Numismatic and Pictorial Landscapes

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The problem of the origin of the landscape on Greek Imperial coinage is part of the broader problem of the origin of landscape in ancient art. This subject has long been a matter of controversy. Those who would attribute most of the refinements in Roman art and literature to the Hellenistic culture of Alexandria maintain that landscape in Roman art was Alexandrian in origin; those who believe that Roman civilization was dynamic, that it created new forms from what it absorbed instead of passively accepting and slavishly copying Hellenistic cultural elements attribute the landscape to Italy. There is, in fact, little or no literary or archaeological evidence pointing to Alexandria as the source of this genre. 1 Italy, on the other hand, has provided a wealth of landscape paintings and reliefs. In addition, numismatic evidence may be adduced which lends support to the theory that landscape was of Roman origin.

The first instance of a landscape type appearing on an extant ancient coin is on a denarius issued at Rome ca 60/59 B.C. by the moneyer C. Considius Nonianus (fig. 1), 2 apparently minted to commemorate the aid in construction, or reconstruction, of the temple of Venus Erycina at Rome by an ancestor of this moneyer. 3 The goddess appears on the obverse wearing a diadem, and on the reverse a view of the mother temple of Venus at Eryx is represented. It is on top of a rocky hill in the center of which there appears a cave or hollow. Below, the hill is surrounded by a masonry wall which has a tower on each side and a gateway in the center.

The kind of landscape represented on this denarius as well as those struck on other Roman and Greek Imperial coins most closely

3 Grueber, Coins of Roman Republic, 473 n.2.
NUMISMATIC AND PICTORIAL LANDSCAPES resemble relief scenes such as those on the Ara Pacis and the Schreiber reliefs. The nature of coin-making precludes the subtle range of melting shadows and colors found in painted scenes. In addition, the limited tondo of a coin surface precludes spectacular compositions such as those found on the walls of Livia's Garden Room at Prima Porta or the Odyssey Landscapes. Still, the great bulk of numismatic landscapes closely resembles one of the categories of painted compositions of which the grotto scene in the alcove of the cubiculum in the Villa of Fannius Sinistor is an excellent example. A definition of painted landscapes is thus valid for numismatic representations: "The composition of the landscape is based on nature, but elements are, on the whole, arranged in such a way as to make the scene show up to best advantage ... The painters use both aerial and linear perspective ... In the separate buildings the laws of perspective have been applied rather arbitrarily. The buildings and figures moving in the various planes nevertheless help greatly to create an impression of spatial depth, particularly on monochrome paintings, in which the possibilities of aerial perspective are greater." This form becomes canonic on coins and shows few radical changes throughout the history of the Roman Empire.

The first time a landscape appears on a coin outside of Rome is within the period 36 to 9 B.C., on a series of bronze coins struck at Eusebeia (formerly Mazaca) in Cappadocia, during the reign of Archelaus, where a view of Mt. Argaeus is shown. Sometimes an eagle surmounts it; sometimes the mountain appears alone (fig. 4). The styles of the Argaeus type vary considerably, but they are generally akin to the representation of the mountain at Eryx on the Roman denarius. The series which bears the legend EYCEBEIA cannot be dated more accurately than by using the beginning of Archelaus' reign as a terminus post quem, and by the date 12 to 11

4 See E. Nash, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome I (Tübingen 1961) 69 fig. 66. 5 M. Bieber, The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age (New York 1961) fig. 659 and p. 155. 6 M. Gabriel, Livia's Garden Room at Prima Porta (New York 1955) passim. 7 P. von Blanckenhagen, "The Odyssey Frieze," RM 70 (1963) 100-146. 8 P. Lehmann, Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Cambridge [Mass.] 1953) pl. xx. 9 W. J. T. Peters, Landscape in Romano-Campanian Mural Painting (Assen 1963) 193; for a full bibliography of landscape painting see Lehmann, Roman Wall Paintings, 135 n.8. 10 E. Sydenham, The Coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia (London 1933) 26 nos. 4, 5; 27 nos. 11, 12, 14, 15. 11 Cf. Sydenham, Caesarea, 31 fig. 3. 12 The coinage of Eusebeia was not dated. There is no coinage from Eusebeia before 36 B.C., although Cappadocia itself had minted coins for centuries.
9 B.C., when the city's name was changed to Caesarea, as a *terminus ante quem*. The influence of Rome was very strong during this time, for Antony chose Archelaus as king and the city's name was changed to honor Julius Caesar. Cappadocia was no more than a vassal state of Rome during this period and its independence was nominal. Finally, in A.D. 17 Tiberius deposed Archelaus and annexed the kingdom as a Roman province.

It is small wonder that types of coinage of Eusebeia–Caesarea issued under Archelaus are Roman in character. They are quite different from the coins issued in Cappadocia prior to 36 B.C. The older coinage was of the common Hellenistic type: a portrait of the king on the obverse and such magistrates' symbols as Pegasus or Nike on the reverse. The first coins of Eusebeia, the Cappadocian capital which became the mint for the entire country with the advent of Archelaus, are distinctly different. The obverses are struck with Gorgon heads, Tyche and Athena, while on the reverses there are such un-Hellenistic types as temple façades of Roman style and Mt. Argaeus. There is a typological connection between the first landscape coins of Rome and Eusebeia. On most of the obverses of the early Mt. Argaeus coinage there appears a bust of Athena (fig. 4). This representation of the goddess, with a Corinthian helmet and aegis, is almost identical to a Roman obverse type of Minerva struck on a denarius of C. Considius Paetus in 45 B.C. (fig. 3). It is clear that C. Considius Paetus was of the same family as C. Considius Nonianus, who minted the Eryx coin, since Paetus issued a denarius with exactly the same type of Venus as appears on the Eryx coin (fig. 2). The relationship can be summarized as follows: (1) obverse Venus, reverse Mt. Eryx (60/59 B.C.) → (2) obverses Venus and Minerva (45 B.C.) → (3) obverse Athena, reverse Mt. Argaeus (cf. figs. 1, 2, 3, 4).

In light of the extant evidence, one may conclude that the rocky landscape which appears for the first time on a Roman coin of 60 B.C. is connected with the rocky landscape which appears for the first time
outside of Rome, on a series of bronze coins of Eusebeia, struck between 36 and 9 B.C.

During the Empire the use of landscape on the obverses of coins spread throughout the Hellenized East. In many cases a landscape became one of the blazons of a minting city. This coinage consists of two major types: the 'semi-autonomous' issues which were minted with a Roman obverse type and local reverse, and the 'autonomous' coins which were struck with both obverse and reverse of local type.

The 'autonomous' issues display great conservatism on their obverses. For example, the head of Athena present on Athenian coins of the Imperial period seems to have developed directly from the independent new-style coinage. Another example, the obverse types of Hermes or Pan on the coins of Docimeum, struck as late as the reign of Gordian III, display a close resemblance to Hellenistic types.

The reverses of all Greek Imperial coins are even more conservative than the obverses of the 'autonomous' mints. The reason for this lies deeply imbedded in the history of the Hellenized East, and in the tradition of its coinage. From the very first coins minted through the coinage of the Greek Imperial mints, most city-states had their own blazons appearing on their money. These remained constant for long periods of time, and thus the stylized seal of Phocaea, the turtle of Aegina, the sphinx of Chios and the bee of Ephesus are but a few of the devices used continually as city badges on the earlier Greek coinage. The origin of these types is in doubt. Macdonald suggests that these blazons "must be heraldic in character." It is quite possible that the idea of stamping a coin with such a heraldic device originated from the widespread use of seals, which stamped the blazons of a state, a king or an individual on clay or wax. These reverse types became universal, and survived as long as the Hellenic city-states maintained at least a nominal amount of autonomy. Athens is a good example of this type of conservatism: it continued the use of its traditional owl type throughout the old and new-style coinage. During the Roman domination of the Hellenized eastern Mediterranean, the old traditional badges seem to have taken on a different function, or

20 B. V. Head, Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum: Phrygia (London 1906) 189 nos. 9, 10.
21 C. Seltman, Greek Coins (London 1960) pls. iff.
22 G. Macdonald, Coin Types, their Origin and Development (Glasgow 1905) 71.
disappear entirely in most city-states. Pegasus no longer appears on Corinthian money as the sole exemplary blazon; the bee all but vanishes from the coinage of Ephesus during the Imperial period. The landscape, as a new type of city emblem, may replace or share the reverse of coins with the old badge. On issues of certain mints organized during the Roman period, such as Eusebeia in Cappadocia, the landscape becomes the only symbol of the city.

Landscapes appear fairly often on Greek Imperial coins, and when used they may assume the same functions as the old city blazons. In some instances, as occasionally in the case of Corinth, the new type is combined with the old. The new type, a view of Acrocorinth surmounted by the temple of Aphrodite, makes its appearance on the reverses of some coins struck during the time of Claudius (fig. 5). The old Pegasus remains on the coins of Corinth, now a colony of Rome, but its function seems to have changed and the winged horse must share the duties as city badge with the new type, the landscape view of Acrocorinth. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the offspring of Medusa takes on a subsidiary role, representing the past greatness of Corinth. The landscape seems to symbolize the new city rebuilt by the Romans. This is suggested by the fact that during the Imperial period both Pegasus and Acrocorinth appear on various reverses depicting allegorical and mythological scenes. The winged horse does not appear in a detached symbolic fashion as does the landscape; it is always part of an episode. The rocky citadel is frequently depicted as a disengaged badge. On a coin of Septimius Severus, the spring Peirene is personified where she pours forth her sacred stream from an amphora and Pegasus stands before her, drinking; he is an integral part of the scene. Above is Acrocorinth as

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23 On one series of coins, possibly tesserae, from Ephesus during the Imperial period, there is struck on the obverse a kneeling stag with his head turned back; on the reverse, a bee with the legend ΚΗΡΙΑΙΩΔΕΙΠΡΟΠΑΛΥΡ. B. V. Head, Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum: Ionia (London 1892) 70 states that it was probably a magic formula used against diseases.

24 B. V. Head, Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum: Corinth (London 1889) 66 no. 541; see also pl. xviii, 2.

25 The owl on Athenian coinage takes on a function similar to the Pegasus of Corinth. During the Imperial period, it rarely appears alone. It is very frequently part of a scene. For example, it appears perched on a tree between Poseidon and Athena (J. N. Svoronos, Les monnaies d’Athènes [Munich 1923-6] pl. lxxxix, 1-10). It is also depicted on a table with bust of Athena (Svoronos, pl. xcii, 1-45).

26 Catalog: Corinth, 86 no. 653; see also pl. xxi.16: the coin is too worn for satisfactory reproduction.
a detached type, apparently functioning as a sort of coat-of-arms. A landscape serving such a function appears on a number of other Corinthian coins of the Imperial period, as well as on the money of other Roman-dominated city-states of the Hellenized East.

Neapolis in Samaria makes use of the landscape in the same way. This city began minting semi-autonomous coins during the reign of Domitian. Throughout its history, the money of this mint displays a predominating reverse type: a view of Mount Gerizim, the holy mountain of the Samaritans, located near the city (fig. 7). This landscape type is meant to be a badge for the city, as is clearly shown on the money issued by the Roman colony founded at Neapolis during the reign of Philip Senior. The coinage uses the typical symbolism of Roman colonies and dominions: the eagle, Romulus and Remus being suckled by the she-wolf and the quadriga. To show that the colony was located at Neapolis, and not in Antioch, Bura or Cyrene, Mt. Gerizim appears in a detached form, but in all its details, above the Roman types (fig. 6).

A parallel development is shown by money of Caesarea in Cappadocia. Mt. Argaeus is represented on the reverse of the coins of this city throughout the Roman period (fig. 8). This mountain, like Mt. Gerizim at Neapolis, was located near and was revered by the city. In several instances, besides its continual appearance as a type taking up the entire reverse, Mt. Argaeus is represented in a detached fashion. On a coin of Alexander Severus the emperor appears in a quadriga, above which the mountain is depicted in full detail (fig. 9). It thus seems clear that when landscapes are represented on Greek Imperial coins, they represent city badges. If this were not the case, these landscapes would not be depicted in a detached manner, and certainly not in full detail.

During the Imperial period, coins of Corinth, Neapolis, and Caesarea continually appear with representations of a local landscape. Other cities only occasionally struck coins with reverses in this genre. These types served a similar function: they too were city badges,

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29 Catalog: Palestine, 63 nos. 116, 117.
30 Catalog: Palestine, 66 no. 129.
31 Catalog: Palestine, 68 no. 138.
32 E. Sydenham, Caesarea, passim.
33 Sydenham, 122 no. 546.
although not necessarily their city's sole symbol. Their representation on coinage, since it is rare, might point to the commemoration of an especially important event. Amisos in Pontus minted a relatively small series of semi-autonomous coins whose reverses consisted of various types, both Imperial and local.\(^{34}\) No landscape of any type is depicted until the year A.D. 97/8, when a lush countryside appears (fig. 10). It consists of a very stylized view of three wooded hills,\(^{35}\) in the foreground of which is a temple; to the left is a flaming altar. Although Amisos had a fortified acropolis, it was not represented as the symbolic view of the city, as in the case of Corinth. The landscapes on Greek Imperial coins often depict the important local temple or temples. Sometimes these shrines appear on the acropoleis, as on coins of Argos,\(^{36}\) Troezen,\(^{37}\) and Athens.\(^{38}\) Sometimes a temple is represented on a holy mountain, as in the case of Neapolis. The temple on the coin of Amisos is located below the hills.

An explanation for the sudden appearance of this landscape in the year A.D. 97/8 is suggested by the status of this city itself. In 32 B.C. when Augustus liberated Amisos from the tyrant Strato, it became a civitas libera, a 'free' city. Because of this, coins issued by the mint at Amisos frequently bore the legend, \textit{AMICOY ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑC}.\(^{39}\) This status seems to have been strengthened or renewed during the time of Trajan, for Pliny wrote to the emperor from Bithynia: \textit{Amisenorum civitas et libera et foederata beneficio indulgentiae tuae legibus suis utitur}.\(^{40}\) In other words, the emperor had guaranteed the city's autonomy by means of a formal treaty. The exact date of the treaty, not otherwise known, may be established by means of numismatic evidence. In the year 129 of Amisos (A.D. 97/8), a bronze commemorative coin was minted,\(^{41}\) on whose obverse is a Nike holding a crown and a palm frond instead of the usual portrait of the emperor (fig. 11).\(^{42}\) Two figures are represented on the reverse. To the left is Amisos; Roma stands facing her. According to Waddington these two personifica-

\(^{35}\) Waddington, 61 no.25.
\(^{37}\) Catalog: Pelop., pl. xxxi.8.
\(^{38}\) Catalog: Attica, pl. xix.6-8.
\(^{39}\) Waddington, \textit{Recueil}, 44.
\(^{40}\) Pliny, \textit{Epistulae}, 10.92.
\(^{41}\) For the dating of the calendar see Waddington, \textit{Recueil}, 53 n.4.
\(^{42}\) Waddington 61, no. 75.
tions appeared on the coinage of this city when it made an alliance with Rome. Thus Amisos must have struck a treaty of alliance with Rome in A.D. 97/8. The bronze coin with the landscape is also datable to A.D. 97/8. Its obverse is not of the ordinary type representing the emperor, for it was struck with a Nike type very similar to the one which appears on the alliance issue. It must be concluded that the landscape coin was minted to commemorate the alliance with Rome and that two aspects of the alliance were meant to be stressed. The landscapes on Greek Imperials were often badges, and since Amisos was a civitas et libera et foederata, the appearance of the landscape on this coin must signify the libera or free aspect of the city’s status. By the same token, the appearance of Amisos and Roma approaching each other would emphasize the foederata or allied aspect.

The landscapes on the coins of Caesarea in Cappadocia and Neapolis in Samaria seem to have been conceived in a manner slightly different from those of Amisos. In the first case a mountain which was holy per se to the local populace appears continually on the coinage, while in the second instance, only a temple on a rarely minted landscape type indicates a religious cult. Still, it seems that both of these landscape types can be traced back to a common source: the denarius issued at Rome 60/59 B.C. by the moneyer C. Considius Nonianus. Since there is no extant instance of a landscape represented on a coin before this date, it would seem that Rome must have contributed to the appearance of this type.

The origin of landscapes on Greek Imperial coins appears to be intimately connected with the origin of this genre in ancient art. We have seen that the first landscape on an ancient coin appeared at Rome in 60/59 B.C. This is roughly contemporary with the earlier landscapes in Roman painting such as those found in the Villa dei Misteri outside of Pompeii (ca 80–50 B.C.) and the Villa of P. Fannius Sinistor at Boscoreale (ca 40–30 B.C.). If landscape had been a product of Hellenistic civilization, it surely would have appeared on at least some coins of that period, but such is not the case. No reverse or obverse struck during the Hellenistic era can be said to “create an impression of spatial depth” by means of a unified composition of

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43 Waddington, 53 n.1.
44 A. Maiuri, La Villa dei Misteri (Rome 1947) 202ff; W. J. T. Peters, Landscape, 7 and pl. 11.
45 Peters, Landscape, 10; P. Lehmann, Roman Wall Paintings, pl. xx.
46 Peters, Landscape, 193.
CONCORDANCE TO FIGURES

Coins are shown actual size

1 British Museum (H. A. Grueber, Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum [London 1910] pl. xlvii,21)
2 British Museum (Grueber, Roman Republic, pl. 111,16)
3 British Museum (Grueber, Roman Republic, pl. 111,18)
4 British Museum (E. Sydenham, The Coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia [London 1933] 27 fig. 1)
5 British Museum (B. V. Head, Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum: Corinth, Colonies of Corinth etc. [London 1889] pl. xvii,2)
7 Cabinet des Medailles (T. L. Donaldson, Architectura Numismatica [London 1859] facing p. 106 no. 33)
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Concordance to Figures

Coins are shown actual size

8 British Museum (Sydenham, Caesarea, 116 fig. 91)
9 British Museum (Sydenham, Caesarea, 122 fig. 94)
10 W. H. Waddington et al., Recueil général des monnaies grecques d’Asie Mineure (Paris 1904) 61 no. 76; pl. viii,25
11 Waddington, Recueil, pl. viii,24
13 British Museum (Head, Guide, pl. xlviii,14)
Concordance to Figures

Coins are shown actual size

14 American Numismatic Society
15 American Numismatic Society
16 American Numismatic Society
natural and architectonic elements depicted in aerial or linear perspective. There are of course coins which show landscape elements, such as a tree or rock. Elements are not landscapes; they are single components of the many to be found in a single view. A coin minted at Gortyna in Crete (ca 300 B.C.) demonstrates the closest approach to landscape by a coin type of this period (fig. 12). Britomartis or Europa is represented seated on a lush tree; yet this depiction is not a unified scene, since a single tree is shown isolated on a blank background. The execution of the scene is almost identical to that of a Hellenistic relief from the second or first century B.C. in the Villa Albani. Polyphemus is seated on a rock under a leafy oak (fig. 17). This group, like Europa on her tree, is represented on a flat dimensionless background with little attempt at depth. Even an idyllic landscape from the Hellenistic period such as a relief from Capri in the Naples Museum, which shows a couple on horseback led by a cloaked figure near a tree and a statue on a column, has no element of depth. The only unifying element is the ground line.

A comparison of a landscape on a Greek Imperial reverse with the coin of Gortyna will illustrate even more clearly the completely different conceptions of out-of-doors scenes during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. On a coin of Ephesus minted during the Imperial period (fig. 13), Zeus Hyetios is represented seated on the rock Tracheia. This component alone is equivalent to the Hellenistic types of Britomartis (Europa), but it is only one element in a unified scene representing foreground and receding background. In the foreground lies the mountain god Peion and in the plane between Peion and Zeus a temple, possibly of Athena, is depicted in profile. Zeus stretches his arm through the plane of this temple, and sprinkles Peion with rain. The planes behind the Father of the Gods are filled with various architectural features, and a cypress tree rising from the horizon shows that the background recedes far behind Zeus. A comparable genre of landscape can be found on painted examples from Pompeii, such as Paris on Mt. Ida. Here the Phrygian shepherd is

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48 M. Bieber, Sculpture, 153 and fig. 649.
49 Bieber, Sculpture, 153 and fig. 648.
50 Catalog: Ionia, pl. xiii,9.
51 Catalog: Ionia, see 79 no. 237.
52 C. Dawson, Romano-Campanian Mythological Landscape Painting, pl. vii no. 18.
seated on a rock in the central plane with figures and vegetation in
front and behind him. These scenes are quite different from Brito-
martis (Europa) on a tree or Polyphemus on a rock. The Hellenistic
conception is of a figure with landscape elements isolated on a flat,
blank background while the Roman conception is of a unified view
with a receding background and advancing foreground.

Not only is there no example of landscape appearing on any coin
during the Hellenistic period, but there is no instance in which a
landscape appears on a coin of Alexandria in any period. Only
landscape elements are present on money of that city. On many coins
of the Imperial period, the river god Nile is depicted as reclining
(fig. 14) and holding a reed. Sometimes he is supported by rocks, but
these are only elements of landscape. The closest approach by the
coinage of Alexandria to a unified scene is on a series with Isis Pharia
on the reverse, issued during the second and third centuries. On a
coin with Faustina on the obverse (fig. 15), the goddess is depicted
riding over the sea toward the lighthouse. Three elements, Isis, a
ship's prow, the Pharos, are isolated against a flat background which
lacks depth and has little unity; the composition is very close to that
of the Capri relief. A series of landscape medallions and coins depicting
mythological scenes was issued at Rome during the reigns of Hadrian
and Antoninus Pius. A scene such as Orpheus singing to the beasts
and trees is the type of myth which is germane to the landscape genre,
and it is found on a coin of Alexandria with Antoninus Pius on the
obverse (fig. 16). Instead of a landscape, however, there is a loose
arrangement of elements: Orpheus sits on a rock, various isolated
animals float around him. There is no distinction of plane and there
is no unifying natural or architectural framework. The conception is
Hellenistic. It is most likely that if landscape originated and flourished
in Alexandria, it would at least have appeared on coins minted during
the Roman period, when there were many occasions for using this
genre. During this time many city-states of the Hellenized East

58 Indeed, the only landscape to be found at Alexandria appears to be from the Roman
period; see H. Riad, "Tomb Painting from the Necropolis of Alexandria," Archaeology 17
(1964) 169–72.
54 American Numismatic Society, Coin Cabinet, Alexandria-tray: Trajan, yr. 18 (A.D.
114/5).
55 ANS Cabinet, Alexandria-tray: Faustina.
1373.
adapted various types of landscape for special occasions on coins and medallions.

Landscapes on coins thus seem to add more evidence to support the theory that the landscape was created at Rome and not Alexandria.

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