



TYPOI.

Greek Coins and their Images: *noble* issuers, *humble* users?

EBSA-KIKIIE-EFA, FRS-FNRS, ULg

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François de Callataÿ, *L'iconographie monétaire dans le monde grec (historiographie et problématiques) : une vue perspective*

L'étude des monnaies grecques a longtemps accordé une place prioritaire aux questions iconographiques (XVIe-XVIIIe s.). On se propose de retracer les grandes phases de ce type de recherches, jusqu'à sa notable désaffection ces dernières décennies et son regain d'intérêt aujourd'hui. On tentera ensuite de dresser la feuille de route de ce que la recherche peut espérer ou pas de l'étude des types monétaires, en veillant à bien isoler les problématiques selon qu'elles relèvent de la conception de la diffusion ou de la réception de ces types

Maria Beatriz Florenzano, *Gods and Greek Coins*

The variety of Greek coin types has since the beginning of scientific numismatics challenged specialists. It has been almost impossible to build up interpretative models that could account for the explanation of all the many images that appear on Greek coins or even to establish firm criteria for their interpretation.

Since the sixteenth century, when modern Europe experienced the rise of Modern National States, the study of Greek coins (as well as the study of the history of Classical Antiquity) was impregnated by the notion of "State". This led to an institutional interpretation in which coin types were approached as emblems of issuing authorities, and gods and goddesses were to be understood as tutelary deities of the State. As useful as this model can prove to be, it does not explain a great number of images that appear on Greek coins.

Our intention in this lecture is to show through some examples of representation of deities on coins that, in many cases, if we cross the frontier of the Greek State (the polis) we are able to recognize in monetary iconography networks of meaning that correspond to identities which go much beyond the city state and their issuing authorities.

Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, *Divinités « tutélaires » et monnaies. Problèmes de vocabulaire et de méthode*

En 1976, Ursula Brackertz présentait à Berlin une dissertation intitulée *Zum Problem der Schutzgottheiten griechischer Städte*. La divinité protectrice de la cité était au centre de ce doctorat, qui allait jusqu'à proposer un « portrait-robot » de ce type de divinité, sur la base de critères plus ou moins contraignants selon les cas. Parmi ceux-ci entrain en ligne de compte, à titre secondaire, la présence de la divinité en question sur les monnaies frappées par la cité. En se fondant sur quelques dossiers représentatifs, la présente communication tentera d'appliquer les acquis d'études récentes sur les notions discutées de « divinité poliade » ou de « divinité tutélaire » aux documents numismatiques afin d'engager un débat entre historiens de la religion grecque et spécialistes des monnaies.

Maria Caltabiano, *Lessico Iconografico Numismatico (LIN)*

Our interpretive approach to coin images is based on the existence of an "iconographic language" and on the consequent parallelism between iconic language and verbal language. The coin image or *typos* performs in visual communication the same role as the 'word', and therefore possesses a specific, or 'basic' meaning which should be looked for, as in the study of languages, by analysing

the *typos* over space and time (diachronic and diatopic analysis) and in the greatest possible number of contexts in which it is used.

The wide-ranging collection of data, performed on documents which cover vast periods of time and geographical areas, makes it possible to verify phenomena of continuity or irregularity in the meaning of the iconographies and their belonging to categories which are also defined in terms of cultural “continuity” and “discontinuity”.

We thus reconstruct “the history of the coin type”, or the “stratigraphic representation” of its meaning, which strips the structure of iconic language bare and, using a multidisciplinary method, retrieves the relationship between the images and the realities which they represent, and that between the images and the cultural context in which they are used.

Laurent Bricault & Richard Veymiers, *Gens isiaque et intailles. L'envers de la médaille*

La publication récente de répertoires numismatique et gemmologique relatifs aux divinités du cercle isiaque permet aujourd’hui de confronter deux types de sources historiques relevant de sphères bien différentes. Nombre d’images gravées dans la pierre se retrouvent sur des revers monétaires, en particulier ceux frappés à Alexandrie, qui leur ont servi de modèles déjà miniaturisés. La création d’un type en numismatique a en effet souvent provoqué sa vogue en glyptique. Généralement coupées de tout contexte, les gemmes retrouvent ainsi grâce aux monnaies de précieux points de repères chronologiques et géographiques. Ceci dit, le répertoire numismatique n’est pas sans présenter de fortes divergences avec celui des camées et des intailles, qui est beaucoup plus riche, non assujéti à des règles officielles. Les critères ayant présidé au choix des motifs y sont très différents, variant selon les sentiments des artisans, les attentes des clients, qui y apposent parfois leur nom personnel et n’appartiennent pas forcément aux classes les plus aisées. Fabriqués dans des ateliers distincts, les gemmes et monnaies ne circulent pas dans les mêmes aires, ne remplissent pas les mêmes fonctions, bien que certaines monnaies, perforées, aient pu être transformées en amulettes personnelles.

Wolfgang Fischer-Bossert, *Imitations and remodellings of Sicilian coin types - fashion or politics?*

As I have been dealing not only in the past (see my article in *SNR* 1998) but also right now (working on an up-dating introduction to an English translation of Tudeer's work on the signing engravers of Syracuse) with the imitations and remodellings of Syracusan and other Sicilian coin images, I am wondering whether this topic would fit the conference quite well. There are many problems and open questions that I did not address in 1998, and for various reasons could not address in the forthcoming book.

As for 'imitations', it is not about simple typological loans, like the adaption of Syracusan coin types by the Punic mints, or the 'chariot fashion' among Sicilian mints that had traditionally different images, like Leontini and Acragas. It is about imitations of specified models, i.e. dies, among both Greek and Punic mints. These imitations have been discussed so far for their chronological implications, but the reasons for the popularity of specific models have - as far as I know - never been discussed. Of course it is by no means only about 'popular' designs like those of the Syracusan

decadrachms! What is really puzzling here are remodellings where various - most often two, but three as well - models are connected in one imitation.

Only a few of the imitations may be explained by employments of engravers that had already made the model. In many other cases this explanation is not valid, and I am reluctant to take a decision whether there is a political reason behind those adaptations.

Mariangela Puglisi, *Greek coinages of Sicily: war and typological choices.*

Following the criteria of the *Lexicon Iconographicum Numismaticae Classicae et Mediae Aetatis (LIN)* - above all the relationship between the obverses and the reverses of coins, between the main types and secondary images or attributes - I intend to analyse the possible links between the choices of monetary images and the coinages struck by or for the mercenaries or the armies in Sicily in the Greek period, to state whether there was a conventional communicative code in the message, related to the war imagery, that renews diachronically in circumstances of new conflicts. Sicily can represent a case-study to identify eventual recurrences of typological choices to be compared diatopically with other contemporary coinages in the Mediterranean area.

Sergei Kovalenko, *Monetary imagery in the Northern Black Sea Littoral: remote area, familiar trends?*

Ancient coinages of the Northern Black Sea Littoral despite of the quite limited number of mints (no more than ten of them are known so far) demonstrate surprising diversity comprising along with *polis'* coins those of Greek *basileis* as well as issues of barbarian tribes and kings struck on the same Greek mints.

Considerable geographical remoteness of this region from the main centers of the Greek civilization and association of the Northern Black Sea area with some Greek myths and legends undoubtedly caused to existence some peculiar features of the local coinages, and in particular, emergence and usage of some exotic images as coin types. At the same time it did not mean isolation of these mints from the main ways of development of the Greek coinage.

As analysis of repertoire of images used on the coins of the Northern Black Sea testify, their choice could have been dictated by a number of reasons. Along with above-mentioned and lying on surface allusions to the geographical location of *poleis* in question, some latent motives could have been involved in this process.

Absence of direct epigraphic and other evidences allowing to restore the mechanism of the mint activity and in particular process of taking decision on the monetary iconography demands to pay special attention to the study of the indirect data given by written sources, glyptics, archaeology. Thus, it turns out that traditional coin-types used regularly in the number of consequent series are often less informative in this sense than unique images of some singular coin issue, which might give some clues to how such decisions were made and hence to get some ideas on the pattern of the whole process.

In the paper the attempt is undertaken to pick out common trends in activity of the local mint authorities in regard to shaping set of images as well as to trace its peculiarities in each mint. Special attention is paid to the consideration of verification of the conclusions drawn and to the discussion of question, to what extent our subjective notions could have corresponded to the reality.

Sélène Psoma, *From Odrysian Sparadokos to Corcyra through Olynthus : remarks on iconography.*

The aim of this paper is to explain the iconography of three different coinages of Classical date. These are : (a) the reverse type of the silver coinage of Sparadokos, eagle and snake; (b) the obverse type of the silver coinage issued in the name of the city of Olynthus, horse and horse and Ionic column, and (c) the reverse type of the silver coinage of the city of Corcyra, two thunderbolts. Each coinage is placed in its relevant historical background while geography and the city's politics serve are taken under consideration in the effort to explain them

Anne Destrooper-Georgiades, *Signification et destinataires des images et légendes monétaires de Marion du 5^e au 4^e siècle av. J.-C.*

On se propose d'examiner comment l'évolution de la conjoncture politique et des relations économiques, la situation démographique, culturelle et religieuse de la cité déterminent le choix des images et légendes monétaires, et dans le cas du monnayage de Stasioikos III, leurs différences suivant le métal frappé, or et argent ou bronze.

Andy Meadows, *The Great Transformation. Civic Coin Design in the 2nd Century BC*

The second century BC saw a radical change in the nature of civic coin design. Where posthumous Alexanders had been the norm for many states in the late 3rd and early 2nd century, particularly in western Asia Minor, the middle part of the second century saw a shift back to more local iconographic programmes at many cities. The wreathed coinages are one example of this phenomenon, as are those issued in the names of local deities. But this shift was not simply a return to the designs of the 5th and 4th centuries, it coincided with a paradigm shift in the nature of the representation of local divinities on coins. This paper will examine the great transformation against the background of contemporary royal coin design, recent work on the quantification of some of the issues concerned, the epigraphical evidence for the relationships between these cities and their deities, the interrelationships of civic and royal economies, and the broader historical circumstances faced by civic authorities in the 2nd century BC.

Ioannis Stoyas, *Methodological remarks on matters of iconography, metrology and chronology of Hellenistic federal coinages from Thessaly to Aetolia*

Karsten Dahmen, *King into legend. Varying perspectives of Alexander. Issuer and audience of coins bearing the image of Alexander the Great*

I'll provide a survey of the various types of his image on coin broken down by 1) metal 2) audience 3) issuer 4) possible aim/objective

Oliver D. Hoover, *The Sincerest Form of Flattery: Imitation and Counterfeiting in the Seleucid Empire*

Using the limited documentary evidence, ancient historical context, and early modern parallels as a guide, it will be argued that some--if not many--coins imitating Seleucid royal types were actually produced as expedient money in order to meet the demands of particular money markets within and outside the borders of the empire. In many cases these demands might be imposed by the Seleucid fiscal authorities, but in others they might be imposed by groups intended as the recipients of the coins (i.e. mercenary bands). It will further be shown that only very limited profits could have been obtained through the production of the known imitative series if they were struck by illegal counterfeiters. The question of whether some fourie Seleucid coins might not have been struck with official sanction is also discussed.

Panagiotis P. Iossif, *Blurring Trademarks: Kings to gods or gods to kings?*

Many Hellenistic issues depict on their obverse a portrait bearing divine attributes assigned to a particular god but the features of the king responsible for the emission as it appears on other issues (or media). In this conference, we propose to examine all Hellenistic issues involving the blurred images of kings/gods and propose a methodology of how to read these images. Special study-cases will be put forward in order to illustrate the purpose. Our goal will be to answer the questions: were these blurrings intentional? If yes, who was responsible: the issuing authorities or the engravers? What was the purpose of these blurrings? Where they intended to bear a theological dimension well beyond the simple fusion of the faces of kings with gods? Where these coins intended to special audiences capable to understand «dissimulated» messages? Does these type correspond to the category of «easily recognizable» images facilitating their use? All these questions will also allow us to ask the fundamental for the reading of royal divine images on coins questions: What is the nature of divine attributes, what was their ontology and utility when completing a royal image? A corpus of all doubtful cases of blurring between king's (queen's) and deity's faces will complete the study.

Thomas Faucher, *Beyond Ptolemaic coin types*

The monotony of monetary types of Ptolemaic coinage has often repelled art historians. Those who worked on it mainly focused on precious coins to assure their identifications of portraits of the Ptolemaic rulers. But it is interesting to look beyond the types shown on gold, silver and bronze coins. Iconographic quantification allows first to put into perspective the headlines of the Ptolemaic coinage both in time and space. It goes through analyzing the material from both hoards and excavations, and to compare it to the European museum collections. Then, the absence in the Ptolemaic coinage of deities yet very popular in other crafts (as terracotta) questions the choice of types. Finally, in which purpose are established and selected the types? In the bronze coinage, new images almost always mean a monetary change; is this true for all the Ptolemaic coinage? These questions should provide elements for understanding coin types, somehow, iconography serving numismatics.

Bernhard E. Woytek, *The depth of knowledge and the speed of thought. The imagery of Roman Republican coinage and the contemporary audience*

For some areas of ancient numismatics it is not easy to establish who selected the coin types. Consequently, the problem has been at the centre of scholarly debate for quite some time – Roman Imperial coinage is a textbook example of this phenomenon. Roman Republican coinage, for its part, is different. It is commonly acknowledged that, from the second century BC onwards, the officers signing the coins were responsible for the bewildering variety of different denarius types which is so characteristic of this class of coinage in the Late Republic. From a methodological point of view, this seemingly puts us into an advantageous position, since we do not have to scrutinize who devised the images – but why did the (mostly junior) magistrates choose to send out these visual messages at all? And, most notably, what about the receiving end?

Especially this latter change of perspective, from issuers to coin users, engenders a host of questions, some of which will be addressed in this contribution: Why did the imagery of Roman silver change drastically, after a considerable period of frozen types immediately after the introduction of the denarius? Was this development linked to a fundamental change in the social environment, as has been argued? The visual inconsistency of Late Republican silver coins is in striking contrast not only with earlier Roman coins, but also with contemporary Hellenistic silver coinages – is it possible to pinpoint a reason for this? The imagery of Late Republican denarii was often highly sophisticated – to what extent was it intelligible to coin users? The concept of “audience targeting” has been exploited for imperial coinages in the recent past – can it be applied to Republican numismatics with profit? Did Republican coin types have different meanings to people with different education levels? What relationship do the types have with comparable representations in other media? And do we have any evidence for the impact the types of Republican coins made on the people who used the money?

Pierre Assenmaker, *Images romaines dans les monnaies grecques de l'époque des imperatores. Quelle place et quels destinataires pour les références au pouvoir romain dans le paysage monétaire du Ier siècle av. J.-C. en Grèce et en Asie Mineure ?*

Avant l'introduction massive du denier dans le monde grec à partir du milieu du Ier siècle av. J.-C., les campagnes romaines en Grèce et en Asie Mineure étaient essentiellement financées par des monnayages locaux, en particulier ceux jouissant d'une large diffusion, les *stéphanéphores* athéniens et les *cistophores* notamment. On y a identifié depuis longtemps les indices de la présence romaine, qu'il s'agisse des noms de promagistrats ou d'*imperatores* responsables de frappes, ou encore de certains symboles signalant une émission produite pour le compte des Romains ou par une autorité « proromaine ». S'inscrivant dans la continuité de ces recherches, notre communication portera sur les éléments iconographiques faisant référence à Rome ou aux commandants romains dans les monnayages grecs du Ier siècle av. J.-C.

La présence de références romaines dans la typologie pose en effet une série de questions directement liées au thème de ce colloque. Tout d'abord sur la valeur de l'image monétaire comme vecteur d'un message idéologique aux yeux des *imperatores* en campagne dans le monde grec, notamment par rapport aux autres moyens de communication qu'ils utilisaient (monuments, inscriptions, etc.). Ensuite sur les modalités du choix de ces images : répondaient-elles à un

« programme » élaboré par le chef d'armée et son état-major, ou étaient-elles conçues comme un libre « hommage » de la part des autorités monétaires civiles ? On s'interrogera également sur les destinataires du message véhiculé par la typologie : Romains ou/et Grecs ? Enfin, nous tenterons de mettre en évidence les similitudes et les différences dans les thèmes véhiculés par le monnayage grec et par celui de l'atelier de Rome ou produit au nom des *imperatores*.

Arnaud Suspène, *Entre la Grèce et Rome : les traditions iconographiques du monnayage d'Auguste*

Les types du monnayage d'Auguste procèdent de plusieurs traditions iconographiques : certains sont proprement romains, d'autres manifestement dérivés des monnayages grecs et hellénistiques. Nous examinerons comment la rencontre s'opère et où se fixent les points d'équilibre dans les différents secteurs du monnayage augustéen (provinces orientales ou ateliers occidentaux). Il faudra pour cela tenir compte du contexte politique dans lequel les types sont élaborés, des publics auxquels les monnaies semblent destinées, de l'organisation interne des images monétaires (notamment du dialogue entre épigraphie et iconographie), des variations chronologiques et des différences de dénomination et de métal. Notre but sera de déterminer si l'on peut considérer que l'iconographie fasse partie de la politique monétaire d'Auguste, de préciser dans quelle mesure le premier Princeps a innové ou s'est au contraire conformé à une tradition et de proposer une réflexion sur le sens et la fonction des images monétaires dans un Empire en construction

Erika Manders, *Advertising Ancestors: the emperor's family on Greek imperial coins*

Emphasizing the emperor's family was an important part of imperial propaganda in the Roman Empire. Ideological messages honouring relatives of the princeps could be spread by various media, for example inscriptions, portraits, reliefs, and coins. In this paper attention will be paid to messages propagating the emperor's family disseminated by Roman provincial coins. I would like to focus on similarities and differences regarding the propagation of the imperial family between Greek cities during the Julio-Claudian period. Which family relation types were emphasized most and which ones were emphasized less on coins issued in the various Greek cities within the Roman Empire? And how can differences between these cities be explained? Could they be linked to diverging preferences of the issuing authorities, do they reflect specific local events, or do they tell us something about the way in which cities were following ideological choices made at the central (i.e. imperial) level? In this way I hope to contribute to the debate on the relation between the numismatic distribution of ideological messages and the issuing authorities as well as to provide more insight into the construction of Roman imperial ideology.

Johan Van Heesch, *Coin Images in Imperial Rome: who decided? Methodological questions.*

Before minting was centralized in Rome under the Flavians, imperial coinage was issued in several mints of which Rome and Lyons were the most important ones. Some of the questions that will be discussed are: Is it possible to reveal the actual process of the creation of coin types using the similarities and differences between those mints and have an idea at what level decisions were taken? What was the actual role of the *tresviri monetales*? Did the mint of Rome and the one at Lyons address a different public?

Olivier Picard, *Le type monétaire de la cité : pour une lecture institutionnelle*

La cité grecque a mis un certain temps à s'appropriier la monnaie, qui n'avait pas été créée pour elle. Le processus s'est déroulé dans la seconde moitié du VI^e siècle et atteint son objectif avec la création de la chouette. C'est désormais le sceau (*sèma*) de la cité, qui donne son caractère légal (*dokimos*) à la monnaie. La présence de la divinité tutélaire au droit n'a pas uniquement une signification religieuse et elle n'a pas pour fonction de s'assurer la protection divine : son sanctuaire constitue le centre financier de la cité et abrite ses réserves financières ; le magistrat suprême joue un rôle majeur dans le culte. Si la transposition de la notion d'Etat dans le monde grec pose toutes sortes de problèmes, la frappe du type monétaire transforme le morceau de métal en un instrument de droit public.

Après avoir exploré le sens institutionnel de cette image et examiné rapidement sa diffusion dans le monde grec, on analysera un certain nombre d'exemples extérieurs à la cité, pour chercher comment d'autres formes institutionnelles ont adapté ce modèle d'image à leurs caractéristiques propres : les tribus thraces du nord de l'Egée, les rois etc. L'Empire achéménide constitue une forme d'Etat étrangère au monde grec, qui a utilisé la monnaie, mais ne se l'est pas appropriée de la même manière, d'où des pratiques monétaires d'interprétation délicate. Le monnayage d'époque impériale apparaît lui aussi comme extérieur, dans le temps désormais : la signification de l'iconographie est alors différente, même lorsque la monnaie réemploie des types antérieurs.