Between Greece and Rome. Coinage in the *Imperium* of Mark Antony

> "Who would not weep when he both hears and sees Antony himself, the man twice Consul, often *Imperator*, to whom was committed in common with me the management of the public business, who was entrusted with so many cities, so many legions—when he sees that this man has now abandoned all his ancestors' habits of life, has emulated all alien and barbaric customs, that he pays no honour to us or to the laws or to his fathers' gods, but pays homage to that woman as if she were some Isis or Selene, calling her children Helios and Selene, and finally taking for himself the title of Osiris or Dionysus, and, after all this, making presents of whole islands and parts of the continents, as though he were master of the whole earth and the whole sea?"[1]

With these words, Cassius Dio's Octavian begins to write the victor's history of Antony's fall. About Antony and 'that woman' much has been written. Perhaps unsurprisingly, it is Cleopatra who enjoys most attention. A search in the British Library catalogue suggests that a new book has been published on the Queen approximately every year for the past 20 years. Antony, by contrast, attracts less attention, and if the scope is narrowed to the field of his Eastern *Imperium*, then the studies are few and far between.

The basic outline of events is clear enough. The victory over the tyrannicides Brutus and Cassius at Philippi in 42 BC left Antony, as *Triumvir Rei Publicae Constituendae*, with *Imperium* over the East of the Roman empire. He headed for Greece, and wintered, it seems, at Athens, where he was inducted into the Eleusinian Mysteries. In 41 BC he crossed to Asia, perhaps via Bithynia and then south to Ephesus. From here he set out on a lengthy tour of his eastern territories, visiting Lycia, "Phrygia, Mysia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Coele-Syria, Palestine, Ituraea, and the other provinces of Syria." (Appian, *Bellum Civile*, 5.7). While in Cilicia his celebrated meeting with Cleopatra took place. In Judaea, he established Herod, before moving on to winter in Alexandria, where he conceived twin children (to be named Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene) with Cleopatra. Spring brought the news of a major Parthian offensive westwards, partly under the command of the renegade Labienus. However, Antony was forced to return to Italy by the war that had broken out there between his brother and Octavian. Fulvia's death at this time offered the opportunity for Antony and Octavian to patch up their relationship through the marriage of the former to Octavia. Future territorial division was established in September 40 BC by the Treaty of Brundisium. To deal with the Parthian menace, Antony now despatched his trusted commander P. Ventidius Bassus, who drove the Parthians out of Asia and Syria. In late 39 Antony crossed back to Greece, and, leaving Octavia in Athens, headed East in early 38 to resume his

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[1] Cassius Dio, 50.25.1-4 (tr. Cary, modified): τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὀδύραιτο ὁρῶν στρατιώτας Ῥωμαίους δορυφοροῦντας τὴν βασιλίδα αὐτῶν; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν στενάξειεν ἀκούων ἱππέας καὶ βουλευτὰς Ῥωμαίων κολακεύοντας αὐτὴν ὥσπερ εὐνούχους; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν θρηνήσειε καὶ ἀκούων καὶ ὁρῶν αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀντώνιον τὸν δὶς ὕπατον, τὸν πολλάκις αὐτοκράτορα, τὸν τὴν προστασίαν μετ' ἐμοῦ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιτραπέντα, τὸν τοσαύτας μὲν πόλεις τοσαῦτα δὲ στρατόπεδα ἐγχειρισθέντα, νῦν πάντα μὲν τὰ πάτρια τοῦ βίου ἤθη ἐκλελοιπότα, πάντα δὲ τἀλλότρια καὶ βαρβαρικὰ ἐζηλωκότα, καὶ ἡμῶν μὲν ἢ τῶν νόμων ἢ τῶν θεῶν τῶν προγονικῶν μηδὲν προτιμῶντα, τὴν δ' ἄνθρωπον ἐκείνην καθάπερ τινὰ Ἶσιν ἢ Σελήνην προσκυνοῦντα, καὶ τούς τε παῖδας αὐτῆς Ἥλιον καὶ Σελήνην ὀνομάζοντα, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ ἑαυτὸν Ὄσιριν καὶ Διόνυσον ἐπικεκληκότα, κἀκ τούτων, καθάπερ πάσης μὲν τῆς γῆς πάσης δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης κυριεύοντα, καὶ νήσους ὅλας καὶ τῶν ἠπείρων τινὰ κεχαρισμένον;

settlement there with a series of what would turn out to be short term appointments for various dynasts. Further negotiations in Italy kept Antony away for much of 37, but he returned to Antioch at the end of the year to make more sweeping reform of the East in preparation for the start of his own campaigns against the Parthians. There would henceforth be two systems of administration in the East. On the one hand the existing system of provinces would be retained in the key areas of Macedonia, Achaea, Asia, Bithynia and Syria. On the other, a system was set up of client kings or tyrants who were to be responsible for administering territories not directly under Roman rule. A series of these were strengthened or put in place: Polemon in Pontus, Amyntas in Galatia, Archelaos in Cappadocia and Herod in Judaea. The biggest winner, however, was Cleopatra, who was summoned to meet Antony in Antioch and received southern Syria, the tetrarchy of Chalcis, parts of Cilicia, and Cyprus. The couple also conceived their third child, Ptolemy Philadelphos.



Map 1. Antony's East

Having thus disposed the lands that would lie in his rear, Antony set off in 36 BC on his first great Parthian expedition. It was an unmitigated disaster: a combination of poor tactics and treachery led to a rout of the expeditionary force. By the time Antony had brought his army back to Syria, he had lost one third of the 60,000 legionaries he had set out with and almost half of the 10,000 cavalry. Relations were now deteriorating further with Octavian, and an insulting offer of help from him, carried by Octavia on behalf of her brother, was essentially dismissed. This was the effective end of Antony and Octavia's marriage. By 34 BC, Antony had sufficiently rebuilt his forces, and organised his diplomacy to set off East again. The result this time was the conquest of Armenia from the unreliable Artavasdes II. Antony returned in triumphant mood at the end of the year. A grand procession took place in Alexandria after which Antony,

> "having filled the gymnasium with a crowd and set up two thrones on a silver platform, one for himself and one for Cleopatra, and other lower ones for their children, in the first place declared Cleopatra queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya and Coele Syria. Co-regent with her was Caesarion, who

> was regarded as the son of the former Caesar who had left Cleopatra pregnant. Secondly, he proclaimed his sons by Cleopatra as Kings of Kings: to Alexander he assigned Armenia, Media and the lands of the Parthians (when they had been conquered); to Ptolemy, Phoenicia, Syria and Cilicia. At the same time he brought forward Alexander in Median dress, including a tiara and upright Persian head-dress and Ptolemy in boots, a cloak and a *kausia* bearing a diadem: the latter was the dress of the successor kings of Alexander, the former that of the Medes and Armenians, When the two children had embraced their parents, an Armenian guard encircled one, a Macedonian the other. Cleopatra both then and at other times when she appeared in public, took the holy dress of Isis, and was treated as the New Isis." (Plutarch, *Life of Antony*, ch. 54)

The scene, as described, has its fantastic elements, but the basic point remains that Antony himself had no place in this partition of kingdoms. He stood outside and above the new realms he had created, as Roman Triumvir. However, the territories and resources that he now controlled were a threat to Octavian, and this would lead to war between the two men, and the final campaign of Actium.

How we interpret Antony's conduct and aims through this period is problematic. Modern scholarship on the matter has been patchy. We now have an excellent prosopographical study of Antony's supporters in Ferriès 2007 and, although, numerous books treat the question of the eastern command and policy within a broader scope, I know of only three published studies specifically focused on this question. L. Craven's doctoral thesis published in 1920 examines Antony's 'oriental policy' down to his Parthian defeat in 36 BC. Her concern in part is to emphasize both how "the conduct of Antony in the Orient can be shown to correspond in a remarkable degree to the customary procedure of a Roman proconsul", while also stressing that his behaviour, even when characterized by the sources as luxurious, can be seen to foreshadow the later actions of Octavian.[2] And yet her decision to cease her inquiry with the aftermath of the Parthian disaster is motivated by the acceptance of the view espoused by Octavian quoted above: "it seems clear that he changed his aim for supreme power at Rome to the hope for a kingdom in the East with Egypt at its head."[3] A. Zwaenepoel's article of 1950 takes a longer, but necessarily more cursory view. Though alive to the dangers of the bias of the literary sources, he forms a view of three errors of Antony that essentially mirrors the narrative of downfall: the acceptance of divine honours; overweening ambition in his Parthian campaign; the marriage to Cleopatra ("le début de sa rupture avec l'Occident").[4] Although he cites the work of Ronald Syme once,[5] it seems to have made little impact. This is a pity, since Syme's pages on the question of Antony's disposition of the East in *The Roman Revolution* provide a fundamental re-evaluation of Antony's disposition of the East. Syme sets his decisions regarding Cleopatra and Egypt against the wider backdrop of client-kingship in the east, while insisting on the problems of coming to a balanced estimation of Antony's own position through the heavy fog of the biased literary accounts that survive. Of the territorial grants to Cleopatra in 37/6 he notes, "These… do not seem to have

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[2] Craven 1920, p. 22 (quotation) and p. 20 on Antony and Octavian's behaviour.

[3] Craven, *ibid.*, p. 84.

[4] Zwaenepoel 1950, pp. 7-10 (quotation from p. 10).

[5] Zwaenepoel 1950, pp. 6-7, n.10.

excited alarm or criticism at Rome." (p. 261); and of the supposed subsequent intentions of Antony to rule the world as a Hellenistic monarch, these "can hardly have been as apparent to Antonius' Republican followers (a nephew and a grandson of Cato were still with him) as they were to Octavianus' agents and to subsequent historians."[6] It is only in H. Buchheim's work that the subject has received a book-length treatment, following Syme's lead in building a strong defence of Antony against the essentially hostile literary source tradition that survives.[7] Yet despite these valiant attempts to pierce the veil and assess the real Antony, the problem caused by the literary sources remains. As Syme memorably put it,

"The version of the victors is palpably fraudulent; the truth cannot be disinterred, for it has been doubly buried, in erotic romance as well as in political mythology. Of the facts, there is and was no authentic record; even if there were, it would be necessary further to speculate upon the policy and intentions of Antonius, the domination which Cleopatra had achieved over him and the nature of her own ambitions. A fabricated concatenation of unrealized intentions may be logical, artistic and persuasive, but it is not history."[8]

In this paper, I do not therefore seek to reopen the entire question of Antony's intentions for his *Imperium*. There has been no fundamental change in the literary or epigraphic evidence for those intentions in recent years. However, there is one category of evidence that belongs to Antony's lifetime that has not been utilized as it might, and which can, perhaps, be used to investigate Antony's behaviour, his view of empire, and the empire's view of him. That evidence is, of course, his coinage.

As a category of evidence, coins of the late 1st century BC have some obvious advantages. They are, first and foremost, contemporary with the events in question, and demonstrably so. Coins are also official products of the states that issue them. As such, the designs that they bear may be taken as in some sense officially sanctioned by their issuing body, and thus indicative of an official attitude, whatever that may be, towards the subject matter of those depictions. Coins, even ancient ones, are also plentiful. They not only survive in large numbers, but they also provide us with evidence for official activity in a wide variety of ancient locales for which evidence in other media is slim or non-existent. We have, for example, from the reign of Cleopatra, coins of Berytus, Orthosia and Damascus (**Figs 54-56**), but we have no civic decrees or royal letters from or to those cities. We have coins from Tripolis, Ptolemais and Aradus minted during the period of Antony's rule (**Figs 60-62**), but no literary source describes his relationship with these places. Finally, coins of the first century BC exist within a continuum of similar evidence. Coins are known from before this period, and coins are known from after. We can observe how coinage

[6] Syme 1939, pp. 261 and 273. The nephew is Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (Ferriès 2007, 392-7, no. 61); for the grandson Syme was perhaps thinking of L. Calpurnius Bibulus, possibly the daughter of Porcia (Ferriès 2007, 352-3 no. 29).

[7] Buchheim 1960, with the review of Gray 1962.

[8] Syme 1939, p. 271.

changes during the rule of Antony from what has gone before, and how those changes affect what came after. Once more, in this context, precision of dating turns out to be a valuable attribute.

Coinage certainly does change during the period of Antony's *imperium*, and we will go on to investigate how it changed, why it changed, and to suggest how this might inform us about the broader process of transformation from the Hellenistic to the Roman world that occurred during the period of Mark Antony's control of the East. Equally, it will also be possible to identify important respects in which coinage did not change. Before we commence our analysis of change and continuity, it will be necessary briefly to establish some numismatic categories, so that the nature of those changes and continuities will be absolutely clear. There are three categories that will be of immediate concern, and we will be witnessing the birth of a fourth.

1. Civic coinage. These are coins that were issued in cities, by cities and, crucially, in the name of cities. That is to say that when they have an inscription, they generally have an ethnic indicating that they belong to a particular civic body. By the Hellenistic period, civic coinage had become potentially quite elaborate in its designs, and loquacious in its legends (see e.g. **Figs 51-68**). It had also to a large degree moved down the economic scale from silver to bronze.[9]

2. Royal coinage. These are coins produced by the royalty of the ancient world in their own names, albeit minted in cities. They often bear the portraits of the rulers in whose name they were struck. Their inscriptions, in the Hellenistic Greek world, generally give the name of the issuing ruler in the genitive. Again, there are many familiar examples (see e.g. **Figs 42-43**).

3. Roman coinage. For the most part, this is the coinage produced by the magistrates of Rome, predominantly at the mint in Rome, though occasionally in traveling mints with the army, as need arose. In the period that concerns us, the nature of this category was in transition. The coinage of the Roman Republic had for a long time been the responsibility of a specialized board of magistrates, the *tresviri monetales*, who signed these coins and seem to have been responsible for the choice of designs, which often reflected the family history or associations of the moneyers in office.[10] However, the last generation of the Republic saw the expansion of responsibility for the coinage move beyond the traditional magistracy, based at Rome, as the officers of the *imperatores* began to issue coins on behalf of their commanders. This marked a radical devolution of responsibility, and would have significant impact both on the appearance and composition of the coinage produced away from the capital. Nonetheless, the workhorse of this coinage was the silver denarius, and wherever such coins were produced they remained for the most part recognizably Roman, and went on to circulate alongside the issues of the mint of Rome. An important and distinct subcategory of Roman coinage must also be noted in this period. This is the coinage that began to be produced by Roman magistrates (provincial governors and their

[9] On the major transformation that occurred in civic coin design in the 2nd century BC see Meadows 2018.

[10] For this aspect of their design, see Meadows and Williams 2001. For a general overview see Woytek 2012.

quaestors) in the provinces in the East. The most significant of these in our enquiry is the cistophoric coinage of Asia Minor.[11]

4. Roman Provincial coinage. This is a term used by modern numismatists to describe coins produced in the Roman provinces, once Rome had conquered them. Subsumed within this coinage is the first category of civic coinage. That is to say, once an area had been organized into a province, civic coinage might well continue there, and bear the name of the issuing city, but it is now termed 'Roman provincial'. There are two main reasons for assigning this category a new title, aside from the new administrative system (the *provincia*) in which it was now being produced. First, these provincial civic coinages are made almost exclusively of bronze. Silver civic coinage disappears. Second, and quite strikingly, the overwhelming majority of these provincial civic coins replace their traditional obverse designs with a portrait of a member of the ruling imperial family. In this sense we might say that, in form at least, Roman Provincial Coinage mixes the categories of Royal and Civic coinages. The question of how this mutation came about, and who was the authority behind these issues remains a vexed one.

These, then, are the tools. How can they help us excavate the realm of Mark Antony? I will break the explanation of this down into three parts, along the lines laid out above. We will look first at Roman coinage, second at Royal coinage and finally at the transition from civic into Roman Provincial Coinage.

Roman Coinage

Antony's 'Roman' coinage would have a major impact in the East, and more broadly on the Roman coin-supply for the following century, and it is worth dwelling on its nature and significance. The denarius and aureus coinage of Antony produced in the East can be subdivided. It is unified, of course, by the appearance of Antony's name thereon, always qualified by his title *Imperato*r (*RRC* 530, 546, **Figs 9** and **21**), *Triumvir Rei Publicae Constituendae* (*RRC* 544, **Fig. 19**) or both (*RRC* 496, 516-7, 520-2, 527-8, 531, 533, 536, 539, 541-2, 545, **Figs 1-8, 10-17, 20**).[12] The only exception is furnished by the intriguing ANTONI AcMENIA \EflWTA issue (*RRC* 543, **Fig. 18**) discussed further below. This is to say that the overwhelming majority of Antony's issues situate him within the constitutional framework of his position in the East. But in addition to the category of issues that are signed by Antony alone in this capacity, there is also a subset that is further signed by one of Antony's subordinates. This begins in the coinages associated with Antony's move to Asia in 41 BC, with the issues signed by the quaestors (who are all named as such on the coinage) M. Barbatius Pollio, M. Cocceius Nerva and L. Gellius Publicola (*RRC* 517, **Fig. 3**).[13] In the following year, issues were signed by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (*RRC* 521, **Fig. 5**) who was despatched by Antony to govern the province of Bithynia, and L. Munatius Plancus

[11] See now Metcalf 2017 for the development of this phenomenon.

[12] His consulship and Augurate also appear on certain issues, but with less consistency, and never alone. On the use of the title Imperator on the coinage, which originates with Pompey, see Grant 1946, pp. 408-23 and Newman 1990, p. 58.

[13] Ferriès 2007, pp. 342-3, no. 19; pp. 374-5, no. 46; pp. 413-4, no. 76. On the date of Barbatius' issue see Newman 1990, p. 42 n.18.

(*RRC* 522, **Fig. 6**), who probably became the governor of Asia.[14] In the past, denarii have been attributed to P. Ventidius Bassus, acting with *imperium pro consule* against the Parthian incursion into Asia struck denarii (*RRC* 531, **Fig. 10**), however it now seems likely that these were struck somewhat earlier by Ventidius in Italy.[15] However, it is probable that in 39 or late in 40 BC L. Sempronius Atratinus struck an extraordinary issue of asses as a naval commander off Asia (*RRC* 530=*RPC* I 2226, **Fig. 9**), and perhaps a related smaller issue (*RPC Suppl.* I S-2226A).[16] Alongside this bronze fleet-related issue, we should perhaps also place the two bronze issues struck by G. Sosius, apparently at the Roman naval base on Zacynthus, first in 39 BC, and again between 36 and 34 (*RPC* I 1290-1, **Fig. 23**). These both featured the portrait of Antony on the obverse, in the former case with the title IMP, and have their legends in Latin.[17]

There is then a gap in subordinate issues until 33 BC when coins were signed by M. Iunius Silanus, proquaestor in Greece, probably at Athens, (*RRC* 542/1, **Fig. 17**), and the year of Actium when denarii were signed by D. Turullius, presumably striking as naval commander in the Aegean (*RRC* 545, **Fig. 20**)[18] and L. Pinarius Scarpus as governor in Cyrenaica (*RRC* 546/1-3, **Fig. 21**).[19] It is worth drawing attention to these last three issues, all produced after Antony's supposed reorganization of the East in 34 BC: Crawford notes, "Whereas the coinage of Antonius is struck in the name of his subordinates as well as his own to the very end, from 37 onwards Octavian's name alone appears on his coinage."[20] The Roman administrative hierarchy is preserved on Antony's Roman coinage until the end.

The coinage produced in Antony's name alone invites particular attention, therefore. He began to strike as triumvir immediately in 43 BC (*RRC* 492), and one issue from the following year may have been produced in Greece in the run up to Philippi (*RRC* 496, **Fig. 1**).[21] Upon taking up his eastern command in 41 BC his sole-coinage retains a strong focus on Rome and his family, celebrating the consulship in that year of his brother L. Antonius Pietas (*RRC* 516, **Fig. 2**).[22] In

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[14] Ferriès 2007, pp. 392-7, no. 61; pp. 438-45, no. 100.

[15] For the career of Ventidius see Ferriès 2007, pp. 487-91, no. 142. For an earlier date for *RRC* 531 on the basis of iconographic considerations see Biedermann and Haymann 2015.

[16] For the career of Atratinus see Ferriès 2007, pp. 464-6, no. 126. The question of the location of production of these asses has been much debated. *RPC* (*ad loc.*) favours Asia on the basis of two findspots. More recently, Amandry 2013 has suggested that Rome is more likely. Atratinus also struck coin at Sparta in his own name, perhaps during his appointment as *legatus pro praetore* in Greece (*RPC* I 1101), and was also responsible for part of the 'Fleet' coinage (*RPC* I 1453-61), *ca.* 38/7 BC, also struck perhaps at Sparta. See Amandry 2008 and further below.

[17] See the commentary in *RPC* I, p. 263. On Sosius' career, Ferriès 2007, pp. 470-2, no. 130.

[18] For Silanus see Newman 1990, p. 51 n. 30. On the 'chaotic' career of Decimus Turullius see Ferriès 2007, pp. 480-1, no. 137.

[19] Ferriès 2007, pp. 452-3, no. 113. It is conceivably to Cyrenaica and this year that belong the bizarre bronzes featuring only legends on obverse and reverse: BAGIL UyA Ny / ANT4 YPA G. Two denominations are recorded: *RPC* I 924 (**Fig. 22)** and 925.

[20] *RRC*, p. 744.

[21] See Newman 1990, p. 42 n.15.

[22] Part of the coinage of his quaestors (*RRC* 517/3-6) maintains the same focus, as well as memorialising Octavian (*RRC* 517/1-2, 7-8). For the types see *RRC*, p. 742.

40 a small issue was produced, perhaps in Syria or Egypt, where Antony spent part of this year, with types of two cornucopiae that at least partly nodded to Egypt, but with a solidly Roman caduceus in between them (*RRC* 520, **Fig. 4**).[23] The issues of 39 BC see a firm return of focus to Rome and family matters, apparently celebrating Antony's marriage to Octavia late in the previous year, bearing both a portrait of the bride on aurei (*RRC* 527, **Fig. 7**) and Antony's new brother-in-law Octavian on aurei and denarii (*RRC* 528, **Fig. 8**). Conceivably some of these issues were produced in Athens, where the newlyweds established themselves. "The year 38 was the last in which types showing real interest or inventiveness were struck for Antonius". The issues of this year (*RRC* 533) are also remarkable for their legends, with their "emphasis on the tenure of republican office": M·ANTONIfd·M·]·M·N·Af^fc·IMR·TEcT / III·flc·c·R·W·WOd·\EdI^·ITEc·ET·TEcT (*RRC* 533/2, **Fig. 11**).[24] Two types (*RRC* 533/1-2)[25] represent the full figure of Antony on the obverse, one emphasising naval power, the other his augural function. The reverses maintain the reference to Octavia (*RRC* 533/3a-b, **Figs 12-13**) alongside startling new images of a lion holding a sword and the head of Sol. The coinage of 37 BC was similarly focussed on Antony's Roman titulature, although far less interesting in design. All types bear the same image of a trophy, apparently a reference to Antony's third imperial salutation, which is explicitly referred to on one variety (*RRC* 536/1, **Fig. 14**). The martial theme is maintained in the coinage of 36 BC (*RRC* 539, **Fig. 15**), which bears the vaunting and not entirely deserved reference to Antony's military campaigns in the reverse design of an Armenian tiara. The design is left to speak for itself, however: the legends again simply parrot Antony's titles: ANTONIfd·Af^fc·WOd·\Ed·ITEc·ET·TEcT / IMR·TEcTIO·III·flc·c·R·W.

No Roman coinage can definitely be assigned to Antony for the year 35 BC, and no denarii seem to have been produced in 34 BC either.[26] What was produced in 34 is little short of astonishing. This, of course, was the year of Antony's victory in Armenia, his triumphal entry into Alexandria, and the garish ceremony of the Donations by which he distributed the East to Cleopatra and her children. Precisely no hint of any of this is to be discerned in the only candidate for Antony's coinage of this year, which consists of a small issue of aurei (*RRC* 541, **Fig. 16**), featuring the portrait of Antony himself on the obverse, and that of his son by Fulvia, M. Antonius Antyllus.[27] That Antony should return to the mode of family portraiture he had first adopted with his brother in 41 is not in itself a cause for great surprise, and might be taken as an early sign that the boy,

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[23] The Egyptian significance is dismissed in *RRC*, p. 743 n.1. On the significance of the caduceus see Callataÿ 2011, pp. 63-4

[24] *RRC*, p. 743, both quotations.

[25] For the latter see **Fig. 11**. *RRC* 533/1, who in just one example (formerly in Paris), is now lost: Formerly Paris. Obverse: M. Antonius standing r., wearing cuirass, holding spear in r. hand and sword in l. hand and placing l. foot on prow. M·ANTONIfd·M·]·M·N·Af^fc·IMR·TEc. Reverse: Lion standing l., holding sword in r. paw; above, star; III·flc·c·R·W·WOd·\EdI^·ITEc·ET·TEcT.

[26] We should note, however, the uncertainty about the date of issue of the so-called 'legionary'denarii: it remains possible that some of their massive production tool place in these earlier years. See Woytek 2007, pp. 505-6.

[27] On Antyllus see Ferriès 2007, pp. 330-1, no. 11. *Pace* Ferriès, the chronology of the aureus seems guaranteed by Antony's titulature: see *RRC*, p. 102.

now in his teens, was being groomed by Antony to take his place in affairs of state. What is remarkable is that Antony should choose to make this very pointed statement on a prestige coinage in precisely the year that the literary sources present the hostile account of the Donations of Alexandria (see further below/above). If the account of the Alexandrian ceremony is to be believed, it seems that it may have been intended for one audience. The aurei of Antyllus were surely intended for another.

The final sole coinage of Antony was that of the famous legionary denarii (*RRC* 544, **Fig. 19**), issued on the eve of the battle of Actium. These bear no portrait. Antony, their issuer is named, ANT·Af^ III·flc·c·R·W, but his image is subordinated to that of his fleet and legions. On the obverse appears a war galley, on the reverse an Aquila between two legionary standards, accompanied by the name of one of the units of the triumvir's military, in the genitive, apparently assigning these issues as in some sense belonging to their relevant military units. They are thus assigned to Antony's 23 legions and the cohorts of Praetorians and *Speculatores*, and as such are the ultimate summation of Antony's Roman military might. Their designs stress the Roman-ness of his army, at the same time as emphasizing its vast size (conjuring the notion of more than 100,000 men). They also advertise unity across his *imperium*. These coins may have been struck in Greece on the eve of the Actium campaign, but not all of Antony's legions were present with him there.[28] This coinage, then, was probably not intended to be paid directly to the legions in question. The numbers and names of the military units serve no administrative purpose within the issue of these coins; rather, they are there to provide the impression that this was a coinage for the whole of his command. By all appearances this was "a decidedly non-Hellenistic set of images":[29] a Roman coinage.

But in two crucial respects it was not. First, this coinage was enormous. Its precise size cannot be calculated with accuracy. But it is beyond doubt that this coinage was "by far the largest of the Triumviral period".[30] The impact on the money-supply seems to have been immediate, and more than a century later, legionary denarii apparently still constituted 20% of the total denarius population in circulation.[31] Second, this massive effort clearly came at some cost to Antony's treasury: these denarii are both lighter than earlier Republican and later Augustan denarii, and contain less silver.[32]

This unity of approach to coinage within his *imperium* in fact has a striking precedent in an experiment that Antony's officers had undertaken in the early 30s BC with bronze coinage.[33] The

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[28] On the problems of identifying both the date and place of production see the excellent discussion in Woytek 2007, pp. 503-18.

[29] Rowan 2019, p. 110.

[30] *RRC*, p. 671, n.13.

[31] For the early impact in Thrace see Paunov and Prokopov 2013; for the later dominance, Woytek 2007, p. 512.

[32] See Butcher and Ponting 2014, pp. 161-4. Legionary denarii were about 2 centigrams lighter than Roman denarii, and those analyzed have an average silver content of 83% compared to 99% for Augustan issues.

[33] *RPC* I 1453-70, 4088-93. For discussion see Amandry 1986, 1987, 1990 and 2008.

so-called 'fleet coinage' of Antony is interesting in a number of respects. It consists of a series of 6 denominations. Each is clearly marked, with a Greek or Roman letter to indicate its denomination. The denomination is further reinforced by the choice of types. And the denominational system is Roman in nature, consisting of a sestertius, tressis, dupondius, as, semis and quadrans (**Figs 25-30**). It was issued in three different locations, two probably in Greece and one perhaps in Syria, by three different lieutenants, L. Sempronius Atratinus, M. Oppius Capito and Lucius Calpurnius Bibulus.[34] As has been stressed in the past, this attempt to standardize a Roman bronze denominational system in the east was years ahead of its time in this part of the world, but it also foreshadowed the reform of the bronze in the west for which Augustus is generally given the credit.[35]

While Antony's approach to his denarius coinage marked a Roman import to the East, within the province of Asia, he adapted the existing tradition of cistophoric coinage to his needs. Here, the *cistophori*, originally a royal coinage of the Pergamene kings, had become the silver coinage of the Roman administration in Asia, and for these purposes was apparently tariffed at 3 denarii.[36] Antony's *cistophori*, struck in 39 BC, were thus conservative in their choice of denomination, but radical in design. On the obverse, for the first time, is found a portrait – of Antony, wearing an ivy wreath; but not only that, Antony's wife Octavia, the sister of Octavian whom Antony had married in 40 BC, is also depicted. On one issue (*RPC* I 2201, **Fig. 31**) the two appear on either side of the coin, on the other (*RPC* I 2202, **Fig. 32**) they appear jugate, with Dionysus on the reverse. This adoption of portraiture —an entirely new feature for the Roman coinage of *provincia Asia*— obviously set a precedent for the cistophoric coinage going forward. The Dionysiac appearance of these coins (in some sense predetermined by the designs of the Attalid *cistophorus*), are tempered by the resolutely Roman legend, which appears on both issues: M·ANTONIfd·IMR·WOd·\EdI^·ITEc·ET·TEcT / III·flc·c·R·W.

In Syria too Antony initially continued the production of what had become the silver coinage of the provincial government. In contrast to Asia, however, he also maintained its appearance: the posthumous coinage of the Seleucid king Philip I. Under Antony, posthumous Philips were produced in 42/1, 41/0, 40/39 and 38/7 (*RPC* I 4131-4). As yet the year 39/8 is unattested. This came to an end in 38/7 BC and did not recommence until 31/30 BC.[37]

Antony's approach to the production of precious metal coinage in the East was at the same time innovative and conservative. The denarius coinage was, but its very nature, a new initiative in the East. Production commences no earlier than 49 BC, when a small issue of denarii may have

[34] For the careers of these three men see Ferriès 2007, pp. 464-6, no. 126; p. 449, no. 107; and pp. 352-3, no. 29.

[35] See the comments of Amandry 1986, pp. 73-5 and 1990, pp. 83-5 and in *RPC* I, pp. 33 and 284-5; *cf.* Burnett 1987, p. 53 and Rowan 2019, pp. 86-8.

[36] For the history and nature of the Pergamene coinage see Meadows 2013. For subsequent developments see Metcalf 2017 and *RPC* I, pp. 376-7. This adaptation of a local coinage for Roman use appears to be part of a wider pattern. See Callataÿ 2011 for further examples.

[37] For an overview see McAlee 2007, pp. 61-8, nos 8-11.

been produced at Ephesus by the consul L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus.[38] It now seems clear too that Caesar had produced coinage in Asia Minor following the victory at Pharsalus.[39] Denarii and aurei would be struck there by Cassius and Brutus (see *RRC* 498-508), who had little choice. But these had all been exceptional issues; otherwise, no Roman commander in the east had issued a denarius or aureus coinage there. The innovation that began sporadically in the 40s was fully established by Antony in the following decade. But while this was essentially an innovative policy, the appearance of this coinage was firmly rooted in Roman traditions of coin-design, and emphasised Antony's position as a Roman magistrate. No concessions were made in titulature or, with the exception of the *cistophori*, to eastern traditions of coin design. For the most part these issues look thoroughly Roman, and emphasise not only Antony's position as Imperator and Triumvir for the Protection of the Republic, but also his position within Roman religious life, as Augur and priest.[40]

There are two high-profile exceptions to this picture in silver coinage that must now be considered, along with their relationship to a third, bronze issue. The first of these is the remarkable 'denarius' that features the portraits of Antony and Cleopatra (*RRC* 543, **Fig. 18**). It is curious in a number of respects. First, we note that the legends are not wholly in the nominative, as is usual on Roman denarii, and on all other denarii of Antony. On the Antony side of the coin, the precise meaning of the legend is in fact unclear. ANTONI could be a contraction of the nominative, dative, genitive. We might translate this side of the coin as reading 'Antony/For Antony/Of Antony, on the occasion of the conquest of Armenia'. The other side is a little clearer, and clearly not in the nominative. It could read 'For' or 'Of Cleopatra, queen of kings, the sons of kings'.[41] Second, we note that, quite uncharacteristically, Antony has been shorn of any Roman titulature. Rather, an apparent 'cause' has been introduced in a manner quite unique on Antony's coinage, and indeed on Roman coinage in general. Third, the appearance of the portrait of Cleopatra in her guise as a Greek queen, not Antony's 'wife', must also raise eyebrows. With these oddities we may combine a fourth, the observation by Williams, that Cleopatra appears to be on the obverse of these coins, not the reverse.[42] All of these abnormalities must lead us seriously to question whether this was an issue of Antony at all. The shift in the case of the legend forces us to consider the possibility that this is to be regarded as a coin *of* Cleopatra, not just one that depicts her, and that its stated purpose was to honour Antony.[43] Consideration of the next two coinages may support this.

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[38] *RRC* 445/3. For discussion see Woytek 2016.

[39] *RRC* 458 and *RRC* 456, the well-known Venus / Aeneas and Anchises issues. For the relative chronology and location of production see Woytek 2003, pp. 218-226. The eastern origin of the latter issue is accepted by Crawford 2012, p. 341.

[40] On the background to Antony's enhanced use of Augural references see Neman 1990, p. 55.

[41] See the discussion of this by Williams 2003, pp. 90 and 93. The obverse legend may be abbreviated leaving the case entirely open. The reverse if, dative, would be the earliest known example of this case on Roman coinage, perhaps making the Hellenistic genitive more likely.

[42] Williams 2003, p. 88 with n.9.

[43] One should note in this context also the rare silver denarii(?) struck by the city of Antioch (*RPC* I 4135) with the portrait of Antony, but the reverse legend ANTIOXEVN MHTROxOLEVS.

The second anomalous case is provided by the famous silver 'tetradrachms' sometimes attributed to the mint of Antioch (*RPC* I 4094-6, **Fig. 32**).[44] These are one of the true mysteries of ancient coinage. On one side they feature the head of Cleopatra with the legend, BAGILIGGA KLyOPATRA zyA Ny4TyRA. The portrait is of the same style as that on the denarius we have just been considering.[45] The other side features a portrait of Antony. The legend reads ANT4NIOG AfTOKRAT4R TRITON TRI4N ANDR4N, a translation into Greek of the legend that appears on some of his denarii: IMR TEcTIO III flc. The legends are now in the nominative, and it appears that the issue was produced with the intention that it circulate as a 4 denarius piece.[46] Once again, however, it appears that Cleopatra is on the obverse, which strongly suggests that this is to be regarded not as an issue sanctioned by Antony, but that it is rather a coin of Cleopatra.[47] That being the case, the attribution to Antioch must remain questionable.

The suggestion of Cleopatra's agency is further supported by the substantial bronze coinage issued by Cleopatra in her role as Tetrarch of Chalcis. As Howgego has pointed out, the peculiar titulature of the silver coinage (BAGILIGGHG KLyOPATRAG / UyAG Ny4TyRAG) is reproduced exactly on these issues, though split across the two faces of the coin (*RPC* I 4771-3, **Figs 33-35**).[48] The bust of Cleopatra is again of the same style as on the two silver issues. One of the denominations produced at Chalcis bears a portrait of Antony, but this goes unnoticed in the coin legend, and the design seems, as also at Balanea, to be serving in part as a denominational marker. In this case, at least, the role of Cleopatra in the production of these coins is clear: "ici en effet Cleopatre ne se contente pas d'une souveraineté mitigée comme dans les villes de la côte, elle est vraiment reine, et frappe en son propre nom, suivant l'usage royal, sans mention de lieu."[49] For within the tetrarchy of Chalcis Cleopatra ruled in her own right, following the

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[44] For metal analysis suggesting production at a northern rather than more southerly mints, see Olivier and Parisot-Sillon 2013. While it is certainly true that the analyses show the metal of the tetradrachms to be similar to that used at the mint of Antioch, this does not prove identity of mint. The other argument that has been used to attribute these coins to Antioch, the gap in production of posthumous Philips between, could equally be applied to a number of other silver mints in the Levant that experience disruption in production in the 30s BC. See further below.

[45] The so-called Syrian-Roman type, in contrast to that used on the Alexandrian coinage. See the discussion in Baldus 1973.

[46] The target weight of the coinage seems to have been in the range 15.10-20g (Olivier and Parisot-Sillon 2013, p. 257), suggesting a denarius of *ca.* 3.77-3.78g, exactly as we should expect for this period: see Meadows, forthcoming.

[47] For the identity of obverse and reverse see *RPC* I *ad* 4094; *cf.* Williams (last note) and Olivier and Parisot-Sillon 2013.

[48] Howgego 1993, p. 203, rightly pointing out the that the suggestion of Buttrey 1954, that the words KLyOPATRA UyA Ny4TyRA should be read as Cleopatra Thea II, cannot be correct. Conceivably the title at Chalcis was related to her divinely appointed status as ruler there. For signs of this on earlier tetrarchic coinage see Schwentzel 2009, p. 66. For a die-study of the issues of Chalcis see now Olivier and Aumaître 2017: 17 obverse dies are recorded from 168 specimens.

[49] Seyrig 1950, p. 46.

donation of the region to her by Antony in 37/6 BC.[50]

It may be going too far to suggest that all three of these anomalous coinages are the product of the same mint on the same occasion.[51] Numerous similarities suggest that we should consider them together as a category not of Roman or civic coinage, however. Conceivably, these were coins produced by Cleopatra within her own territories in contribution to Antony's war-effort in the years between 36 and 32 BC.

So the picture that emerges from Antony's Roman coinage is just that: it is Roman in nature, Roman in appearance, and shows concern for Roman political and religious structures. It also, at times, seeks to create either through appearance or denominational structure a unified monetary system for the *imperium* as a whole. Exceptions to this pattern, especially when they stretch the canons of style to the limit, should perhaps be recategorized. These are important points to bear in mind when we attempt to locate Antony's position within his eastern milieu.

Royal Coinage

As will now be clear Antony himself never took the title of *basileus*, nor did any of the coinage he issued ever give his name in the genitive in the manner of Hellenistic royal coinage. These are negative points, but they are important ones. Antony was surrounded by royalty, married into a royal family and sired royal children. But his own position was never articulated numismatically in royal terms. We can reinforce the perception of Antony's separation from this status by briefly surveying some of the royal coinages that were produced within his *imperium*.

Amyntas of Galatia

Amyntas son of Duitalos was not of royal stock, but rather an administrator, seemingly of local Galatian origins, who had impressed Antony.[52] He was given, probably in 37, but certainly by 36 BC, a kingdom consisting of the central Anatolian area of Galatia, as well as parts of Lycaonia and Pamphylia to the south. The silver coinage that was struck in his name was (self-consciously?) old-fashioned in conception, imitating in designs the coinage produced by Antiochus III in the late 3rd and early second century BC at the city of Side in Pamphylia (*RPC* I 3501, **Fig. 36**).[53] Where the earlier coinage had borne no legend, on the issues of Amyntas appeared the name of the king with his royal title: BASILEVS AMYNTOY. Amyntas' coins were also appreciably

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[50] Having murdered the previous tetrarch Lysanias at Cleopatra's behest, according to Josephus, *Ἰουδαϊκὴ ἀρχαιολογία*, 15.92. See Buchheim 1960, pp. 73-4 for a more sober appraisal of the circumstances.

[51] *RPC* I, p. 602, notes that the denarii and tetradrachms have different die-orientations. The differening language of legends, and quality of engraving also suggests different facilities at work. Moroever, the limited data available for the metallurgy of the tetradrachms and denarii suggest that the metal stock from which they were produced was not identical: Olivier and Parisot-Sillon 2013, p. 263

[52] On Amyntas' origins and rise to power see Mitchell 1994, pp. 101-5 and id. (1993) I., pp. 37-41; on Antony's policy in Galatia, Buchheim (1960), pp. 56-9.

[53] For the silver coinage of Amyntas (*RPC* I 3501) and the problems of its location of production see Atlan 1975 and Meadows 2006.

lighter than the earlier coins they imitated, and are perhaps to be regarded as 4-denarius coins.[54] In this respect the coinage produced by the king fits a pattern observable in other imitation coins of the first century BC, which appear to attest to the influence of the denarius and its deplacement of the Attic weigh standard.[55] Amyntas also produced a bronze coinage with types drawn from the standard repertoire of Greek coinage: Herakles and a lion; Artemis and a Stag; Hermes and caduceus (**Figs 37-39**). As on the silver, the legend reads BASILEVS AMYNTOY (of king Amyntas) in full (*RPC* I 3502-4), or in monogrammatic form (*RPC* I 3505-7).[56]

Polemon of Pontus

Polemon too was raised to royal status by Antony. His father had been a leading citizen of Laodiceia on the Lycus. Polemon had proved himself a loyal companion in the 30s and was rewarded first, in 39 BC, with a fiefdom in Cilicia, and a year later with the kingdom of Pontos. His coinage, consisting solely of silver drachms (*RPC* I 3801-2, **Fig. 40**), does not certainly belong to the period of Antony's rule in the East.[57]

Tarkondimotos of Cilicia

Very little can be said of certain of Tarkondimotos. He was the ruler of an inland principality in 51 BC when Cicero encountered him. But by the 30s BC he was signing bronze coins with his own, diademed portrait on the obverse, and the title BASILEVS TARKONDIMOTOY FILANTVNIOY on the reverse (*RPC* I 3871, **Fig. 41**). This acknowledgement of Antony is unique, and no doubt to be interpreted within the context of personal rivalry among the dynasts who found themselves elevated by Antony in these years.[58]

Archelaos of Cappadocia

When the last of the ruling dynasty of the kingdom of Cappadocia died in 36 BC, Antony established an outsider on the throne there too. Archelaos, son of a priest-king of Comana, was chosen. The companion of several influential Romans (as was his mother Glaphyra, who apparently shared Antony's bed for a while), Archelaos went on to marry Antony's daughter Antonia after the death of her first husband, Polemon of Pontus.[59] Archelaos' coinage, like his succession, broke the thread of continuity within Cappadocia.[60] While the placement of his portrait on the obverse was traditional, in contrast to the previous two Cappadocian kings he is shown beardless. (**Fig. 42**) On the reverse he replaced the figure of Athena, the standard reverse

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[54] Their target weight was perhaps 15.90-16.00g. See Meadows, forthcoming.

[55] For an overview, see Meadows, forthcoming.

[56] See *RPC* I, pp. 536-7 *ad* nos 3502-7.

[57] See *RPC* I, p. 567. The coins are extremely rare. Those listed in *RPC* range from 3.17-3.90g, suggesting that they may have been intended as denarii.

[58] For the history of Tarkondimotos see Syme (1995), pp. 161-5. On the significance of the name, Suspène (2009), p. 47.

[59] For the background to Archelaos and his relationship with Antony see Syme 1995, pp.144-152.

[60] Simonetta 1977, pp. 45-6, nos 1-8. Simonetta 2007, pp. 106-8. *RPC* I, p. 551 *ad* nos 3601-8. Archelaos' coinage too seems to have been struck on the denarius standard.

type of the Cappadocian kings, with a club, probably adverting to his claimed ancestry from Heracles. The legend too is a departure: BASILEVS ARXELAOY FILOPATRIDOS TOY KTISTOY (Of King Archelaos, lover of his country, the founder).

Artavasdes II of Armenia

Antony had an uneasy relationship with Artavasdes II of Armenia. During his Parthian campaign of 36 BC, the Triumvir had received military and logistical support from the Armenian, but this came to an abrupt halt after the disastrous end of the expedition. In 34 BC Antony set out to put Artavasdes in his place by launching an attack directly on the Armenian capital of Artaxata. Artavasdes was deposed and in the Donations of Alexandria in the autumn of that year, the kingdom of Armenia was included in the territory granted to Antony and Cleopatra's son, Alexander Helios. Artavasdes' coinage gives him the title 'King of Kings', akin to that assumed by the Parthian kings, and also accorded, *mutatis mutandis*, to Cleopatra. T he silver tetradrachms (**Fig. 43**) also identify him as godlike (UEIOf).[61]

Herod the Great of Judea

The internal politics of the Judaean state had been confused in 40 BC by the Parthian invasion and temporary occupation of the land.[62] The Parthians deposed the Hasmonaean king Hyrcanus II and replaced him with his nephew Antigonus. Herod, one of Hyrcanus' chief administrators fled via Egypt to Rome to claim the Judaean throne. In 37 BC Herod was established as king in Jerusalem with the military help of Antony's officer Gaius Sosius. Alone of the new client kingdoms in the east, Herod's Judaea was not made over to any of Antony and Cleopatra's children in 34 BC. Herod issued no silver in his own name, only bronze coins with the Greek legend BQSILEVS HRVDOY 'of king Herod' (**Fig. 44**).[63]

Malichus I of Nabataea

Unlike almost every other Hellenistic dynasty that came into contact with Antony, the Nabataean kings were allowed to continue in power.[64] That Antony regarded himself as overlord of the Nabataean kingdom is clear, however, from his appropriation of Nabataean land in order to bestow it upon Cleopatra. The hostility that arose between the Nabataean king Malichus and Cleopatra as a result would culminate in his burning of her fleet when she sought to flee eastwards from the Red Sea after the defeat at Actium. The design of Malichus' silver coinage with its eagle on the reverse reminiscent of Ptolemaic silver issues, betrays how closely linked, in economic terms at least, the Nabataean kingdom remained with Cleopatra's Egypt. The obverse depicts a portrait of Malichus. This issue (**Fig. 45**), which carries the regnal date of year 26 (*ca.* 35 BC),

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[61] Bedoukian 1978, nos 129-35; Nercessian 2006, pp. 108-11 with the review by Hoover 2008.

[62] For an overview of sources and events see Schürer *et al.* 1973, I, pp. 281-304. On Antony's policy *cf.* Buchheim 1960, pp. 60-68.

[63] For a basic account see Meshorer 2001, pp. 61-78, esp. 72-8 for the possibility that the later production of silver Tyrian shekels is to be attributed to Herod. For more recent bibliography, Meshorer *et al.* 2013, I, p. 238.

[64] For an overview of Malichus' career and position under Antony, see Bowersock 1994, pp. 37-44. For his coinage see Meshorer 1975, pp. 20-8; Meshorer *et al.* 2013, pp. 223-5.

belongs to the period of his war with Herod the Great of Judaea.

Cleopatra VII of Egypt

And finally there is the Ptolemaic dynasty of Egypt. At the mint of Alexandria, Cleopatra followed the example of the entire Ptolemaic house by producing a silver coinage featuring the portrait of the founder of the dynasty, Ptolemy I, and on the reverse the Ptolemaic badge of an eagle on thunderbolt (**Fig. 46**).[65] The inscription reads PTOLEMAIOY BA{ILEVS 'of king Ptolemy', and thus falls in line with the coinage of most of her predecessors: no queen had ever issued silver coinage solely in her own name, an, at least for the main tetradrachm coinage, Cleopatra was no exception. Coins are known for almost all of her 22 regnal years. In addition it appears that, in two years at least, coinage was also struck with regnal years of Caesarion (Year 16 and 1 and 22 and 7; **Fig. 47**),[66] drawing attention to the fact that 37/6 to 31/0 BC, it was her son by Caesar who was acknowledged as her co-regent, not Antony. An exception is provided by the very rare drachm issues produced at the Alexandrian mint, which did feature the portrait of the queen, and were struck in her name: KLEOPATRAS BASILISSHS (**Fig. 48**).[67]

By contrast, the designs of the royal bronze coinage of Alexandria had been far more fluid throughout Ptolemaic history, and here Cleopatra felt freer to innovate. At some point in her reign (the chronology remains unclear) the mint abandoned the designs that had been current for a century or more, featuring a head of Ammon on the obverse and two eagles on a thunderbolt on the reverse, and introduced a startling new design. On the obverse is the queen's portrait, diademed; on the reverse a single eagle on thunderbolt, the queen's own name, in the genitive, and a denominational mark (**Fig. 49**).[68] On Cyprus, which had been restored to Cleopatra by Julius Caesar, a bronze coinage was issued depicting not just the queen, but also her young son by Caesar, Caesarion (Svoronos 1904-1908, no. 1874, **Fig. 50**). On the reverse is a double cornucopiae that recalls the coinage of a number of her predecessors.

There were thus a series of 'client kings and queens' ruling under Antony, who continued to produce royal coinage, the use of which was essentially confined to their own realms. These coinages serve to illustrate the laissez-faire attitude of the Roman administration under Antony towards local monetary policy. This was a policy that dated back to beginning of the Roman conquest of the Greek world in the second century BC and would continue in those kingdoms that still existed under Augustus. At the same time changes in the designs of some of these coinages, as we have seen, also serve to reinforce the picture that emerges from the literary

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[65] The silver coinage was disentangled by Mørkholm 1975. For the Alexandrian bronze see Picard *et al.* 2012; for the Cypriot see still Svoronos 1904-1908, nos 1874-7.

[66] Mørkholm 1975, pp. 18-19.

[67] Svoronos 1904-1908, no. 1853. See *BMC Ptolemies*, Cleopatra VII, 1. They were issued on two occasions, in the 6th and 11th years of her rule (47/6 and 42/1 BC). In this exceptional production she was, in fact, following in the footsteps of her father who had also issued drachms with his own portrait: see, e.g. *BMC Ptolemies*, Ptolemy XIII, 34 (misdescribed) and, more recently Gorny and Mosch, Auction 232 (5 October 2015), lot 316.

[68] Picard *et al.* 2012, pp. 104-6, series 10.

sources: Antony rearranged many of the kingdoms within his *imperium*, and in a number of cases brought to an end dynasties that did not meet expectations, in favour of new men who did.

Civic and Roman Provincial Coinage

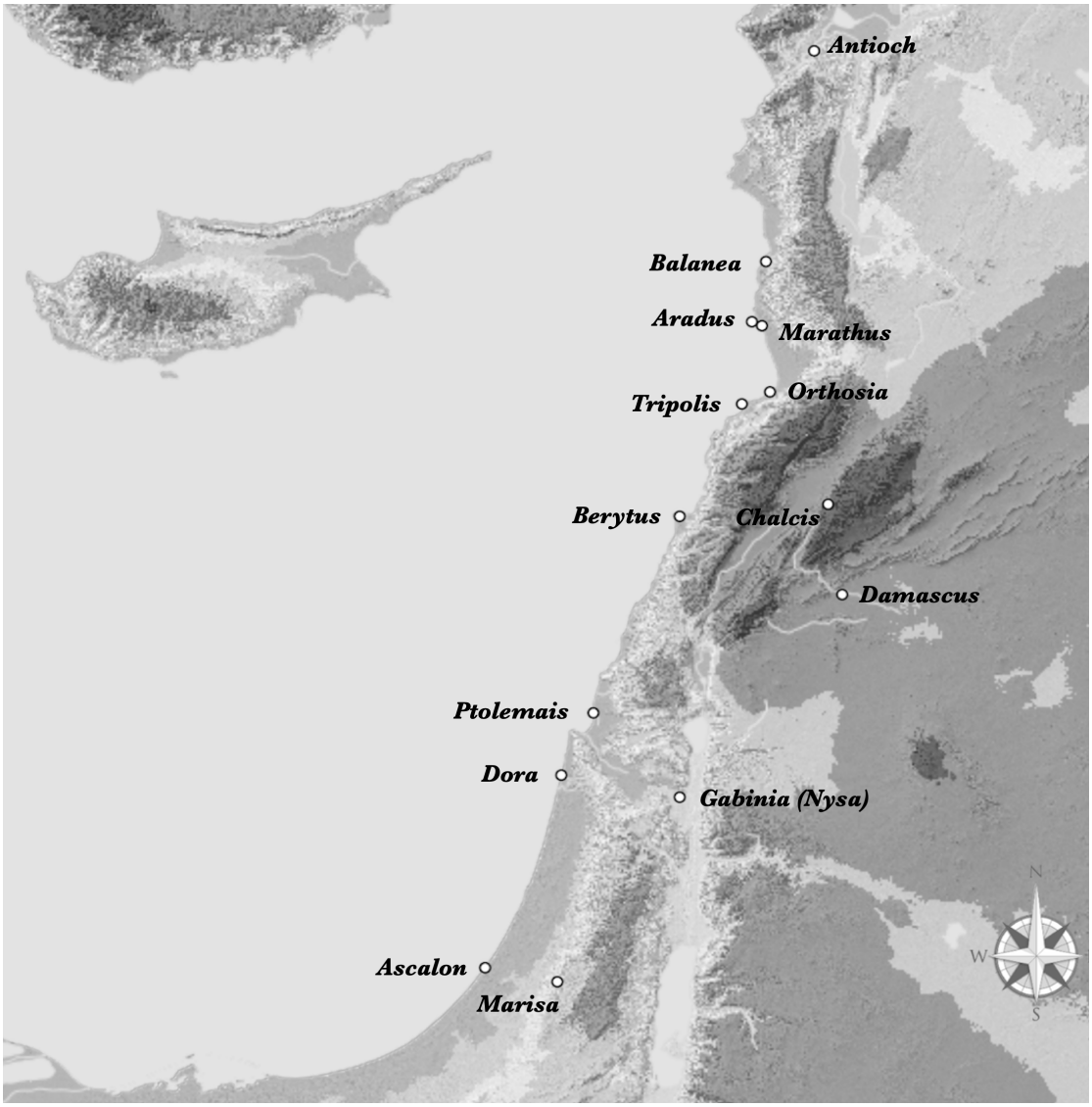
We should begin by noting the clear reduction of production of silver coinages within 'civic' mints.[69] We have already seen that production of the posthumous Philip coinage stopped at Antioch in 38/7 BC. The silver mint of Laodicea-ad-Mare also came to an end in 40/39. That of Aradus, already sporadic, ended in 44/3 BC, long before the city was finally taken by Antony.[70] Particularly striking is the demise of the silver coinage of Ascalon, which was produced in various years from 99/8 BC, but came to a close in 39/8 BC. In the years since 50/49 BC the mint had adopted the portrait of Cleopatra on the obverse, and we must wonder what the significance of this coinage and its end was.[71] The only exceptions to this downturn are the Phoenician mints of Tyre and Sidon. At both cities production continued throughout the period 42-31 BC, but even here there were interruptions. At Tyre, no coinage is currently attested for the years 37/6 and 36/5 BC; at Sidon, no silver is attested in years 42/1, 39/8, 36/5 and 35/4 BC. In the absence of published die-studies it is impossible to say just how large the issues produced were. [72]

[69] For a summary of this see now Olivier and Aumaître 2017, pp. 108-9.

[70] Morkholm (1983), p. 102 and Duyrat (2005), pp. 283-5.

[71] For an overview see Gitler and Master (2010). Down to 55 BC the mint struck in 19 years with 36 obverse dies (88 specimens). After the adoption of Cleopatra's portrait three years are recorded, with 5 dies (8 specimens).

[72] *RPC* I 4624-31 (Tyre) and 4550-4 (Sidon). For what can be said on the basis of die-counts see Olivier and Aumaître (2017), p. 108, n. 33.



Map 2. Mints in the Levant

Last, but by no means least, we must look at the bronze coinage of the cities under Mark Antony's control, because here there have been major misunderstandings about the nature of the coinage concerned, the role of Mark Antony, and especially the position of Cleopatra and her influence over Antony. To understand what has happened, it will be helpful to begin by focussing on a series of coins that feature the portrait of Cleopatra, and which are generally described as 'coins of Cleopatra', as if they were royal issues.[73]

As we shall see, they are not. The coins in question are all bronze, and all issued in the names of cities (**Figs 51-59**). In order of production they are:

Damascus (*RPC* I 4781). 37/6 BC (**Fig. 51**)
Orthosia (*RPC* I 4501). 36/5 BC (**Fig. 52**)
Tripolis (*RPC* I 4510). 36/5 BC (**Fig. 53**)
Berytus (*RPC* I 4529). 36/5 BC (**Fig. 54**)

[73] Those known to Svoronos are incorporated as his nos 1878-96 and 1905.

Orthosia (*RPC* I 4502). 35/4 BC (**Fig. 55**)
Damascus (*RPC* I 4783). 33/2 BC (**Fig. 56**)
Damascus (*RPC* I 4783A). 33/2 BC (**Fig. 57**)
Berytus (*RPC* I 4530). 32/1 BC (**Fig. 58**)
Patras (*RPC* I 1245). 32/1 BC (**Fig. 59**)

All of these coins have the portrait of Cleopatra on the obverse, but their inscriptions identify them very clearly as coins of cities. In this respect, we might note the clear contrast with the coins issues by Cleopatra as Tetrarch of Chalcis, on which clear agency is expressed (above, **Figs 33-35**). What is Cleopatra's portrait doing on these civic coins? As I have already, noted, the tendency in the past, and indeed in the most treatments of the subject has been to treat these as coins of Cleopatra, that is to say to regard her as the issuer of these coins, and thus, presumably the chooser of the obverse design. Svoronos, for example, in his great corpus of Ptolemaic coinage, includes them among the coins of Cleopatra as «τὰ κοπέντα ἐν Ἀσίᾳ». As one commentator has recently put it, "Much of Cleopatra's coinage reflects her territorial ambition, especially in the early 30s BC. Berytus, Damascus, Orthosia and Tripolis, all Phoenician cities she acquired at that time, began to issue coinage with her portrait".[74] But this is not what the coins are telling us with their legends: they are claiming to be civic issues.

As we noted above, two of the great advantages of coinage as a form of evidence are that coins are dateable, and that they can easily be compared with what precedes and follows. We may thus take a closer look at the context of these Cleopatra coins. The first point that we note is that none of these coinages was large. The die-studies carried by Olivier and Aumaître reveal no more than 3 obverse dies per issue, in contrast to the much larger royal coinage of Cleopatra at Chalcis.[75] The dates that the cities placed on their issues at this period allow a fairly precise reconstruction of their production. As we have seen, these 'Cleopatra' coins were struck between 37/6 and 32/1 BC. We can add the other half of the picture by looking at the issues from the same region that feature the portrait of Antony. Here, again, there has been a tendency to see these issues as an expression of a form of royal authority: "Throughout the triumvirate, Antony is primarily a Roman magistrate, though one of the Caesarian rather than the Republican model. The Phoenician municipal coinages illustrate the change in the secondary aspects of his rule which took place in 37, when his Seleucid claims became merged in the project of world empire, built on the ruins of Hellenistic monarchies…."[76] Closer examination of the evidence suggests that something else is going on. The issues in question are:

Tripolis (*RPC* I 4509). 42/1 BC (**Fig. 60**)
Ptolemais (*RPC* I 4740). 39/8 BC (**Fig. 61**)
Aradus (*RPC* I 4466). 38/7 BC (**Fig. 62**)

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[74] Roller 2010, pp. 182. Note also the circular debate that has taken place regarding the issues struck at Damascus and Cleopatra's relationship with the city, described by Rowan 2019, pp. 107-8.

[75] Olivier and Aumaître 2017, pp. 112-9. For Chalcis see above n. 48.

[76] Grant 1946, p. 370.

Balanea (*RPC* I 4456). 37/6 BC? (**Fig. 63**)
Marathus (*RPC* I 4494). 37/6 BC (**Fig. 64**)
Aradus (*RPC* I 4467).[77] 36/5-35/4 BC (not illustrated)
Aradus (*RPC* I 4468).[78] 36/5-35/4 BC (not illustrated)
Ptolemais (*RPC* I 4741). 35/4 BC (**Fig. 65**)
Ptolemais (*RPC* I 4742). 35/4 BC (**Fig. 66**)
Dora (*RPC* I 4752). 34/3 BC (**Fig. 67**)

We may summarise the overall picture in Table 1. The first two columns show coins that bear the portrait of Mark Antony and Cleopatra. In the third column, are the two instances where Antony and Cleopatra appear together.[79]

Date	*Antony*	*Cleopatra*	*Antony & Cleopatra*
42/1	Tripolis (*RPC* 4509)		
41/0			
40/39			
39/8	Ptolemais (*RPC* 4740)		
38/7	Aradus (*RPC* 4466)		
37/6	Balanea (*RPC* 4456)?	Damascus (*RPC* 4781)	
	Marathus (*RPC* 4494)		
36/5	Aradus (*RPC* 4467)	Orthosia (*RPC* 4501)	
		Tripolis (*RPC* 4510)	
		Berytus (*RPC* 4529)	
35/4	Aradus (*RPC* 4468)	Orthosia (*RPC* 4502)	Ptolemais (*RPC* 4741-2)
34/3			Dora (*RPC* 4752)
33/2		Damascus (*RPC* 4783)	
32/1		Berytus (*RPC* 4530)	
Undated	Antioch (*RPC* 4135)	Patras (*RPC* 1245)	

Table 1. Civic coins with portraits of Antony and Cleopatra, 42/1-32/1 BC

Lest the table present a false impression, it should be stressed that one could extend the columns backwards to the birth of coinage and see nothing but a blank grid. The portrait of no Roman imperator had appeared on a civic bronze coinage prior to the period of the second triumvirate.[80] There are no Caesars and no Pompeys prior to this. For that matter, for the most part, there are

[77] Obverse: Head of Antony r., Reverse: Bull galloping l.; GKD (above), MH (below).

[78] Obverse: Head of Antony r. Reverse: Urn between two palm branches and two sphinxes; GKE (in field). A coin of this type is recorded by Rouvier, but has not subsequently been seen. See *RPC ad loc*.

[79] The example attributed by Grant 1946, p. 369 to Aradus is not admitted by *RPC*, and seems doubtful, though is accepted by Sartre 2001, p. 465.

[80] The curious exception, if correctly identified, is the portrait of Gabinius that appears on the coinage of Nysa from *ca.* 57/6-46/5 BC: Barkay 2003, Groups A-D, nos 1-6 (*cf. RPC* I 4826, 4825, 4825A, 4827, 4828A, 4828). In a sense, however, this is the exception that proves the rule, since Nysa was apparently refounded as Gabinia-in-Nysa by Gabinius, and his portrait thus appears as founder. Marisa too seems to have been refounded as a Gabinia; the coins there seem not to bear his portrait, however. See Qedar 1992/3, types A-D; against the identification of the 'portrait' with Gabinius, see Barkay, *op. cit*. p. 41, n. 16.

no Ptolemaic portraits on civic coins in this part of the world.[81] The appearance of portraits in this sudden burst is an entirely new phenomenon.

Our question is no longer just about Cleopatra, therefore, it is also about Antony. What is his portrait doing on these coins? This is not, of course, a new question. As we have noted, Michael Grant in his monumental *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, examined the question at some length, and came to the conclusion that "the Seleucid tradition was consciously maintained."[82] Yet this makes little sense; the Seleucid municipal coinages to which he was referring and which had combined royal portrait with civic issue had been an isolated phenomenon of the second century BC, long since defunct.[83] Moreover, of the cities that began to place Antony's image on their bronze, only one (Ptolemais) had been the mint of municipal issues under the Seleucids. In any case, Grant's use of the passive voice here ("was consciously maintained") leaves the agency of this maintenance ambiguous. Following the settlement of 37/6 BC by which Cleopatra's kingdom was extended into Syria, according to Grant, "overlordship of the Ptolemaic realm is the cause of his portrait, with that of Cleopatra, at Ptolemais Ace and Aradus, which were now in the Ptolemaic kingdom."[84] But again we cannot escape the fact that there is no prior tradition at either of these mints of civic coinage being produced for a Ptolemaic ruler.

In fact, I believe that we can firmly rule out the possibility that this adoption of Antony's portrait was in any way caused by his relationship to Cleopatra. If we turn again to Table 1 we find the first datable instance of Antony appearing on the obverse of a civic coin at Tripolis in 42/1 BC. On the reverse of this coin is his first wife, Fulvia. Influential though she may have been at Rome, Fulvia, enjoyed no form of authority over the city of Tripolis.[85] Her likeness was chosen for the coinage presumably because she was Antony's wife. The fact that the first dateable instance of portraiture of this kind from the province of Syria is of a Roman triumvir and his wife makes it clear that we are dealing with a phenomenon that springs not out of pure Hellenistic precedent or tradition, but rather out of a fusion of Greek and Roman expectations.[86] The double portrait had no real precedent in the Greek world,[87] but had emerged very recently in Roman coinage. [88]

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[81] The only exception is provided by the intriguing silver coinage of Ascalon. See the overview by Spaer 1984. Even portraits of living monarchs on royal coinage are rare and confined to remarkable portrait coinage of Ptolemy V struck on campaign in Coele Syria in the course of the Fifth Syrian War. For overviews and discussion see Mørkholm 1979 and 1981, and Meadows 2017.

[82] Grant 1946, p. 369; for the sentiment *cf.* Olivier and Aumaître (2017), p. 106 ("traditions régionales, notamment séleucides").

[83] For the coinages in question see Mørkholm 1965.

[84] Grant 1946, p. 369.

[85] On Fulvia's position see Wood 1999, pp. 41-2, Cooley 2013, p. 28.

[86] Opinion is divided on whether Fulvia had appeared on other coinages. Against the idea see Wood 1999, pp. 41-4 (apparently unaware of the issue of Tripolis). In favour of her identification on the coinage of Fulvia-Eumeneia, see *RPC* I, pp. 508-9 *ad* nos 3139-40.

[87] Rare exceptions in gold are provided by the double jugate portrait issues of 3rd century Egypt (*Ptolemaic Coins* 3017-19), and a unique *mnaieion* of *ca*. 180-176 BC featuring portraits of Ptolemy VI and his mother Cleopatra I on reverse and obverse (British Museum, CM 1978-10-21-1).

[88] See on this Williams 2003, pp. 88-9.

In 42/1 BC the obvious models were the issues struck by Antony himself in 43 BC bearing both his own portrait and that of Julius Caesar (*RRC* 488) or those of the same year bringing together the portraits of Antony and Octavian (*RRC* 492-3). But the choice of types at Tripolis was not simply about the acknowledgement of power, since Fulvia has no part in that nexus. The joint representation of husband and wife is surely to be explained instead in honorific terms.

The adoption of the portrait of Antony by these cities was, I would suggest, a spontaneous honorific act: an attempt to place a Roman magistrate and his wife within the reciprocal relationship model that had hitherto obtained between cities and their overlords. Certain aspects of these coins may perhaps be taken to support this interpretation. At Balanea, for example, we can see that while Antony's portrait was used for the largest bronze denomination, other obverse designs were used for smaller denominations.[89] That is to say, Antony's portrait did not achieve the exclusivity we might expect in a coinage in a top-down royal tradition. Civic choice played a part. Elsewhere in Syria, Antony's portrait did not emerge on the city coinage at all, suggesting that this was far from a top-down, centralised system of iconography. The municipal coinages of the Seleucids look more cohesive. Turning for a moment to the coinages with portrait of Cleopatra, it seems virtually certain that the city of Damascus was outside of the territory allotted to the queen by Antony, and yet her portrait was chosen there as an obverse design.[90] But to return to Mark Antony, we need to think not just about the presence of his portrait, but also whose place he was taking on civic coinage. We obtain a flavour of this at Balanea (*RPC* I 4457, **Fig. 68**) where we can see a contemporary denomination featuring an obverse type of Tyche. The pattern is similar at many other mints in the region: the obverse of the coin is reserved for the protecting deity of the city, sometimes the Tyche or fortune of the city, sometime a more specific one. Antony has, in a sense, become Σύνναος, with these deities. One cannot help but be reminded of a similar pattern that has been observed in the appearance of imperial statues in the cities of the eastern Roman empire: "emperors did not set up portraits of themselves; provincial cities set up portraits of the emperor in gratitude for or in anticipation of Imperial benefactions".[91] And sacred and secular space, as Rose goes on to show, were equally appropriate for such dedications.

If it is correct to see the spread of royal portraits as a reaction on the part of the cities to the new world order, then the table of issues and dates makes interesting reading. The pattern is very clearly that Antony comes first with Cleopatra's portrait coming into use second. Far from being an iconographic trick that Antony picked from the Hellenistic world, this royal imagery seems in fact to have passed from Antony to Cleopatra. For the latter it came into existence following her initial acquisition of the Syrian territories in 38 BC. In fact, this looks like a reaction on the part of the relevant cities to a change of immediate overlord: honorific attention switches from Antony to Cleopatra or, belt and braces, to them both.

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[89] *RPC* I 4456-9: the four different denominations bear heads of Antony, Tyche, a radiate deity and Hermes.

[90] *RPC* I 4781 and 4783, **Figs 51** and **56**. However, see n. 73 above.

[91] Rose (1997), p. 109.

In this sense, the analogy with honorific statues breaks down. For the honorific statues of powerful Romans, there is a long Hellenistic tradition that precedes them. For the coinage there is not. This raises the question of why the reaction to Antony (and Cleopatra) took this form now, when there is no clear precedent for the adoption of coin portraiture by Greek cities in this way.

The answer to this question, as with other aspects of monetary change in the east at this time, lies at Rome. In 44 BC, shortly before his assassination, Julius Caesar's portrait had appeared on the Roman coinage.[92] This was a seismic shift in coin design at the imperial centre, where no living individual had previously appeared on the coinage. In the following year, 43 BC, Mark Antony and Octavian followed Caesar's example, when, as we have already noted, moneyers operating most probably as part of their military establishments began to strike coins with the two generals' images (*RRC* 488 and 490). They were followed, it seems, by Brutus (*RRC* 506-7). Just a year later, at Tripolis, in 42/1 BC, a Greek city took the major step of placing one of these generals, Antony, on its coinage, along with his wife (*RPC* I 4509, **Fig. 60**). The fact of the coin portrait was Roman, its function Greek.

Coinage now provided a medium for the expression of a relationship between city and powerful individual. This new medium allowed cities to establish, develop or advertise a relationship with the man himself. "We should not underestimate the eagerness of individuals to demonstrate loyalty, nor their ability to adopt and exploit Roman models to placate, persuade, or dupe their Roman overlords."[93] In the uncertain years of the 40s and 30s BC this mattered: "abstract fidelity to Rome in such an age was not only insufficient: it was impossible".[94] In the 30s, when Antony interposed a second layer of control between the cities and himself – in the shape of a queen who was equally the mother of his children, then a natural reaction was perhaps to widen the honorific remit to include her too. This certainly seems to be a valid reading of Table 1.

Of course, coinage was a very public medium, arguably more so than statuary, since coins travel beyond their city of origin. Coins with portraits become an explicit statement of allegiance. In a period of uncertainty, rapid administrative shift and the increasing likelihood of imperial civil war, such symbols took on heightened importance. So, as Antony and Cleopatra moved westwards on their way to Actium we can observe the movement of portraiture with them: at Patras Cleopatra's portrait appears (*RPC* I 1245, **Fig. 59**). In this case we note a secondary development: the labelling of the image. Cleopatra's name is given around her portrait, not in the genitive, as we expect on a royal coinage 'of' the monarch; but rather in the nominative, naming the person whose image is presented. This is now a label and, as such, a part of the honorific purpose, not a statement of issuer or owner.

Conclusion

[92] Dio 44.4.4: καὶ ἐς τὰ νομίσματα ἐνεχάραξαν. For the first portraits see *RRC* 480.2.

[93] Ando (2000), pp. 230-1.

[94] Bowersock (1965), p. 43.

Overall, the coinage that was struck in Mark Antony's East supports a reconstruction of the administrative system in his *imperium* which saw a centrally derived authority established over a patchwork of local systems. These local systems retained their complexity of hierarchies and continued to behave as appropriately as they could in the face of the requirements of those hierarchies. Cities did their best to cope with the reality of the double-layered, Royal-Roman political and administrative layer above them. Antony arranged the world according to his military and administrative needs, within the framework of the larger Roman Republic. The kings clung to power, on the one hand through allegiance to the Roman State, and its immanent representative, Antony, and on the other through the traditional, reciprocal relationship they had long enjoyed with the civic and other political entities beneath them. Roman, Royal and Civic coinages, as we have seen, fully describe this complex set of political, administrative and economic relationships. The Roman coinage remains steadfastly Roman in design and, for the most part, metrology. The needs of Antony's military machine led to its production in the east for the first time in a systematic way. The arrival of Roman coinage had a noticeable impact on several of the Royal coinages that remained, pushing them towards compatibility with the denarius. Civic coinage, meanwhile, now largely confined to bronze, reacted to the new world order by becoming, in some places at least, a vehicle for the maintenance of vertical relationships.

In this coinage in Antony's *imperium* we find, then, the beginnings of the rhetorical structure that will develop in the reign of Augustus to create a coinage that functioned symbolically as every city's link with the imperial person. Under Augustus two basic developments would occur; first, the use of the imperial portrait would spread throughout the Greek world; and second, the name of Augustus would appear, in the nominative, on many of the resulting coinages. Roman provincial coinage would grow and grow, but it had been born with Mark Antony.

List of Figures/Captions

1. Silver denarius, *RRC* 496/1
Paris, REP-20884
Obverse: Head of M. Antonius r., bearded. border of dots. M·ANTONI IMR
Reverse: Distyle temple; within, medallion bearing radiate bust of Reverse: Sol facing, draped; around, inscription. Border of dots. III flc c·R·W

2. Gold aureus, *RRC* 516/1
British Museum. BNK R.2
Obverse: Head of M. Antonius r.; border of dots. ANT (ligated) Af^·IMR III·f·c·R·W
Reverse: Fortuna standing l., holding rudder in r. hand and cornucopia in l. hand; at feet, stork. Border of dots. RIETAd WOd

3. Silver denarius, *RRC* 517/2
ANS 1947.2.239
Obverse: Head of M. Antonius bearded r.; border of dots.
M·ANT·IMR·Af^·III·flc·c·R·W·M·BAcBAT·Q·R
Reverse: Head of Octavian r., bearded; around, inscription. Border of dots.
WAEdAc·IMR·RONT·III·flc·c·R·W·

4. Silver denarius, *RRC* 520/1
Berlin 18214964
Obverse: Head of M. Antonius r.; behind, *lituus*. border of dots.
Reverse: Caduceus between two cornucopiae on globe. Border of dots. M·ANT·IMR· III·flc·c·R·W

5. Silver denarius, *RRC* 521/2
Vienna RÖ 741
Obverse: Head of M. Antonius r.; behind, *lituus*; around, inscription. border of dots. ANT·IMR·
III·flc·c·R·W
Reverse: Prow r.; star above. Border of dots. WN·\OMIT·AHENOBAcBfd IMR·

6. Silver denarius, *RRC* 522/2
Berlin 18214975 (Sandes)
Obverse: *Lituus* and jug; border of dots. M·ANTON·IMR·Af^·III·fc·c·R·W
Reverse: Thunderbolt, jug and winged caduceus; border of dots. b·RbANWfd·RcO·WOd

7. Gold aureus, *RRC* 527/1
Berlin 18202297
Obverse: Head of M. Antonius, r.; border of dots. M·ANTONIfd IMR·III·flc·c·R·W
Reverse: Head of Octavia, r. Border of dots.

8. Gold aureus, *RRC* 528/1b
British Museum R.9374
Obverse: Head of M. Antonius r.; behind, *lituus*; border of dots. M·ANTON·IMR·IIIflc·c·R·W
Reverse: Head of Octavian r., bearded; border of dots. WAEdAc·IMR·III·flc·c·R·W·

9. Bronze as, *RRC* 530/1 = *RPC* I 2226
ANS 1976.47.1
Obverse: Laureate head of Janus; border of dots. ATcATINfd Af^fc
Reverse: Prow r.; border of dots. ANTONIfd IMR

10. Silver denarius, *RRC* 531/1b
Berlin 18214972 (Sandes)
Obverse: Head of M. Antonius r., bearded; border of dots. M·ANT (ligated) IM III f·c·R·W
Reverse: Male figure standing facing, holding sceptre in r. hand, cloak over l. arm and branch in l. hand; border of dots. R·fENTI\I RONT·IMR

11. Silver denarius, *RRC* 533/2
ANS 1937.158.355
Obverse: Radiate head of Sol r.; border of dots. III·fIc·c·R·W·WOd·\EdI^·ITEc·ET·TEcT
Reverse: M. Antonius standing r., togate and wearing veil, holding *lituus* in r. hand; border of dots.
M·ANTONIfd·M·]·M·N·Af^fc·IMR·TEcT

12. Gold aureus, *RRC* 533/3a
British Museum 1842.5.23.1
Obverse: Head of M. Antonius r.; border of dots. M·ANTONIfd·M·]·M·N·Af^fc·IMR·TEc
Reverse: Head of Octavia r.; Border of dots. WOd·\EdI^N·ITEc·ET·TEc·III·fIc·c·R·W

13. Silver denarius, *RRC* 536/1
Berlin 18214964
Obverse: Head of M. Antonius r.; border of dots. M·ANT·Af^fc·III·fIc·c·R·W
Reverse: Trophy with curved sword and figure-of-eight shield, with another sword hanging from waist; at base of trophy, two round shields and two spears; on either side of trophy, inscription; border of dots. IMR·TEc

14. Silver denarius, *RRC* 536/3
ANS 1944.100.6024 (Newell)
Obverse: Head of M. Antonius r.; border of dots. M·ANT·Af^fc·III·fIc·c·R·W
Reverse: Trophy with curved sword and figure-of-eight shield, with another sword hanging from waist; at base of trophy, prow and round shield; on either side of trophy, inscription; border of dots.
IMR·TEc

15. Silver denarius, *RRC* 539/1
Berlin 18214981
Obverse: Head of M. Antonius r.; border of dots. ANT·Af^fc·WOd·\Ed·ITEc·ET·TEcT
Reverse: Armenian tiara; behind, bow and arrow in saltire; border of dots.
IMR·TEcTIO·III·fIc·c·R·W

16. Gold aureus, *RRC* 541/1
Berlin 18215844
Obverse: Head of M. Antonius r.; border of dots. M·ANTONI·M·]·M·N·Af^·IMR·TEcT
Reverse: Head of M. Antonius junior r.; border of dots. WOd·ITEc·\EdI^N·TEcT·III·fIc·c·R·W

17. Silver denarius, *RRC* 542/1
Vienna RÖ 753
Obverse: Head of M. Antonius r.; border of dots. ANTON·Af^·IMR·III·WOd·\Ed·III·III·f·c·R·W
Reverse: M·dIbANfd·Af^ Q·RcO·WOd; border of dots

18. Silver denarius, *RRC* 543/1
Paris, REP-20945
Obverse: Bust of Cleopatra r., draped and wearing diadem; before, prow; border of dots;
WbEORATcAE·cE^INAE·cE^fM·]IbIOcfM·cE^fM
Reverse: Head of Antony r.; behind, Armenian tiara; border of dots; ANTONI·AcMENIA·\EfIWTA

19. Silver denarius, *RRC* 544/10
ANS 1944.100.6308 (Newell)
Obverse: Ship r., with sceptre tied with fillet on prow. border of dots. ANT·Af^ III·flc·c·R·W
Reverse: Aquila between two standards; border of dots. bE^·XfII·WbAddIWAE

20. Silver denarius, *RRC* 545/1
ANS 1937.158.362
Obverse: Head of M. Antonius r.; border of dots.
M·ANTONIfd·Af^·IMR·IIII·WOd·TEcT·III·flc·c·R·W
Reverse: Victory standing l. holding wreath tied with fillet in r. hand and palm-branch over l. shoulder with l. hand; laurel-wreath border. \·Tfc (ligated)

21. Silver denarius, *RRC* 546
ANS 1944.100.6917 (Newell)
Obverse: Head of Jupiter Ammon r.; border of dots. M ANTO WOd III IMR IIII ·
Reverse: Victory standing r., holding wreath tied with fillet in r. hand and palm-branch over l. shoulder with l. hand; border of dots. ANTONIO Af^ R dWAcRfd IM

22. Bronze coin, Cyrene? *RPC* I 924
Paris, Fonds général 486
Obverse: BAGIL UyA Ny
Reverse: ANT4 YPA G

23. Bronze coin, Zacynthus, *RPC* I 1290
Obverse: Head of Antony r. IMR·
Reverse: Eagle on thunderbolt r. with caduceus. W·dOdIfd·Q, ZQ
Paris, Y6222

24. Fleet sestertius, *RPC* I 1453
ANS 1944.100.7100 (Newell)
Obverse: Head of Antony on l. facing r.; and bust of Octavia on r. facing l.
M·ANT(ligated)·IMR·TEc·WOd·\Ed·ITEc·ET·TEc·III·flc·c·R·W
Reverse: Quadriga of hippocamps r. surmounted by two drivers (Antony and Octavia?); square objects (astragalus?). b·ATcATINfd·Af^fc·WOd·\EdI^, Hd (at l.) D (below)

25. Fleet tressis, *RPC* I 1454
Berlin 18215870 (Imhoof-Blumer)
Obverse: Head of Antony on l. facing r.; and bust of Octavia on r. facing l.
M·ANT(ligated)·IMR·TEc·WOd·\Ed·ITEc·ET·TEc·III·flc·c·R·W
Reverse: Three ships under sail r.; triskeles. b·ATcATINfd·Af^fc·WOd·\EdI^, G (below)

26. Fleet dupondius, *RPC* I 1469
ANS 1995.11.1786
Obverse: Head of Antony on l. facing r.; and bust of Octavia on r. facing l.
M·ANT(ligated)·IMR·TEcT(ligated)·WOd·\EdI^·ITEc·ET·TEc·III·flc·c·R·W
Reverse: Two ships under sail r.; above, two caps of Dioscuri.
M·ORRIfd·WARITO·RcO·Rc·RcAE]·WbAdd·]·W, B (below)

27. Fleet as, *RPC* I 1456
Berlin 18215872
Obverse: Jugate heads of Antony and Octavia, r.
M·ANT(ligated)·IMR·TEc·WOd·\Ed·ITEc·ET·TEc·III·flc·c·R·W
Reverse: One ship under sail to r., head of Medusa (?). b·ATcATINfd·Af^fc·WOd·\EdI^, A (below)

28. Fleet semis, *RPC* I 1466
Paris, Fonds général 10630
Obverse: Head of Antony r.
M·ANT(ligated)·IMR·TEcT(ligated)·WOd·\EdI^·ITEc·ET·TEc·III·flc·c·R·W
Reverse: Prow r.; M·ORRIfd·WARITO·RcO·Rc·RcAE]·WbAdd·]·W, d (above)

29. Fleet quadrans, *RPC* I 1467
ANS 1978.76.1
Obverse: Janiform head probably featuring Antony and Octavian.
M·ANT(ligated)·IMR·TEcT(ligated)·WOd·\EdI^·ITEc·ET·TEc·III·flc·c·R·W
Reverse: Stem of ship l.; three dots in field. M ORRI WAR RcAE] Wb[

30. Silver cistophorus, *RPC* I 2201
ANS 1935.117.40
Obverse: Head of Antony wearing ivy wreath r.; below, *lituus*; all in wreath of ivy leaves and flowers.
M·ANTONIfd·IMR·WOd·\EdI^·ITEc ET·TEcT
Reverse: Bust of Octavia draped r., above *cista* flanked by twisting serpents. III·flc· c·R·W

31. Silver cistophorus, *RPC* I 2202
ANS 1944.100.7032 (Newell)
Obverse: Head of Antony and bust of Octavia jugate r. M·ANTONIfd·IMR·WOd·\EdI^·ITEc ET·TEcT
Reverse: Dionysus standing l. on *cista* between twisting serpents. III·flc· c·R·W

32. Silver tetradrachm of Cleopatra? *RPC* I 4094
Paris, Hoffmann 108
Obverse: Bust of Cleopatra diademed and draped r.; BAGILIGGA KLyOPATRA zyA Ny4TyRA
Reverse: Head of Antony, r. ANT4NIOG AfTOKRAT4R TRITON TRI4N ANDR4N

33. Bronze of Cleopatra, Chalcis sub Libano, 32/1 BC. *RPC* I 4771
ANS 1944.100.70149 (Newell)
Obverse: Bust of Cleopatra r.; BAGILIGGHG KLyOPATRAG
Reverse: Head of Antony r.; yTOYG K™ TOY KAI © UyAG Ny4TyRAG

34. Bronze of Cleopatra, Chalcis sub Libano, 32/1 BC. *RPC* I 4772
Paris, 1987.215
Obverse: Bust of Cleopatra r.; BAGILIGGHG KLyOPATRAG
Reverse: Nike advancing r. with palm and wreath; all in wreath; yTOYG K™ TOY KAI © UyAG Ny4TyRAG

35. Bronze of Cleopatra, Chalcis sub Libano, 32/1 BC. *RPC* I 4773
ANS 1944.100.70155 (Newell)
Obverse: Bust of Cleopatra r.; BAGILIGGHG KLyOPATRAG
Reverse: Athena advancing l. with shield and spear; yTOYG K™ TOY KAI © UyAG Ny4TyRAG

36. Silver tetradrachm of Amyntas. *RPC* I 3501
ANS 1944.100.62286 (Newell)
Obverse: Head of Athena helmeted r.
Reverse: Nike advancing l., holding sceptre with diadem. BASILEVS AMYNTOY, IB

37. Bronze of Amyntas. *RPC* I 3502
KIKPE Numismatic Collection, inv. 1017

Obverse: Head of Heracles with club r.
Reverse: Lion walking, r. BASILEVS AMYNTOY

38. Bronze of Amyntas. *RPC* I 3503
Paris, Fonds général 34
Obverse: Bust of Artemis with bow and quiver r.
Reverse: Reverse: Stag r. BASILEVS AMYNTOY

39. Bronze of Amyntas *RPC* I 3504
KIKPE Numismatic Collection, inv. 1018
Obverse: Bust of Hermes wearing petasus, with caduceus r.
Reverse: Winged caduceus. BASILEVS AMYNTOY

40. Silver drachm of Polemon, *RPC* I 3801
Paris, Fonds général 51
Obverse: Head of Polemo I diademed r.
Reverse: Star. BASILEVS POLEMVNOS EfSEBOfS

41. Bronze of Tarkondimotos, *RPC* I 3871
KIKPE Numismatic Collection, inv. 1004
Obverse: Head of Tarkondimotos diademed r.
Reverse: Zeus seated l. with Nike and sceptre; BASILEVS TARKONDIMOTOY FILANTVNIOY

42. Silver drachm of Archelaos, *RPC* I 3601
Berlin 18200192 (Fox)
Obverse: Head of Archelaos diademed r.
Reverse: Club. BASILEVS ARXELAOY FILOPATRIDOS TOY KTISTOY, K

43. Silver tetradrachm of Artavasdes
Boston MFA 1989.192
Obverse: Bust of Artavasdes II draped r., wearing Oriental crown on which is an eight-pointed star.
Reverse: Quadriga l. BASILEVS BASILEVN ARTAfASDEV UEIOf, IZ

44. Bronze of Herod
ANS 2016.15.164
Obverse: Military helmet, frontal view, wreath around, cheek pieces and straps, star about flanked by palm branches.
Reverse: Tripod topped with ceremonial bowl, flanked by monogram and date. BQSILEVS HRVDOY b G

45. Silver half-shekel of Malichus I
ANS 2017.38.118 (Sofaer)
Obverse: Bust of Malichus I r., diademed with long curly hair.
Reverse: Eagle standing l.; in l. field palm branch. b K{, נבטר מלר – מלכא מלכר

46. Silver tetradrachm of Cleopatra
ANS 1944.100.79402 (Newell)
Obverse: Head of Ptolemy I diademed r.
Reverse: Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt. PTOLEMAIOY BA{ILEVS

47. Silver tetradrachm of Caesarion
ANS 1944.100.79369 (Newell)
Obverse: Head of Ptolemy I diademed r.

Reverse: Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt. PTOLEMAIOY BA{ILEVS

48. Silver drachm of Cleopatra, Svoronos 1904-1908, no. 1853
Paris, D 3453
Obverse: Bust of Cleopatra diademed r.
Reverse: Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt; to l., Isis crown. KLEOPATRAG BASILISSHS

49. Bronze of Cleopatra, Series 10
ANS 1944.100.75442 (Newell)
Obverse: Head of Cleopatra diademed r.
Reverse: Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt; to l., cornucopia. KLEOPATRAS BASILISSHS

50. Bronze of Cleopatra, Cyprus, Svoronos 1904-1908, no. 1874
Berlin 18217871 (Löbbecke)
Obverse: Bust of Cleopatra diademed r. with Caesarion in her arms; sceptre at far shoulder.
Reverse: Two cornucopiae bound with fillets; in r. field, KYPR (ligated). KLEOPATRAG BAGILIGGHG

51. Bronze of Damascus (*RPC* I 4781). 37/6 BC
ANS 1944.100.79323
Obverse: Bust of Cleopatra diademed r.
Reverse: Tyche seated l. on rock with arm outstretched and holding cornucopia; to. l., ear of corn; below, river god; all in wreath; DAMASKHNVN, {OS

52. Bronze of Orthosia (*RPC* I 4501). 36/5 BC
KIKPE Numismatic Collection, inv. 1109
Obverse: Bust of Cleopatra r.
Reverse: Baal of Orthosia in chariot pulled by two griffins; ORUVGIyVN, b B

53. Bronze of Tripolis (*RPC* I 4510). 36/5 BC
Paris, Babelon 1896
Obverse: Bust of Cleopatra draped r.
Reverse: Prow, r., with Nike holding wreath and palm; in field, star; TRIPOLITVN b B

54. Bronze of Berytus (*RPC* I 4529). 36/5 BC
Paris, AA.GR.6139
Obverse: Bust of Cleopatra diademed r.; b B
Reverse: Baal of Berytus in quadriga of hippocamps; BH, DIO

55. Bronze of Orthosia (*RPC* I 4502). 35/4 BC
Paris, Y 28455.91
Obverse: Bust of Cleopatra r.
Reverse: Baal of Orthosia in chariot pulled by two griffins; ORUVGIyVN, b G

56. Bronze of Damascus (*RPC* I 4783). 33/2 BC
Paris, Fonds général 29
Obverse: Bust of Cleopatra diademed r.
Reverse: Tyche seated l. on rock with arm outstretched and holding cornucopia; to l., sistrum?; below, river god; all in wreath; DAMASKHNVN, b PS

57. Bronze of Damascus (*RPC* I 4783A). 33/2 BC
Lavender coll.
Obverse: Bust of Cleopatra diademed r.

Reverse: Hermes standing l. with purse and caduceus; to l., sistrum; all in wreath; DAMASKHNVN, b PS

58. Bronze of Berytus (*RPC* I 4530). 32/1 BC
Triton 10 (2007), lot 425
Obverse: Diademed bust of Cleopatra r.
Reverse: Baal of Berytus in quadriga of hippocamps; BH, b {, b AK

59. Bronze of Patras (*RPC* I 1245). 32/1 BC
Paris, Fonds général 1222
Obverse: Bust of Cleopatra diademed r.; BAGILIGGA KLyOPATRA
Reverse: Headdress of Isis; QGIQG LfGVNOG PQTRyVN

60. Bronze of Tripolis (*RPC* I 4509). 42/1 BC
Berlin 18238659
Obverse: Head of Antony r.
Reverse: Bust of Fulvia r.; TRIPOLITVN b GK

61. Bronze of Ptolemais (*RPC* I 4740). 39/8 BC
Sofaer coll. 117
Obverse: Head of Antony r. in wreath.
Reverse: Tyche standing l. with aplustre and palm branch; PTOLEMAEVN IERAS, KAI ASYLOY, b IA

62. Bronze of Aradus (*RPC* I 4466). 38/7 BC
Witschonke coll.
Obverse: Head of Antony r.
Reverse: Bull galloping l.; G4M (above), GKB, M DI (below)

63. Bronze of Balanea (*RPC* I 4456). 37/6 BC?
Paris, Fonds général 968
Obverse: Head of Antony r.
Reverse: Quadriga, l., with god wearing tiara; BALANEVTVN, AÉ{Y (in field), DI (under forelegs of the quadriga)

64. Bronze of Marathus (*RPC* I 4494). 37/6 BC
Paris, Clercq
Obverse: Head of Antony r.
Reverse: Reclining bull l. GKG M (below), I∏ and *kof* (above)

65. Bronze of Ptolemais (*RPC* I 4741). 35/4 BC
Sofaer coll. 120
Obverse: Head of Antony r.; all in wreath
Reverse: Bust of Cleopatra diademed r. PTOLyMA b G (in l. field); IyRAG AGYLOY (around, on r.); Iy (in r. field)

66. Bronze of Ptolemais (*RPC* I 4742). 35/4 BC
Sofaer coll. 119
Obverse: Head of Antony r.; all in wreath.
Reverse: Bust of Cleopatra diademed r. PTOLyMAIyVN TOY KAI (around); Iy, b G (in l. field)

67. Bronze of Dora (*RPC* I 4752). 34/3 BC
NAC 84 (2015), lot 872
Obverse: Jugate busts of Cleopatra and Antony r.

Reverse: Tyche standing, l., with palm branch and caduceus; b zI DV

68. Bronze of Balanea (*RPC* I 4457)
Paris, Y 28045.36
Obverse: Bust of Tyche veiled r.
Reverse: Quadriga l. bearing god wearing tiara. BALANEVTVN, AIZH.

Abbreviations

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ΜΕΤΑΞΥ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΡΩΜΗΣ. ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΟΚΟΠΙΕΣ ΣΤΟΝ ΧΩΡΟ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΔΟΣΙΑΣ (*IMPERIUM*) ΤΟΥ ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ

Τα νομίσματα που εκδόθηκαν από τον Μάρκο Αντώνιο στην Ανατολή αποτελούν μια ισχυρή, σύγχρονη μαρτυρία για την εκεί πολιτική του εν λόγω μέλους της δεύτερης Τριανδρίας, καθώς και για την αυτοπροβολή και την πρόσληψη της εικόνας του. Αυτή η μαρτυρία δίνει τη δυνατότητα να χρησιμοποιηθεί ως ένα ικανό διορθωτικό εργαλείο στις αναπόφευκτα μεροληπτικές κειμενικές αναφορές για τις δραστηριότητές του και για την περιώνυμη σχέση του με την Κλεοπάτρα. Εξετάζοντας τις συγκεκριμένες κοπές ανά κατηγορία —ρωμαϊκές, βασιλικές, εκδόσεις των πόλεων και ρωμαϊκές επαρχιακές— μπορούμε να έχουμε μια θεώρηση του Αντωνίου από διαφορετικές οπτικές και να αντλήσουμε πληροφορίες για τη διαχείριση της Ανατολής εκ μέρους του κατά έναν τρόπο που άλλες μαρτυρίες δεν το επιτρέπουν.

Οι «ρωμαϊκές» κοπές του Αντωνίου, τα αργυρά δηνάρια και τα χρυσά νομίσματα (*aurei*) που παραδοσιακά εκδίδονταν στη Ρώμη, αρχίζουν να παράγονται στην Ανατολή σε σημαντικές ποσότητες. Ως αποτέλεσμα η χρήση του δηναρίου στην Ανατολή, που είχε κάνει την εμφάνισή της την προηγούμενη δεκαετία, τώρα πλέον σταδιακά εδραιώνεται. Ωστόσο τα δηνάρια και οι *aurei* και οι άλλες κοπές που παρήχθησαν στο όνομα του Αντωνίου από τους διοικητές του αποκαλύπτουν μια αυστηρή προσκόλληση στη χρήση των ρωμαϊκών τίτλων και τονίζουν τη θέση του Αντωνίου εντός της ιεραρχίας της Ρωμαϊκής Πολιτείας. Σπάνιες εξαιρέσεις όπως τα περίφημα δηνάρια με την επιγραφή *Armenia devicta* («Αρμενία κατανικηθείσα») μάλλον χρειάζεται να αποτιμηθούν εκ νέου στο πλαίσιο αυτό.

Η κατάσταση των πραγμάτων παρέμεινε ως είχε στις ρωμαϊκές επαρχίες, όπου ο Αντώνιος διατήρησε, τουλάχιστον αρχικά, ορισμένες από τις αργυρές νομισματοκοπίες που είχαν εκδοθεί στο παρελθόν, όπως κιστοφορικά τετράδραχμα στην επαρχία της Ασίας και μεταθανάτια τετράδραχμα στο όνομα του Σελευκίδου βασιλέως Φιλίππου Α΄ στη Συρία. Πέρα από τα όρια των επαρχιών, ο Αντώνιος ανέδειξε σε θέσεις εξουσίας νέα πρόσωπα σε διάφορα «πελατικά» βασίλεια. Οι κοπές βασιλικού τύπου συνεχίστηκαν, ωστόσο η μορφή τους άρχισε να προσαρμόζεται, λαμβάνοντας υπ' όψιν τον νέο επικυρίαρχο. Οι εκδόσεις των νέων βασιλέων συνέχισαν να ακολουθούν ελληνιστικά πρότυπα, συγκλίνοντας όμως μετρολογικά προς το ρωμαϊκό δηνάριο, προσαρμοζόμενες αυθόρμητα ίσως σε έναν καινούριο κόσμο νομισματικής ενοποίησης που ο ίδιος ο Αντώνιος ενθάρρυνε, ιδίως με τα δηνάρια των λεγεώνων του.

Οι πόλεις στην Ανατολή βρέθηκαν σε μια κατάσταση όπου έπρεπε να προσαρμοστούν σε μια νέα ιεραρχία, με δύο επίπεδα εξουσίας από πάνω τους: τους βασιλείς και τις βασίλισσες, και σε ανώτερη βαθμίδα τον επικυρίαρχο. Μέσω των διευθετήσεων που πραγματοποίησε, ο Αντώνιος τοποθέτησε διάφορους ηγεμόνες ανάμεσα στον εαυτό του και στο εκάστοτε σώμα πολιτών. Η απάντηση των πόλεων, ορατή μόνο στα νομίσματά τους, ήταν να αντιμετωπίσουν τον Αντώνιο ως τον υπέρτατο άρχοντά τους. Ακολούθησαν τις εξελίξεις στη ρωμαϊκή νομισματοκοπία και έθεσαν το πορτραίτο του Αντωνίου (και αυτά των συζύγων του) στις εκδόσεις τους. Κατ' αυτόν τον τρόπο γεννήθηκε το φαινόμενο που είναι γνωστό σήμερα ως ρωμαϊκές επαρχιακές κοπές.

Μετά την παραχώρηση ιδιαίτερα εκτεταμένων εδαφών στην Κλεοπάτρα κατόπιν εντολών του Αντωνίου κατά τη δεκαετία του 30 π.Χ., η βασίλισσα της Αιγύπτου άρχισε επίσης να εμφανίζεται σε τοπικές νομισματοκοπίες με έναν τρόπο σχεδόν χωρίς προηγούμενο στον

ελληνιστικό κόσμο. Είναι ακόμη πιθανόν η Κλεοπάτρα να ανέλαβε μέρος της ευθύνης για τη νομισματική παραγωγή που απαιτούσαν οι πολεμικές προετοιμασίες του Αντωνίου. Η αυξημένη έκδοση χάλκινων νομισμάτων στη Χαλκίδα του Λιβάνου, τα αινιγματικά τετράδραχμα της «Αντιοχείας» με τα διπλά πορτραίτα και τα «δηνάρια» με την επιγραφή *Armenia devicta* μπορεί να συνιστούν όλα ενδείξεις αυτής της ανειλημμένης ευθύνης.

Ο Αντώνιος που ξεπροβάλλει από τα δεδομένα αυτά είναι ένας ηγήτορας που εξασκεί με πυγμή τον έλεγχο ως προς τη θέση του στην ιεραρχία της Τριανδρίας, κατευθύνοντας τους Ρωμαίους υφισταμένους του και διαμορφώνοντας ένα σύνθετο διοικητικό πλαίσιο που θα του επέτρεπε να ολοκληρώσει την ειρήνευση της Ανατολής. Ταυτόχρονα, σε φαινόμενα όπως οι νομισματοκοπίες του στόλου και των λεγεώνων, υπάρχουν εμφανή σημάδια μιας προσέγγισης που κοιτάζει προς το μέλλον της αναδυόμενης αυτοκρατορίας, σε μια προσπάθεια να συγκεράσει και να απλοποιήσει τις διαφορές μεταξύ του ελληνικού και του ρωμαϊκού κόσμου. Αυτό ήταν ένα αφήγημα που ο αντίπαλός του και τελικός νικητής, ο Οκταβιανός, δεν επιθυμούσε να καταγραφεί. Αλλά, παρά ταύτα, συνιστούσε μια προσέγγιση την οποία κληρονόμησε.

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