed the commercial vigour of those of Greece; but we have left to the moribund art of the medallist the responsibility of making coined metal proclaim clearly contemporary actions and contemporary policy.

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[1] A. Blanchet, *Les trésors de monnaies romaines . . . en Gaule* (Paris, 1900); C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain* (Oxford, 1937).

[2] See G. C. Brooke in *Antiquity*, vii (1933), pp. 268 ff.

KEY TO THE PLATES

Note.—The following abbreviations are used: *Ⱥ* = gold; EL. = electrum; *Ⱥ* = silver; Æ = bronze or copper; *obv.* = obverse; *rev.* = reverse. Illegible portions of legends are reproduced in capital letters within square brackets: abbreviated legends are filled out in small letters within angular brackets.

PLATE 3

1. AEGINA. *Ⱥ*. Stater of 2 drachmae. *Obv.*, sea-turtle. *Rev.*, incuse square of conventional and archaizing pattern.

   c. 500–456 B.C. Aeginetan refusal to embellish or abandon her original coin-types spells commercial prosperity.

2. CORINTH. *Ⱥ*. Stater of 3 drachmae. *Obv.*, Pegasus r. *Rev.*, head of Athena Chalinitis r., wearing Corinthian helmet and necklace: hair in queue.

   c. 500–450 B.C. The traditional Pegasus type is retained for the *obv.*, but the old incuse swastika is now abandoned on the *rev.*

3. ATHENS. *Ⱥ*. Piece of 4 drachmae. *Obv.*, head of Athena r., her helmet wreathed with olive. *Rev.*, AΘE⟨ναιων⟩. Owl stg. r.: olive-spray above to l.

   The types instituted by Peisistratus were retained, and deliberately archaized, in the fifth century.

4. ATHENS. *Ⱥ*. Stater of 2 drachmae. *Obv.*, Owl stg. l. *Rev.*, rough incuse punch.

   c. 600–550 B.C. Possibly the original didrachm of Solon's reform, this may perhaps also fall some years later.

5. AMPHIPOLIS. *Ⱥ*. Piece of 4 drachmae. *Obv.*, head of Apollo, three-quarter face. *Rev.*, AMΦIΠOΛITEΩN on square raised band enclosing race-torch, and letter A.

   c. 410–400 B.C. A series, with bold types, and of non-Attic weight, begun after Brasidas' northern successes in 424.

6. MELOS. *Ⱥ*. Stater of 2 drachmae. *Obv.*, pomegranate. *Rev.*, fig-leaf.

   After 450 B.C. The pomegranate—μῆλον—is a punning type alluding to the name Melos: the fig-leaf seems to be a conscious reminder of the type used by Camirus in Rhodes.

7. TERINA. *Ⱥ*. Stater of 2 drachmae. *Obv.*, head of the nymph Terina within wreath. *Rev.*, ϟ TEPINAIO N. Winged Nike-Terina seated r. on amphora, holding caduceus: bird perched on finger.

   c. 425 B.C. Caduceus and amphora suggest commercial enterprise: the beauty of the coinage serves as advertisement.

8. ELIS. *Ⱥ*. Stater of 2 drachmae. *Obv.*, ϟ ИO [I ΛAꟻ] (retrograde). Eagle flying l., holding serpent in beak. *Rev.*, ⟨νοιλ⟩A ꟻ (retrograde = Ἠλείων). Nike running r. with wreath.

   c. 425 B.C. The types allude to the presence of Zeus at Olympia, and the athletic victories there won.

9. LETE. *Ⱥ*. Stater of 2 drachmae. *Obv.*, Satyr seizing a Maenad. *Rev.*, rough incuse punch.

   c. 500 B.C. The type is a genre-type (applicable to northern Greece, still backward), rather than an effort at symbolizing the material or spiritual virtues of the issuing city.

10. CYZICUS. EL. Stater. *Obv.*, Harmodius and Aristogeiton in the act of attacking. *Rev.*, quadripartite incuse square.

11. LEVANT (? Syria). *Æ*. Imitation of Athenian 4-drachma piece (cf. no. 3 above), of rude style, and with the designs and legend misunderstood.

PLATE 4

1. PHILIP II. *Æ*. Stater. *Obv.*, head of Apollo r. *Rev.*, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. Biga r.
   c. 356–336 B.C.
2. BELGIC MORINI. *Æ*. Stater. *Obv.*, barbarous head r., the wreath (cf. no. 1 above) enormously magnified, and the features disappearing. *Rev.*, disjointed horse r., with ornaments freely distributed around it.
   c. 100–75 B.C. An intermediate stage of copying.
3. TASCIOVANUS. *Æ*. Stater. *Obv.*, the preceding obverse stylized into a decorative Celtic design. *Rev.*, ƈ [TASCI]. Horse r., surrounded by various ornaments.
   c. the end of the first century B.C. The disjointed 'Celtic' horse, of the type shown by no. 2 above and cut out on the White Horse Hill, Berks., is here turning, under Roman influence, into a more naturalistic animal.
4. HIMERA. *Æ*. Stater of 2 drachmae. *Obv.*, ς HIMERA. Cock l. *Rev.*, Crab.
   c. 482–472 B.C. The crab, symbol of Acragas, appears on the reverse as a sign of Theron's domination of Himera. Note the appearance of the aspirate in the legend, and the form of the letter R.
5. THEMISTOCLES IN MAGNESIA. *Æ*. Stater of 2 drachmae. *Obv.*, ƈ[⊙E]MIΣ-TOK ϽΛΕΟΣ. Apollo r., leaning on sprouting laurel staff. *Rev.*, M A⟨γνητων⟩. Eagle with spread wings in incuse square.
   c. 465–449 B.C. Struck on the Athenian weight-standard. Themistocles, in exile, had Magnesia assigned him by the King of Persia.
6. ATHENS. *Æ*. Stater of 2 drachmae. *Obv.*, hind quarters of horse. *Rev.*, quadripartite incuse square.
   c. the first half of the sixth century B.C. Types such as this, appearing on the early Attic coinage, are found as shield-devices on early Attic vases, and were perhaps the distinguishing badges of aristocratic factions.
7. SYRACUSE. *Æ*. Piece of 10 drachmae. *Obv.*, Ͻ ΣYPAK OΣIΩ N. Head of Arethusa l., surrounded by dolphins. *Rev.*, Victorious quadriga l., with Nike offering wreath: in exergue, helmet, breastplate, greaves, and shield, below which, A⊙ΛA.
   c. 410 B.C. Technically the quadriga type is the obverse, and the head the reverse.
8. OCTAVIAN. *Æ*. 'Cistophorus' = 3 denarii. *Obv.*, Ϙ IMP⟨erator⟩•CAESAR• DIVI • F⟨ilius⟩ • COS • VI • LIBERTATIS • P⟨opuli⟩ • R⟨omani⟩• VINDEX. Head r., laureate. (*Rev.*, not shown: PAX. Pax stg. l., &c.)
9. SULLA. *Æ*. Denarius. *Obv.*, L⟨ucius⟩ • SVLLA. Head of Venus r., facing small figure of Cupid. *Rev.*, IMPER⟨ator⟩ • ITERVM. Priestly implements flanked by trophies of arms.
   c. 82 B.C. Minted outside Italy by Sulla in virtue of his command of an army in the field. Sulla professed to be under the favour of Venus: he alludes also to his priesthoods.
10. JULIUS CAESAR. *Æ*. Denarius. *Obv.*, Ͻ CAESAR ƈ DICT⟨ator⟩ PER-PETV⟨o⟩. Head of Caesar r., laureate. *Rev.*, ϽP⟨ublius⟩ SEPVLLIVS ϛMACER. Venus Victrix stg. l.
    44 B.C. Minted under Caesar's supreme authority at the Senatorial Mint in Rome, and signed by the mint-master.

11. OCTAVIAN (not yet Augustus). *Æ*. Denarius. *Obv.*, ℭ CAESAR ↄ [COS] VI. Head of Octavian r.: behind, priestly *lituus*. *Rev.*, AEGVPTO CAPTA. Crocodile r.

28–26 B.C. Minted in the East during the period of Octavian's extraordinary power between Actium and 27 B.C. Egypt fell to Octavian as a result of Actium.

12. AUGUSTUS. *Æ*. Denarius. *Obv.*, head of Augustus r., laureate. *Rev.*, CAESAR AVGVSTVS S⟨enatus⟩ P⟨opulus⟩ Q⟨ue⟩ R⟨omanus⟩. Shield, inscribed CL⟨upeus⟩ • V⟨irtutis⟩ between laurels.

c. 20–16 B.C. Minted at Corduba in Spain, by virtue of Augustus' rights as *imperator*. The laurels and the shield were among the honours voted to Augustus after the Constitutional Settlement of 27 B.C.

PLATE 5

1. AUGUSTUS. *Æ*. Denarius. *Obv.*, ↄ CAE[SAR AVGVS]TVS • TR⟨ibunicia⟩ • POT⟨estate⟩. Head of Augustus r., laureate. *Rev.*, ℭ [L • MESCI-NI]VS ↄ RVFVS • IIIVIR ⟨aere argento auro flando feriundo⟩. Stele, inscribed IMP⟨erator⟩ CAES⟨ar⟩ AVG⟨ustus⟩ LVD⟨os⟩ SAEC⟨ulares⟩ ⟨fecit⟩, flanked by $\overline{XV}$⟨vir⟩ S⟨acris⟩ • F⟨aciundis⟩.

16 B.C. Senatorial Mint of Rome: mint-master, L. Mescinius Rufus. Augustus, as *quindecimvir sacris faciundis*, held the Ludi Saeculares in 17 B.C.

2. AUGUSTUS. *Æ*. Denarius. *Obv.*, ↄ CAESAR AVGVSTVS ℭ DIVI F⟨ilius⟩ PATER PATRIAE. Head of Augustus r., laureate. *Rev.*, in exergue, C • L • CAESARES: Ω AVGVSTI F⟨ilii⟩ COS • DESIG⟨nati⟩ PRINC⟨ipes⟩ IVVENT⟨utis⟩. Gaius Caesar and Lucius Caesar stg., holding spear and shield: above, emblems of priestly rank.

2 B.C.–A.D. 14. Imperial mint of Lugdunum. C. Caesar and L. Caesar were adopted by their grandfather Augustus in 5 and 2 B.C., and though both died shortly after, this 'adoption' coin-type continued. 'Princeps Iuventutis', with 'Caesar', now designated an Emperor's successor.

3. TIBERIUS. *Æ*. Dupondius (= 2 asses). *Obv.*, ↶ IVSTITIA. Bust r., diademed. *Rev.*, Ↄ TI⟨berius⟩ CAESAR DIVI AVG⟨usti⟩ F⟨ilius⟩ AVG⟨ustus⟩ P⟨ontifex⟩ M⟨aximus⟩ TR⟨ibunicia⟩ POT⟨estate⟩ XXIIII round S⟨enatus⟩ • C⟨onsulto⟩.

A.D. 22. Senatorial Mint of Rome, emphasized by the S • C. *Iustitia*, while perhaps alluding indirectly to Livia, may also be taken as an abstract personification of imperial desires.

4. CLAUDIUS. *Æ*. Dupondius. *Obv.*, Ω TI⟨berius⟩ CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG⟨ustus⟩ P⟨ontifex⟩ M⟨aximus⟩ TR⟨ibunicia⟩ P⟨otestate⟩ IMP⟨erator⟩. Head of Claudius l. *Rev.*, ℭ CERES ↄ AVGVSTA: in exergue, S⟨enatus⟩ C⟨onsulto⟩. Ceres seated l., holding corn-ears.

c. A.D. 41–2. The imperial portrait now usurps one side of the coins struck at the Senatorial Mint of Rome.

5. VESPASIAN. *Æ*. As. *Obv.*, Ω IMP⟨erator⟩ CAESAR VESPASIAN⟨us⟩ AVG⟨ustus⟩ COS • $\overline{III}$. Head of Vespasian r., laureate. *Rev.*, ℭ AEQVITAS ↄ AVGVSTI: in exergue, S⟨enatus⟩ C⟨onsulto⟩. Aequitas stg. l., holding scales and sceptre.

A.D. 70. Mint of Rome. Claudius' coins were inscribed 'Ceres Augusta': there is advance in Vespasian's 'Aequitas Augusti'.

6. NERO. Æ. Sestertius (= 4 asses). *Obv.*, Ꝙ NERO CLAVD⟨ius⟩ CAESAR AVG⟨ustus⟩ GERM⟨anicus⟩ P⟨ontifex⟩ M⟨aximus⟩ TR⟨ibunicia⟩ POT⟨estate⟩ IMP⟨erator⟩ P⟨ater⟩ P⟨atriae⟩. Head of Nero r., laureate. *Rev.*, Ꝙ PACE P⟨opuli⟩ R⟨omani⟩ TERRA MAR[IQue PAR]TA IANVM CLVSIT. Closed Temple of Janus, flanked by S⟨enatus⟩ C⟨onsulto⟩.

A.D. 65–8. Senatorial Mint of Rome. Struck at the conclusion of the Parthian war.

7. CIVIL WARS. Æ. Denarius. *Obv.*, Ꝙ BON⟨us⟩ • EVENT⟨us⟩. Female bust r. *Rev.*, ⌣ PACI P⟨opuli⟩ R⟨omani⟩. Hands clasped over caduceus.

A.D. 68–9. Minted in Spain. Studiously vague, the types stress the happy issue which is necessary for world peace and prosperity, i.e. the end of Nero's régime.

8. NERVA. Æ. Sestertius (= 4 asses). *Obv.*, Ꝙ IMP⟨erator⟩ NERVA CAES⟨ar⟩ AVG⟨ustus⟩ P⟨ontifex⟩ M⟨aximus⟩ TR⟨ibunicia⟩ P⟨otestate⟩ COS • II P⟨ater⟩ P⟨atriae⟩. Head of Nerva r., laureate. *Rev.*, Ꝙ FISCI IVDAICI CALVMNIA SVBLATA. Palm-tree flanked by S⟨enatus⟩ C⟨onsulto⟩.

A.D. 97. Senatorial Mint of Rome. An outspoken record of fact.

9. CUNOBELINE. *AV*. Stater. *Obv.*, CA MV⟨lodunum⟩ (= Colchester). Ear of corn. *Rev.*, CVNO⟨belinus⟩ (= Cymbeline). Horse r.

c. A.D. 20–40. Minted at Colchester. Cunobeline, absorbing Roman ideas, built up a large E. Anglian kingdom: and perhaps his aggressive nationalism prompted Claudius' invasion in A.D. 43.

MARTIAL

III. 9.

Versiculos in me narratur scribere Cinna.
non scribit cuius carmina nemo legit.

Contradictions

That fellow Singer, it is said,
Against me wrote a song.
But when a wight is never read
To say he writes is wrong. T. W. M.

MARTIAL

VII. 16.

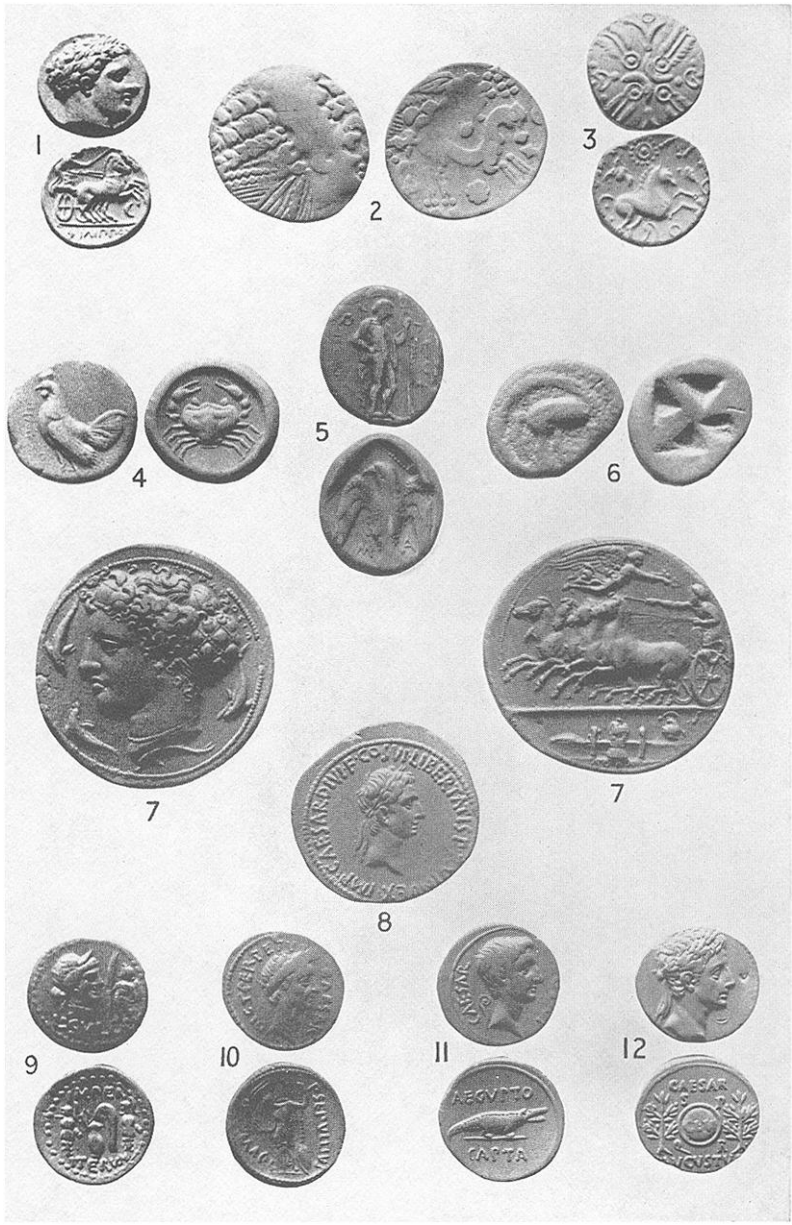
Aera domi non sunt, superest hoc, Regule, solum
ut tua vendamus munera: numquid emis?

Envoi

Thus, Prince, of all my goods bereft,
With not a farthing in my coffers,
One course alone to me is left,
To sell your presents. Any offers? T. W. M.

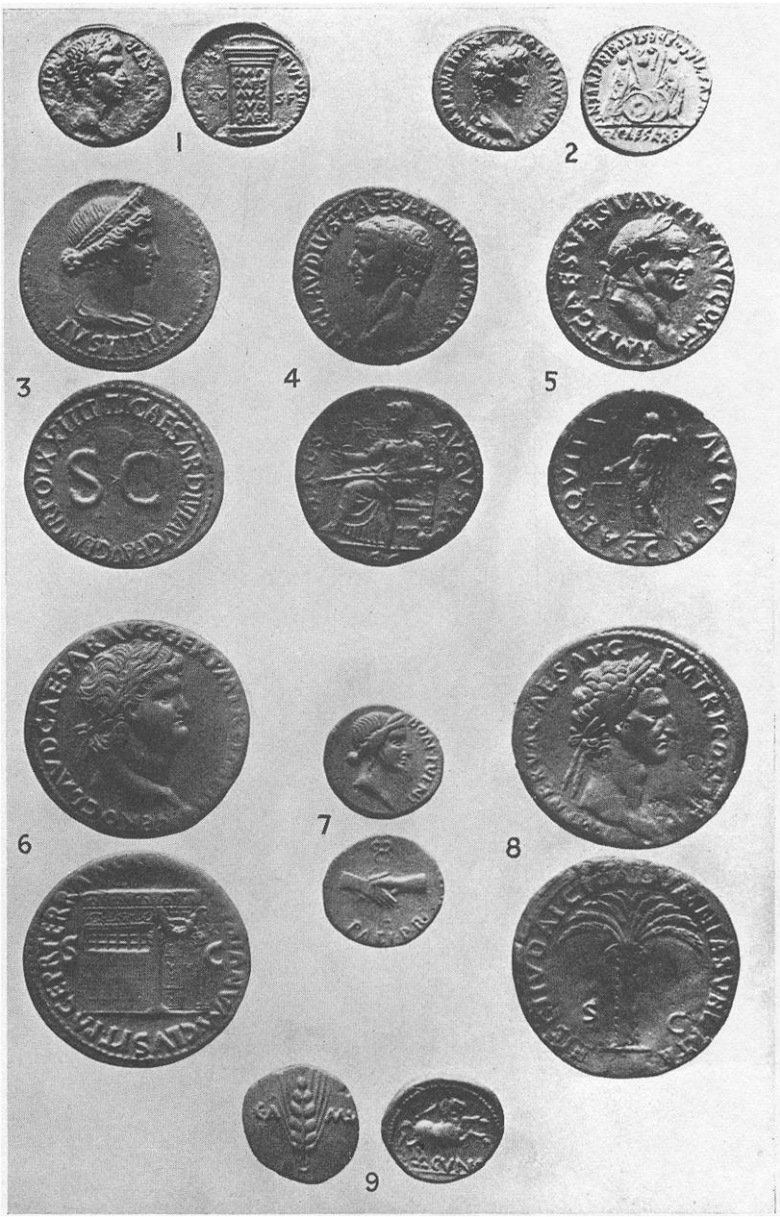
GREEK COINS

(See Key, p. 77 f.)



GREEK AND ROMAN COINS

(See Key, p. 78 f.)



ROMAN COINS

(See Key, p. 79 f.)