

While most bronzes were found individually, some specific finds seem to have narrow dates around the time of Cleopatra and Augustus. Deposits below later mosaics provide a glimpse of the coinage in circulation during the late Ptolemaic and Augustan times.^{33 34} Two of the several wells containing coins provide a similar snapshot in time, although with more of the smaller denominations. The largest finds of eighth and quarter-units are in rooms containing sixty-two and ten examples respectively. Each of these finds is listed in the endnotes.³⁵

A chart of the Ptolemaic coins found on page 124 of "Paphos II" modified by the assertions in this book is below.

Total Ptolemaic Coins struck in Cyprus found at Paphos II, The House of Dionysos³⁶

Ptol I	3	
Ptol II	8	
Ptol III	2	
Ptol IV	0	(110 "Arsinöe III" Æ9 reattributed from here to Cleopatra VII)
Ptol V	1	(3 Thunderbolt / Eagle Æ7 reattributed to Cleopatra VII)
Ptol VI-VIII	17	(Most examples included with later kings)
Ptol IX	111	(same)
Ptol IX to X	190	(same)
Ptolemy XII	37	(aphlaston, T & Star, KYΠP obols given to Ptolemy XII)
Cleopatra VII	193	



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Bust of Winter from House of Dionysos, Four Seasons mosaic.

Room XVI, Four Seasons Mosaic, (sealed deposit) 0.2-0.4 m below the mosaic floor

526 Augustus, Æ18, Plautius, 1/2 AD, 4.6g, hemiobol

429 Cleopatra, Æ25, 6.1g, obol, 2 eagles, Isis headdress

430 -, Æ24, 4.7g, same

472 -, Æ15, 1.7g, hemiobol

A coin of Arcadius was found above the mosaic, on the surface.

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Narcissus mosaic from the House of Dionysos.

Room XXXVIII, Mosaic of Narcissus, (sealed deposit) 0.2-0.4 m below the mosaic floor

469 Cleopatra, Æ17, 2.5g, hemiobol 358 Ptolemy XII, Æ25, 7.2g, obol, T*

329 Ptolemy XII, Æ23, 5.2g obol, cornucopia

473 Cleopatra, Æ16, 2.3g, hemiobol

2 bronzes of Augustus were found in Room XXXVIII, at the same depth: 1) Victory standing obol. 2) CA quadrans.

8 additional coins were found at depths from 1.8 to 3.5 meters.

³⁵ A single room contained 62 1/4 obols of Cleopatra, mostly found at 2.0 to 2.3 m deep.

Ptolemaic Coins struck in Cyprus found at Paphos II, The House of Dionysos, Room LXXXIII, 0.5-5 m.

³⁶ *Excludes non-Ptolemaic and Alexandria Mint issues.

Total 517 coins, 61.6 % of all found. Others are Roman, Byzantine, etc.

65 Ptolemaic coins were unidentifiable.

Denominations of the 193 Cleopatra VII coins found at Paphos II

The dating of the House of Dionysos is changed by the re-attribution of the date of the eighth and sixteenth-units. Paphos II p. 124 presents a graph that shows large spikes at Ptolemy IV and Cleopatra VII. These changes make the mint become a building whose operation ceased abruptly after heavy use at the end of the reign of Cleopatra VII. The data from "Coins From the Excavations at Curium" and "The American Expedition to Idalion, Cyprus, 1973-1980" is similar³⁷³⁸ Use in coins, of copper mined on Cyprus could be confirmed by an analysis of trace lead isotopes. A similar analysis was used to confirm the North Western Cyprus origin of copper found in some Bronze Age "oxide ingots."³⁹

³⁷ "The American Expedition to Idalion, Cyprus, 1973-1980" data is similar. Of 25 Ptolemaic AE found, 7 are small AE with bust of Cleopatra VII as Aphrodite / Cornucopia ; 3 are Laureate Zeus / Zeus standing and 1 is Zeus Ammon / Headdress of Isis before two eagles. In addition there were several late obols.

³⁸ "Coins from the New York University Excavations on Geronisos (Cyprus) 1990-1997 reports 13 medium-sized bronzes: A dated obol of Ptolemy VIII (as Svor. 1638), Two obols with a single eagle and cornucopia symbol (Svor. 1814, Ptolemy IX, 2nd reign or Ptolemy XII); Eight obols with two eagles and headdress of Isis (Svor. 1843 and two hemiobols with Zeus / Zeus standing. Ten of the thirteen coins are attributed to Cleopatra VII.

³⁹ Stos-Gale, Z.A., Maliotis, G., Gale, N.H., and. Annetts, N. 1997, Lead Isotope Characteristics of the Cyprus Copper Ore Deposits Applied to Provenance Studies of Copper Oxide Ingots. *Archaeometry* 39(1) 83-123.

Making Small Change

Examples of the casting matrix from this period, used to make small coins were found in the House of Dionysos in Paphos in 1964. Unstruck flans exist intended for the quarter-unit and eighth-unit.



Unstruck quarter-unit and eighth-unit flans. (2.41g, 1.63g)

Hazard writes about such small denominations during this time:

The moneyer, who had first to prepare the flans or coin blanks, turned a block of wood on a lathe and sanded the punch end smooth. Next he pushed the punch-end, slightly oiled, into a platter of soft clay several times and connected the imprints with runners or channels to make a . . . chain-like formation for the smaller coins.

Because he had slanted the edge of the punch end, he could easily remove it from the clay and use the punch time after time. The workman, having placed a smooth slab of terracotta on top of the soft layer, now waited for the lower layer to harden, so then he could drill a vertical hole in the upper layer to connect this hole or gate the internal cavity.

He next fired the mould, and pouring the liquid bronze into the gate, he cast the coin blanks or flans *en chapelete*. After the mould had cooled, he separated the two halves, and turning the bottom layer over, he let the coin blanks and runners fall out as a single piece. (With care, the workman could use the same mould several times).

He separated the flans from the runners for the larger coins, but kept the flans and runners attached for the smaller coins. Some of these have survived. Both sizes of flans were reheated and struck with dies aligned on a vertical axis. He then separated the smaller coins from their runners . . . The casting of flans *en chapelete* implies that the monarch allowed a fairly wide margin of error for the weights of his bronze coins.”

These quick if rather sloppy production methods produced a variety of defective flans that, from their wear, seem to have been accepted in circulation.

An odd example shows two obverse strikes at opposite ends of the coin, paired with a clear reverse strike. The coin is not bent; as might be expected from a double striking from the same obverse die, and double struck examples have not been noted. Similar twice-struck coins are known for the leptons of Alexander Jannaeus, known as widow's mites. Perhaps some of both these mass-produced issues were made using multiple-headed dies. The coin slipped with the reverse die, against two obverse dies. The use of multiple-headed dies would allow a single hammer blow to be transferred to more than one coin. When the coins had small surface areas, this method would save production time, occasionally producing this

specific error coin. With this method, off-center coins are common because the worker had to track more than one blank.

Multiple bronze mints may have supplied the network of small change in the time of Cleopatra. A group of eight fragmentary moulds was found at the House of Dionysos, which certainly functioned as a mint. Another was found at the nearby Odeion. Three fragmentary moulds were found at the House of Orpheus. Excavations of the Polish Mission at Nea Paphos found nine more moulds. Other mints may still be found in the Ptolemaic Capital and beyond, perhaps even in other Cypriot cities. The extensive variety of flan shapes, sizes, and styles may be related to the several groups of craftsmen and laborers producing small value coinage at this time, perhaps including counterfeiters. Whether official, semi-official or contemporary counterfeits, the Cypriot bronze coinage of the time of Cleopatra VII is quite common on Cyprus, in comparison to previous Ptolemaic issues. The numerous variations in style and production method may be the result of the varying standards of the several small mints.^{40 41}

Given the scattered mould finds recorded in Paphos II, a similar situation may have existed in Cyprus, during the latter years of the reign of Cleopatra. Small change was struck locally.

⁴⁰ The vast quantities of late Ptolemaic small change may be the result of overproduction, a situation similar to what would occur in early 17th century England, when striking of the farthing was "contracted out" to private mints which produced large quantities of many varieties of high-seigniorage small change. The finding of limestone moulds for casting flans in several locations in Paphos, and the vast output of stylistically varied coinage, suggests multiple local mints.



M: quadrans struck after 90 BC is called "clearly unofficial" by Crawford. This issue met the need for small change in Rome in similar conditions to the tiny 1/4 obols of Cleopatra in Cyprus. (2.79g)

A similar situation occurred in Rome a generation before. The official minting of bronze apparently did not take place from 82 to 38 BC. Janiform issues of Pompey from Spain and Sicily are the exception. A variety of "unofficial" bronze filled the gap. Crawford writes, ". . . the very common quadrantes with M: and N: (as Milan 351) are clearly unofficial," but is it possible that the unofficial style is a result of multiple mints or hurried production?

Cleopatra's loose governmental granting of monopolies to powerful oligarchs is supported by the recent discovery of a "signature" of the Queen, the Greek phrase *ginesthoi* "Make it so" on a document granting special wine-exporting rights to Publius Canidias, one of Antony's generals. M.I. Rostovtzeff presents a somewhat dismal picture of her rule in "Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World III (Oxford, 1941) p. 1551.

Alternatively, the moulds are signs of less official mints, counterfeiters. The failure of governments to prosecute counterfeiters of initially needed, small change produced similar situations in first century Rome and late 18th century England and Colonial America and during the American Civil War.

⁴¹ Of "The Barbarous Coins of Ancient Israel", David Hendin writes:

In general, the barbarous coins [of the Second Revolt] are struck from dies that are engraved crudely, often with "retrograde" or mirror-image writing, and struck on irregular planchets . . . What are these crude "barbarous" coins and who issued them? Most of the crude and barbarous issues of Greece and Rome are thought to be contemporary forgeries. However, I believe with great conviction that this was definitely NOT the case with the barbarous coins of Ancient Israel. Instead, it seems that these coins were made in a second mint workshop. In the case of the Jewish War and the Bar Kochba War there were almost certainly second mints, possibly moving with the troops, or by soldiers hiding out in the Judaeen hills . . . Die studies by Leo Miltenberg clearly prove that barbarous Bar Kochba coins were not struck in the same mint as the standard issues . . . It is certainly possible that the barbarous Judaeen coins were struck at the central mint by either poor craftsmen or apprentices who made errors. However, speaking strongly against this possibility is the absolute paucity of die links between the barbarous issues and the standard issues.

Relationship Between the Denominations

A summary of the coinage of Cleopatra in Cyprus shows the relationships between the denominations.

Denominations in Cyprus during the time of Cleopatra VII

Denomination	Avg. diam.	Median weight ⁴²	rev. leg.	Devices	Cu drachms
billon tetradrachm	25 mm	13.0g	Pt	Bust right / Eagle stg.	960
billon drachm	16 mm	3.0g	C	Bust right / Eagle stg.	240
bronze full-unit	28 mm	15.8g	C	Bust right / 2 cornucopia.	80
half-unit	25 mm	7.6g	Pt	Head of Zeus / Eagle KYΠP	40
"	25 mm	5g	Pt	" / 2 Eagles, Isis Headdress.	
quarter-unit	17 mm	4g	Pt	Head of Zeus / Eagle.	20
"	17 mm	3.7g	--	Laureate Zeus / Zeus stg.	20
eighth-unit	10 mm	1.8g	Pt	Head of Zeus / Eagle.	10
"	10 mm	1.7g	Pt	Bust right. / Cornucopia(e)	10
1/16th-unit	7 mm	0.9g	Pt	Thunderbolt / Eagle.	5
"	7 mm	0.6g	Pt	Thunderbolt / Eagle.	5

Valuing Ptolemaic bronze coinage after the time of Ptolemy IV is a most difficult arena. Hazzard notes, ". . . This convenient system of denominations was wrecked by Ptolemy IV." Experts even disagree about which bronze was an obol, although Hazzard makes a very convincing argument that the 12 g coin of this era was an obol. Gresham's Law implies that the value of an obol could only be less over time. The weight standard of the bronze obol eroded over time to about 7 grams and lower during the time of Cleopatra.⁴³

The same result is obtained when looking backward from the Roman Egyptian system. The Roman Egyptian denominations of Augustus were continuations of those of Cleopatra VII, and that the denominations of Cleopatra's Cyprus mirrored those of her Egyptian bronze coinage, as set forth by Milne and others. The debased tetradrachm had the silver content of a Roman denarius. In the time of Cleopatra, the full-unit was likely a diobol, as types similar to those of Cleopatra VII were continued in Roman Egypt under Augustus. The half-unit was an obol. The quarter-unit was a hemiobol. The eighth-unit was a quarter obol. The tiny sixteenth-unit was a hemitetartermorion, an eighth of an obol. It was worth less than an hour of unskilled labor.

⁴² Median, not average, weights taken from RPC 3901; 3903. Tetradrachm and quarter-unit weights from Author's examples with modest wear, except drachm weights which are from Svoronos. Includes Paphos II median weight figures, including worn and corroded examples. Private and museum collection examples noted in RPC weigh more. Also Private collection examples.

⁴³ Analysis of coins found at the ongoing dig at the "Valley of the Golden Mummies" may lend support for the attribution of the 20 mm bronze as an obol. National Geographic July 2001 notes "In the hands of the mummies were bronze coins-payment for the ferryman to transfer the deceased into the afterlife." The same source dates the find to the late Ptolemaic and first two centuries of Roman rule. The myth of the ferryman Charon states that the recent dead would pay Charon one obol as his fee for transport of their soul across the River Styx. Is the denomination of Cleopatra and Augustus that was marked with an M on the reverse the most common one in the role as "Charon's obol?" If so, this supports Milne's view of denominations. Under Cleopatra this denomination weighed 8 g. Early in the reign of Augustus the denomination weighed about 7 g. By the time of Hadrian, this denomination weighed about 4.5 g. If this was the most common denomination found in the hands of the mummies, they are likely to have been known as obols, a twenty-fourth of a tetradrachm.

Circulating Earlier Ptolemaic and Foreign Coinage

Prior Ptolemaic Cypriot bronze coinage remained in circulation on Cyprus during the reign of Cleopatra. The massive 41 mm, about 72 gram bronzes of the early Ptolemies were not common on the island, but diobols of about 18 grams, attributed by Svoronos to Ptolemy IX circulated. Hemidrachms weigh about 30 grams. A few larger coins are rare: tetrobols of 40-50 grams, and double-cornucopia drachms of about 70 grams. In a recent article by Catharine Lorber, "The Lotus of Aphrodite on Ptolemaic Bronzes" virtually every Ptolemaic bronze with a lotus blossom is reattributed to Cyprus. The later half-units struck on thin flans with one or two eagles on the reverse, struck with various symbols during the reigns of Ptolemy IX to XII are not easily distinguished from those of Cleopatra, except by the symbol before the eagle, and the difference in weight standard. Quarter-units with eagle reverse from the same period are on the same weight standard as those of Cleopatra VII.

Pre-52 BC reform tetradrachms, however, might have been scarce by Cleopatra's reign. Old tetradrachms contained 80% or more silver, and were valued at about 2000 copper drachma, according to a second century BC papyrus, which also notes conversion fees. Like the late coinage of Ptolemy XII, Cleopatra's tetradrachm of about 33% silver was valid for debts in tetradrachms. It is worth noting from the Π on the Egyptian diobol and the M on the obol, that her tetradrachm apparently only tariffed at about $(80 \times 3 \times 4 = 960)$ or 1000 copper drachma. A hoard found in Egypt (Coin Hoard 1732) buried in c. 19 AD contained 61 Cleopatra tetradrachms and only one earlier 80+% silver tetradrachm. The pre-52 BC reform tetradrachms were driven out of circulation-hoarded or melted-according to Gresham's Law, "The bad money drives out the good."

Old Ptolemaic gold, foreign gold coins, and the 300 year-old gold coins of Classical rulers of Cyprus might have been occasionally seen. In general, gold was hoarded in preference to silver. The ratio of gold weight to silver weight throughout the Greek and Roman world was 12.5 to 1. For its gold, a huge 27.8 gram gold octadrachm struck from Ptolemy II through Ptolemy VIII (ending c. 145 BC, with a brief revival in 88 BC) would have been worth about eighty-four tetradrachms of base silver. An antique Attic weight 8.6 gram gold stater, a foreign reduced Attic weight 8.3 gram stater, an antique Cypriot stater of 8.3 grams or a Roman Republican aureus of about 8 grams might have been valued at about twenty-five tetradrachms of base silver. Classical and Hellenistic Cyprus had a unique history of small gold fractional staters: halves, thirds, quarters, eighths, tenths, twelfths, twentieths, and twenty-fourths. An antique gold fractional stater would have been valued by weight as well.

Each use of a gold coin would have been quite unusual, although antique hoards were disbursed from time to time. In general, use of a moneychanger's scale would have been required with each gold transaction.

The Egyptian coinage of Cleopatra struck at Alexandria, portrait coins of full-unit and half-unit, are occasionally found on Cyprus, where they presumably circulated at parity to their Cypriot counterparts. Earlier non-Cyprus Mint Ptolemaic bronze coins are more common, presumably circulating at parity with local bronzes. Cut worn bronzes had some role as small change.⁴⁴

Allowing the circulation of foreign coins in the Ptolemaic Kingdom was a reversal by Cleopatra of a policy dating from the reign of Ptolemy I, who dropped the weight of his silver tetradrachm from 17.2 grams to 15.7 grams in about 310 BC. With the exceptions of Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands, the Ptolemies banned foreign or autonomous issues. R. S. Bagnall surveyed the exceptions in "The Administration of Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt. (Leiden 1976, pp. 194-201).

⁴⁴ A chart of the varied "foreign" coins found in Paphos II appears on page 127 of Paphos II.

Some Roman "Fleet Coinage" with the portrait of Antony, on scarce larger denominations with that of one of his wives and a young man, circulated occasionally, in Cyprus at this time.³⁰ This coinage was issued c. 38 BC or later, in the name of three different moneyers on three types of flans, from three different, nearby, Roman-controlled naval ports / mints. The beveled flans of the Fleet Coinage issued by Aratinus are similar to half-units, although RPC considers Corinth the likely mint for this moneyer. Those issued by Bibulus have been found on Cyprus, though RPC assigns them to a mint "in the East." The Antony portrait style of the Bibulus semis (RPC 4092) resembles that on similar denarii. RPC states that the Fleet Coinage is denominated in Roman ases, and vastly overvalued in relation to other Roman coins of the time. The reverse markings A, S and three pellets on the three smallest denominations confirm that the Roman denominations as, semis and quadrans were intended. Perhaps the "heavy series" as, such as RPC 1456, and the "light series" as, such as RPC 1460, circulated as a 3/4-unit, but prior to Actium, they were viewed in transactions as a "foreign bronze coin," if they were even accepted.

For a region that was controlled by the Romans, Republican and Imperial Roman coinage in Cyprus is quite rare. No Republican coinage or Fleet Coinage was recorded at Paphos II. A single Antony legionary denarius represents all the Roman Imperial coinage found at this dig. No Cypriot coins of Roman Imperial types are known. Cato and the other Roman rulers of Cyprus 58-47 BC apparently permitted the ongoing use of local coinage, and presumably its striking.

A few Hasmonaean, Herodian and Procurator prutot⁴⁵, six Syrian chalkoi, as well as Cilician and other Asia Minor coins recorded in Paphos II made their way to Cyprus with travelers. Cox noted a similar percentage of Jewish coins at Curium. How these "foreign coins" were valued may have depended on the transaction. Except some Egyptian coinage, foreign coins were not often seen on Cyprus.

⁴⁵ Jewish prutot perhaps were brought to Cyprus by travelers to the Jewish community on Cyprus. Herod Agrippa I was married to a woman named Cypros, whose father was Salaminios. The small Jewish community on Cyprus thrived from the time of Ptolemy I to the revolt at the end of the reign of Trajan.

Cypriot Bronze of Cleopatra, After Actium

When the forces of Octavian occupied Cyprus, the Ptolemaic bronze coinage was conceivably devalued (declared invalid for state debts). If so, the people of Cyprus had worthless little bronze coins. Were the coins recalled? Perhaps the example of the statues of Cleopatra applies to the coins of Cyprus. Initially Octavian considered the destruction of the statues of Cleopatra, which might have included coins with her portrait. However, this action was not taken. Plutarch's *Life of Antony* 86-9 notes:

All his statues were torn down, but those of Cleopatra were allowed to stand, because Archibius, one of her friends, gave Octavius Caesar two thousand talents to save them from the fate of Antony's [statues].

A recent British Museum exhibit re-attributes several statues previously thought to be earlier Egyptian queens as Cleopatra VII.^{46 47 48}

Perhaps some of these statues were saved from destruction by Archibius. The political logic for this change is noted by Guy Weill Goudchaux in "Sauveur des "effigies" de Kléopâtre VII" in Atti VI Congresso, I, p. 651-6. He writes:

The agreement between Octavianus, who was short of cash, and Archibios, possibly an Egyptian named Horemakhbyt, made it possible to maintain the religious function of her temple statues. Augustus was to be the future heir of her divine role. The money must have come from temple treasuries.

As Kraay notes, the reign of Augustus "above all . . . involved constitutionalism - an observance and not too obvious manipulation of Republican forms." The "inside the law

⁴⁶ Two sculptures long-attributed to Cleopatra on the basis of her coins.



Statues in the Vatican and the Berlin Museum are considered among the best marble busts of Cleopatra. Berlin nose is a restoration.

⁴⁷ Recent re-attributions of Cleopatra VII sculpture are not specifically connected to this book.

⁴⁸ The Hermitage website notes: **New attribution: a Statue of Cleopatra VII**



Black Basalt statue now attributed to Cleopatra VII.

One of the masterpieces in the Hermitage's Ancient Egyptian collection is a black basalt statue of a Ptolemaic queen (Inventory No #3936, height 105 cm, acquired in 1929 from the collection of the Duke of Leuchtenberg). It represents a striding woman in a long tight-fitting dress, wearing a long tripartite wig with three uraei (royal snakes) and holding a horn of plenty in her left hand and the ankh, the hieroglyph of life, in her lowered right hand. The inlaid eyes and the headdress (probably a solar disc between cow's horns) have been lost. The statue is completely finished as its surface is splendidly polished, but it is not inscribed which makes dating and identification of the person represented a particular problem.

In 1957 I.A. Lapis identified the statue as Arsinoë II, sister and wife of Ptolemy II (3rd century B.C.), on the basis of the [incorrect] observation that, judging by the images on coins, although a horn of plenty was an attribute of several Ptolemaic queens, the double cornucopia (*dikeras*) was specific to her alone. This attribution was included in the catalogue of Egyptian sculpture in the Hermitage (I.A. Lapis & M.E. Matye, *Ancient Egyptian Sculpture in the State Hermitage Collection, Moscow, 1969*, pp.124f, Cat. No 141) and more recently in the catalogues of several temporary exhibitions. However this iconographic dating is clearly at odds with the style of the statue, which is typical of a considerably later time, most probably the 1st century B.C. In order to reconcile the clash of iconography and style, it was suggested that the statue might be posthumous, produced many years after the death of Arsinoë II, since it is a known fact that her cult endured for a very long time.

In the course of preparations for the major exhibition "Cleopatra of Egypt: From History to Myth" (Rome-London-Chicago, 2000-2002), one of its organizers, Sally-Ann Ashton, identified a group of statues in the Egyptian style without inscriptions, including the Hermitage work, as depictions of Cleopatra VII, the very queen whose life story and alliances with Caesar and Mark Antony have long since become one of the most famous legends of the Ancient World. This identification is based on the fact that, in contrast to Arsinoë II who wore only two *uraei*, three are characteristic of Cleopatra VII alone, while it proved possible to find a divided cornucopia on the latter's coins as well. Thus the Hermitage possesses one of the finest statues of the Ptolemaic period, depicting its most famous personage."

approach” to the looting of the temple treasuries is characteristic of Octavian. Two thousand talents could have maintained Octavian’s army for an entire year.⁴⁹

Like Cleopatra’s statues, the coins with her image were apparently not recalled. Hoard evidence and the extensive wear on almost all of her coins strongly suggest prolonged circulation over decades. In Egypt, Coin Hoards 1732 dated about 19 AD, included 61 tetradrachms of Cleopatra and 136 of Tiberius plus one earlier coin. Octavian issued bronze diobols (average weight 17.73g) in 30-28 BC, marked Π for 80 copper drachms, and obols (average weight 8.75g), marked M for 40, with identical reverses (RPC 5001; 5002) to the same denominations of Cleopatra. The two types were found together with other Augustan Egypt bronzes in the Abydos Hoard, as noted in RPC, (E. Christiansen, CH VII, no. A13). In Egypt the same diameter bronze denominations were continued at a thinner, slightly reduced weight standard after 19 BC. Some of the Augustan bronzes note the Greek letter denomination for old Ptolemaic copper drachms. Hemiobols (average weight 3.60g) from this slightly thinner issue (RPC 5009, 5010 and 5014) have a K for 20. Quarter obols (average weight 1.53g) of the third issue (RPC 5015, 5016) have the letter I for 10. The size and shape of the cast flans of these coins resemble the quarter and eighth-units of Cyprus. Billon tetradrachms of Cleopatra found their way to Egypt and Phoenicia, where they were more valued than in Cyprus. Many of her tetradrachms were melted during Augustus’ “transfer of wealth” between Actium and the Egyptian coinage reform of Tiberius, fifty years later.

It seems most likely that the Roman law in Cyprus was similar to that of Egypt, permitting the use of existing coins, at a rate relating to the new coinage. As in Egypt, Cypriot bronze coins of Cleopatra circulated alongside those of Augustus. Finds noted in Paphos II support the notion that late Ptolemaic and Augustan coins did circulate together. Examples of Ptolemaic and Augustan coinage were found together, below later mosaics at Paphos II.23 24 The thin flan, 7.5 gram obols were equal to the c. 6.5 g obols of Augustus, cast flans with beveled edges, although thicker. The 3.7 gram quarter-unit with Zeus / Zeus standing was equal to the new 3.7 gram hemiobol, struck on cast flans of rounder and slightly thinner fabric. This means that the eighth-units were worth a sextans, and that the scarce and tiny 1/16th-units were worth an uncia. After Tiberius, the Romans on Cyprus did not mint the denominations below the as until the reign of Trajan. The plentiful Cleopatra small change circulated for generations.

⁴⁹ J.M. Carter and M. Grant calculated that the cost of a legion during peace-time amounted to forty or fifty talents a year.