Pecunia Omnes Vincit

THE COINS AS AN EVIDENCE OF PROPAGANDA, REORGANIZATION AND FORGERY

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE 2ND INTERNATIONAL
NUMISMATIC CONFERENCE

KRAKOW 29–30 MAY 2015

KRAKÓW 2017

Pecunia Omnes Vincit

Pecunia Omnes Vincit

THE COINS AS AN EVIDENCE OF PROPAGANDA, REORGANIZATION AND FORGERY

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL
NUMISMATIC CONFERENCE

KRAKOW, 29–30 MAY 2015

Edited by Barbara Zając, Alicja Jurkiewicz,
Paulina Koczwara, Szymon Jellonek

Krakow 2017

Editors
Barbara Zając
Alicja Jurkiewicz
Paulina Koczwara
Szymon Jellonek

Scientific mentoring
Dr hab. Jarosław Bodzek

Reviewers
Prof. Dr hab. Jerzy Ciecieląg
Dr hab. Jarosław Bodzek
Dr Arkadiusz Dymowski
Dr Kamil Kopij
Dr Piotr Jaworski
Dr Witold Garbaczewski
Mateusz Woźniak, M.Sc.
Mateusz Biborski, M.Sc.

Proofreading
Editing Perfection
DTP
GroupMedia

Project of cover design Adrian Gajda; photos wildwinds.com

Funding by
Financial support the Students of the Jagiellonian University „BRATNIAK"

ISBN: 978–83–939189–8–0

Address
Institute of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University
11 Gołębia Street
31–007 Krakow

Contents

Introduction

We would like to present 12 articles by young researchers from Poland, Italy, and Hungary concerning numismatics and particular aspects thereof. The publication is a summary of the Second International Numismatic Conference '*Pecunia Omnes Vincit. The coins as an evidence of propaganda, reorganization and forgery*', held at the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum and Institute of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland, 29–30 May, 2015.

The articles direct the reader's attention to various issues involving aspects of numismatics such as propaganda, the circulation of coins in certain territories, and forgeries. The subject matter of this publication focuses on antiquity as well as mediaeval and modern times.

The first group features articles about propaganda, beginning with a paper on the coinage of Seleucus I Nicator, emphasising the importance of this ruler's military expedition to the East and constituting part of the legitimisation of his reign, after the death of Alexander the Great. A similar theme is reflected in an article about the victory of Pyrrhus at Heraclea and proclamation of this event in Sicilian coinage.

The next group of articles is focused on Roman provincial coinage. The coins from the Roman colony of Philippi depicted common symbols, including, but not limited to, the plough and legionary standards. Effigies of Augustus and Julius Caesar are among the main motives. The propaganda of the imperial cult and *neokoros* on the coins of Pergamum is the topic of the next paper, an analysis of changes in the iconography of coins during the reigns of Augustus, Trajan, and Caracalla, as well as information related to them and directed towards citizens.

The next group of papers focuses on the circulation and influx of coins in particular territories and on coin finds. An article about Roman coin finds in Cisalpine Gaul includes an analysis of their influx and function within this region. One of the articles presents an unpublished coin from the excavation at the Paphian Agora in Cyprus as evidence of the presence there of Jewish rebels. Preliminary analysis of 10 Roman coin finds from excavations in San Vincenzo, the site of the discovery of a villa from the period of the Roman Empire, is the topic of the next paper.

A study of chemical and microstructural characterisation, based on research using scanning electron microscopy (SEM) on the coins and medal discovered in Alberone di Ro near Ferrara, represents another category of the articles presented in this publication.

Another interesting problem of numismatics is forgeries. Denarii subaerati form part of a discussion on counterfeiting vs legal activity, and constitute one type of coin

finds on Polish soil. Coin counterfeiting workshops in Hungary in the Middle and Early Modern Ages are the subject of an article including an analysis of archaeological sites, various archaeological finds, and archaeometric research on coins.

The next article draws our attention to the iconography on medals from the Early Modern Age. The final topic included in the publication is a study of ceramic containers in the context of early mediaeval hoards.

The articles presented here constitute careful analyses of various numismatic aspects from the ancient, mediaeval and modern periods. We hope that these articles will offer an opportunity to expand and supplement existing knowledge, or draw attention to and stimulate discussion on some issues. We would like to extend special thanks to Dr hab. Jarosław Bodzek, for scientific mentoring, and to our reviewers: Prof. Dr hab. Jerzy Ciecieląg, Dr Arkadiusz Dymowski, Dr Kamil Kopij, Dr Piotr Jaworski, Dr Witold Garbaczewski, and Mateusz Woźniak, M.Sc., and Mateusz Biborski, M.Sc., for substantive correction of individual papers.

The Editors

Alicja Jurkiewicz

Institute of Archaeology
Jagiellonian University in Krakow
alicja.beata.jurkiewicz@gmail.com

LEGITIMATING POWER: SELEUCUS I AS THE HEIR OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT IN THE EAST AND THE TROPHY COINAGE OF SUSA

Abstract: *Seleucus I Nicator was one of the Macedonian generals who participated in the division of the empire of Alexander III following the king's death in 323 BC. At first the Satrap of Babylonia, Seleucus assumed the title of king in 306, thus initiating the history of the Seleucid dynasty.*

In 305 BC Seleucus organised a military expedition to the East, as Alexander the Great had done about twenty years earlier. As a consequence, the satrapies of Bactria and Northern India were incorporated into the Seleucid domain. Seleucus also signed a treaty with Chandragupta Maurya, founder of the great Maurya Empire of India.

These events were very important for the legitimation of Seleucus rule, and thus widely influenced his coinage. One type, which is strongly connected with Eastern campaign is generally referred to as the trophy coins of Susa. The obverse of these coins bears the image of a Dionysian hero (perhaps Alexander, Seleucus, or Dionysus himself); the reverse bears a picture of Nike crowning a trophy.

The main purpose of this paper will be to present examples of the coins of Seleucus I and to explain how they supported the general idea of identifying Seleucus as the heir of Alexander the Great in the East.

Keywords: *Hellenistic coinage, Seleucids, Susa, propaganda*

Seleucus I was one of the commanders who accompanied Alexander the Great on his Indian Anabasis. At the time of the initial division of the empire after Alexander's death in 323 BC, Seleucus was omitted; he was merely made the general of the Companions, under the suzerainty of the king's regent, Perdiccas. Shortly after these events, in 321/320, Perdiccas was assassinated by a conspiracy of his own officers, Seleucus, Peithon, and Antigonus, during his unsuccessful attempt to conquer Egypt.[1] Under the terms of the next partition, made in Triparadisus in 320, Seleucus was appointed Satrap of Babylon under the new regent, Antipater.[2] However, almost immediately a new

[1] Waterfield 2011: 64.
[2] Sherwin-White, Kuhrt 1993: 10.

war broke out among the Diadochi. In 315 Seleucus was forced to flee Babylon due to the invasion of Antigonus Monophthalmus.[3] He took shelter in Egypt, at the Ptolemaic court in Alexandria. Between 315 and 312 Seleucus served as an admiral under Ptolemy I, who was indebted to him for his victory over Antigonus. With the support of Ptolemy, Seleucus was able to return in 312 to Babylon, where he subsequently ruled as an independent satrap.

Beginning in 312 BC, Seleucus expanded his domain to Persia, Media, and Cappadocia. In 308 he turned his gaze to the East, in connection with his plan to unite all territories which had been part of the empire of Alexander the Great. Between 308 and 306, the satrapies of Hyrcania, Parthia, Aria, and Bactria were annexed to Seleucus's kingdom.[4] After the Bactrian campaign Seleucus set off to India in 306/305. His plan to conquer India ended in a failure; Seleucus managed only to sign a treaty with the emperor Chandragupta,[5] who gave him 500 war elephants as a guarantee of his friendship. From India, Seleucus proceeded to the northern satrapies of Sogdiana, Drangiana, and Arachosia, which soon were also incorporated into his kingdom.

In 303/302 BC Seleucus was forced to abandon further conquests due to the situation in the eastern Mediterranean. New conflict had broken out following the naval battle of Salamis in 306 and Antigonus Monophthalmus's invasion of Egypt.[6] In 302, an alliance was made between Ptolemy, Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus against Antigonus and Demetrius Poliorcetes.[7] At first Antigonus and Demetrius managed to thwart the allies' plan to join forces, but in a decisive battle at Ipsus in 301 they suffered a crushing defeat: their army was destroyed, Antigonus himself was killed, and his son Demetrius fled from the battlefield.[8]

In 301 BC the allies divided the domains of Antigonus among themselves. Despite his crucial role in the victory of Ipsus, Seleucus was granted only the territories south of the Taurus Mountains, including Palestine, Phoenicia, and southern Syria, which were actually under Ptolemaic occupation. Seleucus, remembering Ptolemy's help during his recapture of Babylon in 315, refrained from demanding the return of Syro-Palestine.[9] Nevertheless, he managed to expand his kingdom to include southern Mesopotamia, northern Syria, Armenia, and eastern Anatolia. He also conquered new territories in the southern part of his kingdom, especially in the Persian Gulf, in particular Failaka Island.

[3] Grainger 2014: 11.
[4] Idem 1990: 92.
[5] Idem 2014: 67.
[6] Walbank et al. 1984: 19.
[7] Grainger 2014: 40.
[8] Ibidem: 80.
[9] Sherwin-White, Kuhrt: 14.

Following the victory at Ipsus in 301 BC, Seleucus consolidated his power. In 285 BC he finally defeated Demetrius Poliorcetes, who spent the rest of his life as a hostage in the fortress of Apamea.[10] In 284, as the result of another crisis, Seleucus was forced to march against Lysimachus, who had managed to conquer most of Europe and Asia Minor. The campaign, waged in 282/281, ended in Seleucus's victory at the battle of Curopedium (281). Lysimachus fell on the battlefield. Seleucus was now the ruler of almost all of the territories which had belonged to Alexander's empire.[11] Unfortunately, his conquest of Ptolemaic Egypt was impossible. After the victory of Curopedium, Seleucus went on to Europe, where he was killed in the Sanctuary of the Argonauts in Argos near Lysimacheia by Ptolemy Keraunos, the disinherited son of Ptolemy I Soter.[12]

Almost from the beginning of their history in the seventh century BC,[13] coins not only served as money, but also constituted the main vehicle for political information. Numerous numismatic examples, especially those dating back to the Hellenistic period, indicate that they were largely intended to support the ruling classes through strengthening their position and creating a kind of state identity. This was accomplished by using images closely linked to the local culture, as well as by referring to major political events and important personages. Coinage is therefore a reflection of the relationship between rulers and their power on one hand, and their subjects on the other, enabling the former to be shown in a positive light and consequently to maintain dominance. It was thus that royal propaganda functioned in Hellenistic times, among others, in the Seleucid Kingdom, especially during the reign of Seleucus I Nicator.

The iconography of Seleucus' coins was subordinated primarily to the need of justifying his right to the throne. This was achieved in two ways: creating appropriate dynastic myths more or less associated with the person of Alexander the Great,[14] and promoting the king's great successes. The turbulent times which constituted the beginning of the Hellenistic period, as well as the ethnographic diversity of his kingdom, required the use of varied motives that would meet both the requirements of his propaganda and the necessity of being understood by the majority of the kingdom's population.

In the case of the propaganda used during the reign of Seleucus I, *imitatio Alexandrii* – the creation of dynastic legends very similar to those which accompanied Alexander the Great – is clearly visible.[15] In the first place, there are emissions with a representation of a Dionysian hero on the obverse. These were introduced after Seleucus's expedi-

[10] Davis, Kraay 1973: 233.
[11] Green 2008: 40.
[12] Davis, Kraay 1973: 189.
[13] Rutter 1983: 9.
[14] Engels 2010: 155.
[15] Mørkholm 1991: 53.

tion to the East, about 305/304 BC, first in Susa,[16] then in Persis, and later on in several series imitating Susanian coins. During the co-regency of Seleucus and Antiochus I in 294–281, this same iconographic type was also used on emissions from an unspecified mint from the province of Drangiana; in this case, however they bear the royal legend of Antiochus, the son and heir of Seleucus, instead of Seleucus himself. These are only exclusively silver denominations, primarily tetradrachms and drachms according to Attic standard, as well as smaller fractions such as hemidrachms and silver obols.

The obverse of these emissions presents a hero in a helmet covered with a leopard skin and adorned with a bull's ears and horns, with a leopard skin wrapped around his shoulders. There is no doubt that these are the attributes of Dionysus, which often appeared in representations of him as the conqueror of the Orient.[17] The association of these attributes with the military successes of the campaigns of Alexander and Seleucus in the East is incontestable, but there remains the crucial problem of identification of the helmeted head from the obverse of these coins. On the basis of certain characteristic features, some researchers have identified it as a portrait of Seleucus himself.[18] However, it is more likely that this was a portrait of Alexander the Great,[19] but presented so as to resemble Seleucus. First of all, it is important to remember that there is no evidence for Seleucus trying to deify himself during his reign; on the contrary, most evidence regarding his deification dates back to the year 281 BC and is associated with the reign of Antiochus I, who developed a dynastic myth which relied primarily on the worship of his father as divine. Moreover, it does not seem as if Dionysus played a special role in the Seleucid dynasty myth.[20] Certainly this deity was used in the propaganda of Alexander the Great, who deliberately stressed his similarity to Dionysus even during his Indian expedition. Seleucus himself, however, did not attempt such a policy; his victories and successes were compared instead to those achieved by Alexander about twenty years earlier.

As an argument for identifying the hero as Alexander, we can mention later issues, minted around 295 BC in Ecbatana. Appearing on the reverse of silver tetradrachms as well as smaller denominations was a hero, also equipped with Dionysian attributes, on horseback.[21] Apart from the aforementioned arguments for unambiguous identification of the person depicted on the coins of Ecbatana as Alexander the Great, prejudged the image of the horse. It is shown with a bull's horns, which indicates quite clearly that this is Bucephalus, the beloved steed of Alexander. The Greek word βουκέφαλος

[16] Houghton, Lorber 2002: 67.
[17] Ibidem: 75.
[18] Hoover 2002: 54.
[19] Hadley 1974: 50.
[20] Mielczarek 2006: 11.
[21] Houghton, Stewart 1999: 28.

means *bull's-head*. Pliny alluded to the story that Alexander's horse had a stigma on the shoulder the shape of which resembled a bull's head, hence the name. In this case, identification of the rider on the coins of Ecbatana leaves no room for doubt. It does not seem possible that the Susanian obverse portrayed Seleucus and that then, almost ten years later, his portrait was replaced by a representation of Alexander using the same Dionysian attributes.

The message of the coins described above is clear Seleucus, through references to the name and activities of Alexander, tried to justify his own actions and to present himself as Alexander's true heir, a great leader and king who united East and West under his rule. Apart from the legitimation of his rule, the coinage of Seleucus was also used to propagate the king's military achievements. The majority of Seleucus's coins are related to the Indian campaign (308–302 BC). Many of them are associated with *imitatio Alexandrii*. Apart from these, there are also a number of other types which are more individualised and which refer to events which took place during Seleucus's expedition to the East. Concerning some of them, it is doubtful whether they can be considered commemorative emissions of specific military successes, because they were widely used in the coinage and appeared during various time periods. It seems that, because of their special character, some of them were adopted as a universal type of propaganda depiction and were used to celebrate other events, not only those occurring during the expedition to the East.

Susanian coins are also especially important because of one particular type of reverse, presenting an image of Nike turned right, crowning a *tropaion*. This is a unique sign of triumph, but its exact interpretation involves many problems. According to Newell),[22] these emissions, which should be dated to around 301 BC, commemorate victory at the battle of Ipsos. However, the finding of some hoards containing these coins,[23] along with the sequence of their introduction in the Susanian mint,[24] suggests that the dating should be shifted to a *terminus post quem* of 305/304, when Seleucus assumed the royal title. In this case it is more likely, especially concerning the obverse's portrait of the hero with Dionysian attributes, that these coins commemorate Seleucus's expedition to the East and his agreement with Chandragupta, the ruler of the Mauryan Empire.[25] An additional argument against the initial theory proposed by Newell is the location of the mints producing these coins in mainly eastern regions, especially Persia. It is difficult to accept that the iconographic motives used in mints located in the East could relate to events taking place in Phrygia, while in Northern Syria, for example,

[22] Newell 1938: 107.
[23] Hoover 2002: 90.
[24] Mørkholm 1991: 72.
[25] Houghton, Stewart 1999: 29.

in the satrapy taken from the defeated Antigonus, this kind of representation did not appear at all. What is more, the existence of known copies from Persis, similar to those of Susa but inscribed in Aramaic, indicates a more local tradition for this type of coin.[26]

It seems that the production of Susanian coins came to an end with the revolt and separation of the satrapy of Persia, which took place around 295/294 BC.[27] Imitations of these types continued to appear in the Eastern satrapies, but their context suggests that they belong to a later period, around 281, or, probably, as late as the independent kingship of Antiochus I Soter.[28]

Most iconographic motifs used in the coinage of Seleucus I focused on the theme of *imitatio Alexandrii*. Susanian coins are the best example of this propaganda trend in the coinage of Seleucus. In addition to Susa, they were produced in Persepolis from about 304 BC,[29] and, later, as early as during the co-regency with Antiochus I in some mints of the province of Drangiana. The portrait of a hero with Dionysian attributes which appeared on obverses is associated with Alexander, Dionysus, and even with Seleucus, but according to the chronology of the findings, the most credible theory is the identification of the subject of this portrait as Alexander. Apart from referring to *imitatio Alexandrii*, Susanian coins are also issues commemorating the expedition to the East. The reverses bear an image of the goddess Nike crowning a *tropaion*, a typical sign of triumph.[30] Therefore, it could be stated that the iconography of Seleucus was subordinated primarily to the need of justifying his right to rule, which, as we can see by analysing the iconography of Susanian coins, was achieved in two ways: the comparison of Seleucus to Alexander the Great, and the promotion of the king's great military successes.[31] The turbulent times which constituted the beginning of the Hellenistic period, as well as the ethnographic diversity of the Seleucid Empire, required the use of varied motives that would achieve propaganda aims and be widely comprehensible. Coinage during the reign of Seleucus fully accomplished its task, which later enabled the standardisation of types and creation of a standard model that would appear in Seleucid coinage until the middle of the third century BC.

[26] Houghton, Lorber 2002: 77.
[27] Kritt 1997: 83.
[28] Houghton 1980: 11.
[29] Hoover 2002: 51.
[30] Walczak 2015: 19.
[31] Mielczarek 2005: 54.

Bibliography

Davis N., Kraay C.M. 1973. *The Hellenistic Kingdoms. Portrait Coins and History*. London.

Engels D. 2010. "Prodigies and Religious Propaganda: Seleucus and Augustus". In. C. Deroux (ed.). *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History 15*, Bruxelles: 153–177.

Grainger J.D. 1990. *Seleukos Nikator: Constructing a Hellenistic Kingdom*. New York.

Grainger J.D. 2014. *The Rise of the Seleucid Empire (323–223 BC): Seleucus I to Seleucus III*. Barnsley.

Green P. 2008. *The Hellenistic Age. A Short History.* New York.

Hadley R.A. 1974. "Royal Propaganda of Seleucus I and Lysimachus". The Journal of Hellenic Studies 94: 50–65.

Hoover O.D. 2002. "The Identity of the Helmeted Head of the "Victory" Coinage of Susa". Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau 81: 51–60.

Hoover O.D. 2011. "Never mind the Bullocks: Taurine Imagery as a multicultural expression". In. P.P. Iossif, A.S. Chankowski, C.C. Lorber (eds.). *More than Man, less than Gods. Studies on Royal Cult and Imperial Worship. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Organized by the Belgian School at Athens (Novemver 1–2,2007)*, Leuven-Paris-Walpole: 197–228.

Houghton A., Lorber C.C. 2002. *Seleucid Coins. A Comprehensive Catalogue. Part I: Seleucus I to Antiochus III* vol. 1. Lancaster/London.

Houghton A., Stewart A. 1999. "The Equestrian Portrait of Alexander the Great of a New Tetradrachm of Seleucus I". Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau 78: 27–35.

Houghton A. 1980. "Notes on the Early Seleucid Victory Coinage of Persepolis". Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau 59: 5–14.

Kritt B. 1997. *The Early Seleucid Mints of Susa*. Lancaster.

Mielczarek M. 2005. "Towards the divinity: once more on the coins of Seleucus I of the Nike crowning a trophy type". Archeologia LVI: 53–56.

Mielczarek M. 2006. "Boskość władcy na monetach Seleukidów. Obraz i słowo". In. M. Gącarzewicz (ed.). *Stempel monet. Obraz a słowo. Materiały XIII Ogólnopolskiej Sesji Numizmatycznej w Nowej Soli*, Nowa Sól: 9–20.

Mørkholm O. 1991. *Early Hellenistic Coinage from the Accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamea (336–188 B.C.)*. Cambridge/New York.

Newell E.T. 1938. *The Coinage of Eastern Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III*. New York.

Rutter N.K. 1983. *Greek Coinage*. Ayelsbury.

Sherwin-White S., Kuhrt A. 1993. *From Samarkhand to Sardis. A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire*. Berkeley/Los Angeles.

Walbank F.W., Austin A.E, Frederiksen M.W., Ogilvie R.M. 1984. *The Cambridge Ancient History VII/1. The Hellenistic World*. Cambridge.

Walczak E. 2015. "Symbolika militarnego zwycięstwa w antycznym mennictwie greckim". In. K. Filipow (ed.). *Pieniądz a propaganda wspólne dziedzictwo Europy. Studia i materiały Białoruś-Bułgaria-Polska-Litwa-Rosja-Rumunia-Słowacja-Ukraina,* Augustów-Warszawa: 18–23.

Waterfield R. 2011. *Dividing the Spoils: The War for Alexander the Great's Empire*. New York.

Illustrations

1. Seleucus I Nicator, AR hemidrachm of Susa, 305/304–295 BC
Obv: portrait of a hero right, in a helmet covered with panter skin, with bull horns and ears
Rev: Nike standing right, crowning a tropaion, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (SC 175) diameter: 11mm
(www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/seleucia/seleukos_I/SC_175@3.jpg)

2. Seleucus I Nicator, AR obol of Susa, 305/304–295 BC
Obv: portrait of a hero right, in a helmet covered with panter skin, with bull horns and ears
Rev: Nike standing right, crowning a tropaion, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (SC 175f) diameter: 8x9 mm
(www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/seleucia/seleukos_I/SC_175cf.jpg)

3. Seleucus I Nicator, AR tetradrachm of Susa, 303/302 BC
Obv: portrait of a hero right, in a helmet covered with panter skin, with bull horns and ears
Rev: Nike standing right, crowning a tropaion, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (SC 173) diameter: 26mm
(www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/seleucia/seleukos_I/SC_173@04.jpg)

4. Seleucus I Nicator, AR drachm of Ecbatana, circa 295 BC
Obv: head of Heracles right, in lion skin
Rev: hero horseback right, in a helmet with bull horns and ears, in panter skin, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ
diameter: 26mm © NAC 11, 1998, pp. 110.

1

2

3

4

Carlo Lualdi

Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan, Italy
ares.88@hotmail.it

A COINED VICTORY OF PYRRHUS: THE PROPAGANDISTIC ICONOGRAPHY ON THE GOLD STATERS OF PYRRHUS IN HIS SICILIAN COINAGE, AN INTERPRETATIVE PROPOSAL

Abstract: *The reverse iconography of the Sicilian gold issue of Pyrrhus can be linked with exploitation of propaganda concerning his victory at Heraclea, as the symbols represented on this specific numismatic issue seem to indicate. This hypothesis has been verified by widening the scope of the investigation to involve testimony from literary sources, the epigraphic field, and comparisons with representations from Italiote coinage of the period in question. The choice of a theme that evokes Pyrrhus' first military success in his western campaign can be explained by the great resonance of this event in the contemporary memory, which gave the Epirotes the chance to reaffirm his strategic and tactical qualities.*

Keywords: *Pyrrhus, Hellenistic coinage, propaganda, Sicily, Nike*

Analysis of the iconography associated with the Pyrrhic coinage minted in Syracuse led us to a proposal for a new interpretation linked to the propaganda of Pyrrhus during his Sicilian campaign.

In order to obtain a clearer understanding of the historical context, we should remember that Pyrrhus,[1] after the battles of Heraclea and Ausculum, was called to Sicily in 278 BC by the Syracusans, who needed a military leader and reinforcements in the face of Carthaginian expansion and the threat posed by the Mamertines. Pyrrhus spent two years in Sicily and initially achieved several military objectives, but subsequently was unable to take Lilybaeum (the last city ruled by the Carthaginians in Sicily) by siege and became rapidly unpopular on the island. Indeed, the war effort forced Pyrrhus to impose certain despotic measures on Greek cities in Sicily. Moreover, Pyrrhus was informed at the same time that the Romans had fought with success against his allies in Italy. Thus Pyrrhus left the island in 276 BC, bound for Taranto.[2]

[1] For more about Pyrrhus, see Lévêque 1957; Will 1966/67; Vartsos 1970; Garoufalis 1979; La Bua 1980: 179–254; Burelli Bergese 1990; Santagati Ruggeri 1997; Zodda 1997; Borba Florenzano 2003: 19–23; D'Alessandro-De Sensi Sestito 2011; De Sensi Sestito 2011; Lafon-Pittia 2008; De Sensi Sestito 2015: 58–62.

[2] For more on this subject, see Berve 1954; Lévêque 1957: 451–507; Zodda 1997: 33–88; Santagati-Castrizio 2013: 527–553; De Sensi Sestito 2015: 58–62.

The coins minted by Pyrrhus during his Sicilian expedition were analysed[3] in a recent study by Benedetto Carroccio and divided into two groups.[4] In the present study we focus our attention on a issue that belongs to the second group and is dated to the final phase of Pyrrhus' domination in Sicily.[5]

The obverse of this coin issue (see Ill. 1) shows the head of Athena, facing right, wearing a crested Corinthian helmet, an earring, and a necklace; behind the helmet is a small owl; the letter *A* is visible under the goddess' neck. The reverse shows a winged and veiled Nike, advancing from the left, carrying a trophy on her left arm, holding a wreath of oak leaves in her right hand. In the field, between the wreath and the Nike's left leg, is a thunderbolt or *bucranium*. The clockwise legend is composed by the two words *ΠΥΡΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ*. We can observe that the same iconography, albeit represented in less detail, can be found on the reverse of the contemporary golden *half* staters (which differ from the staters for metrology and the iconography on the obverse), also minted in Syracuse (see Ill. 2).[6]

In past studies,[7] the subject of the reverse of the golden staters was interpreted as a generic symbol of Pyrrhus' successful achievements[8] and was generically linked to one of his past victories.[9] Recently it was also argued that the iconography could be part of Pyrrhus' propaganda concerning his future military expeditions.[10] I agree in part with this latter interpretation, but in my opinion the subject of the staters can be linked more precisely to Pyrrhus' victory in Heraclea and to its celebrations.

Firstly, we can focus on the wreath of oak leaves carried by the Nike. This symbol can be considered a specific Pyrrhic symbol.

Indeed, we can find the wreath of oak leaves on the obverse of certain previous bronze issues minted by Pyrrhus with iconographical themes also typical of the Sicilian and Syracusan coinage tradition,[11] such as the ear of barley or the flaming torch

[3] For more about Pyrrhus' coinage in Sicily, see Lévêque 1957: 475–486; Borba Florenzano 1992; De Callataÿ 2000: 200–211; Borba Florenzano 2003: 23–31; Carroccio 2004: 260–261; Carroccio 2011: 424–430.

[4] Carroccio 2011: 430.

[5] Carroccio 2004: 261.

[6] Ibidem: 82, no. 43.

[7] About this coin issue, see Reinach 1913: 24–25; Lévêque 1957: 466; Consolo Langher 1990: 37–38; Borba Florenzano 1992: 212–213; Carroccio 2004: 261; Rabe 2008: 201, no. 119; Caccamo Caltabiano 2010: 283.

[8] Borba Florenzano 1992: 212; Borba Florenzano 2003: 28. Florenzano's interpretation did not consider the analogies between the Nike coin type of Pyrrhus and the iconography of Nike in the Sicilian coinages before Pyrrhus (Consolo Langher had already studied this subject; see Consolo Langher 1990: 36–49) and did not mention Pyrrhus' coin type in Italy. In my opinion both of these subjects must be considered in order to obtain a clearer understanding of Pyrrhus' numismatic propaganda.

[9] Reinach 1913: 24.

[10] Carroccio 2011: 427–428.

[11] Carroccio 2004: 260.

(see Ills. 3 and 4).[12] In another case we can observe the veiled head of a woman wearing an oak wreath (see Ill. 5), whom the legend identifies as Phthia,[13] on the reverse of certain bronze issues. Commonly this iconography is considered to be related to Pyrrhus' mother, Phthia, but some recent studies suggest that it could be more generically linked to the ancestors of the Achaean and Aeacid dynasties.[14]

We must also consider that this subject recalls the mythological origins of the Molossian royal dynasty,[15] which is related to Achilles and his mother Thetis (both represented on a silver didrachm of Pyrrhus minted in Syracuse;[16] see Ill. 6) and connected with the famous sanctuary of Zeus in Dodona.[17]

Concerning this specific theme, it is also possible to cite the iconography of a series of Pyrrhus' silver tetradrachms (assigned initially to the coinage of Locri Epizephyrii, now to the coinage of Syracuse[18]) in which, on the reverse, the head of Zeus is crowned with an oak wreath (see Ill. 7).[19]

This theme is largely used as a source for the iconographies of Pyrrhus' Sicilian coinage, with propagandistic aims. It seems that Pyrrhus wanted to express the legitimisation of his role of *basileus*,[20] recalling his dynasty and its mythological references.[21]

In this specific case, we can reasonably argue that the oak wreath refers to the most important religious site in Epirus, as I have cited previously. We also know that this site was certainly involved in the development of Pyrrhus' western campaign.

The epigraphic sources testify that Pyrrhus, after the victory at Heraclea against the Romans, sent a *donarium* to the sanctuary with the following dedicatory inscription: 'King Pyrrhos, the Epirotes and the Tarentines, from the Romans and their allies to Zeus Naïos'.[22] The text of this epigraph can refer only to the battle of Heraclea, in which

[12] For more about these coin issues, see Carroccio 2011: 427. These symbols are related to the cults of Demeter and Kore/Persephone. Modern analysis emphasizes that the cults of the two goddesses must be jointly considered to be a unifying element frequently used by certain Sicilian leaders in order to create a single identity from the different ethnic groups in Sicily; see Caccamo Caltabiano 2010: 292–3. About the debate concerning Sicilian identities, with specific references to Pyrrhus' campaign in Sicily; see Péré-Noguès 2006, esp. 61–63.

[13] Carroccio 2004: 83, no. 48.

[14] Carroccio 2011: 428, Caccamo Caltabiano 2010: 292–293.

[15] Ibidem: 428, esp. no. 141.

[16] Castrizio 2005: 42.

[17] Carroccio 2004: 184.

[18] Ibidem: 82, no. 44.

[19] Ibidem: 184, 261; Carroccio 2011: 424.

[20] Concerning the use of the title βασιλεύς by the ancient sources in connection with Pyrrhus, see Borba Florenzano 1992: 221–223.

[21] Carroccio 2004: 261.

[22] SIG^3 392.

Pyrrhus was victorious, leading his army and the Tarentines' military forces without his Italic allies.[23]

Thus, the evidence suggests that the iconography of Pyrrhus' Syracusan staters can be linked to the outcome of the battle of Heraclea and the resulting celebration. However, this hypothesis, evoked by the outlined evidence, has to be verified carefully.

Focusing our attention on the trophy, we observe that it is composed of a hemispherical helmet with a circular *apex*, a cuirass with two rows of *pteryges*, and an oval shield (which we can identify as being of the *thyreos* type) with a longitudinal rim and a central reinforcement.

The last-mentioned type of protection was used by soldiers from different cultures in southern Italy at the beginning of the third century BC. Several sources describe and show its use by: the Campanians, as illustrated by this depiction coming from a Campanian tomb,[24] the Lucanians, as stated by a dedicatory inscription ascribed to the Tarentine poet Leonidas,[25] a contemporary of Pyrrhus:

> 'Eight shields (θυρεούς), eight helmets, eight woven coats of mail and as many blood-stained axes: these are the arms, spoil of the Lucanians, that Hagnon, son of Euanthes, the doughty fighter, dedicated to Coryphasian Athene'; the Samnites, as stated by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his description of Pyrrhus' array before the battle of Asculum,[26] where the Samnite infantry is described by the expression Σαυνιτῶν θυρεαφόρῳ φάλαγγι, which can be translated as 'The Samnite phalanx equipped with oblong shields'; and the Romans, as testified by Plutarch, who described, during the development of the fight at Heraclea, the advance of the Roman army with the following words: ' […] but when he (Pyrrhus) saw a multitude of shields – θυρεούς – gleaming on the bank of the river […]'.[27]

In this case, a detail from the coinage of the Italiote city of Locri Epizephyrii may help us. Indeed, observing the reverse of the silver staters minted in Locri to commemorate an alliance between the Italiote city and Rome,[28] we see that a similar shield features a representation of Rome, as clearly stated by the legend in Greek characters behind the figure (see Ill. 8).

The comparison between the shield on the gold staters of Pyrrhus and that on the silver staters of Locri demonstrates that the two depictions might represent identical objects related to the same political identity. Therefore, I suggest that the use of this type

[23] This is confirmed by the literary sources: Plut. Pyrrh. 18.5.
[24] About this iconography, see Benassai 2001: 208 fig. 225.
[25] Anth Pal. VI, 129.
[26] Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. XX, 1, 5.
[27] Plut. Pyrrh 16.6-7.
[28] The chronology of this coin issue is debated: 275 BC (Rutter 2001: 181) or 282 BC (Carroccio 2011: 425).

of shield in numismatic iconography during this period and in this specific geographical area can be interpreted as an identifying symbol of Rome, easily recognisable and well known by the other political and military authorities operating in this area.[29]

The description of an event that occurred in 274 BC and was described by the relevant literary sources confirms Pyrrhus' use of this propagandistic language.

Thanks to Pausanias, we know that Pyrrhus, following his victory over Antigonus Gonatas in 274 BC, consecrated two different categories of spoils at two religious sites: the temple of Athena Itonia and the sanctuary of Zeus in Dodona. In both cases, the shields of enemies play a principal role in the dedicatory composition and clearly identify the culture of Pyrrhus' adversaries. These dedications are described by Pausanias:

> 'Pyrrhus the Molossian hung these shields (θυρεούς) taken from the bold Gauls as a gift to Itonian Athena, when he had destroyed all the host of Antigonus. 'Tis no great marvel. The Aeacidae are warriors now. These shields, then, are here, but the bucklers (ἀσπίδας) of the Macedonians themselves he dedicated to Dodonian Zeus. They too have an inscription: 'These once ravaged golden Asia, and brought slavery upon the Greeks. Now ownerless, they lie by the pillars of the temple of Zeus, spoils of the boastful Macedonia'.[30]

If we analyse the two locations where Pyrrhus places the spoils obtained after his victory, we can appreciate another important element of the role of the sanctuary of Zeus in Dodona. Pyrrhus indeed chooses to place the Macedonian shields seized from the soldiers of Antigonus' army in this location; thus the objects which testify to his victory over his main adversary can clearly identify the latter's culture. I think that this placement can be viewed as an action conditioned by specific propagandistic purposes. Thus, the sanctuary of Zeus in Dodona can be considered, in propagandistic terms, the main centre where the evidences pertaining to Pyrrhus' victories against the political authorities in his campaigns were placed.

Unfortunately, we do not know the composition of Pyrrhus' *donarium* of the battle of Heraclea, since it is not described by the dedicatory epigraph and there are no references in the literary or material sources. But if we consider what I have expressed above, it is possible to argue that the spoils in the sanctuary included some *thyreos*-type shields, placed there with the aim of identifying the culture of the military force defeated by Pyrrhus and celebrating his victory against the Romans. The hypothesis that the iconography displayed on Pyrrhus' gold staters minted in Syracuse can be linked to Pyrrhus'

[29] It also underlines that the propagandistic use of the *thyreos*-type shield in the coinage can be observed only on the coin issues of issuing authorities involved in Rome's expansion into southern Italy during the early third century BC (Reinach 1913: 22–23).

[30] Paus. 1.13.3.

victory at Heraclea and to its celebration through a *donarium* located in the sanctuary of Dodona can be considered quite plausible.

Another hypothesis, expounded by J. Reinach, is that this iconography can be linked to a statue of Nike built by Pyrrhus in Tarentum in order to celebrate the victory at Heraclea.[31] Although the iconographic derivation of numismatic iconographies from sculptural models was a well-attested practice during the Hellenistic period,[32] this theory, in my opinion, is hardly compatible with the different Nike coin types we can observe in Pyrrhus' coinage.[33]

In order to complete this analysis, it is now possible to comment on the final iconographical element of the depiction on Pyrrhus' Sicilian gold staters: the Nike coin type.

We can take into consideration the modern analysis on the development of the iconography of Nike in Hellenistic coinage. Modern scholars underline that the representation of Nike on Pyrrhus' gold coin demonstrates analogies with the iconography of Nike on Alexander's coin issues,[34] where she is represented as veiled, moving to the left, holding a laurel wreath in her right hand and a *stylis*[35] in her left. The legend reads *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ*.[36] Modern analysis considers the depiction of Nike on these coin issues not as *a* celebration of *a* specific victory, but as *a* symbol of *a* new propagandistic theme.[37] In this perspective, it is possible to regard Nike as *a* quality of the Hellenistic leader gained through his military skills. For modern scholars, the presence of Nike on Alexander's coins 'embodies *a* new abstract idea, for now she has become one of his attributes or possessions and belongs to him, presented not in commemoration of *a* particular victory, but to signify the career of conquest that he set out for himself".[38] We must observe that after Alexander's death his successors employed the same (Nike) coin type used by the Macedonian king for *a* number of posthumous coin issues.[39] At first these coin issues included the name of Alexander (see Ill. 10), which was then

[31] Reinach 1913.

[32] For more about this subject, see Borba Florenzano 1992: 209. For a general perspective on statues as coin types during the Hellenistic period, see Morkholm 1991: 25–27, 78, 108, 176, 178.

[33] This topic is not considered in Reinach's study; see Reinach 1913: 20–22. In my opinion Reinach's hypothesis offers an interesting perspective for study which should be reconsidered, incorporating the recent academic contributions about the development of the iconography of Nike during the Hellenistic period.

[34] Borba Florenzano 1992: 212; Consolo Langher 1990: 36, Caccamo Caltabiano 2010: 278.

[35] For more about the depiction of the *stylis*, a small rod that held a flag placed at the stern of a ship, and the modern debate about its interpretations, see Consolo Langher 1990: 37; Morkholm 1991: 43–44; Caccamo Caltabiano 2010: 282.

[36] Consolo Langher 1990: 30–31 and Caccamo Caltabiano 2010: 282–288. The use and the derivation of the title βασιλεύς in the Hellenistic coinages is analyzed in detail by Consolo Langher; see Consolo Langher 1990.

[37] Borba Florenzano 1992: 211, esp. nos.19–20; Caccamo Caltabiano 2010: 288.

[38] See Borba Florenzano 1992: 212.

[39] Caccamo Caltabiano 2010: 288.

replaced by the names of his successors.[40] Thus the iconographies of Nike in these coin issues can be interpreted as *a* generic symbol of victory employed by the Hellenistic leaders, strictly linked to their political and military power.[41]

Modern scholars suggest that the influence of this Nike coin type can be also observed in the iconography of *a* coin issue of Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse and King of Sicily during the last quarter of the fourth century BC.[42] This derivation is consistent with the iconographies of Agathocles' coinage,[43] which provides us with evidence, suggested as well by some literary sources,[44] of the diplomatic, military, and economic relations of the Sicilian king with certain Hellenistic monarchs. Focusing on Agathocles' coin issue, we can observe *a* Nike coin type on the reverse of some silver tetradrachms minted in Syracuse and dated to the end of the fourth century BC.[45] *A* Nike, nude to the waist, is standing to the right and fixing *a* conic helmet upon *a* trophy;[46] the legend on this coin issue reads ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ (see Ill. 9). Modern analysis suggests that this iconography is related to the development of Agathocles' military campaigns between 310 and 304 BC.[47] This iconography provides us with a clear sample of the propagandistic language employed by Agathocles, who was primarily a military leader, in the context of Sicilian coinage at the end of the fourth century BC.[48]

Modern scholars also suggest the influence of the model of Agathocles' Nike on Hellenistic coinage.[49] Thus, if we consider the coinage of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who was also Agathocles' son-in-law,[50] we can observe some coin issues, dated to the early third century BC, which include a number of iconographical references, among them a new Nike coin type, to his naval victories. Another comparison can be found in the coinage of Seleucus Nicator. On the reverse of

[40] Consolo Langher 1990: 32.

[41] The studies of Borba Florenzano, following this interpretation, directly link the iconography of Nike on Alexander's coin issues with the graphic scheme of Nike on Pyrrhus' Sicilian coin issues. See Borba Florenzano 1992 and 2003.

[42] For more about Agathocles, see Consolo Langher 2000; De Sensi Sestito 2010: 22–25; Hoover 2012: 389–393; De Sensi Sestito 2015: 50–58.

[43] For more about Agathocles's coinage, see Caccamo Caltabiano 2010: 277–284.

[44] Consolo Langher 1990: 32, 39–41; Borba Florenzano 1992: 209; Caccamo Caltabiano 2010: 280.

[45] Consolo Langher 1990: 36; Carroccio 2004: 80, no. 23.

[46] Caccamo Caltabiano 2010: 282.

[47] Consolo Langher associates this iconography with events in Africa in 309 BC; see Caccamo Caltabiano 2010: 282, no. 35. Caccamo Caltabiano argues that this coin type can be interpreted as a celebration of Agathocles' past military successes and an augury for future victories; see Caccamo Caltabiano 2010: 284.

[48] For more on this subject, see the recent and detailed analysis by Consolo Langher 1990: 32, 34–41, as well as Caccamo Caltabiano 2010.

[49] Caccamo Caltabiano 2010: 288; Hoover 2012: 392.

[50] Consolo Langher 1990: 37.

a silver coin issue we can observe a Nike placing a laurel wreath on trophy.[51] Modern analysis relates this iconography to the military achievements of Seleucus.[52]

Thus it is possible to suppose that the iconographies of Hellenistic coin issues belonging to the early third century BC refer to specific military developments.[53] It is also possible to observe that, during the development of the Hellenistic period, the Diadochs employ the Nike coin type[54] with various iconographical schemes.[55] Thus we can consider the Nike coin type as a changing element of the propagandistic language which may have been used by Hellenistic leaders to legitimise, affirm, and reaffirm their political power.[56] It is also possible to consider the relationship of the iconography of Nike on Pyrrhus' golden issue to Agathocles' Nike coin type.[57]

In my opinion, these observations should be integrated with the analysis of the depictions of some coin issues minted by Pyrrhus in Taranto during the year 280 BC. The Tarentine bronze issues show a Nike on the reverse wearing a talaric chiton, standing to the left, fixing a shield on a trophy or crowning a complete trophy with a laurel wreath.[58] The legend reads *TAPANTINΩN*.

Despite this last indication, without doubt the depictions were executed during Pyrrhus' rule in Taranto, not long after his first battle against the Romans.[59] Thus, the iconographies must be considered part of the celebration, through the numismatic channel, of Pyrrhus' victory at Heraclea. This enables us to suppose that Pyrrhus celebrated his recent military success in this coin issue,[60] giving us some information about Pyrrhus' coin-based propaganda, in which his recent victories play a significant role.[61] We can also readily observe that the coin types of Agathocles and the Tarentines appear similar, both proposing a traditional subject with few variations.[62]

---

[51] Caccamo Caltabiano 2010: 288–9.

[52] For more on this subject, see the recent analysis of Dr A. Jurkiewicz in this issue. See also Consolo Langher 1990: 37 and Morkholm 1991: 72.

[53] For more on this subject, see Consolo Langher 1990 and Caccamo Caltabiano 2010.

[54] Consolo Langher 1990: 37.

[55] Caccamo Caltabiano 2010: 282, no. 39.

[56] Caccamo Caltabiano 2010: 289,294.

[57] Consolo Langher 1990: 36–38, 40; Carroccio 2011: 427–8 and esp. no. 140; Caccamo Caltabiano 2010: 282–284.

[58] Ravel 1947: 180, nos. 1802–1804 (with graphic scheme).

[59] Sarcinelli 2013: 18.

[60] This is consistent with the iconographical interpretation of Caccamo Caltabiano; see Caccamo Caltabiano 2010: 284.

[61] This reflection leads me to carefully consider the considerations expressed by Carroccio (in Carroccio 2011: 427–8 and esp. no. 140) about the derivation of Pyrrhus' iconographical language from Agathocles' in this specific issue.

[62] Nike, in Agathocles' silver coin issues, is depicted nude to the waist and standing at right; in Pyrrhus' bronze coin issues, she is represented wearing a talaric chiton and standing at left.

Despite these differences, the resemblance between the two iconographies can be linked to the similar nature of the respective issuing authorities, Agathocles and Pyrrhus,[63] both political leaders who earned their role by virtue of their military abilities.

However, if we compare the two previous iconographies with the depiction on Pyrrhus' golden staters minted in Syracuse, it can be seen that the latter shows a marked figurative change that includes the oak wreath, the trophy carried by the Nike, and, especially, its dynamic appearance. We can also observe that the helmets composing the trophy on the Tarentine coins and on Pyrrhus' golden staters share a similar appearance, especially if we note the apex on the top of each helmet.

We can also readily observe that the iconography on Pyrrhus' staters is more dynamic and detailed than the iconographical schemes of Nike of the coinages of Alexander and Agathocles.[64] The Nike coin type on Pyrrhus' staters is also characterised by precise references to certain events concerning Pyrrhus' western campaign.

In this case, we can easily notice a change in Pyrrhus' propaganda: as we have seen before, Pyrrhus, in his first coin issues minted in Syracuse, employed a number of iconographies quoting familiar and religious contexts in order to create a background to justify his new political role.[65] This first propagandistic connection links Syracuse directly with Dodona.

However, the depiction on the golden staters creates a more complex series of connections: Pyrrhus' references start from Sicily, reach Heraclea, pass through Dodona, and eventually return to Syracuse. This propagandist synthesis is probably related to the atmosphere in Sicily during the last stage of Pyrrhus' campaign. During this period Pyrrhus needed resources to continue his war against the Carthaginians. Because of this, Pyrrhus started to put in place certain military and political measures which hurt his popularity.[66] If we look back, this situation can be compared with the previous initial stage of Pyrrhus' campaign in Italy. The literary sources tell us that Pyrrhus, after reaching Taranto, took control of the city and instituted certain actions to increase his military forces.[67] These measures caused the Tarentines' dissatisfaction and forced Pyrrhus to garrison the city gates with his own forces, in order to prevent escapes and desertions by the Tarentines.[68] Similarly, in Sicily Pyrrhus instituted strict measures, also using his military forces, in order to collect the resources he needed. I think that some affinities between these two situations can be clearly observed, despite the differences due to different geographical contexts.

[63] Caccamo Caltabiano 2010: 283; Carroccio 2011: 425.
[64] Borba Florenzano 1992: 213; Caccamo Caltabiano 2010: 282–283.
[65] Carroccio 2004: 261.
[66] Santagati-Castrizio 2013: 533; De Sensi Sestito 2015: 61.
[67] Santagati-Castrizio 2013: 533–535; De Sensi Sestito 2015: 59–60.
[68] Santagati-Castrizio 2013: 530.

We already know (as did Pyrrhus' contemporaries, of course) that Pyrrhus, shortly after his arrival in Italy, fought the difficult battle of Heraclea against the Romans and gained a great victory. It is then possible to assume that, by using this specific iconography, Pyrrhus wished to affirm the aim of his severe measures by recalling the positive outcomes attained in a similar case. It should also be considered that the golden staters were probably employed to pay the wages of Pyrrhus' officers and close associates.[69] Thus it is possible to assume that the complex meaning of this iconography was comprehensible to members of Pyrrhus' staff in Sicily who were familiar with the history of his military and political achievements.

We must also remember that, in early Hellenistic times, military leaders (like Pyrrhus) who obtained political supremacy principally through their military abilities were accustomed to recalling the memory of their recent victories to justify their political role and to reinforce it in case of necessity.[70] Here it can be observed that victory is not an abstract concept or a result gained thanks to divine benevolence, but is considered almost a personal skill of the military leader, testifying to his abilities and the results thereby achieved.

To synthesise: the iconography on the reverse of the golden staters and half-staters minted in Syracuse by Pyrrhus at the end of his campaign in Sicily can be interpreted as a reference to his victory over the Romans at Heraclea. The objects carried by the advancing Nike are linked to the celebration of the victory through a *donarium*, epigraphically attested, placed in the sanctuary of Zeus in Dodona in Epirus (represented by the oak wreath), which probably included some *thyreos*-type shields (a symbol used and known in western representations in coinage of the early third century BC to identify Rome, as evidenced by Locri's coinage).

We can also consider that the trophy carried by the Nike is composed of contemporary Roman weapons and assume that this subject is employed by Pyrrhus, at a critical moment for his authority, with the propagandistic aim of reinforcing his power and reaffirming his military and political role by referring to his previous victory and its celebration through an excellent and immediate graphic synthesis.

It can be argued that this representation can be considered the seal of Pyrrhus' western campaigns, a valuable example of communication and propaganda in Hellenistic coinage of the age in question.

[69] Borba Florenzano 1992: 217–223.
[70] Carroccio 2011: 428.

Abbreviations

SIG^3 – Dittenberger W., *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3d edition, Leipzig, 1915–1924.

Literary Sources

"Anthologia Palatina" AA.VV. "The Greek anthology" translated by W.R. Paton. Loeb Classical Library 67. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus "The Roman Antiquities", Volume VII: Books 11–20. translated by Earnest Cary. Loeb Classical Library 388. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950.

Pausanias "Description of Greece", Volume I: Books 1–2 (Attica and Corinth). Translated by W. H. S. Jones. Loeb Classical Library 93. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918.

Plutarch "Life of Pyrrhus" Plutarch "Lives, Volume IX: Demetrius and Antony. Pyrrhus and Gaius Marius." Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. Loeb Classical Library 101. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920.

Bibliography

Benassai R. 2001. *La pittura dei Campani e dei Sanniti*. Atlante tematico di topografia antica. Supplemento 9. Roma.

Berve H. 1954."Das Königtum des Pyrrhos in Sizilien". In R. Lullies (ed.). *Neue Beiträge zur Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft. Festschrift zum 60, Geburtstag von Bernhard Schweitzer*. Stuttgart: 272–277.

Borba Florenzano M. B. 1992. "The Coinage of Pyrrhus in Sicily: Evidence of a Political Project". In T. Hackens, N.D. Holloway, G. Moucharte (eds.). *The age of Pyrrhus. Papers delivered at the international conference, Brown University, 8 – 10 April, 1988*. Providence: 207–223.

Borba Florenzano M. B. 2003. "Pirro, herói helenístico". In: C.H. de Salles Oliveira, A. Gianeze (eds.). *A linguagem das moedas: tres leituras sobre iconografia numismatica*. São Paulo: 19–32.

Burelli Bergese L. 1990. "L'ultimo Pirro". Miscellanea Greca e Romana 15: 43–121.

Caccamo Caltabiano M. 2010. "La *Nike/Nymphe* di Agatocle e l'ideologia della Vittoria". In M. Caccamo Caltabiano, C. Raccuia, E. Santagati (eds.). *Tyrannis, Basileia, imperium. Forme, prassi e simboli del potere politico nel mondo greco e romano. Giornate seminariali in onore di S. Nerina Consolo Langher.* Messina: 277–302.

Carroccio B. 2004. *Dal basileus Agatocle a Roma: le monetazioni siciliane d'età ellenistica: cronologia, iconografia, metrologia*. Messina.

Carroccio B. 2011. " L' "Impatto Monetario" di Epiro, Corcira, il Molosso e Pirro in Occidente, tra fatti acclarati e questioni aperte". In. G. De Sensi Sestito, M. Internieri (eds.). *Sulla rotta per la Sicilia: l'Epiro, Corcira e l'Occidente*. Pisa: 403–435.

Castrizio D. 2005. "L'iconografia degli "eroi strateghi" nella tipologia monetale di Magna Grecia e Sicilia". In. R. Pera (ed.). *L'immaginario del potere. Studi di iconografia monetale*. Roma: 33–49.

Consolo Langher S.N. 1990. "Oriente persiano-ellenistico e Sicilia. Trasmissione e circolazione di un messaggio ideologico attraverso i documenti numismatici". Revue des études anciennes 92: 29–44.

Consolo Langher S.N. 2007. *Agatocle: da capoparte a monarca fondatore di un regno tra Cartagine e i diadochi*. Messina.

D'Alessandro A., De Sensi Sestito G. 2011. "Cinea Tessalo e la strategia di Pirro in Grecia e in Occidente". In. L. Breglia, A. Moleti, M.L. Napolitano (eds.). *Ethne, identità e tradizioni: La terza Grecia e l'Occidente*. Pisa: 457–488.

De Callataÿ F. 2000. "Un "octobole" de Pyrrhus surfrappé sur un statère de type corinthien. Réflexions sur les masses monnayées par Pyrrhus en or et en argent". Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica 47: 189–213.

De Sensi Sestito G. 2011. "Magna Grecia, Epiro e Sicilia fra IV e III sec. a.C., Spinte egemoniche a confronto". In. G. De Sensi Sestito, M. Internieri (eds.). *Sulla rotta per la Sicilia: L'Epiro, Corcira e L'occidente*. Pisa: 353–380.

De Sensi Sestito G. 2015. "Magna Grecia e Sicilia da Agatocle a Pirro". In. AA. VV. (eds.). *La Magna Grecia da Pirro ad Annibale, Atti del 52 Convegno internazionale di studi*. Taranto: 39–73.

Garoufalis P. 1979. *Pyrrhus, King of Epirus*. London.

Hoover O.D. 2012. *Handbook of coins of Sicily (including Lipara): Civic, royal, Siculo-punic, and Romano-Sicilian issues, Sixth to first centuries B.C. The Handbook of Greek Coinage Series*. The Handbook of Greek Coinage Series. Vol. 2. Lancaster.

La Bua V. 1980. "La Spedizione di Pirro in Sicilia". Miscellanea Greca e Romana 7: 179–254.

Lafon X., Pittia S. 2009. "Relire le Pyrrhos de Lévêque un demi-siècle après". Pallas 79: 151–171.

Lèvêque P. 1957. *Pyrrhos*. Paris.

Morkholm O. 1991. *Early Hellenistic coinage : from the accession of Alexander to the peace of Apamea (336–188 B.C.)*. Cambridge.

Péré-Noguès S. 2006. "Les 'identités' siciliennes durant les guerres puniques: entre culture et politique". Pallas 70: 57–70.

Rabe B. 2008. *Tropaia. τροπή und σκῦλα – Entstehung, Funktion und Bedeutung des griechischen Tropaions*. Tübinger Archäologische Forschungen. Vol. 5. Rahden.

Ravel O. 1947. *Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Tarentine Coins formed by M. P. Vlasto*. London.

Reinach A. 1913. "Notes tarentines I: Pyrrhus et la Nike de Tarente". Neapolis: Rivista di Archeologia e Scienze Affini per l'Italia Meridionale e la Sicilia 1: 19–29.

Rutter N. K. 2001. *Historia Numorum – Italy*. London.

Santagati E., Castrizio D. 2013. "Le monete di Pirro per la guerra in Italìa". In. K. Liampi et al. (eds.). *1st International Conference. Numismatic History and Economy in Epirus during antiquity, Ioannina, 3–7 October 2007*. Ioannina: 427–544.

Santagati Ruggeri E. 1997. *Un re tra Cartagine e i Mamertini, Pirro in Sicilia*. Seia. Quaderni del Dipartimento di Scienze Archeologiche e Storiche dell'Antichità dell'Università di Macerata II, 1. Macerata.

Sarcinelli G. 2013. "Heraclea: le emissioni in bronzo". In. AA. VV. (eds.). *Atti del 4° Congresso Nazionale di Numismatica. Bari, 16–17 novembre 2012. La monetazione di Taranto. Le monete degli Ostrogoti e dei Longobardi in Italia*. Bari: 1–43.

Vartsos I.A. 1970. "Osservazioni sulla campagna di Pirro in Sicilia". Kokalos 16: 89–97.

Will E. 1966–67. *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique (323–30 av. J.-C)*. Nancy.

Zodda D. 1997. *Tra Egitto, Macedonia e Sparta : Pirro, un monarca in Epiro*. Seia. Quaderni del Dipartimento di Scienze Archeologiche e Storiche dell'Antichità dell'Università di Macerata II, 2. Macerata.

Illustrations

1. Pyrrhus, AU staters, Syracusae
(www.mfa.org/collections/object/stater-of-kingdom-of-epiros-with-head-of-athena-struck-under-pyrrhos-3222) (Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

2. Pyrrhus, AU half-staters, Syracusae
(www.sixbid.com/images/auction_images/738/731781l.jpg) (SINCONA Auction 10, 2013, Lot 39)

3. Pyrrhus, AE bronze issues, Syracusae
(www.coinarchives.com/1df6e2bacdf7c4406f1f884b4bf7a0ac/img/roma/e32/image00161.jpg)
(Credit Source: Roma Numismatics Ltd, www.RomaNumismatics.com)

4. Pyrrhus, AE bronze issues, Syracusae
(www.coinarchives.com/a231589dd5b3ba454b3db45b8a80c0b1/img/roma/e31/image00038.jpg)
(Credit Source: Roma Numismatics Ltd, www.RomaNumismatics.com)

5. Pyrrhus, AE bronze issues, Syracusae

(www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/sicily/syracuse/pyrrhos/Calciati_184v.jpg)
(With permission of wildwinds.com, ex Triton V Sale, January, 2002)

6. Pyrrhus, AR didrachms, Syracusae
(www.mfa.org/collections/object/didrachm-of-lokroi-epizephyriori-bruttium-with-head-of-achilles-struck-under-pyrrhos-of-epiros-3000) (Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

7. Pyrrhus, AR tetradrachms, Syracusae
(www.mfa.org/collections/object/tetradrachm-of-lokroi-epizephyriori-with-head-of-zeus-struck-under-pyrrhos-of-epiros-2509) (Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

8. Locri Epizephyrii, AR, staters
(numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.7030)
(Credit Source: American Numismatic Society www.numismatics.org/)

9. Agathocles, AR tetradrachm, Syracusae
(www.mfa.org/collections/object/tetradrachm-of-syracuse-with-head-of-persephone-struck-under-agathokles-248) (Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

10. Alexander III and Diadochs (Seleucos I Nicator), AU, stater

(www.coinarchives.com/f0e5aaf379afb02c5b837016e680555e/img/roma/013/image00434.jpg)
(Credit Source: Roma Numismatics Ltd, www.RomaNumismatics.com)

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Paulina Koczwara

Institute of Archaeology
Jagiellonian University in Krakow
koczwara.paulina@gmail.com

FINDS OF ROMAN COINS IN CISALPINE GAUL AND THEIR FUNCTION

Abstract: *A constant Roman presence in Cisalpine Gaul can be dated back to the third century BC; however, it seems that Roman coins had appeared there much earlier.*

The first phase of influx of Roman coins began in the third century BC. At that period, mostly cast and struck bronzes came to Cisalpine Gaul. After the Second Punic War, Roman coinage underwent profound change. In the first half of the second century BC, Rome minted large numbers of bronze coins and victoriati and exported them to Cisalpine Gaul. The third and last phase is characterised by large numbers of quinarii and denarii, frequently found together with local coins.

The aim of this paper is to show the variety of different roles played by Roman coins (both silver and bronze) in the economy and everyday life of the tribes of Cisalpine Gaul. As the influx of Roman coins was only a part of the relations between Romans and Celts, the historical background needs to be outlined briefly.

Keywords: *Roman republican coins, Cisalpine Gaul, victoriati, quinarii, hoards*

The constant Roman presence in Cisalpine Gaul can be dated back to the third century BC; however, the Romans systematically occupied the Po valley from the fourth century BC onwards. Although relations between Celts and Romans were hostile from the very beginning (starting with the invasion of Brennius and the sack of Rome), initially the Roman presence was peaceful in character. The lack of a clear natural boundary between Central and Northern Italy facilitated first the travels of merchants, then the Roman conquest.

This was also the time of the first contacts between local peoples and Greeks.[1] Thanks to the amazing growth of the city harbours in Adria and Spina, trade between the Greek world and the tribe of Veneti flourished. This growth was halted by Roman supremacy over the Adriatic Sea. Constant economic growth and relations with Greeks and Etruscans only deepened the disparities between the peoples of Cisalpine Gaul and led to the region's division into two spheres, representing the areas north and south of the

[1] Excluding the Veneti, who controlled the trade routes from the Adriatic Sea through the Alps and whose contacts with Greeks and Etruscans therefore began in the seventh and sixth centuries BC.

Po River. The division into a more Romanised South and a North less open to Roman influence existed long after the creation of the province of Gallia Citerior. The division to centuriae was adopted in an almost ideal manner by Insubri from the South, while the settlement of the Northern part was still irregular.[2]

While contacts between Romans and Celts had begun about a century earlier, the influx of Roman coins into Cisalpine Gaul can be dated back to the third century BC. This was a time of great diversity in the influx of coins into Cisalpine Gaul. Although the common coin in Rome at was time was the drachma, a unit similar to those represented by Cisalpine drachms, finds of Campano-Roman drachms from the period prior to the reform of the denarius are practically non-existent.

The earliest form of Roman money in Cisalpine Gaul was the so-called *aes rude*, i.e. heavy bronze lumps found in several tombs, which may have been deposited long after they first entered circulation. However, an early date for the influx of *aes grave* is confirmed by archaeological finds from several sites in Emilia-Romagna.[3] A few specimens were found in the necropolis of Este. At this period, the presence of the earliest Roman coins does not imply the constant presence of Romans, but indicates the coins' circulation throughout Italy from Sicily to the Po River. Probably the *aes rude* in Cisalpine Gaul did not serve as a means of payment.[4]

Finds of *aes signatum* specimens are also very rare. In the foundations of a building[5] in San Giorgio di Valpolicella, a specimen of *aes signatum* was found together with Roman republican asses and Padan drachms and obols.[6] This, however, was a relatively late deposit from the second century BC. It is not known when this coin entered circulation in Northern Italy. Possibly it came to Cisalpine Gaul along with the first phase of influx of the Roman bronzes in the third century BC. The context of the deposit, which was probably a foundation deposit, is also very interesting.

The end of the Second Punic War was the beginning of a new era in Roman coinage. The end of the third and the beginning of the second century BC was also an important period in the influx of Roman coins into Cisalpine Gaul. At this time, Roman asses and their fractions, minted in large quantities, disrupted the domination of Ptolemaic drachms in the coin circulation of Northern Italy.[7] Unlike Greek bronzes, Roman coins

[2] Arslan 1978: 443–444.

[3] Ercolani Cocchi 1986: 236.

[4] Callegher 1992: 130–131. In Gorizia (Friuli Venezia Giulia), specimens of *aes rude* were found deposited together with a large number of weapons and fibulae. Probably this is an example of the very popular custom of metal hoarding, where the hoarded objects consisted of various metals (Gorini 2010: 21–22).

[5] The votive practices in San Giorgio di Valpolicella can be traced back to the Bronze Age. The building where the coin deposit was found can be dated to the second half of the second century BC (Bolla 1999: 1–20).

[6] Biondani, Neri 2003: 101–108.

[7] Arslan 2006: 43–44.

often appeared in a sepulchral context. In the second century BC, Roman silver coins also entered the coin circulation of Northern Italy. Victoriati, denarii, and quinarii soon became the main denominations in use in Cisalpine Gaul.

The beginning of the second century BC also brought a change in the attitude of the peoples of Cisalpine Gaul towards foreign coins. Roman silver coins also began to be regarded as objects to be hoarded, although great hoards consisting of thousands of coins date back only to the first century BC. It seems that in the second century BC the peoples of Cisalpine Gaul, or at least their elites, begun to adopt Roman coins for everyday use.[8] Some tribes (Lepontii, Liguri, Salluvii) had already ceased to mint their own issues.[9] Coins ceased to function as status symbols or as a part of ritual practices. The development of trade relations with Rome and her colonies resulted in more common use of coins in the everyday life of the Celtic tribes.[10]

By the first century BC, the Roman conquest of Cisalpine Gaul was complete. Thus the autonomic Celtic mint ceased to operate. Nevertheless, the last issues of the Cenomani and Insubri appeared in hoards as late as in the times of Tiberius. After the end of the Civil War, the Romans imposed their own monetary system throughout Italy. It was necessary to create a credit structure including all of the conquered lands. This was a *conditio sine qua non* for creating the management of new territories and, above all, enabling the purchase and sale of land without the risk of imbalances in its value.[11]

The first century BC was also the beginning of the regular Romanisation of the peoples of Cisalpine Gaul. The *Lex Pompeia de Transpadanis* of 89 BC granted municipal citizenship to the inhabitants of the oldest Roman colonies in Cisalpine Gaul. Other cities obtained the status of Italic cities.[12] The *Lex Roscia* of 49 BC extended Roman citizenship to the residents of the new province of Gallia Citerior. After this period, the intensive urbanisation and economic growth of Northern Italy began.[13] This is reflected in coin finds: the percentage of Padan drachms and obols in hoards is significantly lower. In two of the largest deposits, from Sustinenza and Casaleone (Veneto), no Celtic coins were found.[14]

Finds of silver coins

One of the earliest finds of Roman silver coins consisted of an unknown number of quadrigati found together with early Padan drachms in Campidoglio.[15] Denarii fea-

[8] Crawford 1985: 82.
[9] Arslan 1991–92: 22.
[10] Haeussler 2013: 107.
[11] *Ibid*.: 107.
[12] Piegdoń 2009: 166.
[13] Haeussler 2013: 107.
[14] *Vide*: Modonesi 2001.
[15] Pautasso 1966*: 77.*

turing the Dioscuri brothers were found later (the end of the third century BC) in the Biadrante hoard. The deposit contained also ca 100 Padan drachms.[16] The Orzivecchi hoard of 33 early denarii and 5 quinarii dates back to the same period.[17]

The earliest hoards of victoriati have been dated to the first half of the second century BC. In comparison to later deposits, they seem rather small (the Gambolò hoard[18] contained 140–170 victoriati, the Fano hoard[19] ca 90). What characterises all of them is uniformity. This changed significantly in the second half of the second century BC, when denarii entered the coin circulation of Cisalpine Gaul, as is visible in the structure of hoards, although initially their finds are rather small.[20] However, before the end of the second century BC, the numbers of denarii in hoards rose to several hundreds.[21] Denarii also appeared in hoards containing victoriati.[22] The same trend can be observed in the first century BC.[23]

Victoriati and quinarii

During the period immediately following the introduction of the denarius system, victoriati were the main objects of hoarding.[24] The characteristic attribute of early deposits is their homogeneity. Later, depending on the period and region, victoriati were accompanied by Greek bronzes, Noric obols, and Roman coins. After 150 BC, denarii took the place of victoriati and became the most important components of hoards. Their weight was constant, but regional differences existed. The hoard of Caltrano Vicentino (Veneto), as well as deposits from the Marche and Molise regions, contained coins of

[16] Allen 1990: 16; RRCH no. 92.

[17] RRCH 106.

[18] RRCH 114. The hoard also contained an unknown number of Padan drachms. Cf. Allen 1990: 18.

[19] RRCH 117; RIN vol. XXIV (1912): 299.

[20] The Belfiore hoard (RRC 159) contained only few denarii (the latest issued by Quintus Fabius Maximus in 127 BC); the Roncarolo hoard (RRC 173) contained ca 100 denarii up to the issue of Sergius Silus (116/115 BC).

[21] The Olmeneta hoard (RRCH 203) contained over 400 denarii issued before 100 BC; the Imola hoard (RRCH 210) contained above 500 denarii issued before 100 BC as well as 12 victoriati.

[22] The Masera hoard (RRCH 162) contained over 1,000 denarii (issued before 110/109 BC) and ca 180 victoriati. The hoards of Farfengo (ca 800 denarii) and Ossolaro (ca 3,500 denarii) are much more complicated. In both cases the only information we have is the estimated number of coins in the hoard. Both deposits were sold shortly after their finding. Cf. Tomasoni 1990: 141–142. If the information about the composition of the hoards is correct and any of the deposits contained a significant quantity of victoriati and/or quinarii, it can be assumed that they were deposited at the end of the second or during the first century BC.

[23] The Sustinenza hoard (RRCH 339) contained ca 1,250 coins, including 330 quinarii. A similar percentage of quinarii can be observed in the case of the Casaleone (Modonesi 2001) and Borzano (RRCH 419) hoards. All of these were deposited in the first half of the first century BC. The San Basilio (Polesine) hoard is dated slightly earlier. In addition to ca 100 denarii minted between 207–74 BC, the San Basilio hoard also contained 27 quinarii. *Vide* Gorini, Pepe 2009: 64–74.

[24] Marra 2001: 99.

lesser weight (about 3 g).[25] Victoriati were an important component of the hoards until the end of the second century BC; however, as of the halfway point of the second century BC, denarii were predominant. The end of the second and the beginning of the first century BC is the period when the presence of victoriati in hoards became rare. In the first century BC, victoriati were replaced by quinarii.

Large numbers of quinarii were minted in 101 BC, between 99 and 97 BC, and at the end of the Roman Republic, during the Civil War.[26] The history of the quinarius as currency is relatively brief: initially, it constituted a fraction of the denarius, as a result of the reform of the latter. However, its production was halted almost immediately (probably ca 207 BC).[27] Quinarii reappeared in circulation at the end of the second century BC. From the very beginning, the iconography of quinarii was linked to that of victoriati.[28] In time, despite the fact that quinarii were lighter and the content of silver in the alloy higher,[29] they were called victoriati.[30] Adoption of the iconography of victoriati was probably the result of the huge popularity of the quinarius among the Celtic tribes. The weight standard was probably linked to the decreasing weight of Padan drachms (both victoriati and quinarii matched the value of half a denarius, and therefore they were equivalents of drachms).[31] Perhaps, by adding such a high volume of Roman equivalents of drachms to the local circulation, the Romans aimed to replace the local currency with quinarii. As the majority of finds of quinarii derive from Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul, the assumption that they were produced mostly for the use of the Celtic tribes seems worthy of consideration. Moreover, in late hoards from the first century BC, such as the Sustinenza and Borzano deposits, a high percentage of quinarii is very characteristic. According to Livy, the quinarius became the unit of accounting among the tribes from Po and Rhone valley,[32] which may explain the huge numbers of quinarii found in hoards.

Huge emissions of quinarii can be also linked to Roman operations in Cisalpine Gaul. During the Civil War, Padan tribes were part of the Roman army.[33]After the beginning of war with Sulla, the part of defeated army of *populares* fled to Cisalpine

[25] *Ibid*.: 100.

[26] This denomination officially re-entered circulation as a result of the *Lex Clodia*. *Vide* Harl 1996: 46–47.

[27] RRC vol. I: 34–35.

[28] Pliny, NH, XXXIII: 46.

[29] The content of silver in the alloy was not as high as in denarii. It is assumed that the content of silver was about 80%, which is significantly lower than that used in denarii (94%). *Vide* Crawford 1985: 181.

[30] Varro, *De lingua Latina*, X: 41.

[31] The average weight of Padan drachms was reduced from ca 3 g (or even greater) from the first stages of Celtic minting to ca 2 g (or even lower) in the first century. *Vide* Arslan 1993: 187–188.

[32] *Ab urbe condita*, XLI.13.7.

[33] Plutarch, Sertorius 4.

Gaul.[34] In 39 and 29 BC, a number of veterans settled in Cisalpine Gaul. Probably the first emissions of quinarii following the renewal of this denomination were linked with the activities of *populares*, i.e. the settlement of Marius's veterans and the laws of the tribune Saturninus.[35]

From the very beginning of their influx into Cisalpine Gaul, victoriati circulated together with denarii in Central and Southern Italy. However, denarii did not remain in circulation for long. In Cisalpine Gaul victoriati appeared later, but remained in circulation. Finds of heavy victoriati from the period before the weight reduction are very rare, especially in comparison to finds of Sicilian and other Greek coins.[36] After all, the economy of Cisalpine Gaul, unlike the Greek or Etruscan, was monetised on a very low level or not at all; thus the local tribes adopted the Roman coinage more slowly than the inhabitants of Central and Southern Italy. Possibly the factor deciding the high demand for Roman victoriati among the Celtic tribes was their similarity in terms of weight to the local drachms.[37]

In Northern Italy, two spheres of the circulation of victoriati can be observed, with the Po River as the boundary between them. In the area north of the Po, lighter victoriati circulated together with local drachms (as in the hoards of Caltrano Vicentino, Castel di Roto, Padua, Sanzeno, Gambolò, Gerenzago, and Treviglio). In the area of Emilia-Romagna, heavy victoriati circulated with Roman asses and their fractions (mostly semisses, as in the case of hoards of San Cesario, Marzabotto, or Monterenzio).[38] As opposed to the northern area, only two large deposits of victoriati are known from Emilia-Romagna, namely, the Barzano and Baiso hoards.

Bronze coins

The influx of Roman silver coins was from the very beginning accompanied by that of bronze coins, especially asses. The number of asses significantly increases after the Second Punic War, when Rome began to strike huge quantities of bronze coins.[39] Prob-

[34] RRC vol. II: 628.

[35] *Ibid*.: 629.

[36] Marra 2001: 103.

[37] *Ibid*.: 105. The average weight of the 'light' Padan drachms dropped from 2.96 g to 2 g. One of many reasons for this significant decrease (about 30%) was the reduction of the Massalian drachms that were the prototypes of Padan coins (Arslan 1974: 43–44), but possibly another reason was the changes in the weight standards of Roman coins (Arslan 1993: 187–188). From the second century BC onwards a correlation can be seen between the weight and the silver content of Roman victoriati and quinarii and Padan coins. However, it is impossible now to establish whether this was caused by the Romans' tendency to replace the local coins with Roman currency, which was similar, but minted in greater numbers and with higher quality. The other possibility is that the decreasing weight of Padan coins was a result of adjusting them to match the weight standard of victoriati.

[38] Marra 2001: 105.

[39] Arslan 2006: 43.

ably they remained in circulation after the second half of the second century BC, when Rome ceased to produce bronze coins. In Cisalpine Gaul, asses very often are found in much later contexts and deposits, dated to the Augustan period or even later.[40] The vast majority of Roman bronze coins are struck bronze coins, but there have also been finds of cast *aes grave* coins.[41]

The main difference between finds of Roman bronze and silver coins is the number of coins in the deposit. Unlike Greek silver coins, the number of Roman victoriati, quinarii, and denarii in a single deposit may range up to several hundreds or even several thousands. Bronze coins, however, were not usually the objects of hoarding.[42] Thus, they are found frequently (there are over 70 sites in the region of Polesine where at least one Roman republican *as* was found),[43] but in small quantities. Usually, they occur together with Roman silver coins. The vast majority of asses derive from a sepulchral context, in which they are found much more often than any other local or imported coins. They are also frequently found in votive deposits.[44] Finds of Roman bronzes from the Alpine passes, which played the role of main trade routes between Central Europe and Italy, can probably be linked with commercial activities. Roman bronzes are also found in settlement contexts (Ariminum, Trentino), but these are still relatively rare.[45] The significant number of asses in circulation is characteristic of the republican period. Roman bronzes were still present in Cisalpine Gaul in imperial times, but in distinctly lower numbers. Imperial asses no longer occur in sepulchral or votive contexts.

[40] E.g. the Celtic necropolis in Verona, where the ases struck in the 3rd century BC were found together with bronzes issued by Augustus, the rulers of the Flavian dynasty, and even later rulers (Biondani, Corrent, Salzani 2000: 20–24). A similar pattern of coin finds can be observed in the Vigaso necropolis (Biondani, Salzani 1998: 74–75). The latest coin from the Altichiero deposit is dated to the reign of Marcus Aurelius (Zambotto, Zaghetto 1994: 110–115).

[41] In Trentino three specimens of *aes grave* were found (RRCH 57); the sextans is known from Comacchio (Emilia-Romagna); a find of triens came from Ancona. One of the most interesting Roman bronze coins was found together with local bronzes in Ariminum. This was a cast bronze coin with the head of Roma on both the obverse and reverse. Single finds were also recorded in Alpine valleys: Laufer (Switzerland) and Riva San Vitale (Ticino, Switzerland). *Vide* Crawford 1985: 285, 297.

[42] However, several hoards of bronze coins are known from the area of Central Italy (Crawford 1985: 71, 293).

[43] Callegher 1992: 132.

[44] E.g. the deposits of Campagna Lupia, Domagnano, and Ancona (Gorini 2013: 792–795). In the case of the Altichiero hoard, the vast majority (22 of 23 specimens) of republican coins that were part of the deposit were asses (Zambotto, Zaghetto 1994: 110–112).

[45] This seems to be a result of the nature of the surveys more than anything else. The number of finds of local, Roman silver, or Greek coins in the settlement context in Cisalpine Gaul is small, especially compared to the overall number of coins found. Such a large number of coins, both local and Roman, found in one area indicates that they were in use. Therefore, there should be more finds in settlement contexts.

Coin finds have usually been made in late Celtic necropolises[46] (Fumane, Civita Castella, Breonio, Valeggio, Ornavasso,[47] Zevio, or Isola Rizza) and have been linked mainly to Cenomani and Veneti. Tombs of Insubri, Boii, or Senonii may have been rich; however, usually there were no coins among the funerary gifts.[48]

In the tombs of Cenomani and Veneti, Padan drachms were found, but the vast majority of coins known from sepulchral contexts came from the Roman Republic, mainly in the second and first centuries BC.[49] In this context Greek coins are almost non-existent. Despite the fact that most coins found in the Celtic or Veneti necropolises were struck in Rome, finds of Padan drachms are more informative. Roman coins, especially asses, may have been deposited many years after their production.[50] The number of coins found in a single grave ranges between one and several dozens of specimens. These coins were part of the funerary equipment in both male and female tombs. There are even examples of coins found in children's tombs (Grezzana). Coins were not, however, a mandatory gift. In the LT C/D phase they occurred in ca 50 % of burials, but this percentage declined over the years.[51]

When analysing the number of coins found in the tombs, their weight standard, and the associated ore, it does not seem possible that these Roman coins were regarded as so-called 'Charon's obols'.[52] They were certainly part of the funerary gift. Thanks

[46] Dated to the phase LT C2-D2.

[47] The finds of Ornavasso and Persona (Piedmont) became the main basis of the chronology of the La Tene culture in Northern Italy. In the tombs dated back to the first phase of this necropolis, no coins were recorded. From the second phase were derived a few Roman coins minted before the Second Punic War, a relatively large number of coins issued between 149 and 117 BC, a quinarius of Cato dated to 89 BC, and a plated denarius of Volteius issued in 79 BC. In the third phase, the majority of Roman coins derived from the period from the beginning of the civil wars to the beginning of the reign of Augustus. There are also known Padan drachms with the legend PIKOI from the second and the third phase. The chronology of the necropolis has been widely discussed. *Vide* Crawford 1985: 295–296.

[48] Cf. Biondani 2014: 480.

[49] *Ibid*.: 489.

[50] In necropolises from the Veneto region, drachms of Cenomani with the legend MAΣΣA (type no. 6 according to Pautasso, IX according to Arslan) and drachms of Insubri with the legend Τουτιοπουοσ (Pautasso 9, Arslan XI) dated by Arslan to the second half of the second century BC (Arslan 1991–92: 21–23) are frequently found. Gorini had dated them much earlier, to the end of the third or the first half of the second century BC (Gorini 2008: 95–97). Since the Roman asses became part of the tomb deposits long after they were issued, it can be argued that these Celtic coins were the oldest; thus they can also be used to establish the starting point in a relative chronology of at least part of the necropolises (Zevio, Idola Piazza, Valeggio, Povegliano, Lazisetta. A similar chronology can be probably used for Ornavasso). The rest of the chronology was based on the unambiguously dated and well-represented Roman coins from the second half of the second century BC and other Roman artefacts (Biondani 2014: 490–494).

[51] Biondani 2014: 489.

[52] This use of *aes rude*, especially in the context of the find of Gorizia, does not seem probable. The degree of development of Celtic beliefs concerning the afterlife is unknown. The finding of the coin in the tomb does not indicate that it was used as a so-called 'Charon's obol'. It cannot simply be assumed that the Celts or Veneti adopted this practice from the Greeks or Romans. The relatively frequent coin finds

to them, the dead could purchase the goods they needed, as they had while still living. Coins, especially bronze ones, may have also served as talismans, both to avert bad and attract good luck.[53]

Conclusions: the function of Roman coins in Cisalpine Gaul

The very number of Roman silver coins found in Cisalpine Gaul can serve as an argument for their common use by the local tribes. Their popularity was caused by the progressive Romanisation of Northern Italy and by Roman colonisation, but also by the growing trade between the tribes of the Po Valley and Rome and the resulting economic prosperity.

Roman silver coins were, as it seems, accepted by the Celtic tribes over time, and slowly entered common use. There were, however, still spheres of everyday life from which Roman coins were excluded. Other than a few exceptions (the Ornavasso necropolis[54] or Tomb no. 7 in Lazisetta[55]), Roman silver coins were absent from finds of Roman silver coins in Cisalpine Gaul. This can be interpreted as an illustration of the growing percentage of Celts, Ligurii, and Veneti joining the auxiliary troops of the Roman army.[56] The first century BC was a time of internal and external political conflicts, and included the peak of the coin production of the Roman Republic and of massive hoarding,[57] as reflected by the enormous hoards deposited at the end of the second and during the first century BC. The advancing integration of the peoples of Cisalpine Gaul with Roman society, growing economic relations, and the increasing volume of all manner of taxes and tributes paid to and by Rome (always using Roman currency) rendered the Celtic drachms unnecessary. Seemingly, even before the Roman conquest the Padan drachms had lost their value as objects of hoarding and functioned only in a symbolical sphere.

The Celtic tribes might have been somehow forced by Roman magistrates to use Roman money.[58] To prove that the peoples of Cisalpine Gaul began to use Roman money might be impossible due to a lack of written sources, but Roman authors mention that the Celts in Cisalpine Gaul used Roman units of accounting.[59] In some sense, it can be assumed that confirmation of the accounts of Roman historians is provided by the discovery of a small silver goblet (Museo Civico, Pavia) from the second century BC,

in tombs may also be the result of regarding coins as funerary gifts. However, some researchers maintain different opinions. *Vide* Ercolani Cocchi 1986: 236.

[53] Pavoni 2003: 82–83.

[54] *Vide* Crawford 1985: 295–296.

[55] *Vide* Biondani 2014: 493.

[56] Haeussler 2013: 105.

[57] RRC vol. II: 672–677; Barlow 1980: 205–206.

[58] E.g. from 117 BC onwards, some Ligurian tribes were compelled to pay leasing fees to the city of Genoa in Roman victoriati. *Vide* Haeussler 2013: 104.

[59] Livy, *Ab urbe condita* XLI, 13. 7.; Polybius, *Historiae*, II. 15, 102.

bearing an inscription with the Celtic name of its owner and its weight according to Roman standards.[60]

Apart from their economic function, Roman bronze coins are often found in a sepulchral context. The frequency of finds of Roman bronzes, especially in comparison to the numbers of other coins known from necropolises, is clearly an indication of their popularity among Celts. Aside from the questions of the ore used and their relatively low face value, such a large number of asses and their fractions indicates that they were well-known coins, used in the everyday life of the inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul.

Abbreviations

RRCH: Crawford M.H. 1969. *Roman Republican Coin Hoards*. London.

RRC: Crawford M.H. 1974. *Roman Republican Coinage*. Vol. I-II. London.

RIN: *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*.

Bibliography

Allen D.F. 1990. *Catalogue of the Celtic Coins in the British Museum: Silver coins of North Italy, South and Central France, Switzerland and South Germany*. London.

Arslan E.A. 1973. "Appunti per una sistemazione cronologica delle monetazione Gallica Cisalpina". Quaderni ticiniensi di numismatica e antichita clessice 2: 43–51.

Arslan E.A. 1978. "I Celti in Transpadana nel II e I secolo a.C.". In. P. Santaro, R. Quinto (eds.). *I Galli in l'Italia*. Roma: 81–86.

Arslan E.A. 1991–92. "Le monete padane preromane a Budapest". Numizmatikai Közlöny XC-XCI: 9–33.

Arslan E.A. 1993. *Uso monetario e non monetario della moneta celtica padana. Considerazioni in margine al ripostiglio di Manerbio 1955, Convegno Intern.SNI, "Moneta e non moneta", autunno 1992*, Rivista Italiana di Numismatica XCV: 321–331.

Arslan E.A. 2006. "Moneta e circolazione monetaria in area Adriatica in eta preromana". In: F. Lenzi (ed.). *Rimini e l'Adriatico nell'eta delle guerre puniche. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Rimini, Musei Comunali, 25–27 marzo 2004*. Bologna: 33–54.

Barlow C.T. 1980. "The Roman Government and the Roman Economy, 92–80 B.C.". The American Journal of Philology 101(2): 202–219.

Biondani F., Salzani L. 1998. „Vigasio. Necropoli celtica in località La Pietà di Isolalta". Quaderni di Archeologia del Veneto XIV: 74–75.

Biondani F., Corrent G., Salzani L. 2000. „Montorio (Verona). Ricerche di superficie sul colle del Castello". Quaderni di Archeologia del Veneto XVI: 61–74.

Biondani F., Neri D. 2003. "Lo scavo di localita Casaletti di San Gioggio di Valpolicella. Le monete celtiche di imitazione massaliota e le monete romane republicane". Quaderni di Archeologia del Veneto XIX: 101–108.

Biondani F. 2014. „Monete celtico-padane e monete romane nelle necropoli celtiche nel Veronese". In: M.-J. Roulière-Lambert et al (eds.). *Les Celtes et le Nord de l'Italie (Premier et Second Âges du fer). Actes du XXXVIe colloque international de l' Association française pour l'étude de l'âge du Fer. (Vérone, 17–20 mai 2012)*. Vérone: 489–494.

[60] Crawford 1985: 83.

Bolla M. 1999. "La chiesa di San Giorgio di Valpolicella". Pro loco San Giorgio di Valpolicella no. 2: 1–20.

Callegher B. 1992. "Alcune osservazioni sulla presenza nell'area ad est di Rovigo del teritorio di Adria". Quaderni di Archeologia del Polesine. La Centuriazione dell'agro di Adria: 129–143.

Crawford M.H. 1969. *Roman Republican Coin Hoards*. London.

Crawford M.H. 1974. *Roman Republican Coinage*. Vol. I-II. London.

Crawford M.H. 1985. *Coinage and Money under the Late Roman Republic*. London.

Ercolani Cocchi E. 1986. "L'aes grave da Comacchio e la drama Massaliota. La monetazione antica nel delta del Po: Produzione e scambi." Rivista Italiana di Numismatica LXXXVII: 235–238.

Gorini G. 2008. "Aspetti della monetazione autonoma della Gallia Cisalpina e del Norico". Numismatische Zeitschrift 116/117: 95–101.

Gorini G. 2010. *Ritrovamentimonetali di età romana nel Friuli Venezia Giulia a cura di Giovanni Gorini*. Padova.

Gorini G., Pepe M. 2009. "Il ripostiglio di San Basilio (Ariano Polesine – Rovigo): denari e quinari di eta repubblicana". Rivista Italiana di Numismatica CX: 64–74.

Haeussler R. 2013. *Becoming Roman?: Diverging Identities and Experiences in Ancient Northwest Italy*. London.

Harl K.W. 1996. *Coinage in the Roman Economy, 300 BC to AD 700*. Baltimore.

Marra O. 2001. "Il vittoriato. Sua circolazione, e funzione all'interno de sistema monetario romano". Rivista Italiana di Numismatica CII: 89–145.

Modonesi D. 2001. *Ritrovamenti monetali d'eta romana nel Veneto. Provincia III: Verona*. Vol. IV – Casaleone/Sustinenza. Padova.

Pautasso A. 1966. *Le monete preromane dell'Italia settentrionale*. Sibrium Vol. VII. Aosta.

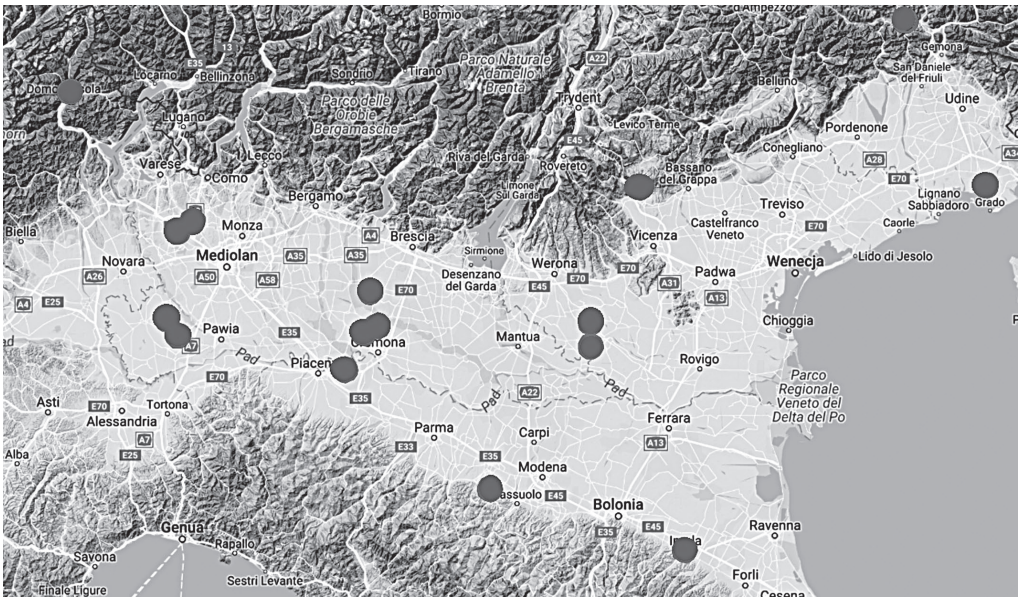
Pavoni M. 2003. "Monete in tomba nel territorio veronese settentrionale: aspetti numismatici e rituali". Antenor IV: 73–89.

Piegdoń M. 2009. *Galia Przedalpejska*. Kraków.

Tomasoni P. 1990. "Ritrovamenti monetali di eta Romana a Cremona e nel territorio Cremonese". Rivista Italiana di Numismatica XCII: 128–146.

Zambotto G., Zaghetto L. 1994. "Le monete della stipe di Altichiero". Quaderni di Archeologia del Veneto X: 110–115.

Map of the most important Roman hoards from Cisalpine Gaul



Filip Marciniak

Institute of Archaeology
University of Rzeszow
filmarciniak@gmail.com

DENARII SUBAERATI: COUNTERFEITING OR LEGAL ACTIVITY?

Abstract: *From the earliest times people have tried to illegally obtain financial benefits. In ancient Roman times, one manifestation of this activity was the appearance of the subaeratus, a technical variant of various denominations which is basically a counterfeit: a coin with a base metal core plated with a thin layer of silver.*

One very interesting example of this type of coin is the denarius subaeratus, the production of which dates back to the times of the Roman Republic. Supposedly, denarii subaerati first appeared during the Second Punic War. Other types of subaerati circulated until the decline of the Roman Empire, more specifically until the collapse of the silver currency at the end of the third century AD, at which point their production had become unprofitable.

Since the nineteenth century, researchers have been conducting an ongoing discussion on the origin of this type of coin. Were they a product manufactured in the official mints or counterfeits produced independently in order to introduce undervalued coins into circulation?

Keywords: *denarius subaeratus, Roman Republic, coinage, counterfeit coins*

Production of counterfeit money began almost as early as the production of the first coins. Among many counterfeits of Roman coins that can be studied at the present time, we can distinguish several types, such as ancient and modern imitations, barbarian imitations, hybrids (mules), coins with minting errors, and plated coins.

The main goal of this paper is to describe the phenomenon of counterfeiting Roman republican coins, and thus to refer to the discussion conducted among numismatists interested in republican mintage. The article focuses in particular on one denomination, the denarius *subaeratus*.

It is interesting that so many counterfeit or defective coins have survived to this day and that many of them were made with such artistry. In the modern literature on the subject, we can observe many attempts to answer the question of whether some of these coins could have been manufactured upon the request of the authorities, and whether they were recognised as a legitimate means of payment.

Especially interesting is an example of a plated coin known as a *subaeratus*, *nummus subaeratus*, or *fourrée* (from French). A *subaeratus* was a counterfeit coin made

from a base-metal core (copper or low-grade bronze) and plated with silver foil so as to resemble its solid-metal counterpart. There were also plated coins composed of an iron core (called *nummi subferrati*), or which included a large amount of lead in the alloy. The goal was to gain a profit by producing a coin containing less precious metal than indicated by its purported face value. It is supposed that the most common method for producing a *subaeratus* was to wrap a copper core with silver foil, heat it, and strike it with dies. The final result was a coin containing a layer of a mixture of silver and copper which was indistinguishable from silver coins. The defects finally showed due to wearing off of the foil or chemical processes between adjoining metals, causing the appearance of the base-metal core.[1]

A later method involved base-metal coins subsequently covered with silver. It is not known exactly how they were silvered. Coins may have been dipped in or brushed with molten silver, or dusted with powdered silver and then heated until the silver melted. These methods were more profitable, as they used less silver. Even the reduced weight of plated coins was not a problem in the Roman system of production, in which a certain number of coins were minted from a specific quantity (by weight) of silver.

The circulation of such coins is indicated not only by historical references, but also by frequently discovered bankers' marks on the surfaces of Roman coins, incisions made to expose their interiors, and the introduction of coins with serrated edges preventing their complete coverage with silver foil. However, M. H. Crawford, who did not support this theory as the reason for introducing denarii serrate, dated them to 209–208 BC.[2]

It is assumed that this method was used for the first time during the Second Punic War. Greater quantities of *subaerati* appeared in the times of Julius Caesar, probably due to the necessity of paying troops during the Civil Wars. The method was used most intensively from the middle of the second century BC and persisted until the end of the Roman Republic. However, other types of *subaeratus*, and subsequently denarii *subaerati*, also circulated in the times of the Roman Empire.

Apart from few unclear allusions, ancient sources do not mention plated coins until the period of the Roman Republic. Pliny,[3] who wrote in early imperial times, mentioned *nummos probare*, which refers to the bankers' marks punched into coins to test their authenticity. More direct reference to this matter is made by Cassius Dio, who wrote that plated silver and gold coins were officially produced at the beginning of the third century AD;[4] however, this date falls within the imperial period. Moreover, it should be noted that for historical reasons this reference is not fully reliable.

[1] Debernardi 2010: 337–338.
[2] Crawford 1974: 560–566.
[3] Pliny. NH. 46, 132.
[4] Cass. Dio, IX: 78.

Cicero[5] mentions that M. Marius Gratidianus, a praetor during the 80s BC, was widely praised for developing tests to detect false coins and removing them from circulation. Gratidianus was killed under Sulla, who introduced an anti-forgery law (*lex Cornelia de falsis*). This law reintroduced serrated edges on precious metal coins called *serrati* or serrated denarii.

The most interesting aspect is the existence of many ambiguities concerning Roman numismatic plated coins. The first examples of *subaerati* are dated to the seventh century BC, when eastern mints commenced operations. There are known examples of didrachms and victoriati made by this technique. However, it was the denarius, a coin made of sterling silver, that was counterfeited most often. As early as in the initial period of introduction of the denarius, plated coins, known in the literature as denarii *subaerati,* appeared. It seems that many of its manufacturers were counterfeiters, but in light of the historical conditions, the good style of these *subaerati* and their resemblance to official emissions raise the suspicion that these coins were produced in the official mints, manufactured on the command of the central authorities or as a result of private fraud on the part of their workers.

A discussion about the origin of this type of Roman coin as an official product of mints or as a private product was initiated in the nineteenth century. The most common and widely accepted theory was offered by M. H. Crawford, who unequivocally cited *subaerati* as products of counterfeiters' workshops, writing in *Roman Republic Coinage* that 'there is no numismatic evidence weighing against the interference to be drawn [...] that the view that the Roman Republic struck plated coins is unsupported by any ancient sources'.[6]

On the other hand, P. Debernardi highlights several factors indicating otherwise. Among others, the similarity of images on plated coins and their silver counterparts may indicate that the die was very likely made by the same engraver. According to Debernardi, the very good quality of images confirms the very limited use of mint stamps, excluding the possibility that some were stolen from the mint and reused in private plants. Another very important factor is the scale of the phenomenon. According to many authors of coin catalogues, the production peaks of plated coins fall in unstable periods marked by wars, revolutions, and crises. For instance, during the Social War (Latin *bellum sociale*) waged from 91 to 88 BC or in the times of Julius Caesar, numbers of subaerati significantly increased, which can be associated with the necessity of paying the army.[7]

[5] Tog. Cand. 84.8–9.
[6] Crawford 1974: 562.
[7] Debernardi 2010.

To sum up historical sources, there are no direct mentions of republican coinage, apart from Pliny and Cicero, whose observations I have briefly mentioned.

In conclusion, many aspects concerning the phenomenon of the occurrence of plated coins in the monetary system of ancient Rome is unclear. Some of the facts, such as the need for additional funds to pay troops or to finance tributes or bribes, indicate a legal or semi-legal source. This practice prevented excessive depletion of state resources or insolvency on the part of the authorities, consequences that could have resulted in even greater exacerbation of the situation.

This theory is supported by the tendency of the Germans, mentioned by Tacitus,[8] to favour the older coins that had been in circulation longer, for example, the late republican coins such as *serrati*, *bigati,* and *quadrigati*, over coins from the early periods of the Roman Empire, which were supposed to be inferior and defective.[9]

On the other hand, all of the historical conditions indicate an awareness of the phenomenon of counterfeiting state coins, attempts to combat it using laws such as *Lex Cornelia de falsis*, and practices such as the issue of serrated denarii and the use of bankers' marks and incisions on the coins.[10] These facts point to the existence of private counterfeiters' workshops, producing plated coins on a small scale. How, then, to explain the huge quantities of plated coins in circulation? The facts suggest the parallel production of two types: official and private. The phenomenon of counterfeit coins in state mints in times of crisis and in times that required the expenditure of substantial financial resources by the State was part of a legalised practice.

Bibliography

Campbell W. 1933. *Greek and Roman Plated Coins*. Numismatic Notes and Monographs 57. New York.

Crawford M.H. 1974. *Roman Republican Coinage*. London.

Crawford M.H. 1985. *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic. Italy and the Mediterranean Economy*. Berkeley/Los Angeles.

Debernardi P. 2010. "Plated coins, false coins?". Revue Numismatique 6 (166): 337–381.

Durakiewicz M. 2013. "Subaerati- antyczne fałszerstwa denarów". In. *Monety Republiki Rzymskiej (ok.300–31 P.N.E.). Wystawa w Muzeum w Brodnicy 12.09 – 31.10.2013*. Brodnica/Toruń: 15–18.

Kahn H. 2005. *Das grosse Münzlexikon von A bis Z: Anhang: Währungen der Welt*. München.

Sear D.R. 1970. *Greek coins and their values*. Vol. II. London.

Pannekeet C. 2013. "Plated and other fake Roman coins" [accessed 10 September 2015], https://www.academia.edu/3632930/Plated_and_other_fake_Roman_coins.

Von Reden S. 2012. "Money and Finance". In. W. Scheidel (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Economy*. Cambridge companions to the ancient world. Cambridge: 266–287.

[8] Tac. Germ. 5.5.

[9] Hammer 2004: 601; Durakiewicz 2013.

[10] Pannekeet 2013.

Illustrations

1. Denarius ***subaeratus*** **with visible metallic core. First half of second century BC**
Photo: M. Marciniak.

2. Denarius ***subaeratus*** **C. Servilius Vatia, mint: Roma 127 BC (Crawford 264/1)**
Photo: M. Marciniak.

3. Denarius ***subaeratus*** **(*Serratus*) L. Memmius Galeria, mint: Roma 106 BC (Crawford 313/1)**
Photo: M. Marciniak.

4. Denarius ***subaeratus*** **C. Hosidius C.f. Geta, mint: Roma 68 BC (Crawford 407/2)**
Photo: M. Marciniak.

5. Denarius ***subaeratus*** **Augustus, mint: Lugdunum 2 BC–4 AD (RIC 210)**
Photo: M. Marciniak.

1

2

3

4

5

Szymon Jellonek

Institute of Archaeology
Jagiellonian University in Krakow
sjellonek@gmail.com

THE COINS OF PHILIPPI: AN EXAMPLE OF COLONIAL COINAGE

Abstract: *The coins struck in Philippi differed from the coins struck in colonial mints. Common symbols that appeared on coins were the plough and legionary standards, however in Philippi there were only few such emissions. The main motive shown on the coins from Philippi, that of Augustus being crowned by Julius Caesar, emerged during the reign of Augustus and endured till the reign of Commodus. This juxtaposition is extraordinary and there are no strict analogies. Of great significance is the place where these types occurred. Philippi is known as the place where Julius Caesar was avenged.*

Keywords: *Roman colonies, Roman provincial coins, Augustus, Julius Caesar*

Philippi in Macedonia earned its fame from the decisive battle between the assassins and supporters of Caesar in 42 BC,[1] an encounter finally won by Mark Antony and Octavian. A colony was established there, to be refounded twelve years later after the battle of Actium. The community of Philippi gained the privilege of striking their own coinage. The system developed under Augustus was continued until the twilight of provincial coinage. The coinage of the colony in Philippi is a great example of the endurance of the Augustan system. The crowning of Augustus by Julius Caesar remained the main motive on colonial coins for 200 years. Although there are no analogies in colonial coinage, some can be found in imperial and provincial coins.

The colony of Philippi, founded in 42 BC, was known as *Colonia Victrix Philippensis*, an obvious reference to the victory at the second battle of Philippi. The first coins struck bore the abbreviation AICVP: *Antoni iussu Colonia Victrix Philippensis*.[2] As can be seen, Mark Antony was the patron of Philippi. Several issues were struck, with M. Paquius Ruf(us) the issuer.[3] Two types bore the head of Mark Antony on the obverse; the others contained motives such as the urn, the plough, the wreath, and togate figures. Later, after the defeat of Mark Antony and Cleopatra, the colony was refounded as *Colonia Iulia*

[1] Suet. *Div. Aug.* 91; App. *B.* Civ 4.105–138; Plut. *Vit. Brut.* 38; *Res Gestae* 2.
[2] Amandry, Burnett, Ripollès 1992: 307–308.
[3] Gaebler 1929: 268–269.

Philippensis; the title Augusta was added when Octavian became Augustus.[4] The town gained the privilege of striking coins, obtained along with the *ius Italicum*, giving the colony the same rights as towns in Italy.[5] Obviously, the coins struck under Augustus in Philippi were directly associated with the famous battle there. Importantly, the motive introduced during the reign of Augustus was, for the most part, invariably maintained until the reign of Commodus.

According to Valerius, during the battle of Philippi, C. Cassius, one of Caesar's assassins, witnessed Divus Iulius (the deified Julius Caesar) on horseback in a commander's cloak, galloping.[6] Cassius was terrified; his army lost the battle and Cassius himself was killed. The presence of Julius Caesar in Philippi was attested by the issues of local coins. One type of coin struck under Augustus is unquestionably associated with the victory at Philippi. This type presents the laureate head of the emperor on the obverse and two standing figures on the reverse (RPC I 1650[7]). Three bases are presented; the figures are standing on the top of the central base, with the figure on the right wearing a toga, his legs crossed and his weight on the left leg. This figure is holding his right hand above the other figure in a gesture of coronation. The other figure, presented in military dress, is shown in the same pose as the first. Like the first, he is holding his right hand aloft, but in the gesture of *adlocutio* rather than of coronation. The figure on the right is encircled by the inscription DIVO IVL(ius), which surely identifies him as Julius Caesar in the form of a god. The other inscription connected with the figure on the left reads AVG(ustus) DIVI F(ilius), or 'Augustus the son of God'. The significance of the juxtaposition of Augustus and Caesar on the coinage of Philippi is clear. The divine Julius is crowning his son Augustus as the victor of the battle of Philippi. The support of Divus Iulius is crucial; in fact, he is the bringer of victory.[8]

Julius is shown in a loosely hanging toga. This presentation of the hipmantled figure was a way to manifest the divine status of Quirinus as well as of Caesar, who was presented in a similar way in Augustan imagery.[9] Augustus is wearing military dress, probably a kind of *lorica musculata*. Augustus is presented in a way similar to the famous statue from Prima Porta, with the exception that the weight of his body is on the left leg, not the right. The figures are standing on a base, with two adjacent bases. What might be the meaning of this? We can come to the conclusion that this juxtaposition is a reflection of an actual monument located in Philippi that either has not survived until modern times or is yet to be discovered. The Romans were known for depicting many

[4] Papageorgiadou-Bani 2004: 31.
[5] Watkins 1983: 320.
[6] Val. Max. 1.8.8; Dio XLVII.45.2.
[7] RPC I = Amandry M., Burnett A., Ripollès P.P. 1992. *Roman Provincial Coinage*. Vol.1. London.
[8] Koortobojian 2013: 137–138.
[9] Ibidem: 78–93.

monuments on coins, e.g. the *columna rostrata* on the denarius of Augustus (RIC 271[10]). However, non-existent temples or statues were portrayed on coins as well. A good example is the aureus, struck in 36 BC (RSC 90[11]), which presented the temple of Divus Iulius seven years before its proper consecration.[12] Therefore we can only speculate as to whether a monument of Julius Caesar crowning Augustus actually existed or not. However the imperial cult of Augustus and the members of Julio-Claudian dynasty (Livia, Claudius) is well documented in Philippi.[13]

Another important topic is the item used in the act of crowning Augustus. There are no known examples in which this item is sufficiently visible to be identified. However, we can consider at least three possibilities. *Corona laurea*, the laurel wreath, was the symbol of martial victory and used to crown a successful commander during his triumph.[14] The presentation by Julius of the laurel wreath, as the bringer of the victory at Philippi, seems plausible.[15] Another possibility is the *corona civica*, the Oaken Wreath. A Roman citizen obtained it as a reward for saving the life of a fellow citizen.[16] This wreath was associated strictly with Augustus: he obtained it *ob cives servatos*, for rescuing all Roman citizens. Octavian could not save Caesar, but he could and finally did avenge him. The third possibility is that the act of coronation was performed with the Julian star (*sidus Iulium*), which was firmly associated with the Julian family. Following the death of Caesar, this comet or star shone for seven days at the games held in Caesar's name.[17] Octavian believed that this was a symbol of the divinity of Julius Caesar and that it had launched his own political career.[18] This pehnomena made Julius Caesar a god, and Octavian the son of a god. From that moment on, Divus Iulius was presented with the star above his head.[19] Later, after the death of Augustus, the star was added to his image as well. We have an example of imperial mintage that features Augustus crowning Julius Caesar (RIC 415).[20] In the issue under consideration we can observe a similar concept. Augustus, wearing a toga, is being crowned by Julius Caesar, who is in military dress. The situation is reversed. Thus we cannot deny that Julius Caesar may be crowning Augustus with the symbol of his divinity. The lack of a clearly visible object could lead to a solution not yet considered by scholars. It is possible that

[10] RIC = Sutherland C.H.V. 1984. *Roman Imperial Coinage*. Vol.1. London.
[11] RSC = Seaby H.A. 1989. *Roman Silver Coins: The Republic to Augustus*. Vol.1. London.
[12] Zanker 1991: 34.
[13] Marchal 2006: 78–80; Lamoreaux 2013: 94- 95.
[14] Suet. *Aug.* 58.
[15] Koortobojian 2013.
[16] Plin. *HN* XVI, 5.
[17] Suet. *Jul.* 88; Plutarch, Vit. Caes. 69.
[18] Plin. *HN*. II 93.
[19] Dio XLV 7.
[20] Whittaker 1996: 91.

no visible wreath or crown is indicated, i.e. that there was no element of crowning at all. Perhaps Julius Caesar is presented, like Augustus, in the gesture of *adlocutio*. However, the presentation of a hipmantled figure performing the gesture of *adlocutio* is very doubtful and has no analogy in Augustan art.

Another issue, more similar to the presented coin, exists: an issue of Amphipolis showing a similar arrangement (RPC I 1627). The obverse is reserved for Artemis. The reverse contains two figures presented on a base. The figure on the right is wearing a toga and is crowning the other figure, using his right hand. The man on the left is wearing a cuirass and raising his right hand in the gesture of *adlocutio*. The inscription ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ has been added; therefore, we can identify the figure at left as Augustus. However, the identification of the figure at right remains unclear. It is almost certain that this figure is bearded and laureate. The presence of the beard rules out Julius Caesar. Therefore, this figure may symbolise the Genius of Amphipolis. In this example we can observe that Augustus is crowned with a laurel or oaken wreath. It is important to remember that the origin of the colonial issue of Philippi is Roman, whereas the issue of Amphipolis is Greek.[21] The other significant fact is that, after the death of Augustus, no such motives were ever used in Amphipolis (unlike Philippi) ever again.

The reasons for the use of this particular design must be reconsidered. Julius Caesar's crowning of his successor could be read as an act of gratitude. The assassinated dictator, now a god (thanks to Octavian), identifies his nephew (adopted son) as the victor of the battle of Philippi. Augustus's military dress confirms the martial character of this scene. Furthermore, he is his father's avenger. The title of *Divi filius* is used here to strengthen the connection between him and Caesar. It is important to underline that this type of coin was produced by the colonial mint for the colonists; thus there is one more purpose behind this depiction. The colony was founded under Mark Antony, but was re-established by Augustus in 30 BC. For the colonists, presenting a crowned Augustus was a way to proclaim their loyalty.[22] The act of coronation appeared on other coins. On the silver cystophorus of Pergamum, Augustus is crowned by Roma.[23] This type of scene was popular in reliefs as well as coins. In the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, this scene was presented several times.[24] On a breastplate from Cherchell, a hipmantled Julius Caesar is being crowned by Victoria.[25]

The end of the Augustan period was not the end of the analysed coin type. We know examples from the reigns of Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, and even Caracalla. The main motive of the

[21] Papageorgiadou-Bani 2004: 42.
[22] Grant 1946: 274–275.
[23] RIC I 228.
[24] Smith 2013: 123–195.
[25] Koortobojian 2013: 133.

reverse remained constant. After the dawn of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, the production and circulation of coins in Philippi was significantly reduced.[26] Coins were struck rarely and in only one type. These changes affected the legends on the coins. From the time of Augustus on, the obverse was gradually taken over by the emperor and his family. On the presented issue we can see the portrait of the emperor, but the legend is connected with the colony. On a coin of Claudius (RPC I 1653), both the image and the legend refer to the emperor, TI(berius) CLAVDIVS CAEAS(ar) AVG(ustus) P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunicia) P(otestas). The name of the colony had to be transferred to the reverse: COL(onia) IVL(ia) AVG(usta) PHILIP(pensis). There was no longer a place for the names of Caesar and Augustus, but DIVVS AVG(ustus) is inscribed on the base. This design was continued through the reigns of Nero, Trajan, Hadrian, and Commodus. From the reign of Trajan on, the two flanking bases are higher than the central one; this is continued during the reign of Hadrian. During the reign of Commodus, these two flanking bases disappear. However, two remaining dots may symbolise these two bases, or represent remnants of them.

It is important to highlight that this issue was the only type of colonial coin of Philippi during the age of Augustus that we can be sure of. However, additional types appeared on the coins during the reigns of his successors, although these new types were strictly associated with the system of Augustus. For example, Victory standing with a wreath and palm[27] is a typical motive of Augustan imperial coinage.[28] VIC(toria) AVG(usti) has been added, so it is clear that this issue refers to the battle of Philippi. The reverse, which depicts three standards, is typical of colonial coinage (Acci, Colonia Patricia, Berytus). Another type featuring a plough[29] on the obverse was as well popular in other colonial issues, such as those of Sinope, Berytus, Patras, and Caesaraugusta. All these motives, which emerged once in Philippi during the reign of Claudius, disappeared after Nero's death. Their discontinuation was caused by the abandonment of the practice of striking small change. The coins with two figures weigh about 10 g (during the reign of Augustus; subsequently, this was gradually reduced to 6 g, its weight during the reign of Commodus); the coin depicting Victory with wreath and palm weighed 4.35 g, and the smallest, depicting a plough, only 2.35 g.

The images of standards of Roman legions were obvious references to the military past of veterans and their descendants. The plough was the symbol of *sulcus primigenius* (the first furrow, which represented the foundation of the colony), or the agricultural life of the colonists.[30] Moreover the legends used on colonial coins were Latin, never

[26] Amandry, Burnett et al. 2015: 83.
[27] RPC I 1651.
[28] Kremydi-Sicilianou 2002: 63–71.
[29] RPC I 1652.
[30] Eckstein 1979: 88–96.

Greek,[31] thus distinguishing the Roman community in Greek Macedonia. However, the only image on the coins of Philippi to persist was the above-mentioned type, with figures of Augustus and Julius Caesar. This design may have been inspired by an actual monument; alternatively, it may have been a fictive design. The endurance of this type could indicate the former possibility.

To sum up, the patterns of colonial coins developed during the age of Augustus were continued during the reigns of his successors until the collapse of provincial coinage in the third century AD. The coinage of Philippi is interesting for two reasons. First of all, the motive of the figures of Julius Caesar and Augustus presented on the coins is unique. In the case of colonial issues, the most popular motives were of two main types: eagle standards, or the founder with a pair of oxen. The motive of Julius Caesar crowning his successor is significant. Augustus's act of revenge took place in the vicinity, which was one of the reasons the colony was founded. In this way Augustus became both the avenger of Julius Caesar and the benefactor of the colonists in Philippi. Another reason for placing this image on the coin might have been gratitude for the act of refoundation.[32] The image presented on the coins of Philippi endured about two hundred years in an almost unchanged design because it represented a way to commemorate both Augustus himself and the famous battle of Philippi. This is why the coins of Philippi differ from ordinary colonial coins.

Bibliography

Amandry M., Burnett A. et al. 1992. *The Roman Provincial Coinage, vol. I: From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC -AD 69).* London/Paris.

Amandry M., Burnett A. et al. 1999. *Roman Provincial Coinage, vol. II: From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69–96).* London/Paris.

Amandry M., Burnett A. et al. 2015. *Roman Provincial Coinage, vol. III: Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian (AD 96–138).* London/Paris.

Eckstein M. 1979. "The Foundation Day of Roman "Coloniae". California Studies in Classical Antiquity 12: 85–97.

Gaebler H. 1929. "Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens: 10. Skithai auf der Chalkidike – Die erste Colonialprägung in Philippi". Zeitschrift für Numismatik 39: 255–270.

Grant M. 1946. *From Imperium to Auctoritas*. London.

Lamoreaux J.T. 2013. *Ritual*, *Women and Philippi; Reimagining the Early Philippian Community.* Eugene. Oregon.

Marchal J.K. 2006. *Hierarchy, Unity and Imitation: A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Power Dynamics in Paul's Letters to the Philippians.* Atlanta.

Koortobojian M. 2013. *The Divinization of Caesar and Augustus: Precedents, Consequences, Implications*. Cambridge.

[31] Papageorgiadou-Bani 2004: 32.

[32] Grant 1946: 274–275.

Kremydi-Sicilianou S. 2002. "Victoria Augusta on Macedonian Coins: Remarks on Dating and Interpretation". Tekmeria 7: 63–82.

Papageorgiadou-Bani H. 2004. *The Numismatic Iconography of the Roman Colonies in Greece and Local Spirit and the Expression of Imperial Policy*. Athens.

Seaby H.A. 1989. *Roman Silver Coins: The Republic to Augustus*. Vol.1. London.

Smith R.R.R. 2013. *The marble reliefs from the Julio-Claudian Sebasteion at Aphrodisias*. Darmstadt/Mainz.

Sutherland C.H.V. 1984. *Roman Imperial Coinage*. Vol.1. London.

Watkins T. 1983. "Coloniae and Ius Italicum in the Early Empire". The Classic Journal 78: 319–336.

Whittaker H. 1996. „Two Notes on Octavian and The Cult of Divus Iulius". Symobolae Osloenses 71: 87–99.

Zanker P. 1991. *The Power of Image in the Age of Augustus*. Michigan.

Illustrations

1. RPC I 1650
2. RPC I 1651
3. RPC I 1652
4. RPC I 1653
5. RPC III 662
6. RPC III 666
7. RPC IV 4259

All of the presented photos were acquired from: www.wildwinds.com

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

Barbara Zając

Institute of Archaeology
Jagiellonian University in Krakow
basia.zajac21@gmail.com

NEOKOROI: PROPAGANDA OF THE IMPERIAL CULT ON THE COINS OF PERGAMUM DURING THE REIGNS OF AUGUSTUS, TRAJAN, AND CARACALLA

Abstract: *Neokoros was an honourable title, meaning 'temple-keeper' or 'temple-warden', granted by the Roman Senate as well as the emperor to certain cities in the eastern provinces between the first and third centuries AD. This title was a symbol of prestige related to the imperial cult and a reason for rivalry with other Greek cities. This honour appeared in the coinage and inscriptions of such Greek cities. Temples in neokoroι were represented by a provincial temple directed by the league of cities (Koinon) and were guaranteed the right of internal dialogue with Roman emperors and the Senate. According to epigraphic and numismatic sources, 37 cities were distinguished as neokoroi, Pergamum among them. This city was first selected by Augustus in 29 BC. Particular coins depicted the neokoros temple, Asclepius, and members of the imperial family. The emperor was supposed to choose for his cult a city which had not yet been honoured by this title. Nevertheless, Trajan broke this rule, and chose Pergamum a second time (in 113/114 AD). This relationship was visible on coins with a tetrastyle temple, a capricorn in the pediment, a cuirassed emperor with a sceptre on the obverse and a very similar effigy, but without the capricorn, on the reverse, depicting the first neokoros temple of Roma and Augustus and the new temple of Trajan, Trajaneum, which was dedicated as well to Zeus Philios. Pergamum was chosen once again during the reign of Caracalla, following his visit to the sanctuary of Asclepius.*

Keywords: *neokoros, imperial cult, Pergamum, Roman provincial coins*

The imperial cult of the emperor was just one element of the life of provincial society. Its main aim was the creation of a relationship between a city and the emperor, thus establishing some benefits for the province. This phenomenon, in Roman provinces with a Hellenistic origin, derived from heroic sources. The Greek posthumous cult was visible, though not imposed by the Roman authorities; every city in the province had freedom in this area. The imperial cult was an expression of the loyalty of the provincial society and a reinforcement of the relationship between a city and the emperor. One of the most important expressions of this phenomenon were *neokoroi*.[1]

[1] Bowersock 1965: 112; Burrell 2004: 1–2; Sartre 1997: 113–116.

Neokoros was an honourable title meaning 'temple-keeper' or 'temple-warden',[2] granted by the Roman Senate as well as the emperor to certain cities in the eastern provinces between the first and third centuries AD. These cities were very often 'capitals' or had some special significance for the provinces. This title was a symbol of prestige, related to the imperial cult, and a reason for rivalry with other Greek cities. A positive relationship between a particular city and the authorities determined its status relative to other cities in the province. These connections guaranteed benefits.[3] Cities organised festivals and games for the imperial cult and the honour of the temple.[4] The citizens of Ephesus in the first century AD proclaimed that city as 'the first city of Asia and *neokoros*. However, the first city was actually Pergamum. At one time this was a reason for rivalry between three main centres in the Western province of Asia Minor: Ephesus, Smyrna, and Pergamum. It is known that sometimes a case involving increased risk of conflict was an occasion for the intervention of the emperor himself.[5] The phenomenon of the imperial cult and *neokoroi* is not easy to explain. The cult of the emperor varied from place to place. S. Price, in his fundamental work, commented on the problematic imperial cult, the position of the emperor, and the places where this cult might have 'worshipped'.[6] S. Friesen formed the conclusion that the granted titles were a kind of attempt by the citizens of Roman Asia to create a hierarchy of cities, one which had never existed before but which represented an adaptation to the new situation during the early Roman reign.[7] The honour of the *neokoros* title appeared in the coinage and inscriptions of particular cities. Today, archaeological sources and numismatics indicate the status of the cities. Temples in *neokoroi* were represented by a provincial temple directed by the league of cities (Κοινόν) and were guaranteed the right to an internal dialogue with Roman emperors and the Senate. According to epigraphic and numismatic sources there were 37 distinguished *neokoroi,* among them Pergamum, which received this title three times (during the reigns of Augustus, Trajan, and Caracalla).[8]

Coins of Pergamum from the imperial period are represented by around 340 different types. Information about various relationships, such as certain events, objects, and connections with other cities such as *homonoia* were presented. During the reign of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, silver cistophori and two bronze denominations were produced (and the following periods were characterised by a greater range of denominations).

[2] Price 1999: 1034; Williams 2000: 827.
[3] Bowersock 1965: 112; Price 1999: 1034; Williams 2000: 827.
[4] Cass. Dio 51.20.9; IGRR 4: 454.
[5] Cass. Dio 51.20.6–7; Burrelll 2004: 59; Kampmann 1998: 385.
[6] Price 1985.
[7] Friesen 1993: 160.
[8] Burrell 2004: 1–3.

Designs on coins focused especially on the imperial succession and *neokoros* temple.[9] In 59 AD coinage was discontinued for the next 24 years, after which various designs, such as gods, cults, heroes, architecture, civic titles, etc. were placed on the coins. From the end of the reign of Caracalla until that of Gallienus, images were concentrated on the effigy of Asclepius or the emperor.[10]

The First *Neokoros*

Pergamum was selected by Augustus for the first time in 29 BC.[11] The temple, dedicated to Roma and Augustus, was proof of the imperial cult in Asia and of a good relationship with the imperial family. Unfortunately, no architectural remains have been found. We have a few types of the effigy of the temple.[12] During this period, silver cistophori and two bronze denominations (19–21 and 17–18mm) were struck in Pergamum. The cistophori depicted the temple of Roma and Augustus and the name as well as the inscription COM ASIAE. A bare head was depicted on the obverse with the legend IMP IX TR PO IV.[13] The next emission repeated these effigies, changing only the number of tribunician control (IMP IX TR PO V).[14] The legends on provincial coins sometimes include the titles of magistrates, such as *strategos*, *grammateus*, or other offices. The name of the city was part of the inscription. This helps in the determination of the proper attribution of the coins, whereas the lack of such information sometimes makes such attribution impossible. During the reign of Augustus and the Julio-Claudian dynasty, names of governors are sometimes included on the coins of Pergamum.[15] The standard type usually depicted on the larger coins was a *neokoros* temple with two, four, or six frontal columns and a statue of Augustus with a spear in his right hand placed between them. During the reign of Augustus, these coins were struck under three administrations: those of Charinos *grammateus* (10–before 2 BC),[16] Kephalion *grammateus* (ca AD 1?)[17] and P. Silvanus *demophon* (ca AD 4 or later).[18] On the leaded bronze coins (RPC I 2358) struck during the administration of the magistrate Charinos, the obverse depicted a laureate head with the title ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ, the reverse a temple with the title indicating the administration control ΧΗΑΡΙΝΟΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΩΝ. The message of the coins to citizens and people coming from other cities clearly emphasised the importance of the

[9] Amandry, Burnett et al. 1992: 378–379, 402; Weisser 2007: 135.
[10] Weisser 2007: 135.
[11] Cass. Dio 51.20.6–9.
[12] Burrell 2004: 17; Weisser 2007: 135.
[13] RPC I 2217; Sutherland group VII B: 479–482.
[14] RPC I 2219; Sutherland group VIII B: 2219.
[15] Amandry, Burnett et al. 1992: 378–379, 400.
[16] RPC I 2358.
[17] RPC I 2362.
[18] RPC I 2364.

city and the authority of the emperor and local administration. Coins lacking the inscription ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ but bearing an effigy can undoubtedly be attributed to this city. The brass coins (RPC I 2362) struck under the magistrate Kephalion, with an obverse bearing the inscription ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ, presented Demos of Pergamum with Demos of Sardis (ill. 1). The reverse depicted a temple with the legend CEBACTON ΚΕΦΑΛΙΟΝ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΩΝ. These effigies are examples of an alliance between two cities and positive connections based on social, economic, and political relations. A. Sheppard supposed that *homonoia* relationships might have been agreements between two communities in conflict. Most alliances were established between rival cities.[19] This world was characterised by its own hierarchy and by cities competing for position and status with others, with the emperor in the centre.[20] Pergamum and Sardis may have quarrelled about the title of *neokoros*.[21] Coins could carry information about peace to the citizens of both cities, emphasising a new relationship. Perhaps this *homonoia* between these two cities had its supporters and opponents among the inhabitants. The legend on the reverse indicated the period when this alliance was reached. The temple was characterise of the mint of Pergamum. On the brass coins of Sardis (RPC I 2988), a bare head was depicted on the obverse with the legend ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. On the reverse were the *Demoi* of Pergamum and Sardis with clasped hands holding a sceptre with the inscription ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΣ, indicating the magistrate of the city (ill. 2). On the brass coins (RPC I 2364), struck when M. Plautius Silvanus was magistrate, the obverse depicted a togate figure identified with the proconsul Silvanus, who is being crowned by a male figure, with the legend ΣΙΑΒΑΝΟΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΟΙ. On the reverse was a temple with the inscription ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ ΔΗΜΟΦΩΝ (ill. 3). The male figure on the obverse could be identified as a god or as the *Demos* of Pergamum; the latter proposition is more likely if we compare other effigies of *Demos*,[22] and the image may represent the people of the city who accepted his administration. The effigy on the reverse presents the main characteristic building in the city and stresses its attribution. The name of the city is presented on the obverse. Coins conveyed information about authority to the citizens and could stress some acceptance of people. This effigy, depicting the important status of Pergamum and showing the appearance of the temple, was copied under the succeeding reigns of Tiberius (the magistracies of A. Fourios and Petronius),[23] Claudius (ill. 4),[24] Nero,[25] Domitian,[26]

[19] Cass. Dio 38.41–45; Sartre 1991: 218; Sheppard 1984–1986: 231, 233.

[20] Price 1984: 239–248; Sartre 1991: 219.

[21] Other the leading cities in the province of Asia: Ephesus, Smyrna, Laodicea; see Sheppard 1984–1986: 234.

[22] Amandry, Burnett et al. 1992: 401.

[23] RPC I 2366, 2369.

[24] RPC I 2370. Commemorative issue struck under Domitian, circa 81–96 AD.

[25] RPC I 2372.

[26] RPC II 918.

Trajan (ill. 5),[27] and Hadrian,[28] as well as other emperors. The representation of the *neokoros* temple suggested prestige and a very important position relative to other cities in the provinces. In the centre of this world was the emperor, who was the patron of city and ensured its benefits.[29] Coins with effigies of the temple bore information concerning a special place considered exceptionally important, and reminded citizens and inhabitants of the province of the value of the city. The temple of Roma and Augustus was an acknowledged symbol of Pergamum. The attribution of coins with these effigies was very clear. This was one of the most popular presentations on the coins of Pergamum.

The Second *Neokoros*

During the reign of Trajan, the city struck bronze coins (RPC III 1701) with the laureate head of Augustus, with a capricorn behind him and the inscription ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗ̄ NOI CEBACTON on the obverse, and a tetrastyle temple with the emperor holding a spear and the legend ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ. The other emissions are very similar, but differ in terms of details such as inscriptions and their form.[30] On some coins the head of Trajan appears instead of that of Augustus, but the reverse still shows the latter's temple.[31] Defining a more accurate chronology for the emission of certain coins during the reign of Trajan is more difficult. The obverse of one of the coins contains a reference to the title *Dacicus*, attributed to Trajan following his peace treaty with Dacia in 102 AD.[32] According to this, the emission was struck after this date. Some of these coins repeated exemplars minted during the reign of Augustus. On the basis of their stylistic features, they have been attributed to the reign of Trajan. Some researchers have interpreted these emissions as the expression of the coexistence of two equal cults, those of Roma and Augustus on one hand and Zeus Philios and Trajan on the other.[33] Augustus permitted one temple of the imperial cult in the city. Pergamum emphesized this title during the reigns of the succeeding emperors.[34] The repetition of coin types from the reign of Augustus is an expression of the still very important imperial cult from this period. The coexistence of the effigy of Augustus next to that of Trajan and the temple of Roma and Augustus could be an earlier announcement of the introduction of another imperial cult in this city. Trajan obeyed earlier laws and did not attempt to repeal them, but rather emphasised new laws. These effigies could be read as a return to the period

[27] RPC III 1701–1703, 1705–1707, 1710, 1716–1717.
[28] RPC III 1739.
[29] Bowersock 1965: 112; Sartre 1991: 219.
[30] RPC III 1702–1703, 1705.
[31] RPC III 1706–1707.
[32] Amandry, Burnett et al. 2015: 792; RPC III 1710.
[33] Amandry, Burnett et al. 1992: 400.
[34] Cass. Dio 59.28.1; Tac. Ann. 4.55–56; Burrell 2004: 23.

of great prosperity and tradition during the reign of Augustus, and thus could be a sign of another abundant period during the reign of Trajan and a kind of legitimisation of his authority in Roman provinces. Trajan respected the customs of provincial inhabitants, as is visible in his letters to Pliny, the governor of Bithynia.[35] The depiction of the temple of Roma and Augustus on the reverse of his coins is an expression of the still great importance of and respect for the cult of the earlier emperor.

The emperor was supposed to choose for his cult a city which had not been yet given this title, but Trajan broke this rule and chose Pergamum again. The exact date is unknown, but perhaps 113/114 or 114/115 AD. Inscriptions introducing a festival in honour of Zeus Philios are attributed mostly to the earlier date.[36] This is possibly the repetition of an activity of Trajan's great predecessor. This relationship was visible on a coin (RPC III 1717) with effigies related to both emperors, depicting the first *neokoros* temple of Roma and Augustus as well as the new temple of Trajan, *Trajaneum*, which was dedicated to Zeus Philios as well.[37] This god may have been a natural choice, as the most important god, and his cult name, *Amicalis* in Latin, stressed patronage and loyalty to the city.[38] A. Iulius Quadratus, the proconsul of Asia and someone very close to the royal family, was responsible for the construction of Trajaneum. He influenced the development of the city and restored many buildings.[39] Pergamum became the first city in the Eastern Roman provinces to receive this prestigious title a second time. On the inscriptions the title of city was changed from 'first, *neokoroi Pergamenes*' to 'first and twice *neokoroi Pergamenes*' (dated between August 114 and February 116 AD).[40] During the reign of Trajan, Ephesus also exchanged its civic title for, simply, *neokoros*. The coins of this city bore the visible abbreviation ΝΕΩ.[41] Coins of Pergamum reflecting this extraordinary honour consisted of four types in three bronze denominations (28–31, 25, and 17–19mm).[42] One of them (RPC III 1716) bears a portrait of the Emperor with the inscription ΑΥΤΟΚ ΚΑΙC ΝΕΡΒΑC ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC ΣΕΒ ΓΕΡΜ ΔΑΚ on the obverse along with the temple of Trajan, Zeus *Philios*, seated, holding the *patera* and sceptre, and the emperor, standing, in military dress, resting on a spear with the inscription ΦΙΛΙΟC ΖΕΥC ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ. The next emission (RPC III 1717) depicted the temple of Zeus *Philios* and Trajan with the legend ΑΥΤ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟ CΕΒ ΠΕΡ ΦΙΛΙΟC ΖΕΥC; on the re-

[35] Plin. Ep. 10.113/114.

[36] CIL III sup 7086; Schowalter 1998: 236.

[37] Amandry, Burnett et al. 2015: 206–207; Burrell 2004: 22–23, 279, 281.

[38] Bonz 1998: 263; Burrell 2004: 23.

[39] IdA no. 20; IGRR 4: 385; Burrell 2004: 22–23, 279, 281; Amandry, Burnett et al. 2015: 206–207.

[40] IGRR 4: 331; Burrell 2004: 28–29.

[41] For the first time *neokoros* was granted by Nero, the second during the Reign of Hadrian; Inscriptions: IvE 2034; IG II^2 3297; Burrell 2004: 66.

[42] Amandry, Burnett et al. 2015: 209.

verse was the temple of Roma and Augustus with the accompanying inscription ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΩ CEBACTO. The attribution of the temple of Augustus emphasised the capricorn in the pediments, a sign of the emperor. The third and fourth emission depicted on the obverse the laureate head of Trajan and the seated figure of Zeus *Philios* (RPC III 1718) or the bare head of the god (RPC III 1719). In comparison to the archaeological remains, the temple was situated on the acropolis of Pergamum. As for the head of Trajan and a part of the head and torso of the statue of Zeus, these statues indeed existed, though their size was exaggerated on the coins; the size of the statues in comparison to the temples reflects their importance. The die makers attempted to depict some differences between the first and second *neokoros*.[43] Coins presented two imperial cults, of equal importance, side by side.[44] For the citizens and inhabitants of the province, this information emphasised the significance of Pergamum. The city had been honoured during the reign of Augustus and was again during the reign of Trajan, as the first city to obtain the same title twice. The coins depicted two temples very characteristic of the city. This may have been a sign of respect for earlier tradition and the existence of the cult of Augustus in the province, as well as an introduction of a new one in a very important centre in Asia, presenting both cults with equal meanings. This effigy confirmed the position presented in the inscription as a first and second *neokoros*. It was as well an expression of the new authority in the Roman Empire. However, in inscriptions from this period, the imperial cult stressing Roma and Augustus is conspicuous by its absence.[45] Instead, the imperial cult of Trajan is emphasised among citizens of Pergamum. The altered titles informed other cities (such as rival Ephesus, which changed its title in this period as well) in the provinces of the primacy of Pergamum. By means of this title, the city emphasised its own priority. Trajaneum was finished in 129 AD under the reign of Hadrian.[46] In this period, only the coins of the magistrate Iulios Polion (ca 134 AD) related to the two *neokoros* temples,[47] emphasising the continued presence of the imperial cults of both emperors (ill. 6). From the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus on, the title *neokoros*, present on the coins of Commodus Caesar, appeared regularly in the legends of the coins of Pergamum.[48]

[43] Burrell 2004: 25, 27; Weisser 2007: 139–140. About architectural remains, see Nohlen 1985: 269–276.
[44] Amandry, Burnett et al. 1992: 400; Schowalter 1998: 237.
[45] Schowalter 1998: 238.
[46] Burrell 2004: 25, 27; Weisser 2007: 139–140.
[47] RPC III 1739.
[48] Burrell 2004: 29.

The Third *Neokoros*

During the reign of Caracalla in 213/214 AD, for the third time, a new *neokoros* temple was dedicated. In this period Caracalla visited Pergamum to receive treatment in the famous healing sanctuary of Asclepius.[49] There is only one inscription which emphasises this third honoured title for citizens.[50] The honour of the third *neokoros* is commemorated on the coins of three *strategoi*.[51] Two types of coins (medallic in size) especially commemorated the third granted *neokoros* and depicted all three temples, side by side, with the wreaths and abbreviations of the imperial names of the emperors with cult statues inside. On the obverse is the laureate head of the emperor with the inscription AVT KPAT K MAPKOC AVP ANTΩNEINOC. Augustus and Trajan in military dress and Asclepius are seated in the centre with the legend EΠI CTP M KAIPEΛ ATTAΛOY ΠEPΓAMHNΩN ΠPΩTΩN Γ NEΩKORΩN. For easier recognition of the temples of particular cults, the pediments bore abbreviations of their names: AYΓ, TPA and AN (ill. 7).[52] An inscription bears a reference to the year of the *strategos* M. Caerelius Attalos. Other bronze coins dated with the years of this *strategos* depicted a temple with a statue inside, on the right, and a togate Caesar standing on the left, holding a scroll, *patera*, and sacrificial animal (ill. 8). The legends, both obverse and reverse, are the same as on the emission with the three temples.[53] On the coins dated with the year of *strategos* Julius Anthimos (struck later than those of Attalos), the emperor, depicted in military dress, hails Tyche of Pergamum. The legends are standard and differ only in terms of the name of the *strategos*.[54] Another coin attributed to these years depicts the laureate head of the emperor on the obverse, with the inscription H ΠPΩTH THC ACIAC KAI MHTPOΠOΛIC ΠPΩTH KAI TPIC NEΩKOROC ΠPΩTH TΩN CEBACTΩN ΠEPΓAMHNΩN ΠOΛIC.[55] From the year of the *strategos* M. Aurelius Alexandros during the time of the third *neokoros* title in Pergamum, only one coin is known *neokoros*. The cult partner of Caracalla was Asclepius, on the basis of the personal history of the emperor, the special cult of this god, and the very important sanctuary located there.[56] It was a great honour for a city to obtain the title of *neokoros* a third time. Coins of Attalos with three temples indicated

[49] Burrell 2004: 30–31.

[50] IvP 525; Burrell 2004: 34.

[51] Burrell 2004: 30–31.

[52] A new catalogue of provincial coins from reign of Caracalla is not published yet (the Roman Provincial Coins Project); descriptions of coins, see 239; Burrell 2004: 30–31; Sear reprinted 1995: 239 (Caracalla no. 2534); Weisser 2007: 137.

[53] BMC 324; SNG Paris 2230; Burrell 2004: 31.

[54] BMC 319; SNG Cop 499.

[55] BMC 318.

[56] Problematic interpretation of Asklepios as a cult partner of Caracalla: Burrell 2004: 31–35; Weisser identified without doubts with Asklepios, see Weisser 2005: 137.

the continuity of tradition. These temples are a confirmation of the acquisition of this title for the third time, by virtue of the presence of two other cults in earlier periods. The temple of Asclepius is situated in the centre of the coin; to the left and right sides are the temples of Roma and Augustus and of Trajan and Zeus Philios. Abbreviations on the pediments indicate the appropriate attribution. This is very purposeful and emphasises which cult was most important during the reign of Caracalla. The other temples constitute the only confirmation of the earlier tradition. The coins of Anthimos with their inscriptions are very important for propaganda, claiming that the city was first among cities and thus emphasising its primacy over other centres in the province. The city, as the first in Asia visited by an emperor, was a very special place.[57] This signified greater benefits for city and citizens. This special honour could bring additional benefits for the *strategoi* whose names were inscribed on the coins. Pergamum struck coins with the inscription 'third time *neokoros*' until the end of the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus.[58]

The very famous motive of the temples depicted on the coins through ca 300 years suggests one of the main ideas of the propaganda disseminated in provincial cities. The title of *neokoros* bestowed greater status on certain cities than on others. This was one of the reasons for the rivalry between cities, and determined benefits for their citizens. Pergamum was a very important city whose inhabitants used, and had tried obtain the title of *neokoros* several times. This city represented a very special status, because the title had been granted three times and was emphasised in epigraphic and numismatic sources. Propaganda could be carried out in three ways. As imperial information, with the patronage of the emperor, it guaranteed special benefits and stressed special positions in the provinces. As local information for citizens it emphasised the primacy of the expression of this cult; the temple was a symbol of this special importance. As provincial information, for other cities it reflected the hierarchy and positive relationships with Roman authority. The propaganda of the imperial cult in Greece was an especially important political phenomenon which was used for benefits and the establishment or improvement of connections with the Roman administration. These assumptions may explain some of the dynamics of the development of the imperial cult. Coinage was an effective way to support propaganda urging loyalty to the emperor and a great carrier of information not only for the citizens of the city and the provinces, but also for the Romans.[59]

[57] Cass. Dio 78.16.7–8 and 78.15.2–7; Hdn 4.8.3.
[58] Burrell 2004: 35.
[59] Price 1984: 79–95; Sartre 1997: 127–132.

Abbreviations

BMC = British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals. *Catalogue of Greek Coins*. London 1892.

RPC I = Amandry M., Burnett A. et al. 1992. *The Roman Provincial Coinage, vol. I: From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC -AD 69).* London/Paris.

RPC II = Amandry M., Burnett A. et al. 1999. *Roman Provincial Coinage, vol. II: From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69–96).* London/Paris.

RPC III = Amandry M., Burnett A. et al. 2015. *Roman Provincial Coinage, vol. III Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian (AD 96–138).* London/Paris.

SNG Cop = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals. Danish National Museum*. Copenhagen 1945.

SNG Paris = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. France. Biblioteque nationale. Cabinet des medailles 5: Mysie.* Paris 2001.

Inscriptions

CIL III sup = Th. Mommsen, O. Hirschfeld, A. Domaszewski (eds.) 1902. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum III Supplementum. Inscriptionum Orientis et Illyrici Latinarum supplementum*. Berolini.

IGRR 4 = *Inscriptiones Graecae Ad Res Romanas Pertinentes Auctoritate Et Impensis Academiae Inscriptionum Et Litterarum Humaniorum Collectae Et Editaae Tomus Quartus*. Vol. IV. Paris 1927.

IG = Kirchner J. (ed.) 1913. *Inscriptiones Graecae 2–3. Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores*. Berlin.

IdA = Habicht C. 1969. *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions. Altertümer von Pergamon 8.3.* Berlin.

IvE = Wankel H. (ed.) 1979–1981. *Inschriften von Ephesos. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 11–17. Bonn.

IvP = Fränkel M. (ed.) 1895. *Inschriften von Pergamon, Altertümer von Pergamon 8.2*. Berlin.

Bibliography

Bonz M. 1998. "Beneath the Gaze of the Gods: The Pergamum Evidence dor Developing Theology of Empire". In. H. Koester (ed.). *Pergamum: Citadel of the Gods. Archaeological Record, Literary Description, and Religious Development*. Harrisburg: 251–276.

Bowersock G. 1965. *Augustus and the Greek World.* Oxford.

Burrell B. 2004. *Neokoroi. Greek cities and Roman Emperors.* Cincinnati Classical Studies, New Series Volume IX. Leiden.

Friesen S. 1993. *Twice Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia, and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family.* Leiden/NewYork.

Kampmann U. 1998. "Homonoia politics in Asia Minor". In. H. Koester (ed.). *Pergamum: Citadel of the Gods. Archaeological Record, Literary Description, and Religious Development.* Harrisburg: 373–394.

Nohlen K. 1985. «La conception d'un project et son évolution: l'example du Trajaneum de Pergame». *Le dessin d'architecture dans les sociétés antiques: Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 26–28 janvier 1984.* Leiden: 269–276.

Price S.R.F. 1984. "Gods and Emperors: the Greek Language of the Roman Imperial Cult". Journal of Hellenic Studies 104: 79–95.

Price S.R.F. 1999. "Neokoros". In. S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth (eds.). The Oxford Classical Dictionary. New York: 1034.

Price S.R.F. 2002. *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor.* Cambridge.

Sartre M. 1997. *Wschód rzymski. Prowincje i społeczeństwo prowincjonalne we wschodniej części basenu Morza Śródziemnego w okresie od Augusta do Sewerów (31 r.p.n.e.-235 r. n.e.).* Translated by S. Rościcki. Wrocław.

Sear D.R. 1995. *Greek Imperial Coins and their values. The Local Coinage of the Roman empire.* London. (reprinted version)

Sheppard A.R.R. 1984–1986. "Homonoia" in the Greek Cities of the Roman Empire". Ancient Society 15/17: 229–252.

Showalter D. 1998. "The Zeus Philios und Trajan Temple: A context for imperial Honors". In. H. Koester (ed.). *Pergamum: Citadel of the Gods. Archaeological Record, Literary Description, and Religious Development.* Harrisburg: 233–250.

Sutherland C.H.V. 1970. *The Cistophori of Augustus.* London.

Weisser B. 2007. "Pergamum as Paradigm". In. A. Burnett, V. Heuchert, C. Howgego (eds.). *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces.* Oxford: 135–142.

Williams J. 2000. "Neokoros". In. H. Cancik, H. Schneider (eds.). *Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*. Band 8. Stuttgart/Weimar: 827.

Illustrations

1. Pergamum, Mysia. Augustus. 1 BC-AD 1. AE20, 5.57 g, RPC I 2362; SNG France 2022–2026
Homonoia of Sardes and Pergamum.
Obv. ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ, Demos of Pergamum standing facing right, being crowned by Demos of Sardis standing facing left
Rev. CEBACTON ΚΕΦΑΛΙΟΝ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΩΝ, Distyle temple with statue of Augustus standing facing, holding scepter
© Wildwinds.com

2. Sardes, Lydia. Augustus. 31 BC-14 AD. AE, RPC 2988; Imhoof Monn. Gr. 32; BMC Mysia 213; SNG Cop 545
Homonoia of Sardes and Pergamum.
Obv. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ, bare head right
Rev. ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ-ΜΟΥ-ΣΑΙ-ΟΣ, Demos, naked to waist, standing right, holding sceptre in left hand, offering right hand to Demos of Pergamum (or emperor) who is standing left in short tunic and mantle, holding transverse sceptre
© Wildwinds.com

3. Pergamum, Mysia. Augustus. 4–5 AD. AE18, BMC Mysia, no. 242 and plate XXVIII, 5; RPC I 2364; Sear SGI 50; SNG France 2016; Voegtli, FvP 30, 337
Obv. ΣΙΔΒΑΝΟΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΟΙ, Statue of Augustus standing in tetrastyle temple
Rev. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ ΔΗΜΟΦΩΝ, Demos of Pergamum standing left, crowning the Proconsul M Plautius Silvanus
© Wildwinds.com

4. Pergamum, Mysia. Claudius, Commemorative issue struck under Domitian, ca. 81–96 AD. AE18, 5.20 g, RPC 2370cf
Obv. Bare head right
Rev. Tetrastyle temple enclosing statue of Augustus
© Wildwinds.com

5. Pergamum, Mysia. Trajan. 98–117 AD. AE17, 3.19g, SNG Copenhagen 474; SNG von Aulock 7502; SNG BN 2064 (same obv. die)
Obv. Laureate and draped bust right
Rev. Tetrastyle temple with statue of emperor within
© Hdrauch.com

6. Pergamum, Mysia. Hadrian (Pollion strategus). Ca. 134 AD. AE20, 3.64 g. SNG France 2063; SNG Copenhagen 478; RPC III 1739
Obv. TRAIANOC (ЄΠΙ) CTP (I) ΠΩΛΛΙΟΝΟC Tetrastyle temple with statue of Trajan standing facing, holding scepter
Rev. AYTYCTOC ΠЄΡΓA, Tetrastyle temple with statue of Augustus standing facing, holding scepter; in pediment, capricorn right
© Cngcoins.com

7. Pergamum, Mysia. Caracalla. 198–217 AD. AE Medallion of 12 Assaria, 47.97 g, SNG France 5, 2229 (same dies); BMC Mysia pg. 156, 327
Obv. AVT KPAT K MA-PKOC AVP ANTWNEINOC, laureate and cuirassed bust right, cuirass ornamented with a gorgoneion
Rev. ЄΠΙ CTP M KAIPЄΛ ATTALOV ΠЄΡΓAMHNΩN ΠPOTΩN Γ NЄΩKOPΩN, three neocorate temples, the central one in elevation, with statue of Zeus Ateophoros, the two side tetrastyle temples in perspective
© Cngcoins.com

8. Pergamum, Mysia. Caracalla. 198–217 AD, under the magistracy of M. Kairellius Attalos, 214. AE43, 8 Assaria, 46.14 g, BMC 324; SNG Paris 2230 (same dies)
Obv. ΑΥΤΚΡΑΤ Κ ΜΑΡΚΟC ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC Laureate bust of Caracalla to right, wearing cuirass ornamented with the head of Medusa
Rev. ΕΠΙ CΤΡ Μ ΚΑΙΡΕΛ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥ / ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ Γ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ On the right, temple of Asklepios to left, with the god seated left within the central intercolumniation; before it to left, ax-wielding priest about to sacrifice a humped bull, standing left before Caracalla standing right, togate and pouring a libation over the bull's head
© Cngcoins.com

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

Maciej Wacławik

Institute of Archaeology
Jagiellonian University in Krakow
maciej.waclawik@gmail.com

A COIN OF JEWISH REBELS FROM THE PAPHIAN AGORA

Abstract: *When we look at the surfaces of ancient coins, it is generally obvious that they represent legal authority. However, this is not always true, as in the example of coins of the First Jewish War against Rome, minted by local authorities rebelling against their Roman occupiers. These emissions presented slogans of political freedom as well as of religious redemption, written in paleo-Hebrew script and referring to the Unified Kingdom of David. They were minted in silver to emphasise the independence of the rebels, and in bronze to obtain the widest possible circulation. Interestingly, these issues can be found not only in Judea, but also in other locations, such as Nea Paphos, where one prutah of the second year was found during the excavations of the Paphos Agora Project.*

Keywords: *Jewish First War, symbolic meaning, propaganda, Jewish coinage*

Nobody needs to be convinced that coinage was used as a tool to spread ideas. From the very beginning, symbols and legends related to the authority of governors, their rights and sovereignty, were minted on the surfaces of coins. These symbols, easily recognised by the user or owner of any coin, proclaimed the ideas of their minters in everyday life. The same assumptions were made by the Jewish minters in the times of the First Jewish War who produced these small propaganda tools. One of their coins was found during the Season 2011 of the Paphos Agora Project, a Jagiellonian University archaeological excavation of the agora of Nea Paphos, Cyprus.[1]

Historical background

It is always difficult to determine the reasons things happen, and this applies to the beginning of the First Jewish War against Rome. According to Flavius Josephus,[2] the war began due to the ethnic and religious problems of the Jewish community from Caesarea Maritima under the procurator Florus.[3] Moreover, members of this community believed,

[1] The project in years 2011–2014 was granted by Narodowe Centrum Nauki (NCN – National Science Centre, Poland), grant OPUS NCN 2011/01/B/HS3/01282, from 2015 is granted by grant MAESTRO NCN 2014/14/A/HS 3/00283.

[2] BJ 2.280–410.

[3] Byra 2011: 35; Ciecieląg 2011: 379–382.

in accordance with the Jewish way of thinking, that with the help of their God, their only ruler, they could defeat any enemy irrespective of its power. This belief had been strengthened by the victory of the Maccabees over the Seleucid Empire and by the apocalyptic ideas current in the first century AD. As well, the economic status of many people did not contribute to stabilising the situation, but rather led to an increase in the level of banditry.[4] Many self-styled prophets and messiahs exploited the situation and called for an uprising against the Roman invaders. More fuel was added to the fire by the terror caused by the activity of the Sicarii, who were assassinating and kidnapping nobles cooperating with the Romans.[5] All of these reasons led to the outbreak of war in the summer of 66 AD.

Coins of the rebels

The war that started in 66 AD was waged on at least two levels. The basic level involved military operations and battles with Roman armies. Also very important were activities involving the dissemination of material, which included the minting of coins to demonstrate the recovery of the Jews' autonomy and their desire for an autonomous nation.[6] As has been suggested by several researchers,[7] the coins of the First Jewish War can be regarded as the first fully independent coinage in Jewish history. The 'Yehud' coins were only satrapal issues, similar to coins from local Ptolemaic mints. Even Hasmonean coinage was minted by high priests and kings under Seleucid control. Later, after the Maccabaean Revolt, the Hasmonean kings, who were not authorised to issue silver coins, minted only small bronze coins, as did Herod the Great. The authorities behind the revolt not only decided to mint coins in silver, but also struck coins of very good quality in order to create a good impression of themselves.[8] Thus, if we regard the minting of coins in silver as a manifestation of independence, we can agree with Hendin's statement that the coinage of the First Jewish War was the first fully independent coinage in the history of the Jews.

Due to a religious prohibition against making an 'image or picture of anything in heaven or on the earth or in the waters under the earth',[9] Jews could not present any people or living creatures on their coins. Thus they adopted symbols originally used by the Greeks and Romans, such as cornucopias, anchors, vessels, and floral motifs. In the very beginning, many of these, such as the cornucopia, had 'pagan' religious connotations. Here it is worth considering how much of this primaeval meaning was still known to the users of these coins. It is probable that by the first century AD the images

[4] Byra 2011: 12–22.
[5] Horslay 1979: 439.
[6] Roth 1962: 34; Hendin 2012: 142.
[7] Ibidem: 123.
[8] Ibidem: 140.
[9] Ex 20,4; Deut 5,8.

had lost their religious meanings and presented only symbolic significance (cornucopia = wealth and prosperity). Their use by Jewish authorities and minters enables us to assume a non-religious interpretation.

Two very important questions related to these coins are still unanswered: who minted them and where the minting was done. After analysing the legends on their surfaces, it is possible to offer a few ideas. All of them were inscribed in paleo-Hebrew, a language that had not been in use for several hundred years prior to the beginning of the war;[10] only the Temple aristocracy, priests, and scribes were able to use it.[11] At this time, though the paleo-Hebrew script was used, very few legends with nationalistic connotations were written in it.[12] On the other hand, most of the inhabitants of Judaea were illiterate, so the use of paleo-Hebrew presented no greater problem for them than Greek or Aramaic inscriptions; the oral tradition of transmitting verbal information probably supplemented the incomprehensible written messages.[13] The inscriptions also refer to Jerusalem; thus some researchers[14] suggest that the mint may have been located there. It is more likely that these inscriptions refer not to the minting location but to a more ideological significance. For the Jews, their capital was very important, not only for political reasons, but also because it was the only place chosen by God for the construction of the Temple and the offering of sacrifices. In many psalms[15] and hymns the Jews pray for its prosperity and 'seek its good'. It was the spiritual heart of the whole nation and possessed many theological connotations. As Goodman[16] has suggested, Jerusalem may have represented a new political entity. It should also be remembered that Jerusalem was very important in messianic theology and ideology.

As stated by Deutsch,[17] three types of inscriptions were used on the coins. The first encompasses religious messages and ideological slogans referring to the holy city and to the idea of redemption. The second type expresses a revival of ideas from Biblical times through the renewed usage of terms such as *Israel* or *shekel*. *Israel*, especially, had great meaning for the rebels, because it referred to the era of kings who had ruled independently over them. King David was also a symbol of the messiah, a good king and high priest who would liberate the Israelites from the Roman occupation. *Israel* also recalled the times of Moses, when the Twelve Tribes left Egypt and began to be integrated into a nation. The third type of inscription, counting the years from the

[10] Hendin 2012: 131.
[11] Deutsch 2012: 113.
[12] Naveh 1987: 119.
[13] Goodblatt 2006: 33.
[14] Mildenberg 1984: 61–62; Hendin 2012: 127.
[15] E.g. Ps 122,9; 128,5.
[16] Goodman 2007: 14.
[17] Deutsch 2012: 116.

beginning of the revolt, may also refer to the same period. It appears as if the minting authority wished to proclaim a new era of freedom and liberation. These inscriptions may recall the words of Exodus: 'Let this month be to you the first of months, the first month of the year'.[18] Just as in the days of Moses this 'new beginning of time' initiated the era of freedom from Egyptian slavery, in the times of the War it indicated a new period of independence. Thus it may also imply a relationship with the Passover tradition so important to Jewish identity. It is worth mentioning that the same idea was used by minters in the times of Bar Kokhba, who also started to count the time from the beginning of the revolt.[19]

The coin from the Paphian Agora

Coin PAP/FR 31/2011 is a *prutah*. This term is used in later rabbinic books to identify small bronze coins and has also been applied to earlier periods.[20] The *prutah* was an equivalent of the Seleucid *chalkous*, worth one pomegranate. It is also related to the 'widow's mite' known from the Gospels.[21]

Researchers have been discussing the meaning of the amphora and vine leaf presented on the surfaces of this coin for many years. Both of these symbols were also used on earlier Roman coins, e.g. the issue of Valerius Gratus, and both possess an imperial meaning.[22] It is an interesting question why local authority, fighting against Roman occupancy, decided to use the same symbols. Meshorer[23] has suggested that the amphora from the rebel coins is different in terms of style from the Graeco-Roman models presented on the coins of Gratus. In his opinion, it represents the antithesis of the Roman symbol, which was related to the deified emperor and his family: the Jewish version symbolised the sacred libation of wine in the Temple. This interpretation also is supported by coins of Year Three, on which the amphora is covered with a lid; in Mishnaic sources, it is mentioned that only water and wine needed to be covered.[24] The vine leaf also suggests a relationship to the Jewish liturgy, in which grapes and wine were very important.[25] It is also worth mentioning that the vine also possesses a Biblical meaning. From the times of the prophet Isaiah, the vineyard, an ancient symbol of love, also symbolised the whole nation of Israel, which 'brought forth wild grapes' to the owner who took care of it.[26] This symbol is also related to the idea of the messiah, who would

[18] Ex 12,2.
[19] Deutsch 2012: 121.
[20] Hendin 2009: 106; Wacławik 2016: 57.
[21] Mk 12, 42; Łk 21, 1–4.
[22] Wacławik 2016.
[23] Meshorer 1982: 112.
[24] Romanoff 1971: 31.
[25] Hendin 2012: 135.
[26] Is 5,1–7.

be 'a rod out of the stem of Jesse,'[27] explaining the meaning of the vine in the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth[28] only a few decades earlier. According to these sources, we can also assume that both the amphora and vine leaf were used on the coins of the First War to emphasise the nationalistic and messianic ideas associated with the recovery of independence.

Like the symbols, the legends also have several possible interpretations. The basic question is whether they are two parts of a single sentence, or two separate sentences. It is possible to read them together as 'Year Two of the Freedom of Zion' as is known from coins of Year Four, but the presence of a prefix –לְ (*le-*) suggests the other possibility. As suggested by Deutsch,[29] this change was probably made by a new minting authority, but there is insufficient evidence to support this theory. Regardless of whether the two sentences are read together or separately, the slogan bears the same connotations. 'Year Two' relates to the new beginning discussed in the previous part of the article. The word *Zion* refers to Mt Zion, where the Temple was built, or, in a broader sense, to the holy city of Jerusalem.[30] Even in ancient times, in the prophecies of Zechariah,[31] *Zion* had been mentioned interchangeably with *Jerusalem*. This relationship, mentioned even in the modern anthem of Israel,[32] was evident in the time of the rebels, as we can see in Gospels, which were written during that period. Their authors used this phrase in relation to Jesus of Nazareth and his entry to the city.[33] Jerusalem itself was the spiritual and religious centre of the Jewish nation[34], the place chosen by God from the very beginning of Jewish history for sacrifices made to Him. In those hills Abraham had been obliged to sacrifice his son;[35] the Temple had been built there; and in this area David had decided to establish the capital of his kingdom. Because of this, the city, especially Mt Zion itself, was also a messianic symbol and the place where the new order would be established at the end of days. This impression was reinforced by the use of the term *freedom*, which was related not only to political liberty but also to the messianic vision of redemption at the end of days as well as to purity and holiness, which were to be the basis of that freedom.[36]

---

[27] Is 11,1.
[28] E.g. J 15,1–11.
[29] Deutsch 2012: 124.
[30] Goodblatt 2006: 202; Deutsch 2012: 119.
[31] Za 9,9.
[32] *אֶרֶץ צִיּוֹן וִירוּשָׁלַיִם* (The land of Zion and Jerusalem).
[33] Mt 21:5; J12:15.
[34] Deutsch 2012: 119.
[35] Gen 22.
[36] Kanael 1953: 20; Hengel 1989: 118–122.

The way to the Agora of Nea Paphos

How it is possible that such an anti-Roman coin was found in an area quite far from the rebellious area, especially when we remember that rebel currency was illegal in the Roman Empire? It is possible that such a small coin was passed from hand to hand by merchants who were insufficiently careful about what they carried in their pockets. This theory is also supported by the finding of a similar coin in the House of Dionysus, which is believed to have been a palace for the Roman governor of Cyprus.[37] On the other hand, we know that coins of the Bar Kokhba Revolt were treated as mementoes for patriotic Jews and used as jewellery.[38] It is possible that something similar was done with earlier coins, especially if we take into account that coin hoards containing coins of both the First War and Bar Kokhba Revolt have been found in Te'omim Cave in the hills of western Jerusalem and in Horvat 'Ethri in the Judean Shephelah.[39] It can be assumed that a few rebels found refuge in the Jewish community in Paphos, bringing with them a small reminder of their dream of freedom that had been crushed along with the Temple by the eagles of Rome.

Bibliography

Byra M. 2011. *Powstanie w Judei 66–74 n.e.* Zabrze.

Ciecieląg J. 2011. *Żydzi w okresie drugiej świątni 538 przed Chr. – 70 po Chr.* Kraków.

Deutsch R. 2012. "The coinage of the Great Jewish Revolt against Rome: Script, Language and Inscriptions". In. D.M. Jacobson and N. Kokkinos (eds.). *Judaea and Rome in Coins 65 BCE – 135 CE. Paper Presented at the International Conference Hosted by Spink, 13th -14th September 2010.* London: 113–122.

Goodblatt D. 2006. *Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism.* Cambridge.

Goodman M. 2007. *Rome and Jerusalem: The Clash of Ancient Civilizations.* New York.

Hendin D. 2009. „The Metrology of Judean Small Bronze Coins". American Journal of Numismatics 21: 105–121.

Hendin D. 2012. "Jewish Coinage of the Two Wars: Aims and Meaning". In. D.M. Jacobson and N. Kokkinos (eds.). *Judaea and Rome in Coins 65 BCE – 135 CE. Paper Presented at the International Conference Hosted by Spink, 13th -14th September 2010*. London: 145–162.

Hengel M. 1989. *The Zealots, Investigation into the Jewish Freedom Movement in the Period from Herod I Until 70 A.D.* Edinburgh.

Horslay R. A. 1979. "The Sicarii: ancient jewish "terrorists". The Journal of Religion 59: 435–458.

Kanael B. 1953. "The Historical Background if the Coins Year Fourth of the Redemption of Zion". Bulletin of the American Schoools of Oriental Research 129: 18–20.

Meshorer Y. 1967. *Jewish Coins of the Secon Temple Period.* Tel Aviv.

Meshorer Y. 1982. *Ancient Jewish Coinage Volume II: Herod the Great Through Bar Cochba.* Dix Hill, New York.

Mildenberg L. 1984. *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War.* Salzburg.

[37] Nicolau 1990: 84.

[38] Meshorer 1982: 162–163.

[39] Zissu and Hendin 2012.

Naveh J. 1987. *Early History of the Alphabet: An Introduction to West Semitic Epigraphy and Palaeography, 2nd ed.* Jerusalem.

Nicolau I. 1990. *Paphos II – The coins from the House of Dionysos.* Nicosia.

Romanoff P. 1971. *Jewish Symbols on Ancient Jewish Coins.* New York.

Roth C. 1962. "Historical Implication on Jewish Coinage of the First Revolt". Israel Exploration Journal 12.1: 33–46.

Wacławik M.T. 2016. „Prutah Waleriusza Gratusa z agory Nea Paphos". In. B. Zając, A. Jurkiewicz, P. Koczwara, S. Jellonek (eds.). *Pecunia Omnes Vincit. Moneta mie jsco wa i obca w starożytności i średniowieczu. Materiały pokonferencyjne z I Ogólnopolskiej Studencko-Doktoranckiej Konferencji Numizmatycznej Kraków, 23–24 maja 2014*. Kraków: 56–62.

Zissu B. and Hendin D. 2012. "Futher Remarks on Coins in Circulation during the Bar-Kokhba War: Te'omim Cave and Horvat 'Ethri Hoards". In. D.M. Jacobson and N. Kokkinos (eds.). *Judaea and Rome in Coins 65 BCE – 135 CE. Paper Presented at the International Conference Hosted by Spink, 13th -14th September 2010*. London: 215–228.

Illustrations
Prutah of Year Two (67 AD), AE, 17,08 mm; 2,7g; Meshorer 1967, p. 153
Inv no. FR 31/2011, Trench II, Context 103
Obv. Amphora. Paleo-Hebrew legend: Year Two. Surface worn out
Rev. Vine leaf. Paleo-Hebrew legend: Freedom of Zion. Surface worn out.

Photo by M. Iwan, the Paphos Agora Project archive

Cesarano Mario[a], **Fabbri Eelettra**[b], **Forlani Giorgio**[c], **Garagnani Gian Luca**[b,d]

[a]Archaeological Heritage of Emilia Romagna
[b] Department of Engineering, University of Ferrara
[c]University of Ferrara
[d] A. Daccò Corrosion and Metallurgy Study Centre, University of Ferrara
giorgio.forlani1990@tiscali.it

ALBERONE DI RO'S NUMISMATIC FINDS: ICONOGRAPHY, METALLURGY AND MICROSTRUCTURE INTERPRETATIONS

Abstract: *Eleven coins and one medal were discovered at the Roman archaeological site of Alberone di Ro near Ferrara (Italy), and three others during neighbouring field surveys. The aim of this study was their chemical and microstructural characterisation aimed at obtaining information about the period of the coinage. Grazing light was used to obtain information about iconography. Alloy components and corrosion products were analysed using scanning electron microscopy (SEM) equipped with energy dispersive spectroscopy (EDS) and X-ray diffraction (XRD). Microstructural research was conducted with cross-section samples of coins without iconographies. The iconographies revealed that many of the coins found at the archaeological site were minted between the first and second century AD. Metallographic analysis revealed that the coins were made from copper alloys, many of which are characterised by high lead content and various soil interactions. The result of sample cross sections showed that the archaeological finds of Alberone di Ro are different from those of the neighbouring field surveys and may be related to different periods. These findings were made within the framework of a research project that aims to expand our knowledge of the Roman presence in the territories of the Po delta and the spread of the monetary economy in a rural area between the urban centres of Hatria and Ravenna.*

Keywords: *Alberone, Roman, coins, metallurgy, microstructure*

Introduction

In this context, new evidence will be presented from numismatic finds at the Roman archaeological site of Alberone di Ro, near Ferrara (Italy), located south of the Po River between regions VIII and X. Between 2009 and 2014, archaeologists found fourteen coins and one medal, many of which have lost all traces of figures and legends, while others are characterised by very few original features of the coinage. Coins 2 and 3 were half pieces; coin 8 was a fragment (1/3); the other coins and medal were whole pieces, but their condition in terms of corrosion was very poor. All of the following methods were

used to help the authors to acquire information about the coinage period; as for corrosion, it will not be discussed further here. Thus, some information about the history of archaeometallurgical investigations of ancient Roman coins will be presented in order to better define the methods described in the subsequent chapter. Many authors have considered the alloy composition of archaeological coins of the republican and early imperial periods, showing the variability of composition.[1] The gradual replacement of bronze in the second century AD with a brass *orichalcum* alloy was shown recently.[2] It was also confirmed that brass and copper alloys were used in the major part of early imperial coinage.[3] In this period, the microstructures of official and auxiliary coinage are characterised by mainly grain or deformed structures, typical of mechanical work, while provincial or late republican coins are characterised by dendritic or molten structures.[4] In another study, republican *asses* from excavations in Pompeii are characterised by an exterior composition of copper with high lead content.[5] The aims of the overall project are various, but all are related to greater comprehension of monetary distribution in the territory and of soil interactions bearing on archaeological copper-based patinas, as well as of microstructural and compositional differences between alloys from the eastern area of Ferrara from the late Roman republican to the imperial period.

Materials and methods

Various analytical methods were employed. Impressions of figures and legends were examined from original coinage. Preliminary observations of archaeological patinas were carried out using a stereomicroscope. Exterior corrosion products were analysed using electronic microscopy (SEM-EDS). Cross samples were made for coins lacking traces of figures or legends in order to determine the semi-quantitative composition of the core alloy. Then, information regarding microstructure was acquired using a metallographic optic microscope. Finally, mineralogical composition was analysed using diffractometry (XRD).

Original coinage identification

Coin 4

Antoninus Pius, AE As, date of struck coin: 148–161 AD; 26 mm, 7,1 g.

Obv: Portrait of the Emperor *Antoninus Pius* turned to the right.

Rev: Naked *Nike* turned to the right; principal support is on the right leg; the left leg is placed further back. Right arm raised, probably holding a crown that is not clearly visible.

[1] For little introduction in history of archaeometallurgical analysis with Roman coins, see Caley 1964: 1–115; Crawford 2001: 569–577.

[2] Campanella 2009: 2183–2191.

[3] Asolati 2009: 317–364.

[4] Calliari 1999: 86–90; Calliari 2011: 9–18; Fabbri 2012.

[5] Alesiani 2011: 1–14.

BMC 34.[6]

(Fig. 1)

Coin 10

Livia Drusilla, AE Dupondius minted in Rome, date of struck coin: 22–23 AD; 29 mm, 12,3 g.

Obv: Female portrait turned to the right, with diadem. *Livia Drusilla,* wife of *Augustus. Iustitia* titled on the inferior exergue.

Rev: SC (initials of *Senatus Consultum*) and illegible legend on the edge.

RIC I, 96, n. 46.

BMC 79.

(Fig. 2)

Medal Uncertain, 23mm, 2.27 g

Medal, uncertain date of struck, 23 mm, 2,27 g.The medal is pierced with three holes that probably served to connect the piece with its counterpart or organic material such as wood or leather.[7] Its shape is similar to the *Patavium* and *Hatria* medals dated to the first and second centuries AD,[8] but its dimensions are similar to the finds of the second and third centuries AD.[9] This is actually a unique piece by virtue of its internal legend; it may refer to a personal or divine name, *Anna Perenna*, but as yet no interpretation has been accepted as certain.

(Figs. 3–4)

Electronic microscopy SEM-EDS

Archaeological patina

Stereomicroscopic observations of coin 2 revealed white and green corrosion products different from the others. SEM-EDS analysis highlighted a substantial presence of tin and lead oxide, very similar to republican *asses*.[10] Zinc was identified in coin 7, thus this coin is composed of a brass alloy. Coin 4 contains different trace elements; thus, it may derive from a completely different microenvironment than the other coins. (Fig. 5)

Alloy composition

Cross samples for coins 2, 3, and 7 were made for the purpose of semi-quantitative compositional analysis of the alloy core. Indeed, brass is the alloy used in coin 7, but a bronze alloy was identified in coins 2 and 3 (Fig. 8). Coin 2 reveals the presence of

[6] Iconography is close to BMC 34 but its dimensions and shape are different. With its critical conditions and different dimension it is uncertain the attribute of this coin to its mint production.

[7] Sebesta Bonfante 1994.

[8] Zampieri Lavarone 2000.

[9] Szilágyi 2005.

[10] Alesiani 2011: Coin C1–41.

lead in the exterior layer (Fig. 9) and isolated lead inclusions from the alloy core which had not been found previously via SEM analysis (Fig. 10). A lead sulphide, galena, was found in coin 3 (Fig. 11). This mineral was frequently used from the republican to the imperial period; probably in this case it is a republican coin.

Optic microscopy for cross samples

Chemical etching made with ferric chloride yielded varied information. Dendritic structures were found in coins 2, 3, and 8, typical of molten bronze coins (Figs. 12–16). In particular, the structures of coins 2 and 8 are very similar. Three main structures were found in coin 7 (Fig. 17):

1. a molten brass structure with different cooling temperatures;
2. a grain structure typical of coin hammering work;
3. an acicular interphase between the two previous structures.

A variety of metallurgical processes probably caused the variability in this coin's structure.

Diffractometric analysis

Diffractometric analysis was carried out on coins 4, 10, 11, and 12 as well as the medal. All of these coins reveal oxidation processes typical of wet and airy soil rich in carbon dioxide.[11] Coin 4 and the medal may be composed of a bronze or copper alloy with high lead content. Coins 10, 11, and 12 also contain smithsonite, a zinc carbonate deriving from the original brass composition.

Conclusions

Coins 2 and 3 are characterised by dimensions and structures similar to late-republican half-piece *asses*. Especially, coin 2 could be a late-republican fragmented *suberatum*. Coin 4 is a copper/bronze *as* from 138–161 AD. Coin 7 is an early imperial brass *dupondius* flan with an unusual partially minted structure, probably because it was first melted, then hammered (not uniformly), and finally heated again. Coin 8 may be a fragmented (1/3) early imperial bronze *sestertius*. Coins 10, 11, and 12 are characterised by composition typical of early imperial coinage; furthermore, coin 10 has been identified as an official *dupondius* brass coin minted in Rome in 22–23 AD. The medal was dated as probably being from the late first to second century AD. Not all of the coins were analysed in the same way, so this represents only a small amount of work for the eastern area of Ferrara; following these initial results, other coins require further analysis. All figures credits belongs to Archaeological Heritage of Emilia Romagna and University of Ferrara.

[11] Borrelli 2005: 67–76; Mazzeo 2005: 29–44.

Abbreviations

RIC I: Sutherland C.H.V., Carson R.A.G. 1984. *The Roman Imperial Coinage. Vol. 1: From 31 BC to AD 69*. London.

BMC: Mattingly H. 1923. *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*. Vol. 1. London.

Bibliography

Alesiani M., Felici A.C., Ferro D., Gigante G.E., Pardini G., Piacentini M., Pronti L., Santarelli M.L., Tarquini O. 2011. "Analisi non distruttive e micro-distruttive di patine presenti su monete di epoca romana in leghe a base di rame". IX ed. Giornate Nazionali sulla Corrosione e Protezione. Roma. [accessed 20 January 2015] http://www.academia.edu/4959459/Analisi_non_distruttive_e_micro

Asolati M., Calliari I., Conventi A., Crisafulli C. 2009. "Le emissioni provinciali di Traiano per la Cirenaica: Nuove evidenze dalle indagini archeometriche e dall'analisi dei Conii". Rivista italiana di numismatica 110: 317–364.

Borelli L.V. 2005. "Il punto di vista dell'archeologo". In. M. Matteini (ed.). *Le patine, genesi, significato, conservazione*. Firenze: 67–76.

Caley E.R. 1964. *Orichalcum and related ancient alloys: Origin, Composition, and Manufacture, with special reference to the coinage of the Roman Empire*. Numismatic notes and monographs 151. New York.

Calliari I., Magrini M., Martini R., Guerriero P., Zambon A. 1999. "Microstructural and compositional characterization of Roman coins". X-Ray Spectrometry 28: 86–90.

Calliari I., Magrini M., Martini R., Tellini C., Vajna de Pava E. 2011. "Metallurgical and technological investigation on Augustean auxiliary coins from Thraco-Moesia". ArcheoSciences 35: 9–18.

Campanella L., Colacicchi Alessandri O., Ferretti M., Plattner S.H. 2009. "The effect of tin on dezincification of Archaeological copper alloys". Corrosion Science 51/9: 2183–2191.

Coen A. 1998. "Bulle auree dal Piceno nel Museo Archeologico Nazionale delle Marche". Prospettiva 89–90: 85–97.

Crawford M.H. 2001. *Roman Republican Coinage*. Vol. I-II. Cambridge.

Fabbri E., Garagnani G.L., Soffritti C., Volpe L. 2012. *Analisi preliminari di monete romane rinvenute nel settore nord-occidentale della Provincia di Ferrara*. Associazione Italiana di Metallurgia. 34° convegno nazionale AIM. Trento.

Martini R. 2005. "Emissioni tresvirali di Augustus della zecca di Roma: monete centrali, ausiliari e barbariche nell'area della Moesia-Thracia: note preliminari". In. Ministerio de Cultura (ed.). *XIII Congreso Internacional de Numismàtica, Madrid, 2003*. Madrid: 715–726.

Mattingly H., Sydenham E.A., Sutherland C.H.V., Carson R.A.G., Kent J.P.C., Burnett A.M. (eds.) 1994. *Roman Imperial Coinage*. Vol. I-X. London.

Mazzeo R. 2005 "Patine su manufatti metallici". In. M. Matteini (ed.). *Le patine, genesi, significato, conservazione*. Firenze: 29–44.

Scott D.A. 1991. *Metallography and microstructure of ancient and historic metals*. Marina del Rey.

Sebesta J.L., Bonfante L. 1994. *The world of Roman Costume*. Madison.

Szilágyi M. 2005. "Bullae and Tubular Amulet Capsules in the collections of the Aquincum Museum". Budapest Régiségei 39: 151–171.

Zampieri G. Lavarone B. 2000. *Bronzi antichi dal museo archeologico di Padova*. Roma.

Illustrations (photo by author)

1. Coin 4.

2. Coin 10.

3. Medal.

4. Drawing of medal (thanks to Vincenza Morlando).

5. Concentration of elements of archaeological patina for coins 2, 4, 6, and 7 (median values from various numbered specimens, from 3 to 11).

6. Lead morphologic detail from the exterior layer of coin 2.

7. Coin 4, presence of iodine and silver, probably from soil aquifer.

8. Semi-quantitative alloy composition of coins 2, 3, and 7.

9. Backscattering EDS of coin 2, showing the presence of lead in the exterior layer.

10. Lead inclusion in the core alloy of coin 2.

11. Backscattering EDS of coin 3, showing the association Pb-S of galena.

12. Dendritic structure of coin 2.

13. Dendrite detail of coin 2.

14. Dendritic structure of coin 3.

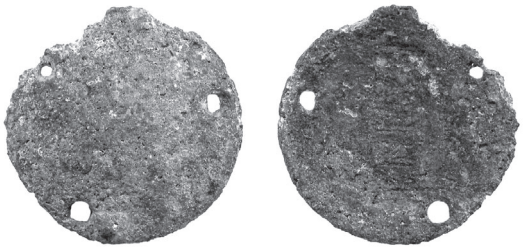
15. Dendritic structure of coin 8.

16. Dendrite details of coin 8.

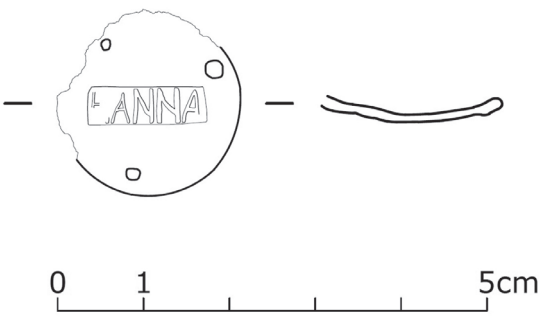
17. Unusual structure of coin 7 (from left, first and second images: brass melted at different cooling temperatures; third image: acicular interphase; fourth image: grain structure).

1

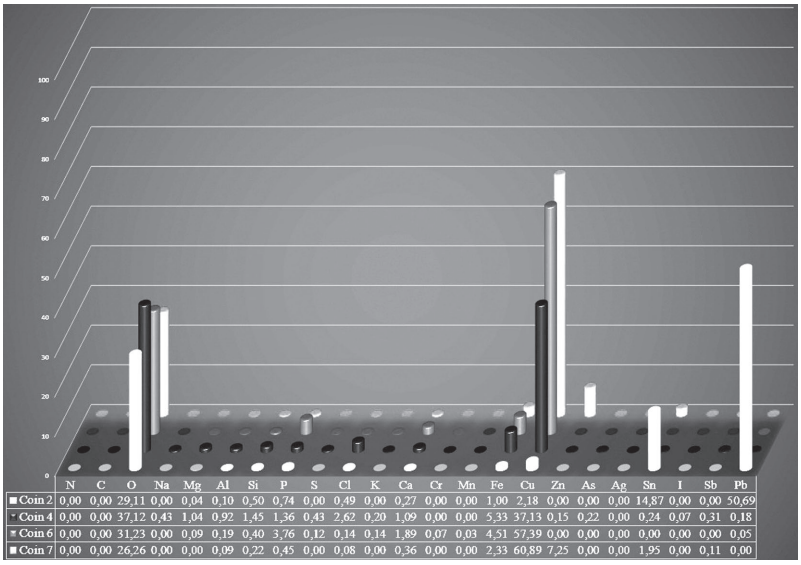
2



3

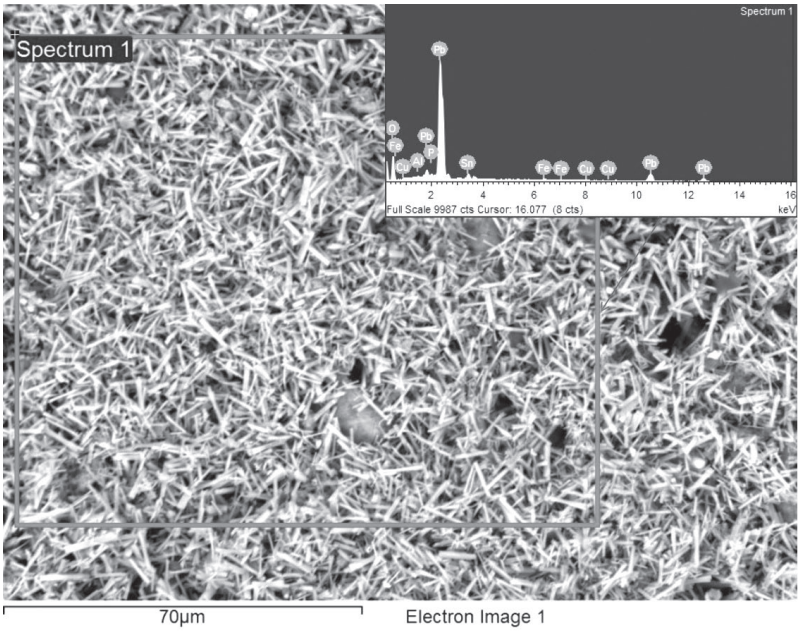


4



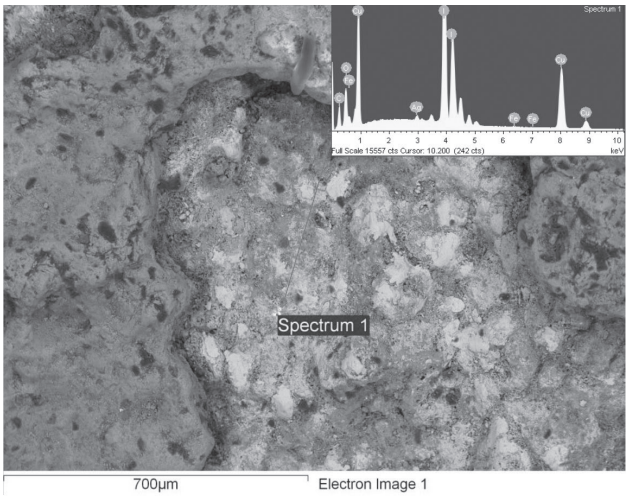
	N	C	O	Na	Mg	Al	Si	P	S	Cl	K	Ca	Cr	Mn	Fe	Cu	Zn	As	Ag	Sn	I	Sb	Pb
Coin 2	0,00	0,00	29,11	0,00	0,04	0,10	0,50	0,74	0,00	0,49	0,00	0,27	0,00	0,00	1,00	2,18	0,00	0,00	0,00	14,87	0,00	0,00	50,69
Coin 4	0,00	0,00	37,12	0,43	1,04	0,92	1,45	1,36	0,43	2,62	0,20	1,09	0,00	0,00	5,33	37,13	0,15	0,22	0,00	0,24	0,07	0,31	0,18
Coin 6	0,00	0,00	31,23	0,00	0,09	0,19	0,40	3,76	0,12	0,14	0,14	1,89	0,07	0,03	4,51	57,39	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,05
Coin 7	0,00	0,00	26,26	0,00	0,00	0,09	0,22	0,45	0,00	0,08	0,00	0,36	0,00	0,00	2,33	60,89	7,25	0,00	0,00	1,95	0,00	0,11	0,00

5



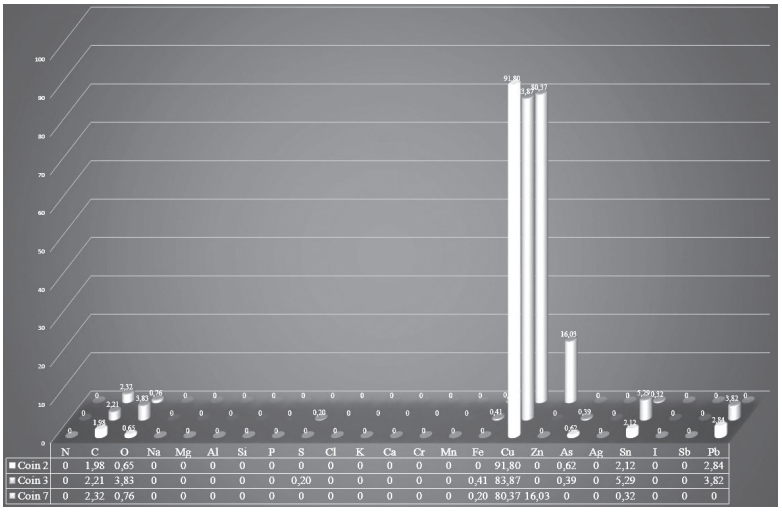
	O	Al	P	Fe	Cu	Sn	Pb
Weight %	25,52	0,19	0,42	0,82	0,90	4,51	67,65

6

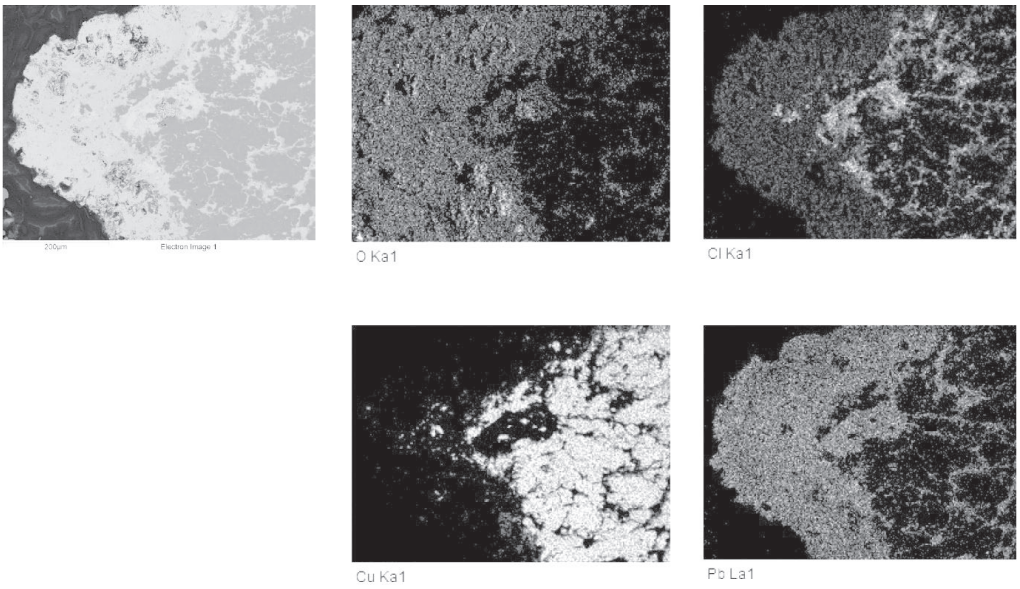


	C	O	Fe	Cu	Ag	I
Weight %	9,43	3,15	0,12	29,28	1,09	56,93

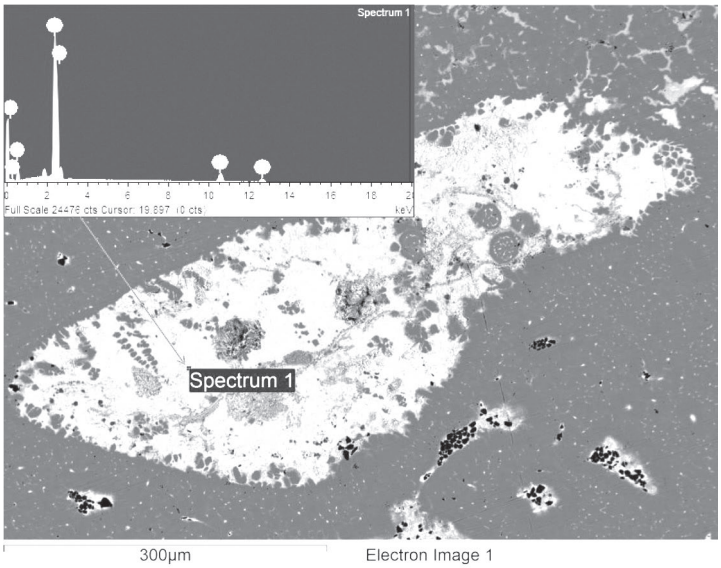
7



8

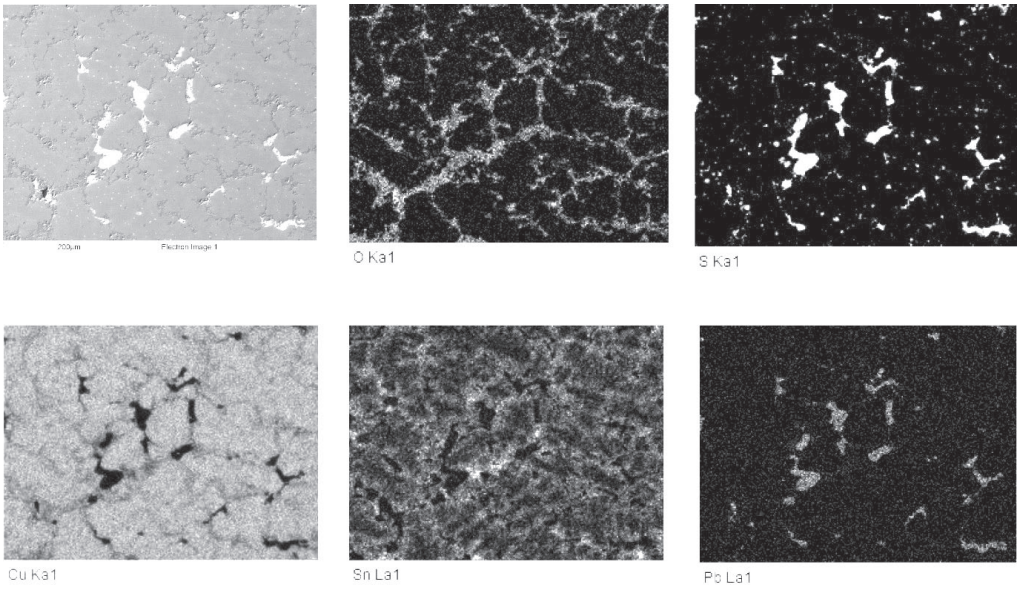


9

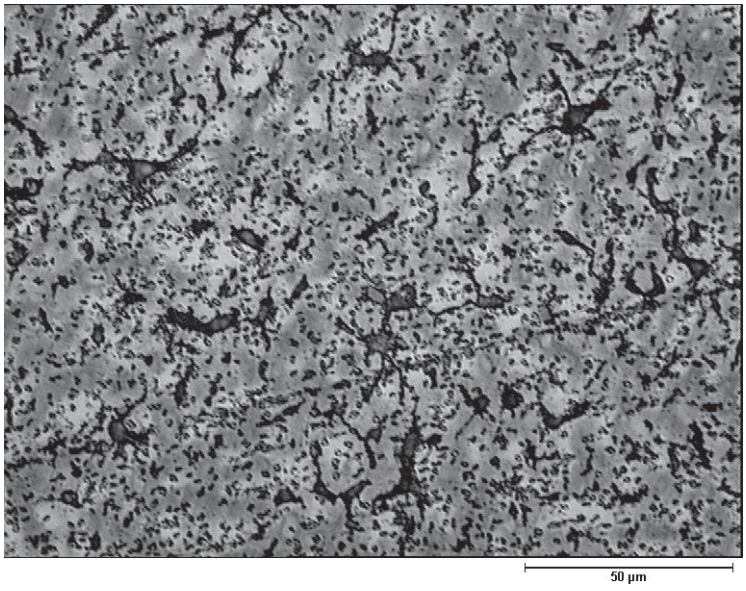


	C	O	Cl	Pb
Weight %	4,91	12,28	2,70	80,11

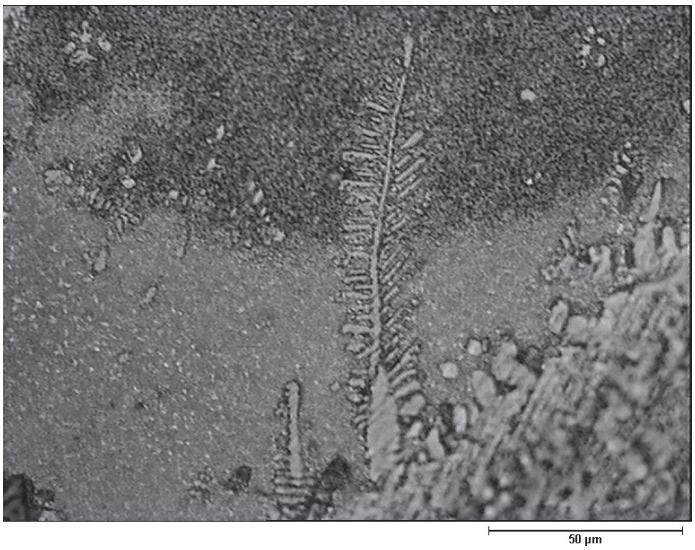
10



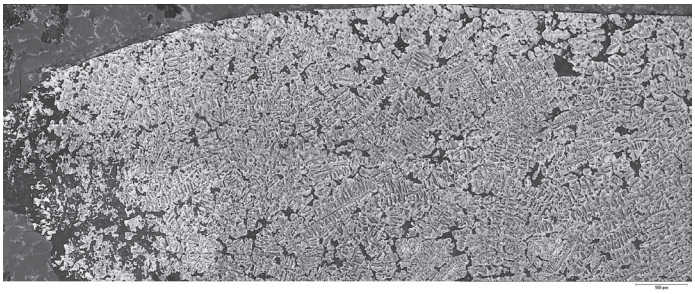
11



12



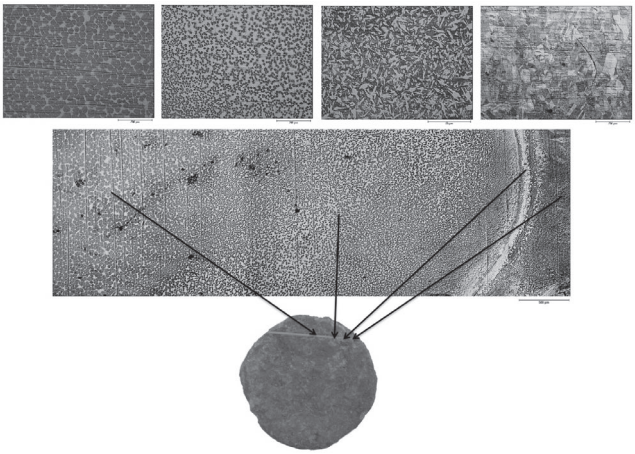
13



14

15

16



17

Alessandro Luciano

Università Suor Orsola Benincasa, Naples, Italy
alessandro.luciano@beniculturali.it

ROMAN COINS FROM A RURAL SETTLEMENT IN CENTRAL ITALY

Abstract: *Archaeological surveys, geophysical prospectings, and the excavation of the SS4 trench (1997) along the Volturno River led to the discovery of a presumed Roman republican vicus that was replaced by a rural villa of the Roman imperial period, abandoned in turn in the second half of the 4th century AD. Subsequently a late-antique settlement developed on the opposite river bank, where the famous early medieval monastery of San Vincenzo was built (ad 703).*

The 70 coins found during the research enabled the dating of the settlement's phases. The aim of my paper is to submit an unpublished catalogue of a group of these coins,[1] *showing what kind of currency circulated in a rural area during the Roman era.*

Keywords: *Roman coins, San Vincenzo al Volturno, vicus, Imperial Age, Late-republican Age*

The archaeological site and the early-mediaeval abbey of San Vincenzo al Volturno

San Vincenzo, located near the source of the Volturno River in central Italy, south-east of Rome, is a very well-known eighth- to eleventh-century abbey, famous for its artwork, workshop finds, and literary output (Map 1). However, our coins were found on the other (right) side of the river at the Roman settlement (Map 2).

According to the twelfth-century *Chronicon Vulturnense*, the Benedictine abbey of San Vincenzo was founded by the Lombardic aristocracy of Benevento. Following Charlemagne's conquest of the Lombard kingdom in the 770s, San Vincenzo al Volturno came under the influence of the Carolingians. Following the Arabian sack, in AD 881, the monastery was restored under the Ottonian kings. However, ca AD 1100, the old monastery was abandoned and the community transferred to the other bank of the Volturno, where a new abbey (San Vincenzo Nuovo) was built.

Excavations have been active at the site since 1980, initially under archaeologists from the University of Sheffield, directed by Professor Richard Hodges.[2] Since 1999,

[1] The catalogue contains only ten coins. The others are not available for research at present.

[2] They discovered the so-called complex of San Vincenzo Minore, with a late antique villa and church structures, monastic spaces (refectory, guesthouse, courtyard, dining room) and workshops (Hodges 1993).

work at the site has been directed by Professor Federico Marazzi (Suor Orsola Benincasa University of Naples).[3]

The right side of the river

On the right side of the river, the English team brought to light a Samnite necropolis, a late-mediaeval abbey, and, most importantly for the present paper, a Roman settlement. In 1997 archaeological surveys, geophysical prospectings, and the excavation of a trench (SS4) led to the discovery of a Roman republican *vicus*.[4] Some masonry structures probably belonged to a square, a public building, and a ditch crossed by a small bridge (Map 3). The *vicus* was replaced by a large rural villa of the imperial period, sparsely decorated and used for production purposes. The building was abandoned intentionally in the second half of the fourth century, and fell to ruins. Subsequently a late-antique settlement developed on the opposite river bank, at the site of the famous early-mediaeval monastery.

Dating of the site: the coins

The 70 coins found during the research have enabled the dating of the phases of the Roman settlement,[5] showing that the rural community grew constantly, with growth peaking in the first half of the fourth century (Ill. 1). These coins comprise: 3 asses of the late republican period; 15 coins, all asses except for a quadrans of the Augustan age; a denarius of Antoninus Pius and a sestertius of Claudius, from the first to the middle of the third century; 11 coins from the second half of the third century, especially antoniniani; 9 fractions of a radiate follis dated to the Tetrarchic age; 25 coins, especially of Constantine, from the first half of the fourth century; 2 coins of Valentinian I and Gratian; 3 illegible coins (Ill. 2).[6]

[3] The recent excavations have uncovered new monastic structures (Marazzi 2014a; Luciano 2008: 14–15). South of the workshops, the magnificent Basilica Maior (ninth century AD) was divided into three naves by granite columns and paved with coloured marble slabs. A richly painted crypt stood under the presbytery (Marazzi 2014b). In the eleventh century, a forebuilding complex was added to the church. Long painted porticoes connected the Basilica to San Vincenzo Minore and bordered a wide quadrangular cloister. Also located in this area was a pseudo-circular bathroom or *lavatorium*, crossed by drains. The nearby monastic kitchens featured ovens, a stove for boiling liquids, and two drainage channels used to carry waste from meal preparation directly into the nearby Volturno. Near the river archaeologists discovered the Carolingian half-timbered docks of the abbey (Marazzi, Luciano 2015).

[4] Gilkes et al. 2006: 91–131; Gilkes, Hodges 2000.

[5] An introduction to the coins of the Roman Age can be found in Barello 2006: 174–206.

[6] Some information about the coins of the SS4 trench can be found in Gilkes et al. 2006: 116–118. Many coins of all ages have been found at San Vincenzo al Volturno, including 132 at the so-called complex of San Vincenzo Minore (Rovelli 2001: 385–390). Some are illegible, but the others date from the second half of the fifth century to the middle of the sixth (late-antique complex). A bronze coin of the third century is related to the Samnite settlement, while a find of 20 nummi (AD 690–720/740) belonged to the first monastery. The coins of the early mediaeval abbey, mostly found at the Basilica Maior, are fewer in

Catalogue of coins: propaganda of the emperors

Here I submit an unpublished catalogue of a group of these coins, representing each of the settlement's phases, showing what kind of currency circulated in a rural area of the Roman era and, most importantly, illustrating how imperial propaganda made use of the coins. Therefore, our finds may be treated as a sample of propaganda, used in antiquity as a source of information by Roman peasants of the villages. Throughout the late Republic and Empire, the achievements of the authorities and emperor were conveyed to the population solely by means of coinage.[7] Coins circulated everywhere, serving to familiarise the *populus* with influential individuals and emperors whom average people would never see in person. Coins also served to convey messages concerning merits, achievements, and changing policies. The images and legends on these coins were of great importance. The legends served to identify the issuer of a given coin, enhancing the legitimacy of the coin's message, as well as conveying a less ambiguous message in text rather than images.

The first bronze coin in the catalogue (19–4 BC) celebrates the public offices of Augustus as Caesar, *Pontifex Maximus*, and *tribunus*. In this period, the power of the Senate was still strong, and the emperor, having inaugurated the *Curia Iulia* in 29 BC, did not wish to appear as a dictator, even though it was actually he who controlled the Roman mints. For this reason, the abbreviation *Senatus consulto* on the reverse, sometimes visible on republican coins as well, is clear and the emperor's head is bare.[8] Also, in the Augustus of Prima Porta (end of the first century BC), in which the emperor's clothing is very elaborate, with decorated cuirass and *paludamentum*, the portrait is simple, realistic, and devoid of crowns. The legend IIIVIR AAAFF referred to Agrippa and the *collegium* of *tresviri aere argento auro*, the magistrates who were responsible for minting. This was another way to mask the acquisition of great powers by Augustus.[9]

As 2 was issued by Caligula, but commemorates the naval victories of the general Agrippa at Mylae and Naulocus against Sextus Pompey and that of Actium against Mark Antony and Cleopatra VII. On the obverse, Agrippa, the founder of the Roman imperial navy, wears the rostral crown, while the reverse depicts the god Neptune, who gave the victory to Augustus and his general. *Senatus consulto* is still visible on both sides of the main figure, but not central. Propaganda was easily spread by coins throughout the Roman Empire, but in Rome itself it was usually conveyed by means of

number but equally heterogeneous. We can cite, for example, two golden tremisses, issued by Byzantine emperor Justinian II and Liutprand, Duke of Benevento. More about the coins of the Middle Ages can be found in Castrizio 2005.

[7] Levick 1982: 104–116.

[8] SC appears only on the asses; thus it is possible that Augustus, who created the trimetallic system, intended to exert total control over the silver and gold issues.

[9] Clark 2010.

great public buildings. When Agrippa served as aedile, for example, he built a temple dedicated to Neptune in the Campus Martius, restored in the Hadrian Age. Small objects such as coins and huge building projects conveyed the same messages.

In the sestertius of Claudius (3), the emperor's head is laureate, as in his statue in Naples belonging to the Farnese Collection.[10] In this case also, we can find a relationship between coins and public memorial buildings.[11] Represented for the first time on a coin, the image of Spes was probably inspired by the statue located in Aedes Spei, which was restored and consecrated again in the Forum Holitorium by Germanicus, brother of Claudius.[12] Personifications of important concepts were usually used to represent imperial families or the *populus* of Rome.[13] *Victoria*, *Salus*, *Fortuna*, *Felicitas*, *Securitas*, and *Indulgentia* are often represented on coins. In the present case, Spes is probably 'Augusta', but is also known as *Spes Populi Romani*, *Bona Spes*, *Spes Publica*, etc.[14]

The head of Marcus Aurelius on Asses 4 and 5 is also laureate. The emperor is bearded, as we can see in the famous equestrian bronze statue from the Capitoline Museum. The personification of the god Tiber on As 4 is very common on the coins of Antoninus Pius[15] and Marcus Aurelius;[16] his position recalls the statue in the Louvre.[17] Probably the reverse celebrates the emperor's works following a disastrous flood of the river.[18] Marcus Aurelius, as his coins showed, was capable of facing natural disasters!

The legend on Coin 5 commemorates the victories of Marcus Aurelius against the Germans and Sarmatians,[19] similarly to the famous triumphal column probably erected after his death, which now stands in Piazza Colonna (Rome). The boat with three rowers probably represents one of the ships used to cross the river at the time of the battles. The Roman soldiers were victorious thanks to the power of their emperor and the help of Neptune.

In the coinage of the Roman Empire, personifications are among the most common iconographies on the coins. The denarius of Caracalla (6) shows the imperial *Liberalitas* holding the cornucopia and, in the right hand, an abacus. The latter was used to count coins and represented the *congiaria*, the donations made by emperors.[20] A typical *congiarium* is illustrated on the arch of Constantine the Great. Roman coins, like modern

[10] Diegi 2015b: 7–17.

[11] The sestertius was made of orichalcum, an alloy of copper and zinc, introduced by Augustus at the time of his monetary reform (Panvini Rosati 1981).

[12] Perassi 1991.

[13] Green 1961: 669–671.

[14] Perassi 1991.

[15] See: RIC 642a and RIC 643.

[16] See: RIC 1142 and RIC 1144.

[17] Diegi 2008: 3–15. For more about the personification of the god Tiber, see Conticello 1966: 790–791.

[18] Bersani, Bencivenga 2001: 7.

[19] McLynn 2009.

[20] Mancini 2011: 11–33.

ones, were small, but could propagate important messages by means of small signs. After all, Caracalla was a true populist: he increased military salaries, built Rome's largest bath, and issued the *Costitutio Antoniniana*, bestowing Roman citizenship on all inhabitants of the Empire. On the obverse, the grim and cruel face of the man who killed his father-in-law Plautianus and brother Geta is quite similar to many other portraits, such as the one in the Vatican Museum.[21]

As 7 was issued by Severus Alexander, known as Pius. The emperor was compelled to face the barbarians on the northern and eastern *limes*; he also introduced some innovations in the military sphere, and restored the ancient cults following the reign of Elagabalus.[22] For all these reasons, it is not surprising to find an advancing Mars Ultor on the reverse of the coin. This depiction recalls the statue of the god in the Capitoline Museum, with spear and shield, dated to the first half of the second century. Alexander was a fighting emperor and his short hair recalls that of soldiers, as we can also see from his marble bust in Florence.

On Coins 8 and 9, the head of Gallienus wears a radiate crown, very common on antoniniani after Caracalla's reign, and already used to distinguish the dupondius from the as.[23] This symbol celebrated the greatness of the emperors, who wanted to show their divine attributes and their conversion to Sol Invictus, whose cult became very popular in the late imperial period.[24] According to sculptural and epigraphic findings, many sanctuaries of this period, such as the Mithraic ones, were associated with the cult of Sol,[25] and usually visited by soldiers. We know of the close relationship between Gallienus, who fought against the Franks and Allemans, and his soldiers. The emperor experienced some conflict with the *senatus*, and it is precisely in this period that SC disappears from the coins' reverse. But Gallienus was also a lover of culture and philosophy, and this passion probably encouraged him to mint many coins with personifications, such as *Libertas* and *Abundantia Augusti*.[26]

Sol Invictus is also represented on Constantine's coins, which, however, are often distinguished by another legend, the *Gloria Exercitus*, meaning the glory of the Army, as we can see on Follis 10. Late antiquity was a very troubled period: the safety of the Empire was threatened by barbarian attacks, and the government of the emperors was often unstable. In this difficult situation, the power of the army increased, and many emperors were chosen by the soldiers from among their own ranks. For these reasons, imperial propaganda gave great importance to the army and minted coins with stand-

[21] Felletti Maj 1959.
[22] Bertrand-Dagenbach 1990.
[23] Diegi 2010: 3–16.
[24] *Idem* 2013: 7–11.
[25] Pavia 1999.
[26] de Blois 1976.

ing soldiers and military standards, celebrating the victories against Licinius.[27] As well, the bust of Constantine is armoured and crowned with a diadem, as the later emperors attempted to enhance their authority through the greatness of their appearance.[28] Like the gods and oriental kings, the emperors are often represented with hieratic faces, as we can see in the famous colossal head of Constantine from the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome. The relationship between Constantine and his soldiers is underlined by the scene of *adlocutio* represented on his triumphal arch in the Roman Forum.

Our follis was minted in Arles, not in Rome. Several different mints were responsible for Constantine's coins at San Vincenzo: apart from Arles, they included Rome itself, Constantinople, Heraclea, and Antioch. They illustrate how the economy of the upper Volturno valley formed part of a network with Mediterranean trade.

Conclusions

The coins from the SS4 trench have helped us to reconstruct the history of the Roman settlement and, at the same time, of the evolution of imperial propaganda.[29] The coins were small, but capable of conveying important messages due to their value and universal use, even in rural areas, where commemorative buildings were lacking.

Numismatic propaganda reflects the evolution of Roman institutions. At the time of Augustus, coins were very simple, respecting the power of the Senate and attributing importance to the ancient republican offices. Later, the greatness of the emperors was often shown by means of certain attributes, such as laureate crowns. On the reverse, gods and personifications represented military victories and the benefits bestowed by good governments.

In the late imperial period, the autocracy of emperors is shown by their heads, often richly crowned and similar to portraits of the gods. The reverse continued to celebrate military victories; however, the emperors did not achieve victory alone, but thanks to their soldiers, as shown by the *Gloria exercitus* coins.

In conclusion, it was easy to carry out propaganda in Rome and in the imperial cities: the coins represented commemorative buildings and historical events that everyone could relive personally. In rural areas, the emperors had to communicate exclusively through the medium of coins. In such contexts, these objects became a real source of information, like modern newspapers.

[27] Carlà 2013: 557–578; Diegi 2011: 11–23.

[28] Diegi 2015a: 7–12.

[29] For an introduction to the propaganda spread by coins, see Caccamo Caltabiano 2005: 535–543. For more about late antiquity, see in particular Morelli 2007: 267–298.

Bibliography

Bersani P., Bencivenga M. 2001. *Le piene del Tevere a Roma dal V secolo a.C. all'anno 2000*. Rome.

Barello F. 2006. *Archeologia della moneta*. Rome.

Bertrand-Dagenbach C. 1990. *Alexandre Sévère et l'Histoire Auguste*. Bruxelles.

Bruun P.M. 1966. *The Roman Imperial Coinage.* Vol. 7. London.

Caccamo Caltabiano M. 2005. "La moneta e la rappresentazione gerarchica del potere". In. C. Alfaro, C. Marcos, P. Otero (eds.). *Actas del XIII Congreso Internacional de Numismatica, Madrid 2003*. Madrid: 535–543.

Carlà F. 2013. "Le iconografie monetali *in Costantino I"*. In. A. Melloni, P. Brown, J. Helmrath, E. Prinzivalli, S. Ronchey, N. Tanner (eds.). *Enciclopedia costantiniana sulla figura e l'immagine dell'Imperatore del cosiddetto Editto di Milano 313*. Vol. I. Rome: 557–578.

Castrizio D. 2005. *Manuale di Numismatica Medievale*. Reggio Calabria.

Clark M.D.H. 2010. *Augustus first Roman Emperor: power, propaganda and the politics of survival*. Bristol.

Conticello B. 1966. "Tevere". *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Classica ed Orientale*. Vol: 7: 790–791.

De Blois L. 1976. *The policy of the emperor Gallienus*. Leiden.

Diegi R. 2015a. "Com'era veramente Costantino? La fisionomia del primo imperatore cristiano attraverso le sue monete". Panorama Numismatico 304: 7–12.

Diegi R. 2015b. "Le monete di Claudio". Panorama Numismatico 303: 7–17.

Diegi R. 2013. "Corona laureata e corona radiata. Una questione spesso controversa". Panorama Numismatico 280: 7–11.

Diegi R. 2011. "Le monete di Costantino I". Panorama Numismatico 260: 11–23.

Diegi R. 2010. "Le monete di Valeriano e Gallieno". Panorama Numismatico 248: 3–16.

Diegi R. 2008. "Le monete di Marco Aurelio e Lucio Vero". Panorama Numismatico 231: 3–15.

Felletti Maj B.M. 1959. "Caracalla (M. Aurelis Antoninus)". Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Classica e Orientale. Vol. 2. Rome: 336–338.

Gilkes O., Hodges R. 2000. *Samnium? San Vincenzo prima dei monaci*. Isernia.

Gilkes O., Moran M., Tremlett S. 2006. "Excavation outside the monastic precint: the Samnite and Roman settlement and the early medieval industrial complex". In. K. Bowes, K. Bowes K., Francis K., Hodges R. (eds.). *Between text and territory. Survey and excavations in Terra of San Vincenzo al Volturno*. London: 91–131.

Green W.C. 1961. "Personifications". The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Oxford: 669–671.

Mattingly H., Sydenham E.A. 1930. *The Roman Imperial Coinage*. Vol. 3. London.

Mattingly H., Sydenham E.A. 1936. *The Roman Imperial Coinage.* Vol. IV, part. I. London.

Mattingly H., Sydenham E.A. 1938. *The Roman Imperial Coinage.* Vol. V, part. II. London.

Hodges R. 1993. *San Vincenzo al Volturno 1–2: The 1980–1986 excavations.* Archaeological monographs of the British School at Rome. Rome.

Mancini L. 2011. "Liberalitas Augusti. Immagini e ideologia della generosità imperiale". Revista Etica e Filosofia Politica 14, 2: 11–33.

Levick B. 1982. "Propaganda and the Imperial Coinage". Antichthon 16: 104–116.

Luciano A. 2008. "San Vincenzo al Volturno". Archeonotizie 4. Archeoclub d'Italia. Rome: 14–15.

Marazzi F. 2014a. *San Vincenzo al Volturno. Guida alla città monastica benedettina*. Cerro a Volturno.

Marazzi F. 2014b. *La "Basilica Maior" di San Vincenzo al Volturno (scavi 200–2007)*. Cerro a Volturno.

Marazzi F., Luciano A. (eds.). 2015. *Iuxta flumen Vulturnum. Gli scavi lungo il fronte fluviale di San Vincenzo al Volturno*. Collana di Studi Vulturnensi 7. Cerro a Volturno.

McLynn F. 2009. *Marcus Aurelius, warrior, philopshoper, emperor*. London.

Morelli A.L. 2007. "Le monete nelle elargizioni pubbliche e private tra IV e VI sec. d.C.". In. M. David (ed.). *Eburnea diptycha. I dittici d'avorio tra antichità e medioevo*. Bari: 267–298.

Panvini Rosati F. 1981. *La moneta romana imperiale da Augusto a Commodo*. Bologna.

Pavia C. 1999. *Guida dei mitrei di Roma antica: dai misteriosi sotterranei della capitale oro, incenso e Mithra*. Rome.

Perassi C. 1991. *Spes: Iconografia, simbologia, ideologia nella moneta romana (I-III sec.)*. Milan.

Mattingly H., Sydenham E.A., Webb P.H. 1968. *The Roman Imperial Coinage*. Vol. V, part I. London.

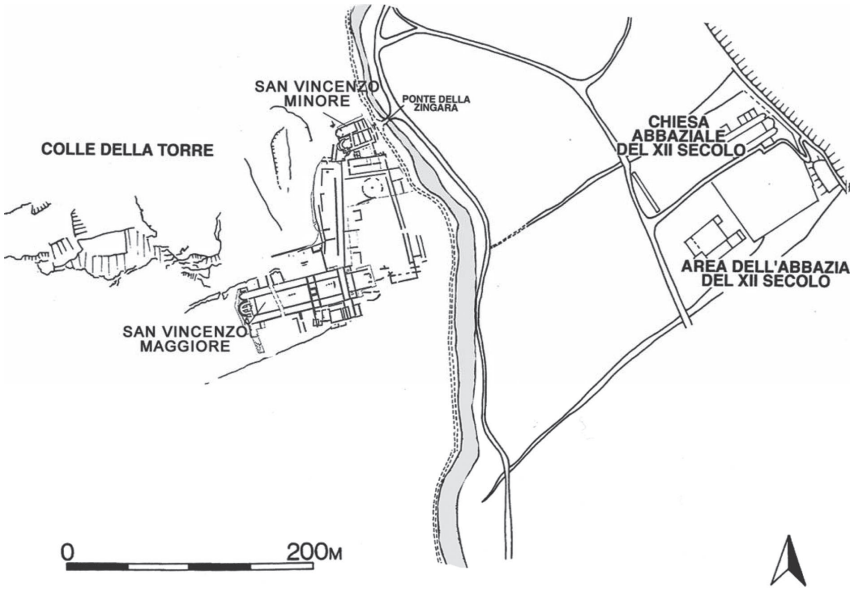
Rovelli A. 2001. "Le monete". In. J. Mitchell, I. Hansen (eds.). *San Vincenzo al Volturno III. The finds*. Archaeological monographs of British School at Rome 16. Rome: 385–390.

Sutherland C.H.V. 1984. *The Roman Imperial Coinage*. Vol. I. London.

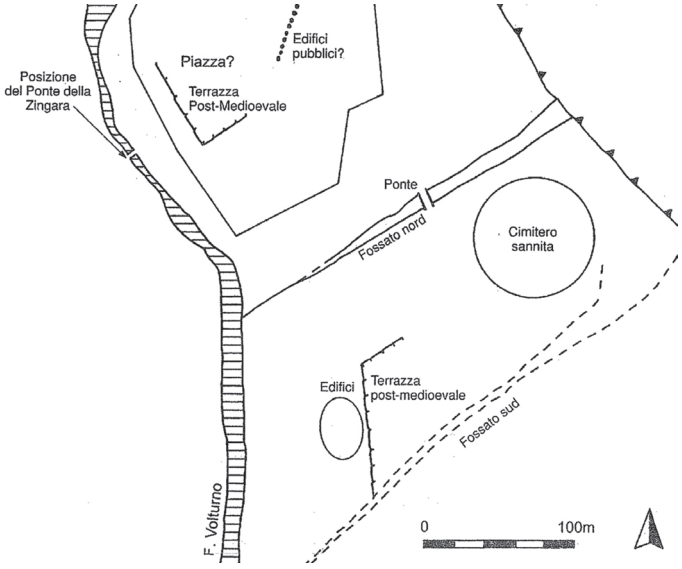
Zanker P. 1990. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. University of Michigan.

Illustrations

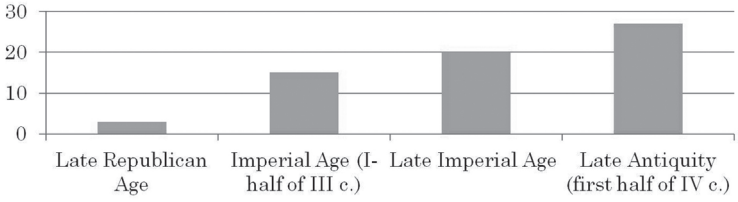
Map 1. The site of San Vincenzo al Volturno in central Italy (author)



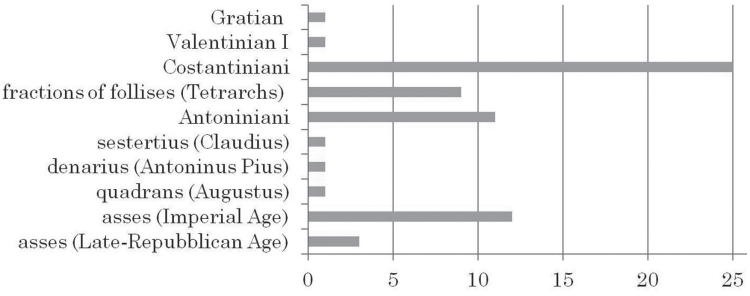
Map 2. The abbey of San Vincenzo (Marazzi 2014a: 19)



Map 3. Remains of the republican *vicus* (Gilkes et al. 2006: 92)



Ill. 1. Number of coins per phase (author)



Ill. 2. Diagram representing the different kind of coins which were found (author)

Coins' catalogue

1. SS4.4 us 94
AUGUSTUS (emperor) – LUCIUS CANINIUS GALLO (consul), AE, As, 26mm, 11g, Rome (BC 19–4)
Obv. [CAESAR.AUGVST] – C – VS – I – PO[NT.MAX.TRIBVNIC.POT], bare head of Augustus r.
Rev. [P.LURI]VS.AGRIPPA.III.VIR.A.A.A.[F.F.], around S C
RIC I: 75, n. 427

2. RN 3766 SS4.9 us 165
CALIGULA, AE, As, 28mm, 11g, Rome (AD 37–41)
Obv. M.AGRIPPA.L – F – COS.III, head of Agrippa l., wearing rostral crown
Rev. Neptune standing l. between S C, holding dolphin in r. hand and trident in l.
RIC I: 112, n. 58

3. SS4.9 us 165
CLAUDIUS, OR, Sestertius, 32mm, 16g, Rome (AD 41–50)
Obv. TI.[CLAVDIV]S.CAESAR.AV[G.P.M.TR.P.IMP] or
TI.[CLAVDIV]S.CAESAR.AV[G.P.M.TR.P.IMP.PP], Laureate head of Claudius r.
Rev. SPE[S.AVGVSTA], Draped Spes advancing l., holding flower in r. hand and dress in l., S C in exergue
RIC I: 128, n. 99; 130, n.115

4. RN 3664 SS4.11 us 004
MARCUS AURELIUS, AE, As, 25mm, 10g, Rome (December 174 – Autumn 175 AD)
Obv. [M].ANTONINVS – [AVG.TR.P.XXVIII], Laureate head r.
Rev. IMP.VII.COS.III – [S.C.],River-god Tiber reclining l., resting r. hand on boat and holding reed in l., S in field
RIC III: 303, n. 1142

5. RN 3779 SS4.9 us 179
MARCUS AURELIUS, AE, As, 18mm, 10g, Rome (December 176 – Autumn 177 AD)
Obv. [M].ANTONINVS.AVG.GE[RM.SARM.TR.P.XXXI], Laureate head r.
Rev. [IMP.VIII].COS III, Boat with three rowers l..; on the stern, Neptune standing l., r. foot on a rock, holding trident and dolphin; [FELICITATI.AVG.P.P.], S [C] in field
RIC. III: 307, n. 1192

6. RN 3222 SS4.4 us 004
CARACALLA, AR, Denarius, 18mm, 3g, Rome (AD 210–213)
Obv. ANTONINVS.PIVS.AVG.BRIT., Laureate head r.
Rev. LIBERALI[T]AS.AVG.VIII, Liberalitas standing l., holding abacus in r. hand and cornucopia in l.
RIC. IV, part I: 243, n. 219

7. RN 3716 SS4.11 us 004
SEVERUS ALEXANDER, AE, As, 25mm, 9g, Rome (AD 231–235)
Obv. [IM]P.ALEXANDER.PIVS.[AUG], Draped bust r.
Rev. [MA]RS – VLTOR, Mars advancing r., holding spare and shield, S C in field
RIC IV, part II: 120, n. 637

8. RN 3549 SS4.8 us 004
GALLIENUS, AE, Antininianus, 20mm, 2g, Rome (AD 253–268)
Obv. GALLIENVS.AVG, Radiate head r.
Rev. ABVNDANTIA.AV[G], Abundantia standing r., emptying cornucopia, B in field
RIC V, part I: 144, n. 157

9. RN 3256 SS4.4 us 21
GALLIENUS, AE, Antoninianus, 16mm, 2g, Rome (AD 253–268)
Obv. [G]ALLIENVS.AV[G], Radiate bust r.
Rev. LIBER[T.AVG], Libertas standing, *legs crossed* resting on *column*, holding pileus and scepter
RIC V, part I: 151, n. 232

10. RN 3768 SS4.12 us 042
CONSTANTINE I, AE, Follis, 11mm, 2g, Arles (AD 333–334)
Obv. [CONST]ANT[I]-NVS.MAX.AV[G], Draped and armoured bust r., wearing diadem
Rev. [GLOR]-IA.EXE[RC]-ITUS, Two soldiers standing facing, heads turned inward confronted, two standards in center between them, each holds a spear in outer hand and rests inner hand on grounded shield, P S in exergue
RIC VII: 274, n. 375

1

2

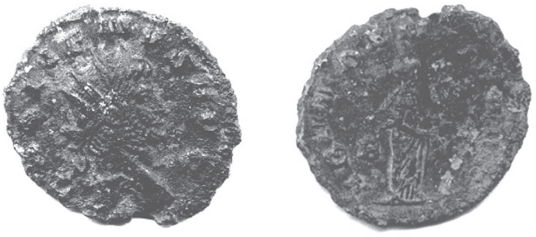
3

4

5

6

7



8

9

10

Jadwiga Olbrot

Institute of Archaeology
Jagiellonian University in Krakow
jadwiga.olbrot@gmail.com

SOME ASPECTS OF CERAMIC STUDY BASED ON RESEARCHES ON EARLY MEDIAEVAL HOARD CONTAINERS FROM SOUTHERN POLAND

Abstract: *The aim of this article is to present some problematic aspects of containers of mediaeval hoards dated from the tenth to the mid-twelfth century AD. The best-preserved and most common type of container known from southern Poland is the ceramic container. After many years of research we are familiar with many examples of early mediaeval hoards. However, not all of them have been described in detail. Six examples of hoard containers are very important for ceramic studies in Lesser Poland. One of the most detailed studies of eleventh-century hoards involves the example of Ojców. Detailed research has also been conducted on pottery containers from Silesia, for example from Dąbrowa Górnicza-Łosień. One of the most interesting hoards from early mediaeval times includes the pottery found in Gębice. I have chosen these examples for detailed study and have attempted to answer important questions, using a comparative method. The analysis of clay and of methods of shaping, decorating, glazing, and firing shows both similarities and differences between hoard containers and local pottery. Thanks to this method, scientists can attempt to offer answers to the questions of whether coin-hoard containers were extraordinary objects and whether the owner of such a ceramic container was an exceptional individual within his society.*

Keywords: *hoard container, pot, mediaeval hoards*

The study of hoards shows that in mediaeval times people used various types of material for containers, including textiles and wooden or ceramic objects.[1] However, the best- preserved and most common type of container discovered at archaeological sites is ceramic. Many of these ceramic containers have been discovered in southern Poland and dated to early mediaeval times (tenth to mid-twelfth century).

Despite the large number of these finds, very little research has been done on ceramic hoard containers. The first person to present some information about hoards and pottery was K. Jażdżewski.[2] In 1966 K. Wachowski wrote a master's thesis about ceramic hoard containers, entitled „Charakterystyka naczyń glinianych zawierających

[1] Suchodolski 1974: 211.
[2] Jażdżewski 1958.

skarby monet z terenu Polski od IX-XIII w.".[3] Subsequently, many papers about hoards were published[4] however, not all of them described pottery in detail.

In the catalogue *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Polen. Inventar IV*[5] we can find some information about hoards from the tenth to twelfth centuries (Table 1). In 21 cases from Lesser Poland, we do not know how the hoard was hidden. However, we have information about 24 examples of hoard containers, of which 16.7 % are not made from clay, compared to 83.3 % ceramic vessels. Only two of these have failed to survive to the present day (8.3 %). We know of 18 ceramic containers which were well preserved at the moment of discovery. Unfortunately, many vessels were not described in detail and thus we have very little information about them. Therefore, some of them cannot be used for research; nevertheless there are others that can be used for detailed ceramic study and for creating a typological and chronological line.

In 1992 J. Poleski[6] addressed the lack of proof of synchronisation between artefacts and pottery in most of the 37 examples from Lesser Poland, excluding them from use in dating or classification. Only six (examples in Table 2), dated between the tenth and twelfth centuries, could be used for creating a typological and chronological line. These examples are very important for research on ceramic hoard containers and pottery from Lesser Poland. Thanks to researchers, in some cases we have pictures, drawings, descriptions, and very detailed analysis. Table 2 shows states of documentation and of preservation. Detailed documentation, i.e., descriptions, drawings, and photos, were prepared for the hoards from Zawada Lanckorońska and Ojców. In some cases, e.g. Kraków-Nowa Huta, Pleszów site 49, or Zawichost (Trójca), we have less-detailed photos, drawings, and technical descriptions of pottery. We have very little information about two ceramic hoard containers, from Wiślica and Brzezie. However, pottery from the Wiślica site was classified by B. Reyman (Table 3). Since the hoard from Brzezie is now lost and known only from a few pieces of information and schematic drawings, we cannot classify this ceramic vessel. The history of the relevant research shows us that not all ceramic hoard containers were documented in detail; such undocumented containers cannot be used in detailed ceramic studies. Among the reasons for this is that some containers were discovered many years ago, during a period when many excavators were collectors rather than archaeologists and in many cases did not create detailed documentation of their finds. Therefore it is very important to re-examine some of the vessels, where possible.

[3] Eng. "Characterization of clay vessels of numismatics hoards dated from the ninth to thirteenth" Wachowski 1966.

[4] Bodnar, Kurdysz, Rozmus, Szmoniewski 2006; Czapkiewicz, Kmietowicz 1969; Reyman 1987.

[5] Bogucki, Ilisch, Suchodoloski 2013.

[6] Poleski 1992: 129.

Among interesting examples of detailed research is a study of a hoard container from Ojców. One of the oldest known reports concerns a discovery in the Okopy Wielkie cave, Dolne, made in 1897 by one of Stanisław Jan Czarnowski's workers. The very little information we have about pottery from this period mentions the destruction of the container by the excavator and the subsequent collection of the fragments of the vessel. Here are some historical notations about the hoard from Ojców, written by Czarnowski.[7] From Czarnowski's diary we also know that the container was a small clay vessel. The base of this ceramic container was also found.[8] The inclusion of information about both the hoard and pottery in this case is an example unique for that period. Unfortunately, we have very little information about pottery from this time. However, after many years, Michał Wojenka researched the subject again,[9] with the result that we now know much more. This ceramic container is a small jug (Table 3) type of vessel with a cylindrical neck, made of ferruginous clay tempered with grains of sand, chipping, and mica. It was formed by coiling rolls of clay and smoothing the surface carefully. The base is concave. A ring in the base indicates that the vessel was formed on a potter's wheel. The ceramic container was decorated with circumferential grooving and wavy lines.[10] Comparison studies show similarities and differences between the hoard container from Ojców and local pottery. When we compare shapes, we can see that hoard container is similar to vessel type X according to K. Radwański, 'with a cylindrical neck'.[11] Another similarity is that of the recipe of the ceramic body. M. Wojenka[12] classified the vessel from Ojców as type VI according to Radwański.[13] Another comparable aspect is ornamentation. The ceramic hoard container was decorated with ornamentation typical of local products.[14] Using these ceramic and numismatic studies, we can date the hoard from Ojców to the late eleventh century.[15] It is worth emphasising again that these unique objects, i.e. coins and silver clumps, were hidden in a locally common vessel.

The study of hoards became more popular in the twentieth century; however, in many reports researchers still focused exclusively on coins.[16] This is partly because many hoards were discovered by chance. Frequently archaeologists have no information about discoveries at sites such as Obra Nowa,[17] and sometimes they have very little

[7] Czarnowski 1898.
[8] Wojenka 2012: 227.
[9] Wojenka 2012: 227.
[10] Wojenka 2012: 229–231.
[11] Radwański 1968: 59–61.
[12] Wojenka 2012: 232.
[13] Radwański 1968: 31–32.
[14] Wojenka 2012: 232.
[15] Wojenka 2012: 228–229.
[16] Gupieniec 1960; Suchodolski 1974; Felczak, Makarczyk, Małachowska 1997.
[17] Felczak, Makarczyk, Małachowska 1997: 3.

information about containers, as in Płock.[18] The circumstances of discovery, such as the method of concealment, state of preservation at the moment of discovery, and the state of description of the ceramic hoard container from Silesia are presented in Table 4, based on a coin catalogue by B. Butent-Stefaniak and D. Malarczyk.[19] In 34 cases in the Silesia region, we do not know how the coins were hidden. In 30 examples, we have information about the concealment of the hoard in ceramic containers, of which 33.3 % were destroyed at the moment of discovery; however, in three cases the vessels were described. In 26.7 % of discoveries, the ceramic container was damaged, but we have some information about it. Of the authors of publications concerning sites involving the discovery of a well-preserved vessel, 36.7 % give us a description. In one case we are informed only about the good state of preservation of the vessel at the moment of discovery.

Another example of research focusing exclusively on coins is the first study about the hoard from Gębice in Silesia, discovered in 1939. Initially this hoard was studied by H. Seger in 1940. This find was described over the next few years by many researchers,[20] led by M. Haisig, A. Suhle, and S. Suchodolski,[21] who presented the issue of the ceramic container in a brief and superficial manner. These reports contain information only about finding the ceramic container, not about its technical or technological aspects. All of the scientists concentrated on the coins. One of these researchers, A. Suhle, dated the hoard to 999–1002. Other research results were presented in 1974 by S. Suchodolski, who reinterpreted Bohemian coins and dated the hoard to the year 985. Subsequent research on the Gębice hoard concentrated on ceramic studies. The scientists considered the technological aspects and style of decoration[22] of the vessel and presented more information about it. The ceramic container from Gębice was about 15 cm high[23] and decorated with very interesting ornamentation, including wavy lines and skewed rows of slots. Additionally, it was decorated with cambered rolls under the neck.[24] This motive, rather unusual for this region, is typical of pottery from East Bohemia. One Czech scientist identified it as *dolnověstonicki*.[25] The first question which comes to mind is whether the hoard from Gębice might have been hidden by a Czech. Thanks to ceramic studies from Silesia,[26] we know about several other examples from this region which

[18] Gupieniec 1960: 36.
[19] Butent-Stefaniak, Malarczyk: 2009.
[20] Haisig 1966; Suhle 1973; Suchodolski 1974.
[21] Seger 1940: 165–167; Haisig: 1966: 33–66; Suhle: 1973: 16–35; Suchodolski 1974: 211.
[22] Rzeźnik 1997; Pankiewicz 2012.
[23] Rzeźnik 1997: Il. 2.
[24] Pankiewicz 2012: 194.
[25] Rzeźnik 1997: 129.
[26] Rzeźnik 1997; Pankiewicz 2012.

were decorated in Czech style, for example in Gilów.[27] This type of ceramic vessel shows one aspect of a problem researchers have been grappling with for decades: Czech influences in the tenth century in Polish territories.[28] We do not know the exact significance of these traces. Today we can only speculate whether the hoard from Gębice was hidden due to an invasion, trade, or for another reason.

Another example of an early mediaeval hoard is the one from Dąbrowa Górnicza-Łosień. This find is very important for hoard research because of the discovery site. The hoard was discovered during archaeological excavations, and thus it can be used to create a typological and chronological line. The archaeologists in question were excavating a production settlement, one of the sites of an early mediaeval basin for the smelting of silver and lead.[29] They provided a detailed description of their discovery. In July 2006 they discovered 1,106 coins, consisting of silver pennies of Władysław the Exile and Bolesław the Curly and 179 silver clumps; all of these unique artefacts were hidden in a glazed vessel. Researchers assign this hidden hoard to the late twelfth century.[30] The vessel is a ceramic jug about 16 cm high, with a cylindrical neck,[31] made on a slow wheel by coiling rolls of clay and smoothing the surface. The vessel was decorated with small slots made with a tracing wheel, with a dark yellow glaze applied both inside and outside.[32] Comparison studies show similarities between the shape of this hoard container and pottery from Dąbrowa Górnicza-Łosień and other sites from the present-day border between Upper Silesia and Lesser Poland.[33] The ceramic hoard container was decorated with ornamentation typical of the Dąbrowa Górnicza-Łosień site. It is worth emphasising that all pottery from these excavations is richly decorated.[34] There are many glazed examples from this site which are unusual for early mediaeval times, but typical of sites noted for the smelting of silver and lead.[35]

Despite a great deal of research on early mediaeval hoards from southern Poland, we do not have answers to all potential questions. For example, in most cases it is hard to guess why valuable objects were hidden: economy, politics, or religion?[36] Another problem is that we have no information as to who the owner of a given hoard was; we can

[27] Rzeźnik 1997: 129.
[28] Pankiewicz 2012; Wachowski 1997.
[29] Rozmus, Suchodolski, Tokaj 2014: 17.
[30] Bodnar et al. 2006: 29.
[31] Rozmus, Suchodolski, Tokaj 2014: 23.
[32] Bodnar et al. 2006: Il. 27.
[33] Auch 2012: 224.
[34] Rozmus 2014: 243.
[35] Rozmus 2014: 225.
[36] Butent- Stefaniak, Malarczyk 2009: 192–193.

suppose only that he may have been rich. These problematic aspects are characteristic of all types of hoards from all times.[37]

At present, we very often have more detailed information about ceramic containers and early mediaeval pottery than was available in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Based on described examples, we can consider other aspects. The most popular way to conceal a hoard was to place it in a piece of pottery.[38] However, hiding treasure was not the primary function of a ceramic container, as can be assumed on the basis of research on pottery from sites such as Ojców, Gębice, and Dąbrowa Górnicza-Łosień. Researchers tell us that ceramic vessels were formed in typical shapes and with typical decoration. The use of common everyday vessels was intended to hide treasures more effectively for the longest possible time and render the hoard inconspicuous.

Unfortunately not all publications about hoards contain data regarding the containers. One of the most important reasons underlying the lack of published information pertaining to hoard containers is that many of these containers were discovered by chance. Therefore archaeologists cannot use the basic archaeological method, i.e. stratigraphy, to date the discovered objects[39] or subsequently to create a typological and chronological line.

One of the methods of dating hoard containers at the moment of discovery and of obtaining a great deal of additional information about hoards and pottery is coin analysis. This method of research can yield important data, not only for numismatists but also for ceramologists. Researchers can also use another method: they can focus on pottery and research it anew. This method may yield additional information and may be helpful to indicate another point of view regarding the issue of pottery. Not all pottery was researched or documented in detail, and thus we have less information than we might. The lack of descriptions is very burdensome, despite our possession of drawings or photographs, which are sometimes insufficient. Tables 2 and 3 show disproportions in the available information about vessels between different sites, for example, between the Wiślica II site, described based on a photo, and Zawada Lanckorońska, which includes photography, drawings, and a very detailed description. One of the directions of future studies may be the reinterpretation of known discoveries. For example, in the case of pottery from Ojców or Gębice, more detailed research has yielded interesting answers about ceramic hoard containers as well as about early mediaeval pottery in general.

[37] Blajer 2008: 269.

[38] Wooden boxes, material pouches or containers covered with stone or metal lids are also known from these times (tenth to mid-twelfth century). Butent-Stefaniak, Malarczyk 2009: 192, 203, 215.

[39] Wojenka 2012: 228.

Bibliography

Auch M. 2012. "Wczesnośredniowieczne naczynia szkliwione z terenu Zachodniej Małopolski". Archeologia Polski 57: 199–246.

Blajer W. 2008. "Skarby w archeologii – utracone bogactwo czy zabezpieczony los?". Alma Mater 99: 267–270.

Bodnar R., Kurdysz L., Rozmus D., Szmoniewski B.Sz. 2006. *Wczesnośredniowieczna ceramika szkliwiona z Dąbrowy Górniczej- Łośnia. „Skarb hutnika".* Kraków- Dąbrowa Górnicza.

Bogucki M., Ilisch P., Suchodoloski S. 2013. *Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Polen. Inventar IV.* Warszawa.

Butent-Stefaniak B., Malarczyk D. 2009. *Obieg pieniężny na Śląsku we wczesnym średniowieczu (od X do połowy XII wieku).* Wrocław.

Czapkiewicz M., Kmietowicz A. 1969. „The unpublished dirhems from the polish Elary-medieval hoards". Folia Orientalia 11: 109–122.

Czarnowski S.J. 1898. "Wykopalisko monet w Jaskini "Okopy" Wielkiej nad Prądnikiem Ojcowskim". Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne III: 453.

Felczak A., Malarczyk D., Małachowska S. 1997. "Skarb monet i ozdób z X wieku z Obry Nowej". Wiadomości Numizmatyczne XLI: 1–27.

Gupieniec A. 1960. "Skarb wczesnośredniowieczny z Płocka". Materiały wczesnośredniowieczne V: 35–62.

Haising M. 1966. „Wczesnośredniowieczne skarby ze Śląska". In. M. Haising, J. Reyman, R. Kiersnowski (eds.). *Wczesnośredniowieczne skarby srebrne z Małopolski, Śląska, Warmii i Mazur, Polskie Skarby Wczesnośredniowieczne. Inwentarze IV.* Polskie Badania Archeologiczne 12 (4). Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: 33–66.

Jamka R. 1935. „Wczesnohistoryczny skarb znaleziony na grodzisku w Zawadzie Lanckorońskiej". Wiadomości Archeologiczne 13: 95–100.

Jażdżewski K. 1958. „Uwagi o chronologii ceramiki zachodniosłowiańskiej z wczesnego średniowiecza.". Przegląd Archeologiczny 10: 150–191.

Maj U. 1990. *Stradów, stanowisko 1. Część I. Ceramika wczesnośredniowieczna.* Kraków.

Majkowski E. 1947. „Skarb srebrny z Brzezia, w powiecie opatowskim". Z otchłani wieków 16: 160–161.

Pankiewicz A. 2012. *Relacje kulturowe południowego Śląska i północnych Moraw i Czech w IX-X wieku w świetle źródeł ceramicznych*. Wrocław.

Poleski J. 1992. *Podstawy i metody datowania okresu wczesnośredniowiecznego w Polsce.* Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 52. Kraków.

Poleski J. 1995–1996. „Stratygrafia i chronologia osadnictwa na grodzisku w Zawadzie Lanckorońskiej". Acta Archaeologica Carpathica 33: 85–130.

Rozmus D. 2014. *Wczesnośredniowieczne zagłębie hutnictwa srebra i ołowiu na obszarach obecnego pogranicza Górnego Śląska i Małopolski (2 połowa XI- XII/XIII w.).* Kraków-Dąbrowa Górnicza.

Rozmus D., Suchodolski S., Tokaj J. 2014. *Wczesnośredniowieczny „Skarb hutnika" z Dąbrowy Górniczej-Łośnia*. Dąbrowa Górnicza-Sosnowiec.

Radwański K.1968. "Wczesnośredniowieczna ceramika krakowska i zagadnienie jej chronologii". Materiały Archeologiczne 9: 5–87.

Radwański K. 1975. *Kraków przedkolacyjny, rozwój przestrzenny.* Kraków.

Reyman B. 1987. „Wczesnośredniowieczny skarb srebrny z Nowej Huty – Pleszowa. Część Katalogowa". Materiały Archeologiczne Nowej Huty XI: 121–172.

Reyman B. 1988. „Wczesnośredniowieczny skarb srebrny z Nowej Huty-Pleszowa. Część Analityczna". Materiały Archeologiczne Nowej Huty XII: 131–148.

Reyman J. 1966. „Wczesnośredniowieczne skarby srebrne z Małopolski". In. M. Haisig, R. Kiersnowski, J. Reyman (eds.). *Wczesnośredniowieczne skarby srebrne z Małopolski, Śląska, Warmii i Mazur*. Polskie Badania Archeologiczne XII (4). Wrocław- Warszawa- Kraków: 7–31.

Różańska H. 1960. „Wczesnośredniowieczny skarb srebrny z miejscowości Trójca pow. Opatów". Materiały wczesnośredniowieczne V: 261–282.

Rzeźnik P. 1995. *Ceramika naczyniowa z Ostrowa Tumskiego we Wrocławiu w X-XI wieku*. Poznań.

Rzeźnik P.1997. „Elementy południowe w ceramice Śląskiej w IX-X wieku". In. K. Wachowski (ed.). *Śląsk i Czechy a kultura wielkomorawska*. Wrocław: 127–134.

Seger H. 1940. „Der Silberhort von Karlsdorf, Kreis Strehlen". Altschlesische Blätter, Nachrichtenblatt des Schlesischen Altertumsvereins und der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für oberschlesische Ur- und Frühgeschichte 15: 165–167.

Suchodolski S. 1960. „Wiślica, pow. Busko, skarb polskich monet z końca XI w.". Wiadomości Numizmatyczne 4: 252.

Suchodolski S. 1974. „Dziesiątowieczny skarb z Gębic-odnaleziony". Wiadomości Numizmatyczne 18: 211–218.

Suhle A. 1973. „Münzfund von Karlsdorf, Gębice, pow. Strzelin bei Wrocław". Moravské Numismatické Zprávy 13: 16–35.

Wachowski K. 1966. „Charakterystyka naczyń glinianych zawierających skarby monet z terenu Polski od IX-XII w.". Maszynopis pracy magisterskiej złożonej w Uniwersytecie Wrocławskim.

Widawski M., Wyczółkowski D. 2005. „Trójca koło Zawichostu i jej skarby". Z otchłani wieków 60: 162–166.

Wojenka M. 2012. „Zapomniane naczynie. Kilka uwag o pojemniku na skarb srebrny z jaskini Okopy Wilkie, Dolnej w Ojcowie". Notae Numismaticae-Zapiski Numizmatyczne VII: 227–240.

www.dabrowagornicza.naszemiasto.pl/artykul/zdjecia/dabrowa-gornicza-wykopaliska-skarb-hutnika-i-inne,2116990,artgal,7780620,t,id,tm,zid.html [accesed 20.02.2017 "Dąbrowa Górnicza wykopaliska: Skarb Hutnika i inne niespodzianki"]

Zoll-Adamikowa H., Dekówna M., Nosek E.M. 1999. *The Early Mediaeval Hoard from Zawada Lanckorońska (Upper Vistula River).* Warszawa.

Table 1. Type and state of preservation of a hoard container from Lesser Poland based on a catalogue by Bogucki, Ilisch, and Suchodolski, 2013.

TYPE AND STATE OF PRESERVATION OF HOARD CONTAINER	Well- preserved ceramic hoard container at the moment of discovery	Ceramic hoard container has not survived to the present	Another type of hoard container (not ceramic)	Unknown method of concealing the hoard
NUMBER OF DISCOVERY IN CATALOGUE (Bogucki, Ilisch, and Suchodolski 2013)	5, 14, 8?, 26, 35, 46, 67, 68, 69, 73, 88, 105, 107, 112, 116, 117, 118, 119	6, 20	40, 58, 101, 114?	11, 17, 19, 24, 25, 39, 45, 55, 56?, 57, 61?, 64, 65, 66?, 71?, 76, 79, 86, 87?, 95, 102

Number of discovery and name of site in catalogue Bogucki, Ilisch, Suchodolski 2013:

5. Brzezie, c. Opatów
6. Chełm I
8. Chruszczyna, c. Kazimierza Wielka
11. Czarkowy, c. Busko
14. Dębica
17. Gdyczyna – Siedliska, c. Brzozów
19. Glanów, c. Olkusz
20. Gnieszowice, c. Sandomierz
24. Gorzyczany, c. Sandomierz
25. Górki, c. Kielce
26. Grobla, c. Bochnia
35. Karczmiska, c. Opole Lubelskie
39. Kraków I
40. Kraków II
45. Kraków VII
46. Kraków VIII
55. Lubartów I
56. Lubartów II
57. Lublin I
58. Lublin II
61. Lublin V
64. Lublin VIII
65. Lublin IX
66. Lubycza Królewska, c. Tomaszów Lubelski
67. Łagowica Stara, c. Opatów
68. Małogoszcz, c. Jędrzejów
69. Michałowice, c. Kraków
71. Nietulisko Małe, c. Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski
73. Ojców I, c. Kraków
76. Pińczów
79. Przemyśl II
86. Ruda, c. Straszów
87. Rudniki, c. Straszów
88. Ruszcza, c. Straszów
95. Sędziszowice, c. Kazimierza Wielka
101. Trzcinica II
102. Trzykosy, c. Sandomierz
105. Wilków, c. Kielce
107. Wiślica II, c. Busko
112. Wola Skromowska, c. Lubartów
114. Zaleszany, c. Stalowa Wola
116. Zawada Lanckorońska, c. Tarnów
117. Zawichost, c. Sandomierz
118. Zielona, c. Kraków
119. Złochowice, c. Kłobuck

Table 2. State of documentation, circumstances, year of discovery, and state of preservation of ceramic hoard containers from Lesser Poland which can be used for creating a typological and chronological line.

SITE	DOCUMENTATION description	DOCUMENTATION drawing/ photography	CIRCUMSTANCES, YEAR of discovery	STATE OF PRESERVATION	BIBLIOGRAPHY (chronologically)
Brzezie	in: Reyman 1966: 13	schematic drawing in: Majkowski 1947: 160	unknown, 1905	only 43 coins known	Majkowski 1947: 160-161; Reyman 1966: 7-31; Bogucki, Ilisch, Suchodolski 2013: 28-29
Kraków--Nowa Huta, Pleszów, stan. 49	in: Reyman 1966: 19; Reyman 1987: 121; Reyman 1988: 132	drawing and photo of vessel and its content in: Bogucki, Ilisch, Suchodolski 2013: 221	during the building operations in early-medieval settlement, 1961	partially damaged vessel, only lower part preserved	Reyman 1966: 7-31; Reyman 1987: 121-172; Reyman 1988: 131-148; Bogucki, Ilisch, Suchodolski 2013: 62-63, 221
Ojców	in: Wojenka 2012: 228-234	drawing and photo in: Wojenka 2012: tables 3, 4; black and white photo in: Czarnowski 1898: 448	during excavations in the Okopy Wielkie cave (lack of statigraphy), 1897	well-preserved vessel	Czarnowski 1898: 453; Wojenka 2012: 227-240; Bogucki, Ilisch, Suchodolski 2013: 62-63, 222
Wiślica II	short information in: Suchodolski 1960	black and white photo of vessel and its content in: Bogucki, Ilisch, Suchodolski 2013: 222	during archaeological excavations in burrow (lack of correlation with layer of burrow), 1960	well-preserved vessel	Suchodolski 1960; Poleski 1992: 140; Bogucki, Ilisch, Suchodolski 2013: 158-159, 222
Zawada Lanckorońska	in: Jamka 1935: 95; Zoll-Adamikowa, Dekówna, Nosek 1999: 19-23	drawing and photo in: Zoll-Adamikowa, Dekówna, Nosek 1999: fig. 8; black and white photo in: Jamka 1935: tabl. 13	discovered by chance, 1932	well-preserved vessel	Jamka 1935: 95-100; Zoll-Adamikowa, Dekówna, Nosek 1999: 19-23
Zawichost (Trójca)	in: Różańska 1960: 262	drawing in: Różańska 1960: fig. 2; photo of vessel and its content in: Widawski, Wyczółkowski 2005: fig. 3a	discovered by chance, 1930	well-preserved vessel, only upper part damaged	Różańska 1960: 261-282; Widawski, Wyczółkowski 2005: 162-166; Bogucki, Ilisch, Suchodolski 2013: 158-159, 222;

Table 3. Description of ceramic hoard containers from Lesser Poland which can be used for creating a typological and chronological line.

SITE	DESCRIPTION of the pottery	CHARACTERISATION	CONTENTS	DATED	BIBLIOGRAPHY
Brzezie	made on a potter's wheel; colour of pottery: grey; well-burned; dimensions: height, 125 mm; diameter: belly, 125 mm; height of neck, 24 mm; decoration: two wavy lines on the largest circumference of the belly, and above, band of triangles (dotted lines); above, horizontal dotted lined, meld tops of triangles		400 coins, silver jewellery (and a few fragments of jewellery), only 43 known coins	(T.p.q. 1046) after 1050	eg.: Majkowski 1947: 160-161; Reyman 1966: 7-31; Bogucki, Ilisch, Suchodolski 2013: 28-29
Kraków-Nowa Huta, Pleszów, stan. 9	made of clay with high sand content (diameters of grains of sand: 0.1–0.7 mm); handmade, formed by coiling rolls of clay and carefully smoothing the surface; scabrous surface; colour of pottery: taupe; dimensions: height, 175 mm; diameters: belly, 190 mm; base 90 mm; volume ca 2 l; decoration: horizontal engraved lines (absent on base, abundant on upper part)	group VII/IX of Cracow early mediaeval pottery, third ornamentation phase, dated between tenth and thirteenth centuries (Radwański 1968)	609 coins, ornaments, raw silver	(T.p.q. 1035, 1050?)	eg.: Reyman 1966: 7-31; Reyman 1987: 121-172; Reyman 1988: 131-148
Małogoszcz	handmade; decoration: horizontal engraved lines (absent on base, abundant on upper part); description based on photo: colour of pottery: light taupe (probably ferruginous clay); largest diameter at belly, smallest diameter at base		437 coins, ornaments, raw silver	(T.p.q. 1077) 11th/12th cent.	eg.: Bogucki, Ilisch, Suchodolski 2013: 116-117, 221
Ojców	ferruginous clay tempered with grains of sand, chipping, and mica; formed by coiling rolls of clay and carefully smoothing the surface; concave base; the ring in the base of the vessel was formed on a potter's wheel; dimensions: height, 112 mm; diameters: rim, 65 mm; belly, 101 mm; base, 57 mm; decoration	small jug type X according to Radwański (1968: 59–61), so-called with cylindrical neck; recipes of ceramic body classified as type VI according to Radwański (1968: 31–32)	116 silver coins (Czarnowski 1898: 453)	(T.p.q. 1085, 1095?) late 11th century	eg.: Czarnowski 1898; Wojenka 2012: 227-240

Wiślica II	description based on photo: decoration: min. 3 wavy horizontal lines; largest diameter at belly		598 coins	(T.p.q. 1080)	eg.: Bogucki, Ilisch, Suchodolski 2013: 222; Poleski 1992: 140; Suchodolski 1960
Zawada Lanckorońska	clay tempered with fine and medium grains of sand; handmade and wheel-turned (from the rim to the part below the largest diameter of the belly) on the exterior and interior surface; profile: gentle S-curve (widest protrusion at 2/3 of belly), squat; bottom: flat on the inside, concave on the outside; dimensions: height, 152 mm; diameters: rim, 132 mm; belly, 152 mm; base, 62 mm; wall thickness, ca 6 mm; base, 8–9 mm (thick-walled); decoration: horizontal wavy line with five bands of horizontal lines below; made by three-toothed tool (8 mm wide) (on most of the surface we can observe the traces of two teeth); slightly slanted strips, traces of hand planning	extent of the wheel-turned part: zone 4 (Maj 1990: 18); profile of the rim: group AB, type 3 (Maj 1990: 16); decoration: group g, variant 1 (Maj 1990: 16-17); similar to the so-called 'archaic' and type I ceramic (Radwański 1968)	glass beads, silver ornaments	(T.p.q. 1st half of 10th cent.); ca half of 10th cent. (Poleski 1995-1996: 119) or 2nd – 3rd quarter of 10th cent. (Suchodolski 2003: 284)	eg.: Jamka 1935: 95-100; Maj 1990 Poleski 1995-1996: 85-130 Suchodolski 2003: 284 Zoll-Adamikowa, Dekówna, Nosek 1999: 19-23
Zawichost (Trójca)	made of clay with small grains of sand, scabrous exterior surface; colour of pottery: exterior surface light brown; ¾ of interior surface dark grey (due to oxidation of metal); above light brown; on exterior surface of rim and on interior surface of rim and base, traces formed by careful smoothing; flat base formed on a small wooden plate; high neck, rim everted; dimensions: height, 160 mm; diameters: rim, 130 mm; base 70 mm; decoration: engraved horizontal lines on belly (many lines below the largest diameter of belly)			(T.p.q. 1063, 1095?)	eg.: Różańska 1960: 261-282; Widawski, Wyczółkowski 2005: 162-166; Frühmittelalterliche Münzfunde aus Polen. Inventar IV: 158-159, 222

Table 4. State of preservation or state of description of Silesian ceramic hoard containers based on a catalogue by Butent-Stefaniak and Malarczyk, 2009.

STATE OF PRESERVATION/ STATE OF DESCRIPTION	DESTROYED VESSEL	DESTROYED VESSEL + DESCRIPTION	DAMAGED VESSEL + DESCRIPTION	WELL PRESERVED VESSEL	PRESERVED VESSEL + DESCRIPTION	UNKNOWN WAY OF HIDDEN DISCOVERY
NUMBER OF DISCOVERY IN CATALOGUE (Butent-Stefaniak, Malarczyk 2009)	1, 2, 25, 30, 31, 36, 100	4, 15, 59	6, 11, 17, 20, 54, 55, 61, 63	35	3, 22, 27, 32, 33, 39, 51, 60, 65, 72, 74	5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 16, 23, 24, 28, 34, 37, 44, 66, 67, 73, 75, 76, 81, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103

Number of discovery and name of site in catalogue Butent- Stefaniak, Malarczyk 2009:

1. Bałdowice, c. Ostrzeszów
2. Będkowo, c. Trzebnica
3. Biechów, c. Głogów
4. Bolesławice, c. Bolesławiec
5. Bolesławiec
6. Bystrzyca, c. Oława
7. Bytom
9. Chobienia, c. Lubiń
10. Chojnów, c. Legnica
11. Cienkowice, c. Ząbkowice
12. Ciepłowody, c. Ząbkowice
15. Drożyna, c. Polkowice
16. Działoszyn, c. Zgorzelec
17. Gębice, c. Strzelin
20. Gniechowice, c. Wrocław
22. Gostyń, c. Polkowice
23. Jurcz, c. Lubin
24. Kadłubiec, c. Strzelce Opolskie
25. Karwiany, c. Wrocław
27. Kębłów, c. Lubin
28. Kębłowice, c. Wrocław
30. Kotowice II, c. Wrocław
31. Kowale, c. Trzebnica
32. Lasowice, c. Nysa
33. Legnica
34. Legnica
35. Letnica, c. Zielona Góra
36. Lubień, c. Legnica
37. Łężce, c. Kędzierzyn – Koźle
39. Maniów, c. Głogów
44. Niemcza Łużycka, c. Krosno Odrzańskie
51. Pęgów, c. Trzebnica
54. Radzików I, c. Dzierżoniów
55. Radzików II, c. Dzierżoniów
59. Smolice, c. Nysa
60. Sobocisko, c. Oława
61. Sokolniki, c. Dzierżoniów
63. Sośnica, c. Wrocław
65. Stroszek, city Bytom
66. Syców, c. Oleśnica
67. Śrem, c. Polkowice
72. Ulesie, c. Legnica
73. Wilków Średzki, c. Środa Śląska
74. Wińsko, c. Wołów
75. Wojnowice, c. Głubczyce
76. Wrocław (ul. Wita Stwosza)
81. Wszemirów I, c. Trzebnica
87. Śląsk I (Górne Łużyce)
88. Śląsk II
89. Śląsk III
90. Śląsk IV
91. Śląsk V
92. Śląsk VI
93. Śląsk VII
94. Śląsk VIII
95. Śląsk IX
96. Śląsk X
97. Śląsk XI
98. Śląsk XII
99. Śląsk XIII
100. Małkowice, c. Wrocław
101. Polkowice
102. Jawor
103. Szlichtyngowa, c. Wschowa

Máté Varga, Zsolt Dezső Nagy

Rippl-Rónai Museum
vargamate12@gmail.com
University of Szeged, Faculty of Arts
zsoltdezsonagy@gmail.com

COIN-COUNTERFEITING WORKSHOPS IN HUNGARY IN THE MIDDLE AND EARLY MODERN AGES

Abstract*: We have obtained many written sources and archaeological artefacts related to the counterfeiting of coins of the Hungarian Kingdom during the Middle and Early Modern Ages. Many forgeries can be found in numismatic collections, but tracing them to a specific workshop is sometimes a difficult matter. There are a number of sites, i.e. Visegrád, Buda, Esztergom, Kassa, Tevel, Bonyhádvarasd, and Szuhogy-Csorbakő, where not only counterfeit coins but other artefacts or objects (sheet metal, raw material, casting jars, and furnaces) which are obviously related to this illegal activity have been excavated. Frigyes Kahler is the researcher who most recently (several decades ago) published articles about the counterfeiting of coins during the Middle and Early Modern Ages. Since then, many new artefacts have been found, but information about them has been published only in part, and many have not been studied by numismatists or subjected to archaeometrical investigation. Moreover, many sites and/or forgeries discussed in previous publications should be studied again using new methods and adopting new considerations. Herein we present several case studies concerning the counterfeiting of gold and silver coins from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries.*

Keywords: *counterfeiting, Middle Ages, Early Modern Ages, Hungary, numismatics, XRF*

Introduction

Many researchers have already published papers on Hungarian coin counterfeiting during the Middle and Early Modern Ages: András Komáromy,[1] Zoltán Gálocsy,[2] Imre Bohdaneczky,[3] Andor Leszih,[4] Lajos Huszár,[5] and István Gedai.[6] The most recent as well as the most detailed publication was written by Frigyes Kahler in the 1970s.[7] His work was based mostly on written sources. We can reinvestigate these sources, but we must

[1] Komáromy 1893; Komáromy 1899.
[2] Gálocsy 1905.
[3] Bohdaneczky 1935–36.
[4] Leszih 1941.
[5] Huszár 1969.
[6] Gedai 1972.
[7] Kahler 1975–76; Kahler 1976; Kahler 1977–78; Kahler 1979–80; Kahler 1981–82.

also consider many new archaeological sites and finds. Fortunately, archaeologists have found not only forgeries, but also tools, materials (raw and prepared), and furnaces used during the counterfeiting process. Our biggest goal is to carry out a wide-ranging and complex investigation, including the revision of older finds.

What is counterfeiting?

Hungarian kings had the exclusive right (*regale*) to issue coins during the Middle and Early Modern Ages. Those who issued or modified coins without the permission of the King of Hungary, or who altered the process, could be accused of being counterfeiters. This was also true in cases where someone challenged or interfered with the issuing process, wanted to separate heavier pieces,[8] cut them, or exchanged currencies without permission.

Punishments

There were various kinds of punishments for counterfeiters. The first golden age of forgery can be dated to the reign of King Sigismund. Several cases are known from this half-century. Marhárd Károlyi's son obtained the right to judge and punish offenders in all cases which pertained to his assets. This permission included the details of penalties applying to counterfeiters, such as racking, hanging, impaling, etc., which were the prerogative of Marhárd's son. In a 1390 statute, King Sigismund declared that all counterfeiters and their squire(s) should be arrested and imprisoned, and their assets should be confiscated on behalf of the King.[9] In 1413 Lóránd Horváthy was sentenced to be burnt and his village, called Horváthy, was confiscated.[10] Burning at the stake was a common punishment for counterfeiters.[11] A later book from Buda stated that burning had to carry out beneath a scaffold, and that the prisoner was to wear a bark wreath, from which forged items were suspended, on his head.[12]

A short review of counterfeiting in the Middle Ages

The Árpádian age (1000–1301)

No traces can be found of laws or statutes concerning counterfeiting in written sources which can be dated to the Early Árpádian age (11–12th centuries). This shows that only unwritten laws were used in these cases.[13] In 1219 the abbot and monks of

[8] It was an established custom to measure and separate heavier coins, because they were worth more.
[9] Huszár 1975/1976: 38–41.
[10] Bohdaneczky 1935–36: 52, footnote 15.
[11] Bratislava, 1478 AD; Book of Law from Buda.
[12] Bohdaneczky 1935–36: 52–53. 15th footnote, 55–56.
[13] Kahler 1977–78: 57–58.

the Benedictine monastery of Ittebő (Srpski Itebej, Serbia) manufactured coins from religious artefacts. Once they had finished their work, they fled.[14]

The Anjou age (fourteenth century)

A great many abuses occurred in this period, especially in mining cities. Counterfeiters exchanged currencies at a higher rate, and thus mints lost as yet unknown amounts of precious metal. A 1342 statute declares that a person who rejected the use of new issues was guilty of the charge of counterfeiting. We know a number of cases from the fourteenth century in which people were found guilty of the charge of counterfeiting, for example, the sons of Miklós, Péter and Miklós. Their assets were seized by the court.[15] On the other hand, a person called Dominicus was absolved of all charges.[16]

The reign of King Sigismund (1387–1437)

This activity was very common during King Sigismund's reign. As mentioned before, Sigismund declared in 1390 that all counterfeiters were to be arrested. Seven years later, he ordered tax collectors to accept only genuine money, and to refuse everything else (old or false), as tax payments. In 1405 he declared that the trimming or counterfeiting of coins was forbidden.[17] In 1427 Queen Borbála commanded an investigation of coin minters in Körmöcbánya (Kremnica, Slovakia) on the suspicion that they were lending tools to strangers for the production of forgeries.[18]

A short review of counterfeiting in the Early Modern Age

Sixteenth century

The 1530s and 40s constituted the true golden age of coin counterfeiting in the Hungarian Kingdom. Technically, two kings reigned during this period: (Szapolyai) János I and (Habsburg) Ferdinánd I. Neither was able to dominate the other; thus the support of noblemen was crucial for both. Unceasing Ottoman attacks made life much more difficult.

Economic background of counterfeiting in the Early Modern Age

In 1521, King Lajos (Ludovicus) II introduced a monetary reform, called *moneta nova*, which mandated a reduction in the silver content of denars, from 50% to 25%; however, exchange rates remained the same. Despite expectations, the Royal Treasury did not record higher incomes; instead, it narrowly evaded bankruptcy. Consequently,

[14] Huszár 1971–72: 42.
[15] Bohdaneczky 1935–36: 53–56.
[16] Huszár 1971–72: 48.
[17] Huszár 1975–76: 38–41.
[18] Kahler 1999: 291.

the king was forced to repeal this reform.[19] The term *moneta nova* is based on the distinction made by the population between the superior old denars (*antiqua moneta*) and newer ones. Although old denars had substantial current value, noblemen and other wealthy individuals hoarded them as treasure. These fortunes became the silver component for future forgeries,[20] as they contained greater or lesser quantities of silver. These false coins were mostly made from copper, sometimes other copper alloys (brass or bronze). In the following paragraphs, we will present new results from the investigations of Szuhogy-Csorbakő, the largest excavated site related to this subject.

Szuhogy-Csorbakő

This site is located in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County, Hungary, not very far from the traditional mining town of Rudabánya. In 1928, while collecting prehistoric artefacts, Andor Saád found clues to the existence of the workshop. He brought everything he had collected to the Borsod-Miskolci Museum, where the well-known numismatist, Andor Leszih, received them. Saád opened several trenches at the site in the same year, but subsequently entrusted András Szegő, a local shoemaker, to continue the excavation. The museum was interested only in artefacts. The excavation was completed in 1944. During fieldwork, in 1941, Leszih published a short review about the counterfeiting workshop.[21] In 1969, Lajos Huszár published a short article about fortresses characterised by counterfeiting activity.[22] When Gábor András Szörényi re-investigated the fortress of Csorbakő, rather than revising Leszih's results and studying coins once again, he simply collected older data and made an inventory of consumed raw materials.[23] Thus we can state that technically this workshop was forgotten for more than seven decades.

Csorbakő was a fortress owned by the Perényi family, but in 1541 the Bebek family was mentioned as its owner. King Ferdinánd I donated the fortress to Ferenc Bebek (or, technically, to his brother, Imre, but ownership in this family was not really limited to just one person) to compensate an earlier loan he had made to the King.[24] Ferenc and Imre Bebek engaged in counterfeiting not only in their larger fortress, Krasznahorka, but also in Csorbakő. Here we will present artefacts and coins from this workshop.

The oldest coin was issued by King Ulászló (Wladislaus) I; it is exactly of the type Huszár 605. The most recent was issued by King Ferdinánd I, type H 935, dated 1539. If we sort them by the issuing kings, we obtain the following basic statistical data: 62 pieces issued by Ferdinánd I (H 935) (most are issued by him) and 11 pieces each

[19] Gyöngyössy 2008: 36.
[20] Kahler 1975–1976: 54.
[21] Leszih 1941.
[22] Huszár 1969.
[23] Szörényi 2003.
[24] Szörényi 2003: 197.

by Ulászló II and Lajos II (only *nova moneta* was issued by Lajos II). The following are in decreasing order: 9 denars issued by Mátyás (Matthias) I, 2 denars by Ulászló I, just one denar by János I, and an obulus by László (Ladislaus) V.[25] Coins from the fifteenth century are originals, with the exception of Mátyás' issue. Why did counterfeiters collect these old issues? The answer can be found in a 1536 law, declaring that the coins of Kings Mátyás, Ulászló, and Lajos from Körmöcbánya could be used, according to their values, in circulation. There is one additional reason for the appearance of coins from the fifteenth century: they contain a substantial amount of silver, which is beneficial in the falsification process, as copper issues are silvered. From the counterfeiting aspect, only the coins of Mátyás I, Ulászló II, Lajos II, János, and Ferdinánd are relevant. Interestingly, Ferenc Bebek obtained possession of this fortress in 1541, but no issue was found with a mint date of 1541 or older; presumably, the counterfeiters used older samples to make tools, or carried away everything when the workshop was ruined. On the other hand, we cannot discount Leszih's suggestion: counterfeiters made forgeries of older subtypes or variations to keep the inhabitants busy.[26]

According to Szörényi, the workshop was ruined in 1553. His opinion is based on the statement of a goldsmith (Miklós) who did a great deal of work for various noblemen.[27] Coins or artefacts from the workshop cannot be dated unequivocally to this period. Materials and fragments of casting jars were found along with coins. Counterfeiting activity was still in progress, because coins dated from subsequent years were found in the fortresses of Füzér and Sóstófalva-Hoporty. Both site contained Ferdinánd's issues, type H 935. In the case of Füzér, we have written sources about counterfeiting;[28] in the other case, the presence of forgeries has been recorded, but no tools or raw materials have been found yet. On the other hand, it is clear and obvious that false coins were mixed with genuine in circulation.

Archaeological sites

There are many known archaeological sites in the Carpathian Basin where traces of counterfeiting have been found:[29]

- Boldogkő
- Bonyhádvarasd
- Buda (Budapest, 2 sites)
- Esztergom

[25] Variant data about these coins may be found in the relevant literature. Here, we used the current inventory database of the Numismatic Cabinet of the Herman Otto Museum.

[26] Leszih 1940: 52.

[27] Szörényi 2003: 199–201.

[28] Szörényi 2003: 201.

[29] Based on our unfinished (30 October 2015) research.

- Nemesnádudvar
- Pincehely
- Szuhogy-Csorbakő
- Tevel
- Visegrád (2 sites)
- Vámtelek (Mala Bosna, Serbia)
- Betlenfalva (Betlanovce, Slovakia)
- Felsőfalu (Chvalová, Slovakia)
- Gömörispánmező (Španie Pole, Slovakia)
- Jeszenő (Jasenov, Slovakia)
- Kassa (Kosice, Slovakia)
- Krasznahorka (Hrad Krásna Hôrka, Slovakia)
- Létánfalva (Letanovce, Slovakia)
- Oroszlánkő (Vršatské Podhradie, Slovakia)
- Szalánk (Slovinky, Slovakia)
- Szepestapolca (Spišská Teplica, Slovakia)
- Torna (Turňa, Slovakia)
- Turócliget (Háj, Slovakia)
- Vereshegy (Poráč, Slovakia, 2 sites)[30]

We mention only several of them in the following paragraphs.

Visegrád, Fő utca 73[31]

A bronze-casting workshop (smelters, furnaces, casting jars, garbage, and casting moulds for firearms, among others), which can be dated to the early fifteenth century, was found. Copper plates were excavated from the loading area of a smelter, from the environment of a furnace, and from below the ground level of the building. Various smooth circles (perhaps for coins) had been cut from these plates. The diameters of these holes equal the diameters of denars/quartings and parvuses issued by King Sigismund.[32]

Boldogkő

Traces of counterfeiting were also found in this fortress. During this period Boldogkő was owned by György Bebek (son of Ferenc), while his father and uncle, Imre, were engaged in counterfeiting activity in Krasznahorka and Szuhogy-Csorbakő. Katalin K. Végh has suggested that the smelter and raw materials were related to this activity. Her observations were confirmed by excavations in 2011. In the Modern Age, several

[30] Findings from Slovakia: Soják 2013.
[31] Visegrád, 73 High Street.
[32] Varga 2015.

findings from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were found, including possible forgeries and metal plates, probably coin material.[33]

Tevel and Bonyhádvarasd

Denar-sized copper flans and plate parts were found in Tevel. During field surveys, archaeologists and amateurs collected bronze artefacts and tin and lead nuggets, which can be defined as raw materials. In Bonyhádvarasd, copper flans, cut parts, and smelt lead were found. Forgeries were excavated at both sites, dating them to the first half of the seventeenth century.[34]

Vámtelek

Four hoards were found during field surveys:

The first hoard included 165 coins: 106 pieces of denar-sized flans (half of which are silvered); 12 pieces of groschen- (garas) sized flans (all silvered), a half-thaler-sized flan (silvered); 25 pieces of false denars (Ferdinánd I, H 935 type and Rudolph, H 1058–59 types); 18 pieces of false weisspfennigs (Ferdinánd I, S 439 and Rudolph, unknown type, Czech issues); 3 pieces of false groschens (Sigismund I, K 428–436 types; Stephen Báthory, K 503–541 types; Albert (1525–68), K 3781–3795 types).

Nine hundred metres from the first hoard, a second was found, containing 9 false denars (1 piece, Ferdinánd I, H 935 type, and 8 pieces, Rudolph H, 1059 type) and some copper plates. Two additional hoards were found near the first two.

The third hoard contained only 16 pieces of false denars (Rudolph, H 1058 type) from 1579–80. These coins are similar to artefacts from the second hoard.

The fourth hoard contained forgeries from Ferdinánd I (H 935), Maximilian I (H 993), and Rudolph (H 1058–1059) (a total of 19 pieces); 3 false weisspfennigs (Ferdinánd I S 439 type and Maximilian I); and one 3-groschen piece from Stephen Báthory (K 3370 var.). This hoard includes 20 pieces of flans (less than half were silvered or tinned).[35]

Archaeometrical research

Finally, we wish to present new research, consisting of an archaeometrical investigation currently in progress; only preliminary results are available at present. We applied energy-dispersive X-ray fluorescence (XRF) to coins from Csorbakő. Measurements were made by Dr Zoltán May, Research Centre for Natural Sciences, Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Preliminary measurements required the selection of samples. We selected samples from both older and newer issues. Because only one issue can be

[33] Végh 1966: 148–149; Jankovics, Koppány 2013: 145.
[34] Gaál 2006.
[35] Nagy 2009–2010; Nagy 2011–2012.

connected to King János, we focused first on King Ferdinánd's coins and empty flans. We measured different kinds of materials and older (fifteenth-century) issues from Csorbakő as controls.[36] As well, we applied XRF to coins from Füzér and Sóstófalva.[37]

The results[38] demonstrated that counterfeiters were able to make forgeries of almost every type in circulation. The oldest is King Mátyás I, but Ferdinánd's H 935 type is the most common. Andor Leszih has stated that coins from ages prior to the reign of Lajos II are genuine. Our XRF results suggest that some of the coins permitted for use by the above-mentioned law of 1536 may be forgeries. We suggest that counterfeiters made false versions of every type in use. None of the forgeries contains less than 80% of copper; most contain more than 90%. The same is true in the case of control samples. Raw materials exhibit more than 90% copper content. Two of them include zinc content, but only in single-digit percentages, so this content cannot be designated as brass, but only as a copper-based zinc alloy. The coins from Füzér and Sóstófalva are characterised by a similar chemical composition, with one exception, a Ferdinánd denar of another type, specifically the H 936. This was first issued in 1558, when Ferdinánd became Holy Roman Emperor. It does not fall within the period we investigated, but constitutes an interesting contrast to studies of the H 935 type. The two coins from Sóstófalva do not contain silver; they are definitely made from copper.

As can be seen on the diagram, forgeries are mostly made from copper. This is important not only when we want to distinguish them from their genuine counterparts, but also when we compare our results to older theories about their raw material. Several researchers have believed that counterfeiters melted bells or other bronze items to obtain sufficient quantities of metal. We disagree with this theory. We found only insignificant contents of tin or antimony. This makes it clear that these are copper, not bronze, coins. However, there is a terminology problem concerning bronze. Whether a certain artefact can be called bronze or not is sometimes a subjective determination. According to our XRF results, we call the raw material of these coins copper or a copper-based alloy, without making any further identification. Ultimately, we need to answer the following question: Where did the counterfeiters obtain raw material? We need more research to determine this precisely, but natural copper ore has been found during excavations in Csorbakő, a traditional mining region (Rudabánya is not very far from the site), so it can be readily believed that the counterfeiters used local mining products. Our next step is to investigate coins and materials from other parts of the Carpathian Basin, but this is a task for the future.

[36] See: Table 1.

[37] Original registry numbers of empty flans: 1929.60–61/a.

[38] See: Table 2; XRF-values refer to m/m % of the chemical element in question.

Abbreviations

CNH II. = Réthy L. 1907. *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae. Vol. 2*. Budapest.

CNH III. = Huszár L. 1975. *A Habsburg-házi királyok pénzei: 1526–1657*. Budapest.

H. = Huszár L. 1979. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*. Budapest-München.

K. = Kopicki E. 1995. *Ilustrowany skorowidz pieniędzy Polskich i z Polską związanych I–IV*. Warsaw.

S. = Saurma-Jeltsch Hugo v. 1982. *Die Saurmasche Münzsammlung deutscher, schweizerischer und polnischer Gepräge*. Berlin.

Bibliography

Bohdaneczky I. 1935–36. „A pénzhamisítás Magyarországon a középkorban". (Coin counterfeiting in Hungary during Middle Ages) Numizmatikai Közlöny XXXIV–XXXV: 48–58.

Gaál A. 2006. „Falusi pénzhamisító műhelyek emlékanyaga a Tolna megyei Tevel és Bonyhádvarasd határából". (Gedenkmaterial der ländlichen Geldfälscherwerkstätte aus der Mark der Gemeinden Tevel und Bonyhádvarasd im Komitat Tolnau) A Wosinszky Mór Múzeum Évkönyve 28: 105–132.

Gálocsy Z. 1905. „XVI. századi magyar pénzek hamisítványai". (Forgeries of Hungarian coins from the 16th century) Numizmatikai Közlöny IV: 90–93.

Gedai I. 1972. „Árpád-kori pénzek hamisítása". (Counterfeiting coins from the Árpád Age) Az Érem 1972/1: 16–18.

Gyöngyössy M. 2008. *Florenus Hungaricalis. Aranypénzverés a középkori Magyarországon*. Budapest.

Huszár L. 1969. „Magyar várak mint pénzhamisító műhelyek a XVI. században". (Hungarian fortresses as counterfeiter workshops in the 16th century) Műemlékvédelem XIII/2: 80–87.

Huszár L. 1971–72. „A középkori magyar pénztörtént okleveles forrásai (I. rész)". (Chartered sources of the medieval Hungarian monetary history). Numizmatikai Közlöny LXX–LXXI: 39–49.

Huszár L. 1975–76. „A középkori magyar pénztörtént okleveles forrásai (II. rész)". (Die urkundlichen Quellen der ungarischen mittelalterlichen Münzgeschichte, II. Teil) Numizmatikai Közlöny LXXIV–LXXV: 37–49.

Jankovics N., Koppány A. 2013. „A boldogkői vár újabb kutatásának eredményei". (The results of the latest investigations in Boldogkő Castle). In. M. Varga (ed.). *Fiatal Középkoros Régészek IV. Konferenciájának Tanulmánykötete*. Kaposvár: 137–148.

Kahler F. 1975–76. „A XVI. századi pénzhamisítás kérdéséhez". (Zur Frage der Falschmünzerei im XVI. Jahrhundert) Numizmatikai Közlöny LXXIV–LXXV: 53–56.

Kahler F. 1976. „Angaben zur Frage der Münzfälschung während des mittelalters in Mitteleuropa". In. I. Gedai, K. Bíró-Sey (eds.). *Proceedings of the International Numismatic Symposium*. Budapest: 149–153.

Kahler F. 1977–78. „A magyarországi középkori pénzhamisítás (I. rész)". (Mittelalterliche Falschgeldprägung in Ungarn) Numizmatikai Közlöny LXXVI–LXXVII: 57–65.

Kahler F. 1979–80. „A magyarországi középkori pénzhamisítás II. (Károly Róberttől I. Mátyásig)". (Medieval counterfeiting in Hungary II. (from Carolus Robert to Matthias I)) Numizmatikai Közlöny LXXVIII–LXXIX: 43–50.

Kahler F. 1981–82. „Középkori pénzhamisításunk kérdéséhez (III., befejező rész)". (Die mittelalterliche Geldfälschung in Ungarn (Abschließender Teil)) Numizmatikai Közlöny LXXX–LXXXI: 79–83.

Kahler F. 1999. „A középkori pénzügyi igazgatás kérdéséhez – a pizetumjog". (Notes to the history of medieval Hungarian monetary goverment) In. K. Bertók, M. Torbágyi (eds.). *Emlékkönyv Bíró-Sey Katalin és Gedai István 65. születésnapjára*. Budapest: 275–295.

Komáromy A. 1893. „Egy hamispénzverő a XVI. században." (A counterfeiter in the 16th century) Századok 27: 647–667, 748–759.

Komáromy A. 1899. *Hamispénzverő főurak*. (Counterfeiter barons) Adalékok Zemplén-vármegye történetéhez 5. Sátoraljaújhely.

K. Végh K. 1966. „Boldogkő várának feltárása". (The digging up of Boldogkő Castle) Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve VI: 109–170.

Leszih A. 1941. „A szuhogyi csorbakői vár XVI. századbeli pénzhamisító műhelye". (Coin counterfeiter workshop in Szuhogy-Csorbakő from the 16th century) Numizmatikai Közlöny XL: 49–54.

Soják M. 2013. „Falšovanie mincí v stredoveku a novoveku v oblasti východného Slovenska (stručný prehľad stavu bádania za posledné desaťročie)". (Medieval and modern-time Counterfeit coins From eastern Slovakia (brief overview of the state of research from the Past decade) In. D. Haas Kianička (ed.). *Baníctvo a mincovníctvo v dejinách Slovenska*. Kremnica: 37–53.

Nagy J. 2009–2010. „Két XVI. századi hamis éremlelet Vámtelekről". (Zwei Falschmünzfunde aus dem 16. Jahrhundert in Vámtelek) Numizmatikai Közlöny CVIII–CIX: 215–222.

Nagy J. 2011–2012. „Újabb két XVI. századi hamis éremlelet Vámtelekről". (Zwei neue Falschmünzfunde aus dem 16. Jahrhundert in Vámtelek) Numizmatikai Közlöny CX–CXI: 139–144.

Szörényi G. A. 2003. „A csorbakői vár története 1648-ig". (The history of the castle of Csorbakő until 1648) Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve XLII: 165–226.

Varga M. 2013–2014 [2015]. „Késő középkori érmék Visegrád Fő u. 73. lelőhelyről, és előzetes anyagvizsgálati eredményeik". (Spätmittelalterliche Münzen aus dem Fundort Visegrád, Fő Str. 73. und vorherige Ergebnisse der Materialanalyse) Numizmatikai Közlöny CXII–CXIII: 61–75.

Table 1. Catalogue of measured findings

Registry number	Data of Emission			Type	Year	Diameter	Mass	Site/Notes	References
53.1066.102.				metallic plate				Szuhogy-Csorbakő	
53.1067.97.				metallic stick				Szuhogy-Csorbakő	
53.1067.104.				metallic plate				Szuhogy-Csorbakő	
n/a, sample number: 2015.04.23.				copper ore				Szuhogy-Csorbakő	
53.1066.82.				melted copper/bronze				Szuhogy-Csorbakő	
53.1066.129.				metallic plate				Szuhogy-Csorbakő	
2014/368	Hungarian Kingdom	Jagiellonian-House	Ulászló I	Denar	without year	15,1 mm		Szuhogy-Csorbakő	C. II. 141.
2014/369	Hungarian Kingdom	Jagiellonian-House	Ulászló I	Denar	without year	14 mm		Szuhogy-Csorbakő	C. II. 149/a
2014/370	Hungarian Kingdom	Habsburg-House	László V	Denar	without year	12,1 mm		Szuhogy-Csorbakő	C. II. 202., but bigger

Registry number	Data of Emission			Type	Year	Diameter	Mass	Site/Notes	References
2014/372	Hungarian Kingdom	Hunyadi-House	Mátyás I	Denar	without year	15,7 mm		Szuhogy-Csorbakő	C. II. 222.
2014/379	Hungarian Kingdom	Jagiellonian-House	Lajos II	Denar	1524.	16,2 mm		Szuhogy-Csorbakő	C. II. 308/a
2014/381	Hungarian Kingdom	Habsburg-House	Ferdinand I	Denar	1528.	15,9 mm		Szuhogy-Csorbakő	H 935.
2014/384	Hungarian Kingdom	Habsburg-House	Ferdinand I	Denar	1537.	16,7 mm		Szuhogy-Csorbakő	H 935.
2014/386	Hungarian Kingdom	Habsburg-House	Ferdinand I	Denar	1539.	16,1 mm		Szuhogy-Csorbakő	H 935.
2014/387	Hungarian Kingdom	Habsburg-House	Ferdinand I	Denar	without year	17 mm		Szuhogy-Csorbakő	H 935.
2014/389	Hungarian Kingdom	Habsburg-House	Ferdinand I	Silver coin	without year	18,1 mm		Szuhogy-Csorbakő	
2015.04.23._2,_3,_4				Empty flans	without year	16,1 mm		Szuhogy-Csorbakő	
2015/32	Hungarian Kingdom	Hunyadi-House	Mátyás I	Denar	without year	14,7 mm	0,4 g	Füzér-Alsóvár	C.II.222., H 708.
2015/36	Hungarian Kingdom	Habsburg-House	Ferdinand I	Denar	without year	15,3 mm	0,2 g	Füzér-Alsóvár, broken	C.III.41., H 936 (?)
2015/40	Hungarian Kingdom	Habsburg-House	Ferdinand I	Denar	15(?)	14,8 mm	0,4 g	Füzér-Alsóvár	C.III.40., H 935 (?)
2015/47	Hungarian Kingdom	Habsburg-House	Ferdinand I	Denar		14,8 mm	0,5 g	Sóstófalva-Hoporty	C.III.40., H 935
2015/49	Hungarian Kingdom	Habsburg-House	Ferdinand I	Denar		16,1 mm	0,3 g	Sóstófalva-Hoporty	C.III.40., H 935

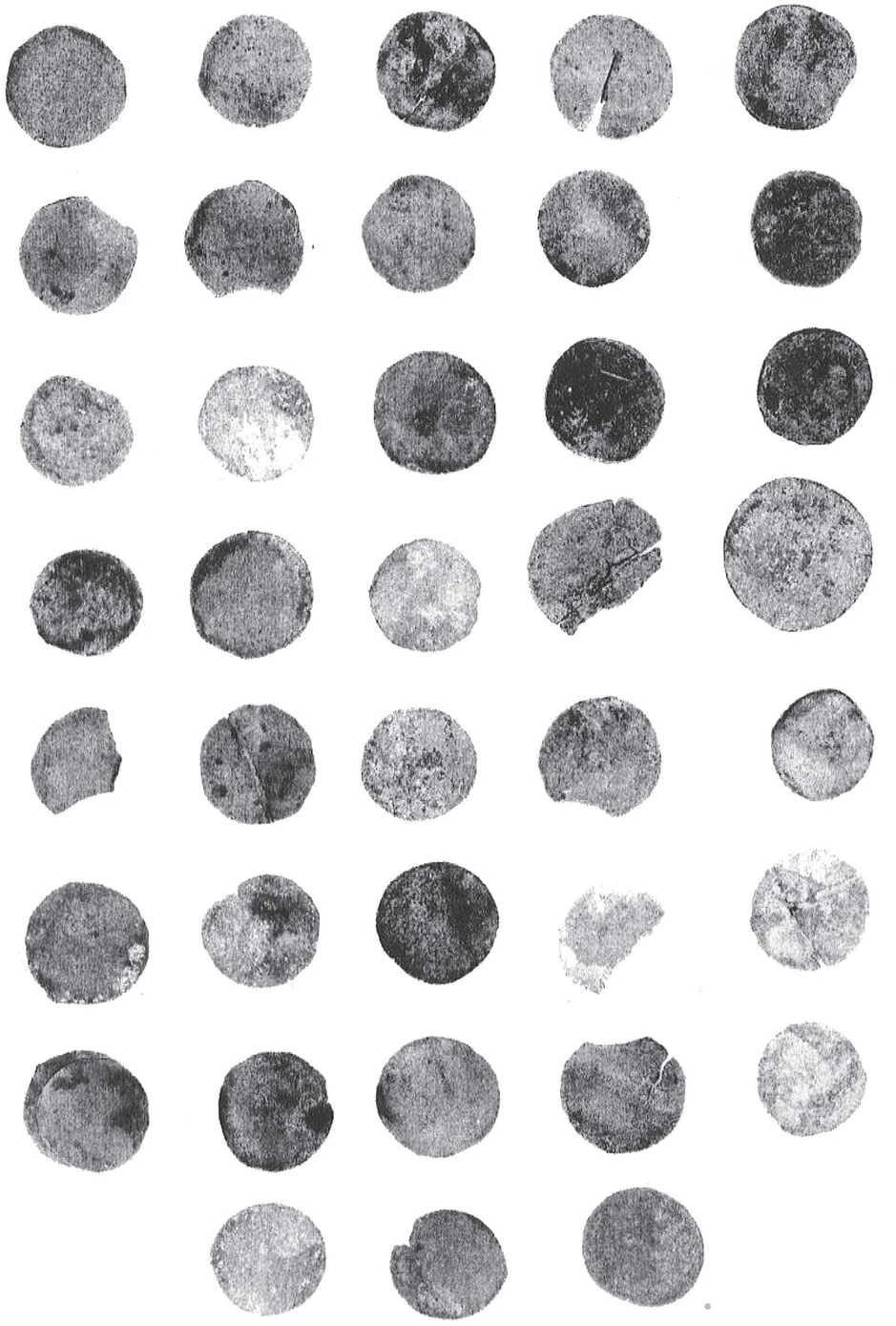
Table 2. XRF values of selected samples

Registry number	Sb	Sn	Ag	Bi	Pb	Au	Zn	Cu	Ni	Fe
53.1066.129	0,579	0,391	0,020	0,020	2,364	0,020	3,059	92,851	0,063	0,145
53.1067.97	0,313	0,020	0,020	0,020	0,358	0,020	0,053	99,009	0,100	0,085
53.1067.104	0,474	0,052	0,020	0,020	2,557	0,020	2,851	93,486	0,055	0,197
53.1067.102	0,203	0,103	0,020	0,020	1,760	0,020	2,044	95,533	0,066	0,123
53.1067.82	0,289	0,020	0,020	0,021	0,782	0,020	0,030	98,393	0,058	0,232
2015.04.23 (natural copper ore)	0,060	0,020	0,020	0,020	0,067	0,020	0,030	98,490	0,030	1,111
2015.04.23_2	0,354	0,020	0,020	0,020	0,187	0,020	0,030	99,082	0,104	0,042
2015.04.23_3	0,478	0,020	0,020	0,020	0,310	0,033	0,030	99,007	0,084	0,040
2015.04.23_4	0,445	0,020	6,957	0,091	0,890	0,020	0,030	90,035	0,073	0,045
2014.368	0,267	0,020	18,327	0,199	2,345	0,055	0,030	77,784	0,138	0,399
2014.369	0,388	0,057	17,540	0,066	1,953	0,071	0,030	79,433	0,063	0,336
2014.370	0,663	0,020	53,038	0,141	1,353	0,020	0,030	44,091	0,030	0,590
2014.372	0,567	0,059	16,760	0,053	0,638	0,069	0,030	81,403	0,036	0,463
2014.379	0,415	0,020	3,706	0,014	0,358	0,050	0,030	94,973	0,084	0,152
2014.381	0,269	0,336	68,484	0,332	1,183	0,036	0,030	28,800	0,030	0,356
2014.384	0,413	0,020	5,430	0,027	0,254	0,020	0,030	93,413	0,042	0,052
2014.386	0,372	0,020	0,020	0,020	0,519	0,020	0,030	98,737	0,105	0,062
2014.387	0,535	0,020	5,973	0,020	0,616	0,020	0,030	91,994	0,059	0,326
2014.389	0,644	0,020	10,045	0,093	0,552	0,020	0,030	86,574	0,081	0,485
2015.32	0,575	0,047	7,107	0,022	0,539	0,022	0,030	91,529	0,058	0,032
2015.36	0,374	0,143	31,228	0,058	0,490	0,020	0,030	67,586	0,030	0,062
2015.40	0,305	8,015	0,020	0,020	0,790	0,020	0,030	90,579	0,052	0,041
2015.47	0,162	0,018	0,020	0,020	0,635	0,020	0,030	99,069	0,033	0,025
2015.49	0,177	0,016	0,020	0,009	0,118	0,020	0,030	99,487	0,051	0,030

Illustrations

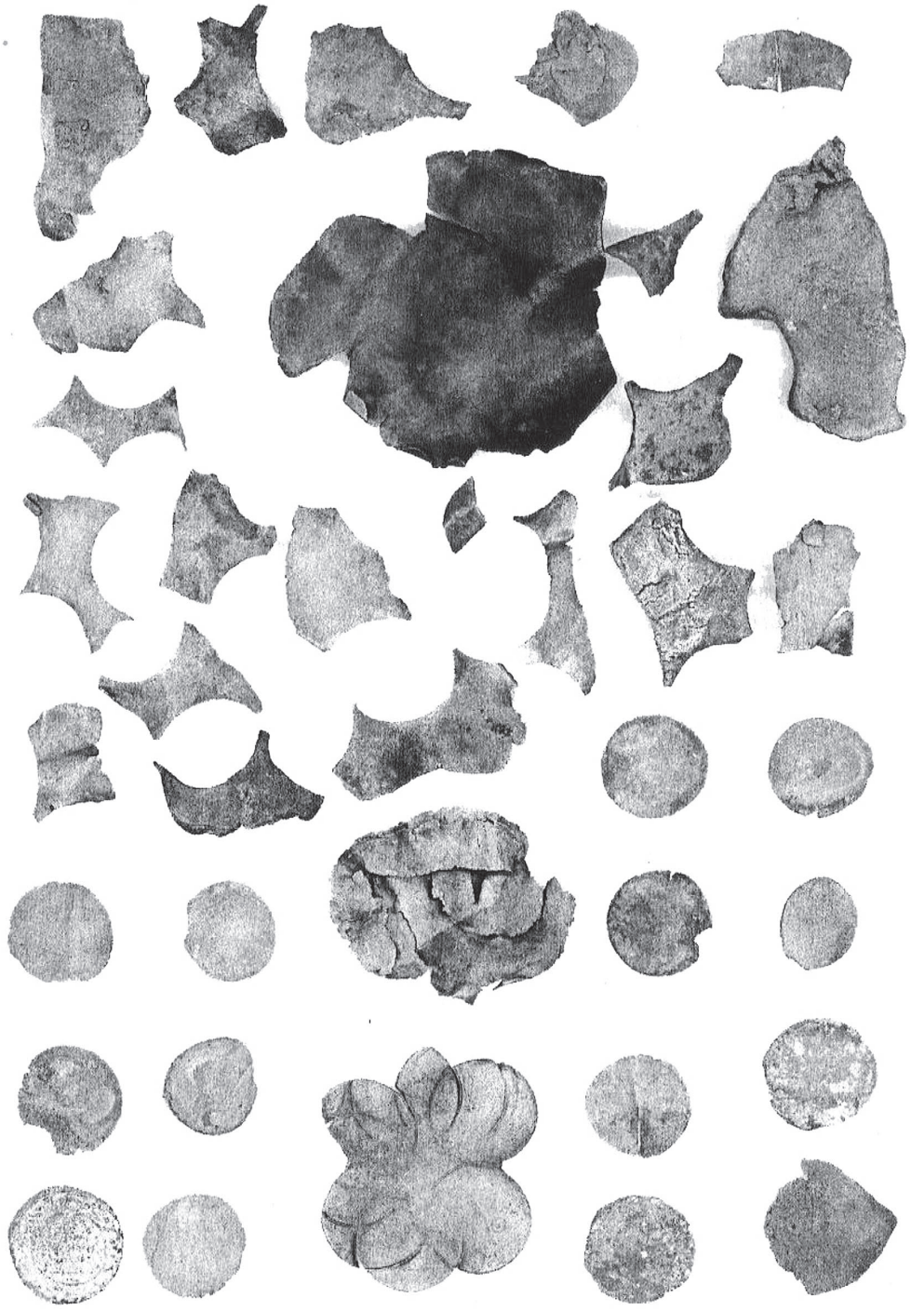
1. Parvus-sized coin chips from Visegrád
(photograph: K. Balla, 2012)
2. Empty chips from Tevel
(Gaál 2006: 108, Fig. 5)
3. Copper flans from Tevel
(Gaál 2006: 109, Fig. 6)
4. Copper chips and plates from Bonyhádvarasd
(Gaál 2006: 127, Fig. 36)
5. Empty copper chips from Vámtelek
(Nagy 2009–2010: 220, Fig. 5)
6. Copper plates from Vámtelek
(Nagy 2009–2010: 220, Fig. 6.)
7. Findings from the counterfeiters' workshop in Szuhogy-Csorbakő
(photograph: I. Kiss Tanne, 2015)
8. False Ferdinand I denar, reverse
(photograph: I. Kiss Tanne, 2015)
9. Silver and copper content: Szuhogy-Csorbakő, Füzér-Vár, Sóstófalva-Hoporty

1



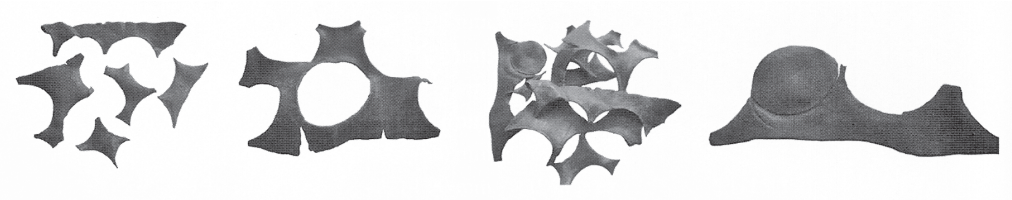
2

3



4

5

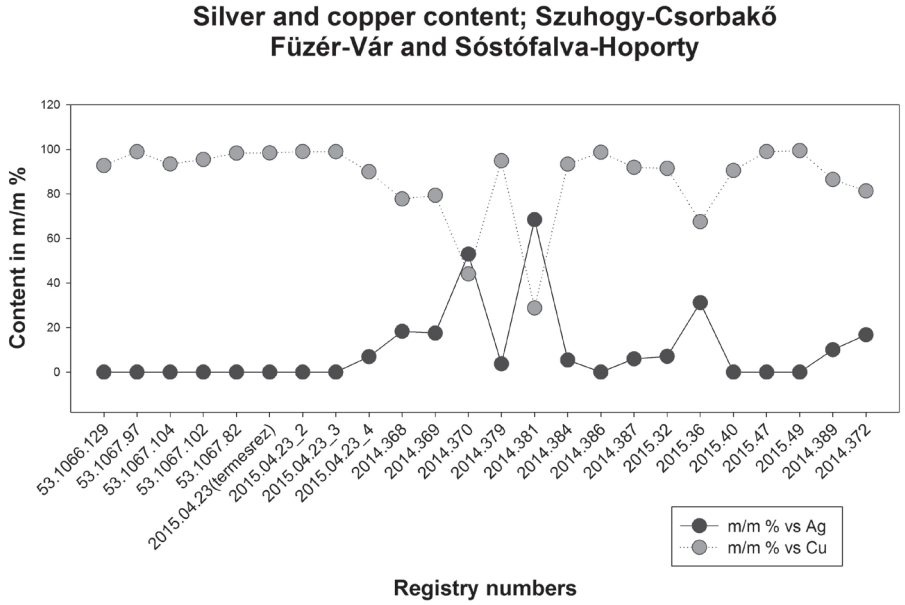


6

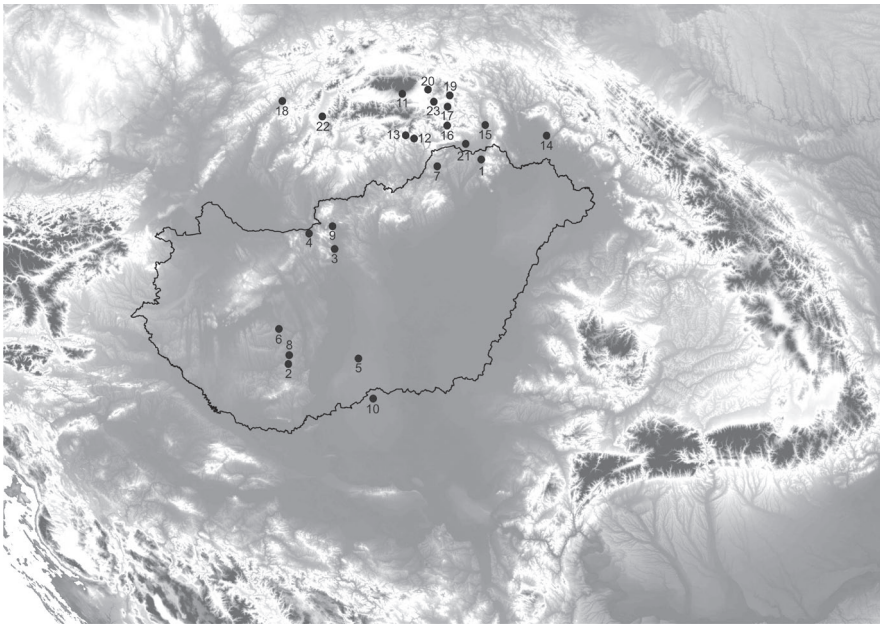
7


1CM

8


Silver and copper content; Szuhogy-Csorbakő
Füzér-Vár and Sóstófalva-Hoporty
Content in m/m %
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
53.1066.129
53.1067.97
53.1067.104
53.1067.102
53.1067.82
2015.04.23(termesrez)
2015.04.23_2
2015.04.23_3
2015.04.23_4
2014.368
2014.369
2014.370
2014.379
2014.381
2014.384
2014.386
2014.387
2015.32
2015.36
2015.40
2015.47
2015.49
2014.389
2014.372
m/m % vs Ag
m/m % vs Cu
Registry numbers

9



Map 1. Map of counterfeiting sites: 1. Boldogkő, 2. Bonyhádvarasd, 3. Buda, 4. Esztergom, 5. Nemesnádudvar, 6. Pincehely, 7. Szuhogy-Csorbakő, 8. Tevel, 9. Visegrád, 10. Vámtelek, 11. Betlenfalva (Betlanovce), 12. Felsőfalu (Chvalová), 13. Gömörispánmező (Špani Pole), 14. Jeszenő (Jasenov), 15. Kassa (Kosice), 16. Krasznahorka (Krásna Hôrka), 17. Létánfalva (Letanovce), 18. Oroszlánkő (Vršatské Podhradie), 19. Szalánk (Slovinky), 20. Szepestapolca (Spišská Teplica), 21. Torna (Turňa nad Bodvou), 22. Turócliget (Háj), 23. Vereshegy (Poráč)

Szymon Cierpisz

Art History Institute
Jagiellonian University in Krakow
cieszym@poczta.onet.pl

FORM OF THE PAST
REFERENCES TO THE MIDDLE AGES IN EARLY MODERN EXONUMIA

Abstract: *The main aim of the present article is to trace certain changes in the approach to historical truth depicted in early modern art, especially on the chosen examples of medals. Presenting the problem in this light enables some important aspects of such realisations to be unveiled, one of the most important of which is the legitimisation of the present by way of the past.*
Keywords: *exonumia, medals, historicism*

The prevailing image of early modern historical iconography is based on the mainstream of representative examples that create our recent perception regarding this question. As of the fifteenth (and in Northern Europe the sixteenth) century, i.e. most of the early modern period, history in its broadest sense, including antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the recent past, has been presented using a repertoire of antique and post-antique motives; these soon became indispensable vehicles for depicting both fame and disgrace. The laurel wreath, the panoply of Roman armour, and the triumphal arch have taken on the function of elements which inform about rather than depict historical facts. The roots of such deep uniformity can be traced back to the beginnings of antiquarian collecting and more and more advanced studies of antique coinage that were often the first source of knowledge about the form of the past. One of the early examples using antique motives as informative messages is a manuscript, dated ca 1350, which copies Suetonius's *De Vita Caesarum*. The unknown author of the text has carefully chosen illustrations by drawing them from antique coins, demonstrating his interest in the historical truth and presenting both a written source and an illustration deriving from the same times.[1] The growing interest in the study of coins which spread all over Europe was followed by many publications devoted to this issue and prepared by such connoisseurs as Jacopo Strada, Enea Vico, or Hubert Goltz.[2] In this way antiquity became for decades

[1] Haskell 1993: 27.
[2] Strada 1553; Vico 1555; Goltz 1557.

a sort of propaganda code in European art and especially in medals, issued upon certain occasions, which referred unmistakably to Roman motives. A perfect example of this method of presenting the past was the work of the Flemish engraver Jacques de Bie, who, in 1634, published an album entitled *La France métallique*, presenting the story of France through medals and their descriptions. In the preface of his book, dedicated to King Louis XIII, de Bie admitted that although the majority of pieces were taken from originals, it had been very difficult to find any medal depicting the predecessors of Charlemagne that could be used in his album. As a result, de Bie informs the reader, he decided to imitate missing objects:

> Ainsi remontant toujours contre la source, j'en rencontray un bon nombre; mais quelque diligence que j'aie apporté, je n'ay rien trouvé en ce sujet Metallique passé le regne de l'Empereur & Roy Charlemagne. Toutefois lisant l'Histoire qui precedoit, j'avois observé, à commencer par Faramond, d'assez belles occasions, ce me sembloit, de batter & frapper des Medailles, & les ayant projettées en mon esprit à la façon & imitation des Antiques, j'en dressay de petits modeles & dessins, que je fis voir à mes plus familiers amis, qui puis apres me donnerent cognoissance à d'autres personnages tres-curieux.[3]

De Bie's method of copying the medals of the ancient French kings was on one hand a complex mix of careful references to customs of the past (the first medal, depicting Pharamond, shows the ancient Gallic tradition of elevating a new ruler on a shield[4]) and on the other the imaginative use of costumes that referred to antiquity (Pharamond is dressed in classic Roman armour) (Ill. 1).[5] His efforts were among the first to present a certain methodology in the formal 'reconstruction' of the past, which very soon became the subject of many commentaries[6] and remained so over a hundred years later.[7]

De Bie's album was issued during a very fruitful period of growing interest in mediaeval history in France, with the Benedictines of the St Maurus Congregation in the forefront and later publications of Jean Mabillon and Bernard de Montfaucon; as Scipione Maffei wrote, in the 'barbarian Middle Ages are hidden the roots of our contemporary world'.[8] It is necessary to note, after all, that research on the veritable image of the past was often inspired, as well as supported, by the state. In France, the authorities

[3] de Bie 1636: 4.

[4] This custom was represented in various ways in early modern and modern French propaganda art, presumably dating back to the broad comments of Bernard de Montfaucon in his famous *Monuments de la monarchie françoise*. Montfaucon 1729: tab. I. The most interesting use of this concept was a monument of Louis XV in Rouen and other exonumic examples from the beginning of the eighteenth century: Jollet 2011: 18–19.

[5] de Bie 1636: pl. 1.

[6] de Mézeray 1685: preface without pagination.

[7] Clement 1753: 231–232.

[8] Cochrane 1958: 35.

strongly encouraged the work of the historians and artists collaborating with them, as has already been described on the example of Colbert's activity in this field.[9]

Analogously, many European courts found it highly desirable to show an actual sovereign with certain exclusive features, characterising him as a ruler of a precisely defined land and people, addressed to those who shared the same historical consciousness (understood here as knowledge about chosen historical facts). The end of the seventeenth century was marked by the famous debate between Ancients and Moderns that, for some scholars, indicates the roots of historical consciousness in art, mainly as a result of the growing contextualisation of thinking in terms of cultural normativity which characterised the new attitude towards this issue.[10] Standardised measurements of art taken from Roman theoreticians and their followers since the Renaissance, tempting by virtue of their uniformity and clear hierarchy, were no longer taken for granted, as new observations were made, of which the culmination point was the so-called 'War over Homer' (1714–16).[11] This growing awareness of a context in official representation was marked in different aspects and can often be found in theoretical comments on the arts, history, and other fields, such as Lacombe de Prezel's remark regarding the need for a distinction between crowns worn by personifications of lands and countries in allegorical scenes.[12]

The main aim of official art, and particularly medals, was not only to comment on recent events but to create a certain reality which could be presented using a code of references to the past, as history dominant by virtue of its normative influence on the present was used 'to show that the present condition of one or another institution was identical with its beginnings; this was its ultimate justification'.[13] A fine example of such references to mediaeval history can be found in the Saxon court, where a clear liaison between Augustus II and the founder of the dynasty, Widukind, was established on one of the medals issued at the end of the seventeenth century. The medal (Ill. 3) was designed by Martin Heinrich Omeis (1650–1703), a popular and prolific engraver from Nuremberg working in Dresden.[14] The obverse depicts the sovereign in armour, wearing a crown. The legend reads: D[ei] G[ratia] FRID[ericus] AUGUST[us] POLONIARUM REX SAX[oniae] DUX ET ELECT[or]. On the other side one can see his prototype dressed in rather unusual robes with the inscription: WITTEKIND[us] ANGRIVARIORUM REX SAX[oniae] PROCERUM DUX.[15] As stated above, the need

[9] Krasny 2009.
[10] Megill 1978: 35.
[11] *Ibidem*.
[12] Lacombe 1756: 73.
[13] Bouwsma 2000: 199.
[14] Forrer 1900: 323.
[15] Raczyński 268.

for accuracy in presenting the past was already common; thus the portrait of Widukind was the outcome of a precise study of iconographical records rather than of the imagination of the engraver. In designing the image of the ancient ruler, Omeis was undoubtedly equipped with one of the very popular images from Widukind's tomb in Enger, presumably from Balthasar Menz's *Syntagma Epitaphiorum*, published in 1604.[16] The image was the object of constant interest, as proved by a number of graphics depicting Widukind as well as by a complete tomb plate from the church of Enger.[17] The reason for this medal was undoubtedly the need for commentary on the recent achievements of the Saxon Elector Frederick Augustus, who two years earlier had been elected king of Poland. One of the primary conditions binding the new monarch was adoption of the Catholic faith. This meant profound changes in the Dresden court, since the Wettin dynasty had been Lutheran for over a century. Justification for the Catholic faith had to be found; thus the parallel between the Saxon sovereign and his ancient predecessor was established. According to historians Widukind was a pagan leader of the Saxons fighting Charlemagne. He was defeated by the future emperor and accepted Christianity in 785 in the presence of the king of the Franks.[18] Augustus II's conversion to the Catholic faith was thus presented as a return to the roots of the state rather than a novelty. Widukind's merits in the field of propagating and supporting religion (legendary, but successful, making him a traditional saint) were also willingly accepted, as proven by subsequent eighteenth-century versions of the image from his sepulchre presenting him in reference to episcopal iconography.

There are additional examples demonstrating the constant need for creating parallels between contemporary times and the past within the Saxon dynasty, such as a medal struck for the birth of the Elector's son, Frederick Augustus II. On the reverse (Ill. 4) the newborn child, placed on two crossed swords (symbolising the title of *Kurfürst*) and dressed in a gown referring to the coat of arms of the House of Wettin, is juxtaposed with a depiction of Albert the Courageous, founder of the ruling line of Wettins, on the obverse (Ill. 5). As with the previous medal, the source of the image was the most popular of a series of graphics of the duke by Cranach (Ill. 6).[19]

Another very interesting example of an attempt to undertake a dialogue with the past is a medal struck upon the death of Augustus II by Daniel Sievert and Peter Paul Werner (Ill. 7).[20] The reverse depicts a coffin with two mourners representing the *Korona* (Poland) and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, with the word LUGETUR above.[21]

[16] Menz 1604: 1.
[17] Reyher 1692: without pagination.
[18] Von Simson 1897: 365.
[19] Here I show the reproduction of the engraving from Stichard 1854: 128.
[20] Raczyński 360.
[21] Schultz 1738: 8–10; Stahr 2008: 178.

The manner of posing the figures may suggest inspiration derived from the mediaeval artistic tradition, in which small figures of mourners surrounded a tomb. There is a strong formal connection in terms of concept and form between the presented medal and the monument of Casimir IV Jagiellon in the Cracow cathedral. Taking into consideration the important role of the cathedral as a royal cemetery and the place of Augustus's eternal rest, one is justified to put forward the hypothesis that the model for the composition could have been taken from the tomb of the Jagiellonian monarch. Worth mentioning as well is that the medal was issued by the city of Gdańsk, where the figure of Casimir IV Jagiellon has been commemorated in many places as the king whose efforts resulted in the incorporation of that city into Poland. It seems that in Gdańsk, over the ensuing centuries, his reign symbolised the city's golden era.[22]

Another example of mid-eighteenth-century references to the past are medals struck on the occasion of several different anniversaries of the city of Toruń. These issues were connected with the conflicting claims to this territory of the Teutonic Order (in fact, its claim was only theoretical) and the newly-created Kingdom of Prussia.[23] In this case, Toruń wished to underline its ambitions of being a free Polish city by referring to its history. A very important issue was the celebration of the 300th anniversary of the incorporation of Royal Prussia into Poland, since this represented a unique opportunity to show the end of Toruń's misery. On this occasion a medal depicting Toruń's insurrection against the Teutonic Order was issued. The medal (which was not signed) went through three versions,[24] proof of the efforts of those responsible for issuing it to achieve certain propaganda aims; presumably its impact on the collective memory was strong, as it merited a mention in Zygmunt Gloger's *Encyklopedia staropolska*.[25] On the obverse is a scene from 3 February 1454, showing a fire in the castle in Toruń which had served as occupier's main stronghold in the city with the words: TRE CENTUM ANTE ANNOS CRUCIATA THORUNIA NOCTE EXCUSSO EXULTAT LIBERA FACTA IUGO 1754 (Ill. 8). By the eighteenth century, the castle no longer existed: it had been demolished immediately after the successful uprising. For the scene, the author of the medal copied a seventeenth-century engraving by Christopher Hartknoch, showing a panorama of Toruń from his *Alt- und Neues Preußen*, issued in 1684.[26] Only a few changes were made in designing the medal; in Hartknoch's print, in the middle of the composition one can see the City Hall which on the medal has been removed and replaced with a free reconstruction of the city castle (Ill. 9).

[22] Kruszelnicki 1984: 40–41.
[23] The question of references to the past in the art in Toruń was described broadly in Kruszelnicki 1972.
[24] Raczyński 409; Musiałowski 1995: 116–119.
[25] Gloger 1903: 172; see also: Stahr 2008: 216.
[26] Hartknoch 1684: 365.

On the reverse is a scene from the same year, depicting a courier from Toruń delivering a letter of disobedience from the city to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Ludwig von Erlichshausen, with the inscription PRUSSICI FOEDERIS EXECUO PER FECIALEM DENUNCIATA MARIAEBURGI A. C. 1454 D[ie] 6. FEBR[uarii] (Ill. 10). The scene is the front of an entrance to the capital city of the Teutonic Order, Malbork. The city is depicted with great care for detail, avoiding later additions, although it is clear that the engraver had some difficulties with the perspective of the mediaeval stronghold.[27] We can see here not only the general overview, but also a symbol of the castle and the city itself, the 8-metre-high statue of St Mary, adorning the castle church on the right side of the complex.[28]

The reign of the last Polish king, Stanisław August Poniatowski, was crucial to the future development of the methodological and critical collection of historical information. The circle of historians gathered around the king began to eliminate legendary characters such as Lech or Wanda from the public discourse. One of the most important artistic elements of the new policy was the idea of the first complex iconography of Polish history, as realised in 1767–71 in the apartments of the royal castle in Warsaw. One of the most elaborate locations was the Marble Room, containing a series of portraits of Polish monarchs. The canvases were executed by the Italian painter Marcello Bacciarelli, the king's favourite artist. We know that Poniatowski was especially interested in historical truth, as Bacciarelli obtained access to many iconographical sources, especially helpful for the portraits of the earliest rulers.[29] The series of monarchs realised by Bacciarelli was not the king's first idea of this kind. Several years before work on the Marble Room started, Poniatowski, wishing an extensive reconstruction of his official dwelling, consulted the French architect Victor Louis, who had designed the interior of the Senate, among others. The king wished to place figures of the kings of Poland around the hall, arranged so as to refer to the Roman Pantheon.[30] Thanks to the correspondence between the king and the designer, we know that Poniatowski described images of the first rulers on the basis of some knowledge of historical facts, albeit rather intuitively in regard to form, which once more was based on Roman traditions,[31] similar to the way Jacques de Bie reconstructed his medals. In this light the pace of changes should be underlined, since only a few years later this imaginative approach was supplanted by more advanced research.

It seems that the result of Bacciarelli's work was satisfying, since some twenty years later the portraits were issued in the form of medals. Poniatowski's series depicting im-

[27] Kruszelnicki 1972: 50.
[28] The statue, destroyed in 1945, has recently been rebuilt at the original location (2015).
[29] Chyczewska 1968: 27.
[30] Rottermund 1989: 93–94.
[31] *Ibidem*: 95.

ages of the Polish monarchs should be regarded as an outstanding example of *icones*, popular representations of rulers produced in Europe, beginning for the most part in the sixteenth century.[32] The series, struck by Jan Filip Holzhaeuser and Jan Jakub Reichel in the last decade of the eighteenth century (1791–98), is far less well known than its painted counterpart.[33] As in Bacciarelli's series, the medals repeat some items characteristic of depicted monarchs, among which the royal insignia should be mentioned in the first place.

The last issue I would like to discuss is that of the Polish coronation insignia. The symbols of sovereignty began to attract extraordinary attention when they were presented publicly in Warsaw for the first time in 1764 on the occasion of Poniatowski's coronation. The series of the kings remains the most interesting example of their use in state propaganda as the legitimisation of a new king. However, some 30 years later, the Polish insignia was depicted one more time.

In 1807, following the treaty of Tylża (Tilsit) between Napoleon and Tsar Alexander I, the Duchy of Warsaw was established from part of the former Polish Republic. A medal was issued in Paris to commemorate the establishment of the new duchy. The obverse is occupied by the well-known profile of Napoleon wearing a laurel wreath, by Bertrand Andrieu, and the inscription NAPOLEON EMP[ereur]. ET ROI. On the reverse, which was executed by Nicolas Guy Antoine Brenet, we can see a chair of state with the insignia (Ill. 11). The inscription reads PRISCA DECORA RESTITUTA (ancient honours restored) and, below, OTHO III. BOLESLAO. A. MI. / NEAPOLIO. FREDERICO AUG[usto]. / A. MDCCCVII. (Otto III to Boleslaus in 1001. Napoleon to Frederick Augustus in 1807). The concept behind the medal was to refer not only to the contemporary event but also to the most ancient times of the Polish history as a justification for the present. In 1001 the Holy Roman Emperor Otto III had symbolically agreed to Poland's achieving the status of a kingdom during his pilgrimage to the tomb of St Adalbert in Gniezno by placing an imperial diadem on the head of Prince Boleslaus. Eight hundred years later Napoleon, wishing to be perceived as the heir of emperors (via the heritage of Charlemagne), recreated Poland; by means of this medal, he wanted to remind the Poles about their obligations to the emperors.

However, one seemingly very interesting point concerning the medal is that all elements of the insignia have been presented here with great attention to detail. While the throne may be a reference to and a free reconstruction of the Throne of Charlemagne brought to Poland by Otto III,[34] the crown is not only a symbol of the royal authority

[32] Męclewska 2011: 46–49.

[33] The literature on the series of the Polish monarchs is rather limited: Gumowski 1925: 120–123; Rapnicka 1967: 355–364; Więcek 1989: 99–100. The full bibliography can be found in Jurkowlaniec 2011.

[34] Zeitz and Zeitz 2003: 176.

but clearly refers to the so-called 'Crown of Boleslaus' used in most of the coronations in Poland since the fourteenth century, traditionally attributed to the first king of Poland. The right side is occupied by a sceptre and the left by a faithful depiction of another Polish coronation prop, the Szczerbiec. Of special importance is that in 1807 most components of the insignia from the medal (apart from the Szczerbiec) no longer existed.

The authors of the medal wished to underline almost one thousand years of the history of Poland, not only in the text but also through the exposition of the purely 'mediaeval' style of the throne. But how did they obtain such detailed knowledge of the Polish insignia? Andrieu and Brenet were not the only artists who worked on the medal; someone else provided the sophisticated idea. In fact, this iconographic conception was invented by Dominique Vivant Denon, artist, archaeologist and art connoisseur, through whose hands all imperial art commissions passed and whose name appears next to Brenet's on the right side of the reverse. Denon was appointed *directeur général* of the planned *Musée Napoleon* by Napoleon himself, and was responsible for collecting selected artworks throughout Europe. He accompanied Napoleon on the latter's expeditions to Austria, Spain, and Poland. Undoubtedly it was in Warsaw where Denon, always interested in antiquity, saw drawings of the Polish regalia, made in 1764 by Joseph Werner on the occasion of the coronation of Poniatowski in Warsaw and preserved today in the collection of the Warsaw University Library (Ill. 12).[35]

The selected examples presented in this article show how the depiction of history has changed significantly over the centuries along with historical consciousness and artistic theory. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, local features, rather than a standardised view, shaped the essence of the image (and the propagandistic aim). The following decades were characterised by the extensive development of this idea, which would lead to the well-known historicism of the second half of this century.

Bibliography

Bouwsma W. 2000. *The Waning of the Renaissance 1550 – 1640.* New Haven.

Chyczewska A. 1968. *Marceli Bacciarelli.* Poznań.

Clement D. 1753. *Bibliothèque curieuse historique et critique….* Hannover.

Cochrane E. 1958. "The Settecento Medievalists". Journal of the History of Ideas 19: 35–61.

de Bie J. 1634. *La France métallique, contenant les actions célèbres tant publiques que privies des rois et des reines remarquées en leurs médeailles d'or, d'argent & de bronze. Tirées des plus curieux cabinets.* Part 2. *Explication ou description sommaire des medailles contenvës en l'Ovevre de la France metallique.* Paris.

de Lacomb P. 1756. *Dictionnaire iconologique ou Introduction a la connoissance des peintures, sculptures, médialles, estampes, &c. avec des descriptions tirées des poëtes anciens & modernes.* Paris.

[35] Trupinda 2007: 194–196.

de Mezeray F. 1685. *Histoire de France, depuis Faramond jusqu'au regne de Louis le Juste enrichie de plusieurs belles & rares Antiquitez, & de la vie des Reynes,* Paris.

de Montfaucon B. 1729. *Les monuments de la monarchie française.* Vol. 1. Paris.

Forrer L. 1900. *Biographical Dictionary of Medalists.* Vol. 4. London.

Gloger Z. 1903. *Encyklopedia staropolska.* Vol. 4. Warszawa.

Goltz H. 1557. *Vivae Omnium fere Imperatorem Imagines.* Antwerp.

Gumowski M. 1925. *Medale polskie.* Warszawa.

Hartknoch K. 1684. *Alt und Neues Preußen.* Frankfurt.

Haskell F. 1993. *History and its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past.* Yale.

Jollet E. 2011. "The king and others: multiple figures in French royal monuments of the modern era". In. Ch. Chastel-Rousseau (ed.). *Reading the Royal Monument in Eighteenth Century Europe.* Burlington: 11–38.

Jurkowlaniec Z. (ed.) 2011. *Skarb z Kijowa: złoty poczet – królewska kolekcja medali Stanisława Augusta* (katalog wystawy). Warszawa.

Krasny P. 2009. „Carolini monumenta nondium edita. Graficzne reprodukcje królów frankijskich z rękopisów wczesnośredniowiecznych w propagandzie legalizmu państwowego Jeana Baptiste'a Colberta". In. A. Rottermund, S. Mossakowski, W. Tygielski, T. Bernatowicz, P. Migasiewicz, M. Wardzyński (eds.). *Polska i Europa w dobie nowożytnej. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana Profesorowi Juliuszowi A. Chrościckiemu.* Warszawa: 284–299.

Kruszelnicki Z. 1972. „Historyzm w sztuce Torunia XVIII w.". Teka Komisji Historii Sztuki 5: 5–95.

Kruszelnicki Z. 1984. *Historyzm i kult przeszłości w sztuce pomorskiej XVI–XVIII wieku.* Warszawa.

Męclewska M. 2011. „Złoci królowie. Prawda i legenda". In. Z. Jurkowlaniec (ed.). *Skarb z Kijowa: złoty poczet – królewska kolekcja medali Stanisława Augusta* (katalog wystawy). Warszawa: 45–57.

Megill A. 1978. "Theory and Historical Consciousness in the Eighteenth Century". History and Theory 17 (1): 29–62.

Menz B. 1604. *Syntagma Epitaphiorum : Quae In Inclyta Septemviratus Saxonici Metropoli Witeberga, diversis in locis splendide honorificeque erecta conspiciuntur in 4. Libros divisum.* Magdeburgi.

Musiałowski A. 1995. „Panorama miasta na monetach i medalach toruńskich". In. M. Gącarzewicz (ed.). *Pozaekonomiczne funkcje monet. X Ogólnopolska sesja Numizmatyczna w Nowej Soli.* Poznań: 103–119.

Raczyński E. 1841. *Gabinet medalów polskich.* Vol. 3. Poznań.

Rapnicka D. 1967. "Poczet królów polskich. Cykl 23 medali wybitych na polecenie Stanisława Augusta". In. S. Kozakiewicz, K. Sroczyńska, A. Ryszkiewicz (eds.). *Portrety osobistości polskich znajdujące się w pokojach i w Galerii Pałacu w Wilanowie. Katalog.* Warszawa: 355–364.

Reyher S. 1692. *Monumenta Landgraviorum Thuringiae et Marchionum Misniae, quae adhuc in Thuringia Misnia Saxonia Superiore Franconia Et Hassia extant: Historico-Genealogica descriptione illustrata.* Gothae.

Rottermund A. 1989. *Zamek warszawski w epoce oświecenia.* Warszawa.

Schultz J.P. 1738. *Historia interregni novissimi et comitiorium in Prussia Polonica.* Vol. 3. Gedani.

Stahr M. 2008. *Medale polskie i z Polską związane od XVI do XVIII wieku. Katalog zbiorów Muzeum Narodowego w Poznaniu.* Poznań.

Stichard F.O. 1854. *Das Königreich Sachsen und seine Fürsten.* Leipzig.

Strada J. 1553. *Epitome Thesauri Antiquitatum.* Lyon.

Trupinda J. (ed.) 2007. *Imagines potestatis. Insignien und heschaftszeichen im Konigsreich Polen und Deutschen Orden* (katalog wystawy). Malbork.

Vico E. 1555. *Discorsi sopra le medaglie de gli antichi.* Venezia.

von Simson B. 1897. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. Vol. 42. Leipzig.

Więcek A. 1989. *Dzieje sztuki medalierskiej w Polsce*. Kraków.

Zeitz L, Zeitz J. 2003. *Napoleons Medaillen. Die einzigen Zeugnisse des Ruhms, die alle Jahrhunderte überdauern*. Petersberg.

Illustrations

1. Two medals depicting Pharamond and Clovis. de Bie 1636: pl. 1.
(Bibliothèque nationale de France, www.gallica.bnf.fr)

2. Widukind; woodcut from Baltazar Menz's *Syntagma Epitaphiorum***. Menz 1604: 1.**
(Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb11166230_00005.html)

3. Martin Heinrich Omeis, medal of Augustus II and Widukind, 1699.
(Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, http://skd-online-collection.skd.museum/de/contents/show?id=386012)

4. Medal commemorating the birth of Frederick Augustus II, reverse.
(Collection of the Royal Castle in Warsaw, http://kolekcja.zamek-krolewski.pl/obiekt/id/ZKW.N.127)

5. Medal commemorating the birth of Frederick Augustus II, obverse.
(Collection of the Royal Castle in Warsaw, http://kolekcja.zamek-krolewski.pl/obiekt/id/ZKW.N.127)

6. Albert the Courageous. Lucas Cranach the Younger. Stichard 1854: 128.
(Sächsische Landesbibliothek, http://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/10138/1/)

7. Daniel Sievert, Peter Paul Werner. Medal commemorating the death of Augustus II.
(Collection of the Royal Castle in Warsaw, http://kolekcja.zamek-krolewski.pl/obiekt/id/ZKW.N.189)

8. Medal commemorating the 300th anniversary of the incorporation of Royal Prussia into the Kingdom of Poland, obverse.
(Collection of the Royal Castle in Warsaw. http://kolekcja.zamek-krolewski.pl/obiekt/kolekcja/Gabinet%20Numizmatyczny/tworca/Toru%C5%84/id/ZKW.N.296)

9. Scene depicting the fire in the Toruń castle (right) and a fragment of Hartknoch's engraving (right).

10. Medal depicting the Malbork castle.
(Collection of the Royal Castle in Warsaw. http://kolekcja.zamek-krolewski.pl/obiekt/kolekcja/Gabinet%20Numizmatyczny/tworca/Toru%C5%84/id/ZKW.N.296)

11. Medal issued upon the establishment of the Duchy of Warsaw. Reverse. Throne with the Polish insignia.
(The Victoria Museum Collection, http://collections.museumvictoria.com.au/items/55521)

12. Joseph Werner, the Polish insignia, 1764.
(The Collection of the Warsaw University www.google.pl/search?q=werner+insygnia&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0CAcQ_AUoAWoVChMIlsC-kpDyyAIV4apyCh3RAQka&biw=1366&bih=657#imgrc=iMbc9jcrtNDWyM%3A)


FARAMVNDVS·FRAN·REX·
I·
OMNIVM VOTIS
FID·EXER·
CLODIO·FANC·REX·
II·
VT·COMA·IN TON·LIBERI·SIT·CAPIT·DE·CAS·
LIBERTAS·

1

2


D·G·FRID·AUGUST·POLONIARUM·REX·SAX·DUX·S·R·E·EL·CT·
1699


WILHELMINA·D·G·ANG·RI·VARIORUM·REX·SAX·PROGERUM·DUX

3


FR·AVG·E·XOPTATVS·EL·S·HAR·N·7 OCT·1699
FIRMATA SVC
CESSIO·

4


ALBERTVS ANIMOSVS DV·SAX·NAT·27 IVL·1443
ELECTORUM
PARENS·

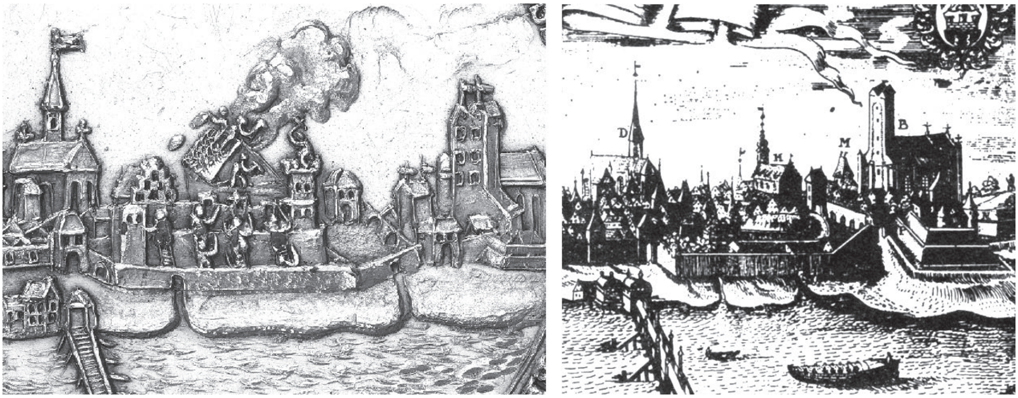
5

6

7


TERCENTVM ANTE ANNOS CRVCIATA THORVNIA NOCTE EXCVSSO EXVLTAT LIBERA FACTA IVGO

8



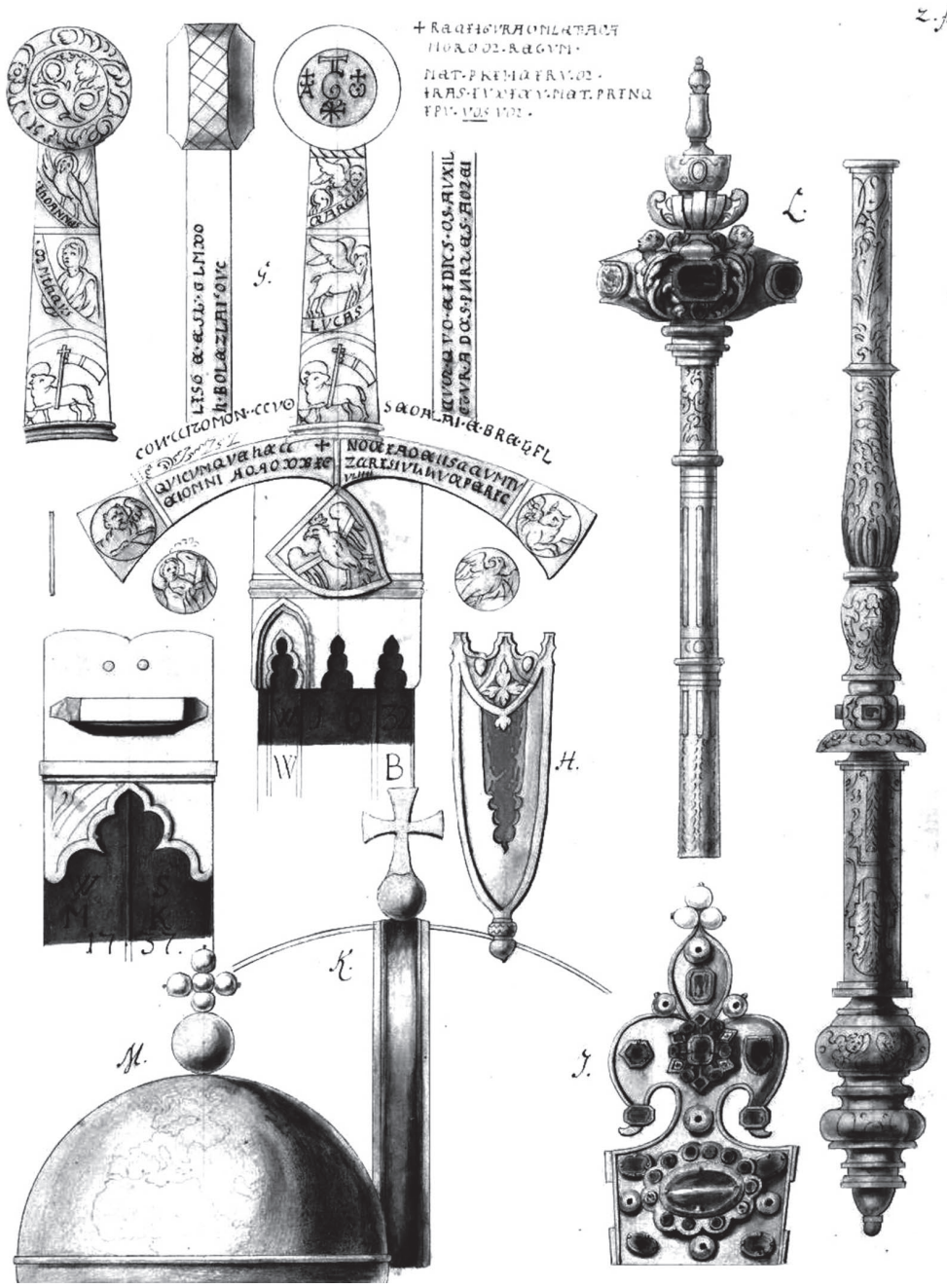
9


PRUSSICI FOEDERIS EXECUTIO PER FECIALEM DENUNCIATA MARIAEBURGI A·C·1454·D·6 FEBR

10


PRISCA DECORA RESTITUTA.
OTHO III · BOLESLAO · A MI-
NEAPOLIO · FRIDERICO AUG ·
A · MDCCCVII ·

11


L.
H.
K.
M.
J.
W
B

We would like to present 12 articles by young researchers from Poland, Italy and Hungary concerning numismatics and particular aspects thereof. The publication is a summary of the Second International Numismatic Conference 'Pecunia Omnes Vincit. The coins as an evidence of propaganda, reorganization and forgery', held at the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum and Institute of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland, 29–30 May, 2015.

The articles direct the reader's attention to various issues involving aspects of numismatics such as propaganda, the circulation of coins in certain territories, and forgeries. The subject matter of this publication focuses on antiquity as well as mediaeval and modern times.

ISBN: 978–83–939189–8–0