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## The Roman Republic

Charles Parisot-Sillon

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INTERNATIONAL NUMISMATIC COUNCIL

**SURVEY OF  
NUMISMATIC RESEARCH  
2014–2020**

**VOLUME I & II**

**General Editors**

Michael Alram – Jarosław Bodzek – Aleksander Bursche

**Sub-editors**

Roger Bland, Jarosław Bodzek, Mateusz Bogucki,  
Arianna D'Ottone Rambach, Jérôme Jambu, Dorota Malarczyk,  
Tuukka Talvio, Peter van Alfen, Helen Wang



**2022  
WARSAW  
POLAND**

Warsaw–Krakow–Winterthur 2022



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## ABBREVIATIONS

CACCAMO CALTABIANO (2017)	CACCAMO CALTABIANO, M. et al. (eds), <i>XV International Numismatic Congress. Taormina 2015. Proceedings</i> , vol. I-II (Rome–Messina, 2017).
S	SELLWOOD, D., <i>An Introduction to the Coinage of Parthia</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> revised edition (London, 1980)
SCBI	<i>Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles</i>
SNP	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Parthorum</i> series (sylloge.org)
AAAD	Antichità Altoadriatiche
AAC	Acta Archaeologica Carpathica
AAL	Acta Archaeologica Lodziensia
ACM	Acta Classica Mediterranea
ACSS	Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Syberia
ADSO	Archäologie und Denkmalpflege im Kanton Solothurn
ADSV	Античная древность и средние века / Antiquity and the Middle Age
AEAS	Археология Евразийских степей / Archaeology of the Eurasian Steppes
AMA	Античный мир и археология / Ancient World and Archaeology
AMSMG	Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia
ANJ	Armenian Numismatic Journal
Annales du GNP	Annales du Groupe Numismatique de Provence
Annales GNCP	Annales du Groupe Numismatique du Comtat et de Provence
Annales SBNH	Annales de la Société Bretonne de Numismatique et d'Histoire
ArchVesti	Археологические Вести / Archaeological News
ARG	Археология русского города / Archeology of the Russian City
ARWH	Asian Review of World Histories
AS	Archäologie Schweiz
ASNP	Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa
BAI	Bulletin of the Asia Institute
BAMM	Bulletin de l'Association des Amis du Musée monétaire cantonale
BBPN	Beiträge zur Brandenburgisch/Preussischen Numismatik
BCNVDS	Bulletin du Cercle Numismatique Val de Salm
BdN online, Materiali	Bollettino di Numismatica Online
BHA	Bulletin of the History of Archaeology
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies
BN	Biuletyn Numizmatyczny
BospIssl	Боспорские Исследования / Bosporan Studies
BSNL	Bulletin de la Société Numismatique du Limousin
BUCEMA	Bulletin du Centre d'Études Médiévales d'Auxerre
BVBl.	Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter
CAB	The Australasian Coin & Banknote Magazine
Cahiers des thèmes transversaux ArScAn	Cahiers des Thèmes Transversaux, Archéologies et Sciences de l'Antiquité
CAJ	Central Asiatic Journal
CAR	Cahiers d'Archéologie Romande
CAUN	Cuadernos de Arqueología de la Universidad de Navarra
CCCHBulg	Coin Collections and Coin Hoards From Bulgaria
CCEC	Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes
ChersSbor	Херсонесского сборника / Chersonesus Journal
CHMH	Curs d'Història Monetària Hispànica

CMCS	Cambrian Medieval Celtic
CN	Cercetări Numismatice
CNL	The Colonial Newsletter
CNRS Transactions	Canadian Numismatic Research Society's Transactions
CPMS	Canadian Paper Money Society Journal
CRMH	Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes
CollAn	Colloquium Anatolicum
CSA	Current Swedish Archaeology
DHA	Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne
DHNAS Magazine	Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society Magazine
DNH	Dresdner Numismatische Hefte
DNum	Dialoghi di Numismatica
EJARS	Egyptian Journal of Archaeological and Restoration Studies
ENH	Études de Numismatique et d'Histoire Monétaire
ETF/II	Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie II. Historia Antigua
FAEM	Filologia Antica e Moderna
FAN-Post	Mitteilungsblatt des Freundeskreises für Archäologie in Niedersachsen e.V.
FN	Folia Numismatica
FOLD&R	Journal of Fasti Online Documents & Research
FrMb	Freiberger Münzblätter
GE	Государственный Эрмитаж / State Hermitage Museum
GIM	Государственный исторический музей / State Historical Museum
GN	Geldgeschichtliche Nachrichten
GS	Gandhāran Studies
GZN	Gdańskie Zeszyty Numizmatyczne
IBNS Journal	International Bank Note Society Journal
IHR	Indian Historical Review
IJ	Indo-Iranian Journal
IJAS	Iranian Journal of Archaeological Studies
IJCP	International Journal of Cultural Property
INeN	International Numismatic e-Newsletter
ITMS	Inventaire des Trouvailles Monétaires Suisses
JAAH	Journal of Archaeology and Ancient History
JAEN	Journal of Early American Numismatics
JAH	Journal of African History
JAHA	Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology
JAN	Journal of Archaeological Numismatics
JARCS	Journal of Archaeological Studies
JBA	Journal of Bengal Art
JbAK	Jahresberichte aus Augst und Kaiseraugst
JbAS	Jahrbuch Archäologie Schweiz
JEGMP	Jaarboek van het Europees Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde
JEMAHS	Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies
JIAA	Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology
JINCE	Journal of Islamic Numismatic Center – Egypt
JLA	Journal of Late Antiquity
JMIS	Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies
JNAA	Journal of the Numismatic Association of Australia
JNR	Journal of Numismatic Research

JPU	Journal of Peking University
JRJ	The John Reich Journal
JRMES	Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies
JSEAS	Journal of Southeast Asian Studies
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSRS	Judea and Samaria Research Studies
KSIA	Краткие сообщения Института археологии / Brief Communications of the Institute of Archaeology
LAMAS	London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Transactions
MAA	Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry
MAIASK	Материалы по археологии и истории античного и средневекового Причерноморья / Proceedings in Archaeology and History of Ancient and Medieval Black Sea Region
MAIET	Материалы по археологии, истории и этнографии Таврии / Materials in Archaeology, History and Ethnography of Tauria
MCSEE	Monedă și Comerț în Sud-Estul Europei
MFRP	Münzfunde aus Rheinland-Pfalz
MING	Mitteilungsblatt des Instituts für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte der Universität Wien
MitV	Mitalitaiteen Vuosikirja
MNO	Московское нумизматическое общество / Moscow Society of Numismatists
NASG	Neues Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte
NCh GIM	Нумизматические чтения Государственного Исторического музея / Numismatic Readings at the State Historical Museum
NGÖ	Netzwerk Geschichte Österreichs
NI Bulletin	Numismatics International Bulletin
NNB	Numismatisches Nachrichtenblatt
NNF-Nytt	Norsk Numismatisk Tidsskrift NNF-Nytt
NN-ZN	Notae Numismaticae–Zapiski Numizmatyczne
NSb	Numismatický Sborník
NumSfraEpi	Нумизматика, сфрагистика и эпиграфика / Numizmatika, Sfragistika i Epigrafika
NE	Нумизматика и эпиграфика / The Numismatics and Epigraphy
NZO	Нумизматика Золотой Орды / Golden Horde Numismatics
OZeAN	Online Zeitschrift zur Antiken Numismatik
PAM	Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean
PCA	European Journal of Post-Classical Archaeologies
PK	Петербургский Коллекционер / Petersburg Collector
PrIsFiKu	Проблемы истории, филологии, культуры / Journal of Historical, Philological and Cultural Studies
PN	Przegląd Numizmatyczny
PovArkh	Поволжская археология / The Volga River Region Archaeology
RAE	Revue Archéologique de l'Est
RAL	Revue Archéologique du Loiret
RAN	Revue Archéologique de Narbonnaise
RAP	Revista d'Arqueologia de Ponent
RassAPiomb	Rassegna di Archeologia. Associazione Archeologica Piombinese
RCAN	Revista de Cercetări Arheologice Și Numismatice
REArm	Revue des Études Arméniennes
RLO	Русь, Литва, Орда в памятниках нумизматики и сфрагистики / Rus, Lithuania, the Horde in the Monuments of Numismatics and Sphragistics
RNA	Revue de Numismatique Asiatique

RPA	Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia
RTA	Revue Tunisienne de l'Archéologie
RTSENA	Recherches et Travaux de la Société d'études Numismatiques et Archéologiques
RZN	Radomskie Zapiski Numizmatyczne
SAAC	Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization
SCI	Scripta Classica Israelica
SHN	Studia Historica Nitriensia
SKAS	Suomen Keskiajan Arkeologian Seura
SPAAA	Selected Papers on Ancient Art and Architecture
SN	Slovenská Numizmatika
SSN	Schweizer Studien zur Numismatik
SNT	Svensk Numismatisk Tidskrift
SNVE	Средневековая нумизматика восточной Европы / Medieval Numismatics of Eastern Europe
TCS Bulletin	The Token Corresponding Society Bulletin
TM	Trésors Monétaires
TNDB	Türk Nüsmistik Derneği, Bülten / Turkish Numismatic Society Bulletin
TSHM	Труды Государственного Эрмитажа / Transactions of the State Hermitage Museum
TÜBA-AR	Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi / Turkish Academy of Sciences Journal of Archaeology
TÜBA-KED	Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Kültür Envanteri Dergisi / Turkish Academy of Sciences Journal of Cultural Inventory
VAHD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku / Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Dalmate
VAMZ	Vjesnik Arheološkog Muzeja u Zagrebu / Journal of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum
VEEE	Международная нумизматическая конференция „Эпоха викингов в Восточной Европе в памятниках нумизматики VIII–XI вв.“ / The Viking Era in Eastern Europe in Numismatic Objects of the 8th–11th Centuries
VILI	Вестник истории, литературы, искусства / Bulletin of History, Literature, Art
VIN	Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte der Universität Wien
VNJ	Victorian Numismatic Journal
VNK	Всероссийская нумизматическая конференция. Тезисы / All-Russian Numismatic Conference. Abstracts
WPN	Warszawski Pamiętnik Numizmatyczny
WZN	Wrocławskie Zapiski Numizmatyczne
ZAAK	Zeitschrift für Archäologie Außereuropäischer Kulturen
ZAM	Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters
ZGQB	Zhongguo Qianbi 中国钱币 / China Numismatics
ZHF	Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung

## THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

*Charles Parisot-Sillon*

### 1. Epistemology, historical background, and main directions of research

The past few years have been an exciting time for all scholars and students of Roman Republican coinage. The period under review opened with an international colloquium in Dresden (June 19<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup>, 2014), “Neue Forschungen zur Münzprägung der Römischen Republik”. Forty years after the publication of Michael Crawford’s *Roman Republican Coinage* (RRC) (Cambridge, 1974), the conference was meant to reflect the current state of Republican numismatics in its diversity, which it did: as a result, its proceedings might be among the field’s most important publications in recent years, see HAYMANN *et al.* (195). An even more important book, however, is the memorial volume for Richard B. Witschonke, who sadly died in the same year that it was published: VAN ALFEN *et al.* (353). Most papers focus on Republican numismatics, and some of them are the finest pieces of numismatic literature published in the last few years: see, *e.g.*, BURNETT AND MOLINARI (81), McCABE (257), STANNARD (321) and WOYTEK (364).

Secondly, it appears that the transition to the digital era has accelerated since 2014, with existing databases being refined and new ones being introduced: an online corpus (CRRO, <<http://numismatics.org/crro/>>), an inventory of coin hoards (CHRR, <http://numismatics.org/chrr/>>) and, more recently, an illustrated archive of documented die counts and die links per series (RRDP, <http://numismatics.org/rrdp/>>), have turned Roman Republican numismatics into perhaps the most advanced field of ancient coin studies in terms of digital resources, providing all kinds of users with extensive, interoperable, linked open data (see section 2). This proved to be especially useful in an unexpected way, as the global pandemic situation made it impossible for most of us to access physical collections in 2020.

New handbooks and chapters in handbooks have been published in recent years, which may provide accessible, up-to-date entries into the field of Republican numismatics for students: for coins struck before and after 49 respectively, see the chapters, in French, published by BURNETT (78) and WOYTEK (367), with an emphasis on the structural aspects of the Roman monetary systems and alloys; or, in English, YARROW (378) and ROWAN (313). The former, although officially published in 2021, is included in the bibliography as it conveniently completes the latter; more generally, Yarrow’s meticulous treatment of iconography and its articulation with institutional or prosopographical data should serve as a source of inspiration. WOYTEK’s chapter on “monetary innovation” (368) in the Roman Republic may also be read as a useful introduction to the state of research in the field, with a focus on silver and gold coinages; readers should be advised to follow up with SUSPÈNE (337), exploring the same vein and to some extent complementing Woytek’s chapter. An entirely different approach is that of KEMMERS (216), who provides readers with a review of the historical issues that Michael Crawford had dealt with in *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1985), in the light of new data and methods. While her demonstration might lack refinement when applied to specific regions such as Spain, Kemmers seems to be right when insisting on the pervasiveness of regionalized monetary economies and the absence of effective mechanisms for a “trickle-down effect” (p. 367) before the Principate. On these theoretical questions, see also chapters 1 and 2 in MARTIN (250).

Various papers published in BECK *et al.* (55) may be of interest to numismatists. ROSILLO LÓPEZ (310) presents monetary transactions as a product of political relationships and general issues related to wealth and redistribution (it might be read in parallel with BERNARD (57) for the earlier, mid-Republican period, see section 5). Likewise, ROSENSTEIN (309) deals with the costs and incomes of military activities until 167, suggesting that wars *did not* ‘feed themselves’, i.e. that *stipendium* and other related costs more often than not exceeded the amount of booty which the Romans could plausibly retrieve from military victories. Although this conclusion may be accepted when reasoning in terms of specific campaigns and from the point of view of the soldiers themselves, it seems difficult not to reckon that booties and war indemnities played a crucial role in the dramatic increase in Roman public revenues from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century onwards: on that topic, see also KAY’s chapters 1 and 2 (215), as well as TAN (344) on provincial taxation and

TAYLOR (346-347) on annual expenditures in relation to the financing of military activities. Such meticulous, year-by-year research about the Roman State's budget, derived from Livy's accounts in most cases, may, in the future, provide a solid foundation for revising the usual, imprecise chronology of Roman Republican coin series struck during the first half of that century.

Other peripheral contributions which may be useful for numismatists include HARRIS's continuation of previous works on credit practices (193), and a new and useful synthesis by DOMERGUE AND RICO (166) on transport routes, both maritime and on land, for the trade and supply of metals in the Western Mediterranean. For new data about *tesserae nummulariae*, see CALABRIA AND DI JORIO (85) and BUONAPANE (75). Numismatists should keep an eye on new excavation campaigns in Renieblas: while first reports and studies have already been made available, see esp. JIMÉNEZ *et al.* (213), new datings and finds are likely to have major implications for numismatic approaches of Roman Republican military finances in the years to come. Another significant, general contribution is that of MARTIN (249) on the financing of auxiliary troops in the late Republic and early Empire.

## 2. Collections and digital resources

The period has seen the publication of a catalogue documenting a substantial collection of 881 Roman Republican coins, namely that of the Museu Histórico Nacional in Rio de Janeiro: see MAGALHÃES (242). Catalogues for several different Bulgarian museums with interesting Republican material were also made available by PROKOPOV (294 and 295). Other significant publications of public collections include MORELLI's study of previously unpublished bronze coins from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century kept in Parma (269), RECIO MARTÍN (299) on coins from the Museo Cerralbo in Madrid, as well as DEBERNARDI AND SCHAEFER (159) documenting some rarities from the Museo Correr in Venice. See also CHARNOTET AND HOLLARD (122 and 198) for a brief history and statistical overview of the Republican coin collection from the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) in Paris. Studies focusing on hoards from museum collections are presented in section 4.

The most spectacular trend of the last few years, however, has been the increased pace in the digitization of public collections, and their subsequent integration with interoperable databases, following in the footsteps of (most notably) the American Numismatic Society and the British Museum. In particular, the BnF's digital library (<<https://gallica.bnf.fr/>>) now features 22,752 coins and monetary instruments from the Roman Republic, with some 20,000 of them also being featured in *CRRO*.

This is not to say that the digital transition is now over. First, extant databases need to be completed and improved upon: *CHRR* still does not include most known hoards buried before the 150s, and *CRRO* may one day need to be revised as well (see section 5). Second, scholars collectively need to learn how to use and *not* to use these databases, as outlined by LOCKYEAR (237) for *CHRR* and, most recently, by CARBONE AND YARROW (113-114) for *RRDP*. The latter, newly introduced in 2020, is a database building upon the archive assembled over the years by Richard Schaefer, aiming to incorporate individual obverse and reverse dies within extant databases, with every single one of them being given its own identifier. Time will tell how it evolves.

## 3. Structural and technical aspects

An important trend in the past few years has been a renewed focus on all technical aspects of monetary activities, either official, imitative, or fraudulent; for the latter, see section 7. Die studies of specific issues have multiplied: see notably, but not exclusively, DEBERNARDI *et al.* (149) for *RRC* 363/1a-d; DEBERNARDI AND LEGRAND (153) on *quadrigati* and early Roman gold coins; CAMPANA (89-94, 97, 99 and 102) for various series from *RRC* 377/1 to the civil wars, WOYTEK (365) for *RRC* 445/3, HOLLSTEIN (201) for *RRC* 507/1. More generally, see DEBERNARDI's methodology and description of his workflow for die studies (143), as well as his and LIPPI's preliminary results for the quantitative study of early issues of *victoriati* (156). For the potentialities of *RRDP*, as discussed above, see CARBONE AND YARROW (113).

Metrological studies have been remarkably dynamic. A variety of publications have addressed general or theoretical problems about Roman monetary weight standards or its relations with other, contemporaneous standards: see the papers collected in DOYEN (167), more specifically BRANSBOURG (70) for interesting remarks about conversion rates between silver and bronze on Roman markets, and ASSEMAKER (46) on the complicated question of the dating and historical implications of the *lex Papiria*. A recent development is an integrated approach to metrological and archaeometrical data: building upon a survey of previous analytical campaigns, PARISOT-SILLON (279) suggests that, at

least from the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century onwards, *victoriati* were being officially struck, distributed and subsequently used as half-*denarii*, as implied by their mean silver mass; they may have served as a kind of specific-purpose coinage, mostly in the context of colonial activities in Italy. Likewise, many recent publications by DEBERNARDI include extensive data about weights, standards and the specific weights of individual coins: see, among others, DEBERNARDI with BRINKMAN (146), LIPPI (156) and MANENTI (157). Patterns in die axes, which had previously received little attention, have newly been the subject of thorough investigation: see BURNETT (76) for 3<sup>rd</sup> century Roman and Italian coinages, PARISOT-SILLON *et al.* (282) for coins struck in Rome during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries, as well as HAYMANN AND HOLLSTEIN (194, 195, 202) and JEHNE (210) for coins struck elsewhere during the civil wars. It has been demonstrated that attempts were periodically made in Rome to strike silver coins with dies aligned at 6 and/or 12 o'clock, and that regular patterns in die axes provide a meaningful, if not intrinsically decisive, piece of evidence for the localization of various coin issues from the civil wars, mostly in gold and silver. KOPIJ (221) further illustrates the potentialities of this approach for the study of bronze coinages as well, focusing on the coins of Sex. and Cn. Pompeius (*RRC* 471, 478, 479), about which see also AMELA VALVERDE (3, 7 and 13) and HOLLSTEIN (204). The tables and maps featured at the end of the Dresden proceedings, HAYMANN *et al.* (195), pp. 393–417, will surely be useful for future studies.

Overstrikes have been another focus of recent research: MCCABE (259) publishes a general overview of the practice of Roman overstrikes over Roman silver and bronze coins, and goes on to publish, along with MONTGOMERY (260), a systematic study of Roman overstrikes of bronze coins during the Hannibalic war, with major methodological implications (see section 5). More specific case studies are explored by MARTÍNEZ CHICO (255), GRIMALDI (189), CAMPANA (95), as well as by STANNARD (322), STANNARD AND RANUCCI (328).

The practice of cutting Republican bronze coins into halves and quarters has been addressed in an important paper published by MARTIN (251), revising the chronology for this phenomenon in the light of recent archaeological contexts. For the practice of cutting *denarii* in the context of Iberian (pre)monetary economies, see MCCABE (257); for other invasive physical treatments, whether or not for ritual purposes, see SUSPÈNE AND CHAUSERIE-LAPRÉE (341); BOSSARD *et al.* (67).

#### 4. Coin finds and hoards

It is difficult to systematically report on all substantial Republican site finds. It remains true, however, that closed archaeological contexts with a significant number of Republican coins prior to the Augustan era are not as common as one would wish. As such, various important case studies presented in PARDINI *et al.* (277) should be mentioned for methodological purposes: see, among others, CARFORA *et al.* (115) on coin finds from Norba, DOBREVA AND STELLA (165) for Aquileia and its surroundings, DRAGO TROCCOLI's report on finds of *aes rude* in votive contexts in Pyrgi (169), PISANO (290) on finds from the garden of M. Fabius Rufus's house in Pompeii.

Other remarkable publications include BARBATO (51) on the coins recovered from excavations in the Largo di Torre Argentina in Rome; BOCCARDI (66) on a votive deposit from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century in Pietrabbondante; FREY-KUPPER (177) on coin finds from Carthage. Equally worthwhile is BIONDANI's paper on finds of Celtic and Roman coins in Veronese indigenous funerary contexts (64), as it seems to imply that Roman bronze coins penetrated local, indigenous economies much earlier than silver coins did in the Eastern half of Cisalpine Gaul. On Northern Italy and its margins, see also KOCZWARA (219).

Recent campaigns in Pompeii have produced new, interesting finds of Republican and contemporary coins, whether or not in closed Republican contexts: see, *e.g.*, PARDINI (276) reporting on coins recently excavated from the surroundings of the Porta Stabia. Equally valuable is STANNARD's report on the content of a 1<sup>st</sup> century BC purse-hoard composed of 90 bronze coins, which had not previously raised the attention it deserved (324): while the lot mixes Roman-type, Ebusan, Greek and Pompeian (Italo-Baetican) coins, as may be expected in the area, it also includes 14 imitations of Republican *semisses*, *trientes* and *quadrantes*.

The most valuable finds in military contexts have recently tended to be concentrated in Western provinces: see especially GARCÍA-BELLIDO *et al.* (179) on Roman, Punic, and Iberian coins obtained from archaeological operations in the Cerro de las Albahacas (Jaén), the surroundings of which the authors believe is the site of the battle of Baecula in 208. As regards Numantia and the Renieblas camps, see the preliminary studies and reports of new finds published by JIMÉNEZ *et al.* (211–213). Initial reports have also been published on archaeological material from a Roman Republican camp in Le Lampourdier (Vaucluse), which the authors associate to the battle of Arausio in 105, see DEYBER AND



LUGINBÜHL (161); a more in-depth study, including that of the numismatic material, remains to be published.

Hoards still constitute the most important type of evidence in the field of Republican numismatics. Structural studies should first be singled out. LOCKYEAR (238) compares the structures of Italian and Iberian hoards from the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century, stressing the effects of an irregular supply in Roman coins towards provincial territories, which derives both from specific State expenses over short periods of time and from tight links between Baetica and Italy: this demonstration has major methodological implications for the comparative study of hoards and coin finds from different regions of the Roman world. Likewise, PARISOT-SILLON (279) and MACHADO (241) stress out the singularity of hoards of *victoriati* from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, as they tend to include a larger number of coins than other contemporary hoards, and are hardly ever mixed with other kinds of coinage.

Conversely, a variety of recent studies addressed specific questions related to mixed hoards in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries. For Italian case studies, see most notably the seminal paper by BURNETT AND MOLINARI (81) about the Capitoline hoard; GORINI (188) publishes a deposit of Roman and other Italian didrachms recently excavated in Nora's temple. For new or rediscovered Spanish finds, see GIRAL ROYO (186) and RODRÍGUEZ CASANOVA (306) about the Camarasa and Valeria hoards, respectively. MCCABE (257) publishes a new hoard dispersed in trade, with cut *denarii* from the Second Punic War period: it is likely to come from Spain, where such practices are well known in this period, and may have initially included Iberian coins or other silver pieces, which the author was unable to identify in trade. An important monograph was written by CHAVES TRISTÁN AND PLIEGO VÁZQUEZ (123): its main focus is the publication of a new mixed hoard proceeding from Villarrubia de los Ojos (Ciudad Real), coming with an excellent catalogue of its Roman, Greek and Iberian coins; the archaeometrical data should, however, be considered with caution. Most interestingly, the authors build on previous studies by CHAVES TRISTÁN to compare this deposit with other hoards from the "Second Punic War horizon" in the Iberian Peninsula. Indeed, the Spanish evidence is both specific and tremendously valuable in characterizing the first steps of Roman conquests out of Italy: as such, readers may want to pay attention to other recent comparative studies, including those published by DEBERNARDI (144), GIRAL ROYO (185) and RODRÍGUEZ CASANOVA (307).

One of the most exciting finds in recent years is a hoard of 200 Roman *denarii* that closed in c.74-73 (*RRC* 394/1 C·POSTVMI), which came to light during the excavations of the Roman town of Emporiae, *insula* 30 in 2016, see CAMPO *et al.* (104). This deposit, like that from Le Noyer (Hautes-Alpes), about which see FRANÇOISE AND BERDEAUX-LE BRAZIDEC (175), may illustrate the logistics of senatorial armies fighting against Sertorius in Spain, dependent on supply routes from Italy. Therefore, it might not be true, as assumed by Campo *et al.*, that the coins from Emporiae were specifically selected by their owner: the fact that this hoard includes *only* Roman coins, and mostly quite recent ones at that, may simply reflect the form taken by State expenses from c.74 onwards, in contrast with the more archaic features of some other finds from the period of the Sertorian war, see *e.g.*, the purse-hoard from the Carrer del Salvador in Valencia. In any case, these troubled years also had a deep impact on hoarding patterns in Italy: D'ANSELMO AND MOLINARI (43) identify a correlation between the spatial distribution of hoards and the geography of Sullan colonial activities, coming to the conclusion that veterans would frequently be mobilized, and possibly killed, in the wars against Sertorius, Mithridates or Spartacus.

Other significant Italian hoards from the Republican period, recently excavated or rediscovered, include those of Licata-Finziade (CACCAMO CALTABIANO *et al.*, 84), Palestrina (CAMPANA, 103), Velia (CARBONE, 108), Arzegrande (CARRARO, 117), Colle San Martino (CEGLIA *et al.*, 120), Orzivecchi (DEBERNARDI, 139), Montedoro, Ugento, Nardò and Torremaggiore (LIBERO MANGIERI, 228-231). For Iberian hoards, see Andagoste (AMELA VALVERDE, 3), Penhagarcía and Lerilla (MARTÍN ESQUIVEL AND BLÁZQUEZ CERRATO, 253); in France, see especially the remarkable deposit of triumphal and early Augustan *aurei* excavated in Tholon (Bouches-du-Rhône) (SUSPÈNE *et al.*, 342), as well as two contemporaneous hoards of *denarii* from Provence (RICHARD-RALITE, 301-302).

Finally, new hoards composed exclusively or partly of Republican coins have been published for regions located outside of the Roman territories, from Denmark (HORSNÆS AND REFSHAUGE BECK, 206) to Belarus, Ukraine (MYZGIN, 270-273) and Romania (GĂZDAC *et al.*, 181-182); on specific questions related to Republican coins and their imitations in the eastern Balkans, see section 7. An interesting find from Nowa Wieś Głubczycka, in Poland, published by DYMOWSKI AND RUDNICKI (171), includes 122 Republican *denarii*, 3 early Augustan *denarii*, and an additional *denarius* from Juba I. However, the authors identified a countermarked *RRC* 419/1d *denarius* bearing the inscription

(1)MP·VES, suggesting that the exportation of old blocks of Roman coins, presumably from Dacia towards the Middle Danube region, continued at least until the Flavian period. Comparatively, the western Balkans had previously produced less material: in this regard, it is all the more interesting to see new finds of Republican official and imitative coins being published from Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, see *e.g.*, CRNOBRNJA (134) and DRAGICEVIC (168) respectively. KRAMBERGER (222) also reports on an interesting lot of bronze material from various provenances (Rome, Illyria, Africa, Greece and even Celtiberia) found in the vicinity of Zadar.

For all regions of the Roman world and its margins, the list outlined above is far from complete: readers will find more in the following bibliography.

### 5. Pre-denarial coinages and the Second Punic War

On weighed bronze bullion and related cutting practices, see LEROUXEL (229) and a transdisciplinary approach by GUILLEUX AND GUIHARD (190). D'ANGELO AND MARTÍN ESQUIVEL (42) publish a new fragment of a *ramo secco* bar. As mentioned earlier, DRAGO TROCCOLI (169) publishes interesting finds of *aes rude* in votive contexts in Pyrgi. For insights into the numismatic landscape of colonial settlements in relation with the Roman State in the middle Republican period, see TERMEER (348).

It had to be expected that Filippo Coarelli's ambitious, yet provocative book *Argentum signatum*, published in 2013 (yet included again in the bibliography for convenience, COARELLI, 124), would not go unnoticed. Indeed, reactions have been varied in scope and in tone: see *e.g.*, BURNETT AND CRAWFORD (79), CANTILENA (106), CAPOGROSSI COLOGNESI (107), LO CASCIO (118), MARCHETTI (244 and 245), VITALE (357), as well as COARELLI's own answer to some of Burnett's and Crawford's criticisms (125). The debate mostly revolves around matters of chronology, as discussions inevitably seem to be driven by the importance one is willing to give to different kinds of historical and archaeological evidence. In the previous *Survey*, WOYTEK AND WITSCHONKE (372) had already remarked upon the 'fragility' of Coarelli's high chronological arrangement, especially in relation with the introduction of the *quadrigatus* and, in the light of new research, such a conclusion seems all but unavoidable. Images and texts may lend themselves to various interpretations; die-links, not so much: see therefore DEBERNARDI AND LEGRAND in general (153), and more specifically about the Selinunte 1891 hoard (155), concluding that the early issues of *quadrigati* were struck over a short period of time, probably not before the 220s. The most important review of *Argentum signatum* must be that of BERNARD (58), building on his previous work (57) to find an explanation for the Roman Republic's apparent disinterest in the regular minting of silver coins during most of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Attitudes towards wealth and coinage, he writes, would change not because Rome needed to strike coins to pay for either of the two first Punic wars, as previous generations had perfectly been able to comply with State payments without doing so, but because of a "reconfiguration of wealth" and monetary transactions as an attribute of the social prestige of new lineages within the Roman elite. Not only were silver coins irregularly minted in Rome before the time of Hannibal; in fact they were not even of common use either, as demonstrated by BURNETT AND MOLINARI (81).

Once again, the Second Punic War period has received much attention in the period under review. MARTÍNEZ CHICO (254, 256) reports on various finds of *aes grave* from Spain; see also VAGI (351) for a useful general review of the monetary implications of alliances in Southern Italy. On more general terms, the line is still moving as regards the arrangement, localization and absolute chronology of bronze series struck in Italy during the Hannibalic period; from a methodological point of view, the most important contribution in recent years must be MCCABE AND MONTGOMERY (260), who provide their readers with a thorough examination of Roman over Roman overstrikes, a practice meant to provide the Roman State with whichever mix of denominations was needed at any given time and place, regardless of the weights of flans. In other words, as the authors sum it up, "weights of individual bronze coins (...) were not important" in such cases, which may cast doubt on some reconstructed narratives based on the presumably linear succession of weight standards, from triental to uncial. While the early *denarius* has still been the subject of a variety of contributions, among which see DEBERNARDI (139-140), along with BRINKMAN (145-146), the attention has recently tended to concentrate mostly on the *quadrigatus*, as discussed above, and the *victoriatus*. See, among other contributions, DEBERNARDI along with BRINKMAN (147), LIPPI (156) and MANENTI (157). On the Spanish side of the conflict, GARCÍA-BELLIDO AND DE HOZ (180) suggest that the oath scene represented on a recently discovered drachm, supposedly minted in the Iberian Peninsula, may allude to the *foedus* between Rome and Saguntum. First results were published by ALBARÈDE *et al.* (1): their demonstration is based on archaeometrical data, more specifically derived from the

study of silver isotopes, a method which had not been previously implemented in the field of ancient numismatics. A provisional conclusion tends to emphasize the Spanish provenance of the silver used to mint pre-denarial silver coins in Rome in the early stages of the conflict, whereas the introduction of the *denarius* would have coincided with an influx of silver from various provenances, in relation with plunder operations in Southern Italy. For now, though, the analytical sample is too small, the historical framework too rudimentary to take these results for granted.

All in all, recent research on the monetary aspects of the Hannibalic war, taking the form of hoards and finds analyses, die studies, comments on the metrology and iconography of coins, and archaeometrical approaches altogether, results in a general picture which differs markedly from that which was apparent forty years ago. The idea that the *denarius* might have been introduced as soon as c.215-214 seems to have gained momentum. For this period, maybe more so than for any other period of Roman Republican monetary history, it is becoming apparent that the *RRC* will soon need to be revised to incorporate some new arrangements, as already pointed out by WOYTEK AND WITSCHONKE (372) in the previous *Survey*; an additional challenge will be to determine whether such revisions should be integrated in *CRRO* and other databases, and how to do so in a purposeful way.

### 6. The late Republic and the civil wars

Roman coinage minted during the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century has attracted relatively little attention, with the remarkable exception of the gold coinage struck in the name of T. Quinctius Flamininus: new coins having appeared in trade are presented with general interpretations in CAMPANA (90, 94) and AMELA VALVERDE (34), pp. 31–55. The archaeometrical data presented in SUSPÈNE AND BLET-LEMARQUAND (338) seem to confirm that these coins were struck with Greek gold, rather than with whichever kind of bullion the Romans had previously used to strike gold coins during the Hannibalic war. Although these staters primarily made sense in a Greek context, the authors convincingly defend the idea that its message was conceived by Flamininus and his entourage, rather than by Greek cities paying homage to the conqueror.

An archaeometrical approach of the silver supplying strategies of the Roman mint between c.200 and c.40 can be found in PARISOT-SILLON AND SARAH (281), characterizing successive trends in the composition of Roman silver coinage, which illustrate the use of bullion from South-Eastern Spain, then Languedoc and Central Gaul. MOLINARI (265) suggests amendments to the chronology derived from *RRC* for coin issues from the late 130s. A surprising hypothesis found in DIOSONO (164) is that part of the coinage of L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, struck in c.90 (*RRC* 340/1), should actually be attributed to a homonymous moneyer (pr. 112), active before 125: a *denarius* from this series has been found in the baths at Fregellae, in a layer related to the collapse of this building in 125. The author suggests that the semuncial reform, epigraphically attested on other denominations of *RRC* 340, might therefore have been introduced in these years, rather than in c.92-90; a simpler hypothesis, it seems, may be that of a disturbed archaeological context.

Numerous recent contributions on Roman Republican coinage in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries address single coin series or a small selection of series issued by members of the same families, either in relation to questions of iconography and prosopography or for more technical matters, including the publication of new variants and die marks. It would be beyond the scope of this survey to mention each of them: what follows is thus a limited selection of some significant case studies, with a focus on those which have been examined by more than one author. HÖLKESKAMP (207) publishes a thorough examination of the Caecilii Metelli's monetary communication, with a generous number of references to other media; in the same fashion, see also AYRES BARBOSA (49). On coins minted by the Minucii Augurini, see also YARROW (376) and AYRES BARBOSA (48). On representations of public monuments, see ELKINS (172). The *denarii* struck by A. Plautius in c.55, bearing the "BACCHVS IVDAEVS" legend (*RRC* 431/1), have attracted much attention: see e.g., HENDIN (197), WOODS (361), as well as SCOTT's bold monograph (318) and GÜNTHER's review of the latter (191), which makes it clear that a consensus still remains to be found as to the identity of the man pictured on the reverse. More generally, as regards the methodology for adequately interpreting the iconography of Republican *denarii*, there is much food for thought to be found in WOYTEK AND ZAWADZKA's treatment of the baroque coin types of the *denarii* struck by C. Coelius Caldus (*RRC* 437).

CAMPANA has continued to investigate the coinage of the Social War, and now accepts the authenticity of an enigmatic gold coin struck in the name of Minius Iegius (87). AMELA VALVERDE's survey (29) does not come with any new, substantial material or hypothesis. CAMPANA (96, 98) and ASSENMAKER (45) accept the dating of the gold series *RRC*

549/1 CN·LENT to 88, following a clever hypothesis initially formulated by Mark Passehl.

As regards the time of the civil wars, a recent monograph by ASSEMAKER (44) should be singled out: while the author studies with great care the monetary programme carried out by Sulla and his followers, his innovative reappraisal of that of the Marian partisans might constitute Assenmaker's most original contribution. Another important, recently published book is POWELL AND BURNETT (293), with approximately half of its chapters covering the 49-27 period: see e.g., DEVOTO AND SPIGOLA (160) on the coinages struck in the names of Metellus Scipio and Cato, DE MÉRITENS (262) on that of Q. Cornuficius, and for a more general approach, LAIGNOUX (227). In the same volume, the chapter written by CARBONE (111) on Antony's reforms in the East, although equally important, should be read alongside the recent, illuminating monograph published on the same topic by MEADOWS (261). Various relevant chapters may also be found in HAYMANN *et al.* (195), as discussed earlier (see section 3). Finally, GOŁYŹNIAK's recent monograph (187) will surely be useful to many scholars and students of Republican numismatics, as it includes a massive, richly illustrated catalogue of engraved gems with political motifs from the Republican and Augustan periods.

Aside from what can be found in these monographs and proceedings, a wide variety of papers has been published in recent years about the civil wars, as usual; for reasons of brevity, what follows is once again a short selection of some of the most important studies. Sullan, Caesarean and triumviral gold coinages have been a subject of renewed interest: see e.g., HOLLSTEIN (201) on the *aurei* of P. Servilius Casca Longus (*RRC* 507/1); on the *aurei* struck by Pompey (*RRC* 402/1), see MARSHALL (248), KOPIJ (222) and, above all, WOYTEK (364). SUSPÈNE *et al.* (339) deal with the gold coinage struck in the name of Brutus and Cassius, publishing new archaeometrical evidence; see also SUSPÈNE *et al.* (340) for a preliminary report on the fineness of Republican and early Imperial *aurei*, as well as SCHWEI (317) for a complementary approach on the introduction of the *aureus* in the Roman monetary system, and LAIGNOUX (226) on other innovations from this period. Other significant contributions by HOLLSTEIN have dealt with coin issues struck by Caesar (199-200) and Sextus Pompeius (204). On Caesar's elephant *denarii* (*RRC* 443), see CARION (116) and DILUZIO (163). BIEDERMANN (60-61) publishes a useful survey of representations of stars on Republican coins, his most outstanding conclusion being that the laureate head portrayed on the obverse of *RRC* 534/1 is Octavian himself, rather than a rejuvenated Caesar, as the star in front of him may not necessarily be interpreted as the *sidus Iulium*. In the same volume, see also WOYTEK (365) for a thorough examination and die study of the *RRC* 445/3 *denarii*, struck in Asia in the name of the consuls L. Cornelius Lentulus and C. Claudius Marcellus in 49, the importance of which has sometimes been overlooked. As regards the *denarii* struck by Cn. Domitius Calvinus in Osca during the 30s, see CAMPANA (91). Finally, GÜNTHER (192) presents an intriguing coin that has recently appeared in trade, namely a *denarius* with a double portrait of Cleopatra VII and Antony derived from the *RRC* 543/1 series, except that the obverse legend is written in Greek. Provided it is authentic, which is not entirely certain, its Greek legend would help in understanding the Latin one on *RRC* 543/1, the interpretation of which had previously been a matter of debate.

### **7. Imitations, copies, counterfeits**

The idea that plated *denarii*, or some of them, were not false coins, but instead official products from the Roman mint, has repeatedly been proved to be untenable in the light of extant evidence, an observation already made by WOYTEK AND WITSCHONKE (372), p. 164. Nonetheless, MARCINIAK (246) tries to make a case for it, without any new arguments. This debated question should not distract us from the fact that the counterfeiting of Roman coins or, in more general terms, irregular activities in the orbit of the Roman Republican (and early Imperial) monetary system, are a promising field of investigation for the years to come, as the available material keeps on growing.

This applies first to coin dies bearing the types of Roman Republican *denarii* and to other sorts of tools related to monetary production. PAUNOV (283) has assembled a useful inventory of such items originating from the Balkan provinces. A new specimen, published by MARTÍN ESQUIVEL AND D'ANGELO (252), is an *RRC* 486/1 reverse die of P. Accoleius Lariscolus, also presumably originating from "the Balkans". Based on technical considerations, the authors do not consider it to be a forger's die, although it remains unclear how, when and why an official die from the Roman mint would have found its way into the Balkan provinces: the fact that members from the *gens Accoleia* are subsequently known to have had personal ties with Rhoemetalces, as the authors remind their readers, may or may not be a good reason for this. On similar historical issues in the Gallic provinces, see also MARTIN (250).

GEISER (183) publishes a short report about a forger's coin die reproducing the reverse of *RRC* 382/1b, which had first been published in 2011, with other related finds from Sermuz (Yverdon-les-Bains, Switzerland). This die

was probably made during the triumviral or early Augustan period; it is most likely a transfer die, reproducing the reverse of an original coin, with the engraving being modified afterwards (the legend and traces of serrated blanks were erased). PARISOT-SILLON (278) publishes a plated *denarius* kept in the BnF with both sides presenting the same portrait: the coin must have been minted using two transfer dies, both derived from the same side of an official coin (RRC 434/1 RVFVS·COS / Q·POM·RVFI). In the same volume as Geiser's paper, CAMPAGNOLO (86) reports briefly on an old find of plated *denarii* in the Bastion du Pin (Geneva), some specimens of which apparently entered the coin cabinet in Geneva in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century; however, the author may not have realized the outstanding value of this find, as the closing date (c.58 BC) and internal structure of this lot might indicate that forgers were active in Geneva during the years of the Caesarean campaigns in Gaul, while Roman troops were repeatedly settled in the region in winter.

Deposits and other finds at least partly composed of copies or imitations of Roman *denarii*, either plated or not, have multiplied in Central and Eastern Europe: see, most notably, the Romanian Bistrița and Peștiș hoards, published by GĂZDAC *et al.* (181-182), or that of Guljancy in Northern Bulgaria, published by PAUNOV (284); for relevant finds in Ukraine and Belarus, see MYZGIN (270-272). Although we know more and more about the phenomenon of imports, copies and imitations of Roman coins, sometimes with hybridized types, in Dacia, Moesia and Thrace, a consensus remains to be found as regards their historical implications: see, e.g., the diverging, maybe complementary approaches developed by PAUNOV (283) and STAN (320).

Not all imitations of Republican coins were *denarii*, however: for catalogues and detailed studies about the unofficial, cast imitations of Roman *asses* and *semisses* produced in the Iberian Peninsula, see RIPOLLÈS AND GOZALBES (303); RIPOLLÈS AND WITSCHONKE (305). The underlying causes for such a phenomenon, which can be dated from the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries, may not be unrelated to those that explain the development of the "Italo-Baetican" series and its various ramifications across the whole North-western Mediterranean. The state of research on this topic has greatly improved over the last few years: for the most recent and substantial contributions, see FREY-KUPPER AND STANNARD (178); STANNARD (323); STANNARD *et al.* (330). It is to be hoped that all the questions mentioned earlier - the production of plated Roman *denarii* in provincial contexts, the import of foreign coins towards Italy, imitations, pseudo-autonomous bronze coinages, etc.- which may all have something to see with an increased demand in Roman coins both in Italian contexts and in other Western provinces, will be more tightly articulated in future studies.

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