

In his recent book *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities* Hans van Wees highlighted the continuities rather than changes in the ways that Greek communities waged wars from the Dark, to the Archaic and Classical ages. The absence of state infrastructures prohibited the prosecution of drawn-out campaigns and long wars of attrition fought by professional armies. But the invention and spread of money (*chrēmata*) in the form of coinage (*nomisma*) transformed Greek warfare in a number of ways in the sixth to fourth centuries BCE. Thucydides (1.11-12) noticed this transformation, and it is important to recognize the role that money played in this process.

The relationship between warfare and money from the time of the invention of coinage around 600 BC is undeniable. Some have suggested military-mercenary needs led to the invention. Large-scale mintings are always associable with military activity. Drawing upon material (the coinage itself) and literary evidence for Greek military coinages in the fifth and fourth centuries BC this paper explores the ways in which money and coinage transformed warfare in the later Classical Age. Three aspects of Greek warfare were affected. First, professionalization resulted in the incorporation of poor insiders (as light troops and naval personnel) and specialist outsiders (mercenaries) into the armies of various Greek states. Money facilitated the hiring of large numbers of poor Athenians into the fleet. It also enabled states to employ expendable and disposable foreigners in their armies. Second, money was used to build and crew large navies; the trireme became the dominant naval arm, and money supported poor oarsmen and specialist crews. This development facilitated larger and more sustained campaigns. Finally coinage introduced new kinds of relationships and new leaders in the Greek world. Coins symbolized contracts and became a means to bind men to service. The coin reflected a symbolic value and provided testimony of the relationship between a state and its citizens or its subject allies (as, for example, with Athens) or as a symbol of a relationship between individuals with reciprocal ties of investment to each other. Philip II made it illegal for any man to hold a coin minted by Phocian generals after the Sacred War ostensibly because the money came from the desecrated sanctuary of Delphi, but the coins of the Phocians also carried potent symbols of the Phocian commanders identifying those they commanded as enemies of Philip. In the final analysis coinage opened the way for the great empires of Philip, Alexander, and the successors.