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COINAGE IN CYPRUS IN THE REIGN OF HADRIAN

During the period between the *Koinon Kyprion* coins of Trajan and the bronze issues with the portraits of Antoninus Pius (obverse) and Marcus Aurelius Caesar (reverse), local Cypriot mints remained closed (Table 1). The Roman imperial coinage in Cyprus had started under Augustus, and Hadrian was not the first who stopped it. However, the interruptions that had taken place under Caligula and Domitian were significantly shorter.

It was not exceptional for the coin production in a mint to be suspended; nor was it exceptional for the coinage of a whole province.¹

¹ For the disappearance of the mints in Lycia, see P.R. Franke, W. Leschhorn, A.U. Stylow, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Sammlung H. von Aulock*, Index (Berlin 1981), Pl. 9; for other provinces, Pls. 1–8, 10–12; T.B. Jones, "A Numismatic Riddle: the So-called Greek Imperials", *ProcAmPhilSoc* 107,4 (1963) [further cited: Jones], p. 310, Figs. 1–3; K. Butcher, *Roman Provincial Coins: An Introduction to the Greek Imperials* (London 1988) [further cited: Butcher], pp. 88–89.

Table 1. Cypriot countermarked issues

Emperor	Caesar	Issue
Augustus		AE
Tiberius		AE
	Drusus	AE
Claudius		AE+ AE+*
Galba		AE+
Vespasian		AR AE, AE+
	Titus	AR AE, AE+
	Domitian	AR AE
Titus		AR
Domitian		
Trajan		AE+
Hadrian		
Antoninus Pius		AE
Marcus Aurelius		AE+
Septimius Severus		AE+
	Julia Domna	AE+
Caracalla		AE+
Geta		AE+

AE+ – coins with the inscription *Koinon Kyprion*

AE+* – illegible coins, most likely *Kainon Kyprion*

-----> countermarking by subsequent emperors

The table does not take into account countermarks, which cannot be dated.

In general, Hadrian's financial policy was not characterized by closing provincial mints. On the contrary, they became more numerous in his reign (163) than in Trajan's (141).² Concerning the local Cypriot coinage, its suspension involved the closing of one or two mints: at Paphos and/or Salamis.

Paphos had the status of *metropolis*,³ but in an inscription dating to AD 123,⁴ Salamis also is described as the *metropolis* of Cyprus, Κύπρου μετρόπολις. Was this in fact the case?⁵ According to T. B. Mitford and I. Nicolaou, it was an expression of Salamis' claim, which Hadrian eventually disappointed.⁶ It remains unclear whether or not Salamis is called *metropolis* in two other documents from the reigns of Vespasian (ca. AD 70–72)⁷ and Hadrian (AD 129–130).⁸

It is possible that the status of the principal city of a province⁹ was advantageous in acquiring the right to strike coins. This was certainly considered a prestigious charter.¹⁰ The aspirations of the two Cypriot

² The figures are quoted from W. Leschhorn, "Le monnayage impérial d'Asie Mineure et la statistique", in: *Pact 5. Statistique et Numismatique. Table ronde organisé par le Centre de Mathématique Sociale et l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales de Paris et le Séminaire de Numismatique Marcel Hoc de l'Université Catholique de Louvain* (Strasbourg 1981), p. 254, table.

³ Cf. the sources cited by E. Mayer, "Paphos", in: *Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike IV* (Munich 1979) [further cited: Mayer], col. 486; T.B. Mitford, "Roman Cyprus", in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II*, 7.2, ed. H. Temporini (Berlin and New York 1980) [further cited: Mitford], pp. 1311–1312, esp. note 88.

⁴ Famagusta, District Museum, Field No. 11: T.B. Mitford, I. Nicolaou, *Salamis 6. The Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Salamis* (Nicosia 1974) [further cited: Mitford and Nicolaou], pp. 119–121, No. 92, Pl. XVI.4; J. Pouilloux, P. Roesch, J. Marcillet-Jaubert, *Salamine de Chypre XIII. Testimonia Salaminia 2* (Paris 1987) [further cited: *Testimonia Salaminia 2*], pp. 62–63, No. 140, p. 15; cf. also below, note 59.

⁵ The title of *metropolis* is only attested for Salamis/Constantia in the fourth century; see M.-J. Chavane, M. Yon, *Salamine de Chypre X. Testimonia Salaminia 1* (Paris 1978), p. 10, No. 5.

⁶ Mitford and Nicolaou, p. 120; Mitford, p. 1323.

⁷ *Testimonia Salaminia 2*, p. 62, No. 138, Pl. 14.

⁸ *Testimonia Salaminia 2*, p. 63, No. 142.

⁹ Cf. the rivalry over the title of *metropolis* among the cities in Asia Minor, see D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950) [further cited: Magie] I, pp. 533, 588, 635–637, II, p. 97; P. Petit, *Pax Romana* (Paris 1967) [further cited: Petit], pp. 101–102.

¹⁰ C. J. Howgego, *Greek Imperial Countermarks: Studies in the Provincial Coins of the Roman Empire* (London 1985) [further cited: Howgego], p. 25; id., "Why did the Ancient States Strike Coins?", *NumChron* 150 (1990) [further cited: Howgego, "Why"], p. 20; K. Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics in the Roman East, AD 180–275* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1987) [further cited: Harl], pp. 22–23.

cities, both being important cult centres with a rich history, may have contributed to intensifying the rivalry between them. The local issue, even though only bronze,¹¹ would involve the choice of one of the competing cities as a minting centre. Perhaps Hadrian decided to suspend the coinage on the island, to avoid the further rivalry.

However, given the lack of further evidence, it is impossible to say what was a decisive incentive to stop the coin production in Cyprus. Did the local coinage appear too expensive? Or was it rather a case of holding the balance and not allowing local fortunes to be made in Cyprus, which was regarded as a conquered, hostile territory?¹² Or was it only a matter of limiting a number of coins in circulation, given the possibility of using the coins issued earlier?¹³ No legions were stationed here, nor do we have any information about Hadrian's visit to Cyprus,¹⁴ circumstances which elsewhere are considered as promoting local coinages.¹⁵ Thus, for a period of more than 20 years, Cypriot economy would not be fed with new issues, and only the coins struck earlier remained in circulation.

The coin hoard associated with a man who died under a collapsed wall in the House of Dionysos in Nea Paphos provides modest but eloquent evidence demonstrating that a variety of issues could circulate

¹¹ On the imperial consent to strike coins, see the opinions of L. Robert, *AITHΣAME-NOΣ sur les monnaies*, Hellenica XI-XII (1960), pp. 53-62; contra, J.-P. Callu, *La politique monétaire des empereurs romains de 238-311* (Paris 1969), pp. 25-26; cf. Harl, pp. 23-24 and 139, notes 26-30; A. Burnett, M. Amandry, P. P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage I: From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius, 44 BC-AD 69* (London and Paris 1992), p. 54; K. E. T. Butcher, review article, *NumChron* 150 (1993), pp. 293-294.

¹² Cf. Magie I, p. 385 and II, p. 1246, note 22; Mitford, pp. 1296, 1346.

¹³ According to Petit, p. 186, Hadrian's defensive policy partially resulted from the financial situation. Chr. Augé, "La réutilisation des monnaies de bronze à l'époque impériale: quelques exemples proche-orientaux", in: *Rythmes de la production monétaires de l'Antiquité à nos jours. Actes du colloque international organisé à Paris du 10 au 1er janvier 1986*, ed. G. Depeyrot, T. Hackens, G. Moucharte (Louvain-la-Neuve 1987) [further cited: Augé], pp. 229-232, presumes that it was precisely in Hadrian's reign that many first-century coins were countermarked in Decapolis and Arabia. Did the operating mints not produce the requisite mass of coins, or was their production deliberately limited?

¹⁴ The hypothesis advanced by Mitford and Nicolaou, p. 29, that Hadrian visited the island, seems untenable; cf. I. Dürr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian* (Vienna 1891), passim; W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Kaisers Hadrian* (Leipzig 1907), pp. 201, 211-213.

¹⁵ Cf. Howgego, p. 89; Harl, p. 19; M. Amandry, "Manipulations, innovations monétaires et technique financières dans le monde grec", in: *Actes de XIe Congrès International de Numismatique, Bruxelles, 8-13 Septembre 1991* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1993), pp. 1-3.

simultaneously. Amongst the twelve coins found, nine came from Cyprus: one dates to the period of Augustus, three to the reign of Claudius (including two countermarked under Hadrian; Fig. 2), another three represent the issues of Vespasian (with the obverse portraits of Vespasian, Titus and Domitian), and two of Trajan. Three Flavian coins are silver, the rest bronze.¹⁶ The other three bronze coins, probably not from Cyprus, are almost illegible.¹⁷

The coins countermarked under Hadrian suggest a date *post quem* for the deposit. The countermarks show the laureate draped bust of Hadrian, a type occurring on Roman coins dating to AD 117–119. Throughout the whole period of the reign of Hadrian these are the only Cypriot coins that bear his portrait.¹⁸

Is the occurrence of the Augustus' coin in this hoard accidental? There is much evidence that in many places, Republican and early imperial coins were still in use as late as the third century.¹⁹ In Cyprus, Augustus' coins were found in a hoard from Platani near Famagusta, which was also associated with a human skeleton. The coins of Trajan indicate the date *post quem* of the hoard.²⁰ There are some Augustus' coins countermarked several decades after their issue, under Domitian.²¹

It is impossible to say whether the countermarked coins had been in circulation without interruption through the whole period since their

¹⁶ I. Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Evidence for an unknown earthquake in Paphos", in: *Πρακτικά τοῦ Δευτέρου Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου, Λευκωσία 1982* (Λευκωσία 1985) [further cited: Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Evidence"], pp. 357–359, Nos. 1–9, Pls. 3.1–5; 4.6–9; *Paphos II*, p. 66, No. 536, Pl. XVIII; pp. 68–71, Nos. 545–549 and 553–555, Pl. XIX; pp. 144–145, Nos. 1–9.

¹⁷ *Paphos II*, pp. 93–94, Nos. 653–655, Pl. XXIV; pp. 145–146, Nos. 10–12; for an earlier, different opinion, Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Evidence", pp. 359–360, Nos. 10–12, Pl. 3.10–12.

¹⁸ Cf. *Paphos II*, p. 118.

¹⁹ D. Sperber, "New Light on the Problem of Demonetization in the Roman Empire", *NumChron* 10, 7th ser. (1970), pp. 111–112; cf. the presence of Ptolemaic coins in the hoard PHH 26 from Nea Paphos, the House of Orpheus, for which a date *post quem* is suggested by a Syrian coin of Antiochos, dated to AD 158/159 (?), I. Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Four Ptolemaic/Roman Hoards from Cyprus", *NumChron* 153 (1993) [further cited: Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Four Hoards"], pp. 17–21, Pls. 4–5.

²⁰ Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Four Hoards", pp. 24–26, Pl. 8; see below, note 32.

²¹ I. Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Cypriot bronze Greek Imperial countermarked Coins" in: *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Numismatics*, London, September 1986 [further cited: Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Countermarked Coins"], pp. 208–209, Nos. (1)–(13), Pl. 23.1–2, 4–5, 7–8, 12–13, 15–16, 18, 42; Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Four Hoards", pp. 15–16, No. 71.

striking. Countermarking of coins appears to have been a widespread practice in Cyprus (Table 1).²² Among them, bronze coins struck for Claudius are evidently most numerous. They are so much worn down, that their types cannot be determined. They most likely represent the *Koinon Kyprion* issues. Given a number of smooth illegible coins without countermarks, we will wonder whether these coins became obliterated simply through being used, or deliberately deprived of representations. The first solution entails countermarking by necessity, the second suggests the intention of countermarking to be decisive. In any event, the countermarks gave the worn flat specimens a legible, official stamp. The majority of the coins shows the countermarks of Domitian on the obverse and those of Trajan and Hadrian on the reverse (Fig. 1).²³ The specimens bearing only countermarks of Trajan and Hadrian are less numerous (Figs. 2–3).²⁴ On the assumption that the representations of old coins were deliberately obliterated, it seems appropriate to suggest that this practice had already taken place by the reign of Domitian, as indicated by the finds of the virtually worn-out coins of Claudius with the countermark of Domitian.²⁵ The presence of the legible coins (with the *Koinon Kyprion* inscription within a wreath) and the illegible, countermarked ones in one hoard is indeed an argument for the latter having been deliberately obliterated.²⁶ According to C.M. Kraay, after about

²² Apart from countermarks which can be associated with different rulers, there are undatable countermarks applied on the coins of Galba, Howgego, p. 210; No. 538; G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Cyprus* (London 1804) [further cited: *BMC Cyprus*], p. cxxii, Pl. XXVI. 2; Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Countermarked Coins", p. 211, Nos. (37)–(40), Pl. 26.35–38.

²³ Howgego, pp. 111–112, No. 38; p. 125, No. 108; p. 225, No. 603, Pl. 2. 6, 23; Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Countermarked Coins", pp. 210–211, Nos. (28)–(36), pp. 24–26, 30; Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Four Hoards", p. 18, Nos. 7–9.

²⁴ A. S. Murray, A. H. Smith, H. B. Walters, *Excavations in Cyprus* (London 1900), p. 72, two specimens; Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Countermarked Coins", pp. 209–210, Nos. (21)–(27), Pl. 25. 27–29, 31–32 and 26. 33–34; I. Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "The Coins", in: *Etudes Chypriotes XIII. La nécropole d'Amathonte, Tombes 110–385*, eds. V. Karageorghis, O. Picard, Chr. Tytgat (Nicosia 1994) [further cited: Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "The Coins"], p. 181, No. 32, Pl. IX.

²⁵ Howgego, p. 125, No. 108, Pl. 6; Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Countermarked Coins", p. 209, Nos. (15)–(19) and (20), also countermarked in the reign of Caracalla (?), Pl. 23.3,9,14,40–41; Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Four Hoards", p. 16, Nos. 74 and 75, Pl. 3.

²⁶ Cf. Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Four Hoards", Hoard PHH 26, p. 18, Nos. 4–9, Pl. 4; Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Countermarked Coins", pp. 214–215.

30–50 years of circulation, bronze coins were completely obliterated and required confirmation.²⁷ Chr. Augé points out that in the Near East, coins could be used for a very long time, until they became almost smooth.²⁸

The coinage circulated under varying conditions. Perhaps during the reign of Domitian the necessity to confirm the validity of many constantly circulating, worn flat coins became apparent, which accounts for countermarking the coins of Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius.²⁹ Thus, the coins issued under Claudius remained in circulation for about 30 years. Hadrian also countermarked coins after a similar period, but other coins were countermarked more than 60 years after they have been put into circulation.

I. Michaelidou-Nicolaou suggests that the countermarks of Trajan with TRAN/DACIC and those of Hadrian representing the emperor's portrait and the legend AYTOKAI or AYTOKA AΔPIA, were applied in the days of Hadrian as an expression of gratitude and homage to the previous emperor.³⁰ On one of the coins from the House of Dionysos, the countermark of Trajan followed the Hadrian's. The letter C, which is the ending of TRAN/DACIC, can be seen over the Hadrian's head (Fig. 2).³¹ The dating of the countermark devoted to Trajan to the period of Hadrian is also supported by the fact that on none of 14 coins of Claudius from the Platani hoard, for which a date *post quem* is suggested by Trajan's coins, displays such a countermark.³²

It is odd that the countermark of Trajan is Latin, while the portrait of Hadrian is accompanied by a Greek legend. I. Michaelidou-Nicolaou ascribes Cypriot countermark IDC/GCP to Domitian: *I(mperator) D(omitianus) C(aesar) G(ermanicus) C(ensor) P(erpetuus)* or *C(ensoria) P(otestate)*, in which the use of Latin and not Greek might indicate that the counter-

²⁷ C. M. Kray, "The Behaviour of Early Imperial Countermarks" in: *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to Harold Mattingly*, ed. R. A. G. Carson, C. H. V. Sutherland (Oxford 1956), p. 131.

²⁸ Augé, p. 229.

²⁹ See above, notes 21, 23–25; Tiberius, Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Countermarked Coins", p. 209, No. (14), Pl. 23. 11; Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Four Hoards", p. 16, Nos. 72 and 73 (Roman coin), Pl. 3.

³⁰ Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Countermarked Coins", p. 214; *Paphos II*, pp. 118–119.

³¹ Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Countermarked Coins", p. 209, No. (21), Pl. 25. 28; *Paphos II*, p. 69, No. 548; p. 145, No. 8; p. 118, Pl. XX.

³² See above, note 21.

marking took place under the supervision of a proconsul.³³ If the language really points to the magistrate who initiated countermarking, does it mean that there were two centres to countermark coins during the reign of Hadrian? Perhaps one may interpret both countermarks in question as having different functions. One of them, Latin, was perhaps intended to recall the deceased emperor, while the second, with the Greek legend and Hadrian's portrait, occurs for purpose of replacing local issues. On some coins Hadrian's countermark partially obscures that of Trajan.³⁴ This should not have happened if Hadrian's sole intention was to honour his predecessor. Obviously, the chief task of countermarking during the reign of Hadrian was to put enough money into circulation, with the countermarked coins supplementing the market, instead of coinage of Hadrian himself. Trajan's countermarks with the title he received in AD 102 and which appeared in countermarks stamped on both Roman imperial³⁵ and some provincial coins,³⁶ most likely aimed at concealing the fact that Hadrian authorised old coins, issued by Claudius, which were obliterated already in the days of Domitian. Was it that the countermarking of coins under Hadrian contributed not only to their further circulation, but also to retaining their value?

A new coin (*nummum asperum*) was usually valued higher than the circulating one. Though the literary and epigraphic sources refer mostly to silver,³⁷ it is reasonable to assume that no one considered the worn-out bronze coins to be of full value. If they were worn down as early as the times of Domitian, they had most likely been exchanged at a different rate since then, which brought certain profits that partly fed the town's treasury. The lack of the local issues in Cyprus may have been exploited in this way, too.

According to an imperial rescript from Pergamum, a refusal to accept "unworn" coins or applying a different exchange rate to them (*aspra-*

³³ Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Countermarked Coins", p. 213; cf. Howgego, pp. 4, 89.

³⁴ Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Countermarked Coins", p. 209, No. (25), Pl. 25. 32; p. 210, No. (31), Pl. 24. 23.

³⁵ H. Mattingly, *A Catalogue of the Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum III* (London 1936), p. xviii.

³⁶ Howgego, pp. 5 and 27, Nos. 529 and 530.

³⁷ Cf. Suet., Nero 44; OGIS 484; Howgego, pp. 10–11; Howgego, "Why", p. 17; W. Metcalf, *The Cistophori of Hadrian* (New York 1980), p. 119; A. Burnett, *The Coinage in the Roman World* (London 1987) [further cited: Burnett], pp. 102–103.

toura) was an abuse on the part of the money changers.³⁸ This document from the days of Hadrian concerns a particular city in Asia Minor, but the case was probably similar throughout the Empire.

The deposit of twelve coins from the House of Dionysos cannot be regarded as fully representative for the coinage in Cyprus under Hadrian. It is possible that some issues, in circulation on the island, are not represented here.³⁹ For instance, the silver coins in this deposit are only fractional evidence for the issues that have taken place during the last three years of Vespasian and at the beginning of the reign of Titus.⁴⁰

Countermarks applied on Flavian coins in the second and third centuries attest their use for many years after its putting into circulation. The countermarks with the portraits of Marcus Aurelius (Figs. 4–5),⁴¹ Caracalla (?),⁴² and Iulia Domna (?)⁴³ occur on coins of both large and smaller diameter. The hardly legible legends hinder identification.

Of course, the need for the silver coinage differed from that for bronze

³⁸ Cf. Burnett, p. 103; Harl, p. 18.

³⁹ It is an interesting fact that neither the hoards of bronze coins known from Cyprus nor the deposit in question include the coinage of Galba; see Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Four Hoards", *passim*.

⁴⁰ It is discussed whether these issues may be associated with assistance for Cyprus after an earthquake during the reign of Vespasian and, consequently, with the transfer of the mint from Syria; see *BMC Cyprus*, pp. cxxiii–cxxiv; C. M. Kraay, "Notes on the Early Imperial Tetrachms of Syria", *RevNum* VII, sér. 6 (1965), p. 68; D. R. Walker, *The Metrology of Roman Coinage I. From Augustus to Domitian* (Oxford 1976) [further cited: Walker I], p. 132; Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Evidence", pp. 361–362; Paphos II, pp. 117, 146; B. Helly, "Monnaies de Vespasien frappées à Chypre", in: *Salamine de Chypre: Histoire et archéologie, Colloques internationaux du C.N.R.S. No. 578* (1980) [further cited: Helly], *passim*; Mitford, pp. 1310–1311.

⁴¹ Howgego, p. 295, No. 844, Pl. 32, coins of Vespasian, Titus and Domitian; cf. *BMC Cyprus*, p. cxxiv; p. 78, No. 25; p. 77, No. 19; p. 79, No. 26, Pl. XV. 3, 8–9; P. Gilmore, "Countermarks on Flavian Cypriot Silver", *NCirc* XC, 5 (June 1982), p. 159, Fig. 1, Vespasian (the portrait on the countermark resembles Antoninus Pius); Fig. 2, Domitian, caesar; E. Babelon, *Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Les Perses Achéménides, les Satrapes et les dynasties tributaires de leur empire, Chypre et Phénicie* (Paris 1893), p. 117, No. 799 and p. 119, No. 810 (the portrait on the countermark is interpreted as an image of Antoninus Pius); cf. *BMC Cyprus*, p. cxxiv, Pl. XXVI. 4; Helly, "Monnaies de Vespasien frappées à Chypre; essai d'étude", in: *Pact* 5 (see above, note 2) [further cited: Helly, "Monnaies"], p. 121; cf. Helly, p. 299, Table II, SAL 8058 and 8059.

⁴² Howgego, p. 294, No. 845, coin with the head of Vespasian on the obverse, and p. 295, No. 846, coin with the head of Titus on the obverse, Pl. 32; cf. *BMC Cyprus*, p. cxxiv, Pl. XXVI. 5; according to Babelon, *op. cit.*, p. 119, No. 808, the countermark with the portrait of Domitian.

⁴³ Howgego, p. 295, No. 847, coin of Vespasian and No. 848, coin of Titus, Pl. 32.

coins. The latter most likely prevailed in the everyday life. If need be, coins were exchanged according to a fixed exchange rate.⁴⁴ In Cyprus, as elsewhere, there must have existed banks and exchange offices. The convertibility of silver and bronze coins was essential for the economy.

It is difficult to say whether Cypriot didrachms and tetradrachms were used in other eastern provinces as well.⁴⁵ Yet it should be stressed that they were subject to Roman, and not local control.

According to D.R. Walker's calculations, Cypriot drachms were struck at 2.82 g of silver (calculated from the weight of tetradrachms) is close to the mean for the Syrian drachma, 2.88 g, and only slightly less than the silver content in the Roman denarius.⁴⁶ In the years AD 76–79, Vespasian had coined denarii at ca. 2.85–2.93 g of silver, a figure which had slightly raised during the reign of Titus (2.94–2.96 g for the issues of AD 79–80),⁴⁷ from which again a slight decline had taken place. Under Trajan and Hadrian the denarius contained 2.80–2.90 g of silver, i.e. about 2.85 g on average.⁴⁸

It is difficult to say what quantity of denarii circulated in commercial trading in Cyprus. A hoard of silver coins, probably from Larnaca, contained specimens, the date of which ranges from Vespasian (22 denarii and 3 didrachms) to Commodus (7 denarii).⁴⁹ The two largest groups are denarii struck under Hadrian (107) and Antoninus Pius (111). The circumstances, in which the hoard was deposited remain unknown. This rich hoard is all the more interesting since the finds of single denarii in Cyprus are rare (Fig. 6).⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Cf. an inscription from Pergamum, Burnett, p. 102; Butcher, p. 26; see also Matcalf, pp. 119–120.

⁴⁵ On the distribution of these coins, see Helly, pp. 308–310; Helly, "Monnaies", p. 120; contra, Howgego, p. 294; cf. the list of finds by Jones, p. 316, Table 4; B. E. Vlamis, "Coin Hoards of Cypriot Coins found in Cyprus and Elsewhere", *NRep* (Cyprus) XI (1980), Cypriot coins have been noted only in two hoards from Dura-Europos, p. 84, CNR/187–198; Walker I, p. 138, note 9.

⁴⁶ Walker I, pp. 132, 137; cf. Helly, "Monnaies", p. 120.

⁴⁷ Walker I, pp. 91–94, 115.

⁴⁸ Walker II, *From Nerva to Commodus* (Oxford 1977), pp. 56–57.

⁴⁹ W. E. Metcalf, "A Roman Hoard from Cyprus", *NumChron* XIX (CXXXIX), 7th ser. (1979), pp. 26–35, Pls. 4–6.

⁵⁰ D. H. Cox, *Coins from the Excavations at Curium, 1932–1953, 1939* (New York 1959) [further cited: Cox], p. 28, No. 217; Polish excavations in Nea Paphos, Obj. No. 553/83, catalogue of coins in preparation.

The bronze coinage of Trajan played an important role in Cypriot economy during the reign of his successor. These coins had been issued relatively recently and it would appear reasonable to keep them in circulation. Moreover, Hadrian owed his position to Trajan: he was his adoptive son. If under Hadrian's reign the coins of Claudius were countermarked with Trajan's countermark, it was, for sure recognized as all the more advantageous to leave the latter's coins for the further circulation. Corroborative evidence comes from the deposit found in the House of Dionysos, which included two coins of Trajan.

Another Trajan's coin representing a temple of Aphrodite on the reverse, bears a countermark with the head of an emperor, possibly a portrait of Marcus Aurelius.⁵¹ Thus, it may have been still in circulation in the second half of the second century. Unfortunately, examples of the kind are few.

Three coins in the hoard from the House of Dionysos struck outside Cyprus are difficult to interpret. Given their poor state of preservation, identification seems impossible. These coins may have been brought back from a trip, or became part of the deposit by accident. They could also be put into local circulation as small coins.

Coins struck under Hadrian outside Cyprus are not often found on the island.⁵² With the exception of mints in Egypt and Syria (Fig. 7), other provincial centres of coin production are represented by single examples. Moreover imperial bronze coins rarely occur in Cyprus.⁵³ It seems therefore that the use of the local coinage prevailed, just as was the case in Asia Minor.⁵⁴

Notwithstanding the lack of local issues under Hadrian, we cannot say

⁵¹ Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Countermarked Coins", p. 212, No. 41, Pl. 26. 39; p. 214, commentary (mistake in identification of the specimen as a coin of Hadrian).

⁵² Cox, p. 25, No. 187; p. 27, No. 205; G. Argout, O. Callot, B. Helly, A. M. Larribeau, "Le temple de Zeus à Salamine", RDAC (1975), p. 137, SAL 7552; *Paphos* II, p. 72, No. 559, Pl. XX; p. 76, Nos. 575–577, Pl. XXI; p. 78, No. 585, Pl. XXI; p. 184, No. 21, Pl. XXXVI; Polish excavations, Obj. No. 193/71; cf. B. Kaposy, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Schweiz II. Münzen der Antike, Katalog der Sammlungen Jean-Pierre Righetti im Bernischen Historischen Museum* (Bern, Stuttgart and Vienna 1994), No. 1954.

⁵³ Ph. Grierson, "Appendix II. The Coins: general Observations", RDAC (1940–1948), p. 64; J.M. Webb, *Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities, Cypriote Antiquities in the Abbey Museum, Queensland, Australia* (Gotheburg 1986), p. 38, No. 117.

⁵⁴ Cf. Jones, pp. 318–323; Howgego, p. 84.

that this was a time of difficulty in Cyprus. Of course, in case of trouble, intervention of the imperial authorities was sometimes indispensable.

The Jewish revolt, which broke out towards the end of the reign of Trajan, spread from Egypt to Cyrene and Cyprus.⁵⁵ Salamis suffered much in particular,⁵⁶ which could explain the reconstruction of the theatre during the reign of Hadrian. On the evidence of the inscription dedicated to Hadrian, which was found on the back side of the *frons scaenae*, T. B. Mitford and I.K. Nicolaou put forward the thesis that Hadrian granted Salamis special financial aid or freed the town from taxation.⁵⁷ This was certainly not assistance in the form of consent to strike coins, but the second supposition, immunity from taxation, seems very plausible. As a result, a considerable amount of money could be spent to reconstruct destroyed buildings of the city. There are epigraphic records to demonstrate that the proconsul exercised supervision (ἐπιμέλεια) over many public works.⁵⁸ This was probably the case with the proconsul Flaccus, who was held in the greatest respect by the inhabitants of Salamis. His name occurs in an inscription from AD 123, and another inscription mentions the functions he performed.⁵⁹

A call for help could also come from Paphos, which, as I. Michaelidou-Nicolaou has argued, experienced an earthquake in the reign of Hadrian. The collapse of the wall in the House of Dionysos may have been a result of such a cataclysm. Two coins struck under Claudius and countermarked by Hadrian, which belong to the hoard of 12 coins found near the skeleton of the man killed by the falling wall (probably the content of the purse), suggest a date *post quem* for the earthquake.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Mitford, pp. 1323, 1345; *Paphos* II, p. 2.

⁵⁶ G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge 1949), p. 241; S. Perowne, *Hadrian* (London 1960), pp. 43, 139; Mitford, p. 1298.

⁵⁷ Mitford, Nicolaou, p. 120; see above, note 4. There is perhaps another inscription dealing with the same event, see *ibid.*, p. 122, No. 93; *Testimonia Salamina* 2, p. 63, No. 141, Pl. 15.

⁵⁸ Cf. Mitford, pp. 1336, 1344.

⁵⁹ *Testimonia Salamina* 2, pp. 56–57, No. 125; Mitford, p. 1305, calls attention to the fact that the proconsulship of Cyprus was not highly regarded, and only exceptionally did the holder win higher office later; cf. Mitford and Nicolaou, p. 121.

⁶⁰ Nicolaou, "Evidence", p. 361; *Paphos* II, p. 146; J.W. Hayes, *Paphos* III. *The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery* (Nicosia 1991), p. 202. The absence of the coins of Antoninus Pius dated by Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "The Coins", p. 191, to the years 140–161, may suggest that the earthquake took place before their putting into circulation.

Cassius Dio records that after another earthquake that hit Paphos in the reign of Augustus, the emperor granted financial assistance to the city and allowed it the title *Augusta*, Σεβαστή.⁶¹ It is possible that in the reign of Hadrian, Paphos also received imperial support. This time too the town certainly was not given permission to produce its own coinage.⁶²

Exemption from taxation and the financing of public works by the proconsul may have affected positively the financial situation of the province. Our information about the practice of various transactions is rather scarce.⁶³ There is little reason to doubt that, despite the absence of the new local coinage, care was taken to assure a supply of money, a requisite amount of silver and bronze currency in circulation. The countermarked coinage of Claudius surely played an important role, though we do not know how the countermarking itself was conducted, or what was the value of these coins. It seems that the practice of countermarking of worn-out coins was one of the instruments of the imperial financial policy in Cyprus, with the proconsul as a supervisor, but controlled directly by the local authorities.

BARBARA LICHOCKA

Pieniądz na Cyprze za panowania Hadriana

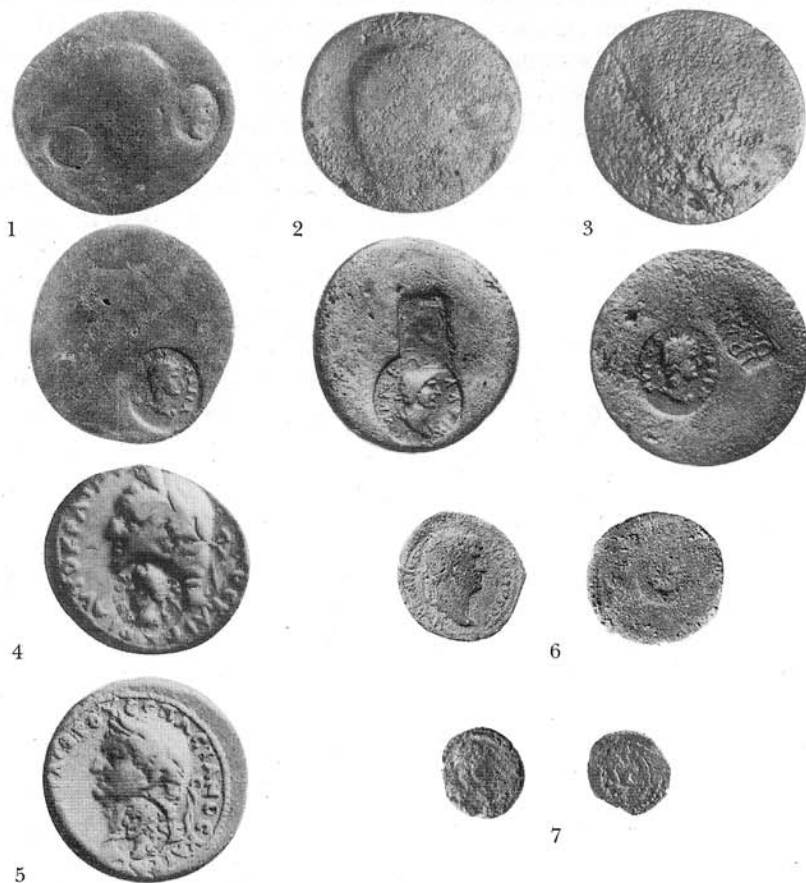
Za panowania Hadriana lokalna produkcja monet na Cyprze zostaje wstrzymana. W obrocie muszą więc pozostać jednostki emitowane wcześniej. Zespół dwunastu monet znaleziony w Nea Pafos na terenie Domu Dionizosa obok szkieletu człowieka, który zginął przygnieciony upadającą ścianą budowli, najprawdopodobniej podczas trzęsienia ziemi, stanowi skromne ale ważne świadectwo wskazujące z jak odległych czasowo emisji pochodziły monety, którymi posługiwano się na Cyprze za Hadriana. Na zespół składają się srebrne i brązowe monety emitowane lokalnie, w czasach Augusta, Klaudiusza, Wespazjana i Trajana oraz trzy monety brązowe spoza Cypru. Na

⁶¹ Cass. Dio. XXIII 24, 7; Mitford, p. 1310; Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Evidence", p. 361; Paphos II, p. 146; cf. M. Amandry, "Le monnayage julio-claudien à Chypre I. Auguste", Cahiers du Centre d'Etudes Chypriotes 7 (1987), p. 26.

⁶² The suggested issue of silver coins after an earthquake during the reign of Vespasian requires separate consideration; see above, notes 40, 45.

⁶³ Cf. Jones, p. 309.

dwóch monetach Klaudiusza znajdują się kontrmarki Hadriana, z cesarskim portretem w wieńcu laurowym i draperii. Ten typ datowany jest na lata 117–119. Można przyjąć, że kontrmarki Hadriana wyznaczają datę *post quem* dla tragicznego wydarzenia. Znaleziony zespół daje tylko ułamkową informację o tym jakie monety pozostawały jednocześnie w obiegu w tym okresie. Wiadomości uzyskane na podstawie innych zespołów, jak na przykład skarb z Platani i pojedynczych znalezisk uzupełniają ten obraz. Nie wiadomo dlaczego Hadrian nie zezwolił na lokalne emisje cypryjskie. Być może podyktowane to było względami ekonomicznymi, na rynku znajdowało się dostatecznie dużo monet. Nie jest też wykluczone, że Hadrian nie chciał mieszać się do wewnętrznych sporów między dwoma ważnymi miastami wyspy, Salaminą i Pafos, a udzielenie zgody na emisje mogłoby powiększyć trwającą od lat rywalizację tych ośrodków. Być może kontrmarkowanie przez Hadriana nieczytelnych monet Klaudiusza było swoistym działaniem zastępczym. Niewątpliwie cesarz nie pozostawił prowincji bez potrzebnych środków. Nic nie wskazuje na załamanie gospodarcze czy finansowe na Cyprze w tym okresie.



1. Claudius, Cyprus, Paphos, Æ, AD 41–54, with the countermarks of Domitian (?), Trajan and Hadrian; Nea Paphos, House of Orpheus, Hoard PHH 26, No. 3 (Michaelidou-Nicolaou, „Countermarked Coins”, Pl. 24.21).
2. Claudius, Cyprus, Paphos, Æ, AD 41–54, with the countermarks of Trajan and Hadrian; Nea Paphos, House of Dionisos, No. OΔ 3788 (ibid., Pl. 25.28).
3. Claudius, Cyprus, Paphos, Æ, AD 41–54, with the countermarks of Trajan and Hadrian; Nea Paphos, House of Dionisos, No. OΔ 3797 (ibid., Pl. 25.29).
4. Vespasian, Cyprus, Paphos (or Salamis ?), /R, tetradrachm, year Θ (9), AD 77/78, with the countermark of Marcus Aurelius, obverse; London, British Museum (BMC Cyprus, Pl. XV.9).
5. Vespasian, Cyprus, Paphos (or Salamis ?), /R, tetradrachm, year I (10), AD 78/79, with the countermark of Marcus Aurelius, obverse; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (BMC Cyprus, Pl. XXVI.4).
6. Hadrian, Rom, /R, denarius, AD 125–138; Nea Paphos, Villa of Theseus, obj. No. 553/83 (photo Z. Doliński).
7. Hadrian, Syria, Antioch, Æ, undated (AD 117–138); Nea Paphos, Villa of Theseus, obj. No. 193/71 (photo A. Wichniewicz).